

斑斓阅读 · 外研社英汉双语百科书系

# 北欧海盗

## The Vikings

A Very Short Introduction

Julian D. Richards 著

徐松岩 译

外语教学与研究出版社

FOREIGN LANGUAGE TEACHING AND RESEARCH PRESS

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北京 BEIJING

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# 译者序

“鲜红的夕阳，漆黑的骷髅旗，沾满血污的战刀以及成堆的让人睁不开眼的黄金。” 海盗的故事总是那么迷人，千百年来，它为文学家、艺术家和诗人们提供了无尽的创作源泉，为广大民众提供了广阔的想象空间。

海盗行为是人类在原始社会生产力水平低下和特种地理环境下的产物，是人类文明史上以野蛮的方式否定野蛮的具体表现。在古希腊，人们通常把那些下海寻求生计的男子称为“海盗”，并无贬义。在原始社会末期，古代各族普遍把对外掠夺作为正常的谋生手段；如果借用英雄时代日耳曼人的话来说，那就是：能用流血的方式取得的东西，决不用流汗的方式取得。在那样的历史环境下，英雄和强盗几乎没有区别，战争和贸易常常混在一起，殖民和劫掠往往相伴相随。在后世文献中那些杀人越货的强盗，很可能就是某些部族所顶礼膜拜的英雄！在耕地稀少、纬度较高而又濒临海洋、盛产木材并且拥有许多天然良港的斯堪的纳维亚，处于军事民主制度下的当地人，从8世纪到11世纪，开创了一个盛行劫掠的“维京时代”，也就不足为奇了。

维京时代以9世纪末10世纪初为界限，大致可分为两个阶段。在前期，主要活动是劫掠财物、人口；在后期，则以殖民、贸易为主。维京人长达数百年的海外开拓活动，对于中世纪的欧洲及北大西洋地区的历史产生了重大而深远的影响。首先，维京人在不列颠、欧洲大陆西部、南部、东部的许多地方

建立了殖民地，从而在某种程度上将割据分散的欧洲连成一体，建立了一个更广阔、更巨大的欧洲；其次，维京人开辟多条海陆贸易新商路，用生产、贸易和掠杀强化了各地的联系，给“黑暗时代”的欧洲注入了新的活力，对于欧洲诸民族的融合和各地经济文化的交流，发挥过重要的推动作用。然而，必须指出的是，维京人的海外扩张在很大程度上也是一次浩劫。他们在各地肆意劫掠、血腥杀戮，必然破坏当地人安定的生产生活，使成千上万的人流离失所，甚或沦为他们的奴仆；同时，大量精壮劳力的外出也给斯堪的纳维亚本土居民的生产生活造成了一定的负面影响。

海洋意识是人类文明的重要遗产，包括海洋经济意识、海洋领土意识和海洋国防意识等，而西方文明在这方面的贡献尤为突出。西方文明中的海洋意识主要有两大来源：一是来自于西方古典文明；二是对自中世纪早期出现的斯堪的纳维亚人海洋文化的继承。虽然这两种社会背景迥然不同，但在民间，人们却往往都对勇于探索、不怕牺牲的海盗们持肯定态度，因而总是把海盗和勇敢无畏的探险者联系在一起。

本书是一部研究被称为“北欧海盗”的维京人的学术专著。作者 J. D. 理查兹是约克大学考古学教授，国际知名的维京文化研究专家，曾亲自主持和参与多处维京遗址的发掘工作。在本书中，他熟练地运用现代历史学、考古学和人类学等多学科的相关知识，在极为有限的篇幅内，以简练优美的文字，全面、系统、客观地介绍了历史上维京人的生产、生活状况，确当地评述了后人特别是近现代学者对维京人的种种新诠释；该书汇集了作者多年来的研究成果，为近年来“北欧海盗”研究中的精品之一。

