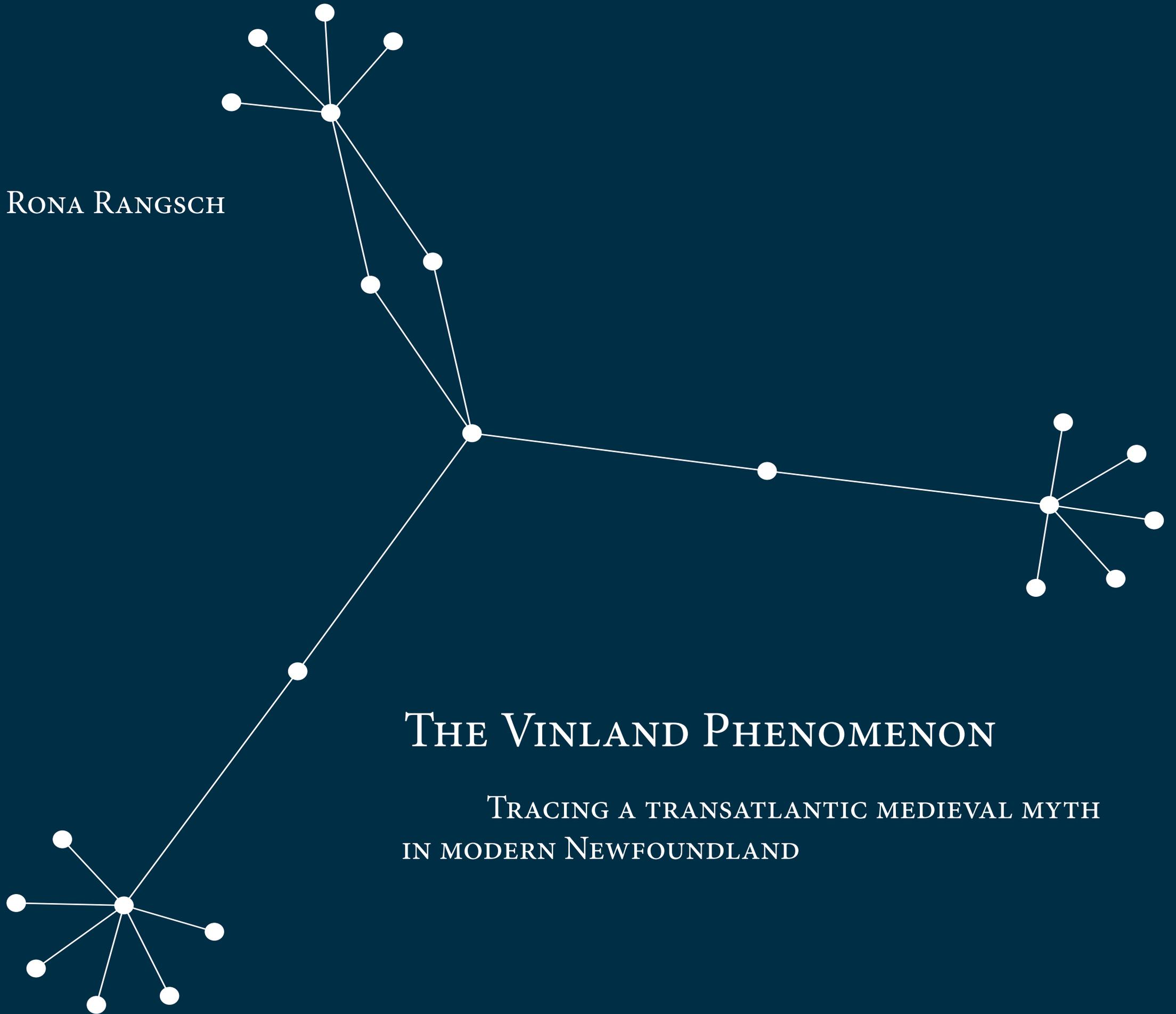


RONA RANGSCH



THE VINLAND PHENOMENON

TRACING A TRANSATLANTIC MEDIEVAL MYTH
IN MODERN NEWFOUNDLAND



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Opposite Page: Looking towards the steep cliffs of Western Brook Pond, a fjord at the westcoast of Newfoundland which was once connected to the Gulf of St. Lawrence



PREFACE

by Birgitta Wallace

When I arrived in North America in the 1960s I was amazed by the widespread fascination with Norse Vinland and the Norse themselves, commonly referred to as Vikings. This was particularly striking as, at the time, Scandinavians back in their own lands were not particularly interested in their Viking forbearers. This has since changed as the great tourist potential of everything Viking has taken hold. One of my first assignments as an archaeologist with Carnegie Museum of Natural History in Pittsburgh, PA, was to travel to every alleged Viking location in North America, to view every artifact, inscription, and site and to give them the same kind of assessment as one would any archaeological phenomenon. What struck me was the scant familiarity proponents had with the real Viking world, as well as the many myths that had developed around these supposed pieces of evidence. Many people I met thought it perfectly natural that Vikings would have left runic inscriptions in inland Oklahoma, buried their dead on a mining claim in central Ontario, travelled through Minnesota on a religious mission in the 1360s, and left axes, swords, and lance heads throughout the North American Middle west. Vikings were travellers, but there were limits to the distances small groups based

in Greenland could cover safely, and besides, none of the artifacts looked anything like the weapons used by the Vikings. Nor were the inscriptions in the language spoken by the Vikings. Yet these are not the conclusions wanted by Viking fans. The romance of undiscovered Viking sites has a firm grip on the public in wide parts of North America but also in Newfoundland.

Newfoundland can lay special claims as we really know that the Vikings were there and that they regularly left their post in L'Anse aux Meadows to explore other regions. Thus it is understandable that local memories of the past and old rusty artifacts such as outlined in this collation are revived and connected with the Vikings. It all seems so plausible. My view as an archaeologist differs. I would not be doing my job if I immediately accepted everything as true evidence. Other explanations must be pursued with equal fervour if it is going to have any validity. The pleasure of an archaeologist lies in solving mysteries, not being seduced by them. The question of the location of Vinland is a case in point. It may be romantic to think of a Vinland still there to be found. In my opinion the archaeological evidence at L'Anse aux Meadows has given

Opposite Page: Caplin rolling ashore in L'Anse aux Meadows

us a strong pointer where to look for it: the coastlines around the Gulf of St. Lawrence, with L'Anse aux Meadows being the Straumfjord of Erik the Red's Saga, Vinland's main settlement, and the Miramichi and Chaleur Bay area of New Brunswick the warmer and more hospitable Hóp where grapes really do grow wild. Clearly Vinland encompasses a vast area, and the Norse may have set foot in many locations.

The stories presented here are to some extent spurred by theories and a mix of professional and amateur investigations, some undertaken long ago and some more recent. Rona Rangsch has presented them as stories, stories that appeal to the imagination as they are, without judgement. To her, the driving factor lies in the almost inexplicable fascination with Vinland, the way the Vinland sagas continue to stimulate passion for discovery, for interpretation, and leading to a variety of individual geographic spots and objects, here beautifully illustrated and described, dangling between myths and reality. The Vinland Phenomenon unites them into an interactive net of shared visions. Enjoy!



This page: Soapstone spindle whorl and bronze pin found at the dig site in L'Anse aux Meadows on the northern tip of Newfoundland. These two artefacts gave final evidence of the Norse origin of the site.



Opposite Page: Steel sculpture on the hill next to the site. The silhouettes of a group of Norse look in both directions – towards Greenland where they came from and west to where they might go for further exploration.



INTRODUCTION

I first came across the term and notion of *Vinland* when I did research for a project on the first contact between what we have come to call Old and New World, in Bergen, in Norway in 2012. I was struck and amazed by the amount of historic as well as contemporary material across disciplines on the subject. And I was intrigued by the original story about Vinland. So, eventually, I set out to find out more about why and how Vinland keeps captivating people's imagination.

In the so-called Vinland sagas, two independent medieval Icelandic texts¹, we hear about Leif Eiriksson and his crew who landed on new shores to the southwest of Greenland around the year 1000. Today we know they were the first Europeans to set foot on the American continent, and their encounter with the local Indigenous people completed the encircling of the globe by mankind. Leif named the land *Vinland* – *the Wine Land* – and it must have sounded like the land of milk and honey for Norse ears, as wine was an important status symbol and hard to acquire throughout the Norse world, and even more so in Greenland and Iceland. We do not know if he really found

grapes, or if the name might refer to fermented berries – or if he simply chose the name to impress the people back home. Fact is that the heroic figure of its discoverer, the dulcet name he gave to it and the tales by the few who ever visited the place together with the sagas which praise the land and its resources, have created an aura of mystery and promise around the term *Vinland*. And together with the ocean-spanning character inherent to the *Vinland* legend this aura gave raise to what I am calling *The Vinland Phenomenon*:

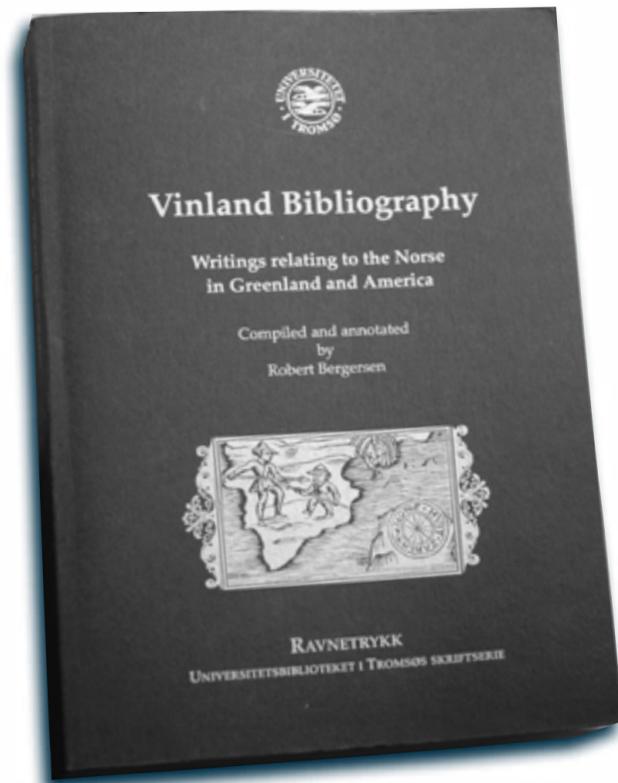
For several hundreds of years now, *Vinland* is stimulating the imagination of scholars and laymen on both sides of the Atlantic alike who do not tire to try and identify the paradise-like places from the *Vinland* sagas, based on ever new argumentation and re-interpretation of the original texts. This did not change when the remains of a Norse settlement were discovered at L'Anse aux Meadows on the northern tip of Newfoundland in the 1960s. The find rather fuelled the discussions as one thing appears to be certain: L'Anse au Meadows doesn't give the full picture. The Norsemen – once they had reached this exposed place in the North would definitely have explored further south

Opposite page: Skálholt Map (1570) by which Icelandic teacher Sigurd Stefánsson tried to trace the western voyages of the Norsemen around the year 1000 based on the study of the saga texts. On the left we see

Helleland, *Markland* and *Promontorium Winlandia*, obviously the Great Northern Peninsula of Newfoundland. *Skralinge Land* is the land of the Indigenous peoples.

