The Afterman: 
Life, Death and Impossible Landscapes in the Íslendingasögur
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Abstract

This thesis explores the concepts pertaining to the dead in the Íslendingasögur. The first of these being the characterization of the living individuals prior to their expiration as well as their burials and afterlife with the express objective of observing the nature in which these individuals are portrayed, formulating patterns that span different sagas. A second objective is to examine the restless dead, and given the popularity of this subject matter already it is necessary to take into account some of the more known works in this field. However, what I wish to look into more specifically is the relationship that the dead can hold with their surrounding landscapes. The landscape has recently become something of a popular subject in the formation of character in the Íslendingasögur. Following this thematic I wish to observe how the dead are influenced by their surrounding landscape, and how they impact it themselves. Moreover, demonstrate the dichotomy between the peaceful dead and their introduction into the natural landscape, and the restless dead’s manipulation of it.
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**Appendix**

**Bibliography**
Introduction

Death is an ever popular matter of discussion across the board. It is ironically also one of most uneasy subjects of academic discourse. It’s undeniable, death is a broad landscape filled with complex and occasionally contradictory discourses fomented over the course of decades. And this is an understandable situation; a community’s dealings with death are a machination of the cultural thought processes embodied in the practices, scenarios and the characters involved. This is not something exclusive to Iceland. It’s a global phenomenon occurring since conscious significance was assigned to death. All communities create their own ways of handling of death and means for documenting those beliefs. More importantly these interactions have some meaning which can be understood by examining its religion or traditional folklore. So what then is the perspective of this phenomenon in an Icelandic context?

Conceptualizations pertaining to the relationship between the living and the dead are understandably varied. Importantly, documentation of these accounts, even if fictional, could be hampered by religious overtones, especially when based on a period in which Christianity was not the dominant theology. But can it really have been so impossible to find some form of pattern in the dead and how they were treated through the thought processes that the saga writers were invoking in their tales? This is where the focus of this work lies; it’s a look at the interactions existing between the living, the dead and their surrounding landscapes in the Icelandic sagas.

Given the nature of Iceland and its sagas, death is not a particularly rare theme. Quite the opposite, death is very much an essential aspect of the Icelandic sagas. Despite this commonality, various elements appear to complicate the portrayal of death and more importantly its connotations in the sagas. It appears that Snorri Sturluson, already in the thirteenth century, had considered this problem with death, mainly in the burial practices, the dead, and beliefs of the after-life. This is most easily observed in a passage from Ynglinga saga:

“The first age is called the Burning Age; all dead men then had to be burned and memorial stones were put up to them. But after
Freyr had laid in a howe at Uppsala, many chiefs raised howes as often as memorial stones in memory of their kinsmen. And after Dan the Proud, the Danish king, had a howe built for himself, and commanded that he should be carried there after death in his king’s apparel with war gear and horse and saddle-trappings and much wealth besides, then afterwards many of his descendants did likewise and the Age of Howes began there in Denmark; although among the Swedes and Norsemen the Age of Burning continued for a long time after.”

The concept of caring for the dead was a stable one; however there were inconsistencies in the managing of the matter. H.R. Ellis views this passage in particular as an apt preface to bridge the transitional nature of burial practices in medieval Scandinavia. In terms of religious constructs, it would also appear that the majority of connotations, especially those referring to Óðinn and the practices associated with him throughout Ynglinga saga originate or at least are based mainly in Sweden. Thomas Dubois later argues that the concept of grave goods could be found in other areas of Scandinavia, with variants of the material culture that could have been influenced by the emergence of Christianity among other factors. Perhaps the most telling part of this discussion would be the connection this practice had with non-Scandinavian Nordic customs, specifically discussed were those of the Sámi. The Sami burial process was described as a mixture of chamber burials, supplied with grave goods and cremation practices. Dubois describes that by the Viking age the burial process involved the cremation of the body first and then followed with the burial of the remains in a howe, along with several grave goods to ensure a comfortable life in the Otherworld. Eventually the cremation process appears to have been replaced with inhumations. The transition into this practice is theorized by Dubois to have begun long before the Christianization of Finland, sometime during the sixth century, most likely due to foreign exposure resulting from trade.

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3 Thomas A. Dubois, Nordic Religions in the Viking Age (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1999), 76-77.
5 Thomas A. Dubois. Nordic Religions in the Viking Age, 77-78.
Regardless of the actual frequency of cremations, they appear to have spread through Scandinavia with varying levels of popularity. In Norway and Sweden there seems to have been a mixture of inhumation and cremation in which the latter appears to occur among the majority of the population at least until the tenth and eleventh centuries. In Denmark throughout the Viking age it would appear that inhumation was the mode of disposal of the dead, with only a few handfuls of cremation sites found and those were possibly attributable to Swedish or Norwegian settlers. In Iceland, it would appear that by the end of the ninth century no more evidence of cremation graves were found among the settlers. Thus, it could be understood that by this point, inhumation and howes had become something of a norm for burials of the dead. The treatment of the dead strongly establishes a belief in an afterlife for which the dead must be prepared.

Just as inconsistency can be found in the material practices pertaining to the dead, so did their afterlives offer substantial variation. While material culture provides physical representation of the cultural treatment of the dead, it is through the literary sources that we can expect some conceptualization of the medieval mind frame involved. Literary evidence discusses this concept although it cannot be taken at face value due to the dating of such evidence - which suggests it was produced much later than the practices themselves. This is where material evidence found in archeological evidence reaffirms, to some degree, this conceptualization. The combination of both fields confirms the diversity of Viking age funerary practices and might imply the possibility of multiple destinations after death. Among these the best known are:

**Valhöll**- The dwelling of Óðinn, whose location in Ásgarðr was where the slain were gathered. They fought during the day and in the evenings they were given boar’s meat and mead to enjoy. These men, *einherjar*, were destined to fight alongside the gods at *Ragnarök*. This imagery of life after death is rather popular, primarily in the poetic narratives.

**Fólkvangr**- The dwelling of Freyja of which very little is understood of this enigmatic abode except that half of the slain in battle join Freyja here while the other half are taken by Óðinn.  

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Hel- As popular of a location as Valhöll is, so was Hel, place and person. While those slain in battle could be chosen to dwell in Valhöll, those whose deaths related to old age or sickness found themselves in or with Hel\textsuperscript{7}.

In addition to these locations, a domain of the sea goddess Rán is where the drowned at sea were taken\textsuperscript{9}. Although, no name for this location appears to be given in any Old Norse accounts.

Despite the selection of otherworldly locales presented here, the common element is primarily centered in poetic and mythic narratives. The Íslendingasögur often presented the dead as having a much more localized habitat, despite mentions of these prior otherworld settings. In fact, just as much emphasis was placed on the relationship that the dead held with their surroundings and landscapes gaining spectral traits through interment, becoming homes of the supernatural.

The presence of the supernatural is generally an established element in the saga narrative, whichever style of saga it is ascribed to. As mentioned previously, how evident this is varies from genre to genre. In the case of the Íslendingasögur it is possible to observe more effort placed in complex relationships between supernatural and the mundane. The degree of conspicuousness in the supernatural is not a matter of debate, realistically speaking in this research, the main concept discussed is death and the undead. Elements of the supernatural exist in all forms of saga narrative, what is central to the discussion is instead the portrayal of those elements. To mark a quick contrast, the Riddarasögur and Fornaldasögur are rife with the undead, namely draugr, but their presence is substantially different to that in the Íslendingasögur. This is most likely a result of the genre into which the sagas can be categorized. The Riddarasögur and Fornaldasögur are both understood to be primarily fantastical stories and histories set in either exotic locales or a semi-fictional legendary prehistory. Thus, the undead in these scenarios are, so to speak, allowed to play wild in their surroundings. This fits well into the imagery of them as a fantastical

\textsuperscript{7} Rudolf Simek. Dictionary of Northern Mythology, 137-138.
\textsuperscript{9} Rudolf Simek. Dictionary of Northern Mythology, 260.
enemy through which the hero can establish their worth in the narrative\(^\text{10}\). Perhaps the most evident underlying significance that a *draugr* can claim in this scenario is as a representative of the fiendish paganism that the hero, an image of the contemporary Christian values, faces and naturally bests.

This is not necessarily the case in the *Íslendingasögur*. It would be foolish to deny some Christian connotation in the writing of these scenarios\(^\text{11}\). However, it is not a clear case of the pagan evil facing against some proper Christian hero. The *draugr* and, to the same degree the supernatural in the *Íslendingasögur*, tend to share a rather complex interaction with their surroundings. They are not simply an enemy to be defeated, they are a force, a calamity that is of communal concern rather than the responsibility of one heroic individual. Even when defeated by a singular character, the undead appear to hold some socio-cultural significance in terms of why these actions persisted in their predetermined trajectory. They represent some form of social disturbance, in which the vanquisher of the calamity is found at its center. At this point the discussion also encompasses the living, namely the lives of those “unfortunate” individuals that will eventually turn into the much spoken of undead or those who experienced some form of life after death and what that may entail. What is the purpose of observing these individuals in life? The simplest response is the study of character and markers serving as telltale signs of the supernatural which these individuals carry either uniquely or as part of collective patterns. Although like most things in life, this is not a simple matter. Looking at how the dead/undead exist as counterparts allows us to observe the transition from the mundane into the haunting landscapes of saga narrative.

**The Life and Times of the Deviant and Strange**

*Eyrbyggja, Laxdæla, Gísla saga* and *Egils Saga* present a plethora of characterization and behavioral queues for which several of their living characters have become unequivocally recognized. Can the same be said about their dead? In the case of *Eyrbyggja*, it is very much so. The saga, believed to be

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\(^{11}\) Kathryn Hume. “From Saga to Romance: The Use of Monsters in Old Norse Literature”, 18-21.
first written around 1240, tells of the settlement and history of Snæfellssnes, with the conflicts of the clans residing in Þórsnes, Eyrr and Álptafjörður taking center stage. Unique among the sagas compiled here, Eyrbyggja arranges its events in a chronological order rather than a cohesive episodic narrative, starting from 844 until the death of Snorri goði in 1031. Despite historical discrepancies and the questions regarding the authenticity of the pagan rites portrayed throughout, Eyrbyggja has perhaps two of the most recognized, and studied haunted encounters in the Old Norse literary corpus: the haunting Þórólfr baegfótr and the Fröðárundr.12

Violence and Old Age

A greedy, angry, and very violent man from the moment he is introduced by Eyrbyggja, Þórólfr in life was not a friendly individual by any measure. After his death, he is once again encountered as a restless ghost causing mayhem around his former stomping grounds. The full details of his death and undead activity will be discussed later in this thesis. Suffice to say, it is one of the more colorful and detailed accounts of a haunting episode in the Íslendingasögur. It is the treatment detailed after his death that fuels the discussions of the behavior towards the dead in the sagas and in the case of Eyrbyggja where one can root out the origin of fearing the return of the dead. In life Þórólfr was portrayed as little more than a rascal to his surrounding community. Þórólfr arrives in Iceland as an adult and spends his first winter with his mother, Geirríðr. Following his arrival, Þórólfr challenged his aging neighbor Úlfr to hölmganga for his holdings. The duel earned Þórólfr his holdings as well as the epithet baegfótr, “twist-foot”/Oedipus?. Not much more is made of Þórólfr’s life after this duel until much later in the saga. Although no longer the young, physically imposing individual, in his old age Þórólfr became much more violent and confrontational in the community. At this point, his interactions are almost all schemes for claiming more territorial influence, even when they entail confrontations with his son Arnkell, who has grown quite influential by his own merit.

12 Thomas A. Dubois, Nordic Religions in the Viking Age, 93-94.
The temperament of Þórólfr is central to his characterization in *Eyrbyggja*. It figures among a handful of elements that direct further our understanding of the supernatural implications of Þórólfr before his reemergence as a revenant. Two contrasts can be drawn from Þórólfr: first is with the earlier established character, Þorsteinn þorskabítr and second is with his own son, Arnkell. The former of these two is earlier portrayed as a well-respected and established member of the community surrounding *Helgafell*. His father originates from Norway where he was equally well respected and served as a priest of Þórr, which was the reason they settled around the area of *Helgafell*¹³. The importance of this exposition is to mark the difference between these generations of settlers. Þorsteinn is the son of a well-respected member of the community and following suit, becomes one as well. The affiliation that his family has to Þórr can serve to emphasize their connection with the protection of their holdings and to prosperity.

