



PROCESSING DEATH

Frida Espolin Norstein



UNIVERSITY OF
GOTHENBURG

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Oval Brooches and Viking graves
in Britain, Ireland, and Iceland

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Department of Historical Studies

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IN BRITAIN, IRELAND, AND ICELAND

Frida Espolin Norstein



UNIVERSITY OF
GOTHENBURG

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Abstract

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Burials with oval brooches from the Viking Age settlements in Britain, Ireland, and Iceland have frequently been interpreted as the graves of a specific and uniform group of people: (pagan) Scandinavian women of relatively high status. This interpretation is partly a result of the way in which the material has been treated, as static entities with more or less fixed meanings. How similar were these graves, however, and can they be interpreted as belonging to a specific group of people? By studying oval brooches and the graves in which these appear, this thesis examines how grave-goods were used in life and in death, and how the funerary rites themselves were performed. It provides an approach to grave-goods and graves that allows for the identification of variation in the material. Seeing the material as processes rather than objects is accentuated in order to identify variation. Through a theoretical framework emphasising ritualization, the focus is placed on ritual practice as meaningful in and of itself, rather than as reflective of uniform ideas and concepts. The meaning of funerary rites is also acknowledged as relational rather than essential; they must be understood in relation to each other and to other ways of acting.

The thesis comprises two in-depth case studies. The first case study (chapter 2) demonstrates that there are considerable differences in how oval brooches were used in both life and death and argues that these variations in use affected the brooches' abilities to evoke remembrances in funerary rites. Instead of regarding their meaning as static, the chapter emphasises how their meaning was relational and dependent on people's previous experience with oval brooches, both as a category and as individual objects. The second case study (chapter 3) examines how the funerary rites themselves were performed. It demonstrates that there were norms governing the funerary practices, but also that these practices in several cases varied or deviated from the norms. These variations and deviations highlight funerary practices as responses to an actual and contemporary situation: the death of a specific member of the community.

Whereas earlier studies have regarded graves with oval brooches as clearly defined and uniform, this study demonstrates that there was considerable variation in how the actual practices were performed. The graves with oval brooches were not uniform. Therefore, interpretations should not be uniform either. The considerable differences in how artefacts were used and funerary practices performed strongly suggest that there would have been distinctions in the intentions and effects of the funerary rituals. Although burials with oval brooches could at times be regarded as informative about the identities and social groups of the dead, this would have depended on factors other than merely the presence or absence of specific objects. Overall, the thesis argues that studies of burials with oval brooches – and Viking graves more generally – have been too concerned with the supposed paganism and 'Scandinavianess' of the graves. Such research stands in danger of reducing all parts of the Viking graves to questions about identities, and leave little room for the funerary rites as responses to the death of specific individuals. Instead, by decentralising the significance of grave-goods, both as an ethnic and religious marker and also as the unifying feature of the rituals, the approach presented here opens up for the possibility to explore communal as well as case-specific approaches and attitudes towards death and dying in Viking Age Britain, Ireland, and Iceland.

KEYWORDS: Oval brooches, Burials, Viking Age, Funerary rituals, Memory, Performance, Death, England, Scotland, Ireland, Iceland

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Chapter 1

Introduction

In 1787, a donation was made to the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland by James Trail, Esq. The description of the donation is as follows:

A black Ring or Brooch of Cannel Coal, $2\frac{3}{5}$ inches in diameter, with a slender pin of bone, 4 inches long; two oval Brooches of copper gilt, embossed and decorated with rich carvings, each surrounded with a double row of silver cord near the edge, with an iron tongue on the hollow side, much corroded; the length of each Brooch, $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches, the breadth 3 inches. These were, in September last, dug out of the top of the ruins of a Pictish house in Caithness, lying beside a skeleton, buried under a flat stone with very little earth above it. (Society of Antiquaries of Scotland 1831:61)

Thus reads the only account of the discovery of a burial from Castletown, Caithness in northern Scotland. Though the burial may not have been recognised as such at the time, it is one of approximately 600 to 700 so-called Viking burials from Britain, Ireland, and Iceland, in this thesis referred to as the western settlements. The interpretation of these graves has been centred on identifying them as Viking graves, and hence, as the graves of pagan Scandinavian raiders and settlers. The Castletown discovery is rather early, but it is better recorded than many of its contemporaries in that it mentions skeletal remains as well as something about the internal and external layout and structure of the grave (e.g. Anderson 1880:551; Þórðarson 1914:75-76). Like most other accounts of Viking graves from the late eighteenth to the early twentieth century, however, it focuses more attention on the artefacts discovered than on the context in which they were found (Harrison 2008:15-39; section 1.2). This focus on artefacts in the accounts of excavations has had a significant impact on later studies of the aforementioned Viking graves. The

often poorly preserved and recorded material and the bias in favour of recording grave-goods has led to artefacts receiving the lion's share of attention in most later studies (e.g. Shetelig 1940-1954; Batey 1993; Hayeur Smith 2004; McGuire 2010a).

Despite uncertainties regarding their context, artefacts, by their mere presence, are often assumed to be capable of giving information about who the deceased individual was. In the western settlements, the presence of grave-goods in general is taken to imply that the deceased was Scandinavian and pagan, or alternatively, that the mourners wanted to claim this. The presence of specific artefact types are used to determine aspects such as gender and status. The grave from Castletown contains a type of artefact commonly referred to as *oval brooches*. These iconic brooches are generally interpreted as items exclusively worn by Scandinavian women and are often used to identify female graves. From a pair of oval brooches – and at times a single brooch – the presence of a (pagan) Scandinavian woman of relatively high status is assumed. In this thesis, I will question the assumptive connection made between grave-goods and who the deceased were through a detailed study of oval brooches from the western settlements and their roles in funerary rites.

1.1 Problem statement

Frequently, identifying graves as Viking is the premise for a study, rather than its subject, as I will expand on below (section 1.2.3). Oval brooches and the graves in which they appear are regarded as passive reflections of the deceased as (pagan) Scandinavian women of relatively high status, or alternatively as the desire of the mourners to communicate such identities through the burial. The meanings of grave-goods are treated as if they were static and uniform, and the graves themselves are often seen as snapshots in time. Although such an approach can certainly be necessary in order to study and compare large numbers of graves, it can obscure variations which have the potential to provide more nuanced interpretations. This treatment of graves and grave-goods as if they were static entities is, presumably, in part due to the challenging nature of the source material, which is only partially preserved and with excavations and records of highly varying qualities. In this thesis, I hope to demonstrate the potential and possibilities of the material by exploring how it can be used in a way that enables us to move beyond interpretations where the material mainly becomes markers of identities. I will do this by asking how similar graves with oval brooches would have been, and if they can be interpreted as the same phenomenon.

The main aim of the thesis is to provide an approach to grave-goods and graves that allows for the identification of variation in the material. This approach has the potential to challenge assumptions about what these graves are and offer a new way

of understanding how meanings were produced and mediated through them. Such an approach requires more than acknowledging the graves as something beyond reflections of life and social roles. It requires a reconception of the ontological status of the material from object to process (Burström and Fahlander 2012; Gosden and Malafouris 2015). In this thesis, I will therefore examine grave-goods and graves as processes. Regarding grave-goods, this entails examining how artefacts were used in both life and death in order to assess how they could have produced and mediated meanings in a funerary context. Regarding the graves themselves, this thesis will explore the practices that must have been performed in order to create the material discovered. This has the potential of revealing norms, as well as variations and deviations in funerary practices. By exploring grave-goods and graves as processes rather than objects, I seek to demonstrate that *how* things were used, and the funerary practices performed, are crucial to their interpretation.

There are two central research questions:

- How were meanings produced and mediated through burials with oval brooches?
- In what ways and to what extent can graves with oval brooches – and by extension Viking graves – be interpreted as the graves of a particular group of people?

In order to address these questions, the material will be examined in chapters 2 and 3, both emphasising practice and performance. The first with reference to grave-goods, and the second with reference to funerary rites. Chapter 2 will examine the role of grave-goods, with oval brooches as the example, in the production and mediation of memories. By studying how oval brooches were used as both individual artefacts and as a categorical group, the first part will address the research question:

- How did oval brooches become mnemonic and how could they evoke remembrance in funerary rites?

Chapter 3 will study the performance of the funerary rites in which these brooches appeared. By emphasising norms, variations, and deviations in practice, this chapter aims to highlight the rites and their material remains as responses to an actual situation, and then discuss the relationship between the deceased individual in life and in death. The main research question for chapter 3 is:

- How were people remembered through funerary rites?

This question entails studying not only how people were remembered, but also how they were transformed, or re-membered, through the funerary rites. These two chapters will render it possible to recognise variations in practice to a greater

extent than in previous studies. This recognition enables a more nuanced discussion of how things and practices were meaningful in the past.

The material that will be studied in this thesis consists of burials with oval brooches from Britain, Ireland, and Iceland. The close connection between oval brooches and Scandinavian women has meant that the assumption that their presence in graves is reflecting that of Scandinavian women is often taken for granted. By studying graves which interpretation is often unquestioned, I hope to demonstrate that even within this category of graves, there is considerable variation and complexity.

1.2 Burials in the western settlements: Previous research

Burials with oval brooches from the western settlements will be presented in detail in chapter 3. However, first I will present their research history in order to demonstrate how they have been interpreted so far. Burials with oval brooches have not commonly been singled out as a distinct group for study and the following section will treat all so-called ‘Viking burials’ as one category. The term ‘Viking burial’ (or ‘Viking grave’) will be discussed in more detail below (section 1.2.3). The research history of the Viking graves in the western settlements has been reviewed in two recent doctoral theses; Britain and Ireland by Stephen Harrison (2008), and Iceland by Adolf Friðriksson (2013). I will therefore not go into great detail in this area, but rather emphasise the aspects that are important for this study. Firstly, I will examine how the Viking graves in the western settlements have been created as a research material and what the material looks like in its current form. Britain and Ireland will be presented first (section 1.2.1), and Iceland will be presented separately afterwards (section 1.2.2). Following this overview, I will discuss how the burials have been interpreted. I will first focus on the often used term ‘Viking graves’ (section 1.2.3) then the topics that Vikings graves are often used to study (section 1.2.4). I will move on to address the connection made between grave-goods and identities (section 1.2.5) and in particular the role of oval brooches in this (section 1.2.6). I will conclude this section by discussing the move from treating things and graves as objects to processes (section 1.2.7).

1.2.1 Britain and Ireland

The earliest written accounts describing likely Viking graves from Britain and Ireland date from the seventeenth century. These accounts were generally not very concerned with artefacts, and when they were, it tended to be with jewellery and artefacts of precious metal. Such artefacts were more commonly recorded and preserved, whereas iron objects received less attention (Harrison 2008:15-18).

The burials were rarely recognised as Viking graves before the Danish archaeologist J.J.A. Worsaae travelled through Britain and Ireland in 1846-7 and later published an account on the Danes and Norwegians in England, Scotland, and Ireland (Worsaae 1852; Harrison 2008:19). The quality of the records of burials varies considerably. Some accounts are merely mentions of the artefacts discovered, often recorded when they entered the possession of a museum (e.g. Society of Antiquaries of Scotland 1893), whereas other accounts contain more details of the find circumstances (e.g. Rendall 1839 reprinted in Marwick 1932). The variation in quality of accounts stems from the circumstances of recovery for each burial: many graves were chance finds discovered by local farmers, whereas others were more targeted excavations, though not carried out by professionals. There was an increased concern with documenting accidental discoveries in the early twentieth century (Harrison 2008:26), resulting in more detailed descriptions (e.g. Edwards and Bryce 1927), though this trend was not universal. Throughout the twentieth century, an increasing number of burials were subject to professional excavations, though only one among these contained oval brooches, and this was not recorded in much detail (Robertson 1969). Three burials with oval brooches in Britain and Ireland have been excavated to modern standards, two from England (B.ID 01 and B.ID 04) (Speed and Walton Rogers 2004; Paterson et al. 2014) and one from Ireland (B.ID 08), though there is no complete excavation report for the latter (though see Sikora 2010; Harrison and Ó Floinn 2014:533-537).

The late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries saw the first detailed regional overviews of Viking burials. Joseph Anderson (1874), Keeper of the Museum of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, discussed 'Relics of the Viking period in Scotland' based on artefacts in the Museum. Although he was not exclusively interested in graves, Anderson was well aware that many of the artefacts were from funerary contexts and he included some detail of find circumstances where these were known. George Coffey and E.C.R. Armstrong (1910) published much of the material from the Dublin cemetery complex Kilmainham-Islandbridge, though the context of many of the artefacts apart from a vague provenance was (and still is) largely unknown. An account of Viking artefacts from Tullie House Museum in Carlisle was published by J.D. Cowen (1934), and though it did not deal exclusively with grave-goods, it did present the first overview of burials within any region in England. Between 1940-54, the six-volume *Viking Antiquities in Great Britain and Ireland* edited by Haakon Shetelig (1940-1954) was published. These volumes contained catalogues of Viking artefacts discovered in Scotland, Ireland, and England, recorded respectively by Sigurd Grieg (1940), Johannes Bøe (1940), and Anathon Bjørn and Haakon Shetelig (1940) during brief visits in 1925 and 1926. Each catalogue discussed the grave finds separately, and though there were certain errors, this represented the first time a complete overview had been pub-

lished. Until fairly recently this was the only attempt at a complete overview of the Viking burials in Britain and Ireland.

Harrison (2008:4-5) has pointed out that the publication of *Viking Antiquities* had somewhat limited influence, and that settlements rather than burials became the focus of discussion in the following decades. There are some exceptions, notably Wilson (1974, 1976a, 1976b) who also treated the funerary material, though mainly as evidence of settlement. In the last 30 years, increasing attention has been paid to burials with several regional discussions of the graves having been initiated (Eldjárn 1984; Batey 1993; Edwards 1998; Graham-Campbell 2001; Harrison 2001; Griffiths 2010), as well as more general works including discussions of the graves having been published (Richards 1991; Graham-Campbell and Batey 1998; Ó Floinn 1998a). Among the most notable additions in recent years is Harrison's PhD thesis, which included a catalogue of all the Viking graves, or 'furnished insular Scandinavian burials' as he called them, in Britain and Ireland (Harrison 2008). His thesis contained descriptions of the contents and structure of the graves as far as this was known, as well as a discussion of their placement in the landscape. The Irish material has also recently been reviewed and published by Harrison and Ragnall Ó Floinn (2014), with detailed discussions of the grave-goods in particular.

1.2.2 Iceland

Although there are many similarities in the research on burials between Iceland and the rest of the western settlements, there are also some distinctions in the focus of this research. Most notable is that Icelandic archaeology was very heavily influenced by saga literature, hence, burials were often seen in connection with saga events (e.g. Bruun and Jónsson 1910). The earliest attempts at recording burials from Iceland stem from the eighteenth century and were the initiative of Danish authorities. These reports surveyed various information about Iceland including the country's geography and economy (Friðriksson 2013:25). At the beginning of the nineteenth century, several reports of archaeological sites in Iceland were collected as part of a census done at the behest of the Royal Danish Archaeological Committee of all parishes in the Danish territory. Around 200 burial sites were recorded. References to actual human remains were rare in these reports, and there was more concern placed upon how the supposed burials were believed to be connected to saga events. Few of these sites are now considered Viking graves (Friðriksson 2013:26-27). In 1863, the Antiquarian Collection, the future National Museum of Iceland, was established and started collecting and preserving chance finds, though they did not organize excavations.

The first national overview of burial sites was published by the Danish philologist Kristian Kålund (1882). Kålund did not himself excavate, but drew from material at the Museums in Copenhagen and Reykjavik, which mostly consisted of chance finds. More systematic excavations occurred with the establishment of Society of Antiquaries in 1879. The excavations were conducted by some of its more prominent members including Sigurður Vigfússon who later became director of the Antiquarian Collection (Friðriksson 2013:31-32). These excavations were also published in the Society's journal *Árbók Hins íslenska fornleifafélags* with the first volume published in 1881. The excavations were based on the saga material and meant to locate the burial places of people mentioned in the saga literature, though generally with little success. Most of the new burials of this period were the result of accidental discoveries (Friðriksson 2013:33-34).

The twentieth century saw considerable developments in Icelandic archaeology. In 1907, the post of State Antiquarian was created in Iceland, with the first to fill it being Matthías Þorðarson. This period was characterised by population growth, road construction, and increased agriculture, which led to discoveries of several new burial sites, many visited and recorded by Þorðarson (Friðriksson 2013:35-36). The twentieth century also saw improvement in field methods, particularly through the work of Daniel Bruun (e.g. Bruun and Jónsson 1910). Yet, the seminal work on Viking burial in Iceland is Kristján Eldjárn's doctoral thesis, *Kuml og Haugfé*, published in 1956, which was a catalogue of all the burials discovered in Iceland and a discussion of the burial practices. Eldjárn was by then appointed State Antiquarian after Þorðarson and continued excavating and publishing (Friðriksson 2013:39-41). Eldjárn's work has since been updated twice by Friðriksson, with the latest issue published in 2016 and including a significant number of new burials excavated to modern standards, though none of these contained oval brooches.

1.2.3 Identifying Viking graves

The term 'Viking graves' has been used frequently in the western settlements, particularly in Britain and Ireland (e.g. Shetelig 1945; Bersu and Wilson 1966; Harrison and Ó Floinn 2014; Batey 2016). Implicit in the term lies assumptions about what these graves are, and who were buried in them. Labelling a grave as 'Viking' is not just categorisation but also interpretation. The Viking graves are always interpreted as having a connection with Scandinavia and Scandinavian practices, and they are also generally supposed to represent pagan funerary rites (e.g. Shetelig 1945; Eldjárn 1984; Batey 1993; Ó Floinn 1998a; Graham-Campbell 2001). There is often an implicit – and at times explicit – creation of the dichotomies Scandinavian/local and pagan/Christian (e.g. Graham-Campbell and Batey 1998:144). The graves are partly defined by their similarities to Viking Age graves in Scandinavia, and partly in opposition to local Christian ones. Scandinavian Viking Age burial

practices were famously diverse, however, and there was clearly not one standard way of burying the dead (e.g. Svanberg 2003; Price 2008). To define a burial as Viking in the western settlements can therefore be complex. The furnishing of burials is a practice frequently occurring in pre-Viking and Viking Age Scandinavia, but seemingly rare in Britain and Ireland immediately before the Viking Age. Therefore, the presence of grave-goods in Britain and Ireland is generally seen as a distinguishing factor of a Viking grave (e.g. Kaland 1993; Graham-Campbell and Batey 1998:113-142; Ó Floinn 1998a; Graham-Campbell 2001), especially if the artefacts themselves have been imported from Scandinavia. However, artefacts of other origins, even local, are often seen as enough to define a grave as Viking (Graham-Campbell 2001; Harrison and Ó Floinn 2014:8-11). This is the case with weaponry in particular, which even when discovered in churchyards has often been seen as a Viking phenomenon (Richards 2004:201-212). The presence of other types of artefacts, such as various smaller tools and also dress accessories, are also at times seen as belonging to Viking graves or at least being a product of Scandinavian influence (Harrison 2008).

The furnishing of burials is also regarded as a pagan rite. Although the Viking graves from the western settlements are frequently described as pagan (e.g. Shetelig 1954; Eldjárn 1984; Batey 1993; Graham-Campbell and Batey 1998; Ó Floinn 1998a; Graham-Campbell 2001; Griffiths 2010; Sikora 2010; Norstein 2014), discussions of what this entails in terms of beliefs have been less common. When the graves are more explicitly discussed as pagan, this is either on a general level as the artefacts are regarded as intended for the deceased in the afterlife (e.g. Maher 2013:13), or, more commonly, as particular practices or artefacts are regarded as explicitly linked with specific deities or beliefs. Perhaps most common is the discussion of boats in burials as required for the journey to the afterlife, or associated with Freyr or Freyja (e.g. Graham-Campbell and Batey 1998:148; Owen 2004:15-16; Harrison 2008:139-165; McGuire 2010a:148-194; Maher 2014:88-89). Other artefacts are also, at times, explicitly interpreted in a religious/cultic light (e.g. Graham-Campbell and Batey 1998:149; Owen 2004:15-16).

As demonstrated above, artefacts are often the feature of the burial that is best recorded, and sometimes it is the only feature that is recorded, which means that grave-goods have been given pride of place in the identification of Viking graves. There are other practices, particularly cremation burials common to Scandinavia (though how common varies considerably by region) that do not appear to have been used in Britain and Ireland immediately prior to the Viking Age. Viking Age cremation graves are few and far between in Britain, Ireland, and Iceland, however. Those that *have* been discovered are generally interpreted as Viking graves, though there are cases where the lack of grave-goods has meant that Viking Age

cremations have been excluded from discussions on Viking graves (Harrison and Ó Floinn 2014:271).

There are certain regional differences when identifying Viking graves. The presence of (presumably) earlier Anglo-Saxon burials in England makes distinguishing these from Viking Age graves difficult (Halsall 2000). This is not such a problem in Ireland and Scotland which lacks elaborately furnished burials from the Iron Age (Harrison 2008:40-41). In Iceland, which was unpopulated before the Viking period, the discussion is centred on distinguishing pagan (or pre-Christian) practices from Christian ones, rather than local from Scandinavian. In essence, it is the presence or absence of grave-goods which separates local from Scandinavian graves and pagan from Christian ones. There are exceptions, a grave in a churchyard with a very small amount of grave-goods is far from always interpreted as a Viking grave, and graves without grave-goods can at times become Viking by association because they are discovered in the company of graves that are more overtly Viking (e.g. Dunwell et al. 1995a). By exploring the ways in which grave-goods were used as well as other practices of the funerary rites, I will in this thesis question some of these assumptions of what Viking graves are and what they have in common.

Despite difficulties with both definition and interpretation, I have chosen to retain the term ‘Viking graves’ in this thesis. This is partly due to the lack of a suitable alternative. Referring to them as ‘Scandinavian graves’ or ‘furnished graves’ places too great an emphasis on the presumed cultural or ethnic group of the deceased in the former case, and on definite, though not necessarily the most significant or representative characteristics, in the latter. As the burials studied here are limited to those containing oval brooches, I can for the main part leave the exact definition of ‘Viking graves’ purposely vague (though see section 3.1.1). Though the term ‘Viking graves’ certainly implies a connection with Scandinavia, either in terms of material culture or practices, it does not to the same degree presume the geographical (or cultural) origin of the individual interred as the term ‘Scandinavian graves’. Thus, it is not to the same extent an ethnic label.

1.2.4 Studying Viking graves

In the late nineteenth century and first half of the twentieth century, there was clearly a concern with typologies and chronologies of the artefacts discovered in graves in order to determine their dates and to prove the burials’ Scandinavian nature (e.g. Anderson 1874, 1880; Coffey and Armstrong 1910; Curle 1914; MacLeod et al. 1916; Shetelig 1939). This interest in artefacts also manifested in Scandinavia where overviews, typologies and chronologies of Viking Age artefacts were compiled during this time (Montelius 1872-74; Rygh 1885; Petersen 1919, 1928, 1951). Before Eldjárn’s thesis (1956), this concern with typology was not

as evident in Iceland where the Scandinavian nature of the burials was never in question. In the western settlements, and particularly in Britain and Ireland, the identification of a burial as a Viking grave was hence the primary objective, as these burials were evidence of raids and settlements. Variations within this category of graves were less commonly discussed, but with exceptions. Those exceptions included references to whether the occupant was male or female, references to their social standing (Brøgger 1929:126-127, 1930:239) and, in the cases of a few male graves, references to their occupation (Anderson 1880:54-56). These distinctions were also made based on grave-goods, or more precisely, on the presence of specific types of artefacts. Weapons were seen to define the occupant of the grave as male, and often as a warrior. Certain types of jewellery – in particular oval brooches – defined the person as female. Many artefacts in a grave, or artefacts considered prestige items, were seen to denote high status. The artefacts alone were, in other words, often enough to say that the deceased was Scandinavian, pagan, female or male, and of high (or low) status.

An important part of the study of Viking graves has been attempting to establish how many graves there are and what types of artefacts are commonly found in them. This was attempted by Shetelig et al (1940-1954), but newer regional assessments have still been crucial both for the inclusion of new finds and also for the discussion of whether or not earlier graves can truly be considered Viking graves. This means that the works were often mainly descriptive in character, and the identification of who the deceased and the group they belonged to were, was assumed – though with caveats – rather than examined (e.g. Eldjárn 1984; Batey 1993; Graham-Campbell and Batey 1998; Ó Floinn 1998a; Graham-Campbell 2001; Harrison 2001). The burials were more commonly used to discuss life in the Viking settlements rather than death. Date, area, and scale of settlement, as well as gender (im)balances, occupations and daily life, have been important topics of discussion. Discussions of death and burial have tended to be limited to beliefs (e.g. Graham-Campbell and Batey 1998:143-149).

Around the turn of the millennium, many scholars were pointing out that a Viking grave was not necessarily the grave of a Scandinavian immigrant. Even in the cases of graves with overtly Scandinavian artefacts such as oval brooches, it has been acknowledged that we cannot be certain that they belonged to a woman of Scandinavian descent, although this was still seen as, by far, the most likely. This has opened up for the possibility that Scandinavian dress and custom was adopted by someone local (Graham-Campbell and Batey 1998:150). The paganism of the graves has also been questioned at times (Halsall 2000), particularly with reference to the lack of cremation graves and the poorly furnished graves or furnished graves in churchyards which have at times been interpreted as evidence of syncretism

(Harrison 2001:74; Griffiths 2010:72). This did not, in essence, alter the view of these graves as Scandinavian and pagan.

1.2.5 Viking identities

The growing awareness of the graves as not simply reflecting who the deceased were and what they believed has become even more evident in recent times, particularly within the last 15 years. Where earlier studies were often concerned with identifying Viking graves and discussing what their presence could say about Scandinavian settlements, more recent studies have shown greater concern with the burials in and of themselves. This has been coupled with a growing interest in new theoretical perspectives. There has been an increased acknowledgment of burials as not simply reflecting who the deceased were, but of how funerary rites could be an arena in which aspects of the deceased's identity (such as ethnicity, gender, status, and beliefs) were actively communicated, though perhaps in an idealised form (e.g. Pétursdóttir 2007; Harrison 2008; McGuire 2010a; Friðriksson 2013; Maher 2013; Norstein 2014). There has also been a much greater interest in comparison between regions, which has demonstrated that the burials were not static reproductions of Scandinavian practices, but changing as a result of local conditions. The burials are, in other words, interpreted as responses to local circumstances (Harrison 2008; McGuire 2010a, 2010b; Norstein 2014). In these interpretations, the burials are no longer passive reflection, but rather active communicators. This acknowledgment of the active role of funerary rites in Viking Age societies has had limited effects on methodologies, however. As I will demonstrate below, the materials in these studies are still treated as objects rather than processes, which limits the potential for discussing variations (with the exception of Pétursdóttir 2007; 2009, see section 1.2.7).

Harrison (2008) and Erin Halstad McGuire (2010a) both discussed burials with oval brooches explicitly, though not exclusively. Harrison worked with burials from Britain and Ireland, whereas McGuire compared the graves of Iceland and Scotland with burials from Norway. The core of Harrison's thesis was a reassessment of the Viking graves in Britain and Ireland which he collected and systematised for the first time since Shetelig's *Viking Antiquities* (1940-1954). The interpretative part dealt with two different issues: grave-goods and the placement of burials in the landscape. The part on grave-goods was concerned primarily with their use as a means of expressing status. The methodology built on Bergljot Solberg's (1985) and Liv Helga Dommasnes' (1982) works which discussed weapon and jewellery burials, dividing them into status categories dependent on the number and types of objects in them. High status male graves were seen to contain weapons, and the more weapons, the higher status. Jewellery and textile equipment were regarded as the female equivalent, and burials with oval brooches were considered among

the burials of higher status (Solberg 1985:67). Harrison also worked with artefact counts as a measure for status where more artefacts were interpreted as higher status. McGuire's thesis was concerned with how migrant identities were displayed in funerary rites. She argued that differences, particularly in the use of grave-goods, demonstrate that identities changed as a result of migration. Part of her work involved applying statistical methods to the study of graves and especially their content, again building on methodologies developed by Solberg and Dommasnes. A similar approach was also present in Michèle Hayeur Smith's study of gender and identity through jewellery in Icelandic Viking Age graves, though it was not as central (Hayeur Smith 2004:67-68). Ruth Ann Maher's study demonstrated similar tendencies. She also examined the Icelandic pre-Christian graves, but in order to discuss perceptions of gender, age, and cosmology. Like Harrison, Maher was partly concerned with the placement of burials in the landscape, but also with the types of artefacts frequently associated with individuals of different sex and age groups (Maher 2013:31-49).

