Master's thesis

NTNU
Norwegian University of Science and Technology
Faculty of Humanities
Department of Historical Studies

Martine Kaspersen

Identity in the Scandinavian Early Viking Age migrations to Orkney and Dublin.

Three distinct identities seen through burial practice in migrating societies, based on a more nuanced approach to the Viking diaspora.

Master's thesis in Arkeologi
Supervisor: Ingrid Ystgaard
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Writing a thesis is tough. Writing a thesis during a global pandemic is tougher. I am absolutely certain that if we were not in lockdown, the results of this thesis would have been different. My trips to Orkney and Dublin were cancelled and it has affected my thesis greatly. Much of the material was unavailable and therefore unable to use it during my research. However, I overcame the challenges this year brought and I cannot deny my satisfaction of the end result.

Abstract

Migrations during the Early Viking Age have been much debated in recent decades. Why people chose to migrate, as well as the possible political, economic and cultural reasons that came into play are essential reasons. Two Scandinavian settlements in Ireland and Scotland have left behind graves and grave goods that may shed light on identities that appear clearer than others. Gender identity, warrior identity and religious identity are some of the identities in the identity spectrum that appear in the burial material in Dublin and Orkney. The concepts of identity and the Viking diaspora are important factors in shedding light on identity in migrations, through burials and grave goods. The identities that emerge will probably highlight the Viking diaspora in a broader perspective, as well as an increase in our general understanding of the Scandinavian Early Viking Age migrating societies. This will be revealed through an analysis of Scandinavian burials from Early Viking Age in Orkney and Dublin. Critical questions regarding the intersectionality of the identities that are visible in the grave material, as well as a lack of interest in a material that is almost 200 years old have been asked. The results show that there are greater variations in burial customs in Scandinavian migrating societies in Orkney and Dublin, and that defining a Viking burial is more challenging than previously thought. These results have contributed to a broader understanding of the Viking diaspora

Sammendrag

Migrasjoner under tidlig vikingtid har vært mye omdiskutert de siste tiårene. Hvorfor man valgte å migrere, samt de eventuelle politiske, økonomiske og kulturelle årsakene som spilte inn er essensielle årsaker. To norrøne bosetningslokaliteter i Irland og Skottland har etterlatt seg graver og gravmateriale som kan belyse identiteter som fremstår tydeligere enn andre. Kjønnsidentitet, krigeridentitet og religiøs identitet er noen av identitetene i identitetsspekteret som kommer til syne i gravmaterialet i Dublin og på Orknøyene. Begrepene identitet og viking diaspora er viktige faktorer for å kunne belyse identitet i migrasjoner, gjennom graver og gravgods. De identitetene som kommer til syne vil trolig kunne belyse viking diaspora i et større perspektiv, samt øke vår generelle forståelse rundt de norrøne migrerende samfunnene fra tidlig vikingtid. Dette vil bli belyst gjennom en analyse av norrøne graver fra tidlig vikingtid på Orknøyene og i Dublin. Kritiske spørsmål angående interseksjonaliteten av identitetene som er synlig i gravmaterialet, samt en mangel på interesse av et materiale som er nærmere 200 år gammelt har blitt stilt. Resultatene har vist at det er større variasjoner i gravskikk i norrøne migrerende samfunn på Orknøyene og i Dublin, samt at å definere en vikinggrav er mer utfordrende, enn tidligere antatt. Disse resultatene har bidratt til en bredere forståelse av viking diaspora.

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Þat mælti mín móðir,
at mér skyldi kaupa
fley ok fagrar árar,
fara á brott með víkingum,
standa upp í stafni,
stýra dýrum knerri,
halda svá til hafnar
hǫggva mann ok annan,
hǫggva mann ok annan.

Þél höggr stórt fyr stáli
stafnkvígs á veg jafnan
út með éla meitli
andærr jötunn vandar,
en svalbúinn selju
sverfr eirar vanr þeiri
Gestils ölpt með gustum
gandr of stál fyr brandi.

This said my mother
that I shall buy for myself
a swift ship and of a pretty oar,
to journey away with freebooters,
to stand tall on the prow,
steer a worthy merchant-ship,
direct it thus to the harbour,
strike one man and the other,
strike one man and the other.

With the file he strikes out, hard
against the steel
of the prow-steed on the flat path,
with the chisel of the snowstorms,
the opposite-oared giant of the twig,
but the cold-made one of that willow,
the merciless one files
Gestill's swan with gusts,
this wand of steel against the ship's
beak

- Egils saga, Lausavísur, ch. 40. (Scudder & Óskarsdóttir, 2002)

1. Introduction

1.1 Aim of the thesis

In this thesis, I aim to study burial patterns in the diasporic settlements of Orkney and Dublin and how differences in burial patterns might lead to different understandings of three identities: warrior, gender and religious identity. The general study of archaeology has been inherently male-biased, where the chieftains, leaders, warriors, and farmers who were studied were all assumed to be males (Moen, 2019, p. 26). Marianne Moen (2019) argue that: *''Together with the farmer, the second archetypical image of a Viking Age man is of course the warrior, the intrepid explorer, conqueror and settler who travelled abroad with his band of brothers and his trusty weapons,''* (p. 73). She continues to argue that modern accounts tell us that the typical Viking was not just a farmer or a pirate, but also a craftsman, hunter, trader, and settler (2019, p. 73). The female agency was, and is, lacking in several aspects in the study of the Viking diaspora, and it needs emphasizing. This will be highlighted throughout the thesis. Studying and comparing burial patterns between two migrating societies of the same home country will expectantly lead to a broader understanding of the Viking diaspora. Both in terms of gender identity, warrior identity and ethnic identity.

I have selected two examples of Scandinavian migrating Viking societies during the Early Viking Age. These examples are the settlements in Orkney and Dublin. The Scandinavian migrants faced two different environments, and my hypothesis is that this contributed to the differing development of diasporic identities in the two areas. Further, I hypothesize that variations in group identities can be identified through an analysis of the grave goods and burial customs of the two diasporic societies. The main reason as to why Orkney and Dublin were chosen is that they will hopefully paint quite different pictures of the Early Viking Age settlers. I aim to distinguish different identities within the Scandinavian settlers overseas. This will contribute to the diversity of the Viking diaspora and gives an overview of negotiations of identity between the Vikings and the indigenous at two geographically different places. Furthermore, a study of grave goods and burial customs will potentially paint a different picture of the Scandinavian Viking settlers, reflecting negotiations of identity between the Scandinavian Vikings and the indigenous at two geographically different places.

1.2 Why is it important?

It can be argued that there is clear evidence that the Scandinavian Early Viking Age society of Orkney is significantly different from that of Dublin. However, the Viking immigrants of Orkney and Dublin shared one common trait: they shared homeland. The shared origins, and the diversity among Scandinavian Early Viking Age migrants, are included in the term 'Viking diaspora' (Abrams 2012; Jesch, 2015). The term relates to the process and results of migrating societies during the Viking Age. Research on Viking diaspora has changed over the past decade, with a shift of focus from the 'traditional' interpretation of a supposed warrior Viking, to what the migrants themselves thought and felt about their situation (Jesch, 2015, p. 81). However, where you originate from is part of your identity. This can be expressed through material culture. Material culture can therefore be a biproduct of behavior, ideology, and practical aspects. An overview of the negotiations of identity between the Early Viking Age communities and the indigenous population, could lead to a more nuanced understanding of the Viking diaspora to migrating societies in Orkney and Dublin.

''The nature of the relationship between material culture and group identity is, of course, one of archaeology's longest-running debates (...),'' (Abrams, 2012, p. 22). The apparent relationship between identity and ethnicity of all forms and burial practice or grave goods appears quite problematic. It has previously led to the issue being avoided completely (Harrison, 2008, p. 7). The previous apparent lack of interest and research on the topics of the Scandinavian Early Viking Age migrations to Ireland, Scotland and the British Isles can be understood as a result of a general archaeological skepticism to how we can interpret the significance of grave goods in burials and exactly what they can tell us (Harrison, 2008, p. 7). The early interpretations of these items and burials, done in the early and mid-twentieth century, has rarely been questioned, and the interpretation has arguably manifested as a truth.

Harrison (2008) argue that:

> The contemporary lack of interest in these early records of Viking Age graves may also be part of more general archaeological scepticism about the importance of artefacts in general and grave-goods in particular. The kinds of ethnic and religious assumptions made by antiquarian and indeed early and mid-twentieth century commentators about furnished burial. Particularly in the early middle ages, have quite correctly been called into question by many contemporary archaeologists. (p. 7)

Several of these contemporary archaeologists have questioned the interpretations of identity (see Glørstad 2014; Harrison & Floinn 2014; Harrison 2015; Jesch 2015; McGuire 2009; Moen 2019; Norstein 2014, 2020; Price 2015). They have contributed to demonstrating that burials from the Early Viking Age in migrating societies are not as stoic and unchanging as previously assumed. On the contrary, they are very much fluid and changeable as a result of local environments and influences.

For well over 150 years, archaeologists, historians, and antiquarians across Ireland, Scotland, and Britain – and across the world – have based their interpretations of these supposed 'Scandinavian Viking plunderers' on surviving records (Harrison, 2015, p. 300). Both in the form of written sources and archaeological excavations. Earlier interpretations of historical records and grave goods seem to support the interpretation of Vikings as plunderers and warriors. However, contradictory interpretations have occurred repeatedly. These contradictions argue that the Early Viking graves of Ireland, Scotland, and the British Isles were remains of settlers rather than plunderers and are surviving proof of the first generation of migrating Scandinavians who had traveled to stay (Harrison, 2015, p. 300).

The common image of the Viking Age in the popular mediatic sense, tends to present a narrow view of society, where the main characters often end up as males (Moen, 2019, s. 66). Might this also be the case in the Scandinavian Early Viking Age burials presented in this thesis? Burials are deliberate actions and often prove to be deliberate expressions of identity and ideology of a given society (Moen, 2019, p. 115). Moen argues that:

> Mortuary archaeology relies heavily on grave goods in more ways than in gender determination. It is used to classify the context in terms of social level and status, as well as to try and construct interpretations about the identity of who was buried in it. (2019, p. 121).

If we are to understand these Scandinavian Early Viking Age burials, one must recognize the intersectionality of identity and how expressions of identity vary (McCall, 2005; Grahn, 2011, p. 225). Identity in burials can be a key factor in understanding these migrating societies and how they perceived themselves.

> For a number of years, there has been a discussion in archaeology and anthropology about agency, and whether objects have the capacity to act. On the premise that objects can be perceived as actors within a common cultural space, some objects stand out as more powerful than others. (Vedeler, 2018, p. 9).

Why people chose to migrate, how people adapted to their new environment, and the social consequences of migration are central and important questions both in archaeology and in our own time. Material objects, such as grave goods, have been employed differently regarding communicating social status and, more importantly, gender (Garipzanov, 2014, p. 14). This becomes evident in the material presented in this thesis. It appears clearly that the Scandinavian Early Viking Age grave goods, at least those in Orkney and Dublin, act according to the voice they are given. This thesis will answer my research questions based on a quantitative study of the Early Scandinavian Viking Age burials presented in the material catalog available in the appendix. Important terms, such as Viking diaspora, intersectionality, identity, ethnic identity, gender identity, warrior identity and religious identity, will be studied and thoroughly discussed in chapter 3. After the quantitative study, the remaining chapters will discuss the results and provide potential conclusions regarding the study.

1.3 Empiric material

The Early Scandinavian Viking Age burials from Orkney and Dublin presented in this thesis have been dated to the period AD 800 – 950. However, the overwhelming majority can be dated to AD 830-930 (Harrison, 2008, p. 79). There is a total of 125 burials present in the catalog, whereas 67 are from Dublin and 58 from Orkney. These will be further examined in chapters five and six. The gendering of these burials will also be questioned. The placement of the burials in the landscape has not been taken into account in this thesis, as the landscape is not relevant for the research questions.

Pagan burials in Orkney and Dublin provide us with some of the best evidence of the presence of the Scandinavian Vikings during the Early Viking Age in Orkney and Dublin (Floinn, 1998, p. 131). A growing awareness of these burials reveals more than who the deceased was and what their beliefs were. These aspects have become more evident in the archaeological research of the Early Viking Age (Norstein, 2020, p. 11). Therefore, funerary rites can reflect aspects of identity (such as warrior, gender and religious identities), both the deceased's identity and the identities of the people who buried them. However, as Lesley Abrams argues:

''The idea of a single Scandinavian burial custom has nonetheless been damagingly persistent in British archaeology,'' (2012, p. 22). It is therefore relevant to compare Scandinavian burial customs between regions, such as Dublin and Orkney. A further hypothesis is that burials of migrating societies during the Early Viking Age were fluid and varying due to local environments and influences. Thus, burials can no longer be viewed as passive reflections of a life once lived. Rather, they should be considered as active locations that reflect how societies operated and what their views on life were.

My main research questions are as follows:

- How does warrior, gender and religious identity contribute to the identification and understanding of the Viking diaspora in migrating societies?
- Can variations in expressions of identities between the two Viking diasporic societies of Orkney and Dublin be demonstrated in the grave material and burial customs?

1.4 Terms

Viking, in this thesis, is used as a convenient, general term to describe an individual or object of Scandinavian origin during the Viking Age (McGuire, 2009, p. 15).

Scandinavian Early Viking Age is used to determine a given prehistoric period (AD 800-950), during which Scandinavians practiced extensive exploration, raiding, trading, and migrating settlements that arose outside their homeland (McGuire, 2009, p. 15).

Migration can be defined as the physical movement, resettlement or re-establishment of a group of people, or individuals (Jesch, 2015, p. 68). It is important to note the difference between migration and diaspora. Diaspora relates to the process, where migration relates to the physical movement.

2. Previous research

2.1 Viking diaspora

The term Viking diaspora and its origins play an important role in the present and future research of Viking Age burials. The term ‘diaspora’ originates from the Jewish migrations across the world, from their homeland Palestine (Jesch, 2015, p. 68). The term ‘Viking diaspora’ was first introduced in 2006, with the creation of the AHRC-funded Viking Identities network (Jesch, 2015, p. 69). It has been widely used in Viking Age research (see Jesch 2015; McGuire 2009; Norstein 2014; Ratican 2019). This has resulted in more studies of gender and ethnicity expressed though, for example, burials. Studies now involve individuals, families, and communities to a greater degree than previously (Jesch, 2015, p. 81). The studies can potentially prove the migrating Scandinavian Early Viking Age communities that retained, synthesized, and expressed a sense of collective identity and constructed a common cultural discourse (Jesch, 2015, p. 69).

The term Viking diaspora has been widely used since its introduction in 2006. However, it has been used without justification or discussion (Jesch, 2015, p. 69). According to Judith Jesch, there has only been one acceptable discussion about the term Viking diaspora. Which was done by Lesley Abrams (2012). Abrams’ discussion mainly revolves around the implications of the applied term ‘diaspora’ to the migrating societies from Norway and Scandinavia that settled overseas in the Viking Age (2012, p. 17). Abrams argues further that her studies might lead to a better understanding of the cultural dynamics during the period (2012, p. 17). However, Jesch disagrees to a certain level with Abrams’ discussion. It appears rather problematic that there are two ‘valid’ discussions about the term Viking diaspora and its use of without further justification or consideration. Viking diaspora is chronologically limited to the Viking Age and does not refer to other aspects of diaspora. These restrictions leave researchers with a limited source of research material. Abrams argues that these limitations of evidence are problematic. Jesch, on the other hand, argues that the limitations in evidence needs to be accepted, which ultimately leads to a broader perspective of the Viking diaspora.

James Barrett has also frequently used the term ‘Viking diaspora’ explain the causation of the Viking Age (Barrett, 2010). He argues that:

> The hesitancy to view the 'Viking' diaspora as meaningful at the macro-scale – or in some scholarly traditions to discuss it at all – may ultimately owe its roots to a reaction against the gross misuse of Viking Age archaeology as racists propaganda by the National Socialists and others between 1920 and 1945. (p. 289).

This might be a reason why the term 'Viking diaspora' lacks further discussion. Nevertheless, Viking diaspora is an excellent way of describing the migrating societies to Orkney and Dublin.

2.2 Gender in archaeology

Gender in archaeology is seen as an important aspect of the study of prehistoric societies. According to the second feminist rebellion in the nineteenth sixties and seventies argue that past traditions in archaeological interpretations have suffered a male bias (Gilchrist, 1999, p. 3). This ultimately led to ways of finding the missing representations of the female presence in the past (Dommasnes, 1992, p. 4; Sørensen, 2013, p. 401; Wilkie & Hayes, 2006, p. 246). Inger Haugens (1987) introduced examples of previous, where women were explicitly bound to their home, to childcare in the private sphere and there was no room for them in the public sphere (Haugen, 1987, p. 16). The private sphere separated them from the rest of society, where men could pursue power, wealth and cultural value (Haugen, 1987, p. 16). These interpretations are highly problematic, where women are excluded from most of everyday life in prehistoric societies.

This general interpretation of gender roles has ultimately affected the archaeological study. Roberta Gilchrist (1999, p. 20) argues that such roles is visible through earlier studies of hunter-gatherer societies, where the male is aggressive, active and the dynamic creators of culture and technology. Women were passive and defined by their reproductive qualities (Gilchrist, 1999, p. 20). This understanding of gender roles also become visible in the early interpretations of Worsaae (1847; 1852), for example, where there is little room for women in the male-dominated Viking society. These early interpretations have, therefore, led to the contemporary attitude towards gender and gender roles becoming universalized by giving them a biological value.

The richness in artifacts from Viking Age burials made it possible for archaeologists to discuss prehistoric individuals in a greater sense (Sørensen, 2013, pp. 400-401). The traditional Viking Age studies continued to use the early interpretations, where focus on male aggression and competitiveness were the main factors of cultural change and innovation. Nanna Løkka (2014, p. 17) argue that the general manufacture of women in Viking Age studies was, and still are, heavily influenced by stereotypical and generalizing views of gender and gender roles. Løkka further argue that women in the Viking Age are almost exclusively portrayed as the traditional wife with limited options of evolving her position in society (2014, p. 17).

These past interpretations have damaged the archaeological studies of the Viking Age, by excluding an entire gender from the society. Jesch (1999; 2015) are amongst contemporary researchers that have published comprehensive studies on gender and gender roles during the Viking Age, which has ultimately put women in the Viking Age in a greater perspective of the Viking Age society. These studies have created a more nuanced perspective of women in the past and their relevance.

2.3 Why migrate?

What reasons caused the Scandinavian to begin great migrations during the Early Viking Age? Reasons behind migrations are often deeply personal and cannot be assumed alike for all individuals that migrate. There are many ways to try and explain a migration, but we can never be too certain (McGuire, 2009, p. 27). Furthermore, paradigm shifts within archaeological theories have affected views on migration (Jarman, 2012, p. 19). During the late twentieth century, archaeologists took a step back from using the term ‘migration’ as a tool to explain social and cultural change. Migration can still be viewed as a concept, however: it is rather the theoretical framework around which it operates that needs change.

Archaeologists and historians alike have done extensive research in identifying the economic, political, and cultural aspects of the migrating Scandinavian population during the Early Viking Age (Baug *et al.*, 2019, p. 44; Heen-Petersen, 2019, p. 523). Some scholars argue that it was the effect of ‘bride wealth’, where a man who wished to marry a woman needed to pay a certain sum to her family. James Barrett has further argued that it might have been due to selective female infanticide (2010, p. 293). He also argued that land hunger, demographic pressure, and desire for prestige or wealth could have been reasons for the migrations (2008,

p. 673-675). Social, cultural, political, and economic aspects are often valid reasons behind migrations (Jesch, 2015). However, Ben Raffield *et al* argue further that polygyny, concubinage and social inequalities were another reason for these raids and migrations (2017, p. 315). It has also been argued that pillaging was mainly motivated by power and fame (Ashby, 2015, p. 89). Furthermore, a connection between Scandinavian religion and the warrior mentality could have been a motivator for pillaging (Price, 2002). It is reasonable to assume that some, or all, of these motivations played an important role in the Viking raids and later settlements.

2.4 Early antiquarian studies

Reasons behind mass migrations are complex and vast. There has been extensive research by both historians and archaeologists who have tried to identify the economic, political, and cultural aspects of the Scandinavian Early Viking Age migrations (Baug, Skre, Heldal & Jansen, 2019, p. 44; Heen-Petersen, 2019, p. 523). Viking Age furnished burials have been occasionally recorded across Ireland, Scotland, and Britain since the seventeenth century (Harrison, 2008, p. 15). Numerous studies of said burials have been undertaken since. However, the Viking Antiquities project remains the only detailed, comprehensive, and published material of the Viking artifacts in Scotland, Ireland and, Britain that has ever been undertaken (Harrison, 2008, p. 2-3).

Jens J. A. Worsaae's work on the Viking Age have had a profound influence on the study of Viking Age furnished burials. His focus on the military character of the Vikings, has left many contemporary archaeologists questioning the general view and interpretations of a 'Viking' (Eldjárn, 1984; Harrison, 2008, pp. 19-20). His descriptions of the Viking presence are often vague (Eldjárn, 1984, p. 8). However, when the Viking presence are mentioned, he focuses on their military character. Burial mounds that contained weapons were distinctly male Vikings and undoubtedly even more so Viking warrior males (see Eldjárn, 1984; Worsaae, 1852, p. 242-252, 328). His influence and interpretations have lasted well until the twentieth century. Weapon burials are continuously interpreted as 'warrior' burials in places like Orkney and Dublin. As mentioned earlier: this idea of a single Scandinavian burial custom has been damagingly insistent in British archaeology and has ultimately led to a general 'acceptance' of it (Abrams, 2012, p. 22). This needs to be challenged and possibly changed by newer perspectives and interpretations.

Considering the immense study and research that has occurred regarding the Scandinavian Viking Age burials – both in Scandinavia and on the British Isles and Ireland, it should be no surprise that Viking Age burials in England, Ireland, and Scotland has received the same treatment. However, it has become evident that there is a current lack of interest in the early records of Viking Age burials from said places (Harrison, 2008, p. 7). Early antiquarian interpretations during the early and mid-twentieth century on matters such as ethnicity and religious origins can ultimately be called into question. Interpretations of warriors, pirates, and plunderers (see Harrison 2015; Worsaae 1852) have potentially formed an incorrect understanding of a population that migrated and settled in Orkney and Dublin.

The latest publication of the Viking Antiquities was in 1954. The material has since been neglected until Stephen H. Harrison (2008) attempted to collect all the data available and produced a rather impressive and comprehensive catalog of the Early Viking Age burials in England, Ireland, and Scotland. He was the first to examine it in over eighty years (Harrison, 2008, s. 257). Much of the material he worked with was long lost, both from the archives and the private collectors, and many descriptions were seemingly vague. The sources Harrison used are cited in the material catalog, which is presented in the appendix. Many of them are old, undescriptive, and very vague in their definitions of 'Viking' burials. Harrison's work led archaeologists to continue researching the material he presented, such as Norstein (2014; 2020). Norstein (2014) compared the material Harrison (2008) presented in Orkney and compared it with places in Norway.

3. Theoretical framework

3.1 Viking diaspora

Viking diaspora is not simply a new label to describe the Viking Age migrations, as one may assume, and the term has often been misused as such. The following section will thoroughly explain the term 'Viking diaspora'.

In recent years the term has been used rather widely to explain the overseas settlements of the Viking Age emigrations from Scandinavia. Diaspora is a way of explaining when, how, and what happens to a group during migrations, both in political, social, and economical terms (Jesch, 2015). Diaspora can be applied to every migrating group in the world, both present and prehistoric.

Judith Jesch explains the Viking diaspora similarly:

> Diaspora more often than not evokes two social spheres of interaction – the place of the residence and the place from which migration has occurred (…) it is the ongoing political, economic, social and cultural ties between multiple institutionalized spaces that characterize diaspora. (2015, p. 69).

She further asserts that the dispersed Scandinavian communities of the Viking Age acted like a diaspora; whereas they retained, synthesized, and expressed a sense of collective identity and constructed a common cultural discourse, while new circumstances generated innovations and developments which floated back and forth between them (2015, p. 69). Diaspora, therefore, relates to the process and results of migration and perhaps the most important aspect is how the migrants themselves thought and felt about their situation (Jesch, 2015, p. 81). It involves individuals, families, and communities. Jesch created a 'list' to raise and acknowledge questions about the Viking migrations, which need to be asked to understand the process of the migrations.

The parts of the list that this thesis will pay particular attention to are listed as such:

1. Did they migrate in a group?
2. Did they take their own social and cultural customs with them or did they adopt new ones?

3. Did they assimilate into the culture of their new homes and if so, how many generations did that take?
4. Did they still have any connection with their homeland? If not, did they nevertheless have a sense of where they had come from and a memory of how things were there?
5. And were they in touch with other migrants from the same homeland who had migrated somewhere else entirely? (Jesch, 2015, p. 81).

In other words, a good way to approach research on the Viking diaspora is to form an understanding of how connected the migrants were to their homeland, to their new home, and to other migrants, both from their own settlement and from settlements in other regions. Dublin and Orkney will be able to prove the relevance of Viking diaspora and why it is important to interpret continuously.

3.2 Defining 'Viking' burials

''While Scandinavia exhibited great diversity in burial and ritual practice, other material evidence therefore suggests that something common and unifying did in fact exist across the wider region,'' (Abrams, 2012, p. 24).

Vikings have been fascinating archaeologists for almost two hundred years, and yet, few have truly defined a Viking burial (Harrison & Floinn, 2014, p. 8). It is presumably even more important to define a 'Viking' burial abroad, seeing as they are away from their homeland and their customs. Worsaae (1846) and Johanne Bøe (1940) defined the Irish Viking burials as being of Scandinavian origin by determining and comparing the supposed 'Scandinavian' objects to objects from Scandinavia. They were Scandinavian because they contained Scandinavian items (Harrison & Floinn, 2014, p. 8). Due to the poor quality of surviving records and material, this simplified definition of a 'Viking' burial in Ireland and Scotland is therefore unavoidable. However, furnished burial rites are largely unknown in Ireland during the Iron Age and Middle Ages (Harrison & Floinn, 2014, p. 9). A Viking burial can, therefore, be defined as a furnished burial, which contains items of ninth and tenth-century date that originates from Scandinavia. It is crucial to note that, even by this definition, these burials are not stoic and without variables. Not all 'Vikings' were buried with grave goods (Harrison & Floinn, 2014, p. 9). It is reasonable to argue that the 'Viking' burials presented in this thesis are based on their items that originated from Scandinavia.

The intersectional relationship between a Viking burial and identity will be discussed in the sections below.

3.3 Defining complex identities

A national identity is often portrayed as conservative, whereas a collective understanding is reflected through symbols and signs that grow deeper roots over time (Vibman, 2017 p. 27). However, archaeological material and historical records show that groups with shared culture can follow rather different paths of awareness when it comes to identity. From an archaeological perspective, it becomes visible in burials, for example. Burials often serve as markers of the deceased's identity and the society the deceased once took part in (Williams, 2006, p. 118). This thesis focuses on a total of 125 burials distributed across two different locations. To grasp the visibleness of identity in these burials, one must thoroughly determine, explain and discuss the term 'identity' itself.

Identity seen through the archaeological study can be challenging to understand due to the various ways to define the term 'identity'. Identity is complex and with numerous interpretations (McGuire, 2009, p. 76). In this thesis, however, the term 'identity' will be used to describe an individual's identification with socially defined groups (Diaz-Andreu, Lucy, Babic, & Edwards 2005, p. 1). Identity is what an individual identifies as or with. You see yourself as identifying with what could be identical with yourself. The identity is, therefore, recognizable as yourself (Nielsen, 2000, p. 1). This can be further divided into several smaller components of identity, such as warrior identity, religious identity or gender identity. Thus, identities are formed by multiple strands of influence (Insoll, 2007, p. 21). The archaeology of identity is a phenomenon aiming for a true archaeology of difference, where simplistic ideas of gender construction are thoroughly analyzed (Insoll, 2007, p. 21). Identity is created and molded through social life, and social experiences. Sex, age, ethnicity, culture and class are examples of such.

A relevant method to highlight complexity in identity is intersectionality. This is a feministic approach, which was first introduced by the feministic jurist Cimberle Crenshaw (McCall, 2005; Crenshaw, 1989). The intersectional method and/or theory attempts to study how different social categories, like gender, ethnicity, age and class cross each other and creates the fundament of different forms of experience (McCall, 2005; Grahn, 2011, p. 225). These intersections are not determined or static, but varies greatly in different contexts (McCall,

2005). Identity is therefore intersectional and complex, and it is necessary to try and 'divide' the three distinctive identities in burial patterns presented in this thesis into separate sections. I am consciously aware that this is a method to explain and define aspects of identity, which are continuously complex and differentiations varies greatly within the term. It is used as a method to highlight these complexities, and not a reflection of the sum of Viking identity.

