

## STRUCTURE IN THE *GISLA: UNDINNA ÞÆTTIR*

Some attention has been paid both to the esthetic structure of Icelandic sagas in general<sup>1</sup> and to that of *Gisla Saga Surssonar* in particular.<sup>2</sup> Much has been said about the Icelandic ethos and more has been said about the historical facts of the sagas – whether about the historicity of the events or the history of the texts. Still, if an understanding rather than a mere appreciation of the sagas is to be desired, we have not done as well by the sagas as we all feel they deserve. Andersson's six-part schema of saga action does fit the major sagas, including the *Gisla*, and helps the reader establish esthetic markers, but it does not deal with the intricacy and multiplicity of narrative strands which face the reader of any saga.

Perhaps, then, it is appropriate to look for structural metaphors which are native to Scandinavia. The visual art of Scandinavia, particularly during the time the sagas were being composed, delights in nothing more than interlaced strands: even when stories or animals are presented, they are surrounded by interlace. Moreover, the linearity of the visual art finds an echo in the Old Norse literary concept of the *þátrr*, a word whose primary meaning is "strand" but which came to designate a genre which is somewhat comparable to the modern short story.<sup>3</sup>

Past studies, including Anna C. Kersberger<sup>4</sup> and Wolfgang Lange,<sup>5</sup> have seen the *þátrr* as the basic unit of saga composition, but two major flaws have weakened their arguments in recent years. On the one hand, the notion of *þátrr* usually formed part of an argument advocating the free-prose theory of saga origins: the *þátrr* was supposed to be a basic narrative unit which could be separated from the whole narrative. When the inadequacies of the free-prose theory became manifest, the sagas' oral building blocks, the *þættir*, went with them. On the other hand, those students who discuss the merits of the surviving *þættir* as examples of an independent narrative genre quite reasonably played down any notion which would suggest the limitations or even the insignificance of their chosen subject.

The first objection was invited by the nature of the larger argument to which the discussion of *þættir* contributed. It seems reasonable to suggest that the existence of *þættir*, however understood, need not imply any theory of saga origins but can be envisioned within the theoretical framework either of free-prose or of book-prose. Anthony Foulkes indicates a possible way around the second objection in his Introduction to *Two Icelandic Stories: Hreidars þátrr, Orms þátrr*.<sup>6</sup> Although he establishes the later form as a genre, he notes that *þátrr* originally means "strand" and draws a parallel between the *þátrr* and the epic lay at the same time that he urges that the *þátrr* not be confused with the oral tale.

The problem with both approaches is their assumption of the inviolability of a genre. Surely, whatever one's opinion of saga origins, it should

not seem inconceivable that the idea of *þáttir*, as applied to narrative, should have originated as a metaphor for a single line of narrative, as indeed we speak of “following the thread” of a story. Nor should it be surprising to see such masters of ornamentation as the Norse take pleasure in elaborating a single narrative thread into the independent and self-contained *þættir* which we now have.

The notion of *þáttir* as simply a narrative strand of whatever provenance, moreover, makes sense of the sort of imagery scholars customarily use in describing the texture of the saga. Einar Oláfur Sveinsson<sup>7</sup> attests to the interconnection of all the events in the saga, while I. R. Maxwell<sup>8</sup> notes that the *Njála* has “something almost geometrical about it” in the course of a defense of its unity which is filled with images of weaving. A. Margaret Arent Madelung’s study of the *Laxdoela* sees its structure in terms of symmetrical repetitions and variations, while Culbert Taylor<sup>9</sup> notes that the conflicts of the *Gisla* are “intertwined.” Reinhard Prinz<sup>10</sup> develops the notion of multiple narrative strands, which Axel Olrik and others had suggested before him,<sup>11</sup> in discussing the saga. The most fundamental study of the structure of the sagas as we now have them has been Theodore Andersson’s reading<sup>12</sup> because it finds a plot structure common to all the sagas. His scheme orients the reader in an extraordinarily complex genre and is clearly useful and valid.

