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Historical Ethics and the Cult of Olav den Hellige in Norway

Early medieval Norwegian Viking leader Olav Haraldsson is now more commonly known as *Olav den Hellige* (St. Olav). The historical evidence as to his political and religious activities is scarce but is often at odds with the modern interpretation of his life which is held as sacrosanct in Norway and especially in Trondheim where his body is said to be buried. While there may be a number of reasons for this, this article asks what the advantage is in perpetuating a myth that resonated with a largely homogenous population when Norway has sinced undergone significant political and demographical change? What opportunities are missed in a post-modern society when one ignores the ethical delimmas posed by a flattering, but largely untrue, interpretation of his life.

In the darkness, Kolyan walked across the room and
back several times, then sat down again.
"That's weird," he said. "Now they fit..."
"The uniform and the boots represent the past, and
the past changes its shape and size to fit whoever tries it on."

Andrey Kurkov[1]

Introduction

Illusion and religion are sometimes helpmates and this is nowhere more apparent than in the legend of *Olav den Hellige* (St. Olav); this is especially evident at the cathedral and town where his remains are said to

be buried. Parts of Nidaros Cathedral in Trondheim, Norway are indeed medieval and today it is a busy urban tourist attraction as well as a house of worship. However, what physically remained of it in the mid-1800s underwent a thorough refurbishing as part of the national romantic period of Norway before Norway became a modern nation state in 1906. All of the 67 statues of saints and biblical characters on the West Portal were, in fact, created in the 20th century. There is nothing much medieval about this focal point, nor of a majority of the architecture of the cathedralitself. Trondheim's sense of identity is rooted in medieval times and, accordingly, the cathedral'sappearanceconforms to that and reinforces it.

A short walk away from the Cathedral in the town square, one can find a statue of the early medieval Viking King, Olav Tryggvasson. He stands atop an 18 meter high plinth and he holds in his left hand an orb with a cross on the top and in his right hand he holds a sword in a lowered position.[2] At his feet is the head of dead enemy, possibly a beheaded polytheist or pagan. There is much about the legend of Olav Tryggvasson which is illusory, just like the West Portal of Nidaros Cathedral. We do know that he ruled the lands of what is now Norway for only five years, from about 995 to 1000 C.E. He underwent a Christian baptism in England in 995 C.E. about the same time that the other Olav – St. Olav (Olav Haraldsson) – was born.This "Olav" is also the subject of a mixture of fact and legend, and generates thesocial and religious capital it still garners and that can be converted in to revenue.

Part One of this article examines the history and context in which the cult of Olavbegan and the way in which itwas originally used in the state-building process. It also examines how history has been contorted to fit a particular version of who Olav was and how he lived in the world. Part Two examines this more modern uses of the Olav cult, one of which is creating and supporting both a national and a local industry through embedding him in religion, culture and cultural religion. Finally, I look at how the legend of Olav as presented today can be ethically assessed. The Olav story would present opportunities for engagement with the demographically different audience of today if the legend's critics would betaken more seriously. In this article, I argue that the function of the Olav myth has changed over time. Originally, at a time when every Christian country was expected to have a national saint as a badge of its legitimate Christian status, the Olav myth served to validate Norway's status as a Christian country. Today, the Olav myth serves, rather, as a vehicle for reflection on the country's past

and present.

PART ONE

St. Olav and his "clique of poets, god-children and gangsters"

After undergoing his own Christian baptism around 1015 in France, Olav Haraldsson reigned as King of Norway from 1015 – 1028. He died of wounds sustained at the Battle of Sticklestad on 29 July 1030.[3]Of course, both Tryggvasson and Haraldssonhave statues set in the west portal of the Nidaros Cathedral. As alreadymentioned, there is a statue of Tryggvassonatop a high column, standing in the townsquare. He has a sword held by both hands in a lowered position across his legs.Between his feet, there lies, once more, a severed head. Haroldsson's statue is similar; he has an elongated axe in his right hand, reaching from foot to neck level, and an orb with a cross on the top in his left hand. At the bottom of the statue, he is shown trampling a small dragon, said to be an artistic reference to his days as a pagan.[4]