3.4 Ethnic identity

Ethnic identity is only one social determinator, amongst many others, which can override status, gender, and occupation (Meskell, 2007, p. 25). However, it involves the social negotiation of difference and likeness to a certain group of people, and can often lead to tension between individuals, the group itself, and country/region/state (Meskell, 2007, p. 25). Simply put, ethnic identity is a concept of construction of kinship. Archaeological research, much like the study presented in this thesis, has shown that ethnicity is not always synonymous with a single race, language, location or even material culture. The mass migrations that occurred during the Early Viking Age in Scandinavia are adequate examples of that. An ethnic group spread, divided, and adapted to a completely new environment in a new country with another ethnic group of individuals.

During the last decade, the focus on ethnicity has been considered as part of personal identity (Glørstad, 2014, p. 152). The place where a person originates is part of one's identity. This can be displayed in numerous ways, but material culture can be a bi-product of behavior, ideology, and practical aspects in the archeological sense. Jesch notes: *''Much archaeological ink has been spilt over the last few decades on the question of whether and how material culture expresses or constructs ethnic or other group identities,''* (2015, p. 75). The relationship between material culture and any form of ethnic awareness is intersectional and complex. It cannot simply be an equation or one definition. This proves just how important it is to attempt to define ethnic identity to understand the matter's complexity fully.

The complex process that occurs when different ethnic groups meet and interact with each other is of great importance and needs to be stressed (Jesch, 2015). When the Vikings arrived in Orkney and Dublin, they encountered two different ethnic groups with different social, cultural, ideological, and political views. In-between cultures and hybrids of cultures are anticipated to occur (Glørstad, 2014, p. 153). This phenomenon can be described as occurrences that happen during the interaction between different cultural groups.

''Hybridization is thus the process where cultural and ethnic expressions are given new meaning, adjusted to local practices and situation,'' (Glørstad, 2014, p. 153). This phenomenon can demonstrate social interaction between different cultural groups, and it is revealed in the material catalog presented in this thesis.

3.5 Gender identity

> Do we really need a true sex? With a persistence that borders on stubbornness, modern Western societies have answered in the affirmative. They have obstinately brought into play the question of a 'true sex' in an order of things where one might have imagined that all that counted was the reality of the body and the intensity of its pleasures.
> - Michel Foucault (1980).

Michel Foucault's (1980) phrase has an important memorandum regarding the rigidity of the Western world, especially concerning identity and its aspects, such as race, class, gender, or sexual preference. Lynn Meskell explains it in this way: *''That rigidity necessitates that all individuals be neatly pigeonholed and categorized according to a set of predetermined labels,''* (2007, p. 24). She clarifies explains that archaeological investigations suffer as a result of this Western view. One cannot interpret the identity of prehistoric humans by the standards of the modern Western society we live in. To focus solely on gender, age, or status will most likely not contribute to a broader understanding of past human societies, due to the lack of insight in a broader way of interpreting identity. She argues that if we broaden our studies of class, ethnicity, or sexual orientation, the interpretation of identity will expand and highlight aspects of life that might not have been observed or studied in the archaeological record earlier (Meskell, 2007, p. 24).

Gender identity in archaeology first emerged during the 1980s, but its real impact first hit during the 1990s when feminist perspectives occurred within the post-processual archaeology (Meskell, 2007, p. 28). Gender identity in archaeology and the question of how to interpret it, or more specifically, how to interpret it as a form of identity itself, has been challenging. Gender identity is one side of a complexity that creates an individual's identity, yet the hierarchy of identity issues often lies within gender. People do not always perform as 'men' or 'women'. It needs to be stressed that the Scandinavian Early Viking Age migrants did not

necessarily conform to behaviors and mannerisms of their biological gender, as the modern world does. Gender is ultimately a process of becoming, rather than being (Meskell, 2007, p. 30). Significant questions such as gendering Viking Age burials and gender identity in burials will be acknowledged in chapter six and seven.

Migrations include individuals, families, and communities. As seen in the earlier interpretations of Viking Age migration, women cannot be expelled or ignored from this interpretation. Jesch argues: *''Since the whole concept of diaspora implies various kinds of continuity, not only 'societal', but also linguistic and cultural, then the Viking diaspora can only be fully understood when gender is taken into account,''* (2015, p. 87). The term gender represents important dynamic aspects of the relationship between people. It also represents how societies conceptualize of gender and how it is interpreted gender in any given time period. Identity and gender in the Viking diaspora are important aspects in understanding how the Viking Age emigrants and migrants felt about their situation. Even so, traditional approaches to Viking identity can be perceived as rather masculine, and the focus on males in this time period is crushingly prioritized, especially when the term 'Viking' has been defined as masculine roles, such as pirates, pillagers, robbers, seafarers, warriors and merchants (Jesch, 2015, p. 87).

Moen explains: *''In order to approach an understanding of the complexities of gender constellations and roles in past societies, we must certainly recognise that these are more than simple and unified categories of men and women (...),''* (2019, p. 28). Gender can serve as a social category itself, and the modern interpretations of gender and gender roles raise challenging questions when interpreting prehistoric societies (Olsen, 1997, p. 246). Therefore, one must see beyond the biological definition of gender, which ultimately has become an objective universal category (Olsen, 1997, p. 246). This increase of interest in gender studies has ultimately resulted in attempting to deconstruct the so-called sex-gender system (see Ghisleni, Jordan & Fioccoprile, 2016; Fuglestvedt, 2014; Nordbladh & Yates, 1990) The binary understanding of sex and gender undermines the validness of gender (sex) as experience and behavior. A spectral, rather than a binary, approach and understanding of biological gender has therefore been suggested (Nordbladh & Yates, 1990).

3.6 Religious identity

Identity includes several aspects of social life, whereas many identities may belong to one single individual. However, defining religious identity in the archaeological study seems a bit more complicated. The material is solely based on burials and their expressions of identity through material culture. In this thesis, I have chosen to define religious identity as an individual's identification with religious activities. It has been defined as such: *''Religious identity refers to a religion's self-interpretation as recognized by a supportive audience. Thus, we speak of a person's religious identity or a religious community's identity because of one's recognition and appropriation of a religious concern,''* (Anthony & Ziebertz, 2012, p. 1).

Religious identity can be expressed through burial practice. Important aspects are how and where was the individual buried? What grave goods were they buried with? In the study of archaeology, a typical 'Viking' burial is often based on certain assumptions of what the burial might contain based on gender and status. If this is challenged through items, it might point to a religious identity that matches the Christian religion both the Vikings of Orkney and Dublin faced upon their arrival. However, it needs to be stressed that identity is partial, temporary, vague, and relative (Anthony & Ziebertz, 2012, p. 1). Therefore, a religious identity is fluid, very changeable over time, and it is expressed differently in different cultures.

The burials presented in this thesis often lie in direct association with Christian cemeteries or churches – does that imply a hybridization or a cultural adaption between the indigenous population and the Scandinavian Vikings? This will be further elaborated in chapter seven.

3.7 Warrior identity

''As armies coalesced, they needed a collective identity, and a common means of relating to the supernatural and enacting the relationship between man and the divine would have been a useful, if not essential, bonding element,'' (Abrams, 2012, p. 26).

The material in this thesis will highlight the need for awareness in how a warrior identity is portrayed in material from the migrating societies from the Scandinavian Early Viking Age to Dublin and Orkney. In a Viking Age society where there is little difference between martial and civil life, all free men were obligated to carry weapons and be prepared to use them (Hedenstierna-Jonson, 2020, p. 179). Hedenstierna-Jonson argues: *''In actual battle, relationships and bonds of loyalty were tested and reaffirmed, preserving and strengthening*

the social structure as a whole,'' (2020, p. 180). The life of these warriors was admired, and achievements were applauded. Their lifestyle distinguished a warrior identity and served as guidelines for others in the Viking Age society (Hedenstierna-Jonson, 2020, p. 180). The term warrior identity in this thesis will therefore be defined as an individual's identification to a warrior-like lifestyle. Examples of expressions can be through burial practice, with the absence or presence of swords. One must, however, ask themselves if the swords are an expression of ethnic and gender identity, rather than warrior. Or perhaps all of them.

3.8 Identity in burials

''On their own, grave-goods are meaningless. They gain significance through the relationship and memories that link the living and the dead,'' (McGuire, 2009, p. 74).

Grave goods can be understood in a multitude of ways. Some have been personal possessions or items, clothing or gifts (McGuire, 2009, p. 74). Material culture, such as grave goods, can be used as a 'tool' to construct, maintain, control or transform identities (McGuire, 2009, p. 75). Frida Norstein argue that:

> It is therefore a great simplification to interpret grave goods as an image of the dead in life, as the artefacts are likely to have been carefully chosen. This means that the identity of the dead displayed in the grave is actively chosen by the mourners. The material culture in funerary rites is highly selective, while some aspects of identity will be remembered others are actively forgotten. (2014, p. 7).

Previous research on Viking identities is vast and differs greatly from each other. Since Viking Age burials have been studied since the seventeenth century in the British Isles and Ireland, and maybe even earlier in Norway, the term Viking identity follows closely behind and has been developing since the seventeenth century. The Viking identity has previously been interpreted as warriors, plunderers, and murderers by early antiquarians. It has further been interpreted as settlers and traders (see for example Harrison 2008, 2014, 2015; Worsaae 1847, 1852). However, the term Viking identity does not signify one single identity. The term Viking identity has been applied and intertwined with much of the Viking-related archaeological studies. However, the complexity of the term is necessary to bear in mind and is rarely as simple as initial assumptions on the matter. Viking identities will continue to evolve with the continuous effort of Viking studies and will hopefully highlight a part of their identity.

Viking diaspora is, therefore, ultimately a tool to describe Viking identity as seen through migration and how these migrating societies adapted to their new environment. The term Viking identity is a term widely used in archaeological field (see for example Jarman 2012; Jesch 1999, 2015; Kershaw 2013; McGuire 2009; Norstein 2014, 2020; Price 2015). The previous sections have attempted to define the three distinctive identities visible in the Viking Age burials in Orkney and Dublin. It has become evident that all of them often corresponds with each other, and that they vary greatly from individual to individual. The apparent relationship between identity and burial is intersectional and challenging.

4. The Vikings of Orkney and Dublin

4.1 Before the Vikings

Orkney, during the pre-Viking period, was mainly dominated by the Celtic group of the Picts. They were a group of indigenous people, first recorded in AD 297 by Romans. The Romans described them as the *Picti*, which can be translated to the 'painted ones' (Graham-Campbell, 1998, p. 7). The Picts dominated much of Scotland, and the Scots were mainly found in the west. They were two distinctly different cultural groups (Graham-Campbell & Batey, 1998, p. 5). The Picts have been portrayed as an 'archaeological problem' due to the lack of evidence of their existence (Graham-Campbell & Batey, 1998, p. 5). One of the major breakthroughs that provided an extension of knowledge about the Picts in Orkney was the identification of Pictish building style (like the Brough of Birsay and Brough of Gurness). Throughout history, the Picts have typically been portrayed as barbarians, mostly because of the Roman comments about their way of cultural expression through body paint and tattoos (Graham-Campbell & Batey, 1998, p. 5). The reality of the assumptions made by the Romans is probably somewhat different in terms of their material culture and cultural presence.

Historical records of the Picts and their kingdoms did not survive before the sixth century, which leaves a gap of three hundred years of historical records, from the first time they were recorded and up until the first recorded Pictish king. However, by the end of the sixth century, the Picts were beginning to convert to Christianity (Graham-Campbell & Batey, 1998, p. 7). During this conversion, there were multiple different changes in their culture and identity. An example of this is introducing elaborate crosses into sculptures, which are the main sources of evidence of the Picts and their distinctive culture (Graham-Campbell & Batey, 1998, p. 7). Christianity, therefore, had a profound effect on the indigenous people living in Orkney before the Scandinavian Vikings arrived. It also proves that the Vikings faced Christianity both in Orkney and Dublin when they first migrated.

There is little doubt that Orkney was an important part of the Pictish kingdom (Graham-Campbell & Batey, 1998, p. 11). Birsay, for example, was a power base that was in later years overtaken by the Vikings (Graham-Campbell & Batey, 1998, p. 11). Burial cairns, extensive metal workings, and symbolic stones are considered proof of the assumption of the Birsay power base.

It has been argued that the Picts were already gone when the Vikings first arrived in Orkney. It has also been argued that they were slaughtered by the Vikings when they first arrived (Lange, 2007, p. 38). The modern assumption that the Picts, were, in fact, living in Orkney when the Vikings arrived is generally accepted by contemporary archaeologists. The Pictish layers in the Brough of Birsay are examples of their presence. However, their precise form is unclear (Graham-Campbell & Batey, 1998, p. 13). Thus, the fate of the Pictish settlement under Viking rule is still somewhat uncertain. A total of twelve Norse buildings have been discovered at Birsay, which highlights the extensive activity of Norse settlers (Graham-Campbell & Batey, 1998, p. 54). However, every trace of the Pictish population had faded into folklore by the end of the twelfth century (Barrett, 2008, p. 412).

The traditional Pre-Viking Irish society, however, appears somewhat different from the one in Orkney. The society during the fifth century is described as rural, tribal, and hierarchical. Ireland was divided into several smaller 'settlements', also known as *'tuatha'*. Tuatha can be directly translated to people (Lydon, 1998, p. 5). All these *tuatha's* had a *ri*, a king, who was chosen on the background of his royal lineage and his personal fitness to rule. The given criteria were: *''He must be without serious physical blemish, a warrior capable of leading his people into battle, and pleasing enough to the local deity so that the land would be fruitful during his reign,''* (Lydon, 1998, p. 5). His kingship was proven by his marriage to the goddess of his land, a tradition so strong that it survived the influence of Christianity and lasted until the Middle Ages.

When Christianity arrived in Ireland for the first time, assumably with Patrick the Apostle of Ireland, during the mid-fifth century, there was no single unity in the country. Even though he baptized thousands of Irishmen, Christianity had not been fully incorporated and was still met with great resistance. For the new religion to have a chance to fasten itself, it would first have to overthrow this pagan sacral tradition and gain the king's favor. According to the rural traditions, a king could not (should not) interfere with neighboring *tuatha* and *ri*. This meant that for Christianity blossom in Ireland, it needed to win over every *tuatha* and *ri's* in the country. There was no sudden, miraculous conversion (Lydon, 1998, p. 5). The problems Christian bishops faced in Ireland, were that in these *tuatha* had no centre of population. Most were scattered around the ancient land confined in their own farmsteads.

The Irish society during the pre-Viking Age has been described as both archaic and conservative. However, the generally accepted modern interpretation is that this claim has been greatly exaggerated (Corráin, 2001, p. 29; Lydon, 1998, p. 5).

4.2 The Viking settlements in Orkney and Dublin

Alas, holy Patrick!
unavailing your orisons –
the Vikings with axes
are hacking your oratories.

- Prayer of defense, Armagh 895 (Corráin, 2001, p. 21-22).

There is substantial evidence that there already were existing contacts between Ireland, Scotland, and Scandinavia before the Viking Age (Corráin, 2001, p. 17). However, the Viking raids still came as a shock to the Irish population. This raid was registered in the Book of Armagh, which spoke of the sudden misfortunes of the monastery in Iona. After a few years of plundering, there was silence for yet another eight years. Attacks were reported again in AD 821 that was located in the Irish Sea and the southern coast. Another twenty years passed, and the Vikings overwintered in Dublin from AD 841-842. The Vikings had studied Ireland for many years, and by now, knew all they needed to know of the Irish shoreline (Heen-Petersen, 2019, p. 523-541). It was quickly recognized as the most powerful Scandinavian Viking kingdom, and by the second half of the ninth century, it developed into a powerful Viking center. It was a place for trade and international connections. It suggestively dominated all of the Viking activity in Ireland (Corráin, 2001, p. 21-22). There is also substantial archaeological and historical evidence that suggests that Orkney was one of the key regions where Scandinavian influence has been most widespread and enduring (Hunter, Bond, & Smith, 1993, p. 272). The broch of Birsay was likely the birthplace of the first Norse earldom in Orkney (Hunter *et al*., 1993, p. 273).

It has been suggested that the Vikings who raided Ireland during the Early Viking Age were connected to ‘pirate settlements’ in the Isles of Scotland, such as Orkney (Graham-Campbell & Batey, 1998, p. 54). Some scholars suggest that these settlements were primarily established for this purpose. Another suggestion is that the Vikings who arrived in Orkney settled peacefully, their culture intertwining their culture with the Picts’ (Graham-Campbell & Batey, 1998, p. 54) However, the burials presented in this thesis indicate that the ‘pirate

settlement' theory of Scandinavian settlements in Orkney cannot provide a full explanation for all these settlements.

Lesley Abrams explains: *''But it is important not to forget that while Scandinavian abroad interacted intensively with local societies in many different ways, their activities also stimulated, and at times depended on, contact with other, far-flung, Scandinavian populations,''* (2012, p. 28). This may strengthen the argument that the Viking settlers in Dublin probably originated or were strongly connected to Scandinavian Scotland, which had already formed a powerful royal dynasty in the north and west (Corráin, 2014, p. 429). The Viking settlers in Dublin became active contributors to Ireland's international politics, and some might even argue that the Viking winter camps (much like the camp in Dublin) eventually developed into the first urban communities in Ireland (Skre, 2014, p. 237). One of the first leaders of this dynasty, Amlaib (Óláfr) and Imar (Ivarr) controlled the Irish Vikings through a series of royal expeditions. This dynasty played a major role for nearly two centuries (ninth and tenth century) in Ireland and Britain (Corráin, 2001, p. 20-22).

As soon as Dublin became a dominant power center, the opposing Irish society suddenly had a common enemy. The Vikings became unsuccessful in their quest to win large territories in Ireland due to the resistance from the indigenous population and therefore turned their heads towards Britain. The Vikings in Ireland and Scotland supposedly plundered the entirety of Pictland in AD 866 and took many hostages before returning to Dublin. In AD 871, they returned once again and: *''came back to Dublin from Scotland with 200 ships and they brought with them in captivity … a great prey of Angles, Britons and Picts,''* (Corráin, 2001, p. 21). This may be one of the reasons behind the absence of Pictish settlers in Orkney. They were taken as slaves by the Vikings. However, due to of the intensive resistance from the Irish society and the power-battle between the royal Viking families, the Viking control of Dublin was ebbing quickly. The final defeat came in AD 902 when the kingdom of Brega from north and Lenister to the south joined forces to defeat the common enemy (Corráin, 2001, p. 21). Supposedly, the Viking survivors of this devastating defeat escaped to Britain and Scotland. This event marked the end of the first Viking kingdom in Dublin.

''The pagans were driven from Ireland, i.e. from the fortress of Dublin … and they escaped half-dead after they had been wounded and broken,''

- Annalist records (Corráin, 2001, p. 21-22).

The Irish had defeated the Scandinavian plunderers, and they fled back to Britain and Scotland. It is likely that they were, yet again, in contact with the settlement in Orkney. However, a sudden appearance of the arrival of a ‘great sea-fleet of pagans’ arrived in Waterford Harbour in AD 914. This, evidently, marked the beginning of the second Viking Age in Ireland. It shocked the contemporaries, as the Vikings claimed control over Dublin yet again (Corráin, 2001, p. 21-22). They were once again defeated in AD 980 (Corráin, 2001, p. 23).

It becomes evident that the powerful Viking settlement in Dublin probably had strong connections to other Viking settlements in both Scotland and Britain. The possibility that the Viking settlement in Orkney was in contact with the one in Dublin seems likely, based on the arguments presented above.

5. The material

The material presented in this thesis are Scandinavian Early Viking Age burials in Orkney and Dublin. A total of 125 burials are included in the catalog, whereas 58 are found in Orkney and 67 in Dublin. The selection of burials is based on Harrison's (2008) comprehensive catalog of the Early Viking Age burials across the British Isles, Scotland, and Ireland (p. 414-676). I have created a material catalog that presents each burial, and they are described with grave goods, location, date of recovery, and a brief interpretation and tentative gender determination. Harrison's gendering on these burials are divided into 'weapon', 'brooch' or 'tertiary' grave, where the items often determine gender or assumed gender (Harrison, 2008). The burials, in theory, are therefore not gendered completely, but with the assumption that weapon and brooch burials represent male and female graves. This, however, has been proven to not always correspond. Only a few burials presented in this thesis are scientifically tested through DNA, isotope or C14 (see material catalog). This is due to the challenging records and their definition of their context and skeletal analysis. However, some of the burials that are scientifically tested to determine gender are surprising, considering the 'traditional' way of interpreting a Viking Age burial (see burial 023.2, 182.1, 182.2, 182.3 & 182.4). The skeletal remains of the individual in burial 023.2 in Orkney suggests a female in her fifties. The only item in the grave is an iron knife, which is an item that can be associated with masculinity. It needs to be stressed that it is likely that several of the burials presented in the material catalog that is determined as male is likely to be female. However, this is hard to prove, with the lack of skeletal remains and other available sources of information.

Some of the burials are in direct geographical relation to indigenous burials or settlements. This has been noted and used in the analysis. The artifacts in the burials are all given an O (for Orkney) or D (for Dublin). This makes it easier to recognize the material in the analysis and discussion. The Scandinavian Early Viking Age burials presented in the catalog have been dated to AD 800 – 950, where the overwhelming majority can be dated to the period AD 830-930 (Harrison, 2008, p. 79). These dates are set according to Harrison's study in 2008. I have chosen to follow his dating and have not questioned it further.

5.1 Managing the catalog

The catalog forms the empirical basis of the analysis in this thesis. The material collected will be studied according to the research questions of this thesis. Orkney and Dublin will be

divided into separate sections, enabling separate analysis followed by comparisons. According to the research questions and theoretical framework, I will study and compare material expressions of gender identities, religious identities and warrior identities in the Scandinavian Early Viking Age burial material from Dublin and Orkney, respectively. However, much of the burials in, especially Dublin, are multiple burials, which are uncertain in exact number of individuals per grave. They have been excluded in several aspects of the catalog due to this. Single burials will show a certain trend in items and the richness of each burial.

It also needs to be stressed that the material from 2008 has probably changed, and that 'newer' burials have been discovered. I am aware of Harrison & Floinn (2014, p. 224) state that there are 61 males, 10 females, and 10 unknown burials in Dublin. That makes a total of 14 'newer' burials discovered after Harrison's (2008) publication. However, in fear of confusing the material and the lack of available information, I have excluded the 'newer' burials in this thesis.

5.2 Implementing number of artifact types (AOT) to the material

I have chosen to give every number of artifact type (also known as AOT) an individual object number (O or D).

Framework is often needed when studying burials and the potential artifacts within them. They contribute to standardization and quantification of the material itself. Several artifact types are a way of creating such framework (Hedeager, 1992, p. 101-103). Using NOAT in the catalog will contribute to a more nuanced result. The reason behind this is simple: if a burial contains over forty beads, the total percentage of items distributed in all burials will ultimately be incorrect. This is because these beads will hold the highest percentage of items found in burials if not counted as a NOAT. To be counted as a NOAT, one takes, for example, two oval brooches from one burial and counts them as one. This makes it easier to find a pattern in burials and also to determine which items are more 'popular' or 'common' than others. Therefore, if a burial contains forty beads (like 021.1) they will be counted as one NOAT-item.

5.3 Single burials in Orkney and Dublin

As mentioned earlier: there are quite a few burials that are multiple burials. The multiple burials cannot provide information on trends, gender and identity, because of the fact that the exact number of individuals and items are uncertain (see Harrison, 2008, p. 414-676). By studying single burials, one may be able to detect a certain pattern, regarding when it comes to grave goods and how they are distributed. The multiple burials are, therefore, excluded in this section of the study. The numbers included in table 1 are purely based on gendered burials.

Male	23
Female	17

Table 1: Gendered distribution of single burials in Dublin. Based on material catalog.

Out of 28 male burials, 24 are single. 17 out of 20 female burials are single.

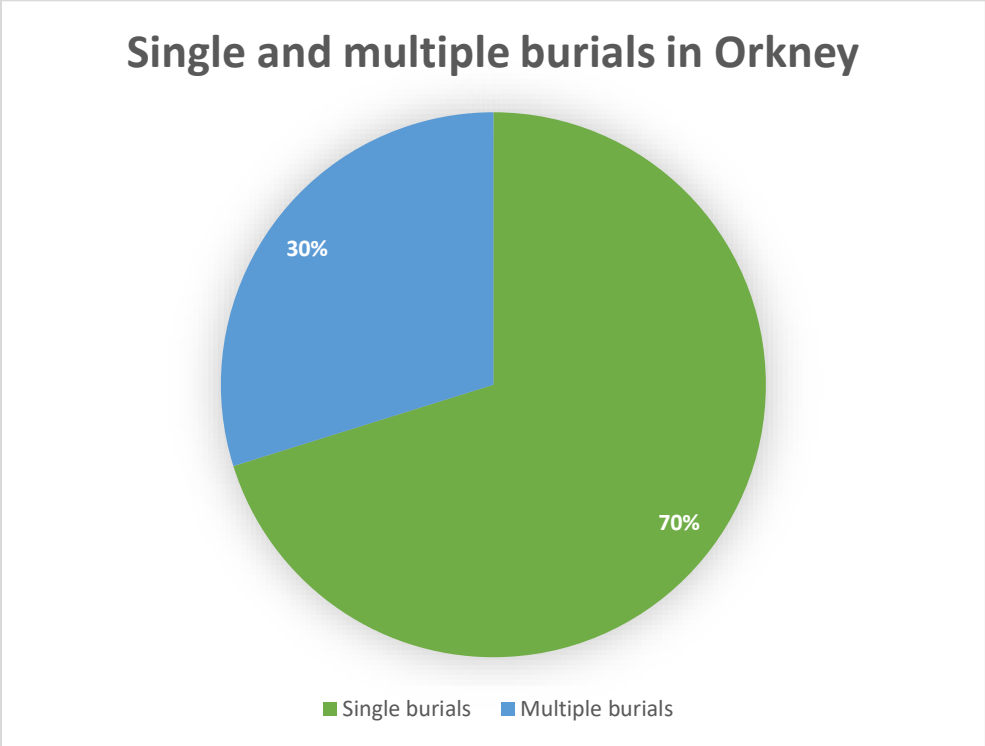


Table 2: Single and multiple burials in Orkney. Based on table 1.

The majority of all the gendered burials in Orkney are considered as single burials. This makes it more sufficient to interpret, and I can make an assumption of distribution and popularity in grave goods. I have therefore made a figure where I study every single item in

all the gendered burials, divided by gender. These numbers are not based on NOAT, due to the importance of seeing probable patterns in grave goods in gendered burials. The numbers look like this:

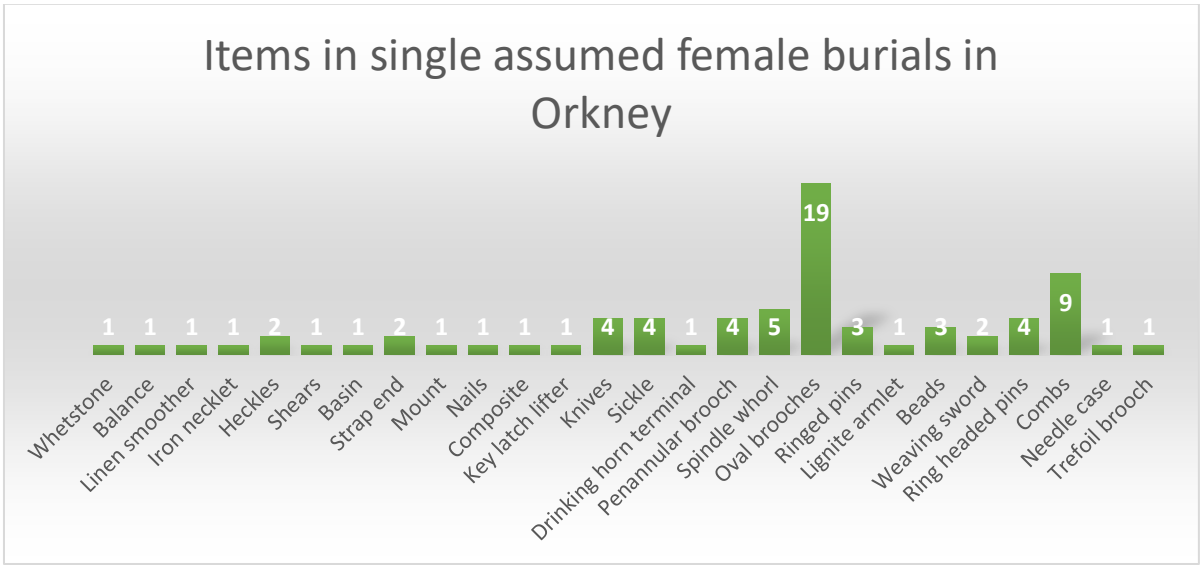


Table 3: Items in single assumed female burials in Orkney. A total of 17 female burials presented. Based on table 1.

The oval brooches in burials that contains an overweight of artifacts that are traditionally attributed women, are the most common.

