

# Murder in the Baðstofa: Bathing and the Dangers of Domestic Space in Old Norse-Icelandic Literature<sup>i</sup>

Katelin Marit Parsons

Árni Magnússon Institute for Icelandic Studies

A famous scene in Eyrbyggja saga describes how a farmer, Styrr of Hraun, uses a baðstofa, “bathhouse, bathing chamber,” to dispose of two troublesome berserker brothers.<sup>ii</sup> One brother has demanded the farmer’s daughter as his bride, threatening the farmer if he will not agree to the match. After seeking counsel from his wise neighbor, Snorri Þorgrímsson, the farmer sets three labor-intensive tasks for the berserkers to complete while he has a baðstofa prepared for their arrival. Having exhausted their strength through physical labor, Styrr invites the berserkers to relax in the baðstofa and then barricades their only exit, heating the space to an unbearable temperature and murdering them when they attempt to clamber out. A now-lost chapter of Heiðarvíga saga describes the same event, with the probable narrative difference that the berserkers in Heiðarvíga saga ask whether anyone else will join them in the baðstofa, with Styrr craftily responding that it would be unfitting for the other men to bathe with such mighty personages.<sup>iii</sup>

Eyrbyggja saga emphasizes that the architecture of the baðstofa at Hraun is vulnerable by design. Constructed while the berserkers are away cutting a road through the lava, Styrr’s bathing house is dug into the ground with only a single narrow exit up and out, and it has a small opening in the wall that allows it to be easily (over)heated from the outside. Most medieval Icelandic farmers did not custom-build themselves a baðstofa for the purpose of ridding themselves of unpleasant suitors. Nevertheless, when the baðstofa makes an appearance in medieval Icelandic writings, it tends to be situated within a narrative episode

depicting home invasion, murder or attempted murder. In this paper, I argue that making the baðstofa visible in such a context is a deliberate violent inversion of its normal association with socialization, hospitality and restoration. This is particularly true of the baðstofur in Sturlunga saga, a compilation that describes a particularly bloody period of Icelandic history and records numerous contemporary events in which mundane domestic spaces became sites for reprisal killings.

The baðstofa as it appears in literature cannot be disassociated with changing social practices, material cultures and environmental conditions. As examined here, the function and architecture of the baðstofa did not remain stable throughout the medieval and early modern period. Conceptions of bathing changed, and so too did the availability of firewood in the Icelandic landscape. Increasingly, the term baðstofa described a heatable room but not one associated in literature with heightened danger to its occupants.

The restoration of the baðstofa in a literary context occurs in a folktale recorded (and perhaps partly invented) by Jón Eggertsson (ca. 1643–1689) in the late seventeenth century, which describes a bungled home invasion of a church farm in the fifteenth century. In this story, the hunted becomes the hunter and the baðstofa a site of protection and eventual reconciliation for the feuding parties. As recorded by Jón Eggertsson, this folktale plays with the audience’s knowledge of home invasion scenarios elsewhere in Icelandic sources and their often-fatal outcomes, adding a touch of comedy to an otherwise serious violation of domestic space.

### ENTER THE BADSTOFA

An Icelandic-Latin glossary from the late twelfth century in the encyclopedic manuscript GKS 1812 4to gives baðstofa as the gloss for thermae, “public baths,” and kerlaug, “basin for

bathing, bathtub,” for balneum, “bathing chamber.”<sup>iv</sup> Bathing and bathing establishments were common throughout much of mainland Europe during the Middle Ages, albeit on a more modest scale than the thermae and balnea of Ancient Rome, where both immersion bathing and dry sweating were practiced.<sup>v</sup> In Amalfi in Southern Italy, records exist of heated balnea inside private, domestic spaces from as early as the tenth century, and bathing chambers were a standard feature of wealthy households (and some less affluent rural homes) by the late twelfth century, when GKS 1812 4to was written.<sup>vi</sup> At its most basic, this type of balneum was small heated chamber with a single hot-water bath, with an area for undressing.

Saunas and dry sweating were treated as distinct categories of bathing, which made these baths conceptually different from modern-day ones, which are generally understood as involving immersion in water. Practices of bathing also frequently involved public social interaction.<sup>vii</sup> The popularity of communal bathing extended to Scandinavia, where a public bathhouse was a common feature of urban areas in medieval Denmark, and bathing facilities were commonly found at religious houses, hospitals and the residences of the wealthy.<sup>viii</sup> In Old Norse usage outside of Iceland, the word baðstofa refers to this type of communal bathing space, sauna or heated steam bath.<sup>ix</sup>

The ONP database (<https://onp.ku.dk/>) contains numerous instances of baðstofa describing a public sauna or bath, particularly in fourteenth-century Norwegian legal documents and law texts. A brief glimpse of the interior of such a baðstofa can be found in Arons saga Hjörleifssonar, in which Aron Hjörleifsson is entrusted with the management of King Hákon Hákonarson’s bathhouse in Bergen, which is large enough to accommodate fifty guests and has separate chambers for undressing and bathing; as was presumably common at such establishments, guests were expected to pay Aron for the upkeep of the bathhouse.<sup>x</sup> Bathing culture as it developed in Iceland was of course influenced by practices beyond the island’s borders. However, in the absence of urban areas, local bathhouses comparable to

those in mainland Scandinavia did not emerge, and baðstofur are always part of a larger living complex.

Þiðreks saga af Bern contains two references to the baðstofa in connection with the character of Þéttleifr the Dane, introduced as an elite-born boy who shows no interest in riding or other aspects of courtly culture and never combs his hair, washes himself or uses the baðstofa, cultivating neither his personal hygiene nor his aristocratic status. The young Þéttleifr's avoidance of the baðstofa is contrasted with his frequent presence in the steikarahús, "kitchen." Þéttleifr's entry into manhood is represented by his eventual entry into the baðstofa to wash and groom himself, emerging into his new identity as an adult nobleman.<sup>xi</sup> Soon after, he proves his mettle by helping his father to defeat a band of robbers who vastly outnumber them. The young Þéttleifr is a typical kolbíttr figure, and his rapid transition from a youth disinterested in masculine pursuits to a formidable warrior has close parallels within the Íslendingasögur and fornaldasögur.<sup>xii</sup>

