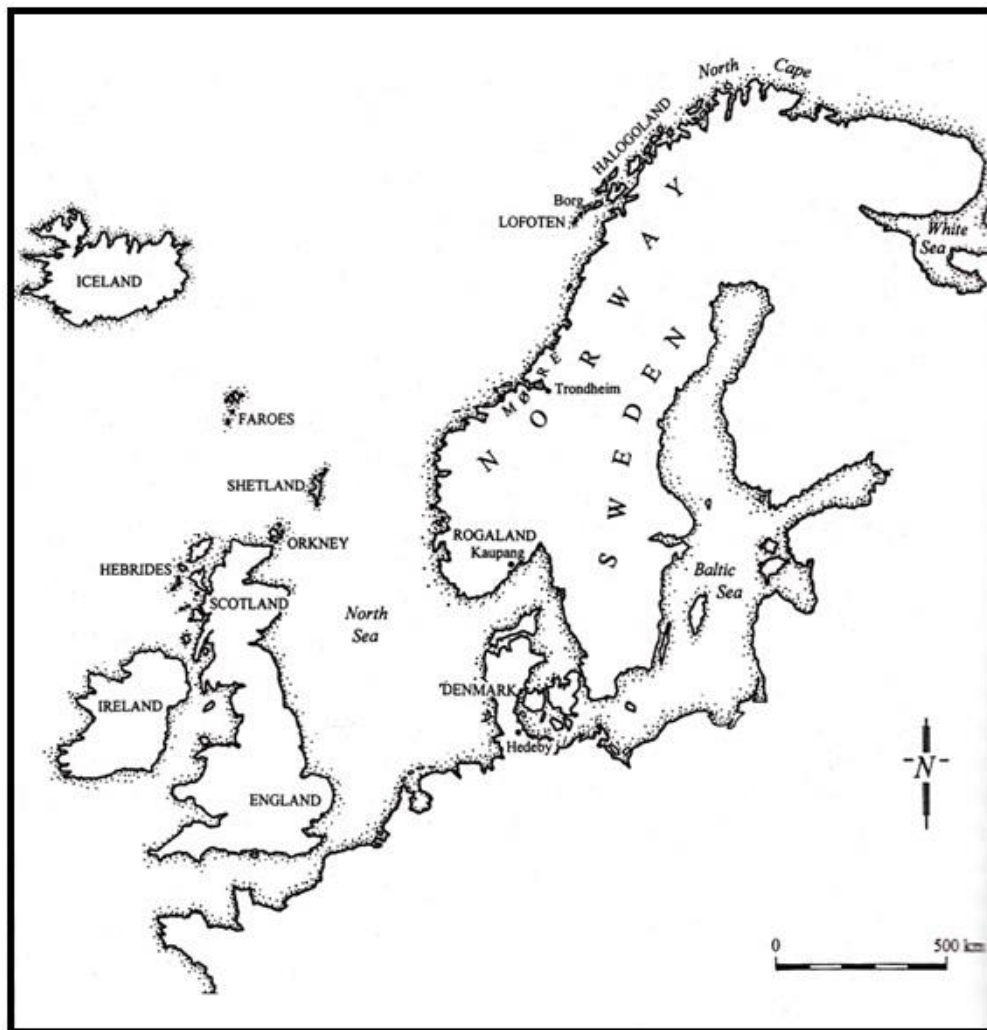


Migration and the creation of identity in the Viking diaspora:

A COMPARATIVE STUDY OF VIKING AGE FUNERARY RITES FROM NORTHERN SCOTLAND AND MØRE OG ROMSDAL



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Cover illustration: Map of the North Sea region (after Graham-Campbell and Batey 1998:26).

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Chapter 1 Introduction

The Viking settlement of the North Atlantic has been a topic of interest among scholars from Scandinavia and the British Isles for several decades (e.g. Brøgger 1929; Shetelig 1940; Simpson 1954; Wainwright 1962). Accompanying the settlers were material culture, language, beliefs and practices distinctly different from those of local origin, and these aspects have therefore been interpreted as evidence of migration. Artefacts such as Viking combs, oval brooches, steatite vessels and traditions such as boat burials have been interpreted as expressions of Norse identity in the overseas settlements. These practices and the material culture used in them were not passive components of everyday life, however, but intimately connected to the construction of meaning. Instead of interpreting Norse material culture and traditions as simply being symbols of Norse identity, it will therefore be argued in this thesis that they play an active and highly significant role in creating this identity.

This thesis is concerned with how the circumstances of migration and settlement affect the construction and display of identity in funerary rituals. The pagan burials from northern Scotland have been examined by several archaeologists (e.g. Batey 1993; Crawford 1987:116-136; Eldjárn 1984; Graham-Campbell and Batey 1998:113-154; Owen 2004). However, apart from in relation to Christianisation, the focus has not generally been on how these graves differ from those in Scandinavia. They have simply been interpreted as the graves of pagan Norse men and women, but not as a factor in the moulding of gendered pagan Norse identities. It will be argued in this thesis that the circumstances of migration and settlement lead to a renegotiation of relations and identities, and that funerary rites are an important arena for this, as physical manifestations of homeland practices in a colonial landscape. This thesis will therefore examine the settlers' response to circumstances of migration and settlement in northern Scotland by comparing pagan burials there, with supposed homeland practices in Møre og Romsdal. There will be a focus on different aspects of social identity: ethnicity, gender and religion, as well as on how the past was utilised in a settlement context. This will allow for a wide-ranging discussion of how identity is affected by displacement. It is believed that this will highlight the importance of funerary rites for the creation of identity, and also increase our understanding of the Norse settlers in northern Scotland.

1.1 Aims

The aims of this thesis are hence twofold:

1. To explore how the circumstances of migration and settlement affect the display of identity in funerary rites.
2. To examine what this can tell about the Norse settlers in northern Scotland.

1.2 Methods

The aim of this thesis is to explore how the circumstances of migration and colonisation affects the display of identity in funerary rites and what this can tell us about Norse settlement in northern Scotland. The theoretical framework explaining how this thesis views funerary rites and the effect migration could have on these is described below. The purpose of this section is to outline the methods used to collect and examine the data, as well as exploring practical constraints. Firstly, however, there will be a brief explanation of the choice of Møre og Romsdal as the area for comparison.

Why Møre og Romsdal?

The Norse immigrants to northern Scotland are likely to have had a diverse background from different areas of Scandinavia, but western Norway stands out as an area with closer contacts to the Irish Sea region (e.g. Glørstad 2010:109-112). The choice of the burials from the municipalities of Rauma and Tingvoll in Møre og Romsdal to represent possible homeland practices was based on two factors. Firstly the Orkneyinga saga refers to the earls of Orkney as being of the Møre dynasty (Edwards and Pálsson 1981:26-27). This suggests that Møre og Romsdal might have been one possible emigration area. Secondly on the availability of the material. In her work on the Christianisation of Norway, Sæbjørg Nordeide (2011) includes a complete catalogue of the graves from Rauma and Tingvoll, and therefore provides a useful starting point. Rauma and Tingvoll are, however, not understood as the real homeland in the sense that this was where all the settlers came from, and that the burials here hence represent the way the settlers would have buried their dead before migration. Burial traditions in Scandinavia were extremely diverse, and it is certainly possible that the results of this thesis would have been different if another area in Norway was chosen. Møre og Romsdal is, however, a possible point of origin, and differences in funerary rites between here and northern Scotland will highlight how identity can be constructed in a colonial setting.

The data

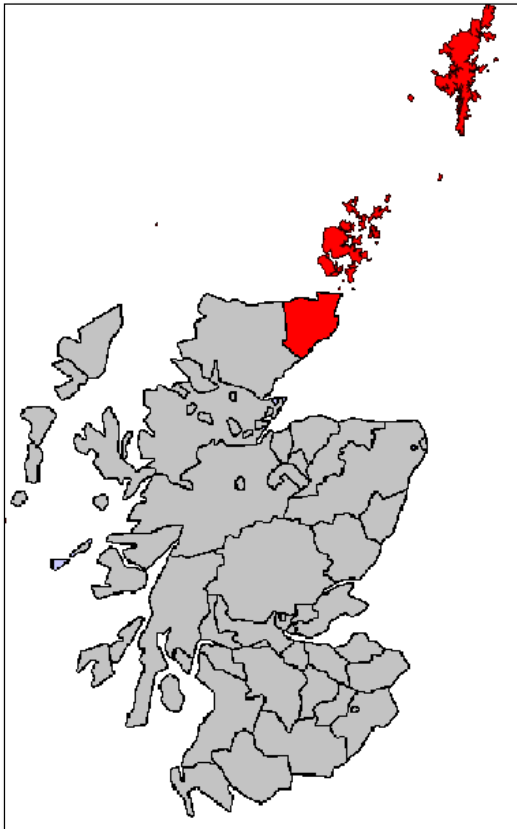


Figure 1 Map of Caithness, Orkney and Shetland in northern Scotland (after Wikipedia 2014a)

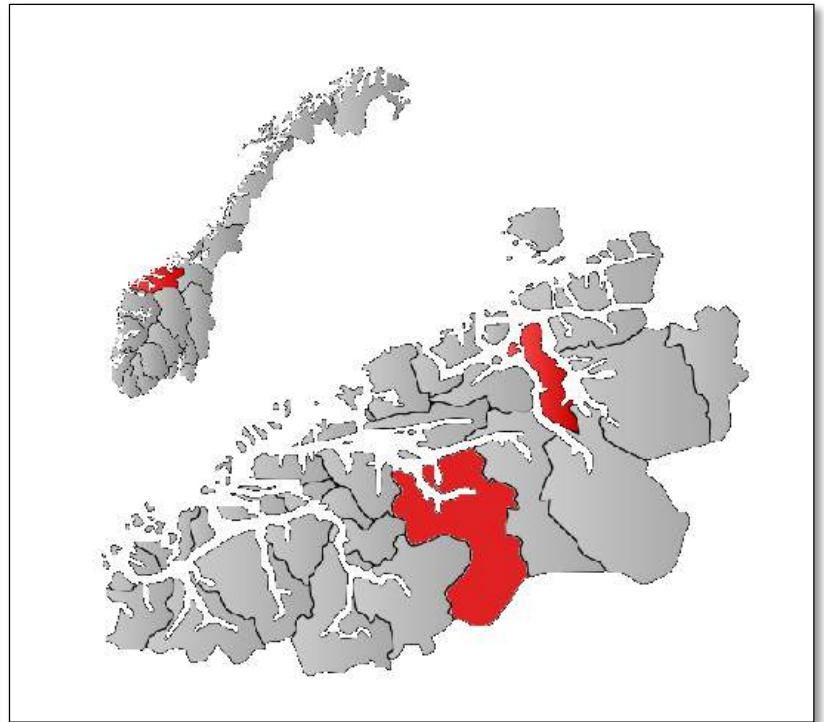


Figure 2 Map of Rauma and Tingvoll in Møre og Romsdal (after Wikipedia 2014b)

The material of this thesis consists of pagan graves from Caithness, Orkney and Shetland, which were the main components of the former earldom of Orkney (see fig. 1), and the municipalities of Rauma and Tingvoll in the principality of Møre og Romsdal in Norway (see fig. 2). The majority of the pagan graves from northern Scotland were excavated in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, usually not by professionals and as a result, they are often insufficiently published. A complete catalogue of the Viking graves of Scotland by James Graham-Campbell and Caroline Patterson is still awaiting publication, but there are a number of older accounts. The most exhaustive is Sigurd Grieg's *Viking Antiquities in Scotland* (1940), containing an overview of all the pagan graves then known. This work has been an important starting point for this thesis, but it does contain errors and uncertainties, so where possible the original accounts and newer publications have been consulted. James Graham Campbell and Colleen Batey's (1998) archaeological survey of Viking Age Scotland contains reviews of, and references to, several of the graves from northern Scotland, and this has been a valuable foundation for further study. Together, these two works contain references to most of the graves

from northern Scotland, although a couple have been discovered through references in other works.

Part of the reason for the choice of Rauma and Tingvoll for comparison was, as mentioned, their inclusion in Sæbjørg Nordeide's (2011) work on the Christianisation of Norway. Her catalogue contains all the graves from the two municipalities, though as her focus is slightly different from that of the present thesis, it has been necessary to examine the entries for the graves and their artefacts in the online museum catalogue UNIMUS. A visit to the archives of Vitenskapsmuseet in Trondheim has also provided valuable information.

The information gathered was then stored in an Access database. It was decided that trying to incorporate as many features of funerary customs as possible would be beneficial for the study. During the work on the database, it became evident that some of the original plans would not be possible, however. The original accounts were mainly focused on the contents of the graves, not their shape, placement in the landscape or the spatial distribution of artefacts in the graves. Where possible these factors were included in the database, but the grave goods gained greatest significance as they were best recorded and therefore most suited for a comparative analysis. The database consisted of the following categories: location, grave form, cremation/inhumation, alignment, date, gender, and artefacts. The latter was subdivided into twelve subcategories: weapons, jewellery, personal equipment, domestic equipment, tools, farming equipment, trade equipment, equestrian equipment, symbolic artefacts, imports, boat equipment and miscellaneous. These categories made the material more manageable, and it was expected that they could reveal interesting similarities and differences in mortuary practices between the two areas. Not all categories have been of equal importance, as it has been difficult to discover the alignment of most of the graves, this has not been included in the analysis. This material could be examined in several ways, but due to this thesis focus on the change in display of identity and relations, there has been an emphasis on certain trends. With regards to ethnicity, the focus will be on artefacts and traditions with clear connections to Scandinavia or the insular area. The gendered display in burials will naturally be of great consequence to an examination of gender relations. Artefacts and traditions that could be interpreted as connected to religious beliefs will be crucial to the investigation of religion, and the relationship between the graves and the surrounding landscape will be of great importance to the chapter concerning the past in the past. The dating of the graves and artefacts is an important factor in all four chapters, although due to the difficulties in establishing accurate dates, this will not always be included in the analysis and discussion.

Practical constraints

The material from both areas has, in general, not been excavated to modern standards. This is the case for all but one of the graves from Møre og Romsdal and of the majority of the graves from northern Scotland. This means that the reports are uncertain at best, and it is highly likely that some of the graves contained more artefacts than included in the reports. It is also possible that some of the graves might not really be burials, but rather deposits of artefacts for other reasons. The uncertainty of the material is a restraining factor, and affects all the categories, most crucially perhaps the question of chronology. Very few of the graves have been dated scientifically, even in cases where such dating has been undertaken, the low accuracy of this analysis often results in a poor chronological control at the site. This makes it difficult to analyse changes in expressions of identity over time. An attempt at dividing the burials into sub groups by period has still been made, though it must be noted that the dates provided are not definite. The dating of the graves from northern Scotland is further discussed in chapter 3.1.

The total number of pagan Norse graves from northern Scotland is rather small, and the number that can be dated more closely than the Viking Age generally even smaller. This raises the question of whether or not the trends presented in the analysis and discussion are representative. Differential survival of archaeological material could also seriously affect the results of this thesis. There does not seem to be any significant differences in the survival of iron, but it is possible that skeletal material are more likely to survive in northern Scotland, and this might affect the results.

1.3 Theoretical framework

The theoretical framework for this thesis is mainly built on practice theory and theories of cultural memory. These theories and their relations to the expression of different parts of social identity including ethnicity, gender, religion, and also the use of the past will be discussed in separate chapters. As the purpose of this thesis is to examine changes in funerary rites, a theoretical explanation of how these are understood, and their relations to migration will be presented here.

Rituals and practice theory

The sociologist Pierre Bourdieu's theory of practice allows for both structure and agency, united through practice. The term habitus is important in this respect. Habitus is created by the

structures of a specific environment and it consists of durable, transposable frames of mind. Habitus is structuring in the sense that it creates normative ways of acting and thinking, but also structured, as it can change as a result of new experiences (Bourdieu 1977:77). This means that the habitus is both shaping and being shaped by social practice, and is in this way undergoing a continuous, albeit perhaps slow, transformation.

Funerary rites provide a proper way for communities to deal with the traumatic experience of the death of one of its members. They are not only concerned with the disposal of the corpse, but also with the uncertainties of what happens after death. Catherine Bell (2009:74, 89-93) has argued for seeing ritual as practise rather than an act and she includes practice theory in her understanding of the term. This involves seeing ritualization as both created by social structures at the same time as they are creating them. Seeing rituals as practice implies that they are not consciously learnt, but are transmitted through observation and participation, but might also change as a result of human agency or changing circumstances. This transformation of the habitus should be linked with another of Bourdieu's concepts, that of doxa. Bourdieu argues that established orders have a tendency to produce their own naturalisation, and this experience he terms doxa (Bourdieu 1977:164). The awareness of other established orders may then reveal this arbitrariness and will therefore involve a break with doxic knowledge. This can happen in relation to migration, especially long-distance migrations. This means that cultural practices and beliefs previously part of doxa become apparent as concrete objects in opposition to specific others (Jones 1996:95). A break with doxic knowledge might then lead to shifts towards either heterodoxy or orthodoxy. Orthodoxy seeks to reinstate the naturalised state of doxa and deny possible alternatives. In heterodoxy, the existence of a choice of different forms of knowledge is highlighted, and the arbitrariness of doxa might be emphasised for social change or personal gain (Bourdieu 1977:169; Naum 2008:66). With regards to funerary rites, migration can lead to a break with doxic knowledge, which could result either in attempt at orthodoxy or there might be an introduction of new doxic rules. Later generations, who have grown up in a culturally mixed environment may also acquire different knowledge, though the degree to which this happens is dependent on social and cultural rigidity (Naum 2008:187). Cultural mixing will be further explored in chapter 4.

Rituals and cultural memory

Although rituals are to a degree seen as habitual, they are qualitatively different from mundane actions in the sense that they are deployed in a particular circumstance. They are formalised

and repetitive and are permeated with a specific meaning so that the context becomes crucial to the performance and understanding of rituals (Bell 2009:90). Rituals are closely linked to tradition and in this way function as mediators of cultural memory. The Egyptologist and culture theoretician Jan Assmann (2008:113-114) contends that cultural memory is concerned with the early history and origin story of for example a tribe or a nation. Cultural memory is not the same as knowledge however, because memory is strongly related to the concept of identity; only what is relevant is remembered. Cultural memory is knowledge about oneself as part of a community, and remembering is therefore a crucial part of belonging. This form of memory is not living memory; therefore it has to be institutionalised. In oral societies, this formalisation of memory might take the form of narratives, poetry, material symbols and rituals (Assmann 2008:111-112).

Funerary rites can consequently be understood as a display of cultural memory and creating a sense of belonging among those who understand them. They are both social and sacred statements and because they are memorable events, they are mediators of the production and reproduction of cultural memory (Williams 2006:5). As remembrance is such an important aspect of cultural memory, it follows that it can also change according to context. Forgetting is a vital part of cultural memory, as not all traits of memory will be useful at all times, and some may even be restraining. With reference to migration, this process of forgetting could be accidental, as the immigrants may not have access to the institutionalised memory, either the material culture or cultural specialists. We should not discount the possibility of human agency in forgetting, though, if there was an attempt at creating new colonial identities the forgetting of cultural memory could be a necessity. Remembrance can also be deliberate, however; the maintenance of tradition through repetition of performance should be seen as a strategic act, not as a passive response (Naum 2008:181). The archaeologist Howard Williams (2006:11-12) therefore argues that funerary rites are ritual discourses and as much concerned with conflict as they are contexts for social integration. The memories evoked by mortuary rituals can be exclusive as well as inclusive.

Focusing on funerary rituals as practice also highlights the obvious and well-versed fact that the dead do not bury themselves. The grave, as discovered by archaeologists, is only the final stage of the process of death and the rituals meant to deal with it. 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 (Williams 2006:18). Some artefacts might be especially chosen to evoke cultural memories in addition to symbolising the identity of the dead and this will be further discussed in chapter 7. This might be a result of their object biography perhaps as heirlooms, exotic objects, their part in gift exchange, or perhaps supposed mythical origin (Williams 2006:40-41).

1.4 Structure of the thesis

This chapter has presented the aims and methodological and theoretical framework of the thesis. Chapter 2 will present a short review of the Norse settlement in northern Scotland in order to provide necessary background information. Chapter 3 will present the material, which will be discussed in chapters 4 through 7. It was decided to divide the analysis and discussion into four chapters; ethnicity, gender, religion and the past in the past. Each of these thematic chapters is headed by a short introduction, explaining how the topic is viewed in this thesis. This division of the discussion into four chapters was not done because these should be seen as separate parts of a person's identity, but because the history of research and theoretical perspectives vary considerably, and attempting to incorporate them in one chapter would have created considerable confusion. Chapter 8 contains a synthesis and conclusion bringing together the results of the various thematic chapters. A catalogue of the graves from both northern Scotland and Møre og Romsdal is presented in the appendix, along with maps demonstrating their spatial distribution.

Chapter 2 Setting the stage - Vikings in northern Scotland

The Viking settlement of northern Scotland is a contested issue, or rather consists of several contested issues. The purpose of this chapter is not to explore all aspects of Norse settlement in the northern Scotland, but rather to give a brief overview of some of the important debates that will be of use for the analysis and discussion. The debate about the date and scale of settlement will be presented, but the main focus will be on the relationship between the Norse and the Picts and the state of Christianity in northern Scotland in the Viking Period.

2.1 Date of settlement

Most scholars agree that the Norse settled in northern Scotland sometime in the ninth century, though several contend that there is no clear evidence of Norse settlement prior to AD 850 (Owen 2004). Part of the problem is secure dating of the excavated material, which has mainly been dated on stylistic and typological grounds. Though both settlements and burials have in more recent times been dated scientifically, these methods still produce long date ranges. Traditionally, the Norse settlements in northern Scotland have been dated from c 800 onwards, though as mentioned there are questions of whether this date is too early (Barrett 2003b:75-78; Morris 1996a:72). The date of the pagan graves from northern Scotland will be further discussed in chapter 3.1. There is evidence suggesting Norse presence in northern Scotland before 850, however. The hagiography *Life of St Findan*, probably dating to the 840s, tells of an Irish nobleman captured by the Vikings and taken to Orkney. Orkney is in the text described as lying next to the land of the Picts, which might suggest it was already under Norse, not Pictish, control (Barrett 2003b:77).

2.2 Scale of settlement

The scale of Norse settlement is of course also of great consequence. The general consensus is that the settlement was a large-scale undertaking, though this is mainly based on evidence from the medieval period. Norse language, architecture and material culture came to dominate the culture in the Northern Scotland to the extent that only a very small number of Pictish place names survive (e.g. Morris 1996a:73; Smith 2001:21). The difficulty is of course that these might have been coined significantly later than the Viking Age, and might reflect the extended period of contact between Norway and northern Scotland rather than the migration and

settlement in the Viking Period (Barrett 2003b:78). Changes in diet and a trend towards a more marine based economy in the Viking period is one of the clearest forms of evidence suggesting mass migration rather than an elite takeover, as argued by James H. Barrett (2001:152).

2.3 Norse-Pictish relations

The relationship between the native Picts and the incoming Norse is also highly disputed with suggestions ranging from peaceful assimilation to genocide (e.g. Bäcklund 2001; Smith 2001). As the pagan graves will be discussed later, this section is mainly concerned with the evidence from settlements. Unlike burials, several Viking settlements have been excavated by professionals, some rather recently, such as Skail, Pool, Quoygrew, Buckquoy and other settlements around the Bay of Birsay. Just as pagan Viking graves stand out in comparison with local Pictish burial traditions, Norse architecture was also significantly different from Pictish forms. Whereas the Norse settlers generally preferred rectilinear architecture, the Picts favoured curvilinear forms. The Norse settlers also generally favoured steatite over pottery, whereas the opposite was the case with the Picts (Barrett 2003b:82-83). One of the major problems regarding these settlements is the generally poor stratigraphy which makes the separation and dating of different phases difficult (Barrett 2003b:84-86). Jane Harrison (2013a:35; 2013b:140) has demonstrated that Norse settlements were often built on mounds, and rebuilt in the same place over centuries; some of these were even built on top of earlier Pictish settlements. At Skail, a Viking settlement was built on top of an earlier Pictish structure, with no evidence of an interphase period. The original excavator, Peter Gelling notes that there seems to be a complete break between the Pictish and Norse phases (cited in Buteux 1997:263). Simon Buteux (1997:263) who published the report after the death of Gelling argues that there is very little evidence for such a break, and Graham-Campbell and Batey (1998:170-171) notes that this might be a result of the lack of evidence for a demonstrably ninth century phase at Skail.

At both Buckquoy on Mainland Orkney and Pool on Sanday, there is evidence of an interphase period in the ninth century. At Pool, curvilinear structures survived well into the Viking period and were in use at the same time as rectilinear structures. Combs of both native and Norse types were found together, and Iron Age pottery traditions continued through to the later Norse period, though the amount declined significantly after the interphase period (Hunter, et al. 1993:275-280). At Buckquoy, a probable Viking period farmstead was placed on top of an earlier Pictish structure (Brundle, et al. 2003:96). Native styles pins and combs were discovered

in the Norse style building, as were also a few shards of pottery, although these might have been residual (Ritchie 1976-1977:186-187). The excavator Anna Ritchie (1976-1977:187) notes that Viking Period Buckquoy may have been aceramic, though there was no evidence of the use of steatite either. The later farmstead at the site also had native pins and potentially a native comb. The excavator concluded that Viking activity at Buckquoy took place in the ninth century, though the settlement was not scientifically dated (Ritchie 1976-1977:192). At the settlement of Old Scatness in Shetland, steatite vessels were discovered in the fill of a cellular figure-of-eight building (Barrett 2003b:87). Though steatite was locally available in Shetland, its occurrence is very rare in the Iron Age, and the vessels seemed to be of Norse type.

Not all the Viking settlements of Orkney suggest a degree of assimilation between Norse and natives such as at Pool, Buckquoy and Old Scatness. Crucially though, as with the settlement at Skail, no clear ninth century phase can be proven for these sites. The recently excavated settlement site of Quoygrew for instance, was clearly dominated by Scandinavian material culture, however the first phase there dates to the tenth century (Barrett 2012:275; Barrett and Gerrard 2012:48). Certain aspects of farming such as the culling of newborn calves and the mix of sheep, cattle and pigs seem to be of pre-Viking origin, indicating that not all Pictish tradition were forgotten (Barrett 2012:275).

Another study indicating a greater degree of contact between the Picts and Vikings is Steven Ashby's (2009) analysis of Pictish and early Viking combs from Scotland. The presence of Pictish combs made from Reindeer antler has previously been used to suggest a longer period of contact preceding the Viking Age, but as Ashby (Ashby 2009:21-22) demonstrates, none of these can be firmly dated to before the ninth century. This indicates that Pictish combs continued to be made in Viking Age Scotland, some with material imported from Scandinavia. Pictish combs made of reindeer can be found at settlements such as Buckquoy, Skail and the Brough of Birsay (Ashby 2009:29). It is worth noting that combs of early Viking type (Ashby type 5) are often found in Viking burials, which is not the case for combs of Pictish type. Ashby suggests this might reflect different communities using different combs or that the different types had different uses within the same community (Ashby 2009:24).

2.4 Christianity in northern Scotland before AD 995

In order to provide a backdrop for the discussion of pagan funerary rites, an overview of the state of Christianity is presented here. The Christianisation of the Norse in the northern Scotland

is a very complex topic. Partly because of the dearth of information about the situation before the arrival of the Norse. The question of the organisation of the Pictish church is far from resolved. Martin Carver (1998:29-37) has argued that Northern Pictland was not converted until the eighth century, and that the form of Christianity there was secular. He bases this argument on what he calls the only real evidence of Christianity from this area, the Class II symbol stones. Raymond Lamb (1995:23), however, has argued that there was a powerful, highly organised Roman Church in the Northern Scotland when the Norse arrived, though this is mainly based on place-name evidence. Northern Scotland contain a number of place names including a form of the word *par*. The *par* are mentioned in Icelandic traditions, and in these they appear to have left the islands when the Vikings arrived. They were seen as being from Ireland because of their books and bells. In Irish traditions there are references to hermits following the example of Columba, settling in remote places in the ocean (Lowe 2002:83). The documentary sources suggest that the *par* were hermits, however this view does not fit with other forms of evidence, especially in Orkney. Place names in Orkney and Shetland incorporating the term *par* are not found in remote areas, but rather in areas with prime agricultural land. It is highly unlikely that these lands would previously have been unused, and it is therefore difficult to see the *par* as hermits (Thomson 2007:515). It would seem that the *par* were involved in missionary and pastoral activities, but whether they can be seen in a monastic context is not certain. Lamb (1995:23) interprets the *par* place names as evidence of a reality accepted by the incoming Norse, and the evidence of the documentary sources as demonstrating that there was a powerful community of clergy in the Northern Scotland. Both Lamb (1993, 1995) and Peder Gammeltoft (2004) argue that the placename evidence indicates that the *par* were an important part of the community in northern Scotland, in order for so many places to be named after them, reflecting an extended period of contact between the Norse and the *par*.

The *Historia Norvegie*'s account of the *par* appears to be highly speculative, however, referring to the *par* as African Jews, indicating that they knew very little about the pre-Norse Church in the 12th century (Lowe 2002:84). William Thomson (2007:520) has also pointed out that the places with *par*-names are not found belonging to estates of the later medieval Church, but rather connected to estates known to have belonged to the earls. This would suggest that there was not a continuity of a strong Church in Orkney, if there ever was one. Many of the *par*-names are found in close proximity to early Pictish Christian sculpture, implying the Norse might have been referring to places known to have been associated with Christianity, although perhaps without any form of continuity (Fisher 2002). This suggests that there was

little continuity of Christianity in the Northern Scotland as very little could be remembered about the pre-Norse Church.

The archaeology does not support the idea of a strong Church in northern Scotland, as few religious buildings have been discovered. The few buildings believed to have been Pictish monasteries have later been interpreted by Christopher D. Morris (2003:306) as early Norse chapels. Christian stone sculpture is probably the main class of material that has been used for evidence of continued Christianity after the Norse takeover in the northern Scotland. The problem with the stone sculpture, however, is the dating. The key argument hinges on the dating of the Bressay stone, which was believed to include a Norse loan-word, 'dattr'. However, this interpretation has later been proven uncertain (Smith 2001:10-13). Without this crucial point, the dating of the stone sculpture might well prove to be earlier than the Viking period, but it is unlikely that this debate will ever be settled (Barrett 2003a:209).

