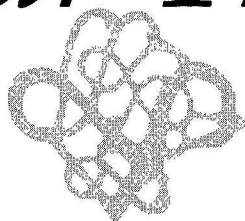


NANCY MARIE BROWN

*The
Far Traveler*



Voyages of a
Viking Woman

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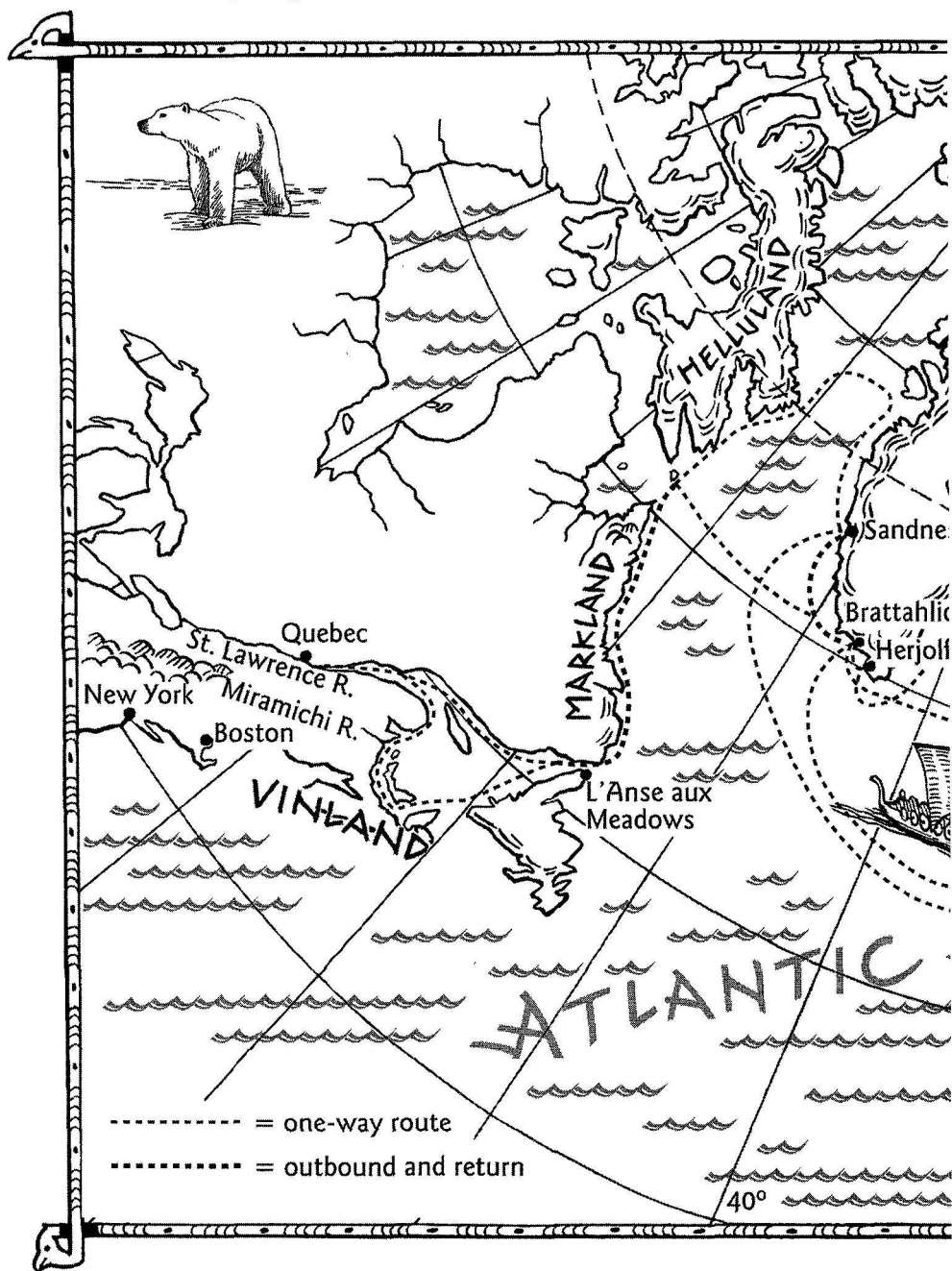