In sharp contrast to Þéttleifr's experiences in the baðstofa, a translated exemplum about a hubristic nobleman who is miraculously deserted by his servants and household while bathing reveals a degree of anxiety over the bather's weakness and social vulnerability inside the bathing chamber.<sup>xiii</sup> The rich man's growing irritation and rage as he finds himself naked and alone, without attendants or clothing waiting for him in the dressing room beyond, progresses to fear when those he encounters take him for a pauper and turn him out. Experiencing the world as an outcast proves to be his path to salvation, as he comprehends the transience of temporal wealth, which can evaporate as quickly as the steam from his bath. He learns the virtues of humility and charity before being restored to his former position by an angel. The type of solo day bathing described in the exemplum does not feature in Icelandic sources, however, nor does the exemplum reflect normal Icelandic bathing practices, since an explanation is added for the audience's benefit that it is a common cultural

practice outside of Iceland for men to bathe during the middle of the day, and for very rich men to bathe alone with a single attendant to serve them.<sup>xiv</sup>

The baðstofa could serve as a place of healing, when used appropriately. A passage on its restorative and harmful effects survives in a medical handbook attributed to Henrik Harpestræng (d. 1244), a canon at Roskilde.<sup>xv</sup> Harpestræng's text is informed by the scientific wisdom of his day, according to which one's health and temperament were governed by bodily fluids: four humors that were present in the body in varying quantities and had distinct natures, each being composed of a different combination of the four contraries (hot, cold, moist, dry). Ill temper and bad health resulted from an imbalance of these humors, which could be corrected through various harmonizing treatments. Under the humoral system of medicine, restorative bathing involved warming, cooling, drying or moistening the body as dictated by the bather's personal needs.<sup>xvi</sup> Entering the baðstofa was not beneficial for all, and Harpestræng warns that a trip to the baðstofa could be fatal for sufferers of various medical conditions, including unhealed wounds.<sup>xvii</sup>

A brief passage in the king's saga Sverris saga suggests that the risks of the baðstofa for the wounded were known in Norway (and Iceland) even before Harpestræng's day. According to Sverris saga, the warrior Nikulás of Vestnes refuses medical treatment for a head wound sustained during fighting. When he takes a bath in this condition, he is suddenly struck with pain and dies after a short convalescence, to the great loss of his king, Sverrir Sigurðarson (d. 1202).<sup>xviii</sup> Here, bathing does not form part of a treatment regimen, which Nikulás believed to be unnecessary, but is instead a post-battle activity that proves fatal.

The death of Nikulás of Vestnes occurs during the later chapters of Sverris saga, which chronicle Sverrir's reign as sole king of Norway and the many conflicts that threatened to topple him during his final years in power. Earlier chapters of Sverris saga document the

rapid, violent rise of King Sverrir to power in Norway. According to the prologue of Sverris saga, this earlier section of the king's saga was written by the Icelander Karl Jónsson, abbot of Þingeyrarklaustur (1135–1213), but dictated by King Sverrir himself, likely during the period ca. 1185–1188. The abbot travelled to Norway in the summer of 1185, a year after Sverrir defeated King Magnús Erlingsson of Norway.<sup>xix</sup> The saga as currently preserved has been expanded to include the events up to and including Sverrir's own death in 1202, and the depiction of Nikulás of Vestnes's death is unlikely to have come directly from Sverrir.<sup>xx</sup>

Where baðstofur appear in chapters of Sverris saga set before 1185, these spaces are frequently depicted as points of potential weakness and vulnerability that attackers can exploit. In Chapter 71 of Sverris saga, prior to his rival Magnús's defeat, Sverrir launches a surprise attack on a Saturday (laugardagr, lit. "washing day"), but he plans to wait until as many as possible of his enemies will be defenseless in the baðstofur. However, his men are overeager and launch their attack "heldr snemma dags" (rather too early in the day).<sup>xxi</sup> Shortly before Magnús's final defeat, Sverrir sends Úlfr of Laufnes and Þórólfr rympill with six ships to the settlement of Lúsakaupangr "og bað þá elda þar baðstofur ok taka at verkakaupi slíkt er þeir vildu" (and bid them heat the bathhouses there and take what they wished for their labor).<sup>xxii</sup> The looting and destruction of Lúsakaupangr was openly aimed at civilians, which the saga does not portray as behavior unfit for a king: Sverrir's men are depicted as respecting the sanctity of churches, even as they lay waste to secular infrastructure. In this context, Sverrir's wordplay mockingly places his men in the role of bathhouse attendants who "heat" the bathhouses by lighting them on fire as part of Sverrir's terror campaign, although the saga indicates that the population had already fled.

The destruction of the bathhouses of Lúsakaupangr was a violent act, but all such communal bathing establishments gradually vanished from the urban landscape over the centuries to come. Water and steam played a peripheral role in the personal hygiene of most

early modern Europeans, except as a medical remedy closely supervised by physicians.<sup>xxiii</sup> Shared spaces for pleasure-bathing and socialization became increasingly associated with moral and bodily contagion and gradually disappeared from the urban landscape.<sup>xxiv</sup> Instead, laundering undergarments and rubbing the body down with clean linen was promoted as a form of “dry bath,” effectual in maintaining bodily balance and good health.<sup>xxv</sup>

### THE ICELANDIC BAÐSTOFA

The extent to which Icelanders practiced bathing in outbuildings such as that described in Eyrbyggja saga is hotly debated. Small pit houses on Viking-age farmsteads, formerly interpreted as steam baths, may instead be women’s textile workshops, constructed from timber and heated by a stone oven or hearth.<sup>xxvi</sup> The presence of a baðstofa on Icelandic farms is widely attested in sources from the medieval period to the twentieth century, but by the late eighteenth century the word describes a communal eating, working and sleeping space for the farm household. Given that Icelandic farm buildings were traditionally constructed from turf and thus needed to be rebuilt on a regular basis, no fully intact examples of early modern (or medieval) baðstofa architecture survive; even the historic baðstofa at Keldur in Rangárvellir in South Iceland dates only from 1891, when the baðstofa from 1820 was rebuilt.<sup>xxvii</sup> Written sources are therefore invaluable in studying the built environment of pre-modern Iceland.

