

The Leaders

King Sverre and King Haakon

*Analysis of King Sverre Sigurdsson and King Haakon Haakonsson
in Sverris Saga and Haakonar Saga Haakonarsonar
through Max Weber's and John Gardner's models*

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By Ismael Osornio Duran

The Center for Nordic Viking and Medieval Culture
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Introduction

The leadership of the Norwegian Kings during the Medieval 'Civil War' plays a prominent part in social, political and economical life in high Medieval Norway. The objective of the present dissertation discusses how King Sverre Sigurdsson (1177-1202) and Haakon Haakonsson (1217-1263) are depicted in their Sagas. The work will be focus on four analytical tools: 1. The Kings' Charisma; 2. The Kings' Personal Abilities; 3. The Kings' Bureaucracy; 4. The King's closest Fellows. The thesis goal will be accomplished through an analysis of both Kings' personality in Sverris saga and Haakonar saga Haakonarsonar by the Weber's leadership model and Gardner's leadership theory.

According to Knut Helle¹ "The death of King Sigurd Crusader in 1130 marked the transition from a century relatively peaceful internal conditions in Norway to a century of frequent struggles over the succession to the throne, the 'Civil Wars' as been termed by modern historians." Sigurd Crusader left a son, Magnus; this meant that the claim of Harald Gille, accepted by Sigurd as his half brother, was disregarded. Both Harald and Magnus were acclaimed Kings in 1130. During eleventh century the Norwegian royal power on some occasions ruled the kingdom by two or three Kings together and the territory comprised from the River (Gota alv) in the south to Troms-Finnmark in the north.

The practice to have more than one ruler was established in an old and customary royal succession law that gives the opportunity to the legitimate and illegitimate the right to claim the royal power. A legitimate ruler by the ceremony had to be claimed in one or more *Things* or assemblies of freeman, through the element of election in the customary

¹ Helle, Knut. *The Cambridge History of Scandinavia*. Vol. 1 Prehistory to 1520. Ch. 12 The Norwegian Kingdom: succession disputes and consolidation. Cambridge University Press. United Kingdom. 2003

system of succession. One important *Thing* during the Civil Wars was the Eyrating in Trondheim, the town of Saint Olav, patron of Norway.

A King could only have governed over the part of the country where he was present with his *hird* or administrative fellow; through local representatives. To Helle Knut, the Sagas present the Civil Wars with conflict between rival pretenders and their supporters. How the Kings with his fellows together by common interest fight against the *impostors*. Mainly the King expressed his friendship exchanging gifts and favors as symbol of generosity and protection. “Characteristically, the kings’ sagas in the first phase of the Civil Wars distinguish between generous, sociable, successful kings who listened to and were supported by their ‘friends’, and their avaricious, haughty, unsuccessful counterparts.”²

Inter-Nordic alliances were important for the success of pretenders. For Danish kings who maintain control over Norwegian Viken, it was natural Norwegian support to make good that control. Sweden participated mainly with some provinces rulers in Norwegian affairs. By marital relations were cemented the alliances.

The Kings income was by contributions of the farming population. The economy and power basis of the King usually was shared with his followers to gain support during the battles. The aristocracy was sharpened by the fact that the Church during the twelfth century acquired and increased part of the country. The living conditions among the lower strata of society and bred discontent make easier recruit adherents to fight. The people in districts which suffered forced contributions and plunder usually got and join to the enemy.

The Magnus Sigurdsson’s strongest position in Trondelag and Harald Gille’s support from Viken balance the power. But when Harald is killed in 1136 the stability is broken. Harald left two sons: legitimate Inge, fostered in Viken, and the illegitimate Sigurd,

² Helle, Knut. *The Cambridge History of Scandinavia*. Vol. 1 Prehistory to 1520. Ch. 12 The Norwegian Kingdom: succession disputes and consolidation. Cambridge University Press. United Kingdom. 2003. pp 371

fostered in Trondelag. Sigurd was acclaimed co-ruler because the people did not accept a sole king from Viken. A third co-ruler was added when an elder illegitimate son of Harald, Eynstein, was fetched from Scotland and taken king at Eyrathing.

Having Kings by regions determined the beginning of the struggles and the creation of gangs with own names and taking party for a King. The elimination of two Inge's royal brothers and his own death in 1161 gave to Magnus Erlingsson the succession. Magnus descendent from Sigurd Crusader's daughter, with his father Erling Shakke take the power of the land. Their strongest faction was the result of Danish King Valdemar's support and the Norwegian Church's alliance under Archbishop Eystein. They defend the kingdom over many gangs, but the Inge's lineage Sverre Sigurdsson³ and his fellows the Birkebeiner a proletarian group supported from Sweden would destroy their peace and defeated in 1177. This event partly finished the strongest faction in the Civil Wars.

Sverre's reign alternated short and long periods of peace. His group increased by local people who were persuaded to take part in the fighting. He increased his power by skillful guerrilla warfare and his struggles affected the whole community. The fight between Magnus and Sverre mobilized the whole country and divides it in two parties. Sverre's life and the guerrilla are described in *Sverris saga*, written by the abbot of Thingeyrar, Karl Jonsson, the first part of which was commissioned by Sverre himself and concluded not long after his death in 1202. The saga is a secular biography of princes develop in late antiquity and the early Middle Ages. The contemporary saga include rhetorical speeches given by the hero, described his moral virtues, physical appearance and behavior.

Sverre's demands for a reduction in the archbishop's personal armed forces, Eystein, the struggle finish with his excommunication in 1194 by Pope Innocent III. Sverre responded with an argument in favor of secular dominance over the church in his *Speech Against the*

³ Gjerset, Knut *History of the Norwegian people*. Macmillan. New York, 1932. Son of a Norwegian woman married to a Faeroe Islands man, Sverre was ordained priest at an early age. After receiving notice of his royal origin, for being son of the former Norwegian King Sigurd Haraldsson, in Norway he became leader of the Birkebeiners, rivals of the incumbent King Magnus and his father Erling Shakke.

Bishops. The Magnus' death in 1184 made to his followers created a new group *Baglar*⁴. In 1196 the dissident bishop of Oslo, Nicholas, joined forces and precipitated the war, a rebellion of the *Baglar*. By 1202 Sverre had defeated the opposition, through the organization of large scale *laidang* expeditions from Trondelag and Vestlandet to Ostlandet where the *Baglar* had support.

The population was punished by the war, taxation increment and extra contributions. The Church played the role of mediator between *Baglar* and *Birkebeiner* and tried to stop them. At this point the peasantry at this moment needed peace and went to the Things to acclaim against war-leaders and decided on more peaceful candidates. The gang member needed the people's approval and their money to support their fight. With Inge Bordasson's death (*Birkebeiner*) and Fillipus Simmonsson (*Baglar*) brought the final reconciliation and unification between both gangs in one *hird* under the Haakon Haakonsson.⁵

Haakon's life is described in another contemporary saga, *Haakonar saga Haakonarsonar* written by Sturla Thordasson around 1264-65, as commission from Haakon's son Magnus the Law-Mender, a work based in foreign model and wealth documentary material, provided by the royal chancellery. It was the literary fruit of very recent turbulent times. King Haakon orchestrated the death of Sturla's uncle, Snorri Sturluson, in 1241 and bring the Icelandic republic under Norwegian control, Sturla had consistently opposed Haakon's procedure seems the fraught circumstances under which the saga was originally created.

Haakon was proclaimed King in Eyrating and 1247 obtained Pope's dispensation for his illegitimate birth by the Church's support after see a peaceful and united kingdom. Haakon Haakonsson's new law succession in 1260 established the right of inheritance for

⁴ Gjerset, Knut *History of the Norwegian people*. Macmillan. New York, 1932. The *Baglar* in the beginning was a group headed by religious and secular leaders opposed to Sverre's ecclesiastical and administrative reforms.

⁵ Gjerset, Knut *History of the Norwegian people*. Macmillan. New York, 1932. Surnamed the Old was declared to be the son of Haakon Sverresson. Haakon was Sverre's grandson. He commanded the death of Snorri Sturluson, the most important author of the Norwegian Kings Sagas. He achieved the Hebrides and Orkney Islands. The most important event in his reign was the voluntary surrender of Iceland.

royal descendants starting with the eldest legitimate son of the deceased king. To Knut “The clearest reflection of the internal strength of the consolidated monarchy after the Civil Wars is its legislation.”⁶

After giving some details about the historical background, the present dissertation will describe the sources to accomplish the objective. The sources are divided in four main analytical tools taken in Weber’s model and Gardner’s leadership theory. To continue, a slight introduction of this sources:

To Kellerman⁷ understand Max Weber’s accounts of *leadership* is important in order to explain the social phenomena of leadership; Weber believed it necessary to isolate the leaders’ critical features into types such that all cases of a given phenomenon could be classified by a predetermined definition. Weber’s types of leadership, then, represent one or several aspects of relevant social phenomena. The sociologist responds by his *leadership types*⁸ how a leader can give a command and have actions. He classified claims to the legitimacy in the exercise of authority. Therefore the analytical tools given by Weber are the *Charismatic, Traditional and Bureaucratic* leadership.

And the fourth tool *The Fellowship* is giving by Gardner’s⁹ who stipulate, the state of mind of followers is a powerful ingredient in explaining the emergence of the leader. Leaders cannot maintain authority, unless fellowship is prepared to believe in that authority. In a sense, followers confer leadership. To say that followers have substantial influence over the leaders sounds like the view of someone steeped in the democratic tradition, but Gardner says the leaders actions are the product of a populist environment. The characteristics of the community develop the leader: *Incorporate Diversity, a Shared*

⁶ Helle, Knut. *The Cambridge History of Scandinavia*. Vol. 1 Prehistory to 1520. Ch. 12 The Norwegian Kingdom: succession disputes and consolidation. Cambridge University Press. United Kingdom. 2003. pp 380

⁷ Kellerman, Barbara. *Leadership: Multidisciplinary perspective*. Prentice-Hall, Inc. Englewood Cliffs. New Jersey. 1984. pp 160.

⁸ Weber, Max. *The Theory of Social and Economic Organization*. William Hodge and Co. London, 1947.

⁹ Gardner, John. *On Leadership*. The Free Press. A Division of Mcmillan. New York. 1990

Culture, Fluent Internal Communication, Caring, Trust and Teamwork, Participation of Leadership.

The present dissertation continues Sverre Bagge's works when he asserts the opportunity through the literature is possible to find the evidence for the attitudes towards kingship and ideas of society in the leading circles of Norway in the thirteen century. The distinction between Sverre Bagge's approach more in specific in his book *From the Gang Leader to the Lord Anointed*¹⁰, and the present dissertation consist in the approximation of the Kings' characteristics by *Leadership Models* through the Sagas.

The present dissertation is divided in five main chapters. 1. The leader in sociological context; 2. The Charisma; 3. The Personal Abilities; 4. The bureaucracy; 5. The Fellowship

To continue, the present dissertation in its next chapter *The Leader in Sociological Context* will describe Max Weber's models of leadership: Charismatic, Traditional and Bureaucratic; and John Gardner's leadership theory: Fellowship; both sources that it will depict the leadership of King Haakon and King Sverre.

¹⁰ Bagge, Sverre. *From Gang Leader to the Lord's Anointed: Kingship in Sverris saga and Hákonar saga Hákonarsonar*. The Viking Collection. Vol. 8. Odense: Odense University Press. 1996. Bagge's book analyzed the Sagas and the King one by one. He describes the characters and motivations through a transitional chronological perspective. His work contributes the studies in medieval historiography of Norway.

CHAPTER I

The leader in a sociological context

Previously in *Introduction*, the work described the importance of the sources to achieve the objective. In this chapter, the present dissertation will illustrate the sources employed to depict the leadership of both Kings. It will show the four analytical tools to describe King Sverre's and King Haakon's Leadership. The theory employed is related to two researchers, Max Weber and John Gardner. The sociologist Max Weber is regarding the theory of the concept of leadership in the economics societies, focus on the *types of leadership*. In addition, John Gardner, a contemporary researcher in leadership, who explains through the people's life the main characteristics of the leadership; through his work explains the importance of the *Community* developing and shaping the leader.

1.1 Max Weber's Types of Leadership

In order to understand Weber's¹¹ accounts of *leadership*¹², it is important to grasp that in order to explain social phenomena; he believed it necessary to isolate their critical features into types such that all cases of a given phenomenon classified by a predetermined definition. However, he emphasized that it was unlikely that any on phenomenon subsumed under that definition. Weber's types of leadership, then, represent

¹¹ Giddens, Anthony. *Sociology*. Third Edition. Polity Press. Cambridge 1997. pp 2. Max Weber was the first sociologist to bring his craft an appreciation of the role played by psychologist processes in social action and of the need for the interpretation rather than mere description of the content and form of social events. He was aware that the sociologist and layperson alike fill situations with meaning and this need to make sense of the world in both symbolic and organizational terms is not only an inherent part of human nature but also a driving force in the development of social institutions such as politics, law and religion.

¹² Kellerman, Barbara. *Leadership: Multidisciplinary perspective*. Prentice-Hall, Inc. Englewood Cliffs. New Jersey. 1984. pp 160.

one or several aspects of relevant social phenomena and are descriptive rather than analytical.

Weber responds by his leadership types how a leader can give a command and have actions. He classified claims to the legitimacy in the exercise of authority. Except for slavery,¹³ people entered into one of three kinds of leader-follower relations.

According to Weber's formulation, Kellerman explains¹⁴ how the social actions are controlled and directed by a general belief. On the part of the members of society who legitimate the social order. The probability that behavior will be oriented in terms of that order constitutes the basis for the leader's authority. Three ideal types of legitimate authority are postulated, each of which attains its validity in a different way.

1.1.2. Charismatic Leadership

An individual personality set apart from ordinary people and endowed with *mystical* capacities, formidable powers and divine qualities. Resting on devotion to the specific and exceptional sanctity, divinity or exemplary character of an individual person, and of the normative patterns or order revealed or ordained by him. Charismatic authority exercise where some individual need to follow and obey by the special trust that he induces, his peculiar powers and his unique *divine qualities*.

Charismatically¹⁵ a qualified leader is obeyed by virtue of personal trust in him and his *pure soul* and revelation, their spirituality or *exemplary* qualities as far as they fall within the scope of the individual's belief in his charisma. The words mission and spiritual duty are used a lot, as are words like saint, prophet, and visionary.

¹³ The slavery in this term is expressed as a physical action, but also is possible to understand as a mental attack by the power of the leader to any people with out any option to respond.

¹⁴ Kellerman, Barbara. *Leadership: Multidisciplinary perspective*. Prentice-Hall, Inc. Englewood Cliffs. New Jersey. 1984. pp 161.

¹⁵ Charisma regarded as of divine origin, if the person demonstrate his connection with the divinity, the people become follower and he is treated as a spiritual leader.

Leader is a divine and spiritual worship; he can give *peace* to others and *forgives* the error. This holiness begins with proof of charismatic qualification¹⁶. The spiritual leader must fight, and must be successful in the war against the devil, bringing benefits to followers, or his charismatic authority will disappear. Acts of misfortune can be signs that the *gods have withdrawn the gift*.¹⁷ "What is alone important is how the individual is actually regarded by those subject to charismatic authority, by his 'followers' or 'disciples'"¹⁸.

The charismatic leader set apart from ordinary people and endowed with supernatural and superhuman powers and abilities. The leaders with Charisma choose members not for their technical training, they are chosen based on social privilege and the charismatic qualities (disciples). People are not promoted; they are only called or summoned based on their charismatic qualification. The followers live in communistic relationship with their leaders on means provided as voluntary gifts.

In this type of leadership are not established administrative organs and system of formal rules. The only basis of authority is personal charisma. There is no abstract legal principle. The leader preaches, creates, or demands new obligations. There are revelations and then there is the leaders will to power. At the same time, it is the greatest revolutionary force. Charisma cannot be taught, learned or acquired in discipleship.

¹⁶ Kellerman, Barbara. *Leadership: Multidisciplinary perspective*. Prentice-Hall, Inc. Englewood Cliffs. New Jersey. 1984. pp 161. Charisma is conceptualized as residing in those qualities, often perceived as superhuman, supernatural, or at least very exceptional, which set one individual apart from all others. It is, of course, necessary for this people and such a one cannot be divorced from the charismatic band, the group that forms itself around the leader.

¹⁷ This type of persons could be semi archangels in the spiritual war against the evilness, leaders of a hunt, people with legal wisdom or a shaman. The charismatic leader's types are the hereditary monarchy, the patriarchal authority and the religious charismatic.

¹⁸ Weber, Max. *The Theory of Social and Economic Organization*. William Hodge and Co. London, 1947. pp 359

When two charismatic leaders oppose one another, the only recourse is to some kind of a contest, by magical means or even an actual spiritual battle of the leaders¹⁹. Charismatic authority repudiates the past and is in this sense a revolutionary force, in contrast to traditional authority. “Charismatic authority is radically opposed to both rational and particularly bureaucratic authority”²⁰. The biggest challenge for the charismatic leader is the transition to a bureaucratic and rational administration. Some advantages are that he can escape the control of bureaucratic apparatus. Escape the bonds of traditional inertia. The analytical tools that the present dissertation will use are the *mystical origin*, the *purity*, the *peace and pardon*, the *example*, *divine connection* and the *immortality*.

1.1.3. Traditional Leadership

The traditional type of leadership is an arbitrary exercise of power bound to technical abilities, determination, manners and performance. The belief of this traditional authority is a historically established to legitimate status of those in power, the leader have the *determination* to ask obedience to his people by his strong and mighty personality.

Legitimacy and power to control handed down from his personal skills. This power can be exercised in quite arbitrary ways; the chief can declare himself above the jurisdiction of the court. Office held by virtue of traditional status and be recruiting favorites or by demonstrating aptitudes. Obligations are not by office but personal loyalty to the chief. Promotion is by the arbitrary grace of the chief, *technical training of skill required*. Commands are legitimized by his heroic past.

The traditional leader obligates obedience based on personal loyalty, kinship, slaves, or dependents through his wealthy *manners*. The leader is free to confer or withhold

¹⁹ Related with the Sagas, the existence of the pretender makes a huge crash between two forces and at this time the populations is divided.

²⁰ Weber, Max. *The Theory of Social and Economic Organization*. William Hodge and Co. London, 1947. pp 361

his personal pleasure or displeasure according to personal likes and dislikes that can be arbitrary. The traditional exercise of authority is only limited by resistance aroused in the subjects or by pointing to a failure to act according to the personal characteristics. Vassals are sorts of favorite people of the leader.