The Life of St Findan has previously been mentioned in regards to the dating of Norse settlement, but it is also of importance with regards to Christianity. Findan was captured by Vikings, but managed to escape from Orkney, which was said to lie close to the land of the Picts, to an Irish-speaking bishop. It has been suggested that this bishop might have been based on Papa Westray in Orkney, but as Brian Smith (2003:147-148) points out, somewhere on mainland Scotland is more likely. James Barrett (2003a:218) has suggested that this bishop, if the text is historically accurate, might have been a product of the Irish-speaking Vikings of the Western Isles rather than the Picts. This might suggest a Christian presence during the pagan period in northern Scotland. It is not impossible that different religions were practiced in Orkney at the same time, and a bishop, especially an Irish-speaking bishop, need not indicate the survival of a Pictish Romanised Church. It is possible that some Norse settlers may have converted and that they were using this new religion in a competition for ideological power. It is, however, very difficult to determine the historicity of *The Life of St Findan* as there are no other forms of evidence clearly supporting it. The text does suggest an interesting possible scenario for the religious situation in ninth century northern Scotland however.

The strongest evidence for Christian practice before the traditional date of conversion is probably the presumed Christian chapels at Newark bay, and the Brough of Deerness, both in Orkney, and Kebister in Shetland. The first two have, based on numismatic evidence, been dated to the tenth century (Morris 1996a:192-196). At the Brough of Deerness, a worn coin of Eadgar (959-975) was found overlaying a wooden chapel (Barrett 2003a:215). At Newark Bay, coins of Eadred (946-955) and Anlaf Sithricsson (941-944 and 948-952) provide a terminus

post quem for the chapel. The cemetery adjacent to the chapel was in use in Pictish time, but there is evidence of reuse from the mid tenth century at the latest (Barrett 2003a:218). The presumed chapel at Kebister has been dated based on two graves found in close proximity and on the same alignment as the chapel. Both graves were east-west aligned, in wooden coffins and without grave goods. Only one of the graves was well enough preserved to provide wood for radiocarbon dating, and this provided a date range of AD 890-1020 (Owen, et al. 1999:290). Both the graves and the chapel seem to indicate a date before the traditional point of conversion in AD 995. Based on their rectilinear architecture, the chapels have been interpreted as Norse rather than Pictish, and similar structures have been found in other parts of the Norse diaspora, such as Greenland and Iceland (Owen, et al. 1999:292). The chapels and graves provide significant evidence for Christianity being practiced in the Northern Scotland in the late tenth century at the latest, and suggest this is Norse rather than Pictish. In addition, the construction of chapels must have been expensive, suggesting the people erecting them were landholders of importance.

On the whole, the evidence for Christianity before the traditional point of conversion seems to suggest that if there ever was a strong Church in northern Scotland, it appears not to have survived the Norse settlement. The lack of knowledge about the *pagar*, the possible twelfth century origin of the place names, the discontinuity in landholdings between the supposed Pictish Church and the later medieval one, the Irish-speaking bishop in *The Life of St Findan*, the Norse chapels rather than Pictish monasteries all seem to suggest that there was no strong church in the northern Scotland in the pagan Norse period. This does not necessarily imply that there were no Christians there, and that the Norse might have been converted by Christian Picts is most certainly a possibility, although this does not appear to have been an organised affair.

Chapter 3 Material

The material for this thesis consists of 143 graves, 50 of these are from Caithness, Orkney and Shetland in northern Scotland, while the remaining 93 are from the municipalities of Rauma and Tingvoll in the principality of Møre of Romsdal in Norway. Each of the graves is described in the catalogue with focus on gender, grave form, dating and grave goods. The purpose of this chapter is to present some trends in the material that will be of importance for the following analysis and discussion. There will be a focus on dating, gender, grave goods, grave form and placement in relation to other archaeological features.

3.1 Dating

With the exceptions of the graves from Scar (Cat.Nos.29-31) and the grave from Birsay Bay (Cat.No.15) all the graves from both areas have been dated purely on stylistic or typological grounds and most of the graves do therefore have long date ranges. The graves have been divided into six periods, before Viking Age (c. 560-800), early Viking Age (c.700-900), mid Viking Age (800-1000), late Viking Age (c. 900-1050), the Viking Age generally (800-1050) and the late Iron Age generally (c. 560-1050). The chronological distribution of the graves is presented in figure 3. None of the graves from northern Scotland have been dated to the late Iron Age or before the Viking period. The graves dated to the Viking Age or late Iron Age generally lack artefacts possible to date, either because of a dearth of information about these or because they were common over an extended period of time. From both northern Scotland and Møre og Romsdal, there are many graves that cannot be dated to any specific period, which is a restraining factor. It is clear though, that there are some obvious differences. There are, as expected, no graves in northern Scotland dated to before the Viking Age, and there are only two graves (4%) that can be dated to the late Viking Age, compared to 12 (13%) from Møre og Romsdal. As the date range of the graves from northern Scotland are of importance for the present thesis, the earliest and the last graves will be presented.

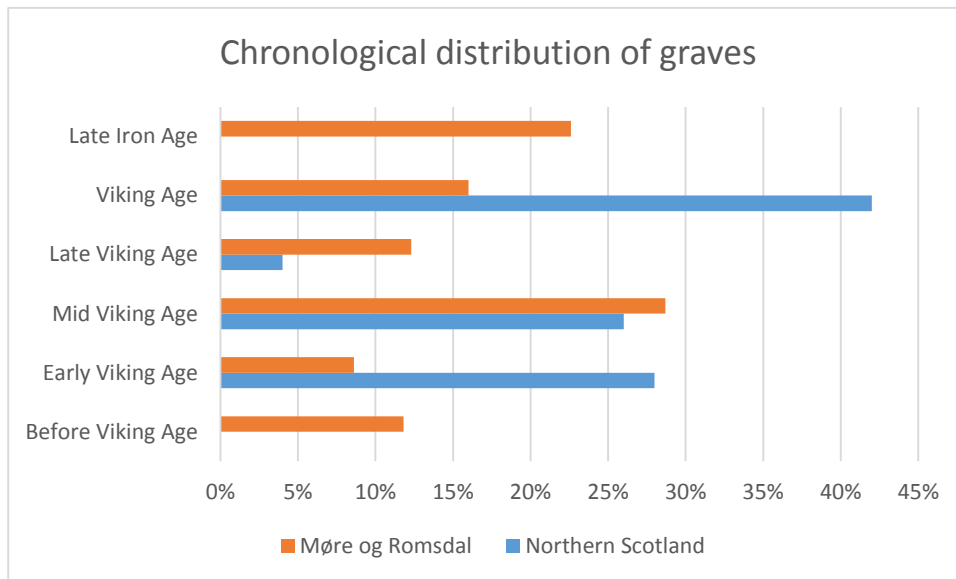


Figure 3 The chronological distribution of graves from northern Scotland and Møre og Romsdal.

Two burials in particular have been discussed as belonging to the early ninth century; Clibberswick on Unst in Shetland (Cat.No.49) and the Links of Skaill on Mainland Orkney (Cat.No.12). At Clibberswick, a pair of oval brooches were found alongside a trefoil brooch. These oval brooches are of the Berdal type, the earliest of the Viking Age oval brooches, dating to the first half of the ninth century (Graham-Campbell and Batey 1998:154). They are however, of type R 646, which is variation D, the latest of the Berdal brooches, indicating that they belong to the latter part of this date range, and could also have been deposited after the middle of the century (Grieg 1940:104; Petersen 1928:21-22). A.W. Brøgger (1930:160) writes that the Clibberswick brooches are of type R 654, though this seems to have been an error. The Skaill grave contains a spearhead that Sigurd Grieg (1940:82) claims recalls spearheads of the sixth and seventh century in Norway. Brøgger (1930:182-183) agrees that the spearhead is of an early date suggesting sometime between the sixth and eighth century. Haakon Shetelig (1954:101-102), however, is not entirely convinced by such an early date as the outline of the spearhead is obscured by rust and the shape of the blade is different from the early examples Brøgger was referring to. Brøgger (1930:182-183) also argues that the comb discovered with the spearhead is of an early type and that the Skaill burial represents a Norse immigrant before 800. The form and length of the comb (see fig. 4) is more in keeping with Ashby's type 6, however, which would suggest a tenth century date (Ashby 2011), and this graves is therefore regarded here as late Viking Age.

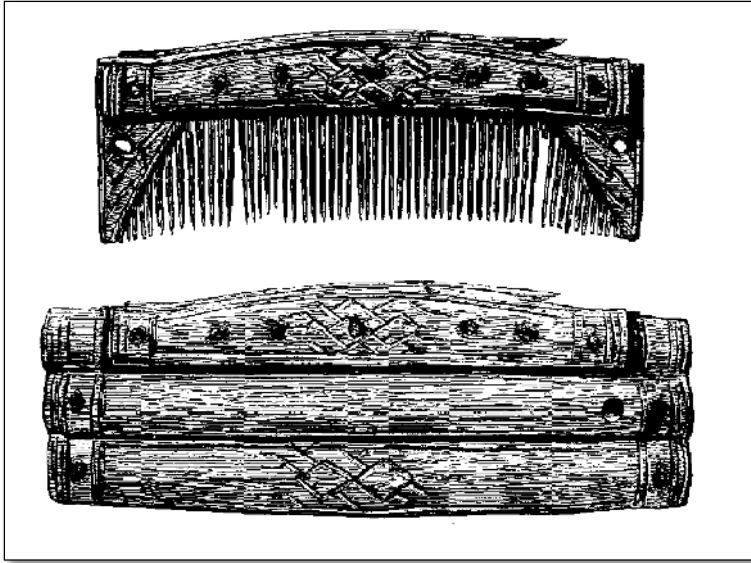


Figure 4 Comb and comb-case from Links of Skail, Cat.No.12, (from Watt 1887-1888:284).

The graves from Clibberswick and Links of Skail are the graves most frequently referred to as early Viking Age, but there are a couple more examples that could likewise belong to the first half of the ninth century. One of these is a single shield-boss apparently found in a grave mound in an unknown place in Orkney (Cat.No.17) (Grieg 1940:102). The shield-boss is according to Grieg of type R 564 which Jan Petersen dates to the first part of the ninth century (Grieg 1940:102; Petersen 1919:47). Several oval brooches of type R 647 have been recovered from northern Scotland, at least three from the cemetery at Pierowall (Cat.Nos.32-47), although it is uncertain which graves these belonged to (Thorsteinsson 1968:171-172). The R 647 brooch type is the most common type in the ninth century and dates from early to past the middle of the ninth century (Petersen 1928:44). Two of the brooches were of variation F which is the latest form, implying they belong to the second half of the ninth century (Thorsteinsson 1968:171-172). At the cemetery of Westness on Rousay a wealthy female inhumation also contained a pair of these brooches, though the exact variation is unknown (Cat.No.21) (Kaland 1973:93). Another example of an oval brooch of this form was discovered on the island of Fetlar in Shetland (Cat.No.50), though it has not been possible to determine the variation in this case either. A final early grave is the burial from Birsay Bay (Cat.No.15). The grave has been radiocarbon dated to AD 600-915, but as a comb of Viking type was discovered with the skeleton, the excavators concluded that a date in the later part of this range was most likely (Morris 1989:123, 127). The combs from northern Scotland will be discussed below, but many of them appear to be of Ashby's type 5, which most likely suggests a date in the ninth century (Ashby 2011).

Graves that possibly postdate the middle of the tenth century are scarcer, there is one probable grave at Buckquoy (Cat.No.14), however. Among the artefacts discovered in this burial was half of a deliberately cut penny of Eadmund, dated to between 940 and 946. The coin showed little sign of wear leading the excavator, Ritchie (1976-1977:190) to suggest a date in the third quarter of the tenth century for the burial. Just as the oval brooch R 647 is the most common form in the ninth century, the form R652/654 is the most frequently occurring form in the tenth century. This latter type is found in several graves from northern Scotland (Cat.Nos.2,5,13,16,26). The brooches date from the late ninth to the late tenth century, suggesting the possibility that some of these graves could post-date 950 (Petersen 1928:67). In general, the illustrations make recognition of variations difficult, but the oval brooches from Reay (fig.13) (Cat.No.2) resemble variation A and B which are the earliest forms, whereas one of the brooches from Westerseat (fig.13) (Cat.No.5) is similar to variation G. The other brooch from this burial could be variation D, but this is uncertain. The brooches from an island near the Mainland (Cat.No.16) also resemble variation G; the illustrations of the other brooches make it difficult to be certain. The presence of these tenth century brooches does not prove that there are graves in northern Scotland post-dating 950, but the possibility should not be excluded.

There is also the possibility that the artefact assemblage might not represent the date of the grave accurately. At the Scar boat burial (Cat.Nos.29-31) there is a discrepancy between the artefactual and radiocarbon dating of the grave. The artefacts suggest a ninth century date, whereas the radiocarbon dating produce the calibrated date ranges 965-1025 (1 sigma) and 895-1030 (2 sigma). The excavators concluded that the grave probably dates from 875-950, most likely closer to the latter end of the range (Owen and Dalland 1999:164-165). One of the excavators has noted that many of the artefacts in the Scar boat grave were old and of limited use when buried (Owen 2004:13). The difficulties in dating the Scar boat burial raises the possibility that the dates of other pagan graves might also be flawed and the graves might be interpreted as older than they actually are.

In general then, the graves from northern Scotland seem to date from the early ninth to the late tenth century. There seem, however, to be substantially more graves from the early Viking Age than from later periods. The graves from Møre og Romsdal show a much more even distribution throughout the Viking Age, although as demonstrated in figure 3, the majority of those that can be more accurately dated are from the mid Viking Age. The number of graves from the early and late Viking Age are comparable however.

3.2 Gender

The graves from both areas have been divided into six gender categories: weapon burials (w), jewellery burials (j), possible jewellery burials (j?), uncertain burials (-), burials containing both weapons and jewellery (j+w) and child burials (c). Burials with weapon are here presumed to be male and jewellery burials to be female; this is further discussed in chapter 5.

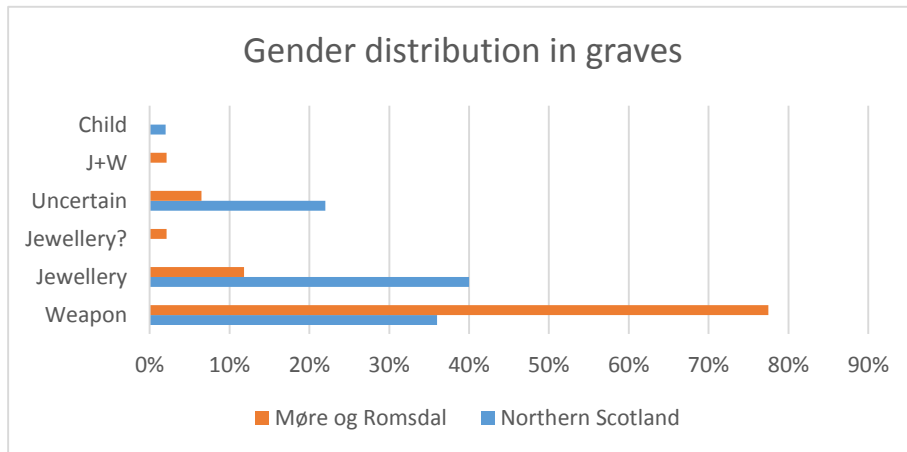


Figure 5 The distribution of gender in burials from northern Scotland and Møre og Romsdal.

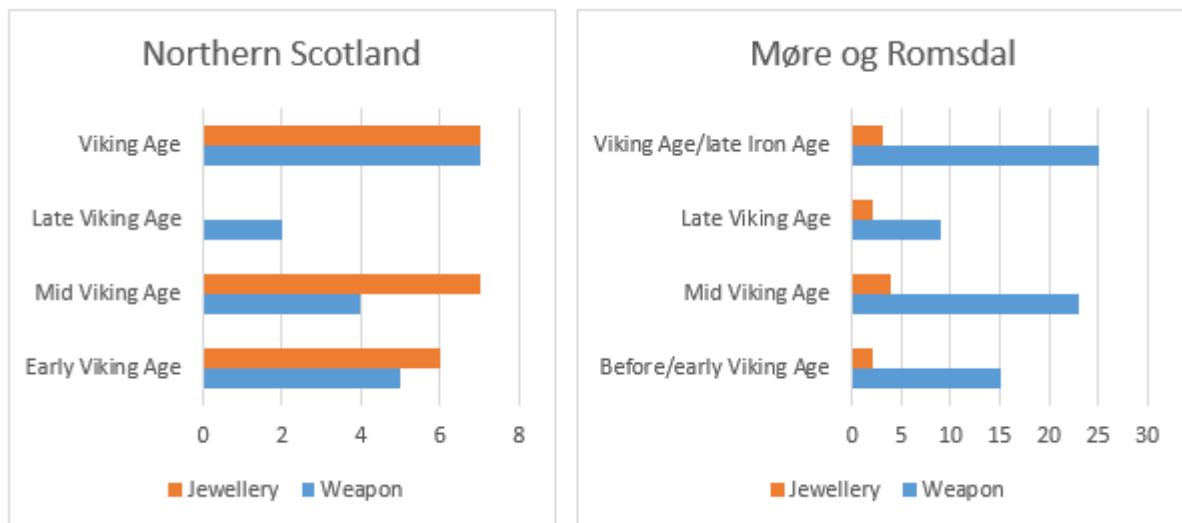


Figure 6 The distribution of jewellery and weapon burials over time in northern Scotland and Møre og Romsdal.

As figure 5 demonstrates, there are clear differences in the numbers of weapon and jewellery graves between the two areas. Weapon graves are dominant in Møre og Romsdal, whereas the numbers of weapon to jewellery graves are more comparable in northern Scotland. These figures do not change considerably over time, as demonstrated by figure 6. From the late Viking Age, the burials are all weapon burials, though as there are only two graves that can be dated to this period, this is unlikely to be representative. In northern Scotland the jewellery graves is the largest group making up at least 40% of the graves whereas this group only makes up 12 % in

Møre og Romsdal. Although there are not as many jewellery graves in Møre og Romsdal, the graves contain considerably more artefacts, as demonstrated by figure 7. The comparative figures for other gender groups do not indicate such significant differences.

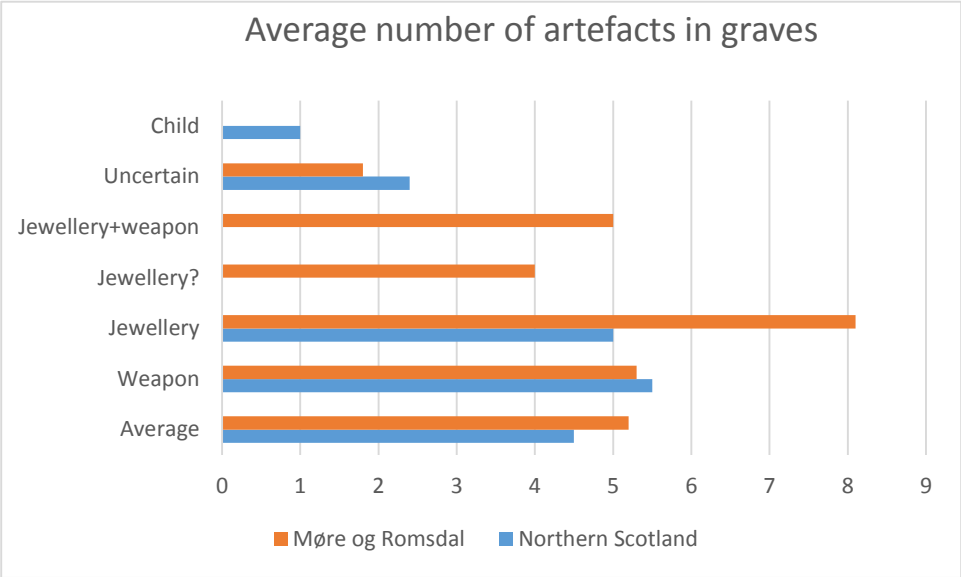


Figure 7 The average number of artefacts in graves of different gender.

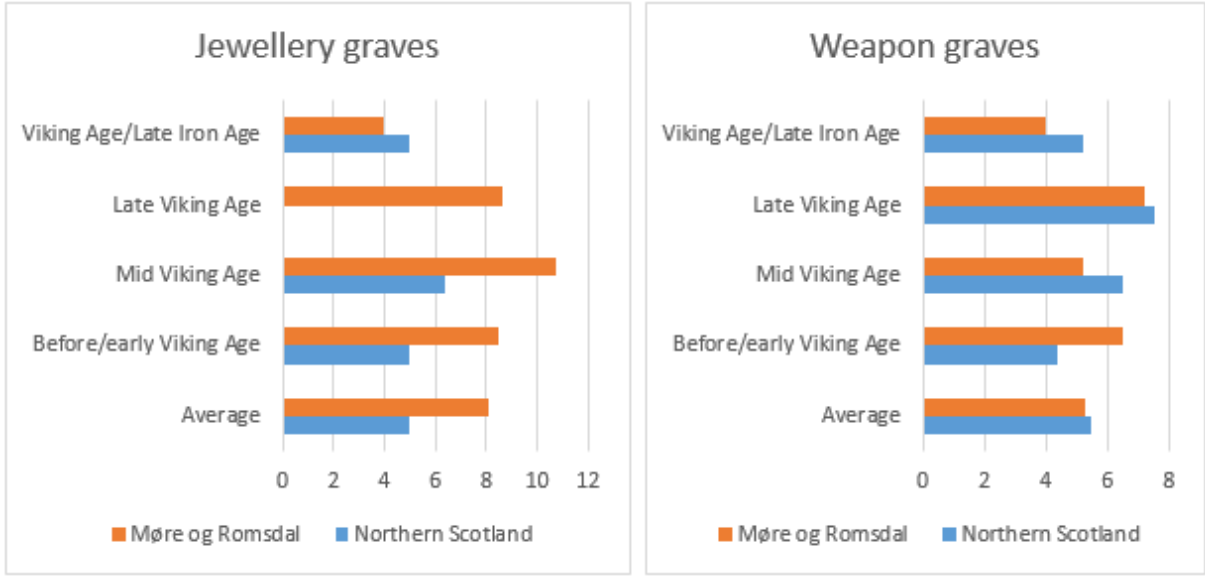


Figure 8 Average number of artefacts in jewellery and weapon graves over time.

It is worth noting the variation in number of artefacts from the two areas. In northern Scotland they vary between thirteen artefacts (Cat.No.21) and a pair of oval brooches (Cat.No.5) in jewellery graves, and ten (Cat.Nos.1 and 22) and 1 (Cat.Nos.6 and 17) in weapon graves. The differences in Møre og Romsdal are much greater. The number of artefacts in graves vary between 20 (Cat.No.141) and 1 (pair of oval brooches) (Cat.Nos.73 and 76) in jewellery graves; the variation is identical for weapon graves, though in this group there are fourteen graves with

only a single artefact. In northern Scotland both weapon and jewellery burials contain slightly more artefacts in the later periods, demonstrated by figure 8. The numbers for Møre og Romsdal do not produce such a distinct pattern.

3.3 Grave goods

The different forms of grave goods have been divided into eleven different categories, weapons, jewellery, equestrian, domestic, personal, farming, tools, trade, symbolic, boat equipment and miscellaneous. Domestic equipment comprises artefacts connected with textile production and the preparation and consumption of food and drink. The category personal consists of items such as buckles, buttons and strap-ends, boxes, locks and keys, combs, tweezers and gaming pieces. Symbolic equipment are artefacts that might have or at some point have had religious connotation such as reliquaries, gospel book clasps and Thor's hammers. The category tools include all tools not connected with farming which is a separate category. The most common forms of tools are knives, whetstones and scissors. Under the category miscellaneous are artefacts such as various mounts and hooks, strike-a-lights, pieces of flint and various unidentified fragments and objects. Some of these categories will be discussed in general, but some types of artefacts will also be discussed separately: oval brooches, ring-headed pins and penannular brooches, combs and insular artefacts.

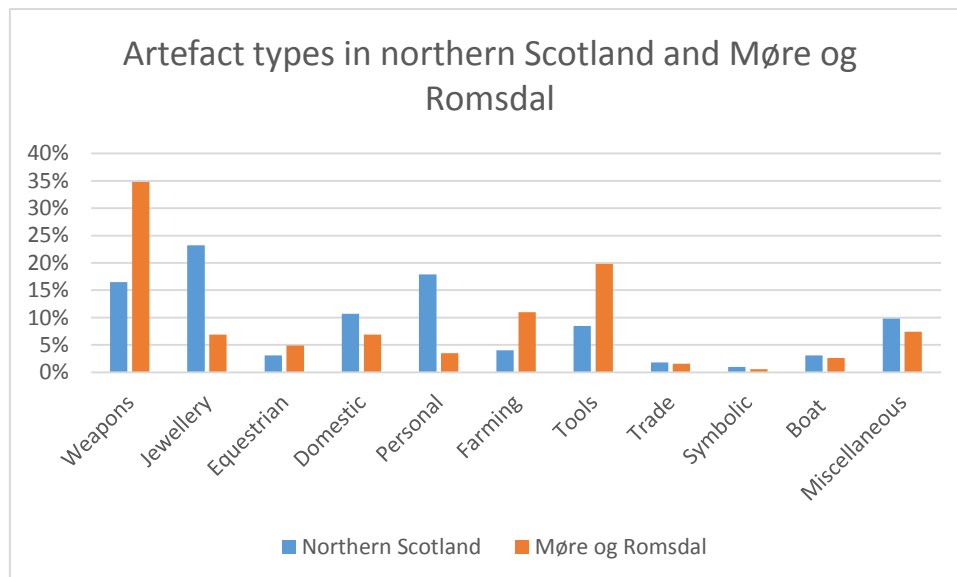


Figure 9 Artefact types in northern Scotland and Møre og Romsdal. The graph is demonstrating the percentages each category make up of the total number of artefacts.

As figure 9 illustrates, there are significant differences in which types of artefacts are most common. In Møre og Romsdal weapons, tools and farming equipment are the largest categories,

whereas jewellery is most frequently found in northern Scotland, followed by weapons, personal equipment and domestic equipment. Although weapons are more common in Møre og Romsdal, examining the number of different weapon types in graves yield similar results in both areas. There are on average 2,3 types per grave in Møre og Romsdal and 2,1 in northern Scotland. As figure 10 demonstrates, the percentage of graves with five, four, three, two and one type of weapons are comparable in the two areas. Burials in northern Scotland do not have graves with more than one of a specific type of weapon (excluding arrows), whereas this is the case in seven instances in Møre og Romsdal.

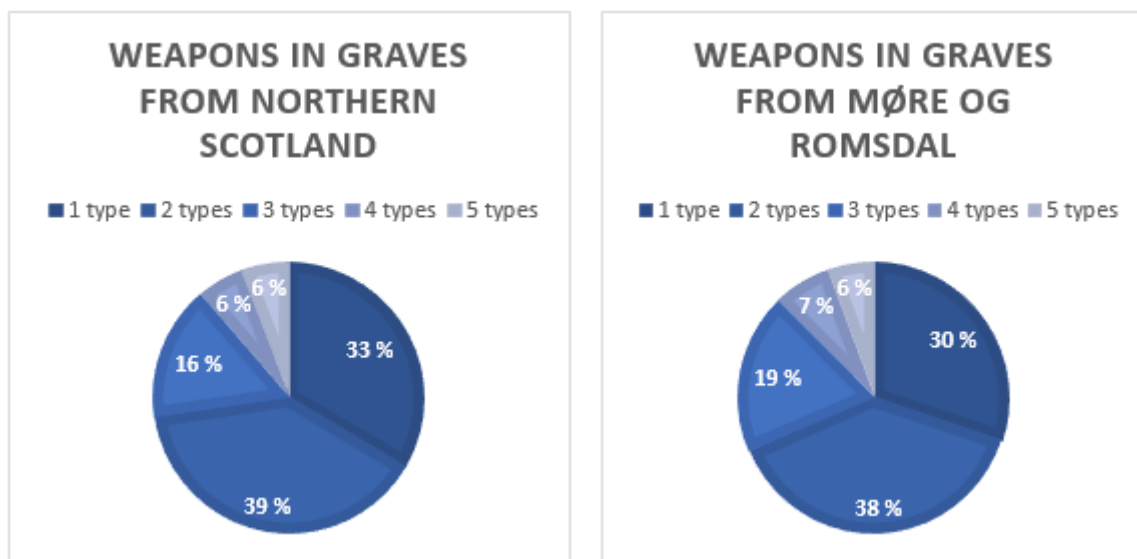


Figure 10 Percentages of graves with different types of weapons in weapon burials from northern Scotland and Møre og Romsdal.

Part of the reason for the differences in tools, farming and domestic equipment are the different amount of presumed male and female graves in the two areas. There are generally a greater number of tools and farming equipment in weapon graves and more domestic equipment in jewellery graves. This is only a general trend, however. In northern Scotland farming equipment is in fact more common in jewellery graves than in weapon graves. Even when only including tools from weapon graves, there are still 1,3 tools per weapon grave in Norway compared to 0,6 for weapon graves in northern Scotland. The different types of tools are also noteworthy. In Møre og Romsdal there are at least 18 different categories of tools, compared to five (knife, scissors, whetstone, perforated whetstone (needle whetstone), and one fishing weight) in northern Scotland. There are no tools for carpentry or forging in graves from northern Scotland. In Møre og Romsdal there is a correlation between a high number of different types of weapons and forging and woodworking tools as illustrated by figure 11.

