JOHN KENNEDY

FRIENDS AND FOES OF THE CENTRAL FIGURE IN SOME ICELANDIC SAGAS

Colin Simpson, author of the travel book The Viking Circle (Sydney: Angus and Robertson, 1966) is neither an expert on saga literature nor a professional literary critic, and no one would expect his comments on Njáls saga to be particularly profound. "Much of the masterly Njals Saga," he writes, "seems to me a string of killings as senseless as the feud murders among the Kukukukus of New Guinea. After Njal and his wife and infant were burnt to death in their house, lying in bed under a bullhide, I gave up reading about Martins and Coys with swords instead of shotguns and much more difficult names." (p. 270).

Yet there is a certain amount of truth in this: the sagas are largely stories of quarrels, feuds, and battles, and their most memorable scenes are often those in which saga characters confront each other as foes. But friendship is also an important part of the saga world: one thinks of Gunnarr and Njáll or of Egill Skalla-Grimsson and Arinbjorn, whose friendships survive all the pressures exerted on them; or of Kjartan and Bolli, the collapse of whose warm friendship into open hostility Laxdoela saga skilfully describes.

Here I should like to look at enmity and friendship in five Sagas of Icelanders, or Íslendingasögur. In each saga I shall concentrate on one central figure and consider who his friends and foes are, what sorts of people they seem to be, and how they interact with the central figure. I hope that this will shed a little light on the characterization and narrative techniques of the five writers concerned and that it will show something of how the sagas, far from being a completely homogeneous body of literature, differ very noticeably one from the other.

The sagas on which I have chose to concentrate are Egils saga Skalla-Grímssonar, Eyrbyggja saga, Laxdoela saga, Grettis saga Ásmundarsonar, and Brennu-Njáls saga. I have selected these partly because they are well-known and highly admired works, each of which has been translated into English at least three times; and partly because they are the longest of the Íslendingasögur and their creators have the fullest scope for presenting a comprehensive picture of their heroes' friends and foes.

Two problems had better be dealt with before I go any further. The first is the potential objection that although hardly anyone now would claim that the Íslendingasögur are historically accurate in the modern sense of that term, their authors were not free to shape the figures about whom they wrote in the way that a nineteenth century "omniscient" novelist was free, but were limited in various ways by oral tradition and the expectations of their thirteenth century audiences. There is almost certainly some truth in this, but I think there should be little doubt that the saga writers were able to draw on their own artistic imaginations for the finer details of character portrayal and character interaction. The very existence of Hrafnkels saga Freysgoði hardly suggests that authors had to live in fear of audiences eager to pounce on any minor historical

inaccuracy,[1] and it is instructive to compare the dignified, aristocratic Guðmundr inn ríki we meet in Njáls saga with the ruthless, cowardly bully of the same name who appears in Ljósvetninga saga, a work the author of Njáls saga clearly knew.[2]

The second problem arises from the importance kinship ties are often alleged to have had both in early Icelandic society and in the world portrayed by the sagas, which provide such extensive genealogical material. To talk about friendship in the sagas whilst ignoring kinship ties might be to risk distorting seriously the motivations of the characters and the intentions of the authors, whilst to confine one's attention to friends who were not related would be to impose crippling limitations on oneself, as anyone who tries to track down the descendants of Bjorn buna in the sagas will quickly realize. I have tried to steer a middle course by normally excluding from consideration such relationships as those between parents and children, husbands and wives, and brothers, and in the case of other relatives being guided by whether or not the sagas tend to stress the ties of kinship. Even close kinship ties are by no means a guarantee of undying friendship in the sagas, of course, as Laxdoela saga and Gísla saga Súrsonar amply reveal.

2

Though thirty of the eighty-seven chapters are over before he appears, Egill Skalla-Grímsson undoubtedly dominates the saga named for him. We tend to remember him for the spectacularly terrible ways in which he wreaks vengeance on those he regards as his foes, but his friendships play a vital role in ensuring that he retains our sympathy and does not degenerate into a picturesquely barbarous lout strangely endowed with poetic gifts.

King Eiríkr Blood-Axe and his evil-minded wife Gunnhildr, the rulers of Norway and then briefly of Northumbria, are the most illustrious of Egill's opponents and the ones to whom the saga gives most attention. No doubt the author felt that Egill grew in stature from feuding successfully with these legendary figures. Gunnhildr, whom the saga suggests to be using black magic against Egill, is more malevolent than her husband, but though King Eiríkr grants Egill his life in return for the composition of the "Höfuðlausn", he too is a ruthless figure with scant concern for justice.

