Apulia in Medieval Scandinavian Literature

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Abstract
Medieval Scandinavian sources often mention Apulia together with Byzantium, where Western and Eastern Scandinavians met. The Varangian mercenaries hired in Byzantium had a key role in spreading the cult of St Nicholas, thus creating a bond between Southern Italy and Western Europe, especially those areas that professed a "Scandinavian" heritage. The number of travellers from the North decreased in the late Middle Ages. As first-hand information became scantier, Apulia was mainly known in Scandinavia through continental courtly literature: within this genre, vague reminiscences of Frederick II's dominion gradually evolved into fantastic depictions of Apulia.

Keywords: Apulia, Scandinavia, Middle Ages.

1. Introduction: European Culture comes to Scandinavia

The discovery of Southern Italy by the Scandinavians is closely related to their conversion and integration into the Christian oecumene. The first kingdom to convert, for obvious geopolitical reasons, was Denmark, where King Harald Bluetooth imposed the conversion to his subjects in the late 10th century (Hybel, 2003: 74-80).

In the following century, while Iceland converted with little violence thanks to an official resolution of the ruling assembly (*Alþingi*; see Vésteinsson, 1999), Norway was torn apart by the struggle between pagan nobility and Christian kings. During one of this battles, at Stiklastaðir in 1030, King Olaf the Saint was defeated and killed at the pagans' hands; he was therefore worshipped as a martyr.

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The Scandinavian cultural space involved also the Scandinavian (Swedish) colonies of Rus', often called *Svíþjóð in mikla* or *in kalda* "Great (or cold) Sweden", *Garðaríki* or just *Garðar*.[1] Among the most important Scandinavian settlements were *Aldeigjuborg* (Staraja Ladoga), *Hólmgarðr* (Novgorod) and *Kœnugarðr* (Kiev). The rulers of Rus' had converted to Orthodox Christianity under Byzantine influence – a move that would ultimately weaken their ties to their Scandinavian homeland and hasten their merging with the local population (Jones, 1984: 244-266).
Those Swedes that had remained in their homeland were the last Scandinavians to abandon paganism; even though their conversion process had started at the turn of the millennium, it was not completed until the 12th century.[2]
After their conversion, Scandinavians started to stream in pilgrimage along the way to Rome (Old Norse *Rómavegr*) to worship the shrines of the saints and the Holy Father. Some travelled further east to the Holy Land (see Waßenhoven, 2006).

2. **The Varangians and the Cult of St Nicholas**

The first Scandinavian travellers to Southern Italy in the early 11th century came from Byzantium, which they called *Miklagarðr* i.e. "Large city"; they were Scandinavian mercenaries hired by the Eastern Empire. The Rus' had been constantly threatening Byzantium, so the Greeks had been able to appreciate their value as warriors (Jones, 1984: 259-260). In Byzantium, a whole elite corps was established, the Varangian Guard, originally made up of Scandinavians.[3] Even after their conversion to Catholicism, Norse sources show great deference towards the Byzantine Emperor (Sverrir Jakobsson, 2008).
There are a few texts, come to us in later copies, that recount the feats of the Varangian troops in Italy. Leo of Ostia recalls that the revolt in Bari led by Meles was crushed in 1011 by troops of *Dani*,[4] *Rossi* and *Gualani* or *Guarani* (i.e. Varangians) sent from Byzantium;[5] the *Annales Barenses* remember the capture of the city in 1013 and that the Greek troops took their seat in the *castellum*.[6]
The *Annales Barenses* report that in 1027 a Byzantine army led by *Ispochitonitis* (i.e. *Orestes ho koitonites*) came to Italy to conquer

Sicily, and among the various peoples mentioned in the army are *Russi* and *Guandali*; the first word surely refers to Scandinavians, the other one could be a corruption of *Guarani*. In 1041, during the battle of Montemaggiore near Canne, the anonymous author states that among the Byzantine mercenaries slaughtered by the Normans were also *Russi*.[7] This battle is related also by Lupus Protospatharius, who calls all Byzantine mercenaries *Graeci*.[8]

It seems that the Varangians in Southern Italy found, almost by chance, a patron saint in Nicholas. To the Byzantine troops the local administration reserved the newly built church of St Nicholas *de Graecis* (presumably the same church known as St Nicholas *supra portam veterem* or *de lu portu*), that could have been already founded under Constantine VIII (d. 1028; see Lavermicocca, 1987: 22). The Varangians became thus acquainted with the saint and brought the cult back to their homelands (Blöndal, 1940: 320-323; Blöndal, 1949; Blöndal-Benedikz, 1978: 111).

Though mostly venerated in Eastern Christianity, St Nicholas was already known in Western Europe. Texts concerning his biography and wonders had already drawn attention to the saint; first of all, the *Praxis de Stratilates* (Jones, 1983: 29.), then a *Life* by John the Deacon written at the end of the 9th century (Cioffari, 1987: 93-95; Jones, 1983: 47) and a second one by John of Amalfi (Jones, 1983: 161-162.) The marriage of Theophano and Otto II of Saxony in 972 may also have contributed to the increased interest towards Eastern Christianity (Jones, 1983: 108-110, 142-144). Bari had an early connection to the saint, since Emperor Constantine IX Monomachos (d. 1055), had posited the city under the saint's protection (Jones, 1983: 173).

It is presumable that the dedication of the Varangians' last church in Constantinople to Saint Nicholas and St Augustine of Canterbury (the latter a homage to the many Anglo-Saxons that served in the Guard) testified to their special devotion to St Nicholas. At the end of the 11th century, a Swedish Varangian coming back to his homeland founded a church in Kiev in honour of the saint (Blöndal-Benedikz, 1978: 111). In the meantime, the saint had also become popular among the Normans, who exported his cult to England after the Conquest

(Jones, 1983: 97, 144-153, as well as Treharne, 1997: 36-45). It is worth noting here that even in 11th century, Normans identified themselves as Scandinavians (Webber, 2005), so it comes as no wonder that they were hired in the Varangian Guard (Jones, 1984: 266).

In the course of the 11th century, the cult of St Nicholas extended to the whole Scandinavia, especially in the coastal areas, since Nicholas was perceived as the patron saint of seamen; the cult seems to have enjoyed popularity both among western and eastern Scandinavians, uniting Orthodox Rus' to Catholic Scandinavia (Garipzanov, 2010). Pilgrims from these northern countries were therefore likely to prefer Bari to any other seaport on the Adriatic coastland to embark on a trip to the Holy Land.

