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CLOTHING, TEXTILES, AND TEXTILE WORK IN *SNÆFELLINGASÖGUR*  
- a comprehensive analysis

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## **Foreword**

I would like to extend my utmost gratitude to everyone who made this thesis possible.

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## Abbreviations

<i>Bj</i>	<i>Bjarnar Saga Hítðælakappa</i> , Guðni Jónsson and Sigurður Nordal, eds., ÍF III
<i>Brð</i>	<i>Bárðar saga Snæfellsáss</i> , Bjarni Vilhjálmsson and Þórhallur Vilmundarson, eds., ÍF XIII
CV	Cleasby and Vigússon, <i>An Icelandic-English Dictionary</i>
<i>Erb</i>	<i>Eyrbyggja saga</i> , Einar Ól. Sveinsson and Matthías Þórðarson, eds., ÍF IV
ÍF	Íslensk Fornrit
OED	Oxford English Dictionary
ONP	<i>Ordbog over det norrøne prosasprog</i> , accessed via <a href="http://onp.ku.dk">http://onp.ku.dk</a>
<i>Vgl</i>	<i>Víglundar saga</i> , Jóhannes Halldórson, ed., ÍF XIV

## 1. Introduction

“Not all texts are textiles but all textiles are texts or at least textual components.”  
(Bohn 2004)

The matter of clothing in the Icelandic sagas is not a novel subject in saga studies, as many researchers have noted the occurrence of elaborate or meaningful clothing and needlework. However, most other research known to the author has not subjected the material to a comprehensive analysis that considers all examples relating to textiles without exception.

The main aim of this thesis is to create new insight into how are clothing and other textile-related themes are included in the prose of *Snæfellingasögur* (the sagas of Snæfellsness) by subjecting all references of clothing, textiles, and textile work to an analysis and compiling a database of the material. Furthermore, this thesis explores the literary significance that these references bear and asks whether in turn, could these references contribute to the study of Viking Age or Mediaeval clothing.

The *Snæfellingasögur* are a subgroup of the Icelandic family sagas (*Íslendingasögur*), which constitute the best-known part of Icelandic Mediaeval literature. These sagas are grouped together because they (mainly) take place on the peninsula of Snæfellsnes. Four sagas (*Bárðar saga Snæfellsáss*, *Bjarnar saga Hítðælakappa*, *Eyrbyggja saga*, and *Víglundar saga*) are the main primary sources of this thesis. These texts have received little, if any, attention in previous scholarship on textiles (Roscoe 1992, Zanchi 2007).

My interest in these sagas was piqued in 2012 at the 2<sup>nd</sup> meeting of the Old Norse Folklorists Network in Tartu, which focused on the encounter with the otherworld in *Bárðar saga Snæfellsáss*. For the purposes of this thesis, Professor Daniel Sävborg put forward the idea of expanding the corpus to include all the sagas that take place at Snæfellsnes. A geographical grouping seemed appropriate as the selection spans several eras of transcribing or creating the texts and the selection of particular sagas was not in my hands. The sample set may seem meagre, yet this yielded 272 references, which proved ample for the scope of this thesis. The occurrences are

analysed firstly by the item mentioned, then the mentioned materials and colours are covered, followed by an overview of the few references to textile work.

Textiles are rarely the subject of classical saga studies or even included in the circle of themes. For example, *The Companion to Old Norse Literature and Culture* (ed. Rory McTurk, 2005) does not include material culture in its list of topics and the only place textiles are mentioned in the volume is their importance to the Mediaeval Icelandic economy, i.e. the role of women warrants a mention only in the framework of turning raw materials into products that can be exchanged for cash. To provide another example: my pursuit of a trustworthy secondary source for the description of Odin was futile, as neither of two standard works on Old Norse mythology (Lindow 2001, Simek 2006) make any mention of the garments Odin is wearing.

Even if researchers have chosen to direct their attention to textiles and sagas (Valtýr Guðmundsson 1892, Falk 1919, Roscoe 1992, Zanchi 2007), they seem to have no, or very little, experience of producing clothing, either modern or reproduction, which also leads to difficulty imagining the realities of cloth production and consumption. While I have no experience reproducing Viking Age or Mediaeval clothing, I do have extensive knowledge and experience producing clothing from the raw fleece onwards, different techniques used making cloth and bands (I have a vocational degree in textile production), as well as the work that goes into keeping a family of five clothed and their clothing mended. The importance and value of practical knowledge in theoretical research has seen a surge in recent decades and should not be underestimated (Larsson 2007: 29-37).

The thesis is divided into chapters: the following chapter gives a detailed overview of the methodology (ch. 2), followed by an overview of the individual sagas and their positions in the Old Norse-Icelandic literature (ch. 3). A brief overview of textiles and their production in the Viking Age and the Mediaeval period is given in ch. 4. Analysis of the clothing, textile, and textile references is carried out in ch. 5. The references are first analysed by item, then by material and colour. The findings of ch. 5 are collated with a closing discussion (ch. 6), followed by the conclusion (ch.7).



## 2. Methods

### 2.1. What constitutes ‘clothing’, ‘textiles’ and ‘textile work’?

“Clothing. Clothes collectively.”

“Clothes. 1. Items worn to cover the body.”

“Textiles. 1. A type of cloth or woven fabric.” (OED 2018)

The focus of this thesis will be the clothing, textiles, and textile work and their occurrences in the prose of *Snæfellingasögur*.

However, it is necessary to point out that while someone’s outfit is described, then other items, such as weaponry, have been mentioned:

“Steinþór and his men came riding up to the door; it is said that he was wearing a scarlet tunic with the front tucked up under his belt. He had a beautiful shield and a helmet; at his waist he had a splendidly ornamented sword; the hilt shone with white silver, and the grip was bound with silver wire and edged with gold. [...] [’]Steinþór of Eyr is not only a fine-looking warrior; he also spoke very well when he delivered the slave-payment.”

*Eyrbyggja saga* (1999: 347)

Here, the splendour that Steinþór is wearing only begins with the red<sup>1</sup> tunic. The weapons are even brighter, but as transpires in the subsequent battle, the sword keeps bending - there is a discrepancy between the fabulous appearance and the quality. In the following instance, the word *búnaðr* (‘outfit, equipment’) is used; the description encompasses not only clothing and weapons, but also horses and saddles:

“When these men from Breiðarfjörður came ashore there was a striking difference between the outfit of Snorri and that of Thorleif Kimbi. Thorleif bought the best horse he could find and had a magnificent coloured saddle; he carried an ornamented sword, a gold-inlaid spear and a richly-gilded, dark-blue shield. All his clothing was of the finest quality; he had spent nearly all his travel money on his apparel. Snorri, on the other hand, wore a black cloak and was riding a good black mare; he had an old trough-shaped saddle, and his weapons had little adornment. Thórodd's equipment became somewhere between those two. Everybody made fun of Snorri because of his outfit; Börk assumed that he had been unlucky with his travel money to have squandered it all.”

*Eyrbyggja saga* (1999: 291)

For the cohesion and scope of this thesis, I have chosen not to include the weaponry and animals, although they might prove interesting research subjects. The weaponry

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<sup>1</sup> The relationship between *rauð* and *skarlat* with their modern English counterparts is discussed in 5.2.9.

would have posed a practical problem: when is a weapon part of an outfit and when is it a weapon? Given the ubiquity of battle and killings in the sagas, the task of making such a division was deemed of too little value for the current research. Other metal objects and accessories, such as jewelry, armour, staffs and the like are also excluded from this thesis. However, leather and fur items are included, as are shoes, which we would expect to have been made from leather, yet the only shoes in *Snæfellingasögur* are made of iron.

Another category explored in the thesis is other textiles not worn on the body, because these often have similar functions to clothing in the narrative: either to demonstrate someone's wealth, to be exchanged, or simply to be admired by the audience. As is evident from chapter 5.1, the collective nouns *klæði*, *búnaðr*, and others were used to denote clothing and furnishings alike, which suggests these categories were merged in the mind of the saga authors. The last part of the analysis focuses on textile work.

This is also a maker-centred view, because both home textiles and clothing are made largely in the same way (fibre is collected, processed, woven into cloth and then sewn). Textiles in a pre-modern household were always hand- and often locally made, and these included not only all manner of clothing, but bed furnishings, towels, sieves, nets, bags, sails, and much more.

## **2.2. Analysis methods**

In order to create a comprehensive analysis of the textile occurrences in the sagas, I read and then marked the occurrences. These references were compiled into a database, where they were assigned a number and the saga, the chapter, and page numbers (the volumes where each text is taken from are listed in the bibliography section and ch. 3 of this thesis) were noted down. The database entry includes both the original and the translation. The entries were then tagged and divided into categories. A single sentence could be divided into several entries if it contained references to more than one item:

No.	Saga	Ch.	Old Norse	Page	English	Page	Item
148	Bj	32	Björn hafði kyrtil góðan	199	Bjorn had on a fine tunic	212	kyrtill
149	Bj	32	ok var í hosum	199	and was wearing hose,	212	hosa
150	Bj	32	ok vafit silkiræmu um fót sér, þeiri hann hafði skipt um við inn helga Ólaf konung.	199	and bound around his leg was the silk cross-garter he had got in the exchange with the blessed King Olaf.	212	reima

Table 1. Example of database entry.

This has been done to ensure that all examples of clothing, textiles, and textile work are included in the analysis and a full picture of the clothing and textiles in the prose of *Snæfellingasögur* can be compiled. The full database can be seen at Appendix 1.

I have analysed the database compiled on the basis of *Snæfellingasögur* by organising the references first by item type, then by material and colour, followed by an analysis of textile work references in order to gain further knowledge of the different settings in which textiles are mentioned in the sagas. This could mean whether the items occur in conjunction with any other items, whether they are part of a larger cluster, or whether the item has any identifiable historical or archeological counterparts.

This analysis is occasionally supplemented with examples from the sagas of Icelanders available through [www.sagadb.org](http://www.sagadb.org). This is the single database where all the sagas were available to download in complete. However, Sagadb.org does not have Old Norse source texts, but a Modern Icelandic version of the sagas. The list of sagas in the database can be found at Appendix 2.

### **3. *Snæfellingasögur***

Margaret Clunies Ross (2010: 35-36) lists 140 Old Norse-Icelandic sagas that are known to exist, of which 36 are categorised as The Sagas of Icelanders (*Íslendingasögur*). The Sagas of Icelanders comprise the most famous and most researched part of mediaeval Icelandic literature. The texts of these Sagas of Icelanders concern themselves with the lives of the Icelanders during the settlement period and the following century (c. 870-1030) (Clunies Ross 2010: 89-90). This thesis concerns itself with four of the Sagas of Icelanders, grouped geographically as The Sagas of Snæfellsness (*Snæfellingasögur*) in Guðni Jónsson's edition of the Icelandic sagas (*Íslendinga sögur - Heimskringla.no*).

One other saga, the post-reformatory Illuga saga Tagldarbana (*Illuga saga Tagldarbana - Wikipedia*), is included in the aforementioned volume, but has not been subject to a comprehensive analysis because of its late origin, lack of translation, and lack of scholarship on the text. One short story (*þáttr*) *Ævi Snorra goða* (Heimskringla.no) is printed in the Guðni Jónsson's edition. It does not include any references to textiles or clothing and is out of this thesis.

#### **3.1. *Bjarnar saga Hítðælakappa***

*Bjarnar saga Hítðælakappa* (*The Saga of Bjorn, Champion of the Hitardal People*) was probably written in the first half of the 13th century, although it is set at the beginning of the 11th century. Björn is thought to have been born in 989 and killed in 1024. The manuscripts used for the standard edition are thought to be from the 17th century (AM 551) and 14th and 18th centuries (ÍF III: LXXXVII-XCVII). In addition to the standard edition, a translation by Alison Finlay published in *The Sagas of Warrior-Poets* (2002: 151-222) was used.

The saga revolves around the drawnout conflict between two men, Björn and Thord, who are both prolific poets. The prelude says that Björn and Thord had disagreements in adolescence, but the saga is ignited by Björn's betrothal to Oddný before leaving for Norway. Björn and Thord meet in Norway and on Thord's insistence, Björn trusts him with the task of passing Oddný a ring - which had been given to Björn by the king - as a confirmation of his betrothal. Thord deceives both Björn and Oddný, and marries

Oddný. Meanwhile, Björn has travelled far and wide, won esteem, and heard the news of Oddný and Thord's marriage.

The men meet again in Denmark, where Björn robs Thord. Björn meets Thord in the court of King Ólaf and makes amends for the robbery. Before departing Norway, Björn accidentally exchanges a garter with the king and wears it for the rest of his life. The conflict between the two men becomes gradually worse even though Thord invites Björn to stay for the first winter. There is a frequent exchange of mocking verses and this is expanded to a graffito Björn erects on Thord's land.

The killing of Björn is the height of the conflict. Björn is unfortunately without his trusty sword Maering, and is left to single-handedly defend himself with mane shears against a mob of twenty-four men. His head and his neck-ring are later dragged around the farms. Seeing Björn's neck-ring causes Oddný to lose her mind and Thord is left to deal with the consequences of his actions.

### **3.2. *Eyrbyggja saga***

*Eyrbyggja saga* takes place between 884 and 1031 and was probably composed sometime in the first half of the 13th century. The manuscripts are mainly from the 14th century. (ÍF IV 1985:XXXIII-XXXIV, XLV, LVII-LXIV) In addition to the standard edition, a translation by Hermann Pálsson and Paul Edwards published in *The Icelandic Sagas* (1999: 279-384) was used.

The saga starts with a description of the events prior to Thórólf Mostrarskegg's departure for Iceland. All goes rather well until, in ch. 9, the Kjalleklings announce that "they would not wear out their shoes going to an offshore skerry for their needs" and endless feuding ensues over a few pieces of skin and basic bodily needs.

The principal character of the saga is Snorri godi, who exhibits his scheming nature when he returns from abroad in very modest garments, whereas his foster brother Thorleif Kimbi comes back in a magnificent outfit. It is later revealed that Snorri had actually deposited his travel money with his foster father and uses it to establish his own household. The plot is continually held up by revenge and counterrevenge, and closes only after the death of Snorri godi.

The saga features several scenes revolving around the supernatural, for example, the conflict between the sorceresses Geirrid and Katla, the several ghosts, most notably of Thórólf Bægifót, who come to haunt the living, berserks, as well as a curious episode of post-traumatic stress, in which Thórarin produces verse after verse about the battle he has just witnessed.

The most notable narrative in *Eyrbyggja saga* that revolves around textiles, is the story of Thórgunna. Thórgunna arrives on Iceland from the Hebrides, and is met on the ship by Thuríd, the mistress of the farm at Fródá. Thórgunna shows Thuríd her clothing, but refuses to sell any. Despite this and the terms Thórgunna sets on her coming (she will decide for herself what she will work on and with which items she will cover her upkeep), she is invited to stay. Upon her arrival at the farm, she produces a magnificent set of bedclothes from her chest, which Thuríd offers to buy, once more, and Thórgunna refuses to sell, once more. Thórgunna is said to have woven and made hay with a rake that was made specifically and only for her.

One day, an ominous cloud drifts across the sky and there is a shower of blood, which dries quickly without further ado, except from Thórgunna and her rake. Thórgunna dies a few days later. She has made arrangements with the master Thórodd about her belongings: the bed and furnishings are to be burned, Thuríd gets a scarlet cloak for compensation, and the church where she is to be buried according to Christian traditions is to get a gold ring. Despite the fact that she has come to the farm saying she will decide herself what to give Thuríd, and that she has specifically said that nothing good will come from the items afterwards, Thórodd does not burn half of the items because Thuríd convinces him otherwise. What follows is an assortment of ghosts and deaths. Among the first to die is the master himself, Thórodd. Finally, when Thuríd herself gets ill and is taken to bed (although whether or not she is using Thórgunna's set of textiles is not mentioned), her son Kjartan seeks the advice of Snorri godi. He is accompanied by a priest, they burn Thórgunna's belongings, summon the dead to a door-court, and the priest sprays holy water around the house, which brings an end to the distress, and Thuríd is saved.

### 3.3. *Bárðar saga Snæfellsáss*

*Bárðar saga Snæfellsáss* (*Bard's Saga*) probably originates from the 14th century and the earliest surviving manuscript, the Pseudo-Vatshyrna, is from the beginning of the 15th century (ÍF XIII: XCVIII-XCIX). In addition to the standard edition (ÍF XIII), Sarah M. Anderson's translation published in *The Complete Sagas of Icelanders*, vol. 2 (1997: 237-266) is used.

The saga recounts the story of Bárð, who is the son of King Dumb - said to have been descended from giants and trolls - in North Norway, but who makes his way to Iceland when Harald Fairhair becomes king (c. 872).

Bárð settles in Iceland, but he kills his half-brother Thorkell Raudfeld's son after the boy has set Bárð's daughter Helga on an icefloe and she drifts to Greenland. After this, Bárð became ill tempered and decided to retreat from the society. The saga states that he went to live in a cave and is said to have become the size of a troll with strength to match, after which he was regarded as a guardian spirit, thus called Bárð Snæfellsáss.

The saga tells of several instances in which Bárð comes to rescue people. The first concerns Ingjald who is lured out to sea by the sorceress Hetta. Another one is of Odd Önundsson who gets lost in thick fog, out of which Bárð emerges and invites him to stay with him. Odd marries Bárð's daughter Jorunn Helgadóttir.

In the next episode, Bárð again appears suddenly and stays the winter with Skeggi from Midfjord and has a son with Skeggi's daughter Thordis. Bárð's daughter Helga, who has returned to Iceland via Norway, fosters the boy named Gest for twelve years. Gest spends the following winter with his mother and is raised by his father who comes to collect him (in exchange for "a handsome set of women's clothing" (*Bard's saga* 1977: 253), no less).

At the end of ch. 13, Gest becomes the main character of the saga. He eventually makes his way to Norway, where he becomes a part of King Ólaf Tryggvason's (ruled c. 960 to 1000) court. At Christmas, a startling vision of king Raknar appears and promises to award his treasures to anyone who dares to take them. The king equips Gest with - among other things - forty pairs of iron shoes lined with down, a length of

cloth to wrap himself in when entering the burial mound, a candle, and a sword that will bite at the right moment. In the burial mound, Gest promises to adopt Christianity, if he gets out alive. He returns to Norway to the court with the treasures, and is promptly baptised. Bárd appears to Gest in his sleep and presses on his eyes. Gest loses his eyes in horrible pain the next day and dies.

### **3.4. *Víglundar saga***

*Víglundar saga* (*Víglund's Saga*) was most probably composed no earlier than the 14th century, but the saga itself takes place in the 10th century. The saga is preserved in two manuscripts, one from the 15th century and the other from the 15th or the 16th century (ÍF XIV: XXIII-XXIV, XXXII). In addition, the translation by Marianne Kalinke published in *The Sagas of Warrior-Poets* (2002: 223-268) was used.

The first six chapters of the saga cover the story of Thorgrim and Ólof, Víglund's parents, in Norway, touching on how Ólof was the precious and well-educated daughter of an earl, how Thorgrim was the illegitimate son of another earl, but a man who had gained high esteem in the king's court, and how they elope to Iceland. Thorgrim and Ólof take a girl called Ketilrid into their custody because her own mother would not teach her any handicrafts. Ketilrid and Víglund fall in love, but Ketilrid's brothers Jokul and Einar try constantly to disrupt the situation.

After some elaborate scheming, Ketilrid is reluctantly married to a Norwegian called Hakon, but he is killed by Víglund shortly thereafter. The battle takes its toll on Víglund and his brother Trausti, so they are forced into hiding for a full year followed by their departure to Norway. Before their departure, the brothers visit Ketilrid and she declares her love for Víglund to her father.

Ketilrid is married off to an older man called Thord. Víglund and Trausti end up on Thord's farm upon their return to Iceland using aliases, but their identities are no secret to Ketilrid. At the same time, Ketilrid conceals her identity with a veil across her face, but she is exposed soon enough. Víglund wants to kill Thord, but is stopped by Trausti.

In the final chapter, Thord leaves the farm and returns with many more people,



including Thorgrim, Ólof and Ketilrid's father Holmkel. Ketilrid has prepared everything for the wedding they are about to hold with Thord. However, Thord now reveals that he is in fact Thorgrim's brother and he has maintained this unconsumated marriage for the sake of Viglund and Ketilrid's love. Two other love marriages were promptly arranged and all three pairs wedded.

## 4. Textiles and textile production

What would have the saga characters have worn? The question is a difficult one to answer for several reasons. Firstly, the period of the saga events, the period of the alleged transcribing and the period in which the preserved manuscripts were created, span several centuries. Secondly, the primary sources give an incomplete picture of clothing and rarely do they reflect upon the everyday clothing, which would have been most common. The complete garments, even if found, do not form a complete costume. Thirdly, the Mediaeval Icelandic literature is often used as a secondary source when Viking Age or Mediaeval clothing is studied, which can lead to tautological conclusions.

All textile production was done by hand - even if it was made by professionals and/or made somewhere else -, which in turn meant that an item's worth was in direct relation to the cost of production, a notion that is easy for the modern researcher to forget. A finer fabric has more threads per centimetre, which means there are more metres of thread per unit of fabric, and spinning the thread took considerable time. Weaving a finer fabric would also have taken longer because of the set-up, as well as because of the number of picks (passes of the weft thread).

For a rough comparison: archaeological finds in Iceland, which we can take to be *vaðmál* (woollen cloth produced at home), typically have 8-12 warp threads and 4-10 weft threads per centimetre (Hayeur Smith 2015: 33), while the finds from Viking Age Birka include fragments of wool cloth with 28-60 warp threads and 12-17 weft threads per centimetre (Geijer 1983: 82). In other words, between 2.8 and 6 threads per millimetre, which would make a very fine fabric. A square metre of *vaðmál* would use approximately 1800 metres of yarn, whereas a reconstruction of the Birka fabrics would use between 4200 and 7700 metres of yarn. A finer yarn needs more twist than a coarser yarn, which adds to the spinning time. As stated earlier, the fabric itself would take longer to weave as well.

The spinning was done using a spindle, but before this could commence the raw material needed to be raised (flax) or reared (wool, silk), and processed (retted and

hackled for flax; shorn or plucked, sorted, scoured, and combed for wool). If the material was dyed, the dye material needed to be collected or grown, the fibre needed to be mordanted in most cases and only then could be dyed. After the weaving, most fabrics would have undergone at least some finishing, such as fulling and shearing, before being cut and subsequently sewn. The garment could then have been further embellished or left as it was.

Contrary to the modern situation, most people knew exactly where, how, and by whom their garments and other associated textiles were created. Owning or receiving items that were of exotic origin was the utmost luxury, as opposed to the current market where the bulk of textiles are produced in Asia, and making your own clothes to whatever extent (or having them made locally from locally sourced materials) is considered a luxury.

Another modern trend is zero waste garment making, which in fact was the default method of pattern cutting in premodern times as cloth was expensive (Pritchard 2003: 372). In the same vein, using larger amounts of cloth for a garment or having a multitude of (or any) garments to choose from was a display of status. The same goes for other textiles - bedclothes are not essential for survival and are another display of the wealth of a household. Wealth and status played a far more significant role in determining the nature of textiles than geography (Ewing 2006: 11).

Bender Jørgensen (2003: 138) states that almost all knowledge of Viking Age costume relies on the findings from Birka and Hedeby. Both were trading centres, but in Birka rich graves with precious textiles were studied and in Hedeby a harbour area where rags of clothing that had been used for tarring and caulking were excavated.

According to the Birka finds, a wealthy Viking Age woman would have worn “a pleated linen shift, a pinafore dress held by tortoise brooches, a kaftan jacket, and a shawl” (Bender Jørgensen 2003: 138). This would amount to three layers of wool and one layer of linen, but more layers would certainly have been added according to weather conditions. The description does not mention any kind of leg coverings, yet these would have been indispensable.

The male costume was more elaborate, if means permitted (Larsson 2008: 182). The men wore breeches, hose, garters, shirts, tunics, and cloaks (Ewing 2006: 71-130).

## 5. Analysis

The four *Snæfellingasögur* contain 272 references to clothing, textiles, and textile work in total. These references have contributed 91 terms to the analysis, which on the one hand shows how specialized clothing terminology was; on the other hand, this does not allow any solid generalisations to be made, as each term has so few occurrences.

Saga	Number of references	Number of words in the saga <sup>2</sup>	Percentage of references	Number of words divided by number of references
<i>Bjarnar saga</i>	51	20552	0.25%	403
<i>Eyrbyggja saga</i>	117	39630	0.30%	339
<i>Bárðar saga</i>	62	13381	0.46%	216
<i>Víglundar saga</i>	42	12662	0.34%	301
<b>Total</b>	<b>272</b>			

Table 2. References to clothing, textiles, and textile work in *Snæfellingasögur*.

The table above shows the distribution of usable references in each saga and the proportion of references to the saga's word count. The table shows that the number of references is the highest in *Bárðar saga* (one reference per 216 words on average) and the lowest in *Bjarnar saga* (one reference per 403 words on average).

Character	Label in database	Number of occurrences	Percentage of occurrences
Male	M	168	62%
Female	F	83	30%
Male and female	T	16	6%
Cross-dressing	CD	3	1%
Unspecified	N/A	2	1%
<b>Total</b>		<b>272</b>	

Table 3. The gender of characters associated with references to clothing, textiles, and textile work in *Snæfellingasögur*.

Table 3 above shows that most items and textile-related activity mentioned in *Snæfellingasögur* are related to men (62%). A little over half of the references that occur in relation to women (42 of 83) are in fact from the story of Thórgunna in *Eyrbyggja saga*. Which means that in general, if a textile or related work is mentioned, then it is, in all likelihood in conjunction with a male character.

Furthermore, of the 24 different garments and accessories mentioned, 15 belong to

<sup>2</sup> Counted from the sagadb.org Modern Icelandic version

male characters, 6 are associated with female characters, and 3 are worn by both sexes. The male items constitute virtually the whole set of clothing: a shirt, a tunic, breeches, hose and several types of overgarment. The ordinary women are presented with the following items: a shirt, a veil, and a mantle. Sorceresses wear several types of headpiece and a cloak, plus a man is described as wearing a linen headpiece.

This tendency to focus on male items or actions is exemplified in the case of women's rooms (see 5.7), which are most often mentioned when men are present in the scene; no mention of purposeful work typically carried out there is made.

## 5.1. General references to outfit and textiles

### 5.1.1. *Klæði* and *klæða*

The most common word to describe clothing and other textiles in general in *Snæfellingasögur* is *klæði*. The usage, however, is divided between two meanings: garment (31 instances) and stuff or cloth (5 instances). The nature of *klæði* cannot be inferred from the context on two occasions.

Examples of *klæði* in the sense of 'garment, clothing' are divided into subcategories, which overlap at times, but are introduced in order to make the analysis easier to follow.

No	Saga	Ch	Old Norse	Page	English	Page
65	<i>Vgl</i>	5	á klæði Gríms.	69	on Grim's raiment	230
108	<i>Bj</i>	7	einn yztan klæða.	128	on over his clothes.	164
116	<i>Bj</i>	9	Ok Björn gekk til klæða sinna fyrr en aðrir menn,	134	And when Bjorn went to his clothes before other people,	168
118	<i>Bj</i>	9	hjá klæðum konungs,	134	beside the king's clothes,	168
134	<i>Bj</i>	19	at klæðum.	166	clothed.	189
154	<i>Bj</i>	33	ok var niðr lagðr með klæðum	207	He was buried with his clothes	217
198	<i>Erb</i>	40	tók þá at frysta honum klæðin,	110	and now his clothes began to freeze.	340
209	<i>Erb</i>	45	þeir tóku bæði árar ok þiljur ór skipinu ok lögðu þar eptir á ísinum, ok svá klæði sín	126	They took the oars and benches out of the boat and left them on the ice with their clothing	350
210	<i>Erb</i>	45	siðan gengu þeir eptir klæðum sínum	126	Then they started back for their clothing	350

211	<i>Erb</i>	45	tóku þeir Steinþórr þá ferð mikla út eptir firðinum til klæða sínna	126	they began running very fast across the fjord to get to their clothing	350
217	<i>Erb</i>	45	at þér hafið klæði svá þröng, at eigi verðr af yðr komit."	129	Your clothes are so tight-fitting that they will not come off.'	353
245	<i>Erb</i>	51	ok lagði af sér klæðin þau hin blóðgu;	140	she took off her blood-soaked clothing	359
265	<i>Erb</i>	54	þeir skóku klæðin ok hreyttu moldinni á þá þórodd	149	They shook it out of their clothing	363
270	<i>Erb</i>	60	Álfr litli hafði legið í klæðum sínum;	164	fully dressed	373
272	<i>Erb</i>	63	gekk Glæsir at honum ok daunsnaði um hann ok sleikði um klæði hans,	172	Glæsir went over to him and sniffed at him and licked his clothing,	378

Table 4. *Klæði* in the sense of 'clothes' in *Snæfellingasögur*.