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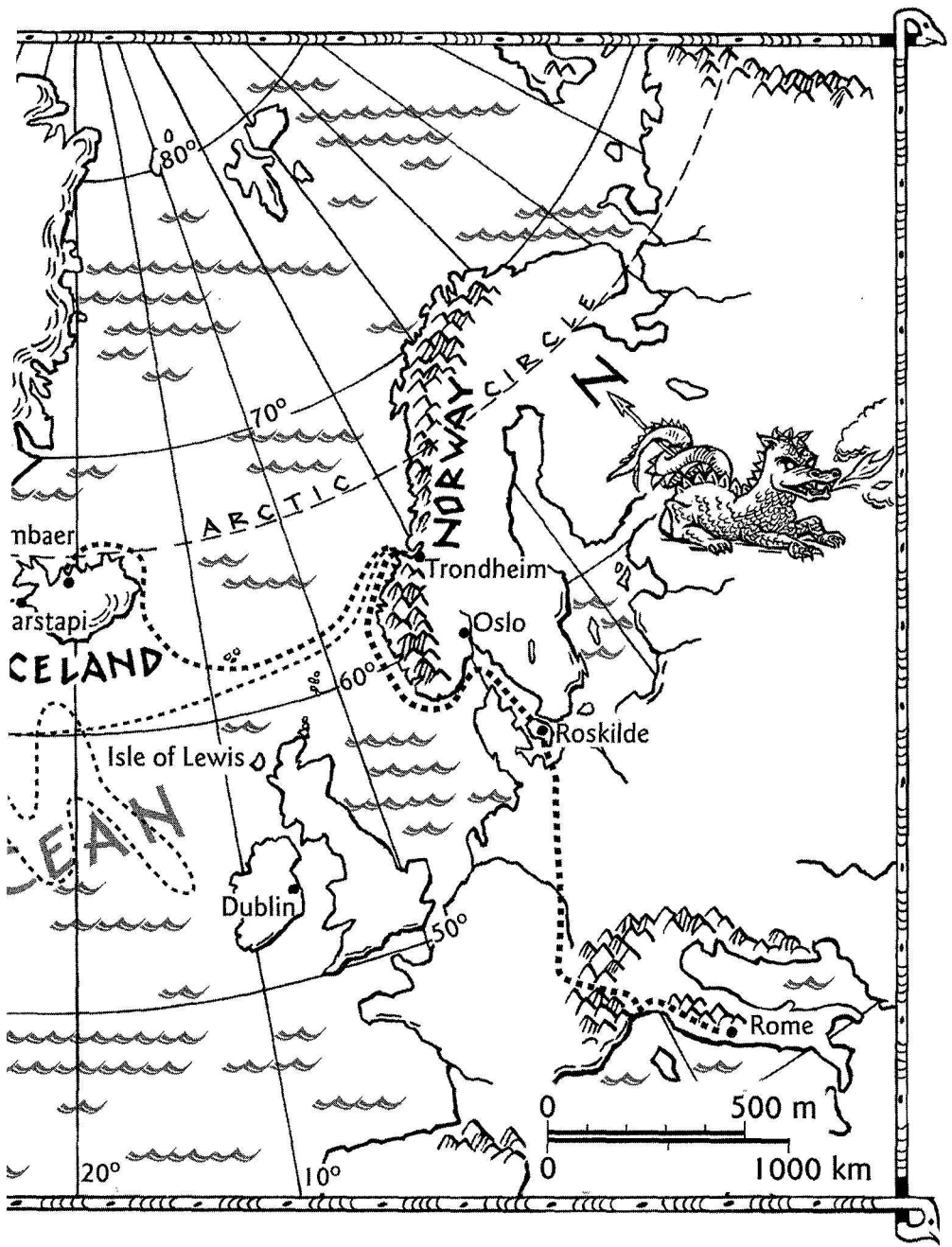
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C E G I K J H F D

