LIMES 13/2020
ISBN 978-83-7996-830-5 ISSN 1689-5002
STUDIA I MATERIAŁY Z DZIEJÓW EUROPY ŚRODKOWO-WSCHODNIEJ

Mathias Nordvig
(Boulder, University of Colorado)

AGGRESSIVE MASCULINITY AND ENVIRONMENT IN THE ICELANDIC LANDNÁM

This article argues that the environmental conditions experienced by the early settlers in Iceland gave rise to a new form of aggressive masculinity. The tenets of this aggressive masculinity can be found in the foundation myth of the *landnám* in *Landnámabók*, where Ingólfr and Hjǫrleifr represent two cultural archetypes of males, who negotiate environment and social interaction successfully and unsuccessfully, respectively. The *landnám*-ritual, in which a man demonstrates dominance over his realm, represents the complete display of aggressive masculinity in this story, and it has implications for whether a *landnámsmaðr* is viewed as a legitimate ruler over his land. The underpinnings of the ritual are mythological. Earth is perceived as feminine and the instruments that aid the *landnámsmaðr* in his appropriation of the female ground, the *ǫndvegissúlur*, is a phallic representation of male gods, such as Þórr. In his appropriation of the land with this instrument, the male then demonstrates aggressive masculinity in a social setting with religious overtones, reflected in Old Norse mythology, claiming the support of the environmental wardens of Iceland, the *landvættir*. This act of domination of the land seems to be generated from early realizations by the settlers in Iceland that the environment was more difficult to navigate than that of their places of origins. The cold climate, volcanic eruptions, and other such environmental conditions offered resource scarcity and intensified group-competitiveness for the settlers. Their response was to bolster their social image of aggressive males with the ability to dominate the land and other social groups, in alignment with the male spiritual wardens of Iceland. This means that the image of the aggressive "Viking" male that appears in Old Norse literature, in *Landnámabók* and the *íslendingasögur*, not least Old Norse mythology, may be an inherently Icelandic phenomenon.

How the environment and Old Norse literature intersect

The question of how environment influences the evolution of culture has been addressed by several scholars of anthropology, ethnology, and religion[1]. However, in a context of Old Norse literature, such studies are limited[2]. If environment does influence cultural practices and the structures of social interaction, Old Norse literature produced in Iceland must represent a unique situation compared to continental Scandinavia. This means that one can expect to find alterations of culture and social interaction in Iceland, setting it apart from its antecedent cultures in Scandinavia, which have arisen in the experience of new environmental conditions during the *landnám* and ensuing centuries. These new environmental conditions may have redefined aspects of masculinity in Iceland. What this means for the study of Old Norse literature *vis á vis* its use as sources to augment our understanding of Viking Age life on the European continent, is that the locale of Iceland in the Viking world and early medieval times has produced a culture that stands separately from Scandinavia. In terms of understanding masculinity and gender dynamics in Viking Age Scandinavia, then, it is not simply a matter of Old Norse literature, such as the sagas, being removed from the Viking Age some 250 years in time, it is also possible that the environmental conditions of Iceland, experienced by Scandinavians migrating there, created new ideas and structures of social order. This indicates that any example of gendered behaviour that medieval Icelandic literature applies to individuals in narrating early Icelandic culture should be considered inherently Icelandic, not an expression of shared cultural

[1] J.H. Steward, *Theory of Culture Change. The methodology of multilinear evolution*, Urbana 1963; W.H. Sewall, *Logics of History: Social Theory and Social Transformation*, Chicago 2005; R. Wagner, *Condensed Mapping. Myth and the Folding of Space/Space and the Folding of Myth*, [in:] *Emplaced myth:space, narrative, and knowledge in Aboriginal Australia and Papua New Guinea*, ed. by A. Rumsey, J. Weiner, Hawai'i 2001, pp. 71–78; R.A. Rappaport, *Pigs for the Ancestors*, New Haven 1968; R.A. Rappaport, *Ritual Regulation of Environmental Relations among a New Guinea People*, [in:] *Ecology, Meaning & Religion*, ed. by R.A. Rappaport, Berkeley 1979, pp. 27–42; RA. Rappaport, *On Cognized Models*, [in:] *Ecology, Meaning & Religion*, ed. by R.A. Rappaport, Berkeley 1979: Å. Hultkrantz, *An Ecological Approach to Religion*, "Ethnos" 31 (1966), pp. 131–150; Å. Hultkrantz, *Ecology of Religion: Its Scope and Methodology*, [in:] *Science of Religion: Studies in Methodology*, ed. by L. Honko, Mouton 1979, pp. 221–36; *The Way the Wind Blows*, ed. by R.J. McIntosh, New York 2000.

[2] For such studies, see: M. Nordvig, *At fange havets ånd. Økoviden i den nordiske mythologi*, "Chaos. Skandinavisk tidsskrift for religionshistoriske studier" 64 (2016), pp. 77–98; M. Nordvig, *Nature and Mythology*, [in:] *Handbook of Old Norse Memory Studies: Interdisciplinary Approaches*, ed. by P. Hermann, S.A. Mitchell, J. Glauser, Berlin 2018, pp. 539–548; M. Nordvig, *Katla the witch and a medieval Icelandic theory on volcanism*, [in:] *American/Medieval Goes North: Earth and Water in Transit*, ed. by G.R. Overing and Ulrike Weithaus, Göttingen 2019, pp. 67–86; M. Nordvig, F. Riede, *Are There Echoes of the AD 536 Event in the Viking Ragnarok Myth? A Critical Appraisa*l, "Environment and History" 24:3 (2018), pp. 303–24; N. Price, B. Gräslund, *Twilight of the Gods? The 'dust veil event' of AD 536 in critical perspective*, "Antiquity" 86 (2012), pp. 428–443.

and social structures across the Nordic realm. The discussion of how Old Norse literature represents expressions of an early culture or social life in the Nordic region has hitherto centered on the question of transmission. From mythology to sagas, scholarship debates the ability and propensity of medieval Icelandic literature to retain core truths about historical facts from earlier periods. The view applied in this article is one that agrees with Gísli Sigurðsson in *The Medieval Icelandic Saga and Oral Tradition* (2004), where a reasonable case is made for an oral background to parts of the saga literature and Old Norse mythology. The level to which the subject of an oral background to Old Norse literature, even the quality of the transmission of this oral background[3], has been discussed suggests that regardless of where a scholar positions themselves on the subject of the idea of historical facts being present in Old Norse literature, the saga literature in particular, it cannot be denied that this body of diverse literature does represent a longer-standing cultural structure than one that was simply invented at the time of writing. The temporal scope, i.e. the distance in time between the events described in such sources as *Landnámabók* and the time of writing, is an obviously important topic. However, what has been largely ignored in scholarship is the question of what happens to social structures when a people migrates to a new place, a new en-

