

NOTES

Introduction

1. The articles collected in *A Companion to Old Norse-Icelandic Literature and Culture* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2005) provide good general introductions to and bibliographies for the various types of Old Norse–Icelandic literature discussed in this book. For a succinct introduction of the social, historical, cultural, and literary background of medieval Iceland, see the introduction to Vésteinn Ólason's *Dialogues with the Viking Age: Narration and Representation in the Sagas of the Icelanders*, trans. Andrew Wawn (Reykjavík: Heimskringla, 1998). First published as *Samræður við söguöld—frásagnarlist Íslendingasagna og fortíðarmynd*.
2. For a recent introduction to Old Norse myth and religion, see Christopher Abram, *Myths of the Pagan North: The Gods of the Norsemen* (London: Continuum, 2011).
3. For a vivid account of the skald-king relationship, see Anders Winroth, *The Conversion of Scandinavia: Vikings, Merchants, and Missionaries in the Remaking of Northern Europe* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2012), pp. 1–4.
4. For a general introduction to kings' sagas, see for example, Ármann Jakobsson, "Royal Biography," in *A Companion to Old Norse–Icelandic Literature and Culture*, ed. Rory McTurk (Oxford: Blackwell, 2005), pp. 388–402.
5. Daniel Sävborg, *Sagan om kärleken: Erotik, känslor och berättarkonst i norrön litteratur* (Uppsala: Uppsala Universitet, 2007), p. 148.
6. For an accessible introduction to the *Íslendingasögur*, see Ólason, *Dialogues with the Viking Age*.
7. For a recent overview of the debate about sagas and the oral versus written tradition, see the introduction to Theodore M. Andersson's *The Growth of the Medieval Icelandic Sagas (1180–1280)* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2007). For an extended discussion of orality and literacy, see Gísli Sigurðsson, *The Medieval Icelandic Saga and Oral Tradition: A Discourse on Method*, Publications of the Milman Parry Collection of Oral Literature 2, trans. Nicholas Jones (Cambridge, MA: The Milman Parry Collection of Oral Literature, Harvard University, 2004). First published as *Túlkun Íslendingasagna í ljósi munnlegrar hefðar: Tilgáta um aðferð*, Rit 56 (Reykjavík:

- Stofnun Árna Magnússonar á Íslandi, 2002). For an authoritative examination of blood feud, see for example, William Ian Miller, *Bloodtaking and Peacemaking: Feud, Law, and Society in Saga Iceland* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1990).
8. For example, individual manuscripts of the same saga, for example, the *Separate Saga of St. Óláfr*, contain fantastical elements to a varying, and sometimes relatively high, degree. For discussion about the question of genre and overlapping generic distinctions, see for example, “Interrogating Genre in the *fornaldarsögur*: A Roundtable Discussion,” *Viking and Medieval Scandinavia* 2 (2006): 275–96; and Stephen A. Mitchell, *Heroic Sagas and Ballads* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1991, pp. 8–26.
 9. Some sagas, for example, *Brennu-Njáls saga*, have been said to depict women in a (Christian or clerical) misogynist manner; although this view can be justified in some instances, as I will show, it is by no means unanimously the case.
 10. Vésteinn Ólason, “Family Sagas,” in *A Companion to Old Norse-Icelandic Literature and Culture*, ed. Rory McTurk (Oxford: Blackwell, 2005), p. 111 [101–18].
 11. Mitchell, *Heroic Sagas*, p. 51, n. 16.
 12. The two foundational works on the *fornaldarsögur* are Mitchell, *Heroic Sagas and Ballads*; and Torfi H. Tulinius, *The Matter of the North: The Rise of Literary Fiction in Thirteenth-Century Iceland*, trans. Randi C. Eldevik (Odense: Odense University Press, 2002). First published as *La Matière du Nord: sagas légendaires et fiction dans la littérature islandaise en prose du XIIIe siècle* (Paris: Presses de l’Université de Paris-Sorbonne, 1995).
 13. See for example, Mitchell, *Heroic Sagas*, pp. 114–28.
 14. For a comprehensive introduction to Norse Arthurian translations, with authoritative articles about philological and literary issues, see Marianne E. Kalinke, ed., *The Arthur of the North. The Arthurian Legend in the Norse and Rus’ Realms* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2011).
 15. Jürg Glauser, “Romance (translated *riddarasögur*),” in *A Companion to Old Norse-Icelandic Literature and Culture*, ed. Rory McTurk (Oxford: Blackwell, 2005), p. 375 [372–87].
 16. Pierre Bourdieu, “The Forms of Capital,” in *Handbook of Theory of Research for the Sociology of Education*, ed. J. G. Richardson, trans. Richard Nice (New York: Greenwood Press, 1986), pp. 46–58. For applications of Bourdieu’s theories to Old Norse-Icelandic literature, see Torfi H. Tulinius, *Skáldið í skrifinni* (Reykjavík: Hið íslenska bókmenntafélag/ReykjavíkúAkademían, 2004), pp. 129–65; Kevin J. Wanner, *Snorri Sturluson and the Edda: The Conversion of Cultural Capital in Medieval Scandinavia* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2008), pp. 30–73.
 17. Sif Ríkharðsdóttir, *Medieval Translations and Cultural Discourse: The Movement of Texts in England, France and Scandinavia* (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 2012).
 18. Geraldine Barnes, “Romance in Iceland,” in *Old Icelandic Literature and Society*, ed. Margaret Clunies Ross (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), pp. 269–70 [266–86]; Nicola McDonald, “A Polemical Introduction,”

- in *Pulp Fictions of Medieval England: Essays in Popular Romance*, ed. Nicola McDonald (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2004), p. 1 [1–21].
19. For a similar pattern in scholarship on medieval English romance, see McDonald, “A Polemical Introduction.” Two foundational studies of the ideological function of romance are Jürg Glauser, *Isländische Märchensagas: studien zur Prosaliteratur im spätmittelalterlichen Island* (Basel: Helbing & Lichtenhahn, 1983); and Henric Bagerius, *Mandom och mödom. Sexualitet, homosocialitet och aristokratisk identitet på det senmedeltida Island* (Gothenburg: Göteborgs universitet, 2009).
 20. Jenny M. Jochens, *Old Norse Images of Women* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1996).
 21. Carol J. Clover, “Regardless of Sex: Men, Women, and Power in Early Northern Europe,” *Speculum* 68 (1993): 363–87.
 22. For reasons of space and subject matter, I will restrict the analysis to secular prose, mostly leaving out religious material and myths.
 23. Simon Gaunt, *Gender and Genre in Medieval French Literature* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), p. 1.
 24. Max Weber, *Economy and Society: An Outline of Interpretive Sociology (Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft. Grundriss der verstehenden Soziologie)*, ed. Guenther Roth and Claus Wittich, 2 vols. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1978), 1: 53.
 25. Max Weber, *Selections in Translation*, ed. W. G. Runciman, trans. E. Matthews (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1978), p. 38.
 26. Weber, *Economy and Society*, 1: 53.
 27. *Ibid.*, 2: 941–55.
 28. *Ibid.*, 1: 212.
 29. Gaunt, *Gender and Genre*, p. 10.
 30. Gerda Lerner, *The Creation of Patriarchy* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1986), see especially pp. 212–30.
 31. Jenny Jochens, *Women in Old Norse Society* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1995), pp. 113–14.
 32. Carol J. Clover, “Hildigunnr’s Lament,” in *Structure and Meaning in Old Norse Literature: New Approaches to Textual Analysis and Literary Criticism*, ed. John Lindow, Lars Lönnroth, and Gerd Wolfgang Weber (Odense: Odense University Press, 1986), pp. 141–83. Reprinted in *Cold Counsel: Women in Old Norse Literature and Mythology*, ed. Sarah M. Anderson with Karen Swenson (New York: Routledge, 2002), pp. 15–54.
 33. J. L. Austin, *How to Do Things with Words* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1962); John R. Searle, *Expression and Meaning: Studies in the Theory of Speech Acts* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979).
 34. Judith Butler, *Gender Trouble: Feminism and the Subversion of Identity* (New York: Routledge, 1990).
 35. Reading “against the grain” is an approach, originally advanced by feminist literary theorists in the 1970s and ‘80s, which entails deconstructing the fundamental ideology, in this instance a patriarchal social organization, that the narrator or text presents as normative; see for example, Judith Fetterley,

The Resisting Reader: A Feminist Approach to American Fiction (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1978).

36. See for example, Agnethe Loth, "Preface," in *Late Medieval Icelandic Romances*, 5 vols., Editiones Arnarnagæne B20 (Copenhagen: Ejnar Munksgaard, 1962), 1: vii.
37. See each volume's introduction in *Fornaldarsögur Norðurlanda*, 3 vols., ed. Guðni Jónsson and Bjarni Vilhjálmsson (Reykjavík: Bókaútgáfan Forni, 1943–44).

1 Women Speaking

1. Sarah M. Anderson, "Introduction: 'og eru köld kvenna ráð,'" in *Cold Counsel: Women in Old Norse Literature and Mythology*, ed. Sarah M. Anderson with Karen Swenson (New York: Routledge, 2002), pp. xii [xi–xvi].
2. Canonical sagas that prominently depict female inciters include *Brennu-Njáls saga*, *Gísla saga Súrssonar*, and *Laxdæla saga*.
3. See the introduction for Max Weber's theoretical definition of power.
4. Else Mundal, "The Position of Women in Old Norse Society and the Basis for Their Power," *NORA—Nordic Journal of Feminist and Gender Research* 1 (1994): 3–11.
5. For example, Snorri goði in *Laxdæla saga* and Njáll Þorgeirsson in *Brennu-Njáls saga*.
6. In his discussion of feud and whetting, William Ian Miller notes that the "conventional woman of the sagas is strong-willed and uncompromising. She is the self-appointed guardian of the honor of her men.;" *Bloodtaking and Peacemaking: Feud, Law, and Society in Saga Iceland* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1990), p. 212. When discussing the historicity of the "medieval Icelandic heroine," Jenny M. Jochens refers to women in the "literary sagas," by which she means the *Íslendingasögur* (although they are not the only literary sagas); this character is, according to Jochens, "strong, willful, [and] domineering"; "The Medieval Icelandic Heroine, Fact or Fiction?" *Viator* 17 (1986): 41 and 35 [35–50].
7. *Brennu-Njáls saga*, ÍF XXII, ed. Einar Ól. Sveinsson (Reykjavík: Hið íslenska fornritafélag, 1954), p. 292. A great deal has been written about whetting, but space will only allow me to make reference to several key studies in the following discussion.
8. Richard L. Harris, "'(opt) eru köld kvenna ráð—a Critically Popular Old Icelandic Proverb and Its Uses in the *Íslendingasögur* and Elsewhere," *Concordance of Proverbs and Proverbial Matters in the Old Icelandic Sagas*, n.d., web. Nov. 22, 2009.
9. Rolf Heller, *Die literarische Darstellung der Frau* (Halle: Max Niemeyer, 1958), pp. 98–122; Jenny M. Jochens, *Old Norse Images of Women* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1996), p. 192; William Ian Miller, "Choosing the Avenger: Some Aspects of the Bloodfeud in Medieval Iceland and England," *Law and History Review* 1 (1983): 181 [159–204].

10. Max Weber, *Economy and Society: An Outline of Interpretive Sociology (Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft: Grundriss der verstehenden Soziologie)*, ed. Guenther Roth and Claus Wittich, 2 vols. (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1978), p. 53
11. The verb *eggja* is not limited to female inciting and can equally be used when men urge each other on before an attack, as well as when a woman urges her husband to follow courses of action other than violence; see discussion p. 43.
12. Carol J. Clover, "Hildigunnr's Lament," in *Structure and Meaning in Old Norse Literature: New Approaches to Textual Analysis and Literary Criticism*, ed. John Lindow, Lars Lönnroth, and Gerd Wolfgang Weber (Odense: Odense University Press, 1986), p. 176 [141–83]; for discussion of the public element of the *hvøt*, see Miller, *Bloodtaking*, pp. 213–14.
13. The same goes for Marsibil's *hvøt* in *Sörla saga sterka*, one of the three *foraldarsögur* to contain an incitement speech, in addition to *Völsunga saga* and *Ragnars saga loðbrókar*; *Sörla saga sterka*, in *Fornaldarsögur Norðurlanda*, ed. Guðni Jónsson and Bjarni Vilhjálmsson, 3 vols. (Reykjavík: Bókauktgáfan Forni, 1944), 3: 213–14.
14. *Bórðar saga kakala*, in *Sturlunga saga*, ed. Jón Jóhannesson, Magnús Finnbogason, and Kristján Eldjárn, 2 vols. (Reykjavík: Sturlunguútgáfan, 1946), 2: 6.
15. Brynhildr threatens her husband Gunnarr with divorce if he does not comply with her wish that Sigurðr be killed, see *Völsunga saga*, p. 57.
16. *Drymskviða*, st. 16, in *Edda: Die Lieder des Codex Regius nebst verwandten denkmälern*, ed. Gustav Neckel, rev. Hans Kuhn, 2 vols. (Heidelberg: Carl Winter, 1962), 1: 109 (hereafter *Edda*).
17. Richard Cleasby and Guðbrandur Vigfusson, *An Icelandic-English Dictionary*, 2nd ed. with a supplement by Sir William A. Craigie (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1957), p. 417 (hereafter Cleasby-Vigfusson). Compare the servant-woman's challenge to Hrafnkell in *Hrafnkels saga Freysgoða*: "Lætr griðkonan ganga af kappi" [the servant woman presses on forcefully], *Hrafnkels saga Freysgoða*, in *Austfirðinga sögur*, ÍF XI, ed. Jón Jóhannesson (Reykjavík: Hið íslenska fornritafélag, 1950), p. 127 (hereafter *Hrafnkels saga*); see also discussion in chapter 4.
18. J. L. Austin, *How to Do Things with Words* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1962). Scholars generally seem to agree that whetting is a speech act; see for example, Jochens, *Old Norse Images*, p. 162; Anderson, "Introduction," *Cold Counsel*, p. xii; Jane Tolmie, "Goading, Ritual Discord and the Deflection of Blame," *Journal of Historical Pragmatics* 4 (2003): 295 [287–301].
19. John R. Searle, *Expression and Meaning: Studies in the Theory of Speech Acts* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979), p. 9.
20. Elaine Tennant, "Prescriptions and Performatives in Imagined Cultures: Gender Dynamics in Nibelungenlied Adventure," in *Mittelalter: Neue Wege durch einen alten Kontinent*, ed. Jan-Dirk Müller and Horst Wenzel (Stuttgart: Hirzel, 1999), pp. 273–316.
21. See Hamðir and Sörli's critique of their mother Guðrún for her incitement: *Völsunga saga. The Saga of the Völsungs*, ed. and trans. Richard G. Finch

- (London: Nelson, 1965), p. 76; *Hamðismál* (st. 6–10), in *Edda*, p. 269. Space does not allow further discussion of the different representations of Guðrún and her sons in the two texts.
22. *Laxdæla saga*, ÍFV, ed. Einar Ól. Sveinsson (Reykjavík: Hið íslenska fornritafélag, 1934), p. 154.
 23. See for example, Heller, *Die literarische Darstellung*; Jochens, *Old Norse Images*, pp. 162–203, and “The Medieval Icelandic Heroine”; Judith Jesch, *Women in the Viking Age* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 1991), pp. 189–91; Helga Kress, “‘Ekki hófu vér kvennaskap’: Nokkrar laustengdar athuganir um karlmennsku og kvenhatur í Njálu,” in *Sjóttíu ritgerðir helgaðar Jakobi Benediktssyni. 20. júlí 1977*, ed. Einar G. Pétursson and Jónas Kristjánsson, 2 vols. (Reykjavík: Stofnun Árna Magnússonar, 1977), 1: 293–313; Gunnar Karlsson, “Kenningin um fornt kvenfrelsi,” *Saga* 24 (1986): 45–77.
 24. See for example, Miller, *Bloodtaking*, p. 212, and “Choosing the Avenger,” pp. 179–81; Clover, “Hildigunnr’s,” pp. 141–83; Mundal, “The Position of Women,” pp. 3–11.
 25. *Hrafnkels saga*, pp. 126–27.
 26. Carolyn Anderson, “No Fixed Point: Gender and Blood Feuds in *Njal’s Saga*,” *Philological Quarterly* 81 (2002): 421–40.
 27. *Ibid.*, p. 424.
 28. Abjection is a concept theorized by Julia Kristeva in *Powers of Horror. An Essay on Abjection*, trans. Leon S. Roudiez (New York: Columbia University Press, 1982).
 29. Anderson, “No Fixed Point,” p. 433.
 30. Zoe Borovsky, “Never in Public: Women and Performance in Old Norse Literature,” *Journal of American Folklore* 112 (1999): 27 [6–39].
 31. *Gísla saga Súrssonar*, in *Vestfirðinga sögur*, ÍF VI, ed. Björn K. Þórólfsson and Guðni Jónsson (Reykjavík: Hið íslenska fornritafélag, 1943), p. 62 (hereafter *Gísla saga*).
 32. *Brennu-Njáls saga*, p. 91.
 33. *Sturlunga saga*, 1: 203.
 34. *Fóstbræðra saga* has a complex preservation history in medieval manuscripts; for discussion of this matter and the controversial question of dating of *Fóstbræðra saga*, see Jónas Kristjánsson, *Um Fóstbræðra sögu* (Reykjavík: Stofnun Árna Magnússonar, 1972).
 35. *Fóstbræðra saga*, in *Vestfirðinga sögur*, ÍF VI, ed. Björn K. Þórólfsson and Guðni Jónsson (Reykjavík: Hið íslenska fornritafélag, 1943), p. 137.
 36. Helga Kress, “Bróklindi Falgeirs: Fóstbræðrasaga og hláturmenning miðalda,” *Skírnir* 161 (1987): 271–86.
 37. *Fóstbræðra saga*, pp. 140–41.
 38. I argue in chapter 2 that Þórdís spákona in *Vatnsdæla saga* is similarly justified in using magic to achieve her ends in a suit and thus preserve the peace in the community.
 39. *Brennu-Njáls saga*, p. 291 (my italics).

40. For discussion, see Anne Heinrichs, “*Annat er vart eðli*: The Type of the Prepatriarchal Woman in Old Norse Literature,” in *Structure and Meaning in Old Norse Literature*, pp. 110–40. Although I do not agree with Heinrichs that a prepatriarchal order in which women were independent and autonomous existed, her discussion of the Brynhildr-type heroine in Old Norse literature is useful.
41. Unless otherwise stated, all quotations are from *Hrólfs saga Gautrekssonar*, in *Fornaldarsögur Norðurlanda*, 3. For another redaction of the saga, see *Zwei Fornaldarsögur (Hrólfs saga Gautrekssonar und Ásmundarsaga kappabana) nach Cod. Holm. 7, 4to*, ed. Ferdinand Detter (Halle: Max Niemeyer, 1891). The former text is longer and differs considerably from the latter; space does not allow discussion of their divergences.
42. *Laxdæla saga*, p. 7.
43. *Völsunga saga*, p. 39. Sigrdrífa is often believed to be Brynhildr due to the conflation of the two in *Völsunga saga*. Because of the lacuna in the Codex Regius manuscript, preserving the heroic lays of the *Poetic Edda*, however, it is not clear whether Sigrdrífa and Brynhildr are assumed to be the same character in the *Poetic Edda*. Both are connected with wisdom.
44. *Hávamál* st. 91, 96, 102, pp. 31–32. Translations are from *The Poetic Edda*, trans. Carolyne Larrington (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996), pp. 14–38.
45. Variants include *vel at sér um alla hluti* “well-informed in all things,” *margvís* “wise in many things,” *fróð í flestu* “knowledgable in most things,” *spök at viti* “intelligent,” *spakráðug* “wise of counsel,” and *vel viti borin* “endowed with wisdom.”
46. *Hrólfs saga Gautrekssonar*, pp. 58–59.
47. *Ibid.*, p. 51.
48. *Ibid.*, p. 84. See the shorter version for an even more positive description of her; *Hrólfs saga Gautrekssonar*, in *Zwei Fornaldarsögur*, p. 24.
49. *Hjálmþés saga ok Ölvis*, in *Fornaldarsögur Norðurlanda*, 3: 260 (hereafter *Hjálmþés saga*).
50. Compare the six specific rules of conduct that King Höfundr gives to his son Heiðrekr in *Hervarar saga ok Heiðreks*.
51. *Hávamál*, st. 115, p. 35. References to and translations of *Hugsvinnsmál* are from *Hugsvinnsmál*, ed. Tarrin Wills and Stefanie Würth, in *Poetry on Christian Subjects*, Skaldic Poetry of the Scandinavian Middle Ages, ed. Margaret Clunies Ross, 7 vols. (Turnhout: Brepols, 2007), 7: 358–449.
52. *Hrólfs saga Gautrekssonar*, p. 137.
53. *Örvar-Odds saga*, in *Fornaldarsögur Norðurlanda*, 1: 313–18. In this book I shall discuss the longer redaction of the saga; for a shorter, drastically different, version, see *Örvar-Odds saga*, Aldnordische Saga-Bibliothek 2, ed. Richard C. Boer (Halle: Niemeyer, 1892).
54. See for example, *Ragnars saga loðbrókar*, *Hjálmþés saga ok Ölvis*, *Hálfðanar saga Brönufóstra*, *Egils saga einhenda ok Ásmundar berserkjabana*, *Göngu-Hrólfs saga*, *Sörla saga sterka*. *Örvar-Odds*’s magic shirt also appears in *Hervarar saga ok Heiðreks*.

