

To what extent has old Norse culture affected Britain?



A Higher Project Qualification

6/7/2021



Contents

Introduction.....	
Literature Review.....	
Discussion.....	
Conclusion.....	
Evaluation.....	
Glossary.....	
Bibliography.....	

Page nos. would be helpful here

Introduction

For centuries Britain has been a place where people immigrate and settle: the Windrush generation of the 1940s to 70s, the Norman conquest and even the Romans to name a few. All of these unique cultures and heritages have had a huge impact on the geography and cultures of the UK: the Windrush generation had a huge impact on British music, the Norman conquest changed our language and the Romans brought us our alphabet. Old Norse culture, which was brought by the Vikings to the British Isles, is one of the biggest influencers of Britain and the culture within. It is incredibly important to not only recognise but respect that that culture did not just involve mindless violence on monasteries and the pillaging of villages, but they were an advanced people of different careers and a complex religion. They explored from north America (more specifically Newfoundland) to Baghdad, they wrote enchanting poems about great heroes of the time, and they engineered cutting edge warships. Since the late eighth century when raids on England started, they have impacted the island. Whether it was for worse with enslavement and murder or for better when we adopted some of their boat making techniques, their impact on Britain is undeniable and we should acknowledge it. As a whole, I think this part of the Vikings is heavily neglected and we tend to focus on Norse mythology and the warfare of the Vikings. While I agree that their mythology and warfare are highly interesting and should be focused on, articles, books and other forms of media should focus more on what they have done for not only life in Britain but life worldwide. Throughout my search for information, it seemed that hardly any of the articles or books I found were written about this subject only, rather the subject was found in sources which focused on all the aspects of the Vikings. Thus, my research could fill this gap and provide a place where the information on how old Norse culture has affected the UK can be found. In today's society, I think it's incredibly important that we recognise that Britain has never been 100% British. The growing popularity of communities that disagree with immigration in this country is incredibly problematic and my research could educate them on why the culture in Britain has been heavily influenced by immigration- the immigration of the old Norse.

A03 - offering a very good early contextual knowledge.

Literature Review

My first source is "Iron Studded Dragons: the Viking warship" by Thomas TJ Williams. It was published for the medieval warfare magazine in November 2015 suggesting the source is up to date. Thomas T J Williams is an author and historian who wrote the critically acclaimed book Viking Britain. In 2016, he received his Doctorate where he investigated the relationship between landscape and warfare in early medieval Britain (c.450 – 1016)- suggesting his information about warfare of the time is accurate. Williams also lectured in both UCL and Cambridge as well as being a museum curator for a Viking exhibit. The text cites few sources and has no bibliography whatsoever- the one source cited is a letter wrote in Charlemagne at the time. The writer has an obvious interest in the subject as he devoted his career to it so he is reliable for information. Potentially the source may have a bias as Williams is British and he may over exaggerate the influences. While it does not focus as much on the culture transfer as the other sources, the Viking ships had a large impact on British history. A lot of the information in this source agrees with other sources like Else Roesdahl's The Vikings. However, the nature of the Viking Invasion of Britain shown in this text disagrees with my other sources. This claims that the Vikings destroyed the Anglo-Saxon kingdoms while other sources suggest that there were peace agreements along with violence.

The Vikings: third edition is an updated version of the 1988 book of the same name that was published in 2018. This shows that's the information in the book is up to date as it is the most recent copy. Else Roesdahl is a Danish professor of medieval, archaeology at the university of Aarhus, Denmark as well as an honorary doctor of Trinity College. Else Roesdahl was also a consultant to the 1981-2 joint British-Danish exhibition 'The Vikings in England'. She received the Søren Gylendahl prize for the original danish version of this book. The book contains a long bibliography displaying credible sources such as 'Viking Age England' by J D Richards. Like Williams, Roesdahl's career is devoted to the Vikings thus she would try and make her book as accurate as possible. As a Dane, her research cannot be devoid of a bias as she would portray her ancestors in the best way possible. While this book is not about only Vikings in England, it has a deep and explanative chapter on Viking history in England, Scotland, and Ireland. The book also mentions parts of Viking culture that has affected Britain in separate chapters. The information in this book supports the information of many of my other sources and the disagreements that are present, are not imperative to answering my question as they do not focus on Britain. For example, the nature of naval battles told in this book is disagreed with by Williams suggesting this source is wrong as Williams's expertise is warfare. However, his source is shorter which could mean he just could not fit in the information. An example of how this source agrees with others is that both this source and the website 'Norse mythology for smart people' say that the Norse settlers were also women and not just Vikings (raiders). My view of the Vikings was shaped by this book. It perfectly goes along with my view and it supports it a lot. While there are some disagreements with the book, they are very minor and ultimately, the book remains supporting my point.