Egill's other enemies are for the most part even less admirable. Atleyar-Barðr may be a great worker, but he commits the unpardonable crime of serving Egill and his companions curdled milk whilst pretending that there is no ale available and, as one might expect from such a person, he readily joins Queen Gunnhildr in an attempt to poison Egill. Of Berg-Onundr, who withholds property to which Egill feels himself entitled, Egill's friend Arinbjorn says: "Berg-Onundr er harðr ok ódaell, ranglátr ok fégjarn, en hann hefir nú hald mikit af konungi ok dróttningu" ("Berg-Onund is hard and overbearing, unjust and avaricious, and he now has full support from the king and queen.")[3] Ármoðr abuses his position as host, first by offering Egill and his companions curdled milk instead of the expected ale and then by ambitiously trying to make them helplessly drunk, apparently with a view to murdering them. It is true that Berg-Onundr's brother Atli is less reprehensible, and his courage in some measure atones for the offence of withholding what Egill regards as

rightfully his, but Atli is only a minor character in the saga. Of Egill's enemies in general little good can be said.

Indeed, the author of the saga could not afford to let his audience develop much sympathy for Egill's adversaries, for even as things stand Egill's revolting behaviour towards them sometimes makes it difficult to remain concerned about what happens to him. One thinks of his slaughter of the ten or eleven year old son of Eirík and Gunnhildr, his disposing of Atli by biting through his windpipe, and the manner in which he deliberately vomits in the face of Ármóðr. These barbarities might be explained away as the result of battle fury or drunkedness, but his conduct in plucking out one of Ármóðr eyes in the presence of the latter's wife and daughter cannot so easily be dealt with.

Against this background Egill's friendships play an important role in humanizing him. We see that he is able to win the respect and friendship of several admirable figures. The hostility of King Eirík is balanced by the honour he receives from the English king Athelstan, who is clearly reluctant to allow Egill to leave his court. Egill's friendship with young Friðgeirr means that he is able to show generosity by taking the latter's place in a duel with a berserk, though admittedly one gets the impression that fighting is almost a pleasure for Egill. Then there is his warm friendship in old age with the young skald Einarr Helgason, with whom he enjoys discussing poetry. But the great friendship of Egill's life is undoubtedly with Arinbjorn.

This friendship extends through much of Egill's long life, and it is ended only by Arinbjorn's death. One could not claim that it is a relationship to which both parties contribute equally, for it generally (though not always) seems to be the noble and sympathetic Arinbjorn who risks his position or his life to help Egill, or who tries to provide the presents in which his friend takes such a childish delight. Both Gwyn Jones and the late Lee M. Hollander suggest that the friendship is based partly on Arinbjorn's respect for Egill's poetic genius,[4] and if this is so it is appropriate that Egill commemmorates the relationship in the "Arinbjarnarkviða", often regarded as one of the masterpieces of skaldic poetry. Characteristically, however, Egill shows himself fully aware of what he is doing for Arinbjorn in immortalizing him, and the saga provides a strong hint that when he composed the poem Egill hoped that Arinbjorn, newly restored to prosperity in Norway, could be of service to him there.

Egill is normally a friend to his friends, and duplicity is one vice one would not normally accuse him of. Perhaps it may seem surprising, then, that when his old friend Onundr sjóni asks him to adjudicate a dispute between their two sons, Egill accepts and then proclaims terms of settlement which overwhelmingly favour his own son. But Onundr's son is undeniably in the wrong, and Egill has the weight of Germanic tradition behind him in valuing family ties more highly than those of friendship.

3

Probably no more than twenty years separated the composition of Eyrbyggja saga from that of Egils saga Skalla-Grímssonar: we are probably safe in allocating them both to the period 1220–1260. But they differ strikingly in the central figures on which they concentrate and the

relationships they depict these figures as having with the world around them. It is hard to imagine two such different men, with two such different careers, as Egill Skalla-Grímsson and Snorri goði.

Shortly after he first appears in Eyrbyggja saga Snorri is described. "Hann var vitr maðr ok forspár um marga hluti," we are told, "langraekr ok heiptuðigr, heilráðr vinum sínum, en óvinir hans þóttusk heldr kulda af kenna ráðum hans . . . . Hann gerðisk þá hofðingi mikill, en ríki hans var mjǫk ǫfundsamt . . . ." ("He was a very shrewd man with remarkable foresight, a long memory, and a taste for vengeance. To his friends he was a sound adviser, but his enemies learned to fear the advice he gave . . . . He became a man of great power, and some people envied him bitterly.")[5] Much of the saga is spent elaborating on, and modifying, this picture.

