

# Beyond Raiding: Unveiling the Epic Voyages of the Vikings (793-1066 AD)

Peter Edmund Thomas Conroy<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup>Affiliation not available

March 21, 2024

## Abstract

This essay charts a course beyond the stereotypical image of Vikings as mere raiders. It navigates the vast distances traversed by the Northmen – a broader term encompassing Scandinavians and their neighbours – during the 9th-11th centuries. While acknowledging the scholarly debate surrounding the term “Viking,” the focus here is on their remarkable journeys as explorers and settlers.

Despite limitations in source reliability, the essay employs a modern navigational tool to estimate the staggering distances covered by these intrepid seafarers. We encounter the pioneering Irish monks (Papar) who likely reached Iceland first, followed by Northmen settlers like Ingolfr, whose saga unfolds across hundreds of nautical miles. Eirík the Red emerges as a bold adventurer, leading the first Norse settlement in the icy embrace of Greenland.

The essay then delves into the exploration of North America (Vínland), crediting Leif Eiríksson with its discovery and detailing subsequent expeditions undertaken by Thorvald and Thorfinn Karlsefni. Compelling figures like Gudrid, who traversed a distance exceeding the breadth of the entire North American continent in her lifetime, showcase the immense scale of these voyages.

The essay culminates by highlighting Auun’s remarkable odyssey, exceeding a staggering 9,413 miles, which even included a polar bear as a royal gift! By unveiling the Northmen’s incredible feats of navigation and exploration, this essay offers a more nuanced perspective on these historical adventurers. It concludes by calling for further investigation into the specific locations mentioned in sagas to gain a richer understanding of their journeys and daily lives, forever etching their stories onto the map of human exploration.

## Key Words

#Northmen #Vikings #Exploration #Settlement #Navigation #Travel #Greenland #North America #Vinland #Gudrid #Longships #Sagas #History #Essay #Auun

## Introduction

This essay will begin by defining what we mean by the word Viking, how we are using it here, and who is a Viking or is not; before dealing with some general thoughts on 9<sup>th</sup> – 11<sup>th</sup> Century travel. The next section will deal with some issues surrounding the methodology as well as how journey lengths were calculated. The next sections of the essay will look at the discovery, exploration, and settlement in turn of Iceland, then Greenland and finally North America – by whom, and give loose ‘measurements’ of their journey lengths.

The fourth section of this survey will look at some individuals whose stories are not so neatly geographically contained, who did not travel ‘so far’ to discover a new place but nonetheless travelled incredible distances. And then finally, this essay brings together all these threads into a conclusion.

## Whats a Vikings?

Who and what was a Viking? And what does the word ‘Viking’ mean? These three important questions are a great debate within the scholarship. A full discussion is beyond this essay’s scope. Suffice it to say that Viking is used firstly to mean raiding or trading man from Scandinavia of the period loosely defined as 793 A.D. to 1066 A.D., but is not the normal term of that time, but one with a popularised image today.[1] ‘Viking’ is a term almost synonymous with ‘pirate’.[2] This usage has almost always inferred a meaning of exploration and raiding but, in doing so, excludes those who settled in unknown lands without a defensive population. It ignores people who travelled and explored but did not settle or raid. In this regard, Clare Downham is correct:

“The noun [Viking] denoted the activities of a minority of men and it was not an ethnic label.”  
[3]

The second broad-stroke meaning:

“... peaceful, industrious, trading Viking... Viking-age Scandinavians, no doubt, spent time on both [peaceful and raiding] activities.” [4]

This second scholarly-focused meaning is seemingly opposed to the *other* kind. Even if raiders engaged in peaceful trading sometimes. We could legitimately disregard the term Viking altogether and focus instead on broader terms such as Norse or *Northmen*. [5] Disposing of the term ‘Viking’ frees us from preconceived notions of who and what these Northmen were, giving us the ability to talk about the society and the raiders as not entirely homogenous but as an eclectic society sharing a broader identity.

A more appropriate question is: ‘where did they come from?’ in Answering that question, we may assess the *who* more easily. People from places we now call Denmark, Norway and Sweden are often called ‘Viking’.[6] Additional inclusion of, the Faroe Islands, Iceland, Greenland, and *Vínland* is warranted.[7] We could not include, Orkney, Shetland and parts of Ireland, because although they remained politically ‘Scandinavian’ until recently, they were not homogeneously so – there were pre-existing peoples like the Anglo-Saxons who were around past 1066’s Norman Conquest.[8] We have also not included the *Rus* Vikings, as they are often separate and beyond our scope.[9] This essay has therefore replaced ‘Vikings’ with Northmen’ (regardless of gender) as a people group with origins in what is now modern-day Scandinavian, and its ancillary locations – Iceland, Greenland etc.

## Early Medieval Travelling

Travelling was not easy; the journeys were uncomfortable,[10] yet the relayed below individuals travelled thousands of miles in search of new homes and new adventures. Gudrid and Auun travelled to Rome on pilgrimage.[11] Adomnán’s *Lex Innocentium* (‘Law of the Innocents’)[12] or *Cáin Adomnáin* (Adomnán’s law) existed, in part, to protect “was designed to protect clergy, women and children from violence.” [13] Specifically to “limit the effects of war by protecting those who were not combatants, who did not bear arms: women and clergy, and children who had not yet taken up weapons for the first time.” [14] Whilst this is a Scottish-Gaelic law written in the 7<sup>th</sup> Century, and largely irrelevant to our travellers, it is evidence that war did not make allowance for non-combatants. Denmark’s King arranged for Auun to travel with other pilgrims [15] because it was dangerous to travel alone, and pilgrims were legally protected:

“The Carolingian period witnessed several legal enactments pertaining to pilgrimage; these enactments grouped pilgrims with certain other types of people who enjoyed special protections, stres-

sed the obligation of bishops and priests to care for pilgrims, and granted economic protections to pilgrims in the form of exempting them from tolls.”[16]

Travel was both dangerous and slow; the journeys above were not direct, as we have initially imagined and detailed below. Sea journeys were coastal where possible, and only going out to open sea when necessary.[17] Even travel in a longship was not entirely safe, as Eirík the Red’s story of taking 25 ships but only arriving with 14 in Greenland shows.[18]

## Methods

There are a number of limitations to the research conducted here. The reliability of place names is the main limitation. Difficulty knowing precisely where people departed and arrived at, especially regarding Greenland and Vínland. Where possible, places were chosen where documentary evidence existed. Vardetangeen has been chosen as a ‘general’ departure/arrival point for Norway where the primary sources simply stated Norway. It was chosen as it is central and costal, though not on strict scientific or historical reasons. Distances have been totalled in miles and are not reliable because we do not know the exact routes. Savvy-Navvy.com allowed us to plot journeys based on vessel ‘design’ (taking the general measurements of a Viking Longship). The app allowed the boat’s speed to be set on polar positioning. This essay has not accounted for travel time; otherwise, setting the polar positioning to allow 6.9 knots (Figure 1), as the average speed of a longship is believed to have been 7 knots.[19] The beat angle is set at the international standard. A further methodological issue with this essay is that it takes the primary sources at face value’ – trusting them to be correct whilst not detailed. This is not a rigorous critical evaluation of the texts, which is valuable, but beyond the scope of this survey essay.