In these studies, grave-goods still remained the primary material used to discuss identity expressions in burials. Things, by virtue of their type, their quality or quantity, or combination thereof, were interpreted as expressing ideas or ideals. Harrison, McGuire, Maher and Hayeur Smith utilised descriptive statistics to discuss artefact counts or specific artefact combinations as related to the deceased's identities. Features of the material, such as full weapon-sets and certain combinations of jewellery, were seen as expressions of status, and specific artefact types were seen as connected to individuals of a particular sex or gender. Such an approach has the clear advantage of making the material comparable, and hence they were able to demonstrate both trends and variations in how identities were expressed in burials. The approach did, however, suffer somewhat from not being able to take into account differences in preservation, discovery, collecting, and recording. As demonstrated above, the overview of the discovery and systematization of Viking burials from Britain, Ireland, and Iceland has revealed the different circumstances under which the burials have been discovered (section 1.2.1-1.2.2). These differences mean that the amount of information we have about individual graves varies enormously. Some records merely mention artefacts discovered in unspecified locations (e.g. Anderson 1880:72), whereas other records contain detailed information of both the burials themselves, and of their surroundings (e.g. Paterson et al. 2014). Viking graves are, in other words, not easily comparable entities, which means that there are uncertainties associated with the results of studies built on the comparison of objects in graves (e.g. Harrison 2008; McGuire 2010a; Norstein 2014). These studies are dependent on large sample sizes for their results to be meaningful, and are thereby not suited for discussing smaller numbers of burials, nor are they suited for comparing individual graves, as I will do in this thesis.

The above-mentioned studies all discussed more qualitative aspects of the burials as well. Harrison discussed the symbolic value of grave-goods, focusing particularly on boats and metalworking tools. Although he emphasised that these would have had both symbolic and more functional meanings, these factors were still discussed separately. This division entailed that boats as ritual artefacts were added to the graves because of their symbolic value, transport to the afterlife and/or their associations with particular deities. Their functional value, however, meant that they could be interpreted as status symbols. Although Harrison stressed that grave-goods were able to do both at the same time, their functional and symbolic aspects were still presented and discussed as two distinct interpretations (Harrison 2008:139-165). This division of the burials into ritual and mundane is also present in McGuire's analysis. She argued that certain objects in the funeral would have had a ritual function, implicitly opposed to other artefacts which she presumably saw as having more mundane functions (e.g. McGuire 2010a:174-177). Because the distinction between ritual and mundane was never made explicitly clear, it is not evident how the distinction is supposed to take effect. The ritual objects appear to be those that can be associated with mythology or particular beliefs. Other artefacts are, by exclusion from this category, seen as having different functions. This function seems to be more clearly connected with the deceased individual, and at times with the express function of displaying status (Harrison) or identities (McGuire). There is an assumption that ritual is expressly connected with beliefs, and only certain artefacts used in funerary rituals seem to be understood as having a ritual function. This is essentially a view of burials as having secular and ritual purposes, a division which is common, though not necessarily analytically useful. The correlation between burials and beliefs is more pronounced in Maher's work. She expressly studied the cosmology, religion, and ideology of Viking Age Iceland, and, based on written sources, she discussed how these aspects were expressed in the burials. Maher was building on the assumption that there was a universal cosmology and religion in the Viking Age, and she saw the burials as expressing religious notions (Maher 2013:11-15). Her interest was explicitly in the meaning behind the practices and artefacts: "The goal [...] is to connect the material remains to the ritual. Making that link depends not only on the placement of the individuals in their surroundings, but also on myths and ancient texts where the meanings of the material remains were explained" (Maher 2013:62). In Maher's approach, the meaning of material and practices was seen as uniform and existing outside the practice of use and performance. As I aim to demonstrate in this thesis, such a static approach to the material runs the risk of obscuring variations and simplifying the ways in which burials produced and mediated meaning.

1.2.6 Oval brooches as symbols

Any discussion of the ritual function/nature of artefacts has a tendency to come down to meaning. Artefacts (particularly when used as grave-goods) are seen as representing ideas and concepts (e.g. Harrison 2008:259). This view of artefacts as representational is not limited to the ritual sphere, but permeates views on artefacts – and not only grave-goods – in Viking Age research more generally. In these cases, though things are not literally seen as stand-ins for people, they effectively become stand-ins anyway, as they are seen as representing more or less definite ideas and concepts. A case in point are the oval brooches which form an essential part of this thesis. These brooches have a clear connection with Scandinavia, both in terms of their shape and style, but perhaps more importantly in terms of the costume with which they were worn, a costume which would have differed considerably from local manners of dress in Britain and Ireland (Kershaw 2013:96). The oval brooches are not only clearly of Scandinavian origin, but also undeniably a type of jewellery worn (seemingly) exclusively by women. This association between oval brooches and Scandinavian women has led to their occurrence being interpreted as evidence of the presence of women from Scandinavia – or at least of Scandinavian descent – when found in graves (see Harrison 2008:118-125 for a discussion). As previously mentioned, more recent interpretations have been emphasising the ways in which material culture, and in particular jewellery, do not passively reflect the constant and unchanging identities of the wearer, be it in terms of gender, ethnicity, religious beliefs, or status, but rather can be used to communicate and also create these identities (e.g. Hayeur Smith 2004; Kershaw 2013).

Although there has been increased attention paid to oval brooches as creating and communicating identities, this has not changed the view of oval brooches as fundamentally tied to Scandinavian women, and therefore communicating female Scandinavian identities (Hayeur Smith 2004; McGuire 2010a; Kershaw 2013). Judith Jesch (2015:97) has described oval brooches as serving “to establish a common female identity across a large part of the Viking diaspora”. This association between oval brooches and Scandinavian women is so strong that their absence in certain female Viking graves has been presented as requiring a specific explanation (McGuire 2010a:262, 271). In general, when oval brooches are studied in relation to questions about identities, the emphasis is on what they mean. Jane Kershaw (2013:157-158, 216) argued that female costume would have served as an arena for the display of cultural values and that Scandinavian brooches would mainly have been used by Scandinavian immigrants. She compared these brooches to brooches of mixed Scandinavian and Anglo-Saxon characteristics which, she argued, would have expressed messages of mixed heritage. A similar argument has been advanced by McGuire (2010a:146) who, partly based on results of isotope

studies, suggested that oval brooches could have been considered inappropriate for women of non-Scandinavian descent. Where Kershaw emphasised the difference in functionality between Scandinavian and Anglo-Scandinavian brooches, McGuire (2010a:146) suggested that the symbolic properties may have been the most crucial, as they at times appear to have been used without the traditional dress. In a similar manner, Hayeur Smith (2004:75-76) interpreted the oval brooches as signifiers of female Scandinavian identity, and she also suggested that they could have been displaying married status. The brooches have also been seen as indicators of elevated social status in and of themselves, as well as in correlation with other artefacts (Hayeur Smith 2004:67-68; Harrison 2008:118-138, 2015)

Oval brooches were undoubtedly commonly worn by women in Scandinavia and were certainly used in corresponding manners in the settlements in Britain, Ireland, and Iceland. This has meant that an association between the oval brooches and the identities of their wearers, is frequently assumed. This association is particularly in terms of gender and ethnicity, but also regarding status and social role. However, it is rarely discussed in detail *how* oval brooches, as well as other artefacts, can come to carry such social and symbolic meanings, and how this would take effect in an actual setting. The ‘meanings’ oval brooches are seen to carry can therefore become rather static and appear to exist outside the practice of using them. Most of the above-mentioned studies have been interested in generalisations about oval brooches. I will instead perform a more detailed analysis of how the brooches were used in individual cases. Such an analysis has the capability of assessing variation to a much greater extent and would contribute to our understanding of how meaning was produced and mediated through these artefacts.

1.2.7 From objects to processes

The above discussion of the research’s historical background in the western settlement has demonstrated that grave-goods and graves from the western settlements have often been treated as static. Assumptions regarding who the deceased were are made based on the presence (or lack thereof) of specific artefacts. More recent approaches have shown greater interest in variation and have demonstrated that the graves were changing in response to local circumstances. Despite interpretations regarding the burials as active rather than passive, the material remains static both physically and conceptually. The essential notion that grave-goods, simply by their presence, can inform us on who the deceased were or who the mourners wanted to portray, remains largely unquestioned.

Studies of grave-goods and graves in the western settlements, have had a tendency to treat the material as objects rather than processes. With reference to grave-goods, this entails that artefacts are discussed as if their meaning was constant,

and individual objects are rarely treated as having significance beyond their general type, with the exception of cases where certain artefacts are being interpreted as heirlooms (e.g. Hayeur Smith 2004:78-80). There are not many exceptions to the approach treating the material as objects when it comes to studying burials from the western settlements, but one valuable contribution is Þora Péttersdóttir's MA thesis (2007) and subsequent article (2009) on Viking graves from Iceland. She discussed the relational properties of things and emphasised how individual artefacts are distinct due to their object biographies, which allowed the discussion to go beyond the symbolic and representational. Although it is possible to argue that Péttersdóttir downplayed the ways in which things can carry meanings as part of a group of things, her work nevertheless provides a highly welcome way of studying grave-goods and is thus an inspiration for this study.

Graves in themselves are also commonly treated as objects. Archaeological reports have a tendency to present the graves as a single image (Williams 2009). The creation of this image has a tendency to be seen as the goal of the burials. There are reasons to question if this image or scene was considered to be of great importance, or even visible, to the participants at the time (Williams 2006:120). Little attention has been paid to the process of creating the graves, to the practices that must have been performed, to the display and concealment of both the deceased and the artefacts interred with them. In this thesis I will emphasise process and explore how such a perspective can affect the interpretation of burials, particularly in terms of how the burials can be used to discuss who the deceased were.

1.3 Interpretative framework

In order to explore what the Viking graves are and what they can be used to discuss, it is necessary to examine how burials can communicate meanings at all. This will be explored through chapters 2 and 3, which form semi-independent parts and have their own theoretical and methodological frameworks. These studies are both grounded in theories of ritualization and memory, which I will introduce below. I will also briefly discuss scale and some of the overall features of the methodology.

1.3.1 Ritualization

At its core, this thesis is concerned with the interpretation of burials, which warrants a discussion of what burials are. Viking burials in the western settlements have rarely been examined explicitly as funerary rituals. When ritual interpretations have been put forward, it has primarily been with reference to specific objects or practices that are seen as having ritual meanings associated with magic-religious beliefs (sections 1.2.3-1.2.5). Such a view of rituals perceives them as reflective

rather than performative. They are seen as physical manifestations of mental beliefs, rather than important in their own right.

The last twenty years have seen considerable changes in the study of Viking Age funerary rites, though this has not been as evident in the study of Viking burials in the west. In Scandinavia, however, there has been a much more evident interest in ritual theory and also practice and performance (e.g. Lia 2001; Gansum and Oestigaard 2004; Artelius and Lindqvist 2005; Jennbert 2006; Kristoffersen and Oestigaard 2008; Price 2010, 2012; Lund 2013; Price 2014). Although there are many differences in these approaches, they all acknowledge the importance of the performative aspect of the ritual process. Some approaches are explicitly interpreting the burials from a ritual theory perspective. For instance, Øystein Lia (2001) has studied the burials of Kaupang, building on the anthropological works of Arnold van Gennep (1960), Victor Turner (1969), and Maurice Bloch (1992). Lia highlighted the liminal aspects of the rituals and focused on their transformative functions. His interpretations were heavily influenced by written sources and the history of religion, particularly with reference to Norse attitudes to the soul and the afterlife. The use of written sources is common in the study of Viking Age rituals. They are frequently used to explain artefacts and practices found in the archaeological material (Artelius and Lindqvist 2005; Artelius and Kristensson 2006; Parker Pearson 2006). Although the practice and performance of the rituals is given more weight, they do, in a sense, still see rituals as the performance of myths.

Most studies of Viking Age funerary rites that explicitly discuss them as rituals are concerned with their meaning (e.g. Artelius and Lindqvist 2005; Artelius and Kristensson 2006; Price 2010, 2014). A common assumption in these studies is that there is 'meaning' to access, that there is something behind the practices that the people understood then and that we can still understand today. Meaning is regarded as uniform and constant, and possible for archaeologists to recreate with the help of analogies, particularly with the written sources. Part of the problem with using analogies to explain the archaeological material is that the interpretations are at times given in advance: the texts are taken to explain the patterns in the material. Archaeologists are then hard pressed to discover anything new and independent of historical sources (Fogelin 2007; Fahlander 2013). Studying meaning has a tendency to become a question of intentions and one that is difficult to address based on the archaeological material alone. Certain stories and motifs do appear to be well-known in Scandinavia and the western settlement (Jesch 2015:135-139), and it is possible that the use of specific artefacts or practices could have been associated with these motifs. However, these would have been dependent on the participants for being understood.

There are other studies of Viking Age funerary rituals that are not as concerned with meaning. Terje Gansum and Terje Oestigaard (2004), in their study of the monumental mounds at Haugar in Tønsberg, Norway, examined the communal process of creating the mound and their later importance in communal myth-making. Julie Lund (2013) studied the changing treatment of bodies and objects during the conversion of Scandinavia. She argued that changing treatment cannot be seen as an effect of changing beliefs, but rather that the changes in practice were important and integral parts of the conversion. These two latter studies were inspired by practice theory, particularly the work of Pierre Bourdieu. Gansum and Oestigaard were also inspired by Catherine Bell's implementation of practice theory in her theory of ritualization. Although Gansum and Oestigaard had rather different interests and perspectives than Lund, their common emphasis on aspects other than meaning in the funerary rites is highly useful, and this is a perspective I will use in this thesis. Such an approach has also been implemented in studies of other archaeological periods. In Scandinavian archaeology this can be seen in Liv Nilsson Stutz's (2003, 2006; Berggren and Nilsson Stutz 2010) work on Mesolithic burial rites. She has demonstrated the value of Bell's perspectives for the interpretation of funerary material without the aid of written sources. Nilsson Stutz has argued that Bell's theory of ritualization is particularly useful for archaeologists because it highlights the importance of ritual practice and that there is no abstract meaning existing outside of such practice.

Bell's (2009) theory of ritualization forms the basis for my interpretation of rituals as well. Bell (2009:186) argued that although rituals are concerned with systems of beliefs, these are unlikely to be coherent and shared outside a relatively small group of specialists (see also Keane 2008). Instead, Bell focused on ritualization as a strategic way of acting, which differentiates itself from other actions through strategies such as formalism, traditionalism, invariance, rule governance, sacred symbolism, and performance. This distinction from mundane acts is what characterises a practice as ritual, and by extension, also as privileged and powerful. These ritual acts are then meaningful within their cultural context. They must be understood in relation to all other ways of acting, because only here will it be clear what they are alluding to, inverting, echoing, and denying (Bell 2009:220-221). This is demonstrated in Geoffrey Koziol's (1992) study of supplication in Early Medieval France. He argued that rituals can never be studied in a vacuum. Rituals only make sense because they take place in a world already permeated with overlapping symbols and symbolic behaviours which have meaning in reference to other cultural practices (Koziol 1992:297). These symbols and symbolic practices are given meaning through use, but they are not used in order to be given meaning, but because they already carry meaning through use in other settings (Koziol 1992:303). Koziol (1992:305) talked about a ritual complex, where rituals are

created and recreated through use, and they are used in various settings until the rituals, with their analogies, projections, and inversions, permeate all behaviour in society.

As previously mentioned, Bell's interpretation of ritualization is built on practice theory, particularly on the work of Bourdieu (1977). This entails that rituals are seen as both structured and structuring practices and are involved in reproducing a set of relations that are seen as objective and true. Rituals are not passive; they are creative acts which are strategically reproducing the past and often controlled by authorities considered ritual experts who can use these rituals to dominate the present. This ritual construction of tradition is, according to Bell (2009:122-123), a powerful strategy because it effectively invokes an authoritative precedent, with moral and nostalgic connotations. The scheme that is produced by ritualization will structure an environment such that the environment itself will appear to be the very source of the scheme and its values (Bell 2009:140). Bell (2009:109) called this the blindness or misrecognition of ritualization. Ritualization sees itself as responding to a situation, but not how performing the ritual itself will restructure the circumstances to which it is responding. Ritualization is hence seen as having an authoritative source outside people, and not as a result of human actions. Because of their structuring properties, rituals are not to be understood as mere symbols of power, but as producers and negotiators of power relations (Bell 2009:197). Ritual acts create ritual bodies and the power relations are not somehow external to these acts, but are (re)constituted through the lived body (Bell 2009:204). Bell (2009:221) argued that the ultimate purpose of rituals is the creation of ritualised agents who then take on instinctive and embodied knowledge of the schemes produced through ritualization. Thereby, the goal of ritualization is the constant reproduction of the schemes it produces through ritualized agents. A ritualized body then reproduces the schemes of ritualization without being aware of it (Bell 2009:98).

Ritualised bodies are created by a ritual environment, but this environment is, in turn, created and maintained by embodied acts, a fact that is often unrecognised or misrecognised (Bell 2009:99). Bell (2009:107) built on Bourdieu's term 'practical mastery' by suggesting a concept of 'ritual mastery' when a ritualized body is invested with a 'sense' of ritual. This ritual mastery entails that schemes of hierarchical binary oppositions become embodied and can be used and manipulated in other contexts and still be experienced as meaningful by other participants. All of this entails that rituals are not consciously learnt, but transmitted through observation and participation and might also change as a result of human agency or changing circumstances. In this sense, rituals are simultaneously created by society as well as recreating and transforming society. The defining feature of rituals is acting ritually rather than their meaning. This emphasis on ritual action does not entail

that rituals are meaningless, but that their meaning is created through embodied practice. Hence, searching for definite meanings behind rituals is complicated, as it is far from obvious that these meanings would have been uniform or commonly shared. Although religious or mythological reasons for the practices may well exist, such reasons are likely to have been only vaguely – if at all – understood by the ritual participants. There might not be a consistent interpretation of the meaning of rituals in a community, but the rituals are still experienced as meaningful by the participants.

In this thesis, I will examine burials as ritualized practices. To do so, I will stress ritual practice and performance, and decentralise meaning. The emphasis on the *how* of ritual practice rather than the *why* is well suited to an archaeological approach aiming to explore graves as processes rather than objects. It is the performance of the ritualized practices which becomes the focus of attention, not an abstract meaning referred to. However, archaeologists are not studying embodied action, but their material remains. Therefore, a central part of the thesis will be the attempt to trace the practices performed through their material remains. Ritualization also highlights the importance of contextualisation; of seeing the rituals in relation both to other rituals, but also to other ways of acting. This importance of contextualisation is why examining norms, variations, and deviations in the material is important. It highlights the relational aspects of the funerary practices. With reference to grave-goods in particular, I will also explore the relationship between how these artefacts – with oval brooches as the example – were used in life and in death. Such an approach could help understand how things become ritualized. Examining burials as ritualized practices, does, in other words, entail a shift away from how Viking burials have been studied, particularly in the western settlements. Instead of searching for uniform and commonly shared meanings to explain the ritual practice, the ritual practice becomes meaningful in and of itself.

1.3.2 Memory

Understanding burials as ritualised practices places an emphasis on contextualisation, as their meaning is relational rather than essential. This contextualisation is clearly temporal. It is necessary to explore how funerary rites and the materials used in them relate to past – as well as future – practices. These relations can be seen in terms of memory.

Memory is here not understood as simply an internal mental process, but also as a social one. The notion of memory as a social process – collective memory – is commonly attributed to the French sociologist Maurice Halbwachs, who in the first half of the twentieth century discussed how memory is created in a group and conditioned by social frames of attention and interpretation (Halbwachs 1992:169).

The concept of collective memory has been commonly used and adapted, particularly from the late twentieth century onwards (e.g. Connerton 1989; Nora 1989; Assmann 1995; see Olick and Robbins 1998 for a discussion). The discussion surrounding this term has emphasised different aspects of collective memory, but the present thesis highlights its aspects of embodied practice and performance as especially useful (e.g. Connerton 1989). The embodied nature of memory means that it cannot be separated from the physical world, and that material culture external to people must also be seen as playing a role in the production and mediation of memory. This role has at times been seen as an externalised storage of memories, capable of carrying memories people have invested in them (e.g. Assmann 2008:111). The storage metaphor frames memory's relationship between people and material culture as something static. Andrew Jones (2007:21-26) argued that this as an unsatisfactory explanation of the mnemonic properties of things, and that things instead evoke remembrance through bodily encounters with people. The physical properties of things are then crucial, because it is through sensory involvement that things are experienced. Past events can be inferred through sensory experiences of a specific thing, and the reoccurrence of similar sensory experiences can function as an echo of the past, producing memories of past events (Jones 2007:24,57). Jones used the term *citation* to explain the ways objects are relating to both the past and the future. His approach is especially useful because it combines embodied practice explicitly with material culture. Things cannot be seen as producers, containers, or mediators of memory just by their nature of being. Instead, it is in the embodied encounter with people that remembrances are evoked. The relational nature of the mnemonic properties of things entails that it is necessary to study the role of material culture in practice and performance.

When discussing memory and funerary practices, the term *commemorating* is frequently used. In this thesis, however, I have chosen to use the term *remembering* instead. Whereas commemorating implies the inherent purpose of recalling and also honouring the deceased, remembering is more versatile. Remembering can be commemorating, but it can be many other things beside. Remembering can be intentional and unintentional, it can take place on an individual and collective level; and although it can certainly be directed, it cannot necessarily be controlled. Specific remembrances may be intended by the use of certain objects or performance of practices. Such use does not guarantee that these remembrances would be evoked, as they would depend on previous encounters between individual participants and the objects and practices. Remembering, as I will use it here, does not have one clearly defined meaning. This does, in a sense, make the term rather vague – but this vagueness can be useful. It means that the term can refer to many different processes at the same time, individual and collective, intended and unintended. The term is hence not obscuring, but acknowledging the different levels at which

memory and remembering work. As I will use the term, it can also refer to different temporalities. Performing funerary rites entails remembering past rites. The performance is based on remembering (consciously and unconsciously). The rituals themselves are remembering the deceased, but they are also creating prospective memories for the future, memories of the deceased, and memories of the ritual performance. In order to distinguish between remembering the past and creating prospective memories for the future, I will refer to the former as remembering and the latter as *re-remembering*. The term re-remembering has also been used by others (Olsen 2003; Jones 2007:224-225; Pétursdóttir 2007), though in different ways. Póra Pétursdóttir (2007) used the term in her study of Viking graves from Iceland. She used it to discuss how different parts of an individual's distributed personhood could be collected in the grave. The term re-remembering is inspired by Pétursdóttir (2007), though used here in a different way. Where it is important to highlight that I am referring to both temporal aspects of remembering, I will refer to it as *re/membling*. However, to avoid confusion, the use of this latter term is limited and mainly relevant in certain parts of chapter 3.

Within archaeology, studies concerned with memory have often focused on 'the past in the past' (e.g. Gosden and Lock 1998; Bradley 2002), that is, studying how older material culture was reused in past societies. The past in the past has also often, and fruitfully, been a concern in Viking Age archaeology, frequently with reference to monument reuse, but also the with reuse of ancient artefacts (e.g. Arwill-Nordbladh 2005; Pedersen 2006; Thäte 2007; Artelius 2013; Arwill-Nordbladh 2013; Lund and Arwill-Nordbladh 2016). Such an approach is clearly concerned with the materiality of memory, though it is not always discussed how material culture is *affective* as memory. This is where Jones' concept of citation is particularly useful, as demonstrated in a recent special issue of the European Journal of Archaeology which focuses on death and memory in the Viking world (Williams and Skeates 2016). By using the concept of mortuary citation, the emphasis is on how mortuary practices create mnemonic material references which can bind together different temporalities (Williams 2016).

Discussions of memory and mortuary rituals are frequently concerned with social and cultural memory, and by extension, also with identities (e.g. Chesson 2001; Williams 2006). Funerary rites can be understood as producers and mediators of social memory, and as communicating norms and values through embodied actions (Nilsson Stutz 2003). This has been seen as a way in which societies remember and culture is mediated (Connerton 1989; Rowlands 1993; Jones 2007). Although funerary rites and the material culture used in them can well be argued to have played an important part in this process, this thesis will stop short of discussing funerary rites as producers and mediators of 'culture'. This is, in part, due to a

question of scale. In this thesis, I will discuss the small-scale in terms of individual artefacts and individual graves, and the medium-scale of norms and variations within burials with oval brooches from the western settlements generally. As this study's main concern is with individual funerary performances, and how these were meaningful for the ritual participants, I will not move beyond this scale. Although a discussion of the role of these graves in the reproduction of culture could certainly be of interest, it lies beyond the scope of this thesis.

1.3.3 Scale and methods

Examining the small-scale in terms of individual artefacts and graves is essential in order to emphasise variations, but I will also build on those individual examples in order to discuss normative practices. Normative behaviours will hence not be assumed, but investigated. Establishing whether there were norms in practice is also necessary in order to discuss variations and deviations. In this thesis, I will therefore view the relation between the small-scale (individual artefacts or graves) and the medium-scale (the use of artefacts or burial practices in general) as a continuous dialogue. The small-scale is necessary to create generalisations on a larger scale, but it is in relation to these generalisations that we can see variations and deviations on a smaller scale. Such a bottom-up approach could reveal the potential in the material. By largely avoiding analogies, particularly with written sources, I hope to render explicit the strength of the material in and of itself. This approach could also make it possible for the material to say something new and avoids it becoming an illustrative example of the written sources (Fahlander 2013).

I have suggested that in order to approach the material in a dynamic manner, a reconception of the ontological status of the material from object to process is necessary. This reconception entails that both the oval brooches and the graves in which they appear are not viewed as constant, but as ever-changing – both physically and conceptually. The project therefore requires a methodology that is able to capture process. Chapter 2 examines oval brooches, emphasising how these objects were used in funerary rites but also examines what traces of use-wear and repair can tell about how these were used in life as well. Chapter 3 is concerned with the graves in which these brooches appear. In order to emphasise process, I will attempt to trace the practices performed as part of the funerary rites. I will examine how the dead body has been treated, the internal structures of the grave, the use of grave-goods, the external structures, and the placement in the landscape. An essential part of the methodology is to examine normative behaviours, both in the use of oval brooches and in the treatment of the dead, and also how individual cases vary or deviate from the norm.

As discussed throughout this introduction, the Viking graves from the western settlements are a challenging material to work with as the variations in the quality of records are vast. The approach I have suggested here plays to the material's strengths. All of the graves will be examined in order to discuss the presence of normative practices. This allows me to evaluate the strength of the evidence for each individual grave and decide what part of the funerary practices they can and cannot be used to analyse. This greatly lessens the potential problem of comparing essentially unequal entities. The better-recorded instances will then be compared against the normative behaviours discovered.

