

Arkiv

Professor Roséns

trebetygsseminariet

den 13 maj 1970

38: 4.

THE LOCATION OF VINLAND

George Wood, Ltd



## THE LOCATION OF VINLAND

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TABLE I

	year	name	year	name	year	name
Accidental Discovery	860	Gardur Svávarsson	c 900	Gunnbjorn Ulfsson	986	Bjarni Herjolfsson
Planned Exploration	c 863	Floki Vilgerdaron	c 981	Eirík Rauda	c1000	Leif Eiríksson
Planned Colonization	874	Ingólf Arnaron	985	Eirík Rauda	c1010	Thorfinn Karlsefni

ICELAND

GREENLAND

VÍNLAND

Based on: Gordon, E.V. Introduction to Old Norse, Oxford, 1927, p xxiii.  
Landnámabók, in Jones, Gwyn, The Norse Atlantic Saga, London,  
 1964, pp 115-120.  
 Magnusson, Magnus and Hermann Pálsson, The Vinland Sagas, Balt-  
 imore, 1965, pp 12-18.

1.  $\lim_{x \rightarrow 0} \frac{\sin x}{x} = 1$  (L'Hôpital's Rule)  
 2.  $\lim_{x \rightarrow \infty} \frac{1}{x} = 0$   
 3.  $\lim_{x \rightarrow 0} \frac{e^x - 1}{x} = 1$   
 4.  $\lim_{x \rightarrow 0} \frac{\ln(1+x)}{x} = 1$   
 5.  $\lim_{x \rightarrow 0} \frac{1 - \cos x}{x^2} = \frac{1}{2}$   
 6.  $\lim_{x \rightarrow 0} \frac{\sin x - x}{x^3} = -\frac{1}{6}$   
 7.  $\lim_{x \rightarrow 0} \frac{x - \sin x}{x^3} = \frac{1}{6}$   
 8.  $\lim_{x \rightarrow 0} \frac{e^x - 1 - x}{x^2} = \frac{1}{2}$   
 9.  $\lim_{x \rightarrow 0} \frac{e^x - 1 - x - \frac{x^2}{2}}{x^3} = -\frac{1}{6}$   
 10.  $\lim_{x \rightarrow 0} \frac{e^x - 1 - x - \frac{x^2}{2} - \frac{x^3}{6}}{x^4} = \frac{1}{24}$   
 11.  $\lim_{x \rightarrow 0} \frac{\ln(1+x) - x + \frac{x^2}{2}}{x^3} = -\frac{1}{6}$   
 12.  $\lim_{x \rightarrow 0} \frac{\ln(1+x) - x + \frac{x^2}{2} - \frac{x^3}{3}}{x^4} = \frac{1}{24}$   
 13.  $\lim_{x \rightarrow 0} \frac{1 - \cos x - \frac{x^2}{2}}{x^4} = -\frac{1}{24}$   
 14.  $\lim_{x \rightarrow 0} \frac{1 - \cos x - \frac{x^2}{2} + \frac{x^4}{24}}{x^6} = \frac{1}{720}$   
 15.  $\lim_{x \rightarrow 0} \frac{x - \sin x - \frac{x^3}{6}}{x^5} = -\frac{1}{120}$   
 16.  $\lim_{x \rightarrow 0} \frac{x - \sin x - \frac{x^3}{6} + \frac{x^5}{120}}{x^7} = \frac{1}{5040}$   
 17.  $\lim_{x \rightarrow 0} \frac{e^x - 1 - x - \frac{x^2}{2} - \frac{x^3}{6} - \frac{x^4}{24}}{x^5} = -\frac{1}{120}$   
 18.  $\lim_{x \rightarrow 0} \frac{e^x - 1 - x - \frac{x^2}{2} - \frac{x^3}{6} - \frac{x^4}{24} - \frac{x^5}{120}}{x^6} = \frac{1}{720}$   
 19.  $\lim_{x \rightarrow 0} \frac{\ln(1+x) - x + \frac{x^2}{2} - \frac{x^3}{3} + \frac{x^4}{24}}{x^5} = -\frac{1}{120}$   
 20.  $\lim_{x \rightarrow 0} \frac{\ln(1+x) - x + \frac{x^2}{2} - \frac{x^3}{3} + \frac{x^4}{24} - \frac{x^5}{120}}{x^6} = \frac{1}{720}$   
 21.  $\lim_{x \rightarrow 0} \frac{1 - \cos x - \frac{x^2}{2} + \frac{x^4}{24} - \frac{x^6}{720}}{x^6} = \frac{1}{720}$   
 22.  $\lim_{x \rightarrow 0} \frac{1 - \cos x - \frac{x^2}{2} + \frac{x^4}{24} - \frac{x^6}{720} + \frac{x^8}{40320}}{x^8} = -\frac{1}{40320}$   
 23.  $\lim_{x \rightarrow 0} \frac{x - \sin x - \frac{x^3}{6} + \frac{x^5}{120} - \frac{x^7}{5040}}{x^7} = -\frac{1}{5040}$   
 24.  $\lim_{x \rightarrow 0} \frac{x - \sin x - \frac{x^3}{6} + \frac{x^5}{120} - \frac{x^7}{5040} + \frac{x^9}{362880}}{x^9} = \frac{1}{362880}$   
 25.  $\lim_{x \rightarrow 0} \frac{e^x - 1 - x - \frac{x^2}{2} - \frac{x^3}{6} - \frac{x^4}{24} - \frac{x^5}{120} - \frac{x^6}{720}}{x^7} = -\frac{1}{720}$   
 26.  $\lim_{x \rightarrow 0} \frac{e^x - 1 - x - \frac{x^2}{2} - \frac{x^3}{6} - \frac{x^4}{24} - \frac{x^5}{120} - \frac{x^6}{720} - \frac{x^7}{5040}}{x^8} = \frac{1}{5040}$   
 27.  $\lim_{x \rightarrow 0} \frac{\ln(1+x) - x + \frac{x^2}{2} - \frac{x^3}{3} + \frac{x^4}{24} - \frac{x^5}{120} + \frac{x^6}{720}}{x^7} = -\frac{1}{720}$   
 28.  $\lim_{x \rightarrow 0} \frac{\ln(1+x) - x + \frac{x^2}{2} - \frac{x^3}{3} + \frac{x^4}{24} - \frac{x^5}{120} + \frac{x^6}{720} - \frac{x^7}{5040}}{x^8} = \frac{1}{5040}$   
 29.  $\lim_{x \rightarrow 0} \frac{1 - \cos x - \frac{x^2}{2} + \frac{x^4}{24} - \frac{x^6}{720} + \frac{x^8}{40320} - \frac{x^{10}}{362880}}{x^{10}} = \frac{1}{362880}$   
 30.  $\lim_{x \rightarrow 0} \frac{1 - \cos x - \frac{x^2}{2} + \frac{x^4}{24} - \frac{x^6}{720} + \frac{x^8}{40320} - \frac{x^{10}}{362880} + \frac{x^{12}}{47900160}}{x^{12}} = -\frac{1}{47900160}$   
 31.  $\lim_{x \rightarrow 0} \frac{x - \sin x - \frac{x^3}{6} + \frac{x^5}{120} - \frac{x^7}{5040} + \frac{x^9}{362880} - \frac{x^{11}}{6652800}}{x^{11}} = -\frac{1}{6652800}$   
 32.  $\lim_{x \rightarrow 0} \frac{x - \sin x - \frac{x^3}{6} + \frac{x^5}{120} - \frac{x^7}{5040} + \frac{x^9}{362880} - \frac{x^{11}}{6652800} + \frac{x^{13}}{174182400}}{x^{13}} = \frac{1}{174182400}$   
 33.  $\lim_{x \rightarrow 0} \frac{e^x - 1 - x - \frac{x^2}{2} - \frac{x^3}{6} - \frac{x^4}{24} - \frac{x^5}{120} - \frac{x^6}{720} - \frac{x^7}{5040} - \frac{x^8}{40320}}{x^9} = -\frac{1}{40320}$   
 34.  $\lim_{x \rightarrow 0} \frac{e^x - 1 - x - \frac{x^2}{2} - \frac{x^3}{6} - \frac{x^4}{24} - \frac{x^5}{120} - \frac{x^6}{720} - \frac{x^7}{5040} - \frac{x^8}{40320} - \frac{x^9}{362880}}{x^{10}} = \frac{1}{362880}$   
 35.  $\lim_{x \rightarrow 0} \frac{\ln(1+x) - x + \frac{x^2}{2} - \frac{x^3}{3} + \frac{x^4}{24} - \frac{x^5}{120} + \frac{x^6}{720} - \frac{x^7}{5040} + \frac{x^8}{40320} - \frac{x^9}{362880}}{x^{10}} = -\frac{1}{362880}$   
 36.  $\lim_{x \rightarrow 0} \frac{\ln(1+x) - x + \frac{x^2}{2} - \frac{x^3}{3} + \frac{x^4}{24} - \frac{x^5}{120} + \frac{x^6}{720} - \frac{x^7}{5040} + \frac{x^8}{40320} - \frac{x^9}{362880} + \frac{x^{10}}{3024000}}{x^{11}} = \frac{1}{3024000}$   
 37.  $\lim_{x \rightarrow 0} \frac{1 - \cos x - \frac{x^2}{2} + \frac{x^4}{24} - \frac{x^6}{720} + \frac{x^8}{40320} - \frac{x^{10}}{362880} + \frac{x^{12}}{47900160} - \frac{x^{14}}{1244160000}}{x^{14}} = \frac{1}{1244160000}$   
 38.  $\lim_{x \rightarrow 0} \frac{1 - \cos x - \frac{x^2}{2} + \frac{x^4}{24} - \frac{x^6}{720} + \frac{x^8}{40320} - \frac{x^{10}}{362880} + \frac{x^{12}}{47900160} - \frac{x^{14}}{1244160000} + \frac{x^{16}}{157286400000}}{x^{16}} = -\frac{1}{157286400000}$   
 39.  $\lim_{x \rightarrow 0} \frac{x - \sin x - \frac{x^3}{6} + \frac{x^5}{120} - \frac{x^7}{5040} + \frac{x^9}{362880} - \frac{x^{11}}{6652800} + \frac{x^{13}}{174182400} - \frac{x^{15}}{2432716800}}{x^{15}} = -\frac{1}{2432716800}$   
 40.  $\lim_{x \rightarrow 0} \frac{x - \sin x - \frac{x^3}{6} + \frac{x^5}{120} - \frac{x^7}{5040} + \frac{x^9}{362880} - \frac{x^{11}}{6652800} + \frac{x^{13}}{174182400} - \frac{x^{15}}{2432716800} + \frac{x^{17}}{314509440000}}{x^{17}} = \frac{1}{314509440000}$   
 41.  $\lim_{x \rightarrow 0} \frac{e^x - 1 - x - \frac{x^2}{2} - \frac{x^3}{6} - \frac{x^4}{24} - \frac{x^5}{120} - \frac{x^6}{720} - \frac{x^7}{5040} - \frac{x^8}{40320} - \frac{x^9}{362880} - \frac{x^{10}}{3024000}}{x^{11}} = -\frac{1}{3024000}$   
 42.  $\lim_{x \rightarrow 0} \frac{e^x - 1 - x - \frac{x^2}{2} - \frac{x^3}{6} - \frac{x^4}{24} - \frac{x^5}{120} - \frac{x^6}{720} - \frac{x^7}{5040} - \frac{x^8}{40320} - \frac{x^9}{362880} - \frac{x^{10}}{3024000} - \frac{x^{11}}{254160000}}{x^{12}} = \frac{1}{254160000}$   
 43.  $\lim_{x \rightarrow 0} \frac{\ln(1+x) - x + \frac{x^2}{2} - \frac{x^3}{3} + \frac{x^4}{24} - \frac{x^5}{120} + \frac{x^6}{720} - \frac{x^7}{5040} + \frac{x^8}{40320} - \frac{x^9}{362880} + \frac{x^{10}}{3024000} - \frac{x^{11}}{254160000}}{x^{12}} = -\frac{1}{254160000}$   
 44.  $\lim_{x \rightarrow 0} \frac{\ln(1+x) - x + \frac{x^2}{2}$

[illegible]

## A. The Vikings and Vinland

During the ninth, tenth, and eleventh centuries the Vikings left their homes in Norway, Sweden, and Denmark and carried out their missions of piracy and commerce. Beginning in 792 with a raid on the monastery of Lindisfarne, an island off the English Northumbrian coast, the Viking raids lasted for almost three hundred years, ending only after the death of the Norwegian king Harald Hardrada at Stamford Bridge in 1066<sup>1</sup>. The combination of a powerful Christianity and strong central monarchies made it impossible to continue the Viking life for individual chieftains, as it was characterized by the pagan religion and the freedom of chieftains to conduct raids as they wished.

Before the Viking Age was over the Vikings had carried their raids to most of Ireland and England, large parts of France, and even to places in Italy and Spain<sup>2</sup>. Swedish Vikings in the East, seeking trade instead of pirate booty, established the first Russian state at Kiev, a state strong enough to have besieged Byzantium three times, in 860, 907, and 941<sup>3</sup>. Vikings also served as mercenaries in the Varangian Guard of the Byzantine emperors. Viking traders even led caravans to Baghdad<sup>4</sup>.

In the North Atlantic the Vikings found and colonized the Faroe Islands, Iceland, and Greenland. About the end of the tenth century they reached an unknown land in the west. There, their supply lines over-extended, and faced with unfriendly natives, the great Atlantic expansion ended. Map I on page 2 shows the extent of the Viking expansion.

The land in the west found by the Vikings was called "Vinland" or "Wineland". The exact location of Vinland has been a topic of debate for over one hundred years. The purpose of this paper is to examine the literary and archaeological evidence to attempt to answer the question, "where was Vinland"?

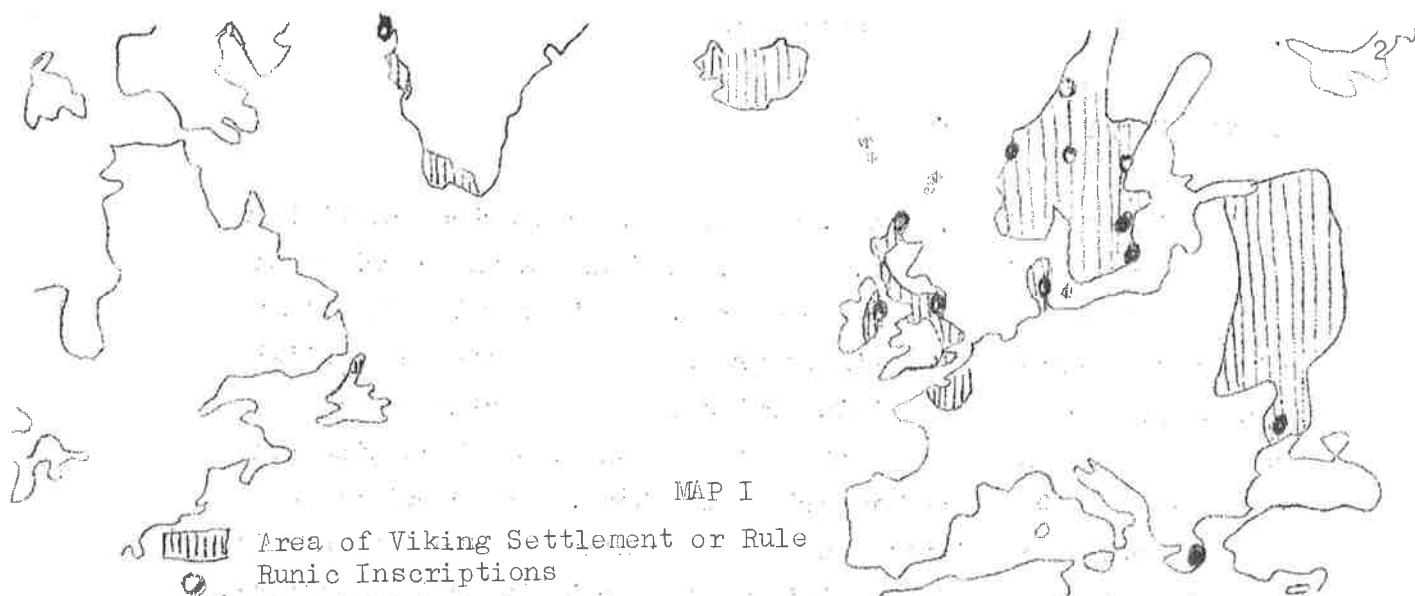
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1) Jones, Gwyn, The Vikings, Oxford, 1968, p 414.

2) Arbman, Holger, The Vikings, London, 1961, pp 85-88.

3) Jones, op cit., pp 259-260.

4) Arbman, op cit., p 94.



(Map based on Gordon, E.V., Introduction to Old Norse, Oxford, 1927, p xxiv)

## B. The Atlantic Expansion

Iceland was discovered by the Vikings about the year 860. Settlement started during the 870's, and by 930 the island was more or less settled<sup>5</sup>. Greenland was colonized in a similar manner, being sighted about the year 900, and colonized after 985<sup>6</sup>. There seems to be a pattern in the discovery, exploration, and colonization of Iceland and Greenland<sup>7</sup>. They were both discovered by accident, by storm-blown sailors, followed by planned exploration, and then colonization.

The saga descriptions of Vínland follow this same pattern. Table I shows this pattern as it applies to Iceland and Greenland, and to the Grœnlanders Saga<sup>8</sup> descriptions of the Vínland voyages. This pattern should be kept in mind.

The three voyages of discovery, exploration, and colonization were in the GS undertaken by Bjarni Herjolfsson, Leif Eiriksson, and Thorfinn Karlsefni. The search for Vínland in this paper thus becomes a search for their respective landfalls in the west.

5) Jones, op cit., pp 272-277.

6) Ibid, pp 290-293.

7) Magnusson, Magnus and Hermann Pálsson, The Vinland Sagas, Baltimore, 1965, p 11. Henceforth cited as Magnusson.

8) Following the practice of Erik Wahlgren in Fact and Fancy in the Vinland Sagas, Austin, Texas, 1969, Grœnlanders Saga will henceforth be cited as GS, Eiriks Saga Rauda as ES.