←

Configure polar

Beat angle

45°

Adjust to the closest angle you can sail into the wind.

Speed adjustment

Adjust to match your boat's actual speed performance.

Wind speed	6 kts	12 kts	20 kts
60°	4.1 kts	5.6 kts	5.9 kts
90°	4.3 kts	5.8 kts	6.4 kts
120°	4.0 kts	5.8 kts	6.9 kts

Figure 1: Image from app.savvy-navvy.com, showing the ‘beat angle’ and ‘speed adjustment’ for the polar configuration of sailing

## Iceland and the Papar Monks

The initial discovery of Iceland, appears to have been by Irish monks, known as the Papar[20]:

“There was a man called Ketil the Foolish, son of Jorunn Wisdom-Slope, Ketil Flat-Nose’s daughter. Ketil went from the Hebrides to Iceland. He was a Christian. He took possession of land between Geirlands and Fjardar Rivers, above Nykomi. Ketil made his home at Kirkby, where the Papar had been living before and where no heathen was allowed to stay.”[21]

The arrival of the Northmen conveniently led to the Papar leaving:[22]

“At that time Iceland was covered with woods between the mountains and the seashore. There were then Christians here, whom the Northmen call papar, but they later went away, because they did not wish to stay here with heathens; and they left behind them Irish books and bells

and staffs. From this it could be seen that they were Irishmen.”[23]

## Naddodd, Ingólfr & Iceland

According to Íslendingabók, the first of the Northmen began to settle in Iceland during the reign of the Norwegian King, Haraldr the Fine-Haired, son of Hálfðan the Black in 870 A.D.[24]. The first settler from Norway to Iceland, a distance of 610 nautical miles (702 miles), was Ingólfr, in the year Haraldr was 16 years of age, according to Íslendingabók.[25] Landnámabók, however, names Naddodd as accidentally discovering Iceland on his way to settle in the Faroe Islands, and the group Naddodd sailed with called it Snowland.[26] Naddodd travelled first to Iceland, and then onto his true destination, the Faroe Islands, (see Figure 2). Naddodd travelled a distance of 290 miles. It is likely that Naddodd travelled much further.

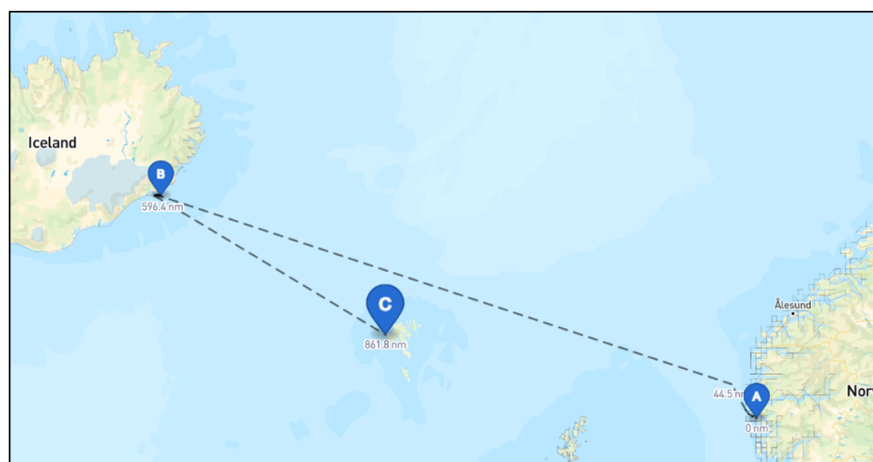


Figure 2: Image from app.savvy-navvy.com, Point A: Vardetangen, Norway; Point B: Höfn, Iceland; Point C: Gásadalsgarur, Faroe Islands.

## Gardar Svafarsson & Iceland

The Next person to arrive in Iceland itself, and to stay, albeit for a short time, according to Landnámabók, was Gardar Svafarsson:

“A man called Gardar Svafarsson, of Swedish stock, went out in search of Snowland guided by his mother, who had second sight. He made land east of Eastern Horn where at that time ships could put in. Gardar sailed right round the country and proved it to be an island. He built himself a house at Husavik on Skjalfandi in the north and stayed there over winter. In the spring, after he’d put out to sea, a boat drifted away from his ship with a man called Nattfari aboard, and a slave and a bondwoman. Nattfari settled down there at a place called Nattfaravik. Gardar sailed back to Norway, full of praise for the new land. He was the father of Uni, father of Hroar Tongue-Priest. Afterwards the land was called Gardar’s Isle. In those days it was wooded all the way from the mountains right down to the sea.”[27]

By sailing completely around Iceland, he covered a distance of approximately 1956 miles. Svaafarsson sailed from Sweden and returned there (Figure 3), he would have covered around 4098 miles in total.[28]



Figure 3: Image from app.savvy-navvy.com, Point A: Göteborg, Sweden; Point B: Höfn, Iceland

## Floki Vilgerdaron & Iceland

Floki Vilgerdaron was the next person to head to Iceland, from somewhere between Hordaland and Rogaland in Norway. He sailed first to Shetland, and then headed to Reykjaness, Iceland (possibly Reykjavik).<sup>[29]</sup> His journey can be calculated a little more accurately, albeit with margin for error as precise routes do not exist.<sup>[30]</sup> Assuming a direct route from Norway to Shetland, then from Shetland Reykjavik, Iceland, on to Snæfellsness, then Vatnsfjörur and then back to Borgarfjörur (Figure 4 & 5). This outward bound trip would have been 1300 miles. Floki returned to Norway, based on his initial journey being via Shetland (Figure 6), though Landnámabók is not specific, concludes a return trip of 1043 miles. Floki Vilherdaron may have travelled more than 2,343 miles in total on his journey.<sup>[31]</sup>

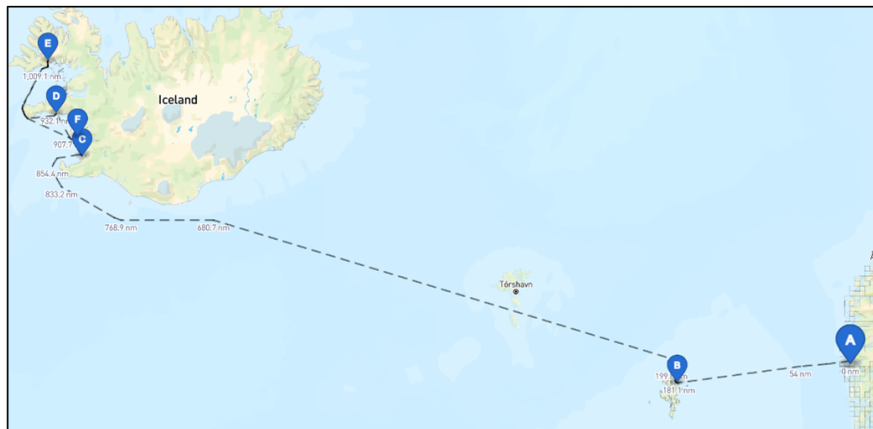


Figure 4: Image from app.savvy-navvy.com, Point A: Vardetangen, Norway; Point B: Copister, Shetland; Point C: Reykjavík, Iceland; Point D: Snæfellsness, Iceland; Point E: Vatnsfjörur, Iceland; Point F: Borgarfjörur, Iceland.