1.4 Structure of the thesis

This thesis consists of two semi-independent chapters in addition to this introductory chapter, a final discussion chapter, and three appendices. Chapter 2 – ‘Remembering things’ – examines the use of grave-goods in the form of oval brooches through a theoretical framework emphasising material citation and object biographies (section 2.1). Oval brooches are introduced both as a material and as a field of study (section 2.2-2.3). How oval brooches were used will be studied through detailed examinations of individual brooches that focus on aspects such as use-wear and repair (section 2.4), as well as what circumstances of recovery can tell us about the biographies of individual brooches (section 2.5). I will then examine how oval brooches were used in funerary rites (section 2.6) before discussing how all this relates to how oval brooches became mnemonic and how they could evoke remembrance (section 2.7).

Chapter 3 – ‘Remembering people’ – examines grave-goods in context by studying the ritual practises we are able to trace in the material. I will describe the corpus of burials from Scotland, Iceland, England, and Ireland and point out certain trends in the material (section 3.2) before analysing the ritual practices we are able to trace: treatment of the body, internal structures, grave-goods, external structure, and placement in the landscape, highlighting possible normative practices, but also variations and deviations (section 3.3). I will thereafter examine how these practices intersect through a more detailed examination of four case studies, or *thanatographies*, one from each region, emphasising the rituals as performances (section 3.4). Finally, I will summarise the findings and discuss how the deceased were both remembered and transformed through funerary rites, emphasising the complex relationship between the deceased's life and the choice of ritual treatment (section 3.5).

Chapter 4 ‘Death processed’ will build on the results of the two previous chapters in order to address the two central research questions of how meaning was

produced and mediated through burials with oval brooches (section 4.1), and whether graves with oval brooches, as well as Viking graves more generally, can be regarded as the graves of a specific group of people (4.2). I will also discuss what the norms, variations, and deviations in practice can tell about death and dying in the Viking Age western settlements (4.3).

There are also three appendices. Appendix 1 is a catalogue of burials with oval brooches from England, Ireland, Scotland, and Iceland. Each burials is given a unique identification (referred to as B.ID) and described in varying detail depending on the available sources. The oval brooches are described with their corresponding graves and referred to throughout the text by the grave's B.ID and either the individual brooch's museum identification or site name. Appendix 2 covers oval brooches from non-funerary contexts from the western settlements. Each brooch has been given an identification referred to as F.ID. Appendix 3 presents the oval brooches from Göteborgs Stadsmuseum which were consulted in order to provide a comparison with the brooches from the western settlements. The brooches are referred to by their museum identifications.

Chapter 2

Remembering things

This chapter is concerned with the use of grave-goods in funerary practices, and in particular, with their abilities to affect people. A central premise is that grave-goods have these abilities because they are *mnemonic*; they can evoke remembrance. These remembrances can be manifold and complex and only triggering for certain individuals or specific groups, as outlined above (section 1.3.2). The purpose of this chapter is therefore to examine grave-goods as mnemonic objects through the study of a specific group of objects; oval brooches. As discussed in the previous chapter, these brooches are one of the most common and distinctive types of jewellery from Viking Age Scandinavia, found primarily in funerary contexts, also in many areas where Scandinavians settled, from Russia to Iceland (e.g. Petersen 1928; Jansson 1985; Hayeur Smith 2004). In order to discuss the affective abilities of oval brooches in funerary rites in the western settlements, it is necessary to examine how they could produce and mediate memories. The main research question of this chapter is therefore:

- How did oval brooches become mnemonic and how could they evoke remembrance in funerary rites?

In the previous chapter, I emphasised the relationship between memory and material culture as one of practice (section 1.3.2). Material culture is not an externalised storage containing memories people have invested into them. Instead, memories are produced and evoked through the embodied encounters between people and objects. If we wish to understand the mnemonic abilities of oval brooches, we must to examine the relationships of practice that they were part of, and exploring these relationships of practice is the subject of this chapter. As such, this study will examine how they were used both as a categorical group and as individual objects, as well as the relationship between. I will study how the oval brooches were used

in both life and in death. The former is necessary in order to understand what types of practices the brooches were associated with, and of which, they could have evoked remembrances. The latter is necessary in order to discuss how individual brooches were actually used in funerary rites, and the implications this would have had for their mnemonic effects. In the following, I will explain the main theoretical concepts and the methods of the chapter (section 2.1), after which I will briefly present earlier scholarship on oval brooches (section 2.2). I will then present a short overview of the oval brooches in the western settlements (section 2.3), and following that, I will provide an analysis of how individual brooches were used in life. The first part examines repair and use-wear (section 2.4), and the second examines relationships of use individual brooches could have been part of and how these relationships would have rendered them mnemonic (section 2.5). I will then examine the use of oval brooches in funerary rites, the apparent norms and variations in how they were used, and discuss what this entails for how they would have evoked remembrance (section 2.6). Finally, the results will be summed up in a discussion of the mnemonic abilities of oval brooches as grave-goods (section 2.7).

2.1 Interpretative framework

Oval brooches, like all other things, are not static and unchanging, neither physically, nor conceptually. On the contrary, they are always in a mode of becoming (Gosden and Malafouris 2015). These processes of becoming are physically visible as things get worn, are repaired or destroyed, but they are also conceptual as layers of meaning are added to things due to their various relationships with people and other materialities. They are not passive either, but have the capacity to affect their surroundings (Gosden 2005; Harris 2014). Although things are created by people, they themselves are creating a self-referential universe of things which to a degree determines the production of new things (Gosden 2005:194). Their physical properties will determine how they can be used, and can also place constraints on peoples' ability to act. They are also affective in other ways, due to their social significance. It is the social significance of things which is the main focus in this chapter; their abilities to affect people.

2.1.1 Citation

Things have these affective abilities partly because of their mnemonic properties. The physical endurance, or *perdurance*, of material objects entails that they are connected to past events and practices, and in this sense, they form a link between different times (Jones 2007:53,56). They are physically *of* the past. In the previous chapter I highlighted the benefit of Jones' concept of citation for understanding the mnemonic properties of things (section 1.3.2). This concept entails that things

can evoke remembrance through bodily encounters with people. Things have to be experienced and re-experienced, and it is through this sensory (re)experience that past events can be inferred and memories evoked. Jones uses the term citation to explain the ways objects relate to both the past and the future. Objects exist as nodes in material networks stretching both backwards and forwards in time. The production of objects draws on past objects, and they will also affect the production of future objects. The term citation, as Jones uses it, entails not only a reference to these past objects, but also a physical reiteration and a transformation of them (Jones 2007:81). Oval brooches, like all other objects, can be seen as nodes in material networks. Through their production and use they were citing previous episodes of use and production. This means that the production of new brooches reiterated older oval brooches at the same time as they were transforming them, but they were also cited through use and alteration. The use of oval brooches therefore reiterated earlier usage, through which meanings and ideas had already been constituted, but which they could also transform. Oval brooches are assumed to have been used by Scandinavian women, and the brooches are at times seen as communicating female Scandinavian identities (section 1.2.6). By studying the presence of normative practices – as well as variations and deviations – in the use of oval brooches, this chapter will enable a more in-depth analysis of how these associations between brooches and social groups could have been created, and also how they could have been utilised.

Not all things have the same mnemonic abilities, in other words they are not equally likely to evoke remembrance (Jones 2007:56-66). These abilities depend on their materiality and also on how they are used. Visually striking objects associated with *dramatic display* are highly likely to produce mnemonic effects. Mundane objects used in everyday practices can also be highly mnemonic, however, as long as they are *used repeatedly* (Jones 2007:66). Drama and repetition are two key factors affecting the mnemonic abilities of objects. Studying the situations in which they are used therefore becomes crucial in order to understand how they gain the ability to evoke remembrance. This thesis is mainly concerned with how oval brooches evoked memories in a funerary context, but this depends on how they were used during life. I will therefore explore the kinds of practices and events oval brooches could have been part of in life as well as in death taking into account traces left on the objects and how they were used in a funerary setting.

2.1.2 Object biographies

In their study of sword deposition in Late Antique northern Gaul, Frans Theuvs and Monica Alkemade (2000) demonstrated how the use of artefacts point to ideas – what I will call their citational properties – but they also emphasised the importance of studying how individual objects were used. Particular objects can

be associated with individual people and evoke remembrances of particular events, as well as be used to tell the stories of people's lives (Hoskins 1998). Objects can furthermore be seen as having social lives of their own, often referred to as *object biographies* (Appadurai 1986; Kopytoff 1986; Gosden and Marshall 1999; Joy 2009). A distinction is sometimes made between objects that are marked out as socially powerful from their creation and objects that gain social significance through use, or what Yvonne Marshall (2008) refers to as the difference between inscribed objects and lived objects. Such a distinction can be difficult to establish archaeologically. Although there are indications that certain objects were intended as especially affective or 'animated' from the outset, this could also have been added to or changed during their use-lives (Burström 2015; Lund 2017). This distinction can also be seen as that between visually striking objects used in dramatic display, and more mundane objects that gain mnemonic abilities through repeated use. The rather common occurrence and standardised appearance of oval brooches could indicate that these were lived rather than inscribed objects (as implicitly argued by Burström 2015:33-40). This would entail that oval brooches primarily became invested with meaning through interactions with people and other objects, meanings which could be accumulative (Gosden and Marshall 1999:170-176). The distinction between use in dramatic display and everyday life is not necessarily an either/or situations, however. The relationships brooches such as these would have with people could have been highly varied. They could have been personal belongings, heirlooms, gifts, trade-goods, everyday artefacts, and exotic objects. These categories are not mutually exclusive, and one object could also have belonged to different categories at different stages of its use-life (Kopytoff 1986; Gosden and Marshall 1999; Joy 2009). In order for these relationships to become socially affective, however, they have to be remembered.

When working with oval brooches as a research material, they are most often encountered at a specific point in their use-life; when they have become interred with a dead person as part of a funerary assemblage. By studying the physical traces of wear and repair on the brooches it is possible to identify the physical traces of past actions. Some of these traces would also have been visible to people in the Viking Age and could have been enough to evoke remembrances of past actions. These traces of wear can be used to determine if the brooches were old or commonly worn in life, and thus reveal more about the social relationship in which these brooches had been a part. Examining how oval brooches were used in funerary rites can also be revealing, as it informs us of the relationship between the brooches and the deceased individual. Such an examination has the potential of highlighting differences in how the surrounding community viewed a particular brooch, or a particular set of brooches. By examining similarities and differences

in their uses, I will suggest what these variations could mean for the oval brooches as mnemonic objects.

2.1.3 Methods

This chapter will examine how oval brooches were used in life and in death so as to determine how they could become mnemonic and how they could evoke remembrances in funerary rites. In order to determine how oval brooches were used in life, a detailed investigation of traces of repair and use-wear has been performed. Visiting each museum I have examined all the oval brooches that are presently housed in the National Museums of Ireland, Scotland, and Iceland. I have determined the type of each individual brooch, and have also searched for smaller differences in detail between brooches found together in order to determine if they are likely to have been made as a matching set. The analysis included the creation of digital 3D-models through the use of photogrammetry. This enabled detailed comparisons between brooches from different museums and made it possible to keep returning to the material as new questions presented themselves. Brooches from England and brooches currently not in the visited museums have also been studied, though this was based on existing photographs of the brooches and older reports, and generally does not have the same degree of detail. Detailed information on the individual brooches can be found in the appendices (1-2). For comparison, I also examined the oval brooches presently housed in Göteborgs Stadsmuseum which consisted of 20 specimens (appendix 3). These brooches will not be presented in detail, but rather referred to where relevant, as a background material from Scandinavia.

The analysis of the brooches has been especially concerned with identifying traces of *repair* and *use-wear* (section 2.4.1). With regards to repair, this entailed searching for features on individual brooches that would appear to not have been part of the brooch's production, originally. Such features would include additional perforations or rivets, unusual use and combinations of materials – in particular combinations of copper-alloy and iron rivets and remains of iron corrosion not resulting from the iron pin. By comparing a relatively large number of brooches and by being able to continuously return to and examine the 3D-models, it was possible to determine which features occur commonly and are hence likely to have been original parts of the brooches' production, and which are rarer and might be better explained as secondary. Use-wear was ascertained by detailed examination of the front surface of the brooches. This was observable as details of the decor were worn away and as a general smoothing of the surface of the brooches, usually seen on protruding areas. Use-wear could easily be obscured by corrosion, and there may be several brooches that are worn, but where this is not possible to determine. Textile remains on the inside of the brooches was crucial for determining whether

or not the brooches in the graves were worn. This has been based on Lise Bender Jørgensen's study *North European Textiles* (1992), early accounts of the brooches which sometimes mention textiles, as well as examinations of the brooches themselves. Although oval brooches were frequently interpreted as having been used in highly standardised ways, it has been crucial for this study to not start from the assumption that they were all worn in similar ways, but rather to study each individual case in detail.

In order to determine how oval brooches were used in funerary rites (section 2.6), I have examined the published records from the excavations. As established in the previous chapter (section 1.2), there are considerable differences in the quality of the recordings on oval brooch contexts, and it is often difficult to ascertain whether a brooch was part of a burial deposit or not. The presence of oval brooches is often seen as the main evidence of a burial, and they are frequently assumed to be from burials even when there is no context recorded. For the present purposes, all finds of more or less complete oval brooches are regarded as grave finds (see section 3.2). Some cases are able to provide significantly more information on how the brooches were used in funerary rites, whereas in other cases it is uncertain if the brooch actually belonged to a grave. All oval brooches have been included in the analysis, but preference has been given to the cases where we are able to say something more about the use of the brooches apart from simply noting their presence. Their placement in the grave, and their relationship to the dead body will be the main points of interest in this study. Even in the cases where the exact location of the brooches in the graves has not been recorded, it is often possible to infer something about their location and relationship to the deceased and the other artefacts.

2.2 Previous research on oval brooches

The purpose of the present section is to provide background information on oval brooches that is relevant for the present study. This will be used to support the interpretations of the material from the western settlements. I will present some of the main themes within the scholarship, emphasising particularly typologies and chronologies (section 2.2.1) and modes of production (section 2.2.2). I will also briefly discuss dress (section 2.2.3) and style (section 2.2.4), before presenting previous studies of the oval brooches in the western settlements (section 2.2.5).

2.2.1 Typologies and chronologies

Like many other studies of artefacts, the earliest general studies of oval brooches from the late nineteenth and the early twentieth century, were concerned with

their typology, chronology, and geographical distribution. Oscar Montelius (1873, 1877) was the first to study oval brooches more generally. His two articles from the 1870s are mainly concerned with the development and dating of brooches, primarily on typological grounds. Out of the earlier works, however, those of Jan Petersen (1928) and Peter Paulsen (1933) have been most influential. Petersen's study *Vikingetidens smykker* is an overview of Norwegian Viking Age jewellery, focusing on their chronology and national distribution. His dating of brooches, though evidently influenced by their typologies, was based on artefact combinations in burials (Petersen 1928:3; see also Jansson 1972). Petersen's brooch types were given names after illustrations of type specimens in Rygh's *Norske Oldsager* (1885), but it has since become more common to refer to them by the relevant illustrations used in Petersen's work. Paulsen (1933) based his work on oval brooches on Petersen's classifications, but he included more material from outside Norway, as well as several maps showing the geographical distributions of brooches found both within and outside Scandinavia. Ingmar Jansson's (1985) study of oval brooches from Björkö brought research on the typology and chronology of oval brooches up to date (Jansson 1985:10). He utilised Petersen's classifications, but also suggested alterations to them on the basis of the Birka material. It is Jansson's reworking of Petersen's classifications that forms the basis for my classifications and dating of oval brooches from the western settlements.

Although the various types of brooches are quite easily defined, sorting these into broader groups is more difficult. Petersen (1928) divided the Viking Age material into two groups; ninth century brooches and tenth century brooches. This does not mean that ninth century brooches could not have been produced in the tenth century and vice versa, but that they seem to have had their floruit in these respective centuries. Jansson (1985:193-197) also divided the Birka brooches into two groups, belonging either to the older or younger Birka period. Generally speaking, Jansson's brooches from the older Birka period correspond with the brooches Petersen termed ninth century brooches. Similarly, brooches from Jansson's younger Birka period correspond with the brooches Petersen classified as tenth century brooches. Where the classifications differ – which for the present corpus is with regards to type P42 – I will be following Jansson. In the following analysis (section 2.3), I will refer to brooches that fit Jansson's older Birka period designation as 'early', and younger Birka period designation as 'later'.



FIGURE 1 *Brooches of Berdal type, P11B from Kilmainham, Dublin (2013:86; B.ID 12) (left), P14 from Càrn a' Bharraich, Oronsay (X.II.330; B.ID 48)(middle), and P23/24 from Finglas, Dublin (right) (04E900:254:1; B.ID 08). Illustration by the author. By kind permission of the National Museums Scotland and the National Museum of Ireland.*

Oval brooches were produced from the Merovingian/Vendel period onwards, but they became far more common and also more standardised in the Viking period (Jansson 1985). There are no brooches from the western settlements belonging to the earliest types, and I will limit this description of typology to the Viking Age types that appear in the western settlements. The earliest Viking Age types are commonly referred to as *Berdal brooches*, after one of the find spots. There are many different types, but they are all characterised by a central band down the centre of the brooch (figure 1). Petersen divided the Berdal brooches into A, B, C, and D, where, based mainly on style, he argued that the brooches belonging to category A are the oldest, and those belonging to D the youngest (Petersen 1928:12-22). Jansson used Petersen's illustrations to divide the brooches into types from P11 to P24, some with subgroups, and with P23/P24 as a single type. He also included some brooches of the Berdal group only found in single examples in Birka (Jansson 1985:24-33). The chronological relationship between these types is not completely clear. Berdal brooches are generally quite rare, many types being represented by a single find (Jansson 1985:24). The earliest of the Berdal brooches seem to have been produced in Ribe in the last decades of the eight century (Feveile and Jensen 2006:156), though as a group they are generally dated to the first half of the ninth century (Petersen 1928:18).

In addition to the Berdal brooches, a number of other brooches also fall within the group that has loosely been defined as early. The present corpus consists of types *P27*, *P37*, and *P39*. Throughout the Viking world, *P37* (figure 2) is the most

common brooch of the early types (Jansson 1981:1), and has also been divided into several sub-categories from P37.1 to P37.12 (Petersen 1928:39). Of later brooch types in the corpus, there are *P42*, *P51*, *P52*, *P55*, *P48*, and *P58*. *P51* (figure 2) is by far the most common later type (Jansson 1981:1) and is divided into several sub-categories (see Jansson 1985:70-71 for details).



FIGURE 2 *Oval brooches of types P37 and P51. P37.3 from Islandbridge, Dublin, Ireland (RSAI 17; B.ID 16) (left) and P51C1 from Vestdalur, Iceland (2004:53:2; B.ID 77) (right). Illustration by the author. Photographs taken with kind permission from the National Museum of Ireland and the National Museum of Iceland.*

2.2.2 Production

Jansson (1985) was not only concerned with typologies, chronologies, and distribution, but also with how oval brooches were produced. From the 1960s onwards, this increasingly became the focus in studies on oval brooches. The earliest of these works were based mainly on studies of finished brooches, and argued for the use of piece moulds (Zachrisson 1960 with a review of earlier research; 1964) or lost wax technique in a single mould (Oldeberg 1963, 1965) Following the excavations in Ribe in the 1970s (Brinch Madsen 1976, 1984) and 1990s (Feveile 2002; Feveile and Jensen 2006:153-164), and the discoveries of moulds for oval brooches there, it has generally been agreed that oval brooches were cast in piece moulds, one or more for the front and one for the back (Feveile 2002:17-20). One of the characteristics of the oval brooches is the high degree of uniformity of design between brooches of the same type. Even when we are dealing with different subtypes with

unique design features within a general type, these all share certain design features that are indicative of mechanical copying (Jansson 1981, 1985). This is generally not contended, though Signe Horn Fuglesang (1987) has suggested that certain brooches were also copied free-hand. Mechanical copying suggests the use of some primary model from which a master mould (tool) could be made. From this master mould several wax models would be made, which could then be retouched. These wax models would be destroyed during the manufacturing of the moulds when individual brooches were cast. These moulds, in turn, would also have been destroyed in order to remove the brooch from the cast (Brinch Madsen 1976; Jansson 1981; Brinch Madsen 1984; Jansson 1985; Fuglesang 1992; Lønborg 1994, 1998). There is some disagreement as to whether existing brooches could have been used as primary models. Bjarne Lønborg (1994:154) has argued that as the wax models, clay moulds, and finished brooches would shrink while they dried, the use of an existing brooch would result in the shrinkage of the brooches not adequately reflected in the material. However, Jansson (1985:74-77) has noted that brooches occurring earlier in a series are noticeably larger than later brooches, and has argued that existing brooches were probably often used as models (see also Jansson 1981; Fuglesang 1987).

Hayeur Smith (2005) has more recently argued that the use of a master mould and wax models would have been an unnecessary step, and that an existing brooch or a die of some durable material could have been used to directly make several moulds in which the finished brooches were cast. She does not explain how this would account for the slight differences in finish between brooches of a matching set. Smaller differences are quite common in the material. These differences have also been pointed out by Jansson (1981, 1985:74-77), and he has explained them as the result of retouching the wax models. I will not exclude the possibility that oval brooches may have been produced in slightly different ways (as suggested by Fuglesang 1987), though for the present study, the exact details of the production method for brooches is of little importance, resulting in the brief descriptions of those methods reported here.

These modes of production entail that oval brooches from all over the Viking world can be almost identical in appearance without this requiring that they were produced in the same place. Close similarities in appearance do not necessarily mean that brooches were contemporaneous either. An already old brooch could certainly have been used to produce several new almost identical brooches. This makes the relative dating of the various brooch types fraught with difficulties. The long lifespan of some of these brooches means that there could be considerable differences in dates of production between two almost identical brooches. This way of producing brooches complicates the chronology considerably. Although

it could be possible to say which types came first and in that way produce evolutionary typologies – these findings cannot easily be transferred to chronology, as older and newer types might well have been produced, and were certainly used, at the same time (see also Jansson 1981). For this reason, I will only use the brooches to discuss chronological variations on a very broad scale. An exception is with reference to a small number of Berdal brooches which I will use to discuss differences in the dating of artefacts within individual graves, as these brooches were not mass-produced to the same extent as later brooches.

The question of where oval brooches were produced has also been debated. There is evidence for production on a relatively large scale in urban centres (e.g. Feveile and Jensen 2006; Ambrosiani 2013), though the copying of motif certainly means that there is no reason to suppose that oval brooches of similar types need to have been produced in the same place (Jansson 1981:6-7). Søren Sindbæk (2011) has argued, however, that the different types of moulds from the earliest part of the Viking Age discovered in Birka and Ribe point to the existence of distinct traditions of design, which he sees as markers of professional identity among craftspeople. The debate on where oval brooches were produced has also been linked to discussions concerning the potential mobility of craftspeople. The two urban centres with substantial evidence for production of oval brooches, Ribe and Birka, both show a high degree of permanence, with metalcasting having taken place at the same locations for a long period of time (Pedersen 2016:264-265). There is evidence of oval brooch casting in more rural locations as well. At Barva, on the shore of Lake Mälaren about 25 km from Birka, moulds for oval brooches have been discovered. The great similarities between the moulds at Barva and Birka led the excavators to suggest that these moulds could have been brought from Birka (Dunér and Vinberg 2006:20-21). Unn Pedersen (2016:267) has argued that this mobility of craftspeople between nearby sites is also seen at Kaupang and Heimdalsjordet in Vestfold, Norway, though the material in question is not oval brooches. Although the question of where oval brooches were produced is certainly of relevance to this project, it is difficult to draw any firm conclusions here. Oval brooches were clearly produced in the urban settlements of Viking Age Scandinavia, as well as on a much smaller scale on certain more rural sites.

2.2.3 Dress

The studies mentioned above are mainly concerned with how oval brooches were produced, and less with how they were used. There are several studies of female dress in the Viking Age that are very much concerned with the practical application of oval brooches (Geijer 1938; Blindheim 1945, 1947; Hägg 1974; Ewing 2006). Oval brooches seem in almost all cases to have been worn in pairs, one below each collarbone. They are associated with a particular Scandinavian type

of dress – the strap-dress – and also mainly with women. The number of burials with oval brooches, and their chronological and geographical distribution, has led to the interpretation of the combination of strap-dress and oval brooches as a common mode of female dress throughout Scandinavia (though not as long-lasting in Denmark) and Scandinavian overseas settlements (e.g. Petersen 1928; Jansson 1985; Hayeur Smith 2004). These studies deal with what oval brooches can tell us about female dress, rather than the brooches themselves, however. There is no doubt that oval brooches have been crucial to our understanding of female dress in the Viking Age, to the extent where the dress with which they were used is seen as the standard female dress throughout Scandinavia (Blindheim 1945:160), disregarding the many female graves without oval brooches. There is no clear consensus on what the dress with which the oval brooches were worn looked like, though for the present purpose that is not a major concern. What is evident is that they were used with a particular Scandinavian type of dress where a suspended sleeveless dress or apron would be fastened with straps over the shoulders. These straps would be secured using oval brooches (Hägg 1974:58; Ewing 2006:32-39). This dress would have been noticeably different from the mode of female dress in other parts of Europe, including Britain and Ireland (Kershaw 2013:96).

2.2.4 Style

Studies of oval brooches have often been concerned with their style (e.g. Petersen 1928; Paulsen 1933; Jansson 1985). Although Petersen (1928:3) stated that his chronology of oval brooches was based on their find combination, there is no doubt that style also was an important factor. There are many works on Viking Age art styles (e.g. Müller 1880; Shetelig 1920; see also Jansson 1985:187-193 for a summary) which Petersen and Paulsen were building on, but there are few studies of Viking Age art styles dealing directly with the oval brooches. Jansson (1985:187-203) discussed the oval brooches in relation to Viking Age art history, and pointed out (as Petersen before him) that oval brooches are in some ways rather conservative in their artistic expression. Almost all are decorated in Oseberg style, an early Viking Age style which continued to be used on oval brooches after alternative styles had become fashionable on other pieces of metalwork. Jansson (1985:137) saw this as a result of their mode of production which included repeated copying of earlier forms. There have also been several studies into the various meanings and significance of animal style, some arguing that the art is a visualization of elements from poetry (e.g. Hedeager 1997; Domeij Lundborg 2006; Neiss 2009; Kristoffersen 2010). In the case of oval brooches, subtle readings of the motif is less likely to have been relevant for many of the oval brooches, as the décor is often so simplified and debased that the original motif is illegible (see also Eldorhagen 2001:64,93). In most cases the motif would still have been recognisable as animal

style, however. Although the potential symbolic meaning of the animal style could have added to the significance of the oval brooches, such an analysis lies beyond the scope of the present study.

2.2.5 Previous studies of oval brooches in the west

There are no studies treating the oval brooches from Britain, Ireland, and Iceland as a distinct material. Paulsen (1933) did include material from these areas, but his numbers are now – and to an extent were then – not up-to-date. For Ireland, England, and Iceland there are up-to-date overviews of the oval brooches (Hayeur Smith 2004; Kershaw 2013; Harrison and Ó Floinn 2014; Eldjárn and Friðriksson 2016), though the brooches were not the central focus of these studies. There are no recent overviews of the Scottish material (though see Anderson 1874; Curle 1914; Brøgger 1930). The present section is concerned with former overviews of the material, or treatments of oval brooches as a category, but not with individual brooches. The literature treating the individual brooches can be found in appendices 1 and 2.