55. Carolyne Larrington, *King Arthur's Enchantresses: Morgan and Her Sisters in Arthurian Tradition* (London: I. B. Tauris, 2006), pp. 19–21.
56. Marianne E. Kalinke, *Bridal-Quest Romance in Medieval Iceland*, *Islandica* 46 (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1990), p. 47.
57. This motif appears in folktales about daughters and wives of the hero's antagonist who nevertheless help him, that is, the "Girl as Helper in the Hero's Flight" folktale type (AT313c), as well as in classical narratives, for example, the myths of Medea and Ariadne; for tale-type references, see Arne Antti, *The Types of the Folktale: A Classification and Bibliography*, trans. and enlarged by Stith Thompson, 2nd rev. (Helsinki: Academia Scientiarum Fennica, 1961), p. 104.
58. *Íþrótt* denotes "accomplishment, art, skill, in olden times esp. of athletic exercises, but also of literary skill," Cleasby-Vigfusson, p. 320.
59. *Hrólfs saga Gautrekssonar*, p. 47. According to Marianne E. Kalinke the apple-tree motif is biblical, originally deriving from the *Song of Songs*, 2.3; *Bridal-Quest Romance*, p. 74, n. 10.
60. The parallels to Hjördis's situation in *Völsunga saga* are obvious: both women choose experience over youth; see *Völsunga saga*, p. 19; Kalinke, *Bridal-Quest Romance*, pp. 28, 63.
61. *Hrólfs saga Gautrekssonar*, p. 62.
62. *Hálfðanar saga Brönufostra*, in *Fornaldarsögur Norðurlanda*, 3: 324.
63. *Völsunga saga*, pp. 46 and p. 66.
64. *Áns saga bogsveigis*, in *Fornaldarsögur Norðurlanda*, 1: 425.
65. Geoffrey R. Russom, "A Germanic Concept of Nobility in *The Gifts of Men* and *Beowulf*," *Speculum* 53 (1978): 1–15. See also *Göngu-Hrólfs saga*, in which the unsavory Vilhjálmr arrogantly enumerates his many *íþróttir*: in addition to strength, he claims to lack neither "skotfimi ok vápnfimi, sund eða tafl ok burtreiðir, vizku ok málsnilld, ok enga missi ek þá, er karlmann má prýða" [skill in archery and dexterity in arms, swimming or chess and jousting, wisdom, and oratory, and I lack none of the qualities which a man should have]; *Göngu-Hrólfs saga*, in *Fornaldarsögur Norðurlanda*, 2: 387.
66. *Orkneyinga saga*, ÍF XXXIV, ed. Finnboði Guðmundsson (Reykjavík: Hið íslenska fornritafélag, 1965), p. 130.
67. The last of these talents could to some extent be shaped by translated romances. Some women in the *riðdarasögur* also possess book-learning, see for example, *Vilmundar saga viðutan*, *Mírmanns saga* and some of the maiden-king texts.
68. *Hjálmþés saga*, pp. 240 and 266; see Richard Kieckhefer, *Magic in the Middle Ages* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1989), pp. 122–23.
69. Larrington, *King Arthur's*, pp. 14 and 17–18; Kieckhefer, *Magic*, pp. 100–6.
70. Larrington, *King Arthur's*, p. 10.
71. Women who perform magic in Old Norse literature often live on the fringes of society; see chapter 2.
72. *Gríms saga loðinkinna*, in *Fornaldarsögur Norðurlanda*, 1: 274–76; *Þorsteins saga Víkingssonar*, in *Fornaldarsögur Norðurlanda*, 2: 229.

73. *The Two Versions of Sturlaugs saga starfsama: a Decipherment, Edition, and Translation of a Fourteenth Century Icelandic Mythical-Heroic Saga*, ed. Otto J. Zitzelsberger (Düsseldorf: Michael Triltsch, 1969), p. 26 (hereafter *Sturlaugs saga starfsama*). In the chivalric *Mírmanns saga*, Cecilia is a most excellent and renowned doctor and heals Mírmann of his leprosy; see *Mírmanns saga*, Editiones Arnarnagænae A.17, ed. Desmond Slay (Copenhagen: C. A. Rietzels Forlag, 1997), pp. 60–69.
74. *Sturlaugs saga starfsama*, p. 16. See also discussion of Véfreyja in chapter 3.
75. *Ibid.*, p. 16.
76. *Hugsvinnsmál*, p. 400.
77. *Áns saga bogsveigis*, p. 426.
78. *Ibid.*, p. 423.
79. *Hjálmþés saga*, p. 261.
80. *Ibid.*, pp. 261–62.
81. *Hávamál*, st. 45, p. 24; *Poetic Edda*, p. 20.
82. *Völsunga saga*, pp. 52–54.
83. *Hrólf's saga Gautrekssonar*, p. 52.
84. *Ibid.*, p. 51.
85. *Ibid.*, p. 139.
86. *Ibid.*, p. 114.
87. *Ibid.*, p. 106.
88. *Hjálmþés saga*, p. 250.
89. The word *ærr* is also used of women; see *Helgakviða Hundingsbana II*, st. 34, in *Edda*, p. 157; *Völsunga saga*, p. 7.
90. *Hávamál*, st. 42 and 44, p. 24; *Poetic Edda*, p. 20.
91. Carolyne Larrington, *A Store of Common Sense: Gnomie Theme and Style in Old Icelandic and Old English Wisdom Poetry* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993), p. 32.
92. “Opt finnst þat á, at ek er vel kvángaðr. Jórunn hefir opt varat mik við” [It often shows that I am well married. Jórunn has frequently warned me], *Áns saga bogsveigis*, p. 426.
93. C. Stephen Jaeger, *The Origins of Courtliness: Civilizing Trends and the Formation of Courtly Ideals 939-1210* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1985), pp. 58–64; *Egils saga Skalla-Grímssonar*, ÍF II, ed. Sigurður Nordal (Reykjavík: Hið íslenska fornritafélag, 1933), pp. 29–33 (hereafter *Egils saga*). Hárekr and Hrærekr are frequently referred to as the Hildiríðarsynir [the sons of Hildiríðr].
94. *Hávamál*, st. 9, p. 18; *Poetic Edda*, p. 15; *Hugsvinnsmál* st. 74, p. 405.
95. Helga Kress, “Staðlausir stafir: Um slúður sem uppsprettu frásagnar í Íslendingasögum,” *Skírnir* 165 (1991): 130–56.
96. *Hrólf's saga Gautrekssonar*, pp. 139–40.
97. *Ibid.*, p. 64.
98. *Hrólf's saga Gautrekssonar*, in *Zwei Fornaldarsögur*, p. 15.
99. For further discussion of queens and their power, see chapter 4.

100. Though there are only three female incitement speeches in the *fornaldarsögur*, this apparent shortfall is far outweighed by many instances of useful and beneficial female advice.
101. Theodore M. Andersson, “The Displacement of the Heroic Ideal in the Family Sagas,” *Speculum* 45 (1970): 592 [575–93].
102. “Í því höfðu þeir af brugðit boði móður sinnar er þeir höfðu grjóti skatt” [They had disregarded their mother’s orders by causing harm with stones], *Völsunga saga*, p. 78. The narrative tradition of the brother’s death is complex, and here I only refer to *Völsunga saga*’s account of it; see also discussion of the brothers’ indictment of Guðrún’s whetting earlier.
103. *Ragnars saga loðbrókar*, in *Fornaldarsögur Norðurlanda*, 1: 131–5, 1: 109–10.
104. *Hávamál* st. 84, *Edda*, p. 30; *Poetic Edda*, p. 25.
105. Andersson argues that many of the *Íslendingasögur* similarly privilege these values in their positive portrayals of men who show diplomacy, caution, and moderation; “The Displacement.”
106. See further chapter 4, and Judith Jesch, “In Praise of Ástríðr Ólafsdóttir,” *Saga-Book XXIV* (1994): 1–18.
107. Agnes S. Arnórsdóttir, *Konur og vígamenn: Staða kynjanna á Íslandi á 12. og 13. öld*, *Studia Historica* 12 (Reykjavík: Sagnfræðistofnun/Háskólaútgáfan, 1995): 186–97; David Clark, “Manslaughter and Misogyny: Women and Revenge in *Sturlunga saga*,” *Saga-Book* 33 (2009): 25–43.
108. *Sturlunga saga*, 2: 88–103.
109. *Sturlunga saga*, 2: 91. For discussion on this episode, see Agnes S. Arnórsdóttir, *Konur og vígamenn*, pp. 74–77.
110. “Váru nú sett fullkomin grið milli þeira ...af góðvilja ok ráðum Brands ábóta ok Steinunnar húsfreyju ok Álfheiðar, móður Sæmundar, ok margra annarra góðra manna tillögu” [a truce was made between them from the goodwill of Abbot Brandr and mistress Steinunn, Sæmundr’s mother, and on the advice of many other good men], *Sturlunga saga*, 2: 96.
111. *Sturlunga saga*, 1: 33.
112. *Ibid.*, 1:35.
113. *Bjarnar saga Híttdælakappa*, in *Borgfirðinga sögur*, ÍF II, ed. Sigurður Nordal and Guðni Jónsson (Reykjavík: Hið íslenska fornritafélag, 1938), p. 186.
114. “Þorfinna eggjaði Þorstein at þiggja af Birni allt þat, er honum var þá betra en áðr ...‘betr sómir at þit eigizk gott við” [Þorfinna whetted Þorsteinn to receive from Björn everything that would make him more comfortable ...“it is more honorable that you are on good terms with each other”], *Bjarnar saga*, p. 186.
115. *Laxdæla saga*, pp. 47–48. I use Keneva Kunz’s translation of the proverb “fangs er von af frekum úlfi”; *The Saga of the People of Laxardal*, in *The Complete Sagas of Icelanders*, trans. Keneva Kunz, ed. Viðar Hreinsson et al., 5 vols. (Reykjavík: Bókaútgáfan Leifur Eiríksson, 1997), 5: 23.
116. According to Jórunn, Hrútr had formed a secret alliance with Þórðr gellir, whose niece Vigdís had divorced Þórðr goddi, the friend and supporter of Höskuldr; thus there is bad blood between him and Þórðr gellir.
117. *Laxdæla saga*, p. 16. Her intellectual qualities are repeated later in the chapter, p. 18.

2 Women and Magic

1. François-Xavier Dillmann, *Les magiciens dans l'Islande ancienne. Études sur la représentation de la magie islandaise et de ses agents dans les sources littéraires norroise* (Uppsala: Kungl. Gustav Adolfs Akademien för svensk folkkultur, 2006), p. 157. Jenny Jochens argues that episodes containing the motif of women employing magic are more prominent and impressive than those involving men; *Old Norse Images of Women* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1996), pp. 123–24; see also Helga Kress, “‘Óþarfur unnustur áttu’: Um samband fjölkynngi, kvennafars og karlmennsku í Íslendingasögum,” in *Galdramenn*, ed. Torfi H. Tulinius (Reykjavík: Hugvísindastofnun, 2008), p. 22 [21–49].
2. Nur Yalman, “Magic,” in *International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences*, vol. 9, ed. David L. Sills (New York: Macmillan & Free Press, 1972), p. 527 [521–28]. In what follows, I do not reject the idea that belief in the efficacy of magic existed in the Middle Ages; nevertheless, I highlight the literariness of the topos as it is employed in the *Íslendingasögur*.
3. Stephen A. Mitchell, “Magic as Acquired Art and the Ethnographic Value of the Sagas,” in *Old Norse Myths, Literature and Society*, ed. Margaret Clunies Ross (Odense: University Press of Southern Denmark, 2003), pp. 132–52. Gunnlaugr is said to be instructed in *kunnátta*, which can mean “knowledge” or “magical knowledge,” *Eyrbyggja saga*, ÍF IV, ed. Einar Ól. Sveinsson and Matthías Þórðarson (Reykjavík: Hið íslenska fornritafélag, 1935), p. 28.
4. Ari Þorgilsson, *Íslendingabók*, in *Íslendingabók. Landnámabók*, ÍF I, ed. Jakob Benediktsson (Reykjavík: Hið íslenska fornritafélag, 1968), p. 17.
5. Jochens, *Old Norse Images*, p. 113, and Chapter 5 in the same volume; Katherine Morris, *Sorceress or Witch? The Image of Gender in Medieval Iceland and Northern Europe* (Lanham, MD: University Press of America, 1991), pp. 44–48; Helga Kress, *Máttugar meyar: Íslensk fornþókmennisaga* (Reykjavík: Háskólaútgáfan, 1993), pp. 35–38. See, however, Helga’s more recent literary and theoretical reading of women performing magic in Helga Kress, “Óþarfur unnustur áttu.”
6. See also Neil S. Price, *The Viking Way: Religion and War in Late Iron Age Scandinavia* (Uppsala: The Department of Archaeology and Ancient History, 2002), p. 209; Hilda R. Ellis Davidson, “Hostile Magic in the Icelandic Sagas,” in *The Witch Figure*, ed. Venetia Newall (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1973), pp. 20–41.
7. Snorri Sturluson, *Heimskringla*, ÍF XXVI–XXVIII, ed. Bjarni Aðalbjarnarson, 3 vols. (Reykjavík: Hið íslenska fornritafélag, 1941–51), 1: 13, 19.
8. Price, *The Viking Way*, pp. 108–9. Margaret Clunies Ross has drawn a link between allowing spirits to enter one’s body and phallic penetration, both being considered feminine “in a society that equates the act of sexual penetration with masculinity and the function of receptivity with femininity”; *Prolonged Echoes: Old Norse Myths in Medieval Northern Society*, 2 vols. (Odense: Odense University Press, 1994), 1: 209.

9. Price, *The Viking Way*, pp. 66 and 327; Catharina Raudvere, “*Trolldómur* in Early Medieval Scandinavia,” in *Witchcraft and Magic in Europe: The Middle Ages* (London: Athlone Press, 2002), pp. 97–101 [75–171].
10. Price, *The Viking Way*, p. 116 and 67.
11. Gísli Pálsson, “The Name of the Witch: Sagas, Sorcery and Social Context,” *Social Approaches to Viking Studies*, ed. Ross Samson (Glasgow: Cruithne Press, 1991), pp. 157–68. Magic and supernatural activity of some kind occurs in 32 out of 42 *Íslendingasögur*.
12. See for example, John McKinnell, “Encounters with *Völur*,” in *Old Norse Myths, Literature and Society*, ed. Margaret Clunies Ross (Odense: University Press of Southern Denmark, 2003), p. 111 [110–131]; Raudvere, “*Trolldómur*,” pp. 122–23.
13. However, there are quite a few examples of female cursing in eddic poetry and *Völsunga saga*.
14. *Grettis saga*, pp. 247–48; trans. Bernard Scudder, *The Saga of Grettir the Strong*, in *The Complete Sagas of Icelanders*, ed. Viðar Hreinsson et al., 5 vols. (Reykjavík: Alþingi, 1997), 2: 169.
15. J. L. Austin, *How to Do Things with Words* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1962). For further discussion about speech acts, see chapter 1.
16. *Brennu-Njáls saga*, p. 21. For a similar utterance in terms of its effect (though not its formulation), see *Kormáks saga* (pp. 221–22), where Þórveig takes revenge on Kormákr for killing her sons and driving her off her land by laying the curse on him that he will never have Steingerðr: “því skal ek þér launa, at þú skalt Steingerðar aldri njóta.” [I will repay you for this by preventing you from enjoying Steingerðr.]
17. John R. Reinhard, *The Survival of Geis in Mediaeval Romance* (Halle: M. Niemeyer, 1933), p. 5; James MacKillop, *A Dictionary of Celtic Mythology* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998), p. 221; Rosemary Power, “*Geasa* and *Álög*: Magic Formulae and Perilous Quests in Gaelic and Norse,” *Scottish Studies* 28 (1987): 69–89.
18. A similar example is found in *Örvar-Odds saga*, where the prophecy of the *völva* functions as a narrative framework, and provides a neat conclusion to the story when the prophecy is fulfilled at the end of Oddr’s long life.
19. Cf. *farandkonur* “travelling women” bringing news between farms in order to advance the plot of a saga; *Brennu-Njáls saga*, p. 112.
20. “Þótti mikit undir, at húsfreyjur fagnaði henni vel um heraðit; sagði [hon] nokkut vilhallt, sem henni var beini veittr” [It was considered important that housewives in the region received her well, for she gave partial reports depending on the hospitality she was offered], *Víga-Glúms saga*, in *Eyfirðinga sögur*, ÍF IX, ed. Jónas Kristjánsson (Reykjavík: Hið íslenska fornrítafélag, 1956), p. 41.
21. *Víga-Glúms saga*, p. 41.
22. *Grettis saga*, pp. 223–24.
23. *Brennu-Njáls saga*, p. 320. See also *Eyrbyggja saga* (pp. 171–76), in which the foster-mother of Þóroddr warns him against allowing the calf Glæsir to live; Þóroddr flouts this request with the result that Glæsir kills him.

24. “[D]ó gekk það flest eftir” [yet most of it became true], *Brennu-Njáls saga*, p. 320.
25. *Gísla saga*, pp. 59–60.
26. *Laxdæla saga*, pp. 99–100, pp. 105–6.
27. The case of Queen Gunnhildr in *Egils saga Skalla-Grímssonar* is difficult since, rather unusually, she is the saga’s villain and Egill’s main adversary who conspires to get rid of him. Thus the narrator’s attitude is negative toward her, and she is demonized in various ways, not least her association with malevolent magic, but there is no conclusive evidence that she directly performs magic. The saga associates her with *seiðr* but states that she instructed others carry out the ritual: “Svá er sagt, at Gunnhildr lét seið efla ok lét þat seiða at Egill Skalla-Grímsson skyldi aldri ró bíða á Íslandi, fyrr en hon sæi hann” [my italics] [It is said that Gunnhildr had a *seiðr* performed and had it conjured that Egill Skalla-Grímsson should never be at peace in Iceland], *Egils saga*, p. 176. On the question of the poisoned ale served to Egill at the feast in Atley, Gunnhildr and the host Bárðr conspire to poison Egill’s drink while it is Egill who performs the actual magic in this scene (p. 109). The saga also hints that the queen shape-shifts into a swallow in order to disrupt Egill when he is composing *Höfuðlausn* (pp. 182–83).
28. *Grettis saga*, p. 254; *The Saga of Grettir*, p. 173.
29. The saga states that Gamli was *féltíll maður* “a man of little economic means,” *Fóstbræðra saga*, p. 242.
30. *Fóstbræðra saga*, p. 248. Similarly, Þorgríma galdrakinn in *Eyrbyggja saga* (p. 109) is employed by Þóroddr to dispose of Björn; she uses a weather-spell against him but he survives. Here, the magic functions as an obstacle, which the hero must overcome to prove his worth; this motif also appears in *Víglundar saga* and arguably is borrowed from the *fornaldarsögur*.
31. *Víglundar saga*, p. 82.
32. *Vatnsdæla saga*, ÍF VIII, ed. Einar Ól. Sveinsson (Reykjavík: Hið íslenska fornritafélag, 1939), p. 119.
33. It is actually Þorkell who executes the plan in terms of using the wand to bewitch Guðmundr, but he is unlikely to be taken as the one performing the magic or having magical abilities.
34. *Finnboga saga ramma*, in *Kjalnesinga saga*, ÍF XIV, ed. Jóhannes Halldórsson (Reykjavík: Hið íslenska fornritafélag, 1959), p. 311; *Vatnsdæla saga*, pp. 89–92.
35. See Philadelphia Ricketts, *High-Ranking Widows in Medieval Iceland and Yorkshire: Property, Power, Marriage and Identity in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries* (Leiden: Brill, 2010), pp. 51–67, and Chapter 4 of the same book.
36. William Ian Miller, *Bloodtaking and Peacemaking: Feud, Law, and Society in Saga Iceland* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1990), p. 27.
37. Bróka-Auðr in *Laxdæla saga* and Þórdís Súrsdóttir in *Gísla saga* are the classic examples of women failing to kill their victim; a third is Þorbjörg in *Harðar saga ok Hólmverja*.
38. *Fóstbræðra saga*, p. 162.
39. This is according to the shorter version of the saga, and the *Íslensk fornrit* edition’s primary text; in the longer version—the ÍF edition’s secondary

- text—Gísli's reaction is more moderate; see Emily Lethbridge, *Narrative Variation in the Versions of Gísli saga Súrssonar* (Diss. University of Cambridge, 2007), pp. 124–25. For discussion, see Roberta Frank, “Marriage in Twelfth- and Thirteenth-Century Iceland,” *Viator* 4 (1973): 473–84.
40. *Fóstbræðra saga*, pp. 162–63.
 41. *Ibid.*, p. 164.
 42. “Svá er víst; eigi er sýnt, nær þessar sneypu verðr hefit, því at við troll er um at eiga” [It is clear that it is by no means certain that this dishonor will be avenged, for we are dealing with a witch]; *Fóstbræðra saga*, p. 165.
 43. For a discussion of this episode in the context of women's nonviolent methods of conflict resolution, see Giselle Gos, “Women as a Source of *heilræði*, ‘sound counsel’: Social Mediation and Community Integration in *Fóstbræðra saga*,” *Journal of English and Germanic Philology* 108 (2009): 281–300.
 44. Unusually, Þórdís has the help of some sort of spirits to find Þormóðr, which can be deduced from her statement: “Víða hefi ek gøndum rennt í nótt, ok em ek nú vís orðin þeira hluta, er eki vissa eigi áðr” [I have sent sprits to many places last night, and now I am aware of those things which I did not know before]; *Fóstbræðra saga*, p. 243. For discussion about *gandir*, see for example, Clive Tolley, “*Vorðr* and *Gandr*: Helping Spirits in Norse Magic,” *Arkiv for nordisk filologi* 110 (1995): 62–75 [57–75].
 45. *Gunnars saga Keldugnúpsfífls*, pp. 376–77.
 46. *Gísli saga*, p. 59.
 47. *Vatnsdæla saga*, p. 70. The family's *gipta* “luck” is a motif running through the entire saga.
 48. Obviously, incidents such as the execution of practitioners of magic, for example, by stoning, shows the presence of hostility but these punishments are by no means the standard practice.
 49. For a discussion about *Fóstbræðra saga*'s attitude toward the ruling class, see for example, Helga Kress, “Bróklindi Falgeirs.”
 50. The shirt that lends invulnerability (Boberg D1344.9.1) appears in several *Íslendingasögur*; see Inger M. Boberg, *Motif-Index of Early Icelandic Literature*, Bibliotheca Arnarnagæana 27 (Copenhagen: Munksgaard, 1966), p. 70. The motif dates back to at least the twelfth century in Old Norse–Icelandic sources; see *Landnámabók*, in *Íslendingabók. Landnámabók*, ÍF I, ed. Jakob Benediktsson (Reykjavík: Hið íslenska fornritafélag, 1986), p. 106.
 51. For further discussion, see chapter 3.

