

STURLUNGA : A POLITICAL STATEMENT

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Scholars agree that chronology is the foundation stone for *Sturlunga*, the compilation of so-called *samtíðarsögur* (contemporary sagas), which is believed to have been written ca. 1300, and which is best preserved in the vellum manuscript *Króksfjarðarbók*.¹ Finnur Jónsson, for example, considered the chronological principle as the basis for the compilation, but argued that the compiler did not have an eye for history writing:

Sammenstøbningen beror på kronologiske principper, og det har åbenbart været sammenstillereens hensigt, at få en samlet oversigt over samtidige begivenheder, ligegyldigt om der forelå noget indre bånd imellem dem eller ej. Det er således en rent mekanisk sammenstøbning, der her foreligger, uden andet mål end at tilvejebringe en *dyngje* af historiske begivenheder på et bræt. Et virkeligt *historisk* blik for pragmatisk historieskrivning mangler her ganske, d.v.s. en virkelig *historiker* kan ikke være ophavsmanden til en sådan sammenstøbning.²

Jón Jóhannesson summed up the findings of research on the compiler's work. He underlined the chronological arrangement of the compilation, and that the compiler copied rather than rewrote the separate sagas. Nevertheless, the compiler sometimes wrote additions to the existing corpus. *Geirmundar þáttur heljarskins* and *Haukdæla þáttur* are the prime examples. His main principles in putting the sagas together were to drop one of two accounts about the same story event and to relate simultaneous narratives about different events one after another up to certain point in time and then switch. The scribe of *Reykjarfjarðarbók*, the other of the preserved vellum copies, followed in this the compiler's example when he added, for instance, *Þorgils saga skarða* and *Sturlu þáttur* to the original compilation.³

In my doctoral dissertation from 1986 and an article on the structure and meaning of *Hrafnus saga Sveinbjarnarsonar*, I challenged the negative view on *Sturlunga* as "en dyngje af historiske begivenheter" and criticized scholars for not having thoroughly considered in which way the compiler edited the sagas compiled. I emphasized, on the contrary, that the compiler had not only a chronological scheme for his compilation of contemporary sagas, but also a genealogical one, and I showed that he used the four techniques in putting the extant sagas together on a chronological basis: 1) cutting and pasting, 2) rearranging, 3) shortening and eliminating, and 4) adding, in accordance with an understanding of the potential of the medieval Icelandic narrative. In so doing he made a statement about the struggle for wordly power in Iceland in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.⁴

While my investigation was into the processes of meaning production, Stephen Tranter analyzed the meaning produced in the compilation in his book, *Sturlunga saga: The Role of the Creative Compiler*. There he showed that the prefatory sagas of the compilation repeat the themes of disintegration, of mediation and its collapse, and of flawed reconciliation. The central work of the compilation, *Íslendinga saga*, provides the proof that conflicts will be the longer, more violent and less reconcilable, the less prepared good men are to act as mediators. In Tranter's opinion the compilation as a whole is an *exemplum* calling on the leaders of

fourteenth-century Iceland to settle their differences amicably and avoid a return to the chaos of the Sturlung Age.⁵

Although my own and Tranter's conclusions about the meaning of *Sturlunga* are similar, we view the compilation's context differently. I think the context is illuminated by the moves of *Sturlunga* itself, while Tranter looks for explanations in the discourse of nationalist-romantic twentieth-century historians, which is secondary to *Sturlunga* and, to great extent, based on its documentation.⁶ In this paper I will discuss the compiler's work and underscore my view that the compilation ultimately reflects the Icelandic ruling class's attempt to understand its new situation after 1262, when Iceland became a part of the Norwegian kingdom, and shows disappointment about the kings.