Today, Tryggvasson is acknowledged as a King who sought to build national unity and as the founder of Trondheim. He was also a "missionary King."[5] Both he and Haraldsson routinely made excursions to bring Christianity to various parts of what is now Norway, including the Trondheim area. Tryggvasson even sent a Saxon priest in his retinue, Tangbrand, to Iceland to Christianize that small island.[6] But it is the other Olav – Haroldsson – who is today recognized as the bringer of Christianity to Norway. He is also recognized as a Christian "saint" and has even been given the title "*Rex Perpetuus Norvegiae*" (Norway's eternal King).[7]

Barely a year after his death, a local canonization in the Nidaros cathedral was carried out by one Bishop Grimkell which was repeated later in 1164 by Pope Alexander III.[8] I use this brief contrast here of these two early Kings and their abbreviated life stories merely to note that Olav Haraldsson was not the only bringer of Christianity to Norway during this period. This was an elongated process which involved numerous people at numerous times and places, all seeking to christianize Scandinavia. The point is that but for Olav Harraldsson's alleged martyrdom at the Battle of Stiklestad, Olav Tryggvasson could just as easily have been Norway's "eternal King".

But St. Olav's legend continues. After the passage of more than one thousand years, should not the politics of a nation's memory of that past time have faded into an anachronism, a polite non-issue, a type of fairytale? Can what a population now thinks it sees through the murky fog of time reflect the

truth in any sense of that word? To be sure, Olav's death on the battlefield of Stiklestad, Norway in 1030 is very much alive and remembered and even reenacted every year as a commemoration of what occurred 984 years ago in the eleventh century.[9] "*Spelet om Heilig Olav*" (literally, "A Play about St. Olav") is described in web advertising as the "core" of Olsokdagene, a yearly festival held at the end of July, and as having a "magical hold" on people since the Stiklestad venue opened in 1954.[10]

The events concerning the Battle of Stiklestad are described in *Heimskringla* by the Icelandic writer SnorriSturluson, written two hundred years after the battle itself.[11] The passage of time and Sturluson's penchant for creating larger than life characters always need to be taken into account when remembering this battle.[12] But what modern historians can say with some certainty is that after returning from a Viking tour in 1016, Olav Haraldsson was elected the King of Norway, as a descendant of Harald Hårfagre (r. 872 - 920). Some are of the opinion that part of the motivation for this was that Haraldsson stood in opposition to the Danish in general. Ultimately, however, after the intervening reigns of nine Norwegian monarchs – among them, Erik Bloodaxe (reigned 931-933), Haakon I the Good (reigned 934-961), Harald Bluetooth (reigned 970-986), and Sweyn Forkbeard (two non-consecutive reigns, 986-995 and 1000-1014) – Norway came under the scepter of King Knut the Great in 1028. Knut, known in England as Canute, had reigned as King of England since 1016 and as King of Denmark since 1018; he died in 1035.[13] Knut had concluded agreements with various rulers in middle Norway during Olav's earlier travels outside Norway prior to 1015. These included treaties with the Earls of Lade, situated in what is today Sør-Trøndelag and whom Olav defeated in a battle in 1016 after his election.

Yet, there are other opinions. Inge Skovgaard-Petersen points out that there is "some scaldic and saga information suggesting that Olav[14] had reached an understanding with Knut that allowed him [Olav] to seek power in Norway."[15] When Olav began his rule in Norway, the Earls of Lade, Earl Eirik Håkonsson and Earl Håkon Håkonsson, who were also connected to Knut, did not oppose Olav.[16] This lends credibility to the idea that it was only after the farmers in Sør-Trøndelag had a taste of Olav's administrative techniques, did they become ready to oppose him at Stiklestad. Claus Krag writes that the resistance against Olav in SørTrøndelag at this time was "universal."[17] We also know that the *Frostathing* law included a provision on land confiscations by the king and also provided for the right of resistance

against injustice. Olav's policies could have "brought him into conflict with popular feeling and a traditional sense of justice" in his quest to create a more "European type of kingdom" in Trøndelag.[18]

We often forget that as a Viking warlord, Olav was very mobile. His earlier travels included a winning strategy of arriving at the gates of a city, usually built on a river, island or coastline, and issuing an ultimatum – pay or be raided. There is some evidence he used this tactic with London in 1013 or 1014.