Though one of Snorri's foes, Ospakr Kjallaksson, is a thorough rogue and several may envy him – though this is not made obvious in the saga – it would be a rather inadequate analysis which failed to point out that some of the many people who oppose him are admirable figures. Bjorn Breiðvíkingakappi is guilty of having an affair with Snorri's sister, but on the whole he seems a brave and sensitive person. Arnkell, the most prominent of Snorri's enemies, is glowingly described as a "goðr drengr ok umfram alla menn aðra þar í sveit at vinsaeldum ok harðfengi." ("a great-hearted man and stood head and shoulders above all the other men in the district both in popularity and strength of character".)[6] Snorri, unlike Egill, does not gain in stature from a comparison of his personality with those of his foes.

Repeatedly the saga shows us that those whose interests clash with Snorri's respect and fear him as an opponent. It is easy to see why, for though Snorri is usually eager to avoid trouble and bloodshed, he is an extremely shrewd and intelligent person who generally gets his own way in the end. Though he can be provoked into acting quickly, as when he discovers that his twelve-year-old son has been wounded, he is normally a man who waits patiently for the right moment and, unlike many characters in the Íslendingasögur, he is unhampered by an over-developed sensitivity to "public opinion". "Óvinir Snorra goða," we read at one point, "lǫgðu honum til amaelis, at hann þótti seint retta hlut Álfs; let Snorri goði ar tala um hvern þat er vildi, en þó varð eigi at gǫrt." ("Snorri's enemies criticized him for being so slow in putting things right for Alf, but he let people talk, and still did nothing.")[7]

When he does feel obliged to act against his enemies, Snorri is prepared to use trickery and legal quibbles, but this is true also of admirable figures in other sagas, such as Njáll. His frequent whetting of other men to do his killing for him would probably have seemed much more reprehensible to thirteenth century audiences, and it is very hard to imagine Egill, Kjartan or Grettir using paid assassins against his enemies. It is only fair to add, however, that one of Snorri's enemies in Eyrbyggja saga sends a slave to lie in wait for him.

Though elsewhere in saga literature we see Snorri goði capable of disinterested friendship, those on his side in Eyrbyggja saga seem allies and supporters rather than close friends. We are told that he was "inn mesti vinr Guðrúnar Ósvífrsdóttur" ("a great friend of Gudrun, Osvif's Daughter") but we are referred to Laxdoela saga for further details.[8] Many people seek his advice and help, but on such occasions Snorri keeps his

own interests very firmly in mind. The final chapter states that in old age he became more popular, but this remark is characteristically undercut by the comment that the deaths of his enemies might have had much to do with it. Eyrbyggja saga ultimately leaves one with the impression that Snorri is a masterly politician, well able to manipulate and dominate people, but lacking the warmth which redeems Egill Skalla-Grímsson.

4

The next work I wish to consider, Laxdoela saga, is usually regarded as a product of the 1240's. But though only a few years may separate its composition from that of Eyrbyggja saga, it seems much more heavily influenced by the idealizations of Germanic heroic legend and French romance, not least in the way its feuds and friendships are conducted.

Because it is inter alia a family chronicle spanning the first 160 years of settlement in Iceland, Laxdoela saga tends to lack a clear central figure. Axel Olrik described it as the only saga which had a woman as its hero,[9] but impressive as Guðrún Ósvífrsdóttir is, she like most other saga women usually exerts her influence by putting emotional pressure on her male relatives. It seems advisable to concentrate for my purposes here on Kjartan Óláfsson, who is probably the male character that most readers best remember.

When Kjartan is introduced into the saga we are told not only that he was the handsomest man ever born in Iceland and the most accomplished in every way, but also that he was so popular that every child loved him, humble, cheerful, and generous. Were one to accept this picture uncritically, one would have to conclude either that Kjartan became the cruel victim of a perverse supernatural fate, or that his foes were fiends in human shape. Fortunately, however, the saga provides a much more interesting account of his career.

Kjartan's two major enemies are his foster-brother and cousin Bolli Þorleiksson, who strikes him his death blow, and Guðrún Ósvífrsdóttir, Bolli's wife. Both are glowingly described as models of excellence, and before becoming Kjartan's enemies they were the closest of his friends.