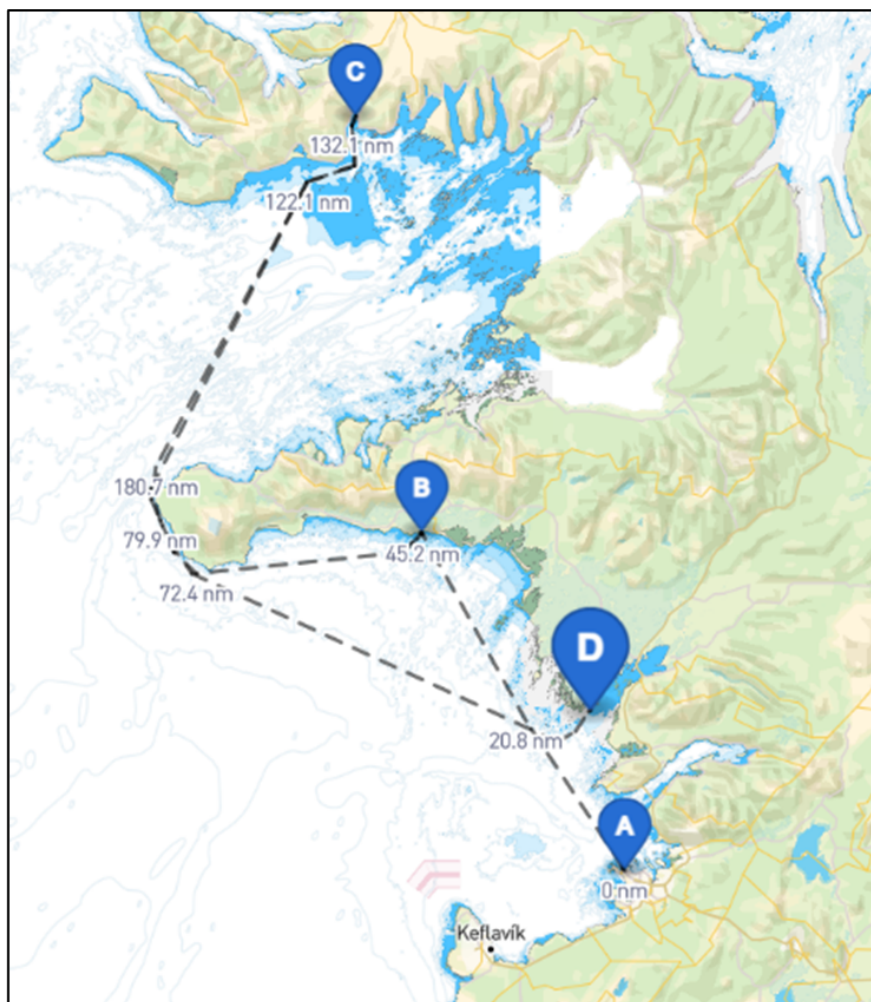


Figure 5: Image from app.savvy-navvy.com, Point A: Reykjavík, Iceland; Point B: Snæfellsness, Iceland; Point C: Vatnsfjörur, Iceland; Point D: Borgarfjörur, Iceland

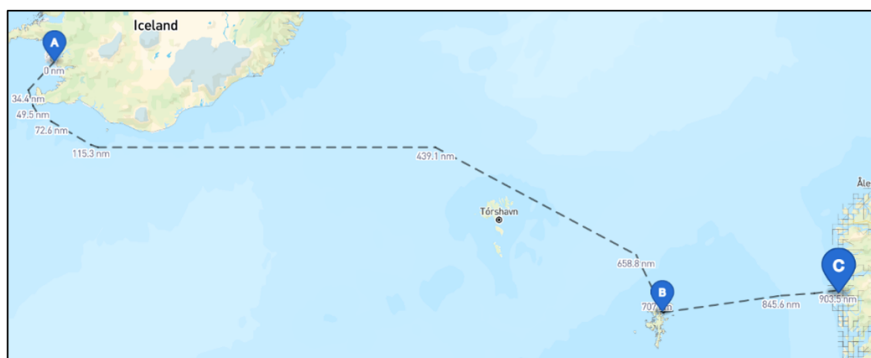


Figure 6: Image from app.savvy-navvy.com, Point A: Borgarfjörður, Iceland; Point B: Copister, Shetland; Point C: Vardetangen, Norway.

## Ingolf & Iceland

The Landnámabók names Ingolf as the first person to permanently settle in Iceland,[32] as confirmed by Íslendingabók.[33] Ingolf's journey, is given more detail in Landnámabók. He arrived from Norway at a place 'now called' Ingólfshöfi (Figure 7), 734 miles. His brother, Hjørleif, landed at Hjørleifshöfi (Figure 8), - 799 miles, where he died.[34] Ingolf travelled to bury his brother, suggesting both that his death was because of a lack of sacrifice, possibly to the gods, and because of a slave revolt. Interestingly, Ingolf's own slaves, who found Hjørleif, 'ran away'.[35] Ingolf then travelled to Eid and then to Dufthaksskor, to kill the slaves, and returned to Hjørleifshöfi. The following winter, he sailed back to Ingólfshöfi. Ingolf later travelled to Arnarhill (probably Arnarhóll),[36] and finally settled at Reykjavík.[37] The assumption has to be made about the exact locations of Eid and Dufthaksskor as being close to Hjørleifshöfi – they do not appear on modern maps. Therefore, from Ingólfshöfi through to Reykjavík (Figure 9) is 269 miles.[38] Ingolf probably travelled more than 1003 miles.

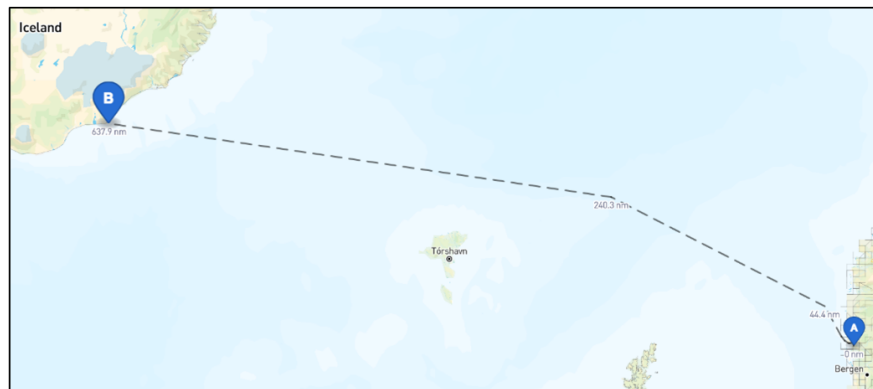


Figure 7: Image from app.savvy-navvy.com, Point A: Vardetangeen, Norway; Point B: Ingólfshöfi, Iceland

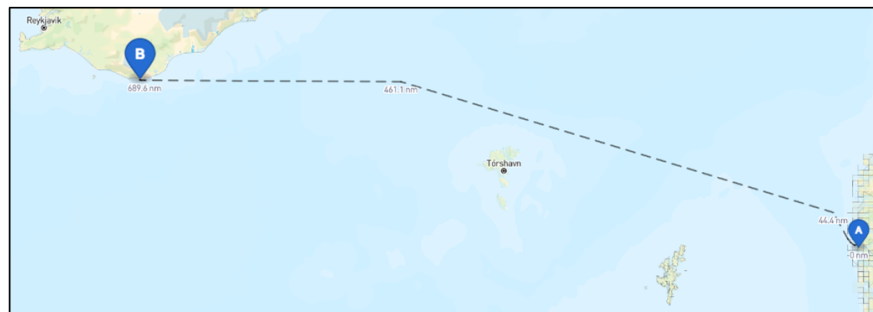


Figure 8: Image from app.savvy-navvy.com, Point A: Vardetangeen, Norway; Point B: Hjørleifshöfi, Iceland.