Geothermal activity in Iceland has meant that bathing options in some parts of the country have included natural hot springs and heated pools, or laugar, which were not human-constructed spaces although they could certainly be incorporated into the built environment, the most famous example being Snorralaug in Reykholt. A laug could also refer

to a basin for immersion bathing, such as the one in which Ármóðr is murdered by the wicked Starkaðr according to Egils saga einhenda ok Ásmundar berserkjabana.<sup>xxviii</sup>

Sturla Þórðarson's Íslendinga saga describes the medical use of a prepared laug by an Icelandic priest, Dálkr, in a failed attempt to restore the health of Hallbera Snorradóttir, adult daughter of Snorri Sturluson, who was living at Borg at the time.<sup>xxix</sup> There is also documentary evidence that Hólar and Skálholt were equipped with dedicated bathing chambers staffed by bath attendants and that bath-related inventory (e.g., baðtygi, baðföng, baðkúfar) were present at Hólar, Skálholt, the monastery at Möðruvallaklaustur and the Presthólar benefice in the sixteenth century.<sup>xxx</sup> However, Nanna Ólafsdóttir argues convincingly that buildings or rooms designated as baðstofa were already too prevalent on fifteenth-century Icelandic farmsteads to have functioned exclusively as baths, saunas or sweating-rooms.<sup>xxxi</sup> Restoring bodily harmony through dry sweating after cold- and wet-inducing work would be entirely in keeping with humoral theory and medieval—and older—conceptions of winter as a season closely associated with phlegm (cold/wet).<sup>xxxii</sup> If Icelandic baðstofur are interpreted as heatable chambers for dry sweating, then these drying and warming properties would qualify them as bathing rooms as conceptualized under the humoral system, as described above. Documentary evidence suggests that they continued to be used as spaces for socialization and interaction with guests: Arnheiður Sigurðardóttir observes that in fifteenth-century legal documents, the baðstofa is increasingly named as the location in which binding legal agreements are reached, particularly in North and West Iceland, and there is a clear expansion in the use of the baðstofa over the course of the sixteenth century.<sup>xxxiii</sup>

Fljótsdæla saga, an Icelandic saga dating from as late as ca. 1500 and preserved only in post-medieval copies, treats the architecture of the Viking-age skáli (here, “longhouse”), in which eating, working and sleeping took place in the same area, as a phenomenon requiring

some explanation.<sup>xxxiv</sup> The narrator comments directly on the lack of division of domestic space into stofur (here, “chambers”) and explains that baðstofur were not yet common; there was plenty of firewood in those days, and the household could sit huddled around a large open hearth for warmth in the evening. The absence of hierarchical spatial division allows for a scene in which the farm household and guests crowd together in the evening in the skáli, where a freed slave openly slanders a woman in the presence of the master of the household and some laborers visiting the farm. Saga narratives are highly selective when describing domestic interiors, which generally come into clear view only when the action requires the audience to gain a more specific understanding of the space in which it takes place.<sup>xxxv</sup>

Fljótsdæla saga indicates a belief that baðstofur became more common in the late medieval period than they had been in earlier centuries, but it also suggests that the social interaction in the skáli described in the slandering scene was an unfamiliar domestic scenario for the later audiences of the tale.

The emerging distinction between the social life of the baðstofa and the skáli reflects changes in function and architecture over a long period of time. Arnheiður’s detailed and convincing analysis of sixteenth- and seventeenth century documents indicates that baðstofur during these centuries were primarily workrooms for daytime use and sitting. In the case of larger and wealthier farms and church properties, baðstofur can refer to private or semi-private chambers, revealing increasingly hierarchical division or segregation of architectural space from the era of the Viking *skáli*. On particularly large sixteenth- and seventeenth-century farms, multiple building units could be designated as baðstofa, the most common distinction being between a small and large baðstofa.<sup>xxxvi</sup>

A communal sleeping skáli continued to be one of the basic rooms on Icelandic farms throughout the seventeenth century, including tenant farms of middling size.<sup>xxxvii</sup> A person’s right to “sess í baðstofu og legurúmspláss í skála” (a seat in the baðstofa and a place to sleep

in the skáli) remained an important legal issue in 1647.<sup>xxxviii</sup> Hörður Ágústsson argues that combining the baðstofa and skáli was the product of an energy crisis: timber shortages and difficulties in providing sufficient fuel to heat buildings in winter that affected Icelanders of all classes, driving peasants to combine sleeping and working spaces to permit more efficient heating.<sup>xxxix</sup> He theorizes that the baðstofa subsumed the role of the skáli as the regular sleeping quarters for the household over a long transitional period, beginning in the mid-eighteenth century on large farms and benefices, and with women moving their sleeping quarters to the baðstofa first.<sup>xl</sup>

The Rev. Magnús Ólafsson's Flateyjarríma, composed in 1626 or 1628, briefly mentions a heated baðstofa welcoming the narrator during his imagined journey to the island of Flatey in Skjálfandi, indicating an enduring cultural association between hospitality and the baðstofa.<sup>xli</sup> The choice of the baðstofa to finalize legal agreements points to the same purpose, as do the presence of furnishings in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century sources such as chairs and tables, although the stofa ("hall") seems to have been the main room in which guests were entertained on manor farms grand enough to have a room set apart for visitors.<sup>xlii</sup>

### THE BAÐSTOFA ATTACKED

Nanna Ólafsdóttir's analysis of the function of the baðstofa prior to the fifteenth century relies heavily on the testimony of the Sturlunga saga compilation, which contains numerous references to thirteenth-century baðstofur.<sup>xliii</sup> Sturlunga saga is deeply concerned with the performance of power and violence, and domestic settings are skillfully manipulated to maximize the impact of the actions and interactions of the elite and their followers. Unlike Eyrbyggja saga or Heiðarvíga saga, the sagas in Sturlunga saga deal with contemporary or near-contemporary events.

From a literary perspective, a clear pattern emerges in Sturlunga saga's use of the baðstofa. Despite the evidently mundane nature of the space itself, scenes involving a baðstofa are often intense encounters with enemies, and the baðstofa nearly always makes its appearance in connection with either a farm invasion or a deadly attack.

