Introduction

This book is about a work of art, but also about people. The work of art is the Icelandic saga *Egils saga Skallagrímssonar*; the people are he, she, or they who created it and its intended audience. The saga was composed a little less than eight hundred years ago, in the first half of the thirteenth century. It tells of the life and times of the colorful poet, warrior, and chieftain, Egill Skallagrímsson, who lived two to three centuries earlier in the Viking period when Iceland was being settled. Many believe that *Egils saga* was composed by the Icelandic magnate, Snorri Sturluson (1179–1241). Snorri was a poet, but is better known for compiling *Heimskringla*, a history of the Norwegian kings, as well as the *Prose Edda*, one of our main sources of knowledge about the Old Norse myths. The evidence for his authorship of *Egils saga* is far from being conclusive. Nevertheless, if he did not compose it, the author or authors were certainly quite close to him in both time and space.

The book you are about to read is therefore also about Snorri and the people in his life. Like the saga, it tells a story: that of trying to understand a complex and enigmatic work composed so long ago; of attempting to build a bridge over eight centuries of enormous changes in values, religious beliefs, cultural constructs, literacy, and literary conventions. The story is complex because it is about how people

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create an image of their past to give meaning to what is happening to them or in the lives of those who surround them. Since this is what we are still doing today, whether we are writing history, historical fiction, or just telling our children, grandchildren, students, or friends stories from the past, it is a worthy undertaking; all the more because *Egils saga* is one of the great works of literary art from the Middle Ages.

Moving Bones

As with all stories, this one begins someplace and somewhere. The place is Iceland and the year around 1130 CE. We are on a manor farm, situated at the foot of a low mountain in the mouth of a grassy valley in the southwest of the country. Both the mountain and the farm are known as Mosfell, and the latter has been home to influential farmers and chieftains ever since Iceland was first settled by Norsemen two and a half centuries ago. In the year 1000 it was agreed at the Albingi "that all men should become Christian and those in this country who have not already been baptized should receive baptism." Shortly afterward a church was built in the valley at a place called Hrísbrú, not far from Mosfell, but by now that church has seen better days and a new church has recently been built at the manor itself. The old church at Hrísbrú is in the process of being dismantled and the remains of those who lie in the graveyard have been disinterred and moved to the new churchyard. The chapters of the Grágás law code known as the "Christian law section," a collection of canon law recently introduced by the country's bishops, makes careful provision for such translations of bones, since it is essential for the good of the souls of those interred that they should await the Resurrection in consecrated ground. Accordingly, it is the duty of every Christian to ensure that his baptized brothers and sisters receive burial in a churchyard, assuming they have not imperiled their souls through sinful behavior without repentance and absolution. Moreover, the

^{1.} Landnámabók: "at allir menn skyldi kristnir vesa ok skírn taka, þeir es áðr váru óskírðir á landi hér" (Íslendingabók; Landnámabók, ed. Jakob Benediktsson, Íslenzk fornrit I (Reykjavík: Hið íslenzka fornritafélag, 1968), 2); see also The Book of the Icelanders (Íslendingabók); The Story of the Conversion (Kristni saga), trans. Siân Grønlie, Viking Society for Northern Research Text Series 18 (London: University College, 2006), 9.

faithful have a duty to ensure that the graveyard is not desecrated by the remains of those who have no right to lie among Christians.²

By this time the Icelanders have been thoroughly Christianized. The church is under the control of the country's ruling class, and it is now several decades since the tithe laws were approved, securing a fixed source of revenue for the church. An Icelandic written language is evolving: laws have been recorded on parchment at Breiðabólstaður in the north of the country; genealogies have been committed to vellum, and churchmen are using the vernacular to write commentaries on the Holy Scriptures, while on the Snæfellsnes peninsula to the west, the priest Ari fróði (the Learned) Þorgilsson is busy compiling *Íslendingabók* (the Book of Icelanders), and perhaps drafting a first version of *Landnámabók* (the Book of Settlements). Saga-writing as such has not yet begun, however, and few of those now alive will live to see it.³ It will be another half-century before Snorri Sturluson is born.

