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Seafaring and Shipping during the Viking Ages.

BY

Prof. ALEXANDER BUGGE,

HON. LIFE MEMBER.



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SEAFARING AND SHIPPING DURING THE VIKING AGES.

By Prof. ALEXANDER BUGGE, Hon. Life Member.

THE Norwegians are still a seafaring nation. The long coast, with the many fiords and thousands of islands, foster boys who, from their earliest childhood, are accustomed to the sea and, when growing up, become hardy seamen. But shipping is not of recent date in Norway. The annals of English trade and commerce will tell you that during the mediæval ages, before the Hanseatic League got the upper hand of the other northern trading nations, Norwegian ships every year used to sail to Grimsby, Boston, King's Lynn, and other ports on the eastern coast of England.¹ And the further we go back in history the more we see that the Norwegians and the other Scandinavian peoples—Danes, Swedes, and the inhabitants of Gotland—were the principal seafaring nations of Northern Europe.

The Museum of Antiquities of Christiania preserves some wonderful specimens of ships from the Viking Ages, *i.e.*, from the 9th and 10th centuries, especially the Gokstad and the Oseberg Ships. The Gokstad ship is, though rather small, a perfect Viking ship, and shows what a high degree of perfection the art of ship-building had already reached in those olden times.

The chief claim to a place of honour for Northmen in mediæval history is indeed not only the Eddic Poems and the Sagas, but what they have done for the opening up of trade and shipping on the North Sea and the Baltic.

¹We learn this from the Customs Rolls in the Public Record Office, London, which are to be published in "Diplomatarium Norvegicum," Vol. xix.

European commerce and economic life have never been at a lower ebb than at the time of Charlemagne, and more especially of his successors in the 9th century. Never has the value of gold and silver money been so high and the price of commodities so low. In England, as well as in France and Germany, there was no native class of merchants. The merchant had no fixed home; he was a stroller, and mostly a foreigner, a Jew, a Greek, or a Syrian—or, later on, an Italian. The Syrians, especially, were the great merchants, and especially the money merchants, of the epoch of the Merovingians. At the time of the Roman emperors they had already established themselves in all the important cities of the Roman Empire. But at the time of Charlemagne there was no regular traffic and commerce between the different European countries, except what the Arabs in the south and the east, and the barbarians in the north, carried on.

With the barbarians I also, though it is not quite exact, reckon the Frisians, who, indeed, were the great seafaring nation of the North Sea. They exported, about the year 800, their woollen cloth, for which the Netherlands always have been famous, to all parts of Europe, and had factories in the most important towns of western Germany—for instance, Mainz and Worms. But the Frisians also crossed the North Sea, and sailed to England, as well as to Norway and Denmark. Their chief town, Duurstede (on the Rhine, not far from Utrecht, now a village only), was probably the most important port of Western Europe. Here ended the highway of commerce that from Italy brought the commodities of the Orient to Western Europe. Duurstede stood in commercial connection not only with the British Islands and Inner Germany, but also with the Danish town, Sleswick, and even with the far-away Swedish town, Birka, on Lake Mälaren. Pieces of money, coined by Charlemagne at Duurstede, have been found in Denmark, Sweden, and Southern Nor-

way. The earliest Scandinavian coins, which about the year 900 were stamped in Denmark, are imitations of the coins of Duurstede.¹

The Frisians had their flourishing age in the 8th century, when they were the most daring seafarers of the northern seas. The ancient historian, Adam of Bremen, whose history of the Church of Hamburg is such an inexhaustible source for northern researches, even tells about a Polar expedition undertaken by Frisian noblemen. The great invention of the Frisians was the typical ship of the Middle Ages, the Cog, a flat-bottomed, high-boarded, and strong ship, using sails alone, and quite different from the Viking ships, which used the sail as well as oars.² The cog was during the Middle Ages especially the ship of the Hanseatic League, but recent researches have proved that the cog, in the 9th century, was already used by the Frisians who lived on the Zuyder Sea. The Frisians were superseded by the Vikings, who not only were pirates and daring seafarers, but also plucky and able merchants.