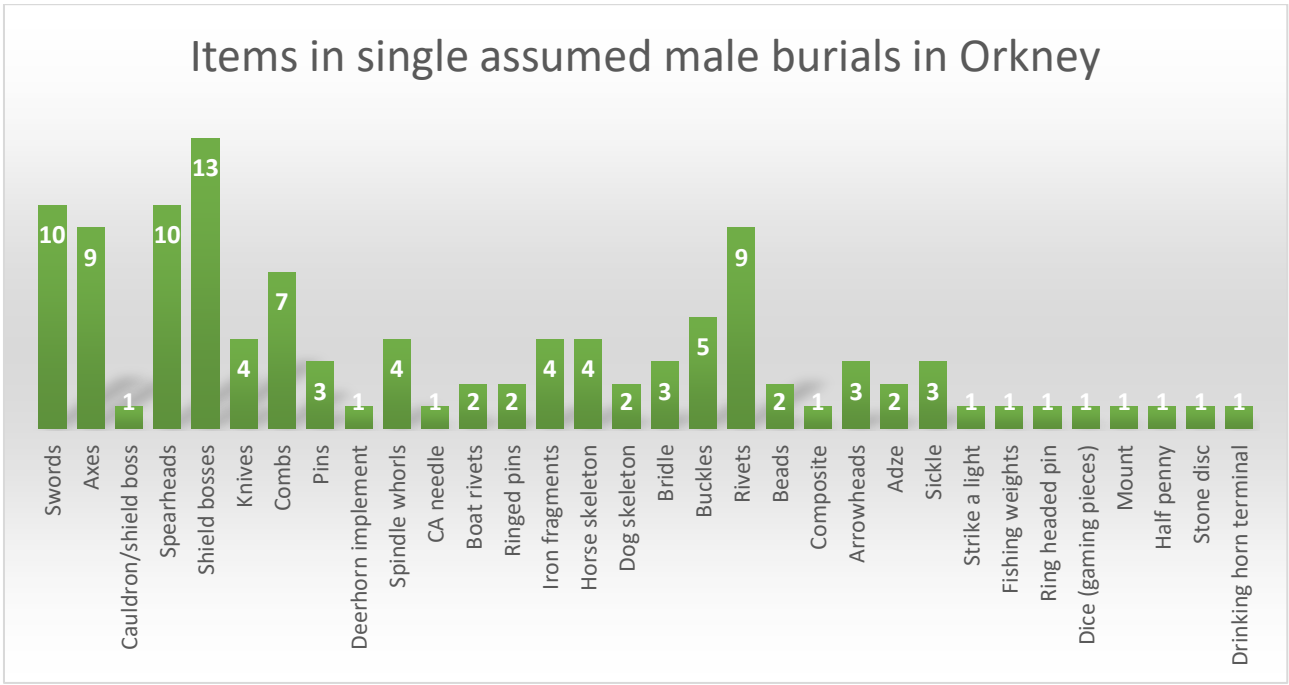


Table 4: Items in single assumed male burials in Orkney. A total of 24 male burials presented. Based on table 1.

As the figure illustrates, the items that attribute male graves seem to have a bigger diversity in grave goods. Several items point to be popular and often re-occurring. Swords, axes, spearheads and shield bosses are examples of this.

As seen in the material catalog, the total number of graves in Dublin is fairly unclear. This is mainly due to early contradictions about the exact number of artifacts and graves. Harrison (2008) has therefore produced the catalog as a *minimum* number of burials and artifacts. This is mainly concerning the Kilmainham and Islandbridge burials. The single burials in context can provide useful information and hopefully point to a pattern in grave goods as seen in Orkney.

The distribution look like this:

Male	27
Female	3

Table 5: Gendered distribution of single burials in Dublin. Based on material catalog.

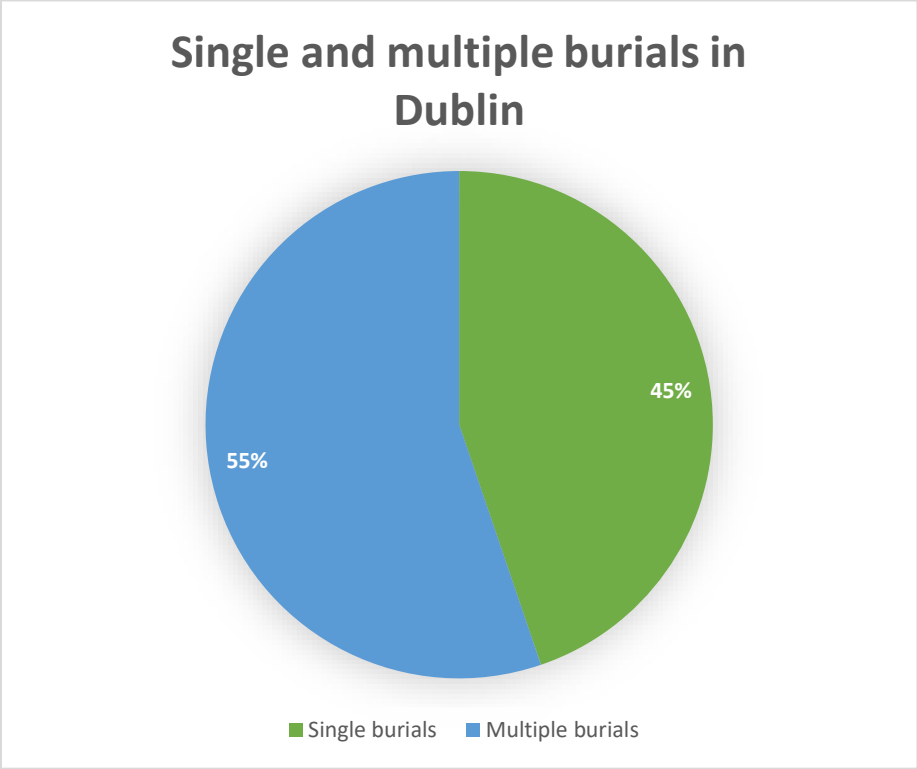


Table 6: Single and multiple burials in Dublin. Based on table 5.

As the results show: over half of all the Scandinavian Early Viking Age burials in Dublin consists of numerous individuals per burial. The grave goods in these burials are rather difficult to interpret, seeing as it is impossible to divide the items and distribute them. Some might have had more and some less. The single burials will hopefully provide a better overview of the distribution and a probable repetition of the most common objects.

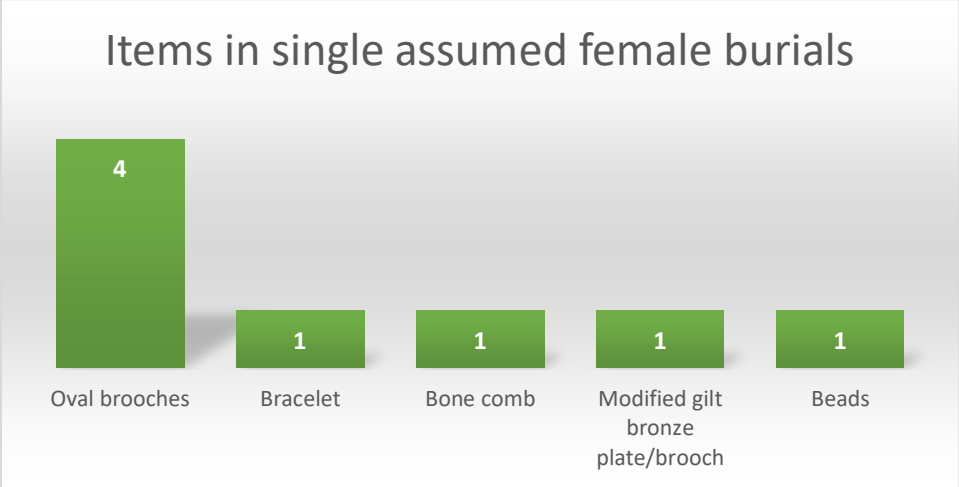


Table 7: Items in single assumed female burials in Dublin. A total of 3 female burials presented. Based on table 5.

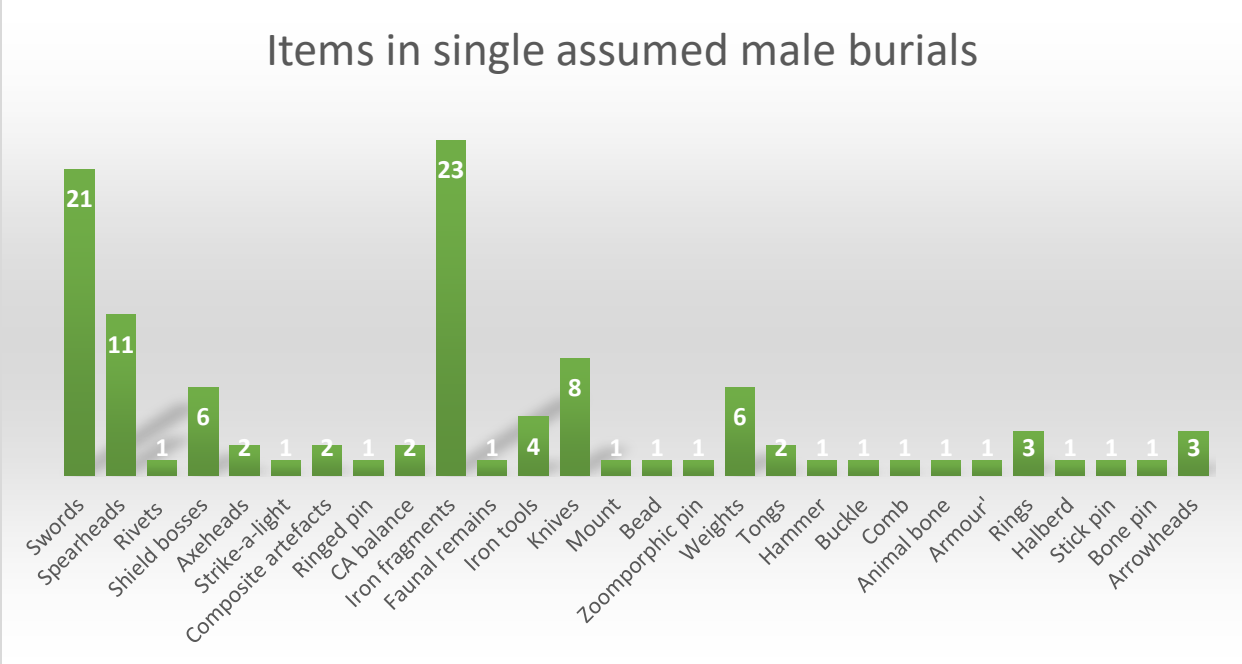


Table 8: Items in single assumed male burials in Dublin. A total of 27 male burials presented. Based on table 5.

Out of three female burials, there is a total of four oval brooches present. Out of 27 male burials, there are 21 swords and 11 spearheads present. It is interesting to note that out of all

the male burials, 9 of them contained a sword as the only grave good. That makes a third of all the single male burials in Dublin. These distributions in Dublin have proven useful when comparing the material with Orkney. It becomes clearer that the burial material in Orkney is different from Dublin, even though they shared a common origin, the same homeland. These results can contribute to the understanding of the Viking diaspora in migrating societies, based on differences in burial patterns and practices. This will be further elaborated in chapter six and seven.

5.4 Other problematic aspects to the material

The burials presented in the material catalog do not come without problematic aspects. As mentioned in the material catalog (see appendix), much of these burials' archived material was never published fully. It was not until Stephen Harrison (2008) put together a complete catalog of the Early Scandinavian Viking Age burials scattered across the British Isles, Scotland, and Ireland. As mentioned earlier, much of the material he worked with has been lost and much of the descriptions of the burials and items are seemingly vague. Another problem he faced, which I also faced, was the vague definitions of a 'Viking' burial and what differentiates the Scandinavian Early Viking Age burials from the indigenous. The artifacts, burials, and their context were left untouched for almost eighty years, until Harrison (2008, p. 257) published his thesis. The material from Ireland was further examined in 2014 by Harrison and Floinn, whereas Frida E. Norstein re-examined the Scottish material in 2014. However, the material still lacks further examination and study.

Most of the professional excavations were excavated during the eighteen fifties and early nineteen hundred in both Orkney and Dublin (see Harrison, 2008 and material catalog). As far as the written records of these excavations go, it is mentioned occasionally that more graves were discovered at the same sites. As far as they could see, these graves did not contain any grave goods (Harrison, 2008, p. 435-443).

To highlight how problematic this is, I shall make an example of burial 021.6-021.8 from Westness, Rousay in Orkney. Sigrid H. H. Kaland is vague about the exact number of burials. However, Graham-Campbell and Batey noted that there was a total of thirty-two burials present at the site. Twenty-four of these were unfurnished burials. They make up a total of seventy-five percent of the graves located at Westness. The graves were described as Pictish burials containing individuals from different stages of life. They were marked by headstones

and were apparently respected by those who created the later Scandinavian furnished burials (Harrison, 2008, p. 441). Eight burials were furnished, which suggests that at least three other furnished graves were present at the site. Kaland, however, notes that there were four oval burials that contained 'weapons, jewellery and tools' (Harrison, 2008, p. 441). She also implied that there was at least another furnished burial, but her descriptions are too vague to consider. The biggest issue concerning this is that Kaland does not leave an explanation for her differentiation between Pictish and Viking burials (see Kaland, 1993, p. 308-317). This is highly problematic for various reasons. The possibility that some of these twenty-four graves are of Scandinavian insular origin cannot be discarded entirely.

Another example similar to the one discussed above can be found at Islandbridge in Dublin (176.1). During the War Memorial Park construction at Islandbridge, there was a discovery of scattered artifacts that most likely had belonged to a grave (Harrison, 2008, p. 647). Elizabeth O'Brien mentions that a substantial number of unfurnished burials found at the same site as the scattered artifacts. She suggested that these burials belonged to an indigenous cemetery, without further investigation (Harrison, 2008, p. 647). These burials, much like the twenty-four mentioned above, are missing thorough examination. Therefore, they provide yet another problematic approach to the graves already categorized as of Scandinavian origin.

These examples provide satisfactory examples of how the general interpretation of Early Viking Age burials in both Orkney and Dublin can be rather difficult to interpret wholly, due to the fact that many of these supposedly 'probable' Viking burials cannot be classified as Viking or indigenous. I cannot stress enough how problematic examples like this have been in the writing of this thesis. It makes it exceedingly difficult to make a reasonable interpretation of a site when sources overlap.

6. The analysis

> It is important to remember that a burial is not necessarily true to life, and that the idealized expressions we often see in grave goods may not reflect the complex, inevitably messy, reality of people's lives (Moen, 2019, p. 122).

This section will present and study the material presented in the material catalog that can be found in the appendix. The analysis is based on my main research questions and aims to answer them through analyzing the burial material from Orkney and Dublin, to compare and hopefully discover patterns of diversity. The results of this analysis will ultimately provide a more nuanced interpretation of Viking diaspora and the understanding of the complexity of identities based on burial practices.

Orkney and Dublin are divided into separate sections. These sections will study distribution of gendered and gendering of burials and number of artifact types per grave. The next section will study and compare the presence of swords, shield bosses and oval brooches in both Orkney and Dublin. The final section will study and compare burials in relation to Christian cemeteries and grave markers. The result of this study creates the foundation of the discussion in chapter seven.

6.1 The areas of distribution

The maps presented in this chapter represent the burials' location. Kilmainham and Islandbridge appears to be the largest Viking cemeteries in Dublin and Pierowall is the largest in Orkney (Harrison, 2008).

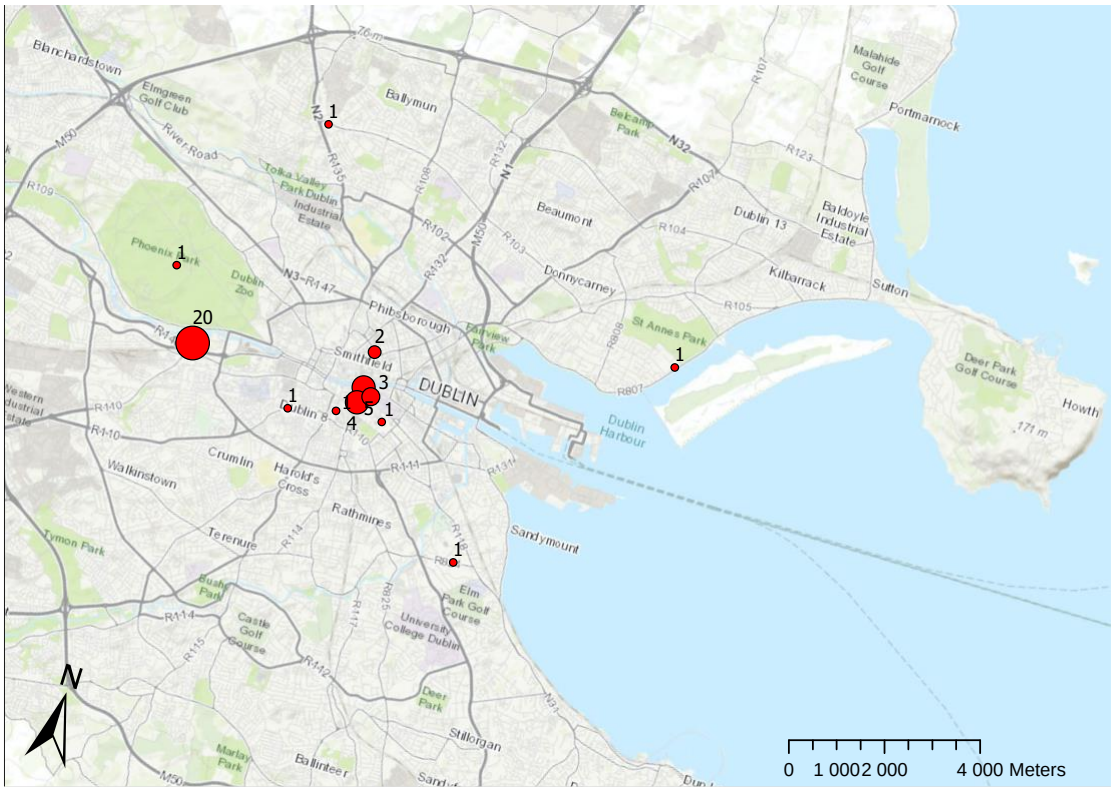


Figure 1: Distributions of Early Viking Age burials in Dublin. The numbers signify numbers of burials per location. I was unable to access the exact coordinates for each burial, which indicated that the placement of the burials is not exact and due to difficult coordinates and place names, might be a little off. Coordinates accessed through Google Maps and made in GIS.

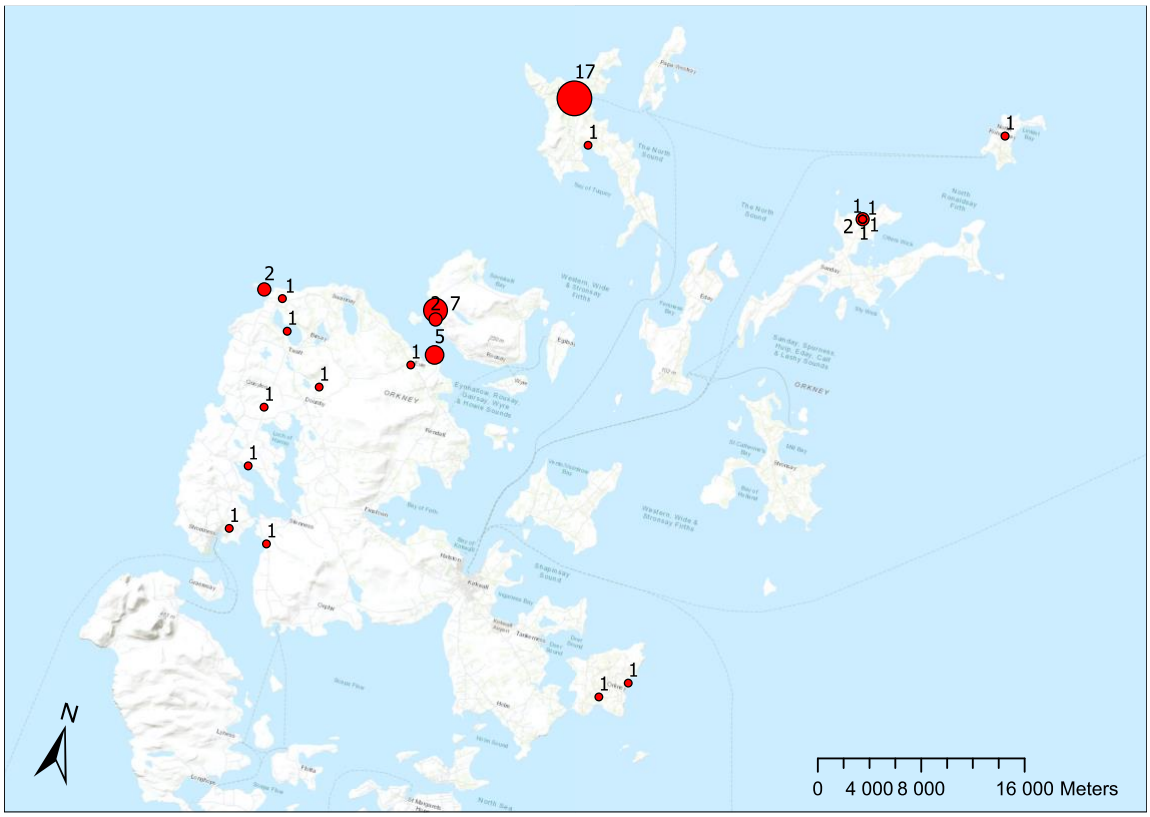


Figure 2: Distribution of Early Viking Age burials in Orkney. The numbers signify numbers of burials per location. I was unable to access the exact coordinates for each burial, which indicated that the placement of the burials is not exact and due to difficult coordinates and place names, might be a little off. Coordinates accessed through Google Maps and made in GIS.

6.2 Gendering Early Viking Age burials

Gendering the Viking Age burials, presented in the material catalog, will contribute to the understanding of the three main identities presented in my main research questions. They will also create a pattern of popularity in gender distribution, as well as popularity in grave goods.

It has argued that there are probable faults in the gendering and that it should not be as easy as determining gender through a weapon or brooch burial. Some were, however, without gender suggestions. Therefore, I have suggested gender in some of the burials in cases where it is reasonable to assume gender. These are marked with a question mark after the gender determination. Some of the graves contain only a knife or animal bones, which makes it challenging to determine the gender of the deceased. Such burials have not been gender determined and have been marked with a question mark in the catalog. Burials without any grave goods have not been included in this thesis. However, it needs to be stressed that faults may occur.

The figure below presents every burial, including the multiple burials. The multiple burials can be seen in the appendix (burial 021.6-021-8, 177.36-39, 177.40-42,177.19-26 & 177.06-15).

The assumed gendered burials look like this:

Gender	**Total number in Orkney**	**Total number in Dublin**	**Sum**
Male	28	56	84
Female	20	9	29
Uncertain	9	2	11
Child	1	x	1

Table 9: Assumed gender distribution in burials in Orkney & Dublin. Based on the material catalog presented in the appendix.

To build a better overview of the vast number of graves and quite different numbers in gender, another diagram has been made:

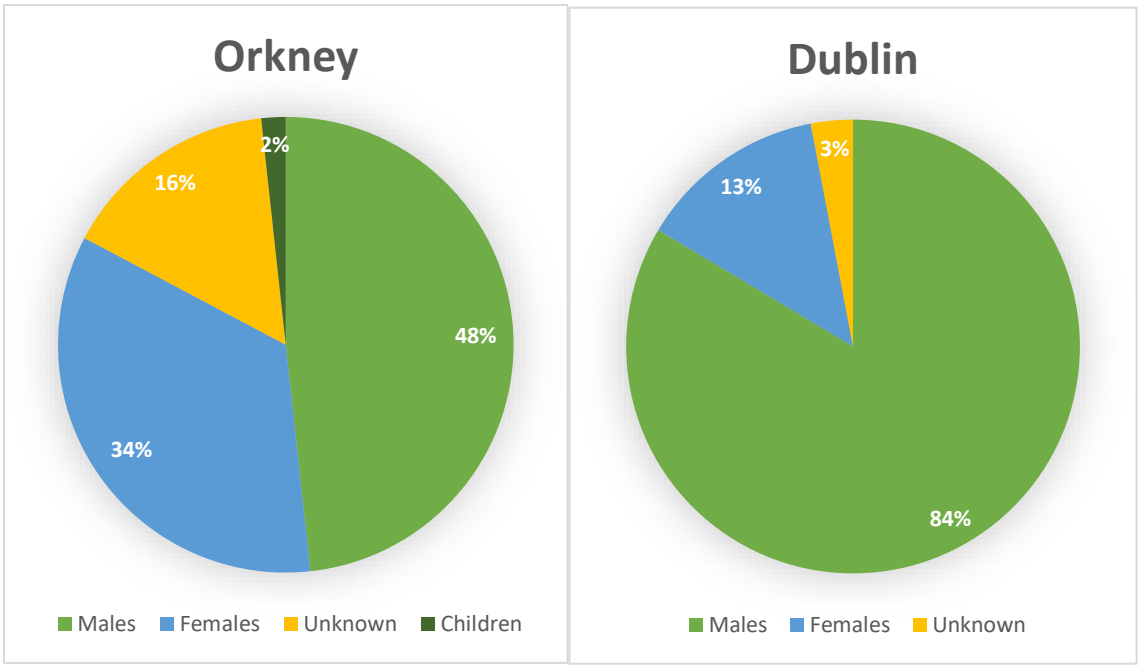


Table 10: Distribution of assumed gendered burials in Orkney & Dublin. Based on table 9.

This is the total number of graves from both Dublin and Orkney. As the statistics show, the majority of the graves consists of assumed male burials.

6.3 Number of artifact types per burial

It is also interesting to see the number of artifact types per burial. The total number of artifact types per burial in Orkney is 199 and in Dublin 167. This is calculated by the items provided in the catalog and based on NOAT. These number may contribute to discovering a pattern in items and items distributed per burial.

This makes a total of 3.4 items per grave in Orkney, whereas 2.4 in Dublin. Seeing as the research questions of this thesis focuses on identity, it will be interesting to look for patterns in gender, warrior and religious identity based on gendered burials. This might be helpful in providing further information on identity burials in the Early Viking Age burials in Orkney and Dublin.

6.4 Orkney

I have found most general items contained in both (assumed) female, male and multiple burials in Orkney and Dublin and it will provide a statistic over items and the distribution of them. These burials are based on table 9. The items are based on the material catalog in the appendix. The numbers are based on NOAT.

The numbers are distributed like this:

Number of artefact types in assumed female burials		**Number of artefact types in assumed male burials**	
Comb	7	Swords	12
Penannular brooches	3	Arrows	4
Spindle whorls	5	Axes	8
Beads	3	Shield bosses	15
Pins	8	Spearheads	4
Knives	4	Knives	3
Linen smoother	2	Combs	4
Oval brooches	10	Pins	4
Whetstone	1	Beads	2
Bracelet	1	Whetstone	7

Table 11: Assumed gendered female and male number of artefact types in burials in Orkney. Based on table 9 and material catalog.

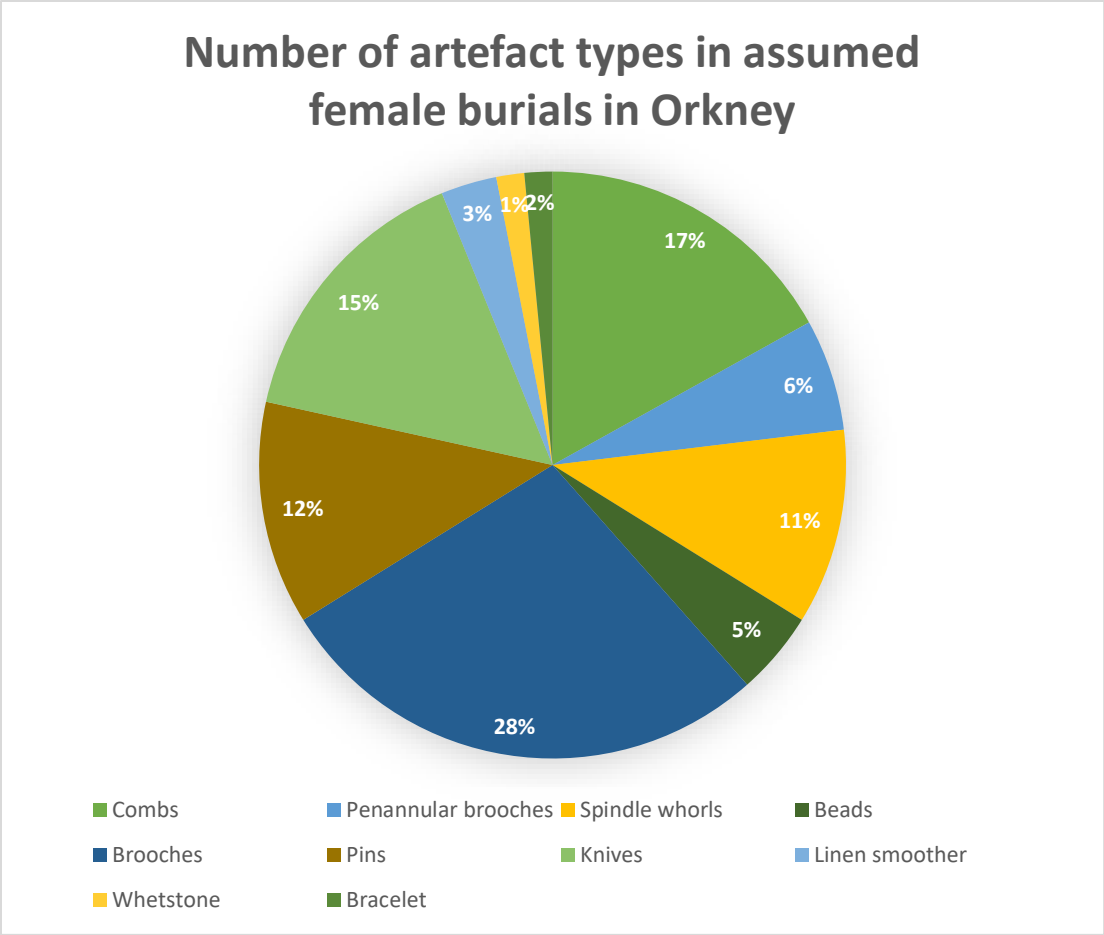


Table 12: A total of 20 assumed gendered female burials in Orkney. Number of artefact types in burials. Based on table 11.