The most detailed description of a baðstofa in Sturlunga saga is in Þórðar saga kakala. Kolbeinn Arnórsson and his men are in hot pursuit of Þórðr kakali Sighvatsson and his ally Svarthöfði Dufgusson, who take temporary refuge on an out-of-the way farm. They undress and sleep briefly in the farm's baðstofa (with an oven or hearth in which Svarthöfði hides his armor), before being woken with the news that Kolbeinn's army is advancing rapidly on the farm.<sup>xliv</sup> In a spectacular escape scene, Þórðr and Svarthöfði evade capture by outmaneuvering Kolbeinn's forces, first by running naked through the snow and then in Svarthöfði's case by leaping over a high cliff when cornered. Although Þórðr and Svarthöfði's escape is successful, the experience of either being inside a baðstofa when a farm is invaded or killed within sight of a baðstofa is common within the Sturlunga saga compilation. The presence of a baðstofa is mentioned in ten instances in Sturlunga saga, eight of which are in the immediate context of a home invasion. In addition to the episode in Þórðar saga kakala, these occur:

- At the farm of Ölfusvatn, where the farmer is captured while hiding in the baðstofa and murdered (Þórðar saga kakala);<sup>xlv</sup>
- At Reykjanes in Barðastrandarsýsla, where the farm is attacked and set on fire in the evening, when several men are lying in the baðstofa after returning home from fishing (Þorgils saga skarða);<sup>xlvi</sup>

- At Eyri in Arnarfjörður, where the farm is attacked and set on fire, and men attempt unsuccessfully to escape through the back door, which leads to the baðstofa (Íslendinga saga);<sup>xlvii</sup>
- At an unnamed location in Vatnsfjörður in Ísafjörður, where attackers fatally wound a man in the baðstofa (Íslendinga saga);<sup>xlviii</sup>
- At Hallgilsstaðir (var. Hallgrímsstaðir or Hafgilsstaðir) in Hörgárdalur in Eyjafjörður, where the farmer, whom the attackers intend to murder, escapes in his underclothes through the baðstofa window (Íslendinga saga);<sup>xlix</sup>
- At Helgastaðir in Reykjadalur in Þingeyjarsýsla, where a man is captured in the morning in the baðstofa and killed (Íslendinga saga);<sup>1</sup>
- At Kirkjubær in Síða, where a young deacon runs to alert neighbors of a farm invasion, twice crossing a half-frozen river and then returns to the baðstofa at Kirkjubær (Svínfellinga saga).<sup>li</sup>

This list includes two fatal arson attacks in which a baðstofa is visible, three murders and one attempted murder. Only in the final instance, an episode from Svínfellinga saga, does the baðstofa function as a safe, protective refuge that provides respite from the harsh outside world. Svínfellinga saga also depicts the threatened farm household as successfully averting violent conflict with the attackers by sheltering in the sanctuary of the church until help arrives, with the deacon acting in a key role to ward off the attack through non-violent means.<sup>liii</sup> The prayers and diplomacy of the mistress of Kirkjubær, Steinunn Jónsdóttir, who has close family members on both sides of the dispute, delay a final bloody reckoning until after her own death. Elsewhere, surprise attacks occur either on or in close proximity to the baðstofa, and it becomes a threatening environment for its occupants.

Throughout Sturlunga saga, but particularly in Sturla Þórðarson's Íslendinga saga, the baðstofa is a vulnerable domestic space, in which men are unarmed and naked or half-naked when their enemies encounter and murder them. Depictions of this space being violated draw the audience's attention to the ethics of farm invasion; killing or maiming a man in the baðstofa does not bring much honor, even where it is an act of revenge.<sup>liii</sup>

The remark by an unnamed man in Íslendinga saga who appears unannounced at the farm of Steinbjarnartunga in the middle of the night to seek fire that he needs it "at elda Þorvaldi bað" (to heat a bath for Þorvaldr) has an obvious parallel with Sverris saga.<sup>liv</sup> This is a revenge attack on the man's enemy, Þorvaldr Snorrason, who dies that night when the farmhouse on which he is staying is lit ablaze in an arson.

However, unlike in Sverris saga, attacking the baðstofa is not presented as a deliberate strategy in a conflict, and indeed there are many unintentional victims caught up in the events of Sturlunga saga who are family members of the attackers. The narrative tends to highlight these familial connections, most prominently in the case of the men in the baðstofa at Reykjanes in Breiðabólstaður: one of the attackers in the arson is the son of one of the men trapped inside the burning farm, and the son curses his father when he refuses to abandon the others to save himself. In contrast to Sverris saga, the motivation of the attack at Reykjanes is never explained, stripping down the event to an act of violence within a seemingly endless cycle of violence and revenge. Perhaps the most tragic of these violent attacks as portrayed in Sturlunga saga is the burning of the Flugumýri manor farm on 22 October 1253, in which the chieftain and saga-writer Sturla Þórðarson's 13-year-old daughter, Ingibjörg, is rescued from the flames by one of her cousins—who was among the arsonists. The motivation behind the arson attack on Flugumýri is clear, but the episode at Reykjanes is particularly effective for providing no background or moral context for the audience that might help to comprehend

the circumstances in which a man chooses to torch the farm complex within which his own father is sheltering.

## WOMEN AND THE BAÐSTOFA

The literary examples examined above have in common that no feminine presence is mentioned in the baðstofa while occupied by adult men. Spending time with other men in the baðstofa at the end of a hard day's work outdoors is restorative, warming and homosocial, being associated in both Eyrbyggja saga and Sturlunga saga with the completion of physically draining labor (e.g., fishing, road building and winter travel).

As an imagined space in medieval Icelandic literature, the baðstofa is not exclusively a male domain, but female socialization in the baðstofa is not depicted in surviving sources. Rannveigar leiðsla (Rannveig's dream-vision) in the A version of Guðmundar saga begins with the explanation that a woman named Rannveig from an unnamed farm in East Iceland was found unconscious after having fallen while exiting the baðstofa early one morning, although she was not discovered until much later.<sup>lv</sup> Here, the baðstofa does appear as a woman's space, but not for female socialization. Rannveig bathes alone before starting her day's work, which was more likely to have consisted of indoor activities such as cooking and weaving than extended labor outdoors. Although the baðstofa is not described, it is a semi-private space somewhat apart from the main sleeping quarters on the farm, which would presumably be the highest-traffic area of the house in the early morning.

