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OLD ICELANDIC TRUCE FORMULAS

(Tryggðamál)

By

ELIZABETH JACKSON

VIKING SOCIETY FOR NORTHERN RESEARCH

UNIVERSITY COLLEGE LONDON

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FOREWORD

Elizabeth Jackson gained her PhD from the University of Birmingham in 1989 with her thesis entitled *Some functions and forms of traditional lists in the 'Edda' and Old English poetry*. This was followed by three articles that continued the same theme: 'Some Contexts and Characteristics of Old Norse Ordering Lists'. *Saga-Book* 23 (1991), 112–40, "'Not Simply Lists": An Eddic Perspective on Short-Item Lists in Old English Poems'. *Speculum* 73 (1998), 338–71, and 'From the Seat of the þyle? A Reading of *Maxims I*, lines 138–140'. *Journal of English and Germanic Philology* 99 (2000), 170–87. She then became interested in the Old Icelandic *Tryggðamál*, which contains lists very similar to those she had already studied, and began work on editing and analysing the texts and exploring the background of the lists that are contained in it. Much of the groundwork was done in the summer of 2000, and work on the texts and analyses continued sporadically, though with many interruptions due to personal problems, until 2012, when she became too ill to work further, and it lay in abeyance for another four years. I have now decided that the work she has done should be made available to scholars, incomplete though it is, and so I present here a draft of an introduction, the latest versions of the texts, with translations and selected explanatory notes, and some of the attempts at analysis of parts of the *Grágás* and *Grettis saga* versions. I have made amendments, corrections and additions in various places that the author would doubtless have made to her work if she had been able to complete it.

Anthony Faulkes
Dundee, March 2016

INTRODUCTION

There are four extant versions of *Tryggðamál*, two in manuscripts of *Grágás* (Konungsbók (*Grágás* Ia 205–07, ch. 115: K) and Staðarhólsbók (*Grágás* II 406–07, ch. 388: S1)), one in *Heiðarvíga saga* (*ÍF* III 312–13, ch. 33: H) and one in *Grettis saga*¹ (*ÍF* VII 232–33, ch. 72: G). In addition, there is a closely related though shorter version in Staðarhólsbók (*Grágás* II 405–06, ch. 387: S2). Further, Konungsbók (*Grágás* Ia 204–05, ch. 114) and Staðarhólsbók (*Grágás* II 402–05) contain five other (unrelated) formulae for establishing a truce. *Tryggðamál* has also been edited in *Eddica Minora*.

The interest of *Tryggðamál* is not the same as that which engaged R. I. Page with the Rune Poem, i.e. establishing, or trying to establish, a definitive text from different versions which survive with no particular context.² On the contrary, with *Tryggðamál* the contexts are explicit. The interest lies in the light these contexts, and the accompanying variants, shed on the uses and transmission history of the text. *Tryggðamál* is a mixture of a prosaic, practical, legal text with a definite function, and a series of varying, almost poetic, mnemonic elaborations, one of which at least seems to be of ancient origin (see e.g. *Eddica Minora* cviii). Parallels and connections with Old English and Old Frisian texts and with the Russian Primary Chronicle suggest that it might be possible to trace fragments of *Tryggðamál* back to an origin in Common Germanic oral literature and to see a progression through various stages, including incorporation into a very early version of *Tryggðamál* in Norway, oral transmission to Iceland, post conversion Christianisation, eventual arrival in the written record and, ultimately, use in literary contexts. The literary uses of the text are of particular interest because they provide some evidence for the way in which the text may have been used and transmitted during the years following the settlement of Iceland, and because of the way the saga writers adapt it for their own narrative purposes. The two saga versions also provide internal evidence which is useful for reconstructing the historical relationships of the surviving texts.

¹ The text of *Tryggðamál* in *Grettis saga* is based on a transcript of AM 551 A 4to kindly supplied by Ólafur Halldórsson in 2006. Words missing from this manuscript are mostly supplied from AM 152 fol. and/or DG 10 fol. (as quoted in *ÍF*) and enclosed in pointed brackets.

² R. I. Page, *The Icelandic Rune Poem*. London: Viking Society for Northern Research, 1999.

Origin and transmission history

The starting point for this discussion is the segment of the text of *Tryggðamál* which I have labelled the ‘everywhere’ list (K lines 19–30). This list occurs in all versions except S2 (which appears to be simply an alternative short form of S1) and seems likely to be very old. This opinion is based on its form. It has the form of an ordering list, a kind of list well attested in the wisdom literature of many cultures which are preliterate or in transition between orality and full literacy. Ordering lists are often among the oldest literary texts from a given culture. Typically their form is simple: short items in apparently random order based on observations of the everyday world and recording the characteristic features of things, both in nature and society. They employ mnemonic devices such as grammatical parallelism, repetition, pairing of items, alliteration and so on (for a discussion of ordering lists, including Old Norse ones, see Jackson 1991). This view of the list’s age is supported by the *ÍF* editors’ notes to the G version of *Tryggðamál* ‘Formálar þessir eru mjög fornlegir’ (*ÍF* VIII 231, note 3) and by Heusler, who comments on this list in his *Altgermanische Dichtung*, compares a Frisian list, and says that some of these ‘Steinchen’ go very far back: ‘sie waren urgermanishes oder später gemeingermanisch gewordenes Gut’ (p. 51). Scholars have long felt that at least a Common Germanic tradition may lie behind the Old English poems *Maxims I* and *II* and the Old Icelandic *Hávamál*, because of the many similarities in content and expression pointing to a common world view. The much-quoted verses from *Hávamál* 76: *Deyr fé, deyja frændr* and *The Wanderer* 108: *Her byð feoh læne, her bið freond læne* are a case in point. But they have generally been very cautious in committing themselves because of a lack of real evidence. However, the ‘everywhere’ list in *Tryggðamál* does have a very specific parallel in a list in the Old English *Maxims I*: *eldr upp brennr, jorð grær* (K line 20) and *fyr wudu meltan, eorpe growan* (*Maxims I*, 71b–72a). The second items here are exact cognates. If they had occurred in isolation, we would have had to put their identity down to coincidence. But each of them is immediately preceded by another item, having no natural connection with earth or growing, which is differently worded but expresses the same idea. This juxtaposition greatly reduces the odds of a chance occurrence. The juxtaposition of the fire items and the earth items in these two lists suggests the possibility that all four derive from the same source and this source could have been Common Germanic. (Other evidence from Old English and Old Icelandic texts for the survival of features of Common Germanic oral texts, both in form and content, is discussed in Jackson 1998 and 2000 respectively.)

We may mention here evidence from the *Russian Primary Chronicle* (1953) p. 74, anno 945 of a trucekeeping oath formula used by the Russ. The agreement was between Greeks and Russ, and was to stand ‘as long as the sun shines and the world stands fixed’ (cf. also p. 77: ‘as long as the sun shines and the world endures henceforth and forevermore’). This is a ‘forever’ rather than an ‘everywhere’ list, but one item (‘sun shines’) is common with the *Tryggðamál* ‘everywhere’ list (*sól skínn*) and one (‘world stands fixed’) close to the *Tryggðamál* ‘forever’ item *meðan mold er*. Also in a Frisian law text: ‘as long as the wind blows (wails?) from the skies and the world stands’, cf. *vindr þýtr/vindr vex* and *meðan mold er*. The Frisian parallels are discussed in more detail below.