This is reflected as the Hero. Functions are defined in terms of competition and *performance* among the interest of those seeking favors, income, and other advantage. Fees can be paid to the traditional leader to purchase functions, such as shipping or taxation. The leader can paid or *reward* people's success. This allows some mobility among the classes. It also results in bribery and corruption as well as disorganization. Some examples of this kind of leader are "the patriarchal families, powerful gangs in China Egypt and Africa, competitive business, general warrior in the clans."²¹ Clearly defined sphere of competence subject to impersonal rules, rational ordering of relations of superiority and inferiority, a regular system of appointment and promotion on the basis of free contract, *technical training* as a regular requirement, fixed *salaries* among others.

The traditional leader obtains his power by extraordinary attitudes; develop heroic *skills* and giving the example. Actually, he is the ruler, but he has to demonstrate to the people why. Some of the Weber's traditional leadership²² characteristics are visionary, setting challenging expectations, setting personal example, showing self-confidence, displaying competence, behaving exceptionally, and tasking risks. The analytical tools that the presentation will use are the *determination* to fulfill the goal, *technical knowledge*, to capacity to *reward* and the privilege to be *awarded*, *the speech*, *manners* and the impact of the *performance*.

²¹ Weber, Max. *The Theory of Social and Economic Organization*. William Hodge and Co. London, 1947. pp 335

²² Chemers, Martin and Ayman, Roya. *Leadership Theory and Research. Perspectives and Directions*. Academic Press. Harcourt Brace Jovanovich Publishers. London 1993. pp 85

1.1.4 Bureaucratic Leadership

Bureaucracy is "the exercise of control on the basis of knowledge."²³ The Bureaucratic leader is the substance of rational legal hierarchical power. Resting on a believe in the *legality* of patterns of normative rules and the right of those elevated to authority under such rules to issue commands *conservatively* (legal authority). The leader establishes credence in the sanctity of immemorial traditions and the legitimacy of the status of those exercising authority under them. Hierarchical authority, usually the leader is in the top to show his *supremacy* where patterns of normative rules, originally arising from the interaction of group members, attain legality and obedience²⁴ becomes owed to some established order within the limits of its scope, for example, educational establishment and the law.

"The person who obeys the leader's authority can be a member of the corporate group."²⁵ Person does not be obligated obedience to the individual, but to the impersonal order. A specified sphere of competence involves a sphere of obligations to perform functions marked off in the division of labor. Not every administrative organ is provided with compulsory powers. The means of compulsion are clearly defined and their use is subject to definite conditions.

There are rules that regulate the conduct of an office, either technical rules or norms. Only people demonstrating adequate technical training qualification can be selected to be administrative staff or placed in official positions. There is a right to appeal and a right to state grievances from the lower to the higher. Sometimes administrative heads are elected. However, in the pure form, the hierarchy is dominated by the

²³ Weber, Max. *The Theory of Social and Economic Organization*. William Hodge and Co. London, 1947. pp 337

²⁴ The capacity of the leader, the people are remunerated by fixed salaries, in money or in pensions. Salary scales are graded according to rank in the hierarchy. There is a system of promotion based upon seniority or achievement, dependent on judgment of superiors. In following chapter the action of give Gifts could be misunderstand. Is important to mark the intention of the action. With out intention, the *Gift* itself means anything.

²⁵ Weber, Max. *The Theory of Social and Economic Organization*. William Hodge and Co. London, 1947. pp 338

principle of appointment.²⁶ Administrative staff should be completely separated from ownership of the means of production or administration. Workers, staff, and administrators do not own the means of production. There is a complete separation the personal and to the organization. For the bureaucrat everyone have to be part of the social *stratification*. The exception is the peasantry who still owns the means of subsistence.

Administrative acts, decisions, and rules are formulated and recorded in writing. The importance to make entrepreneur agreements with other parties, have good relationship abroad by *public relations*. It is more the position of a monarch²⁷ Some examples are the Catholic Church, hospitals, religious orders, profit-making business, large-scale capitalistic enterprise, modern army, the modern state, trade union, and charitable organizations.

The advantages of this type of leadership are the capacity of attaining the highest degree of efficiency, technical efficiency, and corporate control of the coercive leaders and favor the leveling of social classes. The disadvantages, powerful interest the offices and turn them into feudal kingdoms, tendency to plutocracy growing out of interest in greater length of technical training and a formalistic spirit of impersonality that stunts enthusiasm and passion.

Bureaucratic leadership means fundamentally to Weber “The exercise of control on the basis of knowledge.”²⁸ This consists on the one hand in technical knowledge, which, by itself, is sufficient to ensure it a position of extraordinary power. The analytical tools that the presentation will use are the *conservative* position, the

²⁶ Weber, Max. *The Theory of Social and Economic Organization*. William Hodge and Co. London, 1947. The principle of appointment is related with the royal succession. The next king will be chosen by his father’s blood relationship. The prince is just waiting his father’s death to be king. The prince’s appointment for his election will be after the king’s death decease.

²⁷ Weber, Max. *The Theory of Social and Economic Organization*. William Hodge and Co. London, 1947. pp 335

²⁸ Weber, Max. *The Theory of Social and Economic Organization*. William Hodge and Co. London, 1947. pp 339

supremacy all over the country, the *stratification* of the society, the importance of foreign affairs or *public relations*, and the establishment regulations or *legacy*.

By Weber, the charismatic leader and following cannot remain stable, and will turn to either traditional or bureaucratic authority. The bureaucracy may need a charismatic leader to initiate reform, even revolution, but once the change is made, the charismatic personality has to go. Other interest becomes conspicuously evident. Consequently, Weber is careful to point out that none of the three ideal types occurs in *pure* form²⁹. There can be a combination of bureaucratic and charismatic leadership or different combination between the three types.³⁰ Moreover, Weber was quite clear in stating that at the top of the bureaucracy, sits a heroic war officer who fits the category of the monarch; what Machiavelli calls the Prince³¹. In addition, at the top of the military command, is an officer who is clearly marked off by certain class distinctions. Officers differ radically from charismatic leaders. Mercenary armies could be dispatched for private capitalistic purposes. Yet while the cycle continues, the spread of bureaucratic administration in church, military, court, state, corporation, and university is foretold by Weber. Bureaucracy to Weber was the first knowledge organizations.

1.2 John Gardner's Fellowship Model

The present dissertation will need John Gardner³² *Fellowship* model because it is not possible to describe perfectly the leader with out his fellows and the authority with out governed people does not work. Next, some comments about the researcher's work.

²⁹ Weber, Max. *The Theory of Social and Economic Organization*. William Hodge and Co. London, 1947. pp 329, 333

³⁰ The possibility to find in the same leader the three types characteristics can be called Hybrid. The heroic warrior could charismatically organize an enterprise with loyal followers vested in their mission. Then as the hierarchy, rules, contracts, and other apparatus are applied, the charismatic leader sits at the top of a bureaucracy. The bureaucracy set constraints upon his exercise of authority and leadership. It may even replace him with an office-holder. As the bureaucracy turns to stone, it becomes increasingly feudalistic, based on precedent, ritual and tradition. Soon people look about for a charismatic leader to transform the feudal situation into a charismatic cause. Weber present the decentralization of authority, gives a more delegation, and professionalization of appointments. Thus through charismatic transformation, the traditional authority becomes a bureaucracy, and turns feudal, and the endless cycle continues now.

³¹ The Prince of Machiavelli shows the necessities characteristics of a leader who wants to achieve the throne, gain control over the people and the nobility.

³² Gardner, John. *On Leadership*. The Free Press. A Division of Mcmillan. New York. 1990.

John Gardner confirms the description early trait by his research that many studies about *leadership* illustrate the personality and characteristics to facilitate the differentiations of the leaders from the followers. Gardner analyzed the life of successful people who have been marked as great or effective leaders. In his analysis clearly observed that usually, they possess different qualities and skills.

Some of the qualities that illustrate Gardner through his research as a leadership's characteristics are the physical vitality and stamina, intelligence and action-oriented judgment, eagerness to accept responsibility, task competence, comprehension of the followers and their needs, skill in dealing with people, need for achievement, capacity to motivate people, courage and resolution, trustworthiness, decisiveness, self confidence, assertiveness, adaptability, flexibility.

To Gardner, the leaders usually know what they want, what it is next, why they want it, and have the ability to communicate these thoughts to others, in order to gain their cooperation and support. The leader knows how to achieve their goals. Gardner in Charmers says, "The leaders are people, who are able to express themselves fully".³³

However, Gardner discovers a quantity of people who possessed the leadership characteristics not constantly become leaders. The basic idea remains that if a person possesses these features she or he will be able to take the lead in very different situations and not always, this basic idea is achievable.

Gardner finds that previous researchers describe a leader assuming a definite set of characteristics that made a leader whatever the situation. In other words, the early researchers thought the same qualities would work on a battlefield and in the staff room of a school, minimizing the impact of the situation. Gardner's qualities³⁴, for example, are aspects of a person's behavior, some are skills, and others are to do with temperament

³³ Chemers, Martin and Ayman, Roya. *Leadership Theory and Research. Perspectives and Directions*. Academic Press. Harcourt Brace Jovanovich Publishers. London 1993.

³⁴ Gardner, John. *On Leadership*. The Free Press. A Division of Mcmillan. New York. 1990.

and intellectual ability, but also take the *people* around the leader and the social environment as a analytical tool.

The state of mind of followers is a powerful ingredient in explaining the emergence of the leader. Gardner explains that the leaders cannot maintain authority, unless followers are prepared to believe in that authority. In a sense, followers confer leadership. To say that followers have substantial influence over the leaders sounds like the view of someone steeped in the democratic tradition, but Gardner says the leaders actions are the product of a populist environment.

At this point, is possible that the leader can go against the grain of the culture, but not without cost. The leaders must compete for approval, the followers are supposed to accept to their superiors in the hierarchy. However, of course, often they do not. The leaders have to earn followers. Gardner portrayed a relationship between leaders and constituents in which each is in some measure the shaper, and in some measure the shaped. The interaction do not always work in balance. Sometimes the leader rides over the expectations of the people. Their constituents trap sometimes leaders.

To Gardner is in the *community* that values are generated and regenerated. With the disintegration of communities comes disintegration of shared values, and the leadership is made very much more difficult. If the leaders cannot find in their constituencies any base of shared values, principled leadership becomes nearly impossible. Leaders are communities' builders because they have to be. The community teaches. If it is a healthy and coherent, the community imparts a coherent value system. If it is fragmented or sterile, lessons are taught and not heal and strengthen. The community and culture hold the individual in a framework of values; when the framework disintegrates, individual value systems disintegrate.

Therefore, Gardner expresses the characteristics of ideal community to increase the possibility to develop the leader's potential:

1. *Incorporate Diversity.* Vital communities face and resolve differences, creating boards to include new members of different segments of the community. The leadership can develop by the
2. *A Shared Culture.* The community has a shared culture, which means the possibility to share history and traditions. The leader has now identity, social cohesion of norms and values. The well functioning community provides many opportunities to express values in building moral codes and ceremonies. These values give the chance to shared goals.
3. *Fluent Internal Communication.* Members of a well functioning community communicate freely with one another. People have to believe that they can have their say. The leader and the followers have to understand each others, breaking up the communication barriers.
4. *Caring, Trust and Teamwork.* A good community nurtures its members and fosters an atmosphere of trust. Every one is included, have respected each other and work together on necessary common tasks. The leader and the followers need one another and both must express their talent, energy and resources to achieve goals.
5. *Group Maintenance and Government.* The healthy community encourages the leader to pursuits his objective protecting him and taking care of him. The followers and the leader have to create a group to defend, protect and watch the accomplishment of norms.
6. *Participation of Leadership Tasks.* The followers have an active role of participation. The community and leader's obligations have to be in balance, recognizing the roles and functions into the society.

The chapter *the leader in sociological context* has been described which sources would be employed to achieve the objective of the present dissertation. The four analytical tools necessary *Charisma, Personal Abilities, Bureaucracy* and *Fellowship* have been

described to explain both Kings leadership. Therefore, reading Sverris saga and Haakonar saga Haakonarsonar and through John Gardner and Max Weber models, will be achievable get the qualities and attitudes that describe the Kings and their leadership's skills.

To continue, the next chapter will talk more about the first analytical tool that depict the King's leaders, *Charisma*, mystical authority with unique divine qualities exercise by the leader when some individual need to follow and obey.

CHAPTER II

The Charismatic Leader

In the preview chapter the dissertation, illustrate which sources will employ to achieve the objective. Now in the present chapter will take the first analytical tool, *The Charisma*, to depict the leadership of King Sverre and King Haakon. This section will describe through the analysis of several Saga stanzas and the description of Max Weber's model the Kings' charismatic personality and how this mystical quality will be necessary to achieve the control over Norway and gain adherents to their cause.

The image of the charismatic leader is probable to be different during the middle ages. Because the Charismatic description projects the ideal personality is a provider and paternalistic,³⁵ taking care of the in-group. Such a charismatic leader would support, solve personal problems, and generally demonstrating maintenance and a considerate soul. Thus, acting like a good God's son in the community means being nurturing, supportive, like a father.

2.1 Mystical Origin

The development of the child during his first years is transcendental for formation of any human being, because in these part of their life is possible to find much information that during his adulthood will be used to accomplishment specific aims. Weber³⁶ says that historically, the influential leaders during their lives display extraordinary lives from the

³⁵ Chemers, Martin and Ayman, Roya. *Leadership Theory and Research. Perspectives and Directions*. Academic Press. Harcourt Brace Jovanovich Publishers. London 1993. pp 175. In the Christian Dom, God is the father of everyone. The Charisma gives the lineage of God and he is representation of God in earth.

³⁶ Weber, Max. *The Theory of Social and Economic Organization*. William Hodge and Co. London, 1947

beginning of their existence. A charismatic leader has magical and uncommon births and childhood. Charisma is, literally, a gift of grace or of God. Max Weber.³⁷

To Weber imperative part of it is the transmission may occur by heredity or by ritual³⁸ from one leader to another. Thus, there may be a thorough search of the community for someone perceived as possessing the required qualities; divine revelation awaited or oracles consulted. The charismatic leader may designate his successor or it may be done by fiat of his disciples.³⁹

Each of these cases implies that charisma becomes dissociated from the particular qualities of one special individual and evolves into an objectified and transferable set of criteria. However, King Haakon and King Sverre did not meet their fathers; the Sagas have to describe the transmission in another form.

As a Sverre Bagge says,⁴⁰ the story of Gunnhild, King Sverre's mother, visiting Rome⁴¹ conforms to the stories of saints or their parents receiving a message from God on the pilgrimage. Gunnhild, made the confession Sverre was not the Unas' son, his real father is King Sigurd Mund. This confession was laid before the Pope, and she was commanded to inform the real parentage. Finally, she returned to Norway, and sailed thence to the Faeroe Islands, where she told Sverre that he was King Sigurd's son:

A strange matter now happened: Gunnhild, the mother of Sverri, left the land to go south to Rome. There, to one who heard confessions, she confessed that the man whom hitherto

³⁷ Weber, Max. *The Theory of Social and Economic Organization*. William Hodge and Co. London, 1947. Weber used charisma to talk about self-appointed leaders who are followed by those in distress. Such leaders gain influence because they are seen as having special talents or gifts that can help people escape the people's pain.

³⁸ Weber, Max. *The Theory of Social and Economic Organization*. William Hodge and Co. London, 1947.

³⁹ Kellerman, Barbara. *Leadership: Multidisciplinary perspective*. Prentice-Hall, Inc. Englewood Cliffs. New Jersey. 1984. pp 162. Ultimately it may transmute into the charisma of office which refers to those distinctive and super eminent attributes attached to, Kings in this case by virtue of the roles, rituals, pomp and circumstance attached to the status, regardless of the specific personality of the incumbent.

⁴⁰ Bagge, Sverre. *From Gang Leader to the Lord's Anointed: Kingship in Sverris saga and Hákonar saga Hákonarsonar*. The Viking Collection. Vol. 8. Odense: Odense University Press. 1996. pp. 56

⁴¹ One characteristic the Middle Ages' history was the close relation existed between the Church and the King. It seems significant to emphasize how the Sagas describe this relation. In this respect is the legitimacy of the King's son birth by the confession in Rome from both King's mothers constituted not only the truth relation of the boy, but settles down a clear relation between the importance of religion in relation with the King's power, and how this relationship will grow during their reign.

she had stated to be her son's father was not so; but that a king was his father, and her son himself knew it not. This confession being laid before the Pope, she was commanded in her penance to inform her son of his real parentage as soon as she found him.⁴²

Not only Gunnhild, also Inga, King Haakon's mother, years later tried to mitigate⁴³ her pain approaching to Rome, revealing the truth about her son's origin. The fact that the Pope orders to reveal to King Haakon's origin is a mighty reason to the King interpret that God is sending a special message and accomplish with the transmission of the power.

Now they go away from the meeting; but Inga the mother of the king's son goes to Peter's Church and there she fasted for the ordeal of the iron, as is the custom. But while this was going on there were many night-meetings between the earl and some canons and some more clerkly men who were against the king's son. But when the iron was to have been borne it was pocked away and no man knew what had become of it.⁴⁴

A mystical origin needs a special mother⁴⁵ to accomplish God's wishes. Next, some of the characteristics of Haakon's mother and the values around the female figure appearance into the sagas:

Then there was with that woman whose name was Inga, a good woman and faithful; she was of good stock a kinswoman of Andun of Borg; and she had many good kinsmen in the Borg district who were called Varteigingers or Varteig's men. Inga was in the lodging of king Hacon and the king slept with her in the same bed, so that Hacon the mad and more of his trusty men knew it⁴⁶

2.2 Purity and Innocence

An important detail in relation with the charismatic leadership are the following paragraphs where God had chosen Sverre and Haakon to command their country, although they stops their succession because they see that it is too much responsibility⁴⁷

⁴² Sverris Saga 4

⁴³ Gjerset, Knut *History of the Norwegian people*. Macmillan. New York, 1932. pp 376

⁴⁴ *Haakonar Saga Hakonarsonar* 14

⁴⁵ The Inga's appearance resembles the image of Virgin Mary a faithful woman, who has the gift to be God's mother. This image in the Christianity gave the opportunity to have a passive female presence.