## A. Written

The first written mention of Vinland is in Adam of Bremen's Gesta Hammaburgensis ecclesiae pontificum, written about 1075<sup>1</sup>. Adam was a German priest in Bremen who set out to write the history of the Archdiocese of Hamburg-Bremen, which included Scandinavia. For the most part, Adam tried to use eye-witness reports<sup>2</sup>. One of Adam's most important sources of information was the Danish king, Sven Estridsson<sup>3</sup>. Adam visited Sven's court sometime between 1066 and 1072<sup>4</sup>. In Chapters 35 to 42 of his work, Adam relates that King Sven:

...told me of yet another island, discovered by many in that ocean, which is called Wineland from the circumstance that vines grow there of their own accord, and produce the most excellent wine. While that there is an abundance of unsown corn there we have learned not from fabulous conjecture, but from the trustworthy report of the Danes.<sup>5</sup>

Adam's work is generally accurate, but it is biased in two ways. First, the book is written from the viewpoint of the Archdiocese of Hamburg-Bremen<sup>6</sup>. Things that favor the German mission to Scandinavia are displayed in a favorable light, and things that do not favor the German mission are treated negatively.

The other bias is that of King Sven. The king's information to Adam was slanted in such a way as to favor the king<sup>7</sup>. Adam's work is further handicapped by fabulous reports of the farther reaches, for example, cyclopes dwelling among the Lapps<sup>8</sup>.

1) Magnusson, p 24.

2) Norborg, Lars-Arne, Källor till Sveriges historia, Lund, 1968, p 45.

3) Ibid, p 45.

4) Körner, Sten, The Battle of Hastings, England and Europe, 1035-1066, Lund, 1964, p 144, note 30.

5) Jones, The Norse Atlantic Saga, London, 1964, henceforth cited as Jones, NAS, p 85. In "The Problem of Wineland", Islandica 25, Ithaca, N.Y., 1936, Halldór Hermannsson quotes Gesta Hannoverae, 1876, p 186: "Praeterea unum adhuc insulam recitavit a multis in eo repertan oceano, quae dicitur Winland, eo quod ibi vites sponte nasantur, vinum optimum ferentes. Nam et fruges non seminatas habundare, non fabulosa opinione, sed certa comperimus relatione Danorum."

6) Norborg, op cit., p 45.

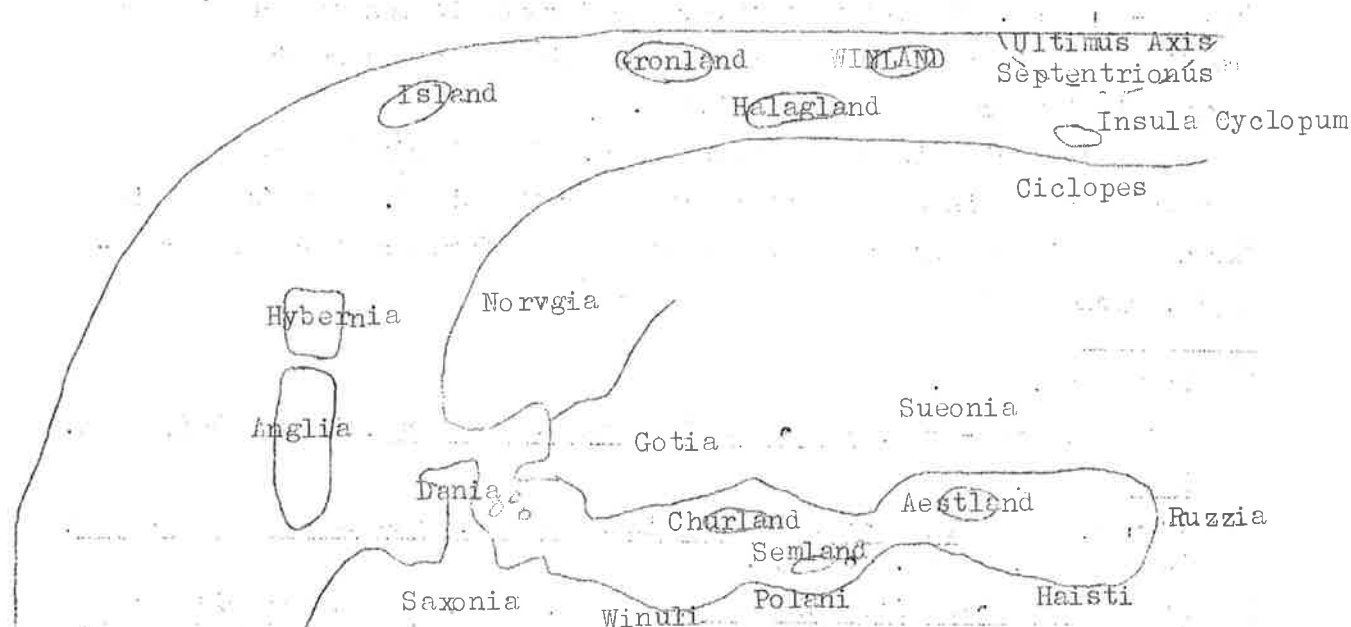
7) Körner, op cit., pp 142-143.

8) Norborg, op cit., p 45.

Adam received his information within seventy-five years of the date the sagas give for the discovery of Vinland<sup>9</sup>. We know that before Adam's visit King Sven was visited by an Icelfander named Audun who traveled from Greenland to Denmark to give the king a polar bear<sup>10</sup>. It is possible that the information Adam got from King Sven was given to King Sven by Audun.

Whether or not Audun was King Sven's informant, there seems little reason to doubt the accuracy of the report. It has nothing to do with the German ecclesiastical mission to the north or with King Sven, so that neither bias would affect it. And it cannot be considered unreliable on the same basis as Adam's account of the Lapps as the subject matter and motifs are not fabulous mythological motifs, but rather more commonplace and ordinary. The following assertions based on Adam can therefore be accepted:

- 1) There is a place across the sea called Wineland.
- 2) It is called Wineland because grapes grow there.
- 3) Wild corn (grain) also grows there.
- 4) It has been visited several times.



MAP II-A Map to Accompany Adam of Bremen<sup>11</sup>

<sup>9</sup>) Magnusson, p 119, the discovery of Vinland in 1000 AD.

<sup>10</sup>) Ibid, p 25. See also Gordon, op cit., pp 111-117.

<sup>11</sup>) From A.A. Björnbo, "Cartographia Groenlandica", Meddelelser om Grønland, Bind 48, København, 1912, p 70.



The next reference to Vínland is in Ari Thorgilsson's Islendingabók, written about 1127<sup>12</sup>. Ari's book is an historical account of the settling of Iceland, the development of its constitution, and the growth of its church, using oral tradition in a critical manner<sup>13</sup>. Ari weighed his sources and was highly concerned with the accuracy of his writing<sup>14</sup>. In Chapter 6, Ari relates:

The land which is called Greenland was discovered and settled from Iceland. Eirik the Red was the name of a Breidaford man who went out there from here and took land in settlement at the place which has ever since been called Eiríksfjörð. He gave the land a name, and called it Greenland, arguing that men would be drawn to go there if the land had a good name. Both east and west in the country they found the habitations of men, fragments of skin boats, and stone artifacts, from which it may be seen the same kind of people had passed that way as those that inhabited Vínland, whom the Greenlanders call Skrælings. When he began to settle the land, that was fourteen or fifteen years before Christianity came to Iceland, according to what a man who had himself gone out with Eirik the Red told Thor-kell Gellisson in Greenland.<sup>15</sup>

The most important thing one can derive from this entry is the fact that Ari refers to Vínland, not as an unknown land, but rather as a place near Greenland that his readers would already be acquainted with<sup>16</sup>. Ari refers to the natives of Vínland as "Skrælings", which is either related to the Norwegian "Skraela", "scream", or to the Icelandic "skrælna", "shrink"<sup>17</sup>. The identity of these Skrælings will be considered in the discussion of Thorfinn Karlsefni's voyage (page 50).

12) Magnusson, p 26.

13) Hallberg, Peter, The Icelandic Saga, Lincoln, Nebraska, 1962, p 38.

14) Magnusson, p 26.

15) Jones, NAS, pp 105-106. Gordon, op cit., pp 35-36: "Land þat er kallað er Grœnland farnsk ok bygðisk af Islandi. Eiríkr inn Raudi hét maðr Breidfirzkr, ér fór út hadan þangat ok nam þar land er sidan er kallaðr Eiríksfjörðr. Hann gaf nafn landinu ok kallaði Grœnland, ok kvad menn þat myndu fýsa þangat farar, at landit ætti nafn gott. Þeir fundu þar mannavistir bæði austr ok vestr á landi, ok keiplabrot ok steinsmíði þat, er af því má skilja, at þar hafði þess konar þjóð ferit er Vínland hefir byggt, ok Grœnlendingar kalla Skrælinga. En þat var, er hann tók byggva landit, xxiiij vetrum eða xv fyrr en Kristni kvæmi hér á Island, at því er sá taldi fyrir þorkell Gellissyni á Grœnland, er sjálfr fylgdi Eiríki inum Raudi út."

16) Magnusson, p 26.

17) Gordon, op cit., pp 197-198, note 349.

Vinland is also mentioned in Landnámabók, a history of Iceland thru the first sixty years of settlement. It describes some four hundred of the original settlers, telling where they came from, where they settled, and what happened to them and their descendants. It contains historical fact, folktale, and a view of contemporary beliefs<sup>18</sup>. The date and authorship are still controversial, but it seems likely that Ari Thorgilsson began compiling Landnámabók about 1100<sup>19</sup>. There are two complete existant versions, Sturlubók, edited by Sturla Thórdarson between 1260 and 1280, and Hauksbók, edited by Hauk Erlensson before 1334<sup>20</sup>. The Hauksbók version suffers from family pride, and Hauk was a descendant of Thorfinn Karlsefni<sup>21</sup>. Concerning Ari Masson, Chapter 122 of Sturlubók reads:

He was driven off course to Hvítramannaland which some call Ireland the Great. It lies west in the ocean, near Vinland the Good. It is reckoned six days sail west from Ireland. Ari failed to get away again and was baptised there. The first to tell of this was Hrafn the Limerick-farer, who spent a long time at Limerick in Ireland. According to Thorkell Gellisson, Icelanders who had their information from Thorfinn earl of Orkney report that Ari had been recognized in Hvítramannaland but failed to get away. He was held in high regard there.<sup>22</sup>

Hauksbók further relates in a genealogy: "Thord Horsehead, father of Karlsefni, who found Vinland the Good".<sup>23</sup>

The identification of Ireland the Good has been a topic of debate. Farley Mowat has concluded that it was a colony of Irish monks, who, fleeing Iceland before the heathen Vikings, established a colony in Greenland<sup>24</sup>. Charles Boland<sup>25</sup>, Carl Sauer<sup>26</sup>, and Geoffrey Ashe<sup>27</sup>, believe that Irish monks did indeed flee to Greenland, but they then continued on to North America. The only evidence for this Irish colony is the passage in Landnámabók, and a passage in ES in which Thorfinn Karlsefni finds

18) Jones, NAS, p 224.

19) Ibid, p 224, Hallberg, op cit., p 159, note 1.

20) Jones, NAS, p 225.

21) Ibid, p 33, Magnusson, p 31.

22) Jones, NAS, p 186, note 1.

23) Ingstad, Helge, Västervägen till Vinland, Stockholm, 1965, p 24: "Thord Hæsthvud, far till Karlsæmme, som fann Vinland den Goda".

24) Mowat, Farley, Westviking, New York, 1965, p 35, Appendix H, pp 389-400, Appendix I, pp 401-404.

25) Boland, Charles Michael, They All Discovered America, New York, 1963.

26) Wahlgren, Erik, review of Carl Sauer's Northern Mists, Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1968, in Scandinavian Studies, Nov., 1968, pp 333-336.

27) Ibid, p 334, Ashe's book is Land to the West, New York, 1962.

two Skræling boys in Markland who tell him that near their country was another in which people went about in white clothing, yelling, and carrying poles with patches of cloth attached. The saga writer thought that this might be Hvítramannaland<sup>28</sup>.

Jones<sup>29</sup> considers the whiteclad people to have been Naskaupi Indians in their white chamois dancing robes. Magnusson and Palsson<sup>30</sup> refer to this land as "a fabulous country said to lie opposite Vinland". Sauer considers the Skræling artifacts found by Eirik the Red to have been left by fleeing Irish monks, just as the Irish monks fleeing Iceland left books and other artifacts<sup>31</sup>. However, in Iceland the Vikings could identify the artifacts as Irish. In Greenland they have apparently lost this ability and classify the artifacts as Skræling. Wahlgren<sup>32</sup> suggests that if Irish artifacts had been found in Greenland, they would have been reported as such; and dismisses the case for Ireland the Great for want of evidence.

Within the context of this paper the only thing one can say concerning Hvítramannaland is that the Vikings believed that it existed. What can be deduced from the Landnámabók passage about Vinland is that it was thought to be to the west. Also, one of the men who went there could have been Thorfinn Karlsefni, as Hauk would probably be better informed about the activities of his forebearer in this regard. Another significant thing about this passage is that it is the first time Vinland is referred to as "Vinland the Good".

To review the conclusions concerning Vinland from Adam of Bremen, Islendingabók, and Landnámabók:

- 1) Vinland was a place to the west, near Greenland.
- 2) Grapes and wild grain grew there.
- 3) The Vikings called the natives there Skrælings.
- 4) One of Vinland's visitors may have been Thorfinn Karlsefni.

28) Magnusson, pp 102-103 (ES Chapter 12).

29) Jones, NAS, p 93.

30) Magnusson, p 116.

31) Islendingabók, Chapter 1, in Jones, NAS, p 102: "There were Christian men here then whom the Norsemen call "papar". But later they went away because they were not prepared to live in company with heathen men. They left behind Irish books, bells, and croziers, from which it could be seen that they were Irish."

32) Wahlgren, in Scandinavian Studies, Nov., 1968, pp 333-336.

The next sources of information concerning Vínland are the two sagas dealing directly with the Vínland voyages, GS and ES. The oldest text of GS is found included in three parts in the so-called Great Saga of Olaf Tryggvason, itself inserted in Flateyjarbók, the largest of the Icelandic vellum codices, written down in northern Iceland between 1382 and 1395<sup>1</sup>.

ES survives in two differing manuscripts, Hauksbók, compiled by Hauk Erlendsson and his two secretaries early in the fourteenth century; and Skálholtsbók<sup>2</sup>, dating from the late fifteenth century<sup>3</sup>. Here is a summary of the contents of the sagas, first the GS:

Voyage 1. Bjarni Herjolfsson is the one who discovers the new lands by accident, in sailing from Iceland to Greenland. Blown off course to the south, he winds up off the coast of an unknown, wooded land with low hills, then a flat and wooded land, then a mountainous land, topped by a glacier. From here Bjarni manages to make his father's estate at Herjolfness at the southern tip of Greenland. Later Bjarni makes a voyage to Norway, to the court of Earl Eirík, where he is twitted about not having explored the unknown lands further.

Voyage 2. After Bjarni's return from Norway, Leif Eiríksson buys Bjarni's ship and sails to investigate the lands to the west. Though pressed to lead the expedition, Eirík, Leif's father, decides not to after falling off his horse while riding to the ship. Leif's crew of thirty-five men includes a German named Tyrkir. Reversing Bjarni's sailing instructions, Leif finds three lands in succession, which he calls Helluland (Slab Rock Land), Markland (Forest Land), and Vínland (Wine Land or Grapevine Land). The grapes have been found by Tyrkir. The men build houses for the winter, the mildness of which convinces them that this would be an excellent place to settle. From solar observations they understand that they are well south of Greenland's latitude. Salmon are numerous. In the spring, with a load of timber, they sail back home to Brattahlíð, Eirík the Red's estate on Greenland, rescuing a shipwrecked crew of fifteen, headed by a Norwegian named Thórir. For these exploits Leif receives the epithet, heppni, "the Lucky". That winter Eirík, Thórir, and many of the latter's crew die of disease. Thórir's widow Guðríf survives him.

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1) Magnusson, pp 29, 31-32.

2) Henceforth Skálholtsbók will be cited as SB, Hauksbók, as HB.

3) Magnusson, p 30.

Voyage 3. In one of the immediately following years, Leif-after thriftily fetching the load of timber abandoned on the reef that capsized Thórir's hip-lends his ship to his brother Thorvald for further exploration. Thorvald and his crew of thirty find Leif's dwellings without trouble and spend a calm winter, living largely on fish. The next spring and summer they devote to exploring. During this they find, on an island, a structure which they conclude is to store grain. During continued explorations the following summer they suffer a shipwreck and shatter their keel. After constructing a new keel, they raise the old one on a point of land and call it Kjalarnes (Keel's Ness). Shortly thereafter they come upon some natives asleep. This is the Norsemen's first contact with the Skraelings of the New World. They kill eight of them and then fall prey to a mysterious drowsiness. Wakened by a mysterious warning voice, the Norsemen are attacked by a multitude of the savages. Only Thorvald is wounded. Knowing that his death impends, Thorvald requests that he be buried on a heavily wooded promontory between two fjords, a place that has already appeared to him as a home. His companions do his bidding, and the burial place receives the name Krosnes, after the Christian crosses placed at his head and feet, for the Greenlanders have now been converted to Christianity. After picking up their companions whom they have left to guard their headquarters, the travelers sail back to Leif on Greenland.

Voyage 4. Leif's brother Thorstein, having meanwhile married Thórir's Widow Guðríd, is anxious to recover Thorvald's body, apparently for burial in Christian soil. He sets sail with a crew of twenty-five men, and for some reason, his wife. After being sorm-tossed all summer, with no localities indicated, the mariners manage to land at Lysufjord in the Western Settlement, the northern settlement of the Norse in Greenland. Here Thorstein dies in an epidemic, after prophesying that the twice-widowed Guðríd will marry an Icelfander and produce a distinguished line of descendants. Supernatural phenomena are reported in connection with Thorstein's death.