Voyages of Gudrid the Far-Traveler



circa 1000-1030



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Gísli Pálsson of the University of Iceland

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Guðmundur Ólafsson of the National Museum of Iceland

Guðný Zoëga of the Skagafjörður Folk Museum

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Orri Vésteinsson of the Icelandic Institute of Archaeology (FSÍ)

Ragnheiður Traustadóttir of the National Museum of Iceland

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Eva Andersson of the Center for Textile Research, University
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Jette Arneborg of the National Museum of Denmark

Linda Mårtensson of the Center for Textile Research, University
of Copenhagen

Georg Nyegaard of the National Museum of Greenland

Finally, my thanks to my student, Daniel Saninski, who found Gudrid boring; to my teacher, Carey Eckhardt, who thought the Vinland Sagas were worth reading anyway; to my publisher, Rebecca Saletan, who organized my ideas about Gudrid and Glaumbaer; and to my editor, Stacia Decker, who found the hidden story.

NOTES

page 1—Viking longhouse: To say that the house at Glaumbaer is both a Viking longhouse and Gudrid's house, as I do, will strike some scholars as an oxymoron. They define "Viking" as "not Christian," and Gudrid was. I use "Viking" to mean anyone living in Scandinavia during the Viking Age from 793 to 1066. In this I follow Gwyn Jones, who writes in his *History of the Vikings* (1968): "Harald Hardradi, who waged war from Asia Minor to Stamford Bridge for thirty-five years, was a viking; so was his father Sigurd Sow, who stayed at home and counted haystacks. Hastein, who led the Great Army of the Danes into England in the early 890s, was a viking; so was Ottar, who came peaceably to his lord king Alfred's court with walrus tusks and lessons in northern geography. The men who destroyed churches in England, Ireland, and France were vikings; so were the woodcarvers of Oseberg and the metalworkers of Mammen. The men who said 'With law shall the land be built up and with lawlessness wasted away' were vikings; so were the practisers and curtailers of blood-feud, the profit-makers and those who robbed them of profit, the explorers and colonizers, the shapers of verse-forms and makers of legends. The kings and their counselors who brought the Scandinavian countries within the bounds of Christian Europe were vikings."

The definition of "longhouse" is also disputed. To Icelanders, "longhouse" is the translation for *skáli*, and can only be used to describe the earliest style of one-room Viking turf house. John Steinberg and I use "longhouse" more loosely, to include the later style of houses, such as those at Stong and L'Anse aux Meadows, in which additional rooms may branch off from the main *skáli*.

page 2—"Farm of Merry Noise": "Glaum" is a hard word to translate. It seems to describe classic Viking merrymaking—loud, drunken

partying—with an emphasis on the noise, rather than the merriment. Yet it also can be translated as “joy” or “joyful noise,” without the Christian overtones of that phrase. A third, archaic meaning is “horse,” according to the Icelandic dictionary edited by Arni Bodvarsson (1983).

page 75—delights in reading the sagas: To untangle these connections, I collated six sagas: *Njal's Saga*, *Laxdaela Saga*, *Eyrbyggja Saga*, *The Saga of the Greenlanders*, *The Saga of Eirik the Red*, and *Grettir's Saga*. Genealogies show that many of the main characters in these six sagas were related. They also overlap in time and space. Several editors have established chronologies for individual sagas; these depend on the reigns of the kings of Norway and England, who are characters in many tales, as well as on estimates of the age at which a woman could bear children. For example, the sagas say Greenland became Christian at the instigation of Olaf Tryggvason, king of Norway from 995–1000, and that it was converted after Iceland, which became Christian in 999 or 1000. Gudrid's arrival in Greenland is intertwined with the story of the conversion. Since she was of marriageable age then, I arbitrarily chose 985 as her birthdate.

page 119—Hellisvellir, or “Fields by the Cave”: Although Gudrid's father is known as Thorbjorn of Laugarbrekka, according to *The Saga of Eirik the Red*, he did not gain control of the estate when he married Hallveig, daughter of Einar of Laugarbrekka; he merely “acquired land at Hellisvellir in Laugarbrekka.” His brother Thorgeir, who married Hallveig's sister Arnora, seems to have owned the rest of the estate, for it passes down to his daughter Yngvild, Gudrid's cousin. According to *The Book of Settlements*, Yngvild married Thorstein, a son of the chieftain Snorri of Helgafell. In *Eyrbyggja Saga*, Thorstein is said to live at Laugarbrekka.

page 119—the classic case of the independent farmer: The story of Eirik's outlawing, as told in *The Saga of Eirik the Red* and in *The Saga of the Greenlanders*, both derive from the version in *The Book of Settlements*. A different version appears in *Eyrbyggja Saga*. Eirik's relatives,

and those of his enemy, also appear in *Gull-Thorir's Saga*, *The Saga of Gunnlaug Serpent-Tongue*, *Heidarviga Saga*, *The Saga of Bard Snafells-ass*, *Laxdaela Saga*, *Njal's Saga*, and *Gisli's Saga*. It is not immediately obvious from the saga accounts why Eirik was outnumbered. To tease out a reason, I drew a large chart, tracing out the marriage and kinship alliances on both sides. It turned into a tangle of asterisks and increasingly finer print; even with three colors of ink, it was hard to see who was related to whom. Yet Eirik's line seemed the stronger. His wife, Thjodhild, is very well bred, with several important saga names in her genealogy.

Next I tried chronology. Thjodhild's mother, Thorbjorg Ship-Breast, must have been the youngest of her siblings, for her brother-in-law, Gold-Thorir, was making waves in western Iceland before the year 930. The big names in 982 are Snorri of Helgafell, Illugi the Black, Thord Gellir of Hvamm, and Olaf the Peacock.