If we have in the *Tryggðamál* list a nugget (or nuggets) of Common Germanic material, is it possible to trace its transmission through to the manuscripts written in Iceland in the 13th–15th centuries? What follows is an attempt to do this.

Stage 1. The Migration Age. An oral ordering list (the ‘everywhere’ list) is composed, containing items cognate with *eldr upp brennr, jgrð grær. Fiðr scríðr* (K line 25) might have been included at this early stage, as the concept of Lapps moving fast goes back to Tacitus and the Scridefinnas (‘skiing Finns’) appear, along with other Migration Age peoples, in the Old English *Widsið*, as well as in Jordanes and Procopius. Another item that might have joined the list at this stage is *fura vex* (K line 25). Like Lapps, fir trees were not then found in Iceland. Versions of this list travel independently to England, where one is later incorporated into *Maxims I*, and to Norway; and perhaps also to Frisia. A similar list, or perhaps a version of the same one, goes eastwards with the Russ and a few items are incorporated into a trucekeeping formula recorded in the *Russian Primary Chronicle*.

Stage 2 The ‘everywhere’ list in Norway. If *Fiðr scríðr* was not already part of the list, it could have joined here, as Lapps were met only in northern Scandinavia; *fura vex* could also have joined here as fir trees are common in Norway. Wherever they joined these two items are likely to have travelled together as they alliterate and form an item pair. As skiing and growing are characteristic of Lapps and fir trees respectively (in the same way as burning and growing are characteristic of fire and earth) these two items fit the ordering principle suggested for the origin of the ‘everywhere’ list and so were probably added before the list was incorporated into *Tryggðamál*. (The reference to sowing corn (line 30) would also fit Norwegian conditions better than Icelandic ones.)

Stage 3 A truce speech, *Tryggðamál*, is compiled in Norway before 920 and the ‘everywhere’ list is included in it. Evidence for a Norwegian origin of *Tryggðamál* is as follows:

A surviving manuscript of the laws of the Gulapíng (Norwegian west coast law province) contains the first seven lines of *Tryggðamál* (adding an extra item ‘thinkers thought’ to the ‘officials’ list, K lines 2–5).³

Sakir varo þeirra a millum N. oc N. Nu ero þær saker settar oc fe böttar fullum eyri oc fram komnom þeim i hond er hava skal. sliect sem dømendr dømdo. metendr mato. virðendr virðu. hyggiendr hug . . .

The manuscript breaks off at this point, but it seems reasonable to suppose that the rest of *Tryggðamál* followed and has been lost with the last pages of the manuscript. Vogt (1938) believed that a native Norwegian version was recorded here (p. 33).

Apart from the possible Norwegian origin of the items in the ‘everywhere’ list discussed under Stage 2, there is an item in the first ‘normal situations’ list (K lines 9–11) which must be Norwegian rather than Icelandic: *í konungs húsi* (K line 11). This item is paired with *at kirkna sókn*, which cannot have been present at this stage, but it is possible that *í konungs húsi* was originally paired with some other alliterating item which was replaced when *Tryggðamál* was Christianised. So three parts of the text—the opening lines, the first *normal situations* list and the ‘everywhere’ list—provide some evidence of Norwegian origin and it is likely that they travelled to Iceland together rather than separately. It is perhaps relevant here that there are references to Norway in the text preceding *Tryggðamál* in the K manuscript.

Stage 4 The Gulapíng version of *Tryggðamál*, including the ‘everywhere’ list, is taken to Iceland in the 920s. We know from *Íslendingabók* Ch. 2 (*ÍF* I 6–7) that in the 920s a Norwegian called Úlfjótr took laws from Norway to Iceland and that they were based on the Gulapíng laws. Perhaps *Tryggðamál* was not yet part of the Gulapíng laws when Úlfjótr made his journey, but given the Norwegian features of the Icelandic versions, it seems likely that it was. That it could have been included in the Gulapíng laws in the tenth century is supported by evidence (from the *Russian Primary Chronicle*) that oaths of truce were employed by another Scandinavian people, the Russ, during that century (the earliest version of the Chronicle is believed to have been written c. 1100, and it contained traditions about the tenth century). Úlfjótr carried the Gulapíng laws to Iceland in his memory and became the first Icelandic law speaker. The version he knew would have been passed on to his successors.

³ *Norges Gamle Love* I 110.

Stage 5 The next important event in the history of the speech was the conversion of Iceland in the summer of 999. In the year or two immediately following the conversion the laws of Iceland were Christianised. Dennis et al. 1980 suggest that ‘pagan elements were doubtless most evident in the ceremonies that established a special sanctity at assemblies and in the oaths sworn as part of legal procedures. Some of these elements were perhaps simply abolished but others were reframed in Christian terms’ (p. 3). The specifically Christian elements in *Tryggðamál*, which probably date from this time, are K lines 11, 18–19, 32–34 and lines 50–52. None occurs within the ‘everywhere’ list but two Christian items (K lines 18–19) begin the list and a Christian segment (K lines 32–34) immediately follows it. The beginning and end are obvious places to add new material. Putting such material in the body of the list would have made it much harder to relearn for those who already held it in their memories. It is possible that at stage 5 there were at least two distinct versions of the speech, A1 and A2. What I might call the HKS nexus goes to H, K, S1 and S2, but not to G. The G version has features and items not in any of the other ones. (So it is unlikely that the *Heiðarvíga saga* version was the source of the *Grettis saga* version of the speech.) The potential problem of the crossover between S1 and G could be solved by postulating two sets of Christianising formulae being plugged into the text at Stage 5. *Tryggðamál* remained an oral, but Christian, text for more than a hundred years.

Stages 6–7 Here the speech diverges into the five different versions which appear at Stage 8. I have suggested two stages here because there appears to be a split in development between the oral level and the literary level. During this period the next significant event in the history of the speech took place—a decision was made in the summer of 1117 to write down the laws. We know that this task was undertaken in the following few years. We also know that it wasn’t completed, but the chances are high that *Tryggðamál* was written down at this time (c. 1120) and from then on was transmitted as a written as well as an oral text. It may have been read, rather than spoken, at the Alþing every three years, but the written word did not take over entirely. Dennis et al. 1980 remark that ‘although there was doubtless some diminution in the need and respect for capacious and accurate memory once men started to write the laws, people must have gone on learning them by heart all the same’ (p. 11). Probably copies were made for teaching and memory-refreshing purposes. Dennis et al. 1980 continue: ‘in addition to whole books of laws it is likely that many scraps of law were in written existence—particularly oaths,

formulas, specific prescripts consulted and saved for specific purposes'; that is, texts like *Tryggðamál*. Somewhere here, too, specific reference to a book (K line 35) must have been added and the respect accorded to the book (a bible?) is reflected in its use as part of the truce-speaking ceremony.