Out of the 31 instances in which the word *klæði* has been used to denote clothing, 15 are used to refer to clothing as such with no further elaboration.

No	Saga	Ch	Old Norse	Page	English	Page
48	<i>Brð</i>	10	Váru þá dregin af Oddi vosklæði	135	Odd's clothes were pulled off	250
139	<i>Bj</i>	27	Eigi varu þar eldar gǫrvir né skipt um klæði, ok váru þeir vatnir ok frørnir.	184	There were no fires made there and no change of clothes was offered, although they were wet and frozen.	201
144	<i>Bj</i>	27	Siðan lét Björn gera elda mikla ok bað Þorstein baka sik ok þurrka klæði sín.	186	Then Bjorn had great fires made, and told Thorstein to toast himself and dry his clothes.	203
260	<i>Erb</i>	51	gengu síðan til stofu ok fóru af klæðum sínum ok ætluðu at vera þar um nótt matlausir,	143	then they went into the main room and took off their clothes, intending to spend the night there without food.	360
262	<i>Erb</i>	51	Eptir þetta var gort ljós í stófu ok dregin af gestum klæði þau, er vát váru, en fengin önnur þurr í staðinn.	144	A lamp was now lit in the living-room, and the visitors were helped out of their wet clothes and given dry ones instead.	361
271	<i>Erb</i>	61	Snorri bað hann þar vera um nóttina í náðum; váru þá tekin klæði þrándar.	166	Snorri asked him to stay the night and rest, and he was helped out of his clothes.	374

Table 5. *Klæði* as part of hospitality in *Snæfellingasögur*.

In 6 instances, clothes in general are mentioned as part of hospitality. In the cases of *Eyrbyggja saga*, ch. 61 and *Bárðar saga*, ch. 10, the host is acting as is expected of him,

whereas in *Bjarnar saga*, ch. 27 and *Eyrbyggja saga*, ch. 51, the guests are treated poorly at the outset, although the host changes his behaviour because either the guests decide to stay (*Bjarnar saga*) or a stark naked ghost caters for the men who are transporting her body (*Eyrbyggja saga*).

A significant part of hospitality seems to have been helping people out of their clothes as well as offering them dry ones. Helping the master and his wife to undress is also mentioned below in *Bjarnar saga*, ch. 14; apparently the servant doing that was kept close at hand.

No	Saga	Ch	Old Norse	Page	English	Page
11	Brð	4	þar fór hann ór klæðum sínum öllum	112	He took off all of his clothes and bathed in the shallows.	241
32	Brð	7	Vildi hann upp í sængina ok undir klæðin hjá henni, en hon vildi þat eigi.	124	wanted to get into bed and under her clothes, but she would have none of it.	246
109	Bj	7	Siðan lét Björn Þórð ok fǫruneyti hans allt fara á knarrarbatinn með klæðum sínum ok flytja svá til meginlands.	130	Then Bjorn made Thord and all his companions get into the knorr's boat with their clothes, and so cross to the mainland.	165
111	Bj	9	ok lögðu menn klæði sín á völlinn,	133	and everyone left his clothes on the ground;	168
129	Bj	14	öll hvíldu þau í einu útibúri um vetrinn, Þórðr ok Oddný ok verkkona, er togaði af þeim klæði.	149	During the winter, Thord, Oddny and the serving-woman who helped them off with their clothes all slept in a separate apartment.	178
168	Erb	16	Þá var hann borinn inn ok dregin af honum klæði;	29	He was carried inside and undressed;	295

Table 6. *Klæði* in undressing and nudity in *Snæfellingasögur*.

Nudity is not talked about directly in *Snæfellingasögur*, yet it is implied most often with the removal of clothes. Out of the six instances listed here, two mention the voluntary removal of clothes in order to bathe (*Bárðar saga*, ch. 4 and *Bjarnar saga*, ch. 9).

In *Bárðar saga*, ch. 7, the Norwegian Hrafn intends to rape Helga, but this is mentioned in a roundabout way, being indirect in both his intentions and her body. Hrafn, however, is left with a broken arm and a broken leg because “she would have none of it” (*Bard’s saga* 1997: 246).



In *Bjarnar saga*, ch. 7, Björn ambushes his enemy Thord, robs him of his ship (the knorr) and all the valuables in addition to making Thord's situation "as humiliating as possible" (*The Saga of Bjorn* 2002: 165). Whether this meant stripping them of their clothes, as might be inferred from the fact that the men are in the boat with their clothes ("með klæðum sínum", ÍF III: 130), not *í klæðum sínum*, which is the standard usage; or perhaps the situation is humiliating because they are stripped of their valuables (*gripi*), although this remains uncertain.

No	Saga	Ch	Old Norse	Page	English	Page
160	Erb	13	vönduð öll klæði; hann hafði þar ok til vart mjök öllum sínum fararefnum;	23	All his clothing was of the finest quality; he had spent nearly all his travel money on his apparel.	291
181	Erb	20	ok einn í lítklæðum.	53	one of them in coloured clothing.	307
197	Erb	40	ok riðu þeir til kaupmennirnir allir í lítklæðum.	107	All the merchants rode to it dressed in coloured clothing.	339
199	Erb	42	en er þeir kómu inn fyrir oxlina, sá þeir, at maðr var í skrudklæðum á húsunum uppi á Bakka;	114	As they came past the mountain at Öxl they caught sight of someone in coloured clothing on top of the farmhouse roof at Bakki;	343

Table 7. *Klæði* as precious clothing in *Snæfellingasögur*.

There are four instances of *klæði* in which the preciousness of the outfit is expressed, all in *Eyrbyggja saga*. The single example of the phrase *vönduð öll klæði* is in *Eyrbyggja saga*, ch. 13. Thorleif Kimbi's outfit is fancy and is much appreciated. However, the phrase itself might be better rendered as 'elaborately embellished' (CV 1874: 677).

The term *lítklæði* is well established in saga literature (Valtýr Guðmundsson 1892), whereas the term only occurs twice in *Snæfellingasögur*. Both instances are in *Eyrbyggja saga*. In ch. 20, Geirrid is wearing a *blá skikkja* when she meets Arnkel and his men who have been to Holt three times in vain in their search for Odd Kötluson. Someone tells Katla that "there were now fourteen in all, one of them in coloured clothing". Katla immediately recognises this to be Geirrid. (*Eyrbyggja saga* 1999: 307)

The merchants, who are said to ride to the assembly in *lítklæði* include Thorleif Kimbi, who is known for his love of elaborate clothing since *Eyrbyggja saga*, ch. 13 (discussed in 2.1 and previously in this chapter) and the brothers Arnbjörn and Björn. While

Arnbjörn is said to be no dandy (*engi áburðarmaður*), he is still said to have come to the assembly in *lítklæði*. His brother on the other hand is said to be *áburðarmaður mikill* and “when he came back to Iceland he would dress in finery after the fashion of people of distinction abroad”. (ÍF IV 1985: 106-107; *Eyrbyggja saga* 1999: 338-339)

The fact that coloured clothing is rare enough to warrant someone’s identification, indicates it was rather uncommon. This is supported by the usage of *skrúðklæði*, which further confirms that appearing in *lítklæði* was well within the means of Arnbjörn, whose fortune is based on the three hundred ells of *vaðmál* and twelve *vararfeldir*, which he took with him on his voyage (see 5.5.2 for further discussion on his baggage).

The compound *skrúðklæði* appears only once in *Snæfellingasögur*, in *Eyrbyggja saga*, ch. 42, when Björn and his company see someone on the roof of Arnbjörns house in *skrúðklæði*. It is said that they immediately set off in that direction because “they knew it was not Arnbjörn’s style of dress”.

*Skrúðklæði* is translated as ‘coloured clothing’ (*Eyrbyggja saga* 1999: 343), yet CV (1874: 559) gives this as “a suit of fine stuff”, i.e. precious cloth.

No	Saga	Ch	Old Norse	Page	English	Page
103	Vgl	23	höfum vit ok aldri undir einum klæðum legit,	115	Furthermore, we have never slept together between the sheets because a bed-board separated us,	266
104	Vgl	23	þó at vit höfum haft eitt áklæði	115	even though we shared one coverlet.	266
170	Erb	18	Auður húsfreyja hét á konur at skilja þá, ok kǫstuðu þær klæðum á vápn þeira.	36	Thórarin's wife Auð called on the women to separate them and they threw clothes on the weapons.	298
188	Erb	33	siðan sveipaði hann klæðum at hǫfði Þórólfi ok bjó um hann eptir siðvenju.	92	After that he wrapped some clothes around Thórólf's head and prepared him for burial according to the custom of the time.	330
236	Erb	50	Þá lauk hon upp ǫrkina ok tók þar upp ór rekkjuklæði, ok váru þau ǫll mjök vǫnduð;	138	She then opened the large chest and took from it a set of beautifully-made bedclothes.	357
250	Erb	51	Um daginn eptir lét Þóroddr bera út rekkjuklæðin í veðr ok færði til viðs ok lét hlaða þar bál hjá.	142	Next day he had the bed-clothes taken outside; he collected wood and built a bonfire.	360

251	Erb	51	Þá gjekk at Þuríðr húsfreyja ok sputt, hvat hann ætlar at gera af rekkjuklæðunum. Han kvezk ætla at brenna þau í eldi, sem Þórgunna hafði fyrir mælt.	142	Then his wife Thurið came and asked what he was doing with the bed-clothes; he said he was going to burn them, as Thórgunna had asked.	360

Table 8. *Klæði* in the sense of ‘stuff’, ‘cloth’ in *Snæfellingasögur*.

The seven instances where *klæði* is used in the sense of ‘stuff’, ‘cloth’ in *Snæfellingasögur* are divided between *Eyrbyggja saga* and *Víglundar saga* and three episodes in total. In two cases, the nature of *klæði* is not clear, but I would interpret it as cloth, not clothes, as the translators have.

In *Eyrbyggja saga*, ch. 33, Arnkel gets behind his dead father’s back and wraps his head in some cloth, although this is translated as ‘some clothes’ (*Eyrbyggja saga* 1999: 330) in order to veil his gaze. Despite this, Thórólf soon starts to haunt the farm, although there are no textiles involved as there are in Thórgunna’s case.

In *Eyrbyggja saga*, ch. 18, Auð calls on the other women to throw cloth(es) on the men’s weapons and thereby hinder further bloodshed. As in the case of Arnkel and Thórólf, *klæði* is translated as ‘clothes’, even though the context does not reveal the nature of the item.

It is rather peculiar that the other instance of *klæði* also lead to haunting. In *Eyrbyggja saga*, chs. 50 and 51, Thórgunna arrives at Fródá and produces some magnificent textiles from her chest. Before her death, she asks Thórodd to burn her bed along with the furnishings. However, the mistress of the house, Thuríd, convinces her husband otherwise, leading to the deaths of many.

In *Víglundar saga*, ch. 23, the *klæði* have an entirely benign and practical meaning that still relates to bed furnishings. When Ketilrid’s elderly husband Thord reveals to Viglund that their marriage has been unconsumated and has all been a part of a cunning plan to keep Ketilrid for Viglund, he attests to their virtue by saying that they have never “lain under one cloth” (my translation), although they have shared an *áklæði* (literally “a cover sheet”, my translation; ÍF XIV: 115).

No.	Saga	Ch.	Old Norse	Page	English	Page
66	Vgl	5	Hann var sæmiliga klæddr, því at konungr lagði mikla virðing á hann, ok þótti þat mörgum hans mönnum við of ok lögðu mikla þykkju á Þorgrím þar fyrir.	70	He was fittingly attired, since the king bestowed much honour on him, but many of the king's men thought this excessive, and for this reason they disliked Thorgrim intensely.	230
73	Vgl	8	Stendr hon þá upp skjótt ok klæðir sikk	77	She stood up quickly, got dressed,	236
77	Vgl	8	Í þessu kom maðr í stofuna bláklæddr ok helt á brugðnu sverði.	78	At this moment a man dressed in black walked into the room; he was holding a drawn sword.	237
78	Vgl	8	en inn bláklæddi maðr var Ólof sjálf.	78	the man in black was Olof herself.	236
119	Bj	9	ok varð Birni eirgi at huggat, furr en menn váru klæddir,	134	and Bjorn did not realize until everyone was dressed	168
187	Erb	30	Þrælarnir klæddusk	82	The slaves got dressed	30
189	Erb	37	Snorri stóð upp ok bað menn klæðask.	100	Snorri got up and told his men to put their clothes on.	335
190	Erb	37	Ok er þeir váru klæddir	100	When they were dressed,	335
192	Erb	37	Þá hljópu menn upp ok klæddusk	103	The men leaped up and got dressed	336

Table 9. *Klæða* in *Snæfellingasögur*.

Of the nine instances where getting dressed (*klæða*) is mentioned in *Snæfellingasögur*, only two of the five episodes are non-violent. In *Bjarnar saga*, ch. 9 this relates to the scene in which Björn and the king exchange garters (further discussed in 5.3.4), and in *Víglundar saga*, ch. 5, it is said of Throgrim that “he was fittingly attired”.

However, the episodes in *Eyrbyggja saga*, ch. 37 and *Víglundar saga*, ch. 8, use getting dressed to heighten the sense of imminence and danger. In *Víglundar saga*, Ólof needs to act promptly when the brothers Einar and Jökul try to catch her alone at home with the intention of raping her.

The same goes for Snorri, who calls his men into action in *Eyrbyggja saga* to attack Arnkel. The three mentions of dressing and getting dressed, in addition to Arnkel's slaves, who are said to have *fóru af skinnstökkum sínum* (#191), form a rather peculiar cluster of events. Whether such clusters are to be found elsewhere in Mediaeval

Icelandic literature, would be highly interesting to know.

### 5.1.2. *Búa*

No.	Saga	Ch.	Old Norse	P.	English	P.	Item
42	Brð	9	Var hann svá optast búinn,	129	He was usually clad	248	búa
59	Brð	20	ok var hann fagrbúinn;	165	he saw Raknar, magnificently dressed.	263	búa
62	Brð	22	En er þeir kvámu á þingit, váru þeir svá vel búnir, at menn hugðu þar væri komnir æsir.	171	When they came to the assembly, they were so well turned out that men thought the gods themselves had arrived.	266	búa
133	Bj	19	en var sjálfr léttbúinn	166	but he was lightly [clothed]	189	búa
159	Erb	13	En er þeir bjuggursk frá skipi, Breiðfirðingarnir, þá skauzk þar mjök í tvau horn um búnað þeira Snorra ok Þorleifs kimba.	22	When these men from Breiðarfjörður came ashore there was a striking difference between the outfit of Snorri and that of Thorleif Kimbi.	291	búnaðr
162	Erb	13	búnaðr Þórodds var þar á milli.	23	Þórodd's equipment became somewhere between those two.	291	búnaðr
163	Erb	13	ok hofðu menn þat mjök at hlátri um búnað hans; tók Þorkr svá á, at honum hefði óheppoliga með fét farizk, er ǫllu var eitt.	23	Everybody made fun of Snorri because of his outfit; Þörk assumed that he had been unlucky with his travel money to have squandered it all.	291	búnaðr
186	Erb	28	Hon hafði tekit sinn bezta búnað;	73	She had put on her finest clothes.	319	búnaðr
200	Erb	42	en þeir vissu, at þat var eigi búnaðr Arnbjarnar;	114	they knew it was not Arnbjörns style of dress,	343	búnaðr
226	Erb	50	fór hon þá til skips ok fann Þórgunnu ok spurði, ef hon hefði kvenbúnað nokkurn, þann er afbragðligr væri.	137	She went to the ship to see Þórgunna and asked if she had any women's attire of special quality.	357	búnaðr
242	Erb	50	Þá mælti Þuríðr húsfreyja: "Met þú við mik rekkjubúnaðinn." Þórgunna svarar: "Eigi mun ek liggja í hálmi fyrir þik, þó at þú sér kurteis ok berisk á mikit."	139	Then Thuríð, the mistress of the house, asked, 'How much would you like to take for the bed-clothes?' Þórgunna replied, 'I am not going to lie on straw for your sake, no matter how refined and lady-like you are.'	357	búnaðr
253	Erb	51	Siðan lagði hon hendr yfir háls honum ok bað, at	143	Thuríð put her arms around his neck and begged him not	360	búnaðr

			hann skyldi eigi brenna rekkjubúnaðin;		to burn the bed-furnishings.		
268	Erb	55	var þá brenndr allr rekkjubúnaðinn, Þórgunna hafði átt.	151	then all the bed-furnishings which had belonged to Þórgunna were burned.	365	búnaðr
51	Brð	12	Fært hafði Bárðr Þórdísi vænan kvenmannsbúning.	142	Bard had brought Thordis a handsome set of women's clothing.	253	búningr
241	Erb	50	þat var svá góðr búningr, at menn þóttusk eigi slíkan sét hafa þess kyns.	138	They were such fine bed-furnishings that people reckoned they had never seen the like before.	357	búningr

Table 10. *Búa, búnaðr and búningr in Snæfellingasögur.*

The verb *búa* has a variety of meanings in Old Norse, one of which is ‘to dress, equip’ (CV 1874: 86-87). The terms *búnaðr* and *búningr*, that is ‘dress’, ‘clothing’, ‘equipment’ are cognates of *búa* (CV 1874: 89). Whereas the examples of *klæði* include several references to more modest clothing, the *búnaðr* and *búningr* evoke a sense of finery.

Of the 15 references, only twice do we not hear of the finery of the outfit: firstly, when the habitual dress of Bárð is described in *Bárðar saga*, ch. 9 (which consists of a undyed *kufi* and a walrus hide rope); secondly in *Bjarnar saga*, ch. 19 (where the inappropriate attire of Thorstein is described: “Thorstein had a wood-axe, a sharp one on a long shaft, in his hand, but he was lightly clothed” (*The Saga of Bjorn* 2002: 189). It is clear from the description that the *léttbúinn at klæðum* does not fit the tools he is carrying and he is not clad appropriately for the task he has supposedly set out to do.

The most spectacular perhaps are the sons of Thorbjörn, who, having returned from their travels in *Bárðar saga*, ch. 22, arrive at the assembly *svá vel búnir, at menn hugðu þar væri komnir æsir* (#62). The unparalleled quality of textiles is referred to in *Eyrbyggja saga*, ch. 50, where Þórgunna produces from her chest first *rekkjuklæði ok váru þau öll mjök vönduð*, but after the silk quilt and English sheets make their appearance, the set is referred to as *búningr*.

In *Eyrbyggja saga*, ch. 28, the best set of clothes Styr’s daughter Ásdis has, is also referred to as *búnaðr*. She wears them when the berserk she loves, builds a wall and a sheep pen in exchange for her betrothal. Ásdis, who is said to be self-willed, sports her best clothing in anticipation of being united with the man she loves, but instead the

two berserks are treacherously killed by Styr.

Although the outfit (*bunaðr*) of Snorri godi is mocked in *Eyrbyggja saga*, ch. 13 for being too lowly, I would argue that there is nothing shabby about it. Snorri's outfit is said to be far less ostentatious than Thorleif's when they come back to Iceland, but he is said to have ridden a good black mare, and nothing bad is said about the quality of the weapons, just that they had little adornment. The *kápa* Snorri is wearing is in itself an appropriate garment, as men are later portrayed at assemblies in *kápa* and Snorri sports a *kápa* in later episodes, although it is said to have been dyed then (for further discussion on *kápa*, see 5.2.1).

One curious example of *búa* is in *Bárðar saga*, ch. 20, where the mythical Raknar appears to the priest in magnificent clothing (*fagrbúinn*), although there is no mention of him having on any textiles, only weaponry and armour, in the other scenes.

### 5.1.3. *Föt*

No.	Saga	Ch.	Old Norse	Page	English	Page
117	Bj	9	ok váru fōt Bjarnar	134	his garments were	168
130	Bj	14	en hon sté upp yfir stokkinn ok vildi undir fōtin hjá honum, ok var þess eigi kostr, ok sat hon af því upp.	149	She climbed up over the side of the bed and tried to get under the covers beside him, but this was not possible, and so she stayed sitting up.	178
142	Bj	27	engi váru þeim ok boðin þurr fōt.	185	Nor were they offered any dry clothes.	202

Table 11. *Föt* in *Snæfellingasögur*.

All three instances of *föt* in *Snæfellingasögur* occur in *Bjarnar saga*. CV (1874: 145) translate *föt* as *clothes*, *dress*. Yet in one (ch. 14) of the three instances, *föt* refers to a coverlet not a garment.

In ch. 9, it is evident that *föt* and *klæði* are used interchangeably:

“ok lögðu menn klæði sín á vøllinn, [...] Ok er Björn gekk til klæða sinna fyrr en aðrir menn, ok varu fōt Bjarnar hjá klæðum konungs,” (ÍF III: 133-134)

The same goes for ch. 27, where the clothes of Thorstein and his companions are referred to as both *klæði* and *föt* (ÍF III: 184-185).

#### 5.1.4. *Gersemi*

*Gersemi* means ‘costly things’, ‘jewels’ (CV 1874: 226) and occurs only in *Eyrbyggja saga*. There are two instances, whereas only once is it used to refer to textiles, specifically Thórgunna’s bedclothes.

No.	Saga	Ch.	Old Norse	Page	English	Page
252	Erb	51	"Þat vil ek eigi," segir hon, "at þvílíkar gersemar sé brenndar."	142	I do not want,' she said, 'to see such valuable things being burned.'	360

Table 12. *Gersemi* referring to textiles in *Snæfellingasögur*.

The other instance of *gersemi* is in ch. 31, where a piece of land (with some woods, no less), is referred to as “the most valuable in the district” (*Eyrbyggja saga* 1999: 326; *er mest gersemi er hér í sveit* (ÍF IV: 85)).

#### 5.1.5. *Gripi*

The term *gripi* is used 34 times in total in *Snæfellingasögur*, but as the term means ‘costly things’, ‘pretiosa’ (CV 1874: 215), it is most often used to denote valuables other than textiles. On 16 instances, the term refers to metal objects such as weapons and rings, on 2 occasions, the term refers to animals (*gangandi gripi* (ÍF III: 139), literally ‘walking treasures’), and 6 times the nature of the objects is unknown. It is reasonable to infer that these too were not textiles as the only 10 examples of *gripi* referring to textiles are found in *Eyrbyggja saga*, chs. 50 and 51, strictly in relation to the belongings of Thórgunna.

No.	Saga	Ch.	Old Norse	Page	English	Page
223	Erb	50	Þar var á ein kona suðreysk, er Þórgunna hét; þat sǫgdu hennar skipmenn, at hon myndi hafa gripi þá með at fara, at slíkir myndi torugætir á Íslandi.	137	she had brought some finery with her which was difficult to obtain in Iceland.	357
224	Erb	50	En er Þuríðr húsfreyja at Fróðá spyr þetta, var henni mikil forvitni á at sjá gripina,	137	she was very curious to see this finery,	357
227	Erb	50	Hon kvezk enga gripi eiga til sǫlu,	137	Thórgunna said she had nothing for sale,	357



228	Erb	50	en hafa lézk hon gripi, svá at hon væri óneist at boðum eða ǫðrum mannfundum.	138	but claimed she had enough fine things to prevent her feeling ashamed at feasts and other gatherings.	357
229	Erb	50	Þuríðr beiddisk at sjá gripina, ok þat veitti hon henni,	138	Thuríð asked to see her things, and Thórgunna showed them;	357
230	Erb	50	ok sýndusk henni vel gripirnir ok sem bezst farandi,	138	Thuríð thought them attractive and well-made,	357
232	Erb	50	Þuríðr falaði gripina, en Þórgunna vildi eigi selja.	138	Thuríð made an offer for them, but Thórgunna would not sell.	357
234	Erb	50	ok hugðisk hon mundu fá gripina af henni í tómi.	138	and she hoped to get some clothes from her by and by.	357
243	Erb	50	Þetta mislíkar Þuríði, ok falar eigi optar gripina.	139	Thuríð was displeased about this, and made no further offers to buy Thórgunna's finery from her.	358
249	Erb	51	ok mæli ek þetta eigi fyrir því, at ek unna engum at njóta gripanna, ef ek víska, at nyt mætti at verða, en nú mæli ek því svá mikit um," segir hon, "at mér þykkir illt, at menn hljóti svá mikil þyngsl af mér, sem ek veit at verða mun, ef af er brugðit því, sem ek segi fyrir."	142	I am not saying this because I begrudge anyone enjoying all this finery if I thought it would do them any good;	359

Table 13. *Gripi* referring to textiles in *Snæfellingasögur*.

#### 5.1.6. Fé

*Fé* has a plethora of meanings, the first of which is 'livestock', 'sheep'; the second meaning is 'property', 'money'. (CV 1874: 147-149)

No.	Saga	Ch.	Old Norse	Page	English	Page
86	Vgl	14	"sem þat muni kona vera, sem faldinn hefir."	89	'that the one with the headgear must be the woman.'	245
231	Erb	50	en eigi fémiklir.	138	and not very costly.	357
235	Erb	50	vil ek sjálf ráða, hvat ek skal gefa fyrir mik af því fé, sem ek hefi."	138	I shall decide myself how much I pay you from my keep from the money I have.'	357
247	Erb	51	geri ek þat til þess, at hon skuli létta á leggja, þótt ek sjá fyrir ǫðru mínu fé, slíkt er mér líkar;	142	I do this so that she will not take it amiss if I dispose of the rest of my things as I see fit;	359

Table 14. *Fé* referring to textiles in *Snæfellingasögur*.

However, in the three instances that occur in *Snæfellingasögur*, it is not money but valuable textiles that are mentioned using this word. As was the case with *gripi* and *gersemi*, the word is used in conjunction with Thórgunna's belongings.

Furthermore, the English translation uses the more direct word 'money', when Thórgunna and Thurid agree on the terms of Thórgunna's stay, yet the sequence of events (see 3.2) makes much more sense if the word used is 'property' or 'belongings'.

#### 5.1.7. *Dúk* and other references to clothing and textiles in general

No.	Saga	Ch.	Old Norse	Page	English	Page
55	Brð	18	dúk gaf hann honum ok bað hann vefja honum um sik, áðr en hann gengi í hauginn.	162	He gave to him a length of cloth and asked him to wrap it around himself before entering the grave mound.	262
60	Brð	20	Vafit hafði Gestr sik með dúkinum konungsnaut,	166	Gest had wrapped himself with the cloth that the king had presented to him	264
259	Erb	51	Líkit var sveipat líndúkum, en saumat eigi um, ok síðan lagt í kistu;	143	The corpse was wrapped in a linen shroud, but not sewed into it, and then coffined.	360

Table 15. *Dúk* in *Snæfellingasögur*.

No.	Saga	Ch.	Old Norse	P.	English	P.	Item
87	Vgl	14	var hann fluttr í fjórum skautum heim	89	he was carried home on a makeshift litter.	246	í fjórum skautum
7	Brð	3	ok hafði þat fyrir reifa,	108	As those were his swaddling clothes,	240	reifa
61	Brð	21	Síðan andaðist Gestr í hvítavaðum.	170	Afterwards Gest died, still in his baptismal clothes.		váðir
261	Erb	51	var þar sén kona mikil; hon var nokvið, svá at hon hafði engan hlut á sér; hon starfaði at matseld;	144	they saw a tall woman there, she was stark naked, without a stitch on, and she was preparing a meal.	361	hlut
264	Erb	54	settusk þeir niðr við eldinn ok tóku at vinda sik;	149	They sat down by the fire and began wringing the water from their clothing.	363	tóku at vinda sik

Table 16. Other references to textiles in *Snæfellingasögur*.

There are six occurrences in *Snæfellingasögur* where the clothing has been referred to using a unique phrase. One of them, *gersemi*, has been discussed above in 5.1.4. There are also three instances where *dúk* ('cloth') is mentioned.

Three of the unique phrases and all three instances of *dúk* are connected to Christianity: *hafa*, in the sense of ‘wear’, which is used when talking about the uncorruptable garter Björn exchanges with King Ólafinn *Bjarnar saga*, ch. 9. The phrase is used to explain the nature of the garter to the audience.

Another, perhaps more direct connection is when describing the nakedness of Thórgunna’s ghost in *Eyrbyggja saga*, ch. 51. Despite having ample clothing, Thórgunna was wrapped in a shroud as per the Christian tradition (Jesch 2005: 10-11). However, the saga states that she was not sewn into the cloth. Could this perhaps mean the story also serves as a warning that ghosts can start to go around if left only wrapped in a shroud? In the evening, when the coffin bearers are left with poor hospitality, Thórgunna, who has *engan hlut á sér* (literally ‘not a thing on her’), prepares food for the men. It also seems that wrapping a body in the shroud was unusual, as Thórólf Bægifót’s body is prepared for burial “according to the custom of the time” (*Eyrbyggja saga* 1999: 330) and it is not elaborated on.

In *Bárðar saga*, ch. 18, Gest has returned from his trip to the mound of King Raknar, and has been baptised, as he had promised in the mound. That same night, Bárð appears to him in his dreams and causes him to lose his eyes and die the next day. It is said Gest is buried in his baptismal clothes (*í hvítavaðum*).