The chieftain Snorri of Helgafell was then nineteen, just coming into his power. Eirik has a very slight connection to Snorri: Through his wife he is distantly related to Thorbrand of Swan Fjord, whose four sons are Snorri's foster-brothers. (How distantly? Her cousin's son married the sister-in-law of Thorbrand's wife.) Thorbrand's sons are Eirik's staunch supporters. Snorri will soon marry the daughter of Killer-Styr—another of Eirik the Red's friends—but the saga treats it as a great triumph of Killer-Styr's political skill simply to win Snorri's promise not to meddle in Eirik's case. Killer-Styr has no good reason to support Eirik the Red, and no one else in his large and aggressive family joins him.

Illugi the Black at this time was newly married and throwing his weight around. He had just trounced Killer-Styr and his kinsmen in a dowry dispute; young Snorri had brought the two sides to a truce, rather to Illugi's advantage, and Illugi had pledged Snorri his friendship. Illugi the Black did not take sides in Eirik's quarrel, though if pressed he would have recalled his kinship, through his mother-in-law, to Thord Gellir. His father-in-law was that Asbjorn the Wealthy against whom Gudrid's father, Thorbjorn Vifilsson, held a grudge.

Thord Gellir's power was waning (he may have already died; he fades out of the stories in the 970s), and his three sons were not living

up to expectations. One, Eyjolf the Gray, had spent the last sixteen years hunting down Gisli the Outlaw—the chieftain Snorri’s uncle, but also the killer of Snorri’s father—and had just been repudiated by Snorri for setting on the man fifteen to one.

The bastard Olaf the Peacock, rather than any of Thord Gellir’s sons, was now the leader of the Dales. He was the only chieftain on whom Eirik had any claim—through his wife’s mother’s second husband’s son or through Killer-Styr’s son’s father-in-law, who was Olaf’s half-brother—but since neither he nor any other chieftain took Eirik’s side, the Hvamm clan’s diminished power was enough to win the case and to outlaw Eirik from Iceland for three years.

page 135—two households—around thirty people altogether: The average size of a Viking household circa 1000 is hotly disputed by scholars. Thirty is the number of “friends” *The Saga of Eirik the Red* says went to Greenland with Gudrid’s father. Orm of Arnarstapi and his wife are the only ones named. In my reading of the sagas, as well as my discussions with archaeologists Birgitta Wallace, John Steinberg, and Mjoll Snaesdottir, I find thirty to be one large household or two smaller ones. In *Eyrbyggja Saga*, for example, we learn of a sickness that killed “more women than men.” In the translation by Hermann Palsson and Paul Edwards (1973), we read: “Six people died one after another, and the hauntings and night-walkings drove others away from the farm. There had been thirty servants there in the autumn, but eighteen of them died, five more ran away, and by mid-winter there were only seven of them left.” The word translated as “servants,” however, is *hjóna*, which means “the domestics, family, household,” according to the Cleasby-Vigfusson dictionary. The dictionary notes that modern Icelandic distinguishes between *hjón* meaning “man and wife” and *hjú* meaning “servants,” but Old Norse doesn’t. So the thirty would have included the unmarried farmer and his mother, who kept house for him. Archaeologists trying to estimate the size of a Viking household from the sleeping area of their longhouses have come up with an estimate of twenty-five to thirty people for a large farm. Gunnar Karlsson in his *History of Iceland* (2000), however, notes that the population estimate of 40,000 for twelfth-century Iceland, which is widely quoted by archaeologists and which is based

on a census recorded by Ari the Learned in *The Book of the Icelanders*, takes “the large households that are sometimes described in sagas to be either fictional or restricted to a small top layer of society”; it assumes, instead, that “the average household may not have numbered more than eight people: a couple, three children, one elder, and two farm-hands.”

page 195—No further expeditions were sent: The Saga of the Greenlanders tells of an expedition led by Leif Eiriksson’s bastard half-sister Freydis, whose two ships arrive in Vinland after Gudrid and Karlsefni (with only one ship in this version) have left. An argument arises, and Freydis has one entire ship’s crew put to death—she herself beheads the five women. I consider this episode fiction—the saga author’s attempt to fill in a gap and explain how a whole shipload of Vinland explorers from Greenland was lost. In this I follow Richard Perkins, who writes, “It seems to me unlikely that Freydis ever existed, let alone ever led an expedition to Vinland. . . . I would suggest that Freydis is an entirely fictional figure, invented to act as a foil to the pious Gudrid.” He defends his argument by noting, among other things, that “Freydis’s descendants are obscure or nonexistent.” Even more telling is the lack of any revenge taken upon Freydis or her men, once they return to Greenland, for the killing of their countrymen.