American enthusiast, Dan McCoy began writing his website Norse Mythology for Smart People in 2012 and finished in 2019- this date is very recent which shows that the information is up to date with common knowledge. However, recent sources that are about history are not necessarily credible sources as the writer would not of had a direct involvement with the subject seeing that it is history. McCoy has written books like 'The Viking Spirit' as well as 'The Love of Destiny' displaying academic findings of academics in this field in accessible ways. He is an independent scholar of Norse mythology which could suggest that his opinion is not valid, but it also means he has learned from a wide variety of different opinions. This source cites many different credible books including one of my sources The Vikings by Else Roesdahl- each section of the website has a detailed list of references. Due to the large number of diverse sources, the information shown in the book is much more likely to be accurate as they would of seen a wide array of sources and seen what they have in common. As an American author, he has little bias and is a perfect candidate for judgement as he is of both British and Scandinavian ancestry. While it mainly focuses on Norse mythology, this source talks about all aspects of the Vikings including activity in Britain.

Studies in Early Middle English Loanwords by Janne skaffari is a part of a volume of Neuphilologische Mitteilungen (a quarterly multilingual refereed journal specialized in linguistics) was published in 2010. While this is not as recent as my other sources it is still recent enough to be factual. Janne Skaffari is a Finnish

AO2 - U2 - Research is consistently relevant / awareness of reliability Strong on credibility

researcher and university lecturer in linguistics specializing in English at the University of Turku, Finland. He has a PhD in linguistics, and he defends his doctoral dissertations in this text. One of the only sources cited in this text is the Helsinki corpus of English texts but this is excusable as this is a doctoral dissertation and he would use his own research. The writer specializes in the history of English which shows that he has an active interest on the subject of how English has evolved. Being a Scandinavian, there may be a bias on how much Scandinavian languages effect English, but Finnish is not a descendant of the old Norse language. Thus, this should not be a problem and the source is still reliable. Language is a huge part of culture and so a source about language is integral to answering my question. Despite it being on both French and Old Norse, it is still relevant to the question. The dates talked about in this source are supported by both McCoy and Roesdahl's writings as well as some of the information like how we get the word "their" from old Norse.

Discussion

There is no doubt that the old Norse had somewhat of an impact on Britain throughout the ages. However, the way the Vikings influenced and how they acted in Britain is up to debate among historians. Unlike common belief, the Vikings were not mindless, cultureless raiders who caused nothing but trouble, they were a people who produced inspiring works of poetry and had a complex mythology. This begs the question, is it fair to say that their impact on Britain was just violent raids?

War and its Technology

Warfare was a huge part of old Norse culture: the Vikings were often admired for their unique war spirit, they had the most advanced marine-time technology, and their main god, Odin, was the god of war. The Viking age in Britain began and ended with warfare- it is generally agreed that it began in 793AD with the raid of a monastery in Lindisfarne in England and it ended with the battle of Stamford bridge in 1066. Between these years, there were many battles fought between the Anglo-Saxons in England and the Vikings who came from Scandinavia. These wars left behind a lot of evidence of themselves, for example Viking warrior graves have been found in Repton dating back to when they over-wintered there in 873AD; in these graves they found coins, weapons and even a pendant of Mjölnir (The hammer of the Norse god Thor). In 865AD, a great heathen army of the old Norse arrived in England and began taking over towns in east Anglia and over-wintering there (staying over the winter). Some historians like Thomas J Williams [Iron studded Dragons, 2015, p.9], say that the army essentially destroyed three of the Anglo-Saxon kingdoms- Mercia, Northumbria, and East Anglia- but it is more accurate to say that they were taken over as there is evidence that a puppet king was placed on the throne of Northumbria. Also, there are accounts of the people of Kent making peace with the invaders in return for money- this was the first of many payments of Danegeld. Although there is evidence that the conquest was not as hostile as others say, there is no doubt that warfare occurred. The Old Norse also brought in advances in technology- although most of this was war related. For example, the battle axe was popularised by Vikings in England, and it was even used by king Harold's private army during the battle of Hastings according to the English Heritage charity. Else Roesdahl [The Vikings, 2018, p.87] says that the main type of Viking ships styles was introduced in England and Slavic regions south of the Baltic with local modifications by Scandinavian influence. This is not spoken about in Thomas J Williams' 'Iron studded dragons' which focuses on Viking ships, but it does mention that boats of a similar style to Viking ships were found in the Sutton Hoo Anglo-Saxon burial site [Iron Studded Dragons, 2015, p.9]. Overall, I believe this is the most important impact the old Norse had on Britain. Those who came here were known as Vikings: a Viking is more of a profession than an identity, the profession involving raiding and war. The Warfare between the Vikings and the inhabitants of Britain allowed for the Norse settling of Britain thus none of the other factors would have influenced us as much.