The remaining phrases refer to the men who have drowned as part of the events following Thórgunna’s death and who start ‘wringing water from their clothing’ (*tóku at vinda sik*). Although the word ‘clothing’ is not included in the original, it is still presumed.

The word *reifa*, to swaddle, is mentioned in *Bárðar saga*, ch. 3, where the peculiar swaddling clothes of Thorkell Skin-swathed are subject to attention.

### 5.1.8. Descriptions and names concerning clothing and textiles

No.	Saga	Ch.	Old Norse	P.	English	P.	Description
195	Erb	40	Arnbjörn var engi áburðarmaður	106	Arnbjörn was not a showy man	338	áburðarmaður
196	Erb	40	Björn, bróðir hans, var áburðarmaður mikill, er hann kom út, ok helt sik vel því at hann hafði samit sik eptir sið útlenskra höfðingja;	107	His brother Björn, on the other hand, was a great one for show, and when he came back to Iceland he would dress in finery after the fashion of people of distinction abroad.	338	áburðarmaður
225	Erb	50	því at hon var glysgjörn ok skartskona mikil;	137	for she was a vain woman and fond of showy adornment.	357	skartskona
233	Erb	50	Þá bauð Þuríðr henni þangat til vistar með sér, því at hon vissi, at Þórgunna var fjölskrúðig,	138	Then Thurið invited her to come and stay with her, for she knew that Thórgunna liked to dress up	357	fjölskrúðig

Table 17. Adjectives about dress in *Snæfellingasögur*.

The inclination to dress up is mentioned only a handful of times in *Snæfellingasögur* and the adjectives are restricted to *Eyrbyggja saga* only. The relevance of *áburðarmaður* is discussed above in 5.1.1. The other two phrases, *skartskona* and *fjölskrúðig* appear in the dealings of Thórgunna and Thurid, ch. 50. *Fjölskrúðig* is undoubtedly a cognate of *skrudklæði*, which has already been discussed above (see 5.1.1).

No.	Saga	Ch.	Old Norse	Page	English	Page
67	Vgl	5	Lengt var nafn hans ok var kallaður Þorgrímr prúði.	70	He received a nickname and was called Thorgrim the Elegant.	230
68	Vgl	7	Þorgrímr inn prúði	74	Thorgrim the Elegant	234
71	Vgl	8	Þorgrímr inn prúði	77	Thorgrim	235
72	Vgl	8	Þorgrímr inn prúði	77	Thorgrim	236
79	Vgl	10	Þorgrímr inn prúði	80	Thorgrim the Elegant	238
80	Vgl	12	Þorgríms prúða	83	Thorgrim the Elegant	240
83	Vgl	13	Þorgrími inum prúða	84	Thorgrim the Elegant	241
84	Vgl	13	Þorgrím prúða	85	Thorgrim the Elegant	242
88	Vgl	15	Þorgrím prúða	91	Thorgrim the Elegant	247
89	Vgl	16	Þorgrím prúða	94	Thorgrim the Elegant	250
90	Vgl	17	Þorgrím prúða	95	Thorgrim the Elegant	251
92	Vgl	19	Þorgríms prúða	101	Thorgrim the Elegant	255
93	Vgl	19	Þorgríms prúða	102	Thorgrim the Elegant	256

94	Vgl	19	Þorgrímr inn prúða	102	Thorgrim the Elegant	256
95	Vgl	19	Þorgríms prúða	102	Thorgrim the Elegant	256
101	Vgl	23	Þorgrímr inn prúði	115	Thorgrim the Elegant	265
102	Vgl	23	Þorgríms prúða	115	Thorgrim the Elegant	266
135	Bj	21	Kolli inn prúði	171	Kolli the Magnificent	193

Table 18. *Prúður* in *Snæfellingasögur*.

There are two men who are deemed worthy to be named *prúði* - fine, magnificent, stately (CV 1874: 480). The name Thorgrim the Elegant is mentioned 18 times, on the occasion of namegiving it is said that his clothing habits were seen as overbearing: "He was fittingly attired, but many of the king's men thought this excessive, and for this reason they disliked Thorgrim intensely" (*Viglund's saga* 2002: 230). Kolli the Magnificent is mentioned once in *Bjarnar saga*, ch. 21.

## 5.2. Clothing

### 5.2.1. Kápa

No.	Saga	Ch.	Old Norse	Page	English	Page
126	Bj	11	hann reið einn saman í blári kápu.	136	He rode alone in a black cloak.	170
128	Bj	11	Hon tók til orða: "Maðr riðr þar," segir hon, "í blári kápu ok er alllíkr Þórði Kolbeinssyni, ok hann er ok, ok mun hans ørendi óþarft."	137	She broke into speech: 'There is a man riding there,' she said, 'in a black cloak, looking very like Thord Kolbeinsson - it is him too , and his business would be best left undone.'	170
137	Bj	25	Hann var í blári kápu,	177	He was wearing a black cape,	197
161	Erb	13	en Snorri var í svartri kápu ok reið svörtu merhrossi góðu; hann hafði fornan trogsöðul ok vápn litt til fegrdar búin;	23	Snorri, on the other hand, wore a black cloak and was riding a good black mare; he had an old trough-shaped saddle, and his weapons had little adornment.	291
166	Erb	14	undan kápu sinni.	25	from under his cloak.	292
221	Erb	47	Snorri goði var í blári kápu ok reiðr fyrstr.	134	Snorri Goði was in the lead, wearing a black cloak.	355
222	Erb	47	Hann tók annarri hendi í kápuermina, er þeir Snorri fundusk,	134	As soon as he reached Snorri he seized hold of his cloak-sleeve with one hand,	355

Table 19. *Kápa* in *Snæfellingasögur*.

There are seven instances of *kápa* being mentioned in the *Snæfellingasögur* with five individual cloaks referenced. Researchers (Straubhaar 2005: 59, D'Ettore 2009: 2)

translate this as ‘hooded cloak’.

In comparison to other garments, it is remarkable that four of the five *kápa* mentioned are assigned a colour, either *svarttr* or *blár*. The nature of these hues and their relation to conflict is further discussed in 5.6.3, but all the hooded cloaks save for one are said to be *blár*. The one that is said to be *svarttr*, is Snorri godi’s when arriving back from abroad in *Eyrbyggja saga*, ch. 13 (ÍF IV: 22-23). Here it is placed in juxtaposition to Thorleif Kimbi’s outfit: “*En er þeir bjuggursk frá skipi, Breiðfirðingarnir, þá skauzk þar mjök í tvau horn um búnað þeira Snorra ok Þorleifs kimba.*” Thorleif’s clothes are said to be magnificent (*vönduð öll klæði*). He is said to have spent most of his travel money on his outfit. Snorri on the other hand is mocked because people thought he had lost his travel money and could not afford a better outfit than the *svarttr kápa*.

This can be interpreted as lying in dress, as already in the next chapter we learn that instead Snorri has brought back his travel money, given it to the custody of his foster father Thorbrand. Snorri demands his share of his heritage from his uncle Börk Digri, who sets terms supposing Snorri has no money. Instead, Thorbrand produces Snorri’s purse from under his *kápa*. Börk suffers further losses when upon leaving the farm, Snorri’s mother Thórdís declares herself divorced from him and the saga author wryly notes: “Börk was now forced to accept the terms he had intended for others.” (*Eyrbyggja saga* 1999: 292-293, ÍF IV: 25)

The *kápa* Thorbrand wears in *Eyrbyggja saga*, ch. 14 and which is used to conceal the purse, is the only one that does not warrant further description, and is there to serve as a twist in the plot. The *skikkja* Thorgerd wears in ch. 27 of the same saga, serves a similar purpose.

### 5.2.2. Feldr

No.	Saga	Ch.	Old Norse	Page	English	Page
2	Brð	3	Þorkel Rauðfeldsson	107	Thorkel, son of Red-cloak	240
12	Brð	4	Þorkell Rauðfeldsson	112	Thorkel Red-cloak's son	241
16	Brð	5	Þorkell Rauðfeldsson	114	Thorkel Red-cloak's son	242
17	Brð	5	en annarr Rauðfeldr eptir föður hans.	114	and the other Red-cloak after Thorkel's father	242
18	Brð	5	Rauðfeld	114	Red-cloak	242

19	Brð	5	Rauðfeldr	114	Red-cloak	242
21	Brð	5	Rauðfeld	117	Red-cloak	243
22	Brð	5	Rauðfeldr	117	Red-cloak	243
23	Brð	5	Rauðfeld	117	Red-cloak	243
24	Brð	5	Rauðfeldr	117	Red-cloak	243
25	Brð	5	Rauðfeldsgjá	117	Raudfeldsgja	243
36	Brð	8	tók hann þá feldinn	126	He took the cloak and pulled it over himself for protection.	247
140	Bj	27	Feldir váru þeim fengnir yfir sér,	184	They were given cloaks to wrap themselves in,	202
194	Erb	39	ok tólf vararfeldir ok farnest hans.	105	twelve sheepskins and food for the voyage.	337

Table 20. *Feldr* in *Snæfellingasögur*.

There are fifteen instances of *feldr* being mentioned in the *Snæfellingasögur*. However, twelve of these are as part of names and the names that stem from the flashy garment the son of Svadi the Giant, Red-cloak the Strong (*Rauðfeldr inum sterka*), had. His son is named Thorkell Red-cloak's son and in turn his son is simply called Red-cloak. Bárð throws the young Red-cloak into a ravine, which is subsequently called *Rauðfeldsgjá* (*Bárðar saga*, chs. 2-5). This kind of inheriting a supposed garment is unique in the *Snæfellingasögur*.

ONP defines *feldr* is a mantle or cloak, possibly of piled fabric and either circular or rectangular. Anna Zanchi (2007: 119) describes *feldr* as an exclusively male sleeveless outer garment made of either plain or piled *vaðmál* without referencing a source, which is probably Falk (1919: 173-178). 'Piled' means that another material is inserted into the fabric during weaving - traditional carpets are the best-known piled textiles. In Iceland, this was done by inserting locks of unspun fleece (Elsa Guðjónsson 1962: 66), whereby a sheepskin-like effect was achieved.

Chapter 8 of *Bárðar saga* concerns itself with a feud between the mean troll woman Hetta and a man called Ingjald. Hetta promises to compensate for the killing of Ingjald's livestock by pointing out a superb fishing spot, which she calls Grim's Bank, but this turns out to be a trap. A storm brews up on the sea and in this weather Ingjald sees a red bearded man who calls himself Grim and who does not permit retreat to the land. Ingjald calls on Bárð for help and covers himself with his trusty fur cloak for protection (the *feldr* is named twice in this paragraph). At the same time, Hetta recites

a verse behind the window of Ingjald's farm, repeating the line *Ingjaldr i skinnfeldi* four times.

On the one hand, Ingjald seeking protection from a warm garment seems entirely practical. On the other hand, Roscoe (1992: 252-271) has explored and found further footing for the idea put forward by Jón Hnefill Aðalsteinsson (1978) that covering oneself with a garment was not as much creating a private space for deliberation, but communicating with the supernatural. Although in the case of *Bárðar saga* Ingjald is said to call on Bárð before covering himself, the proximity of the two actions is maintained.

In *Bjarnar saga* ch. 27, *feldir* are a part of the poor hospitality that is offered by Björn to Thorstein, the kinsman of Björn's enemy Thord:

“Eigi varu þar eldar gǫrvir né skipt um klæði, ok váru þeir vatnir ok frørnir. [...] Feldir váru þeim fengnir yfir sér, því at skóklæði þeira váru frørin, ok máttu þeir eigi ór komask, er engi var eldinn gorr; engi váru þeim ok boðin þurr fōt. [...] Þann veg var nætrbjörg þeira, at sumir kómusk ór brókum, ok heng þær um nóttina á þili frørnar, og lögðusk þá til svefns.” (ÍF III: 184-185)

“There were no fires made there and no change of clothes was offered, although they were wet and frozen. [...] They were given cloaks to wrap themselves in, for their shoes and socks were frozen so that they could not get them off, as no fire was kindled. Nor were they offered any dry clothes. [...] This was what their night's lodging was like: some of them got themselves out of their breeches, which hung, frozen, overnight on the partition, and then they lay down to sleep.” (*The Saga of Bjorn* 2002: 201-202)

This might indicate that the *feldr* was a low status garment that came as basic hospitality after a roof over the travellers' head but before a fire.

This, however, is not the case with the reference in *Eyrbyggja saga*, ch. 39, where Arnbjörn arrives at the ship at the last minute with three hundred ells of *vaðmál*, twelve *vararfeldir*, and food for the voyage. These were most probably not 'sheepskins' but piled cloaks (Damsholt 1984: 82) as opposed to *Bárðar saga*, where the cloak is specifically said to be *skinnfeldr*. The *skinnfeldr* were probably fur garments (made of sheepskins), while *vararfeldir* were most probably piled garments, approximately two by one metre in dimension (Elsa Guðjónsson 1962: 68).



### 5.2.3. Skikkja

No.	Saga	Ch.	Old Norse	Page	English	Page
124	Bj	9	Ok nú um vetrinn eþra var Björn í Nóregi, ok gaf Óláfr konungr honum skikkju vandaða, ok hét honum sinni vináttu ok kallaði hann vera vaskan mann ok góðan dreng.	134	Then the next winter Bjorn stayed in Norway, and King Olaf gave him a finely made cloak and promised him his friendship, calling him an intrepid man and a fine fellow.	169
131	Bj	14	Þat er sagt, þá er Björn var búinn á brott ór vist inni, þá gaf hann Oddnúju skikkjuna Þórðarnaut, ok mælti hvárt þeira vel fyrir öðru.	150	It is said that when he was about to leave at the end of his stay, he gave Oddny the cloak which had been Thord's, and they spoke fondly to each other.	179
180	Erb	20	Geirriðr hafði blá skikkju yfir sér.	53	Geirrið was wearing a blue cloak.	307
183	Erb	20	Geirriðr varp af sér skikkjunni ok gekk at Kötlu	53	Geirrið threw off her cloak and went over to Katla;	307
185	Erb	27	Þá brá Þorgerðr höfðinu undan skikkju sinni	69	produced the head from under her cloak	316
246	Erb	51	en af óskiptri minni eigu skal Þuríðr hafa skarlatsskikkju þá, er ek á;	142	But before you divide up my property, Thurið is to have the scarlet cloak I own.	359

Table 21. Examples of *skikkja* in *Snæfellingasögur*.

The *skikkja* are mentioned seven times in *Snæfellingasögur*, with five individual cloaks mentioned, all except one seeming to refer to a female garment. One reference is from *Bjarnar saga*, all the other references come from *Eyrbyggja saga*.

There seems to be two different *skikkja* in *Bjarnar saga* - one that King Ólaf gives Björn in Norway and one that Björn gives to Oddný and which said to have been a gift from Thord. King Ólaf is pictured as a generous gift-giver on several occasions, yet how and when did Thord, whose conflict with Björn is the backbone of the saga, give Björn a *skikkja*, is unclear.

The cloak the sorceress Geirrid wears when she meets Arnkel and his men, who have already made three unsuccessful searches for Odd Kötluson, is said to be blue (for further discussion on *blár*, see 5.6.3). Geirrid's determination is further underlined with the mention of taking off the cloak, which is unique in this corpus.

The second *skikkja* is worn by the equally determined Thorgerð, who - upon receiving the advice to dig up her late husband and cut off his head in order to convince Arnkel to take revenge for the killing - replies that "she could see that they were sparing her neither trouble nor misery - 'but I shall do it,' she said, 'if it makes things worse for my enemies.'" (*Eyrbyggja saga* 1999: 316). She indeed goes to Arnkel and "produced the head from under her cloak" (*Eyrbyggja saga* 1999: 316). The *skikkja* seems to serve the practical purpose of concealing the element of surprise, just as with the *kápa* Thorbrand wears in *Eyrbyggja saga*, ch. 14.

The last *skikkja* in the corpus is specifically said to be a *skarlatsskikkja*, which Thórgunna bequaths to Thuríd on her deathbed. Thórgunna has arrived in Iceland on a ship with "some finery [...] which was difficult to obtain in Iceland" (*Eyrbyggja saga* 1999: 357), and is met by the vain mistress of Fróðá, Thuríd. Thórgunna accepts lodgings with Thuríd, but is taken ill after there is a shower of blood and subsequently dies. This is the single instance in which *skarlat* is used in *Snæfellingasögur*. John Munro (2003: 214) describes *skarlat* as "the very finest and most costly" of wool fabrics, that is dyed using kermes (often in combination with other dyes) and heavily finished.

The value of the *skikkja* as implied by the addition of *skarlat*- is in stark contrast to the conclusion Thuríd arrives at when viewing Thórgunna's possessions on the ship: "*ok sýndusk henni vel gripirnir ok sem bezt farandi, en eigi fémiklir*" (ÍF IV: 138; "Thuríd thought them attractive and well-made, and not very costly" (*Eyrbyggja saga* 1999: 357)). This discrepancy is not further elaborated on in the saga, so the question remains as to whether Thórgunna deliberately concealed some items from Thuríd on the ship or whether it might point to a multitude of oral traditions.

#### 5.2.4. Möttul

A *möttul* is, according to the ONP, a coat or an overcoat.

No.	Saga	Ch.	Old Norse	Page	English	Page
75	Vgl	8	ok setr þar niðr griðkonu sína ok leggir yfir hana möttul sinn	77	where she sat her servant-woman down and laid her own cloak over her	236

Table 22. Examples of *möttul* in *Snæfellingasögur*.

The *möttul* occurs only once in the *Snæfellingasögur*, in *Víglundar saga*, ch. 8, and it is rather peculiar. Einar, a man from the district, wishes to undermine Thorgrim the Proud's authority by raping his wife Ólof. However, he and his brother are outwitted by Ólof and bear a grudge for this afterwards. In the scene, it is said that with no men at present, Ólof knows of the brothers' coming because the men's door of the house was habitually locked after them. Ólof sits a maid on her bench in the sewing room, dressed in her own mantle. The brothers enter and begin talking to the maid when "*Í þessu kom maðr í stofuna bláklæddr ok helt á brugðnu sverði. Maðrinn var ekki stórr vexti, en allreiðugligr var hann.*" The shortish man, who is later revealed to be Ólof, is said to be wearing *blá* and with a sword, altogether looking fierce. Ólof in disguise says her/his name is Ottar and asks the brothers to step out to watch the master return with a great company. By this time the brothers have clearly lost their judgement after being subjected to Ólof's determination, the blue mantle, and the sword, because what they are actually fleeing from is cattle. This can be interpreted as lying in dress par excellence.

This is the single instance in *Snæfellingasögur* where a woman dresses as a man, imitating maleness, as Anna Zanchi (2007: 241) puts it. Zanchi lists a few other instances where women are seen to disguise themselves as men in order to deceive the enemy. In *Þorgils saga ok Hafliða* - a contemporary saga - the women meet the enemy 'wearing breeches', because similarly to *Víglundar saga*, the enemy relied on meeting a household of defenceless women.

Apparently there is an episode in *Laxdæla saga* where the master of the house orders four maids to impersonate men to sow fear in the enemy, but here the women are not taking initiative, so the scene does not have a similar impact. (Zanchi 2007: 238-246)

### 5.2.5. *Kufl*

No.	Saga	Ch.	Old Norse	Page	English	Page
38	Brð	8	hann var í grám kufli	127	He was in a grey cowl	247
43	Brð	9	at hann var í grám kufli	129	in a grey cowl	248
45	Brð	10	sá var hann í grám kufli	133	He was in a grey cowl	249
47	Brð	10	í grám kufli	135	in a grey cowl	250
50	Brð	11	ok var í grám kufli	139	wearing a grey cowl	251
107	Bj	7	hann hafði kufl	128	He had a cloak	164

Table 23. *Kufl* in *Snæfellingasögur*

While the ONP translates *kufl* as a monk's hood, the instances in *Snæfellingasögur* tell of laymen. CV (1874: 357) list *kufl* as a hood or a cowled cloak. The examples in *Snæfellingasögur* seem to describe an overgarment rather than a cowl, which would perhaps cover the shoulders, but not more. Zanchi (2007: 119) describes the *kufl* as “a wide, long hooded cloak, either open or sewn in the front” but does not include a reference.

In the five examples in *Bárðar saga*, it is Bárð who is said to be wearing the gray - that is undyed - *kufl*. This is a voluntary choice, and does not indicate a shortage of means, because in ch. 12, he is said to have given Thordis a “handsome set of women's clothes” (*Bard's saga* 1997: 253). Bárð and his grey *kufl* become almost synonymous.

In *Bjarnar saga*, ch. 7, Björn wears the *kufl* over his clothes when crouching in a bush and spying on Thord Kolbeinsson. It is specifically stated that the *kufl* was used to cover Björn's clothes, and it is reasonable to assume that the garment was more modest than the successful plunderer usually wore. This is in accord with the unassuming nature of the *kufl* in *Bárðar saga*.

### 5.2.6. *Hekla* and *hetta*

No.	Saga	Ch.	Old Norse	P.	English	P.	Item
56	Brð	18	hann hafði bláflekkótta skauthekluk ok kneppta niðr í milli fóta sér.	163	he wore a blue-spotted cape with a hood, which buttoned all the way down to his feet.		hekla
33	Brð	8	Hetta	124	Hetta	246	hetta
34	Brð	8	fjölkyngis Hettu	126	Hetta's witchcraft	247	hetta
37	Brð	8	Hettu	127	Hetta	247	hetta
40	Brð	8	Hetta	127	Hetta	247	hetta
213	Erb	45	Han hafði verit í flókahettu, ok saumat í horn um hálsinn, ok kom þar í högg.	128	He was wearing a felt hood with a piece of horn sewn into the collar, where the blow had landed.	352	hetta

Table 24. *Hetta* in *Snæfellingasögur*.

Of the eight instances *hetta*, a type of hood, is mentioned, six occur in *Bárðar saga*, and even then five are in reference to the witch Hetta.

In the remaining instance (#56), the one-eyed heathen Rauðgrani joins Gest's party when they make their way to King Raknar's grave mound. The priest Jostein becomes overridden by anger and attacks Rauðgrani with his crucifix. Rauðgrani disappears into the sea and it is said that only now did they realise it was Odin. Rauðgrani's deviation from the Christian norm, his otherness, is underlined by the peculiarity of his unparalleled outfit.

This is the single instance a spotted item is mentioned in the *Snæfellingasögur*, yet not the only one in the Mediaeval Icelandic literary corpus by far (ONP). The ONP suggests that *skauthekla* is a scribal error that should actually read *skauthetta*, whereas *hekla* in itself is an accepted term for a sleeveless cloak. This means 'without fashioned sleeves' rather than 'not covering the arms'. It is unlikely that this would have been a hood, when the garment is said to have been buttoned down to the feet or buttoned between the legs.

CV (1874: 540) lists the garment as *skauthetta* with a reference to the scene in *Bárðar saga*, but does differentiate between a *hetta* and a *hekla*. *Hekla* is said to be "a kind of cowled or hooded frock, knitted of divers colours" (CV 1874:253), which is utterly confusing because knitted fabric is unsuited for the production of a large and heavy

item, and more importantly, knitting was introduced to Iceland sometime at the beginning of the 16th century (Vigdís Stefánsdóttir 2003). *Hetta* is rendered as ‘hood’ in CV (1874: 260). The garment, scribal errors or not, can thus be counted on to have a hood.

What is meant by the attributive *skaut*- is also difficult to pinpoint. *Skaut* means a sheet, a corner of a cloth, the skirt or the sleeve of a garment, or even a hood fashioned with ends hanging down. *Skauthetta* is translated as ‘a hood with a flap’, yet *skautfeldr* is a ‘sheet-cloak’, ‘square cloak’. (CV 1874: 540) Therefore a *skauthekla* could be rendered as ‘hooded hood’, leaving no doubt that the garment can be used to cover the head and possibly used to cover the face.

However, there are only two instances where a *bláflekkótttr* (ONP) is mentioned in the Mediaeval Icelandic corpus, once in *Bárðar saga* (ch. 18, ÍF XIII: 163) and once in a legendary saga (*fornaldar saga*), *Örvar-Odd’s saga* (ch. 19, Heimskringla.no), where again Odin appears under the name Rauðgrani and the blue-spotted garment is a *hekla*. He is said to have let the hood conceal his face (“*Hann var í bláflekkótttri heklu, uppháva skó ok reysprota í hendi; hann hafði gullfjallaða glófa, meðalmaðr á vöxt ok kurteisligr at sjá; hann lét síga höttinn fyrir andlitit.*”). The hood is one of the hallmarks of Odin (Roscoe 1992: 140), an easily transferable characteristic, examples of which include the witch Hetta mentioned above, and Bárð and his *grár kufl*, discussed in 5.2.5.

The *flókahetta* in *Eyrbyggja saga*, ch. 45 is specifically said to have a collar, so it must be a hood or a cowl, rather than simply a ‘felt-hat’ (CV 1874: 162). However, as other meanings of *flóki* include hair, wool, a goat’s beard, and a foal with shaggy skin, this might also mean that it could have been used to describe a piled fabric, similar to those used in *vararfeldar*.

The *flókahetta* is also unique because it is said that a piece of horn had been sewn into the collar (*saumat í horn um halsinn*), which could perhaps also be interpreted as ‘decorated with horn’. In any case, Steinthór manages to strike at Freysteinn’s neck:

“Steinthór said, ‘Did that one hit you, Freystein?’

‘It hit me, certainly,’ said Freystein, ‘but not as hard as you thought, because I am not wounded.’” (*Eyrbyggja saga* 1999: 351-352)

The garment, although not having magical properties, postpones Freystein’s death for entirely pragmatic reasons.

### 5.2.7. *Hōttr*

No.	Saga	Ch.	Old Norse	Page	English	Page
132	Bj	17	þat váru karlar tveir, ok hafði annarr hōtt blán á hōfði;	154	It represented two men, one of them with a black hat on his head.	182
147	Bj	32	hōtt á hōfði ok skjöld á hlið; sverð hafði hann í hendi, er Þorfinnr Þvarason átti.	197	a hood on his head and a shield at his side. He had in his hand the sword belonging to Thorfinn Thvarason.	211

Table 25. *Hōttr* in *Snæfellingasögur*.

*Hōttr* is a cognate of *hetta* and is rendered as hood or a cowl fastened to a cloak (CV 1874: 312). There are two occasions on which *hōttr* is mentioned in *Snæfellingasögur*. Both instances are from *Bjarnar saga*, but in radically different situations. The first instance, in ch. 17, is actually a ‘something’ on Thord’s land, which seems to have depicted homosexual intercourse. Nothing else is said of the men represented but “*ok hafði annarr hōtt blán á hōfði*”, which would actually be a dyed (blue) hat. However, it is clear that one of the men is thought to be Thord, yet the dyed hood is not mentioned elsewhere.

Curiously enough, Björn, who is thought to have erected the insult and who certainly composed a slandering verse to go with it, is the one described as wearing a *hōttr* to the battle he is killed in in ch. 32. He is described as being well dressed (see 5.2.9 and 5.3.4 for further discussion), but the colour of the hood is not specified.

### 5.2.8. *Kofri*

No.	Saga	Ch.	Old Norse	Page	English	Page
81	Vgl	12	Allt vissi Kjölvör þetta ok fór upp á hús ok veifði kofra sínum í austrætt, ok þykknaði skjótt veðrit.	83	Kjolvor knew all about this and climbed up on the house and waved her hood in the easterly direction, and all at once the weather turned bad.	240

Table 25. *Kofri* in *Snæfellingasögur*.

There is a single instance of *kofri* in *Snæfellingasögur*, a rather enigmatic occurrence in *Víglundar saga*, ch. 12. A *fjölkunnig* woman called Kjölvör is paid by the brothers Jokul and Einar to destroy Viglund and Trausti “by any magic she chose” (*Víglund’s saga* 2002: 239). Viglund and Trausti accompany their farmhand to sea, because his usual companions have been taken ill by Kjölvör’s magic. When the boat is on the sea, Kjölvör elicits a change in the weather by “waving her hood in the easterly direction” on top of her house.

This scene is highly reminiscent of the one in *Bárðar saga*, ch. 8 (discussed further in 5.2.6 and 5.2.5) where there is also a woman skilled in magic, a man in a boat fishing, the weather turns quickly, and there is a character who refuses to return before the boat is filled with fish. Yet, in *Bárðar saga*, it is the ill-willed Grim who is defeated by Bárð, while in *Víglundar saga*, it is the fearless farmhand who takes that role. There is also no description of Hetta going about her magic (or the garments involved), but the similarity of these scenes is striking.

### 5.2.9. *Kyrtill*

A tunic (*kyrtill*) is mentioned 8 times in the corpus: once in *Bárðar saga*, four times in *Bjarnar saga*, and three times in *Eyrbyggja saga*. All of the tunics belong to men.