Some, like Erik I Evergood of Denmark, who reached Bari on a pilgrimage in 1098 (Blöndal, 1940: 316-327), came from Rome, where he had demanded the canonization of his brother Knud,[9] as well as the institution of a Danish archbishopric in Lund.[10]

Erik's travel to Italy is also mentioned in the most important historical work of the 13th century Danish historiography in Latin, the *Gesta Danorum*, by Saxo Grammaticus: while describing King Erik's last pilgrimage through Russia to the Holy Land in 1103, (Andersson, 1989: 103) the author states that Erik had previously sent back to Denmark relics of St Nicholas (hardly authentic ones), though he omits to mention Bari.[11]

As further evidence of the Danish devotion to St Nicholas, Erik's father, King Sweyn II Estridsson, had one of his sons baptised under the name of Nicholas (Niels) about 1065: the child was to become King Niels I of Denmark after his brother's death and to reign until he died in 1134 (Hybel, 2003: 109-111; in the 12th century the name is common in Denmark, as stated in Hald, 1961).

The cult of St Nicholas in Denmark may have been later enhanced by the cult of a local saint of the same name, the pious prince Niels, son of King Knud V of Denmark, that had died in 1180 (Jørgensen, 1909: 45-47, 52-53; Gad, 1961: 177-179).

The first Icelander named after the saint seems to have been abbot Nikulás Bergsson, who lived in the 12th century. Later,

another prominent Icelander came to Bari as a pilgrim; his name is Gizurr Hallson and he wrote a book about his travels called *Flos peregrinationis*, now lost.[12]

An Icelandic deed from 1181 states that in the church in Fors á Myrum: "every second day after the holy Easterday all the masses to Mary, and the masses to Michael, and the masses to Nicholas, and the masses to Agatha must be sung there".[13]

Apart from the frequent use in onomastics, there is some evidence for the cult of St Nicholas in Denmark gradually replacing the older cult of St Clemens, who had long been considered the patron of fishermen; the eldest church in the ancient Danish capital Roskilde was dedicated to him (see Crawford, 2008). In the 13th century, a church of St Nicholas was active in Copenhagen, for fishers and seamen, first mentioned in a testament of 1261, when a man called Peder Olufsen from Karise left his own boats to the church after a vow made at the time of the Crusades (Linvald, 1982). In 1272, a lady called Juliana funded in her testament the pilgrimage of one man to Jerusalem, a second one to Rome and a third one to St Nicholas in Bari, the latter being obviously an equally important destination for pilgrimage in her opinion.[14] At the same time, even Stockholm had a church dedicated to St Nicholas, first mentioned in an act of donation in the testament of Johannes Karlsson from Fånö in 1279;[15] this church was later to become the Dome of Stockholm, the so called *Storkyrka* or "Large church".

At the beginning of the 15th century, Bari was still a relatively important pilgrimage centre for Scandinavians, as we may infer from two letters, in which the abbots Salomon from Esrum and Niels from Sorø promise to give back money loaned from Queen Margarethe I of Denmark through funding pilgrimages, among others to St Nicholas in *Baor*.[16]

Accordingly, the parchments state that the pilgrimage of a single man to Bari will be funded, while six men will be funded to travel to the Holy Land, seven to Rome, nine to the sanctuary of Our Lady in Aachen, three to St Jacob (Compostela), St Louis (Saint-Denis, near Paris), St Thomas in Canterbury, the holy Kings in Cologne, St Ewald in Thann (Alsace)[17] and St Francis in

Assisi. The offer of this pilgrimage confirms Nicholas's equal importance to other eminent saints buried far away (George, Lawrence, Cristopher, John the Baptist and John the Evangelist, Peter, Andrew, Mary Magdalene), or saints in closer places, enjoying a somewhat local cult, like Magnus in the Orkney Islands, Bridget at Vadstena, Erik in Uppsala and Knud in Odense.

3. **Nikulás of Munkaþverá and Geographical Lore**

As it was to be expected, one of the earliest pieces of evidence - and maybe the best known - is the account of a pilgrimage to the Holy Land, the *Leiðarvísir*, compiled in the 12th century by abbot Nikulás from Munkaþverá (d. 1159), a Benedictine monastery that became one of the main cultural centres in medieval Iceland. The name of the abbot itself testifies to the popularity of St Nicholas in contemporary Iceland.

Nikulás strove to describe the Norman Kingdom of Southern Italy with the utmost accuracy. There are nonetheless a few mistakes, some of which may have been engendered by misunderstandings, some may reflect (mis-) conceptions heard from the very inhabitants:

> "The river *Garileam* (Garigliano) divides the Kingdom of the Romans from the *Sikileyiar* (Sicilies), and there is *Campania* or *Pull* (Apulia) on one side, but Italy in the north. Then comes [*Aqui*]*naborg* (Aquino?) 22 miles from *Separan* (Ceprano), then [are] six miles to the Mount of *Montakassin* (Montecassino), there stands a rich monastery and a town with ten churches. The most ancient one is the Church of St Benedict, where women are not supposed to enter, there stands the Church of St Martin, founded by Benedict; there lies a finger of St Matthew the apostle and a forearm of Bishop Martin. There stand the churches of St Andrews and St Mary, St Stephen and St Nicholas. Hence there are two days of travel to *Kapu* (Capua). Bishop Germanus (NdT: the omonimous town, currently named Cassino) is next to Montecassino. Hence there are two days of travel to *Benvent* (Benevento), that is the largest city of *Púll*. To the southwest lies *Salerni* (Salerno), where there are the best physicians. *Sepont* (Siponto) lies under the mountain of [St]

> Michael and it is three miles broad and ten miles long and it goes deep under the mountain. There is the cave of St Michael and a silk curtain that he donated there. Then there is one day of travel to *Barlar* (Barletta), then six miles to *Traon* (Trani), then four to *Bissenoborg* (Bisceglie), four to *Malfetaborg* (Molfetta), four to *Ivent* (Giovinazzo), then six to St Nicholas at *Bár* (Bari), where he is at rest. There is another path, further west, from Rome to Capua through *Albanusborg* (Albano Laziale). Hence it leads to the Flaian Bridge (possibly the *Via Appia Traiana*) for a streak corresponding to a travel of three days, past moors and woods, and it is an exceptional task, and it leads for days through woods and one cannot pass but through the Flaian Bridge. Then comes *Terentiana* (Terracina), that was destroyed by the Romans and is currently small. Then comes *Fundiana* (Fondi), then *Garda* (Gaeta), then two travel days to Capua, then one arrives to Benevento, and on the other side lies *Manupl* (Monopoli), then *Brandeis* (Brindisi). On the other side of the Bay lies *Feneyiar* (Venice) […]".[18]

The last sentence is likely to cause some bafflement among readers, but there are several geographical maps in which Venice lies further south than it was supposed to, such as the famous *Hereford World Map*; besides, Lambert of Saint-Homer and other geographers call "Venice" the whole coast of Istria and Dalmatia. This coast is spotted with islands, such as Hvar, Korčula and so on. These could have been referred to by the Icelandic readers as the "the *Feneyjar* islands", since the Norse name of Venice could be interpreted as the "Fen-islands" (in plural); besides, these islands were under Venetian rule.