Much of the interest of Laxdoela saga lies in considering what went wrong, for the saga provides clues rather than definite answers. Despite the repeated assurances of how devoted to each other Kjartan and Bolli are before Bolli returns from abroad, one inevitably wonders if so highly talented a person as Bolli ever grew tired of constantly playing second fiddle to Kjartan, especially as Kjartan is not beyond reminding him of his inferiority by the occasional unfortunate remark. This raises the question of whether in asking for Guðrún's hand Bolli is solely motivated by affection for her, and genuinely believes that Kjartan, who is still in Norway, has lost interest in returning to claim her, or whether a desire to steal a march on Kjartan is also involved.

When Kjartan returns to Iceland a series of rather petty insults and irritations leads eventually to open hostility. Here Kjartan, who rejects Bolli's peace offering of four splendid horses, unnecessarily insults Guorún, uses a force of sixty men to deny Bolli and Guðrún's family access to an outside privy for three days, and bullies a local farmer into

selling him land just to ensure that Bolli and Guðrún fail in their efforts to purchase it, is at least as guilty as Guðrún and her brothers, the Ósvífrssynir. But we wonder whether Guðrún's growing hostility to him results from her concern for the honour of the family or is a perverted and frustrated expression of a strong affection for him which survives though her marriage to Bolli and his rapidly concluded alliance with Hrefna have made him doubly inaccessible. The latter interpretation receives strong support from her famous words at the end of the saga: "Þeim var ek verst, er ek unna mest." ("I was worst to the one I loved the most.")[10]

As the feud develops Bolli finds himself in an awkward situation. He completely lacks the perverse zest with which Kjartan and Guorun set about hurting each other. "Bolli lét sem hann heyroi eigi, sem jafnan, er Kjartani var hallmaelt, ví at hann var vanr at egja eoa maela í móti." ("Bolli pretended not to hear, as he always did when people spoke ill of Kjartan, for he used to remain silent or else contradict what was said.")[11] He joins the final ambush only when Guorún threatens him with divorce, and tries first to warn Kjartan and then to stand aloof. As soon as he has struck the death blow to Kjartan, who refuses to use his weapons against his cousin, Bolli repents bitterly of what he has done. It would be hard to find a more reluctant foe in Old Icelandic literature, but the cynic might like to add that Bolli, who had obtained as his wife the most beautiful woman in Iceland, is not under the same sort of emotional pressure as Kjartan and Guorún. One doubts, however, that the Laxdoela author would have found cynicism congenial.

Kjartan's other friends and enemies receive little attention. The Ósvífrssynir, Guðrún's brothers, are rather shadowy figures, and the legendary King Óláf Tryggvason is brought on stage largely to reveal first Kjartan's courage, when he contemplates burning the king in his house and is not afraid to admit it, and later his popularity and general prowess, when the king esteems Kjartan above all his other men and yet no-one envies him – scarcely a probable situation. The love he wins from the king's sister Ingibjorg and the devotion of his companions and followers to him also redound to Kjartan's glory, but few readers of the saga will find them very convincing.

5

The fourth saga I should like to consider, Grettis saga Ásmundarsonar, probably took its present form in the first decades of the fourteenth century, when the art of writing sagas was in decline. But though it records some contests with supernatural beings, its account of Grettir's career seems far more realistic than what we find in the considerably earlier Laxdoela saga.

For the last twenty years of his life Grettir is, of course, a full outlaw or skógarmaðr, and thus a man whose friends are likely to be deterred from helping him by the fear of being outlawed themselves and whose enemies are encouraged and made more numerous since the law gives the full outlaw no protection, a price is put on his head, and those who have secured his conviction are expected to hunt him down. A description of Grettir's relationships with his friends and foes is largely an account of what being an outlaw meant for him.

Grettir's enemies are extremely numerous and include representatives of almost every group in the social spectrum. Their very number and the power some of them possess win sympathy for Grettir, though he is reckless, quarrelsome, lazy, and capable of cruelty. Most of his foes are either criminals, notoriously difficult people to deal with, or men ready to resort to injustice, though the small farmers of Langadalr and the boastful Gísli Þorsteinsson appear primarily as cowards who provide some comic relief. But of the major figures only Þorbjorn ongull, who uses witchcraft against Grettir and mutilates his corpse, seems wholly contemptible. Even Þorir Skeggjason of Garðr, who unjustly makes Grettir an outlaw and fiercely opposes the showing of any mercy to him, redeems himself a little in our eyes by his condemnation of Þorbjorn ongull's methods.