[3] See e.g. T. Andersson, *The Problem of Icelandic Saga Origin*, Yale 1964; T. Andersson, *The textual Evidence for an Oral Family Saga*, "Arkiv för nordisk filologi" 81 (1966), pp. 1–23; J. Byock, *Saga form, Oral Prehistory, and the Icelandic Social Context*, "New Literary History" 16 (1984), pp. 153–173; Gísli Sigurðsson, *The Medieval Icelandic Saga and Oral Tradition*, Cambridge 2004; Gísli Sigurðsson, *Orality and Literacy*, [in:] *Old Norse-Icelandic Literature and Culture*, ed. by R. McTurk, Oxford 2005, pp. 285–301; P. Hermann, *Íslendingabók and History*, [in:] *Reflections on Old Norse Myths*, ed. by P. Hermann, J.P. Schjødt, R. Tranum Kristensen, Turnhout 2007, pp. 17–32; P. Hermann*, Concepts of Memory and Approaches to the Past in Medieval Icelandic Literature*, "Scandinavian Studies" 81:3 (2009), pp. 288–308; P. Hermann, *Methodological Challenges to the Study of Old Norse Myths: The Orality and Literacy Debate Reframe*d, [in:] *Old Norse Mythology – Comparative Perspectives*, ed. by P. Hermann et al., Cambridge 2017, pp. 29–52; J. Glauser, *The Speaking Bodies of Saga Texts*, [in:] *Learning and Understanding in the Old Norse World. Essays in Honour of Margaret Clunies Ross*, ed. by J. Quinn, K. Heslop, Turnhout 2007, pp. 13–26. See e.g. T. Andersson, *The Problem of Icelandic Saga Origin*, Yale 1964; T. Andersson, *The textual Evidence for an Oral Family Saga*, "Arkiv för nordisk filologi" 81 (1966), pp. 1–23; J. Byock, *Saga form, Oral Prehistory, and the Icelandic Social Context*, "New Literary History", 16 (1984), pp. 153–173; Gísli Sigurðsson, *The Medieval Icelandic Saga and Oral Tradition*, Cambridge 2004; Gísli Sigurðsson, *Orality and Literacy*, [in:] *Old Norse-Icelandic Literature and Culture*, ed. by R. McTurk, Oxford 2005, pp. 285–301; P. Hermann, Íslendingabók and History, [in:] *Reflections on Old Norse Myths*, ed. by P. Hermann, J.P. Schjødt, and Rasmus Tranum Kristensen, Turnhout 2007, pp. 17–32; P. Hermann, *Concepts of Memory and Approaches to the Past in Medieval Icelandic Literature*, "Scandinavian Studies" 81:3 (2009), pp. 288–308; P. Hermann*, Methodological Challenges to the Study of Old Norse Myths: The Orality and Literacy Debate Reframed*, [in:] *Old Norse Mythology – Comparative Perspectives*, ed. by P. Hermann, J.P. Schjødt, S.A. Mitchell, A. Rose, Cambridge 2017, pp. 29–52; J. Glauser, *The Speaking Bodies of Saga Texts*, [in:] *Learning and Understanding in the Old Norse World. Essays in Honour of Margaret Clunies Ross*, ed. by J. Quinn, K. Heslop, T. Wills, Turnhout 2007, pp. 13–26.

vironment. Contemporary investigations of population migrations have revealed that considerable cultural changes in migrating populations do occur[4], for various reasons. Research on populations in pre-historic times, who have migrated due to environmental conditions, such as volcanic eruptions, has also demonstrated that experiences of environmental calamities of considerable magnitude influence social structures. Archaeologist James A. Zeidler has, for instance, suggested that the Muchique 2 culture that migrated back into the Jama-Coaque Valley in Ecuador around c. 400 AD had undergone immense social and cultural changes from its parent culture, the Muchique 1, which was destroyed by a volcanic eruption in ~90 AD[5]. Similarly, the anthology *The Way the Wind Blows*[6], which details cultural and religious response to environment in a variety of peoples, stands as a testament to the encompassing effect that environment can have on the social life of humans. In the context of Old Norse mythology, I have demonstrated that the experience of volcanic eruptions may have had considerable influence on how myths were restructured in early Icelandic society[7]. The impact of volcanism on early Icelandic culture has also been recognized by volcanologist Clive Oppenheimer and scholar of Old Norse mythology Andy Orchard, who have suggested that the cataclysmic Eldgjá eruption in 934–40 AD had direct impact on the Icelanders' decision to convert to Christianity[8]. Theoretically, then, it makes sense to assume that culture and social structures could have changed considerably as Scandinavian and Gaelic populations migrated across the North Atlantic to settle in Iceland. In this process of social change, one may assume, concepts of masculinity can have changed too. This means that it is a reasonable approach to the study of Old Norse literature to consider that the change in environmental arena had an impact on how the early Icelanders understood themselves in terms of their kinship and their individual place in the kinship structure, that is: as men and women. Multiple studies have already discussed kinship structures, gender,

---

[4] M.E.W. Varnum, I. Grossmann, K. Shinobu,R.E. Nisbett, *The Origin of Cultural Differences in Cognition: The Social Orientation Hypothesis*, "Current Directions in Psychological Science" 19(1) (2010), pp. 9–13, p. 12; A.B. Cohen, M.E.W. Varnum, *Beyond East vs. West: Social Class, Region, and Religion as Forms of Culture*, "Current Opinion in Psychology" 8 (2016), pp. 5–9; J. Heinrich, S.J. Heine, A. Norenzayan, *The Weirdest People in the World?*, "Behavioral and Brain Sciences" 33 (2016), pp. 61–135.

[5] J.A. Zeidler, *Modeling Cultural Responses to Volcanic Disaster in the Ancient Jama-Coaque Tradition, Coastal Ecuador: A Case Study in Cultural Collapse and Resilience*, "Quaternary International" 394 (2016), pp. 79–97.

[6] *The Way the Wind Blows*, ed. by R.J. McIntosh, New York 2000.

[7] M. Nordvig, *At fange havets…*; M. Nordvig, *Nature and Mythology…*; M. Nordvig, *Creation from Fire in Snorri's Edda. The Tenets of a Vernacular Theory of Geothermal Activity in Old Norse Myth*, [in:] *Old Norse Mythology in Comparative Perspectives*, ed. by P. Hermann, J. P. Schjødt, S.A. Mitchell, A. Rose, Cambridge 2017, pp. 269–289.

[8] C. Oppenheimer et al., *The Eldgjá eruption: timing, long-range impacts and influence on the Christianisation of Iceland* "Climate Change" 147:3–4 (2018), pp. 369–381.

and masculinity in Old Norse literature[9]. One notable feature of several of these studies is that they reflect a concept of masculinity that is incredibly aggressive. In the following, I will present an analysis of the aggressive male in the Icelandic foundation myth in *Landnámabók* as a concept of masculinity that has arisen from the experience of resource scarcity and environmentally charged social competition in early Icelandic history.