Voyage 5. Thorstein's prophesy is fulfilled with Guðríd's marriage to a newcomer at Brattahlíð, Thorfinn Thórdarson, usually referred to as Karlsefni (Makings of a man). Karlsefni is a wealthy trader, who by popular request, organizes an attempted settlement of Vínland. He embarks with sixty men, five women, and ample livestock and equipment. After an easy voyage the colonists reach Leif's houses, which he will lend, but not give to the colonists. Their first conspicuous source of food is a whale. Game and grapes are found, the cattle thrive and become lively, and the colonists fell timber and dry it. After an uneventful winter, the colony is visited by Skraelings who have come to trade their furs. Frightened by Karlsefni's bull, the natives try to crowd into the Norsemen's houses but are kept outside. The Skraelings try to acquire weapons in trade for their furs, but are given milk instead and seemingly content depart. The prudent Karlsefni now has a stockade built around the settlement. His wife Guðríd presently gives birth to Snorri, the first white child to be born in America. The Skraelings show up again in the autumn, carrying furs for trade, which they

throw over the stockade in return for milk. Rocking her little son, Gudríf sees a female apparition, who calls herself Gudríf. At that moment fighting breaks out, inasmuch as one of the whites has slain a Skræling who attempted the theft of a weapon. The Skrælings flee, but, as expected, return in force for a third visit. During the ensuing fight in which the Norsemen utilize their dread bull to advantage, the savages are repulsed. A peaceful winter follows, but because of the potential menace of the natives, Karlsefni decides that they should return to Greenland. In the spring, loaded with grapevines, grapes, and furs, the colonists sail back home.

Voyage 6. Karlsefni has shared the profits equally with his crew. The same summer that Karlsefni returns from Vinland, a ship owned by two Icelanders, Helgi and Finnbogi, arrives at Greenland from Norway. Eirík's bastard daughter, Freydis, comes over from her estate at Gardar the following spring to talk with the two men. She proposes a joint-stock expedition to Vinland, each party to consist of thirty men, women not included. The expedition is organized and sets out, but the wily Freydis has secretly taken along an extra five men. After the arrival in Vinland, Freydis refuses to honor an agreement whereby Leif's houses would be shared by the two ships' crews. The brothers and their party consequently erect a dwelling of their own farther inland. Despite efforts at conciliation by Helgi and Finnbogi, Freydis accomplishes the destruction of the brothers and their entire crew, even to the point of slaying the women by her own hand. Thereafter, she threatens her own followers with death if they ever reveal the outrage after their return to Greenland. In the spring Freydis and her party sail back to Eiríksfjord in the ship formerly owned by the two brothers, bringing an ample supply of Vinland's products with them. Eventually her foul deed becomes known, particularly after her half brother Leif has three of her crew tortured into a full revelation of the details. Leif lacks the heart to punish his unworthy kinswoman as she deserves, but he prophesizes she and her descendants will be shunned forevermore, which prophesy, states the saga, was later fulfilled. Karlsefni in the meanwhile has been preparing his ship for a voyage to Norway, where he successfully disposes of his cargo and is treated with distinction. He sells his carved figurehead from his ship to a merchant from Bremen. The piece is carved out of mosurr (probably maple from the forests of Vinland). Karlsefni and Gudríf return to Iceland and ultimately settle at Glaumboer (the saga's error for Reynines). After his death Gudríf makes a pilgrimage to Rome, then builds a church at Glaumboer, where she ends her days as a nun. Her Vinland-born son, Snorri, is the ancestor of Icelandic bishops.<sup>4</sup>

- 4) This account is taken, with only slight change, from Wahlgren's Fact and Fancy in the Vinland Sagas, pp 22-24. The complete saga in English translation can be found in Magnusson, pp 49-72, and in Jones, NAS, pp 143-162. It can be found in the original Icelandic in Hall-dór Hermannsson's "The Vinland Sagas", Islandica 30, Ithaca, N.Y., 1944, as well as several other editions of Flateyjarbók.

ES only records three voyages, but it is longer than GS:

Voyage 1. Leif sails to No way from Greenland, to round out his education. Detained by bad weather off the Hebrides, he has a love affair with a highborn woman named Thorgunna, who later bears him a child named Thorgils. The latter is sent by her to Greenland later to live with his father, but there is always something uncanny about him. Continuing to Norway, Leif spends the winter with King Olaf Trygvason. On returning to Greenland the following summer, Leif is commissioned by the proselyting King to preach Christianity to the Greenlanders. During his return trip, Leif is long at sea and discovers hitherto unsuspected lands, whose location is not indicated, nor are they named. Their products include wild grain, grapevines, and impressive trees, all of which are brought by the voyagers back to Brattahlid, after rescuing shipwrecked mariners on the way. For his great goodness in introducing Christianity to Greenland, and in saving the shipwrecked men, Leif becomes known as "the Lucky". Eirík refuses to accept the new faith, suffering thereby some reduction in his conjugal rights as Thjóðhild, his wife, builds a church in the vicinity and devotes her energies thereafter to religion.

Voyage 2. As a result of Leif's accidental discovery of lands, a planned exploratory expedition is later got under way, using the ship that Gudríd's father, Thorbjorn Vífilsson, has come to Greenland in. Thorstein Eiríksson is in charge, but Eirík is invited to join. The expedition consists of twenty men, equipped with weapons and provisions, but without domestic animals. Before leaving home Eirík hides a chest of gold and silver. Riding down to the ship, he is thrown from his pony, suffering broken bones and dislocations. He sends a message to his wife to dig up the treasure, acknowledging that he has been punished for this act of pagan foolishness. (Different wording in SB and HB make it unclear whether Eirík decided to go or not). The expedition is a fiasco, and after an exhausting summer on stormy seas, during which they even catch sight of Ireland, they manage to return to Brattahlid.

Thorstein Eiríksson presently marries Gudríd. The wedding is held at Brattahlid, after which the young couple move to Lysufjord, where Thorstein Eiríksson owns a farm jointly with another man named Thorstein, who is married to a woman named Sigríd. That winter the community is struck by a pestilence, during the course of which Thorstein Eiríksson dies in a scene that contains supernatural details, including his own post-mortem prophesy about Gudríd's future. She inherits the property of her father and is received at Brattahlid, where Eirík manages her affairs well. Meanwhile Brattahlid receives distinguished Icelandic visitors, the prosperous merchant Thorfinn Karlsefni, from Reynines, with Snorri Thorbrandsson of Alptafjord and a crew of forty; at the same time, Bjarni Grímólfsson of Bredafjord and Thórhall Gamlason of Austfjord, with another forty men. All these people receive hospitality from Eirík (aided by a contribution of supplies from Karlsefni), with the result that the Yule celebrations are extended into a wedding feast to Karlsefni and Gudríd.

Voyage 3. Renewed discussions of Vinland lead to a mighty expedition in search of it under Karlsefni's leadership. Three ships and 160 men and women set sail. Thorvald Eiríksson and Thórhall the Huntsman are included, the latter being a heathen who has served Eirík. Starting from a northerly location, they sail before a northerly wind, and find a series of places to which they give names:

Helluland, Markland, Bjarney, Furdustrandir, Kjalarnes, Straumey, Straumfjord. Vinland they have difficulty finding although a pair of Scot thralls, Haki and Hakja, whom Leif had received from King Olaf and then given to Karlsefni, return from a three-day expedition on foot with grapes and wild wheat. The voyagers spend the winter at Straumfjord, amply supplied by nature to begin with, but in bad shape for food by spring. Thórhall the Huntsman disappears and is found four days later, muttering incantations to the god Thor, who presently provides food in the form of a whale of unknown species. Those who eat of it become sick, but a prayer to the Christian God restores them to health, and improves the weather so that provisions become plentiful. The explorers have not found Vinland, and disagreements arise as to its location. Thórhall the Huntsman and nine men leave the expedition and sail northward, after composing a poetic jibe at the expedition and its meager results. The prose indicates that Thórhall intends to seek Vinland to the north, while the verse indicates a desire to return to Greenland. In any case, he and his men fail to reach Greenland, and are ultimately enslaved in Ireland.

Karlsefni and the others now sail south and find a good location that they call Hóp, with grapes and wild wheat, and ample fish. After half a month they are visited by Skrælings in nine skin boats. After a snowless winter, the Skrælings return with furs for trading and receive strips of red cloth in return. The hostility of Karlsefni's bull causes the Skrælings to flee to their boats and leave, but three weeks later they return to attack the Norsemen with bows and arrows and some kind of catapult. The pregnant Freydis whets a sword on her bare breasts, which throws the Skrælings into a mad rout. The colonists decide that life would be hazardous in these parts. A third winter, and various explorations follow. Thorvald Eiríksson is killed by an arrow shot by a uniped. Five Skrælings isolated from their fellows are slaughtered. Two Skræling boys whom the explorers have captured tell them about a land that might be Hvítramannaland. The would-be colonists return to Brattahlíð.<sup>5</sup>

The relationship of GS to ES, and of the two versions of the ES, SB and HB, to each other, has been a topic of debate. Formerly it was believed that HB was closer to the original ES than SB, and that the ES was both independent of, and superior to, the later, cruder, GS.<sup>6</sup> However, recent research has disproved both of these beliefs.

Sven B. F. Jansson<sup>7</sup> has shown that HB is a rewrite of SB, which is closer to the original ES. The revision gave HB a more "classical" tone, one of the reasons earlier scholars considered it closer to the original.<sup>8</sup>

5) Wahlgren, Fact and Fancy in the Vinland Sagas, henceforth cited as Wahlgren, Fact, pp 25-27. English translations of the ES include Magnusson, pp 75-105 and Jones, NAS, pp 163-190. For the Icelandic see Hermannsson, The Vinland Sagas.

6) Magnusson, p 32.

7) Jansson, Sven B. F., Sagorna om Vinland, I, Lund, 1944, pp 169, 263, using a parallel arrangement of texts Jansson demonstrates the editing of ES done by Hauk Erlendsson and his two secretaries.

8) Magnusson, pp 30-31.



Jón Jóhannesson<sup>9</sup> has shown that GS must be older than ES. Both GS and ES refer to Bishop Brand, but in ES the reference is to Bishop Brand the first, which would mean that ES was written after 1263, the first year of Bishop Brand the second, while GS would have to be written after 1163, the first year in office of the first Bishop Brand. This is not conclusive in that the inclusion of "the first" could be attributed to a later copyist. However, Jóhannesson has also shown that the story of Leif Eiríksson carrying the Christian mission to Greenland began with the monk Gunnlaug Leifsson, who died in 1219. This fantasy came to be the accepted story for the conversion of Greenland, and the sources written after 1219, including the ES, carry it. The fantasy is not found in the GS.

Erik Wahlgren<sup>10</sup> has compared the two sagas and has reached the following conclusions:

- 1) The GS and the ES are related sagas rather than the products of chiefly independent traditions.
- 2) The GS is distinctly the older saga.
- 3) The ES is in large measure an adaption of the GS.
- 4) The GS is the more historical of the two, but contains obvious fictions.
- 5) Despite derivative features, the ES reveals some genuine historical details.
- 6) The GS may have possessed, then lost, some of these same details.
- 7) The name Vínland is original and genuine, i.e., it is based on an actual discovery of grapes.
- 8) The Norse settlement recently found on Newfoundland is doubtless authentic, but probably not the "Wineland" of the sagas.

Numbers seven and eight will be considered in a later section of this paper. Number two has already been considered. Among other arguments Wahlgren points out the replacement of the "helper" Trykir, with the more sophisticated "helper" motif-Thórhall, the replacement of the heathen Bjarni Herjólfsson with a Christian Bjarni Grímólfsson, and the similar prophesies concerning Guðríð in both sagas, as evidence that the author of ES had a copy of FS before him as he wrote.

Concerning fictions in the GS, Wahlgren points out the improbable fact that in the GS every voyage easily finds Vínland with an uneventful voyage, and that the Freydis story is entirely fantastic, without any rational motivation.

9) Jóhannesson, Jón, "The Date of the Composition of the Saga of the Greenlanders", Saga-Book XVI:Part I, London, 1962, pp 54-66.

10) Wahlgren, Erik, pp 28, 40-42, 62.

One part of ES that could reflect genuine historical detail that has been lost by the GS is the skaldic poetry recited by Thórhall as he leaves Karlsefni at Straumfjord:

These oak-hearted warriors  
Lured me to this land  
With promises of choice drinks;  
Now I could curse this country.  
For I, the helmet-wearer,  
Must now grovel at a spring  
And wield a water-pail;  
No wine has touched my lips.  
  
Let us head back to our countrymen at home;  
Let our ocean-striding ship  
Explore the broad tracts to the sea  
While these eager swordsmen  
Who laud these lands  
Settle in Furdustrands  
And boil up whales.<sup>11</sup>

Norborg<sup>12</sup> states that many times the writers of sagas included so-called skaldic poetry of their own devising into their sagas, to give a story a more authentic tone, but that such poems can be easily discovered by the meter, as the saga writers could not or would not duplicate the archaic meter of the skaldic poets. Gordon<sup>13</sup> says of these verses: "These epigrammatic verses are accepted by all as genuine. The spurious verses which were sometimes inserted in sagas at a later period were seldom as good as these. These verses are in fact the most certainly genuine part of the whole account, as verses were not easily corrupted in oral tradition, especially verses of such rigid form as these."

11) Magnusson, p 97. From Gordon, op cit., pp 50-51:

Hafa kvæðu mik meidar  
malmþings, es komk hingat,  
(mér samir land fyrir lýðum  
lasta) drykk inn bazta;  
Bílds hattar verdu byttu  
beidi-Týr at stýra;  
heldr's svát krýpk at keldu-  
komat vín á gron mína.

Forum aptr, þar er óris  
eru, sandhimins; landar  
lotum kenni-Val kanna  
knarrar skeid in breidu,  
meðan bilstyggvir byggva  
bellendr ok hval vella  
laufa vedrs, þeir's leyfa  
lond, á Furdustrandom.

12) Norborg, op cit., p 48.

13) Gordon, op cit., pp 195-196, note 308ff.

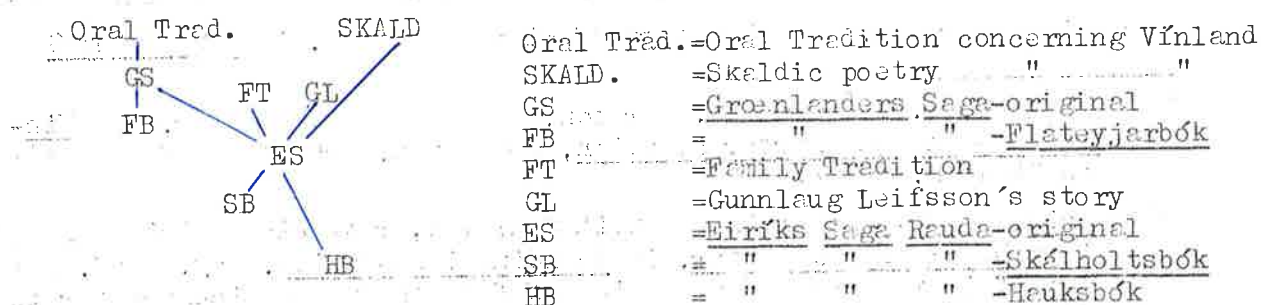
Norborg<sup>14</sup> also points out that genuine skaldic verses can be considered a reliable source, as one of the most important properties of a skaldic poem was its veracity-no skald would intentionally compose a poem containing a lie<sup>15</sup>. The poem can thus be considered a reliable source.

Wahlgren<sup>16</sup> establishes that Þórhall himself is a fictional character, a "helper" in ES corresponding to the equally fictional Tyrkir of GS. Hermannsson<sup>17</sup> points out that the saga compiler misunderstood the poem. The skald states his intention of returning to Greenland, while the prose indicates that Þórhall intends to search for Vínland to the north.

What can be deduced from the poem is that the skald, probably a member of the Karlsefni colonizing expedition described in GS, has not reached Vínland, where wine producing grapes grow, but is instead at Furdustrands, where a whale has just made an appearance. The skald wishes to, and perhaps does, return to Greenland.

Conclusions concerning the merits of GS and ES are, that GS reflects a general historical accuracy, marred only by the presence of several folklore motifs that must be recognized; and that ES is largely a rewrite of GS designed to give more credit to Hauk Erlendsson's ancestor, Þorfinn Karlsefni. The skaldic poem in ES can be used as an accurate source. In regard to the rest of ES, it can be used in certain instances, such as in the case of the Karlsefni expedition, as Hauk had close to first hand information concerning his ancestor's voyage to Vínland.

FIGURE I--The Relationship of GS to ES<sup>18</sup>



14) Norborg, op cit., p 48.

15) Ibid, p 48, making reference to Snorri Sturluson's Heimskringla. From Snorri, translated by Samuel Laing, New York, 1961, Snorri's Preface, p 4: "...for although it be the fashion with skalds to praise most those in whose presence they are standing, yet no one would dare to relate to a chief what he, and all those who heard it, knew to be false and imaginary, not a true account of his deeds; because that would be mockery, not praise."

16) Wahlgren, Fact, pp 36-37.

17) Hermannsson, "The Problem of Wineland", p 21.

18) Based on Magnusson, pp 29-35.

The last important mention of Vínland in the Icelandic texts occurs in several of the Icelandic Annals for the year 1121. The Annales Reseniani, probably the oldest, and perhaps compiled before 1319, has the entry: "Bishop Eirik sought Vínland."<sup>19</sup> The Lawman's Annals, also from the fourteenth century, gives the name as "Bishop Eirik Uppsi."<sup>20</sup> Gottskálksannáll has "Eirik the Greenlanders' Bishop went to look for Vínland."<sup>21</sup> The entry in the Konungsannáll<sup>22</sup>, included in Flateyjarbók<sup>23</sup>, reads: "Eirik, Bishop of Greenland, went in search of Vínland."

Bishop Eirik has been identified as the Icelfander Eirik Gnpsson, whose voyage from Norway or Iceland to Greenland is mentioned in several of the annals for 1112 and 1113<sup>24</sup>. He is listed as the first bishop of Greenland in Rimbegla, a twelfth century Icelandic work. Luke Jerlic has compiled a list of the Greenlandic bishops, using the work of P.B. Gams<sup>25</sup>. Based on papal documents seen by one of the authors, but uncited and unpublished, the list begins:

1. Erich; a. 1112-1113 consecatur in episcopum regionarium Groelandiae regionum que finitimarum; a. 1211 (scil. 1121) pergít Vinlandiam ubi moritur (a. 1122?). (Eirik; 1112-1113 consecrated bishop of the regions surrounding Greenland. 1121 proceeded to Vinland where he died.)
- A. 1123 Groelandenses petunt erectionem sedis episcopalis in Groelandia. (1123 The Greenlanders asked for the creation of an episcopal see in Greenland.)
2. Arnoldus; a. 1124 consecratus; a. 1126 sedem figit Gardari... (Arnald; 1124 was consecrated bishop; 1126 established see at Gardar...)

