NICKNAMES AND NARRATIVES IN THE SAGAS

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1. Introductory - the nicknames

Prompted by the woman he desires as his consort, King Haraldr Hálfdanarson vows before his creator never to cut or comb his hair until he has brought all of Norway under his sole rule, or else to die in the attempt. Ten years later, his aim accomplished, he receives a haircut and a new name from Rognvaldr Mzrajarl:

Þá kolluðu peir hann Harald lúfu, en síðan gaf Rognvaldr honum kenningarnafn ok kallaði hann Harald inn hárfagra, ok sogðu allir, er sá, at þat var it mesta sannnefni, því at hann hafði hár bæði mikit ok fagrt. (Heimskringls, Haralds saga hárfagra ch. 23; see also ch. 4)

Hárfagri is of course one of most famous early Scandinavian nicknames - so famous that the 'D' version of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle mistakenly attaches it to the King Haraldr slain at Stamford Bridge in 1066 - and it may well be authentic. It occurs, for instance, in the first verse of Haraldskvæði, which is usually considered contemporary with Haraldr, i.e. late ninth century. The saga's interpretation of lúfa as a nickname meaning 'Shock-head' or 'Shaggy-head' has, on the other hand, been challenged (e.g. by Koht, 1931, 135), and the story built around the two nicknames has the distinct ring of folk-tale, which it shares with other parts of the saga. However, the success of the narrative does not depend on the historical authenticity of the nickname harfagri or the story attached to it. The nickname adds distinction to this already outstanding king, and the explanation of its origin, curious and picturesque in itself, highlights the motif of yow and fulfilment which so successfully structures the first half of his saga, as it also does, in a less developed way, in Fagrskinna ch. 3. In Egils saga, the vow and the name lufa are mentioned, but harfagri is given no special prominence; this treatment of the names is suggestive of a different balance of sympathies.

The nicknames in the passage cited above are just two items from a large corpus. Over four thousand different items are listed in Lind's Norsk-isländska personbinamn (1921), and on average each one was held by two different individuals (so Hødnebe 1974, 318). They range from the obvious and ordinary (ungi, sterki, rauðr, næf) to the lyrical, the whimsical and the slanderous (eykyndill, haustmyrkr, kaldaljós, knarrarbringa, mornefr, dritloki). My concern throughout this paper, however, is not so much with the inventory of names in the sagas, but, as above, with the use made of traditions about nicknames and their origins within narrative contexts. First, though, some explanations of terminology and other preliminaries are necessary.

The names under discussion here are additional characterising names which identify an individual more precisely than a given name alone (Bjorn or Eyvindr, Hildr or Þórdís) can. ¹ A name of this kind is most often referred to in ON as kenningarnafn (or kenninafn, which occurs as early as Ynglingatal, composed c. 900). Thus when Gilbert Foliot is introduced in Thómass saga erkibyskups, it is explained that Gilbert is his eignarnafn, and Foliot his kenningarnafn (translating Lat. cognomenta; quoted Fritzner, s.v. kenningarnafn). Viðrnefni is another alternative to kenningarnafn. In the Flateyjarbók account of Óláfr Tryggvason giving the poet Hallfreðr his celebrated nickname, he says, 'Vist ertu vandrædaskalld, en minn madr skaltu po vera ok hafa samt vidrnefnnit' (I 325). The terms auknefni and sannnefni are also applied to additional names, and are discussed below.

There is no agreed English terminology for anthroponymics, but the nearest equivalents to kenningarnefn are 'byname' (cf. Swedish binamn) and 'nickname'. The choice of 'nickname' for the title of this paper was, I confess, governed partly by the interests of alliteration, but mainly by the fact that it is normally applied especially to those bynames which are the main topic of this paper: those which identify their bearer by reference to personal characteristics or particular incidents, rather than to relationships, places or occupations (see further below).

The nickname normally supplements a given name, but in some cases it is used alone in place of the given name, and it can even oust it completely. The name Snorri was, according to Eyrbyggja saga ch. 12 and Gisla saga ch. 18, originally given as a nickname (first in the form Snerrir, then Snorri) to porgrimr porgrimsson when he proved a difficult child. Snorri gobi, he has a career of great distinction, and improves somewhat with age (Eyrbyggjs saga, esp. ch. 65). The name was later used for descendants of Snorri godi, Snorri Sturluson among them, and for members of other families. Other names, including Grettir and Sturla, have a similar history. A nickname turned given name can also appear in the patronymics of offspring (e.g. Gisli Súrsson), in the nicknames of others (Porbjorn Skakkaskáld, poet to Erlingr skakki), in names of places (Gullberastabir, settled by Bjorn gullberi), of poems (Grafeldardrapa from its dedicatee, Stuttfeldardrapa from its poet), of weapons (Selshefnir), and even of phases in a battle (the Orrahrib at the battle of Stamford Bridge, named from Eysteinn 'Moorcock'). In this way the switch of status from nicknames into given names shown in the sagas repeats the process assumed to be already completed in an older stratum of given names such as Bjorn, Helgi or Steinn. 3

Whereas given names are normally bestowed at, or quite soon after, birth, this is only rarely said to be the case with nicknames. Porbjorg hólmasól's nickname evidently refers to her birth on an islet in Eyjafjarbará when her parents were moving home (Landnámabók ch. 218); and Snorri Sturluson's son Jón murtr owes his nickname (which designates a kind of small trout) to his slight build in childhood (Islendings saga ch. 16). Many nicknames, on the other hand, can only have been given in adulthood, such as those referring to occupation or status, or to characteristics such as beards or baldness, and this seems to have been the normal practice. Skalla-Grimr, for example, got his nickname from his premature baldness at the age of twenty-five (according to Egils saga ch. 20).

