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The Relationship between Sami and Nordic Peoples Expressed in Terms of Family Associations

ABSTRACT The article investigates motifs from medieval sources and sources from early modern times in which the relationship between the Sami people and their Nordic neighbours is expressed in terms of family associations. During Romanticism it became a custom among Scandinavians to speak about each other as *broderfolk*, which in English is *sister nations*. In Old Norse sources it was the Sami people who were spoken of as “family,” but of a slightly more distant type than siblings. Haraldr hárfagri, who united Norway, married a Sami girl, Snæfriðr. Their marriage, which was a complicated one, may be seen as a symbolic expression of the problematic and loving relationship between two peoples. The king was the foster-son of the Sami people. To express the relationship between two peoples in terms of foster-child/foster-parent relations creates a picture with a very clear symbolic meaning. The kings of Norway from Haraldr harðráði on traced their family back to a Sami girl, and the earls of Hlaðir traced their family back to Sæmingr, probably the Proto-Sami. It may have been important, at least as a symbolic expression of community, that the princely houses of Norway had family roots in both peoples of the kingdom.

KEYWORDS Sami and Nordic, Middle Ages, family associations

In the Old Norse written sources Sami people are often mentioned. The picture of them and their culture in these sources is, of course, pre-

sented from their Scandinavian neighbour's point of view. However, these sources are interesting from both points of view, because they provide a picture of the relationship between two peoples with different cultures who lived in close proximity and partly within the same geographical area.

How we think of the relationship between Nordic people and Sami in the past is to a large extent based on historical events and conditions in recent centuries: The Sami people were the minority who were suppressed by the Scandinavian majority who looked down on their Sami neighbours. I have tried to show in previous works that this unhappy situation lasted for a relatively short period that began long after the Reformation (see Mundal 1996; Mundal 2007; Mundal forthcoming). If we go back to the sources from the Middle Ages, the attitude towards the Sami is far less negative than, for instance, in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. I cannot go into the whole material that forms the basis for this conclusion here. In this article I will focus on a few sources in which the relationship between the Sami people and their Nordic neighbours is expressed in terms of family associations of different types: marriage, foster-child/foster-parent relations and descent.

It is not uncommon to express the relationship between nations in terms of family relations. During Romanticism it became a custom among Scandinavians, on state occasions at least, to speak about each other as *broderfolk* ['brother nations,' which in English is *sister nations*], and in Norway today, Swedes are—with a certain sense of humour—spoken of a *søta bror*, ['sweet brother']. Behind such expressions there is—or at least was—a strong feeling of community, even in the cases where the expression is not used in a very serious context. A group of people spoken of in terms of family relations are people whom you can trust. You are supposed to support and protect them and you can expect the same form of help from them. It is worth noting that in the Middle Ages it was the Sami people who were spoken of as "family" in the Old Norse sources, but family of a slightly more distant type than brothers and sisters.

There are not many motifs in the Old Norse sources in which Sami are depicted in terms of family relations. Interestingly enough, these motifs are to be found in mythic and semi-mythic stories, and among them are the stories that can be described as foundation myths of the Norwegian nation.

The first group of sources I will discuss here is the Old Norse myth about the marriage between the giantess Skaði and two of the Old Norse gods—first Njǫrðr and thereafter Óðinn. The marriage between Skaði and Óðinn resulted in offspring. One of their sons was Sæmingr, the forefather of the earls of Hlaðir. The second source is the story found in several sagas of kings about King Haraldr hárfagri, the king who united Norway

into one kingdom, and his marriage to the Sami girl Snæfriðr. This story may be regarded as a foundation myth for the Norwegian kingdom. The third group of texts I will examine is another foundation myth. According to this myth Norway was united many generations before the time of King Haraldr hárfagri by a mythic king, Nórr, who came from the extreme North. Finally, I will draw attention to a text—or rather a group of texts that are related—from the time after the Reformation, in which the Sami, or the *finnar*, which is the Old Norse word for Sami, are said to be descended from a certain Norwegian chieftain called *Finnr*.