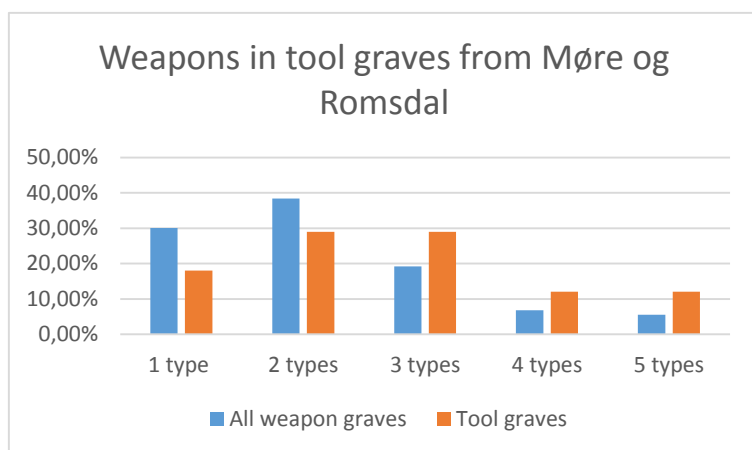


Figure 11 Number of types of weapons in tool graves compared with all weapon graves from Møre og Romsdal.

The situation with farming equipment mirrors to some extent the situation with tools. Only eight sickles and a single ploughshare are known from the northern Scotland, whereas 20 sickles, 15 scythes, 13 celts, and two billhooks have been found in graves from Møre og Romsdal. As mentioned above, domestic equipment occurs more frequently in jewellery than weapon graves. In northern Scotland there is in fact no domestic equipment from any weapon graves, whereas they make up 35 % of the total number of graves with domestic equipment in Møre og Romsdal. If we compare only the domestic equipment in jewellery graves there is an average of 1,8 for graves in Møre og Romsdal and 2,3 in northern Scotland. In neither area are any of the artefacts made of pottery. The amount of personal equipment in the graves from northern Scotland is also conspicuous; especially combs are far more numerous in northern Scotland, though this might partially be due to bad conditions for the survival of bone in western Norway. The combs will be discussed below under a separate heading. Equestrian equipment is more common in weapon than jewellery graves in both areas, though this is more pronounced in the Norwegian material.

Oval brooches

The dating of some of the oval brooches has already been discussed, but there are other aspects of these brooches that are of interest for the present study. Oval brooches are considered a distinctly Scandinavian brooch form and had to be worn with a particular style of Scandinavian

dress. This means that the presence of oval brooches in graves in northern Scotland indicate women dressed in an overtly Scandinavian manner that would have clearly stood out in comparison with local fashion. It is therefore worth noting that oval brooches occur very frequently in jewellery graves from Scotland, having been found in 85% of these. These brooches are the most common form of jewellery in jewellery graves from Møre og Romsdal as well, though not as common as in Scotland, occurring in 64% of the graves. Oval brooches also occur in two other burials from Møre og Romsdal, but as these also contained weapons, they have not been included in the group of jewellery burials.

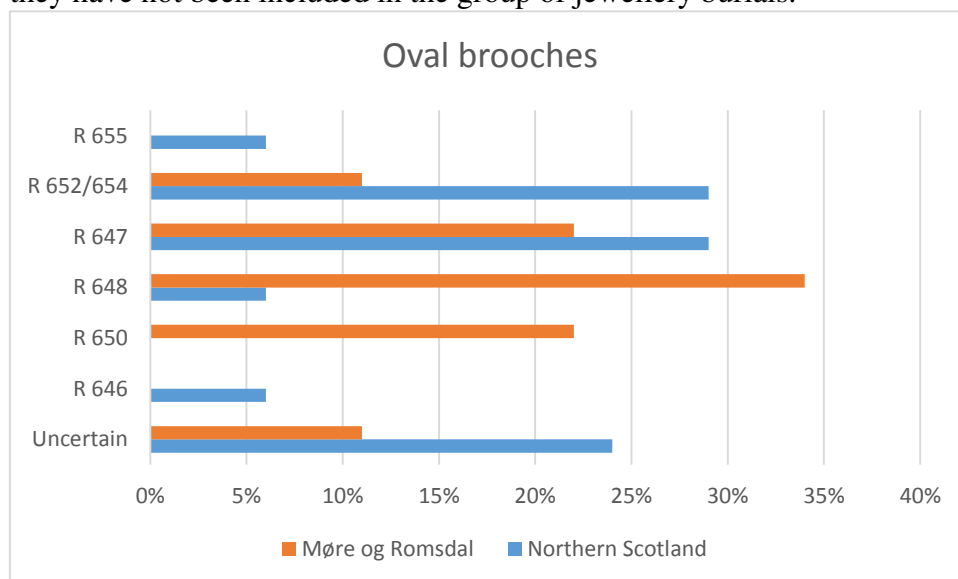


Figure 12 Oval brooches from Møre og Romsdal and northern Scotland. The graph is demonstrating which types of oval brooches that are most common in the two areas.

Table 1 The dating of the oval brooches from northern Scotland and Møre og Romsdal

Brooch form	R 646	R 650	R 648	R 647	R 652/654	R 655
Date	First half of 9 th c.	Late 8 th /first half of 9 th c.	Early 9 th to past 850	Early 9 th to past 875	Late 9 th to late 10 th c.	10 th c.

As figure 12 and table 1 demonstrate, the early brooch types (R 646, 650, 648 and 647) are more common than later forms (R652/654 and R655) in Møre og Romsdal, where there is only one tenth century brooch, from a weapon and jewellery grave (Cat.No.110). In northern Scotland, ninth century brooches are also more common, and this pattern might be enhanced when considering that the brooches of uncertain form were all from Pierowall, where most of the material suggests a ninth century date. In northern Scotland, brooches of type R 647 and R 652/654 are the most frequently found types, making up at least 58%. These were the most common brooch types in the ninth and tenth century respectively, and were probably mass

produced (Petersen 1928:33, 67). In Møre og Romsdal on the other hand these two types only constitute 33%, while other types of brooches, particularly R 648, are dominant. Two of the burials with oval brooches from Caithness are particularly interesting. The burials at both Reay (Cat.No.2) and Westerseat (Cat.No.5) contained pairs of oval brooches of type R 652/654, but in neither case do the brooches form matching sets, as can be seen in figure 13.

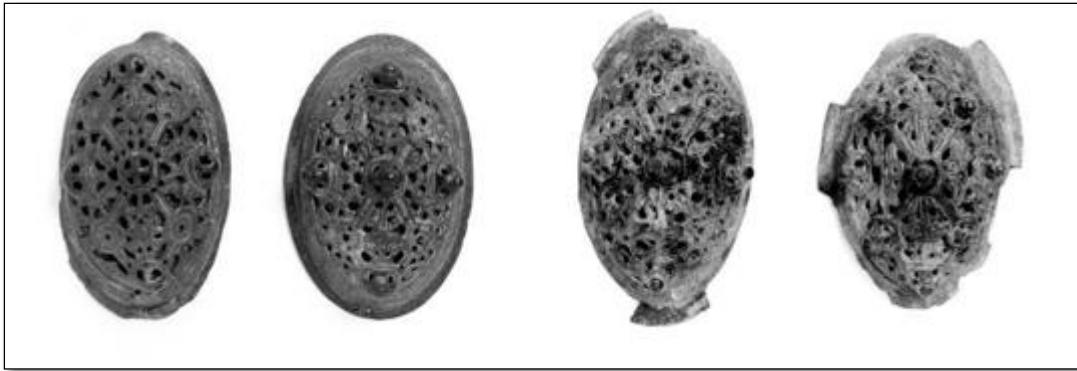


Figure 13 Pairs of unmatching brooches from Reay and Westerseat, Caithness, Northern Scotland (after National Museums of Scotland 2014d, e).

Ring-headed pins and penannular brooches

In northern Scotland ring-headed pins and penannular brooches are, along with beads, the second most common jewellery item in graves, occurring in thirteen instances. This is significantly different from Møre og Romsdal where there is one certain and one possible instance of ring-headed pins in graves (Cat.Nos.78 and 83). As ring-headed pins and penannular brooches are seen as being of Irish/Pictish origin, their appearance in pagan graves is worth noting. There are two instances of penannular brooches firmly relating to graves, and both of these are from the cemetery of Westness on Rousay (Cat.Nos.20 and 21). The first was of Pictish type and dates to sometime in the late eight or early ninth century. It was found in a female burial in what might have been a boat shaped grave. The woman was also accompanied by a sickle, a comb and two spindle whorls. The second grave from Westness is the wealthiest grave from northern Scotland, a burial of a woman with an infant child. The penannular brooch she was accompanied by was an Irish type from the second quarter of the eighth century. As it was buried alongside a pair of oval brooches of type R 647 it is likely that it was at least 100 years old when deposited (Glørstad 2010:28). There is another penannular brooch from the Northern Scotland, but this cannot be connected to any particular grave, though as it was found at the cemetery of Pierowall it is likely to be from a grave context (Glørstad 2010:32). This was an Irish-style brooch dating to the eighth century, but the original fastening pin had been replaced in the Pictish tradition (Graham-Campbell and Batey 1998:134). Grieg (1940:80) mentions

another pennanular brooch from Stennes on Mainland Orkney (Cat.No.9), though the illustration he refers to is here classified as a ring-headed pin.

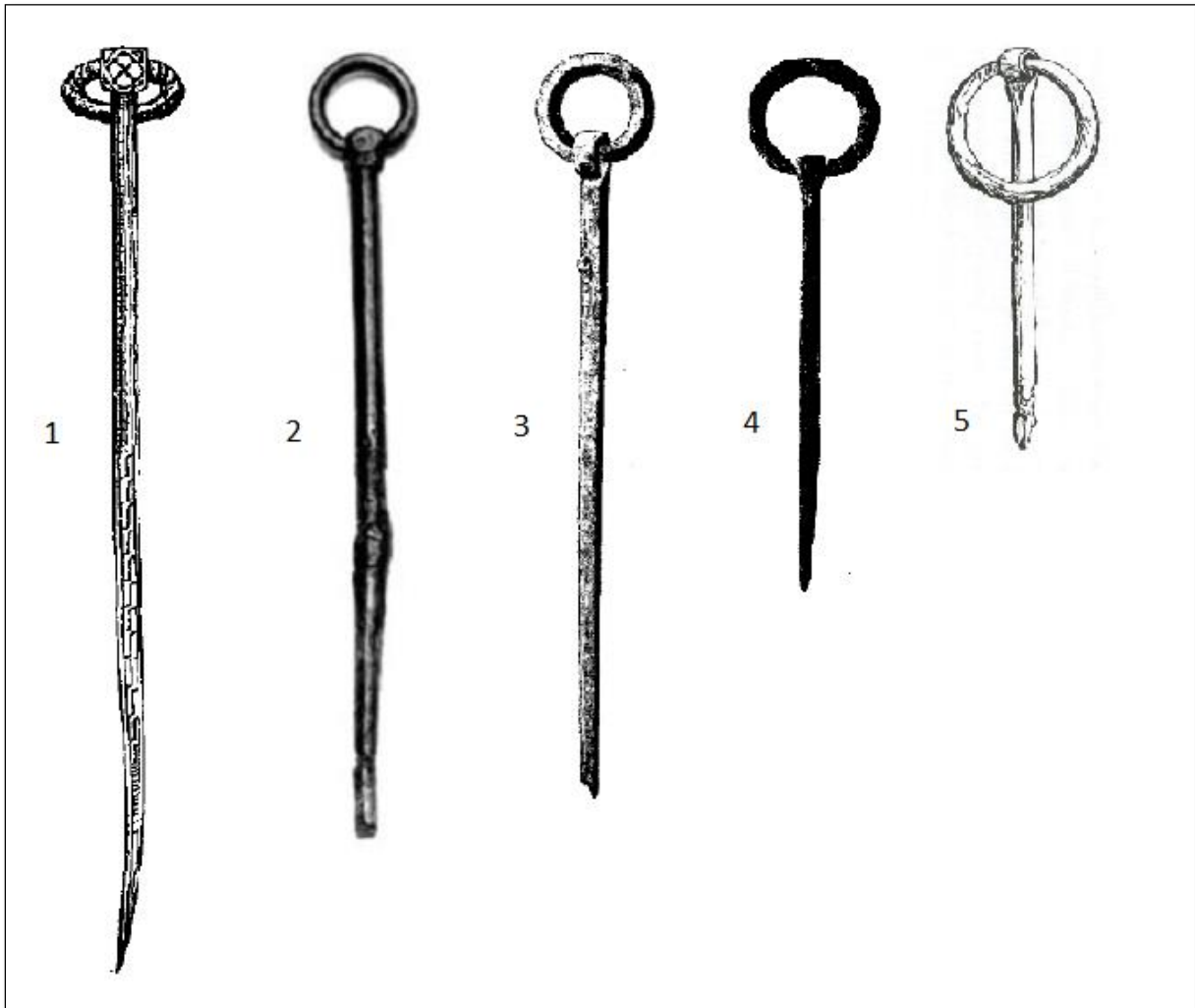


Figure 14 Ring-headed pins from northern Scotland (not to scale). Pin 1: Buckquoy, Cat.No.14, (after Ritchie 1976-1977:200), 2: Westness, uncertain grave, ((from National Museums of Scotland 2014f), 3:Reay, Cat.No.2, (after Curle 1913-1914:497), 4: Reay, Cat.No.1, (after Edwards and Bryce 1926-1927:206), 5 Pierowall, uncertain grave, (after Graham-Campbell and Batey 1998:132).

In northern Scotland the ring-headed pins are more common in jewellery graves, where they occur in seven instances compared to three in weapon graves and one in an uncertain grave. The ring-headed pin found at Buckquoy was identified as being of the Hiberno-Norse type with a polyhedral head (see fig 14) (Ritchie 1976-1977:190). This type is common in the Norse colonies, but only occur in a very few instances in Norway (Glørstad 2014:160). None of the other pins have been identified, and many lack illustrations. The two pins from the cemetery of Reay (Cat.Nos.1 and 2), and at least one in the cemetery of Pierowall resemble the loop-headed, plain-ringed type (see fig. 14) which is known from Norse colonial contexts, but is also very common in Norway (Glørstad 2014:160). There is also an illustration of a ring-headed pin from

the cemetery of Westness (see fig. 14), but it is difficult to say what type this is. The two possible ring-headed pins from Møre og Romsdal have been found in one jewellery and one weapon grave, the former was too fragmented even to be securely identified as a ring-headed pin. The latter, however, though badly affected by corrosion, could be a polyhedral type, as demonstrated by figure 15.



Figure 15 Ring-headed pin from Tomberg, Møre og Romsdal, Cat.No.83, (after UNIMUS 2014b).

Combs

There are three combs from Møre og Romsdal (Cat.Nos.95, 116 and 134), one of which lack illustrations, and another which is so fragmented that identifying the type is impossible. The final (fig. 16) can probably be identified as an Ashby type 5 comb, which is a common early Viking Age form in Scandinavia (Ashby 2009:28-29).



Figure 16 Comb from Stavern, Møre og Romsdal, Cat.No.96 (UNIMUS 2014a)

In northern Scotland, however, there are 17 combs from 14 different burials, and there are also three comb-cases from two graves. None of these combs are of Pictish types although these were used at Viking settlements in the same period (Ashby 2009:14). It is difficult to determine both material and type for most of the combs as there is little information available. Ashby (2009:28) has however, identified the combs from Lyking (Cat.No.8), Scar (fig. 17) (Cat.Nos.29 and 30), and at least some of the combs from Westness (fig. 17) (Cat.Nos.20, 21 and 24) as being of type 5. The combs from Lyking and at least one from Westness were also made of reindeer antler, which suggest that they were imported from Scandinavia. The comb from the grave at Birsay Bay (fig. 17)(Cat.No.15) is also made of antler, although it is not specified whether this was reindeer or red deer (Morris 1989:197). The comb is stated as being of Viking Age type and from the illustration type 5 seems most likely (Morris 1989:192, 200). There is also an illustration of a comb from a grave at Pierowall (fig. 17), which appears to be type 5, though with no indication of its size it is difficult to be certain (Graham-Campbell and Batey 1998:132). The only comb from the graves in northern Scotland definitely not of type 5 is from Links of Skail (fig. 4) (Cat.No.12). Although the shape is the same, the specimen is only 7 cm long, whereas combs of type 5 are generally over 15 cm. As mentioned above, Brøgger (1930:183) claims this smaller comb is of an early form from the late eighth or early ninth century, however, the form of the comb is far more similar to Ashby's type 6, suggesting a tenth century date.

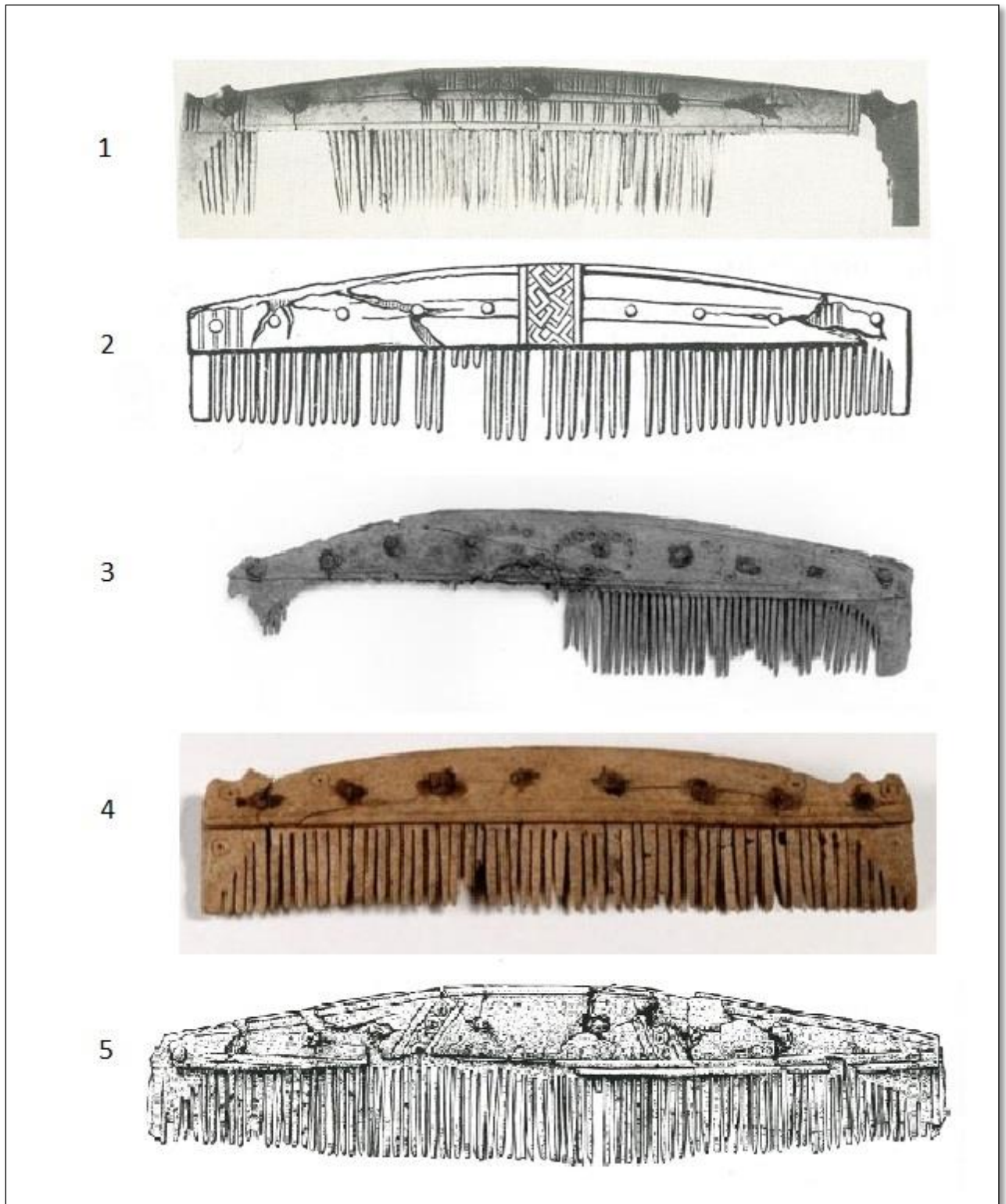


Figure 17 Combs from northern Scotland (not to scale). Comb 1: Birsay Bay, Cat.No.15 (from Morris 1989:198), 2: Pierowall, uncertain grave (after Graham-Campbell and Batey 1998:132), 3: Westness, Cat.No.24, (after National Museums of Scotland 2014c) 4: Westness, Cat.No.20, (after National Museums of Scotland 2014b), 5: Scar, Cat.No.29 (after Owen and Dalland 1999:116).

Insular artefacts

In addition to the pennanular brooches and ring-headed pins discussed above, there are also other artefacts of insular origin in both the Norwegian and Scottish material. This material consists of nine artefacts from four graves, two from Møre og Romsdal and two from northern Scotland. Three items of Irish and one of probably Northumbrian origin were found in one of the richest graves from Møre og Romsdal, a jewellery grave at Setnes in Rauma (Cat.No.70). These artefacts consisted of an Irish reliquary, an Irish bronze ritual hanging bowl, the top of a bishop's staff, most likely from Northumbria, and two lead bullion weights, seemingly Irish. The grave was a boat grave, probably dating to the first half of the tenth century (Marstrander 1962:155). The second grave from Møre og Romsdal was from Sogge (Cat.No.78) and was also a rich jewellery burial. It contained an Irish book-clasp that had been reused as a brooch. This grave also had a possible ring-headed pin as discussed above. One of the graves with insular material from northern Scotland is also discussed above. It is the rich female inhumation grave from Westness with an Irish pennanular brooch (Cat.No.21). In addition to this brooch, the grave contained two Anglo-Saxon strap-ends and an Anglo-Saxon shrine mount, possibly for a Gospel book reused as a brooch (Graham-Campbell and Batey 1998:136; National Museums of Scotland 2014a). The final grave with insular material is from Pierowall, and is another possible boat grave (Cat.No.46). It is difficult to say whether it was a jewellery or weapon grave as it only contained a bead, a key, a sickle, two knives and the terminal mount of an apparently insular drinking horn (Graham-Campbell and Batey 1998:134).

3.4 Grave form

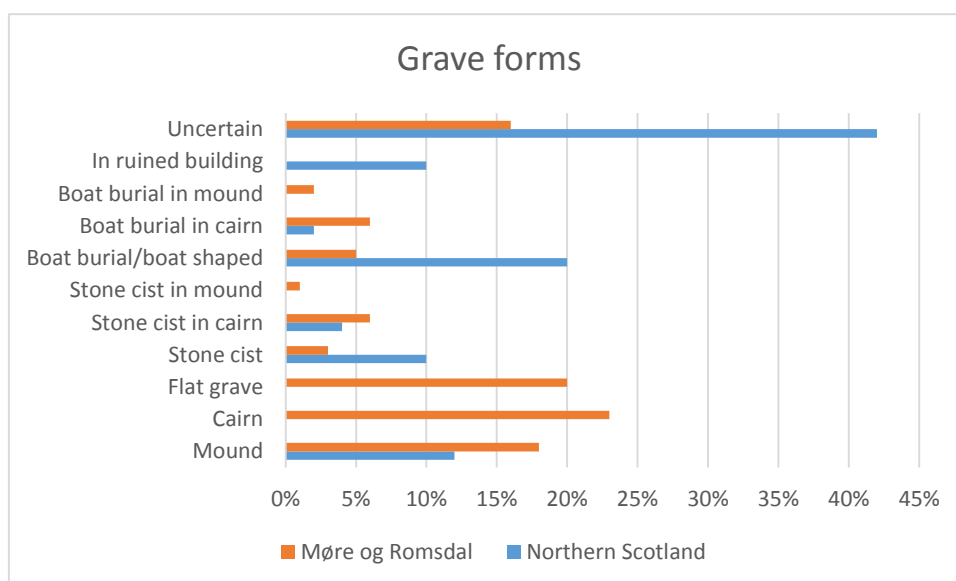


Figure 18 Grave forms in Møre og Romsdal and northern Scotland.

Figure 18 presents the percentages of different grave forms in northern Scotland and Møre og Romsdal. It is important to note that a number of the uncertain graves from northern Scotland might be flat graves; this might be the case for a number of the graves from Pierowall for example (Thorsteinsson 1968:164). As there are so many uncertain graves from northern Scotland the data is challenging to use, but some trends will be pointed out. Cairns/mounds seem to be more common in Møre og Romsdal, making out 66% of the graves (including stone cists and boat graves in mounds or cairns), whereas the corresponding number for northern Scotland is 20%. Boat burials on the other hand seem to be more common in northern Scotland constituting 22% of the burials, compared to 13% in Møre og Romsdal¹; these will be further discussed below. There is also a tendency in northern Scotland to place the grave in a ruined building, but this will be discussed more thoroughly in section 3.5.

Boat burials

There are six boat burials from northern Scotland, including the Scar boat burial which contained three people. In addition to these, there are also two boat shaped graves from the cemetery at Westness (Cat.Nos.20 and 25). These make up 22 % of all the burials from the area.

Table 2 Boat graves from northern Scotland.

	W	J	C	-
Boat	3	2	1	
Possible boat				2
Boat shaped	1	1		

As table 2 demonstrates, weapon graves are slightly more often accompanied by a boat than jewellery graves, though the sample is probably too small to be representative. On average the boat burials contain 5,9 artefacts, but if we exclude the grave from Fetlar (Cat.No.50) that had been robbed, and the child burial from Scar which had mostly been lost to sea (Cat.No.30) the figure rises to 6,1. The boat graves seem in other words to be slightly wealthier than other graves, but again the sample is rather small. In Møre og Romsdal there are thirteen boat burials constituting 13% of all the graves, seven of these from the municipality of Tingvoll, making up 58% of the grave from this area. The gender of the individuals buried in boat graves is displayed in table 3.

¹ These figures include boat burials in mounds/cairns as well as uncertain boat burials

Table 3 Boat graves from Møre og Romsdal.

	W	J	J?	J+W	-
Boat	2	4			2
Possible boat	3		1	1	

It is worth noting that four of the jewellery burials from Møre og Romsdal are boat burials; which makes out 36 % of these graves. The boat graves from Møre og Romsdal contained on average 8,6 items per grave, rising to 9,6 if we exclude the two burials from Flemma (Cat.Nos.136 and 137) that are known to have been robbed. Of all the boat graves from both areas, only one possible boat burial was a cremation grave. It is noteworthy that there are often more than one boat burial per cemetery in both areas. At the two known cemeteries from northern Scotland, Westness and Pierowall, there are four and two boat (or boat shaped) burials. At the burial places of Hen, Flemma and Røttingnes there are two boat burials in each cemetery.

Cremation/inhumation

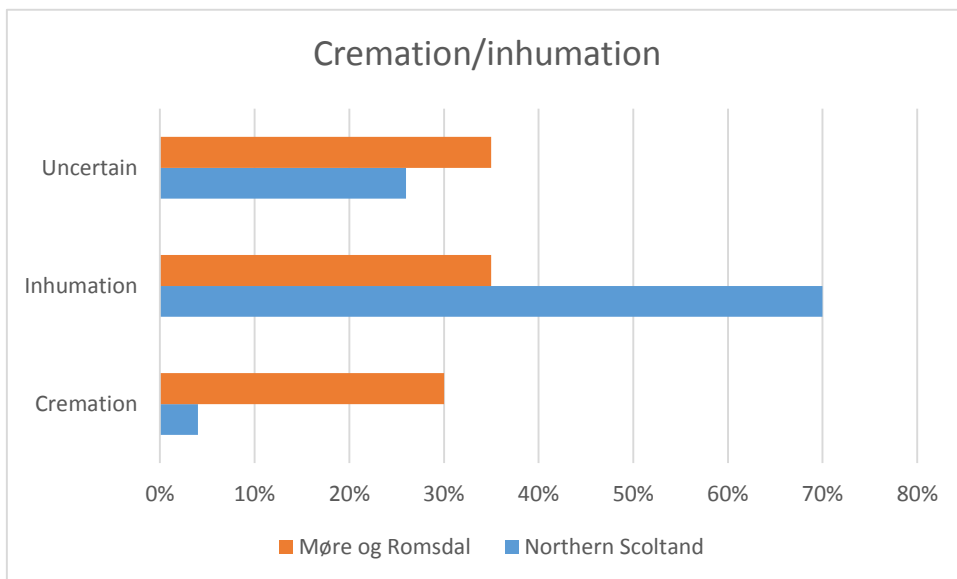


Figure 19 Percentages of cremation and inhumation burials in Møre og Romsdal and northern Scotland.

As figure 19 demonstrates, there are very few cremations from northern Scotland. Whereas about a third of the burials from Møre og Romsdal are cremations, there are only two possible cremation graves from northern Scotland, and neither of these are certain. The first was a burial from Lyking on Mainland Orkney (Cat.No.8) where fragments of a bone comb, a small iron spearhead and an iron buckle were found in a mound allegedly with burnt bones (Grieg 1940:80). None of the artefacts showed any signs of having suffered from heat, though as Shetelig notes, (1954:88) this is not unheard of from Norway either, especially with regards to

combs. Shetelig also comments that the report is not beyond question. The other possible, and more probable, cremation grave is reported as being on an island near the Mainland (Cat.No.16). In a mound on his land, a farmer discovered a deposition of burnt bones lying around the centre of the mound accompanied by a pair of oval brooches, a spindle whorl, an armlet and a bronze pin (Charleson 1903-1904).

3.5 Graves in the archaeological landscape

A substantial number of graves from northern Scotland have been found in ruined buildings, as demonstrated by figure 18. In general, there is a tendency for burials to be placed in close proximity to older settlement, particularly Iron Age brochs. At Castletown (Cat.No.4) in Caithness and Broch of Gurness (Cat.No.13) on Mainland Orkney the burials have been identified as having been placed in ruined brochs. At Gurness several Viking Age artefacts were found in addition to a substantial amount of bones, and there might therefore be more than one burial. John W. Hedges (1987:73), who published an assessment of the excavation, suggested that there could be as many as seven burials in the broch, although only one was certain.