This diagram portrays the exact percentage of each artifact type distributed in assumed female burials in Orkney. Some of the categories are identical in the male and female distribution. Especially noted are beads, knives, whetstones and pins.

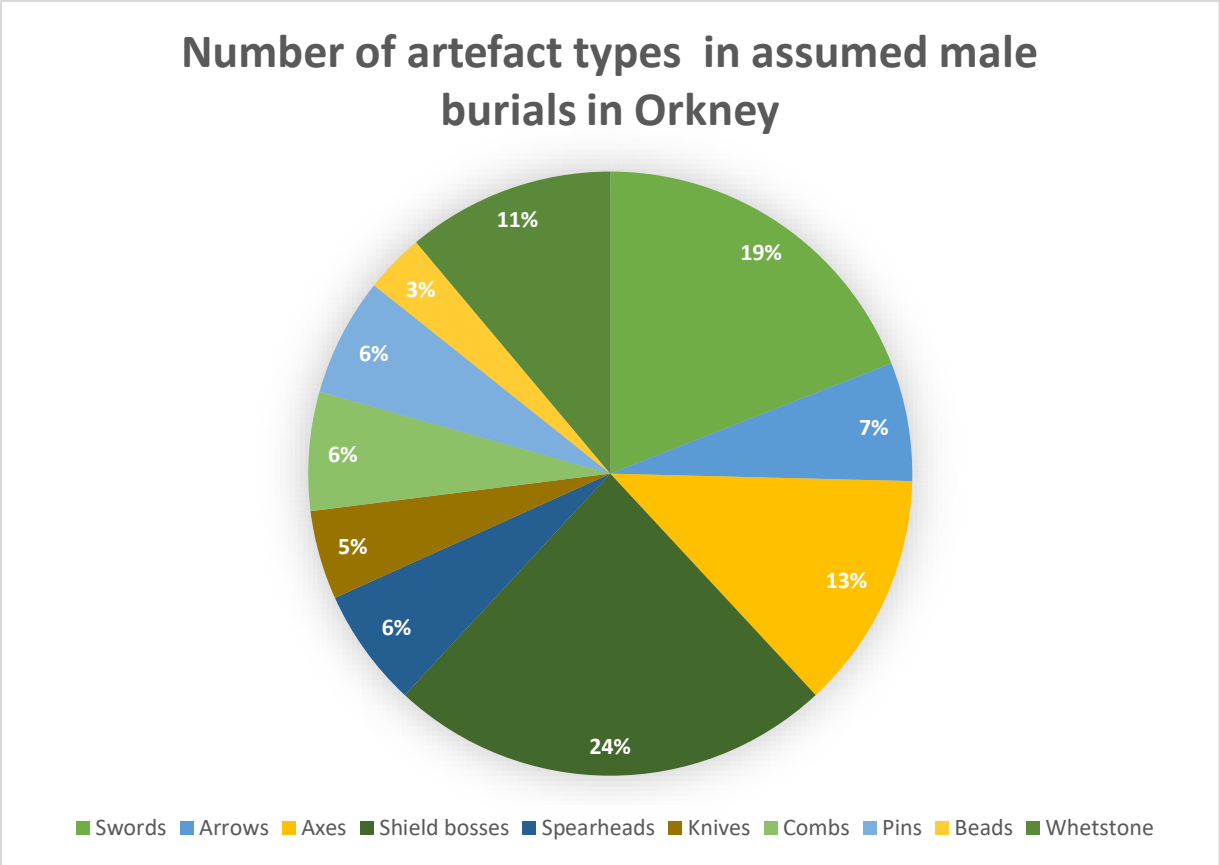


Table 13: A total of 28 assumed male burials in Orkney. Number of artefact types in burials. Based on table 11.

This diagram portrays the exact percentage of each artefact type distributed in male burials in Orkney. As the statistics shows, the male burials in Orkney have slightly more widely distributed items. They are also more evenly distributed. The category that is most common is shield bosses, which will be interesting to compare to the material in Dublin.

6.4.1 Single burials in Orkney

As mentioned in chapter five, many of the burials in Orkney are considered 'multiple burials', however, if they are excluded from this section of the study, the distribution of number of artifact types in each burial is possible. This is necessary to discover a pattern between items per grave in assumed female and male burials.

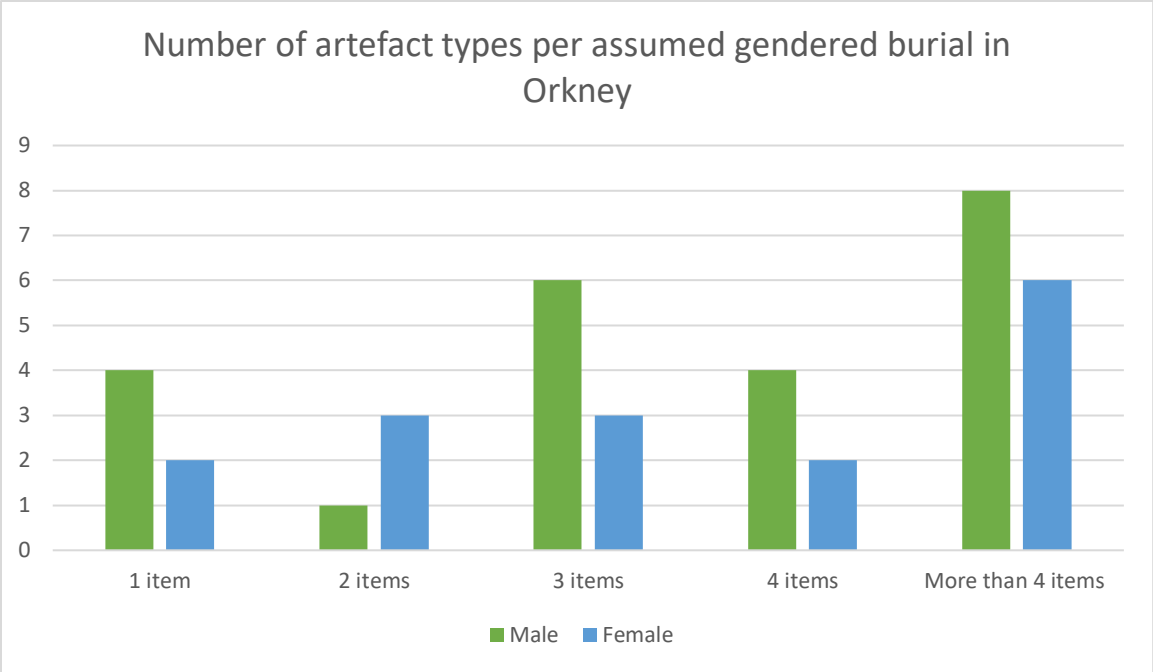


Table 14: Number of artifact types per assumed male & female single burials in Orkney. Based on table 9 and material catalog.

The distribution of items per grave is relatively similar, but males have more burials where it contains only one item or more than four. It seems that female burials in Orkney is mostly dominated by two items or more than four. Male burials are a little more unclear and seem dominating in every category. I have noted three graves that are exceptionally rich: 014.1, 021.1 & 021.2.

6.5 Dublin

So far, the material in Orkney gives room for interpretation and discussion about distribution of gendered burials and also the number of artifact types per grave. It will be interesting to compare the numbers provided in Orkney with the numbers that appear in Dublin.

I have found the most common number of artifact types in Dublin from (assumed) female, male and multiple burials. It is worth noting that the Dublin burials have a higher number of multiple burials, compared to Orkney. The numbers look like this:

Number of artefact types in assumed female burials	
Oval brooches	6
Bracelet	1
Comb	1
Beads	4
Whalebone plaque	1
Linen smoother	1
Knives	1

Number of artefact types in assumed male burials	
Swords	32
Spearheads	20
Axes	4
Shield bosses	13
Pins	4
Arrows	4
Knives	4

Table 15: Assumed gendered female and male number of artefact types in burials in Dublin. Based on table 9 and material catalog.

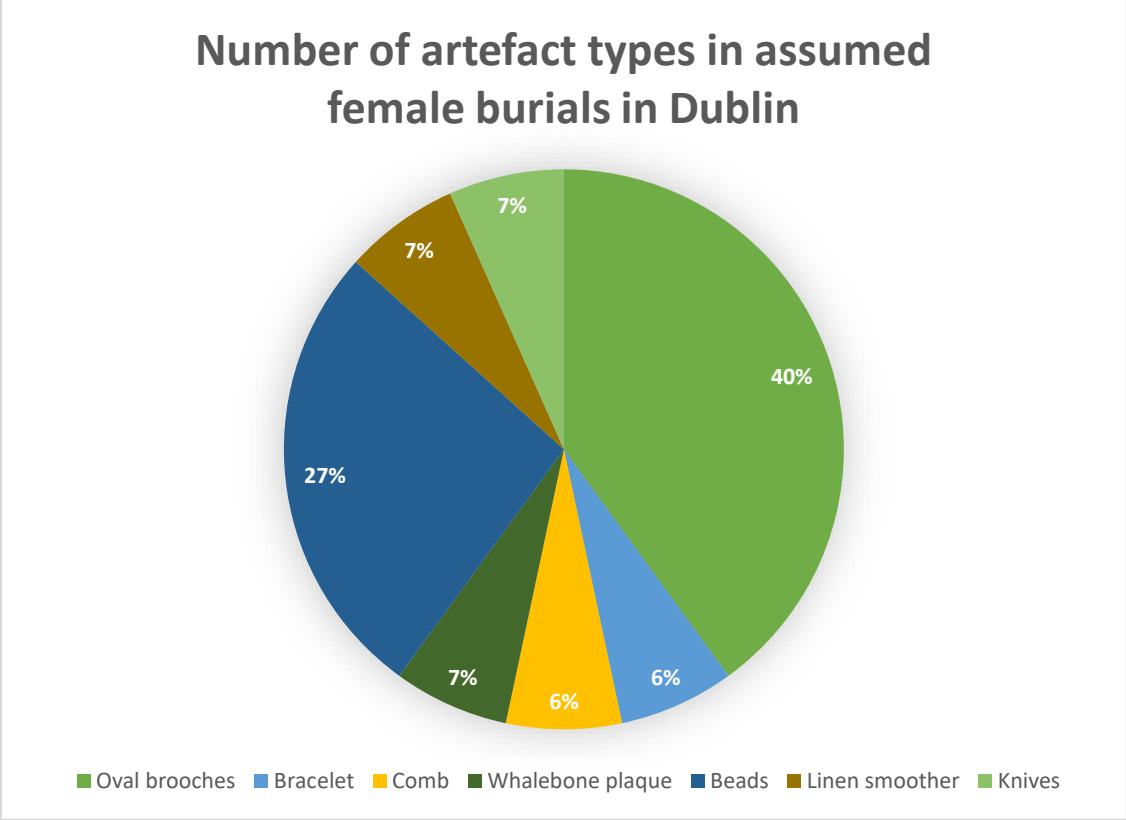


Table 16: Number of artifact types in assumed female burials in Dublin. A total of 9 female burials presented. Based on table 15.

Brooches appear to be the most popular item in assumed female burials in both Orkney and Dublin. The distribution of artifact types in female burials is lesser in Dublin, compared that of Orkney.

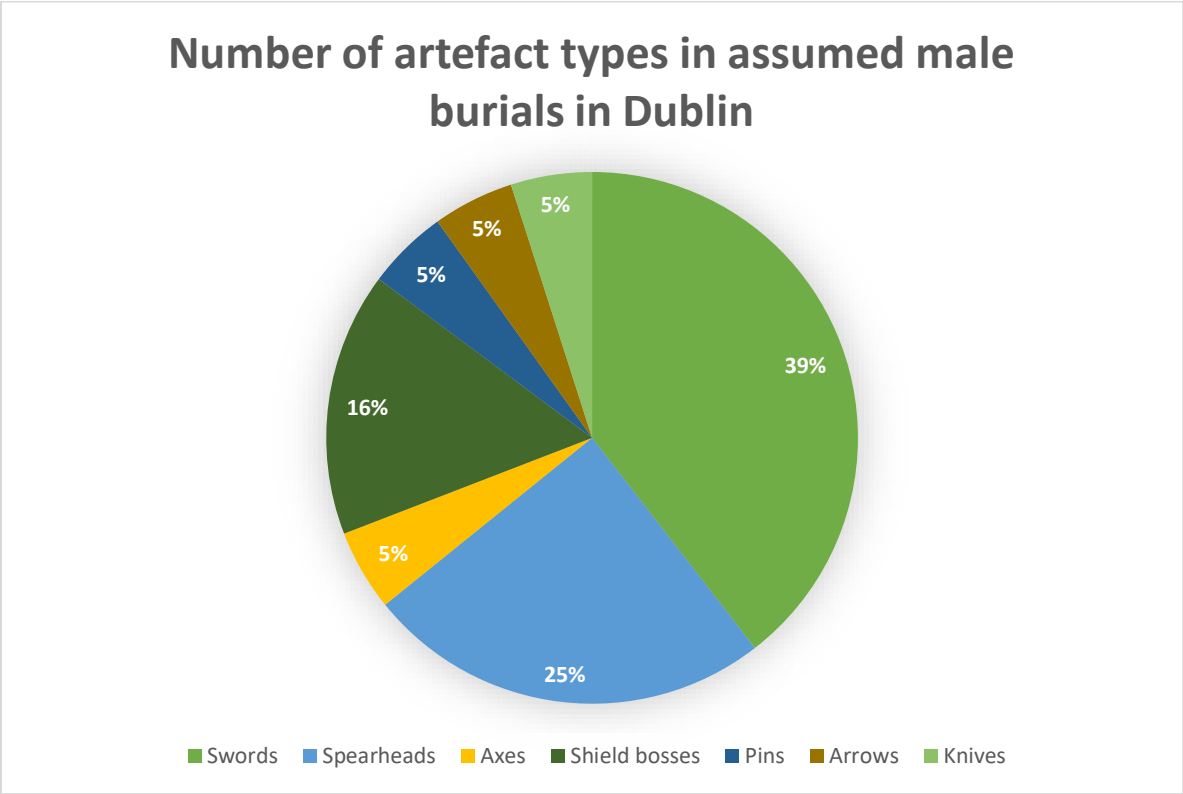


Table 17: Number of artifact types in assumed male burials in Dublin. A total of 56 male burials presented. Based on table 15.

Much like the assumed male burials in Orkney, the male burials in Dublin contain a broader distribution of number of artifact types. Swords are the most common in Dublin, with spearheads having the second highest ranking. It is interesting to see that swords are most common in male burials in Dublin, when shield bosses are the most common in Orkney, with swords coming as second. The distribution and variety of grave goods in assumed gendered burials will be further elaborated in the discussion section.

6.5.1 Single burials in Dublin

As mentioned in chapter five, many of the burials in Dublin are considered 'multiple burials', however, if they are excluded from this section of the study, the distribution of number of artifact types in each burial is possible. This is necessary to discover a pattern between items per grave in assumed female and male burials.

It is interesting to look at how the grave goods are distributed in the single burials. The diagrams have been divided into assumed gendered categories.

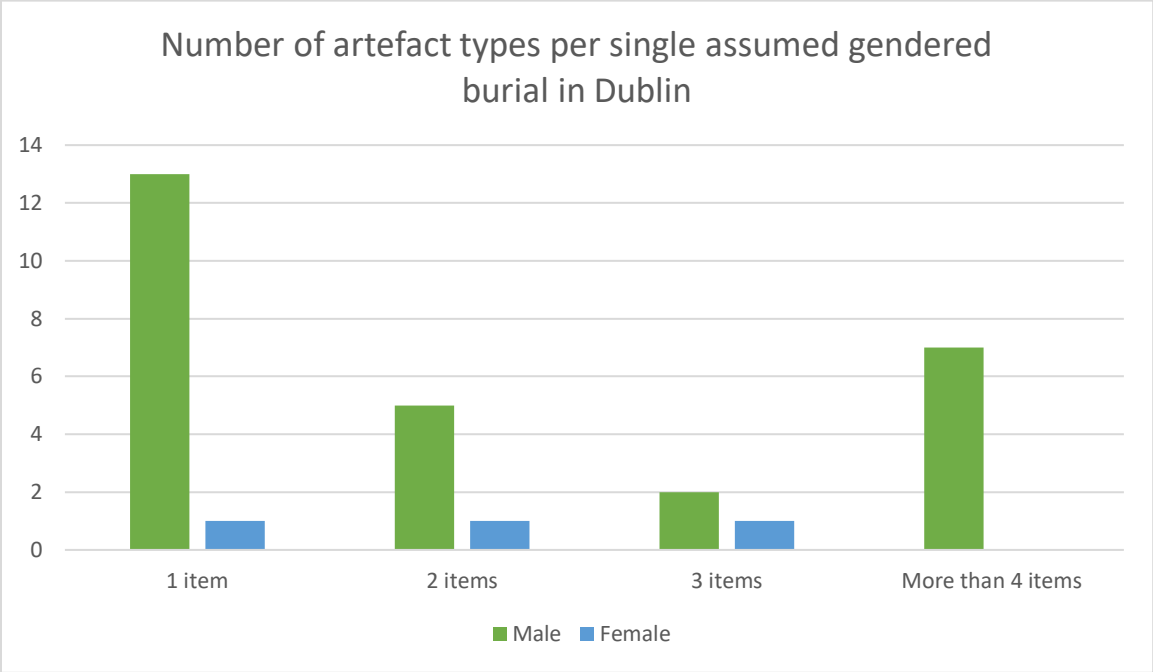


Table 18: Number of artifact types per assumed male and female single burials in Dublin. Based on table 15 and material catalog.

The female category is distributed evenly, considering that there were only three single burials. They point to a 1/3 relationship concerning items per burial. None of the single female burials contained more than four items. The male burials, on the other hand, show that 12 out of 27 were buried with only a single item. Burials that stood out with more than four items were burial 177.43 and 177.44.

6.6 Shield bosses, swords and oval brooches

Variations in expressions of identities in burial practice in Orkney and Dublin may lead to the understanding of the Viking diaspora in migrating societies. By looking at the most popular items in burials in both Orkney and Dublin may lead to a certain level of understanding as to why these items were important to the migrating Scandinavian Early Viking age migrations in Orkney and Dublin.

The top category of popular items in female burials are oval brooches, which is an expected result, based on the earlier interpretations of male and female Viking Age burials. Swords represent the masculine and oval brooches represents the feminine and therefore stand as

‘standard’ items that define gender in Viking Age burials. This is problematic on several aspects, which will be further elaborated in chapter seven.

This section of the analysis contains every burial present in the catalog that contains either of the three items mentioned above. The reason behind is that swords, shield bosses and oval brooches are almost exclusively linked to male (swords and shield bosses) and female (oval brooches). The multiple burials have been included in this section of the study.

I was only able to access a categorization of swords from the biggest Viking cemeteries in Dublin, which is Kilmainham and Islandbridge, by Aidan Walsh (1998). 34 out of these belongs to types that can be dated to AD 800-950. The largest category (H) belongs to a type that spans over the entire Viking Age period, but flourished mostly in the ninth century (Walsh, 1998, p. 235). The majority of the Viking Age swords can, therefore, be dated to the Early Viking Age. The evidence of the Dublin cemeteries also suggests that they were mainly used during this period. The catalog presents a total of 51 swords present in the grave goods in Dublin, where 42 are discovered in the Kilmainham or Islandbridge cemeteries.

Petersen type	**Number**
C	6
D	3
E	3
F	3
H	16
I	2
K	5
X	3
Unclassifiable	1
Total	42

Table 19: Petersen types in Dublin.

Grzegorz Zabinski’s study from 2007 examined Viking swords found in Scotland. 10 swords were examined in Orkney, which means that 2 out of 12 swords from Orkney remain unclassified. The swords were distributed as such:

Petersen type	Number
H	7
X	2
Unclassifiable	1
Total	10

Table 20: Petersen types in Orkney.

All of the swords from Orkney were discovered in direct relation to a burial context, which seems to match the swords found in the material catalog. The dating corresponds with the dating in Dublin and Orkney, c. 800-950, with two exception at Styes of Brough (013) and Lamba Ness on Sanday (014.1) where the type X sword can be dated to the period 900-1000. The type X sword is still qualified to fit into the Early Viking Age analysis, however it is necessary to note that it might have been produced during the Late Viking Age. This applies to the type X swords in Dublin as well. It is interesting to note that burial 014.1 is one of the richest furnished burials in Orkney, where the type X sword were discovered.

It comes without doubt that the Petersen type H is the most common sword in burial contexts in both Orkney and Dublin.

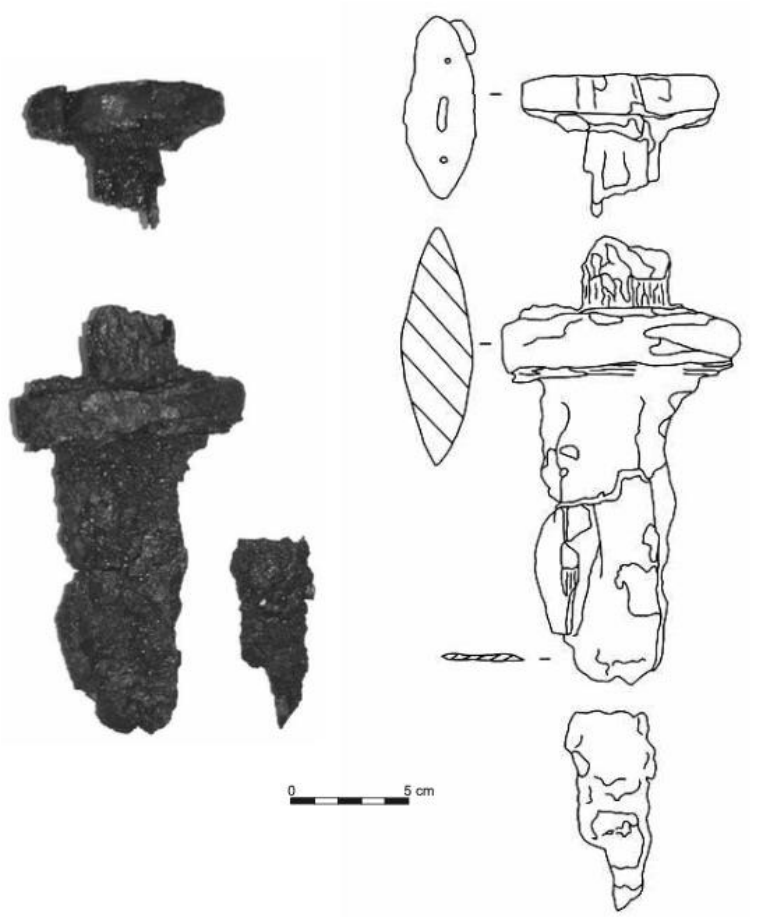


Figure 3: Petersen type H sword from Pierowall. Photo and drawing by Zabinski. 2007. Viking Age swords from Scotland. p. 31.

Shield bosses

The shield bosses have previously been categorized differently according to the areas of distribution (Dublin type, Scandinavian type & Irish Sea type). The categories are based upon Harrison's (2008) and Harrison & Floinn's (2014) categorizations. It needs to be noted that many of the shield bosses available in, Orkney especially, are lost. It is therefore difficult to change or re-interpret them. That is also probably why many of them are unclassifiable.

Categories	**Orkney**	**Dublin**
Unclassifiable	10	6
Scandinavian type	4	4
Dublin type	1	15
Irish Sea type	x	1

Table 21: Shield boss types distributed in Orkney and Dublin. Based on material catalog.

As is typical from shield bosses from this period, next to none are decorated. Shield bosses are one of the most common burial items in the Early Viking Age, but few has defined their categories (Harrison & Floinn, 2014, p. 8, 116). The Scandinavian shield boss and the Irish Sea type are rather similar in diameters. The Dublin shield boss seem to represent a local development that had the same elements of the Anglo-Saxon tradition. With a notable conical boss profile and much smaller in size compared to the Irish Sea Type and Scandinavian, which means that the differentiation in size required the Dublin shield boss type a completely different technique in fighting (Harrison & Floinn, 2014, p. 116-117). The Dublin shield boss would also give the inhabitants of Dublin a strikingly different appearance.

Scandinavian type

The most common shield boss type in Viking Age Norway is Oluf Rygh's type 562 (1885, p. 30). The type is dated to 850-950. The shield boards belonging to these bosses were circular and approximately one meter in diameter. When gripped, the fist protrudes through the hole.

Figure 4: Scandinavian shield bosses, R562. Harrison & Floinn. 2014. Viking graves and grave goods in Ireland. p. 118.

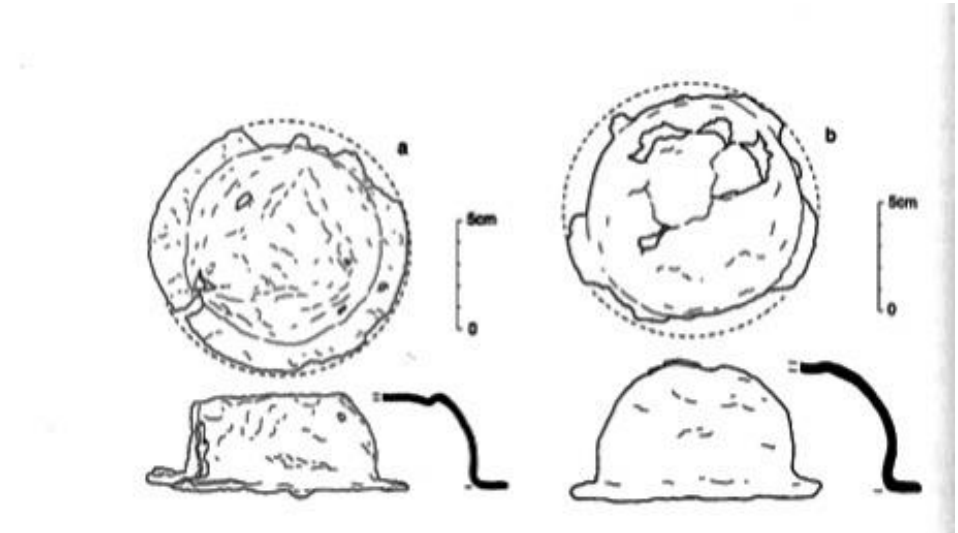


Figure 5: Scandinavian shield boss. Harrison & Floinn. 2014. Viking graves and grave goods in Ireland. p. 118.

Irish Sea type

The Irish Sea type has been found in Viking burials across the Irish Sea, in Cumbria, Dublin, Isle of Man and in some places in Scotland (Harrison & Floinn, 2014, p. 118). They are comparable to the Scandinavian type but are conical rather than hemispherical. The exact date of these are uncertain.

Figure 6: Irish Sea type shield boss. Harrison & Floinn. 2014. Viking graves and grave goods in Ireland. p. 19.

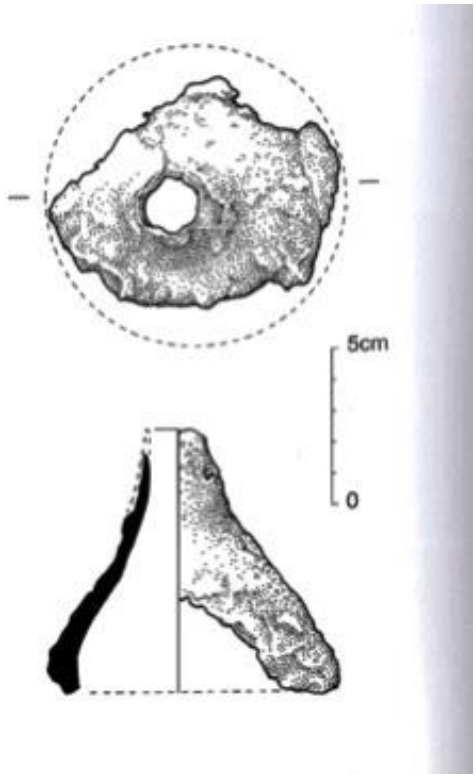


Figure 7: Irish Sea type shield boss. Harrison & Floinn. 2014. Viking graves and grave goods in Ireland. p. 120.

