ST. EUSTACE IN ICELAND : ON THE ORIGINS, STRUCTURE AND POSSIBLE INFLUENCE OF THE *PLÁCÍTUS SAGA*

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The problem of Icelandic saga origins will perhaps never be solved to everyone's satisfaction. Doubtless these origins were sufficiently complex to allow successive generations of critics to espouse alternately native or foreign, oral or literary sources with a fair show of reason. The current emphasis on the native and oral may be seen to correct a tendency in the recent past to depreciate these very important elements. But it should not cause us to overlook the equally significant contribution made by learned, European texts. Manuscript as well as other evidence points to an early, deep, and influential taste for hagiography.

If we think of saints' lives as jejune or simply propagandistic, we may regret the necessity of acknowledging that the sagas owe anything to them. How much more appealing the image of an oral tradition, charged with heroic ideals and a passion for historical accuracy, gradually developing into the sophisticated prose writing that we know in the sagas. But are the saints' lives the barren or didactic vehicles we might think them or their avowed purpose should have made them ? In fact they are not. Typically they draw together motifs of extraordinary diversity and antiquity. Their central thesis, that God works mysteriously yet inexorably, allows them a wonderful tolerance for the fantastic. And if they do not often achieve the kind of organic unity we have been taught to demand of prose narrative, it is because they do not aim for it. Their shapes are nevertheless predictable and whole. In short, the lives were capable not only of serving as models for writing but of providing a plentiful harvest of stories, images, and values.

In order to get some idea of the nature of this cultural infusion, we might to advantage consider the case of a particular saint's life. I have selected that of St. Eustace. It recommends itself to our attention because it was known so early and became so popular in Iceland. Three medieval prose versions are preserved, one in what is thought to be the oldest Norwegian manuscript, and it is the subject of what may be the earliest Christian scaldic poem[1]. It is important also to note that its appeal survived the religious reorientation of the Reformation, for it continued to be copied in a series of paper manuscripts the last of which was written after the middle of the last century.

In addition, as this popularity might lead us to expect, the life is

intrinsically interesting and rich. Conveniently, our own period has paid its peculiar homage to the enduring narrative interest of the story in a welter of critical articles, most from the early decades of this century, from which we may learn just how varied and ancient are the origins of the legend[2]. But before we turn to the disquisitions of these learned scholars, it might be well to recall the outlines of the story.

Placidus[3], a victorious general and favorite of the emperor Trajan, is out hunting one day when he sees an enormous stag. He alone is able to pursue the stag when the horses of his companions falter. Driven to a remote spot, the stag turns on Placidus, a crucifix shining between its horns, and announces that it is the Christ whom Placidus has been worshipping unknowingly. The alarmed Placidus is instructed to seek baptism for himself and his family and to return the following day to the same place. Meeting his wife he discovers that she has received a similar call in a dream. The family is baptised and Placidus, now called Eustace, seeks out the stag again. Christ invites him to suffer at once or in the future. His choice of the first alternative has immediate consequences : all his possessions are lost and he flees with his family to Egypt. A barbarous ship's captain takes his wife from him but Eustace continues with his sons until he reaches a river which is in flood. Since he cannot carry over both his sons at the same time, he carries over the younger first. But as he returns for the older he sees him seized by a lion. When he turns back to his younger son, a wolf carries off the boy. Left desperate and alone, Eustace supports himself as a laborer for fifteen years consoled only by the company of animals. His sons, each of whom has been quickly rescued, grow up in the same town unknown to each other. At last Trajan, pressed by his enemies, determines to find his general, Placidus, and sends out two of the hero's former guard who ultimately find Eustace and recognize him by a scar on his neck, though he has withheld his identify from them. After a joyful return to Rome, he is given charge of an expedition which enlists his two sons and advances to the place where their mother, Theopista, has lived after the death of her would-be ravisher, the ship's captain. The sons fall into conversation in her presence and recognise one another as brothers even as they are recognised by Theopista as her sons. When she seeks permission of the expedition's leader to return to Rome, she rediscovers her husband and the family reunion is complete. On his return to Rome, Eustace is asked by the new emperor, Hadrian, to make sacrifice for his success. His refusal to do this enrages Hadrian who places the entire family in a lion's den. When the lions lie down at their feet, the family is martyred in a fiery furnace formed in the shape of a bull.