The abbot appears to consider *Apulia* (called with the Norse name *Púll*) and *Campania* as synonyms, as competing denominations for Southern Italy separated from Italy (i.e. the Carolingian kingdom of Italy, which corresponded almost entirely to the Lombard kingdom of Pavia without the duchies of Spoleto and Benevento) by the Garigliano river (or rather the Lyris).

Most strikingly, Nikulás's text bears evidence for another use that will later be widespread, that of "Sicilies" in the plural to describe the whole Norman Kingdom, including continental Southern Italy and Sicily.

The relevance of Southern Italy to Norse clerical culture is still evident in a description of the world found in a 14th-century manuscript, the famous *Hauksbók*, where Southern Italy is described with more accuracy than either Rome or Milano, whose brief mention concludes the whole description somewhat abruptly:

> "That land is called *Apulea* that lies closest to the Greek Sea. There are many important towns. Brindisi and Bari where Nicholas the Bishop rests and Montecassino, there Benedict Abbot is most venerated, the monk's life is excellent in the Latin language. In Púl is Monte Gargano, there is the cave where the angel Michael prayed during his stay. North of Púl is the land of Italy, that we call land of Rome. There stands the city of Rome. Then lies the land of the Lombards, there is *Meinlangsborg* (Milano), where Ambrose the Bishop lived."[19]

4. **Snorri Sturluson and 13th-Century Historiography**

In the early 13th century, the so-called Age of the Sturlungar, the interest in European historiography increased in Iceland.

One of the oldest sources, Theodricus monachus's late 12th-century history of the Norwegian kings, bears an early reference to the Apulian city of Brindisi, when the historian relates of the achievements of king Eysteinn, whom he calls *Augustinus*: *ædificia etiam regno perutilia plurimis in locis ædificavit…portum etiam in loco, qui digitur Agthanes, navigantibus valde utilem, imitatus in hoc Augustum Cæsarem, qui portum Brundusii pæne toto mundo profuturum construxit.*[20]

Southern Italy is mentioned in several historical sources, but the most important evidence is undoubtedly provided by Snorri Sturluson. Considered to be the main Icelandic writer of the Middle Ages, Snorri Sturluson gathered a number of biographies of the kings of Norway into a continuous work called *Heimskringla*. The collection includes a saga of the sons of King Magnús III Barefoot of Norway (d. 1103), that mentions Roger king of Sicily and his offspring until Frederick II in the context of Sigurðr Magnússon Jórsalafari's travel to the Holy Land.

This travel of an earl of the Orkneys and co-king of Norway to the Mediterranean was celebrated by a *skáld* (court poet) as a

great achievement: "The prince let the sea-cold ship swim ... in the Greek Sea".[21]
In Snorri's account, continental Southern Italy is barely mentioned, attention being limited to the large island of the Mediterranean where Sigurðr had stopped to meet the king:

> "Roger King of Sicily was the most powerful king. He conquered the whole of Púll and subjected under his rule many large islands in the Greek (Ionian?) sea. He was called Roger the Powerful. His son was Wilhelm king of Sicily, that had long been at war with the emperor of Constantinople. King Wilhelm had three daughters, but no son. He married off one of his daughters to Henry the Emperor, son of Frederick the Emperor, and their son was Frederick, that is currently emperor of Rome".[22]

Already present in the manuscript known as *Fagrskinna*, one of Snorri's sources, the travel of Sigurðr was also mentioned in a work called *Nóregs konunga tal* ("List of kings of Norway"). About Sigurðr's stay in Sicily, the anonymous author includes interesting details, later left out by Snorri:

> "Sigurðr travelled southwards to Sicily and there then was chieftain Roger the earl, there Sigurðr remained the winter with the earl. And on the eighth day of Christmas King Sigurðr led Roger the earl to a high-seat beside himself and gave him the title of king. King Roger held long his reign and enlarged greatly his kingdom in many places. He was called Roger the Rich. His son was Wilhelm king of Sicily. The daughters of King Wilhelm were three: Henry the Emperor took one as his bride, the earl of *Kapr* (Capua?) had the second daughter of Wilhelm and Margarito the corsair took the third one".[23]

The author herewith implies that Roger had been made king by the Norwegian Sigurðr Jórsalafari, thus creating a dynastic connection between Norway and Southern Italy; such an amusing invention might have been left out by Snorri for obvious lack of any solid evidence, as well as for political reasons. Snorri wisely simplified the invented genealogy from Roger to Frederick, even though he himself accepted false

information, such as the claim that the two kings named Wilhelm were actually the same person, and that Constance was Wilhelm's daughter, not Roger's.

He left out some valuable matter as well: the *Margariz* in *Fagrskinna* was clearly Margarito from Brindisi, a pirate at the service of the Hauteville against Henry VI, who had married an illegitimate daughter of Wilhelm I of Sicily, while the earl of Capua must have been a Norman prince.

King Sigurðr's travel to the Holy Land is also recalled in the *Morkinskinna*, where a struggle of words (so-called *mannjafnaðr*) between the two half-brothers is sketched. Sigurðr speaks thus to Eysteinn, bitterly reproaching his lack of manhood: "I travelled to the (river) Jordan, and I came to Púl and I did not see you there".[24]

Another episode common to *Fagrskinna* and *Morkinskinna* is Haraldr *harðráði*'s travel in the Mediterranean. We know from one of the most ancient sources of history, the *Ágrip*, that Haraldr *harðráði*, half-brother of Olaf II the Saint, had fought with the king at Stiklastaðir, where the Christian party had suffered an atrocious defeat. Later, Haraldr had decided to travel to the east (*Austrvegr*), through Sweden and the Scandinavian Rus' to Byzantium; we know that he came back along the same route until he landed in Denmark.[25]

The *Nóregs konunga tal* informs us that Haraldr had repaired in Sweden and then in *Hólmgarðr* (Novgorod), where he was welcomed by the Christian King Jarizleifr (Jaroslav). During his stay in the Scandinavian Rus', Haraldr decided to travel to Byzantium, where he entered Empress Zoe's service and fought under *Gyrgi* (i.e. Georgios Maniakes) in the islands of Greece (*Girklands eyjar*). Haraldr soon got tired of Byzantine bureaucracy, so he left the army to sack and plunder on his own:

> "When they arrived on the Greek Islands, Haraldr travelled often away from the army with his men and sought booty on his own, and most of the Varangians followed him. He went each time to battle, to aggress a ship or a fortress or to disembark to land, that he may fall together with all his following or be the victor."[26]

In fact, Maniakes was then *katepano* of Italy with his seat in Bari, so it would be unthinkable that Haraldr did not come to Southern Italy, even more so as one of Maniakes's main goal was the reconquest of southern Italy and Sicily; the same Haraldr continued to plunder on his own in Africa and in Sicily, where he conquered many towns: "Then Haraldr with the army went to Sicily and conquered a town... another town he conquered... Many places he conquered in this land under the dominion of the Greek king, before coming back to Costantinople".[27]