Baptism was often used as a way of cementing non-familial kinship relationships and in 1014 Haraldssonspent the winter in present-day France with duke Richard II of Normandy who was already a Christian. Olav was baptized in 1015 by Archbishop Robert of Rouen, andthen returned to Norway with English priests in tow.[19] This group included one English priest Grimkell (Grimketel/Grimcytel), who carried out the local canonization of Olav one year after his battlefield death. It was Grimkell who became Olav's propagandist, going on to "harmonize", or essentially equateStiklestad with the Crucifixion of Christ.[20]

Olav's maneuvers were usually motivated with an eye to where his main rival, the Danish King,currently was and with what strategies Knut himself was using. But Olav may have miscalculated in that his military activities between 1015 and 1028 were centered in the southern part of Norway and Sweden, neglecting middle Norway generally and Sør-Trøndelag specifically. Thus, in 1028, Knut again made overtures to the Lade Earls and Olav was exiled, disappearing into Novgorod, then the capital city of the Rus (Russian) people who inhabited a region from the Baltic to the Urals at that time.

However, fate intervened and after Knut's Norwegian ruler, Jarl (the equivalent of the English *Earl*) Håkon Eiriksson, was lost at sea when returning from England; this created a "power vacuum" in Sør Trøndelag.[21] Olav was determined to reassert his authority and he persuaded Russian and Swedish men to join his small Norwegian army and engaged local Norwegian "malcontents", mostly farmers, at the Battle of Stiklestad in late summer, 1030 where he was killed.[22]

With regard to Olav's temperament, it is an understatement to say that Olav's reputation, when alive, was "uneven".[23] He was, first and foremost, a product of Viking culture, however sincere his battlefield conversion, or "political" baptism may – or may not – have been.[24] Again, we are at the mercy of the murky fog of history. He is described as "opportunistic"[25] and inclined to violence and brutality.[26] As Lutheran priest and academic Gyrid Gunnes

has written: "We have no reason to be proud of St. Olav. He was a man who used the sword to bring Christianity with violence as a part of a (larger) military, political project. This is not something we need to celebrate".[27]

Indeed, the author Eric Christiansen writes that, before his death, Olav had

> terrorized and badgered his subjects, until they drove him out; not because he was a zealous Christian, but because he was a tyrant, impatient of other chiefs within Norway, and unable to expand his own clientage widely enough to support government over the territories.[28]

At this point in 1028, he needed to flee Norway with his "clique of poets, god-children, and gangsters" only to return two years later in 1030 to his death.[29]

After Olav's death, his cult began "as the project of an English Bishop".[30] This Bishop Grimkell had experience with the royal martyrs in his own country and the possibilities that devotion to them had set in motion. No doubt some of those possibilities were financial. Haraldsson's commemoration went through the "normal channels" after his local canonization with a liturgy that was "drawn wholly from stereotypes."[31]

One Sigvatr from Haraldsson's retinue had begun early and often to proclaim that Olav had been a "great and glorious ruler" but it was only after his body "took on a life of its own" that the "miracle stories began to accumulate."[32] In a poem called *Sea-Calm Lay* (Glælognsvida), written by Thórarinn in the early 1030s we read:

> Thus the glorious prince lies there, pure, with his body intact. And there on him as on a living man his hair and nails increase. There do bells ring of themselves over his wooden-walled bed. And every day do the people hear clangour of bells above king-man.[33]

Thórarinn's poem combines Christian ideas that a pagan audience would understand. At the time of Olav's death, there was no separation between the "miraculous world to which the Christian rites gave access" and the "world they lived in" because the two worlds "interpenetrated" each other. [34]

Historians remind us that the miracles attributed to Olav were first recorded in the thirteenth century, by the Saga-author and priest Snorre Sturlason, and may only be "the echo of a theme in hagiography."[35] In fact, Olav's story combines many elements of medieval hagiography. One such element is the use of dreams. Olav is said to have at least two significant dreams, the first in which he is told which way to travel and the second in

which he dreams of his own death and entry into heaven via a ladder. As "Christianity slowly infiltrated the cultures of northern Europe" the job of literate clerics, such as Grimkell, was to create boundaries for pre-Christians dreams and dreaming. Even if Grimkell's function was different from the writer, Sturlason, these two lend credibility to the observation that dreams lead to the "otherworld".[36]