Stage 8 The extant manuscript versions were written. Now that *Tryggðamál* has arrived in the written record, what can be learned about its history from the manuscript contexts? As it is preserved in *Grágás* it is clearly designed to be spoken formally by a third party, an arbitrator, in the presence of witnesses, to two antagonists who are being reconciled. The context is bookish—we imagine the speech being read, much as a priest might read the marriage service (note the formulaic language) as part of a formal ceremony which includes the exchange of money, the joint holding of the book, a handclasp and the presence of witnesses. Such a ceremony would have to be prearranged and to take place somewhere where both the book and the officials would be available. The formality and the exchange of money reinforce the legal aspect. The speech itself is preserved apart from the situation in which it would be used: that is, it is without any immediate context.

The context in the sagas is very different. Here the truce speech occurs as part of a narrative and the situations in which it is used are clearly defined and described. In both cases the speaking of the truce is not pre-planned and takes place spontaneously in the countryside—at a wrestling match in *Grettis saga* and on a journey in *Heiðarvíga saga*. There is no independent arbitrator and the truce is spoken by a member of the company on behalf of all, using 'we' and not 'you two'. No book is present and there is no exchange of money, but hands are clasped in G and those present are called to witness. There is no specific naming in H, but in G, Gestr (the name adopted by Grettir to conceal his identity) is particularly named as being a party to the agreement. In both sagas an element of deception is involved in the speaking of the truce. In *Grettis saga* Grettir is in disguise and the farmers who have grievances against him do not realise until afterwards who it is that they have made peace with. In *Heiðarvíga saga* Barði and his men have joined the company of their opponents, again in disguise and at night, as they journey on the road. Snorri goði, who knows the situation, tricks Þorgils into speaking the truce by flattering him that no one can speak the speech better than he and pretending that he wants to hear it. Þorgils complies. Two interesting differences in the H version are explained by this story. In all the other versions there is naming of parties and clasping of hands but

in H, because the speaker did not know that his opponents were present and thought he was speaking merely for display and not in earnest, he naturally left out the naming and the handclasp. In both sagas, when the deception is revealed, the tricked parties are disconcerted but they nevertheless regard the truce as binding and in both cases honour it. In both cases the speaker of the truce is characterised as an especially skilled speaker—in *Heiðarvíga saga* in the exchange between Snorri and Þorgils and in *Grettis saga* when Hafr is said to be ‘orðamaðr mikill’ and to speak ‘með mikilli rökssemð’—but neither speaker is an official or specially trained. They are each of them just one of the company present and they speak from memory. In *Heiðarvíga saga* Snorri’s remarks to Þorgils suggest that knowledge of the speech was common, although some people were better at speaking it (i.e. remembering it) than others. Evidently the saga writers regarded it as normal that people should have learned things like this by heart and that someone able to speak the truce well would be likely to be present at any chance gathering. We do know that other comparable texts were learned. *Grágás* contains a law that every male that was of age must learn the correct form of words and accompanying actions for the rite of baptising a child. Failure to know this, if due to negligence rather than disability, was punishable by lesser outlawry. All this throws some light on the probable situation at Stages 6 and 7. In a society where feuds were common, and could be deadly, the truce speech would have been learned by many people, and practised and passed on so that it would be available when needed. Emphasis would be placed on speaking it well, i.e. getting it right, so that it would have legal force. That, in turn, suggests that the preservation of *Tryggðamál* was fairly accurate and explains in part how the archaic ‘everywhere’ list survived its long transmission history.

In both *Heiðarvíga saga* and *Grettis saga* (especially in the latter) the use of the formula in a literary rather a legal context has probably resulted in some of the features of oral tradition having been suppressed or altered, and some rhetorical devices ‘improved’ by the sagawriters.

A parallel in a Frisian Law Text

In a twelfth century Frisian law text there is an account of the transaction between Charlemagne and some Frisian slaves who had helped him during his siege of Rome (the Magnus legend). The Frisian leader, Magnus, requested seven rights for his people, of which the first was freedom for all Frisians for ever:

thet alle Fresan were freiheran, thi berna and thi vneberna, also longe sa thi wind fonta himele weide and thio wralde stode (Buma and Ebel 1972, p. 54).

Later in the same book is this variant version:

thet alle Fresan frei were, thi berna and thi vneberna, also longe sa thi wind fonta wolcnum weide and thio wralde stonde (Buma and Ebel 1972, p. 56).

that all Frisians should be free, the born and the unborn, as long as the wind blows (wails?) from the skies and the world stands.

And another section, concerning the fines/reparations to be paid in cases of damage to the senses (sight, hearing, smell, taste, touch) includes a list with various similarities to the ‘everywhere’ list in *Grágás*:

Thet tha lithe therefon ewert se, therney tha allewa wendan: thet hi sa wel ne muge wesa a bethe ne a bedde, a wayne ne a wedzie, away ne a wetre, a skipe ne an yse, a huse ne a godishuse, bi sine wiwe wesa, by sine fiure also sitta, ne a nenre ferd hine selua sa bi reppa, sa hi er machte (Buma and Ebel 1972, p. 78).

(Their German translation:) Falls die Glieder dadurch verschlechlert sind, (so büße man) danach die elf Begleiterscheinungen, (nämlich) daß jemand nicht mehr so gut sein kann weder im Bade noch im Bette, zu Wagen noch zu Pferde, auf dem Wege noch auf dem Wasser, auf dem Schiffe noch auf dem Eise, im Hause noch in der Kirche; dass er (auch) weder seiner Frau so bei wohnen, noch bei seinem Feuer so sitzen, noch sich auf einer Fahrt so rühren kann, wie er es zuvor konnte.

Could this be an example of an old list form being used because it was handy? This is an ‘everywhere’ rather than a *forever* list. But it is possible that it is derived from a variant form of the Migration Age ordering list (Stage 1 above)

TENTATIVE CHRONOLOGY

Century	Russia	England	Norway	Iceland	Frisia
14th				<u>Grettis saga</u> (c. 1325)	
13th				<u>Grágás S</u> c. 1280 <u>Grágás K</u> c. 1260 <u>Heiðavíga saga</u> c. 1200	
12th	Russian Primary Chronicle		Gulaþing Laws	Laws written down c.1120	Frisian Law text
11th					
10th		Exeter Book <u>Maxims I</u>		Conversion of Iceland 999 Events in sagas take place Laws taken to Iceland c. 920	
9th	Treaties made with Constantinople			Settlement of Iceland begins 874	
8th			oral truce formula + core list; oral ordering <i>lists in Norway</i>		
7th					
6th		Conversion of England begins 597 Oral ordering lists in England			
5th					
4th		Common Germanic ordering lists?			

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ÍF = Íslensk fornrit

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K

TRYGGÐAMÁL

ch. 115

Sakar váru á milli þeira N. N. ok N. N. en nú eru þær settar ok fé bættar
sem metendr mátu

3

ok teljendr tölðu
ok dómr dæmði
ok þiggjendr þágu

6 ok þaðan báru með fé fullu ok fram komnum eyri þeim í hönd *seldum* er
hafa skyldi.

Þit skuluð vera menn sáttir ok samværir

9

at ǫlðri ok at áti
á þingi ok á þjóðstefnu
at kirkna sókn ok í konungs húsi.