Experiencing the Icelandic environment as a *landnámsmaðr*

In *Landnámabók*, one of the earliest communicated messages about Iceland is that of its environmental conditions. Hrafna-Flóki reaches Iceland and creates a settlement, but as his story will have us know, he failed because of the cold climate. Being too preoccupied with fishing and game, the story relates that Flóki failed in collecting enough feed for his domesticated animals, and they therefore died during the winter. As he left the country in disappointment, he gave it the name "Iceland", when he saw the frozen bay:

> *Þá var fjǫrðrinn fullr af veiðiskap, ok gáðu þeir eigi fyrir veiðum at fá heyjanna, ok dó allt kvikfé þeira um vetrinn. Vár var heldr kalt. Þá gekk Flóki upp á fjall eitt hátt ok sá norðr yfir fjǫllin fjǫrð fullan af hafísum. Því kǫlluðu þeir landit Ísland, sem þat hefir síðan heitit*.
>
> [Back] then, the bay was full of fish and due to their fishing, they did not manage to collect hay, and all their cattle died during the winter. The spring was very cold [too]. Then Flóki went up on a tall mountain and looked northwards over the mountain [and saw] a bay full of sea ice. For that reason, they called the land Iceland, which it has been called since[10].

This suggests an environmental experience leading to certain realizations in the collective memory[11] of the early Icelandic population: conditions are different

---

[9] M. Clunies Ross, *Prolonged Echoes*. *Volume 1*, Odense 1994; M. Clunies Ross, Þórr's Honour, [in:] *Studien zum Altgermanischen. Festschrift für Heinrich Beck*, ed. by H. Uecker, Berlin 1994, pp. 48–76; M. Clunies Ross, *Prolonged Echoes. Volume 2*, Odense 1998; J. Jochens, *The Illicit Love Visit*, "Journal of History and Sexuality" 1 (1991), pp. 357–392; J. Jochens, *Women in Old Norse Society*, Ithaca, NY 1995. See also: Agnes S. Arnórsdóttir, *Property and Virginity: The Christianization of Marriage in Medieval Iceland 1200–1600*, Aarhus 2010; B. Bandlien, *Man Or Monster? Negotiations of Masculinity in Old Norse Society*, Oslo 2005; B. Bandlien, *Remembering Gendered Vengeance*, [in:] *Handbook of Old Norse Memory Studies: Interdisciplinary Approaches*, ed. by P. Hermann, S.A. Mitchell, and J. Glauser, Berlin 2018, pp. 519–525; K. Hastrup, *Island of Anthropology*, Odense 1990; B. Solli, *Queering the Cosmology of the Vikings: A Queer Analysis of the Cult of Odin and 'Holy White Stones'*, "Journal of Homosexuality" 54:1–2 (2008), pp. 192–208.

[10] *Landnámabók*, [in:] *Íslendingabók. Landnámabók*, ed. by Jakob Benediktsson, Íslenzk Fornrit I, Reykjavík 1968, p. 38.

[11] Concerning the term, see: J. Le Goff, *History and Memory*, New York 1992.

– colder – than those of their original lands. This understanding is accentuated in the very name given to the country: Iceland. Before Flóki named it Iceland, the explorer Naddoð called it *Snæland* (Snow-land) due to the heavy snowfall he experienced there[12]. Snjógrundr is another designation for the country, found in *Bergbúa Þáttr*. Iceland, as such, is consistently associated with cold, icy, and snowy environmental conditions. The fact that this is a consistent component in the narration of the early settlement of Iceland suggests that even for these peoples who were accustomed to Scandinavian winters, the environmental conditions of Iceland were notably different. The realization in Hrafna-Flóki's example is that the management of the Icelandic environment requires another kind of planning and preparedness than usual. This also seems to lead to a cultural response of ritual mitigation of the environmental forces among the male settlers who follow Hrafna-Flóki. The famous stipulation in the first law of Iceland, *Úlfljótslagr*, which prohibits sailors from advancing towards Iceland displaying the dragon-heads on their prow because it will scare the *landvættir*[13], is an indication of this. This stipulation suggests that an early conception of the Icelandic terrain includes the presence of beings who must be appeased in order to avoid conflict with the land, in other words: in order to avoid environmental conflict. That these beings, the *landvættir*, are environmental forces, is indicated by the associated traditions mentioned in *Kristni saga* and elsewhere. In the example from *Kristni saga*, a stone-dwelling being called an *ármann* (year-man or fertility-man), to whom a man named Kóðran gave offerings[14], seems to be such a warden of the land similar to the *landvættir*. The *landvættir* join other mythological beings, such as the Álfar as protective spirits in the Icelandic landscape, who were in charge of crop yield and the agricultural success of the early settlers[15]. Largely, the ritual methods for mitigating this complex of mythological wardens of the Icelandic environment fall along the lines of appeasement, such as the case of Kóðran in *Kristni saga*, but it is notable that the *landnám* ritual, associated with a land-taking patriarch's first appearance in Iceland, demonstrates aggressive male dominance. In the *landnám* ritual, the *landnámsmaðr* would throw his ǫndvegissúlur (high-seat pillars) overboard upon coming within sight of Iceland. Then he would take land wherever they would float ashore. In *Prolonged Echoes 2*, Margaret Clunies Ross has aptly analyzed the ritual act of *landnám*, which includes what she defines as an aggressive male domination act directed towards other males. She, however, suggests that the ritual itself is not directed at the *landvættir*[16]. In the *landnám*, the male

[12] *Landnámabók*, p. 34.

[13] *Landnámabók*, p. 313.

[14] *Kristni saga* 2, ed. by Jóhannes Halldórsson, Íslenzk Fornrit XV, Reykjavík 1959.

[15] R. Simek, *Dictionary of Northern Mythology*, Cambridge 2007, p. 73 and 186; C. Raudvere, *Popular Religion in the Viking Age*, [in:] *The Viking World*, ed. by S. Brink in collaboration with N. Price, New York 2012, pp. 235–243, p. 237.

[16] M. Clunies Ross, *Prolonged Echoes Volume 2*, pp. 153–154.

landnámsmaðr will demonstrate his dominance outwards to other social groups by using phallic objects to appropriate the land in a symbolic penetrative act[17]. This is certainly a display directed towards other social groups, as Clunies Ross asserts, but it appears to be a display that has been generated from the conception of an Icelandic environment that is ruled by a class of spirits that recognizes male domination over land. It seems, then, that the ritual act is one that demonstrates to other social groups that the *landnámsmaðr* has the appropriate potency, supported by the powerful spirits of the land, to navigate a difficult environment and defend his claim to unification with the land. This is in that sense a unification of the human family with the spiritual family, through the patriarch, using a phallic ritual instrument that will function as a conduit for spiritual alignment with the wardens of the land. For this reason, the ǫndvegissúlur seem to represent the *axis mundi* in the architecture of pre-Christian Icelandic ritual spaces[18]. The significance of this ritualized mitigating of the environmental conditions is demonstrated in the settlement of Ingólfr Arnason, which will be addressed in the following.

