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King Ólafr Tryggvason, Sir Edward Elgar, and *The Musician's Tale*¹

Andrew Wawn

There was no professional musician of any nationality amongst Geoffrey Chaucer's Canterbury pilgrims, but it was a violinist from Norway who came to dominate the medieval-style tale-telling in *Tales of a Wayside Inn* (1863-73), Henry Wadsworth Longfellow's act of poetic homage to the medieval English 'maister'. Along with his six companions (Landlord, Student, Spanish Jew, Sicilian, Theologian, Poet) the musician tells three tales at the hostel in Sudbury, Massachusetts, where they meet. Each of his narratives has a Scandinavian flavour; there are two eerie ballads in traditional style, while his first-day story, by some way the longest and best in the collection is, 'The Saga of King Olaf' (1863). Drawing extensively on a (then) relatively new English translation of Snorri Sturluson's *Ólafs saga Tryggvasonar*, it offers a colourful montage of scenes from the late-tenth-century missionary king's life. As the narrator warms to his task, light from the inn's log fire plays over his features:

Fair-haired, blue-eyed, his aspect blithe,
His figure tall and straight and lithe,
And every feature of his face
Revealing his Norwegian race.²

With his Stradivarius violin, 'in Cremona's workshop's made', the musician conjures up vivid Norwegian images:

The rumour of the forest trees,
The plunge of the implacable seas,
The tumult of the wind at night,
Voices of eld, like trumpets blowing,
Old ballads, and wild melodies

Through mist and darkness pouring forth,
Like Elivagar's river flowing
Out of the glaciers of the North.³

The old northern mythological reference⁴ will have been lost on Ann Greening, a Victorian farm-worker's daughter from Gloucestershire, but it did not prevent her from devouring this Longfellow poem just as she had devoured all the others. She memorized them, and by means of bedtime recitation shared her enthusiasm with her five surviving children. Transmitted in this way the learned Harvard scholar's lines seem to have exercised a particular fascination over one of Ann Greening's sons, Edward. He came to know many of the poems by heart, and to own and annotate an edition of Longfellow and, before the end of the century, whilst still scraping a modest living as a violin teacher in Worcester, he wrote a ninety-minute cantata entitled *Scenes from the Saga of King Olaf* (1896), based on Longfellow's poem. Its impact was immediate and remarkable. Almost overnight a forty-year-old musical jack-of-all-trades, who had been earning a living by teaching, and by arranging assorted bits of Wagner for school orchestras, suddenly found himself a major musical celebrity in late Victorian Britain. An unassuming violinist of modest social origins, from unfashionable middle England, and brought up in the Catholic faith of his mother, was to find his life transformed by his serenading a medieval Norwegian king. Britain, for so long 'a land without music', had discovered a native-born composer and he was lionized not only at home but, even more improbably, in the Germany of Brahms and Wagner and, not least, in Norway – the London publishers of *Scenes from the Saga of King Olaf* saw to it that a bound copy of the score was presented to King Oscar II.⁵

The composer took his appropriately pre-Conquest-sounding surname from his Kentish father – William *ælfgar* (OE: 'elf-spear'), or *álfgeirr* (ON)⁶ or, in its Victorian incarnation, Elgar. A century later Sir Edward Elgar's music, with its distinctive blend of nobility, melancholy and mysticism, continues to fill concert halls up and down the land. *Scenes from the Saga of King Olaf* plays no part in this lasting popularity; it is now an almost forgotten work, but a hundred years ago choral societies up and down Britain could be heard re-oralising in song the deeds of Ólafr Tryggvason, with the composer in constant demand as guest conductor of such performances – from Norwich to New Brighton and Morecombe (no less), but particularly in the great industrial cities of northern England where the Victorian tradition of choral singing was strongest (Leeds, Huddersfield, Bolton, Sheffield, Manchester). The first performance in October 1896 was held not in London, but in the Victoria Hall in Hanley (Staffordshire), then a cultural centre for prosperous pottery manufacturers,

later the local concert hall of the present writer (and of this volume's dedicatee), and (in 1996) the venue for a centenary performance of the work.⁷ 1897 saw the first London performance of *King Olaf*, at the Crystal Palace; it drew a dismally small audience, as a result of an unhappy clash with the annual Oxford and Cambridge boat race.

Elgar's cantata thus represents a belated instance of the old north in performance, albeit far removed from Peter Meredith's pageant waggons. Over the last fifty years and more scholarly fashion has rejected the notion of any significant dramatic tradition in medieval Scandinavia; yet the recent magisterial study by Terry Gunnell, a Leeds graduate, has reopened the debate in an exciting and persuasive way,⁸ and there were certainly many in Victorian and Edwardian Britain who would have cheered him on. Long before Dame Bertha Phillpotts,⁹ there were attempts to identify a performance tradition behind Eddic verse;¹⁰ there were chamber-drama versions of *Laxdæla saga*, *Brennu-Njáls saga*, *Gísla saga*, and *Friðþjófs saga*,¹¹ the 1910 Empire Festival featured a pageant version of the old heroic poem *Bjarkamál* on a River Thames barge;¹² and, in *The Prodigal Son* (1905), the Manx novelist Hall Caine tells of a native Icelander, a graduate of Oxford, who having fled to Monte Carlo with a standard issue 'new woman', returns to London and redeems himself by writing and staging saga operas. These earn worldwide fame for both the composer and his native culture. *The Prodigal Son* not only saw service as a racy novel – a stage version was premièred in London's Drury Lane Theatre, and New York's New Amsterdam Theatre on the same September evening in 1905. All these works spluttered briefly and died, but the strains of Elgar's *Scenes from the Saga of King Olaf* were longer and more influentially on the wing. This present essay does not seek to strain the credulity of the present volume's dedicatee by masquerading as an essay on medieval drama; it attempts rather to investigate the literary and cultural roots of Elgar's old northern, neo-romantic, dramatized medievalism.