The nicknames are essentially personal and non-hereditary, though there is some tendency for them to be passed on within families. Ketill blundr's descendants included Porgeirr blundr, Blund-Ketill and Poroddr hrisablundr (Landnámabók ch. 36); while in the case of Ketill homogr, grandfather and grandson, both given name and nickname were handed down, missing one generation, as was common practice. The descendants of borar krakunef are collectively called Krákneflingar (Landnámabók ch. 129). With the whimsical inventiveness which often characterises nickname-giving, themes rather than nicknames sometimes continued down the generations. mannvitsbrekka, sister of Unnr or Aubr in djúpúbga, has Ketill inn fíflski as a son (Landnámabók ch. 320); 4 while another family went in for seafaring allusions: Steinn mjoksiglandi, grandson of Boamoar or bulkarumi, in turn had a grandson with the given name Hafpórr. Of course inherited names or name-types may reflect family resemblances. The Yngling king Ingjaldr illradi passed on his treacherous nature, and with it his unpleasant nickname, in the feminine form, to his daughter Asa (Ynglinga saga chs 39-40); while according to Landnámabók ch. 12, Hallr goblauss and his father Helgi (in Sturlubók, or Þórir, in Hauksbók) goðlauss both merited the name: Þeir feðgar **vildu** ekki blóta ok trúðu á mátt sinn.

Choice - the option of the community to refer to an individual by a byname or not, and the selection of a particular byname - is an important aspect of these names. Patronymics, sometimes treated as a special category within or alongside the bynames, are different in kind, for they offer virtually no scope for choice, except that the father may be referred to by his given name (as in Leifr Eiriksson), his given name with nickname attached (Egill Skalla-Grimsson), his nickname alone (Gisli Súrsson) or a title (Loptr Biskupsson); the use of a metronymic is of course another quite common alternative (e.g. Pórèr Ingumnarson). Names referring to other relationships can, on the other hand, be counted among the bynames. Examples are Hékon Abalsteinsföstri, Árni konungsmägr, or Þórarinn Ragabróbir. Epithets referring to place are also often reckoned as bynames (as in the names of Prandr 1 Gotu, Oddr breibfirbingr, Dala-Gubbrandr or Pórolfr Mostrarskegg). In some cases these locative names refer to place of operations rather than place of origin: Gubleikr gerzki and Hrafn Hlymreksfari traded in Garðar and Limerick rather than coming from those places. Designations of status or occupation are a difficult category. Some, such as konungr or berserkr or skald are attached to so many people further without qualification (as in **Kolb**rúnarskáld vandræbaskáld); they seem not so much to single out an individual as to label him or her as a member of a class, and they can therefore hardly be counted as bynames. This view is supported by the co-occurrence of these titles with names that clearly are bynames, as in borkell mani logsogumaar. Other occupational designations seem to have strong affinities with descriptive bynames. Farmabr, for instance, is not dissimilar to inn vibforli, and læknir perhaps refers to healing as an accomplishment rather than an occupation; but the line is difficult to draw.

A very large number of bynames are either descriptive or commemorative. They refer not to external circumstances such as relationships, place or occupation, but to personal features of their bearers, or else to some unique event in which they were involved. I term these 'nicknames' and regard them as a sub-category of byname, although some scholars would apply 'byname' only to names of this type. They may designate people by reference to physical features, inborn (hávi, rauðskeggr) or acquired through accident or injury (hoggvinkinni, bægifótr, tréfótr), to their clothing or equipment (loðbrók, rauðfeldr), or to their temperament or habitual behaviour (spaki, káti, kumbi, matkrákr). Other large groups comprise names referring to living creatures (hundr, refr, Hansa-, hængr or, for women, rjúpa) or objects (Knarrar-, máni or stong). Some compound names combine two different characterising features of their bearers. Þórðr Lundar-skalli was presumably bald as well as coming from Lundr, while 01-kofri, eponymous hero of the páttr, brews ale and wears a hood (see Ekbo 1947, 279-82 and Hødnebø 1974, 319-21 for fuller typological accounts of bynames).

The corpus of Old Norse-Icelandic bynames, as even a small sample shows, presents a fascinating variety of form and meaning. It can be classified quite successfully on the basis of morphological type (e.g. weak adjectives, with or without article, or prefixed genitive nouns, see Ekbo 1947, 271-78 and Hødnebø 1974, 319); but once external form is not the sole criterion, the ground is much more unsure. There are difficulties even with the very simple categories outlined in the previous paragraph, for, even setting aside the textually doubtful or semantically obscure, the names are not necessarily transparent, especially because of the possibility of either literal or figurative usage, and of direct or ironic application. The names referring to animals and objects are particularly elusive, since they have affinity with other categories, but it is only sometimes possible to know which. Dörir hjortr is described in Snorri's Olâfs saga Tryggvasonar ch. 78 as allra manna fôthvatastr, which presumably

accounts for his nickname, while Hafr-Bjorn is said to be named from his huge flock of goats, which multiplied wonderfully with the help of a visiting buck after Bjorn had, in a dream, gone into partnership with a troll (Landnámabók ch. 329). But other men nicknamed 'goat' may have looked, sounded, or behaved like a goat, owned many goats or had an interesting adventure involving a goat. In the same way, Skjaldar-Bjorn is said to have got his nickname, which replaced his previous one of Hellu-Bjorn, from arriving in Iceland in a ship well furnished with shields (Landnámabók ch. 156); but what of borkell dráttarhamarr? Without a prose narrative to point the way we can only speculate. Even the line between physical and temperamental features is not always easy to draw. Does the nickname munnr refer to a big (or otherwise distinctive) mouth, or a loud mouth? King Sigurer Haraldsson, sometimes referred to as munnr, described by Snorri as having an ugly mouth amidst otherwise good features, and as being extremely eloquent (Haraldssona saga ch. 21). Similarly, did the skald Bjorn krepphendi suffer from a crippled hand, perhaps due to Dupuytren's contracture, or was he tight-fisted? Even where no such ambiguity exists, apparently plain descriptions may be direct or humorously inverted. According to saga-accounts, Stufr inn blind1 really was blind (Morkinskinna p. 251); Halfdan svarti black-haired (Halfdanar saga svarta ch. 1) and Hákon herðibreiðr broad-shouldered (Magnúss saga Erlingsonar ch. 8). Of King Eabvarör Abalrábsson of England, known as inn góði, Snorri simply says, hann var svá (Haralds saga Sigurðarsonar ch. 75). Again, men are normally nicknamed audgi with good reason, to judge from the sagawriters, who point this out surprisingly often. 'Dorfinnr kaupmadr edr Porfinnr en audgi' is so rich that he does not know how much he owns (Morkinskinna p. 172), while Úlfr inn aubgi owns fourteen or fifteen farms until deprived of all but one by the king (Morkinskinna pp. 189, 193-94); there are at least two further examples (Geirr and Alfr) in Egils sage and two (Kolskeggr and Bersi) in Islendinge saga. On the other hand, bordr inn lági was manna hæstr (Heimskringla, Óláfs saga helga ch. 135), and Óttarr birtingr took his name from his dark hair and swarthy skin (Morkinskinna, pp. 388-89). Þorbjorn skrjúpr in Laxdæla saga scarcely shows the feebleness to which his rare nickname refers: he is not only wealthy but also mikill maðr ... vexti ok rammr at afli (ch. 11).