In order to delineate the multiple roots of the story, we may most easily proceed by examining separately each of the three parts into which the story has usually been divided, namely, the conversion, the period of trial, and the martyrdom. Great scholarly ingenuity and erudition has gone into the search for the origins of each section —with mixed results. Least

convincing, to my mind, has been the treatment of the conversion story and I would therefore like to set it aside for the moment and turn to the central part of the legend.

Turn-of-the-century folklore students, who seem to have been chiefly concerned with the discovery of sources and analogues, found matter congenial to their interests in the story of Eustace's long trial. Thus the later *Folk-Tale Index* lists many variants under motif 938, "the man tried by fate". India and the Middle East supply stories of an antiquity equal to or greater than that of the Eustace legend, including, among others, the following : *Patācāra*, *Jātaka of Viśvantara*, *"The King Who Lost His Realm"*, *Cagia Muzzafer*, *"The King Who Chose the Time of His Destiny"*, *"The Woodcutter and the Moabite"*, and *Abu Szaber*. The similarities between these tales and the story of Eustace can best be illustrated by a synopsis of one of them. Consider, for example, *"The King Who Lost His Realm"*.[4]

In India there lived a just king, his wife and two sons. As a result of a war he loses his lands ; during their flight into exile, the family's remaining goods are stolen. Continuing on their way they come to a shallow inlet of the sea. The king, having carried his two sons across, returns for his wife, but when he reaches the other side the children have disappeared into some woods. Later his wife is carried off in a ship by a magician. In desperation the king wanders the earth until he comes to a town where he is chosen as king because of his miraculous designation by a white elephant. Asked to marry the former king's daughter, he refuses. The following year the magician's ship arrives in the king's port. The king, according to custom, sends his two pages, in reality his two sons, who unbeknownst to him have entered his service, to watch over the magician's possessions. During the course of the evening the sons recount to one a another their early memories and are overheard by their mother who is shut up in a chest. She gets the youths to let her out and is reunited with them and with her husband, the king, who has the magician executed.

Whatever their differences, the stories are clearly related. It is not difficult to see why there should be general agreement[5] among scholars as to the essential nature of this folktale type and the versions which belong to it, if all versions share so many common features. But it is equally clear that we cannot show which tale (if any) is the original of the group. Thus various scholars have promoted different derivations. Moses Gaster proposed the tale of *Patācāra* as the direct source of the Eustace legend[6], but Speyer argued that the ultimate source of the whole group is the *Jātaka of Viśvantara*, the story of an earlier incarnation of Buddha in which he gives away all his goods including his wife and two sons[7]. Ogden felt that the Sanskrit story of Rama and his wife Sita in the seventh book of the *Ramayana* was the original of this group[8], although as Gerould has pointed out this tale belongs rather to the type of the "calumniated wife". Gerould himself asserted the primacy of the Indian tale of the merchant

Ratnodbhava [9]. Père Delehaye more cautiously observes that the direct source of the legend cannot be specified with any certainty :

> En soulignant les étroites ressemblances entre les récits hagiographiques et les légendes bouddhiques, nous ne prétendons pas que celle-ci doivent être considérées comme des sources directes. Mais nous regardons toujours comme probable que les thèmes qui ont passé dans les contes populaires et de là dans quelques Vies de saints proviennent en dernière analyse de l'Inde. Nous croyons même que la plupart d'entre eux sont plus anciens que les légendes bouddhiques et que celles-ci ne sont qu'une des formes revêtues par des contes remontant à une très haute antiquité.[10]

From our point of view it does not matter terribly that scholars cannot agree on the story's ultimate or immediate source. That it was ancient and distant does, however, matter. When we recognise this, we are forced to acknowledge that hagiography offered a channel through which folktales and folktale elements, Christian only by cooption, were able to pass.