As in the exemplum discussed earlier, exiting the baðstofa leads Rannveig to an intense and transformative religious experience, in this case a dream-vision in which she is first dragged to hell for sleeping with two priests but is rescued from torment by saintly intervention and shown a vision of heaven before she awakes. Depending on the type of

bathing in which Rannveig engaged, her time in the baðstofa may have been understood by a contemporary learned audience as rendering her more receptive to demonic attack. Humoral theory (see above) dictated that the body's poroi, "pores," or channels into the body, could be opened through changes in temperature and moisture to release humoral excesses, but opening pores through bathing could also unbalance the bathers and allow evil and harmful things to infiltrate their bodies, something that educated doctors and urban planners could manage through their expertise but that an adulterous woman on a remote Icelandic farm might not have fully grasped.<sup>lvi</sup>

Although the majority of baðstofa victims are men, it is not only men who find themselves attacked in the baðstofa. The tragic ballad Kvæði af Tófu og Suffaralín (ÍF 53), preserved in the seventeenth-century songbook of Gissur Sveinsson (AM 147 8vo, ff. 4r–7r) but probably of late medieval origin, depicts a king's jealous fiancée, Suffaralín, inviting his low-born longtime lover Tófa to join her in the baðstofa, where she disposes of her rival by suffocating her.<sup>lvii</sup> Kvæði af Tófu og Suffaralín is clearly younger than Eyrbyggja saga and Sturlunga saga, and the murder scenario is not unique to Icelandic literature: its foundations are in Valdemar og Tove (TSB D 232), a ballad also attested in Denmark, Norway, Sweden and the Faroe Islands and best preserved in Danish recordings.<sup>lviii</sup> However, the wicked Suffaralín's declaration that the king's murdered lover is absent because she is baðstofumóð, "out of breath from the baðstofa," darkly evokes the imagery of the baðstofa in Eyrbyggja saga.

In this ballad, the murder in the baðstofa is most clearly that of an innocent victim: the Icelandic variants of the ballad portray Tófa as willing to accept Suffaralín as the king's bride, and it is arguably the king's behavior in expecting the two women to share a continued presence in his court (and even, it would seem, to establish a friendly relationship post-marriage) that leads to the tragedy. The baðstofa murder in Kvæði af Tófu og Suffaralín is

not narrated directly and must be inferred from the dialogue of Tófa, Suffaralín and the king. This is easiest to do if one is already familiar with the fatal baðstofa from Eyrbyggja saga and other deadly baðstofa attacks.

Female friendship is rarely depicted in medieval Icelandic literature, and relationships depicted in the Íslendingasögur between women not bound by kinship ties are frequently antagonistic and lead to acts of violence between men.<sup>lix</sup> Ballads (sagnadansar) are more likely to deal with violence against women in domestic spaces and to portray lower-status women in a sympathetic light in this context.<sup>lx</sup> It is in keeping with the nature of the genre that the baðstofa becomes a site for intimate and gendered violence, in contrast to the threats posed to men in prose sagas from attackers from outside the household.

#### THE SORCEROR'S BAÐSTOFA

Jón Eggertsson's quasi-historical account of the sorcerer-priest Þorkell Guðbjartsson (d. 1483), likely based on folktales circulating in the seventeenth century, imagines the late medieval baðstofa at Laufás in Grýtubakkahreppur in Þingeyjarsýsla simultaneously as a site of bathing and magic.<sup>lxi</sup> The antagonist, an unnamed bishop of Hólar, greatly disapproves of Þorkell's magic and in the spirit of Sturlunga saga decides that a surprise farm invasion would be the best course of action to resolve the matter. Þorkell being a trickster, he anticipates the bishop's attack and resists:

Það er mál manna að Þorkel prest muni grunað hafa um þarkomu biskups, því hann hafði skipað að kynda baðstofu vel heita og spara ei til eldiviðs, því hrís væri nóg, og taka svo í móti gestum og komendum. Svo er sagt hann hafi lagt eld í baðstófu ón sinn og kynt þar hríslum nokkrum, en reykur og eldgneistar flugu út um gluggana.

(Men say that the priest Þorkell had some premonition of the bishop's arrival thither, for he had ordered the baðstofa to be heated well and for the firewood not to be spared, as there was plenty of brushwood, and for the guests and visitors to be received. It is said that he then fired up the oven in the baðstofa and kindled some twigs, and smoke and sparks flew out of the windows').<sup>lxii</sup>

The smoke transforms into a thick, black blanket of smoke and fog that completely envelopes the bishop and his men, who spend a miserable night lost in the birch forest by Laufás. They become separated and wander wet, hungry and nearly frozen. The bishop, alone in the forest and expecting any moment for his earthly existence to be cut short, makes a pitiful confession aloud to God, who he thinks has been punishing him for persecuting an innocent man. Þorkell has of course been listening all the while and intervenes at this point to “rescue” the bishop. Þorkell then asks the relieved bishop

hvort hann vildi heldur láta sér vísa fyrst í kirkju eður í heita baðstofu, þar hann mætti bakast. Biskup kvaðst mundi verða láta hjá líða kirkjugönguna og lestra í þetta sinn, en lézt með þökkum taka mundi í móti baðstofu hitanum. Prestur sagði sér sýndist hann ekki fær til langra bænagjörða í kirkjunni þetta sinn eður klerklegra söngva, kvaðst mundi heldur honum strax hæginda leita.

Þar eftir leiðsagði hann honum til vel heitrar baðstofu. Var þá biskup afklæddur og honum kerlaug búin, þveginn saurinn af honum, tók hann þá skjótt að hýrna, og þar eftir var hann lagður til hæga hvílu og svaf svo af þá nótt.<sup>lxiii</sup>

(whether he wished first to be led to the church or a toasty baðstofa, where he might bake himself. The bishop said he would let the church services be for now, but he would thankfully accept the warmth of the baðstofa. The priest [Þorkell] said that it seemed to him that the bishop was not in a condition at present to say lengthy prayers

in the church or chant the liturgy, and that instead he wished to see immediately to the bishop's comfort.

Thereafter he directed him to a piping hot baðstofa. The bishop was undressed, and a basin was prepared for him in which to bathe and the filth was cleansed from him; he immediately began to perk up, and after this he was put to bed in comfort and slept all that night.)

Much of the humor in this tale comes from the contrast between the bedraggled bishop's hospitable reception in the Laufás baðstofa and his initial plan to catch the sorcerer unawares at home. The gullible bishop believes that the intervention confounding the farm invasion was divine, and he does not doubt that God has led Þorkell to be his rescuer. At the same time, he exposes his own hypocrisy by showing a preference for physical heat of the cozy baðstofa over the spiritual comforts of prayer. The bishop is eager to accept Þorkell's welcome and proves a pale and easily manipulated shadow of the formidable warriors whose behavior he attempts to imitate: this is no King Sverrir who descends upon Laufás.