⁴⁶ *Hakonar Saga Hakonarsonar* 1

⁴⁷ Kellerman, Barbara. *Leadership: Multidisciplinary perspective*. Prentice-Hall, Inc. Englewood Cliffs. New Jersey. 1984. pp 162. At least part of the function of a charismatic leader is to oppose this routinizing

and they need more time to accomplish properly⁴⁸. First of all King Sverre postponing his succession because he believe its too fast, despite the people insistance, also himself encourages them to find first his true lineage:

Here he caused an Assembly to be summoned, at which his men would have him accept the title of King. But he excused himself, saying that it became him better to wait until his cause was strengthened by some clear evidence of its truth. Then they declared that they would not listen to him: "They were unwilling" they said "to serve one who had no higher title than any one of themselves" They gave him therefore, the title of King the first Lord's day in Lent, and swore fealty to him, laying their hands on his sword.⁴⁹

Now is Haakon, who also postpone his succession, but the difference with Sverre is because he is too young to take the responsibility:

Then the king's son answers, "I am much too young to undertake such great deeds... I would rather pray that God will give me such share of my father's inheritance which his mercy wills, whatever time that comes about; and it is not likely that I should raise any armed band in Norway while things stand as they now are".⁵⁰

Continuing with the description of the leadership the sole source of legitimate authority for the charismatic leader lies in the regard of his follower⁵¹ such a leader has no institutionalized or traditional claims on power, no career, no prospects of promotion. Charismatic leaders and their bands are thus completely outside the everyday social structure which is represented by traditional and rational authority.⁵²

process by rejecting rational, economic objectives and redressing the balance toward more irrational, but more essentially human pursuits. To this end he would not, in ideal form, be concerned for his own private gain or be vulnerable to worldly ties, such as those to family or other legitimated institutions.

⁴⁸ Therefore is possible to observe that charismatic leader is not the one who dominate the people by force, but is the town the one that demands his quick participation, the charismatic leader does not wish with madness his place, is the same throne the one that demands his presence.

⁴⁹ Sverris Saga 11

⁵⁰ *Hakonar Saga Hakonarsonar* 10

⁵¹ By Weber the movement of the charismatic band toward routine seen most clearly when the need to find a new leader arise because of the demise imprisonment, or fall from favor of the original one. During the course of the development of the charismatic band, certain expectations as to the characteristics of the leader will have become more or less fixed.

⁵² Kellerman, Barbara. *Leadership: Multidisciplinary perspective*. Prentice-Hall, Inc. Englewood Cliffs. New Jersey. 1984. pp 161.

The charisma⁵³ usually is shown placing people on a pedestal, the distance between the followers and the leader widens. They seem so much more able or in control. Rather than facing up to situations, and making people's own solutions, remain followers, and the charismatic leaders are often encouraged to do so. There may well come a point when the lie implicit in this confronts to the community. Just as turn to charismatic leaders, the people can turn against them. It could be to recognize that the solution that signed up to has not made things better.

King Haakon knows his enemies are weakness and they are not as good as they explain, they have errors, they do not have the sufficient grace of God to deal with the power, are more humans than the King Haakon, the Sagas describes the enemy interested in material goods and themselves more than to taking care of the community:

King Hacon came so to his kingdom that he got no more of his father's inheritance in chattels than a brooch and a finger-ring; but earl Skuli had come into all that money that king Ingi had owned, and which he had taken after both kin Hacon and king Sverrir.⁵⁴

By means of the analysis of the charisma and personality of the leadership, this illustrate King Haakon and King Sverre towards their people and the pardoning and giving peace towards their enemies, is possible to observe a divine character, without desire to take the power to their benefit. Definitively in them was the desire of being Kings and by their tenacity they obtained it, but they knew that be moderate, controlling themselves and to turn around to see their people was part of their charismatic personality. The sagas show two kings with the grace of God, they were destined to reign and to command their nation and their character was part of the key to increase their human forces.

⁵³ Weber, Max. *The Theory of Social and Economic Organization*. William Hodge and Co. London, 1947. Thinking about charisma is necessary to explore the situations in which charisma arises. When strong feelings of distress are around there does seem to be a tendency to turn to figures who seem to have answers, make life easier, find and make solutions for someone else. They convince to the people of their special gifts and of their solution to the crisis or problem. Regarding such leaders with awe, perhaps being inspired in different ways by them, the follower can begin to feel safer and directed. This can be a great resource. Usually the charismatic leaders used the belief that people had in him; following his heart. They were able to contain a lot of the stress their supporters felt and give hope of renewal. They articulated a vision of what was possible and worked with people to develop strategies. But there are also considerable dangers.

⁵⁴ *Hakonar Saga Hakonarsonar* 22

2.3 Peace and Pardon

The pardon cannot come from them, because can be to giving importance to themselves, that is the reason they take the Christian tradition in which the only one who has the power of pardon the human sins and errors is God. The charismatic leader with his divine connection gives to King Sverre the power to forgive people in the name of God:

The King himself offers a truce and pardon to those who come to him and seek it; for which cause God and all His holy saints will give him joy and guide him into peace.⁵⁵

King Haakon uses the power of God to forgive the people's errors and sins, but behind his mercy, the king feels anger and an uncomfortable attitude of the community acts. However, he has to be silent because he simply is an instrument of God and the only one with the enough power of forgiveness:

“You shall hold yourself according to your rank and how to no man this day. And now that day has come which I have so long prayed to see, that I see my flesh so much honored as it is now this day, So far am I from grudging you this honor. But why I sought for counsel in this matter was that I wished to know what other men had to say; and they were the same who egged me on, and were against granting it, who did not do their best to mend the matters between me and some of your kindred of old; for which may God forgive them”.⁵⁶

King Haakon's life remains a close connection between Christ and his principles, giving pardon and peace to build his image. At this moment King Haakon believe in his divine connection and realize his charismatic presence.

Then they turned south back to Bergen with the goods and men which they had taken. King Haakon gave them all peace who came into his power.⁵⁷

In the same way is King Haakon that by means of giving again peace of his enemies expresses because in a competitive world is better to have his traitors as close as possible to control them and watch their actions:

⁵⁵ Sverris Saga 96

⁵⁶ *Hakonar Saga Hakonarsonar* 310

⁵⁷ *Hakonar Saga Hakonarsonar* 208

The king lay there that night. But on the saints' day, when mass had been sung, some Scottish men came to him whom the Northman had taken. King Hacon gave them peace, and sent them up into the district; and they promised to come down with cattle to him; but one of them stayed behind as a hostage.⁵⁸

2.4. Being the Perfect Example

Thus, it seems obvious that leaders can also awake motives. Because charismatic leaders are viewed as credible, trusted, admired, and respected human divinity. As a Chemers says, "By their irreproachable life they should be able to have rather profound motive arousal effects on followers."⁵⁹ On relation with the previous comments, the model is King Sverre his narrow relation with God; make the people consider him as the chosen by God. He can say now every wish that he wants, because he has the power of decision and delegation, he is the elected and he becomes an ideal to follow:

"We must therefore submit ourselves to Him, in meekness and lowliness, as He himself has taught us. Learn of Me, for I am meek and lowly in heart, and ye shall find rest unto your soul. Now every one may see that it is better to submit to God's mercy and make vows that to fall by evil deeds into the power of the Fiend. I desire your promise, therefore, the promise of you all, to join heartily with me in what I wish to take in hand..."⁶⁰

King Sverre by his close relationship with God does not confront internal rivals as equals; because God elects the legitimate King and the power to convince the people, the easy way of express his thoughts, he can say follows my example and you will be good persons, because he has become a human ideal. This characteristics makes Kings Sverre strong enough in front everyone:

And King Sverri replied: "Look, my good men, those of you who seem to me too proud, and will not endure to be on a level with me, and bethink you whether any will be reproached hereafter for following my example."⁶¹

⁵⁸ *Hakonar Saga Hakonarsonar* 327

⁵⁹ Chemers, Martin and Ayman, Roya. *Leadership Theory and Research. Perspectives and Directions*. Academic Press. Harcourt Brace Jovanovich Publishers. London 1993. pp 94

⁶⁰ *Sverris Saga* 20

⁶¹ *Sverris Saga* 179

Finally King Sverre and his merciful Christian belief, who teach to his fellows that is time to change the temper and be clean in their actions:

“I have considered your design”, he said; “it seems a hopeless one, and your purpose will not help you in the least. To leap from the cliffs and kill yourselves is the expedient of madmen who are unable to guide their own steps, And as to your wish to turn your weapons against one another, that is a custom of the heathen who know not God. We are Christians, the children of Christians, and know that whosoever inflicts death upon himself has no hope in God...”⁶²

With these comments is when King Haakon not only knows to demand to faithfulness, loyalty and obedience, also knows to award, to allow and to protect who are in his side:

Let them be told that the duke was drawing together a great force at Drontheim. Then the king increased his levy greatly, he summoned to him all his liegeman and stewards; then a great host gathered together.⁶³

2.5 The Divine Connection

A transcendental characteristic in the charisma’s analytical tool is Saint Olav patron of Norway and his close relationship with the anointed. Because have Saint Olav beside the leader was the reason to think that the leader had the God’s grace.

Nowhere is this contention more apparent than in a dream story of his told. King Sverre dreams that he comes to Norway where he becomes involved in conflict between King Olav the Saint and King Magnus Erlingsson., he chooses to Olav’s party. Only King Sverre is welcome there; the saint King himself shows marks of his special grace to his new retainer giving to Sverre a new name, Magnus, and handing over to him his own sword and standard⁶⁴ with the words: “Take the standard, Lord, and ponder over that from now onwards you will always bear this standard.”⁶⁵ The charisma arises as Busygin

⁶² Sverris Saga 20

⁶³ *Hakonar Saga Hakonarsonar* 195

⁶⁴ Busygin explains the symbols of legacy: the sword as a symbol of the king and solely ruler in contemporary Europe and power as sovereign, the standard for the role of a standard bearer of celestial power, and finally the name of Lord, a name reserved to the king in that time.

⁶⁵ Sturla Þorðarson. *Hákonar saga Hákonarsonar. The saga of Hacon. And a fragment of the Saga of Magnus : with appendices, translated by Sir George W. Dasent.* Icelandic sagas. Llanerch Publishers, 1997

explains more in detail, the name of Magnus was not only a dynastic name of high standing, it was also the name of St Olav's son, and obviously placed Sverre in a very special relation. In King Sverre's dream illustrate the delusion of King Olav trying to express that Sverre is the next anointed. He wants to be beside the Norwegian saint expressing the existence of an impostor who is leading against God's wishes:

He dreamt that King Olaf the Saint was contending against King Magnus and Earl Erling, and he was pondering in his mind which side he should join. He chose rather to go to King Olaf, and on his arrival, the King welcomed him with great joy.⁶⁶

King Haakon acquire the name of King Olav giving the idea to the people that he is beside to the Saint and reaffirm his charismatic figure, and with the union between them, everybody will be saved in every sense. Now is possible to die in battle with out terror because the people are with the elected by God:

But thought it were true, then we say, with the mercy if God and king Olaf the saint, that our greatest strength in the land is where the company of our own selves is.⁶⁷

And at the same way is King Sverre acquiring the name of King Olav as an amulet, because he needs a positive answer and he is only one with the saint's help through this help he will succeed in any field and the people will stay next to him:

"And I make now request to God, to King Olaf, and to Saint Sunnifa, and I pray that this encounter between us, King Magnus and myself, may end according as our claims are known by God to be sound."⁶⁸

In general, to Busygin "the dream conveyed the idea that the St Olav himself had conferred royal powers on Sverre."⁶⁹ With that dream, Sverre had allowed to vindicate lay control of the churches. Formerly the landowner who built a church on his estate claimed the right to appoint the priest and as a rule appropriated a part, and sometimes

⁶⁶ Sverris Saga 5

⁶⁷ *Hakonar Saga Hakonarsonar* 222

⁶⁸ Sverris Saga 52

⁶⁹ Busygin, Aleksander. *The laws of the saint king : aspects of political and legal life in Norway from the eleventh century to the end of Hákon Hákonarson's reign*. Hovedoppgave i vikingtid og nordisk middelalder. Universitetet i Oslo, 2003. pp 54

all, of the tithe and other church revenues for his use. This arrangement that modern historians commonly call the “proprietary church regime”⁷⁰ As it has been depicted the King has to deal with many problems against the church by his charismatic personality but it is the only way to beat it was controlling its actions

Justifying Haakon’s charismatic personality to claim the throne, the Saga writer lays particular emphasis on the distinction inherent in the male and the female lines of descent. However, King Haakon himself, a small kid with eight years old, remains unruffled by the news remarking that “it is hard to see if this decision will hold out or not, because there was no my attorney there to answer on my behalf.” When asked who his attorney is, the boy replies, “God and King Olav the Saint; into their hands have I put my claim, and they will see to it that I receive my share of the land and of luck.”⁷¹ A sacred relation had made and none can destroy it.

The Haakon’s enemies, the Baglar, are conscious of his charismatic personality and the close relationship with Saint Olav. When King Haakon falls for a while into opponents’ hands, one of them suggests taking him as their King. This person said that they know the laws of King Olav the Saint, King Haakon is rightful king who is a king’s son, and not a daughter’s son or a sister’s son of kings as they now serve on both sides, Birkebeiner and Baglar.”

Although Skuli insists that, he is the lawful heir of his brother, King Ingi, and as such entitled to the throne according to Saint Olav that is just a lamentable and to him ultimately fatal misapprehension, suggested to him by his wicked counselors. All threads of the plot are skillfully drawn together in the account of this event; all arguments supporting the rightfulness of Haakon’s cause, scattered as they were over the preceding narrative, are now marshaled in order to produce a cumulative effect. The king is calm

⁷⁰ Busygin, Aleksander. *The laws of the saint king : aspects of political and legal life in Norway from the eleventh century to the end of Hákon Hákonarson's reign*. Hovedoppgave i vikingtid og nordisk middelalder. Universitetet i Oslo, 2003. pp 56

⁷¹ Busygin, Aleksander. *The laws of the saint king : aspects of political and legal life in Norway from the eleventh century to the end of Hákon Hákonarson's reign*. Hovedoppgave i vikingtid og nordisk middelalder. Universitetet i Oslo, 2003. pp 62

and confident that he is in the right: all his ancestors have ruled the country, so he is the true heir to Norway and the patron protect him.

2.6 Immortality

The charismatic leader still *alive* after his death⁷² and live permanently in the followers' memory and heart, because no one proved better than he did the God's preference. By far the most important sort of death to human beings is human death, but to the Charismatic King death means immortality and consecration. The Charisma never die, always exist and is immortalized his image as the chosen one. To continue, the work will display through the death, the Charisma leader have been consolidated.

In their deathbed, both Kings represent the interdependence between them and their followers and how important are both for each other. The gifts are the material symbol of the charismatic leader. The bodyguard, the example of men and as soul guardians, is too close, as they show since the beginning. First, is King Sverre in one-day recuperation wants to share with his allies a moment and demonstrate them that he had no fear:

On the Tuesday morning of the second week in Lent, King Sverri fell into a perspiration, and then seemed free from pain. Many came to visit him, though generally there were but few near him.⁷³

The interdependence between his fellows and the leader is also with King Haakon, he needs to show his Charisma until his last moment, giving gifts to his bodyguard is the way that he could confirms his mercy and justice.

When king Hacon thought he felt that the course of the sickness got much worse, then he took council for the wages gifts to his bodyguard, and he commanded that a mark of

⁷² Fischer, J.M., *The Metaphysics of Death*. Stanford University Press. ed., 1993. The perfect way to express the stoicism philosophy in relation with the death, its give impulse every person to consecrate their life and convince them that death cannot harm them. Stoicism encourages the people to pare back their desires, not avoiding the painful experiences and consequences of being dying. Along the way, the stoicism insulate to the people from being threat of death, eliminating the desire not to die, as well as any desire whose satisfaction requires our being alive. The stoicism is related with the divinity and the reunion between he and with the most sacred. The stoicism believe in the existence of the soul.

⁷³ Sverris Saga

burnt silver should be given to each man of the bodyguard; but half a mark to the guest and dish swains, and the rest of his serving men.⁷⁴

And the Kings Sverre's death resembles the perfect picture of a charismatic King sovereign. The saga proves how a normal death caused by sickness can be transformed as an image spectacular characteristic of power and divinity. With his fellows around him, King Sverre vanished in his high seat:

“Now before I am anointed, I wish to be set in the high seat, where I will abide, come better come worse. And if I die here in the high seat, my friends standing around me, the death and the story of it will be other than Bishop Nikolas Arnason will expect; for he said that I should be smitten down like an ox, and be food for hound and raven. But God be thanked that He has protected me in many struggles from the weapons of my foes”⁷⁵

The death immortalizes King Sverre and King Haakon, in the saga they were surrounded by their men and in contact with their people, saying clear out any doubt who will be the next king by the God's grace. The death appears with great force and showing the importance that the Kings continue with the legacy of their ancestors. With a charismatic and at the same time dualist personality is clear the relationship with the divinity. The way in which the leader dies is the way that he is going to be recalled.

In conclusion, the importance of Weber's theory about the charismatic leader has been described in King Sverre's and King Haakon's mystical origin, describe how they born outside the normal standard, with single mothers, surrounded by people who believe in their supernatural origin and *a posteriori* is this people protecting and taking care of them.

Nevertheless, the charisma is developed and it is use it in different ways. King Sverre demonstrated his Charisma through his image, as an example of ideal human being; he had a close and active connection with the divinity, dreaming and talking with King Olav; he was chosen by God directly and immortalized his death being at the end in his *high seat*. Otherwise, King Haakon expresses his Charismatic nature giving peace and

⁷⁴ *Hakonar Saga Hakonarsonar* 329

⁷⁵ *Sverris Saga* 133

pardon to everyone even the enemy and the stranger, he used the image of Saint Olav as a mediator and connect his future with the God's and King Olav's desires, his death is sanctified giving *gifts* and surrounded by his *angels*; his pure and innocence figure is passive because he knew that he deserved be King.

Therefore, the term *Charisma* by Weber⁷⁶ is positive and with desirable repercussions of the social phenomenon, it is apparent that he believed in charismatic individuals as a necessary antidote to the increasing bureaucratization of society, a process he viewed with distaste. One of the Weber's premises is the development of the charismatic leader to the bureaucracy. Although, the Charismatic King Leader has not be freeze in his dominion he has to move to another fields and increase his aptitudes to consolidate his reign.