作者在谋篇布局方面匠心独运，以地域为基础，从维京人的故乡斯堪的纳维亚开始，逐步扩展到周边地区，每一章都各自围绕一个主题。第一章为引论，考察了“维京人”一词的

来源及历史；第二章考察了维京人起源地的自然条件和生态环境；第三章探讨他们的思想观念和宗教信仰；第四章和第五章则分别展示他们的居住地——农村和城镇——的发展变化，以及民族国家的成长；第六章考察维京人向海外开拓和扩张的状况。随后几章进行了区域性个案研究，分别考察了维京人在英格兰、爱尔兰海、北部和西部诸岛、北大西洋地区以及格陵兰和北美洲的殖民活动。作者旨在展示那些至关重要的考古证据，并利用个案研究成果来考察各种环境下殖民者与当地人之间的复杂关系，探讨其现实意义。第十二章通过讨论“维京人”在 19、20 世纪各种背景下如何被重塑，着力强调今日之人对于昔日诸民族的印象是如何形成的。

正如理查兹教授所指出的，维京人远不是斯堪的纳维亚人的全部。大多数斯堪的纳维亚人是兼营渔猎的农耕者、心灵手巧的手工业者和不畏艰险的经商者；值得一提的是，他们对于欧洲造船技术的进步有着重大贡献，同时也不乏高雅的生活情趣和艺术品位。

如今人类已经进入 21 世纪，世界各民族文化交流日益频繁，人们对“维京人”的理解也愈加多元化：有历史学家、考古学家心目中的“维京人”，有文学家、艺术家塑造的“维京人”，有街头巷尾流传于普通百姓中的“维京人”，也有广告商、旅游开发商、电子游戏商以及某些极端分子着力打造的“维京人”，如此等等。无论如何，读完 Julina D. 理查兹教授这本小书，你一定会对“北欧海盗”有更加真切的认识和理解。

徐松岩

2008 年 5 月于重庆

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# Chapter 1

## Vikings then and now

Every February the schoolchildren of York dress up in traditional Viking costume and this northern English city holds its annual Jorvik Viking Festival. Sagas are retold, battles are re-enacted, and Viking longships race along the River Ouse. The rape and pillage has been toned down and York's modern traders have embraced Vikings with more enthusiasm than their 9th-century forebears: at the time of writing, shoppers at the out-of-town designer outlet can design a Viking tunic, Viking-related books are on display in Borders and Waterstones, *The Vikings* starring Kirk Douglas and Tony Curtis is being shown at the local cinema, and cafes and snack-bars offer a variety of longboat baguettes and Viking-themed sandwiches. The festival promoters claim that the event harks back to Jolablot, a midwinter festival held by 'the original Vikings', although in fact it was invented in 1985, and marks the annual downturn in visitor figures to Jorvik, the Viking-themed tourist attraction.

It is hard to escape Vikings in York. Although the city's visible heritage owes more to its Roman, Norman, and medieval builders, opening a telephone directory reveals a host of Viking enterprises – Jorvic Business Systems, Jorvik Cleaning Services, Yorvik Homes & Developments Ltd, Yorvik Shipping, Yorvik Refrigeration, and the ominous Viking School of Motoring – to name but a few. Clearly Vikings have a contemporary resonance –

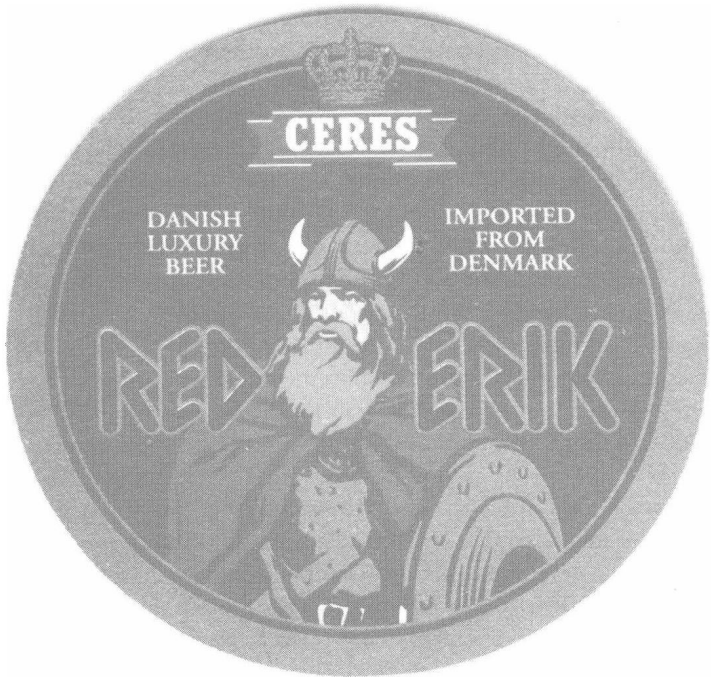
and not just in York. Similar reinventions can be found in the Isle of Man, the Northern and Western Isles, in Normandy and Brittany, across the Atlantic to North America, and in Scandinavia itself.