page 196—half a mark of gold: According to Bruce Gelsinger’s *Icelandic Enterprise* (1981), half a mark of gold was equal to at least 1,500 yards of homespun cloth. Yet in *Egil’s Saga*, King Aethelstan of England gave Egil two gold arm-rings, each weighing half a mark, and a good cloak in reward for a poem. Olaf the Saint, who reigned from 1014 to 1030, fixed the landing tax at half a mark, or four ounces, of silver; before that, according to Ari the Learned in *The Book of the Icelanders*, it fluctuated between four and five ounces. In the 1200s, a mark of gold was worth eight times as much as a mark of silver.

page 197—the cousin, Arnor Old-Woman’s-Nose: Karlsefni had many relatives in Skagafjord who could have provided him with horses. I chose Arnor not only because of his wonderful nickname, but because he lived closest to the harbor at Kolkuos. It is hard to tell if

he was still active in 1010. In one saga, he is called the most important leader in the north in 981; another finds him still feuding in 1030. He does appear to have a close connection to Gudrid's family, however. His son Asbjorn marries Ingunn, the daughter of Gudrid's cousin Yngvild of Laugarbrekka. The descendants of Asbjorn and Ingunn—known as the Asbirnings—are the most powerful family in Skagafjord in the years 1180 to 1245. During this same time, Gudrid's great-great-grandson Brand Saemundarson was bishop of Holar (1163 to 1201) and was possibly compiling Gudrid's saga.

page 236—the Vikings' ell: A modern dictionary will give a length of 45 inches for an ell, but the word has been used for various lengths over the centuries. The original ell, or as the Cleasby-Vigfusson *Icelandic-English Dictionary* calls it the "primitive ell," was the distance from the elbow to the tip of the middle finger. This ell, of about 18 inches or half a yard, was used in Iceland until the 1200s. The Cleasby-Vigfusson entry for *alin* reads: "About this year, by a law of bishop Paul, the ell was doubled into a *stika*, a stika being precisely = 2 ells = an English ell of that time. To prevent the use of bad measure, a just and lawful stika (yard) was marked on the walls of the churches."

page 240—Gudrid came to Rome: The sagas do not say when Gudrid took her pilgrimage, only that it was shortly after Snorri married. My estimate that she left Iceland after 1025 and returned before 1030 is based on Snorri's expected age at marriage and on the political situation in Europe, particularly in Norway and Rome. Snorri was born in approximately 1005. Olaf the Saint, who ruled Norway from 1014 to 1030, encouraged pilgrimages; in the period 1025 to 1027 he was courting the Icelanders and would likely have helped Gudrid sail from his kingdom to Denmark. Although King Knut of Denmark and England was trying to overthrow Olaf, not until 1028 did it become open war. Knut also encouraged pilgrimages, going so far as to negotiate reduced tolls in central Europe for pilgrims from his kingdoms. The next interlude of peace in Norway was not until the reign of Magnus the Good (1035 to 1047), when Gudrid would be fifty and Snorri thirty. In addition, I would hope that Gudrid saw

Rome during Pope John XIX's reign, from 1024 to 1032. The pope who ruled after him, from 1032 to 1045, was the infamous Benedict IX, considered "a disgrace to the Chair of Peter," who sold the papacy so that he could marry. Between 1045 and 1049, seven popes (one is called an antipope) fought for the chair, as political factions within Europe struggled for control of the Church. If she had seen Rome while it was a battleground, I do not think the experience would have strengthened Gudrid's faith or inspired her to become a nun. Finally, it is logical to assume that huge numbers of well-armed travelers would be taking the various Pilgrim Ways to Rome for the coronation of the Holy Roman Emperor in 1027, making that time the safest for a woman from Iceland to travel.

SOURCES

RECOMMENDED READING

Two scholarly conferences—one in Iceland and one in Newfoundland—and an exhibition at the Smithsonian Institution in Washington, D.C., celebrated the thousand-year anniversary of the discovery of Vinland. The exhibition catalog, which is beautifully illustrated, is the best place to start to learn more about Gudrid and her times; the conference proceedings assume some prior knowledge of the subject matter.

Vikings: The North Atlantic Saga, edited by William Fitzhugh and Elisabeth I. Ward (Washington and London: Smithsonian Institution Press, 2000). See also <http://www.mnh.si.edu/vikings/>, where you can learn to play *hnestafl*.