Skaði and her Son Sæmingr

The giantess Skaði is never called a Sami in Old Norse sources. She is a mythological figure. According to *Gylfaginning*, chapter 23, in Snorri's *Edda* she lived in the mountains, went skiing and hunted animals, and thus behaved like a Sami woman. In my opinion, the picture of her is meant to call forth associations to Sami women.¹

The beginning of *Skáldskaparmál* in Snorri's *Edda* tells the myth of how Skaði, dressed up as a warrior, arrived in *Ásgarðr*, the home of the gods, to avenge her father who had been killed by the gods. The gods wanted, however, to compensate her to obtain peace, and they offered her to choose herself a spouse among them, but she was not allowed to see more than their feet and legs. Skaði chose the one with the most beautiful legs, whom she thought was Baldr, but it turned out to be Njǫrðr. Skaði accepted a peace settlement with the gods only on condition that the gods made her laugh. Loki then tied a cord round his testicles and the other end to a nanny goat's beard, and they pulled each other back and forth and both squealed loudly. When Loki at last fell into Skaði's lap, she laughed. These two strange scenes are interesting in themselves,² but seen in connection with the topic of this article, it is the establishment of family associations between the two groups that deserves attention.

In the case of Skaði and Njǫrðr, the marriage was very unhappy—she wanted to live in the mountains, while he wanted to live by the sea—and they divorced. However, according to Old Norse myths, after the divorce from Njǫrðr, Skaði married another of the Old Norse gods, Óðinn, the god with the highest rank. The interpretation of the new marriage could be that it was unthinkable to break up the relationship with the people Skaði represented, be they giants or Sami.

Óðinn and Skaði had many sons. The source for this information is the Old Norse poem *Háleygjatal* from the late tenth century by the skald Eyvindr Finnsson (Finnur Jónsson ed. 1912–15, B1: 60–62). The poem traces the

family of the earls of Hlaðir back to a mythic origin and was composed in honour of Earl Hákon. The name of Óðinn's and Skaði's son Sæmingr is not mentioned in the poem as we have it, but it is mentioned in the prose text of Snorri's *Ynglinga saga*, chapter 8, in *Heimskringla* where Snorri quotes a stanza which he says Eyvindr had composed about Sæmingr. It is therefore likely that Snorri knew the name *Sæmingr* from a stanza of the poem that he did not quote. In the prologues of both *Heimskringla* and *Saga Óláfs konungs hins helga*, Snorri on the contrary says that Sæmingr was the son of Yngvifreyr. To trace the princely houses back to the god Freyr may have been the tradition Snorri was most familiar with, which may explain the inconsistency in Snorri's texts.

We do not know whether the genealogy that traces the family of the earls of Hlaðir back to Óðinn and Skaði through their son Sæmingr is older than Eyvindr's poem or not. Eyvindr Finnsson, who was of royal descent himself, had fallen out with King Haraldr gráfellr and later in his old age he supported Earl Hákon. By tracing the Earl's family back to Óðinn and Skaði, Eyvindr may have wanted to give Earl Hákon, who also was his second cousin, an even more impressive genealogy than the royal house whose members traced their family back to the god Freyr and the giantess Gerðr.³

It has been suggested that the name *Sæmingr* is derived from a name that the Sami people used about themselves, and that Sæmingr, according to this myth, is to be understood as the proto-Sami (see Müllenhoff 1906: 55; Kusmenko 2006: 20). It is, however, a misunderstanding to see this interpretation as dependent on a phonetically correct derivation of the name *Sæmingr* from a word for the Sami. In folk etymology, which was the type of etymology known in the Middle Ages, *Sæmingr* would have functioned as a name derived from a word for the Sami people if that was what (learned) people believed. We can see from a story in *Vatnsdæla saga*, chapter 12, that a word for the Sami people phonetically equivalent to the first part of the compound name *Sæmingr* was known among the Scandinavians. In this saga Sami men speak of themselves as *semsveinar*. The last part of the compound word, *sveinar*, is an Old Norse word for 'young men,' but the first part of the compound word must, however, be a Sami word that the Sami used about themselves.