"A" above implies that there was no episcopal see in Greenland before Bishop Arnald, and The Story of Einar Sokkason, in Flateyjarbók,

- 19) Skelton, R.A., Thomas E. Marston, and George D. Painter, The Vínland Map and the Tartar Relation, New Haven, 1965, henceforth cited as Skelton, p 224.
- 20) Ibid, p 224. According to Erik Wahlgren, reviewing Helgè Ingstad's Land Under the Pole Star, in Scandinavian Studies, May, 1967, p 183, "Upsi" is the name of a species of fish and was a nickname for the bishop.
- 21) Jones, NAS, p 96.
- 22) Ibid, p 96.
- 23) Skelton, p 224.
- 24) Ibid, p 224.
- 25) Ibid, p 224, Skelton cites L. Jelic, "L'évangélisation de l'Amérique avant Christophe Colomb", in Le Missioni francescane, Vol. 8, Rome, 1897, p 557, and P.B. Gams, Series Episcopum Catholicae, 1873. The English translation is my own, with help from R.E. Latham's Revised Medieval Latin Word-list, London, 1965, and Fil. Stud. Carin Jonasson.

confirms this:

There was a man named Soki, the son of Thorir, living at Brattahlid in Greenland. He was highly esteemed and popular with all. His son's name was Einar, a man of high promise. Father and son had great authority in Greenland, and stood head and shoulders above other men.

On a given occasion Sokki had a Thing summoned, at which he announced that he did not wish their land to remain bishopless any longer, but wanted all his compatriots to make a contribution from their means so that a bishop's see could be established—a proposal to which all the franklins assented. Sokki asked his son Einar to undertake the necessary journey to Norway. He was the fittest person, he told him, to carry out this mission. So Einar said he would go, just as his father wished, and took with him a big supply of ivory goods and walrus hides to push his case with the chieftains.

They arrived in Norway, and it was Sigurd Jerusalem-farer who was king there at the time. Einar came to have audience with the king; he eased his case forwards by means of gifts, and afterwards set out his aims and intention, petitioning the king to help him, so that he might get what he was asking for to meet his country's need. The king agreed that this indeed would be a fine thing for Greenland.

Then the king summoned before him a certain man named Arnald, who was a good clerk and well fitted to be a teacher of God's word. The king bade him address himself to this task for God's sake and his, the king's prayers. "And I will send you to Denmark with my letter and seal, to have audience with Asser archbishop of Lund." Arnald replied that he was not much tempted to undertake this; first on his own account, in that he was ill fitted for it; second, because of parting with his friends and family; and third, because he would have to deal with such a cantankerous people. The king's counter to this was that the greater the trials he suffered at men's hands, the greater would be his merit and reward. Arnald confessed that he could not find it in his heart to refuse the king's prayer...<sup>26</sup>

Thus, Arnald became the Greenlanders' bishop and established his see at Gardar.

All this casts doubt on the role and reality of Bishop Eirik, and his Vinland journey. This question cannot be answered here, but must wait until the discussion of the Vinland Map, which will be discussed in the next section.

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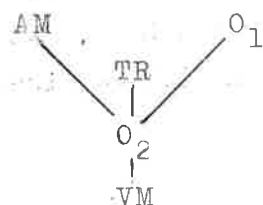
26) Jones, NAS, pp 191-192.

## C. Maps

Vinland has also been depicted on several maps. The oldest and most important of these are the Vinland Map of 1440, the Sigurdur Stefansson Map of 1590, and the Hans Resen Map of 1605<sup>1</sup>.

The VM was found bound together in a nineteenth century binding with the Tartar Relation<sup>2</sup>, a description of the Carpini mission to the Mongols in 1245-1247. Doubt was cast on the authenticity of the two parts, as while the handwriting in both was the same, the worm holes in each did not match the worm hole of the other. However, it was discovered by chance that the two documents belonged with a fifteenth century manuscript of Vincent of Beauvais' Speculum Historiale, with the VM at the front, and the TR at the back. The worm holes of the VM matched those at the beginning of the Speculum, while those of the TR matched those at the end. Analysis of handwriting, paper, watermarks, and binding confirmed that all three were compiled by the same hand in the Upper Rhineland about the year 1440. This was probably at Basle, the site of a general Church council between the years 1431 and 1449, which would have provided a place for information from various parts of Europe to come together<sup>3</sup>.

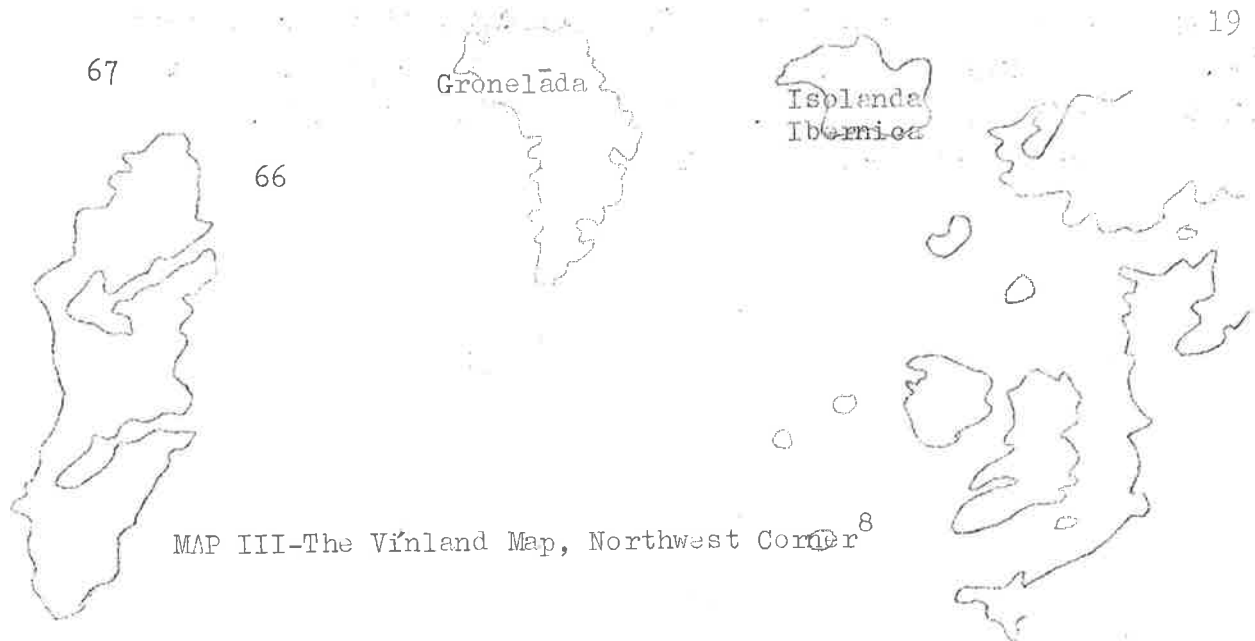
The VM is basically a circular map of the world, taken from the prototype of Andrea Bianco's world map of 1436<sup>4</sup>. Eastern Asia has been redrawn to include information from the TR<sup>5</sup>. The rendering of Greenland and Vinland seems to come from either a map or from textual sources from thirteenth or early fourteenth century Iceland<sup>6</sup>. The relationship of the sources of the VM is shown below<sup>7</sup>:



AM=an Atlantic Map or Norse texts  
 O<sub>1</sub>=Prototype for Bianco's 1436 map  
 TR=the Tartar Relation and other texts  
 O<sub>2</sub>=Prototype of the Vinland Map  
 VM=the Vinland Map

FIGURE II

- 1) Skelton, p 200. Henceforth cited as VM, SM, and RM.
- 2) Henceforth cited as TR.
- 3) Skelton, pp 3-16.
- 4) Ibid, p 114.
- 5) Ibid, pp 119-121.
- 6) Ibid, p 230.
- 7) Ibid, p 142.



MAP III-The Vinland Map, Northwest Corner<sup>8</sup>

Inscription 66 on the map reads:

"Vinlanda Insula a Byarno re ~~pa~~ et leipho socijs."

(Island of Vínland, discovered by Bjarni and Leif in company.)<sup>9</sup>

Inscription 67 reads:

"Volente deo post longū iter ab insula Gronelanda per meridiem ad/  
reliquas extremas partes occidentalis oceani maris iter facientes ad /  
austrū inter glacies byarnus et leiphus erissionius socij terram nouam  
uberrimā/ videlicet viniferā inuenerunt quam Vinilandā (? or Vimlandā)  
insulā appellauerunt. Henericus/ Gronelande regionumq finitimarū sedis  
apostolicae episcopus legatus in hac terra/ spaciosa vero et opulentis-  
simā in postmo anno p. ss. nrj. (=pontificus-or-patris sanctissimi nos-  
tri) Pascali accessit in nomine die/ omnipotētis longo tempore mansit  
estiuo et brumali postea versus Gronelandā redit/ ad orientem hiemalē  
deindo humillima obediencia superiori vo-/ lūtati processit."

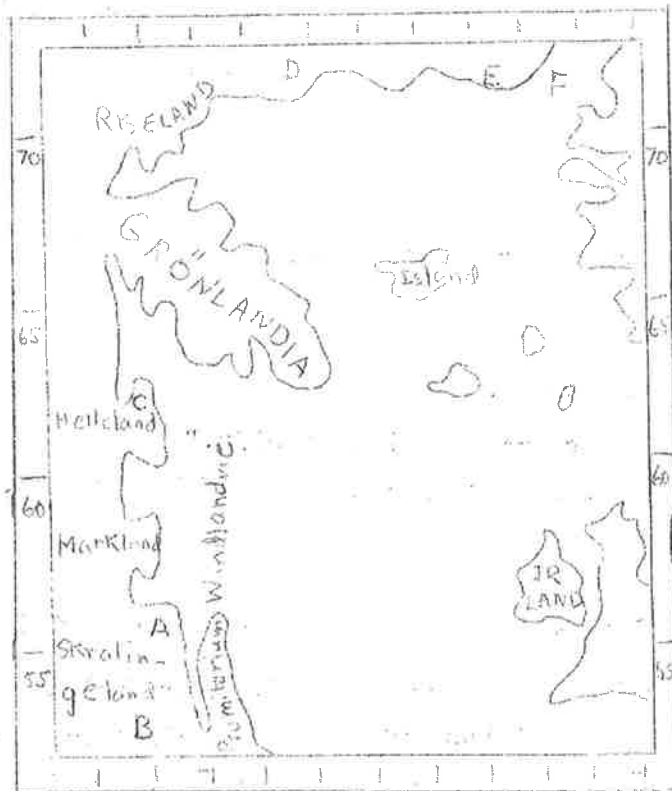
(By God's will, after a long voyage from the island of Greenland to  
the south towards the most distant remaining parts of the western ocean  
sea, sailing southward amidst the ice, the companions Bjarni and Leif  
Eiriksson discovered a new land, extremely fertile and even having vines,  
the which island they named Vínland. Eirik, legate of the Apostolic See  
and bishop of Greenland and the neighboring regions, arrived in this  
truly vast and very rich land, in the name of almighty God, in the last  
year of our blessed father Pascal, remained a long time in both summer  
and winter, and later returned northward toward Greenland and then pro-  
ceeded (home to Europe?) in most humble obedience to the will of his  
superiors.)<sup>10</sup>

8) Ibid, facing p 19.

9) Ibid, p 139.

10) Ibid, p 140.

The SM, sometimes called the Skálholt Map, was first drawn about 1590. The original is lost; the earliest surviving copy being that of Þórður Thorláksson from 1669<sup>11</sup>. While the map is dated 1570, the date is erroneous as the author was born in 1569<sup>12</sup>.



MAP IV-The Stefánsson Map<sup>13</sup>

Around the map there is a Latin legend identifying the places labeled "A"; "B"; "C", etc. "A" and "B" read<sup>14</sup>:

- A. Hi sunt, ad quos Angli pervenerunt, ab ariditate nomen habent tanquam vel solis, vel frigoris adustione torridi et exsiccati.

(These people, whom the English reached, get their name from their aridity; they are dried up just as much by the heat as the cold.)

- B. His proxime est Vinlandia, quam propter terrae, fecunditatem et utilium rerum uberem proventum, Bonam dixerunt. Hanc a meridie oceanum finire voluere nostri. Sed ego ex recentiorum historiis colligo, aut fretum aut sinum hanc ab America distinguere.

(Next to them lies Vinland, which is called the Good, because of the fertility of the land and its abundant produce of useful things. Our historians have wanted to make the ocean its southern boundary, but from more recent accounts I deduce that it is separated from America either by a strait or a bay.)

11) *Ibid*, p 200.

12) *Ibid*, p 200, note 200.

13) Magnusson, p 121.

14) Latin and translation from *Ibid*, p 120.



The RM was first drawn in 1605. It is considered to be based on either the SM or on a common prototype<sup>15</sup>. Both authors based their maps on a type introduced by Mercator in 1569, modified by the addition of a new western coastline, a strait between Russia and the eastern extension of Greenland, and several old Norse geographic names<sup>16</sup>.

The two maps have been considered to be based on the authors' reading the old sagas, specifically ES, with slight modifications from the reports of the discovery of America, in regard to the western Atlantic coastline<sup>17</sup>. However, Painter<sup>18</sup>, points out several reasons for concluding the maps were based on map sources, rather than textual. In both maps Helluland is misspelled "Helleland", which someone would hardly do if someone was reading a text concerned with "Slab Land". Further, Resen refers to Markland as "flat country, like the sea, without woods and rocks"<sup>19</sup>, apparently thinking that the name "Markland" was from the Latin "mare" or "sea" instead of the Norse "forest". Had Resen been reading the sagas he would have noted the GS describes Markland as "flat and wooded, with white sandy beaches..."<sup>20</sup> and that ES describes Markland as "a heavily-wooded country"<sup>21</sup>. Resen states that his map is based on a medieval Icelandic map, and this seems likely<sup>22</sup>. This older prototype would, however, have been based on the saga texts, and thus the maps are not independent evidence<sup>23</sup>.

Painter also shows that the SM, with its wide, shallow bays, represents the original form of the prototype, and that the RM is a more corrupt form of this. He further demonstrates that the VM is also based on the same prototype, and while it is itself older, it represents a more corrupt form, with its long narrow straits replacing the wide bays. The tradition would then be the prototype, the SM, the RM, and the VM, in the order of accuracy<sup>24</sup>.

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15) Skelton, p 203.

16) Ibid, p 201.

17) Ibid, pp 203-207.

18) Ibid, pp 253-254.

19) Ibid, p 253: "Markland, vel plana terra instar aequoris sine silvis et saxis &c."

20) Magnusson, p 55. (GS Chapter 3).

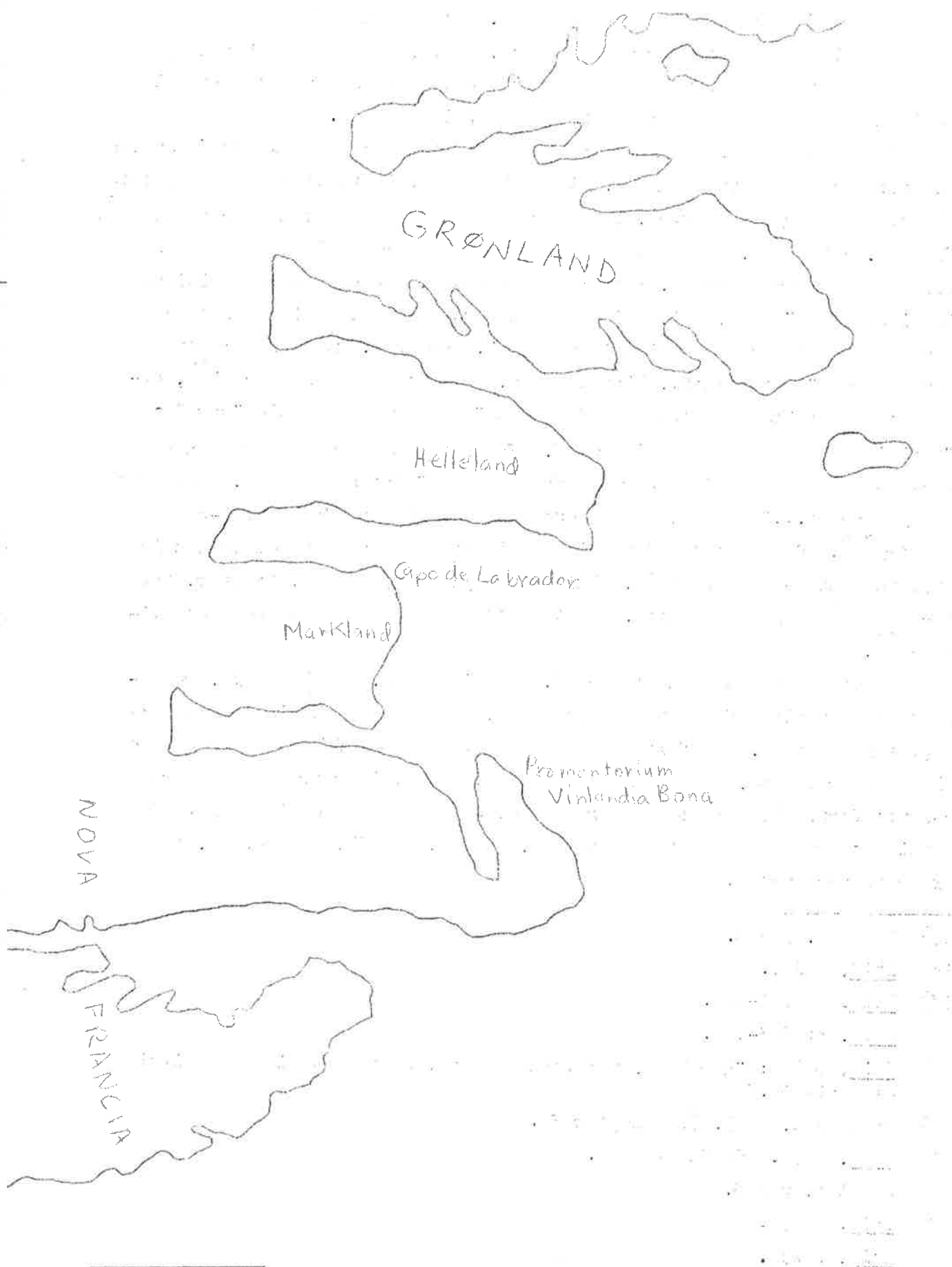
21) Ibid, p 94. (ES Chapter 8).