Figure 9: Image from app.savvy-navvy.com, Point A: Ingólfshöfi, Iceland, Point B: Hjörleifshöfi, Iceland, Point C: Reykjavík, Iceland.

## Eirík the Red & Greenland

The next explorer was a Norwegian murderer called Eirík the Red. The Íslendingabók says Eirík was from Breiafjorr.[39] Landnámabók does not tell us where Eirík was from, only that he lived in and had to leave Jæderen, Norway[40] (“some thirty miles south of Stavanger in Norway”[41]), because of involvement with his father in committing murder.[42] They initially settled in Hornstrands, Iceland (Figure 10). Tracing Eirík’s interior travel of Iceland is beyond our scope here. After another murder, Eirík was ordered to leave Iceland. Eirík left for Greenland and landed at Blaserk (Figure 11).[43]

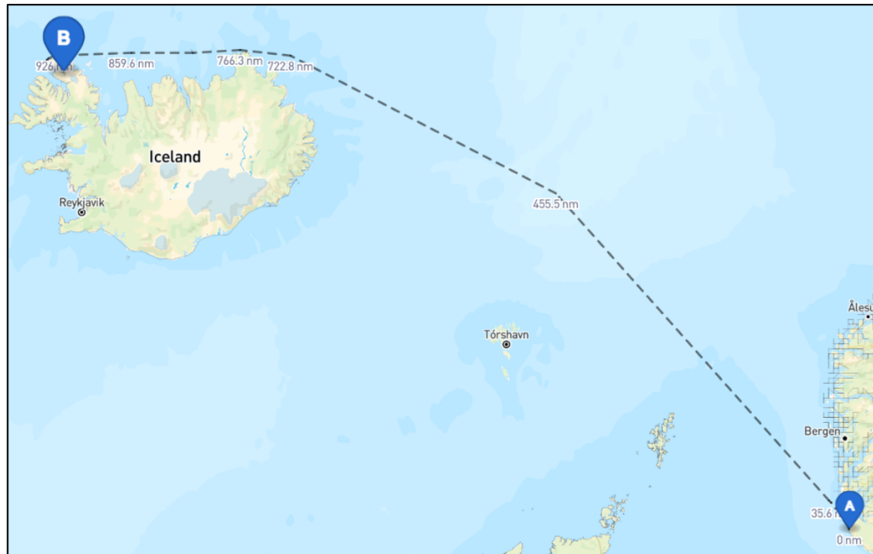


Figure 10: Image from app.savvy-navvy.com, Point A: Jaederen’s Point, Kleppe, Norway; Point B: Hornstrandir Nature Reserve, Hornstrandir friland, Iceland.

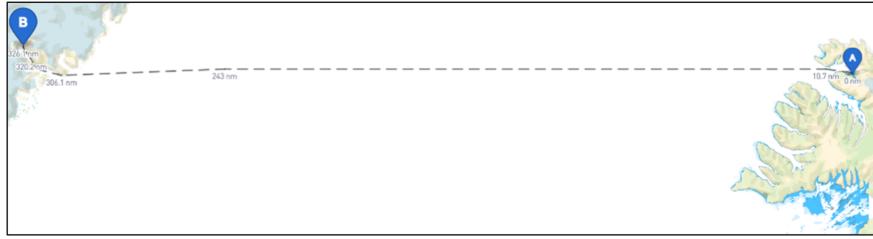


Figure 11: Image from app.savvy-navvy.com, Point A: Hornstrandir Nature Reserve, Hornstrandir friland; Point B: Ingolf Fjeld, Greenland.

The first winter, Eirík travelled from Blaserk to Eirík's Island in Eiríksfjord; from here he sailed back to Iceland the following year (Figure 12), spending the winter that year at Holmslatur with Ingolf.[44] The next summer, Eirík returned with reportedly 14 ships to Greenland,[45] and settled at Brattahlid (Figure 13).[46] Eirík travelled more than 4055 miles in his lifetime.

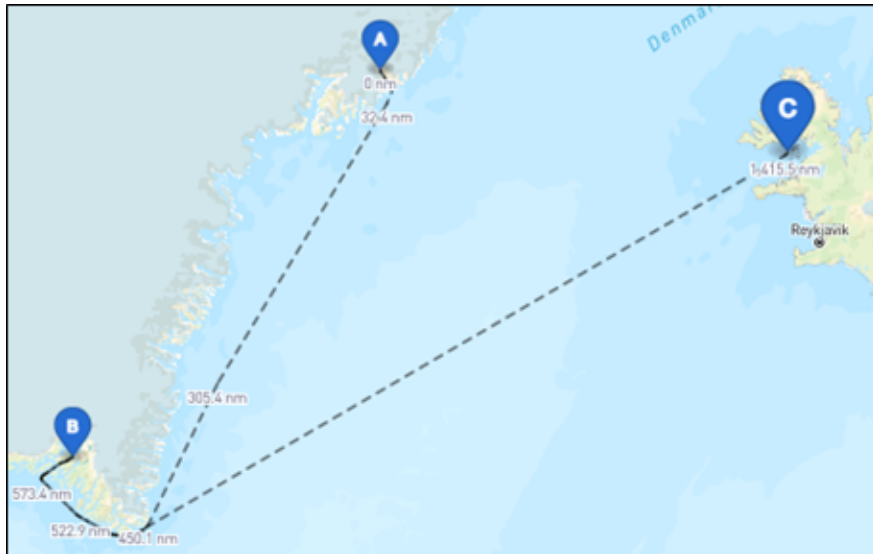


Figure 12: Image from app.savvy-navvy.com, Point A: Ingolf Fjeld, Greenland; Tunulliarfik Fjord (also known as Eiríksfjord); Point C: Breidafjord [Bay], Iceland.



Figure 13: Image from app.savvy-navvy.com, Point A: Breidafjord [Bay], Iceland; Point B: Qassiarsuk, Tunulliarfik Fjord, Greenland.