12 Ok hvarvetna þess er manna fundir verða, þá skuluð þit svá samsáttir sem
aldregi hœfisk þetta ykkar á meðal. Þit skuluð deila kníf ok kjötstykki, ok
alla hluti ykkar í milli sem frændr en eigi sem fjáendr. Ef sakar gerask síðan

15 á milli þeira, annat en þat er vel er, þat skal fé bæta en eigi flein rjóða.

En sá ykkar er gengr á gørvar sáttir eða vegr á veittar tryggðir, þá skal
hann svá víða vargrækr ok rekinn sem menn víðast varga* reka

18

kristnir menn kirkjur sækja
heiðnir menn hof blóta
eldr upp brennr, jörð grœr**

21

møgr móður kallar ok móðir mōg fœðir
aldir elda kynda

24

skip skríðr, skildir blíkja
sol skínn, snæ leggr
Fiðr skríðr,*** fura vex
valr flýgr várlangan dag—

27

stendr honum byrr beinn undir báða vængi—
himinn hverfr, heimr er byggðr
vindr þýtr, vōtn til sævar falla,
karlar korni sá.

30

Hann skal firrask

kirkjur ok kristna menn
Guðs hús ok guma
heim hvern nema helvíti.

33

Nú haldið þit báðir á bók einni, enda ligr nú fé á bók, er N. N. bætir fyrir

36

sik ok sinn erfingja

6 *seldum* S2, *sellde* K (*perhaps altered to sellt*), *sellt* S1. 17 vargr rækr K

PEACE GUARANTEE SPEECH

There were causes of dispute between them, N. N. and N. N., but now they are settled and atoned with money

as valuers valued
and counters counted,
and judges judged
and receivers received

and bore away, with the full amount of money and the coin produced, given into the hand of the one who should have it.

You two shall be men reconciled and at one with each other,
at ale and at eating
at assembly and at public meeting
at church gathering and in king's house.

And wheresoever there are meetings of men, you shall be as much in agreement with each other as if this had never arisen between you. You shall share knife and meat-portion, and all things between you like kinsmen and not like enemies. If causes of dispute arise later between them, other than what is well, it shall be remedied with money and spear shall not be reddened.

But the one of you two who breaks settlements made, or strikes at truces granted, he shall be as far cast out as a wolf and driven out as men most widely drive out wolves

Christian men attend churches
heathen men worship in temples
fire burns up, earth grows
son cries for mother and mother nurtures son,
people kindle fires
ship glides, shields gleam
sun shines snow is driven
Lapp skis, fir grows
falcon flies a spring-long day
(there blows for him a fair breeze under both wings),
sky turns, world is inhabited,
wind whistles, waters fall to sea,
men sow corn.

He shall shun

churches and Christian people,
God's house and men's,
every world but Hell.

Now both of you hold one book—and money lies now on the book which N. N. pays in settlement for himself and his heir

- K alinn ok óborinn
 ch. 115 getinn ok ógetinn
 39 nefndan ok ónefndan.
 N. N. tekr tryggðir en N. N. veitir ævintryggðir, þær æ skulu haldask meðan mold er ok menn lifa.
- 42 Nú eru þeir N. N. ok N. N. sáttir ok sammála hvar sem þeir hittask á landi eða legi skipi eða á skíði
- 45 í hafi eða á hests baki árar miðla eða austskotu þoptu eða þilju
- 48 ef þarfar gervask, jafnsáttir hvárr við annan sem faðir við son eða sonr við fōður í samförum öllum.

Nú leggja þeir hendr sínar saman, N. N. ok N. N. Haldið vel tryggðir at vilja Kristis ok allra manna þeira er nú heyrðu tryggðamál. Hafi sá hylli Guðs er heldr tryggðir, en sá reiði er rýfr réttar tryggðir en hylli sá er heldr. Hafið heilir sæzk! En vér sém vátar er við erum staddir.

* *vargr* here may well mean *vargr í véum* ‘outlaw’. Cf. S2: *Hann skal svá víða vargr heita sem víðast er veröld byggð, ok vera hvarvetna rækr ok rekinn um allan heim* ‘He shall be called a wolf as widely as the world is inhabited, and be everywhere cast out and driven out over the whole earth’.

** *jorð grær*: this phrase also appears Egill Skallagrím’s poem on the death of his brother Þórólfr (*ÍF* II 142, verse 17/5) and in Einarr Helgason Skálaglamm’s poem *Vellekla* about Jarl Hákon ríki (*ÍF* XXVI 242, verse 109/5).

*** The word *Fiðr* (*Finnr*) in Old Icelandic is usually taken to mean ‘Lapp’ (Sami) rather than ‘Finn’. The earliest reference to Lapps (or Finns) is in Tacitus (*Germania* 46: *Fenni*). They are given the appellation ‘Scridefinnas’ in the Old English poem *Widsið* (line 79), and similar names for them are also found in King Alfred’s *Orosius* (13.26–27: *Scridefennas*), Adam of Bremen (col. 641 and scholion 132: *Scritefingi*), Jordanes (*Getica* III.21: *Screrefennae*), Procopius (*Bellum Gothorum* II, 15: *Scrithiphinói*), Vienna manuscript on geography (*Scridifeni*), Paul the Deacon (*Historia Langobardum* I, 5: *Scritobini*).

The first element of the word is cognate with the Old Icelandic word *skriða* which probably in this context refers to skiing. *Vqlundarkviða* (introductory prose) characterises the sons of a king of the ‘Finnas’ as hunting animals on skis (*þeir skriðu ok veiddu dýr*). Paul the Deacon explains the meaning of the name as ‘a saliendo iuxta linguam barbaram ethimologiam ducunt. Saltibus enim, utentes arte quadam ligno incurvo ad arcus similitudinem, feras adsecuntur.’ Although *salio* mans ‘jump’, the ‘curved wood’ can only mean skis. The inclusion of *Fiðr skriðr* in the list is to indicate he furthest reaches of human activity.

born and unborn
conceived and unconceived
named and unnamed.

N. N. takes guarantees of peace and N. N. gives everlasting guarantees of peace, which shall hold for ever, while earth exists and men live.

Now are they, N. N. and N. N., reconciled and in agreement wherever they meet,

on land or sea,
ship or on ski,
at sea or on horseback,
share oars or bailing bucket,
rowing bench or deck-plank,

if need arises, just as much at peace each with other as father with son or son with father in all their dealings together.

Now they place their hands together, N. N. and N. N. Hold well the peace according to the will of Christ and of all those men who now have heard the peace guarantee speech. May he who keeps the peace have God's grace, and he his wrath who breaks lawful guarantees of peace but his grace who keeps them. May you have blessedly been reconciled! And let us be witnesses who are present at it.