22) Skelton, p 203.

23) Ibid, p 254.

24) Ibid, p 254.

MAP V-The Western Coast of the Resen Map<sup>25</sup>



25) Ibid, facing p 147.

While the VM itself cannot add new evidence concerning Vínland, the captions, numbers 66 and 67, can. These appear to be based on independent textual sources<sup>26</sup>. The compiler has seemingly confused the separate voyages of Bjarni and Leif, and put them together, but caption number 66 confirms their voyages, and the GS tradition<sup>27</sup>.

Caption number 67 contains the solution to the unsolved problem of Bishop Eirik, the bishop without a see. As Skelton<sup>28</sup> points out, the caption indicates that Eirik was a papal legate, charged with Greenland and the neighboring regions-which would include Vínland, either to serve a colony there, or as a missionary among the heathen Skraelings. Thus, the bishop was a direct appointee of the Pope, and independent of the Archdiocese of Lund, which in 1124 did create a see in Greenland. The reason the Greenlanders had no bishop in 1124 was not because Eirik had died, but because as a papal legate his appointment ended with the death of Pope Pascal in 1117.

The map states that Eirik went to Vínland in 1117, while the annals give the date as 1121. Either there were two trips, or one of the dates is incorrect. Skelton<sup>29</sup> points out it is more reasonable to assume one voyage, with the VM, as it is, as an ecclesiastical expression, in a form less likely to be copied wrong.

The problem still remains of whether Bishop Eirik went to a Vínland colony or to the heathen as a missionary. Skelton<sup>30</sup> believes the latter, citing the bishop's rank and territorial responsibility as an indication that he was charged with spreading the faith. Painter<sup>31</sup> regards the expression "of Greenland and the neighboring regions" to imply that Eirik's see must have included Vínland, and that this implies a Vínland colony in the twelfth century, as there seems little reason for a mission among distant primitives unless there were Christians living nearby. Also, the language problem would be insurmountable, unless, because of a colony, some Norsemen had learned Skraeling, or some Skraelings had learned Norse. Any further discussion of this problem becomes conjecture, and is beyond the scope of this paper anyway.

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26) Ibid., p 255.

27) Ibid., p 255.

28) Ibid., pp 225-226.

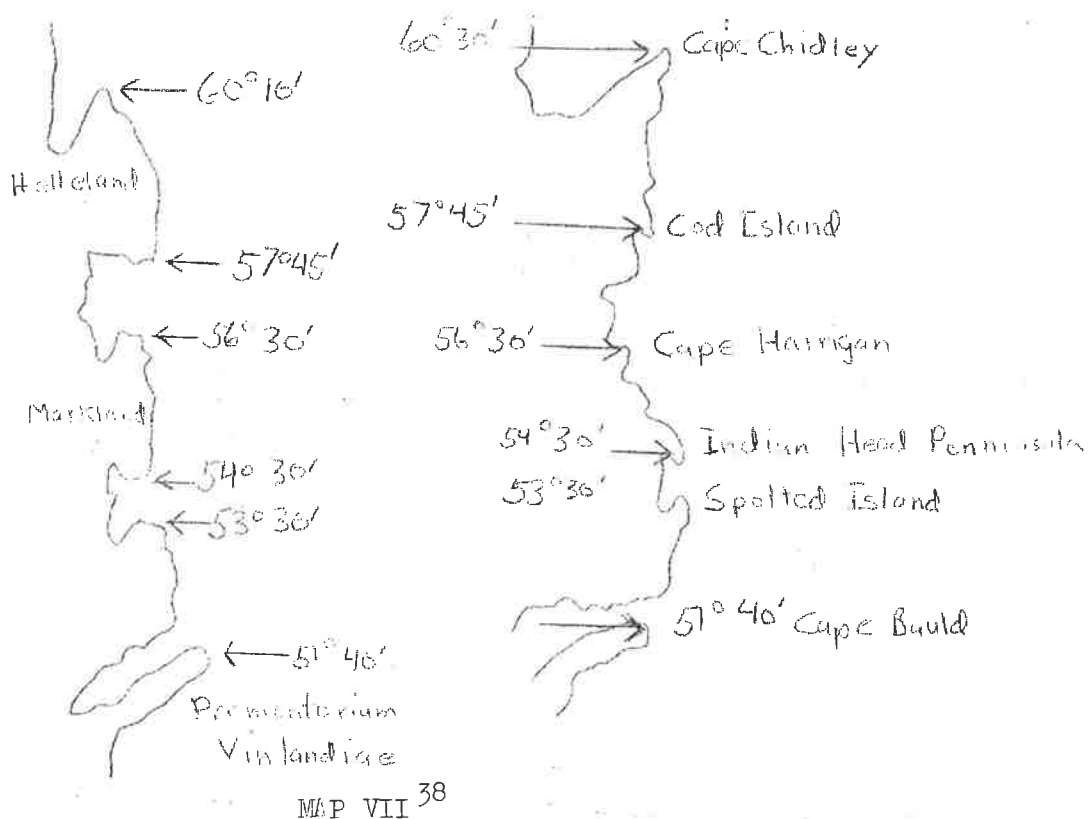
29) Ibid., p 225.

30) Ibid., p 225.

31) Ibid., p 257.



On the SM the northern tip of Promontorium Vinlandiae is depicted at the same latitude as the south coast of Ireland. On the modern map the south coast of Ireland corresponds to Cape Bauld, on the northern tip of Newfoundland, which bears a resemblance to Promontorium Vinlandiae. The SM indicates a distance of 640 sea miles, on a course S 50 W, from Herjolffness, near Cape Farewell, to Promontorium Vindlandiae<sup>36</sup>. The distance on a modern map from Herjolffness to Cape Bauld is 622 sea miles, on a course S 40 W. Mowat<sup>37</sup> has constructed a map based on the SM, but with the axis of Prominatorium Vinlandiae swung around to that of Cape Bauld:



This parallel could be indicative of a more direct basis for the map other than derivation from the saga text. It at least indicates that the author of the prototype in the fourteenth century, and Stefansson in the sixteenth, considered Vínland to be on a long peninsula that corresponds to the northern tip of Newfoundland.

36) Jones, NAS, p 223.

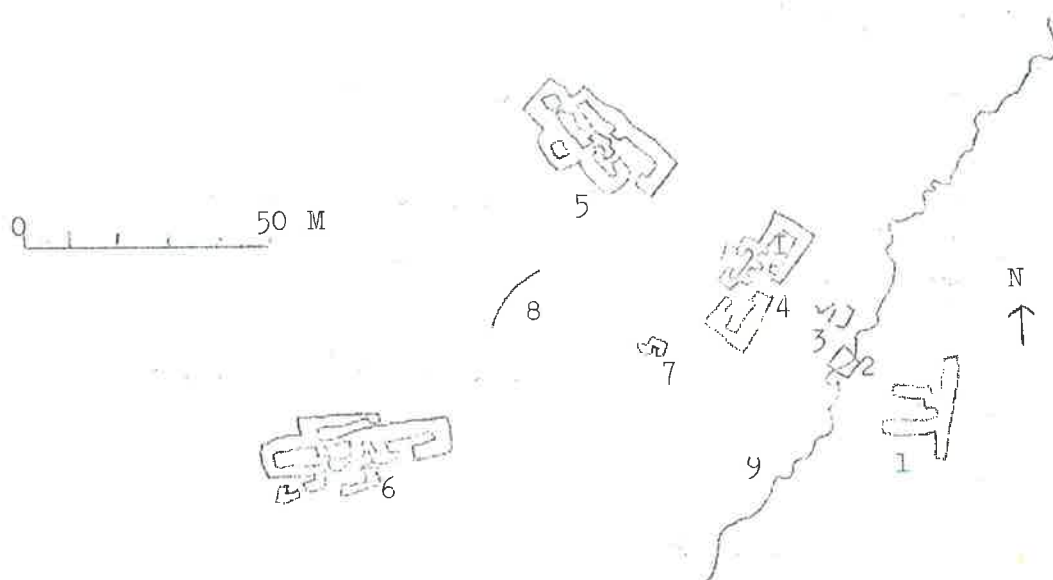
37) Mowat, op cit., pp 366-367.

38) Ibid, p 367.

## C. Archaeology

The discussion thus far has dealt with the examination of literary and cartographic sources that mention or depict Vinland. Archaeological finds of course do not indicate a relationship with a locality name. The discussion of archaeological sources will then first consider finds in Greenland which indicate contact with land to the west and south, and then with finds in North America that indicate the presence of Norsemen.

Between the years 1930 and 1934 Aage Roussell conducted excavations in the old Norse Western Settlement of Greenland<sup>1</sup>. The excavation was at Ameralik Fjord, identified with the Lysufjörðr of the sagas<sup>2</sup>. The structures excavated at Sandnes farm and church were: a church (1), now for the most part underwater; a cemetery (2); traces of an earlier construction (3); a house (4); two stable complexes (5 and 6); a smithy (7); a portion of a dyke (8); and a hearth (9)<sup>3</sup>.



MAP VIII-The Sandnes Farm<sup>8</sup>

In the northwest corner of the cemetery an arrowhead was found. This is listed in the List of Finds<sup>5</sup> as:

- S. 212 Arrowhead of hornstony flint, with small tang, Mus. No. D 11999, text, p 107, Fig. 78. Undoubtedly Eskimo, though not of the usual Eskimo form. Point broken, present length 3. Found in northwest corner of churchyard.

1) Roussell, Aage, "Sandnes and the Neighboring Farms", Meddelelser om Grønland, Bind 88, København, 1936, p 3.  
 2) Ibid, p 7.  
 3) Ibid, p 12.  
 4) Ibid, p 12.  
 5) Ibid, p 179.

Roussell identifies the arrowhead as "Eskimo, though not of the usual form." However, in his longer description of the arrowhead he states:

An arrowhead of flint, S. 215 (Fig. 78) was found at the same place. There is no reason for attributing this handsomely executed little specimen with its winged tang to the Norsemen, but curiously enough the form has not been met in the Greenland Eskimo finds, whereas exactly similar heads occur in Northern Canada (note 1: Among various Indian tribes). I shall not embark upon a discussion of this peculiar circumstance.<sup>6</sup>

It would seem that Roussell's identification of the arrowhead as Eskimo contradicts his own surmise, which implies that the arrowhead could be of Indian origin, from Canada. Jones<sup>7</sup> points out that the arrowhead is made of a type of quartzite (not flint) identical with that of Labrador, that a very similar arrowhead was found by Jørgen Melgård near Lake Melville in Labrador in 1956, and that the use of the bow and arrow was unknown to the Eskimos at the time of the Vinland voyages.

In the northeast corner of Room I in the house, no. 4, Roussell found a lump of coal. In the list of finds this is listed as:

S. 657. Coal, Mus. No. D 11921, text p 34. Found House, I.<sup>8</sup>

In the text Roussell says of the lump:

And from a deep layer in this room we found a lump of coal (No. S 657), which according to Professor Bøggild's kind communication is Anthracite, and therefore could not have been mined in North Greenland's coal seams, which are nothing but lignite. Without any attempt at explaining this remarkable find, it should be observed that in and around the heath there was nothing but wood ashes, and that coal ashes have never been found at any Norse ruin.<sup>9</sup>

House no. 4 was built on the site of an earlier house, which was somewhat smaller<sup>10</sup>. The earlier house had been leveled and then covered with the clay that became the floor of the new house. The only date that can be established is that the second house was standing when the Eskimos plundered the house around 1360<sup>11</sup>. Roussell found the lump in a deep layer in Room I, possibly meaning that the lump was in connection with the earlier house.

6) Ibid, p 187, underlining my own.

7) Jones, The Vikings, p 304.

8) Roussell, op cit., p 211.

9) Ibid, pp 34-35.

10) Ibid, pp 31-32.

11) Ibid, p 32.

Ingstad<sup>12</sup> and Wahlgren<sup>13</sup> point out that the only place anthracite coal is found on the eastern coast of North America is in Rhode Island. Of course the lump could have come from Europe, as Wahlgren points out,<sup>14</sup> but Greenland's main European contacts were Iceland and Norway, and neither of these has anthracite coal deposits<sup>15</sup>.

The only other finds on Greenland that could indicate contact with North America are at Herjolfsness, south of the Eastern Settlement. In 1921 Poul Nörlund excavated a cemetery there<sup>16</sup>. Describing the twenty-nine coffins found in the cemetery, Nörlund says<sup>17</sup>:

The woods used are mainly spruce, deal, red pine, or larch, and consist both of drift timber and imported timber. Only a single specimen has been ascertained to be of native growth...

Jones<sup>18</sup> states that the larch used seems to be from Labrador or Newfoundland. Arbman<sup>19</sup> asserts that it cannot have come from Norway.

The Icelandic Annals for the year 1347 relate:

There came also a ship from Greenland, smaller in size than the small Icelandic boats; she came into the outer Straumfjord, and had no anchor. There were seventeen men on board. They had made a voyage to Markland, but were afterwards storm-driven here.<sup>20</sup>

At this time came a ship from Greenland, which had made a voyage to Markland, and had eighteen men on board.<sup>21</sup>

This ship probably went to Markland after timber, and there were probably other ships that brought Markland timber to Greenland.

One last interesting find on Greenland happened in 1961 when a small chapel that matches the ES account of Thjodhild's chapel was found near Eirik's farm at Brattahlid, confirming that part of the ES<sup>22</sup>.

12) Ingstad, op cit., henceforth cited as Ingstad, VV; p 12.

13) Wahlgren, Erik, review of Ingstad's Landet Under Leidarstjernen, in Scandinavian Studies, Nov., 1962, p 283.

14) Wahlgren, Erik, review of Ingstad's Land Under the Pole Star, in Scandinavian Studies, May 1967, p 184.

15) Ingstad, Helge, "Vinland Ruins Prove Vikings Found the New World", National Geographic, Nov., 1964, henceforth cited as Ingstad, NG, p 719.

16) Nörlund, Poul, "Buried Norsemen at Herjolfsness", Meddelelser om Grønland, Bind 67, København, 1924, pp 21, 40.

17) Ibid, p 70.

18) Jones, The Vikings, p 304.

19) Arbman, op cit., p 117.

20) Skálholtsannáll hinn forni, from Jones, NAS, p 96.

21) Flateyjarannáll, from Jones, NAS, p 96.

22) Krough, Knud J., Viking Greenland, Copenhagen, 1967, pp 20-21.



In dealing with the Norse finds in North America it is perhaps better to first consider the finds by Helge and Dr. Anne Stine Ingstad at L'Anse aux Meadows in Newfoundland<sup>1</sup> and then discuss other alleged Norse finds.

The first Ingstad expedition arrived at L'Anse aux Meadows during the summer of 1961. The outlines of several structures could be seen, and they began excavations on the large house (1), and three smaller buildings (5, 6, and 7). In 1962 two more house-like structures (3 and 4), a smithy (8), a charcoal kiln<sup>2</sup> (9), and two cooking trenches (10 and 11)<sup>3</sup> were found. The excavations continued through 1963, and in clean-up operations in 1964, a soapstone spinning whorl, identical to those found on Greenland, and definitely of Norse origin, was found<sup>4</sup>.



MAP IX-The L'Anse aux Meadows site<sup>5</sup>

- 1) See Map X next page. All unnoted information concerning the L'Anse aux Meadows site, thru note 22, is from a conversation on April 3, 1970 with Fil. Kand. Rolf Petré of den Nordisk och Jämförande Fornkunskep Institutionen of Lunds Universitet, who was a member of the 1962 expedition.
- 2) Ingstad, VV, p 194.
- 3) Ibid, p 191.
- 4) Ibid, p 207.
- 5) Ibid, p 190.



E  
I = Approximate positions of the Eskimo and Indian populations in 1000 AD.

MAP X-Northern Newfoundland and Southern Labrador<sup>6</sup>

Some of the findings of the Ingstad expedition were:

- 1) Multi-room turf house, 5 or 6 rooms, 20 x 16 m, floor of sand. Central room-8 x 4 m. Residue of a fire place, 3 m long, ember pit, earth banks on each side of the fire place. Southern room-2 parallel grooves in the floor, about 3 m apart, apparently part of a drainage system. In all of the rooms-fire places, rusted nails, pieces of slag<sup>7</sup>. Soapstone spinning whorl outside wall of southern room.<sup>8</sup>
- 2) Small structure, burned and fire-cracked stones, a fire place, possibly a steam bath.<sup>9</sup> Carbon 14 dates to 1030±70 years.<sup>10</sup>

6) Jones, The Vikings, p 299.

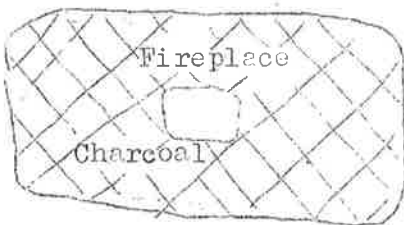
7) Entire section based on Ingstad, VV, p 204. Unnoted sentences will be from Petré-see note 1 above.

8) Ingstad, VV, p 207.

9) Ingstad, NG, p 710.

10) Ingstad, VV p 128.