Carol J. Clover has shown that cyclic compilations were quite common in medieval Scandinavia (including Iceland) as elsewhere in Europe. She says:

That the medieval Scandinavians were conversant with cyclic forms of literary composition is self-evident from the organization of thirteenth- and fourteenth-century manuscripts. A considerable portion of Norse literature is preserved in cyclic form, for example, the *Codex Regius*, *Mǫðruvallabók*, *Flateyjarbók*, *Morkinskinna*, and *Heimskringla* - not to speak of *Karlsmagnús saga* and *Þiðreks saga*.⁷

To that list we can add *Sturlunga*, in which stories of prominent families in Iceland in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries are grouped together. Björn M. Ólsen argued that Sturla Þórðarson had already made a pre-*Sturlunga* consisting of genealogies, a copy of *Sturlu saga*, his prologue to *Íslendinga saga*, and *Íslendinga saga* itself, which was a continuation of *Sturlu saga*.⁸ Jón Jóhannesson followed up Ólsen's idea and viewed *Íslendinga saga* as an incomplete work that was intended, moreover, to be a section in a large compilation and an addition to existing sagas.⁹ Thus the compiler has to some extent followed Sturla's example in his work. These hypotheses of Ólsen and Jón Jóhannesson are, in fact, concordant with medieval poetics. Clover points out that the sagas are open compositions like other European prose works from the same period:

The whole has no fixed shape, but is a flexible structure that can be adjusted to the needs of a particular story at the whims of a individual narrator. These adjustments may consist of deletions ... but they consist more commonly of additions: to the extremities in the form of preludes and sequels, and into the interstices in the form of extra details, motifs, scenes, episodes, chapters, *þattir*.¹⁰

The narrative cycle is, of course, the furthest developmental stage in this same trend. The idea behind the compilations was to link previously unconnected works in chronological and genealogical order and sometimes rephrase them, provide transitional material and add preludes, sequels and interpolations.¹¹

Ólsen thought, if we could decide, we would choose rather to have the sagas of *Sturlunga* preserved independently than in the compilation.¹² There is no doubt that it would be of great advantage if all the individual sagas were extant separately. It seems to me, however, that it would be a great loss to be without *Sturlunga*, since the compilation is not only a good example of medieval cyclic narrative, but also gives an insight into the type of meaning production available in the culture of thirteenth-century Iceland.

The content and structure of *Sturlunga* was to a great extent determined by the sagas compiled. Nevertheless, the composite work was the compiler's creation although the cycle was conventional in form, and although he did not add much to the existing narrative corpus. The creative compiler of *Sturlunga* was all: author, editor and copyist. We can see the compiler at work by comparing *Hrafn's saga Sveinbjarnarsonar*, which is preserved independently, with the text of the compilation.

The separate *Hrafn's saga* is as a whole composed like a saint's life, whereas the conflict between Hrafn and Þorvaldr Snorrason of Vatnsfjörðr, which is the main subject of the saga, is constructed according to a feud pattern, and Hrafn's journeys abroad, which form digressive strands to the feud, are in keeping with a travel pattern. The events of the saga are thus selected and organized in accordance with a poetic convention with the purpose of writing an *exemplum* of a good Christian, as expressed in the prologue. The compiler of *Sturlunga*, on the one hand, incorporated the second half of the separate saga, which tells of the feud between Hrafn and Þorvaldr, into *Íslendinga saga* in the compilation by writing a transition between the sagas, omitting some hagiographic material, but otherwise mainly copying the original. On the other hand, he eliminated the first half of the biography introducing Hrafn as a strongly religious man. Concomitantly, he emphasized the feud pattern in the saga and minimized the edifying influences of saints' lives on the saga. This shows his knowledge and understanding of the possibilities of the narrative convention of his time. His omissions also indicate that he was mainly interested in telling the story of the struggle for wordly power in the country during that 150-year period which is *Sturlunga's* primary focus. As incorporated into *Sturlunga*, *Hrafn's saga* has become only one more feud story of many in the cycle, and one much more objective in tone than the original.¹³

