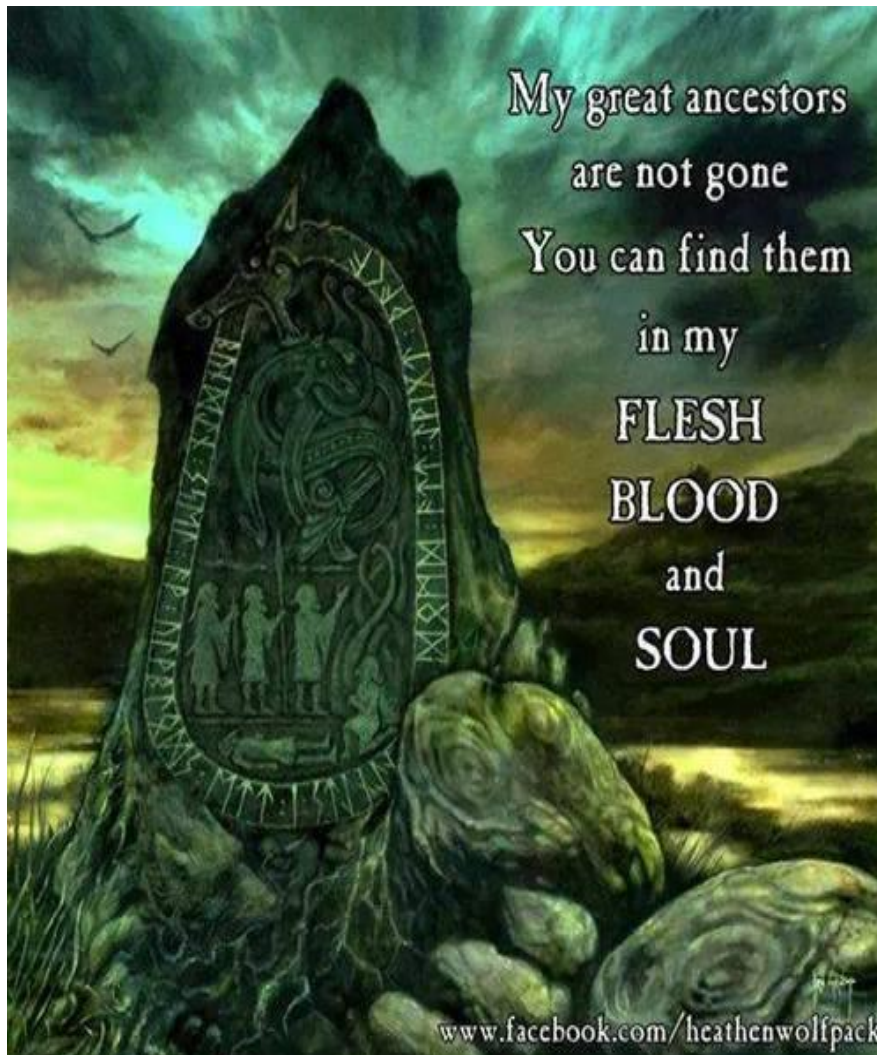


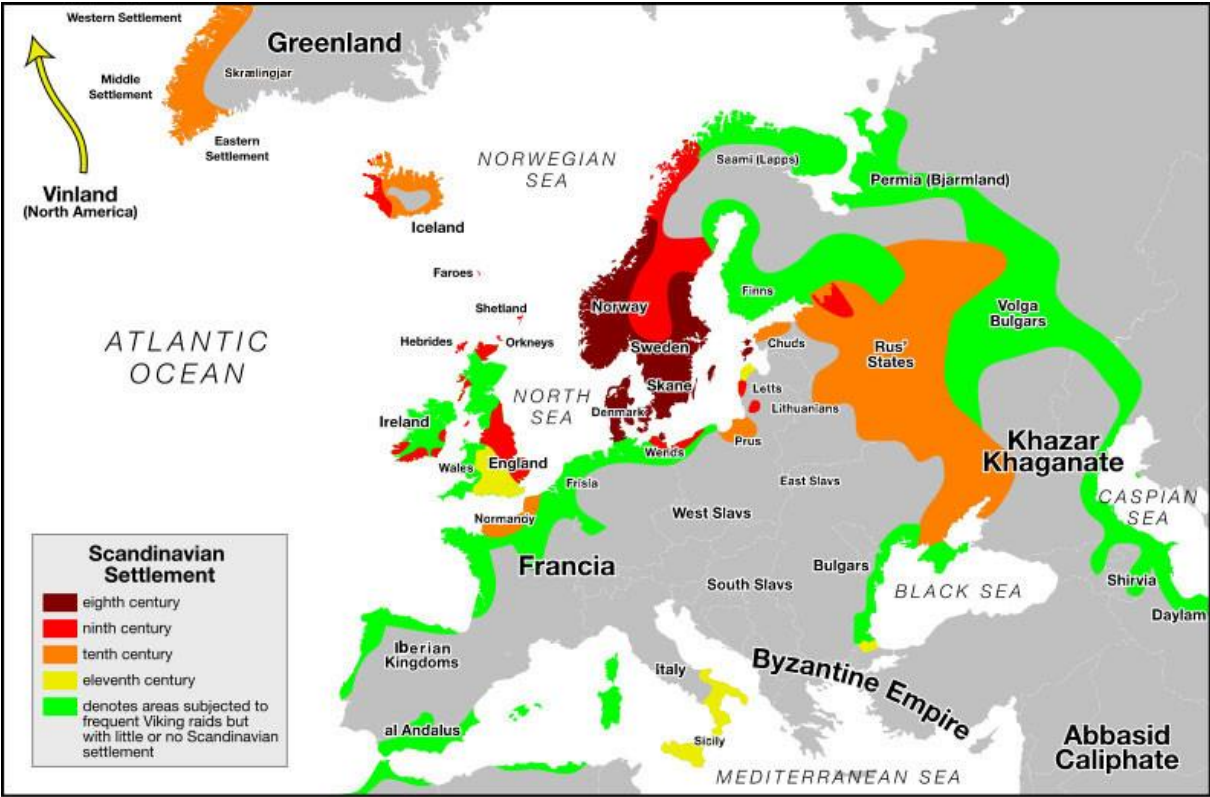


HET ROLLO(OS) ERFGOED MANIFEST



Voorgeslacht/ Genealogie **Rolloos,
Lakenhandel Gouda, Stamvader **Rollo** en
Viking Geschiedenis en Cultuur**

(Versie 1, september 2016, Hans Rolloos)





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VIKING LAWS

§1 BE BRAVE AND AGGRESSIVE

BE DIRECT
GRAB ALL OPPORTUNITIES
USE VARYING METHODS OF ATTACK
BE VERSATILE AND AGILE
ATTACK ONE TARGET AT A TIME
DON'T PLAN EVERYTHING IN DETAIL
USE TOP QUALITY WEAPONS

§2 BE PREPARED

KEEP WEAPONS IN GOOD CONDITIONS
KEEP IN SHAPE
FIND GOOD BATTLE COMRADES
AGREE ON IMPORTANT POINTS
CHOOSE ONE CHIEF

§3 BE A GOOD MERCHANT

FIND OUT WHAT THE MARKET NEEDS
DON'T PROMISE WHAT YOU CAN'T KEEP
DON'T DEMAND OVERPAYMENT
ARRANGE THINGS SO THAT YOU CAN RETURN

§4 KEEP THE CAMP IN ORDER

KEEP THINGS TIDY AND ORGANIZED
ARRANGE ENJOYABLE ACTIVITIES WHICH STRENGTHEN THE GROUP
MAKE SURE EVERYBODY DOES USEFUL WORK
CONSULT ALL MEMBERS OF THE GROUP FOR ADVICE



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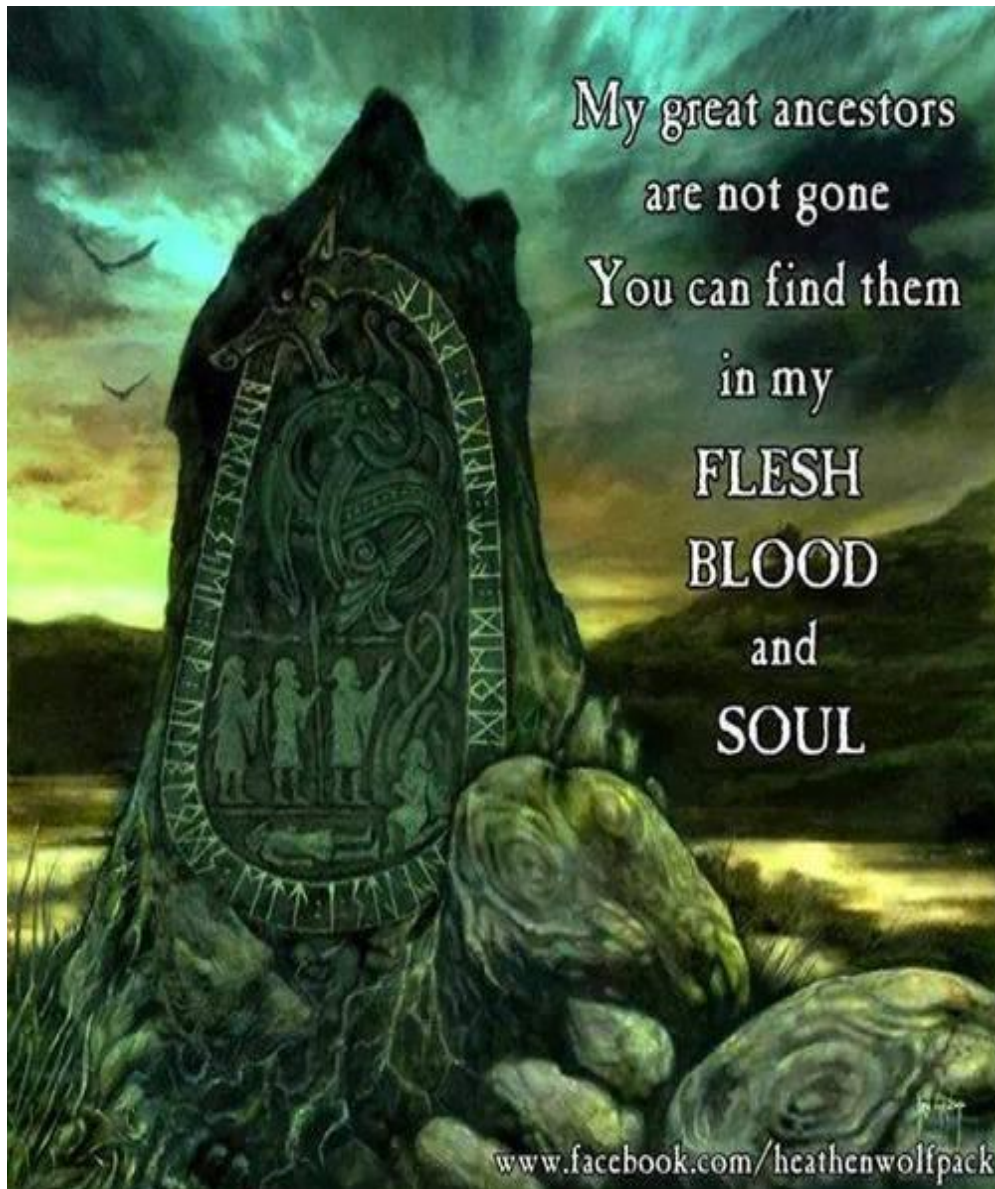
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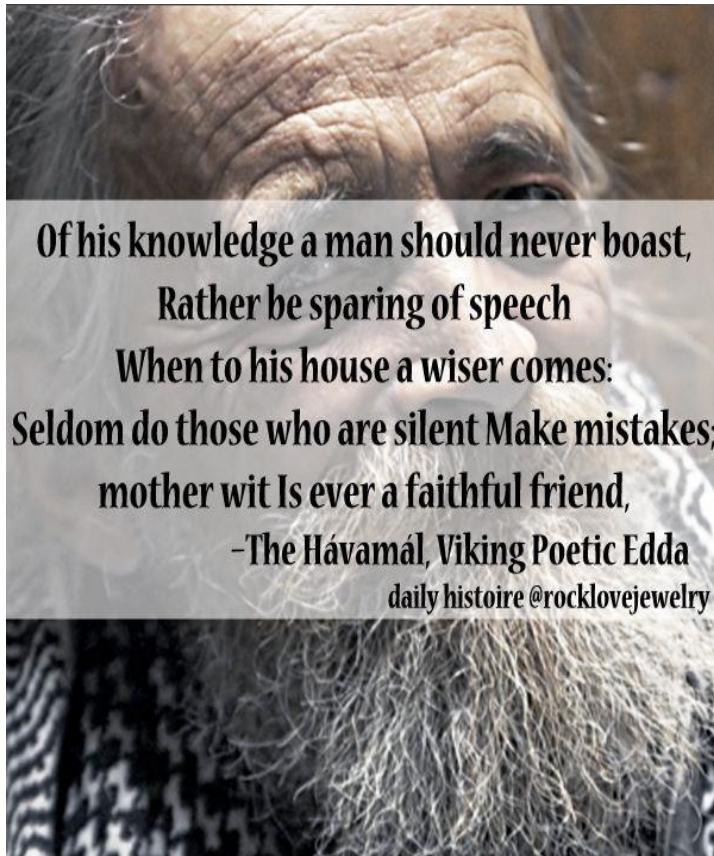
DEEL 1

ROLLOOS EEN FAMILIE

MET EEN RIJKE GESCHIEDENIS



1. INTRODUCTIE



Historici weten al heel lang dat waarheid en fictie elkaar bijna altijd overlappen. Afhankelijk van archeologische vondsten en naschriften zijn ze afhankelijk van de interpretatie van de gevonden situatie en de opstellers van vroegere geschriften. Dan is het zo dat eerder opgestelde geschriften van personen die de situatie 'ter plekke' hebben meegemaakt of van 'andereren' hebben gehoord door latere generaties van geschiedschrijvers opnieuw worden onderzocht en uitgelegd. Daarbij komt het helaas maar al te vaak voor dat ze zich al of niet gedwongen door krachten van buiten en boven af door hun politieke en religieuze overtuiging laten beïnvloeden. Zo hoorde de generatie geboren na

1945 op de lagere school dat wij in het voormalig Nederlands-Indie veel vooruitgang hadden teweeggebracht. Anno vandaag weten we dat bij onze 350 jaar lange aanwezigheid in de voormalige kolonien veel zwarte bladzijden bestaan. Ook zijn er mensen die blijven ontkennen dat de Holocaust nooit heeft plaatsgevonden en dat Stalin schuldig is aan de moord van miljoenen burgers.

Daarom is het wijselijk om met een zekere afstand en een gezond cynisch gevoel onze geschiedenis te benaderen.

Dit geldt ook voor **ROLLO, Viking, Hertog van Normandïe en Grootvader van Willem de Veroveraar, de Grondlegger van het Britse Koninkrijk.**

In dit opstelde Manifest met een verzameling aan artikelen geschreven door historici en leken worden vanuit verschillende invalshoeken bewijzen aangedragen dat wie de naam **ROLLOOS** draagt zich een **ROLLO NAZAAT** mag noemen. De bewijzen zijn geen van allen honderd procent sluitend, maar voor wie over zijn twijfels heenstapt voldoende om het als een 'feit' aan te nemen. Dit jaar 2016 is van directe nazaten van **ROLLO** en zijn vrouw **POPPIA**, Willem I en Richard I van Normandïe, DNA onderzoek verricht door team van Noorse wetenschappers. Tezijnertijd zal het resultaat van dit onderzoek bekend worden gemaakt en wie er belangstelling voor heeft met het DNA van huidige **ROLLOOS** stamhouders vergeleken kunnen worden.

Zowel voor **ROLLOZEN** die geloven een **NAZAAT** te zijn van **ROLLO** als degenen die hun twijfels hebben over hun relatie met hun **STAMVADER**, is het desalniettemin interessant de geschiedenis van de World Tour die de Vikings binnen een paar honderd jaar hebben ondernomen onder de loep te nemen. Wat heeft hen destijds gemotiveerd het Hoge Noorden te verlaten? In hoeverre hebben ze de geschiedenis van Europa beïnvloed en er een bijdrage aan geleverd? Belangrijk daarbij is ook de vraag of er parallelen zijn met het tijdperk waarin we nu leven en of we daaruit lering uit kunnen trekken.

Dan natuurlijk op het persoonlijke vlak: hoe voelt het of hoe ervaar je het een **ROLLO VIKING NAZAAT** te zijn compleet met **Familie Wapen** en de vrijheid van het kiezen van een **Adellijke Titel**?

Dit Manifest is een eerste poging om de rijke geschiedenis van de Vikingen in een reeks artikelen met verschillende onderwerpen te documenteren en verbanden te leggen tussen de **ROLLO uit de 10^{de} Eeuw en de NAZATEN in de 21^{ste} Eeuw**. Het is geenszins compleet en zal het ook nooit worden.

De Opstellers nodigen een ieder uit het Manifest aan te vullen en van commentaar te voorzien. Vanzelfsprekend mag het huidige Manifest en ook de latere versies zonder meer in brede kring worden verspreid.

Het voorlopige ROLLO(O)S Secretariaat: Hans Rolloos, hansrolloos@hotmail.com.

2. GESLACHT ROLLOOS

2.1. ROLLOOS

ROLLOOS is een Nederlandse familienaam met als oorspronkelijke naam Rulloos (varianten Rollois, Roloos, Rolloys, Rolloes). In de middeleeuwen was deze familie vooral actief in lakenindustrie in steden als Rhenen, Leiden en Gouda. Familieleden waren veelal lid van lakenkopersgilde en niet zelden gildemeester, armmeester of kerkmeester.

Volgens de overlevering is de naam **ROLLOOS** van Viking-oorsprong, afkomstig uit Noord-Frankrijk: Normandië en Bretagne. De naam zou zijn afgeleid van de krijgsheer Rollo, die in de 10e eeuw als invallende Viking tot hertog van Normandië werd benoemd na strijd met de Koning van Frankrijk.

Op deze wijze beëindigde de Koning de invallen en plunderingen door Noormannen op zijn grondgebied. De voorvaderen van de Nederlandse familie ROLLOOS waren lakenhandelaren. Laken is een type zwaar wollen textiel. In de (late) Middeleeuwen waren er intensieve handelsbetrekkingen tussen steden aan de Noordzee en de Oostzee.

Zo herinnert de Rouaanse kade in Vlissingen bijvoorbeeld aan de handel met Rouen. In de late Middeleeuwen (14e eeuw) handelden leden van de familie Rolloos in laken en traden zij namens het lakenkopersgilde op in Rhenen, Leiden en Gouda, dat in de late Middeleeuwen overigens aan een water lag en direct met open zee in verbinding stond. Vandaar de levendige handel met Engelse, Franse, Belgische en Scandinavische steden.

2.2. Familie Wapen en Familiezegelring



Figuur 50 Familie Wapen

Opvallend detail is de overeenkomst tussen het middeleeuwse wapen van Bretagne (zwart kruis op wit schild), het wapen van het lakenkopersgilde in Gouda (idem) en het wapen van de lakenkopersfamilie Rolloos. In Zuid-Normandië is een plaatsje genaamd Roullours, dat in de Middeleeuwen Rollos heette, naar de seigneur van het plaatsje, Richard de Rollos, de Kamerheer van Koning Hendrik I van Frankrijk.

Het wapenschild is een kruis van sable op zilver, in ieder kwartier een rode zespuntige ster en gedekt met een gouden kroon met vijf bladeren.

Het zwarte kruis op een wit veld is historisch een symbool voor de heilige Maagd Maria. De sterren en de kroon stammen uit het wapen van Gouda.

Een bekend misverstand is dat in de afgelopen eeuwen het voeren van een kroon op een wapen voorbehouden was aan adel. Dat is, zeker in steden, geenszins het geval. Steden hadden stadsrechten en kenden daardoor een zekere soevereiniteit. Het gebruik van een zogenaamde herenkroon was tijdens en na de renaissance een veelvoorkomend gebruik.

Het familiewapen bevat een zwart kruis. Het zwarte kruis was in de middeleeuwen het symbool voor de Heilige Maagd Maria. Zwart was ooit de kleur van de reinheid. Het Lakenkopersgilde in Gouda, een van de oudste van die stad, onderhield een altaar in de St.Janskerk in Gouda. Dat altaar was gewijd aan de Heilige Maagd Maria.

Het Wapen van de familie **ROLLOOS** bevat vier sterren, wellicht afgeleid van het Wapen van Gouda, dat eveneens zespuntige sterren bevat. De kroon is een gewone kroon, gelijk dat van het Wapen van Gouda. Verschillende gilden voerden dezelfde kroon.



Figuur 51 Familie Zegelring

Of het Wapen van de familie nu afgeleid is van het Lakenkopersgilde of andersom, is niet bekend.

Op zilver, een kruis van sable, in ieder kwartier een rode zespuntige ster. Wapen gedekt met een vijfbladerige gouden kroon.

Hiernaast ziet u een Familie Zegelring uit vermoedelijk de 15e eeuw.

2.3. Geschiedenis van de naam **ROLLOOS**

De naam **ROLLOOS** kwam in het verleden in verschillende schrijfwijzen voor zoals:

- Rolloys
- Rollois
- Rolloes
- Roloos
- Rolois

Het weglaten van de "L" is echt een schrijffout (die nog steeds vaak gemaakt wordt maar niet meer als naam voorkomt). Deze schrijffout werd steeds op den duur hersteld.

De vervanging van de derde "O" door een "i", "y" of "e" was een verlenging van de tweede "O".

In vroeger tijden werd er bij een dubbele klinker nooit een dubbele klinker geschreven. de "O" werd dus nooit verlengd met een tweede "O" maar met een "I", "Y" of "E". Men ziet dat nu nog terug in plaatsnamen als Oisterwijk (zegge "Oosterwijk") en Charlois (zegge "Sjaarloos"). Datzelfde geldt voor de letter "A" (Aerdenhout).

De definitieve naam werd dus modern gespeld, zo sinds de Napoleontische tijd, als "Rolloos".

Een bron in het Centraal Bureau voor Genealogie vermeldt dat de naam oorspronkelijk geschreven werd als "Rulloos". De schrijver omschrijft ook het wapen, maar de bron staat er helaas niet bij. Deze aantekeningen werden gemaakt door ene heer Hers.

2.4. Oorsprong naam **ROLLOOS**



Figuur 52 Kledij Zweedse Koning Gustav II Adolf van donker paarse laken en goud

De naam is afkomstig van de Vikingnaam "**ROLLO**" en betekent "**ZOON van ROLLO**". De mondelinge overlevering bevestigt de Viking-oorsprong. Er was eens, bijna **1000 jaar** geleden, een **Viking** die Rollo heette en het de Franse koning zo moeilijk maakte dat deze hem prompt tot **Hertog van Normandië** benoemde.

Een **kleinzoon van deze Noorman** veroverde later Engeland in 1066 en werd bekend als **Willem de Veroveraar**.

2.5. Relatie met Holland

De vele handelbetrekkingen tussen Hollandse steden en Noordfranse steden zou een manier kunnen zijn waarop Viking voorouders naar Holland zouden kunnen zijn gekomen, zeker aangezien de familie **ROLLOOS** in de Middeleeuwen belangrijke posities innam in de lakenkoperij. Lakens werden toen nog gemaakt van wol en wol kwam uit Engeland en Noord-Frankrijk.

In de 1402 werd een zekere Dyrck Jansz de stad Gouda binnen gehaald en hij kreeg enkele jaren belastingvrijstelling om in lakens te handelen.(bron:"De gilden in Gouda, p.96, Martha Hulshof et al, ISBN 90-400-9924-3) Korte tijd later treffen we **Dyrck Janszoon ROLLOOS** aan als vermogende lakenkoper, Gildemeester en armmeester. Zie hiervoor de genealogie Bick.

3. LAKENINDUSTRIE ALGEMEEN

De **lakenindustrie** is de nijverheid die zich bezighoudt met het maken van lakenstoffen. Hierbij mag men niet denken aan lakens zoals we die nu gebruiken, maar aan stoffen gemaakt uit wol.Laken is een wollen stof die eerst wordt geweven (in platbinding of keperbinding) en vervolgens wordt vervilt. Daardoor is hij warmer dan geweven stoffen maar sterker dan vilt. Laken was al bekend bij de Kelten en werd na de verovering van Gallië ook populair bij de Romeinen. Vanaf de late middeleeuwen werd de stof populair onder grote delen van de bevolking, vooral omdat hij slijtvast en vuil- en waterafstotend was. Hierdoor ging laken kleding lang mee en had zij weinig onderhoud nodig.

Er waren veel soorten laken, in diverse kwaliteiten. Sommige soorten waren dik en stug (voor mantels), andere dun en soepel (voor jurken).

Verder werd er onderscheid gemaakt tussen mat of glanzend laken, dichtgeweven of losgeweven laken, en meer of minder vervilte varianten. Vanwege het productieproces waren lakens meestal effen gekleurd. Productiecentra specialiseerden zich vaak in één of enkele kwaliteiten en kleuren om de herkenbaarheid te vergroten.



Figuur 53 Middeleeuwse spoelput voor de lakenindustrie in Zierikzee

Alhoewel er grote verschillen waren in prijs en kwaliteit was laken - vanwege het nogal gecompliceerde productieproces - min of meer een luxeproduct. Dit had tot gevolg dat de lakennijverheid al spoedig een zaak van gespecialiseerde ambachtslieden werd, terwijl een groot deel van de plattelandsbevolking zich nog kleepte in huisgesponnen en huisgeweven stoffen.

De lakennijverheid had de neiging zich in bepaalde gebieden te concentreren, zoals Noord-Frankrijk, Vlaanderen en Holland. Tussen 1150 en 1400 vond de voornaamste productie plaats in diverse Vlaamse steden, maar na 1400 groeide de lakenindustrie van Leiden uit tot de belangrijkste in Europa. In Leiden werd

de productie voor het eerst geïndustrialiseerd. Dat wil zeggen dat het gehele productieproces niet meer binnen één bedrijf plaatsvond maar volgens een strikte taakverdeling, waarbij in diverse stappen halffabricaten werden geproduceerd. Het gehele productieproces stond onder strenge controle. Hiermee werd een constante hoge kwaliteit van het laken bereikt, waardoor Leids laken zeer gewild was. In 1417 besloot de Hanze dat alleen gekeurd Leids laken mocht worden verkocht. Na 1500 nam de concurrentie uit andere delen van Europa, met name Engeland, toe en verloor Leiden haar leidende positie in de lakenproductie. In Italië werd Florence een belangrijk centrum van lakennijverheid.

Productiewijze

- De ruwe wol werd ingekocht en aangevoerd. Aanvankelijk kwam de wol veelal uit Nederland en Vlaanderen, maar later werd het merendeel geïmporteerd uit Engeland en Schotland.
- De wol werd, na een uitgebreid was- en kamproces, geverfd en tot draden gesponnen. De volgende verfstoffen werden hiertoe gebruikt: wouw voor gele verfstof, meekrap voor rode verfstof, wede en lakmoes voor blauwe verfstof. Ook maakte men gebruik van aluin om de verfstoffen aan de wol te laten hechten.
- De lakenwever spande zijn draden op het weefgetouw en weefde het laken tot een voorgeschreven afmeting. De standaardmaat voor een onbewerkt Vlaams of Hollands laken was 5 el breed bij 50 el lang (3,5 bij 35 meter). Er ging ongeveer 40 kg wol in een laken. Hiervan werd ongeveer 40% voor de schering gebruikt en 60% voor de inslag.
- De volder of voller bewerkte het weefsel om de vezels dichter ineens te werken en zo te verviltten (zie vilt). Het werkwoord 'vullen' betekent hetzelfde als 'vullen'.
- Na het vullen door voetvolders of in de volmolen werd het laken op 'ramen' gespannen om weer opgerekt te worden. De 'ramen' waren rechtop in de grond staande palen met dwarslatten. Aan deze latten en palen zaten haken zodat het laken tot de juiste lengte en breedte kon worden opgerekt. Hierbij kreeg een bewerkt laken de standaardmaat 3,5 el breed bij 42 el lang (2,5 bij 29,3 meter).

- Vervolgens werd het laken 'geruwd' (geborsteld) in één richting, waardoor de stof weer wat meer volume kreeg en soepeler werd. Door in één richting te borstelen gaf men de stof een duidelijke 'vleug': alle haren staan één kant uit. Bij het verwerken van een laken tot een kledingstuk moest de vleug naar de onderkant van een kledingstuk wijzen, zodat water in die richting van de stof af kon lopen. Duurdere lakensoorten werden aan beide kanten geruwd.
- Daarna werden de duurdere lakens 'geschoren' (droogscheren): met grote scharen werden uitstekende pluusjes en haren verwijderd, zodat het geborstelde weefsel een effen oppervlak kreeg (zie ook scharlaken).
- Vervolgens werd er geappreteerd, wat wil zeggen dat het laken op glans werd gebracht. Hiervoor werd sandelhoutolie gebruikt.
- Tussen al deze stappen werden keuringen uitgevoerd die met loodzegels werden gemerkt.

Het ontbreken van een goede historiografie is voornamelijk te wijten aan het ontbreken van veel gegevens. Grote delen van de gildenarchieven zijn door de eeuwen heen verloren gegaan.

4. GESCHIEDENIS LAKENINDUSTRIE VLAANDEREN EN GOUDA

4.1 Vlaanderen



Figuur 54 Lakenhal in leper

In Vlaanderen en in andere kustgebieden van de Lage Landen hielden de bewoners van oudsher al schapen. De wol werd verwerkt tot kleren en dekens. In de derde eeuw schreven Romeinen al over de kwaliteit van de mantels uit Doornik en Atrecht. In de elfde eeuw beleefde de Vlaamse lakenindustrie haar opgang, met Atrecht als koploper. Technologische vooruitgang en de internationale handel waarvan het graafschap een van de centra was droegen hieraan bij. Aan het einde van de eeuw stonden steden verder noordwaarts in het graafschap voorop bij de ontwikkeling: (Rijsel, Dowaai en Sint-Omaars).

Halverwege de dertiende eeuw waren leper, Wervik, Brugge en Gent de bekendste Vlaamse lakencentra. Elke stad probeerde in een of andere specialiteit of variëteit uit te blinken. De kruistochten zorgden ervoor dat het Vlaams laken bij heersers en de hoge adel van vele landen bekend raakte. De inventaris van een koning van het Koninkrijk Napels uit die tijd vermeldt lakens uit Aalst.

De beste wol kwam uit Engeland. Er ontstond een intense wolhandel tussen Engeland en Vlaanderen. Die afhankelijkheid van de Engelse wol brak de Vlamingen vaak zuur op in hun relatie met hun leenheer, de Franse koning, die het vaak aan de stok had met de Engelsen. Vlaanderen koos dan ook partij voor de Engelsen bij het uitbreken van de Honderdjarige Oorlog, om de wolimport veilig te stellen. Engelse koningen aarzelden niet om de uitvoer tijdelijk te boycotten om hun zin te krijgen. Zo hief Jan zonder Land een accijs op de uitgevoerde wol en Edward III kreeg te maken met ontevreden wolexporteurs toen hij de export verbod. Vanaf 1300 probeerde men dan ook alternatieve aanvoerroutes te realiseren. Die werden gevonden in Schotland, waar met name vanuit Veere op gevaren werd. Veel Vlaamse steden getuigen nog van de welvaart die de lakenindustrie bracht.

4.2 Gouda

Gouda bezat in de veertiende eeuw een belangrijke **lakenindustrie** en -handel. Er zijn vermeldingen aangetroffen van volders en 'ververs' in Goudse geschriften daterend uit 1331 en 1338, wat aangeeft dat er toen, maar waarschijnlijk al eerder, in Gouda laken werd geweven. De oudste keuren die bekend zijn dateren van 1391, wat aangeeft dat er toen sprake was van een belangrijke tak van nijverheid. In de loop van de vijftiende eeuw beleefde de Goudse lakenindustrie haar grootste bloei, al was zij nooit zo belangrijk als die van Leiden. In de zestiende eeuw brak er een moeilijke periode aan, toen de aanvoer van wol en de handel in laken bemoeilijkt werd door oorlog.

Na de val van Antwerpen in 1585 namen Vlaamse arbeiders hun intrek in Gouda. De Vlamingen mochten in Gouda hun werk verrichten volgens de keur van Brugge, wat in Leiden verboden was. Er werden hun daarvoor zelfs enige gebouwen van het Maria-Magdalena-klooster ter beschikking gesteld. Ook werden er werkplaatsen, compleet met ovens, ingericht. Daarmee verbeterde de toestand zich weer enigszins. De Vlamingen vervaardigden namelijk een lichtere kwaliteit en daarmee goedkopere stof. Deze beter concurrerende producten gingen vooral naar de landen in het zuiden van Europa. Omstreeks 1620 was de Goudse lakenindustrie tot de belangrijkste plaatselijke nijverheid uitgegroeid.

4.3 Het lakenzegel

In de Goudse "Keuren op de draperie" wordt doeltreffend verwoord welke functie de lakenzegels hadden. Bij hun aanstelling moesten de waardijns, degenen die de kwaliteit controleerden, zweren: 'alle laeckenen, die qualick gheverwet zijn, alle laeckenen, die te groff van hair zijn, ende alle onghelijcke laeckenen (...) onghesegelt te laeten.' Het loodzegel diende dus om de hoge kwaliteit te garanderen.

De beste kwaliteit was de puik. Het voorlaken was van mindere kwaliteit. Op het lood werd aangegeven in welke categorie het desbetreffende laken viel. De strenge controle zorgde ervoor dat de koper volkomen vertrouwd op de gegevens die het lood vermeldde zonder het laken zelf aan een 'test' te onderwerpen. Aan het eind van de zestiende eeuw was één lood niet meer voldoende om alle informatie te bevatten die van belang was, zoals lengte, kwaliteit, plaats van productie, het verfprocedé.

Als een laken het staallood aangehecht kreeg, was het af. Er mocht niet meer aan de stof gewerkt worden. Het staallood was weliswaar het laatste zegel aan het laken, het was zeker niet het eerste. Na iedere deelbewerking werd het laken gekeurd. 'Die wever of volre of verwer of droechscherer' deed na zijn werk een lood met zijn huismerk aan de stof om het door de waardijns te laten keuren. Na goedkeuring hechtten zij er een lood aan met het stadswapen en kon het laken naar de volgende bewerking, of terug naar degene die zijn werk niet goed had verricht. In dat geval werd het lood van een klop -een inslag- voorzien, waaruit de bewerker af kon leiden wat eraan schortte. Bijvoorbeeld de D duidde op een te dunne stof.

Het mag duidelijk zijn dat de keurmeesters geen loopje met zich lieten nemen. Je moest daarom ook niet met slechte kwaliteit aankomen. In het keurboek stonden in dat geval de straffen al vast. Als het *'laecken an den raem' geen lood 'creech by sculde van den verwer'* ging hem dat 'poene' kosten. Kreeg hij zelfs geen klein lood -de grootte van het lood speelde dus een rol in de rangorde- dan moest de verver het laken overnemen voor de prijs van een laken met een 'vol' -lees: groot- lood. De deelbewerker was dus gewaarschuwd.

De waardijns maakten gebruik van verschillende loden. Verschillend qua grootte, qua klok en qua afbeelding. Ieder kenmerk van het laken kon op het zegel aangegeven worden. Illustratief is het volgende voorbeeld. Wilde men van 'grauwe wol' een voorlaken maken, dan moesten de keurmeesters *'die laeckenen teyckenen mit een sonderlinge loot'* .

De deelbewerkeren hebben tevens bijgedragen aan de verscheidenheid aan verschijningsvormen van de loden. Naar vorm zijn de pijp- en pinneloden te onderscheiden. De pijploden zijn langwerpige loden die om een aantal draden werden geklemd. Met name wevers maakten gebruik van dit type lood. Een pijplood van Goudse makelij is niet bekend. De meest voorkomende loden zijn de pinneloden. Deze bestaan uit twee ronde schijfjes, verbonden door een lip, die op elkaar werden geklemd. De pin van de ene schijf paste in het gat van de andere.

DEEL 2
GENEALOGIE
ROLLOOS

5 GENEALOGIE ROLLOOS

Dit onderzoek is in eerste instantie opgezet door de **heer Kruimel**, een zeer kundige genealoog en directeur van het CBG, in oktober 1964. Nadien kwam er een publicatie door de **heer B. de Keijzer**, een zeer kundige beroepsgenealoog, in Ons Voorgeslacht 1982 waarin deze stelde dat het familiedossier Rolloos van het Centraal Bureau voor Genealogie te Den Haag (hoewel hij dat niet met name noemde zal hij het onderzoek van de heer Kruimel bedoeld hebben) op een aantal punten niet geheel correct was.

Er kwamen aanvullingen van de heer **Ir. G.L. Meesters** in het zelfde jaar van voornoemd blad, met name een link met Utrecht. In 1998 publiceerde de heer de Keijzer zijn kwartierstaat in deel XV van de reeks van Prometheus, waarin hij 7 generaties vermeld, de oudste is één meer dan bij zijn stuk in Ons Voorgeslacht en ook één dan het onderzoek van de heer Kruiel. Onderstaande genealogie gaat uit van de stukken van de heer De Keijzer en van de heer Kruimel. Verder zijn er nog andere bronnen gebruikt die na de noten met namen genoemd zijn, een en ander aangevuld door **H.M. Morien**.

Er is ook nog het volgende in de kwartierstaat de Keijzer, een Pouwel. Hij koppelt echter deze niet als zoon van Jan Willemsz. Loos.

POUWELS JANSZ LOES (LOOS), vermeld in de 10e penning van 1553 Berkenwoude, overl. voor 1561. Hij huwde met Margriet N.N., vermeld in de 10e penning 1561 Berkenwoude, overl. na 1580.

Kinderen:

1. Pouwels Jans. Loos, die wordt vermeld op 27 juni 1598 te Berkenwoude.
2. Neeltje Pauwelsdr. (Loos), geb. Berkenwoude, overl. voor 1575. Zij huwde met Willem Jacobsz. Lagerwaard.

GENEALOGIE ROLLOOS

I. **JAN WILLEMSZ. LOOS**, wonend Berkenwoude, vermeld in de 10e penning van 1561.

Kinderen:

1. **MATHYS, volgt II.**

II. **MATHYS (TYS) JANSZ. LOES**, wonend Berkenwoude, bezit land gelegen onder Ouderkerk aan de IJssel, vermeld in de 10e penning Van Ouderkerk aan de IJssel in 1561, vermeld in de kerflijsten 1565-1568. overl. voor 1 december 1618. Hij huwde met **Adriaentje Cornelisdr.**, overleden voor 1 december 1618.

- *Tys Jansz., de oudste generatie, vinden wij vermeld in de 10e penning van 1561 van Ouderkerk aan de IJssel¹ namelijk "Tys Jansz. en Pieter Willemsz. bruycken tzamen acht ende een half mergen eyghen lants, den mergen getaxeert op 111 k. gulden etc.". In de andere 10e penningen (1543, 1553 en 1559)² wordt als omvang van dit weer 8 morgen en 4 hont opgegeven. Dit zijn de zogenaamde kleine- of dijk morgen. De grote- of landmorgen bedraagt voor dit weer 8,4:0,6 = 14 morgen (volgens het weerboek van 1733 van Ouderkerk aan de IJssel is dit weer nr. 56), waarvan Tys Jansz. de helft bezit.*
- *In de 10e penning van 1561⁶ van Berkenwoude vinden wij Mathys Jansz. Loes en Pouwels Jansz. Loes vermeld, die samen "2 morgen weyland met huys ende 4 morgen hoyland gebruycken". Pouwels Jans. Loos, won. Berkenwoude, verkoopt op 27 juni 1598 hennipzaad aan Reynier Gerards de Zwaen, poorter te Gouda¹⁰.*

Kinderen:

1. JAN. Volgt III.
2. MERRICHJE (MARRICHJE) THYSSEN (MAT*HIJS), overl. na 7 september 1646. Zij huwde met Dirck Dircksz. Kuys, overl. voor 1 mei 1628.
 - *Op 1 mei 1623 was Marrichje Mathijsdr. weduwe toen zij een hypotheek op haar land te Ouderkerk aan de IJssel vestigde wegens de aankoop van een huis te Gouda.*
 - *Op 3-1-1631 verkopen Merchen Thyssen wedu van Dirck Dirxsz. Kuys geass, met Nyclaes Pieters Noirman, Dirk Dircksz. en Mathys Dirx en tevens voor Aechjen- en Arientgen Dirx (minderjarig) met toestemming van hun voogd Jacob Jansz. aan Adriaen Wiggers ca. 3 morgen land in de Cromme, belend ten Oosten Dirck Jansz. van Schouwen en ten Westen de wedu van Mathys Geenen⁴.*
 - *Op 2-5-1640 verkopen Willem Jansz., Jan Pietersz. Mick geh. met Willemtge Jans, Aelbert Aertz. geh. met Tryntgen Jans, allen won. Berkou en Aryen Jansz. geh. met Neeltgen Jans, won. Streefkerk, kinderen van Jan Daemen zalr. hun vader aan Willem Aertsz., won. alhier 2 morgen 2 hond in het Thys Jan Rollen weer, belend ten Oosten het breekweerd en ten Westen de kinderen van Mathis Geene⁵.*
 - *Op 7 september 1646 verkoopt Merrichie Mathijs met haer vier kinderen 2 morgen land in het Westeinde van Berkenwoude (= 1/3e deel van de hiervoor genoemde 6 morgen land), zoals haar aangekomen was bij een cavelcedulle (boedelscheiding) van 1 december 1618 van haar overleden ouders Mathijs Jansz. en Adriaantje Cornelisdr. Deze 4 kinderen waren Dirck Dircx, Mathijs Dircx, beiden meerderjarig 1 mei 1628-1631, Aechte Dircx, Adriaentje Dircx, beiden minderjarig 1 mei 1628-1631⁷.*
3. N.N., dochter. Zij huwde met Jan Daemen, overl. voor 13 januari 1640¹¹.

III. **JAN THIJSZ. (MATTHIJSZ.) (ROLLOOS)**, wonend Berkenwoude, overl. voor 8 maart 1619. Hij huwde met **Geertje Thomasdr. (Thonis)**, geb. 1582, zij verkoopt in 1635 "een derde deel van een perceel land in het westeinde van Berkenwoude" aan Willem Jan Wouters⁸. Zij is een dochter van Thomas Daemsz. en Merritge Thonisdr. Zij hertrouwd met Jacob Pietersz.

- *Op 8-3-1619 verkoopt Geertge Thomas wedu van Jan Matthijsz., won. Berkou geass. met Daem Aertsz. aan Adriaen Simonsz. won. alhier, 14 hond (= 2 morgen 2 hond) land in de Cromme, belend ten Oosten Wouter Cornelisz. en ten Westen Matthys Geenen³.*
- *Tussen 13 mei en 16 augustus 1635 compareerden voor schepenen van Berkenwoude Jacob Pieters "als getrouwt hebbende Geertje Thonis, die naagelaete weduwe van zal. Jan Thijs". Hij geeft over een derde deel van een perceel land in het Westeinde van Berkenwoude aan Willem Jan Wouters, het land word overgedragen "uytwijzende nae de cavelesdule van daete den 1 december 1618". De akte is niet gedateerd en vermoedelijk niet gepasseerd. De datum 1 december 1618 is veelbetekenend, omdat Marrichje Thijs land verkocht, haar aangecaveld op dezelfde datum. Bovendien werden in die akte de namen van haar ouders genoemd, die in deze akte ontbreken¹⁵.*

Kinderen:

1. THIJS. Volgt IVa.
2. THOMAS. Volgt IVb.

IVa. **THIJS JANSZ. ROLLOIS**, overl. voor 17 februari 1667. Hij huwde met **N.N.**, overl. na 10 mei 1674.