A considerable number of the Scottish oval brooches have been published in the *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland* (PSAS), often in connection with them being received by the National Museums of Scotland (previously National Museum of Antiquities of Scotland), or as part of reports from the excavation of burials. As artefacts of clearly Scandinavian character, they were frequently remarked upon, but there are also several cases where it was simply noted that such brooches had been discovered with no further information given. Two articles in PSAS examined the oval brooches in Scotland on a more comprehensive level, the earliest of which was ‘Notes on the relics of the Viking period of the Northmen in Scotland, illustrated by specimens in the museum’ by Anderson (1874:549-562). Anderson listed the oval brooches discovered in Scotland, discussed how they were made, and included a short comparison with the rest of the Viking world. James Curle (1914) also wrote an overview of the oval brooches in Scotland. His work attempted to order the brooches chronologically by comparing them to Scandinavian examples. Brøgger (1930:242-243) included an overview of all the oval brooches from Scotland in his study of the Scandinavian settlement in Orkney and Shetland. He dated the brooches using Rygh’s typologies and determined that out of the 45 or 46¹ brooches he included, 23 belonged to the ninth century and 17 to the tenth century. Anderson counted 32 brooches as having been discovered in Scotland, whereas Curle mentioned 41 (Curle 1914:299). Many of the oval

1 There are some discrepancies in the numbers. Brøgger explicitly states that there are 45 brooches, but 46 are included in the table.

brooches were also described by Grieg (1940) in his account of the Viking burials in Scotland. Grieg followed Rygh in his classifications of the brooches.

The Irish oval brooches have recently been published for the first time in Harrison and Ó Floinn's (2014) *Viking Graves and Grave-Goods in Ireland*. Due to the nature of the recording of Viking Age artefacts discovered in Ireland, especially at the Kilmainham-Islandbridge cemetery complex, part of the work on the oval brooches was concerned with ascertaining their provenance (Harrison and Ó Floinn 2014:743-747). All the individual brooches are described in detail, however, and there is also a discussion of their typologies, dating, and how they relate to Scandinavian material.

The Icelandic material is quite well recorded as well. Eldjárn (1956) published all the Viking Age graves with grave-goods from Iceland in his doctoral thesis. The thesis also contained an analysis of several types of grave-goods, including the oval brooches. Eldjárn's concern was mainly with the brooches' typology and chronology and included some comparison with the Scandinavian material (Eldjárn and Friðriksson 2016:353-363). Eldjárn's work has been updated twice by Friðriksson with the latest edition published in 2016. Hayeur Smith (2004) wrote an analysis of the jewellery from Viking Age Iceland, and though not solely concerned with the oval brooches, they were an important part of her work. As discussed in the previous chapter (section 1.2.6), she emphasised the social significance of the oval brooches as expressions of identity, and particularly associated the brooches with married status (Hayeur Smith 2004:74-75).² Due to the scope of her work, the oval brooches were not treated in much detail. Her interest was mainly in oval brooches as a category, rather than as individual objects.

The English material has recently been published by Kershaw (2013) in her book *Viking Identities: Scandinavian Jewellery in England*. As there are few oval brooches discovered in England, they were not a major concern in her work. She did provide an overview of the brooches that have been found in England, both in graves and as the result of metal-detecting. The individual brooches are all assigned to their respective types, though they are not discussed in detail (Kershaw 2013:96-100). Kershaw (2013:224-227) argued that the paucity of oval brooches discovered in England could be due to the southern Scandinavian influence, as the use of oval brooches in Denmark is clearly far less common than in Sweden and Norway.

The brooches from the western settlements are, in other words, not unappreciated, though they have rarely been the focus of study. With the exception of Scotland, however, most general information about the brooches, such as their typology, findspot, and approximate date, is readily available.

2 This suggestion has also been raised by Thor Ewing (2006:39-42)

2.3 Oval brooches in the west

The material under study here are all the oval brooches from all types of contexts from the Viking Age Scandinavian overseas settlements in the west; that is Iceland, Ireland, Scotland, and England. My count puts the total number of brooches to 146. Of these, 62 are from Scotland, 49 from Iceland, 19 from Ireland, and 15 from England. Some of these brooches are now lost. It is possible that there are brooches which I have missed, and in some very rare cases the artefacts might not actually be oval brooches (B.ID 19). For comparison, Jansson (1985:12) suggested that there were at least 1500 brooches from Sweden, and probably approximately the same from Norway, though considerably fewer from Denmark (Kershaw 2013:227)

In the following sections, I will present the brooches from Scotland, Ireland, Iceland, and England, examine their context and what types of brooches occur, and comment on their chronological and geographical distribution. The brooches are divided into early and later types (table 1) as described in section 2.2.1.

TABLE 1 *Early and later types of oval brooches in the corpus.*

Early brooches	Later brooches
P11B; P14; P23/24; P27; P37; P39	P42; P51; P52; P55; P48; P58

2.3.1 Oval brooches from Scotland

There are 62 oval brooches from Scotland, which is the greatest number in the corpus. These have generally been found in graves, with 61 interpreted as grave finds, coming from a total of 35 different graves. Pairs of brooches were discovered in 26 graves, whereas single brooches occur in nine instances. There is one fragment of a brooch that has not been interpreted as a grave find. It was discovered in a possible midden (F.ID 05) and could therefore have been deliberately discarded (Harrison 2008:483). The brooches have all been discovered in northern and western Scotland and are here divided into two groups; brooches from northern Scotland (the Northern Isles, Caithness and Sutherland) and brooches from western Scotland (the Outer and Inner Hebrides). The corpus from Scotland is dominated by the two main types, P37 and P51. There is also a high number of brooches of uncertain type, mainly because they have been lost, or consist of fragments too small or corroded to classify. The remaining Scottish brooches are fairly equally divided between early and later types (figure 3).

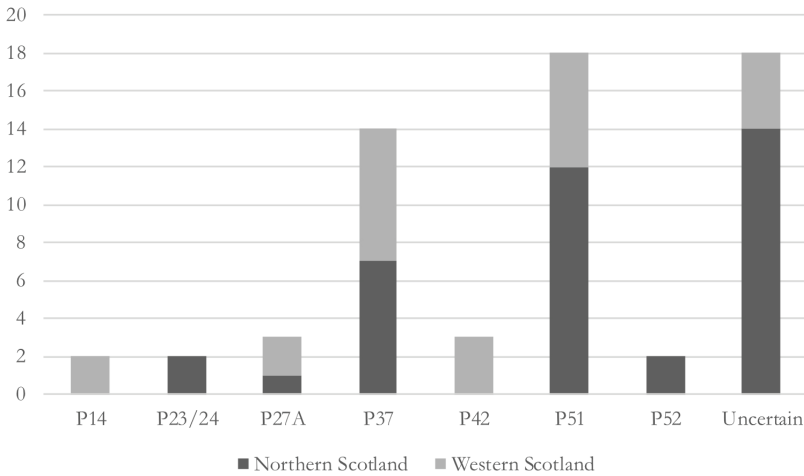


FIGURE 3 Graph showing the number of different types of brooches discovered in northern and western Scotland. *N*=62

Due to their mode of production, the dating of oval brooches on the basis of typology is difficult (section 2.2.2), and brooches of type P37 and P51 could well have been in use at the same time. Attempting to establish close dating of burials based on the oval brooches is therefore a rather questionable practice, but it is possible to say that oval brooches in Scotland seem to have been in use in both the ninth and the tenth century, and that there is no great difference in the quantity of probable early and later brooches.

If we compare brooches from northern and western Scotland in terms of relative chronology, there are no great differences, though there is a slight trend towards a greater quantity of early brooches in western Scotland and later brooches in northern Scotland. The rather low number of brooches in total and the relatively high number of brooches of uncertain types means that this trend is only tentative.

Even though there are only six different types of oval brooches from Scotland, this somewhat belies the degree of variation seen in the material. Within the categories of P37 and especially P51 brooches, there are a number of different subtypes. There are four different subtypes of P37 brooches in the Scottish corpus, though they are dominated by P37.3 (figure 4), which is the most common form found throughout the Viking world. There are nine different subtypes of P51 brooches, many of which only existing in a single specimen, demonstrating that these brooches were not produced together (figure 5).

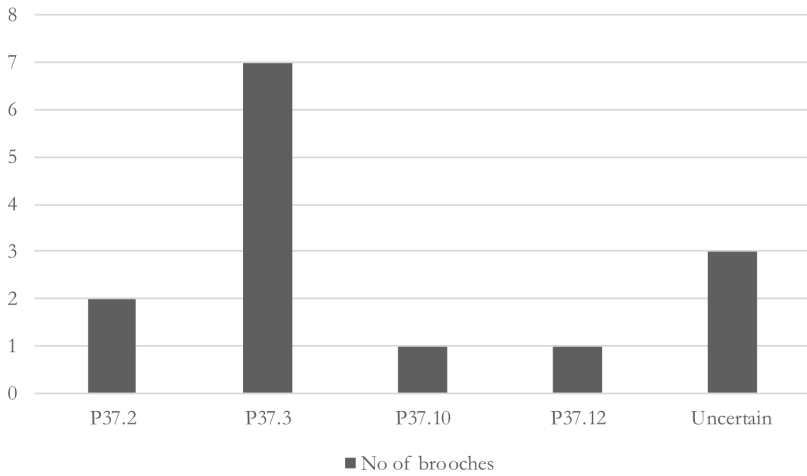


FIGURE 4 Graph showing the number of different sub-types of P37 brooches in Scotland. $N=14$

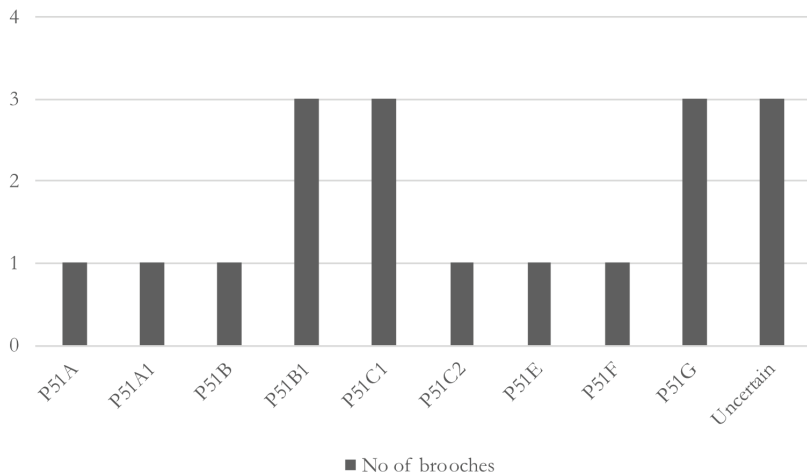


FIGURE 5 Graph showing the number of different sub-types of P51 brooches in Scotland. $N=18$

2.3.2 Oval brooches from Ireland

There are 19 oval brooches from Ireland, supposed to represent twelve different graves, seven of which contained a pair of brooches, and five single specimens. None of the Irish brooches are supposed to have come from non-funerary contexts (section 3.2.4). The vast majority of the oval brooches from Ireland, 16 out of 19, belong to early types (figure 6). Overall, the brooches from Ireland appear to be earlier than those from Scotland; hence it is highly likely that the rite of burial with these objects ended earlier in Ireland than in Scotland. Ireland also has what

is presumably the earliest of all the oval brooches from the western settlement, a pair of P11B (Berdal A) brooches likely to belong to the earliest part of the Viking Age. Almost all the brooches have been found in Dublin or in its immediate hinterland, which also contains the vast majority of Viking graves (Harrison and Ó Floinn 2014). The only three brooches belonging to the later types comprise three out of the five found outside the Dublin area. Although the number of oval brooches found outside Dublin is very small, this distribution could suggest that burial with oval brooches (and perhaps furnished female burial in general) might have ended earlier in the town of Dublin than in some of the more rural Viking settlements in Ireland.

The assemblage of oval brooches from Ireland is dominated by brooches of the type P37.3 (figure 6), the most common of the P37 subtypes. Due to the serial production of these brooches, this does not mean that they are very similar in appearance, and does not necessarily indicate that they were produced at the same time. Apart from the four brooches that form two distinct pairs, there is nothing to indicate that any of the other P37.3 brooches from Dublin were produced together.

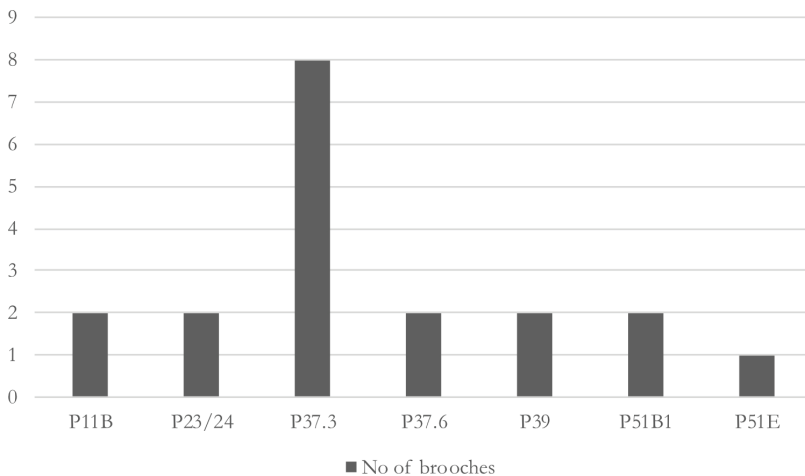


FIGURE 6 Graph showing the number of different types of brooches discovered in Ireland. $N=19$

2.3.3 Oval brooches from Iceland

There are 49 oval brooches from Iceland. Of these, four are interpreted as stray finds (appendix 2), whereas the rest are assumed to represent a total of 29 graves (section 3.2.2). 16 of the graves contained pairs of brooches, whereas single brooches occur in 13. The material is clearly dominated by brooches of type P51 (figure 7). Apart from a pair of P23/24 (Berdal D) brooches likely to have been produced in the first half of the ninth century, all the Icelandic oval brooches seem to belong

to later types. It is worth noting that no P37 brooches have been found in Iceland, the type which is overwhelmingly the most common early type in both Ireland and Scotland. This lacuna suggests that burial with oval brooches was mainly a tenth century phenomenon in Iceland, which tallies well with the general impression of Viking Age Scandinavian settlement there. There are no obvious patterns in the geographical spread of the brooches; it corresponds well with the distribution of Viking Age furnished burials in general (section 3.2.2). Despite the clear majority being of type P51, there is considerable variation in the Icelandic material with many different subtypes of P51 being represented (figure 7). There are also several subgroups within these subtypes, demonstrating that they were not produced at the same time and place.

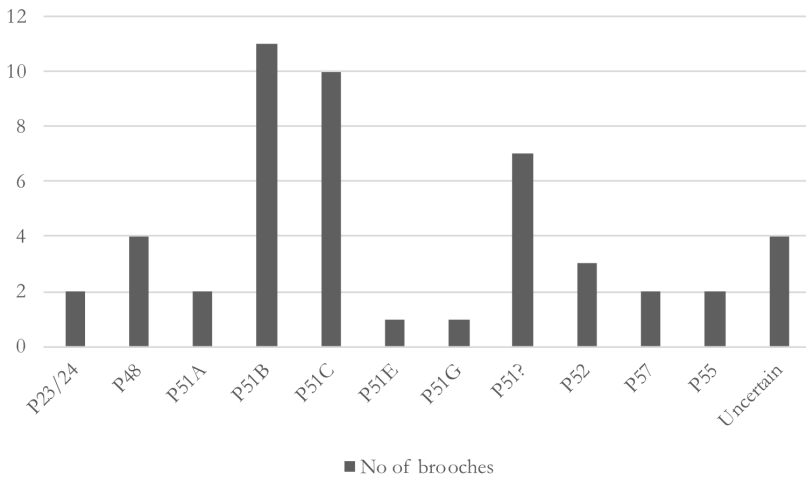


FIGURE 7 Graph showing the number of different types of brooches discovered in Iceland. *N*=49

2.3.4 Oval brooches from England

There are a total of 15 oval brooches from England. Four of these are stray finds of fragmented brooches discovered during metal-detecting (Kershaw 2013:96-100; appendix 2). One had been reused to decorate a lead weight, though the remainders could potentially be from disturbed graves. The remaining eleven are here interpreted as representing five graves (section 3.2.3). Four of these graves contained pairs, whereas the fifth contained three brooches. The majority of the oval brooches from England are of later types (figure 8). Only three English brooches seem to be of early types, two of which show clear signs of wear, and could have been quite old before they were deposited in the ground (B.ID 04). This majority of later brooches clearly distinguishes the English brooches from those on the other side of the Irish Sea, though it must be noted that the numbers of brooches from

both England and Ireland are low. This apparent contrast conforms to findings from other studies that suggest a later date for the Viking hoards and burials from England than Ireland (Graham-Campbell 1998).

The geographical distribution is slightly difficult to assess due to the low number of graves with oval brooches, but similar to the distribution of furnished Scandinavian burial in general, they are mainly found in northern England, in Cumbria, Lancashire, and Yorkshire (Bjørn and Shetelig 1940). However, there is also a grave from Norfolk, an area which is far from rich in burials, though associated with Scandinavian settlement.

Although the clear majority of brooches from England are of type P51, there is still considerable variation in the appearance of the brooches, and nothing to suggest that any brooches apart from some of those that were found as pairs, were manufactured together.

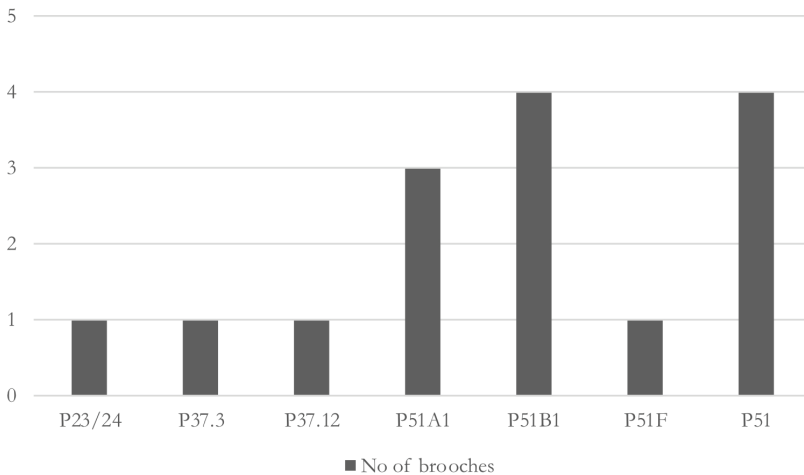


FIGURE 8 Graph showing the number of different types of brooches discovered in England. *N=15*

2.3.5 Overview

This overview of the 146 oval brooches from the western settlements has demonstrated that the material mainly comes from burials, representing in total 81 graves. Only nine brooches are here regarded as from non-funerary contexts. There are considerable differences in the number of brooches from the different areas, a feature which will be discussed in more detail in the next chapter (section 3.2.5). Many different types of oval brooches are represented in the corpus, but it is dominated by the two forms P37 and P51. This is not surprising as these are the most common of the early and later types, respectively (Jansson 1981:1). There are evident differences in which types are most common in which areas, however, and there seem to be considerable chronological differences between regions. In

Ireland, the brooches are dominated by early forms, especially in Dublin where there are no later brooches. In Scotland there are approximately equal numbers of early and later brooches, though there is a slight tendency towards earlier brooches in the west and later in the north. There is a clear majority of later brooches in the small English corpus, which suggests that burial with oval brooches might have been mainly a tenth century phenomenon. The material in Iceland is dominated by later brooches; unsurprising, as settlement there is likely to have begun towards the end of the ninth century. The differences in the chronology of brooches does not necessarily reflect when people wore oval brooches, however, only when they were buried with them. As the number of brooches, especially from England, but also Ireland, is quite small, it is also possible that these trends are not representative.

In general, the differences in relative chronology demonstrate that burial with oval brooches took place at different times, and it is also possible that this reflects that people emigrated from Scandinavia over an extended period of time. I have observed variations in the appearance of the brooches, and although many are of the same type, this does not suggest that they were manufactured together. Apart from some of the brooches discovered as pairs (see section 2.4.2), brooches of the same types are generally too different to have been produced from the same master mould. This, as well as the rather low number of total brooches discovered, suggests that oval brooches were not made in the western settlements (Kershaw 2013:132, 245). To the best of my knowledge, there is no positive evidence either to suggest that they were – for example, in the forms of moulds or miscasts (Hayeur Smith 2004:109). In all likelihood, these brooches were produced in Scandinavia and brought to the western settlement.

2.4 How were oval brooches used in the western settlements?

The chapter so far has examined chronology and regional distributions. In this next sub-chapter I will proceed to the main purpose: to study how oval brooches were used. As remembrance here is seen as something that occurs in the embodied encounter between people and things, studying how oval brooches were used is crucial in order to understand how they could have been mnemonic. It could inform us on the kinds of practices the brooches were associated with, hence, what practices they could have evoked memories through and of. Did they become mnemonic through use in dramatic performances, or did they gain their significance through repeated everyday use? This section will explore how oval brooches were used in life by examining traces of repair and use-wear (section 2.4.1), the pairs of brooches

present in the corpus (section 2.4.2), the connection between oval brooches and strap-dresses (section 2.4.3), and, finally, how old the brooches were (section 2.4.4).

2.4.1 Repair and use-wear

Several of the brooches from the western settlements show signs of repair and/or use-wear, the clearest examples of which will be examined here while a description of each individual brooch can be found in the appendices (1-2) Only the oval brooches from the National Museums of Scotland, Iceland, and Ireland available at the time of my visit have been examined in detail using 3D models. This accounts for 69 out of the 146 brooches, though as far as possible, all oval brooches from the western settlement have been examined. In the latter cases, the analysis is often based on pictures in which use-wear or repair is not necessarily discernible. Many of the brooches are not well enough preserved to allow for assessments of use-wear, and there are also several cases where it is difficult to determine if brooches were damaged pre- or post-deposition. These difficulties entail that there are likely to be more repaired and worn brooches than included here. The terminology used is explained in figures 9-11.

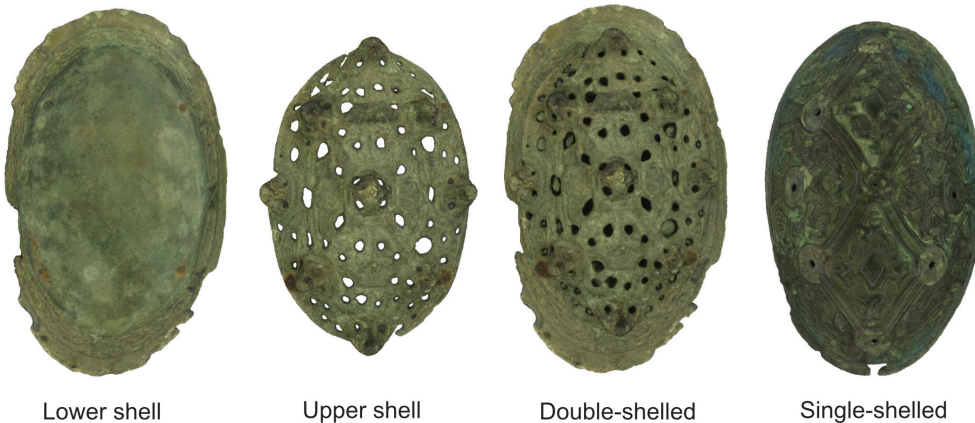


FIGURE 9 *Single and double-shelled brooches. Brooches X.II 347 (B.ID 29) and X.II 197 (B.ID 24). Illustration by the author. By kind permission of the National Museums Scotland.*

Repair

Brooches from the western settlements have often been repaired in fairly similar ways. The most common and easily distinguishable is the repairing and replacing of the pin catch or hinge. The re-attachment or securing of the upper shell is also quite commonly found. In addition, there are individual brooches demonstrating other forms of repair. All the 11 observed cases of repair are described in more detail here. I will examine the brooches by type of repair and begin with the most

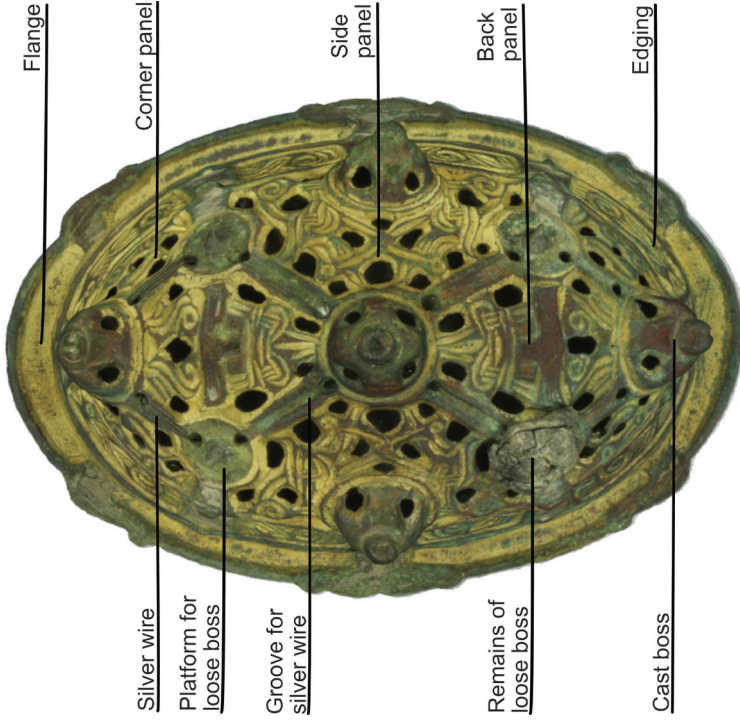


FIGURE 11 Oval brooch terminology: Outside of the brooch. Brooch X.II 800 (B.ID 40). Illustration by the author. By kind permission of the National Museums Scotland.

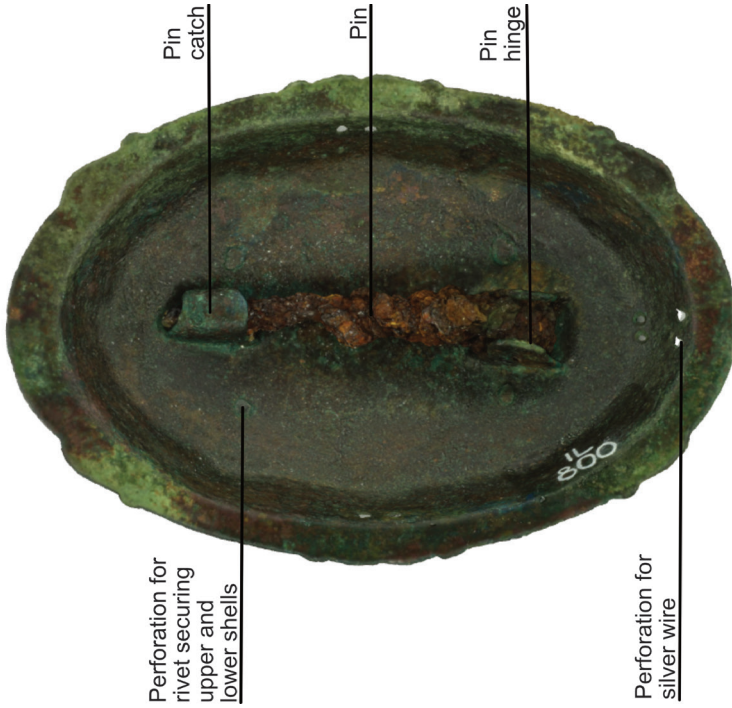


FIGURE 10 Oval brooch terminology: Inside of the brooch. Brooch X.II 800 (B.ID 40). Illustration by the author. By kind permission of the National Museums Scotland

obvious examples. The first cases are brooches where the pin catch or pin hinge have been repaired, followed by brooches where the upper and lower shells appear to have been reattached, and finally other types of repair that seem mainly cosmetic.

X.I.L 222 CLIBBERSWICK, UNST, SHETLAND (B.ID 18)



FIGURE 12 Oval brooch X.I.L 222 from Clibberswick, Unst, Shetland (B.ID 18). Inside and outside view. Illustration by the author. By kind permission of the National Museums Scotland.

Brooch X.I.L 222 from Clibberswick on the island of Unst in Shetland is one of the brooches that has most obviously been repaired (figure 12). Both the pin catch and the hinge of the brooch have been replaced. New parts have been attached to the inside, visible as an iron band for the hinge and iron staining for the catch. The rivets used to fasten them are also observable on the outside of the brooch. The brooch has damage, some of which might well have occurred before deposition. It is rather corroded, making it difficult to determine traces of use-wear. The second brooch in this pair (X.I.L 223) is better preserved and does exhibit signs of wear.