No.	Saga	Ch.	Old Norse	Page	English	Page
27	Brð	6	ok færði honum kyrtíl nýgervan	120	and presented him with a newly made cloak.	244
106	Bj	7	Þórðr orti drápu um Ólaf konung; síðan fór hann ok færði sjálf ok þá af konungi gullhring ok pellskyrtíl hlaðbúinn ok sverð gott.	127	Thord composed a drapa about King Olaf; then he went and recited it himself, and received from the king a gold ring, a silken tunic trimmed with lace, and a fine sword.	163
110	Bj	8	Björn skyldi hafa guðvefjarkyrtíl	131	Bjorn was to have a tunic of precious cloth	167
145	Bj	29	Þorfinnu gaf Björn gullhring ok guðvefjarkyrtíl, er Óláfr konungr hafði gefit Þórði Kolbeinssyni, ok hann gerði til handa Birni eptir rán í Brenneyjum.	191	Bjorn gave Thorfinna a gold ring and the costly woven tunic which King Olaf had given to Thord Kolbeinsson, and which the king had given into Bjorn's possession after the robbery in the Branno islands	207
148	Bj	32	Björn hafði kyrtíl góðan	199	Bjorn had on a fine tunic	212
169	Erb	18	En þeir kómu í Holt til Kötlu, færði hon Odd, son sinn, í kyrtíl móbrúnan, er hon hafði þá nýgört.	34	When they arrived at Holt, Katla dressed her son Odd in a dark-brown tunic she had just made.	297
171	Erb	18	hann var ekki sárr, því at eigi festi vápn á kyrtli hans.	37	Odd was unharmed, as now weapon could penetrate his tunic.	299
205	Erb	44	Þeir Steinþórr rið at durum, ok er svá frá sagt, at hann væri í rauðum kyrtli	120	Steinþór and his men came riding up to the door; it is said that he was wearing a scarlet tunic	347

Table 27. Instances of *kyrtill* in *Snæfellingasögur*.

Three of these instances (#27 in *Bárðar saga*, #169 and #171 in *Eyrbyggja saga*) follow the same pattern: the mother who knows her way around magic<sup>3</sup> presents her son with a newly made tunic before sending him off to battle; subsequently, the son is unharmed. However, in *Eyrbyggja saga*, the protective power of the tunic is specifically mentioned, and alluded to during the battle: “*Ekki festi vápn á Oddi Kötlusyni.*” (ÍF IV: 36; ‘But no weapon could hurt Odd Kötluson.’ (*Eyrbyggja saga* 1999: 298)). In *Bárðar saga*, Einar’s victory in battle is attributed to his calling on Bárð for victory.

<sup>3</sup> Hildigunn is said to be *fjölkyunnig* (‘skilled in sorcery’) in *Bárðar saga*, ch. 6; in *Eyrbyggja saga*, Katla both performs magic in ch. 20 and in ch. 15 compares herself to Geirrid: “*en fleiri konur kunnu sér nokkut en hon ein.*” ([‘B]ut there are others who have knowledge of magic.’).

As an interesting excursion, the post-reformatory *Illuga saga Tagldarbana*, chs. 19 and 22, features a coat of mail (*brynja*) that is received as a gift and which is said to be impenetrable. (*Illuga saga Tagldarbana* - Heimskringla.no)

The other *kyrtill* mentioned are all valuable items, which are often used in barter. In *Bjarnar saga* (ch. 7, #106), King Ólaf gives Thord “*gullhring, ok pellskyrtill hlaðbúinn ok sverð gott*” (‘a gold ring, a silken tunic trimmed with lace, and a fine sword’). The translation “trimmed with lace” seems rather unfortunate and anachronistic (but is probably based on CV 1874: 269), as both ÍF III (127) and Falk (1919: 155) translate *hlað* as ‘ribbon’ or ‘border’. This was probably used to refer to a tablet-woven or embroidered embellishment, which were much more common in Viking Age and Mediaeval clothing.

The king later (ch. 8) negotiates a truce between Björn and Thord whereby Björn now gets the tunic along with a gold ring. The tunic is referred to as *gudveffjarkyrtill* in this episode and the next. That it was actually the same tunic is said in ch. 29, where Björn forwards the tunic to Thorfinna, the wife of his sworn brother Thorstein Kuggason, along with a gold ring.

The remaining two references to *kyrtill* are both connected to the ensuing battle again. In *Bjarnar saga*, ch. 32, Björn is said to have

“large mane-shears at his belt, a hood on his head and a shield at his side. He had in his hand the sword belonging to Thorfinn Thavarason. Bjorn was a very tall man, handsome and freckled, red-bearded and curly-haired, weak-sighted, but an excellent fighting man.”

This comes at a rather odd point in the narrative, as Björn has been the main character in the whole of saga. His description is further augmented after a couple of verses and paragraphs: “Bjorn had on a fine tunic and was wearing hose, and bound around his leg was the silk garter he had got in exchange with the blessed King Olaf.”

The descriptions later turn out to be an early eulogy, as Björn is killed after fiercely defending himself with the shears. The *kyrtill góðan* has no impact on the outcome of the battle (as the newly made tunics mentioned above did); in ch. 33 it is said that he was buried in his clothes and garter.

The tunic Steinthór wears in *Eyrbyggja saga*, ch. 44, is also presented as part of a larger description:

“[I]t is said that he was wearing a scarlet tunic with the front tucked up under his belt. He had a beautiful shield and helmet; at his waist he had a splendidly ornamented sword: the hilt shone with white silver, and the grip was bound with silver wire and edged with gold.”

He is perceived as both eloquent and strapping by at least one of the women of the household, who remarks: “Steinthór of Eyr is not only a fine-looking warrior; he also spoke very well when he delivered the slave-payment” (*Eyrbyggja saga* 1999: 347). The battle commences with appropriate vigour.

The translation is somewhat off the mark as Steinthór is said to be “*í rauðum kyrtli ok hafði drept upp fyrirblöðunum undir belti*”, that is, wearing ‘a red tunic with the front apron tuck under the belt’. This makes for a remarkable difference in three ways. Firstly, although dyeing would make any garment more costly, a true scarlet (dyed with kermes, obtained from certain molluscs in the whelk family) was the most expensive cloth known to man (Munro 2003: 212). This would have made for a truly remarkable garment, although apparently red, probably dyed with madder (*Rubia tinctorum*), was impressive enough to warrant a mention (for further discussion on reds, see 5.6.4). Secondly, *skarlat*, a cognate of the English ‘scarlet’, is a well-established term in the sagas of Icelanders. It was not necessarily a type of red but rather referred primarily to the high quality of the luxury cloth, which was dyed to a variety of colours (Munro 2003: 213). Therefore, to translate *rauðr* as ‘scarlet’ is misleading to the modern reader. The third difference comes with the mention of a front apron, which goes unparalleled in this current corpus. Ewing (2006: 82, 92-93) thinks that a Viking Age *kyrtill* would have been an woollen shirt, not a tunic, and shows that skirted shirts, have been worn with their skirts fastened to the belt.

#### 5.2.10. *Skyrta*

No.	Saga	Ch.	Old Norse	Page	English	Page
85	Vgl	14	Trausti reist af skyrtu sinni ok batt upp brúnina á bróður sínum;	89	Trausti tore a piece off his shirt and wound it around Viglund’s brow.	245

Table 28. *Skyrta* in *Snæfellingasögur*.

There is a single instance in *Snæfellingasögur* where a *skyrt*a is mentioned, and even then it does not catch the narrator's attention as a garment, but rather as material for binding up Viglund's brow.

That the shirt is linen can be taken from the fact that Trausti uses his shirt, not any of his overgarments to make the bandage (there would have been plenty of wool garments on him, as they are at the winter games), and interestingly enough, from the conversation upon their arrival at home:

“[W]hen they walked into the room Thorgrim was sitting on the cross-bench, and he said, ‘Welcome back, my son and daughter.’  
 ‘Which one of us are you calling a woman, father?’ asked Trausti.  
 ‘It seems to me,’ said Thorgrim, ‘that the one with the headgear must be the woman.’” (*Viglund's Saga* 2002: 245)

The word Thorgrim uses, is *faldr*. CV (1874: 150) translate *faldr* in its secondary meaning as ‘a white linen hood’, which would perhaps be better rendered as headdress or wimple. In any case, the implication of the conversation is that Viglund is easily identified as a woman because his head is wrapped in linen, and conversely, this would mean that men did not wear linen headwear, such as hats.

#### 5.2.11. *Serkr*

No.	Saga	Ch.	Old Norse	Page	English	Page
31	Brð	7	sá hann, at Helga sat upp í einum serk.	124	He saw Helga sitting up in bed in a shift.	246

Table 29. *Serkr* in *Snæfellingasögur*.

The single mention of *serkr* comes from *Bárðar saga*, ch.7 (ÍF XIII: 123-124), where Helga, who has drifted from Iceland to Greenland in seven days on an ice floe, has been to Norway, is brought back to Iceland by her father because her partner was married. Her heartbreak forces her to seek solitude in caves, and a tale is told about her serving in a household one winter. It is said that Helga spent most nights “with the curtain drawn before her” (“*ok hafði fortjald fyrir*”) - distancing herself from others, essentially creating a cave - playing a harp. Helga spending sleepless nights in her bed is comparable to Ketilrid spending her nights in her sewing room (*Víglundar saga*, ch.

18, ÍF XIV: 97): the private space and the heartbreak are the same.

A Norwegian called Hrafn peers under the curtain one night and immediately wants to get into the bed and under the clothes of the beautiful woman he sees there. The English translation does not convey the near nude state Helga is in, as the original is “*í einum serk*”, that is “wearing only a shirt”. From this one can surmise that *serkr* was considered an undergarment, or rather, that on its own, it became an undergarment (while parts of it, such as sleeves, might show from under other garments).

Again, as with Ólof in *Víglundar saga*, the plan to rape the woman is hindered by the intended victim: the Norwegian leaves the bed with his right arm and left leg broken.

#### 5.2.12. *Stakkr*

No.	Saga	Ch.	Old Norse	Page	English	Page
191	Erb	37	Nú er at segja frá þrælum Arnkels, at þeir gengu inn, þá er þeir höfðu inn borit heyit, ok fóru af skinnstökum sínum.	102	To return to Arnkel's slaves: they went inside when they had finished carrying in the hay, and took off their leather work-clothes.	336

Table 30. *Stakkr* in *Snæfellingasögur*.

There is a single passing mention of *stakkr* in *Snæfellingasögur*, in *Eyrbyggja saga* ch. 37. Arnkel has sent his slave home for to get help in the battle, but he is waylaid by another slave asking for help carrying in the hay.

CV (1874: 587) define *stakkr* as “a short coarse bag-like blouse without a waist”, while a *skinnstakkr* is said to have been used by fishermen. This is undoubtedly one of the very few work garments mentioned in *Snæfellingasögur*, and were obviously not a standard fare, as the slaves remove the *stakkr* after finishing their task.

Although the *stakkr* does not appear elsewhere in *Snæfellingasögur*, it is standard fare for troll women in *fornaldarsögur*, where it was probably inspired by the dress of the peoples of the North. However, the *skinnstakkr* that the troll women wear are usually long in the front and so short as not to cover their buttocks at the back - these, in opposition to the garment above - are more symbolic than anything else (Aðalheiður Guðmundsdóttir 2017).

### 5.2.13. Brók

No.	Saga	Ch.	Old Norse	Page	English	Page
3	Brð	3	Skinnbrók	108	Skin-breeches	240
14	Brð	4	Skinnbrók	113	Skin-breeches	241
15	Brð	4	Skinnbrók	113	Skinnbrok	241
143	Bj	27	þann veg var nætrbjörg þeira, at sumir kómusk ór brókum, ok heng þær um nóttina á þili frørnar, og lögðusk þá til svefns.	185	This was what their night's lodging was like: some of them got themselves out of their breeches, which hung, frozen, overnight on the partition, and then they lay down to sleep.	202
156	Erb	1	Ragnars sonar loðbrókar	4	the son of Ragnar Loðbrók (Shaggy-Breeks)	280
157	Erb	2	Hauk hábrók	5	Hauk Hábrók (Long-Breeks)	280
215	Erb	45	hann var í leistabrókum, ok váru vatar allar af blóðinu.	129	He was wearing tight-fitting stocking-breeches and they were drenched in blood.	352
216	Erb	45	Heimamaðr Snorra goða skyldi draga af honum; ek er hann skyldi kippa brókinni, fekk han eigi af honum komit.	129	One of Snorri's men was helping him off with his clothes, but when he tried to remove the breeches he could not pull them off.	352
218	Erb	45	Þóroddr mælti: "Vantekit mun á vera." Eptir þat spyrndi sá qðrum fœti í stokkinn ok togaði af qlum afli, ok gekk eigi af brókin.	129	Thoródd said, 'You cannot be pulling hard enough.' The man braced one of his feet against the bench and tugged as hard as he could, but the breeches would not come off.	353
219	Erb	45	Þá gekk til Snorri goði ok þreifaði um fótinn ok fann, at spjót stóð í gegnum fótinn milli hásinarinnar ok fótleggsisn ok hafði níst allt sama, fótinn ok brókina.	129	Then Snorri Goði came over and felt the leg, and found that a spear-blade was lodged in it between the tendon and the shin-bone and had pinned the breeches to the leg.	353

Table 31. *Brók* in *Snæfellingasögur*.

Of the ten times *brók* (trousers) are mentioned in *Snæfellingasögur*, five instances are part of a name. The mythical king Ragnar Loðbrók's lineage is mentioned once in *Eyrbyggja saga* (note however that the nickname Loðbrók is not given in *Bárðar saga*) and is commonly translated as Shaggy-breeches. The particular pair of trousers does not warrant any mention in *Bárðar saga* either.

Hák hábrók is also a peculiar instance, as CV (1874: 82) also mention a woman called

*langbrók* not because of her attire, but because she is tall. This might cast some light onto the origins of *loðbrók* as well, if it is interpreted as being a physical characteristic rather than the quality of the garment - after all, Raknar is said to have a black beard, which might come with a particularly impressive set of leg hair.

Among the people in Bárð's crew emigrating to Iceland in *Bárðar saga*, chs. 3-4, two slave-women are mentioned, one of them called Kneif and the other Skinnbrók ('Skin-breeches'). They come essentially as a pair, because both are given land upon their arrival and peninsulas are named after them, which is remarkable enough on two accounts: these are women and they are slaves, but they become landowners in their own right.

Anna Zanchi (2007: 239) is quick to dismiss Skinnbrók as being undergarments, but there might be more to it. Arnkel's slaves in *Eyrbyggja saga*, ch. 37, are said to wear leather garments for work, so it might also be that these are essentially work clothes that are referenced in her name.

There are only two instances where actual trousers catch the narrator's attention. The first one is an involved tragicomic scene in *Eyrbyggja saga*, ch. 45, in which one of Snorri godi's men is trying to pull off the blood-soaked stocking breeches (*leistabrók*) from Thórodd Thorbrandsson. First the man remarks that the Thorbrandsson's truly are flashy dressers (*sundrgørðamenn miklir*), as the breeches are so tight that they refuse to come off.

Thórodd, either accustomed to the pain caused by taking off the trousers (or accustomed to having no feeling in his legs due to depressed circulation), asks the man to pull harder, which he does by bracing one foot against the bench. One can only imagine the agony caused (but not mentioned in the saga), because now comes Snorri and scolds the man for being stupid as Snorri discovers a spear blade between the tendon and the shin. As an unexpected comparison point, it turns out that a toddler can be dressed with ease in dungarees which are moderately slim-fitting, whereas a thorough immersion in puddles renders the garment very difficult to remove.

However, it is clear from the scene that *leistabrók* are perceived as part of (overly)

fashionable dress, that men were accustomed to being helped out of their clothing, and the stocking-breeches were tight.

The remaining instance of *brók* comes from *Bjarnar saga*, ch. 27, where the poor hospitality Thord and his party receive on their first night at Björn's farm, is exemplified by the fact that only some of them managed to get out of their trousers, but even then they hung frozen overnight. There is no mention of what the trousers look like.

### 5.3. Accessories

#### 5.3.1. Headgear

No.	Saga	Ch.	Old Norse	P.	English	P.	Item
86	Vgl	14	"sem þat muni kona vera, sem faldinn hefir."	89	'that the one with the headgear must be the woman.'	245	faldr
97	Vgl	21	Svá er sagt, at Ketilriðr hafi haf hinu fyrir andliti sér ok hafi eigi viljat, at Víglundr hafi þekkt hana,	107	Ketilrid had a veil ever before her face, for she would not that Viglund should know her	260	hinna
98	Vgl	22	Hon hafði sprett hinnunni frá andliti sér	108	had rent the veil from her face	261	hinna
99	Vgl	22	En aldri hafði Ketiliriðr hinu fyrir andliti sér þaðan frá,	108	Now Ketilrid never had a veil before her face	261	hinna
41	Brð	9	Óvætttr ein, er Torfár-Kolla hét, en Skinnhúfa öðru nafni, hon átti heima at Knausum;	128	There was an evil spirit named Kolla of Torfa, known also as Skin-cap; she lived at Hnausar.	247	húfa

Table 32. Headwear in *Snæfellingasögur*.

Female headdress is referred to in *Snæfellingasögur* only in *Víglundar saga* and *Bárðar saga* with three different garments. One of these is actually a makeshift bandage, which is already discussed in 5.2.10.

The other is a veil that Ketilrid is said to have worn to conceal her identity from Viglund, who has actually recognised her already. The veil has a clear literary function, but due to the single instance it is mentioned, it is impossible to say whether this custom was actually adopted by Icelandic women on a larger scale or whether this was



simply a continental loan (Sävborg 2007: 469) in the narrative.

*Húfa* is defined in CV (1874: 293) as “a hood, cap, bonnet”. There is a single instance mention of *húfa* in *Bárðar saga*, ch. 9, where it belongs to an evil woman who is said to have done much harm.

### 5.3.2. Belts

No.	Saga	Ch.	Old Norse	P.	English	P.	Item
136	Bj	22	ok gaf honum til kníf ok belti, at hann segði honum, þá er skógarmenn færi til skips,	173	Bjorn gave him a knife and a belt as a bribe to tell him when the outlaws who were staying with Steinolf left for their ship.	194	belti
207	Erb	44	undir belti;	120	under his belt.	347	belti
138	Bj	25	ok gyrði hann at útan	177	and he belted it firmly	197	gyrða
28	Brð	6	þá gekk í sundr bróklindi Lón-Einars, ok er hann tók þar til, hjó Einarr hann banahögg.	121	Then the belt on Einar from Lon's breeches came apart, and when he clutched at his breeches Einar dealt him his death blow.	245	lindi
114	Bj	9	því líkar sem lindar væri,	133	which were like belts,	168	lindi
123	Bj	9	ok er þat nú messufatalindi í Gorðum á Akranesi.	134	It is now the cincture of a set of mass vestments at Gardar on Akraness.	169	lindi
146	Bj	32	Nú býsk hann til hrossanna ok hefir manskæri mikli á linda	197	Now he made ready to go to the horses, and had the large mane-shears at his belt,	211	lindi
151	Bj	32	Ok meðan þeir ræddusk þetta við, þá leysti Björn manskæri af linda sér, ok váru þau nýhvött, er hann fór heiman, bæði mikil ok bitrlig.	201	unfastened the mane-shears from his belt. They had just been sharpened before he came out, and were both large and keen.	213	lindi
39	Brð	8	ok hafði svarðreip um sik.	127	with a rope of hide around his waist.	247	svarðreip
44	Brð	9	ok svarðreip um sik	129	with a walrus-hide rope around him,	248	svarðreip

Table 33. *Belti, gyrða, lindi* and *svarðreip* in *Snæfellingasögur*.

The terms *belti* and *lindi*, in addition to the verb *gyrða* in relation to clothing<sup>4</sup>, seem to be interchangeable in *Snæfellingasögur*. *Belti* is mentioned twice, once in *Bjarnar saga*

<sup>4</sup> The phrase *gyrðr sverði* is used three times in *Snæfellingasögur*, and perhaps even this instance could be interpreted as in relation to weaponry rather than clothing.

and once in *Eyrbyggja saga*. *Lindi* is mentioned once in *Bárðar saga*, and four times in *Bjarnar saga*. Four out of the six instances denote unique items. CV (1874: 57) claim that *belti* is used primarily for women's belts, yet the examples in *Snæfellingasögur* only include men's belts. The term *gyrða* occurs once in *Bjarnar saga*.

The belts seem to occur in violent situations, and there is no shortage of battles in the sagas. In *Bjarnar saga*, ch. 22, Björn bribes a man with a knife and a belt (*belti*) in exchange for telling him when the outlaws Thord has been helping are on the move. Björn pursues the outlaws and kills them. In ch. 25, Björn is wearing a *blár kápa*, which he belts (*gyrða*) firmly before drawing his sword in order to fight Thord and his men, who have ambushed him. Björn wears and then unfastens mane shears from his belt (*lindi*) when he is engaged in his last battle, in ch. 32.

The single instance in which *lindi* is mentioned in *Bjarnar saga* is the garter Björn has unwittingly exchanged with King Ólaf Tryggvason in ch. 9. They are first compared to belts (*sém lindi*), then it said that the garter was later excavated and recycled as part of the vestments (*messufatalindi*) in Akranes.

The single occurrence in *Eyrbyggja saga*, ch. 44, is part of Steinthór's description just before the fierce battle, already discussed in 5.2.9 and 2.1.

The term *lindi* appears once in *Bárðar saga*, ch. 6 as part of the compound *bróklindi*, trouser belt. There is a fight between two Einars, one of whom has been equipped with a newly made *kyrtill* by his mother, and after Einar has "called on Bard for victory" (*Bard's Saga* 1997: 245), the other Einar's trouser belt gives in, he is hampered by trying to keep his trousers up, and is killed.

Another, more humble type of belt, the *svarðreip*, is mentioned twice in *Bárðar saga*, and these are the only examples of this term in *Snæfellingasögur*. Both times, it is mentioned along with the humble *grár kufl* Bárd is wearing (see 5.2.5 for further discussion). There are at least three more examples of *svarðreip* in *Íslendingasögur*. One of them is in *Illuga saga Tagldarbana*, ch. 1, where Illugi is first seen in a grubby state, including the walrus hide rope around his waist ('*Maður þessi var gyrður svarðreipi*').

A *svarðreip* is also mentioned in the late *Króka-Refs saga*, worn on a *blár kufl*. The blue cowl is exceptional, as no other *kufl* in *Íslendingasögur* seems to be dyed. Interestingly enough, he uses the *kufl* and *svarðreip* to disguise himself as an Icelander. In addition, Gísli in *Gísla saga Súrssonar* is said to have worn his grey *kufl* fastened with a rope (*reip*). (Database text search, Sagadb.org source texts)

*Gísla saga* dates to the 13th century (*The Icelandic Sagas* 2002: 11), but both *Bárðar saga* and *Króka-Refs saga* are late, 14th century sagas (ÍF XIII: XCVIII-XCIX; Björn Sigfússon 1981: 396), with *Illuga saga* being of even later origin. That might perhaps mean that *svarðreip* became more common or even identified with the poor and therefore we see this image reflected in the late saga literature.

### 5.3.3. Footwear

No.	Saga	Ch.	Old Norse	P.	English	P.	Item
54	Brð	18	Konungr fekk honum fjörutigi járnskó, ok váru dyndir innan.	162	The king gave him forty pairs of iron shoes that were lined with down.	262	skó
57	Brð	19	Tóku þeir þá járnskó þá, er konungr hafði fengit þeim:	164	They then put on the iron shoes that king had given them.	263	skó
58	Brð	19	En er allir höfðu tekit skóna nema Jósteinn prestr, gengu þeir á hraunit.	164	When they had all put on the shoes except Jostein the priest, they ventured onto the lava field.	263	skó
115	Bj	9	ok var því vafit frá skó ok til knés, ok höfdu þat jafnan helztu mennok tignir; ok þat sama hafði konungr ok Björn.	133	laced up from the shoe to the knee. The better men and the nobility always wore them, and the king and Bjorn did the same.	168	skó
158	Erb	9	at þeir myndi eigi troða skó til at ganga þar í útsker til álfreka.	15	The Kjalleklings announced that they would not wear out their shoes going to an offshore skerry for their needs.	286	skó
212	Erb	45	hann var á skóbroddum;	127	he had ice-spurs on his shoes.	351	skóbroddr
214	Erb	45	en Freystein stóð fast á skóbroddonum ok hjó bæði hart ok tíðum.	128	Freystein held his footing with his ice-spurs and struck hard and often.	352	skóbroddr
141	Bj	27	því at skóklæði þeira váru frørin, ok máttu þeir eigi ór	185	for their shoes and socks were frozen so that they	20	skóklæði

			komask, er engi var eldinn górr;		could not get them off, as no fire was kindled.		
203	Erb	43	Ok er hann vildi stíga yfir þreskøðinn, þá sté hann á þvengrjaskúfinn, þann er dragnaði;	117	But when he went to step across the door-sill he trod on the trailing tassell,	345	skúfr
201	Erb	43	Egill hafði skúfaða skóþvengi, sem þá var siðr til,	117	He was wearing shoes with tasselled thongs, as people did in those days,	345	þvengr
202	Erb	43	ok hafði losnat annarr þvengrinn, ok dragnaði skúfrinn;	117	and one of the thongs had become undone, and the tassel trailed behind him.	345	þvengr

Table 34. *Skó*, *skóbroddr*, *skóklæði*, *skúfr* and *þvengr* in *Snæfellingasögur*.

Shoes (*skó*) and parts of shoes are mentioned 12 times in total in the *Snæfellingasögur*, are included in six episodes, but never mentioned as a part of a description of dress, rather always to assist in exemplifying or characterising behaviour.

Conflict arises in *Eyrbyggja saga*, ch. 9, when the Kjalleklings announce “*at þeir myndi eigi troða skó*” (‘that they would not wear out their shoes’) by leaving the meeting to relieve themselves on a skerry. How many shoes are worn out during the half century of feuding that is covered in the next 56 chapters, is not mentioned.

Parts of shoes warrant some further attention in *Eyrbyggja saga*, chs. 43 and 45. In ch. 43, the slave Egil Sterki is promised freedom by his master’s sons if he kills one of the Breiðvíkings. Egil is instructed to sneak into the dwelling under cover of smoke, but his attire fails him. It is said that ‘[h]e was wearing shoes with tasselled thongs, as people did in those days’, implying that *skúfaða skóþvengr* had gone out of fashion.

This is one of the few instances in which the saga author felt the need to make clear the historical circumstances surrounding dress (another such reflexion concerns the garter Björn exchanges with Ólaf Tryggvason in *Bjarnar saga*, for further discussion, see 5.3.4). Roscoe (1992: 147) poses a question concerning this episode:

“How reliable is the writer’s knowledge of the customs of this period? Is he relying on tradition or is he merely reinforcing his description of Egill’s thongs in order to add verisimilitude to the anecdote concerning the slave’s mishap?”

In any case, the tasseled thong has become undone, catches on the threshold and Egil lands on the floor with ‘a great thud as though the carcass of a skinned bull had been

thrown to the floor'. Egil is caught and killed by the Breiðvíking.

In *Eyrbyggja saga*, ch. 45, where among others, Freysteinn and Steinthór fight, Freysteinn has already been saved from a fatal blow by his hood (see 5.2.6 above). Freysteinn has a further advantage as he is said to be wearing ice spurs (*skóbroddr*), but he is still vanquished:

“Steinthór kept losing his balance because the slabs of ice were steep and slippery, while Freysteinn held his footing with his ice-spurs and struck hard and often. The fight ended when Steinthór got in a blow with his sword just above Freysteinn’s hips and sliced him in two.” (*Eyrbyggja saga*, ch. 45)

The instances of *skó* and *skóklæði* (a common noun for shoes and stockings, according to CV (1874: 556) in *Bjarnar saga* are rather in passing. The historic fashion of wearing garters is explained in ch. 9. In ch. 27, as part of the description of the sorry state of Björn’s guests on their first night there, it is said that their *skóklæði* were frozen and would not come off.

The most remarkable example of shoes, both in its depth and nature, comes from *Bárðar saga*, when in ch. 18 the king equips Gest for his quest to find the treasures of king Raknar. The king gives Gest forty pairs of iron shoes lined with down, two magicians, a priest called Jostein, a short sword, a length of cloth to wrap himself in when entering the mound, a candle, and provisions to last three seasons. Needless to say every item on the list proves indispensable during the trip.

In ch. 19, the crew reaches “enormous stretches of burnt lava” and every man, bearing their own portion of the provisions, puts on a pair of shoes, but it turns out that there is one pair fewer than there are men, and the priest Jostein is left with bare feet. Soon, he is left unable to walk, but when Gest asks:

““Which of you fellows will help this scribbler to make it off the mountain?”  
No one spoke up because each thought he had enough to cope with.” (*Bard’s saga* 1997: 263)

Gest bears the priest - whom he does not like, but of whom the king had spoken highly - himself and is said to have walked the fastest.