Approaches to Vinland: a conference on the written and archaeological sources for the Norse settlements in the North-Atlantic region and exploration of America, edited by Andrew Wawn and Thórunn Sigurðardóttir (Reykjavík: Sigurðar Nordal Institute, 2001).

Vinland Revisited: The Norse World at the Turn of the First Millennium. Selected Papers from the Viking Millennium International Symposium, 15–24 September 2000, Newfoundland and Labrador, edited by Shannon Lewis-Simpson (St. John's, Newfoundland: Historic Sites Association of Newfoundland and Labrador, 2003).

To learn more about the sagas, I recommend Gísli Sigurðsson's *The Medieval Icelandic Saga and Oral Tradition* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2004). Gísli notes that Gudrid acquired the nickname *viðförla*—variously translated as “the Far-Traveler,” “the Wide-Traveled,” or “the Far-Farer”—long after the Middle Ages. He has not been able to trace the first appearance of her nickname.

The Saga of the Greenlanders (*Grœnlendingasaga*) and *The Saga of Eirík the Red* (*Eiríks saga rauða*) have been translated many times. The most recent are by Keneva Kunz in *Sagas of Icelanders: a selection* (2000) and Magnus Magnusson and Hermann Pálsson in *The Vinland Sagas* (1965). Excerpts in this book, along with all of the epigraphs and most selections from other medieval texts (except as listed below), are my own translations.

page 21: Wood-Leg's lament from *Grettir's Saga*, trans. Ole Crumlin-Pedersen in "The Sporting Element in Viking Ships and Other Early Boats," *Sailing and Science*, ed. Gisela Sjøgaard (1999)

page 24: sailing directions from *Hauksbók*, trans. Judith Jesch in *A Companion to Old Norse-Icelandic Literature and Culture*, ed. Rory McTurk (2005)

page 28: the wave rune poem from *The Saga of the Volsungs*, trans. Jesse Byock (1990)

pages 58–59: the story of Grettir's Bath from *Grettir's Saga*, trans. Denton Fox and Hermann Pálsson (1974)

pages 83, 86–87, and 197: excerpts from Adam of Bremen's *History of the Archbishops of Hamburg-Bremen*, trans. Francis J. Tschan (1959)

page 83: the destruction of Lindisfarne from *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, trans. Gwyn Jones, *History of the Vikings* (1968)

page 84: the attack on Constantinople from *The Works of Luidprand of Cremona*, trans. F. A. Wright (1930)

page 85: Simeon of Durham's account of the attack at Tynemouth, trans. David M. Wilson, ed., *From Viking to Crusader* (1992)

page 87: Dudo of Normandy (excerpts), trans. Else Roesdahl in *The Vikings* (1991)

page 88: the story of Unn the Deep-Minded from *Landnámabók* (*The Book of Settlements*), trans. Hermann Pálsson and Paul Edwards (1972)

pages 121–22: the *hafgerðing* from *The King's Mirror* (*Konungs Skuggsjá*), trans. Laurence Marcellus Larson (1917)

page 136: Greenland traveler's verse, "I see death in a dread place," from *The Book of Settlements*, trans. Hermann Pálsson and Paul Edwards (1972)

- pages 164–65, 167: advice to a merchant from *The King's Mirror* (*Könungs Skuggsjá*), trans. Laurence Marcellus Larson (1917)
- page 239: description of the monks from Richer's *Histoire de France*, trans. Richard Erdoes, *A.D. 1000: Living on the Brink of Apocalypse* (1988)
- pages 248–49: description of the mass from "The Story of Thorvald the Far-Traveler," trans. Einar Ó. Sveinsson, *Age of the Sturlungs* (1953)
- page 249: the blessing of the ale from Snorri Sturluson's *Heimskringla*, trans. Thomas DuBois in *Nordic Religions in the Viking Age* (1999)
- pages 251–52: verses from "Words of the High One" (*Hávamál*), trans. W. H. Auden and Paul B. Taylor in *Norse Poems: Edda Sæmundur, selections* (1981)
- page 254: *Old Norse Homily Book* (excerpts), trans. Anders Hultgård in *Old Norse and Finnish Religions and Cultic Place-Names*, ed. Tore Ahlbäck (1990)

The standard dictionary of Old Norse is *The Icelandic-English Dictionary*, Second Edition, by Richard Cleasby, Gudbrand Vigfusson, and Sir William Craigie (1957; rpt. 1969), known as Cleasby-Vigfusson. The translators of *skörungur* are: George Dasent (1861, 1866); W. C. Green (1893); Sir Edmund Head (1866); Eiríkr Magnússon & William Morris (1892–1901); F. York Powell (1896); Muriel Press (1899); W. G. Collingwood & J. Stefánsson (1901); Reeves, Beamish, & Anderson (1901); G. H. Hight (1914); Magnus Magnusson & Hermann Pálsson (1960s); Denton Fox & Hermann Pálsson (1970s); Jenny Jochens (1995); Keneva Kunz (1990s); Anthony Faulkes (2001); Bo Almquist (2001); and Eric V. Youngquist (2002).