Source A: A grave of a Viking warrior found in Repton

Landscape

Since the beginning of old Norse activity on the small green isles, they have had a large impact on the landscape- both political, historical, and geographical. During the 860-80s, Vikings conquered large amounts of England leaving only one out of the four major kingdoms of England at the time- this being Wessex as they had conquered East Anglia, Mercia, and Northumbria already. Their armies moved into Wessex, taking over most of the realm causing the king of that realm, king Alfred, to flee to the marshes. There he amassed an army and won a decisive victory over the conquering Vikings and according to Dan McCoy [Norse Mythology for Smart People, 2019, Viking Raids and Warfare, paragraph.26] he forced the Vikings out and their leader Gulthrum was baptised as a part of the bargain. This is juxtaposed by Roesdahl as she suggests it was more of an agreement, this is supported by the fact that King Alfred became Gulthrum's God father. After winning more battles between another invading army which the Viking realms of England supported, King Alfred conquered the majority of England establishing an area known as Danelaw. Danelaw was an area made up of East Anglia and Northumbria that was controlled by England but allowed to make their own laws which were like those the Danes and other Norse followed; many Vikings settled these areas after being defeated by King Alfred.

1403-62
Comparison
of different
views & great
effect

Alfred was established as the first king of the Anglo-Saxons. Thus, without Viking invasions we would not have England as a united country as we know it today rather than just one kingdom. Historians often say that the Viking age ended in Britain when Harald Sigurdsson (or Harald Harðráði meaning hard ruler in old Norse) lost the battle of Stamford bridge in 1066. This is commonly known as the end of the Viking age because it was when raiding stopped. This battle was for the throne of England, and it occurred just before the famous battle of Hastings, where Viking descendant, William of Normandy, conquered England. Normandy was heavily invaded and influenced by the Vikings: their dialect of French had some influences from the old Norse language and many Norman people had Viking ancestors and heritage. This means that technically if it were not for the Vikings, we would not have had many things which we got from the Norman conquest. This conquest, according to Janne Skaffari's doctoral dissertations [2010, p.250], gave us words like poor and pass and many historians agree that this was a monumental part of English history which left a huge impact. The Old Norse are still present in the blood of British people: McCoy [2019, The Vikings as Explorers and Settlers, paragraph.34] says that Shetlanders have 44 percent Scandinavian DNA, the Orkneys' inhabitants have 30 percent, and those who live in the Western Isles have 15 percent suggesting that the Viking influence on Scotland and its islands was extraordinarily high.

The old Norse came to have a great impact on the development of towns in Britain too. Scotland and the isle of Man were devoid of any towns until the arrival of the Vikings. In 'Norse Mythology for Smart People' Dan McCoy [2019, Viking Raids and Warfare, paragraph.24] says that in 866AD a great heathen army captured York (the capital of the northern English kingdom Northumbria) and placed a puppet king on the throne; this was the start of a strong Scandinavian character in York. York was a roman town where an Anglo-Saxon royal residence was built. The town was called Eborac by the Anglo-Saxons and once the Vikings captured it, it was known as Jorvik. Historians say that York became Anglo-Scandinavian: streets were given new names with the Scandinavian suffix -gate meaning street; York became a highly important trading hub for both regional and international trade; and they built new types of housing. Roesdahl [2018, p.252] also says similar things occurred in Lincoln, England. Vikings also created several hundred settlements across Northern and Eastern England. For example, Derby, Grimsby and Holtby which use the Scandinavian suffix -by and even Wiganthorpe which uses the prefix wigan which comes from Viking. It is evident that this is a huge impact, but it was only possible through Viking invasion and war, and without Vikings being a part of war in Britain, this wouldn't be possible.

