

Myth and society in *Íslendinga saga*

Everyone agrees that the so-called *samtíðarsögur* or contemporary sagas deal fairly and squarely with events and persons of a past that was recent when these sagas were written. If we refer specifically to Sturla Þórðarson's *Íslendinga saga*, as I wish to do in this paper, the events that shape the narrative took place from the last decades of the twelfth century to about 1242, with some coverage in the latter part of the saga of events that took place between 1242 and 1264. We do not know exactly when *Íslendinga saga* was written, but a common view is that Sturla composed it during the last years of his life, shortly before 1284.¹

In recent years there has been some difference of scholarly opinion about the mix of annalistic reportage and literary creativity in *Íslendinga saga*. Some, like Jónas Kristjánsson (1988), have tended to stress the differences between contemporary sagas and family sagas, viewing the former as more constrained by the known sequence of events of the recent past and the testimony of witnesses. Undoubtedly, these constraints were real, what the witnesses told Sturla and what he knew himself of events he had witnessed were also real. The recent work of other scholars who have written on the contemporary sagas has tended to emphasise their writerly qualities as works of literary historiography. One of the first to take an extended look at the ways in which Sturla the writer shaped his narrative was Robert Glendinning, whose particular contribution (1966 and 1974) was to show how Sturla used over forty dream and vision narratives in *Íslendinga saga*, in a manner comparable to the use of the same devices in family sagas, to structure and direct his representation of the past. Before him Árni Pálsson (1947) had examined a single dream sequence with similar intent, the one in which Egill Skallagrímsson appears in a dream to one of Snorri Sturluson's *heimamenn*, and much more recently Preben Meulengracht Sørensen (1988a) has looked at the dream sequence in which

¹ There has also been much discussion of the presumed input of a compiler, who arranged and added material to the existing components of the work we now call *Sturlunga saga*, which included *Íslendinga saga*; c.f. the writings of Björn M. Ólsen (1902), Pétur Sigurðsson (1933-5), Jón Jóhannesson (1946), Stephen Tranter (1987) and Úlfar Bragason (1991). I have unfortunately been unable to consult Úlfar's 1986 Berkeley dissertation, nor have I seen Guðrún Nordal's 1987 Oxford thesis. Even though some of *Íslendinga saga* may have been the work of a compiler rather than Sturla Þórðarson, I shall use the shorthand 'Sturla' when I refer to the literary creator or creators of this text. All references and citations are from the edition of Jón Jóhannesson *et al.* 1946.

Guðrún Gjúkadóttir appears to a young girl, Jórdís, to compare the events and persons of the girl's own day with those of the heroic past. The comparison reveals a backward-looking orientation towards the ideals of the heroic world. It emerges from all these studies that the narrative dimensions of dreaming and reflecting on the meanings of dreams are an important part of Sturla's interpretation of recent history in the context of the traditions of the past.

In two other recent studies (1988b and 1993a), Meulengracht Sørensen has pressed these points further, arguing that Sturla was not only a historian, as we understand the nature of historical writing, but that he was also a narrator of history, a role which involves literary creativity (1988b, 113-4).² However, unlike modern historians, his manner of shaping his material was to use what Meulengracht Sørensen has called 'episke midler' (epic means) rather than explicit commentary. He argues in his recent book *Fortælling og ære* (1993a, 95) that the historical persons and events of the heroic age and the age of the family sagas function in Sturla's narrative as models for the events and personages of the recent past. One may go further and suggest that Sturla was practising a narrative art that 'is not to be regarded as an aesthetic invention used by artists to control, manipulate and order experience, but as a primary act of mind transferred to art from life' (Hardy 1968). The 'primary acts of mind' he made use of in constructing the narrative of *Íslendinga saga* consisted of a repertoire of processes that are represented in most, if not all, genres of Old Icelandic writing and presumably had their counterparts in social and mental processes as well.