G

HAFRSGRIÐ

- ch. 72 ‘<H>ér set ek grið,’ segir hann, ‘allra manna á millum—einkanliga þeim sama Gesti til nefndum, er hér sitr, ok at undirskilðum
- 3 ollum goðorðsmönnum
 ok gildum böendum—
 ok allrar alþýðu
- 6 vígra manna ok vápnfœrra
 ok allir aðrir heraðsmenn* í Hegranessþingi
 eða hvaðan sem hverir eru at komnir
- 9 nefndra manna eða ónefndra;
handsöllum** grið ok fullan frið kvámumanni hinum ókunna er Gestr nefnisk til gamans, glímu ok gleði allrar, til hérvistar ok heimferðar, hvárt 12 er hann þarf at fara
 á legi eða landi
 <at fari> eða flutni<n>gi.
- 15 Skal hann hafa grið í ollum stöðum nefndum ok <ó>nefndum svá lengi sem hann þarf til heillar heimkvámu at höldnum tryggðum.
Set ek þessi grið <fyrir>
- 18 oss ok vára frændr
 vini ok venzlamenn
 svá konur sem karla
- 21 þýjar ok þræla
 sveina ok sjálfráða menn.
- Sé sá grið<níð>ingr er griðin rýfr eða tryggðum spillir, rækr ok rekinn frá guði
24 ok góðum mönnum, ór him<in>ríki ok frá ollum helgum mönnum ok hvergi hæfr manna í milli ok svá frá ollum út flæmðr sem víðast varga reka eða
- 27 kristnir menn kirkjur sækja
 heiðnir menn hof blóta
 eldr brennr, jörð grœr
 mælt barn móður kallar ok móðir mög fœðir
- 30 aldir elda kynda
skip skríðr <ok skildir blíkja>
 sól skínn, snjá leggr
- 33 Finnr skríðr), fura vex
 valr flýgr várlangan dag—
 ok standi honum beinn byrr undir báða vængi—

1 Space is left at the beginning of the line for a large initial capital 14 at fari
10 23 152 appears to have ‘gridnydingr’ 31–33 missing words supplied from
152 and 10

HAFR'S TRUCE SPEECH

'Here I set up a truce,' he says, 'between all men (this same Gestr who sits here being named in particular, and including

all *godðorðsmen**

and worthy farmers)

and all fighting men of the general population

and those capable of bearing arms,

[I] and all other people of the district of the Hegraness Assembly
or wherever everyone has come from

named men or unnamed,

we grant truce and complete peace to the unknown arrival who calls himself Gestr for games, wrestling and all entertainment for his stay here and his return home, whether he needs to travel

by sea or land

by ship or other conveyance.

He shall have truce in all places named and unnamed for as long as he needs until his safe homecoming with peace guarantees upheld.

I set up this truce for

us and for our relatives

friends and associates

the same for women as for men

serving women and bonded labourers

working men and independent people.

Let him be 'truce-breaker',** who violates the truce or disrupts guarantees of peace, cast out and driven away from God and good people, from the kingdom of heaven and from all holy men and nowhere fit to be among men and so far expelled from all people as they most widely drive out wolves or

Christian men attend churches

heathen men worship in temples

fire burns, earth grows

talking child calls mother

and mother nurtures son

people kindle fires

ship glides and shields gleam

sun shines, snow is driven

Lapp skis, fir grows

falcon flies a spring-long day

(and there blows for him a fair breeze under both wings)

G
ch. 72 himinn hverfr, heimr er byggðr
ok vindr veitir vötn til sjóvar,
karlar korni sá.

39 Hann skal firrask
kirkjur ok kristna menn
heiðna hǫlða
42 hús ok hella
heim hvern nema helvíti.

Nú skulum vér vera sáttir ok sammála hvern við annan í huga góðum
45 hvárt sem vér finnumsk

 á fjalli eða fjöru
skipi eða skíði
48 jörðu eða jökli,
í hafi eða á hests baki

svá sem vin sinn í vatni finni eða bróður sinn á braut finni, jafnsáttir hverr
51 við annan sem sonr við föður eða faðir við son í samföllum öllum.

Nú leggjum vér hendr saman ok allir vér ok höldum vel griðin ok öll
orð tölud í tryggðum þessum, at vitni guðs ok góðra manna ok allra þeira
54 er orð mín heyra eða nökkurir eru nær staddir.’

* This nominative phrase ought grammatically to be part of the subject, and should be taken with the ‘ek’ in line 1.

** *handselja* (English ‘handsel’) meant literally to make an agreement confirmed with a handshake, i.e. make a formal agreement. It is a symbolic handing over and a ritual confirming the change of ownership or the sealing of an agreement (where something, here the truce, in other contexts the peace (*shalom*), is granted from each to each). If it is done before witnesses (see the end of Hafr’s speech), it constitutes a legal deed. Thus the granting of truce (*grið*) or peace (*fríðr*) may have been conceived as handing over a physical entity, like the Jewish *shalom*.

sky turns, world is inhabited
and wind brings waters to sea
[bond]men sow corn.

He shall shun

churches and Christian people
heathen men
houses and caves
every world but Hell.

Now we shall be reconciled and in agreement one with another in good temper whether we meet

on fell or foreshore
ship or snowshoe
earth or glacier
in ocean or on horseback

just as friend meets his friend in water or meets his brother on the road,
just as much at peace each with the other as son with father or father with son in all their dealings.

Now let us place hands together, all of us, and uphold well the truce and all the words spoken in this peace guarantee, at the witness of God and of good men, and of all those who hear my words or any people who are present.'

**godorðsmen*: men who held the authority of *goði* in medieval Iceland, a priest-chieftain in heathen times, but after the introduction of Christianity they held purely secular authority. There were originally 36, later 39, of these chieftaincies in Iceland. Together they formed the Law Council at the Alþingi, and they acted as magistrates in their local areas.

** *gríðníðingr*: *gríð* = truce + *níðingr*; *níðingr* is a term of abuse and possibly the strongest condemnatory term in the law code. Cf. English *nithing* (archaic) 'a vile coward'; 'an abject or despicable wretch' (*OED* 1989). The word does not occur in S1 or S2, or in K or H; though it does appear in Snorri goði's comments after the end of Þorgísl's truce speech in *Heiðarvíga saga* and in *Grágás* II 405/5, where it is one of the earliest recorded uses of the term.

H

ÞORGÍSLSGRIÐ

ch. 33

Þat er upphaf griðamála várra at guð sé við oss alla sáttr. Vér skulum ok vera menn sáttir vár í millum ok samværir

3 at ǫlðri ok at áti
á þingi ok á þjóðstefnu
at kirkna sókn ok í konungs húsi

6 ok hvarvetna þar er manna fundir verða. Þá skulum vér svá sáttir sem aldri hafi fjándskapr vár í millum verit. Vér skulum deila kníf ok kjötstykki ok alla hluti vár í milli sem frændr en eigi fjándr. Ef sakar gjörask heðan af

9 á milli vár þær skal fé boeta en eigi flein rjóða.

En sá vár er gengr á gervar sættir eða vegr á veittar tryggðir þá skal hann svá víða vargrækr ok rekinn sem menn víðast varga reka

12 kristnir menn kirkjur sökja
heiðnir menn hof blóta
eldar upp brenna, jörð grœr
15 mögr móður kallar
skip skríðr, skildir blika
sólskin snæ lægir
18 Fiðr skríðr, fura vex
valr flýgr várlangan dag—
standi honum beinn byr undir báða vængi—
21 himinn hverfr, heimr er byggðr
vindr vex, veitir vatn til sjóvar
ok karlar korni sá.