The distinction between nicknames which are 'true' or appropriate, and those which are whimsical, ironic, perverse or downright slanderous, would certainly have been important to the bearer, and it is recognised in the lexical opposition between sannnefni and auknefni/auk(a)nafn. The auknefni was frequently abusive, and if it gave offence it was punishable by lesser outlawry (see further section 5). William, Conqueror of England in 1056, is made to protest in Flateyjarbók that, 'eigi em ek bastarðr nema at auknefni' (III, 464). An auknefni could, on the other hand, be simply inappropriate. The swarthy Óttarr birtingr's nickname is called auknefni in Morkinskinna p. 388, while in Flateyjarbók (II 156) it is said that Helgi hvíti was a fine-looking man (vænn maðr), and his characterising name was not an auknefni. The sannnefni, on the other hand, is a realistic description, as shown by Snorri's comment on hárfagri in the opening paragraph above. (The idea of being true to a nickname is further discussed in section 4).

There are, as many of the above illustrations show, semantic properties which cannot be captured, and distinctions which cannot be made, by taking the nicknames in isolation, without reference to the explanations attached to them in the saga-literature; and the prose passages have more to offer besides. They can indicate whether the name was bestowed on the basis of a particular incident or a general characteristic. It would be reasonable to surmise, for instance, that Helgi inn magri was naturally thin, and this may be historically correct, yet according to tradition he was so named by

his dismayed parents on finding him sadly undernourished after two years' fosterage in the Hebrides (Landnámabók ch. 217). The sagas also contain much traditional material about the circumstances of nicknaming, showing especially by whom they were given and with what intent - to praise, defame or merely describe the recipient. According to Laxdala saga, the twelveyear-old Óláfr pái, exceptionally handsome, accomplished and well-dressed, received his nickname, like his given name, from his fond and admiring father Hoskuldr (ch. 16). Without this context we might suspect malice and envy behind the name. A name like skegglauss, meanwhile, might have been given without particularly dire intent, but the spirit and circumstances in which Njáll is called this ensure that it becomes a spur to killings (see further below). The great majority of nicknames mentioned in the sagas go unexplained; but there are nevertheless many saga-passages which do comment on them, and from the onomastic point of view this is a valuable resource which, for instance, far surpasses the narrative sources available for the elucidation of Middle English surnames (see, e.g., Reaney 1967, 222-23).

The evidence of the sagss is an enviable resource, but a hazardous one if used uncritically. There is ample early evidence of byname-giving in the runic inscriptions, skaldic verse, place-names from the Scandinavian homelands and colonies, and foreign chronicles (see KLNM, 'Tilnavne' and Lind 1921, passim), and there is no reason to doubt that the picture of name-giving habits found in the sagas reflects cultural actuality. Bynames were clearly flourishing at the time of the settlement of Iceland, and their use continued, although perhaps less vigorously, into the thirteenth century and beyond. This is not, however, to say that individual names and their origins are necessarily authentic. Most of the following doubtful cases are taken from Heimskringla, where we might expect a higher-than-average degree of honesty to tradition, if not unwavering historical accuracy.

There is a reasonable consensus among medieval sources that Magnús, son of King Olafr kyrri, was known, among other things, as berfettr, but doubt has been cast on Snorri's unique explanation that it was because he and his men adopted the kilt when living in the British Isles (Magnúss saga berfætts ch. 16 and n. 3). The claim that Ottarr vendilkráka was given his name posthumously by his Danish enemies, who sent a crow to the Swedes, saying their king was worth no more than it now, is perhaps implausible (Ynglinga saga ch. 27 and n. 2). Similarly, we may wonder whether Olvir barnakarl was truly a tender-hearted Viking who did not relish tossing children on spear-points, as Landnámabók ch. 379 would have him, or whether he was simply a man with many children, in much the same way that Gunnhildr, queen of Eirikr blobox, is referred to as konungamobir (Ekbo 1947, 280). As to whether the nicknames themselves, as distinct from the explanations of them, are authentic, this is very difficult to say. There are quite often disagreements between sources, as when the Heimskringla manuscripts differ over the nickname of King Gubrøbr Hálfdanarson, Kringla and Frissbók read inn mikilláti, while Jöfraskinna, in accordance with Þjóðólfr ór Hvíni's verse about him and supported by other sources, calls him Guðreðr inn gofugláti (Ynglinga saga ch. 79 and n. 1). A better-known case is the magnificent daughter of Ketill flatnefr, about whose nickname the sources disagree (djupubga or djupaubga both being found, for example, in the manuscripts of Laxdœla saga ch. 1), just as they do about her given name (Unnr in Laxdœla saga, Auðr in Íslendingabók, Landnámabók and elsewhere). In cases where a single text offers alternative nicknames for one and the same character, it may be recording genuine alternatives, but it may be registering the uncertainty of the tradition. For a different reason - because of the unnatural neatness of the micknames and the story to which they are attached - the three Swedish brothers in the Heimskringla Óláfs saga helga ch. 94 may be suspect: Arnviðr blindi (hann var sýndr svá

lift, at varie var hann herfærr), borviðr stami (hann fekk eigi mælt tveimr orðum lengra samt), and Freyviðr daufi (hann heyrði illa). It is also possible that some nicknames are eponymous fabrications by saga-authors, or by the makers of the traditions they inherited. Hegranes is said in Landnámabók ch. 197 to be named from the otherwise unknown Hávarðr inn hegri, but the grey heron, a familiar migrant species in Iceland, seems an equally likely eponym, and if the place-name etymology is doubtful, so too may be the nickname. In general, therefore, a balance between trust and scepticism is necessary if saga-accounts are to be used for onomastic studies. They are an immensely rich source of information about general name-giving practices in medieval Scandinavia, and much of the detail may be correct, but it can rarely be checked and its reliability is far from guaranteed.