The iron shoes themselves are a rather peculiar motif. Leather and hide have always been the preferred material for shoes, but apparently the durability of iron is at the

forefront in this case. It is difficult to imagine what these shoes might have looked like or to what extent the down lining eased the roughness and rigidity of the shoes. The shoes are part of a fantastic tale placed in a setting far removed from the narrator's and therefore detailing the practicalities was of less importance.

#### 5.3.4. Leg coverings

No.	Saga	Ch.	Old Norse	Page	English	Page	Item
149	Bj	32	ok var í hosum	199	and was wearing hose,	212	hosa
113	Bj	9	En þat var mǫnnum þá títt, at hafa reimar,	133	It was customary then for men to wear cross-garters,	168	reima
120	Bj	9	at Björn hafði skipt um reimarnar við konung, ok sagði honum þegar til vanhyggju sinnar; en konungr skipaði kyrrt vera ok kvað þá eigi verri, er hann hafði.	134	that he had exchanged cross-garters with the king. He told him at once of his mistake but the king let it rest, and said that the one he was wearing was no worse.	168	reima
121	Bj	9	Björn hafði ávallt þessa reim um fót sinn, á meðan hann lifði, ok með henni var hann niðr grafinn.	134	Bjorn always wore this cross-garter around his leg for as long as he lived, and with it he was buried.	169	reima
122	Bj	9	Ok þá miklu síðar, er bein hans váru upp tekin ok færð til annarrar kirkju, þá var sú in sama ræma ófúin um fótlegg Bjarnar, en allt var annat fúit,	134	And much later, when his bones were taken up and moved to another church, that same cross-garter remained uncorrupted around Bjorn's leg-bone, although everything else was decayed.	169	reima
150	Bj	32	ok vafit silkiræmu um fót sér, þeiri hann hafði skipt um við inn helga Ólaf konung.	199	and bound around his leg was the silk cross-garter he had got in the exchange with the blessed King Olaf.	212	reima
155	Bj	33	ok ræmunni, sem fyrr var sagt.	207	and the cross-garter, as was said before.	217	reima

Table 35. *Reima* and *hosa* in *Snæfellingasögur*.

Two types of leg coverings are mentioned in the *Snæfellingasögur* - garters (*reima*) and hose (*hosa*). Despite the number of occurrences, only a single garter and pair of hose are mentioned, all in *Bjarnar saga*. The garter seems not to be worn at the time of writing (or at least its communicative value has changed), because the garter is

introduced with the words ‘it was customary then’. The story about Björn and King Ólaf exchanging garters would seem to allude to silk garters being beyond the means or position of Björn, although the king graciously says “that the one he was wearing was no worse” (*The Saga of Bjorn* 2002: 169).

The garter is, if the story is to be believed, infused with the holiness of King Ólaf because it is said to have been uncorrupted after the death and decomposition of Björn and ultimately recycled as part of the vestments in Akranes (see 5.3.4 for further discussion).

Björn is said to wear a tunic, hose and the silk garter when he goes to the final battle of his life in ch. 32 of *Bjarnar saga*. The hose (*hosa*) were stocking-like leg coverings sewn from woven fabric and secured around the leg with a garter. These were fundamentally different from the *leistabrók* mentioned in *Eyrbyggja saga*, ch. 45 (see 5.2.13 for details). However, as the garter has been identified as a past fashion (#113), the questions whether hose were a Viking Age garment and whether the hose and the garters were worn together, remain still.

### 5.3.5. Bags

No.	Saga	Ch.	Old Norse	Page	English	Page	Item
184	Erb	20	ok tok selbelg, er hon hafði með sér, ok færði hann á höfuð Kötlu;	53	she took out a sealskin bag she had brought with her and pulled it over Katla's head.	307	selbelg
164	Erb	14	"Hvárt selda ek þér sjóð nokkurn á hausti?"	25	'Did I not give you a money-purse last autumn?'	292	sjóð
165	Erb	14	"Já," segir Þorbrandr ok brá sjóðnum	25	'Yes,' said Throbrand, and produced the purse	292	sjóð
208	Erb	44	ok festi á hurðarklofann sjóð þann, er í váru tólf aurar silfrs.	121	and nailed to it a purse containing twelve ounces of silver.	347	sjóð

Table 36. Bags in *Snæfellingasögur*.

There are two types of bag mentioned in the *Snæfellingasögur*, both in *Eyrbyggja saga*. One is the sealskin bag that Geirrid pulls over Katla's head in ch. 20 to keep her from producing further illusions.

Both of the *sjóð*, in chs. 14 and 44 are simply vessels for money. The one in ch. 14 is concealed under a *kápa* and is revealed from under it (this has been discussed in 5.2.1).

## 5.4. Other textiles

### 5.4.1. Bed furnishings

Bed furnishings occur in three of the *Snæfellingasögur* and are completely absent from *Bjarnar saga*. Most of the furnishings occur in *Eyrbyggja saga*, chs. 50-55, where the story of Thórgunna is recounted. Some references are included in 5.1.

No.	Saga	Ch.	Old Norse	P.	English	P.	Item
240	Erb	50	ok allan ársalinn með;	138	and a full canopy as well.	357	ársall
258	Erb	51	ok ársalinn allan, ok líkaði þó hváringu vel.	143	and the canopy, but neither of them was really easy about the outcome.	360	ársall
263	Erb	53	ok gægðisk upp á ársalinn Þórgunnu.	147	and it stared up at Thórgunna's bed-canopy.	362	ársall
264	Erb	55	hann gaf þau ráð til, at brenna skyldi ársal Þórgunnu,	151	he advised them to burn the canopy from Thórgunna's bed	365	ársall
267	Erb	55	Kjartan tók ofan ársalinn Þórgunnu, gekk síðan í eldaskála, tók glóð af eldi ok gekk út með;	151	He pulled down Thórgunna's bed-furnishings and then went into the fire-hall and plucked a brand from the fire and went outside with it;	365	ársall
29	Brð	7	ok hafði fortjald fyrir.	123	with the curtain drawn before her	245	fortjald
30	Brð	7	ok eina nótt forvitnaðist hann undir tjaldit;	124	and one night he looked under the bed curtain.	246	fortjald
100	Vgl	22	Hann lyptir upp fortjaldinu;	109	So he lifted up the curtains	262	fortjald
239	Erb	50	hon tók ór ǫrkinni rekkjurefil	138	then she took from the chest bed-curtains	357	rekkjurefil
96	Vgl	20	Í einni sæng lágu þau bæði saman; eitt sparlak var þar fyrir.	103	The two lay together in one bed; one blanket covered them.	257	sparlak

Table 37. Bed furnishings in *Snæfellingasögur*.

It is remarkable that the bed furnishings are always mentioned in relation to women - the mystery around Helga in *Bárðar saga* and Thórgunna in *Eyrbyggja saga* is centred on their beds. In *Víglundar saga*, *fortjald* are used to first explain the arrangement of



Ketilrid's marriage and then to set the scene for the planned killing of Ketilrid's husband by Viglund.

*Eyrbyggja saga* is purported to originate from the first half of 13th century (see 3.2 above), yet Frances Pritchard (2003: 363) states that bed curtains and canopies were only introduced in rich households in northern Europe at the end of the 13th century. The late origin of these textiles might be mirrored in *Íslendingasögur* by the fact that bed furnishings are rare in the corpus: a text search revealed only two more instances of *fortjald* and no other examples of *sparlak*, while the other terms are specific to *Eyrbyggja saga*.

*Sparlak*, although translated as 'blanket' (*Viglund's saga* 2002: 257), was actually 'a curtain' (CV 1874: 581). Marta Hoffmann (1983: 365) adds that *ársall* was replaced by *sparlak* in the 14th century, which confirms the dating of *Eyrbyggja saga* and *Viglundar saga*. *Rekkjurefill* might not have been a curtain, but a valance or a bedskirt (Hoffmann 1983: 365).

No.	Saga	Ch.	Old Norse	Page	English	Page
237	Erb	50	breiddi hon yfir rekkjuna enskar blæjur	138	She spread fine English sheets	357
257	Erb	51	ok blæjur	143	the bed-curtains	360

Table 38. *Blæja* in *Snæfellingasögur*.

Sheets are mentioned twice in *Eyrbyggja saga*, although curiously enough, on the second occasion, they are rendered as 'bed curtains', despite the fact that Thuríd is said to have taken 'the quilt, the bed curtains and the canopy' (*Eyrbyggja saga* 1999: 360), i.e. the hangings are already mentioned.

The 'fine English sheets' are deemed very precious on their revelation, suggesting that English linen (or some grades of it) was more precious than locally produced sheets. Hoffmann (1983: 360) maintains that the word is a cognate of Middle High German *blahe*, meaning coarse linen. (This means that the cloth had a lower thread count, not that it was of a lower quality or uneven.) Hoffmann further states that *blæja* was used to cover the body and sometimes showed from under the coverlet (1983: 360), but it is safe to assume that these were used both under and over the body as

Thórgunna is said to have laid out several sheets. For those who could afford bed clothes, wool sheets seem to have been much more common (Hoffmann 1983: 357).

No.	Saga	Ch.	Old Norse	P.	English	P.	Item
104	Vgl	23	þó at vit höfum haft eitt áklæði	115	even though we shared one coverlet.	266	áklæði
254	Erb	51	sótti hon þá svá fast, at honum gekksk hur við, ok kom þessu máli svá, at þóroddr brenndi dýnur	143	She pleaded with him so hard that he changed his mind; the upshot was that Thórodd burned the eiderdown	360	dýna
238	Erb	50	ok silkikult;	138	and a silken quilt over the bed;	357	kult
256	Erb	51	en hon tók til sin kult	143	while Thuríð took the quilt,	360	kult

Table 39. Bed covers in *Snæfellingasögur*.

There are only two coverlets mentioned in *Snæfellingasögur*, one in *Eyrbyggja saga*, chs. 50 and 51 (*kult*) and one in *Víglundar saga*, chs. 20 and 23. The coverlet in *Víglundar saga* is referred to both as *sparlak* and as *áklæði*. *Áklæði* was possibly an imported item (Hoffmann 1983: 363). Based on the database text search none of these terms occur elsewhere in the Icelandic sagas.

The *dýnur* in *Eyrbyggja saga*, ch. 51 probably describes a down mattress, which Thórgunna refers to, among other items, in ch. 50 when Thuríð offers to buy the bed clothes: “Thórgunna replied, ‘I am not going to lie on straw for your sake no matter how refined and lady-like you are.’” (*Eyrbyggja saga* 1999: 358). This suggests that eiderdown was hard to come by, even for vain mistresses of large households. This is verified by Marta Hoffmann (1983: 357-358), who says domestic birds were not common in Scandinavia in the Middle Ages and that down bolsters are rare in inventories. Hoffmann adds that *dýna* could also mean a cushion or pillow.

No.	Saga	Ch.	Old Norse	Page	English	Page
182	Erb	20	Stóð hon þá upp af pallinum ok tók hægindin undan sér;	53	She got up from the dais and lifted the cushions on which she had been sitting.	307
255	Erb	51	ok hægendi,	143	and pillows,	360

Table 40. *Hægendi* in *Snæfellingasögur*.

Pillows are mentioned twice in *Snæfellingasögur*, both instances are in *Eyrbyggja saga*. Apparently pillows were used both in beds and to sit upon. Hoffmann (1983: 359)

confirms this by adding that *hægendi* “is often mentioned in connection with a costly case”, which could well hold true for Thórgunna’s finery.

#### 5.4.2. Tents

No.	Saga	Ch.	Old Norse	Page	English	Page
105	Bj	4	Var þar skotit tjaldi yfir Björn,	121	Then a tent was pitched over Bjorn	160
112	Bj	9	en tjaldat var yfir laugina.	133	a tent was pitched over the bath.	168
125	Bj	10	Þeir bera búnað sinn af skipi ok reisa tjöld sín.	135	They carried their gear ashore and pitched their tent.	169
220	Erb	46	en þar var tjaldat yfir Bergþóri um nóttina.	131	but Bergthór was taken care of for the night in a tent	353
248	Erb	51	en rekkju mína ok rekkjutjald vil ek láta brenna í eldi, því at þat mu engum manni at nytjum verða;	142	but I want my bed and all its furnishings to be burned to ashes, for they will bring no good to anyone.	359

Table 41. *Tjald* in *Snæfellingasögur*.

The tents pitched in *Snæfellingasögur* seem to have different purposes: in *Eyrbyggja saga*, ch. 46, and in *Bjarnar saga*, ch. 10, they are used as accommodation, whereas in *Bjarnar saga*, ch. 4, it is used as a makeshift hospital that is pitched over Björn because he has suffered too many wounds to be moved. In the fourth instance, a tent is used to cover the bath where King Ólaf and his men bathe.

### 5.5. Materials

#### 5.5.1. Leather

No.	Saga	Ch.	Old Norse	P.	English	P.	Material
9	Brð	3	ok skar rauf á húð ok hafði þat fyrir hlíf;	110	Thorir cut a slit in a hide and used it as protection	240	húð
10	Brð	3	því var hann leðrháls kallaðr.	110	and because of that was called Leather-neck.	240	leðr
184	Erb	20	ok tok selbelg, er hon hafði með sér, ok færði hann á hofuð Kötlu;	53	she took out a sealskin bag she had brought with her and pulled it over Katla's head.	307	sel
6	Brð	3	ok var sveinninn vafinn í selaskinum til skjóls	108	the boy was swaddled in seal skins for warmth.	240	skinn
35	Brð	8	var vanr at hafa yfir sér einn skinnfeld stóran, ok var hann þar í skipinu hjá honum;	126	accustomed to have a great fur cloak over him	247	skinn

191	Erb	37	Nú er at segja frá þrælum Arnkels, at þeir gengu inn, þá er þeir hofðu inn borit heyit, ok fóru af skinnstökkum sínum.	102	To return to Arnkel's slaves: they went inside when they had finished carrying in the hay, and took off their leather work-clothes.	336	skinn
39	Brð	8	ok hafði svarðreip um sik.	127	with a rope of hide around his waist.	247	svörðr
44	Brð	9	ok svarðreip um sik	129	with a walrus-hide rope around him,	248	svörðr

Table 42. Usage of leather in *Snæfellingasögur* excluding names with *skinn*.

Of the materials mentioned in *Snæfellingasögur*, leather is the most prolific. Different kinds of leather and fur warrant eight mentions in two sagas, *Eyrbyggja saga* and *Bárðar saga*.

Three of the instances refer to name giving, all in *Bárðar saga*. Thorkel Skin-swathed is said to have been swaddled in seal skins upon his birth and thereby got his nickname (Bard's saga: 240, see further discussion in 5.5.2). He is named a further eight times in *Bárðar saga* and twice more in *Víglundar saga* (see table below).

Thorir leðrhals is told to have fashioned himself a hood or cloak out of a cow hide (CV 1874: 293 specifically states *húð* to be from cattle) (*Bard's saga*: 240-241). It is noteworthy that the *húð* transforms into *leðr* in the process.

Leather from sea creatures does not end with Thorkel's swaddling clothes: a sealskin bag is mentioned in *Eyrbyggja saga*, ch. 20 and Bárð is said in chs. 8 and 9 of *Bárðar saga* to have worn a walrus hide rope around his waist after his retreat from the society.

The rare mention of working clothes, *skinnstakkr*, in *Eyrbyggja saga*, ch. 37 includes leather. I have argued above in 5.2.13, that even the slave woman accompanying Bárð on his journey out to Iceland might have got her name from her work clothes.

The remaining instance of *skinn* concerns the lucky fisherman Ingvald in *Bárðar saga*, ch. 8. This is probably the only fur garment in *Snæfellingasögur*. Yet, there is mention of Skin-Björn in *Bárðar saga*, ch. 5. CV (1874: 547) list the origin of the name:

“Skinna-björn, a nickname, from fur-trading in Russia (Hólmgarður), see Landn. 3, ch. 1.”

The case of Skinnhúfa has been discussed above in 5.3.1. Not included in the list is another interesting episode in *Bárðar saga* concerning a bearskin used in *hörnuskinnaleik* (ÍF XIII 144).

No.	Saga	Ch.	Old Norse	Page	English	Page
3	Brð	3	Skinnbrók	108	Skin-breeches	240
4	Brð	3	Þorkell hét ok var kallaðr skinnvefja	108	Thorkel who was called Skin-swathed	240
8	Brð	3	ok því var hann kallaðr Þorkell skinnvefja.	108	he was called Thorkel Skin-swathed.	240
13	Brð	4	Þorkell skinnvefja	112	Thorkel Skin-swathed	241
14	Brð	4	Skinnbrók	113	Skin-breeches	241
15	Brð	4	Skinnbrók	113	Skinbrok	241
20	Brð	5	Þá var sá maðr á vist með Eiríki, er Skeggi hét Skinna-Bjarnarson, Skútaðar-Skeggjasonar.	115	With Eirik was a man named Skeggi Skin-Bjorn's son, son of Skutad-Skeggi.	242
26	Brð	6	Þorkatli skinnvefju	119	Thorkel Skin-swathed	244
41	Brð	9	Óvættir ein, er Torfár-Kolla hét, en Skinnhúfa öðru nafni, hon átti heima at Knausum;	128	There was an evil spirit named Kolla of Torfa, known also as Skin-cap; she lived at Hnausar.	247
46	Brð	10	Þorkel skinnvefju	133	Thorkel Skin-swathed	249
49	Brð	10	Þorkell skinnvefja	136	Thorkel Skin-swathed	250
52	Brð	13	Þorkell skinnvefja	142	Thorkel Skin-swathed	253
53	Brð	13	Þorkell skinnvefja	144	Thorkel Skin-swathed	253
82	Vgl	12	Þorkell skinnvefja	84	Thorkel Skin-swathed	241

Table 43. Names in *Snæfellingasögur* containing *skinn*.

There is another mention of *skinn* in *Bárðar saga*, ch. 13 (ÍF XIII: 144-145), where the men start a *hornaskinnleik*, which is played by men throwing a *bjarnfeld einn stóran* (a large bearskin - author's translation) around. According to the footnote in the edition, this game is only known from this episode.

### 5.5.2. Wool

No.	Saga	Ch.	Old Norse	P.	English	P.	Material
213	Erb	45	Han hafði verit í flókahettu, ok saumat í horn um hálsinn, ok kom þar í hoggit.	128	He was wearing a felt hood with a piece of horn sewn into the collar, where the blow had landed.	352	flóki
5	Brð	3	þar er mjök var illt til vaðmála,	108	It was difficult to come by homespun cloth there	240	vaðmál
193	Erb	39	Í bagga hans váru þrjú hundruð vaðmála	105	In his baggage were three hundred ells of homespun cloth	337	vaðmál

Table 44. Wool in *Snæfellingasögur*.

Wool is mentioned thrice in *Snæfellingasögur*: twice in *Eyrbyggja saga* and once in *Bárðar saga*.

In *Eyrbyggja saga*, ch. 45 it is said that Freysteinn has a piece of horn sewn into the collar of his felt hood. This is a single instance in both *Snæfellingasögur* and *Íslendingasögur*, according to a database search.

*Vaðmál*, which was crucial to the Icelandic economy, is only mentioned twice, and is rendered in English as ‘homespun’. All manner of clothing and textiles, be it sails, work clothes, or fine silks, were, by definition, handmade before the modern era. The fact that women worked at home, does not justify using a potentially dismissive term - Icelandic *vaðmál* was a highly standardised product (Hayeur Smith 2015: 33-34), which was the source of the wealth of many merchants, both native and foreign.

Zanchi (2007: 102-106) uses the same cutting remark: the chapter on *vaðmál* ends the section on precious clothing and is titled “On the other end of the scale”, clearly indicating this author’s perception that *vaðmál* was of inferior quality. Certainly, it was not coveted or admired as were the *silvikult* or the *skarlatsskikkja*, but this does not mean it was resented - this was the default clothing material, after all. This also does not leave room for the fact that *vaðmál* was probably made in several qualities - if not for sale, then for domestic consumption. Spinners and weavers who can produce uniform cloth by the metre to specification are certainly able to adjust their processes to other needs.

There is a direct link between a man's fortune and wool in *Eyrbyggja saga*. In ch. 39, Arnbjörn arrives at the ship at the last minute, carrying three hundred ells of *vaðmál*, twelve *vararfeldir*, and food for the voyage (ÍF IV: 105, *Eyrbyggja saga* 1999: 337). He later arrives back on Iceland, is said to be *engi áburðarmaður* ('no dandy'), but is still able to ride to the assembly in coloured clothing. One can assume that his fortune was made (or at least the begun) using the cloth and the sheepskins or cloaks (see 5.2.2 for discussion).

One ounce of silver was worth 24 ells of *vaðmál* according to the footnote in ÍF IV (25). Therefore we can assume that Arnbjörn had with him *vaðmál* worth 12.5 ounces of silver, although this was in local currency. The *vararfeldr* were set by law to cost two ounces (Jochens 1995: 155), so that adds 24 ounces of silver to the value of Arnbjörn's baggage. These items were probably worth a lot more abroad.

However, it is stated that he is carrying all of it on his own. The weight of the bale can be calculated given that

- legal *vaðmál* was two ells wide (98.4 cm) (Hayeur Smith 2015: 30-31),
- the archeological finds from Iceland are woven at around 8-12 warp threads per centimetre and 4-10 weft threads per cm (Hayeur Smith 2015: 33),
- warp density of 12 ends per centimetre would require a thread with length to weight ratio 6500 metres per kilo (Andersson 1999: 9) (although this would be subject to change with wool type and twist density).

If we take it the cloth measures 0.984 m by 177.12 m (300 ells x 12 x 0.492 m), and we operate on the notion that it was the finest type, i.e. 12 and 10 threads per centimetre, then there would be 1181 warp threads, which would total in 209 178.72 m of warp threads, and 177 120 picks, which would total in 177 120 m of weft thread. That is 386 298.72 m (which is to say, a little shy of 400 km) of thread in total, which at the given length to weight ratio would mean the bale (excluding the *vararfeldir* and the food for the voyage) would weigh 59.43 kilos, which would be probably be within the capabilities of the man.

Also worth noting is that the weaving took place at a rate of 1-1.5 ells a day (Hoffmann

1964: 215-216), which would amount to a work of woman's full year. Yet Andersson (1999: 9), while confirming the weaving time, reports that processing the fibre and spinning it are the most time-consuming of all the processes, whilst weaving takes the least time. This means that by a modest evaluation, Arnbjörn boarded the ship with at least three years' worth of women's work (this again excludes the *vararfeldir*, which would have taken more time to weave).

It would have been hard to imagine a landscape without sheep in Mediaeval Iceland, yet such a place is in the author's opinion referenced when the birthplace of Thorkell Skin-swathed is described. He is said to have been born north of Dumbshaf, i.e. North of Norway, and that "*þar er mjök var illt til vaðmála*" (ÍF XIII: 108; #5). There are not many places where sheep cannot live and people can, and the Arctic is one of them. In support of this is the fact that the description of Thorkell is particularly elaborate and horrid, resembling the description of trolls, and in the opinion of Aðalheiður Guðmundsdóttir (2017: 336-337) these descriptions are actually based on the Sami people.

### 5.5.3. Linen

No.	Saga	Ch.	Old Norse	P.	English	P.	Material
127	Bj	11	Þat hofðu þau at sýslu þann dag, Björn ok móðir hans, at þau breiddu niðr lérept ok þurrkuðu, er vát hofðu orðit.	137	Bjorn and his mother were busy that day spreading out the linen that had been washed to dry.	170	lérept
259	Erb	51	Líkit var sveipat línúkkum, en saumat eigi um, ok síðan lagt í kistu;	143	The corpse was wrapped in a linen shroud, but not sewed into it, and then coffined.	360	lín

Table 45. Linen in *Snæfellingasögur*.

Linen is mentioned twice in *Snæfellingasögur*. Once it is the material of Thórgunna's shroud in *Eyrbyggja saga*, ch. 51. The second time, Björn helps with spreading out the freshly washed linen or linen cloth to dry in *Bjarnar saga*, ch. 11. Doing the washing was a female task (Zanchi 2007: 185-187), but given that performing inappropriate tasks is a subject of mockery in the saga, I would rather be inclined to think it was an



appropriate male task. In ch. 12 (*The Saga of Bjorn* 2002: 172), Oddný suggests Thord should shovel muck from the sheep pens and is slapped by him; in ch. 16 (*The Saga of Bjorn* 2002: 181) Björn picks up a calf that is lying on the floor of the barn and Thord likens him to a midwife. Such reactions do not follow when Thord sees Björn spreading out the linen. Spreading out freshly and closely woven linen is a task that requires physical stamina as linen is heavy and tough to reshape when wet.

Whether flax was grown in Iceland remains unknown because Zanchi (2007: 81) maintains on the basis of a research article that linseed has been discovered in Iceland and there are place names connected to flax and linen. Annika Larsson (2007: 265) references another article when saying the climate in Iceland is not suited for growing flax and there are no place names referring to flax or linen.

#### 5.5.4. Silk

No.	Saga	Ch.	Old Norse	P.	English	P.	Material
106	Bj	7	þórðr orti drápu um Ólaf konung; síðan fór hann ok færði sjálf ok þá af konungi gullhring ok pellskyrtil hlaðbúinn ok sverð gott.	127	Thord composed a drapa about King Olaf; then he went and recited it himself, and received from the king a gold ring, a silken tunic trimmed with lace, and a fine sword.	163	pell
150	Bj	32	ok vafit silkiræmu um fót sér, þeiri hann hafði skipt um við inn helga Ólaf konung.	199	and bound around his leg was the silk cross-garter he had got in the exchange with the blessed King Olaf.	212	silki
238	Erb	50	ok silkikult;	138	and a silken quilt over the bed;	357	silki

Table 46. Silk in *Snæfellingasögur*.

Silk, which was undeniably much rarer than wool, as a material for clothing, warrants the same number of mentions. The instances are limited to the two earlier sagas, *Bjarnar saga* and *Eyrbyggja saga*. All of the items are imported: the tunic in *Bjarnar saga*, ch. 7, and the garter, which we have heard of several times before (see 5.3.3), is identified as being silk in ch. 32. The quilt in *Eyrbyggja saga*, ch. 50, finds its way to Iceland with Thórgunna.

### 5.5.5. Iron

No.	Saga	Ch.	Old Norse	Page	English	Page
54	Brð	18	Konungr fekk honum fjörutigi járnskó, ok váru dyndir innan.	162	The king gave him forty pairs of iron shoes that were lined with down.	262
57	Brð	19	Tóku þeir þá járnskó þá, er konungr hafði fengit þeim:	164	They then put on the iron shoes that king had given them.	263

Table 47. *Járn in Snæfellingasögur.*

Iron is mentioned in connection with the shoes King Ólaf equips Gest with when he goes to retrieve the treasures of King Raknar. Iron would be a rather peculiar choice for shoes, as has already been discussed in 5.3.3.

### 5.5.6. The quality of cloth

No.	Saga	Ch.	Old Norse	P.	English	P.	Material
110	Bj	8	Björn skyldi hafa guðvefjarkyrtil	131	Bjorn was to have a tunic of precious cloth	167	guðvefjar
145	Bj	29	Þorfinnu gaf Björn gullhring ok guðvefjarkyrtil, er Óláfr konungr hafði gefit Þórði Kolbeinssyni, ok hann gerði til handa Birni eptir rán í Brenneyjum.	191	Bjorn gave Thorfinna a gold ring and the costly woven tunic which King Olaf had given to Thord Kolbeinsson, and which the king had given into Bjorn's possession after the robbery in the Branno islands	207	guðvefjar
246	Erb	51	en af óskiptri minni eigu skal Þuríðr hafa skarlatsskikkju þá, er ek á;	142	But before you divide up my property, Thurið is to have the scarlet cloak I own.	359	skarlat
124	Bj	9	Ok nú um vetrinn eþra var Björn í Nóregi, ok gaf Óláfr konungr honum skikkju vandaða, ok hét honum sinni vináttu ok kallaði hann vera vaskan mann ok góðan dreng.	134	Then the next winter Bjorn stayed in Norway, and King Olaf gave him a finely made cloak and promised him his friendship, calling him an intrepid man and a fine fellow.	169	vandað

160	Erb	13	Þorleif keypti þann hest, er hann fekk beztan; hann hafði ok steindan sǫðul allglæsiligan, hann hafði búit sverð ok guldrekit spjót, myrkblán skjöld ok mjök gyldan, vönduð ǫll klæði; hann hafði þar ok til vart mjök ǫllum sínum fararefnum;	23	Thorleif bought the best horse he could find and had a magnificent coloured saddle; he carried an ornamented sword, a gold-inlaid spear and a richly-gilded, dark-blue shield. All his clothing was of the finest quality; he had spent nearly all his travel money on his apparel.	291	vandað
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Table 48. The quality of cloth in *Snæfellingasögur*.

The quality of the cloth is mentioned only a handful of times in *Snæfellingasögur*, but nevertheless the vocabulary is specialised, even if it does not go into further detail. *Skarlat* is included in this section because it has been a precious cloth, the colour of which was in part achieved using kermes (Munro 2003: 212-213, see 5.6.4 for further discussion). Again, as with silk, none of the items included in this section are locally produced.