## Leif Eiríksson & Vínland

The discovery of Vínland is attributed first to Bjarni, who never actually landed in Vínland.[47] The first person to land in North America, was supposedly Leif Eiríksson, the son of Eirík the Red. Before America, however, Leif was said to be staying with the Norwegian King:

“Leif had sailed to Norway, where he stayed with King Olaf Tryggvason. But when he had set sail from Greenland in the summer, his ship was driven off course to the Hebrides. He and his men stayed most of the summer there while they were waiting for favourable winds.”[48]

This was a journey (Figure 14) of 2244 miles. Leif first arrived in North America at at Helluland[49] (believed to be Baffin Island),[50] and then sailed to Markland[51] (believed to be Labrador),[52] before finally arriving in Vínland,[53] believed to be at L’Anse aux Meadows (Figure 15).[54] Eirík is described as being ‘of Brattahlid’ and returning there after travelling to the ship with Leif; from this, we can ‘read’ that firstly, Eirík lived at Brattahlid, and that secondly, the Leif did not sail from there. The saga records that Eirík fell from his horse on this journey to the ship, which is *why* he did not sail with Leif. Therefore, we will measure Leif’s journey to Vínland from Tunulliarfik Fjord, as Eiríksfjord is now called. The journey would have been around 1841 miles – the return journey, assuming it was more direct, would have added 762 miles. Leif, therefore, travelled at least 4847 miles on his round trips from Greenland to Norway and Greenland to North America.



Figure 14: Image from app.savvy-navvy.com, Point A: Tunulliarfik Fjord, Greenland; Point B: Scolpaig, North Uist, Outer Hebrides; Point C: Trondheim, Norway.

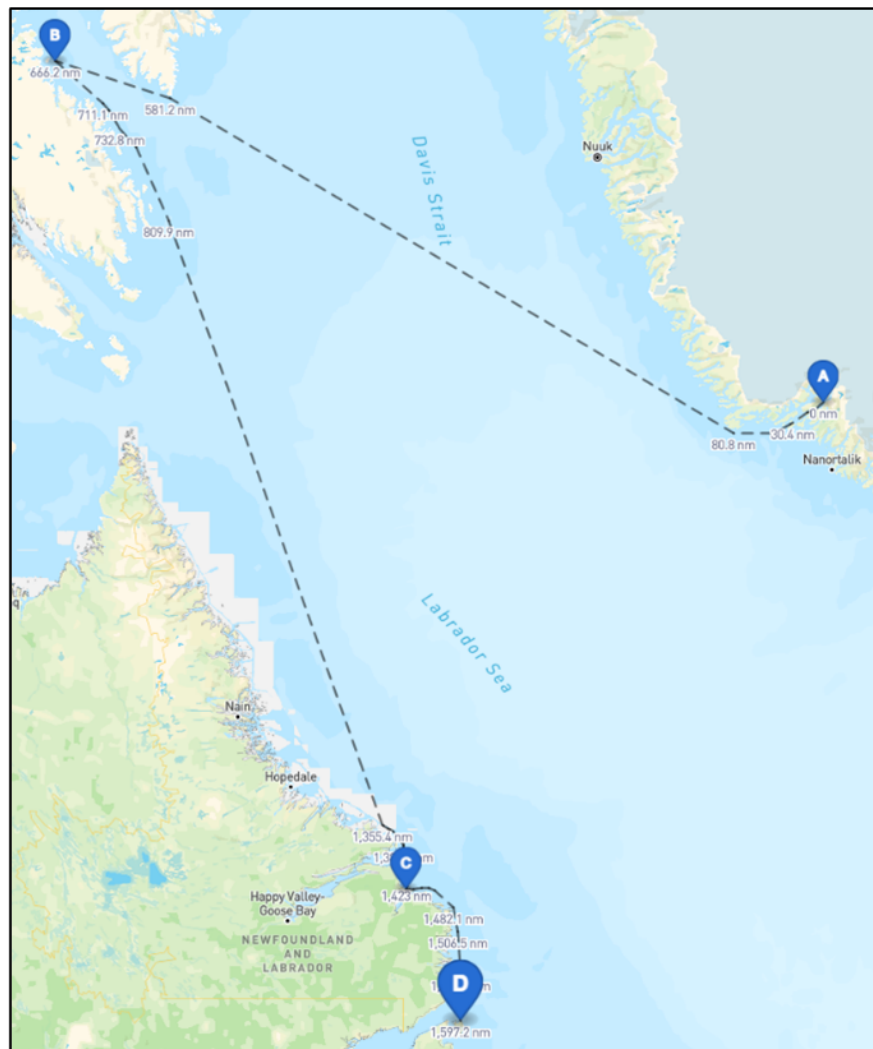


Figure 15: Image from app.savvy-navvy.com, Point A: Tunulliarfik Fjord, Greenland; Point B: Kipisa, Baffin Island; Point C: Cartwright, Labrador, Canada; Point B: L'Anse aux Meadows, Newfoundland, Canada.

## Thorvald & Vínland

The next traveller to Labrador was Thorvald; he would have taken a slightly more direct route, but we know he travelled past a number of islands and by the mouth of two fjords with a promontory jutting in the middle of them[55] – not exactly a dissimilar location to Point C (on Figure 15). It also seems likely that, based on the Grænlendinga, Throvald didn’t settle at L’Anse aux Meadows, as Leif may have:

“They did this and then sailed away eastward along the coast. Soon they found themselves at the mouth of two fjords, and sailed up to the promontory that jugged out between them; it was heavily wooded. They moored the ship alongside and put out the gangway, and Thorvald went ashore with all his men. ‘It is beautiful here,’ he said. ‘Here I should like to make my home.’”[56]

If this is the case, then it seems likely that a second Norse site further north in Labrador which may contain remnants (namely Thorvald’s body).[57] It seems that Thorvald may have travelled around 1950 miles.

## Thorfinn & Gudrin in Vínland

The final Norse trip to North America, returned to the L’Anse aux Meadows site. This trip was led by Thorfinn Karlsefni, and his wife,[58] Leif’s sister-in-law, Gudrid.[59] Based on the *Saga*, it seems Thorfinn made directly for Leif’s former site in Vínland.[60] They stayed a while, and following a fight with the ‘Skrælings’ (indigenous people) they returned to Greenland.[61] This suggests a journey of around 1525 miles. Thorfinn and Gudrid from Greenland went on to Iceland, where Thorfinn died.[62] Together they travelled around 2343 miles.

## Gudrid: To Rome and Back Again

Gudrid, herself, travelled much further from Greenland, than just to Vínland and Iceland. Vínland was her first journey, Iceland her second. After Thorfinn’s death, and her son, who was born in Vínland, married, she went on a pilgrimage to Rome, and returned (Figure 16) to become an abbess at the abbey she founded in Iceland.[63] It is impossible to know which way Gudrid travelled to Rome, but based on Google Maps, ‘walking’ – the journey from Skagaströnd, Iceland to Rome, Italy would be 2545 miles. In her life, Gudrid travelled more than 7434 miles.