Although the tale is set in the medieval past, Jón's own social environment, values and life experiences plainly shape his storytelling, most obviously in his gleeful depiction of the unnamed bishop of Hólar as a nasty, self-righteous reptile who gets a well-deserved comeuppance at the hands of a sympathetic sorcerer-priest. Whether and in what form the tale of the priest and the bishop existed before Jón recorded it is impossible to know. Jón Eggertsson was a direct descendant of Þorkell Guðbjartsson, and Jón's quarrel with Bishop Gísli Þorláksson of Hólar and Gísli's brother Jón over control of Möðruvallaklaustur, the former religious house at Möðruvellir in Hörgárdalur, palpably informs his narrative, as does Jón's own personal experience of being accused by his enemies of practicing magic, which was a serious offence in the seventeenth century.<sup>lxiv</sup> For obvious reasons, Jón could not

openly launch a personal attack on a powerful Icelandic bishop, but what is outwardly presented as a historical account of a priest who had died around two centuries earlier could also be interpreted as a thinly disguised criticism of the incumbent bishop of Hólar.

It should be noted that the only known intact manuscript of Heiðarvíga saga in the late seventeenth century passed into the hands of Jón Eggertsson, the first twelve leaves of which later were sent to Árni Magnússon in 1725 and were lost in the Fire of Copenhagen in 1728.<sup>lxv</sup> The first print edition of Eyrbyggja saga did not appear until 1787, and it should not be automatically assumed that well-read Icelanders of the seventeenth century who engaged extensively with medieval Icelandic literature were familiar with the specific narratives of all Íslendingasögur accessible to modern scholars. However, were there any doubt that Jón was aware of the literary association between murder and the baðstofa, his ownership of Heiðarvíga saga removes all uncertainty. Unfortunately, the loss of the first part of Heiðarvíga saga makes it impossible to determine whether he subtly incorporated narrative touches inspired by the episode between Styrr and the berserkers.

## CONCLUSION

Setting entirely aside the question of actual historical practice, entering, exiting—or even observing—the baðstofa is an ominous act in medieval Icelandic literature. The dangers of the baðstofa are manifold and rarely relate directly to the bathing activities that take place inside.

The death of the berserkers in the baðstofa at Hraun is by far the most memorable and gory baðstofa narrative. However, the deadliest baðstofur come not from the Íslendingasögur but from the contemporary sagas. The effect of presenting the baðstofa in multiple home invasions in Sturlunga saga is cumulative, with repetition effectively used to convey the

bleakness of killings in domestic spaces that can lead only to more violence and suffering. Just beneath the mundane social surface of the baðstofa lurks death, without the glorious trappings of valkyries and battle-kennings.

Eyrbyggja saga differs strikingly from instances in Sturlunga saga in that the narrative is more sympathetic to the perpetrator: murdering the not-quite-human berserkers in the baðstofa after manipulating them into carrying out physically exhausting tasks is portrayed as a clever response to a situation in which the farmer is otherwise unable to defend his interests. In Eyrbyggja saga, the power imbalance between the berserkers and the ordinary farmers is such that the horror of the killing is tempered by the threats already uttered by the berserkers themselves. The unwanted berserker suitor appears elsewhere in Old Norse-Icelandic literature, and the audience would be familiar with the figure of the berserker who challenges a man to a duel after being refused a woman from the man's family.<sup>lxvi</sup> The berserker who insists on marrying Styr's daughter presents a form of home invasion that does not entangle the participants in a drawn-out cycle of conflict: the berserkers are the outsiders, with no kinship ties within the community.

As Arnheiður Sigurðardóttir's research conclusively demonstrates, the stability of the term baðstofa as a designation for one of the core building units on an Icelandic farm complex contrasts with the room's changing functions from the late medieval period into the early modern era. Even as the association faded between this space and bathing activities, it remained a domestic space for socialization and hospitality, and this continuity meant that violation of this space retained its strong impact in literature into the late seventeenth century, when Jón Eggertsson was able to draw effectively on older literary images of firing up the baðstofa to deal with one's unwanted guests.

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<sup>ii</sup> Eyrbyggja saga; Brands þáttur orva; Eiríks saga rauða; Grœnlendinga saga; Grœnlendinga þáttur, ed. Einar Ól. Sveinsson and Matthías Þórðarson, Íslensk fornrit, 4 (Reykjavík: Hið íslenska fornritafélag, 1935), p. 74.

<sup>iii</sup> Jón Ólafsson reconstructed the missing section of Heiðarvíga saga from memory, supplemented by several texts in which the saga narrative overlapped, cf. Sveinbjörn Rafnsson, “Heimild um Heiðarvíga sögu,” Gripla 3 (1979): 85–95.

<sup>iv</sup> Reykjavík, Árni Magnússon Institute for Icelandic Studies, GKS 1812 4to, f. 24r, col. 2. On the manuscript and its context, see Gunnar Harðarson, Christian Etheridge, Guðrún Nordal and Svanhildur Óskarsdóttir (eds.), A World in Fragments: Studies on the Encyclopedic Manuscript GKS 1812 4to (Reykjavík: Stofnun Árna Magnússonar í íslenskum fræðum, 2021).

<sup>v</sup> On the changing status and functions of bathing, see Fikret Yegül, Baths and Bathing in Classical Antiquity (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1992).

<sup>vi</sup> Jill Caskey, “Steam and Sanitas in the Domestic Realm: Baths and Bathing in Southern Italy in the Middle Ages,” Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians 58.2 (1999): 170–95.

<sup>vii</sup> Georges Vigarello, Concepts of Cleanliness: Changing Attitudes in France since the Middle Ages, trans. by Jean Birrell (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1988).