The demolition work at Hrísbrú is well under way. They have taken down the roof of the old church and are moving the altar, but when they lift it from its plinth, human bones are revealed, much to everyone's astonishment. The bones are considerably larger than any others that have been exhumed in recent days—indeed, almost troll-like—yet all the more astonishing is that no one knew of their existence under the altar. If the churchyard is sacred ground, the church is even more sacred. Most sacrosanct, however, is the altar where the Eucharist is re-enacted during every Mass, when bread and wine are converted in a mysterious manner into the flesh and blood of the Savior. Since the early days of Christianity altars have been raised over the graves of saints to underline the connection between heaven and earth that

^{2.} For clauses in the laws referring to the right to lie in consecrated ground, see Grágás: Lagasafn íslenska þjóðveldisins, ed. Gunnar Karlsson et al. (Reykjavík: Mál og menning, 1992), 9–10 (hereafter Grágás (1992)); for a translation see Laws of Early Iceland: Grágás: the Codex Regius of Grágás, trans. Andrew Dennis et al., 2 vols. (Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press, 1980–2000), 1:30 (hereafter Laws of Early Iceland: Grágás (1980–2000)).

^{3.} This is a paraphrase of an unknown mid-twelfth century grammarian's description of what had been written in the Icelandic vernacular when he wrote his *First Grammatical Treatise* (*First Grammatical Treatise: the Earliest Germanic Phonology*, ed., trans., and commented Einar Haugen, 2nd rev. ed., The Classics of Linguistics (London: Longman, 1972), 12). For more about the literary situation in the early twelfth century, see Jónas Kristjánsson, *Eddas and Sagas: Iceland's Medieval Literature*, trans. Peter Foote (Reykjavík: Hið íslenska bókmenntafélag, 1988), 120–27.

takes place during Holy Communion.⁴ This custom is well known in the other Nordic countries, such as Norway, where a church was built on the site where Saint Óláfr was buried after his death at the Battle of Stiklarstaðir, and an altar was raised over his grave site.⁵

Learned men call the cavity containing the bodily remains of the saint *confessio* in Latin, "shrine," "crypt," or "confession" in English. In an Icelandic translation of a foreign saint's life, the cavity is referred to as a *skrift*. The Icelandic word *skrift* is loaded with many different meanings at this point in time. It denotes both the act of inscribing letters on parchment and the script itself. It is also used of visual art: *að skrifa* means both "to draw" and "to paint pictures." The word has a moral dimension too, referring both to the confession of sins and also to the penance that the believer will undergo in order to atone for his or her sins.

News of the discovery of the bones at Hrísbrú travels through the valley like wildfire. People young and old flock to see the remains for themselves, especially the skull, which is thought to be peculiarly large and thick. There are various conjectures as to who it might be. The oldest people remember in their youth hearing tell of an aged warrior who lived at Mosfell shortly before the conversion with his son-in-law Grímr Svertingsson, who held the manor at the time. The warrior's name was Egill Skallagrímsson and he was a poet. He came from Borg in the Mýrar district of west Iceland but chose to spend the last years of his life with his stepdaughter Þórdís at Mosfell, where remains of the mound in which he was buried can still be seen. Þórdís held Egill in such great affection that after she and her husband adopted the

^{4.} For the origins in Late Antiquity and implications for medieval Christianity of the burial of saints under altars, see Peter Brown, *The Cult of the Saints: Its Rise and Function in Latin Christianity* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1981), 1–2. For the specific articles of canon law, see *New Commentary on the Code of Canon Law*, ed. John P. Beal et al. (New York: Paulist Press, 2000), 1440: "The body of a saint may be placed under the altar since it is a relic. If any other corpse is buried under an altar, Mass may not be celebrated on it."

^{5.} Heimskringla, ed. Bjarni Aðalbjarnarson, Íslenzk fornrit 27 (Reykjavík: Hið íslenzka fornritafélag, 1945), 425.

^{6.} Thomas saga erkibyskups: Fortælling om Thomas Becket erkebiskop af Canterbury: To bearbeidelser samt fragmenter af en tredie, ed. C.R. Unger (Christiania: Tryckt hos B. M. Bentzen, 1869), 465. The word occurs twice in short succession, the only examples used in this sense to be cited in the dictionary of Johan Fritzner, Ordbog over det gamle norske sprog, 3 vols. (Christiania: Den Norske forlagsforening, 1886–96), 3:456.

Christian faith and the first church was built at Hrísbrú, she had the mound broken open and Egill's bones transferred to hallowed ground. Egill was said to have been big, strong and very ugly. The general opinion is that these huge bones must be his.