You know Erik the Red, who discovered Greenland, and his son, Leif the Lucky, who discovered America (Vinland). You may perhaps also have heard of a still greater man, a worthy predecessor of our Nansen, Ottar, who is the first man who passed the northern coast of Norway, discovered the North Cape, and came to the White Sea, six hundred years before the time of Richard Chancellor. Ottar (Ohtere) came, later on, to the court of Alfred the Great, became his man, and told about his voyage to the king, who has preserved the story of it in his translation of Orosius. From

¹ These coins were probably stamped at Hedeby (Sleswick); cf. A. Bugge, "Vesterlandenes Indflydelse," and Hånberg, *Myntforhold og Udmyntninger i Danmark I.*, 35 ff. The Swedish antiquarian, Dr. Hildebrand, however, thinks that they are from Birka.

² Professor D. Schäfer, as well as Dr. W. Vogel, have proved that the cog is mentioned in the 10th century, and perhaps even earlier. The word cog (French *coque*) however seems not to be of Dutch origin.

that time a considerable trade was carried on from the regions of the White Sea to Northern Norway, and thence to Western Europe. Most of the furs that about the year 1000 were used in England probably came from the Land of the Midnight Sun. The chieftains of this region, called Haalogaland, were among the first and richest of Norway, and carried on a considerable shipping and commerce, especially to the British Isles.¹ Their riches partly consisted in furs and partly in dried codfish from the great fisheries in Lofoten. In the background of this flourishing commercial life, we must see the strong position which this most northern part of Norway occupied during the Viking Ages, not only politically, but also from a literary standpoint. One of the first Norwegian skalds, Eyvind Skaldaspiller, who made the beautiful dirge *Hákonarmál*, was born up here, and one of the oldest and most striking Eddic poems, the Lay of Weland the Smith, undoubtedly bears traces of having been written in the northernmost part of Norway, where the Finns are skiing and hunting the wolf and the bear, and the wild swans are swimming on the deep lakes.

Later on—about the year 1070—the city of Bergen was built, and the people of Haalogaland sailed to this town, and not to England, with their fish and furs. But the traffic with the White Sea was still carried on, and even at the beginning of the thirteenth century we hear of Norwegian expeditions to the White Sea, to the Biarmes, a Finnish people who lived up here. One of the Norwegians, who took part in these expeditions, afterwards went to PUSDAL in eastern Russia, and thence to Palestine, whence he returned to Norway. This chieftain was certainly not the first Norwegian who had taken the road from Haalogaland to the White Sea and thence to Russia. There have been several treasures of silver armlets and brooches found in the northernmost part of Norway that certainly came from

¹ Cf. my paper on Haalogaland in *Norsk historisk Tidsskrift*, 1908.

Russia and the countries round the Gulf of Finland.

As it was the Norwegians who opened up the traffic on the White Sea, so it was another Scandinavian nation, the Swedes, who opened up another much more important highway of commerce from Eastern to Western Europe. Already before the beginning of the Viking Age, before the year 800, the Danes, as well as the Swedes, had merchant colonies on the southern and eastern coasts of the Baltic Sea. In a town called Reric, on the coast of Mecklenburg, there lived Danish merchants, and the Danish King (Godfrid) had custom-house receipts from this town.¹ At a later time you know the celebrated Danish Viking colony (Sæborg as it is called) in Jomsborg, in the Isle of Wollin, at the mouth of the Oder. Jomsborg, or Julin, was during the 11th century the centre of the traffic on the Baltic. When you sail from the Oder eastward you come to the Gulf of Riga. You have to pass a promontory, which is still called by its Scandinavian name, *Domesnæs*, and sail to the mouth of the river Düna. At nearly the same place where the city of Riga was erected later on, there must have been, about the year 800, or perhaps still earlier, a Swedish Viking colony and merchant settlement on the same lines as Jomsborg. Rimbart, in his life of the holy Ansgar, tells us that the Swedes long before the year 853, had been the lords of Curland. But in that year they made a new expedition, trying to regain their old possession, and conquered a fortified Courland town, which Rimbart calls *Seeburg*. This name must be Scandinavian, and the same as the above-mentioned *Sæborg*, "a fortress on the sea," which we find also as the name of Jomsborg. We may conclude from this that Seeburg had been given its name by the Swedes and, like the Jomsborg one, had contained Scandinavian soldiers and merchants. But if this is so, the site of Seeburg must have been at the mouth of

¹ This is told by the Frankish Annals from the time of Charlemagne.

the Düna, where the great commercial highway to inner Russia and to the Black Sea began. This way, during the Viking Ages and the early Middle Ages, was much frequented by the inhabitants of Gotland, as we learn from runic inscriptions, as well as from the "Guta Saga" (the Saga of the Gotlander).