Þórólfr is a walking contrast to this community’s ideal member. His appearance is firstly that of a foreigner in the Icelandic community after something of structure has been settled within the area. Despite his mother’s respected reputation and wealth, Þórólfr wishes to strike out on his own¹⁴. In doing so Þórólfr creates a social disequilibrium in the community which materializes in the form of his duel with the elder Úlfr. This presents perhaps the most prominent attribute of Þórólfr’s temperament and opens the discussion of more dominant traits in the undead of the selected sagas: violence.

The dead and their interactions with the living are not always a uniform phenomenon. However, in the case of a haunting, violent tendencies are quite commonly exhibited by the characters, especially in the more detailed revenants. Again, the case being made is firstly associated with Þórólfr, and his insistence on carving his own legacy separate from his mother’s through the use of violence. His violent nature is introduced with his history as an accomplished víkingr exemplified in the duel against Úlfr¹⁵. Little is made of Þórólfr after these events, until his reemergence as an old man. As an elder, he is no longer a physically

¹⁴ *Eyrbyggja saga*, 33.
¹⁵ *Eyrbyggja saga*, 34.
capable threat due to his state, however while his prowess as a combatant has declined his aggressiveness and confrontational behavior has only strengthened. Like wine, his displeasing demeanor only becomes finer with age. It is at this time that Þórólfr takes a more active role in stirring conflict within the community, fomenting antagonism between Arnkell and Snorri as well as demanding land claims.\(^\text{16}\)

Age also plays a factor when discussing Laxdæla’s Víga-Hrappr. His story is very similar to Þórólfr’s. Hrappr arrives in Iceland from the Hebrides sometime after the settlement and begins to make a name for himself around the farmlands. Much like Þórólfr, he is recognized by his physically imposing presence with a propensity for violence and extortion of his neighbors. His behavior is described in the saga as: “People cared little for Hrapp. He pushed his neighbors around and had on occasion hinted to them that they could expect trouble if they showed anyone else more respect than they did him…”\(^\text{17}\). His habit of violent confrontation is something that he brings from the Hebrides where he is said to be fleeing retribution for crimes he committed. Despite his unprincipled nature, Hrappr is prevented from further confrontation when his neighbors join together and seek the assistance of Höskuldur. The saga relates how Hrappr’s dealings with the community reaffirmed his negative image, although little detail is given of the ruffian. Like Þórólfr, Hrappr reemerges in Laxdæla’s narrative when old age has set in. Despite Hrappr's physical decline, age only seems to have exacerbated his confrontational behavior until he succumbs to illness and is buried by his wife. However this part of the saga will be discussed in the following section.

Violent characters are exceedingly common in the Íslendingasögur; the question is how does this relate to the concept of revenants and haunting in those sagas? While violent characters are prominent in saga narratives, how often are those characters seen living long after conflict? It is not a question of men and women who find themselves constantly in conflict. These individuals appear to have an ingrained violence at the core of their character. In an ideal scenario, these characters would die through confrontation,

\(^{16}\) Eyrbyggja Saga, 83-91.
however as seen previously, this is not always the case. Hrappr and Þórólfr seem to reaffirm a specific notion that relates heavily to hauntings in the Icelandic sagas. The violent tendencies of characters only seem to fester as an untreated wound as time ticks forward for the characters, namely men. In both cases the men evolve so that their youthfully violent behavior only becomes further cantankerous as they age.

Potentially three portrayals of this character type are present in *Egils saga*. Primarily in the case of Skalla-Grímr and Úlf, and a compelling case can be made in Egill’s representation as well. Úlf is said to hail from Norway, of large stature and strength to match. His youth was spent freebooting along Breðlu-Kári with whom he shared a common purse and later joins in Iceland. Both men are said to be of great renown and respect. Kári through his family ties was received as a *lendr maðr*[^18] among the community. Contrary to Kári, Úlf’s achievements lay in his endeavors as a skilled farmer and committed manager of his holdings. The contrast is further deepened between the two men as Úlf had the propensity to rise early for dealing with his worker, as in the evening the man became socially and physically unavailable. In the evenings, it’s said that Úlf, isolates himself from others and is said to be *hamrammr*, that is able to change ones shape as a werewolf[^19]. This nightly behavior is the reason for which he is given the name *Kveld-Úlf*. and despite his amiable nature and hard work, he is considered something of a peripheral individual in the community.

The *hamremi* appears to run deeply in Úlf’s family as his son Skalla-Grímr is seen to suffer from it as well. Despite their behavioral discrepancies, Úlf and Kári remain fast friends exemplified by the former’s marriage to Salbjörg, Kári’s daughter. Úlf fathered two children with her: Þórólfr and Skalla-Grímr. The eldest took after his maternal grandfather in appearance and presence. Meanwhile Skalla-Grímr closely resembles his father in nature. This is a running motif of the saga, where both sons come to exemplify the different sides of their heredity. Due to this familial dichotomy, Skalla-Grímr, exhibits

several of the traits related to his father while Þórólfr exemplifies those of his grandfather. Correspondingly, Úlf is said to prefer Þórólfr over Skalla-Grímur due to the appearance and temper of the boy. With Skalla-Grímur receiving the ungainly appearance of his father and an ill temperament to match, he is treated as the outcast to his family. Thus, he became an excellent trader, a master woodworker and smithy. As the brothers age, both gain reputations among their peers for their skills and personage. Þórólfr, however, perishes as a result of conflict with the Norwegian king after which Skalla-Grímur's prowess as a fighter is experienced together with his father in revenge. Soon after the aging Úlf dies and subsequently his body is sent off by sea while Skalla-Grímur takes his position as head of the household. Eventually, he too dies of old age leaving Egill, his son, to take his position.

The Úlf and Skalla-Grímur personae are a complex situation when compared to Þórólfr bagiðóthr and Hrappr. While the latter two are undoubtedly prime examples of thuggish characters with a youthful propensity for confrontation and violence, the same cannot be said for Úlf and Skalla-Grímur. Despite conflict not being the characters' “joie de vivre”, it is difficult to argue against the centrality of violence in their nature. Úlf is ultimately described as amiable and hardworking. However, one cannot forget that the wealth he created for himself stemmed from his time as a viking. Furthermore, one has to understand what his hamremi episodes entail in the formation of the character and their supernatural implications. The same shapechanging tendencies are implied as happening for Skalla-Grímur on at least two occasions throughout the saga compounding his peripheral status caused by his confrontational behavior. The primary aspect separating one group of characters from the others comes in the form of the narrative focus. Úlf and Skalla-Grímur are central figures of Egils saga as well as direct relatives to the titular character. In fact, their conflicting heroic and thuggish nature, to the credit of the author, adds to the complexity of both characters. They represent the central conflict of the protagonist, Egill as a generational process, which is rooted in

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personal issues for the characters. The same cannot be said about Þórólfr or Hrapp. In fact both characters serve as minor antagonists to the more heroic characters of their respective sagas.

Violence is not the only thing that appears as a common thread between Þórólfr, Hrapp, Skalla-Grím and Kveld-Úlfr. Age and its effect on the individuals is key in the transition from the mundane living to the undead. Aging has often been discussed in medieval contexts as having a rather peculiar, often negative effect on people. In women it is often seen as wizening them, whereas men appear to be negatively affected by this transition. Age, very often, makes them outsiders within their communal spectrums. Aging is treated as an affliction which deteriorates people physically, mentally, and to some extent, morally as they begin to age. This idea about old age is not lost in the sagas. Ármann Jakobsson has looked extensively at the effect of old age in several characters of the Íslendingasögur. According to him, old age seems commonly perceived as a negative progression in life that is often reaffirmed by aging characters in sagas. Senility does not affect all individuals in the same manner, it is exceptionally affecting of violent individuals. The warrior, bandit, or thug views the world through the lens of a skewed warrior culture meaning strength and wealth are key to achieve power and influence.

The situation of Hrapp, Þórólfr, Kveld-Úlfr, Skalla-Grím and even Egill are centered on this belief. However as is the beauty of the Íslendingasögur, this ideology while present to an extent appears deconstructed in its practice as it is pitted against the value of wisdom. Thus we see the mentioned characters as embodiments of this ideal during a period in which conflict is detrimental to the well-being of the community. In the case of Kveld-Úlfr and perhaps Skalla-Grím this ideal may still hold true, although they wrestle with an inherent tendency towards violence central to the berserkir. For Hrapp and

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The manifestation of this “might makes right” mentality is seen as a serious detriment by the surrounding community.

Perhaps a clear contrast to the influence base of these two characters is found in Njáll Þorgeirsson. In Njála confrontation and bloodshed are constantly present throughout. Yet Njáll, one of the most influential characters of the story, is the least violent of the collective. As Ármann observes, Njáll’s power and position in the social scheme is rooted in his wisdom which has gained him reputation, respect and influence. In direct contrast Þórólfr and Hrappr have made their base of influence through their might and abusing that power. So when the cruel hand of time finally reaches the two men the first thing they feel is the base of power they created for themselves with their strength disappears as quickly as it was earned. This is compounded further by the treatment that the men receive as they age, where they were once perceived as powerful, dangerous and above all else influential, these men have been denigrated to positions of the elderly.

If wisdom is not an honorable trait found in the aging person, then little favorable waits for a person upon reaching this stage. In Laxdæla saga and Kormaks saga the situation is paralleled to that of an infant by Hólmöngöngu-Bersi, although the infant will eventually come out of this situation unlike him. This however as mentioned before does not apply to their state of mind which is kept equally violent if not more so. Egill Skallagrímsson, lashes out increasingly against the younger generations through his verses as his age progresses, desiring only to cause mischief amongst them. Ármann describes Egil’s predicament as such: “Egils saga depicts Egill Skallagrímsson’s growing infirmity, dependency on others and marginalized status at his own home… In his old age, Egill’s idea of fun is instigating battle he will not even be able to see between people he does not know.” This state of mind is not exclusive to Egill. Earlier in the same saga the audience also gets to see Skalla-Grím, who has progressed in age being just as confrontational as

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when he was young, when he was able to back his words with action. The state of mind is shared equally between Hrapp and Þórólfr. Hrapp is briefly mentioned as maintaining his malicious attitude as his health deteriorated\(^\text{31}\).

Þórólfr is given a more detailed treatment in old age, with most of his interactions prior to death taking place during this stage of his life. He, much like Egil, takes pleasure in causing conflict between the younger generation, namely his son Arnkell and the ever popular Snorri goði. Þórólfr becomes something of a protagonist for some five chapters and in these chapters we see the extent to which aging has affected Þórólfr. He manifests extreme selfishness, hatred, an exacerbated confrontational attitude, and a desire to expand his land holdings and power base. This latter desire, arguably being a way to rival his son’s growing influence and popularity. Contrary to his father, Arnkell had developed a reputation as a wise and beloved member of the community\(^\text{32}\). Despite his scheming attempts he is treated by both Arnkell and Snorri as nothing more than a child throwing tantrums. And in this way, Þórólfr is seen by Ármann to embody the concept of old age in the Íslendingasögur, an ailment that affects the physical, mental and moral structure of an individual. In the case of the men discussed here, aging accentuates their maliciousness in direct proportion to their physical incapability. That condition serves as an interesting starting point when observing their activity later as draugr.

**Witchcraft and the Foreigner**

The primary connection between the aforementioned characters appears to be the violent nature contained in their personal narratives. This, however, is not the case with all characters even when they share the same saga narrative. Such is the case of Þórgunna in Eyrbyggja. Þórgunna, arrived in Iceland from the Hebrides during the summer following the Christianization of the island. On this trip Þórgunna brought several goods that could not be acquired in Iceland. Þuríður, the wife of Þórrrodr skattkaupandi, offered Þórgunna a place to stay in her home with the hopes of acquiring some of the goods that she had.

\(^{31}\) *Laxdæla Saga*, 297; *Eyrbyggja saga*, 83-85.

\(^{32}\) *Eyrbyggja saga*, 83-85.
brought with her. Þórgunna accepts the offer with some slight concern about becoming a servant in her house.

During her stay in Iceland, Þórgunna is said to go to mass every morning before starting to work. She is described as proper, although short on words. Her death is quite dramatically heralded by the arrival of heavy storm clouds which rain blood before quickly dispersing. The implication of someone’s imminent death is discovered while cleaning the hay soaked in this rain, which refused to dry. That same day Þórgunna takes ill, refusing to eat or drink for the rest of the day. The next morning she confesses to Þórrodr that she believes this will be her last illness and with that proceeds to give him instructions on how to handle her death and her possessions before finally passing.