Whether the name *Sæmingr* was made up to make associations to the Sami, whether the name existed first and the associations to the Sami were caused by the first part of the compound name, or whether the name *Sæmingr* in the Middle Ages was associated with the Sami at all, is impossible to say with certainty. We do not know whether the genealogy back to Óðinn's and Skaði's son Sæmingr was Eyvindr Finnsson's invention, but it is worth noting that Eyvindr himself was from Northern Norway. The family of the

earls of Hlaðir originated, according to all sources, from Northern Norway and lived there for many generations before they arrived in Trøndelag. Eyvindr may have wanted to underline the northern connections by a name that awoke associations to the Sami people, which the first part of the compound name *Sæmingr* probably did. The choice of Skaði as Sæmingr's mother should also be seen in this connection. The skiing and hunting Skaði calls forth clearer associations to the Sami culture than any other mythic figure.

This means, however, that if Sæmingr is the proto-Sami, then this princely Norwegian family has its origin in the Sami society; and since Sæmingr, the Sami, and the Norwegians in this poem are found in the same genealogy, they are family.

Skaði is a mythological figure and her son may be considered a half-mythological figure. Their connection with the Sami world cannot be read out of the texts directly and becomes visible only after an interpretation in a wider context. There is reason to believe that the Nordic people's coexistence with the Sami people is reflected in their myths and that the function—or one of the functions—of some myths could have been to explain the relationship between two different peoples living in close contact. It is a fact that Sami people in some texts—texts of a mythic or half-mythic type—are spoken of as *jotnar*, 'giants,' or called by the name of other mythic figures, and Sami in these texts can replace giants in literary motifs where giants would normally appear.

A good example of a Sami spoken of as a giant is found in Snorri's rendering of the story about the first meeting between King Haraldr hárfagri and the Sami girl Snæfriðr.⁴ Snorri copied this story nearly word for word from an older text, the Norwegian saga of kings from around 1190 called *Ágrip af Nóregskonunga sögum*. Both in *Ágrip* and in Snorri's text, *Haralds saga hárfagra*, chapter 25, in *Heimskringla*, Snæfriðr's father is spoken of as a *finnr*, 'a Sami.' But Snorri—or a later scribe—put in the chapter heading: *Frá Svása jotni*, 'About the giant Svási.' In a late variant of the story found in the two *þættir*, 'short stories', *Háldanar þáttur svarta* and *Haralds þáttur hárfagra*, preserved in *Flateyjarbók*, Svási is also called *dvergr*, 'dwarf' (*Flateyjarbók* 1, 1860–68: 582). A good example of Sami and giants being described as members belonging to the same family is found in *Ketils saga hængs*. The hero of this saga, Ketill hængr, has an affair with the daughter of the giant Brúni. Brúni has, however, a brother called *Gusir* who is the king of the Sami (see *Ketils saga hængs*, chapter 3).

In Old Norse mythology the world is divided into *Miðgarðr* and *Útgarðr*. In *Miðgarðr*, 'the central areas of the world,' the gods and the humans live. In *Útgarðr*, which is situated outside *Miðgarðr*, in the outskirts of the world, especially in the East and the North, are the places of the giants. This myth-

ological map could easily be adjusted to the geography of the real world, and the Sami became the *Útgardr* people. The fact that the Sami people fit into Old Norse mythic patterns explains why they can be called *jǫtnar*, ‘giants.’ However, this mythical pattern works both ways, and therefore it should be expected that the picture of the giants is also influenced by what was known in the Nordic culture—or rather by Nordic stereotypes—about Sami people and their culture, especially in cases where one of the myth’s functions may have been to explain the relationship between the Nordic and the Sami peoples.