The centre of the eastern traffic was, however, Novgorod, on the lake of Ilmen, and one of the principal marts of ancient Europe. I am very sorry that time does not allow me to-night to enter into the history and institutions of that most interesting town. Novgorod is, in fact, the only Russian town that has a history of its own, a history which presents curious similarities to the history of many other mediæval free towns. The laws and institutions of Novgorod present many traces of Scandinavian influence.¹ This is not strange when you remember that Novgorod was the first town where Rurik—the Swedish conqueror of Russia—had his residence, and that Novgorod, later on, always stood in lively connection with the Scandinavian countries. The princes of Novgorod had their bodyguard of Varjags, and were married to Swedish princesses. And Norwegian kings and princes, like Olav Tryggvason and Saint Olav and Harald Hardraade, lived there for years. A church dedicated to St. Olav is already mentioned in a Swedish Runic inscription from the latter part of the 11th century, and became later on the church of the Gotlanders in Novgorod.

Most of the Norsemen who visited Novgorod, however, were not soldiers or adventurers, but merchants, who exported Russian furs, Greek and Arabian silks and brocades, and Indian spices and aromatics to Western Europe. The Baltic-Arabic trade reached its height during the 10th century, and we may draw conclusions as to its importance from the fact that there have been found on the island of Gotland alone about

¹ Cf. A. Bugge, "Novgorod som Varjagisk By," *Nordisk tidskrift för Litteratur, Kunst, etc.*, 1907.

30,000 Arabic silver coins, most of them being from Central Asia, and dating from the 10th century. The inhabitants of Gotland, which island was already in the Viking Ages one of the centres of the Baltic traffic, had, probably as early as in the 11th century, their own factory in Novgorod. This factory belonged to the three divisions of Gotland in common, but was let from about the year 1400 to the members of the Hanseatic League, who had followed in the footsteps of the Gotlanders and, during the latter part of the 12th century, established their own factory in Novgorod.

The place-names on the route from the Gulf of Finland to Novgorod clearly show that it was not the Germans, but Scandinavian people—Swedes and Gotlanders—who opened the traffic to Novgorod. In the Record Office of the City of Lubeck there is a record from the year 1268, which indicates to us the fairway up to Novgorod. And the interesting thing is that the principal places along the fairway in this German record have got Scandinavian names (not Russian or Low German).

The territory of the Prince of Novgorod commenced in the Finnish Gulf at a small island called Berkö or Björkö (the island of birches). Thence ships sailed up the Neva, crossed the lake of Ladoga, and anchored at Old Ladoga, the *Aldeigjuborg* of our ancestors. Here the river Wolchow disembogues into the Lake of Ladoga. The mouth of the river the Germans called *Wolchoweminne*, from Old Norse *minni*, "the mouth of a river." The ships could not pass further because of the rapids of the Volchow; therefore the merchants had to send for the flat-bottomed Russian boats called *lodies*. The rowers of these boats formed, according to mediæval custom, a guild of their own, with an alderman at their head, and were by the Hanseatic merchants called *vorschkerle*, that is *forskarlar*, "the waterfall-men." Several places on the way up from Old Ladoga to Novgorod had also got Scandinavian names, such

as *Gestevelt* (from Old Norse *gestr*), "field of the guests," and *Dhrelleborch* (i.e., *Prælaborg*, "the fortress of the serfs.")¹

This only too brief survey will, I hope, show you that it is not the Germans, but Scandinavian people, who opened up the traffic on the Baltic and between Eastern and Western Europe. For seafaring and traffic on the North Sea the old Norsemen have probably not done less. There were, you know, Viking settlements not only in Normandy, but also in the Low Countries. The flourishing ages of Rouen date from the reign of Rollo, who made Rouen into one of the chief marts of France. Fréville, one of the modern historians of Rouen, says that the Normans who settled in France, not only revived, but—one feels inclined to say—even created the great sea-traffic between Rouen and the northern countries. The Normans also taught the Frenchmen whale-fishing. There were in Normandy large companies of whale-fishers called by the Scandinavian name *Walmanni*; and whale-meat soon became one of the principal articles of export from Rouen to England. Several Scandinavian words in the French language still show what the Normans have done for developing the