What was taken for theology in Norway in the eleventh century combined elements of both the pagan and Christian worlds and Olav became the perfect "intermediary between the new god and the realities of the Nordic world" – hagiography in a world of violence, treachery, murder and political intrigue. It was also a world that included the use of plunder as gifts, feasting and Christian Baptism to create kinship – all used as the cement of community and nation-building. The combination of religion and myth was an intoxicating mixture and produced "dynastic legitimacy" tied to institutional power.[37]

Olav's Political/Religious Strategy

Contact with mainland Europe, Britain, as well as all points east was frequent before and during the reign of Olav. Two observations flow from this fact. As opposed to the "one fell swoop" notion perpetrated by the Olav cult, the Christianization of Norway was an extended process, taking place over time, as noted above. Based on knowledge of the Icelandic *Landnámabók*, written at the end of the 1100s, Elise Mundal writes that the Christianization process "must have taken place over a long period of time."[38] There were Christians in Iceland "long before" the year 1000.[39] In the early 900s, Norwegian King Harald Hårfagre delivered his son, Håkon, to the court of King Æthelstan in England. This was done for "political or diplomatic, not religious reasons."[40] Håkon eventually returned to Norway to become King and there is "some truth" that he also invited English Christian missionaries to Norway afterwards.[41] In fact, Christian missionaries had been "tolerated" in Norway from the ninth century and probably much earlier.[42]

The idea of a Holy Roman Emperor was also well established in continental Europe by the eleventh century. However, a sacral kingship in the pagan-Christian environment of the eleventh century was "impractical", mostly due to the constant shifting geography of any specific kingdom and because of the "multifocal and diverse character of Nordic religions."[43] Despite the fact that many societies had previously considered their royalty sacred, the Kings in the North "hedged their kingship with divinity as well

as they could."[44] But, at the end of the eleventh century, King Sweyn II of Denmark sent his son to Rome for "some sort" of papal blessing, whether in the mode of Charlemagne or not we have no idea.[45] Also, at that time a sort of "synthesis" around the "divinity and kingship" of Olav and his grave had developed in Trondheim[46] and the cult of St. Olav as a martyr had begun to blossom. Christiansen writes that a "sacral kingship had a great future in these regions; [but] not much of a past".[47]

The idea of Kings as divinely sanctioned, perhaps even divine themselves, was yet another idea that Olav had encountered while traveling outside mostly-pagan Norway. Historian Anders Winroth, a professor at Yale University, writes that just as Viking chieftains "sought out prestigious trade goods" they also "pursued prestigious ideology" and "no ideology was more prestigious than the Christian religion".[48] Chieftains used Christian practices, particularly baptism, to build community because Christianity, with its prestigious associations, worked better than other religions.[49]

Contesting this prestige meant failure. Further south, the power of Christianity was absolute – or nearly so – and if contested, as it was in 1077, 47 years after Olav's death, only resulted in the penitent King Henry IV standing barefoot in the snow before the Pope's residence in Canossa Italy during the so-called investiture controversy.

Previously, what passed for an aristocratic court would be included in the retinue (or "*hird*") as would the better warriors of the clan be called. Missionaries and the "Christianizing efforts of the missionary kings and the building up of church organization changed the character of the *hird*."[50] Bishops were included as "influential advisers in the inner circle surrounding the king."[51] And, "at a lower level, a clerical element made itself useful in the hird, taking care of religious services and dealing with administrative tasks requiring literacy."[52] Clergy were in fact, "the only literate royal agents in Scandinavia, in close contact with other countries and familiar with their more advanced systems of government".[53]

Thus, Nidaros Cathedral became the administrative capital for the Catholic Church in Norway before the Reformation and for the Lutheran Church afterward; the cult of Olav is as much tied to that administrative location, efficiency and power today as it was in 1030. And it was in Trondheim that Olav set about to practice what he had learned about wielding power through his various tours to the south. The composition of his *hird* had changed and while his motivation to gain power had not changed, he had learned more strategies to achieve that end.