Initially, it may appear that Þórgunna is out of place among the characters that have been the majority of this analysis. However, during her brief return from the dead her actions appear to have a much more far reaching effect than those of any other character thus far. This persona seems quite difficult to analyze as her character apparently poses little conflict with the established norms of Eyrbyggja, as set by Þórólfr, the earlier marker of the undead in the saga. However this first impression is wrong. Þórgunna’s traits are difficult to ascertain in part due to the cursory description she is given upon introduction. She is a rather large woman, a devout Christian of the Hebrides. To those with whom she has contact, she is described as hard working, albeit laconic. Therein lays the most prominent indicator of her abnormality, her connection to the Hebrides.

The foreigner in the sagas plays a peculiar role, often one that is alienated. This is not a concept that is unique to Old Icelandic literature; it is present in most locations at a given period in time. The concept is to personify the foreigner as an outsider attempting to penetrate the inner workings of a community from its periphery. At best they are met with wariness, unless already connected through some relationship the community. At worst they are treated with hostility and seen as an outsider threatening the established
social construct. Þórgunna appears to fall in the former category through her brief interactions. Nevertheless, what is of importance is her origin in the Hebrides.

Kirsi Kanerva discusses the connection between locales and the supernatural. Her brief description of magical skills supports a closer look at the connection between the Hebrides and Þórgunna. Moreover she is not the only person note the association of the Hebrides with the supernatural. Hilda Roderick Ellis Davidson appears to have been the earliest to mention this unique association to the Hebrides. To an extent this relationship exists in parallel with how the Finns and particularly people of Sami descent are regarded. Þórgunna herself does not appear to have any clear skill in magic. She does however show knowledge of the supernatural during her brief life.

Prior to her passing, the rain of blood was defined by her alone as an omen of imminent death. Perhaps it is too much to assume that this statement qualifies her as knowledgeable in the supernatural. However, if a connection to the supernatural was commonly associated with the Hebrides and its inhabitants, then a detailed exposition of that relationship may not be necessary to develop this as fact. As suggested by Gísli Sigurðsson, characters appearing in different sagas may share traits and differ in others. More importantly, it’s possible that a little information on the characters presented in a saga could imply preliminary knowledge of said individual. Perhaps this could extend beyond individual characters to characterizations of people originating from a same location as well. After all Þórgunna is not the only character of the Hebrides to show this capacity.

In Laxdæla the audience is introduced to Kotkell and his family: Gríma, Hallbjörn and Stígandi. Similar to Hrappr, Kotkell and his brood are not originally from Iceland, rather they hail from Sudureyjar

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35 Thomas Dubois, Nordic Religion in the Viking Age, 76.
and they are well versed in magic. The family is fostered by Hallstein godi in Urðir although their settlement was not well received by the community. The family endures a series of events that ultimately concludes with their demise. They are first accused of thievery and witchcraft by Ingunn, mother of Þóðr Ingunnarson, who demands the charges be raised to outlawry. In retaliation, Kotkell’s family cast spells that result in Þord's drowning at sea. These events lead to the family’s relocation to Kambsness under the protection of Þorleikr Höskuldsson’s. As a reward for his assistance, Kotkell gives Þorleikr four studhorses. Not long after, the horses are almost stolen by a man named Eldgrímr who is quickly killed by Þorleikr's kinsman Hrútr Herjólfsson. Despite benefiting from these events, Þorleikr is not pleased. As a result Kotkell is tasked with shaming Hrútr for Þorleikr and that night the family travels to Hrútr's farm to perform a spell on the land. Incantations are heard from within the house and Hrútr warns the people not to leave the house and stay awake as long as they can. Eventually, however they all fall asleep. Kári, Hrútr's eldest and favored son, wakes up restless and leaves the house for the place where the incantations are being made and falls down dead.

Kotkell’s family, now abandoned by Þorleikr, must leave their home and make their way through the mountains while pursued by Hrútr and Óláfr Höskuldsson and 15 other men. Hallbjörn is the first to be captured while the rest of the family continues towards the mountains. Kotkell and Gríma are then caught on the ridge between Haukadalr and Laxárdalr. Here they are executed and buried in shallow graves between the two dales. Following Kotkell and Gríma’s deaths Hallbjörn is executed at sea, though not before cursing Þorleikr for his abandonment. Finally, the last of the family to fall is Stígandi, who managed to live in outlawry briefly before being captured in a trap and summarily executed in Haukadalr.

Throughout their time in the saga, Kotkell’s family is consistently portrayed negatively. In their introduction, they are labeled duplicitous characters for which little affection is to be had. Of course, this label is not false as it is quickly confirmed for the audience through their familiarity with witchcraft. While other characters had their social position moved towards the periphery of the community, when witchcraft is presented they are immediately reconstructed as outsiders regardless of their amiability or hostility. Such
is the case of Kotkell and his family. Even when taken in by rather well regarded community members, as the case with Hallstein goði and later Þorleikr, their behavior compounds their treachery to the community as their actions serve only to cause harm to the populace rather than favor to their benefactors\textsuperscript{37}. This same notion is somewhat included in \textit{Eyrbyggja}, briefly through Katla at Holt and her son Oddr\textsuperscript{38}. Although in further detail it can be seen through \textit{Gísla saga}.

\textit{Gísla saga}’s primary narrative concerns the fall of Gísli Súrsson into outlawry and eventual death. Bear in mind this also plays a pivotal role in the discussion of the supernatural, its correlation to outlawry and briefly holds central to the discussion of burials. However before delving into Gísli, the saga also has a small collection of outcasts in the form of Þorgrímr nef and his sister Auðbjörg. Þorgrímr nef is a man who lives in Nefstaðir on the east side of Haukadalsá. The saga describes him as such: “He was full of witchcraft and sorcery, and he was a wizard and worker of spells.”\textsuperscript{39} Þorgrímr is also responsible for the crafting of the spear Grásíða which is later responsible for the death of Vésteinn which propels Gísli into his revenge spree and subsequent outlawry. His skill in spells is used through several central events of \textit{Gísla saga}. The first, appearing during the forging in Grásíða, which exhibits in addition to magical capacity, skills in blacksmithing. That ability is often associated with secret and/or mystical knowledge throughout saga narratives including importantly in the case of Skalla-Grímur\textsuperscript{40}. As if to compound his capacity for witchcraft and his involvement in Vésteinn’s death, Þorgrímur’s witchcraft is said to allow him to slay Vésteinn.\textsuperscript{41} His final documented account as a sorcerer comes after the death of Gísli’s brother in law, inconveniently named Þorgrímur as well. After death and burial, during the funeral feast Börkr, dead Þorgrímur’s brother hires Þorgrímr nef to perform a spell, which will help identify the killer of his brother\textsuperscript{42}.

\textsuperscript{37} \textit{Laxdaela saga}, 340-341.
\textsuperscript{38} \textit{Eyrbyggja saga}, 60-63.
\textsuperscript{39} Martin S. Regal, (Trans.). “Gísli Sursson’s Saga” \textit{Gisli Sursson’s Saga & The Saga of the People of Eyri}. (London: Penguin Classics, 2003). 17-18
\textsuperscript{41} George Webbe Dasent (Trans). \textit{The Story of Gísli the Outlaw}. (London: Abela Publishing, 2010), 61. It is necessary to mention that Þorgrímr nef’s involvement in Vésteinn’s death appears to vary depending on the version of the saga. The shorter of these makes explicit mention of how the character was directly involved in Vésteinn’s death. The longer version appears only to imply his involvement in the event.
\textsuperscript{42} \textit{Gísli Sursson’s Saga}, 29-30.
Although much less involved than her brother, Auðbjörg also performs her small share of witchcraft, namely, a particular ritual around her homestead which results in the death of twelve men by way of sudden avalanche.\footnote{\textit{Gísli Sursson’s Saga}, 31-32.}

\textit{Gísli saga} makes it very clear that Þorgrímr nef is a witch or at least involved with witchcraft in one way or another. What is the importance of this affirmation? It establishes the position that both characters hold in the community and the saga narrative. In parallel with both \textit{Laxdæla saga} and \textit{Eyrbyggja saga} the characters associated with some form of sorcery are almost immediately marked as outsiders, in some cases on multiple counts as both a foreigner and through supernatural skills. More so than his foreign origins, this supernatural knowledge implicates the characters in questionable dealings, which is the case for all of the examples examined thus far. Almost immediately following their introduction an air of danger and maliciousness in added to the characters. And more often than not the suspicions surrounding them are confirmed as the story progresses. An argument can be formed that a Christian overtone in saga narrative creates this negative connotation towards sorcery and witchcraft. This condemnation of non-Christian activity would encompass a good portion of the characters previously described, especially those associated to some form of mythic art or liminal practice. However how does this relate to the previous violence-prone characters?

**The Berserkir:**

Is it possible to encounter threads that connect individuals of violent and confrontational nature with the supernatural, namely, those associated with witchcraft? It is in fact quite possible to observe a connection between the two elements within certain individuals, conveniently those previously discussed in these sagas. Interestingly enough, Úlfr and Skalla-Grímr, both of whom teetered on the boundary between violence and the supernatural and individuals such as Háprpr and Þórólfur \textit{bagifōtr}, are prime examples of how these attributes are blended. As mentioned previously in the scenario of Úlfr and Skalla-
Grímr, violence is not something they enjoy or rather are given a reputation through the saga describes how conflict forms a central aspect of the family’s life. Furthermore, we return to Úlfr’s capacity for performing his nightly episodes of *hamremi* for which he does in fact gain a reputation. This particular ability possessed by Skalla-Grímr is quite peculiar, as *hamremi* is often described as a form of shapeshifting. In the context of the saga it is only briefly described as causing Úlfr to become unsociable, cross and eventually incapacitated with exhaustion. These all appear to be traits that Úlfr and Skalla-Grímr share with *berserkir* and their *berserksgangr*.

The concept of the *berserkir* is one that in a historical context is marked by debate and inaccuracy. This seems in large part due to the fact that the *berserkir* appears to stem from a single poetic invention which was then lost for centuries. The concept does not reappear until revived in medieval Iceland\(^44\). In its reemergence, the concept appears shrouded in the literary conventions of medieval Iceland, becoming a staple literary archetype of the period rather than an accurate description of figures from an earlier historical period. In short, the *berserkir* found in the Icelandic sagas are a popular literary stereotype where even minor traits from the original concept of that stereotype are incorporated to add flair to already colorful characters. This should not exclude the *berserkir* from being studied from a literary perspective; as this incarnation of the *berserkir* is identified greatly by the deviance that often goes hand in hand with the acquisition of supernatural traits.

A first staple of the *berserkir* persona appears in Snorri’s description in the *Ynglinga saga* when the mythic background of these warriors is narrated\(^45\). That description hints at the prestige and elevation of belonging to this group of elite warriors because they have a deeper, personal connection to Óðinn and Óðinnic cults\(^46\). Other sagas appear to compound this notion. Examples of this include *Haralds saga*

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\(^{44}\) Lois Bragg, *Oedipus Borealis*, 141. 
\(^{45}\) *Ynglinga saga*. 11. 
\(^{46}\) This connection to Óðinn, also emphasizes the relationship that exists between sorcery and the berserks, both of whom share origins with Óðinn as mentioned in *Ynglinga saga*. It may also help understand the sexual/gender connotations that both concepts entail, *seiðr* being considered a more feminine practice while *berserksgangr* was highly masculine characterization.
hárfgra, in which the berserkir are portrayed as an elite wing of King Haraldr’s híðr separate from the other retinues. Egils saga also seems to reinforce this notion of prestige for those warriors in the form of Berðlu-Kári, friend of Úlfr, father of Salbjörg, and an explicitly named berserkir. However, the notion of the berserkir does not appear to be exclusively a rank among warriors. It’s rather a trait that can be shared by those outside of this group, which is a notion Lois Bragg supports. This can be observed through the account of King Haraldr’s experience with óðr in battle. In this story, the king is suggested to have gone into a battle frenzy, akin to that of berserksgangr, which is supported by his movement to the foredeck of his ship, where his berserkir were stationed. The second and more relevant portrayal of this notion appears in the forms of both Úlfr and Skalla-Grímr.

While not established as a berserkir by name like Kári is, in action and portrayal, Úlfr also fits the criteria. His physical appearance marks him as rather impressive, for better or worse, in comparison to his community. This contrast serves to establish the oddity of his personage. Once again, the most relevant evidence of Úlfr’s berserkir traits come in the form of his hamremi. There is vagueness in what the entire hamremi episodes entail rather mostly being mentioned as causing Úlfr to become ill-tempered and introverted. Two observations lead to the conclusion that these evening episodes that Úlfr falls into are quite similar to, if not in fact, berserksgangr. Before continuing, we must clarify what berserksgangr and the concept of shape-changing can entail. Shape-changing is already understood as being exactly that, an alteration of someone’s form. It is a very common ability attributed to witchcraft and beings with supernatural inclinations.