The structure of *Gisla Saga Surssonar* has received considerable praise,<sup>13</sup> and has already been treated very neatly, with the sort of technique which Andersson simplified and generalized, by Frans Seewald in his *Die Gisla Saga Surssonar*.<sup>14</sup> Seewald elegantly divides the narrative into parallel and balanced blocks which show the precise symmetry of the saga’s action. Because both Andersson and Seewald discuss narrative blocks, their arguments fail, by the very nature of the case, to touch the linearity inevitable in narrative. Thus, their discussions are indispensable maps of the terrain but do not show the routes through it. Perhaps, then, it is appropriate to notice the narrative strands which present themselves. Ultimately, this may allow a view of the *Gisla* an interwoven fabric of *þættir* all sorts which rests upon Seewald’s narrative units. Earlier studies have, then, prepared the way for a structural analysis of the *Gisla* which includes remarkably symmetrical repetitions of episodes and narrative threads. Clearly it is almost time to look at the saga.<sup>15</sup>

First, by way of investigating our metaphor, a few comments on the art of interlace. More than any of its contemporaries, Scandinavian interlace<sup>16</sup> exists for its own sake. In it, even when an eye appears to announce an animal interlace the rest of the animal virtually disappears unless we are to think only of interlaced serpents, in which case only the eye allows the viewer to differentiate between a serpent and a decorated

thread. The interlace seems a two dimensional representation of a rope or a piece of braid whose strands appear and disappear symmetrically. Where the three dimensional object works in new threads almost invisibly into the whole, the two-dimensional representation incessantly breaks lines in order to suggest the continuity of the interlace. In both, the eye meets small perfectly symmetrical units which form a new self-contained unity. Its very existence is paradoxical: the threads which construct it are introduced and disappear invisibly, though some of them are always visible. Their art is supremely deceptive: the eye can hardly follow the threads, though it can deny neither their existence nor their continuity. All the threads which contribute to the pattern no longer exist independently, however visible they may be. The pattern is a whole, strangely simple despite its manifest complexity.

As the strands which make up a braid or rope vary in size, so too do the strands of saga narrative. The smallest, in fact, exist mainly to give the piece its texture. This level of narrative includes those characteristic turns of speech which so much comfort the advocates of the free-prose theory: all the sentences which begin “Maðr het . . . ok . . .,” “. . . het maðr ok . . .,” “Nu er þat fyrst at segja . . .,” and those thumbnail characterizations which the rest of the saga develops. Within the *Gisla*, the names of characters play a similar role. The interplay of secondary characters underlie that of the main characters so that many characters appear for large parts of the saga, though only a few, like Gest Oddleifsson, appear throughout the action. His role, though secondary, is particularly important because he sounds the note of fate which Gisli, then the narrator, then the dream women echo and because he is consistent in his support of Gisli.

One of the most interesting, confusing, and even maddening characteristics of the *Gisla* is its relentless repetition of personal names. By the end of the saga, the patient reader has met two characters with each of the following names: Ari, Gisli, Harvard Ref, Sigurd, Thora, Thorbjorn, Thord, Thorgerd, Thorir, Thorodd, Thorstein and Vesteinn, not to mention a Holmgang-Skaggi and a Skegg-Bjalfi, and Aud and an Audbjorg, a Gudrid and a Gudrun, and a Kol, a Bjorn, and a Kolbjorn. There are, moreover, three Thordises, four Helgis, four Thorgrims, and five Thorkells. Even allowing for a paucity of personal names and the onomastic habits of small traditional societies, this is surely a bit much, particularly since members of some of the doublets and triplets play similar roles in different parts of the saga.

When the saga opens, the first Ari is the first man married and killed in the saga, while the second one ends the cycle of vengeance in Norway and returns to Iceland to father a race: then the saga closes. Two of the Helgis are in Vestein’s line and both support Gisli, while Vestein’s son avenges his father; Helgi Ingjaldsson helps Gisli escape in an episode which recalls the death of Thord the coward, but the fourth Helgi is the

spy who pursues Gisli throughout his outlawry and is finally killed by him. The first Ref satirizes Gisli’s manhood in Norway, while the second saves his life by hiding him under his wife’s bedding and sets the tongue of that vituperative wife loose on the pursuers. Some of the other repetitions are simply matters of naming practice, but the actions of namesakes either parallel each other or are diametrically opposed. The travels of the most spectacularly shared name, Thorkell, contribute to the saga’s main action: the series of killings leading up to the deaths of Gisli and the avengers, and that action’s main motive, honor.