About Haraldr's adventures in the Mediterranean, Snorri conveys more or less the same pieces of information provided by *Fagrskinna*: "(Haraldr with his soldiers) travelled out to the Greek Sea". He later states that Haraldr and Georgios travelled widely around the Greek islands. Haraldr's adventures in *Serkland* (the land of the Saracenes) and Sicily are described in fuller details than in *Fagrskinna*, but in both sources not a single placename is included.[28]

Snorri's editor supposes that Haraldr was part of the army that conquered Messina and Sicily from the Saracenes, in Georgios Maniakes's campaign and that the later campaign of Georgios Dokeanos against the Normans in Southern Italy was probably included in the same set of adventures.[29]

The editor thus interprets a fragment by Þjóðólfr (Arnórson): "He (King Harald) who decided in his own mind / to go to the land of the Lombards (*Langbarda*)",[30] where this last word is considered to refer to *Langobardia minor*, what the Byzantines called Λογγοβαρδία, roughly corresponding to present-day Apulia. The editor also quotes two lines by Illugi *Bryndœlaskáld*: "Often my lord (Haraldr) made a truce with the Franks at will",[31] interpreting 'Franks' as the name of the Normans, following the Byzantine habit of calling them Φράγγοι (see comment in Bjarni Aðalbjarnarson, 1979: 82).

Haraldr's adventures are recounted in fuller details in *Morkinskinna*,[32] where it is said: "Hence he (Harald) travelled to Lombardy and then to Rome and after that all the way down to Púl and there he got himself a ship and travelled hence to Costantinople to visit the king".[33]

Another 13th-century saga (but surely later than Snorri), the *Knýtlinga saga*, is concerned with the Mediterranean space, because of the pilgrimage of King Erik I Evergood of Denmark, whom we have mentioned before. The saga interweaves its narrative with two stanzas (9 and 11) from Markús Skeggjason's *Eiríksdrápa*:

> "Erik the King began his travel away from the land, and gave his kingdom in the power of his friends while he was away. He told many, that he wanted to travel southwards to Rome, and had with him worthy followers, but not many men. He travelled all the way south to Rome. So says Markús:
>
> "It came upon the prince a desire
> to travel the long way to Rome,
> the prince there saw the peaceful land
> of Venice – to make himself
> acquainted with honour".
>
> Later he travelled hence to Venice and to Bari and visited many holy places and went steadily. So says Markús:
>
> "The Brother travelled to Bari then
> - the prince wanted to strengthen the Divinity,
> the favour of God would protect him –
> of five important Skjöldugar, as a compensation.
>
> In this travel Erik visited many chieftains and capitals and donated a lot of riches, where there were monasteries and other holy places. Later he turned away in his travel and came back to Rome, hence he travelled southwards".[34]

In a similar text from the 13th century (at least in its present form), the *Orkneynga saga*, originally written in the preceding century, the travel of an earl from the Orkney Islands, Rögnvaldr Kali, is described. It is expressedly said that the hero passes through *Púl*, whence he rides together with his companions to Rome and then, following the *Rúmavegr*, to Denmark and Scandinavia:

> "When earl Rögnvaldr and his men came to Costantinople, they had a hearty welcome from the emperor and the Varangians. Menelaus was then emperor over Costantinople, whom we call Manuel; he gave the earl much goods, and offered them bounty-money, if they would stay there. They stayed there awhile that winter in very good cheer. There was Eindrid the young, and he had very great honours from the emperor. He had little to do with earl Rögnvaldr and his men, and rather tried to set other men against them. Earl Rögnvaldr set out on his voyage home that winter from Costantinople, and fared first west to Bulgaria, to Durrace. Thence he sailed west across the sea to Púl. There earl Rögnvaldr and bishop Vilhjálmr and Erlingr and all the nobler men of their band landed from their ships, and obtained horses, and rode thence first to Rome, and so homewards from Rome, until they came to Denmark, and thence they fared north to Norway. Men were glad to see them there, and this voyage was most famous, and they who had gone on it were were thought to be men of much more worth afterwards than (they were) before".[35]

Also one of the sagas of the Icelandic bishop (the so-called *Biskupa sögur*), the *Hungrvaka*, concerning the lives of the first five bishops of Skáholt, mentions the *translatio* of St Nicholas, at the time of bishop Gizurr Ísleifsson (d. 1118).[36] Later, *Biskupa sögur* refers to King Charles I Anjou, both when he mentions his death as king of *Púl*,[37] and his taking the cross together with his brother *Hlöðver* (Louis).[38]

5. **Courtly Literature**

Later on, thirteenth-century works introduced chivalric models to the North, such as the Old Norwegian *Þiðreks saga af Bern*. This work is a collection of legends written in Old Norse in the 13th century, presented as an anthology of German sources. The prologue informs: "this story begins in Púl and moves northwards through Lombardy and Venice to Schwaben".[39]

An earl of Salerno named *Rodgeirr* (Roger) is mentioned; his lands will end under the rule of *Erminrekr* (Ermanaric),[40] who will later ally himself with *Atli* (Attila). It is indeed possible, though not

unproblematic, to compare Rodgeirr to Roger of Sicily, taking also into account the story of König Rother, king of Bari, written in Germany no later than the mid 12th century (see Paff, 1959: 14, 153-154; Uecker, 1996: 178).

Southern Italy appears to be one of the most beloved settings for the struggle between Muslims ("heathens") and Christians - together with Spain and the Holy Land - and one of the most evocative, as well, thanks to its majestical representation in the literature of Frederick II's inner circle, which had turned Southern Italy into the ideal setting of the *Minne*, the German equivalent of Provençal *fin'amors*.

The almost contemporary *Konungs skuggsjá* is an adaptation of the well-known courtly genre of the *speculum regis*, and mentions the Norman Kingdom, though with a very different attitude, while carefully conveying a few geographical data to its readers.

Written about 1260, its author might have been a former envoy of the King of Norway to the court of emperor Friedrich II Hohenstaufen; this could explain his knowledge of Continental Italy, as well as of Sicily, according to modern scholarship (on the contacts between Frederick II and Hákon, see Behrmann, 1996: 42). The only reference to *Apulia*, though, is hardly surprising, as the anonymous simply states: "Púl and the land of Jerusalem are hotter than our lands".[41] He shows a better knowledge of Sicily and its volcanoes, a phenomenon that was of great interest to Icelanders.[42]

The *Karlamagnús saga* is a collection of French materials, in the taste of the so-called 'chivalric sagas' (*Riddarasögur*), adapted from European (almost entirely French) matter, sometimes mediated through German sources.