The relationship between social, mental and literary processes is never a simple one, and one presumes that was true of medieval Iceland as of other societies. This matter too has been the subject of recent debate in Old Norse studies, some scholars like Byock (1982 and 1988), Durrenberger (1992) and Miller (1990), opting for a rather more direct relationship between the processes of 'life' and 'literature' than others of us would admit to (c.f. Meulengracht Sørensen 1993a, 25-8; 1993b). I share Meulengracht Sørensen's view that

² 'I nutidens forstand var Sturla imidlertid ikke kun historiker. Han var også fortæller. Eller med andre ord: sin analyse af det historiske materiale formulerer han som fortælling. *Íslendinga saga* har en indre sammenhæng og betydning, der rækker ud over det blot annalistiske, som kilderne må have rummet stof til, og ind i en fortolkning af det historiske forløb. Denne sammenhæng skaber Sturla med episke midler og ikke, som nutidens historiker vil gøre det, med eksplicite forklaringer.'

Icelandic sagas are not only objects for cultural analysis but are themselves a kind of ethnographic literature, through which they articulate and interpret images of an earlier Icelandic society and, indeed, of the society of prehistory before Iceland was settled. But, and this is the important point, ethnography is always interpretative, never purely empirical, so that the saga world we know is formed and defined by the sagas themselves. Moreover, the major genres of saga literature are linked both ethnographically and historically by what I have recently called (Clunies Ross 1993) the genealogical principle of development of Old Norse textual worlds. There I wrote (1993, 382): '...in Iceland several genres or modes of writing were developed to place family members in an appropriate historical context and to flesh out that context in terms of an imagined world in which the kinsmen could move. To put it another way, the literary genres that we call *fornaldarsögur*, *Íslendinga sögur* (family sagas), and *samtíðarsögur* (contemporary sagas) are ways of representing the history and prehistory of Icelandic family groups from the legendary past, which goes back to the days before the Famous Ancestor had migrated to Iceland, through the early historical period of the settlement age and the period immediately before that ... down to the period of the late twelfth and thirteenth centuries'.

Fundamental, then, to the medieval literary and historiographical tradition of which *Íslendinga saga* forms the conclusion is a conception of history as family-generated and family-linked. It has been argued that the traditions of all societies retrospectively construct the antecedents they purport to repeat or develop (Hobsbaum and Ranger 1983) and that representations of the past cast in narrative form are inevitably present-centred, constructing the past as a prelude to the present. In the medieval Icelandic case, one can see that many of the rhetorical forms and literary means by which the past is made to comment on and shape the construction of the present are mediated through characteristically Icelandic familial concerns, concerns with family honour and feuding, with dynastic succession and inheritance and so forth. Indeed, a major focus of Sturla's *Íslendinga saga* is the conflict between members of a dynasty to which he himself belonged and the ways in which that dynastic conflict impacted upon the whole of contemporary Iceland and was used by external politicians in Norway to destroy Iceland's political independence.

My main concern in this paper is to indicate how *Íslendinga saga* is able to access the 'other worlds' of prehistory and early Icelandic history intertextually in order to shape Sturla's interpretation of contemporary history. My particular focus is on myth in society as it figures in *Íslendinga saga*, how it functions as an interpretative tool and presupposes particular acts of the medieval Icelandic mind. I must first state that I am adopting a broad definition of myth as an culturally-specific narrative that offers a perspective on the world of here and now from that of some 'other world'. The 'other world' may be peopled by a variety of personages, including those identified as gods, supernatural beings of other types, heroes of past legend or ancestral figures. The important thing is that the world or worlds in which these beings move can be identified as 'other' by those from whose perspective 'this world' is viewed. In this situation, there may be degrees of otherness attributable both to the imagined world or worlds and to their inhabitants, and these inhabitants may then be categorised as belonging to different groups or worlds.

The place of the Christian world-picture among these traditional Norse other worlds is equivocal, largely because of the claims Christianity made to override and subsume all other representations of the human condition. There has been great debate among twentieth-century scholars about the extent to which Old Icelandic literature should be read as if Christianity had indeed overridden and hence invalidated all other imagined worlds. Current opinion favours a position in which many texts clearly show an overarching Christian view of history, but one which allows for the articulation of a specifically Icelandic culture 'on the ground', where indigenous ideals and beliefs operate in an ethical climate that takes its norms from the traditional past.³

In the medieval Icelandic context, it is usually possible to differentiate the gods and other beings of the 'classical' Norse pantheon (such as Óðinn or Freyr or *dvergjar*) from other classes of supernatural creatures (such as trolls or *draugar*), who can be distinguished, in their turn, from legendary Scandinavian kings, like Hrólfr kraki, and ancestors of historical Icelanders, like Kveld-Úlfr Bjálfason. If we think about these classes of beings even for a little