The case of berserksgangr walks a fine line in its definition. When the berserkir enter this state they become comparable to beasts, namely that of a wolf, rabid dog or bear. At one end of the spectrum it is likened to the shapeshifting, where a witch or sorcerer physically alters their form into something bestial.

48 Lois Bragg. Oedipus Borealis, 142-143.
49 The Saga of Harald Fairhair, 48-50.
50 The Saga of Harald Fairhair, 48-50.
This imagery of the berserkir which has become quintessential can be found primarily in poetry and sagas entailing a mythic history or fantastic scenario, for the most part once again falling into Riddarasögur and Fornaldasögur. The Íslendingasögur also have collections of supernatural accounts describing the berserkir and their physical transformation. It is also within these scenarios that additional supernatural elements of the berserkir are portrayed, such as their invulnerability to fire and iron. Where these additional attributes emerge is not fully understood, most notably D.J. Beard has speculated the presence of a distant underlying Germanic belief in the concept.

The intent is not to devalue the sagas that fall into the former categories. Rather, it is important to note the risks of compressing representations of the supernatural from different literary origins in an attempt to form some general criteria that they can all conform to in characterizing both the berserkir and the draugr. In a poetic narration or a mythic setting it would not be surprising to hear of skilled warriors, heroes or villains with the capacity to change into some bestial entity imbued with phenomenal abilities. But just as the role of a berserkir can vary between heroic and detrimental, these are only individual representations of the berserkir’s transformation and do not necessarily encompass the standard belief of the processes berserkir experienced through their transformation. In the scenario of the Íslendingasögur, magic and the supernatural do exist, but rather than a mythic setting the intent of the observed phenomenon is to convey a sense of familiarity which the audience can process. To this extent, I ascribe to the view of berserksgangr that instead of being a physical transformation, it is rather a psychological transition from a human persona, in favor of something animalistic and savage.

Under this definition the berserksgangr and the descriptions of Úlfr’s hamremi comes the first proposed evidence of his berserkir nature. The explicit mention of Úlfr’s shape-strong nature or of being a

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51 The berserkir seem often to fall into the grouping of the monstrous, which places it in a supernatural footing to that of other outliers like draugr. See: The Use of Monsters in Old Norse Literature, Kathryn Hume.
53 Lois Bragg, Oedipus Borealis, 144.
shape-changer, along with the description of his behavioral modifications in the evening implies an internal alteration of his psyche rather than external. The second comes in the form of a question about these episodes, how were they managed during his time raiding? During these activities it would be understood that such episodes would be difficult to manage especially if they inflicted negative complications to the raiding. This led some to the conclusion that Úlfr’s personality switch was not detrimental during raiding; rather it could be quite useful to him. Perhaps it is too presumptuous to assume that these episodes still occurred during his raiding days and that they were beneficial to that activity. However, the wealth that both he and Kári accrued during this period begs to differ.

There is something that must be understood in the relationship between Kári and Úlfr, especially in respect to the characterization of the berserkir. The perception of the berserkir is not uniform. Passages about berserkir in the Íslendingasögur can vary depending on the scenario where they appear, however they primarily appear as hostile. On several occasions the portrayal of the berserkir is as a wild, rather dim-witted animalistic foreigner. In general the figure of the berserkir is constructed as monstrous to those around them or in a more plausible sense as an outlier to the communal norms54. Several episodes that include berserkir appear to fall under an archetype coined by Benjamin Blaney as the “Berserkir Suitor” where the formulaic episodes have the berserkir threaten to take the women and/or other property of an Icelandic householder55. Pertinent examples of these episodes once again brings us to the Eyrbyggja saga. The focal characters in this case are the brothers Halli and Leiknir, Swedish brothers to whom berserksgangr is attributed. When they enter into this state they are described as no longer human beings and more akin to dogs instead56. This is perhaps the first evidence of the negative connotations of being a berserkir in the sagas.

54 Lois Bragg, Oedipus Borealis, 143.
In their brief storyline, Halli finds himself desiring the daughter of his employer Styrr, and making an offer for her marriage. Styrr offers to let Halli marry his daughter if he is able to complete a series of tasks for him, including the clearing of a path across a lava field and building a dyke and sheep shed on the lava field. The brothers succeed in the appointed tasks after going into their berserksgangr and while they are exhausted Styrr kills the men and buries them in a pit. Perhaps the first thing that should be noted is the near identical progression of this episode with the story of *Loki ok Svaðilfari*. However the significance should be that the response to Halli and Leiknir after they are exhausted by their transformation is to murder them. It would appear that the notion of the berserkir in the saga proper is seen as an unwanted element in the community, at least in the context of further integration through marriage or other similar arrangements.

It would be unwise to immediately assume that all berserkir portrayals in saga narratives are negative, or uniform for that matter. However, it is necessary to address the existing variation in said roles. However, the objective here is not to delve profoundly into the complexities of the berserkir identity in saga narratives and Scandinavian culture. Rather it is observing the inherent abnormality of this entity in correlation to the supernatural and its significance in relation to a position that requires special care upon death. To this extent, it has already been observed that how the berserkir can appear varies, and that the primarily observed examples here have been the more heroic, warrior elite and the alienated, violent, thuggish, community pariah.

This being said, it becomes possible to connect the berserkir to another fluid and marginalized group in the sagas, the sorcerer/sorceress. The characterization of both roles would appear to associate them as somewhat gendered counterparts of one another. They are often social outliers and their tumultuous moral placement depends on the time and space of the setting. They commonly have foreign origins and
peculiarly dabble in mastery of fire and iron. Pertinent to this discussion is the shared ability between the two roles for altering one’s form. To clarify how this differs between the two groups, the berserksgangr is treated as a psychological loss of human identity and consciousness in favor of an animalistic frenzy. In contrast, the sorcerer’s shape changing is often associated with a concept similar to astral travel where they project an animal form while the real body is elsewhere, immobile. However this does not detract from the similarities of the two processes. Lois Bragg has found the two share the same cluster of terminology and motifs: invulnerability, animal qualities and the weakness and exhaustion that follows such phenomena.

To compound the relationship between the two berserkir and witchcraft, the berserksgangr appears prohibited in Grágás on the same grounds as sorcery and worship of heathen gods.

**Between the Living and Dead: Transitions from Life to Grave**

Life placed these characters in rather difficult positions, some suffering suspicious neighbors or enduring outright disdain and hostility. For others power and influence was somewhat established through malicious actions, although as time progressed their powerbase shifted in negative ways. Whichever position these individuals held, their general presence was the same, of being outsiders inhabiting the periphery of normalcy. As such their deaths led to somewhat precarious situations about how they were to be handled. As is commonly understood, while death is universal, how communities process it largely varies. The same concept applies to Scandinavia and to the Íslendingasögur. It was Gabriel Turville-Petre who was among the first to officially acknowledge the incapacity we have for attempting the daunting task of reconciling varied responses to death. He admits, that such an attempt would be impossible because peoples

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57 Returning to an older concept, witches and sorcerers were to be killed with stones rather than weapons during executions which is portrayed consistently in the sagas, *Eyrbyggja saga* (Ch. 20, 60), *Laxdæla saga* (Ch. 17/18, 341-342), *Gísla saga* (Ch. 19, 32).
58 The reasoning behind this was the inherent connection to the earth that stones had, which relates to the berserker in the sense that these characters could in fact be killed when in berserksgangr, although it would have to be without weapons or fire.
beliefs may themselves not be uniform, therefore the dead’s treatment should not be expected to be uniform\textsuperscript{61}. This however does not deter him from cataloging the ways in which the dead were treated both in terms of material evidence as well as written recordings through the sagas.

Earlier than Turville-Petre, once again we come across H.R. Ellis, one of the first to attempt to catalogue these burial procedures and the tropes present in saga narrative. The intent being to uncover a consistent line of pre-Christian ideas about death and the life thereafter\textsuperscript{62}. Unfortunately this attempt, outside of material evidence, fails to take into account possible Christian influence and its effect on saga narrative portrayals. This is not to say there is no chance of obtaining some understanding of pre-Christian practices and thoughts. However attempts to extract information from a literary source that primarily meshes the pre-Christian and Christian elements in the interactions among the dead. That being said her attempts were not without their successes, which we will see now. Divisions between the differing methods of burial and funerary actions are much more clearly defined than the grouping of characters by their traits in the saga. Of course they have matching characteristics that span beyond individual saga narratives and hint at encompassing literary tropes of the period, but this is something that we will not be able to concretely establish. While the depiction of these burial practices in sagas is equally suspect they are much clearer to discern in their actions and meanings in context.

**Violent Movements and Removal of Discord: Þórólfr baegífótr and Skalla-Grímr**

The removal of violence refers to the practices performed on the deceased individual for whom violence and confrontation seemed almost unnaturally internalized. This appears in the selected sources to be one of the more common manners for dealing with the dead, with only some minor deviations in how it was performed. The exemplars of this practice are as follows, Þórólfr baegífótr and Skalla-Grímr, with some variations of the practice conducted at the time of Víga-Hrappr’s burial.

Let’s begin this section with *Eyrbyggja saga*’s Þórólfr. To recap, as his age progresses Þórólfr loses his physical capacity to exert influence on others despite the growth in his confrontational demeanor. The general reaction to this devolution of character is ultimately one of adults dealing with a bratty, spoiled child, which is best expressed through Snorri *göði* and Þórólfr’s own son Arnkell. Both of whom embody everything that Þórólfr craves for himself and envies in others. Despite the view that both men and the rest of the community hold of the elderly man, his passing is not simply shrugged off. Just prior to his death Þórólfr returns to his home after arguing with Arnkell in a particularly sour mood. That evening he does not eat or drink and simply sits on his high seat in his hall. The next day he is found still sitting upright in the middle of the hall where he was left the night before, dead. The members of the household immediately call Arnkell for assistance.

In the saga the subsequent events are described as follows:

Gekk Arnkell nú inn í eldaskálann ok svá inn eptir setinu á bak Þórólfi; hann bað hvern at varask at ganga framan at honum, meðan honum váru eigi nábjargir veittar; tók Arnkell þá í herðar Þórólfi, ok varð hann at kenna aflsmunar, áðr hann koemi honum undir; síðan sveipaði hann klæðum at höfði Þórólfi ok bjó um hann eptir síðvenju. Eptir þat lét hann brjóta vegginn á bak honum ok draga hann þar út. Síðan váru yxn fyrir sleða beittir; var Þórólfr þar í lagiðr, ok óku honum upp í Þórsárdal, ok var þat eigi þrautarlaust, áðr hann kom í þann stað, sem hann skylodi vera; dysjuðu þeir Þórólfr þar rammliga. *(Eyrbyggja saga, Ch. 33)*

As the passage entails, the household decides to avoid involvement with the body until the arrival of Arnkell, a *göði* in his own right and knowledgeable of how to respond to such events.

My understanding of this scene involving Þórólfr’s death and burial is that it emulates a procedure used specifically with certain individuals in the community. Whether based on actual practices or simply the *Íslendingasögur*’s literary representation of magic realism as associated with certain characters and traits like those represented in Þórólfr cannot be fully proven or debunked. As stated previously, the

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63 See Appendix for Translations.
difficulty of death and cults to the dead lies in the factual evidence that seems to be available. Burials have been unearthed and exhumed throughout Scandinavia and in areas with Nordic contact which provide some understanding of the dead. However what we see is the end result of the process, what the living left behind rather than the process of their transformation. For this deeper understanding the best sources available are almost entirely literary, from which we cannot possibly discern fully between the factual and the purely literary.

Notwithstanding that complexity, the literary element does not limit the understanding we can acquire about this subject. Through these sources a semblance of thought processes pertaining to the imagery of the dead can be acquired. More pertinent to the immediate examples of death and burial, the literary sources we are examining form a thread connecting each other through their burials. Following from Þórhólfr, Egils saga offers the closest parallel to this particular procedure for death and burial. From the burial process and locale selection all the way up to the behavior of Skalla-Grímr prior to his death. The events continue as follows.