King Ólafr Tryggvason had appeared to Victorian Britain in many guises long before Elgar had begun 'entwining and encircling all / The strange and antiquated rhymes / With melodies of olden times'.¹³ Indeed if any old northern figure was likely to become the focus for Victorian dramatic or musical representation, that figure was always more likely to be found in Snorri Sturluson's *Heimskringla* than in a family saga or an Eddic poem. Snorri's work attracted more attention from poets, paraphrastic novelists, and popularizing historians than did the tales of Njáll, Víga-Glúmr or Gísli even after these became available in English translation during the 1860s.¹⁴ There was certainly little likelihood of old northern myth and legend being set to music in England after 1870. Love him (as Elgar did) or loathe him (as William Morris did), Richard Wagner had already been there and done it; he could hardly be out-Wagnered

from the British Isles. One possible alternative to a *Heimskringla*-derived opera or cantata was to take the hint offered by the Bernard Crusell and George Stephens 1830s settings¹⁵ of pieces from the Swedish Bishop Esaias Tegnér's hugely popular *Frithiofs saga*, and develop them into a more substantial operatic format.¹⁶ Like the Ólafr Tryggvason story the tale of Frithiof and Ingeborg offered love and romance, adolescent rite of passage, adventure on land and sea, and spiritual renewal as Balderesque paganism prepared to yield to the revelations of the white Christ. But Ann Elgar did not recite George Stephens's Tegnér translation to her children at bedtime; she preferred the works of Tegnér's great admirer, Longfellow – and in this way were the tastes of her son formed.

For all that an heroic *Heimskringla*-type libretto was the most likely musical response to the Victorian cult of the old north, there was no guarantee of musical success for any such work. This is all too clearly revealed in a letter sent to Guðbrandur Vigfússon in Oxford late in 1888. George Silke-Willoughby sent Guðbrandur a sample of 'The Norsemen to the Sea', a dire libretto on viking themes. Did the great Icelandic philologist know of any composer in Denmark or Norway who could set it to music – 'someone who has lived among the Fjords and to whom the Sea is something like what it was to our Northern Forefathers and Palnatoke, and the Jomsburg vikings and King Hakon and countless others [Silke-Willoughby claimed ancient Danish lineage]?'¹⁷ Even if Guðbrandur had known such a composer, he was well into his final illness and unlikely to have done anything about it. It is hard to believe that Edvard Grieg or Carl Nielsen – or Elgar himself – could have spun musical gold from Silke's wet straw:

The Viking path to fame and right
We cleave thy crests mid laughter light
Whilst Thunder's crashes worlds affright
And lightening flashes day from night
Dark foaming Sea.

In years long past when time was young
Through Odin's halls the Fate-word rung
From Vala lips that Norse should be
Lords of Earth and Kings of thee,
Fierce surging Sea [. . .]

Through Winter darkness, Summer light
'Neath Sun by day, 'neath Moon by night
Our blood should gild thy waves in fight
Our bones thy shores should silver white,
Deep rolling sea.¹⁸

Grieg at least had a perfect alibi – he was already hard at work writing an orchestral piece (published in 1890) based on sketches for an Olav Tryggvason opera, in collaboration with the playwright Bjørnsterne Bjørnsen.¹⁹

The key to the popularity of Ólafr Tryggvason in Victorian Britain during the pre-Longfellow period was literary rather than musical: Samuel Laing's pioneering 1844 *Heimskringla* translation.²⁰ These three hefty volumes represented the first complete translation (or set of translations) of Icelandic sagas ever published in Britain;²¹ they provided Victorian readers with the first clear opportunity to study a coherent sequence of primary texts in which the history of north Atlantic viking communities, including those within the British Isles, could be followed; and, not least, they provided those same readers with by far the fullest and most exciting introductory essay yet published in English on northern history and the idea of the north – all viewed from Laing's idiosyncratic and cantankerous perspective. The translation itself fed into public consciousness through popular paraphrase, and Laing's splenetic 'Preliminary Dissertation' to the first edition set the ideological agenda for reading and reacting to *Heimskringla* for the rest of the century.

I discuss that Laingean agenda in a forthcoming study, and a brief summary must serve in the present context. Laing showed little or no interest in Iceland; he was a Norway man, having travelled widely there during 1834-1836, and having published his *Journal of Residence in Norway* (1836) on his return to Britain. The attitudes exhibited in his *Journal*, widely reviewed in the periodical press, reappeared even more robustly in his hugely influential 1844 'Dissertation'. All that was best in old northernness, as Laing defined it, was to be found in Snorri's images of viking-age Norway. There are seven qualities to which he draws favourable attention. Firstly, by happy geological chance, the very bed-rock of Norway was anti-feudal: the granite was so hard that it could not be worked into building blocks for castles, and thus the very archaeological infrastructure of feudalism could not be created. Secondly, Laing (himself a failed and frustrated Orcadian candidate for election to the Westminster parliament) admired the kind of participatory democracy depicted by Snorri. He relished the local Things, and the arts of persuasive eloquence which they encouraged amongst shrewd king and steadfast bonder alike. The residual strength of medieval Norway's

vigorous oral culture had meant that in 1814 the country's new constitution was drawn up and passed in just four days, having existed in the minds and on the lips of the people for centuries. Thirdly, inevitably, Laing favoured the practices of northern constitutional monarchy rather than southern imperialism. Fourthly, Laing favoured the small landholding system of the Norwegian valley fjords – of Sognefjord, or around Trondheim where he wintered during his travels; the paucity of surplus land prevented the accumulation of large estates and of the excess power which inevitably accompanied them. Equally, though, some landholding was vital. Laing attributed much of the (as he saw it) feeble Anglo-Saxon resistance to viking incursion and invasion to their status as landless serfs. They lacked any material stake in victory, and fought without passion. Fifthly, Laing was virulently anti-Catholic. He attributed the remainder of Anglo-Saxon pre-Conquest lassitude to the baleful influence of the all-powerful 'monkish' church. Viking invasions had been entirely beneficial, exposing tired Anglo-Saxon blood and 'slavish torpidity' to the barbarous vitality of the northmen. Only in the eyes – and hence the writings – of Catholic historians could the vikings be seen as barbarians; for Laing the old northmen were brave, energetic, and technologically imaginative. Sixthly, Laing (like his fellow philologist George Stephens)²² loathed Germany and the Germans with an almost psychotic fervour. Far too much time, he fumed, had been wasted searching for the roots of Anglo-Saxon England in the ancient forests of Germany, and in the over-promoted pages of Tacitus's *Germania*. Modern German society was fundamentally undemocratic and anti-entrepreneurial, its arterial walls calcified by legions of unproductive civil servants, and this malign influence had seeped into the social systems of neighbouring Denmark and Sweden.²³ All that was best in Britain, all that had helped to build a great empire, was (Laing rhapsodized) to be traced to the bonder culture of ancient Norway: representative government, a clear sense of nationhood, articulate public opinion, trial by jury, security of property, freedom of mind and person, and indomitable energy and courage. Seventhly and lastly, Laing was anxious to enrol the United States in his idealizing vision of Norwegian virtue. He was convinced that the British no longer needed to cross the Atlantic to study desirable post-revolutionary democratic structures in action – it was now the Americans who should cross the seas and visit Norway, and return home to reflect on its exemplary medieval traditions.