So far the focus has been on the nicknames themselves, and on the light thrown on their meanings and intent by prose narratives. But from here on attention is turned to the narratives themselves, and the plausibility or implausibility of the saga-writers's claims about particular nicknames will be irrelevant. It is sufficient that the saga-writers are taking an actual cultural practice and using it to their own ends - whether these are to preserve traditions about the past, to edify their audience, or produce an amusing tale - in much the same way that the sagas' accounts of premonitory dreams, impromptu verses, and clever quips at the point of death probably reflect genuine beliefs and practices, polished and deployed for literary ends. The following discussion moves from the more straightforward and mundane uses of nicknames in sagas to the more complex and dynamic.

2. Nicknames used without direct comment

The nickname combines the characteristics of the appellative and the personal name. As an appellative, it has semantic value which makes appeal to the reader's imagination and memory. Characters with nicknames are, other things being equal, more memorable than those without, and genealogical passages are enlivened by them. On the other hand, as a personal name, the nickname's dominant function may be to denote and identify, and its original connotations (including bad ones) may fade. As already seen, a nickname can be passed on to a descendant whom it may or may not suit, and it can replace an individual's given name. It is therefore not surprising that the great majority of them — even when attached to prominent individuals such as Ketill hongr, Einarr pambarskelfir or Pórðr kakali — are used by saga-writers in a purely referential way, without any direct comment at all.

Where characters in sagas possess a nickname they may be referred to by their given name, nickname or both. The use of the nickname in isolation is rare: Egill Skalla-Grimsson, exulting in a lausavisa over his killing of a son of his enemy Eiríkr blóðøx, uses the damning nickname alone (ch. 57 the chapter in which he also sets up a niostong against Eirikr and Gunnhildr). Outside verse quotations and direct speech, however, the use of nicknames alone tends to be much blander, and virtually limited to those which are in process of turning into given names. The most usual pattern is for the full form of the name - given name and nickname - to be used when a character is first introduced, or reintroduced after an absence, or when disambiguation is needed (as illustrated in the next paragraph), but for the given name alone to be used elsewhere. Thus the full form, with nickname, can be regarded as the marked form, and sometimes, especially when placed in the mouths of the protagonists in direct or indirect speech, it is expressive of mood and tone in much the same way that the nickname alone can be. When Sigurar Jorsalafari, now mentally ill, calls for meat on a Friday, the diminutive Aslakr hani is the only one of his liegemen who

dares break the uneasy silence. The king parries his tactful objections with, Hvat villdir pv Aslacr hani epa hvat syniz per ... En pott sva se Aslacr hani... The insistent use of the nickname gives his utterance a distinctly menacing tone. Later, his spirits and sanity temporarily restored, the king addresses Aslakr on the subject of reward for his courage, omitting the nickname, and gives him three farms (Morkinskinna pp. 393-94). Here it is simply the use of the nickname which is significant, irrespective of its specific associations (in this case with the cock). The full name of Óláfr Haraldsson, posthumously (inn) helgi, but inn digri in his lifetime, is also used as a marked term with stronger resonance than the 'Óláfr' or 'Óláfr konungr' which is normal throughout the Heimskringla saga about him. It is frequently placed in the mouths of hostile parties. The Upland king Hrærekr, making an attempt on Olafr's life, jibes, 'Flýr po nú, Öláfr digri, fyrir mér blindum (Öláfs saga helga ch. 84), while Sigriar Skjálgsdóttir, hot for revenge for her son Ásbjorn Selsbani, wants Porir hundr to put a spear through the breast of 'Olafr digri' (ch. 123). In the case of digri the particular associations of the name also come into play. It may derive from Olafr's robust build (Olafs saga helga ch. 3), and it may be partially hereditary, echoing the nickname digrheinn or digri held by the king's ancestor Óláfr Geirstaðaálfr Guðrsðarson (see Fritzner, s.v. digr); but its other main connotation, of arrogance, is exploited by his Swedish enemies. When Asgautr ármair receives an unfavourable reply to the message he has just delivered from Olafr King of the Swedes, he says, 'Eigi er undarligt, at þú sér kallaðr Óláfr digrí. Allstórliga svarar þú orðsending slíks hofðingja' (ch. 59). The form 'Óláfr digri' or inn digri maör continues to be used in the following chapters by all those connected with the Swedish court, in deference to the Swedish king's loathing of any mention of his namesake.

One reason that nicknames are given is to obviate confusion between namesakes, and they often retain this function in saga narratives. Ungi or inn yngri is the most obvious case, as in Eilifr ungi, son of Eilifr (Landnémabók ch. 352), but other nicknames too serve to distinguish members of the same family or community. The twin sons of Haraldr harfagri, unimaginatively given the joint name of Halfdan, are differentiated by their nicknames, hvíti and svarti (Haralds saga hárfagra ch. 17). The two brothers who work for Óláfr pái am in Laxdæla saga are both Án, again 'white' and 'black', until An swart1 acquires the more interesting nickname of hrismagi (see below). In the thirteenth century, Dansa-Bergr and Tafl-Bergr were members of Snorri Sturluson's household at the same time (fslendinga saga ch. 46), and two Norwegian seamen, Bárôr garðarbrjótr and Bárðr trébót, were given hospitality by Þórðr and Sturla Sigvatsson (ch. In literature as in life, such nicknames can provide welcome disambiguation where namesakes rub shoulders. A passage such as Snorri's Óláfs saga Tryggvasonar ch. 15, for instance, in which five Haralds are mentioned within a single page, would be hopelessly confusing without the Gull- and harfagri and the title gráfeldr, grenski, nicknames (Dana) konungr.