This channel provided for the transmission also of very different material, as we see if we turn to the last part of the legend. Its origins can be traced with some security to specific literary sources. The book of Daniel almost certainly supplied the lion's den and the fiery furnace. The form of the fiery furnace in which the saints undergo martyrdom, the brazen bull, seems to recall the story of Phalaris, the tyrant of Acragas, who is thought to have ruled circa 570-554 B.C. The origin of the story of Phalaris's use of the bronze bull-shaped oven as an instrument of torture is unknown. It has been conjectured that it derived from the Carthaginian cult of Moloch or that it arose from the bull-shaped image of a river god or from the bull of Rhodes, the earlier home of the Acragantines, which bellowed at the approach of evil[11]. In any event, the story was current within several generations of Phalaris's death, for Pindar, among whose patrons Theron of Acragas was numbered, refers to it in the first Pythian written in 476 B.C. The tale was repeated by historians such as Heracleides Ponticus, Diodorus, and Timaeus. The detail that the first victim of the bull was its maker, Perilaos (Lat. Perillus) occurs first in Callimachus's *Aitia*. In Latin the story was frequently repeated, most notably by Ovid, Propertius, and Cicero. Since the story of this brazen bull was so well known, there is every likelihood that it contibuted to the formation of the Eustace legend.

Returning to the first part of the legend, the account of Eustace's conversion by the miraculous hart, we find that it has undergone analysis similar in premises and goals to those noted in connection with the central section. But many fewer possible sources or apparent congeners have been forthcoming. Perhaps the most interesting of the hypothetical sources is *Jātaka XII*, which Moses Gaster describes in his second note on the Eustace

legend[12]. In this Jātaka the bodhisattva is a marvellous golden stag with silver horns which was the king of a herd of 500 deer living in the hunting preserve of King Brahmadatta. It was the king's custom to go hunting or to send his cook hunting every day and it was the custom of the herd to choose by lot one of its number as a victim each day. One day the lot fell on a pregnant doe which asked to be spared, so the king of the deer, although he had been granted immunity, put himself in her place. King Brahmadatta was so impressed that he spoke with the bodhisattva and was convinced by him to spare all living creatures.

Gaster argued that the story is identical in its principal points with the first part of the Eustace legend :

> (1) The king, a mighty hunter. (2) Of a merciful disposition, but has not yet obtained access to the way of truth. (3) The marvellous deer, characterized by specially brilliant horns. (4) Exposes itself to the danger of being killed in order to speak to the king. (5) The Bodhisatta *(sic)* impersonated by that deer, and (6) The successful conversion of the king by the deer.

The parallel is noteworthy, but despite Garbe's support and Speyer's independent positing of the same source, the argument has won few converts. As Père Delehaye puts it, "le parallèle est bien un peu forcé".[13]

Why should this analysis be less convincing than that of the central section ? Each depends on the same fundamental premise, specifically that characteristic of the so-called "Finnish historical-geographic" school. According to this theory,

> a tale that has been found in hundreds of oral variants must have originated in one time and one place by an act of conscious invention. Subsequently this tale must have traveled in ever-widening arcs from its point of creation.[14]

It is not difficult to believe that this description applies to the various recurrences of "the man tried by fate". The disagreement about its source and derivation is the result essentially of the lack of sufficient evidence ; it casts little doubt on the validity of the premise. The story of the conversion, on the other hand, is very short and lacks the complex narrative contours whose reappearance in different guises assures us that the same story type is involved. It could be asserted that we need look no further for an explanation of our uneasiness at the proposed derivations of the conversion story.