Laing, of course, had no way of controlling the responses which his *Heimskringla* translation would excite, or the uses to which it would be put. It was a question of releasing it with a fatalistic 'Go litel boke' and seeing how Victorian Britain and North America would receive it. In truth it would be difficult to exaggerate its influence on readers over the remaining sixty years of the nineteenth century. That

influence is freely acknowledged in work after work: in poems written to celebrate the initial publication of the three volumes;²⁴ in lengthy reviews of the translation in learned periodicals;²⁵ in seminal works of political theory such as John Stuart Mill's *Principles of Political Economy* (1848);²⁶ in colourful novelistic recreations of Danelaw Britain such as Edward Bulwer Lytton's *Harold* (1848; Book XI, ch. 11) and Charles Kingsley's *Hereward the Wake* (1866; ch. 41 and passim); in prefatory essays to more than one of the many English translations of Tegnér's *Frithiofs saga*;²⁷ in northern travel books discussing Iceland and Norway (such as that of Lord Dufferin's 1857 *Letters from High Latitudes*); in rebukes to the confederate states in America during the Civil War included (in footnotes) in A. J. Symington's *Pen and Pencil Sketches of Faroe and Iceland* (1862);²⁸ in Oxford University prize poems and essays about the old north;²⁹ in Thomas Carlyle's celebration of steely-willed Odinic conservatism in his *Early Kings of Norway*;³⁰ and, across the Atlantic, in texts as widely different as Ralph Waldo Emerson's suave essays on Victorian Britain,³¹ and Marie Brown's paranoid study of the Norse discovery of America in which the achievement of Columbus (south European, Catholic, autocratic) is denigrated, and that of Leifr Eiríksson (Nordic, righteous pagan, democratic) is valorized.³²

In Victorian Britain the *Heimskringla* saga which enjoyed more popularity and attention than any other was *Ólafs saga Tryggvasonar*. At a scholarly level, for those keen to develop reading skills in Old Icelandic, Henry Sweet's 1886 *Icelandic Primer* includes as the longest of its reading texts the *Heimskringla*-derived 'Death of Olaf Tryggvason', albeit with the verses omitted.³³ There was not a single *Íslendingasögur* passage on offer. The *Íslendingasögur* are fully represented in the more advanced and (still) admirable *Icelandic Prose Reader* (1879) compiled by Guðbrandur Vigfússon and Frederick York Powell, yet *Ólafs saga Tryggvasonar* continues to hold its own: out of almost fifty extracts selected for students to work on, the third longest passage (after chapters from *Laxdæla saga* and the Icelandic Gospel of St Matthew) derives from the longer version of *Ólafs saga Tryggvasonar*.³⁴ By the end of the century conscientious scholars were able to compare Snorri's version of the saga with John Sephton's 1895 translation of that longer version.³⁵ J. F. Vicary's *Olav the King, and Olav, King and Martyr* (1886) offers a dogged comparative discussion of the available sources of information about both kings. For the elderly Carlyle, painting at the end of his life in brushstrokes as broad as a barn door, Laing's bullying Catholic autocrat Ólafr Tryggvason is transformed into an idealized leader of men, full of that Odinic charisma and strength of purpose so much admired by the Scottish sage. The real enemy was not autocracy but anarchy, wearing the face of the wilful disbeliever. In Carlyle's reading of the saga such godlessness takes the form either of high-priestly zealots such

as Hákon jarl, a kind of Puseyite pagan, or of bone-headed bonders. Carlyle purrs with approval at the decisive treatment meted out to stubborn opponents (eloquent Thing speakers struck dumb, temples flattened; banquet guests threatened with being sacrificed to their beloved gods). As for surly malcontents, 'Tryggveson, I fancy, did not much regard all that; a man of joyful, cheery temper, habitually contemptuous of danger'.³⁶ Carlyle's fullest tribute is quoted with evident approval in the preface to the libretto and explanatory notes for Elgar's cantata:

a magnificent, far-shining man [. . .] essentially definable [. . .] as a wild bit of real heroism, in such rude guise and environment; a high, true and great human soul. A jovial burst of laughter in him, withal; a bright, airy wise way of speech; dressed beautifully, and with care; a man admired and loved exceedingly by those he liked, dreaded as death by those he did not like [. . .] remains a shining figure to us; the wildly beautifullest man, in body and soul, that one has ever heard of in the North.³⁷

Carlylean fantasies apart, Ólafr Tryggvason permeated the Victorian literary consciousness at many other levels. To some extent this interest related to his British connections: notably the belief that he fought at the Battle of Maldon, and that he received baptism in the Scilly Isles. His mysterious Arthur-like disappearance at the end of the saga also rang familiar and appealing bells for Victorian lovers of Tennyson. And it was his central and (as viewed by many) heroic role in the conversion of Scandinavia and Iceland 995-1000 which attracted particular attention with writers and publishers engaged in the flourishing business of producing pious books for impious children.

Three instances point the way. Mary Howarth's *Stories of Norway in the Saga Days* (1895), a collection of four cautionary tales for young readers, includes (as its longest and most ambitious narrative) 'The White Prince and King Olaf'. The youthful exploits of Ólafr Tryggvason are elaborated in ways unattested by any literary source known to me. We hear the dying mother of the Russian King Valdemar prophesying that young Olaf (as the name is spelt in the story),³⁸ already by this time a member of the royal household after his Estonian adventures, will become a great Christian and bring light into the life of her sickly grandson Jarisleif. Valdemar is tempted to swap his own sickly son for the robust and healthy Olaf; but his wife Queen Allogia, licked by a magic Lappish dog, learns that Jarisleif has been bewitched by a malevolent Finnish magician. A shrewish young Lappish woman Snaefrid arrives in court;

Jarisleif falls in love with her; the pair set sail for Norway, Olaf having meanwhile set off on his adventures in (first) Britain, and then Norway where he was to become king. The shrewish Snaefrid is eventually won over by Jarisleif's ardour; King Olaf is reunited with his childhood companion, shares his Christian faith with him, thereby fulfilling the dying grandmother's prophecy. Jarisleif, now hale and hearty, becomes a great law-giver back in Russia. A prophecy is fulfilled, a shrew is tamed, Christianity triumphs over Finnish magic, and a sickly child is restored – and young Victorian readers learn some truths and many fantasies about the exemplary King Olaf Trygvesson.