The single texts included in this vast compilation have been variably dated, and manuscripts are much later and of little help in this regard: surely, the sagas display a number of features from a lost version. The collection should have been ultimately composed under King Hákon IV Hákonarson of Norway (1217-1263), and put together for Hákon V Magnússon (d. 1319). The work is traditionally articulated in ten *branches*.

Púl is mentioned in part of the traditional saga, called *Af Jórsalaferð*, based on the Old French *Voyage* (or *Pèlerinage*) *de*

Charlemagne, probably composed between 1060 and 1175 in Anglo-Norman area. The French version quotes: "They exited France and came to Bourgougne, / went through Lorraine, Bayer and Hungary, Lombardy and Romany, Puille and Calabria they saw / Turks and Persians and those hated people".[43]

In the most ancient version, though, the third verse quoted here (numbered 101a in the edition) was absent (Horrent, 1961: 28-31; see also Favati, 1963), and it is omitted altogether in other editions (ed. Aebischer, 1965: 36).
And yet, this verse has arrived in the *Karlamagnússaga*: "(Charlemagne and all his knights) arrived to Burgundy, and left Lorraine and Bayer, Lombardy, Persia and *Tulke* (Turkey), and then arrived to the sea.[44]
The reader can see how hard it must have been for the Norse poet to give a plausible Norse equivalent to names of lands and peoples he had little acquaintance with.
A part of the Scandinavian tradition has omitted this section altogether, preferring a noncommittal and generic reference: *síðan fóru þeir á veginn um öll lönd, sem fyrir lá, ok síðan yfir hafit* "then they travelled their way through all the lands, that lay there, and then over the sea".[45]
In the *Karlamagnús saga* proper, based on miscellaneous Carolingian matter, Milon, duke (*hertoga*) of *Púl*, is mentioned (a fantastic figure, very popular in French Romance, probably a fictional distortion of the historical figure of Meles from Bari).[46] Also a city of *Puleis borg* is mentioned (part of the tradition says *Paleis*, though).[47]
In a text based on the matter concerning Ogier de Danemarche,[48] also included in the compilation, a messenger comes to Charlemagne to tell him that Rome has been conquered by the heathens:

> "There are great and ill news for you to be told, Sir ... that all around the kingdom of Rome you may find heathen people; the main king Ammiral and his son Danamund have settled in your kingdom and have taken hostages all over Púl".[49]

After receiving this news, the king immediately leads his army to Italy (*Lungbarðaland*). The city of *Baor* and the land of *Púlsland* are mentioned as transit zones of evil pagans with many ships and boats. The messenger rejoces over the arrival of allies for his 'heathen' king:

> "A great army comes to you from the lands of those men, who are called Robiani, and those who are called Barbare, the king is named Cordes, and the other chieftain Sveifr, from the land that is called Mongandium ...
> Now they have come to the city that is called *Baor*, that is in *Púlsland*, there we parted with so many dromons and galliots, that nobody could count them, and this people is so ill to deal with, that since the giant Gondoleas was in the world, there has been nobody equally ferocious":[50]

Later in the Saga, Púl is again mentioned as a transit place from Europe to the East, when the author refers of a travel to Babilonia.[51]
In the saga of Agolandus, (inspired by the *Chanson d'Aspremont*)[52] an army is composed of knights from *Púl* and *Cicilia*;[53] Jamundr asks Charlemagne for a conspicuous list of fiefs, including *París, Rómaríki, Púl* and *Sikiley, Lotharingiam, Frakkland ok Borgundiam, Brittaniam* and all *Gaskuniam*.[54] In another episode, Agolandus puts the whole of Púl at stake in a game with other heathen kings.[55]

6. **Later Fantastic Sagas**

In Later Middle Ages, Icelandic literature favours *lygisögur*, sagas on fantastic matter, especially *riddarasögur*, that is, sagas based on knights' tales from Southern Europe, either in a direct translation or as mere inspiration.
In translated *riddarasögur,* Southern Italy occurs quite often. A few instances will suffice to learn more about the status of this reign.
In 14th-century *Mírmans saga*, (relatively) realistic travels are described, through *Lunbardi* to *Rómaborg*, *Salernisborg* (and, in one

version, *Benevent*) in *Púl* and then *Sikiley* - the cities of *Brandaus* and *Utrent* in *Púl* are mentioned, as well.[56]

In a short contemporary text, *Nítíða saga*, the protagonist, Nítíða, is queen of France and foster-daughter of the queen of *Púl*. In the end, Nítíða marries King Liforinus of India, while the crown prince of Byzantium, Ingi, marries Liforinus's sister. In turn, Ingi's sister, Listalín, is married to Nítíða's foster-brother Hléskjöldr, crown prince of Púl. This invention may reflect the strong ties between France and Apulia under Anjou rule.[57]

In another text, dating back to the same century, *Sálus saga ok Nicanor*, Nikanor is duke of *Bár* and part of the action is set in Italy; in a catalogue of armies that gather in *Rómaborg*, there are people "from Venice and Poland and the Trento valleys", where *Púl* would fit much better than *Pólen*.[58]

The confusion between Apulia and Poland seems to occur even in a later text, the *Sörla saga sterka*, dating back to the 15th century, based in part on earlier texts, such as *Sörla þáttr* and *Hálfdanar saga Brönufóstra*. It describes king Haraldr Valdimarsson, dominating over two thirds of Norway, who receives two men from *Bláland* ('Land of the Moors', as these are consistently called *blámenn* in Norse texts). Though these are given Scandinavian names, Garðarr and Tófi, they are pagan invaders, aiming at marrying Haraldr's daughter Steinvör to Garðarr. The King replies that he will never give his daughter to a "hideous troll" (*leiðr tröll*) and "enchanted berserk" (*magnaðr berserkr*). A battle starts out, in which Haraldr is defeated. To his rescue comes Sörli Erlingsson, prince of the Swedish region of Uppland, and "the brothers came against them (Sörli and his men) from their settlement with black men and accursed heroes".[59] In particular, one of these men is thus described:

> "There was a man among the brothers' followers called Loðinn (Hairy), a standard-bearer. He came from Poland. He was tall as a giant and differed from other men in strength and repulsiveness. His spear measured six ells, and was three spans broad. He mounted an elephant and wiped away with his spears both men and horses alike, so that this monster alone made great damage."[60]

The description of this army of black, enchanted (i.e. heathen) men – and especially this hirsute dark giant mounting an elephant – seems out of place in Poland. The closest parallel that we may find is Frederick II Hohenstaufen's following, described in Salimbene de Adam's *Chronicle*: *imperator... habuit multos Saracenos in exercitu suo, et ... duxit elefantem suum ad exercitum*.[61]
Also another 15th-century text, *Jarlmanns ok Hermanns saga* draws a connection between Apulia and the Moors: Jarlmann's lord, Hermann of *Savis* (Schwaben?) wants to marry a Byzantine princess, Ríkilát, but finds a rival in Ermanus of Apulia, lord of *Bláland*, *Bolgaraland*, and Russia (*Suiþiod enu kallda*), who supports his claim with an army of berserks and "accursed malignant people" (*bannsett illþydi*).[62]
In sum, Scandinavians in Later Middle Ages still portrayed Apulia as the outpost of Western Europe, following medieval German sources, which called this region *Pülle* or *Pullenlant* (see Lozzi Gallo, 2010: 161-163).

