

SOCIETAL TRANSFORMATIONS IN ICELAND THROUGH CHRISTIAN CONVERSION

Kristin Wright

Through a study of Medieval Europe, one can find an underlying theme of religious struggle, most of which deal with conversions to Christianity. As Christianity began to lay claim over most of Europe, styles and traditions of conversion began to develop. The impression left on society by such a change should not be ignored, but also should not be over-exaggerated. An interesting case for examining these societal changes is the conversion of Iceland in the late tenth and early eleventh centuries. For Iceland, the general process of conversion seemed to follow three steps: infiltration, mission, and organization. The assimilation process was long, though largely peaceful with a few exceptions, and it was foremost a political decision, not a religious fervor. The primary sources for this period all come from after conversion, so they contain Christian bias, yet some offer insight into life before conversion offering the opportunity to compare. The juxtaposition of society before and after conversion, through the comparison of religion, politics, and culture, reveals the impact of Christianity on life in Iceland.

The Conversion

The conversion story of Iceland has numerous parallels to other conversion stories such as the presence of Christian missionaries and Christian faith prior to conversion, yet the unique legal nature creates interesting repercussions which are felt throughout the culture and society. One of the common aspects of the conversion is the missionary effort; some missionaries came by order of the Norwegian King Olaf. For this reason, many say that King Olaf Christianized not only Norway, but also Iceland. It is important to note that while many give credit to Norway's king, due to the nature of Iceland's mixed population and from archaeological evidence, there were most likely Christians in Iceland already around the ninth century. This discrepancy is important because if there were

already numbers of converts, then conversion cannot be considered through the common trickle-down theory with Olaf as the leader. The *Saga of the People of Vatnsdal* shows an example of these pre-conversion converters. The Saga details how Bishop Frederick and Thorvald Kodransson travelled to Iceland and began to proselytize, gaining some early converts. It claims that all of the people of Vatnsdal were eventually converted. These missions are important in showing a Christian presence prior to official conversion. However, despite some limited success, Frederick and Thorvald's larger mission failed, as did Olaf's missions by the violent Stefnir and Thangbrand in 999. These failed missions are what led to the official conversion story of 1000 for which the king of Norway is largely given credit.

After the Icelandic people refused to accept Christianity from numerous missionaries, King Olaf became impatient with them. In response he held a group of Icelanders hostage, resulting in a split between those favoring ancient customs and Christianity. This left Iceland teetering on the edge of civil war. In one of the saga accounts, it is said that, "The next morning the king called a meeting and summoned all the Icelanders. When they had assembled he stood up and thanked all those men who were his loyal friends and had converted to Christianity for answering his summons to the meeting. He ordered the Icelanders to come before him and asked whether they wished to be baptized. Not really they replied." This story glorifies Olaf's role, but what about the actual political conversion of Iceland? A meeting of the *Althing* in the summer of 1000 C.E. resulted in the official conversion of Iceland to Christianity. This seems quite simple and peaceful, and one source even states, "...Iceland is remarkable for its voluntary, peaceful, formal, and immediate acceptance of Christianity in the year 1000 by the *Althing* (*alþingi*), the legislative and juridical body of the country. The event is referred to as the *kristnitaka* (literally, the taking of Christianity)." This shows how the political world

was vital to conversion, and shows why conversion would undoubtedly affect society. The history of this conversion like many others of the time: “is the history of fledging state structures taking form through association with the Church and by overcoming organized opposition to the new religion.” Due to this legal aspect of conversion, an interesting mixing of the secular and Christianity began to develop within society. This led not only to law mixing with religion, but also to Christianity seeping slowly into every aspect of life, setting up a society which can be compared and contrasted against the prior state and new state. The changes detailed below took place over a longer period of time and not immediately after the mass conversion of 1000.

Religion before Christianity

Religious life preceding Christianization was characterized as a polytheistic spirituality commonly referred to as Norse religion. Before explaining, it is important to note that all of our writings on Nordic religion are from post-conversion. Catharina Raudvere even explained that much of what is known of their ancient customs comes from Christians writing about the fallacies of these previous beliefs. Notions such as dwarfs, elves, and giants appear but mainly as counterpoints to correct Christian behavior. Though these writings were against old practices, some give insight into what these customs entailed, so as to create a clearer picture of these ancient customs. Despite these issues much can be learned of the Nordic faith. As in other polytheistic religions, the belief system focused on supernatural ideas, different deities, and mythical creatures. The supernatural also played a large role in life through spirits, whose abilities were not taken for granted. One poem exemplifies these mystical and supernatural aspects of their polytheism. The poem “Volupsa” makes references to mythical creatures such as trolls, dwarfs, and dragons. In the concluding stanza the poem reads, “Comes the Darksome/ dragon flying, / Nithhogg, upward/ from the Nitha Fells.” This source offers an interesting look into the mindset and values of the pagan world. However, polytheism and the supernatural were not the only aspects of their pagan beliefs.