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- <sup>viii</sup> Mikael Bjerregaard, “Badstuer i middelalderen,” Kuml 57 (2008): 211–43.
- <sup>ix</sup> Arnheiður Sigurðardóttir, Híðýlahættir á miðöldum (Reykjavík: Bókaútgáfa Menningarsjóðs og Þjóðvinafélagsins, 1966), pp. 69–79.
- <sup>x</sup> Sturlunga saga, ed. Guðrún Ása Grímsdóttir, Íslenzk fornrit, 20–22 (Reykjavík: Hið íslenska fornritafélag), vol. 3, pp. 410–11.
- <sup>xi</sup> Þiðreks saga af Bern, ed. Henrik Bertelsen (Copenhagen: Samfund til udgivelse af gammel nordisk litteratur, 1905–1911), pp. 210–15.
- <sup>xii</sup> Ásdís Egilsdóttir, “Kolbítur verður karlmaður,” in Miðaldabörn, ed. Ármann Jakobsson and Torfi Tulinius (Reykjavík: Hugvísindastofnun Háskóla Íslands, 2005), pp. 87–100; Carolyne Larrington, “Awkward Adolescents: Male Maturation in Norse Literature,” in Youth and Age in the Medieval North, ed. Shannon Lewis-Simpson (Leiden: Brill, 2008), pp. 151–66.
- <sup>xiii</sup> Íslendzk æventyri: Isländische Legenden, Novellen und Märchen, ed. Hugo Gering (Halle an der Saale, 1882–1883), vol. 1, p. 137. The text is preserved in AM 657 a–b 4to from the mid-fourteenth century.
- <sup>xiv</sup> Íslendzk æventyri, p. 137.
- <sup>xv</sup> Poul Hauberg, Lægebøger med tilknytning til Henrik Harpestræng (Copenhagen: Dansk farmacihistorisk selskab, 1982), pp. 10, 110–11.
- <sup>xvi</sup> Ralph Jackson, “Waters and Spas in the Classical World.” Medical History 34.S10 (1990): 1–13.
- <sup>xvii</sup> An Old Icelandic Medical Miscellany: MS Royal Irish Academy 23 D 43 with Supplement from MS Trinity College (Dublin) L-2-27, ed. and trans. Henning Larsen (Oslo: Norske videnskaps-akademi i Oslo, 1931).
- <sup>xviii</sup> Sverris saga, ed. Þorleifur Hauksson, Íslenzk fornrit, 30 (Reykjavík: Hið íslenska fornritafélag, 2007), pp. 215–16.

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<sup>xix</sup> On scholarship on the composition of Sverris saga, see Ármann Jakobsson, “King Sverrir of Norway and the Foundations of His Power: Kingship Ideology and Narrative in Sverris saga,” Medium Ævum 84.1 (2015): 109–35.

<sup>xx</sup> Þorleifur Hauksson, “Grýla Karls ábóta,” Gripla 17 (2006): 153–66; Sverrir Tómasson, “Perfecta fortitudo,” in Sjötíu ritgerðir helgaðar Jakobi Benediktssyni 20. júlí 1977, ed. Jónas Kristjánsson et al. (Reykjavík: Stofnun Árna Magnússonar, 1977), vol. 2, pp. 733–40. Sverrir Tómasson and Ármann Jakobsson are of the view that Sverris saga in its present form was deliberately structured as a diptych and that what is interpreted by some as a break between older and newer sections is a carefully crafted narrative turning point, see Sverrir Tómasson, “Skorið í fornsögu: Þankar um byggingu Hrafnkels sögu,” in Sagnaþing helgað Jónasi Kristjánssyni sjötugum 10. apríl 1994, ed. Gísli Sigurðsson, Guðrún Kvaran and Sigurgeir Steingrímsson (Reykjavík: Hið íslenska bókmenntafélag, 1994), vol. 2, p. 792; Ármann Jakobsson, “Royal Biography,” in Old Norse-Icelandic Literature and Culture, ed. Rory McTurk (London: Blackwell, 2005), p. 393.

<sup>xxi</sup> Sverris saga, p. 110.

<sup>xxii</sup> Sverris saga, p. 126

<sup>xxiii</sup> David Harley, “A Sword in a Madman's Hand: Professional Opposition to Popular Consumption in the Waters Literature of Southern England and the Midlands, 1570–1870.” Medical History 34.S10 (1990): 48–55; Mikael Bjerregaard, “Badstuer i middelalderen,” pp. 233–34.

<sup>xxiv</sup> Claudia Stein, Negotiating the French Pox in Early Modern Germany: The History of Medicine in Context (Surrey, UK: Ashgate, 2009).

<sup>xxv</sup> See Natasha Korda and Eleanor Lowe, “In praise of clean linen: Laundering humours on the early modern English stage,” in The Routledge Handbook of Material Culture in Early

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Modern Europe, ed. Catherine Richardson, Tara Hamling and David Gaimster (London: Routledge, 2017), pp. 306–21.

<sup>xxvi</sup> Karen Milek, “The Roles of Pit Houses and Gendered Spaces on Viking-Age Farmsteads in Iceland,” Medieval Archaeology 56.1 (2012): 85–130.

<sup>xxvii</sup> Cf. Hjörleifur Stefánsson, Af jörðu (Reykjavík: Crymogea, 2013), p. 250.

<sup>xxviii</sup> Drei lygisögur: Egils saga einhenda ok Ásmundar berserkjabana; Ála Flekks saga; Flóres saga konungs ok sona hans, ed. Åke Lagerholm, Altnordische Saga-Bibliothek, 17, (Halle: Max Niemeyer Verlag, 1927), pp. 81–82.

<sup>xxix</sup> Sturlunga saga, vol. 2, p. 215.

<sup>xxx</sup> Arnheiður Sigurðardóttir, Híbýlahættir á miðöldum, p. 72.

<sup>xxxi</sup> Nanna Ólafsdóttir, “Baðstofan og böð að fornu,” Árbók Hins íslenska fornleifafélags 70 (1973): 62–86.

<sup>xxxii</sup> Cf. Brynja Þorgeirsdóttir, “Humoral Theory in the Medieval North: An Old Norse Translation of Epistula Vindiciani in Hauksbók,” Gripla 29 (2018): 48.

<sup>xxxiii</sup> Arnheiður Sigurðardóttir, Híbýlahættir á miðöldum, pp. 72–79.

<sup>xxxiv</sup> Austfirðinga sögur, ed. Jón Jóhannesson, Íslensk fornrit, 11 (Reykjavík: Hið íslenska fornritafélag, 1950), pp. 240–41. On the age of Fljótsdæla saga, see Stefán Karlsson, Stafkrókur: Ritgerðir eftir Stefán Karlsson gefnar út í tilefni sjötugsafmælis hans 2. desember 1998, ed. Guðvarður Már Gunnlaugsson (Reykjavík: Stofnun Árna Magnússonar á Íslandi, 2000), pp. 119–34.

<sup>xxxv</sup> Teva Vidal, “Houses and Domestic Life in the Viking Age and Medieval Period: Material Perspectives from Sagas and Archaeology,” (Ph.D. diss., Univ. of Nottingham, 2013), pp. 29–30; see also Peter Foote, Kreddur: Select Studies in Early Icelandic Law and Literature, ed. Alison Finlay, Orri Vésteinsson, Svanhildur Óskarsdóttir and Sverrir Tómasson (Reykjavík: Hið íslenska bókmenntafélag, 2004), pp. 1–43.