- 3) Small turf booth.
- 4) Turf booth. 10 x 5 m<sup>11</sup>. Floor covered with a charcoal layer. Fireplace in the middle, ember pit with 2 pieces of slate in place, bottom and one side, other pieces of slate in the room, (see Fig. III). Dorset arrowhead of quartzite (see Fig. IV). Flintstone waste, iron nails, small burnt piece of copper in the ember pit, can be Norse or Indian. Bone needle, similar to those found on Greenland, but partly broken and could be Indian (see Fig. V). Carbon 14 date of charcoal 900  $\pm$  70 years<sup>12</sup>.
- 5) Small turf booth.
- 6) Turf booth, 11 x 4 m<sup>13</sup>.
- 7) Small turf booth.
- 8) Smithy. 2.75 x 3.75 m<sup>14</sup>. Fragments of worked iron, natural bog iron, several hundred pieces of slag.<sup>15</sup> Fireplace, large stone that could be an anvil. A Dorset lamp. Two series of Carbon 14 dates, 860  $\pm$  90 years, and 1060  $\pm$  70 years.<sup>16</sup>
- 9) Charcoal kiln, 7 m from (8), 2 x 2.5 m<sup>17</sup>.
- 10) Cooking trench. 2.3 x 1.1 m<sup>18</sup>.
- 11) Cooking trench. 2.3 x 2.3 m<sup>19</sup>. Eskimo. Carbon 14 date around 1000 AD.



Booth No. 4

FIG. III



Arrowhead

FIG. IV



Bone Needle

FIG. V

- 
- 11) Ibid, p 190.
  - 12) Ibid, p 191.
  - 13) Ibid, p.127.
  - 14) Ibid, p 194.
  - 15) Ingstad, NG, p 710.
  - 16) Ibid, p 731.
  - 17) Ingstad, VV, p 194.
  - 18) Ibid, p 191.
  - 19) Ibid, p 191.

The various turf structures have walls only 1/2 meter thick. There is also no evidence of postholes, which are needed to hold up a turf roof. The slenderness of the walls and the lack of postholes, as well as the short length of the structures indicates that these are not typical Norse turf houses, but are instead "budir", or booths, as have been found at Brattahlid, in Greenland.

Nörlund<sup>20</sup> has found about ten structures ranging in size from 2.5 x 2 m to 11 x 4 m, that are quite similar to the Newfoundland structures. They consisted of low walls over which tents of frieze cloth or seal skin were raised. There were no postholes in these booths and their walls were too slender for them to have been more than temporary structures. Nörlund concludes<sup>21</sup> that these were booths used as temporary habitations during the Things at Brattahlid. Similar booths have been found at the site of the Thing at Gardar, in Greenland; and at the sites of the Icelandic Things. None of these sites have booths with fireplaces. However, the booths used at marketplaces in Iceland, intended for longer use, did have fireplaces.

It is then quite possible that these structures at L'Anse aux Meadows are booths designed for occupancy over a short length of time. The finds at L'Anse aux Meadows confirm this in that there was a noticeable scarcity of implements found, indicating occupancy for possibly one year, and no more, unless the occupants took all their belongings with them when they left.

L'Anse aux Meadows is not a choice spot for settlers. While it is probably the first spot someone sailing down the coast would stop at, all it offers is fresh water. Although Ingstad considers the grass at L'Anse aux Meadows to be a prime reason for settlement there, this grass is limited to only a narrow strip along the coast.<sup>22</sup>

It would then appear that Norsemen occupied this site for only a short length of time. As far as dating the site, there are two series of Carbon 14 dates:  $860 \pm 90$  years, and  $1030-1060 \pm 70$  years. Carbon 14 dates do not indicate the year the wood was burned, but the year it died. There would be two sources of wood for Norsemen at L'Anse aux Meadows; driftwood, and timber cut down on the spot. Driftwood would be quite a few years older than the date of its use, and the felled timber would be contemporary with the settlement. Thus a date between the years 990 and 1100 would fit the charcoal deposits in house number 2 and the smithy, 8.

20) Nörlund, Poul, "Brattahlid", Meddelelser om Grønland, Bind 88, København, 1934, pp 106-110.

21) Ibid, pp 113-117.

22) These last two paragraphs are Petré's conclusion about L'Anse aux Meadows.

Concerning other alleged Norse finds in North America, Birgitta Wallace<sup>23</sup> remarks:

The Follins Pond site on Cape Cod has been excavated by the Massachusetts Archaeological Society for Mr. Frederick J. Pohl, who claims it is Vinland...However, as far as I can judge from the physical and theoretical evidence at Follins Pond, there is no sound indication for the presence of pre-Columbian Norse on the site.

As for the rest of New England, there are several alleged Viking age sites, such as the Newport Tower, inscriptions at Byfield and Aptuxet, Mass., Hampton, New Hampshire, and Manana, Maine, etc., but none can stand scrutiny, and to date no Viking Age remains have been found there.

Mr. Thomas E. Lee of the Université Laval in Quebec has been conducting excavations in the Payne Lake region in Ungava, Labrador, which in his opinion, have revealed the presence of Norse structures. While I am not fully in agreement with Mr. Lee concerning the unequivocal Norse character of these sites (some of the reported evidence is definitely not Norse), they do offer possibilities that Norse objects could be found.

The findings at Ungava are<sup>24</sup>:

- 1) Longhouse ruins ranging from 45 x 16 feet to 115 x 24 feet, all partitioned. One used thousand pound boulders in the walls. Ember pits occur down the centres. Wooden frames are proven from the moulds-and this is a treeless land where timber could only come by ship.
- 2) A church-like ruin with apse and ambulatory, a wall fireplace, and a semi-circle of paving.
- 3) A 37 foot dam, and a 27 feet x 5 feet causeway, positively not Eskimo.
- 4) Stone beacons 10 feet high by 5 feet diameter clearly set for navigational purposes (one is 13 feet high by 6 feet).
- 5) Eider duck shelters that are certainly not Eskimo.
- 6) Stone-work that differs from known Arctic tools of any culture, plus a soapstone bowl resembling Shetland finds but not Canadian Arctic.
- 7) Probable identification of one site in the saga of Arrow Odd.

If the Ungava finds are proven to be Norse, they would show Norse contact on the North American continent, but they are too far to the north to have anything to do with Vinland.

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23) Fil. Kand. Birgitta Linderöth Wallace, a Research Assistant of the Carnegie Museum, was with the Ingstad expedition in 1964. She is presently writing a book on alleged Norse finds in North America. These remarks are from a letter dated March 13, 1970.

24) From a letter from Mr. Thomas E. Lee dated April 1, 1970.

Other alleged Norse artifacts include the Kennsington Stone, a supposedly fourteenth century Norse rune stone found in Kennsington, Minnesota, that has been declared a hoax by linguists and historians on both sides of the Atlantic<sup>25</sup>; and a series of runestones that are not runes, but instead cryptograms that don't look like runes (and look more like cracks in the rock). Or, as Erik Wahlgren puts it<sup>26</sup>:

...the Glendale cryptologist O.G. Landsverk has come out with his 3rd nutty book, Ancient Norse Messages on American Stones, published 1969. If you follow him, you'll find that Vinland was in Oklahoma, or at least Leif or his contemporaries were. For cryptograms can't lie.

With the proviso that the Ungava finds may prove to be Norse, Birgitta Wallace's conclusion sums it up well when she says<sup>27</sup>:

"For the time being, the only undisputable Norse site in North America is the L'Anse aux Meadows excavation..."

---

25) Wahlgren, Erik, review of Theodore C. Blegen's The Kennsington Rune Stone, in Antiquity, June, 1969; and a conversation with Professor Sten Carlsson of Uppsala's Universitet, January 22, 1969.

24) From a letter dated February 16, 1970.

25) From the letter quoted previously, see note 23 above.

## D. Folklore

It is possible that the presence of the Norse in North America can be explored through the folktales of the natives, Indians and Eskimos. Work in this regard was done by Charles Leland in 1884<sup>1</sup>, and was presented to Scandinavia by Hulda Garborg in 1934<sup>2</sup>. However, because the information derived from native sources in North America seemed rather inconclusive, most works dealing with the problem of Vinland do not concern themselves with it. Nevertheless, it seems necessary to examine all sources that could provide information concerning the Vinland voyages.

Before proceeding directly to the North American material, it might be better to consider some of the folktales of the Greenland Eskimos, as the Norse were in Greenland for several hundred years, and this material might give a clue as to the nature of possible North American material. When looking for Norse influences among the Eskimos and Indians, there are two things to look for. First, direct mention in the native folktale of foreign visitors who would be the Norse, and second, elements of Norse mythology found in the native folktales.

Henry Rink<sup>3</sup> found three tales among the West Greenland Eskimos that refer to the Kavdlunait, or Norse. One of them describes the first meeting of the Kaladlit (Eskimos) and the Kavdlunait:

In former times, when the coast was less peopled than now, a boat's crew landed at Nook (Godthaab). They found no people, and traversed the fiord to Kangersunek. Halfway up to the east of Kornok, near Kangiusak, they came upon a large house; but on getting closer to it, they did not know what to make of the people, seeing that they were not Kaladlit. In this manner they had quite unexpectedly come across the first Kavdlunait settlers. These, likewise for the first time, saw the natives of the country, and treated them kindly and civilly; but the Greenlanders nevertheless feared them, and made for their boats. On getting farther up the fiord, they found many Kavdlunait stationed. However, they did not put in anywhere, but hastened away as quickly as possible. When the boat and its crew returned from their summer trip in the fiord, they told their countrymen all around of their encounter with the foreigners, and many of them now travelled up to see them. Many boats having thus reached Kangersunek, they now began to have intercourse with the Kavdlunait, seeing that they were well disposed towards them. Later on in the summer many more Kaladlit arrived, and the foreigners began to learn their language...<sup>4</sup>

The two other stories describe adventures between the two groups in Greenland, with the Norse gradually becoming more antagonistic towards the Eskimos.

- 1) Leland, Charles, "The Edda Among the Algonquin Indians", Atlantic Monthly, August, 1884, pp 222-234.
- 2) Garborg, Hulda, "Edda-minningar", Edda, Oslo, 1934, pp 444-462.
- 3) Rink, Henry, Tales and Traditions of the Eskimo, London, 1875, cited in Krough, op cit., p 127.
- 4) Ibid, p 136.

Another story of the Norse in Greenland was told to Niels Egede (1710-1782) by an Eskimo shaman. In his diary is found:

He told me that his forefathers told him that, when their forefathers came southwards from America journeying along this west coast of Greenland to settle, some of them wanted to live beside the Norwegians (Norsemen), but they forbade them to do so and only allowed them to trade with them; and they were also afraid of them as they had many kinds of "guns". But once a few families had come there and they had become a little more friendly, three small ships came sailing in from the southwest to plunder, and some of the Norwegians were killed. But after the Norwegians had mastered them, two of the ships had to sail away and the third they captured. We Greenlanders (Eskimos) had no fixed abode at that time, and became afraid and fled far inland. The next year a whole fleet arrived and fought with them, plundering and killing to obtain food. They took their cattle and goods and sailed away. The survivors put out their vessels, loaded with what was left, and sailed away south, leaving some behind. The Greenlanders promised to help them if such misfortunes should occur again.

The next year the dreaded pirates came back once again, and when we saw them we fled, taking some of the Norwegian women and children with us up the fiord, and left the others in the lurch. When we returned in the autumn hoping to find some people again, we saw to our horror that everything had been carried away, and houses and farms were burned down and destroyed so that nothing was left. At this sight we took the women and children back with us and fled far up the fiord, and we stayed there in peace and quiet for many years. We married the Norwegian women--there were only five of them with some children--and when we finally grew to be many we left there and settled up and down the country.<sup>5</sup>

This story seems to refer to attacks by English and German pirates on the Eastern Settlement during the Fifteenth Century<sup>6</sup>. The explanation of the disappearance of the Vikings settlers is sometimes sought in these lines.

The first Eskimos arrived at the Western Settlement about the beginning of the Fourteenth Century<sup>7</sup> and the Norse settlers had probably all died by the year 1500<sup>8</sup>. This means that the Norse and Eskimo lived side by side for something less than two hundred years. These stories are all that survived in the native folklore after two hundred years of contact. It should be noted that these stories are of the first type, stories about the Norse, and not of the second, or mythological, type. This is explained by the fact that by the time the Eskimos first encountered the Norse, Greenland had been Christian for about two hundred years. The old heathen legends would have been forgotten.

On the other hand, material from North America would probably be of the mythological kind. The years of the Vinland voyages were those

5) *Ibid*, pp 122-126 (123-125 are photographs, not text).

6) *Ibid*, p.122.

7) Jones, NAS, p 60.

8) Krough, *op cit.*, p 126.



in which the new faith was slowly replacing the heathen one. The old myths still lived and could be transmitted to natives that the Vikings came in contact with. The chance of stories concerning the Norse would be less than in Greenland due to the fact that the Vinland voyages were of lesser duration than the Norse occupation of Greenland, and there was less contact between Viking and native.

Among the North American Indians, there seem to be similarities between the myths of the Algonquin Indians and the Norse mythology. The Algonquin Indians consisted of forty principal tribes extending from the Micmac of New Brunswick and Nova Scotia to the Passamaquoddy and Penobscot of Maine to various other tribes in New England<sup>9</sup>. One of the most distinctive features of the Algonquin mythology is the god and hero Glooscap. The half-divine hero is also found in the myths of the Iroquois and Central Woodland tribes in the form of Hiawatha and Manabozho, but Glooscap seems distinct from these two. He has none of the trickster qualities of Manabozho, but seems more like Odin or Thor<sup>10</sup>. Glooscap seems a rather unique character among the American Indian myths, having some parallels with Manabozho<sup>11</sup> but many differences also.<sup>12</sup>

Glooscap had a twin brother, Malsum, the wolf. Before birth the two brothers conferred as to how they would be born. Glooscap preferred to be born in the usual manner, but Malsum in his wicked pride tore through his mother's armpit and killed her; and from that moment he came to represent the evil principal in the world<sup>13</sup>. In the Norse mythology a man and a woman (who could be giants as there is a later myth concerning the first man and woman) are born from the giant Ymir, whose body later is used to build the world. Concerning this birth, the Prose Edda says:

But it is said that while he (Ymir) slept he fell into a sweat; and there grew under his left arm a man and a woman...<sup>14</sup>

The Ymir myth itself is found among the Algonquin tribes<sup>15</sup>. However,

9) Leland, op cit., p 222.

10) - Ibid, p 223.

11) Thompson, Stith, Tales of the North American Indians, Cambridge, Mass., 1929, p 274, note 10.

12) Leland, op cit., p 223.

13) Ibid, p 223.

14) Sturluson, Snorri, The Prose Edda, translated by Jean I. Young, Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1966, p 34.

15) Rooth, Anna Birgitta, "Skapelsemyterna hos Nordamerikas indianer", Lokalt och Globalt, II, Lund, 1969, p 86.

this myth is also found in Siberia and through-out the Canadian Arctic, so that it seems likely that it was transmitted to the Algonquins as part of a tradition moving eastwards from Scandinavia with the tribes who became the Indians, rather than moving westwards with the Vikings<sup>16</sup>. Likewise, the story of Glooscap and Malsum seems to be part of the tradition in which two brothers confer before birth, a common American Indian story<sup>17</sup>; however, the armpit motif may be Norse.

There are other parallels between the Glooscap story and the Norse:

The tradition respecting Glooscap is that he came to this country (New England) from the east, -far across the great sea; that he was a divine being, though in the form of a man. He was not far from any of the Indians. When Glooscap went away, he went toward the west. There he is still tented; and two important personages are near him, who are called Kuhkw and Coolpujot, -of whom more anon.

Glooscap was the friend and teacher of the Indians; all they knew of the arts he taught them. He taught them the names of the constellations and stars; he taught them how to hunt and fish, and cure what they took; how to cultivate the ground, as far as they were trained in husbandry. When he first came, he brought a woman with him, whom he ever addressed as Grandmother - a very general epithet for an old woman. She was not his wife, nor did he ever have a wife. He was always sober, grave, and good; all that the Indians knew of what was wise and good he taught them.<sup>18</sup>

Glooscap is alive. He lives in an immense lodge. He is making arrows. One side of the lodge is now piled full of them. They are as close together as that (here she put her fingers closely together). When the lodge shall be full, then he will come out and make war and all will be killed. Then he will come in his canoe; then he will meet the great wolf, and all the stone and ice and other giants, the sorcerers, the goblins and elves, and all will be burned up; the water will boil away from the fire.<sup>19</sup>

Glooscap's arrival from the east could refer to the arrival of Vikings from the east who taught the Indians various things. However, the motif of a divinity teaching the Indians arts and crafts is a common one found among the culture heroes in all the North American mythologies<sup>20</sup>. The departure of the divinity to the west is not widespread among the Indians and is found only among the North Pacific and California Indians in the west, and among the Woodland Central and Woodland New England (the Algonquin) tribes.

16) Ibid, p 86. Also a conversation with Docent Anna Birgitta Rooth of den Folklivsforskning Institutionen of Lunds Universitet, April 13, 1970.

17) The conversation with Docent Rooth, see note 16, above.

18) Thompson, op cit., p 5, citing Silas Rand's Legends of the Micmacs, New York, 1894, p 232.

19) Leland, op cit., p 227, citing a tale taken down by Mrs. W. Wallace Brown from an Indian squaw near Calais.

20) Thompson, op cit., p 274, note 12. Motif number A 540.

This last story seems almost identical with the Norse Ragnarök, the end of the world. This is described in Voluspa and is paraphrased into prose in the Prose Edda. The end is foreshadowed by a terrible winter, which will last three years on end. There will be suffering, wickedness, and warfare among men. There will be earthquakes, the darkening of the sun, and the breaking loose of monsters from their bonds. The serpent will leave the sea, and cause the waters to flood the earth. The armies of the giants and gods will meet on a great plain for the last battle<sup>21</sup>.

Odin will ride first in a helmet of gold and a beautiful coat of mail and with his spear Gungnir, and he will make for the wolf Fenrir. Thor will advance at his side but he will be unable to help him, because he will have his hands full fighting the Midgards Serpent. Frey will fight against Surt and it will be a hard conflict before Frey falls; the loss of the good sword Skirnir will bring about his death. The hound Garm, which was bound in front of Gniphellir, will also get free, and he is the worst sort of monster. He will battle with Tyr, and each will kill the other. Thor will slay the Midgard Serpent but stagger back only nine paces before he falls down dead, on account of the poison blown on him by the serpent. The wolf will swallow Odin and that will be his death...Loki will battle with Heimdale and each will kill the other. Thereupon Surt will fling fire over the earth and burn up the whole world.<sup>22</sup>

Nowhere else in American Indian mythology is there an account of a last battle, other than the Glooscap story<sup>23</sup>. Further, the Indian woman who told the story drew a sharp distinction between the last battle of Glooscap and the Christian Day of Judgement, which is also known among her people; to her they were different traditions<sup>24</sup>.