Ingólfr and Hjǫrleifr – two examples of navigating the Icelandic environment

According to *Landnámabók*, Ingólfr succeeded Hrafna-Flóki and was the first settler who managed to create a viable settlement[19]. Ingólfr's settlement is inscribed in the typological literary structure that represents the foundation of Iceland in an ideological perspective in Old Norse literature[20], in particular in relation to *Íslendingabók*[21]. This means that Ingólfr's settlement is a form of ideological narrative, a foundation myth[22]. As a foundation myth, his settlement has implications for how the relationship between man and environment is perceived in early Icelandic culture. The story of how Ingólfr and his blood-brother Hjǫrleifr manage their settlement is consequential to how the relationship between humans and environment is conceptualized. Like the story about Hrafna-Flóki, the story

[17] Ibidem, pp. 156–157.

[18] T. Gunnell, *Hof, Halls, Goðar and Dwarves: An Examination of the Ritual Space in the Pagan Icelandic Hall*, "Cosmos" 17:1 (2001), pp. 3–36; K. Böldl, *Eigi einhamr*, [in:] *Beiträge zum Weltbild der Eyrbyggja und anderer Isländersagas. Ergänzungsbände zum Reallexikon der Germanischen Altertumskunde*, Vol. 48, Berlin 2005, p. 19; V. Höfig, *The Legendary Topography of the Viking Settlement of Iceland*, "Landscapes: the Journal of the International Centre for Landscape and Language" 8:1 (2018), pp. 1–19.

[19] *Landnámabók*, pp. 42–43.

[20] V. Höfig, *The Legendary Topography*…, pp. 6–7; V. Höfig, *Foundational Myth in Sturlubók*, [in:] *Sturla Þórðarson – Skald, Chieftain and Lawman*, ed. by Jón Viðar Sigurðsson, Sverrir Jakobsson, Boston 2017, pp. 70–82.

[21] P. Hermann, *Íslendingabók and History*…

[22] Ibidem; J. Lindow, *Íslendingabók and Myth*, "Scandinavian Studies" 69:4 (1997), pp. 455–464.

about Hjǫrleifr is one of failure due to the lack of planning and preparedness in a difficult environment. The first indication of Hjǫrleifr's lack of preparedness, and therefore his lack of understanding of the environment, is when his boat drifts and they run out of water. His slaves prepare a type of porridge called *minþak*, which was supposed to alleviate their thirst. However, when it began raining, they collected the rainwater instead, and so they threw the *minþak* overboard, letting it drift to an island that was then called Minþakseyrr. Ingólfr, on the other hand, immediately threw his *ǫndvegissúlur* overboard when he came within sight of Iceland, letting them drift ashore to where he would eventually settle. The *ǫndvegissúlur* function as the aforementioned phallic instruments with which male settlers in Iceland demonstrated their masculine domination over the land and other social groups. In comparison, the *minþak* that is the only instrument thrown overboard by Hjǫrleifr's team, and Ingólfr's *ǫndvegissúlur*, appear as opposites in the story. The *minþak* is an amorphous, soft substance, while the *ǫndvegissúlur* are hard, erect objects that represent phallic potency. Eventually, after this failed *landnám* ritual, Hjǫrleifr takes land at Hjǫrleifshöfði. Being unprepared, however, he has only brought one ox with him to Iceland, and he therefore makes his slaves drag the plow, sowing the seeds for rebellion. The slaves kill the ox and claim that it was killed by a bear. When they stage a search party for the bear, the slaves ambush and kill Hjǫrleifr and his men, taking their women and goods[23]. Ingólfr eventually avenges Hjǫrleifr, and presumably enrolls the women and goods into his own settlement. Ingólfr's commentary to Hjǫrleifr's death is, as Meulengracht Sørensen has pointed out, telling of the difference between the 'pious' Ingólfr and Hjǫrleifr who refuses to sacrifice to the gods[24]. However, the difference between the two rests not simply on reverence for deities, it also rests on the ability to mitigate and manage the environment. This is demonstrated in Hjǫrleifr's case, and it would seem that the ritual act in the *landnám* is part of this complex. The emphasis on ritual action in context of the settlement is explicitly stated by Ingólfr and given as reason for Hjǫrleifr's lack of success: *Lítit lagðist hér fyrir góðan dreng, er þrælar skyldu at bana verða, ok sé ek svá hverjum verða, ef eigi vill blóta* ("It is a poor fate for a good warrior that slaves became his murderers, and now I see

[23] *Landnámabók*, p. 43. The likelihood of finding a bear in southern Iceland must have been considerably low, unless it was a polar bear that had drifted from Greenland. This provides further evidence of Hjǫrleifr's lack of knowledge about the Icelandic environment. On the subject of polar bears in Iceland, see: A.E.J. Ogilvie, *Local knowledge and travellers' tales: a selection of climatic observations in Iceland*, [in:] ed. by C. Caseldine, A. Russell, J. Harðardóttir, O. Knudsen, *Iceland-Modern Processes and Past Environments, Developments in Quaternary Science 5*, London 2005, pp. 257–287; S. Hartman et al., *Medieval Iceland, Greenland, and the New Human Condition: A case study in integrated environmental humanities*, "Global Planetary Change" 156 (2017), pp. 123–139; p. 132.

[24] P. Meulengracht Sørensen, *Social Institutions and Belief Systems of Medieval Iceland (ca. 870–1400) and Their Relation to Literary Production*, [in:] *Old Icelandic Literature and Society*, ed. by Margaret Clunies Ross, Cambridge 2000, pp. 8–28; V. Höfig, *The Legendary Topography*..., p. 6.

how it goes for anyone who will not [make] sacrifices")[25]. The implication is that the wardens of the land, the *landvættir*, were not with him because he did not treat them appropriately. The note in the *Sturlubók* version of *Landnámabók* that no one dared to settle at Hjǫrleifshöfði after he had been killed, because of fear of the *landvættir*[26], underscores the notion that environment is implicitly involved. Hjǫrleifr and his crew on the boat do not understand how to navigate the ocean, neither do they understand how to make the land suitable for living. Ultimately, his lack of understanding and providing proper guidance for life in Iceland results in a hostile appropriation of his resources by another competitive group, the Gaelic slaves. The lesson learned, then, is that the Icelandic environment offers complicated obstacles that require insight and tact to handle, otherwise one falls victim to resource scarcity and hostile outsiders. The first step in the process of adapting to the Icelandic environment is, to put it simply, "to man up".