³ Much of the debate can be followed in the argument between Weber 1987 (and in other writings) and von See 1988.

while, it emerges that they are to some degree genre-specific, that is, there is a correlation between the nature of imagined beings and the textual genres in which they are likely to be represented. To some extent, then, we may say that culture-specific conventions of literary representation apply to the articulation of Old Norse mythic worlds, though some are more exclusive than others. For example, Old Norse eddic poetry deals almost exclusively with the acts of gods or heroes (sometimes with gods or heroes and the world of human prehistory) and *fornaldarsögur* continue the life of the divine or heroic world (which they reference by quotation from eddic poetry) in a different and usually fantastic other world that touches on human history more directly. By contrast, skaldic poetry, whose foreground is royal or aristocratic society for the most part, references the classical Norse pantheon for comparative purposes and, after the conversion to Christianity, the Christian spiritual world. Kings' sagas, as one might expect, use skaldic poetry as their chief point of reference and authority.

This brief account of Old Norse worlds within worlds is necessarily a generalisation of a more complex picture, though I think the general hypothesis is valid. When we turn to characterise the referencing capacity of *Íslendinga sögur* and *samtíðarsögur*, in terms of their ability to access mythical other worlds, we find that they are much more eclectic than the genres I have mentioned above. Not only can one find reference to a whole variety of other-world beings in these sagas, from deities to figures from heroic legend to revenants and ancestors of various Icelanders, but sagas of Icelanders and contemporary sagas access a variety of other textual genres by means of quotation and other techniques, including recourse to the 'episke midler' Meulengracht Sørensen wrote of, and a variety of what appear to be deliberate imitations of past historical events.⁴ The more diverse mythic resonance of these two genres may derive from their special place in Icelandic cultural history. They are a new, mixed literary form, incorporating both poetry and prose of various generic antecedents, appropriate to 'the rise of literature in *terra nova*', as Kurt Schier (1975) has called it in a memorable phrase. Not

⁴ By this latter means, the high points in thirteenth-century Icelandic history become a repetition of the high points in saga-age history, and one cannot determine from this distance, nor from the sources themselves, whether art imitated life or art imitated life-turned-art in these narratives. There are numerous instances of this kind in *Íslendinga saga*, including the parallel between the burnings at Flugumýr and at Bergþórshvöll and the first meeting between Sighvatr Sturluson and Gizurr Þorvaldsson, which has been compared to Óláfr the Saint's meeting with his half-brothers in Snorri Sturluson's *Heimskringla*.

only do these sagas use skaldic verse in a new way, and with a new, less aristocratic subject-matter (though the aristocratic resonances are often still present), but they are also able to draw on eddic verse, Christian hagiography and other, foreign genres.

There is no doubt that the world of *Íslendinga saga* is meant to reveal a consciousness of past events and of events that belong to other worlds. Some other worlds belong emphatically to the past (like the pagan gods for the Christian present), others' chronological sphere of influence is less clearly defined or circumscribed. One may infer, for example, that supernatural ogres and malevolent spirits like the Grýla mentioned a number of times in *Íslendinga saga* were permanent inhabitants of the Icelandic supernatural world who have lived on into modern times. What is common, however, to all the other worlds accessed by sagas of Icelanders and contemporary sagas and to their inhabitants, is that they are represented as exerting an influence on the events and persons of the narrative present. They may do this in various ways, by hortatory example, by deliberate contrast with the heroic behaviour of the past or by the example of familial precedent, but there is a consistent assumption that the present can access these other worlds, that they influence the present and that, though they are different from the present, they are continuous rather than discontinuous with it.⁵

There are many different discourse levels at which the narrative of *Íslendinga saga* accesses these other worlds and many of the references require of the audience and the modern reader a specific acquaintance not only with the substance of traditional medieval Icelandic culture but with its literary forms and genres. The scope of a conference paper allows me to exemplify only a few of these many resources. Some of them are obvious: Sturla the narrator marks the passage of time in his saga with reference to Christian festivals and chronological markers, as well as to the traditional markers of time, which depended on the existence of non-Christian time-reckoning habits, rituals and feasts, such as a reference to the month of *gói*

⁵ In this matter I do not find myself altogether in agreement with Preben Meulengracht Sørensen (1993, 93), when he writes that: 'Íslændingesagaerne har ingen etiske eller på anden måde kvalitative sammenligninger af fortiden med nutiden. Formen tillod ikke sådanne vurderinger. De ville være i modstrid med den neutrale fortællerrolle og påstanden om en tradition, der uforandret taler gennem teksten. Sysnvinklen er ikke den kristne samtids, men den tidløse traditions. Kun sjældent griber fortælleren ind med sammenligninger mellem fortid og samtid, og da som hovedregel kun for at forklære faktiske forskelle, f.eks. i loven eller religionen.'