¹ It is well known that the rapids in the Dnieper—on the chief route from Novgorod to the Black Sea—also had Scandinavian names. About a year ago a Runic inscription was found on an island in the Black Sea, not far from the mouth of the Dnieper. The inscription itself is not very interesting; the stone was probably erected by a Swedish merchant to his kinsmen. But the name of the island is curious; it is called Berkowetz (the Birken Island), and corresponds to old Norse *Bjarkey*, the name of several ancient trading centres in the Scandinavian countries, Björkö in Ingermannland, on the way to the mouth of the Næva and to Nowgorod, Björkö in Mälaren, Birkö at the mouth of Torneå (an ancient centre of trade in Swedish Lapland), Bjarkey in Háalogaland, etc. From the Swedish Björkö the Municipal and Commercial Laws in the Scandinavian countries were called *Bjarkeyarréttir*. That the name of the Russian island is connected with *Bjarkey* becomes still more probable from the fact that the birch does not seem to grow as far south as the Black Sea, as Dr. Wille, of the University of Christiania, kindly informs me.

shipping of northern France—words like *hunne* (Old Norse *húnn* “top of the mast”), *esnèque* (O.N. *snekkja*, “a small boat”), *matelot* (O.N. *motunautr*, “a sailor”), and *esturman* (O.N. *stýrimaðr*, “a mate.”)

Even in the Low Countries, whose inhabitants have always been great seafarers since the days of old, ancient records present traces of influence from the Norsemen upon the shipping of these countries. The word “hunn” (*hunsþaen*) occurs also in old Dutch records,¹ and in a charter from the 14th century for the Germans who sailed to Dortrecht, you will find the word *leidzagegelt* “pilotage” (c.f. Ó.N. *leiðsögumaðr*, “a pilot.”)

It is also from the Danes and Norwegians who, during the Viking Ages, settled in England, that the greatest seafaring nation of the world has learned seamanship. If you sail along the coasts of Great Britain, you will find on the southern, as well as on the eastern and western coasts, Scandinavian place-names. At the mouth of the Thames, Sheppey, Sheerness, and Shoeburyness, are probably Scandinavian names; Southwark is, you know, supposed to be the Old Norse *Suðrvirki*, and the “husting” in the City is a Danish institution dating from the time of King Knut. Further north, on the northern side of the Wash, you have a promontory called Skegness, and at the mouth of the Humber you have on the southern side Grimsby, founded by a Viking called Grim, and the home of Havelok the Dane. Just opposite Grimsby, there was a town called Ravensere (that is to say, Old Norse, *Hrafuseyrr*). Further north you will find along the sea coast Whitby and several other Scandinavian names.

Still more noteworthy are perhaps the names along the coast of Wales and the Bristol Channel, from Chester to Bristol. The interesting researches of Mr.

¹ Kameraars rekeningen van Devenke.

Moffat¹ have proved that there were in southern Wales Norse—(probably Norwegian)—settlements in the neighbourhood of Tenby and of Swansea, as well as in other places. These settlements must have existed even after the Viking Ages, and their inhabitants must have been mostly merchants. When the English had conquered Dublin, this town got a partly new population, mostly consisting of men from Haverford, Milford, Swansea, Bristol, and other neighbouring places, and a great part of these new settlers have got distinctly Scandinavian names. It is also a curious fact that the reigning family of Waterford, one of the Norse settlements in Ireland before the English Conquest, the MacGillemorries, are said to have come from Devonshire. The MacGillemorries were, however, in spite of the Celtic name, neither Irish nor English, but came from a distinctly Scandinavian stock.²

When we keep this in mind, it is no wonder that the place-names teach us that it was people of Danish and of Norwegian origin who, during the Early Middle Ages, carried on most of the sea-traffic between Chester and Bristol. At the mouth of the Mersey you find the Point of Air (from Old Norse *eyrr*, a flat, sandy promontory), the same place-name which you have got in the Isle of Man. Then you pass Great Orme's Head (O.N. *Ormshöfud*), come to the island of Anglesey (the *Öngulsey* of the Vikings), and pass the Skerries, Main Piscar Rock (from O.N. *fiskarr*, "a fisher-

¹ See his paper on "Norse Place-names in Gower (Glamorganshire)," SAGA-BOOK, Vol. II., pp. 95-117.