I would like, however, to advance another explanation. To be precise, the first part of the legend does not yield itself to folktale analysis because it belongs to the type not of the folktale but of the myth. I realize that I am embarked here on dangerous territory, where only the unwary or the overbold stray, but it seems necessary to continue, to argue that Eustace's miraculous encounter shares more common characteristics with what are

generally referred to as myths, "dramatic or narrative embodiments of a people's perception of deepest truths", than with folktales. And whereas the folktale owes its existence to an individual act of creation and its preservation and dispersion to its narrative interest and coherence, the roots of myth are communal and the perceptions which it embodies are social or psychological in nature. Thus its reappearance is as likely to be the result of polygenesis as of dispersion. For this reason, it may be more useful to look for the social and psychological awareness incorporated in the first part of the Eustace legend, than to try to locate its forerunners or congeners.

In the event a study does exist which appears to take this approach. Carl Pschmadt, in his *Die Sage von der Verfolgten Hinde*, seeks the mythic sources of the legend in Herakle's pursuit of the Cyrenean Hind. And he provides the following schematized account for the latter story :

> Die siderische (mond-?) hinde (vertreten durch Artemis, Taygete, Arge) wird vom (sonnen?-) gott (vertreten durch Herakles, Apollon, Sol) verfolgt, der sie im äussersten westen, wo die sonne beim Hesperideneiland versinkt, einholt und sich in bräutlicher liebe mit ihr vereinigt.[15]

The reference to Artemis and Apollo is interesting, but if Pschmadt's reading proposes a mythic base for the legend anc thus, in part, accounts for its continuing popularity, it still assumes the existence of an original. And his analysis of this original suffers the disadvantage of having been written in conformity with the preconceptions of the "solar myth" school. The legend itself does not seem intrinsically to invite or enjoy a treatment in cosmic terms.

Perhaps the popular imagination should be consulted if we are to understand the appeal, and indirectly the source of the story. In the case of a saint the test can be quite simple. What sort of group in what species of difficulty turned to this saint for help ? He knew something of the vicissitudes of travel and could be expected to plead strongly for travellers. He could also speak for the trials of penury. Thus a recent study has argued :

> Poverty was endemic in the seventh and eighth centuries, and the tale of Eustace and his family, with its celebration of their heroic triumph over both material and spiritual poverty, contained the narrative ingredients which accounted for its popularity.[16]

But, in fact, as one of the Fourteen Holy Helpers, he was the patron of hunters. And when St. Hubert later took over this role, especially in Germany, he had, significantly, the incident of the crucifix-bearing stag incorporated into his legend.

If, bearing this in mind, we go back to the primary Greek version, the so-called "Acta Antiqua", and focus on the animals that appear in the

legend, certain intriguing patterns begin to emerge. For example, a careful examination of the references to the deer that speaks to Eustace reveals an odd series of fluctuations in the choice of grammatical gender. First referred to as masculine, the stag becomes feminine when Eustace wonders how he will hunt it, reverts to masculinity for the apparition of the cross between its horns, becomes feminine for the imposition of the human voice, and then returns to the masculine. This variation cannot be the result of an editorial accident since St John Damascene's version, as printed in Migne, reproduces it[17]. And the later Greek version of Symeon Metaphrastes simplifies but maintains the alternation by using the feminine until the crucifix appears between the horns of the stag. There is no grammatical explanation for this fluctuation and it does not seem to serve any obvious literary purpose. One might speculate that it results from the tension between the natural tendency to the think of the deer as masculine because of its identification with Christ, particularly given the importance of the antlers, and an opposite tendency to consider the deer as feminine which would have arisen from the two best-known biblical references to deer, Psalms 29.9 and 42.1. Both, despite the fact that the latter is known to us as "Like as the hart", occur in the feminine in the Septuagint text of the Bible. But it seems to me equally probable that we find here an instance of mythic residue which derives from the hunter's complex relation to his prey.