Dublin type

The Dublin shield boss type is small and pointed. There is a larger diversity in sizes than the other two types. Some are high and narrow and others are broad and low. Intact shield bosses measure 8.7 cm and up to 11 cm in diameter and 5.1 cm to 7.7 cm in height. It has been suggested that the Dublin type has been produced only in Dublin, seeing as only three Dublin types has been found outside of Dublin. One of these belong to the Rousay burial (020.1).

Figure 8: Dublin shield boss type. Harrison & Floinn. 2014. Viking graves and grave goods in Ireland. p. 123.

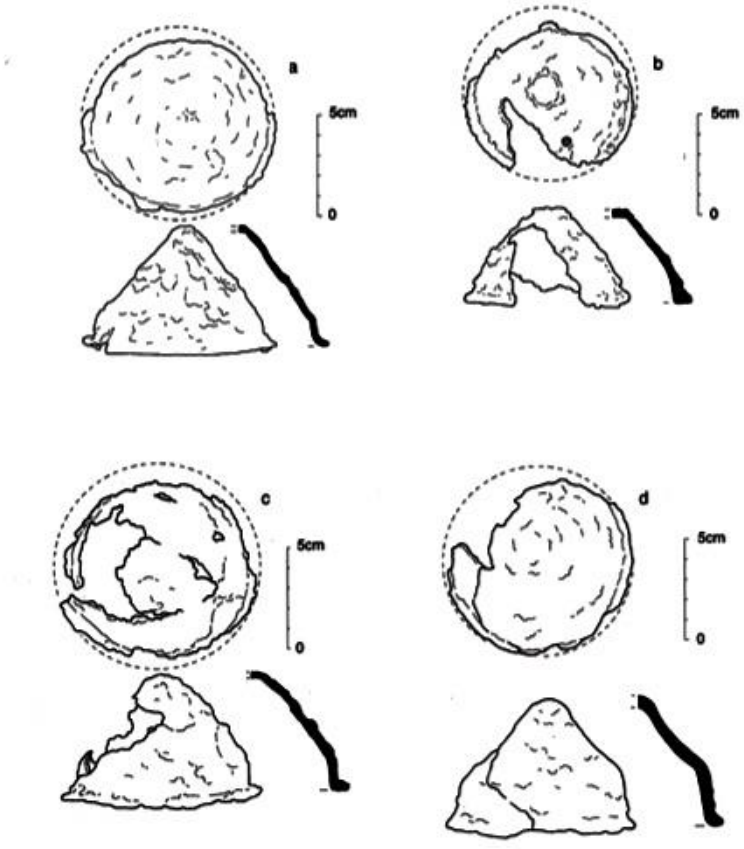


Figure 9: Dublin shield boss type. Harrison & Floinn. 2014. Vking graves and grave goods in Ireland. p. 123.

Oval brooches

I have looked at every burial in Orkney and Dublin, to look for the absence of oval brooches in female burials. This includes multiple burials. To study the potential absence of oval brooches in female burials may highlight how complex the 'standard' interpretation of female burials during the Viking Age can be. If there are female burials without oval brooches, what may that indicate? The complexity determining gender and ethnic identity in the Scandinavian Early Viking Age burials may contribute to the understanding of the Viking diaspora in migrating societies.

Out of 20 female burials in Orkney, 9 are without oval brooches. Out of 9 female burials in Dublin, 2 are without oval brooches. That makes up almost half of the female burials in Orkney, and a third of the burials in Dublin.

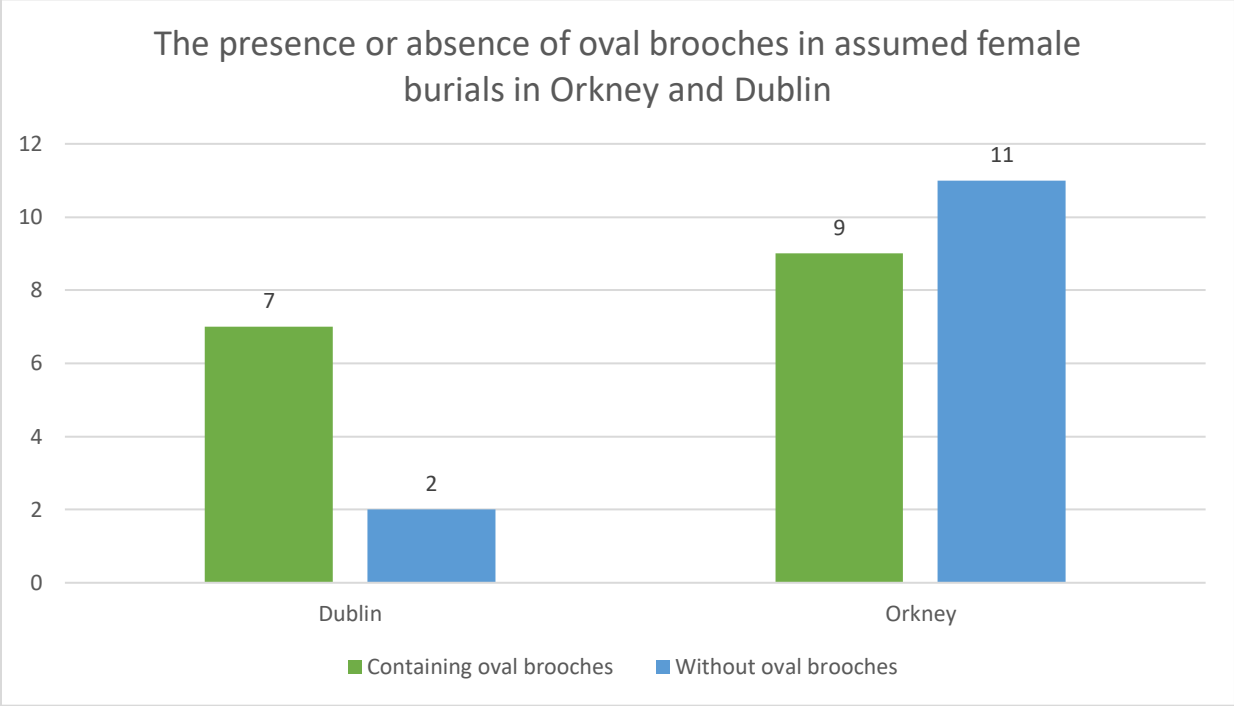


Table 22: The presence or absence of oval brooches in assumed female burials in Orkney and Dublin. Based on a total of 9 assumed female burials in Dublin & 20 assumed female burials in Orkney. Based on table 1 and material catalog.

Figure 10: Oval brooches from Kilmainham. Harrison & Floinn. 2015. Viking Graves and grave goods in Ireland. p. 319.

The apparent lack of oval brooches in female Scandinavian Early Viking Age burials might point to different interpretations of a female burial. It is interesting to see that almost half of the female burials in Orkney and almost a third in Dublin lack oval brooches. This will be further elaborated in chapter seven.

6.7 Viking burials in relation to Christian sites

Harrison (2008) remarked repeatedly throughout his thesis the apparent contact with the Christian indigenous society the Vikings faced when they migrated to Orkney and Dublin. Much of the Viking burials, in Dublin especially, lay on top, beside or with Christian cemeteries or other Christian relations.

To define a Christian relation in this study: in direct contact with a Christian cemetery or church (see Harrison, 2008, p. 414-678). The numbers look like this:

Place	**Christian relation**	**Non-Christian relation**
Orkney	5	53
Dublin	34	33

Table 23: Christian and non-Christian relations in burial context in Orkney & Dublin. Based on material catalog.

The pre-existing societies the Vikings met when they migrated to Dublin and Orkney were both Christened before the Vikings' arrival (see chapter four). Considering the fact that almost half of the Viking burials in Dublin are in direct association (in some way or another) to Christian cemeteries is interesting, especially since this is not the case in Orkney. The relation and non-relation with these two very different religions will be discussed in further detail in chapter seven.

6.8 Grave markers

Birger Solberg (1985) suggest that Viking Age burials in Norway which are covered by a mound, may represent social status, whereas a flat or unmarked grave may represent the lower section of society. Dagfinn Skre (1997) has suggested that burial mounds can be a marker of inheritance. When one passed, the mound represented a passing of land onto the next generation. The challenge with these interpretations is that not all Viking Age burials have survived quite as well and may lack a mound that once was present. That makes it considerably much harder to connect to social status, other than the grave goods in said burials. However, it seems unreasonable to exclude some sort of marking of a burial that belongs to an important individual in society.

It will be informative to test Solberg (1985) and Skre's (1997) interpretation with the material in Orkney and Dublin to see if it fits into the material. As the catalog has proved: Dublin has less material per individual than Orkney, but there are several rich graves in both places. The distribution of marked graves looks like this:

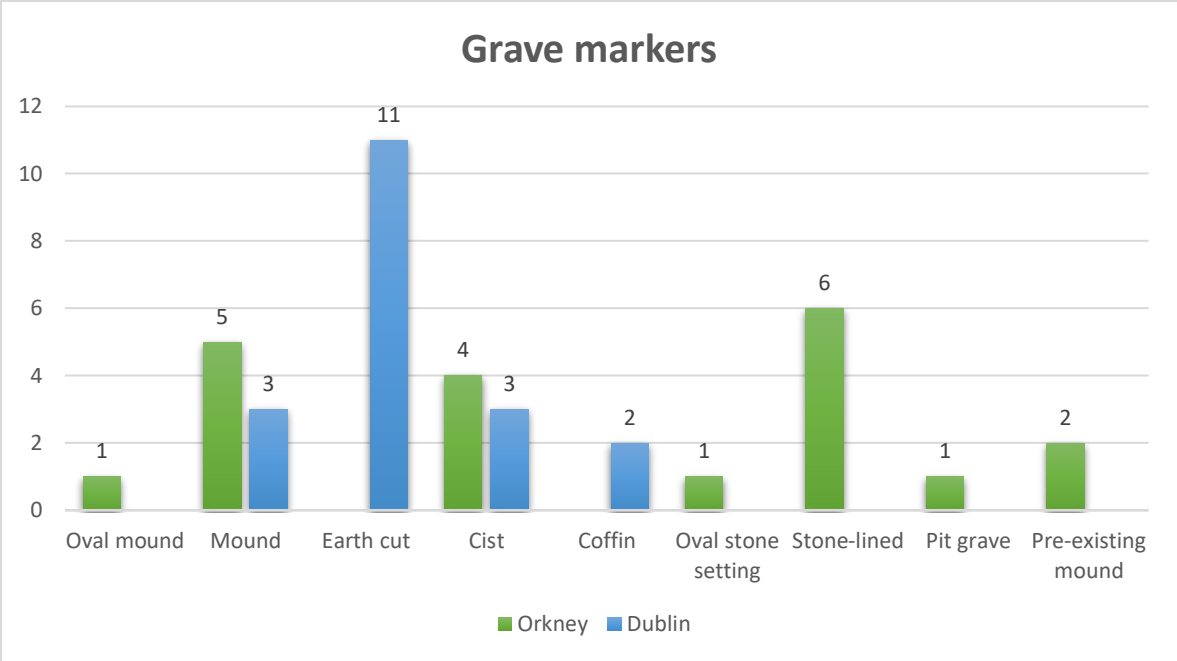


Table 24: Grave markers in Orkney and Dublin. Not every burial in the catalog includes which or how the burial appeared. Only a handful are included, given the information they provide. The burials included are:

Orkney: 012.1-012.2, 013, 014.2, 015, 018.03, 018, 06, 018.10, 018.11, 018.12, 018.14, 020.1, 020.2, 021.4, 021.5, 022, 023.1, 023.2, 024.1, 025, 026, 027 & 031.

Dublin: 172, 176.1, 176.2, 176.3, 176.4, 176.5, 177.01, 177.03, 177.04-05, 177.06-15, 177.16, 177.36-9, 177.40-42, 177.43, 177.44, 177.45-47, 180.1-2, 180.3 & 180.4.

Only 22 of 58 burials have the possibility of presenting an indication of burial practices in Orkney. Only 19 out of 67are possible in Dublin. Only one (022) is a pit grave in Orkney. Every other burial contains some sort of marking, either a stone cist, mound or stone lined. Dublin, however, is majorly overrepresented by cists and earth-cut graves. To test Solberg's (1985) idea of social status in mounds, I have studied the single burials in context to look at their items per burial. I have decided to describe five items or more as a rich burial.

Dublin:

Grave	Items	Grave marker
176.1	5	Earth-cut
177.03	6	Earth-cut
177.43	11	Earth-cut
177.44	7	Earth-cut

Table 25: Rich single burials in Dublin.

Orkney:

Grave	Items	Grave marker
018.06	5	Stone cist
018.11	6	Mound (pre-existing?)
021.4	6	Stone setting
022	7	Pit grave
024.1	5	Stone-lined grave
025	8	Cist

Table 26: Rich single burials in Orkney.

Unsurprisingly, Orkney has more rich burials than Dublin. What is more surprising to see is that every rich single burial in Dublin are earth-cut. Orkney seems to have no pattern of burial versus richness, at least not in single burials. Solberg (1985) and Ske's (1997) interpretations of burial tradition in Norway are not suitable to apply to the material in Orkney and Dublin. However, their interpretations of the Norwegian material are probably not unambiguous. It needs to be noted, however, that the rich burials in Orkney are always marked in some way.

The burials at Pierowall (018.01-018.17) were supposedly discovered in mounds, but none of the excavated ones were in fact found in mounds (Thorsteinsson, 1965, p. 163). Rendall's excavations in 1839 mentions three mounds. However, the excavated graves are found between these mounds and on top of the mounds as secondary burials (Thorsteinsson, 1965, p. 163). In his excavations in 1849, he never mentions mounds, which indicates that the pre-existing mounds at Pierowall might not be of Viking Age origin (Thorsteinsson, 1965, p. 163). In the catalog, they are named as 'discovered beside a pre-existing mound'.

6.9 Results

The results of this study have proved the complexity of the Scandinavian Early Viking Age burials in Orkney and Dublin. It becomes clear, in this study, that the material is vast, different and varies greatly from two different places, even though the settlers originate from the same homeland. The gap between assumed male and female burials are surprisingly high in Dublin, however the burials in Orkney are more evenly distributed in gender distribution. Moen argue that: *''In consequence, then, we may be looking more at lack of identified female*

burials, rather than an actual lack of them,'' (2019, p. 119). This argument seems reasonable to support in this thesis, based on the results of the analysis.

Assumed female burials contain more items than male. This occur both in Orkney and Dublin. It is also quite apparent that oval brooches, swords, shield bosses and spearheads are the most 'common' items in said burials. Another interesting aspect is that there are more male burials than female, in both Orkney and Dublin. However, I would argue that Dublin appears as an extreme case due to the lack of female burials.

The lack of swords in Orkney compared to Dublin is also an interesting result. The burials in Orkney are richer, in both male and female categories, compared to Dublin. The 'warrior' equipment in male burials seems to be more of a social standard, rather than an image of a warrior that needed to defend one's home (Harrison, 2015). They might represent a response to local conditions and traditions and signify power and property from one generation to another, rather than being weapons of war (Harrison, 2015, p. 316). This becomes evident in the catalog, whereas swords are found in 10 out of 28 male burials, compared to Dublin where swords are found in 51 out of 56 male burials. To argue that Orkney served as a safe haven might be overrated (see Lange, 2007, p. 38), but it probably served more peacefully than Dublin. This will be discussed further in chapter seven.

It has also become clear that the relationship to Christianity must have been of interest, importance or relevance for the Scandinavian Early Viking Age settlers in Dublin, due to the relationship between Viking burials and Christian relations, such as cemeteries and churches. One might argue that conversion or a relationship to the indigenous religion eased the process of assimilation (Abrams, 2012, p. 25). However, this is not the case in Orkney where the Viking burials rarely had any relation to Christianity. This conveys rather different views on ethnic and religious identity in both places.

Another important result is the visibility of the burials. Grave markers have previously been interpreted as social status (Solbreg, 1985), where a mound may represent social status and a flat or unmarked burial represent the lower section of society. It has been further interpreted that burial mounds could be a marker of inheritance (Skre, 1997). Every rich burial in Orkney is marked in some way or another, however, every single rich single burial in Dublin is earth-cut. These are surprising results and underlines the argument of diversity in migrating

societies that originates from the same homeland. These results will be discussed further in chapter seven.

7. Burials as expressions of identity

7.1 Gendering Viking Age burials

The interest of men and their warfare during the Viking Age have consequently left out other groups, such as women, children, and elders (Moen, 2019, p. 66). It has been suggested that: *''(…) attribute the Viking expansion to male biased operational sex ration, the suggestion is furthered that the Viking Age was triggered by male aggression caused by a surplus of men,''* (Moen, 2019, p. 66). In addition to a male-biased focus, it has been suggested that bride wealth or female infanticide can also be a reason for migrations (Harrison, 2010, p. 293). This might be one of the reasons as to why there seems to be an apparent lack of female and prominent male burials in Early Viking Age burials in both Orkney and Dublin (see material catalog). The lack of female burials is most prominent in Dublin, which might highlight bride wealth or female infanticide. However, this seems not to be the case in Orkney. Orkney have rich burials, both male and female, and are almost evenly distributed in numbers. It appears that Orkney might have expressed a completely different identity through burial patterns, compared to Dublin.

However, to eliminate women (and children) as social agents from prehistory points to a view that men alone were responsible for the beginning of the Viking Age (Moen, 2019, p. 67). This includes its material culture, social consequences and culture. I have previously mentioned Jesch's argument: *''Since the whole concept of diaspora implies various kinds of continuity, not only 'societal', but also linguistic and cultural, then the Viking diaspora can only be fully understood when gender is taken into account,''* (2015, p. 87). Thus, even if we assume that traditional interpretations of a Viking Age society dominated mainly by males, is correct, that does not mean that women should receive any less attention.

Marianne Moen (2019) created an excellent thought experiment on this particular topic:

> (…) let us assume that women in the Viking Age really were always subordinate, tied to the home, and busy with the cooking, the cleaning and the childcare. These are all vitally important activities, without which the prominent men we so often hear about could have no hope of being successful. (p. 69).

Moen continues with: *''Ignoring these aspects when writing accounts of social order, betrays nothing so much as ignorance about how different parts of a society all play a role towards a greater whole,''* (2019, p. 69). Women had an important role in the Viking Age society, contrary to how it has previously been perceived. The analysis contributes to this. The presence of whalebone plaques in grave 177.19-26 in Dublin and 018.04 in Orkney and the possible seiðstafr, which will be discussed further down below, could be viewed as female specific status symbols. As such graves further exemplifies Moen's point that women were valued participants in their contemporary society.

The focus, or lack of focus, on women in the Viking Age ultimately reveals what academics find interesting and important, and not necessarily what really was important in the past (Moen, 2019, p. 69). The rigidity of the Western world, especially when it comes to identity expressed through race, class, gender, or sexual preference, becomes apparent. Lynn Meskell explains it as such: *''That rigidity necessitates that all individuals be neatly pigeonholed and categorized according to a set of predetermined labels,''* (2007, p. 24). Gender in Scandinavian Early Viking Age migrations is, therefore, a complex matter, that needs to be considered when studying such material.

''Archaeological studies of death and burials are as old as the discipline of archaeology itself,'' (Williams, 2003, p. 2).

Burials (including artifacts and human bones) in the study of archaeology can often be seen as a way of identifying ancient societies, their migrations, and chronological relationships rather than a conscious statement made by ancient people (Williams, 2003, p. 3). However, death itself is often a private, but conscious affair. There are many aspects of social and religious rituals that need to be considered (Williams, 2003, p. 90). These conscious actions of death and memory through burials and grave goods need to be understood as clear signs from prehistoric humans and their statements through said burials.

> In order to understand how society works – and thus is made possible – we have to become more liberal and inclusive and to acknowledge that far more constitutive entities than humans (and their thoughts, knowledge, and skills) are woven into its fabric. In other words, we have to take into account that societies consist of myriads of

> real and co-working entities composed of both humans and nonhumans. (Olsen, 2010, p. 6).

In order to understand how material culture and individuals coexist in burials, one must recognize the importance of understanding what a Viking burial is and how intersectional they are. The socially constructed meanings applied to items, such as grave goods, can be fairly misleading. Mankind did not make itself, and items need to be given their own value, rather than the properties of humans (Olsen, 2010, p. 10).

In the following section, I will discuss what a Viking burial is and how this represents intersectionality and how challenging it can be to determine and interpret identity in burials according to the results of the analysis presented in the previous chapter.

7.1.2 Weapon burials – the warrior Viking?

''Perhaps the very weapons by which Norsemen had shed Irish blood,'' (Worsaae, 1847, p. 331-333).

Making war indicates more than violence, as it also signifies the power-political aspects of warfare. Charlotte Hedenstierna-Jonson explains that: *''Retainers were rewarded through success in battle, which provided both wealth and honour. The need for continual remuneration inevitable led to constant warfare,''* (Hedenstierna-Jonson, 2020, pp. 179-180). During the Viking Age, all free men had the right to carry weapons and use them (Hedenstierna-Jonson, 2020, p. 179). Men from higher social spheres were expected to participate in the military, ruled by a chieftain or ruler. *''War had an intrinsic value, a raison d'être, as it 'fulfilled a fundamental social purpose', providing young men with opportunities to show their worth and advance in society,''* (Hedenstierna-Jonson, 2020, p. 180).

It was also very political, where plundering and pillaging was a vital source of income: *''(the Vikings) came back to Dublin from Scotland with 200 ships and they brought with them in captivity … a great prey of Angles, Britons and Picts,''* (Corráin, 2001, p. 21). This can also be one reason as to why there is little evidence of Pictish activity in Orkney during the Scandinavian Early Viking Age migrations. Pillaging brought both wealth and strengthened one's position in society. From this we may come to understand that the purpose of war for Viking people was not as simple as a personal thirst for violence and wealth. Rather, it could

be motivated by politics, it could function as a display of power or be driven by the need of obtaining workforce (slavery). Understanding the agendas of war may diversify our view of the so-called warrior Viking. Perhaps they were not only bloodthirsty pillagers lusting for violence, but rather complex and dynamic individuals, capable of pursuing a multitude of different agendas and adapting to different situations. Thus, being a warrior may be understood as only one aspect of a person's fluid and ever-changing identity.

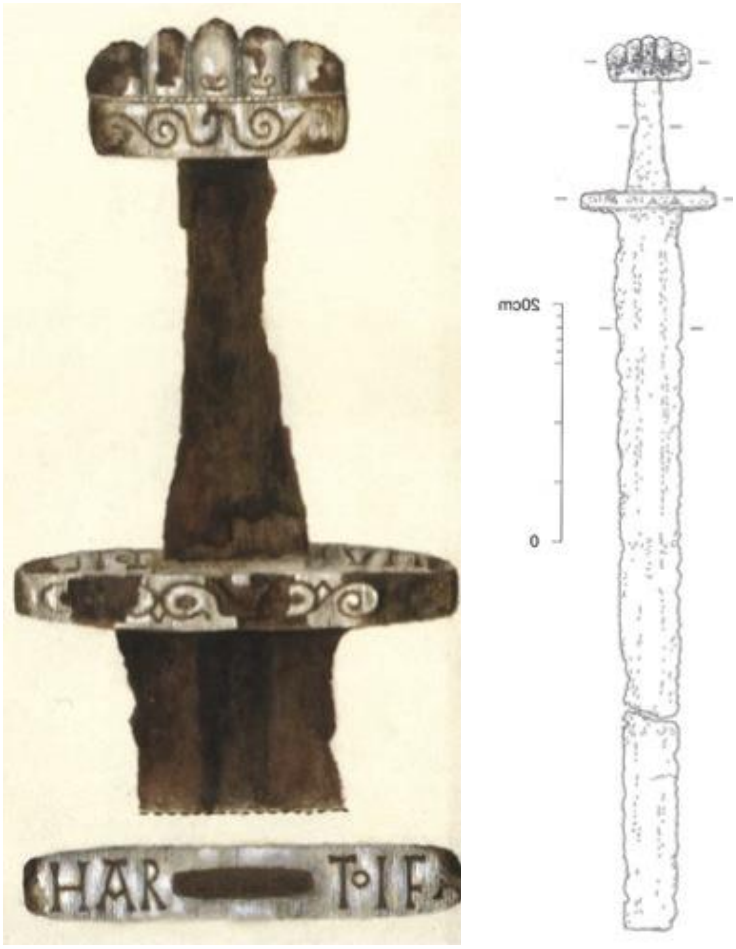


Figure 11: Petersen type K sword from Kilmainham. 'Hartolfr' inscripted. Original watercolor from Coffey & Armstrong in 1910. Harrison & Floinn. 2014. Viking graves and grave goods in Ireland. p. 87.

''During an era where violence remained constantly present, the life of the warriors was admired and their achievements praised,'' (Hedenstierna-Jonson, 2020, p. 179).

I have previously mentioned the traditional interpretation of the warrior Viking, the scary, raping, and pillaging villain, associated with the traditional Viking. Furthermore, the Viking Age is often portrayed as male dominated and the main focus is often on warfare and plundering (Jesch, 1999). Contemporary archaeologists have questioned these descriptions

since the 1960s (Williams, 2008, p. 193). Raiding across northern Europe was common during the Viking Age, and not just for the Vikings. In this respect, Viking warfare was no different from other contemporary warfare (Williams, 2008, p. 199).

However, significant items in Viking Age burials, such as swords, might be one of the reasons for the continued interpretation of the traditional 'warrior Viking'. The vast number of swords included in the Dublin material is impossible to overlook. It is also the most popular item to include in burials. A total of nine out of twenty-seven single male graves only contained a sword as grave good. That makes a third of the entire material. Swords are undoubtedly the most common item to be buried within Dublin. Surprisingly, this is not the most popular item to be buried within Orkney. Shield bosses are more predominant than swords in male burials in Orkney. It cannot be ignored that nearly all of the male burials in both Orkney and Dublin include weapons. However, as previously mentioned, most of these burials have been gender determined through items in said burials. It comes as little surprise that Viking 'male' burials contain items of war, because this is the traditional way to interpret a male burial.

Some of the seemingly superficial interpretation of these 'warrior' burials state that they had been buried with their plunder (or in battle before plunder) before the rest of the traveling Vikings moved on to pillage yet another indigenous population on the British Isles (Harrison, 2015, p. 303). However, this thesis proves otherwise. As both historical and archaeological records state that the Vikings did much more than plunder the indigenous settlements. Furthermore, these supposed 'warrior' burials lacked one of the most important items to be buried with: swords. Only ten out of twenty-eight male burials contained swords in Orkney. However, in Dublin, out of fifty-six burials fifty-one contained swords. This portrays an entirely different Viking, and according to the material presented, the interpretations of these warriors seem unstable and unreliable. The presence of swords in Dublin may point to a Viking society of wealth, even if the burials in Orkney were, to a greater degree, richly furnished compared to Dublin.

The swords presented in the analysis were, undoubtedly, one of the most prestigious and expensive weapons to own during the Viking Age (Pedersen, 2008, p. 204). This may explain the evident presence of swords in the material cataloge. The necessity to show this through burial practices must indicate that these were, in fact, very important items to own in the Viking Age society. This may relay information about the wealth of the male buried rather

than the warrior Viking. Furthermore, the role and meaning of the swords in burial practices – and everyday life – were not uniform across Scandinavia (Pedersen, 2008, p. 208). Another argument is: *''Visual quality as evident in the decorative use of contrasting metals was important, and weapons probably had considerable value not only in battle but also as symbols of power, rank and wealth,''* (Pedersen, 2008, p. 208). This indicate that swords signify an intersectionality of the warrior, ethnic and gender identity. It becomes clear that the difference between Scandinavian Early Viking Age male and female burials does not appear as stoic and unchanging as earlier interpretations suffer from (Moen, 2019).

However, the swords are not the only seemingly present item of war in the burials presented. Anne Pedersen argue that: *''According to the older Gulathing and Frostathing laws every man on board leading a ship was required to own a shield,''* (2008, p. 207). This may highlight the reason behind the numerus shield bosses present in Orkney and Dublin, based on the fact that they were migrating societies that arrived with ships. I have previously described the three different types of shield bosses present in the catalog, however the Dublin type is of special interest in this thesis. According to Harrison's study in 2008, only three other shield bosses of the Dublin type are found across the British Isles, where one of them lies in burial 020.1 at Swandro, Rousay in Orkney. This further strengthens the theory that there were contact between the settlements in Dublin and Orkney. This also indicate that the Dublin type shield bosses were mainly, and somewhat only, used in Dublin and that they were also exclusively produced there.

The Dublin type shield boss appear to be a merge between the Irish Sea type, Scandinavian type, and Anglo-Saxon type (Harrison & Floinn, 2014, p. 123-124). Both the Scandinavian and Anglo-Saxon types are significantly larger in size, which might point to a specific borrowing of local shield boss forms (Harrison & Floinn, 2014, p. 124). Compared to the Scandinavian, Irish Sea type and Anglo-Saxon, the differentiation in size means that the Dublin shield boss type required a completely different technique in fighting (Harrison & Floinn, 2014, p. 116-117). The Dublin shield boss would also give the inhabitants of Dublin a strikingly different appearance. Therefore, it is reasonable to argue that the Dublin type shield bosses are a merge between several distinctive shield boss types as a result of migration and cultural influences.