² The Rev. C. W. Whistler has also shown strong reasons for believing that there were settlements of Scandinavians in heathen times on the south shore of the Bristol Channel, near the mouth of the River Parrett; see his paper on "Tradition and Folk-lore of the Quantocks," SAGA-BOOK, Vol. v., pp. 142-150, and District Reports, *ib.* Vol. ii., pp. 42 and 151. It is not impossible that at one time the boundary of Devon may have extended as far as to the River Parrett, while Norse settlements probably existed further west on the coasts of both Devon and Cornwall, though the evidence for them has not been examined as yet with the care which the subject deserves.—A. F. MAJOR.

man"), and several other small islands. Off the north-western promontory of Wales you will pass the small island of Bardsey (O.N. Barðsey), and not far from St. David's Head you will see another small island, Ramsey (Hrafsey).

I wonder if it was by accident merely that the first English ships which—at the beginning of the 15th century—went to the Iceland fisheries, came from Bristol and Grimsby, and that these two towns in the Middle Ages had the most daring seafarers of the British Islands.

What we know of the private life of the Norsemen in their settlements in this island is not much, not as much, by far, as we know about the Norsemen in Ireland. But still we know enough to see that they have been an important factor in the development, not only of seafaring, but also of commercial, and even of town life in England. It is rather strange that the Norsemen, who, in their own home, had almost no towns, in England lived principally in fortified towns. The five Danish burghs is the first federation of boroughs known in this island, and in fact the earliest federation of towns known outside Italy. We do not know much about the municipal constitution of the Five Burghs, *i.e.*, Lincoln, Stamford, Nottingham, Derby, and Leicester. We only know that they were associated in some way, that they had their common court, or "thing" as we call it, and that each town besides had its own court. But we know that municipal freedom was more developed here than in other Anglo-Saxon towns. The Five Burghs, as well as other Norse towns, were in the time of William the Conqueror, the only English towns which had their own local magistrates. You meet them in Domesday Book, where they are called *Lawmen* (*lagmanni*) or *iudices*. They are always twelve in number, and preside in the local courts. Their name, lawman, corresponds to the Norse *lǫgmaðr*, "a man who knows the law." But their

position corresponds more closely to that of the *logrétlismenn*, *i.e.*, the members of the *logrétta*, that is to say, the inner circle of Scandinavian courts, consisting of twelve men, where all lawsuits were prepared and before whom all actions were brought. In the course of time the lawmen developed into local magistrates, in the same way as the German "Schöffen" and the French "échévins," who, as local magistrates, have developed from the *scabini*, who at the time of Charlemagne, were members of the Frankish courts. After the time of William the Conqueror, we do not hear much about the lawmen; but we know that at the time of Edward the First they still existed in Stamford.

Still more interesting is perhaps the influence of the Norsemen upon another very important part of Early English social life—the Guilds. In no European country have the Guilds found a wider extension than in Anglo-Saxon England. We already find them in existence at the time of Alfred the Great. They formed, so to say, the nucleus of municipal freedom. Every Anglo-Saxon, clergyman as well as layman, nobleman as well as peasant and townsman, was member of a guild. There were both religious guilds or fraternities, social guilds, frith guilds, guilds of townsmen, and probably also (in the 11th century at least) merchants' guilds. The Danes and Norwegians who settled in England at an early date also united in guilds. We know that King Knut and his son Harold were members of a religious guild connected with the Church of Canterbury. And one of the few Anglo-Saxon guilds, whose statutes are preserved, that of Abbotsbury in Dorsetshire, was founded by a Dane named Orky or Urki, one of King Knut's men. A place in Yorkshire is at the present day called Millhousdale, which is a corrupted form of Gildhusdal,¹ *i.e.*, the valley of the guildhouse or guildhall. The name by which the same place is called in Domesday

¹ Cf. "Kirkby's Inquest," Surtee's Soc. Publ.

Book, "Gildhusdal," is, however, not Anglo-Saxon, but Old Norse. We may conclude from this that Millhousdale in olden times was the site of a guildhall, where the Norse settlers of this district gathered and held their meetings.

The Norsemen who settled in England not only learned from the English to unite into guilds, they also transferred this institution from England to their own countries. The Norwegian and the Danish guilds (the Swedish ones we know very little about) do not trace their origin back to the Viking Age or to institutions originally Scandinavian or heathen. The Sagas clearly indicate that it was the Norwegian king, Olav Kyrre, who, in the latter part of the 11th century, founded the first Norwegian guilds. The Danish guilds date from about the same time. But there is such a great resemblance between the Norwegian and the Danish guilds on one side and the Anglo-Saxon guilds on the other, that we may certainly conclude that the guild institution has been transferred to the Scandinavian countries from England. This is a well-known fact. The great authority upon the guild question, the German, Karl Hegel, is of the same opinion. He thinks that the guilds were transferred to Denmark at the time of King Knut, who himself was a guild brother.