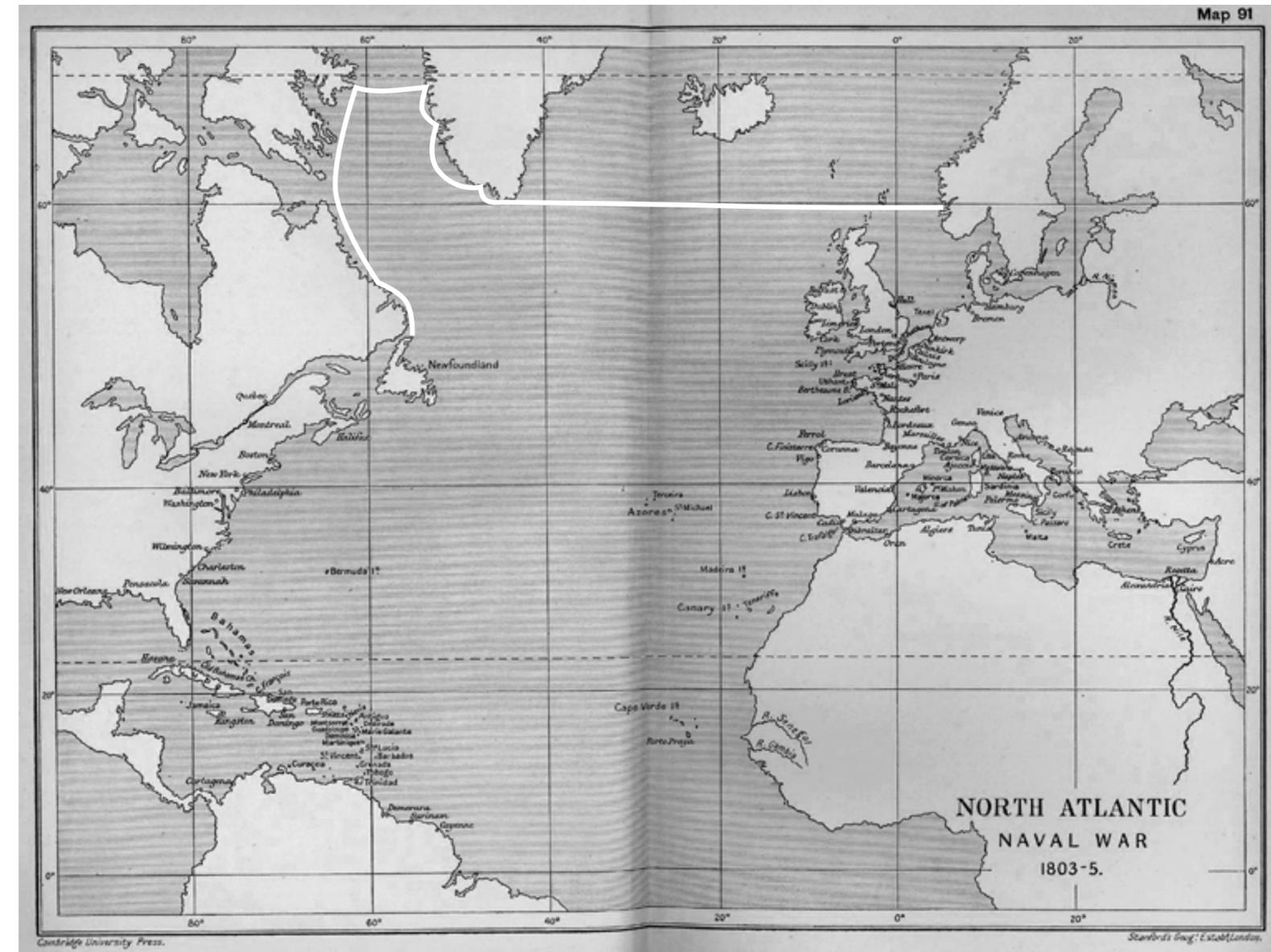
from there. And so, to the present day, ever new articles and books are being published on the subject; Vinland conferences are being held; Vinland blogs and websites are being created, maintained, visited and passionately commented. Recently, the news that another Norse site in southwest Newfoundland might have been found with the aid of satellite imagery has obtained wide media coverage. Vinland appears to be an identity-giving utopia – not unlike Atlantis or Eldorado, but with the particularity of having an anchor in reality.

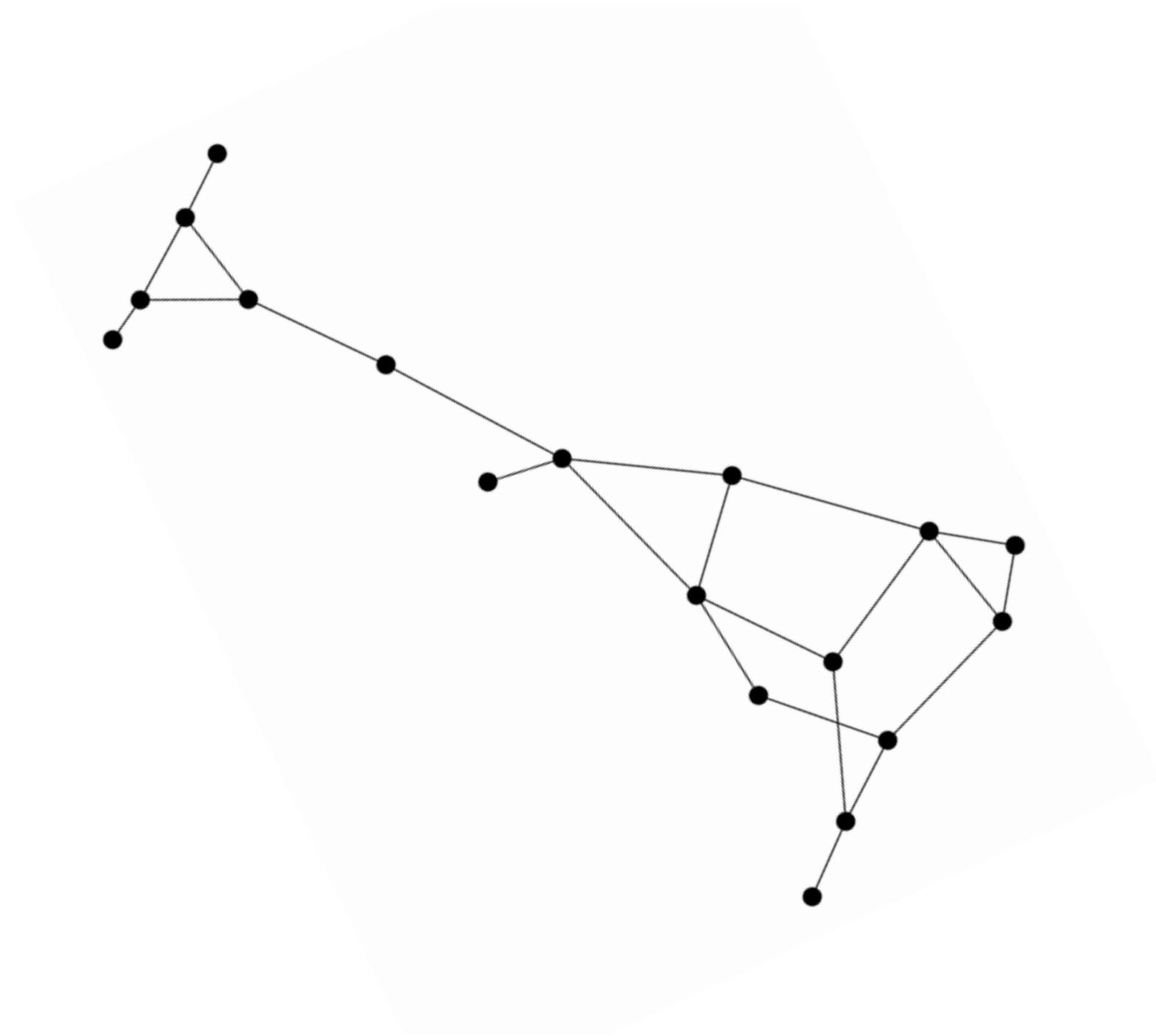
Based on literature research and extensive field studies the work presented in this book gathers conceptions, imaginations and representations of Vinland in today's Newfoundland as the only place in the New World where evidence for a Norse presence has been found. It aims to convey the nature of *The Vinland Phenomenon* by means of quotes from interviews with people involved in the subject, by artworks based on the unique Newfoundland scenery which aim to convey the mystery and beauty of Vinland, and through a collection of Vinland stories collected all over the large island. It also comprises a photo series which represents my own quest of finding the motivations and manifestations of the Vinland quests of others. RR



This page: The *Vinland Bibliography*⁵ lists more than 6000 publications related to Vinland over the last 250 years, and its author, Robert Bergersen, states that the list is by no means complete. Opposite page: Norse transatlantic sailing routes - from Norway to Greenland (the Eastern Settlement in the south and the Western

Settlement to the northwest from there) and from Greenland across the Davis Strait to what Leif Eiriksson called *Helluland* (the land of flat stones, today's Baffin Island), *Markland* (the forest land, today's Labrador) and *Vinland* (the wine land, from today's L'Anse aux Meadows to – where?)





VINLAND QUOTES

During summer 2015 and spring 2016, I talked to a number of people with various backgrounds who have a relation to Vinland. With some of them I had made contact beforehand, others I got in touch with through my hang-outs, the radio interviews, or the suggestion by locals I met along the way. All agreed to share their Vinland ideas, theories, research or experiences with me.

The quotes presented in the following were taken from longer interviews. They reflect a variety of concepts and feelings which are at the core of *The Vinland Phenomenon*: Imagination, curiosity, urge for discovery, allurements, utopianism, identity, craving for recognition and longing for a Promised Land.

Left: The network represents the connections between the people I met in Newfoundland during my field studies for the project. It includes the interviewees and a few others who substantially contributed to my

investigations. The network was visualized with *Gephi*, a freeware for scientific networks analysis; the layout I chose here for aesthetic reasons is called *Atlas Force*.



*„In that whole business
of discovery, Vinland is one of
those places that everybody
comes to discover.“*

(Kevin McAleese, St. John's)

Kevin is an archaeologist and has participated in and contributed to the *Viking Millennium International Symposium* held in Newfoundland in 2000. Moreover, he is one of the authors of the paper *Falling into Vinland* (*Acta Archaeologica*, Vol. 83, 2012, pp 146 - 177).



Dave lives in L'Anse aux Meadows at a stone's throw from the Norse site. Besides being a fisherman he works in maintenance at the *Norstead* reanactment Viking village located just beyond his property.

*„The land of milk and honey:
That's what Newfoundland really is.
There's enough provision in the land
for us to live from it.“*

(David Bartlett, L'Anse aux Meadows)



Birgitta is an archaeologist of Swedish origin based in Halifax. She participated in the excavations of the in L'Anse aux Meadows in the 1960s and was the chief archaeologist and investigator on the site for Parks Canada later-on. She is one of the leading experts on the Norse western voyages.

„I see Vinland in part as a lost paradise. I think of it as some very pleasant, lush place in summertime – with exotic fruit and exotic things, that will make whoever discovers them very important.“

(Dr. Birgitta Wallace, Halifax)



Ivan and his wife Maxine live in Bellevue Beach. They own and operate the local campground which is adjacent to the *Vinland Trail*.

*„Everything here matches
what they say in the sagas.
So, we know it’s Vinland.“*

(Ivan Anderson, Bellevue Beach)



Cameron and Kim work for Parks Canada at the National Historic Site in L'Anse aux Meadows during the summer – he a student and she a heritage presenter.

„It’s like an old interesting story, that’s actually come to life and you can see it first hand, and at such a remote spot in the world...“

(Cameron Blake, Straitsview)

„It’s so open ended: L’Anse aux Meadows is obviously where Vinland started – but where does it end?“

(Kimberly Green, St. Anthony)



Andrew Shea from Fogo Town is the mayor of Fogo Island and highly interested in the island's history, for personal curiosity and for advancing tourism.