There are two other graves described as having been found near a broch. The first of these was at Westerseat (Cat.No.5) in Caithness, where the grave was found a little below the broch of Kettleburn (Grieg 1940:25). The other grave was at the Broch of Lamba Ness on Sanday (Cat.No.26), which was according to Grieg (1940:88) found near the broch. Also at Lamba Ness, a burial (Cat.No.27) was found during digging in a ruined building in 1878, though there is no mention of this ruin being a broch (Grieg 1940:88). The grave from Sweindrow (Cat.No.18) on Rousay was found in or near a great pile of stones described as the ruins of an ancient structure. Other graves were apparently located in the vicinity (Anderson 1872-1874:566). At Buckquoy, on Mainland Orkney a grave (Cat.No.14) was discovered during the excavation of a Pictish and Norse settlement site. The grave was placed in a mound created by the ruins of an earlier structure (Ritchie 1976-1977:190). Close to Buckquoy, at Birsay Bay an accompanied burial (Cat.No.15) was found placed in a stone cist in a midden whilst this was still being used. Beneath this grave were two stone cist burials in cairns dating to the Roman Iron Age and Pictish period (Morris 1989:114, 123). Close by, a similar stone cist burial in a midden was discovered. However, as it is neither certain that this was Viking Age nor that it was accompanied by grave goods it has not been included in the present analysis. Although no building-remains were discovered, the excavators concluded that these were probably originally

in the vicinity (Morris 1989:141). Allowing certain reservations for the burial at Birsay Bay, the above graves have all been found in close proximity to settlements, generally Pictish and at times clearly abandoned before being used for burial, as is the case with the broch burials.

Though there are many prehistoric mounds in the Northern Scotland, there is only one grave that might represent a secondary inhumation. At the pagan cemetery of Pierowall, the first grave (Cat.No.32) in Arne Thorsteinssons assessment was found in an elevated circular mound, and Thorsteinsson notes that it was probably a secondary inhumation, though he does not elaborate (Thorsteinsson 1968:164). Graham-Campbell and Batey (1998:134) notes that these mounds were probably natural sand-dunes. At the cemetery of Westness, there were also farm-houses, though these were not in immediate proximity to the graves. The burials were instead placed in the earlier Pictish cemetery already in existence at the site.

In Møre og Romsdal there are several sites where burials are located close to graves of the early Iron Age, for example at Voll (Cat.Nos.55-58), where there were at a time several more graves and also finds from the early Iron Age. Other examples include Setnes (Cat.Nos.69-70) where there is a grave mound from the early Iron Age, Sogge (Cat.Nos.71-78) with several finds from both early and late Iron Age, and Hole (Cat.Nos.79-80) where a migration period grave was found. There is also one instance of a Viking period grave as a secondary inhumation in a migration period mound, at Skorga (Cat.No.122). Graves from Møre og Romsdal have rarely been found in relation to Viking period settlement, though as there are hardly any settlements known from this area, this pattern is tentative at best. The only grave from Møre og Romsdal that has been professionally excavated is from the cemetery of Hen (Cat.No.116). The area was excavated in 1999, measured 3000 m², and contained 41 post holes, 37 cooking pits and at least nine cairns, though only one of these contained a certain burial. One of the house structures was carbon dated to the transition between the late Bronze Age and pre-Roman Iron Age, and the cooking pits varied from Roman Iron Age/Migration period to Viking Age in date. The cooking pit dated to the Merovingian period/Viking Age was found to the immediate north of the burial (Birgirdottur and Haug:15). As Viking period buildings in Norway are generally made of wood instead of stone as in northern Scotland, they are also more difficult to discover, and the relationship between settlements and cemeteries is therefore difficult to discuss with any degree of certainty.

3.6 Summary

This chapter has presented trends in the funerary material from northern Scotland and Møre og Romsdal. It is not an exhaustive review, but has focused on aspects that will be of importance for the following analysis and discussion of how the circumstances of migration affects funerary rites and what this can tell about the recreation and renegotiation of identity and relations in Viking Age northern Scotland.

Chapter 4 Migration and ethnicity

4.1 Diaspora, migration and ethnic display

In recent years, the term diaspora has increasingly been used to describe the Norse settlement overseas in the Viking period (e.g. Abrams 2012; Jesch 2008; Sørensen 2009). The term diaspora indicates that the colonies are viewed as active and creative communities maintaining links with each other as well as with the homelands (Abrams 2012:37-38). These continuing contacts would have encouraged a feeling of connectedness based on shared cultural and historical traditions and a shared language (Jesch 2008:221-222). Connections such as these could have been maintained by different means, though the importance of the courts and retinues must be stressed for receiving and disseminating objects and ideas as well as exchanging peoples (Abrams 2012:24; Jesch 2008:222). The Orkneyinga saga refers to many instances of contact between the earls of Orkney and the kings of Norway, and also to instances of contact between the earls and the Irish Sea Viking, including during the Battle of Clontarf (Edwards and Pálsson 1981:38). Seeing the Norse settlement in northern Scotland as a diasporic community is useful, as it highlights the migration to northern Scotland as a process taking place over an extended period of time and draws attention to the continued contacts between the place of origin and destination areas.

Migration

This thesis is not concerned with the reasons for the migration to northern Scotland, but rather with the effects of it. One of the most important factors making migrations possible is information about the immigration area, and one of the crucial sources for this information is kin-based transmission (Anthony 1990:900). Mass-migrations are generally preceded by a pioneer phase, these pioneers are often military personnel, traders or missionaries rather than true settlers, and their reasons and goals are likely to differ substantially from those of later settlers (Burmeister 2000:544). In the Viking period, the raiders and traders from the Scandinavian homelands can be viewed as pioneer settlers relaying information back to kin at home. The importance of information also means that migrants tend to come from the same point of origin and follow well-defined paths to specific destinations where they have family or friends (Anthony 1990:903). Social contact between migrants and those who remain at home is often maintained over a long period of time (Burmeister 2000:544). Simultaneously with migrants moving from homeland to immigration area, a counter-stream tend to develop with families travelling back to the point of origin, creating important links between immigration

and emigration areas (Burmeister 2000:544). Migrants are generally not a cross-section of society, especially the initial migration tend to be heavily unbalanced towards males, often in their twenties or thirties, and as long-distance migrations are usually expensive, they are only undertaken by those who can afford it (Anthony 1990:903; Burmeister 2000:543). Later on in the migration process, this initial unbalance might even out (Anthony 1990:905). This interpretation of migration in archaeology is rather schematic. Though it contains many important notions as to how migrations work, they do not always make allowance for the different circumstances under which migrations may take place. This chapter will therefore, in addition to examine how these processes leave traces in the archaeological record, for example through evidence of return migration and pioneer phases, also explore what parts of the migration to northern Scotland that cannot be explained by these migration models.

Ethnicity

It will be argued in this thesis that migration will lead to changes in (or the creation of) ethnicity, and a short account of how this term is viewed here will therefore be included. Ethnicity in archaeology is not necessarily easy to come to terms with, especially the relationship between ethnicity and culture. Since Fredrik Barth's (1969) influential introduction to *Ethnic Groups and Boundaries*, ethnicity has generally been seen as self-defining entities, maintained by continual expression and validation (Barth 1969:15). This instrumental view of ethnicity is a functional view, seeing it as something adaptable and changeable. Although this is certainly an important point, it downplays the importance of culture in ethnic display (Jones 1996:79). Siân Jones (1996:89, 95) has argued persuasively for the use of Bourdieu's theories of habitus and doxa in theory of ethnicity, and this is how ethnicity is understood here. It is not actively learnt, but performed based on social structures. These structures can again change due to changes in the performance. As Barth (1969:15) points out, however, ethnicity involves an awareness of an ethnic other, which can happen as a result of migration. The awareness of other established orders can lead to a break with doxa; this means that cultural practices and beliefs previously part of doxa become apparent as concrete objects in opposition to specific others (Jones 1996:95). Habitus and doxa are of undeniable importance in the creation of ethnic difference, but, as Jones (1996:97) argues, the context of ethnic encounters and the power relations between groups are also crucial and will in time be incorporated into the habitus.

Although the awareness of an ethnic other is necessary in the creation of ethnicity, cultural encounters like these may also lead to ethnic markers becoming blurred (Nilsen and Wickler

2011:85). In a colonial context, this is, as Jones (1996:97) points out, dependent on the relationship between the different ethnic groups, but also on the relationship between homeland and colony (Stein 2005:16). Political interests, economic goals and social identities of colonising groups diverge rapidly from those of the homeland and this may lead to the creation of entirely new identities (Stein 2005:28).

The strategies employed in order to deal with the new circumstances brought on by migration could be versatile. The definitions of terms such as hybridisation, creolisation, assimilation and acculturation are not always easy to understand, partly because the definitions often varies considerably from author to author (Hutnyk 2005:80-81). The archaeologist Jostein Bergstøl (2004:8) understands creolisation as when cultural traits become disconnected from their former context and melded with other cultural traits and in this way building new entities. He bases his definition on the work of the social anthropologist Thomas Hylland Eriksen (1994b), but does seemingly not take into account Eriksen's (1994a:11-21) considerable critique of the notion of distinct cultural entities. This is a serious weakness with all these terms; they presuppose a more or less fixed set of cultural aspects coming into contact with another such set, and attempts to describe what might then follow. They postulate that there is a form of identity or culture that is non-hybrid or non-creolised, but such essentialist entities do not exist. This means that everyone is already hybrid, and the term loses its analytical value. It was argued in chapter 1.3 that rituals create identity and through their repeated use can create a sense of belonging. In this sense, the funerary rites of northern Scotland are part of the creation of group identity of settlers who need not previously have felt like the same people. Hybridisation and creolisation are therefore impracticable terms in this context, as they do not account for differences within what are interpreted as Pictish and Norse cultures.

Hybridisation is problematic not only because it assumes the existence of non-hybrid forms, but also because interpreting the differences in the material culture and burial rites from northern Scotland as the results of hybridisation is in many ways a simplification of the situation. Whilst this thesis argues that the differences in funerary rites in northern Scotland can inform us on how migration affects identity, it does not follow that these differences are the results of the mixing of two distinct cultures. An excessive focus on hybridisation excludes other factors of migration, such as the very real factor of displacement. The move to a new land is likely to affect the display and creation of identity, and the contact with people of a different culture can lead to changes that should not be explained as the mixing of cultures. The question

of how the display of ethnicity changes will therefore be examined without the use of labels such as creole or hybrid, which seem to obscure rather than clarify.

It will be argued here that migration and the diaspora situation may have greatly affected the display of ethnicity in northern Scotland. There will first be an exploration of how migration and the creation of a Norse diaspora is visible in burials on both sides of the North Sea, and then an examination of ethnic display in northern Scotland compared with Møre og Romsdal.

4.2 Migration and graves

The nature of Norse settlement in northern Scotland was to some extent reviewed in chapter 2, though some aspects of the migration process such as the possibility of discovering a pioneer phase and indications of return migrations will be discussed here.

Pioneer phase?

It was mentioned above that mass-migrations are generally preceded by a pioneer phase heavily unbalanced towards young males, and it was suggested that this might be visible through burials, as one would expect a greater number of male than female graves in the earliest period. Figure 6 in chapter 3.2 demonstrates that this does not appear to have been the case in northern Scotland, where female graves are slightly more common in this period. This does not necessarily mean that the settlement of northern Scotland was family-based from the outset, but we then have to accept that these pioneers were not buried there or that these for some reason are indistinguishable from other burials. The *Annals of Ulster* mention raids on all the islands of Britain, and though northern Scotland is not specifically mentioned, it is unlikely that this area was not also subject to these raids (Morris 1996b:70-71). It has been suggested (e.g. Owen 2004) that the Northern Isles of Scotland were not raided because trading contacts between this area and Norway existed prior to the Viking raids, and the Isles were used as a stop-over point for raids further south and west. This theory is based on the lack of documented raids, however, and there is no archaeological evidence supporting it. The lack of an evident pioneer phase predicted by migration theory highlights some of the problems with such an approach to migrations in pre(and proto)history. Migrations and the material traces they leave behind are highly context dependent, and though it might be true that migrations generally have a distinct pioneer phase and that migrants are generally male, these assumptions may be a hindrance as much as a help, as they obscure or downplay the differences. In this particular case, there was

no clear pioneer phase and the migrant group seem to have consisted of as many females as males. Rather than attempt to explain away these differences, we should be open to the possibility that women played an important role in the Viking Age migration to northern Scotland.

Return migration and diasporic identity

Artefacts of insular origin occur in two graves from Møre og Romsdal, both well-equipped jewellery graves. None of the artefacts are of Pictish origin, but as demonstrated in chapter 3.3, apart from one penannular brooch, there are no insular artefacts of distinctly Pictish origin from the graves of northern Scotland either. Both graves contained artefacts that seemed to have been used for different purposes than they were originally made for, and one of the graves (Cat.No.70) contained several artefacts with clear Christian connotations. Zanette Tsigaridas Glørstad (2010:120-122) has argued that these artefacts should be viewed differently from secular artefacts used according to their original purpose, such as penannular brooches and strap-ends, as the former are more likely to have arrived in Norway as Viking loot whereas the latter could have entered Scandinavia through different channels. Clearly separating these categories of artefacts may not be simple, however, as there are graves with insular artefacts of both categories. At the cemetery of Westness (Cat.No.21), a woman was buried with an Irish penannular brooch, a pair of Anglo-Saxon strap-ends and a mount probably from the shrine of a gospel book. A grave from Sogge in Rauma (Cat.No.78) might have contained, in addition to the Irish mount reused as a brooch, a ring-headed pin, the insular connections of which will be discussed below. Though there are only two graves with insular material from Norway, when excluding ring-headed pins, there are only three from northern Scotland. These graves should in other words be interpreted as demonstrating contact between Møre og Romsdal and the Irish Sea region in the Viking Age, though what form these contacts took is more difficult to assess.

Both penannular brooches and ring-headed pins were originally insular dress-fasteners that were adopted by the Norse settlers and quickly gained popularity throughout the Viking diaspora (Glørstad 2014:159). Eleven ring-headed pins are known from graves in northern Scotland compared to perhaps two from Møre og Romsdal. The most common types of ring-headed pins are the polyhedral and the loop-headed types. The former is often referred to as Hiberno-Norse and considered to be a symbol of the Norse diasporic communities, and only rarely found in Norway. The latter type is also common in the Norse overseas settlement and is the most numerous in Norway (Glørstad 2014:160). The majority of the pins have not been

identified by type and lack illustrations, but based on the available evidence, the plain-ringed type appears more common in northern Scotland, whereas the only identifiable pin from Møre og Romsdal appears, slightly surprisingly, to be polyhedral, as demonstrated in chapter 3.3. Glørstad (2014:161) has suggested that though the pins are rather similar, the subtle differences could demonstrate statements about cultural contact and belonging. Three penannular brooches are known from northern Scotland, compared with none from Rauma and Tingvoll, although they are well known from other areas of western Norway. In chapter 7.3, their association with Irish power symbols will be discussed, though they are worth mentioning in this context too, as they are the only demonstrably Celtic/Pictish artefacts used according to their original function in the graves from northern Scotland. Interpreting them as the adoption of local traditions is probably too simplistic, however, partly because they were all of considerable age when deposited in the graves and this will be further discussed in chapter 7.3. Both the penannular brooches and the ring-headed pins were dress accessories of Irish/Pictish origin, adopted by the Vikings and distributed throughout the Viking diaspora. The far greater number of these artefacts in northern Scotland than in Møre og Romsdal suggests that they might have been more relevant or their display more important in a colonial context than in the homeland, perhaps in the creation of new diaporic identities.

4.3 Scandinavian material culture in graves – ethnic display?

The preceding section discussed the insular material discovered in pagan burials, but this material constitutes a very small part of the artefact assemblage of the Viking Age graves from northern Scotland. This section will therefore examine material culture and burial types with distinctly Norse overtones. The Viking graves from Scotland are labelled thus because they are clearly of Scandinavian, not native Pictish origin. The form of the graves and their content demonstrate clear similarities with Norway and other parts of the Viking world, though this does not have to mean that the people buried in them were of Scandinavian descent. At the cemetery of Westness on Rousay in Orkney, there were continuous tradition of burial from the Pictish period and throughout the Viking Age. The Picts were buried without grave goods in extended position in narrow, full-length, shallow graves, whereas in the Viking period, the dead were buried in different type of graves, boat-graves, rectangular and oval-shaped and generally with grave goods (Sellevold 1999:6). Osteological analyses have demonstrated that skeletal traits present in what was presumed to be the Pictish material, such as pronounced overbites and eleven pairs of ribs, were not visible in the alleged Viking material. It is also noteworthy

that the two males in boat burials were considerably taller than the Picts (Sellevold 2010). This suggests that the people buried in Viking graves were a different population group than those buried in the earlier Pictish graves. It is evident that not only the grave forms, but also the artefacts in them demonstrate clear links with Scandinavia. At the Scar boat burial on Sanday (Cat.Nos.29-31), all the artefacts, perhaps apart from a spindle whorl were imported, probably including the boat (Owen 2004:11). Not all of the material will be discussed here, there will be a focus on two types of artefacts: combs and oval brooches, and on boat burials.

Combs

Combs are considerably more common in northern Scotland than in Møre og Romsdal, though this might be due to poor survival of bone, horn and antler material in Møre og Romsdal. It has only been possible to determine the type of one of the Norwegian combs, a type 5, and the discussion here will therefore focus on the combs from northern Scotland. The type cannot be determined for all the combs from northern Scotland either, as some lack illustrations. Of those that can, all but one is of Ashby type 5, as discussed in chapter 3.3. These combs are in other words of a common early Viking Age type and some are even made of imported reindeer antler. Ashby's study of Viking Age combs from Scotland was discussed in chapter 2.3, and it is certainly striking that combs of Pictish types were found in Norse contexts at Pool and Buckquoy, whereas these are completely lacking from contemporary graves (Ashby 2009:14). Ashby (2009:24) has suggested that this differential use of combs could result from different people using different combs or that they were used for different purposes. As many of the combs from grave contexts showed little to no sign of wear, they might mainly have had a ceremonial usage, though in other contexts combs of this type show clear signs of wear. As combs of Norse and Pictish types were found together at Pool, it does not seem to be any clear difference between the people using Pictish and Viking combs in ninth century northern Scotland. As the combs were all Norse and many showed little sign of wear, they might have been considered useful artefacts in displaying an ethnic Norse identity. There appears to be a difference between this display in funerary and settlement contexts in the ninth century, perhaps they were not the same people, or perhaps the display of Norse identity was considered of more importance in funerary context than in domestic life. This might also account for the complete lack of pottery from any pagan graves from northern Scotland, though there is some from contemporary settlements (see chapter 2.3).

Oval brooches

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 overtly Scandinavian way. Oval brooches are by far the most common jewellery item in both Møre og Romsdal and northern Scotland, though chapter 3.3 demonstrated that they were more customary in female graves from Scotland than from Møre og Romsdal. There are some indications that they were not necessarily easy to gain access to in a colonial setting, however. The most common brooch forms in northern Scotland are clearly R 647 and R 652/654, which are also the most commonplace forms of oval brooches from the Viking period. These types only constitute 33 % of the oval brooches from Møre og Romsdal. Of even greater significance are the two sets of oval brooches from Reay and Westerseat in Caithness, though the brooches are of the same type, in neither case do they form matching sets, which is rare. The presence of oval brooches in 17/20 jewellery burials from northern Scotland, their common forms and the use of non-matching pairs suggest that they were of great importance in funerary display, perhaps because both their style and the form of dress they would have had to be worn with would be very clear references to a Norse identity.

Boat burials

The rite of boat burial was common throughout Scandinavia in the Viking Age, and it has been interpreted in many different ways, for example seeing the boats as useful containers for the dead, references to the deceased's status, means of transport for a symbolic journey to the afterlife and connected with various Old Norse gods (Price 2008:264-266). Erin Halstad-McGuire (2010:178) has argued that in a North Atlantic settlement environment they should be interpreted in the context of the creation and display of migrant identities. It is therefore worth noting the apparently high number of possible boat or boat-shaped burials in northern Scotland, where they constitute 22 % of all the burials, compared to 13 % in Møre og Romsdal (see chapter 3.4). It is possible that boats could have functioned as important symbols of Norse culture in northern Scotland. Barrett (2001) has demonstrated the growth of the importance of maritime economy and especially deep-sea fishing, and in an island society such as in the Northern Isles of Scotland boats must have been important facilitators of contact both within the local community, but also with more distant lands, such as the Norwegian homeland and other parts of the Norse diaspora. Despite the difference in numbers, there are distinct

similarities between boat burials in the two areas, such as the preference for inhumation rather than cremation and the frequency of more than one boat burial in the same locality. Boat burials also contain slightly more artefacts than average in both areas, though this is more pronounced in Møre og Romsdal. This frequent use of a funerary rite distinctly different from native traditions, and also used in the same way as in the homeland could have been a strategy used by the Norse settlers to display ethnicity.

4.4 Migration and ethnicity in northern Scotland

The migration from Norway to northern Scotland could have resulted in a break with doxic knowledge and therefore also to the awareness of ethnicity. The response to this situation was to some extent varied, but the funerary context suggests attempts at reinstating orthodoxy. Niall Sharples (2003:161-162) has argued for the importance of dress accessories as signifiers of status, identity and political affiliation in the later Pictish period, but the presence of this material in pagan graves is limited to one penannular brooch, and this might have been of significant age when deposited (see chapter 7.3). Apart from ring-headed pins, insular metalwork is practically as rare in northern Scotland as in Møre og Romsdal. Whereas mixtures of Pictish and Norse architecture as well as comb types and the use of pottery are all present in ninth century settlements, the graves are practically devoid of any reference to Pictish culture. The insular artefacts present in the graves have closer connections with Ireland than northern Scotland, suggesting that their importance might have been in a Norse diasporic rather than local context. This continued maintenance of traditions and therefore cultural memory should be interpreted as a deliberate strategy. The deliberate use of distinctly Scandinavian artefacts such as the Scar artefacts, the combs and oval brooches and Norse traditions such as boat burials was not a passive response and clearly distinct from the response seen in early settlements. Both oval brooches and boat burial, which can be interpreted as ethnic Norse markers, occur more often in northern Scotland than in Møre og Romsdal, indicating greater relevance in a diaspora environment. It is possible that the display of Norse identity was not necessary in Møre og Romsdal, which might account for the greater numbers of imports from outside the insular area. Such artefacts do not occur in northern Scotland, though this could also be due to lack of trading contacts. The focus on certain practices or artefacts when displaying ethnic identity could also lead to changes in it, through the repeated use of these in ritualised practices. The meaning of such objects could change and it is possible that they gained new and more significant positions as markers of ethnic identity. The self-conscious use of artefacts and traditions interpreted here

as ethnic markers, could have created an ethnic community of people who had previously not necessarily felt like the same people. This is certainly possible for both Viking combs and oval brooches, but also ring-headed pins and penannular brooches, which through their repeated use would have been part of not just signalling, but also actively creating a Norse diasporic identity. An important question is of course why there appears to be a difference in ethnic strategies adopted in early Norse settlements compared with burials. They could have been different groups, but another possible explanation is that it might have been difficult to obtain Norse artefacts in the first phase of settlement, and that they were considered of greater importance in a funerary context. Viking type combs and steatite might have been preferred in settlements, but it was in the ritualised actions such as funerals that they were considered to be crucial. In a funerary setting, they were remembered as Norse, and the lack of any signs of Pictish material culture might be a case of deliberate forgetting. In the (re)creation of cultural memory that funerary rites were an important part of, only certain aspects of the deceased's identity were actively remembered, and these aspects were clearly Norse.

Chapter 5 Gender display

5.1 Gender and migration

Migration, especially in the Viking Age is largely understood as a male pursuit. The stories of Vikings raiding, raping and pillaging leave little room for women. This view is certainly changing, and over the last twenty years there has been a much greater focus on the role of women in the Viking Age (e.g. Gräslund 2003; Hillerdal 2009b; Jesch 1991; Kershaw 2009; Staecker 2003; Sørensen 2009). Part of this work has been concerned with demonstrating the presence of women. This is certainly worth noting also with regards to this thesis, as jewellery graves are more common than weapon graves in northern Scotland, and also occur far more frequently overall in northern Scotland than in Møre og Romsdal. This chapter does not simply aim to demonstrate the presence of women, but also seeks to explore how gendered display in graves was affected by migration and settlement and what this may suggest about changing gender relations.

The use of the term gender in archaeology is problematic. The archaeologist Ingrid Fulgestvedt (2012:13-15) has argued that gender can only discover either the gender norm or fantastic deviants, or alternatively there must be unlimited forms of gender. In Fulgestvedt's view, the gender term cannot identify real, embodied people. The critique certainly raises important issues, but as the focus here is not to discover normative gender roles, but rather explore how gender fluctuates, the term will still be employed here. Gender is in this thesis understood as socially constructed, and although it is linked to biological sex, they are not equal (Días-Andreu 2005:14). In the same way as rituals and ethnicity, gender is also viewed as practice. It is part of the habitus, which implies that it is shaped by social practice, but can at the same time change this. Gender is in other words not a given, it is continuously maintained, performed and negotiated, partly through material culture. In this sense, it is intimately connected to the construction of meaning (Sørensen 2009:257). This increased focus on gender as practice involves a greater interest in the transformative and performative aspects of gender (Sørensen 2009:256). Material culture play an essential role in structuring gender relations. It represents the material context in which gendered individuals interact with each other and negotiate their social positions (Días-Andreu 2005:22). Material artefacts provide meaning, but this meaning can change. In this way, material culture does not simply function as a symbol of gender; it actively creates it. Changes in the use of material culture by particular gender categories can therefore lead to transformation in gender relations. These changes can be strategic actions employed exactly for those purposes (Días-Andreu 2005:25).

Understanding gender as practice also infers that a break with doxic knowledge, for example as a result of migration, might then lead to changes in gender relations. Existing agreements and understandings of the relationships between people are broken and new ones have to be formed (Sørensen 2009:264). During circumstances of migration, it might not be possible to maintain rigid distinctions between public and private spheres, which may lead to new gender roles. The composition of and nature of contact between the encountering groups will also be crucial to the changes in gender relations (Sørensen 2009:266).

In this thesis changes in gender relations will only be viewed through funerary display and this confines the possible outcomes. As argued in chapter 1.3, the grave goods included in the burial is not an image of the person in life, but rather the person the community wanted to display.

In regards to burials, women are often buried with jewellery, textile implements and cooking utensils, whereas men are frequently buried with weapons and tools. These differences are, however, by no means absolute. A grave from the pagan Viking cemetery at Heath Wood, Ingleby in England contained an osteologically sexed female buried with a sword, a shield and a knife (McLeod 2011:345). The archaeologist Frans Arne Stylegar (2010) has argued that the reason for the much greater amount of male over female graves could be that what we consider diagnostically female artefacts might not be of such importance in female funerary display. As the majority of the burials, especially from Møre og Romsdal, have not been excavated by professionals there is a danger that weapon burials are overrepresented as a sword or an axe might be easier to spot than the fragments of a brooch. There are a number of burials with a single weapon in Møre og Romsdal, although even if we were to exclude all these, the amount of male graves would still be above 70 %.

5.2 Male and female migrants

One of the most striking differences between burials in Møre og Romsdal and northern Scotland is the far greater proportion of female graves from the latter area. As discussed in chapter 3.2, 40% of the burials in northern Scotland are jewellery burials while 36% are weapon burials. The corresponding numbers from Møre og Romsdal are 11,8% and 77,5%. This could suggest that there were many female settlers, although it is difficult to speculate about the origin of the people buried, and it is possible that they were of Pictish descent. DNA evidence for Scandinavian ancestry in the North Sea colonies, however, suggests a family-based settlement of the Northern Isles and Caithness with equal numbers of male and female settlers (the results

showed c. 30% Scandinavian ancestry for Orkney, 40% for Shetland and 15% for northwest Scotland) (Goodacre, et al. 2005:132). It is important to keep in mind that these are the results for the modern population, and it is highly uncertain to what extent they reflect the Viking Age population. It does, however, seem likely that at least the majority of both the male and female burials from northern Scotland are the burials of Norse settlers. Simply interpreting the burials as reflecting the relative numbers of men and women in society is clearly a feeble explanation, as we would then expect to see about equal numbers of male and female burials in Møre og Romsdal too. An interesting question is therefore why there are so many female burials in northern Scotland. This rather equal gender display in northern Scotland also differs substantially from other areas in the Viking diaspora, such as northern and eastern England. Dawn Hadley (2008:279) has demonstrated that in both pagan Viking burials and in later Anglo-Scandinavian stone sculpture, the focus is on masculine military display. This is seen in the context of contact and assimilation between Anglo-Saxon and Scandinavian elites. Despite this focus on masculine display, several scholars have suggested that the number of female immigrants was greater than previously thought (e.g. Hadley 2008:279; Kershaw 2009; McLeod 2011). The number of weapon and jewellery graves in northern Scotland could therefore imply a change in gender relations. This possibility will be explored through a comparison of jewellery and weapon burials from northern Scotland and Møre og Romsdal. Graves containing neither weapons nor jewellery will not be included in the present discussion, not because they are irrelevant to a discussion of gender relations, but because it is highly likely that many of these graves originally contained more artefacts that were not included in the reports due to poor excavation and recording procedures.

Gender display in jewellery graves

Female settlers may have had a crucial role in colonial contexts as maintainers of a distinct cultural identity, resulting both from cultural competence, but also from reducing the number of mixed marriages (Glørstad 2010:124-126). It seems likely that relations within the Viking diaspora were maintained through marriages as well as by sending children back to the homeland to be fostered. This would ensure that strong cultural links with Norway were maintained. Although there are fewer female burials in Møre og Romsdal, these contain on average more artefacts, 8,1 compared to 5. However, there are still clear similarities between jewellery graves from the two areas, such as the frequent occurrence of textile implements, and the presence of insular artefacts limited to these burials. Utensils for the preparation and

consumption of food and drink occur more frequently in Møre og Romsdal, however, whereas combs, penannular brooches, ring-headed pins and oval brooches are more common in northern Scotland. In the previous chapter, these latter types of artefacts were discussed as important signifiers of a Norse diasporic identity, and their frequent occurrence in Scottish jewellery graves might indicate the importance of women in the creation of this identity. The few, but well-equipped jewellery burials from Møre og Romsdal might suggest that only women with a certain social position received this form of burial. In northern Scotland on the other hand, jewellery burials are far more common, but also contain less artefacts, perhaps indicating that more women had an important role in a colonial setting, connected to the maintenance, but also creation of cultural identity.