Other interesting similarities can be found. Glooscap is supposed to have created man from an ash tree, just as in Voluspa Odin, Hörmir, and Lodur created man and woman from the ash and the elm<sup>25</sup>. Also, Glooscap has a canoe which can expand to hold the largest army, and can contract to the smallest size.<sup>26</sup> Likewise, Frey has a ship called Skíðbladnir which is so big that all the Æsir can fit in it, and yet can be folded up and kept in a pouch when it is not needed<sup>27</sup>. However, magic canoes are common to American Indian myths, with the one motif of a self-propelled boat (D 1122.2) being found among the Eskimos, Plateau, North Pacific, and other tribes. The motif of a compressible canoe (D1122), however, is only listed as among the Seneca Indians<sup>28</sup>.

21) Paraphrased from H.R. Davidson, Gods and Myths of Northern Europe, Baltimore, 1964, p 202.

22) Sturluson, The Prose Edda, pp 86-88.

23) Conversation with Docent Rooth, see note 16 above.

24) Leland, op cit., p 227.

25) Ibid, p 224.

26) Ibid, p 224.

27) Sturluson, The Prose Edda, pp 67-68.

28) Thompson, op cit., p 275, note 14.

One more similarity between the Algonquin and Norse myths is a story in which Glooscap and his host Kitpooseagunow, a mighty giant, go fishing for whales. Glooscap carries the canoe to the water and asks, "Who shall sit in the stern and paddle, and who shall take the spear?" Kitpooseagunow replies, "That will I". So Glooscap paddles. His host soon catches a mighty whale<sup>29</sup>. In the Prose Edda Thor and a giant named Hymir go fishing, and Thor rows,<sup>30</sup> and eventually catches the Midgard Serpent. In Voluspa, before Thor catches the serpent, Hymir catches two whales himself<sup>31</sup>.

All these parallels are interesting, but nothing can be proved just from them. It is possible to explain them all as traditions from other North American Indian tribes<sup>32</sup>. There is a great temptation to conclude from these parallels that Vikings came among the Algonquins, and that the Algonquins, under this influence, created a hero figure who, coming from the east as the Vikings did, and teaching the Indians, as the Vikings may have, combined many of the characteristics of Odin, Thor, and Frey, the three most worshipped of the Norse gods. The coincidence of all these similarities, especially the Glooscap story of the last battle, and the fishing story, indicate that there might have been Norse influence among the Algonquin Indians, but nothing can be proved with the present evidence. What is interesting to note is that these similarities exist between the Norse and the Algonquin Indians of New England, and not with any other Indian or Eskimo groups.

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29) Leland, op cit., p 225.

30) Sturluson, The Prose Edda, p 79.

31) Voluspa 21, in Leland, op cit., p 225.

32) Conversation with Docent Rooth, see note 16 above.

## III.

## THEORIES ADVANCED

Theories concerning the location of Vinland are numerous. Through 1909 there were over 500 books published dealing with this problem<sup>1</sup>, and many books have been published since. Vinland has been placed in Newfoundland<sup>2</sup>, Massachusetts<sup>3</sup>, Chesapeake Bay<sup>4</sup>, and Florida<sup>5</sup>, to give a representative sample. The many theories can be roughly divided into two schools, the Northern School and the Southern School.

Those of the Southern School, who place Vinland south of the Gulf of the St. Lawrence, generally use a solar observation in the GS to determine Vinland's location. In the GS, Leif and his men discover:

Day and night were of a more equal length there than in Greenland. The sun had there eyktarstadr and damalastadr on the shortest day (of winter).<sup>6</sup>

Calculations of the latitude of this observation have varied. R.L. Pythien of the U.S. Naval Observatory in Washington derived a latitude of 49° 55' north<sup>7</sup>. Arbman states that it indicates a latitude of 37° north, but that an error of fourteen minutes (easily possible as the Vikings had no clocks) would alter the latitude 4°.<sup>8</sup> Magnusson and Pálsson merely conclude that the measurement must have been made between 40° and 50° north latitude<sup>9</sup>. Thus, this observation can only be used as an approximation, indicating that Vinland lay to the south of Greenland, and not much more.

In addition, many of the theorists of the Southern School, while using this solar observation, have ignored another observation made by Leif in the GS, that there were salmon in Vinland. As salmon are not found south of the Hudson River<sup>10</sup> Vinland could not be south of there.

- 1) Hermannsson, Halldór, "The Northmen in America", Islandica, Vol. 2, Ithaca, N.Y., 1909, is a bibliography of works about Vinland.
- 2) Jones, NAS; Ingstad VV and NG; Mowat, op cit..
- 3) Arbman, op cit.; Magnusson; Boland, op cit.
- 4) Mjelds, M.M., "Eyktarstad-problemet og Vinlands reiserne", (Norsk) Historisk Tidsskrift, 5 R VI, 1925, cited in Hermannsson, "The Problem of Wineland", p 53.
- 5) Reuter, Otto S., Germanische Himmelskunde, München, 1934, cited in Hermannsson, "The Problem of Wineland" p 53.
- 6) Jones, NAS, pp 149-150. From Gordon, op cit., p 46: "Meira var þar jafndægri en á Grænlandi eðr Íslandi. Sól hafði þar eyktarstad ok dagnalastad um skamndegi." These two times are about 9:00 AM and 3:00 PM, according to Magnusson, p 56.
- 7) Jones, NAS, p 87.
- 8) Arbman, op cit., p 114.
- 9) Magnusson, p 56, note 3.
- 10) Ibid, p 56, note 2.

The Northern School is a more recent development. It came into being to explain Ingstad's Newfoundland finds. The major problem of the Northern School is that of the grapes. Adam of Bremen, in the first description of Vínland, mentioned it was named because of its grapes. In the CS:

One evening news came that someone was missing; it was Tyrkir the Southerner. Leif was very displeased at this, for Tyrkir had been with the family for a long time, and when Leif was a child had been much devoted to him. Leif rebuked his men severely, and got ready to make a search with twelve men.

They had only gone a short distance from the houses when Tyrkir came walking towards them, and they gave him a warm welcome. Leif quickly realized that Tyrkir was in excellent humor...

...At first Tyrkir spoke for a long time in German, rolling his eyes in all directions and pulling faces, and no one could understand what he was saying. After awhile he spoke in Icelandic.

"I did not go much farther than you," he said. "I have some news. I found vines and grapes."

"Is that true foster-father?" asked Leif.

"Of course it is true," he replied. "Where I was born there were plenty of vines and grapes."...

...in the spring they made ready to leave and sailed away. Leif named the country after its natural qualities and called it Vínland.<sup>11</sup>

Thus, Vínland was named after its grapes and vines. As Newfoundland has no grapes today, those of the Northern School have three arguments to establish their claim. Either 1) there were grapes in Newfoundland one thousand years ago, 2) the Vikings mistook currants or other native berries for grapes, or 3) it's all a mistake, there were never grapes in Vínland.

Those arguing point number one usually point out that the temperature was quite a bit warmer one thousand years ago, warm enough, they say, for grapes to grow in Newfoundland. However, they overlook one point. Sauer<sup>12</sup> points out that grape vines are climbing vines, and need supporting trees. To climb the trees they need sunlight, which they lack in a coniferous forest by find in a deciduous forest. Thus, grapes can grow inland as far north as the St. Lawrence Valley, but cannot grow north of New Brunswick on the Atlantic coast. Ingstad himself describes Newfoundland's forests of pine and fir<sup>13</sup>.

Concerning point number two, W.H. Babcock<sup>14</sup> has shown that the vines in the saga must have been grapes, and not other kinds of berries, which grow even today in Greenland. Babcock concludes, "It is not at all believable that men should sail out of one profusion of small fruit into another, like in kind, but inferior and despised at home, and trumpet their experience as something wonderful."

11) Magnusson, pp 57-58.

12) Sauer, reviewed by Wahlgren, op cit., p 334.

13) Ingstad, VV, p 99.

14) Babcock, Willaim H., Early Norse Visits to North America, Washington, 1913, p 91, cited in Wahlgren, Fact and Fancy in the Vinland Sagas, p 33.

The third point is that advanced by Ingstad and others. They declare that the name of the country was "Vinland", or "Grassland", as opposed to "Vínland", or "Wineland". This theory is untenable on several accounts. First, all references to Vínland; Adam of Bremen, the GS, the skaldic poem of the ES, etc., say that there are grapes in Vínland. The name is always spelled "Vínland" in the sagas, never "Vinland". The entire tradition of Vínland is as a land of wild grapes.

Secondly, the stem "vin", meadow, was archaic at the time of the Vínland voyages. It was occasionally used in place names in Norway and Sweden, never in the Faroes, Iceland, or Greenland<sup>15</sup>. Also, though Leif praises Vínland's grass, the word used is always "gros" or "engi" ("grass" and "meadow"). It would make far more sense for Leif to have used "Grasland", if he was so thrilled by the great expanses of grass in the new land<sup>16</sup>.

Finally, Ingstad seems sure that the Vikings would have been thrilled by the grassy pastures of L'Anse aux Meadows, after the wastes of Greenland. This is without foundation, as the only grass at L'Anse aux Meadows is a meager coastal strip<sup>17</sup>. After the pastures of Greenland, which even today, in a colder climate, are extensive, there is nothing spectacular about the pastures of L'Anse aux Meadows.

Thus, both schools seem based on untenable premises. The problem being that there is evidence of Norse in New England and in Newfoundland, but the theorists seem determined to prove that Vínland was just Massachusetts, or just Newfoundland. Conflicting evidence is ignored or discredited. One problem confusing earlier writers was the fact that ES was considered superior to GS. Also, the last few years have seen the discovery of the Vínland Map and the Norse settlement at L'Anse aux Meadows. In the light of these new discoveries, and the other sources, critically examined, the discussion now moves to the identification of the places found by Bjarni, Leif, and Karlsefni.

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15) Wahlgren, Fact and Fancy in the Vinland Sagas, p 50.

16) Ibid, p 52.

17) From Rolf Petré, see page 29, note 1, and page 32, above.

## IV.

## THE VINLAND VOYAGES

The GS lists six voyages, those of: Bjarni Herjólfsson, Leif Eiríksson, Thorvald Eiríksson, Thorstein Eiríksson, Thorfinn Karlsefni, and Freydis Eiríksdóttir. Thorstein Eiríksson never found a landfall in the west. Erik Wahlgren<sup>1</sup> has given reasons to consider Freydis' journey to be fictional, one reason being the entire lack of motivation for the entire episode; and Halldór Hermannsson<sup>2</sup> has shown that the Freydis story is for the most part adapted from the story of Snælbjörn Galti's voyage to the east coast of Greenland, as related in the Landnámabók.

Doubt is cast too on the voyage of Thorvald Eiríksson. In the ES he is a part of the Karlsefni expedition. As Mowat<sup>3</sup> points out, Thorvald is the first Norseman to encounter the Skraelings, in the GS. He kills them on the spot, unlikely for a Viking first coming into contact with the natives of a new land (see the account of the first meeting between Eskimo and Norse on page 35, above). Later Karlsefni conducts peaceful trading with the natives, after which hostilities break out. It would make far more sense for Thorvald's encounter to follow Karlsefni's meeting with the Skraelings. It is possible Thorvald was with Karlsefni, as in ES.

Problems in accepting this view are that it would seem more common for oral tradition to combine various expeditions rather than split them up, and that the ES story of the naming of Keelnes seems to derive from the GS version, rather than visa-versa<sup>4</sup>. However, it is possible that in the original oral tradition Thorvald was with Karlsefni, but that among the Greenlanders the Thorvald stories were retold more often, describing just his role in the expedition. After awhile the story of what Thorvald did was given its own beginning. The beginning of the Thorvald voyage is unusual in that the saga writer himself points out that no episodes are known of his voyage to Vínland.

Alternately, the tradition reflected in the ES was handed down in Karlsefni's family, and perhaps reflects the circumstances of the Karlsefni voyage, with Thorvald as a member, better. The Keelnes episode merely confirms that the author of ES based his story on GS. The cape was probably named so because it looked like a keel, not because anyone left or found a keel there. There are three other Keelneses in Iceland and Norway, and all three are believed to have received their name because they look like a keel<sup>5</sup>. It was probably the same in this case.

1) Wahlgren, Fact and Fancy in the Vinland Sagas, pp 58-61.

2) Hermannsson, "The Vinland Voyages", p xi.

3) Mowat, op cit., p 441.

4) Wahlgren, Erik, "Some Further Remarks on Vínland", Scandinavian Studies, February, 1968, p 33.

5) Mowat, op cit., p 203.



There are then the three voyages: Bjarni's, Leif's, and Karlsefni's, corresponding to the pattern of accidental discovery, exploration, and colonization discussed on page 2 and Table I, above.

#### A. Bjarni Herjolfsson

It is hard to locate exactly the three lands Bjarni saw, as described in the GS, as he never landed. The lands are described as:

LAND 1...not mountainous, well-wooded, low hills.

2 days sail

LAND 2...flat, wooded.

3 days sail

LAND 3...high, mountainous, topped by a glacier, an island.

4 days sail

Herjolfness, in Greenland.

TABLE III<sup>6</sup>

The first problem to consider is the meaning of a day's sailing. It has been disputed that this could mean either twelve or twenty-four hours sailing, but most are inclined to agree with Arbman<sup>7</sup> that it represents twenty-four hours sailing, and a distance of about one hundred sea miles. The fact that this was measured from the time one lost sight of land until the time one caught sight again, and that the incidence of mirages in the northern latitudes makes it possible to see land from a farther distance than usual adds to this<sup>8</sup>, perhaps fifty miles at each end.

The last land sighted by Bjarni would have to be the coast of Baffin Island or northern Labrador. Nowhere else on the Atlantic coast of North America are there glaciers. As Bjarni's third land is described as an island, perhaps it can be identified with Resolution Island, between Baffin Island and Labrador.

Bjarni's second land would have to be south of the mediéval tree line, about present Gay Main<sup>9</sup>. From the second to the third land is three days sail, perhaps three hundred to four hundred miles. Newfoundland is over five hundred miles by sea south of Main, the southern possible limit of Bjarni's third land, so that Bjarni's second landing would have to be north of Newfoundland, somewhere in southern Labrador.

6) Taken from GS, Chapter 2, in Magnusson, pp 53-54.

7) Arbman, op cit., p 16.

8) Hovgaard, William, The Voyages of the Norsemen to America, N.Y., 1914, p 193, cited in Wahlgren, Fact and Fancy in the Vinland Sagas, p 71.

9) Jones, NAS, p 82.

Bjarni's first land, wooded, with low hills, and perhaps three to four hundred miles south of his second landfall in Labrador, would probably be the southeast coast of Newfoundland, possibly the Avalon Peninsula.

This is about as precise as one can get concerning Bjarni's voyage. Any more exact locating would be mere guesswork. To summarize: Bjarni would have first seen land off the south coast of Newfoundland. Sailing northward for two days would carry him to the coast of Labrador below Nain. Another three days sail would carry him to either the northern coast of Labrador or the southern coast of Baffin Island, or more likely, Resolution Island, between them. Four days sail to the east would take him directly to Herjolfsness, his Greenland landfall.

#### B. Leif Eiríksson

Leif's voyage provides one with many more geographical factors than Bjarni's, so perhaps his landfalls can be found with greater precision. It would perhaps be better to start with the description of Vinland, as it gives many factors which can be used to ascertain its location. These factors include the salmon, solar observation, grapes, and topography.

The first three factors have already been considered. The GS relates that there were salmon in Vinland. This means that Leif's landfall was not south of the Hudson River. The solar observation can only give a very vague northern limit to Leif's land, perhaps 50° north, perhaps a little farther north. The grapes establish a much more defined northern limit. Grapes do not grow north of New Brunswick, hence Vinland lay somewhere between New Brunswick and the Hudson River.

The remaining factor, topography, must be used to find a more precise location. The GS describes the trip to Vinland from Markland as:

They hurried back to their ship as quickly as possible and sailed away to sea in a north-east wind for two days until they sighted land again. They sailed towards it and came to an island which lay to the north of it. They went ashore and looked about them. ...Then they went back to their ship and sailed into the sound that lay between the island and the headland jutting out to the north. They steered a westerly course round the headland. There were extensive shallows there and at low tide their ship was left high and dry, with the sea almost out of sight...They ran ashore to a place where a river flowed out of a lake.<sup>10</sup>

The reference to the northeast wind could confirm Vinland as being south of New Brunswick, if it implies that they sailed to the southwest, which would only be possible south of Newfoundland where the eastern coast of North America changes from a southeasterly direction to southwesterly.

10) From GS chapter 2, Magnusson, pp 55-56.

At any rate, Leif and his men sighted a headland jutting out to the north, with an island to the north of the headland, which would be a ness or cape. A look at any map of the eastern coast of North America south of New Brunswick shows there is only one place in which a cape stretches to the north, this being Cape Cod. And it is possible that the tip of Cape Cod was an island one thousand years ago<sup>11</sup>. According to C. Wroe Wolfe<sup>12</sup>:

The northern tip of Cape Cod, however, has changed greatly in the past thousand years...I am quite sure that explorers of earlier time would have plotted a somewhat different type of configuration that (sic) exists now.

Leif and his men could have sailed through a now non-existent channel between Cape Cod and this island, to the Massachusetts shore on the opposite side. This would be the Vinland of Leif Eiríksson.

Leif's Markland lay two days sail to the northwest. The acceptability of two days sail is questionable. It seems to come from Bjarni's directions, of two, three, and four days sailing, and was carried over into Leif's voyage by folktale-tellers who considered Leif's Vinland and Bjarni's first land to coincide. The problem arises from the fact that four + three + two days sailing south of Greenland could not have brought Leif to the grape region.

However, if Leif did sail to the southwest to reach Vinland from Markland, this would probably indicate that Markland was the southernmost tip of Newfoundland, around the Avalon Peninsula. This area matches the description of Markland. The saga states that Helluland is the same place as Bjarni's third land, already identified as Resolution Island, northern Labrador, or Baffin Island.