*„Maybe you will bring the
Vikings to Fogo Island!“*

(Andrew Shea, Fogo Island)



Ruth and Terry have witnessed and participated in the shooting of the Viking movie *Outlander* in Little Port in 2006.

*„Before they did the Viking movie here
we were just little Newfoundland...
Now, we're Vinland! „*

(Terry and Ruth Travers, Little Port)



Bill grew up in Mt. Arlington Heights where he and his brother discovered a peculiar rock formation of apparent human origin on a hill nearby.

„The Vikings were the ultimate explorers, they couldn't sit still. I can remember being like that: Everytime when we'd go up to the top of the hill I always wanted to go to the next one.“

(Bill Griffith, Mount Pearl)



*„Like I say, with all the grass that’s there
and the abundance of salmon, I can’t see why
Main River wouldn’t look like paradise.
From a boat especially.“*

(Ivan Budden, Sop’s Arm)

Ivan is the brother of Kent Budden who ran the Viking Museum in his private home in Sop’s Arm until he passed away in 2008.



Ken was an archaeologist at the Provincial Archaeology Office of Newfoundland and Labrador in St. John's. Over the years he has visited many places all over Newfoundland where local residents claimed they had found Norse relics. He passed away from cancer in late 2016.

*„There is this phenomenon of people,
who connect with the Norse and the sagas.
It sort of becomes a personal quest. [...]
The real Vinland, the real Eldorado, the
real Atlantis is still out there to be found.“*

(Ken Reynolds, St. John's)



Tom owns and once operated the store in Fortune Harbour behind which the jasper sample was taken which could be chemically matched with a find at the Norse site in L'Anse aux Meadows. He thinks Fortune Harbour is a much better place shelter- and resource-wise than L'Anse aux Meadows.

„The guy looking at the jasper cherts behind my store said: We've got documented proof that the Vikings were here in Fortune Harbour. The question I had to this guy was: Why would you leave Fortune Harbour to go to L'Anse aux Meadows?“

(Tom Hynes, Fortune Harbour)



Gabrielle works in the Heritage Gift Shop in the Visitor Center of the National Historic Site at L'Anse aux Meadows. She believes that the Norse are part of her heritage.

*„When I think about Vinland,
what I see when I close my eyes:
It's vast, it's green...
To tell you the truth, I'm very proud
of it. I feel a little bit of pride everytime
I path the Norse site here in L'Anse aux
Meadows, because for me
it's quite defining.“*

(Gabrielle Suley, St. Lunaire-Griquet)



Don has studied the Norse saga texts to great detail. He developed the theory that the Vikings had come to Freshwater Bay and up Gambo River to Gambo Lake as these places offered everything they were looking for: Sites for mooring large ships, shelter and an abundance of salmon and timber.

„If I had a choice, which discovery would I want? Oh yes, it would be a Viking discovery! To find something out on the point or somewhere.“

(Don Collins, Gambo)



Christina is a fiddler and instructor at the annual *Vinland Music Camp* in Gros Morne National Park, founded and coordinated by Eric West. Chris is the producer and narrator of *Great Circle - The Viking Discovery of the Americas*, an audio adventure realized in 2000.

„One reason why Eric West called his production company ‘Vinland Music’ is that he’s always been fascinated by the Vikings and the first connection between the Old World and the New World, and the company was the first production company in Newfoundland. The other reason is that his name is Eric and he has red hair..“

(Christina Smith, St. John’s)

„It’s recorded that when the Beothucks were shot, the women would kneel down and expose their breasts. So when I read the story of Freydis I thought: Isn’t that interesting, that that actually was a Viking gesture!“

(Chris Brookes, St. John’s)



Joan has lived in St. John's for many years until 2016. She is the author of the novel *Eiriksdottir: A Tale of Dreams and Luck* about the Vinland expedition led by Leif Eiriksson's sister Freydis.

*„I think Vinland is a utopia.
It's mythic – look at all the great gods!
And there are these mythic quests, you
might say. Some people are fascinated
by them and want to follow them.
It's all about curiosity.“*

(Joan Clark, Calgary)



Since he read the Icelandic sagas as a teenager, Wayne has believed that there was a large Norse colony above the banks of Little Codroy River nearby his house.

*„Vinland is the paradise-lost.
And now maybe found again...
in New Found Land.“*

(Wayne McIsaac, St. Andrew's)



*„Despite the years of study, for me
Vinland is always... a grassy paradise;
a place of untapped potential.
And for me the heart of Vinland
is L'Anse aux Meadows.“*

(Loretta Decker, L'Anse aux Meadows)

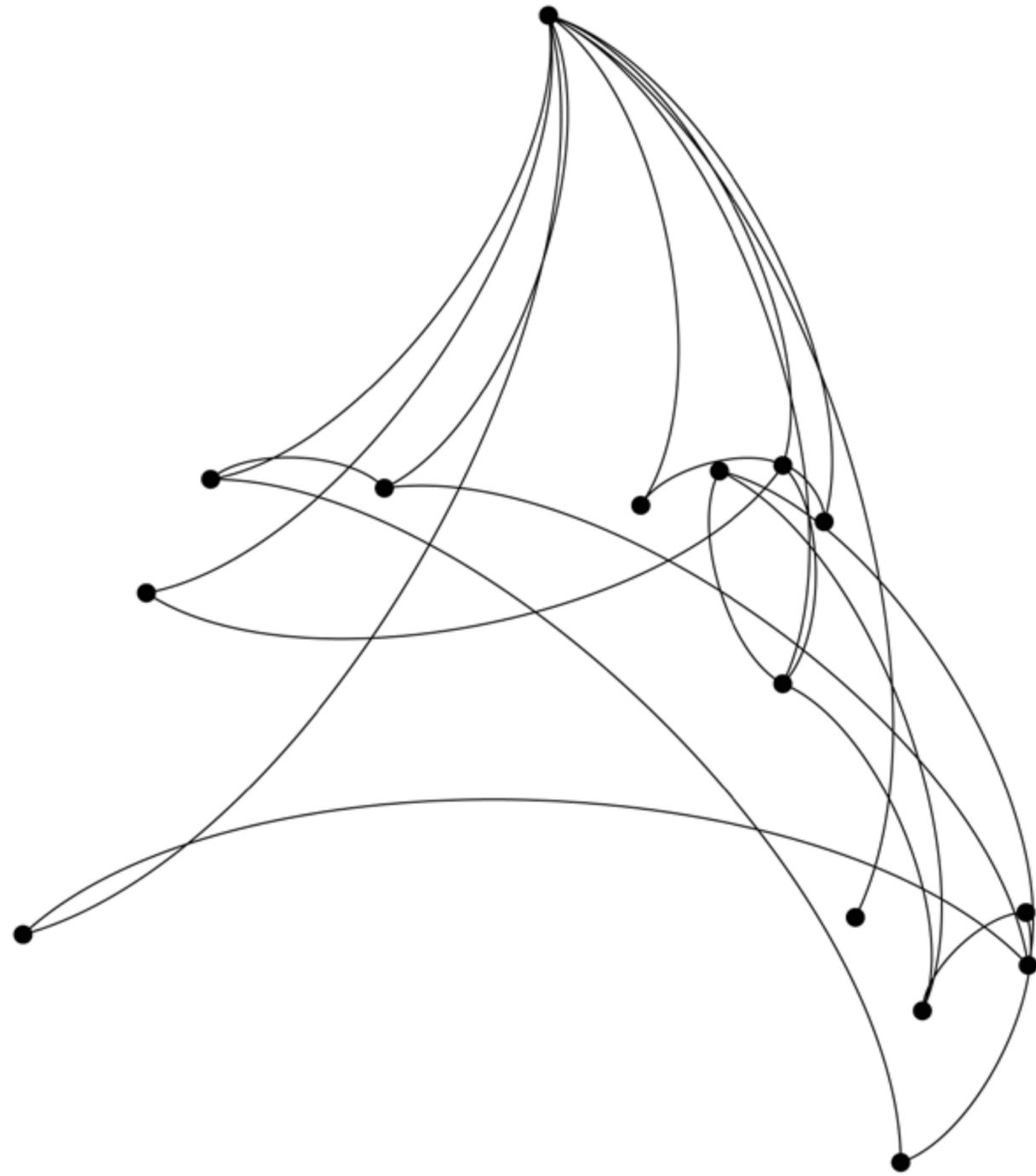
Loretta is the granddaughter of George Decker, the local resident of L'Anse aux Meadows who, in 1960, led Helge Ingstad to the mounds in his field which turned out to be the foundations of Norse sod buildings. Loretta used to play on the Norse site as a child. Today she works with the National Historic Sites section of Parks Canada.



Dale Wells is a Parks Canada senior interpreter at L'Anse aux Meadows. After many years on site she still cherishes to be able to work at such a special place to which she feels very connected.

*„Many people want
Vinland to be theirs...
Why wouldn't you want
Vinland to be yours?“*

(Dale Wells, St. Anthony)



VINLAND VISIONS

Series of digital photo montages 2015 / 2016
Inkjet print on Hahnemühle PhotoRag
65 x 50 cm / 50 x 50 cm / 70 x 50 cm
Edition of 20

The *Vinland Visions* were created using photo footage collected all over Newfoundland in summer 2015. The individual pieces share a multi-layered fabric mirroring the oral history of the Vinland sagas and the multitude of their interpretations. The blending and blurring of shapes and perspectives is contrasted and complemented

by concise graphical elements – networks representing relations between fictive and real places, people as well as objects relevant within the project context. The so created tension reflects that between facts and fiction inherent to the Vinland theme and opens up space for imagination and association.

Opposite Page: The network represents the connections by content or through people between places with a factious or fictive relation to Vinland in Newfoundland. The arrangement of the dots mirrors the geographical locations of these places. The network was visualized with *Gephi*, a freeware for scientific networks analysis.