To continue, in the third chapter, the dissertation will show the second analytical tool necessary to depict the leadership of King Haakon and King Sverre, the *Personal Abilities*, a Traditional authority who establish his legitimate status in his personal qualities, through this characteristics the leader have the right to ask obedience to his people.

CHAPTER III

The Traditional Leader

⁷⁶ Weber, Max. *The Theory of Social and Economic Organization*. William Hodge and Co. London, 1947.

In the preview chapter the dissertation, illustrate *The Charisma*, a personal characteristic necessary to accomplish King's objectives. Now the present chapter will take the second analytical tool, *The Personal Abilities*, to depict the leadership of King Sverre and King Haakon. This section will also describe through the analysis of several Saga stanzas and the description of Max Weber's model; the Kings' traditional leadership, how this *heroic* qualities will be necessary to achieve the control over Norway and gain adherents to their cause.

2.1 Determination

Since King's Sverre and King's Haakon childhood⁷⁷ is possible to discover their temper and character to led people, how their personality raises answering properly and powerful to his fellows. Usually the speech describes the process from the normal boy to the great ruler. The speech emerges by the God's power, *Charisma* and is transformed in a *Personal Ability*; both are working together an example in King Haakon's Saga:

The boy answer like a wise and grown man, "Be not wrath with me, Helgi" said he, "and give no heed to this, for it is hard to see whether this doom will be held or not; because there was no spokesman of mine there to answers on my behalf" Helgi looked at the boy and said, "Who is thy spokesman?" "God," he answers, "and the saint king Olaf; to them and into their hands have I put my quarrel, and they will take care of my interests when there is a question of sharing the land or of luck".⁷⁸

⁷⁷ Giddens, Anthony. *Sociology*. Third Edition. Polity Press. Cambridge 1997. pp 37. Sociologically the childhood as a separate phase of development, did not exist in medieval times. In paintings of medieval Europe children were portrayed as little adults, having mature faces and the same style of dress as their elders. So, the development of a medieval person was faster than today. The possibilities to discover complex personalities during the childhood are higher. In conclusion the physical vitality and intelligence are probable primarily genetic, but intelligence is very likely influenced quite substantially by early childhood.

⁷⁸ *Hakonar Saga Hakonarsonar*6

In this respect, commented in the Sverris saga, King Sverre shows since his childhood the entire firmness to be King and the determinant resolution to accomplish the aim:

When Sverri was five years old he sailed from Norway to the Faeroe, and was there brought up as the foster son of Bishop Hroi. The Bishop put him to books, and admitted him to Holy orders, and he was ordained priest. But when he reached a ripe age he did not shape himself to the priesthood, and was rather unruly.⁷⁹

In this sense, Sverre Bagge illustrates how the “Medieval Norwegian and Icelandic society was less rigidly stratified than the feudal monarchies of contemporary Europe and the competition between the leading men was more open”.⁸⁰ A *Traditional* personality was needed to attract adherents. The king could not expect obedience or respect because of his office or consecration; he had to prove by his *Personal Ability* and attractive personality. Therefore without strict social classes, the leader in the Kingdom had most of the power. The higher classes mostly were the warriors and beside the King could rule the land and have the enough support from the people.

Alternatively, to Knut “The conditions in other parts of Europe were different; the Norwegian society in the high middle ages was not particularly aristocratic in nature. The clergy and the King’s liegeman were placed above ordinary people in wealth and status, but the boundary between these two groups and peasant society was a fluid one and both were recruited from the peasantry”⁸¹, that means the Kings’ had to demonstrate their potential to the people, liegeman and the Church. To Giddens⁸² the authority is a government’s legitimate use of power, which means that those subject to a government’s authority consent to it; if the King wants to have the authority must have the people’s consent. In order to approach to the personal features Sverre and Haakon had to develop and exhibit their potential of leadership in front of the peasantry.

⁷⁹ Sverris Saga 1

⁸⁰ Bagge, Sverre. *From Gang Leader to the Lord’s Anointed: Kingship in Sverris saga and Hákonar saga Hákonarsonar*. The Viking Collection. Vol. 8. Odense: Odense University Press. 1996. pp 88

⁸¹ Helle, Knut. *Norway in the Middle Ages. Recent views on the structure of Society*. Scandinavian Journal of History 6 No. 3 (1981), Oslo, pp. 186

⁸² Giddens, Anthony. *Sociology*. Third Edition. Polity Press. Cambridge 1997. pp 339

First is Sverre when he realized that his place is not within the limits of the common people, he knows inside of him and with determination that his was created for great things and surely *the life* had strong purposes that later he will accomplished:

“It seems to me very unlikely that I shall become Archbishop” replied Sverri, “when I am not well suited to be priest” Sverri was twenty four years of age before he was told who was his real father, and he remained one year longer in the Fareys before he proceeded to Norway.⁸³

And King Haakon that offers in his first of his many speeches to his people, speaker attitudes and power of motivation. With this speech early showed which his place within the group and began his great carrier potential:

The next winter after, when the boy was in the fourth winter... The boy was very sprightly though his stature and years were so little, he was very forward in speech and merry tongued, so that the earl and all others who heard him had fun in the words of the boy.⁸⁴

The present chapter has been commented the leader cannot act very impulsively; he must often stop his actions, moderate his temper to balance the atmosphere. Therefore one of the important attitudes that they have to show is to plan and anticipates before any enemy’s movement and allies’ progress. Now, King Sverre arrives for the first time in King Magnus lands, he knows that he cannot attack, it is time to drill the enemy and measure his language. This tactic is the only way that nobody will be against him:

By prudent speech he so sounded them that he became assured of many matters which they would never have disclosed if they had known who was among them or with whom they conversed. He applied his mind diligently to observed if the commons showed doubtful loyalty in their language, taking care that his own words roused no suspicion, and that no one perceived what his mind was brooding over. But he only found that the whole of the commons were loyal to King Magnus.⁸⁵

2.2 Technical Knowledge

⁸³ Sverris Saga 2

⁸⁴ *Hakonar Saga Hakonarsonar*⁴

⁸⁵ Sverris Saga 6

One important distinctiveness in Weber's traditional leadership in Chemers⁸⁶ says that is necessary to prove at the critic moments what kind of people the leader is, how he reacts in the complex and uncertain moments, how are his movements taking decisions, what kind of tactics he takes to attack and how protects himself against the enemy's forces. That is reason, the present chapter is focus on Kings' attitudes against the conflict and which are they place within the society.

Now, King Sverre is use himself as an example, he perfectly knows his position, as a King is very unstable, so he must demonstrates what kind the leader is. King Sverre confirms his heroic attitudes doing better the same actions; establish the precedent he is able to be their leader and his force and tenacity are his examples:

The King was the last to go on shore, and as soon as he left the raft it sank like a stone. All marked the singular and marvelous character of the event. For having beheld the raft float when carrying its human freight, and sink the instant they left it, all saw clearly that it had borne one who was destined to do great deeds that were yet undone, and to hold higher rank than he yet held.⁸⁷

Apparently in more than one once, King Haakon takes a passive role within the combat but like Sverre, he is a model to be follow. He tries to be with people and one with them being their commander with his clever advises expose his abilities in warfare tactics.

But when folk came to the king they gave that counsel that the earl should sail south and look up the Ribbalds, but the king should stay in Tunsberg with his forces.⁸⁸

2.3 Award and Reward

⁸⁶ Chemers, Martin and Ayman, Roya. *Leadership Theory and Research. Perspectives and Directions*. Academic Press. Harcourt Brace Jovanovich Publishers. London 1993. pp 175

⁸⁷ Sverris Saga 13

⁸⁸ *Hakonar Saga Hakonarsonar* 74

Consequently is not possible to be all along demanding loyalty and submission to the people, all along must be stimulate to their allies⁸⁹, since they are in any moment giving their life and attention, so is why the successful compliment of the promises and rewarding to a certain action, makes that the people who are around them to continue trusting and depositing their confidence. At this point King Sverre realizes that the well-done work deserves to be remunerated and is better to do it. He has to fulfill his promise, because is through this promise that the followers will know the king has word and it is possible to admire and to trust in him:

They asked for quarter, threw down their weapons, and so showed their fear. The King acted as before, and gave every man quarter that asked. A second host of those gathered together, seeing how their fellows were dealt with, also reconciled themselves to the King. They promised such obedience as never before was promised in Hadaland, and an Assembly was summoned at which the King should conclude the peace.⁹⁰

One of the moments where it is possible to observe the King Haakon's *traditional leadership* or *Personal Abilities* is when he exhibits who are his people and whom are in his side and wishes. These people are not the noble or high commanders of his forces, the people who integrate the King's side are the free men, the sincere and the loyal person. The following paragraph expresses the previously commented:

Then the king gave his decision; and says that he would take no man's council but his own, and he said he would of a surety sit with the freemen, when they offered him such good terms and were willing to lay down their lives and goods for his life.⁹¹

Haakon is not interested to apply his power by the tyranny, oppression or coercion, his main characteristic is to be concerned; because this is the way that express and offer to his people pacifically the symbol of his reign. Haakon once more awards who are on his side, promising peace to the people around him (Charisma), but if they come to his power (Traditional), this is the way in which he is going to implant his authority. That means he establishes his dominion by debts, the people expresses their gratitude staying toward

⁸⁹ The traditional leader unlocks or channel existing motives. Any group has a great tangle of motives. Effective traditional leaders tap those that serve the purposes of collective action in pursuit of share goals. The leader is concerned for the task, when the leaders emphasize the achievement of concrete objectives.

⁹⁰ Sverris Saga 16

⁹¹ *Hakonar Saga Hakonarsonar*148

him. The King knows the people will answer to his call, because they still alive. To continue two paragraphs those demonstrate previously exposed:

Then the king spoke to the captains of bands, and afterwards the horns blew for a meeting, and the king gave out his plans before the host, that he would march in peace with all the freeman in the land. If they would come into his power and leave their cause to his mercy.⁹²

And called to him that guest whose name was John the poor and three others and bade them stay there till all the rest had passed by; and says that everything there should be in peace, because this woman alone would ask mercy of him of all the Vermlanders; and he bade her go after her household and have them home with her, and tell them thus, that more farms would have been un burnt if any men had come to find him to beg for mercy.⁹³

A *Personal Ability* has the characteristic is to transfer perfectly his own feelings, views, opinions and thoughts. Within the sagas the speech appears in several occasions. The point break moment is in front of the *Assemblies*. In front of the wisest men he has to convince.⁹⁴ One of the most transcendental moments in both King's life during their visits in the *Things* was when his named sovereign in front of his people. There is the moment when the people through the *Assembly* recognize the leader's value and consider him their unique leader. Nevertheless, in a large land with a lot of *counsels*, the Kings have to find the approval in almost everyone; they traveled across the country looking for the *Things'* recognition and election. The *Traditional Leader* acts stubborn to accomplish his tasks. Next, King Sverre's and King Haakon's *Assemblies* approval and others legislative bodies. In these term King Haakon chosen king at the Eyrating

That day on which the Eyra-Thing was summoned a great host of freemen out of the districts came to the town, as was the custom when a king was chosen.⁹⁵

⁹² *Hakonar Saga Hakonarsonar* 112

⁹³ *Hakonar Saga Hakonarsonar* 114

⁹⁴ Weber, Max. *The Theory of Social and Economic Organization*. William Hodge and Co. London, 1947. Weber began to turn to the contexts in which leadership is exercised and the idea that what is needed changes from situation to situation. Some looked to the processes by which leaders emerge in different circumstances for example at moments of great crisis or where there is a vacuum.

⁹⁵ *Hakonar Saga Hakonarsonar* 17

Sverre was elected king in Nidaros as equal as Haakon years later. The important in the scene is how the people beside the King respond in that moment. To the *Traditional Leader* is no more than acknowledgment of the people and the *power* that this confers:

After this the King turned back north to Trondham, and, coming to Nidaros, was received as befitted a king by the townsmen, who had the bells rung throughout the town and went in procession to meet him. He then caused the Assembly to be summoned at Eyra, calling to it twelve men by name from each of the eight shires that lie within Agdaness. At this Assembly of the eight shires, met together, the title of King was given to Sverri, and ratified by the brandishing of weapons; land and liegemen were confirmed to him by oath in accordance with the old laws of the land.⁹⁶

Finally, is King Haakon repeating his recognition in the Gulating and other Things and with all his fellows, everybody celebrated the recognition of the new King:

The king said that he would let the title of the young king be renewed, and that pleased all well. The horns sounded for a Thing on Shorove-Thursday out in Christ's Churchyard, and then the title of king was given to young Hacon. Then he swore an oath after rightful custom and the liegeman after him. So too the freeman swore oaths out all Gula-Thing's law and out of Orkney, Shetland and Iceland.⁹⁷

After that the Huga-Thing was summoned, and king Hacon was given the title of king. After that they, the king and the earl, appointed the most of their force to go back north; but they fared east afterwards over the Fold, and held the Borgar-Thing; and thence into Vettar-Hundred to Stofnar, and held a Thing there; and thence to Hornbora-Thing, and east to Elf-bakki. Hacon was then given the title of king at all these Things; and men turned out the whole force of the district with good will; and he had gifts over and above round the whole Bay.⁹⁸

2.4 The Speech

⁹⁶ Sverris Saga 16

⁹⁷ *Hakonar Saga Hakonarsonar* 225

⁹⁸ *Hakonar Saga Hakonarsonar* 28

The Traditional Leader loves have *control* and *power*; he needs to be the *One*, the *Hero* who is going to motivate to fight against the enemy, the pride for their people after the combat. On relation, King Sverre is entirely clear in his ideas, he knows the relationship with his people is the best. He has self-confidence in the power of his words:

When the King finished his speech his men thought they perceived what he desired, and it seemed good to all of them to applaud what they saw to be his wish, although they did not see the promise of success.⁹⁹

The speech was important into the society because it was the easy way to know the knowledge and ability of the leader. The discourse had to be directly, clear and with great impact, to realize with the best words the King's thoughts. At the same time is possible to notice in the dialogues the ability to be flexible, thankful and reward the fellows, thus punish, forgive and order the change of his enemies. The speech was the best way to show the *Personal Ability* and demonstrate that he deserves be King. King Sverre congratulates the behavior of his fellows; helpful way to motivate and at the same time gives an idea about his power:

And the King said: "You Birkibeins are much more devout now than before. You behave as if you must lick every church you come near. It is not your wont to pay much regard to churches."¹⁰⁰

On the other hand, Magnusson makes a point when remember how Haakon sent out the fiery cross round all Norway, "calling on all regions of the realm to muster the traditional naval defense levy, in Bergen the following spring."¹⁰¹ King Haakon knows perfectly, he has to reward his *followers-laidang-warriors*, even if this means share part of the treasure, he considers his people and the recompense them could be the perfect strategy to own and rule the land.

He had sent east into the Bay after his land dues and levies to pay his men's wages; but nothing came from the south. And on the eighth day the king let them break asunder his

⁹⁹ Sverris Saga 88

¹⁰⁰ Sverris Saga 164

¹⁰¹ Magnusson, Magnus. *Haakon the Old, Haakon who?* The Haakon Haakonsson September 7, 1981. Largs & District Historical Society, 1982. pp 3

treasures, silver dishes and silver cups, and nevertheless made a good reckoning with his bodyguard.¹⁰²

As was presented in the *Introduction*, the Birkebeiner came from Trondelag. King Sverre knew the importance of his laidang. The *Traditional Leader* recognizes his people and rewards his actions. The Sverris Sagas must have them and illustrate the King's favorite people, exhibiting their loyalty was part of his strategy to gain more followers.

Of all the people of the land he held the Thronds in most affection, and always declared what trusty friends the Thronds had been to his father King Sigurd, to his brother King Hakon, and to Eystein the Birkibein, having always served under the same shield... King Sverri remained for a time north in Kaupang. He made a levy of men and food over all Thordham, and obtained ships from the yeomen of the districts.¹⁰³

Continuing with the Speech, in both sagas the Kings recognize the enemy's power. This act gives to the King Sverre and King Haakon self-confidence, strong character and successful as *Combatant* against the enemy. King Sverre communicates some details about the person who occupy his right to the throne The King leader expresses to the people his enemies' capacities, this makes his triumph marvelous and magnificent, to Sverre is necessary provide power and virtues to his antagonist; because increasing the enemy's power he communicate to the people only a better man could beat them:

At that time King Magnus and Earl Erling were strong in the support of mighty men and of all the commons. The King was beloved and popular; the Earl was powerful and wise, energetic and blest with victory, and held all rule over the land.¹⁰⁴

"At present," he said; "their (King Magnus and Earl Erling) power is great, and to contend with them will be a hard matter."¹⁰⁵

2.5 Manners

¹⁰² *Hakonar Saga Hakonarsonar* 210

¹⁰³ Sverris Saga 42

¹⁰⁴ Sverris Saga 3

¹⁰⁵ Sverris Saga 27

A *Traditional Leader* personality is when the King visualizes the moment of enemy's death and burial; King Sverre and King Haakon, as was exposed above, see the enemy as a great person, with a lot of qualities and power in front the people and fellows. This case settles down the enemies' inconvenience they did not distinguish that they were against the truth King. Finally, the Kings demonstrate with dignity and glorious manners the best honors. First, King Haakon and his diplomatic way who talks about not only his enemy but also his father in law and in many situations his mentor:

Duke Skuli's death was a great grief to many a man, and especially to his friends, for he was one of the most beloved of men. He has many gifts towards that; first kindness and good company; along with these, generosity and open handedness, so he spared scarcely anything to his men. To many men he gave titles, or got them good matches, or brought them to some other thriving who set theirs hearts on him; and for such things he became much beloved. Duke Skuli gave the estate at Rein, his father's inheritance, for a cloister, and let a noble stone Minster be built there, and set up there a nunnery and gave great store of money to it. There are many other remarkable things to be told of his behavior though they are not written here.¹⁰⁶

On the other hand, King Sverre in the enemy's last resting place, judge the enemies strongly and recognize their falseness, but in any time he reject the power of his abilities. King Sverre repeats in Earl Erling's burial the attacks against him, he forgives them in public and confers the opportunity to the enemy's fellows and close men give them a respectful burial, like a well person. The Sverre's psychological insight and the sensitivity to know his men's reactions are part important in his tactical skills. To Bagge "Sverri trusted in his personal skill and his ability to convince them by the right combination of rhetoric, logical arguments, appeal to their interests, and understanding of the situation and their reactions."¹⁰⁷ This resembles that the King has not men exemption of recognition, the *Traditional* King appears just, honest and powerful. In the next stanza, King Sverre had the strategy doing reverence and giving pardons to the enemy, who desired the King's death:

¹⁰⁶ *Hakonar Saga Hakonarsonar* 242

¹⁰⁷ Bagge, Sverre. *From Gang Leader to the Lord's Anointed: Kingship in Sverris saga and Hákonar saga Hákonarsonar*. The Viking Collection. Vol. 8. Odense: Odense University Press. 1996. pp 86

“We stand here now at the graveside of one who was kind and loving to his friends and kinsmen; though he and I, kinsmen, had not the good fortune to agree. He was hard to me and my men; may God forgive him now all his transgressions. Yet he was an honorable chief in many respects, and adorned by kingly descents.”¹⁰⁸

King Sverri made a speech over the grave and thus spoke: “It is not fit that silence should be altogether kept at the burial of so noble a man as the one over whom we now stand (Earl Erling)... Pray God that He will forgive their sins and save their souls. All the evil they have done to me I willingly forgive them for God’s sake...” He exhorted each one carefully to perform for his intimate friend such kind offices as he himself would desire, declaring that he himself would find men to give burial to those who had none to care for them. So the King ceased speaking. All who heard his words were pleased with them, and many applauded his speech.¹⁰⁹

2.6 Performance

Finally, King Haakon and King Sverre are looking for extent their *Personal Abilities* through their death. They need to be evidence of great skills, they were the best rulers and they gain the right of be elected by their powerful control over the country. The final description is important as their death, because is a synthesis of their life, the form they would be remember and they *Personal Abilities* immortalized. King Sverre is teaching to the future generations the perfection of their actions and perfection of his *Traditional* personality:

King Sverri was most polished in manner. He was low of stature, stout and strong, broad of face and well featured. His beard was usually trimmed, and his eyes were hazel in color, set deeply and handsomely. He was calm and thoughtful. He was most eloquent in speech; his ideas were lofty, his articulation was distinct, and when he spoke, the ring of his voice was so clear that though he did not appear to speak loud, all understood him, even though they were far off. He was a seemly chief as he sat in his high seat grandly dressed; for though his legs were short he sat high in the seat. He never drank strong drink to the injury of his reason, and always ate but one meal a day. He was valiant and bold, very capable of enduring fatigue and loss of sleep.¹¹⁰

¹⁰⁸ Sverris Saga 97

¹⁰⁹ Sverris Saga 38

¹¹⁰ Sverris Saga 181

The description of King Haakon showing some of the same *Traditional Leadership*, because both Kings are more short than short, not perfectly beautiful but no ugly and with a lot of dichotomies because they are not well described, is like deal with a multiple personality behaving depends the action:

King Hacon was not tall for a man of middle height; well grown, broad backed, and slim wasted; rather tall when sitting down, not long legged, somewhat bow legged, very much built in the same fashion as king Sverrir had been. The features on his face were marked his he good, with good hair; large eyed, and yet with good eyes. He was pleasant to all when he was in a good mood; but grim and terrible if he were wrath. He was merrier than any man, and livelier and lighter in himself. A kind man he was to the poor and needy, so that he was never in so heavy a mood that he did not answer them kindly, he was noble and affable when he sat with other princes; amiable and dignified, a clever man, and a good speaker at meetings. He was the wisest of me both in laws and counsel. Those said that they had never seen a prince who pleased them better as a king, and lord, and companion, King Hacon let the law be amended in many things and so also the land codes in Norway. He let that be set down in the book which is now called the New Law. He did away all man slaying and chopping off of feet or hands within the land, unless there were very good reasons for them. No man should thrive in the land who took away another man's lawful wife. He also let all blood feuds be put down, so that no man should smart for another's ill doing, save atoning for them in those things which the law chose for him.¹¹¹

The final words to King Sverre give some clues about the success in his legacy, because he was not only beside the Norwegian tradition, he had *Personal Abilities*, he was a perfect model of manner, he was the hero. In few words the Saga depicted the mighty leader:

The wall was then build up, and a tablet of brass was fixed, on which was engraved in gold letters (Latin) verses to this effect: "Here lies the excellency of kings, the support and stay, the model and parrern of truth, gallantry, and worth; the manly strength, shield, and defense of his native land and the inheritance of his fathers; the courage of resolution, the destruction of foes, the honor of Norway, the glory of its people, the strengthening of justice, the amendment of law, the affection of all his followers."¹¹²

¹¹¹ *Hakonar Saga Hakonarsonar* 329

¹¹² *Sverris Saga* 182

Finally is King Haakon final words, the Saga depicted his relationship with the Church and his *Traditional Leadership* to convert people. The King's self-confidence and motivation served to transform lives and he expanded his land territory and power as much as he could:

King Hacon set his heart more on strengthening God's Christianity in Norway than any other king before him since the king Saint Olaf was alive. He let a church be built north in Tromsø and christened all these parishes converting the tatars y building churches of wood and stone...¹¹³

Huge similarities and conjectures have left in the present chapter. Weber in Charters¹¹⁴ explained ideal *Traditional Leader* as an individual figure who allows their people to do their own thing, but is supportive when they need help. He is the one who will respect and admire their distinctiveness, which accepts their search for pleasure and achievement, and helps them win interpersonal competitions. About this, the relationship with the people was enormous and the Speech is a perfect example, the Kings leaders demonstrated their support, admiration and gratitude every time they could. The Kings gave them self-confidence to carry on the war. . Definitely, King Sverre was more active in war and King Haakon developed as warfare's technician. How both kings see their enemies; sounds apparently that exists in every combat an ethic code. The Kings are so respectful and they try to be objective in their judgments. At the same point, his presence during the opponent's burial is a symbol of diplomacy and manners. Part of the propaganda works perfectly, the Kings do not wish to have more pretenders; they look for unity and more adherent to their causes. On the other hand, the fellow is the most important for the King; he counted them, rewarded and demanded the best in each combat. The King knows, people at the same time were his army, if he has a good relationship with the town, he will have a good defense. The final Sagas' words depicted their *Personal Abilities*, important analytical tool to establish their power over the land.

¹¹³ *Hakonar Saga Hakonarsonar* 329

¹¹⁴ Charters, Martin and Ayman, Roy. *Leadership Theory and Research. Perspectives and Directions*. Academic Press. Harcourt Brace Jovanovich Publishers. London 1993. pp 175

Comparing the two analytical tools before mentioned, the *Charismatic* leader with his supernatural characteristics, live together and jointly with the *Traditional*. Through the present dissertation, it have been possible how the charisma and personal abilities develop both Kings' personality. In general, King Sverre through his dreams motivated his people and kept them with him during the war by his own technical qualities. King Haakon expressed his forgiveness to his followers through the fluent and persuasive speech.

In the next chapter the present dissertation will present the last type of leadership and third analytical tool, an important element that depict the leadership of King Sverre and King Haakon, *The bureaucracy*, a normative authority with rational legal hierarchical power.

CHAPTER IV

The Bureaucratic Leader

In the previous chapter the dissertation, illustrate the *Traditional leader* an important analytical tool to achieve the King's objectives. Now in the present chapter will take the third analytical tool, *The Bureaucracy*, to depict the leadership of King Sverre and King Haakon. This section will describe through the analysis of several Saga stanzas and the description of Max Weber's model; the Kings' bureaucratic leadership and how this normative quality will be necessary to achieve the control over Norway.

To the *Traditional Leader* is concession and power, the *Charismatic* needs to express his mercy, the *Bureaucratic* is important to preserve the reign with rules and norms.¹¹⁵ The *Bureaucratic* leader looks for high levels of normative productivity, and ways to organize people and activities in order to meet those objectives. This leadership type is characterized by leaders taking decisions for others and expecting followers or subordinates to follow instructions to work together and respect the law with the supervision of the leader.

4.1 Conservative

The *Bureaucratic* leaders try to share decisions through the law and making concrete agreements with others In this sense the Old Law of Royal Succession¹¹⁶ was important to have the people's acceptance and to express how was the normative. This Old Law to

¹¹⁵ Gardner, John. *On Leadership*. The Free Press. A Division of Mcmillan. New York. 1990

¹¹⁶ Gathorne, Hardy. *A royal impostor. King Sverre of Norway*. Aschehoug. Oslo. 1956. The Law of Royal Succession was in 1163 established at the Eyrating assembly for hailing the King of Norway. To Gathorne, this law never achieved the force of law in Norway, but the laws of royal succession enacted in the 13th century reiterated the designation of the Eyrating as the national assembly for hailing the King of the realm. The law coincides with the Sverris Saga, which describes the hailing of King Sverre at the Eyrating in 1177. King Sverre Sigurdsson appears to be the last King to consciously tie the hailing of the King of the realm to "ancient national law" referred to in the Saga.

Knut¹¹⁷ was the basis of the new succession law in 1260 and 1273. Therefore in the middle of this development, the end of the Old one and the creation of the New Law of Royal Succession, some antecedents describe the process of the latest regulations. In the *Introduction* was exposed, the Old Law allowed more than one King ruling the land, this clause was known by Sverre, in two different occasions he is trying to expose the advantages to have two Kings leading the country, but is Magnus who rejects his offer:

King Sverri proposed that they should share the land between them, and both be Kings, as were the sons of King Magnus Beffatt and the son of Harald Gilli. The proposal was much discussed, but came to nothing; some of King Magnus's men were favorable, other were opposed, but the King himself would not hear of it.¹¹⁸

King Sverri again made his former offer to King Magnus to share the land, and King Magnus should choose which half he would; but King Magnus would say neither yea nor nay after the parley.¹¹⁹

King Haakon like King Sverre proposed to Skuli and his greed position, distribute the reign, Skuli rejects the idea. King Haakon realizes that is not possible to make this agreement and he will govern alone:

The king had before ordered out the levy in the summer n both halves of Agdir province, but earl Skulli had already taken away almost all the levy. The king got some out of the north half but nothing out of the south. The king called to him his councilors, and tells them that. And it seemed so to all as though the earl wanted to have all the Bay and all the Uplands, and all northe to Rygja-fylki... Then king Hacon sent word to the earl with letters; and said this that he misliked to have such a sharing of the land any more; and the earl would not have strife with the Ribbalds alone if he went on longer in this way.¹²⁰

Although the King give all his trust and has the possibility to share the reign with the enemy as the law was established, but the enemy's wishes are different, Skuli wants to ruler and set up his power:

¹¹⁷ Helle, Knut. *Norway in the Middle Ages. Recent views on the structure of Society*. Scandinavian Journal of History 6 No. 3 (1981), Oslo, pp. 182

¹¹⁸ Sverris Saga 46

¹¹⁹ Sverris Saga 60

¹²⁰ *Hakonar Saga Hakonarsonar* 80

After that Skuli stoop up, who was then proclaimed king, and spoke a few words. After that he went to the shrine, and laid his band on it, and swore an oath that how would keep saint Olaf's laws and justice as a good king ought to this subjects.¹²¹

King Haakon fails distributing his kingdom with his father in law. The Saga expresses his clearly personal desire to share the power and not be alone, perhaps a request of his advisors. Now King Haakon will reign alone, as a solitary King.

On St. John's eve king Hacon held a general Thing in the Ekriskes. There squire Magnus was chosen king; archbishop Einar gave him the title of king. After that he swore law and right to all the folk of the land on the Lord's Cross.¹²²

The previous paragraph expressed the Haakon's election, how swore law and expresses the right to all people. The King has been recognized, now he is able to rule as a *Bureaucratic leader*, everything he wants generally will be an affirmative answer and with something extra. The law transmits the legal authority to Haakon and the people with this express their loyalty.

He had every day meetings with his men, and bade them make ready themselves and their weapons. The king sent messengers and messages all over the Fold, that they should find him beasts of burden. But the men of Westfold behaved so manfully that they brought two hundred horses and gave them all to him for goodwill's sake.¹²³

Haakon has the power of the speech to convince (Traditional). The King perfectly knows his people and their reactions. The relationship is increasing after his election (Bureaucratic), the relationship is narrow and by his words, he obtains the people's feelings against the enemy:

Then the king stood up and made a clever speech, and it ended so that he brought against the earl the charges which his foes had raised before him. And when he had done the liegemen rose and threw charges against the earl, one after the other, and brought great blame on him.¹²⁴

¹²¹ *Hakonar Saga Hakonarsonar* 199

¹²² *Hakonar Saga Hakonarsonar* 292

¹²³ *Hakonar Saga Hakonarsonar* 108

¹²⁴ *Hakonar Saga Hakonarsonar* 177

The *Bureaucratic* leader acts in different situations. For example, where a quick response is needed, and where people are used to being told what to do, rather than having to work at it themselves. His style or approach is characterized by giving a great deal of direction to subordinates and by giving considerable attention to defining roles and goals. The style was recommended for dealing with new group of fellows, or where the work is tedious or repetitive, or where things had to be completed within a short time span. The subordinates are viewed by the *Bureaucratic* as being unable and unwilling to do a good work as King Sverre and King Haakon expect the best in their laidang. Another example is how to trade, make business and establish agreements. Sometimes characterized as a judge approach, it is to be used when people are motivated but lack the required normative maturity. An additional is participating in the creation of rules and norms. Here decision-making laws is shared between leaders and followers the main role of the leader being to facilitate and communicate the new laws. It entails high support and low direction and is used when people are able, but are perhaps unwilling or insecure; they are of moderate to high maturity. Finally delegating, and is the approach when the *bureaucratic* leader still identifies the problem or issue, but the responsibility for carrying out the response is given to followers. It entails having a high degree of competence and maturity, people know what to do, and are motivated to do it.

To continue, King Haakon at the moment to know the grandfather's story, he realize the Sverre's power, King Haakon needs to transmit the royalist idea to the people about the elected by God admire of the people, he is the new model of elected by God. Now he has the crown and the ancestor legacy, these are the instruments to govern his people:

After that he urged on his men, and told them that story which king Sverrir was wont to tell of a freeman's son, who was to go with the troops from his father.¹²⁵

Is King Haakon again talking about King Sverre and his characteristics, Haakon wants to follow him, now is the moment to be a leader with his own way and decisions. Nowadays is not possible to still the grandson, he has to be the new king and he has to create is personal way of reign his people:

¹²⁵ *Hakonar Saga Hakonarsonar* 229

King Hacon answered thus: “It cost my grandfather king Sverrir more, and he had more toil than we have yet had, ere he got Norway under him away from his foes; and yet still many tried it on with him after he got sole rule; but he never let there be any question of sharing, but prayed God so to share the land as his mercy thought good. Now you also may speak thus to your lord, that no sharing to the land will pass with us other than God shares.”¹²⁶

4.2 Supremacy

The church in the middle ages had a clear control over the population. Deal properly with the Bishops was not only necessary to the Kings but also was an excellent strategy to have good relationship with the population. Nevertheless, the king has to set up who was the one in charge and he can prevent limiting their actions. In following paragraph King Haakon and his dialog with the high clergy expresses comprehensibility who was the one in charge of the reign, he is speaking as the *only one* with the sufficient *bureaucratic* legitimacy to direct the town:

When he had come into the hall and had sat awhile, then king Hacon first began his speech in this wise: “Lord archbishop... I was the true rightful heir to Norway both of old and new. But because this meeting has been fixed hither of all the wisest men who are in the land, then it befits you well... You know to, most of all men the claims of those who challenge this kingdom”¹²⁷

King Sverre talks with firmness supremacy that is against him, even if it is the bishop. He had been established the law that stipulate the new Church privileges and limits:

The King who governs the realm needs to be both severe and upright; and though Nikolas is glib of tongue, he seems to me to have the heart of a hare and the falseness of a fox; such has always been my experience of him.¹²⁸

King Sverre with the same determination against the church, he did not make any distinguish between men, he accomplishes the law and punish the person who was against him. Sverre talks really rude and straight to all Bergen:

¹²⁶ *Hakonar Saga Hakonarsonar* 134

¹²⁷ *Hakonar Saga Hakonarsonar* 86

¹²⁸ *Sverris Saga* 133

An Assembly was next summoned in the town, and the King, being very angry, spoke and said: "You men of Bergen show great unfriendliness to me now as heretofore. You are a chief source of all war against me, and have ever been so; since my rule began you have lived in complete hostility towards us."¹²⁹

4.3 Stratification

Weber in Chemers¹³⁰ says *Bureaucratic Leaders* often employ commandment of authoritarianism and evoke to his follows the image of the enemy, thus arousing the power motive, a motive especially relevant to effective combat performance. There is evidence that formally appointed leaders in a dramatic situation are capable of arousing subordinates achievement motives. Previously was commented in previews chapter, the *Traditional King* want the power to demonstrate his *heroic* leadership. The King's *bureaucracy* gives the opportunity to serve and help the people, he provided them better life, and stratified the society. King Haakon recognize the enemy's power and he gives some privileges that never had before, the King keep his anger and ego to show to his people a new social class:

That the same spring king Hacon held a Thing at the Eres, and a great crowd came thither, and at that Thing he added to the honor of earl Skuli, and gave him the title of duke. That title no man had held before in Norway... With this title the king gave the earl many worthy gifts, And then began a new and kindly feeling between that father and son in law.¹³¹

Sverre gives the power to his possible relative is a perfect way and strategy to increase his military service, stratified his society and stay in calm with any pretender.