ICELANDIC SAGAS AND HISTORY

Uno von Troil, who accompanied Sir Joseph Banks to Iceland in 1772, argued that the sagas were just as trustworthy as Tacitus or Livy. Von Troil wrote in Swedish; I used the Icelandic translation of his letters, *Bréf frá Íslandi*, by Haraldur Sigurðsson (1961). As mentioned above,

the best introduction to the sagas is Gísli Sigurðsson's *The Medieval Icelandic Saga and Oral Tradition* (2004).

The recognized expert on the Vinland Sagas is Ólafur Halldórsson. See his "Lost Tales of Guðrídr" in *Sagnaskemmtun: Studies in honour of Hermann Pálsson*, ed. Rudolf Simek, Jónas Kristjánsson, and Hans Bekker-Nielsen (1986); his entry in *Approaches to Vinland*; and, for readers of Icelandic, *Grænland í miðaldaritum* (1978).

Good discussions of women in saga times can be found in:

Carol Clover, "Regardless of Sex," *Speculum* 68 (1993)

Judith Jesch, *Women in the Viking Age* (1991)

Jenny Jochens, *Women in Old Norse Society* (1995)

Preben Meulengracht Sørensen, *The Unmanly Man* (1983)

Other sources in English include:

Rasmus B. Anderson, ed. *The Flatey Book and Recently Discovered Vatican Manuscripts Concerning America as Early as the Tenth Century* (1908)

Lois Bragg, *Oedipus Borealis: The Aberrant Body in Old Icelandic Myth and Saga* (2004)

Thomas Bredsdorff, *Chaos and Love: The Philosophy of the Icelandic Family Saga* (2001)

Jesse L. Byock, *Medieval Iceland* (1988)

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Gunnar Karlsson, *The History of Iceland* (2000)

Magnus Magnusson, *Iceland Saga* (1987)

Rory McTurk, ed. *A Companion to Old Norse-Icelandic Literature and Culture* (2005)

William Ian Miller, *Bloodtaking and Peacemaking* (1990)

Vésteinn Ólason, *Dialogues with the Viking Age* (1998)

Páll Ólafsson, *Iceland the Enchanted* (1995)

William Pencak, *The Conflict of Law and Justice in the Icelandic Sagas* (1995)

- Margaret Clunies Ross, ed. *Old Icelandic Literature and Society* (2000)
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 M. I. Steblin-Kamenskij, *The Saga Mind* (1973)
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SHIPS AND SAILING

Arne Emil Christensen and Ole Crumlin-Pedersen have long been the recognized experts on Viking-ship technology. In addition to their articles in the collections recommended above, see Christensen's "Viking Age Boatbuilding Tools" and "Viking Age Rigging, A Survey of Sources and Theories" in *The Archaeology of Medieval Ships and Harbours in Northern Europe* (1979); and "Boats and Boatbuilding in Western Norway and the Islands" in *The Northern and Western Isles in the Viking World*, ed. Alexander Fenton and Hermann Pálsson (1984). Ole Crumlin-Pedersen and Olaf Olsen describe the retrieval of the Skuldelev ships in *Acta Archaeologica* 38 (1967). See also "Viking Shipbuilding and Seamanship" in the *Proceedings of the Eighth Viking Congress* (1981) and "The Sporting Element in Viking Ships and Other Early Boats," *Sailing and Science*, ed. Gisela Sjøgaard (1999).

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VIKINGS IN THE BRITISH ISLES

The area around Uig, Lewis, is claimed by the MacAulays, or in Gaelic, Clann Amhlaeibh; Amhlaeibh is the Norse name Olaf. Alfred P. Smythe argues that Unn the Deep-Minded's husband, Olaf the White, king of Dublin (853 to 870), was the Olaf Geirstaðaálfr who ruled the Norwegian province of Westfold (871 to ca. 890), making him a good candidate to be the man buried in the Gokstad ship circa 900. See *Scandinavian Kings in the British Isles 850–880* (1977).