PART TWO

Norway's Early Modern History: How Did Olav Become So Important? (1814 – 1906)

The concepts of nation, ethnicity, culture and tradition are often used to explain phenomena such as Olav. Social scientists have often talked about these ideas as static and bounded by time and location, but more often today scientists are more likely to find cultures and social groups "conceptualized in terms of ongoing processes of 'construction' and 'negotiation.'"[54]

One major construction "site" for the idea of Olav came after the signing of the Kiel treaty on 14 January 1814. Frederick VI woke up one morning in Denmark to the find he was no longer King of Denmark *and* Norway and was obliged, by virtue of Denmark's unsuccessful alliances in the Napoleonic Wars, to surrender Norway to Sweden. Norway was furious. In short form, the Danish governor of Norway during the wars, Christian Frederick, was made King and a Constitution was drafted and adopted at Eidsvoll.[55] Norway proclaimed itself an independent nation.[56] In a somewhat counter-intuitive method, it is thought that this national identity emerged – or an existing community was strengthened – producing a nation state with a Constitution which then brought about a "national awakening" rather than having an awakening first which then helped in construction of a 20th century nation state. As Jens Arup Seip observed, the nation state of Norway was a reaction to events in the south. But this was only a part of the entire picture of the work that had been done previously according to ØysteinSørensen. Folk culture, an intelligentsia bent on nation-building, and the construction of an artificial, standardized language in a land of dialects – *nynorsk* (new Norwegian) – coalesced around the events of 14 May 1814 to produce the Eidsvoll Constitution.[57]

A space with a "medium" amount of "social change" was needed for the growth of nationalism.[58] Stein Rokkan saw the same set of facts and theorized nationalism as the "mobilization of the periphery", as a gulf between the center and the periphery or "culture" and "counterculture".[59]

> The growth of the nation-state confronted the national majority with the subnational minorities, and the church with the power of the state: the industrial breakthrough shaped the incongruity between workers and employers and between primary and secondary trade.[60]

Romantic nationalism needed a national epic. A legendary poem was needed that reflected national origins, whether it was Beowulf in England

or the Sagas in Norway. Poetry was pressed into the service of national identity during the national romantic period.[61]

The "wild experimentation" represented by "forest cathedrals", "proud free peasants" and "sacred mountains" was then abandoned and the "realist-classical" approach was soon accepted. In 1948, when writing about this period, one historian wrote that it was "not necessary to make reason respectable by anchoring the belief in reason in a speculative metaphysical system….Norwegians were more than reasonable". Thus was born the rationalist peasant. In Telemark, Jacob Aall, noted that the *bønder* (peasant) and his knowledge of the sagas "prepared the ground for rationalist theology."[62] Wergeland himself downplayed the Middle Ages and "intoxication with the darkness of a barbarian past".[63] P.A. Munch and Collet followed suit toward a modernist future based on evolution and the shaping of one's own history. So what went wrong?

The Eidsvoll Constitution of 1814 had also made the Lutheran Evangelical Church the religion of the state. In the era of Romanticism, legislation was passed allowing freedom of religion, "the result of an interaction between liberalism and revivalism."[64] But it was also during this time that the Lutheran Church came to be seen as a "state church": this means that the state governs the church and the Church of Norway had a privileged position".[65] But the idea of a national Church was not found in the tradition of Norway. Thus, two individuals took up the issue: the Danish pastor, poet, historian, and politician N. F. S. Grundtvig (1783-1872) representing the idea of a liberal and national Church and the Norwegian theologian Gisle Johnson (1822-1894) representing the "political conservatism and traditional Lutheran loyalty to the authorities' position".[66] By 1883, a very strained situation had developed the pressure was relieved only in 1884 with the toppling of a conservative government and victory for the liberal agenda. The Church went into "withdrawal" since 450 churchmen, including all the bishops, had backed the Johnsonian formula.[67]

Throughout the 1800s, Protestant religion in Norway negotiated modernity and played an important but convoluted role representing *both* "continuity and modernity".[68] Thorkildsen writes that three forms of revivalism grew – religious, national and social. Religious revivalism stood against pre-modern society but this radicalism was soon eliminated. The state Church on the other hand, stood for continuity with the pre-modern melding of religion and state. Rather than separate Church and state, the Church became a "folk Church". National revivalism brought the idea of a

national destiny and social revivalism brought about class consciousness. Because the country was racially homogenous, the one specific venue for conflict was between classes. Because everyone was so similar, the idea of tolerance developed in a vacuum, reduced to "tension between reason and irrationality".[69]

Today, racial homogeneity in Norway is reduced and tolerance for immigration and ethnic minorities has also been reduced, following a general trend in Europe.[70] The traditional tolerance which began in a society where everyone looked physically similar and in which the Olav legend resonated clearly is no longer total. Yet, the Olav legend continues unabated, ringing the same bell that many in the population cannot hear.