Many of the repetitions, particularly the doublets, mark the generations of a family, either within a blood family, as in the pairs of Gisli, Aris, and Thorkells in Gisli’s family and the Vesteinns and Helgis of Vestein’s family. The two Thoras who are mothers of two women named Thordis provide parallels between the family of Gisli and the family Thordis marries into, while Thordis is the mother of Thorkell’s wife. Even when the names do not denote blood kinship, their repetition invites the reader to see them as connected, though it does not allow mechanical equations. These strands, like the carefully paralleled episodes, provide the texture of the sagas, but not its most basic structure. For that we must look to its basic themes and characters.

The *Gisla* certainly is the story of Gisli, but its context is his family, even though the account of Gisli’s outlawry largely excludes them. The first five chapters of the saga, the time preceding the aborted blood-brotherhood, establishes the themes of the saga and the character and motives of Gisli’s family. The first Gisli avenges the death of his brother who died to defend his wife’s honor against the neighborhood berserker, but that wife’s honor is less than impeccable, since she makes herself thoroughly available to Gisli before she lets him borrow the magical sword which kills the berserker. He refuses to return the sword to the bondman who lent it to him, receives a mortal wound from the owner, then breaks the sword on the bondman’s skull, so they both die. The sword becomes the spear which does the two worst murders in the saga, and the motif of the double death reappears when Vesteinn (Ch. 12) stops a fight which might have ended in the death of both and in the last deed of the second Gisli, when, mortally wounded, he cleaves a man in two before falling down dead. Indeed, the futility and ignominy of the business with the sword is entirely of a piece with the incredible foolishness which starts the blood feud.

The jealous guarding of the honor of the family’s women leads, in Norway, to the fatal split between the second Gisli, our hero, and his brother Thorkell. Gisli avenges what he sees as a slight on his sister’s honor first on the suitor, who is a friend of Thorkell, then against the berserker who wanted to avenge the first suitor by killing the second. Gisli extends his support of the second suitor far enough to fight in his stead when the latter declines to pursue the feud. In the process, Gisli’s

manhood is impugned, but he starts a feud whose two house-burnings immediately precede the voyage to Iceland. The fourth and fifth chapters introduce the families in Iceland and establish the household of the two brothers with their respective brothers-in-law. Already, then, the themes and characters are largely set. The Norwegian material has shown Thorkell's hard feelings toward Gisli, though it has also shown his willingness let matters lie. Gisli's relentless sense of honor has already led to ruthless manslaughter, it is apparent that women's honor cannot be assumed, and Greyflank lies broken but waiting to make trouble.<sup>17</sup>

When Gest Oddleifsson utters the first of his many gloomy forebodings at the Althing, the reader feels no real surprise, in spite of the men's brave show of unity. Any illusion of unity is utterly dispelled when the four try to fend off the bad prediction with blood-brotherhood, since their failure to complete the rite clearly invites disaster, if only because it gives voice to their disunity. It is no surprise that the would-be blood brothers become brothers in shedding each other's blood. When Thorgrim, Thorkell's brother-in-law, is first to withdraw, then Gisli, the major actors in the coming feud are set. Vesteinn and Thorkel are more passive than the others.

The saga's account of Thorgrim's adventure in Norway immediately after the brothers' disagreement bodes ill, since it establishes his ruthlessness when he attacks men in their beds in a way which soon becomes familiar. At this point, the two sets of brothers-in-law still live together, but their voyages to Norway in separate ships presage the split between them which in turn forms the two major narrative strands of the rest of the saga. When Vesteinn goes to England on business, Gisli's exchange of tokens which will be returned only in case of imminent death indicates the likelihood that the first death will be Vesteinn's as much as it does Gisli's affection.

When the action returns to the farm, trouble is plainly on its way, especially since the characters of Thorkell and Gisli are said to be so different. The problem arises not from the cause which would seem likely, but from Thorkell's overhearing the conversation of his wife with Aud, Gisli's wife. In it, his wife admits her attachment to Vesteinn and reminds Aud that she had herself been attached to Thorgrim. Aud limits the parallel, saying she has been faithful to Gisli since their marriage, a claim which she makes good in her talk with Gisli that night and throughout the saga. Enraged, Thorkell mutters murderous threats, but his threat to divorce his wife is so easily turned aside that it is almost impossible to imagine him taking the sort of action his words suggest.<sup>18</sup> With the sharp differentiation between the good and the bad woman, moreover, the opposition of the narrative strands increases.