24 Hann skal firrask

kirkjur ok kristna menn
Guðs hús ok guma

27 heim hvern nema helvíti.

Tekr hverr vár tryggðir við annan fyrir sik ok sinn erfingja

alinn ok óborinn

30 getinn ok ógetinn

nefndan ok ónefndan.

En hverr veitir í mót

33 tryggðir ok ævintryggðir

mætar tryggðir ok megintryggðir

þær er æ skulu haldask meðan moldir ok menn lifa.

36 Nú eru vér sáttir ok sammála hvar sem vér finnumsk

á landi eða á legi

skipi eða á skíði

í hafi eða hestbaki

ÞORGÍSL'S TRUCE SPEECH

It is the beginning of our truce speech that may God be at peace with us all.
 We shall also be men at peace among ourselves and at one with each other
 at ale and at eating
 at assembly and at public meeting
 at church gathering and in king's house

and wheresoever there are meetings of men. We shall be as much at peace as if there had never been enmity among us. We shall share knife and meat portion and all things among us like friends and not enemies. If causes of dispute in future arise among us they shall be remedied with money and spear shall not be reddened.

But the one of us who breaks settlements made or strikes at truces granted, he shall be as far cast out as a wolf and driven out as men most widely drive out wolves

Christian men attend churches
 heathen men worship in temples
 fires burn up, earth grows
 son calls mother
 ship glides, shields gleam
 sunshine diminishes snow
 Lapp skis, fir grows
 falcon flies a spring-long day
 (when there blows for him a fair breeze under both wings)
 sky turns, world is inhabited
 wind increases, brings waters to sea
 and men sow corn.

He shall shun

churches and Christian people
 God's house and men's
 every world but Hell.

Each of us accepts guarantees of peace from the other for himself and his heir
 born and unborn
 conceived and unconceived
 named and unnamed.

And each grants in return

guarantees of peace and everlasting guarantees of peace
 proper guarantees peace and powerful guarantees of peace
 which shall hold for ever while earth and people live.

Now we are at peace and in agreement wherever we meet
 on land or at sea
 ship or on snowshoe
 in ocean or horseback

H árar at miðla ok ausskotu
ch. 33 þoptu ok þilju
ef þarfar gjörask, jafnsáttir hverr við annan sem sonr við föður eða faðir
42 við son í samförum öllum.

Höfum nú lófatak at tryggðamálum ok höldum vel tryggðir at vilja Krists
ok at vitni allra manna þeira er nú heyrðu tryggðamál. Hafi sá Guðs hylli
45 er heldr tryggðir en sá gremi Guðs er rýfr réttar tryggðir en hylli sá er
heldr. Höfum heilir sæzk en Guð sé við alla sáttr.

to share oars and bailing bucket
rowing bench and deck-plank,
if need arises, just as much at peace each with other as son with father or
father with son in all our dealings together.

Now let us clasp hands at the peace guarantee speech and hold well the
peace according to the will of Christ and at witness of all those men who
now have heard the peace guarantee speech. May he who keeps the peace
have God's grace and he God's wrath who breaks lawful guarantees of
peace but his grace who keeps them. Let us have blessedly been reconciled
and may God be at peace with all.

Analysis of K version

1. First statement of atonement and officials list

Sakar váru á milli þeirra N. N. ok N. N., en nú eru þær settar ok fé bættar
 sem metendr mátu
 ok teljendr tölðu
 ok dómr dæmði
 ok þiggjendr þágu

ok þaðan báru með fé fullu ok fram komnum eyri þeim í hönd seldum er hafa skyldi.

2. First statement of reconciliation and first normal situations list

Þit skuluð vera menn sáttir ok samværir
 at ǫðri ok at áti
 á þingi ok á þjóðstefnu
 at kirkna sókn ok í konungs húsi.

Ok hvarvetna þess, er manna fundir verða, þá skuluð þit svá samsáttir sem aldregi hœfisk þetta ykkar á meðal. Þit skuluð deila kníf ok kjötstykki, ok alla hluti ykkar í milli sem frændr en eigi sem fjáendr.

3. Transition

Ef sakar gerask síðan á milli þeirra, annat en þat er vel er, þat skal fé bæta en eigi flein rjóða.

4. Declaration of outlawry and everywhere list

En sá ykkar, er gengr á gorrvar sáttir eða vegr á veittar tryggðir, þá skal hann svá víða vargrækr ok rekinn sem menn víðast varga reka
 kristnir menn kirkjur sækja
 heiðnir menn hof blóta
 eldr upp brennr, jörð grær
 mögr móður kallar ok móðir mög fæðir
 aldir elda kynda
 skip skríðr, skildir blíkja
 sól skínn, snæ leggr
 Fiðr skríðr, fura vex
 valr flýgr várlangan dag
 stendr honum byrr beinn undir báða vængi—
 himinn hverfr, heimr er byggðr
 vindr þýtr, vötn til sævar falla
 karlar korni sá.

Hann skal firrask

kirkjur ok kristna menn
Guðs hús ok guma
heim hvern nema helvíti.

5. Second statement of atonement + heirs list

Nú haldið þit báðir á bók einni, enda liggr nú fé á bók, er N. N. bætir fyrir
sik ok sínn erfingja
alinn ok óborinn
getinn ok ógetinn
nefndan ok ónefndan.

N. N. tekr tryggðir en N. N. veitir ævintryggðir, þær æ skulu haldask meðan
mold er ok menn lifa.

6. Second statement of reconciliation + second normal situations list

Nú eru þeir N. N. ok N. N. sáttir ok sammála hvar sem þeir hittask
á landi eða legi
skipi eða á skíði
í hafi eða á hests baki
árar miðla eða austskotu
þoptu eða þilju

ef þarfar gervask, jafnsáttir hvárr við annan sem faðir við son eða sonr við
föður í samförum öllum.

7. Handclasp

Nú leggja þeir hendr sínar saman, N. N. ok N. N.

8. Closing exhortation and call to witness

Haldið vel tryggðir at vilja Krists ok allra manna þeirra er nú heyrðu
tryggðamál. Hafi sá hylli Guðs er heldr tryggðir, en sá reiði er rýfr réttar
tryggðir en hylli sá er heldr. Hafið heilir sæzk! En vér sém váttar er við
erum staddir.

Analysis of opening of G version

In *Grettis saga* there is no statement of atonement because no grievance has yet happened and therefore no recompense made. Instead there is an initial setting of truce between ‘all men’, which specifically includes Gestr and all goðorðsmen and worthy farmers, and then adds to the subject ‘I’, the maker of the truce, all the (free) men of the Hegranness Assembly and all who have gathered there, wherever they have come from.

1 First statement of truce

‘Hér set ek grið,’ segir hann, ‘allra manna á millum—einkanliga þessum sama Gesti til nefndum, er hér sitr, ok at undirskilðum

öllum goðorðsmönnum

ok gildum böendum—

ok allrar alþýðu

vígna manna ok vápnfœrra

ok allir aðrir heraðsmenn í Hegrannessþingi

eða hvaðan sem hverir eru at komnir

nefndra manna eða ónefndra.