King Sverri then acknowledged his kingship to Eirik, and made him a captain in his body-guard. Eirik was a popular man, most condescending and ruled his company exceedingly well.¹³²

¹²⁹ Sverris Saga 146

¹³⁰ Chemers, Martin and Ayman, Roy. *Leadership Theory and Research. Perspectives and Directions*. Academic Press. Harcourt Brace Jovanovich Publishers. London 1993. pp 94

¹³¹ *Hakonar Saga Hakonarsonar* 190

¹³² Sverris Saga 59

Problems with Erling¹³³ Therefore is possible to see a tyranny king with the enemy, he does not respect the barons (lower class), also the king is depicted with cleverness and trying to take any opportunity to increase his popularity. King Sverre is taking benefit beside the enemy, not only visualize the enemy slower, thus also the king has a new quality he is quick in procedure:

He took of the property of the barons and of all those who fled away, likewise all the land dues which King Magnus and Earl Erling expected for themselves.¹³⁴

And the all life's leader show up people against him, because if he finish with all the crown's pretenders inside the country, also outside the king has to improve the creativity to exterminate more enemies because is fundamental element for the people see the power and cleverness of their king:

Olaf Godred's son was then king in Man, and he held that realm manfully against the earl and with much faith towards king Hacon. But the kings of the Southern Isles, those who were come of Sumarled 's stock, were very unfaithful to king Hacon.¹³⁵

It is the stuff of rational legal hierarchical power, the Bureaucratic leader. Resting on a believe in the 'legality' of patterns of normative rules and the right of those elevated to authority under such rules to issue commands (legal authority)¹³⁶. Rational authority, where patterns of normative rules, originally arising from the interaction of group members, attain legality and obedience becomes owed to some established order within the limits of its scope, for example, educational establishment and the law. In this bureaucratic way of leadership is Sverre with his policy against the alcohol:

¹³³ Erling Skakke's harsh regime and his attempt to exterminate all descendants of Harald Gille created a most determined opposition to his rule, and brought new forces into the field against him. Many had no choice but to resort to armed resistance in their own self-defense, for although they were convicted for no wrong doing, they knew that Erling was plotting their destruction, and with their band of followers they sought refuge in mountains and forest, where they led a life almost like brigands in constant want and danger.

¹³⁴ Sverris Saga 17

¹³⁵ *Hakonar Saga Hakonarsonar* 163

¹³⁶ Weber, Max. *The Theory of Social and Economic Organization*. William Hodge and Co. London, 1947. pp 337

As second evil, overdrinking destroys the memory, and makes a man forget all that he is bound to keep in mind... Consider now, you men that overdrinking: who will most likely seize the soul when your life and drinking bouts come to an end at the same time.¹³⁷

Power and influence are not the same, although they are at times used as virtual synonyms. Classically, power is considered to be the ability to exert some degree of control over other persons, things, and events. In institutional terms, it is associated with authority relationships and actual or implied coercion. By contrast, influence involves more persuasion, with the recipient having latitude for a free choice, rather than be subject to imposed authority.¹³⁸

Now is King Haakon is calling the lower class, but important part of the stratification to retain the legacy, the laidang, King Haakon regulates the procedure of act:

That course was taken that the arrow of war was sent out north and south from Bergen, and the whole levy summoned thither...The same day the king held a meeting in Christ Church yard, and told all men those tidings which he had heard, and bade men not be downcast at them; for he said his heart told him that there would be some good way out ho this trouble.¹³⁹

4.4 Public Relations

The reorganized clergy¹⁴⁰ Therefore the relation with the church was almost destroyed, he could deal properly with the clergy, perhaps was the only way to pronounce king, King Magnus was to strong in that time and with the church's alliance.

¹³⁷ Sverris Saga 104

¹³⁸ Chemers, Martin and Ayman, Roy. *Leadership Theory and Research. Perspectives and Directions*. Academic Press. Harcourt Brace Jovanovich Publishers. London 1993. pp 31.

¹³⁹ *Hakonar Saga Hakonarsonar* 207

¹⁴⁰ Busygin, Aleksander. *The laws of the saint king : aspects of political and legal life in Norway from the eleventh century to the end of Hákon Hákonarson's reign*. Hovedoppgave i vikingtid og nordisk middelalder. Universitetet i Oslo, 2003. pp 56. The Church considered that the dedication of a church made it and all its possessions property of the saint patron to whom the altar was dedicated. The control of the churches should, in the opinion of the reformers, pertain only to the bishop. But in this case, Sverre was unwilling to respect the canonical rules for choosing bishops. He claimed the right to present his candidate and have a voice at the election. Finally, he rejected the demands on the part of the Church to exercise exclusive jurisdiction over all offences against ecclesiastical law and to judge all criminals clerks no matter what the issue might be.

Now presented part of King Sverre's conflict against the church, he knows the power of the church, he is the paradox to stay with the church and lost some of his power and confidence of the people or fight against the bishop and take himself as the anointed and the only one who the right to rule everything:

The bishop denied and protested but the king said the denial would avail nothing; he had known the whole truth before, he said; and he threatened the Bishop with harsh measures, calling him a traitor to his lord and his country. The bishop prayed the King for mercy, promised him fealty, and offered to confirm his promise by oath; he declared that he would make such amends for all his offences as the King himself required.¹⁴¹

The relationship with the clergy, King Sverre was difficult.¹⁴² He did not want such a bishop in an important position. King Sverre would reject this relationship until the end of his life¹⁴³ the important relationship with the Church Was impossible to continue against the church now the moment to return and have it as a friend. King Haakon Sverrisson would establish the alliance..

So the importance of the approval of the church and the proved to have royal blood in one hand and on other the capacity to lead the people, were fundamental to have the recognition of everyone. King Haakon knew the importance to have his people contented, but at the same time, he had to be close to the church.¹⁴⁴ He has to take care and protect

¹⁴¹ Sverris Saga 123

¹⁴² Gathorne, Hardy. *A royal impostor. King Sverre of Norway*. Aschehoug. Oslo. 1956. pp 6. was regarded as a hard and brutal King. He did not accept that the church could name their bishops and priests. The perfect way to control everything in the country, when Archbishop Eirik named Nikolas as the new bishop in Stavanger, Sverre refused. Nikolas had earlier fought against King Sverre at the battle of Fimreite. When Archbishop Eirik also demanded men in his personal bodyguard, more than the normal, King Sverre denied them. In 1198 Pope Innocent III banned King Sverre and denied all others to trade and have contact with the King. But as a Gathorne says, this would not be the last time that Norwegians refused to accept demands from Europe.

¹⁴³ Gathorne, Hardy. *A royal impostor. King Sverre of Norway*. Aschehoug. Oslo. 1956. pp 8. King Sverre attacked the papal legate, Innocent III laid the king and his partisans under interdict. King Haakon, son and successor of Sverre, hastened to make peace with the church, whose liberty had been preserved by the unflinching attitude of the pope and his archbishops

¹⁴⁴ Busygin, Aleksander. *The laws of the saint king : aspects of political and legal life in Norway from the eleventh century to the end of Hákon Hákonarson's reign*. Hovedoppgave i vikingtid og nordisk middelalder. Universitetet i Oslo, 2003. pp 61. Developing his line of argument, Sturla gives a detailed report in the saga's beginning of the discussion of succession to the throne occasioned by King Ingi's illness. This story plays no part in the development of the plot because Ingi recuperates, but Eyvind, a rather obscure figure among the leaders of the Birkebeiner, gets an opportunity to state Haakon's claim and to counter Skuli and other pretenders. In his that speech which is characterized in the saga, an authoritative

both of them equally as a lovely *father* with two *children*, which is the reason public relations could be to give some gifts to the people and reward the archbishop at the same time:

King Hacon gave the cardinal great gifts and his men; he also gave the archbishop and other bishop good gifts, and all the liegemen and the best of the freemen.¹⁴⁵

One important relationship to King Haakon was with Iceland, a republic since its foundation.¹⁴⁶ The success of attach Iceland to the Norwegian crown would mean a triumph over the Church commented by Jon Vidar Sigurdsson¹⁴⁷ Now King Haakon has the power, the King knew he would need to prove the power to the all clergy, but with patience and having good public relations with the Church. Haakon was too intelligent and knew the Church's power, its power in the society and its complex structure; therefore, frequently he was pleasing the Church:

The archbishop answer thus: "This is not my counsel alone; all we bishops are of this mind, and some of those who are inside you court with you; and we have this ground for it, that we had heard it said outright in some way whether thou art the son of king Hacon or not".¹⁴⁸

King Sverre's pardon to Bishop Nikolas as example of authority over the Church now is King Haakon gives pardon to every member in the church. He had been waiting the

decision on a point of law, Eyvind now makes it clear that there is no question of any of Ingi's relatives inheriting the throne from him because it rightfully belongs not to Ingi but to young Haakon who is the heir of his father

¹⁴⁵ *Hakonar Saga Hakonarsonar* 258

¹⁴⁶ Magnusson, Magnus. *Haakon the Old, Haakon who?* The Haakon Haakonsson September 7, 1981. Largs & District Historical Society, 1982. pp 14. Haakon was determined to bring it back into the Norwegian fold. He finally achieved his aim just before his death in 1262, when the Icelandic Parliament agreed to accept him as their king; but it was only achieved after decades of internecine conflict in Iceland and fierce opposition from some of Iceland's most prominent leaders. One of those opponents had been Snorri Sturlasson; and to clear him out of the way, King Haakon had him assassinated at his home in Reykholt in the year 1241 for refusing to obey a summons to the royal presence in Norway. That fact lends a certain irony to Haakon's own death scene, lying listening to the Sagas

¹⁴⁷ Sigurðsson, Jón Viðar. *Chieftains and Power in the Icelandic Commonwealth*. Translated by Jean Lundskær-Nielsen. Odense University Press, 1999. pp 76. Haakon's regulation over Iceland is "partly due to his deliberate westward orientated foreign policy and the struggle for prestige between the crown and the church in Norway at the end of the twelfth century and the beginning of the thirteenth." The church was the stronger party in Norway the domain of the archbishop in Nidaros was bigger than the King. If the crown wants to demonstrate as a powerful institution, it has to control archbishop reign.

¹⁴⁸ *Hakonar Saga Hakonarsonar* 39

church's election as a new throne's successor, now he had the power and the people's respect, nowadays was the moment of the church to say *sorry* and *settle down*:

But the bishop owned to that, and begged the king to forgive him. He said he would willingly do that for God's sake. The king thought he understood them how far gone the bishop's strength was. And for the he delayed starting thence till God called him from the world.¹⁴⁹

The King can be to consider as a head of the state. The way of the tradition procedure marks that he had to be crowned in determined form and the coronation was considered like an important act for all community. On the other hand, a good leader must know the art of the diplomacy, the public relations inside and outside country; he knows how to deal with someone who comes in name of another king. The King have the courtship to making feel well another King. The Kings needs to have good relations with other kingdoms, but at the same time show his supremacy, dominance and sovereignty in any case or moment that someone thinks to invade the nation. This important public relations depict a leader less charismatic or traditional, but more bureaucratic and with more control ruling the land.

The agreements and policy expressing during the public relation have at least two broad functions: a coordinative function by which the basic resources of society are managed and integrated and second, a hegemonic function by which the system of social stratification is supported and perpetuated over time.¹⁵⁰ Thus, to the degree that the state functions in both these capacities, society wide leaders must adopt two broad perspectives: a universalistic perspective by which they represent themselves to be leaders, guardians and representatives of the society as a whole and a particularistic perspective by which they help to protect the structure of inequality and privilege which appears to be tied to state formation. In sum, then, the emergence of leadership systems is also linked to a movement from open, achieved, influence based systems to one which is closed, ascribed and power based. In relation with the comments before, King Haakon

¹⁴⁹ *Hakonar Saga Hakonarsonar* 138

¹⁵⁰ Kellerman, Barbara. *Leadership: Multidisciplinary perspective*. Prentice-Hall, Inc. Englewood Cliffs. New Jersey. 1984. pp 44.

continue with the king's legacy about *gifts*, as a part of the courtship. Now, the presents are using as a expression of sovereignty, good manners, strong foreign affairs and stable land.

They had some hawks to carry with them, and other things beside which were not easy to get there. And when they came out into Spain the king made them welcome and tool those presents kindly which had been sent him from Norway.¹⁵¹

But also is possible to see King Haakon inviting Canute's kinsman, with the purpose to establish relations, mutual agreements during the war or commerce trades.

Then came to him Askill the lawman, who had to wife lady Christine the mother of squire Canute. Then the king invited his kinsman Canute to stay with him, and said he would show him great honor if he would be with him.¹⁵²

Bergen, conveniently situated on the western shore of the country, became the emporium of the new foreign trade, which helped to activate other branches of Norwegian production as well.¹⁵³ The importance to establish political and economical agreement between King John and King Sverre will mean received gifts, military assistance and even a couple of small fiefs in Lincolnshire:

In the summer when King Sverri was in Bergen, John, King of the English, had sent him two hundred warriors of those called Ribbalds.¹⁵⁴

King Sverre foreign affair works with England, now King Haakon is doing the same when in the spring of 1247, started the preparations for his coronation in Bergen¹⁵⁵ he sent a ship to England because the provisions were lacking in Norway. This was the natural foreign affair to do. An envious Englishman told Cardinal William of Sabina

¹⁵¹ *Hakonar Saga Hakonarsonar* 284

¹⁵² *Hakonar Saga Hakonarsonar* 107

¹⁵³ Helle, Knut. *Anglo Norwegian relations in the reign of Haakon Haakonsson (1217-63)*. Medieval Scandinavia 1. (1968), Odense, pp. 101. Danish crusaders visiting the city in 1191 found it packed with dried and foreigners from all over Northern Europe, among them Englishmen and Irishmen. In a famous speech in Bergen a few years earlier King Sverre had especially welcomed English traders, a special characteristic of the traditional leadership and king's legacy about gifts as a power base. Royal Norwegian embassies had crossed the North Sea in the reign of Henry II.

¹⁵⁴ *Sverris Saga* 174

¹⁵⁵ Helle, Knut. *Anglo Norwegian relations in the reign of Haakon Haakonsson (1217-63)*. Medieval Scandinavia 1. (1968), Odense, pp. 105

when he passed through Norway on his way to crown Haakon. King Haakon loved to sit at the top table of the great.¹⁵⁶

In the year before the great expedition to the Hebrides, Haakon was busy sending envoys to Tunis bearing falcons as a *gift* for the Sultan.

They fared out to the Soldan of Tunis with many falcons, and those other things which were there hard to get. And when they got out the Soldan received them well, and they stayed there long that winter.¹⁵⁷

In addition, is King Sverre making agreements and public relations with exotics and far countries, as an example King Sverre with the King of Greece:

He came this summer to Norway, bringing a letter and a seal, called the Golden Bull Scroll; this seal was sent by Kirialax, King of the Greeks, to King Sverri, and in the letter it was written that King Sverri should send his the hundred of warriors.¹⁵⁸

The ambition of King Haakon was different. His counselors acted totally different than Sverre's policy. Knut Helle¹⁵⁹ comments how King Haakon want to be on a level with Europe and it is reflected in "the splendid outward show stressed in the contemporary historical and political literature, the luxuriance and colorful pageantry of royal coronations and weddings, the punctilious etiquette of court life based on imported ideals of courtesy and chivalry, the exchange of gifts and letters with the most powerful rulers of Europe, the flattering attention paid to Haakon from abroad, as seen through Norwegian eyes."

King Haakon then wrote the letter in this wise, that king Eric should before the 8th day of Yule have driven his foes out of his realm; else, he said, there was no doubt that he would

¹⁵⁶ Magnusson, Magnus. *Haakon the Old, Haakon who?* The Haakon Haakonsson September 7, 1981. Largs & District Historical Society, 1982. pp 19. He exchanged letters and gifts with Henry III of England, Louis IX of France and the Holy Roman Emperor Frederick II. The Russian Grand Duke Alexander Nersky wanted to marry to his daughter; that came to naught, but she was married off instead to a brother of King Alfonso X of Spain.

¹⁵⁷ *Hakonar Saga Hakonarsonar* 313

¹⁵⁸ *Sverris Saga* 127

¹⁵⁹ Helle, Knut. *Anglo Norwegian relations in the reign of Haakon Haakonsson (1217-63)*. Medieval Scandinavia 1. (1968), Odense, pp. 108

himself avenge this scathe. The lawman promised that he should have true tidings for the king before the 8th day. He was two days with the king at an honorable feast.¹⁶⁰

King Haakon wanted a cosmopolite country, trying to have a lot of relationship, even more if the relationship includes the emperor:

The emperor sent men north to Norway to visit king Hacon and duke Skuli. This was a long time before that of which we are now telling. His name was William who was their leader. They offered the king and the duke many presents; but they sent to return those things which were hard to get for the emperor, and were thought treasures in his land.¹⁶¹

The emperor sent men north to Norway to visit king Hacon and duke Skuli. This was a long time before that of which we are now telling. His name was William who was their leader. They offered the king and the duke many presents; but they sent to return those things which were hard to get for the emperor, and were thought treasures in his land.¹⁶²

When king Hacon came to the king's Crag that man came to him whose name was Mathew, sent from the Emperor Frederick with many noble gifts.¹⁶³

King Haakon knew the power and possibilities that a marriage abroad means, after the wedding could be possible to establish commercial agreement and military support:

The king took that well. And because that was so fated, then he (king Harold) betrothed to himself Cecilia the king's daughter, and it was meant that the bridal should be at Bergen that summer.¹⁶⁴

To Magnus Magnusson,¹⁶⁵ Norway exercised a somewhat intermittent overlordship whose effectiveness depended largely on the particular will and inclination (and resources) of individual Norwegian monarchs. That is the reason of King Haakon personally commanded the great naval expedition west-over-sea to the Hebrides.¹⁶⁶ King Haakon naturally had to defend his rights over the Western Isles. The Scottish

¹⁶⁰ *Hakonar Saga Hakonarsonar* 107

¹⁶¹ *Hakonar Saga Hakonarsonar* 191

¹⁶² *Hakonar Saga Hakonarsonar* 191

¹⁶³ *Hakonar Saga Hakonarsonar* 243

¹⁶⁴ *Hakonar Saga Hakonarsonar* 259

¹⁶⁵ Magnusson, Magnus. *Haakon the Old, Haakon who?* The Haakon Haakonsson September 7, 1981. Largs & District Historical Society, 1982. pp 3

¹⁶⁶ Magnusson, Magnus. *Haakon the Old, Haakon who?* The Haakon Haakonsson September 7, 1981. Largs & District Historical Society, 1982. pp 1. Haakon the Old was another king who took pains to exercise his authority over the Western Isles and Man, in the face of the growing expansionist threat of mainland Scotland under two great kings, Alexander II and Alexander III.

envoys indicated that Alexander would be prepared to buy them off him for good silver - "name your price."¹⁶⁷ King Haakon gave them a haughty answer: He said he was not aware that he was so desperately short of silver that he needed to sell his lands for it. The king's son and now co-ruler, Magnus Haakonsson, offered to lead the expedition; he was then 25 years old, and had been appointed king by his father in 1257. But the king Haakon relatively advanced age; he was 59 years old then, proudly insisted on taking command himself.¹⁶⁸

As equal that the Western Isles' problems King Haakon during his reign has to deal with some agreements between the *fraternal* countries:

And when it began to be spring he sent a letter of summons through all the land, and called out a great force with supplies and fitting out of ships and arms. He gave it out that he meant to hold on with this host to Denmark.¹⁶⁹

Nevertheless, sometimes the economical agreements were not reciprocal and King Haakon had to learn and ask for justice even if he was dealing with a bigger kingdom:

And when it wore on, the king sent Aslak gush east to the land send with the sum which he was to pay the Danes. And when Aslak came to the river then no men came from Denmark, and none to pay up that money which was settled.¹⁷⁰

4.5 Legacy

Magnus Magnusson¹⁷¹ try to explain the Haakon's deathbed when he had books read to him in Norse, first the sagas of the Saints, and then the sagas of the Kings of Norway all the way from Halfdan the Black onwards, one after the other, until the Saga of King Sverre was reached. Then Sverris saga was reading to him both day and night whenever he was awake. However, on the Saturday after, late in the evening, the king's illness was

¹⁶⁷ Magnusson, Magnus. *Haakon the Old, Haakon who?* The Haakon Haakonsson September 7, 1981. Largs & District Historical Society, 1982. pp 3

¹⁶⁸ Magnusson, Magnus. *Haakon the Old, Haakon who?* The Haakon Haakonsson September 7, 1981. Largs & District Historical Society, 1982. pp 4

¹⁶⁹ *Hakonar Saga Hakonarsonar* 277

¹⁷⁰ *Hakonar Saga Hakonarsonar* 281

¹⁷¹ Magnusson, Magnus. *Haakon the Old, Haakon who?* The Haakon Haakonsson September 7, 1981. Largs & District Historical Society, 1982. pp 13

so heavy upon him that he lost the power of speech. Near midnight the reading of Sverre's Saga was concluded; and just as midnight passed, "Almighty God called King Haakon from this earthly life." In King Haakon's deathbed, the King found peace listening the collection of Norwegian King's sagas.