When Sami replace giants in Old Norse mythical patterns, this could at first glance indicate a negative attitude towards the Sami, but the giants also represented positive values. Their women were attractive to the gods, partly because they were beautiful and partly because they seem to have been able to produce sons with qualities desirable to the gods—Magni, the strong son of Þórr, Váli, Óðinn’s son who was born to avenge Baldr, and Viðarr who avenged his father, Óðinn, in the *Ragnarök* battle, were all sons of giantesses. The world of giants also possessed objects, and especially knowledge, which the gods wanted. When Sami replace giants in mythic patterns, it seems that they represent the aspects of the mythic world that are desirable to the gods, and therefore it may not be so derogatory as it may seem at first glance to be called a giant. However, there is tension between the giants and the gods, and the fusion of giants and Sami—as in the case of Skaði—therefore clearly demonstrates an ambiguity felt towards the Sami. We should also remember that the background for Skaði’s arrival was that the gods had killed her father, something that indicates unfriendly relations. The interesting thing is, however, how this conflict was solved: namely by offering her marriage. In Old Norse society marriage was often used to settle conflicts and achieve peace. Marriage was not necessarily a symbol of love between the two parties, but it was at least a symbol of the necessity of peace between two groups of people.

King Haraldr and Snæfríðr and the King’s Relationship with the Sami People

The story about King Haraldr and Snæfríðr is well known. The story of how King Haraldr hárfagri came to marry a Sami girl is first told in *Ágrip*, chapter 3, and later copied by Snorri in *Heimskringla*. These sagas tell that many years after King Haraldr had conquered the whole of Norway, a Sami, Svási, arrived at the king’s court during the mid-winter celebration and asked the king to go with him to his hut.

King Haraldr had united Norway partly by fighting all other petty kings

and other enemies and partly by establishing family relations all over the country by marrying daughters of the mightiest chieftains. But there was one tribe from which he had not chosen a wife, and that was the Sami people. When Svási, the father of Snæfriðr, arrived at the king's court and invited the king to his hut, it is obvious that Svási wanted the king to meet and to marry his daughter. He wanted to be treated like other chieftains and have a woman of his tribe married to the king. His plan succeeded. The king fell in love with the Sami girl and married her, and he loved her so madly that for three years after she was dead he sat by her side. Then he was advised to move her and change the bedding, and when he did, snakes, toads and other ugly creatures came out of the dead body. The king understood that the Sami had fooled him by means of their sorcery, and he became so angry that he wanted to drive away the sons he had with Snæfriðr, something he was told that he could not do.

The story about King Harald hárfagri who fell madly in love with the beautiful Sami girl, Snæfriðr, is no doubt told with the myth of Freyr and Gerðr as a model. Freyr's love for the beautiful giant daughter Gerðr, as described in *Gylfaginning*, chapter 37, in Snorri's *Edda*, and in Snorri's source, the Eddic poem *Skírnismál* (Bugge ed. 1965 [1867]: 90–96) has the same character of madness as in the case of King Haraldr. In a later anonymous skaldic poem, *Málsháttakvæði*, which most likely was composed by the Orcadian skald and bishop Bjarni Kolbeinsson around 1200 (Finnur Jónsson ed. 1912–15, B2: 138–145), the Sami girl Snæfriðr is depicted by a standard formulation, *sólbjört*, 'bright as the sun,' used to describe beautiful young giantesses.⁵ While the myths about Skaði, as I see it, are meant to call forth associations to Sami culture, the story about King Haraldr and the Sami girl Snæfriðr must be read in the light of Old Norse myths. However, both stories demonstrate that giants and Sami can replace each other in mythic and literary patterns.

I regard the story about King Haraldr and Snæfriðr as the "last chapter" of a foundation myth of the Norwegian kingdom, which describes how the Sami became part of this kingdom. The beginning of the story—or of the foundation myth—is also very interesting regarding the relationship between the Sami and the Norwegian peoples. According to *Ágrip*, which was later used by Snorri in his sagas of kings, something very strange happened at the court of King Halfdanr, the father of King Haraldr, during the celebration of mid-winter: all the food disappeared from the table. King Halfdanr sent for a Sami skilled in magic and tortured him to make him tell the truth. The Sami turned to the young Haraldr for help, and Haraldr ran away with the Sami. The Sami took Haraldr to a chieftain who turned out to be the same person who had stolen King Halvdanr's food. Haraldr stayed with this chieftain until spring. Then the host told young Haraldr that he

had good news for him. He told him that his father had drowned, and Haraldr would become king of the whole of Norway.