The pagan faith also offered a much more tolerant society for those on the island which encompassed different ideas and notions. One source even states that “...the Pagan faith – a

term referring to the Nordic religion...has usually been regarded not only as pluralistic but even as compounded of plural worships.” This tolerance led to an extremely open society, which allowed for a diversity of pagan systems to survive and intertwine. Due to the closeness and variety of beliefs, religion became hard to distinguish from culture. This is the reason for the large impact Christianity would leave on the people. The pagan religion began to become a formality in society more than an actual belief which set up an environment where Christianity could take root. This is the pagan atmosphere that Christianity infiltrated in the late tenth century and took control of in 1000.

Religion after Conversion

The new religion of Christianity brought in a number of new ideas and concepts, yet much compromise went into the initial adoption of the faith. Before delving too far into the new, it is important to recognize that because of the interconnectivity of religion and society before conversion, as well as the controlling nature of Christianity, there is a wide overlap between the religious, political, and cultural changes which occurred. “...The change to a new religion was very profound, probably the biggest mental and social change Scandinavia has seen in history, that is, concerning policy, society, economy, art, gender relations, etc.” For this reason, many of the changes which occur in one area will ultimately affect the other as is evident with the first points of baptism and burial.

Baptism is possibly the most important tradition brought because it was necessary to be baptized to be considered a Christian at this time. The Christian laws section of the *Gragas*, states: “Every child that is born is to be brought for baptism at the first opportunity, however deformed it may be.” This showed the integration of Christianity into the earliest stages of life and showed the importance of baptism. Along with baptism the *Gragas* refer to the necessity of corpses being taken for burial. As a result, traditions such as material preparation and ship burial for warriors began to fade in practice though not in memory. This denotes another shift in which burial started to resemble Christian practices. An excerpt from *Egil's Saga* describes how these changes affected people, through an anecdote about a man named Grim. “Grim from Mosfell was baptized when Christianity was made the law in Iceland and he had a church built at Mosfell. It is

said that Thordis had Egil's bones moved to the church." Grim was baptized after it was made the law showing the influence of mixing religion and law. However, he also moves his friend's bones to a church for proper burial perhaps showing recognition of the importance of burial in the new religion.

Another key part to the religious change was the mixing of the old and the new. From the actual conversion, a compromise was made which said that "everyone should be Christian and those in this land who had not already been baptized should undergo baptism. But the old law governing infanticide and the eating of horsemeat would stand. People could sacrifice to the old gods secretly if they wanted to, but they were to be liable for lesser outlawry if witnesses were present." This shows how the old and new were brought together through compromise, and how Christianity was at first flexible to the old ways. People took the example of this compromise and applied it to the other new aspects. Many rulers and other important players in Nordic conversion became members of the Christian cult of saints. The importance of this combining of Icelandic people with the cult of saints is that these early saints offered a familiar intercessor to God, and the idea of relics and shrines for saints would be similar to certain pagan practice. This cult of saints also allowed a way for women to be integrated into the new religion as it offered the goal of being made either a virgin saint or woman saint of some other importance. Along with these new aspects, the concepts of churches, priests, and bishops also had to be added to the society, though over a much longer period of time. Since the presence of the high church was not directly felt, the early church's organization and structure was largely independent and developed along with the secular, so friction between the two did not arrive until the presence of the high church was felt. As is evident from the assimilation of the two belief systems, much of the new faith began to infiltrate not only the religious realm, but everyday life.