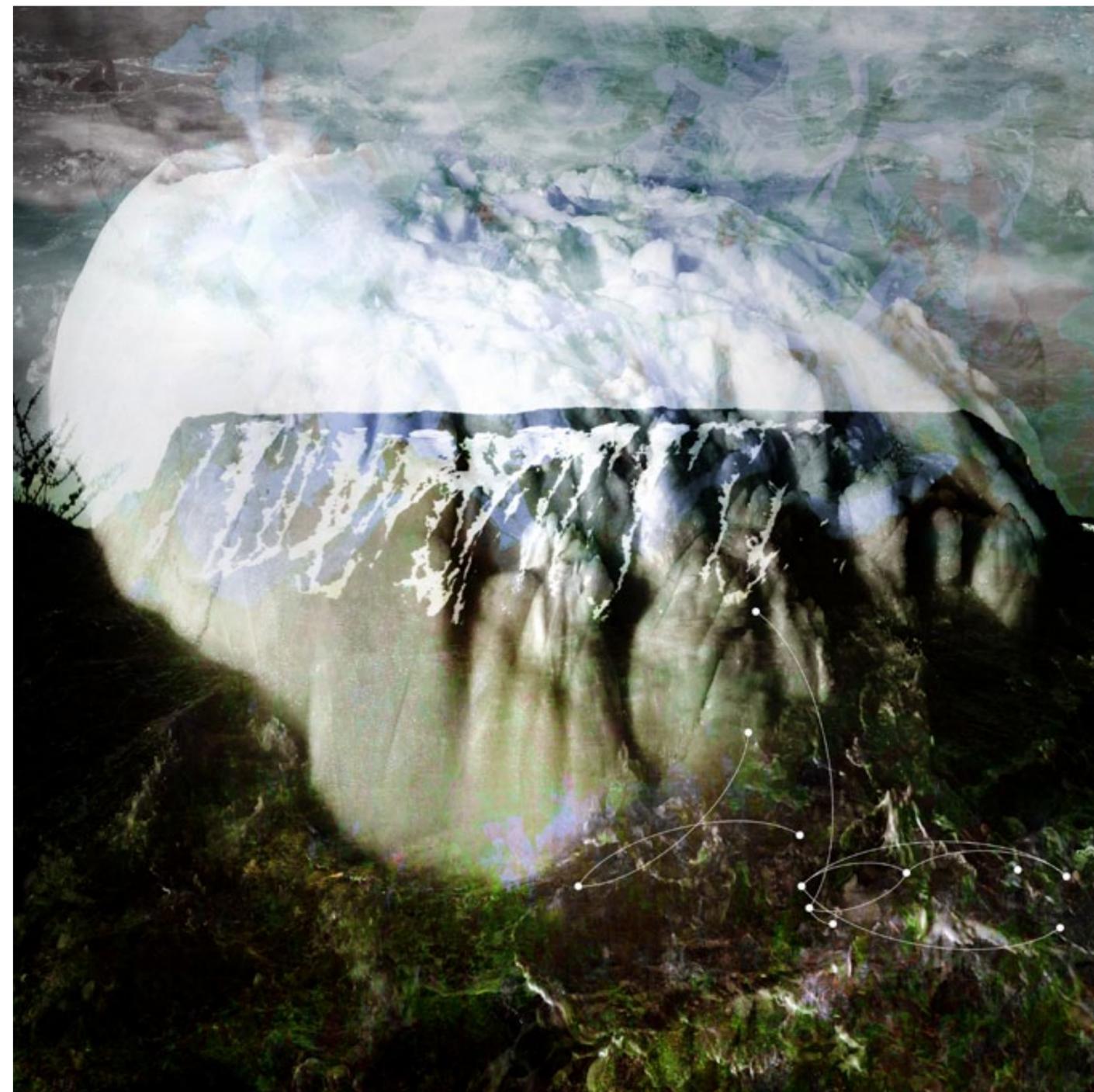
Vinland Rock



Vinland Arches



Vinland Berg



Vinland Cross

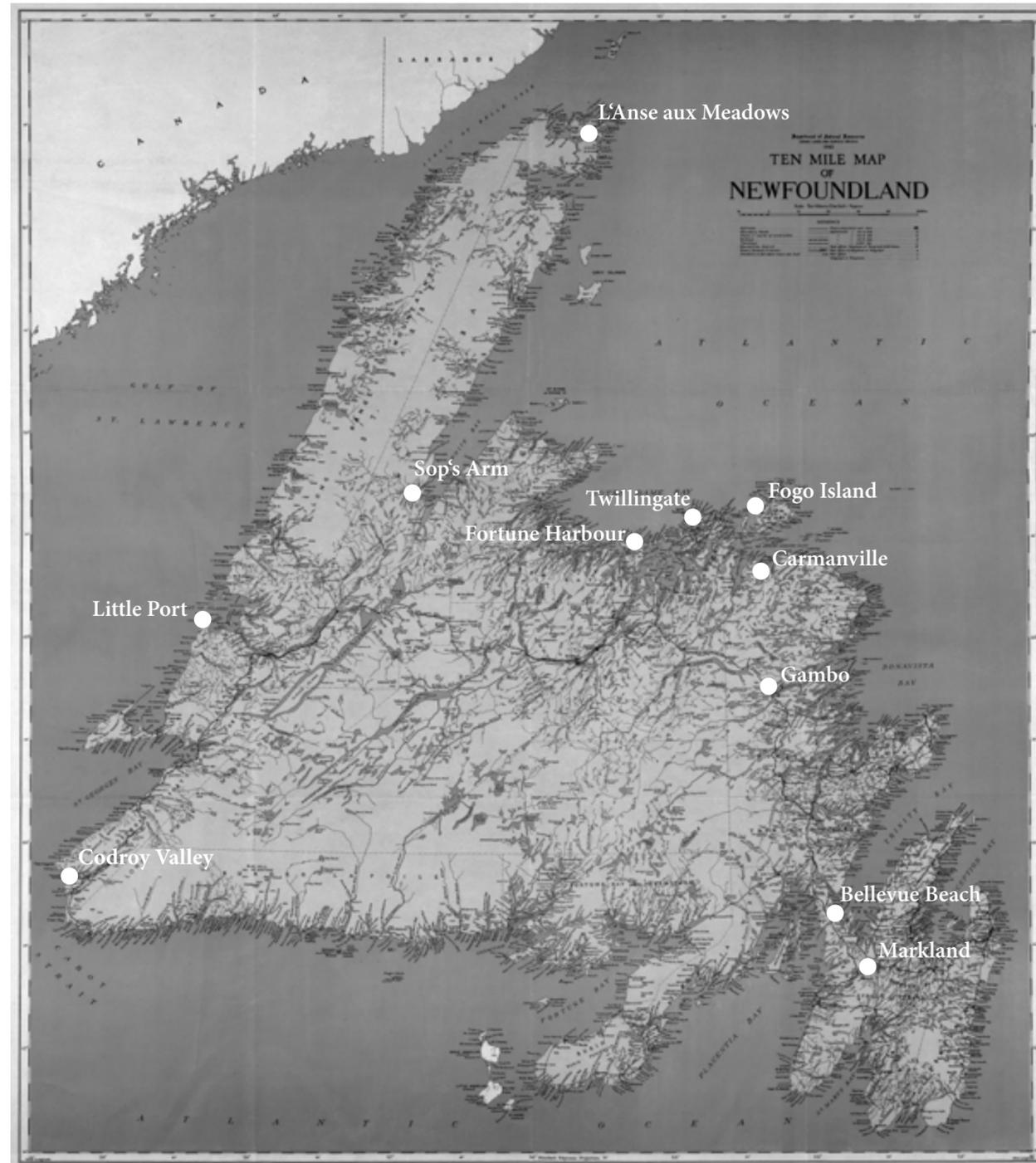


Vinland Stub



Vinland Houses





VINLAND SPOTS & STORIES

The map shows places in Newfoundland related to Vinland: by archaeological facts, research-based theories of local residents and foreigners alike, the fiction of filmmakers, or my own investigative phantasy. Some of the places I had already identified before my field studies for the project, based on literature research or earlier visits to Newfoundland; to others I was directed by people I met during my field studies; others again I found by tracing promising place names.

In the following, the stories I came across at those places are told – in text and images. They illustrate the large variety of Vinland conceptions and perceptions which can be found across the island of Newfoundland.

FORTUNE HARBOUR



I first heard about the fact that some of the jasper stones found in the area of the Norse site at L'Anse aux Meadows (LAM) could be chemically traced back to Notre Dame Bay from Parks Canada Guide Clayton Colbourne. Doing research on this I came across a paper by Kevin P. Smith⁶ which confirmed what Clayton had told me: The jasper finds in LAM had been compared to samples from most different places in Iceland, Greenland, Minnesota and Notre Dame Bay, Newfoundland. While some of them matched the samples from Iceland and Greenland, one matched three samples from Notre Dame Bay taken in Robert's Arm and Fortune Harbour.

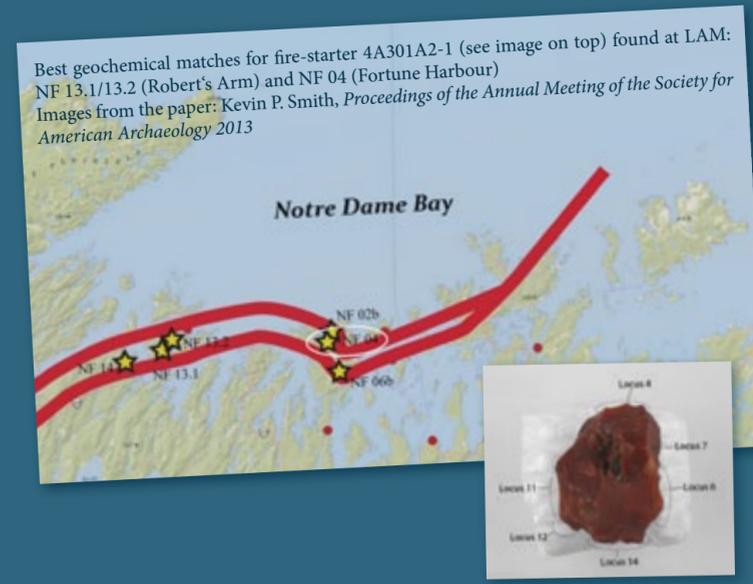
While it is not clear if the jasper finds under consideration are actually Norse firestarters or perhaps just worn pieces from which the Natives had been making tools, these finds may be another potential new piece in the puzzle about the Vinland legend. And after all it seemed quite natural that the Norse had sailed down the eastcoast of the Northern Peninsula which led them to Notre Dame Bay. When comparing Robert's Arm to Fortune Harbour geographically the latter assumption seems much more likely, also because it is the largest completely sheltered natural harbour in all of Newfoundland with its entrance welcoming any seafarers coming from the North.



When I arrived in Fortune Harbour it appeared to me like a very secluded place indeed. Close to the place which I had identified by extrapolation from the map in Kevin P. Smith's paper I spoke to a lady who referred me to Tom Hynes, an old gentleman who would certainly be able to help me. She told me I would most likely find him nearby, outside his shed and old store, behind the fishplant.

And that's indeed where I found him. Soon enough he told that one day some time ago, when he was still running his store, he saw two men walking across the rocks by the water behind the store. And when he asked them what they were doing there they told him that they were looking at the jasper cherts, and that there was evidence that the Vikings had come to Fortune Harbour as similar jasper had been found in L'Anse aux Meadows.

Tom wondered why the Vikings wouldn't have stayed in Fortune Harbour, considering that it offered perfect shelter – much better than the exposed Epaves Bay in L' Anse aux Meadows – as well as an abundance of the precious jasper and extensive wood resources in the hinterland which are being exploited to the present day.



Best geochemical matches for fire-starter 4A301A2-1 (see image on top) found at LAM: NF 13.1/13.2 (Robert's Arm) and NF 04 (Fortune Harbour)
 Images from the paper: Kevin P. Smith, *Proceedings of the Annual Meeting of the Society for American Archaeology* 2013



Jasper sample chiselled behind Tom's store



Tom Hynes in front of his store, behind which jasper sample NF 04 was taken



TWILLINGATE



I drove to Twillingate because it is located on *New World Island* – what a promising name! Only on site have I learned that there is a winery in Twillingate: *Auk Island Winery* – located in the former school house – is named after the Great Auk, a large penguin-like bird which was extinct in the mid 19th century.