On the matter of *guðvefjar*, Zanchi (2007: 74) comments that, “The fabric must have been so highly prized as to be accepted even in its second-hand state.” This statement is a completely modern one: people are used to the consistent onslaught of new clothing, leaving no room for the notion that new cloth and clothing in itself was precious (the only newly made garments in *Snæfellingasögur* are the impenetrable tunics). This also does not take into account the importance of clothing gifts in *Íslendigasögur* (on which Zanchi (2007) has written a whole section). The clothing gifts are prolific in *Snæfellingasögur* as well, and are never turned down, rather the opposite.

## 5.6. Colours

Clothing colours could up to the second half of the 19th century be derived from two sources - the natural colour of the fibre, or natural dyes. If a textile was dyed, then this was a considerable feat and was certainly reflected in the cost of the item (somebody needed to put in the hours, even if the item was homemade), because the dyestuff needed to be gathered or cultivated, processed (this takes elaborate composting in the

case of woad (*Isatis tinctoria*), the Mediaeval source of blue, for example), the fibre, yarn or cloth needed to be mordanted in most cases, and only then could the textile be dyed. The scarcity of dyed clothing (as well as imported clothing) in Iceland is confirmed by archaeological records (Hayeur Smith 2015: 26, 37).

Yet, in the case of landrace sheep such as the Icelandic sheep, the fleece colour varies considerably from bright white to black with many shades of grey and brown in between. Even the black can have either a cool (veering towards dark grey) or a warm (veering towards dark brown) grey. Apparently, modern Icelandic distinguishes even between *hvít* and *gul* in *sauðalítir* (Bændasamtök Íslands: Íslenskt sauðfe). Robson and Ekarius (2011: 169) remark on the palette of the Icelandic sheep: “If you want an exercise in studying color genetics, Icelandic sheep will give it to you.”

Using different colours of fleece would have been the most economical way to produce a variety of shading in cloth, giving shades that differ enough to warrant striping or patterning. In addition, the coloured fleeces could have been dyed, which gives a different range of hues, and in the case of mid-greys helps achieve depth of colour while using less dyestuff.

Another matter, however, would be linen. The natural colour of the flax fibre is light grey or light brown depending on the retting method, linen is bleached (either chemically or by exposing it to sunlight) to become white, and cellulose-based fibres were more difficult to dye than protein-based fibres. Therefore, the whitest of white was the hue that was the most coveted.

### 5.6.1. *Hvít*

No.	Saga	Ch.	Old Norse	Page	English	Page
61	Brð	21	Siðan andaðist Gestr í hvítavaðum.	170	Afterwards Gest died, still in his baptismal clothes.	265

Table 49. *Hvít* in *Snæfellingasögur*.

The single instance in which *hvít* is mentioned in relation to clothing comes with Gest’s death in *Bárðar saga*, ch. 21. Gest is said to have died in *hvítavaðum*, baptismal clothes, which were worn for a week after baptism (Roscoe 1992: 88). According to

both Roscoe (1992: 88-101) and Zanchi (2007: 116-117), white clothing is rarely mentioned in *Íslendingasögur*, and according to Roscoe (1992: 101), the imagery is often influenced by Christianity.

However, Zanchi (2007: 116-117) seems to think in line with Valtýr Guðmundsson (1892: 187), that white *vaðmál* would have been “the simplest, and most economical” (Zanchi 2007: 116) type of cloth, and that the low status of white cloth was derived “from the fact that white clothes could be easily stained, and were thus not an appropriate material for a chieftain’s or free man’s garments” (Zanchi 2007: 117). This goes squarely against the facts that white linen has been greatly appreciated, that given the natural variety of *sauðalítir*, white wool was less common in Icelandic sheep than the modern audience (who are used to representation of white sheep) might think, and that chieftains and free men could afford to have impractical clothes (a silken tunic is no less practical when mucking out the barn than white clothes).

### 5.6.2. *Grár* and *móbrúnn*

No.	Saga	Ch.	Old Norse	Page	English	Page
38	Brð	8	hann var í grám kufli	127	He was in a grey cowl	247
43	Brð	9	at hann var í grám kufli	129	in a grey cowl	248
45	Brð	10	sá var hann í grám kufli	133	He was in a grey cowl	249
50	Brð	11	ok var í grám kufli	139	wearing a grey cowl	251

Table 50. *Grár* in *Snæfellingasögur*.

The instances of *grár* in *Snæfellingasögur* are all limited to *Bárðar saga*. Bárð is, after his retreat from society, synonymous with his *grár kufi*, which can be taken to mean a *sauðalítir*. However, as has been argued in 5.2.5, this was a voluntary choice. *Grár* relating to textiles seems to be limited to a handful of occurrences in the Icelandic sagas (Wolf 2009: 233).

No.	Saga	Ch.	Old Norse	Page	English	Page
169	Erb	18	En þeir kómu í Holt til Kötlu, færði hon Odd, son sinn, í kyrtil móbrúnan, er hon hafði þá nýgort.	34	When they arrived at Holt, Katla dressed her son Odd in a dark-brown tunic she had just made.	297

Table 51. *Móbrún* in *Snæfellingasögur*.

There is a single instance of *móbrúnn* in *Snæfellingasögur*. This was certainly a natural sheep colour rather than a dyed one.

### 5.6.3. *Blár* and *svartr*

No.	Saga	Ch.	Old Norse	Page	English	Page
56	Brð	18	hann hafði bláflekkótta skauthekle ok kneppta niðr í milli fóta sér.	163	he wore a blue-spotted cape with a hood, which buttoned all the way down to his feet.	262
77	Vgl	8	Í þessu kom maðr í stofuna bláklæddr ok helt á brugðnu sverði.	78	At this moment a man dressed in black walked into the room; he was holding a drawn sword.	237
78	Vgl	8	en inn bláklæddi maðr var Ólof sjálf.	78	the man in black was Olof herself.	236
126	Bj	11	hann reið einn saman í blári kápu.	136	He rode alone in a black cloak.	170
128	Bj	11	Hon tók til orða: "Maðr riðr þar," segir hon, "í blári kápu ok er alllíkr Þórði Kolbeinssyni, ok hann er ok, ok mun hans ørendi óþarft."	137	She broke into speech: 'There is a man riding there,' she said, 'in a black cloak, looking very like Thord Kolbeinsson - it is him too, and his business would be best left undone.'	170
132	Bj	17	þat váru karlar tveir, ok hafði annarr hōtt blán á hōfði;	154	It represented two men, one of them with a black hat on his head.	182
137	Bj	25	Hann var í blári kápu,	177	He was wearing a black cape,	197
180	Erb	20	Geirriðr hafði blá skikkju yfir sér.	53	Geirriðr was wearing a blue cloak.	307
221	Erb	47	Snorri goði var í blári kápu ok reiðr fyrstr.	134	Snorri Goði was in the lead, wearing a black cloak.	355

Table 52. *Blár* in *Snæfellingasögur*

No.	Saga	Ch.	Old Norse	Page	English	Page
161	Erb	13	en Snorri var í svartri kápu ok reið svörtu merhrossi góðu; hann hafði fornan trogsōðul ok vápn litt til fegrdar búin;	23	Snorri, on the other hand, wore a black cloak and was riding a good black mare; he had an old trough-shaped saddle, and his weapons had little adornment.	291

Table 53. *Svartr* in *Snæfellingasögur*

A great many pages have been written about the relation between *blár* and *svartr* in Mediaeval Icelandic literature (Valtýr Guðmundsson 1892, Hughes 1971, Hansen 1979, Roscoe 1992, Straubhaar 2005, Wolf 2006, Zanchi 2007, D'Ettore 2009).

Most of these sources are founded on the “possible saga convention” suggested by Hughes (1971). He presents examples from three sagas (*Njáls*, *Hrafnkels*, *Grettis*) and poses a hypothesis that people wear their best clothing when danger is imminent. However, of the eight examples he provides, only one scene includes a ‘blue cloak’. Indeed, Hughes (1971: 172) says in conclusion: “[T]here is a definite association between the description of bright clothes or armour and impending danger or crisis for the wearer.”

It is Hansen, who in 1979 establishes a link between *blár* and violence:

“I de undersøgte tekster er forholdet mellem ‘blár’ og de øvrige farver, hvor disse udtrykkeligt er nævnt, reguleret efter et participativt forløb, hvor ‘blár’ altid er indføjet i en kontekst, som implicerer vold/død under en eller anden form, medens de øvrige farver ikke ses at være underlagt samme automatik med adviserende informationsfunktion.” (Hansen 1979: 13-14)

“In the analysed texts, the relationship between *blár* and the other colours, where they are mentioned, is regulated by a participatory process, where *blár* is always introduces in a context which implies violence/death in one or other form, whereas the other colours do not seem to use the same mechanism of forewarning.” (Author’s translation)

Hansen provides examples from 10 sagas and also introduces the syntagma of *blá kápa*, which he connects to Odin (Hansen 1979).

Straubhaar (2005) describes the situation “It is evidently a common assumption, among saga scholars and historical re-enactors, that, as the Icelandic saga narratives tell us, early Icelanders (as a rule) dressed themselves in dark clothing before foraying out to slay someone.” Straubhaar goes on to carefully analyse the material and arrives at the following conclusion:

“For instance, if a character rides into a saga scene wearing his or her best clothes, perhaps blue-dyed ones, that character *might* slay someone in the near future; but often he won’t.” (Straubhaar 2005: 65)

Yet in 2009, D’Ettore, who is also familiar with Straubhaar’s article, attributes Hughes with

“expand[ing] on the commonplace observation about the menacing nature of men in blue or black cloaks [...] making an important but highly understated argument for a connection between clothing and impending crisis for the wearer.” (D’Ettore 2009: 1)

D’Ettore (2009: 14) concludes by saying: “Further consideration reveals Hughes’s ‘possibilities’ to be realities within the literature.”

Wolf (2006: 71) compares *blár* and *svartr*, and identifies a clear semantic difference between the two terms, and remarks, in this author’s opinion, correctly that *blár* was always, at least when referring to textiles, a dyed hue.

Wolf however, cites (2006: 71) the example of Ljót from *Bolli þáttr Bollasonar*, in which he is said to have worn a *svartr kyrtil* for his everyday business and a *blár kyrtil* for when he was in the mood for killing. Zanchi (2007: 125) notes that in *Valla-Ljóts saga* (which originates from the first half of the 13th century as opposed to the *þáttr* which is half a century younger), the everyday *kyrtill* is *brúnn*, but adds “his *blár* tunic forewarns nothing but trouble”.

What do the instances in *Snæfellingasögur* tell us about previous scholarship? There are eight scenes in the *Snæfellingasögur* that include either a *blár* or a *svartr* garment. In *Bárðar saga*, ch. 18 Rauðgrani is described as having a blue-spotted cape (see 5.2.6). He is later identified as Odin, and he undoubtedly makes trouble when preaching paganism, although he does not kill anybody, whereas he is killed by the priest Jostein.

In *Bjarnar saga*, ch. 17, one of the men depicted as having homosexual intercourse is said to have worn a blue hat. There is no imminent violence, although of course this adds considerably to the conflict between Thord and Björn (see 5.2.7 for further discussion).

The single instance of a blue garment in *Víglundar saga* is in ch. 8 when Ólof disguises herself as the “extremely angry” (*Víglund’s saga* 2002: 236) Ottar when the brothers Einar and Jökull come to the farm with plans to rape her. This is, as has been shown in 5.2.4, a great example of lying in dress. Given that one other woman is said to have worn *blár* in *Snæfellingasögur* (and we do not hear about the specifics of Ólof’s own *möttul*), might it be that *blár* reinforces the perceived manliness? There is certainly impending danger in the scene, but this is clear from the onset. Ólof, dressed in blue, is the wildcard who turns the blade against the brothers themselves.

The only other woman said to have worn a blue garment was the *fjölkyinnig* Geirrid,



who meets Arnkel and his men when they try to catch Odd Kötluson in *Eyrbyggja saga*, ch. 20. The scene is already full of the willingness to kill, yet the men are at a loss because of Katla's doings. Geirrid, who obviously steps out of her domestic sphere, is the one who overthrows Katla after she joins Arnkel and his men. Here again, the blue might underline the masculine traits.

There is another prime example of lying in dress, relating to both the single instance of *svartr* (*Eyrbyggja saga*, ch. 13 where Snorri godi returns from abroad) and *blár* (*Eyrbyggja saga*, ch. 47 where Snorri goes to attack Björn). This has been covered already in 2.1 and 5.2.1. However, previous scholarship, such as Zanchi (2007: 145) interprets this only as the immediate scenes suggest: that Snorri was too poor to afford a better set of garments. The relationship between the two garments is clear, however, as the *svart kápa* is mocked for being too low status and Snorri wears a *blá kápa* when riding in front of his men. Yet Snorri does not kill Björn because he acts more boldly and instead threatens Snorri with the knife he has at hand.

The remaining two instances are from *Bjarnar saga*. In ch. 11, Thord arrives at Björn's farm wearing a *blá kápa*, but is identified beforehand by Björn's mother who says "[']his business would be best left undone.'" (The Saga of Bjorn 2002: 170). Contrary to expectation, Thord does not come to kill but invites Björn to stay with him for the winter. In ch. 25 (The Saga of Bjorn 2002: 197-198), Björn is visiting a friend and is advised by the hostess to take a different route home after he has bad dreams. He is said to have been in a *blá kápa*, which he could not have produced because of the dreams, but which he must have had with him when going on this friendly visit, if the narrative is to be believed. Björn is attacked on the way home by Thord, but is not killed (this happens in ch. 32, in which he wears a *kyrtill góðan*).

On the one hand, the evidence supports the hypothesis that *blár* occurs in violent situations, but given that this does not always occur and that the sagas are full of violence and men are killed constantly, this seems rather precarious. Especially so, as Saga Thing (2018a) says that depending on the methodology used to make the count, somewhere between 80 and 150 people die of unnatural causes in *Eyrbyggja saga*. At the time of writing, there is consistent data available only for *Eyrbyggja saga* (101

deaths), *Bjarnar saga* (14 human deaths) and *Víglundar saga* (17 human deaths<sup>5</sup>) (Saga Thing 2018b). Given that there are 132 deaths, of which only three occur in the scenes involving a *blár* item, we can safely say that there is no particular connection between *blár* and being killed, and that being exposed to fancy bedclothes is a far greater threat.

#### 5.6.4. *Rauður*

No.	Saga	Ch.	Old Norse	Page	English	Page
205	Erb	44	þeir Steinþórr rið at durum, ok er svá frá sagt, at hann væri í rauðum kyrtli	120	Steinþór and his men came riding up to the door; it is said that he was wearing a scarlet tunic	347

Table 54. *Rauður* in *Snæfellingasögur*.

Only a single garment (not counting the implied *feldr* in *rauðfeldr*, see 5.2.2) in *Snæfellingasögur* is said to have been red, and even then the red is not deemed fancy enough and is translated as ‘scarlet’ (*Eyrbyggja saga* 1999: 347). A madder red item is a thing of beauty, but given that dyestuffs do not get any more expensive than scarlet (Munro 2003: 212), this seems excessive.

A text search in the database revealed that red tunics are the most prolific among the *Íslendingasögur* - there are 21 *rauður kyrtill*, 3 tunics that are *skarlat*, and 5 that are said to be *rauður skarlatskyrtill*, that is red tunics made from scarlet cloth. Larsson (2007: 260) interprets the double label of red and scarlet as a transition form, where ‘scarlet’ has not yet become synonymous with colour, but is still primarily a fabric label with the fabric being any colour that was partly achieved with kermes. However, given that *scharlachen* denotes a good quality shorn cloth in Old High German<sup>6</sup> (and other Germanic languages by influence) (Munro 2003: 214), then it might well be the case that *skarlat* had not at this time become fabric dyed with kermes, and the *skarlat* only refers to the quality of the fabric.

<sup>5</sup> This count includes all untimely deaths, whether in battle or for example, from diseases, and does not include seals, horses nor oxen (Saga Thing 2018a).

<sup>6</sup> Old High German has been recorded from about 700-1000 AD (van der Wal and Quak 1994: 72).

## 5.7. Textile work

References to the production of textiles are few and far between in *Snæfellingasögur*, especially as the work must have been ceaseless because not only did the women clothe the household, they were responsible for the production of *vaðmál* as well.

Interestingly enough, Thórir léðrhals receives an honourable mention in this category because he was able to cut into a hide (see 5.5.1).

No.	Saga	Ch.	Old Norse	P.	English	P.	Room
152	Bj	33	ok gengr Kálfr í dyngju,	204	and Kalf went into the women's room	216	dyngja
153	Bj	33	gengr ór dyngjunni	205	went out of the room	216	dyngja
269	Erb	56	ok hann gekk í dyngjuna	153	he went into the women's room	366	dyngja
74	Vgl	8	ok gengr til saumstofu sinnar	77	and went to her sewing-room,	236	saumstofa
76	Vgl	8	en hon sagði hana vera í saumstofu sinni.	78	that she was in her sewing-room	236	saumstofa
91	Vgl	18	svaf hun opt lítit ok vakti í saumstofu sinni um nætr.	97	Often she slept little and spent the nights awake in her sewing-room.	252	saumstofa

Table 55. Women's quarters in *Snæfellingasögur*.

*Dyngja* and *saumstofa* warrant six mentions in total, but never does the audience hear about the work being done there, only that mostly men go in or out of the room.

No.	Saga	Ch.	Old Norse	P.	English	P.	Item
174	Erb	20	af rokki.	51	on her distaff.	306	rokkur
175	Erb	20	Ok er þeir kómu skammt frá garðinum, nam Arnkell staðar ok mælti: "Hvært mun Katla eigi hafa heðni veift um höfuð oss? ok hefir þar verit Oddr, sonr hjennar, er oss sýndisk rokkrinn."	51	When they had gone all the way from the farm, Arnkel stopped in his tracks and said, 'I wonder if Katla could have been pulling the wool over our eyes, and that what looked to us like her distaff was really her son Odd?'	306	rokkur
176	Erb	20	lá þar rokkr Kötlu í bekknum;	52	Katla's distaff was lying on the bench.	306	rokkur
178	Erb	20	Förunautar hans tóku rokkin ok hjuggu í sundr.	52	His companions seized hold of the distaff and chopped it to pieces.	307	rokkur
179	Erb	20	Þá mælti Katla: "Eigi er nú þat heim at segja í kveld, at þér hafið eigi ørendi haft hingat í Holt, er þér	52	Then Katla said, 'At home tonight you will not be able to say you accomplished nothing on your visit to Holt	307	rokkur

			hjugguð rokkin.		since you have chopped up my distaff.'		
172	Erb	20	Katla sat á palli ok spann garn; hon bað Odd sitja hjá sér, - "ok ver hljóðr ok kyrr." Hon bað konur sitja í rúmum sínum, - "ok verið hljóðar," kvað hon, "en ek mun hafa orð fyrir oss."	51	Katla was sitting on the dais, spinning yarn. She told Odd to sit beside her - 'and keep quiet and be still'. She told the women to stay in their places - 'and keep quiet,' she said. 'I shall do the talking for all of us.'	306	spinna
173	Erb	20	Þeir sá, at Katla spann garn	51	They noticed that Katla was spinning yarn	306	spinna
177	Erb	20	ok sat Katla á palli ok spann.	52	Katla was sitting on the dais, spinning.	307	spinna
244	Erb	50	Þórgunna vann váðverk hvern dag, er eigi var heyverk;	139	Thórgunna worked at the weaving every day when there was no hay-making to be done; when the weather was good she would work at drying the hay in the home-field.	358	vaðverk

Table 56. Spinning and weaving in *Snæfellingasögur*.

Spinning is only referenced in relation to Katla in *Eyrbyggja saga*, ch. 20, and even the distaff is mentioned. Weaving is the main occupation of Thórgunna in ch. 50 of the same saga. Both women can be described by a degree of otherness, so there is a possible connection with magic.

No.	Saga	Ch.	Old Norse	P.	English	P.	Item
64	Vgl	2	Ok þat hugsaði jarl, sem honum gafst, at svá skyldi hans dóttir bera af öllum konum hannyrðir sem hon var hverri þeira friðari.	64	for the earl wanted his daughter to surpass all other women in handicrafts just as she had surpassed each of them in beauty, and indeed this is what happened.	226	hannyrðir
69	Vgl	7	Öngvar hannyrðir vild Þorbjörg at Fossi kenna dóttur sinni.	75	Thorbjorg did not want to teach her daughter any handicrafts.	234	hannyrðir
70	Vgl	7	Leitaði Hólmkell þangat fósturs dóttur sinni til Ólofar, at hon kenndi henn hannyrðir, því at Ólof var kölluð best mennt allra kvenna á Íslandi;	75	Holmkel wanted his daughter to be fostered by Olof so that she would instruct her in handicrafts, for Olof was considered the most cultivated of all women in Iceland.	234	hannyrðir

63	Vgl	2	ok lætr kenna dóttur sinni allar þær kvenligar listir, er burðugum konum byrjaði at kunna.	64	and he had them teach his daughter all those feminine skills suitable for noble women,	226	kvenligar listir

Table 57. Textile skills in general.

The necessary skill set for a woman in general is mentioned in *Víglundar saga* and is the motivation behind Ketilrid's stay with Viglund and his family. Here, there is no association with magic or otherness, the *kvenligar listir* is seen as something noble, which can be accounted for by the late origin and continental influences on the saga.

## 6. Discussion

The above analysis has taken each and every reference to clothing, textiles, and textile work in *Snæfellingasögur* and analysed the items from different perspectives: by item, material, and colour. The analysis has provided new insights into the function of textiles in the sagas and the structure of textile references by setting the occurrences side by side.

Textile work is considered a female domain and this view is not contested in *Snæfellingasögur*. However, textile work is seldom mentioned - the most prominent scene being the search for Odd Kötluson in *Eyrbyggja saga* ch. 20, in addition to which women's rooms (*dyngja*, *saumstofa*) are mentioned nearly only as a way of setting the scene, as places men can enter or leave.

The focus being on men is further underlined by the fact that most textiles and clothing occur in relation to men, and female items are not only rarer but there are also fewer varieties. Almost the whole male costume is represented, whereas the female costume is anything but complete.

Whatever the item, the reader receives very little information about the specifics of the items mentioned, although this information can be obtained from other parts of the text. For example, the seemingly enigmatic phrase about the lack of woollen cloth ("*þar er mjök var illt til vaðmála*") in *Bárðar saga*, ch. 3 (ÍF XIII: 108), which when seen in the larger context, contributes to pinpointing the ethnic origins of Thorkell Skin-swathed, which in turn helps to explain the meaning of the expression (see 5.5.2 for the detailed discussion).

Combining source material from several fields (archaeology, experimental archaeology) has helped to evaluate another scene in which Arnbjörn arrives at the boat with 300 ells of *vaðmál*, which as the calculations have shown in 5.5.2 would have been a manageable load for a man. The aforementioned sources have also helped to give background on how extensive and time-consuming the making of textiles would actually have been.

The saga authors concern themselves with the specifics clothing and textiles very little.

Around a third of the occurrences are general references to clothing, not specific items. This might well be because the impression was more important than the detail - for example, phrases like “*vönduð þú klæðir*” in *Eyrbyggja saga*, ch. 13 (ÍF IV: 23) or “*váru þeir svá vel búnir, at menn hugðu þar væri komnir æsir*” in *Bárðar saga*, ch. 22 (ÍF XIII: 171) serve to evoke a sense of wealth and finery, they are not meant to act as a sourcebook for costume history.

This is not the only function of textiles in the narrative by a long way - several recurrent themes have revealed themselves. Clothing and other textiles as a show of status are by no means novel but is worth mentioning. Especially as this analysis has not limited itself to dress, but has included other textile items. The most prominent is the case of Thórgunna in *Eyrbyggja saga*, the expression of whose wealth is expressed by no means limited to her personal garments, but also includes the elaborate bedclothes she pulls from her chest one by one.

The connection between the fineness of clothing and the wearer’s wealth is another theme, although this has rather surprisingly been used for lying in dress, such as Snorri godi’s return to Iceland in *Eyrbyggja saga*, chs. 13-14 (ÍF IV: 22-25). Snorri gives the impression of having lost his travel money by wearing a humble *kápa*, but sneakily using this manoeuvre to establish his own household. Another prime example is from *Víglundar saga*, ch. 8 (ÍF XIV: 77-78) where mistress Ólof scares off two men by dressing as a man, looking utterly angry, and entering the room with a drawn sword.

Clothing is in some additional cases used to hide a character’s identity, for example when Víglund returns injured from the games and is greeted as a woman by his own father (*Víglundar saga*, ch. 14, ÍF XIV: 89), when Björn hides in the bushes before attacking Thord and his companions (*Bjarnar saga*, ch.7, ÍF III: 128), and when Ketilrid tries to hide her identity from Víglund (*Víglundar saga*, chs. 21-22, ÍF XIV: 107-108).

In a similar manner, cloaks have been used to reveal surprises, such as a half-decomposed head in *Eyrbyggja saga*, ch. 27 (ÍF IV: 69), or a purse full of silver in the same saga, ch. 14 (ÍF IV: 25), which could both perhaps also be considered as lying in dress.

There are, in contrast, several characters who are identified by or are synonymous with, their outfits, such as Bárd in *Bárðar saga*, chs. 8-11 (ÍF XIII: 127-139) who is after his retreat from society is always seen in a *grár kufi* with a walrus-hide rope. Arnbjörn's brother and his men are alerted in *Eyrbyggja saga*, ch. 42 (ÍF IV: 114) because they see someone on the roof who could definitely not be Arnbjörn because he did not dress that way.

The supernatural and textiles are a recurrent theme in *Snæfellingasögur*: two tunics are supplied to men before battle by their knowledgeable mothers, tunics that make them unsusceptible to harm (*Bárðar saga*, ch. 6, ÍF XIII: 244, and *Eyrbyggja saga*, ch. 18, ÍF IV: 34).

King Ólaf Tryggvason appears several times in the sagas as a generous gift-giver, disbursing gifts that are very precious; yet some seem more special than others, for example the garter he exchanges with Björn Hitdælakappa and which does not decay even after Björn's death (*Bjarnar saga*, ch. 9, ÍF III: 133-134), or the cloth and iron shoes he supplies Gest with for his journey to ransack the mound of King Raknar (*Bárðar saga*, chs. 18-20, ÍF XIII: 162-166). The items protect the wearer, both in and out of the mound, and the dynamic of the scene is similar to the impenetrable tunics.

Women who know their way around magic are associated with headwear: one character has the name Hetta (*Bárðar saga*, ch. 8, ÍF XIII: 124-128) while Kjölvor waves her hood to make the weather change (*Víglundar saga*, ch. 12, ÍF XIV: 83) and the similarity of these scenes is striking. Similarly, Katla's head is covered with a sealskin bag in *Eyrbyggja saga*, ch. 20 (ÍF IV: 51-53) to prevent her from performing further illusions.

Textiles other than garments do not warrant much attention, and so only tents (which do not seem to have a significant role in the narrative) and bedclothes are mentioned. The significant is the story of Thórgunna in *Eyrbyggja saga*, chs. 50-55 (ÍF IV: 137-151). Her wish to have her belongings disposed of as per her instructions, which she states both when coming to the farm and before her death, are not carried out and subsequently two-dozen people die.



The story is elaborate and so are the magnificent furnishings Thórgunna produces from her chest on her arrival. This warrants mention because some of the vocabulary consists of foreign loans, further underlining the exotic nature and exclusiveness of the items. The vocabulary is very specialised, which infers that such vocabulary was needed (likewise for the multitude of over garments that the modern audience would render simply as 'cloak'). Another possible question is whether the story is of later origin than previously thought, as canopies did not appear in Northern Europe before late 13th century.

A bed and the unknown origins of the character are outlined in another vignette, in which Helga is said to have slept little and played the harp behind the bed curtain (*Bárðar saga*, ch. 7, ÍF XIII: 123-124). The private space is in turn similar to Ketilrid's sewing room in *Víglundar saga*, ch. 8 (ÍF XIV: 97).

Mention of colour is rather scarce in *Snæfellingasögur*, and the colour is most often blue (*blár*). Previous research on the relationship between *blár* and *svartr* and their connection to violence is examined. Examples in *Snæfellingasögur* show that of the 132 unnatural deaths in *Bjarnar saga*, *Eyrbyggja saga* and *Víglundar saga*, only three can be associated with blue garments, which refutes the hypothesis that wearing *blár* is an ominous sign. At the same time, being exposed to mistreated luxury linens results in eight times as many deaths.

There are a few episodes in which the narrator has felt the need to specify that a clothing custom (for example the thongs of Egil the slave, discussed in 5.3.3, or Björn's cross garter, discussed in 5.3.4.) was somehow different at the time of the events. Such hints can provide valuable data points on clothing customs, yet at the moment these are too scarce, and in any case should be treated with appropriate caution.