3 Monstrous Women

1. For discussion about giants, both male and female, in Old Norse myth, especially negative reciprocity between giants and gods, see Margaret Clunies Ross, *Prolonged Echoes: Old Norse Myths in Medieval Northern Society*, vol. 1 (Odense: Odense University Press, 1994).
2. Katja Schulz, *Riesen: Von Wissenshütern und Wildnisbewohnern in Edda und Saga* (Heidelberg: Universitätsverlag Winter, 2004), pp. 184–203; Lotte

- Motz, "Giantesses and Their Names," *Frühmittelalterliche Studien* 15 (1981): 495–511.
3. John McKinnell, *Meeting the Other in Norse Myth and Legend* (Cambridge, UK: D. S. Brewer, 2005), pp. 181–96. Lotte Motz, "The Storm of Troll-Women," *Maal og minne* (1988): 31–41.
 4. For discussion about giantesses, see Helga Kress, "Baráttan við tröllskessurnar," *Máttugar meyjjar: Íslensk fornþókmenntasaga* (Reykjavík: Háskólaútgáfan, 1993), pp. 119–27; Sandra Ballif Straubhaar, "Nasty, Brutish, and Large: Cultural Difference and Otherness in the Figuration of the Trollwomen of the *Fornaldar sögur*," *Scandinavian Studies* 73 (2003): 105–24; Lorenzo Lozzi Gallo, "The Giantess as Foster-Mother in Old Norse Literature," *Scandinavian Studies* 78 (2006): 1–20.
 5. Jeffrey Jerome Cohen, "Monster Culture (Seven Theses)," *Monster Theory: Reading Culture*, ed. Cohen (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1996), pp. 3–25; Jeffrey Jerome Cohen, *Of Giants: Sex, Monsters, and the Middle Ages*, *Medieval Cultures* 17 (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1999); Jeffrey Jerome Cohen, *Hybridity, Identity, and Monstrosity in Medieval Britain: On Difficult Middles* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006); Margrit Shildrick, *Embodying the Monster: Encounters with the Vulnerable Self* (London: Sage, 2002).
 6. Cohen, *Of Giants*, p. xii.
 7. I follow Torfi H. Tulinius's categorization of *fornaldarsögur* in *The Matter of the North: The Rise of Literary Fiction in Thirteenth-Century Iceland*, trans. Randi C. Eldevik (Odense: Odense University Press, 2002), pp. 17–18. The sagas in which giantesses appear are: *Bósa saga ok Herrauds*, *Egils saga einhenda ok Ásmundar berserkjabana*, *Friðþjófs saga ins frækna*, *Hálfðanar saga Brönufostra*, *Hjálmbéps saga ok Ölvis*, *Illuga saga Gríðarfostra*, *Sturlaug's saga starfsama*, *Sörla saga sterka*, *Þorsteins saga Víkingssonar*, and the three *Hrafnistumannasögur*, *Ketils saga hængs*, *Gríms saga loðinkinna*, and *Örvar-Odds saga*.
 8. Cohen, "Monster Culture," p. 4.
 9. *Ibid.*, p. 12.
 10. Shildrick, *Embodying the Monster*, pp. 1, 3, 19–20.
 11. *Ibid.*, p. 2; Kristeva, *Powers of Horror: An Essay on Abjection*, trans. Leon S. Roudiez (New York: Columbia University Press, 1982).
 12. Jacques Derrida, "Différance," *Bulletin de la Société française de philosophie*, LXII, no. 3 (1968): 73–101.
 13. Shildrick, *Embodying the Monster*, pp. 4–5.
 14. Cohen, *Of Giants*, p. xiii.
 15. For a full discussion of the etymology and meaning of terms referring to giants, see Schulz, *Riesen*, pp. 29–52; see also the overview of their attributes in Ármann Jakobsson, "Identifying the Ogre: The Legendary Saga Giants," in *Fornaldarsagaerne: Myter og virkelighed; Studier i de oldislandske fornaldarsögur* Norðurlanda, ed. Agneta Ney, Ármann Jakobsson, and Annette Lassen (Copenhagen: Museum Tusulanums Forlag, 2009), pp. 181–200.
 16. This episode, set in Risaland (land of the giants), is preserved in the saga's longest recension, preserved in AM 343 a 4to; *Örvar-Odds saga*, p. 340.

17. *Gríms saga loðinkinna*, p. 274. See also *Illuga saga Gríðarfóstra*, in *Fornaldarsögur Norðurlanda*, 3: 355, and *Clári saga*, where a male ogre is also snotty; *Clári saga*, *Altnordische Saga-Bibliothek* 12, ed. Gustav Cederschiöld (Halle: Max Niemeyer, 1907), p. 53.
18. See discussion of the *fier baiser* pp. 71–2. Other giantesses whose unattractiveness is referred to in sarcastic terms are *Skinnefja* in *Egils saga einhenda ok Ásmundar berserkjabana*, *Fornaldarsögur Norðurlanda*, 3: 161 (hereafter *Egils saga einhenda*); *Margerðr* in *Hjálmþés saga*, whose teeth and mouth are so ugly that *Hjálmþér* saw “at hún mundi mega gefa gildan koss” [that she would be able to give a hefty kiss], p. 255; and *Gríðr* in *Illuga saga*, p. 355.
19. “En því fólk [risum] er svá háttat, at þat er miklu stærri ok sterkara en nokkur kind önnur; vænni eru þeir ok en flestir menn aðrir ok ekki vitrari” [but those people (giants) are normally much larger and stronger than any other man; they are more handsome than most people but no wiser], *Örvar-Odds saga*, p. 340; *Braná* is “með mennsku móti” [with human attributes], *Hálfðanar saga Brönufostra*, in *Fornaldarsögur Norðurlanda*, 3: 332.
20. *Egils saga einhenda*, pp. 177–78.
21. As Jochens notes, women’s bodies were more or less covered by their dress in the medieval period; Jochens, “Before the Male Gaze: The Absence of the Female Body in Old Norse,” in *The 8th International Saga Conference: The Audience of the Sagas*, 2 vols. (Gothenburg: Gothenburg University, 1991), p. 256 [1: 247–56]. This accords with Judith Jesch’s description of female clothing in the Viking Age; Jesch, *Women in the Viking Age* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 1991), pp. 14–18.
22. *Dorsteins saga Víkingssonar*, pp. 226–27.
23. See for example, *Straubhaar*, “Nasty,” p. 107. This area is now referred to as *Sápmi*.
24. See *Margerðr* in *Hjálmþés saga ok Ölvis* (p. 254), *Grímhildr* in *Örvar-Odds saga* (p. 349), *Mána* and an unnamed giantess in *Sörla saga sterka* (pp. 198 and 201), *Gríðr* in *Illuga saga* (p. 355), and *Geirriðr Gandvíkrekka* in *Gríms saga loðinkinna* (p. 275). Interestingly, the word *klær* is also used about vultures’ talons.
25. The obvious exceptions are women in traditional male roles—shield-maidens and maiden-kings—and *Hálfðanar saga Brönufostra*’s *Ingibjörg*, who must, with her brother, escape their father’s court in order to survive.
26. The sole, anomalous exception is in *Hjálmþés saga* (pp. 259–60), where *Hervör* is described in terms obviously influenced by Continental romance.
27. *Guðrún Nordal*, *Tools of Literacy: The Role of Skaldic Verse in Icelandic Textual Culture of the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries* (Toronto, ON: University of Toronto Press, 2001), p. 263. A brief survey of the female characters in the *Íslendingasögur* most known for their beauty confirms this statement: *Helga in fagra* “the fair,” *Hallgerðr*, *Queen Gunnhildr*, and *Guðrún Ósvífrsdóttir* are said to be beautiful, but apart from *Hallgerðr*’s and *Helga*’s glorious hair, no further description is provided. The most detailed passage relating a woman’s physical appearance is probably found in the *Fóstbræðra saga* description of *Þorbjörg Kolbrún*, though she is not considered very attractive; *Fóstbræðra*

- saga, p. 170. Few descriptions of women's physical attributes appear in *konungasögur*.
28. Amy Eichhorn-Mulligan, "Contextualising Old Norse-Icelandic Bodies," in *The Fantastic in Old Norse-Icelandic Literature: Sagas and the British Isles. Preprint Papers of the 13th International Saga Conference. Durham and York, 6th-12th August, 2006*, ed. John McKinnell, David Ashurst, and Donata Kick (Durham: Centre for Medieval and Renaissance Studies, 2006), pp. 198–207.
 29. Cleasby-Vigfusson translates *nefja* as "nose, beak." The name Arinnefja also appears in *Rígsþula*, where it is one of the names of the slaves' daughters; *Rígsþula* st. 13, in *Edda*, p. 282. For discussion of giantesses' names in Old Norse myth and sagas, see also Motz, "Giantesses and Their Names."
 30. Cf. the kenning "vargr hafs eisar" [*the sea-wolf > the ship goes dashing*]; Cleasby-Vigfusson, p. 124. The giantess Hyrrokkin in Old Norse mythology rode a wolf with serpents for a bridle; *Gylfaginning*, in Snorri Sturluson, *Edda: Prologue and Gylfaginning*, ed. Anthony Faulkes, 2nd edn. (London: Viking Society for Northern Research, 2005), p. 46.
 31. *Hjálmþés saga*, pp. 247–48. Another female *finngákn*, Grímhildr, appears in *Órvar-Odds saga*, pp. 347–48.
 32. Cleasby-Vigfusson, p. 76. See further discussion below.
 33. *Ibid.*, p. 364.
 34. *Gylfaginning*, p. 10.
 35. A human Grímhildr appears in *Völsunga saga* and a Geirríðr in *Eyrbyggja saga*.
 36. Helga Kress seems to state this applies to all giantesses (see *Máttugar meyjar*, pp. 119–27), but as will become clear, that is not the case.
 37. Helga Kress, *Máttugar meyjar*, pp. 119–27.
 38. Straubhaar, "Nasty," pp. 105–24.
 39. Ruth Mazo Karras notes that although the stereotypical slave in Icelandic literature is small and dark, this was not necessarily the case in reality; thus slaves are constructed as Other in literary sources even though they may have had a similar physical appearance to Icelanders of Scandinavian origin. Proverbs and negative images of slaves further show that a hostile attitude to slaves was pervasive in medieval Iceland; *Slavery and Society in Medieval Scandinavia* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1988), pp. 56 and 64.
 40. Eichhorn-Mulligan, "Contextualising," pp. 201–2; see also Karras, *Slavery*, pp. 58 and 61–63.
 41. Karras, *Slavery*, p. 50; see p. 143 for discussion about the decline of slavery in Iceland.
 42. Cohen, "Monster Culture," p. 11.
 43. Both Uli Linke and Margaret Clunies Ross argue in their discussions of the Norse creation myth that when Ýmir produces children from his armpit, it symbolizes a displaced vagina; Uli Linke, "The Theft of Blood, the Birth of Men: Cultural Constructions of Gender in Medieval Iceland," in *From Sagas to Society: Comparative Approaches to Early Iceland*, ed. Gísli Pálsson (Enfield Lock: Hisarlik Press, 1992), p. 275 [265–88]; Ross, *Prolonged Echoes*, 1: 152.

44. See Linke, “The Theft,” p. 279.
45. *Ketils saga hængs*, in *Fornaldarsögur Norðurlanda*, 1: 260.
46. *Ketils saga hængs*, p. 261.
47. See for example, *Eyrbyggja saga*, p. 53. For discussion of medieval beliefs about the evil eye and ways in which to protect against its power, see Annette Lassen, *Øjet og blindheden i norrøn litteratur og mytologi* (Copenhagen: Museum Tusulanums Forlag, 2003), pp. 31–39.
48. *Gríms saga loðinkinna*, p. 276. Women can also punish men’s trespasses against them by inflicting an eye ache on them, as Þorbjörg Kolbrún does to Þormóðr in *Fóstbræðra saga*.
49. See Carol J. Clover, *Men, Women, and Chain Saws: Gender in the Modern Horror Film* (London: BFI, 1992).
50. Cohen, “Monster Culture,” p. 17.
51. See also the discussion of violence in chapter 5.
52. See for example, *Bósa-saga*, in *Die Bósa-Saga in zwei Fassungen nebst Proben aus den Bósa-Rímur*, ed. Otto Luitpold Jiriczek (Strassburg: Verlag von Karl J. Trübner, 1893), pp. 23–25 and 39–43.
53. Cohen, “Monster Culture,” p. 9.
54. *Sturlaugs saga starfsama*, p. 19.
55. For a similar account of a giantess growing larger, although in a Danish historiographical source, see Saxo Grammaticus, *The History of the Danes: Books I–IX*, ed. Hilda Ellis Davidson, trans. Peter Fisher, 2 vols. (Cambridge, UK: D. S. Brewer, 1979), 1: 22–24.
56. *Hjálmþés saga*, pp. 253–54.
57. See further discussion of the *riddarasögur* in chapter 5.
58. When the *Íslendingasögur* do engage with sexual matters, they are more preoccupied with sexual deviance such as *ergi*, or, rather, with (often slanderous) accusations of such practices. For discussion, see Preben Meulengracht Sørensen, *The Unmanly Man: Concepts of Sexual Defamation in Early Northern Society*, trans. Joan Turville-Petre (Odense: Odense University Press, 1983). First published as *Norrønt nid: forestillingen om den umandige mand i de islandske sagaer* (Odense: Odense Universitetsforlag, 1980).
59. *Ketils saga hængs*, p. 252. The use of the adjective *drengilig* “brave, valiant” for a woman and a giantess is unusual and recalls the description of Bergþóra in *Brennu-Njáls saga*, who is famously described as “kvenskröngur mikill ok drengur góðr” [a most outstanding woman and very bold]; see further Jochens, *Images of Women*, pp. 212–13, and Clover, “Regardless of Sex.”
60. *Ketils saga hængs*, p. 256.
61. *Ibid.*, p. 257.
62. Old Norse saga literature (apart from the romances, influenced by a non-native rhetoric) is well known for its terse style and reluctance to portray emotion, so this seems to be an unusual departure from form. For a stigmatized relationship between a Norwegian and a possibly monstrous or demonic woman of northern origin, see Haraldr *hárfagri*’s “fair-hair’s” relationship with Snæfríðr Svásadóttir in *Heimskringla*, 1: 126–27.
63. *Örvar-Odds saga*, p. 341.

64. *Ketils saga hængs*, p. 257.
65. *Gríms saga loðinkinna*, p. 275.
66. *Hjálmþés saga*, p. 249.
67. Schulz, *Riesen*, p. 188.
68. Schulz, *Riesen*, pp. 196–97.
69. Cohen, “Monster Culture,” pp. 14 and 17.
70. Rory McTurk, *Chaucer and the Norse and Celtic Worlds* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2005), p. 107.
71. R. S. Loomis, “The Fier Baiser in Mandeville’s Travels, Arthurian Romance, and Irish Saga,” *Studi Medievali* 17 (1951): 110–111 [103–114]; McTurk, *Chaucer*, pp. 127–28.
72. Referred to as the *fier baiser* in French romance, it is frequent in insular ballads.
73. Loomis, “The Fier,” p. 109. See *Gríms saga loðinkinna* and *Hjálmþés saga*.
74. McTurk, *Chaucer*, pp. 139–47.
75. See McKinnell, *Meeting the Other*, p. 195.
76. Cf. the wicked stepmother’s function in Arthurian legend; see Larrington, *King Arthur’s Enchantresses: Morgan and Her Sisters in Arthurian Tradition* (London: I. B. Tauris, 2006), p. 86.
77. Cohen, “Monster,” pp. 12–14.
78. In *Egils saga Skalla-Grimssonar*, Egill’s great-grandmother is Hallbera, the sister of Hallbjörn *hálftröll*, the father of Ketill *hængr*; all of them are descended from the famous Úlfur *inn óargi*. The Sturlungar clan almost certainly considered Egill an illustrious ancestor; thus, this is a clear example of a thirteenth-century investment in enhancing the prestige of lineage. See also Stephen A. Mitchell’s discussion of Haukr Erlendsson and his ancestry in connection with the (early fourteenth century) Hauksbók manuscript; *Heroic Sagas and Ballads* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1991), pp. 123–26.
79. Cohen, “Monster Culture,” p. 20.
80. See discussion about marriage in medieval Iceland in chapter 5.
81. This is a term borrowed from McKinnell, *Meeting the Other*, p. 181.
82. Cohen, “Monster Culture,” p. 6.
83. See for example, Helga Kress, “Fyrir dyrum fósturu: Textafræðingar og konan í textanum út frá vísu Helgu Bárðardóttur í *Bárðar sögu Snæfellsáss*,” in *Fyrir dyrum fósturu: Greinar um konur og kynferði í íslenskum fornþekkingum* (Reykjavík: Háskóli Íslands/Rannsóknastofa í kvennafræðum, 1996), pp. 89–97 [67–100].
84. Gunnar Karlsson, “Barnfóstur á Íslandi að fornu,” in *Miðaldabörn*, ed. Ármann Jakobsson and Torfi H. Tulinius (Reykjavík: Hugvísindastofnun Háskóla Íslands, 2005), pp. 43–50.
85. Ármann Jakobsson, “Ástin á tímum þjóðveldisins,” in *Miðaldabörn*, ed. Ármann Jakobsson and Torfi H. Tulinius (Reykjavík: Hugvísindastofnun Háskóla Íslands, 2005), p. 78 [65–85].
86. Motz, “The Storm of Troll-Women.”
87. *Bárðar saga*, in *Harðar saga*, ÍF XIII, ed. Þórhallur Vilmundarson and Bjarni Vilhjálmsson (Reykjavík: Hið íslenska fornritafélag, 1991), p. 142.

88. See also McKinnell, *Meeting the Other*, pp. 182–85.
89. The title is postmedieval; the saga's oldest manuscript dates from ca. 1600. There is some doubt as to whether the saga is originally medieval or based on ballads, but the same story material is used by the Danish historiographer Saxo Grammaticus around 1200, suggesting that it was available in some form in the medieval period; see Judith Jesch, "Illuga saga Gríðarfóstra," in *Medieval Scandinavia: An Encyclopedia*, ed. Phillip Pulsiano et al. (New York: Garland, 1992), pp. 322–23.
90. Grímhildr's punishment is addressed earlier in this chapter. Interestingly, Grímhildr is also the name of the wicked giantess-stepmother in *Gríms saga loðinkinna*, as well as the mother of Guðrún Gjúkadóttir in *Volsunga saga*.
91. *Örvar-Odds saga*, p. 340.
92. *Hálfðanar saga Brönufostra*, p. 332.
93. Another occurrence in medieval sources of a giant abducting a human woman with the intention of rape is related in Geoffrey of Monmouth's *Historia Regum Britanniae*, see *The History of the Kings of Britain: An Edition and Translation of De gestis Britonum [Historia Regum Britanniae]*, ed. Michael D. Reeve, trans. Neil Wright (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2007), p. 225.
94. *Hálfðanar saga Brönufostra*, p. 336.
95. *Brönugras* (orchid) purportedly derives its name from the saga; see Ágúst H. Bjarnason, *Íslensk flóra með litmyndum* (Reykjavík: Forlagið, 1994), p. 194. Belief in the orchid's aphrodisiac qualities is recorded as early as ca. 300 BC in Theophrastus's botanical work *Inquiry into Plants*; see John Scarborough, "The Pharmacology of Sacred Plants, Herbs, and Roots," in *Magika Hiera: Ancient Greek Magic and Religion*, ed. Christopher A. Faraone and Dirk Obbink (New York: Oxford University Press, 1991), pp. 148–49 [138–74].
96. Aarne Antti, *The Types of the Folktale: A Classification and Bibliography*, trans. and enlarged by Stith Thompson. 2nd rev. edn. (Helsinki: Suomalainen tiedeakatemia, 1973), p. 104.
97. Cohen, *Of Giants*, p. xiii.