But Egill was a heathen. What were his bones doing in a holy man's grave? Was it not bordering on blasphemy to place them under the altar where saints alone should rest? That is manifestly what the local priest thinks, since he has the bones buried on the outskirts of the new cemetery. But why did someone lay the remains of a pagan poet in a saint's shrine?

History or Fiction?

Our only written source for these events is Egils saga Skalla-Grímssonar. The discovery of Egill's bones is mentioned nowhere but in the penultimate chapter of this saga, which is believed to have been composed some time before the middle of the thirteenth century, in other words, more than a century after the incident purportedly took place. No reference is made to contemporary informants, in contrast to a similar passage in Eyrbyggja saga, which describes the exhumation of several of the main characters in that story.7 In fact we will see, as the analysis of the saga unfolds, that this account of ancient remains fits in so neatly with the main subject of Egils saga that it is tempting to believe it was invented in order to foster the illusion of the veracity of his tale. However, Jesse Byock and a team of archaeologists have excavated the tenth-century farm of Hrísbrú and found the remains of a church as well as both bones and empty graves. Their findings confirm what the saga says about there having been a church there in medieval times and that it was taken down around the period indicated in the saga. They have also found an empty grave where the altar stood at some point.8 The saga's account of the discovery of Egill's bones therefore contains some kernel of

^{7.} Eyrbyggja saga, ed. Einar Ólafur Sveinsson and Matthías Þórðarson, Íslenzk fornrit 4 (Reykjavík: Hið íslenzka fornritafélag, 1935), 183 (chapter 65).

^{8.} Jesse Byock, "Sagas and Archaeology in the Mosfell Valley, Iceland," in Á austurvega: Saga and East Scandinavia: The 14th International Saga Conference, vol. 1, ed. Agneta Ney, Henrik Williams, and Fredrik Charpentier Ljungqvist (Gävle: Gävle University Press, 2009), 167–75.

truth, but it seems also to have been intended to serve a quite different purpose, literary rather than historical.

An example of a similar literary technique can be found at the end of *Laxdæla saga*, where it is reported that Guðrún Ósvífrsdóttir became a nun in her later years and spent her days in prayer and singing the Psalms of David. She shed tears that fell on the ground where she had prostrated herself in prayer, on the site, as it transpired, of a heathen prophetess's grave. The prophetess appeared to a young girl in a dream, complaining that she was in torment from Guðrún's tears. The reader is presumably intended to interpret these tears as true tears of penitence, brought about by God's grace. The proof lies in their efficacy against heathen powers such as the bones of a prophetess from the pre-Christian period. The Lord permitted Guðrún to repent her misdeeds and save her soul, and this fact sheds new light on the early part of her life.⁹

The account of the discovery of Egill's bones at the end of his saga seems to serve a similar purpose; that of prompting the reader to seek a deeper understanding of the life and deeds of the poet and warrior Egill Skallagrímsson. As in the case of Guðrún, however, Egill's story is far from straightforward and easy to interpret. We can never be entirely certain to whom Guðrún was referring when she said: "Peim var ek verst er ek unni mest" (I was worst to the one [or ones] I loved best). Nevertheless, this sentence highlights the main theme of the saga and forces the reader to reassess Guðrún's relationship with the blood-brothers Bolli and Kjartan.

^{9.} This idea is frequently expressed in homilies preserved in the *Icelandic Homily Book*, e.g. "Og svo sem vér viljum sýnast fatprúðir utan og hreinir á hátíðardegi, svo skulum vér og innan þvo í tárum syndaflekka af öndum órum og prýða þær með góðum verkum." *Íslensk hómilíubók: Fornar stólræður*, ed. Sigurbjörn Einarsson et al. (Reykjavík: Hið íslenska bókmenntafélag, 1993), 152. (And just as we wish to appear well dressed and clean on the outside on a feast day, so let us also on the inside wash with tears the stains of sin from our souls and adorn them with good works. Trans. Victoria Cribb.) For a discussion of this chapter in a larger medieval context see Thomas D. Hill, "Tormenting the Devil with Boiling Drops: An Apotropaic Motif in the Old English *Solomon and Saturn* and Old Norse-Icelandic Literature," *Journal of English and Germanic Philology* 92 (1993): 157–66.