3. Anecdotes of nickname origins

I turn now to the passages where nicknames are not merely used in passing but are a focus of attention. The sages contain many accounts of the origins of nicknames, especially those which, according to tradition, derive from specific incidents. The best source for these is Landnámabók. An example taken more or less at random is the note about Þúríðr sundafyllir: Hon var því kolluð sundafyllir, at hon seiddi til pess í hallæri í Hálogaland, at hvert sund var fullt af fiskum (ch. 145). The compiler's motivation here seems to lie between antiquarian duty, and

delight in curious anecdote. He knows the name, and there is either a traditional explanation attached to it, or he conjectures one. Catchphrases such as pvi var hann kallaðr N. or síðan var hann N. kallaðr very commonly link incident and name in these passages, although it is merely implicit in some, as when we read that: Porgeirr hoggvinkinni var hirðmaðr Hákonar konungs Aðalsteinsfóstra: hann fekk á Fitjum kinnarsár ok orð gott (Landnámabók ch. 27).

In some cases the emphasis is not so much on the bearer of the nickname as on the situation which gave rise to it. Pórbjorn smjor was not important in himself, but what he said about Iceland was, and his nickname 'Butter' neatly caps the accounts of the new land that the first voyagers took back to the Scandinavian homelands. Flóki Vilgerðarson (himself dubbed 'Hrafna-Flóki' because of his Nosh-like deployment of ravens) has only bad to say of the land, and names it İsland; Herjólfr tells of the good and the bad; but Þórólfr sees it as a promised land, reporting that butter drips from every blade of grass (Landamabók ch. 5),

In Landnámabók, with its encylopædic though summary coverage of the settlement, the brief tales which explain nickname origins are very much like the numerous anecdotes accounting for place-names in the work: they are entertaining, but their effect is rather remote and static. The bearers of the nicknames are distant in time from compiler and audience, and only fleetingly glimpsed. This is also true of some similar passages in the more elaborate narratives of the Islandingasögur and konungasögur. If the person in question has only a minor role, and / or if, as is often the case. the nickname commemorates a single and rather trivial incident, the anecdote may again be quaintly interesting in itself, but not significant in any broader context. Snorri Sturluson provides a good, if gruesome, example of In Haralds saga harfagra ch. 22 he records the death of the Scottish jarl Melbrigåi tonn at the hands of Sigurår jarl of Orkney. Sigurår ties his enemy's head to his saddle-strap, but as he rides along a tooth jutting out from the head pierces his leg; the wound swells and causes his death. The detail about the tooth (which looks like a folk anecdote arising from the nickname) comes close to being gratuitous, but is not so since it accounts for the death of a Scandinavian ruler. Snorri also gives an anecdotal explanation of Haraldr grafeldr's nickname, not just that he habitually wore a cloak of grey skin but that he one day accepted one as a gift from an Icelandic trader, so setting a fashion (which is followed, incidentally, by Hrutr Herjolfsson in Laxdwla saga ch. 37) and stimulating demand hugely (Haralds saga grafeldar ch. 7). In general, though, Snorri has little time in Heimskringle for trivial characters or incidents, and reserves explanations for the nicknames of kings and other leading protagonists, most of which refer to physical or moral qualities (see the following section). The catalogue-like nature of Ynglinga saga might have lent itself to nickname explanations in the manner of Landnamabók, but these are seldom found.

The brevity of the passages so far examined is typical of the explanations of nicknames which derive from particular incidents, although they can be more elaborate. *Grettis sage* ch. 2, for instance, offers quite a full account of Qnundr Ófeigsson's part in the battle of Hafrsfjorðr, with the injury which earned him a wooden leg and the nickname trefftr as one of its salient points. Similarly, the nickname 'Hell-skin' or 'Swarthy-skin' gives the writer of *Geirmundar páttr heljarskins* a good cue for a tale (Sturlunga saga I 5-7; cf. Landnámabók ch. 112).

The incidents so far mentioned are in a kind of secondary past, taking place before the main action of the prose; but when such nickname-giving takes place within the principal time-scale of the saga, hence in the protagonists' own present, more interesting narrative capital is provided

for the writer. When An svarti in Laxdels sags ch. 48 dreams that be monstrous woman tears out his entrails and replaces them by brushwood, Kjartan Óláfsson and his companions think it a huge joke and propose a new nickname of hrismagi. The dream, however, has a serious function in presaging death in the next chapter - for Kjartan. The sorely wounded An, after a second, complementary, dream, comes to life (to the great alarm of onlookers who thought him dead), makes a complete recovery and is thereafter known by his new nickname, 'Brushwood-belly'.

4. Character-describing nicknames within narratives

The nicknames which refer to character or habitual behaviour are normally more transparent in meaning than the incident-derived ones, but they occasionally receive explicit explanation or elaboration in the sagas. Hálfdan inn mildi ok inn matarilli, Snorri remarks, paid his men in gold coin as freely as other kings in silver coin; but he was mean with food (Ynglinga sags ch. 47). The interest of such nicknames in the sagas does not, however, lie principally in their origins, but in the way they highlight a particular personal trait. In Islandinga saga ch. 118, for example, the monk Magnús tolusveinn, ekki merkr, en miðlungi réttorðr, simply behaves in accordance with his nickname and brief description. Minor characters like this are essentially straightforward, but they may form part of more complex structures within the sage. Viga-Hrappr and borhalla malga in Laxdala saga are unimportant in themselves, but the characteristics epitomised by their nicknames, respectively violence and malicious gossip, are essential to the development of the plot. Another character who lives up to his nickname is Bjorn eitrkveisa (which probably means 'Poison-boil), who is briefly glimpsed in the opening pages of Olafs saga Tryggvasonar in Heimskringla, and in his case the nickname also contributes to the manipulation of audience sympathies. He drives out Queen Astrior, who seeks refuge at his farm as she flees from the agents of Gunnhildr with her infant son Óláfr, and he collaborates with her enemies (chs 3-4). Bjorn's venomous nickname ensures the worst possible view of his behaviour, and, along with other narrative devices, tips sympathies emphatically onto the side of Astribr and Óláfr. Traditional nicknames were, however, not always so convenient: the loyal foster-father of Ástríðr, who also appears in these opening chapters, unattractively-named Þórólfr Lúsarskegg.