The chapter begins with Egill, now having returned from his harrying in England with king being visited and invited by his cousin Þóðór to a feast in Lambastaðir. When the time comes for Egill to ready himself for his trip, Skalla-Grímr opens a discussion with his son about a monetary recompense offered by king Æthelstan himself. More specifically, the discussion is about Egill’s slow progress in giving Skalla-Grímr his portion of the recompense. As the conversation becomes more heated, Egill refuses to pay his father the money that is owed to him. The son asserts that his father is not short of money at the moment so there seems to be no reason for demand his share now. After this rather tense discussion between the two, Egill sets on his way to Borg. In response Skalla-Grímr saddles a horse for himself and leaves his home with a large chest and a bronze cauldron. The rumor begins here of how he dropped one or both of these objects into the Krumskelda swamp and dropped a large stone to hide them from sight64. After this nocturnal

64 Bernard Scudder. Egil saga, 107-108.
activity, Skalla-Grímr returns home close to midnight and prepares himself for bed. When morning comes Skalla-Grímr is found to be dead by members of the household.

Days before their deaths there is a recalling of the significance that old age holds for individuals such as Þórólfr and Skalla-Grímr. Unfortunately, the imagery of discussions about old age and death are quite reduced in this context. As such the main portent of this thematic is still Ármann Jakobsson. It has been mentioned previously how old age can play a crippling role for men in the sagas, which is especially evident in Þórólfr and Hrapp, as well as Egill and Skalla-Grímr. In the case of the former it relates more than anything to their ability to influence through violence, which they are incapable of continuing as their bodies wane. Age, as Ármann discusses, is ultimately an infirmity to all men. However, it seems to affect men such as Hrapp and Þórólfr much more noticeably in men such as Hrapp and Þórólfr due to their reliance on confrontation and violence to exert their influence on others. Is the same plausible in the scenario of Skalla-Grímr and Egill?

Here it would be convenient to deviate from burials and death in favor of returning to the earlier theme of old age. Ármann examines this aspect although it pertains more to Egill than Skalla-Grímr. As Egill ages the audience observes how the man’s influence over his household weakens considerably. Eventually the image of Egill is altered from a strong, influential, rather scandalous and intimidating warrior poet to that of an old man more a burden than respected member of the home he emphatically built. To an extent his transition reflects that of his father, however it has more in common with the likes of Þórólfr in general comparison. Of course it is plain to see that Skalla-Grímr is a gruff and confrontational man similar to those already mentioned. Violence is central to his person and he does not shy away from conflict when faced with it. The negative connotations of old age are observed at a much smaller scale in Skalla-Grímr than Þórólfr or Egill. The affirmation of his shifting position comes simply from the final interactions he has with his son shortly before dying. Inversely Þórólfr, and to an extent Egill, embody the progression

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of old age as the unpleasant state which degenerates strength, mind and morality of men. They take pleasure in sowing seeds of discord between the younger generations.

As for Skalla-Grímur, it cannot be said that these traits appears as clearly. In fact he participates in all conflicts surrounding him even as age comes for him. This is not to say that Skalla-Grímur fully escapes this transformation. According to Ármann, aging - especially in men - is observed as a reflection of their waning strength. It’s distinctly used as a reflection of the shifting power structures that these individuals are built around. In Þóroðfr’s case this is realized in his inability to sustain his influence and reputation as his original strength wanes. For this reason he lashes out on the younger generations with attempted manipulations and by inciting conflict. For Egill aging is a reflection of the shifting concept of the ideal man. While Egils saga is seen as a deconstruction of standard literary tropes pertaining to the ideals of heroic early settlers of Iceland, Egill still embodies these ideals while deconstructing them throughout his story as well.

As he grows older these societal ideals shift, which is noted by both Ármann and Lois Bragg. While Egill still represents the previous generation, his children reflect the next generation of Iceland. It is no longer a community in which conflicts of an expansive scale like those witnessed by Egill are common. In fact the capabilities he embodies have lost value in the face of growing stability. Skalla-Grímur’s growing animosity is not towards a younger generation as a whole, it’s directed at his son alone. A tense relationship between the two characters is described early in the saga and this strained state seems to reflect previous relationships between fathers and sons in this family. At the end of Skalla-Grímur’s life the relationship provides an affirmation of weakness in the face of Egill’s growing reputation. Returning to Skalla-Grímur’s actual death, the proceedings following his death are worth detailing in their original passage:

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67 Ármann Jakobsson. The Specter of Old Age, 74-75.
While the imagery of old age has some variation for both men, death and burial were one and the same for Þórólfr and Skalla-Grímr. Importance rests in the general feeling offered during the funerary narratives. In this scene sorrow over the loss of a father, husband and patriarch is not the emotion portrayed, rather it is discomfort and fear of the occurring events. This passing is not meant for processing the loss of a loved one, it’s an emergency verging on calamity that must be treated as such first. Handling the familial affairs comes second. This echoes the portrayal of Þórólfr, he is a man of confrontation and has little affection from those around him. More importantly he is a character centered on violence and discord who must be removed quickly and carefully so the living can avoid further difficulties. Comparably, after Skalla-Grímr’s death Egill’s priority is not to mourn his father. The first priority is removing him from the home and after that he can begin to settle affairs. The urgency of the process suggests something is amiss in the event of these characters’ passing.

To gather a sense of the scenarios I rely primarily to Leszek Gardela’s statements on them. To wit, Leszek Gardela works primarily with the archeological findings related to the dead and their burials instead of the literary material that places some form of ritual practice in the process. This being said, he does not completely shy away from the material of the sagas as per his own admission. While the material culture relays physical evidence of the occurrence, it is simply the end result of a longer process. Similar

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70 See Appendix.
conclusions have been vocalized by others such as Neil Price, who has discussed the material culture of the dead rather extensively in Scandinavia and the British Isles. From these locales, Price concluded two things, the first was the mercurial nature of Viking culture which permitted for the adaptation of several practices into foreign locations. The second was the notion of material culture that burials are the end result of much larger rituals which permeated the dramatization of belief structures and possibly family histories.

The cases that Price brings forth lay primarily in Sweden and the British Isles, however Gardela attempts to blend the similar concepts as Price using mainly the material culture of Denmark as well as the narratives of the Íslendingasögur. The dramatization which Gardela examines revolves primarily around the perceived deviant dead and attempting to identify these individuals through saga narrative and burial locations. To this extent he looks extensively at the cases of individuals such as Þórolfr, Skalla-Grímr, Hrappr, Kotkell and his brood. Of that list the initial two he cites exactly the same parallel in their deaths, naming them specifically “bad deaths”. Gardela’s definition of these “bad deaths” stems from historical and ethnographic sources detailing unique patterns in the manner of burial for particular individuals. Primarily this refers to individuals whose passing occurs when they were in a state of anger or perceived wrong doing. In these cases a pattern of funerary practices were employed that were perceived to hold apotropaic capabilities. Gardela concludes these practices were necessary because the household was considered an unsafe area until unique circumstances removed the threat.

Gardela provides a small list of characteristics to show which deaths can possibly be hazardous to a household. In this respect Þórolfr’s passing appears to contain most of the elements entailing these hazardous scenarios as well the response to them. This being said, while Egill appears to more clearly parallel Þórolfr in his process of aging, it is Skalla-Grímr who shares near identical death and burial with the latter. Certainly the literary portrayal of this scenario plays into the notion that Neil Price emphasizes

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heavily which is the theatricality of death. In some way these practices are intended to represent some manner of dramatization of the deceased. And to an extent this view is shared further back than Price. Turville-Petre reflects on this mentality as a result of the varied archeological evidence entwined with narratives of the dead. Similarly, H.R. Ellis catalogues the difference in burials although maintains the objective of discovering defining threads connecting these discoveries. This is not an incorrect assumption of funerary arts, which to this day maintain this ritual theatricality. Rather, the question is once again what is it that is being conveyed in these actions? Here is where Gardela establishes one of his major thesis.

This revolves around the parallel in the burials of the former family patriarchs. Worth discussing first is the process of covering the gaze of the dead men prior to any other funerary activity. This action is interestingly paralleled in a handful of other contexts both in saga narrative and outside of Iceland. The practice appears to be discussed very little in an Icelandic context, which I find quite peculiar as it is present in several similar scenarios. In the scenarios involving both of these characters perhaps the most reasonable explanation for its usage is the concept of the “evil eye”. The evil eye is believed to be the gaze of the dead or dying, which would bring misfortune on those who were unfortunate enough to fall under said gaze. In the sagas this concept appears to be quite popular and representative of certain scenarios which all appear to have the same supernatural inclinations. In this case it may pertain primarily to the state in which both men were prior to their deaths. Addressing the risk of “evil eye” also permits the following funerary procedures, such as dressing the body etc., to be undertaken.

What happens next in both scenarios is the creation of an artificial passage through which the body may be moved. The creation of such artificial passages appears to stem from the practice of the corpse door. The earliest study of the corpse door was conducted by H.F. Feinberg who observed it as a practice that is still used in Jylland, where in several locales where the deceased was prepared and displayed in their home.

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76 Turville-Petre, “Death”. Myth and Religion of the North, 74-77.
77 The same notion is present in Slavic culture and the same precautions are used in its appearance.
According to him the importance of the corpse door lay in the idea that the dead still remained active after their passing, and that there was a possibility of their return if they were passed through familiar passages of their home. The significance of the corpse door was a means of passing through the home in *Eyrbyggja* and *Egils saga* seems to be an earlier variant of this Danish concept. Or perhaps it is possible that the practice arrived to Iceland from continental Europe in some way. Gardela is quick to identify this practice with a familiar parallel in Western Slavic traditions. In all cases thus far the creation of these artificial entrances and passages stems from the belief that the dead may return to their previous homes, which should be prevented.

**The Witches: Removals and Burials**

People associated with witchcraft always maintained a strange relationship with their community, whether positive or negative, a constant was their position in the periphery. The same considerations continue to apply even in the face of death. While Þórólfr and Skalla-Grímr were treated to rather unique burials, the witch’s funerary rites lay further in the periphery and often entailed more than just interring the body. Previously several characters were discussed as having association with witchcraft and in terms of their relationship with their respective communities. They were observed with suspicion and often outright disdain for their association with the supernatural. As such a unique aspect of witches’ burials was the execution that often took place prior.

The lives of several witches have already been previously discussed, and it is now time to look into their deaths. Interestingly, the majority of the sagas discussed here include at least one person associated with witchcraft and in nearly all the cases the same pattern of handling the body is repeated. *Eyrbyggja saga* introduces us briefly to Katla, whose knowledge of witchcraft is explored twice in the saga and ultimately results in her death while trying to protect her son Oddr from his criminal activity. The result

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82 *Eyrbyggja saga*, 60-63.
of this failed attempt to protect her son means she is executed after her son is put to death. While Oddr is hanged, Katla is stoned to death and buried under the stones used to execute her. There is no particular detail given of this event other than a brief passage. However the brevity of the execution serves as a decent starting point for discussing the execution and burial of witches and sorcerers in the sagas. Mainly because it gives a clear example of the basic process all of these characters experience, either identically or in minor variants.

To certain extent the same scenario experienced between Skalla-Grímr and Þórólfr is repeated, this time between Gísla saga and in Laxdæla saga, between þógrímr nef, Auðbjörg and Kotkell’s family respectively. The executions of þógrímr and Auðbjörg are similar to Katla’s rather brief procedure. þógrímr is known to have knowledge in witchcraft since his introduction and is associated rather directly with the main characters of saga, and his sister by familial association is also knowledgable in the arts. The deaths of the characters come swiftly one after the other once it is suspected that Auðbjörg has used her knowledge to cause the deaths of several men in Bergstaðir. When events of Bergstaðir become known, Auðbjörg is quickly siezed and taken to Saltness where she is stoned to death. Just as quickly, when news of this reaches Gísli, he travels to Nefstaðir and seizes þógrímr nef. They travel to Saltness as well, where þógrímr nef is stoned to death with his head covered. Gísli has him buried under the stones with his sister on the ridge between Haukadalr and Meðaldalr.

Laxdæla saga, introduces a similar succession of events revolving around Kotkelll and his family following their involvement in the death of Kári Hrútsson. As the family flees their home, their son Hallbjörn was the first to be captured, although the first executions are of Kotkell and Gríma. The husband and wife are captured as they flee into the mountains, the ridge between Haukadalr and Laxárdalr. Here they are stoned to death by Hrútr’s company and then buried in a shallow grave made with the same stones, which are called “Skattavarði”83. Hallbjörn becomes the next victim of the communal judgment and

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83 The name translates roughly to Sorcerer’s Cairn. While the naming of their tomb is clearly for dramatic effect, it reaffirms a perception of witchcraft and ritual specialist that required certain treatment in the event of their deaths.
execution. He is taken out to sea by his captors who had placed a bag over his head and then remove it before tying a stone around his neck. Before he is executed, Hallbjörn gazes at the shore in a manner that discomfits the men on the boat. He then proceeds to lay a curse on the old benefactor of his family, Þorleikr that he will have few happy days and that those who come to take his place will also suffer a similar fate. Hallbjörn is executed by drowning. Stígandi is the last member to be executed. Having managed to escape into Haukdalr and hide from his persecutors he becomes an outlaw, causing quite a stir before finally being captured. With the help of a slave girl Stígandi is eventually captured and executed in the same manner as his parents, a bag placed over his head, stoned to death and then buried under those stones afterwards.