Language

It is thought that in the main language of Britain, English, around 600 loan-words are derived from old Norse, these being some of the most widely used words. There was such a strong linguistic influence as old English and old Norse were already somewhat mutually intelligible being both Germanic languages. The Germanic language family includes many languages like Dutch, Afrikaans, and German and they originated in northern continental Europe from the language Proto-Germanic. Due to the strong linguistic influence, a mixed dialect arose in the area of Danelaw. Janne Skaffari [2010, p.249], in his piece titled "Studies in Early Middle English Loanwords", does not credit Old Norse as a language spoken in specifically England post Norman conquest rather just French, Latin and English were spoken. However, this does not mean that the language was never spoken on the isle of Great Britain: old Norse was spoken in the parts of northern and eastern England and Norn (a dialect of old Norse) was spoken by the inhabitants of the Shetland and Orkney islands up until the nineteenth century. Skaffari [2010, p.251] also says that we get a lot of words that we associate with war and peace from old Norse or at least more than what we get from normal French, however this is not necessarily supported by the examples of loan words he gives nor the few given by McCoy [2019, The Vikings as Settlers and Explorers, paragraph.31] and Roesdahl [2018, p.255] in their works- though this does not necessarily prove this wrong. The most common words we get from old Norse are everyday words that the common people of the Viking era would have or use in their language: fellow, window, knife, to take and even to die are all words we get from old Norse settlers. Dialects, especially those which are found in areas formerly in Danelaw, contain thousands of Scandinavian loan-words most of which relating to agriculture like 'lea' which means a scythe. This linguistic evidence shows that Scandinavian settlers were not elites in the land where they settled rather, they tended to land and kept livestock -unlike the Norman conquerors of 1066- they generally assimilated into the population very well. In addition to verbs and nouns, important grammatical elements

703-42
(continued)
development
of different
villages.

not showing an awareness to offer mini-conclusions/effective structuring

Use of internal conclusions

were introduced such as the plurals 'they', 'them', and 'their' (from the Scandinavian þeir, þeim, þeiraa). Scandinavian languages did not just influence English but other British languages and dialects as well- Scots, a Scottish dialect of English, for example has an even larger influence from Scandinavian languages. The Scots word 'kilt' comes from old Norse verb to tuck or fold. Also, the old Norse word for Thor's hammer (Mjölnir) meaning lightning has the same root word as the Welsh word for lightning (mellt). It is undeniable that old Norse culture has had an impact on the languages of Britain, although not the biggest impact as English and other British languages would still have the majority of their language if old Norse never existed. While English would not be the same without the old Norse language, English would be even more different if the Norman conquest never occurred or if Rome had never conquered all of southern Europe, seeing as both Latin and French make up a larger part of our vocabulary than old Norse. Thus, it is unjust to say that it has been the largest old Norse influence on Britain despite it being something we are reminded of daily as we speak.

Mythology

The mythology of the old Norse was one of the most notable parts of their cultures- it is also why a lot of western civilisation considers them to be more primitive than other medieval peoples. Despite the beliefs of what their mythology was like, there are many in depth stories in Norse mythology inspiring so much pop-culture today- which is where lots of people are first exposed to Norse mythology. There are various examples of how old Norse mythology has affected: the popularity of the superhero named after the Norse god 'Thor' for example. Norse mythology- in particular that present in Iceland- had a huge impact on the works of the British author Tolkien according to Ruth M Stein [1968, p.182] in her article 'The Changing Styles in Dragons—from Fáfnir to Smaug'. The dragon Smaug draws many similarities to those of old Norse and other Germanic mythology in that it cunningly hoards treasure and gloats about that fact. As well as affecting pop culture, there is evidence that Norse Mythology was practised in the British Isles- an example of this is the so-called Gosforth Cross, which was sprung up in a churchyard in the early tenth century in Viking-occupied England. The cross was clearly a Christian monument, but it depicted the Norse myth of Vidar stepping into the mouth of the giant wolf Fenrir during Ragnarök (the apocalypse) and some others too. There seems to be a lot of debate about what this means about the practice of Norse mythology in Britain: Dan McCoy [2019, Viking Conversion to Christianity, paragraph.10 to 11] says that this is evidence that a hybrid religiosity with elements of both paganism and Christianity was present in already Christian lands like Scotland, Ireland, and England when the Vikings invaded. On the other hand, Roesdahl [2018, p.259 to 260] suggests that it just depicts popular stories of the time- stories brought over by the Scandinavians. Both authors do agree though that many Vikings were converted to Christianity when they settled in Britain and Ireland and Britain had a large impact on the Scandinavians conversion to Christianity. While Norse mythology is one of the things we see most about the Vikings due to its popularity in pop-culture, it is not relevant to the average person in cases other than this. Myths and beliefs are beginning to fade out in society as we become more logical and while Norse mythology was essentially a religion, we do not treat it as such today. Also, the small impacts it has had on archaeology, have very little impact on the average person who is neither a Viking enthusiast nor an archaeologist.