The essential problem faced by the hunting community is the conflict between the need to kill and the fear of what vengeance will reward killing. In the words of Adolf Jensen :

> The hunter kills, as it were, for professional reasons ; to be a successful, i.e., to kill much game, is a natural wish dictated by the urge of self-preservation. In stark contrast to the naturalness of killing, however, a major part of the hunter's ceremonial is oriented, not to glorify the act of killing, but to nullify and negate the unavoidable deed.[18]

Thus men came to believe in "animal guardians", beings embodying the collective identity of a species. As Ivar Paulson remarks,

> To man as a hunter the divine became transparent above all in the animal; the animal guardians are surely among the oldest theophanies in the religious life of mankind.[19]

By the propitiation of such guardians, it was hoped, men could avoid the punishment that would otherwise be needed to redress the balance of nature. Since the animal guardians performed a dual function, at once the protector of the animal and the protector of the hunter, their natures were sometimes recognized as double, an idea which expressed itself in such male-female divine pairs as Apollo and Artemis and the horned hind sacred to them. It is conceivable that the stag of the Eustace legend belongs to

the tradition of the animal guardian, and that its grammatical bisexuality goes back to its dual role, for this movement between the feminine and the masculine corresponds to Eustace's shifting relationship with the deer and thus resonates with the central theme of this section, that of the pursuer pursued.

This confessedly speculative account of the roots of the first part of the legend may or may not carry conviction. Yet it must be admitted that the effect of this section is different from that of the central section. However we choose to designate this difference, it is real and an aspect of the rich diversity of the legend which must be recognized if we are to evaluate properly what this and other such tales contributed to the development of narrative art in Iceland.

It will seem at this point that by my emphasis on the variety of the tale I have forfeited the right to claim unity for it as well. As far as structure is concerned, can it have offered any but a horrible example of how not to put together a story ? Can so curious an amalgam achieve unity ? Those who have felt that the legend comprises a folktale core to which a quasi-Christian introduction and conclusion have been added are unlikely to grant the tale more than the most rudimentary unity. Even Père Delehaye, if I may invoke him a final time, denies it more.

> Le lien qui rassemble ces trois parties n'est pas très étroit. Ce sont en réalité trois récits juxtaposés, mis sur le compte d'un seul homme.[20]

Prudence may beg us to claim no greater unity for the story than that of the painted triptych. But our revised interpretation and heavier weighting of the first section encourages us to go beyond this. It leads to the belief that a thematic focus and imagistic cohesiveness are to be found. They are to be found, as the conversion story teaches us to see, in the interrelation of man and animal and—what is slightly different—of the human and bestial. If we return to the latter parts of the story with this in mind, we begin to notice the conspicuous presence of this motif. In what may be a reworking of the traditional narrative, Eustace's sons are stolen from him by animals from whom they are quickly rescued by plowmen and herdsmen. The taking of children parallels the theft of the hero's wife, and the comparison works to the disadvantage of the ship's captain whose greater bestiality is underlined by this device. He is described in the Greek as barbaros and anemeros, savage and wild. His savagery earns him the death that the lion and wolf are spared. And Eustace's only consolation during his exile, as he announces during his long and Job-like lament, is the company of animals.

The reversal of human-animal relations is taken still further in the concluding part of the story. Here lions are, to fulfill a bestial human desire, given the opportunity to revert to nature and to devour the saint and his family. But the lions creep up to the saints and lick their feet instead of eating them. So the family is finally devoured by the brazen bull.

The sure touch of the legend's assemblor (author seems too strong a word) is seen in his selection of Phalaris's bull to conclude his tale for we seem intended to recall that specific story and the remarkable detail that the bull's first victim was its creator. Man himself creates the wilderness by which he is threatened. The unnaturalness of the bull is made the more apparent by its "natural" form. In a way the bull recalls nothing so much as the crucifix bearing stag of which it is indeed a sort of grotesque parody. Whereas Christ gave human voice to the animal, the human victims of the torturing oven were to cry out and "Ihr Ströhnen und Schreien soll geklungen haben, als wenn der Stier brüllte"[21]. Thus the last part of the tale repeats and inverts the first. In short, the legend can be shown to possess a real if episodic unity. It is easy enough to divide it into separate parts, but the parts are drawn together by an intricate web of correspondences and connections.