In general, the female graves from northern Scotland are more uniform than the graves from Møre og Romsdal. However, there are four graves that warrant mentioning in order to highlight the variety of female roles in a colonial setting. Three of these are from the cemetery of Westness; the first of which (Cat.No.21) has already been mentioned as the wealthiest grave from northern Scotland. The woman buried presumably died in childbirth and was accompanied by several items of jewellery: a pair of oval brooches, an Irish penannular brooch, a necklace of 40 beads, and the mount of the shrine for a gospel-book that had been reused as a brooch. This is one of only three burials with insular equipment (when excluding ring-headed pins), and also the only grave including artefacts with Christian connotations. This strongly suggests that the woman buried here held a special place in society. Two of the other jewellery graves from Westness did not contain oval brooches, which, as demonstrated in chapter 3.3, is rare in northern Scotland. It has been impossible to determine the full extent of the artefact assemblage for one of these burials (Cat.No.25), but the other (Cat.No.20) contained a penannular brooch, a sickle, a comb and two spindle whorls. The penannular brooch was of Pictish manufacture (see chapter 7.3 for further discussion of this), and its presence in addition to the absence of oval brooches could be interpreted as an ethnic statement, perhaps she was of Pictish descent. However, this suggestion is negated by the presence of a comb of presumably Norse manufacture². The final burial to be mentioned in this context is the boat burial from Scar on Sanday (Cat.No.30). This burial also contained a man and a child, but the woman seem to have occupied pride of place (Owen and Dalland 1999:155). While not accompanied by a pair of oval brooches, an equal-armed brooch was found. There were also several artefacts connected

²Ashby notes that only combs of type 5 are found in Viking graves, with the possible exception of a grave from Newark Bay. In his appendix 1, only type 5 is noted as having been found at Westness (Ashby 2009:14,28).

with textile production and a wooden box. Some of the artefacts may indicate that she was a ritual specialist, an hypothesis that will be further explored in the next chapter. These four graves demonstrate that although jewellery graves generally contain the same types of artefacts, there are still significant differences. They were all buried in a clearly Norse pagan manner, but this does not mean that all women occupied the same roles within the society of Viking Age Scotland.

Gender display in weapon graves

The weapon burials from Møre og Romsdal and northern Scotland contain about the same number of artefacts, 5,3 and 5,5 respectively. There is, however, a much greater variation in the number of artefacts in the graves from Møre og Romsdal, as mentioned in chapter 3.3, with 14 graves containing only one artefact, while others contain up to twenty. In northern Scotland, the equivalent numbers vary between one and ten, perhaps suggesting a more egalitarian society. It is, however, very likely that the much higher number of weapon burials from Møre og Romsdal are partly the reason for this variation. There are some artefacts that occur more commonly in northern Scotland, such as the combs and ring-headed pins, which were discussed in chapter 4. One of the clearest differences between the weapon graves from the two areas is the lack of artefacts connected to a trade or other forms of activity in northern Scotland. There are no domestic tools, as is occasionally the case in the Norwegian material. As discussed in chapter 3.3 are there little variation and low frequency of farming equipment in graves from northern Scotland, however, the complete lack of tools connected to forging and woodworking is perhaps the most noticeable difference.

The presence of these types of tools in graves from Norway have been interpreted in different ways. Some have understood them to indicate that the dead was a smith (e.g. Grieg 1920:92; Petersen 1951:113), however, more recent work has focused on the ritual associations and transformative power connected with these tools (e.g. Barndon 2005; Barndon 2006; Glørstad 2008; Rønne 2002). In chapter 3.3, it was demonstrated that these types of tools often occur in particularly well-equipped weapon burials, suggesting that a generalisation of all these graves as those of smiths or carpenters is problematic. Glørstad (2008:429) has argued that in well-equipped graves these tools might represent a connection between the dead and the mythical and ritual power connected with these tools, although they might not actually have mastered the practice. If the tools were to be interpreted as simply representing the profession of the dead it follows that the lack of them in northern Scotland would suggest that there were no smiths or

carpenters there, or that these were of Pictish origin. Smithies discovered at the Norse settlement sites of Pool (Hunter, et al. 1993:277) and Jarlshof (Graham-Campbell and Batey 1998:157) clearly demonstrate that forging took place in a Norse context, although it cannot be proved that the smiths were not Picts. Possible difficulties in obtaining Norse jewellery, for example oval brooches, was discussed in chapter 4.3 and indicates that these were presumably not made in northern Scotland, but had to be imported. The absence of smiths capable of producing high quality products such as oval brooches is certainly a possibility, but it does not account for the complete lack of these type of tools. Lydia Carstens (2012:254-260) has demonstrated that the Saga of the Icelanders often refers to farmers and warriors as also working as smiths, and she argues that this was seen as a skill free Icelandic men had to master. It is in other words highly likely that there were Norse people with knowledge of forging and carpentry in northern Scotland, and presumably also with knowledge of the mythical and ritual connotations these tools had. There may not have been any smiths or carpenters in northern Scotland who had this as their full-time profession, however, tools of this kind from Møre og Romsdal seem to be more associated with elite display rather than connected to a profession. It is possible that the lack of people capable of making high-status goods meant that these tasks were no longer connected with a Norse elite. In the later Iron Age, Pictish metalwork, especially dress accessories, was of great importance (Sharples 2003:161-162), and it is possible that the Norse did not want to be associated with what was considered Pictish crafts. The lack of carpentry and forging tool is mirrored in the Icelandic material (Eldjárn and Friðriksson 2000:597), however, where at least the last argument would presumably be irrelevant.

It appears that tools used for forging and carpentry were not important in a funerary setting in northern Scotland. In death, tools that would connect the dead either to a profession, or to the ritual and mythical aspects of these, were not included; they were in other words not used to remember the dead. This is to some degree the case with domestic and farming equipment as well. The question to ask is therefore what artefacts were used to remember the dead, and the answer seems to be weapons. This forms a circular argument, as graves without weapons would not be classified as male graves. Even if we were to accept all the 11 uncertain graves as male burials, however, weapons such as shield-bosses, spearheads and swords would still dominate the record, followed by combs, knives and buckles. This suggest that men in northern Scotland were more than anything, and perhaps to an even greater degree than in Møre and Romsdal, remembered as warriors. This is interesting seen in relation to other parts of the Viking diaspora

such as the Danelaw, where, as mentioned above, the funerary record is dominated by masculine military display.

5.3 Gender display in northern Scotland

The differences in male and female display are interesting seen in relation to descriptions of men and women in Scaldic poetry. According to Snorri, womanhood revolves around manners and behaviours, such as the serving of food and drink, ability to carry out sorcery and the wearing of jewellery, while masculinity is performed through actions, what a man gives, receives or does (Skaldskaparmál 30-32 cited in Hedeager 2011:123-124). In iconography, men are depicted as mounted, bearded warriors, sometimes with their ships (Hedeager 2011:124), and these descriptions are generally mirrored in the funerary material.

The gendered display in both jewellery and weapon graves from northern Scotland are in many ways very similar to that in Møre og Romsdal. The same artefacts are generally employed, seemingly in the same way, for example the use of insular artefacts and textile equipment in jewellery burials. There are some differences, however. Certain artefact, such as combs, ring-headed pins, and penannular brooches, occur rather frequently in northern Scotland whereas they are very rare or not found in Møre og Romsdal. Although oval brooches occur frequently in both areas, they seem to have been of greater importance in northern Scotland. All these artefacts were in chapter 4 argued as being closely connected to the creation of a Norse diasporic identity. Their frequent occurrence in jewellery burials therefore suggests a close link between female gender and the creation of Norse ethnicity. The use of these artefacts in female burials not only demonstrates the link between jewellery burials and Norse diasporic identity, it is part of creating this connection through the artefacts continued use in ritualised actions. The many Norse female burials could have been part of a strategy for publicising the ‘Norseness’ of the remaining family, perhaps in a society where mixed marriages were not unusual. The difference from the Danelaw, where feminine funerary display is rare, might be explained by the different contexts following migration. Whereas the masculine military display is interpreted in the context of assimilation in the Danelaw, the Viking graves of northern Scotland show no sign of this. Despite this connection with the creation of ethnic identity, it is important to note that this was not the sole purpose of these women. The differences in female burials suggest that these graves also reflected the status and position the women held in life.

The use of ring-headed pins and Viking combs in weapon burials indicate that male burials were also a scene for the expression of Norse identity, however, it seems that female dress was more suited for this purpose. Although there is on average the same number of artefacts in weapon burials in both areas, there are very few tools connected to specific professions, indicating that warrior identity was the most important aspect of male funerary rites in northern Scotland. The focus on warrior identity was common in most of northern Europe throughout the migration period, and lasted into the Medieval Period in Scandinavia (Hedeager 1993). The connection between military display and pagan Germanic ideology, might suggest that weapon burials could be an important arena for displaying ethnicity as well as status (Hedeager 1993:123). It would seem, in other words, to be a close connection between gender and ethnicity in both male and female graves from northern Scotland, although it is probably more pronounced in the latter.

Most of the artefacts mentioned above were also employed in burials in Møre og Romsdal. The conscious use of these artefacts in rituals meant that gender was actively maintained. At the same time, it is possible that the meaning invested into these artefacts changed following migration. Artefacts that could have functioned as symbols of status and gender, gained the additional function of symbolising Norse ethnic identity. The funerary record from northern Scotland does not suggest a change in gender roles, yet it might suggest a change in gender relations, due to an increased importance of women in a colonial context.

It was suggested above that migration can lead to changes in gender relations due to a break with doxic knowledge, but that this was highly dependent on the nature of contact between the encountering groups. In northern Scotland, the funerary record suggests an attempt at orthodoxy. This could imply little, or highly hierarchical contact between the native Pictish population and the people buried in Norse fashion, though another possibility is that such contact existed, but that it was actively forgotten in the funerary context.

Chapter 6 Religion

6.1 Christianity and paganism

The chief evidence for the practising of paganism in northern Scotland is the pagan graves. These graves are the end result of rituals which purpose was to provide the community with means of dealing with the death of one of its members. Although funerary rites are in this thesis understood as practice and therefore recreating the social structures they are created by, it is still important to acknowledge the significance of the beliefs that were part of their construction. Funerary rites are likely to reflect beliefs, although with regards to Old Norse religion, it is difficult to say what these beliefs consisted of. It was not a uniform body of beliefs and rituals, but consisted of different and changing traditions (e.g. Andrén 2005:108). The religious expression was bound up with every other aspect of existence and it makes more sense to understand it as a way of looking at the world rather than a religion in the modern usage of the term (Andrén, et al. 2006; Lund 2013; Price 2002). The great variations in beliefs and traditions are reflected in the funerary rites from Scandinavia, where there are significant differences of practice between regions, but also within localities. The conversion from paganism to Christianity was consequently not simply a matter of substituting one for the other, as they were not equivalent entities (Abrams 2000:144). This means that although we might see the act of conversion itself as an event, this must both have been preceded and followed by a much longer process of Christianisation (Bagge 2005:123).

This worldview here called paganism or Old Norse religion should be seen as part of doxic knowledge, and migration can, as mentioned, lead to a break with this. In a colonial setting, the Norse settlers are likely to have been exposed to different beliefs on a much more regular basis than in Norway. Responses to this could have been varied, and both variations in, and the continuation of, aspects of pagan funerary rituals should be interpreted as meaningful. In addition to conversion and conscious continuation of pagan traditions, it has been suggested that syncretism is a possible outcome of this situation (e.g. Eldjárn 1953:74). The problems with the notion syncretism, here understood as the union of significant elements from different religions (Abrams 2000:144), are much the same as with terms such as hybridisation and creolisation, which were discussed in chapter 4.1. A prerequisite for syncretism is that Christianity and paganism are clear, well-defined entities, which, as argued above, they are not. Putting differences in burial customs down to a mixture of pagan and Christian rites is a simplification of the situation, as it does not take into account the variations within these categories. This does not mean that the pagan burial rites in northern Scotland could not have

been affected by the close proximity to Christians and Christian worship, but it is unlikely that new features or changes in funerary rites were recognised as Christian and pagan. Anders Andrén (2005) has demonstrated how paganism was affected by Celtic, Roman and Christian practices, and argues for seeing these changes as local reinterpretations creating partly new cultural expressions. It is important to keep in mind that funerary rites were meaningful acts, and changes in them are likely to be the result of more complex processes than simply the adoption of certain Christian practises. As Julie Lund (2013:49) argues, instead of interpreting the changes in funerary rites as a transitional stage on the way to correct Christian practices, these rites should be accepted as meaningful acts. This chapter will therefore examine similarities and differences between the graves from the two areas of study, and also the relationship between paganism and Christianity in northern Scotland in order to explore these aspects.

6.2 Paganism in northern Scotland

This section will first examine concrete signs of pagan beliefs in northern Scotland, before exploring the question of who the people buried in a pagan fashion were.

Pagan beliefs

Pagan burials in northern Scotland are, as mentioned above, the strongest evidence of paganism being practised, and implies that pagan beliefs were an important part of the settlers' identity. Certain aspects of these graves are worth discussing further, as it has been suggested that they are connected to specific pagan deities or beliefs. The purpose of this chapter is not to explore all aspects of pagan beliefs in northern Scotland, but to demonstrate that they are likely to have been of great importance for the funerary rites.

In the previous chapter, it was mentioned that the woman from the Scar boat burial (Cat.No.30) was some form of ritual specialist, and this will be further explored here. She was buried with, among other artefacts, a carved whale-bone plaque used for the pressing of linen. The excavators suggested that this could have been a ritual rather than practical artefact (Owen and Dalland 1999:79), due to the connection between Freya and the sowing and spinning of flax (Näsström 1995:85-86). This plaque, and the symbolic connotations of the boat itself, led the excavators to suggest that the woman may have had an important position in the cult of Freya (Owen 2004:16). Neil Price (2002) has discussed several graves from Scandinavia as possible

volva graves, and it is interesting that some of their characteristics are mirrored in the Scar boat burial. While there were three people in the grave, the woman seem to have been the most important, as she was placed in the centre of the boat. This is apparently mirrored in a double cremation grave from Klinta on Öland in Sweden, where a man and a woman were cremated in a boat, and the bones and ashes then separated into two different graves. Whereas the artefacts and the bones of the woman had been carefully picked out and deposited in a pottery vessel, only a small proportion of the man's remains mixed with the pyre debris was spread out in a layer (Price 2002:142-147). The artefacts were found randomly spread out through this layer. The female burial contained an equal-armed brooch, and, perhaps more importantly, a glass linen smoother (Price 2002:147), which would presumably have been used for example with a whale-bone plaque such as the one from Scar. The female burial from Klinta also contained an axe and some coins which were of significant age when buried (Price 2002:148), which is again paralleled at Scar, and will be further discussed in chapter 7.3. Another possible Volva grave from Aska in Östergötland in Sweden, contained a decorated whale-bone plaque, again without a glass linen smoother (Price 2002:157). A connection with Freya has also been suggested for the Oseberg burial (Ingstad 1995), perhaps suggesting a connection between women, elaborate boat burials and the worship of Freya. It is worth noting that a number of these possible volva graves do not contain oval brooches (for example grave 4 from Fyrkat (Price 2002:149-157) and Peel Castle from Isle of Man (Price 2002:160-161)), and that wooden boxes are a recurring feature, both of which are mirrored in the Scar boat burial. A significant difference between Scar and the Volva graves, however, is the lack of a staff, which is seen as the most important signifier in the volva graves. It is of course possible that there was a staff present, as the grave had suffered substantially from erosion and had also been disturbed by burrowing animals. However, assuming that there was a staff and that the Scar woman therefore was a volva seems to be stretching the evidence a bit far. It is still worth noting that the woman from Scar was buried in a manner resembling that of pagan ritual specialists, and it might suggest she had an important role in the pagan society.

Boat burials have been discussed in chapter 4.3 as potential ethnic statements, and the possibility of associations with pagan beliefs was briefly mentioned. The boats in graves have been interpreted as important for the journey to the afterlife (e.g. Shetelig 1917) and also in connection with a fertility cult (e.g. Crumlin-Pedersen 1995). The great variations in boat burials might negate such a uniform explanation for the boat graves. As noted in chapter 3.4 boat graves are on average wealthier, almost exclusively cremations, and also often found in

close proximity to other boat graves. However, there are still significant differences. Both men and women were buried in boats, and the burials contained a great variety of both artefact types and their numbers. Interpreting the boat burial from Huna in Caithness (Cat.No.7), which seem to have been unfurnished apart from the boat, in the same way as the Scar boat burial (Cat.Nos.29-31), which contained three individuals and a number of artefacts, does not seem viable. This does not mean that boats in graves may not have been connected to beliefs, but that these beliefs were not necessarily consistent or uniform.

Burials with horses is another pagan burial rite that has been interpreted in a mythological context. It has been argued that horses were seen as living in between the conceptual worlds and that they had the ability to move between these worlds (Loumand 2006; Oma 2004). A mythological example is Odin's horse, Sleipnir, which was able to move between Asgard and Utgard, and also down to Hel (Loumand 2006:133). The horse in burials could therefore have functioned as means of transport and communication between the world of the living and that of the dead (Loumand 2006:133; Oma 2004:75). Graves with equestrian equipment occur more frequently in Møre og Romsdal than in northern Scotland, as mentioned in chapter 3.3. It is worth noting, however, that whereas this material is completely made up of bridle-bits in Møre og Romsdal, there are three instances of the entire or parts of a horse accompanying the dead in graves from northern Scotland (Cat.Nos.37,38 and 47), all from the cemetery of Pierowall on Westray in Orkney. Possible poor survival of bone in Møre og Romsdal may in part be the reason for this difference. Although the interpretation of the religious or symbolic role of burials with horses and horse equipment is to some extent hampered by the same problems as discussed in relation to boat burials, there appears to be a greater similarity in burials with equestrian equipment, especially in northern Scotland. Equestrian equipment seems in general to be more common in male than female burials, and although the sample from northern Scotland is rather small (five graves), it is notable that the horse skeletons were found in two weapon graves and one uncertain grave. Burials with equestrian equipment in northern Scotland are limited to two cemeteries, the already mentioned Pierowall, and Reay in Caithness. Such a pattern is not visible in Møre og Romsdal. This might suggest a more uniform set of traditions or belief behind the use of horses and equestrian equipment in graves from northern Scotland, and it is possible that it should be seen in relation to masculine military display.

There is only one artefact with clear pagan associations from both areas of study, a Thor's hammer pendant from the grave at Gurness (Cat.No.13). The Thor's hammer pendants have been regarded as symbols of a pagan reaction against Christianity, a counterpart to the crucifix

pendants (e.g. Staecker 2003:468). Thor's hammer pendants are not common in Norway, however, suggesting that their symbolism was not of equal importance in all areas of Scandinavia (Nordeide 2006). The Thor's hammer is a clearly pagan symbol, however, and its presence in a grave from Orkney could represent a self-conscious expression of paganism, perhaps in response to Christianity. It is worth noting that the clear majority of the pendants that have found in graves are from female burials (Staecker 2003:469-470), which is also the case with the Gurness example. This highlights the importance of women in the creation of a pagan Norse diasporic identity as discussed in chapter 5.

There is also a possible example of human sacrifice from the cemetery of Westness. Above the burial of a comparatively wealthy male burial, were the bones of a 60-year-old person found in a heap beneath a stone slab. The toe bones were found outside the slab, and the excavator suggested this might mean that the body had first been exposed before most of the bones had been collected and placed under the slab (Kaland 1973:95-96). Although it is far from certain that this represents a human sacrifice, this treatment of the body is clearly at odds with a Christian worldview concerned with the integrity of the body.

The examples mentioned here are not meant to give any form of overview over pagan practices in Viking Age northern Scotland. They are rather intended to demonstrate the possible connection between funerary rites and a pagan worldview, in order to highlight these burials as distinctly pagan, and therefore distinctly different from the contemporary Christian practices. These rituals and the artefacts employed were not random, but carefully chosen in order to provide the proper way of dealing with the death of a member of the community. The burials from northern Scotland suggest that there were different ways of doing this, presumably mirroring the complexity of pagan traditions and beliefs. It is difficult to discuss the effects of migration in regards to the examples discussed here, as the samples are small, and the variation within the areas often as great as that between them. This aspect will, however, be further discussed below in section 6.3.

First generation settlers, elite display or pagan reaction?

There are many different theories as to who the people buried in the pagan graves were. They have been suggested to represent the graves of the first generation of settlers (e.g. Eldjárn 1984:7), the graves of a Norse elite self-consciously displaying their pagan roots as Christianity was losing influence (Lamb 1993:269), and also the self-conscious flourishing of pagan beliefs

in the face of growing acceptance of Christianity (Owen 2004:14). The problem with all these explanations is that they do not take into account the variety in both chronology and expression evident in the pagan burials from northern Scotland. It seems to have become generally accepted that there are few pagan burials from Scotland and that this rite was only practiced for a relatively short period of time (e.g. Eldjárn 1984:7; Graham-Campbell and Batey 1998:152-153; Lamb 1993:269). Admittedly, 50 burials from all of northern Scotland may not seem like a substantial number, especially compared with 93 from two municipalities in Norway. This number is likely to be considerably higher, however. There has for example been suggested that there might be six more graves at Gurness, in addition to the one included here (Hedges 1987:73). If we compare this with the 308 pagan graves from Iceland (Graham-Campbell and Batey 1998:150), which is considerably larger and likely to support a much larger population, the number for Orkney does not seem so small. Certainly not small enough to be regarded as ‘slight evidence for Norse pagan worship’ as Raymond Lamb (1993:268) suggests. It also seems highly unlikely that all those adhering to the pagan faith were buried in what we consider pagan graves, as this would mean that there were hardly any women in Møre og Romsdal or that they were not pagan. The graves are therefore likely to represent an elite, but probably not such a small elite and for such a limited period of time as suggested by Lamb.

The dating of the burials from northern Scotland is a factor that seems to negate all three suggestions. Graham-Campbell and Batey (1998:154) has argued that all the burials from northern Scotland can be dated to between 850 and 950. In chapter 3.1, it was demonstrated that although all the burials *could* indeed fit into this date range, a number of them could just as well be considerably earlier or later. These variations make it difficult to interpret all the graves from northern Scotland as the result of elite pagan display around the time of the establishment of the earldom, and also as a pagan reaction against growing acceptance of Christianity. It is possible to accept them as graves of first generation settlers if we assume that *new settlers arrived throughout the period of early ninth to later tenth century*. This is perfectly possible as migrations generally take place over an extended period of time, as was noted in chapter 4.1, but there are sites that make this interpretation less feasible. The Scar boat burial contained three individuals of very different ages; a woman who was probably in her seventies, a man in his late twenties or thirties, and a child of about ten (Owen and Dalland 1999:52-59). It seems highly unlikely that these were all first-generation settlers. Olwyn Owen (2004:14) suggests that the burial was a late gesture to the old gods, representing a burial the old woman might have wished for if she had died at a more common age. However, she did not bury herself,

and even if the mourners were respecting her wishes by burying her as she would have wanted, why include the man and child if they were not also pagan? The cemetery of Westness is another example that seems to be a poor fit for the first generation settlers model. The graves have been radiocarbon dated, but a full excavation report has not been published and it is therefore difficult to determine what graves the dates belong to, and consequently whether or not they should be considered pagan. However, the number of graves, the age differences between the people buried, and the long date ranges would suggest that pagan burial was practised for an extended period of time.

While none of the interpretations discussed above satisfactorily explain all the pagan graves from northern Scotland, there is some value in all of them. In chapter 3.1, it was demonstrated that there are more burials from the earlier periods, perhaps suggesting that first generation settlers were more likely to bury their dead in a pagan fashion. At the same time, however, it would appear that the later burials contained more artefacts, perhaps hinting at elite display or a pagan reaction against Christianity. It is worth mentioning that the grave with the Thor's hammer pendant also contained a pair of oval brooches of the type R 652, suggesting a tenth century date. Though there are relatively few pagan burials from northern Scotland in comparison with the Scandinavian homelands, these are, as noted above, not likely to reflect the total number of pagan settlers, as not all would have been buried in a recognisably pagan manner. This suggests that there was always an element of elite display, but that this became more prominent in the later periods.

6.3 Pagan-Christian relations

In addition to suggesting a longer tradition of paganism, the cemetery of Westness also demonstrate the reuse of an earlier, presumably Christian, cemetery. Other examples of such reuse from the British Isles is evident both at Repton in England and Balladoole on the Isle of Man. At both sites, the cemeteries had been deliberately disturbed by the Viking burials, which is clearly different from the cemetery of Westness, where the earlier burials had been respected by the incoming Vikings (Kaland 1993:312). At Balladoole, the reuse of the Christian cemetery for a Viking ship-burial has been interpreted as a transitional state between paganism and Christianity, but Sarah Tarlow (1997) has persuasively argued that it should rather be interpreted as a symbol of violent dominance. The ship had been placed in a cemetery containing at least sixteen graves, only one of which had not been disturbed. Some of the initial

graves had become part of the mound created for the boat burial. The small bones of the hands and feet were still articulated when the bodies were removed, indicating that the bodies had not completely decayed (Tarlow 1997:135). At Repton, an important Mercian royal and ecclesiastical site, the mortuary chapel had been disturbed. The burial of what might have been a Viking chieftain appears to have been placed in the centre, with the reinterred bones of the earlier monastic community and/or parts of the Viking army (Richards 2003:389-390). At both of these sites, the reuse of the cemeteries seems to have been a single event, whereas the dating of the burials from Westness suggests long-term use (Sellevold 1999:7). Both Repton and Balladoole are clear statements of dominance and violence; this is not evident at Westness and could suggest more peaceful contact between the Norse and the Picts. The limited publication of this site means that it is at present not possible to say whether or not unfurnished burials continued into the Viking period. Despite this, it is important not to downplay the clearly pagan aspects of the burials from Westness.

A striking aspect of the pagan graves from northern Scotland and the rest of the North Sea diaspora is the lack of cremation burials. There are none known from Iceland (Eldjárn 1953:70), and only two possible examples from northern Scotland, as demonstrated by figure 19, in chapter 3.4. This could partially be the result of limitations in the availability of timber, as noted by Graham-Campbell and Batey (1998:144). Kristján Eldjárn (1953:74) has, however, suggested that this could be the result of Christian influence. In the case of Westness, this is an interesting suggestion as there was a continuity of burial rite, perhaps as an attempt to create a sense of continuation with the Pictish past as will be discussed in chapter 7.2. The general picture of pagan burials from northern Scotland does not seem to support this explanation however. Earlier in this chapter, the pagan beliefs presumably underlying the rituals were discussed, and their evident Norseness was noted in chapter 4. The pagan graves and the rituals employed in the creation of these denote clear and presumably deliberate difference, and syncretism therefore seems a poor explanation for the lack of cremations. This does not necessarily mean that the Norse could not have been affected by Christian notions about the integrity of the body, however, regarding this as the adoption of distinctly Christian rites is a simplification. Inhumations are slightly more common than cremations in Møre og Romsdal, indicating that any potential Pictish influence need not have been understood as religious by the Norse. It seems likely that the virtually complete absence of cremation burials is a result of the recreation of pagan rituals following a break with doxic knowledge, and also that Pictish

influence played a part in this. However, this does not imply that this change would have been understood as related to Christianity.

While the state of Christianity in northern Scotland before and during the Viking period was discussed in chapter 2.4, its significance for the relationship between paganism and Christianity will be discussed here. It was concluded that although the Picts were in all likelihood Christian at the beginning of the Viking Age, it is unlikely that there was a strong Church in northern Scotland. The majority of the evidence for Christianity is frustratingly ambiguous, and answers to questions of who the papars were, whether or not there was any Christian stone sculpture in the Viking Age, or if the *Life of St Findan* suggests an Orkney bishop in the ninth century continue to elude us. The best evidence of Christian practice in Viking Age northern Scotland is the chapels and associated burials. These suggest Norse Christianity by the mid tenth century at the latest, but they could also be significantly earlier. Newark Bay is especially interesting as it demonstrates the reuse (although not continuity) of a Christian cemetery. This would suggest that memories of Pictish Christianity were not forgotten. It would seem that Norse Christianity and paganism were both practised in tenth century northern Scotland, supporting the theory of a pagan reaction as the reason for the fewer, though perhaps wealthier, graves of the tenth century.

While there appears to be a period of overlap between paganism and Norse Christianity, this need not have been very long, as the custom of pagan burial seems to have died out by the third quarter of the tenth century. This is significantly earlier than in Møre og Romsdal, where there are eleven graves that could date to the eleventh century, although a date in the tenth century cannot be excluded for any of them. This is in all likelihood a result of closer contacts with local Pictish Christianity, but Irish influence is also likely to have been of importance.

In general, the pagan graves of northern Scotland show little evidence of Christian influence, but there is no clear evidence of violent takeover either, although this is seen in other parts of the British Isles. Part of the problem in determining the relationship between paganism and Christianity in northern Scotland is the lack of knowledge about Pictish Christianity both before and during the Viking Age. There are no evident signs of Pictish Christianity following the Norse settlement, and neither are there signs of syncretism in the pagan graves. The Norse settlers still seem to have adopted Christianity significantly earlier than the people of Møre og Romsdal. The material does not suggest a slow Christianisation with the use of transitional rites, but rather suggests that demonstrating pagan beliefs became more important in the later periods, probably as more settlers were converting to Christianity.