Aggressive masculinity as a response to the Icelandic environment

Since it is realized that aggressive male domination acts are necessary in the *landnám* to survive in Iceland, it becomes important to examine why. Hjǫrleifr's example is instructive in that regard. Due to his failure to understand properly how to navigate the environment, he is killed by males from a hostile out-group, the slaves. Consequentially, it seems this is an encompassing risk in early Icelandic society: male aggression. The cultural pattern of males appropriating both property and women from other males in Iceland has deep roots[27]. It is explained in the case of Hrafna-Flóki that a failed settlement is caused by the lack of attention to the environment, and this is also the implication in the case of Hjǫrleifr. In the case of Ingólfr, it is realized that the correct ritual approach to the wardens of the environment, the *landvættir*, must be applied. In turn, Hjǫrleifr's failed settlement is tainted due to the mishandling of the wardens of the environment, and subsequently it is off bounds for future settlements. The method prescribed for handling the environment properly is an act of male aggression. This suggests that the phallic, penetrative object that is used to appropriate the land, the feminized Earth (Jǫrð), is an extension of the aggressive male's body. The hostile feminizing of an opponent is a consistent theme in Old Norse literature, and may find its ideological examples in Þórr's battles with the Jǫtnar[28]. In the mythol-

[25] *Landnámabók*, p. 44.

[26] V. Höfig, *The Legendary Topography*..., p. 6; *Landnámabók*, p. 334.

[27] J. Jochens, *Women in Old Norse Society*, p. 18.

[28] M. Clunies Ross, *Prolonged Echoes volume 1*; M. Clunies Ross, *Prolonged Echoes volume 2*; M. Clunies Ross, Þórr's Honour...; J. Lindow, *Bloodfeud and Scandinavian Mythology*, "Alvíssmál" 4 (1994 [1995]), pp. 51–68.

ogy, Þórr acts as the protector of the Æsir and in particular the Ásynjur[29]. The Jǫtnar's attempts at appropriating the Æsir's women are acts of male aggression that would, if successful, feminize the Æsir as they fall to subjugation from an out-group[30]. As the Æsir succeed in fending off male aggression from the Jǫtnar, they demonstrate themselves to be the most masculine part in this pattern of group-competitiveness. Since they are wardens of culture[31], the spiritual antecedents of the pre-Christian settlers, they function as protagonists in a system of male aggression against environment and out-groups. Their involvement in the *landnám* as protagonists siding with the settlers is demonstrated in Þórólfr Mostraskegg's settlement in *Eyrbyggja saga*, where he takes land with *ǫndvegissúlur* that have Þórr's face carved in them[32]. It is no surprise that Þórr is featured in this narration of the *landnám*, considering that he represents aggressive masculinity in the Norse pantheon, and is found battling Jǫtnar in various myths with environmental undertones, such as those that relate volcanism[33]. Beyond the cold climate, the Icelandic environment offers multiple other dangers that the first settlers had to learn to manage through experience. Natural features, coastal currents, storms and fog, would be part of this, offering different challenges, but the period of the *landnám* also saw the incredible force of two of the largest volcanic eruptions in the history of human habitation in Iceland. The fissure Eldgjá opened in 934–940 AD and caused an eruption of a magnitude larger than the Lakagígar/Skaftáreldar eruption of 1783–1784[34]. The magnitude of this eruption

[29] M. Clunies Ross, Þórr's Honour…

[30] Ibidem; J. Lindow, *Bloodfeud and Scandinavian Mythology*…

[31] See *Völuspá*, [in:] G. Neckel, H. Kuhn, *Die Lieder des Codex Regius nebst verwandten Denmälern*, Heidelberg 1962, pp. 1–17. The gods build civilization in an environment that they successfully manage.

[32] *Eyrbyggja saga*, [in:], ed. by Einar Ólafur Sveinsson, Íslenzk Fornrit IV, Reykjavík 1957.

[33] B. Phillpotts, *Surt*, "Arkiv för nordisk filologi" 21 (1905), pp. 14–30; Sigurður Nordal, *Völuspá*, Copenhagen 1927; M. Nordvig, *Of Fire and Water. The Old Norse Mythical Worldview in an Eco-Mythological Perspective*, Unpublished PhD dissertation, Aarhus 2014; M. Nordvig, *What happens when 'Hider' and 'Screamer' go sailing with 'Noisy'? Geomythological traces in old Icelandic mythology*, [in:] *Past Vulnerability. Volcanic Eruptions and Human Vulnerability in Traditional Societies Past and Present*, ed. by F. Riede. Aarhus 2015, pp. 75–88; M. Nordvig, *At fange havets ånd...*; M. Nordvig, *Creation from Fire...*; Nordvig, *Nature and Mythology*; M. Nordvig, *Katla the Witch*; M. Nordvig, F. Riede, Felix. *Are There Echoes of the AD 536 Event in the Viking Ragnarok Myth? A Critical Appraisal*; D. Taggart, *All the Mountains Shake: Seismic and Volcanic Imagery in the Old Norse Literature of Þórr*, "Scripta Islandica" 68 (2017), pp. 99–122.

[34] G.A. Zielinski, *Evidence of the Eldgjá (Iceland) eruption in the GISP2 Greenland ice core: Relationship to eruption processes and climatic conditions in the tenth Century*, "The Holocene" 5:2 (1995), pp. 129–140; A. Witze, J. Kanipe, *Island on Fire*, London 2014; Th. Thordarson and Á. Höskuldsson, *Postglacial volcanism in Iceland*, "Jökull" 58 (2008), pp. 197–228; Th. Thordarson, G. Larsen, *Volcanism in Iceland in historical time: Volcano types, eruption styles and eruptive history*, "Journal of Geodynamics" 43 (2007), pp. 118–152.

impacted areas as far away from Iceland as China and the Middle East[35], and it is possible that this eruption had influence on the interest of new settlers coming to Iceland in the 930s, where it is reported by Ari Þorgilsson that the settlement period ended[36]. As mentioned earlier, the Eldgjá eruption may also have had impact on Iceland's decision to convert to Christianity, thereby having the potential to considerably alter the social landscape of the country[37]. Soon after, probably in the 950s, Langjǫkull also erupted, causing the lava-flow now called Hallmundarhraun, north-east of Borgarfjǫrður. This eruption produced approximately 70% of magma output in the Reykjanes and Western Volcanic Zones in Iceland in the last 1130 years[38]. This is where Surtshellir is located, the cave dedicated to the fire-Jötunn Surtr, and it seems that local, pre-Christian Icelanders responded with ritual acts to appease the volcanic phenomenon[39]. These volcanic eruptions, compounding with the climatic conditions of Iceland, would have offered considerably harsh times, resource scarcity, and other immediate hazards for a large portion of the Icelandic population[40]. In the case of the aforementioned Muchique 2 culture, Zeidler has suggested that the volcanic eruption in the Jama-Coaque Valley around ~90 AD produced a descendent culture from Muchique 1, which retained the memory of the calamity and restructured their society into a warrior aristocracy that was prone to diversification in resource collection, including aggressive means such as raiding and warfare[41]. This does not seem to have been part of the social patterns in the Muchique 1 culture. In Papua New Guinea, another culture seems to have displayed similar patterns of male aggression based on volcanic experiences. The Maring in the Simbai valley have a cultural system that fuses myth, cosmology, warfare, and environmental observations, most like-

---

[35] J. Fei and J. Zhou, *The possible climatic impact on China of Iceland's Eldgja eruption inferred from historical sources*, "Climate Change" 76 (2006), pp. 443–457; R. Stothers, *Far reach of the tenth century Eldgjá eruption, Iceland*, "Climate Change" 39 (1998), pp. 715–726.