(Chapter 43) and the festival of the winter nights. The use of both these systems suggests an accommodating historical and cultural continuity in Iceland. Continuities with the settlement period and the time immediately after it are also suggested by references to named family sagas or saga characters. In Chapter 39 Björn Þorvaldsson is killed with a spear called Grásþá, and the narrator comments: 'ok sögðu átt hafa Gíslí Súrsson' (Jón Jóhannesson *et al.* 1946, I, 282). We must remember that these resonances could, of course, work the other way, for sagas of Icelanders were being composed in the same period as the contemporary sagas, and there is a school of thought that thinks Sturla Þórðarson had a hand in the composition of *Grettis saga*.

It is probably to be expected that interpretative and other-world frameworks should be most intensely brought to bear upon the protagonists of *Íslendinga saga*, Snorri Sturluson, Sturla Sighvatsson and Gizurr Þorvaldsson, seeing that the narrator wishes his audience to perceive an aura of greatness about these men. Many scholars have written about the use of dreams and other motifs that often belong to the medieval biographies of famous men which enhance our perception of these characters' importance and prepare us proleptically for the roles they will play.⁶ The appearance of family members of a past age, such as Egill Skallagrímsson, and the comparison between Snorri Sturluson and the legendary Danish king Hrólfr kraki, both of whom quarreled with members of their own family and played a major part in their dynasty's downfall, has a semiotic effect that is both positive and negative. It is essentially flattering for a character in a contemporary narrative to be compared with a famous figure from the past, but in each case the basis for the comparison is essentially negative. In the case of the comparison between Snorri and Hrólfr kraki, *Hleiðrar sillir*, which comes in a verse, the allusion looks forward to Snorri's death, like Hrólfr's, at the instigation of a relative.⁷

⁶ Examples are many, and include the signs of the hero about the birth of Sturla Sighvatsson together with his grandmother Guðný Bøðvarsdóttir's dynastic dream in Chapter 9 and the consciousness of family greatness that leads Gizurr Þorvaldsson's father to name his son Gizurr in Chapter 23.

⁷ Both the prose scene of Snorri sitting in his bath and the verse warning that follows it (Ch. 64, Jón Jóhannesson *et al.* I, 319-20) are beautifully crafted and rely on literary resonances from the heroic world, in the form of a poetically realised *exemplum* and the heroic topos of *mannjafnaðr*. For a recent analysis of the latter, see Swenson 1991.

Members of the Sturlung family are represented in *Íslendinga saga* as moving in a world in which they implicitly compare themselves or are compared by others with supernatural beings. Many of these references are well-known, but I should like to examine briefly their semiotic effect. Sturla Sighvatsson was evidently known by the nick-name Dala-Freyr (Jón Jóhannesson et al. I, 327) and Robert Glendinning (1966, 85) imagines this reflects Sturla's 'breath-taking and complicated personality' and 'barbaric glamour'. Apart from the essential aggrandisement of this name, even if it was conferred tongue-in-cheek, one assumes the poles of reference were on the one hand Freyr's role as god of battle and then on the other his role as god of riches, splendour and opulence.⁸ Another well-known Sturlung equation between the significance of the world of the present and that of myth concerns the act of hubris involved in naming Snorri Sturluson's booth at the Althing Valhöll.⁹ These and other details in *Íslendinga saga* indicate that the world in which the Sturlungs moved was one that invited comparison by themselves and others with the world of classical Norse myth and with the supernatural grotesque.