- *Mogelijk is hij identiek met de gelijknamige steenbakker te Ouderkerk aan de IJssel, die aldaar nog land "in de Hoogenesse" buitendijks aankoopt op 20 oktober 1680, 4 november 1680 en 5 juli 1681¹⁶.*

Kinderen:

1. JAN THIJSZ. ROLLOIS, waard te IJsselmonde 1680, 1683. Hij huwde met Marijtje Cornelisdr. Hordijk. Mogelijk dezelfde die is gegoed in de Wallepoort onder Berkenwoude in 1676, toen wonende te Moordrecht, doopgetuige bij een kind van Cornelis Thijsse Rollois in 1701.
2. ADRIAAN. Volgt Va.
3. JACOBUS. Volgt Vb.
4. DANIEL. Volgt Vc.
5. CORNELIS THIJSZ. ROLLOIS. Hij huwde met Pietertje Thyse Boertje.

Kinderen:

1. JACOBUS ROLLOIS, ged. Ouderkerk aan de IJssel 4 april 1695, get. Marritje Jacobs, Govert Versluys. Hij is overl. 25 oktober 1696.
2. HILLETJE ROLLOIS, ged. Ouderkerk aan de IJssel 7 februari 1697, get. Ary Tysse Boertje.
3. THIJS ROLLOIS, ged. Ouderkerk aan de IJssel 27 november 1701, get. Jan Thijsse Rollois en Annetje

IVb. **THOMAS JANSZ. ROLL**, wonend Berkenwoude op het dorp, als zodanig reeds vermeld in 1656, koopt daar een huis in 1664, overl. voor 14 juli 1673. Hij huwde met **Grietje Meusdr.**, zij neemt als weduwe op 14-7-1673 hypotheek op haar huis⁹. Zij is een dochter van Bartholomeus Aryensz.

- *Thomas Jansz. Roll was waarschijnlijk timmerman en metselaar (zijn broer Thijs Jansz. was steenbakker), want blijkens de civiele rol van Berkenwoude d.d. 22 maart 1656 treedt hij op tegen Thijs Jacobsz. wegens levering van "kalck en steen, byer en arbeytsloon ende spijckers", de eis wordt toegewezen.*
- *Op 7 mei 1664 neemt hij een hypotheek van 300 gld. van Ammerensje 't Hert op zijn huis aan de Kerkweg. Hij wordt vermeld als "onse Inwonende Buerman"¹⁷.*
- *Op 14 juli 1673 neemt Grietje Meessen, weduwe van Thomas Jansz. Roll, nog eens 100 gld. van Pieter van Bellevooyen en Pietertje 't Hert op haar huis als hypotheek¹⁷.*

Kinderen:

1. JAN. Volgt Vd.
2. BARTHOLOMEUS (MEEUS) THOMASZ., j.m. van Berkenwoude, doopgetuige bij een kind van zijn broer Mathijs in 1672. Hij huwde Moordrecht 10 oktober 1660 met Maritge Dirx, j.d. van Moordrecht.
3. MATTHIJS. Volgt Ve.

Va. **ADRIAAN THYSSEN ROLLOYS**, op 29 december 1662 ingeschreven in het poortersboek van Montfoort komende van Berkenwoude, nog vermeld op 17 april 1698. Hij huwde 1e met **Geertruy Dircx**. Hij huwde 2e Montfoort 13 augustus 1667 met **Hillichje Willems van Rijswijck**.

Kinderen:

1. WILLEM, ged. Montfoort 26 maart 1671. Volgt Vla.

2. N.N., overl. Utrecht 18 augustus 1684.

Vb. **JACOBUS MATHYSEN ROLLOIS**, j.m. van Berkenwoude, overl. Utrecht 2 september 1684. Hij huwde Utrecht 2 juni 1674 met **Regina van Middendorp**, overl. na 6 maart 1707, dochter van Jan Baltis van Middendorp en Cornelia Pauwels.

Kinderen:

1. JOHANNES. Hij huwde Utrecht 23 februari 1698 met Willemina Wertmeester.
2. LYSBETH, ged. Utrecht 5 april 1677. Zij huwde Utrecht 22 maart 1707 met Jan Phijlsteers.
3. GEERTRUYD, ged. Utrecht 9 juli 1681.

Vc. **DANIEL THYSZ. (ROLLOIS)**, j.m. van Berkenwoude, wolcammer, poorter van Utrecht, overl. Utrecht 27 oktober 1683. Hij huwde Utrecht 5 maart 1667 met **Geertjen Everts Mesman**, overl. Utrecht 14 december 1691.

Kinderen:

1. MATHYS. Hij huwde 1e Utrecht 21 april 1690 met Anna van Halen. Hij huwde 2e Utrecht 23 februari 1692 met Gisberta Keysers.
2. ELISABETH, ged. Utrecht 27 januari 1675.
3. ELISABETH, ged. Utrecht 21 oktober 1679.

Vd. **JAN THOMASZ. ROLLOOS**, j.m. van Berkenwoude, woonde en bezat te Berkenwoude een huis op het einde van de oostzijde van de Kerkstraat, lidmaat Berkenwoude 1674. Hij huwde Berkenwoude 20 januari 1669 (ondertr. Streefkerk 30 december 1668 en Streefkerk 20 december 1668) met **Lijsbeth Cornelisdr.**, j.d. van Streefkerk. Hij komt voor het gerecht van Berkenwoude op 23 december 1682 i.v.m. een geschil¹².

- *Op 5 juni 1683 neemt hij 250 gld. op als hypotheek op zijn huis, gelegen als oven aangegeven, nadat de overige hypotheeken gelijktijdig waren afgelost¹⁹. Op 3 oktober 1685 verkoopt hij dit huis aan de diaconie²⁰.*

Kinderen:

1. THOMAS. Hij huwde 1e met Creijntje Pieters. Hij huwde 2e Stolwijk 2 oktober 1707 (ondertr. 10 september 1707 met Lijsbeth Poulusse Groenevelt, j.d. van Stolwijk. Hij huwde 3e Stolwijk 17 december 1724 met Jennigjen Janszen, j.d. van Bergambacht.
2. MARYGIE, overl. voor 1716. Zij huwde Berkenwoude 7 januari 1690 met Cornelis Meesz. Klip, j.m. van Stolwijk, zoon van Mees Cornelisz. Klip en Miesje Adriaens Maeyloyen); hij hertr. Met Weyntje Gysberts Snoey.
3. GRIETE, doopgetuige.
4. LYSBETH, doopgetuige.
5. GEERTJE, ged. Berkenwoude 14 december 1681.
6. CORNELIS, ged. Berkenwoude 28 maart 1683. Volgt Vlb.
7. BARTHOLOMEUS, ged. Berkenwoude 2 maart 1687, get. Marringje Jans.

Ve. **MATTHIJS (THIJS, TYS) THOMASZ. (THOMENSSE, TONISZ., TOMISZ.) ROLLOYS (ROL, ROLLOIS, ROLOIS)**, overl. voor 1700. Hij huwde met **Annechie (Annetje) Cornelisdr.** Zij leeft nog op 22 juni 1710¹³.

- *Op 12 juni 1675 koopt Tijs Tomasz. Rol van de erfgenamen van Pieter Jansz. van Stralen "een huysinge op deze dorpe, buyten dycx op den dijck", hij koopt dit tezamen met Pieter Cornelis, scheepmaker (waarschijnlijk z'n zwager)¹⁸. Zij nemen een hypotheek op dit huis, hij wordt dan genoemd Tijs Tonisz. Rol.*
- *68. Huis met verpondingsnr. 144, in 1695 afgesplitst van nr. 69. 1700: Klapwaker: de wedu van Tys Tomisz. Behalve in 1707 worden de brandgereedschappen voor dit huis bij nr. 69 vermeld.*

22-6-1710: Transport van 7/8e deel van een kamer en erf, waar Annetje Cornelisdr. wedu van Tys Thomasz. Rolois woont, van de dijk tot zover de heining gaat, met recht van achterpad op de IJssel: Annetje Cornelisz. wedu van Tys Thomasz. Rolois (voor de helft), Jan Tysz. Rolois, Marringje Tysz. geh. met Pieter Eeuwoutsz. van Herk, en Cornelis Tysz. Rolois (voor 3/8e part) aan Dammis Thysz. Rollois, haar zoon resp. broer, die al 1/8^e part had geërfd (25/61). De weduwe mag levenslang in deze kamer blijven wonen.

22-2-1720: Dijkplanken 17 voet lang: Damis Tysse Rolois.

28-12-1727: Taxatie van de helft van een huis en erf, van de dijk tot Gosen de Munter met een gang tot de IJssel: Neeltje Wiggers, overleden zonder descendentes (26/244). Neeltje Wiggers van der Tack was de eerste vrouw van Dammis Tysse Rolois.

4-10-1730: Taxatie van de helft van een huis en erf, van de dijk tot Dirk de Munter: Maria Cornelisdr. de Graaf, overleden zonder descendentes (27/22). Zij was de tweede vrouw van Dammis Tysse Rolois.

22-2-1732: Dijkplanken 17 voet lang: Damis Tysse Rolois.

1733: Quohier van de verponding nr. 144 een huisje: Damis Tysse Rolois, veranderd in 1741 Jan van Meurs.

6-5-1741: Transport van een huis en erf, van de dijk tot Mr. Jan Geresteyn met recht van vrije uitgang op de IJssel: Dammis Tysse Rolois, won. Kralingen aan Jan van Meurs (28/24).

6-5-1741: Hypotheek op een huis en erf, van de dijk tot Mr. Jan Geresteyn: Jan de Meurs (28/28).

13-10-1752: Hypotheek op een huis en erf, van de dijk tot Mr. Jan Geresteyn's erven met vrije uitgang op de IJssel: Jan van Meurs (28/260). L 'Deze brief werd op 8-12-1756 doorverkocht (29/711. Jan van Meurs, kleermaker, is op 7-4-1791 zonder kinderen overleden. Aangezien hij in 1760 voorkomt op de uitdelingslijst voor de armen doet vermoeden, dat hij in zijn laatste levensjaren werd onderhouden door de diaconie. Bij zijn overlijden vielen zijn bezittingen automatisch aan de diaconie toe. Kadastraal C 53: 1833.: Huis en erf, plaatselijk nr. 35, groot 1 roe 3 el, eigenaar: de diaconiearmen.

18. .: Transport aan Pieter Leendertsz. Schouten, chirurgijn.

18. .: Aanbouw schuur, over op nieuw nr. C 1287, is een schuur en erf, groot 40 el, expiratie van vrijdom (van belasting), later zijn weduwe, en op nieuw nr. C 1288, is een huis en erf, groot 63 el.

18. .: Over op Gerrit van de Rotte, heel- en vroedmeester.

1886: Transport²³.

- 69. Huis met verpondingsnr. 145. vóór 1631 afaesolitt van nr. 98, in 1675 een erf afgesplitst naar nr. 70, in 1695 hiervan afgesplitst nr. 68

Op 11-6-1675 kavelen Thys Thomas Rol en Pieter Cornelisz. scheepmaker hun aankoop. Thys krijgt het huis en erf, waar het huis op staat, en het erf achter het huis noordwaarts tot de appelboom met de afheining die nu gemaakt is. Op het huis staat een erfpacht. Pieter krijgt het erf vanaf de heining noordwaarts tot de IJssel (22/112).

1676: Brandgereedschappen 3 brandemmers, 1 leer van 12 sporten en 1 brandhaak: Pieter Jansz. van Stralen's huis, in de marge: Gosen de Munter.

1681: Klapwaker: Tys Tomisz. Rolos.

31-5-1695: Transport van een huis en erf, van de dijk tot de heining van Pieter Cornelisz. scheepmaker's wedu, met de steeg aan de westzijde: Annitje Cornelisz. wedu van Thys Thomas Rollois (voor de helft) en hun zoon Cornelis met de minderjarige kinderen (voor de andere helft) aan Goosen de Munter (24/82). De verkoopster behoudt vrij overpad aan haar kamer over het erf van de koper langs de heining van Pieter Cornelisz. scheepmakers wedu om naar het pad aan de westzijde en zo naar de dijk en IJssel te kunnen gaan.

12-3-1699: Hypotheek op een huis en erf: Gosen de Munter (24/163)²³.

Kinderen:

1. MERRITGEN, ged. Ouderkerk aan de IJssel 30 november 1670, get. Jan Joosten, Ariaentje Aerts en Jannitje Willems. Zij huwde Ouderkerk aan de IJssel 17 augustus 1698 met Pieter Eewoutsz. Vanb Herk, ged. Ouderkerk 9-1-1659, overl. Nieuwerkerk en begraven Ouderkerk 6 mei 1731, zoon van Eewout Willemsz. Baes van Herck en **Jorisse Jansdr**. Hij huwde 1e voor 1689 met Teuntje Pieters Schaep, overl. Ouderkerk 27 november 1689.
 - Hij is mr. steenbakker te Nieuwerkerk. Op 26 december 1729 maakt hij zijn testament, hij is ziek, zij gezond. Langstlevende erft alles (behalve de legitime porties voor de kinderen) o.a. een steenplaats te Nieuwerkerk en een halve dito te Ouderkerk. De kinderen aanvaarden dit testament op 12 juni 1731. Zij maakt op 14 april 1745 te Dordrecht opnieuw een testament. Uit een acte d.d. 21 juli 1751 Ouderkerk blijkt, dat zij overleden is en haar zonen Eeuwout en Tiis al het land aanvaarden wat zij, na haar mans overlijden, gekocht heeft.
2. CORNELIS, ged. Ouderkerk aan de IJssel 3 augustus 1672, get. Meeus Thomas, Pieters Jansz. van Stralen en Leentjen Jans. Volgt VIc.
3. THOMAS, ged. Ouderkerk aan de IJssel 29-10-1673, get. Jan Thomas en Marijtje Dirks.
4. DAEM (DAMMIS, DAMIS), ged. ouderkerk aan de IJssel 24-11-1680, get. Jan Thomas Rolloys, Pieter Jansz. en Ariaentje Cornelis. Hij huwde Ouderkerk aan de IJssel 14 oktober 1708 met Neeltje Wiggers van der Tak(e).
 - 64. Huis met verpondingsnr. 140, vóór 1489 afgesplitst van nr. 96, in 1720 hiervan afgesplitst nr. 65 en 66, en hieraan toegevoegd in 1728 nr. 67 en in 1,740 nr. 65, in 1825 afgesplitst een erf naar nr. 70.

2-5-1720: Transport van een huis, schuur, loots, helling en erf, belast met een erfpacht van 10 stv. t.b.v. Jan Pruijt en recht van overpad aan het huis (nr. 97) binnendijks nu van Jan Pruijt, van de dijk resp. Damis Thyssen Rolois en Goosen de Munter tot de IJssel: Cornelis-won. Rotterdam, Neeltje- wedu van Arij de Vijver, won. Rotterdam, Barber- en Leentje Pieters Potuyt, te samen kinderen en erfgenamen van Tryntje Huygen van der Lek wedu van Pieter Cornelisz. Potuit aan Willem Jansz. Wagenmaker i.o.v. Cent Jansz. Beelt en Grietje van Vliet wedu van Pieter van der Wind, zijn zwagers (26/10).

Op 2-5-1,720 kavelen Cent Jansz. Beelt en Grietje van Vliet de aankoop, waarbij Cent het huis krijgt (Not. 6503/7411).

2-5-1720: Transport van een huis en erf (het erf westwaarts volgens de rooiing van de gemene muur tot Damis Tysz. Rolois), afgescheiden van het achterste gedeelte dat verkocht is aan Neeltje Claes wedu van Ary Snoeyen, belast met 2/3e deel van een erfpacht van 10 stv. t.b.v. Jan Pruyt: Cent Jansz. Beelt aan Mr. Jan Geresteyn, chirurgijn (26/11)²³.

5. JAN, doopgetuige.

Vla. **WILLEM ROLLOOS**, ged. Montfoort 26 maart 1671., poorter van Utrecht. Hij huwde 1e Utrecht 13 april 1696 met **Geertruyd (Geertruij) Boonebacker (Bonebacker)**, overl. Utrecht 28 februari 1698. Hij huwde 2e Utrecht 3 mei 1698 met **Agnieta Alderkamp**, overl. voor 171. Hij huwde 3e Utrecht 27 mei 1721 met Jannetje Kroon, uit Amsterdam.

Kinderen:

1. PETRUS, ged. Utrecht 28 februari 1697.
2. HILLEGONDA, ged. Utrecht 14 januari 1698.

Vlb. **CORNELIS JANSZOOM ROLLOOS**, ged. Berkenwoude 28 maart 1683, get. Aryaentje Cornelis. Hij woonde Berkenwoude op het dorp, testeert met zijn 2e vrouw Ouderkerk aan de IJssel 9 maart 1737, lidmaat met zijn 2e vrouw 1744, overl. (impost Berkenwoude 1 juli 1755). Hij huwde 1e Berkenwoude 11 november 1703 met **Merretie Leenderts Ganseman**, geb. Ouderkerk aan de IJssel. Hij huwde 2e Berkenwoude 4 april 1717 met **Willempje Fransse Vermeulen**, ged. Berkenwoude 18 oktober 1693, overl. (impost Berkenwoude 4 juni 1762), dochter van Frans Centenz. Molenaar en Marringje Cornelisdr. de Weijer. Zij worden op de lidmaatlijst van 1744 van Berkenwoude vermeld wonende op het dorp.

- *Het ging Cornelis Janse Rolois, "onse Inwoonder", blijkbaar weer voor de wind. Op 28 januari 1723 koopt hij van de diaconie het huis terug waar zijn ouders en grootouders gewoon hebben, ditmaal blijkbaar uitgebreid met "een tuynyje of boomgaardje en twee akkertjes land, bepotinge en beplantinge"*²¹.
- *In mei 1732 koopt hij en perceel hooiland, groot 1 morgen*²².

Zoon uit het tweede huwelijk:

1. ADRIANUS, ged. Berkenwoude 13 februari 1718. Volgt VII.

Vlc. **CORNELIS THIJSZ. (TYSSE) ROLLOIS (ROLOIS)**, hij legt op 2 november 1711 een verklaring af¹⁴, begr. Ouderkerk aan de IJssel 3 augustus 1751 (pro Deo). Hij huwde met **Pietertje Thijsse Boertje**, dochter van Thijs Leendertsz. en Hilletgen Jacobsdr.

- 79. Huis met verpondingsnr. 171, in 1654 afgesplitst van nr. 101, in 1686 hiervan afgesplitst nr. 80.

1733: Quohier van de verponding nr. 171, een huisje en schuurtje: Cornelis Tysse Rollois, veranderd in 1753 Dirk Leendertsz. Visser.

2-11-1739: Taxatie van de helft van een huis en erf, van de dijk tot de zelling van Jan Willemsz. Kors, belast met een erfpacht van 68 stv. t.b.v. Jan Willemsz. Kors: Pietertje Tysse Groenewegen, overleden zonder descendentes (27/341). Zij is de vrouw van Cornelis Tysse Rolois.

31-12-1751: Taxatie van een huis, schuur en erf: Cornelis Tyssen Rollois, overleden zonder descendentes (28/238).

2-11-1753: Transport van een huis, schuur en erf, belast met een erfpacht van 68 stv. t.b.v. Jan Willemsz. Kors: de gezamenlijke erfgenamen van Cornelis Tysz. Rollois aan Dirk Leendertsz. Visser (28/292-2941).

De koper moet de straat tot aan de dijk toe maken²³.

Kinderen:

1. JACOBUS, ged. Ouderkerk aan de IJssel 4 april 1695, get. Marritje Jacobs, Govert Versluys. Hij is overleden 25 oktober 1696.
2. HILLITJE, ged. Ouderkerk aan de IJssel 7 februari 1697, get. Ary Tysse Boertje.
3. THYS, ged. Ouderkerk Aan de IJssel 27 november 1701, get. Jan Tysse Rollois en Annetje.

VII. **ADRIANUS ROLLOSS CORNELISZOOM**, ged. Berkenwoude 13 februari 1713, overl. Ouderkerk aan de IJssel, overl. (impost Berkenwoude 3 juni 1786). Hij huwde Berkenwoude 8 december 1743 met **Margje van Zevenbergen Jansdr.**, ged. Bergambacht 9 februari 1716, overl. (impost Berkenwoude 7 maart 1799), dochter van Jan Pietersz. van Zevenbergen en Pieterella Jacobsdr. van See.

Kinderen:

1. JOANNES, ged. Berkenwoude 26 oktober 1749. Volgt VIII.
2. WILLEMANTJE, ged. Berkenwoude 24 september 1752, overl. Berkenwoude 3 oktober 1820. Zij huwde Berkenwoude 8 mei 1774 met Jan Pietersz. van Vliet, ged. Stolwijk 31 januari 1748, wonend in het Westeinde van Berkenwoude, winkelier 1814, testeert met zijn vrouw Bergambacht 27 februari 1775 en 29 mei 1790, lidmaat met zijn vrouw 21 september 1790, overl. Berkenwoude 16 augustus 1821, zoon van Pieter Jansz. van Vliet en Aagje Willemsdr. Koolwijk.

VIII. **JOANNES ROLLOOS**, ged. Berkenwoude 26 oktober 1749, arbeider, overl. Nieuwerkerk aan de IJssel 10 januari 1842. Hij huwde Nieuwerkerk aan de IJssel 7 mei 1775 met **Adriana Kreuk**, ged. Nieuwerkerk aan de IJssel 13 augustus 1743, overl. Nieuwerkerk aan de IJssel 2 maart 1815, dochter van Willem Kreuk en Ariaantje Gijsbertsdr. Visser.

Kinderen:

1. WILLEM, ged. Nieuwerkerk aan de IJssel 17 maart 1776, overl. 1 april 1776.
2. ADRIANUS, ged. Nieuwerkerk aan de IJssel 30 mei 1784. Volgt IX.

IX. **ADRIANUS ROLLOOS**, ged. Nieuwerkerk aan de IJssel 30 mei 1784, schoenmaker, overl. Nieuwerkerk aan de IJssel 17 maart 1847. Hij huwde Nieuwerkerk aan de IJssel 27 april 1806 met **Maria van der Wolf**, geb. Ouderkerk aan de IJssel 1 juli, ged. aldaar 4 juli 1781, overl. Nieuwerkerk aan de IJssel 28 juli 1849, dochter van Jan van der Wolf en Adriaantje Stam.

Kinderen:

1. ADRIANA, geb. Nieuwerkerk aan de IJssel 17 februari 1807. Zij huwde Nieuwerkerk aan de IJssel 15 april 1843 met Jan Rook.
2. ADRIANUS, geb. Nieuwerkerk aan de IJssel 24 september 1813.
3. LENA, geb. Nieuwerkerk aan de IJssel 14 januari 1817.
4. JOHANNIS, geb. Nieuwerkerk aan de IJssel 3 september 1818. Volgt Xa.
5. WILLEM, geb. Nieuwerkerk aan de IJssel 11 maart 1820. Volgt Xb.

Xa. **JOHANNIS ROLLOOS**, geb. Nieuwerkerk aan de IJssel 3 september 1818, watermolenaar te Kapelle aan de IJssel, overl. Kapelle aan de IJssel 31 januari 1879. Hij huwde Ouderkerk aan de IJssel 29 december 1833 met **Lijntje Verstoep**, geb. Ouderkerk aan de IJssel 27 juni 1808, overl. Zevenhuizen 13 december 1879 (wonende Kapelle aan de IJssel), dochter van Dirk Verstoep en Ariaantje Trouwborst.

Kinderen:

1. MARIA, geb. Krimpen aan de IJssel 18 september 1834. Zij huwde 5 september 1856 met Arie van der Ruit.
2. ADRIANUS, geb. Krimpen aan de IJssel 23 januari 1837. Volgt Xla.
3. ARIE, geb. Krimpen aan de IJssel 17 maart 1839. Hij huwde 13 juli 1873 met Trijntje van Walsum
4. HENDRIK ROLLOOS, geb. Kapelle aan de IJssel 6 november 1844. Volgt Xlb.

Xb. **WILLEM ROLLOOS**, geb. Nieuwerkerk aan de IJssel 11 maart 1820, bouwmaneknecht, arbeider. Hij huwde Nieuwerkerk aan de IJssel 5 maart 1847 met **Lidewij Visser**, geb. Stormpolder ca. 1826, 21 jaar in 1847, dienstbode, dochter van Arie Visser en Cornelia van Walsum.

Kinderen:

1. MARIA, geb. Nieuwerkerk aan de IJssel 24 mei 1847.
2. ARIE, geb. Nieuwerkerk aan de IJssel 24 augustus 1848.
3. CORNELIA, geb. Nieuwerkerk aan de IJssel 29 september 1849.
4. ADRIANA, geb. Nieuwerkerk aan de IJssel 13 april 1851.
5. EVERT, geb. Nieuwerkerk aan de IJssel 5 maart 1853.
6. WILLEM, geb. Nieuwerkerk aan de IJssel 14 mei 1854.
7. KOMMERYNTJE, geb. Nieuwerkerk aan de IJssel 19 januari 1856.
8. ADRIANUS, geb. Nieuwerkerk aan de IJssel 27 mei 1857.
9. KOMMERYNTJE, geb. Nieuwerkerk aan de IJssel 8 maart 1860.
10. LIDEWIJ, geb. Nieuwerkerk aan de IJssel 6 augustus 1861.
11. CORNELIS, geb. Nieuwerkerk aan de IJssel 15 februari 1863.
12. CORNELIS, geb. Nieuwerkerk aan de IJssel 11 februari 1864.
13. JOHANNIS, geb. Nieuwerkerk aan de IJssel 1 april 1865. Volgt Xlc.
14. LIDEWY, geb. Nieuwerkerk aan de IJssel 16 maart 1867.

XIa. **ADRIANUS ROLLOOS**, geb. Krimpen aan de IJssel 23 januari 1837. Hij huwde 28 november 1862 met **Clasina Noorlander**.

Kinderen:

1. LIJNTJE, geb. Kapelle aan de IJssel 8 februari 1863, overl. 16 juli 1863.
2. PIETER, geb. Kapelle aan de IJssel 1 augustus 1864.

XIb. **HENDRIK ROLLOOS**, geb. Kapelle aan de IJssel 6 november 1844, visser, arbeider. Hij huwde 1e Kapelle aan de IJssel 3 februari 1867 met **Krijntje van Vliet**, geb. Gouderak 22 februari 1841, overl. Kapelle aan de IJssel 5 december 1871, dochter van Jan van Vliet en Willemijntje van Dam. Hij huwde 2e Kapelle aan de IJssel 17 oktober 1873 met **Petronella Looije**, geb. Nieuwerkerk aan de IJssel 1 januari 1844, dochter van Arnoldus Looije en Maartje Versteeg.

Kinderen uit het tweede huwelijk:

1. ARNOLDUS, geb. Nieuwerkerk aan de IJssel 5 mei 1874.
2. HENDRIK JOHANNIS, geb. Nieuwerkerk aan de IJssel 13 april 1876.
3. MAARTJE LIJNTJE ADRIANA, geb. Nieuwerkerk aan de IJssel 10 januari 1878.

XIc. **JOHANNIS ROLLOOS**, geb. Nieuwerkerk aan de IJssel 1 april 1865. Hij huwde Nieuwerkerk aan de IJssel 5 april 1890 met **Arijaantje Elizabeth Kennedij**, geb. Nieuwerkerk aan de IJssel 9 maart 1871, dochter van Jan Hendrik Kennedij en Arijaantje ten Holt.

Kinderen:

1. ADRIAAN WILHELM CORNELIS, geb. Nieuwerkerk aan de IJssel 20 oktober 1890. Volgt XII.
2. JAN HENDRIK ELIAZER, geb. Rotterdam 15 maart 1896. Hij huwde Rotterdam 23 augustus 1922 met Jeane Geertruida Ossendrijver, geb. Rotterdam ca. 1902, dochter van Coenraad Ossendrijver en Maria Margaretha Hippe.
3. WILLEM JOHANNES, geb. Nieuwerkerk aan de IJssel ca. 1902. Hij huwde Rotterdam 9 januari 1924 met Luberta Morsink, geb. Schiedam ca. 1902, dochter van Hermannus Morsink en Willemina Poot.
4. HENDRIK JACOB, geb. Rotterdam ca. 1904. Hij huwde Rotterdam 3 december 1924 met Cornelia Kuipers, geb. Rotterdam ca. 1907, dochter van Adrianus Kuipers en Helena Vis.

XII. **ADRIAAN WILHELM CORNELIS ROLLOOS**, geb. Nieuwerkerk aan de IJssel 20 oktober 1890. Hij huwde Rotterdam 25 juni 1913 met **Helena Hendrika Albers**, geb. Rotterdam 25 september 1893, dochter van Ludovicus Petrus Albers en Helena Hendrika de Neef.

Kinderen:

1. GERHARDUS CORNELIS, geb. Rotterdam 18 november 1929. Volgt XIII.

XIII. **GERHARDUS CORNELIS ROLLOOS**, geb. Rotterdam 18 november 1929, overl. Rotterdam 28 januari 2002. Hij huwde Rotterdam 1958 met Cornelia de Koning, geb. Rotterdam xx juli 193x.

Kinderen:

1. GERHARDUS CORNELIS, geb. Rotterdam 13 december 1960, overl. Rhoon 5 augustus 1971.

Noten:

1. Staten van Holland voor 1572, inv.nr. 1392.
2. Als noot 1, inv.nrs. 337, 741 en 1069.
3. Ouderkerk aan de IJssel, Rechterlijk Archief nr. 17 (oud nummer).
4. Als noot 3, nr. 18 (oud nummer).
5. Als noot 3, nr. 19 (oud nummer).
6. Staten van Holland voor 1572, inv.nr. 1224.
7. Berkenwoude Rechterlijk Archief nr. 8.
8. Als noot 7, acte tussen 18 mei en 6 augustus 1635.
9. Als noot 7, nr. 9.
10. Not. Archief Gouda nr. 10.
11. Ouderkerk aan de IJssel, Rechterlijk Archief nr. 38 (oud nummer) d.d. 13-1-1640 betreft openbare verkoping door de kinderen en erfgenamen van Jan Daene, in leven won. Bercou, van 14 hond land in de cromme in het "This Jan Rollenland". Het wordt genaast door Willem Aertsz.
12. Berkenwoude, Rechterlijk Archief nr. 5, d.d. 23-12-1682 comp. Jan Thomis Rol als erfgenaam van zijn vader en moeder beiden zalr. eyser contra Geerlof Jansz. als getr. Hebbende Willemtie Jan als erfgename van haren vader Jan Pietersz. Mick zalr. gedaagde betreffende een geschil over betaling van 15 gld. en eene stuyver.
13. Ouderkerk aan de IJssel, Rechterlijk Archief nr. 25 (oud nummer), d.d. 22-6-1710 comp. Annetje Cornelis wedu van Tys Thomasz. Rolois, Jan Thysz. Rolois, Pieter Eeuwoutsz. van Herk, getr. met Merrigje Thys en Cornelis Thysz. Rolois kinderen van de eerste comparant en tr. aan Dammas Thysz. Rolois, haar zoon hun deel in een huis.
14. Ouderkerk a/d IJssel, Weeskamerarchief nr. 12, d.d. 2-11-1711 comp. Cornelis Tyssen Rolois, getr. met Pietertje Tyssen en leggen een verklaring af tbv. Pieter Jansz. Stolck, schipper van Ouderkerk op Rotterdam. Zijn broer is Damis Thyse Rolois, die in 1709 en 1710 knecht was bij de bierhandelaar Dirck Aertsz. Huurman.
15. Protocol no. 8, folio 91 Berkenwoude 1 december 1618.
16. Protocol no. 22, ongefolioerd, Ouderkerk aan de IJssel d.d. 20 oktober 1680, 4 november 1680 en 5 juli 1681.
17. Register no 9 Berkenwoude d.d. 7 mei 1664.
18. Protocol Ouderkerk no. 22, 1670-1668 d.d. 12 juni 1675.
19. Register no. 10 folio 50v. d.d. 5 juni 1683.
20. Register no. 10, folio 69, d.d. 3 oktober 1685.
21. Register no. 10, folio 227v.-230, d.d. 28 januari 1723.
22. Register no. 11, folio 31, d.d. mei 1732.
23. Ons Voorgeslacht 1980.
24. A.F. Römer, Het Goudse geslacht Bick tussen 1350 en 1990, Gemert 1991, 2 delen.
25. Vermoedelijk de Kwartierstaat Floris Hers, geb. Oud Beijerland 20-9-1881.

Geraadpleegde literatuur:

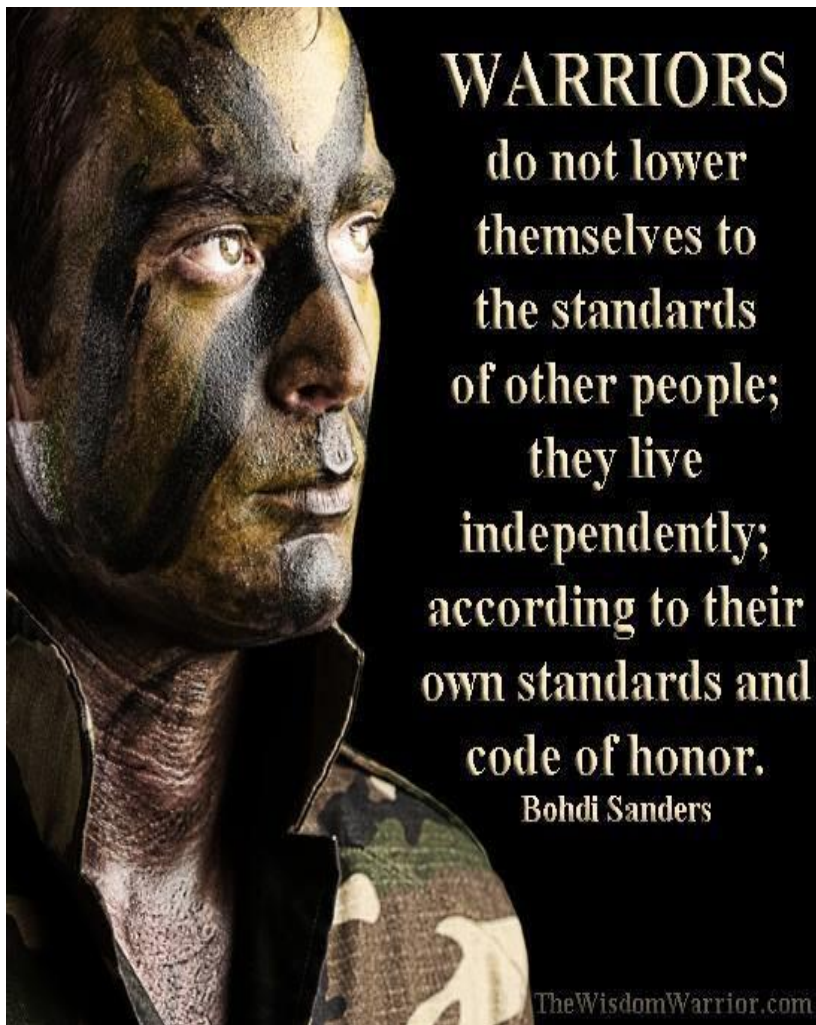
- Onderzoek van de heer Kruimel, genealoog en directeur van het CBG, oktober 1964.
- B. de Keijzer, Ons Voorgeslacht 1982.
- Aanvullingen van de heer Ir. G.L. Meesters op het stuk van B. de Keijzer in Ons Voorgeslacht 1982.
- Kwartierstaat van B. de Keijzer in deel XV van de reeks van Prometheus, 1998.

DEEL 3
DE WAARHEID ACHTER
STAMVADER **ROLLO**

**I know we're going to
have to work really
hard, but we have an
amazing chance to do
something great.**

The Vikings

6 SCANDINAVIAN FOLKTALES



In the course of centuries, myths and other tall stories may grow around admired heroes for wish-fulfilling reasons and some others. Fantasy unites with fact, much as with legends of King Arthur.

Arthur's story is mainly composed of folklore and literary invention. There is no clear historical evidence that Arthur was a historical figure, but a whole lot of unproductive speculation. Still he is very popular, for stories about him and his court speak to the imagination of many.

The fame of Arthur and his men rests in part on **Norman bards**. Normans developed romances, and those of King Arthur - blending old Celtic myth and perhaps a skinny core of actual persons at times - were gratefully received in Great Britain and Northern France too.

Contrary to what many may imagine, having a King is not a great good, according to Samuel 1:8 in the Old Testament: the King is portrayed as the enemy on top there. Royalty may breed dependence and un-normal subservience with or without near-symbiotic and half-neurotic servility.

Several Scandinavian folktales are showing a similarity in their basic "success recipes" with those of murderous Vikings. It suggests that many folktale heroes walk in shoes like those of Rollo by degrees and through much similar stages where success often depends on combat and getting valuables.

This looks like a basic "recipe" of success in later Scandinavian folktales, where the Hero gets tough and ends up reigning.

In other words, the life of **Rollo** conforms well to several well-known plots often expressed in Scandinavian folktales among others, such as in Strong John.

The success tale of Rollo contains a fair amount of fairy tale motifs, but unlike Scandinavian and other folktales - collected in the 1800s and into the early 1900s for most part - the Rollo story is largely historical, according to the Icelander Snorre Sturlason in *Heimskringla*, Book 3, section 24; Book 7, section 19, and other Icelandic sagas from medieval times, as the *Orkneyingers' Saga*, section 4.

The saga writer Snorre mentions that Rolv Ganger - later called Rollo and hailed as one ancestor of the British royal house - grew so big that Viking horses (probably ponies) were unable to carry him.

7 HISTORY OF VIKING ROLV GANGER

The Medieval Chronicle of the Kings of Norway contain many sagas that teem with descriptions of how Norwegians flocked abroad as pillaging murderers and traders. A little here, a little there, Norse sagas inculcate certain barbarious norms, and some of them suit vicious guys still.

There are stories about the arsonist father and brothers of Rolf Ganger. Their tales start somewhere during the reign of King Harald Fairhair.

Rögnvald, Earl of Mæri, son of Eystein Glumra, the son of Ivar, an Earl of the Upplendings, the son of Halfdan the Old, had for wife Ragnhild, the daughter of Hrolf the Beaked. Their son was Ivar, who fell in the Hebrides, fighting with King Harald Fairhair.

Another son was Gaungu-Hrolf who conquered Normandy.

The history of the Viking Age contains plenty of gruesome reading. Icelandic sagas tell of a large Viking called Rolv Ganger (Rolv Walker), aka Rollo or Rollon.

Rolv killed many people and became an ancestor of the British monarchy, and he had relatives.



After once being outlawed in Viking Norway for raiding where he was not allowed to it by the King at that time, Rollo was banished from Norway and lived by the sword further away from home.

After much bloodshed he had Normandy handed over to him in three strides by the French King Charles the Simple. King Charles granted Rollo land between the Epte and the sea and parts of Brittany too.

Whether Rollo was a "Duke" (Dux) or like a "Count" under Charles is debatable. At any rate, brute violence and bloodshed brought a high title and lots of land. Wise persons have fairly different values.

Rollo converted to Christianity to get the Viking-downtrodden and looted Normandy. There he and his band took over, and soon several relatives and other Northmen followed, for the pastures were green and lush. The protected Normandie became the best part of France and remained that way for centuries.

Normans also took over England and Wales after a **descendant of Rollo, known as William the Conqueror, took over England in 1066.**

Normans also conquered the rich, southern half of Italy, including Sicily, and several other tracts bordering on the Mediterranean Sea.

8 WHO WAS ROLLO? (Part 1)

Sometime in the end of the 9th century and the beginning of the 10th century a group of “Pirates” – **Vikings** – took part in raids in the north western part of France. They also worked as mercenaries for the French kings.



On the 20th of July a Frankish victory led to negotiations with the **leader of the war-band, Rollo**. This led to the Treaty of Saint-Clair-sur-Epte in 911, according to which Charles III ceded the land between Epte and the sea (perhaps Rouen, Évreux and Lisieux, perhaps less). According to the treaty, Rollo accepted to be baptised. The price for these concessions were the duty of the Vikings to help the king defend his territory against other Vikings.

Figuur 55 Rollo's Grave in Notre Dame Cathedral in Rouen

The next references may be found in the Annals of Flodoard of Reims, written between 919 and 966. Flodoard occasionally notices a group of Viking Northmen, who were led by a man called Rollo and active in Normandy and surroundings.

However, it is obvious that Flodoard did not consider this particular war-band more important than say the Vikings raiding around Loire. Flodoard refers to Rollo as “Princeps”, and mentions him, fighting against King Raoul over the fortress of EU and supporting Charles the Simple against Heribert of Vermandois. To Flodoard the fact that he is a “Pirate” is the important marker; his ethnic origin goes unnoticed.

However, at the end of the 10th century, the Duke of Normandy commissioned Dudo of Saint-Quentin to write his Historia Normannorum, in which we are told that Rollo was of Danish descent. Dudo's writings has generally been treated with a degree of circumspection since the book so obviously is complicated to define in terms of genre.

For a long time the general opinion has been that Dodo's identification of Rollo as a Dane was an anachronistic element caused by the close cooperation between the Duke of Normandy and the Danish Royal family in the beginning of the Eleventh Century, when the Danish Kings, Svein Forkbeard and Cnut conquered England.

Another problem is posed by the fact that it is known that Old Norse was understood as “Danish tongue” and that the use of the “Danish” by Dudo thus may be understood as referring to no more than a vague “Scandinavian” descent. On the other hand, recent **linguistic research** has demonstrated a close affinity between the modern dialects of Normandy and the region around present day Copenhagen.

Quite apart from the general evaluation of Dudo – which seems to have shifted somewhat in the last 30 years – this identification does not sit well with a later group of sources.

Already, in the 11th century, **Geoffrey Malaterra, an 11th century Benedictine Monk and Historian**, wrote how: “Rollo sailed boldly from Norway with his fleet to the Christian coast”, while in the 12th Century **English Historian William of Malmesbury** stated that Rollo was “born of noble lineage among the Norwegians”.

Rollo is also mentioned in “The Life of Gruffud ap Cynan”, a 12th Century history, which refers to him as the youngest of two brothers to the first King of Dublin. The **13th Century Icelandic sagas**, Heimskringla and Orkneyinga Saga, remember him as Hrólf the Walker (“who was so big that no horse could carry him”, hence his byname of Ganger-Hrólf).

Both sources mention Rollo was born as Hrólfur Rognvaldsson in Møre, Western Norway, in the late 9th century as a son to the Norwegian Earl Rognvald Eysteinnsson. Eysteinnsson was known to be an enemy of the two brothers mentioned in The Life of Gruffudd ap Cynan. Finally, **Richer of Reims**, who lived in the 10th Century, named Rollo’s father as one Catillus, or Ketil. The latter, though, is generally believed to be a legendary figure.

National-romantic myths



Figuur 56 Rollo's stone in Faxe

Whatever, the truth behind these different legends, they were probably all anachronistic at the time of their writing. In the end of the 9th Century, the sources reveal a complicated landscape in Scandinavia featuring a number of competing petty chiefdoms more or less backing the war-bands, which were harassing and conquering large tracts of land in the British Isles and Normandy, as well as pushing a diaspora into the northern archipelagos in the Atlantic (Iceland, The Faroes, Greenland and Vineland).

It is obvious that there existed a common cultural denominator in this diaspora and that questions of Danish or Norwegian descent probably did not matter as they came to do at the end of the 19th Century and the beginning of the 20th Century, when the question of the “**ethnicity**” of Rollo once again got the attention.

Probably, the background was the growing nationalism in Norway and the search for independence from Sweden (achieved in 1905), which naturally led to a renewed public interest in the independent Viking and Medieval heritage of the Norwegian Kingdom (before the Danish supremacy in the 14th century). **By launching Rollo as a Norwegian hero it was also possible to claim ancestry to the English royal family though William the Conqueror**. This fitted nicely with the candidate for the new dynasty, a Danish prince (Carl) married to an English princess.