In the sickness he let Latin books be read to him at first. But then he thought it great trouble to think over what that (the Latin) meant. Then he let be read to him Norse books, night and day; first the Sagas of the Saints; and when they were read out he let be read to him the tale of the kings of Norway, one after the other.¹⁷²

To Knut Helle¹⁷³ the Haakonar saga Haakonarsonar is more than an Old Norse King's saga, it is partly a European chronicle. That is the reason why for the last 23 years of his reign, Haakon was intent on consolidating the power of the crown and raising Norway's international prestige. To Magnus Magnusson¹⁷⁴ King Haakon's first major diplomatic coup was to achieve papal dispensation for his coronation, in 1247.

The presentation of the history above described is related with the kingship crucial to political workings of all kingdoms, the *dynasty*, very important, as were strong kinship ties in binding together monarchies. Kings and other Kingdoms marriage alliances, conduits property, power, peace weavers, foci of interest groups, kin by marriage could offer political support, maternal and paternal kin could transmit claims on wealth and prestige to the next generation. In that sense, through the saga is possible to observe the difficulties that King Haakon and King Sverre had have to obtain the recognition as Kings of Norway. They want not only give a peaceful life to their sons, referring about the succession, but also through their sons their prestige and *legacy* goes in their *blood*. First is King Sverre transfer the power:

Then he caused the letter to be read aloud which he was sending his son Hakon, touching the ordering of the kingdom, and he had his seal affixed to it. He spoke then before all those present and said, "I call you all to witness, that I know no son alive except only

¹⁷² *Hakonar Saga Hakonarsonar* 329

¹⁷³ Helle, Knut. *Anglo Norwegian relations in the reign of Haakon Haakonsson (1217-63)*. Medieval Scandinavia 1. (1968), Odense, pp. 109

¹⁷⁴ Magnusson, Magnus. *Haakon the Old, Haakon who?* The Haakon Haakonsson September 7, 1981. Largs & District Historical Society, 1982. pp 19 This was the Church quid for Haakon's quo, and must have come as peculiarly galling news for Alexander II of Scotland, who never succeeded in achieving papal unction and coronation because of opposition from the English curia.

Hakon, though hereafter men come forward desirous of raising strife in the land, and call themselves my sons.¹⁷⁵

Moreover, is King Haakon transferring the power to his son Magnus and everybody must respect and protect, he would be the next anointed:

He was asked in the sickness by his trustiest men if it happened so hardly that his life were lost or that of king Magnus whether he had no other son behind him; or whether it was any good to seek in some other place where his offspring might be. But he spoke strongly as to this, that he had no son to succeed him but king Magnus; and no daughters that men did not know of already.¹⁷⁶

The King Haakon's death resembles the return of the Norwegian tradition and the interdependence with Europeanization. Reading the Norwegians sagas means the King's relationship to his people and his customs. Perhaps is not a glorious death in battle, but Haakon continues his legacy He established the legacy during his death; the grandson relationship with the King Sverre transmitted the importance of their history.

When the tale of the kings was read down to Sverris, then he let them take to reading Sverrir's saga. Then it was read both night and day whenever he was awake.¹⁷⁷

The final words to King Sverre give some clues about the success in his legacy, because he is not only beside the Norwegian tradition, he is also part of the European culture (Latin). In some words the way to show a mighty leader:

The wall was then build up, and a tablet of brass was fixed, on which was engraved in gold letters (Latin) verses to this effect: "Here lies the excellency of kings, the support and stay, the model and parrern of truth, gallantry, and worth; the manly strength, shield, and defense of his native land and the inheritance of his fathers; the courage of resolution, the destruction of foes, the honor of Norway, the glory of its people, the strengthening of justice, the amendment of law, the affection of all his followers."¹⁷⁸

As it was explained previously, the relations with other countries and kingdoms were fundamental not be and stay isolated in front of the great sovereignties that they looked

¹⁷⁵ Sverris Saga 133

¹⁷⁶ *Hakonar Saga Hakonarsonar* 329

¹⁷⁷ *Hakonar Saga Hakonarsonar* 329

¹⁷⁸ Sverris Saga 182

for enlarge their power. At the same time it was significant to find a lot of contracts, like marriages, with powerful kings and agreements with some realms very far from home that not everybody is relative in general, because that gave prestige, and looked for to enlarge the king's power in negotiation and improved the people's confidence deposited to the leader. On the other hand, with these relations is possible to observe more actives Kings in the *bureaucratic* leadership sector, doing what commonly towards their time and the necessity of not being isolated. Definitively the concept of friendship and gifts was diminishing, but those takes a new face when being related to the foreigner promotes a marvelous, sociable and wealthy leader. Finally the foreign affairs in the kingdom of King Haakon was more ambitious, he went far and incorporated a European way of thinking, with the difference of a bureaucratic King Sverre, who make foreign affairs with different kingdom but concentrated his power regulating and controlling the behavior of his people (Traditional). Both Kings transmit their interests by the Old law as conservative way

Comparing the three analytical tools before mentioned, the *Charismatic* leader with his *supernatural* characteristics, the *Traditional* leader with his *heroic* abilities, live together and jointly with the *Bureaucratic* leader. Through the present dissertation, it have been possible how the charisma, personal abilities and bureaucracy develop both Kings' personality. In general, King Sverre through his dreams motivated his people and kept them with him during the war by his own technical qualities, but with out the support of other kingdoms by his public relations could be impossible defeat his rivals. King Haakon expressed his forgiveness to his followers through the fluent and persuasive speech and is by this speech that he is going to build his legacy.

In the next chapter, the dissertation will show the last and fourth analytical tool to continue with the depiction the leadership of King Haakon and King Sverre, the *Fellowship*, the condition indispensable to develop their leadership.

CHAPTER V

The Fellowship

In the previous chapters the dissertation, illustrate the *Charisma, Personal Abilities and Bureaucracy* an important analytical tool to depicted the King Sverre's and King Haakon's leadership. Now in the present chapter will take the fourth analytical tool, *The Fellowship*. The section will describe through the analysis of several saga stanzas and the description of John Gardner's model; the Kings' community, how their own fellows develop their personality and leadership, and training and prepare them to achieve goals, a analytical tool necessary to gain the control over Norway

The King without the fellowship support has not possibilities to succeed. The great leaders are those who are surrounded by a permanent bodyguard, the King must influence and to change to the society with their actions but they cannot be isolated; they are public people who never are confused in the community. Leader is stronger in relation with the number of people who is leading and is the same town who demands his presence. On the other hand, also must exist a person who resists to the change executed by the leader; other leader of opinion who is puts on approval the capacity of leader. These two analytical tools are indispensable in the development of the leadership. First one the allied and fellows gives the force enough to confront the challenges and power to move all a multitude towards a specific goal; and the second one the enemy who impede the way, confronts and challenge; the person who finally causes the shine and consecration of the leader.

Confidence and assertiveness are strongly influenced by the adequacy of parental support of the attachment process during the first year of life. John Gardner¹⁷⁹ in this sense stipulates like the other traits required for leadership, these attributes are somewhat situation specific: The child, and later the adult, may be confident or assertive in one context and not in others. The need for achievement starts developing in the first two years of life, but it seems to be under constant change of strength from early adulthood. The capacity to understand others and the demonstration of the skills dealing with people has its most striking development in adolescence and especially young adulthood, but the beginnings are in the years before five.

The role of the fellowship therefore could be seen to hold within it the potential of leadership, and behaviors found to represent affective leadership in fact include attributes of good followership such as dependability, competence and honesty. Even with an imbalance of power, influence can be exerted in both roles, as part of a social exchange. To Martin Chemers¹⁸⁰ an effective leadership is more likely to be achieved by a process in which there is reciprocity and the potential for two-way influence and power sharing, rather than a sole reliance on power over others.

5.1 A Shared Culture.

King Sverre and King Haakon had to be far from the place they deserved because of the political difficulties in that time. Beside them are their fellowships who like them, share their culture and values, and educate them to fulfill their *call*. Their life is complicated from the beginning of their lives but through to the wise instruction of the community around them can enjoy a healthy childhood. In this sense, the scholar Knut Helle examined the relations between the King and the *good or wise* men that according to the official political ideology of the period were to take decisions jointly with him. "The men were the political assemblies and the King's council and later the council of the realm. Both of them, the King and the *wise men*, contributed to concrete the way for a growth in royal

¹⁷⁹ Gardner, John. *On Leadership*. The Free Press. A Division of Mcmillan. New York. 1990. pp 163

¹⁸⁰ Chemers, Martin and Ayman, Roy. *Leadership Theory and Research. Perspectives and Directions*. Academic Press. Harcourt Brace Jovanovich Publishers. London 1993. pp 31.

power.”¹⁸¹ And by the relation of his wise men the King became a legislator and supreme judge of the land, military and administrative leader and as a director of domestic and foreign policy.

To John Gardner,¹⁸² the discovery of a fine mentor was a useful instrument that could strengthen the attributes even in middle age.

Knut Gjerset explains their fellowship “They were called Birkebeiner (Birch legs), because they were sometimes forced to wrap their feet in birch bark for want of shoes.”¹⁸³ Moreover, the Birkebeiner protect the young Kings since the beginning, giving them all their lives and loyalty. The interaction between leaders and constituents or followers tell that communication and influence flow in both directions; and in that two way communication, non rational, non verbal, and unconscious elements play their part. In the process leaders shape and are shaped. This is true even in systems that appear to be led in quite autocratic fashion. That means both kings were in the middle of the conflict and just a person with authority and good people behind him, can triumph.

The fellowship accomplishes the alignment of individual and group goal. They deal with the circumstances that often lead group members to withhold their best efforts. They call for the kind of effort and restraint, drive and discipline that make for great performance. They create a climate in which there is pride in making significant contributions to shared goals.¹⁸⁴

In this style, leaders look upon their followers as people - their needs, interests, problems, development and so on. They are not simply units of production or means to an end. It is why the reason to have followers in a competitive world as they were living, Sverre and

¹⁸¹ Helle, Knut. *Norway in the Middle Ages. Recent views on the structure of Society*. Scandinavian Journal of History 6 No. 3 (1981), Oslo, pp. 179

¹⁸² Gardner, John. *On Leadership*. The Free Press. A Division of Mcmillan. New York. 1990. pp 163

¹⁸³ Gjerset, Knut *History of the Norwegian people*. Macmillan. New York, 1932. pp 375

¹⁸⁴ Gardner, John. *On Leadership*. The Free Press. A Division of Mcmillan. New York. 1990. pp 14. One of the actions that every good leader must take is to be measured in his greed, to comprehend that the most important thing is the people and not the power that his position emanates, continuation both kings attempting to divide the kingdom for the benefit of people without mattering to be the only ones.

Haakon have to adopt new members and share the culture previously shared; people who looked for new leaders in who trust and changed their way of life and style. Within all characteristics of leadership always must to exist the pardon, the key that quickly neutralize the enemy, when the force is not necessary and the fidelity is easy to obtain. In this case Sverre takes the sorry one and now not only is in his side, but also at the same time acted like an alive version of his mercy:

Thorstein then received pardon, and the King let him often speak at meetings of the guard and tell of the way of the Bagals, and he was constant speaker also at Assemblies.¹⁸⁵

Haakon not only pardons his enemies and gives them opportunities to return to his side, but furthermore encourages to his allies giving peace, speaking with them and always knowing their necessities that require them:

And when he got up on the road he might have with him near three hundred men. After that they rode some half a league on the road, and three were no horses on their way. But they took some men, and peace was given to all of them. The king halted and had a talk with his men.¹⁸⁶

5.2 Fluent Internal Communication.

The leader directed his dependant fellowship out of crisis with radical solutions to deal with their problems. Again, inspirational leader was seen to be highly directive in their means and methods. Martin Chemers¹⁸⁷ says the intellectually stimulating leader challenged his followers, as the individually considerate leader could rise above the demands for equality from his followers to treat them differently according to their different needs for growth.

Nevertheless, all leaders are seen as subject to the controlling reactions of their followers and are the head of a group as leading them in their own direction. To Barbara Kellerman “The leader is conceptualized as the Unitarian Expression of the group will, as will as

¹⁸⁵ Sverris Saga 153

¹⁸⁶ *Hakonar Saga Hakonarsonar* 237

¹⁸⁷ Chemers, Martin and Ayman, Roy. *Leadership Theory and Research. Perspectives and Directions*. Academic Press. Harcourt Brace Jovanovich Publishers. London 1993. pp 65

being important for the unification and coherence if the group”¹⁸⁸, and this is said to hold true even in those cases where the group and its leader are in opposition, since the leader as adversary also makes for common sense.

For example, Gardner argued¹⁸⁹ that effectiveness depends on two interacting factors: leadership style and the degree to which the situation gives the leader control and influence. Sverre speaks on the part of all; here is a clear example of a collectivist attitude. Sverre becomes the voice of the community, he knows their needs, or possibly are his needs; but by that, he knows how transfer the power of his speech, therefore easily people can endorse his actions and the fellowship would communicate their feelings and help the King:

His men bade him decide again, as of old, saying that would be the best course. He next asked the townsmen if they were willing to give him help or should he and they manage their own affairs. “We Birkibeins,” he said, “would repeat the old saying to you, A friend is for use in time of need.” The yeomen and townsmen answered that they were willing to give the King such help as they could.¹⁹⁰

In addition, Gardner¹⁹¹ identified much that has been written in Middle Ages. There is a lot of evidence to suggest cultural factors influence the way that people carry out, and respond to, different leadership styles. For example, some cultures are more individualistic, valuable family as against bureaucratic models, or have very different expectations about how people address and talk with each other. These impacts on the choice of style and approach influence fellowship communication.

¹⁸⁸ Kellerman, Barbara. *Leadership: Multidisciplinary perspective*. Prentice-Hall, Inc. Englewood Cliffs. New Jersey. 1984. pp 159.

¹⁸⁹ Gardner, John. *On Leadership*. The Free Press. A Division of Mcmillan. New York. 1990. Others turned to the ways in which leaders and followers viewed each other in various contexts for example in the army, political parties and in companies. The most extreme view was that just about everything was determined by the context. But most writers did not take this route. They brought the idea of style with them, believing that the style needed would change with the situation. Another way of putting this is that particular contexts would demand particular forms of leadership. This placed a premium on people who were able to develop an ability to work in different ways, and could change their style to suit the situation. The central idea was that effective leadership was dependent on a mix of factors.

¹⁹⁰ Sverris Saga 162

¹⁹¹ Gardner, John. *On Leadership*. The Free Press. A Division of Mcmillan. New York. 1990

5.3 Caring, Trust and Teamwork.

The world is move by highly motivated people. Nevertheless, no human venture succeeds without strongly motivated men. Among other things, a leader must recognize the needs can be met, and give them confidence that they can accomplish that result through their own efforts. Gardner¹⁹² tries to explain how sometimes the leader helps to remove constraints or inhibitions that had been impeding the full play of motivation. However also the leader has to have the flexibility enough with the followers, stopping to be stubborn and selfish, earring the voice of the people and stay with them, supporting their ideas and choices, he establish trust in their ideas and make work team to accomplish certain goals.

Here is King Sverre who not always can with the will of the people neither against the will of his warrior. He knew a catastrophe was coming after their choice but he has to be with them and support their preference, make team and accepted the consequences to trust in his fellowship:

“I am not eager for this, and my feeling has been confirmed by a dream. You would act more wisely in following my advise, as on former occasions, and attack the town later on” As nothing would satisfy his men except to attempt on the town, the King said they should have their wish. So against his desire, they now sailed south to the entrance of Throntham¹⁹³

King Haakon expresses his flexibility, kindness and mercy with the fellowship; because he had the right to punish the enemies but he kept the promises do not damage anything and protected them if they trust in his power:

The king said answers this that he called it no wantonness that drove him to burn Vermland and he said he would never have come across Eidwood on that errand if the

¹⁹² Gardner, John. *On Leadership*. The Free Press. A Division of Mcmillan. New York. 1990. pp 184. The leaders must understand the needs of the people they work with their needs at the most basic level for income, jobs, housing and health care; their need for a measure of security; their need for confidence in the stability of the system of which they are a part, including the capacity of the system to solve the problems that threaten it; their need for a sense of community, of identity and belonging, of mutual trust, of loyalty to one another; their need for recognition, for the respect of others, for reassurance that they as individuals are needed; their need for new challenges and a conviction that their competences are being well used.