6.4 Religion in Viking Age northern Scotland

Part of the purpose of this chapter has been to demonstrate the variety of pagan rituals in northern Scotland. These rituals should be interpreted as expression of pagan beliefs at the same time as they are important in the maintenance of these. The great variations of traditions and beliefs in Scandinavia mean that it is difficult to discuss changes in practice. However, it would seem that apart from a clear preference for inhumation rather than cremation burials, the funerary rites from northern Scotland are also present in the Norwegian material. This indicates that funerary rites at odds with a Christian worldview were consciously upheld, they were remembered as clearly pagan, in the same way that chapter 4 argued that they were remembered as clearly Norse. Pagan burial rites do seem to die out earlier in northern Scotland than in Møre og Romsdal. Still, at the same time as the later burials are fewer in number, they are comparatively more well-furnished. This might suggest a conscious pagan reaction to the growing acceptance of Christianity within the Norse community, as indicated by the erection of presumably Norse Christian chapels. One of the major difficulties in discussing paganism in northern Scotland is the lack of knowledge about contemporary Christianity. Were all the Norse converted soon after arrival or did only the elite remain pagan as some scholars suggest (e.g. Eldjárn 1984; Lamb 1993). This chapter has argued that while an element of elite display is likely, it does not follow that the rest of the Norse settlers had converted to Christianity simply because they were not buried in a recognisably pagan manner. The pagan burial rites contain elements of ethnic and gendered display as discussed in chapters 4 and 5, and through their nature as rituals, they would have been of great importance for the creation of group identity, through a sense of understanding and therefore belonging. The pagan rites of northern Scotland could be understood as attempts at orthodoxy following a break with doxic knowledge. Although there are some differences between the burial rites of northern Scotland and those of Møre og Romsdal, this is reflecting the variety and transformative features of paganism, and although they are not exactly mirrored, they are still recognisably pagan. This entails that they would have been recognisably different from the contemporary Christian practices and should therefore be interpreted as deliberate statements.

Chapter 7 The past in the past

7.1 Memory, landscape and material artefacts

This chapter will examine the Norse settlers' use of the past in northern Scotland. The concept of the past in the past has in recent years become a popular topic in archaeology (e.g. Arwill-Nordbladh 2005; Bradley 2002; Gosden and Lock 1998; Olivier 2003; Williams 2006). The concept of cultural memory, as discussed in chapter 1.3, will be of importance here, but the focus in this chapter will not be on the reproduction of memories of origin, but on more practical aspects of dealing with the past in Viking Age northern Scotland. Assman (2008:111) argues that the surrounding world does not have memory, but it can work as a reminder because it carries memories people have invested in it. The surrounding landscape and material artefacts are part of the process of (re)creating and (re)negotiating memory (Arwill-Nordbladh 2005:170). This chapter will focus on graves in relation to landscape features, but also on grave goods, especially those that were already old when buried.

The material traces of the past binds people to a timeline, but also geographically to a place, giving ethnic history a mental and monumental anchorage in time (Hillerdal 2009a:14). The surrounding landscape does therefore not simply provide a stage for ritual actions such as funerals, but it is also integral to these rituals (Gosden and Lock 1998:4). Chris Gosden and Gary Lock (1998:4) have argued that there are two forms of landscape reuse, one with a known past maintained through generations, and mythical memory, where new meanings and values are given to ancient landscape features. In oral societies, the nature of the landscape can work as a reminder of genealogical history and kinship. The landscape is not a static form of charter, however, but a form of argument that can be manipulated by the people of the present. Landscape features are in other words manifestations of social and political relationships, not just physical things (Gosden and Lock 1998:5).

Material artefacts also have mnemonic properties; they can serve the function of maintaining contact with the past (Arwill-Nordbladh 2005:179), and as with landscape, they could both refer to a genealogical past, for example as heirlooms, or to a mythical past. Some of these objects could have been seen as inalienable possessions with a special significance, and they could have been passed through generations and in this way gained additional meaning (Arwill-Nordbladh 2005:179). In this sense, such possessions could incorporate the ancestors rank and fame and be of great significance in contemporary social relations (Weiner 1992:6). Such artefacts contain memories of the past, but the memories can be fabricated. Symbols of earlier rulers can

be adopted by conquerors and in this way provide legitimacy by creating connections with the preceding elite (Weiner 1992:7). Inalienable possessions can therefore be a stabilising factor against change in the sense that they work as reminders or authenticators of genealogies, and social and political relationships, legitimating kinship (or kingship) through their transmission. At the same time though, memories can be fabricated, for example by reconstructing or fabricating genealogies in order to identify with an object (Weiner 1992:9-11). This is true not only for material objects, land rights could also be inalienable possessions. These two aspects of the past in the past are still separated, however, as they are likely to be differently affected by migration. Portable artefacts can, unlike the landscape, accompany people on migration, though whether or not the memories connected to these artefacts will be understood in a new setting is uncertain. The distribution of pagan graves in the archaeological landscape will be discussed first, and then portable artefacts, before a summary of how the past was used in Viking Age northern Scotland will be attempted.

7.2 Graves in the archaeological landscape

In chapter 3.5, graves were examined in relation to the archaeological landscape. The graves from northern Scotland will here be discussed in two groups, those found in close proximity to earlier burials and those in a settlement context. There will also be a section examining the corresponding situation in Møre og Romsdal.

Graves and earlier burials

Only one grave from northern Scotland have been found in the same exact location as an earlier burial, the grave from Birsay Bay (Cat.No.15) that was placed on top of two earlier cist burials. There are also Viking graves placed in earlier Pictish cemeteries, however, at Westness on Rousay. The cemetery of Westness was, according to the excavator Sigrid Kaland (1993:312), in use from the seventh to the ninth century and contained both Pictish and Viking graves, but more recent data based on radiocarbon dating has demonstrated that the cemetery was in use until the eleventh century (Sellevold 2010:369). As discussed in chapter 4.3, there were physical differences between the skeletons of earlier and later graves, indicating that the Vikings were actual immigrants and not the native population who had changed their burial customs. The earlier Pictish graves were probably still visible, however, as there was no intercutting, demonstrating that these were respected by the incoming Vikings. It is possible that Pierowall

was used as a cemetery before the Viking Age, as mounds are mentioned in the primary sources, but as mentioned in chapter 3.5, these are likely to have been natural (Graham-Campbell and Batey 1998:134; Thorsteinsson 1968:163).

The graves at Westness certainly seem to reference continuity of place, but also in time, as burial traditions continued apparently without any clear break from the Pictish to the Viking period. All the graves were inhumation and none were visible on the surface. Despite these similarities, there are also clear differences in grave form. Through the continued use of the Pictish cemetery, the Norse settlers might have wanted to emphasise continuity of power without reinterpreting the meaning of the cemetery. The Westness cemetery is not the only example of the reuse of an existing Christian cemetery. In chapter 6.3 Westness was compared to the cemeteries of Repton and Balladoole, and some clear differences were demonstrated. The element of destruction is completely lacking at Westness, where the earlier burials had been respected. The language of dominance is not evident – although there is a clear change in burial traditions, there is still a greater degree of accommodation of earlier traditions.

Graves and settlements

In chapter 3.5, five graves are mentioned as having been found in, or in the immediate vicinity of, a broch. There is also a grave found in an ancient ruin, though it is not certain what type of building this is. At Buckquoy there was a grave at the top of a disused Pictish structure, though this was not as old as the brochs. The grave mentioned above from Birsay Bay should perhaps also be viewed in a settlement context, as discussed in chapter 3.5.

The brochs of northern Scotland were large drystone towers, sometimes surrounded by other dwellings, especially in Orkney (Armit 1990:437-438; Hedges 1987). The date of the brochs is uncertain, but it is probable that they were built from some time in the second half of the first millennium BC, and they seem to be in decline by the second century AD, though the later broch villages such as at Howe and Gurness were still in use in the fourth century (Armit 2003:55, 108, 133). The purpose of these structures is also uncertain, though they were undoubtedly monumental, and it is possible that display and territorial control was an important factor (Armit 1990:441-443). At the Broch of Gurness, there is evidence of Pictish settlement around the seventh and eighth centuries (Hedges 1987:184), and this could have been the situation with other of the brochs in question here, but as they remain unexcavated it is difficult to tell. Though the brochs were mainly in ruins when the Vikings arrived, it is likely that they remained important landscape features throughout the Pictish period, perhaps connected to a

mythical or genealogical past, and the appropriation of these sites for burial could be interpreted as a statement of landscape domination and perhaps the reinterpretation of their meaning.

It is possible that stressing continuation of power was a factor in the use of the broch of Gurness as a burial place since it had also been in use at least in the eighth century, but there are no indications that this was the case with the other broch burials. It is difficult to speculate about the significance of the brochs in later Pictish society, but as they had generally been abandoned for at least four hundred years before Norse settlement, it seems likely that any real memories of the people who once lived there had long since been forgotten. This does not mean that they could not still have been important places, perhaps connected to mythical memories about the past. Turning the broch ruins into burial grounds could be an attempt at reinterpreting the mythical landscape in a Norse context and appropriating power potentially associated with these sites.

Graves were not only placed in ruined buildings, but also in middens, such as at Buckquoy and Birsay Bay. At Buckquoy, the midden covered a ruined Pictish building and at Birsay Bay the Viking Age grave was placed in a midden that was still being used. The use of a midden for burial is highly unusual in the Viking Period, but Allison Leonard (2011:60) has suggested that it was simply a convenient material and a natural response to the immediate environment. These burials could have been strategies both for advocating claims to land and time depth on the site. The midden burials are likely to represent different strategies of adapting to a new landscape than the broch burials, as they are connected to a far more recent past. These two burials should probably both be interpreted in a Norse settlement context, though the grave at Buckquoy seems to postdate the settlement whereas the grave from Birsay Bay was placed in a midden that was still being used. At Birsay this could be interpreted as a statement of land takeover, as the burial was also placed over earlier Pictish graves. The grave from Buckquoy on the other hand seems to postdate the settlement by at least 50 years. Though the settlement at Buckquoy appears to have had a Norse long-house phase, other forms of Norse material culture were not present, as mentioned in chapter 2.3. What type of memories that were connected with the settlement site at Buckquoy is not possible for us to know, but the pagan grave could be understood as an attempt to bring the site firmly within a Norse context.

It is worth noting that this focus on adopting Pictish settlement sites is also a tendency for Norse settlements, which are often built on top of earlier Pictish structures (see chapter 2.3). Harrison (2013a, b) has demonstrated how Viking settlements were rebuilt in exactly the same site over

generation creating substantial settlement mounds, and she argues that this produces a narrative of possession and dominance (Harrison 2013a:49).

Comparative material

In chapter 3.5, the difficulties in discovering Viking Period settlements in Møre og Romsdal were noted, which means that it is difficult to discuss the relationship between these and burial sites. The site at Hen does demonstrate the possibility that multi-period settlements were located in close proximity to burials, but there are no indications of graves being discovered on top of older structures. They are often found in relation to burials of the early Iron Age though, thus implying a continuity of place for burial. There is only one example of a secondary burial in a mound, at Skorga. This continuity of landscape use could function as a reminder of genealogical history, and the link between present generation and real or imagined past ancestors.

Discussion

As a result of migration the Norse settlers arrived in a landscape with monuments, graves and settlements that were part of a past that was not their own. In Møre og Romsdal, we see the creation of time depth through the continued use of older burial grounds demonstrating a continuing history from the past to the present. Such a continuous tradition of burials is only found on one site in northern Scotland, at the cemetery of Westness. The choice of a Pictish cemetery for burial is hardly likely to have been accidental, and the continued use could be the result of a desire to create genealogical connections to earlier peoples in order to appropriate power and claims to land.

All the burials mentioned could be understood as reinterpreting the Pictish landscape in a Norse context and in this way creating a new mnemonic record, but there are also significant differences. At Westness, there is a continuity of place of burial from Pictish through the Viking period that could be interpreted as a desire to promote a sense of continuity of power. The broch burials on the other hand certainly involve a greater degree of monumentalism, and seemingly a desire to create new associations for important landscape features. Apart from the site of Westness, the burials from northern Scotland must generally be seen in a settlement context. There are multiple ancient mounds and tumuli from this area, but these are not used for burial. There appears to have been no attempt at connecting with the mythic past of northern Scotland through ancient burials, but rather through the brochs. A possible explanation for this could be the lack of monumental Iron Age burial traditions. Patrick Ashmore (2003:41) has suggested

that there were no formal burials in Orkney between 1000 BC and the fifth century AD. From the fifth century AD onwards the deceased were often placed in stone cists in cairns such as at Birsay Bay, or with no visible mark on the surface as at Westness (Ashmore 2003:35-38). The monumental brochs may therefore have been considered more important in the context of settlement and establishing claims to land.

7.3 Mnemonic artefacts

This section will focus on artefacts with what can be called mnemonic properties, implying that they have a long history and are perhaps connected to important memories. These will be discussed in two sections, first focusing on the penannular brooches which are of Pictish/Celtic origin and then on Norse artefacts.

Penannular brooches

The three penannular brooches found in Norse funerary contexts in northern Scotland are described in chapter 3.3. These brooches have all been found in cemeteries, two from Westness and one from Pierowall, though this latter one is a stray find and cannot be connected to a specific grave. The most famous of these is simply known as the Westness brooch. Dated to the second quarter of the eighth century, it is of Irish manufacture, made of silver with gold filigree decorations and settings of amber and glass (Glørstad 2010:28-29; Graham-Campbell and Batey 1998:136). As it was discovered with two oval brooches of type R 647, it was presumably at least 100 years old when buried. The other penannular brooch from Westness was a bronze brooch of Pictish manufacture, made in the late eighth or early ninth century (National Museums of Scotland 2014a). The brooch was discovered in a female burial that has been scientifically dated to 875-980 AD³ (Sellevold 1999:7). As it was discovered with a comb likely to be Ashby type 5, which is a ninth or early tenth century type (Ashby 2009:14), the brooch was most likely between 50 and a hundred years old when buried. The brooch from Pierowall is of eighth century Irish make. It is made of bronze and, as mentioned in the chapter 3.3, had the pin fallen off and been replaced in the Pictish tradition (Glørstad 2010:34; Graham-Campbell and Batey 1998:134). The date of the Pierowall cemetery is difficult to establish, but the general impression is a ninth century date based on the oval brooches of type 647, possible type 5 comb

³ The grave as described by Graham-Campbell and Batey (1998:137), is by Patrick Ashmore (2003:48) identified as number 5 in Sellevold's table 1, which is dated to 875-980 AD (Sellevold 1999:7).

and early ninth century shield boss (see chapter 3.1). It is therefore likely that this brooch was also between fifty and a hundred years old when buried. Brooches almost identical to this have been found in Co. Louth in Ireland, Llys Awel on the north coast of Wales and in at least three places in western Norway (Glørstad 2010:65; Graham-Campbell and Batey 1998:134). Two of the Norwegian brooches were single finds and the third was from a female burial also containing a pair of oval brooches of type R 657, a high-status type from the second half of the ninth century (Glørstad 2010:318, 335, 338; Petersen 1928:44-51).

Though all of these brooches are of insular origin, and were presumably all buried in Norse contexts around a hundred years after they were made, there are still some interesting differences. The Westness brooch is the oldest of the three, and clearly the most impressive. It was not the only artefact of insular manufacture in the grave. There were also two Anglo-Saxon strap-ends and a mount, perhaps for the shrine of a gospel book, that had been reused as a brooch. This is the wealthiest Viking grave from all of northern Scotland, and the woman buried clearly had an important place in society. The penannular brooches have been interpreted as symbols of political power in seventh- and eight-century Ireland, and Glørstad (2010:30, 280-281), has argued that their symbolic and ideological connotation were known and actively used in the Norse settlements. She does not enter into the question of their antiquity however. How had the Westness brooch entered into the possession of a presumably Norse woman, could she have been of Irish ancestry, or should it be interpreted as a result of Viking raids? Irish ancestry is certainly not impossible, the Orkneyinga saga informs us that earl Sigurd married the daughter of the King of the Scots, (Edwards and Pálsson 1981:38), and though this might not be historically accurate, the narrative illustrates that it is a possible scenario. The remaining artefacts of the grave suggest that she lived in a distinctly Norse milieu, however. The oval brooches suggest she was dressed in an overtly Scandinavian manner, and the grave in general and the shrine mount in particular suggest she was pagan. Connections with other parts of the Viking diaspora certainly indicate that the significance of these penannular brooches could have been understood in a Norse setting as well, and the Westness brooch's grandness and antiquity certainly raises the possibility that it was seen as an important artefact, perhaps connected to genealogical or mythical memories of status and power.

The other brooch from Westness was younger and of Pictish rather than Irish make. Brooches of this type would no longer have been made in northern Scotland when the Norse settlers arrived, though it is possible that they were still worn by Pictish women, and the brooch might be interpreted as a strategy for referencing or adopting Pictish symbols of power. As with the

Westness brooch, there is the question of how it entered into the Norse woman's possession. Was it made for a relative, friend, was it a gift or perhaps forcibly taken?

The Pierowall brooch presents some interesting possibilities as it was made in Ireland, but the pin was refitted according to Pictish tradition, presumably in Orkney, however, whether this was in a Pictish or Norse context is difficult to tell. If this were in a Norse context, as perhaps suggested by the distribution of identical brooches, one would have to assume continued coexistence of Picts and Vikings for some time at least. Whether in a Norse or Pictish context, the replacement of the pin suggests the brooch was viewed as an important artefact worth the cost of repair, and perhaps also with powerful mnemonic properties.

The fact that there is only one example of Pictish metalwork and even this of significant age suggests few attempts at creating genealogical or mythical links with the Pictish past through material culture. The insular penannular brooches of the seventh and eighth centuries are connected to the political elite in this area, and their presence in Norse graves can be interpreted as strategies to adopt the power associations connected with these. Through the memories connected with these brooches, the women were referencing power traditions, but not traditions limited to northern Scotland. Both the Westness brooch and the brooch from Pierowall were of Irish origin, and the presence of brooches such as these in other parts of the Viking diaspora indicates that their display might evoke important memories in a Norse context as well as in a Pictish one.

Scandinavian heirlooms

Few artefacts in the pagan graves from Northern Scotland have been interpreted as heirlooms, as there does not seem to be any significant difference in date between the various artefacts. The excavation of the Scar boat burial demonstrated that this interpretation might be flawed. As discussed in chapter 3.1 was there a significant divergence between the artefactual and radiocarbon dating of the grave, and the excavator noted that many of the artefacts seemed to have been old and of limited use when buried (Owen 2004:13). The sword found in the grave had been broken prior to deposition, and then placed in a flimsy scabbard. The excavator argued that this was probably not an instance of ritual killing of an object since the break in the sword had been concealed, not displayed. It was also noted that the blade seemed well worn and suggested that it might have been an heirloom (Owen 2004:10). The provenance of the equal-armed brooch worn by the woman is not certain, though a north Norwegian origin seems likely. The fastening mechanism of the brooch may no longer have worked at the time of burial, and

some of the gilding also appeared to have worn off in antiquity indicating that this brooch was also of significant age at the time of the burial (Owen 2004:12). Owen (2004:13-14) notes that other items may also have been of limited practical use at the time of the burial and suggests the burial itself might represent a self-conscious display of paganism in the face encroaching acceptance of Christianity (see chapter 6.2).

Brooches of this type is by Petersen (1928:82) dated to the first half of the ninth century, and the sword type dates to the ninth century in general, but is more common in the first half (Owen and Dalland 1999:108; Petersen 1919:99-100). The radiocarbon dating on the other hand produced the calibrated dates of 965-1025 (1 sigma) and 895-1030 (2 sigma) (Owen and Dalland 1999:164-165), suggesting a significant age gap between the date of manufacture and the date of deposition in the grave. The excavators concluded that a date between 875 and 950 was most likely, though probably closer to the latter date. As the woman was in her seventies when she died, it is possible that the brooch was made for her, though unless it was given to her as a child it is far more likely to have been passed on to her in later life. Depending on when in the ninth century the sword was made, it is also technically possible it was made for the man, but as he was in his twenties or thirties this is unlikely. There is in other words good reason to interpret both these artefacts as some form of heirlooms.

Were these artefacts connected to important memories of the past, and how were they interpreted in a diasporic setting? Although migrants often come from a rather small centre of origin (Anthony 1990:903), it seems highly unlikely that the genealogical history of these artefacts would be generally known in Viking Age Orkney, although they might have been of importance in the local settlement. Despite this, the antiquity and Scandinavian origin could have signalled the Norse ancestry of their owners, assuming that it was obvious to the community that these artefacts were antiques. This would probably have been more apparent in a Norse rather than Pictish context. The Scar boat burial has been discussed in chapters 4, 5 and 6, where the stress on Norse and pagan identity was discussed. This chapter adds the factor of Norse ancestry as an important aspect of the funerary display. This factor is difficult to discuss in relation to other burials though, as they have not been dated scientifically, but it could have been of great importance in Viking Age northern Scotland.

Comparative material

There are no penannular brooches from Rauma and Tingvoll, but as mentioned above, three brooches identical to the one from Pierowall have been found in western Norway, one from a

later ninth century female grave. Glørstad (2010:280-281) has suggested that rather than interpreting these brooches as Viking loot, they were demonstrations of relations with the diasporic communities in the Irish Sea region.

None of the graves from Møre og Romsdal have been scientifically dated, which means that the discussion of possible heirlooms is complicated. There are instances where there is a seemingly unexplainable age discrepancy between artefacts in a grave however. A grave from Voll (Cat.No.55) in Rauma for example includes a spearhead dated from the mid ninth to past the 900 (Petersen 1919:28), and an axe belonging to the transition between the Migration and Viking periods (Petersen 1919:38). Rather than interpreting this as lack of clear typology or poorly identified artefacts, the axe could have been old at the time of burial, perhaps an heirloom.

Discussion

The examples included here, the penannular brooches and the possible heirlooms from the Scar boat burial suggest that the antiquity of artefacts could have been of great importance for their value. They contain memories about the past, and are statements about connections with this past. It is possible to argue that the Scar artefacts are stressing Norse ancestry and that this might have been of greater significance in a Norse context. The penannular brooches on the other hand could be interpreted as strategies for creating connections with an earlier insular elite. As mnemonic artefacts, they could have been carriers of memories of power understandable in a Pictish community, though as mentioned, the distribution of these brooches also indicate that their meaning would have been understood in a Norse context.

7.4 The past in Viking Age northern Scotland

This chapter has demonstrated that the Norse in northern Scotland employed different strategies for connecting with the past. The broch burials display renegotiation of the monumental and perhaps mythical memories of the past, whereas the continued use of the Westness cemetery could be interpreted as a desire to create genealogical connections, and in that way appropriate power on a more local level, and the Pictish brooch from this cemetery could be interpreted in the same context. The presence of Insular penannular brooches in Viking burials could have triggered memories of earlier elites in Pictish as well as in Norse diasporic contexts, and the Norse heirlooms might indicate the importance of display of Norse ancestry. The use of these

past artefacts and landscape features are creating a past for the Norse in northern Scotland, but they are also part of the creation of the future through the recreation and renegotiation of cultural memory. Through ritualised actions, the past landscape features and symbols of power were reinterpreted as part of a Norse environment. As a consequence of this, the ritualised actions would also have to change in order to include these new features, leading to a renegotiation of cultural memory, and therefore to changes in identity. As well as being clear references to the seizure of land and power, the changes in ritualised actions (and therefore practice) could lead to changes in the habitus. The structuring structures are being restructured in an attempt to incorporate a past not previously part of their cultural memory.

Chapter 8 Synthesis

In a colonial context, such as Viking Age northern Scotland, people of different origins cohabit and this leads to an encounter of different ways to understand and construct social, gender and power relations. This is what this thesis has defined as a break with doxic knowledge, which will lead to a recreation of these identities and relations. Cemeteries and funerary rituals are of great importance in this regard, as they are materialisations of the ties between the settlers, their ancestors and the new land. They are creating areas where colonial identity is built and negotiated, and through this, the settlers are defined both in relation to their place of origin, but also in relation to the local community (Delgado and Ferrer 2012). This thesis has been exploring the construction of these identities and relations through the comparison of the funerary rituals in northern Scotland with supposed homeland practices in Møre og Romsdal. It is important to see the traditions, material artefacts and landscape features discussed in this thesis in a funerary context. This means that they were part of ritualised actions, and therefore parts of both the mediation and production of cultural memory. The choice of how and where to bury their dead and which artefacts to include was not random, but linked to both a sense of tradition and desire for proper burial, and also affected by the contemporary situation, in this case including the effects of migration. There are great similarities between the burials from northern Scotland and Møre og Romsdal, but there are also significant differences. This means that embodied and understood ritualised actions were carried out differently, and these differences would have been noticeable and should therefore be interpreted as meaningful.

8.1 Migration and the creation of identity

There are, as mentioned above, great similarities between the Scottish and the Norwegian graves. The content of the burials from northern Scotland would generally not have seemed out of place in a grave from Møre og Romsdal. Although there were alternatives, they chose to actively remember their Norse origins through the repeated performance of traditional rituals. It does not necessarily follow that this was the chosen strategy of all the Norse settlers, as they would not have been classified as Norse by archaeologist if they were not buried in a fashion recognisably different from the local traditions. The present discussion is therefore concerned with the settlers who chose to display their difference through funerary rites, though they will to some extent be compared with possible early Norse Christians. The strategy of these Norse settlers seem, in other words, to have been orthodoxy, to deny the possibility of alternatives and

attempt to reinstate the naturalised state of doxa. This does not mean that there were no differences between the graves of northern Scotland and those of Møre og Romsdal however. Chapter 4 demonstrated what might be called a change of focus. The use of artefacts and burial traditions that could be interpreted as markers of ethnicity, such as combs, oval brooches and boat burials, were demonstrated to be more common in northern Scotland. In chapter 5, the far greater proportion of female burials was also interpreted in the same way, as women were argued to have had an especially important role in the creation of ethnicity. These two chapters also demonstrated the far greater numbers of insular ring-headed pins and pennanular brooches, but argued that these should be interpreted in a Norse context, as the creation of a Norse diasporic identity, rather than as the adoption of local fashions, as the Irish connection of these artefacts may have been more pronounced than the Pictish. In chapter 6, it was argued that pagan aspects of the burials from northern Scotland has often been understated, and several practices that demonstrated indications of a pagan worldview were highlighted. The use of Norse heirlooms were in chapter 7.3 suggested to be a strategy for publicising Norse ancestry, which might have been of great importance in a diasporic context. Some of the clearest differences between the graves of northern Scotland and those of Møre og Romsdal are in their relation to the archaeological landscape. Especially the burials in the ruined brochs demonstrate noticeably different strategies of relating to the past landscape. In northern Scotland, the Norse settlers were creating a mnemonic landscape through, among other things, the pagan burials. This reinterpretation would create a Norse past in Orkney, but as argued in chapter 7, through the incorporation of these features the rituals themselves would change.

This thesis has argued that the break with doxic knowledge following migration was met (by some of the Norse at least) by orthodoxy. Through the employment of distinctly Norse artefacts and practices, they were referencing homeland traditions. This was not a passive response, however, but a deliberate choice. It also entails that these artefacts and traditions gained additional importance as ethnic markers and presumably that they were therefore more often incorporated in the funerary rites. This means that the creation of ethnicity following migration led to changes in ritual practice and, by extension, cultural memory. This is perhaps clearest in regards to landscape reuse. By changing ritual practices in order to create a Norse mnemonic landscape, cultural memory was changed leading to the creation of a colonial identity, referencing the homeland, but still different. Migration is in other words highly likely to affect expressions of identity, even when there is an attempt to maintain the homeland traditions.

8.2 Elite power discourse

It was noted in chapter 6.2 that it is unlikely that the pagan burials from northern Scotland reflect the total number of pagan settlers, as this seems a poor explanation for the lack of female burials in Møre og Romsdal. This might then suggest that what is here identified as a pagan burial was an elite burial form. John C. Barrett (2000 [1988]:28) argues that power resides in the ability to maintain authoritative discourse (doxa), and funerary rites is one field of this discourse. It would appear that in this context, claiming Norse ethnicity and ancestry was of great importance, as discussed above. These artefacts and rituals used in this way would have triggered memories of the homeland and earlier funerary practices. Hence, they would have been symbols of group identity at the same time as creating this identity. The many female burials from northern Scotland indicate that women were of great importance in this elite display. In a colonial context, it is possible that mixed marriages would have been common, and Norse women could have been imperative for the maintenance of traditions, however, through their burials in clearly Norse manner they could also have confirmed the Norse ancestry of potential descendants. This is certainly interesting when viewed in relation to the contemporary situation in the Danelaw, where the funerary record is dominated by masculine display, which Dawn Hadley interprets in a context of assimilation of Scandinavian and Anglo-Saxon elite ideals (Hadley 2008:279). Warrior identity was demonstrated to be vital also in northern Scotland, and it was argued that this could be a statement of both ethnicity and status. Potential Scandinavian heirlooms were discussed in chapter 7.3 and these could have been important signals of Norse ancestry. It was also argued, however, that this might not have been obvious (or important) in a Pictish context and that the display of Norse ancestry was directed at the other Norse settlers. The burials discussed in this thesis are distinctly Norse, and they are also distinctly pagan, as argued in chapter 6. The preference for inhumation might indicate Christian influence, but though this might imply at least partly peaceful relations between pagan and Christians, it does not mean that the Norse were adopting rites that were understood as Christian. All this suggest that displaying a pagan Norse identity was important to the Norse settlers, and the reuse of older landscape features such as the brochs suggests that they should be interpreted in the light of power statements. The burials would have created a Norse mnemonic landscape, but they would also have dominated the landscape, and this could be interpreted in relation to making claims to land as argued in chapter 7.

An important argument put forward in chapter 4 was that this self-conscious Norse display was of greater significance in a funerary setting than in the early settlements. Whereas Pictish

buildings and artefacts seem to have remained in use in the early stage of settlement, signs of Pictish influence is practically completely absent from burials. This suggests that the Norse artefacts were of greater importance in a funerary setting, perhaps because these were public events. Although the relations between Norse and Picts may seem more or less inexistent in the pagan burials, this might be the result of purposeful forgetting, rather than the actual situation; they were remembered as Norse pagans.

These graves were not only statements of difference, but also meaningful ways of dealing with the death of a member of the community, and this meaning was at least in parts derived from ideas of what happens after death. It is of great interest that the Norse in northern Scotland cease to bury their dead in a recognisably pagan manner at a significantly earlier date than in Møre og Romsdal, which is likely to be a result of closer relation with Pictish, but also Irish Christianity. At the same time, however, there is very little influence of Christian ideas evident in the pagan burials (excluding perhaps the preference for inhumation burials), which, when seen in relation to the few but wealthier burials from the later periods, might be interpreted as a sign of stress. These burials occur around the same time as the first Norse Christian chapels, and might suggest that different groups were competing for power and that beliefs could be of great importance in this context.