Young Edwardian readers were also catered for. The Boy's Own Series, published by the Religious Tract Society, included M. F. Outram's *In the Van of the Vikings, or How Olaf Tryggvason Lost and Won* (1909). This proves to be a spirited paraphrastic version of Snorri's saga with a wash of well-meaning Sunday School piety serving as commentary. In the 'Moses in the bulrushes' section at the outset, Queen Gunnhild, all pantomime cackling and cursing, does her best to out-Herod Herod in her pursuit of the baby Olaf and his devoted mother; Valdimar and Allogia appear in much less romantic guise than in the Howarth story; and Olaf makes his choice between 'the gods of Valhalla and the God of Heaven' long before his Scilly Isles epiphany. After a fearful vision of Valdimar and Allogia enduring hellish torments Olaf persuades them to accept Christ. Whilst in Britain, he is baptized, learns about the fate of the Jónsborg vikings from Bjorn the Briton, newly returned from the Baltic fray. In all his subsequent evangelical activity Olaf always claims that he fights not for himself but for Christ. In *Laxdæla saga* Kjartan Ólafsson adds that King Ólafr is basically mild and good and, like Dr Arnold of Rugby, is only roused to violence by stubborn paganism. Thangbrand's robust brand of muscular Christianity plays less well with Outram. She feels compelled to insert a lengthy³⁹ heavily post-Reformation rationalization of his ill-starred expedition to Iceland – Thangbrand was a product of Dark-Age Christianity, dominated by popish ignorance, illiteracy, and related iniquities. He knew no better and there was no-one in the official 'Romish' church able to show him the way. The stream of women in Olaf's life presented a problem to decorous nineteenth-century writers, who reacted in different ways. Outram's solution is to claim that Olaf had loved Gyda greatly and that it was only her tragic death which separated them;⁴⁰ Olaf's subsequent slapping of Sigrid's face is presented as an understandably exasperated response to her mulish paganism. As for the king's death, Outram shows little interest in the excitement of the naval engagement or the individual acts of heroism; she lingers instead over the dazzling halo hovering over Olaf's head as he leaves this life.

The third text reflecting the responses of popular piety (albeit in this instance of a more adult variety) to Ólafr Tryggvason is *Torquil, or the Days of Olaf Tryggvason*, a lengthy and bizarre narrative poem by an (as yet, to me) unknown poet, published in Edinburgh in 1870. Torquil is a Norseman living on one of the northern isles of Scotland. He is the unrequited lover of Maida, a young woman whose father he had killed as revenge for having seen his own father killed by hers. Thora, Torquil's resolutely pagan mother, is deeply suspicious of the contacts he is making with Guthlac and Anselm, Christians newly arrived in the isles; and she also disapproves of Maida, preferring her son to marry Thora's niece Katla. Katla decides to involve the fearsome pagan priest Cormac, who resides in an remote and exotic temple, in her plans for wooing Torquil. The onset of a plague affecting all the local cattle is further grist to Cormac's malign mill; a Christian sacrifice is required to appease the angry gods – either the newly arrived monks, or perhaps the Christian-inclined Maida must die. As Cormac raises his knife to Maida's breast, Olaf Tryggvason appears on the scene, a miraculously well-timed intervention during one of his north British expeditions. In the ensuing fight Maida and Cormac both die, and Torquil is recruited to Olaf's troop, and flourishes as he develops a talent for berserker-like deeds of derring-do in battle; he now seems immune to the charms and wiles of women. They are joined by a young page boy, Nigel, who proves to be Katla in improbable disguise, with a testimonial letter from Conan, a Christian hermit, which confirms her own acceptance of the true faith. For all that she and Torquil fall in love, the young hero had previously sworn to marry no woman except the long dead Maida. Olaf Tryggvason commands him to relent and marry his new love. Now, in turn, Katla hesitates. She is unable to forgive herself for contriving the sacrifice of Maida, and determines to seek out the minster of Kildare and commit herself to a life of penance and prayer. Torquil stands with Olaf in his final battle; he is captured as his leader dies; as he watches Long Serpent burning to ashes, Maida appears to him in a vision, and informs him that her death can best be avenged by bringing pagan Norwegian souls to Christ. So it is that he receives Earl Erik's permission to preach in Norway, and in due course dies a holy death as an elderly abbot in a minster church.

Popular piety for adult and child was not the only appeal of Ólafr Tryggvason. Nineteenth-century rewritings made much of his turbulent and exciting youth. This was certainly the case with Robert Leighton's novel *Olaf the Glorious* (1895). For Leighton, a prolific late-Victorian writer of books for school children (boys more than girls, one feels), Olaf was 'glorious' not only as a missionary king, but also for exemplary Laingean reasons: his kingship had a legitimate basis in popular support and assent, and, especially important, the great monarch had triumphed over a rash of