4 Royal and Aristocratic Women

1. Lars Lönnroth, "Ideology and Structure in Heimskringla," *Parergon* 15 (1976): 17 [16–29]. Although many scholars believe Snorri Sturluson to be the author of *Heimskringla*, in my own analysis, the identity of the author (or authors) is not pivotal to my argument.
2. With the exception of source-critical and philological studies; see Sigurdur Nordal, *Om Olaf den Helliges Saga: En kritisk undersøgelse* (Copenhagen: G. E. C. Gads Forlag, 1914); Oscar A. Johnsen, *Friðgerðar-saga: en kildekritisk undersøkelse* (Oslo: Grøndahl, 1916); Otto von Friesen, "Fredsförhandlingarna mellan Olov Skötkonung och Olav Haraldsson," *Historisk tidskrift* (svensk) 62 (1942): 205–70; Hans Schottman, "Friðgerðarsaga," in *Studien zum Altgermanischen: Festschrift für Heinrich Beck*, ed. Heiko Uecker (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1994), pp. 539–53; Theodore M. Andersson, "The Oral Sources of *Óláfs saga helga*

- in *Heimskringla*,” *Saga-Book* 32 (2008): 5–38. Only Anne Heinrichs has acknowledged that the princesses Ingigerðr and Ástríðr both play an important role; see “Christliche Überformung traditioneller Erzählstoffe in der ‘Legendarischen Olafssaga,’” in *Sixth International Saga Conference 28.7–2.8 1985: Workshop Papers* (Copenhagen: Det Arnamagnæanske Institut, 1985), p. 455 [451–67]; and “Wenn ein König liebeskrank wird,” in *Die Aktualität der Saga. Festschrift für Hans Schottmann*, ed. Stig Toftgaard Andersen (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1999), pp. 36–43.
3. *Ólafs saga hins helga: die “Legendarische Saga” über Olaf den Heiligen (MS Delagard. saml. nr. 811)*, ed. and trans. Anne Heinrichs et al. (Heidelberg: Winter, 1982), pp. 102–4 (hereafter *Legendary Saga*); Snorri Sturluson, *Den store saga om Olav den hellige: Efter pergamenthåndskrift i Kungliga biblioteket i Stockholm nr. 2 4to med varianter fra andre håndskrifter*, vol. 2, ed. Oscar Albert Johnsen and Jón Helgason (Oslo: Kjeldeskriftfondet, 1941), pp. 769–71 (hereafter *Den store saga om Olav den hellige*).
 4. Jenny M. Jochens, “The Politics of Reproduction: Medieval Norwegian Kingship,” *American Historical Review* 92 (1987), 327–49.
 5. Jochens, “The Politics,” p. 347. Hákon also married off his daughter Kristín in Spain, probably to reduce the likelihood of her offspring making claims to the throne.
 6. Carolyne Larrington, “Queens and Bodies: The Norwegian Translated *lais* and Hákon IV’s Kinswomen,” *JEGP* 108 no. 4 (2009): 511–16 [506–27].
 7. Judith Jesch, “In Praise of Ástríðr Óláfsdóttir,” *Saga-Book* XXIV (1994): 1–18.
 8. Jesch, “In Praise,” p. 14.
 9. This episode is related in different versions in *Ágrip*, the *Legendary Saga*, *Heimskringla* and the *Separate Saga of St. Óláfr*, probably written before *Heimskringla*. The saga of St Óláfr preserved in *Heimskringla* is largely the same as the *Separate Saga*, but as I will discuss later, some of the latter’s late medieval manuscripts manifest an extremely interesting tradition with regards to female characters.
 10. Sverre Bagge, *Society and Politics in Snorri Sturluson’s Heimskringla* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991), see especially Chapter 2.
 11. *Realpolitik* is a term used by Max Weber to describe politics deprived of ideals and reduced to focusing only on “consequences,” not “intentions;” see Max Weber, “Value-Judgements in Social Science,” in *Selections in Translation*, ed. W. G. Runciman, trans. E. Matthews (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1978), p. 89.
 12. Jochens, “The Politics,” p. 349; Sturla Þórðarson, *Det Arnamagnæanske Haandskrift 81a Fol. (Skálholtsbók yngsta) inholdende Sverris saga, Bøglunga sögur, Hákonar saga Hákonarsonar*, ed. A. Kjær (Oslo: Den Norske Historiske Kildeskriftkommission, 1985), p. 492 (hereafter *Hákonar saga*).
 13. For discussion, see for example, Jon Gunnar Jørgensen, “*Ynglinga saga* mellom fornaldersaga og kongesaga,” in *Fornaldarsagaerne: Myter og virkelighed; Studier i de oldislandske fornaldarsögur Norðurlanda*, ed. Agneta Ney, Ármann

- Jakobsson, and Annette Lassen (Copenhagen: Museum Tusulanums Forlag, 2009), pp. 49–59.
14. *Heimskringla*, 1: 71 and 1: 38. Guðrún Járn-Skeggjadóttir, one of the wives of Óláfr Tryggvason, was married to the king against her will and tries to kill him on their wedding night, *Heimskringla* 1: 318–19. Jochens suggests that the narrator is thus saying that she had not been asked for or given her consent; see Jochens, “Consent in Marriage: Old Norse Law, Life, and Literature,” *Scandinavian Studies* 58 (1986): 155.
 15. *Heimskringla* 1: 84. Hálfðán svartí “the black” only becomes king when he is 18. Thus along with Geira, Ása is a rare example of a queen ruling without at least a male figurehead on the throne, for the text says nothing about her son becoming ruler, if only nominally, until he officially becomes king.
 16. As Annette Lassen argues, the *fornaldarsögur* may initially have been composed as historiography in the late twelfth century; she links them to Continental historiography that similarly included fantastic episodes; see “Origines Gentium and the Learned Origin of *Fornaldarsögur Norðurlanda*”, pp. 33–58. In some manuscripts, *konungasögur* contain episodes, interpolations, and short tales (*þættir*) that are highly fantastic, and *Jómsvíkinga saga* is another example of a historiographical text that blurs genre boundaries.
 17. *Heimskringla* 1: 96.
 18. *Ibid.*
 19. *Brennu-Njáls saga*, p. 21.
 20. *Laxdæla saga*, p. 44.
 21. *Egils saga*, pp. 107–11 and 183–84.
 22. *Harðar saga ok Hólmverja*, p. 49.
 23. William Sayers, “Power, Magic and Sex: Queen Gunnhildr and the Icelanders,” *Scandinavian-Canadian Studies/Études scandinaves au Canada* VIII (1995): 57–77.
 24. Gwyn Jones, *A History of the Viking*. 2nd edn. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1984), p. 122, n. 1.
 25. In the Latin twelfth-century *Historia Norvegiæ*, composed in Norway, Gunnhildr is said to be the daughter of Gormr, king of Denmark, which scholars generally accept as accurate, whereas in *Haraldar saga hárfagra* (*Heimskringla* 1: 135), *Ágrip* (p. 8) and *Fagrskinna* (p. 79), her father is said to be Ózurr, nicknamed *lafskegg* or *toti*, from Hálogaland, and she is said to practice magic in *Ágrip* (p. 14). See *Ágrip af Nóregskonungasögum: A Twelfth-Century Synoptic History of the Kings of Norway*. 2nd edn., ed. and trans. M. J. Driscoll (London: Viking Society for Northern Research, 2008) (hereafter *Ágrip*). References to *Fagrskinna* are from *Ágrip af Nóregskonungasögum: Fagrskinna—Nóreges konunga tal*, ÍF XXIX, ed. Bjarni Einarsson (Reykjavík: Hið íslenska fornritafélag, 1984) (hereafter *Fagrskinna*). For discussion of these accounts’ historicity as untrustworthy, see for example, *Ágrip*, pp. 87–88; Jóna Guðbjörg Torfadóttir, “Í orðastað Alfífu,” *Skírnir* 178 (2004): 35–57.

26. *Jómsvíkinga saga*, ed. Ólafur Halldórsson (Reykjavík: Prentsmiðja Jóns Helgasonar, 1969), pp. 79–84 (hereafter *Jómsvíkinga saga*); *Ágrip*, p. 20.
27. *Jómsvíkinga saga*, p. 84.
28. *Heimskringla* 1: 149.
29. John Asser, *Life of King Alfred*, in *Alfred the Great: Asser's Life of King Alfred and Other Contemporary Sources*, trans. Simon Keynes and Michael Lapidge (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1983), p. 71. Pauline Stafford rejects Asser's explanation, maintaining that the limits imposed on queens' power in ninth-century Wessex came down to politics; see "The King's Wife in Wessex, 800–1066," in *New Readings on Women in Old English Literature*, ed. Helen Damico and Alexandra Hennessey Olsen (Bloomington and Indianapolis, IN: Indiana University Press, 1990), p. 58 [56–78].
30. Stafford, "The King's Wife," p. 60.
31. Pauline Stafford, "Sons and Mothers: Family Politics in the Early Middle Ages," in *Medieval Women*, ed. Derek Baker (Oxford: Blackwell for the Ecclesiastical History Society, 1978), pp. 85–86 [79–100].
32. Jochens, "The Politics," p. 332.
33. Jochens, "The Politics," pp. 343–34.
34. *Heimskringla* 1: 198; Cleasby-Vigfusson, p. 351.
35. *Heimskringla* 1: 198 and 1: 204. In *Ágrip*, the epithet appears in an account of how Gunnhildr and Hókon *jarl* struggled for power in Norway after the death of Haraldr *gráfeldr*, her son; in *Jómsvíkinga saga*, Haraldr *gráfeldr* and Gunnhildr *konungamóðir* are said to rule jointly.
36. *Heimskringla* 2: 410.
37. *Heimskringla* 1: 227–29; *Hákonar saga*, pp. 295–99, esp. p. 296.
38. *Heimskringla* 1: 229.
39. *Hákonar saga*, p. 296.
40. For further discussion about Inga's ordeal, see Jochens, "The Politics," pp. 342–43; Larrington, "Queens and Bodies," 516–17. See also Guðrún's ordeal in *Guðrúnarkviða III* and discussion in Eichhorn-Mulligan, "Contextualizing Old Norse-Icelandic Bodies," pp. 198–207.
41. *Heimskringla* 2: 4 and 2: 107. There are several more accounts of Ásta in the *Bergsbók* manuscript, but space does not allow further discussion of these scenes.
42. *Heimskringla* 2: 344; *Heimskringla* 3: 17–18.
43. *Heimskringla* 2: 112; *Heimskringla* 1: 253. Ullaracr is also the residence of the maiden-king in *Hrólf's saga Gautrekssonar* and seems to be associated in some way with female rulers.
44. Both women accuse their husbands of cowardice if they fail to fight the other; see *Heimskringla* 1: 343 and 1: 349. Jochens considers these characters to be inspired by whetting women in eddic poetry, and to be invented by medieval authors; see *Old Norse Images*, pp. 174–182.
45. *Heimskringla* 2: 90. This speech will be analyzed in further detail later.
46. *Heimskringla* 2: 90; see also chapter 1 for analysis of incitement speeches.

47. *Heimskringla* 2: 90; *Hrafnkels saga*, p. 127. See also discussion in chapter 1 of this book.
48. Max Weber, *Economy and Society: An Outline of Interpretive Sociology* (*Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft. Grundriss der verstehenden Soziologie*), ed. Guenther Roth and Claus Wittich, 2 vols. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1978), 1: 215.
49. Katherine Harloe has further suggested that power relationships are more of a two-way street than Weber will acknowledge; according to her, the social relationship in which power exists affects and shapes both those who rule, and those dominated, not just the latter; see “Can Political Theory Provide a Model for Reception? Max Weber and Hannah Arendt,” *Cultural Critique* 74 (2010): 17–31.
50. Pauline Stafford, “The Portrayal of Royal Women in England, Mid-Tenth to Mid-Twelfth Centuries,” in *Medieval Queenship*, ed. John Carmi Parsons, 2nd edn. (Stroud: Alan Sutton, 1998), p. 145 [143–68].
51. *Heimskringla* 2: 275.
52. *Heimskringla* 2: 276.
53. A similar example in terms of a queen seemingly working outside her legitimate sphere of power is found in *Völsunga saga* where Grímhildr uses deception and magic potions in order to protect the interest of her dynasty and acquire a worthy husband for her daughter. In this saga the king, Gjúki, seems entirely absent.
54. *Heimskringla* 2: 401. See another account in *Ágrip*, p. 44.
55. *Fagrskinna*, pp. 201–2.
56. This is in *Tömasskinna*, a manuscript containing one redaction of the *Separate saga of St. Ólaf*; see *Den store saga om Olav den hellige*, p. 777.
57. *Heimskringla* 2: 404–5.
58. *Fagrskinna*, p. 206. For an extended discussion about *níð* and its complex connotations, see Preben Meulengracht Sørensen, *The Unmanly Man: Concepts of Sexual Defamation in Early Northern Society*, trans. Joan Turville-Petre (Odense: Odense University Press, 1983).
59. *Fagrskinna*, p. 206.
60. “[Þ]ótti þó Álfifu margt vantalat” [Álfifa considered much left to discuss], *Fagrskinna*, p. 207.
61. *Fagrskinna*, p. 210; *Heimskringla* 3: 10–11.
62. *Heimskringla* 3: 4–5.
63. *Heimskringla* 3: 6.
64. *Heimskringla* 3: 20, trans. Jesch, “In Praise of Ástríðr,” p. 12.
65. *Ágrip*, p. 44.
66. *Heimskringla* 2: 85.
67. *Heimskringla* 1: 90.
68. As discussed earlier, this appears to function as an incitement speech.
69. *Heimskringla* 2: 115.
70. In the *Legendary saga*, Óláfr *sænski* consults Ingigerðr and asks her opinion on Hjalti’s character and when they have agreed that he is “vitr maðr oc væl

- um sec” [a wise man and well informed], Óláfr decides to allow Hjalti to address the princess; see the *Legendary Saga*, p. 96.
71. *Heimskringla* 2: 99–100. The *Legendary Saga* account of the talks between Hjalti and Ingigerðr essentially agrees with *Heimskringla* but relates it more dramatically and smoothly; see further below.
 72. Jenny M. Jochens, “Consent,” (1986), pp. 169–70 [142–76].
 73. Although it is not related in Norse sources, the historical Ingigerðr had an illustrious career in Russia and became a local saint.
 74. *Heimskringla* 2: 147.
 75. Schottmann, “Friðgerðarsaga,” p. 543.
 76. Schottman, “Friðgerðarsaga,” pp. 539–53; see also Johnsen, *Friðgerðar-saga*.
 77. The author nevertheless includes the story of the hunt and Óláfr *sænski*’s argument with his daughter in *Heimskringla* but not until after he has made it clear that the king had been keeping Óláfr *digri* waiting all summer, hardly suggesting that he was eager to adhere to the agreement.
 78. *Legendary Saga*, p. 102.
 79. *Legendary Saga*, pp. 102–4.
 80. Heinrichs considers this detail as a parallel to *Gísla saga*, in which women give men shirts as a token of their love or sexual desire; this seems an equally plausible idea, but if true, the gold embroidery seems a courtly addition to the indigenous motif; see Heinrichs, “Wenn ein König,” p. 38.
 81. Jochens, “Consent,” pp. 142–76.
 82. Rosemary Power, “*Le Lai de Lanval* and *Helga þátr Dórissonar*,” *Opuscula* 8, Bibliotheca Arnarnagæana 38 (1985): 160.
 83. The *Bergsbók* text contains many interpolations, especially concerning miracles and marvels, some of which do not appear in any other sources and have been attributed to the manuscript’s editor; Gustaf Lindblad, “Introduction,” in *Bergsbók. Perg. Fol. Nr. 1 in the Royal Library, Stockholm*, Early Icelandic Manuscripts in Facsimile 5, ed. Gustaf Lindblad (Copenhagen: Rosenkilde and Bagger, 1963), pp. 8, 12.
 84. *Den store saga om Olav den hellige*, pp. 769–70.
 85. Heinrichs, “Wenn ein König,” p. 42.
 86. Tómasskinna has a distinct interest in saints, containing *Tómas saga erkibiskups*, the story of the life of St. Thomas à Becket, and the *Separate saga*; Agnete Loth, “Introduction,” in *Thomasskinna. Gl. Kgl. Saml. 1008 fol. in the Royal Library, Copenhagen*, Early Icelandic Manuscripts in Facsimile 6, ed. Agnete Loth (Copenhagen: Rosenkilde and Bagger, 1964), p. 7.
 87. *Den store saga om Olav den hellige*, pp. 770–1.
 88. Heinrichs, “Wenn ein König,” p. 49.
 89. Bagge, *Society and Politics*, pp. 102–3.
 90. The poem is not called a *mansöngur* in many of the primary manuscripts of the *þátr* whereas it is in the *Legendary Saga* and Styrmir’s text. *Mansöngur* was an offensive form of love poetry, punishable with *skóggangur* “lesser outlawry” according to the *Grágás* law; in the *Íslendingasögur*, it was often followed by vengeance of some kind; for discussion see for example, Jenny M. Jochens,

“From Libel to Lament: Male Manifestations of Love in Old Norse,” in *From Sagas to Society: Comparative Approaches to Early Iceland*, ed. Gísli Pálsson (Enfield Lock: Hisarlik Press, 1992), pp. 247–64.

91. *Den store saga om Olav den hellige*, p. 706.

5 The Female Ruler

1. For a detailed discussion of the origins of the maiden-king motif, see Jóhanna Katrín Friðriksdóttir, “From Heroic Legend to ‘Medieval Screwball Comedy’? The Development and Interpretation of the *meykongr* motif,” in *The Legendary Sagas: Origins and Development*, ed. Annette Lassen, Agneta Ney, and Ármann Jakobsson (Reykjavík: Háskólaútgáfan, 2012), pp. 229–49.
2. A distinction is made between, first, the maiden-king motif, which may appear in sagas that are not maiden-king texts per se but contain maiden-king episodes, for example, the *fornaldarsögur Hrólfs saga kraka* and *Hrólfs saga Gautrekssonar*, and the *riðdanasögur Ála flekks saga*, *Gibbons saga*, *Mágus saga jarls*, and *Partalopa saga*, and, second, maiden-king romances, a subgenre of indigenous romances in which the maiden-king is the main female character, and the plot follows the bridal-quest paradigm. These are *Clári saga*, *Dínus saga drambláta*, *Nítida saga*, *Sigrgarðs saga frækna*, *Sigurðar saga þøgla*, and *Viktors saga ok Blávus*. Some texts are on the margins of being strictly maiden-king romances: for example, the maiden-king plot only begins two-thirds of the way into *Viktors saga ok Blávus*, after many other scenes, and a few of the maiden-kings are not rulers in name. However, since these texts broadly follow the paradigm and contain most of the pertinent elements, I include them in the discussion.
3. See chapter 1.
4. For discussion, see for example, Judy Quinn, “The Realisation of Mythological Design: The Early Generations of the Völsung Dynasty,” in *Fornaldarsagaerne: Myter og virkelighed; Studier i de oldislandske fornaldarsögur Norðurlanda*, ed. Agneta Ney, Ármann Jakobsson, and Annette Lassen (Copenhagen: Museum Tusulanums Forlag, 2009), pp. 181–200.
5. Olimpia in *Samsons saga fagra* is an active character who works toward establishing and preserving peace, see further Werner Schäfke, “The ‘Wild’ East in Late Medieval Icelandic Romance—Just a Prop(p)?,” in *Á austrvega: Saga and East Scandinavia. Preprint Papers of The 14th International Saga Conference. Uppsala, 9th-15th August, 2009*, ed. Agneta Ney et al. (Gävle: Gävle University Press, 2009), p. 849 [2: 845–50]. Tecla, the lady-in-waiting in *Clári saga*, can also be seen as somewhat active. However, these figures’ actions are beneficial to the protagonist or the community and thus not portrayed negatively.
6. *Sigurðar saga þøgla*, in *Late Medieval Icelandic Romances*, ed. Agnete Loth (Copenhagen: Munksgaard, 1963), 2: 102. A shorter redaction of this saga is published in *Sigurðar saga þøgla. The Shorter Redaction: Edited from AM 596 4to*, ed. Matthew James Driscoll (Reykjavík: Stofnun Árna Magnússonar á Íslandi, 1992).