Politics before Conversion

As mentioned above, there was a strong political nature to the conversion of Iceland, making it important to understand the legal structure before and after 1000. A crucial aspect which separates Iceland from most other conversion tales is the lack of a government based on a central figurehead. Icelanders were generally law abiding

citizens organized as a commonwealth. This meant they had no supreme ruler and were not living in anarchy, but rather lived under rules established through consensus of numerous chieftains who gathered at the *Althing*, a parliamentary like system. Around 930 thirty-some men were made *godi*, the name for chieftains, based on kinship and on local prominence, though later the number of *godi* decreased significantly. They held both religious and secular roles in their respective areas, as suggested by their name *godi* meaning God. Each *godi* relied on their farmers, and their farmers relied on them for both religious and secular purposes. This led to a familiarity with mixing religious and political leaders.

Perhaps even more important than these chieftains are the *Althing* and *Lawspeaker*. The *godi* would meet at the *Althing*; the purpose of this meeting was to recite and edit the laws. The recitation was done by the *Lawspeaker* who was an elected official of the commonwealth. Miller notes that: "in a prominent place on the thing grounds stood the Law Rock. It was there that the *Lawspeaker* recited the body of law. In preliterate and oral culture, he was the society's statute book." The members of the body who were allowed to vote were the main six *godi*. This legislative body was a separate entity from the judicial aspects of the *Althing* which decided the outcome of those who broke laws. While this separation was revolutionary, due to the lack of any centralized power, the enforcement of decisions was impossible without backing from the entire community. This lack of unity, writing, and unique political structure would all be influenced and influential in the post-conversion world.

Politics after Conversion

Christianization brought many important additions to Iceland's politics, some of which would eventually lead to the disassembling of the commonwealth. The biggest shift for Icelanders was the unity which came with everyone under one religion. It should also be noted that due to Christianity's hierarchical structure, the conversion opened new doors for powerful men to gain more power. This meant that Christianity led to unity because people were either with the Christians or against Christianity; secondly, this offered *godi* and other leaders the opportunity to gain political power and economic growth through the backing of the church. Since chieftains exerted control over their

particular lands and the high church authority was not present yet in Iceland, most leaders just became the priests in their area. Leaders would become priests, establish churches, and then own the church lands. The land and ability to make churches lavish offered concrete proof of the person's power and was the first stage in creating more complex power structures on the island. This switch created a possibility for more centralized power to develop. That is not to say that a monarchy of some sort developed, but that a more unified people resulted from Christianity under the more powerful Christian leaders.

Along with unity and power struggles, Christianity also brought changes to the law itself. With conversion came the important contribution of a writing system. This allowed the Icelanders to write about the past through literature such as the sagas, and, more specifically for the political progress, a way to record the law. The *Gragas*, referred to above with baptism and burial, offered both Christian and secular laws. Christianity brought in the possibility for unity through new laws, and for a stronger political environment. Most of the old laws did not need changes, but new laws had to be instituted to accommodate the new religion. This meant a new political identity, which is evident in the *Gragas*. The entire first section deals with Christian practices; such as the duties and roles of priests and bishops. After the new religious rules are the laws dealing with assembly procedure, homicide, *Lawspeaker*, and the law council, many of which were the recording of old spoken laws.

Despite this new writing system, law was still recited at the *Althing*. Ecclesiastical law was administered and recited by a sect of the *Althing*, not by the church. At the same time, criminal and civil cases were still heard by a separate sect who did not answer to a church authority. This exemplifies the mixing of the secular and religious, and the keeping of old ways despite a new faith. In spite of these early attempts to assimilate the old and new, Christianity grew and certain old ways were dismissed or changed. Merely six years after conversion, a law was instated prohibiting the old practice of dueling in the hopes of decreasing violence. While not adhered to, it showed the mixing of Christian ideas into the legal world. Actions such as these and others led to much turmoil and conflict within Iceland. Eventually changes needed to be made to address these issues. The old laws were unable to offer stability

or organization; "the people in general saw the Church and the Norwegian crown as their only salvation." A law was then passed which said that any law contradicting church law was invalid, giving the Church power over the chieftains. This shift resulted in the dissolution of the commonwealth, and a larger submission to the Church. The politics of Iceland were completely altered from the old *Althing* and oral recitation, insinuating radical change in other areas of society; such as values, marriage, and women.