The following year sees the division of the household, with Gisli noting at Yule that he is glad Vesteinn is not there. A cryptic comment, but it is plain that he knows the danger Vesteinn would be in and it warns

any reader who may not have been sure. Thorgrim and Thorkel, at the other farm, entertain Thorgrim *neb*, a sorcerer who makes a spear from Greyflank. Vesteinn returns home in an artful chapter (12) which sees various things and people trying to get him to turn back, and messengers relay news of his arrival to Saebol, the home of Thorkell. Vesteinn offers gifts to Thorkell, but they are refused, since Thorkell says he will not return them. Three nights later, Vesteinn is murdered in his bed and, because of a servant's cowardice, Gisli has to withdraw the weapon, thereby becoming liable to take vengeance. He prepares Vesteinn for burial, then sends to see what is happening at Saebol: everyone there is fully armed, especially Thorgrim. At the burial Thorgrim makes a point of tying the *Hel*-shoes for Vesteinn while Thorkell asks about Aud's sorrow. Gisli voices his suspicions about the murderer's identity, and Thorkel asks for peace between them in terms which recall their settlement after the killing of Bard in Norway. Gisli agrees, but makes it clear that he will expect similar restraint from Thorkell. The two narrative strands are distinct but the enmity between the two sets of characters keeps them in tension. Whenever they meet, trouble is inevitable.

The following spring Thorgrim expresses pleasure in Vesteinn's death, then, against Thorkell's judgment, insists on collecting the tapestry Vesteinn had tried to give him just before his death the previous Yule in order to decorate Saebol for the present Yule. At Saebol for this feast are Bork, Thorgrim's brother, and their kinsman Eyjolf the Gray, when Gisli creeps into the house and murders Thorgrim while he lies in bed next to Thordis. The sword which killed Vesteinn is revealed when Greyflank kills Thorgrim. Although we do not find out who pulled the spear from Thorgrim's body, Eyjolf is the first to speak after the murder, so it is no surprise that he becomes the chief avenger. Thorkell and Eyjolf discover Gisli in bed, but Thorkell hides the snowy shoes which would incriminate Gisli and accepts the same sort of peace which he had asked of Gisli the preceding year. Gisli secures Thorgrim's *Hel*-journey very much as Thorgrim did Vesteinn's. Bork marries Thordis, and the spring games see Gisli saying a poem which admits the murder. The funeral rituals, then, and the killers' verses reveal the identities of the killers but only obliquely.

The lives of each household comprise two major strands of narrative. The changes and personalities within each household are the threads which form the strand and, each time the two households meet, their actions interlock before everyone returns home. At this point, Thordis, who understands Gisli's confession, is obliged to avenge her husband on her brother, but Thorkell shows no resolution. He moves from the district with Thordis and Bork, but does not encourage Bork when he plans to murder Gisli. Indeed, he rides off to tell Gisli what is happening, but refuses to give Gisli substantive help. Although his feelings lead to both murders, he continues to evade his responsibilities. Certainly his

situation, like those of his brother and sister, is untenable, but his inconsistency has allowed the imbalance which necessitates the central conflict and which will prolong it. It is utterly appropriate, therefore, that his own death (Ch. 28) at the hands of Vesteinn’s sons results from his lack of caution in identifying himself to them.

Once the break between Gisli and his brother and sister is complete (Ch. 15), the first death is that of Thord, the servant who had refused to withdraw the spear from Vesteinn’s body. Whether Gisli’s gift of his cloak to Thord was a ruse or a piece of luck, the death of Thord shows the determination of Bork to kill Gisli. In the ensuing skirmish, Gisli gets a wound in the leg which distantly echoes that of Holmgang Skeggi in Ch. 2 and foreshadows the one he receives shortly before his death.