The idea of being true to a nickname, or living up to it (whether this is desirable or not) is expressed by the phrase sanna nafn sitt (cf. the noun sammefui), and it is employed within the sagas both in direct speech and in third-person narrative. Shorri's comment that Rognvaldr Merajarl was known as Rognvaldr inn riki ok inn räösvinni, ok kalla menn, at hvärt tveggja væri sammnefni suggests the notion of public discussion as to whether a person's behaviour matched his or her nickname (Haralds saga harfagra ch. 10). In Morkinskinna Haraldr Sigurðarson puts the nickname of Brandr inn orvi to a practical test, and finds him not only generous, but also sagacious (pp. 194-95). In an episode attributed to the thirteenth century, Sturla Sigvatsson's disinclination to join a fight prompts Snorri Porvaldsson to say, Hvi sækir hann Sturla eigi at? Ok ætla ek, at Dala-Freyr sanni nú nafn sitt ok standi eigi nær' (Íslendinga saga ch. 85; Sturla is also referred to slightingly as Dala-Freyr in ch. 71). A favourable nickname could impose a duty on the bearer. Sturla's contemporary Bishop Guamundr Arason inn góði, according to the saga about him in AM 657 c 40, ordained the twenty-year-old Einarr Asbjarnarson. ok gaf honum pat kenningar nafn, at hann skyldi heita Einarr klerkr, ok kvað honum pat sannefni, en eigi auknefni. Sagði Guðmundr biskup hann mundo halda vígslum sínum ok öllum nafnbótum meðan hann lifði. Einarr fulfils this amply, living an upright life until he dies at an age approaching 120 (ok var hann þá á xij. tigi gamall vetra; Biskupa sögur I 589-90).

In the light of all this it is natural that a nickname held by a central figure should, especially in shorter sagas and pattir, provide a vital thematic keynote. In Hallfreder saga the giving of the nickname vandradaskéld understrikes the skald's new allegiance to King Óláfr, just as his baptism formally marks his acceptance of the Christian religion. The name also, however, expresses the difficulty with which Hallfreder took these steps, and more generally encapsulates the hero's wayward temperament and hence the totality of his experience, so that it can be said of the saga that 'the one theme which unites its many and various episodes is the justification of Hallfred's nickname vandradaskáld (Wright 1973, 18). Similarly, Grettis saga and Orms páttr illustrate, with varying degrees of subtlety, the legendary strength which gave their heroes their common nickname inn sterki, while the brief Porsteins páttr sogurfóða is nothing but an elaboration on his nickname.

An interesting twist to the idea of living up to, or proving one's nickname, is given by the saga-character whose life changes in such a way that he grows out of his nickname, which may stick to him nevertheless. Hrafnkell Freysgobi's renunciation of the pagan gods is a celebrated instance (Hrafnkels sags ch. 7), while the whole of Hreibars pattr is devoted to revealing unexpected accomplishments in a man who has been generally deemed a fool and dubbed inn heimski.

The ambitious scale of Heimskringle gives its author the opportunity to exploit nicknames, like many other traditional resources, in a quite rich and complex way. Halfdan inn mildi ok inn matarilli, mentioned above, has, like most kings in Ynglings sags, only one chapter to himself. But where a reign is drawn more fully, the king's nickname and any explanation attached to it can, by giving public recognition to a salient characteristic, provide a measure against which his whole career can be judged. The writer, and the reader, of the sagas of Hákon Abalsteinsfóstri or of Magnús Óláfsson are challenged by their common nickname góði to consider exactly in what respects the name matches their character and behaviour. Further, throughout Heimskringla the nicknames of kings highlight different temperaments and different styles of kingship, contributing much to Snorri's continuous and penetrating examination of the nature of kingship. The power-hungry Eiríkr blóðex, for example, murders his more peaceable brother Bjorn farmaðr or kaupmaðr (Haralds saga hárfagra ch. 35), and Sigurar Jórsalafari earns his nickname with crusading adventures in the Near East while his brother Eysteinn, like Braut-Onundr in Ynglinga saga ch. 33 or Óláfr kyrri in his saga, dedicates himself to less glamorous but more lasting civil works (hence their mannjafnaor in Magnússona saga ch. 21).

5. Derogatory nicknames in action

The abusive nickname must be a near-universal phenomenon. Many are recorded from medieval Scandinavia, and it is not surprising that a literature so consistently concerned with strife between individuals as the Icelandic sagas should contain many incidents in which the bestowing of a nickname, or the pointed use of a pre-existing one, plays a dynamic role in scenes of violence. This possibility is, indeed, recognised in law, when Grágás stipulates that to give a nickname that gives offence is punishable by lesser outlawry: Ef madr gefr manni nafn annat, en hann eigi dör, ok varðar fjorbaugsgarð, ef hann vill reiðast við (II 182, quoted Fritzner s.v. nafn (1)).

King Haraldr Sigurðarson was, according to a tradition which was evidently much relished by the writer of Morkinskinna, touchy about his father's nickname sýr, presumably more because of its potential for sexual

innuendo than its associations with farm management (at which Sigurar excelled). Haraldr flies into a rage in Hreibars pattr as he realises that the beautifully-executed boar figure with which Hreibarr presents him is actually a sow: Hreiðarr only just escapes with his life (Morkinskinna p. The same theme appears within a versified slanging match also narrated in Morkinskinna (pp. 109-10). King Haraldr, finding himself seated opposite the taciturn porir, half-brother of King Magnús, attempts to rouse him by a four-line kviblingr in which he calls him unreasonable and mentions that he's heard that his father was called hvinngestr 'Thief'. Magnús supplies Þórir with a retaliatory verse to learn and deliver to Haraldr, in which he remarks that even if his father did have that nickname, he did not make a fence round a horse-phallus as Haraldr's father Sigurar syr did. Not surprisingly, Haraldr on hearing this makes to kill borir, who is saved by Magnus and given a seat next to himself. Another skald, Stufr inn blindi Kattarson, seems to have caught Haraldr in a more benign mood, for in his (prose) exchange with him about their father's names it is Haraldr himself who offers a quip about 'the young sow (gylltrin) my father was named after, and the conversation stays at the level of good-natured banter (Morkinskinna p. 252). Still in Morkinskinna, but now in a (rather defective) section about Sigurar Jórsalafari, Pórarinn stuttfeldr is commissioned by Árni fjoruskeifr on behalf of the king to produce a verse including a reference to Hákon Serksson and his nickname morstratr ('Suet-hood'). Forering somewhat exceeds his brief, but is accepted into Hákon's troop. He then makes amends to Hákon by composing a verse about Arni fjoruskeifr (?'Shore-crooked'), again incorporating the nickname. The verse infuriates Arni, who rushes at him, but is pacified, and Porarinn lives to declaim his poem Stuttfeldardrapa (named from the nickname he had been given the previous day; Morkinskinna pp. 385-87).