[36] Nordvig, *Nature and Mythology*…, p. 540.

[37] Oppenheimer et al, "The Eldgjá eruption: timing, long-range impacts and influence on the Christianisation of Iceland".

[38] Th. Thordarson, G. Larsen, *Volcanism in Iceland* …, p. 140.

[39] K.P. Smith, Guðmundur Ólafsson, C. Wolf, "Surtshellir Archaeological Project: Investigating the End of Time at the Start of Settlement". Project blog, ed. by K.P. Smith, 2018.

[40] J. Grattan and B.F. Pyatt, *Acid damage to vegetation following the Laki fissure eruption in 1783. An historical review*, "The Science of the Total Environment" 151 (1993), pp. 241–247; J. Grattan, *An amazing and portentous summer: Environmental and social responses in Britain to the 1783 eruption of an Icelandic volcano*, "The Geographical Journal" 161 (1995), pp. 125–136; J. Grattan et al, *Illness and elevated human mortality in Europe coincident with the Laki fissure eruption*, [in:] *Volcanic Degassing*, ed. by C. Oppenheimer, D.M. Pyle,Jenni Barclay. London 2003, pp. 401–414; J. Grattan et al, *Volcanic air pollution and mortality in France 1783–1784*, "C.R. Geoscience" 337 (2005), pp. 641–651.

[41] Zeidler, "Modeling Cultural Responses to Volcanic Disaster in the Ancient Jama-Coaque Tradition, Coastal Ecuador: A Case Study in Cultural Collapse and Resilience", p. 91.

ly as a response to volcanism[42]. If such cultural developments in other parts of the world can be taken to be a natural reactive response to environmental calamities, they are instructive cases to reflect on in relation to the Icelandic example. In the period of the *landnám*, Iceland was a descendent culture of Scandinavia and the British Isles. The social structures in Scandinavia certainly seem to have been based on a warrior aristocracy, possibly with a strong memory of another environmental catastrophe, the 536 AD 'dust veil' event, which had considerable impact on life in Scandinavia, resulting in famine and depopulation. In the ensuing decades, it seems, Scandinavia underwent considerable social and societal restructuring, possibly with an emerging warrior aristocracy as the result[43]. The experience of the British Isles, for Scandinavians and Gaelic peoples alike, also offered considerable levels of hostility, warfare, and group-competition[44]. It is likely that such social structures were intensified in Iceland, leading to an even more aggressive male culture when faced with a difficult environment. The foundation myth in *Landnámabók* seems to suggest this, as it details the difference between failure and success in the two characters Hjǫrleifr and Ingólfr in context of environmental conditions and group-competition.

Conclusion

In this article, it has been argued that concepts of aggressive masculinity in the early history of Iceland are influenced by environmental experiences. A harsher climate resulted in intensified group-competition among the early settlers, and this social pattern became even stronger as the settlers were faced with volcanic activity. With comparable examples from other cultures, it can be argued that some human responses to environmental catastrophe-induced resource scarcity generate social structures based on ideals of aggressive masculinity. A function that ensures the survival of the in-group by, among other, appropriating resources from various out-groups. In Old Norse literature, the cultural pattern of resource competition and hostile in-group-out-group relations, based on male aggression, is strong. This is a central theme in the *íslendingasögur*, encased in a cultural system of honor codes[45]. This social pattern is also consistent in the medieval

[42] Rappaport, *Pigs for the Ancestors*; Rappaport, "Ritual Regulation of Environmental Relations among a New Guinea People"; Nordvig, *Of Fire and Water*, pp. 27–28.

[43] Price and Gräslund, *Twilight of the Gods?...*; See also: T. Gunnell. *From One High One to Another: The Acceptance of Óðinn as Preparation for the Acceptance of God*, [in:] *Conversions: Looking for Ideological Change in the Early Middle Ages*, ed. by L.P. Słupecki, R. Simek, Vienna 2013, pp. 153–178.

[44] C. Downham, *Vikings in England*, [in:] *The Viking World*, ed. by S. Brink in collaboration with N. Price, New York 2012, pp. 341–349.

[45] P. Meulengracht Sørensen, *Fortælling og ære*, Aarhus 1993.

Icelandic sources to Norse mythology. The portrayal of Viking Age males in Old Norse literature, then, displays a particularly aggressive male culture, which may be unique to Iceland and its environment. This means that the Viking male figure in Old Norse literature and the figures representing ancient Nordic gods in Norse mythology are designed from a cultural pattern that may be considerably different from the antecedent cultures in continental Europe. It may simply mean that the aggressive masculinity culture attached to "the Viking" as a literary figure in Old Norse literature does not represent male behavior in the Scandinavian realm in the same way. What this means, is that the standard image of a Viking, gendered portrayals in particular, may not be viable in terms of reflecting masculine cultures in Viking Age Scandinavia, for more reasons than simply transmission issues. It is possible that the Icelandic environment played a central role in creating a highly aggressive masculinity culture that intensified group-competition over the centuries, and ultimately led to the disintegration of society in the Age of the Sturlungs, where the competition for resources culminated in the concentration of land on the hands of only a few families, and left Icelandic society vulnerable to a hostile Norwegian take-over in 1262[46]. As such, the historical processes in early Iceland, including the portrayal of Viking culture in Old Norse literature, should be considered in context of environmental change and human response.

Bibliography

Agnes S. Arnórsdóttir, *Property and Virginity: The Christianization of Marriage in Medieval Iceland 1200–1600*, Aarhus 2010.

Andersson T., *The Problem of Icelandic Saga Origin*, Yale 1964.

Andersson T., *The textual Evidence for an Oral Family Saga*, "Arkiv för nordisk filologi" 81 (1966), pp. 1–23.

Bandlien B., *Man Or Monster?: Negotiations of Masculinity in Old Norse Society*, Oslo 2005.

Bandlien B., *Remembering Gendered Vengeance*, [in:] *Handbook of Old Norse Memory Studies: Interdisciplinary Approaches*, ed. by P. Hermann, S.A. Mitchell, J. Glauser, Berlin 2018, pp. 519–525.

Byock J., *Saga form, Oral Prehistory, and the Icelandic Social Context*, "New Literary History" 16 (1984), pp. 153–173.

Böldl K., *Eigi einhamr*, [in:] *Beiträge zum Weltbild der Eyrbyggja und anderer Isländersagas*, Ergänzungsbände zum Reallexikon der Germanischen Altertumskunde, Vol. 48, Berlin 2005, p. 19.

Clunies Ross, M., *Prolonged Echoes*, Volume 1, Odense 1994.

Clunies Ross, M., Þórr's Honour, [in:] *Studien zum Altgermanischen. Festschrift für Heinrich Beck*, ed. by H. Uecker, Berlin 1994, pp. 48–76;

Clunies Ross, M., *Prolonged Echoes*, Vol. 2, Odense 1998.