But 'Viking' is a nebulous concept – in different contexts Vikings have been marauders, merchants, manufacturers, poets, explorers, democrats, statesmen, or warriors. It is also a relatively recent concept – originally used to refer only to pirate activity, it came to be used as an ethnic term to refer to a whole people, and then as a chronological label, giving its name to the Viking Age. With this fluidity it did not mean the same in 10th-century Scandinavia, 15th-century Iceland, and 19th-century England. In fact, our modern usage of Viking owes more to later reinventions than any original reality.

This book will attempt to deconstruct the term, but will also seek to demonstrate why it has retained its importance. Focusing particularly on archaeological discoveries of the last 30 years, it will examine what is actually known about the peoples who lived in Scandinavia in the 9th and 10th centuries, the areas they colonized, and their relevance today.

## Who, what, and when were the Vikings?

The term *viking* was first used in Old English. It occurs just three times in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle where it refers to 'robbers', apparently coastal marauders rather than land-borne armies. It was not used in other countries which suffered raids from Scandinavia, and Western observers gave the raiders many different names. In some cases it was their religion, or lack of it, that was significant, and they were referred to as pagans, heathen, or gentiles. In the Irish Annals they were often seen as just different and were called *gail*, or 'foreigners'. In other contexts it was where they came from that was of interest, and they were *Northmanni*, or *Dani*, although such labels were often used indiscriminately, irrespective of their



### 1. Red Erik: Danish luxury beer

actual area of origin. Finally, it may have been their function that stood out, as *pirate* or *scipmen*.

At first, the Scandinavians thought of themselves as inhabitants of particular regions, such as men of Jutland, Vestfold, Hordaland, and so on. Their loyalty would have been to their leaders, rather than to any national identity. Their armies comprised warriors from different parts of Scandinavia, and they were the followers of Olaf, Svein, Thorkel, or Cnut. Nonetheless, they did speak the same language, which linguists have called Old Norse, and shared aspects of a common culture, including costume, art, and religion. As a sense of national identity grew so did the use of national names. In

time, Dane was used to describe southern Scandinavians whilst Norse was used to describe those from northern areas.

The specific root *viking* reappears in the 11th century in Old Norse, with a different emphasis. In the elegy *Knutsdrapa* Cnut's troops are called *víkingar* to emphasize their ferocity, and the same word appears on 11th-century rune stones to describe respectable sons raiding overseas as well as local nuisances. By the 13th century it was used in Icelandic Sagas to refer to pirates, but it was not generally used in Western European sources during the Middle Ages. In Scandinavia it only came into common usage during the rise of 19th-century nationalist movements. It is recorded in modern English for the first time in 1807–8, and was revived by Sir Walter Scott in 1828 in *The Pirate*.

The actual derivation of the term *viking* has been much debated. It has been suggested that both the Old English and Old Norse forms are parallel developments from a common Germanic verb meaning 'to withdraw, leave or depart'; that it is related to the Old Icelandic *vik*, meaning a bay or creek; that it refers to those from the area of *Vik* or *Viken* around the Oslofjord who embarked on the raiding of England to escape Danish hegemony; that it derives from *vika*, a turn on duty, or relay oarsmen; that it derives from an Old Icelandic verb *vikya*, meaning 'to turn aside', or the Old English *wic*, or armed camp.