7. **Conclusions**

Scandinavians became first acquainted with Apulia through their trips in the Mediterranean, mainly to Byzantium and the Holy Land. Bari and the surrounding region of Apulia became especially famous among Scandinavians in parallel with the diffusion of the byzantine cult of St Nicholas in Western Europe.
When Byzantium fell into decay in its last centuries (and Muslims reconquered Palestine), Scandinavians gradually ceased to have first-hand reports from the Mediterranean and consequently drew their information about the area from continental sources.
After the Hohenstaufen's defeat at the hand of the Anjous, which severed the bond between Southern Italy and Germany, northern authors increasingly turned Apulia into a fantastic land, while the fading memory of Emperor Frederick II's splendid realm still lingered in only a few details. Apulia (Púl) was then to become a merely evocative place-name, like India or the Land of the Moors, whose exoticism complemented fabulous narratives.

Notes

1 From the Old Norse word *garðr*, that in the Scandinavian Rus' had acquired the meaning "stronghold", hence "town" from the original "enclosed space" (Russian *gorod*), cfr. Cleasby – Vigfusson (1874), s.v. *garðr*. Hence the adjective *gerzkr* "Russian", prone to be confused with *girskr*, side-form of *gri(k)skr* "Greek", as stated in Cleasby – Vigfusson (1874), s.vv. *girskr*, *Grikkir*.

2 By this time, Scandinavia had already its own metropolitan see in Lund, back then a Danish town; soon after, Norway and Sweden obtained their own separate national archbishoprics. Nilsson (1998: 70-85).

3 Blöndal-Benedikz (1978: 42-45). The name Varangian, Norse *Væringr*, probably comes from *várar* "pledge (of allegiance)", cfr. Jones (1984: 246-249, note 3). On the evidence for these travels to the Byzantine East, see also Cucina (1989: 132-133, 243-244), as well as Cucina (2001).

4 In early Norse texts, the name seems to apply to Western Scandinavians: Norwegians and Icelanders would regard themselves as Danes and call their language "Danish", cfr. Cleasby – Vigfusson (1874), s.v. *danskr*. The *Annales Lundenses* date the Norman conquest of Southern Italy to the time of King Louis III of France, and state: *Illo tempore Normanni Apuliam possiderunt, et una pars Danorum possedit Longobardiam*, ed. Korman (1980: 41). Already Waitz (1892: 198, note 1) stated: *Haec falsissima auctor adiecit*. The author in Lund probably mixed up *Apulia* with Piltene, a town in present-day Latvia that had once been subject to *Dani*, and was conquered by King Olaf of Sweden in 853, according to Rimbert's *Vita Anskarii*, ed. Waitz (1884: 61, note 1).

5 Leo of Ostia, *Chronicle of Montecassino*, ed. Hoffmann (1980: 237).

6 *Annales Barenses* 15, ed. Churchill (1979: 117-118, 250-251).

7 *Annales Barenses* 17, 21, ed. Churchill (1979: 118, 119, 265).

8 Lupus Protospatharius, *Annales* 137, ed. Churchill (1979: 139; 282-283).

9 Hybel (2003: 108). The first Danish saints Knud, Knud Lavard and Vilhelm from Æbelholt were all canonized by the Pope, according to the European usage, unlike other Scandinavian saints, who only enjoyed a local cult, cfr. Liebgott (1982: 15-16) and Gad (1961: 156). About his travel, see also Moltesen (1935: 9).

10 Erik the Evergood followed thus a Danish tradition of strong allegiance to the Holy See. In a letter to the archbishop of Polen, quoted in the *Diplomatarium danicum I.2*., ed. Weibull (1963: 77-78, n. 33) Pope Paschalis II praised the Saxons and the Danes for their allegiance and ties to Rome, and held their archbishops up as examples, because they visited Rome every year. Since the archbishopric of Lund was instituted in 1104, the letter must have been written at a later date. Erik was the second monarch to visit Rome after King Canute the Great of Denmark and England, who had been there for the coronation of Emperor Konrad II in 1027, together with *omnes principes gentium a Monte Gargano usque ad istud proximum mare*, according to a letter quoted in William of Malmesbury's *Gesta regum Anglorum*, II, 11, ed. PL 179, coll. 1160-1161.

11 Saxo Grammaticus, *Gesta Danorum*, book 12, 7, 4 and 12, 5, 1-2, ed. Olrik – Ræder (1931: 339, 335).

12 As stated in Sturla Þorðarson, *Íslendinga saga* 15: *Hónum varð víða kunnigt um Suðr-löndin. Ok þat af görði hann bók þá, er heitir* Flos Peregrinationis, "he was well acquainted with the Southern lands and he made a book thereof, that is called *Flos Peregrinationis*", ed. Gudbrand Vigfusson (1878: 206). This travel is also mentioned in *Hungrvaka*, 9: *var þá kominn frá Rom sunnan ok allt útan ór Bár Gizurr Hallson* "then Gizurr Hallson had come back from Rome and all the way from Bari", ed. Ásdís Egilsdóttir (2002: 35).

13 *þar scal syngia annan hvarn dag helgan paskadag. mariumessur allar. mikals messu. nicholass messu. Auguthu messu*, ed. *Diplomatarium Islandicum* (1857: 276, number 65). Unless otherwise stated, all translations are mine.

14 Printed in *Diplomatarium danicum*. II.2. 1266-1280, ed. Blatt – Hermansen (1941: 159, n. 173).

15 *Diplomatarium Suecanum*, n. 695, vol. I, ed. Liljegren (1829: 568), available online at *Svenskt Diplomatariums huvudkartotek över medeltidsbreven*, <riksarkivet.se/sdhk>, n. 1121.

16 DRB 80, 12 april 1405 and 336, 8 dicember 1411; published online at <diplomatarium.dk/dd/diplomer/05-051-html> and <diplomatarium.dk/dd/diplomer/11-101.html>.

17 The abbey of Thann conserved a finger relic from a saint, whom the sources call variously Ewald or Theobald (confusing it with saint Theobald of Provence), but he should rather be considered St Ubaldus of Gubbio, as stated in Braccini (1993).