¹⁹³ Sverris Saga 27

Vernlanders had not sent a troop of vagabonds into Norway to rob and slay. The king said that for that many a good man and true had lost his life.¹⁹⁴

5.4 Group Maintenance and Government.

With authority King Haakon to rule the people he is not selfish to ask for counsel, giving some power and confidence. He had now the power of the fellowship and one of their functions would be protect the king and his Kingdom:

Now the king calls to him his friends and asked counsel in this matter. He got that advise from them, that Andrew should lose the honor he held of the king, but not forfeit his life, though he deserved it; for they saw that nothing else was at the bottom of this than those who wished that both of them should die.¹⁹⁵

Fundamental to them is a process of exchange in which the leader both gives something and gets something. The leader provides a resource in terms of adequate role behavior directed toward the group's goal attainment, and in return receives greater influence associated with status, recognition, and esteem legitimacy in making influence assertions and in having them accepted. In a fundamental way, a leader's legitimacy depends on his or her standings with followers.¹⁹⁶

5.5 Participation of Leadership Tasks.

Leadership and fellowship also can both be active roles, considering the reality that hierarchical organizations require both function at every level. The usual expectation of the follower role as essentially passive is misleading when considering fellowship an accompaniment to leadership. Leaders do command greater attention and influence, but there now is an increasing realization that followers are usually the leader's most attentive strategic audience.¹⁹⁷

¹⁹⁴ *Hakonar Saga Hakonarsonar* 259

¹⁹⁵ *Hakonar Saga Hakonarsonar* 73

¹⁹⁶ Chemers, Martin and Ayman, Roya. *Leadership Theory and Research. Perspectives and Directions*. Academic Press. Harcourt Brace Jovanovich Publishers. London 1993. pp 31.

¹⁹⁷ Chemers, Martin and Ayman, Roya. *Leadership Theory and Research. Perspectives and Directions*. Academic Press. Harcourt Brace Jovanovich Publishers. London 1993. pp 31. Such a leader has

Possibly is the way to know how the fellowship is, but Sverre wants to be identify and he takes advantage this recognition to rule his country. Is the people is participating to the King's responsibilities and tasks, is the way that the fellowship is giving all the time the power to tenet and is important attend this privilege:

“Well spoken! best of kings” his men cried out; “never has your word proved false when you promised us victory! May the man be called dastard who will not rather fight and fall, sword in hand, than flee in cowardice and fear” Then the King said, “May God give you thanks for this answer, as I do. Be undaunted now in the presence of our foes; row forth to meet them, and the braver a man is, the more forward let him drive his ship. I will not have the ships fastened together”.¹⁹⁸

At the same time is King Haakon looking for the Canons' recognition and approve, but he is not going to suffer if they are not with him, he knows the power was given for his fellows and is to them that he is belong to:

Then the king said, “Goodman Dagfinn, go into the town. Say this to the Canons, that I look to be best honored by them of all the men that are in the land. But if they do otherwise, then it will not to be long before they shall know whether it likes us well or ill.”¹⁹⁹

But is not possible every time to show his mercy and gratefulness by his own voice, he needs someone who can give through the power of his words the same or more power, therefore is extremely important the role of the spokesman. The King needs someone who felt or feels the king's mercy and intelligence, someone who can have the talent to convince that he is the one elected by God. First is the Sverre's spokesman who gives an introduction in front of the assembly about his king goals and how was protect them:

After that, they held an Assembly at Eyra, at which Thorstein Kugard spoke and said, “You must know, townsmen, that King Sverri will be a long time in coming here to you to defend the land in Throndham.” Then he told of the conflicts of the Bagals and the

considerable emotional appeal to followers and great power over them, especially in a time of crisis when there are strong needs for directions. This can be seen as a reflection of a vast amount of idiosyncrasy credit at the leader's disposal. Indeed, charisma is a quality that can be considered to be invested by followers and accorded or withdrawn by them.

¹⁹⁸ Sverris Saga 52

¹⁹⁹ *Hakonar Saga Hakonarsonar* 19

King Sverri, how they had proceeded in the summer, mentioning especially the great events last happened, where the King had lost men under the walls of the castle.²⁰⁰

Second is the Haakon's spokesman who concretes the approval in front of the Gulating and a brief verse about the king's grace and mighty.

Dagfinn spoke; and put that forward in his speech that though those in Drontheim had locked up the shrine of the saint king Olaf, still that was neither the counsel nor the will of the freemen. The men of Gula-Thing would willingly do all the honor they could to king Hacon, both clerks and laymen.²⁰¹

So sung Sturla in Hacon's lay:

Tree in orchard in one summer

Twice bore bloom which came to fruit;

Bid in wood twice batched her neatlings

Unfrozen in the early spring.

When the Prince of glory geedy

Had ta'en up the name of "king"

And his fortune'gan to grow,

To honor born and pride of place;

Each man knew the powers of nature

Wished to greet his title royal,

O'er the sea-girt orb of earth.²⁰²

To Barbara Kellerman²⁰³ the relationship between the leader and the led is interactive and reactive. The former cannot maintain authority unless the follower is disposed to believe in his authority. To get and retain power the leader must fulfill the general normative expectations of the group although decisions and actions taken by the group may be a consequence of transactions within the group as a whole, it is the leader's function to take responsibility for them.

A leader even if he is doing his best in every field, is not possible to win so much difficult, consequently is necessary the people's help and the laidang, that is the reason

²⁰⁰ Sverris Saga 152

²⁰¹ *Hakonar Saga Hakonarsonar* 23

²⁰² *Hakonar Saga Hakonarsonar* 25

²⁰³ Kellerman, Barbara. *Leadership: Multidisciplinary perspective*. Prentice-Hall, Inc. Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey. 1984. pp 160.

why Sverre realize that he has to take care and protect his followers, and in conclusion they are going to do the same to him with grateful:

He could see, as he thought, no way to separate himself from his force, because those who were his most eager followers kept careful watch over him, now that he had accepted the title of King and become known to all in the land.²⁰⁴

Leaders have authority as part of an exchange²⁰⁵; if they fail to deliver the goods, to meet people's expectations, they run the risk of authority being removed and given to another. Those who have formal authority over them may take this action. However, we also need to consider the other side. Followers, knowingly or unknowingly, accept the right of the person to lead and he or she is dependent on this. The leader also relies on 'followers' for feedback and contributions. Without these they will not have the information and resources to do their job. Leaders and followers are interdependent.

The present chapter The Fellowship showed the close relationship with the King's motivations. In both Kings is possible to observe how the Birkebeiner take care of them, teach them and follow them. The importance of their speakers during the Assemblies demonstrated their engagement with the King. But King Sverre had a less hierarchal position, he was close to their fellows, they are more insubordinate, his fellows needed a traditional leader who can fight with them and by his cooperation he obtained their trust. And King Haakon with a bit more bureaucratic leadership expressed more distance and stratification. His fellows advise him to take the best choices.

Finally, comparing the four analytical tools before mentioned, the *Charismatic* leader with his *supernatural* characteristics, the *Traditional* leader with his *heroic* abilities, the *Bureaucratic* leader with his order and stratification, live together and jointly with the Fellowship. Through the present dissertation, it have been possible how the charisma,

²⁰⁴ Sverris Saga 11

²⁰⁵ Having formal authority is both a resource and a constraint. On the one hand it can bring access to systems and resources. Handled well it can help people feel safe. On the other hand, formal authority carries a set of expectations and these can be quite unrealistic in times of crisis. As Gardner puts it, "raise hard questions and one risks getting cut down, even if the questions are important for moving forward on the problem". Being outside the formal power structure, but within an organization, can be an advantage. You can have more freedom of movement, the chance of focusing on what you see as the issue and there is a stronger chance of being in touch with what people are feeling at the frontline.

personal abilities, bureaucracy and the support of their fellows develop both Kings' personality. In general, King Sverre through his dreams motivated to go to war, during the war expressed his own technical qualities, established relations to gain support in the battles with other kingdoms, but without his fellows, their instructions and loyalty could be impossible defeat his rivals. King Haakon expressed his peace and forgiveness through the fluent and persuasive speech by the speech he is going to build his legacy and with the support of his fellowship would obtain the recognition as a sole ruler over Norway.

In the following pages, the dissertation will show the conclusions originated through the analysis of depiction of King Haakon's and King Sverre's leadership.

Conclusion

The present dissertation discussed the four analytical tools of Max Weber and John Gardner²⁰⁶ to depict the leader figure of King Sverre and King Haakon. The depiction utilized the Sverris saga and Haakonar saga Haakonarsonar; applying in both a descriptive and analytical perspective to identify the *Charisma, Personal Abilities, Bureaucracy and Fellowship* of the two Kings.

By applying the aforementioned methodology, one reaches the following conclusions:

The Figure 1. This figure explains the four analytical tools that both Kings in different levels needed to success. Both Kings had to demonstrated that they *were* (BE) bureaucratic, traditional and charismatic. However, the complete success of their reign was important to *have* the power of their fellowship.

Therefore, is reading the Sagas, as a *biographical* text, it is possible to recognize some relevant common characteristic between the two leaders. One may suggest that the sagas reflect the implantation of the individual King's leadership model. In other words, one has to consider the possibility that the Sagas depict the wishes of the Kings in which they or their successors wanted to remembered, sometimes with great perfection and least errors.

²⁰⁶ Those traits were approached according to the sociological elements from Max Weber and John Gardner, who have searched upon special features and behaviors of certain types of leaders, their respective leadership and the importance of the fellows to achieve their goals. They looked at the different situations where leaders emerge and works. This paper utilized them as a resource to search through the sagas how in different circumstances the leaders born, develop and die, having as the basic goal the depiction as a leaders.

The Sagas reveal strong Kings' personalities which are close to the *Fellowship*, *Charismatically* and *traditionally*, and their needs, but at the same time *bureaucratically* far from them. The Sagas show their power ruling the land, giving *pardons* and bringing *peace* to their governed people and until their enemies.

The Figure 2. This figure explains both Kings' complex personality and how the four analytical tools are working together. When the union of the four analytical tools is completed, the investigation of each analytical tool is complicated; therefore, the Kings' characters have to be analyzed as a unique complex body (holistically).

God, Saint Olav and their Fellowship protected both Kings, by this they developing quickly their personality and the ability to guide them. Both were *Charismatic* leaders from their birth and during their youth, with single mothers, both dealing with circumstances happening outside the Norwegian territory. Surrounded by their *Fellows* who protected and took care of both Kings, the fellows provided the opportunity to the leader to develop their wisdom earlier. The two Kings expressed their *Charisma* had no desire to take the power for their own benefit. Their *Personal Ability*, moderate in manners, they controlled themselves and turned around to look upon their people, which was part of their strategy to exercise their authority.

The Kings' character as well as their motives was regulated by their *bureaucracy* to keep their sovereignty on the domain, developed the concept of monarchy and its respective ideology. The power of their *speech* show their knowledge and their *personal abilities* to guide, these words served as motivation to awaken the governed people's and followers potential. Both of the King's discourses were to be comprehensible for all as they created great impact.

The Kings were showed as flexible leaders, thankful to their followers, demonstrated by their *rewards* and *gifts* to them and by punishing the people against their kingships' ideology, to whom afterwards *mercy* was given so to express the King's forgiveness. In that sense, the speeches were a good demonstration of their *traditional leadership*. Both Kings were educated and recognized to their loyal *Fellowship* as elected by God. The two kings shared their perception towards the enemies with their *Personal Ability* considering them as a great personalities; this revealed by their respect to the adversary's death and their attendance to the opponent's burial as a symbol of diplomacy and *manners*.

Both kings knew the importance of their *Fellowship*. Following the Old Royal Succession and start building the *New Law* gives *legitimacy* to their leadership system as long as it is the community where resides their recognition and glorification. Thus, the *Fellowship* is the one who shape, choose and create the leader. The image of a *divine connection* latter would overcome into the formation of the *laidang*, a defense able to respond at any time when the leader needed and willing to die in battle for or together with him, because having the ambassador of King Olav beside them gave purpose to the war.

Certainly, another entity to consider when analyzing the relationship of the King's to the society is the Church and how the King made with them *public relations*. It is a fact that this relationship was of importance, as far as the peoples' need for a moral code could only be given by the Christian religion. The two King's close and sacred relationship with King Olav, as patron of Norway, was vital for attaining their recognition from their people as a proof that they were the anointed ones. The people needed to be guided by an ideal human being close to the *example* and the Saint of Norway King Olav.

On another hand, when approaching the administrative aspects of the Church, it results important to mention that the only ones able and responsible for conferring certain power to the bishops were the Kings' *supremacy*, stating clearly their

leading power over all. Relative to their relationship with other countries and kingdoms, the *Public Relations* expressed the necessity to not be or stay isolated.

The foreign affairs were undertaken with an active attitude from the kings in the sense of *bureaucratic* and *traditional leadership*, by making commercial contracts, marriages and agreements. Sometimes they established relationships with realms far from Norway –to which perhaps nobody was related to- in order to gain prestige, enlargement of the kings' power in the art of negotiation to improve the people's confidence of their *legacy*. The foreign affairs in the kingdom of King Haakon were more ambitious shown by the incorporation of a European way of thinking, in comparison to a more *traditional* King Sverre, who even foreign affairs with different kingdoms were made, He concentrated his power regulating and controlling the behavior of his people.

The two Kings *immortalized* their path by their death. The sagas *immortalize* King Sverre and King Haakon, by describing the moment of their death as surrounded by their closest men, not far to the governed people and most importantly establishing the continuity of the *legacy* of their ancestors through a proper succession. With a *charismatic* and at the same time *bureaucratic* personality, the relationship existing between the European culture and the Norwegian traditions is reveals clearly. The way in which the leader died is the way he is going to be recalled.

The Figure 3. This figure explains the four analytical tools' mutual interdependency. How the complexity of the Kings' character gives power and protection to their community (fellowship). However, the community gives the power and protection to the King. This mutual interdependency worked together and finally depicted the leader character.

The *Charismatic* leadership arises when both Kings are setting apart from the ordinary people when they endowed with *mystical capacities* commencing the

beginning of their lives, demonstrating afterwards in their actions with their *heroic qualities*. For their peculiar power, their unique qualities and the relation with Saint Olav increased the devotion and obedience of their governed people and fellows. King Haakon and King Sverre were *charismatic* authorities, during their enemies' burial confirmed by their grateful manners. The flexibility ruling the country with prudence and *supremacy* and making agreements with other countries expressed their *bureaucratic* leadership. King Sverre and King Haakon with their *Charismatic* decisiveness and self-confidence truly believed that they were the chosen ones to reign the kingdom.

The *Traditional* type of leadership of both Kings bound to the expression of loyalty by their followers. The King's favoritism was around the behave people. The King remunerated their followers by gifts, part of the treasure, fines and protection.

The Kings established rules to regulate the moral conduct by their speech, these words also served during the visits of both Kings to the Assemblies. Their Personal Abilities illustrate both Heroic Kings with a physical vitality and stamina during the warfare and controlling the fleet over Norway. They expressed their intelligence, judgment and capacity to motivate the people and persuade the *Things* by their *speech*. They demonstrated competence in war and ruling their kingdom. The governed people and their fellows demonstrated an adequate technical training qualification by the Kings' approval.

The *Bureaucratic* leadership, product of rational legal hierarchical power was presented when the both Kings. A *bureaucratic* characteristic was to accurate policy and politics in foreign affairs and relationships with other realms. Their *bureaucratic* authority, established the belief of their legitimacy status as an instrument to attain power and governed people' and followers' acceptance. Both leaders *normalized* the procedures of the Church, warfare and the behavior of the people's life.

Moreover, the *Fellowship*, showed the close relationship with the King's motivations. In both Kings is possible to observe how the Birkebeiner take care of them, teach them and follow them. The importance of their speakers during the Assemblies demonstrated their engagement with the King.

Presenting the evidence that is achievable to depict the leadership of King Haakon and King Sverre through Max Weber's and John Gardner's models, in future studies of *Types of Leadership* and the transformational power of the *Fellowship* in Medieval Norwegian Kings through their *biographical* texts, it may be interesting to observe if the present outcome can be repeat it.

Annexes

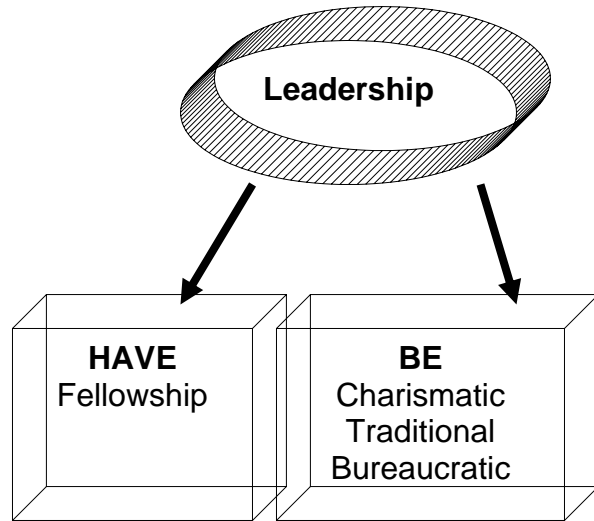


Fig. 1

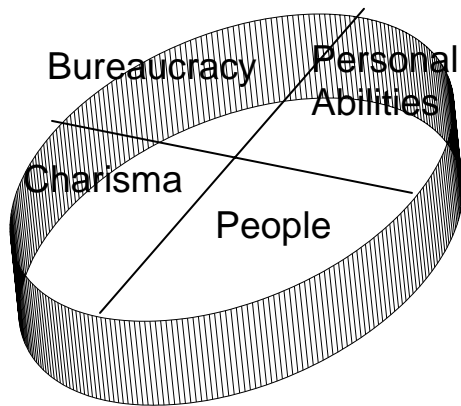


Fig. 2

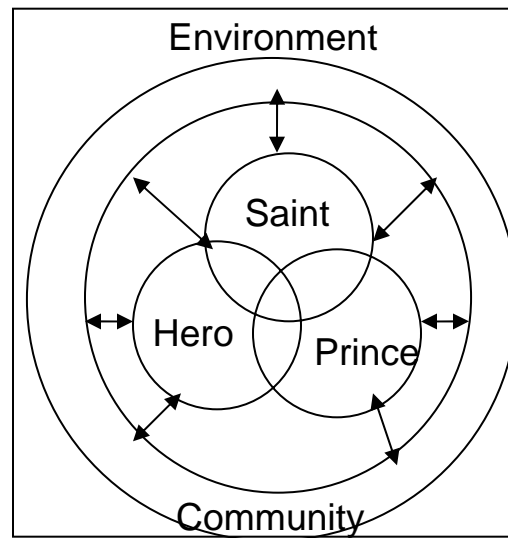


Fig. 3

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