In this highly volatile situation, two copies of the **statue of Rollo by Arsene Letellier**, of which the original may be seen at Rouen, were requested by the “Sons of Norway”, an American-Canadian-Norwegian association. This initiative was led by Herman O. Fjelde from Wahpeton, who had no less

than five Norwegian monuments raised in Fargo, USA. One of these copies was erected in Ålesund in Norway, a city in Møre in Norway in 1911, the Millennium of the Treaty from 911. Same year saw the erection of a commemorative stone in Faxe, the alleged location, from which some French sources say, he originated.

A competing study

Concomitantly to the project launched by Explico, another group has been working for some years to figure out the probable biogeographical origin through Y-chromosome signature of the House of Normandy.



Figuur 57 Lion of Rollo, Ruler of Normandy

This work has been carried out by another **DNA-enthusiast, Michael R. Maglio**, who runs a company, OriginsDNA. According to their website, they offer “Scientific research conducted, in whole or in part, by nonprofessional scientist”.

In 2014 Maglio privately published a five-page essay on “The Biographical Origins and Y-chromosome Signature for the House of Normandy”. According to this study – which has not been peer-reviewed – an analysis of 3.800 y-DNA records with surnames historically associated with William the Conqueror, a genetic signature of the first Norman King of England was identified.

According to this study “the results show that Rollo’s origin was within 226 km of the centre of Denmark and validates the earliest biographical accounts that he was Danish. In addition, Rollo’s ancestors had Norwegian origins”

Does it matter?

Obviously, all this matters to the Norwegian consortium, which has both personal, economic and national interests vested in the final results, which are going to be published in the autumn of 2016. (The laboratory work on the recovered teeth will be carried out both in France and in Norway in 2016).

But to some extent, it also matters to medieval history proper. Why?

The reason is, that we know that there probably were close connections between the Vikings, who conquered Danelagen and settled there, and the burgeoning royal house of the Jelling Dynasty.

Exactly how they were related is not precisely known, but the prevalence of certain “names” (Guttorm, Gorm) and Airdecanut/Hardeknud does point to some sort of dynastic relation.

If – as is perhaps possible – Rollo was somehow part of this network, it explains the obvious interest among Viking chieftains to come to the rescue of his grandson after 942, when his son, William Longsword, was murdered. One curious feature here is the identification by Dudo of one of these chieftains, Harold from Bayeux, with the later Harold Bluetooth.

Historians has considered this as yet another way for Dudo to make his work pleasing to his ducal patron, who was at the time of Dudo’s writing allied with the son of Harold Bluetooth, Sveyn Forkbeard, in the invasions of England (1002- 1016).

However, if the genetic investigation demonstrates a plausible “Danish” biogeography of Rollo and his ancestors, it might be worth reframing the understanding of the political background for the Viking raids in the end of the 9th century and the character of the Danish and Scandinavian state-formation at that point. At least, this is a hypothesis worth considering.

9 WHO WAS ROLLO? (Part 2)

Also known as **Hrolf the Ganger or Rollon**, 1st Duke of Normandy from 911 to 927, called also Rolf the Walker, because, being so tall, he preferred to go afoot rather than ride the little Norwegian horses. Also shown as Rollon, Row, or Robert. Originally a Norse Viking, he was noted for strength and martial prowess.

In the reign of Charles II the Bald, he sailed up the Seine River and took Rouen, which he kept as a base of operations. He gained a number of victories over the Franks, and extorted the cession of the province since called Normandy.

By the famous treaty which Charles the Bald and Rollo signed the latter agreed to adopt Christianity. **He was born in 846 and died in 932, and was buried in the Cathedral at Rouen.**

The origin of Rollo is controversial. There are several medieval sources which claim to give information about the origin of Rollo, the most widely repeated of which would make him a son of Rognvaldr, Earl of Møre by Ragnhildr or Hildr.

As can be seen from the following brief notices, the various primary sources offer very contradictory information about Rollo's origin.

The earliest author to attribute an explicit origin to Rollo was Richer of Rheims, writing between 996 and 998, who called Rollo the son of another Viking invader of France named Catillus (presumably representing the Norse name Ketil). Since Catillus appears to be a legendary individual, this account has generally been discredited, probably correctly.

According to **Dudo of St. Quentin** (writing early 11th century), **author of the earliest history of the Normans**, Rollo had a younger brother named Gurim, presumed to be the familiar name Gorm. Dudo states that Rollo and Gurim were sons of a man who held many lands in "Dacia" (Dudo's word for Denmark, following other authors), and that after the death of the (unnamed) father of Rollo and Gurim, the King of Dacia fought against the sons, killing Gurim and driving Rollo out.

Dudo later refers to Duke Richard I as being related to a "King of Dacia" named Haigrold, who must have been the Viking raider of France of that name, and not King Harald "Bluetooth" of Denmark.

William of Malmesbury (early 12th century) appears to be the earliest author to attribute a Norwegian origin to Rollo.

As is well known, **the Orkneyinga Saga (late Twelfth Century)**, followed by other Icelandic sources (such as the well known *Heimskringla* and *Landnámabók*), gives Rollo the name Hrólf, and make him a son of Rognvaldr, jarl of Møre, and brother of (among others) jarl Torf-Einarr of the Orkneys.

Earlier sources, such as Ari's *Íslendingabók* (early to middle 12th century), mention Rognvald of Møre and his son Hrollaugr who settled in Iceland, but not the supposed connection to the Dukes of Normandy.

A poem allegedly written by Einar mentions his brothers, including a Hrólfr, but does not connect Hrólfr to Normandy, and does not name a Gorm among the brothers.

Historia Gruffud van Kenan (ca. 1250), apparently a Welsh translation and/or revision of an earlier Latin life of Gruffudd ap Cynan, gives Haraldr Hárfagri of Norway ("Harald Harfagyr") a brother named Rodulf (i.e., the Latin form of Hrólfr) who is called the founder of Normandy.

However, this is evidently a corrupt version of the Scandinavian version, and the suggestion that Rollo was a brother of Haraldr Hárfagri need not be given any credence.



The **most prominent argument** of the case for accepting the Scandinavian account that **Rollo was the same person as Hrólfr, son of Rogvaldr of Møre**, was given by **D. C. Douglas**, and those who accept this identification have generally followed the same arguments. On the other side, arguments against the identification were given by Viggo Starcke in his book Denmark in World History.

Most of the argument of Douglas consists of accepting the tale of the sagas and rejecting evidence from the Norman sources which contradict the saga version, while explaining away the problems (on which more below).

The evidence which Douglas puts forward as "a powerful, if not a conclusive, argument in favor of the identity of Rollo with Ganger-Rolf" concerns a passage in Landnámabók that refers to a daughter of Gongu-Hrólfr:

"... Annarr son Óttars vas Helge; hann herjaðe á Skottland, ok feck þar at herfange Niðbjorg, dóttor Beolans konungs ok Caðlínar, dóttor Gongu-Hrólfs"

(Another son of Óttarr was Helge. He harried in Scotland, and won there as his booty Niðbjorg, daughter of king Beolan and Caðlín, daughter of Gongu-Hrólfr.)

This passage, which Douglas attributed to "Ari the Learned" (who may or may not have been the author), is then compared with a passage from the nearly contemporary Plaintsong of Rollo's son William "Longsword" which was written soon after William's death:

*"Hic in orbe transmarino natus patre
in errore paganorum permanente
matre quoque consignata alma fide
sacra fuit lotus unda"*

(Born overseas from a father who stuck to the pagan error and from a mother who was devoted to the sweet religion, he was blessed with the Holy Chrism.)(English translation)]

After explaining that the two stories are consistent with one another, Douglas then state that the suggestion of the Landnámabók is thus confirmed by an epic poem composed in Gaul in the tenth century.

While it is true that the two accounts as they stand are consistent with each other and with the claim that Rollo and Gongu-Hrólfur were the same man (ignoring all other evidence), it is surely a gross overstatement to claim that the Plaintsong "confirms" the other account, for there is not a single statement in the passage from Landnámabók that is confirmed by the Plaintsong.

This is a clear case of circular reasoning, for without first assuming that Rollo and Gongu-Hrólfur were the same man, there is no evidence that the two passages have any relation whatsoever. Douglas's case is further undermined by the fact that another source makes Niðbjorg's mother Caðlín a daughter of Gongu-Hrólfur, son of Oxna-Pórir, directly contradicting the thesis that Caðlín was supposedly a granddaughter of Rognavaldr of Møre. Yet, Douglas apparently regarded this as the strongest part of his argument.

There are three main strands of evidence (somewhat related to each other) against the identification of Rollo with Hrólfur son of Rognavaldr:

1. The discrepancies between the Norman and Icelandic sources.

Among other contradictions, the Norman sources give Rollo a brother named Gurim, while the Icelandic sources give Hrólfur several brothers, none of them named Gormr (the presumed Old-Norse form for Gurim). Although both of the sources have their problems, earlier native sources would seem to have a higher priority than later foreign sources.

While many elements of the Dudo's account are clearly legendary, there appears to be no clear motive on the part of Dudo (writing less than a century after Rollo's death) to invent a younger brother for Rollo who is then immediately killed off.

2. The general unreliability of Norse source for the early Tenth Century.

For the period under consideration, i.e., the early Ninth Century, the sagas have a poor record for reliability, even for Scandinavian history. For example, consider the following words of Peter Sawyer (written with regard to a different matter, but true in general), a well known expert on early Viking history: "... These sagas cannot, however, be accepted as reliable sources for the Tenth Century.

The only trustworthy evidence for the Tenth Century in those sagas are the contemporary verses around which the saga writers wove their tales. None of these verses confirm the identity of Rollo and Hrólfur. The suspicion is made even larger by the fact that the Icelandic sources show no knowledge of Norman history other than the fact (well known throughout Europe at the time) that William the Conqueror was a descendant of the Dukes of Normandy.

3. Rollo and Hrólfur appear to be different names.

The natural Latinization of the name Hrólfur would be Radulfus or Rodulfus. Yet, the Frankish and Norman sources consistently refer to the founder of Normandy as Rollo. Since these sources also include numerous individuals named Rodulfus, and consistently separate the two names, it appears that the names were regarded as different.

Douglas explained this by suggesting a hypothetical hypocoristic form "Hrolle" of the name "Hroðwulf" as the basis for the name Rollo, and provides a single charter in which Rollo is referred to as "Rolphus" as evidence that the names were the same, acknowledging, however, that the charter itself was "not above suspicion." If the names were really regarded as the same, it would be expected that more convincing evidence to this effect could be offered.

Personally, I am inclined to believe that the identification of Hrólfr and Rollo has no basis in fact, that it was likely to have been invented by a saga writer who wanted to give the Earls of Orkney some famous relatives (i.e., the Kings of England), and that whatever the confusing Norman sources say are probably about the closest we are going to get to Rollo's origin.

However, based on the surviving evidence, it is not possible to come to any definitive conclusion one way or the other, and Rollo's parentage should be listed as "unknown" unless further evidence becomes available.

4. *Supposed second wife:*

Gisela, said to be daughter of Charles the Simple, King of France. She is unknown in the Frankish sources. The fact that Charles the Simple's kinsman Charles the Fat had a daughter also named Gisela who married a Viking (Godefridus) in the Ninth Century has led to the natural suspicion that this Gisela is an invention based on the earlier woman of the name. If she existed at all, there is no reason to believe that she was a mother of any of Rollo's children.

5. *Supposed additional child:*

Caðlin (Kathleen), said by Norse sources to have married a certain King Beolan, who is otherwise unidentified.

10 THE NORMANS IN NORMANDY: ROLLO, WHAT WE KNOW

To paraphrase Jacques Le Goff, **did the Rollo of our documents exist?** And since that is all we have, did Rollo exist? An underlying thrust of this paper is that the Rollo of the available sources is best understood primarily not as an historical figure, but rather as a literary figure created to suit the ideological needs of, and conform to the political realities of, later generations. It is important to examine the historicity of Rollo, exploring the little information about him that can be squeezed from contemporary sources.

Because of the exaggerated biography of Rollo written a century later by Dudo of Saint-Quentin, it sometimes seems that we know him fairly well. In fact, although in Dudo's time Rollo was remembered as the great founder of the Norman dynasty, during his own lifetime he was largely invisible. Although Dudo says much about his career prior to 911, virtually every story he tells is obviously borrowed from the adventures of other Northmannic leaders told in tenth-century Frankish chronicles, and the rest are clearly legends.

Dudo's account does not contain a single verifiable fact about Rollo. The 'Founder of Normandy' also is never mentioned in any contemporary source before 911, and in fact the Treaty of Saint-Clair-sur-Epte, made so famous by Dudo's story of the Northman upending Charles the Simple

Instead of stooping to kiss his foot, made no impact whatsoever on the writers of the time. Only three brief mentions of Rollo occur in contemporary sources, and it is upon these that we must build what little image of him we can manage.

The first contemporary mention of Rollo is in a charter of King Charles *Simplex* in 918. Here, Charles grants the lands of an abbey "... *praeter partem ipsius abbati quam annuimus Normannis Sequanensibus videlicet **Rolloni** suisque comitibus pro tutela regni*", (except for the part that we have given to the Northmen of the Seine, namely to Rollo and his companions)

At roughly the same time, the **Frankish Historian Flodoard of Rheims** wrote without mentioning Rollo: *“Post bellum quod Robertus comes contra [Nortmannos] Carnotenus gessit fidem Christi suscipere receperunt concessis sibi maritimis quibusdam pagis cum Rothomagensis quam pene deleverant urbe et aliis eidem subjectis”*. (After the war that Count Robert waged against the Northmen at Chartres, certain maritime *pagi*, along with the city of Rouen, which they had nearly destroyed and other *pagi* which were subjected to it, were conceded to them, and they agreed to take up the faith of Christ).

It is the north
wind that
lashes men into
Vikings; it is
the soft,
luscious south
wind which
lulls them to
lotus dreams.

Ouida

QuotePixel.com

At some point before 928, the Archbishop of Rouen wrote to Herveus, Archbishop of Rheims, asking for advice on how to handle lapsed pagan converts. Herveus in turn wrote to Pope John X, asking **“What should be done when they have been baptised and rebaptised, and after their baptisms continue to live in pagan fashion, and in the manner of pagans kill Christians, massacre priests, and, offering sacrifices to idols, eat what has been offered?”**

It is also perhaps significant that in a poem mourning the death of Rollo’s son, William Longsword, William is called the Christian son of a pagan father, although this might have been a rhetorical reference to Rollo’s earlier life.

It seems that after the Battle of Chartres, which most Historians date to 911 and at which a large Northman force was soundly defeated, King Charles granted some land around Rouen and to the sea to Rollo and his companions, who converted to Christianity but, at least in some cases, quickly reverted to paganism. A number of important points can be made.

First, there is no indication that Rollo was involved with the Battle of Chartres. Dudo later says that he in fact led the Northmannic army there. However, given that Dudo says that Rollo led every major Northman force in France, and some in England, it seems to be his way of showing the importance of a man who left virtually no trace in the historical record. Charles’ motivation seems to have been to cut off future attacks on the Seine and its tributaries by giving those Northmen who already controlled Rouen, the first major city on the Seine, royal recognition in exchange for their blocking access to other Northmannic forces. If Rollo in fact were not at Chartres, it would eliminate the contortions that historians have traditionally gone through to explain why Charles rewarded a man who had just suffered a great defeat.

Second, it is not clear exactly which lands Rollo and his companions received, but it would seem to have been roughly the Roumois and the Pays de Caux. Some historians, believing that the concession of Charles *Simplex* and two further royal “grants” in 924 and 933 comprised a formal concession of the future Normandy, have drawn neat maps dividing Normandy into three parts, and thus made the first

concession cover all of Normandy east of the Risle, plus the entire Pays d'Ouche west of Évreux, but there is no evidence that Charles had such a great extent in mind.

Third, the territory controlled by Rollo by no means contained the only Northmannic settlements in the future Normandy. Place-names show that the Northmannic presence was strong not simply in the Pays de Caux and Roumois, but also in the Bessin and the entire Cotentin peninsula. These Northmen of western Northmanland, at least to begin with, had no connection with the Northmen of Rouen.

Finally, such arrangements as Saint-Clair-sur-Epte" were probably not intended to be permanent. Previous Frankish grants to Northmen had always proven temporary, either because the Franks managed to recover their losses or because the Northmen themselves could not hold it together.

By 911, extensive Frankish experience told Charles that the loss of Rouen would only be a temporary setback; Saint-Clair-sur-Epte is unique not because it happened, but because against all odds and precedent the Rollonids managed to make their new principality stick.

So far we have a group of Northmen, led by Rollo, occupying Rouen and its surrounding area with the permission of King Charles, and at least nominally Christianised but subject to spectacular reversions. In the following years, while the sources are silent on events within the newborn Rollonid Principality, the Carolingian political landscape was changing dramatically.

During the 910s, Charles managed to alienate many of his nobles through various actions, especially in Lotharingia. These events inspired Henry I, King of the East Franks, to renew East Frankish claims to Lotharingia, and Robert of Neustria, brother of the former King Odo, to lead a revolt against Charles. For several years the struggle continued, culminating in 922 when Charles fled his kingdom and Robert was crowned king. In the following year, Charles returned with an army. In the ensuing battle Robert was killed, but his son Hugh the Great and Herbert II of Vermandois defeated Charles.

The events that followed are confused, but apparently neither Hugh nor Herbert would allow the other to become King, so they settled on Ralph, the son-in-law of King Robert and the Duke of Burgundy. Possibly they believed that as a relative outsider to the West Frankish world, he would be easier to control. Herbert then arranged a meeting with Charles, arrested him, and threw him into captivity almost until the end of his life in 929. His possession of the Carolingian claimant to the throne only enhanced Herbert's power, as did his arrangement in 925 for his five-year-old son Hugh to be made Archbishop of Rheims, at the time the spiritual capital of the West Frankish realm. One may assume that the new Archbishop was somewhat subject to Herbert's influence.

To pick up the scanty narrative of events in the Rollonid Principality from contemporary sources, in 924 Flodoard reports:

"The Northmen entered peace with the Franks through the oaths of Counts Hugh [the Great] and Herbert [of Vermandois] and also Archbishop Seulf [of Rheims], in the absence of King Ralph; but with Ralph's consent the lands of Maine and the Bessin were conceded to them in the peace-treaty."

The neat, three-part maps of Normandy make this concession cover all the lands between the Vire and the Risle, and usually claim that Maine was a mistake, since it does not lie within Normandy and was never claimed by the Rollonids until well into the eleventh century. But seen in the light of previous "grants" by Frankish Kings to Northmen, this should be seen not as a transfer of clearly-defined territory from one party to the other, but rather as permission by the King for Rollo and his companions to take whatever control they can over lands that have slipped completely out of the King's power; in

other words, trying to replace “bad” Northmen (i.e. ones with whom the King has no relationship) with “good” ones (with whom he does).

We can tell from the very existence of this treaty that the Northmen of Rouen had fallen out with the King since the initial concession, and now were being reconciled. But the reconciliation did not last. Flodoard informs us in 925 that an army of Northmen of Rouen moved east, plundering Beauvais, Amiens and Noyons. At the same time, the Frankish natives of the Bessin rose against the Northmen there, and a Frankish army led by Hugh the Great’s men ravaged the Roumois. The Rouennais army quickly returned home, just in time to face a new invasion of Herbert of Vermandois and Arnulf of Flanders, along with the count of Ponthieu.

They besieged the Northman stronghold of Eu, and despite a large relief force from Rouen led by Rollo (this is the second time he is mentioned by a contemporary source), they succeeded in capturing and destroying it. But the hostilities seemed to end there, for the moment.

The final years of Rollo are very shadowy, although he seems to have played some role in Frankish politics. In 927, a war broke out between King Ralph and Herbert of Vermandois. When Ralph returned to Burgundy to see to his duties there, Herbert apparently began to float the idea of a restoration of Charles *Simplex*. He brought Charles to meet with the Northmen (presumably led by Rollo) at Eu, where “the son of Rollo [William Longsword] committed himself to Charles and confirmed friendship with Herbert.” Apparently at this time, Herbert’s son Odo was left with Rollo as a hostage.

This was a normal component of peace treaties during this period. The hostages were treated honourably, and in addition to serving as incentive for the parties to behave as in extreme cases, hostages could be executed for bad behaviour on the other side’s, they also served to create a closer relationship between the sides. Flodoard does not explain why this meeting took place, or what the participants expected to accomplish. In the following year, however, Herbert and Ralph were reconciled. But Rollo did not return Odo to his father until Herbert committed himself to Charles *Simplex*. Flodoard’s account of this is the third and final time Rollo is mentioned in contemporary accounts.

It would seem that Rollo, once he had allied himself with Charles, refused to accept Herbert’s change of heart, and forced Herbert to renew his own alliance with Charles. It should also be noted that Rollo owed his original entrée into Frankish politics to Charles, and that he had never met Ralph.

The “grant” of 924 was made on Ralph’s behalf, but in his absence. In the event, however, nothing came of this uneasy alliance among Rollo, Herbert, and Charles, as Charles died in 929.

We do not know when Rollo died, but it must have been sometime **between 927**, when Flodoard last mentions him, and 933, when William Longsword makes his first recorded appearance as the Rollonid ruler. We may suspect, however, that Rollo played a greater part in the Frankish world than this bare narrative of his career has shown.

For instance, a later source calls him a friend of William of Aquitaine, and the fact that William married Rollo’s daughter lends credence to this story. But overall, Rollo died in much the same obscurity in which he lived. Although in retrospect his achievement as founder of Normandy seems considerable, in his own day he was simply a Northman leader who got some territorial concessions from the Frankish king. The Rollonid Principality on the death of its founder was a small area centered upon Rouen, surrounded by neighbours hungry to reclaim what had been lost to the foreigners, and allied with the King who was losing the Frankish civil war. Its future was still very much in doubt, and in fact it barely survived its founder’s death.

That is, more or less, what we know about Rollo and his career. In conclusion, it is important to note that there are some things that we do *not* know about Rollo. We do not know with any certainty what his name was. We call him Rollo, because that's what the sources generally call him, although some more distant writers referred to him as Ruinus, Roso, and possibly Rotlo.

It is generally assumed that his "real" name was Hrólfr. This is his name in the later Norse stories, and if those stories were based on the historical Rollo, then some weight can be put on this theory. If, however, the historical Rollo was simply grafted on to pre-existing Norse stories, then Hrólfr may simply have been considered a reasonably good fit. Although most historians seem to have accepted the

Identification of Rollo as Hrólfr, some have dissented, suggesting that Hrólfr is not a logical origin for the Latinisation Rollo. Without considering at all the implications, it could be suggested that Göngu-Hrólfr's brother in the *Heimskringla*, a historical figure who settled in Iceland, is named Hrollaugr, a name which much more easily lends itself to latinisation as Rollo.



We do not know his age, where he came from, or when he arrived at Rouen. Dudo places his arrival in 872, but that seems to be in order for him to be in place to lead the siege of Paris, which of course he did not. It is often suggested that he arrived shortly before his agreement with King Charles in 911, although it is likely that he would have to have been there longer in order to have the level of control that would have made him worth dealing with.

The earliest report of his origin, Dudo, makes him a Dane but 12th Century Norse texts make him Norwegian. The Danes themselves never seem to have claimed him, and Dudo knows nothing about Denmark that he did not read in Strabo. Furthermore, his daughter had an unambiguously Norwegian name, Gerloc, although this could reflect the origin of her mother, not Rollo. The evidence points generally, but not conclusively, to Rollo being Norwegian.

There were Norse settlements on the lower Seine as early as the 840s, so it is not impossible, whatever his ethnicity that he was in fact born in Normandy, but the reference to William Longsword in the *Planctus* as born overseas implies otherwise, unless Rollo travelled in his youth and returned to make his fortune at Rouen. Most likely, he was born either in Norway or in a Norwegian colony elsewhere, perhaps in the British Isles, where some later traditions have him in his pre-Norman career.

As for his age, all we can say is that he was probably old enough in 911 to be a force to be reckoned with, perhaps thirty but young enough to remain active until the late 920s, say in his early seventies, the age of Henry I of England when he died. That would place his birth between around 855 and 880. The age of his son, William Longsword, does not help, because we do not know when he was born either. He was old enough to rule by as early as 927, maybe twenty-five and given his lack of concern for the succession at the time of his murder in 942, he must have expected he would still have children, so probably less than fifty. William does not seem to have considered Richard I, whom William probably never even met, to have been his heir. It was only upon William's sudden and unexpected

death that Richard was put forward as William's successor, and since William was married at the time to Leutgarde of Vermandois, he probably expected that a legitimate heir would be forthcoming. This would place William's birth between roughly 880 and 905, which does not narrow the range for Rollo.

This largely expands our knowledge of the historical Rollo. In his own day, he was a shadowy figure who does not seem to have made much of an impression on his contemporaries, or had much of an impact on his time. But his descendants over the course of the tenth century transformed his pirate chiefdom into the duchy of Normandy, and when Dudo in the 11th century, and the Norse saga-tellers of the 12th and 13th looked back at Rollo. They could not accept the birth of such a great nation from such an insignificant figure. So they transformed the historical Rollo into what they felt was a more fitting founder for Normandy, a literary Rollo and this is the Rollo we know.

11 ROLLO OTHER THAN NORWEGIAN

Advanced gene technology may soon be applied to confirm or kill old Saga stories about Rollon.

Rollo carries the title of Duke of Normandy and Count of Rouen, and was the great-great-great-grandfather of the ancestor of the English royal house, William the Conqueror.

Was Rollo the Norwegian Viking Gange-Rolv or did he and his ancestors come from Denmark?

The origin of Rollo is disputed. Norman and Norse sources contain in part conflicting information.

From medieval times Norwegian and Icelandic history writers have agreed that Gange-Rolv and Rollo is one and the same person, the Viking chieftain Gange-Rolv who in time came to France after being exiled from Norway by King Harald Prettyhair, as some of the medieval sagas tell.

The Norwegian-Icelandic version has been challenged by Danish historians, who have claimed that Rollo was originally Danish. And Norwegian, Icelandic, French and British experts have considered that he most probably was Norwegian. "But we have no definitive evidence," says Claus Krag, who is an expert on medieval Norwegian history and professor of ancient history at Telemark University College. From the report "Biogeographical Origins and Y-chromosome Signature for the House of Normandy" by Michael R. Maglio (published online in April 2014), it appears that Rollo had Danish genes in the DNA of the male Y-chromosome. Judged from the information in the article, Rollo was of Danish origin.

There is more research in store. Sturla Ellingvåg of the Research Foundation Explico, in 2010 announced he would try to use the latest technology in an effort to disclose the origin of Rollo by a DNA hunt in the fall of 2010. He has been joined by Professor Per Holck of anatomy and biology professor Erika Hagel Berg at the University of Oslo. In addition, a French archaeologist, historian and language professor has been involved in the project.

There are no remnants of Rollo that are usable for DNA testing. But it may be possible to get the DNA profiles of his grandson and great grandson Richard I and Richard II by opening their stone coffins. They are in a crypt in the town of Fécamp, 40 miles north of Le Havre, and were at first scheduled to be opened during the fall of 2010. After years of delay, Explico now informs as a 2016 prediction: "The long awaited Rollo project in Normandy, France is within reach of completion."

Between 29 February and 2 March, 2016, an Explico team went to Normandy to open the graves of the two Rollon descendants, after French authorities and the French Church allowed it in January. "If we get good enough DNA samples, it is possible to ascertain whether Rollon was of Danish or Norwegian origin," says Sturla Ellingvåg in the team.

Previous gene tests of remains from the Viking Age have revealed DNA differences between Danish and Norwegian Vikings. If any of these differences can be traced in the Rollo-Descendants DNA, it may be possible to substantiate that Rollo was Norwegian.

12 DNA EXAMINING OF ROLLO'S DESCENDANTS REMAINS

In April 2016 a group of Norwegians succeeded in gaining access to the remains of the Dukes, Richard the I and II, at Fécamp in order to extract DN from their remains



Figuur 58 Examining the bones of Rollo

For seven years a group of historians and genealogist have campaigned to open the graves of Richard the Fearless and his son, Richard the Good, dukes of Normandy. Their tomb is located in the floor of the monastery in Fécamp. This January 2016 the authorities in France as well as the Catholic Church gave permission.

Apparently luck struck. In one of the graves the lower jaw was found with enough teeth to carry out a DNA-analysis. According to the press release, the aim is to decide whether their ancestor, Rollo, was Norwegian

or Danish. In theory it should be possible through a mtDNA or a Y-DNA test the ethnicity of the person in the grave and by extension, those of his direct ancestors. MtDNA testing identifies the Haplogroup of the person in question, while Y-DNA testing can identify direct male-line ancestry, because the majority of the Y-chromosome is transmitted from father to son nearly unchanged.

From the newspaper accounts, it has not been revealed exactly which DNA-analyses are going to be carried out; nor whether they will be supplemented by for instance a forensic stable isotope analysis. Although this may not indicate the geographical heritage of the dukes (which is presumably Normandy), it might nevertheless give us important information about the diet of the person or persons in question, thus presenting us with important cultural historical knowledge. Did the Norman dukes for instance eat a lot of fish or did they prefer animal protein?

What is the fuss?

To understand the reason behind the project, it is necessary to present the group behind.

The leader of the expedition is the historian Sturla Ellingvåg, who is founder of **Explico**, which"

"works to expand the knowledge of "Human History using New Technologies such as mapping of migrations through DNA as historical tools".

Explico is a private company, but affiliated with the Centre for GeoGenetics at the University of Copenhagen and with both Professor Eske Willerslev from the said institution and Professor Emeritus Per Holck from the University of Oslo. The genetic studies will be carried out in Denmark.

At the opening of the grave in Fécamp both Sturla Ellingvåg, Per Holck and Andaine Seguin Orlando from the DNA lab at the Centre for Geogenetics at the University of Copenhagen were present together with Ole Bjørn Fausa. The latter is a Norwegian investor and entrepreneur, who is founder of the Samlerhuset Group, which sells coins and stamps at auctions. His company finances the “expedition”.

According to the press release, Fausa is personally interested in the results. He claims that he by accident discovered “that he descends from Rollo in the 35th degree”. It is apparent, the founder of Samlerhuset hopes to have his DNA directly linked to the profile found in the graves in Fécamp, somewhat in the manner of the identification of Richard III and his modern day descendants.

13 DISTRIBUTION OF ROLLO’S ANCESTORS AND COUSINS

It’s been nearly a year since (1914) I wrote about William the Conqueror’s DNA. Based on a study of men with surnames historically associated with William and their corresponding Y-DNA, I concluded that I identified the genetic signature of the first Norman King of England. Now it’s time to get back to William and more specifically his 3rd **Great Grandfather, Rollo**. To be honest, the 37 marker Y-



Figur 59 Opening of the Graves by the Explico Team

DNA haplotype that I published is really connected to Richard the Fearless, William’s great grandfather. Genealogically, the surnames in the study trace back to Richard.

As long as there was no hanky-panky, William the Conqueror has the same Y-DNA as Richard. What that also means is that Richard has the same Y-DNA as his grandfather, Rollo.

Based on the work done in my previous paper, the following haplotype is that of William the Conqueror (and Richard the Fearless)-

DYS393	DYS390	DYS19	DYS391	DYS385a	DYS385b	DYS426	DYS388	DYS439	DYS389i	DYS392	DYS389ii
13	24	14	11	11	14	12	12	12	13	13	29

DYS45	DYS459	DYS459	DYS45	DYS45	DYS44	DYS43	DYS44	DYS44	DYS464	DYS464	DYS464	DYS464
8	a	b	5	4	7	7	8	9	a	b	c	d
17	9	10	11	11	25	15	19	29	15	15	17	17

	Y-GATA-										
DYS460	H4	YCAIIa	YCAIIb	DYS456	DYS607	DYS576	DYS570	CDYa	CDYb	DYS442	DYS438
11	11	19	23	15	15	17	17	36	37	12	12

There is an assumption, inherent in genetic genealogy, that there weren’t any non-paternal events between the generations that separate Rollo and William and that this haplotype is that of Rollo as well.

One of the goals for this Rollo study is to get more accurate with his haplotype by narrowing the dataset to only those records with 67 markers. The second goal is to determine Rollo's haplogroup R SNP. The best I was able to determine for William was R-P312, which is a fairly high level SNP. My third goal is to determine Rollo's origin using my TribeMapper analysis. Whether Rollo is Danish or Norwegian has been disputed for hundreds of years.

I picked up where I left off with William. There were 152 Y-DNA records that made it into the William the Conqueror Modal Haplotype (WCMH). For each of these records a 67 marker test result and SNP testing result were added to the analysis, where the data was available. I threw out any record that didn't have enough data and retained the ones that grouped into a single SNP of R-DF13 (just downstream of R-L21). Based on these final 25 records, I have identified the 67 marker Rollo Norman Modal Haplotype (RNMH) as follows:

DYS3 93	DYS3 90	DYS 19	DYS3 91	DYS38 5a	DYS38 5b	DYS4 26	DYS3 88	DYS4 39	DYS3 89i	DYS3 92	DYS38 9ii
13	24	14	11	11	14	12	12	12	13	13	29

DYS 458	DYS4 59a	DYS4 59b	DYS 455	DYS 454	DYS 447	DYS 437	DYS 448	DYS 449	DYS4 64a	DYS4 64b	DYS4 64c	DYS4 64d
17	9	10	11	11	25	15	19	29	15	15	17	17

DYS4 60	Y-GATA- H4	YCAII a	YCAII b	DYS4 56	DYS6 07	DYS5 76	DYS5 70	CDY a	CDY b	DYS4 42	DYS4 38
11	11	19	23	15	15	17	17	36	37	12	12

DYS 531	DYS 578	DYF39 5S1a	DYF39 5S1b	DYS 590	DYS 537	DYS 641	DYS 472	DYF4 06S1	DYS 511	DYS 425	DYS4 13a	DYS4 13b
11	9	15	16	8	10	10	8	10	10	12	23	23

DYS5 57	DYS5 94	DYS4 36	DYS4 90	DYS5 34	DYS4 50	DYS4 44	DYS4 81	DYS5 20	DYS4 46	DYS6 17	DYS5 68
16	10	12	12	16	8	12	22	20	13	12	11

DYS487	DYS572	DYS640	DYS492	DYS565
13	11	11	12	12

Based on this modal haplotype and the associated SNP, a broader collection of genetic cousin records were identified to be used with my new TribeMapper analysis (Biogeographical Multilateration).



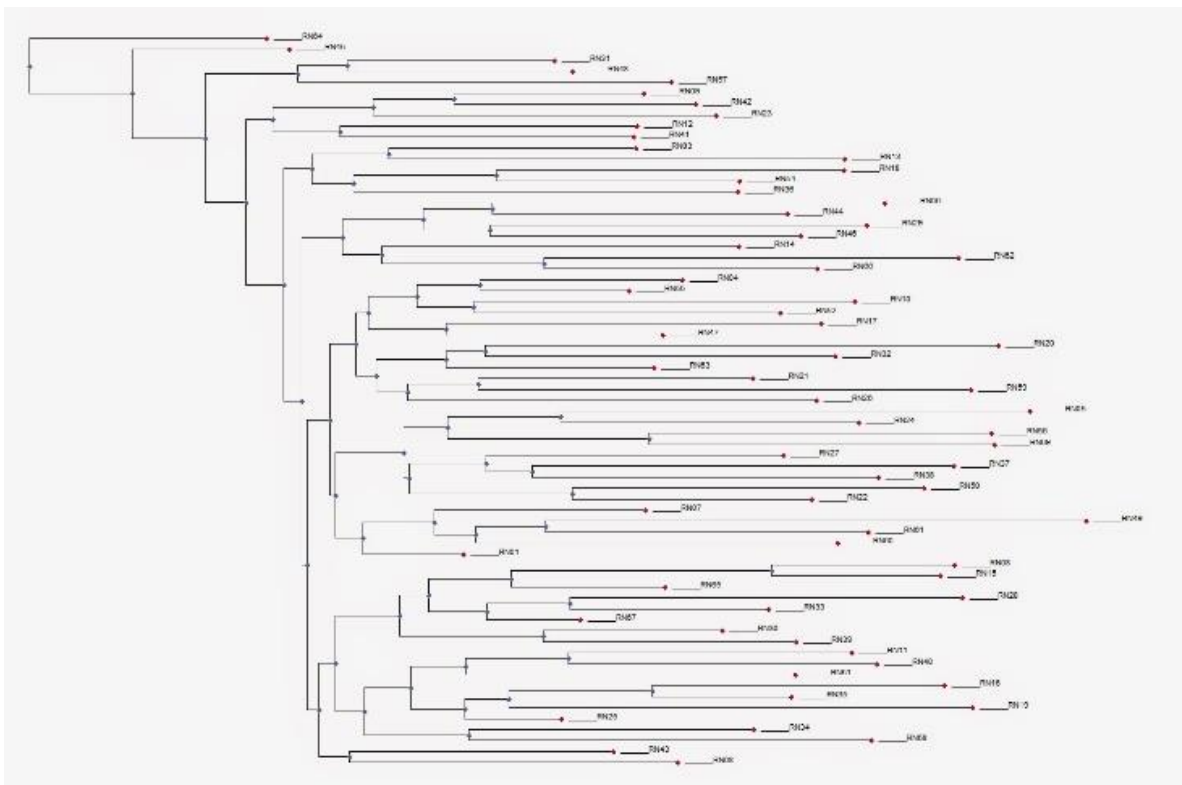
Figur 60 Geographic distribution of Rollo's cousins

Based on this modal haplotype and the associated SNP, a broader collection of genetic cousin records were identified to be used with my new TribeMapper analysis (Biogeographical Multilateration).

This map shows the geographic distribution of Rollo's cousins. The large number of points along the coast of Normandy is a good sign. If the majority of points were in Eastern Europe, I would have to revisit my whole hypothesis about William the Conqueror. It is best not to try to interpret any relationships until we look at them through the lens of a phylogenetic tree.

The TribeMapper analysis takes into consideration the mapped location, the tree node connections and the time between common ancestors.

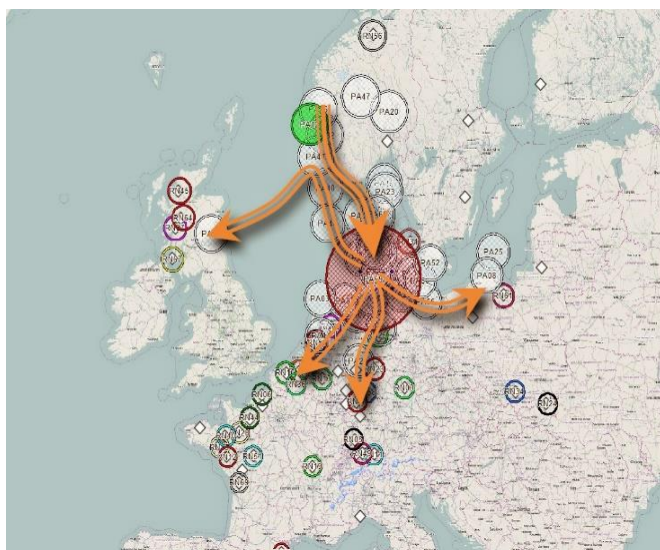
The time is converted to distance based on the demic diffusion migration rate. The distance is plotted to 'triangulate' the geographic location of each common ancestor. This is a process called multilateration.



Figur 61 Tribemaker analysis

The earliest documented origins for Rollo come from Dudo of Saint-Quentin in 1015 and William of Jumièges in 1060. Both 'histories' were commissioned by the House of Normandy and attribute a Danish origin to Rollo. Commissioned biographies can border on mythology. The Norwegian Orkneying Saga, from the 13th century, gives Rollo a Norwegian origin.

I've run the analysis with Rollo's record as an unknown location. TribeMapper allows us to back into the location for any unknown point. What we get is a highly constrained location for Rollo's ancestor, in the middle of Denmark.



The data then shows that Rollo may have lived within 226 km of that paternal ancestor. The red circle illustrates the range for Rollo. This covers the majority of Denmark. The data also shows that Rollo's ancestors, going back at least 12 generations were also in Denmark.

We can give the Norwegians some credit also. The ancestors of Rollo's ancestors were Norwegian, with an origin on the west coast of Norway. Rollo's ancestors were responsible for multiple branches of migration into Europe. This includes a back migration into Norway that then went on to invade Scotland.

This was accomplished with small sample of 65 records for simplification. Much larger data sets could determine the genetic flow in a greater geographic and chronologic view. Additional records within the same SNP grouping could result in a more accurate origin for Rollo. Records that are genetically upstream from the SNP and STR group used, may identify the nomadic migrations prior to the Western Norway settlement.

14 WIVES OF ROLLO

14.1 Poppa



Figuur 62 Poppa

Poppa also known as: "Papia", "Papie", "Popa", "Poppa", "Poppa of Bayeux", "Poppe de Rennes", "Poppa de Valois", "Duchess of Normandy/", "Poppa /Normandy/", "Duchesse de Normandie", "Papie de Valois", "Poppa de Senlis", "(Poppa de Senlis)", ""Papia"", "aka Duchess of Normandy", "Lady Popa de Bayeaux". Born in 872 in Evreux, Eure, Haute Normandie, France. Died in 925 in Rpuen, Seine Maritime, Haute-Normandie, France. Buried in Bayeux, Calvados, Haute-Normandie, Eure, France. Poppa, said by chronicler Dudo of Saint-Quentin to have been a daughter of Count Berenger, captured during a raid at Bayeux. She was his concubine or wife. They had children: (a) William Longsword, born "overseas" (b) Gerloc, wife of William III, Duke of Aquitaine.

Dudo fails to identify her mother, but later chronicler William of Jumieges makes this explicit. Kadlin, said by Ari the Historian to have been daughter of Ganger Hrolf, traditionally identified with Rollo.

She married a Scottish King called Bjolan, and had at least a daughter called Midbjorg. She was taken captive by and married Helgi Ottarson.

14.2 Gisela



Gisela of France (d. 919), the daughter of Charles III of France - according to the Norman chronicler Dudo of St. Quentin. However, this marriage and Gisela herself are unknown to Frankish sources.

Figuur 63 Century depiction of the marriage of Rollo and Gisela

15 CHILDREN OF ROLLO AND POPPA

Offspring of Rollo of Normandy and <u>Poppa van Bayeux (c870-c910)</u>			
Name	Birth	Death	Joined with
<u>William Longsword, 2nd Duke of Normandy (893-942)</u>	<u>893</u>	<u>17 December 942</u>	<u>Sprota (?-?)</u> <u>Liutgarde de Vermandois (c920-978)</u>
<u>Gerloc de Normandie (?-962)</u>		<u>14 October 962</u>	<u>William III of Aquitaine (c900-963)</u>
<u>Robert of Corbeil (?-?)</u>			
<u>Crespina de Normandie (?-?)</u>			
<u>Gerletta de Normandie (?-?)</u>			
<u>Kathlin de Normandie (?-?)</u>			

Dudo ii, 16 (p. 39) makes Poppa the mother of William, but does not give the mother of Gerloc/Adele. Guillaume de Jumièges makes Poppa the mother of both Guillaume and Gerloc.

William I Longsword (893 – 17 December 942) was the second Duke of Normandy from his father's death until his own assassination. Little is known about his early years. He was born in Bayeux or Rouen to Rollo and his wife Poppa. All that is known of Poppa is that she was a Christian, and the daughter to Berengar of Rennes, the previous lord of Britannia Nova, which eventually became western Normandy. According to the William's planctus, he was baptised a Christian.

William Longsword, 2nd Duke of Normandy (893-942) - Son and heir to Norman Duchy

Gerloc or Adele - Daughter m. Guillaume (William) Tête d'Étoupe, Count of Poitou and Duke of Aquitaine. Around 942, monks from Saint-Cyrien de Poitiers arrived at Jumieges. They had been sent by William's sister Gerloc who had married William III, duke of Aquitaine and count of Poitiers.