Leif's voyage would then have been from Greenland to northern Labrador, Resolution Island, or Baffin Island, Bjarni's third land; then south to southern Newfoundland; and finally southwest to Cape Cod.

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11) Boland, op.cit, pp 205-206.

12) From a letter from C. Wroe Wolfe, Professor of Geology at Boston University, dated April 16, 1970.

### C. Thorfinn Karlsefni

It is much harder to reconstruct Karlsefni's voyage than Leif's. For Leif, the GS story can be used, and the ES story of Leif has been discredited as merely a way to adopt Gunnlaug Leifsson's story of the conversion of Greenland to the discovery of Vinland. In the case of the Karlsefni voyage there are reasons to doubt the GS, and reasons why the ES might reflect facts lost by the GS.

One such fact is whether Karlsefni did land at Leif's Vinland. The GS has Karlsefni easily find the place, while the ES has him first find a northerly location without grapes, called Straumfjord, and then later find a place to the south that seems to correspond to Leif's Vinland. The skaldic poem of ES indicates that the Karlsefni expedition is near a place called Furdustrands ("Marvel Strands") and having trouble finding the land of grapes. Further, Karlsefni's first encounter with the Skrælings in GS seems to indicate a previous encounter with them. (Or why else would they be so prepared to trade goods?) The ES version of the episode takes this into account.

There would then be reason to follow the ES account of the Karlsefni voyage, being careful to ignore the folklore motifs, such as the Gaelic couple Haki and Hekja. The basic structure of the ES is, of course, a modification of the GS. Leif Eiríksson replaces Bjarni Herjólfsson as the discoverer of the new land. Because Leif was accidentally blown there, and finds no other lands, Thorfinn Karlsefni is given the honor of finding, and naming, the new lands. The lands named by Karlsefni in ES include Helluland, Markland, Keelnes, Furdustrands, Straumey, Straumfjord, and Hóp.

All of these names except for Helluland and Markland are new to the saga, so it would seem that these are new places discovered by Karlsefni, the names of which were handed down in his family, and used in the ES. It would then seem that Karlsefni landed first in Helluland, actually named by Leif, and probably still northern Labrador or southern Baffin Island. His next landing was in Markland, which could have been anywhere south of Nain, and north of the southern tip of Newfoundland. Immediately south of Markland are Keelnes and Furdustrands, the latter name being one part of the saga confirmed by skaldic poetry. Furdustrands would be an extensive stretch of beach, and Keelnes a headland that looked like a keel. Between Nain and southern Newfoundland there is one place that fits the saga description of Furdustrands better than any other place,

Porcupine Strands. Mowat<sup>13</sup> describes them as:

...the forty-five mile stretch of almost perfectly straight coast, unbroken by the smallest cove or indentation and composed for the most part of a fifty yard wide strip of dark yellow sand backed by rippling dunes, which is now called Porcupine Strands.

The only break in this mighty beachline is a most peculiar spoon-shaped headland thrusting out from the sand beach at a point about two thirds of the way along the strands. This headland has a long smooth spine rising from the ground level near the beach, extending seaward for three miles and then falling off to sea level at the eastern extremity of the cape. Seen from some distance away it resembles nothing so much as the hull of an upturned ship lying with her keel against the sky. This headland is now called Cape Porcupine and it is a famous landmark on that coast.

...The strands have, in fact, no rivals on the Atlantic seaboard of North America north of the New England states, and even there they are not overmatched.

As it is the only stretch of coast fitting the saga description lying between Nain and Newfoundland, Cape Porcupine and Porcupine Strands can be identified with the Keelnes and Furdustrands of the ES. South of this place Karlsefni enters a fjord which he calls Straumfjord ("Stream" or "Current" Fjord) and lands on an island in the fjord he calls Straumey, ("Stream Island"). Concerning this, Mowat remarks<sup>14</sup>:

There are numerous applications of the word "straum" to islands, fjords, headlands, and even coasts in Norway, Iceland, and Greenland; and in every case the word is used to distinguish a place where the currents are particularly noteworthy.

Going south from Porcupine Strands, one would come to the Strait of Belle Isle. While it is a strait and not a fjord, it is easy to mistake the Strait of Belle Isle for a fjord; Cartier did just that on his voyage of discovery in the sixteenth century<sup>15</sup>. In the middle of the strait is Belle Isle, situated to take the full force of the currents entering the Strait of Belle Isle. Of these, Mowat says<sup>16</sup>:

Belle Isle stands in such a position that it receives the full force of the inshore branch of the southbound Labrador Current. It also lies full in the path of the extraordinarily powerful tidal currents flowing in and out of the Strait of Belle Isle...There is no other place on the Atlantic seaboard between Cape Chidley and the Bay of Fundy where there are such strong currents covering such a broad sweep of water.

It would then seem that the Strait of Belle Isle is Straumfjord, and that Belle Isle is Straumey. This is confirmed by the fact that on the shores of the Strait of Belle Isle, a few miles to the south of Belle Isle, is the site at L'Anse aux Meadows, corresponding very well to the saga account of the Straumfjord camp.

13) Mowat, op cit., p 202.

14) Ibid, p 210.

15) Jones, NAS, p 90.

16) Mowat, op cit., p 210.

All the evidence seems to fit this spot. The booths erected at L'Anse aux Meadows were only in use a short time, and the ES states that the Karlsefni expedition only occupied Straumfjord for two years. The maps which indicated that Vinland was the northern peninsula of Newfoundland represent the tradition of later years. At first Vinland referred only to Leif's Wineland. Later it came to mean the coast south of Markland (which was the southern coast of Labrador). This is the Vinland of the SM and the RM. Finally, Vinland came to represent the entire land mass, Helluland, Markland, and Wineland, as shown on the VM.

Later Karlsefni sailed to the south to a region called Hóp that seems similar to Leif's Vinland. Because of borrowing from the Vinland ... of the GS, it is impossible to derive details from this journey south, if it did indeed take place. They would have reached an area of grapes. This would then be somewhere south of New Brunswick.

One event at Hóp that seems to have lost some of its detail in the GS is the account of the battle between Karlsefni and Skraelings, at Hóp. In the GS the Skraelings merely come, attack, withdraw. In the ES there is mention of the natives' skin boats and their use of a catapult-like weapon. The natives are described as being small of stature.

First, these natives cannot have been Beothuk Indians, who lived on Newfoundland, or Dorset Eskimos, who lived on Newfoundland also. The Beothuk Indians are described as being very tall<sup>17</sup>, and the folklore of the later Thule Eskimos ascribes to the Dorsets a giant size;<sup>18</sup> what archaeological evidence there is confirming that both groups were very tall. Further, the Dorsets had no boats<sup>19</sup>. The catapult weapon has been identified with the ballista of the Algonquin Indians<sup>20</sup>. There was a Dorset weapon like this, a harpoon with a blown up bladder attached<sup>21</sup>, but as the Dorsets had no boats, and were not small of stature, it is unlikely it was the Dorsets who were described in the saga.

After returning to Straumfjord Karlsefni goes north beyond Furdustrands, and then to the west. The only inlet to the west north of Porcupine Strands is the entrance to Lake Melville. It was in this place that Thorvald Eiríksson was killed by an arrow. And an arrow identical to that found at the Sandnes cemetery was found near Lake Melville in 1956<sup>22</sup>.

17) Ibid, p 460.

18) Ibid, pp 375-376.

19) Jones, NAS, p 93.

20) Magnusson, p 99.

21) Jones, NAS, p 94.

22) Ibid, p 92.

The voyage of the Karlsefni expedition can then be summed up as follows. First, sailing to Helluland (southern Baffin Island or northern Labrador), then to Markland (somewhere on the coast of Labrador south of Nain and north of Porcupine Strands). Then to Furdustrands (Porcupine Strands) and Keelnes (Cape Porcupine). Next, south into Straumfjörð (the Strait of Belle Isle), landing on Straumey (Belle Isle). An encampment at Straumfjörð (at L'Anse aux Meadows) would be followed by various expeditions; south to Hóp (New England south of New Brunswick), and north and west to the lake where Thorvald Eiríksson was killed (Lake Melville). Sometime before these expeditions, and after the appearance of a whale (and until recently the Strait of Belle Isle was one of the best whaling grounds in the North Atlantic<sup>23</sup>) the skaldic poet and others tried to return to Greenland, disappointed at the lack of grapes at Straumfjörð. Finally, after encounters with hostile natives, the colonists return to Greenland.

#### V. CONCLUSION

In this paper it was attempted to discover the location of the Vínland of the Norse sagas by analysing all the sources which concerned this place. An examination of Adam of Bremen, Íslendingabók, and Landnámabók resulted in the conclusion that Vínland was a land of grapes to the west of Greenland inhabited by natives known as Skrælings; and that this land may have been visited by Thorfinn Karlsefni.

Next, the two sagas describing the voyages to Vínland, GS and ES were examined. It was concluded that the SB recension of ES was closer to the original than the HB version, and that the GS version represented an oral tradition much closer to the true events than the ES version. The GS version described three primary voyages; one of accidental discovery by Bjarni Herjólfsson, one of planned exploration by Leif Eiríksson, and one of attempted colonization by Thorfinn Karlsefni. These three voyages fit the pattern found in the first voyages to Iceland and Greenland. Other voyages described in the GS were discarded, Thorstein's because it never reached Vínland, that of Freydis' for the reason of its fantastic character and derivation from another saga story; and Thorvald's because of its conflicts with the ES, which in this case seems to be closer to the true happenings. Thorvald's voyage, because of the awkwardness in which the first encounter with the Skrælings is presented, was considered to be part of the Karlsefni voyage.

23) Mowat, op cit., p 455.

The next evidence examined was that of maps. The VM, in spite of its greater age, was shown to derive from a tradition in which the SM and the RM were earlier examples. This tradition, because of similarities between the SM and the coast of Labrador, seemed to have been based on sources other than merely the GS and ES. The SM seemed to identify Vinland with Cape Bauld on the northern tip of Newfoundland. Another important source was the content of the two inscriptions on the VM, which confirmed the voyages of Bjarni and Leif, and helped to clear up the mystery surrounding the later voyage of Bishop Eirík.

Archaeological evidence was examined next. An arrowhead found in Greenland proved identical to those found in Labrador, and a lump of coal found in the same place in Greenland could have originated in Rhode Island. Chests found at Herjolfsness were made of wood that could have come from Markland, Labrador, as the 1347 entry in the Icelandic annals describes an unsuccessful attempt by Greenlanders to obtain timber from Markland. Lastly, the existence of Thjodhild's chapel confirmed one part of the ES story.

In North America, the only undisputed Norse site is that at L'Anse aux Meadows, which so far has not produced a published report on the finds from its leader, Helge Ingstad. Ingstad's popular articles ignore many of the uncertain and unfavorable finds made by the expedition, the thin turf walls and lack of postholes, for example. While Ingstad maintains, without proof, that the site was occupied for a long time by the Norse, the evidence shows that it was instead occupied only one or two years, with the dwellings being typical thing booths as found in Iceland and Greenland (one possible reason the results have not been published--exposure of the site for what it is, rather than what Ingstad would have it in his popular articles).

Other archaeological evidence is scanty, the Ungava finds being quite promising, but too far north to be part of the Vinland question. Other finds are either questionable or pure fabrication.

The folklore of the North American Indians was examined, to see if there was any indication of Norse influence. First, Eskimo tales from Greenland were examined, to provide an indication of the form that American tales might have. The Greenland material was scanty, and was in the form of stories about contact with the Norse, no mythological elements being present as the contact between Eskimo and Norse was after the end of the heathen period.

In North America, similarities were found between the Norse mythology and the Glooscap cycle among the Algonquin Indians. While most



parallels could also be attributed to other sources, the account of the last battle and of Thor's (Glooscap's) fishing expedition showed interesting similarities. Nothing could be derived from the folklore, but it showed the possibility of contact, and was found in the vicinity of New England rather than Newfoundland or Labrador.

The various theories concerning Vinland were then discussed. The theories fell into two main groups, those placing Vinland south of the St. Lawrence, and those placing it on Newfoundland. The questionable accuracy of the solar observation, used to find the southern location, made those theories using it untenable, and the lack of salmon south of the Hudson River invalidated those theories placing Vinland south of there.

The northern theories, created to explain Ingstad's finds, were shown to ignore the necessary existence of grapes in Vinland, and they were thus invalidated. Both groups had only considered their own site as the true location of the Vinland of all the sagas, to the complete exclusion of other sites for any of the voyages. It seemed likely that, because certain evidence confirmed the northern location, and other evidence the southern location, that both must be considered in the determination of Vinland.

This was considered as the location of the places described in the voyages of Bjarni, Leif, and Karlsefni were described. Bjarni's three lands were too vague to determine precise locations, but it seemed likely that these three lands were the south coast of Newfoundland, Labrador south of Nain, and Resolution Island between northern Labrador and southern Baffin Island.

Using the descriptions of the GS, Leif's Vinland was determined to be in New England, possibly west of Cape Cod. His Markland seemed to be Newfoundland, and Helluland seemed to be northern Labrador or southern Baffin Island. The VM inscriptions confirmed the Bjarni and Leif voyages.

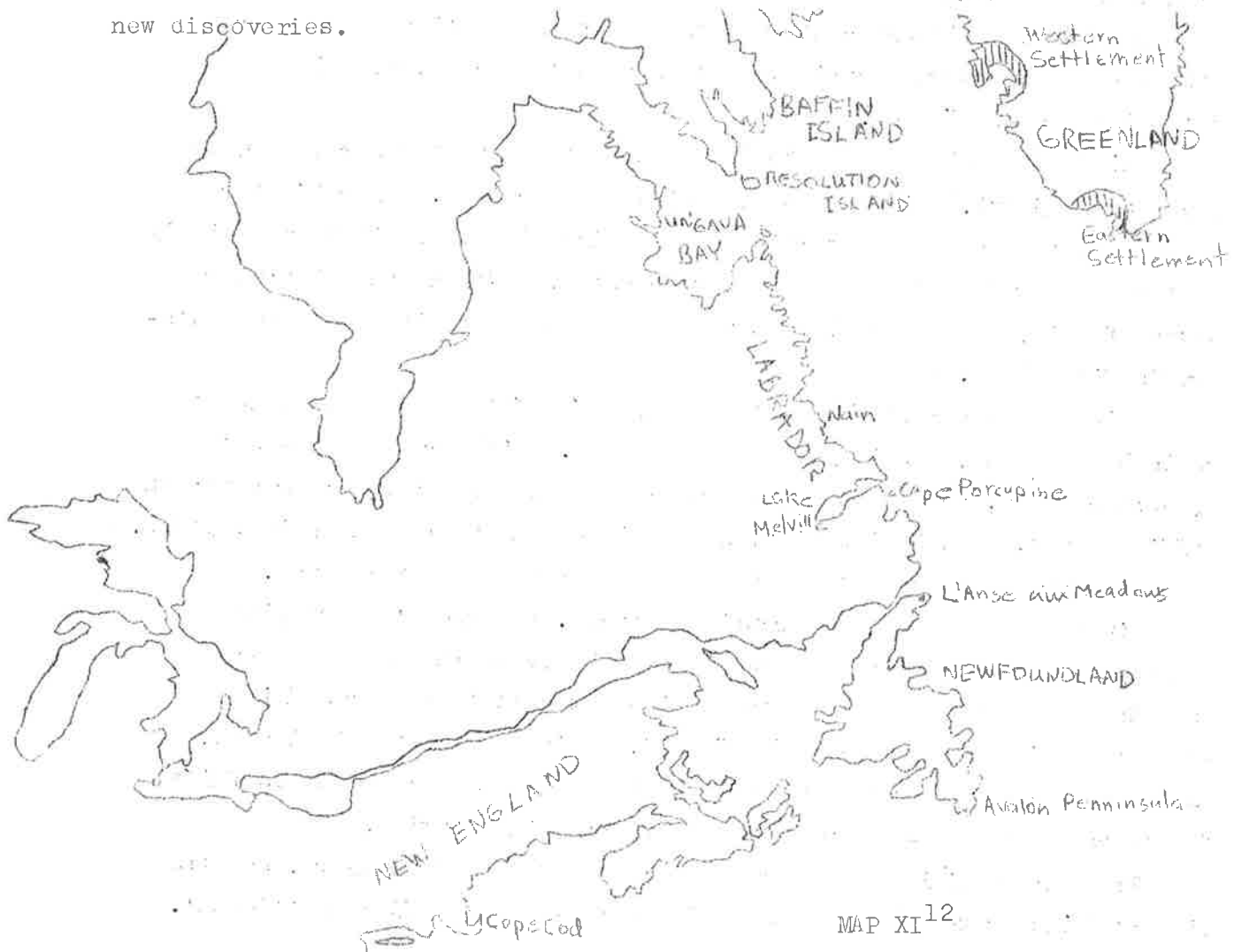
The Karlsefni expedition was followed from Leif's Helluland, to a landing between Nain and Porcupine Strands, and then to Porcupine Strands. The ES version was used in preference to the GS due to the fact that the skaldic poem in the ES indicated that the Karlsefni expedition did not reach Leif's Vinland, as the GS account indicated, and because the ES account seemed to have come down through Karlsefni's family and would thus be closer to first hand information.

The Strait of Belle Isle was determined to be Straumfjord, and the site at L'Anse aux Meadows fitted nicely as the Straumfjord settlement.

The SM confirmed the Newfoundland location. The map tradition seemed to indicate that Vínland, first identified with Leif's land of grapes, came to be identified with everything south of Markland, as on the SM, and finally all of the western lands came to be called Vínland, as on the VM.

The lake where Thorvald Eiríksson was killed was identified with Lake Melville, with the arrowhead found at Thorfinn Karlsefni's farm at Sandnes pointing to a confirmation of this. The lump of coal found at the same location might indicate that Karlsefni's Hóp was near Rhode Island, but the evidence is scanty, and Hóp was too confused with Leif's Vínland to locate it more precisely than south of the St. Lawrence in the grape country.

This paper has tried to locate the Vínland of the sagas. Previous work on this subject, extensive as it was, seemed too dogmatic in the insistence on one location for each story's Vínland. Further, the past few years have shown the superiority of the GS, the unearthing of the VM, and the discovery of the Norse site on Newfoundland. This paper was written as a means of finding Vínland in the light of these new discoveries.



## VI.

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