PART THREE

Nowadays we need something besides pious images.
When commemoration freezes into permanent forms
that cannot be changed without cries of sacrilege,
we can be certain that it serves the particular interests
of its defenders and not their moral edification.
- TzvetanTodorov[71]

National myths are important for, among other things, political cohesion. Cohesion depends on identity, and identity implicates not only Norwegians but how non-Norwegians and non-Christians feel included in the society. I argue here, using Tzvetan Todorov's ideas, that Norway and its "folk-church" in the current post-modern era are no longer in need of an eleventh century "saint" of dubious sanctity for validation of local or national identity. They are, in fact, probably better placed without continuing to sanctify what was inherently evil – then and especially now. Today, forced conversions to any religion are not acceptable and all beheadings for failure to convert are all equally unacceptable.

Todorov uses principles of moral justice to answer this question. In any given (historical) act we can see ourselves as "benefactor or the beneficiary of the act" or as an "evildoer or his victims".[72] The terms "benefactor" and "evildoer" are value-laden while "beneficiary" and "victim" are passive. In Todorov's calculus, this makes the second set more "favorable to the *I*". It is by doing this, that we can access the moral decision. By putting the "happiness of others and my own perfection above personal interest, one can

engage in a moral act. Todorov goes as far as to "guarantee"[73] this process as bringing "moral perfection": this is logical since being the "benefactor" or the "victim" does not help any person – or nation – realize its "weaknesses or follies".[74]

However, there is a danger in preferring the "*you* to the *I*". The event that is chosen to be remembered, "exclusive of any connections, can then serve to reinforce the identity of the individual or group that claims it".[75] But this does not increase "their moral virtue, for this would demand, as a prerequisite, openness towards others".[76]

> To put it another way, in place of contiguous associations, a characteristic of sacralization that encloses the vent within its identity and its literalness, associations by likeness can be arrived at by way of analogy. This allows an event to be read in the light of another one[…] The literal preserves, but finding a pattern liberates. The literal use, which ultimately renders the earlier event impossible to dispense with, in the long run makes the present a slave to the past. The pattern […] allows the past to be used with the present in mind and serves as an example of experienced injustices that may help to combat those taking place today, a way of abandoning the self in learning to reach out to others.[77]

So it is not only monuments but values that should be sacralized, according to Todorov. Gunnes brings Todorov's theory alive and post-modern when saying that the Olav myth

> can cause us to stay in the idea that the Norwegian society is homogeneous and Christian. In order to change this we must challenge our foundational stories. Not to see this as problematic is to build a festival around a warrior King and is symptomatic of a failure to realize how connected national formation and Christianity was and used (to promote) an exclusive, privileged and majority religion.[78]

Just as none of the stone statues of the saints, prophets or virtues that adorn the west portal of Nidaros Cathedral are medieval, so also was Olav Haraldsson not a holy man. His connection with Trondheim is largely due to the convenience of his death. If the Norwegian Lutheran Church preferred the "*you* to the *I*," of Todorov, a different memory might surface, one that back-rounded Olav and perhaps focused on his victims; one that illustrated a pattern that could be used to fore-ground the xenophobia and racism in Norway today.[79] For some, it might be a stretch to mention Olav's victims as a bridge to discussion about current problems. But, as I have shown, Olav

is no saint and never was. His use today offers little by way of change and too much by way of continuity.

All nations use commemorations to recall and preserve the memory of important figures, events, moments in history, and both victories and defeats. Art can also serve this function. By making the past vivid, if only in a symbolic and simplified way, commemorations, like art, contribute to the symbolic power of the state. Interpretations of the past change over time and usually do so when the accumulation of new experiences results in shifts in the perspectives and needs of society and/or the state.