7. *Sigrarðs saga frækna*, in *Late Medieval Icelandic Romances*, ed. Agnete Loth (Copenhagen: Munksgaard, 1965), 5: 48–49; *Bragða-Mágus saga með tilheyrandi þáttum: Skrifjuð upp eftir gömlum handritum*, ed. Gunnlaugur Þórðarsson (Copenhagen: Páll Sveinsson, 1858) p. 160; *Nitída saga*, in *Late Medieval Icelandic Romances*, ed. Agnete Loth (Copenhagen: Munksgaard, 1965), 5: 3; *Ála flekks saga*, in *Drei lygisögur*, *Altnordische Saga-Bibliothek* 17, ed. Åke Lagerholm (Halle: M. Niemeyer Verlag, 1927), p. 95.
8. “[S]akir hennar vizku lýtr nálíga at henni öll stjórn ríkisins jafnfram sjálfum konungi” [because of her wisdom, she carries nearly all the kingdom’s government], *Clári saga*, p. 5.
9. *Nitída saga*, pp. 10–11. The same is true for Fulgida in *Viktors saga ok Blávus*, *Riddarasögur* II, ed. Jónas Kristjánsson (Reykjavík: Handritastofnun Íslands, 1964), pp. 36–37.
10. *Viktors saga ok Blávus*, pp. 4–5.
11. *Nitída saga*, p. 4.
12. Séréna in *Clári saga* is said to practice *kukl ok klókskapr* “sorcery and wiliness,” p. 7; Sedentiana in *Sigurðar saga þøgla* uses *vándir gervingar* “evil sorcery,” p. 101. Examples of supernatural objects are Nitída’s magic stone that enables her simply to fly away, whereas *Viktors saga ok Blávus* and *Dínus saga drambláta* involve sleeping potions. For discussion of this feature in Continental romance, see Larrington, *King Arthur’s Enchantresses: Morgan and Her Sisters in Arthurian Tradition* (London: I. B. Tauris, 2006), Chapter 5.
13. Only in some sources does their rulership seem to be negatively presented: in *Gibbons saga*, the narrator disapprovingly remarks that the female ruler is so *ballðin* “impudent” as to take the title of king. *Gibbons saga*, *Editiones Arnarnagnæanæ* B2, ed. R. I. Page (Copenhagen: Ejnar Munksgaard, 1960), p. 22.
14. For example, *Sigurðar saga þøgla* relates that Sedentiana is “milld af fe og gaf storum fe” [generous of money and gave away money in large sums]; *Sigurðar saga þøgla*, pp. 102–3. In *Mottuls saga*, King Arthur is “hinn milldasti ad giófumm” [the most generous with gifts]; *Mottuls saga*, *Editiones Arnarnagnæanæ* B30, ed. Marianne Kalinke (Copenhagen: C. A. Rietzels Forlag, 1987), p. 3.
15. See for example, *Sigrarðs saga frækna*, pp. 52–53; *Clári saga*, p. 20.
16. *Hrólfs saga kraka*, *Editiones Arnarnagnæanæ* B1, ed. Desmond Slay (Copenhagen: Ejnar Munksgaard, 1960), p. 17.
17. *Hrólfs saga Gautreksssonar*, pp. 70–71. In the shorter redaction, Hrólfr directly confronts the maiden-king about her gender, and a fight ensues.
18. This is with the exception of pagan suitors, who pose a much greater threat and are not treated with much respect. See further discussion later.
19. Kalinke, *Bridal-Quest Romance in Medieval Iceland*, *Islandica* 46 (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1990), p. 90. In contrast, see the positive attitude to women’s wisdom in the *formaldarsögur* discussed in chapter 1, as well as the image of Queen Ástriðr as a wise and eloquent woman, outlined in chapter 4. Furthermore, see the representation of wise women in *Samsons saga fagra* and *Parcevals saga*, discussed by Schäfke, “The Wild East,” and F. Regina Psaki, “Women’s Counsel in the *Riddarasögur*: The Case of *Parcevals saga*,” in *Cold*

- Counsel: Women in Old Norse Literature and Mythology*, ed. Sarah M. Anderson with Karen Swenson (New York: Routledge, 2002), pp. 201–24.
20. *Sigurðar saga þøgla*, pp. 100–01.
 21. Haughtiness stemming from too much learning also appears in *Mírmanns saga* (Brígiða), p. 2; Philotemia and Dínus in *Dínus saga drambláta* are, unusually, equally arrogant because of their intellect and learning; *Dínus saga drambláta*, ed. Jónas Kristjánsson (Reykjavík: Háskóli Íslands, 1960), p. 10.
 22. *Dínus saga drambláta*, p. 69.
 23. Kalinke, *Bridal-Quest Romance*, p. 98.
 24. *Clári saga*, p. 36. Fulgida in *Viktors saga ok Blávus* covets Viktor's magic chest, which never lacks gold; *Viktors saga ok Blávus*, p. 39.
 25. *Hrólf's saga kraka*, p. 21. Greed is also one of the wicked stepmother's curses on Ingigerðr in *Sírgarðs saga frækna*, p. 48; Sírgarðr tries to tempt her with treasures although he does not have Helgi's success.
 26. Kalinke, "Clári saga, Hrólf's saga," p. 8 in ms.
 27. *Völsunga saga*, p. 53. In *Sigurðarvíða in scamma*, it is Brynhildr's brother Atli who tells her that she will have neither "gull né iarðir, nema ec gefaz létac" [neither gold nor land, unless I let myself be betrothed]; *Sigurðarvíða in scamma* st. 36, *Edda*, p. 213; *Poetic Edda*, trans. Larrington, p. 187.
 28. See Ricketts, *High-Ranking Widows in Medieval Iceland and Yorkshire. Property, Power, Marriage and Identity in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries* (Leiden: Brill, 2010), Chapter 4.
 29. Kalinke, *Bridal-Quest Romance*, p. 79.
 30. *Hrólf's saga Gautrekssonar*, p. 54.
 31. *Hrólf's saga Gautrekssonar*, p. 54.
 32. A similar ethical judgment is found in *Gibbons saga*, mentioned on p. 165, fn. 13.
 33. *Sírgarðs saga frækna*, p. 50.
 34. In *Sigurðar saga þøgla*, pp. 182–85, Sedentiana devises an effective plan for fighting Sigurðr's invading army, and then gives her troops a rallying speech before the battle.
 35. See *Bragða-Mágus saga*, pp. 14–15; *Mírmanns saga*, pp. 60–63.
 36. *Mírmanns saga*, p. 61; see Sverrir Tómasson, "Mírmanns saga: The First Old Norse-Icelandic Hagiographical Romance?," in *Romance and Love in Late Medieval and Early Modern Iceland: Essays in Honor of Marianne Kalinke*, *Islandica* 54, ed. Kirsten Wolf and Johanna Denzin (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Library, 2008), pp. 319–35.
 37. Ólöf ríka "the powerful" Loftsdóttir is a real medieval example of a woman taking up weapons; see Inga Huld Hákonardóttir, "Frá aðalskonum til hversdagskvenna," *Íslenskt samfélag og Rómakirkja*, Kristni á Íslandi 2, ed. Hjalti Hugason (Reykjavík: Alþingi, 2000), p. 266.
 38. The shield-maiden appears in many Old Norse-Icelandic and Germanic sources, including Saxo's *Gesta Danorum*, and has been the subject of considerable scholarly debate, see for example, Carol J. Clover, "Maiden Warriors and Other Sons," *Journal of English and Germanic Philology* 85 (1986): 35–49; Lena Norrman, "Woman or Warrior? The Construction of Gender in Old

- Norse Myth,” in *Old Norse Myths, Literature and Society: The Proceedings of the 11th International Saga Conference 2-7 July 2000, University of Sydney*, ed. Geraldine Barnes and Margaret Clunies Ross, (Sydney: Centre for Medieval Studies, University of Sydney, 2000), pp. 375–85; William Layher, “Caught between Worlds: Gendering the Maiden Warrior in Old Norse,” in *Women and Medieval Epic: Gender, Genre, and the Limits of Epic Masculinity*, ed. Sara S. Poor and Jana K. Schulman (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007), pp. 183–208.
39. Butler, *Gender Trouble: Feminism and the Subversion of Identity* (New York: Routledge, 1990), p. 33.
 40. *Hrólfs saga Gautrekssonar*, pp. 83–84.
 41. Compare how the narrative depicts her as socially male. Female characters such as Auðr in *Gísla saga*, whom Clover argues is *hvöt* enough to be deemed on the powerful side of her one-sex model, have no male-coded identity in a similar way to Þornbjörg, who refuses to go by a female pronoun or name. For readings that also address the role that gender plays in *Hrólfs saga Gautrekssonar*, see Layher, “Caught Between Worlds,” pp. 183–208, esp. p. 202; Norrman, “Woman or Warrior?”
 42. *Clári saga*, p. 74. Kalinke has argued that this part of the saga, expressing a clerical view of marriage, did not appeal to audiences due to its absence in other maiden-king texts.
 43. See for example, Glauser, *Isländische Märchensagas: studien zur Prosaliteratur im spätmittelalterlichen Island* (Basel: Helbing & Lichtenhahn, 1983), pp. 206–7; Sävborg, *Sagan om kärleken*, p. 577; Jochens, *Old Norse Images*, pp. 102–3; Kalinke, *Bridal-Quest Romance*, pp. 78–79; Sif Ríkhardsdóttir, “Meykóngahefðin í riddarasögunum. Hugmyndafræðileg átök um kynhlutverk og þjóðfélagsstöðu,” *Skírnir* 184 (2010): 410–33.
 44. Kalinke, “*Clári saga, Hrólf saga*,” p. 9 in ms.
 45. *Dínus saga*, pp. 30–35.
 46. *Sigurðar saga þogla*, p. 127. Shaving and tarring is also found in *Viktors saga ok Blávus*, *Ragnars saga loðbrókar*, and the *Helga þáttur of Hrólf saga kraka*. On this motif, see for example, Ármann Jakobsson, “Queens of Terror: Perilous Women in *Hálfs saga* and *Hrólf saga kraka*,” in *Fornaldarsagornas struktur och ideologi: Handlingar från ett symposium i Uppsala 31.8-2.9 2001*, eds. Ármann Jakobsson, Annette Lassen, and Agneta Ney (Uppsala: Uppsala Universitet, 2003), pp. 178–80 [173–89]; and Henric Bagerius, *Mandom och mödom: Sexualitet, homosocialitet och aristokratisk identitet på det senmedeltida Island* (Gothenburg: Göteborgs universitet, 2009), pp. 167–74.
 47. *Nitida saga*, pp. 18–21.
 48. Bagerius, *Mandom och mödom*, pp. 173–74.
 49. Eichhorn–Mulligan, “Contextualizing,” p. 198. See also chapter 3 of this book.
 50. Eichhorn–Mulligan, “Contextualizing,” pp. 198–207, M. F. Thomas, “The Briar and the Vine: Tristan Goes North,” in *Arthurian Literature*, ed. Richard Barber (Cambridge, UK: D. S. Brewer, 1983), p. 57 [3: 53–90].
 51. See Margrit Shildrick, *Embodying the Monster: Encounters with the Vulnerable Self* (London: Sage, 2002), pp. 1–8.

52. *Sigrgarðs saga frækna*, p. 60.
53. *Dínus saga*, p. 36.
54. *Dínus saga*, pp. 40–41.
55. Carolynne Larrington argues that translated poems such as *Geitlarlauf* (Marie de France's *Chievrefoil*) bring to prominence “male interiority,” that is, expressions of male romantic love, previously rarely articulated or recorded in Old Norse literary tradition; see “The Translated *lais*,” in *The Arthur of the North: The Arthurian Legend in the Nordic and Rus’ Realms*, ed. Marianne Kalinke (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2011) pp. 83–84 [77–97].
56. Jón Viðar Sigurðsson, “The Icelandic Aristocracy after the Fall of the Free State,” *Scandinavian Journal of History* 20 (1995): 158 [153–66]; Sigríður Beck, *I kungens fránvaro. Formeringen av en isländsk aristokrati 1271-1387* (Gothenburg: Göteborgs universitet, 2011), pp. 156–63.
57. Kalinke, “*Clári saga*, *Hrólf’s saga*,” pp. 11–13 in ms.
58. Larrington, “‘What Does Woman Want?’ Mær and munr in *Skírnismál*,” *Alvíssmál* 1 (1992): 14.
59. Larrington, “‘What Does Woman Want?,” pp. 7–10.
60. Larrington, “‘What Does Woman Want?,” p. 10.
61. *Sigrgarðs saga frækna*, p. 48.
62. The audience knows that she cannot control her own actions with regards to Sigrgarðr: when she hears (false) reports about his death, she feigns indifference but, like Áslaug in *Ragnars saga*, she cries a single bloody tear for him.
63. *Clári saga*, p. 53. It does not say that it was short at the back, but the phrase *skarpr skinnstakkr* is identical with examples from the *fornaldarsögur*, see chapter 3. In female saints’ lives, the pagans often take away the future saints’ clothes, as punishment for refusing to marry, forcing them to be naked in public, see for example, *Agnesar saga*, *Margrétar saga*, and *Barböru saga*, in *Heilagra meyja sögur*, ed. Kirsten Wolf (Reykjavík: Bókmenntafræðistofnun Háskóla Íslands, 2003).
64. *Clári saga*, p. 53.
65. *Clári saga*, pp. 54, 59.
66. As Eichhorn–Mulligan as well as Jochens note, descriptions of women in Old Norse texts are limited to their face, hair, and hands, indicating that it was considered proper for their bodies to be fully covered.
67. *Clári saga*, p. 65.
68. Shaun F.D. Hughes, “*Klári saga* as an Indigenous Romance,” in *Romance and Love in Late Medieval and Early Modern Iceland: Essays in Honor of Marianne Kalinke*, ed. Kirsten Wolf and Johanna Denzin, *Islandica* 54 (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Library, 2008), p. 156 [135–63].
69. See *Heilagra meyja sögur*, for example, *Agnesar saga*, where Agnes is hit in the face, her breasts are severed from her body, and she is thrown onto glowing-hot stones; *Dóróteu saga*, in which Dórótea is boiled in a large vessel and also subjected to mastectomy; *Barböru saga*, where Barbara is beaten and mistreated by her father; and *Lúciu saga*, in which urine, hot tar, oil, and pitch are poured over Lúció, and she is subsequently burned at the stake.

70. For *Sármis* [*Skírnismál*] st. 36, *Edda*, p. 76.
71. *Sigurðar saga þøgla*, pp. 203–4.
72. Thomas Laqueur, *Making Sex: Body and Gender from the Greeks to Freud* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1990), pp. 161–62; Corinne Saunders, *Rape and Ravishment in the Literature of Medieval England* (Woodbridge: D. S. Brewer, 2001), p. 74. Medieval authors often had difficulties reconciling the two ideas, resulting in a theory of the separation of women's rational will, and their carnal desires and pleasure, which, according to some, give way to the former during rape; for discussion, see Joan Cadden, *Meanings of Sex Difference in the Middle Ages: Medicine, Science, and Culture* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), pp. 94–95, 142–43.
73. Laqueur, *Making Sex*, pp. 161–62; Bagerius, *Mandom och Mödom*, pp. 163.
74. *Gibbons saga*, p. 75.
75. Icelandic manuscripts of the saga attest to the fact that it was in circulation in the country; see Larrington, “Queens and Bodies,” pp. 520–22.
76. *Clári saga*, p. 39. See also *Sigrgarðs saga frækna*, in which the suitor in disguise offers the maiden-king treasures in return for sex: “hann segr þá [gripina] ej fala vera nema firer sialfrar hennar bliðu” [he says that the precious objects would not be obtainable except in return for her own sexual favors], p. 66.
77. *Dínus saga*, p. 31.
78. *Ibid.*, pp. 64–68.
79. *Sigrgarðs saga frækna*, p. 44.
80. *Ibid.*, p. 44.
81. *Bragða-Mágus saga*, pp. 161–62.
82. Furthermore, in Commonwealth law, children born out of wedlock could inherit from their fathers, although they were further down the inheritance line than legitimate children; see Ricketts, *High-Ranking Widows*, p. 63.
83. Bagerius, *Mandom och mödom*, pp. 63–64. On women's generous right to inherit according to Commonwealth lawcodes, see Ricketts, *High-Ranking Widows*, pp. 51–67.
84. *Dínus saga dramláta*, p. 67.
85. See §31, *Jónsbók*. *Lögbók Íslendinga hver samþykkt var á alþingi árið 1281 og endurnýjuð um miðja 14. öld en fyrst prentuð árið 1578*, ed. Már Jónsson (Reykjavík: Háskólaútgáfan, 2004), p. 120. Scholars of English medieval literature have emphasized the difficulty of discussing the term “rape” in an historical context due to its cultural specificity in modern times, see for example, Elizabeth Robertson and Christine Rose's introduction to *Representing Rape in Medieval and Early Modern Literature* (New York: Palgrave, 2001) and Saunders's introduction to *Rape and Ravishment*. Saunders also discusses the historical development of rape as a concept in medieval England, noting that in the fourteenth century, the distinction between rape and abduction (whether with the woman's consent or not) becomes blurred, the latter being foregrounded as the more serious crime while a raped woman's legal status is increasingly marginalized; p. 62. *Jónsbók* (p. 103) seems clear on the separation between abduction (*hlaupa í brott með eiginkonur manna*

- “to run away with men’s wives,” *konur taka með ráni eður herfangi* “to capture women by kidnapping or enslavement”), and rape (*taka konu nauðga* “to take a woman by force”).
86. Saunders, *Rape and Ravishment*, pp. 48–57.
 87. Luce Irigaray, “Commodities among Themselves,” in *This Sex Which Is Not One*, trans. Catherine Porter with Carolyn Burke (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1985), pp. 192–97; Gerda Lerner, *The Creation of Patriarchy* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1986). See also Saunders, *Rape and Ravishment*, p. 70.
 88. Cf. §2 and §31 in the “Mannhelgi” section of *Jónsbók*, pp. 102–3, p. 120; Saunders, *Rape and Ravishment*, p. 49.
 89. See also Bagerius, *Mandom och mödom*, p. 163.
 90. *Ibid.*, pp. 158–59.
 91. For arguments supporting a fourteenth-century dating of *Grettis saga*, see Guðni Jónsson’s introduction to the Íslenzk fornrit edition.
 92. *Grettis saga*, pp. 239–41.
 93. The motif of drugging a man and afterwards deceiving him about having had sex with him also appears in Merlin/Viviane narratives; see Larrington, *King Arthur’s Enchantresses*, p. 111.
 94. *Sigvards saga frækna*, p. 55.
 95. *Ibid.*, pp. 57–58.
 96. *Ibid.*, p. 44.
 97. *Partalopa saga*, Editiones Arnarnagmagnæ B28, ed. Lise Præstgaard Andersen (Copenhagen: C. A. Reitzels forlag, 1983), pp. 32–33.
 98. See also stepmothers who enchant their stepdaughters, perhaps for their protection, in chapter 3.
 99. *Sigurðar saga þögla* p. 196; *hinn svartj* “the black one” refers to Sigurðr in disguise. In *Beowulf*, Fremu/Modþryþo’s main objection was to being looked at: “þæt hire an dægæs ēagum starede” [that they stared at her all the time]; Klaeber’s *Beowulf and The Fight at Finnsburg*, ed. R. D. Fulk, Robert E. Bjork, and John D. Niles, 4th edn. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2008), l. 1935, p. 65. As Larrington notes, one of Skírnir’s threats to Gerðr is to be stared at; Larrington, “What Does Woman Want?,” p. 8. On the male gaze, gender, and subject/object positions, see for example, Laura Mulvey’s classic essay in film studies, “Visual Pleasure and Narrative Cinema,” *Screen* 16 no. 3 (1975): 6–18.
 100. *Clári saga*, p. 22.
 101. Paul Bibire, “From *riddarasaga* to *lygisaga*: The Norse Response to Romance,” in *Les Sagas de Chevaliers (riddarasögur): Actes de la Ve Conférence Internationale sur les Sagas*, ed. Régis Boyer (Toulon: Presses de l’Université Paris-Sorbonne, 1985), pp. 55–74.
 102. Guðbjörg Aðalbergsdóttir, “Nítíða og aðrir meykóngar,” *Mímir* 32–3 (1993–4): 54–55 [44–55].
 103. See *Agnesar saga*, *Dóróteu saga*, *Barböru saga*, and *Lúciu saga*.
 104. *Nítíða saga*, pp. 27–28.

105. *Sigrgarðs saga frækna* presents the similar view that using violence to woo a maiden-king is unproductive, when Gerðr, the mother of the suitor's childhood friends, is the only person to realize that the maiden-king has been bewitched and advises Sigrgarðr (who has made two unsuccessful attempts at winning Ingigerðr) to use other methods than invading Ingigerðr's kingdom; *Sigrgarðs saga frækna*, p. 67.
106. Agnes S. Arnórsdóttir, *Property and Virginity: The Christianization of Marriage in Medieval Iceland 1200–1600* (Aarhus: Aarhus University Press, 2010), p. 98; Jochens, "Consent in Marriage," 144; Jochens, *Women in Old Norse Society* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1995), p. 46. Canon law and secular law did not always agree in Iceland and were a matter of contention between representatives of the two spheres; see Gunnar F. Guðmundsson, *Íslenskt samfélag og Rómakirkja*, Kristni á Íslandi 2, ed. Hjalti Hugason (Reykjavík: Alþingi, 2000), p. 258. Bishop Árni Þorláksson made an unsuccessful attempt to have the principle of female consent included in *Jónsbók* so that women who married against their parent's will would not be disinherited; see further Agnes Arnórsdóttir, *Property*, pp. 98–99.
107. Georges Duby, *The Knight, the Lady and the Priest: The Making of Modern Marriage in Medieval France*, trans. Barbara Bray (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1984), pp. 221–22. See also Ad Putter, Sir Gawain and the Green Knight and French Arthurian Romance (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1999), pp. 188–229.
108. *Clári saga* is an exception; Séréna and her lady-in-waiting Tecla have frequent quarrels about Séréna's mistreatment of Clárus, for which Tecla reproaches her sternly. However, given the saga's overtly didactic intention, it seems that this character is a plot device, a foil to show how a woman *should* behave and to illustrate Séréna's wicked nature.
109. The aunt's advice is in the same vein as Parceval's mother's instructions to her son, *Parcevals saga*, in *Riddarasögur: Parcevals saga. Völvers þátr. Ívents saga. Mírmans saga*, ed. Eugen Kölbing (Strasbourg: Karl J. Trübner, 1872), pp. 4–5. In *Sigrgarðs saga frækna*, the suitor only manages to win the maiden-king when Gerðr gives him advice and a magic sack to help him; *Sigrgarðs saga frækna*, p. 67. For discussion about the positive value of female advice in *Parcevals saga*, and its emphasis on the spiritual over the knightly, see Psaki, "Women's Counsel in the *Riddarasögur*," pp. 201–24.
110. Elaine Showalter, "Feminist Criticism in the Wilderness," *Critical Inquiry* 8 (1981): 195.
111. Information on the two Benedictine nunneries in Iceland (at Kirkjubær and Reynistaður) is limited; most of it derives from charters and annals. On the convents in Iceland, see Anna Sigurðardóttir, *Allt hafði annan róm áður í páfadómi: nunnuklastrin tvö á Íslandi á miðöldum og brot úr kristnisögu* (Reykjavík: Kvennasögusafn Íslands, 1988); Inga Huld Hákonardóttir, "Í nunnuklastrum—Kirkjubær og Reynistaður," in *Íslenskt samfélag og Rómakirkja*, Kristni á Íslandi 2, ed. Hjalti Hugason (Reykjavík: Alþingi, 2000), pp. 225–29; Kirsten Wolf, "Female Scribes at Work? A Consideration of Kirkjubæjarbók (Codex AM 429 12mo)," *Beatus Vir: Studies in Early English and Norse Manuscripts in*

Memory of Phillip Pulsiano, ed. A. N. Doane and Kirsten Wolf (Tempe, AZ: ACMRS, 2006), pp. 265–95.

112. Bagerius, *Mandom och Mödom*, p. 43.
113. *Laxdæla saga*, pp. 204, 115.
114. Agnes S. Arnórsdóttir, “Marriage in the Middle Ages: Canon Law and Nordic Family Relations,” in *Norden og Europa i middelalderen. Rapporter til Det 24. Nordiske Historikermøde, Århus 9.-13. august 2001*, ed. Per Ingesman and Thomas Lindkvist (Århus: Jysk Selskab for Historie, 2001), p. 178 [174–202].

Conculsion

1. Research on these themes as they developed in the post-Commonwealth period is relatively scant compared to the work on the period before 1262, although it is currently expanding (see e.g., Henric Bagerius, *Mandom och mödom Sexualitet, homosocialitet och aristokratisk identitet på det senmedeltida Island*. Gothenburg: Göteborgs universitet, 2009; Sigríður Beck, *I kungens frånvaro: Formeringen av en isländsk aristokrati 1271–1387*. Gothenburg: Göteborgs universitet, 2011).
2. *Hrólfssaga Gautrekssonar*, in *Zwei Fornaldarsögur*, p. 24.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Note that Icelandic authors and editors are alphabetized under their first names, followed by their patronymic or family name.