In addition, the structure of the data - more clothing that is elaborate and male - means that making any conclusions that might help in reconstructing Viking Age or Mediaeval dress is nearly impossible. However, I am certain that this sample proves a valuable starting point for further research in that direction.

*Snæfellingasögur* have proved to be a very interesting sample from a textile point of

view. The use of clothing as a literary device is varied, even if the texts do not reveal too much about the everyday clothing of most people. The relatively small number of texts in the sample permitted the evaluation of each reference which in turn helped shed light on how textile-related themes are used in these sagas.

Further in-depth research into other *Íslendingasögur*, other saga genres (such as contemporary and legendary sagas), or Mediaeval Icelandic poetry would considerably expand the current knowledge of clothing and other textile-related themes in Old Norse-Icelandic literature, and perhaps answer at least some of the questions left unanswered in the current thesis.

## 7. Conclusion

This thesis was written with clothing, textiles, and textile work in *Snæfellingasögur* (the sagas of Snæfellsness, a subgroup of the sagas of Icelanders) as its primary focus. Clothing in the sagas of Icelanders has been studied before, but never have the sagas of Snæfellsness been the primary focus nor have textile-related references been subjected to a comprehensive analysis.

An overview of methods used was given in ch. 2, while ch. 3 outlined the category of *Snæfellingasögur* and each text in the subgroup. Ch. 4 provided the necessary background information about pre-modern textile production. The analysis in ch. 5 was divided into several subchapters: the references to clothing, textiles, and textile work were first analysed by item, then by material and colour. The analysis was followed by a discussion in ch. 6.

The four sagas in the *Snæfellingasögur* yielded 272 usable references and ample material for the analysis. Several tendencies emerged from the texts: textiles belonging to male characters are much more common than items belonging to female characters; elaborate or precious clothing has caught the narrator's eye more often than the mundane; other textiles, not just clothing, has been seen as an important expression of wealth; and contrary to popular belief, blue garments do not correlate with killings - but ostentatious maltreated bed furnishings do.

Further research into other subgroups of the sagas of Icelanders and other genres of Old Norse-Icelandic literature has the potential of expanding, verifying, or refuting the conclusions this thesis has reached.

## Resümee

Käesolev lõputöö käsitleb rõivastust, tekstiile ja tekstiilitöid neljas Islandi perekonnasaagas (*Íslendingasögur*), mis leiavad aset Snæfellsnesi poolsaarel (*Snæfellingasögur*). Saagades kujutatud rõivastust on uuritud varemgi, kuid Snæfellsnesi saagad on säärase käsitluse keskmes esmakordselt ning esmakordne on ka kõiki rõivastusviiteid läbiv analüüs.

Ülevaade kasutatud meetoditest asub 2. peatükis. 3. peatükk käsitleb Islandi perekonnasaagaid ning annab ülevaate iga saaga süžee ja arvatavast loomisajast. Tekstiilitööde ülevaade asub 4. peatükis ning 5. peatükk on pühendatud analüüsile. Analüüsipeatükk jaguneb järgnevalt: kõigepealt on tekstiiliviiteid analüüsitud esemete kaupa, siis materjali ja värvi alusel. Viimane alapeatükk käsitleb tekstiilitöid. Analüüsile järgneb arutelu (6. peatükk) ja kokkuvõte.

Vaatlusalustes saagades oli ühtekokku 272 viidet rõivastusele, muudele tekstiilidele ja tekstiilitöödele. Analüüsist ilmnisid mitmed suundumused: eelkõige mainitakse meesterõivastust; edevad rõivad pälvivad jutustaja tähelepanu palju tihemini kui igapäevased; ka teised tekstiilid, mitte ainult rõivastus, võivad väljendada omaniku rikkust; vastupidiselt üldlevinud arusaamale ei seostu siniste rõivaste kandmine tapmistega, see-eest on äärmiselt tappev eksootiline ja hinnaline voodipesu, mille varalahkunud omaniku soove on eiratud.

Uurimismaterjali laiendamine ja täiendamine teiste perekonnasaagadega ja teiste keskaegsete Põhjamaade tekstidega võimaldaks laiendada teadmusbaasi ning kinnitada või ümber lükata antud lõputöö tulemusi.

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## Appendix 1. References to clothing, textiles, and textilework

No.	Saga	Ch.	Old Norse	P.	English	P.	Item	Textile work	Material	Colour	Description	Male/ Female	Name
1	Brð	2	Rauðfeld inum sterka	105	Red-cloak the Strong	239	feldr			rauð		M	Rauðfeldr
2	Brð	3	þorkel Rauðfeldsson	107	Thorkel, son of Red-cloak	240	feldr			rauð		M	Rauðfeldsson
3	Brð	3	Skinnbрок	108	Skin-breeches	240	brók		skinn			F	Skinnbрок
4	Brð	3	þorkell hét ok var kallaðr skinnvefja	108	Thorkel who was called Skin-swathed	240			skinn			M	skinnvefja
5	Brð	3	þar er mjök var illt til vaðmála,	108	It was difficult to come by homespun cloth there	240			vaðmál			N/A	
6	Brð	3	ok var sveinninn vafinn í selaskinnnum til skjóls	108	the boy was swaddled in seal skins for warmth.	240			skinn			M	
7	Brð	3	ok hafði þat fyrir reifa,	108	As those were his swaddling clothes,	240	reifa					M	
8	Brð	3	ok því var hann kallaðr þorkell skinnvefja.	108	he was called Thorkel Skin-swathed.	240			skinn			M	skinnvefja
9	Brð	3	ok skar rauð á húð ok hafði þat fyrir hlíf;	110	Thorir cut a slit in a hide and used it as protection	240		skar rauð á húð	húð			M	
10	Brð	3	því var hann leótrháls kallaðr.	110	and because of that was called Leather-neck.	240			leör			M	leótrháls
11	Brð	4	þar fór hann ór klæðum sínum öllum	112	He took off all of his clothes and bathed in the shallows.	241	klæði					M	
12	Brð	4	þorkell Rauðfeldsson	112	Thorkel Red-cloak's son	241	feldr			rauð		M	Rauðfeldsson
13	Brð	4	þorkell skinnvefja	112	Thorkel Skin-swathed	241			skinn			M	skinnvefja
14	Brð	4	Skinnbрок	113	Skin-breeches	241	brók		skinn			M	Skinnbрок
15	Brð	4	Skinnbрок	113	Skinnbrok	241	brók		skinn			F	Skinnbрок

No.	Saga	Ch.	Old Norse	P.	English	P.	Item	Textile work	Material	Colour	Description	Male/ Female	Name
16	Brð	5	Porkell Rauðfeldsson	114	Thorkel Red-cloak's son	242	feldr			rauð		M	Rauðfeldsson
17	Brð	5	en annarr Rauðfeldr eptir föður hans.	114	and the other Red-cloak after Thorkel's father	242	feldr			rauð		M	Rauðfeldr
18	Brð	5	Rauðfeldr	114	Red-cloak	242	feldr			rauð		M	Rauðfeldr
19	Brð	5	Rauðfeldr	114	Red-cloak	242	feldr			rauð		M	Rauðfeldr
20	Brð	5	Pá var sá maðr á vist með Eiriki, er Skeggi hét Skinna-Bjarnarson, Skútaðar-Skeggjasonar.	115	With Eirik was a man named Skeggi Skin-Bjorn's son, son of Skutad-Skeggi.	242			skinn			M	Skinna-Bjarnarson
21	Brð	5	Rauðfeldr	117	Red-cloak	243	feldr			rauð		M	Rauðfeldr
22	Brð	5	Rauðfeldr	117	Red-cloak	243	feldr			rauð		M	Rauðfeldr
23	Brð	5	Rauðfeldr	117	Red-cloak	243	feldr			rauð		M	Rauðfeldr
24	Brð	5	Rauðfeldr	117	Red-cloak	243	feldr			rauð		M	Rauðfeldr
25	Brð	5	Rauðfeldsgjá	117	Raufeldsgja	243	feldr			rauð		M	Rauðfeldsgjá
26	Brð	6	porkatli skinnvefju	119	Thorkel Skin-swathed	244			skinn			M	skinnvefja
27	Brð	6	ok færði honum kyrtill nýgervan	120	and presented him with a newly made cloak.	244	kyrtill					M	
28	Brð	6	Pá gekk í sundr bróklindi Lón-Einars, ok er hann tók þar til, hjó Einar hann banahögg.	121	Then the belt on Einar from Lon's breeches came apart, and when he clutched at his breeches Einar dealt him his death blow.	245	lindi					M	
29	Brð	7	ok hafði fortjald fyrir.	123	with the curtain drawn before her	245	fortjald					F	

No.	Saga	Ch.	Old Norse	P.	English	P.	Item	Textile work	Material	Colour	Description	Male/ Female	Name
30	Brð	7	ok eina nótt forvinaðist hann undir tjaldit;	124	and one night he looked under the bed curtain.	246	fortjald					F	
31	Brð	7	sá hann, at Helga sat upp í einum serk.	124	He saw Helga sitting up in bed in a shift.	246	serkr					F	
32	Brð	7	Vildi hann upp í sængina ok undir klæðin hjá henni, en hon vildi þat eigi.	124	wanted to get into bed and under her clothes, but she would have none of it.	246	klæði					F	
33	Brð	8	Hetta	124	Hetta	246	hetta					F	hetta
34	Brð	8	fjölkyngis Hettu	126	Hetta's witchcraft	247	hetta					F	hetta
35	Brð	8	var vanr at hafa yfir sér einn skinnfeld stóran, ok var hann þar í skipinu hjá honum;	126	accustomed to have a great fur cloak over him	247	feldr		skinn			M	
36	Brð	8	tók hann þá feldinn	126	He took the cloak and pulled it over himself for protection.	247	feldr					M	
37	Brð	8	Hettu	127	Hetta	247	hetta					F	hetta
38	Brð	8	hann var í grám kufli	127	He was in a grey cowl	247	kufi			grár		M	
39	Brð	8	ok hafði svarðreip um sik.	127	with a rope of hide around his waist.	247	svarðreip		svörðr			M	
40	Brð	8	Hetta	127	Hetta	247	hetta					F	hetta
41	Brð	9	Óvættir ein, er Torfár-Kolla hét, en Skinnhúfa öðru nafni, hon átti heima at Knausum;	128	There was an evil spirit named Kolla of Torfa, known also as Skin-cap; she lived at Hnausar.	247	húfa		skinn			F	skinnhúfa
42	Brð	9	Var hann svá optast búinn,	129	He was usually clad	248	búa					M	
43	Brð	9	at hann var í grám kufli	129	in a grey cowl	248	kufi			grár		M	
44	Brð	9	ok svarðreip um sik	129	with a walrus-hide rope around him,	248	svarðreip		svörðr			M	

No.	Saga	Ch.	Old Norse	P.	English	P.	Item	Textile work	Material	Colour	Description	Male/Female	Name
45	Brð	10	sá var hann í grám kufli	133	He was in a grey cowl	249	kufl			grár		M	
46	Brð	10	Þorkel skinnvefju	133	Thorkel Skin-swathed	249			skinn			M	skinnvefja
47	Brð	10	í grám kufli	135	in a grey cowl	250	kufl					M	
48	Brð	10	Váru þá dregin af Oddi vosklæði	135	Odd's clothes were pulled off	250	klæði					M	
49	Brð	10	Þorkell skinnvefja	136	Thorkel Skin-swathed	250			skinn			M	skinnvefja
50	Brð	11	ok var í grám kufli	139	wearing a grey cowl	251	kufl			grár		M	
51	Brð	12	Fært hafði Bárðr Þórdísi vænan kvenmannsbúning.	142	Bard had brought Thordis a handsome set of women's clothing.	253	búningr					T	
52	Brð	13	Þorkell skinnvefja	142	Thorkel Skin-swathed	253			skinn			M	skinnvefja
53	Brð	13	Þorkell skinnvefja	144	Thorkel Skin-swathed	253			skinn			M	skinnvefja
54	Brð	18	Konungr fekk honum fjörutígi járnskó, ok váru dyndir innan.	162	The king gave him forty pairs of iron shoes that were lined with down.	262	skó		járn			M	
55	Brð	18	dúk gaf hann honum ok bað hann vefja honum um sik, áðr en hann gengi í hauginn.	162	He gave to him a length of cloth and asked him to wrap it around himself before entering the grave mound.	262	dúk					M	
56	Brð	18	hann hafði bláflekkótta skautheklu ok knepta niðr í milli fóta sér.	163	he wore a blue-spotted cape with a hood, which buttoned all the way down to his feet.	262	hekla			blár		M	
57	Brð	19	Tóku þeir þá járnskó þá, er konungr hafði fengið þeim:	164	They then put on the iron shoes that king had given them.	263	skó		járn			M	

No.	Saga	Ch.	Old Norse	P.	English	P.	Item	Textile work	Material	Colour	Description	Male/ Female	Name
58	Brð	19	En er allir höfðu tekit skóna nema Jósteinn prestur, gengu þeir á hrauni.	164	When they had all put on the shoes except Jostein the priest, they ventured onto the lava field.	263	skó					M	
59	Brð	20	ok var hann fagrúinn;	165	he saw Raknar, magnificiently dressed.	263	búa					M	
60	Brð	20	Vafit hafði Gestur sik með dúkinum konungsnaut,	166	Gest had wrapped himself with the cloth that the king had presented to him	264	dúk					M	
61	Brð	21	Siðan andaðist Gestur í hvítavaðum.	170	Afterwards Gest died, still in his baptismal clothes.	265	váðir			hvítur		M	
62	Brð	22	En er þeir kvámu á þingit, váru þeir svá vel búnir, at menn hugðu þar væri komnir æsir.	171	When they came to the assembly, they were so well turned out that men thought the gods themselves had arrived.	266	búa					M	
63	Vgl	2	ok lætr kenna dóttur sinni allar þær kvenligrar listir, er burðugum konum byrjaði at kunnna.	64	and he had them teach his daughter all those feminine skills suitable for noble women,	226		kvenligrar listir				F	
64	Vgl	2	Ok þat hugsaði jarl, sem honum gafst, at svá skyldi hans dóttir bera af öllum konum hannyrðir sem hon var hverri þeira friðari.	64	for the earl wanted his daughter to surpass all other women in handicrafts just as she had surpassed each of them in beauty, and indeed this is what happened.	226		hannyrðir				F	
65	Vgl	5	á klæði Gríms.	69	on to Grim's clothing.	230	klæði					M	

No.	Saga	Ch.	Old Norse	P.	English	P.	Item	Textile work	Material	Colour	Description	Male/ Female	Name
66	Vgl	5	Hann var sæmílliga klæddr, því at konungr lagði mikla virðing á hann, ok þótti þat mörgum hans mönnum við of ok lögðu mikla þykkju á þorgrím þar fyrir.	70	He was fittingly attired, since the king bestowed much honour on him, but many of the king's men thought this excessive, and for this reason they disliked Thorgrim intensely.	230	klæða					M	
67	Vgl	5	Lengt var nafn hans ok var kallaðr þorgrímur príúði.	70	He received a nickname and was called Thorgrim the Elegant.	230					prúðr	M	
68	Vgl	7	Þorgrímur inn príúði	74	Thorgrim the Elegant	234					prúðr	M	
69	Vgl	7	Öngvar hannyrðir vild þorbjörg at Fossi kenna dóttur sinni.	75	Thorbjorg did not want to teach her daughter any handicrafts.	234		hannyrðir				F	
70	Vgl	7	Leitaði Hólmkell þangat föstrs dóttur sinni til Ólofar, at hon kenni hann hannyrðir, því at Ólof var kölluð bezt mennt allra kvenna á Íslandi;	75	Holmkel wanted his daughter to be fostered by Olof so that she would instruct her in handicrafts, for Olof was considered the most cultivated of all women in Iceland.	234		hannyrðir				F	
71	Vgl	8	Þorgrímur inn príúði	77	Thorgrim	235					prúðr	M	
72	Vgl	8	Þorgrímur inn príúði	77	Thorgrim	236					prúðr	M	
73	Vgl	8	Stendr hon þá upp skjótt ok klæðir síkk	77	She stood up quickly, got dressed,	236	klæða					F	
74	Vgl	8	ok gengr til saumstofu sinnar	77	and went to her sewing-room,	236		saumst ofa				F	

No.	Saga	Ch.	Old Norse	P.	English	P.	Item	Textile work	Material	Colour	Description	Male/ Female	Name
75	Vgl	8	ok setr þar niðr griðkonu sína ok leggir yfir hana möttul sinn	77	where she sat her servant-woman down and laid her own cloak over her	236	möttul					F	
76	Vgl	8	en hon sagði hana vera í saumstofu sinni.	78	that she was in her sewing-room	236		saumst ofa				F	
77	Vgl	8	Í þessu kom maðr í stofuna bláklæddr ok helt á brúðnu sverði.	78	At this moment a man dressed in black walked into the room; he was holding a drawn sword.	237	klæða			blár		CD	
78	Vgl	8	en inn bláklæddi maðr var Ólof sjálf.	78	the man in black was Olof herself.	236	klæða			blár		CD	
79	Vgl	10	Þorgrímur inn prúði	80	Thorgrim the Elegant	238					prúðr	M	
80	Vgl	12	Þorgríms prúða	83	Thorgrim the Elegant	240					prúðr	M	
81	Vgl	12	Allt vissi Kjölvör þetta ok fór upp á hús ok veifði kofra sínum í austrætt, ok þykknaði skjótt veðrit.	83	Kjolvor knew all about this and climbed up on the house and waved her hood in the easterly direction, and all at once the weather turned bad.	240	kofri					F	
82	Vgl	12	Þorkell skinnvefja	84	Thorkel Skin-swathed	241			skinn			M	skinnvefja
83	Vgl	13	Þorgrími inum prúða	84	Thorgrim the Elegant	241					prúðr	M	
84	Vgl	13	Þorgrím prúða	85	Thorgrim the Elegant	242					prúðr	M	
85	Vgl	14	Trausti reist af skyrtu sinni ok batt upp brúðina á bróður sínum;	89	Trausti tore a piece off his shirt and wound it around Viglund's brow.	245	skyrtu					M	



No. Saga	Ch. Old Norse	P. English	P.	Item	Textile - work	Material	Colour	Description	Male/Female	Name
86 Vgl	14 "sem þat muni kona vera, sem faldinn hefir."	89 'that the one with the headgear must be the woman.'	245	faldr					CD	
87 Vgl	14 var hann fluttur í fjórum skautum heim	89 he was carried home on a makeshift litter.	246	í fjórum skautum					M	
88 Vgl	15 Þorgrím þrúða	91 Thorgrim the Elegant	247					þrúðr	M	
89 Vgl	16 Þorgrím þrúða	94 Thorgrim the Elegant	250					þrúðr	M	
90 Vgl	17 Þorgrím þrúða	95 Thorgrim the Elegant	251					þrúðr	M	
91 Vgl	18 svaf hun opt lítit ok vakti í saumstofu sinni um nætr.	97 Often she slept little and spent the nights awake in her sewing-room.	252		saumst ofa				F	
92 Vgl	19 Þorgríms þrúða	101 Thorgrim the Elegant	255					þrúðr	M	
93 Vgl	19 Þorgríms þrúða	102 Thorgrim the Elegant	256					þrúðr	M	
94 Vgl	19 Þorgrímr inn þrúða	102 Thorgrim the Elegant	256					þrúðr	M	
95 Vgl	19 Þorgríms þrúða	102 Thorgrim the Elegant	256					þrúðr	M	
96 Vgl	20 í einni sæng lágu þau bæði saman; eitt sparlak var þar fyrir.	103 The two lay together in one bed; one blanket covered them.	257	sparlak					T	
97 Vgl	21 Svá er sagt, at Ketilríðr hafi haf hinnu fyrir andliti sér ok hafi elgi viljat, at Viglundr hafi þekkt hana,	107 Ketilrid had a veil ever before her face, for she would not that Viglund should know her	260	hinna					F	
98 Vgl	22 Hon hafði spreitt hinnunni frá andliti sér	108 had rent the veil from her face	261	hinna					F	
99 Vgl	22 En aldri hafði Ketilríðr hinnu fyrir andliti sér þaðan frá,	108 Now Ketilrid never had a veil before her face	261	hinna					F	

No.	Saga	Ch.	Old Norse	P.	English	P.	Item	Textile - work	Material	Colour	Description	Male/ Female	Name
100	Vgl	22	Hann lypfir upp fortjaldinu;	109	So he lifted up the curtains	262	fortjald					T	
101	Vgl	23	Þorgrímur inn þrúði	115	Thorgrim the Elegant	265					þrúðr	M	
102	Vgl	23	Þorgríms þrúða	115	Thorgrim the Elegant	266					þrúðr	M	
103	Vgl	23	höfum vit ok aldri undir einum klæðum legit,	115	Furthermore, we have never slept together between the sheets because a bed-board separated us,	266	klæði					T	
104	Vgl	23	þó at vit höfum haft eitt áklæði	115	even though we shared one coverlet.	266	klæði					T	
105	Bj	4	Var þar skottit tjaldi yfir Björn,	121	Then a tent was pitched over Björn	160	tjald					M	
106	Bj	7	Þórðr orti drápu um Ólaf konung; síðan fór hann ok fœrði sjálf ok þá af konungi gullhring ok pellskyrtill hlaðbúinn ok sverð gott.	127	Thord composed a drapa about King Olaf; then he went and recited it himself, and received from the king a gold ring, a silken tunic trimmed with lace, and a fine sword.	163	kyrtill		pell			M	
107	Bj	7	hann hafði kufl	128	He had a cloak	164	kufl					M	
108	Bj	7	eininn yztan klæða.	128	on over his clothes.	164	klæði					M	
109	Bj	7	Síðan lét Björn Þórð ok fœruneyti hans allt fara á knarrarbátinn með klæðum sínum ok flytja svá til meginlands.	130	Then Bjorn made Thord and all his companions get into the ship's boat with their clothes, and so cross to the mainland.	165	klæði					M	
110	Bj	8	Björn skyldi hafa guðvefjarkyrtill	131	Bjorn was to have a tunic of precious cloth	167	kyrtill		guðvefja r			M	

No.	Saga Ch.	Old Norse	P.	English	P.	Item	Textile - work	Material	Colour	Description	Male/Female	Name
111	Bj	9 ok lögðu menn klæði sín á völlinn,	133	and everyone left his clothes on the ground;	168	klæði					M	
112	Bj	9 en tjaldat var yfir laugina.	133	a tent was pitched over the bath.	168	tjald					M	
113	Bj	9 En þat var munnnum þá títt, at hafa reimar,	133	It was customary then for men to wear cross-garters,	168	reima					M	
114	Bj	9 því líkar sem lindar væri,	133	which were like belts,	168	lindi					M	
115	Bj	9 ok var því vafit frá skó ok til knés, ok hófdu þat jafnan helztu mennok tignir; ok þat sama hafði konungr ok Björn.	133	laced up from the shoe to the knee. The better men and the nobility always wore them, and the king and Björn did the same.	168	skó					M	
116	Bj	9 Ok Björn gekk til klæða sinna fyrr en aðrir menn,	134	And when Björn went to his clothes before other people,	168	klæði					M	
117	Bj	9 ok váru fót Bjarnar	134	his garments were	168	fót					M	
118	Bj	9 hjá klæðum konungs,	134	beside the king's,	168	klæði					M	
119	Bj	9 ok varð Birni eirgi at huggat, furr en menn váru klæddir,	134	and Björn did not realize until everyone was dressed	168	klæða					M	
120	Bj	9 at Björn hafði skipt um reimarnar við konung, ok sagði honum þegar til vanhyggju sinnar; en konungr skipaði kyrt vera ok kvað þá eigi verri, er hann hafði.	134	that he had exchanged cross-garters with the king. He told him at once of his mistake but the king let it rest, and said that the one he was wearing was no worse.	168	reima					M	
121	Bj	9 Björn hafði ávallt þessa reim um fót sinn, á meðan hann lifði, ok með henni var hann niðr grafinn.	134	Björn always wore this cross-garter around his leg for as long as he lived, and with it he was buried.	169	reima					M	

No.	Saga	Ch.	Old Norse	P.	English	P.	Item	Textile - work	Material	Colour	Description	Male/ Female	Name
122	Bj	9	Ok þá miklu síðar, er bein hans váru upp tekin ok fœrð til annarrar kirkju, þá var sú in sama ræma ófúin um fótlegg Bjarnar, en allt var annat fúit,	134	And much later, when his bones were taken up and moved to another church, that same cross-garter remained uncorrupted around Bjorn's leg-bone, although everything else was decayed.	169	reima					M	
123	Bj	9	ok er þat nú messufatalindi í Gorðum á Akranesi.	134	It is now the cincture of a set of mass vestments at Gardar on Akraness.	169	lindi					M	
124	Bj	9	Ok nú um vetrinn eptra var Björn í Nóregi, ok gaf Óláfr konungr honum skikju vandaða, ok hét honum sinni vináttu ok kallaði hann vera vaskan mann ok góðan dreng.	134	Then the next winter Bjorn stayed in Norway, and King Olaf gave him a finely made cloak and promised him his friendship, calling him an intrepid man and a fine fellow.	169	skikja		vandað			M	
125	Bj	10	Peir bera búnað sinn af skipi ok reisa tjöld sín.	135	They carried their gear ashore and pitched their tent.	169	tjald					M	
126	Bj	11	hann reið einn saman í blári kápu.	136	He rode alone in a black cloak.	170	kápa			blár		M	
127	Bj	11	Þat höfðu þau at sýslu þann dag, Björn ok móðir hans, at þau breiddu niðr lérept ok þurrkuðu, er vát höfðu orðit.	137	Bjorn and his mother were busy that day spreading out the linen that had been washed to dry.	170			lérept			T	

No.	Saga	Ch.	Old Norse	P.	English	P.	Item	Textile - work	Material	Colour	Description	Male/ Female	Name
			Hon tók til orða: "Maðr riðr þar," segir hon, "Í blári kápu ok er alllíkr Þórði Kolbeinssyni, ok hann er ok, ok mun hans ðrendi óþarft."		She broke into speech: 'There is a man riding there,' she said, 'in a black cloak, looking very like Thord Kolbeinsson - it is him too, and his business would be best left undone.'		170 kápa			blár		M	
128	Bj	11	qöll hvíldu þau í einu útibúri um vetrinn, Þórðr ok Oddný ok verkkona, er togaði af þeim klæði.	149	During the winter, Thord, Oddny and the serving-woman who helped them off with their clothes all slept in a separate apartment.		178 klæði					T	
130	Bj	14	en hon sté upp yfir stokkinn ok vildi undir fötin hjá honum, ok var þess eigi kostr, ok sat hon af því upp.	149	She climbed up over the side of the bed and tried to get under the covers beside him, but this was not possible, and so she stayed sitting up.		178 föt					T	
131	Bj	14	Þat er sagt, þá er Björn var búinn á brott ór vist inni, þá gaf hann Oddnúju skikkjuna Þórðarnaut, ok mælti hvárt þeirra vel fyrir gðru.	150	It is said that when he was about to leave at the end of his stay, he gave Oddny the cloak which had been Thord's, and they spoke fondly to each other.		179 skikkja					T	
132	Bj	17	Þat vǫru karlar tveir, ok hafði annarr hōtt blán á hōfði;	154	It represented two men, one of them with a black hat on his head.		182 hōtt			blár		M	
133	Bj	19	en var sjálfir létþbúinn	166	but he was lightly		189 búa					M	

No.	Saga	Ch.	Old Norse	P.	English	P.	Item	Textile - work	Material	Colour	Description	Male/ Female	Name
134	Bj	19	at klæðum.	166	clothed.	189	klæði					M	
135	Bj	21	Kolli inn prúði	171	Kolli the Magnificent	193					prúður	M	
136	Bj	22	ok gaf honum til knif ok belti, at hann segði honum, þá er skógarmenn færi til skips,	173	Bjorn gave him a knife and a belt as a bribe to tell him when the outlaws who were staying with Steinolf left for their ship.	194	belti					M	
137	Bj	25	Hann var í blári kápu,	177	He was wearing a black cape,	197	kápa			blár		M	
138	Bj	25	ok gyrði hann at útan	177	and he belted it firmly	197	gyrða					M	
139	Bj	27	Eigi varu þar eldar gýrnir né skipt um klæði, ok váru þeir vatnir ok frðrnir.	184	There were no fires made there and no change of clothes was offered, although they were wet and frozen.	201	klæði					T	
140	Bj	27	Feldir váru þeim fengnir yfir sér,	184	They were given cloaks to wrap themselves in,	202	feldr					T	
141	Bj	27	því at skóklæði þeira váru frðrin, ok máttu þeir eigi ór komask, er engi var eldinn gýrr;	185	for their shoes and socks were frozen so that they could not get them off, as no fire was kindled.	20	skóklæði					T	
142	Bj	27	engi váru þeim ok boðin þurr föt.	185	Nor were they offered any dry clothes.	202	föt					T	
143	Bj	27	Þann vegg var nættrþjörg þeira, at sumir kómusk ór brókum, ok heng þær um nóttina á þili frðrnar, og lögðusk þá til svefns.	185	This was what their night's lodging was like: some of them got themselves out of their breeches, which hung, frozen, overnight on the partition, and then they lay down to sleep.	202	brók					T	