More children are listed on the Royal Genealogies Website (ROYAL92.GED), online [RGW](#).

16 DEATH OF ROLLO



Sometime around 927, Rollo passed the fief in Normandy to his son, William Longsword. Rollo may have lived for a few years after that, but certainly died before 933. According to the historian Adhemar, 'As Rollo's death drew near, he went mad and had a hundred Christian prisoners beheaded in front of him in honour of the gods whom he had worshipped, and in the end distributed a hundred pounds of gold around the churches in honour of the true God in whose name he had accepted baptism.'

Even though Rollo had converted to Christianity, some of his pagan roots surfaced at the end.

17 STATUES OF ROLLO



Figuur 64 Statue of Rollo in Rouen, France

Today there are **three such large statues of Rollo** in the world, and they can be found in **Rouen, Ålesund, and Fargo in the USA**.

We now slip through the next several centuries to the year 1911. The French had forgiven Rollo and the Vikings for plundering and pillaging their northern parts. They recognized the great contributions the Norsemen had made toward modern French culture; Rollo's rule of Normandy was based on rarely-followed democratic principles. (Or they just wanted an excuse to throw a party). They chose to celebrate the thousand year anniversary of King Charles' deal with Rollo. Among those attending the festivities in Rouen, the capital of Normandy, were representatives of the Norwegian government, Sons of Norway and the Norman Society of America.

As part of the millennial, a statue of Rollo was made depicting the old Viking gripping his sword with one hand and pointing at the land he claimed with the other. This statue was erected in Rouen and a replica was sent to Alesund, Norway, Rollo's home territory.

Town Park of Alesund



Figur 65 Town Park of Alesund

The Town Park in Ålesund was built at the west side of Mount Aksla in 1885, by Ålesund municipality. A gardener planned the park after the design of other popular parks in those days, where the area's topography is the basis of its construction.

The part of the park that faces the street was constructed in 1921-23. In the park there are a variety of plants and trees, and the famous 418 steps long staircase leading up to Mount Aksla is also to be found here.

In the park there are two statues of historic men that both have a connection to Ålesund. One of the statues portrays the German Kaiser Wilhelm II, in appreciation of his help after the Town Fire in 1904.

The other statue is of the Viking Gange-Rolf, also known as Rollo. He is said to be from the island Giske outside Ålesund, and fled to France in 911, where he founded Normandy. He was the forefather of William the Conqueror, who conquered England in 1066, making Rollo the forefather of the English royal family as well.

In connection with the millennium celebration of the conquest of Normandy in 911, Ålesund received the 2,65 metres tall bronze statue of Rollo as a gift from the city of Rouen in 1911.



Statue of Rollo in Fargo, North Dakota, USA

The third statue was given to the citizens of Fargo, ND and shipped to America. Another celebration was planned for the weekend of July 12, 1912, in Fargo. The statue would be dedicated at its location near the Great Northern railroad depot. The Sons of Norway convention, then in session, the officers and delegates would take part in the parade and dedication of the statue.

Figur 66 Statue of Rollo in Fargo, North Dakota, USA

Patriotic music representing France, the USA and Norway was performed by bands and sung by the thousands gathered, including rep. of the appropriate governments and national organizations. A proclamation by the mayor of Rouen, bound in leather with gold seal of the city, gold leaf and other ornamentation, read in part, "Since these ancient times, these fierce warriors have populated and have become a hard-working people whose importance is shown by the powerful association of the Sons of Norway which has preserved the cult of memory, and which participated last year in the celebrations in the ancient Duchy of Normandy."

Reading of this inspired Sons of Norway member Jo Skodje, who first encountered Rollo's statue was a lad who grew up in Fargo in 1920's and 30's. As an Air Force pilot during World War II, Skodje witnessed the destruction of many Normandy cities. A few years ago, after reading about Rollo, he returned to the sites he had traveled through during wartime.

Having seen first-hand what war could do, Skodje wondered about the fate of the Rollo statue in Rouen. He wrote about his visit to the site: "We reached the church yard and among many references to Joan of Arc, we rounded the corner of the church and saw it. Standing in the familiar pose and surrounded by flowers was the original statue of Rollo. After two world wars and nearly 75 winters, he was much the worse for wear. Missing was his finger pointing to the earth and a portion of his sword, but he had been found.

Pursuit of Rollo by Skodje did not end there. "in a beautiful park on the west coast of Norway, in the picture postcard city of Alesund, stands the third and final statue. Here, a scant 15 miles from the tiny town of Skodje (his father's birthplace),--the search ended."

The Rollo statue in Fargo was relocated in a new home in a small park and rededicated. A time capsule was placed in the base of the granite plaque near the statue. The inscription on the plaque is in English, French and Norwegian: "For world peace Normans united. Rollo, born in 860 A.D. in More, Norway. Founded the dukedom of Normandy 911. His line through William the conqueror became the royal house of England 1066 and Norway 1905." Rollo was honored "not simply as a viking marauder but as a citizen with remarkable ideals in governing Normandy. His ideals, his ideas, his manner of governing has had a lasting effect." And three cities help keep alive his memory.

18 FARGO'S STATUE OF ROLLO GIVES NORWEGIAN AMERICANS SENSE OF OWN HISTORY



The Rollo statue north of the Sons of Norway lodge in central Fargo is a century old. It was one of five Norwegian monuments erected in Fargo in the decade following Norway's independence from Sweden in 1905, part of a resurgence in ethnic pride led locally by Dr. Herman O. Fjelde of Wahpeton.

The Fargo statue is one of three replicas of an 1865 work by the world-renowned artist Arsene Letellier. In response to requests from the Sons of Norway, officials from the French city of Rouen agreed to task the Norwegian Society of America with finding a suitable

location for the statue. Fargo was selected over its chief rivals Eau Claire, Minneapolis, and Moorhead, Minnesota, and so some 15,000 spectators gathered outside the Great Northern Railway depot in downtown Fargo to witness the unveiling of the statue on July 12, 1912. The event was marred by a minor diplomatic incident when a University of Wisconsin professor made offensive remarks about Catholicism, incensing the French dignitaries present and souring relations between Rouen and Fargo.

The diminished public visibility of Rollo's current location reflects a decline in the Norwegian cultural presence in Fargo. According to the 1910 Census, 16.5% of Cass County residents at the time were either Norwegian immigrants or first-generation Norwegian Americans.

Unlike the great celebration that greeted the statue's arrival nearly a century before, the rededication ceremony in 1990, when the statue was relocated, attracted only a handful of onlookers. The passing of the immigrant generation can be considered the main determinant in the reinterpretation of Rollo and his movement to a less visible location.

This does not necessarily mean that Rollo's new place in Fargo's culture is any less significant, however.

Standing in full view from the entrance to the Sons of Norway Kringen Lodge, Rollo is now in the company of those whose ancestors brought him to Fargo.

Perhaps it is there, near a thriving stronghold of Norwegian identity, where Rollo can most effectively memorialize the city's Scandinavian heritage.



Figur 67 Norwegian Americans in Fargo celebrating 100 years statue of Rollo

Verlyn Anderson of Moorhead talks about the history of the Rollo the Viking statue Tuesday during a presentation at the Sons of Norway in downtown Fargo.

When Gange Rolf first arrived here in 1912, everyone knew his name. In fact, 15,000 people showed up to welcome him to North Dakota.

Now, 100 years later, Rolf, perhaps more commonly known as Rollo, is still here. The statue stands across the street from the Sons of Norway Kringen Lodge downtown.

But his fan base is not quite as big anymore, something local historians were hoping to change with a presentation of gifts to the lodge here Tuesday night.

"Most of the people of Fargo are not even aware probably that there is a French statue standing over in Fargo, or how the heck that thing ever got there," said Verlyn Anderson, retired director of the Concordia College library and a professor of Scandinavian studies there for 30 years.

Anderson presented to the lodge on Tuesday night a flag from Normandy, France, which was brought to him from a French exchange student last year after the student realized that Fargo is home to a bronze replica of the original stone statue of Rollo found in Rouen, Normandy.

Only three of these statues exist in the world. The other replica is in Alesund, Norway, believed to be Rollo's birthplace.

"Why they sent it here, I don't know," Anderson said. "Maybe they decided they didn't want the Americans to forget that history."

Rollo, a Viking conqueror, was a real thorn in the side of the French in the late ninth century, Anderson says, constantly storming the coastline but being bought off with gold.

Finally in 911, France officially gave him the land that Rollo renamed "Normandy," Old Norse for "the land of the Norsemen."

"And of course, they've been there ever since," Anderson said.

But how did Rollo end up in Fargo? Fast-forward to 1912: Herman Fjelde, a local physician and lover of the arts, heard a duplicate of the original Rollo statue was to be sent to "the state in the U.S. that has the highest percentage of Norwegian settlers," Anderson said. "So it was sent here."

And Fjelde lobbied for it to finally land in Fargo.

"He was very much a promoter of Norwegian culture in the U.S., particularly in the Midwest," said Fjelde's great-granddaughter, Claudia Pratt, the former executive director of the Nordic Culture Clubs. "While he was a doctor, his real love was art and history and culture."

Fargo, she said, was a town on the grow in the early 1900s and looking to cultivate some culture by adding art and historical items to the city.

When the statue arrived, they planted it near the Great Northern Railway Depot, and thousands attended, people Pratt called "the movers and shakers of Fargo."

Now, 100 years later, Rollo no longer stands near the train tracks. Lodge officials asked the city to move him nearer to the Sons of Norway, Anderson jokes, as a guardian.

"I always say that he's protecting the Norwegian lodge from the Elim Church, which of course was settled by Swedes," he said, laughing. "No, no, no, but we have to joke about our heritage."

Pratt said in the time of her father, the statue acted as a sort of cultural beacon to the many Norwegians in the area, something she believes it continues to do.

"In my mind, Norwegians really wanted to be Norwegians in America when they immigrated over here," she said. And the statue provided "a sense of pride for being Norwegians in America."

DEEL 4

VIKING WORLD TOUR



THE VIKING	
- world tour -	
793	ENGLAND
795	WALES
799	FRANCE
807	IRELAND
826	RUSSIA
844	SPAIN
845	MOROCCO
860	ICELAND
921	GREECE
957	ITALY
1000	AMERICA

19 EUROPE DURING 10th CENTURY



Figur 68 Europe during Tenth Century

20 VIKING ROUTES AND BOATS USED



Figur 69 European Viking Routes

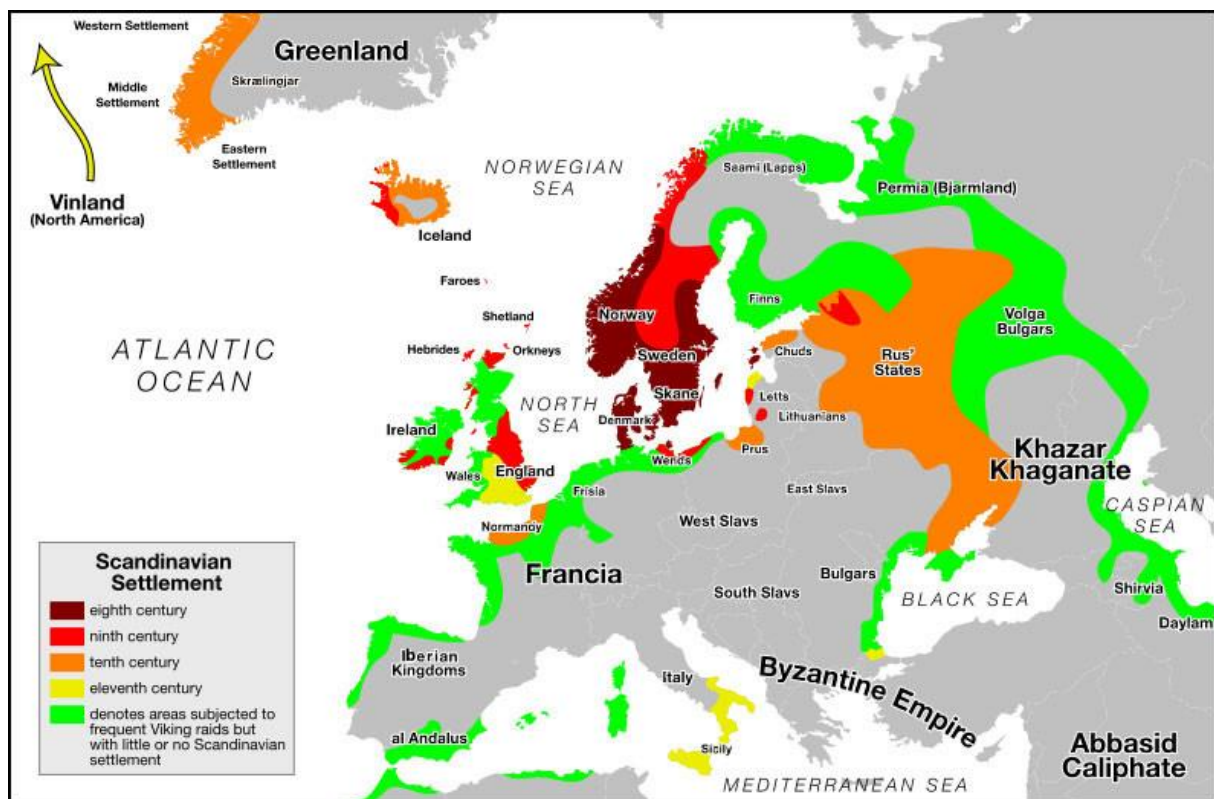
The war-ships of the Vikings were called **dragons**, from being decorated with the head of a dragon, serpent, or other wild animal; and the word "draco" was adopted in the Latin of the Middle Ages to denote a ship of war of the larger class. The *snekke* was the cutter or smaller war-ship.





Shields were hung over the side-rails of the ships. The wolf-skin pelts were nearly as good as armour against the sword.

21 VIKING EXPANSION



Figur 70 Map showing Scandinavian settlement from 8th to 11th Century

Map showing area of **Scandinavian settlement** in the eighth (dark red), ninth (red), tenth (orange) centuries. Yellow denotes areas conquered by the Normans in the 11th century, partly descendants of the Vikings. Green denotes areas subjected to Viking raids.

Viking expansion is the process by which the Vikings sailed most of the North Atlantic, reaching south to North Africa and east to Russia, Constantinople and the Middle East as looters, traders, colonists and mercenaries. Vikings under Leif Ericsson, the heir to Erik the Red, reached North America and set up a short-lived settlement in present-day L'Anse aux Meadows, Newfoundland and Labrador, Canada. Longer and more established settlements were formed in Greenland, Iceland, Great Britain and Normandy.



21.1 Motivation for expansion

There is much debate among historians about what drove the Viking expansion. One widely held idea is that it was a quest for retaliation against continental Europeans for their previous invasions of Viking homelands, such as Charlemagne's campaign to force Scandinavian pagans to convert to Christianity by killing any who refused to become baptized.

Figuur 71 Guests from Overseas

The historian Rudolf Simek has observed, "It is not a coincidence if the early Viking activity occurred during the reign of Charlemagne." Those who favor this explanation point out that the penetration of Christianity into Scandinavia caused serious conflict and divided Norway for almost a century.

However, the first target of Viking raids was not the Frankish Kingdom, but England, which seems inconsistent with vengeance as a motive.

Another idea is that the Viking population had exceeded the agricultural potential of their homeland. This may have been true of western Norway, where there were few reserves of land, but it is unlikely the rest of Scandinavia was experiencing famine.

Alternatively, some scholars propose that the Viking expansion was driven by a youth bulge effect: since the eldest son of a family customarily inherited the family's entire estate, younger sons had to seek their fortune by emigrating or engaging in raids.

However, no rise in population, youth bulge, or decline in agricultural production during this period has been definitively demonstrated. Nor is it clear why such pressures would have prompted expansion overseas rather than into the vast, uncultivated forest areas in the interior of the Scandinavian Peninsula, although perhaps **emigration or sea raids may have been easier or more profitable than clearing large areas of forest for farm and pasture in a region with a limited growing season.**

An idea that avoids these shortcomings is that the Scandinavians might have practiced selective procreation leading to a shortage of women, and that the Vikings main motive for emigration was to acquire wives, although this would not explain why the Vikings chose to settle in other countries rather than bringing the women back with them to Scandinavia.

It is also possible that a decline in the profitability of old trade routes drove the Vikings to seek out new, more profitable ones. Trade between western Europe and the rest of Eurasia may have suffered after the Roman Empire fell in the 5th century, and the expansion of Islam in the 7th century may have reduced trade opportunities within western Europe by redirecting resources along the Silk Road. Trade in the Mediterranean was at its lowest level in history when the Vikings began their expansion. The Viking expansion opened new trade routes in Arabic and Frankish lands, and took control of trade markets previously dominated by the Frisians after the Franks' destroyed the Frisian fleet.¹

21.2. Settlement demographics

Viking settlements in Ireland and Great Britain are thought to have been primarily male enterprises, however some graves show nearly equal male/female distribution. Disagreement is partly due to method of classification; previous archaeology often guessed biological sex from burial artifacts, whereas modern archaeology may use Osteology to find biological sex, and isotope analysis to find origin (DNA sampling is usually not possible). The males buried during that period in a cemetery on the Isle of Man had mainly names of Norse origin, while the females there had names of indigenous origin.



Figuur 72 The Ravager, John Charles Dollman, 1909

Irish and British women are mentioned in old texts on the founding of Iceland, indicating that the Viking explorers were accompanied there by women from the British Isles who either came along voluntarily or were taken along by force.

Genetic studies of the population in the Western Isles and Isle of Skye also show that Viking settlements were established mainly by male Vikings who mated with women from the local populations of those places.

However, not all Viking settlements were primarily male. Genetic studies of the Shetland population suggest that family units consisting of Viking women as well as men were the norm among the migrants to these areas.

This may be because areas like Shetland Island, being closer to Scandinavia, were more suitable targets for family migrations, while frontier settlements further north and west were more suitable for groups of unattached male colonizers.

21.3. England

During the reign of King Beorhtric of Wessex (786-802) three ships of "Northmen" landed at Portland Bay in Dorset. The local reeve mistook the Vikings for merchants and directed them to the nearby royal estate, but they killed him and his men. The earliest recorded planned raid, on 6 January, 793, was on the monastery on the island of Lindisfarne, off the east coast of England. According to the 12th century Anglo-Norman chronicler Symeon of Durham, the resident monks were killed, or thrown into the sea to drown, or carried away as slaves—along with some of the church treasures. In 875, after enduring eight decades of repeated Viking raids, the monks fled Lindisfarne, carrying the relics of Saint Cuthbert with them.

In 865, a group of hitherto uncoordinated bands of predominantly Danish Vikings joined together to form a large army and landed in East Anglia. The army was described by the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle as the Great Heathen Army and was said to have been led by Ivar the Boneless, Halfdan and Guthrum. They crossed England into Northumbria and captured York (Jorvik), where some settled as farmers. Most of the English kingdoms, being in turmoil, could not stand against the Vikings, but Alfred of Wessex defeated the Great Army at the Battle of Edington in 878. There followed the Treaty of Wedmore the same year and the Treaty of Alfred and Guthrum in 886. These treaties formalised the boundaries of their kingdoms and the Viking Danelaw territory, with provisions for peaceful relations between the English and the Vikings. Despite these treaties, conflict continued on and off. However, Alfred and his successors were eventually able to drive back the Viking frontier and retake York.

A new wave of Vikings appeared in England in 947, when Erik Bloodaxe captured York. The Viking presence continued through the reign of Cnut the Great (1016–1035), after which a series of inheritance arguments weakened the hold on power of Cnut's heirs.

In one instance in England, according to the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, a small Viking fleet attacked a rich monastery at Jarrow. The Vikings were met with stronger resistance than they had expected: their leaders were killed. The raiders escaped, only to have their ships beached at Tynemouth and the crews killed by locals. This was one of the last raids on England for about 40 years. The Vikings focused instead on Ireland and Scotland.



Figur 73 Map of England in 878 depicting Danelaw territory

When Edward the Confessor died in 1066, his successor Harold Godwinson was challenged by the Norwegian king Harald Hardrada. Hardrada was killed, and his Norwegian army defeated, by Godwinson at the Battle of Stamford Bridge. Godwinson himself was killed when the English army were defeated at the Battle of Hastings, in October 1066 by William the Conqueror. William was crowned king of England on 25 December 1066, however it was several years before he was able to bring the kingdom under his complete control. The Danish king Sweyn Estridsson sailed up the Humber, in 1070, with an army in support of Edgar the Ætheling, the last male member of the English royal family. However, after capturing York, Sweyn accepted a payment from William to desert Edgar. Five years later one of Sweyn's sons set sail for England to support another English rebellion, but it had been crushed before they arrived, so they settled for plundering the city of York and surrounding area, before returning home. In 1085 Sweyn's son, now Canute IV of Denmark planned a major invasion against England but the assembled fleet never sailed.

There was no serious invasion or raids of England by the Danes after this.

It is important to bear in mind that not all the Norse arriving in Ireland and Great Britain came as raiders. Many arrived with families and livestock, often in the wake of the capture of territory by their forces. The populations then merged over time by intermarriage into the Anglo-Saxon population of these areas. Many words in the English language are from old Scandinavian languages, showing the importance of this contact.

21.4. Scotland

The monastery at Iona on the west coast was first raided in 794, and had to be abandoned some fifty years later after several devastating attacks. While there are few records from the earliest period, it is believed that Scandinavian presence in Scotland increased in the 830s.

The isles to the north and west of Scotland were heavily colonised by Norwegian Vikings. Shetland, Orkney and the Hebrides came under Norse control, sometimes as fiefs under the King of Norway, and at other times as separate entities under variously the Kings of the Isles, the Earldom of Orkney and the later Kings of Mann and the Isles. Shetland and Orkney were the last of these to be incorporated into Scotland in as late as 1468.

21.5. Cornwall



Figur 74 King Canute's territories 1014 -1035

In 722, according to the *Welsh Annals* the Cornish gained a victory at the Battle of Hehil. The battle was probably against the neighbouring Anglo-Saxon Kingdom of Wessex led by King Ine. The battle may have been in the Camel estuary area, perhaps near modern-day Padstow.^[30] This battle, plus the continual harrying of Wessex, by their Danish allies, allowed the Cornish to remain independent for the next hundred years with their eastern border on the River Exe-River Taw line until 838. The *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* reported that *heathen men* (the Danes) raided Charmouth, Dorset in 833 AD, then in 997 AD they destroyed the Dartmoor town of Lydford, and from 1001 AD to 1003 AD they occupied the old Roman city of Exeter.

The Cornish were subjugated by Æthelstan and the border finally set at the River Tamar in 936. However, the Cornish remained semi-autonomous until their annexation into England after the Norman Conquest.

21.6. Wales

Wales was not colonized by the Vikings significantly as in eastern England. The Vikings did, however, settle in small numbers in the south around St Davids, Haverfordwest, and the Gower. Place names such as Skokholm, Skomer, and Swansea remain as evidence of the Norse settlement. The Vikings, however, were not able to set up a Viking state or control Wales, owing to the powerful forces of Welsh kings, and, unlike in Scotland, the aristocracy was relatively unharmed.

Nevertheless, following the successful Viking alliance with Britanny in 865, the Britons made their peace with the Danes, and a Viking/Welsh alliance in 878 defeated an Anglo-Saxon army from Mercia. Although the Welsh had been longtime enemies of the Anglo-Saxon kingdom of Mercia, their relationship with the Anglo-Saxon kingdom of Wessex was somewhat warmer. The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle of 893, for example, refers to Vikings being pursued by a combined force of West Saxons and north Welsh along the River Severn. The combined Anglo-Saxon and Welsh army eventually overtook the Vikings before defeating them at the Battle of Buttington.

The city of Swansea was founded by the imperialist Sweyn Forkbeard, King of Denmark, who by 1013 was King of the Danes, Anglo-Saxons and Norwegians. Swansea is a corruption of the Norse *Sweyns Ey*, which means "Sweyn's island". The island refers to the area around the estuary of the river Tawe. The neighboring Gower Peninsula has some place names of Norse origin (such as Worm's Head; worm is the Norse word for dragon, as the Vikings believed that the serpent-shaped island was a sleeping dragon). Twenty miles (32 km) west of Cardiff on the Vale of Glamorgan coast is the semi-flooded island of Tusker Rock, which takes its name from Tuska, the Viking who established a settlement in the area.

21.7. Ireland

The Vikings conducted extensive raids in Ireland and founded many towns, including Dublin, Limerick, Mullingar, Wexford, Waterford and Leixlip. Literature, crafts, and decorative styles in Ireland and Britain reflected Scandinavian culture. Vikings traded at Irish markets in Dublin. Excavations found

imported fabrics from England, Byzantium, Persia, and central Asia. Dublin became so crowded by the 11th century that houses were constructed outside the town walls.



The Vikings pillaged monasteries on Ireland's west coast in 795, and then spread out to cover the rest of the coastline. The north and east of the island were most affected. During the first 40 years, the raids were conducted by small, mobile Viking groups. From 830 on, the groups consisted of large fleets of Viking ships. From 840, the Vikings began establishing permanent bases at the coasts. Dublin was the most significant settlement in the long term. The Irish became accustomed to the Viking presence and culture. In some cases they became allies and also intermarried throughout all of Ireland.

In 832, a Viking fleet of about 120 ships under Turgesius invaded kingdoms on Ireland's northern and eastern coasts. Some believe that the increased number of invaders coincided with Scandinavian leaders' desires to control the profitable raids on the western shores of Ireland.

During the mid-830s, raids began to push deeper into Ireland. Navigable waterways made this deeper penetration possible. After 840, the Vikings had several bases in strategic locations throughout Ireland.

In 838, a small Viking fleet entered the River Liffey in eastern Ireland, probably led by the chieftain Saxolb (Soxulfr) who was killed later that year. The Vikings set up a base, which the Irish called longphorts. This longphort would eventually become Dublin. After this interaction, the Irish experienced Viking forces for about 40 years. The Vikings also established longphorts in Cork, Limerick, Waterford, and Wexford. The Vikings were driven out of Ireland for a short period around 900, but returned to Waterford in 914 to found what would become Ireland's first city. The other longphorts were soon re-occupied and developed into cities and towns.

The last major Irish battle involving Vikings was the Battle of Clontarf in 1014, in which a large force from the pan-Viking world and their Irish allies opposed Brian Boru, then the High King of Ireland and his forces, a small contingent of which were Viking defectors. The battle was fought in what is the now Dublin suburb of Clontarf on Good Friday of that year. Boru, the Irish High King had allowed the Viking King of Dublin; Sigtrygg Silkbeard, one year to prepare for his coming assault. Silkbeard responded by offering the bed of his mother to several Viking lords from Scandinavia, Ireland and Britain. The savage mêlée between the heavily mailed Norse and the unarmoured, yet undaunted Gaels ended in a rout of the Vikings and their Irish allies. Careful accounts were taken by both sides during the battle, and

thus many famous warriors sought each other out for personal combat and glory. High King Brian, who was nearly eighty, did not personally engage in the battle but retired to his tent where he spent the day in quiet prayer. The Viking Brodir of Man chanced upon Brian's tent as he fled the field. He and a few followers seized the opportunity, and surprised the High King, killing the aged Brian before being captured. Brian's foster son Wolf the Quarrelsome later tracked down and dispatched Brodir by disembowelment. Wolf watching as Brodir marched and wound his own innards around the trunk of a large tree. The battle was fairly matched for most of the day and each side had great respect for the prowess of the other; however, in the end, the Irish forced the Norse to return to the sea. Many of the fleeing Vikings were drowned in the surf due to their heavy mail coats as they struggled for the safety of their longships; others were pursued and slain further inland.

After the battle, Viking power was broken in Ireland forever, though many settled Norse remained in the cities and prospered greatly with the Irish through trade. With Brian dead, Ireland returned to the fractured kingdom it had once been, but was now cleared of further Viking predation.

21.8. Normandy

The name of Normandy itself denotes the Viking origin. After their settlement when it became known as "Northmania" or Land of The Norsemen.

The Viking presence in Normandy began with the raids deep into the territory of the Frankish Empire, from the middle of 9th century. Viking raids extended deep into the Frankish territory, and included the sacking of many prominent towns such as Rouen, Paris and the abbey at Jumieges. The inability of the Frankish king Charles the Bald, and later Charles the Simple, to prevent these Viking incursions forced them to offer vast payments of silver and gold to prevent any further pillage. These pay-offs were short lived of course, and the Danish raiders would always return for more.

The Duchy of Normandy was created for the Viking leader Rollo after he had besieged Paris. In 911, Rollo entered vassalage to the king of the West Franks Charles the Simple through the Treaty of Saint-Clair-sur-Epte. This treaty made of Rollo the first Norman count of Rouen. In addition, Rollo was to be baptized and marry Gisele, the illegitimate daughter of Charles. In exchange for his homage and fealty, Rollo legally gained the territory which he and his Viking allies had previously conquered.

The descendants of Rollo and his followers adopted the local Gallo-Romance languages and intermarried with the area's original inhabitants. They became the Normans – a Norman French-speaking mixture of Scandinavians and indigenous Franks and Gauls. The language of Normandy heavily reflected the Danish influence, as many words (especially ones pertaining to seafaring) were borrowed from Old Norse or Old Danish. More than the language itself, the Norman toponymy retains a strong Nordic influence. Nevertheless, only a few archaeological traces have been found: swords dredged out of the Seine river between its estuary and Rouen, the tomb of a female Viking at Pîtres, the two Thor's hammers at Saint-Pierre-de-Varengeville and more recently the horde of Viking coins at Saint-Pierre-des-Fleurs.

Rollo's descendant William, Duke of Normandy became king of England after he defeated Harold Godwinson and his army at the Battle of Hastings in October 1066. As king of England, he retained the fiefdom of Normandy for himself and his descendants. The kings of England claim to Normandy, as well as their other possessions in France, led to various disputes with the French. This culminated in the French confiscation of Gascony that precipitated what became known as the Hundred Years' War, in 1337.

21.9. West Francia and Middle Francia



West Francia and Middle Francia suffered more severely than East Francia during the Viking raids of the 9th century. The reign of Charles the Bald coincided with some of the worst of these raids, though he did take action by the Edict of Pistres of 864 to secure a standing army of cavalry under royal control to be called upon at all times when necessary to fend off the invaders. He also ordered the building of fortified bridges to prevent inland raids.

Nonetheless, the Bretons allied with the Vikings and Robert, the margrave of Neustria, (a march created for defence against the Vikings sailing up the Loire), and Ranulf of Aquitaine died in the Battle of Brissarthe in 865. The Vikings also took advantage of the civil wars which ravaged the Duchy of Aquitaine in the early years of Charles' reign.

In the 840s, Pepin II called in the Vikings to aid him against Charles and they settled at the mouth of the Garonne as they did by the Loire. Two dukes of Gascony, Seguin II and William I, died defending Bordeaux from Viking assaults. A later duke, Sancho Mitarra, even settled some at the mouth of the Adour near Bayonne in an act presaging that of Charles the Simple and the Treaty of Saint-Clair-sur-Epte by which the Vikings were settled in Rouen, creating Normandy as a bulwark against other Vikings.

In the 9th and 10th centuries, the Vikings raided the largely defenceless Frisian and Frankish towns lying on the coast and along the rivers of the Low Countries. Although Vikings never settled in large numbers in those areas, they did set up long-term bases and were even acknowledged as lords in a few cases. They set up bases in Saint-Florent-le-Vieil at the mouth of the Loire, in Taillebourg on the mid Charente, also around Bayonne on the banks of the Adour, in Noirmoutier and obviously on the River Seine (Rouen) in what would become Normandy.

21.10. Italy

In 860, according to an account by the Norman monk Dudo of Saint-Quentin, a Viking fleet, probably under Björn Ironside and Hastein, landed at the Ligurian port of Luni and sacked the city. The Vikings then moved another 60 miles down the Tuscan coast to the mouth of the Arno, sacking Pisa and then, following the river upstream, also the hill-town of Fiesole above Florence and others victory around the Mediterranean (including in Sicily and North Africa).

Many Norsemen fought as mercenaries in Southern Italy, including the Varangian Guard led by Harald Hardrada, who later became king of Norway, who conquered Sicily between 1038 and 1040, with the help of Norman mercenaries, under William de Hauteville, who won his nickname *Iron Arm* by

defeating the emir of Syracuse in single combat, and a Lombard contingent, led by Arduin. The Varangians were first used as mercenaries in Italy against the Arabs in 936.

Runestones were raised in Sweden in memory of warriors who died in Langbarðaland (Land of the Lombards), the Old Norse name for southern Italy.

Later several Anglo-Danish and Norwegian nobles participated in the Norman conquest of southern Italy, like Edgar the Ætheling, who left England in 1086, and Jarl Erling Skakke, who won his nickname after a battle against Arabs in Sicily. On the other hand, many Anglo-Danish rebels fleeing William the Conqueror, joined the Byzantines in their struggle against the Robert Guiscard, duke of Apulia, in Southern Italy.

21.11. Iberia/Galicia



A street plate in Póvoa de Varzim, Portugal, with Siglas poveiras (describing names of local families), related with Scandinavian Bomärken. The drawn boat is a Lancha Poveira some researchers say it is derived from the archetypal Viking ship.^[52] By the mid 9th century, though apparently not before^[53] there were Viking attacks on the coastal Kingdom of Galicia in the far northwest of the peninsula, though historical sources are too meagre to assess how frequent or how early raiding occurred.

By the reign of Alfonso III Vikings were stifling the already weak threads of sea communications that tied Galicia to the rest of Europe. Fletcher mentions raids on the Galician coast in 844 and 858: "Alfonso III was sufficiently worried by the threat of Viking attack to establish fortified strong points near his coastline, as other rulers were doing elsewhere." The first recorded attack on Iberia was carried out in 844. In 861, a group of Vikings ransomed García Íñiguez, king of Pamplona, whom they had captured the previous year, for 60,000 gold pieces.

Raiding continued for the next two centuries. In 968 Bishop Sisnando Menéndez of Compostela was killed, the monastery of Curtis was sacked, and measures were ordered for the defense of the inland town of Lugo. After Tui was sacked early in the 11th century, its bishopric remained vacant for the next half-century. Ransom was a motive for abductions: Fletcher instances Amarelo Mestáliz, who was forced to raise money on the security of his land in order to ransom his daughters who had been captured by the Vikings in 1015. Bishop Cresconio of Compostela (ca. 1036 – 66) repulsed a Viking foray and built the fortress at Torres do Oeste (Council of Catoira) to protect Compostela from the Atlantic approaches.

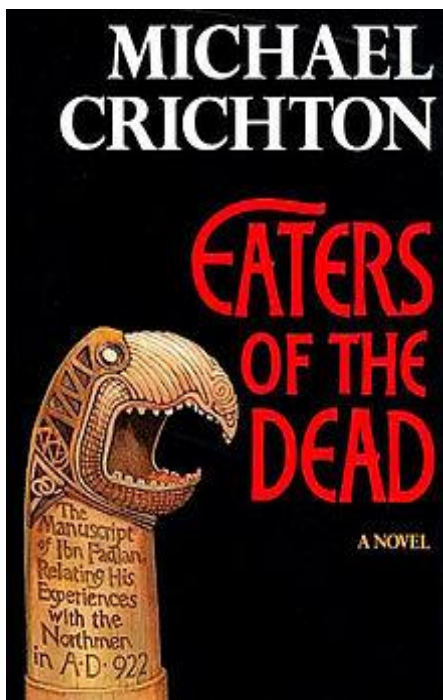
21.12. Islamic World

While connections between the Norse and Eastern Islamic lands (particularly around the Caspian) were well-established (in the form of the Rus') along the Volga, relations with the Western edge of Islam were more sporadic and haphazard. Islamic Iberia, the first navy of the Emirate of Córdoba was built after the humiliating Viking ascent of the Guadalquivir in 844 when they sacked Seville. Nevertheless, in 859, Danish pirates sailed through Gibraltar and raided the little Moroccan state of Nekor. The king's harem had to be ransomed back by the emir of Córdoba. These and other raids prompted a shipbuilding program at the dockyards of Seville. The Andalusian navy was thenceforth employed to patrol the Iberian coastline under the caliphs Abd-ar-Rahman III (912–961) and Al-Hakam II (961–976).

Córdoba was too heavily defended to be considered a target for all but the most ambitious Vikings. By the next century, piracy from North Africans superseded Viking raids.

In 844 the Vikings attacked Al-Andalus, the administrative area of the Iberian Peninsula ruled by Muslims. They sacked Lisbon, Cádiz and Medina Sidonia, and then captured Seville. However, the Muslims counterattacked and defeated them. The survivors fled. The Vikings carried out further raids on Al-Andalus but the Muslims fought back effectively.

The Vikings retreated and in the next weeks they looted Lisbon before advancing on the river Guadalquivir and occupying Sevilla for forty-two days. But the Blammen ("Black Men", Arabs) defeated a large host (allegedly 16,000) at Moron and the Vikings retreated from Sevilla. Before retreating they ransomed their hostages, taking only clothes and food.



Figuur 75 Fictionalized account of Ibn Fadlan's writings of the Rus

Aside from Viking raids in the Islamic Mediterranean, there were also sustained diplomatic relations between the Vikings (referred to as "Madjus" in Arabic sources) and the Islamic world. The Arab diplomat Al-Ghazal ("the gazelle") was dispatched to the court of the Danish King Harek at Hleiðra in 844 (as recounted in Ibn-Dihya) to make peace with the Danes followed their defeat at Sevilla. He was reported back in Córdoba twenty months later. Additionally, a century later the Arab merchant Abraham ben Jacob (also known as Al-Tartushi) was reported to have travelled to the Viking trading town of Hedeby in Schleswig.

In 860, a new fleet of sixty-two ships led by Hastein and Björn Ironside, attacked Galicia (northwestern Spain), the Portuguese shores and Sevilla. The fleet then crossed over to Africa and sacked Nekor. They then returned to Iberia, stopping at the Balearic Islands, and attacked Pamplona after crossing the Ebru river and captured the king of Navarra, García Íñiguez, who paid a ransom for his release. In 966 Lisbon was again raided by the Norse, this time with a fleet of 28 ships.

Another great campaign took place in 968. The Norman jarl ("warlord") Gundraed attacked Galicia with 100 ships and 8,000 warriors. They roamed freely for years and even occupied Santiago de Compostela, but the Vikings were finally defeated by the troops of the count Gonzalo Sanchez in 971.

Additionally, the well-known Harald Hardrada would also serve the Byzantine emperor in Palestine as well as raiding North Africa, the Middle East as far east as Armenia, and the island of Sicily in the 11th century, as recounted in his saga in Snorri Sturluson's Heimskringla.

Evidence for Norse ventures into Arabia and Central Asia can be found in runestones erected in Scandinavia by the relatives of fallen Viking adventurers. Several of these refer to men who died in "Serkland" (Arabia)

Meanwhile, in the Eastern Mediterranean **the Norse (referred to as Rus')** were viewed more as "merchant-warriors" whose were primarily associated with trade and business. In particular, Arab scholars such as Ibn-Fadlan recount Norse trade expeditions to Baghdad, a major center of the Islamic world. Indeed, one of the only detailed accounts of a Viking burial come from Ibn-Fadlan's account. At

times this trading relationship would break down into violence – Rus' armadas raided in the Caspian on at least three occasions, in 910, 912 and 943.

21.13. Eastern Europe

The Vikings settled coastal areas along the Baltic Sea, and along inland rivers in Russian territories such as Staraya Ladoga, Novgorod and along major waterways to the Byzantine Empire.



Figuur 76 In Athens, Greece, Swedish Vikings wrote a runic inscription on the Piraeus Lion

The Varangians or Varyags (Russian, Ukrainian: Варяги, Varyagi) sometimes referred to as Variagians were Scandinavians who migrated eastwards and southwards through what is now Russia, Belarus and Ukraine mainly in the 9th and 10th centuries. Engaging in trade, colonization, piracy and mercenary activities, they roamed the river systems and portages of Garðaríki, reaching and settling at the Caspian Sea and in Constantinople.

The real involvement of the Varangians came after they were asked by the Slavic tribes of the region to come and establish order, as those tribes were in constant warfare among each other ("Our country is rich and immense, but it is rent by disorder. Come and govern us and reign over us."). The tribes were united and ruled under the leadership of Rurik, a leader of a group of Varangians.

Rurik had successfully been able to establish a set of trading towns and posts along the Volga and Dnieper Rivers, which were perfect for trade with the Byzantine Empire. Rurik's successors were able to conquer and unite the towns along the banks of the Volga and Dnieper Rivers, and establish the Rus' Khaganate. Despite the distinction of the Varangians from the local Slavic tribes at the beginning, by the 10th century, the Varangians began to integrate with the local community, and by the end of 12th century, a new people - the Russians, have emerged.

21.14. Vikings in Georgia

Separated by several thousand kilometers, medieval Georgia and Scandinavia, surprisingly, had a common link. Around 1036, Varangians appeared near the village of Bashi on the Rioni River, to establish a permanent settlement of Vikings in Georgia (Georgian: ვიკინგები საქართველოში).

The old Georgian chronicle Kartlis Tskhovreba described them as 3,000 men who had traveled from Scandinavia through present-day Russia, rowing down the Dniepr River and across the Black Sea.

King Bagrat IV welcomed them to Georgia and accepted some of them into the Georgian army; several hundred Vikings fought on Bagrat's side at the Battle of Sasireti in 1047.

Other Vikings continued westward, thereafter disappearing from history. Swedish researchers recently suggested that the story in the Georgian chronicle was about the Swedish expedition by the Viking chieftain Ingvar den Vittfarne (Ingvar the Far-Traveled), which features in many rune stones in mid-Sweden.

21.15. Northern Atlantic/ Iceland

Iceland was discovered by Naddodd, one of the first settlers on the Faroe Islands, who was sailing from Norway to the Faroe Islands but got lost and drifted to the east coast of Iceland. Naddoddr named the country Snæland (Snowland). Swedish sailor Garðar Svavarsson also accidentally drifted to the coast of Iceland. He discovered that the country was an island and named it Garðarshólmi (literally Garðar's Islet) and stayed for the winter at Húsavík. The first Scandinavian who deliberately sailed to Garðarshólmi was Flóki Vilgerðarson, also known as Hrafna-Flóki (Raven-Flóki). Flóki settled for one winter at Barðaströnd. It was a cold winter, and when he spotted some drift ice in the fjords he gave the island its current name, Ísland (Iceland).

Iceland was first settled around 870. The first permanent settler in Iceland is usually considered to have been a Norwegian chieftain named Ingólfr Arnarson. According to the story, he threw two carved pillars overboard as he neared land, vowing to settle wherever they landed. He then sailed along the coast until the pillars were found in the southwestern peninsula, now known as Reykjaneskagi. There he settled with his family around 874, in a place he named Reykjavík (Bay of Smokes) due to the geothermal steam rising from the earth. It is recognized, however, that Ingólfur Arnarson may not have been the first one to settle permanently in Iceland - that may have been Náttfari, a slave of Garðar Svavarsson who stayed behind when his master returned to Scandinavia.

21.16. Northern Atlantic/ Greenland



In the year 985, Erik the Red was believed to have discovered Greenland after being exiled from Iceland for murder in 982. Three years later in 986, Erik the Red returned with 14 ships surviving ships (as 25 set out on the expedition). Two areas along Greenland's southwest coast were colonized by Norse settlers, including Erik the Red, around 986. The land was at best marginal for Norse pastoral farming. The settlers arrived during a warm phase, when short-season crops

such as rye and barley could be grown. Sheep and hardy cattle were also raised for food, wool, and hides. Their main export was walrus ivory, which was traded for iron and other goods which could not be produced locally. Greenland became a dependency of the king of Norway in 1261. During the 13th century, the population may have reached as high as 5,000, divided between the two main settlements of Eystribygð (Eastern Settlement) and Vestribygð (Western Settlement). The organization of these settlements revolved mainly around religion, and they consisted of around 250 farms, which were split into approximately fourteen communities that were centered around fourteen churches,^[76] one of which was a cathedral at Garðar. The Catholic diocese of Greenland was subject to the archdiocese of Nidaros. However, many bishops chose to exercise this office from afar. As the years wore on, the climate shifted (see Little Ice Age). In 1379 the northernmost settlement was attacked by the Skrælings (Norse word for Inuit). Crops failed and trade declined. The Greenland colony gradually faded away. By 1450 it had lost contact with Norway and Iceland and disappeared from all but a few Scandinavian legends.