The stoning aspect of their deaths can be related to their treatment as outlaws by the community. That tradition/practice may have been quite popular around the world. The method itself could be seen as inspired by fear and designed to minimize the contact with the witches at the point of death and after. According to Folke Strom, the act itself also may have been used in part because it was a collective action and the responsibility was shared among the community that participated in it. Additionally it could be argued that the stones were used because it was felt that they may have possessed some of the earth's inherent magic.

The burial using the stones appears to have a sense of containment for those on whom it is performed. The stones are often presented as tools for destruction, damage or containment of the dead, especially if considered in the context of sorcerer's and witches. Just as important to this procedure is the location of these executions and gravesites. In the cases of Laxdæla saga and Gísla saga the persecuted

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84 Laxdæla Saga, 341. The passage along with physical evidence from studied burial sites confirms that at least some knowledge pertaining to the avoidance of the dead’s gaze was existent. Laxdæla seem to imply that this belief may extended to those about to be executed. The practice occurs once more in Gísla Saga, and what this may entail will be discussed further along in this paper.

85 Laxdæla saga, 341.


users of magic are executed and buried in sites located in ridges between farmsteads. Little is mentioned of the importance of landscape in this practice; however Folke Strom sheds some light on this pattern. A possible reason for those locales is the belief that these areas belonged to no one person. As such this could be a precautionary measure to ensure that these malefactors would not return to harm farmsteads or settlements88.

Perhaps the most notable exception to this procedure appears to be Hallbjörn of Laxdæla. Unlike his family he is not stoned to death, instead he is drowned at sea. However, this does not exclude him from the preventive measures taken against undead magic users. The practice of stoning allows for Hallbjörn's execution to be seen as a variation of the stoning execution and burial. The stone tied to his neck can once again be seen as a belief that it has inherent magic connected to the earth as opposed to actual weapons. And the disposal of the body through drowning beyond the shoreline can arguably be seen as a variant of the belief that these areas are essentially no-man’s land. The movement of the dead would be bound to the tides and thus not fixed in one specific area to haunt89.

Gardela theorizes a possible connection between these literary examples and discovered gravesites of Scandinavia in which stones appear to be used on the bodies. He proposes that these stones could be used in burials as a combination of practices involved in the disposal of people believed to have been magicians or sorcerers, among other groups as well90. He also notes that in at least one case the stones appeared to be placed (or thrown) on a woman's head. The objects with which this woman had been buried appear to connect her with witchcraft or sorcery, which he interprets as connected with first the gaze of the dead, which could be believed to cause misfortune on those who came across it91. And as a procedure to destroy the body of someone associated with magic to avoid their return after death.

In the Icelandic sagas, the usage of stoning as a form of execution appears to have a rather public aspect in its usage\(^92\). In addition, the execution appears to be used particularly for witches and magicians. It is this aspect that raises questions about its significance. The use of stoning is mentioned prominently throughout the Old Testament, and among the scenarios that called for such punishment were the crimes of necromancy, having familiar spirits and being a wizard\(^93\). This raises the question of whether the use of stoning in the sagas is simply an addition influenced by other religious texts. However some physical evidence of stoning, or at least the use of stones in burials was possibly a custom used in Viking age burials. Particularly Gardela who documents several gravesites where stones appear to have been used on the dead and placed in comparatively similar positions on the bodies presents this evidence\(^94\). Whether the use of these stones in burials was directly connected to deviant burials or not, it would appear to have had the significance of being of preventative measure for use with the deceased possibly connected with the supernatural\(^95\).

The second element worth discussing pertains once again to covering the face of the executed. This action appears to be associated once again with the belief of the “evil eye”. While in *Eyrbyggja saga* and *Egils saga* it was directly associated with the gaze of the dead, *Laxdæla saga* and *Gísla saga* seem to expand its significance a bit further. The original conceptualization that the gaze of the dead is dangerous is not entirely lost in this scenario. It is however given a more expansive imagery in connection to the supernatural through witchcraft, where it was believed to do harm to those upon whom it landed after in death\(^96\). In these cases the image applies not only to the already dead, also to the living about to be executed. Just as the stoning does not appear to be a totally uniform practice, neither does the face covering. In *Gísla saga* it is only Þorgrímr who is given this treatment, Auðbjörg’s last rites are left somewhat ambiguous. Equally

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\(^{92}\) *See Eyrbyggja saga*, Ch. 20 (60) and *Laxdæla saga*, Ch. 37, 38 (341-342).
\(^{93}\) *Leviticus* 20:27.
\(^{94}\) Lezsek Gardela, “The Dangerous Dead: Rethinking Viking Age Deviant Burials”, 117-120.
Laxdæla saga presents a similar inconsistency when grabbing and bagging their witches. Of the Kotkell family only Hallbjörn and Stígandi are given this treatment, while Kotkell and Grím are simply executed upon capture, although this can stem from the urgency of the situation. Despite this variability a constant factor in these events is the avoidance of the gaze of these individuals. Which seems to reaffirm the belief that those in the vicinity must avoid the gaze of the dead or dying.

What is important here is the manner in which the characters are dealt with. When comparing between the deaths of Kotkell and his family in Laxdæla saga and Þorgrímr nef and Auðbjörg of Gísla saga we see a pattern of behavior towards people who were believed to have some connection to the supernatural. That pattern demanded at a minimum wariness and at most hostility, including violence towards them. They are representatives of the orbis exterior or útgarðr, the world outside of these settlement communities. In these narratives because of their skills, and just as often their origins, they are representative of groups just outside the boundaries of communal normalcy. Additionally their magic appears to hold a particularly strong connection to the manipulation of their environment, which directly or indirectly plays a role in the death of a handful of characters. These actions trigger the communities’ attempt at executing the characters.

Miscellaneous Burials: Mountains, Oceans, Christians and Doors

Despite the previous two patterns cropping up between sagas, just as Turville-Petre admitted once upon a time, the beauty of Scandinavian burials lies also in their variety. Just as well it would be rather unfair to completely ignore other funerary images presented in the selected sagas despite their not falling into these initial groupings.

The first of these unique burial images comes from early in Eyrbyggja saga, Þorstein Þorskabit. Þorstein comes from a family of good stock that is well respected around Snæfellsness. His father is a known worshiper of Þórs, for which reason he chose to situate the family close to Helgafell. Þóristein’s death is

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perhaps one of the more peculiar ones as it does not provide detail on the process of the death, rather shares images that signify the passing of the event. Upon leaving his home for Höskuldsøy, one of his shepherds comes across an impressive image that heralds Þóristeinn’s death. The north side of the Helgafell opens, with fires burning inside while clamors of feasting are heard within. From the noise within Þóristeinn and his crew are heard being welcomed into the feast in the mountain. Shortly after this vision, the news arrives that he had died at sea.

The next case is the ever popular and rather conflicting Þórgunna. Her death was heralded by strange imagery that compounded her association with the supernatural. This being said her death was treated primarily as that of a Christian. Prior to her death she leaves a list of instructions as to how her death should be handled including the handling of her possessions, which we find later play a pivotal role in life after death for certain characters, and taking her body to Skálholt for a proper Christian burial. Little can be said of Þórgunna’s death other than the possibility of providing a literary rendition of the hybridization of early Christian beliefs with pre-Christian practices of Iceland. More than this however, is the fact that Þórgunna is the herald of one of the most discussed hauntings of the Íslingasöggur, which perhaps compounds the uncanniness of her character.

Following Þórgunna’s burial narrative, the audience also comes across the deaths of Þórodur skattkaupandi and his crew who sail out of Fróðá shortly after Þórgunna’s death. Just as with Þóristeinn earlier, the men die at sea with only little foreshadowing of the event. The interesting aspect of this is the significance of the goddess Rán in the scheme of funerary events for those lost at sea. Although this passage is also quite brief, just as with Þórgunna it is only after death that these characters become more interesting.

The final mention of unique deaths and burials come from Víga-Hrappr. To summarize, Hrappr emigrated from the Hebrides to Iceland. His life was characterized as filled with violence and intimidation of his neighbors. As his age progressed his strength and influence waned although his mind remained violent until the day he died. On his deathbed he instructs his wife to bury him within the doorway of his
hall, to in his words: “be able to keep a more searching eye on my dwelling.” His wife Vigdís being afraid of her husband, acquiesces. There is little understanding as to what this burial entails, probably just a dramatic rendering of the last desire of a greedy, sour old man. If any significance can be drawn from this imagery it may be the skewed perception involving the dwellings of the dead. The howe was amongst the more popular burial forms of the sagas. Reasons for this popularity may vary, Ynglinga Saga establishes it’s usage with the death of Freyr. As long as Freyr lived good harvest was expected for the following seasons. This belief was so strong among his subjects that when death finally came, the attempt was made to artificially extend his life through the construction of a burial chamber where all who entered believed the king to be alive in his throne.

The premise of the burial chamber was that of a new home for the dead, where they dwelled freely in their supernatural space. I believe that Hrappr’s house doorway burial attempts to recall this premise although twisted negatively. Perhaps the concept of the dead living in a shared but separate space was prominent in the social narrative. And just as Hrappr was disruptive in life, his burial continues that behavior in an equally disruptive manner. It could in theory also reiterate the frustration and denial that these men have of old age. If the howe is the dwelling of the dead and a dead man is buried in his original dwelling it may mark a refusal to sever their contact with the living and the material world. This hints to the belief of an existing relationship between the dead and the landscape that can be expressed positively and negatively in the sagas.

The Afterman: Stories of the Returning Dead

According H.R. Ellis, there is solid evidence of the belief that there were at least two distinct forms of existence after death. One was beyond the mundane planes of existence and amongst the gods in their domains. The second was within this world, separated through supernatural landscapes, including the

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98 Laxdæla saga, 297.
99 H.R. Ellis. The Road to Hel, 198.
100 Ynglinga saga. Ch. 11.
101 H.R. Ellis. The Road to Hel, 198.
gravemound. In poetic narratives, the former holds the greater influence; those dramatic renditions held some form of cultural power through which transportation to another place was present in the narration. It is not that the belief that the dead travelled to another place was nonexistent, as ship burials and the premise of the helskór implied differently. But poetry was exactly that - dramatic renditions of fiction. By the 13\textsuperscript{th}-14\textsuperscript{th} century it would be safe to assume that these were simply believed to be dramatic renditions of fictional accounts. The gravemound held a more complex relationship with its audience. Again, the premise of believing such supernatural activity at face value is rather suspect, however saga narrative especially in the Íslendingasöger created a social reality in which the restless dead belong. The restless dead could not be objectively sensed outside of the literary scope but this did not prevent the belief in the supernatural in some way or another\textsuperscript{102}.

**Impossible Landscapes: Presence of the Otherworld and Undead Influence in the Landscapes**

The ghosts of the Íslendingasögar walk a delicate line that creates difficulty in categorizing them into uniform groupings. Even within the same saga is it difficult to find completely uniform representations of the undead. Such is the case in Eyrbyggja saga, which has become quite popular for its varied and complex portrayal of the undead in the face of the community. Accordingly, it is worth noting that Eyrbyggja saga is a central basis to much of the analysis presented here. The first of these ghosts to be looked at will be Þórólfr bægifótr. Shortly after his death, the inhabitants of Hvammr become more wary of being outside after dusk. The oxen that carried the body become what the saga calls "troll-ridden"\textsuperscript{103} and any animals near the grave site turned mad, died or disappeared. Shepherds then began to avoid grazing

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\textsuperscript{103} Eyrbyggja saga, 93. In its original Old Icelandic the term used is "tröllriða", it’s used to describe the behavior of the animals surrounding Þórólfr’s grave as well as the body after being exhumed referring to its blackened shade and swollen appearance despite appearing to be still well preserved. The usage of troll like for appearance is rarely if ever used for the dead outside of Eyrbyggja. However it is popular descriptor given as reference to several living individuals especially berserker and outlaws most notably Grettir Ásmundarson and Gísli Súrsson. Presumably such a comparison entailed the belief of something abnormal if not supernatural present in that which it described. See Lois Bragg’s *Oedipus Borealis* and Marion Poilvez’ *Mimicking the Other in the Outlaw Sagas*. 

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their animals near the site. Around Hvammr noises would be heard as if someone was sitting on the roof of the home. All of this led the people of the district to believe the Þórólfr was not lying quietly in his grave.