List structure:

Introduction: ‘Hér set ek grið,’ segir hann, ‘allra manna á millum—einkanliga þessum sama Gesti til nefndum, er hér sitr, ok at undirskilðum

Items	1	öllum goðorðsmönnum	opening pair linked by
	2	ok gildum böendum	alliteration and <i>ok</i>
	3	ok allrar alþýðu	
	4–5	vígna manna ok vápnfœrra	
	6	ok allir aðrir heraðsmenn í Hegrannessþingi	
		eða hvaðan sem hverir eru at komnir	
	7–8	nefndra manna eða ónefndra.	closing pair

2 Second statement of truce

Introduction: ‘Handsöllum grið ok fullan frið kvámumanni hinum ókunna er Gestr nefnisk

til gamans, glimu

ok gleði allrar;

til hérvistar ok heimferðar

hvárt er hann þarf at fara

á legi eða landi

at fari eða flutningi.

This is a two part list, both parts linked to the introduction by *til*:

Introduction: ‘Handsöllum grið ok fullan frið kváðumanni hinum ókunna er Gestr nefnisk

Part One	1–2 til gamans, glimu 3 ok gleði allrar	three items linked by alliteration and dependence on <i>til</i> ; closure signalled by <i>ok</i> ; variation in final item (addition of <i>allrar</i>) provides closure
Part Two	4–5 til hérvistar ok heimferðar hvárt er hann þarf at fara 6–7 á legi eða landi 8–9 <at fari> eða flutni<n>gi.	items linked in pairs by alliteration

In 1, the first statement of truce, the first line speaks of the truce being *allra manna á millum* (between all men), and one expects the following list to expand this phrase, but it doesn't: they would have to be all genitive, but they aren't. *einkanliga þeim sama Gest til nefndum* seems to be an adverbial phrase in the dative ('especially this same Gestr being mentioned'), and *öllum göðorðsmönnum ok gildum bændum* are two items in the dative dependent on *at undirskildum* ('these being included').

ok allrar alþýðu is a genitive phrase and can only be the second element in the phrase in the opening lines *allra manna á millum* (between all men and the whole community). *vígra manna ok vápnfærra* are two genitives dependent on *allrar alþýðu* ('the whole community of fighting men and those capable of bearing arms'). *allir aðrir heraðsmenn í Hegrnessþingi* is a nominative phrase, and must be part of the subject. *eða hvaðan sem hverir eru at komnir* is parallel to *á Hegrnessþingi* ('all other men of the district in Hegrnessþingi or wherever each is come from'). *nefndra manna eða ónefndra* are genitives dependent either on *allir aðrir* (all other men of the district, named persons and unnamed), or perhaps on *hverir* ('every one of persons named and unnamed'); or maybe rather we should take these genitives as further expansions of *allrar alþýðu*.

The structure of the sentence is therefore *Ek ok allir aðrir heraðsmenn í Hegrnessþingi set(jum) hér grið allra manna á millum ok allrar alþýðu vígra manna ok vápnfærra nefndra manna eða ónefndra*. The remaining phrases are adverbial and not really part of any list.

The lists (if they can be called that) in this passage are therefore:

1. ϕllom goðorðsmonnum
 ok gildum böendum
2. vígra manna
 ok vápnfœrra
3. nefndra manna
 eða ónefndra

They are all separate, dependent on different headwords which are not themselves parallel to each other.

Alternatively, we could regard these lines as containing a virtual list of the participants in the agreement, an ‘everyone list’, in which some items are subjects of the sentence, some elements of adverbial phrases (and so with various case-endings). Or else the variations of case could be explained as due to the items in the list having been imported from various lists which were structured in different ways, some as lists of nominatives, some as lists of items dependent on various prepositions, some as parts of absolute constructions (like Latin ablative absolutes, but in the dative). It is worth noting that various lists of names in manuscripts of *Skáldskaparmál* in *Snorra Edda* begin with questions like, for example, ‘Hvernig skal kenna Þórr? Svá at kalla hann son Óðins ok jarðar, faðir Magna ok Móða ok Þrúðar’ (ch. 4). Thereafter the case endings vary, both in the same manuscript and in different manuscripts. In such cases, it is usual to blame the inconsistency on an inattentive scribe, but it could equally well be the result of a compiler combining items from various lists whose grammatical structures differed, and forgetting that he needed to regularise the case endings.

On a higher level, these two passages begin the list of the terms of the agreement, which comprises

1. who is making the agreement .
2. who it applies to
3. under what circumstances it applies
4. what are the sanctions for those who break the agreement.

Analysis of K ‘everywhere’ list

Organising principle: the activities which delineate the area to the furthest limits to which the trucebreaker will be driven.

Introduction

En sá ykkar, er gengr á gørvar sáttir eða veigr á veittar tryggðir, þá skal hann svá víða vargrækr ok rekinn sem menn víðast varga reka

- | | | |
|----|---|--|
| 1 | kristnir <u>menn</u> kirkjur sækja | 1–2 paired by <i>kristnir/heiðnir</i> relationship, parallel |
| 2 | heiðnir <u>menn</u> hof blóta | activities and repetition of <i>menn</i> , which also opens a frame with two human subjects |
| 3 | eldr upp brennr | 3–4 paired by alliteration, two natural world |
| 4 | jörð grœr | fire*/earth subjects |
| 5 | mogr móður kallar | 5–6 paired by relationship between, and repetition of, <i>mogr/móðir</i> ; two human subjects and objects |
| 6 | ok móðir mog fæðir | 7 unpaired, one human subject (<i>elda</i> link to item 3?) |
| 8 | skip skríðr | 8–9 paired by alliteration, two human artefact subjects |
| 9 | skildir blíkja | |
| 10 | sól skínn | 10–11 paired by alliteration, two natural world |
| 11 | snæ leggr | sky/weather** subjects |
| 12 | Fiðr skríðr | 12–13 paired by alliteration; one human subject, one natural world/earth/living/plant subject |
| 13 | fura vex | |
| 14 | valr flýgr várlangan dag
stendr honum byrr beinn
undir báða vængi | 14 unpaired, one natural world/sky/living/animal/subject; the extension of item 14 shares in the weather theme (<i>byrr beinn</i> opens link to item 17?) |
| 15 | himinn hverfr | 15–16 paired by alliteration, 1 natural world/sky |
| 16 | heimr er byggðr | 1 human world*** subject; change to passive voice gives close signal |

17	vindr þýtr	17–18 paired by alliteration, two natural world sky/weather
18	vötn til sævar falla	subjects; return to active voice begins closure
19	<u>karlar</u> korni sá.	19 unpaired, human subject; <i>karlar</i> closes frame and completes closure.

**eldr* in item 3 could refer to natural wildfires/volcanoes as opposed to the man-made fire of item 7.

** *sól* is a sky item, *snæ* is also, in origin, but *leggr* connects it to earth i.e. land. Cf. items 17–18: *vindr* is a sky item and so is *vötn* in origin, but *til sævar falla* connects it to earth, i.e. sea.

*** This item links the two worlds: *heimr* is still the natural world, but now seen as the home of humans, i.e. a characteristic of the natural world is that it is inhabited by humans. This change of focus contributes to the close signal given by the change from active to passive voice. The return to the former pattern of natural world/human world opposition in items 17–19 adds a purely human item (19), and together with the return to the active voice contributes to closure.