[46] Jón Viðarr Sigurðsson, *Iceland*, [in:] *The Viking World*, ed. Stefan Brink in collaboration with Neil Price, New York 2012, pp. 571–578: p. 573.

Cohen A.B., Varnum, M.E.W., *Beyond East vs. West: Social Class, Region, and Religion as Forms of Culture*, "Current Opinion in Psychology" 8 (2016), pp. 5–9.
Downham C., *Vikings in England*, [in:] *The Viking World*, ed. by S. Brink in collaboration with N. Price, New York 2012, pp. 341–349.
Fei J., Zhou, J., *The possible climatic impact on China of Iceland's Eldgja eruption inferred from historical sources*, "Climate Change" 76 (2006), pp. 443–457.
Gísli Sigurðsson, *The Medieval Icelandic Saga and Oral Tradition*, Cambridge 2004.
Gísli Sigurðsson, *Orality and Literacy*, [in:] *Old Norse-Icelandic Literature and Culture*, ed. by Rory McTurk, Oxford 2005, pp. 285–301.
Glauser J., *The Speaking Bodies of Saga Texts*, [in:] *Learning and Understanding in the Old Norse World. Essays in Honour of Margaret Clunies Ross*, ed. by J. Quinn, K. Heslop, T. Wills, Turnhout 2007, pp. 13–26.
Grattan J., Pyatt, B.F. *Acid damage to vegetation following the Laki fissure eruption in 1783. An historical review*, "The Science of the Total Environment" 151 (1993), pp. 241–247.
Grattan J., *An amazing and portentous summer: Environmental and social responses in Britain to the 1783 eruption of an Icelandic volcano*, "The Geographical Journal" 161 (1995), pp. 125–136.
Grattan J. et al., *Illness and elevated human mortality in Europe coincident with the Laki fissure eruption*, [in:] *Volcanic Degassing*, ed. by C. Oppenheimer, D.M. Pyle, and J. Barclay, London 2003, pp. 401–414.
Grattan J. et al., *Volcanic air pollution and mortality in France 1783–1784*, "C.R. Geoscience" 337 (2005), pp. 641–651.
Gunnell T., *Hof, Halls, Goðar and Dwarves: An Examination of the Ritual Space in the Pagan Icelandic Hall*, "Cosmos" 17:1 (2001), pp. 3–36.
Gunnell T., *From One High One to Another: The Acceptance of Óðinn as Preparation for the Acceptance of God*, [in:] *Conversions: Looking for Ideological Change in the Early Middle Ages*, ed. by L.P. Słupecki, R. Simek, Vienna 2013, pp. 153–178.
Hartman S. et al., *Medieval Iceland, Greenland, and the New Human Condition: A case study in integrated environmental humanities*, "Global Planetary Change" 156 (2017), pp. 123–139.
Hastrup K., *Island of Anthropology*, Odense 1990.
Heinrich J., Heine S.J., Norenzayan A., *The Weirdest People in the World?*, "Behavioral and Brain Sciences" 33 (2016), pp. 61–135.
Hermann P., Íslendingabók and History, [in:] *Reflections on Old Norse Myths*, ed. by P. Hermann, J.P. Schjødt, R. Tranum Kristensen, Turnhout 2007, pp. 17–32.
Hermann P., *Concepts of Memory and Approaches to the Past in Medieval Icelandic Literature*, "Scandinavian Studies" 81:3 (2009), pp. 288–308.
Hermann P., *Methodological Challenges to the Study of Old Norse Myths: The Orality and Literacy Debate Reframed*, [in:] *Old Norse Mythology – Comparative Perspectives*, ed. by P. Hermann, J.P. Schjødt, S.A. Mitchell, with Amber Rose, Cambridge 2017, pp. 29–52.
Hultkrantz Å., *An Ecological Approach to Religion*, "Ethnos" 31 (1966), pp. 131–50.
Hultkrantz Å., *Ecology of Religion: Its Scope and Methodology*, [in:] *Science of Religion: Studies in Methodology*, ed. by Lauri Honko, Mouton 1979, pp. 221–236.
Höfig V., *Foundational Myth in Sturlubók*, [in:] *Sturla Þórðarson – Skald, Chieftain and Lawman*, ed. by Jón Viðar Sigurðsson, Sverrir Jakobsson. Boston 2017, pp. 70–82.
Höfig V., *The Legendary Topography of the Viking Settlement of Iceland*, "Landscapes: the Journal of the International Centre for Landscape and Language" 8:1 (2018), pp. 1–19.
Íslendingabók: Landnámabók, ed. by Jakob Benediktsson, Íslenzk Fornrit I, Reykjavík 1968.
Eyrbyggja saga, ed. Einar Ólafur Sveinsson, Íslenzk Fornrit IV, Reykjavík 1957.
Kjalnesinga saga, ed. Jóhannes Halldórsson, Íslenzk fornrit XIV, Reykjavík 1959.