^{10.} The accounts of the discovery of the prophetess's bones and of Guðrún's enigmatic confession are both in the concluding chapters of the saga, respectively pp. 224 and 228 in the ÍF edition. Similar episodes of bones of saga heroes being found long after their death are in *Eyrbyggja saga* (ÍF 4:183–84) and *Grettis saga*, ed. Guðni Jónsson, Íslenzk fornrit 7 (Reykjavík: Hið íslenzka bókmentafélag, 1936), 269–70.

Even more complex than Guðrún's enigmatic reply is the story of Egill's bones: a woman takes it upon herself to dig up the remains of her heathen stepfather and place them, in direct contravention of the laws and customs of the Church, in the most sacred spot imaginable, under the altar, in a grave where only the bones of saints are supposed to rest. In life Egill was avaricious, intractable, and the ruthless killer of many men, some of them wholly innocent, including the twelve-year-old son of King Eiríkr blóðöx (Bloodaxe) of Norway. He died before Iceland became Christian. How could anyone dream that a man of his sort could hope to be resurrected on the Day of Judgment and take his place among the eternal communion of saints?

Egils saga takes leave of its readers at the end of the story without answering these questions, but by now they have become used to such cavalier treatment, since one of the main characteristics of the saga is the way it leaves its audience to fill in the gaps. As this book will attempt to show, the power and appeal of the saga stem to a large degree from this quality.¹¹ The reader is expected to understand more than is said in plain words, which is why reading Egils saga is akin to solving a riddle, though more effective, since the story is a carefully thought-out, complex work of art that deals with many of what are arguably the most important preoccupations of human existence: our relationship with our nearest and dearest, with society and its laws, with language, and, not least, with ourselves. It is also a very entertaining story, full of narrative bravura, suspense, battles of epic proportion, strange adventures in exotic places, passionate feelings, and exquisite humor, sometimes grotesque and at other times so subtle that it can easily be missed. It still has a strong effect on whoever allows himself to be drawn into its world. At the time the saga was composed and first read—probably out loud for a large gathering of people, presumably in a chieftain's household in the first half of the thirteenth century—it would have had an even greater impact, as its meaning would have been more available, its relevance greater, and its social and cultural function not obscured by the passing of time.

^{11.} Lars Lönnroth ("Saga and Jartegn: The Appeal of Mystery in Saga Texts," in *Die Aktualität der Saga: Festschrift für Hans Schottmann*, ed. Stig Toftgaard Andersen (Berlin: De Gruyter, 1999), 118–23) remarks cogently on this aspect of saga-writing in an analysis of another scene of *Egils saga*, which is both structurally and semantically related to this one.

The Text as Artifact

Egils saga Skalla-Grímssonar is unquestionably one of the most remarkable works of literature in the Icelandic language, quite apart from being a notable achievement in the development of Western narrative art. Consequently, numerous scholars have endeavored over the years to explain and contextualize the saga. Not a year passes without the publication of at least one or two, if not more, academic articles about Egils saga, and hardly a decade goes by without the appearance of a book in which an attempt is made to shed new light on the story. Those who have discussed it include some of the most influential scholars in the field of medieval Icelandic literature, names such as Sigurður Nordal, Theodore M. Andersson, Hermann Pálsson, Bjarni Einarsson, and numerous others. 12

Although many advances have undeniably been made over the years in the study of Egils saga, there is still considerable scope for improving our understanding of its nature and genesis. There are at least two reasons for this need. One is that our knowledge of medieval European culture and the Icelanders' place in it has been transformed in recent decades. Those engaged in the analysis of Old Norse literature have increasingly looked to see what was happening on the Continent in the same period. The development of a vernacular literature was widespread in Europe during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, and the extensive literature that developed in Iceland was thus part of a wider trend. ¹³ Much still remains to be investigated in relation to how Old Norse literature fits into the overall picture, not least the *Íslendingasögur*, the saga genre to which *Egils saga* belongs, often called family sagas or sagas of Icelanders. I will however follow the example of Theodore M. Andersson, who has argued for the term "sagas about early Icelanders," since as a genre they are defined as

^{12.} The mid-1990s saw the publication of two important books containing in-depth analyses of Egils saga: Preben Meulengracht Sørensen's Fortælling og ære: Studier i islændingesagaerne (Aarhus: Aarhus Universitetsforlag. 1992); and Baldur Hafstað's Die Egils saga und ihr Verhältnis zu anderen Werken des nordischen Mittelalters (Reykjavík: Rannsóknarstofnun Kennaraháskóla Íslands, 1995). More recently Theodore M. Andersson devotes an important chapter to the saga in his Growth of the Medieval Icelandic Sagas (1180–1280) (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2006), 102–18.