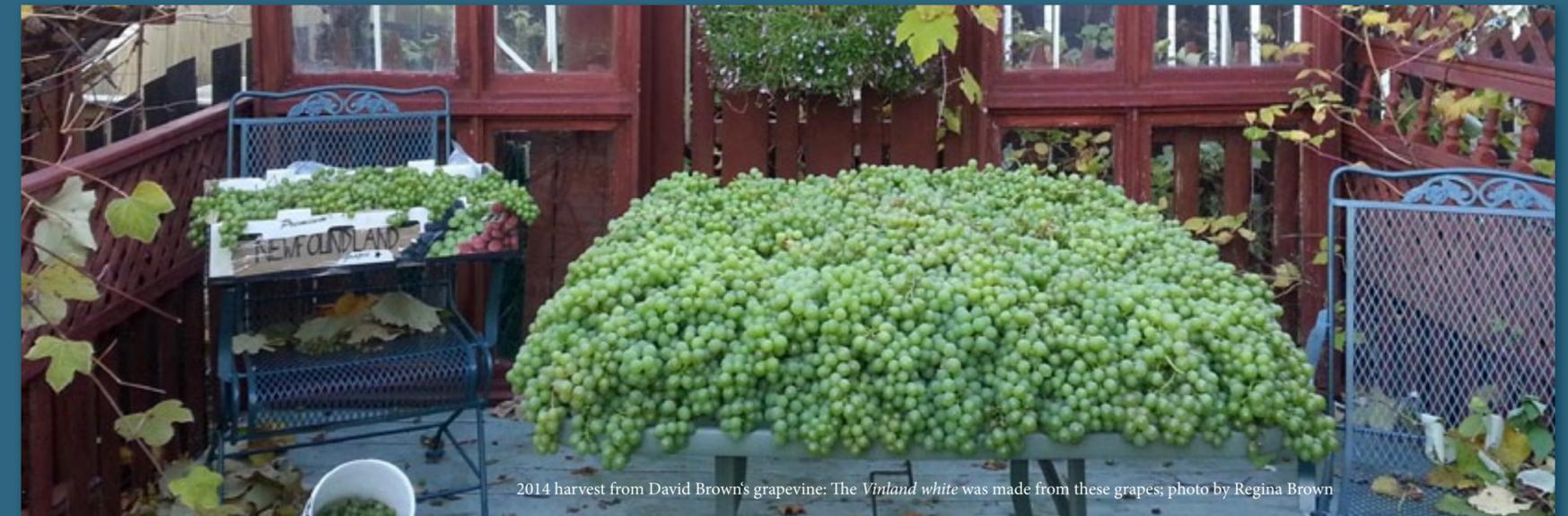
When I entered the showroom of the winery I found a great variety of berry wines – and one grapewine: The *Vinland white*. 2015 was the first (and as it turned out only) year that the winery produced a grapewine, and it was made from Concord grapes grown in St. John's: The manager of the winery, Danny Bath, told me that a friend of his – David Brown – had called him one day in the previous fall and asked whether he wanted to purchase the grapes

that had grown in an abundance that year in his garden. I visited David Brown a few weeks later and couldn't believe my eyes when I saw it was actually one single huge vine overgrowing a pergola from which the *Vinland white* had been produced. 2015 was a cool summer and the grapes were small when I visited David in early August. But he showed me photos his wife had taken of the harvest in 2014: Amazing 41 gallons or 180 pounds had ripened on this one plant!

Danny told me that the name *Vinland white* for the first commercially-made wine from Newfoundland grown grapes hadn't been his idea but his business partner's – Danny actually wanted to call the wine *Summer Breeze*.



The 2015 Vinland white – the first and unfortunately last vintage of this Newfoundland-grown grape wine →



2014 harvest from David Brown's grapevine: The *Vinland white* was made from these grapes; photo by Regina Brown

SOP'S ARM



Kent Budden from Sop's Arm was a teacher in St. Anthony from where it is only about 35 km to the Norse site in L'Anse aux Meadows. Looking at the geography and based on artefacts he found he developed the theory that Sop's Arm was the Straumfjord of the Vinland sagas, and Hóp was Salt Water Pond nearby.

He made his theory and the collection of artefacts accessible to the interested public in the *Viking Museum* which he installed in his private home in Sop's Arm. Kent was extremely passionate about his theory and rather frustrated that he never received much credit from third parties – although even Helge Ingstad who found the Norse site in L'Anse aux Meadows had visited Sop's Arm in the 1960s and temporarily considered it a promising candidate for a Viking presence.

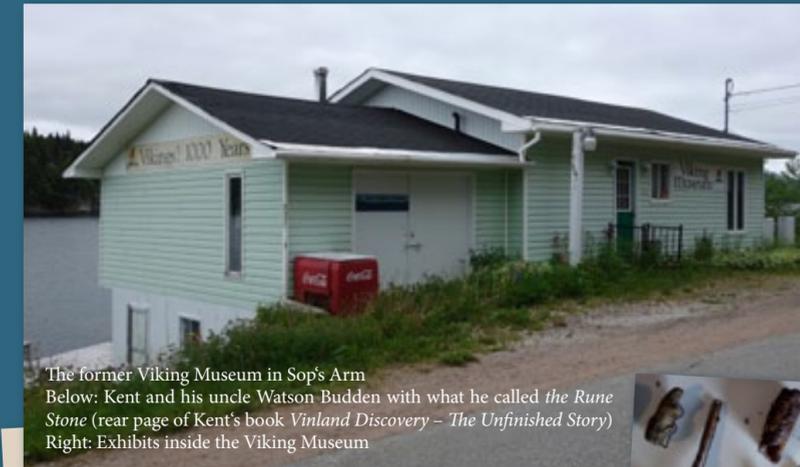
When Kent died in 2008 the museum was closed. The headstone on his grave reads "Kent Budden of Straumfjord".

When I came to Sop's Arm in 2015 and hung my questionnaire in the local grocery store I got in touch with the wife of Kent's brother Ivan Budden who agreed to show me what is left from the Viking Museum. It was a touching visit as Kent's passion expressed in the layout of

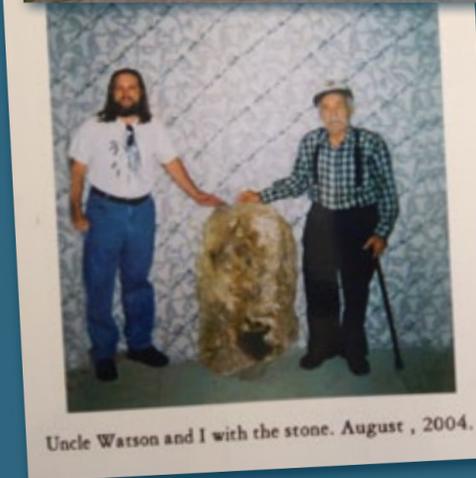
the place which is full of pictures, texts and artefacts was still tangible.

Ivan also took me to a place in the woods nearby where a series of roughly rectangular holes had been discovered decades ago by Kent's uncle Watson Budden. The structures have more recently been investigated by Jónas Kristjánsson, Kevin McAleese et al. resulting in the article „Falling into Vinland“. The theory is that these holes are caribou pitfalls which in turn could indicate a Norse presence as the Natives in Newfoundland had obviously never applied this hunting method which is on the other hand rather common in Scandinavia.

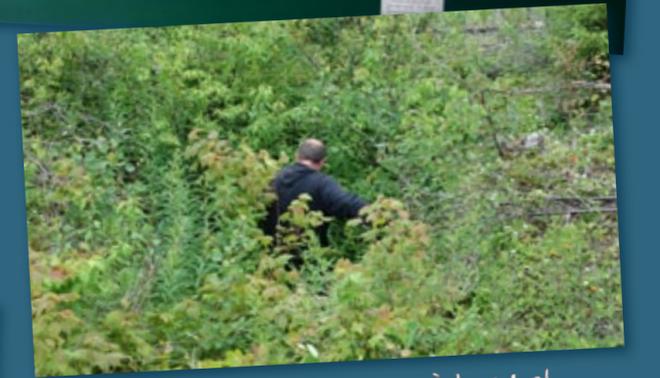
Sop's Arm, where Main River flows into White Bay, is definitely a particularly beautiful and sheltered place – and a place you almost inevitably hit when sailing south along the eastcoast of the Great Northern Peninsula from L'Anse aux Meadows...



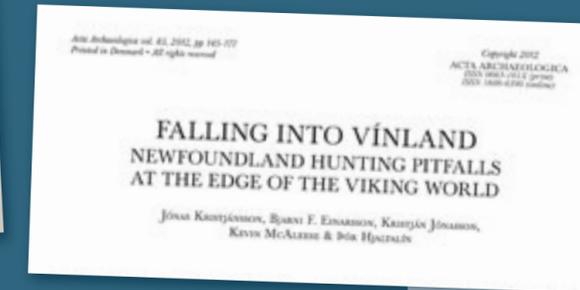
The former Viking Museum in Sop's Arm
Below: Kent and his uncle Watson Budden with what he called *the Rune Stone* (rear page of Kent's book *Vinland Discovery - The Unfinished Story*)
Right: Exhibits inside the Viking Museum



Uncle Watson and I with the stone. August, 2004.



Ivan Budden disappearing into what may have been a Norse caribou pitfall



Kent Budden's head stone →



CARMANVILLE



When doing online research prior to my trip to Newfoundland in summer 2015 I came across the website www.vinlandvoyager.com and got in touch with the author Peggy Fredrickson. On the website Peggy is giving sailing directions to the different sites which in her view belong to Vinland, and it was the first time I heard Fogo Island and Carmanville being mentioned in that context. I had assumed Peggy was a local from that area but I learned she was from Massachusetts instead and had undertaken her sailing trips to Newfoundland quite some time ago.

Peggy introduced me to the full story behind her interest in Vinland which she had written down in an essay entitled *My Vinland Saga*, and I decided to visit the central spot she had identified as Leif's camp lying near today's Carmanville.

Fogo Island has an exposed location such that you can hardly avoid it when sailing south from the Northern Peninsula (at the tip of which lies L'Anse aux Meadows). Peggy's idea based on the saga descriptions and further personal research is that after getting ashore on Fogo Island, Leif Eiriksson then continued sailing up Carmanville Arm and into a lake in the wetlands at its upper end to build his camp. The wetlands are a Nature Reserve today and after I had found the rather badly signposted entry to the trail system I took an extended tour around the lake and through the adjacent marshes and woods. The place has a special, somehow enchanted aura which was enhanced by the fact that I didn't meet a single soul during my walk.

The lake and the bay are today connected by a culvert beneath the street. But even when considering that this connection might have been wider before the street was built, it is very shallow – as is the upper end of the rather rocky bay even at high tides – and to me it appeared difficult to imagine entering the lake from the bay with a ship of the size of a knarr, the ship type used by the Norse for their cross-atlantic voyages.

On my way back to Fogo Island where I had my own base camp at the time I passed through Main Point where I found a scenario which very much looked like the one described in the sagas as well: A small lake with sandy shores can be accessed at high tides through a rivermouth...

"I am convinced that Leif Eiriksson made his camp in central Newfoundland and the other five Vinland Saga sites can be located in Newfoundland. It took me over 20 years to go from wondering where Leif really did land to actually seeing the site where I think he made his camp. I have now seen each of the places that I picture as a Vinland Saga Site. Visiting them has been a great adventure for me. I have met interesting and pleasant people and seen scenery unlike anything in Massachusetts. It has been fun solving my Vinland Saga Sites Puzzle." (Peggy Fredrickson in her essay *My Vinland Saga*, below: cover of a paper in which Peggy published the conclusions of her research, 2004)



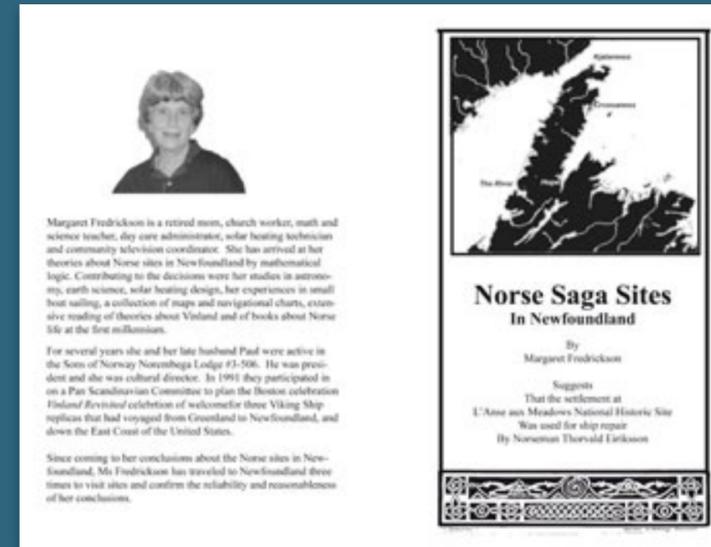
Brook from the lake into the bay



Culvert connecting Carmanville Bay with the lake



Rivermouth in Main Point



BELLEVUE BEACH



Bellevue Beach was first pointed out to me by my friend and folklorist Elke Dettmer from Pouch Cove. When she heard about my Vinland-related project she remembered that the owners of the Bellevue Beach camp site – Ivan and Maxine Anderson – were convinced that it was the Hóp (*Lagoon*) of the Vinland sagas. And indeed: Bellevue Beach is characterized by a long land tongue with beaches on both shores which together with a shorter one create a narrow entrance to a sort of lagoon at the upper end of Trinity Bay.