The *Íslenzk fornrit* series of Old Norse–Icelandic texts are abbreviated to ÍF.

Primary Sources

- Ari Þorgilsson, *Íslendingabók*, in *Íslendingabók: Landnámabók*, ÍF I, ed. Jakob Benediktsson. Reykjavík: Hið íslenska fornritafélag, 1968.
- Asser, John, *Life of King Alfred*, in *Alfred the Great: Asser's Life of King Alfred and Other Contemporary Sources*, trans. Simon Keynes and Michael Lapidge. Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1983.
- Ágrip af Nóregskonungasögum*, ed. and trans. M. J. Driscoll. 2nd edn. London: Viking Society for Northern Research, 2008.
- Ála flekks saga*, in *Drei lygisögur*, Altnordische Saga-Bibliothek 17, ed. Åke Lagerholm. Halle: M. Niemeyer Verlag, 1927.
- Áns saga bogsveigis*, in *Fornaldarsögur Norðurlanda*, vol. 1, ed. Guðni Jónsson and Bjarni Vilhjálmsson. Reykjavík: Bókaútgáfan Forni, 1943.
- Bárðar saga*, in *Harðar saga*, ÍF XIII, ed. Þórhallur Vilmundarson and Bjarni Vilhjálmsson. Reykjavík: Hið íslenska fornritafélag, 1991.
- Bjarnar saga Hítadalakappa*, in *Borgfirðinga sögur*, ÍF II, ed. Sigurður Nordal and Guðni Jónsson. Reykjavík: Hið íslenska fornritafélag, 1938.
- Bragða-Máguð saga með tilheyrandi þáttum. Skrifuð upp eptir gömlum handritum*, ed. Gunnlaugur Þórðarsson. Copenhagen: Páll Sveinsson, 1858.
- Brennu-Njáls saga*, ÍF XXII, ed. Einar Ól. Sveinsson. Reykjavík: Hið íslenska fornritafélag, 1954.
- Bósa-saga*, in *Die Bósa-Saga in zwei Fassungen nebst Proben aus den Bósa-Rímur*, ed. Otto Luitpold Jiriczek. Strassburg: Verlag von Karl J. Trübner, 1893.
- Clári saga*, Altnordische Saga-Bibliothek 12, ed. Gustav Cederschiöld. Halle: Max Niemeyer, 1907.
- Dínus saga drambláta*, ed. Jónas Kristjánsson. Reykjavík: Háskóli Íslands, 1960.
- Edda: Die Lieder des Codex Regius nebst verwandten denkmälern*, vol. 1, ed. Gustav Neckel, rev. Hans Kuhn. Heidelberg: Carl Winter, 1962.

- Egils saga einhenda ok Ásmundar berserkjabana*, in *Fornaldarsögur Norðurlanda*, vol. 3, ed. Guðni Jónsson and Bjarni Vilhjálmsson. Reykjavík: Bókaútgáfan Forni, 1944.
- Egils saga Skalla-Grímssonar*, ÍF II, ed. Sigurður Nordal. Reykjavík: Hið íslenska fornritafélag, 1933.
- Eiríks saga rauða*, in *Eyrbyggja saga*, ÍF IV, ed. Einar Ól. Sveinsson and Matthías Þórðarsson. Reykjavík: Hið íslenska fornritafélag, 1935.
- Eyrbyggja saga*, ÍF IV, ed. Einar Ól. Sveinsson and Matthías Þórðarsson. Reykjavík: Hið íslenska fornritafélag, 1935.
- Fagrskinna*, in *Ágrip af Noregskonunga sögum. Fagrskinna—Noregs konunga tal*, ÍF XXIX, ed. Bjarni Einarsson. Reykjavík: Hið íslenska fornritafélag, 1985.
- Finnboga saga ramma*, in *Kjalnesinga saga*, ÍF XIV, ed. Jóhannes Halldórsson. Reykjavík: Hið íslenska fornritafélag, 1959.
- Fornaldarsögur Norðurlanda*, 3 vols., ed. Guðni Jónsson and Bjarni Vilhjálmsson. Reykjavík: Bókaútgáfan Forni, 1943–44.
- Fornaldar sögur Norðurlanda eptir gömlum handritum*, vols. 1–3, ed. C. C. Rafn. Copenhagen: [n.p.], 1829–30.
- Fóstbræðra saga*, in *Vestfirðinga sögur*, ÍFVI, ed. Björn K. Þórólfsson and Guðni Jónsson. Reykjavík: Hið íslenska fornritafélag, 1943.
- Geoffrey of Monmouth, *The History of the Kings of Britain: An Edition and Translation of De gestis Britonum [Historia Regum Britanniae]*, ed. Michael D. Reeve, trans. Neil Wright. Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2007.
- Gibbons saga*, Editiones Arnarnagæanæ B2, ed. R. I. Page. Copenhagen: Ejnar Munksgaard, 1960.
- Gísla saga Súrssonar*, in *Vestfirðinga sögur*, ÍF VI, ed. Björn K. Þórólfsson and Guðni Jónsson. Reykjavík: Hið íslenska fornritafélag, 1943.
- Grágás eftir det Arnarnagæanske Haandskrift Nr. 334 fol.*, *Staðarhólsbók*, repr. from 1879, ed. Vilhjálmur Finsen. Odense: Odense Universitetsforlag, 1974.
- Grettis saga Ásmundarsonar*, ÍFVII, ed. Guðni Jónsson. Reykjavík: Hið íslenska fornritafélag, 1936.
- Gríms saga loðinkinna*, in *Fornaldarsögur Norðurlanda*, vol. 1, ed. Guðni Jónsson and Bjarni Vilhjálmsson. Reykjavík: Bókaútgáfan Forni, 1943.
- Gunnars saga Keldugnúpsfjfls*, in *Kjalnesinga saga*, ÍF XIV, ed. Jóhannes Halldórsson. Reykjavík: Hið íslenska fornritafélag, 1959.
- Göngu-Hrólfss saga*, in *Fornaldarsögur Norðurlanda*, vol. 2, ed. Guðni Jónsson and Bjarni Vilhjálmsson. Reykjavík: Bókaútgáfan Forni, 1944.
- Harðar saga ok Hólmverja*, in *Harðar saga*, ÍF XIII, ed. Þórhallur Vilmundarson and Bjarni Vilhjálmsson. Reykjavík: Hið íslenska fornritafélag, 1991.
- Hálfðanar saga Brönnufóstra*, in *Fornaldarsögur Norðurlanda*, vol. 3, ed. Guðni Jónsson and Bjarni Vilhjálmsson. Reykjavík: Bókaútgáfan Forni, 1944.
- Heiðreks saga: Hervarar saga ok Heiðreks konungs*, ed. Jón Helgason. Copenhagen: Samfund til udgivelse af gammel nordisk litteratur, 1924.
- Heilagra meylla sögur*, ed. Kirsten Wolf. Reykjavík: Bókmenntafræðistofnun Háskóla Íslands, 2003.
- Hjálmþérs saga: A Scientific Edition*, ed. Richard L. Harris. Ann Arbor, MI: University Microfilms, 1974.

- Hjálmþés saga ok Ölvis*, in *Fornaldarsögur Norðurlanda*, vol. 3, ed. Guðni Jónsson and Bjarni Vilhjálmsson. Reykjavík: Bókaútgáfan Forni, 1944.
- Hrafnkels saga Freysgoða*, in *Austfirðinga sögur*, ÍF XI, ed. Jón Jóhannesson. Reykjavík: Hið íslenska fornritafélag, 1950.
- Hrólfr Gautreksson: A Viking Romance*, trans. Hermann Pálsson and Paul Edwards. Edinburgh: Southside, 1972.
- Hrólfs saga Gautrekssonar*, in *Fornaldarsögur Norðurlanda*, vol. 3, ed. Guðni Jónsson and Bjarni Vilhjálmsson. Reykjavík: Bókaútgáfan Forni, 1944.
- Hrólfs saga Gautrekssonar*, in *Zwei Fornaldarsögur (Hrólfs saga Gautrekssonar und Ásmundarsaga kappabana) nach Cod. Holm. 7, 4to*, ed. Ferdinand Detter. Halle: Max Niemeyer, 1891.
- Hrólfs saga kraka*, Editiones Arnarnagnæanæ B1, ed. Desmond Slay. Copenhagen: Ejnar Munksgaard, 1960.
- Hugsvinnsmál*, ed. Tarrin Wills and Stefanie Würth, in *Poetry on Christian Subjects, Skaldic Poetry of the Scandinavian Middle Ages*, ed. Margaret Clunies Ross, 7 vols., 7: 358–449. Turnhout: Brepols, 2007.
- Illuga saga Gríðarfóstra*, in *Fornaldarsögur Norðurlanda*, vol. 3, ed. Guðni Jónsson and Bjarni Vilhjálmsson. Reykjavík: Bókaútgáfan Forni, 1944.
- Íslendingasögur og þættir*, vols. 1–3, ed. Bragi Halldórsson et al. Reykjavík: Mál og menning, 1998.
- Jónsvíkinga saga*, ed. Ólafur Halldórsson. Reykjavík: Prentsmiðja Jóns Helgasonar, 1969.
- Jónsbók: Lögþók Íslendinga hver samþykkt var á alþingi árið 1281 og endurnýjuð um miðja 14. öld en fyrst prentuð árið 1578*, ed. Már Jónsson. Reykjavík: Háskólaútgáfan, 2004.
- Ketils saga hængs*, in *Fornaldarsögur Norðurlanda*, vol. 1, ed. Guðni Jónsson and Bjarni Vilhjálmsson. Reykjavík: Bókaútgáfan Forni, 1943.
- Kjalnesinga saga*, ÍF XIV, ed. Jóhannes Halldórsson. Reykjavík: Hið íslenska fornritafélag, 1959.
- Klaeber's Beowulf and The Fight at Finnsburg*, ed. R. D. Fulk et al. 4th edn. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2008.
- Kormáks saga*, in *Vátnsdæla saga*, ÍF VIII, ed. Einar Ól. Sveinsson. Reykjavík: Hið íslenska fornritafélag, 1939.
- Landnámabók*, in *Íslendingabók. Landnámabók*, ÍF I, ed. Jakob Benediktsson. Reykjavík: Hið íslenska fornritafélag, 1986.
- Laxdæla saga*, ÍF V, ed. Einar Ól. Sveinsson. Reykjavík: Hið íslenska fornritafélag, 1934.
- Ljósvefninga saga*, ÍF X, ed. Björn Sigfússon. Reykjavík: Hið íslenska fornritafélag, 1940.
- Mágu saga jarls*, in *Fornsögur Suðurlanda*, ed. Gustav Cederschiöld. Lund: Berlings, 1884.
- Mírmanns saga*, Editiones Arnarnagnæanæ A.17, ed. Desmond Slay. Copenhagen: C. A. Rietzels Forlag, 1997.
- Mottuls saga*, Editiones Arnarnagnæanæ B30, ed. Marianne Kalinke. Copenhagen: C. A. Rietzels Forlag, 1987.
- Nitida saga*, in *Late Medieval Icelandic Romances*, vol. 5, ed. Agnete Loth. Copenhagen: Munksgaard, 1965.

- Orkneyinga saga*, ÍF XXXIV, ed. Finnbogi Guðmundsson. Reykjavík: Hið íslenska fornritafélag, 1965.
- Ólaf's saga hins helga: die "Legendarische Saga" über Olaf den Heiligen (MS Delagard. saml. nr. 811)*, ed. and trans. Anne Heinrichs et al. Heidelberg: Winter, 1982.
- Parcevals saga*, in *Riddarasögur: Parcevals saga. Válvers þáttur. Ívents saga. Mírmans saga*, ed. Eugen Kölbing. Strasbourg: Karl J. Trübner, 1872.
- Partalopa saga*, Editiones Arnarnagnæanæ B28, ed. Lise Præstgaard Andersen. Copenhagen: C. A. Reitzels forlag, 1983.
- The Poetic Edda*, trans. Carolyne Larrington. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996.
- Ragnars saga loðbrókar*, in *Fornaldarsögur Norðurlanda*, vol. 1, ed. Guðni Jónsson and Bjarni Vilhjálmsson. Reykjavík: Bókaútgáfan Forni, 1943.
- The Saga of Grettir the Strong*, in *The Complete Sagas of Icelanders*, vol. 2, trans. Bernard Scudder, ed. Viðar Hreinsson et al. Reykjavík: Bókaútgáfan Leifur Eiríksson, 1997.
- The Saga of the People of Laxardal*, in *The Complete Sagas of Icelanders*, vol. 5, trans. Keneva Kunz, ed. Viðar Hreinsson et al. Reykjavík: Bókaútgáfan Leifur Eiríksson, 1997.
- Saxo Grammaticus, *The History of the Danes: Books I–IX*, ed. Hilda Ellis Davidson, trans. Peter Fisher, 2 vols. Cambridge, UK: D. S. Brewer, 1979.
- Sírgarðs saga frækna*, in *Late Medieval Icelandic Romances*, vol. 5, ed. Agnete Loth. Copenhagen: Munksgaard, 1965.
- Sigurðar saga þögla: The Shorter Redaction. Edited from AM 596 4to*, ed. Matthew James Driscoll. Reykjavík: Stofnun Árna Magnússonar á Íslandi, 1992.
- Sigurðar saga þögla*, in *Late Medieval Icelandic Romances*, vol. 2, ed. Agnete Loth. Copenhagen: Munksgaard, 1963.
- Snorri Sturluson, *Edda: Prologue and Gylfaginning*, ed. Anthony Faulkes, 2nd edn. London: Viking Society for Northern Research, 2005.
- , *Heimskringla*, ÍF XXVI–XXVIII, ed. Bjarni Aðalbjarnarson, 3 vols. Reykjavík: Hið íslenska fornritafélag, 1941–51.
- , *Den store saga om Olav den hellige. Efter pergamenthåndskrift i Kungliga biblioteket i Stockholm nr. 2 4to med varianter fra andre håndskrifter*, ed. Oscar Albert Johnsen and Jón Helgason, 2 vols. Oslo: Kjeldekriftfondet, 1941.
- Sturla Þórðarson, *Det Arnarnagnæanske Haandskrift 81a Fol. (Skálholtsbók yngsta) inholdende Sverris saga, Bøglunga sögur, Hákonar saga Hákonarsonar*, ed. A. Kjær. Oslo: Den Norske Historiske Kildeskriftkommission, 1985.
- Sturlunga saga*, 2 vols., ed. Jón Jóhannesson, Magnús Finnbogason, and Kristján Eldjárn. Reykjavík: Sturlunguútgáfan, 1946.
- Sörla saga sterka*, in *Fornaldarsögur Norðurlanda*, ed. Guðni Jónsson and Bjarni Vilhjálmsson. Reykjavík: Bókaútgáfan Forni, 1944.
- The Two Versions of Sturlaug's saga starfsama: A Decipherment, Edition, and Translation of a Fourteenth Century Icelandic Mythical-Heroic Saga*, ed. Otto J. Zitzelsberger. Düsseldorf, Michael Triltsch, 1969.
- Vatnsdæla saga*, ÍF VIII, ed. Einar Ól. Sveinsson. Reykjavík: Hið íslenska fornritafélag, 1939.
- Viktors saga ok Blávus*, Riddarasögur II, ed. Jónas Kristjánsson. Reykjavík: Handritastofnun Íslands, 1964.

- Victors saga ok Blávus*, in *Late Medieval Icelandic Romances*, vol. 1, ed. Agnete Loth. Copenhagen: Ejnar Munksgaard, 1962.
- Víga-Glúms saga*, in *Eyfirðinga sögur*, ÍF IX, ed. Jónas Kristjánsson. Reykjavík: Hið íslenska fornritafélag, 1956.
- Víglundar saga*, in *Kjalnesinga saga*, ÍF XIV, ed. Jóhannes Halldórsson. Reykjavík: Hið íslenska fornritafélag, 1959.
- Völsunga saga: The Saga of the Völsungs*, ed. and trans. Richard G. Finch. London: Nelson, 1965.
- Dorsteins saga Víkingssonar*, in *Fornaldarsögur Norðurlanda*, vol. 2, ed. Guðni Jónsson and Bjarni Vilhjálmsson. Reykjavík: Bókauktgáfan Forni, 1944.
- Þórðar saga kakala*, in *Sturlunga saga*, vol. 2, ed. Jón Jóhannesson et al. Reykjavík: Sturlunguútgáfan, 1946.
- Orvar-Odds saga*, Aldnordische Saga-Bibliothek 2, ed. Richard C. Boer. Halle: Niemayer, 1892.
- Örvar-Odds saga*, in *Fornaldarsögur Norðurlanda*, vol. 1, ed. Guðni Jónsson and Bjarni Vilhjálmsson. Reykjavík: Bókauktgáfan Forni, 1943.

Secondary Sources

- Abram, Christopher, *Myths of the Pagan North: The Gods of the Norsemen*. London: Continuum, 2011.
- Agnes S. Arnórsdóttir, *Property and Virginity: The Christianization of Marriage in Medieval Iceland 1200–1600*. Aarhus: Aarhus University Press, 2010.
- , “Marriage in the Middle Ages: Canon Law and Nordic Family Relations,” in *Norden og Europa i middelalderen. Rapporter til Det 24. Nordiske Historikermøde, Århus 9.-13. august 2001*, ed. Per Ingesman and Thomas Lindkvist, pp. 174–202. Århus: Jysk Selskab for Historie, 2001.
- , *Konur og vígamenn: Staða kynjanna á Íslandi á 12. og 13. öld*, *Studia Historica* 12. Reykjavík: Sagnfræðistofnun/Háskólaútgáfan, 1995.
- Andersen, Lise Præstgaard, “Partalópa saga,” in *Medieval Scandinavia: An Encyclopedia*, ed. Philip Pulsiano, p. 497. New York: Garland, 1993.
- Anderson, Carolyn, “No Fixed Point: Gender and Blood Feuds in *Njal’s Saga*,” *Philological Quarterly* 81 (2002): 421–40.
- Anderson, Sarah M., “Introduction: ‘og eru köld kvenna ráð,’” in *Cold Counsel: Women in Old Norse Literature and Mythology*, ed. Sarah M. Anderson with Karen Swenson, pp. xi–xvi. New York: Routledge, 2002.
- Andersson, Theodore M., “The Oral Sources of *Óláfs saga helga* in *Heimskringla*,” *Saga-book* 32 (2008): 5–38.
- , *The Growth of the Medieval Icelandic Sagas (1180–1280)*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2007.
- , “King’s Sagas (*Konungasögur*),” in *Old Norse-Icelandic Literature: A Critical Guide*, ed. Carol J. Clover and John Lindow, pp. 197–238. Toronto: University of Toronto Press in association with the Medieval Academy of America, 2005. Originally published: Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1985; reprinted with a new preface.

- , “The Displacement of the Heroic Ideal in the Family Sagas,” *Speculum* 45 (1970): 575–93.
- Anna Sigurðardóttir, *Allt hafði annan róm áður í páfadóm: nunnuklastrin tvö á Íslandi á miðöldum og brot úr kristnisögu*. Reykjavík: Kvennasögusafn Íslands, 1988.
- Antti, Arne, *The Types of the Folktale: A Classification and Bibliography*, trans. and enlarged by Stith Thompson. 2nd rev. edn. Helsinki: Suomalainen tiedeakatemia, 1973.
- Austin, J. L., *How to Do Things with Words*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1962.
- Ágúst H. Bjarnason, *Íslensk flóra með litmyndum*. Reykjavík: Forlagið, 1994.
- Ármann Jakobsson, “Identifying the Ogre: The Legendary Saga Giants,” in *Fornaldarsagaerne: Myter og virkelighed. Studier i de oldislandske fornaldarsögur Norðurlanda*, ed. Agneta Ney, Ármann Jakobsson, and Annette Lassen, pp. 181–200. Copenhagen: Museum Tusulanums Forlag, 2009.
- , “Ástin á tímum þjóðveldisins,” in *Miðaldabörn*, ed. Ármann Jakobsson and Torfi H. Tulinius, 65–85. Reykjavík: Hugvísindastofnun Háskóla Íslands, 2005.
- , “Royal Biography,” in *A Companion to Old Norse–Icelandic Literature and Culture*, ed. Rory McTurk, pp. 388–402. Oxford: Blackwell, 2005.
- , “Queens of Terror: Perilous Women in Hálf's saga and Hrólfs saga kraka,” in *Fornaldarsagornas struktur och ideologi. Handlingar från ett symposium i Uppsala 31.8–2.9 2001*, ed. Ármann Jakobsson, Agneta Ney, and Annette Lassen, pp. 173–89. Uppsala: Uppsala Universitet, 2003.
- , *Í leit að konungi: Konungsmynd íslenskra konungasagna*. Reykjavík: Háskólaútgáfan, 1997.
- Bagerius, Henric, *Mandom och mödom: Sexualitet, homosocialitet och aristokratisk identitet på det senmedeltida Island*. Gothenburg: Göteborgs universitet, 2009.
- Bagge, Sverre, *Society and Politics in Snorri Sturluson's Heimskringla*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991.
- Barnes, Geraldine, “Romance in Iceland,” in *Old Icelandic Literature and Society*, ed. Margaret Clunies Ross, pp. 266–86. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2000.
- Bibire, Paul, “From *riddarasaga* to *lygisaga*: The Norse Response to Romance,” in *Les Sagas de Chevaliers (riddarasögur): Actes de la Ve Conférence Internationale sur les Sagas*, ed. Régis Boyer, pp. 55–74. Toulon: Presses de l'Université Paris-Sorbonne, 1985.
- Boberg, Inger M., *Motif-Index of Early Icelandic Literature*, Bibliotheca Arnarnæana 27. Copenhagen: Munksgaard, 1966.
- Bourdieu, Pierre, “The Forms of Capital,” in *Handbook of Theory of Research for the Sociology of Education*, ed. J. G. Richardson, trans. Richard Nice, pp. 46–58. New York: Greenwood Press, 1986.
- Borovsky, Zoe, “Never in Public: Women and Performance in Old Norse Literature,” *Journal of American Folklore* 112 (1999): 6–39.
- Butler, Judith, *Bodies That Matter: On the Discursive Limits of “Sex.”* New York: Routledge, 1993.
- , *Gender Trouble: Feminism and the Subversion of Identity*. New York: Routledge, 1990.
- Cadden, Joan, *Meanings of Sex Difference in the Middle Ages: Medicine, Science, and Culture*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993.