Source B: The Gosforth cross in st Marys churchyard, Cumbria.

Evaluation of sources Law and Customs

Despite their reputation for brutality and savagery, Viking and old Norse society placed a high value on law. Generally, Vikings adapted to the local law and customs in Britain due to the fact our customs were already quite similar- this is because the main inhabitants of Britain at the time were Germanic like the old Norse. However, this does not mean that they had no influence on Britain in this way. In fact, the old Norse word 'lög' was used so much in Britain that English adopted it and created the word 'law' according to both Janne Skaffari [2010, p.251] and Dan McCoy [2019, Viking Political Institutions, paragraph.18]. Scandinavian law (or Danish law as it was known in England at the time) was primarily practiced in the areas where Viking activity was most prevalent- Danelaw. The book 'The Vikings' [2018, p.252] states that some legal peculiarities from this area bounded down south by the ancient Watling Street (an historic route found in England). Scandinavian art taste is clearly reflected in the ornamental art found in England which followed a style known as Ringerike, which was itself influenced by English art, so it was close to the taste of the English as well as the abilities of the English artists. When the Viking king Knut became king of England, it is said in chronicles of the time that

A03 - Acknowledging different viewpoints

the army was valiant compared to the former English army who showed cowardice and poor organisation. Although, this may have been changed by the ruling Scandinavians to portray themselves better. In my opinion, old Norse culture had a very small impact on law because while two of my sources say that Danish law was practiced in Britain, they do not give examples of how. Further research shows that one of the largest differences was the status of peasants in Danelaw. A higher status peasant called a sokemen was unique to the shires of England according to Emma Day in her dissertation titled 'Sokemen and Freemen in Late Anglo-Saxon East Anglia in Comparative Context' [2011, p.2]. Their properties were often recorded and valued as independent, but these people still lived lives similar to peasants in western and southern England. This law is not that substantial, and it would have had a little effect on the lives of general people who the law affected. Not only this, but this higher status was also not the same all over Britain. Culture did not have a large effect on neither, because Anglo-Saxons and Scandinavians already had very similar views.

Conclusion

To summarise, the old Norse have clearly had a monumental effect on British History for centuries and their influence can still be observed today. Looking at the activity of the old Norse in Britain, we can observe that they were not ruthless warriors who wanted to conquer all (although they had this mindset during war) but they were people who valued law and peace agreements. Generally, British customs and beliefs were not largely changed by the Viking overlords who claimed the land theirs rather the majority of the influence they had were on language and history. This shows that Vikings respected the cultures of the nations and lands they raided. Influences were not just one way too, church vocabulary was taken from the English language and brought into old Norse during their conversion to Christianity and even the first Norse coins were based on English ones. Overall, we can learn that old Norse culture, a culture that was commonly neglected and considered barbaric and heathenistic by the church, deserves more credit in the forging of our Nation and it should be respected for it.

Adv Clear, logical and detailed conclusion.

Conclusion ties strands of argument together logically.

Evaluation

Since beginning my research for this project, I had only looked at a small chunk of the influences Britain has had, and I have realised how our culture is hardly unique to us rather Britain had been a so called 'melting pot' of different cultures. Upon the end of my research, the true impact of the Vikings was one I did not expect and the fact that Britain would not exist without the Vikings is mind-boggling to me. Despite my interests in the topic before my research began, this project taught me that the Viking and medieval period was much more sophisticated than I was aware: Vikings travelled and explored new worlds, trade occurred from the far east all the way to western Europe and the fact societies of that time were even democratic. I believe this amazing proof of human endeavour and achievement should inspire us to come together as a world and embrace the difference in our cultures.