In the so-called *Sturlunga* prologue, which is presumably based on Sturla Þórðarson's prologue of *Íslendinga saga*, and which is the compiler's explanation of the chronological order of the cycle and assertion of the truth of his account, at least *Íslendinga saga*, *Hrafn's saga* is called the story of Hrafn Sveinbjarnarson and Þorvaldr Snorrason.¹⁴ This naming indicates the collection into which the saga is inserted in *Sturlunga* and the changes it has undergone. In the compilation the saga has to be viewed in connection with *Íslendinga saga's* account of the Hrafnssons' avenging their father by burning Þorvaldr, an event that the author of *Hrafn's saga* apparently chose not to recount. Hence *Hrafn's saga* becomes almost a bipartite feud story where the revenge is a subplot to the conflict between the two chieftains ending in Hrafn's death. Concomitantly, the conflict reaches over generations. That points to the genealogical order of the sagas in the compilation which, I argue, was as important to the compiler as the chronological one. The genealogical arrangement is clear from the order of *Sturlu saga*, *Íslendinga saga*, and *Þórðar saga kakala* in the cycle, where the stories of one generation of the Sturlung family after another are told. It is also obvious from the compiler's concern with genealogies, in inserting them in bulk in the compilation, and in basing on them, to a great extent, his *Germundar þáttir* and *Haukdæla þáttir*. In the following we will search for a clue to the compiler's master plan and to the ideas of his work in the sections which he presumably wrote.

The compiler's additions are only small parts of his copious narrative cycle, and research has mostly focused on the sources of these sections and passages, and on the information they can give about the compiler's identity. The additions, scholars believe, localize him at Skarð on Breiðafjörðr. Jón Jóhannesson argued that the subject matter and its relevance to Skarð were the only reasons for beginning a compilation of contemporary sagas with the story of the settler

Geirmundur heljarskinn. Further, he considered that the compiler put *Haukdæla þáttir* together because he was descended from the Haukdælir and was proud of it.¹⁵

Although it is most likely true that the compiler's additions localize him and point to his tie to the Skarð family, they should have further indications. Herbert S. Joseph and Marlene Ciklamini have interpreted *Haukdæla þáttir* and *Geirmundar þáttir* respectively and considered the message of the *þáttir* as relevant for *Sturlunga* as an entity. Joseph thinks that *Haukdæla þáttir* deals with the theme of fate, showing how the Haukdælir produced Gizurr Þorvaldsson, the enemy of the Sturlungs.¹⁶ But Ciklamini proposes that *Geirmundar þáttir* "presents the phases of history and of individual fate as god-willed. Consonantly, the bloodshed and cruelty recorded in *Sturlunga saga* are likewise god-willed and finite. The horrors will pass"¹⁷ Joseph's and Ciklamini's suggestion that the *þáttir* have bearing on the meaning of the entire compilation is more than reasonable, although their interpretations are the opposites of each other as they put them, and unacceptable on the whole.

We shall first discuss *Haukdæla þáttir*. Björn M. Ólsen considered that the *þáttir* was originally an introduction to *Gizurar saga ok Skagfirðinga*, which he argued once existed separately but had been incorporated in *Sturlunga*.¹⁸ Pétur Sigurðsson, on the contrary, showed that the compiler had composed the *þáttir* and added it to the other sagas. He thought that the *þáttir* was intended to introduce the Haukdælir to *Íslendinga saga* as *Sturlunga* introduces the Sturlungs.¹⁹ *Haukdæla þáttir* is interpolated into *Íslendinga saga* as a digression between chs. 11 and 12. Ch. 3 of *Íslendinga saga* tells that Þorvaldr Gizurarson was married to Jóra Klængsdóttir, but ch. 11 mentions his tie to the Oddaverjar family after his second marriage to Þóra Guðmundardóttir of Þingvöllr. The last part of the *þáttir* (ch. 5) is the episode about the circumstances of their marriage. The Haukdælir are also mentioned in the account about the election of Guðmundr Arason as a bishop of Hólar which is placed in the compilation immediately after the *Haukdæla þáttir*. At the same time as the compiler wrote the *þáttir* he added a passage to ch. 3 of *Íslendinga saga* telling that the archbishop had given Þorvaldr Gizurarson and Jóra Klængsdóttir permission to live together after they were so forbidden by the priests. The compiler also omitted some lines about Þorvaldr's children in ch. 17 of *Íslendinga saga* as he used these lines in *Haukdæla þáttir*.²⁰

While the episode about the marriage of Þorvaldr and Þóra Guðmundardóttir seems to be based on an oral account, the first four chapters of the *þáttir* draw on *Landnámabók*, *Íslendingabók* and genealogies as sources of information. In fact, the compiler has probably left out the family tree of the Haukdælir in the section of genealogies between *Þorgils saga ok Haflüda* and *Sturlunga*, and incorporated it into the *þáttir*.²¹ The first chapters of the *þáttir* consist of a short account about Ketilbjörn Ketilsson, one of the most distinguished settlers in Iceland, and his descendants, the Mosfellings and Haukdælir, all the way to Þorvaldr Gizurarson. These people are presented as great chieftains and leaders of the Church, men of learning and wisdom. Concomitantly, the *þáttir* is in favor of the Haukdælir and emphasizes their participation in the cycle.