- Clark, David, "Manslaughter and Misogyny: Women and Revenge in *Sturlunga saga*," *Saga-Book* 33 (2009): 25–43.
- Cleasby, Richard and Guðbrandur Vigfusson, *An Icelandic-English Dictionary*. 2nd edn. with a supplement by Sir William A. Craigie. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1957.
- Clover, Carol J., "Regardless of Sex: Men, Women, and Power in Early Northern Europe," *Speculum* 68 (1993): 363–87.
- , *Men, Women, and Chain Saws: Gender in the Modern Horror Film*. London: BFI, 1992.
- , "Maiden Warriors and Other Sons," *Journal of English and German Philology* 85 (1986): 35–49.
- , "Hildigunnr's Lament," in *Structure and Meaning in Old Norse Literature: New Approaches to Textual Analysis and Literary Criticism*, ed. John Lindow, Lars Lönnroth, and Gerd Wolfgang Weber, pp. 141–83. Odense: Odense University Press, 1986. Reprinted in *Cold Counsel: Women in Old Norse Literature and Mythology*, ed. Sarah M. Anderson with Karen Swenson, pp. 15–54. New York: Routledge, 2002.
- Clunies Ross, Margaret, *Prolonged Echoes: Old Norse Myths in Medieval Northern Society*, 2 vols. Odense: Odense University Press, 1994.
- Cohen, Jeffrey Jerome, *Hybridity, Identity, and Monstrosity in Medieval Britain: On Difficult Middles*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006.
- , *Of Giants. Sex, Monsters, and the Middle Ages*, *Medieval Cultures* 17. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1999.
- , "Monster Culture (Seven Theses)," in *Monster Theory: Reading Culture*, ed. Jeffrey Jerome Cohen, pp. 3–25. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1996.
- Derrida, Jacques, "Différance," *Bulletin de la Société française de philosophie*, LXII, no. 3 (1968): 73–101. Reprinted in *Théorie d'ensemble*. Paris: Éditions du Seuil, 1968.
- Dillmann, François-Xavier, *Les magiciens dans l'Islande ancienne: Études sur la représentation de la magie islandaise et de ses agents dans les sources littéraires norroises*. Uppsala: Kungl. Gustav Adolfs Akademien för svensk folkkultur, 2006.
- Eichhorn-Mulligan, Amy, "Contextualising Old Norse-Icelandic Bodies," in *The Fantastic in Old Norse–Icelandic Literature: Sagas and the British Isles. Preprint Papers of the 13th International Saga Conference. Durham and York, 6th–12th August, 2006*, ed. John McKinnell, David Ashurst, and Donata Kick, pp. 198–207. Durham: Centre for Medieval and Renaissance Studies, 2006.
- Ellis Davidson, Hilda R., "Hostile Magic in the Icelandic Sagas," in *The Witch Figure*, ed. Venetia Newall, pp. 20–41. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1973.
- Fetterley, Judith, *The Resisting Reader: A Feminist Approach to American Fiction*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1978.
- Frank, Roberta, "Marriage in Twelfth- and Thirteenth-Century Iceland," *Viator* 4 (1973): 473–84.
- von Friesen, Otto, "Fredsförhandlingarna mellan Olov Skötkonung och Olav Haraldsson," *Historisk tidskrift* (svensk) 62 (1942): 205–70.

- Gaunt, Simon, *Gender and Genre in Medieval French Literature*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1995.
- Georges Duby, *The Knight, the Lady and the Priest: The Making of Modern Marriage in Medieval France*, trans. Barbara Bray. Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1984.
- Gísli Pálsson, "The Name of the Witch: Sagas, Sorcery and Social Context," in *Social Approaches to Viking Studies*, ed. Ross Samson, pp. 157–68. Glasgow: Cruithne Press, 1991.
- Gísli Sigurðsson, *The Medieval Icelandic Saga and Oral Tradition: A Discourse on Method*, Publications of the Milman Parry Collection of Oral Literature 2, trans. Nicholas Jones. Cambridge, MA: The Milman Parry Collection of Oral Literature, Harvard University, 2004. First published as *Túlkun Íslendingasagna í ljósi munnlegrar hefðar: Tilgáta um aðferð*, Rit 56. Reykjavík: Stofnun Árna Magnússonar á Íslandi, 2002.
- Glauser, Jürg, "Romance (Translated riddarasögur)," in *A Companion to Old Norse–Icelandic Literature and Culture*, ed. Rory McTurk, pp. 372–87. Oxford: Blackwell, 2005.
- , *Isländische Märchensagas: studien zur Prosaliteratur im spätmittelalterlichen Island*. Basel: Helbing & Lichtenhahn, 1983.
- Gos, Giselle, "Women as a Source of *heilræði*, 'sound counsel': Social Mediation and Community Integration in *Fóstbræðra saga*," *Journal of English and German Philology* 108 (2009): 281–300.
- Guðbjörg Aðalbergisdóttir, "Nítíða og aðrir meykóngar," *Mímir* 32–33 (1993–4): 44–55.
- Guðrún Nordal, *Tools of Literacy: The Role of Skaldic Verse in Icelandic Textual Culture of the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2001.
- Gunnar F. Guðmundsson, *Íslenskt samfélag og Rómakirkja*, Kristni á Íslandi 2, ed. Hjalti Hugason. Reykjavík: Alþingi, 2000.
- Gunnar Karlsson, "Barnfóstur á Íslandi að fornu," in *Miðaldabörn*, ed. Ármann Jakobsson and Torfi H. Tulinius, pp. 37–61. Reykjavík: Hugvísindastofnun Háskóla Íslands, 2005.
- , "Kenningin um fornt kvenfrelsi á Íslandi," *Saga* XXIV (1986): 45–77.
- Harloe, Katherine, "Can Political Theory Provide a Model for Reception? Max Weber and Hannah Arendt," *Cultural Critique* 74 (2010): 17–31.
- Harris, Richard L., "'(opt) eru köld kvenna ráð'—a Critically Popular Old Icelandic Proverb and Its Uses in the *Íslendingasögur* and Elsewhere," *Concordance of Proverbs and Proverbial Matters in the Old Icelandic Sagas*, Richard L. Harris, n.d. web. Nov. 22, 2009.
- Heinrichs, Anne, "Wenn ein König liebeskrank wird," in *Die Aktualität der Saga: Festschrift für Hans Schottmann*, ed. Stig Toftgaard Andersen, pp. 36–43. Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1999.
- , "Annat er vart eðli: The Type of the Prepatriarchal Woman in Old Norse Literature," in *Structure and Meaning in Old Norse Literature: New Approaches to Textual Analysis and Literary Criticism*, ed. John Lindow, Lars Lönnroth, and Gerd Wolfgang Weber, pp. 110–40. Odense: Odense University Press, 1986.

- , “Christliche Überformung traditioneller Erzählstoffe in der ‘Legendarischen Olafssaga,’” in *Sixth International Saga Conference 28.7–2.8 1985: Workshop Papers*, pp. 451–67. Copenhagen: Det Arnamagnæanske Institut, 1985.
- Helga Kress, “‘Óþarfar unnustur áttu’: Um samband fjölkynngi, kvennafars og karlmennsku í Íslendingasögum,” in *Galdramenn*, ed. Torfi H. Tulinius, pp. 21–49. Reykjavík: Hugvísindastofnun Háskóla Íslands, 2008.
- , “Fyrir dyrum föstru: Textafræðingar og konan í textanum út frá vísu Helgu Bárðardóttur í *Bárðar sögu Snæfellsáss*,” in *Fyrir dyrum föstru: Greinar um konur og kynferði í íslenskum fornþókmennnum*, pp. 67–100. Reykjavík: Háskóli Íslands/Rannsóknastofa í kvennafræðum, 1996.
- , *Máttugar meyjar: Íslensk fornþókmennnasaga*. Reykjavík: Háskólaútgáfan, 1993.
- , “Staðlausir stafir: Um slúður sem uppsprettu frásagnar í Íslendingasögum,” *Skírnir* 165 (1991): 130–56.
- , “Bróklindi Falgeirs: Fóstbræðrasaga og hláturmenning miðalda,” *Skírnir* 161 (1987): 271–86.
- , “‘Ekki höfu vér kvennaskap’: Nokkrar laustengdar athuganir um karlmennsku og kvenhatur í *Njálu*,” in *Sjöttú ritgerðir helgaðar Jakobi Benediktssyni. 20. júlí 1977*, ed. Einar G. Pétursson and Jónas Kristjánsson, 2 vols., 1: 293–313. Reykjavík: Stofnun Árna Magnússonar, 1977.
- Heller, Rolf, *Die literarische Darstellung der Frau in den Isländersagas*. Halle: Max Niemeyer Verlag, 1958.
- Hughes, Shaun F. D., “Klári saga as an Indigenous Romance,” in *Romance and Love in Late Medieval and Early Modern Iceland: Essays in Honor of Marianne Kalinke*, *Islandica* 54, ed. Kirsten Wolf and Johanna Denzin, pp. 135–63. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Library, 2008.
- Inga Huld Hákonardóttir, “Frá aðalskonum til hversdagskvenna,” in *Íslenskt samfélag og Rómakirkja*, Kristni á Íslandi 2, ed. Hjalti Hugason, 264–67. Reykjavík: Alþingi, 2000.
- , “Í nunnuklaustri—Kirkjubær og Reynistaður,” in *Íslenskt samfélag og Rómakirkja*, Kristni á Íslandi 2, ed. Hjalti Hugason, pp. 225–29. Reykjavík: Alþingi, 2000.
- Irigaray, Luce, *This Sex Which Is Not One*, trans. Catherine Porter with Carolyn Burke. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1985.
- Jaeger, C. Stephen, *The Origins of Courtliness: Civilizing Trends and the Formation of Courtly Ideals 939–1210*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1985.
- Jesch, Judith, “In Praise of Ástríðr Óláfsdóttir,” *Saga-Book XXIV* (1994): 1–18.
- , “Illuga saga Gríðarfóstra,” in *Medieval Scandinavia. An Encyclopedia*, ed. Phillip Pulsiano et al., pp. 322–23. New York: Garland, 1992.
- , *Women in the Viking Age*. Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 1991.
- Jochens, Jenny M., *Old Norse Images of Women*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1996.
- , *Women in Old Norse Society*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1995.
- , “From Libel to Lament: Male Manifestations of Love in Old Norse,” in *From Sagas to Society. Comparative Approaches to Early Iceland*, ed. Gísli Pálsson, pp. 247–64. Enfield Lock: Hisarlik Press, 1992.

- Jochens, Jenny M., "Before the Male Gaze: The Absence of the Female Body in Old Norse," in *The 8th International Saga Conference: The Audience of the Sagas*, 2. vols., 1: 247–56. Gothenburg: Gothenburg University, 1991.
- , "The Politics of Reproduction: Medieval Norwegian Kingship," *American Historical Review* 92 (1987): 327–49.
- , "Consent in Marriage: Old Norse Law, Life, and Literature," *Scandinavian Studies* 58 (1986): 142–76.
- , "The Medieval Icelandic Heroine, Fact or Fiction?" *Viator* 17 (1986): 35–50.
- Johnsen, Oscar Albert, *Friðgerðar-saga: en kildekritisk undersøkelse*. Oslo: Grøndahl, 1916.
- Jóhanna Katrín Friðriksdóttir, "From Heroic Legend to 'Medieval Screwball Comedy'? The Development and Interpretation of the *meykongr* motif," in *The Legendary Sagas: Origins and Development*, ed. Annette Lassen, Agneta Ney, and Ármann Jakobsson, pp. 229–49. Reykjavík: University of Iceland Press, 2012.
- , "'Hygginn ok forsjál': Wisdom and Women's Council in *Hrólfs saga Gautrekssonar*," in *Making History: Essays on the fornaldarsögur*, pp. 69–84. London: Viking Society for Northern Research, 2010.
- , "Women's Weapons: A Re-evaluation of Magic in the *Íslendingasögur*," *Scandinavian Studies* 80 (2009): 409–36.
- Jón Viðar Sigurðsson, "The Icelandic Aristocracy after the Fall of the Free State," *Scandinavian Journal of History* 20 (1995): 153–66.
- Jóna Guðbjörg Torfadóttir, "Í orðastað Alþífu," *Skírnir* 178 (2004): 35–57.
- Jónas Kristjánsson, *Um Fóstbræðrasögu*. Reykjavík: Stofnun Árna Magnússonar, 1972.
- Jones, Gwyn, *A History of the Vikings*. 2nd edn. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1984.
- Jørgensen, Jon Gunnar, "Ynglinga saga mellom fornaldersaga og kongesaga," in *Fornaldarsagaerne: Myter og virkelighed; Studier i de oldislandske fornaldarsögur Nordurlanda*, ed. Agneta Ney, Ármann Jakobsson, and Annette Lassen, pp. 49–59. Copenhagen: Museum Tusulanums Forlag, 2009.
- Kalinke, Marianne E., "Clári saga, *Hrólfs saga Gautrekssonar*, and the Evolution of Icelandic Romance," *Bibliotheca Nordica*, ed. Karl G. Johanson and Else Mundal. Oslo, forthcoming.
- , ed., *The Arthur of the North: The Arthurian Legend in the Norse and Rus' Realms*. Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2011.
- , "Clári saga: A Case of Low German Infiltration," *Scripta Islandica* 59 (2008): 5–25.
- , "Table Decorum and the Quest for a Bride in *Clári saga*," in *At the Table: Metaphorical and Material Cultures of Food in Medieval and Early Modern Europe*, ed. Timothy Tomasik and Julian Vitullo, pp. 51–72. Turnhout: Brepols, 2007.
- , "Vígundur saga: An Icelandic Bridal-Quest Romance," *Skáldskaparmál* 3 (1994): 119–43.
- , *Bridal-Quest Romance in Medieval Iceland*, *Islandica* 46. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1990.

- Karras, Ruth Mazo, *Slavery and Society in Medieval Scandinavia*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1988.
- Ker, W. P., *Epic and Romance: Essays on Medieval Literature*, 2nd ed. London: Macmillan, 1908.
- Kieckhefer, Richard, *Magic in the Middle Ages*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1989.
- Kristeva, Julia, *Powers of Horror: An Essay on Abjection*, trans. Leon S. Roudiez. New York: Columbia University Press, 1982.
- Laqueur, Thomas, *Making Sex: Body and Gender from the Greeks to Freud*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1990.
- Larrington, Carolyne, "The Translated *lais*," in *The Arthur of the North: The Arthurian Legend in the Nordic and Rus' Realms*, ed. Marianne Kalinke, pp. 77–97. Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2011.
- , "Queens and Bodies: The Norwegian Translated *lais* and Hákon IV's Kinswomen," *Journal of English and German Philology* 108 (2009): 506–27.
- , "Stjúpmæðrasögur and Sigurð's Daughters," in *Á austrvega: Saga and East Scandinavia. Preprint Papers of The 14th International Saga Conference. Uppsala, 9th–15th August, 2009*, ed. Agneta Ney, Henrik Williams, and Fredrik Charpentier Ljungqvist, 2 vols., 2: 568–75. Gävle: Gävle University Press, 2009.
- , *King Arthur's Enchantresses: Morgan and Her Sisters in Arthurian Tradition*. London: I. B. Tauris, 2006.
- , *A Store of Common Sense. Gnomie Theme and Style in Old Icelandic and Old English Wisdom Poetry*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993.
- , "'What Does Woman Want?' Mær and munr in *Skírnismál*," *Alvíssmál* 1 (1992): 3–16.
- Lassen, Annette, "Origines Gentium and the Learned Origin of *Fornaldarsögur Norðurlanda*," in *The Legendary Sagas: Origins and Development*, ed. Annette Lassen, Agneta Ney, and Ármann Jakobsson, pp. 33–58. Reykjavík: Háskólaútgáfan, 2012.
- , *Øjet og blindheden i norrøn litteratur og mytologi*. Copenhagen: Museum Tusulanums Forlag, 2003.
- Layher, William, "Caught between Worlds: Gendering the Maiden Warrior in Old Norse," in *Women and Medieval Epic: Gender, Genre, and the Limits of Epic Masculinity*, ed. Sara S. Poor and Jana K. Schulman, pp. 183–208. New York: Palgrave, 2007.
- Lerner, Gerda, *The Creation of Patriarchy*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1986.
- Lethbridge, Emily, *Narrative Variation in the Versions of Gísli saga Súrssonar*. Diss. University of Cambridge, 2007.
- Lindblad, Gustaf, "Introduction," in *Bergsbók. Perg. Fol. Nr. 1 in the Royal Library, Stockholm*, Early Icelandic Manuscripts in Facsimile 5, ed. Gustaf Lindblad. Copenhagen: Rosenkilde and Bagger, 1963.
- Linke, Uri, "The Theft of Blood, the Birth of Men: Cultural Constructions of Gender in Medieval Iceland," in *From Sagas to Society: Comparative Approaches to Early Iceland*, ed. Gísli Pálsson, pp. 265–88. Enfield Lock: Hisarlik Press, 1992.
- Lönroth, Lars, "Ideology and Structure in Heimskringla," *Parergon* 15 (1976): 16–29.

- Loomis, R. S., "The Fier Baiser in Mandeville's Travels, Arthurian Romance, and Irish Saga," *Studi Medievali* 17 (1951): 104–13.
- Loth, Agnete, "Preface," in *Late Medieval Icelandic Romances*, Editiones Arnarnagænanæ B.20, ed. Agnete Loth, 5 vols., 1. Copenhagen: Ejnar Munksgaard, 1962.
- , "Introduction," *Thomasskinna. Gl. Kgl. Saml. 1008 fol. in the Royal Library, Copenhagen*, Early Icelandic Manuscripts in Facsimile 6, ed. Agnete Loth. Copenhagen: Rosenkilde and Bagger, 1964.
- McCracken, Peggy, *The Romance of Adultery: Queenship and Sexual Transgression in Old French Literature*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1998.
- McDonald, Nicola, "A Polemical Introduction," in *Pulp Fictions of Medieval England. Essays in Popular Romance*, ed. Nicola McDonald. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2004.
- McKinnell, John, *Meeting the Other in Norse Myth and Legend*. Cambridge, UK: D. S. Brewer, 2005.
- McTurk, Rory, *Chaucer and the Norse and Celtic Worlds*. Aldershot: Ashgate, 2005.
- Miller, William Ian, *Bloodtaking and Peacemaking: Feud, Law, and Society in Saga Iceland*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1990.
- , "Dreams, Prophecy and Sorcery: Blaming the Secret Offender in Medieval Iceland," *Scandinavian Studies* 58 (1986): 101–23.
- , "Choosing the Avenger: Some Aspects of the Bloodfeud in Medieval Iceland and England," *Law and History Review* 1 (1983): 159–204.
- Mitchell, Stephen A., "Magic as Acquired Art and the Ethnographic Value of the Sagas," in *Old Norse Myths, Literature and Society*, ed. Margaret Clunies Ross, pp. 132–52. Odense: University Press of Southern Denmark, 2003.
- , *Heroic Sagas and Ballads*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1991.
- Morris, Katherine, *Sorceress or Witch? The Image of Gender in Medieval Iceland and Northern Europe*. Lanham, MD: University Press of America, 1991.
- Motz, Lotte, "The Storm of Troll-Women," *Maal og minne* (1988): 31–41.
- , "Giantesses and Their Names," *Frühmittelalterliche Studien* 15 (1981): 495–511.
- Mulvey, Laura, "Visual Pleasure and Narrative Cinema," *Screen* 16 no. 3 (1975): 6–18.
- Mundal, Else, "The Position of Women in Old Norse Society and the Basis for Their Power," *NORA—Nordic Journal of Feminist and Gender Research* 1 (1994): 3–11.
- Norrmann, Lena, "Woman or Warrior? The Construction of Gender in Old Norse Myth," in *Old Norse Myths, Literature and Society: The Proceedings of the 11th International Saga Conference 2–7 July 2000, University of Sydney*, ed. Geraldine Barnes and Margaret Clunies Ross, pp. 375–85. Sydney: Centre for Medieval Studies, University of Sydney, 2000.
- O'Connor, Ralph, "'Stepmother Sagas': An Irish Analogue for *Hjámpérs saga ok Ölvérs*," *Scandinavian Studies* 72 (2000): 1–48.
- Phelpstead, Carl, "The Sexual Ideology of *Hrólf's saga kraka*," *Scandinavian Studies* 75 (2003): 1–24.
- Power, Rosemary, "*Geasa* and *Álög*: Magic Formulae and Perilous Quests in Gaelic and Norse," *Scottish Studies* 28 (1987): 69–89.