The high number of shield bosses present in the male burials in Orkney portray a different expression of identity through burial practice. The shield bosses were frequently used in battle, but they were not as prestigious and expensive as swords. The majority of shield bosses, that were possible to define, were Scandinavian shield boss types, whereas the shield bosses in Dublin were almost exclusively Dublin shield boss type. This may be an indicator of different cultural expressions through the Viking diaspora, as a result of cultural impulses from two geographically different places. These results may ultimately contribute to identifying and understanding the Viking diaspora in Scandinavian migrating societies, based on the variations of identity portrayed in the male burials from Orkney and Dublin.

Figure 12: 'Warrior' burial items from various burials in Dublin. Shield boss, swords, brooches & spearheads. Royal Irish Academy, by James Plunket. Harrison & Floinn. 2014. Viking graves and grave goods in Ireland. p. 38.

7.1.3 Brooch burials – worn by all women?

''The traditional equation of weapons with male individuals and jewellery in the form of oval brooches as well as textile working tools with female ones is certainly a simplified version of reality,'' (Moen, 2019, p. 122)

Oval brooches were in production from the Merovingian period until the end of the Viking Age (Norstein, 2020, p. 34). Oval brooches are traditionally associated with female burials (Harrison, 2008, p. iv). Oval brooches were typically worn in pairs (but not always), which

was a part of the distinctive Scandinavian costume for women during the Viking Age and are thus considered a marker of Scandinavian origin and at the same time a female burial (Jesch, 2015, p. 95). The catalog provided supports this assumption. Out of twenty female burials in Orkney, nine were buried without oval brooches, which is almost half of the female burials. In Dublin, out of nine female burials, two were without oval brooches. That is almost a third. The study of the catalog underlines the importance of how problematic it is that oval brooches are the primary source of identifying a female burial when archaeological sources suggest that these were not worn by all women (Moen, 2019, p. 119).

The assumption that oval brooches were worn by all women, at all times, in the Viking Age is arguably an assumption that cannot provide sufficient evidence. There are several indications that oval brooches were not worn by members of society (Moen, 2019, p. 119). The rich boat burial at Sanday (012.1 & 021.2) is an example of a female burial without oval brooches. It also needs to be taken in consideration that the Scandinavian Vikings that emigrated to Dublin and Orkney were probably affected by the social standards of dress and jewelry in the foreign countries. Therefore, the use and non-use of oval brooches are crucial in understanding the intersectionality of gender and ethnic identity in burials of Scandinavian origin. At the same time, their occurrence in assumed female burials is quite interesting, especially when they do not appear in one of the richest female burials in this thesis (012.1 & 012.2).

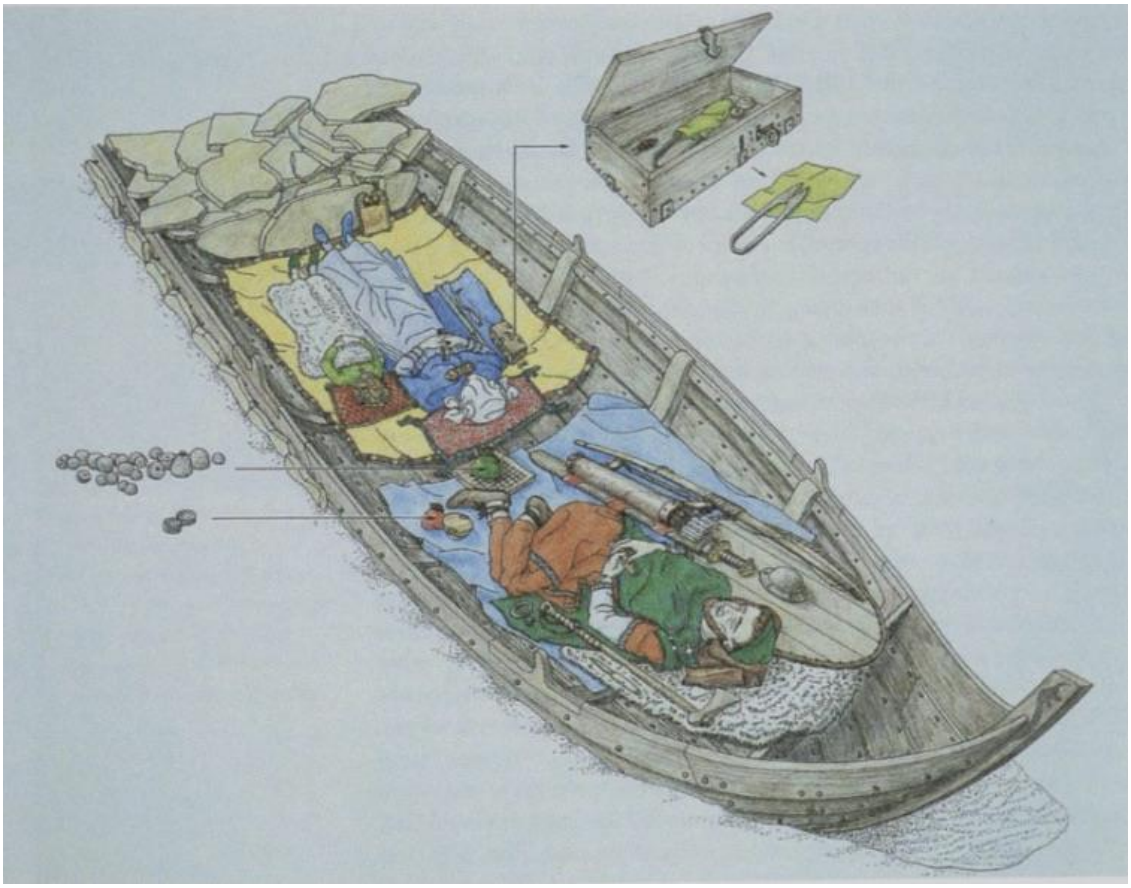


Figure 13: Reconstruction of 012.1 & 012.2. The boat burial at Scar. Harrison. 2008. Furnished insular Scandinavian burial. Artifacts & landscape in the Early Viking Age. p. 339. Original drawing by Christian Unwin.

Burial 021, which is located in the same areas 021.1 & 021.2, contains oval brooches. This burial is not as richly furnished as the previous. However, two female burials at the Broch of Gurness, which are considered richly furnished, yet only one of them contains oval brooches (024.1 & 024.5). The third female burial at the broch of Gurness is 021.2, and it is considered poorly furnished and does not contain oval brooches. The pattern of oval brooches in these burials seems random, and I cannot see an apparent pattern between poorly or richly furnished burials in Orkney. It is even more challenging to determine a pattern in Dublin considering the lack of female burials and the lack of single burials. It is evident that oval brooches cannot be used single-handedly as a method of determination of gender in Early Viking Age burials presented in this thesis. This is due to the fact that almost half of the burials in both Orkney and Dublin are without them, and there are no apparent patterns between richly and poorly furnished female burials. The argument that the oval brooches were not used by everyone in the social hierarchy becomes evident. These examples may even contribute to the argument that the Scandinavian Early Viking Age burials in Orkney and Dublin need more than oval brooches to determine gender.

Figure 14: Oval-shaped burial in Westness (burial 021.1). This burial contained oval brooches. Kaland. S. H. H. 1993. The settlement of Westness, Rousay. In: Batey, C. E., Jesch, J & Morris, C. D. (eds.) The Viking Age in Caithness, Orkney and the North Atlantic: Select Papers from the Proceedings of the Eleventh Viking Congress, Thurso, Kirkwall. 22 August - 1 September 1989.

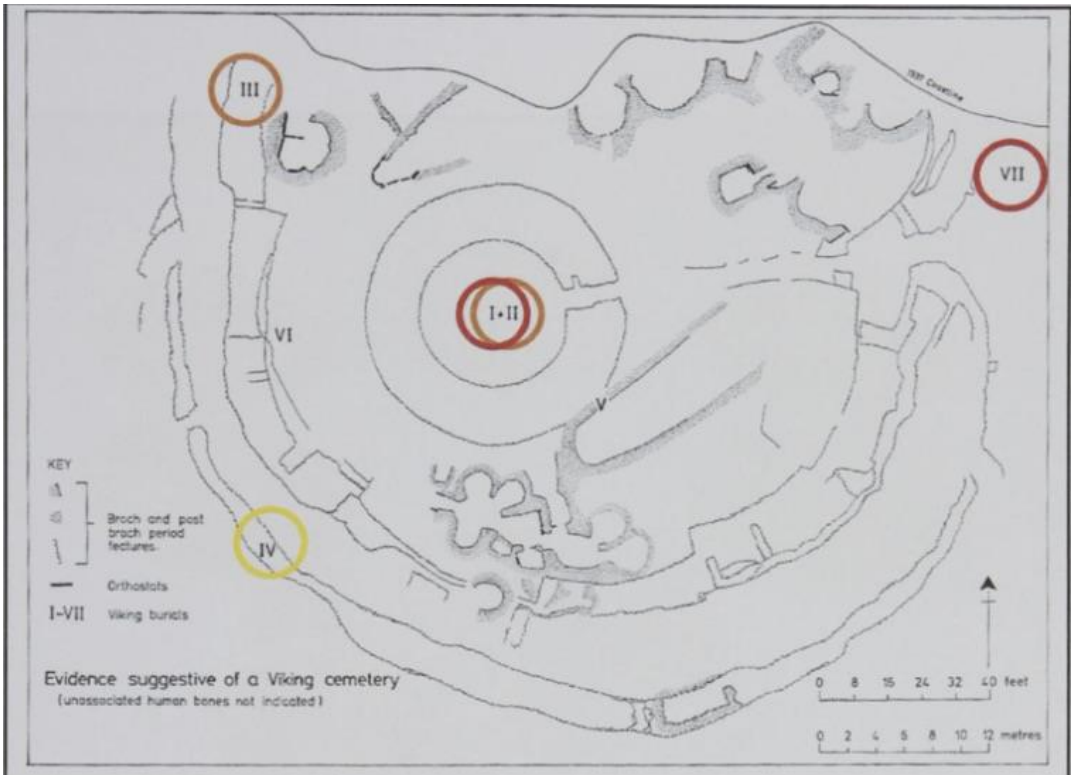


Figure 15: Plan of excavation at the Broch of Gurness, Mainland. 024.1 is VII, 024.2 is III & 024.5 is IV. Only 024.1 contained oval brooches. Red circles represent definite burials, orange probable and yellow possible. Harrison. 2008. Furnished Insular Scandinavian burial. Artifacts and landscape in the Early Viking Age. p. 389. Original picture from Hedges, J. W. 1987. Bu, Gurness and the Brochs of Orkney. BAR British Series clxiv (2 vols).

Re-use and modifications on oval brooches

Identity in migrations is one of the main points of this thesis, and how the Scandinavian Vikings adapted to the new societies are highly relevant. Oval brooches seem not to be worn by all women in Orkney and Dublin. However, their importance to the gender and ethnic identity of women is somewhat apparent.

Considering the fact that oval brooches are mainly connected to the material culture of the Scandinavian society, it is reasonable to assume that the brooches worn by the Scandinavian settlers in Dublin and Orkney were re-used and repaired several times (Norstein, 2020, p. 48-77). Several of the brooches presented in this thesis show signs of repair, damage, and re-use. The oval brooches from burial 014.1 at Lamba Ness in Orkney show signs of repair (Norstein, 2020, p. 48-62). Some of the brooches are so worn that the patterns on them have faded and are barely visible. Examples are burial numbers 172 in Finglas Dublin, 177.19-26 in Kilmainham Dublin, 018.04 in Pierowall Westray Orkney, and 024.1 at Gurness Mainland Orkney. It becomes clear that oval brooches were used frequently in the typical Viking Age society's life in Orkney and Dublin, with examples of re-use, wornness, and repair. However, it needs to be taken into account that not all women from the Scandinavian Early Viking Age migrations wore oval brooches or had access to them.

Figure 16: Dent on brooch from Kilmainham burial 018.04. Norstein. 2020. Processing death. p. 62.

Figure 17: Worn central band on brooch. Same brooch as figure 14. From burial 018.04. Norstein. 2020. Processing death. p. 61.

Figure 18: Signs of repair on brooch from Kilmainham burial 018.04. Norstein. 2020. Processing death. p. 58.

Figure 19: Brooch with signs of repair from Lamba Ness burial 014.1. Norstein. 2020. Processing death. p. 56.

Figure 20: Brooch with signs of repair from Lamba Ness burial 014.1. Norstein. 2020. Processing death. p. 51.

An ongoing discussion on the paucity of the presence of women in the Viking Age is highly relevant. Some have suggested that the lack of female burials, or the lack of rich female burials, reflects their underrepresentation in life (Jesch, 2015, p. 107). If they are not represented in their life, why would they in the afterlife? However, if we study the catalog and the results of the analysis, this seems to be incorrect. A general lack of female burials in Dublin cannot be denied, but the burials in Orkney hold a ratio of almost 40/60, where more female burials are richly furnished than male burials.

To conclude further: Scandinavian female Early Viking Age burials are lacking in Dublin. The female burials in Orkney are both richly furnished and high in numbers. Oval brooches can be identified as a popular female item, but they do not always occur in burials and can therefore not be seen as the primary marker of a female burial. According to the results of the analysis: the presence of more female burials in Orkney creates larger areas of understanding their intersectional expressions of identity based on their grave goods. As Erin-Lee McGuire argue:

> The oval brooches of northern Scotland clearly indicate that display of Norse ethnic identity could have been of great importance in everyday life as well.

> Seeing that these brooches were worn with a particular Scandinavian type of dress, their existence infers the presence of women dressed in an overly Scandinavian way. (2009, p. 43)

McGuire's argument seems valid in this study, according to the re-use and modifications on oval brooches and the material catalog. However, the lack of female burials in Dublin creates somewhat of a void, where the lack of their presence creates less opportunities to interpret their expressions of identity. It is possible that the gendering of burials in Dublin contains more faults than in Orkney. This is hard to prove, however, it cannot be discarded completely. The fact that oval brooches were modified and re-used in both Orkney and Dublin may also indicate that these items were important to the society. The oval brooches may have been heirlooms that were passed down for generations. The presence and non-presence of oval brooches in female burials in Orkney and Dublin express variations in Scandinavian Early Viking Age burial patterns, which may contribute to a more nuanced interpretation of identities in the Viking diaspora in migrating societies

7.2 Christianity – opposition or conversion?

''The role of religion is worth considering in this connection. Conversion to Christianity brought Denmark, Norway and Sweden increasingly into the European sphere, while in the overseas settlements it eased the process of assimilation,'' (Abrams, 2012, p. 25).

According to the analysis, approximately half of all the burials in Dublin are in direct relation to a Christian site. The same cannot be said about Orkney. These occurrences are unlikely to be random. These results indicates that the Scandinavian migrating settlement in Dublin developed a different expression of identity compared to the one in Orkney. I have therefore taken a closer look at the relationships between the Viking Age burials and Christian sites/cemeteries.

As the analysis has proved, the differentiation between Dublin and Orkney is exceptional. The Dublin material shows more signs of a Christian influence than in Orkney. Both English and Irish annals record baptisms of Vikings by Christian rulers, which ultimately sealed military alliances, and the Vikings gained a diplomatic conversion (Abrams, 2020, p. 34). This appears to be the case in Dublin (see Corráin 2001; Floinn 2020), and it is visible in the material presented in the study. One can therefore argue that it is easier for the colonist to convert to

the new homeland customs, rather than clinging to their own (Vesteinsson, 2014, p. 77). The Dublin material is in constant conflict with Christian relations, and historical records prove their conversion to Christianity for diplomatic reasons. Lesley Abrams (2020) argues that:

> Alliances and agreements between vikings and local rulers did not require both sides to be of the same religion: pagans and Christians made treaties with one another (…). But in a context where military engagement rarely produced decisive results, other strategies were needed in order to dominate enemies and achieve peace, if only temporarily. (p. 34-35).

A baptism was ultimately a political strategy that could tie the Vikings to ruling regimes on a longer-term basis. An example is when Edmund sponsored Amlaib Cuarán of Dublin's baptism in AD 941 (Corráin, 2001, p. 23). It seems reasonable to conclude that the Vikings of Dublin may have converted to Christianity for political reasons, but it appears rather differently in Orkney.

An example that might highlight the questions raised on conversion in Dublin is the pagan burials buried on top of Christian cemeteries (see burial 183, 177.02-177.47 & 005.1-2). Burial number 183, Aylesbury Road in Dublin, raises questions concerning this argument. During the construction of a house, excavations uncovered a mound that was approximately 30.5 meters in diameter and 0.9 meters high (Harrison, 2008, p. 676). This mound was excavated north to south, with three distinct layers, and it was uncovered the massive amount of around six to seven hundred skeletal remains of different individuals. On the north side, on the upper levels of this mound, was a man of exceptional size buried. He had been buried in a north-south position and had been buried with a sword and spearhead. He was also, allegedly, buried with two women at his feet (Harrison, 2008, p. 676).

The site was first interpreted as a massacre, but Elizabeth O'Brien re-interpreted it in 1993, and she argued that the site represented a *'small Christian secular cemetery'*, into which a furnished Viking grave was placed (O'Brien, 1993, p. 170-173; Harrison, 2008, p. 676). In this thesis, the interpretation of O'Brien will be followed. This seems to be a definite Viking Age burial within a Christian burial ground. What does this mean? To bury a Viking man on top of a Christian cemetery and be buried with two females. It seems unreasonable to assume that this individual was buried there due to his Christian beliefs. This burial does not appear to

be of Viking-Christian origin, either. Historical records show that several Vikings converted to Christianity out of political motives. However, burials such as 183 make me question the depth of their conversions. Nevertheless, according to the material presented in the analysis, the Vikings of Dublin are connected to Christianity on a much higher level compared to Orkney. This example underlines the intersectionality of ethnic and religious identity portrayed through burial practices

It is also worth noting that the burials presented in this thesis do not contain any items that indicate Christian religion or origins (Harrison, 2008; Floinn, 2020, p. 235). The historical records may prove some sort of conversion to Christianity, but the material catalog proves otherwise. As I view the Dublin burials and their relations to Christian cemeteries or places: I see it more of an opposition to the indigenous population, rather than respecting the religion many of the Vikings ultimately converted to. It also appears like the settlement in Orkney respected the indigenous population's cemeteries, to a greater degree than Dublin, and did not interfere with the burials themselves. However, the Viking burials at Westness are in relation to the indigenous population's burials. The difference in burial patterns in Orkney and Dublin becomes more evident, considering the Christian relations.

Figure 21: Picture of whom I believe might be the male from burial 183. One can faintly see the sword and spearhead on his left/right sides. He was also found with three arrowheads. From the National Museum in Ireland - archaeology. Picture taken by Martine Kaspersen.

7.3 Grave markers and their significance

I have previously mentioned Kaland's vague descriptions on a Pictish burial compared to a Viking burial at the cemetery at Westness, Rousay in Orkney (see Kaland, 1993, p. 308-317). However, it appears necessary to try and understand her reasoning behind her differentiation of Picitsh burials compared to Viking, to try and grasp a certain understanding of her interpretations. Some of the burials she investigated were radiocarbon dated, however it seems like not all of them were (Kaland, 1993, p. 312). Her primary differentiation between Viking and Pictish seems to be the headstones that typically mark the Pictish burials and the apparent lack of grave goods in said burials (Kaland, 1993, p. 312). These additional burials will serve as examples of how one might differentiate between a Scandinavian Early Viking age burial and an indigenous one.

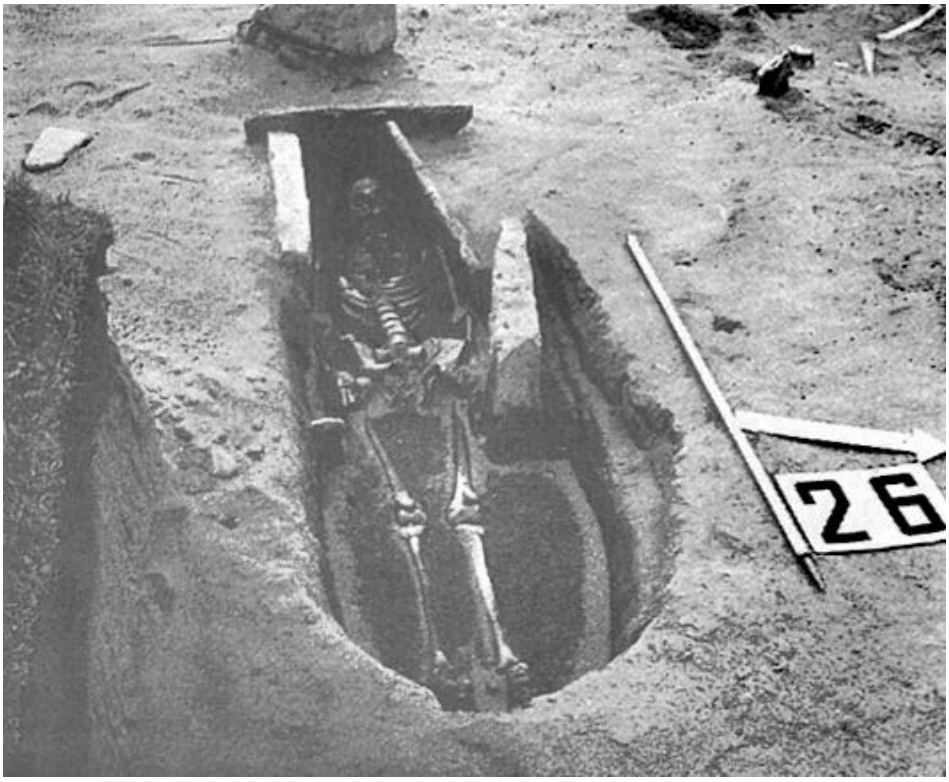


Figure 22: Example of Pictish burial at Westness, Rousay in Orkney. Slab-lined grae with a headstone as a grave marker. Without grave goods. Kaland. S. H. H. 1993. The settlement of Westness, Rousay. In: Batey, C. E., Jesch, J & Morris, C. D. (eds.) The Viking Age in Caithness, Orkney and the North Atlantic: Select Papers from the Proceedings of the Eleventh Viking Congress, Thurso, Kirkwall. 22 August - 1 September 1989.

Figure 23: Example of a Viking burial from Westness, Rousay in Orkney (burial 021.4). Kaland. S. H. H. 1993. The settlement of Westness, Rousay. In: Batey, C. E., Jesch, J & Morris, C. D. (eds.) The Viking Age in Caithness, Orkney and the North Atlantic: Select Papers from the Proceedings of the Eleventh Viking Congress, Thurso, Kirkwall. 22 August - 1 September 1989.

Figure 24: Example of a Viking boat burial from Westness, Rousay in Orkney (burial 021.2). Kaland. S. H. H. 1993. The settlement of Westness, Rousay. In: Batey, C. E., Jesch, J & Morris, C. D. (eds.) The Viking Age in Caithness, Orkney and the North Atlantic: Select Papers from the Proceedings of the Eleventh Viking Congress, Thurso, Kirkwall. 22 August - 1 September 1989.

It appears quite clearly that the differentiation Kaland described between the Pictish burials and Viking burials are reasonable in Orkney. The differences in burial patterns are a factor alone and compared to the lack of grave goods and different grave markers, it is quite reasonable to assume that Kaland's previous notes can weigh heavily towards a logical interpretation.

Burials in Dublin, on the other hand, appear quite different than the burials in Orkney. Much like Kaland, O'Brien differentiated between indigenous burials from Viking burials based on the appearance of grave goods (O'Brien, 1993, p. 203-221). The grave markers in Dublin are rather diffuse and hard to distinguish. Several unfurnished burials were discovered at

Islandbridge, in addition to a furnished Viking burial. According to the records, the burials without grave goods were located east-west, and the furnished burial were located north-south (O'Brien, 1992, p. 212).

Figure 25: Example of an unfurnished burial at Islandbridge, Dublin. Indications of remains of a wooden coffin. O'Brien, E. 1993. Viking burials at Kilmainham and Islandbridge. In: Batey, C. E., Jesch, J & Morris, C. D. (eds.) The Viking Age in Caithness, Orkney and the North Atlantic: Select Papers from the Proceedings of the Eleventh Viking Congress, Thurso, Kirkwall. 22 August - 1 September 1989.

Figure 26: Example of a furnished Viking burial at Islandbridge in Dublin (burial 176.2?). O'Brien, E. 1993. Viking burials at Kilmainham and Islandbridge. In: Batey, C. E., Jesch, J & Morris, C. D. (eds.) The Viking Age in Caithness, Orkney and the North Atlantic: Select Papers from the Proceedings of the Eleventh Viking Congress, Thurso, Kirkwall. 22 August - 1 September 1989.

It appears that defining a Scandinavian Early Viking Age burial in Orkney is somewhat simpler than in Dublin. The burials in Orkney are rarely in relation to the indigenous ones, which indicates differences in expression of identity through burial practice. It seems reasonable to argue that Viking burials without relation to Christian sites or cemeteries is isolating their own ethnic identity, compared to the indigenous one. The same argument can be used with Viking burials that lie on top (like burial 183) of Christian cemeteries or sites, facing the opposite direction from everyone else and contains grave goods. This is also a way of portraying ethnic and religious identity, and that they are in opposition of the Christian beliefs or system. However, it is clear that grave goods are significant in the process of determining a Viking burial, and it seems reasonable to argue that without it, the determination of burials becomes increasingly more diffuse.

It was interesting to study the results of how the burials in Orkney and Dublin were marked. The richest single burials in this thesis originate from earth-cut, pit graves, and cists. It becomes clear that Orkney has more burials of richness than Dublin. It is surprising to see that every single burial in Dublin originates from an earth-cut grave. I see no apparent pattern to the richness of burials compared to grave markers in Orkney in single burials. However, the rich burials in Orkney are always marked in some way. This guides us understand of how the three visible identities become apparent in the evidence of burials and burial practices in Scandinavian migrating societies in the Early Viking Age.

7.4 Other items of significance

Brooch burials and weapon burials have been discussed in the sections above. However, there are several other items of significance present in the catalog.

The two whalebone plaques presented in the catalog are also of great significance. In Harrison's catalog, there are only a total of three whalebone plaques present, where two out of these were discovered in Orkney and Dublin. The latter lies in Arran. Therefore, the plaques can be considered rather rare in the British Isles, Scotland, and Ireland, and must signify both ethnic, gender and religious identity. They have been interpreted as items used for linen smoothing, and they belong to the feminine category of items. They may have served as associations to Norse mythology and the goddess Freyja, but these assumptions have not been proved (Harrison, 2008, p. 163). The importance of textile production during the Viking Age

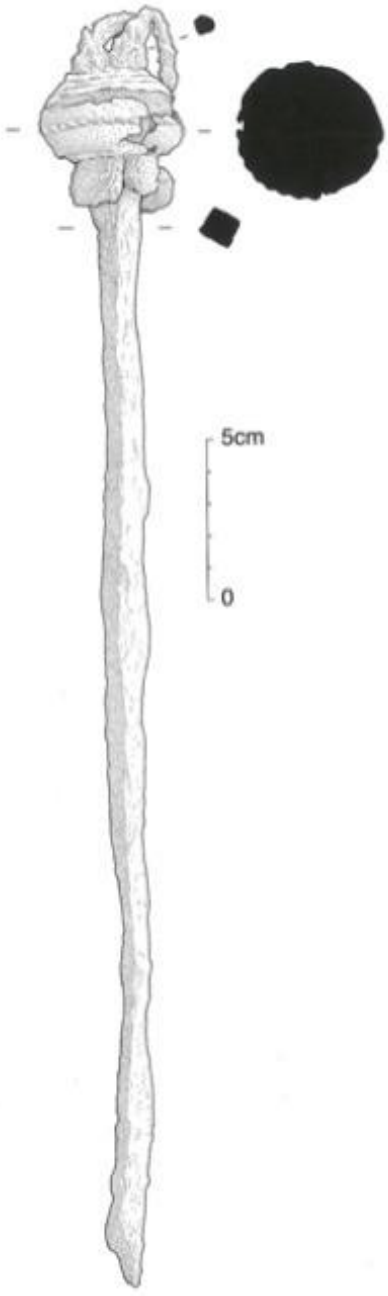
may suggest that these whalebone plaques were of outmost importance and could also count as a means of social power and authority (Harrison, 2008, p. 163). The fact that they both appear in Orkney and Dublin, especially based on the low number of female burials in Dublin, suggests that women of high social power and authority were present in both places. This further indicates that some females in the Scandinavian Early Viking Age society in Orkney and Dublin were important to their local society, and the production of textiles was seen as an important task.

Figure 27: Whalebone plaque from burial 012 at Scar (left side) & whalebone plaque from burial 177.19-26 at Kilmainham (right side). In: Harrison. 2008. Furnished insular Scandinavian burial. Artefacts & Landscape in the Early Viking Age. pp. 353 & Harison & Floinn. 2014. Viking graves and grave goods in Ireland. pp. 169.