21.17. North America

A Norwegian ship's captain named Bjarni Herjólfsson first came across a part of the North American continent ca. 985 when he was blown off course sailing to Greenland from Iceland. Subsequent expeditions from Greenland (some led by Leif Ericson) explored the areas to the west, seeking large timbers for building in particular (Greenland had only small trees and brush). Regular activity from Greenland extended to Ellesmere Island, Skraeling Island and Ruin Island for hunting and trading with

Inuit groups. A short-lived seasonal settlement was established at L'Anse aux Meadows, located in the northern part of Newfoundland, Canada. Since 2012, five other potential settlements have been discovered ranging from Tanfield Valley in the north to Point Rosee in the south.



Figuur 77 Leif Erikson discovering America, Christian Krohg, 1893

The Greenlanders called the new-found territory Vinland. It is unclear whether Vinland referred to in the traditionally thinking as Vinland (wine-land) or more recently as Vinland (meadow- or pasture-land). In any case, without any official backing, attempts at colonization by the Norse proved failures. There were simply too many natives for the Greenlanders to conquer or withstand and they withdrew to Greenland.

Vikings may have discovered Svalbard as early as the 12th century. Traditional Norse accounts exist of a land known as Svalbarð - literally "cold shores". (But this land might also have been Jan Mayen, or a part of eastern Greenland.)

The Dutchman Willem Barents made the first indisputable discovery of Svalbard in 1596.

22 GENETIC EVIDENCE AND IMPLICATIONS

Studies of genetic diversity have provided scientific confirmation to accompany archaeological evidence of Viking expansion. They additionally indicate patterns of ancestry, imply new migrations, and show the actual flow of individuals between disparate regions. However, attempts to determine historical population genetics are complicated by subsequent migrations and demographic fluctuations. In particular, the rapid migrations of the 20th century has made it difficult to assess what prior genetic states were.

Genetic evidence contradicts the common perception that Vikings were primarily pillagers and raiders. A news article by Roger Highfield summarizes recent research and concludes that, as both male and female genetic markers are present, the evidence is indicative of colonization instead of raiding and occupying. However, this is also disputed by unequal ratios of male and female haplotypes (see below) which indicate that more men settled than women, an element of a raiding or occupying population.

Mitochondrial and Y-chromosome Haplotypes

Y-chromosome haplotypes serve as markers of paternal lineage much the same as mDNA represents the maternal lineage. Together, these two methods provide an option for tracing back a people's genetic history and charting the historical migrations of both males and females.

Often considered the purest remnants of ancient Nordic genetics, Icelanders trace 75–80% of their patrilineal ancestry to Scandinavia and 20–25% to Scotland and Ireland. On the maternal side, only 37% is from Scandinavia and the remaining 63% is mostly Scottish and Irish. Iceland also holds one of the most well-documented lineage records which, in many cases, go back fifteen generations and at least 300 years. These are accompanied by one of the largest genetic records which have been collected by deCODE genetics. Together, these two records allow for a mostly reliable view of historical Scandinavian genetic structure although the genetics of Iceland are influenced by Norse-British migration as well as that directly from Scandinavia.

Common Y-Haplogroups

Haplogroup I1 is the most common haplotype among Scandinavian males. It is present in 35% of males in Norway, Denmark and Sweden; 40% of males within Western Finland.^[82] It is also prominent on the Baltic and North Sea coasts, but decreases further south.

Haplogroup R1b is another very common haplotype in all of Western Europe. However, it is not distinctly linked to Vikings or their expansion. There are indications that a mutant strand, R-L165, may have been carried to Great Britain by the Vikings, but the topic is currently inconclusive.

C1

The mitochondrial C1 haplotype is primarily an East Asia-American haplotype that developed just prior to migration across the Bering sea. This maternal haplotype, however, was found in several Icelandic samples. While originally considered to be a 20th-century immigrant, a more complete analysis has shown that this haplotype has been present in Iceland for at least 300 years and is distinct from other C1 lineages. This evidence indicates a likely genetic exchange back and forth between Iceland, Greenland, and Vinland.

Surname Histories and the Y-Haplotype

There is evidence suggesting Y-Haplotypes may be combined with surname histories to better represent historical populations and prevent recent migrations from obscuring the historical record.^[27]

Cys282Tyr

Cys282Tyr (or C282Y) is a mutation in the HFE gene that has been linked to most cases of hereditary hemochromatosis. Genetic techniques indicate that this mutation occurred roughly 60-70 generation ago or between 600 and 800 CE, assuming a generation length of 20 years. The regional distribution of this mutation among European populations indicates that it originated in Southern Scandinavia and spread with Viking expansion. Due to the timing of the mutation and subsequent population movements, C282Y is very prominent in Great Britain, Normandy, and Southern Scandinavia although C282Y has been found in almost every population that has been in contact with the Vikings.

23 VIKINGS IN THE LOW LANDS BELGIUM AND THE NETHERLANDS

Antwerp was raided in 836. Later there were raids of Ghent, Kortrijk, Tournai, Leuven and the areas around the Meuse river, the Rhine, the Rupel river and the tributaries of those rivers. Raids were conducted from bases established in Asselt, Walcheren, Wieringen and Elterberg (or Eltenberg, a small hill near Elten). In Dutch and Frisian historical tradition, the trading centre of Dorestad declined after Viking raids from 834 to 863; however, since no convincing Viking archaeological evidence has been found at the site (as of 2007), doubts about this have grown in recent years.

One of the most important Viking families in the Low Countries was that of Rorik of Dorestad (based in Wieringen) and his brother Harald (based in Walcheren). Around 850, Lothair I acknowledged Rorik as ruler of most of Friesland. And again in 870 Rorik was received by Charles the Bald in Nijmegen, to whom he became a vassal.

Viking raids continued during this period. Harald's son Rodulf and his men were killed by the people of Oostergo in 873. Rorik died sometime before 882.

Buried Viking treasures consisting mainly of silver have been found in the Low Countries. Two such treasures have been found in Wieringen. A large treasure found in Wieringen in 1996 dates from around 850 and is thought perhaps to have been connected to Rorik. The burial of such a valuable treasure is seen as an indication that there was a permanent settlement in Wieringen.

Around 879, Godfrid arrived in Frisian lands as the head of a large force that terrorised the Low Countries. Using Ghent as his base, they ravaged Ghent, Maastricht, Liège, Stavelot, Prüm, Cologne, and Koblenz. Controlling most of Frisia between 882 and his death in 885, Godfrid became known to history as Godfrid, Duke of Frisia. His lordship over Frisia was acknowledged by Charles the Fat, to whom he became a vassal. In the siege of Asselt in 882, the Franks sieged a Viking camp at Asselt in Frisia. Although the Vikings were not forced by arms to abandon their camp, they were compelled to come to terms in which their leader, Godfrid, was converted to Christianity. Godfrid was assassinated in 885, after which Gerolf of Holland assumed lordship and Viking rule of Frisia came to an end.

Viking raids of the Low Countries continued for over a century. Remains of Viking attacks dating from 880 to 890 have been found in Zutphen and Deventer. The last attacks took place in Tiel in 1006 and Utrecht in 1007.

24 INVASION OF FRANCE

24.1 885 Siege of Paris

In 885, **Rollo was one of the lesser leaders of the Viking fleet which besieged Paris under Sigfred.** **Legend** has it that an emissary was sent by the king to find the chieftain and negotiate terms. When he asked for this information, the Vikings replied that they were all chieftains in their own right. In 886, when Sigfred retreated in return for tribute, Rollo stayed behind and was eventually bought off and sent to harry Burgundy.

24.2 911 Invasion of Western France

Later, he returned to the Seine with his followers (known as Danes, or Norsemen). He invaded the area of northern France now known as Normandy.

In 911 Rollo's forces were defeated at the Battle of Chartres by the troops of King Charles the Simple. In the aftermath of the battle, rather than pay Rollo to leave, as was customary, Charles the Simple understood that he could no longer hold back their onslaught, and decided to give Rollo the coastal lands they occupied under the condition that he defend against other raiding Vikings. In the Treaty of Saint-Clair-sur-Epte (911) with King Charles, Rollo pledged feudal allegiance to the king, changed his name to the Frankish version, and converted to Christianity, probably with the baptismal name Robert.

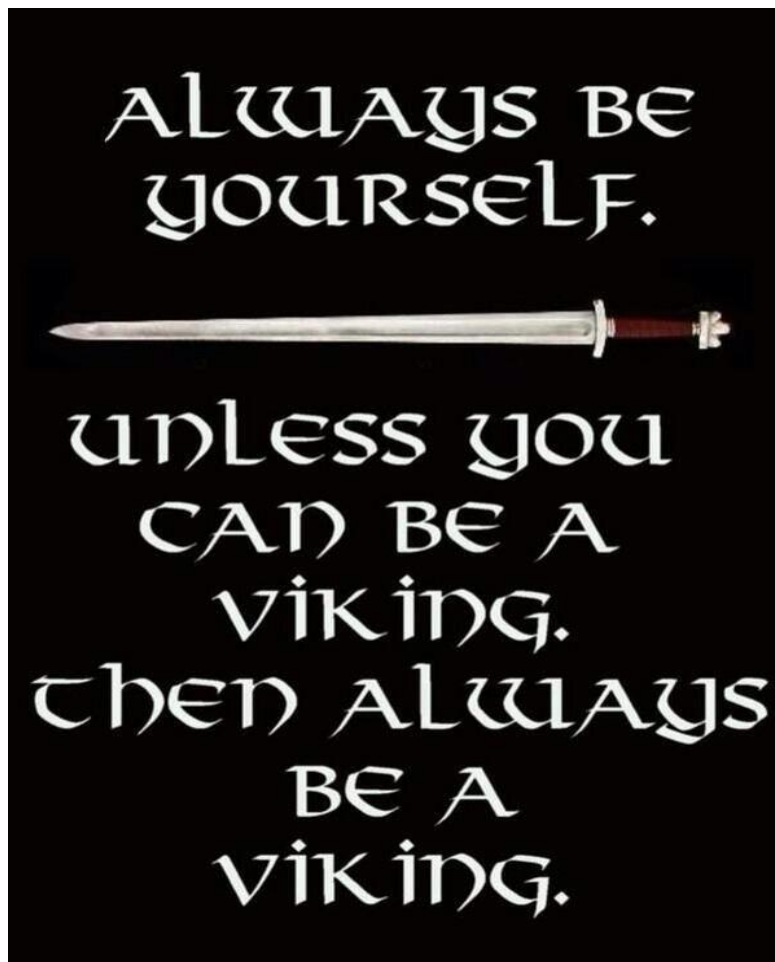
In return, King Charles granted Rollo the lower Seine area (today's upper Normandy) and the titular rulership of Normandy, centred around the city of Rouen. There exists some argument among historians as to whether Rollo was a "duke" (dux) or whether his position was equivalent to that of a "count" under Charlemagne. According to legend, when required to kiss the foot of King Charles, as a condition of the treaty, he refused to perform so great a humiliation, and when Charles extended his foot to Rollo, Rollo ordered one of his warriors to do so in his place. His warrior then lifted Charles' foot up to his mouth causing him to fall to the ground.

25 ROLLO, NORMANDY AND THE LEGACY OF HIS SUCCESSORS

The historian **Reginald Allen Brown** has written extensively about ***Normans and the Norman conquest. I render him in the following:

"NORMANDY was created by the three consecutive grants of 911, 924 and 933". Especially in Lower Normandy the Scandinavian influences and custom remained rather strong. Normandy was in part colonised. Rollo and his successors, as rulers of Normandy, obtained the title of count and valuable rights from before, along with widespread domains.

Their buildings seem to document remarkable strength or solidity. The churches were much like bastions. But the duke of Rouen controlled the whole church and his bishops owed him military service for their lands.



"From (their) Scandinavian inheritance the Normans derived their sea-faring, much of their trade and commercial prosperity which they shared with the Nordic world, their love of adventure, their wanderlust which led to the great period of Norman emigration in the eleventh century, their dynamic energy, and above all perhaps, their powers of assimila.

(In AD 911) Charles the Simple, King of the west Franks, granted to a band of Vikings, operating in the Seine valley under Rollo their leader, territory corresponding to Upper or Easter Normandy. To this was subsequently added by two further grants, first the district of Bayeux, and the districts of Exmes and Seez in 924, and second the districts of Coutances and Avranches in 933 in the time of William Longsword, son and successor of Rollo.

And from the French *Histoire de la Normandie* (1862) we find, in the fourth chapter, how **Rollo, son of the Norwegian Rognevald, was made an outlaw by the Norwegian tyrant King Harald Harfager**. He arrived at Rouen with his companions. The inhabitants spontaneously submitted to the giant. King Charles at first wanted to fight the Viking, but dropped it.

Instead they bargained - Rollo won, he got land and permanent welcome.

The historian R. Allen Brown puts the matter into relief: "Normans were pagans when they came (and they continued to come long after 911)." **But their leader, the Viking Rollo, said yes to getting baptised, and many others followed.** More surprisingly, "Rollo . . . is (also - later) said to have wanted to become a monk (at Jumieges). That could have been due to a genuine flame deep inside.

In short time the Normans got the back-up of their astute castles and strongholds, helped themselves to most of it - often they were served by ditches and stockades too.

Their treaty at St. Claire-sur-Epte became a fact, and Rollo got baptised and married Gisele.

It is thought that Rollo showed exceptional skills in navigation, warfare, leadership, and administration. He abdicated to his son Guillame (William) and died in a monastery in 933.

Among his people he was for hundreds of years the personification of justice and good government under law. Others, who thought differently, found him cruel and arrogant.

His son Guillame Longue-Epee (William Longsword) succeeded him. The third duke was Richard sans Peur (the Fearless), and there were many intrigues and hard fights. This Richard died and was succeeded by Richard 2 who massacred Saxons in England at war.

The French king Robert became the ally of Richard 2. After his death, Richard 3 succeeded him and died prematurely. Robert le Diable succeeded him and, before he died in Terre-Sainte, became the father of *Guillame le Conquerant*: William the Conqueror.

We find the family tree of William the Conqueror in the book of the historian R. Allen Brown. It looks like this:

- *Richard 1 (ruled: 942-96)*
- *Richard 2 the Good (ruled: 996-1026)*
- *Richard 3 (ruled: 1026-27)*
- *Robert 1 the Magnificent /le Diable (ruled: 1027-35)*
- *William the Bastard / the Conqueror (ruled: 1035-87).*

Rollo's great-granddaughter, Emma married two kings of England, Æthelred the Unready and Knut who was also king of Norway and Denmark. Her son, Edward the Confessor, from the first marriage, was King of England from 1042 to 1066.

A few more dukes of Normandy may be added for the sake of survey of that dynasty line that ruled over Normandy and its English (British) domain:

- *Robert 2 (ruled from 1087)*
- *Henry 1 (ruled from 1106, King of the English (1100-35)*
- *Henry II, 1135, King of the English (1135-)*

"It was a direct result of the Viking onslaught upon Western Europe . . . tidy and precise."

"The Norman monasteries were, by and large, distinguished . . . new . . . vibrant with . . . careless rapture of spiritual endeavour". The (Normans) became great spirituals - intensely aristocratic.

Master builders in a very short time, (Normans) restored and built on monasticism in outstanding degrees.

Normans from the next century left grand architectural monuments, and some are still there, more or less intact. The Tower of London is a very Norman building, for example. King William had much of it built.

"The tower at Rouen was built by Richard 1 (943-96) and is glimpsed from time to time in the reign of his successor and thereafter . . . It may have been the prototype for the great Norman towers at Colchester and London.

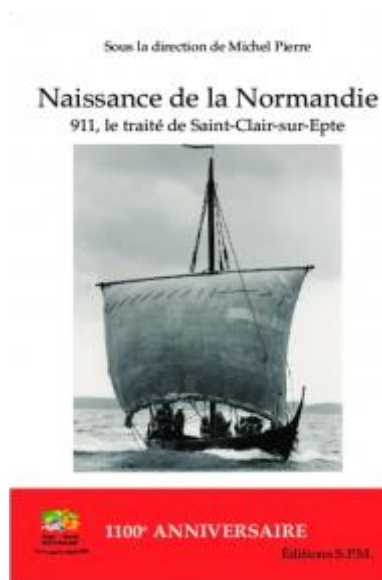
Normans went on and built very monastic churches at such places as Jumieges [one still stands there] and lots of other places. "They added their cathedrals at Rouen, Bayeux [etc.] Many of these major works of Norman Romanesque architecture survive in whole or part".

Formerly hostile Scandinavians . . . became converted [in that way].

"SOME (including Norman clergy) were patrons of the arts and scholarship . . . and almost all of them were mighty builders."

26 BOOK REVIEW NORMANDY 911

In 2011 Normandy celebrated the treatise brokered between the French King and the Viking, Rollo, in 911



In 911 the French King, Charles the Simple, met with the Viking chieftain, Rollo at Saint-Clair-sur-Epte in order to sign a treaty, permitting the Vikings to settle in Normandy in return for their protection of the French Kingdom from the invasions of other Northmen (as the Vikings were called by the French).

For a long time it was believed that the only existing source was a long and perhaps a bit farfetched description of the meeting and the negotiations in the French Cronicle of Dudo of St. Quentin. Hence historians have from time to time considered the treaty a myth.

However, there does exist a document from 918, in which we are told that the king donate some land to the abbey of St. Germain-de Prés, except that part which "we have granted to the Northmen at the Seine, that is to say Rollo and his companions, in order for them to safeguard the kingdom.

Building on this, French politicians and historians took a deep breath in the beginning of the 21st century and declared their intention to celebrate the founding moment in 911 of the Duchy of Normandy by organising an anniversary full of festivities.

Part of this consisted of a series of public lectures, where the French professors, who are the specialists on the history, archaeology and culture in Normandy in the 9th and 10th century presented the results of their latest research. Recently these papers have been published in a collection edited by Michel Pierre, who is vice-president in the Pays du Vexin (and a historian). **The articles are written by Pierre Bauduin, Pierre Bouet, Caroline Bride, Gilles Deshayes, Jaques le Maho, Bruno lepeuple, Bruno Nardeaux and Elisabeth Ridel** . Anyone with the slightest knowledge of the early medieval history of Normandy, will know that these names vouches for quality. And as it is a French publication, the small book is annotated with footnotes and literature. Beginners may begin here.

The collection proper, stripped from its many introductions provided by local dignitaries, is introduced by Jacques le Maho, who was responsible for the archaeological excavations in Rouen between 1986 to 1993, which showed a major shift in the orientation of the city, turning parallel to the river. In his

article he places the Viking incursions into Normandy in their context and shows how Rollo was not the first nor the only agent operating in the lush countryside up and down the Seine and its tributaries.



Next article is by Pierre Bouet, who goes into detail with the story about the treaty as it was told by Dudo of St. Quentin in his chronicle. Through a very dense reading he shows that earlier scholars, who disparaged Dudo, were wrong. Even though much is still questionable, his writings seem to be more worthy as a source than has hitherto been thought. Even the marriage of Rollo to Gisela, a daughter of Charles the Simple, which have often been believed to be sheer fantasy, has been lifted from obscurity.

It now appears that Charles did have a daughter by that name (even though she must have died very young). In the end Bouet concludes that it is complicated to critically sift the information in Dudo in order to get a sense of what went on. But it is not deemed impossible.

Following this is a couple of articles considering the border between France and Normandy in the 10th – 12th century and a report of an archaeological investigation of a minor Carolingian village.

The real prize, however goes to the article by Élisabeth Ridel, who writes about the Scandinavian linguistic inheritance of the Normans. 155 words are definitely of Scandinavian origin. To this should be added a minor collection of words, which could be of either Scandinavian or Anglo-Saxon or Germanic origin etc. As a service these words are listed in a supplement for anyone to peruse. Perhaps not much compared to the 500 words or so, which the Merovingians were able to export to Latin/Romance. Nevertheless, the words cover a wide spectrum of fields and show – if you draw them up – exactly where the Vikings seemed to interact with the local.

Thus the existence of the word *bruman < brúdmaðr, acc bruðmann, which means “jeune marié” or bridegroom, nicely tells us that the Vikings married into the local families. The lack of the equivalent word for bride, brúðr, tells us that Viking males must have married French girls – and not the other way around! So much for later rumours about the wholesale immigration of both males, females, children and cattle.

All in all it is a very interesting collection of articles, well worth a read for anyone interested in keeping up with the latest development in the Viking History of Normandy. Later on other (and perhaps slightly more academic publications are expected (promised in the footnotes) but until then we may enjoy ourselves here.

27 SETTLEMENT IN NORMANDY AND RESIDENCE OF THE NORMAN DUKES

Initially, Rollo stayed true to his word of defending the shores of the Seine river in accordance to the Treaty of Saint-Clair-sur-Epte, but in time he and his followers had very different ideas. Rollo began to divide the land between the Epte and Risle rivers among his chieftains and settled there with a de facto capital in Rouen.



Figuur 78 Residence of the Norman Dukes in Falaise, Normandy

With these settlements, Rollo began to further raid other Frankish lands, now from the security of a settled homeland, rather than a mobile fleet. Eventually, however, Rollo's men intermarried with the local women, and became more settled as Frenchmen. At the time of his death, Rollo's expansion of his territory had extended as far west as the Vire River. In Falaise France, is a series of statues that pays tribute to the six Norman Dukes from Rollo to William Conqueror. The castle here was the principal residence of the Norman Knights. Château Guillaume-le-Conquérant Place Guillaume le Conquérant / 14700 Falaise / Tel: 02 31 41 61 44

28 EARLY NORMANDY IN THE 10TH CENTURY

New research opens up for a whole new understanding of the history of early Normandy in the 10th century.

Around 911 the French king, Charles the Simple, recruited the Viking Chieftain, Rollo and his band of warriors in his effort to establish at least some defence against the ravages of other war-bands in and around the area along the Seine. It is probable that Rollo was already bastioned there and that the grant of land along the northern part of the Seine was more or less nothing but a recognition of status.



However, as opposed to a series of other “grants” of the same type, Rollo and his descendants succeeded in carving out a duchy, which inside two centuries fostered William the Conqueror and his invasion of England.

Naturally **this rather astounding story has attracted historians for a very long time**. And much ink has been used in the effort to get a grasp of what really took place in the 10th century and what the main actors in Normandy – the church, the local Franks, the Viking immigrants, the Dukes and their comrades-in arms etc. – thought about this, while going about their business of living with or protecting and expanding this new bridgehead.

However the history of the early years of the formation of Normandy has been bested by a number of scholarly idiosyncrasies and political machinations, which until the beginning of the 21st century has made it really complicated to write this story in a credible fashion.

One challenge has been the special Francophone character of much of the historical writings about the happenings in Normandy in the 10th century. The central role here has been played by the work of **Lucien Musset** (1922 – 2004), who wrote extensively about the history of Normandy in the 50s and 60s; as much of his work is still being republished, it continues to have its mark on students entering the field from afar.

According to him the Viking Rollo and his compatriots soon adopted the (obviously superior) French system of law and administration as well as language. More than anything they were the epiphenomena of the successfully assimilated immigrants – whether from Algeria or Scandinavia. It is of course apparent that much of this was (as was later work done by his colleagues) written in the aftermath of the two world wars, when France was culturally bent on recovering at least tiny bits of “Gloire”. (Making the Normans “French” was a nice way of turning the tables on the victorious invaders coming ashore on D-Day and lessening the French shame.) Even though this is an exceptionally unacceptable foreshortening of the huge work of recovering sources, editing and reflecting upon them, which has been done at the universities at Caen and Rouen, it has for several decades been known, that a radical rethinking of the whole field was beckoning for a courageous new generation of scholars.



Unfortunately this stranded early on in France due to another form of historical “abuse”, carried out by the editor and founder of the French publisher “Heimdal”, George Bernage, known for his books on both the Middle Ages and WW2 and for his political leanings to the far-right. The numerous uncritical publications on the Vikings in Normandy published by Heimdal have obviously created an atmosphere in France, where serious and scholarly interest in the “Viking-ness” of Rollo & co plus descendants – an otherwise legitimate scholarly preoccupation – would quickly be quashed. Perhaps not always known among Anglophone scholars, studies on “Vikings in Normandy” have generally had a bad press.

Part of this blind angle has also been nourished by much of the British historical writings in the last three decades with its tradition of sometimes looking askance at what might be termed Historical Anthropology. Although permeating Carolingian Studies, it has never really been taken seriously inside “Normannic Studies”. Here the idea, that culture – as concrete tangible ways of living and ways of thinking – can be studied has not had a very good press; as was for instance witnessed in some of the scathing reviews, which were published of the work of Eleanor Searle. Culture is not a concept which sits comfortably among English historians, witness the fact that the Latin *Mores* often seems too complicated for them to translate (many British scholars leave it inside their texts in its Latin form).

Finally a fourth challenge seems to have been fostered by the French Archaeological establishment. **Whereas England allows people in general to go metal detecting (granted they turn any finds in for inspection), France prohibits this by law.** This means that the explosion in stray finds, which has helped archaeology to totally redefine Anglo-Saxon and Viking England, has not taken place in Normandy (or France for that matter).

It might be, that there are no more Viking-silver hoards – like for instance the Vale of York hoard – hidden in the ground in Normandy, waiting to be found. However, we cannot know until the law is changed and retired French businessmen are allowed to wander seemingly aimlessly around the French countryside. In this connection it is worthwhile to note that before metal-detecting was allowed

in England, archaeologists knew of only 20 small Viking-brooches from the Danelaw. Nowadays they total more than 550 (and still growing). Whatever the future will bring, it is still worth to read the overview by Anne Nissen Jaubert, Published in 2001, which may function as an important base-line for this discussion.

Early Normandy in the 21st century.



In the last decades four major scholarly developments have nevertheless taken place.

Not to be left behind, **the Danes erected a memorial stone** (as traditionally used in graveyards) commemorating Rollo in 1911 in Faxe, where a late Chronicler told he had been born. One has been the renewed reflection upon and edition of the pertinent Chronicles and other written sources.

Not least has there been a renewed effort to understand the true “beast in the garden” – the Chronicle by Dudo of St. Quentin. Written on behest of duke Richard I around the turn of the millennium, it famously recounts the “Culture and Deeds of the first Norman Dukes” in a way, which has inspired most historians to follow in the footsteps of (amongst others) H. Prentout, who famously declared it nothing but a history of fables and picturesque legends. Recent careful studies of the text by historians like Pierre Bouet, François Neveux and Pierre Bauduin have helped to soften the discredit of his history. Other scholars have begun to understand more about the inspiration, Dudo found both in Vergil, Roman History and contemporary hagiographical texts.

Very recent studies seem also to have uncovered the rationale behind the form and the content of Dudo’s Chronicle. It appears it was probably most of all a didactic instrument written to support the moral education of students in the learned schools in Rouen. They were – although perhaps still heathens – to become “Courtly Vikings”. Whether Dudo could register a success is quite another matter. Careful reading of some later hagiographic texts and theological treatises seem to contradict this.

Secondly there has been a renewed interest in looking at the evidence, which might be gleaned from the study of Scandinavian traces in place-names, personal names, vocabulary, semantic fields and linguistics characteristic of Normandy even today.

Careful examination of the different types of sources have shown that the presence of Scandinavian immigrants were relatively widespread, especially in the central area along the Seine and tributaries and that they seem to have had day-to-day intercourse with the locals in such basic life-spheres as sailing, fishing and the tilling of land; but also that the immigrants seem to have been predominantly male and that they married French girls.

Finally new research points to a marked linguistic Scandinavian (Danish) influence on even present day dialects in Normandy. *Pace* the Norwegian sagas, it seems even Rollo may have spoken Danish!

Third, there has been a renewed archaeological interest in getting a sense of what went on in Normandy in the 10th century. This effort has primarily been spearheaded by the French archaeologist, Jaques le Maho, and his excavations in Rouen. But also the recent identification of Viking “harbours” along the Seine is complementing our view of a what went on in the formatting years of

the new duchy. Another important dig, although often overlooked, was already conducted at Fécamp from 1973 – 1984.

And finally, fourth, historians – both from France and England – are slowly recognizing (in view of the above) the need to rewrite the political history of the Duchy in the formative years. We do not as yet have a clear overview of such fundamental matters as the allocation of resources, the organization of minting and finances and the physical organization of the landscape, although they are topics have been treated sporadically in the more specialist literature. But we are promised such an account in the near future [8]

Slowly, but inexorably, new knowledge seems to be uncovered making it a possible feat to write a political, socio-economic and cultural history of Early Normandy for the 21st century.

Does it matter?

The question is, of course, whether it really matters to what extent the Norman ventures in the 11th and 12th centuries were rooted in a Danish, Scandinavian, French or even Anglo-Danish culture – or perhaps a mixture of them all; and how this may have shifted over time.

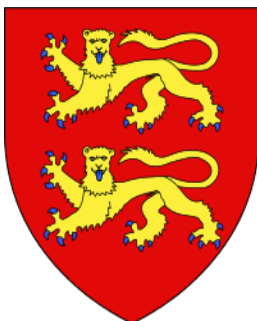
The answer is double:

For one thing, it seems to have mattered to the people themselves. Their Scandinavian heritage – whatever they more specifically thought of it – seems to have made a difference to them. Plainly – at least in the beginning – they obviously lived it. Later they definitely began to orchestrate it, play with it and talk about it (memorize it). As far as we know from historical writings and snippets left accidentally in other texts, the people in Normandy thus both lived with and tackled a cultural praxis, marked by their Scandinavian roots in as well as the the *mores* in their (new) habitat.

Secondly, it seems especially to have mattered later, when the leading cadres in the duchy began to create a new cultural identity meant to bolster them in their quest for further riches, land and power.

As such the culture(s) of the early Normans deserves to be studied – both as they unfolded as a concrete, tangible way of life, *mores*, but also as they was later formulated by and reflected upon in their histories, told or written down.

29 HISTORY OF NORMANDY



Figuur 79 Coat of Arms of Normandy

Normandy was a province in the North-West of France under the Ancien Régime. Initially populated by Celtic tribes in the West and Belgic tribes in the North East, it was **conquered in 98 AD by the Romans** and integrated into the province of Gallia Lugdunensis by Augustus. In the 4th century, Gratian divided the province into the civitates that constitute the historical borders. After the fall of Rome in the **5th century, the Franks became the dominant ethnic group** in the area, built several monasteries, and replaced the barbarism of the region with the civilization of the Carolingian Empire.

Towards the end of the 8th century, Viking raids devastated the region, prompting the establishment of the Duchy of Normandy in 911. After 150 years of expansion, the borders of Normandy reached relative stability.

These old borders roughly correspond to the present borders of Lower Normandy, Upper Normandy and the Channel Islands. Mainland Normandy was integrated into the Kingdom of France in 1204. The region was badly damaged during the Hundred Years War and the Wars of Religion, the Normans having more converts to Protestantism than other peoples of France. In the 20th century, D-Day, the 1944 Allied invasion of Western Europe, started in Normandy. In 1956, mainland Normandy was separated into two régions, Lower Normandy and Upper Normandy, and were reunified in 2016.

29.1 Normandy before the Roman conquest



Figuur 80 Historical limits of Normandy

Archeological finds, such as cave paintings, prove that humans were present in the region as far back as prehistoric times, especially in Eure and Calvados. The Gouy and Orival cave paintings also testify to humans in Seine-Maritime. Several megaliths can be found throughout Normandy, most of them built in a uniform style.

More is known about Celtic Normandy due to the archeological sources being more numerous and easier to date.

As early as the 19th century, local scholars studied archeological sites (especially those of Upper Normandy) and recorded their discoveries. They discovered objects such as the Gallic gilded helmet of Amfreville-sous-les-Monts, made in the 4th century BC, and the iron helmet currently in the Museum of Louviers. They also examined the cemetery at Pîtres, with its urns for cremated remains. The artifacts found at these sites indicate Gallic presence in Normandy as far back as the times of the Hallstatt and Tène cultures.

Belgae and Celts, known as Gauls, invaded Normandy in successive waves from the 4th to the 3rd centuries BC. Much of our knowledge about this group comes from Julius Caesar's de Bello Gallico. Caesar identified several different groups among the Belgae who occupied separate regions and lived in enclosed agrarian towns. In 57 BC, the Gauls united under Vercingetorix in an attempt to resist the onslaught of Caesar's army. Even after their defeat at Alesia, the people of Normandy continued to fight until 51 BC, the year Caesar completed his conquest of Gaul.

Below is a list of Gallic tribes, whose territories correspond to later Normandy, and their administrative centers:

- *Abrincates (Ingena, modern-day Avranches),*
- *Aulerci Ebuovices (Mediolanum, modern-day Evreux),*
- *Baiocasses (Augustodurum, modern-day Bayeux),*
- *Calates (Juliobona > modern-day Lillebonne),*
- *Esuvii (*Uxisama > modern-day Exmes)*
- *Lexovii (Noviomagus Lexoviorum, modern-day Lisieux),*
- *Sagii (unknown name, modern-day Sées)*
- *Unelli (Cosedia, modern-day Coutances),*
- *Veliocasses (Rotomagus > modern-day Rouen),*
- *Viducasses (Aragenuae, modern-day Vieux).*

29.2 Roman Normandy



Figuur 81 Jupiter Stator, Roman bronze from Gallo-Roman Religious Centre

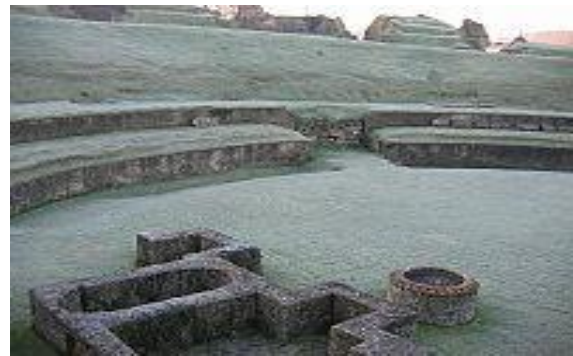
In **27 BC**, **Emperor Augustus** reorganized the Gallic territories by adding Calètes and Véliocasses to the province of Gallia Lugdunensis, which had its capital at Lyon. The Romanization of Normandy was achieved by the usual methods: Roman roads and a policy of urbanization.

Classicists have knowledge of many Gallo-Roman villas in Normandy, thanks in large part to finds made during construction of the A29 autoroute in Seine-Maritime. These country houses were often laid out according to two major plans. One design features a tall and slender structure with an open façade facing south; the second design is similar to Italian villas, with an organized layout around a square courtyard. The latter can be seen at the villa of Sainte-Marguerite-sur-Mer. The villas were built using local materials: flint, chalk, limestone, brick, and cob. The technique of half-timbering came from this period and Celtic huts. The heating systems of these villas relied on the Roman hypocaust. Agriculture in the region provided wheat and linen, according to Pliny the Elder. Pliny also noted the presence of *fana* (small temples with a centered, usually square plan) in great numbers.

In antiquity the temples of Évreux made the town an important pilgrimage site, with a forum, Roman baths, a basilica, and a Gallic theatre. Évreux is also notable for the mother goddess statues found in tombs and houses.

29.3 Crises in the 3rd century and the Roman loss of Normandy

In the late 3rd Century, barbarian raids devastated Normandy. Traces of fire and hastily buried treasures bear evidence to the degree of insecurity in Northern Gaul. Coastal settlements risked raids by Saxon pirates. The situation was so severe that an entire legion of Sueves was garrisoned at Constantia (in the *pagus Constantinus*), the administrative center of the Unelli tribe. Batavi were garrisoned at *Civitas Baiocasensis* (Bayeux).



Figuur 82 Roman Theatre in Lillebonne

As a result of Diocletian's reforms, Normandy was detached from Brittany, while remaining within Gallia Lugdunensis. Christianity began to enter the area during this period: Saint Mellonius was supposedly ordained Bishop of Rouen in the mid-3rd century. In 406, Germanic and Alan tribes began invading from the West, while the Saxons subjugated the Norman coast.

Eventually in 457, Aegidius established the Domain of Soissons in the area (with its seat the town of the same name Soissons, formerly the seat of the Suessiones), independent of and cut off from the Empire but with citizens nevertheless still considering themselves Roman. His son Syagrius succeeded him in 464 and remained until the kingdom was conquered in 486. Rural villages were abandoned and the remaining "Romans" confined themselves to within urban fortifications.

Toponymy suggests that the various barbarian groups had installed themselves and formed alliances and federations already at the end of the 3rd century before the fall of the Western Roman Empire in 476.

29.4 Early Middle Ages

As early as 486, the area between the Somme and the Loire came under the control of the Frankish lord Clovis. Frankish colonization did not occur on a massive scale, and is evidenced chiefly by cemeteries in Envermeu, Londinieres, Herouvillette, and Douvrend. The place names were chiefly Frankish at this time. The Franks also cut administration and military presence at the local levels. Eventually the eastern region of Normandy became a residence for Merovingian royalty.



Figuur 83 Mont Saint Michel

The Christianization of the area continued with the construction of cathedrals in the principal cities and churches in minor localities. This establishment of the parishes would continue for a long time. The smaller parishes tended to be located in the plains around Caen while the rural parishes took up more space. Villagers would be buried around the local parish church up until the Carolingian era.

The Neustrian Monarchy developed in the 6th Century in the isolated western regions. In the 7th century the Neustrian aristocrats founded several abbeys in the valley of the Seine: Fontenelle in 649, Jumièges about 654, Pavilly, Montivilliers. These abbeys rapidly adopted the Benedictine Rule. They came to possess great quantities of land throughout France, from which they drew considerable income. They therefore became involved in political and dynastic rivalries.

29.5 Scandinavian invasions

Normandy takes its name from the Viking invaders who menaced large parts of Europe towards the end of the 1st millennium in two phases (790–930, then 980–1030). Medieval Latin documents referred to them as **Nortmanni, which means "men of the North"**. This name provides the etymological basis for the modern words "Norman" and "Normandy", with *-ia* (*Normandia*, like *Neustria*, *Francia*, etc.). After 911, this name replaced the term Neustria, which had formerly been used to describe the region that included Normandy. The other parts of Neustria became known as *France* (now Île-de-France), Anjou and Champagne. The rate of Scandinavian colonization can be seen in the Norman toponymy and in the changes in popular family names. Today, *nordmann* (pron. norman) in the Norwegian language denotes a Norwegian person.

The first Viking raids began between 790 and 800 on the coasts of western France. Several coastal areas were lost during the reign of Louis the Pious (814–840). The incursions in 841 caused severe damage to Rouen and Jumièges. The Viking attackers sought to capture the treasures stored at monasteries - easy prey considering the helplessness of the monks to defend themselves. An expedition in 845 went up the Seine and reached Paris. The raids took place primarily in the summers, the Vikings spending the winters in Scandinavia.

After 851, Vikings began to stay in the lower Seine valley for the winter. In January 852, they burned the Abbey of Fontenelle. The monks who were still alive fled to Boulogne-sur-Mer in 858 and then to Chartres in 885. The relics of Sainte Honorine were transported from Gravelle to *Conflans*, which became Conflans-Sainte-Honorine in the Paris region, safer by virtue of its southeasterly location. The monks also attempted to move their archives and monastic libraries to the south, but several were burned by the Vikings.

The Carolingian kings in power at the time tended to have contradictory politics, which had severe consequences. In 867, Charles the Bald signed the Treaty of Compiègne, by which he agreed to yield the Cotentin Peninsula (and probably the Avranchin) to the Breton king Salomon, on condition that Salomon would take an oath of fidelity and fight as an ally against the Vikings. After being defeated by the Franks at the Battle of Chartres in 911, the Viking leader Rollo and the Frankish King Charles the Simple signed the Treaty of Saint-Clair-sur-Epte, under which Charles gave Rouen and the area of present-day Upper Normandy to Rollo, establishing the Duchy of Normandy. In exchange, Rollo pledged vassalage to Charles and agreed to baptism. Rollo vowed to guard the estuaries of the Seine from further Viking attacks.

With a series of conquests, the territory of Normandy gradually expanded: Hiémois and Bessin were taken in 924, the Cotentin and a part of Avranchin followed in 933. That year, King Raoul of France was forced to give Cotentin and a part of Avranchin to William I of Normandy, essentially all lands north of the Sélune River which the Breton dukes had theoretically controlled for about the previous 70 years. Between 1009 and 1020, the Normans continued their westward expansion, taking all the land between the Sélune and Couesnon rivers, including Mont Saint-Michel, and completing the conquest of Avranchin. William the Conqueror completed these campaigns in 1050 by taking Passais. Logically, the Norman rulers (first counts of Rouen and then dukes of Normandy) tried to bring about the political unification of the two different Viking settlements of pays de Caux-lower Seine in the east and Cotentin in the west. Furthermore, Rollo re-established the archbishopric of Rouen and wanted to restore the traditional limits of his archbishopric in the west, that had always included Cotentin and Avranchin.

While Viking raiders pillaged, burned, or destroyed many buildings, it is likely that ecclesiastical sources give an unfairly negative picture: no city was completely destroyed. On the other hand, many monasteries were pillaged and all the abbeys were destroyed. Nevertheless, the activities of Rollo and his successors had the effect of bringing about a rapid recovery.

The Scandinavian colonisation was principally Danish under the Norwegian leadership of Rollo, the colonization also had a Norwegian element in the Cotentin region. For instance, the first name *Barno* is mentioned in two different documents before 1066 and clearly represents the "frankization" of the Old Scandinavian personal name *Barni*, only found in Denmark and in England during the Viking Era. It can be identified in many Norman place-names too, such as Barneville-sur-Seine, Banneville, etc. and in England: Barnby.

On the other hand, the presence of Norwegians has left traces in the Cotentin:

- indirectly: there are toponyms created with typical Celtic anthroponyms from Ireland or Scotland, which are reputed to have been occupied by Norwegian Vikings, for instance : Doncanville (PN Duncan) or Digulleville (PN Dicuil cf. Digulstonga, Iceland)
- directly: the coastal route from the Orkney Islands down to the Cotentin peninsula is marked by rocks and cliffs with typical Norwegian names.

A few Swedes may have also come to Normandy.