childhood challenges like some Nordic David Copperfield – the murder of his grandfather and father, the perilous path to survival in the face of the predatory Queen Gunnhild's dynastic plans, and the life of slavery in Estonia. There was no silver spoon tinkling in the vulnerable Olaf's young mouth; we are conscious rather of someone pulling himself up by his own bootstraps. Young schoolboys receiving his book as school prize or Christmas present would learn that survival and success could be achieved by the sweat of an individual's own brow and brain. Noble nurture without a matching nature was of no value. Leighton's Olaf was an *arriviste* hero, and so potentially were many of his young Victorian admirers. We follow the young man's training for life, first, amongst the slaves – apparently the old Baltic equivalent of Victorian public school fagging or West Point hazing (the book was also published in the United States). Olaf learns skills of hand and mind – rune carving, saga telling, harp playing, wood carving, bow bending, arrow shafting, along with the ways of old northern religion. The passing of the baton from generation to generation is signalled here, as in many another old northern novel, by an elaborate ship burial scene as Guthorm his worthy foster-father is honoured; and by an equally elaborate ship construction scene as the mighty Long Serpent is crafted for the young leader. Thus equipped, Olaf travels widely on his adolescent *útanferð*, to his friends a generous gift-giver, and to his foes a relentless pursuer. His experiences in the British Isles are naturally singled out for particular attention – the Orkneys, the Isle of Man, the Scillies, London where he was baptized, and Ireland where he married. The novel offers an unfamiliar perspective on the Battle of Maldon, familiar by then as a poem to serious students of Old English through Henry Sweet's *Anglo-Saxon Reader* (1876). Leighton's King Olaf and Byrhtnoth are presented as equally worthy in terms of bravery and chivalry; there is no talk of the East Anglian leader's *ofermode* – the vikings cross the river at low tide without the possibility of let or hindrance; and there is poignancy in the meeting on the battlefield between Olaf and the Northumbrian Egbert, once a firm friend and fellow slave in Estonia, now a formidable foe fighting for a different king and country. One adventure concerns Olaf's (wholly unattested in any saga) time with the Jómsborg vikings. In Outram's *In the Van of the Vikings* Olaf hears about the Jómsborg heroes from Bjorn the Briton on his return from the Baltic;⁴¹ in Leighton's version Olaf finds himself in the thick of the action, a captain in Earl Sigvaldi's navy. Facing certain death by beheading at the hands of Earl Hakon, it is Olaf along with Vagn Akason who contrives to trip up the executioner whose sword accidentally severs their bonds, thus enabling them to escape.

In Leighton's tale, when Olaf returns to Norway the slave boy from Estonia is the overwhelmingly popular choice at the Trondheim Storting to become king of

Norway. In the five-year period between 995 and 1000, Olaf sweeps all paganism before him in his bloodstained Scandinavian progress. The ferocious but ultimately wretched Rand [sic] is paraded before Victorian readers, breathing fire against Christ, but unable to resist the deadly serpent who gnaws its way through his defiant entrails. A cruel fate, but Leighton does his best for King Olaf's reputation as a merciful Christian – Rand had been a blasphemer and a criminal, and the king had, in effect, been functioning as an arm of secular and divine justice. As for the problem of Olaf and his womenfolk, Leighton's solution differs from that of Outram: Geira is said to be older than Olaf, and he never really loved her anyway – hence his decision to abandon her. Whatever cruelty in the service of a loving Christ, whatever indifference to the preponderance of popular wish amongst the farmers of Norway, and whatever fleetness of amorous foot Leighton's Olaf may have shown, no young Victorian reader, brought up on a daily diet of nautical adventure, could fail to respond to the excitement of the king's final sea-battle. In having his hero flee to Rome, Leighton opts for the less mysterious of the two options bequeathed to him by tradition: 'Does Olaf live? or is he dead? / Has he the hungry ravens fed? / I scarcely know what I should say, / For many tell the tale each way.'

The Victorian reconstruction and reverbalizing of King Ólafr Tryggvason in a variety of popular formats was sufficiently widespread for many members of Edward Elgar's choirs and orchestras to have encountered the old northern hero in one of these novelistic or poetic formats. But just as it had been Longfellow who brought the Elgar family into contact with the old north, it was Longfellow as well as Laing who had marked out the Ólafr Tryggvason ground for many of these Victorian popularizers. Longfellow's version of *Ólafs saga Tryggvasonar* inevitably leaves much of Snorri's work untouched. Only twenty seven of the 123 saga chapters feature in the poem, several of these only fleetingly; the majority of chapters taken from the second half of the saga. The Estonian, Jónsborgian and Orcadian adventures of Ólafr were of no interest to the American poet. Longfellow's old north was essentially that of Tegnér; the violent spirit of paganism transcended by news of the 'White Christ' from the south of Europe. Frithiof the nautical hero, the faithful lover, the popularly acclaimed leader, and the upwardly mobile son of a loyal franklin – it is this figure who spends the last canto of Tegnér's poem in an act of penance for his previous destruction of Balder's temple. That edifice must be reconstructed as a token of a righteous pagan's respect for spirituality in general, and for the pagan god most closely resembling Christ in particular. In Longfellow's 'Tegnér's Drapa', written in memory of the Swedish poet, Longfellow makes his position clear:

The law of force is dead!
The law of love prevails!
Thor, the thunderer,
Shall rule the earth no more,
No more, with threats,
Challenge the meek Christ.

Sing no more,
O ye bards of the North,
Of Vikings and of Jarls!
Of the days of Eld
Preserve the freedom only,
Not the deeds of blood!⁴²

For a long time Longfellow took his own advice. His attempts to write an old northern epic constantly foundered on his reluctance to surrender fully to the robust spirit of pagan violence and mysticism.⁴³ Yet, eventually, as he became familiar with the Laing translation,⁴⁴ he encountered the saga of King Ólafr, and he began to consider the possibility of composing, if not a full-length epic, then at least a sectionalised poetic sequence along the lines of *Frithiofs saga*. Ólafr's Christianity projected the 'law of love' (just about), and those 'deeds of blood' and tales of 'Vikings and Jarls' which proved unavoidable, could be justified in terms of the necessarily turbulent process which brought about the death of 'the law of force'. Certainly Longfellow followed the example of Tegnér in the scintillating prosodic energy and invention which his twenty-two scenes exhibit.

Longfellow's excisions from and realignments of Laing's translated text seem driven both by the poet's ideological agenda and essential gentleness of temperament. After an 'Interlude' in which we meet again the musician, and hear of the 'wondrous book [. . .] Heimskringla is the volume called', the poem's sections are as follows: I 'The Challenge of Thor' (a triumphalist statement of defiance by Olaf's ultimate adversary; composed in 1849, originally intended first for his unwritten epic *Christus*, and then for a narrative verse life of Earl Hakon); II 'King Olaf's return' (Olaf returns to Norway to accept Thor's challenge: Laing ch. 52, retrospective fragments of chs 6-7; ÍF xxvi chs 47, 6-7); III 'Thora of Rimol' (Earl Hakon is murdered by Kark: Laing chs 53, 55; ÍF xxvi chs 48, 50); IV 'Queen Sigrid the Haughty' (Olaf woos and then slaps Sigrid the pagan queen: Laing ch. 68; ÍF xxvi ch. 61); V 'The Sherry of Shrieks' (Olaf destroys Eyvind Kellða's sorcerer crew: Laing ch. 70; ÍF xxvi ch. 63); VI 'The