Gisli then moves out of the district against the day of his outlawry. The rest of the saga alternates between the machinations of the avengers and Gisli’s career as an outlaw, particularly his dealings with the dream women. First, Bork hires Eyjolf to kill Gisli, then Eyjolf hires spying Helgi to search him out. Gisli begins telling of his dream women, one good and one bad, who predict his future. Aud’s fidelity, along with Eyjolf’s venality, comes into play, as does the fidelity of various other women. Gisli finds refuge at home with Aud, with various distant kinsmen, including Gest Oddleifsson’s mother and his cousin Ingjald. Gisli stays in hiding with Ingjald, but is finally seen by spying Helgi. He escapes with the same ruse which had brought Thord to death. This time, Gisli acts the fool and is saved by the rowing of a bondwoman. Next, the sharp tongue of Alfdís, Ref’s wife, saves him as he lies huddled under her bedding.

The saga then moves back to Bork’s trip to the Althing to show the death of Thorkell at the hands of Vesteinn’s sons. Bork tries to prosecute the case, but Gest discounts the claim: everyone thinks that Gest helped the sons, but there is no proof. The boys go to Aud, who helps them but sends them off before she tells Gisli about them, knowing that he will not be able to bear the sight of his brother’s killers (Ch. 30). Gisli has peace for a while and tells of dreams of his good woman. Spying Helgi comes to the fore, but is foiled by a Harvard who is related to Gest. Eyjolf makes another trip to try to buy off Aud (Chs. 31-2), but gets his comeuppance from Aud, from Harvard, and from everyone who hears of it. Chapter 33 is devoted to Gisli’s dreams, which now prophesy his death. Finally the attackers come upon his hiding place while he is telling the most terrible one. Aud, Gunnhild, Vesteinn’s widow, who are with him, fight bravely but are subdued. Gisli’s final defense is properly valiant, but he is, of course, doomed.

Thordis’ reaction takes Eyjolf and Bork by surprise: she tries to kill Eyjolf and then divorces Bork on the spot. Eyjolf goes home richer but not at all pleased with how things had turned out. The last threads are tied off when Ari, the long forgotten brother of Thorkell and Gisli, kills

Berg Vesteinsson in Norway to avenge the death of Thorkell. Of the Icelandic families, only Helgi survives to go off to Greenland. Aud and Gunnhild sail off to Denmark, Christianity, and Rome; the faithful servants do well in Norway, and Ari moves to Iceland.

The major threads of the second half of the saga differ from those of the first because of Gisli's isolation and then lack of immediate family feelings in the household at Saebol. Where violated honor and personal animus had motivated the killings of Vestein and Thorgrim in the first section, personal motives are less clear in the second. Eyjolf's interest in money argues against any exalted motive, while Bork is no more admirable than Thorkell: their activities are intertwined. Gisli's help comes from quarters that would be completely unexpected but for earlier parallels. Thematically, the good and bad dream women echo the ambiguity of the opening chapters, while the real women provide most of his support. Certainly the help of Aud and Gunnhild was to be expected, but that of Gest's mother could hardly have been, but for her kinship to Gisli's most consistent supporter. Vestein's sons come, apparently out of nowhere, to kill Thorkell, while Ingjald, who shelters him on an island, is only a cousin. Even so, the recurring dreams and the way the later episodes parallel the earlier ones maintain the saga's unity of action and structure and generalize the conflict to the wider society. The end of the blood feud returns the society and the saga to the single strand which began the saga.

The opening chapters of the saga, then, introduce threads of all sizes which weave through the saga in a baffling symmetry. The history of the first generation provides numerous strands which are worked into the theme of the splitting and near destruction of Whey-Thorbjorn's line. When the split occurs, one complex of threads centers on Gisli and his household, while the other centers on Gisli's antagonists in the house of his brother Thorkell, whose own vacillations weave the two major strands together. Once established, whenever the two major strands meet, someone dies.

Whatever one wants to do with the theories of saga origins or of old Icelandic literary genres, the *þáttir*, understood as a narrative strand, provides a metaphor which allows the discussion of the amazingly balanced and parallel yet maddeningly linear structure of the family sagas. Just as the visual art of Scandinavia delighted in interlacing strands into an almost impenetrable but intricately worked surface, so the author of the *Gisla* interlaced all manner of narrative strands to produce beautiful shapes which turn in on themselves. Even though no Icelander has said it, the art of the *Gisla* can be said in large measure to be that of *undinna þáttir*, woven threads.