The Viking colonisation was not a mass phenomenon. Nevertheless, in some areas, the Scandinavians established themselves rather densely, particularly in pays de Caux and in the northern part of the Cotentin. In fact, one can qualify the Nordic settlements in Normandy as Anglo-Scandinavian, because most of the colonists must have come after 911 as fishermen and farmers from the English Danelaw and a consequent Anglo-Saxon influence can be detected. Toponymic and linguistic evidence survives in support of this theory: for instance Dénestanville (*Dunestanvilla* in 1142, PN Dunstān > Dunstan) or

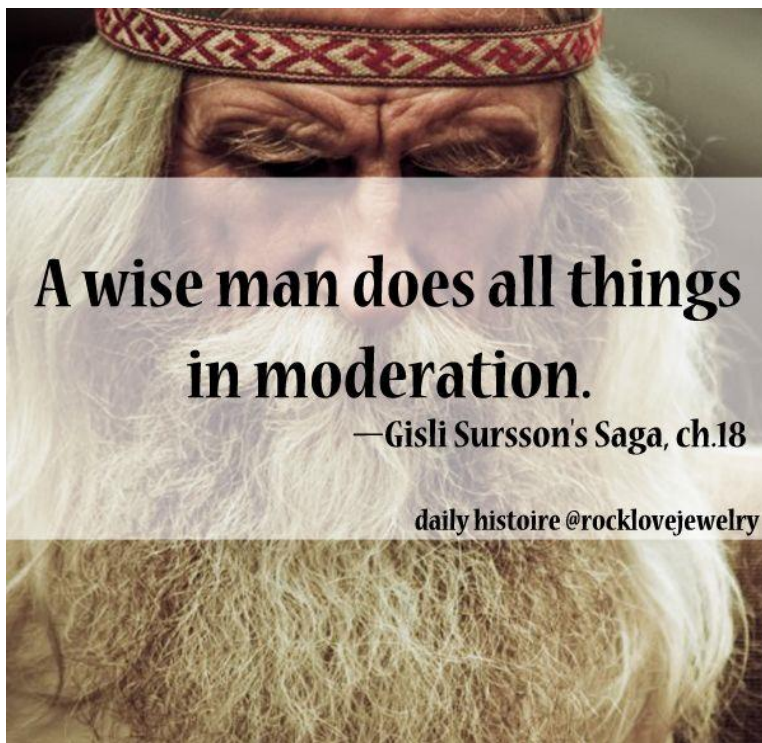
Vénestanville (*Wenestanvillam* 13th century, PN Wynstān > Winston).^[4] Furthermore, the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* mentions three times the possible settlement of Danes from England in Neustria:

1. A Danish army stationed in Kent for three years finally broke up,^[when?] and while some Danes stayed in England, others who owned ships sailed over the Channel to the Seine River.
2. Later, it is told that the jarl Thurcytel (Thorketill cf. NPN Turquetil, Teurquetil), who first settled in the English Midlands, sailed to *Francia* in 920.
3. Around 1000 another Viking fleet left England for Normandy.^[4]

Archeological evidence can be added : some Anglo-Saxon swords were dredged out of the Seine River, they had probably been used by the Danes. More recently, a buried treasure-trove discovered at Saint-Pierre-des-Fleurs contained nine Anglo-Saxon coins with traces of blows to test the metal quality of the coins.^[5] The fact it was buried proves that its owner was intent on returning.

The merging of the Scandinavian and native elements contributed to the creation of one of the most powerful feudal states of Western Europe. The naval ability of the Normans would allow them to conquer England and to participate in the Crusades.

29.6 Ducal Normandy (10th to 13th centuries)



Historians have few sources of information for this period of Norman history: Dudo of Saint-Quentin, William of Jumièges, Orderic Vitalis, and Wace. Diplomatic messages are the primary source of information for the succession of dukes.

Rollo of Normandy was the chief – the “jarl” – of the Viking population. After 911, he was the count of Rouen. His successors gained the title Duke of Normandy from Richard II. After the rise of the Capetian dynasty, they were forced to vacate the title, for there could be only one duke in Neustria, and the Robertians carried the title. These dukes increased the strength of Normandy, although they had to

observe the superiority of the King of France. The dukes of Normandy did not resist the general trend of monopolizing authority over their territory: the dukes struck their own money, rendered justice, and levied taxes. They raised their own armies and named the bulk of prelates of their archdiocese. They were therefore practically independent of the French king, although they paid homage to each new monarch.

The dukes maintained relations with foreign monarchs, especially the king of England: Emma, sister of Richard II married King Ethelred II of England. They appointed family members to positions as counts and viscounts, which came about around the year 1000. They held on to some territory in Scandinavia and the right to enter those lands by sea. The Norman dukes also ensured that their vassal lords did

not get too powerful, lest they become a threat to the ducal authority. The Norman dukes thus had more authority over their own domains than other territorial princes in Northern France. Their wealth thus enabled them to give large tracts of land to the abbeys and to ensure the loyalty of their vassals with gifts of fiefdoms. William's conquest of England opened up more land to the dukes, allowing them to continue these practices whilst preserving sufficient land holdings to serve as their powerbase.

The course of the 11th Century did not have any strict organizations and was somewhat chaotic. The great lords made oaths of fidelity to the heir of the duchy, and were in return granted public and ecclesiastical authority. The justice system lacked a central governing body and written laws were uncommon.

The aristocracy was composed of a small group of Scandinavian men, while the majority of the Norman political leaders were of Frankish descent. At the start of the 11th century, the region was attacked by the Bretons from the West, the Germans from the East, and the people of Anjou from the South. All of the aristocrats' fidelity oaths to the Norman dukes were attributed to defending their important domains. As early as 1040, the term 'baron' indicated the elite knights and soldiers of the duke. On the other hand, the term 'vassal' does not appear in the documents from 1057 onwards. It was also in the middle of the 11th Century that fiefdoms came to exist. Richard the First designated fiefdoms to counts from the dynasty and the cities so as to prevent them from getting too powerful.

29.7 Later Middle Ages

Having little confidence in the loyalty of the Normans, Philip installed French administrators and built a powerful fortress, the Château de Rouen, as a symbol of royal power. Within the royal demesne, Normandy retained certain distinctive features. Norman law continued to serve as the basis for court decisions. In 1315, faced with the constant encroachments of royal power on the liberties of Normandy, the barons and towns pressed on the king the Norman Charter. While this document did not provide autonomy to the province, it protected it against arbitrary royal acts.

The judgments of the Exchequer, the main court of Normandy, were declared final. This meant that Paris could not reverse a judgement of Rouen. Another important concession was that the King of France could not raise a new tax without the consent of the Normans. However, the charter, granted at a time when royal authority was faltering, was violated several times thereafter when the monarchy had regained its power.

The Duchy of Normandy survived mainly by the intermittent installation of a duke. In practice, the King of France sometimes gave that portion of his kingdom to a close member of his family, who then did homage to the king. Philippe VI made Jean, his eldest son and heir to his throne, the Duke of Normandy. In turn, Jean II appointed his heir, Charles, who was also known by his title of *Dauphin*.

In 1465, Louis XI was forced by his nobles to cede the duchy to his eighteen-year-old brother Charles, as an appanage. This concession was a problem for the king since Charles was the puppet of the king's enemies. Normandy could thus serve as a basis for rebellion against the royal power. Louis XI therefore agreed with his brother to exchange Normandy for the Duchy of Guyenne (Aquitaine). Finally, to signify that Normandy would not be ceded again, on 9 November 1469 the ducal ring was placed on an anvil and smashed. This was the definitive end of the duchy on the continent.

29.8 18th and 19th centuries

Although agriculture remained important, industries such as weaving, metallurgy, sugar refining, ceramics, and shipbuilding were introduced and developed.

In the 1780s, the economic crisis and the crisis of the *Ancien Régime* struck Normandy as well as other parts of the nation, leading to the French Revolution. Bad harvests, technical progress and the effects of the Eden Agreement signed in 1786 affected employment and the economy of the province. Normans laboured under a heavy fiscal burden.

Dauphin Louis Charles, the second son of Louis XVI, was again given the nominal title of 'Duke of Normandy' before the death of his elder brother in 1789.

In 1790, the five departments of Normandy replaced the former province. 11 July 1793, the Norman Charlotte Corday assassinated Marat.

The Normans reacted little to the many political upheavals that characterised the 19th century. Overall, they warily accepted the changes of régime (First French Empire, Bourbon Restoration, July Monarchy, French Second Republic, Second French Empire, French Third Republic).

There was an economic revival (mechanization of textile manufacture, first trains...) after the French Revolutionary Wars and the Napoleonic Wars (1792–1815).

And new economic activity stimulated the coasts: seaside tourism. The 19th century marks the birth of the first beach resorts.

29.9. Second World War



Figuur 84 Allied invasion of Normandy D-Day, 1944

During the Second World War, following the armistice of 22 June 1940, continental Normandy was part of the German occupied zone of France. The Channel Islands were occupied by German forces between 30 June 1940 and 9 May 1945. The town of Dieppe was the site of the unsuccessful Dieppe Raid by Canadian and British armed forces.

The Allies in this case involving Britain, the U.S, and Canada coordinated a massive build-up of troops and supplies to support a large-scale invasion of Normandy in the **D-Day landings on 6 June 1944** under the code name Operation Overlord.

The Germans were dug into fortified emplacements above the beaches. Caen, Cherbourg, Carentan, Falaise and other Norman towns endured many casualties in the Battle of Normandy, which continued until the closing of the so-called Falaise gap between Chambois and Mont Ormel. The liberation of Le Havre followed. This was a significant turning point in the war and led to the restoration of the French Republic. The remainder of Normandy was liberated only on 9 May 1945 at the end of the war, when the Occupation of the Channel Islands effectively ended.

30 NORSE GREENLAND AND DISCOVERY OF NORTH AMERICA

According to the Sagas of Icelanders, Norsemen from Iceland first settled Greenland in the 980s. There is no special reason to doubt the authority of the information that the sagas supply regarding the very beginning of the settlement, but they cannot be treated as primary evidence for the history of Norse Greenland because they embody the literary preoccupations of writers and audiences in medieval Iceland that are not always reliable.



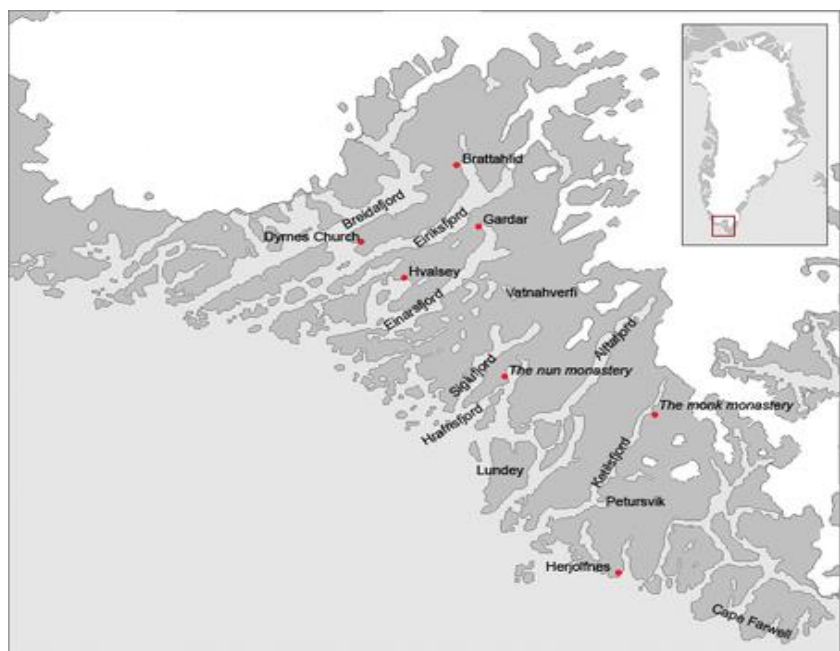
Figur 85 Map showing the extent of the Norse World

Erik the Red (Old Norse: Eiríkr rauði), having been banished from Iceland for manslaughter, allegedly explored the uninhabited southwestern coast of Greenland during the three years of his banishment. He made plans to entice settlers to the area, even purposefully choosing the name Greenland to attract potential colonists, saying "that people would be more eager to go there because the land had a good name". The inner reaches of one long fjord, named Eiríksfjord after him, was where he eventually established his estate Brattahlid. He issued tracts of land to his followers.

At its peak, the colony consisted of two settlements, the Eastern, at the southern tip of Greenland and the Western Settlement, partway up the west coast of Greenland (a smaller settlement near the Eastern Settlement is sometimes considered the Middle Settlement), with a combined population of 2,000–3,000; at least 400 farms have been identified by archaeologists. Norse Greenland had a bishopric (at Garðar) and exported walrus ivory, furs, rope, sheep, whale or seal blubber, live animals such as polar bears, and cattle hides. In 1126, the population requested a Bishop (headquartered at Garðar), and in 1261, they accepted the overlordship of the Norwegian King. They continued to have their own law and became almost completely independent after 1349, the time of the Black Death. In 1380, the Norwegian Kingdom entered into a personal union with the Kingdom of Denmark.

Western trade and decline

There is evidence of Norse trade with the natives (called Skraelings by the Vikings). The Norse would have encountered both Native Americans (the Beothuk, related to the Algonquin) and the Thule, the ancestors of the Inuit. The Dorset had withdrawn from Greenland before the Norse settlement of the island. Items such as comb fragments, pieces of iron cooking utensils and chisels, chess pieces, ship rivets, carpenter's planes, and oaken ship fragments used in Inuit boats have been found far beyond the traditional range of Norse colonization.



Figur 86 Eastern Viking settlement of Greenland

There has also been a small ivory statue found among the ruins of an Inuit community house that appears to represent a European.

The colony began to decline in the 14th century. The Western Settlement was abandoned around 1350, and the last bishop at Garðar died in 1377. After a marriage was recorded in 1408, no written records mention the settlers. It is probable that the Eastern Settlement was defunct by the late 15th

century. The most recent radiocarbon date found in Norse settlements as of 2002 was 1430 (\pm 15 years). Several theories have been advanced to explain the decline.

The Little Ice Age of this period would have made travel between Greenland and Europe, as well as farming, more difficult; although fishing and seal hunting provided a healthy diet, there was more prestige in cattle farming, and there was increased availability of farms in Scandinavian countries depopulated by famine and plague epidemics. In addition, Greenlandic ivory may have been supplanted in European markets by cheaper ivory from Africa. Despite the loss of contact with the Greenlanders, the Norwegian-Danish crown continued to consider Greenland a possession.

Not knowing whether the old Norse civilization remained in Greenland or not—and worried that if it did, it would still be Catholic 200 years after the Scandinavian homelands had experienced the Reformation—a joint merchant-clerical expedition led by the Dano-Norwegian missionary Hans Egede was sent to Greenland in 1721. Though this expedition found no surviving Europeans, it marked the beginning of Denmark's re-assertion of sovereignty over the island.

Vinland

According to the Icelandic sagas—*Eirik the Red's Saga*, *Saga of the Greenlanders*, plus chapters of the *Hauksbók* and the *Flatey Book*—the Norse started to explore lands to the west of Greenland only a few years after the Greenland settlements were established. In 985 while sailing from Iceland to Greenland with a migration fleet consisting of 400–700 settlers and 25 other ships (14 of which completed the journey), a merchant named Bjarni Herjólfsson was blown off course, and after three days' sailing he sighted land west of the fleet. Bjarni was only interested in finding his father's farm, but he described his discovery to Leif Erikson who explored the area in more detail and planted a small settlement fifteen years later.

The sagas describe three separate areas discovered during this exploration: Helluland, which means "land of the flat stones"; Markland, "the land of forests", definitely of interest to settlers in Greenland where there were few trees; and Vinland, "the land of wine", found somewhere south of Markland. It was in Vinland that the settlement described in the sagas was founded.

Three of Eirik the Red's children visited the North American continent: his sons Leif and Thorvald, and their sister (or half-sister) Freydis. Thorvald died there.

Leif's winter camp

Using the routes, landmarks, currents, rocks, and winds that Bjarni had described to him, Leif sailed some 1,800 miles to the west of the land, with a crew of 35—sailing the same knarr Bjarni had used to make the voyage. He described Helluland as "level and wooded, with broad white beaches wherever they went and a gently sloping shoreline." Leif and others had wanted his father, Erik the Red, to lead this expedition and talked him into it. However, as Erik attempted to join his son Leif on the voyage towards these new lands, he fell off his horse as it slipped on the wet rocks near the shore; thus he was injured and stayed behind.

Leif wintered in 1001, probably near Cape Bauld on the northern tip of Newfoundland, where one day his foster father Tyrker was found drunk, on what the saga describes as "wine-berries." Squashberries, gooseberries, and cranberries all grew wild in the area. There are varying explanations for Leif apparently describing fermented berries as "wine."

Leif spent another winter at "Leifsbúðir" without conflict, and sailed back to Brattahlíð in Greenland to assume filial duties to his father.

Thorvald's voyage (1004 AD)

In 1004, Leif's brother Thorvald Eiriksson sailed with a crew of 30 men to Vinland and spent the following winter at Leif's camp. In the spring, Thorvald attacked nine of the local people who were sleeping under three skin-covered canoes. The ninth victim escaped and soon came back to the Norse camp with a force. Thorvald was killed by an arrow that succeeded in passing through the barricade. Although brief hostilities ensued, the Norse explorers stayed another winter and left the following spring.



Figur 87 The Skalholt Map

Subsequently another of Leif's brothers, Thorstein, sailed to the New World to retrieve his dead brother's body, but he died before leaving Greenland.

Karlsefni's expedition (1009 AD)



Figur 88 Summer in the Greenland Coast circa year 1000 by Jens Rasmussen (1841-1893)

In 1009 Thorfinn Karlsefni, also known as "Thorfinn the Valiant", supplied three ships with livestock and 160 men and women (although another source sets the number of settlers at 250). After a cruel winter, he headed south and landed at Straumfjord. He later moved to Straumsöy, possibly because the current was stronger there. A sign of peaceful relations between the indigenous peoples and the Norsemen is noted here. The two sides bartered with furs and gray squirrel skins for milk and red cloth, which the natives tied around their heads as a sort of headdress.

There are conflicting stories but one account states that a bull belonging to Karlsefni came storming out of the wood, so frightening the natives that they ran to their skin-boats and rowed away. They returned three days later, in force. The natives used catapults, hoisting "a large sphere on a pole; it was dark blue in color" and about the size of a sheep's belly,^[13] which flew over the heads of the men and made an ugly din.

The Norsemen retreated. Leif Erikson's half-sister Freydís Eiríksdóttir was pregnant and unable to keep up with the retreating Norsemen. She called out to them to stop fleeing from "such pitiful wretches", adding that if she had weapons, she could do better than that. Freydís seized the sword belonging to a man who had been killed by the natives. She pulled one of her breasts out of her bodice and struck it with the sword, frightening the natives, who fled.

Pseudohistory

Purported runestones have been found in North America, most famously the Kensington Runestone. These are generally considered to be hoaxes or misinterpretations of Native American petroglyphs.

There are many claims of Norse colonization in New England, none well-founded.

Monuments claimed to be Norse include:^[15]

- Stone Tower in Newport, Rhode Island
- The petroglyphs on Dighton Rock, from the Taunton River in Massachusetts
- The runes on Narragansett Runestone

Horsford's Norumbega

The nineteenth-century Harvard chemist Eben Norton Horsford connected the Charles River Basin to places described in the Norse sagas and elsewhere, notably Norumbega. He published several books on the topic and had plaques, monuments, and statues erected in honor of the Norse. His work received little support from mainstream historians and archeologists at the time, and even less today.

Duration of Norse contact

Settlements in continental North America aimed to exploit natural resources such as furs and in particular lumber, which was in short supply in Greenland. It is unclear why the short-term settlements did not become permanent, though it was likely in part because of hostile relations with the indigenous peoples, referred to as Skrælings by the Norse. Nevertheless, it appears that sporadic voyages to Markland for forages, timber, and trade with the locals could have lasted as long as 400 years.

Evidence of continuing trips includes the Maine Penny, a Norwegian coin from King Olaf Kyrre's reign (1067–1093) allegedly found in a Native American archaeological site in the U.S. state of Maine, suggesting an exchange between the Norse and the Native Americans late in or after the 11th century; and an entry in the Icelandic Annals from 1347 which refers to a small Greenlandic vessel with a crew of eighteen that arrived in Iceland while attempting to return to Greenland from Markland with a load of timber.

Aftermath

For centuries it remained unclear whether the Icelandic stories represented real voyages by the Norse to North America. The sagas first gained serious historic respectability when, in 1837, the Danish antiquarian Carl Christian Rafn pointed out the possibility for a Norse settlement in, or voyages to, North America. North America, by the name Winland, first appeared in written sources in a work by Adam of Bremen from approximately 1075. The most important works about North America and the early Norse activities there, namely the Sagas of Icelanders, first reached written form only in the 13th and 14th centuries.

Evidence of Norse west of Greenland came in the 1960s when archaeologist Anne Stine Ingstad and her husband, outdoorsman and author Helge Ingstad, excavated a Norse settlement at L'Anse aux Meadows in Newfoundland. The location of the various lands described in the sagas remains unclear, however. Many historians identify Helluland with Baffin Island and Markland with Labrador. The location of Vinland poses a thornier question. Most believe that the L'Anse aux Meadows settlement represents the Vinland settlement described in the sagas; others argue that the sagas depict Vinland as warmer than Newfoundland and therefore lying farther south.

In 2012 Canadian researchers identified possible signs of Norse outposts in Nanook at Tanfield Valley on Baffin Island, as well as on Nunguvik, Willows Island and Avayalik. Unusual fabric cordage found on Baffin Island in the 1980s and stored at the Canadian Museum of Civilization was identified in 1999 as possibly of Norse manufacture; that discovery led to more in-depth exploration of the Tanfield Valley archaeological site.

Archeological findings in 2015 at Point Rosee, on the southwest coast of Newfoundland, reveal evidence of the location being a bog iron-smelting site and therefore a possible second 10th century Viking settlement in Canada. The possible settlement was initially discovered through satellite imagery and magnetometer readings and archaeologists have begun excavating the area.

Two ancient maps depict North America:

- the "Vinland map", which some believe is related to Norse exploration, although it is considered to be a modern forgery
- the Skálholt Map, made by an Icelandic teacher in 1570

31 ROLLO AND THE BRITISH THRONE

Rollo is a direct ancestor of William the Conqueror. Through him, he is an ancestor of the present-day British royal family, as well as as an ancestor of all current European monarchs and a great many pretenders to abolished European thrones.

32 NORMAN CONQUEST OF ENGLAND

The **Norman conquest of England** was the 11th-century invasion and occupation of England by an army of Norman, Breton, and French soldiers led by Duke William II of Normandy, later styled as William the Conqueror.

William's claim to the English throne derived from his familial relationship with the childless Anglo-Saxon King Edward the Confessor, who may have encouraged William's hopes for the throne. Edward died in January 1066 and was succeeded by his brother-in-law Harold Godwinson. The Norwegian king Harald Hardrada invaded northern England in September 1066 and was victorious at the Battle of Fulford, but Harold defeated and killed him at the Battle of Stamford Bridge on 25 September 1066. Within days, William landed in southern England. Harold marched south to confront him, leaving a significant portion of his army in the north. Harold's army confronted William's invaders on 14 October at the Battle of Hastings; William's force defeated Harold, who was killed in the engagement.

Although William's main rivals were gone, he still faced rebellions over the following years and was not secure on his throne until after 1072. The lands of the resisting English elite were confiscated; some of the elite fled into exile. To control his new kingdom, William gave lands to his followers and built castles commanding military strongpoints throughout the land. Other effects of the conquest included the court and government, the introduction of Norman French as the language of the elites, and changes in the composition of the upper classes, as William enfeoffed lands to be held directly from the king. More gradual changes affected the agricultural classes and village life: the main change appears to have been the formal elimination of slavery, which may or may not have been linked to the invasion. There was little alteration in the structure of government, as the new Norman administrators took over many of the forms of Anglo-Saxon government. In 911 the French Carolingian ruler Charles the Simple allowed a group of Vikings under their leader Rollo to settle in Normandy as part of the Treaty of Saint-Clair-sur-Epte. In exchange for the land, the Norsemen under Rollo were expected to provide protection along the coast against further Viking invaders. Their settlement proved successful,



Figur 89 Location of major events during the Norman conquest of England in 1066

and the Vikings in the region became known as the "Northmen" from which "Normandy" and "Normans" are derived. The Normans quickly adopted the indigenous culture, renouncing paganism and converting to Christianity. They adopted the langue d'oïl of their new home and added features from their own Norse language, transforming it into the Norman language. They intermarried with the local population and used the territory granted them as a base to extend the frontiers of the duchy westward, annexing territory including the Bessin, the Cotentin Peninsula and Avranches.

In 1002 King Æthelred II of England married Emma, the sister of Richard II, Duke of Normandy. Their son Edward the Confessor, who spent many years in

exile in Normandy, succeeded to the English throne in 1042. This led to the establishment of a powerful Norman interest in English politics, as Edward drew heavily on his former hosts for support, bringing in Norman courtiers, soldiers, and clerics and appointing them to positions of power, particularly in the Church. Childless and embroiled in conflict with the formidable Godwin, Earl of Wessex, and his sons, Edward may also have encouraged Duke William of Normandy's ambitions for the English throne.

When King Edward died at the beginning of 1066, the lack of a clear heir led to a disputed succession in which several contenders laid claim to the throne of England. Edward's immediate successor was the Earl of Wessex, Harold Godwinson, the richest and most powerful of the English aristocrats. Harold was elected king by the Witenagemot of England and crowned by the Archbishop of York, Ealdred, although Norman propaganda claimed the ceremony was performed by Stigand, the uncanonically elected Archbishop of Canterbury.

Harold was immediately challenged by two powerful neighbouring rulers. Duke William claimed that he had been promised the throne by King Edward and that Harold had sworn agreement to this; King Harald III of Norway, commonly known as Harald Hardrada, also contested the succession. His claim to the throne was based on an agreement between his predecessor Magnus I of Norway and the earlier English king, Harthacnut, whereby if either died without heir, the other would inherit both England and Norway.¹ William and Harald at once set about assembling troops and ships to invade England.

32.1 Tostig's raids and the Norwegian invasion

In early 1066, Harold's exiled brother Tostig Godwinson raided southeastern England with a fleet he had recruited in Flanders, later joined by other ships from Orkney. Threatened by Harold's fleet, Tostig moved north and raided in East Anglia and Lincolnshire, but he was driven back to his ships by the brothers Edwin, Earl of Mercia, and Morcar, Earl of Northumbria. Deserted by most of his followers, he withdrew to Scotland, where he spent the summer recruiting fresh forces. King Harold spent the summer on the south coast with a large army and fleet waiting for William to invade, but



Figur 90 13Th Century depiction of Rollo and his descendants William I of Normandy and Richard I of Normandy

the bulk of his forces were militia who needed to harvest their crops, so on 8 September Harold dismissed them.

King Harald Hardrada invaded northern England in early September, leading a fleet of more than 300 ships carrying perhaps 15,000 men. Harald's army was further augmented by the forces of Tostig, who threw his support behind the Norwegian king's bid for the throne. Advancing on York, the Norwegians defeated a northern English army under Edwin and Morcar on 20 September at the Battle of Fulford. The two earls had rushed to engage the Norwegian forces before King Harold could arrive from the south. Although Harold Godwinson had married Edwin and Morcar's sister Ealdgyth, the two earls may have distrusted Harold and feared that the king would replace Morcar with Tostig.

The end result was that their forces were devastated and unable to participate in the rest of the campaigns of 1066, although the two earls survived the battle.

Hardrada moved on to York, which surrendered to him. After taking hostages from the leading men of the city, on 24 September the Norwegians moved east to the tiny village of Stamford Bridge. King Harold probably learned of the Norwegian invasion in mid-September and rushed north, gathering forces as he went. The royal forces probably took nine days to cover the distance from London to York, averaging almost 25 miles (40 kilometres) per day. At dawn on 25 September Harold's forces reached York, where he learned the location of the Norwegians. The English then marched on the invaders and took them by surprise, defeating them in the Battle of Stamford Bridge. Harald of Norway and Tostig were killed, and the Norwegians suffered such horrific losses that only 24 of the original 300 ships were required to carry away the survivors. The English victory was costly, as Harold's army was left in a battered and weakened state.

32.2 Norman invasion, preparations and forces

William assembled a large invasion fleet and an army gathered from Normandy and all over France, including large contingents from Brittany and Flanders. He mustered his forces at Saint-Valery-sur-Somme and was ready to cross the Channel by about 12 August. The exact numbers and composition of William's force are unknown. A contemporary document claims that William had 726 ships, but this may be an inflated figure. Figures given by contemporary writers are highly exaggerated, varying from 14,000 to 150,000 men. Modern historians have offered a range of estimates for the size of William's forces: 7000–8000 men, 1000–2000 of them cavalry; 10,000–12,000 men; 10,000 men, 3000 of them cavalry; or 7500 men. The army would have consisted of a mix of cavalry, infantry, and archers or crossbowmen, with about equal numbers of cavalry and archers and the foot soldiers equal in number to the other two types combined. Although later lists of companions of William the Conqueror are extant, most are padded with extra names; only about 35 individuals can be reliably claimed to have been with William at Hastings.

William of Poitiers states that William obtained Pope Alexander II's consent for the invasion, signified by a papal banner, along with diplomatic support from other European rulers. Although Alexander did give papal approval to the conquest after it succeeded, no other source claims papal support before the invasion. William's army assembled during the summer while an invasion fleet in Normandy was

constructed. Although the army and fleet were ready by early August, adverse winds kept the ships in Normandy until late September. There were probably other reasons for William's delay, including intelligence reports from England revealing that Harold's forces were deployed along the coast. William would have preferred to delay the invasion until he could make an unopposed landing.

32.3 Landing and Harold's march south

The Normans crossed to England a few days after Harold's victory over the Norwegians at Stamford Bridge on 25 September, following the dispersal of Harold's naval force. They landed at Pevensey in Sussex on 28 September and erected a wooden castle at Hastings, from which they raided the surrounding area. This ensured supplies for the army, and as Harold and his family held many of the lands in the area, it weakened William's opponent and made him more likely to attack to put an end to the raiding.



Figuur 91 Landing in England scene from Bayeux Tapestry depicting ships coming in and horses landing

Harold, after defeating his brother Tostig and Harald Hardrada in the north, left much of his force there, including Morcar and Edwin, and marched the rest of his army south to deal with the threatened Norman invasion. It is unclear when Harold learned of William's landing, but it was probably while he was travelling south. Harold stopped in London for about a week before reaching Hastings, so it is likely that he took a second week to march south, averaging about 27 miles (43 kilometres) per day, for the nearly 200 miles (320 kilometres) to London. Although Harold attempted to

surprise the Normans, William's scouts reported the English arrival to the duke. The exact events preceding the battle remain obscure, with contradictory accounts in the sources, but all agree that William led his army from his castle and advanced towards the enemy. Harold had taken up a defensive position at the top of Senlac Hill (present-day Battle, East Sussex), about 6 miles (10 kilometres) from William's castle at Hastings.

Contemporary sources do not give reliable data on the size and composition of Harold's army, although two Norman sources give figures of 1.2 million or 400,000 men. Recent historians have suggested figures of between 5000 and 13,000 for Harold's army at Hastings, but most agree on a range of between 7000 and 8000 English troops. These men would have comprised a mix of the *fyrð* (militia mainly composed of foot soldiers) and the *housecarls*, or nobleman's personal troops, who usually also fought on foot. The main difference between the two types was in their armour; the *housecarls* used better protecting armour than that of the *fyrð*. The English army does not appear to have had many archers, although some were present. Few individual Englishmen are known to have been at Hastings; the most important were Harold's brothers Gyrth and Leofwine. About 18 other named individuals can reasonably be assumed to have fought with Harold at Hastings, including two of his other relatives.

32.4 Hastings

The battle began at about 9 am on 14 October 1066 and lasted all day, but while a broad outline is known, the exact events are obscured by contradictory accounts in the sources. Although the numbers on each side were probably about equal, William had both cavalry and infantry, including many archers, while Harold had only foot soldiers and few archers. The English soldiers formed up as a shield wall along the ridge, and were at first so effective that William's army was thrown back with heavy casualties. Some of William's Breton troops panicked and fled, and some of the English troops appear to have pursued the fleeing Bretons.

Norman cavalry then attacked and killed the pursuing troops. While the Bretons were fleeing, rumours swept the Norman forces that the duke had been killed, but William rallied his troops. Twice more the Normans made feigned withdrawals, tempting the English into pursuit, and allowing the Norman cavalry to attack them repeatedly. The available sources are more confused about events in the afternoon, but it appears that the decisive event was the death of Harold, about which differing stories are told. William of Jumieges claimed that Harold was killed by the duke. The Bayeux Tapestry has been claimed to show Harold's death by an arrow to the eye, but this may be a later reworking of the tapestry to conform to 12th-century stories that Harold had died from an arrow wound to the head. Other sources stated that no one knew how Harold died because the press of battle was so tight around the king that the soldiers could not see who struck the fatal blow. William of Poitiers gives no details at all about Harold's death.

32.5 Aftermath of Hastings

The day after the battle, Harold's body was identified, either by his armour or marks on his body. The bodies of the English dead, who included some of Harold's brothers and his *housecarls*, were left on the battlefield,^[58] although some were removed by relatives later. Gytha, Harold's mother, offered the victorious duke the weight of her son's body in gold for its custody, but her offer was refused. William ordered that Harold's body was to be thrown into the sea, but whether that took place is unclear.^[58]

Another story relates that Harold was buried at the top of a cliff.^[1] Waltham Abbey, which had been founded by Harold, later claimed that his body had been buried there secretly. Later legends claimed that Harold did not die at Hastings, but escaped and became a hermit at Chester.

After his victory at Hastings, William expected to receive the submission of the surviving English leaders, but instead Edgar the Ætheling was proclaimed king by the Witenagemot, with the support of Earls Edwin and Morcar, Stigand, the Archbishop of Canterbury, and Ealdred, the Archbishop of York. William therefore advanced, marching around the coast of Kent to London. He defeated an English force that attacked him at Southwark, but being unable to storm London Bridge he sought to reach the capital by a more circuitous route.



Figure 92 Depicting of Harold's death from the Bayeux Tapestry

William moved up the Thames valley to cross the river at Wallingford, Berkshire; while there he received the submission of Stigand. He then travelled north-east along the Chilterns, before advancing towards London from the north-west, fighting further engagements against forces from the city. Having failed to muster an effective military response, Edgar's leading supporters lost their nerve, and the English leaders surrendered to William at Berkhamsted, Hertfordshire. William was acclaimed King of England and crowned by Ealdred on 25 December 1066, in Westminster Abbey.

The new king attempted to conciliate the remaining English nobility by confirming Morcar, Edwin and Waltheof, the Earl of Northumbria, in their lands as well as giving some land to Edgar the Ætheling. William remained in England until March 1067, when he returned to Normandy with English prisoners, including Stigand, Morcar, Edwin, Edgar the Ætheling, and Waltheof.

32.6 English resistance

Despite the submission of the English nobles, resistance continued for several years.¹ William left control of England in the hands of his half-brother Odo and one of his closest supporters, William fitzOsbern. In 1067 rebels in Kent launched an unsuccessful attack on Dover Castle in combination with Eustace II of Boulogne. The Shropshire landowner Eadric the Wild, in alliance with the Welsh rulers of Gwynedd and Powys, raised a revolt in western Mercia, fighting Norman forces based in Hereford. These events forced William to return to England at the end of 1067. In 1068 William besieged rebels in Exeter, including Harold's mother Gytha, and after suffering heavy losses managed to negotiate the town's surrender.

In May, William's wife Matilda was crowned queen at Westminster, an important symbol of William's growing international stature. Later in the year Edwin and Morcar raised a revolt in Mercia with Welsh assistance, while Gospatric, the newly appointed Earl of Northumbria, led a rising in Northumbria, which had not yet been occupied by the Normans. These rebellions rapidly collapsed as William moved against them, building castles and installing garrisons as he had already done in the south. Edwin and Morcar again submitted, while Gospatric fled to Scotland, as did Edgar the Ætheling and his family, who may have been involved in these revolts. Meanwhile, Harold's sons, who had taken refuge in Ireland, raided Somerset, Devon and Cornwall from the sea.

32.7 Revolts of 1069



Figuur 93 Remains of the second motte-and bailey castle built by William in York

Early in 1069 the newly installed Norman Earl of Northumbria, Robert de Comines, and several hundred soldiers accompanying him were massacred at Durham; the Northumbrian rebellion was joined by Edgar, Gospatric, Siward Barn and other rebels who had taken refuge in Scotland. The castellan of York, Robert fitzRichard, was defeated and killed, and the rebels besieged the Norman castle at York. William hurried north with an army, defeated the rebels outside York and pursued them into the city, massacring the inhabitants and bringing the revolt to an end. He built a second castle at York, strengthened Norman forces in Northumbria and then returned south. A subsequent local uprising was crushed by the garrison of York. Harold's sons launched a second raid from Ireland and were defeated in Devon by Norman forces under Count Brian, a son of Eudes, Count of Penthievre. In August or September 1069 a large fleet sent by Sweyn II of Denmark arrived off the coast of England, sparking a new wave of rebellions across the country. After abortive raids in the south, the Danes joined forces with a new Northumbrian uprising, which was also joined by Edgar, Gospatric and the other exiles from Scotland as well as Waltheof. The combined Danish and English forces defeated the Norman garrison at York, seized the castles and took control of Northumbria, although a raid into Lincolnshire led by Edgar was defeated by the Norman garrison of Lincoln.

At the same time resistance flared up again in western Mercia, where the forces of Eadric the Wild, together with his Welsh allies and further rebel forces from Cheshire and Shropshire, attacked the castle at Shrewsbury. In the south-west, rebels from Devon and Cornwall attacked the Norman garrison at Exeter, but were repulsed by the defenders and scattered by a Norman relief force under Count Brian. Other rebels from Dorset, Somerset and neighbouring areas besieged Montacute Castle but were defeated by a Norman army gathered from London, Winchester and Salisbury under Geoffrey of Coutances.

Meanwhile, William attacked the Danes, who had moored for the winter south of the Humber in Lincolnshire, and drove them back to the north bank. Leaving Robert of Mortain in charge of

Lincolnshire, he turned west and defeated the Mercian rebels in battle at Stafford. When the Danes attempted to return to Lincolnshire, the Norman forces there again drove them back across the Humber. William advanced into Northumbria, defeating an attempt to block his crossing of the swollen River Aire at Pontefract. The Danes fled at his approach, and he occupied York. He bought off the Danes, who agreed to leave England in the spring, and during the winter of 1069–70 his forces systematically devastated Northumbria in the Harrying of the North, subduing all resistance. As a symbol of his renewed authority over the north, William ceremonially wore his crown at York on Christmas Day 1069.

In early 1070, having secured the submission of Waltheof and Gospatric, and driven Edgar and his remaining supporters back to Scotland, William returned to Mercia, where he based himself at Chester and crushed all remaining resistance in the area before returning to the south. Papal legates arrived and at Easter re-crowned William, which would have symbolically reasserted his right to the kingdom. William also oversaw a purge of prelates from the Church, most notably Stigand, who was deposed from Canterbury. The papal legates also imposed penances on William and those of his supporters who had taken part in Hastings and the subsequent campaigns. As well as Canterbury, the see of York had become vacant following the death of Ealdred in September 1069. Both sees were filled by men loyal to William: Lanfranc, abbot of William's foundation at Caen received Canterbury while Thomas of Bayeux, one of William's chaplains, was installed at York. Some other bishoprics and abbeys also received new bishops and abbots and William confiscated some of the wealth of the English monasteries, which had served as repositories for the assets of the native nobles.

32.8 Danish troubles



Figur 94 Coin of Sweyn II of Denmark

In 1070 Sweyn II of Denmark arrived to take personal command of his fleet and renounced the earlier agreement to withdraw, sending troops into the Fens to join forces with English rebels led by Hereward the Wake, based on the Isle of Ely. Sweyn soon accepted a further payment of Danegeld from William, and returned home. After the departure of the Danes the Fenland rebels remained at large, protected by the marshes, and early in 1071 there was a final outbreak of rebel activity in the area. Edwin and Morcar again turned against William, and although Edwin was quickly betrayed and killed, Morcar reached Ely, where he and Hereward were joined by exiled rebels who had sailed from Scotland. William arrived with an army and a fleet to finish off this last pocket of resistance. After some costly failures the Normans managed to construct a pontoon to reach the Isle of Ely, defeated the rebels at the bridgehead and stormed the island, marking the effective end of English resistance. Morcar was imprisoned for the rest of his life; Hereward was pardoned and had his lands returned to him.

32.9 Last resistance

William faced difficulties in his continental possessions in 1071,¹ but in 1072 he returned to England and marched north to confront King Malcolm III of Scotland. This campaign, which included a land army supported by a fleet, resulted in the Treaty of Abernethy in which Malcolm expelled Edgar the Ætheling from Scotland and agreed to some degree of subordination to William. The exact status of this subordination was unclear – the treaty merely stated that Malcolm became William's man. Whether this meant only for Cumbria and Lothian or for the whole Scottish kingdom was left ambiguous.

In 1075, during William's absence, Ralph de Gael, the Earl of Norfolk, and Roger de Breteuil the Earl of Hereford, conspired to overthrow him in the Revolt of the Earls. The exact reason for the rebellion is unclear, but it was launched at the wedding of Ralph to a relative of Roger's, held at Exning. Another earl, Waltheof, despite being one of William's favourites, was also involved, and some Breton lords were ready to offer support. Ralph also requested Danish aid. William remained in Normandy while his men in England subdued the revolt. Roger was unable to leave his stronghold in Herefordshire because of efforts by Wulfstan, the Bishop of Worcester, and Æthelwig, the Abbot of Evesham. Ralph was bottled up in Norwich Castle by the combined efforts of Odo of Bayeux, Geoffrey of Coutances, Richard fitzGilbert, and William de Warenne. Norwich was besieged and surrendered, and Ralph went into exile. Meanwhile, the Danish king's brother, Cnut, had finally arrived in England with a fleet of 200 ships, but he was too late as Norwich had already surrendered. The Danes then raided along the coast before returning home. William did not return to England until later in 1075, to deal with the Danish threat and the aftermath of the rebellion, celebrating Christmas at Winchester. Roger and Waltheof were kept in prison, where Waltheof was executed in May 1076. By that time William had returned to the continent, where Ralph was continuing the rebellion from Brittany.

32.10 Control of England

Once England had been conquered, the Normans faced many challenges in maintaining control. They were few in number compared to the native English population; including those from other parts of France, historians estimate the number of Norman landholders at around 8000.

William's followers expected and received lands and titles in return for their service in the invasion, but William claimed ultimate possession of the land in England over which his armies had given him *de facto* control, and asserted the right to dispose of it as he saw fit. Henceforth, all land was "held" directly from the king in feudal tenure in return for military service. A Norman lord typically had properties located in a piecemeal fashion throughout England and Normandy, and not in a single geographic block.



Figuur 95 Tower of London, originally begun by William the Conqueror to control London

To find the lands to compensate his Norman followers, William initially confiscated the estates of all the English lords who had fought and died with Harold and redistributed part of their lands. These confiscations led to revolts, which resulted in more confiscations, a cycle that continued for five years after the Battle of Hastings. To put down and prevent further rebellions the Normans constructed castles and fortifications in unprecedented numbers, initially mostly on the motte-and-bailey pattern. Historian Robert Liddiard remarks that "to glance at the urban landscape of Norwich, Durham or Lincoln is to be forcibly reminded of the impact of the Norman invasion". William and his barons also exercised tighter control over inheritance of property by widows and daughters, often forcing marriages to Normans.

A measure of William's success in taking control is that, from 1072 until the Capetian conquest of Normandy in 1204, William and his successors were largely absentee rulers. For example, after 1072, William spent more than 75 per cent of his time in France rather than England. While he needed to be personally present in Normandy to defend the realm from foreign invasion and put down internal revolts, he set up royal administrative structures that enabled him to rule England from a distance.

32.11 Elite replacement

A direct consequence of the invasion was the almost total elimination of the old English aristocracy and the loss of English control over the Catholic Church in England. William systematically dispossessed English landowners and conferred their property on his continental followers. The Domesday Book meticulously documents the impact of this colossal programme of expropriation, revealing that by 1086 only about 5 per cent of land in England south of the Tees was left in English hands. Even this tiny residue was further diminished in the decades that followed, the elimination of native landholding being most complete in southern parts of the country.

Natives were also removed from high governmental and ecclesiastical office. After 1075 all earldoms were held by Normans, and Englishmen were only occasionally appointed as sheriffs. Likewise in the Church, senior English office-holders were either expelled from their positions or kept in place for their lifetimes and replaced by foreigners when they died. By 1096 no bishopric was held by any Englishman, and English abbots became uncommon, especially in the larger monasteries.