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- <sup>xxxvi</sup> Arnheiður Sigurðardóttir, Híbýlahættir á miðöldum, pp. 75–76.
- <sup>xxxvii</sup> Arnheiður Sigurðardóttir, Híbýlahættir á miðöldum, pp. 41–49.
- <sup>xxxviii</sup> Alþingisbækur Íslands 6: 1640–1662 (Reykjavík: Sögufélag, 1933–1940), p. 215.
- <sup>xxxix</sup> Hörður Ágústsson, “Íslenski torfbærinn,” in Íslensk þjóðmenning, ed. Frosti F. Jóhannsson, vol. 1 (Reykjavík: Þjóðsaga, 1987–1990), pp. 227–344.
- <sup>xl</sup> Hörður Ágústsson, Íslensk byggingararleið I: Ágrip af húsagerðarsögu 1750–1940 (Reykjavík: Húsfriðunarnefnd ríkisins, 1998), p. 33.
- <sup>xli</sup> Stakar rímur frá 16., 17., 18. og 19. öld, ed. Finnur Sigmundsson (Reykjavík: Rímnafélagið, 1960), p. 44; see Margrét Eggertsdóttir, Icelandic Baroque: Poetic Art and Erudition in the Works of Hallgrímur Pétursson, trans. Andrew Wawn, *Islandica*, 56 (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 2014), pp. 141–49.
- <sup>xlii</sup> Arnheiður Sigurðardóttir, Híbýlahættir á miðöldum, pp. 67, 76–77, 114–15.
- <sup>xliii</sup> Nanna Ólafsdóttir, “Baðstofan og böð að fornu,” pp. 62–86.
- <sup>xliv</sup> Sturlunga saga, vol. 2, p. 422.
- <sup>xlv</sup> Sturlunga saga, vol. 2, p. 433. Spellings of Icelandic place names have been normalized to modern Icelandic. This murder takes place shortly after Þórðr and Kolbeinn’s escape, but in a different location.
- <sup>xlvi</sup> Sturlunga saga, vol. 3, p. 74.
- <sup>xlvii</sup> Sturlunga saga, vol. 2, p. 245.
- <sup>xlviii</sup> Sturlunga saga, vol. 2, p. 266.
- <sup>xlix</sup> Sturlunga saga, vol. 3, pp. 102–3.
- <sup>l</sup> Sturlunga saga, vol. 3, p. 125.
- <sup>li</sup> Sturlunga saga, vol. 2, p. 528.

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- <sup>lii</sup> See Elizabeth Walgenbach, “Church Sanctuary in the Contemporary Sagas,” in *Íslensk klausturmenning á miðöldum*, ed. Haraldur Bernharðsson (Reykjavík: Miðaldastofa Háskóla Íslands, 2016), pp. 103–17.
- <sup>liii</sup> Guðrún Nordal, *Ethics and Action in Thirteenth-Century Iceland*, The Viking Collection: Studies in Northern Civilization, 11 (Odense: Odense University Press, 1998).
- <sup>liv</sup> *Sturlunga saga*, vol. 2, p. 181.
- <sup>lv</sup> Some manuscripts omit the word *bað*- here, cf. *Guðmundar sögur biskups 1: Ævi Guðmundar biskups: Guðmundar saga A*, ed. Stefán Karlsson, Editiones Arnarnæ, Series B, 6 (Copenhagen: Reitzel, 1983), p. 92. *Guðmundar saga A* is one of four extant sagas on the life of Bishop Guðmundr Arason (1161–1237), all composed during the fourteenth century.
- <sup>lvi</sup> Maurizio Meloni, “Porous Bodies: Environmental Biopower and the Politics of Life in Ancient Rome,” *Theory, Culture & Society* 38.3 (2021): 91–115.
- <sup>lvii</sup> Reykjavík, Árni Magnússon Institute for Icelandic Studies, AM 147 8vo, f. 6v. See *Íslensk fornkvæði*, ed. Svend Grundtvig and Jón Sigurðsson (Copenhagen: Nordiske Literatur-Samfund, 1854–1885), vol. 2, pp. 188–96.
- <sup>lviii</sup> The outcome of the murder attempt in the bathhouse diverges considerably between variants; in the Faroese transmission the king’s lover proves physically stronger than his murderous fiancée and locks her inside the bathhouse instead. The use of the adjective *baðstofumóðr* to reveal the lover’s death to the king appears to be unique to the Icelandic tradition. For a comparison of the Icelandic ballad with other versions of TSB D 232, see Vésteinn Ólason, *The Traditional Ballads of Iceland: Historical Studies* (Reykjavík: Stofnun Árna Magnússonar, 1982), pp. 306–11.
- <sup>lix</sup> Natalie Van Deusen, “Sworn Sisterhood? On the (Near-) Absence of Female Friendship from the *Íslendingasögur*,” *Scandinavian Studies* 86.1 (2014): 52–71.

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<sup>lx</sup> Ingibjörg Eypórsdóttir, “„Reif hann hennar stakkinn, reif hann hennar serk“: Nokkur orð um konur og kynbundið ofbeldi í íslenskum sagnadönsum,” Ritið 18.3 (2018): 45–65;

Vésteinn Ólason, The Traditional Ballads of Iceland, p. 24.

<sup>lxi</sup> Printed in Munnmælasögur 17. aldar, ed. Bjarni Einarsson, Íslensk rit síðari alda, 6 (Reykjavík: Hið íslenska fræðafélag, 1955), pp. 3–11.

<sup>lxii</sup> Munnmælasögur 17. aldar, p. 5.

<sup>lxiii</sup> Munnmælasögur 17. aldar, p. 9.

<sup>lxiv</sup> Cf. Rósa Þorsteinsdóttir, Sagan upp á hvern mann: Átta íslenskir sagnamenn og ævintýri þeirra (Reykjavík: Stofnun Árna Magnússonar í íslenskum fræðum, 2011). For a biography of Jón Eggertsson, see Munnmælasögur 17. aldar, pp. x–xlii.

<sup>lxv</sup> Now Stockholm, National Library of Sweden, Holm. Perg. 18 4to, ff. 1r–12r.

<sup>lxvi</sup> Benjamin Blaney, “The Berserk Suitor: The Literary Application of a Stereotyped Theme,” Scandinavian Studies 54.4 (1982): 279–94.