- , “*Le Lai de Lanval and Helga þáttur Þórissonar*,” *Opuscula* 8, *Bibliotheca Arnemagnæana* 38 (1985): 158–61.
- Price, Neil S., *The Viking Way: Religion and War in Late Iron Age Scandinavia*. Uppsala: The Department of Archaeology and Ancient History, 2002.
- Psaki, F. Regina, “Women’s Counsel in the *Riddarasögur*: The Case of *Parcevals saga*,” in *Cold Counsel: Women in Old Norse Literature and Mythology*, ed. Sarah M. Anderson with Karen Swenson, pp. 201–24. New York: Routledge, 2002.
- Putter, Ad, *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight and French Arthurian Romance*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1999.
- Quinn, Judy, “The Realisation of Mythological Design: The Early Generations of the Völsung Dynasty,” in *Fornaldarsagaerne: Myter og virkelighed. Studier i de old-islandske fornaldarsögur Norðurlanda*, ed. Agneta Ney, Ármann Jakobsson, and Annette Lassen, pp. 181–200. Copenhagen: Museum Tusulanums Forlag, 2009.
- , et al. “Interrogating Genre in the *fornaldarsögur*: A Roundtable Discussion,” *Viking and Medieval Scandinavia* 2 (2006): 275–96.
- Raudvere, Catharina, “*Trolldómur* in Early Medieval Scandinavia,” in *Witchcraft and Magic in Europe: The Middle Ages*, pp. 75–171. London: Athlone Press, 2002.
- Reinhard, John Revell, *The Survival of Geis in Mediaeval Romance*. Halle: M. Niemeyer, 1933.
- Ricketts, Philadelphia, *High-Ranking Widows in Medieval Iceland and Yorkshire: Property, Power, Marriage and Identity in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries*. Leiden: Brill, 2010.
- Robertson, Elizabeth and Christine Rose, ed., *Representing Rape in Medieval and Early Modern Literature*. New York: Palgrave, 2001.
- Ross, Margaret Clunies, *Prolonged Echoes: Old Norse Myths in Medieval Northern Society*, vol. 1. Odense: Odense University Press, 1994.
- Rowe, Elizabeth Ashman, “Absent Mothers and the Sons of Fornljótr: Late-Thirteenth-Century Monarchist Ideology in *Þorsteins saga Víkingssonar*,” *Medieval Scandinavia* 14 (2004): 133–60.
- Russum, Geoffrey R., “A Germanic Concept of Nobility in *The Gifts of Men and Beowulf*,” *Speculum* 53 (1978): 1–15.
- Saunders, Corrine, *Rape and Ravishment in the Literature of Medieval England*. Woodbridge: D. S. Brewer, 2001.
- Sävborg, Daniel, *Sagan om kärleken: Erotik känslor och berättarkonst i norrön litteratur*. Uppsala: Uppsala Universitetet, 2007.
- Sayers, William, “Power, Magic and Sex: Queen Gunnhildr and the Icelanders,” *Scandinavian-Canadian Studies / Études scandinaves au Canada* 8 (1995): 57–77.
- Scarborough, John, “The Pharmacology of Sacred Plants, Herbs, and Roots,” in *Magika Hiera: Ancient Greek Magic and Religion*, ed. Christopher A. Faraone and Dirk Obbink, pp. 138–74. New York: Oxford University Press, 1991.
- Schäfer, Werner, “The ‘Wild’ East in Late Medieval Icelandic Romance—Just a Prop(p)?,” in *Á austurvega: Saga and East Scandinavia. Preprint Papers of The 14th International Saga Conference. Uppsala, 9th–15th August, 2009*, ed. Agneta Ney, Henrik Williams, and Fredrik Charpentier Ljungqvist, 2 vols., 2: 845–50. Gävle: Gävle University Press, 2009.

- Schottmann, Hans, "Friðgerðarsaga," *Studien zum Altgermanischen: Festschrift für Heinrich Beck*, ed. Heiko Uecker, pp. 539–53. Berlin: de Gruyter, 1994.
- Schulz, Katja, *Riesen: Von Wissenschütern und Wildisbewohnern in Edda und Saga*. Heidelberg: Universitätsverlag Winter, 2004.
- Searle, John R., *Expression and Meaning: Studies in the Theory of Speech Acts*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979.
- Shildrick, Margrit, *Embodying the Monster: Encounters with the Vulnerable Self*. London: Sage, 2002.
- Showalter, Elaine, "Feminist Criticism in the Wilderness," *Critical Inquiry* 8 (1981): 179–205.
- Sif Ríkhardsdóttir, *Medieval Translations and Cultural Discourse: The Movement of Texts in England, France and Scandinavia*. Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 2012.
- , "Meykóngahefðin í riddarasögunum: Hugmyndafræðileg átök um kynhlutverk og þjóðfélagsstöðu," *Skírnir* 184 (2010): 410–33.
- Sigríður Beck, *I kungens fránvaro: Formeringen av en isländsk aristokrati 1271–1387*. Gothenburg: Göteborgs universitet, 2011.
- Sigurður Nordal, *Om Olaf den Helliges Saga: En kritisk undersøgelse*. Copenhagen: G. E. C. Gads Forlag, 1914.
- Sørensen, Preben Meulengracht, *The Unmanly Man: Concepts of Sexual Defamation in Early Northern Society*, trans. Joan Turville-Petre. Odense: Odense University Press, 1983. First published as *Norrønt nid: forestillingen om den umandige mand i de islandske sagaer*. Odense: Odense Universitetsforlag, 1980.
- Stafford, Pauline, "The Portrayal of Royal Women in England, Mid-Tenth to Mid-Twelfth Centuries," in *Medieval Queenship*, ed. John Carmi Parsons. 2nd edn., pp. 143–68. Stroud: Alan Sutton, 1998.
- , "The King's Wife in Wessex, 800–1066," in *New Readings on Women in Old English Literature*, ed. Helen Damico and Alexandra Hennessey Olsen, pp. 56–78. Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1990.
- , "Sons and Mothers: Family Politics in the Early Middle Ages," in *Medieval Women*, ed. Derek Baker, pp. 79–100. Oxford: Blackwell for the Ecclesiastical History Society, 1978.
- Straubhaar, Sandra Ballif, "Nasty, Brutish, and Large: Cultural Difference and Otherness in the Figuration of the Trollwomen of the *Fornaldar sögur*," *Scandinavian Studies* 73 (2003): 105–24.
- Sverrir Tómasson, "Mírmanns saga: The First Old Norse-Icelandic Hagiographical Romance?" in *Romance and Love in Late Medieval and Early Modern Iceland: Essays in Honor of Marianne Kalinke*, *Islandica* 54, ed. Kirsten Wolf and Johanna Denzin, pp. 319–35. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Library, 2008.
- Tennant, Elaine, "Prescriptions and Performatives in Imagined Cultures: Gender Dynamics in Nibelungenlied Adventure," in *Mittelalter: Neue Wege durch einen alten Kontinent*, ed. Jan-Dirk Müller and Horst Wenzel, pp. 273–316. Stuttgart: Hirzel, 1999.
- Thomas, M. F., "The Briar and the Vine: Tristan Goes North," in *Arthurian Literature*, vol. 3, ed. Richard Barber, pp. 53–90. Cambridge, UK: D. S. Brewer, 1983.

- Tolmie, Jane, "Goadings, Ritual Discord and the Deflection of Blame," *Journal of Historical Pragmatics* 4 (2003): 287–301.
- Tolley, Clive, "Vǫrðr and Gandr: Helping Spirits in Norse Magic," *Arkiv for nordisk filologi* 110 (1995): 57–75.
- Torfi H. Tulinius, *Skáldið í skrifinni: Snorri Sturluson og Egils saga*. Reykjavík: Hið íslenska bókmenntafélag/ReykjavíkAkademían, 2004.
- , *The Matter of the North: The Rise of Literary Fiction in Thirteenth-Century Iceland*, trans. Randi C. Eldevik. Odense: Odense University Press, 2002. First published as *La Matière du Nord: sagas légendaires et fiction dans la littérature islandaise en prose du XIIIe siècle*. Paris: Presses de l'Université de Paris-Sorbonne, 1995.
- Vésteinn Ólason, "Family Sagas," in *A Companion to Old Norse-Icelandic Literature and Culture*, ed. Rory McTurk, pp. 101–18. Oxford: Blackwell, 2005.
- , *Dialogues with the Viking Age: Narration and Representation in the Sagas of the Icelanders*, trans. Andrew Wawn. Reykjavík: Heimskringla, 1998. First published as *Samræður við söguöld—frásagnarlist Íslendingasagna og fortíðarmynd*.
- Wahlgren, Erik, *The Maiden King in Iceland*. Diss. University of Chicago, 1938.
- Wanner, Kevin J., *Snorri Sturluson and the Edda: The Conversion of Cultural Capital in Medieval Scandinavia*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2008.
- Weber, Max, *Economy and Society: An Outline of Interpretive Sociology (Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft. Grundriss der verstehenden Soziologie)*, ed. Guenther Roth and Claus Wittich, 2 vols. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1978.
- , *Selections in Translation*, ed. W. G. Runciman, trans. E. Matthews. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1978.
- Winroth, Anders, *The Conversion of Scandinavia: Vikings, Merchants, and Missionaries in the Remaking of Northern Europe*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2012.
- Wolf, Kirsten, "Female Scribes at Work? A Consideration of Kirkjubæjrbók (Codex AM 429 12mo)," in *Beatus Vir. Studies in Early English and Norse Manuscripts in Memory of Phillip Pulsiano*, ed. A. N. Doane and Kirsten Wolf, pp. 265–95. Tempe, AZ: ACMRS, 2006.
- Yalman, Nur, "Magic," in *International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences*, vol. 9, ed. David L. Sills, pp. 521–28. New York: Macmillan & Free Press, 1972.

INDEX

- Agnesar saga* 168n63, 168n69, 170n103
Ágrip af Nóregskonungasögum 83, 99,
159n9, 160n25, 161n35, 162n54
Ála flekks saga 164n2, 165n7
Álfifa, Queen of Norway (*Heimskringla*
et al.) 83, 84, 85, 91–3, 94
Áns saga bogsvægis 30, 32, 38
Áslaug/Randalín (*Ragnars saga*
loðbrókar) 41, 114, 168n62
Ástriðr Óláfsdóttir (*Heimskringla* et
al.) 42, 79, 80, 85, 87, 93–4, 98, 99,
100–104, 105, 165n19
- Barböru saga* 168n63, 168n69, 170n103
Bárðar saga Snæfellsáss 70
Bergþóra Skarphéðinsdóttir (*Brennu-
Njáls saga*) 15, 21, 82, 156n59
Bjarnar saga Hítðelakappa 43
Brana (*Hálfðanar saga Brönufóstra*) 63,
64, 70, 75–6
Brennu-Njáls saga 15, 17, 20, 21, 50,
52, 58, 83, 140n9, 142n2, 142n5,
150n19, 156n59
Brynhildr Buðladóttir 18, 24, 25,
30, 34, 108, 112, 143n15, 145n40,
145n43, 166n27
Bósa saga 153n7, 156n52
- Clári saga* 109, 112, 116, 117, 118, 119,
120–2, 123, 127, 128, 154n17, 164n2,
164n5, 165n12, 165n15, 171n108
curses 35, 50–1, 52, 56, 120, 126,
150n16, 166n25
- Dínus saga drambláta* 111, 117, 118–19,
123, 164n2, 165n12, 166n21
Dóróteu saga 168n69, 170n103
dreams 29–30, 39
- Egils saga einhenda ok Ásmundar
berserkjabana* 60, 62, 63, 145n54,
153n7, 154n18
Egils saga Skalla-Grímssonar 24, 38, 83,
151n27, 157n78
Eiríks saga rauða 51, 57
Emma, Queen of Denmark
(*Heimskringla*) 85, 90–1, 92
extramarital sex 69–73, 75, 77, 81, 83,
85, 122–6
Eyrbyggja saga 48, 53, 56, 57, 150n23,
151n30, 155n35, 156n47
- Fagrskinna* 92, 99, 160n25
Finnboga saga ramma 54
finngálkn 37, 64, 71
Fóstbræðra saga 22–3, 48, 53, 55–7,
144n34, 154n27, 156n48
Freyja, Norse goddess 18, 49
Friðgerðarsaga 79, 80, 94–9, 104
- gaze* 66–7, 127, 156n47
Gibbons saga 122, 123, 164n2, 165n13,
166n32
Gísla saga Súrssonar 21, 52, 55, 56,
142n2
gossip 35, 37, 38, 39, 51, 150n19
Grágás 163n90

- Grettis saga Ásmundarsonar* 48, 50, 52, 58, 125
- Gríma from *Qgr (Fóstbræðra saga)* 48, 55–6
- Gríma from *Eiríksfjörðr (Fóstbræðra saga)* 48, 53
- Gríms saga loðinkinna* 31, 62, 64, 67, 70, 153n7, 154n24, 157n73, 158n90
- Gunnars saga Keldugnúpsfjfls* 56
- Gunnhildr, Queen of Norway 11, 24, 48, 50, 52, 82–6, 92, 136, 151n27, 154n27, 160n25, 161n35
- Guðmundar saga dýra* 21
- Guðrún Gjúkadóttir 28, 30, 41, 143n21, 148n102, 158n90, 161n40
- Guðrún Ósvífursdóttir (*Laxdæla saga*) 131, 154n27
- Göngu-Hrólfs saga* 145n54, 146n65
- Hallgerðr langbrók Höskuldsdóttir (*Brennu-Njáls saga*) 15, 21, 82, 154n27
- Harðar saga ok Hólmverja* 83, 151n37
- Hákonar saga Hákonarsonar* 86,
- Hálfðanar saga Brömufostra* 30, 60, 74, 75, 153n7, 154n25
- Hálfðanar saga svarta* 82
- Hávamál* 25, 27, 33, 34, 37, 38, 40, 41
- female saints' lives (*Heilagra meyja sögur*) 168n63, 168n69, 170n103
- Heimskringla* 42, 79, 80, 81, 82, 84, 85, 87, 90, 91, 92, 93, 94, 98, 99, 100, 101, 103, 104, 136, 156n62, 158n1, 159n9, 163n77
- Helgakviða Hundingsbana II* 147n89
- Hervarar saga ok Heiðreks* 30, 145n50, 145n54
- Hervör Bjarmarsdóttir/Hervarðr (*Hervarar saga ok Heiðreks*) 30, 114, 115
- Hildigunnr, giantess (*Örvar-Odds saga*) 62, 63, 64, 70, 75
- Hildigunnr Starkaðardóttir 15, 17, 20, 24
- Hjálmþés saga ok Ölvis* 27, 31, 32, 33, 37, 64, 145n54, 153n7, 154n24
- Hrafnhildr Brúnadóttir (*Ketils saga hængs*) 64, 69–70, 77
- Hrafnkels saga Freysgoða* 20, 88, 143n17
- Hrólfr Gautreksson 26, 27, 28, 29, 35–6, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 114–16
- Hrólfs saga Gautrekssonar* 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 34–6, 37, 39–40, 41, 110, 113, 114–16
- Hrólfs saga kraka* 82, 110
- Hugsvinnsmál* 27, 32, 33, 38
- Illuga saga Gríðarfóstra* 74, 153n7, 154n17, 154n18, 154n24
- Ingibjörg Hrólfsdóttir, Irish princess (*Hrólfs saga Gautrekssonar*) 27–8
- Ingibjörg Tryggvadóttir (*Heimskringla*) 79, 80, 88, 94–7, 98, 99
- Ingibjörg Þórisdóttir, Queen of Gautland (*Hrólfs saga Gautrekssonar*) 29, 34–5
- Ingigerðr, Queen of Sweden (*Hrólfs saga Gautrekssonar*) 29, 39–40
- Ingigerðr Óláfsdóttir, Swedish princess (*Heimskringla* et al.) 79, 80, 85, 87, 97–100, 101, 102, 103, 104, 158n2, 162n70, 163n71, 163n73
- Ingigerðr/Ingi (*Sigrðarðs saga frækna*) 120, 113, 125–6, 166n25, 171n105
- Íslendingabók* 48
- íþróttir* 29, 30–1, 114, 146n65
- Jónsvíkinga saga* 83, 84, 160n16, 161n35
- Jónsbók* 124, 129, 169n85, 171n106
- Jórunn (*Áns saga bogsveigis*) 30, 32–3, 38
- Jórunn (*Laxdæla saga*) 43–4
- Ketill Gautreksson (*Hrólfs saga Gautrekssonar*) 26, 39, 41
- Ketill hængr 66–7, 69–70, 77, 157n78
- Ketils saga hængs* 64, 66, 69–70, 77, 153n7
- Kjalnesinga saga* 57
- Kormáks saga* 150n16

- Landnámabók* 152n50
- Laxdæla saga* 19, 24, 25, 43–4, 52, 72, 83, 131, 142n2, 142n5, 151n37
- Legendary saga (Helgísagan)* 79, 99, 100, 101, 159n9, 162n70, 163n71, 163n90
- Ljósvetninga saga* 51, 58
- Loathly Lady 71–3
- Lopthæna (*Gríms saga loðinkinna*) 31, 70, 73
- Lúcu saga* 168n69, 170n103
- Mágus-saga* (or *Bragða-Mágus saga*) 114, 123, 164n2, 166n35
- maiden-kings 5, 10–11, 26, 35, ch. 5, 136–7, 154n25, 161n43
- Margrétar saga* 168n63
- marriage and social rank 69–73, 77, 98, 100, 102, 116–19, 121–2
- Mírmanns saga* 113, 146n67, 147n73, 166n21, 166n35
- Mottuls saga* 110, 122, 165n14
- Nitida 110, 117, 127–30, 165n12
- Nitída saga* 108, 109, 117, 127–30, 131, 132, 133, 137, 164n2
- Óláfr *digri/helgi* Haraldsson (*Heimskringla* et al.) 79, 87, 88, 91–2, 93, 94–100, 100–104
- Óláfr *sænski* Eiríksson (*Heimskringla* et al.) 79, 85, 87, 88, 94–100, 101, 103, 162n70, 163n77
- Orkneyinga saga* 30
- Örvar-Oddr 28, 62, 67, 70, 75, 145n54, 150n18
- Örvar-Odds saga* 27, 28, 62, 63, 64, 67, 70, 74, 75, 150n18, 153n7, 153n16, 154n24, 155n31
- Parcevals saga* 165n19, 171n109
- Partalopa saga* 126, 164n2
- Philotemia (*Dínus saga drambláta*) 109, 111, 117, 118–19, 123, 124, 166n21
- prophecy 51–2, 150n18, 163n77
- Prose Edda* 2, 155n30
- queen of Denmark (*Hrólfs saga Gautrekssonar*) 26, 34–5, 40
- rape 66, 75, 117, 122–5, 132
- Ragnars saga loðbrókar* 41, 114, 143n13, 143n54, 167n46, 168n62
- Rígsþula* 64, 66, 118, 121, 155n29
- Sedentiana (*Sigurðar saga þogla*) 108–9, 111, 122, 127, 165n12, 165n14, 166n34
- seiðr* 49–50, 56, 151n27
- Separate Saga of St. Óláfr* 79, 101, 159n9, 162n56
- Séréna (*Clári saga*) 109, 112, 116, 120–2, 123, 127, 165n12, 171n108
- shield-maidens 6, 10–11, 114–16, 131, 132, 154n25, 166n38
- shirt of invulnerability 28, 57, 145n54, 152n50
- Sigrdrífumál* 25
- Sigrfljóð (*Fóstbræðra saga*) 22–3
- Sigraröðs saga frækna* 109, 113, 118, 120, 123, 125, 164n2, 165n15, 166n25, 169n76, 171n105, 171n109
- Sigurðar saga þogla* 108, 111, 117, 122, 127, 164n2, 165n12, 165n14, 166n34
- Skírnismál* 119–20, 122
- speech acts 19–21, 23, 35, 36, 39, 43, 50–1, 96
- Steinvör Sighvatsdóttir (*Dórðar saga kakala*) 18
- Sturlunga saga* 4, 18, 21, 22, 43
- Sturlaug's saga starfsama* 31, 32, 68, 153n7
- Svínfellinga saga* 42
- Sörla saga sterka* 143n13, 145n54, 153n7, 154n24
- Unnr *djúpúðga* Ketilsdóttir (*Laxdæla saga*) 25
- Vargeisa (*Hjálmþés saga ok Ölvis*) 32, 37, 64, 71
- Vátsdæla saga* 53, 54, 56, 57, 144n38
- Véfreyja (*Sturlaug's saga starfsama*) 31, 32

- Víga-Glúms saga* 51–2, 58
Víglundar saga 53, 151n30
Viktors saga ok Blávus 109, 164n2, 165n9, 165n12, 166n24, 167n46,
 violence against women 63, 66–7, 77, 119–25
Völsunga saga 25, 30, 34, 41, 82, 112, 143n13, 143n15, 143n21, 146n60, 147n89, 148n102, 150n13, 155n35, 158n90, 162n53
völur (sing. *völvu*) 49–50
Völuspá 49
- whetting 15, 17–25, 44–5, 54, 87–8, 95–6
 women and access to economic resources 9, 48, 53, 57–8, 84, 86, 87, 97, 105, 112, 117, 120, 132
 women and honor 3, 10, 15, 21, 24, 25, 36, 38, 42, 43, 45, 48, 54–6, 72, 75, 95, 103–4, 110, 116, 123, 124, 131, 135–6, 142n6
 women and intelligence 25–7, 29–30, 93, 103, 108, 110, 111, 112
 women and learning 30–1, 48, 111–12, 146n67
 women as doctors 31, 53, 147n73
 women's freedom of movement 51, 63, 65, 104, 128, 131, 132
- Ynglinga saga* 49, 81, 82
- Þórdís Súrsdóttir (*Gísla saga Súrssonar*) 21, 151n37
 Þorgeirr Hávarsson (*Fóstbræðra saga*) 22–3, 56
Þorgils saga ok Hafliða 43
 Þormóðr *Kolbrúnarskáld* Bersason (*Fóstbræðra saga*) 22–3, 48, 52, 54, 56
 Þórdís *spákona* “prophetess” (*Vatnsdæla saga*) 53–4, 144n38
 Þornbjörg Eireksdóttir/Þorbergr (*Hrólfss saga Gautrekssonar*) 26, 30, 35–6, 39, 40, 110, 113, 114–16, 128,
Þorsteins saga Víkingssonar 31, 63, 70, 153n7
Þórðar saga kakala 18
Þrymskviða 18