32.12. English emigration



Figuur 96 Depiction of the Varangian Guard from the 12th Century Madrid Skylitzes

Following the conquest, many Anglo-Saxons, including groups of nobles, fled the country for Scotland, Ireland, or Scandinavia.¹ Members of King Harold Godwinson's family sought refuge in Ireland and used their bases in that country for unsuccessful invasions of England. The largest single exodus occurred in the 1070s, when a group of Anglo-Saxons in a fleet of 235 ships sailed for the Byzantine Empire. The empire became a popular destination for many English nobles and soldiers, as the Byzantines were in need of mercenaries. The English became the predominant element in the elite Varangian Guard, until

then a largely Scandinavian unit, from which the emperor's bodyguard was drawn. Some of the English migrants were settled in Byzantine frontier regions on the Black Sea coast, and established towns with names such as New London and New York.

32.13. Governmental systems

Before the Normans arrived, Anglo-Saxon governmental systems were more sophisticated than their counterparts in Normandy. All of England was divided into administrative units called shires, with subdivisions; the royal court was the centre of government, and a justice system based on local and regional tribunals existed to secure the rights of free men. Shires were run by officials known as shire reeves or sheriffs. Most medieval governments were always on the move, holding court wherever the weather and food or other matters were best at the moment; England had a permanent treasury at Winchester before William's conquest. One major reason for the strength of the English monarchy was the wealth of the kingdom, built on the English system of taxation that included a land tax, or the geld. English coinage was also superior to most of the other currency in use in northwestern Europe, and the ability to mint coins was a royal monopoly. The English kings had also developed the system of issuing writs to their officials, in addition to the normal medieval practice of issuing charters. Writs were either instructions to an official or group of officials, or notifications of royal actions such as appointments to office or a grant of some sort.



Figuur 97 Page from the Warwickshire Domesday survey

This sophisticated medieval form of government was handed over to the Normans and was the foundation of further developments. They kept the framework of government but made changes in the personnel, although at first the new king attempted to keep some natives in office. By the end of William's reign most of the officials of government and the royal household were Normans. The language of official documents also changed, from Old English to Latin. The forest laws were introduced, leading to the setting aside of large sections of England as royal forest. The Domesday survey was an administrative catalogue of the landholdings of the kingdom, and was unique to medieval Europe. It was divided into sections based on the shires, and listed all the landholdings of each tenant-in-chief of the king as well as who had held the land before the conquest.

32.14. Language

One of the most obvious effects of the conquest was the introduction of AngloNorman, a northern dialect of Old French, as the language of the ruling classes in England, displacing Old English. French words entered the English language, and a further sign of the shift was the usage of names common in France instead of Anglo-Saxon names. Male names such as William, Robert and Richard soon became common; female names changed more slowly. The Norman invasion had little impact on placenames, which had changed significantly after earlier Scandinavian invasions. It is not known precisely how much English the Norman invaders learned, nor how much the knowledge of French spread among the lower classes, but the demands of trade and basic communication probably meant that at least some of the Normans and native English were bilingual. Nevertheless, William the Conqueror never developed a working knowledge of English and for centuries afterwards English was not well understood by the nobility.

32.15. Immigration and intermarriage

An estimated 8000 Normans and other continentals settled in England as a result of the conquest, although exact figures cannot be established. Some of these new residents intermarried with the native English, but the extent of this practice in the years immediately after Hastings is unclear. Several marriages are attested between Norman men and English women during the years before 1100, but such marriages were uncommon. Most Normans continued to contract marriages with other Normans or other continental families rather than with the English. Within a century of the invasion, intermarriage between the native English and the Norman immigrants had become common. By the early 1160s, Ailred of Rievaulx was writing that intermarriage was common in all levels of society.

32.16. Society

The impact of the conquest on the lower levels of English society is difficult to assess. The major change was the elimination of slavery in England, which had disappeared by the middle of the 12th century. There were about 28,000 slaves listed in *Domesday Book* in 1086, fewer than had been enumerated for 1066. In some places, such as Essex, the decline in slaves was 20 per cent for the 20 years. The main reasons for the decline in slaveholding appear to have been the disapproval of the Church and the cost of supporting slaves, who unlike serfs, had to be maintained entirely by their owners. The practice of slavery was not outlawed, and the Leges Henrici Primi from the reign of King Henry I continue to mention slaveholding as legal.



Figuur 98 Modern-day reconstruction of an Anglo Saxon village at West Stow

Many of the free peasants of Anglo-Saxon society appear to have lost status and become indistinguishable from the non-free serfs. Whether this change was due entirely to the conquest is unclear, but the invasion and its after-effects probably accelerated a process already under way. The spread of towns and increase in nucleated settlements in the countryside, rather than scattered farms, was probably accelerated by the coming of the Normans to England. The lifestyle of the peasantry probably did not greatly change in the decades after 1066. Although earlier historians argued that women became less free and lost rights with the conquest, current scholarship has mostly rejected this view. Little is

known about women other than those in the landholding class, so no conclusions can be drawn about peasant women's status after 1066. Noblewomen appear to have continued to influence political life mainly through their kinship relationships. Both before and after 1066 aristocratic women could own land, and some women continued to have the ability to dispose of their property as they wished.

32.17. Historiography

Debate over the conquest started almost immediately. The *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, when discussing the death of William the Conqueror, denounced him and the conquest in verse, but the king's obituary notice from William of Poitiers, a Frenchman, was laudatory and full of praise. Historians since then have argued over the facts of the matter and how to interpret them, with little agreement. The theory or myth of the "Norman Yoke" arose in the 17th century, the idea that Anglo-Saxon society had been freer and more equal than the society that emerged after the conquest. This theory owes more to the period it was developed in than to historical facts, but it continues to be used in both political and popular thought to the present day.

In the 20th and 21st centuries historians have focused less on the rightness or wrongness of the conquest itself, instead concentrating on the effects of the invasion. Some, such as Richard Southern, have seen the conquest as a critical turning point in history. Southern stated that "no country in Europe, between the rise of the barbarian kingdoms and the 20th century, has undergone so radical a change in so short a time as England experienced after 1066." Other historians, such as H. G. Richardson and G. O. Sayles, believe that the transformation was less radical. In more general terms, one writer has called the conquest "the last echo of the national migrations that characterized the early Middle Ages". The debate over the impact of the conquest depends on how change after 1066 is measured. If Anglo-Saxon England was already evolving before the invasion, with the introduction of feudalism, castles or other changes in society, then the conquest, while important, did not represent radical reform. But the change was dramatic if measured by the elimination of the English nobility or the loss of Old English as a literary language. Nationalistic arguments have been made on both sides of the debate, with the Normans cast as either the persecutors of the English or the rescuers of the country from a decadent Anglo-Saxon nobility.

32.18. Timeline of the Battle of Hastings

The Timeline of the Battle of Hastings also provides details of a Norman Invasion Timeline and the Norman Conquest Timeline. The key dates and events detailed in the Battle of Hastings Timeline provides history at a glance of this important event in the history of England. The Battle of Hastings Timeline charts the fall of the Anglo Saxons and the rise of the Normans.

The Norman Invasion and Norman Conquest Events and Battle of Hastings Timeline

The Battle of Hastings Timeline	
1033	Alliance between France and England against the Vikings - the Normans claim to the English throne
1065	Meeting between Harold Godwinson and Duke William? Did Harold agree that William should become King of England when Edward the Confessor dies?
January 4th 1066	The Death of Edward the Confessor
January 6th 1066	Harold Earl of Wessex crowned King of England
April 1066	Halley's Comet
Spring 1066	Norman mission to Rome to seek Papal support for the Norman Invasion
Preparation for the Battle of Hastings The Norman Invasion Timeline	
July 1066	Harold gathers the English army at the South Coast of England in Preparation for the Norman Invasion
July 1066	William prepares his fleet for the English invasion at the River Dives in Normandy
September 1066	The Vikings! Harald Hadrada, King of Norway, launches a Viking invasion
20th September 1066	The Battle of Gate Fulford - The Vikings defeat the English led by Morcar
21st September 1066	Harold marches his army from the South Coast of England to York to defend against the Viking Invasion!
September 25th 1066	The Stamford Bridge Battle - Harold defeats King Harald Hadrada and the Vikings at York
September 27th 1066	Duke William sets sail for England - The Norman Invasion begins
September 28th 1066	Duke William lands at Pevensey, on the South coast of England. The Norman Invasion
September 29th 1066	Duke William occupies Hastings, on the South coast of England
October 1st 1066	Harold , celebrating his victory over the Vikings at York, receives news of the Norman invasion
October 1st 1066	Harold marches his army back from the North of England to the South of England to defend against the Norman Invasion!
October 6th 1066	King Harold arrives in London

The Battle of Hastings Timeline

October 1066	The English Army prepare their defences at Senlac
Friday 13th of October 1066	Negotiations between the Normans and Saxons - William demands that King Harold either resigns his royalty in favor of William, refers it to the arbitration of the Pope or let it be determined by the issue of a single combat. King Harold declines
Saturday 14th of October 1066	The Normans and the Saxons prepare for battle - the Battle of Hastings
Saturday 14th of October 1066	William Raised the Papal Standard and issued battle orders to the Norman army
Saturday 14th of October 1066	Norman Foot soldiers led the way, the archers followed and finally the Norman knights on horseback.
Timeline Saturday 14th of October 1066	Battle Plans - A fence and a fosse were built as a part of the Saxon defences. The men of Kent were entitled to strike first, the London men guarded King Harold. The Saxon army had no cavalry but stood in close ranks
Saturday 14th of October 1066	The Norman servants, priests and clerks looked on whilst the Norman army advanced in three columns
Saturday 14th of October 1066	Normans moved on to the assault, and the English defended themselves well
Saturday 14th of October 1066	The Two Armies met. Each side taunted the other. The armies exchanged blows and many Normans died in the fosse (ditch).
Timeline Saturday 14th of October 1066	The Battle raged for hours. A new scheme was adopted by the Norman archers. Arrows were shot in upward in the air striking the faces of the English soldiers. Many had their eyes put out and the arrows flew thicker than rain
Saturday 14th of October 1066	An arrow struck Harold above his right eye, and put it out. Many other English soldiers have suffered a similar fate due to the strategy of the Norman archers.
Saturday 14th of October 1066	The Saxons still continued to defend well. The Normans then adopted another strategy which deceived the Saxons
Saturday 14th of October 1066	The English believed that the Normans were in retreat. The English pursued the Normans and foolishly broke their ranks.
Timeline Saturday 14th of October 1066	The English were unable to compete against the knights on horseback. The Saxon barricades were broken. The living marched over heaps of the dead and many were crushed in the throng.
Saturday 14th of October 1066	The wounded King Harold was killed and his body mutilated by the Normans.

Timeline Saturday 14th of October 1066	Their King was dead and their Standard lost - many English soldiers fled. William had won the Battle of Hastings - he was the Conqueror
Saturday 14th of October 1066	The great Battle of Hastings had raged between 9am and 3pm
Timeline Sunday 15th of October	Both the Normans and the Saxons buried their dead. William the Conqueror had defeated the Saxons at the Battle of Hastings and now made ready to conquer the English
Defeat at the Battle of Hastings The Norman Conquest Timeline	
October 21st 1066	The Submission of the Saxons at Dover
October 29th 1066	The Submission of the Saxons at Canterbury
December 25th 1066	Duke William is crowned King of England in Westminster Abbey in London
January 1067	William the Conqueror starts constructing castles in England - Norwich Castle, Wallingford Castle and Chepstow Castle
March 1067	William returns to Normandy until December 1067
Autumn 1067	Odo, the Bishop of Bayeux is made Earl of Kent and becomes William's Deputy in England
December 1067	William returns to England
February 1067	Rebellion against the Normans! The English, led by Harold's mother Gytha, resist the Normans at Exeter but are defeated by the Normans
Spring 1067	King William starts construction of Exeter Castle and the Tower of London
May 11th 1068	King William's wife, Matilda, is crowned Queen of England
1068	Rebellion! The "Harrying of the North"
1070	Rebellion against the Normans! Hereward the Wake leads the English with Harold's brother the Earl Morcar against the Normans at Peterborough but is defeated
1070	The Norman Conquest is complete
1086	The Domesday Book
9th September 1087	William the Conqueror dies at Saint-Gervais near Rouen, France

33 NORMAN CONQUEST OF SOUTHERN ITALY

The term "Normans" ("men from the North") applied first to the people of Scandinavia in general, and afterwards (Northmannus, Normannus, Normand) it is the name of the Viking colonists from Scandinavia who settled themselves in Gaul and founded Normandy. The Normans' adopted a new religion (became Christians), a new language, a new system of law and society, new thoughts and feelings on all matters.

From their new home in northern France they set forth on new errands of conquest, chiefly in the British Islands and in southern Italy and Sicily.

If Britain and Sicily were the greatest fields of their enterprise, they were however very far from being the only fields. The same spirit of enterprise which brought the Northmen into Gaul seems to carry the Normans into every corner of the world. The conquest of England was made directly from Normandy, by the reigning duke, in a comparatively short time, while the conquest of Sicily grew out of the earlier and far more gradual conquest of Apulia and Calabria by private men, making their own fortunes and gathering round them followers from all quarters. They fought simply for their own hands, and took what they could by the right of the stronger.

They started with no such claim as Duke William put forth to justify his invasion of England; their only show of legal right was the papal grant of conquests that were already made. The conquest of Apulia, won bit by bit in many years of what we can only call freebooting, was not a national Norman enterprise like the conquest of England, and the settlement to which it led could not be a national Norman settlement in the same sense.

The Sicilian enterprise had in some respects another character. By the time it began the freebooters had grown into princes. Sicily was won by a duke of Apulia and a count of Sicily. Warfare in Sicily brought in higher motives and objects. Although this was before the Crusades, the strife with the Muslims at once brought in the crusading element. Duke William was undisputed master of England at the end of five years; it took Count Roger thirty years to make himself undisputed master of Sicily. The one claimed an existing kingdom, and obtained full possession of it in a comparatively short time; the other formed for himself a dominion bit by bit, which rose to the rank of a kingdom.

Professor Robert Bartlett describes their exit like this in the excellent BBC documentary "The Normans": "The Normans simply disappeared. This might sound like failure, but in fact it was the key to their success. They weren't interested in the purity of their blood. **They came, they saw, they conquered. Then they married the locals, learnt the language, and assimilated themselves out of existence.**"

The **Norman conquest of southern Italy** spanned most of the 11th and 12th centuries, involving many battles and independent conquerors. Only later were these territories in southern Italy united as the Kingdom of Sicily, which included the island of Sicily, the southern third of the Italian Peninsula (except Benevento, which was briefly held twice), the archipelago of Malta and parts of North Africa.

Itinerant Norman knights arrived in the Mezzogiorno as mercenaries in the service of Lombard and Byzantine factions, communicating news swiftly back home about opportunities in the Mediterranean. These groups gathered in several places, establishing fiefdoms and states of their own, uniting and elevating their status to *de facto* independence within fifty years of their arrival.

Unlike the Norman conquest of England (1066), which took a few years after one decisive battle, the conquest of southern Italy was the product of decades and a number of battles, few decisive. Many territories were conquered independently, and only later were unified into a single state. Compared to the conquest of England it was unplanned and disorganised, but equally complete.



Figur 99 Kingdom of Sicily (in green) in 1154 representing the Norman conquest in Italy over several decades by independent adventurers

33.1 Arrival of the Normans in Italy, 999–1017

The earliest reported date of the arrival of Norman knights in southern Italy is 999, although it may be assumed that they had visited before then. In that year, according to several sources, Norman pilgrims returning from the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem via Apulia stayed with Prince Guaimar III in Salerno. The city and its environs were attacked by Saracens from Africa demanding payment of an overdue annual tribute. While Guaimar began to collect the tribute the Normans ridiculed him and his Lombard subjects for cowardice, and they assaulted their besiegers. The Saracens fled, booty was confiscated and a grateful Guaimar asked the Normans to stay. They refused, but promised to bring his rich gifts to their compatriots in Normandy and tell them about possibly lucrative military service in Salerno. Some sources have Guaimar sending emissaries to Normandy to bring back knights, and this account of the arrival of the Normans is sometimes known as the "Salerno (or Salernitan) tradition".

The Salerno tradition was first recorded by Amatus of Montecassino in his *Ystoire de li Normant* between 1071 and 1086. Much of this information was borrowed from Amatus by Peter the Deacon for his continuation of the *Chronicon Monasterii Casinensis* of Leo of Ostia, written during the early 12th century. Beginning with the *Annales Ecclesiastici* of Baronius in the 17th century, the Salernitan story became the accepted history. Although its factual accuracy was questioned periodically during the following centuries, it has been accepted (with some modifications) by most scholars since.

Another historical account of the arrival of the first Normans in Italy, the "Gargano tradition", appears in primary chronicles without reference to any previous Norman presence. According to this account Norman pilgrims at the shrine to Michael the Archangel at Monte Gargano in 1016 met the Lombard Melus of Bari, who persuaded them to join him in an attack on the Byzantine government of Apulia.

As with the Salerno tradition, there are two primary sources for the Gargano story: the *Gesta Roberti Wiscardi* of William of Apulia (dated 1088–1110) and the *Chronica monasterii S. Bartholomaei de Carpineto* of a monk named Alexander, written about a century later and based on William's work. Some scholars have combined the Salerno and Gargano tales, and John Julius Norwich suggested that the meeting between Melus and the Normans had been arranged by Guaimar. Melus had been in Salerno just before his visit to Monte Gargano.

Another story involves the exile of a group of brothers from the Drengot family. One of the brothers, Osmund (according to Orderic Vitalis) or Gilbert (according to Amatus and Peter the Deacon), murdered William Repostel (Repostellus) in the presence of Robert I, Duke of Normandy after Repostel allegedly boasted about dishonouring his murderer's daughter. Threatened with death, the Drengot brother fled with his siblings to Rome and one of the brothers had an audience with the pope before joining Melus (Melo) of Bari. Amatus dates the story to after 1027, and does not mention the pope. According to him, Gilbert's brothers were Osmund, Ranulf, Asclettin and Ludolf (Rudolf, according to Peter).

Repostel's murder is dated by all the chronicles to the reign of Robert the Magnificent and after 1027, although some scholars believe "Robert" was a scribal error for "Richard" (Richard II of Normandy, who was duke in 1017). The earlier date is necessary if the emigration of the first Normans was connected to the Drengots and the murder of William Repostel. In the *Histories* of Ralph Glaber, "Rodulfus" leaves Normandy after displeasing Count Richard (Richard II). The sources disagree about which brother was the leader on the southern trip. Orderic and William of Jumièges, in the latter's *Gesta Normannorum Ducum*, name Osmund; Glaber names Rudolph, and Leo, Amatus and Adhemar of Chabannes name Gilbert. According to most southern-Italian sources, the leader of the Norman contingent at the Battle of Cannae in 1018 was Gilbert. If Rudolf is identified with the Rudolf of Amatus' history as a Drengot brother, he may have been the leader at Cannae.

A modern hypothesis concerning the Norman arrival in the Mezzogiorno concerns the chronicles of Glaber, Adhemar and Leo (not Peter's continuation). All three chronicles indicate that Normans (either a group of 40 or a much-larger force of around 250) under "Rodulfus" (Rudolf), fleeing Richard II, came to Pope Benedict VIII of Rome. The pope sent them to Salerno (or Capua) to seek mercenary employment against the Byzantines because of the latter's invasion of papal Beneventan territory. There, they met the Beneventan *primates* (leading men): Landulf V of Benevento, Pandulf IV of Capua, (possibly) Guaimar III of Salerno and Melus of Bari. According to Leo's chronicle, "Rudolf" was Ralph of Tosni. If the first confirmed Norman military actions in the south involved Melus' mercenaries against the Byzantines in May 1017, the Normans probably left Normandy between January and April.

33.2 Lombard revolt, 1009–1022

On 9 May 1009, an insurrection erupted in Bari against the Catapanate of Italy, the regional Byzantine authority based there. Led by Melus, a local Lombard, the revolt quickly spread to other cities. Late that year (or early in 1010) the *katapano*, John Curcuas, was killed in battle. In March 1010 his successor, Basil Mesardonites, disembarked with reinforcements and besieged the rebels in the city. The Byzantine citizens negotiated with Basil and forced the Lombard leaders, Melus and his brother-in-law Dattus, to flee. Basil entered the city on 11 June 1011, reestablishing Byzantine authority. He



Figur 100 Map of Italy at the arrival of the Normans who conquered all the territory on the mainland south of the Holy Empire, southern regions of the Papal States and the Duchy of Spoleto

did not follow his victory with severe sanctions, only sending Melus' family (including his son, Argyros) to Constantinople. Basil died in 1016, after years of peace in southern Italy.

Leo Tornikios Kontoleon arrived as Basil's successor in May of that year. After Basil's death, Melus revolted again; this time, he used a newly arrived band of Normans sent by Pope Benedict or who met him (with or without Guaimar's aid) at Monte Gargano. Tornikios sent an army, led by Leo Passianos, against the Lombard-Norman coalition. Passianos and Melus met on the Fortore at Arenula; the battle was either indecisive (William of Apulia) or a victory for Melus (Leo of Ostia and Amatus). Tornikios then took command, leading his forces into a second encounter near Civita. This second battle was a victory for Melus, although Lupus Protospatharius and the anonymous chronicler of Bari recorded a defeat.^[15] A third battle (a decisive victory for Melus) took place at Vaccaricia; the region from the Fortore to Trani was in his hands, and in September Tornikios was replaced by Basil Boiannes (who arrived in December). According to Amatus, there were five consecutive Lombard and Norman victories by October 1018.



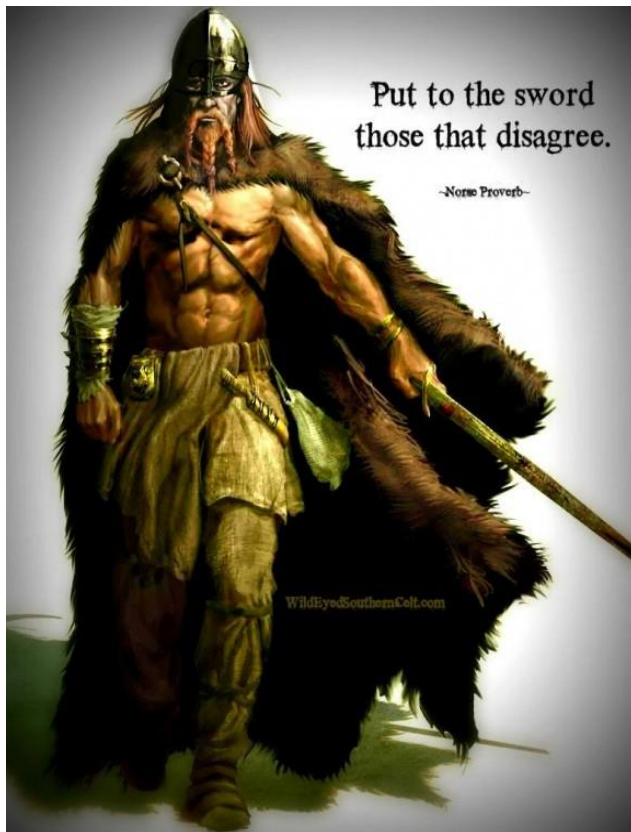
Figuur 101 Imprisonment of Gandulf of Capua after Emperor Henry II's 1022 campaign

At Boiannes' request, a detachment of the elite Varangian Guard was sent to Italy to fight the Normans. The armies met at the Ofanto near Cannae, the site of Hannibal's victory over the Romans in 216 BC, and the Battle of Cannae was a decisive Byzantine victory; Amatus wrote that only ten Normans survived from a contingent of 250. After the battle, Ranulf Drengot (one of the Norman survivors) was elected leader of their company. Boiannes protected his gains by building a fortress at the Apennine pass, guarding the entrance to the Apulian plain. In 1019 Troia (as the fortress was known) was garrisoned by Boiannes' Norman troops, an indication of Norman willingness to fight on either side. With Norman mercenaries on both sides, they would obtain good terms for the release of their brethren from their captors regardless of outcome.

Alarmed by the shift in momentum in the south, Pope Benedict (who may have initiated Norman involvement in the war) went north in 1020 to Bamberg to confer with Holy Roman Emperor Henry II. Although the emperor took no immediate action, events the following year persuaded him to intervene. Boiannes (allied with Pandulf of Capua) marched on Dattus, who was garrisoning a tower in the territory of the Duchy of Gaeta with papal troops. Dattus was captured and, on 15 June 1021, received the traditional Roman poena cullei: he was tied up in a sack with a monkey, a rooster and a snake and thrown into the sea. In 1022, a large imperial army marched south in three detachments under Henry II, Pilgrim of Cologne and Poppo of Aquileia to attack Troia. Although Troia did not fall, the Lombard princes were allied with the Empire and Pandulf removed to a German prison; this ended the Lombard revolt.

33.3 Mercenary service, 1022–1046

In 1024, Norman mercenaries under Ranulf Drengot were in the service of Guaimar III when he and Pandulf IV besieged Pandulf V in Capua. In 1026, after an 18-month siege, Capua surrendered and Pandulf IV was reinstated as prince. During the next few years Ranulf would attach himself to Pandulf,



but in 1029 he joined Sergius IV of Naples (whom Pandulf expelled from Naples in 1027, probably with Ranulf's assistance).

In 1029, Ranulf and Sergius recaptured Naples. In early 1030 Sergius gave Ranulf the County of Aversa as a fief, the first Norman lordship in southern Italy. Sergius also gave his sister, the widow of the duke of Gaeta, in marriage to Ranulf. In 1034, however, Sergius' sister died and Ranulf returned to Pandulf. According to Amatus:

For the Normans never desired any of the Lombards to win a decisive victory, in case this should be to their disadvantage. But now supporting the one and then aiding the other, they prevented anyone being completely ruined.

Norman reinforcements and local miscreants, who found a welcome in Ranulf's camp with no questions asked, swelled Ranulf's numbers.

There, Amatus observed that the Norman language and customs welded a disparate group into the semblance of a nation. In 1035, Tancred of Hauteville's three eldest sons (William "Iron Arm", Drogo and Humphrey) arrived in Aversa from Normandy.

In 1037, or the summer of 1038 (sources differ), Norman influence was further solidified when Emperor Conrad II deposed Pandulf and invested Ranulf as Count of Aversa. In 1038 Ranulf invaded Capua, expanding his polity into one of the largest in southern Italy.

In 1038 Byzantine Emperor Michael IV launched a military campaign into Muslim Sicily, with General George Maniaches leading the Christian army against the Saracens. The future king of Norway, Harald Hardrada, commanded the Varangian Guard in the expedition and Michael called on Guaimar IV of Salerno and other Lombard lords to provide additional troops for the campaign. Guaimar sent 300 Norman knights from Aversa, including the three Hauteville brothers (who would achieve renown for their prowess in battle). William of Hauteville became known as William Bras-de-Fer ("William Iron Arm") for single-handedly killing the emir of Syracuse during that city's siege. The Norman contingent would leave before the campaign's end due to the inadequate distribution of Saracen loot.

After the assassination of Catapan Nikephoros Dokeianos at Ascoli in 1040 the Normans elected Atenulf, brother of Pandulf III of Benevento, their leader. On 16 March 1041, near Venosa on the Olivento, the Norman army tried to negotiate with Catapan Michael Dokeianos; although they failed, they still defeated the Byzantine army in the Battle of Olivento. On 4 May 1041 the Norman army, led by William Iron Arm, defeated the Byzantines again in the Battle of Montemaggiore near Cannae (avenging the Norman defeat in the 1018 Battle of Cannae. Although the catapan summoned a large Varangian force from Bari, the battle was a rout; many of Michael's soldiers drowned in the Ofanto while retreating.

On 3 September 1041 at the Battle of Montepeloso, the Normans (nominally under Arduin and Atenulf) defeated Byzantine catepan Exaugustus Boioannes and brought him to Benevento. Around that time, Guaimar IV of Salerno began to attract the Normans. In February 1042, Atenulf negotiated the ransom of Exaugustus and then fled with the ransom money to Byzantine territory. He was replaced by Argyrus, who was bribed to defect to the Byzantines after a few early victories.

The revolt, originally Lombard, had become Norman in character and leadership. In September 1042, the three principal Norman groups held a council in Melfi which included Ranulf Drengot, Guaimar IV and William Iron Arm. William and the other leaders petitioned Guaimar to recognize their conquests, and William was acknowledged as the Norman leader in Apula (which included Melfi and the Norman garrison at Troia). He received the title of Count of Apulia from Guaimar, and (like Ranulf) was his vassal. Guaimar proclaimed himself Duke of Apulia and Calabria, although he was never formally invested as such by the Holy Roman Emperor. William was married to Guida (daughter of Guy, Duke of Sorrento and Guaimar's niece), strengthening the alliance between the Normans and Guaimar.

At Melfi in 1043, Guaimar divided the region (except for Melfi itself, which was to be governed on a republican model) into twelve baronies for the Norman leaders. William received Ascoli, Asclettin Drengot received Acerenza, Tristan received Montepeloso, Hugh Tubœuf received Monopoli, Peter received Trani, Drogo of Hauteville received Venosa and Ranulf Drengot (now the independent Duke of Gaeta) received Siponto and Monte Gargano.

During their reign William and Guaimar began the conquest of Calabria in 1044, and built the castle of Stridula (near Squillace). William was less successful in Apulia, where he was defeated in 1045 near Taranto by Argyrus (although his brother, Drogo, conquered Bovino). At William's death, the period of Norman mercenary service ended with the rise of two Norman principalities owing nominal allegiance to the Holy Roman Empire: the County of Aversa (later the Principality of Capua) and the County of Apulia (later the Duchy of Apulia).

33.4 County of Melfi, 1046–1059

In 1046 Drogo entered Apulia and defeated the catepan, Eustathios Palatinos, near Taranto while his brother Humphrey forced Bari to conclude a treaty with the Normans. Also that year, Richard Drengot arrived with 40 knights from Normandy and Robert "Giscard" Hauteville arrived with other Norman immigrants.

In 1047 Guaimar (who had supported Drogo's succession and the establishment of a Norman dynasty in the south) gave him his daughter, Gaitelgrima, in marriage.



Figuur 102 Stone Castle at Melfi was constructed by the Normans

Emperor Henry III confirmed the county of Aversa in its fidelity to him and made Drogo his vassal, granting him the title *dux et magister Italiae comesque Normannorum totius Apuliae et Calabriae* (duke and master of Italy and count of the Normans of all Apulia and Calabria, the first legitimate title for the Normans of Melfi). Henry did not confirm the other titles given during the 1042 council; he demoted Guaimar to "prince of Salerno", and Capua was bestowed upon Pandulf IV for the third (and final) time. Henry, whose wife Agnes had been mistreated by the Beneventans, authorised Drogo to conquer Benevento for the imperial crown; he did so in 1053.

In 1048 Drogo commanded an expedition into Calabria via the valley of Crati, near Cosenza. He distributed the conquered territories in Calabria and gave his brother, Robert Guiscard, a castle at Scribla to guard the entrance to the recently conquered territory; Guiscard would later abandon it for a castle at San Marco Argentano. Shortly thereafter he married the daughter of another Norman lord, who gave him 200 knights (furthering his military campaign in Calabria). In 1051 Drogo was assassinated by Byzantine conspirators and was succeeded by his brother, Humphrey. Humphrey's first challenge was to deal with papal opposition to the Normans. The Norman knights' treatment of the Lombards during Drogo's reign triggered more revolts. During the unrest, the Italo-Norman John, Abbot of Fécamp was accosted on his return trip from Rome; he wrote to Pope Leo IX:

The hatred of the Italians for the Normans has now reached such a pitch that it is almost impossible for any Norman, albeit a pilgrim, to journey in the towns of Italy, without being assailed, abducted, robbed, beaten, thrown in irons, even if fortunate enough not to die in a prison.

The pope and his supporters, including the future Gregory VII, called for an army to oust the Normans from Italy.

On 18 June 1053, Humphrey led the Norman armies against the combined forces of the pope and the Holy Roman Empire. At the Battle of Civitate the Normans destroyed the papal army and captured Leo IX, imprisoning him in Benevento (which had surrendered). Humphrey conquered Oria, Nardò, and Lecce by the end of 1055. In 1054 Peter II, who succeeded Peter I in the region of Trani, captured the city from the Byzantines. Humphrey died in 1057; he was succeeded by Guiscard, who ended his loyalty to the Empire and made himself a papal vassal in return for the title of duke.



Figuur 103 Battle Plan of Civitate: Normans in red, Papal coalition in blue

33.5 County of Aversa, 1049–1098

During the 1050s and 1060s, there were two centres of Norman power in southern Italy: one at Melfi (under the Hautevilles) and another at Aversa (under the Drengots). Richard Drengot became ruler of the County of Aversa in 1049, beginning a policy of territorial aggrandisement to compete with his Hauteville rivals. At first he warred with his Lombard neighbours, who included Pandulf VI of Capua, Atenulf I of Gaeta and Gisulf II of Salerno. Richard pushed back the borders of Salerno until there was little left of the once-great principality but the city of Salerno itself. Although he tried to extend his influence peacefully by betrothing his daughter to the oldest son of Atenulf of Gaeta, when the boy died before the marriage he still demanded the Lombard dower from the boy's parents. When the duke refused, Richard seized Aquino (one of Gaeta's few remaining fiefs) in 1058. However, the chronology of his conquest of Gaeta is confusing. Documents from 1058 and 1060 refer to Jordan (Richard's oldest son) as Duke of Gaeta, but these have been disputed as forgeries (since Atenulf was still duke when he died in 1062). After Atenulf's death, Richard and Jordan took over the rule of the duchy and allowed Atenulf's heir—Atenulf II—to rule as their subject until 1064 (when Gaeta was fully incorporated into the Drengot principality). Richard and Jordan appointed puppet, usually Norman, dukes.

When the prince of Capua died in 1057, Richard immediately besieged the comune. This chronology is also unclear. Pandulf was succeeded at Capua by his brother, Landulf VIII, who is recorded as prince until 12 May 1062. Richard and Jordan took the princely title in 1058, but apparently allowed Landulf to continue ruling beneath them for at least four years more. In 1059 Pope Nicholas II convened a synod at Melfi confirming Richard as Count of Aversa and Prince of Capua, and Richard swore

allegiance to the papacy for his holdings. The Drengots then made Capua their headquarters for ruling Aversa and Gaeta.

Richard and Jordan expanded their new Gaetan and Capuan territories northwards toward Latium, into the Papal States. In 1066 Richard marched on Rome, but was easily repelled. Jordan's tenure as Richard's successor marked an alliance with the papacy (which Richard had attempted), and the conquests of Capua ceased. When Jordan died in 1090, his young son Richard II and his regents were unable to hold Capua. They were forced to flee the city by a Lombard, Lando, who ruled it with popular support until he was forced out by the combined Hauteville forces in the siege of Capua in 1098; this ended Lombard rule in Italy.

33.6 Conquest of the Abruzzo, 1053–1105

In 1077 the last Lombard prince of Benevento died, and in 1078 the pope appointed Robert Guiscard to succeed him. In 1081, however, Guiscard relinquished Benevento. By then, the principality comprised little more than Benevento and its environs; it had been reduced in size by Norman conquests during the previous decades, especially after the Battle of Civitate and after 1078. At Ceprano in June 1080 the pope again gave Guiscard control of Benevento, an attempt to halt Norman incursions into it and associated territory in the Abruzzi (which Guiscard's relatives had been appropriating).

After the Battle of Civitate, the Normans began the conquest of the Adriatic coast of Benevento. Geoffrey of Hauteville, a brother of the Hauteville counts of Melfi, conquered the Lombard county of Larino and stormed the castle Morrone in the region of Samnium-Guillamatum. Geoffrey's son, Robert, united these conquests into a county, Loritello, in 1061 and continued his expansion into Lombard Abruzzo. He conquered the Lombard county of Teate (modern Chieti) and besieged Ortona, which became the goal of Norman efforts in that region. Loritello soon reached as far north as the Pescara and the Papal States. In 1078 Robert allied with Jordan of Capua to ravage the Papal Abruzzo, but after a 1080 treaty with Pope Gregory VII they were obligated to respect papal territory. In 1100 Robert of Loritello extended his principality across the Fortore, taking Bovino and Dragonara.

The conquest of the Molise is poorly documented. Boiano (the principal town) may have been conquered the year before the Battle of Civitate by Robert Guiscard, who had encircled the Matese massif. The county of Boiano was bestowed on Rudolf of Moulins. His grandson, Hugh, expanded it eastward (occupying Toro and San Giovanni in Galdo) and westward (annexing the Capuan counties of Venafro, Pietrabbondante and Trivento in 1105).

33.7 Conquest of Sicily, 1061–1091

Sicily was inhabited primarily by Christians under Arab control at the time of its conquest by the Normans. It had originally been under the rule of the Aghlabids and then the Fatimids, but in 948 the Kalbids wrested control of the island and held it until 1053. During the 1010s and 1020s, a series of succession crises paved the way for interference by the Zirids of Ifriqiya. Sicily was racked by turmoil as petty fiefdoms battled each other for supremacy. Into this, the Normans under Robert Guiscard and his younger brother Roger Bosso came intending to conquer; the pope had conferred on Robert the title of "Duke of Sicily", encouraging him to seize Sicily from the Saracens.

Robert and Roger first invaded Sicily in May 1061, crossing from Reggio di Calabria and besieging Messina for control of the strategically vital Strait of Messina. Roger crossed the strait first, landing unseen overnight and surprising the Saracen army in the morning. When Robert's troops landed later that day, they found themselves unopposed and Messina abandoned. Robert immediately fortified the



Figuur 104 Roger I of Sicily at the battle of Cerami victorious over 35,000 Saracens

city and allied himself with the emir, Ibn at-Timnah, against his rival Ibn al-Hawas. Robert, Roger, and at-Timnah then marched into the centre of the island by way of Rometta, which had remained loyal to at-Timnah. They passed through Frazzanò and the Pianura di Maniace (Plain of Maniakes), encountering resistance to their assault of Centuripe. Paternò fell quickly, and Robert brought his army to Castrogiovanni (modern Enna, the strongest fortress in central Sicily). Although the garrison was defeated the citadel did not fall, and with winter approaching Robert returned to Apulia. Before leaving, he built a fortress at San Marco d'Alunzio (the first Norman castle in Sicily).

Robert returned in 1064, bypassing Castrogiovanni on his way to Palermo; however, when his camp was infested by tarantulas the campaign was called off. He invaded Palermo again in 1071, but only the city fell; its citadel did not fall until January 1072. Robert invested Roger as Count of Sicily under the suzerainty of the Duke of Apulia. In a partition of the island with his brother Robert retained Palermo, half of Messina, and the largely Christian Val Demone (leaving the rest, including what was not yet conquered, to Roger).

In 1077 Roger besieged Trapani, one of the two remaining Saracen strongholds in the west of the island. His son, Jordan, led a sortie which surprised guards of the garrison's livestock. With its food supply cut off, the city soon surrendered. In 1079 Taormina was besieged, and in 1081 Jordan, Robert de Sourval and Elias Cartomi conquered Catania (a holding of the emir of Syracuse) in another surprise attack.

Roger left Sicily in the summer of 1083 to assist his brother on the mainland; Jordan (whom he had left in charge) revolted, forcing him to return to Sicily and subjugate his son. In 1085, he was finally able to undertake a systematic campaign. On 22 May Roger approached Syracuse by sea, while Jordan led a small cavalry detachment 15 miles (24 km) north of the city. On 25 May, the navies of the count and the emir engaged in the harbour—where the latter was killed—while Jordan's forces besieged the city. The siege lasted throughout the summer, but when the city capitulated in March 1086 only Noto was still under Saracen dominion. In February 1091 Noto yielded as well, and the conquest of Sicily was complete.



Figuur 105 Roger I receiving the keys of Palermo in 1071

In 1091, Roger landed at Malta and subdued the walled city of Mdina. He imposed taxes on the islands, but allowed the Arab governors to continue their rule. In 1127 Roger II abolished the Muslim government, replacing it with Norman officials. Under Norman rule, the Arabic spoken by the Greek Christian islanders for centuries of Muslim domination became Maltese.

33.8 Conquest of Amalfi and Salerno, 1073–1077

The fall of Amalfi and Salerno to Robert Guiscard were influenced by his wife, Sichelgaita. Amalfi probably surrendered as a result of her negotiations, and Salerno fell when she stopped petitioning her husband on behalf of her brother (the prince of Salerno). The Amalfitans unsuccessfully subjected themselves to Prince Gisulf to avoid Norman suzerainty, but the states (whose histories had been joined since the 9th century) ultimately came under Norman control.

By summer 1076, through piracy and raids Gisulf II of Salerno incited the Normans to destroy him; that season, under Richard of Capua and Robert Guiscard the Normans united to besiege Salerno. Although Gisulf ordered his citizens to store two years' worth of food, he confiscated enough of it to starve his subjects. On 13 December 1076, the city submitted; the prince and his retainers retreated to the citadel, which fell in May 1077. Although Gisulf's lands and relics were confiscated, he remained at liberty. The Principality of Salerno had already been reduced to little more than the capital city and its environs by previous wars with William of the Principate, Roger of Sicily and Robert Guiscard. However, the city was the most important in southern Italy and its capture was essential to the creation of a kingdom fifty years later.



Figuur 106 Palazzo dei Normanni a 9th Century Arab palace converted into a Norman Castle

In 1073 Sergius III of Amalfi died, leaving the infant John III as his successor. Desiring protection in unstable times, the Amalfitans exiled the young duke and summoned Robert Guiscard that year. Amalfi, however, remained restless under Norman control. Robert's successor, Roger Borsa, took control of Amalfi in 1089 after expelling Gisulf (the deposed Prince of Salerno, whom the citizens had installed with papal aid). From 1092 to 1097 Amalfi did not recognise its Norman suzerain, apparently seeking Byzantine help; Marinus Sebaste was installed as ruler in 1096.

Robert's son Bohemond and his brother Roger of Sicily attacked Amalfi in 1097, but were repulsed. During this siege, the Normans began to be drawn by the First Crusade. Marinus was defeated after Amalfitan noblemen defected to the Norman side and betrayed him in 1101. Amalfi revolted again in 1130, when Roger II of Sicily demanded its loyalty. It was finally subdued in 1131 when Admiral John marched on it by land and George of Antioch blockaded it by sea, establishing a base on Capri.

33.9 Byzantine–Norman wars, 1059–1085

While most of Apulia (except the far south and Bari) had capitulated to the Normans in campaigns by the fraternal counts William, Drogo and Humphrey, much of Calabria remained in Byzantine hands at Robert Guiscard's 1057 succession. Calabria was first breached by William and Guaimar during the early 1040s, and Drogo installed Guiscard there during the early 1050s. However, Robert's early career in Calabria was spent in feudal infighting and robber baronage rather than organised subjugation of the Greek population.

He began his tenure with a Calabrian campaign. Briefly interrupted for the Council of Melfi on 23 August 1059 (where he was invested as duke), he returned to Calabria—and his army's siege of Cariati—later that year. The town capitulated at the duke's arrival, and Rossano and Gerace also fell before the end of the season. Of the peninsula's significant cities, only Reggio remained in Byzantine hands when Robert returned to Apulia that winter. In Apulia, he temporarily removed the Byzantine garrison from Taranto and Brindisi. The duke returned to Calabria in 1060, primarily to launch a Sicilian

expedition. Although the conquest of Reggio required an arduous siege, Robert's brother Roger had siege engines prepared.

After the fall of Reggio the Byzantine garrison fled to Reggio's island citadel of Scilla, where they were easily defeated. Roger's minor assault on Messina (across the strait) was repulsed, and Robert was called away by a large Byzantine force in Apulia sent by Constantine X late in 1060. Under the catapan Miriarch, the Byzantines retook Taranto, Brindisi, Oria, and Otranto; in January 1061, the Norman capital of Melfi was under siege. By May, however, the two brothers had expelled the Byzantines and calmed Apulia.



Geoffrey, son of Peter I of Trani, conquered Otranto in 1063 and Taranto (which he made his county seat) in 1064. In 1066 he organised an army for a marine attack on "Romania" (the Byzantine Balkans), but was halted near Bari by a recently landed army of Varangian auxiliaries under the catapan Mabrica.