Noten

1. Andrey Kurkov, *The Gardener from Ochakov*, translated from Russian by Amanda Love Darragh (London: Vintage, 2014), 309.
2. Please see https://snl.no/Trondheim_torv, last accessed 13 January 2015.
3. Please see https://snl.no/Olav_den_hellige, last accessed 13 January 2015.
4. ØysteinEkroll, *Nidaros Cathedral: The West Front Sculptures*, trans. Chris McLees (Trondheim: Nidarosdomkirkesrestaureringforlag, 2006). Haraldsson also has a statue at the north side of the cathedral.
5. Please see: SverreBagge, "The Making of a Missionary King: The Medieval Accounts of Olaf Tryggvasson and the Conversion of Norway," *The Journal of English and Germanic Philology*, Vol. 105, No. 4 (2006), 473–513.
6. Please see, https://nbl.snl.no/Tangbrand, last accessed 15 February 2015.
7. Please see, http://www.trondheim.no/content/1117700448/The-Saint-King, last accessed 10 February 2015.
8. Andreas Osiander, *Before the State: Systemic Political Change in the West from the Greeks to the French* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), 374. Other kings who were canonized from about 650 – 1297 include St. Stephen of Hungary, English kings Edwin, Oswald, Oswin, Edmund, Edward the Martyr, and Edward the Confessor, French kings Sigismund, Sigibert III, Dagobert II and Louis IX, Danish King Canute (Knud), Emperors Charles I, Henry II and Frederic I and Swedish King Erik IX. This trend was then interrupted until 1671.
9. Please see,http://stiklestad.no/opplevelser/spelet-om-heilag-olav/, last accessed 15 January, 2015.
10. Ibid.
11. Please see, https://snl.no/Olavssagaene, last accessed 14 February 2015. Also see, SverreBagge, *Society and Politics in Snorri Sturluson's «Heimskringla»* (Berkeley, University of California Press, 1991).
12. SverreBagge, "Warrior King, and Saint: The Medieval Histories about St. ÓláfrHaraldsson," *The Journal of English and Germanic Philology*, Vol. 109, No. 3

(2010), 284.Also see, Røthe, Gunnhild (1999) "Odinskriger, kristuskriger, hellig konge og helgen. Religionshistoriske perspektiv på Olav Haraldssons død og helgenkåring." i "Kongemøtet på Stiklestad. Rapport fra seminar om kongedømmet i vikingtid og tidlig middelalder", ed. Olav Skevik, Verdal: Stiklestad Nasjonale Kultursenter, 49-78. Røthe, Gunnhild (1997) "Fra Olav Geirstadalv til Olav den hellige." i "Gokstadhøvdingen og hans tid", red. Tore Frost, Sandefjord, 25-42.