^{13.} See several contributions to *Gripla* 20 (2009), especially Margaret Clunies Ross, Rudolf Simek and Torfi H. Tulinius.

being about the first settlers of Iceland and their descendants down to the fourth or fifth generation, i.e. until just before or after the Conversion.¹⁴

This brings us to the second reason, which is that our understanding of the nature of literature and its relationship to historical reality has undergone radical changes in recent decades, thanks to developments in historical and literary theory. Literary theorists have at the same time learned to pay more attention to the structural elements of the works they are studying, and to gain a clearer understanding of how these works form part of a wider process of communication within each society. Meanwhile, historians have increasingly focused on social, ideological, cultural, and psychological factors. For scholars who study works of literature from the distant past, these new attitudes to history have opened up fresh ways of understanding the context from which such works emerged.¹⁵

In the present book an attempt will be made to exploit some of the opportunities this development has created. First, Egils saga will be considered as a legitimate offspring of its contemporary context, that is, of Icelandic and European culture in the first half of the thirteenth century. Everything pertaining to the saga should be understood according to the criteria of that age, which are neither those that existed when the saga character Egill was purportedly alive nor those of our own age. The saga was composed within a society and to serve some kind of purpose within that society; we must keep this mind in our approach. This setting applies both to the formal and aesthetic aspects of the saga as well as to the ideas and values it contains. Second, I will go farther than has hitherto been customary in using contemporary sagas, particularly Sturlunga saga, as well as other contemporary writings, such as those in the fields of theology and poetics, as sources for the ideological climate and milieu of which Egils saga formed a part.

Egils saga is unusual among the *Íslendingasögur* in that the identity of its author may be known, there being a strong possibility that it was compiled by Snorri Sturluson. Snorri was not only a poet and

^{14.} Theodore M. Andersson, The Growth of the Medieval Icelandic Sagas (2006), 8.

^{15.} See my Matter of the North: The Rise of Literary Fiction in Thirteenth-Century Iceland, trans. Randi C. Eldevik, Viking Collection 13 (Odense: Odense University Press, 2002), especially 31–43, for a previous attempt to put these principles into practice.

author, but he also played a pivotal role in the conflicts of his age, and the widely varying contemporary sources for his life provide us with a unique opportunity to examine the preconditions, purpose, and circumstances of literary activity in the first centuries of Western vernacular literature. One of the questions that needs to be addressed in connection with this activity is what is meant by a literary work in thirteenth-century Iceland, and even more pressing, what it means to be an author. This question will be addressed in the second part of the book, when a closer look will be taken at the social conditions for literary practice in medieval Iceland, with particular emphasis on Snorri Sturluson and his close contemporaries.

The structure of the present book is designed to reflect its purpose. In the spirit of the saga itself, which with its narrative of the disinterment of Egill's bones raises questions about his identity and the meaning of his saga, this book can be likened to an archaeological excavation. Although Egils saga is a text and thus not tangible in the sense of an object that is dug up from the ground, it is nevertheless an ancient artifact that cannot be properly understood without taking its contemporary context into account. As a first step, therefore, I will describe and analyze the artifact. I will discuss the structure of Egils saga and how it generates meaning. This method will enable us to discern its main characteristics as a work of literature. But modern archaeology is not content merely to analyze the artifacts it unearths; it seeks also to describe as well as possible the context from which the object in question derives. The second half of this book will therefore provide a closer look at the contemporary world of the saga in order to try to understand the circumstances in which Egils saga might have been created. The period in which the saga was most likely written will be described as well as the likely social circumstances of its production. Particular attention will be paid to the life of Snorri Sturluson, although it is impossible to prove beyond doubt that he was the author of Egils saga. We will put forward evidence that Egils saga is, to a greater extent than previously believed, the result of a determined time and context. Indeed, many characteristics of the saga highlighted in this book make more sense if they are thought of in connection with events of Snorri's life and of the people who surrounded him, irrespective of whether he himself penned the saga or someone close to him. This is especially true of the deep-rooted and prolonged conflicts in which Snorri was involved with his rivals for power in Iceland, principally his brother Sighvatr and nephew Sturla Sighvatsson.