When liberal allowances have been made for bad luck, the exigencies of life as an outlaw, and the evil-mindedness of those with whom Grettir has to deal, we must still concede that Grettir unnecessarily provokes much of the hostility with which he had to deal. One of the clearest examples of this comes when he seeks out and challenges a certain Bjorn who some months earlier had thrown Grettir's cloak to a bear. Bjorn very reasonably offers to make amends, but Grettir insists on fighting and killing him, an action with far-reaching and serious consequences for Grettir and his friends. Though we sympathize with Grettir as an underdog who fights bravely, the saga makes it clear that he would be a menace to any civilized society. It is not surprising that when he went abroad for the first time: "Margir báðu hann vel fara, en fáir aptr koma." ("Many people wished Grettir a safe journey, but few a happy return.")[12]

Yet, though we may think of Grettir as a lone figure, he is not completely friendless. There are passing references to minor characters who are friendly towards him, and both Þorgils Arason and Bjorn Hitdoela-kappi give him assistance as part of their policy of helping outlaws. In Norway Grettir wins the gratitude of the nobleman Þorfinnr Karsson by saving his family from disgrace and his farm from being plundered, and Þorfinnr repays him by remaining his friend even when it seems that he will be called on to fight Earl Sveinn on Grettir's behalf. The Icelandic Bersi Skáld-Torfuson also stands by him in this crisis. Back in Iceland the rather aristocratic lady Þorbjorg Ólafsdóttir treats him well after rescuing him from the small farmers who plan to hang him, but family pride seems far more involved here than true friendship for Grettir. In striking contrast to her is the mysterious Hallmundr, whom Grettir tries to rob at their first meeting but who later helps him fight off a heavy attack and invites him to his cave home.

These friends of Grettir include impressive and admirable people, but they are not numerous, nor do they play a major role in the saga. The saga repeatedly indicates that few people are prepared to risk the consequences of helping Grettir, and in the end he can rely only on his brothers Illugi and Þorsteinn drómundr. Grettis saga could not be called a celebration of friendship: it illustrates rather the truth of the proverb, "Berr er hverr at baki, nema sér bróður eigi" ("One's back is bare without a brother.")[13]

This brings us to Brennu-Njáls saga, the longest and in every sense the richest of the Íslendingasögur. It was written about 1280, just at the end of the great age of saga composition, and no other saga achieves its sustained power in the portrayal of personal relationships of many kinds. I have space for only the sketchiest outline here.

Since Njáll is deliberately burnt to death in his house by a force of a hundred men, it must sound paradoxical to suggest that he had no personal enemies, but this seems to have been the case. The aim of the burners is to take revenge on Njáll's sons, and he dies because he refuses Flosi's offer of permission to come out from the burning building. The men against whom Njáll schemes and who learn to fear his counsels are essentially the enemies of his family and his friends.

On two occasions in the saga we do find characters stooping to mockery of Njáll's inability to grow a beard. Hallgerðr does so and encourages her friends to follow her lead, but if this insult is motivated by more than a malevolent joy in trouble-making, the target is probably Bergþóra, Njáll's wife, rather than Njáll himself. When Flosi at the Alþingi refers to Njáll as "karl inn skegglausi" (rendered "Old Beardless" in the Penguin Translation)[14] he is obviously under considerable emotional strain, and both before and after the insult he reveals a very different attitude to Njáll.

The enemies of the family over which Njáll presides as a rather patriarchal figure are many, and they range from the thoroughgoing rogue Hrappr Örgumleioason and the evil genius Mǫrðr Valgarðsson to such greatly admired figures as Ketill of Mǫrk and Hallr of Síða, who are drawn by bonds of kinship onto the side opposing the Njálssynir. The most important enemy is Flosi, a complex figure capable of burning Njáll's family to death and then deliberately provoking Ásgrímr Elliða-Grímsson, the father-in-law of one of Njáll's sons, by coming as an uninvited guest to his farm, but at the same time a devout Christian capable of magnanimity and generosity, of whom the saga writer says: "er svá sagt, at honum hafi flestir hlutir hǫfðingligast gefnir verit" ("it has been said of him that he had nearly all the qualities of a true chieftain.")[15]

In dealing with this heterogeneous group, and with the enemies of his friend Gunnarr, Njáll generally prefers legal stratagems and negotiation, but there is a surprising number of occasions on which he condones or encourages blood-vengeance. This shows a fatalism resulting from his ability to foresee the future, but it also reveals that in some measure he shares the values of the society in which he lives.