## Notes

1. Especially Theodore M. Andersson, *The Icelandic Family Saga: an Analytic Reading* (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard U.P., 1967). Structural studies of special sagas include Margaret Arent Madelung, *The Laxdoela Saga. Its Structural Patterns* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1972); Einar Oláfur Sveinsson, *Njal's Saga, a Literary Masterpiece*, trans. Paul Schach (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1971); Richard F. Allen, *Fire and Iron: Critical Approaches to Njal's Saga* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1971); and Lars Lönnroth, *Njals Saga: A Critical Introduction* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1976). An earlier version of this paper was delivered to The Seminar on Recent Trends in Scandinavian Literary Criticism, Modern Language Association, 1980.
2. Magnus Olsen, “Om Gisla saga's opbygning,” *ANP*, 46 (1930), 150-60, repr. in *Norrøne studier* (Oslo, 1938) and Taylor Culbert, “The Construction of the *Gisla Saga*, SS, 31 (1959), 151-65; a good bibliography of the studies before 1968 appears at the beginning of Theodore M. Andersson, “Some Ambiguities in *Gisla Saga*,” *BONIS*, 1968, pp. 7-42.
3. See, for instance, Joseph C. Harris, “Genre and Narrative Structure in Some *Íslandinga þættir*, SS, 44 (1972), 1-27; Herbert S. Joseph, “The *þáttir* and the Theory of Saga Origins,” *ANF*, 87 (1972), 89-96 and “The Thattr,” Diss. Iowa, 1970.
4. “Frasagnir in de Laxdoela Saga,” *Neophilologus*, 19 (1943), 53-67.
5. “Einige Bemerkungen zur altnordischen Novelle,” *ZfdA*, 88 (1957), 150-9.
6. Viking Society for Northern Research, Text Series, Vol. 4 (London: Viking Society for Northern Research, 1968), pp. 1-5.
7. *Njal's Saga: a Literary Masterpiece*, trans. Paul Schach (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1971), esp. pp. 50-55.
8. “Pattern in *Njal's Saga*,” *Saga-Book*, 15 (1957-9), 17-47.
9. “The Construction of the *Gisla Saga*,” SS, 31 (1959), 151-65.
10. *Die Schöpfung der Gisla Saga Surssonar ein Beitrag zur Entstehungsgeschichte der isländischen Saga*. Veröffentlichungen der Schleswig-Holsteinischen Universitäts Gesellschaft, Nr. 45; Schriften der Baltischen Kommission zu Kiel, Bd. 24 (Breslau: F. Hirt, 1935), esp. pp. 91-100. The particulars of Prinz' argument differ from that of the present paper, however.
11. “Episke Love i Folkedigtningen; *Danske Studier*, 18, pp. 69-89; Germ. trans. by the author, “Epische Gesetze der Volksdichtung,” *ZfdA*, 51 (1909), 1-12 and *Nogle Grundsætninger for sagaforskning* (København: Det Schonbergske Forlag, 1921), p. 68.
12. *The Icelandic Family Saga: an Analytic Reading*, Harvard Studies in Comparative Literature, 28 (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1967).
13. Magnus Olsen, “Om Gislas sagas opbygning,” *ANF*, 46, (1930), 150-60; Theodore Andersson, “Some Ambiguities” and *Icelandic Family Saga*, pp. 176-85.
14. Diss. Göttingen, 1934.
15. The text will be cited from the version of AM 556a and AM 445c in *Gisla Saga Surssonar*, pp. 1-118 in *Vestfirðinga Sögur*, Björn K. Þólfsson og Guðni Jonsson gafu út, Íslenzk Fornrit við bindi (Reykjavik: Hið Íslenzka Fornritafelag, 1943); translations from *The Saga of Gisli*, trans. George Johnston, notes by Peter Foote (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1963, repr. 1973).
16. The principle of interlace in medieval art as it can be applied to narrative art has already been established for Anglo-Saxon by John Leyerle, “The Interlace Structure of *Beowulf*,” *UTQ*, 37 (1967-8), 1-17; and for Arthurian romance by, more recently, Eugene Vinaver. *The Rise of Romance* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1971), Ch. 5, pp. 68-98.
17. Cf. Anderson, “Some Ambiguities in the *Gisla Saga*,” cited above
18. Pace Holtsmark.