No.	Saga	Ch.	Old Norse	P.	English	P.	Item	Textile - work	Material	Colour	Description	Male/ Female	Name
144	Bj	27	Siðan lét Björn gera elda mikla ok bað Þorstein baka sík ok þurrka klæði sín.	186	Then Bjorn had great fires made, and told Thorstein to toast himself and dry his clothes.	203	klæði					M	
145	Bj	29	Þorfinnu gaf Björn gullhring ok guðvefjarkyrtill, er Óláfr konungr hafði gefitt Þórði Kolbeinssyni, ok hann gerði til handa Birni eptir rán í Brenneyjum.	191	Bjorn gave Thorfinna a gold ring and the costly woven tunic which King Olaf had given to Thord Kolbeinsson, and which the king had given into Bjorn's possession after the robbery in the Branno islands	207	kyrtill		guðvefja r			T	
146	Bj	32	Nú býsk hann til hrossanna ok hefir manskæri mikli á linda	197	Now he made ready to go to the horses, and had the large mane-shears at his belt,	211	lindi					M	
147	Bj	32	høtt á høfði ok skjöld á hlið; sverð hafði hann í hendi, er Þorfinnr þvarason átti.	197	a hood on his head and a shield at his side. He had in his hand the sword belonging to Thorfinn Thvarason.	211	høttr					M	
148	Bj	32	Björn hafði kyrtill góðan	199	Bjorn had on a fine tunic	212	kyrtill					M	
149	Bj	32	ok var í hosum	199	and was wearing hose,	212	hosa					M	
150	Bj	32	ok vafit silkiræmu um fót sér, þeirri hann hafði skipt um við inn helga Ólaf konung.	199	and bound around his leg was the silk cross-garter he had got in the exchange with the blessed King Olaf.	212	reima		silki			M	

No.	Saga	Ch.	Old Norse	P.	English	P.	Item	Textile - work	Material	Colour	Description	Male/ Female	Name
151	Bj	32	Ok meðan þeir roeddusk þetta við, þá leysti Björn manskæri af linda sér, ok vǫru þau nýhnvøtt, er hann fór heiman, bæði mikil ok bitrlig.	201	unfastened the mane-shears from his belt. They had just been sharpened before he came out, and were both large and keen.	213	lindi					M	
152	Bj	33	ok gengr Kálfr í dyngju,	204	and Kalf went into the women's room	216		dyngja				M	
153	Bj	33	gengr ór dyngjunni	205	went out of the room	216		dyngja				F	
154	Bj	33	ok var niðr lagðr með klæðum	207	He was buried with his clothes	217	klæði					M	
155	Bj	33	ok ræmumni, sem fyrr var sagt.	207	and the cross-garter, as was said before.	217	reima					M	
156	Erb	1	Ragnars sonar loðbrókar	4	the son of Ragnar Loðbrók (Shaggy-Breeks)	280	brók					M	
157	Erb	2	Hauk hábrók	5	Hauk Hábrók (Long-Breeks)	280	brók					M	
158	Erb	9	at þeir myndi eigi troða skó til at ganga þar í útsker til álfræka.	15	The Kjallekings announced that they would not wear out their shoes going to an offshore skerry for their needs.	286	skó					M	
159	Erb	13	En er þeir þjuggursk frá skipi, Breiðfirðingarnir, þá skauzk þar mjök í tvau horn um búnað þeira Snorra ok Þorleifs kimba.	22	When these men from Breiðarfjörður came ashore there was a striking difference between the outfit of Snorri and that of Thorleif Kimbi.	291	búnaðr					M	



No.	Saga	Ch.	Old Norse	P.	English	P.	Item	Textile - work	Material	Colour	Descript ion	Male/ Female	Name
			Þorleif keypti þann hest, er hann fékk beztan; hann hafði ok steindan sǫðul allglæsiligan, hann hafði búit sverð ok guldrekit spjót, myrkblán skjöld ok mjök gyldan,vönduð ǫll klæði; hann hafði þar ok til vart mjök ǫllum sínum fararefnum;		Thorleif bought the best horse he could find and had a magnificent coloured saddle; he carried an ornamented sword, a gold-inlaid spear and a richly-gilded, dark-blue shield. All his clothing was of the finest quality; he had spent nearly all his travel money on his apparel.								
160	Erb	13	en Snorri var í svartri kápu ok reið svörtu merhrossi góðu; hann hafði fornan trogsgöðul ok vápn lítt til fegrdar búin;	23	Snorri, on the other hand, wore a black cloak and was riding a good black mare; he had an old trough-shaped saddle, and his weapons had little adornment.	291	klæði		vandað	svatr		M	
161	Erb	13	búnaðr Þóródds var þar á milli.	23	Þóródd's equipment became somewhere between those two.	291	búnaðr					M	
162	Erb	13	ok höfðu menn þat mjök at hlátri um búnað hans; tók Þyrkr svá á, at honum hefði óheppoliga með fét farizk, er ǫllu var eitt.	23	Everybody made fun of Snorri because of his outfit; Þörk assumed that he had been unlucky with his travel money to have squandered it all.	291	búnaðr					M	
163	Erb	13	"Hvárt selda ek þér sjóð nokkurn á hausti?"	25	'Did I not give you a money-purse last autumn?'	292	sjóð					M	
164	Erb	14											

No.	Saga	Ch.	Old Norse	P.	English	P.	Item	Textile - work	Material	Colour	Description	Male/ Female	Name
165	Erb	14	"já," segir Þorbrandr ok brá sjóðnum	25	'Yes,' said Throbrand, and produced the purse	292	sjóð					M	
166	Erb	14	undan kápu sinni.	25	from under his cloak.	292	kápa					M	
167	Erb	14	ok var þá eptir í sjóðnum sex tígir silfrs.	25	there were still sixty ounces of silver left in the purse.	292						M	
168	Erb	16	Þá var hann borinn inn ok dregin af honum klæði;	29	He was carried inside and undressed;	295	klæði					M	
169	Erb	18	En þeir kómu í Holt til Kyrtlu, fœrði hon Odd, son sinn, í kyrtli móbrúnan, er hon hafði þá nýgort.	34	When they arrived at Holt, Katla dressed her son Odd in a dark-brown tunic she had just made.	297	kyrtill			móbrúnn		T	
170	Erb	18	Auðr húsfreyja hét á konur at skilja þá, ok kœstuðu þær klæðum á vápn þeira.	36	Thórarin's wife Auð called on the women to separate them and they threw clothes on the weapons.	298	klæði					F	
171	Erb	18	hann var ekki sárr, því at eigi festi vápn á kyrtli hans.	37	Odd was unharmed, as now weapon could penetrate his tunic.	299	kyrtill					M	
172	Erb	20	Katla sat á palli ok spann garn; hon bað Odd sitja hjá sér, - "ok ver hljóðr ok kyrr." Hon bað konur sitja í rúnum sínum, - "ok verið hljóðar," kvað hon, "en ek mun hafa orð fyrir oss."	51	Katla was sitting on the dais, spinning yarn. She told Odd to sit beside her - 'and keep quiet and be still'. She told the women to stay in their places - 'and keep quiet,' she said. 'I shall do the talking for all of us.'	306		spinna				F	

No.	Saga	Ch.	Old Norse	P.	English	P.	Item	Textile - work	Material	Colour	Description	Male/ Female	Name
173	Erb	20	Þeir sá, at Katla spann garn	51	They noticed that Katla was spinning yarn	306		spinna				F	
174	Erb	20	af rokki.	51	on her distaff.	306						F	
175	Erb	20	Ok er þeir kómu skammt frá garðinum, nam Arnkell staðar ok mælti: "Hvárt mun Katla eigi hafa heðni veift um höfuð oss? ok hefir þar verit Oddr, sonr hjennar, er oss sýndisk rokkinn."	51	When they had gone all the way from the farm, Arnkel stopped in his tracks and said, 'I wonder if Katla could have been pulling the wool over our eyes, and that what looked to us like her distaff was really her son Oddr?'	306		rokk				F	
176	Erb	20	lá þar rokkur Kǫtlu í bekknum;	52	Katla's distaff was lying on the bench.	306		rokk				F	
177	Erb	20	ok sat Katla á palli ok spann.	52	Katla was sitting on the dais, spinning.	307		spinna				F	
178	Erb	20	Förunautar hans tóku rokkinn ok hjuggu í sundr.	52	His companions seized hold of the distaff and chopped it to pieces.	307		rokk				F	
179	Erb	20	Þá mælti Katla: "Eigi er nú þat heim at segja í kveld, at þér hafið eigi ørendi haft hingat í Holt, er þér hjugguð rokkinn."	52	Then Katla said, 'At home tonight you will not be able to say you accomplished nothing on your visit to Holt since you have chopped up my distaff.'	307		rokk				F	
180	Erb	20	Geirriðr hafði blá skikkju yfir sér.	53	Geirrið was wearing a blue cloak.	307	skikkja			blár		F	
181	Erb	20	ok einn í litklæðum.	53	one of them in coloured clothing.	307	klæði					F	

No.	Saga	Ch.	Old Norse	P.	English	P.	Item	Textile - work	Material	Colour	Description	Male/ Female	Name
182	Erb	20	Stóð hon þá upp af pallinum ok tók hægingdin undan sér;	53	She got up from the dais and lifted the cushions on which she had been sitting.	307	hægingd					F	
183	Erb	20	Geirriðr varp af sér skikjunnni ok gekk at Kötlu	53	Geirrið threw off her cloak and went over to Katla;	307	skikjia					F	
184	Erb	20	ok tok selbelg, er hon hafði með sér, ok færði hann á höfuð Kötlu;	53	she took out a sealskin bag she had brought with her and pulled it over Katla's head.	307	selbelg		sel			F	
185	Erb	27	Þá brá Þorgerðr höfðinu undan skikju sinni	69	produced the head from under her cloak	316	skikjia					F	
186	Erb	28	Hon hafði tekit sinn bezta búnað;	73	She had put on her finest clothes.	319	búnaðr					F	
187	Erb	30	Þrælarnir klæddusk	82	The slaves got dressed	30	klæða					N/A	
188	Erb	33	siðan sveipaði hann klæðum at höfði Þórólfi ok bjó um hann eptir siðvenju.	92	After that he wrapped some clothes around Þórólfr's head and prepared him for burial according to the custom of the time.	330	klæði					M	
189	Erb	37	Snorri stóð upp ok bað menn klæðask.	100	Snorri got up and told his men to put their clothes on.	335	klæða					M	
190	Erb	37	Ok er þeir váru klæddir	100	When they were dressed,	335	klæða					M	
191	Erb	37	Nú er at segja frá þrælum Arnkels, at þeir gengu inn, þá er þeir höfðu inn borit heyit, ok fóru af skinnstökum sínum.	102	To return to Arnkel's slaves: they went inside when they had finished carrying in the hay, and took off their leather work-clothes.	336	stakkr		skinn			M	

No.	Saga	Ch.	Old Norse	P.	English	P.	Item	Textile - work	Material	Colour	Description	Male/ Female	Name
192	Erb	37	Pá hljópu menn upp ok klædusk	103	The men leaped up and got dressed	336	klæða					M	
193	Erb	39	Í bagga hans váru þrjú hundruð vaðmála	105	In his baggage were three hundred ells of homespun cloth	337			vaðmál			M	
194	Erb	39	ok tólf vararfeldir ok farnest hans.	105	twelve sheepskins and food for the voyage.	337	feldr					M	
195	Erb	40	Arnbjörn var engi áburðarmaðr	106	Arnbjörn was not a showy man	338					áburðar maðr	M	
196	Erb	40	Björn, bróðir hans, var áburðarmaðr mikill, er hann kom út, ok helt sik vel því at hann hafði samit sik eptir síð útlenskra höfðingja;	107	His brother Björn, on the other hand, was a great one for show, and when he came back to Iceland he would dress in finery after the fashion of people of distinction abroad.	338					áburðar maðr	M	
197	Erb	40	ok riðu þeir til kaupmennirnir allir í litklæðum.	107	All the merchants rode to it dressed in coloured clothing.	339	klæði					M	
198	Erb	40	tók þá at frysta honum klæðin,	110	and now his clothes began to freeze.	340	klæði					M	
199	Erb	42	en er þeir kómu inn fyrir öxlina, sá þeir, at maðr var í sknúðklæðum á húsunum uppi á Bakka;	114	As they came past the mountain at Öxl they caught sight of someone in coloured clothing on top of the farmhouse roof at Bakki;	343	klæði					M	
200	Erb	42	en þeir vissu, at þat var eigi búnaðr Arnbjarnar;	114	they knew it was not Arnbjörns style of dress,	343	búnaðr					M	

No.	Saga	Ch.	Old Norse	P.	English	P.	Item	Textile - work	Material	Colour	Description	Male/ Female	Name
201	Erb	43	Egill hafði skúfaða skóþvengi, sem þá var siðr til,	117	He was wearing shoes with tasselled thongs, as people did in those days,	345	þvengr					M	
202	Erb	43	ok hafði losnat annarr þvengrinn, ok dragnaði skúfrinn;	117	and one of the thongs had become undone, and the tassel trailed behind him.	345	þvengr					M	
203	Erb	43	Ok er hann vildi stíga yfir þreskóðinn, þá sté hann á þvengrjaskúfinn, þann er dragnaði;	117	But when he went to step across the door-sill he trod on the trailing tassel,	345	skúfr					M	
204	Erb	43	ok er hann vildi hinum fœtinum fram stíga, þá var skúfrinn fastr, ok af því reiddi hann til falls, ok fell hann innar á gólfitt;	117	and when he tried to move his other foot the tassel was caught and he tripped and fell forward on the floor.	345	skúfr					M	
205	Erb	44	þeir Steinþórr rið at durum, ok er svá frá sagt, at hann væri í rauðum kyrtli	120	Steinþór and his men came riding up to the door; it is said that he was wearing a scarlet tunic	347	kyrtill			rauð		M	
206	Erb	44	ok hafði drept upp fyrirblöðunum	120	with the front tucked up	347	fyrirblöð					M	
207	Erb	44	undir belt;	120	under his belt.	347	belti					M	
208	Erb	44	ok festi á hurðarklofann sjóð þann, er í váru tólf aurar silfrs.	121	and nailed to it a purse containing twelve ounces of silver.	347	sjóð					M	

No.	Saga	Ch.	Old Norse	P.	English	P.	Item	Textile - work	Material	Colour	Description	Male/ Female	Name
209	Erb	45	þeir tóku bæði árar ok þiljur ór skipinu ok lögðu þar eptir á ísinum, ok svá klæði sín	126	They took the oars and benches out of the boat and left them on the ice with their clothing	350	klæði					M	
210	Erb	45	siðan gengu þeir eptir klæðum sínum	126	Then they started back for their clothing	350	klæði					M	
211	Erb	45	tóku þeir Steinþórr þá ferð mikla út eptir firðinum til klæða sína	126	they began running very fast across the fjord to get to their clothing	350	klæði					M	
212	Erb	45	hann var á skóbroddum;	127	he had ice-spurs on his shoes.	351	skóbroddr					M	
213	Erb	45	Han hafði verit í flókahettu, ok saumat í horn um hálsinn, ok kom þar í hoggit.	128	He was wearing a felt hood with a piece of horn sewn into the collar, where the blow had landed.	352	hetta		flóki			M	
214	Erb	45	en Freysteinn stóð fast á skóbroddonum ok hjó bæði hart ok tíðum.	128	Freysteinn held his footing with his ice-spurs and struck hard and often.	352	skóbroddr					M	
215	Erb	45	hann var í leistabrókum, ok váru vatar allar af blóðinu.	129	He was wearing tight-fitting stocking-breeches and they were drenched in blood.	352	brók					M	
216	Erb	45	Heimamaðr Snorra goða skyldi draga af honum; ek er hann skyldi kippa brókinni, fekk han eigi af honum komit.	129	One of Snorri's men was helping him off with his clothes, but when he tried to remove the breeches he could not pull them off.	352	brók					M	

No.	Saga	Ch.	Old Norse	P.	English	P.	Item	Textile - work	Material	Colour	Description	Male/ Female	Name
217	Erb	45	at þér hafið klæði svá þröng, at eigi verðr af yör komit."	129	'Your clothes are so tight-fitting that they will not come off.'	353	klæði					M	
218	Erb	45	Þóroddr mælti: "Vantekit mun á vera." Eptir þat spyndi sá gðrum foeti í stokkinn ok togaði af öllum afli, ok gekk eigi af brókin.	129	Thoródd said, 'You cannot be pulling hard enough.' The man braced one of his feet against the bench and tugged as hard as he could, but the breeches would not come off.	353	brók					M	
219	Erb	45	Þá gekk til Snorri goði ok breifaði um fótinn ok fann, at spjót stóð í gegnum fótinn mílli hásinarinnar ok fötleggsisn ok hafði níst allt sama, fótinn ok brókina.	129	Then Snorri Goði came over and felt the leg, and found that a spear-blade was logged in it between the tendon and the shin-bone and had pinned the breeches to the leg.	353	brók					M	
220	Erb	46	en þar var tjaldat yfir Bergþóri um nóttina.	131	but Bergthór was taken care of for the night in a tent	353	tjald					M	
221	Erb	47	Snorri goði var í blári kápu ok reiðr fyrstr.	134	Snorri Goði was in the lead, wearing a black cloak.	355	kápa			blár		M	
222	Erb	47	Hann tók annarri hendi í kápuermína, er þeir Snorri fundusk,	134	As soon as he reached Snorri he seized hold of his cloak-sleeve with one hand,	355	kápuermr					M	



No.	Saga	Ch.	Old Norse	P.	English	P.	Item	Textile - work	Materia l	Colour	Descript ion	Male/ Female	Name
223	Erb	50	þar var á ein kona suðreysk, er Þórgunna hét; þat sǫgðu hennar skipmenn, at hon myndi hafa gripi þá með at fara, at slíkir myndi torugættir á Íslandi.	137	she had brought some finery with her which was difficult to obtain in Iceland.	357	gripi					F	
224	Erb	50	En er Þuríðr húsfreyja at Fróðá spyr þetta, var henni mikil forvitni á at sjá gripina,	137	she was very curious to see this finery,	357	gripi					F	
225	Erb	50	því at hon var glysgjörn ok skartskona mikil;	137	for she was a vain woman and fond of showy adornment.	357					skartsko na	F	
226	Erb	50	fór hon þá til skips ok fann Þórgunnu ok spurði, ef hon hefði kvenbúnað nokkurn, þann er afþragðilgr væri.	137	She went to the ship to see Thórgunna and asked if she had any women's attire of special quality.	357	búnaðr					F	
227	Erb	50	Hon kvezk engu gripi eiga til sǫlu,	137	Thórgunna said she had nothing for sale,	357	gripi					F	
228	Erb	50	en hafa lézk hon gripi, svá at hon væri óneist at boðum eða gǫðrum mannfundum.	138	but claimed she had enough fine things to prevent her feeling ashamed at feasts and other gatherings.	357	gripi					F	
229	Erb	50	Þuríðr beiddisk at sjá gripina, ok þat veitti hon henni,	138	Thurid asked to see her things, and Thórgunna showed them;	357	gripi					F	
230	Erb	50	ok sýndusk henni vel gripirnir ok sem bezt fandi,	138	Thurid thought them attractive and well-made,	357	gripi					F	
231	Erb	50	en eigi fémlir.	138	and not very costly.	357	fé					F	

No.	Saga	Ch.	Old Norse	P.	English	P.	Item	Textile - work	Material	Colour	Description	Male/ Female	Name
232	Erb	50	Þuríðr falaði gripina, en Þórgunna vildi eigi selja.	138	Thurid made an offer for them, but Thorgunna would not sell.	357	gripi					F	
233	Erb	50	Þá bauð Þuríðr henni þangat til vistar með sér, því at hon vissi, at Þórgunna var fjölskrúðig,	138	Then Thurid invited her to come and stay with her, for she knew that Thorgunna liked to dress up	357					fjölskrúðig	F	
234	Erb	50	ok hugðisk hon mundu fá gripina af henni í tómi.	138	and she hoped to get some clothes from her by and by.	357	gripi					F	
235	Erb	50	vil ek sjálf ráða, hvat ek skal gefa fyrir mik af því fé, sem ek hefi."	138	I shall decide myself how much I pay you from my keep from the money I have.'	357	fé					F	
236	Erb	50	Þá lauk hon upp ǫrkina ok tók þar upp ór rekkjuklæði, ok vǫru þau ǫll mjök vönduð;	138	She then opened the large chest and took from it a set of beautifully-made bedclothes.	357	klæði					F	
237	Erb	50	breiddi hon yfir rekkjuna enskar blæjur	138	She spread fine English sheets	357	blæja					F	
238	Erb	50	ok silkikult;	138	and a silken quilt over the bed;	357	kult		silki			F	
239	Erb	50	hon tók ór ǫrkinni rekkjufill	138	then she took from the chest bed-curtains	357	rekkjufill					F	
240	Erb	50	ok allan ársalinn með;	138	and a full canopy as well.	357	ársall					F	
241	Erb	50	þat var svá góðr búningr, at menn þóttusk eigi silkan sét hafa þess kyns.	138	They were such fine bed-furnishings that people reckoned they had never seen the like before.	357	búningr					F	

No.	Saga	Ch.	Old Norse	P.	English	P.	Item	Textile - work	Material	Colour	Descript ion	Male/ Female	Name
			Pá mælti Þuríðr húsfreyja: "Met þú við mik rekkjubúnaðinn." Þórgunna svarar: "Eigi mun ek leggja í hálmni fyrir þik, þó at þú sér kurteis ok berisk á mikit."	139	Then Thurið, the mistress of the house, asked, 'How much would you like to take for the bed-clothes?' Thórgunna replied, 'I am not going to lie on straw for your sake, no matter how refined and lady-like you are.'	357	búnaðr					F	
243	Erb	50	Þetta mislíkar Þuríði, ok falar eigi optar gripina.	139	Thurið was displeased about this, and made no further offers to buy Thórgunna's finery from her.	358	gripi					F	
244	Erb	50	Þórgunna vann vaoðverk hvern dag, er eigi var heyverk;	139	Thórgunna worked at the weaving every day when there was no hay-making to be done; when the weather was good she would work at drying the hay in the home-field.	358	vaðverk k					F	
245	Erb	51	ok lagði af sér klæðin þau hin blóðgu;	140	she took off her blood-soaked clothing	359	klæði					F	
246	Erb	51	en af óskiptri minni eigu skal Þuríðr hafa skarlatsskikju þá, er ek á;	142	But before you divide up my property, Thurið is to have the scarlet cloak I own.	359	skikja		skarlat			F	
247	Erb	51	geri ek þat til þess, at hon skuli léttu á leggja, þótt ek sjá fyrir goðru mínu fé, slíkt er mér líkar;	142	I do this so that she will not take it amiss if I dispose of the rest of my things as I see fit;	359	fé					F	

No.	Saga	Ch.	Old Norse	P.	English	P.	Item	Textile - work	Material	Colour	Description	Male/ Female	Name
254	Erb	51	sótti hon þá svá fast, at honum gekksk hur við, ok kom þessu máli svá, at þóroddr brenndi dýnur	143	She pleaded with him so hard that he changed his mind; the upshot was that Thórodd burned the eiderdown	360	dýna					F	
255	Erb	51	ok hægendi,	143	and pillows,	360	hægendi					F	
256	Erb	51	en hon tók til sín kult	143	while Thuríð took the quilt,	360	kult					F	
257	Erb	51	ok blæjur	143	the bed-curtains	360	blæja					F	
258	Erb	51	ok ársalinn allan, ok líkaði þó hváringu vel.	143	and the canopy, but neither of them was really easy about the outcome.	360	ársall					F	
259	Erb	51	Líkit var sveipat líndúkum, en saumat eigi um, ok síðan lagt í kistu;	143	The corpse was wrapped in a linen shroud, but not sewed into it, and then confined.	360	dúk		lín			F	
260	Erb	51	gengu síðan til stofu ok fóru af klæðum sínum ok ætluðu at vera þar um nótt matlausir,	143	then they went into the main room and took off their clothes, intending to spend the night there without food.	360	klæði					M	
261	Erb	51	var þar sén kona mikil; hon var nøkvið, svá at hon hafði engan hlut á sér; hon starfaði at matseld;	144	they saw a tall woman there, she was stark naked, without a stitch on, and she was preparing a meal.	361	hlut					F	
262	Erb	51	Eptir þetta var gort ljós í stofu ok dregin af gestum klæði þau, er vát váru, en fengin ginnur þurr í staðinn.	144	A lamp was now lit in the living-room, and the visitors were helped out of their wet clothes and given dry ones instead;	361	klæði					M	

No.	Saga	Ch.	Old Norse	P.	English	P.	Item	Textile - work	Material	Colour	Description	Male/ Female	Name
263	Erb	53	ok gæggðisk upp á ársalinn Þórgunnu.	147	and it stared up at Thórgunna's bed-canopy.	362	ársall					F	
264	Erb	54	settusk þeir niðr við eldinn ok tóku at vinda silk;	149	They sat down by the fire and began wringing the water from their clothing.	363	ta at vinda silk					M	
265	Erb	54	þeir skóku klæðin ok hreyttu moldinni á þá Þórodd	149	They shook it out of their clothing	363	klæði					M	
266	Erb	55	hann gaf þau ráð til, at brenna skyldi ársal Þórgunnu,	151	he advised them to burn the canopy from Thórgunna's bed	365	ársall					F	
267	Erb	55	Kjartan tók ofan ársalinn Þórgunnu, gekk síðan í eldaskála, tók glóð af eldi ok gekk út með;	151	He pulled down Thórgunna's bed-furnishings and then went into the fire-hall and plucked a brand from the fire and went outside with it;	365	ársall					F	
268	Erb	55	var þá brenndr allr rekkjubúnaðinn, er Þórgunna hafði átt.	151	then all the bed-furnishings which had belonged to Thórgunna were burned.	365	búnaðr					F	
269	Erb	56	ok hann gekk í dyngjuna	153	he went into the women's room	366		dyngja				M	
270	Erb	60	Álfr litli hafði legit í klæðum sínum;	164	fully dressed	373	klæði					M	
271	Erb	61	Snorri bað hann þar vera um nóttina í náðum; váru þá tekin klæði þrándar.	166	Snorri asked him to stay the night and rest, and he was helped out of his clothes.	374	klæði					M	
272	Erb	63	gekk Glæsir at honum ok daunснаði um hann ok sleikði um klæði hans,	172	Glæsir went over to him and sniffed at him and licked his clothing,	378	klæði					M	

## Appendix 2. List of sagas on Sagadb.org website

A database compiled from the Modern Icelandic version of these sagas available through [www.sagadb.org](http://www.sagadb.org) is occasionally referenced in the text.

<i>Bandmanna saga</i>	<i>Hrana saga hrings</i>
<i>Bárðar saga Snæfellsáss</i>	<i>Kjalnesinga saga</i>
<i>Bjarnar saga Hítðælakappa</i>	<i>Kormáks saga</i>
<i>Brennu-Njáls saga</i>	<i>Króka-Refs saga</i>
<i>Droplaugarsona saga</i>	<i>Laxdæla saga</i>
<i>Egils saga Skalla-Grímssonar</i>	<i>Ljósvetninga saga</i>
<i>Eiríks saga rauða</i>	<i>Ölkofra saga</i>
<i>Eyrbyggja saga</i>	<i>Reykðæla saga og Víga Skútu</i>
<i>Færeyinga saga</i>	<i>Svarfdæla saga</i>
<i>Finnbofa saga ramma</i>	<i>Þórðar saga hreðu</i>
<i>Fljótsdæla saga</i>	<i>Þorsteins saga hvíta</i>
<i>Flóamanna saga</i>	<i>Þorsteins saga Síðu-Hallssonar</i>
<i>Fóstbræðra saga</i>	<i>Valla-Ljóts saga</i>
<i>Gísla saga Súrssonar</i>	<i>Vatnsdæla saga</i>
<i>Grænlinga saga</i>	<i>Víga-Glúms saga</i>
<i>Grettis saga</i>	<i>Víglundar saga</i>
<i>Gull-Þóris saga</i>	<i>Vopnfirðinga saga</i>
<i>Gunnars saga Keldugnúpsfífls</i>	
<i>Gunnlaugs saga ormstungu</i>	
<i>Hænsna-Þóris saga</i>	
<i>Hallfreðar saga vandræðaskalds</i>	
<i>Harðar saga og Hólmverja</i>	
<i>Hávarðar saga Ísfirðings</i>	
<i>Heiðarvíga saga</i>	
<i>Hrafnkels saga freysgoða</i>	

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Mina, Kait Sepp,

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Tartus, 16.05.2018

Kait Sepp

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Skandinaavia keelte ja kultuuride osakond

18. mai 2018

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Kait Sepp