Wraith of Odin' (A one-eyed Odinic spirit visits King Olaf's feast and entertains the guests with heroic legends and *Hávamál* wisdom: Laing ch. 71; ÍF xxvi ch. 74); VII 'Iron-Beard' (Olaf confronts Iron-Beard, pagan leader of the bonders summoned to a Thing; Iron-Beard is killed and the bonders accept Christianity: Laing chs 72-74, 76; ÍF xxvi chs 65, 67-69); VIII 'Gudrun' (Iron-Beard's daughter marries Olaf, and then attempts to kill him on the wedding night: Laing ch. 78; ÍF xxvi 71); IX 'Thangbrand the Priest' (Thangbrand's unsuccessful mission to Iceland: Laing ch. 65; ÍF xxvi ch. 73); X 'Raud the Strong', XI 'Bishop Sigurd at Salten Fiord' (The torture of Raud, the pagan sorcerer: Laing chs 86-87; ÍF xxvi chs 79-80); XII 'King Olaf's Christmas' (Baptism of Hallfred the skald: Laing ch. 90; ÍF xxvi ch. 83); XIII 'The Building of the Long Serpent' (Laing ch. 95; ÍF xxvi ch. 88); XIV 'The Crew of the Long Serpent' (Laing ch. 102; ÍF xxvi ch. 94); XV 'A Little Bird in the Air', (Olaf weds Thyri) and XVI 'Queen Thyri and the Angelica Stalks' (Thyri incites Olaf to recover her Wendish domains from King Burislaf: Laing ch. 100; ÍF xxvi ch. 92); XVII 'King Svend of the Forked Beard' (Sigrid, recalling the slap on her face, incites King Svend against Olaf: Laing ch. 108; ÍF xxvi ch. 98); XVIII 'King Olaf and Earl Sigvald' (Olaf is led by Earl Sigvaldi to the waiting enemy fleet: Laing ch. 110; ÍF xxvi ch. 100); XIX 'King Olaf's War-Horns' (Battle is engaged: Laing ch. 113; ÍF xxvi ch. 103); XX 'Einar Tamberskelver' (Einar fights valiantly for King Olaf: Laing ch. 118; ÍF xxvi ch. 108); XXI 'King Olaf's Death Drink' (Olaf falls in battle: Laing chs 120-122; ÍF xxvi 110-112); XXII 'The Nun of Nidaros' (Olaf's mother Astrid, now an elderly abbess in Trondheim, hears the voice of St John proclaiming the eternal power of Christ: no parallel in Laing or ÍF).

Laing's 123 chapters became twenty-two Longfellow sections, and just nine of these scenes find a place in Elgar's cantata, supplemented by additional sections provided by the composer's Malvern friend H.A. Acworth. The cut up and pasted sections of Elgar's dismembered edition of Longfellow are still extant. The cantata sections are: I Introduction (Longfellow); Recitative (Acworth); II 'The Challenge of Thor' (Longfellow I); III 'King Olaf's Return' (Longfellow II); Recitative (Acworth); IV The Conversion (Acworth); Recitative (Acworth); V 'Gudrun' (Longfellow VIII); Recitative (Acworth); VI 'The Wraith of Odin' (Longfellow VI); Recitative (Acworth); VII Sigrid (Longfellow IV); Recitative (Acworth); VIII 'Thyri' (Longfellow XV); IX Thyri and Olaf Angelica duet (Longfellow XVI); Recitative (Acworth); X 'The Death of Olaf' (Acworth); XI 'Epilogue' (Longfellow XXII). Acworth's overall libretto recasts Longfellow's interlaced narrative into, effectively, three discrete blocks: conversion; Olaf's women; sea-battle and death of the king. For Snorri, and hence for Laing and even Longfellow, the spiritual, the emotional, and the military could

interlock tragically – Sigrid's paganism led to the exasperated slap on the cheek, which in turn led to her scheming revenge, which in turn led to Olaf's death. For Acworth, the structure needed simplification. Norway needed converting and pagans villains needed eliminating before Olaf could look for a wife.

In assessing the nature of Elgar's musical response to the 'King Olaf' story, we may say that if Longfellow's temperament and ideology were essentially Tegnérían, Elgar approached his assignment with his ears full of Wagner and Brahms, and with his spirit tempered by all the inevitable trials confronting a provincial lower-middle-class Catholic seeking musical fame in the metropolitan, upper-middle-class, Anglican world of the Victorian musical establishment. After an unprivileged youth spent avoiding the predatory scheming of Queen Gunnhildr, the crusading Ólafr conquered the land of his birth with his Catholic faith; and it may not be too fanciful to suggest that the modestly born musical son of middle England saw himself as a kind of crusader, if not for his Catholicism directly, then at least for his music – and he, too, won over his country after a struggle.⁴⁵

This paper affords opportunity for examination of just three short scenes from the complete score,⁴⁶ and we may reflect that even in Elgar's lifetime it was not long before the work became fragmented, as brass bands, lady's choirs, and competition performers requested and received special arrangements of individual sections. Longfellow's blue-eyed Norwegian narrator provides the words for Elgar's opening bars:

'There is,' said he, 'a wondrous book
Of Legends in the old Norse tongue,
Of the dead kings of Norroway, –
Legends that once were told or sung
In many a smoky fireside nook
Of Iceland, in the ancient day,
By wandering Saga-man or Scald;
Heimskringla is the volume called;
And he who looks may find therein
The story that I now begin.'⁴⁷

An authentic Elgarian atmosphere is established from the first bars. In his explanatory note to the score, the composer notes that 'In the following Scenes it is intended that the performers should be looked upon as a gathering of skalds (bards); all, in turn, take part in the narration of the Saga and occasionally, at the more dramatic points,

personify for the moment some important character'.⁴⁸ Elgar sees fit to set his skaldic gathering in the misty and remote key of G minor. The rich initial wash of string sound is made up of contrasting figures – a falling figure in fourths on violins and cellos, and an opposing rising figure in sixths on violas.⁴⁹ This prepares the way for the whole work's examination of the conflict between 'gauntlet and gospel' – falling figures for paganism, rising figures for Olaf's Christianity. Elgar's fascination with Wagnerian motif construction is discernible from the outset. The eerie medieval plainchant effect of the mixed chorus, with which the central measures begin, is set against rich polyphonic orchestration, before the skaldic soloists (tenor and bass) emerge to hint at the grandeur as well as the solemnity of the issues at stake; and in the third and final segment, the opening material is restated, with its conflicting string figures re-established, and tonality oscillating hauntingly between major and minor. For many Elgarians, these three minutes alone could represent a Desert Island Disc choice. The old north can rarely have been more seductively voiced.