A more detailed variant of the same story is found in the Icelandic *Flat-eyarbók* from the 1380s.⁶ In this variant of the story the chieftain who stole King Halfdanr's food sent Haraldr home before his father had drowned, because Haraldr, according to this chieftain, was to be present at his father's house to help the person who would later secure his luck in life. When Haraldr arrived at King Halfdanr's farm, he found that his father had captured a giant who had stolen gold and precious things from him. Haraldr set the giant free, and the giant ran away. When King Halfdanr understood what Haraldr had done, he drove his son away—who in this variant of the story, was only five years old. After five nights in the wilderness, the giant whom Haraldr had set free came to the exhausted young boy and took him to his cave. The giant, whose name was *Dovri*, became Haraldr's foster-father, and the young prince stayed with him for five years. Then one day *Dovri* told him that his father had drowned and that Haraldr was going to become king, and *Dovri* promised to be an invisible helper in all of his battles.

The only person who is called a *finnr*, 'a Sami,' in this story is the man who was tortured by King Halfdanr, but this man, the chieftain who had stolen King Halfdanr's food, and the giant *Dovri* operate together, and may all be seen as representatives of the Sami people. The relationship between Haraldr and the Sami is, according to this story, that the king became the foster-son of the Sami people. In Old Norse culture, foster-parents normally had lower social status than the family of the foster-child. The foster-parent/foster-child relations were, however, very important in Old Norse society. The institution of fostering created bonds of love and affection. Normally the bonds between foster-children and foster-parents and other members of the foster-family would last for life. When the foster-son grew up, foster-parents and foster-brothers and -sisters, who normally had lower social status, could expect protection and help. The foster-son's obligations to members of his foster-family are in some cases mentioned in the laws, and are in fact very similar to the obligations to relatives by blood. To express the relationship between two peoples in terms of foster-child/foster-parent relations creates a picture with a very strong and clear symbolic meaning. The marriage between the Norwegian king and the Sami girl was a problematic marriage—just as the marriage between *Skaði* and *Njörðr*. I am inclined to see these problematic marriages as symbolic expressions of the relationship between two peoples. The relationship between the two parties may have been problematic, but marriage is a strong and clear symbol of a life together—for better and for worse.

In the case of Haraldr hárfagri, his relations with the Sami people are

expressed in the symbolic language of family relations in more than one way. He is the Sami people's foster-child. His marriage to Snæfriðr is a love-hate relationship, but it is, after all, a marriage. Finally, Snæfriðr became the foremother of all Norwegian kings from Haraldr Harðráði onwards. She may be a real person, or she may be fictional. If the latter, the reason for her place in the genealogy of the royal house must have been that it was important, at least as a symbolic expression of community, that the kings of Norway had family roots in both peoples of their kingdom.

King Nórr who United Norway from the North

There is another version of the foundation myth of the Norwegian kingdom. This version is found in three slightly different variants: at the beginning of *Orkneyinga saga* and in two texts, *Hvertsu Noregr bygðist* and *Fundinn Noregr*, which both are preserved in *Flateyjarbók* from the 1380s. According to this myth, Norway was united many generations before the time of Haraldr hárfagri. The land was united by a mythical king called *Nórr* who lived in the far North. His forefathers ruled over Finland and Kvenland. Together with his brother, Górr, he went south searching for their sister, Gói, who had disappeared. Górr went by ship along the coast, Nórr went south skiing, and on his way he conquered the people called *Lappar* and the whole of Norway. It turned out that the sister, Gói, had been carried off by Hrólfur í Bergr, the son of King Svaði in the mountain of Dovri. Nórr and Hrólfur made peace. Hrólfur kept Gói as his wife, and Nórr obtained Hrólfur's sister Hadda, the daughter of King Svaði, in marriage.