A frame for this list is opened by the repeated *menn* (significantly placed in the second position in items 1 and 2) and closed by *karlar* (significantly placed in the first position in the final item). It looks as if *aldir* (item 7) should also participate in the frame as it does in List 1 below (item 5), but here it is not (apparently) significantly placed.

Overall the ‘everywhere’ list goes far beyond a simple illustration of the concept ‘as far as’. It encompasses the characteristic activities of the whole of the human and natural worlds as experienced by the people of the time and place in which the text had its origins.

People (items 1 and 2), including women, children (items 5 and 6) and bondmen (? item 19), inhabit the world (item 16). They light fires and sow corn (items 7 and 19), they use language and nurture children (items 5 and 6), they practice religion (items 1 and 2), they make things (items 8 and 9), they travel and explore (items 8 and 12), and they fight each other (item 9).

In the natural world fire flares up (item 3), the earth grows plants (item 4) and forests flourish (item 13), the sky turns from day to night and season to season (item 15), the sun shines (item 10) and the wind blows, both gently (item 14, expansion) and strongly (item 17), water (rain and rivers) falls to the sea (item 18), snow lies on the ground (item 11), and wild creatures pursue their own lives (item 14).

The two lists which seem to be combined in the above ‘everywhere’ list
List 1 subsidiary organising principle: characteristic actions of humans/
 human artefacts

Introduction

En sá ykkar er gengr á gørvar sáttir eða vegr á veittar tryggðir, þá skal hann svá víða vargrækr ok rekinn sem menn víðast varga reka

- | | | |
|---|-----------------------------|---|
| 1 | kristnir menn kirkjur sækja | 1–2 paired by <i>kristnir/heiðnir</i> relationship, parallel |
| 2 | heiðnir menn hof blóta | activities and repetition of <i>menn</i> ; the latter also opens a frame |
| 3 | mogr móður kallar | 3–4 paired by relationship between, and repetition |
| 4 | ok móðir mog fæðir | of, <i>mogr/móðir</i> |
| 5 | aldir elda kynda | 5 central item unpaired, <i>aldir</i> participates in frame |
| 6 | skip skríðr | 6–7 paired by alliteration and a change of subject |
| 7 | skildir blíkja | to artefacts, which also gives close signal |
| 8 | Fiðr skríðr | 8–9 paired by return to human subjects which also begins closure; <i>karlar</i> closes the frame and completes closure. |
| 9 | karlar korni sá. | |

elda, the central word in the central item, opens link to List 2.

The change from human subjects to artefacts in items 6–7 corresponds to the change from natural phenomena to living subjects in List 2, items 5–6

A frame for this list is formed by the closely related words *menn*, *aldir* and *karlar* which are significantly placed (*menn* in position 2 of items 1 and 2, *aldir* in position 1 of the central item, *karlar* in position 1 of the final item).

Number of stresses per item: 4 4 3 3 (3) 2 2 2 3 (parentheses mark the central item). This pattern divides the list into 2 parts separated by the unique central item which participates in the frame. In the case of items 6–9 the change to three stresses in item 9 constitutes a ‘change in the final item’ closing device.

List 2 subsidiary organising principle: characteristic actions of natural phenomena

Introduction

En sá ykkar, er gengr á gørvar sáttir eða vegr á veittar tryggðir, þá skal hann svá víða vargr rækr ok rekinn sem menn víðast varga reka

- | | | |
|---|-----------------|-----------------------------|
| 1 | eldr upp brennr | 1–2 paired by alliteration, |
| 2 | jörð grœr | 2 earth subjects |

3	sól skínn	3–4 paired by alliteration,
4	snæ leggr	2 sky/weather subjects
5	fura vex	5–6 paired by transverse alliteration, two living
6	valr flýgr várlangan dag stendr honum byrr beinn	subjects: one plant/earth, one animal/sky; expansion of item 6 shares sky/weather theme, <i>byrr beinn</i> opens a link to item 9?
7	undir báða vængi himinn hverfr	7–8 paired by alliteration, one sky and one earth subject, change to the passive voice
8	heimr er byggðr	gives a close signal, <i>byggðr</i> referring to human activity creates a link to List 1
9	vindr þýtr	9–10 paired by alliteration, 2 sky/weather subjects, <i>vindr</i> *
10	vøtn til sævar falla	a return to the active voice begins closure, a change of focus in item 10 from earth i.e. land to earth i.e. sea completes closure.

Closure is also indicated by the three-stress item 10 (the only one in this list). There is no frame for this list.

**vindr* is a sky item and so is *vøtn* in origin, but *til sævar falla* connects it to earth i.e. sea

Metrical analysis of ‘everywhere’ listPart 1

1–2	2 couplets of <i>kviðuhátt</i>	
3–4	1 couplet of <i>kviðuhátt</i>	
5–6	1 couplet of <i>málahátt</i>	
7	<i>málahátt</i>	unlinked line makes variation in final item position

Part 2

8–13	3 couplets of <i>kviðuhátt</i>	
14	2 couplets of <i>kviðuhátt/fornyrðislag</i>	
15–16	1 couplet of <i>kviðuhátt</i>	
17–18	1 couplet of <i>kviðuhátt + málahátt</i>	
19	<i>málahátt</i>	unlinked line makes variation in final item and closure

The metrical forms of these lines are irregular. There are no *dróttkvætt* lines. The lines marked *kviðuhátt/fornyrðislag* are similar to *fornyrðislag* when they have 4 or more syllables; *kviðuhátt* usually has 3 syllables (though 3 syllable lines also sometimes occur in *fornyrðislag*). 2 syllable lines are not normal in any established verse form. What these lines have in common is that they all have 2 stresses, whereas *málahátt* lines generally have 3 (or 2½ stresses and at least 5 syllables). The 3rd and 6th lines of *ljóðahátt* have three stresses, 2 of which alliterate together but not with other adjacent lines, so lines 7 and 19 could be taken as *ljóðahátt*.

The significant metrical variations here are the 3 stress lines with internal alliteration only (lines 7 and 19). The change in item 14 is not metrical (though *stendr honum byrr beinn* is the only line with 3 unstressed syllables before the first stress), but syntactical: it is the only item that stretches over 2 couplets and comprises 2 complete sentences. It is also significant that some items are comprised in a single line, some stretch across 2 lines, one is even longer (item 14).

Human and natural in the ‘everywhere’ list. The alliterating item pairs are numbered on the left, with solitary item numbers indented.

Part 1

1–2	human	
3–4	natural	variation in position 2 opens a link to Part 2
5–6	human	
7	human	an unpaired item in the penultimate position gives a close signal
8–9	human	return to the former pattern of paired items closes Part 1

Part 2

10–11	natural	
12–13	1 human/1 natural	variation in position 2 closes the link with Part 1
14	natural	an unpaired item with an extension marks the mid-point
15–16	natural	
17–18	natural	
19	human	a return to human in an unpaired item provides closure

All three unpaired items have a function in the structure of this list, and the changes from human world to natural world conform to techniques well-established in work on other lists.