We are left, then, with the question of what the saga writers actually learned from such a story. Particular dependencies are not easy to establish. Inger Boberg's *Motif-Index of Early Icelandic Literature*[22] records few examples of what may be considered the major motifs, though images of pursuit and flight and the human quarry permeate the sagas. Under N774 she offers a number of cases of adventures pursuing an enchanted animal, five of which involve the pursuit of a hind or a hart. And recognition by means of a scar occurs once. But two motifs do seem clearly to relate to the Eustace legend. These are the *ævisaga* and *fagnaðarfundur*, the autobiographical narrative and the recognition scene. Often, as in the legend, these motifs are combined : the sons recognise one another in the telling of their life stories and are discovered by their mother at the same time. Such *ævisögur* are recounted so frequently in the *lygisögur* that, as Margaret Schlauch puts it, "it would be a wearisome task to list all instances".[23]

The most striking echo—to use a word claiming slightly too much—of the Eustace story occurs in *Njáls saga* in which the account of the burning includes elements reminiscent of the martyrdom of Eustace and his companions[24]. We should, perhaps, not try to make too much of the way in which Njál and Bergþora and Þorð accept their deaths, nor of the fact that they choose an oxhide to cover them in their last moments. The story explains the choice quite simply : "Uxa einum hafði slátrat verit, ok lá þar húðin. Njáll mælti við brytjann, at hann skyldi breiða húðina yfir þau..." (Chapter 129, p. 330)[25]. But when we are told that the old couple were found unaffected by the flames that consumed their home, we must begin to wonder :

> þar fundu þeir undir húðina, ok var sem hon væri skorpnuð við eld. Þeir tóku hana upp, ok váru þau bæði óbrunnin undir. Allir lofuðu guð fyrir þat ok þótti stór jartegn í vera. (C. 132, p. 342).

As the bodies of the saints emerge from the furnace shining whiter

than snow, so Hjalti remarks "En Njáls ásjána ok líkami sýnisk mér svá bjartr, at ek hefi engan dauðs manns líkama sét jafnbjartan" (p. 343). Whether or not this description can be traced directly to the Eustace legend, it certainly bears the impress of hagiographic literature.

It seems certain that this impress is to be felt throughout all of saga literature, although much work remains to be done if we are to uncover it. Thus the figures of the sagas go back to character types and relations such as those displayed in this story. Eustace's military prowess and stoical endurance are familiar, as is the intimate nature of his service of various human and divine lords. Family and retainer loyalty are assumed, as are the treacherous and persistent presence of evil men. Theopista, the wife, typically supplies a subsidiary but necessary understanding which precipitates action. Similarly the elegiac, heroic narrative curve of the legend anticipates the shape of many sagas in which, as it has been observed, the conversion is "the central pivot"[26]. The movement from prosperity through exile and suffering—Eustace somewhat anticipates the outlaw figure—to a glorious acceptance of a death which could be avoided is archetypical.

But these final points require a more thorough examination. A survey is needed to clarify the precise nature of the hagiographic contribution to saga writing. Doubtless the next Saga Conference, with its focus on the impact of Christianity on the North, will see some further light shed on this question. In the meantime one can only applaud the good judgment of those early translators who rendered the Eustace legend into Old Norse and Old Icelandic and made its riches available to the readers and writers of their day.

NOTES

1 Separate versions are preserved in each of AM 655 4to IX, AM 655 4to X, AM 696 4to III. In addition to these medieval MSS, it is arguably necessary to postulate a further version of medieval origin on the basis of the text surviving in Lbs. 1217, 4to and ÍB 382, 8vo. Finally there is the *Plácítus drápa*, AM 673 4to b.