Although the pagan burials from northern Scotland should be interpreted as reflecting religious beliefs, they were also clearly of importance for signalling Norse identity. One of the more interesting questions is: in relation to whom? Was it a reflection of competitive pagan elite display, or were they publicising their difference to contemporary Pictish and Norse Christians? The answer is probably both. The Norse heirlooms and rituals are unlikely to have produced memories of Norse ancestry and practices in a Pictish context, and the many female burials could suggest the importance of Norse women in a society where mixed marriages were common. In this context, it would seem that Norse identity was connected to status, and presumably relevant in a Norse pagan milieu. It is still very interesting that there are few burials from the later periods, but that these are comparatively more well-furnished. As these burials occur around the same time as the erection of Norse Christian chapels, they might indicate a pagan reaction against the growing acceptance of Christianity. It is possible that there were competing Norse religious factions in tenth century northern Scotland.

8.3 Conclusions

The funerary rites of the Norse in northern Scotland are complex acts, difficult to interpret because they are both structured and structuring practices. This is, however, partly what makes them of such great interest in a migration context; they are simultaneously based on homeland traditions and responses to the new circumstances. This means that they stand out in relation to local practices, at the same time as they are not exact replicas of the homeland practices. This thesis has argued that the Norse burials from northern Scotland indicate an attempt at *doxa*, as the funerary display seems concerned with publicising a pagan Norse identity. The funerary rites do not reflect all aspects of the dead person's identity, the artefacts and grave form are actively chosen by the mourners, and the difference between the material culture in funerary rites and that in early settlements is therefore of great interest, as it highlights the burials as cultural creations concerned with displaying Norse identity. The artefacts in the graves are almost exclusively Norse, and the insular artefacts present might demonstrate connections with Ireland, as much as with the Picts. It is possible that this reflects the diasporic nature of the Norse settlement in northern Scotland, where contacts with other Scandinavians in the Irish Sea region as well as with the homeland, were maintained. This focus on certain artefacts and traditions would have led to subtle transformations in the funerary rituals, which could in time have become incorporated into the *habitus*, and in this way led to the creation of colonial identities.

Pagan Norse burial rites were practiced in northern Scotland over a period of about 150 years, and the reasons behind this choice of burial is unlikely to always have been clear or uniform. Circumstances change, new settlers arrive, some migrate again, and power relations and nature of contact between the Norse settlers and the Christian populations in the Irish Sea region are altered. These changes may affect rituals such as burials, leading to conscious and unconscious shifts in practice. There is no definite indications of Christian influence on the pagan rites, and the artefacts and traditions employed do not change considerably over time. There appears to be fewer burials from the later periods, however, at the same time as these contain more artefacts. This might suggest that those who continued to bury their dead in this fashion did so deliberately, perhaps as a clear statement in opposition to Norse Christians. As the burials are unlikely to be those of all segments of society, it has here been suggested that they might represent an elite power discourse in which claiming Norse ancestry and ethnicity was key.

8.4 Concluding remarks

This thesis has been concerned with exploring how colonial identities are created in a diaspora context. The focus has been on funerary rites and how these are both creating and created by social conditions. The importance of homeland traditions and continuation of cultural memory has been highlighted, but the importance of the power relations between the Norse and the local Pictish population has also been mentioned. The absence of practically all forms of Pictish material culture in burials was interpreted as a meaningful response to the circumstances. Strategies identified in Scotland were at times compared with those from Iceland and the British Isles, but a more thorough examination of funerary rites in the North Sea diaspora could reveal significantly different strategies. There are certain clear differences, such as the disproportion of male to female graves in the Dublin cemeteries compared to northern Scotland (Floinn 1998:140-141) and the far greater amount of burials with equestrian equipment in Iceland compared with other areas in the Viking diaspora (Sikora 2003). However, there are also slighter differences, such as the use of different types of combs in the burials from Iceland compared with those from northern Scotland (Eckhoff 2014, see catalogue). A closer examination of burial traditions in the Viking diaspora could greatly increase our knowledge of how Viking Age colonial identities are created and maintained, and also highlight the crucial importance of the relations between immigrants and local populations in the production of these identities.

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Appendix 1 Catalogue of pagan graves from northern Scotland and Rauma and Tingvoll, Møre og Romsdal

Northern Scotland

Area	Grave	Place	C/I	Gender	Period	Grave form	Grave goods	Literature/reference
Caithness	1	Reay	I	W	Mid Viking Age	Stone cist	Axe, shield-boss, buckle, clamp, two pieces of flint, knife, nail or rivet, sickle, perforated whetstone, ring-headed pin	Edwards and Bryce 1926-1927; Batey 1993:153-154; Graham-Campbell and Batey:125-127; Grieg 1940:19.
	2	Reay	I	J	Mid Viking Age		Pair of oval brooches, ring-headed pin, tweezers, buckle, bridle-bit, spindle whorl	Curle 1913-1914:295; Grieg 1940:21-22; Batey 1993:152-153; Graham-Campbell and Batey:125-127.
	3	Reay	-	-	Viking Age	Under flat stone slab	Buckle, bridle-bit	Batey 1993:152-153; Graham-Campbell and Batey:125-127.
	4	Castletown	I	J	Mid Viking Age	Top of ruined broch	Pair of oval brooches, armlet, bodkin	Anderson 1872-1874:549-551; Grieg 1940:24; Batey 1993:148.
	5	Westeseat	-	J	Mid Viking Age	Stone cist in cairn	Pair of oval brooches	Anderson 1872-1874:552; Grieg 1940:24-25; Batey 1993:151.
	6	Watten	I	W	Viking Age	Stone cist	Spearhead	Batey 1993:151.
	7	Huna	I		Viking Age	Boat burial?	Rivets and timber fragments	Batey 1993:152.
Mainland Orkney	8	Lyking	C?	W	Viking Age	Mound	Spearhead, comb, buckle	Grieg 1940:80.
	9	Stennes	I	-	Viking Age	Mound	Ring-headed pin	Grieg 1940:80
	10	Stromness	-	-	Mid Viking Age	Mound	Linen smoother (found with several other objects)	Grieg 1940:80; Marwick 1927-1928:121-122.
	11	Sandwick under Skaill	-	-	Viking Age	Stone cist	Steatite vessel	Grieg 1940:81.
	12	Links of Skaill	I	W	Early Viking Age	Stone cist	Spearhead, comb, comb-case, perforated whetstone, iron rod, iron fragments, nail, small animal bones	Watt 1887-1888:283-285; Grieg 1940:81-84; Brøgger 1930:182-183; Shetelig 1954:101-102.
	13	Broch of Gurness	I	J	Viking Age	Stone cist in broch	Pair of oval brooches, necklace, Thor's hammer amulet, pin, knife, sickle	Hedges 1987; Graham-Campbell and Batey 1998:128, Robertson 1968-1969:289-290.
	14	Buckquoy	I	W	Late Viking Age	Ruin mound	Spear-head, buckle, Hiberno-Norse ring-headed pin, perforated whetstone, knife, bone mount, coin of Eadmund	Ritchie 1976-77:190

	15	Birsay Bay	I	-	Early Viking Age	Stone cist in cairn, over older burials in a midden	Comb, knife, two nails, four pieces of metal	Morris 1989:114-127.
Orkney	16	Island near Mainland	C	J	Mid Viking Age	Mound	Pair of oval brooches, bronze pin, amber spindle-whorl	Charleson 1903-1904; Grieg 1940:86.
	17	Unknown place	-	W	Early Viking Age	Mound	Shield-boss	Grieg 1940:102.
Rousay	18	Sweindrow	-	W	Mid Viking Age	In/near ruin	Sword, shield-boss, iron fragments	Anderson 1872-1874:564; Grieg 1940:90.
	19	Westness	I	-	Viking Age	Over boat shaped burial	Button, knife, loom weight	Kaland 1973:95-96.
	20	Westness	I	J	Viking Age	Boat shaped?	Pennanular brooch, sickle, comb, two spindle whorls	Graham-Campbell and Batey 1998:136-137.
	21	Westness	I	J	Early Viking Age	Buried with infant	Pair of oval brooches, Irish pennanular brooch, 40 beads, scissors, two Anglo-Saxon strap-ends, comb, heckle, Anglo-Saxon Gospel book shrine mount reused as brooch, bronze vessel, weaving sword	Kaland 1996:312; Graham-Campbell and Batey 1998:135-136, National Museums of Scotland.
	22	Westness	I	W	Viking Age	Boat burial	Sword, axe, spearhead, shield-boss, arrows, ploughshare, sickle, whetstone, strike-a-light, rivets	Graham-Campbell and Batey 1998:136.
	23	Westness	I	W	Viking Age	Boat burial	Sword, shield-boss, arrows, Whetstone, fishing weight, strike-a-light, rivets	Graham-Campbell and Batey 1998:136.
	24	Westness	I	W	Viking Age		Shield-boss, arrow, knife, 25 gaming pieces, Comb, ring-headed pin, sickle scissors, scales?	Kaland 1973:95-96.
	25	Westness	I	J	Viking Age	Boat shaped	Beads, ladle, weaving sword, loom weight, among other items	Kaland 1973:96-97.
Sanday	26	Broch of Lamba Ness	-	J	Mid Viking Age	Near broch	Pair of oval brooches, ring-headed pin, bead, armlet	Grieg 1940:86-87; Graham-Campbell and Batey:57.
	27	Lamba Ness	-	W	Mid Viking Age	In ruined building	Sword, axe, spearhead	Grieg 1940:88; Graham-Campbell and Batey 1998:57.
	28	Braeswick	-	J	Early Viking Age		Oval brooch, beads	Grieg 1940:88; Graham-Campbell and Batey 1998:57.
	29	Scar	I	W	Mid Viking Age	Boat burial	Sword, arrow, two bullion weights, comb, 22 gaming pieces, tinned bronze object	Owen and Dalland 1999; Owen 2004.

	30	Scar	I	J	Mid Viking Age	Boat burial	Equal-armed brooch, whalebone plaque, comb, needle-case, needles, sickle, weaving sword, scissors, wooden box, two spindle whorls	Owen and Dalland 1999; Owen 2004.
	31	Scar	I	C	Mid Viking Age	Boat burial		Owen and Dalland 1999; Owen 2004.
Westray	32	Pierowall	I	W	Viking Age	Secondary grave in mound?	Sword, spearhead, shield-boss, comb	Thorsteinsson 1968; Graham-Campbell and Batey 1998:129-134.
	33	Pierowall	I	J	Viking Age		Oval brooches, ring-headed pin, knife or weaving sword	Thorsteinsson 1968; Graham-Campbell and Batey 1998:129-134.
	34	Pierowall	I	J	Viking Age		Oval brooches, ring-headed pin, comb, needle-case, needle, spindle-whorl, sickle	Thorsteinsson 1968; Graham-Campbell and Batey 1998:129-134.
	35	Pierowall	I	J	Viking Age	Stone cist	Oval brooches, ring-headed pin, beads, two combs	Thorsteinsson 1968; Graham-Campbell and Batey 1998:129-134.
	36	Pierowall	I	W	Viking Age		Axe, shield-boss, iron fragments	Thorsteinsson 1968; Graham-Campbell and Batey 1998:129-134.
	37	Pierowall	I	W	Viking Age		Sword or spearhead, buckle, bridle-bit, bone and metal object, skeleton of horse and parts of dog	Thorsteinsson 1968; Graham-Campbell and Batey 1998:129-134.
	38	Pierowall	I	W	Viking Age		Spearhead, bridle-bit, parts of horse skeleton	Thorsteinsson 1968; Graham-Campbell and Batey 1998:129-134.
	39	Pierowall	I	-	Viking Age			Thorsteinsson 1968; Graham-Campbell and Batey 1998:129-134.
	40	Pierowall	I	W	Viking Age		Sword, shield-boss, beads, comb, whetstone, wood and iron fragments	Thorsteinsson 1968; Graham-Campbell and Batey 1998:129-134.
	41	Pierowall	I	J	Viking Age		Oval brooches, trefoil brooch	Thorsteinsson 1968; Graham-Campbell and Batey 1998:129-134.
	42	Pierowall	I	J	Viking Age		Oval brooches, ring-headed pin, two combs, two comb-cases	Thorsteinsson 1968; Graham-Campbell and Batey 1998:129-134.
	43	Pierowall	I	-	Viking Age			Thorsteinsson 1968; Graham-Campbell and Batey 1998:129-134.
	44	Pierowall	I	J	Viking Age		Oval brooches, ring-headed pin, two combs	Thorsteinsson 1968; Graham-Campbell and Batey 1998:129-134.
	45	Pierowall	I	W	Early Viking Age		Sword? Axe, shield-boss, spear-head, iron fragments	Thorsteinsson 1968; Graham-Campbell and Batey 1998:129-134.
	46	Pierowall	-	-	Early Viking Age	Boat burial?	Two knives, sickle, key, drinking horn, rivets and wood	Thorsteinsson 1968; Graham-Campbell and Batey 1998:129-134.
	47	Pierowall	I	-	Viking Age	Boat burial?	Two buckles, half a bone button, iron fragments, parts of horse skeleton, 21 boat rivets	Thorsteinsson 1968; Graham-Campbell and Batey 1998:129-134.

Shetland	48	Unst	-	J	Early Viking Age		Oval brooch, bronze box	Grieg 1940:103.
	49	Unst, Clibberswick	-	J	Early Viking Age		Oval brooches, trefoil brooch, silver armlet, beads	Grieg 1940:103-105; Graham-Campbell and Batey 1998:154.
	50	Fetlar, Wick of Aith	-	J	Early Viking Age	Boat burial in cairn	Oval brooch (grave was robbed)	Channel 4 Time Team, Series 10, episode 4, 2002

Møre og Romsdal

Area	Grave	Place	C/I	Gender	Period	Grave form	Grave goods	Literature/Reference	Mus. Nr
Group 1	51	Indervik	I	W	Viking Age	Mound	Sword, axe, shield-boss	Unimus, Noreide 2011:344-346	T14351
	52	Bøhaugen	C	W	Late Iron Age	Flat grave	Spearhead	Unimus, Noreide 2011:344-346	T2083
	53	Skjellbostad	-	W	Late Iron Age	Under stone slab	Sword, axe, celt, pointed tool	Unimus, Noreide 2011:344-346	T2078-81
	54	Nedre Hovde	I	W	Before Viking Age	Stone cist in cairn	Sword, spearhead, axe, arrows, celt, chisel, file, forge stone, hammer, tongs, six whetstones, box	Unimus, Noreide 2011:344-346	T10613-27
	55	Voll	-	W	Mid Viking Age		Spearhead, axe, bridle-bit	Unimus, Noreide 2011:344-346	T6331-33
	56	Voll	C	W	Mid Viking Age	Cairn	Sword, axe, bridle-bit, steatite vessel	Unimus, Noreide 2011:344-346	T13202
	57	Voll	C	W	Viking Age	Flat grave	Sword, finger ring, box, whetstone, scythe, bill-hook, knife, scissors, whetstone, strike-a-light, rivets for box or coffin?	Unimus, Noreide 2011:344-346	T16415
	58	Voll	C	W	Before Viking Age		Two swords, spearhead, knife, sickle, auger, two celts	Unimus, Noreide 2011:344-346	T18464
	59	Vollset	C	W	Mid Viking Age	Stone cist in cairn	Sword, spearhead, axe, sickle	Unimus, Noreide 2011:344-346	T13036
	60	Raknem	C	W	Viking Age	Stone cist in cairn	Spearhead, two axes, arrow, bead	Unimus, Noreide 2011:344-346	T5523-26
61	Skeie	I	W	Late Iron Age	Mound	Sword, arrows, whetstone, two mounts, rivets, unidentified iron objects	Unimus, Noreide 2011:344-346	T2082-89	
62	Farkvam	I	W	Early Viking Age	Flat grave	Sword, Spearhead, celt, auger	Unimus, Noreide 2011:344-346	T16092	
63	Våge	-	W	Before Viking Age	Mound?	Axe	Unimus, Noreide 2011:344-346	T5037	
64	Høgreiten	C	W	Late Iron Age	Menhir	Shield-boss? Whetstone	Noreide 2011:344-346	Lost	
65	Høgreiten	-	J	Late Iron Age	Boat burial?	Brooch, bead, vessel, rivets	Noreide 2011:344-346	Lost	
66	Kormset	I	W	Late Iron Age	Cairn	Sword, axe	Unimus, Noreide 2011:344-346	T2864-65	
Group 2	67	Veblungsnes	C	W	Late Iron Age		Spearhead	Unimus, Noreide 2011:344-346	T2090
	68	Veblungsnes	-	W	Early Viking Age	Mound	Axe	Unimus, Noreide 2011:344-346	T4877
	69	Setnes	-	W	Mid Viking Age		Sword? Axe, bridle-bit	Unimus, Noreide 2011:344-346	T19104
	70	Setnes	I	J	Late Viking Age	Boat burial	Trefoil brooch, fragment of (trefoil) brooch, 21 beads, Anglo Saxon silver pendant, top of Anglo-Saxon bishop's staff, Irish reliquary, Irish hanging bowl,	Unimus, Noreide 2011:344-346; Marstrander 1962.	T18198

							Irish bullion weights, scales, Arabic coin, spindle whorl, spindle? Unidentified object		
71	Sogge	C	W	Late Viking Age	Flat grave		Sword, spearhead, shield-boss, eight arrows, bridle-bit, sickle, knife, two whetstones, iron vessel	Unimus, Noreide 2011:344-346	T15623
72	Sogge	I	W	Mid Viking Age	Flat grave		Sword, spearhead, axe, bridle-bit	Unimus, Noreide 2011:344-346	T16395
73	Sogge	I	J	Mid Viking Age	Flat grave		Oval brooches	Unimus, Noreide 2011:344-346	T16295/T19147
74	Sogge	I	W	Viking Age	Flat grave		Two spearheads, two axes, shield-boss, bridle-bit, celt chisel/auger, file, ladle, whetstone	Unimus, Noreide 2011:344-346	T16395
75	Sogge	-	-	Late Iron Age	Mound		Ten gaming pieces	Unimus, Noreide 2011:344-346	B254
76	Sogge	-	J	Late Iron Age	Mound		Oval brooches	Unimus, Noreide 2011:344-346	B416
77	Sogge	C	W	Mid Viking Age	Mound?		Sword, spearhead, two axes, shield-boss? Arrows, bridle-bit, sickle, celt, bronze mount, spit, whetstones, scissors, two iron rings	Unimus, Noreide 2011:344-346	T11862/T1111608
78	Sogge	I	J	Early Viking Age	Flat grave?		Oval brooch, ring-headed pin? Irish mount reused as brooch, bridle-bit? Weaving sword, heckle, sickle, scythe, buckle, scissors, box?	Unimus, Noreide 2011:344-346	T15949/T16603/T16533
79	Hole	I	W	Late Viking Age			Spearhead, axe, hammer, tongs, knife, whetstone	Unimus, Noreide 2011:344-346	T12559
80	Hole	-	W	Viking Age			Sword	Unimus, Noreide 2011:344-346	T18781
81	Tomberg	I	J	Late Viking Age	Flat grave		Arabic pendant, 42 beads, string, two German coins, box, bucket?	Unimus, Noreide 2011:344-346	T14060
82	Tomberg	I	J	Late Viking Age	Flat grave		Round brooch, bronze cylinder, sickle, scissors, iron vessel	Unimus, Noreide 2011:344-346	T14406
83	Tomberg	I	W	Late Viking Age	Flat grave		Sword, axe shield-boss, ring-headed pin, bridle-bit, buckle, knife, sickle, strap-end, spinning wheel, bucket, iron vessel	Unimus, Noreide 2011:344-346	T15496
84	Tomberg	I	W	Late Viking Age	Flat grave		Spearhead	Unimus, Noreide 2011:344-346	T15497
85	Devoll	-	W	Late Iron Age	Mound		Sword, axe	Unimus, Noreide 2011:344-346	C5436
86	Devoll	I	W	Late Iron Age	Mound		Spearhead, axe	Unimus, Noreide 2011:344-346	B1134-35
87	Mjelva	C	W	Early Viking Age	Possible boat burial		Two swords, spearhead, axe, shield-boss, four arrows, file, hammer, thinning	Unimus, Noreide 2011:344-346	T14900

							hammer, adze, knife whetstone, sickle, scythe, two bridle-bits, box? Iron mount, ring, rivets		
	88	Høljenes	-	W	Late Viking Age	Flat grave	Sword, axe	Unimus, Noreide 2011:344-346	T17578
	89	Åndal	-	W	Mid Viking Age	Flat grave	Sword, scythe	Unimus, Noreide 2011:344-346	T19098
	90	Nesstranda	I	W	Mid Viking Age	Boat burial	Sword, shield-boss, whetstone, rivets and timber	Unimus, Noreide 2011:344-346	T12962
	91	Nesstranda	I	W	Mid Viking Age	Flat grave	Sword, axe, two whetstones	Unimus, Noreide 2011:344-346	T12998
	92	Nesstranda	I	W	Mid Viking Age		Sword	Unimus, Noreide 2011:344-346	T13050
	93	Ness	-	W	Late Viking Age		Two swords, spearhead, two axes, shield-boss, auger, hammer, thinning hammer, whetstone, steatite vessel	Unimus, Noreide 2011:344-346	T18194
Group 3	94	Marstein	-	W	Before Viking Age	Cairn	Axe, sword, weight	Unimus, Noreide 2011:344-346	C18456-8
	95	Stavern	-	W	Mid Viking Age	Mound	Spearhead, shield-boss, four arrows, celt, chisel? Tongs, two hammers, saw, boat-builder's tool, knife	Unimus, Noreide 2011:344-346	B766-79
	96	Stavern	-	-	Viking Age	Cairn	Comb	Unimus, Noreide 2011:344-346	C16759
	97	Sletta	I?	W	Viking Age	Flat grave	Sword, four arrows, scythe, hammer? Iron ring	Unimus, Noreide 2011:344-346	T11161
	98	Alnes	C	-	Late Iron Age	Mound	Bridle-bit	Unimus, Noreide 2011:344-346	C5419
	99	Alnes	C	W	Viking Age	Stone cist in mound	Axe	Unimus, Noreide 2011:344-346	T16396
	100	Alnes	C	W	Before Viking Age	Mound	Sword, axe, two arrows, whetstone, bridle-bit, hook for sledge?	Unimus, Noreide 2011:344-346	T18494
	101	Lygheim	I	W	Late Iron Age	Flat grave	Sword, axe, knife, bill-hook	Unimus, Noreide 2011:344-346	T11315
	102	Lygheim	C	W	Mid Viking Age	Flat grave	Sword, spearhead, axe, shield-boss, two arrows, celt, sickle, scythe, knife, scissors, whetstone, iron vessel	Unimus, Noreide 2011:344-346	T16143
Group 4	103	Hagen	-	W	Late Iron Age	Cairn	Axe	Nordeide 2011:344-346	Haz.32.907
	104	Ytre Breivik	-	W	Viking Age		Spearhead	Unimus, Noreide 2011:344-346	T19115
	105	Breivik	-	W	Before Viking Age	Stone cist	Sword, axe, scythe	Unimus, Noreide 2011:344-346	C5422-23
	106	Nyheim	-	W	Late Iron Age	Stone cist in cairn?	Axe	Unimus, Noreide 2011:344-346	T17133
	107	Hen	-	W	Mid Viking Age	Cairn	Spearhead, sword	Unimus, Noreide 2011:344-346	T4340-41

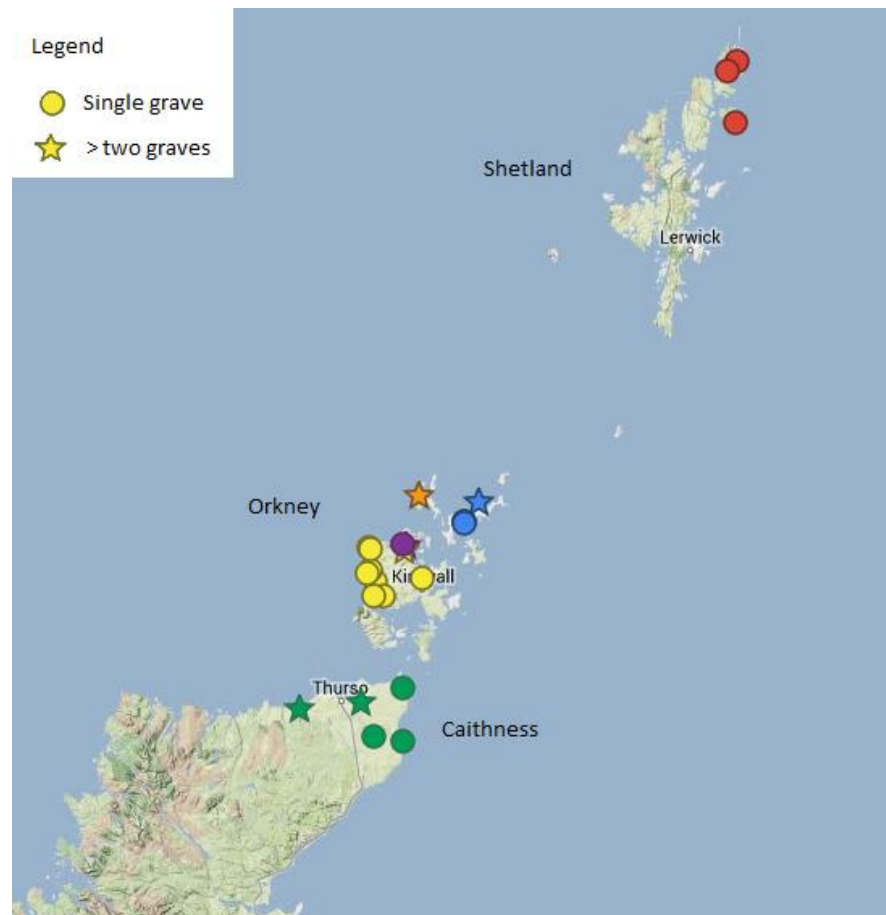
	108	Hen	-	W	Mid Viking Age	Cairn	Sword, spearhead, axe, bridle-bit, scythe, adze, two augers	Unimus, Noreide 2011:344-346	T4342-49
	109	Hen	-	J	Mid Viking Age	Cairn	Oval brooch, bridle-bit, scissors, chisel, bronze vessel, six spindles?	Unimus, Noreide 2011:344-346	T4350-56
	110	Hen	-	J+W	Viking Age	Possible boat burial in mound	Spearhead, axe, oval brooches, sickle, chisel, key, whetstone, rivets	Unimus, Noreide 2011:344-346	T4410/T4469-75
	111	Hen	I	J+W	Early Viking Age	Mound	Oval brooches, spearhead	Unimus, Noreide 2011:344-346	T4740
	112	Hen	I	W	Mid Viking Age	Cairn	Spearhead, anvil, forge stone, forging hammer, smith's tongs	Unimus, Noreide 2011:344-346	T10096-10100
	113	Hen	I	W	Viking Age	Possible boat burial in cairn	Spearhead, bridle-bit, celt, scissors, forging hammer, smith's tongs	Unimus, Noreide 2011:344-346	T10101-06
	114	Hen	C	W	Viking Age	Mound	Three swords, spearhead, axe, bridle-bit, two celts, auger, knife, hook, scissors, scythe	Unimus, Noreide 2011:344-346	T11537b-m
	115	Hen	-	W	Before Viking Age	Mound	Sword, axe bridle-bit, knife, whetstone, loom weight, wire drawer?	Unimus, Noreide 2011:344-346	T14356
	116	Hen	C	J	Early Viking Age	Cairn	Oval brooch, equal-armed brooch, comb, beads, drinking horn, needle, bronze fragments	Nordeide 2011:344.346, Birgirdottur and Haug:13-15	T22462 (same grave as 109?)
	117	Ytre Kavli	-	W	Before Viking Age		Sword, bead, bridle-bit	Unimus, Noreide 2011:344-346	T4886-7/T5239
	118	Øspehjellen	C	W	Before Viking Age	Cairn	Sword, spearhead, axe, bridle-bit, scythe, sickle, celt, scissors	Unimus, Noreide 2011:344-346	T12997
	119	Haugen	C	W	Mid Viking Age	Stone cist	Sword, axe, arrow, sickle, scythe, knife, thinning hammer, nails, mount fragments	Unimus, Noreide 2011:344-346	T15454
	120	Moa	C	W	Mid Viking Age	Cairn?	Sword, arrow, flint	Unimus, Noreide 2011:344-346	T18477
	121	Nedre Dale	-	W	Early Viking Age	Stone cist	Sword, spearhead, axe	Unimus, Noreide 2011:344-346	T18153
Group 5	122	Skorga	-	W	Mid Viking Age	Secondary inhumation in mound	Axe	Unimus, Noreide 2011:344-346	T14662
	123	Gjerset	-	-	Late Iron Age	Mound	Silver armlet	Unimus, Noreide 2011:344-346	C12927
	124	Ora	C?	W	Late Viking Age	Cairn	Sword, spearhead, axe, sickle, two whetstones, scales	Unimus, Noreide 2011:344-346	T14045
	125	Ora	C?	J?	Late Iron Age	Cairn	Bead, knife	Unimus, Noreide 2011:344-346	T14045 f+h
	126	Ora	-	W	Late Viking Age		Sword, axe	Unimus, Noreide 2011:344-346	T14045 a-b+d