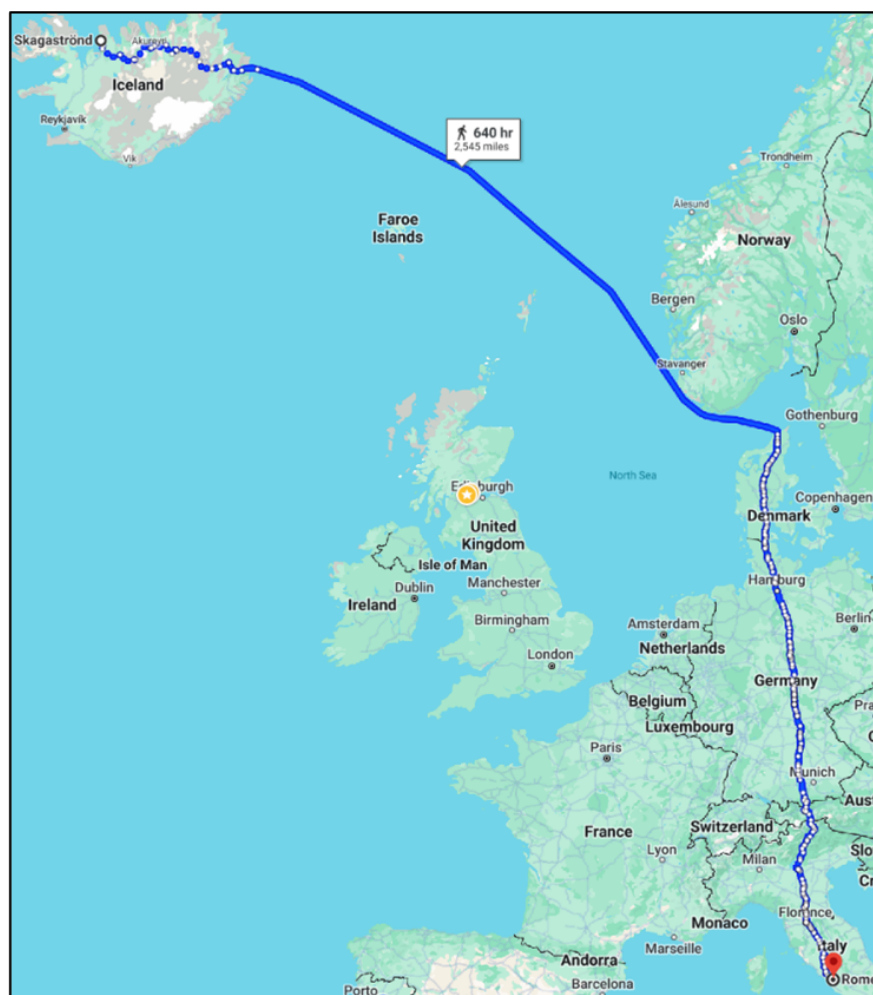


Figure 16: Image from [Google.com/maps](https://www.google.com/maps), Point A: Skagaströnd, Iceland; Point B: Rome, Italy.

## Auun & a Bear

The final person surveyed is Auun. Auun lived in the Westfjord region of Iceland and boarded a ship at Vadil (Vaill) – where he initially sailed is unrecorded, but he returned and then travel onto More, Norway.<sup>[64]</sup> From Norway, Auun sailed to Eiriksford, Greenland, where he purchased a polar bear (Figure 17).<sup>[65]</sup> From Greenland, Auun headed back to Norway, possibly initially via More again, with an intention of sailing to gift the bear to the King of Denmark.<sup>[66]</sup> However, he was detained, shortly, by the King of Norway,<sup>[67]</sup> possibly near Bergen (Figure 18).

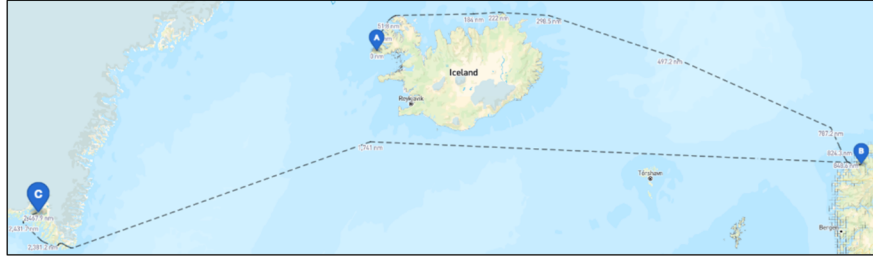


Figure 17: Image from app.savvy-navvy.com, Point A: Vaalsvegur Innri, Iceland; Point B: More, Norway (near Sykkylven); Point C: Tunulliarfik Fjord, Greenland.



Figure 18: Image from app.savvy-navvy.com, Point A: Tunulliarfik Fjord, Greenland; Point B: More, Norway (near Sykkylven); Point C: Bergen, Norway.

Auun travelled onto Denmark via ‘Oslofjord’ to give Denmark’s King the bear,<sup>[68]</sup> possibly at the then Danish capital of Roskilde (Figure 19). From Denmark, he continued to Rome, and then returned to Denmark’s King’s residence,<sup>[69]</sup> potentially also at Roskilde (Figure 20).

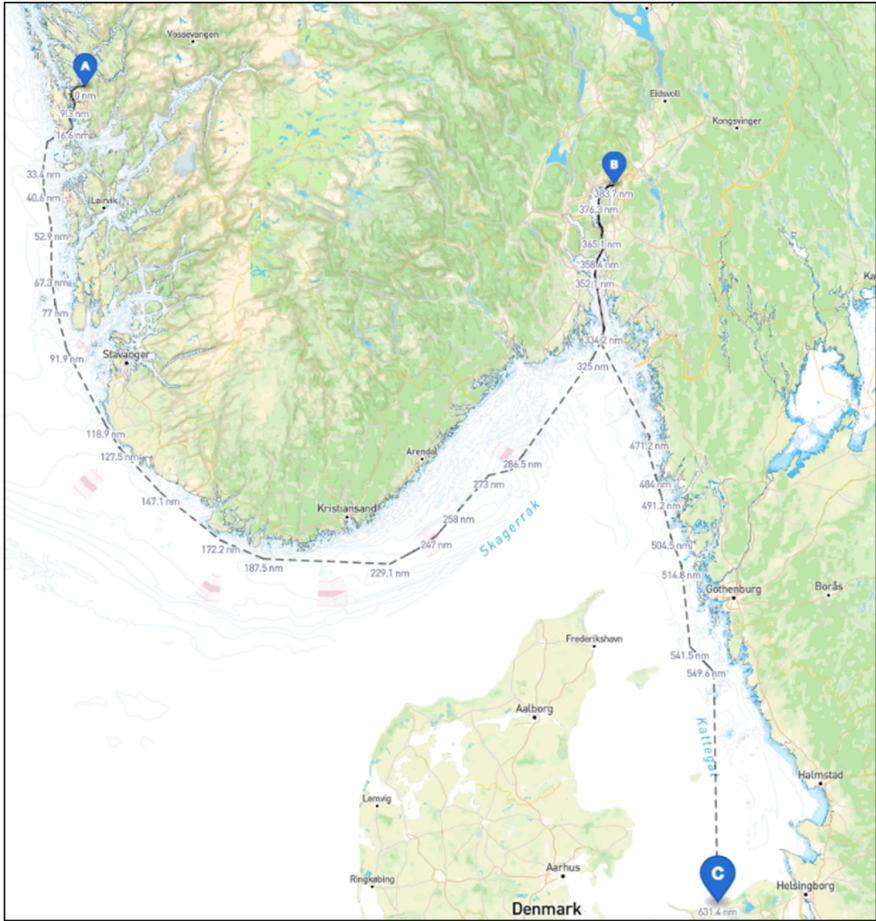


Figure 19: Image from app.savvy-navvy.com, Point A: Bergen, Norway.; Point B: Oslo, Norway; Point C: Roskilde, Denmark.