During my research, I found it difficult to find sources that offered opposing viewpoints which slowed my research down. Through deeper search I managed to find that while the sources do agree that the Vikings impact on Britain was huge, they disagreed on certain aspects of what they actually influenced. These discoveries allowed me to create debate in my discussion and improve my overall answer. I believe ultimately that it was a good thing that my sources agreed a lot because it helped to prove that my ultimate answer was correct.

Another thing I would found hard was time management- if I done this more effectively it would have given me the ability to find more varied sources (for example emailing an expert) and eliminate the stress I had. Remembering to keep my activity log up to date would also be a thing I need to improve. If I were given the opportunity to recomplete the Higher Project Qualification, I would set up a timetable for my research to spend more time searching than analysing and I would keep my activity log up to date. This extra time searching for sources would allow me to find some with opposing viewpoints and provide more debate in my discussion.

Responding to feedback

Fortunately, I was helped and given feedback by a range of people during the process of the Higher Project Qualification which made my project as best as it could have been. Originally, my question was much smaller, and it focused mainly on Norse mythology however I followed the advice of Mrs Clements into broadening the subject and focusing on all parts equally. Mrs Clements and Mrs Waghorn both suggested that I should email an expert- a thing I did not do but looking back I would whole-heartedly do so. My project supervisor- Miss Nicholls- advised me to find disagreements between my sources in a table which helped massively, and my project would not have been to the same standard as it is now without this help. My supervisor also helped me to structure my discussion and gave comments on my work which allowed me to largely improve my final paragraph which was less impactful. In addition, my peers who were also doing the project helped suggested ways that I could explore the effects of the Vikings on the politics and laws of the time.

A04 Engagement with
Self-reflection
process

Glossary

Effective use of presentation features to support understanding

Anglo-Saxon- the people who lived in England and parts of Scotland pre-Norman conquest and the ancestors of the modern inhabitants of these places.

Danegeld- a land tax held in medieval England used to raise funds for protection against Viking invaders

Danelaw- a geographical area of medieval England which followed Danish law and was heavily influenced by the old Norse.

Dialect- A form of a language specific to a place or social group

Heathen- a person who doesn't belong to a widely held religion (in this context Christianity)

Old Norse- relating to medieval Scandinavia, or their inhabitants or language

Ringerike- a medieval Scandinavian art style

Sokemen- A medieval peasant who owned their own land

Viking- an old Norse warrior or raider who invaded and pillaged other countries



An example of Ringerike

Bibliography

Stein, Ruth M. "The Changing Styles in Dragons—from Fáfnir to Smaug." (Elementary English, vol. 45, no. 2, 1968, pp. 179–189.). JSTOR, www.jstor.org/stable/41386292. Accessed 7 July 2021

Williams, Thomas. "Iron-Studded Dragons: The Viking Warship." (Medieval Warfare, vol. 5, no. 5, 2015, pp. 8–12.) JSTOR, www.jstor.org/stable/48578491. Accessed 7 July 2021

Skaffari, Janne. "Studies in Early Middle English Loanwords: Norse and French Influences." (Neuphilologische Mitteilungen, vol. 111, no. 2, 2010, pp. 249–251.). JSTOR, www.jstor.org/stable/43344469. Accessed 7 July 2021.

Day, Emma "Sokemen and Freeman in Late Anglo-Saxon East Anglia in Comparative Context", 2011 www.repository.cam.ac.uk/bitstream/handle/1810/239350/Emma_Day_Thesis.pdf;sequence=1 Accessed 22 June 2021

Jarman, Cat "Resolving Repton" (Current Archaeology, issue. 352, 2019) <https://archaeology.co.uk/articles/features/resolving-repton.htm> Accessed 8 July 2021

"The Weaponry of 1066" (English heritage Charity) www.english-heritage.org.uk/learn/histories/1066-and-the-norman-conquest/the-weaponry-of-1066/ Accessed 8 July 2021

Roesdahl, Else "The Vikings" (Penguin history, third edition, 2018)

McCoy, Dan "Norse Mythology For Smart People" (2012-2019) <https://norse-mythology.org/> Accessed 8 July 2021

AC2-
Documentary of source
in a
clear
order.