There is an obvious parallel between Svási and Svaði in the two foundation myths: they are both connected to the mountain of Dovri, and they both marry off a daughter to the victorious king. No one in the story about King Nórr, Górr and Gói is said to be a Sami, but the fact that the king comes from the extreme North on skis, and that many of the names in the three variants of this myth have associations with giants and Sami (names which mean 'frost' or 'snow,' for example), point to the Sami culture.⁷ The union of the family from the North and the family from Dovri seems more to symbolize a union of North Sami and South Sami than a union of Sami and Norwegians. If that is the meaning expressed in this myth, the role of the Sami in both the foundation myths of the kingdom of Norway—as found in Old Norse texts—is very important. In many ways the union of Norway is described as a Sami project. This may express the Norwegian policy in the Middle Ages. It may have been important not to depict the Sami as a conquered people, but as a people who wanted to be part of the kingdom, and who, according to both the foundation myths, had taken the initiative to unite Norway themselves. In the last variant of the foundation

myth of the kingdom, the relationship between Sami and Nordic peoples, as expressed in terms of family relations, is not as visible as in the myth in which King Haraldr was the main figure; but as in the poem *Háleygjatal*, princely houses, both the earls of Møerir and the earls of the Orkneys, grew out of a genealogy which started among giants or Sami in the far North.

A Crazy and Informative Theory about the Descent of the Sami

The last source I want to discuss is an interpretation from the time after the Reformation of a now lost runic inscription from Giske in Sunnmøre. This interpretation exists in different versions from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, and there are references to the inscription in many sources, even in a poem written in quite another part of the country (Kragero), which indicates that this interpretation of the runic inscription must have been well known and popular (see *Norges innskrifter med de yngre runer* 4 ['Norway's inscriptions with the younger runes']: 262). According to this source—or sources—the relationship between Norwegians and Sami is expressed in terms of family relationships and descent.

In notes Bishop Niels Paaske mentions in 1626 that a stone cross with a runic inscription had previously existed on the island of Giske. The stone cross was in poor condition, and the local clergyman Claus Nilsson Gaas (priest 1589–1625) had replaced the stone cross with a wooden cross, which included a replacement of the old runic inscription with an inscription in Latin letters and modern language. According to Bishop Paaske the inscription said: “One brother killed the other [brother] because of [a disagreement about] a road. From there descend all the *finder* [the Sami]: They regard themselves today as members of the family from Giske.”⁸

The old runic inscription may have been very difficult to read, and the local priest was probably not a great expert, and so the interpretation is absolute nonsense. It is, nevertheless—whatever the original meaning may have been—a very interesting source for the perception of and attitude towards the Sami. In the Middle Ages the family from Giske was one of the most influential and mighty families in Norway. One member of this family was Finnr Árnason. His wife was a niece of King Haraldr harðráði, and one of Finnr's nieces, Þóra, was married to the king; a daughter of Finnr was also married to an Orcadian earl. This family was, in other words, as close to high nobility as was possible in Norway in the Middle Ages. Bishop Paaske's rendering of the old runic inscription does not say directly that it was from this Finnr that all the Sami descended, but it must have been implied and probably was—or became—part of the local tradition. A later rendering of

the inscription, found in Jonas Ramus' *Norriges Beskrivelse* ['Description of Norway'] (1735)⁹ and in Hans Strøm's *Sundmørs Beskrivelse* ['Description of Sunnmøre'] (1766), explicitly says that the brother who killed another brother was Finn. He ran away to the far North, and there his descendents multiplied and all the people from the North who call themselves *finner* ('Sami') are descended from him.