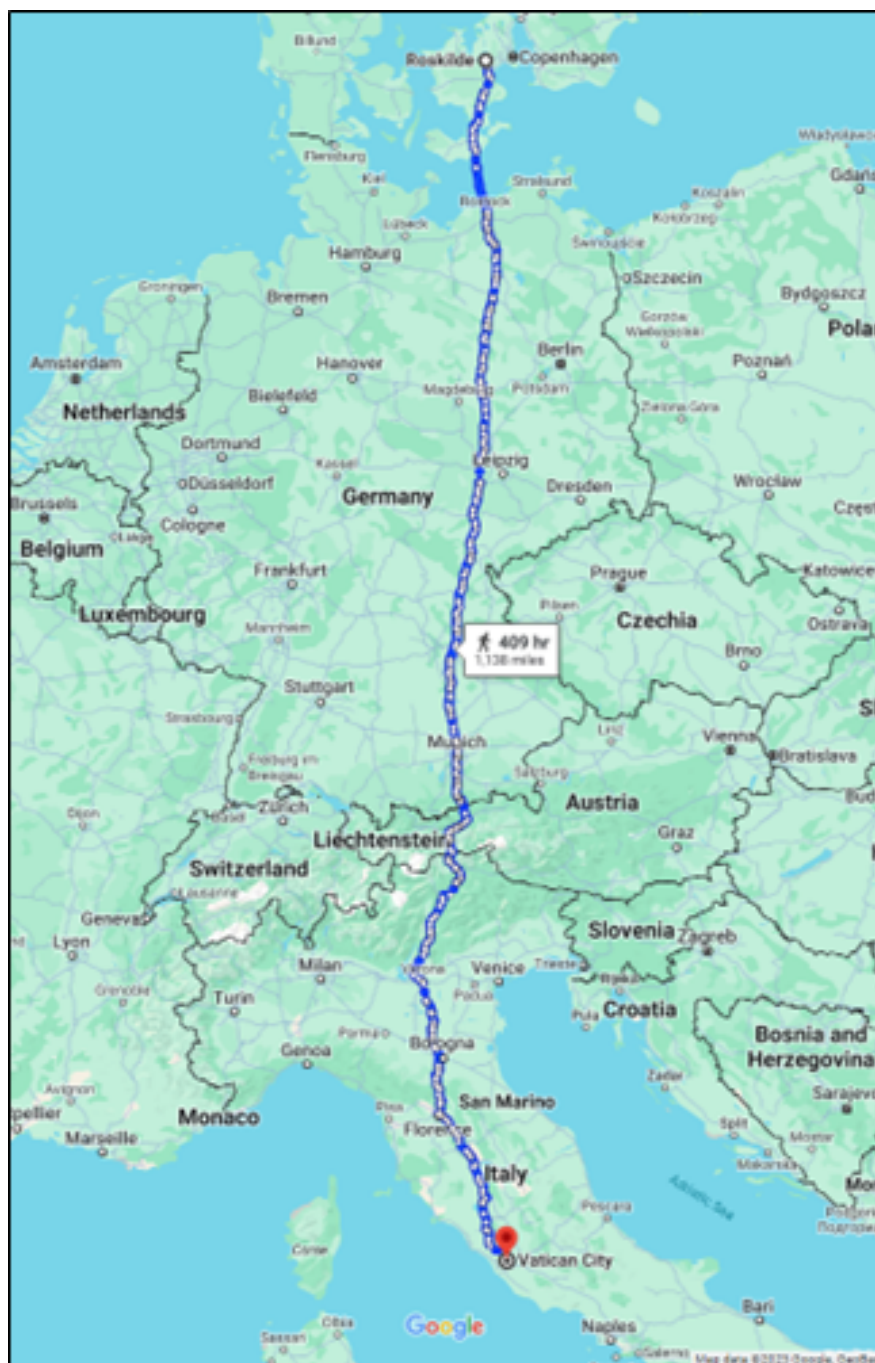


Figure 20: Image from [Google.com/Maps](https://www.google.com/maps), Point A: Roskilde, Denmark; Point B: Vatican City, Rome, Italy.

He returned to Iceland, via another visit with Norway's King, possibly also at Bergen (Figure 21).<sup>[70]</sup> Auun travelled in excess of 9413 miles.

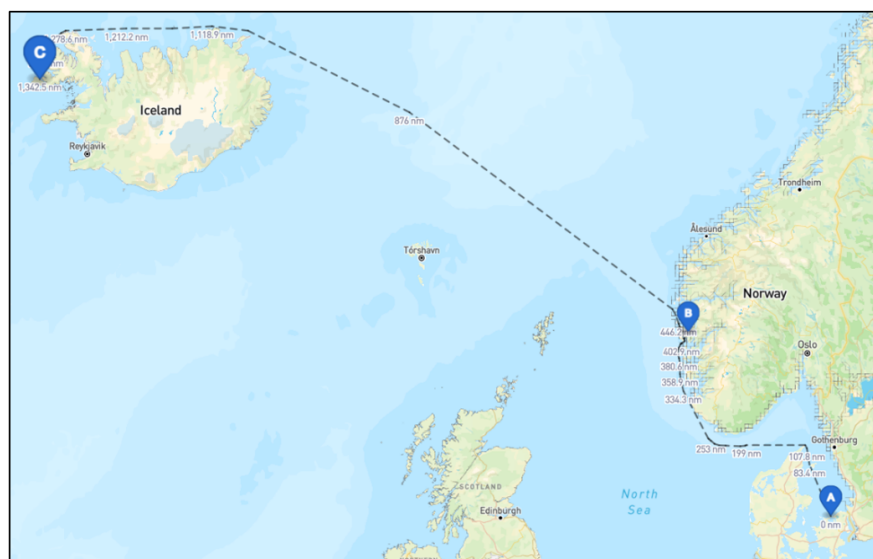


Figure 21: Image from app.savvy-navvy.com, Point A: Roskilde, Denmark; Point B: Bergen, Norway; Point C: Vaalsvegur Innri, Iceland.

## Conclusion

This essay has outlined why the people included in its survey are Vikings (broadly preferring the term ‘Northmen’ to describe them); and moving from this, it highlighted its methodological issues, primarily surrounding the inability to locate many locations mentioned in the primary sources, but secondarily because there has been no critical interrogation of the primary sources, which is not within the scope of this essay. The essay then examined the Icelandic discoverers and settlers. The essay then looked at Greenland’s founder, Eirík the Red, before looking at three expeditions to North America. The essay looked at Gudrid, a woman who travelled over 7434 miles in her lifetime. Finally, this essay looked at the incredible journey of Auun, who travelled more than 9413 miles. This essay also found there may be more locations in Northmen locations, undiscovered in North America, specifically evidencing Thorvald’s visit. Further research could explore the locations mentioned in the sagas more explicitly, trying to build a more accurate picture of the journeys to understand more about the individuals who undertook them, exploring the day-to-day life of these travellers on the ‘road’ and at sea.