Mabrica briefly retook Brindisi and Taranto, establishing a garrison at the former under Nikephoros Karantenos (an experienced Byzantine soldier from the Bulgar wars). Although the catapan was successful against the Normans in Italy, it was the last significant Byzantine threat. Bari, the capital of the Byzantine catapanate, was besieged by the Normans beginning in August 1068; in April 1071 the city, the last Byzantine outpost in western Europe, fell.

After expelling the Byzantines from Apulia and Calabria (their theme of Langobardia), Robert Guiscard planned an attack on Byzantine possessions in Greece. The Byzantines had supported Robert's nephews, Abelard and Herman (the dispossessed son of Count Humphrey), in their insurrection against Robert; they had also supported Henry, Count of Monte Sant'Angelo, who recognised Byzantine suzerainty in his county, against him.

In 1073-75 Robert's vassal, Peter II of Trani, led a Balkan expedition against the Kingdom of Croatia's Dalmatian lands. Peter's cousin Amico (son of Walter of Giovinazzo) attacked the islands of Rab and Cres, taking Croatian king Petar Krešimir IV captive.

Although Petar was ransomed by the Bishop of Cres, he died shortly afterwards and was buried in the church of Saint Stephen in the Fortress of Klis.

33.10 Conquest of Naples, 1077–1139

The Duchy of Naples, nominally a Byzantine possession, was one of the last southern Italian states to be attacked by the Normans. Since Sergius IV asked for Ranulf Drengot's help during the 1020s, with brief exceptions the dukes of Naples were allied with the Normans of Aversa and Capua. Beginning in 1077, the incorporation of Naples into the Hauteville state took 60 years to complete.

In summer 1074, hostilities flared up between Richard of Capua and Robert Guiscard. Sergius V of Naples allied with the latter, making his city a supply centre for Guiscard's troops. This pitted him

against Richard, who was supported by Gregory VII. In June Richard briefly besieged Naples; Richard, Robert and Sergius soon began negotiations with Gregory, mediated by Desiderius of Montecassino.

In 1077 Naples was again besieged by Richard of Capua, with a naval blockade by Robert Guiscard. Richard died during the siege in 1078, after the deathbed lifting of his excommunication. The siege was ended by his successor, Jordan, to insinuate himself with the papacy (which had made peace with Duke Sergius).

In 1130, the Antipope Anacletus II crowned Roger II of Sicily king and declared the fief of Naples part of his kingdom. In 1131, Roger demanded from the citizens of Amalfi the defences of their city and the keys to their castle. When they refused, Sergius VII of Naples initially prepared to aid them with a fleet; George of Antioch blockaded Naples' port with a large armada and Sergius, cowed by the suppression of the Amalfitans, submitted to Roger. According to the chronicler Alexander of Teleso, Naples "which, since Roman times, had hardly ever been conquered by the sword now submitted to Roger on the strength of a mere report (i.e. Amalfi's fall)."



Figur 107 Norman progress in Sicily during Robert's expeditions to the Balkans, Capua, Calabria and the Count of Sicily are Norman. The Emirate of Sicily, the Duchy of Naples and lands in the Abruzzo (in southern Duchy of Spoleto) are not yet conquered

In 1134 Sergius supported the rebellion of Robert II of Capua and Ranulf II of Alife, but avoided direct confrontation with Roger and paid homage to the king after the fall of Capua. On 24 April 1135 a Pisan fleet with 8,000 reinforcements, captained by Robert of Capua, anchored in Naples and the duchy was the centre of the revolt against Roger II for the next two years. Sergius, Robert and Ranulf were besieged in Naples until the spring of 1136, by which time starvation was widespread. According to historian (and rebel sympathiser) Falco of Benevento Sergius and the Neapolitans did not relent, "preferring to die of hunger than to bare their necks to the power of an evil king." The naval blockade's failure to prevent Sergius and Robert from twice bringing supplies from Pisa exemplified Roger's inadequacy. When a relief army commanded by Emperor Lothair II marched to Naples, the siege was lifted. Although the emperor left the following year, in return for a pardon Sergius re-submitted to Roger in Norman feudal homage. On 30 October 1137, the last Duke of Naples died in the king's service at the Battle of Rignano.

The defeat at Rignano enabled the Norman conquest of Naples, since Sergius died without

heir and the Neapolitan nobility could not reach a succession agreement. However, it was two years between Sergius' death and Naples' incorporation by Sicily. The nobility apparently ruled during the interim, which may have been the final period of Neapolitan independence from Norman rule. During this period Norman landowners first appear in Naples, although the Pisans (enemies of Roger II) retained their alliance with the duchy and Pisa may have sustained its independence until 1139. That year, Roger absorbed Naples into his kingdom; Pope Innocent II and the Neapolitan nobility acknowledged Roger's young son, Alfonso of Hauteville, as duke.

33.11 Kingdom of Sicily, 1130–1198

Although the conquest of Sicily was primarily military, Robert and Roger also signed treaties with the Muslims to obtain land. Hindered by Sicily's hilly terrain and a relatively small army, the brothers sought influential, worn-down Muslim leaders to sign the treaties (offering peace and protection for land and titles). Because Sicily was conquered by a unified command, Roger's authority was not challenged by other conquerors and he maintained power over his Greek, Arab, Lombard and Norman subjects. The Roman Catholic Church was introduced to the island, and its ecclesiastical organisation was overseen by Roger with papal approval. Sees were established at Palermo (with metropolitan authority), Syracuse and Agrigento. After its elevation to a Kingdom of Sicily in 1130, Sicily became the centre of Norman power with Palermo as capital. The Kingdom was created on Christmas Day, 1130, by Roger II of Sicily, with the agreement of Pope Innocent II, who united the lands Roger had inherited from his father Roger I of Sicily.

These areas included the Maltese Archipelago, which was conquered from the Arabs of the Emirates of Sicily; the Duchy of Apulia and the County of Sicily, which had belonged to his cousin William II, Duke of Apulia, until William's death in 1127; and the other Norman vassals.

With the invasion of Henry VI, Holy Roman Emperor on behalf of his wife, Constance, the daughter of Roger II, eventually prevailed and the kingdom fell in 1194 to the House of Hohenstaufen. Through Constance, the Hauteville blood was passed to Frederick II, Holy Roman Emperor and King of Sicily in 1198.

33.12 Encastellation



Figuur 108 Early Norman Castle at Adrano

The Norman conquest of southern Italy began an infusion of Romanesque (specifically Norman) architecture. Some castles were expanded on existing Lombard, Byzantine and Arab structures, while others were original constructions. The castles drew on local craftsmanship, and retained distinctive elements of their non-Norman origins. Latin cathedrals were built in lands recently converted from Greek Orthodoxy or Islam, in a Romanesque style influenced by Byzantine and Islamic designs.

Norman administration was centralised, complex and bureaucratic compared with other contemporary western European systems. Public buildings, such as palaces, were common in larger cities (notably Palermo); these structures, in particular, demonstrate the influence of Siculo-Arab culture.

The Normans rapidly began the construction, expansion and renovation of castles in southern Italy. Most were original or based on pre-existing Lombard structures, although some were built on Byzantine or (in Sicily) Arab foundations. By the end of the Norman period, most wooden castles were converted to stone.

After the Lombard castle at Melfi, which was conquered by the Normans early and augmented with a surviving, rectangular donjon late in the 11th century, Calabria was the first province affected by Norman encastellation. In 1046 William Iron Arm began construction of Stridula (a large castle near Squillace), and by 1055 Robert Guiscard built three castles: at Rossano, on the site of a Byzantine

fortress; at Scribla, the seat of his fief guarding the pass of the Val di Crati, and at San Marco Argentano (donjon built in 1051) near Cosenza. In 1058, Scalea was built on a seaside cliff.

Guiscard was a major castle-builder after his accession to the Apulian countship, building a castle at Gargano with pentagonal towers known as the Towers of Giants. Later, Henry, Count of Monte Sant'Angelo built a castle at nearby Castelpagano. In the Molise the Normans built many fortresses into the naturally defensible terrain, such as Santa Croce and Ferrante. The region of a line running from Terracina to Termoli has the greatest density of Norman castles in Italy.^[33] Many sites were originally Samnite strongholds reused by the Romans and their successors; the Normans called such a fortress a *castellum vetus* (old castle). Many Molisian castles have walls integrated into the mountains and ridges, and much of the quickly erected masonry demonstrates that the Normans introduced the *opus gallicum* into the Molise.

The encastellation of Sicily was begun at the behest of the native Greek inhabitants.^[33] In 1060, they asked Guiscard to construct a castle at Aluntium. The first Norman building on Sicily, San Marco d'Alunzio (named after Guiscard's first castle at Argentano in Calabria), was erected; its ruins survive. Petralia Soprana was then built near Cefalù, followed by a castle at Troina in 1071; in 1073 a castle was built at Mazara (extant ruins) and another at Paternò (restored ruins). At Adrano (or Aderno) the Normans built a plain, rectangular tower whose floor plan illustrates 11th-century Norman design. An outside stairway leads to the first-storey entrance, and the interior is divided lengthwise down the middle into a great hall on one side and two rooms (a chapel and chamber) on the other. Other fortifications in Sicily were appropriated from the Arabs, and the palatial and cathedral architecture of cities such as Palermo has obvious Arab features. Arab artistic influence in Sicily mirrors the Lombard influence in the Mezzogiorno.

34 NORMANS IN GREECE

The Normans had established themselves in Southern Italy and Sicily since 1027. In 1081 Robert Guiscard crossed the Adriatic, captured Corfu and laid siege to the Albanian port of Durazzo. Despite the defeat of his fleet Robert maintained the siege over the winter until Alexius arrived with a relief army. At the Battle of Durazzo 1082 a second charge (after effective crossbow fire) by Norman cavalry destroyed Alexius's Varangian Guard which included Anglo-Saxon axemen who had left Britain following the Norman conquest. As at Hastings it was the premature advance of these troops which contributed to the defeat. Robert's son Bohemund advanced to the Vardar river but was repulsed at Larissa by Alexius. With the death of his father in 1085 Bohemund returned to Italy.

After a period of crusading activity in Syria Bohemond returned to attack Durazzo in 1106. However, Alexius had prepared a large fleet to counter him. Blockaded in his siege lines Bohemond was forced into a humiliating peace treaty. He died in 1108.

War broke out again in the early 12th Century with clashes from Sicily to North Africa. Between 1146-49 the Norman fleet commanded by George of Antioch captured Corfu and sacked Athens Thebes and Corinth. He even brought his fleet to Constantinople in 1149. In 1155 the Byzantines took the war to Italy before being defeated at Brindis in 1156.

William II launched a new Norman invasion in 1185 capturing Durazzo and Thessalonika. His advance on Constantinople was halted by Emperor Isaac II Angelus at the Battle of the Strymon in September 1185. This effectively ended the Norman attempts on the Byzantine Empire.

Whilst due credit for Norman success has to be given to their mailed knights for it was the combination of knights and crossbowmen which were responsible for land victories. Most warfare revolved around

sieges and in this form of warfare the Norman fleets were vital. Horse transports were particularly useful enabling the Normans to deliver battle winning troops to key points by sea.

In retrospect, William's rule can be seen as harsh, but in some ways just. The King was determined to stay in firm control, and he certainly brought a new degree of political unity to England. Those huge, forbidding Norman castles which even today, in ruin, dominate the skyline of so many towns and cities had the effect of maintaining law and order. Even a Saxon scribe wrote that "a man might walk through the land unmolested," and compared to the lawlessness and abuses which were apparent in the reign of his successor William II, the Conqueror's reign was almost a golden age. Trouble came immediately upon his death.

35 NORMANS FOUNDERS OF RUSSIA

A tendency in historiography, whose supporters regard the Normans (Varangians) as the founders of the state of ancient Rus'.

The Norman theory was formulated by German scholars, including G. S. Bayer and G. F. Miller, who worked at the St. Petersburg Academy of Sciences in the second quarter of the 18th century. A. L. von Schlözer, who came to Russia at a later date, also supported the theory. Evidence for the Norman origin of the ancient Russian state was provided by *The Tale of Bygone Years* (The Primary Chronicle), which contains an account of the summoning of the Varangian princes Riurik, Sineus, and Truvor to Rus' in A.D. 862.



The political intent of the theory was to portray ancient Rus' as a backward country incapable of self-government and to present the Normans as a force that, from the very beginning of Russian history, influenced the economic and cultural development of Russia.

In the middle of the 18th century, the theory was criticized by M. V. Lomonosov, who pointed out that it was untenable from the standpoint of scholarship, and that it was politically biased against Russia. In histories written during the 18th and 19th centuries by members of the nobility and by monarchists (for example, N. M. Karamzin), the theory served as the official version of the origin of the Russian state. To a greater or lesser extent, the majority of bourgeois historians were Normanists. Although he did not reject the historical validity of the summoning to Rus' of the Varangian princes, S. M. Solov'ev refused to regard

this as evidence of the backwardness of the Eastern Slavs. He declined to apply to the ninth century the concept of national dignity, which is relevant only to modern times.

The struggle between the Normanists and anti-Normanists and between the Slavophiles and Westerners became particularly intense in the 1860's in connection with the celebration in 1862 of the 1,000th anniversary of the Russian state. At that time many problems in Russian history were the subject of heated polemics of a distinctly political nature.

Some historians from the nobility and the bourgeoisie, including D. I. Ilovaiskii, S. A. Gedeonov, and V. G. Vasil'evskii, opposed the Norman theory. They criticized certain aspects and hypotheses but were unable to expose the theory's unscholarly character.

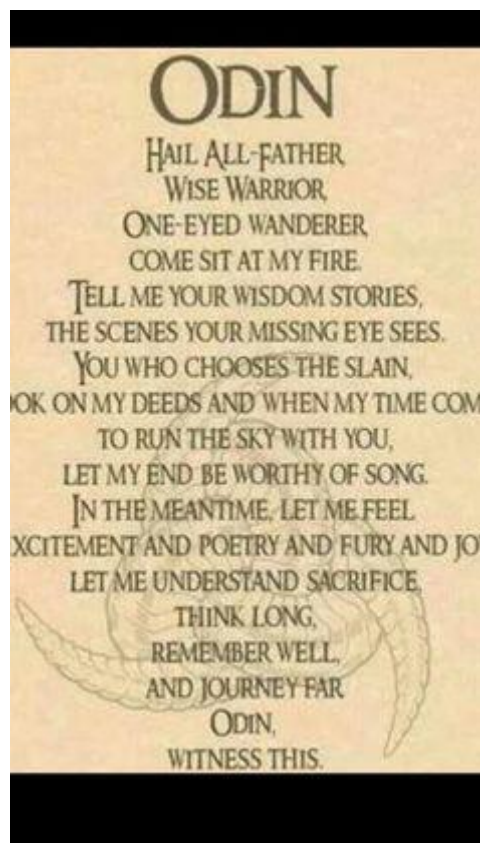
In the 1930's and 1940's, Soviet historiography overcame the influence of the Norman theory. A number of Soviet historians and archaeologists, including B. D. Grekov, B. A. Rybakov, M. N. Tikhomirov, S. M. Iushkov, and V. V. Mavrodin, wrote works of decisive importance, based on Marxist-Leninist methodology. Soviet scholars established that among the Eastern Slavs of the ninth century the *obshchina* (peasant commune) system had declined to such a degree as to permit the development of the internal prerequisites for the emergence of the state. The presence in ancient Rus' of princes of Varangian origin (Oleg, Igor') and of Norman-Varangians in the princely retinues (*druzhiny*) does not contradict the fact that the state in ancient Rus' took shape as the result of an independent socioeconomic evolution. The' Norman-Varangians left almost no imprint on the rich material and spiritual culture of ancient Rus'. Those who settled in Rus' merged with the native population and became slavized.

Since the 1920's the Norman theory has been part of the bourgeois conception of Russian history, to which some American and Western European historians adhere. In capitalist countries, many monographs and articles have been published on certain problems related to the theory.

On the whole, contemporary Normanism is characterized by a defensive position toward the works of Soviet scholars. Supporters of the theory strive to defend positions on particular topics, which include the makeup of the ruling class in ancient Rus' the origin of large-scale land-ownership in Rus', trade and trade routes in ancient Rus', and archaeological remains of the culture of ancient Rus'. In each of these topics, the Normanists consider the Norman element to be decisive. Contemporary supporters of the theory also maintain that the Normans colonized Rus' and that Scandinavian colonies served as the basis for the establishment of Norman hegemony.

They believe that ancient Rus' was politically dependent on Sweden. Sorely lacking in historical evidence, the Norman theory is untenable.

DEEL 4
VIKING RELIGION,
WISDOM,
FICTION AND HUMOR



36 RELIGION OF THE VIKING

FREYR

Freyr is the god of sun and rain, and the patron of bountiful harvests. He is both a god of peace and a brave warrior. He is also the ruler of the elves. Freyr is the most prominent and most beautiful of the male members of the Vanir, and is called 'God of the World'. After the merging of the Aesir and the Vanir, Freyr was called 'Lord of the Aesir'. Freyr was also called upon to grant a fertile marriage.



Like the type of religion in ancient Greece or Rome, the Vikings worshiped many different Gods and Goddesses. Their religion was an important part of everyday life.

36.1 The three most important Viking Gods

Odin - the leader of the gods - god of magic, poetry and war. His wife was Frigg

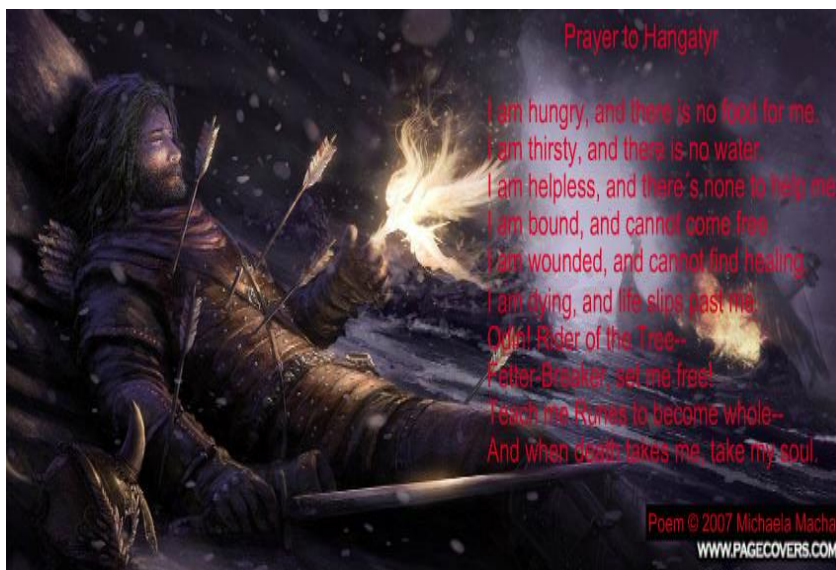
Thor (Tor in Scandinavian languages) was the god of thunder.

Thor had iron gloves, a magic belt and a hammer. He was also god of protection. He provided protection from cold hunger, giants and other dangers.

The giants were (Jotun; Swedish pronunciation):

- the **Rimturs** - giants of the cold world; (rim = rime, thurs = thirst; Swedish)
- the **Bergresar** - giants of the mountains; (berg = mountain, res = giant; Swedish)

Freyr (or Frej in Swedish) - god of agriculture and fertility.



Freyr was worshipped on a regular basis all through-out the year for future prosperity. He was the twin of Freyja (goddess of love and fertility). Freyr wept golden tears when she was unhappy.

Norse Myths (Sagas)

The Vikings told many stories about gods, giants, trolls and dragons. They were full of magic, adventure, trickery

and mischief. They describe people living in **Midgard** (Middle Earth) and gods and goddesses living in a sky world called **Asgard**. A beautiful rainbow bridge linked Midgard with Asgard..



The Viking world tree the Yggdrasil.

The Vikings believed in a multitude of realms or home worlds in their universe, nine in total, populated by the Gods, humans, the giants and the sinners. These realms were bonded by the Viking world tree, known as Yggdrasil, which was an ash tree with special powers, its home was rooted in the centre of these Norse realms.

The three primary realms were Niflheim, Midgard and Asgard, which we go into a little bit more detail about below.

Niflheim

Niflheim was the world of the mist, and literally translates as the 'land of freezing mist'. Dark, cold and clouded in said mist, Niflheim was unfriendly if we were to describe it in a few words. Niflheim was located in the far north, and on the lowest rung of the Norse universe. It was reserved for cold blooded murderers, people who broke the Viking oaths and never do wellers.

Midgard

Midgard was the middle realm, the land of mortals in ancient Norse times. This human filled land was linked to the home of the Gods, Asgard by the rainbow bridge.

Asgard

Asgard in ancient Norse mythology and religion was the home of the Aesir gods, led by the mighty Odin. Asgard itself was home to many realms inside its boundaries including Valhalla and more.

Asgard was located in the middle of the Viking world, and on the highest rung of the Norse universe. It was populated by the elite gods the Aesir, including such as Odin, his wife Frigg, Thor and many more.

Vanaheimr

Vanaheimr or as it was known in the old Norse times, home of the Vanir, was just that. The Vanir were a Norse group of gods, including Freyja, Freyr, and their father Njord. These gods were known for their association with virility, love, passion and beauty among other things. The gods of the Vanir were also later joined with the Aesir and become members of that primary group.

Jotunheim

Jotunheim was the land of the mighty Norse giants, a menace and trouble to the humans and the gods living in the Viking realms. It was from this home in Jotunheim that these hugely proportioned creatures lived and were considered forces of nature by the old Norse

Alfheim

The 9 realms of the Viking mythological world.

Alfheim was the land of the elves in Norse mythology, with this particular realm being home to one of two groups of elves. Alfheim was home to the light elves, a race that the Norse reported to be pleasing to the eye, and very beautiful. The other group of elves in Norse mythology were the dark elves, they did not live in Alfheim however, but deep in the realm of Svartalfheim.

Svartalfheim

Svartalfheim was known in old Norse mythology to be the home of the dark elves, often referred to as swart elves. The interesting point of uncertainty with Svartalfheim is that many sources list this realm as the home of the dwarves as well. Whether this means the dark elves were also dwarves or simply of not as grand a stature as the light elves remains unknown.

Muspelheim

Muspelheim was the realm of fire, the flame to the ice of Niflheim and ruled by the Giant Surtr. Surtr was the leader of the fire giants that inhabited Muspelheim and was famed for his sword that burned bright like no other.

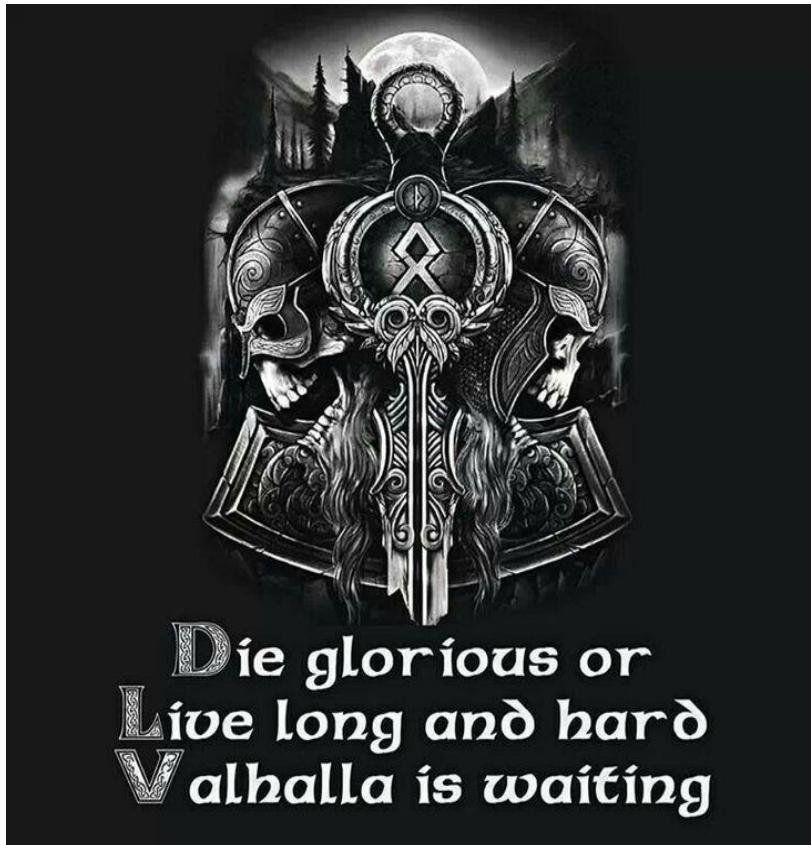
In the Norse mythology its told that the two lands of Muspelheim and Niflheim at some point met, and at this point the fire and ice joined, creating water.

Helheim

Helheim also known as Hel was the underworld of Norse mythology and was home to the being who oversaw this realm also called Hel. Hel was the daughter of Loki, and her realm of Helheim was actually situated in Niflheim.

Helheim was the place where Vikings would go should they die from natural causes, or more specifically not in battle. Once there, it would be impossible to leave, Helheim was surrounded by the river Gjoll and guarded by a devilish giant hound, known as Garm.

36.2 Valhalla



The Vikings believed that men who died in battle went to **Valhalla** (Old Norse Valhöll, "Hall of the slain"). It a great hall where dead heroes feasted with the gods.

Norse religion refers to the religious traditions of the Norsemen prior to the Christianization of Scandinavia, specifically during the Viking Age. It is a folk religion, which was not necessarily formalized nor categorized as a subset of Germanic paganism until it was described by outsiders who came into contact with native practitioners. It was the northern variation of the religion practiced in the lands inhabited by the Germanic tribes across most of Northern

and Central Europe prior to Roman and Holy Roman incursions. Knowledge of Norse religion is mostly drawn from the results of archaeological field work, etymology and early written materials as it was largely a product of early practitioners who did not have a written history.

36.3 Terminology

The Norse - or people of Scandinavia if you will - have always had extensive contact with cultures outside Scandinavia, even in the earliest Stone Age. They were well aware of foreign religions (including Arianism). They traded, intermarried and sometimes worked as henchmen for other cultures, including the Romans. Most titles bestowed upon Norse religion are the ones which were used to describe the religion in a competitive manner, usually in a very antagonistic context. Some of these terms were *hedendom* (Scandinavian), *Heidentum* (German), *Heathenry* (English) or *Pagan* (Latin). A more romanticized name for Norse religion is the medieval Icelandic term *Forn Siðr* or "Old Custom".

36.4 Sources

Knowledge about Norse religion has been gathered from archaeological discoveries and from literature produced after the Christianization of Scandinavia.

The literary sources that reference Norse paganism were written after the religion had declined and Christianity had taken hold. The vast majority of this came from 13th century Iceland, where Christianity had taken longest to gain hold because of its remote location. The key literary texts for the study of Norse religion are the *Prose Edda* by Snorri Sturluson, the *Gesta Danorum* by Saxo Grammaticus and the *Poetic Edda*, by an unknown writer or writers.

Saga literature informs us of the mentalities not only of the literate elite, but also to some extent it gives insight to the mentalities of the illiterate laymen. Sagas are categorized on the basis of when events described in the saga took place. Though Sagas are often mythical in nature the authors' ambitions are to give a realistic description of past events. Snorri Sturluson in Heimskringla outlines why these sagas are to be taken as being accurate, in reference to given inaccuracies in the literature on his own part, he states: "that would be mockery and not praise".

36.5 Archaeological sources

Many sites in Scandinavia have yielded valuable information about early Scandinavian culture. The oldest extant cultural examples are petroglyphs or elleristninger/hällristningar. These are usually divided into two categories according to age: "hunting-glyphs" and "agricultural-glyphs". The hunting glyphs are the oldest (ca. 9,000–6,000 BCE) and are predominantly found in Northern Scandinavia (Jämtland, Nord-Trøndelag and Nordland). These finds seem to indicate an existence primarily based on hunting and fishing. These motifs were gradually subsumed (ca. 4,000–2,000 BCE) by glyphs with more zoomorphic, or perhaps religious, themes.

The glyphs from the region of Bohuslän are later complemented with younger agricultural glyphs (ca. 2,300–500 BCE), which seem to depict an existence based more heavily on agriculture. These later motifs primarily depict ships, solar and lunar motifs, geometrical spirals and anthropomorphic beings, which seem to ideographically indicate the beginning of Norse religion.



Figuur 109 Poetic Edda depicting the Tree Yggdrasil



Figuur 110 Mjolnir pendants were worn by Norse pagans during 9th to 10th Centuries. This 4.6 cm gold-plated silver Mjolnir pendant was found at Bredsatra in Oland Sweden

Other noteworthy archaeological finds which may depict early Norse religion, are the extensive finds of submerged wetland offerings including the Iron Age bog bodies; bodies of humans and animals submerged, buried and preserved in boglands. These finds show several signs of rituals in a seemingly religious context, including some strong indications of human sacrifice such as the case of the Tollund Man bog body.

Later, in the pre-Viking and Viking age, there is material evidence which seems to indicate a growing sophistication in Norse religion, such as artifacts portraying the gripdjur (gripping-beast) motifs, interlacing art and jewelry, Mjolnir pendants and numerous weapons and bracteates with runic characters scratched or cast into them. The runes seem to have evolved from the earlier helleristninger, since they initially seemed to have a wholly ideographic usage.

Runes later evolved into a script which was perhaps derived from a combination of Proto-Germanic language and Etruscan or Gothic writing. However, this origin has not been proven, and many runic origin theories have been advocated.

Many other ideographic and iconographic motifs which may portray the religious beliefs of the Pre-Viking and Viking Norse are depicted on runestones, which were usually erected as markers or memorial stones. These memorial stones usually were not placed in proximity to a body, and many times there is an epitaph written in runes to memorialize a deceased relative. This practice continued well into the process of Christianization.

Like most pre-modern peoples, Norse society was divided into several classes and the early Norse practiced slavery in earnest. The majority of interments from the period of Norse religion seem to derive primarily from the upper classes, however many recent excavations in medieval church yards have given a broader glimpse into the life of the common people.

36.6 Worship and centres of worship



Figuur 111 Gamla Uppsala centre of worship in Sweden until it was destroyed in the late 11th Century

The Germanic tribes rarely or never had temples in a modern sense. The blót, the form of worship practiced by the ancient Germanic and Scandinavian people, resembled that of the Celts, Slavs and Balts; it could occur in sacred groves. It could also take place at home and/or at a simple altar of piled stones known as a hörgr.

However, there seems to have been a few more important centres, such as Skiringsal, Lejre and Uppsala. Adam of Bremen claims that there was a temple in Uppsala with three wooden statues of Thor, Odin and Freyr, although no archaeological evidence to date has been able to verify this.

This nation has a very famous temple called Uppsala, situated not far from the city of Sigtuna. In this temple, which is completely furnished in gold, the images of three gods are worshipped by the people. As the mightiest of them, Thor has his throne in the middle of the room; the places on either side of him are taken by Wodan and Fricco.

Remains of what may be religious buildings have been excavated in Slöinge (Halland), Uppåkra (Skåne), and Borg (Östergötland).

In February 2015 it was announced that Icelanders will commence construction on the island's first major temple to the Norse gods since the Viking era. At the completion of construction, public worship can begin at the temple dedicated to Thor, Odin and Frigg. The circular temple, to be situated on a hill overlooking Reykjavik, will allow sunlight to enter a dome on top. Hilmar Örn Hilmarsson, the high priest of Ásatrúarfélagið, an organization formed in 1972 of over 2,400 members promoting the Norse gods, noted: "We see the stories as poetic metaphors and a manifestation of the forces of nature and human psychology." The organization expects the temple will host a variety of ceremonies such as weddings, funerals and initiation rites.

36.7 Ancestor worship

Devotion to deceased relatives was a mainstay in Norse religion. Ancestors constituted one of the most ancient and widespread types of deity worshipped in the Nordic region. Although most scholarship focuses on the larger community's dedication to more fantastic gods and myths of the Vikings, it is understood that some sort of ancestor worship was probably an element of the private religious

practices of the farmstead and village. Often in addition to showing adoration to the standard Nordic gods, warriors would toast to “their kinsmen who lay in barrows”.

36.8 Priests

It is often said that the Germanic kingship evolved out of a priestly office. This priestly role of the king was in line with the general role of goði, who was the head of a kindred group of families (for this social structure, see Norse clans), and who administered the sacrifices.

36.9 Sacrifice

Sacrifice could comprise inanimate objects, animals or humans. Amongst the Norse, there were two types of human sacrifice; that performed for the gods at religious festivals, and *retainer sacrifice* that was performed at a funeral. An eye-witness account of retainer sacrifice survives in Ibn Fadlan's account of a Rus ship burial, where a slave-girl had volunteered to accompany her lord to the next world. Reports of religious sacrifice are given by Tacitus, Saxo Grammaticus and Adam of Bremen.

The Heimskringla tells of Swedish King Aun who sacrificed nine of his sons in an effort to prolong his life until his subjects stopped him from killing his last son Egil. According to Adam of Bremen, the Swedish kings sacrificed males every ninth year during the Yule sacrifices at the Temple at Uppsala. The Swedes had the right not only to elect kings but also to depose them, and both king Domalde and king Olof Trätälja are said to have been sacrificed after years of famine.

Odin, the chief god of the Norse, was associated with death by hanging, and a possible practice of Odinic sacrifice by strangling has some archeological support in the existence of bodies perfectly preserved by the acid of the Jutland (later taken over by the Daner people) peatbogs, into which they were cast after having been strangled. One of the most notable examples of this is the Bronze Age Tollund Man. However, we possess no written accounts that explicitly interpret the cause of these stranglings, which could have other explanations, such as being a form of capital punishment. Odin himself is hanged on the world tree Yggdrasil in the poem Havamal, and in Gautreks saga, king Vikar is hanged with the words,

‘Now I give you to Odin’.

I know that I hung on a windy tree

Nine long nights, wounded with a spear, dedicated to Odin, myself to myself, on that tree of which no man knows from where its roots run.

Havamal, st.138, Rúnatal or Óðins Rune Song.

Further evidence of human sacrifice can be preserved for thousands of years in the peat bogs, which were often used in religious ceremonies that included human sacrifice.^[12] Another method of human



Figuur 112 Harald Wartooth at the Battle of Bravalla

sacrifice was burning to death. The ninth-century Berne Scholia describes how people were burnt in a wooden tub in honor of Taranis, the thunder god (Celtic religion). But the Eyrbyggja saga from the Icelandic Scandinavian influence tradition speak of human sacrifices in honor of the Scandinavian god Thor.

36.10 Deities and localized deities

Nordic peoples recognized a range of spirits dwelling in particular objects and places, such as trees, stones, waterfalls, lakes, houses, and small handmade idols. These localized deities would receive offerings from religious leaders through the use of a Staller (Norse-altar), which were placed among the forests and mountain sides which would be designated and restricted for certain deities. These altars were seen as the only means in which to confirm receptiveness of the offerings by the leaders.

Localized deities played a significant role in religiously themed Nordic poems and sagas. In the poem Austrfararvísur (c.1020), the Christian skald Sigvatr complains of not being able to get into to any of the farms around the area of Sweden where he visits because of the diligent celebration of a sacrifice in honor of the elves.

These localized deities also held the capacity of being a part of an intimate and personal relationship with the worshiper. It was very common for an individual to have their own personal guardian spirits who would receive personal offerings and relate to the individual's own dynamics.

36.11 Agrarian deities

As agriculture developed in the Nordic communities so did the use of agricultural deities. As Norse life depended more and more on the factors that affected their crops, they began to dedicate more time to the deities that they believed had control over the weather, seasonal cycle, crops, and other agricultural aspects. Gods such as Freyr were portrayed as having control over the weather and being a commander of fertility amongst the crops.



Figuur 113 Freja of the Vanir

Although anthropomorphic in many respects, what is unique about these gods is the enhanced aspects of sexuality, reproduction, and fertility. Not only do these gods have reign over the crops but they were also believed to have a profound effect on livestock, as they were often displayed with horns or animal fur.

A mainstay of Agrarian Deities is the use of magic for regeneration, which opens the door for other uses of magic. The Eddaic poem Voluspa portrays Vanir magic as a powerfully potent force used against the Æsir.

36.12 Afterlife

Similar to many other societies the Viking religions also took interest in the eventual resting place of the dead. The Norse held so much dedication that went into making sure that the dead were cared for properly so that they could enjoy their resting place after death.



Figuur 114 Description of the Valkyrie in the Rok Runestone

36.13 Ghosts and burial

The use of ghost lore (referred to as *Draugr*) in the sagas is characteristic of the Norse lore and is directly connected to proper burial practices. Stories and references can be found throughout various sagas including the *Laxdæla saga*, *Eirik's saga*, and the *Eyrbyggja saga*. Ghosts are portrayed as menacing physical presences that intend to injure the living and haunt them. The *Laxdæla saga* portray how hauntings often take a menacing and ill hearted turn. These accounts of hauntings and menacing ghosts are often solved through proper burial practices. Burial customs are the primary explanation and solution of the problems faced by ghosts. In *Eirik's Saga*, Postein Eiriksson returns from death for a brief time to critique the handling of the dead.

36.14 Influence

Traces and influences of Norse paganism can still be found in the culture and traditions of the modern Nordic countries; Denmark, Finland, Sweden, Norway, Iceland, the Faroe Islands, the Åland Islands, and Greenland, as well as in other countries such as Germany, England, Canada and some parts of British North America and New Spain which were settled by migrants from Nordic nations.

36.15 Festivals

Festivals were a public celebration of the divine, where the local community or the nation renewed its bonds through shared worship. There were many elements to the Norse festivals, and it depended on which particular festival was being celebrated. Religious sacrifice was just one element of such festivals and holidays. The festivals were more so a place to celebrate one's communal identity than to gather in a religious capacity. This sense of the communal is underlined by the role of the local leader, whether king, chieftain or householder, in leading the rite.^[22] These celebrations also served to reinforce the social bonds between the chieftain and his followers, joining everyone in a single community.

36.16 Modern influences

Various modern celebrations in Nordic countries have traditions that arose from the festivals of the pre-Christian pagans.

The Christian celebration of Christmas, as practiced in Scandinavian nations and elsewhere, is still called Jul and makes use of pagan practises such as the Yule log, holly, mistletoe and the exchange of gifts. The celebration of Jul has gradually moved towards a secular event rather than a religious one. Depending on definition, between 45% and 80% of Scandinavians are non-religious.^[23]

Midsummer, the celebration of the summer solstice, is an Old Norse practice still celebrated in Denmark and Germany (St John's Eve), Finland, Sweden, Estonia, Latvia and Norway, and in towns across Canada, Greenland and British North America that were settled by Scandinavians.

36.17 Neopaganism

Norse paganism was the inspiration behind the Neopagan religions of Asatru and Odinism, which originated in the 20th century.^[24] They are both subsets of the larger Germanic neopaganism

37 VIKING WISDOM

Wisdom of the North: The Havamal

Wisdom of the North: The Havamal

The majority of people today have never heard of the Havamal. I have spent many, many hours researching wisdom from different parts of the world only to find that, for the most part, wisdom is wisdom, whether it comes from Lao Tzu and his writings or whether it comes from Native American teachings. True wisdom is universal for the human race. This point brings me to a little book (poem) call the Havamal.

The Havamal is a Viking poem, but we could call it a little book of wisdom. The Havamal, written in AD 700-900, is one of the most popular of the Eddaic poems.

The Eddas held the same value to the Vikings as the Vedas did/do to the Indian culture. You could say that the Havamal is a mixture of Latin proverbs and heathen wisdom. Too many people today are under the impression that they can only get true wisdom from their own culture or their own religion, and they miss out on the fact that there is universal wisdom that applies to all humans across the board.

Also called, the Wisdom of the North, the Havamal gives us insight into the pagan world of the Vikings. Some of the sayings are a bit hard to grasp for people today and some of the sayings go straight to the heart of the matter. I have tried to include only ones which are straightforward in this post.

Why have I decided to write about the Havamal in my blog which is mainly concerned with warrior values?

The answer is simple, the Vikings were warriors and the ethics of the Havamal are above all rooted in the belief of the value of the individual. They believed that each individual was responsible for his own life, shaped his own fortune, and created the life that he wanted to live.

So, for all of my pagan readers, which I know that I have many, and all of my other readers who are open to true wisdom, no matter what the source, lean back in your comfy desk chair, couch, or bed, and enjoy the ancient wisdom of the Vikings...

1) A sage visitor is a silent guest. The cautious evades evil. Never a friend more faithful, nor great wealth, than wisdom.

2) The cautious guest who comes to the table speaks sparingly. Listen with ears, learns with eyes. Such is the seeker of knowledge.

3) It is dire luck to be dependent on the feelings of a fellow man.

4) Advice given by others is often ill counsel.

5) A clear head is good company. Drink is a dangerous friend.

6) At a feast the fool chatters or he stares and stammers. Just as soon as his jug is full, ale unveils his mind.

7) A man should drink in moderation...be sensible or silent.

8) A man of lean wisdom will never learn what his stomach can store.

9) He is unhappy and ill-tempered who meets all with mockery.

10) The unwise man is awake all night...worries over and again. When morning rises he is restless still, his burden as before.

11) The unwise man imagines a smiling face, a friend. Surprised to find how little support he musters at a meeting.

12) Often it's best for the unwise man to sit in silence. His ignorance goes unnoticed unless he tells too much.

13) Much nonsense a man utters who talks without tiring.

14) They pass for wise who pass unnoticed.

15) Go you must. No guest shall stay in one place for ever. Love will be lost if you sit too long at a friends's fire.

16) Never walk away from home ahead of your axe and sword. You can't feel a battle in your bones or foresee a fight.

17) Be your friend's true friend. Return gift for gift.

18) Beware of befriending an enemy's friend.

19) A true friend whom you trust well and wish for his good will: Go to him often, exchange gifts and keep him company.

20) The brave and the generous have the best lives. They're seldom sorry. The unwise man is always worried.

21) The best of lives is led by those who know the measure of many things.

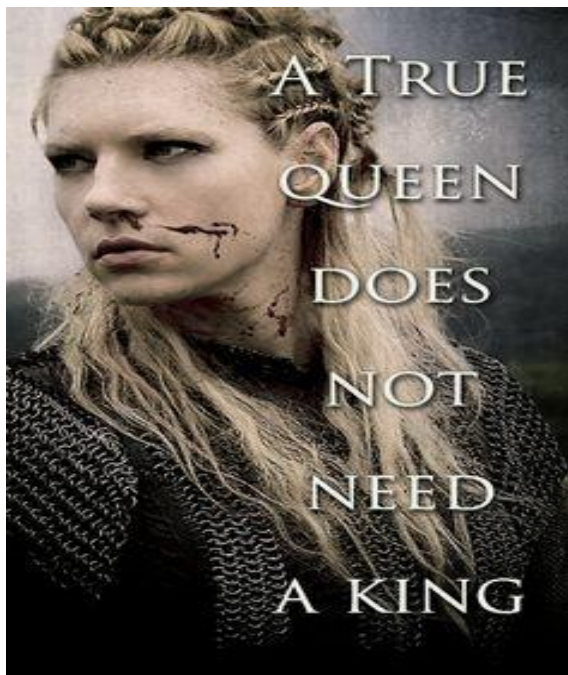
22) A man listens thus he learns.

23) Wake early if you want another man's life or land. No lamb for the lazy wolf. No battle's won in bed.

24) One may know your secret, never a second. If three, a thousand will know.

25) A prudent man wields his power in modest measure.

38 DEPICTIONS IN FICTION



Rollo is the subject of the seventeenth century play Rollo Duke of Normandy written by John Fletcher, Philip Massinger, Ben Jonson, and George Chapman.

A character based on the historical Rollo, played by Clive Standen, is Ragnar Lodbrok's brother in the **2013 Television Series Vikings**.

39 VIKING HUMOR



"The battle for hearts and minds was proving too difficult, so I thought we'd just make do with heads."