I met Ivan Anderson at his lagoon waterfront home, and before we took off to his beach house at the camp site where he keeps selected papers and the notes of his own research about Bellevue Beach and Vinland, he pointed out a trimmed stone in his garden: It had been found on the land tongue by Danish author Niels Vinding in 1997 (*Vinland 1000 år*, 1998; *The Viking discovery of America*, 2005) who identified it as a ballast stone to balance empty ships, and believes that it would have fit inside a Norse knarr.

At the beach house Ivan told me that he first read about the Vikings in Newfoundland – and possibly Bellevue Beach – in Farley Mowat's *West Viking* (1965) where Tickle Cove is identified with Vinland, and that Bellevue was called Tickle Harbour before it was re-named by a priest in 1915. Another name puzzle came up when Ivan mentioned archaeo-mythologist Robert Burcher who also came searching for Vinland in Bellevue Beach, last in 2013. In the abstract of a talk he gave at Public Library in Collingwood, ON in October 2015 it is suggested that Leif Eirikson may have landed at a place called Tickle Cove Pond - which is actually a small community in Bonavista Bay over 100 km north from Bellevue Beach...

But let us turn to Ivan's own research-based theory: He is convinced that Bellevue Beach is Vinland, as it matches the depictions of Hóp in the sagas and has an abundance of salmon, flounder and wood and offers perfect shelter as well as the conditions to grow crops. And the ballast

stone is just one of the artefacts Ivan presents as evidence: Three years ago, Niels Vinding showed Ivan a rune stone in the garden of a neighbour. Ivan was embarrassed that he hadn't been told about the stone before and supposed that it was because the stone and the home of the lady both sit on land which she does not officially own – not an unusual scenario in Newfoundland, where not too long ago you just went into the woods, cleared some patch of land and built your own house. Anyway, Ivan respected his neighbour's concerns and only showed me a copy of a photograph of the stone with the inscriptions without giving any directions to its location.

He then presented a piece of paper that showed the Skálholt Map (1570) and a number of calculations he had made. Although I could not follow the details of his argumentation, the result is obviously that the latitude of Vinland hinted at in the saga texts perfectly matches that of Bellevue Beach if one respects medieval mapping conventions. And had all this not been enough to convince him that he lived in Vinland, he and Maxine discovered what they think are the remains of a sod building on a foundation of more ballast stones in the woods nearby two years ago. They have kept this a secret as they fear some unauthorized people might dig the place and destroy everything. And I can understand their concerns.

When we finished our conversation Ivan fell silent for a moment and looked deep into my eyes. "Now," he said, "I have to make a decision: Can I trust you?" After a pause – as I was not expected to answer this question – he gave the answer himself: "I can see it in your eyes that I can trust you. So, I will take you to the site." And off we set. It was a windy day and small stones were hurting me inside my sandals which were not suited for a cross-country walk. But the effort was worth it: Ivan beamed with pride and passion when we found the site and it was still untouched. The photo of the site I am showing here (to the right) to illustrate the story gives only a small excerpt of the scene and has been digitally modified in order to prevent tracing the location by means of the image.



The goose grass in Bellevue Beach is similar to that in Greenland says Ivan Anderson.



Ballast stone in Ivan Anderson's garden



Trail starting at the Bellevue Beach campsite



Norse knarr (replica at Norstead in LAM)

Ivan Anderson's secret Norse site ↓



below: Skálholt Map and Ivan's calculations



First view of inscription - Bellevue, 2012

LITTLE PORT



Little Port near Lark Harbour on the westcoast of Newfoundland was one of the locations where the Viking/ SciFi movie *Outlander* was shot in 2006. The producer was Barrie Osborne who also produced *The Lord of the Rings* – which I think is funny as I always thought the Newfoundland westcoast would also have been a great location for scenes from Tolkien’s saga as well...

The movie shoot was a big thing in the small outpost at the very end of the road on the southern shore of the Bay of Islands. Locals were involved as both background actors (for 9\$ per hour) and through technical support behind the scenes. Terry Travers – whom I met with his wife Ruth right at the slipway of Little Port adjacent to the original movie set – operated a fog machine from his fishing vessel to create the right atmosphere for the Viking ship to emerge from in the movie.

Ruth and Terry described the movie shooting not only as exciting times for Little Port and Lark Harbour. They feel it changed their view onto the place they call home: For them the Norse history of Newfoundland and Vinland became real through the fiction of the movie...

The movie’s Viking ship mockup had been put up in front of the Lark Harbour town hall in 2007, but was removed from there two weeks before I visited the place. It is in bad condition I was told but parts of it shall be refurbished and relocated along a hiking trail nearby.



Terry and Ruth Travers



Photo of the Viking ship in front of the Lark Harbour town hall from 2011. found on: jenneandmarcelstravels.blogspot.de

This movie scene was shot here...



L'ANSE AUX MEADOWS



Telling stories about Vinland from Newfoundland, L'Anse aux Meadows (LAM) at the very northern tip of the Great Northern Peninsula mustn't be missed out: It is here where Helge and Anne Stine Ingstad – based on the research of saga scholars, anthropologists and archaeologists before them and guided by local resident George Decker – found the first and so far only unequivocal evidence for a Norse presence in North America in the 1960s. After remains of turf buildings, a simple smithy and all sorts of wood debris which could be used for carbon dating had been found, it was the discovery of a metal pin and a soapstone spindle whorl which matched similar finds from Iceland and Greenland that whiped away the last doubts about who had lived in the small settlement in Epaves Bay around the year 1000. The site which stands for the time when and place where the encounter of Natives and Norsemen had completed the encircling of the globe by mankind became one of the first UNESCO World Heritage Sites. After the excavations had been completed the foundations of the Norse buildings were recovered with soil to protect them, and what we see today must be similar to what Helge Ingstad saw when George Decker first led him to the site: A collection of green mounds in the small plain above the beach. To give a better idea of the place and its significance Parks Canada, who operate the site since the 1970s, have built a visitor center and reconstructions of the Norse dwellings at a stone's throw from the original site.

I first came to LAM in 2012 for a video project about the Norse transatlantic voyages. It is a remote site and it takes a long way travelling from almost everywhere in the world to get there. The anticipation built up during the journey certainly adds to the feeling many people (including myself) get when arriving at the site: It is a magical place with green hills rolling down to the water where we find a variety of islands with unique shapes and leading our view to the horizon where – on a clear day – we see the coast of Labrador and Belle Isle, that majestic island in the strait

leading from the open ocean into the Gulf of St. Lawrence. Already in 2012 I had met Parks Canada visitor guide Clayton Colbourne, who first told me about the jasper finds which finally led me to Fortune Harbour in 2015, and Dale Wells then a heritage presenter. I met both of them again when I returned to LAM in summer 2015. Clayton who grew up on the land tongue right next to the site has a lively but rather un-sentimental interest in the Norse in Newfoundland, although he radiates some sort of pride with all the first-hand knowledge he has on the activities in LAM. Dale instead, who is now the manager of the National Historic Site, gets enthusiastic and almost emotional when she speaks about the site and her luck of living and working at this unique place. I also met Loretta Decker, George Decker's grand-daughter who is my age. She told me about her childhood at the site and amongst all the scholars and experts who would often stay at her family's home in the 1970s. The Norse site in LAM was Loretta's playground, and for her it has remained the heart of Vinland, although she shares the now most common view established by Parks Canada archaeologist emerita Dr. Birgitta Wallace that LAM was a sort of base camp or gateway to Vinland which also included regions further south and west in the Gulf of St. Lawrence.

The regional tourist board is obviously less sensible to insights based on scientific research: They have put up a large sign on Route 430 North (the *Viking Trail*) at about 50 km from LAM: „Welcome to Vinland“. I admit that I was stunned when the sign – that hadn't been there in 2012 – appeared after a long and lonesome road trip north. I intuitively felt someone knew what I had come for, and that I had finally reached my destination. But at the next moment I felt uncomfortable with that sign as it is trying to pinpoint Vinland and thus contrary to the uncertainty of its actual expansion which is at the core of *The Vinland Phenomenon*.



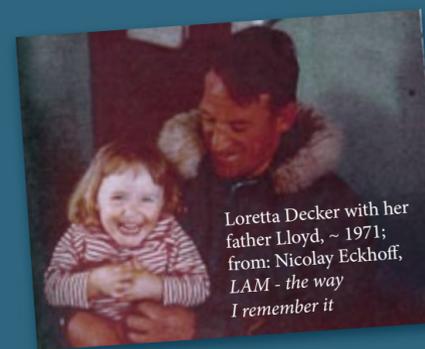
Norse site: Sod covered foundations of one of the three large halls



Replica of the bronze pin found at LAM which gave final evidence of the Norse origin of the site



Labrador Big Sacred Island Belle Isle
Small Sacred Island
Epaves Bay Reconstructions L'Anse aux Meadows
Norse site



Loretta Decker with her father Lloyd, ~ 1971; from: Nicolay Eckhoff, LAM - the way I remember it



Clayton Colbourne

Sign on Route 430 North on the way to LAM →



MARKLAND



In the Icelandic sagas Markland is *the Forest Land* north of Vinland. So, when I found a Markland on the Newfoundland road map I began looking for a Vinland as well – without success. What I found out instead was that Markland is home of the *Rodrigues Cottage Winery* known for their wines made from local berries. A winery in Markland instead of the *Wineland* – what a curious coincidence. Or is it not? When I visited the winery I was warmly welcomed even without an appointment. I spoke to the founder and owner Dr. Hillary Rodrigues who is a dentist in his first profession. He established the winery in the vacant former Markland Cottage Hospital in the 1990s – which had intermittently also served as a courthouse. I asked him right away if it is a coincidence that his winery is located in Markland, and he said, „yes it is.“

This could have been the end of the story. But he then remembered that not too long ago he had a visitor from New Brunswick who wanted to learn about how to run a winery as he wanted to start one too. In New Brunswick he had seen very old wild growing grapevines, and he told Dr. Rodrigues that he believes those could be the grapevines the Norsemen had found and the reason they called the place Vinland. – And so there was a relation to Vinland all the same, although again a totally coincidental one.

Dr. Rodrigues then took me for a tour through the high tech production and bottling departments, and very enthusiastically he told me that they had recently also specialized in the production of dietary supplements made from Newfoundland berries and Himalayan chia seeds. He believes that these extracts cannot only prevent illness but cure pretty much every disease, including cancer. He is still optimizing the processing and experimenting with new blends, as his aim is „to find the Holy Grail of wellness“ – which made me think of Vinland again and its aura of a Promised Land.