A nickname which itself commemorates a killing can provide excellent kindling for smouldering thoughts of revenge. Among the company of Norwegians cutting a way for their ships through the ice on Vænir (Lake Vänern), one tackles the task with frenzied energy. A comrade comments on the zeal of 'Hallr Kobránsbani', on hearing which a man rushes from another ship and strikes him his death blow. This is Pormoor Eindribason; he has never seen Hallr before, and was one year old when Kobrán, who was his mother's cousin, met his death (Heimskringla, Haralds sage Sigurbersoner ch. 72; Morskinkinna p. 233; the Morkinskinna writer makes it explicit that Þormóðr kills Hallr þvíat hann stopz eigi er hrosat veri vigino Koprans). Earlier in Heimskringla, the nickname of Asbjorn Selsbani forms part of an elaborate narrative of revenge. In Olafs saga helga ch. 123 his ship is sighted by his enemies. Karli says, Par sitr hann Selsbani við stýrit í blam kyrtli. Asmundr answers, Ek skal få honum rauban kyrtil, and puts his spear straight through him. Soon afterwards, Asbjorn's mother Sigrior gives the spear, and with it the duty of revenge, to Pórir hundr, who ten chapters later kills Karli with the same weapon, saying that expects Karli will recognise the spear Selshefnir.

Elsewhere the nickname is not necessarily derogatory, and is not itself a cause of contention, but it is used by a saga-author as a focus of neat repartee. After a fight scene in Eyrbyggjs sags ch. 56, Snorri gobi congratulates his nephew Kjartan frá Fróbá, 'Fram sáttir pú nú í dag, Breibvíkingrinn', to which Kjartan replies in some anger, 'Eigi parftu at bregða mér ætt minni'. The nickname (which appears not to have become 'official') alludes to Kjartan's presumed natural father, Bjorn Breiðvíkingakappi. The remaining examples of which I am aware involve terms for animals or objects which readily function as nicknames or as common nouns, and the contexts, although not necessariy violent, frequently are so. Óláfr Tryggvason sends his dog after Þórir hjortr saying, 'Vígi, tak hjortinn'. The dog duly halts Þórir, who is despatched by the king's

hallberd (Heimskringla, Óláfs saga Tryggvasonar ch. 73). This kind of wordplay is clearly akin to the play on given names which are also animal names, and the two co-occur in the climactic scene at Stiklarstabir. Finding that weapons cannot pierce borir hundr (who is protected by an enchanted coat of reindeer skin), the fated Óláfr Haraldsson shouts to Bjorn stallari 'Ber pú hundinn, er eigi bíta járn'. Þórir responds with a successful spear-thrust and the remark, 'Svá bautu vér bjornuna' (Óláfs sage helgs ch. 228). Grim humour of a similar kind is found in an episode Guamundar saga (AM 657 c 40). In the midst of a battle, Bessi Vermundarson rushes forward, demanding the whereabouts of Ogmundr sneis (whose nickname refers to a skewer, especially for sausages). Naddr, a supporter of Qgmundr, replies, Pat er líkara, Mó-Bessi, at pú hittir oddinn á hjalta sneisinni íswordl, áðr sjá dagr líði af, ok ósýnna, at pú sneisir mör pinn optarr på er it skilit'. Bessi kills Naddr, but Ogmundr now enters the scene and quickly fulfils his own prediction that Bessi won't have long to boast of the killing. The narrator comments wrily, do Bessi par, ok fann svá sneis, er hann leitaði um daginn þá er þeir Naddr tölubust vib um daginn [sic] (Biskupa sögur I 568-69).

The incidents noted so far in this section illustrate the way that the latent force of established nicknames can be released within a narrative where human sensibilities are raw. When the actual process of nicknaming is brought before our eyes the effect can be still more powerful. The hero's nickname, itself produced by a small incident, becomes the the startingpoint for the entire action of Porsteins pattr stangarhoggs. Deliberately wounded by his rival at a horse-fight, the essentially reasonable borsteinn is prepared to overlook the matter, but when his jeering enemies add insult to the injury and award him the name 'Staff-struck', this leads to sequence of goading, revenge, counter-revenge, and reconciliation which is the backbone of the tale.

The author of Njáls saga, who in general shows very little interest in nicknames, gives his hero an uncomplimentary nickname not attached to him in Landnamabók, and graphically shows its fatal effects. The bestowing of the nickname is shown in stages which are deftly worked into the account of mounting violence between the households of Gunnarr and Njáll. In ch. 20, when Njall is formally introduced, the author adds to tally of (wholly admirable attributes) the remark that honum ox eigi skegg. In ch. Hallgerer, feeling herself publicly slighted, throws a casual taunt at Bergpora about her turtle-backed nails and her husband's beardlessness (Ekki er þó kosta munr með ykkr Njáli: þú hafir kartnagl á hverjum fingri, en hann er skegglauss). Bergpora retorts that Hallgerbr's previous husband, Porvaldr, was not beardless, but she arranged his slaying nevertheless. Some time later, Hallgerör refers to Njáll as karl inn skegglausi (ch. 41), and soon afterwards, during the uneasy truce which follows the killing of the Njálssons' foster-father Þórðr leysingjarson, formally proposes it as a nickname to her gathered household, adding one for his sons: Kollum hann nú karl inn skegglausa, en sonu hans taðskegglinga. She calls upon Sigmundr, a victous rogue, and killer of Þórðr, to make verses about the names, which he gladly does, though they are not quoted in the saga. Gunnarr, overhearing the malicious laughter which results, furious, and when the news of the insult reaches Bergaorshvall it provides the final spur to revenge (ch. 44). The dangerous potency of the nicknames is not exhausted, however. Their originator, Hallgerbr, flings them, curselike, directly at the Njálssons in her final appearance (ch. 91), but more than this, they form part of the climax of the scene at the Alping which directly provokes the burning of Njáll and his family. Flosi, seeing a silk robe among the pile of money and goods offered as compensation for the death of Hoskuldr brainsson, gets no reply to his demand who gave it. Skerphedinn asks him who he thinks was the donor. 'Ef pu vill pat vita',

says Flosi, 'pá mun ek segja pér, hvat ek ætla: pat er min ætlan, at til hafi gefit faðir pinn, karl inn skegglausi, pví at margir vitu eigi, er hann sjá, hvárt hann er karlmaðr eða kona'. Skarpheðinn responds at first calmly, then with abuse so obscene that all hope of reconciliation is kicked away as Flosi knocks down the heap of compensation (ch. 123; see further Dronke 1981, esp. pp. 11-13 and 21). In these scenes, as in the Morkinskinna anecdotes about Haraldr Sigurðarson (to say nothing of the case of Refr inn ragi, Ström 1974, 19), the charge of effeminacy implicit in the nickname, and its association with the making of slanderous verses, show the abusive nickname for precisely what it is: a form of nfð.