X.I.L 348 LAMBA NESS, SANDAY, ORKNEY (B.ID 29)



FIGURE 13 Oval brooch X.I.L 348 from Lamba Ness, Sanday, Orkney (B.ID 29). Inside and outside view. Illustration by the author. By kind permission of the National Museums Scotland.

Brooch X.I.L 348 from Lamba Ness on Sanday in Orkney (figure 13) has been repaired in a similar way to the Clibberswick brooch described above. The pin catch appears to have been replaced, though the replacement is now missing. This is observed in the iron staining on the inside of the brooch. There is a rounded hole immediately next to the missing pin catch which could suggest that the brooch was a miscast, however, and that this patch was added right after production (Adam Parsons 2019, personal communication). The brooch is damaged, especially the lower shell. It is difficult to determine when this could have happened, but especially the damage in connection with the pin hinge might well have been pre-depositional. The brooch is heavily corroded, making it impossible to say if it is worn. Brooch X.I.L 348 was discovered with another brooch (X.I.L 347) which also demonstrates signs of repair, described in more detail below.

ADWICK LE STREET, NORTH YORKSHIRE (B.ID 04)

One of the pairs of brooches from Adwick-le-Street appears to have been repaired. As with the previously presented brooches, the pin hinge seems to have been repaired, though in a different way from the previous examples. I have not studied this brooch in detail, but there is a comprehensive publication of the burial which

includes a detailed analysis of the oval brooches. According to Erica Paterson (in Speed and Walton Rogers 2004:72), the hinge on one of the brooches appears to have been broken and repaired using a solder and new support. This is a more technically advanced type of repair and would have required greater skill than riveting on a new hinge (Adam Parsons 2020, personal communication). Both oval brooches in this pair show obvious signs of wear. They are also dented and small bits have broken off, likely before they were deposited in the ground (Paterson in Speed and Walton Rogers 2004:72).

5030 SKÓGAR, BORGARFJARÐARSÝSLA (B.ID 59)



FIGURE 14 *Oval brooch 5030 from Skógar, Borgarfjarðarsýsla (B.ID 59). Inside and outside view. Illustration by the author. By kind permission of the National Museum of Iceland.*

Brooch 5030 (5030:1) from Skógar again appears to have had the pin hinge repaired (figure 14). It is not as evident as on the Scottish brooches, but there are two iron rivets piercing the brooch on either side of the pin hinge. There is no reason to suppose that they were a primary part of the brooch since they are not present on the other brooch in this pair. Comparison with the Scottish brooches suggests that the pin hinge has been repaired, possibly replaced. The brooch is heavily corroded and considerable parts of the flange are missing. The second brooch of this pair is better preserved, but also too corroded to be used to determine wear.

2576 Tjaldbrekka, Mýrasýsla (B.ID 61)



FIGURE 15 Oval brooch 2576 from Tjaldbrekka, Mýrasýsla (B.ID 61). Inside and outside view. Illustration by the author. By kind permission of the National Museum of Iceland.

The brooch from Tjaldbrekka in Mýrasýsla presents another case where the pin catch appears to have been repaired, if not replaced (figure 15). As with the brooch from Skógar, iron staining – presumably the remains of iron rivets – is observable on either side of the pin hinge on the outside of the brooch. On the inside of the brooch there is an area of iron corrosion where the pin catch had been. This could be explained by a pin catch in iron having been attached here, in a similar fashion to what is seen on the Scottish brooches described above. The brooch is damaged, and now extant in two pieces. Hardly anything is known of the find circumstances, making it especially difficult to say when this happened. The brooch is also quite corroded, which makes it challenging to say to what extent it is worn.

X.IM 1 LEEMING LANE, NORTH YORKSHIRE (NORTHALLERTON) (B.ID 02)



FIGURE 16 *Oval brooch X.IM 1 from Leeming Lane, North Yorkshire (B.ID 02). Outside and inside view. Illustration by the author. By kind permission of the National Museums Scotland*

Another brooch that might have been repaired is X.IM 1 from Leeming Lane near Bedale in North Yorkshire (figure 16). It was originally part of a pair, but the other brooch was not located during this research project. There is evident iron corrosion around the platforms for two of the loose bosses, and also iron corrosion on the inside of the brooch around the pin catch, suggesting that something was attached there. Part of the original pin catch is still present; it is damaged, but it is uncertain when this damage occurred. This is possibly another example of replacing a pin catch, but if that were the case, two of the loose bosses would have had to be removed and reattached. This could go some way towards explaining the iron corrosion around the platforms for loose bosses on this end of the brooch. There is no similar iron corrosion around the platforms on the other end of the brooch, nor on the inside, suggesting that the rivets used here were copper-alloy (or that the rivets and bosses were lost before deposition). It is also possible that iron rivets were used to reattach the upper and lower shell, or to attach new bosses. The bosses of the brooch are worn.

12454 RÚTSSTAÐIR, DALASÝSLA (B.ID 62)



FIGURE 17 *Oval brooch 12454 from Rútsstaðir, Dalasýsla (B.ID 62). Inside and outside view. Illustration by the author. By kind permission of the National Museum of Iceland.*

The fragmented part of a lower shell, presumably belonging to a P51 brooch, discovered at Rútsstaðir in Iceland also seems repaired, but again, it is slightly difficult to say exactly how, or why (figure 17). There are a noticeably disproportionate number of perforations in the shell. Normally there would be four main perforations to attach the lower and upper shells together, either covered by the loose bosses, or placed below them. In addition, there are sometimes smaller holes placed in pairs around the flanges for securing the silver wire that often decorates these brooches. This brooch, however, has seven perforations excluding those used for attaching silver wire, five of which located around the pin catch. The lower two of these seem to be the perforations originally used to attach the lower and upper shells, as these correspond with the perforations next to the pin hinge at the other end of the brooch. They would attach the upper to the lower shell with rivets underneath the loose bosses. Three of the perforations used for attaching the upper and lower shells still have the remains of rivets through them, two of

which are of iron and one of copper alloy. This might suggest that some of them (probably those of iron, as iron rivets are rarer) represent repair, perhaps in the form of re-attachment of the upper shell presuming it had come loose. The function of the three remaining perforations is slightly harder to deduce; they are found on either side of the pin catch which could indicate that they had something to do with repair. As with the previous brooch from Northallerton, however, the pin catch is damaged, but not missing entirely, and it is difficult to say when this damage occurred. Another possibility is that these perforations were also added to secure the upper and lower shells together.

X.I.L 347 LAMBA NESS, SANDAY, ORKNEY (B.ID 29)

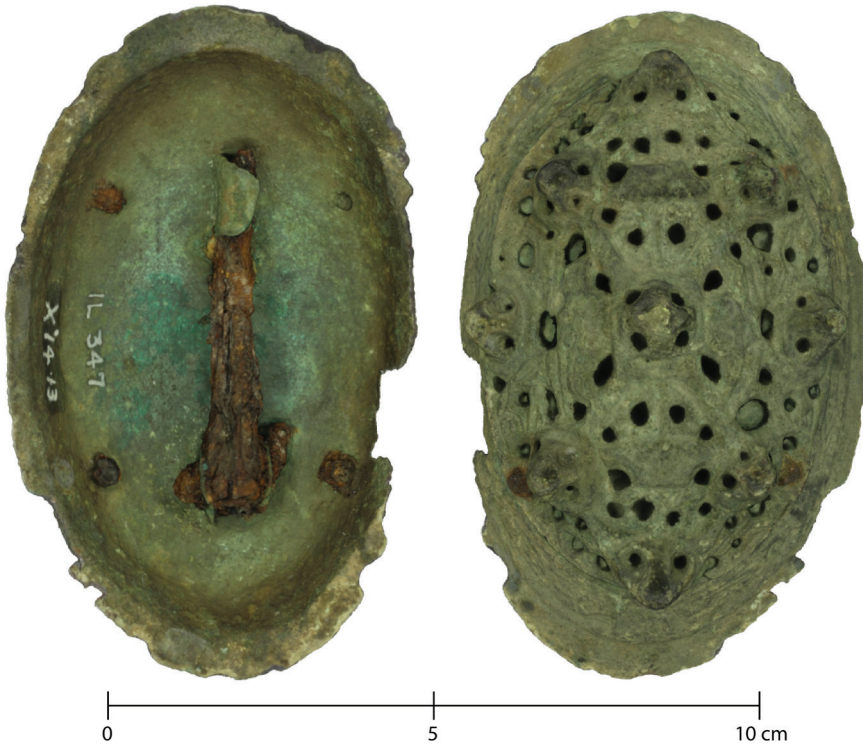


FIGURE 18 *Oval brooch X.I.L 347 from Lamba Ness, Sanday, Orkney (B.ID 29). Inside and outside view. Illustration by the author. By kind permission of the National Museums Scotland.*

Brooch X.I.L 347 was discovered with the already described brooch X.I.L 348 from Lamba Ness in Orkney, and it also appears to have been repaired (figure 18). Three out of the four rivets attaching the upper shell to the lower were made of iron, and the last of copper-alloy. This suggests that some of the rivets are secondary, presumably those of iron, as copper-alloy rivets are far more commonly found.

It is likely that as the upper shell came loose, new rivets were used to reattach it. The brooch is heavily corroded, which means it is difficult to say to what extent it is worn.

5960 DALVÍK (BRIMNES), EYJAFJARÐARSÝSLA (B.ID 70)



FIGURE 19 *Oval brooch 5960 from Dalvík (Brimnes), Eyjafjarðarsýsla (B.ID 70). Inside and outside view. Illustration by the author. By kind permission of the National Museum of Iceland.*

The single brooch discovered at Dalvík is another case that seems to have been repaired (figure 19). Examining the inside of the brooch, the perforations for rivets used to secure the upper and lower shells together appear to have been placed underneath the loose bosses. No remains of rivets are observable now, however. There are evidently iron rivets perforating the upper and lower shells below the round platforms for loose bosses. These iron rivets occur in two places, whereas there are no similar traces below the two remaining platforms. This suggests that these rivets were a later addition. Their function could have been to secure the upper shell, perhaps because the other rivets were lost or broken. The level of corrosion again makes wear difficult to determine.

R2420 ISLANDBRIDGE, DUBLIN (B.ID 14)

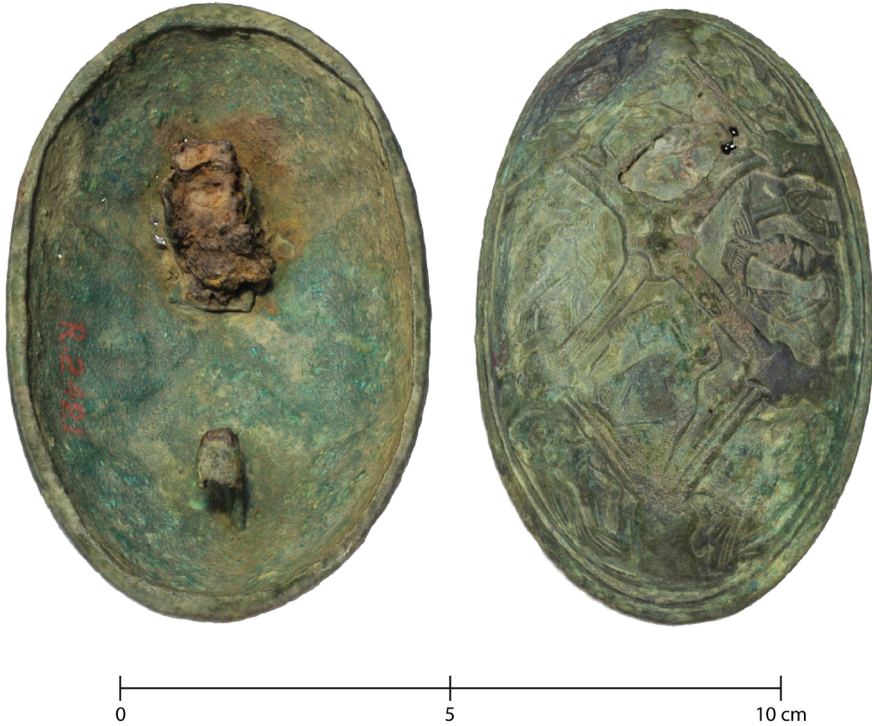


FIGURE 20 Oval brooch R2420 from Islandbridge, Dublin (B.ID 14). Inside and outside view. Illustration by the author. Photographs taken with kind permission from the National Museum of Ireland.

Whereas the other brooches described have been repaired mainly for practical reasons, R2420 from Islandbridge in Dublin seems to have been repaired more for cosmetic purposes (figure 20). There is a copper-alloy plate pressed underneath the pin hinge, though the plate does not appear to have been added in an attempt to repair it, but rather to cover up a hole in the shell of the brooch. From the outside, it is evident that the brooch has been damaged, and though the plate covers the hole, the repair is still quite visible. Presumably, the repair would have been much more apparent when the brooch was not so corroded, and the motif more legible.

X.II 334, REAY, CAITHNESS (B.ID 35)

One in a pair of non-matching brooches from a grave in Reay, in Caithness, northern Scotland, seems to have been repaired in yet a different way. I have not had a chance to study it in detail, but older reports (Curle 1914:298; Batey 1993:152) as well as illustrations of the brooch show a patch on the flange. Part of the rest of the flange is now missing. This patch seems to mainly serve a cosmetic function,

and no attempts at repairing the other missing section are visible. This suggests that the other damage might have occurred later. The other brooch discovered in this pair is complete and undamaged.

X.I.L 138 AND X.I.L 139 BALLINABY, ISLAY, INNER HEBRIDES (B.ID 50)

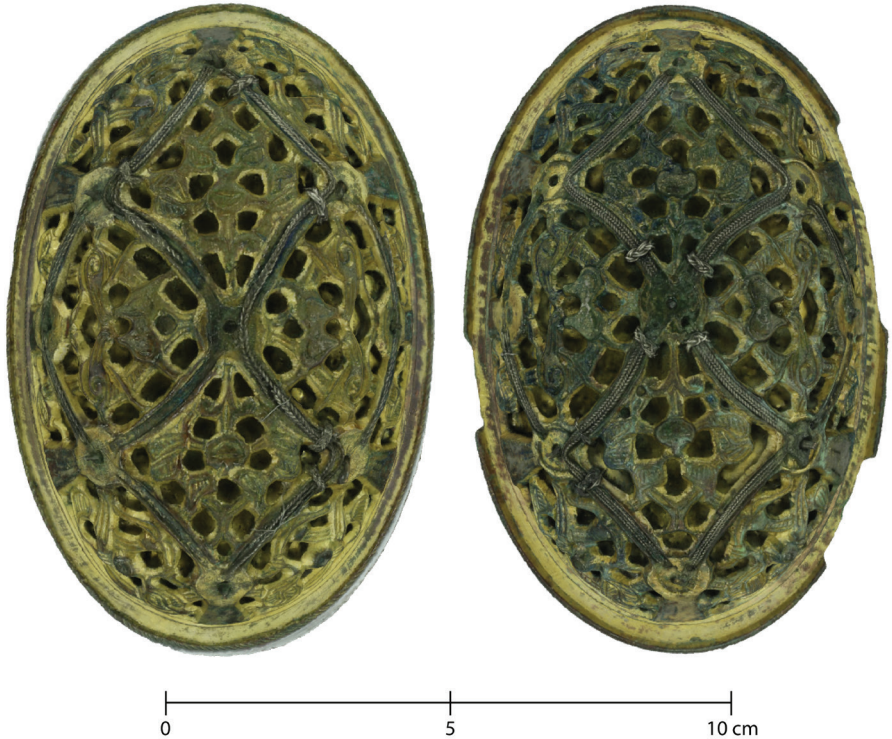


FIGURE 21 Oval brooches X.I.L 138 (left) and X.I.L 139 (right) from Ballinaby, Islay, Inner Hebrides (B.ID 50). Illustration by the author. By kind permission of the National Museums Scotland.

The last brooches to be described here are a pair from Ballinaby on Islay in the Outer Hebrides (figure 21). Apart from the flange, the brooches are intact and well preserved, but the decorating silver wire might have been re-fastened. In most cases where silver wire is attached to oval brooches, this lies in grooves in the framework, and is fastened underneath the loose bosses. At least one of the brooches appears to be lacking perforations on the platforms for loose bosses for the wire to be fastened through. This is apparently also seen on other brooches of this type, in which cases, the wire is fastened by holding it in place with the loose bosses (Jansson 1985:57). The silver wire on the Ballinaby brooches is further fastened in places with additional silver wire through holes in the decoration of the upper shell. I have not seen this on other brooches, and it could have been

attached at a later date to secure the silver wire further, perhaps because it came loose. In some places the additional wire appears well-made and decorative, whereas in other places it does not give the appearance of being part of the original design. As it is only found on some parts of the brooch, this could indicate that it was indeed added later, to secure parts of the wire that came loose. Although in good condition, some of the gilding has been worn off on one of the brooches (X.II.138). The other (X.II.139) is slightly more corroded in places making it difficult to assess if this brooch is worn in similar ways.

REPAIRED BROOCHES FROM GÖTEBORGS STADSMUSEUM

At least three of the 20 brooches presently in Göteborgs Stadsmuseum appear to have been repaired, though in slightly different ways from the brooches from the western settlements. One (GAM 2400a) has had its pin hinge repaired, probably replaced, whereas the other two (GAM 2778 and 2779) seem to have had their upper and lower shells reattached (appendix 3), demonstrating that repaired brooches also occur in Scandinavia, though there might be differences in techniques.

SUMMARY

These 11 examples demonstrate that there are quite a number of repaired brooches from the western settlements, and many have been repaired in similar ways. Repair to the pin catch or hinge is especially common. This is not surprising as modern casting of oval brooches suggests that these parts of the brooch tend to fatigue and break the easiest (Adam Parsons 2018, personal communication). The brooches would not necessarily have been old for this to occur, as it could also have been the result of casting faults in that thin part of the mould (Adam Parsons 2018, personal communication). Repaired pin catches or hinges could, therefore, also have occurred on new brooches, and do not necessarily indicate that the brooches were old. Considerable use is likely to have aggravated this issue, however. A similar case can be made for other types of repair as well, such as the reattaching of the upper shells; this kind of repair does not necessarily indicate that the brooches were old when buried, but the more use the brooches saw, the more likely this type of damage is to occur. It certainly indicates that oval brooches were considered to be of sufficient value to be worth repairing, which would have required a certain level of expertise. The crudeness of some of the repairs, especially those where rivets used to reattach the pin hinge or catch are visible on the outside of the brooch, could suggest that the that it was performed by someone less skilled, however, as it could have been done neater using a solder and new support as seen at Adwick-le-Street (Adam Parsons 2020, personal communication).

Use-wear

Use-wear on the oval brooches can at times be difficult to identify, since the brooches are now often in rather poor condition. When observable, however, use-wear is generally found on the protruding bosses of the brooches or on the back panels. This suggests that it must have been common to wear some sort of garment above the brooches, and that this must have been in contact with them. There are a number of brooches in the corpus that show signs of wear. There are presumably many more brooches that are worn, but where this is obscured by corrosion. I will not present every instance where use-wear is observable as it generally looks much the same. I will provide a couple of examples, however, while more detailed descriptions of the individual brooches can be found in the appendices (1-2).

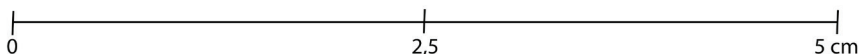


FIGURE 22 *Worn central band on brooch 2013:86, presumably from Kilmainham, Dublin (B.ID 12). Illustration by the author. Photographs taken with kind permission from the National Museum of Ireland.*

One brooch (2013:86) in a pair of P11B brooches presumably from Kilmainham, Dublin (B.ID 12), displays signs of wear (figure 22). As with many of the brooches, it is the back that displays signs of wear. The décor on the central band has almost been worn smooth. The other brooch in this pair is more corroded, and it is difficult to say to which extent it is worn, but it is clearly dented; something which might well have occurred before deposition (figure 23).



FIGURE 23 *Dent on brooch 1881:253 from Kilmainham, Dublin (B.ID 12). Illustration by the author. Photographs taken with kind permission from the National Museum of Ireland.*



FIGURE 24 *Brooch X.I.L 219 from Tiree, Inner Hebrides (B.ID 45) with worn bosses. Illustration by the author. By kind permission of the National Museums Scotland.*

Wear on bosses is observable on a number of brooches, and there are several examples of this from the western settlements, for instance on brooch X.I.L 219 from Tiree in the Inner Hebrides (B.ID 45) (figure 24). Dented or otherwise damaged brooches are also quite common, but it is difficult to ascertain when this damage occurred. Table 2 lists the brooches with traces of wear or damage most likely to

have occurred prior to deposition, a total of 28 cases. This is a rather high proportion out of the total of 146 brooches, taking into account that many are too poorly preserved to study such a feature. The table mainly includes dented rather than fragmented brooches. Details on the individual brooches can be found in appendix 1.

TABLE 2 *Worn and damaged brooches*

Country	Oval brooch	Wear	Damage	3D model
Scotland				
	MS642 Pierowall (B.ID 23)	X		
	MS643 Pierowall (B.ID 23)	X		
	X.IL 377 Ospisdale (B.ID 39)		X	
	X.GAA 220.1 Gurness (B.ID 32)	X		
	X.IL 313 Unst (B.ID 20)	X		X
	X.IL 223 Clibberswick (B.ID 18)	X		X
	X.IL 329 Càrn a' Bharraich (B.ID 48)	X		X
	X.IL 330 Càrn a' Bharraich (B.ID 48)	X		X
	X.IL 215 Ballinaby (B.ID 49)	X		X
	X.IL 219 Tiree (B.ID 45)	X		X
	X.IL138 Ballinaby (B.ID 50)	X		X
	X.IL 799 Cnip (B.ID 40)		X	X
	X.IL 800 Cnip (B.ID 40)		X	X
England				
	Adwick-le-Street (B.ID 04)	X		
	Adwick-le-Street (B.ID 04)	X		
	X.M1 Leeming Lane (B.ID 02)	X		X
	Cumwhitton (B.ID 01)	X		
	Cumwhitton (B.ID 01)	X		
Ireland				
	04E900:254:1 Finglas (B.ID 08)	X		X
	2013:86 Kilmainhaim (B.ID 12)	X		X
	1881:253 Kilmainhaim (B.ID 12)		X	X
	1886:31 (near) Castlerock (B.ID 06)	X	X	X

Country	Oval brooch	Wear	Damage	3D model
Iceland				
	96:2 Þjórsárdalur (B.ID 55)	X	X	X
	96:1 Þjórsárdalur (B.ID 55)		X	X
	245 Reykjavellir (B.ID 67)		X	X
	1967:184 Sélardalur (B.ID 63)		X	X
	371 Hólf(?) (B.ID 65)	X		X
	4872 Reykjasel (B.ID 72)	X		X

The clearest conclusion that can be drawn from this overview of use-wear and repair on individual brooches is that oval brooches were undoubtedly used in life, and presumably on quite a regular basis and/or over a long period of time in order for this wear and tear to occur.

2.4.2 Pairs of brooches

Oval brooches are generally assumed to have been used in matching pairs, and in the corpus studied here, there is a high number of pairs, 53 altogether (table 3). The majority, 28 pairs, consists of a combination of matching brooches, representing 53% of the pairs and 38% of all the brooches. Moreover, in the western settlements the only identical or close to identical brooches present are found together as pairs. This does not mean that pairs are always matching, however. In Scotland, at least five pairs of brooches form non-matching sets, whereas six are clearly matching sets. There are also two pairs that although very similar, have some minor differences in detail, though this is likely to reflect finishing touches to the wax models rather than that the brooches were produced from different master moulds, and they are accordingly included among the matching pairs. These numbers are out of a total of 26 pairs from Scotland, though as many of these brooches are lost and some are in different museums, I have been unable to study all in a manner that would allow me to determine whether or not they form matching sets. In Iceland there are two pairs of brooches that form non-matching sets and ten pairs forming matching sets (five of which I have studied in detail) out of a total of 15 pairs (also mentioned by Friðriksson in Eldjárn and Friðriksson 2016:632). From England, there are five pairs of oval brooches, three of which form matching sets, and two non-matching.

The situation in Ireland is more complicated. The clear majority of the oval brooches from Ireland – 14 – are found in Dublin, and the majority of these again – 10 – in the Kilmainham/Islandbridge cemetery complex. The finds from this area are generally poorly recorded and the sole details known are often only when the brooches were acquired by the museum. Harrison and O’Floinn (2014:743-

747) do suggest that certain brooches form pairs. This is generally based on their date of acquisition as well as their décor. If two brooches are very similar they are suggested to form a pair, as are brooches acquired by the museum at around the same time. However, the uncertainties surrounding the various acquisitions, as clearly pointed out by Harrison and O’Floinn, make the latter criteria rather unreliable. As more or less identical oval brooches are always discovered in pairs elsewhere in the western settlements, it is highly likely that the brooches from Kilmainham/Islandbridge with great similarities in décor also form pairs. If we assume this to be the case, then there are three pairs of matching brooches. That leaves four brooches that *could* form pairs, but there is no convincing evidence to say that they do. They are accordingly not included among the pairs here and it is impossible to know whether or not there are pairs of non-matching brooches from Kilmainham/Islandbridge. Outside this cemetery the situation becomes simpler, and there are four more pairs of matching brooches from Ireland. This means that out of the 19 oval brooches from Ireland, 14 in all likelihood do form matching pairs. Out of the remaining five, four are P37.3 brooches from Kilmainham/Islandbridge, which could either have been used as pairs or they could represent four individual graves. The last brooch is a P51 brooch (1886:31) discovered in a river in Co. Derry, which could have been part of a burial.

TABLE 3 *Number of matching and non-matching pairs of brooches from the different countries. Matching pairs include brooches with minor differences in detail.*

Country	Matching	Non-matching	Unknown	Pairs in total
Scotland	8	5	13	26
Iceland	10	2	3	15
England	3	2	0	5
Ireland ³	7	0	0	7
Total	28	9	16	53

Examining only the non-identical brooches, there are (at least) nine non-matching pairs, and a further three pairs that are considered matching, but with some smaller differences in detail (table 4). There are considerable differences in how dissimilar non-identical brooches are, however, ranging from very small inconsistencies in detail, to obvious differences in the motif. An example of the former is the pair of brooches from Ballinaby on Islay in the Inner Hebrides (figure 25) where the differences are so slight that they are likely to be the result of alterations to the

3 It is possible that there are more than seven pairs of brooches from Ireland. If so, there could be non-matching pairs of brooches.

individual wax models. As such, the brooches are likely to have been made as copies from the same master mould.

TABLE 4 *Pairs of non-identical brooches. The level of similarity is graded from 1-3 ranging from small differences in detail to obvious differences that would be clear to an observer. Category 1 are interpreted as matching brooches.*

Country	Grave	Brooch 1	Brooch 2	Similarity
Scotland				
	Westness (B.ID 31)	P37.3	P37.3	1
	Ballinaby (B.ID 50)	P42	P42	1
	Reay (B.ID 35)	P51A1	P51B1	2
	Westerseat (B.ID 37)	P51B1(2?)	P51G	2
	Cnip (B.ID 40)	P51C2	P51C1	2
	Ballinaby (B.ID 49)	P51F	P51E	2
	Pierowall (B.ID 23)	P37.10	P37.12	3
Iceland				
	Þjórárdalur (B.ID 55)	P51C1	P51C1	1
	Vestdalur (B.ID 77)	P51C1	P51C1	1
	Daðastaðir (B.ID 71)	P51B2	P51B2	2
	Valþjófsstaðir (B.ID 73)	P51B1	P51B2(1?)	3
England				
	Leeming Lane (B.ID 02)	P51F	P51B1	2
	Adwick le Street (B.ID 04)	P37.3	P37.12	3

Excluding these brooches from Ballinaby, and the pairs of brooches from Westness in Orkney and Vestdalur and Þjórárdalur in Iceland, the other non-identical pairs are highly unlikely to have been manufactured from the same master mould. The best example of obviously dissimilar brooches is a pair from Adwick le Street (section 2.5.2). One of the pairs of brooches from Pierowall in Orkney also clearly demonstrates this, however (figure 26). One of the brooches is slightly larger than the other, and there are obvious differences in the framework.