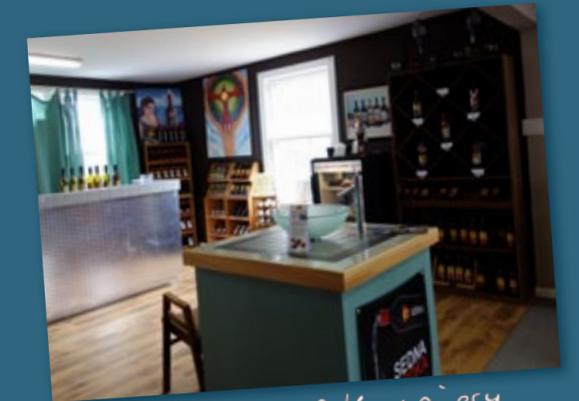
Markland is said to be the first inland farming settlement in Newfoundland. It was established in 1934 when stretches of the name-giving forest were cleared to make space for accommodations and fields to be tilled by needy families. And originally there was indeed to be a Vinland not far away as well. But after the forest had been cleared for Vinland during the winter of 1935 the ground turned out to be unsuitable for tilling when the snow had melted.⁷ The families in question were settled elsewhere, and Vinland never became a reality...



The former Markland Cottage Hospital which now houses the offices and the showroom of the Markland Cottage Winery



Dr. Hillary Rodrigues in the production spaces of the winery



Showroom of the winery



Machine for weighing and packaging the berry powders by VIKING MASEK



Historic photos and selected medical equipment in the hallway refer to the former usage

FOGO ISLAND



Fogo Island lies exposed on the eastern edge of Notre Dame Bay, in fact it is the part of Newfoundland – and thus North America – that is closest to Ireland, and Europe in general. Moreover, sailing south along the eastcoast of Newfoundland from L'Anse aux Meadows – as the Norse will most likely have done at some point and to some extent – it is actually hard to avoid Fogo Island.

In summer 2015 I had my base camp on Fogo Island for most of June, and apart from investigating the island's own role for the Vinland Phenomenon I also made day trips to Fortune Harbour, Twillingate and Carmanville from there. Soon after my arrival on Fogo Island I had been told that for any information on the island's history – be it fact or fiction – I should get in touch with the mayor, Andrew Shea.

It wasn't easy to get a hold of Andrew – a dedicated mayor with a wealth of responsibilities and interests – but finally we met at *Mudder's*, the family restaurant and informal meeting place in Fogo Town. Andrew brought an artefact with him that had been found behind Miller's grocery and liquor store: An obviously hand-carved stone with what looks like rusty stains or spots all over it. The shape reminds of a hammer or small axe – or the head of the now extinct Great Auk, as Andrew pointed out to me. But so far nobody could tell what it really was or what purpose it had served. Andrew had a photo of the stone published in the *Downhome* magazine, which appears monthly in St. John's (edited by the business partner of Auk Island Winery manager Danny Bath from Twillingate) to ask if anyone in and outside Newfoundland had ever seen anything similar before. To no effect.

I went to see the little pebbly beach behind Miller's store and found that it was bristled with rusty metal artefacts like nails, parts of machinery and rebars which in turn had stained the adjacent stones with rusty spots...

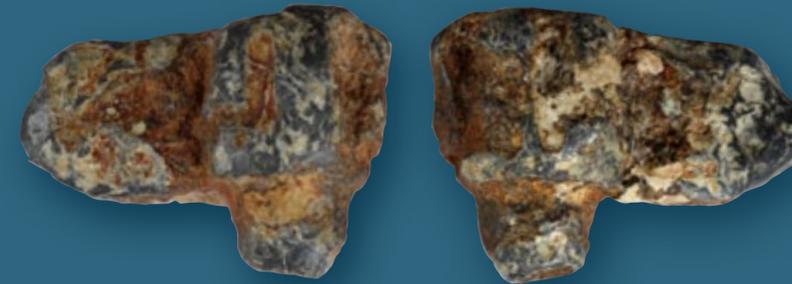
To me, the other artefacts Andrew had brought to our meeting were actually more puzzling: Two pieces of bog iron slag which he had found in the potato field in his garden, where he said were plenty more. On the one hand we know that the Natives never melted iron whereas later immigrants to Newfoundland would have used proper forges – but according to Andrew no forge had ever been located in that part of town. And on the other hand bog iron slag had been found and identified as Norse in L'Anse aux Meadows...

Only after I had left Fogo Island and continued my road trip around Newfoundland, did I receive an email from Carol Penton. Carol is the editor of the Fogo Island newspaper *The Flame* and she had read about my project on the hang-out I had put up on the Fogo ferry. She told me about a rumour among senior citizens at Joe Batt's Arm that a place nearby called the *Field of Battle* refers to a battle between the Norse and the Natives. Those rumours couldn't be confirmed though: When Carol kept asking around, others said that "the word *battle* used here has nothing to do with Indians or Vikings; *battle* being used to describe the difficulty in getting their firewood home through the steeping hills. instead"



View of Fogo Harbour from behind Miller's store

both sides of the carved stone



The Field of Battle in the hills above the east side of Joe Batt's Arm harbour



bog iron slag from Andrew Shea's garden

GAMBO



It was on Fogo Island where I first heard that Gambo has been considered to be one of the Vinland saga sites: Angie Shea – originally from Gambo and now teacher at Fogo Island Central Highschool and daughter-in-law of mayor Andrew Shea – told me that her father, the late Lloyd Noseworthy, had been in touch with saga scholar Jónas Kristjánsson from Iceland who visited Newfoundland in the early 2000s in search for Vinland. With Lloyd’s local assistance, Jónas came up with the thesis that Gambo where Gambo River connects Freshwater Bay with Gambo Pond is the Hóp of the sagas (*The First Settler of the New World*, 2005). Some years later Jónas was also the driving force behind the investigation of a series of caribou pitfalls near Sop’s Arm (*Falling into Vinland*, Acta Archaeologica vol. 83, 2012).

When I came to Gambo I put up my questionnaire in the local pharmacy, and asked the saleswoman if she could think of someone in Gambo to talk about the Norsemen. She said that her husband would certainly be delighted to talk to me and gave him a phone call. Ten minutes later I was following Don Collins’ car to his house where he had invited me for a tea and a chat about Gambo and Vinland. Don began to study the saga texts and related literature after he had heard about Kristjánsson’s theory and he agrees that Gambo has indeed very likely been visited by the Norse – although he builds his theory partly on different local features than Lloyd Noseworthy had done. Don shared his theory with Jónas Kristjánsson who re-visited Gambo on a later trip to Newfoundland. According to Don there are two places around Gambo in particular with unique characteristics which would have strongly favoured a landing by the Norsemen, and which he thinks would be worth getting a closer look or even dig for artefacts: One of them is what Don calls *the Point* on Freshwater Bay where he used to fish for years before he first saw the place from a different perspective: What was good for fishing – a steep rock above deep water – could also be seen as a natural wharf for larger ships. The other place is a beach close to the site where three salmon rivers flow into Gambo Pond.

Don gave me detailed directions to both places, and I felt well prepared when I set off to find them. It turned out to be more difficult and confusing than I had thought though, and I am not completely sure if I have actually visited and documented the right spots at all: After a walk through woods, bushes and mosquito swarms I reached a place which I thought matched the description of *the Point* fairly well. What confused me was that the cemetery where Don said I should turn left was nowhere around to be seen; and at what I identified as *the Point* I found a bench with a plate in memory of someone who had obviously loved to fish there. The bench and the plate seemed to be several years old, and I wondered why Don wouldn’t have mentioned them when describing the place...!?

I then headed for the Anglican Church’s Mint Brook summer camp off Gambo Pond, where Don had told me to look for a sandy beach. After some kilometers of gravel road I passed a gate and sign leading towards Mint Brook Camp and parked next to a large field surrounded by small cabins. Kids were playing in the field when I crossed it to see if there was a beach at the other end, but I found nothing but a small landing. When I turned around a lady came towards me across the field with a preoccupied look on her face. She asked what I was doing here, and that I was not allowed to enter the camp. I apologized, and my story must have sounded too curious to be faked. She thought for a moment, and said there was only one place similar to a sandy beach at all she could think of. When I got there, it was disappointing: The beach was tiny, not much more than a shallow riverbank. I left with the strong feeling that this could not have been the place Don Collins had in mind when he told me about the ideal spot for a Viking settlement.

Later, on a satellite map online I discovered an apparently amazing white beach at the other side of the Gambo River exit from the lake. I visited this beach one year later, and it is beautiful. But I didn’t find a single river or brook flowing into the lake at that end.



Don Collins



Coming out of the woods ...



...and to "the point"



Until recently Gambo was moreover home of the *Dark Cove Cottage Winery* where Glenda Baker had successfully experimented with growing different types of grapes outside a greenhouse for years. But lacking any start-up support she had to finally give up her business idea.



disappointing Mint Brook Camp beach

THE CODROY VALLEY



When I arrived in the Codroy Valley I drove to the river mouth to get a view of Point Rosee which sticks out north of it. Near the tip of Point Rosee, space-archaeologist Sarah Parcak and her team had spotted peculiar formations on satellite images a couple of years ago. First diggings in summer 2015 produced interesting though controversial finds which they believe hint at a Norse presence. The news was made public in a BBC/PBS documentary on April 1st (!), 2016 and was followed by a wide media coverage. When I looked up the French word *rosée* and found it means *dew*, a passage in one of the Vinland sagas came to my mind according to which the Norse, when setting foot on the new land which they would eventually name Vinland, they found dew on the grass, and when they put it to their lips it was the sweetest thing they had ever tasted...

I had first come across the Codroy Valley before Point Rosée filled the news, when Ken Reynolds from the Provincial Archaeology Office told me about local resident Wayne MacIsaac who had long claimed that the region was settled by the Norse and thus was part, if not the center, of Vinland. I first contacted Wayne in spring, and he agreed to meet me for an interview when I would come over in the summer. From Ken Reynolds as well as from Birgitta Wallace I knew that Sarah Parcak and her team would be on site again at the time I was planning to go. What a happy coincidence! Point Rosée was clearly visible from the large sandbar at the mouth of Grand Codroy River. I crossed the single-lane bridge towards the base of the point. I didn't have a plan whether or not I should try and find a way of hiking out to the excavation site or not. When I saw a grocery store I stepped inside as I had learned that stores are always good places for obtaining any kind of information. I asked the lady behind the counter if she had heard anything about the digging out at the point, and she said „yes“ and looked at me, expectantly. So, I told her about my project, and when some other customers had left the store, she told me that the archaeologists parked their vehicles right behind the store every morning to hike out to the site. She then offered she and her husband could drive me out half way with their truck and give me directions from there. I jumped on the opportunity – I felt so lucky that I had met just the right person! I changed my sandals for hiking boots, put the long

legs to my pants (important for eventual *bush whacking*) and off we went into the wilderness. When Hockey and Gerardine dropped me in Capelin Cove and I saw their truck disappear I suddenly felt pretty lonesome. Although I could see the tip of the point from there I still had some kilometers of bushy/boggy terrain to traverse. An ATV track was helpful at first. But when it branched repeatedly I got lost although I had tried to follow Hockey's directions. I ended up in a wide bog and shortly thought about reversing. But then I continued as I could still guess the right direction by sight. The bog got worse and as my legs got tired I almost fell into a very black little puddle – the unprotected camera in my hand! Nothing happened but wet feet and pants and so I went on. Already then I felt that this strenuous hike was part of the story. Eventually I found another ATV track which led me right to the grassy and slightly depressed plain with the excavation site. I could see the team from afar, as they could see me as I was slowly approaching. I first spoke to a young guy a little apart as I didn't want to disturb anybody's work, but he said they were only just preparing the digging and that it was actually good timing to talk to Sarah. So this is what I did, and after a short chat she gave me directions for the way back – avoiding the bog. The next day Wayne MacIsaac took me to the place where he thinks he had identified remains of an ancient defensive wall and a mound that is essentially square and thus man-made. The site is located along the Little Codroy River, about 10 km from Point Rosée. Wayne discovered the site as a teenager, after he had read the Vinland sagas and was struck by the similarities of the depictions of Hóp and his immediate surroundings. He had kept the location mainly secret to avoid that it would be dug up unprofessionally. His attempts to get experts from Memorial University and the Provincial Archaeology Office interested in his theory failed. About two years ago, the owner of the land started to develop it for an RV park, and parts of the potential defensive wall have now already been destroyed. Wayne is excited about the excavations at Point Rosée. He says that when he first heard about it he bounced around the house like a ping-pong ball and couldn't sleep for three nights. He has been in touch with the archaeologists and hopes that *his* site will now get their attention too.