It seems inappropriate to interpret *Haukdæla þáttir* as an independent work. The *þáttir* has never existed other than as an amplification of *Íslendinga saga* and is only meaningful in that connection. In the dialogue scene in *Haukdæla þáttir* where the two Þóras of Þingvöllr talk about their hopes for marriage, the elder sister says that she is not really concerned if there should be some significant outcome of their chat (ch. 5). Later the sisters marry the men they desire, and the *þáttir* concludes by telling about the children of Þóra the younger and Þorvaldr Gizurarson. Among them were the ancestress of the family of Skarð and also Jarl Gizurr. In ch. 22 of *Íslendinga saga* Þorvaldr points out, when he decides to call his son Gizurr, that it is a fortunate name in his family. *Haukdæla þáttir* justifies his words. It

seems, therefore, most likely that Gizurr Þorvaldsson was the "söguigt" outcome of the sisters' conversation, especially if we consider some other passages that the compiler presumably added to *Íslendinga saga*.

Ch. 50 of *Íslendinga saga* tells about the wedding of Sturla Sighvatsson. There is a passage relating that Þorvaldr Gizurarson showed his children to Sighvatr Sturluson. It is presumably an addition by the compiler based on an oral source, as there are some obvious historical mistakes in this account that do not agree with *Íslendinga saga* elsewhere. The point of the passage is the confrontation between Sighvatr and Gizurr:

Þá gengu Þóru börn fram, ok stóð Gizurr fyrir þeim frammi, ok helt Þorvaldr í hendr honum ok mælti: "Hér er nú ástin mín, Sighvatr bóndi, ok þat þætti mér allmiklu máli skipta, at þér litist giftusamliga á þenna mann."

Sighvatr var um fár ok horfði á hann langa stund. En Gizurr stóð kyrr ok horfði einarðliga á móti Sighvati. Sighvatr tók þá til orða ok heldr stutt: "Ekki er mér um ygglibrún þá." (299-300)

It has been pointed out that this passage resembles the account of *Óláfs saga helga* in *Heimskringla* (ch. 76) about King Óláfr's visit to his mother and his meeting with his half-brothers. The focus there is on Haraldr Sigurdarson, and his future as a king of Norway is predicted. In a similar way the confrontation between Gizurr and Sighvatr forecasts the enmity to come between the Haukdælir and Sturlungs.²²

Also in ch. 50 of *Íslendinga saga*, Þorvaldr Gizurarson foresees that his and Sighvatr Sturluson's sons will maintain the friendship between the two families while both he and Sighvatr are alive. This foreshadowing is supposedly original in the saga. Ch. 120 recounts the death of Þorvaldr. In ch. 121 Gizurr Þorvaldsson is described favorably and played off against Sturla Sighvatsson, who is said to be so overbearing that almost no man in Iceland can hold his own against him. As Pétur Sigurdsson showed, here are some additions to the saga, partly based on *Íslendinga saga's* account itself. All these additions illuminate the conflict between Gizurr and Sturla.²³

Ch. 136 is also an interpolation written by the compiler: a collection of premonitions of the battle of Örlygsstaðir.²⁴ All these strophic dreams predict bloody fights and the deaths of many men, the Sturlungs in particular, while one of them clearly foretells that Gizurr will not be killed. The dreams are presumably collected from oral tradition.²⁵ Research has criticized the compiler for this interpolation. Robert J. Glendinning argues:

Vom Standpunkt der literarischen Wirksamkeit sind die Träume in Kapitel 136 der Saga ein entschiedener Mißgriff, denn die wahllose Anhäufung bringt keinen Gewinn an Stimmung oder dramatischer Intensität. Vielmehr stört sie den Fluß der Erzählung, läßt die Spannung abflauen und bewirkt durch ihr Zuviel einen Verlust an Relevanz und Interesse.²⁶

That might be true if we only look at the chapter in the context of *Íslendinga saga*. If we, however, consider ch. 136, together with *Haukdæla þáttur* and the additions in chs. 50 and 121, as parts of the compilation as a whole, a pattern emerges. The compiler adds to the strand of Gizurr Þorvaldsson in *Íslendinga saga* and interpolates a bunch of strophic dreams in order to focus the audience's attention on the conflict between Gizurr and Sturla Sighvatsson and to emphasize the battle of Örlygsstaðir as a major event in the cycle. In fact, this battle is the first climax of the

compilation, taken in its entirety. At the same time the stressing of Gizurr Þorvaldsson's participation in the narrative cycle points to the second climactic event of *Sturlunga*, that is the burning at Flugumýrr. The dreams of Jónreiður in ch. 190 of *Íslendinga saga*, presumably also interpolated by the compiler, refer in retrospect to the burning and favor Gizurr.²⁷

These additions are based on genealogical thinking and a feud pattern inherited from the separate sagas by the compiler. One family is set against another. As feud plot is tragic, the sagas' explanation of the course of events tends to be fatalistic in a mechanistic way.²⁸ The premonitions and predictions the compiler adds to the corpus, and the conviction of the two Þóras that their life is determined by fate, accord with that kind of explanation. But the sisters' conversation also indicates that man voluntarily effects his purpose in life.²⁹

On this point we turn to the problematic opening piece, *Geirmundar þáttur*. The *þáttur* has a subject matter apart from the sagas in the compilation and the form of a distinct entity although it most likely was composed as an introduction to the cycle. The *þáttur* has three sources: a) *Landnámabók*, b) *Hróks saga ins svarta* (i.e. *Hálfs saga ok Hálfsrekka*), and c) oral tradition.³⁰ "What strikes the critic," Ciklamini argues, "is the incongruity of narrative matter and the disjointedness of the *þáttur*'s structure."³¹ *Geirmundar þáttur* is, in fact, formed as a sequence of notices or short episodes similarly to the texts of *Landnáma*.³² Together they present a certain picture of Geirmundr.

We can divide the *þáttur* proper into three parts. The first two chapters tell how Geirmundr's identity as the son of King Hjörð Hálfsson prevailed and how as an adult he became wealthy and renowned on viking raids, and demonstrate that aristocrats are born leaders, others not. Ch. 3 relates that Geirmundr decided to give up raiding and move from Norway to Iceland. The *þáttur* gives two probable reasons for Geirmundr's settlement in Iceland. First, he fled the tyranny of King Haraldr hárfagri. Secondly, he moved voluntarily because it was then considered the greatest source of fame to go to Iceland. The second explanation is preferred, but that reason is not mentioned in his source, *Landnámabók*. Chs. 4-6 tell stories about Geirmundr's career as chieftain - his leadership and generosity - and present him as an enlightened pagan.³³ All in all *Geirmundar þáttur* portrays the protagonist as a born chieftain, enterprising, magnanimous, wise and peaceful - a model to be followed.³⁴ Also, it shows like *Haukdæla þáttur* that man has free will, though life is determined by fate.

Presumably the deliberate choice to begin the compilation with the story of the distinguished settler whose claim was Skarð, and attaching to it a series of genealogies that can all be traced down to Skarð-Snorri, concerns the identity of the compiler and/or owner of the original *Sturlunga* compilation. It is also most likely that the story of Geirmundr heljarskinn has a bearing on the whole compilation. As pointed out above, the compiler was mainly interested in narrating the story of the struggle for worldly power in Iceland in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, until the country became a part of the Norwegian kingdom. According to *Geirmundar þáttur* as well as *Haukdæla þáttur* he thought man had a certain freedom in pursuing his fate. On this ground the compiler is critical to his time. *Íslendinga saga* is the warp of his web of sagas. The other sagas are preludes to it or amplifications of it. The compilation starts with such sagas as *Porgils saga ok Hafliða* and *Sturlu saga* in which solutions to the conflicts still exist and settlements are made with the help of wise counselors and men of moderation. *Guðmundar saga dýra* is bloodier. It ends, however, in reconciliation. But from *Íslendinga saga* onwards one conflict follows another, and more and more people become involved. The settlements are short-lived and the counselors of peace are heeded less and less. The battle of Örlygsstaðir and the burning at Flugumýrr, the