We may be provoked to ask why it is that such a wide range of mythic worlds can be invoked by thirteenth-century saga writers and made to bear on their textual productions. What cultural circumstances lead to their inscription in sagas of Icelanders or contemporary sagas? One of the main emphases of my forthcoming book on Old Norse myths (Clunies Ross 1994) is on their 'readability' in terms of contemporary Icelandic society and politics. The 'context of use' that Edmund Leach (1982) sought for Norse mythology is Icelandic culture and society, at least as far as the myths in the form we know them are concerned. Myths encode the same kinds of analytical categories of Norse culture that we may extrapolate from other textual genres, but one should beware of assuming any simplistic relationship between mythic and

⁸ There are many descriptive touches in Sturla's portrait of Sturla Sighvatsson that confirm these character traits. Freyr's association with battle is confirmed by his name as a base-word of warrior-kennings in skaldic poetry. An example from *Íslendinga saga* occurs in a Christian context, but has similar semiotic value: a verse attributed to Óláfr hvítaskáld praises the outlawed Aron Hjörleifsson in the context of his pilgrimage to Jerusalem, as *inn skýri skjaldar Freyr* (Jón Jóhannesson et al. 1946 I, 308).

⁹ In Chapter 34 we hear that Snorri also had had a booth, situated above the Law Rock, called Grýla, the name of an ogress thought to devour children. The air of comic menace imparted by this name, and the implicit infantilisation of Snorri's enemies, is confirmed by the use of the name Grýla as a nick-name for two different men, Loptr Pálsson (Ch. 39) and Snorri's son Jón murtr (Ch. 69), in both cases after they have gone on the rampage against their enemies.

non-mythic worlds. The central concerns of Old Norse myths, in my opinion, are agonistic and hierarchical relationships between groups, including issues of vengeance and reconciliation, the control of production and reproduction, and central human issues of male-female relations and the human life-span with death at the end of the day. But, as John Lindow has written in a forthcoming publication (Lindow 1994), Norse mythology is both a simplified system of action-group identification projected against the messy reality of medieval Icelandic life and, at the same time, a deeply pessimistic expression of the failure of a patrilineally-organised kinship system when faced with intra-familial conflict and killing. He is referring specifically here to the Baldr-myth, but I think the message is general.

In this latter regard, Norse mythology clearly spoke to the Sturlung age and to the Sturlung dynasty in particular, and it is probably no accident that the literary works of several of the most prominent members of that dynasty, including Snorri Sturluson, Óláfr Þórðarson *hvítaskáld* and Sturla Þórðarson himself, clearly recognise the ways in which Norse mythology had relevance to their own situation. Not only do we have the evidence of Snorri's personal investment in rehabilitating the myths themselves in his *Edda*, but *Heimskringla* also reveals a highly-developed awareness of the intersection between mythic issues and those of the sagas of Norwegian kings. Furthermore, Bjarne Fidjestøl's recent analysis (1993) of kennings containing mythological allusions in skaldic poetry in praise of kings reveals a notable increase in the use of such kennings in the first half of the thirteenth century after a decline between the tenth and twelfth centuries, without the twelfth-century renaissance that de Vries argued for (1934). Fidjestøl attributes this 'notable increase', surely correctly, to 'the "renaissance" of Snorri Sturluson and his nephews.' (1993, 102)

Snorri and his nephews Óláfr and Sturla¹⁰ were all well known poets and it is particularly through poetry and poetic traditions that they bring various other worlds to bear upon the worlds depicted in their prose writings, and, in Sturla's case, upon the world of *Íslendinga saga* in which he and his family are protagonists. Poetry, in both eddic and skaldic measures, is a fruitful and frequently-used means of bringing the beliefs and behaviour of

¹⁰ For a good appraisal of the range of Sturla's poetry see Hermann Pálsson 1988.

notable individuals from other worlds into the discourse of the narrative present.¹¹ The representation of Snorri and his nephews in the role of poet also has a self-reflexive quality, because the very role of *skáld* was associated with prestige, political success and the custody and transmission of significant cultural knowledge. Meulengracht Sørensen (1993a, 101-6) has recently pointed to the *skáld*'s role as a symbol of indigenous traditions, linguistic mastery and cultural continuity.