	127	Frivoll	C?	W	Viking Age	Flat grave?	Axe	Unimus, Noreide 2011:344-346	T14059
	128	Mittet	C	W	Mid Viking Age	Mound	Sword, spearhead, axe, shield-boss, scythe sickle	Unimus, Noreide 2011:344-346	T9289-94
	129	Ytre Holmem	C	W	Early Viking Age	Cairn	Sword, axe, bridle-bit, sickle, scythe	Unimus, Noreide 2011:344-346	T12464
	130	Ytre Holmem	C	W	Mid Viking Age	Cairn	Sword, bridle-bit, sickle, whetstone	Unimus, Noreide 2011:344-346	T13905
	131	Indre Holmem	C	W	Mid Viking Age		Sword, axe	Unimus, Noreide 2011:344-346	T12334
Tingvoll	132	Bogaspen	I?	J?	Late Iron Age	Possible boat burial in cairn	Bead, iron mount, hinge, vessel, frying pan? Steatite vessel	Unimus, Noreide 2011:344-346; Brakstad 1970:102	T12172
	133	Einset	-	W	Mid Viking Age	Cairn	Sword, axe, whetstone, sickle or scythe	Unimus, Noreide 2011:344-346	T18759
	134	Flemma	C	W	Late Viking Age	Cairn	Sword, spearhead, axe, shield-boss, arrow, comb, knife, sickle, scythe? Thinning hammer, strike-a-light, two rivets, three pieces of flint	Unimus, Noreide 2011:344-346; Brakstad 1970:91-97	T13145
	135	Flemma	I	W	Mid Viking Age	Cairn	Sword, axe, knife, celt, scythe, whetstone, box?	Unimus, Noreide 2011:344-346; Brakstad 1970:91-97	T13146
	136	Flemma	I	-	Viking Age	Boat burial in cairn	Steatite vessel, quern stone, perforated whetstone, flint, rivets (grave had been robbed)	Unimus, Noreide 2011:344-346; Brakstad 1970:91-97	T13427
	137	Flemma	I	-	Late Iron Age	Boat burial in cairn	Unidentified iron object, rivets (grave had been robbed)	Unimus, Noreide 2011:344-346; Brakstad 1970:91-97	T13428
	138	Gyl	-	W	Late Iron Age	Stone cist in cairn	Axe	Unimus, Noreide 2011:344-346; Brakstad 1970:91	C5418
	139	Meløen	-	W	Late Iron Age	Cairn	Sword	Noreide 2011:344-346; Brakstad 1970:101-102	Lost
	140	Nålsund	I	W	Before Viking Age	Possible boat burial	Sword, spearhead, axe, four arrows, knife, mount, rivets	Unimus, Noreide 2011:344-346; Brakstad 1970:101	T14428
	141	Røttingnes	I	J	Mid Viking Age	Boat burial in cairn	Oval brooches, 27 beads, frying pan, steatite vessel, spindle whorl, heckle, scissors, knife two whetstones, sickle, celt, hook, mount, flints, iron ring, key, lock? Animal bones, rivets	Unimus, Noreide 2011:344-346; Brakstad 1970:97-101	T9260-79
	142	Røttingnes	I	W	Viking Age	Boat burial in cairn	Shield-boss, bead, sickle, awl, buckle, mount, flints, rivets	Unimus, Noreide 2011:344-346; Brakstad 1970:97-101	T9280-87
	143	Ulset	I	J	Before Viking Age	Boat burial in mound	Oval brooches, beads, armllet, sickle, unidentified iron object, rivets	Unimus, Noreide 2011:344-346; Brakstad 1970:101	T2460-64

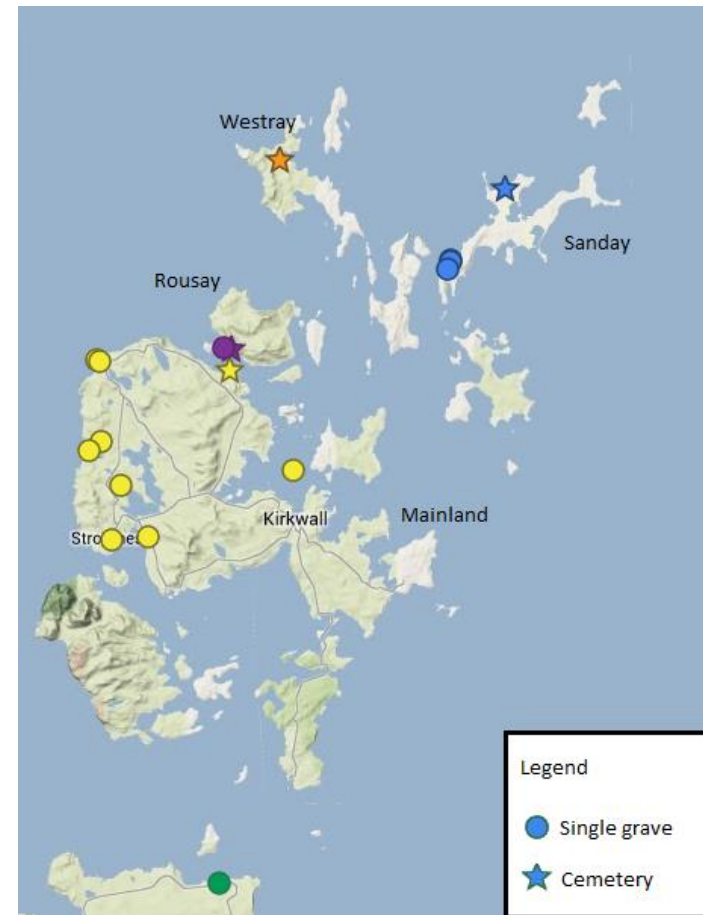
Appendix 2 Maps of pagan graves from northern Scotland and Møre og Romdsal⁴

Northern Scotland

Graves from northern Scotland

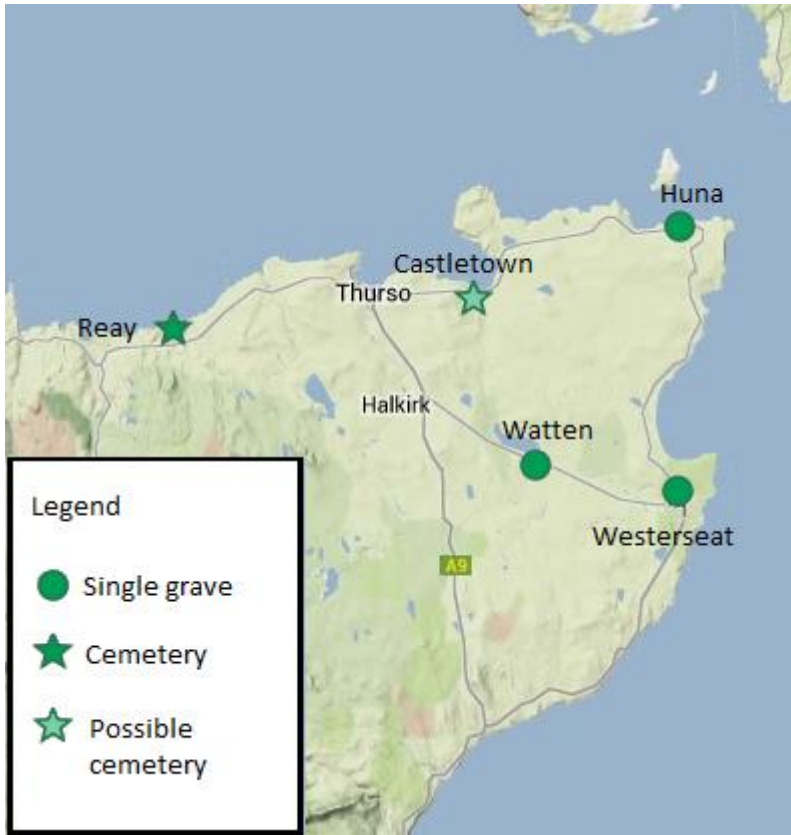


The Orkneys

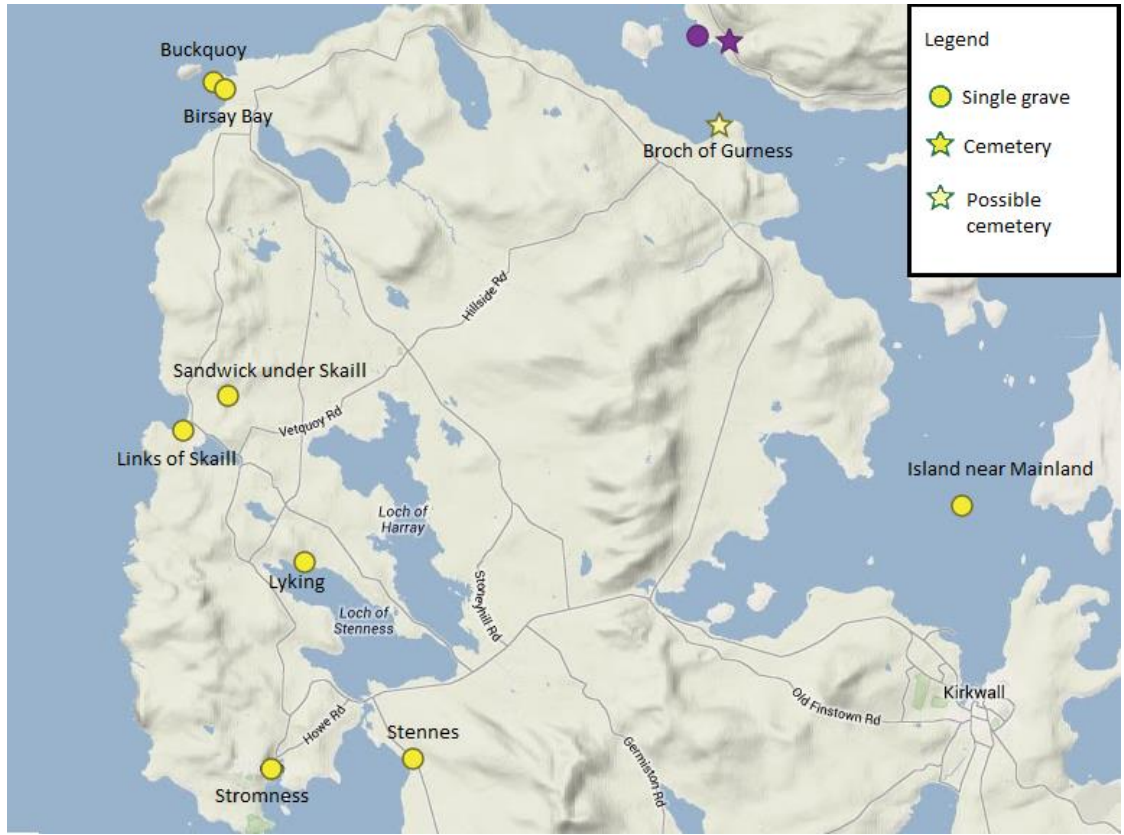


⁴ All background maps are after Google maps (<https://maps.google.no/>)

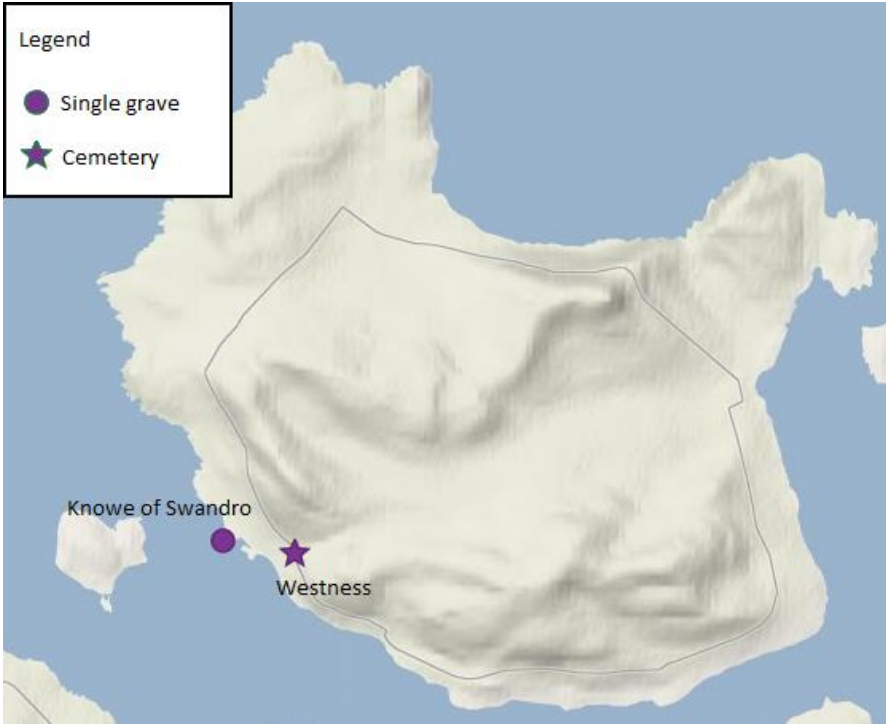
Graves from Caithness



Graves from Mainland Orkney



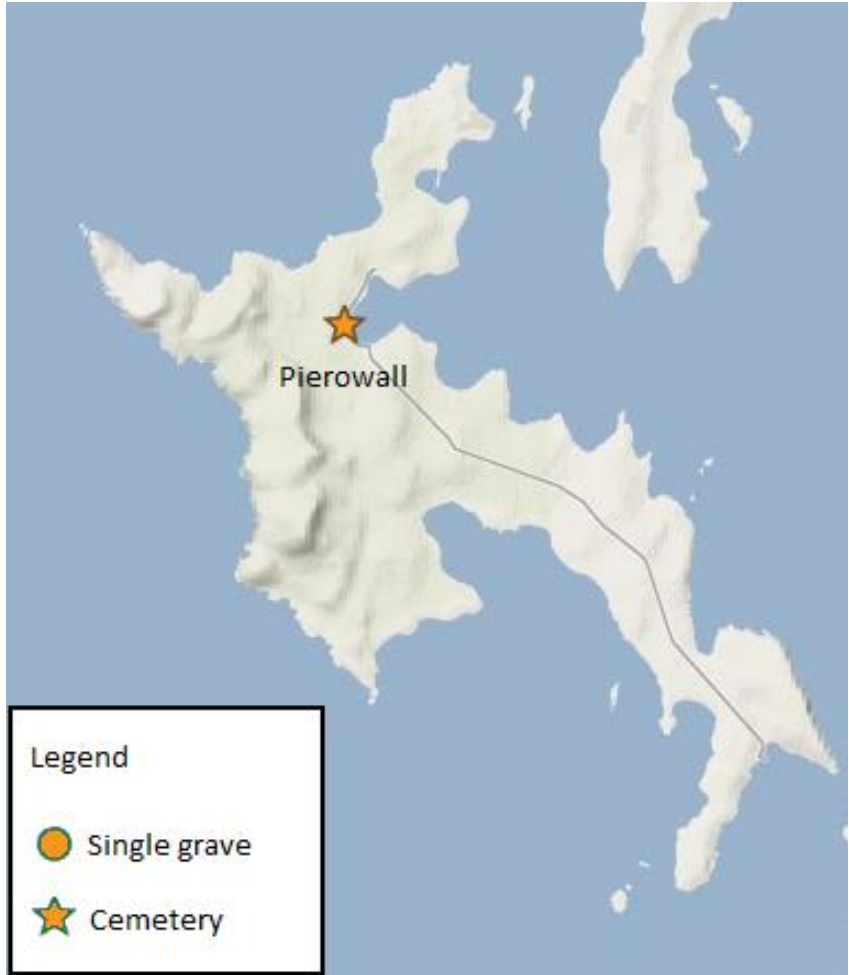
Graves from Rousay



Graves from Sanday



Graves from Westray

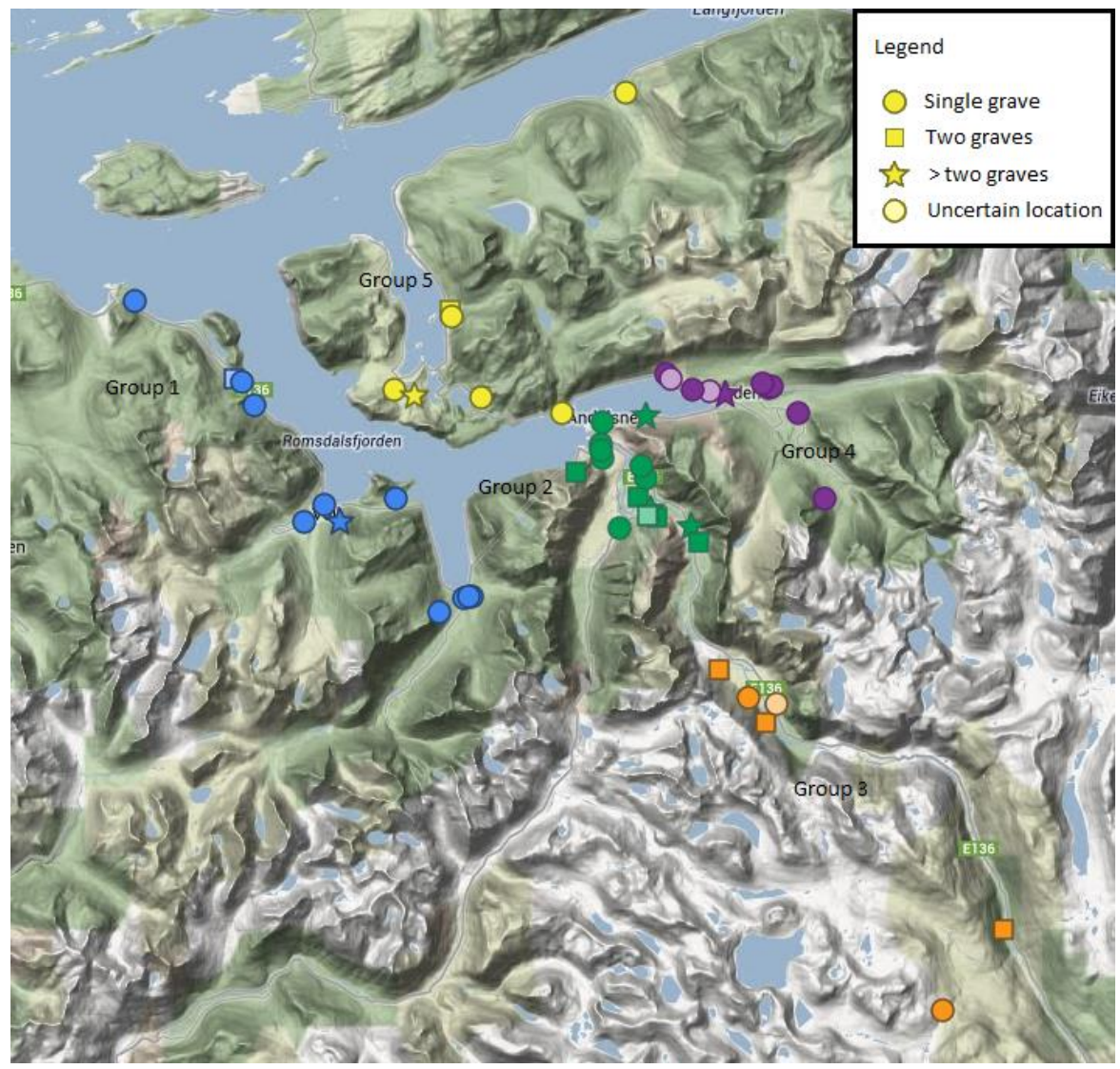


Graves from Shetland



Møre og Romsdal

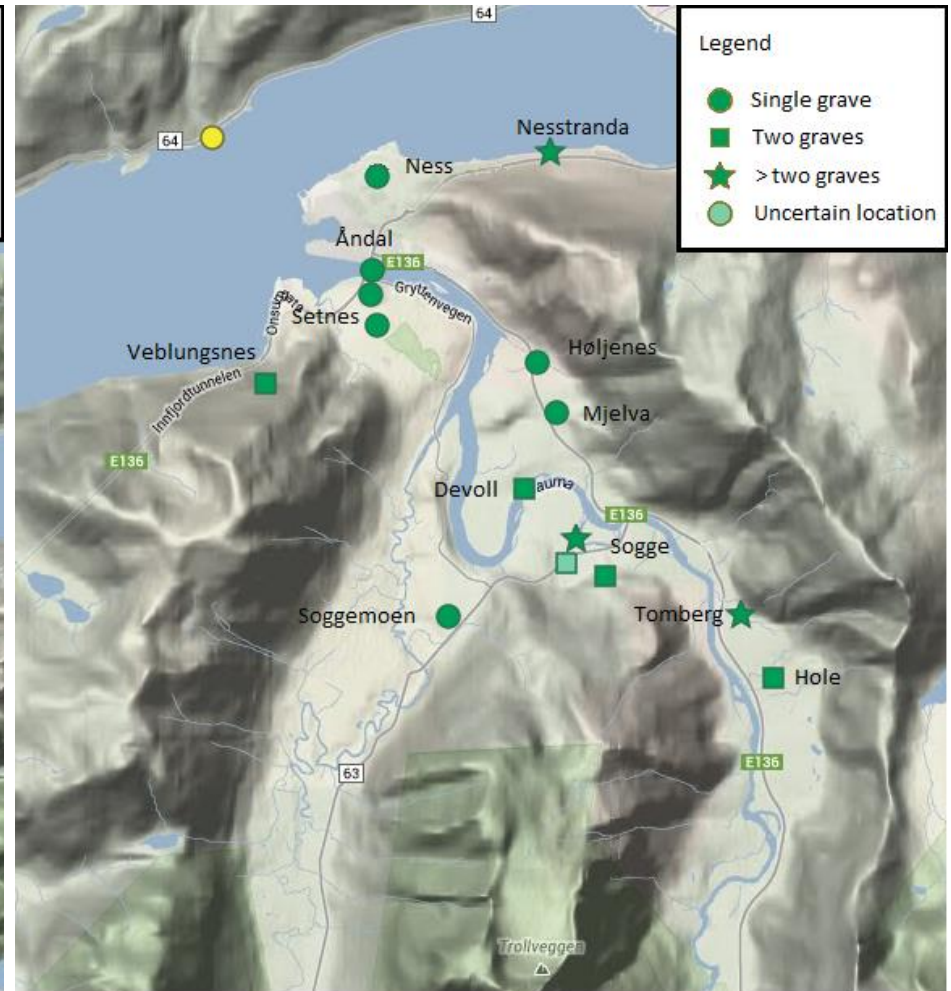
Graves from Rauma



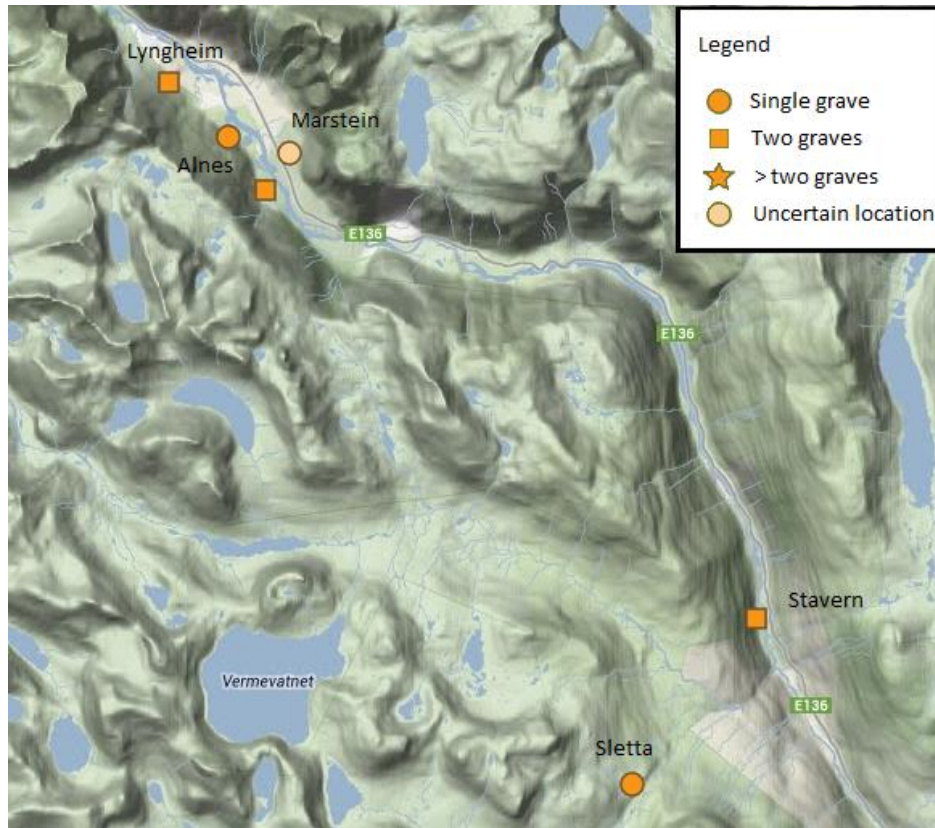
Graves from group 1, southwestern coast of Romsdalsfjorden



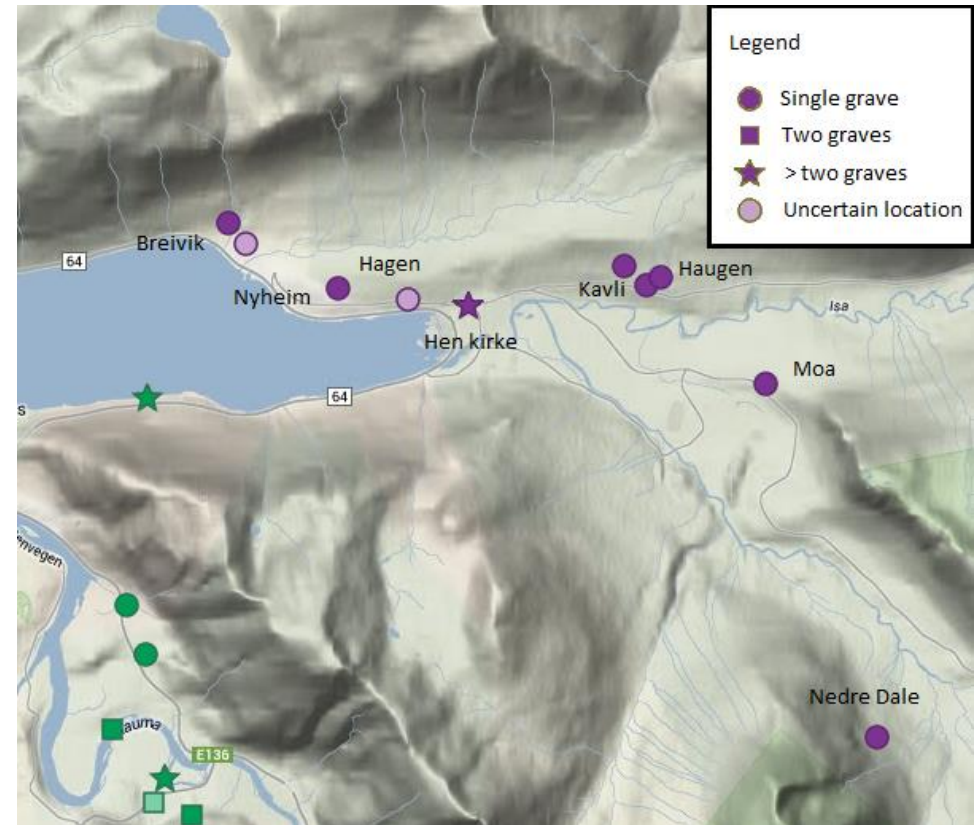
Graves from group 2, Rauma river outlet and lower Romsdalen valley



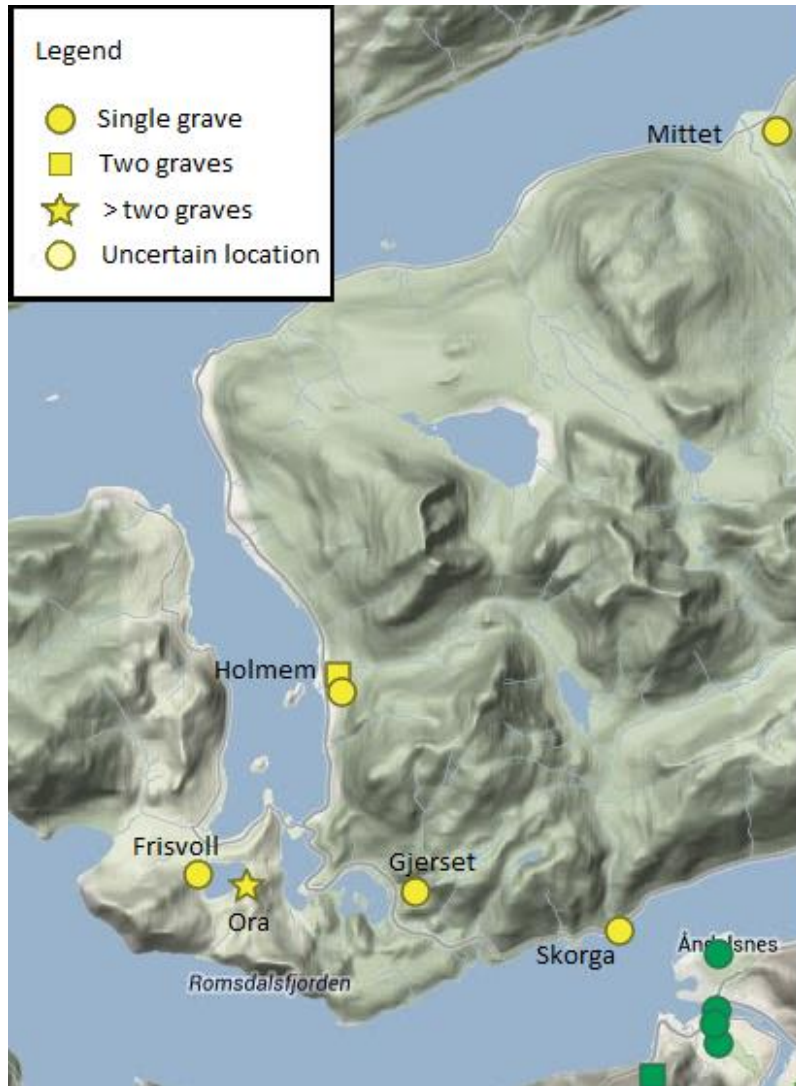
Graves from group 3, upper part of Romsdalen valley



Graves from group 4, Isfjorden



Graves from group 5, northern Rauma



Graves from Tingvoll