At the same time the Danish and Norwegian guilds naturally got their peculiar character, and adopted several institutions of Scandinavian origin. The revenge for bloodshed formed, as you know, an important factor of old Northern life. And in consequence the duty of the members of a guild to avenge their brothers was accentuated. When a Norwegian chieftain, in olden times, died, his son gave a great festival, to which all the members of his family and his neighbours were invited, and at which he was recognised as the successor of his father. This institution, the funeral feast, or "Arveöl," as we called it,

was also adopted by the Norwegian guilds. When a member of a Norwegian guild died, his son and the guild joined in giving the funeral festival and in defraying the expenses. And during this festival the son took the seat of his father as member of the guild.

But is it not curious that we find these same institutions in an Anglo-Saxon guild of the 12th century, that of the Thaness of Cambridge? Cambridge belonged once to the Dane-law, and that is no doubt the reason why we find in the statutes of the above-mentioned guild traces of Norse influence. If a member of the guild was killed, it was the duty of his guild brothers to avenge his death. This is in fact the only Anglo-Saxon guild where we find traces of the revenge for bloodshed. Another passage in the statutes of the Cambridge guild still more clearly presents traces of Scandinavian influence. If a brother dies, then the statutes say: "*And se gyldscipe hyrfe be healfre feorme þone forðferefan.*" Kemble, in his "Saxons in England," translates this: "And let the gildship inherit of the dead half a farm." But this translation gives no meaning. *Hyrfe* cannot here have its usual meaning, "to inherit," but must be the Old Norse *erfa*, which also means "to give a funeral festival." I therefore translate the passage: "And that the guild defray half the expenses of the funeral festival after the dead." In other words, the Cambridge guild has adopted an originally Scandinavian institution, which also forms an important feature of the Old Norwegian guilds.

And this is not the only instance of Danish or Norwegian influence. In "Liber Wintoniensis" (a sequel to the Domesday Book), a guildhall at Winchester bears the name "*hantachen-sele.*" Gross, in his standard work, "The Gild Merchant," says that this looks like a corruption of "hansele" (German "hansa-saal"). But he is not right. "Hantachen-sele" is an Old Norse word; the first part of it is the Old Norse

handartak (shake of the hand). It was from the very beginning of the guilds, a custom that new guild-brothers, when entering the fraternity, shook hands and promised to obey the statutes of the guild.

But the country where we most clearly see the influence of the Norsemen upon trade, shipping, and town-life, is Ireland. Ireland had before the arrival of the Vikings no real towns. All the more important Irish seaports—Dublin, Waterford, Wexford, Cork, and Limerick, were founded during the 9th and 10th centuries by the Norwegian (and partly Danish) settlers. In these towns the Norse language was still spoken in the 13th century, and the descendants of the Vikings (*Austmenn-Ostmanni*, as they were called) formed even later a distinct nationality. They lived mostly as traders and seafarers, and helped greatly to bring Ireland into closer connection with foreign countries. You may see their importance for Ireland from the fact that mediæval historians tell that the Ostmen who came from Norway got permission from Irish kings to settle in Ireland, in order to bring the Irish the foreign commodities which they wanted. The commerce that these Norse settlers carried on during the 10th and 11th centuries was indeed very important. They followed the old Irish trade route to the mouths of the Loire and the Gironde. They pursued a most lively traffic with Bristol and Chester. They sailed to Iceland and to Norway. We find them even trading in distant Novgorod.

But the Viking Ages ended. Norwegians, Danes, and Swedes became Christians. The Danish sway in England came to an end. The Scandinavian peoples were superseded as masters of the North Sea and the Baltic by English, Dutch, and Germans. The foundation of German towns on the southern coast of the Baltic Sea, and the foundation of the Hanseatic League, was a death-blow to the commerce and shipping that had been carried on since the Viking Ages.

Privately Printed Works of the Club.

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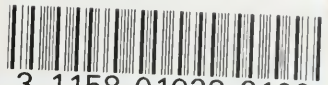
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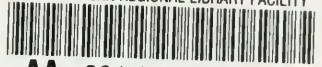
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