Sturla's representation of his uncle Snorri clearly shows an awareness of the complex cultural symbolism associated with the poet-figure, a poet who in this case was also a major Icelandic politician. Along with his manipulation of cultural symbolism, Sturla also attributes some stereotypical action-patterns to Snorri and those around him. These symbols and patterns access a web of associations and intertextual representations. In Chapter 34 of *Íslendinga saga* mention is first made of Snorri Sturluson's poetic skills and I think it is significant that this occurs immediately after he has been shown as a skillful and ruthless political operator in Iceland, wresting a large inheritance from a rich woman without heirs, *Jórunn in auðga*, and successfully having a rival male predator upon her fortune sentenced to outlawry at the Althing. The description of these triumphs is followed immediately by the statement:

'Snorri hafði virðing af málum þessum. Ok í þessum málum gekk virðing hans við mest hér á landi. Hann gerðist skáld gott ok var hagr á allt þat, er hann tók höndum til, ok hafði inar beztu forsagnir á öllu því, er gera skyldi. Hann orti kvæði um Hákon galin, ok sendi jarlinn gjafar út á mót, sverð ok skjöld ok brynju.'

The clear inference of this passage is that Snorri's local success as a political fixer is naturally accompanied by recognition as a poet in the highly politicised genre of skaldic encomium. His successes in local politics lead him to try the big time in Norway and, instead of lobbying the centre by skilful networking as a modern politician would do, Snorri's next move is to compose a praise-poem in the time-honoured way about Hákon galinn. Sturla as narrator now introduces a stanza attributed to Máni, a poet of King Magnús Erlingsson, which is of course both an indirect endorsement of Snorri's merit as someone - like a Norwegian king

¹¹ The general intertextual function of poetry as an oblique means of commentary upon the events of saga narrative of all kinds is now widely recognised and appreciated.

- who deserves to be the subject of praise poetry and who was so important that he became the subject of poetic composition by others. His status is reinforced by Máni's quite conventional asseveration *þat fekk skald skynjat*, 'the poet heard that', as if Snorri's fame was on everybody's tongue.

Máni's stanza speaks the language of a world where noble men, of whom Snorri is of course one, exchange honourable gifts in a time-honoured way. However, Sturla the narrator does not let the matter rest on the high, idealised note struck by the poem. He makes reality cut in when he reports that, after all these grandiose postures and invitations, Hákon galinn unfortunately died just as Snorri was preparing to go abroad, so he had to postpone his trip for some years. The same double-edged quality is also present in the account in Chapters 38 and 39 of how people back in Iceland parodied Snorri's *drápa* on Jarl Skúli, and, in particular distorted its refrain *Harðmúlaðr vas Skúli*, which was meant to stress the Earl's power and strength, to a meaning that was at least a political statement of suspicion and distrust if not an accusation of sexual perversity.¹²

The medium of poetry is the most frequent and efficient vehicle whereby other worlds of various kinds are made present in the world of *Íslendinga saga*. In this respect the saga is basically no different from a range of other Icelandic prose genres, though it is indeed rich and versatile in the variety of evocations that poetic quotation makes possible. They range over the whole gamut of traditional Norse eddic and skaldic verse, from echoes of eddic sapiential verse like *Vǫluspá* and *Hávamál* to harsh parody of the standard skaldic encomium. An example of the former kind is the pastiche of *Vǫluspá* and *Hávamál* in the verse spoken by a fetch (Jón Jóhannesson *et al.* I, 320-1) who presages the family strife that is to come in terms that remind the audience that the breaking of the bonds of kinship was one of the precursors of the general chaos of Ragnarök:

Mál er at minnask

mörnar hlakkar.

Vit tvau vitum þat.

¹² Meulengracht Sørensen (1993a, 123) reports that Guðrún Nordal (1987, 269) has advanced the latter interpretation, which also seems probable to me. Unfortunately, I have been unable to read her thesis to date.

Viltu enn lengra?

The eight verses quoted in Chapters 72-3, attributed to a number of commentators on the raid on Sturla Sighvatsson's farm at Sauðafell, contribute a richly orchestrated set of comparisons and references to heroic combat and heroic ethics in order to draw attention to the essentially mean-minded and disgraceful nature of a raid in which a number of the victims were women and servants. The verses are also a war of words, and the sequence concludes with two stanzas that indicate that the man generally regarded as the instigator of this raid, Snorri Sturluson, was too cowardly to fight with anything other than words. Here and in other verses (e.g. verse 47 in Chapter 112) the language of poetry turns in on itself to parody the association, dominant in this saga of the Sturlungs, between the ability to compose verse - *frami mun seggs at sögu sagðr* - and the pursuit of the heroic life.

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