Other Cultural Repercussions

While the political and religious realms of society were deeply affected by the conversion, other cultural repercussions resulted from the presence of Christianity. By becoming Christian, Iceland opened itself up to the Latin West and the ideas and consequences which accompanied this, many of which ended up being cultural. One of the cultural changes was the adoption of the writing system mentioned earlier. This allowed Iceland to write of their past and present for the first time through literature, such as the sagas. Nevertheless, since writing came with conversion, Christian bias seeped into the writings, which is evident when talking about the deaths of old heroes. Christianity brought a new concept into the process of dying, which was repentance in hopes of salvation. This is seen in sagas which show the prayers and morals of heroic men close to death, despite no previous inclinations towards Christian practices. The devout deaths of those in the sagas are the coloring of the church, not likely the actuality of the last moments for these men. This proves the effects of Christianity on the values of the period.

Another of these cultural areas impacted concerns gender and marriage. Conversion was slightly different for women, and many believe that for women Christianity was extremely restrictive. The case of Iceland shows both freeing and restrictive consequences. One author notes that: "the conversion period was everywhere a time of great freedom for women, opening up opportunities and allowing them to act alongside men in missionary work." This was not the only power women gained early on; as a result of conversion women also gained familial power. While many say that Old Icelandic Literature proves women were resistant to conversion, it can be argued that women were vital to conversion as they held control domestically and would be the people raising the future generations

of Christian leaders, missionaries, and priests. This is supported by a piece written about St. Olafr around the time. In reference to his younger brother Olafr says, "In him you are likely to bring up a king, mother." This shows the importance of women in the family, politics, and religion. This example shows the role a mother played in raising the children, and how a Christian influence would affect a child's life. Both the religious and domestic power gained by women show some changes and benefits of religion for females, yet marriage after conversion seems to show a different consequence.

The affects on marriage and relationships were seen as restrictive to both parties involved. An important change made to the process of matrimony dealt with the language of the process. 'Festa' means to bind a female prior to the marriage with a contract, which before Christianity meant it was made without external authorities, though afterwards dealt with a contract between families and external authorities and had less to do with consent of both. Though a compromise was made, the Old Norse honor of a woman was slowly pushed out and the religious aspect took precedence in the marriage. Now that a couple's marriage was Christianized, relations were also affected. These notions were met with reluctance on the part of Iceland as is evident through a parable about a man who commits adultery and refuses to give what is asked of him as punishment. Icelanders were initially reluctant to accept these new interferences in their private lives, showing the effect cultural change was taking on the people. This reluctance

brings up an important factor in all of the changes. Kathleen Self argues that the periods before and after conversion were wrought with conflict. She attributes this to the aggressive nature of Iceland when it came to problems. She says they accepted and expected conflict to occur within humanity. This is evident through the reluctance to certain marriage practices and the numerous compromises which characterize the times.

Conclusion

This Icelandic conversion created interesting circumstances under which the new and the old clashed, in some cases resulting in conflicts, and in the best cases resulting in a combination of the old and new into an original society. Day to day life may not have been immediately affected, but Christianity still had a profound influence. Over time Iceland traded in their pre-Christian world for a place in the interconnectivity of a Christian world system. This switch is evident through the religious changes which brought new ideas such as baptism and burial. Also the combination of the old and new political systems, as evident in the *Gragas*, shows the impact left by conversion. Lastly, the other cultural consequences which affected areas such as values, marriage, and women, show the force with which Christianity penetrated the core of Iceland's society. All three areas, religion, politics, and culture, underwent numerous changes which exemplify the societal ramifications of the political conversion of 1000.

Bibliography

- Arnórsdóttir, Agnes S. *Property and Virginty: The Christianization of Marriage in Medieval Iceland, 1200-1600*. Århus: Aarhus University Press, 2010.
- Brink, Stefan. "Christianization and the Emergence of the Early Church in Scandinavia." In *The Viking World*, edited by Stefan Brink and Neil Price, 621-628. New York: Routledge, 2009.
- Byock, Jesse. *Medieval Iceland: Society, Sagas, and Power*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1988.
- Byock, Jesse. *Viking Age Iceland*. London, England: Penguin Books, 2001.
- Cosser, Jeffrey, trans. "Voluspa: The Doom of the Gods." Quoted in Jo nna Kristjánsson, *Icelandic Manuscripts: Sagas, History, and Art*, 13-14. Icelandic Literary Society, 1993.
- Cosser, Jeffrey, trans. "St. Ólafur and his Brothers." Quoted in Jo nna Kristjánsson, *Icelandic Manuscripts: Sagas, History, and Art*, 77. Icelandic Literary Society, 1993.
- Dennis, Andrew, Peter Foote, and Richard Perkins, trans. *Laws of Early Iceland: Gragas I*. Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press, 1980-2006.