2 See particularly Philip Ogden, *A Comparative Study of the Poem Guillaume d'Angleterre* (Baltimore, 1900), Gordon H. Gerould, "Forerunners, Congeners, and Derivatives of the Eustace Legend", *PMLA*, XIX (1904), 335-448, Angelo Monteverdi, "La leggenda di S. Eustachio", *Studi medievali*, III (1908-11), 169-229, W. Bousset, "Die Geschichte eines Wiedererkennungsmärchens", *Nachrichten von der königlichen Gesellschaft zu Göttingen, philologische-historische Klasse* (1916), 469-551, Hippolyte Delehaye, "La Légende de saint Eustache", *Academie Royale de Belgique-Bulletins de la Classe des Lettres et des Sciences Morales et Politiques*, ser. 19, t. 5 (1919), 175-210, reprinted in *Mélanges d'hagiographie Grecque et Latine* (Brussells, 1966), pp. 212-39.

3 Although the Old Norse-Icelandic prose texts spell the saint's name with a d, the normal usage of the drápa has come to be preferred. Hence the form of my title.

4 Delehaye 1966, p. 228. This tale is included in some later, expanded versions of the *Arabian Nights* as no. 26. Originally it was part of the collection of Shah Bakht and his Vizzier Al-Rahwan. The date of the story and its precise provenance are unknown, but Gerould has suggested that it entered Arabic from Persian, as the names in the tale are Persian. A number of the tales in the *Arabian Nights* were taken from the Pahlavi, which was the official language of the Sassinidian Empire (A.D. 216-641).

5 Alfred Haggerty Krappe is the exception here. In his, "La leggenda di S. Eustachio", *Nuovi studi medievali*, III (1926), 223-58, he argues that the basis of this part of the story is Dioscuric, since twin tales regularly include the children's rescue of their mother. In his view, the father and "the man tried by fate" theme are later additions, for the mother is the real heroine.

6 "Correspondence", *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland*, (1893), 869.

7 J.S. Speyer, "Buddistische elementen in eenige episoden uit de legenden van St. Hubertus en St. Eustachius", *Theologisch Tijdschrift*, XL (1906), 450.

8 Ogden, pp. 20-21.

9 Gerould, p. 344.

10 "Des Publications hagiographiques", *Analecta Bollandiana*, XLII (1924), 412.

11 Helmut Berve, *Die Tyrannis bei den Griechen* (Munich, 1967), I, 131.

12 "The Nigrodha-miga-Jātaka and the Life of St. Eustathius Placidus", *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland*, (1894), 340.

13 Delehaye 1966, p. 236.

14 Richard M. Dorson, *Folklore and Folklife : an Introduction* (Chicago, 1972), p. 7.

15 (Griefswald, 1911), p. 22.

16 See Thomas J. Heffernan, "An Analysis of the Narrative Motifs in the Legend of St. Eustace", *Medievalia et Humanistica, Studies in Medieval and Renaissance Culture, N. S. 6, Medieval Hagiography and Romance* (Cambridge, 1975), p. 67.

17 "De imaginibus", Oratio III, *Patrologia graeca* 94, 1382.

18 *Myth and Cult among Primitive Peoples*, trans. M.T. Choldin and W. Weissleder (Chicago, 1963), p. 163-64.

19 "The Animal Guardian : A Critical and Synthetic Review", *History of Religions*, III (1964), 219.

20 Delehaye 1966, p. 218.

21 Berve, I, 131.

22 *Bibliotheca Arnamagnaeana*, XXVII, Copenhagen, 1966.

23 *Romance in Iceland* (Princeton, 1934), p. 60.

24 Lars Lönnroth has also noted this similarity, *Njáls Saga : A Critical Introduction* (Berkeley, 1976), p. 122.

25 *Brennu-Njáls Saga*, ed. Einar Ól. Sveinsson (Íslenzk fornrit : Reykjavík, 1954).

26 Bernadine McCreesh, "Structural Patterns in the *Eyrbyggja Saga* and Other Sagas", *Medieval Scandinavia*, 11 (1978-79) 275.

III

ETUDES CONNEXES : THEMES ET TEXTES