The use of non-matching brooches also occurs in Scandinavia, but there have not been any studies done that could indicate how common this was. There are only three pairs among the brooches from Göteborgs Stadsmuseum, one of which (GAM 1775) seems clearly non-matching, and another (GAM 1935-1936) that seems likely to match. The third pair (GAM 2400a and 2400b) displays some minor differences in décor, though in their present state of corrosion it is difficult to determine if the brooches could have been made from the same master mould (appendix 3). In the western settlements, matching brooches are evidently the norm,

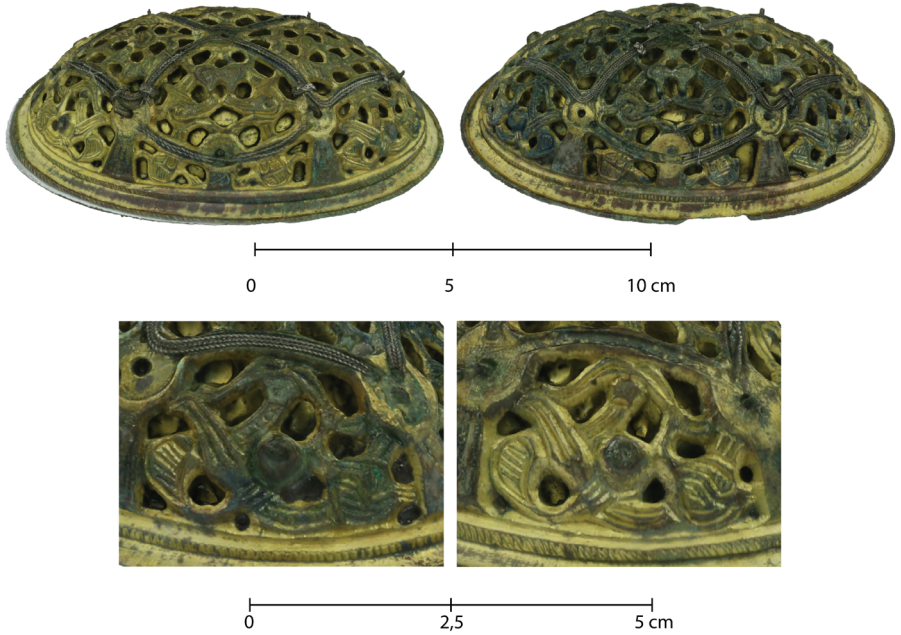


FIGURE 25 Oval brooches from Ballinaby, Islay (X.I.L 138 and X.I.L 139; B.ID 50) showing the small differences in detail between the two. Illustration by the author. By kind permission of the National Museums Scotland.



FIGURE 26 Non-matching pair of oval brooches from Pierowall, Orkney (B.ID 23). © Trustees of the British Museum.

and it seems likely that oval brooches were originally acquired as matching pairs. This raises the question of why oval brooches are found together in non-matching sets, a question which will be further discussed in section 2.5.2.

2.4.3 Oval brooches and strap-dresses

The repair, use-wear, and high number of pairs is well in accordance with earlier interpretation of oval brooches as dress items used with strap-dresses (section 2.2.3). With the material from the western settlements, the find circumstances are rarely good enough for us to be absolutely certain of how oval brooches were placed, mainly because their positioning in the burials was not recorded (figure 29). In the cases where the placement of brooches can be determined, they are most commonly found to have been worn one on either side of the chest (section 2.6.1). This is particularly evident in Scotland where this accounts for all eleven cases with known placement (figure 29). There are also at least 31 cases where textile remains inside the brooches suggest that they were attached to clothing when deposited in the ground (table 5). In ten of these cases, these remains appear to be definite loops which indicates their use with strap-dresses (except B.ID 70, see section 2.6.4). In the majority of other cases, the fragments are too small to discern whether or not they could be loops (except B.ID 72, see section 2.6.4). Oval brooches were especially suited for use with the strap-dress because of their domed shape and recessed pin. The straps on either end would pull on the brooch causing it to lie flat. This domed shape and recessed pin are not particularly suitable for gathering folds of material or pinning through the edge of cloth (Ewing 2006:25). It therefore seems highly unlikely that oval brooches were commonly worn with garments other than strap-dresses.

TABLE 5 *Brooches with remains of textile inside from the different countries. Numbers in brackets are the cases where the textile remains appear to be definite loops.*

Country	Remains of textiles
England	3 (1)
Ireland	8 (3)
Scotland	8 (2)
Iceland	12 (4)
Total	31 (10)

The wear and tear visible on oval brooches is significant as it indicates that oval brooches and strap-dresses were not only used for burials. Nor does it seem likely that they were only used for specific occasions in life. Instead, the observations suggest that oval brooches most likely formed part of everyday dress for some women in Britain, Ireland, and Iceland. It is also highly likely that many of the

oval brooches arrived in the western settlements with women from Scandinavia, perhaps worn as part of their dress, as pairs of brooches are frequently found with women, at least one with Sr isotope levels which signals Scandinavian origin (e.g. Speed and Walton Rogers 2004). Mass import seems unlikely for many of the same reasons as local production (section 2.3.5), though solitary pairs of brooches may well have been brought from Scandinavia in order to be sold or given away. The difference in relative chronology of the brooches could suggest that women from Scandinavia arrived in the western settlements at different times, and it might also hint at chronological differences between the settlements.

2.4.4 How old were they?



FIGURE 27 *Trefoil brooch from Clibberswick (B.ID 18). Illustration by the author. By kind permission of the National Museums Scotland.*

The traces of wear and repair visible on many oval brooches (section 2.4.1) suggest that they are likely to have been in use for an extended period of time; how long though, is a question difficult to answer. In many cases, the graves in which the brooches were found are dated primarily on the basis of the typology of the brooches themselves, as there are often no other diagnostic artefacts in them. There are exceptions though, to be presented and discussed in this section – one of which being a grave from Clibberswick on Unst in Shetland (B.ID 18). This grave contained a pair of brooches (X.II 222 and 223) where the pin catch and hinge on one have been repaired, and there are signs of wear on the other (section 2.4.1). These oval brooches are typologically early; they are of the type P23/24

which belongs to the Berdal D group which Petersen (1928:18) suggests date from the first half of the ninth century. With these brooches, a now lost silver arming and two beads as well as a still extant trefoil brooch of type P97 or Maixner's Z1.5 (figure 27) were discovered (Graham-Campbell and Batey 1998:235). Birgit Maixner dates the production of these brooches from the end of the ninth century to well into the tenth century (Maixner 2005:192). This divergence in the date of production means that the oval brooches from Clibberswick could have been around a century old before they were deposited in the grave.

This is perhaps the clearest example of the use of old brooches in burials, but there are also others. At the site of Cumwhitton, England (B.ID 01), there might be three brooches in the same grave (Paterson et al. 2014:127-130; section 2.6.3). Two of these are of type P51B1, presumably produced in the late ninth or tenth century, whereas the third brooch is of type P23/24, hence, probably produced in the early ninth century (Petersen 1928:18, 67). This third brooch would, in other words, have been considerably older than the other brooches, again perhaps as much as a hundred years, provided that they are all from the same grave. There is also a set of brooches from Skógar, Borgarfjarðarsýsla in Iceland (5030; B.ID 59) that are likely to have been old. Again, the brooches belong to type P23/24 suggesting a date of production in the first half of the ninth century, and the pin hinge on one of them seems to have been repaired (section 2.4.1). This pair of brooches are the only early brooches from Iceland, and they are also among the oldest, if not *the* oldest, Viking Age finds from the country (Eldjárn and Friðriksson 2016:357). Their context is largely unknown, and there are no other artefacts to compare them with. As Iceland is not thought to have been settled before c. AD 870, however, and as both brooches seem to be in rather poor condition (and one has been repaired), the brooches are likely to have been quite old.

In all of these cases, the brooches in question are typologically early and some of them are clearly repaired and/or worn. There are other cases where this combination is present in the material, for example in the already mentioned pair of P11B brooches from Kilmainham in Dublin (B.ID 12). They are typologically the earliest of the brooches from the western settlements and might have been produced as early as the last decade of the eighth century (Feveile and Jensen 2006:156). As one of the pair is plainly worn and the other dented, it is likely that they belonged to more than one individual. Similar cases could be made for other brooches, but due to the uncertainties regarding the chronology of oval brooches (section 2.2.2), this is complicated. Determining a date of production with any degree of precision is very difficult, and the widely agreed upon chronologies fall within assumed dates of furnished burial being practiced. Despite these difficulties, however, the above examples demonstrate that there are a number of brooches that appear to be of

considerable age; some might have been in use for almost a century. These brooches demonstrate evident traces of repair and use-wear, and there are a number of other brooches in the corpus with comparable traces of wear and repair. This indicates that several of the oval brooches from the western settlements were in use for a long time, and would likely have belonged to more than one individual. This is significant for the kind of memories that could be evoked by the brooches, and will be further discussed in section 2.5.3.

2.5 Oval brooch biographies

The purpose of this chapter is to examine how oval brooches could evoke memories in funerary rites. In order to do this, I have argued that it is necessary to examine how the brooches were used. The preceding sub-chapter was concerned with traces of repair and use-wear on the brooches. I demonstrated that some brooches would have been in use on a regular basis, and for extended periods of time. In this following part, I will explore possible scenarios in which the brooches could have been used and discuss the relationships they would have been part of.

Material culture is not a passive component of everyday life, it plays an active role in social relationships with people and other non-human entities. Not all brooches would necessarily have played the same parts in relations with people. Rather, an individual brooch might have been regarded in a special way due to that particular brooch's object biography. The meaning and significance of an object is not static. It can change throughout its use-life according to how they are being or have been used, and in what contexts. They become invested with meaning through interactions with people and other objects, and this meaning can be accumulative (section 2.1.2; Gosden and Marshall 1999:170-176).

The purpose here is not to create a complete object biography for one particular oval brooch, but to emphasise diverse aspects of the life histories of oval brooches by using different brooches as examples. Although part of the purpose of object biographies is to demonstrate how particular artefacts have individual biographies that affect the way they are viewed and used, much of the inferences that can be drawn from one oval brooch are shared by many others. There are also significant differences in the kind of information that can be gleaned from different brooches. For example, some are well preserved and can tell us much through traces of wear and repair, but there might be no information about the find context. This means that we cannot say anything about how they were used in burial rites, or what other artefacts they were associated with. I will examine three different scenarios or contexts of use for oval brooches: their intimate relationship with their owner(s) (section 2.5.1), their possible part in gift-exchange (section 2.5.2), and their role

as heirlooms or ‘antiques’ (section 2.5.3). This section is drawing on the result from the preceding analysis of the use of oval brooches in the western settlements (section 2.4). Through their use, they were in a sense being loaded with possibilities for remembrance, though not all of these would have been triggered.

The four aspects I will discuss in more detail are far from covering the entire ‘life’ of an oval brooch; there are several other situations and relationships that could have affected their mnemonic potential. Even if individual brooches were perhaps not singled out as significant from their moment of production (section 2.1.2), they were still, through their materiality, citing oval brooches as a group. This means that the brooches were referencing, and also reiterating meanings and ideas that had already become associated with these types of brooches through earlier usage. Even from the outset, individual brooches were nodes in material networks (section 2.1.1). These networks were not limited to oval brooches, but included other types of jewellery, metalwork, art styles, etc. These citational properties are shared by all the brooches in the corpus, and the same can be said for another aspect of their lives – travel – as all of the brooches in the corpus would have been imported (section 2.3.5). This means that they could have evoked remembrances of movement and migration, or of the places left behind. There are other potential parts of their biographies that are more difficult to trace materially. They could have been trade-goods, stolen, used in ceremonies etc. This would have affected their mnemonic potential, but I intend to examine only aspects of the lives of oval brooches for which there is at least some material evidence.

2.5.1 Personal belongings

In studies of object biographies, there is often an emphasis on how objects gain meaning and significance through exchange. One concept frequently used in archaeology in this context is that of *inalienable possession* (e.g. Gosden and Marshall 1999; Fowler 2004; Joy 2009), though it has been criticized for not taking the specific Melanesian context for which the term was originally coined into account (e.g. Klevnäs 2015b:12). The primary notion, expressed by Anette Weiner (1992:6) and also building on the works of Marcel Mauss (2002 [1925]) and Marilyn Strathern (1988), is that objects become ‘imbued with the intrinsic and ineffable identities of their owners’, meaning that objects become part of people, and giving away an object therefore means giving away part of oneself (Mauss 2002 [1925]:16; Brück 2006:76).

Object biographies are generally less concerned with the periods when the object was in stable keeping (Klevnäs 2015b:5). Gosden and Marshall (1999:174) highlighted use in ceremonial performance in addition to exchange as situations where objects may gain meaning and significance, though everyday use is likely

to have been significant as well. With the oval brooches, the periods in their lives when they were in stable keeping and used for everyday occasions would have covered the main parts of their lives. In this section I will therefore focus on these stable periods, when the brooches would have belonged to and been used by a single individual, and discuss what connotations these brooches might have carried as personal belongings.

The wear and repair seen on oval brooches (section 2.4.1) is one of the main reasons why they should be considered personal belongings, another reason being their use in burials. They are generally closely associated with the dead body (section 2.6.1), indicating an intimate relationship between them and the deceased (Joy 2009:550; Arnold 2016:842; Klevnäs 2016:461). By calling them personal belongings, I do not mean that they were simply in the possession of a person, but that they were owned by a person. Ownership, unlike possession, denotes a relationship of power or control over the object (Gosden 2015:215), and also a more intimate relationship between person and object.

Any of the oval brooches from the western settlements could presumably have been used as an example of a personal belonging at some point in their lives, but I will here use brooch X.IL 197 from Tiree in the Inner Hebrides (B.ID 45) (figure 24) as an example. Like many of the oval brooches, very little is known about brooch X.IL 197's find circumstances apart from that it was presented to the Museum in Edinburgh in 1872, and said to be from a grave (Anderson 1874:554-555). The brooch is of type P51A2. Although P51 is the most common type of brooch from Scotland, this is the only example of subtype A2 (figure 5). When discussing this brooch as a personal possession, the traces of wear evident on the bosses of the brooch are of great significance. As demonstrated earlier in this chapter (section 2.4.1), wear is quite frequently seen on oval brooches and it clearly indicates that brooches, like this one from Tiree, were worn regularly. Hence, the brooch would have been part of a person's dress and appearance for a significant part of their life.

Ownership, as it is used here, signifies more than having an artefact in one's possession. It entails an intimate and personal relationship between person and object, a relationship that is likely to leave a mark. This would not have been the case for all objects in a person's possession; some would have been easily traded without any lasting relationship between the thing and the original owner being maintained. Oval brooches, on the other hand, fall into the category that has loosely been described as inalienable possessions. Although they *could* be given away, and indeed were (section 2.5.2), the relationship with the original owner was not lost or forgotten.

Alison Klevnäs (2015a:162) noted in her study of reopening of Anglo-Saxon graves that the artefacts most frequently removed were swords in male graves and

brooches in female graves. Weapons and jewellery are also the artefacts most commonly missing in disturbed Viking Age graves in Scandinavia (Klevnäs 2016:461-463). With reference to the Anglo-Saxon graves, Klevnäs (2015a:163-165) argued that they were not removed from the graves because of their value, as they were often in poor condition and other valuable goods were left behind. Instead she saw the removal of these specific artefacts in connection with their roles as material ties between actors (Klevnäs 2015a:170). Unlike other types of artefacts which she argued were highly personal, even inseparable from the individual, brooches and swords were more commonly given away as gifts and heirlooms (see sections 2.5.2 and 2.5.3). They had the ability to create social ties between persons. When they were buried, this was a method of keeping-while-giving, combining disposal of valued items as well as making sure they stayed within the kin-group. Klevnäs (2015a:171) saw the reopening of the graves as an attempt at undermining the prestige associated with these objects. Klevnäs' argument is interesting in relation to the oval brooches, as a great number of them were clearly old before they were deposited in the ground. This entails that the brooches were not inalienable in the sense that they were inseparable from an individual. The fact that oval brooches could be passed on does not negate an intimate relationship between the brooches and the person wearing them, but rather that this did not eclipse all other social relationships the brooches could have been part of.

The way things are used is crucial in understanding their abilities to evoke remembrance. Working from this perspective, the extended time oval brooches would have spent as personal belongings becomes highly significant. There are clear indications that these brooches would have been regularly worn by a specific person for a long period of time. This long-term use entails that the brooches would have been intrinsically tied up with an individual. The brooches were part of repetitive performances, something which would have rendered them mnemonic. Different forms of use (or non-use) of the brooches in the funerary rites could have evoked remembrances of these everyday performances.

2.5.2 Gift-exchange

There are clear indications that oval brooches both could be and were exchanged, as several appear to be too old to have been buried with their original owners (section 2.4.4). Following Mauss (2002 [1925]:42-47) this exchange of objects between people is not a neutral affair; it creates relationships between people since each object carries with it the obligation to reciprocate. This notion that the giving of gifts creates binding relationships between people is well-illustrated in a passage from *Njáls saga*, written in the late thirteenth century, but set in Iceland around the year 1000. The saga tells of a wealthy Icelander called Gunnar who had given away all his own hay and food during a famine. He travels to a man called Otkel

and asks to buy hay and food, but is refused, even though Otkel has provisions to spare. “‘Are you willing to give it to me then,’ said Gunnar, ‘and take your chances on me repaying you?’” (Hreinsson et al. 1997:55-57). Although Gunnar is again refused, it is still evident that receiving the hay and food as a gift, and buying it are two very different things; the first is a neutral transaction, whereas the second creates a relationship of trust between the two men. Gunnar would seemingly prefer to buy the goods, and as Lotte Hedeager (1994:130-131) comments, this is because by accepting a gift from Otkel, who was Gunnar’s social inferior, Gunnar would be placed in the humiliating situation of dependency on a person of lower rank than himself.

Entering into a relationship of gift-exchange is not without risk. In aristocratic warrior societies, gift-exchange could involve a ‘war of property’, where the participants exchanged increasingly valuable gifts, risking not being able to reciprocate (Mauss 2002 [1925]:47-48; Graeber 2014:75-76). Hans Jacob Orning recounts a story of the kings Harald Hardrade and Magnus the Good who were co-rulers of Norway between 1046 and 1047. The two kings were hosting competitive feasts for one another culminating in Harald presenting Magnus with a golden cup, asking him where he would find the gold to match it (Orning 2015:194-195). Wealth in Viking Age Scandinavian societies was clearly important, but not in order to possess it, rather to be able to give it away, and in that way obtain allies, retainues and status (Hedeager 1994:132-133). John Sheehan (2013) has argued that part of the purpose of the Viking raids was to obtain valuable and/or exotic goods that could be used in gift-exchange.

What these examples from the saga literature serve to illustrate is the significance of gift-exchange in the Viking Age for creating and maintaining relationships and alliances. They also highlight the competitive aspect of this exchange and the importance of wealth to maintain a position of significance in society. Following Mauss (2002 [1925]), Terje Oestigaard and Joakim Goldhahn (2006:33) have argued that certain artefacts used in gift-exchange are not simply symbols of these alliances: they embody them. This is because of the inalienable bond between people and objects (section 2.5.1). A similar argument has been put forward by Pétursdóttir (2007:60-63) in her discussion of grave-goods in Viking Age Iceland. According to her, friendships and other relations between people were not formed in a vacuum, but through the interaction between people and things.

Most of the examples of gift-exchange mentioned above are explicitly concerned with exchange between men, and strategic friendships and alliances in the Viking Age are traditionally seen as male affairs (see Moen 2019:68-69), though some such relations between women are noted in saga literature (Sigurðson 2010:128-134). It is possible, however, that oval brooches could have played a role in creating

and maintaining alliances between women. There are several cases where pairs of non-matching oval brooches have been found (section 2.4.2). Due to the way they were produced (section 2.2.2), it seems highly likely that oval brooches were originally intended as matching sets, but there are clearly cases where one of the brooches of a pair was exchanged for another. Below, I will use one such pair of brooches as an example and assess what their object biographies can inform us on, and what role oval brooches might have played in gift-exchange. The brooches that will be used as examples here are from Adwick-le-Street in South Yorkshire (B.ID 04). These brooches are perhaps the pair with which the differences in appearance are most striking, particularly because there is also a noticeable size difference between the brooches (illustrated in Speed and Walton Rogers 2004:64). There are other pairs, particularly from Scotland, that could also have been used as examples here (see table 4).

I have not studied the Adwick-le-Street brooches in detail, so the following descriptions are based on the analyses by Penelope Walton Rogers and Erica Paterson (in Speed and Walton Rogers 2004), as well as examinations of the images. The brooches were discovered in 2001 in a presumed female burial and are therefore from one of the few modern excavations of burials with oval brooches. The burial had been disturbed, but the brooches were discovered *in situ*, one on each side of the chest, suggesting that they were worn with a strap-dress (Speed and Walton Rogers 2004:59). The brooches are both of type P37, but they are not of the same subtype. Brooch AB is of type P37.3 which is the most common subtype, and also clearly dominates the P37 material in the western settlements (section 2.3). Brooch AC on the other hand is of type P37.12. P37.12 is typologically a younger subtype than P37.3, which is likely to have been one of the earliest forms. The small size and the poor quality of the *décor* on brooches of type P37.12 suggests that this is one of the latest subtypes (Jansson 1985:49). Brooch AB could therefore have been older than AC, but as old brooches might have been used to produce a new series of brooches, this is not conclusive. Both brooches show obvious signs of wear, and according to Paterson (in Speed and Walton Rogers 2004:72), the pin hinge of brooch AB has been repaired, and there is a dent in the brooch that appears to be pre-depositional.

The brooches both appear to have been of some age, but there are indications that brooch AB might have been the older of the two, as it belongs to a typologically earlier subtype and was also dented and repaired. The brooches are therefore unlikely to represent an original pair. The question then is how they ended up worn together in a grave. There are several possible scenarios: brooch AC could represent a replacement for a lost or destroyed brooch, but in that case was it bought new as an individual brooch? If this was the case, the original pair to brooch AB

must have been lost fairly early, as there are significant traces of wear on brooch AC as well. Another possibility is that both brooches had lost their original pairs, and using them together was an expedient solution. This would entail asking who the original pairs belonged to. Would a person own more than one pair of oval brooches? The scenario that will be elaborated on here is the possibility that these brooches represent gift-exchange.⁴

This chapter so far has demonstrated that oval brooches are likely to have been personal belongings and would presumably have been intimately connected with their owner, perhaps seen as an extension of the self – inalienable possessions (section 2.5.1). Both Adwick-le-Street brooches appear to have been in use for an extended period of time, which supports this suggestion. Originally, they would both have been part of two different pairs belonging to two different individuals, and it is possible that they were exchanged at some point. This would not necessarily have been an example of competitive gift-giving, but perhaps used to cement a friendship or form an alliance. In theory of gift-exchange, it is highlighted that the artefacts given and received do not only function as symbols of the alliance, they embody it (e.g. Oestigaard and Goldhahn 2006:33; Pétursdóttir 2007:61). Unlike other types of artefacts often mentioned in relation to gift-exchange, oval brooches cannot really be considered exotic or prestigious artefacts, which are the sort of artefacts that would have been used in chiefly exchange as described by Oestigaard and Goldhahn (2006). In the Viking Age, however, where friendship and alliances between families were crucial, the exchange of oval brooches between women would certainly have been a highly visible way of manifesting these ties. This postulates a more active role for women in the creation and maintenance of alliances than what we normally see. These brooches would then have been physical manifestations of these relationships, and perhaps also formed close personal links between two women wearing them. Their use would also have evoked memories of the event when the friendship/alliance was formed, especially if they were associated with some form of dramatic display.

2.5.3 Heirlooms

Many of the oval brooches from the western settlements are visibly worn and repaired (section 2.4.1), and several could have been of considerable age before they were deposited in the ground (section 2.4.4). Some might have been in use for around 100 years before they were interred in a grave, which suggests that they could have been heirlooms. The brooches I will use as examples of heirlooms here are the pair from Clibberswick on Unst in Shetland (B.ID 18) (figure 28). These brooches were discovered with a number of other artefacts, among them a trefoil

4 I am grateful to Astrid Tvedte Kristoffersen who first suggested this to me.

brooch of a typologically much later date. The discrepancy in the production date between the oval brooches and the trefoil brooches might well have been over a century (section 2.4.4). These oval brooches would presumably have belonged to more than one owner, and are likely to have been heirlooms.

Oval brooches belong to a category of artefacts closely tied to individual people, and giving away a brooch does not necessarily alienate it from its previous owner (sections 2.5.1-2.5.2). The earlier relationships could still have affected the qualities of the brooch. In this sense, the brooches can be seen as inalienable. Katina Lillios (1999:243) has argued that heirlooms are not maintained in circulation for economic reasons, but rather because of the value they possess for the owners. They evoke sentimental feelings, but they also maintain a link with an ancestral past. This means that they have social value because of the memories associated with them which can function as a link to previous generations. As Roberta Gilchrist (2013) has pointed out, however, this social value is also due to their materiality, for example in the patina they would acquire. With reference to oval brooches,



FIGURE 28 *Oval brooches and trefoil brooch from Clibberswick on Unst in Shetland (B.ID 18). Illustration by the author. By kind permission of the National Museums Scotland.*

this materiality contributing to the social value of heirlooms might also have been affected by the style of the brooches. The changeover in types seen in the Viking Age means that it would be quite obvious that some brooches were old just by their style. The patina they would acquire could have highlighted this.

The Clibberswick oval brooches are likely to have been heirlooms, and might well have been in use for several generations before they ended up in the burial. They could have been considered meaningful because of their biographies and their intimate ties with ancestors. They would have had the potential to evoke memories of previous women who wore them. Many of the more personal and family memories associated with the brooches would not have been obvious or widely known in the community, but their materiality would clearly distinguish these brooches as old, both in terms of style and presumably also patina.

If the brooches were used as heirlooms, this would be another scenario which could have rendered the brooches mnemonic. In what kind of situations would the brooches have been passed on? They could have been passed on after the death of an individual, perhaps in connection with the funeral, but it might also have been in connection with other important life events. Heirlooms can acquire meaning through use in – or association with – life transforming events (Hoskins 1998), in particular rituals of personhood that construct gender (Gilchrist 2013). Further, ethnographic accounts have noted that heirlooms are often gifted at marriage (Lillios 1999:242; Straight 2002).

Oval brooches might have become important heirlooms exactly because of their association with important life events. The Clibberswick brooches, like all oval brooches, were produced in Scandinavia (section 2.3.5), which, like their antiquity, would have been obvious from their appearance. Hence, these brooches would have been associated with family history and possibly also stories of migration. In this sense, the brooches could be seen, not just as having distinct object biographies, but also as possible biographical objects, used to tell the stories of someone's life (Hoskins 1998). Not all oval brooches seem to have been passed on, however; some are likely to have been buried with their original owner. We might be dealing with changing fashions, but changes in social roles could potentially also have been a factor (Hayeur Smith 2004:75-76; Ewing 2006:39-42). Searching for definite and uniform reasons might be rather futile as individual decisions could have determined whether or not to inter brooches with the deceased. For the present thesis, it is not of vital importance *why* certain brooches were used as heirlooms and not others, but simply the fact that some *were*.