- Fell, Michael. *And Some Fell into Good Soil: A history of Christianity in Iceland*. New York: P. Lang, 1999.
- Grønlie, Siân. "'No Longer Male And Female': Redeeming Women In The Icelandic Conversion Narratives." *Medium Aevum* 75, no. 2 (November 2006): 293-318. *Humanities International Complete*, EBSCOhost (accessed October 13, 2010).
- Hood, John. *Icelandic Church Saga*. London, England: Billing and Sons Ltd., Guildford and Esher, 1946.
- Jochens, Jenny. "Late and Peaceful: Iceland's Conversion through Arbitration in 1000." *Speculum* 74, no. 3 (July 1999): 621-655. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/2886763> (accessed October 3, 2010).
- Kristjánsdóttir, Steinunn. "The Awakening of Christianity in Iceland: discovery of a Timber Church and graveyard at Þórarinsstaðisfjörðir in Seyðisfjörður." PhD diss., University of Gothenburg, 2004.
- Kunz, Keneva, trans. "The Saga of the People of Laxardal." In *The Sagas of Icelanders*, 270-420. New York: Penguin Group, 2000.
- Miller, William I. "Of Outlaws, Christians, Horsemeat, and Writing: Uniform Laws and Saga Iceland." *The Michigan Law Review Association* 89, no.8 (Aug 1991): 2081-2095. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/1289363> (accessed October 12, 2010).
- Nordal, Guorun. *Ethics and Action in Thirteenth Century Iceland*. Odense: Odense University Press, 2003.
- Raudvere, Catharina. "Popular Religion in the Viking Age." In *The Viking World*, edited by Stefan Brink and Neil Price, 235-243. New York: Routledge, 2009.
- Scudder, Bernard, trans. "Egil's Saga." In *The Sagas of Icelanders*, 3-184. New York: Penguin Group, 2000.
- Self, Kathleen M. "Remembering our violent conversion: Conflict in the Icelandic conversion narrative." *Religion* 40, no.3 (2010): 157-199. <http://journals.ohiolink.edu/ejc/> (accessed October 12, 2010).
- Vesteinsson, Orri. *The Christianization of Iceland: Priests, Power, and Social Change 1000-1300*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2000.
- Wawn, Andrew, trans. "The Saga of the People of Vatnsdal." In *The Sagas of Icelanders*, 185-269. New York: Penguin Group, 2000.

Endnotes

- ¹ Steinunn Kristjánsdóttir, *The Awakening of Christianity in Iceland: discovery of a Timber Church and graveyard at Þórarinsstaðisfjörðir in Seyðisfjörður*. (PhD diss., University of Gothenburg, 2004), 22-23.
- ² Stefan Brink, "Christianization and the Emergence of the Early Church in Scandinavia," In *The Viking World*, ed. Stefan Brink and Neil Price (New York: Routledge, 2009), 623.
- ³ Andrew Wawn, trans., "The Saga of the People of Vatnsdal," In *The Sagas of Icelanders* (New York: Penguin Group, 2000), 265-266.
- ⁵ Jesse Byock, *Medieval Iceland: Society, Sagas, and Power* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1988), 139-143.
- ⁶ Keneva Kunz, trans., "The Saga of the People of Laxardal," In *The Sagas of Icelanders*, (New York: Penguin Group, 2000), 349.
- ⁶ Byock, *Medieval Iceland: Society, Sagas, and Power*, 141-143.
- ⁷ Jenny Jochens, "Late and Peaceful: Iceland's Conversion through Arbitration in 1000." *Speculum* 74, no. 3 (July 1999): 621, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/2886763> (accessed October 3, 2010).
- ⁸ *Ibid.*, 19.
- ⁹ Catharina Raudvere, "Popular Religion in the Viking Age," In *The Viking World*, ed. Stefan Brink and Neil Price (New York: Routledge, 2009), 235-236.
- ¹⁰ Michael Fell, *And Some Fell into Good Soil: A History of Christianity in Iceland* (New York: P. Lang, 1999), 12-16.
- ¹¹ Jeffrey Cosser, trans., "Voluspa: The Doom of the Gods," Quoted in Jó nas Kristjánsson, *Icelandic Manuscripts: Sagas, History, and Art* (Icelandic Literary Society, 1993), 14.