View of the dig site from the tip of Point Rosee



Sarah Parcak and members of her team in the field

Sarah Parcak
←



Partial view of the square mound



New RV park overlooking Little Codroy River



Crossing what Sarah calls the enchanted forest on my way back

Wayne MacIsaac
→



Wayne MacIsaac on the potential defensive wall which is now completely overgrown

POUCH COVE



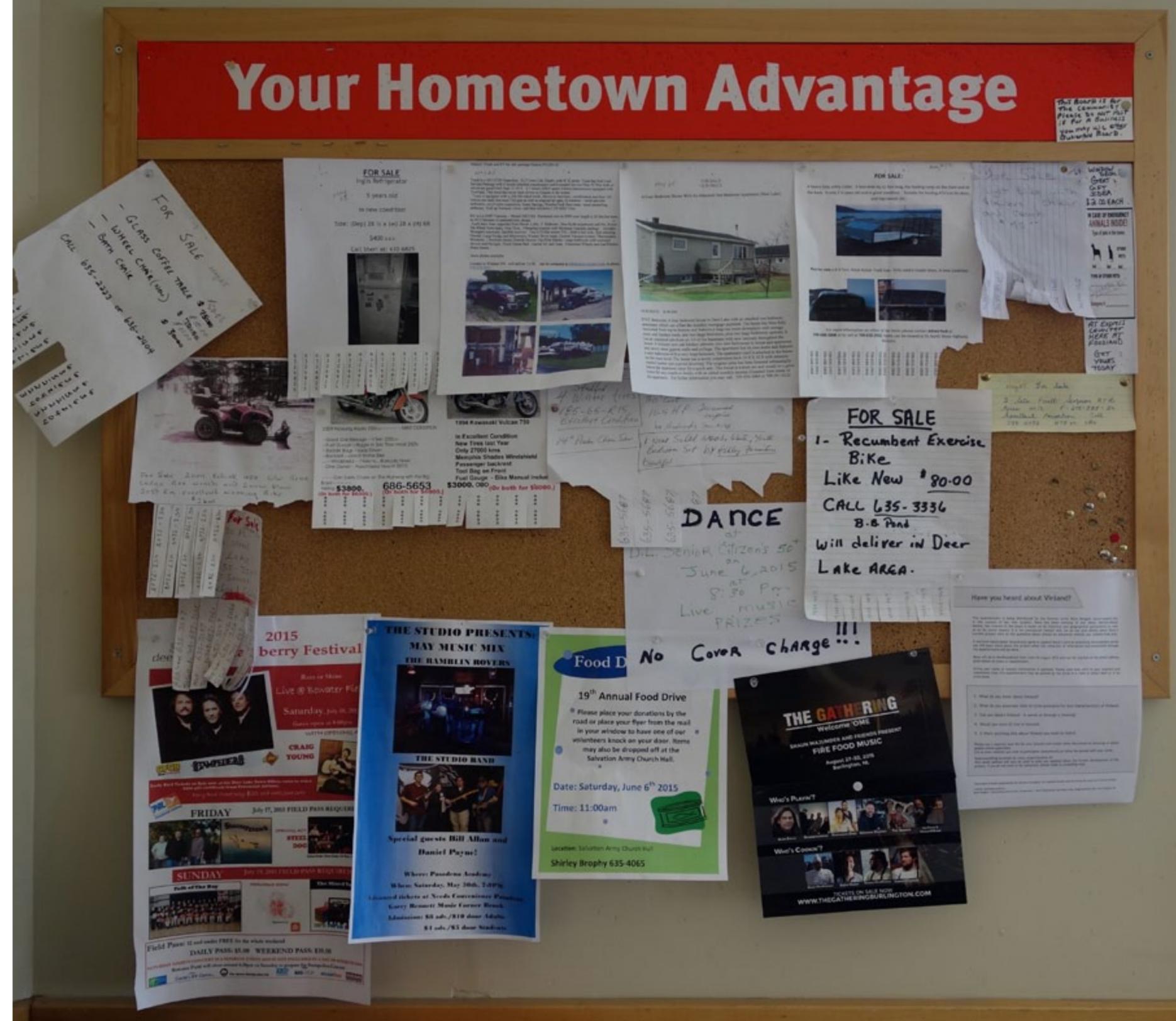
FOGO ISLAND FERRY



HAWKES BAY



DEER LAKE



ST. LUNAIRE-GRIQUET



GRAND FALLS WINDSOR



STAGG HARBOUR



ENGLEE

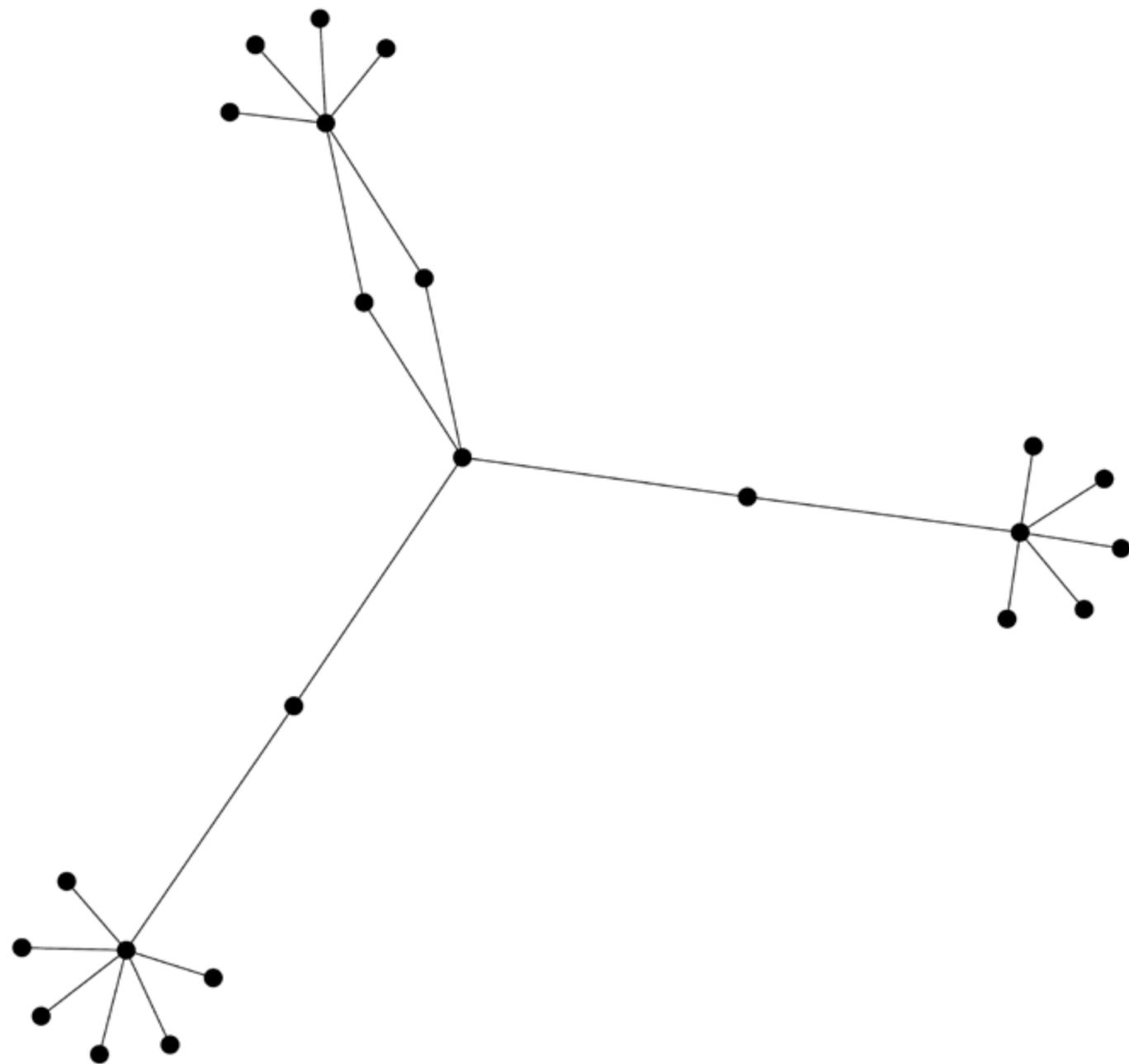


GANDER



PORT SAUNDERS





CONCLUSION

The Vinland Phenomenon has various faces, which can be seen from the *Vinland Quotes* and the *Vinland Spots & Stories* as well as from the *Vinland Visions* which aim to visualize variations of the imaginative setting of the phenomenon. With *The Vinland Questionnaire* I actually added one peculiar face myself: Whereas the rest of the project deals with the fascination the Vinland concept exerts, *The Vinland Questionnaire* photo series – which illustrates my meta-quest for people and their stories about Vinland in Newfoundland – represents my fascination for the Vinland fascination of others.

On a more mundane level it can be said that the concept of Vinland is not only exploited by local tourist boards and businesses today, the Vinland sagas have been publicly perceived as closely connected to the island of Newfoundland even before the finds at L'Anse aux Meadows. This is mirrored in the naming of the two new settlements *Markland* and *Vinland* in the 1930s, and the same holds for the naming

of the paper boats *Markland* and *Vinland* from the *Markland Shipping fleet** which have been calling regularly at Corner Brook on Newfoundland's westcoast to pick up their cargo for delivery along the American eastcoast in the 1940s and 50s. Today – among other examples – we find the *Vinland School District* on the Northern Peninsula and the annual *Vinland Music Camp* in Gros Morne Park.

Finally it can be stated that there are numerous other places which fit the depictions in the Vinland sagas than those appearing in the *Vinland Spots & Stories*. It is thus foreseeable that the longing to find, inhabitate, or possess Hóp, Straumfjord, Krossanes and Leifsbudir will keep producing new allocations in Newfoundland and elsewhere. And as we know from L'Anse aux Meadows, possible new finds at Point Rosee will not conclude the story – they will fuel the quest for even more evidence of the Norse presence in the New World. *The Vinland Phenomenon* – and this concludes this project – will live on.

* The Markland Shipping Company was based in Liverpool and became the Bowater Shipping Company in 1959.

Opposite Page: The network represents the allocation of the places described in the Vinland sagas (*Vinland*, *Hóp*, *Straumfjord* and *Straumsey*, *Kjalarnes*, *Krossanes* and *Leifsbudir*) to different places along the North American eastcoast by different authors 1837 - 1997. (From the *Vinland*

Location Chart in The Quest For Vinland in Saga Scholarship by Gisli Sigurdsson in: *Vikings - The North Atlantic Saga*) The network was visualized with *Gephi*, a freeware for scientific networks analysis; the layout I chose for aesthetic reasons is called *Atlas Force*.

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Opposite page: Gravel Road coming from Conche on the French Shore
(the northeastcoast of the Great Northern Peninsula)