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- [16] Atria A. Larson, ‘From Protections for Miserabiles Personae to Legal Privileges for International Travellers: The Historical Development of the Medieval Canon Law Regarding Pilgrims’, *Glossae* 16 (2019): 170.
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- [19] Jónas Kristjánsson et al., ‘Falling into Vínland: Newfoundland Hunting Pitfalls at the Edge of the Viking World’, *Acta Archaeologica* 83, no. 1 (2012): 149–51, <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1600-0390.2012.00623.x>.
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- [21] Hermann Pálsson and Paul Edwards, *The Book of Settlements: Landnámabók* (Winnipeg, Manitoba, Canada: University of Manitoba Press, 2006), sec. 320.
- [22] Grønlie, *Íslendingabók - Kristni Saga: The Book of the Icelanders, The Story of the Conversion*, xxvi.
- [23] Grønlie, 4.
- [24] Grønlie, 3–4; Landnámabók also says Harald Finehair was King of Norway: Pálsson and Edwards, *The Book of Settlements: Landnámabók*, sec. 2: ‘Harald Fine-Hair was King of Norway, Eirík Eymundsson and his son ruled over Sweden, and Gorm the Old over Denmark. Alfred the Great and his son Edward ruled in England, King Kjarval in Dublin and Earl Sigurd the Mighty over the Orkneys.’

- [25] Grønlie, *Íslendingabók - Kristni Saga: The Book of the Icelanders, The Story of the Conversion*, 4.
- [26] Pálsson and Edwards, *The Book of Settlements: Landnámabók*, sec. 3.
- [27] Pálsson and Edwards, sec. 4.
- [28] Distances, Göteborg, Sweeden to Höfn, Iceland (using app-savy-navy.com) is estimated to be 931 nautical miles (1071 miles), a return trip, doubling this, would be 2142 miles, adding in our original figure of 1956 brings this to 4098 miles. Again, sailing is not ‘as the crow flies’ but would in fact involve a number of extra miles.
- [29] Pálsson and Edwards, *The Book of Settlements: Landnámabók*, sec. 5.
- [30] Pálsson and Edwards, sec. 5.
- [31] Pálsson and Edwards, sec. 5.
- [32] Pálsson and Edwards, secs 7–9.
- [33] Grønlie, *Íslendingabók - Kristni Saga: The Book of the Icelanders, The Story of the Conversion*, 3–4.
- [34] Vardetangen, Austrheim, Norway was selected as the western-most point of mainland Norway.
- [35] Pálsson and Edwards, *The Book of Settlements: Landnámabók*, sec. 8.
- [36] This could be Arnarhóll, in Stokkseyri; but it seems more likely to be Arnarhóll, a mountain in Reykjavík – because this Arnarhóll, is where the Ingolf’s two ‘highseat pillars’ were said to have landed, and he vowed to make their landing place his home.
- [37] Pálsson and Edwards, *The Book of Settlements: Landnámabók*, secs 8–9.
- [38] These journeys combine to around 302 miles.
- [39] Grønlie, *Íslendingabók - Kristni Saga: The Book of the Icelanders, The Story of the Conversion*, 7: This is slightly misleading - Breiafjörur is a bay in Iceland, and likely near the place Eirík lived in Iceland.
- [40] Jæderen’s Point is 21 miles south of Stavanger, modern day Jaeren which Gwyn Jones, *The Norse Atlantic Saga: Being the Norse Voyages of Discovery and Settlement of Iceland, Greenland, and North America*, 1986, 74. writes in place of Jæderen is only 7-8 miles south of Stavanger, so the exact location is unidentified.
- [41] Jones, 74.
- [42] Pálsson and Edwards, *The Book of Settlements: Landnámabók*, sec. 89; This is also confirmed by the Grænlendinga Saga and Eirík’s Saga Magnusson and Hermann Pálsson, *The Vinland Sagas: The Norse Discovery of America: Grænlendinga Saga and Eirík’s Saga*, 47 & 76.
- [43] Pálsson and Edwards, *The Book of Settlements: Landnámabók*, sec. 89: note 38 says ‘Blaserk (‘Blue Shirt’) has been tentatively identified with Ingolfssjeld, a glacier peak near Angmagssalik.’; Magnusson and Hermann Pálsson, *The Vinland Sagas: The Norse Discovery of America: Grænlendinga Saga and Eirík’s Saga*, 47 The Grænlendinga Saga says Eirík the Red left Iceland from Eiríkssbay, but this no longer appears on maps by this name.
- [44] Pálsson and Edwards, *The Book of Settlements: Landnámabók*, sec. 90.
- [45] According to: Pálsson and Edwards, sec. 90 there were originally 25 ships, but not all made the journey.
- [46] Pálsson and Edwards, secs 90–92.
- [47] Magnusson and Hermann Pálsson, *The Vinland Sagas: The Norse Discovery of America: Grænlendinga Saga and Eirík’s Saga*, 51–54.
- [48] Magnusson and Hermann Pálsson, 84.

- [49] Magnusson and Hermann Pálsson, 55.
- [50] Kristjánsson et al., ‘Falling into Vínland: Newfoundland Hunting Pitfalls at the Edge of the Viking World’, 172.
- [51] Magnusson and Hermann Pálsson, *The Vinland Sagas: The Norse Discovery of America: Grænlandinga Saga and Eirík’s Saga*, 55.
- [52] Kristjánsson et al., ‘Falling into Vínland: Newfoundland Hunting Pitfalls at the Edge of the Viking World’, 172.
- [53] Magnusson and Hermann Pálsson, *The Vinland Sagas: The Norse Discovery of America: Grænlandinga Saga and Eirík’s Saga*, 55–56.
- [54] Margot Kuitens et al., ‘Evidence for European Presence in the Americas in AD1021’, *Nature* 601, no. 7893 (2022): 388–91, <https://doi.org/10.1038/s41586-021-03972-8>; Birgitta Wallace, ‘The Norse in Newfoundland: L’Anse Aux Meadows and Vinland’, *Newfoundland Studies* 19, no. 1 (2003): 5–43, <https://journals.lib.unb.ca/index.php/NFLDS/article/view/140/236>; Birgitta Wallace, ‘L’Anse Aux Meadows, Leif Eriksson’s Home in Vinland’, *Journal of the North Atlantic Special Vo* (2009): 114–25.
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- [56] Magnusson and Hermann Pálsson, 60.
- [57] Magnusson and Hermann Pálsson, 61.
- [58] Magnusson and Hermann Pálsson, 64.
- [59] Magnusson and Hermann Pálsson, 61.
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- [61] Magnusson and Hermann Pálsson, 67.
- [62] Magnusson and Hermann Pálsson, 71.
- [63] Magnusson and Hermann Pálsson, 71.
- [64] Pálsson, ‘Audun’s Story’, 121.
- [65] Pálsson, 121–22.
- [66] Pálsson, 122, 123–24.
- [67] Pálsson, 122–23.
- [68] Pálsson, 123–24.
- [69] Pálsson, 124–25.
- [70] Pálsson, 127–28.

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