18 Nikulás af Munkaþverá, *Leiðarvísir*: *Áin Garileam hon skilr romveriariki & sikileyiar & [þar er] campania edr þull fyrir vtan en italia fyrir nordan þa [er … qui?]naborg xxij milur fra separani þa vi milur til fialls montakassin þar er munclifi rikt & borg vm vtan & x kirkiur i þar er ezt kirkia benedicti þar skolo eigi konur koma i þar er Martinus kirkia er benedictus let gera þar er fingur mathei postola [&] armleggr martinus biskups þar er Andreas kirkia & mario kirkia stephanus kirkia & Nicholas kirkia þar ero ij dagleider til kapu. Germanus byskups er nest monta kassin þar ero ii dagleidir til ben[e]ventar hon er mest borg aa puli I vítsudr þadan er salerni borg þar ero leknar beztir Sepont hon stendr undir michials fialli & er iij milur á breidd en x á leing[d] & er hon á fiall upp þar er hellir michaelis & silkidukr er hann gaf þangat þa er dagfor til barlar þa vi milur til traon þa iiij til bisseno borgar iiii til malfetaborgar iiij til Ivent þa vi til Nicholaus i bár þar huiler hann Su er onnur ferd ith vestra til kapu or Roma borg til albanusborg þadan ferr til flaians bruar hon er iii vikna for ath endilangri ger vmm fen & skoga & er þat eth agietazta mannvirki & ferr of skoga fulla dagleid & huert fét ófert nema ath flaians bru þa er terentiana hana brutu Romueriar & er hon nu litil. þa er fundiana þa er garda þa er ij dag for til kapu. þa ferr til beneuentar [ut fra] er manupl þa brandeis I hafs botn þadan ero feneyiar* […], ed. in Simek 1990: 482. Cf. Hill (1983).

19 *Heimlýsing*, ll. 93-99: *þat land heitir apulea er nest liggr girclandsz hafe. þar ero hǫfuð borger margar. Brandeis oc þar er nicolaus byskup huilir i. oc montecasin. þar er mest dyrkaðr benedictus abote. þat munklífi er agetast a latínu tungu a puli er monte gargan. þar er hellir sa er michaell engill dyrkaðe i sínni tíl komo. Norðr fra puli er ítalía land. þat*

kollum ver rumaborgar land. þar stendr ruma borg a. þa er lumbarða land. þar er meinlangs borg a. i henni var ambrosius byskup, ed. Simek (1990: 453).

20 Theodricus monachus, *Historia de antiquitate regum Norwagensium* 32, ed. Storm 1880, p. 64. In the same context, Theodricus had praised the king for the institution of a convent dedicated to St Michael in his capital Bergen. One may tentatively consider this another reference to that same region of Southern Italy, which had become famous during the First Crusade.

21 Einarr Skúlason, *Sigurðardrápa* 2, 1-4: *Húf lét hilmir svifa / hafkaldan ... í Gríksalti*, ed. Finnur Jónsson (1908: 424).

22 *Magnússona saga* 9: *Roðgeirr Sikileyjar konungr var inn ríkasti konungr. Hann vann Púl allan ok lagði undir sik ok margar stóreyjar í Griklandshafi. Hann var kallaðr Roðgeirr ríki. Hans sonr var Viljálmr konungr í Sikiley, er lengi hafði ófrið mikinn haft við Miklagarðskeisara. Viljálmr konungr átti þrjár dætr, en engan son. Hann gipti eina dóttur sína Heinreki keisara, syni Fríreks keisara, en þeira sonr var Frírekr, er nú var keisari í Rúmaborg*, ed. Bjarni Aðalbjarnarson (1979: 248).

23 *Nóregs konunga tal* 87: *Nú fór Sigurðr konungr suðr til Sikileyar ok var þá hofðingi yfir Rogeirr jarl. Þar dvalðisk Sigurðr konungr um vetrinn með jarlinum, ok enn áttanda dag jóla þá leiddi Sigurðr konungr Rogeirr jarl til hásaetis með sér ok gaf hónum konungs nafn. Rogeirr konungr helt síðan lengi konungdómi ok oexlaði mjok sitt ríki í marga staði. Hann var kallaðr Rogeirr ríki.* (ed. Bjarni Einarsson, 1985: 317-318).

24 *Morkinskinna*, *Saga Sigurðar ok Eysteins* 56: *For er til Iordanar. oc kom ec við Pvl. oc sa ec þic eigi þar,* ed Finnur Jónsson (1932: 383).

25 *Ágrip af Nóregskonunga sǫgum* 30, 32, 38 ed. Bjarni Einarsson (1985: 29, 32, 36).

26 *Nóregs konunga tal* 51: *En þá er þeir kómu út í Girklands eyjar, fór Haraldr oftliga brott frá herinum með sínum mǫnnum ok leituðu sér féfanga, ok flestir allir Væringjar fylgðu hónum. Hann lagði svá hvert sinn til orrostu, hvert er var til skipa eða kastala at leggja eða á land at ganga, at annat hvárt skyldi falla með ǫllu liðinu eða sigr fá*, ed. Bjarni Einarsson (1985: 228).

27 *Nóregs konunga tal* 51: *Þá helt Haraldr herinum til Sikileyjar ok vann þar borg eina ... aðra borg vann hann... Marga staði vann hann í þessu landi undir vald Girkjakonungs áðr en hann kœmi aptr til Miklagarðs.* (pp. 231-233).

28 Snorri Sturluson, *Heimskringla*, *Haralds saga Sigurðarsonar* 3, 6-10 (*Haraldr með hermǫnnum*) *fóru út í Griklandshafi* ed. Bjarni Aðalbjarnarson (1979: 71-72, 76-81).

29 Bjarni Aðalbjarnarson (1979: 81-82, note 1).

30 *Sexstefja* 5, ll. 1-2: *Sás, við lund, á landi / Langbarða réð ganga*, ed. Finnur Jónsson (1908: 340).

31 Poem about Haraldr harðráði 3, ll. 1 and 4: *Opt gekk á frið Frakka ... dróttinn minn fyr óttu*, ed. Finnur Jónsson (1908: 354).

32 On Haraldr's life, see further Blöndal-Benedikz (1978: 75-80).

33 *Saga Magnús góða ok Haralds harðráða*: *Þadan for hann i Langbardaland og sidan til Romaborgar og eptir þath vt aa Pul og red sier far til skipa og for þadan til Miklagardz aa konungs fund*, ed. Finnur Jónsson (1932: 59).

34 *Knýtlinga saga* 74: *Eiríkr konungr bjó ferð sína af landi í brott, en skipaði ríkit á meðan í vald vina sinna til stjórnar, meðan hann var í brottu. Hann gerði mǫnnum*

kunnigt, at hann ætlaði suðr til Róms, ok hafði hann með sér virðuligt fǫruneyti, en ekki mikit fjǫlmenni. Hann gekk alla leið suðr til Róms. Svá segir Markús: "Lýst skal hitt, es lofðungr fýstisk / langan veg til Róms at ganga, / fylkir sá þar friðland halkat, / Feneyjar, lið dýrð at venja". Síðan fór hann þaðan út í Feneði ok í Bár ok sótti heim marga helga staði ok gekk jafnan. Svá segir Markús: "Bróðir gekk í Bǫ́r út síðan, / bragnir vildi guðdóm magna, / hylli guðs mun hlífa stilli, / hǫfuðskjǫldunga fimm, at gjǫldum". Í þeiri ferð sótti Eiríkr heim marga hǫfðingja ok hǫfuðstaði ok varði víða stórfé, þar sem váru klaustr eða aðrir helgir staðir. Síðan snøri hann aptr ferð sinni ok kom þá enn til Rómaborgar, er hann fór sunnan, ed. Bjarni Guðnason (1982: 217-218).