The landscape plays a valuable role as marker for the presence of the supernatural. This may be seen with Þórólfr in great detail but he is not the first character in the saga to display such a connection to the landscape. That honor belongs to Þorsteinn Þorskáðtr. What is initially seen as a kind of funerary imagery can also be perceived as introducing the relationship between the dead/supernatural and the landscape. Thomas Dubois and H.R Ellis discuss the belief of mountains as holy sites and their connections to the dead are parallel to the practices and beliefs of the Sami. In Iceland’s case it seems to be something that was brought from Norway, specifically its western districts104. Eyrbyggja saga is not the only Icelandic text that presents this holy mountain cult tradition. Landnámabók also makes note that this tradition was developed by the descendants of the settler Auðr the Deepminded (djúpúðga) after her death105.

H.R Ellis is again perhaps one of the earliest portents of the theory of Þórs’s mountain worship. Just as cremation rites could be associated with bringing the dead to Óðinn, and certain burial practices could be connected to Freyr, a similar connection could be theorized between Þórs and sacred mountain dwellings.106 Specifically this is seen with Þórólfr mostrarskegg and his family, who as mentioned above was a worshiper of Þórs and keeper of his temple when he lived in Norway. The significance of the location is compounded by the relationship that it still holds with the descendants of Þórólfr and Þorsteinn, particularly Snorri gøði. The importance of the landscape and the supernatural is greatly emphasized by Miriam Mayburd who also delves into the relationship that this entails with the dead. She also directs her interest toward Þórólfr mostrarskegg’s family107. It makes sense that this would be the prime example for this subject given that this family does appear to be bound to a physical landscape. More so it presents the

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104 Thomas Dubois. Nordic Religions in the Viking Age, 76.
106 H.R. Ellis. The Road to Hel, 87-88.
descendants of Þórolfr with numinous knowledge when in contact with the mountain. This concept is not unfamiliar, Torfi H. Tulinius also notes the power this location holds for Snorri goði and his capacity for cunning schemes, suggesting this to be a subtle portrayal of the supernatural power that the mountain provides. He and Miriam both suggest this power can be linked to the mountain serving as a dwelling for the dead, similar to a howe or cairn\textsuperscript{108}.

The region surrounding Þórolfr bægifótr’s grave is the epicenter of supernatural activity similar to Helgafell, however occurrences here eventually turn the landscape unnaturally hostile. Initially signs of discomfort surround the general area, marked by animals becoming mad and dying when they come near the grave. This also coincides with the changing seasons, a concept that is constantly affirmed throughout the episode\textsuperscript{109}. The community’s initial reaction is general wariness of being outside after the sun has gone down. This shows the understanding of the community that something dangerous is occurring in the region. It acknowledges their recognition of unnatural occurrences which thus far have been associated with the dead, and more importantly awareness that the source of these occurrences is dangerous and is turning the landscape hostile. Sure enough what begins with the death of animals escalates to humans, coinciding with Þórolfr’s ability to manifest back into himself and perform his own actions.

The influence that he holds over the landscape goes beyond coming into contact with the living. Þórolfr is capable of creating a host of ghosts to join with him. If one looks at the imagery displayed in both Þorstein and Þórolfr’s scenarios, the contrasts in their relationships with the landscape are staggeringly apparent. Helgafell’s imagery of the supernatural landscape includes communal interaction between the inhabitants, peace in the material plane and possibly numinous knowledge for those who know to seek it. Þórolfr appears as the opposite end of the spectrum in this relationship, as his presence in the land is not


\textsuperscript{109}Eyrbyggja saga, 93-94.
peaceful. Rather he exhibits a forceful return to activity in the world of the living often even forcing those alive to join his ranks.

*Laxdæla saga*’s image of the undead echoes a similar capacity to Þórólfr’s manipulation of the landscape. The once lovable Hrappr becomes worse to deal with in death than in life, and his hauntings of the area were relentless, resulting in the death of his servants and soon leaving the farm deserted. It eventually fell to Höskuldr to rid the area of this problem, which he does with the help of several men who remove Hrappr's body from the doorway and lay him to rest far away from the people and livestock of the area. This is said to considerably lessen the hauntings in the area, but does not completely eliminate them. The parallels with *Eyrbyggja saga* continue to develop in this particular dealing, with the moving of the body lessening the activity but not completely eliminating it. In the case of Þórólfr a large wall is erected over his new resting place as a precautionary measure, presumably because it was believed that he would not rest quietly. Although Hrappr is not directly attributed to personally haunt the area after his reinternment, his son Sumarliði attempts to restart the farm on his father's land and shortly goes insane and dies,

Both Þórólfr's and Hrappr's preserved bodies during their hauntings are additional proof of the connection to the land, but serve as a contrast in their relation to it after death. Perhaps this has some correlation with both Hrappr's and Þórólfr's characterizations as deviants while they were alive, especially during their old age. As Ármann Jakobsson suggests, if the portrayal of old men in sagas followed a pattern similar to what was seen in mainland Europe, their representation in death would follow the same pattern.

In both cases the men were marked as being more pronounced in their characteristics in old age and this could be related to a strong discontentment as they aged.

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110 *Eyrbyggja saga*, 95.
111 *Laxdæla saga*, 298.
Þórólfr is a deviant upon his introduction, taking land by force from other settlers, which could possibly be a response to the fact that he was the son of a female settler. This is not seen negatively in the saga, in fact Þórólfr’s mother is held in much higher esteem than her son.\textsuperscript{113} It could however be interpreted as a motivator for the young man to aggressively make a name for himself instead living off his mother's reputation. And while he does succeed in making some land his own, it costs him the effectiveness of one of his legs, hence the name “\textit{Baegifótr}”, Twist-foot. This may be the source of his more aggressive demeanor in old age. Ármann suggests his disability, along with the fact that he loses most of his cases later in life, causes him discontent that ultimately leads to unrest in death\textsuperscript{114}. Hrappr follows the same pattern, in his youth he is seen as a bully and a scoundrel by his neighbors who he strong-arms at every opportunity. His behavior is only somewhat halted by the presence of Höskuldr. In old age the strength he used to instill fear and gain respect from his neighbors weakens but his demeanor stays the same. The result is an almost identical situation to Þórólfr. Discontent with his position in old age fuels his return as a restless ghost.

The preservation of the bodies as time passed appears to be proof of the belief that the dead remain connected to the lands in which they lived. The relocation of the bodies as an initial solution may stem from the idea of confusing the spirit as to its location. This recalls the practice of removing the body from a hole in the wall. It can confuse the spirit but in both cases it does not solve the problem entirely as the ghosts always seem to find their way back to the farmstead. Ultimately the final solution to this problem is severing completely the connection of the spirit to the landscape, achieved through total destruction of the physical remains.

**The Curious Case of the \textit{Fróðárundr}**

Þórólfr \textit{baegifótr} offers the quintessential image of the ghost/revenant. In the case of \textit{Eyrbyggja saga} his hauntings take somewhat of a backseat to Þórgunna and the \textit{Fróðárundr}. Þórgunna and the events

\textsuperscript{113} \textit{Eyrbyggja saga}, 82.
\textsuperscript{114} Ármann Jakobsson, “The Specter of Old Age”, 72-74.
following her death present one of the most complex scenarios involving hauntings in the sagas, largely due to it being a hybrid of several concepts presented earlier. Þórgunna's apparition does not directly involve a calamity for the people of the community with her arrival, and is in fact quite brief in the larger narrative. Her appearance is triggered by the mistreatment of her corpse bearers and serves only to right the wrongs made by their hosts. She exhibits absolutely no deviant behavior during her life, but her presence in Froðá is connected to strange occurrences in the landscape. The most prominent being the rain of blood that takes place shortly before her death. While deviancy appears to be a key element of eventual haunting, Þórgunna’s connection to the Hebrides can be seen as a marker of the supernatural.

Another perspective of the dead and the landscape is offered by this episode. This is the first haunting to occur in the saga after the mass Christianization of Iceland, which spurred a wave of church building in the surrounding area. In this setting Þórgunna's death and her prior request to have her body taken to Skálholt for burial can be seen as a portrayal of the area's lack of understanding of the newly dominant belief structures that were proliferating. Could it be possible to observe the movement of Þórgunna’s body after death in a parallel to Þórólfr’s burial procedures? The key component of Þórólfr’s burial was the movement of the body away from the homestead, into a distant area where contact with it would be minimal. It is possible to observe a similarity in Þórgunna, although this action was as per her requests rather than a reaction to the circumstances of her death. More telling is perhaps the possibility of church building around Iceland serving to transform the landscape into more supernatural scenery. As a result, affecting the conceptualization of the dead as well.

In comparison to Þorsteinn’s apparition, the previous notion of the dead at peace was presented as an image of unity with the landscape. Churches can be observed to have an opposite effect. They serve as a liminal space between the living and the spiritual world. This can be translated into an area where the presence of the dead can be more prominent. In fact, it is even mentioned in Eyrbyggja saga that priests

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115 Eyrbyggja saga, 127-128.
offered places in heaven to those who built churches in their lands\textsuperscript{116}. In this case, it is very possible that the presence of Þórgunnó after death was a result of an understanding of the landscape being altered. Not necessarily in a negative or dangerous manner, as was the case with Þórólfr, nonetheless, possessing a supernatural quality that permitted the interaction of the dead with the living.

Þórgunnó’s apparition seems to be by far the most benign of the ghosts seen in \textit{Eyrbyggja saga}. However, it also served as a herald to a much more dangerous haunting, still connected to her in some manner. In the context of analysis, the supernatural events of Fróðá are perhaps the more difficult to understand. For this reason, it has also become one of the most popular hauntings to study. It serves as juxtaposition between Christianity and, possibly, older pagan traditions. Not only do the ghosts related to the latter system appear to be more dangerous, it is the Christian ritual process that seems to eliminate the hauntings. Continuing the thought of Thomas Dubois, the events of Fróðá underscore the transitional period quickly following the conversion of Iceland\textsuperscript{117}. As mentioned by the saga's author, although baptized and perceived as Christians, a good number of pagan beliefs still prevailed\textsuperscript{118}. It was not a process exclusive to the people however; the land itself experiences a similar transition from one system to another.

It must be remembered, that quickly after the Christianization, Snorri goði along with several other affluent members of the region built churches on their lands. Let’s momentarily consider that, given the events transpiring with the undead so far in the sagas including both those discussed here and others that were not, it would not be farfetched to assume an intimate relationship between the natural and supernatural landscape. In the pre-Christian belief structure narrated in these sagas, the relationship between two planes of existence was rather welcoming, somewhat inclusive even. The creation of a liminal space connected the two landscapes with each other. This is in stark contrast to the Christian concept of life and death. Perhaps borrowing from Augustinian concepts, the dead were believed to be separate from the living,

\textsuperscript{116} \textit{Eyrbyggja saga}, 127.
\textsuperscript{117} Thomas Dubois, \textit{On Nordic Religion in the Viking Age}, 89.
\textsuperscript{118} \textit{Eyrbyggja saga}, 127.
incapable of forming interactions under normal circumstances\textsuperscript{119}. It is not however impossible for interactions to occur, hence the building of churches. In a similar manner was the mound, creating a liminal space in which the living and the dead could interact. The contrast is, that rather than connect planes of existence with each other, the church is believed to be a space separate in some respects from the material world. Despite the creation of these new spiritual landscapes a key component is missing: the priest versed in the knowledge of this new religion.

The supernatural events of pagan inclination are more colorful and dangerous than the Christian Þórgunna’s ghostly presence. Initially comical and laden with unique pagan information such as the dead attending their own funeral and the conflict between two factions of ghosts; the humor employed is quickly lost as people begin to fall ill and die. Prior to the haunting, several markers are presented that hint at the uncanny happenings around Fróðá: bloody rain, a mysteriously appearing half-moon and a seal-like creature feeding off food supplies. As the dead begin to reemerge, they refuse to leave Fróðá until a hybridization of pre-Christian and Christian practices are performed. An imagery that while playing on the physicality and spirituality emphasized in both religious bases ultimately is employed to favor a Christian undertone.

Shortly after Þórgunna’s physical manifestation, several ghostly guests intrude upon the members of Fróðá. Though comical at first, their presence later takes a much deadlier tone in their presence and effect. As with Hvammr following Þórolfr’s death, Fróðá too becomes the nesting ground for several ghosts, as well as a unique seal-like apparition, possibly responsible for the destruction of the farmstead’s food supply. I believe that although Þórgunna’s direct physical presence is brief and far from Fróðá, it is her influence that drives the wonders that occur in this farmstead.