The idea that the Sami descended from Finn Árnason seems to have become both popular and widespread and is also found in a poem about the island of Jomfruland written by a certain Roland Knudsen from Kragerø in 1696. There he says that the wild *Find* who lives in the mountains of *Kjølen* descends from the island of Giske.¹⁰

It is of course difficult to say whether learned people in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries really believed that the Sami descended from a Norwegian noble family in the early Middle Ages. Perhaps the local priest who first struggled with the runic inscription and tried to obtain some meaning from it, believed in his own interpretation. To have derived the name of the people, *finner*, from the male name *Finnr*—and not the other way round, which would be correct—seems to be one of the many folk etymologies typical of the time. Some people may have believed in it, others not. The whole idea that the Sami descended from Finn Árnason may have become popular in the district from where Finn Árnason's family originated, because the story was so fantastic and exotic, and later spread from there. It is also very difficult to say whether the description of the relationship between Sami and Norwegians in terms of family relations in the texts from the time after the Reformation has any connection with the same pattern found in medieval texts. What we probably can say is that as long as learned people and authors belonging to the Nordic culture expressed their view of the relationship between Sami and Nordic people in terms of family relations, whether they believed the stories or not, their attitude towards the Sami must have been predominantly positive.

NOTES

¹ This is an old idea, see Müllenhoff 1906: 55.

² An analysis of these two peculiar scenes is found in Mundal 2000: 353–355.

³ The genealogy of the Norwegian royal house, the *ynglingar*, is found in the skaldic poem *Ynglingatal* which according to Old Norse sources was composed by the Norwegian *skáld* Þjóðólfr ór Hvini in the ninth century (Finnur Jónsson ed. 1912–15, 1: 7–14). The first king mentioned in this poem, as we have it, is Fjölfnir. In *Ynglinga saga*, chapter 11, in *Heimskringla* Snorri says that Fjölfnir is the son of the god Freyr and the giantess Gerðr. And later in the poem the kings are spoken of as Freyr's offspring (st. 11), and relative of

- Týr (st. 17), of Freyr (st. 21), and of Þrór/Óðinn (st. 35).
- ⁴ The story is found in *Haraldz saga ins hárfagra* in *Heimskringla* (Snorri Sturluson 1911: 56–57).
- ⁵ For a discussion of these parallels, see Mundal 2000: 352.
- ⁶ This variant of the story is found in the two *þættir*, ‘short stories’, in *Flateyjarbók* 1–3 (1860–68): *Hálfðanar þáttur svarta* and *Haralds þáttur hárfagra*.
- ⁷ More on the texts which contain this myth is found in Mundal forthcoming.
- ⁸ The poem reads: “den ene broder slog den anden vdi hiell/og det for denne vey skyld. der aff kom de finder alle: De paa denne dag aff Gidske slect lader sig kalde.” This translation of the runic inscription, the versions mentioned below from 1735 and 1766, and a poem in which there are references to the translation, are printed in *Norges innskrifter med de yngre runer* 4: 262–266.
- ⁹ The poem reads: “Find slog sin Broder ihiel,/For de om Veien ei forligtes vel;/Thi rømte han hen i Landet langt Nord,/Hvor hans Slægt blev meget stor./Af hannem ere de Nordfarer alle,/Som lader sig Finner kalde.” According to Jonas Ramus the translation into modern language was made by a certain Hr. Jacob, priest in Selje (1647–1659). Not all renderings of the runic inscription mention the last lines with the references to the Sami and their descent from Giske. In “Innberetninger som svar på 43 spørsmål fra Danske Kanselli,” a list of questions which included questions about antiquities that was sent to all priests in the country in 1743, the local priest of Borgund—of which Giske was a part—mentions the old runic inscription which could no longer be read, but which, the priest said, had been transcribed as: “Her slog den ene broder den anden ihiel, thi de begge om veyen forligtes ey vel” (*Norge i 1743*: 79).
- ¹⁰ The poem reads: “Den Søndmørs Gjedsøkø er til Søster dig udkaaret;/Der findes paa et Kaars i Runeskript udkaaret,/Hvordan den vilde Find, som Kjølens Fjeld beboer/ Fra Gjedsøkø regne vil sin Æt og Slægtesnor.” An overview of authors from the period who mention this source is found in *Norges innskrifter med de yngre runer* 4: 262.

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