Gillian Fellows-Jensen explains the derivation of place-names in "Vikings in the British Isles," *Acta Archaeologica* 71 (2000): the *-by* ending is the Norse *býr* or *bær* (farm or settlement, as in Glaumbær), *-bister* and *-poll* are shortenings of *bólstaðir* (homestead), *-skill* and *-skaill* come from *skáli* (longhouse), Laimiseadar comes from *lamba-sætr* (lamb shieling), Lacsabhat is from *laxavatn* (salmon lake), *kirk* is Norse for church.

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Anna Ritchie, *Viking Scotland* (1993)

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Agnar Helgason, et al., "mtDNA and the Origin of the Icelanders: Deciphering Signals of Recent Population History," *American Journal of Human Genetics* 66 (2000)

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Although it's a little dated, I prefer Gwyn Jones's *History of the Vikings* (1968; rev. 1984); he's a good storyteller. Other sources I consulted include:

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Guðmundur Ólafsson writes about Eirík the Red's farmstead in a booklet published by the National Museum of Iceland, *Eiríksstaðir í Haukadal: Fornleifarannsókn á skálarúst*, Rannsóknaskýrslur Fornleifadeildar 11 (1998); there is an English summary. He and Hörður Ágústsson compare Eiríksstaðir to Stöng and other longhouses in *The Reconstructed Medieval Farm in Þjórsárdalur and the development of the Icelandic Turf House*, published by the National Museum of Iceland and Landsvirkjun, the National Power Company (no date). See also Thorsteinn Erlingsson's *Ruins of the Saga Time* (1899; rpt. 1982).

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VINLAND

Helge Ingstad's curriculum vitae was drawn from his *New York Times* obituary, printed March 30, 2001; Ingstad lived to be 101. He published *Westward to Vinland* (1969) eight years before the University of Oslo brought out Anne Stine Ingstad's archaeological results in *The Discovery of a Norse Settlement in America: Excavations at L'Anse aux Meadows, Newfoundland, 1961–1968* (1977). The Ingstads collaborated on *The Viking Discovery of America* (2001).

"Leif Eiriksson Slept Here" was the title of a lecture Birgitta Wallace gave at Gros Morne National Park, Newfoundland, on August 23, 2006. She describes her reassessments of the Ingstads' work in the three collections recommended above, as well as in "L'Anse aux Meadows: Gateway to Vinland," *Acta Archaeologica* 61 (1990).

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GUDRID'S PILGRIMAGE TO ROME

One scholar who believed Gudrid spoke about Vinland on her pilgrimage was Father Josef Fischer, to whom Kirsten Seaver ascribes the design of the notorious Vinland Map. This map, purchased by Yale University in October 1965, is said by Yale's experts to be an authentic medieval map and by nearly everyone else to be a forgery. Seaver argues that Father Fischer made it for himself while living in Germany under the Nazi regime, not with the intention of fooling anyone else, but as an aid to his own scholarship. She writes in *Vinland Revisited* (2003): "Fischer's convictions came from combining the saga information with modern cartographical knowledge, and from his certainty that there had once been cartographical representations which took into account information reaching Rome directly, beginning with Gudridr Thorbjarnardottir's pilgrimage in the eleventh century." See also Seaver's *Maps, Myths, and Men: The Story of the Vinland Map* (2004). Novelist Margaret Elphinstone provides us with a fictional realization of Gudrid's conversations with a churchman in Rome in *The Sea Road* (2000).

For the history of the popes, I depended on the *Catholic Encyclopedia* (1909), online at <http://www.newadvent.org/cathen/index.html>. For the pilgrim routes across Europe, see Association Via Francigena (<http://www.francigena-international.org/>).

Several papers presented at the Thirteenth International Saga Conference, Durham and York, 6–12 August 2006, address this topic and are available as preprints at <http://www.dur.ac.uk/medieval.www/>. See in particular:

Gísli Pálsson and Astrid Ogilvie, “Weather and Witchcraft in the Sagas of Icelanders”

Tommaso Marani, “The Roman Itinerary of Nikulás of Munkaþverá: Between Reality and Imagination”

Bernadine McCreesh, “Elements of the Pagan Supernatural in the Bishops’ Sagas”

Jens Ulf-Møller, “The Gaelic Impact on Churches in Iceland and Greenland”

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Victoria Clark, *The Far-Farers: A Journey from Viking Iceland to Crusader Jerusalem* (2003)

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Katherine Morris, *Sorceress or Witch?* (1991)

James Reston, *The Last Apocalypse* (1998)

Margaret Clunies Ross, *Prolonged Echoes* (1994)

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