13. The spelling of Knut varies, e.g. Knute, Canute, etc.
14. The name Olav can be spelled many ways including "Olaf."
15. IngeSkovgaard-Petersen, "The Making of the Danish Kingdom," in *The Cambridge History of Scandinavia, Vol. 1*, ed. Knut Helle (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 193.
16. Ibid.
17. Claus Krag, "The Early Unification of Norway," in *The Cambridge History of Scandinavia, Vol. 1, Prehistory to 1520*, ed. Knut Helle (Cambrdige: Cambridge university Press, 2003), 195.
18. Ibid.
19. Winroth, *Conversion of Scandinavia*, 141.
20. Owain Edwards, "Somebodys telling stories: the medieval legend of St Olav," *Edda*, Vol. 1 (2008), 40.
21. Skovgaard-Petersen, *Danish Kingdom*, 194.
22. Ibid.
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25. Martin Arnold, *The Vikings* (Lanham: Rowman and Littlefield, 2007), 27.
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38. Elise Mundal, "The Relationship Between Heathens and Christians in Scandinavia in the Time Before Christianisation," in *The Creation of Medieval Northern Europe: Christianisation, SocialTransformatioins, and Historiography, Essays in Honour of SverreBagge*, ed. LeidulgMelve and Sigbjørn Sønnersyn (Oslo: Dreyer Forlag A/S, 2012), 72.
39. Ibid.
40. Birgit Sawyer and Peter Sawyer, "Scandinavia enters Christian Europe," in *The Cambridge History of Scandinavia, Vol 1*,152.
41. Ibid.
42. Idem, 150.
43. Christiansen, *Norsemen*, 140.
44. Ibid.
45. Sweyn is a good example of the shifting demographics of the time. He was the son of Norwegians, born in England and became the King of Denmark.
46. Christiansen, *Norsemen*, 274
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48. Anders Winroth, *The Conversion of Scandinavia: Vikings, Merchants, and Missionaries in the Remaking of Northeastern Europe* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2012), 138. See also, Thomas Lindquist, "Early political organization: Introductory Survey," in *The Cambridge History of Scandinavia, Vol. 1*, 166
49. Idem, 138.
50. Skovgaard-Petersen, "Danish Kingdom", 199.
51. Ibid.
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53. Thomas Lindquist, "Early political organization: Introductory Survey," in *The Cambridge History of Scandinavia, Vol. 1*, ed. KnuteHelle (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 166
54. Richard Handler, "Is 'Identity' a Useful Cross-Cultural Concept?," in *Commemorations: the Politics of National Identity*, ed. John R. Gillis(Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994), p. 27.
55. Christian Frederick ruled for less than a year, from February 1814 to October 1814. He was replaced by the Swedish King, Karl II.
56. Stein Rokkan, Derek Ursin, Frank H. Aarebrot, Pamela Malaba, and Terje Sande, *Centre-Periphery Structures in Europe: An ISSC Workbook in Comparative Analysis* (Frankfurt-am-Main and New York: Campus Verlag, 1987), as quoted in UffeØstergård, "The Geopolitics of Nordic Identity – From Composite States to Nation States" in *The Cultural Construction of Norden*, ed. ØysteinSørensen and Bo Stråth(Oslo Stockholm Copenhagen Oxford Boston: Scandinavian University Press, 1997), 50 and 53.

57. Idem, 51
58. Ibid. Citing to Miroslav Hroch,
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60. Ibid.
61. Jesse Byock, "Modern nationalism and the medieval sagas," in *Northern Antiquity: The Post-Medieval Reception of Edda and Saga*, ed. Andrew Wawn (London: Hisarlik Press, 1994), 163-187.
62. Idem, 86
63. Ibid.
64. Dag Thorkildsen, "Religious Identity and Nordic Identity" in *The Cultural Construction of Norden*, ed. ØysteinSørensen and Bo Stråth (Oslo Stockholm Copenhagen Oxford Boston: Scandinavian University Press, 1997), 150 – 51.
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66. Idem, 154.
67. Idem, 155.
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70. Anniken Hagelund, "The Progress Party and the Problem of Culture: Immigration Politics and Right Wing Populism in Norway," in *Movements of Exclusion: Radical Right-Wing Populism*, ed. Jens Rydgren (New York: Nova Science Publishers, 2005), 147-164. Also, please see, ww.jadaliyya.com/pages/index/21640/olivier-roy-on-laicite-as-ideology-the-myth-of-natn, http://www.aftenposten.no/nyheter/iriks/EU-kommisjon-bekymret-for-rasisme-i-Norge-7912382.html, http://www.vg.no/nyheter/innenriks/europaraadet/grunn-til-bekymring-for-rasisme-i-norge/a/23402059/, http://www.nrk.no/norge/deler-rasismeopplevelsene-1.11364056, http://www.nettavisen.no/nyheter/--apen-rasisme-i-aftenposten/8451090.html, all accessed 2 June 2015.
71. TzvetanTodorov, "The Uses and Abuses of Memory," trans. Lucy Golsan, in *What Happens in History: The Renewal of Ethics in Contemporary Thought*, ed. Howard Marchitello(London: Verso, 2001), 21.
72. Todorov, 15
73. Idem, 17
74. Idem, 16
75. Idem, 19
76. Ibid.
77. Idem, 19–20.
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79. Led by the Frp, a law was proposed in 2014 to forbid begging. Please see, http://www.abcnyheter.no/nyheter/2015/02/03/217067/vil-straffe-dem-som-hjelper-tiggere, last accessed 17 February 2015 andhttp://www.aftenposten.no/nyheter/iriks/politikk/Tigging-blir-forbudt-i-hele-landet-fra-2015-7598877.html, last accessed 17 February

2015. The proposed law not only punishes beggars but also punishes those who help beggars.