climactic events of this bipartite narrative cycle, are caused by the need for revenge, lack of moderation and moral corruption. The consequence was the reign of the Norwegian king in Iceland. What started as a Golden Age, shown in *Geirmundar þáttur*, ended with decline and fall.

Far from being a meaningless prefix to the compilation, then, *Geirmundar þáttur* indicates the significance of the whole work. After the turmoil of the Sturlung era the ruling class in Iceland (the Skarð family included) had, in establishing itself in a new political situation, to point out the best of their inheritance and try to understand where it had gone astray. *Sturlunga* with its cycle of sagas about excess and moderation and its picture of model chieftains like Geirmundr and the older Haukdælir is a part of that effort. For them a distinguished settler who had not fled the tyranny of the Norwegian king but moved voluntarily was a model figure, just as to be well-born was still a claim to power. The genealogies in *Sturlunga* are not only a part of its structural basis, but also important references for prominent families. The compiler's additions in favor of Gizurr Þorvaldsson, not least Jóreiðr's dreams praising him and criticizing the Norwegian kings, suggest that he would have preferred jarldom as a solution of the domestic crisis.³⁵ It might also suggest his disappointment with the kings that he deleted the first part of *Hrafn's saga*, which tells about the protagonist's travels abroad, and did not include *Þorgils saga skarða* and *Sturlu þáttur*, that show good relations between Icelanders and the Norwegian kings, though these works are presumably older than the original compilation.³⁶

The compiler's handling of the concepts of fate and free will indicate that he was a versed Christian. But the omission of religious matters from *Hrafn's saga* and amplification of material concerning the power struggle, taken together, give no reason to think that the compilation has a clearcut religious message about a divine design in history. *Sturlunga* rather reflects the compiler's attempt to make sense of the mechanism of worldly power in twelfth- and thirteenth-century Iceland in ways which were available in his culture.

¹ The compilation is quoted according to *Sturlunga saga*, ed. Jón Jóhannesson, Magnús Finnbogason, and Kristján Eldjárn, 2 vols. (Reykjavík, 1946).

² Finnur Jónsson, *Den oldnorske og oldislandske litteraturs historie*, 2nd ed. rev., II (Copenhagen, 1923), p. 721.

³ Jón Jóhannesson, "Um Sturlunga sögu," *Sturlunga saga*, ed. Jón Jóhannesson et al. (Reykjavík, 1946), II, esp. pp. xiii-xxi.

⁴ Úlfar Bragason, "On the Poetics of *Sturlunga*," Dis. Berkeley, 1986; Úlfar Bragason, "The Structure and Meaning of *Hrafn's saga Sveinbjarnarsonar*," *Scandinavian Studies*, 60 (1988), 267-92.

⁵ Stephen Norman Tranter, *Sturlunga saga: The Role of the Creative Compiler* (Frankfurt a. M., 1987).

⁶ Cf. Hayden White, "The Context in the Text: Method and Ideology in Intellectual History," in *The Content of the Form: Narrative Discourse and Historical Representation* (Baltimore, 1987), pp. 185-213.

⁷ Carol J. Clover, *The Medieval Saga* (Ithaca, 1982), p. 57.

⁸ Björn M. Ólsen, "Um Sturlungu," in *Safn til sögu Íslands og íslenskra bókmennta*, Vol. 3 (Copenhagen, 1902), pp. 391-93.

⁹ Jón Jóhannesson, "Um Sturlunga sögu," pp. xxxvi-xxxviii.

¹⁰ Clover, *The Medieval Saga*, p. 27.

¹¹ See William W. Ryding, *Structure in Medieval Narrative* (The Hague, 1971), pp. 53-61.