6. Conclusion - some comparisons

The Icelandic sagas have much to tell about nicknaming practices in the Viking Age and beyond - about the possible types of nicknames, the people who gave and received and gave them, the reasons why they did so, and more - and this is, in a general way, of great value to onomastic study, although the sagas cannot necessarily be relied upon for specifics. There are, meanwhile, many ways in which the nicknames enrich saga prose, and three in particular have been discussed above. Nicknames occasion anecdotes about their origins, especially in accounts of the settlement of Iceland; they provide a focus for the exploration of character; and the giving or using of a name, especially a derogatory one, can itself play a dynamic part in the action of a saga.

Some of the anecdotes of nickname origins may be very old, even if not historically true. They may not have the advantage of practical utility to encourage their accurate preservation, in the way that traditions about the settlement and later ownership of land do (Jakob Benediktsson, Landamabók, p. c.xxix), but it seems likely that questions about the curious nicknames of ancestors should have been asked down the generations, and stories told in answer to these. It may therefore be reasonable to see tales about nickname origins as one of the forms that oral tradition could take, alongside genealogies, narratives attached to verses, anecdotal place-name etymologies, and stories arising from material objects (on which, see Perkins 1989).

Nicknames, and the narratives built around them, are in some ways a counterpart, at a humble level, of the verses which are quoted so abundantly in the sagas. They are a manifestation of a lively verbal creativity which breaks through the normally quite unambitious vocabulary and nomenclature of saga prose. Some of them, such as skaldaspillir, austmannaskelfir, gullberi or eykyndill, are formally and semantically reminiscent of common types of kenning, and if broad definitions of both byname and kenning are employed, the two systems range similarly from the literal ((Karl) inn mærski cf. Mæra gramr/hilmir/pengill, or (Hallr) Kobránsbani cf. bani Belja, a kenning for Freyr) to the metonymic and metaphorical ((Hrærekr) sløngvanbaugi cf. bauga sløngvir, baugskyndir etc., referring to a (generous) prince or man, (Jórunn) mannvitsbrekka cf. menbrekka, 'necklace-slope' hence 'woman'). The analogy is not complete, however, not least because the system of kennings is much more stereotyped than the nicknames, and indeed the nicknames are attached to individuals in a much more intimate and idiosyncratic way (e.g. hvalmagi, hestageldir). In society, nickname-giving and verse-making fulfil similar functions, representing public awards of praise, more or less affectionate acceptance, or biting defamation. Like skaldic verses, these names can encapsulate moments of history, grand or trivial: Margrét fribkolla marries Magnus berfettr to seal a peace with the Swedish King Ingi (Magnuss saga berfætts ch. 15); Pétr byrðarsveinn carries the five-year-old King Sigurðr

at an assembly (Haraldssona saga ch. 9). In prose works, the nicknames are sometimes used to corroborate and epitomise a narrative (e.g. Þórólfr smjor), rather in the manner of a skaldic quotation, and something of the more dynamic role of skalds and their verses is shared when the bestowing of a new nickname or the use of an old one forms the kernel of a dramatically presented scene, much as a lausavisa frequently does.

To conclude, the nicknames of medieval Scandinavia are fascinating in their own right, many of them linguistic *jeux d'esprit* which cast glints of light on lives otherwise dark to us; and in the hands of tradition-makers and saga-writers they play a modest but often memorable role in the shaping of stories about the past.

NOTES

General note: Because of limitations on time and bibliographical resources at the time of writing, parts of this paper are of a provisional nature. Limitations of space prevent the inclusion of full source-references for all the nicknames mentioned, but they can be traced through Lind 1921.

- I use the term 'given name' in preference to 'forename', 'first', 'Christian' or 'baptismal name'.
- 2. 'Nickname' is cognate with ON auknafn: cf. OE ēac 'also' + nama. It is formed through misdivision of ME an ekename, cf. 'Neekname or eke name: Agnomen' in the fifteenth-century Promptorium Parvulorum
- It is very difficult to judge the relative likelihood of a particular name being derived from a byname or being an original given name: see, e.g., Janzén 1947, 39-57.
- 4. Ketill's name is explained in Fornmanna sögur I 251: Hann var vel kristinn; pvi kollubu helbingjar hann Ketil inn fiflska. The alternative name inn fiskni which is ascribed to Ketill in Laxdæla saga is thought to be a later effort at improving the name (Laxdæla sags ch. 1 and n. 5).
- 5. Three sons of Olvir are named in $Grettis\ saga,$ and his descendants were many and distinguished (ch. 3 and p. 7 n. 3).
- 6. It is this ambiguous status of bynames which presents a dilemma to translators of sagas, who have to choose whether to translate them or not, and for writers of discussions such as the present one, who have to choose whether to italicise them, place them in quotation marks, or neither.
- 7. There is some confusion over this character and his name in the sources: see Landn'amab'ok p. 284, n. 2.
- 8. As with nicknames, it is most often the (supposedly) incident-derived place-names which are the subject of explanatory narratives (e.g. Dogurðarnes and Kambsnes in Laxdæla saga ch. 5 and Landnamabók ch. 97). The place-names such as Rauðamel or Breiðafjorðr which are, in parallel with nicknames, 'character-describing' scarcely need explanation.
- 9. Compare the examples of skaldic 'snapshots' given by Frank (1978, 25).

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