The whalebone plaque from Scar (012) is the single best-preserved example from insular context or burial (Harrison, 2008, p. 353).

Ok hvn hafdi staf I hendi ok var a knappr hann var bvinn md mersingv ok settr steinum ofan vm knappin

And she had a staff in her hand with a knop at the top, adorned with brass set with a knob on the top (Price, 2002, p. 175; from Eiriks saga rauða, Hauksbòk versjon 4).



Another example of items of significance is the roasting spit from burial 177.19-26 in Kilmainham. Roasting spits have previously been interpreted as tools for cooking and, according to Petersen's definitions, the one from Kilmainham corresponds with type 227. Some argue that these interpretations have been questioned because they are unfit for cooking due to the moldings on the 'spits', making them unsuitable for piercing meat (Harrison & Floinn, 2014, p. 206). It has been argued that they represent a seiðstafr. The seiðstafr has been associated with magic-working by women (Harrison & Floinn, 2014, p. 206; Price, 2002; Gardela, 2016). Another possible occurrence of the seiðstafr can be found in burial 018.04 at Pierowall, Westray in Orkney. According to the material catalog, the roasting spit seems to have been solely related to male burials. However, the seiðstafr normally belong to females. This might validate the presence of at least one high-status female with mystical powers in Dublin and possibly Orkney (Harrison & Floinn, 2014, p. 206; Price, 2002; Gardela, 2016). The whalebone plaques and seiðstafr are connected to female burials and items and are interpreted as magical and religious. This directs the previous interpretation of the female role in the Viking Age society from a 'bystander', to an individual of great significance in a given society.

Figure 28: Seiðstafr from burial 177.19-26 in Kilmainham. Petersen type 227. Harrison & Floinn. 2014. Viking graves and grave goods in Ireland. pp. 383.

Figure 29: The seiðstafr and whalebone plaque from burial 177.19-26 presented together at the National Museum of Ireland – Archaeology. Picture taken by Martine Kaspersen.

The last example of items that has a significance that can point to a more nuanced understanding of identity in the Viking diaspora is the presence of weights and balances in both Orkney and Dublin. A total number of four burials contain weights (012.1 & 012.2, 177.36-39, 177.40-42 & 177.43), where three lay in Kilmainham and one at Scar. The exact origin of the weights is uncertain, but assumptions have been made that the origin is from around western Europe. They were also produced locally in Norway (Harrison & Floinn, 2014, p. 172). Thus, the examples from Kilmainham, Islandbridge and Scar can be directly compared to the Norwegian examples of weights (Harrison & Floinn, 2014, p. 172).

The prominent presence of trade as a force in the Viking Age societies has long been recognized in the archaeological study (Abrams, 2012, p. 28). Abrams argues that:

> Towns were multicultural, places of all kinds of exchange, and trading populations moved ideas and fashions around as well as objects (and themselves). Finds from

> tenth-century York and Dublin stress the expanding horizons of the towns and the maintenance of (among others) a Scandinavian connection. (2012, p. 28).

The weights presented in this thesis can be dated to approximately AD 800-950, which may indicate the beginning of these expanding horizons, and the importance of trade in the Scandinavian Early Viking Age migrating community in Dublin (and probably Orkney). Both ethnic and gender identity, therefore, becomes evident through these items. It is intriguing that, according to the catalog, both men and women were buried with such items. However, the presence of weights in burials in the catalog are all found in multiple burials. This makes it more challenging to determine which gender it may have belonged to. However, out of the four burials that contain balances and weights together, only one is a single burial (177.43). Out of the last remaining three burials, only one is deemed as only males (177.36-39). This may indicate that both men and women may have received weights in burials (see Sørheim, 2014, pp. 107-116)

However, the presence of weights suggests a rather different approach to the supposed 'warrior' or 'passive female'. The balances and weights with decorative patterns point to a community of trade rather than plundering. It is also worth noting that the burials that contain balances and weights are amongst the best furnished burials in this catalog.

Figure 30: Weights and balance from burial 177.43 (?). Cited as Islandbridge, but there is only one burial in the catalog of 2008 that corresponds with these items. Harrison & Floinn. 2014. Viking graves and grave goods in Ireland. p. 467.

Figure 31: Two weights from burial 177.36-39 or 177.40-42 (?). Cited as Islandbridge, but there are only two burials in the catalog from 2008 that corresponds with these items. Harrison & Floinn. 2014. Viking graves and grave goods in Ireland. p. 459.

8. Conclusion

The aim of this thesis has been to answer the following research questions:

- How does warrior, gender and religious identity contribute to the understanding of the Viking diaspora in migrating societies?
- Can variations in expressions of identities between the two Viking diasporic societies of Orkney and Dublin be demonstrated in the grave material and burial customs?

In answering these questions, Viking diaspora has been an important term to define and utilize. I have previously stressed that one cannot interpret the various identities of prehistoric individuals by the common standards of modern Western society. The identities described and presented in this thesis can, under several circumstances, appear as modern. However, accessing the identity of the subjects that archaeological studies undertake is rather challenging. The three visible identities in this thesis have been implemented in the final understanding of the research questions.

The Viking Antiquities project remains the only comprehensive, detailed, and published study of the Viking artifacts in Scotland, Britain, and Ireland. The last publication was in 1954, and the material was neglected until Harrison's work was undertaken in 2008. The fact that this was neglected for so long and without further studies has heavily influenced the material, and much of it has been lost over time. I will strongly argue that if this material was handled accordingly and regularly after 1954, much of the material and knowledge would probably be different and produce newer interpretations. However, the work of contemporary archaeologists during the late twentieth century has been greatly appreciated.

The study proved that the distribution of male/female burials varies greatly between Orkney and Dublin. The exceptionally low number of female burials in Dublin has raised many questions that have proved difficult to answer fully. It has become apparent that the lack of female burials in Dublin leaves little room for interpretation, due to the low number of both items and female presences. However, female burials in both Orkney and Dublin contain the seiðstafr (burial 177.19-26 in Dublin and 018.04 in Orkney), which represents females of high social status and power. The presence of the whalebone plaques (burial 177.19-26 in Dublin and 012) are also indicators of females of high social status and power. These items of

significance contribute to the conclusion that there were females of importance, present in both Orkney and Dublin, even though Dublin lacks female burials. Which, again, leads to the question if we are looking at a lack of identified female burials, rather than an actual lack of them (Moen, 2019, p. 119).

The lack of oval brooches in female burials has proven to be almost a third of the female burials. However, the re-use and modifications of these oval brooches prove that these items were of outmost importance, both in life and the afterlife. The re-use and modifications indicate that these were items that may have been passed down from generation to generation and, furthermore, that they were unable to access new ones. Oval brooches were important to the Early Viking Age females, even if not all women from all social ranks owned them. The same can also be argued in the male burials, where swords are lacking in Orkney compared to the overwhelming amount in Dublin. Only ten out of twenty-eight male burials contained a sword in Orkney, whereas fifty-one out of fifty-six male burials contained a sword in Dublin. A possible explanation is that the Vikings in Dublin were wealthy settlers, even if the burials in Orkney are more richly furnished than Dublin. It seems reasonable to argue that the 'warrior Viking' and the 'passive female' interpretations I have previously questioned appear feeble, corresponding to these discoveries in the material catalog.

It has been discussed that the Scandinavian Early Viking Age society was met with a Christian society in both Orkney and Dublin. According to this, it has been interesting to see how the Scandinavian Early Viking Age burials have acted compared to the indigenous population. The religious identity becomes evident through this, especially in Dublin. Approximately half of Dublin's burials are in direct relation to Christian sites, whereas only five out of fifty-eight burials are in direct relation with Christian sites in Orkney. The migrating society in Orkney preferred to be buried undisturbed of Christian relations or the indigenous population on a greater degree than the burials in Dublin. However, burial 183 portray a rather defensive approach to the Christian society the Vikings in Dublin were met with. It is possible that burials on top or in direct relation to Christian sites or cemeteries in Dublin may have been a show of dominance. Burial 183 were buried facing the opposite direction of the Christian burials and contained items of warfare. Based on the analysis, I have chosen to conclude that the Vikings in both Orkney and Dublin may have faced Christianity and that some converted for political reasons, however, the visible opposition to the Christian society is apparent in the burial practices presented.

One of the most interesting aspects of the analysis is that especially rich burials in Orkney were always marked and would appear quite visibly. However, the well-furnished ones in Dublin were all earth-cut. It is possible that the burials in Dublin, at some point, were marked. However, the burials are still expressing two very distinctive expressions through burial practice and that these burials may ultimately be a product of cultural influences. They also signify that the Viking population continued their cultural beliefs through burial practice, even if they were marked or not. The presence of the Vikings in both Orkney and Dublin left significant parts of their culture visible through the burials presented in the material catalog and it cannot be ignored that their expressions of identity are distinctively present, even a thousand years after their deaths. How these expressions of identity have been interpreted has changed over the last decade, and hopefully this thesis may contribute to a more nuanced understanding of the migrating Early Viking Age migrations to Orkney and Dublin through the Viking diaspora.

To fully conclude my aims of this thesis: identity in burial practices from populations that share the same homeland portrays distinctively different identities. The presence and non-presence of oval brooches, swords and shield bosses have ultimately proved that gendering a Viking Age burial is not always as straight-forward as assumed. It has also proved that variations in expressions are likely, due to the fact that these societies were met with other cultural influences that may have had an impact on their expressions of identity. There is also higher number of male burials present, in both Orkney and Dublin. However, the female Viking as a 'stand-byer' becomes irrational to assume, based on the presence of the whalebone plaques and the seiðstafr. Oval brooches appear to be indicators of female burials, however the lack of oval brooches in almost a third of the burials in Orkney and Dublin also indicate that these items cannot *only* be used as a means of gendering female Viking Age burials. This has been highly problematic throughout this thesis. To determine gender through grave goods is challenging and it cannot be used as a single way to determine gender. Variations vary greatly, as the material catalog has proved, and the typical Viking burial is not as straight-forward as previously assumed. The traditional 'warrior burial' or 'brooch burial' seems outdated and irrational to apply in every Viking Age study. The burials in Orkney and Dublin are distinctively different from each other and therefore prove that one cannot apply traditional interpretation to a material that has such great variations. Identity is, therefore, intersectional and complex and the results of the analysis har contributed to this.

The research questions of this thesis have ultimately contributed to a broader and more nuanced, possibly even different, interpretation of the Early Viking Age migrations to Orkney and Dublin.

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10. Appendix

The material catalog

This catalog presents each burial, what they contain and a brief interpretation. They are presented with the date of recovery and assumed gender. Some graves are in direct geographical relation to indigenous burials or settlements, these will be noted in this catalog for further research in the thesis. The material is collected from Harrison's (2008) PhD thesis from page 414-676. The personal numbers given to the artifacts starts with a 'O' for the Orkney material and 'D' for the Dublin material. A list of literature that Harrison used has been added at the end of the catalog. I was unable to trace most of them, due to age and publicity. However, they are still included, seen as they are still of importance.

Orkney

005.1-2 Newark, Mainland, Orkney
Date of recovery: 1970s
Assumed gender: 2 females?

Discovered in association with a Christian cemetery.

Artifacts:
O001 – Jet-like bracelet
O002 – Antler comb (Pictish?)

Only published references available are two articles from Barrett (2000, p. 537-543 & 2003, p. 207-226). Found during excavation of a Christian cemetery with Pictish origins. A total of 250 burials were discovered in association with a structure dated to the mid-tenth century. Presumably a church. East-west cut. No further information available.

011 Howar, N. Ronaldsay, Orkney
Date of recovery: 1939-1945
Assumed gender: Female

Artifacts:
O003 – Copper Alloy Penannular Brooch
O004 – Spindle whorl / bead

Site discovered during the Second World War, according to CANMORE. Site suffers greatly from coastal erosion, and the burial must have been situated close to the cliff edge originally. Brooch of insular origin.

012.1 & 012.2 Scar, Sanday, Orkney
Date of recovery: November – December 1991
Assumed gender: 1 male, 1 female & 1 child

Oval mound.

Artifacts:
O005 – >300 boat rivets (vessel c. 6.3m long)
O006 – Sword (double-edged; broken)
O007 – Equal-armed brooch
O008 – 8 arrows
O009 – 22 gaming pieces
O010 – Tinned bronze mount
O011 – whalebone plaque
O012 – 2 spindle whorls
O013 – 2 combs
O014 – iron shears
O015 – needle tidy
O016 – sickle
O017 – maplewood box
O018 – iron handle
O019 – copper alloy mount
O020 – 2 lead weights
O120 – bead (glass)

A boat burial containing three individuals, discovered towards the northern end of an oval mound. Originally 18m x 12m and 1m high. Orientated E-W, the boat was placed parallel to the shore and the northern side of it was eroded before excavations began in 1991. Chamber was further disturbed when it was used as an otter holt. Despite disturbances, this is the only burial known in the British Isles where three individuals were placed in a single chamber. The eastern third of the boat was filled with stones and planks. A woman in her probable 70s was placed in the middle of the boat, with the body of a 10-year-old child beside her. A man in his 30s had been placed at the end of the boat

013 Styes of Brough, Sanday, Orkney
Date of recovery: before 1875
Assumed gender: male

Mound. Discovered in area of previous prehistoric activity.

Artifacts:
O021 – sword (double-edged)
O022 – axe
O023 – 'cauldron' (shield boss?)

A 'Scandinavian' sword in the possession of W. Denison of Brough 'was found in a tumulus at Sites'. The sword was identified in the Hunterian Museum and found references to other artifacts which had originally belonged to Denison. A 'cauldron' was said to have contained a human skull when found. Seems probable that it was a shield boss placed close to the head of the skeleton.

014.1 Lamba Ness, Sanday, Orkney
Date of recovery: before 1878
Assumed gender: male

Artifacts:
O024 – sword (double-edged, fragmentary)
O025 – spearhead (fragmentary)
O026 – axehead
O027 – shield boss (lost)
O028 – knife handle (bone)
O029 – comb (bone)
O030 – 2 copper alloy pins
O031 – 'deerhorn implement'
O032 – 4 spindle whorls / beads ('buttons')
O033 – 'copper alloy needle' (shank of ringed pin?)

Artifacts presented to the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland by Col Balfour in April 1878. All artifacts were found whilst 'digging at Lamaness' (Sanday). Possible two individuals?

014.2 Lamba Ness, Sanday, Orkney
Date of recovery: before 1914
Assumed gender: female

Mound.

Artifacts:
O034 – 2 oval brooches
O035 – ringed pin
O036 – lignite armlet
O037 – amber bead

These artifacts were purchased by the NMAS in 1914 and noted that they were found 'near the Broch of Lamaness (sic) … Sanday'. Presumably located close to the male grave discovered before 1978 (014.01). Suggestions has been made by Graham-Campbell & Batey (1998, p. 57) that this was a cremation burial.

015 Braeswick, Sanday, Orkney
Date of recovery: before 1914
Assumed gender: female

Stone-lined grave?

Artifacts:
O038 – oval brooch
O039 – 3 beads (2 glass, 1 amber)

Acquired by Society of Antiquaries. It was simply noted that these artifacts were 'all found together, on the Island of Sanday'. Both Brøgger (1929, p. 118 & 130) and Grieg (1940, p. 86-88) gave them equal vague descriptions.

016 Newark, Sanday, Orkney
Date of recovery: 1866
Assumed gender: male

Artifacts:
O040 – axehead (lost)

Published in 1911, this axe, also, was originally part of W. Denison's collection. Graham-Campbell & Batey (1998, p. 56) have indicated that the axe came from a previous unrecognized burial. The poor quality of the original record may suggest it was somewhat better furnished originally.

017 South Mire, Sanday, Orkney
Date of recovery: 1770s
Assumed gender: male

Artifacts:
O041 – sword
O042 – spear
O043 – shield boss
O044 – boat rivets?

The original source to this burial could not be consulted. Classified as a probable weapon burial by Harrison (2008, p. 421).

018.01 Pierowall, Westray, Orkney
Date of recovery: before 1688
Assumed gender: male

Artifacts:
O045 – sword
O046 – axe

J. Wallace (died in 1688) noted that graves had been found in the sand at the Links of Trenabie (Pierowall). One contained a skeleton that was accompanied by a sword and axe. Other graves from the same area – supposedly – contained dogs, combs and knives.

018.02 Pierowall, Westray, Orkney
Date of recovery: before 1788
Assumed gender: ?

This is a problematic burial. The Scottish Viking Graves Project notes that in 1788 bones of horses, dogs, various weapons, brooches, knives, combs, beads, a gold ring, a spoon and a glass vessel was discovered with a group of burials. Out of all of these, only the 'glass vessel' survived and is of Roman date. The glass vessel therefore suggests that these burials is from the Late Iron Age, rather than the Early Iron Age, which is the main time period in this thesis. It is worth noting that furnished burials of Roman date are relatively rare and the other finds supports a typical furnished burial of a Early Viking Age grave.

018.03 Pierowall, Westray, Orkney
Date of recovery: 25th of April 1839
Assumed gender: male

Mound.

Artifacts:
O047 – sword
O048 – 'dagger' (spearhead)
O049 – shield boss
O050 – comb

A large stone was positioned behind the head of the skeleton. Orientated in W-E, although the knees were bent to the left. The position of the shield boss might suggest that there was originally a chamber. At least five additional mounds were known in the same area, including the three mentioned above.

018.04 Pierowall, Westray, Orkney
Date of recovery: 25th of April 1839
Assumed gender: female

Artifacts:
O051 – 2 oval brooches
O052 – 'sword or dagger' (weaving sword/roasting spit?)
O053 – ring-headed pin

Excavated on the same day as 018.03. This skeleton was found 'a few yards' to the north of the other and was badly decayed.

Seen as the head was oriented to the south, it may have been respecting the mound of 018.03. Several interpretations of the 'sword dagger' (T153) is available.

018.05 Pierowall, Westray, Orkney
Date of recovery: 1st of May 1839
Assumed gender: female

Artifacts:
O054 – 2 oval brooches
O055 – penannular brooch (ringed pin?)
O056 – comb
O057 – spindle whorl
O058 – needle case (bone)

Excavated six days after the first two (018.03 & 018.04). No references to orientation available, and the skeleton was badly decomposed. Knees fixed to the left. The oval brooches lay on the collar bones with the bone needle case between them.

018.06 Pierowall, Westray, Orkney
Date of recovery: 2nd of May 1839
Assumed gender: female

Stone cist.

Artifacts:
O059 – 2 oval brooches
O060 – 7 beads
O061 – circular brooch (?)
O062 – ring-headed pin
O063 – 2 combs

Excavated the day after 018.05. clearly a long cists grave, surrounded and covered by large flat stones and orientated N-S with the head to the south. The body was resting on its left side, with the upper body bent forwards and the head turned upwards. The oval brooches rested on the breast with a circular brooch and 7 (glass?) beads. Possibly associated with a mound.

018.07 Pierowall, Westray, Orkney
Date of recovery: 2nd of May 1839
Assumed gender: male?

Artifacts:
O064 – ringed pin (probable)
O065 – knife (?)

Details from this grave was omitted from Thorsteinsson publication (1965). There is no reference to any stones that might have surrounded the body. The skeleton was 'very much decomposed'.

018.08 Pierowall, Westray, Orkney
Date of recovery: 1839-49
Assumed gender: male

Artifacts:
O066 – axe
O067 – shield boss
O068 – iron fragments

Was supposedly found near the shore. Orientated north-south with the body's feet to the north. Only half of the skull was present and has earlier been interpreted as 'clefted before the burial', but it is equally possible that erosion or other disturbances has occurred at earlier dates.

018.09 Pierowall, Westray, Orkney
Date of recovery: 1839-49
Assumed gender: male

Artifacts:
O069 – horse skeleton
O070 – dog skeleton
O071 – bridle bit
O072 – buckle
O073 – spearhead (?)
O074 – iron fragments
O075 – bridle ring & 9 rivets (?)

Skeleton lies with its feet to the north, right beside the head of a horse skeleton on its belly. Part of the skeleton was missing, which leaves to the assumption that it might have been disturbed before it was investigated.

018.10 Pierowall, Westray, Orkney
Date of recovery: 1839-49
Assumed gender: male

Mound.

Artifacts:
O176 – spearhead (?)
O177 – horse skeleton (disturbed)
O178 – bridle bit

Presumably the northernmost of these three furnished examples (018.08-10) in the area. Both human and horse skeleton has been badly disturbed before examination. It is worth noting that another burial at the same site was discovered but was unfurnished and therefore hard to dated. This might suggest either an indigenous burial (non-Viking) or an unfurnished example of a Viking Age burial. No orientation was given.

018.11 Pierowall, Westray, Orkney
Date of recovery: 1839-49
Assumed gender: male

Mound. Discovered beside a pre-existing mound.

Artifacts:
O079 – sword
O080 – shield boss
O081 – comb
O082 – whetstone
O083 – glass beads
O084 – composite wood & iron fragments

This burial was situated on the south side of a supposed pre-existing mound. The grave was surrounded by large stones in a square-like formation. This might indicate a cist or a chambered burial. Orientated north-south with the head to the south (towards the mound). The skeleton rested on its left side with its knees drawn up and arms crossed.

018.12 Pierowall, Westray, Orkney
Date of recovery: 1839-49
Assumed gender: female

Discovered beside a pre-existing mound.

Artifacts:
O085 – 2 oval brooches
O086 – trefoil brooch

This burial was found on the north side of the mound. It contained a small skeleton, which was orientated N-S with its head to the south. The oval brooches were resting on the breast. Associated with a pre-existing mound.

018.13 Pierowall, Westray, Orkney
Date of recovery: 1839-49
Assumed gender: female

Discovered beside a pre-existing mound.

Artifacts:
O087 – 2 oval brooches
O088 – (ring-headed?) pin
O089 – 2 combs

Like the burial mentioned above, this burial was on the north side of the pre-existing mound. The skeleton (described as small) was orientated N-S with the head to the south. Thorsteinsson (1965, p. 169) has suggested that there were rows of stones on each side of the grave.

It is worth noting that a third burial was located on the north side of the mound. This was without any grave goods, but it seems probable that the lack of grave goods is due to earlier disturbances. It cannot be substantiated and has therefore been excluded from the catalog.

018.14 Pierowall, Westray, Orkney
Date of recovery: 1839-49
Assumed gender: female

Earth-cut. Discovered beside a pre-existing mound.

Artifacts:
O090 – 2 oval brooches
O091 – (ring-headed?) pin
O092 – 2 combs

One of the most poorly described burials in Rendall's 1849 letter (Anderson, 1880, p.

87). This burial was found on the northeast side of the pre-existing mound, with its head to the south. Unfortunately, none of these artifacts can be identified today.

018.15 Pierowall, Westray, Orkney
Date of recovery: 1849-51
Assumed gender: male

Artifacts:
O093 – sword
O094 – spear
O095 – axe
O096 – shield boss

The evidence of this burial is dependent on a letter from Rendall to the Society of Antiquaries, which was accompanied with a number of artifacts and a skull. It needs to be noted that the artifacts Rendall donated (every artifact in this supposed burial) were described as 'the refuse of the collection … which nobody though worth taking away'. It is, therefore, possible that these artifacts represent material already recorded in this catalog.

018.16 Pierowall, Westray, Orkney
Date of recovery: before 29th of October 1855
Assumed gender: female?

Artifacts:
O097 – 2 knives
O098 – sickle
O099 – drinking horn terminal
O100 – key/latch-lifter
O101 – clay bead
O102 – composite artefact (wood and iron)
O103 – 'nails and nail heads'

A J. Farrer, who spent several summers excavating in Orkney, presented this burial (artifacts) to the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland. They are described as 'from the grave … at Pierowall', but there is a lack of other records of him excavating there. Some of the artifacts suggests that it is a female burial, but the material is inconclusive. It has, either way, been interpreted as a probable female burial in this thesis.

018.17 Pierowall, Westray, Orkney
Date of recovery: before 11th of April 1864
Assumed gender: male

Artifacts:
O104 – min. 21 boat rivets
O105 – 2 iron buckles
O106 – bone button
O107 – horse

This grave was the second grave J. Farrer investigated. It had clearly been severely disturbed before he arrived. Only parts of the upper body of the skeleton were preserved, along with some of the legs and

vertebrae of a horse. The poor quality of the evidence does not entirely leave out the possibility of a second – or even third – boat burial at Pierowall. This reinforces the importance of Pierowall as a burial site in the Early Viking Age. It can both be classified as either weapon or brooch burial, but with the lack of apparent 'brooch brual artifacts', it is classified as a male grave in this thesis.

019.1-2 Tuquoy (?), Westray, Orkney
Date of recovery: before 1841
Assumed gender: 2 males

Artifacts:
O108 – 'swords'
O109 – 'articles of dress'

Graham-Campbell & Batey (1998, p. 56) note that the *New Statistical Account* records a number of graves in both the north and the south of Westray, whereas both included 'swords' and 'articles of dress'. This description suggests several burials, both weapon and brooch. There is no evidence of these artifacts in the present day and one must assume that they have either been lost or demolished. An ambiguous reference to a minimum of two possible weapon burials. Perhaps in association with a bigger cemetery with brooch burials also present. The surviving reference is so vague that it needs further speculation.

020.1 Swandro, Rousay, Orkney
Date of recovery: 1826
Assumed gender: male

Close to pre-existing mound. Stone-lined Discovered close to a mound/broch.

Artifacts:
O110 – sword (double edged) (4 pieces?)
O111 – shield boss (Dublin type)

The sword was discovered during ploughing in 1826 and the Dublin shield boss was presumably found at the same time. The artifacts may have come from a cist or a mound, but this is inconclusive.

020.2 Swandro, Rousay, Orkney
Date of recovery: 1826-1836
Assumed gender: male

Stone-lined. Discovered close to a mound/broch.

Artifacts:
O112 – shield boss (Scandinavian) (fragmentary)

Misinterpreted as the 'boss of a bladrick'. Artefact probably found within a stone cist.

The cist might originally have been further furnished. Vague references.

021.1 Westness, Rousay, Orkney
Date of recovery: 1963
Assumed gender: female

Found within a pre-existing (secular) cemetery.

Artifacts:
O113 – 2 oval brooches
O114 – beads (40)
O115 – Penannular brooch (silver; 8th century)
O116 – gilt bronze mount (insular)
O117 – two strap-ends (Anglo-Saxon)
O118 – comb
O119 – sickle
O120 – basin (copper alloy)
O121 – shears
O122 – weaving sword
O123 – 2 heckles

Unusually well-furnished brooch burial accidentally discovered during the burial of a dead cow. The analysis of the skeletal remains implied that a woman had died in childbirth, seen as she was buried with a newborn child. The Westness excavations are the only excavations in this part of the catalog (Orkney) that has been fully excavated using modern archaeological techniques.

The excavated area was approximately 30m x 25m, which implies that the 32 graves that were discovered were fairly packed, even though none was intercut. Only 8 of these burials were furnished. The others were slab-lined and had headstones, suggesting that both the furnished graves and the un-furnished were of higher status. The oldest graves were radiocarboned to the seventh century, already well established before the first Scandinavian Viking Age furnished burials appeared. It has been assumed that the 8 furnished burials at this site was placed on an indigenous cemetery (probably Pictish). All of the 8 furnished graves are dated to the ninth century, and some are even a little older – like the brooch from this grave (T216).

021.2 Westness, Rousay, Orkney
Date of recovery: 1968-84
Assumed gender: male

Found within a pre-existing (secular) cemetery.

Artifacts:
O124 – boat (5.5m, 3-4 strakes)
O125 – sword
O126 – axehead
O127 – spearhead
O128 – arrowhead

O129 – shield boss
O130 – adze
O131 – sickle
O132 – whetstone
O133 – strike-a-light

One out of two boat burials discovered during the excavations at Westness. This is the largest one, and best furnished. It was placed in a hole in the ground and both ends of the boat was filled with stones. The body rested on its back with grave goods surrounding the body.

021.3 Westness, Rousay, Orkney
Date of recovery: 1968-84
Assumed gender: male

Found within a pre-existing (secular) cemetery.

Artifacts:
O134 – boat (4.5m, 3-4 strakes)
O135 – sword (type uncertain)
O136 – axe
O137 – shield boss
O138 – arrowheads
O139 – bone comb
O140 – adze
O141 – sickle
O142 – fishing weight

This is the second and smallest out of the two boat burials discovered at this cemetery in Westness. This was formed in the same way as the first (021.2), with both ends filled with stones. The boat contained a male skeleton with several grave goods surrounding the body. Broken tips of four arrowheads in the back arm, belly and thighbone of the skeleton ultimately suggests that this male died a violent death.

021.4 Westness, Rousay, Orkney
Date of recovery: 1968-84
Assumed gender: male

Oval stone setting. Found within a pre-existing (secular) cemetery.

Artifacts:
O143 – shield boss (Scandinavian type)
O144 - arrowheads
O145 – ring-headed pin
O146 – comb
O147 – sickle
O148 – ‘dice’ (gaming pieces)

A male individual resting in an oval stone setting, with a higher stone behind the skull. Pointed towards the sea, a common feature shared of the oval graves at this site.