Whatever the derivation, it is clear that the majority of Scandinavians were not Vikings; only those who went 'a viking' should really qualify for the description. It would be perverse, however, to abandon the term at this point, although this book will generally try to restrict its usage to describe those involved in raiding or other warlike activities, and to those instances where the Viking stereotype has been reused in a more recent context, either as an adjective or as a noun. At other times the less loaded term Scandinavian will be used and, following common practice, Norse will be used for those peoples of Scandinavian culture in the North

Atlantic, without necessarily assuming that they came from Norway. In other cases, the more accurate terms Hiberno-Norse, or Anglo-Scandinavian will be used, reflecting the fact that it is frequently a hybrid identity that is being described.

The chronological term 'Age of the Vikings' followed the classification of Ages of Stone, Bronze, and Iron, and was first invented in Scandinavia to label cases of artefacts in the National Museum in Copenhagen in the 1840s. It was taken up in du Chaillu's *The Age of the Vikings* (1889) and later by Peter Sawyer in *The Age of the Vikings* (1962). In the hands of some authors and coffee-table books it has turned Viking identity into a stage on an evolutionary ladder, a super-identity, and a great civilization, analogous to the Ages of Greece or Rome. However, no one can agree when it was.

The start of the Viking Age can no longer be fixed categorically at 793 with the raid on Lindisfarne because there is evidence of earlier contact, in the form of Irish and English artefacts in 8th-century Norwegian graves. Whether loot or traded goods, these indicate early North Sea crossings. The inhabitants of Sweden had also engaged in earlier expansion in the Baltic, and in southern Scandinavia many of those characteristics that have been associated with the 'Viking Age' begin to emerge during the early 8th century. They include the development of towns, the centralization of authority, a shift from exchange to market-based trade, increased production, and overseas contact. The dispute is really between those who see raiding as the key characteristic of Viking activity, and are reluctant to place that earlier than the 790s, and those who see outward-looking expansion, state formation, and other positive features taking place from the 710s.

Raiding activity intensified in Western Europe from the 830s and a Viking camp was established in Dublin in 841. There were attacks on Frankia and Spain in the 850s and raids and then settlement in Russia from the 860s. From the late 870s Vikings settled



permanently in England, and also founded colonies in the Isle of Man, the Northern and Western Isles, the Faroes, and Iceland. Greenland was settled in the 980s and around 1000 there were voyages to Vinland and North America. However, fixing a date for the end of the Viking Age is also problematic. It has often been linked with particular events in the English calendar, either when Harthacnut, the last Scandinavian king of England, died in 1042, or when Haraldr Hardrada was defeated at Stamford Bridge, in 1066. However, Scandinavian presence continued in Scotland, Ireland, and the Isle of Man beyond that, although aggressive military activity had stopped by the second half of the 11th century. Scandinavian culture also continued in the North Atlantic, and in Iceland and Greenland into the 14th and 15th centuries, and some of these areas have retained a Viking cultural identity to the present day.

Since this book is about this nebulous concept of Vikings, it will embrace all these areas and periods. It will be concerned not just with how Viking identity has been redefined in medieval and modern times, but also with how cultural identities were formed and negotiated in the 8th–12th centuries, in a variety of geographical contexts.

The approach taken has not been to present a strict chronological history of the Vikings. Instead a more geographically-based approach has been adopted, starting with Scandinavia, and working outwards, but using each chapter to develop a specific theme. Chapter 2 looks at where the Vikings originated and Chapter 3 considers their ideology and religion. Chapters 4 and 5 then present the evidence for increasing settlement complexity – both rural and urban – and the growth of the nation states. Chapter 6 examines the evidence for their sea-faring prowess and begins to consider Scandinavian expansion overseas, starting with Western Europe and Russia. Subsequent chapters then provide a series of case studies, beginning with England in Chapter 7, and then looking at the Irish Sea region in Chapter 8, the Northern and Western Isles in