This complex text from a tumultuous period is not, however, a *roman* à *clef*; nor is it an allegory, though it seems to deal with Christian ideas and values. The two parts of this book try to unravel the saga's intricacies and show how this marvel of narrative art may have come to be.

Manuscripts and editions of Egils saga

Egils saga is preserved in medieval vellum manuscripts and paper manuscript copies from later centuries, as well as in surviving fragments of otherwise lost medieval vellums. Textual scholars have identified three main recensions. The codex known as Möðruvallabók (AM 132 fol.) preserves the most complete text, which is generally used as a basis for editions of the saga. It contains neither "Höfuðlausn" nor "Sonatorrek," but is the only manuscript to preserve another poem, "Arinbjarnarkviða," although this is placed after the end of the saga. A text closely related to the version in Möðruvallabók is found in various manuscripts dating from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, and recent editors have used these to fill in the gaps in Möðruvallabók. Bjarni Einarsson's scholarly edition of the Möðruvallabók text was published posthumously in 2001 in the Editiones Arnamagnæanæ series by the Arnamagnæan Institute in Copenhagen.

A second main recension of *Egils saga* is preserved in two seventeenth-century copies by Ketill Jörundarson. Ketilsbók, as this version is commonly known, does not include *Arinbjarnarkviða* but does contain both *Höfuðlausn* and *Sonatorrek*, and is the only surviving text of the latter. Extant fragments of other medieval manuscripts indicate that *Ketilsbók* represents an independent version of the saga.¹⁶

The Herzog August Bibliothek in Wolfenbüttel, Germany holds a medieval Icelandic manuscript containing a third main recension of the saga. The Wolfenbüttel text has many lacunae, yet includes

^{16.} Aðalbjörg Jónasdóttir, "Ketilsbók Egils sögu: Handrit og texti," M.A. thesis, University of Iceland, 2001.

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Höfuðlausn. Fragments also exist of another vellum manuscript containing a related text. This manuscript and other related manuscripts containing this recension have been edited by Michael Chesnutt for the Editiones Arnamagnæanæ series.

Due to the existence of countless readers' editions of Egils saga, commentators have generally resorted to using chapter numbers rather than page numbers to refer to the text of the saga. However, there is some inconsistency in the chapter numbering from chapter 56 onwards, depending on how the gaps in Möðruvallabók have been filled. The following table shows the discrepancies in chapter numbering among four editions of the saga. The most recent readers' edition is that of Bjarni Einarsson (Bj. Ein.), which is based on the latest studies of the manuscript.¹⁷ The best known edition is the one Sigurður Nordal prepared for Íslenzk fornrit (Sig. Nor.). In this book reference will be made to the chapter numbers in the late Bernard Scudder's translation of the saga in The Complete Sagas of Icelanders: Including 49 Tales, gen. ed. Viðar Hreinsson (Reykjavík: Leifur Eiríksson, 1997), vol. 1 (CSI, later published by Penguin). This edition adds a chapter break where the account of Einarr skálaglamm begins. I agree with the editors of The Complete Sagas of Icelanders that this point must have marked the beginning of a new chapter. Readers who wish to refer to the saga are invited to use the following table.

^{17.} Egils saga, ed. Bjarni Einarsson (London: Viking Society for Northern Research, 2003).

Chapter divisions from chapter 56 onward in three editions of *Egils saga*.

Bj. Ein.	Sig. Nor.	CSI	
56	56	56	
57	56	57	
58	56	57	
59	57	58	
60	58	59	
61	59	60	
62	60	61	
63	61	62	
64	62	63	
65	63	64	
66	64	65	
67	65	66	
68	66	67	
69	67	68	
70	68	69	
71	69	70	
72	70	71	
73	71	72	
74	72	73	
75	73	74	
76	74	75	
77	75	76	
78	76	77	
79	77	78	
80	78	79/80/81	
81	79	82	
82	80	83	
83	81	84	
84	82	85	
85	83	86	
86	84	87	
87	85	88	
88	86	89	
89	87	90	