021.5 Westness, Rousay, Orkney
Date of recovery: 1968-84
Assumed gender: female

Oval stone setting. Found within a pre-existing (secular) cemetery.

Artifacts:
O149 – CA penannular brooch
O150 – comb
O151 – sickle
O152 – 2 spindle whorls

A female individual resting within an oval grave, and was unlike the other burials at the site, crouched on her right side. Gender of the skeleton proved through osteological evidence. One of the few women graves that does not include oval brooches. No further information available.

021.6-8 Westness, Rousay, Orkney
Date of recovery: 1968-84
Assumed gender: ?

Oval shaped. Found within a pre-existing (secular) cemetery.

Kaland is vague about precise numbers at this site. Graham-Campbell & Batey (1998, p. 136) states that there were 32 graves present, which 8 were furnished. This suggests that there were at least three other graves at the site. Kaland notes further that there were five oval graves which contained 'weapons, jewellery and tools', which then again suggests that the three remaining Viking Age furnished burials were graves of this type. Her published material implies further that there was at least another weapon grave at the site, and that this supposed grave contained 'weaving implements'. Her descriptions are too vague to comment further.

It needs to be noted that there was in total a number of 24 unfurnished burials at this site. As noted before; the site was in use in the seventh century, long before the Vikings Age furnished burials were deposited at the site. Kaland noted that the cemetery held the bodies of all stages in life; newborn children and individuals up to 50 years old. She suggested that the cemetery represented the entire community of Westness. However, it is unclear how she differentiates between Pictish and Viking graves and the apparent possibility that some of the unfurnished burials are of Scandinavian Viking Age origin cannot be ignored. It is challenging to press this further, but this discussion will be continued in the thesis.

021.9 Westness, Rousay, Orkney
Date of recovery: 1997
Assumed gender: ?

Found within a pre-existing (secular) cemetery.

Artifacts:
O153 – bone comb

One trench at the southern tip of the peninsula contained a fragmented human skull, together with a bone comb fragment. Interpreted as a disturbed burial. Unable to either identify as weapon or brooch burial.

022 Buckquoy, Mainland, Orkney
Date of recovery: 1970-1
Assumed gender: male

Pit grave. Discovered on Pictish site & Norse house

Artifacts:
O154 – spear
O155 – ringed pin
O156 – buckle
O157 – knife
O158 – bone mount (for sheath?)
O159 – whetstone
O160 – half penny Eadmund (940-6)

Burial disturbed by ploughing. Individual appears to have been resting on its right side, with the artifacts close to its waist. Two other unfurnished burials were known, whereas a male skeleton residing in a stone cist close to the Pictish dwellings and skeletal remains discovered under the NE corner of the latest insular Scandinavian house on the site.

023.1 Brough Road, Mainland, Orkney
Date of recovery: 1978
Assumed gender: ?

Poor cist grave. Discovered in midden material.

Artifacts:
O161 – antler comb
O162 – iron knife
O163 – min. 2 iron rivets

A disturbed cist grave. Skeletal remains of an older man, probably in his 50s or 60s, who was suffering from osteo-arthritis of the spine as well as periodontal disease. The body was orientated EW. Radiocarbon dating suggests datings from AD600-915.

A second stone cist burial was found close to the first one, although the latter was unfurnished. Also directed in an EW position. Skeletal remains imply an individual of 30-35 years. Radiocarbon dating suggests AD850-1140. It had been placed in the upper levels of a Pictish cairn. A number of late Roman and Pictish inhumations were also found at the site.

023.2 Brough Road, Mainland, Orkney
Date of recovery: 1978
Assumed gender: female

Stone-lined grave. Discovered in midden material.

Artifacts:
O264 – iron knife

Much of the right side of the body had already been eroded before excavations. Skeletal remains suggest gendering a female in her 50s. The knife had been placed by her left arm. She had poor health at the time of her death.

024.1 Gurness, Mainland, Orkney
Date of recovery: 1939
Assumed gender: female

Stone-lined grave. Discovered in relation to a broch.

Artifacts:
O165 – 2 oval brooches
O166 – iron necklet (with Thor's hammer amulet)
O167 – bone pin
O168 – sickle
O169 – iron knife

This woman is also known as the 'Knowe of Gurness'. This site has produced evidence for a total of seven graves, whereas five were furnished. This is the only definite example available. The skeleton was badly decayed. Placed in an EW stone-lined chamber, approximately 1.8m x 1.1m wide.

024.2 Gurness, Mainland, Orkney
Date of recovery: 1930-9
Assumed gender: female?

Artifacts:
O170 – ring-headed pin
O171 – amber bead

Discovered in relation to a broch.

A second, probable, grave at Gurness. Clearly disturbed.

024.3 Gurness, Mainland, Orkney
Date of recovery: c. 1930
Assumed gender: male

Discovered in relation to a broch.

Artifacts:
O172 – shield boss (Scandinavian type)

An uncertain weapon burial.

024.4 Gurness, Mainland, Orkney
Date of recovery: c.1930
Assumed gender: male

Discovered in relation to a broch.

Artifacts:
O173 – shield boss (Scandinavain type)

An uncertain weapon burial.

024.5 Gurness, Mainland, Orkney
Date of recovery: 1935
Assumed gender: female

Discovered in relation to a broch.

Artifacts:
O174 – linen smoother
O175 – CA balance
O176 – Spindle whorl/ bead (jet)
O177 – Whetstone
O178 – 3 frags. Iron ore (nails/rivets?)

Human bone was recovered from the Ditch, but there is no evidence that associates the artifacts and the human bones directly.

025 Skaill, Mainland, Orkney
Date of recovery: 1888
Assumed gender: male

Cist burial.

Artifacts:
O179 – spearhead
O180 – comb & comb case
O181 – knife
O182 – whetstone (small)
O183 – 'iron rod'
O184 – iron nail/rivet
O185 – stone disc
O186 – animal bone (horse, bird, fish)

A cist burial, 1.8m x 0.66m high. Orientated NW-SE with the skull in the west corner. Small animal bones were laid close to the skull (bird and fish) and a possible horse leg bone.

026 Lyking, Mainland, Orkney
Date of recovery: before 1870
Assumed gender: male

Mound.

Artifacts:
O187 – spearhead
O188 – comb
O189 – strap buckle

These was first published by Brøgger (1929, p. 112 & 130), who used Grieg's notes. He states that they were found in a 'tumulus' and contained 'burnt bone'. This leaves the suggestion of a probable cremation grave, which would be one of the few in given area.

027 Birsay Village, Mainland, Orkney
Date of recovery: before 1863
Assumed gender: male

Cist grave. Discovered beside a church.

Artifacts:
O190 – ringed pin

Vague record of artefact O190. Was supposedly found 'sticking through the back part of a human skull near the Earl's Palace, Birsay'. Originally ignored by Grieg (1940), but strongly suggests a burial context. Graham-Campbell & Batey (1998, p. 57) described the artefact as belonging to a stone cist that had eroded out of the shore by the church.

028 Nr. Rendall Manse', Mainland, Orkney
Date of recovery: before 1861
Assumed gender: male

Artifacts:
O191 – shield boss (? Iron cup)
O192 – drinking horn terminal
O193 – 'fragments of iron'

Suggested by Graham-Campbell & Batey that 'what must have been a male burial', discovered near the Evie and Rendall (1998, p. 61). The iron cup has previously been interpreted as a shield boss. The concluding interpretation is still unclear.

029 Oxtro, Mainland, Orkney
Date of recovery: 1847 (?)
Assumed gender: ?

Broch (multiphase).

Artifacts:
O194 – ringed pin

Oxtro is a multiphase site which is mainly dominated by a broch. The site also contained a cist of unknown date. Artifacts from Roman Iron Age was also discovered. Supposedly it was a Picitsh symbol stone there too, but this is lost. Interpreted as a Christian Norse site, suggested by Graham-Campbell & Batey (1998, p. 61).

030 Stenness, Mainland, Orkney
Date of recovery: 1902
Assumed gender: ?

Lying over older structure.

Artifacts:
O195 – ringed pin

An unburnt burial was discovered on top of a perished building. The burial was 0.6m beneath the surface. The burial had previously already been disturbed. No further information is provided about the burial.

031 Unknown site, Sandwick, Mainland, Orkney

Date of recovery: unknown
Assumed gender: ?

Artifacts:
O196 – ringed pin

Within mound.

An individual mound which contained a skeleton and an artefact. Directly compared to burial 030. Each provide equal vague descriptions.

032 Howe of Howe, Mainland, Orkney
Date of recovery: 1860s
Assumed gender: female

In relation to a broch and a chambered cairn.

Artifacts:
O197 – linen smoother

A large mound circa 40m in diameter and 4.5m high was discovered at the site before excavations in 1978. The linen smoother was presumably found in the upper levels of the mound. An Iron Age ringfort had been overlain by a broch, and then overlain by six phases of Pictish occupation. Two megalithic tombs were also found at the site. The artefact (T295) remains the only artefact that can be dated to the Viking Age from the site.

Dublin

172 Finglas, Dublin

Date of recovery: August 2004

Assumed gender: female

Earth-cut? Discovered close to a Monastic enclosure.

Artifacts:

D198 – two oval brooches (double-shelled)

D199 – bracelet (unknown material)

D200 – bone comb

The body of a female of approximately 25-35 years of age was discovered during an excavation at the monastic boundary at Finglas. It is still unclear if the body was left outside or inside the enclosure. A presumable date is set on the burial, based on the brooches, which is c.AD950.

173 Dollymount, Dublin

Date of recovery: before 1872

Assumed gender: male

Artifacts:

D201 – sword (double-edged; bent)

The sword was sold to the Royal Irish Academy in 1872. Supposedly 'recovered from the sand at Dollymount'. Only reference available is Bøe (1940, p. 85).

174 Phoenix Park, Dublin

Date of recovery: before 1848

Assumed gender: female

Artifacts:

D202 – two oval brooches (single-shelled)

D203 – modified gilt bronze plate/brooch

The brooches imply a ninth century date. Rather confusing aspects as to how and why these finds were linked to Phoenix Park and in what context.

175.1 Parnell Square, Dublin

Date of recovery: before 1763

Assumed gender: male

A discovery of many unaccompanied graves.

Artifacts:

D204 – sword

D205 – spearhead

D206 – 'numberless' rivets

Confusing amount of 'vast quantities of human bones' discovered during the new layout of the 'New-Gardens' (centre of Parnell Square). Supposedly extended from Cavendish and Grandby Rows. Providing clear evidence of the battle at Clontarf. A number of trenches were found, human bones, and the artifacts just named (T306-308). Interpreted as evidence

for a minimum of one grave, which is taken account for in this thesis.

175.2 Parnell Square, Dublin
Date of recovery: before 1763
Assumed gender: male

Artifacts:
D207 – sword (double-edged)
D208 – shield boss ('helmet')

The second burial at Parnell Square. Discovered during the layout of Parnell Square North in 1761-1763. Walker (1818, p. 131), who provided the original record, states that two artifacts were found with 'several human bones'.

176.1 Islandbridge, Dublin
Date of recovery: 11th of February 1933
Assumed gender: male

Earth-cut? Perhaps in relation to an indigenous cemetery.

Artifacts:
D209 – sword (double-edged: 3 pieces)
D210 – spearhead
D211 – axehead
D212 – slotted object ('strike-a-light')
D213 – composite artefact (2 staples/handles & 4 rivets)

This burial was discovered during the construction of the War Memorial Park at Islandbridge. It has been suggested that the skeleton was resting in a north-south position, but this is not confirmed.

Elisabeth O'Brien suggested that a vast number of unfurnished burials were discovered at the same site, and further suggests that it might have been an indigenous cemetery (1998, p. 38-39).

176.2 Islandbridge, Dublin
Date of recovery: 11th of February 1933
Assumed gender: male

Earth cut? Perhaps in relation to an indigenous cemetery.

Artifacts:
D214 – sword (double-edged: broken & bent)

The artefact was found roughly in the same area as 176.1 but has been interpreted as a separate grave. Obviously quite disturbed.

176.3 Islandbridge, Dublin
Date of recovery: 12th of October 1934
Assumed gender: male

Earth-cut. Perhaps in relation to an indigenous cemetery.

Artifacts:
D215 – sword (double-edged; broken)
D216 – spearhead

A burial orientated north-south with the head to the south. The skeleton has been identified as male (177-180 cm tall).

176.4 Islandbridge, Dublin
Date of recovery: 14th of April 1934
Assumed gender: ?

Coffin? Perhaps in relation to an indigenous cemetery.

Artifacts:
D217 – cattle jawbone

A partially disturbed grave, but originally buried in a wooden coffin.

176.5 Islandbridge, Dublin
Date of recovery: 1st of May 1934
Assumed gender: ?

Coffin? Perhaps in relation to an indigenous cemetery.

Artifacts:
D218 – teeth (one cattle, one horse)

The two teeth were found near the feet of the skeleton. The possibility of the teeth as accidental is probable, but cannot be proven.

177.01 Kilmainham, Dublin
Date of recovery: c. 1785
Assumed gender: male

Cist? Discovered in relation to a Christian site.

Artifacts:
D219 – sword (double-edged)

Rather confusing records of the probable burial. Noted by Walker (1818, p. 131) as a Templar sword, whilst Petrie (1832, p. 68-69) noted the sword to be found in the cemetery of Bully's Acre. Likely two different swords noted, but it might also refer to a single weapon grave.

177.02 Kilmainham, Dublin
Date of recovery: 1832-1833
Assumed gender: male

Discovered in relation to a Christian site.

Artifacts:
D220 – sword (double-edged)

Assumably found under similar circumstances as 177.03, but several years earlier. Suggested to have been found in association with human remains, but this

cannot be confirmed. The sword is also unidentifiable today.

177.03 Kilmainham, Dublin
Date of discovery: 1836-1837
Assumed gender: male

Earth-cut? Discovered in relation to a Christian site.

Artifacts:
D221 – sword (double-edged)
D222 – spearhead
D223 – axehead
D224 – shield boss
D225 – ringed pin

A skeleton discovered with a variety of weapons and ornaments. These artifacts clearly represent an additional grave, but no further information is available.

177.04-05 Kilmainham, Dublin
Date of recovery: November 1845
Assumed gender: 2 males

Cist burials. Discovered in relation to a Christian site.

Artifacts:
D226 – two swords
D227 – spearhead

Discovered during the construction of a railway cutting north-west of the Royal Hospital and south of Islandbridge. Sent to the RIA but were not cataloged until after 1847 and were therefore in relation to the other artifacts that also arrived the IRA at a later time. Listed in this thesis as 177-06-15.

177.06-15 Kilmainham, Dublin
Date of recovery: November – December 1845
Assumed gender: 9 males and 1 female

Cist burials. Discovered in relation to a Christian site.

Artifacts:
D228 – nine swords (7 double edged; of which 2 bent; 2 broken; 4 single-edged)
T229 – eight spearheads (2 bent) & 1 ferrule
D230 – two axeheads
D231 – nine shield bosses (2 Scandinavian; damaged; & 8 Dublin type)
D232 – nine arrows
D233 – five socketed knives
D234 – oval brooch (linked to 177.18-25)
D235 – equal-armed brooch
D236 – Quatrefoil brooch
D237 – Three ringed pins (1 pin only)
D238 – CA buckle
D239 – Enamel mount (insular)
D240 – four gaming pieces

D241 – five tanged knives
D242 – Misc. iron objects (3)

This is the most extensive assemblage of Viking Age graves and grave goods ever recorded as a single assemblage in the British Isles. However, this is also the most poorly recorded. Many of the artifacts are listed in two unpublished cataloges. Many of these artifacts also made their way into private collections. This proves as evidence for at least 9 weapon burials and 1 brooch burial, although it might be more. It has been suggested that they were buried in cists, but this cannot be proven. This thesis follows Harrison's interpretation and choses to set a minimum of 10 burials, even though it might be more.

177.16 Kilmainham, Dublin
Date of recovery: September 1845
Assumed gender: female

Earth-cut. Discovered in relation to a Christian site.

Artifacts:
D243 – twelve beads (9 extant: 2 amber, 7 glass)

A skeleton was discovered with its feet to the east. The beads entered the RIA collection in 1881. It was discovered a number of other artifacts near the skeleton, but they are most likely to come from another grave. Presumably a weapon grave nearby and has been grouped as 177.15 & 177.16. No further information available.

177.17 Kilmainham, Dublin
Date of recovery: September 1845
Assumed gender: male

Discovered in relation to a Christian site.

Artifacts:
D244 – sword (pommel and upper guard only)
D245 – spearhead

The artifacts were supposedly found so close to the other grave in the same area (177.15), that they were interpreted as to belong to the previous grave. It is more likely that they represent weapon burials in the area and has been interpreted separately. Probably disturbed at an earlier date.

177.18 Kilmainham, Dublin
Date of recovery: September 1845
Assumed gender: male

Discovered in relation to a Christian site.

Artifacts:
D246 – sword (broken)

Discovered as ‘broken fragments of a sword’. Seen as the other swords in this assemblage has been of Viking Age origin, this has also been interpreted as such.

177.19-26 Kilmainham, Dublin
Date of recovery: c. 1845
Assumed gender: 7 males and 1 female

Discovered in relation to a Christian site.

Artifacts:
D247 – six swords (5 double-edged, 1 single-edged; 2 broken)
D248 – one sword pommel
D249 – four spearheads (1 bent)
D250 – three sockets (possibly spearheads)
D251 – three shield bosses (all Dublin type)
D252 – three oval brooches (single-shell: one partner of 177.06-15)
D253 – penannular brooch (CA)
D254 – chain (CA)
D255 – two beads
D256 – roasting spit / seiðstafr
D257 – whalebone plaque
D258 – antler burr
D259 – byzantine seal

These artifacts represent discoveries that might be linked to railway construction at Kilmainham or to the general area of Kilmainham during the mid-1840s. Many of the artifacts has belonged to several collectors, possibly with strong Kilmainham links. It provides further a poor level of detail and very little can be said about them.

177.27 Kilmainham, Dublin
Date of recovery: before April 1847
Assumed gender: male

Discovered in relation to a Christian site.

Artifacts:
D260 – sword (double-edged)

This sword was purchased from William Thompson by the RIA (Harrison, 2008, p. 658). No further information is available.

177.28-29 Kilmainham, Dublin
Date of recovery: before November 1848
Assumed gender: 2 males

Discovered in relation to a Christian site.

Artifacts:
D261 – two swords (double-edged)
D262 – spearhead
D263 – shield boss
D264 – seven arrows

Artifacts (described as ‘antique remains’ by Richard Young (1848, p. 219) were found in association with skeletons. Interpreted as at least two individuals.

177.30-31 Kilmainham, Dublin
Date of recovery: before January 1849
Assumed gender: 1 male and 1 female

Discovered in relation to a Christian site.

Artifacts:
D265 – sword hilt (upper guard?)
D266 – conical mount (for shield boss?)
D267 – 13 beads (9 glass, 3 steatites, 1 ceramic)
D268 – linen smoother
D269 – CA ban (brass hoop)

Vague descriptions of this burial are present (Harrison, 2008, p. 660). Hard to interpret. Mostly based on RIA records.

177.32 Kilmainham, Dublin
Date of recovery: before the 21st of July 1851
Assumed gender: male

Discovered in relation to a Christian site.

Artifacts:
D270 – sword (double-edged)

A poorly preserved sword was purchased by Henry Swift. He, supposedly, had discovered it during a gravel extraction at Kilmainham. It was discovered another sword in the same pit as this burial, four years earlier (listed as 177.26). The weapon burial this sword (T372) represent must be one of the southernmost at the Kilmainham complex.

177.33 Kilmainham, Dublin
Date of recovery: before the 10th of December 1860
Assumed gender: male

Discovered in relation to a Christian site.

Artifacts:
D271 – sword (single-edged)
D272 – spearhead
D273 – CA balance
D274 – misc. iron fragments (14)
D275 – 'faunal remains'

Some fragments of skull have survived to the present day, with an assemblage of animal bones. None of the 'misc' fragments can be identified.

177.34-35 Kilmainham, Dublin
Date of recovery: august 1860
Assumed gender: 2 males

Discovered in relation to a Christian site.

Artifacts:
D276 – sword (double edged)
D277 – sword (single-edged)

D278 – spearhead
D279 – shield boss (Dublin type)
D280 – knife (tanged)
D281 – gilt CA spoon
D282 – CA sheet (fragmentary)

Artifacts found with numerous fragments of bone, mostly human. This has later been lost. It has been argued that the amount of bones suggests several unfurnished graves at the site, but this has not been confirmed.

177.36-39 Kilmainham, Dublin
Date of recovery: before October 1866
Assumed gender: 3 males

Earth-cut. Discovered in relation to a Christian site.

Artifacts:
D283 – three swords (2 double-edged; 1 single-edged)
D284 – two spearheads
D285 – three shield bosses (1 Scandinavian, 2 Dublin type)
D286 – bridle (ring) bit
D287 – two weights
D288 – sickle
D289 – two hammers (1 large, 1 small)
D290 – whetstone (large)
D291 – shears
D292 – two spindle whorls
D293 CA fragments and mound
D294 – amber stud

Described by William Wilde (1866, p. 13-22) as artifacts from a 'battle site'. They were found in association with several skeletons, but none is available for further identification today. D291 & D292 suggests the presence of a female burial within the other weapon burials.

177.40-42 Kilmainham, Dublin
Date of recovery: before october1866
Assumed gender: 1 male and 2 females

Earth-cut. Discovered in relation to a Christian site.

Artifacts:
D295 – sword (double-edged) & scabbard guard
D296 – spearhead (Irish type?)
D297 – shield boss (Dublin type)
D298 – four oval brooches
D299 – beads (1 ceramic, 4 glass, 19 composite)
D300 – balance
D301 – two weights
D302 – needle case
D303 – two purses (CA mounts only)
D304 – penannular brooch ring
D305 – CA ringed pin
D306 – CA stick pin
D307 – two buckles
D308 – CA gilt miniature axe
D309 – CA ring

D310 – CA disc

The two pairs of brooches suggest a minimum of two female burials and the weapons indicates an additional male burial. Given the vast numbers of artifacts, it is possible that there are more graves present, but has not been interpreted as such due to the lack of identifications.

177.43 Kilmainham, Dublin
Date of recovery: before October 1866
Assumed gender: male

Earth cut. Discovered in relation to a Christian site.

Artifacts:
D311 – sword (double-edged)
D312 – spearhead
D313 – balance
D314 – six weights
D315 – tongs
D316 – crucible tongs
D317 – hammer
D318 – zoomorphic stick pin
D319 – buckle
D320 – steatite bead
D321 – zoomorphic mount

The artifacts listed could correspond to a pretty well-furnished weapon burial. If all of these artifacts are, in fact, from one single grave, then this would be the richest in the cemetery and one of the best furnished graves in Britain and Ireland.

177.44 Kilmainham, Dublin
Date of recovery: before October 1866
Assumed gender: male

Earth-cut. Discovered in relation to a Christian site.

Artifacts:
D322 – sword (hilt only)
D323 – spearhead
D324 – six knives
D325 – three iron tools
D326 – CA & wood composite artefact(s)
D327 – three CA rings
D328 – iron fragments (9)

It has been suggested that these artifacts might be in relation to the other graves, and not as a stand-alone burial. T322 suggests an individual burial and has been listed as such.

177.45-47 Kilmainham, Dublin
Date of recovery: before the 30th of October 1869
Assumed gender: 2 males and 1 female

Earth-cut. Discovered in relation to a Christian site.

Artifacts:

D329 – two swords (2 double-edged; 1 bent)
D330 – two spearheads (1 Dublin)
D331 – shield boss (Scandinavian)
D332 – arrowhead
D333 – two oval brooches
D334 – three knives (?)
D335 – tanged tool
D336 – 'strike-a-light'
D337 – box mount
D338 – amber brooch
D339 – CA ring

Probably the worst recorded of the Kilmainham groups. Unpublished records and diffuse placement of the burial leave little room for interpretation.

178 Cork Street, Dublin
Date of recovery: before 1842
Assumed gender: male

Artifacts:
T340 – sword (double-edged)

All that is known of the discovery of this artefact is that it was found during foundation digging in Cork street. The pommel of the sword is missing.

179 Bride Street, Dublin
Date of recovery: 1860
Assumed gender: male

Discovered in relation to a Christian site

Artifacts:
D341 – sword (double-edged; bent)
D342 – spearhead
D343 – shield boss (damaged; insular type)
D344 – iron spike/tool
D345 – bronze halberd
D346 – CA stick pin?

These artifacts were discovered with a human skull and acquired by the RIA in 1861.

180.1-2 College Green, Dublin
Date of recovery: c. 1819
Assumed gender: 2 males

Extant mound.

Artifacts:
D347 – two swords (1 double-edged; 1 single-edged)
D348 – four spearheads (3 insular; 1 uncertain)
D349 – shield boss (Irish Sea type)
D350 – tinned CA & amber buckle

Found under the site of the Royal Arcade. No direct references to human remains, but are still interpreted as grave goods. 150 years earlier, a cist filled with burnt and unburnt human remains and without grave

goods were discovered at the same site. It has been linked to Pictish origins.

180.3 College Green, Dublin
Date of recovery: c. 1850
Assumed gender: male

Extant mound?

Artifacts:
D351 – sword (double-edged?)
D352 – 'armour'

This burial is rather special. It was noted in 1855 by Richard Glennon (a nineteenth century dealer of antiquities) in a letter to Thomas Bateman that 'some years ago, there was found … a skeleton of a man of enormous size with a complete suit of armour ornamented with gold and a gold hilted sword' (Haliday, 1884, p. 155). Haliday noted himself that this ought to be the most valuable discovered in Ireland. The armor has not survived, but the sword was sent to the Royal Irish Academy and has survived.

180.4 College Green, Dublin
Date of recovery: 1855 or 1857
Assumed gender: male

Extant mound?

Artifacts:
D453 – shield boss (?)

Account of this burial is provided by Haliday (1884). A skeleton had been found at Suffolk Street and the skull had been stained by contact with metal. This provided the assumption that the skeleton had been buried in his armour. Interpreted as a warrior, due to the number of cuts on his forehead on the top of the head. The skeleton was orientated north and south, near a clay urn of bones. Suggestions has been made that the metal-rust staining the skull is probable evidence for a shield boss. Harrison (2008, p. 672) has interpreted it as such, which I follow in this thesis.

181 Kildare Street, Dublin
Date of recovery: 1885
Assumed gender: male

Artifacts:
D354 – sword (double-edged)

No information on the context of the sword is available. Could be either a ninth or tenth century date (Petersen type H). Still interpreted as a sword from burial.

182.1 South Great George's Street, Dublin
Date of recovery: 2003
Assumed gender: male

Artifacts:
D355 – shield (Irish Sea type), grip & rivets
D356 – knife

A total of four graves has been excavated at this site. Skeleton of a strong, young man. Aged 25-29 and 171 cm tall. Buried in an east-west position, with the head to the east. The feet were missing, and almost the entire left arm and has been suggested that the burial has been disturbed. Probably more grave goods were present, but due to disturbance it has been lost.

182.2 South Great George's Street, Dublin
Date of recovery: 2003
Assumed gender: male

Artifacts:
D357 – shield boss (possible, fragmentary)

Second burial excavated at this site. Close to the first (182.1). The skeleton was missing its legs, suggesting earlier disturbance to the burial. The body had been placed with the head to the northwest. Due to damaged skeleton, height could not be estimated. Identified as a male, aged 17-20.

182.3 South Great George's Street, Dublin
Date of recovery: 2003
Assumed gender: male

Artifacts:
D358 – animal bone (cattle, horse, dog, goat/sheep and pig)

Third burial at the site. Only the legs were present, but placement suggest that the body had been laid in a north-south with the head to the south. Estimated as a young adult male. Less than twenty-five years of age.

182.4 South Great George's Street, Dublin
Date of recovery: 2003
Assumed gender: male

Artifacts:
D359 – comb (Scandinavian type)
D360 – knife & knife-guard (?)
D361 – bone pin (zoomorphic)

Last out of four burials excavated. This is the burial that was most intact. Skull and lower legs were missing. Interpreted as a young man aged 17-25 and 176 cm high. Buried with his head to the west.

183 Aylesbury Road, Donnybrook, Dublin

Date of recovery: 1879

Assumed gender: male

Discovered within an extant (Christian?) cemetery.

Artifacts:

D362 – sword (double-edged, broken)

D363 – spearhead

D364 – three arrowheads

This is yet another quite special burial. During the constructing of a house, a mound 30.5 m in diameter and 0.9 m high was excavated north to south. The excavation revealed an estimated number of 600-700 individuals in three distinct layers. In the upper levels, on the north side of the mound was the skeleton of an enormous man, which had been buried north-south. Allegedly buried with the bodies of two women at his feet. The site has been interpreted as a massacre, but in later years, O'Brien (1992, p. 170-173) has argued that it might represent a small Christian cemetery, which a Scandinavian Viking Age burial has been placed.

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Martine Kaspersen

Identity in migrations

NTNU
Norwegian University of
Science and Technology