2.5.4 Summary

The purpose of this sub-chapter has been to highlight some of the various relationships oval brooches would have been part of, and how these relationships would have loaded the brooches with the potential for remembrance. As personal belongings, gifts, and heirlooms, they would have been part of everyday repetitive actions, and possibly also dramatic displays. Their use in dramatic displays would have rendered specific brooches capable of evoking remembrances of those specific events, for instance; a marriage, the cementation of an alliance/friendship, or a funeral. All brooches, even those used in dramatic display, seem to have been personal belongings, commonly worn. They were, in other words, also bound up with repetitive actions which would also have rendered them mnemonic. They would have had the potential of evoking memories of specific individuals and everyday practices. For brooches used as heirlooms or gifts, this could have entailed memories of family, ancestry, and interpersonal relationships which could have been important for the way people constructed their identities. It is also important to note the overseas settlement context in which this use occurs. This is where the ordinary and everyday might also have become extraordinary (e.g. Naum 2012:93-96). A final scenario in which (almost all) the oval brooches in the corpus were used is in funerary rites. This could certainly be seen as an example of dramatic display, through which oval brooches as both individual artefacts and as a group could have gained significance. Their deposition in burials need not have been the end of the 'life' of an oval brooch, as the burials might later have been disturbed and artefacts removed (Klevnäs 2015a, 2016; Lund 2017). Several of the more recently excavated burials from Iceland demonstrate evident signs of having been disturbed (e.g. Roberts 2014). However, it is not known what artefacts were removed from these burials. As I am here concerned with the abilities of oval brooches to evoke remembrance in funerary rites, their post-deposition life is not of paramount importance (unless they were reused for burial). The relatively common use of oval brooches in the dramatic displays of funerary rites is still important, but more for the mnemonic abilities of oval brooches as a group, and less for the individual brooches. *How* brooches were used in funerary rites is of course crucial for how they evoked memories, and that is the focus of the next sub-chapter.

2.6 Use in burials

The preceding sub-chapter was concerned with the mnemonic potential of oval brooches, emphasizing relationships they were part of in life and of which memories *could* have been evoked during funerary rites. This does not automatically entail that memories *were* evoked. In this next part I will examine the use of oval

brooches in funerary rites, focusing on variations and what these could entail for the brooches' mnemonic functions. Due to the source situation, I have been heavily dependent on material closely connected to death when discussing life, like researchers before me (section 1.2.4). However, I have established that the oval brooches in the western settlements often demonstrate signs of use-wear and repair which means that they were commonly worn in life, and certainly not only in burials (section 2.4.1). They are also frequently found in ways that suggest they were worn with strap-dresses (section 2.4.3). Although oval brooches appear in many cases to have been worn in similar ways in both burials and in life, this cannot be seen as *reflecting* use in life, as this would imply passive and unthinking repetition of form. Instead, they can be seen as echoing other practices. No matter how oval brooches were used in funerary rites, they were also referring to other forms of use. There are some examples, which will be examined below, where oval brooches were used in noticeably different ways. These highlight the distinct nature of funerary rites, and cautions against a simple correlation between life and death. As will be discussed in the next chapter, funerary rites are ritual performances (chapter 3), and although they are in no way separated from lived experiences, their purposes could be quite different.

2.6.1 Non-normative use of oval brooches

In most cases where oval brooches are found in burials and where we have reasonably well-recorded find circumstances, they are found one below each collarbone. This is the case both in the western settlements (section 2.4.3) and in Scandinavia (Blindheim 1945:160; Jansson 1985:11) and is here referred to as *the norm*. This is sufficiently common to have eclipsed all other forms of use in most archaeological interpretations, and is generally assumed to be the case even when it cannot be verified by the material. However, in the burials from the western settlements this normative use of oval brooches is found along with what I will describe as a non-normative use of brooches. None of the accounts from Scotland definitely suggest deviations from the norm, but there are 24 cases where the placement of the brooches cannot be determined, in addition to the eleven instances of normative use (figure 29). In Ireland, there is one presumed normative case and one presumed deviant, whereas the remaining ten cases are uncertain. The English material consists of five graves and contain one deviant and two normative examples.⁵ There are two cases from Iceland where the brooches appear to have been worn in a normative manner, compared to five seemingly non-normative instances, and another 22 cases where the placement of the brooches is unknown. These numbers

5 One of the presumed normative cases from England, Cumwhitton may have contained a third oval brooch which was then used in a deviant way (see section 2.6.3).

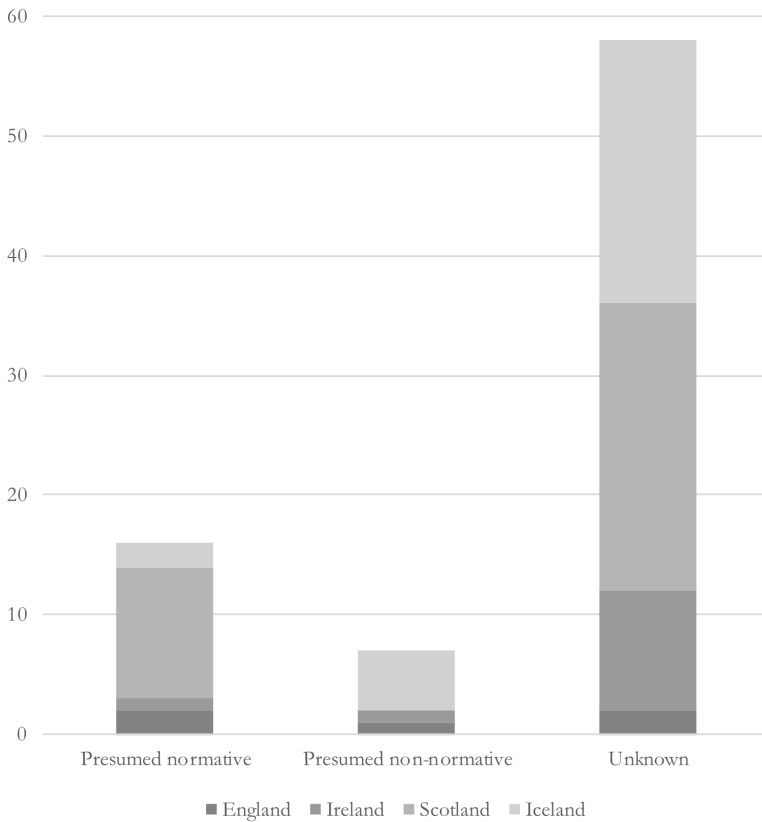


FIGURE 29 Graph showing the number of cases of normative and non-normative use of oval brooches from the western settlements.

are the result of careful reading of the excavation records, though due to the state of these records, there are few cases (both normative and non-normative) that can be considered definite. Some of the brooches in the unknown category also contain traces of textile loops which could suggest that they were worn with strap-dresses (section 2.4.3). Apart from in Scotland, where there are a considerable number of presumed normative cases and no deviant ones, there are so few burials where the placement of brooches can be determined, that any conclusions drawn from the material will be highly uncertain. The relatively high number of deviant burials from Iceland is noticeable, however. In the next sections I will examine the cases in which the oval brooches were used in deviant ways. I will first analyse the material in the different cases before discussing what the differentiations in use could entail for the brooches' abilities to evoke remembrance in funerary rites.

2.6.2 Use of other brooches

Although it is the oval brooches in themselves that are the focus of this chapter, I will first mention two instances without oval brooches in which other brooches have been used in a similar fashion to oval ones; at Kornsó in Iceland and at Càrn a' Bharraich on Oronsay in Scotland. At Càrn a' Bharraich a set of shrine mounts had been repurposed as brooches (figure 30). The record of the burial is rather confused, but there seems to have been a double burial of a man and a woman, or perhaps a triple burial.⁶ Several



FIGURE 30 Shrine mounts from Càrn a' Bharraich repurposed as brooches. © NMS



FIGURE 31 Tongue-shaped brooches from Kornsó. Source: National Museum of Iceland.

⁶ See appendix 1 for a more detailed account of the burial (B.ID 48).

boat rivets suggest that it could have been a boat burial. One of the skeletons had a repurposed shrine mount attached to the left collarbone, and the other ‘was subsequently found’, though it does not state where (M’Neill 1891:432). The shrine mounts would originally have been attached to a Celtic ‘house-shaped’ reliquary (Graham-Campbell and Batey 1998:116) and their appearance in a Viking Age burial is likely to be the result of Viking raiding.

The Kornsó grave is, by Icelandic standards, an unusually well-furnished grave with two tongue-shaped brooches (figure 31), thirty-three beads, a pin (possibly from a brooch), a bell, an iron cauldron, a scale pan, a set of shears, a weaving sword, a comb, a pair of tweezers, a knife, and some iron fragments. The record of the placement of the brooches in the grave is somewhat unclear. Eldjárn (2016:126) claims they were found at the right side of the body along with some other artefacts, but in the original report and in a later account based on this report, their position is not mentioned (Vigfússon 1881b; Kálund 1882:67-68). The presence of a set of similar brooches suggests that they might well have been used instead of oval brooches, though due to the uncertainties regarding their positioning in the grave, it is not definite. The brooches are in Jellinge style, suggesting a date in the tenth century, much in keeping with the other furnished Viking Age burials from Iceland. As the Kornsó grave is remarkably well-furnished, the lack of oval brooches is unlikely to result from a lack of means.

There are similarities as well as differences in the use of brooches between Càrn a’ Bharraich and Kornsó. The Càrn a’ Bharraich brooches are of Celtic origin, whereas the Kornsó brooches are a Scandinavian type, and likely to have been produced in Scandinavia. The Scottish brooches could have been used as a replacement for oval brooches, perhaps because the latter were difficult to attain. However, such an explanation would not explain the Icelandic case as there is no reason why the tongue-shaped brooches should be more readily available than oval brooches. Moreover, there are possible cases from Scandinavia as well, where alternative brooches might have been used with strap-dresses (Jansson 1985:11, fn1). The use of these brooches should perhaps not be seen as a second-rate alternative, but as a deliberate choice. The Càrn a’ Bharraich brooches, with their background as shrine mounts and their Celtic appearance, would have been citing different materialities, relationships, and ideas than oval brooches. These citational properties could have been the reason for their use. The Icelandic example is different both in date and the type of brooches used and there is no reason why we must assume similar reasoning behind the choice. Like at Càrn a’ Bharraich, however, the brooches would have had different citational properties than oval brooches, which could have rendered them suitable. In both cases, the biographies of the objects, and other people and objects they were associated with, could also have

been crucial. The brooches from both Càrn a' Bharraich and Kornsa were most probably worn with strap-dresses, a use for which neither type of brooches would have been particularly suited. The lack of oval brooches and the use of these alternatives, regardless of the reasons behind it, would presumably have been highly noticeable because of the obvious difference.

2.6.3 Use of three brooches

At the cemetery site of Cumwhitton in Cumbria, England, there is a burial where three oval brooches may have been interred in the same grave (grave 1) (B.ID 01). In the burial, a pair of oval brooches (P51B1) was discovered, and fragments of a third brooch (P23/24) were found in the surrounding ploughsoil (Paterson et al. 2014). There are five other graves from Cumwhitton and it is not clear which grave the third brooch belonged to. The excavators suggested grave 2 as the grave-goods indicated that this was a female grave and it did not contain any brooches (Paterson et al. 2014:46). All fragments are located closer to grave 1 than to any of the other graves, however (figure 32). One of the fragments of the brooch was discovered with a fragment of a belt buckle, another fragment of which was discovered approximately 1.1 m south of grave 1, which consequently seems to be the most likely origin for this buckle. The association of the oval brooch with the buckle is another indication that the oval brooch originally belonged to grave 1. This possibility was discussed by the excavators, but considered unlikely since grave 1 already contained a pair of oval brooches (Paterson et al. 2014:127-130). Although rare, there are cases where three oval brooches have been discovered in the same grave in Scandinavia. At Nes in Trøndelag, Norway (T13711), a pair of oval brooches was discovered next to each other, with a third slightly below them. Two of these brooches were of the same type, P37.6, whereas the third was of a different type, P25, which is likely to be earlier (Petersen 1928:22-25). Other cases include graves from Sårheim in Sogn og Fjordane (B10975) and Grande in Trøndelag (T16769), both also in Norway. These contained pairs of brooches of types P37.1 and P26 respectively. At Sårheim, there are fragments of what seems to be a third plain undecorated single-shelled oval brooch, and at Grande this is clearly the case. Petersen dates these undecorated brooches to pre-Viking Age or early Viking Age (Petersen 1928:5-8). These cases demonstrate that it would not be unique for there to be three oval brooches in a single grave. In all three Norwegian cases, the single brooch is apparently older than the pair, something which would also be the case at Cumwhitton. On the whole, grave 1 seems the most likely origin of the third brooch.

The oval brooches from Cumwhitton have not been examined in detail in the present study, but they are well described in the publication of the cemetery. The brooches making up the pair are both of type P51B1 and are so similar that it is

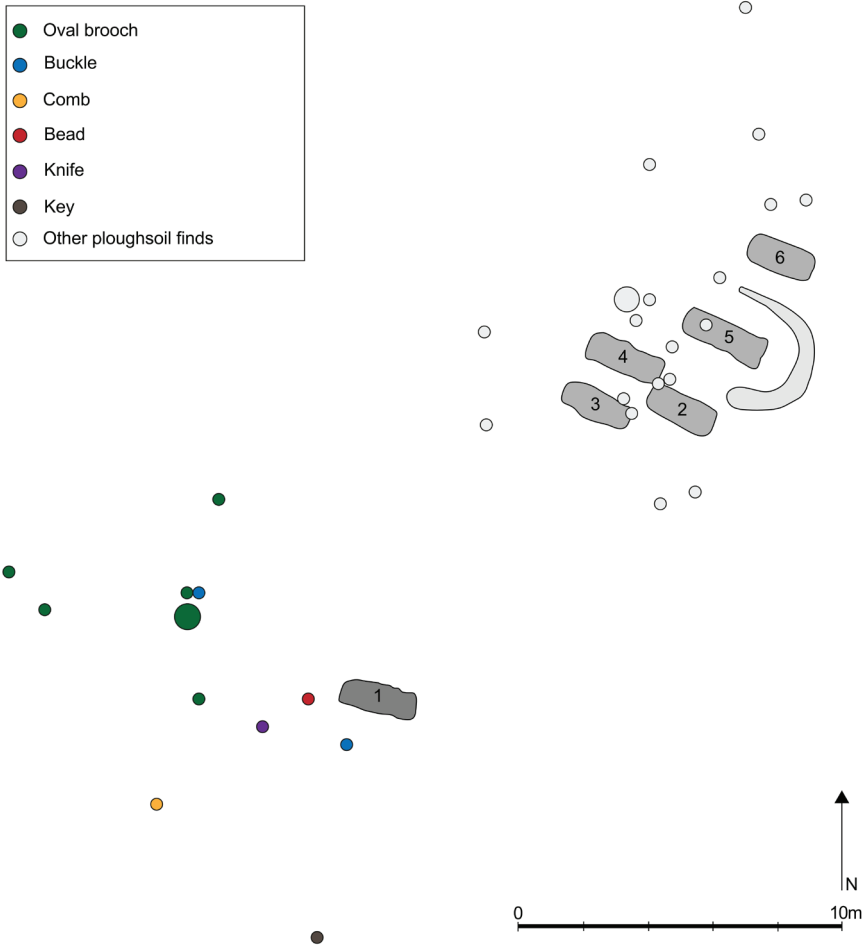


FIGURE 32 *Distribution of ploughsoil finds from Cumwhitton in relation to the graves. Redrawn by the author after Adam Parsons in Paterson et al 2014:44. © Oxford Archaeology Ltd.*

highly likely that they were manufactured as a pair. Neither show any signs of repair, but the bosses are worn (Watson et al. 2011:46), indicating that the brooches had been in use for some time before becoming part of the funerary dress. The third brooch is of Berdal type P23/24. Paterson et al. (2014:46) dates the brooch to the late ninth century on the basis of a comparison with the pair of brooches from Skógar in Iceland (B:ID 59). That pair, however, is likely to have been in use for an extended period of time before being deposited in a grave, and a date of production in the early ninth century is more probable (section 2.4.4). This would entail that the third brooch from Cumwhitton was made considerably earlier than the other two, which should probably be dated to the late ninth or tenth century. The Berdal brooch would have been old before it was deposited in the grave. As the fragmented brooch was discovered in the plough soil, it is impossible to say anything about

whether it was worn as a third brooch or placed in the grave afterwards. Some of the brooch fragments possibly show signs of having been subjected to heat, but this could also be explained by the effects of corrosion (Paterson et al. 2014:46). It is an interesting possibility that the brooch might have been treated significantly differently from the other artefacts at the cemetery, none of which demonstrate any signs of damage by heat. If the Berdal brooch was from grave 1, it is evident that it must have been in use for a considerable time before being interred in the grave; a period of as much as a hundred years is not unlikely. The brooch could possibly have been worn by the deceased, but it might equally well have been merely placed in the grave afterwards. These two scenarios could suggest different relationships between the brooch and the interred individual. The brooch might have had a specific object biography making it capable of evoking remembrances not possible by the other brooches, and this could have been emphasised by its differential treatment.

2.6.4 Use of single brooches

There are several cases where only a single oval brooch has been discovered instead of the more usual pair. Sixteen single brooches have been found in Iceland, though half of these lack context and might not be from burials at all. From Scotland there are seven, most of which are likely to be from burial contexts, but they are also very poorly recorded. In addition, there are metal-detecting finds of oval brooch fragments from England, but these are without context. From Ireland there could potentially be graves with a single oval brooch, but as the records of the burials from Kilmainham/Islandbridge are so poor, this is impossible to ascertain (section 2.4.2). Even in the cases where we have a single brooch from a definite burial context, it is very rare that we can say with any degree of certainty that there was originally only one brooch present. This is mainly because the finds are too poorly recorded, or because the burials have plainly been disturbed. In total, there are really only two cases, both from Iceland, where we can be fairly sure that originally only one brooch was present.

At the cemetery of Dalvík, one out of the fourteen graves contained an oval brooch (B.ID 70). It was excavated in 1909 and quite well recorded. The oval brooch was found below the chin of the skeleton, and according to the excavators, there was no reason to suppose that there was originally more than one brooch present (Bruun and Jónsson 1910:95). In this case, it seems possible that only one brooch was used, and this was placed at the throat of the individual. This placement would clearly suggest that it was not worn with the traditional strap-dress. The textile remains on the inside of the brooch are slightly confusing in this regard, however, as there are obvious traces of the remains of a braided cord, the likes of which would have been used for strap-dresses (figure 33).

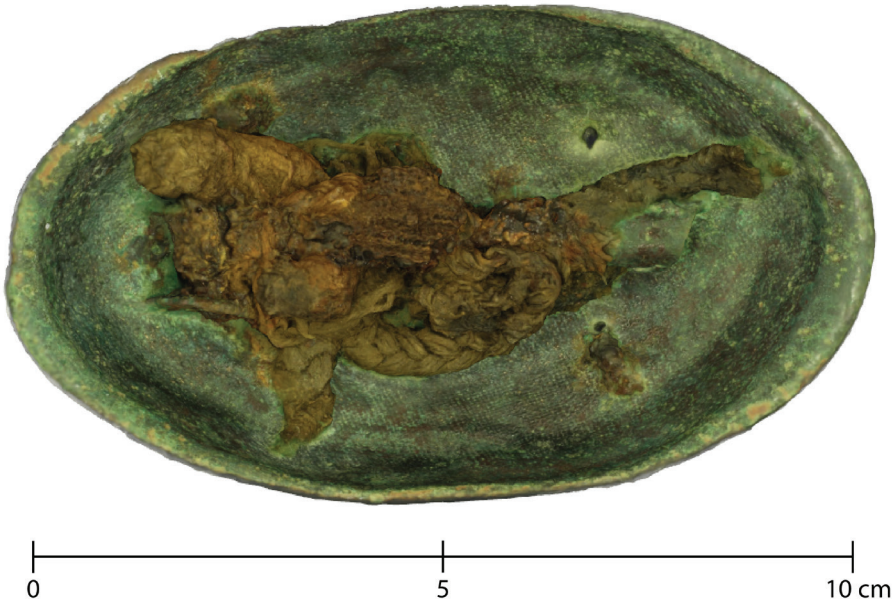


FIGURE 33 *Oval brooch 5960 from Dalvík, Iceland (B.ID 70) with remains of a braided cord. Illustration by the author. By kind permission of the National Museum of Iceland.*

The other case is from Reykjasel (B.ID 72) and was excavated in 1901, again by Daniel Bruun. By the time Bruun arrived, some of the artefacts, including the oval brooch, had been discovered and removed by the local farmer. Bruun (1903:18) suggested that the brooch was used to fasten a tunic or cloak, and that it could have been fastened at the chest or waist. Bruun was personally in favour of the latter interpretation, which is supported by the presence of metal staining on the lower ribs (Steffensen 1966:45). There were also significant textile remains found inside the brooch, and this time not in the form of braided cords, which again supports Bruun's interpretation. There were two pieces of thick woolen band, which had been attached (in what is called a strange fashion) to green thread. This thread had been in contact with copper-alloy, as it was stained with verdigris. At one side, the woolen bands were fastened to the oval brooch with the green thread, but at the other the pin seems to have pierced the woolen fabric (Bruun 1903:18). The textile remains are noticeably different from those normally found inside oval brooches. The brooch does not appear to have been used to simply pin folds of material together either, however. It seems to have been attached to some form of woolen band. At one side this was attached to thread which was used attached to the brooch, and at the other the pin seems to have pierced the woolen band itself. This might have made it possible for the brooch to function more or less as a belt clasp.

This placement of a brooch at the waist is rather unusual, but it is mirrored in a recent metal detector find from Denmark, depicting a figurine with a trefoil brooch placed at the waist (figure 34) (Vikingmuseet Ladby 2014). Parts of the Reykjasel grave had been disturbed, and there could potentially have been a second brooch present. However, the verdigris on the ribs and the textile remains inside the brooch suggest that this brooch was not worn with a strap-dress. It is possible that there are other examples of the use of single brooches among the several other poorly recorded examples of graves with only one brooch.



FIGURE 34 *Figurine with trefoil brooch at the waist. Image: Østfyns Museer, Danmark.*

In both cases examined here, the brooches appear to have been old. The upper shell of the Dalvík brooch seems to have been reattached, or more firmly secured with new iron rivets (section 2.4.1). It is possible that the Reykjasel brooch was repaired as well, though I have not included it in the group of repaired brooches. Whereas most brooches of type P51 have four rivets used to attach the upper and lower shells together, the Reykjasel brooch has eight; four underneath the loose bosses and four below them. Either method occurs on other brooches, but both at the same time are not common. All rivets are made of copper-alloy, however, which means there is no clear evidence for suggesting the brooch should not originally have been made this way. It is possible, however, that some of the rivets are secondary. The brooch itself is damaged, and this could have happened before deposition. The bosses are also noticeably worn, especially the central boss (figure 35).



FIGURE 35 *Oval brooch 4872 from Reykjaset (B.ID 72). Illustration by the author. By kind permission of the National Museum of Iceland.*

The brooches from both Dalvík and Reykjaset could have been heirlooms, and their use could have evoked remembrances of other people who had worn them. Both brooches are of tenth century type, and if they were old, it is possible that the Scandinavian strap-dress was not used as commonly anymore when the deceased were interred. We see oval brooches go out of fashion in Scandinavia towards the end of the tenth century (Jansson 1985:13). The use of a single oval brooch therefore needs not be a sign of the often discussed ‘poverty’ of the Icelandic burials (see Pétursdóttir 2009 for a critique). These cases do not necessarily reflect a periphery out of touch and unable to gain access to Scandinavian metalwork. Instead we should perhaps see the use of single oval brooches as deliberate and as a method of remembering.

2.6.5 Placed at the waist

There are two cases from Iceland where a pair of oval brooches are recorded as having been found at the waist of the individual: at Valþjófsstaðir, Norður-Múlasýsla (B.ID 73) and Álaugarey, Austur-Skaftafellssýsla (B.ID 79). The first was discovered around 1800 by the local priest, Vigfús Ormsson. The skeleton seems

to have been lying in a crouched position on one side. Several beads were found between the body and the head, a disc brooch was found in the chest area, and two oval brooches at the waist, assumed by Ormsson to have been attached to a belt (Kålund 1882:71-72; Ormsson in Eldjárn and Friðriksson 2016:224-225). With no further information it is difficult to ascertain if the brooches were indeed placed at the waist, if they had shifted after deposition, or if Ormsson was mistaken, perhaps due to the crouched position of the body. At Álaugarey, the placement of the artefacts in the grave was not recorded (Þórðarson 1936:32-34), but according to Jon Steffensen (1966:46), the verdigris staining on the bones suggests that one of the brooches had lain at the waist and the other at the upper left arm. As there was no staining on the ribs, it had presumably not lain on the chest. It is possible that both brooches were originally placed at the waist, but that one had moved after the burial. Textile remains on the inside of the brooches clearly indicate that they were worn by the deceased, and not simply placed in the grave (Þórðarson 1936:34). Although neither case is definite, they do raise the possibility that some people in Iceland were buried wearing a pair of oval brooches attached at the waist rather than at the upper chest. This placement would indicate that the brooches were not worn with strap-dresses, but were worn in a different fashion.

There are a number of cases from the western settlements where the presence of belts are indicated in graves with oval brooches, even though belts are not generally supposed to have been worn with strap-dresses (Blindheim 1947:119-121). These cases include at least one of the burials from Cumwhitton in Cumbria (B.ID 01) (Paterson et al. 2014:68-78), and two from Bhaltos (B.ID 41) on the Isle of Lewis in the Hebrides (MacLeod et al. 1916; Welander et al. 1987). Paterson et al (2014:76) suggest this could be a new mode of dress among Scandinavians in the British Isles. There is also an Icelandic grave where a belt buckle was found at the waist, at Daðastaðir, Norður-Þingeyjarsýsla (B.ID 71) (Eldjárn 1958:136). There are, furthermore, a number of burials where the location of other artefacts suggests that they might have been suspended from the waist (section 3.3.3), hinting at the presence of some form of belt. It is worth noting that the burials at Daðastaðir, Bhaltos (and possibly also the Cumwhitton burial) included oval brooches, and at least two sites where their placement was recorded they seem to have been worn at the upper chest. Although there are other instances where buckles are found in female burials in Iceland, these seem to belong to horse harnesses instead of belts, as they are generally of iron rather than copper-alloy, and are associated with burials with horses.

I have not been able to study any of the brooches placed at the waist in detail, which means it is difficult to say anything about their wear and thereby age. As argued with the use of single brooches, it is possible that we are dealing with late

burials after the use of the strap-dress was no longer considered appropriate, or that they did not have access to them. In either case, the use of the oval brooches is remarkable since the use of a pair of rather large brooches does not seem to be the most expedient way of attaching some form of dress or belt at the waist.

2.6.6 Fragmented brooches

Although the use of the oval brooches in funerary rites can generally be argued to echo use in life (section 2.6.1), this is not the case with these last examples. Oval brooches discovered in burials are quite often found in incomplete form, but it is difficult to ascertain if this is because fragmented brooches were placed in the grave, or because they were damaged post-deposition. In most instances, though clearly damaged, the brooches are more or less complete. There is at least one case from Iceland, however, where only a small piece of an oval brooch was discovered in the grave, from Brú, Biskupstungnahreppur in Árnessýsla in Iceland (B. ID 56) (Vigfússon 1881a) (figure 36). The grave was first discovered in 1876 by a ten-year-old girl and then later recovered by the local farmer. Part of the skull and some teeth were all that remained of the skeleton. There were several artefacts in the burial in addition to the already mentioned oval brooch fragment, including: a sword, two spears, an axe, a shield boss, 26 beads, a bell, a quernstone, rivets, iron fragments (possibly from a cauldron), a lead fragment, and the bones of a horse and a dog (Vigfússon 1881a:52-56). Nothing is known about the placement of the artefacts in the grave apart from that the shield may have been placed over the head (Vigfússon 1881a:56). Due to the grave-goods belonging to both traditionally male and female categories, this grave has been suggested as a double burial (Eldjárn and Friðriksson 2016:86), though it is here interpreted as the burial of a single individual (section 3.3.3). As the grave is poorly recorded and artefacts were removed from it at different times, it is possible that a complete brooch, or even a pair, was originally present. Several small beads and iron fragments are recorded, however, which suggests that it would be strange if no other fragments of a pair of oval brooches were recorded if these had been present.