- ¹² Kristjánsdóttir, The Awakening of Christianity in Iceland : discovery of a Timber Church and graveyard at Þórarinsstaðisfjörður in Seyðisfjörður,"26.
- ¹³ Fell, *And Some Fell into Good Soil: A History of Christianity in Iceland*, 15-16.
- ¹⁴ Brink, "Christianization and the Emergence of the Early Church in Scandinavia," 621.
- ¹⁵ Andrew Dennis, Peter Foote, and Richard Perkins, trans., *Laws of Early Iceland: Gragas I* (Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press, 1980-2006), 23.
- ¹⁶ Ibid., 26.
- ¹⁷ Bernard Scudder, trans., "Egil's Saga," In *The Sagas of Icelanders* (New York: Penguin Group, 2000), 183.
- ¹⁸ William I. Miller, "Of Outlaws, Christians, Horsemeat, and Writing: Uniform Laws and Saga Iceland." *The Michigan Law Review Association* 89, no.8 (Aug 1991): 2086. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/1289363> (accessed October 12, 2010).
- ¹⁹ Dubois, *Nordic Religions in the Viking Age*, 62-65.
- ²⁰ Siân Grønlie, "'No Longer Male And Female': Redeeming Women In The Icelandic Conversion Narratives." *Medium Aevum* 75, no. 2 (November 2006): 306, *Humanities International Complete*, EBSCOhost (accessed October 13, 2010).
- ²¹ Byock, *Medieval Iceland: Society, Sagas, and Power*, 149.
- ²² Fell, *And Some Fell into Good Soil: A History of Christianity in Iceland*, 10.
- ²³ Byock, *Medieval Iceland: Society, Sagas, and Power*, 58-59.
- ²⁴ Fell, *And Some Fell into Good Soil: A History of Christianity in Iceland*, 11.
- ²⁵ Miller, "Of Outlaws, Christians, Horsemeat, and Writing: Uniform Laws and Saga Iceland," 2084.
- ²⁶ Fell, *And Some Fell into Good Soil: A History of Christianity in Iceland*, 11.
- ²⁷ Orri Vesteinsson, *The Christianization of Iceland: Priests, Power, and Social Change 1000-1300* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2000),19 .
- ²⁸ Ibid., 238.
- ²⁹ Miller, "Of Outlaws, Christians, Horsemeat, and Writing: Uniform Laws and Saga Iceland," 2083.
- ³⁰ Miller, "Of Outlaws, Christians, Horsemeat, and Writing: Uniform Laws and Saga Iceland," 2087-2088.
- ³¹ Andrew Dennis, Peter Foote, and Richard Perkins, trans., *Laws of Early Iceland: Gragas I* (Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press, 1980-2006), 35-39.
- ³² John Hood, *Icelandic Church Saga* (London, England: Billing and Sons ltd., Guildford and Esher, 1946), 34.
- ³³ Ibid.
- ³⁴ Ibid.,49.
- ³⁵ Ibid.,49.
- ³⁶ Jesse Byock, *Viking Age Iceland* (London, England: Penguin Books, 2001), 297.
- ³⁷ Guorun Nordal, *Ethics and Action in Thirteenth Century Iceland* (Odense: Odense University Press, 2003), 184-186.
- ³⁸ Siân Grønlie, "'No Longer Male And Female': Redeeming Women In The Icelandic Conversion Narratives." *Medium Aevum* 75, no. 2 (November 2006): 295, *Humanities International Complete*, EBSCOhost (accessed October 13, 2010).
- ³⁹ Ibid.,310.
- ⁴⁰ Jeffrey Cosser, trans., "St. Ólafur and his Brothers." Quoted in Jó nas Kristjánsson, *Icelandic Manuscripts: Sagas, History, and Art* (Icelandic Literary Society, 1993), 77.
- ⁴¹ Agnes S. Arnórsdóttir, *Property and Virginity: the Christianization of marriage in medieval Iceland, 1200-1600* (Århus: Aarhus University Press, 2010), 224.
- ⁴² Ibid., 104-105.
- ⁴³ Kathleen M. Self, "Remembering our violent conversion: Conflict in the Icelandic conversion narrative." *Religion* 40, no.3 (2010); 185, <http://journals.ohiolink.edu/ejc/>
- ⁴⁴ Brink, "Christianization and the Emergence of the Early Church in Scandinavia," 621.