\textsuperscript{119} Martin, John D. “Law and the (Un)dead- medieval Models for Understanding the Hauntings in Erbyggja Saga”. Saga-Book: Viking Society for Northern Research, Vol. 29 (2005), 79; This behavior can be noted to correlate with Nancy Caciola’s study of the Dead in continental medieval Europe.
It has been pointed out that the sagas’ restless dead can be observed as actors whose deeds are performed out of malice and of their own free will\(^{120}\). However, given the peculiarity of this case, one can ask if it’s possible that the events occurring in Fróðá are being directed by a single entity rather than a coincidental turn of supernatural events. In several cases, it has been suggested that the conductor of the activity in Fróðá is in fact Þórgunna\(^{121}\), although opinions on this matter have been known to vary\(^{122}\). This is central to the Fróðárundr and Þórgunna, whose bout of undead activity can be seen as a foreshadowing of the subsequent events, and her death serves as the source. She is not directly involved in Fróðá per se. Nevertheless, presenting the restless dead as a result of unfinished/unfulfilled wishes is a common trope as is observed in this case. Thus, it has often been theorized that Þórgunna’s presence is still felt in Fróðá through other means, most commonly represented by the seal-like creature appearing throughout the house\(^{123}\).

The seal has become quite popularly associated with Þórgunna. Her manifestation resulting from Þóroddr’s unfulfilling of her final wishes. While Þórgunna serves to initiate the weird into the narrative once more, this seal-headed creature begins changing the landscape of Fróðá. This creature is largely responsible for the initial troubles occurring in Fróðá, namely, the destruction of the food supplies in the farmstead. Its presence in the area creates the initial fear and discomfort at Fróðá in the same way that Hvammr became initially hostile when Þórólfr’s presence began to emerge. The idea behind the creature is to begin the alteration of the landscape for supernatural, in the same way that inland Iceland was believed to be reserved for the strange and dangerous\(^{124}\). Additionally, Kjartan G. Ottósson has put forward the possibility that this creature was also responsible for the storm which later claims the life of Þóroddr and

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\(^{120}\) Kirsi Kanerva, “Roles of the Dead in Medieval Iceland: A Case Study of Eyrbyggja saga”, 28.


\(^{123}\) Eyrbyggja saga, 136-137.

his crew. However, he also maintains that this creature is not manifested from Þórgunna, rather having a religious connection to the devil. This, somewhat categorizes Þórgunna into a rather continental Christian perception of the dead and supernatural experiences.

The problem with this perception is that Christian salvation, although present in the sagas’ narrative, may not have prevented the dead from making their existence known to the living. The younger version of Eyrbyggja saga in Melabók shows Þórgunna in a restless state just after her burial. In this version she is heard complaining about her burial place at the foot of Mána-Ljótr. So, in at least one incarnation of the saga, Þórgunna’s restlessness goes beyond assuring her pallbearers’ proper treatment. It brings into play locale and the relationship between the supernatural and landscapes, namely, mountains and the dead. The fact that a version of the saga exists in which post-mortal activity occurs with Þórgunna as well has led Kanerva, among others, to question the relationship that Þórgunna has with Fróðá, and specifically the seal creature. The most prominent of these theories is that the creature is a sort of fylgja related to Þórgunna.

In the simplest definition, a fylgja is something of a spirit known to accompany people, related to their fortune or fate, similar to a traditional spirit familiar, although perhaps having just as much in common with the Irish Fetch. The main argument in this theory is the idea that the manifested creature represents the will of the dead Þórgunna. However, just as popular is the refusal of this argument. Kjartan G. Ottósson suggests that the relation between the seal and Þórgunna cannot be possible, as the fylgjur are immaterial and only appearing in dreams, to people with second sight or who will soon die. Dag Strömbäck contrarily sees animals as capable of material contact as well as attached to those skilled in witchcraft, as possible fylgjur. Specifically, it’s suggested that the dead could, in this scenario, very well have access to fylgjur who would manifest after their host had passed. Knut Odner also considered this concept, seeing the seal

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127 Kjartan G. Ottósson. Fróðárundur í Eyrbyggju, 89.
128 Kirsi Kanerva. The Role of the Dead in Medieval Iceland, 31; This is an extract of Dag Strömback’s Sejd och andra studier i nordisk själuppfattning.
129 Kirsi Kanerva; Dag Strömback. The Role of the Dead in Medieval Iceland, 31.
as Þórgunna’s manifestation from the otherworld, defined by the liminal potential that seals inherently had. They were believed to be supernatural because of their capacity to live between land and sea\textsuperscript{130}. Kanerva utilizes this definition as another means of connecting Þórgunna and the seal, by her journey to Iceland from the Hebrides\textsuperscript{131}. This, coincidentally, reaffirms the supernatural effect of this region.

The discussion of the fylgjur as potentially supernatural manifestations of the dead provides a curious comparison to other land spirits of Iceland namely the landvættir. The landvættir commonly termed as land guardians or guardian spirits are exactly that, spirits believed to guard certain areas or regions of Iceland\textsuperscript{132}. By this definition they are inseparable from their denoted landscapes where tremendous power is bestowed upon them. In and of themselves, the landvættir do not appear to be connected to the dead and their restlessness. Rather than simply dwelling in the land as the dead are perceived, they are portrayed as being part of the land as well. However, once again turning to Miriam Mayburd, curiosity seems to emerge when exploring the relationship of dead with their landscape, specifically, their reentry into the land as well as their forceful reemergence.

Mayburd has discussed the connection that can exist between this manifestation of spirits in relation to mountains, hills and mound veneration. Especially in the ambiguity of how much this veneration pertains to the reverence of ancestral worship versus appeasement of the supernatural dwelling within the locale\textsuperscript{133}. My question is then, as the landvættir are presented as being powerful guardians of certain landscapes and fylgjur as supernatural companions, are the restless dead - especially those of noticeable power such as Þórólfr bægifótr, Víga-Hrappr and perhaps even Þórgunna’s - hostile manifestations of a similar concept?

Again, this thought stems almost entirely from the interactions that such characters have with their landscape, in contrast to the perceived roles of the former entities as well as the more benevolent dead. The

\textsuperscript{130} Knut Odner. “Þórgunna’s testament: A myth for moral contemplation and social apathy”, 135, 138.
\textsuperscript{131} Kirsi Kanerva. The Role of the Dead in Medieval Iceland, 32.
\textsuperscript{132} Stefan Brink. “Mythologizing Landscapes: Place and Space in Cult and Myth“, Kontinuitäten und Brüchen in der Religionsgeschichte (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2001), 102.
\textsuperscript{133} Myriam Mayburd. “The Hills Have Eyes”, 132.
landvættir, as well as the benevolent dead, are basically one with their landscapes and at peace with their surroundings. Þórvörfr mostrarsskegg is, again, the finest example of this relationship in which he is shown along with his son to be dwelling within Helgafell. What alludes to the comparison between these dead and the landvættir is the idea that the dead ancestors are believed, in some circles, to be guarding this region, possibly for their descendants. These guardian spirits, coincidentally in other sagas, are shown to emerge from mortal men. Once again, the alteration of the environment that the living experience during the hauntings observed here, especially in the case of Þórvörfr bægifótr and Þórgunna, seem to lend some credence to the possibility that some dead can hold similar influence to that of a land spirit in all but name.

134 Myriam Mayburd. “The Hills Have Eyes”, 136-137; See Barðr’s transition in Bárðar saga Snæfellsáss and Skarphéðinn’s insults towards Fosi in Njáls saga.

135 Compare the described abilities of the landvættir and those of Víga-Hrappr (Laxdæla saga), and more presently found in Þórvörfr mostrarsskegg, Þórvörfr bægifótr and Þórgunna (Eyrbyggja saga, Ch.11, 34, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55).
Conclusion:

The objective of this thesis was to observe primarily two concepts pertaining to the dead in the Íslendingasögur: Who the restless dead tend to be in these saga narratives, and the relationship that the supernatural holds to its surrounding landscape. Scholars such as Turville-Petre have based chapters and articles on the premise that the dead are so unique in their descriptions, that it is impossible to find functioning patterns in their deaths and burials. However, as this thesis has, hopefully presented, it is possible to find patterns in the disposal of the dead. This, if scholars such as Leszek Gardela are followed, can be supported by the physical evidence of burial sites. This lends some credence to the narrative portrayal of such scenarios of the Íslendingasögur, where the literary adds some substance as to who is treated in certain manners and placed in such locations.

As I have mentioned before, the material culture of gravesites gives us the possibility of observing how these scenarios affect the plot, although it does not address the why. This is where the literary narrative plays a necessary role. Again, as many scholars have said repeatedly, we cannot expect to take everything in the Íslendingasögur at face value. They are certainly a product of their time, and what this indicates in the literary field is that what is presented has traces of the subjective mentality of Christianized Icelanders writing of pre-Christian concepts. This, I believe, does not hamper the depiction of these episodes or their concepts. The written material is still recent enough to be fresh in the cultural memory of the community. As such, what is still present in these narratives is the imagery of collective tropes and concepts, ascribed to certain groups in the pre- and possibly post-Christianized Icelandic community. To speak clearly, those societal others and the ideas, persisted in some way or another at the fringes of communal knowledge. The burials observed in this thesis and the individuals to which they relate serve as portrayals of this concept. As such their roles in life are necessary to understand the patterns to which they are subjected to in death.

Following this image of the living other, the second objective of the thesis pertains to the relationship that these individuals, in varying ways, held with their landscapes after death. The literary point
of view, while invaluable, is not to be taken at face value. The image of the landscape and the supernatural speaks of a relationship that Icelanders may have had with their surroundings at that time. Scholars have already begun to study the relationship that certain individuals of the community may have had with the ambience. Such is the case of outlaws. They were forced to leave behind the comfort and trappings of society and survive beyond the fringes of society. In this respect I wished to look at the relationship of the dead. The landscape beyond the community is held as this supernatural otherworld in which anything goes.

In a realistic portrayal, it would require outlaws to live beyond the established communities as a means of survival. Thus, in some respect becoming something beyond human in the eyes of the community. This applies equally to the dead in their relationship with the environment. If anything can be taken from the interaction between the dead and the landscape it is that, in the literature, the dead held some supernatural connection to their surroundings. They were both beneficially becoming part of it and thus holding some power in these locations. Or posed in a negative sense, the dead were manipulating the landscape into a breeding ground for the unnatural.

Ultimately, what else could be said about death? In medieval Icelandic literature, like most other things it is not a simple black and white conceptualization. There is a subtlety to the imagery and to the narrative that begs the question of what the medieval audience thought about the environment and the supernatural entities roaming them.
Appendix: Þórolfr's and Skalla-Grímr's Burials

Eyrbyggja saga:

When they got there, his father was still sitting on the high-seat, and Arnkell went to make sure he was really dead. Everyone in the house was numb with terror, his death was so gruesome. When Arnkell went into the living-room he crossed the hall to get behind Þórólfr, warning people to take care not to pass in front of the corpse until the eyes had been closed. He took Þórólfr by the shoulders but had to use all his strength before he could force him down. After he wrapped some clothes around Þórólfr’s head and got him ready for burial according to the custom of the time. He had a hole broken through the wall behind Þórólfr, and the corpse was dragged outside. After a yoke of oxen had been hitched to a sled, Arnkell laid Þórólfr on it, and they began driving it up through Þórsárdalr. It was hard work hauling Þórólfr to his burial-place. When they got him there, they built a solid cairn over him.137

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137 Eyrbyggja Saga, 92-93.
A horse was saddled quickly and the rider set off at full pelt all the way to Lambastaðir. He went straight to see Egill and told him the news. Egill took his weapons and clothes and rode back to Borg that evening. He dismounted, entered the house and went to an alcove in the fire-room where there was a door through to the room in which were the benches where people sat and slept. Egil went through to the bench and stood behind Skalla-Grímr, taking him by the shoulders and tugging him backwards. He laid him down on the bench and closed his nostrils, eyes and mouth. Then he ordered the men to take spades down the south wall. When this had been done, Egil took hold of him by the head and shoulders, and the others by his legs. They carried him like this right across the house and out through where the wall had been broken down. They carried him out to Naustanes without stopping and covered his body up for the night. In the morning, at high tide, Skalla-Grímr’s body was put in a ship and they rowed with it out to Digranes. Egill had a mound made on the edge of the promontory, where Skalla-Grímr was laid to rest with his horse and weapons and tools. It is not mentioned whether any money was put into his tomb.\(^\text{139}\)


\(^{139}\) *Egil’s Saga*, 108.
Bibliography