The two scenes which follow introduce us to the dominant figures of 'gauntlet' (Thor) and 'gospel' (Olaf). Of 'The Challenge of Thor' a leading Elgarian scholar has recently written, 'Nothing like [it] had ever appeared in English choral music, and it made an instant sensation'.⁵⁰ It is not hard to understand why. The backbone of the scene is a brutish-sounding ostinato spread over the same falling fourth figure of paganism established in the opening scene. This is now clearly the signature figure of Thor and his hammer. It begins as a male pianissimo, and grows ever stronger, encompassing women's voices; paganism embraces both genders and shouts its defiance. As the scene develops, we hear the northern lights (which Thor claims to be his red beard blowing in the night wind) in a scurrying violin figure; and as pagan power reaches its climax ('Strength is triumphant / Over the whole earth') the music reaches fortissimo, the tonality ranges widely, and male and female voices unite, separate, and then reunite, as if to emphasize pagan dominance over 'the whole earth' where 'still it is Thor's Day'. At that very moment of supreme hubris, the relentless Thor's hammer ostinato is stilled for the very first time in the scene, as the name of Christ is mentioned – 'Thou art a God, too, / O Galilean', before pagan resolve winches itself up for a final defiant explosion.

The scene which follows, 'King Olaf's return', serves as an answer, both theological and musical, to 'The Challenge of Thor'. The violins scurry again, but this time the light symbolized is that shining from Olaf's armour. The heroic Christian energy of Olaf, bound up with the natural energy of the sea over which he is sailing 'northward into Drontheim fiord', is signalled by darting and rising figures. The humanity of the hero is realized in Elgar's most lyrical vein as first Olaf's mother, and

then her son's baptism in the Scilly Isles, are recalled. The threatening falling signature figure of Thor is answered by a bold, heroic brass figure for Olaf, as he states his acceptance of the pagan challenge. The conflicts of religious faith and musical expression established in the first ten minutes are more than sufficient to fuel the remainder of this remarkable work.

A last thought on the influence of the Elgar cantata. Beatrice Clay, a former Cambridge pupil of Eiríkur Magnússon, and after 1900 the Headmistress of Queen's School, Chester, prepared an edition of selections from Longfellow's 'The Saga of King Olaf' to be used in schools as an examination text.⁵¹ Longfellow's twenty-two sections are reduced to thirteen, and it is not difficult to imagine why particular sections may have been omitted: 'The Skerry of Shrieks' and 'The Wraith of Odin' (too macabre), 'Gudrun' (unseemly for well-bred young ladies), 'Thangbrand' (insufficiently pious), 'Raud the Strong' and 'Bishop Sigurd at Salten Fiord' (too bloodthirsty), 'King Olaf's Christmas' (the berserker material too robust), 'The Crew of the Long Serpent' (retards the onward progress of the narrative), 'Nun of Nidaros' (compromises the heroic ending).

The Clay edition, making good use of her former teacher's notes in the final 1905 volume of the William Morris-Eiríkur Magnússon translation of *Heimskringla*,⁵² was one of a series of ultimately unavailing attempts during this pre-First World War period to promote old northern texts and traditions within the starchily traditional world of secondary school examination syllabuses. It was one thing for the young Victorian schoolchild to receive Leighton's *Olaf the Glorious* as a school prize; but the texts studied at school in order to win that prize were invariably those of classical Greece and Rome. We may thus reflect on those late Victorian and Edwardian winter evenings when the parents of middle England set off for weekly choral society practice to prepare for a performance of Elgar's *Scenes from the Saga of King Olaf*, leaving their teenage children toiling with school homework assignments from the Beatrice Clay edition of Longfellow's poem. It is not clear what steps could be taken to ensure that Elgar's cantata, or Longfellow's poem, or Laing's translation, or Snorri's original saga might enjoy equivalent popular exposure a century later. Perhaps our hero needs to be taken to the wide screen and 'reinscribed within a modern discursive framework' – Ólafr as insensate imperialist tyrant, Guðrún as oppressive old northern patriarchy's latest victim, and Rauðr as an heroic icon of multicultural alterity. With any luck funding might be a problem.

NOTES

¹ This paper is a revised and amplified version of that read at the 10th International Saga Conference, in Trondheim, August 1997, and circulated in the preprints to that conference.

² *The Poems of Longfellow*. Oxford Standard Authors (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1904), p. 347.

³ *The Poems of Longfellow*, p. 347.

⁴ Élivágar refers to the rivers flowing into the primeval abyss known as Ginnungagap before the creation of the first giants and humans.

⁵ Throughout this essay I draw on a number of excellent recent studies of Elgar's life and music: Michael Kennedy, *Portrait of Elgar*, 3rd edn (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1987); *Elgar and his Publishers* ed. by Jerrold Northrop Moore, 2 vols (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1987); Robert Anderson, *Elgar in Manuscript* (London: British Library, 1990), and *Elgar* (London: Dent, 1993).

⁶ *A Dictionary of English Surnames*, ed. by P. H. Reaney and others, 3rd edn (London: Routledge, 1991), p. 6.

⁷ Appropriately, amongst the centenary performances, there was one at the 1996 Bergen festival.

⁸ Terry Gunnell, *The Origins of Drama in Scandinavia* (Woodbridge: Brewer, 1995).

⁹ Bertha Phillpotts, *The Elder Edda and Ancient Scandinavian Drama* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1920).

¹⁰ See, for example, William Caldwell Roscoe, 'The Eddas', *Partisan Review*, 9 (1853), 488-527 (pp. 522-23).

¹¹ The authors were, respectively, Newman Howard, *Kiartan the Icelander* (1902); Gordon Bottomley, *The Riding to Lithend* (1909), Beatrice Barnby, *Gísli Súrsson* (1900), Beatrice Clay (c1911). On Clay see Andrew Wawn, 'The Spirit of 1892: Sagas, Saga-Steads and Victorian Philology', *Saga-Book of the Viking Society*, 23/4 (1992), 213-52 (p. 222).

¹² Andrew Wawn, 'The Cult of "Stalwart Frith-thjof" in Victorian Britain', in *Northern Antiquity: the Post-Medieval Reception of Edda and Saga*, ed. by Andrew Wawn (Enfield Lock: Hisarlik Press, 1994), 211-54 (p. 215).