35 *Orkneyinga saga* 89: *Þá er þeir Rǫgnvaldr jarl kómu til Miklagarðs, var þeim þar vel fagnat af stólkonungi ok Væringjum. Þá var Meneliás konungr yfir Miklagarði, er vér kǫllum Manúla; hann veitti jarli mikit fé ok bauð þeim málagjǫf, ef þeir vildi þar dveljask. Þeir dvǫlðusk þar lengi of vetrinn í allgópum fagnaði. Þar var Eindriði ungi ok hafði allmiklar virðingar af stólkonungi; hann átti fátt um við þá Rǫgnvaldr jarl, en afþokkaði heldr fyrir þeim fyrir ǫðrum mǫnnum. Rǫgnvaldr jarl byrjaði ferð sína of vetrinn ór Miklagarði ok fór fyrst vestr til Bolgaralands til Dyrakksborgar; þaðan sigldi hann vestr yfir havit á Púl. Þar gekk Rǫgnvaldr jarl af skipum ok Vilhjálmr byskup ok Erlingr ok allt it gǫfgara lið þeira ok ǫfluðu sér hesta ok riðu þaðan fyrst til Rómaborgar ok svá útan Rúmaveg, þar til er þeir koma í Danmǫrk, ok fóru þaðan norðr í Nóreg. Urðu menn þeim þar fegnir. Ok varð þessi ferð in frægsta, ok þóttu þeir allir miklu meira háttar menn síðan, er farit hǫfðu,* ed. Finnbogi Guðmundsson (1965: 236).

36 *Hungrvaka* 5, ed. Ásdís Egilsdóttir (2002: 22).

37 *Árna saga* 79, ed. Guðrún Ása Grímsdóttir (1998: 115); early 14th century.

38 *Lárentíus saga* 4, ed. Guðrún Ása Grímsdóttir (1998: 222); mid-14th century.

39 *Þiðreks saga af Bern*, prologue: *saga þessi hefzt ut a Pul ok ferr norðr um Lungbarði ok Fenidi i Svava*, ed. Guðni Jónsson (1954: 3).

40 *Þiðreks saga af Bern* 1, ed. Guðni Jónsson (1954: 9).

41 *Konungs skuggsjá* 7: *Pul ok Jorsálaland er heitar en vár lönd*, ed. Keyser (1848: 16).

42 Keyser (1848: 13-14, 33, 35).

43 *Voyage de Charlemagne*, ll. 100-102: *Il eissirent de France e Burguigne guerpirent, / Loheregne traversent, Baiviere e Hungerie, / Lumbardie e Rumaigne, Puille e Calabre virent / les Turs e les Persanz e cele gent haie*, ed. Koschwitz (1880: 51).

44 *Karlamagnús saga*, *Af Jórsalaferð* 2: (scil. *Karlamagnús konungr ok allir hans riddarar*) *… kómu til Burgun, ok leifðu Leoregna ok Beiferi, Lungbardi, Pul, Perse ok Tulke, en síðan kómu þeir til hafsins*, ed. Unger (1960: 468).

45 Unger (1860: 468, note).

46 *Karlamagnússaga* 6, ed. Unger (1860: 8).

47 *Karlamagnússaga* 7, ed. Unger (1860: 10).

48 Unger (1860: xv-xvi).

49 *Af Oddgeiri danska* 6: *Tiðendi mikil ok ill eru yðr at segja, herra ... at um alt Rómaborgar ríki máttu finna heiðinn lýð; Ammiral höfuðkonungr ok Danamund son hans hafa sezt í ríki þitt ok hafa tekit gisla um alt Púlsland*, ed. Unger (1860: 78-79).

50 *Af Oddgeiri danska* 36: *liðveizla kemr þér mikil utan af löndum af mönnum þeim, er kallaðir eru Robiani, ok þeirra er heita Barbare, en konungr sá er nefndr Cordes, ok sá*

höfðingi annarr er Sueifr, hann er af landi því er Mongandium heitir. ... Eru þeir nú komnir til borgar þeirrar er Baor heitir, hon stendr á Púlslandi, þar skildumst vér við þá með svá mörgum drómundum ok galeiðum, at engi má tali á koma, ok er þat folk svá ilt viðreignar, at síðan Gondoleas risi var í heimi þá hafa engir jafnhvatir verit, ed. Unger (1860: 106).

51 *Af Oddgeiri danska*, 54, ed. Unger (1860: 125).

52 Unger (1860: xx-xxi).

53 *Af Agolando saga* 39, ed. Unger (1860: 177); second version 28, ed. Unger (1860: 288).

54 *Af Agolando saga* 55, ed. Unger (1860: 200); second version 54, ed. Unger (1860: 311).

55 *Af Agolando saga* 58, ed. Unger (1860: 205); second version 58, ed. Unger (1860: 315).

56 *Mírmans saga* 14, ed. Kölbing (1872: 174-175).

57 *Nítíða saga* 5, ed. McDonald (2010: 142-144).

58 *Saga af Sálusi ok Nikanor* 13, ed. H. Erlendsson – Einar Þórðarson (1852: 71). The same gathering of troops is found in another edition, in *Sálus saga ok Nikanors* 27, ed. Loth (1963: 66), where the list includes only *Frackland, Saxland* and *Trentudalir*. On the geography in this text, see Simek (1990: 359-360).

59 *Sörla saga sterka* 7-8: *þeir bræðr kómu senn í móti þeim frá herbúðum sínum með blámenn ok bannsettar hetjur*, ed. Guðni Jónsson (1950, vol. 3, pp. 380-381).

60 Ibidem, 8: *Einn maðr í liði þeira bræðra hét Loðinn. Hann bar merki þeira. Hann var af Pólen. Stórr var hann sem risi ok ólíkr öllum mönnum fyrir sakir afls ok illiligrar ásýndar. Hans spjót var sex álna á lengd, en þriggja spanna á digrð. Hann reið einum fíl ok lamdi með sinni stöng bæði menn ok hesta, svá at öllum stóð af þessum óvin mikill ótti*, (pp. 380-381).

61 Salimbene de Adam, *Cronica* F 245c, ed. Holder-Egger (1905-1913: 93).

62 *Jarlmanns ok Hermanns saga* 8, 7 ed. Loth (1963: 20), 16-18.

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