Jón Viðarr Sigurðsson, *Iceland*, [in:] *The Viking World*, ed. by S. Brink in collaboration with Neil Price, New York 2012, pp. 571–578.
Le Goff J., *History and Memory*, New York 1992.
Lindow J., *Bloodfeud and Scandinavian Mythology*, "Alvíssmál" 4 (1994 [1995]), pp. 51–68.
Lindow J., *Íslendingabók and Myth*, "Scandinavian Studies" 69:4 (1997), pp. 455–464.
Jochens J., *The Illicit Love Visit*, "Journal of History and Sexuality" 1 (1991), pp. 357–392.
Jochens J., *Women in Old Norse Society*, Ithaca 1995.
McIntosh R.J., *Social Memory in Mande*, [in:] *The Way the Wind Blows*, ed. by R.J. McIntosh, J.A. Tainter, S. Keech McIntosh, New York 2000, pp. 141–180.
Meulengracht Sørensen P., *Fortælling og ære*, Aarhus 1993.
Meulengracht Sørensen P., *Social Institutions and Belief Systems of Medieval Iceland (ca. 870–1400) and Their Relation to Literary Production, Old Icelandic Literature and Society*, ed. M. Clunies Ross, Cambridge 2000, pp. 8–28.
Neckel G., Kuhn, H., *Die Lieder des Codex Regius nebst verwandten Denmälern*, Heidelberg 1962.
Nordvig M., *Of Fire and Water. The Old Norse Mythical Worldview in an Eco-Mythological Perspective*, Unpublished PhD dissertation, Aarhus 2014.
Nordvig M., *What happens when 'Hider' and 'Screamer' go sailing with 'Noisy'? Geomythological traces in old Icelandic mythology*, [in:] *Past Vulnerability. Volcanic Eruptions and Human Vulnerability in Traditional Societies Past and Present*, ed. by F. Riede, Aarhus 2015, pp. 75–88.
Nordvig, M., *At fange havets ånd.* Økoviden i den nordiske mythologi, "Chaos. Skandinavisk tidsskrift for religionshistoriske studier" 64 (2016), pp. 77–98.
Nordvig M., *Creation from Fire in Snorri's Edda. The Tenets of a Vernacular Theory of Geothermal Activity in Old Norse Myth*, [in:] *Old Norse Mythology in Comparative Perspectives*, ed.by P. Hermann, S.A. Mitchell, J.P. Schjødt, A. Rose, Cambridge 2017, pp. 269–89.
Nordvig M., Riede, F., *Are There Echoes of the AD 536 Event in the Viking Ragnarok Myth? A Critical Appraisal*, "Environment and History" 24:3 (2018), pp. 303–24.
Nordvig M., *Nature and Mythology*, [in:] *Handbook of Old Norse Memory Studies: Interdisciplinary Approaches*, ed. by P. Hermann, S.A. Mitchell, J. Glauser, Berlin 2018, pp. 539–548.
Nordvig M., *Katla the witch and a medieval Icelandic theory on volcanism*, [in:] *American/Medieval Goes North: Earth and Water in Transit*, ed. by G.R. Overing, U. Weithaus, Göttingen 2019, pp. 67–86
Ogilvie A.E.J., *Local knowledge and travellers' tales: a selection of climatic observations in Iceland*, [in:] *Iceland-Modern Processes and Past Environments, Developments in Quaternary Science* 5, London 2005, pp. 257–287.
Oppenheimer C. et al., *The Eldgjá eruption: timing, long-range impacts and influence on the Christianisation of Iceland*, "Climate Change" 147:3–4 (2018), pp. 369–381.
Phillpotts B., *Surt*, "Arkiv för nordisk filologi" 21 (1905), pp. 14–30.
Price N., Gräslund G., *Excavating the Fimbulwinter? Archaeology, Geomythology and the Climate Event(S) of ad 536'*, [in:] *Past Vulnerability. Volcanic Eruptions and Human Vulnerability in Traditional Societies Past and Present*, ed. by F. Riede, Aarhus 2015, pp. 109–32.
Price N., Gräslund B., *Twilight of the Gods? The 'dust veil event' of 536 AD in critical perspective*, "Antiquity" 86 (2012), pp. 428–443.
Rappaport R.A., *Pigs for the Ancestors*, New Haven 1968.
Rappaport R.A., *Ritual Regulation of Environmental Relations among a New Guinea People*, [in:] *Ecology, Meaning & Religion*, ed. by R.A. Rappaport, Berkeley 1979, pp. 27–42.
Rappaport R.A., *On Cognized Models*, [in:] *Ecology, Meaning & Religion*, ed. by Roy A. Rappaport Berkeley 1979b, pp. 97–144.
Raudvere C., *Popular Religion in the Viking Age*, [in:] *The Viking World*, ed. by Stefan Brink in collaboration with Neil Price, New York 2012, pp. 235–243.

Taggart D., *All the Mountains Shake: Seismic and Volcanic Imagery in the Old Norse Literature of Þórr*, "Scripta Islandica" 68 (2017), pp. 99–122.
Thordarson Th., Höskuldsson Á., *Postglacial volcanism in Iceland*, "Jökull" 58 (2008), pp. 197–228.
Thordarson Th., Larsen G., *Volcanism in Iceland in historical time: Volcano types, eruption styles and eruptive history*, "Journal of Geodynamics" 43 (2007), pp. 118–152.
Sewall W.H., *Logics of History: Social Theory and Social Transformation*, Chicago 2005.
Sigurður Nordal, *Völuspá*, Copenhagen 1927.
Simek R., *Dictionary of Northern Mythology*, Cambridge 2007.
Smith K.P., Guðmundur Ólafsson, Wolf C., *Surtshellir Archaeological Project: Investigating the End of Time at the Start of Settlement*, Project blog, ed. by Kevin P. Smith, 2018.
Solli B., *Queering the Cosmology of the Vikings: A Queer Analysis of the Cult of Odin and 'Holy White Stones'*, "Journal of Homosexuality" 54:1-2 (2008), pp. 192–208.
Steward J.H., *Theory of Culture Change. The methodology of multilinear evolution*, Urbana 1963.
Stothers R. *Far reach of the tenth century Eldgjá eruption, Iceland*, "Climate Change" 39 (1998), pp. 715–726.
Varnum M.E.W., Grossmann I., Shinobu K., and Nisbett R.E., *The Origin of Cultural Differences in Cognition: The Social Orientation Hypothesis*, "Current Directions in Psychological Science" 1:1 (2010), pp. 9–13.
Wagner R., *Condensed Mapping. Myth and the Folding of Space/Space and the Folding of Myth*, [in:] *Emplaced myth: space, narrative, and knowledge in Aboriginal Australia and Papua New Guinea*, ed. by Alan Rumsey and James Weiner, Hawai'i 2001, pp. 71–78.
Witze A., Kanipe J., *Island on Fire*, London 2014.
Zeidler J.A., *Modeling Cultural Responses to Volcanic Disaster in the Ancient Jama-Coaque Tradition, Coastal Ecuador: A Case Study in Cultural Collapse and Resilience*, "Quaternary International" 394 (2016), pp. 79–97.
Zielinski G.A., *Evidence of the Eldgjá (Iceland) eruption in the GISP2 Greenland ice core: Relationship to eruption processes and climatic conditions in the tenth century*, "The Holocene" 5:2 (1995), pp. 129–140.

AGRESYWNA MĘSKOŚĆ I ŚRODOWISKO W ISLANDZKIM LANDNÁM

Streszczenie

Artykuł ten dowodzi, że warunki środowiskowe, jakich doświadczali pierwsi osadnicy na Islandii, doprowadziły do powstania nowej formy tzw. agresywnej męskości. Założenia tej agresywnej męskości można znaleźć w micie założycielskim *landnám* w *Landnámabók*, gdzie Ingólfr i Hjǫrleifr reprezentują dwa kulturowe archetypy mężczyzn, którzy bez powodzenia próbują zdominować środowisko i interakcje społeczne. Rytuał *landnám*, w którym mężczyzna demonstruje dominację nad swoim królestwem, przedstawia w tej opowieści pełny przejaw agresywnej męskości i ma wpływ na to, czy *landnámsmaðr* jest postrzegany jako prawowity władca swojej ziemi. Podstawy rytuału są mitologiczne. Ziemia jest postrzegana jako odpowiednik kobiety, a instrumenty, które pomagają *landnámsmaðr* w przywłaszczeniu sobie kobiecej ziemi, *ǫndvegissúlur*, to falliczne przedstawienie męskich bogów, takich jak Þórr. Aktem przywłaszczenia ziemi przy pomocy tego instrumentu mężczyzna demonstruje agresywną męskość w otoczeniu społecznym z podtekstem religijnym, odzwierciedlonym w mitologii nordyckiej, domagając się wsparcia opiekunów Islandii, *landvættir*.