Njáll is a man towards whom very many are well-disposed. His wisdom is widely respected and the good advice he makes available to all who seek it is frequently solicited and generally followed faithfully. As a result of it, some admirable figures feel later in the saga that they have a debt of gratitude to repay. But apart from the members of his own family, only two people seem to enjoy a close personal relationship with Njáll, and one of these is his foster-son, the saintly Hǫskuldr Hvítanessgoði. The other is Gunnarr of Hlíðarendi, the man for whom Njáll is prepared to risk even the lives of his sons.

Peter Hallberg has referred to Njáls saga as being, amongst other things, "a description of the friendship between Gunnarr and Njall and of the manner in which this friendship resists all stresses and strains to which it is subjected."[16] It could be argued that this description is the saga's finest achievement, for whilst the warmth of the friendship is conveyed without sentimentality, the pressures imposed by the prolonged and bloody quarrel between their wives and by the inherent difficulties of a relationship in which one man is older and wiser and has frequently to give difficult advice, are unerringly delineated. That Gunnarr and Njáll remain friends tells us a great deal about them.

When I look back over what I have written above, I cannot avoid being aware of having led something of a cavalry charge through the ranks of the Íslendingasögur, and cavalry charges are not noted for their subtlety. I can only hope that the sacrifice of depth has in some measure been compensated for by a hint of the richness and variety of the approaches employed by these five sagas in their presentation of the friends and foes of their central figures.

FOOTNOTES

1. See Sigurour Nordal, Hrafnkels saga Freysgoða: A Study, trans. R. George Thomas (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1958).

2. Björn Sigfússon, ed. Ljósvetninga saga, Íslenzk Fornrit X (Reykjavík: Hið Íslenzka Fornritafélag, 1940), p. XLVIII.

3. Egils saga Skalla - Grímssonar, ed. Sigurður Nordal, Íslenzk Fornrit II (Reykjavík: Hið Íslenzka Fornritafélag, 1933) Ch. 56, p. 152; Egils saga, trans. Christine Fell (London: Dent, 1975) Ch. 56, p. 89.

4. Gwyn Jones, trans. Egil's saga (New York: Twayne and The American-Scandinavian Foundation, 1960), p. 253; Lee M. Hollander, The Skalds (First published 1945. Reprinted Ann Arbor; University of Michigan Press, 1968), p. 75.

5. Eyrbyggja saga, ed. Einar Ól. Sveinsson and Matthías Þórðarson, Íslenzk Fornrit IV (Reykjavík: Hið Íslenzka Fornritafélag, 1935), Ch. 15, pp. 26–27; Eyrbyggja saga, trans. Hermann Pálsson and Paul Edwards (Edinburgh: Southside, 1973), Ch. 15, p. 58.

6. Ch. 12, p. 20; Ch. 12, p. 52.

7. Ch. 61, p. 165; Ch. 61, p. 182.

8. Ch. 65, p. 180; Ch. 65, p. 196.

9. Axel Olrik, Viking Civilization, rev. Hans Ellekilde, trans. Jacob Wittmer Hartman and Hanna Astrup Larsen (First published 1930. Reprinted New York: Kraus, 1971), p. 188.

10. Laxdoela saga, ed. Einar Ól. Sveinsson, Íslenzk Fornrit V (Reykjavík: Hið Íslenzka Fornritafélag, 1934), Ch. 78, p. 228; Laxdaela saga, trans. Magnus Magnusson and Hermann Pálsson (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1969), Ch. 78, p. 238.

11. Ch. 47, p. 148; Ch. 47, p. 171.

12. Grettis saga Ásmundarsonar, ed. Guðni Jónsson, Íslenzk Fornrit VII (Reykjavík: Hið Íslenzka Fornritafélag, 1936), Ch. 17, p. 49; Grettir's saga, trans. Denton Fox and Hermann Pálsson (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1974), Ch. 17, p. 31.

13. Brennu - Njáls saga, ed. Einar Ól. Sveinsson, Íslenzk Fornrit XII (Reykjavík: Hið Íslenzka Fornritafélag, 1954), Ch. 152, p. 436; Njál's saga, trans. Magnus Magnusson and Hermann Pálsson (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1960) Ch. 152, p. 338.

14. Ch. 123, p. 314; Ch. 123, p. 255.

15. Ch. 146, p. 419; Ch. 146, p. 326.

16. Peter Hallberg, The Icelandic Saga, trans. Paul Schach (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1962), p. 131.