¹² Ólsen, "Um Sturlungu," p. 509.

¹³ Úlfar Bragason, "The Structure and Meaning."

¹⁴ See Sverrir Tómasson, *Formálar íslenskra sagmaritara á miðöldum: Rannsókn bókmenntahefðar* (Reykjavík, 1988), pp. 384-85.

¹⁵ Jón Jóhannesson, "Um Sturlunga sögu," p. xxi, xxv.

¹⁶ Herbert S. Joseph, "Chronology and Persona Voice in the Haukdale Þáttur," *Arkiv för nordisk filologi*, 86 (1971), 66-71.

¹⁷ Marlene Ciklamini, "Divine Will and the Guises of Truth in *Geirmundar þáttur hejarskinns*," *Skandinavistik*, 11 (1981), p. 87.

¹⁸ Ólsen, "Um Sturlungu," pp. 310-11.

¹⁹ Pétur Sigurðsson, "Um Haukdælapátt," in *Festskrift til Finnur Jónsson*, ed. Johannes Brøndum-Nielsen et. al. (Copenhagen, 1928), pp. 84-94.

²⁰ See Ólsen, "Um Sturlungu," pp. 304-10; Pétur Sigurðsson, "Um Haukdælapátt."

²¹ Ólsen, "Um Sturlungu," pp. 307-08; Pétur Sigurðsson, "Um Haukdælapátt."; Jón Jóhannesson, "Um Sturlunga sögu," p. xxv.

²² See Pétur Sigurðsson, "Um Íslendinga sögu Sturlu Þórðarsonar," in *Safn til sögu Íslands og íslenskra bókmennta*, Vol. 6 (Reykjavík, 1933-35), 34-36; cf. Ólsen, "Um Sturlungu," pp. 322-24; Robert J. Glendinning, *Träume und Vorbedeutung in der Islendinga saga Sturla Thordarsons: Eine Form- und Stiluntersuchung* (Bern, 1974), pp. 126-28.

²³ See Pétur Sigurðsson, "Um Íslendinga sögu," pp. 42-43; cf. Ólsen, "Um Sturlungu," pp. 324-27; Glendinning, *Träume und Vorbedeutung*, pp. 222-28.

²⁴ See Pétur Sigurðsson, "Um Íslendinga sögu," pp. 52-54; Glendinning, *Träume und Vorbedeutung*, pp. 186-92; cf. Ólsen, "Um Sturlungu," p. 328.

²⁵ Glendinning, *Träume und Vorbedeutung*, pp. 191-92.

²⁶ Glendinning, *Träume und Vorbedeutung*, p. 186.

²⁷ Pétur Sigurðsson, "Um Íslendinga sögu," pp. 124-25.

²⁸ Cf. Hayden White, "Interpretation in History," in *Tropics of Discourse: Essays in Cultural Criticism*, paperback ed. (Baltimore, 1985), pp. 51-80.

²⁹ Cf. Lars Lönnroth, *Njáls saga: A Critical Introduction* (Berkeley, 1976), esp. pp. 162-64.

³⁰ Jón Jóhannesson, *Gerðir Landnámabókar* (Reykjavík, 1941), pp. 165-70; see also Jón Jóhannesson, "Um Sturlunga sögu," pp. xxi-xxii.

³¹ Ciklamini, "Divine Will," p. 81.

³² See about the *Landnáma* narrative, Jakob Benediktsson, ed., *Íslendingabók, Landnámabók, Íslenzk fornrit*, I, pt. 1 (Reykjavík, 1968), pp. cxxviii-cxxx, cxxxiii-cxxxv; also Hermann Pálsson and Paul Edwards, "Narrative Elements in the Icelandic Book of Settlements," *Mosaic*, 4, No. 2 (1970), 1-11.

³³ See Ciklamini, "Divine Will."

³⁴ Cf. Tranter, *Sturlunga saga*, pp. 239-41.

³⁵ Cf. Ólsen, "Um Sturlungu," pp. 346-48; Pétur Sigurðsson, "Um Íslendinga sögu," pp. 124-25.

³⁶ See Jón Jóhannesson, "Um Sturlunga sögu," pp. xli-xlix.