¹³ *The Poems of Longfellow*, p. 364.

¹⁴ The translators were, respectively, George Webbe Dasent (1861), Sir Edmund Head (1865), and Dasent again (1866).

¹⁵ Printed in *Frithiof's saga. A Legend of Norway*, trans. by George Stephens (London: Williams and Norgate, 1839; reprinted Felinfach: Llanerch Publishers, 1994).

¹⁶ See Wawn, 'Stalwart "Frith-thjof"'.

¹⁷ He lived at Silke-Willoughby in the heart of Danelaw Lincolnshire and claimed to be of Danish descent.

¹⁸ Bodleian Library, English misc. MSS, d. 131, 24 November 1888, fol. 539.

¹⁹ Seven numbers feature in a piano version 'Scenes from Olav Trygvason' (Op. 50) which was published in 1888: see Einar Steen-Nøkleberg, Introductory notes to *Grieg Piano music, Vol. 11* (Munich: Naxos DDD 8.553397, 1995).

²⁰ Reissued in 1889, under the editorial control of Rasmus Anderson.

²¹ George Stephens's 1839 translation of the Old Icelandic and Tegnérían versions of the saga of Friðþjófr/Frithiof was published in both Stockholm (A. Bonnier) and London.

²² See Andrew Wawn, 'George Stephens, Cheapinghaven and Old Northern Philology', *Studies in Medievalism*, 7 (1995), 63-104 (pp. 86-90).

²³ Much commented upon in Laing's *A Tour of Sweden in 1838* (London: Longman, 1839); *Notes of a Traveller on the Social and Political State of France, Prussia, Switzerland, Italy and other parts of Europe* (London: Longman, 1842); *Observations on the Social and Political State of Denmark, and the Duchies of Sleswick and Holstein in 1851* (London: Longman, 1852).

²⁴ *Tait's Edinburgh Magazine*, 11 (1844), 369-71; the poem bears the initials 'A. G.' and an internal reference to the 'chivalric de Gournay race'.

²⁵ *ibid.*, pp. 281-94, 369-81; see also Charles Neaves's sceptical view of Laing's work in *Edinburgh Review*, 166 (1845), 267-317.

²⁶ ed. by Sir W. J. Ashley (London: Longmans, 1920), pp. 263-66.

²⁷ Oscar Baker, *The Saga of Frithiof: A Legend* (London: E. Bull, 1841), pp. vii-viii.

²⁸ *Pen and Pencil Sketches*, p. 298.

²⁹ John White, *The Vikings. A Prize Poem recited at the Theatre, Oxford, June xii MDCCCLXI* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1861), p. 8 and passim.

³⁰ In *Critical and Miscellaneous Essays*, 5 vols (London: Chapman and Hall, 1899), V.

³¹ *The Complete Essays and Other Writings of Ralph Waldo Emerson*, ed. by Brooks Atkinson (New York: Modern Library, 1949-50), pp. 554-63 and passim.

³² Marie Brown, *The Icelandic Discovery of America, or Honour to whom Honour is due* (New York and London: Marie A. Brown, 1887), pp. 11, 16-18, 20-21, 37-39 and passim.

³³ Henry Sweet, *Icelandic Primer*, 2nd edn (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1896), pp. 60-69 (the equivalent Icelandic text is edited in: Snorri Sturluson, *Heimskringla*, ed. by Bjarni Aðalbjarnarson, 3 vols, Íslenzk fornrit, 26-28 (Reykjavik: Hið íslenzka fornritafélag, 1941-51), I, 349-68).

³⁴ Gudbrand Vigfusson [sic] and F. York Powell, *An Icelandic Prose Reader* (Oxford:

Clarendon Press, 1879), pp. 152-73. The scenes are 'The Death of Hákon jarl', 'Ólafr amongst the Angels', 'Battle preparations', 'The Passing of Ólafr': chs 102-04, 237-39, 248, 255-57. A fragment from the saga (the account of the vows of the Jónsborg vikings) survives in *An Introduction to Old Norse*, ed. by E. V. Gordon, rev. 2nd edn (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1957), pp. 118-23.

³⁵ *The Saga of King Olaf Tryggvason* (London: D. Nutt, 1895).

³⁶ Carlyle 1899, p. 237.

³⁷ Henry Wadsworth Longfellow and H. A. Acfield, *Scenes from the Saga of King Olaf* [...] *set to music by Edward Elgar (Op. 30). Book of Words with analytic notes by Joseph Bennett* (London: Novello, n.d. [c. 1896]).

³⁸ In this paper I use Old Icelandic forms for names, except for characters in Victorian versions of saga stories – in those instances, the spellings are those of the particular publication discussed.

³⁹ M. F. Outram, *In the Van of the Vikings, or How Olaf Tryggvason Lost and Won* (London: Religious Tract Society, 1909), pp. 241-42.

⁴⁰ A similar line is taken by Mrs Joseph J. Reed, *The Adventures of Olaf Tryggveson, King of Norway* (London, 1865), p. 56.

⁴¹ A scene from *Ólafs saga Tryggvasonar en mesta*, ch. 91.

⁴² *The Poems of Longfellow*, p. 191.

⁴³ Andrew Hilen, *Longfellow and Scandinavia* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1947), pp. 94-97.

⁴⁴ Hilen, pp. 98-99.

⁴⁵ Jerrold Northrop Moore, *Edward Elgar, A Life in Music* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1984), pp. 183-84.

⁴⁶ The first and, to my knowledge, only recording of the work is that of Vernon Handley and the London Philharmonic Choir and Orchestra, EMI CMS 5 65104 (London, 1987 – reissued 1994).

⁴⁷ *The Poems of Longfellow*, p. 364.

⁴⁸ Edward Elgar, *Scenes from the Saga of King Olaf* (London: Novello, 1896), p. [xiii].

⁴⁹ Anderson, *Elgar*, p. 183, excerpt 3.

⁵⁰ Moore, CD booklet (see above, note 45), p. 9.

⁵¹ *The Saga of King Olaf*, ed. by Beatrice Clay (London: Blackie, [n.d.; c. 1907]).

⁵² William Morris and Eiríkr Magnússon, *The Stories of Norway called the Round of the World (Heimskringla)*, 4 vols, The Saga Library, vols 3-6 (London: Quaritch, 1893-1905), VI.