There are at least two other cases from Iceland where only parts of the brooches remain. Only the upper and lower shell remain of the brooches from Norðurárdalur, Mýrasýsla (F.ID 07) and Rútsstaðir, Dalasýsla (B.ID 62), respectively (Eldjárn and Friðriksson 2016:108). In the former case we are dealing with a stray find, however, and in the latter it is also unclear if the brooch really was from a grave. Smaller fragments of oval brooches may not commonly have been recognised as such; hence, it is possible that the phenomenon of placing fragmented brooches in graves is under-recorded.



FIGURE 36 *Fragment of an oval brooch 1202 from Brú, Iceland (B.ID 56). Illustration by the author. By kind permission of the National Museum of Iceland.*

The possible use of fragmented oval brooches in burials could suggest that these brooches were treasured even after they no longer served any functional purpose. The fragment might have been part of an older brooch, perhaps an heirloom, and there are likely to have been other parts of the brooch in circulation. The fragment would in that sense have been a material citation of the other parts, the complete brooch, and presumably also of the person or persons it had once belonged to.

2.6.7 Placed back-to-back

In addition to the possibility of fragmented brooches, there are a couple of graves in which the oval brooches had evidently not been worn by the deceased, but where the brooches had been placed back-to-back (meaning the insides of the brooches opposing). The first and clearest example is from Claughton Hall in Lancashire (B.ID 03). The burial was excavated in the early nineteenth century by workmen building a road through a small hill or tumulus of sand (Jones 1849:74). The various descriptions of the find are rather bewildering, but the grave seems to have been a secondary Viking burial in a Bronze Age mound as various Viking Age artefacts were recorded along with a Bronze Age stone-axe and a ceramic pot containing cremated bones (Jones 1849; Kendrick 1936; Edwards 1969, 1998:14-15). Of artefacts clearly belonging to the Viking Age, there were; a sword, a spear, an axe, a hammer, two oval brooches, a silver plaque reused as a brooch, and two beads. No

skeletal remains were mentioned, but as the mound was said to have been made of sand, it is possible that the bones had disappeared in the acidic conditions. The artefacts seem to have been found in some sort of wooden container, possibly a coffin or a wood-lined cist (Edwards 1969:113, 1998:15). The two oval brooches had been discovered back-to-back, perhaps wrapped in cloth, and these contained the silver plaque and the two beads as well as a molar. These artefacts were evidently not worn by anyone, and it has been suggested that this was the burial of a man who had been accompanied by the sword, spear, axe and hammer, and that the other artefacts represent the symbolic, rather than actual, presence of a woman (Edwards 1998:15).⁷

There might be another instance of oval brooches being treated in this way from Reay, Caithness, in northern Scotland (B.ID 35). The site contained at least three burials, one of which was discovered in 1913 and contained a skeleton buried with a pair of oval brooches, a buckle, a spindle-whorl, and perhaps a ringed pin (Curle 1914:295). The brooches had apparently been placed face-to-face, but Colleen Batey (1993:152) noted that this presumably means the rear faces opposing, though she did not state why this should be the case. Jørgensen (1992:215) noted that there were indistinct textile remains around the pin fastener of one of the brooches, suggesting that it was attached to textile when it was placed in the grave. This would be difficult to account for if the brooches had been placed with the rear faces opposing. The body might have been placed in a crouched position (Curle 1914:295), and then most likely on one side. This positioning of the body would mean that if the brooches were worn by the deceased in the standard fashion, one of the brooches might have slid down and they might have ended up more or less face-to-face (fronts opposing). This would then explain the textile remains inside. Based on the present evidence, the second scenario is perhaps more likely and these brooches are therefore not interpreted as having been placed back-to-back here.

The third case is from Ballyholme, Co. Down (B.ID 07) in Ireland. The grave was discovered by workmen in 1903 who removed the artefacts not understanding their significance. The grave-goods consisted of a bronze bowl, heavily damaged by the workmen and with wool inside, and two oval brooches 'found at the bottom of the cutting, the hollow sides face to face' (Cochrane 1906a:451-452). No skeleton was noted, but some bones had apparently been found during the excavation. The workmen mistook the brooches for an old tobacco-box, which suggests that in this case the brooches really were found back-to-back.

⁷ There are notable similarities between the Cloughton Hall case and a burial from Kaupang where an oval brooch was used as a container for cremated remains (Blindheim 1981:205).

The use of oval brooches from Claughton Hall and Ballyholme departs considerably from the way oval brooches are commonly used. There is a significant distinction between artefacts worn on the body and artefacts placed there afterwards, a distinction I will elaborate on in the next chapter. It could indicate a different and far less personal relationship between the deceased and the brooches as has been suggested by, for instance, Edwards (1998:15) with reference to the Claughton Hall case.

2.6.8 Summary

Despite the generally poor record of find circumstances in the western settlements, there are evidently a number of cases where the oval brooches were used in the normative way, meaning one below each collarbone. This mode of use would echo the way the brooches were used in life. In fewer, but still a substantial number of cases, the brooches were used in other ways, however, and there are cases where the brooches, though apparently worn, were not used with strap-dresses. Oval brooches were particularly suited for use with the strap-dress, and their large size, as well as their domed size and recessed pin, would have made them less than ideal for most other forms of use (Ewing 2006:25). The wearing of oval brooches without strap-dresses is unlikely to have been the result of practicality. Yet in burials, they are found to have been worn as single brooches at the throat, and as single or a pair of brooches at the waist. The wearing of oval brooches in these ways did not necessarily echo use in life, however. As some of the brooches worn in unusual manner appear to have been old, they might have been buried with the deceased after the strap-dress had gone out of fashion. The use of other brooches in similar ways to oval brooches is, in a sense, an example of exactly the opposite. These brooches are likely to have been worn with strap-dresses, though they were not ideally suited for the purpose. Although the focus here is on oval brooches rather than the strap-dress, it is important to note that despite the fact that one seems to be made for use with the other, they can still occur separately. The oval brooches in the cases mentioned so far in this summary all appear to have been worn by the deceased, but there are also examples where the brooches were not worn at all. This could suggest a different relationship between the deceased and the artefacts.

From a memory perspective, it is important to emphasise the distinction between normative use and other forms of use. Although normative use must be seen as highly deliberate, it would not necessarily have been as visually striking as alternative ways, and thus not as memorable. Their visibility would also have depended on the performative aspects of their use (further developed in section 3.4). There is some tension regarding how the use of oval brooches in funerary rites related to their use in life, as there are essential differences. In the cases when the brooches were used in the normative way, we can assume that they were echoing everyday

practices, meaning that they became capable of evoking remembrance of these practices. This connection is not as evident in the cases where the brooches appear to have been used differently. On the other hand, it might be in these instances, when they were used in deviant ways, that they become the most noticeable. This could be seen as a play on similarities and differences where they were most likely to trigger remembrance when they were out of place. Seen in this light, deviations in the use of oval brooches would also draw attention to them.

2.7 Things remembered

One of the key premises of this chapter has been that the relationship between material culture and memory is one of practice. Like all other forms of material culture, oval brooches should not be regarded as passive containers for memories. It is through their use in various practices that they also gained the ability to evoke memories of these practices; through practice they became loaded with *mnemonic potential*. It is therefore crucial to study how oval brooches were used in life in order to understand what kinds of memories they could have evoked, or in other words, how they became mnemonic. An individual brooch would have been mnemonic because of the various types of practices it was associated with, or because of its object biography. It would also have been able to evoke memories as part of that specific group of artefacts through citation. The use of individual brooches was shaped by how the oval brooches as a group were normally used, though changes in individual usage could also have affected how future brooches were used.

With oval brooches in the western settlements, there seems to be quite a widely accepted norm, just like in Scandinavia. Oval brooches are generally discovered in pairs (section 2.4.2), and both traces of textiles, the detailed context of the brooches (section 2.4.3) and studies of costume indicate that they were worn with a specific type of dress and ill-suited for other use (Blindheim 1947; Hägg 1974:107-121; Ewing 2006). The traces of use-wear and repair on the brooches from the western settlements (section 2.4.1) demonstrate that these were certainly worn in life. The mode of dress with which the oval brooches were worn was common for a time period of at least 150 years and covered a large geographical area. This widespread and long-lasting custom suggests deeply ingrained notions of how oval brooches were supposed to be utilised. This does not have to mean that the reasoning behind their employment in individual burials was the same. As I have argued in this chapter, individual brooches could have had specific features or abilities, but they always related to the group.

Costume and personal adornment is a common way of creating and communicating social identities in all societies (Durham 1999; Arnold 2001:240,

2016). Deborah Durham (building on Mauss ([1935] 1973), Bourdieu (1977) etc.) argued that many forms of clothing, and in particular female clothing, “is a ‘technique of the body,’ a set of attitudes and dispositions to the self and world, a habitus” (Durham 1999:391). Dress structures the body, and it communicates cultural ideas about the wearer. These ideas are performed through the body, how it moves, how it is dressed, and so on. In this sense, people are shaped by their intimate relationships with dress accessories, but these are in turn shaped by the people who use them (Sørensen 2009:259). In this way, material culture does not simply function as a symbol of identities, it actively creates them. Oval brooches could, through their use, be seen as creating identities such as gender, ethnicity, age and status. However, that also means that they become signifiers of the same. They were used because they carried these connotations, but through their use they also became invested with them. They were citing identities and social roles with which they had become associated through use. This does not mean that all people buried with oval brooches were claiming these identities, but that the citational properties of the brooches could have been actively used in the funerary process.

How were oval brooches used then? They were undoubtedly mainly used by women, both in the western settlements (section 2.4.3) and in Scandinavia and they were also clearly of Scandinavian origin and do not seem to have been made in other areas (though there are later local variants in the Baltics (Spirģis 2007)). Not all women in the western settlements or Scandinavia were buried with oval brooches, however. There were certainly alternative modes of dress. This has led some scholars to suggest that oval brooches were worn by married women (Hayeur Smith 2004:74-75; Ewing 2006:39-42). This is possible, though it does, to a certain extent, assume that the meaning of oval brooches was concrete and uniform (section 1.2.7). The oval brooches, along with the dress with which they were commonly worn would have been part of communicating (as well as creating) social identities, particularly female identities. They might have communicated social roles, as well as social status. In the western settlements they could also have communicated connections with Scandinavia.

Through the oval brooches’ repeated use in standardized ways they came to carry unspoken connotations clear to those familiar with them. This means that oval brooches, as part of that group of artefacts, were loaded from the very beginning. They cited the previous use of brooches, which also means that they cited the notions that had become attached to these brooches, notions of gender, social role, and status. This does not mean that everyone buried with oval brooches belonged to comparable social groups, but that these notions were within the citational field of the oval brooches and could have been actively played upon.

Variations in use could therefore reflect and affect their citational properties. If we could identify differences between the regions in the west, or between the western settlements and Scandinavia, this could entail that notions associated with these brooches were changing. The material from both the western settlements and Scandinavia is generally quite poorly recorded, and there are no overviews of the use of oval brooches in Scandinavia. In general, however, oval brooches in the western settlements appear to have been used in much the same ways as in Scandinavia. Most were worn in what has here been referred to as the normative way (section 2.6.1), but there are individual cases suggesting that some brooches might have been used differently (section 2.6.3-2.6.7). The variations visible in the material from the western settlements are generally also found in Scandinavia. Based on the present material, there is nothing to suggest that the use of oval brooches changed considerably with the move from Scandinavia to the western settlements. Due to the poor resolution, it is too hazardous to argue that there are any significant differences between the settlements in the west. The material is small and the cases with well-recorded find circumstances even smaller. The only exception is with regards to chronology. It is evident that the brooches from Ireland are earlier than those from Iceland, with brooches produced mainly in the ninth and tenth centuries respectively, whereas Scotland, and perhaps England, have brooches from both periods (section 2.3.5). This distinction highlights the probable arrival of women from Scandinavia at different points in time in the western settlements. Although interesting, it means little for their mnemonic abilities, and the emphasis in this thesis has therefore not been on differences between regions.

One considerable issue when studying the use of oval brooches is that they are with few exceptions found in funerary contexts. This means that we know how they were used in death, but to what extent does this reflect use in life? A part of this chapter was concerned with examining traces of repair and use-wear on the oval brooches in order to determine to what extent the brooches were worn (section 2.4.1). As a substantial number of these brooches demonstrated these traces, I argued that oval brooches must have been worn often, perhaps on an everyday basis, and/or over a long period of time. This is a highly significant point as it clearly indicates that oval brooches were not only used in death, but also because this means that the brooches were tied up with repeated practices that would have rendered them mnemonic.

It is not as a group that oval brooches evoked remembrances in funerary settings, but as individual (or a pair of) brooches. However, as this use was citing the use of oval brooches in general, it is still crucial to see how they related to each other. A premise for this chapter has been that the ways individual brooches were used would have affected their mnemonic potential. By examining their object biographies

it could therefore be possible to study what kinds of relationships of use the oval brooches would have been part of. I argued that the oval brooches discovered in the burials were highly likely to have been personal belongings, often, though not necessarily always, of the person they were buried with (section 2.5.1). As personal belongings, they were more than just in the possession of an individual; they were intimately connected with a person. Through use, oval brooches became indelibly linked to their owner; they became inalienable, and the lasting effects of this relationship affected the way brooches were later used. There is very convincing evidence that oval brooches were used as heirlooms in the western settlements since many were clearly of significant age before they were deposited in the ground (section 2.5.3), and also that they might have played a part in gift-exchange as there are a number of non-matching pairs (section 2.5.2). They were used in these scenarios precisely because they carried their connection with their previous owner(s). The question then is what this means for their mnemonic abilities.

A premise for this chapter has been that objects attain the capacity to evoke remembrance in two main ways: through use in repeated practices, or in dramatic performances (section 2.1). Most brooches seem to have been part of repeated practices, since they appear to have been worn on a regular basis over an extended period of time, which means that they would have become capable of evoking remembrances of this use, of the person wearing them, and activities they were associated with. In this sense, the oval brooches could have evoked memories of specific individuals, though specific episodes of use might blur. If oval brooches were used as heirlooms and in gift-exchange, as this study suggests that they were, they might also have been associated with dramatic performances. This is far more difficult to prove, but as heirlooms they might have been passed on at a specific ceremony, for instance in connection with a funeral or a wedding. As part of the ceremony to form an alliance/friendship, gifts could have been exchanged. Performances like these are more likely to be remembered due to their dramatic sensory nature, and depending on the role of the oval brooches in these performances, these objects might have gained the ability to evoke remembrances of them.

Studying individual object biographies entails a shift from how oval brooches evoked remembrance as part of a group to how they did so as individual objects. These two different aspects of the artefacts were, of course, never really separable. Individual brooches would always have related to the group and, in that sense, cited a wider set of notions and ideas, but their individual biographies also meant that they could be mnemonic in more ways. Individual brooches could have evoked remembrances that other brooches could not have evoked. As personal belongings, the brooches would have been worn by one individual on a fairly regular basis, and the brooches could therefore have evoked memories of this use.

In this scenario, it is important not to equate use in life with use in death. In life, the wearing of oval brooches on an everyday basis might, because of its familiarity and expectedness, have left the brooches almost invisible. The funerary context is a very different scenario, however, as these were ritualised practices. The use of oval brooches in funerary rites would have cited the use of oval brooches in other settings. This also means that they were citing ideas and notions that had become associated with these brooches. They were, however, not citing these practices in the same ways. In many, if not most cases, the brooches were echoing ways they were used in life. This should not be interpreted as a passive reflection. Their use in the ritualised practices of funerary rites would have been clearly distinct. This is especially apparent when the rituals are viewed as practice. It is not just in what ways the brooches were used that is important, but also how this use occurs. The dressing of a dead body was clearly something different from the dressing of a living person. This performance aspect will be examined more closely in the following chapter (particularly section 3.4). The individual brooches could have evoked memories of the individual person and their life history. If the brooches were also heirlooms or part of gift-exchange, this might also have been remembered.

The section on object biographies dealt with what I called the mnemonic potential of oval brooches. It demonstrated that oval brooches were clearly tied up with many different forms of use, memories of which *could* have been evoked in funerary rites (section 2.5). Oval brooches became mnemonic through use, but it was also through use that remembrances were evoked. The subsequent section, therefore, went on to examine how oval brooches were treated in funerary rites, or in other words, how they could have evoked remembrances. I demonstrated that the normative way in which oval brooches are found is also likely to be most common in the western settlements, though due to the general poor record of find circumstances this cannot be definitely proven (section 2.6). Despite this, there are deviations from this norm. Several other ways of treating the brooches in funerary contexts were discussed. There are examples of the use of alternative brooches, three brooches, single brooches, brooches placed at the waist, fragmented brooches, and brooches placed back-to-back.

There are important distinctions between these types of use. One distinction is between use in life versus use in death. Another is between use with strap-dresses versus use without them. A third is between instances where the brooches were clearly worn by the deceased versus instances where they were not worn. When brooches were worn in standard ways in burials it is likely to have evoked remembrance of use in life as well. The use of alternative brooches instead of oval brooches, and the use of oval brooches worn in deviant ways are more difficult

to interpret. In neither case would the brooches have been particularly suited for wearing with that kind of clothing.

At both Càrn a' Bharraich and Kornsá another pair of brooches had been used instead of the oval brooches, but the individuals interred are still likely to have been wearing strap-dresses (section 2.6.2). It is conceivable that the absence of oval brooches could have been due to difficulties with attaining these, but it is also possible that the use of shrine mounts at Càrn a' Bharraich and the tongue-shaped brooches at Kornsá were highly deliberate. These brooches could have been employed because they were able to evoke different remembrances, either because of their citational properties or their object biographies. Whether it was a choice made out of necessity or not, it is likely to have been highly noticeable because it was unusual.

At Cumwhitton, where there seem to have been three brooches in a single grave, we clearly see an example of how different oval brooches were evidently not treated in the same way (section 2.6.3). Two of the brooches were likely worn with a strap-dress whereas the third was either worn in a different manner, or not worn at all, but rather placed in the grave after the deceased. This suggests that the brooches were not intended to serve the same function. The differential treatment could have rendered the third brooch more noticeable in the burial. As it was also clearly older than the other two, it might have been used differently because of its object biography. It was not its citational properties as an oval brooch that was important, but the remembrances that this specific brooch could evoke.

There are noticeable similarities between the use of the third brooch at Cumwhitton and that of the single brooches at Dalvík and Reykjasel in that single brooches were used in an alternative way (section 2.6.4), but there are also some obvious differences. At both Dalvík and Reykjasel, the brooches were clearly worn, and not with a strap-dress. We are again dealing with brooches that may well have been old and therefore had significant object biographies. However, as there were no other oval brooches in the graves, the citational properties could also have been crucial. As the brooches were old, they could have been citing modes of dress no longer fashionable. This could also have been the case with oval brooches placed at the waist (section 2.6.5). The examples of oval brooches worn in unusual ways are all from Iceland where furnished burials, and at least burial with oval brooches, seem to have been performed later than in the other areas here studied. The brooches might no longer have been used in life, hence were no longer associated with specific social roles or identities. Instead, their significance could be due to their specific object biographies; as old artefacts intimately associated with the dead person and their family, and perhaps also with ideas of a homeland where the brooches had been made. These remembrances would have been evoked through

citation; the brooches were citing earlier use, perhaps more forcefully when they were used in unusual ways. They might also have evoked remembrances through their materiality; they might have been obvious as antiques through their form, type, patina, and wear.

In the two final examples of use, the brooches were not worn at all, but placed in the grave in fragmented form (section 2.6.6) or back-to-back (section 2.6.7). This suggests a different relationship between the brooches and the deceased, and it is far from certain that they were personal belongings. This distinction between brooches worn and not worn might have played out clearly during the funerary performance, where in one case they were used to dress the body and in the other they were placed in the grave a later stage (as will be further discussed in chapter 3). The brooch fragment from Brú might have been part of a treasured heirloom, important because of the people with whom it was associated. The brooches from Claughton Hall also seem to be associated with a person other than the (potential) interred. The association of the brooches with other pieces of jewellery as well as a molar could suggest that they were referencing a specific individual.

These examples demonstrate quite clearly how oval brooches carried memories both as individual artefacts with distinct biographies, and because of their wider connotations as part of a larger group of objects. In the next chapter, I will place the brooches into a wider context and examine how the funerary rites in which they appear were performed.

Remembering people

When dealing with the topic of death and memory, it is of course necessary to take into account the individual deceased. The purpose of the present chapter is to examine how the deceased was remembered through funerary practices. The connection between remembering the deceased and funerary rites is not straight-forward. In the previous chapter, I argued that things could evoke remembrances of the deceased in funerary contexts because of their intimate connection. At the same time, things were also argued to evoke remembrance as part of a specific group of things due to their citational properties. These two ways for things to evoke remembrance are of course not mutually exclusive, but they are not necessarily overlapping either. This means that objects in burials cannot necessarily evoke remembrances of the deceased's life. Their purpose in the grave might be due to their citational properties rather than their connection with the deceased. This points to one of the common issues with archaeological interpretations of grave-goods: to what extent are they actually reflecting the life of the deceased?

3.1 Interpretative framework

In Viking Age archaeology, the connection between grave-goods and the interred individual is often viewed as unproblematic, and the artefacts are frequently viewed as personal belongings of the deceased, hence reflecting occupations and identities held in life (e.g. Dommasnes 1982; Graham-Campbell and Batey 1998; Paterson et al. 2014; Hedenstierna-Jonson et al. 2017). The burial is seen to produce an idealised version of the deceased, where specific parts of the social persona are highlighted for social or political purposes, but it is still essentially seen as a representation of the deceased (section 1.2.3-1.2.5). The approach taken here is that this view of the material does not sufficiently take into account the funerary

context, and in particular, the intended function of funerary rites (Section 1.3). The rites are meant to deal with the problem of death (Nilsson Stutz 2003). This has been described as a twofold problem; as the disappearance of a social persona and the appearance of a corpse (Nilsson Stutz 2008). This is a universal problem, but the ways in which it is dealt with is highly culturally specific and dependent on societal and cultural norms as well as beliefs about what happens after death.

Death is frequently seen as a transition from one state of being into another, from a living social personae to another form of being, for instance, as an ancestor or a ghost (van Gennep 1960; Hertz 2004 [1907]). Funerary rites are then meant to transform the dying into this new kind of being (Fowler 2013; Gramsch 2013; Robb 2013). Such an approach to death entails that the funerary rites first and foremost become forward-looking rather than backwards-glancing. They are more concerned with the future than they are with the past. This view of death and funerary rites as transformative is the premise for this chapter, and it has serious implications for the ways archaeologists can interpret burials. Their main function is not to display the deceased's identities and social roles, not even in an idealised form, but to create new identities and social roles for the deceased suitable for their new existence. This does not exclude a connection between the lived life of the deceased and their new existence, but this connection cannot be assumed a priori. Factors of the deceased biography such as gender, age, status, occupation, and ethnicity, factors that are commonly the subject of analysis in Viking Age mortuary archaeology (section 1.2.3-1.2.6), are likely to have been highly important for the choice of funerary rites and corresponding material culture. Exactly *how* they affected the rituals is a different question, however. Within the present corpus and to a large extent within Viking Age burial archaeology generally, information about the individual deceased is frequently lacking. There are few graves where skeletal remains have been preserved and examined in any degree of detail, which means that we know very little about the individual's actual life. Stories about the dead in life are often created by archaeologists from the grave-goods alone, though these might have served a very different purpose in funerary rites.

Questioning the connection between grave-goods and the lived life of the deceased has clear implications for how we can discuss the memory of individuals from the remains of funerary rites. Some artefacts, like many of the oval brooches discussed in the previous chapter, were in all likelihood personal belongings of the deceased and their use in funerary rites could have evoked remembrances of situations in which they were used and, in that way, served the function of remembering the individual deceased. This was not always their function, however, and perhaps never their primary function in the rituals. Instead, they were part of transforming the deceased into something new (Fowler 2013). Although the

present chapter will, to a certain extent, examine how the funerary rites could evoke remembrances of the life of the deceased, it starts from the assumption that they were not first and foremost remembering the deceased, but re-remembering them, or in other words, transforming them into a new kind of being (section 1.3.2). The following discussion cannot therefore deal with biographies, i.e. accounts of lives, but rather with *thanatographies*, accounts of deaths.

Examining how individuals were re-remembered differently as a result of their individual life histories would be a worthwhile topic to pursue, but for most cases in the corpus, and for most Viking Age burials in general, this is not possible. With new methods and new material this could increasingly become a possibility. The skeletal remains could give more information about sex, age at death, diseases and injuries, cause of death, family relationships, place of origin, and to a certain extent even personal appearance. These factors are very likely to have affected how the deceased were re-remembered, but we cannot know a priori which factors would have had an effect under which circumstances.

In this thesis, funerary rites are seen as culturally specific social responses to universal biological changes meant to transform the deceased (Metcalf and Huntington 1991; Nilsson Stutz 2003, 2008; Robb 2013). Using them to discuss identities and social roles of the deceased is fraught with difficulties. The rituals are future-oriented, but that does not mean that this chapter aims to deal with the kind of being the deceased is meant to become. This would entail stepping into areas of beliefs and meanings the material is not necessarily well-suited to explore (section 1.3.1). This chapter, therefore, has a more practical and pragmatic aim centred on practice. It asks the question: *how were the dead treated*, and argues that the various practices involved affect – and reflect – the way the deceased were re/membered. This entails examining the practices surrounding the death of an individual that can be traced in the material. Nilsson Stutz (2003) has demonstrated the value in such a detailed examination of the treatment of the deceased in individual cases, but also how these cases relate to normative practices. Through such an examination she has been able to reveal considerable information about how ritual practices were performed. The core of Nilsson Stutz methodology, *anthropologie de terrain*, is the study of human remains. Due to the nature of the material from the western settlements, such a study is not possible here. Skeletal remains are too rarely recorded. Nevertheless, I will attempt to emphasise the role of the deceased, as they were the catalyst for the rituals. The purpose is not to examine identities or social roles created for the deceased, but rather to examine norms and variations in the ritual treatment of the dead, including, but not limited to, the use of grave-goods.

Viking Age burials in the west have often, and fruitfully, been used to explore aspects of life in the western settlements (section 1.2.4). This chapter, however,

is more explicitly concerned with death, and with what burial practices can tell us about death and dying in the Viking Age settlements. I will examine norms and what these can tell us about how death was viewed. Any norms discovered in the present corpus will not necessarily be valid for other graves in other areas, particularly as the burials with oval brooches are a particular sub-set of burials. The previous chapter pointed out considerable variation in the use of oval brooches in burials, demonstrating that their inclusion was a deliberate choice and not simply an automatic response to the circumstances. The present chapter will examine the funerary context in which the brooches appear in greater detail. This will help shift the attention from grave-goods as the defining feature and most important part of the burial, to a perspective where grave-goods are a part of much more complex rituals. The Viking Age funerary rites were of course far more complex than what will be discussed here. Written sources describe many practices associated with death and burial (e.g. Montgomery 2000), but this chapter will only include those practices that can be traced materially in the corpus.

3.1.1 Methods and structure of the chapter

This chapter intends to study ritual treatment of the dead, in an attempt to answer the question: how was the deceased remembered through funerary rites. In order to do this, I will attempt to trace ritual practices in the corpus by examining what was done and, if possible, the sequence in which practices were performed. Despite an increased focus on the body in archaeology (Joyce 2005; Devlin and Graham 2015; Nilsson Stutz 2018), the study of Viking Age burials in the west has mainly been concerned with grave-goods (section 1.2), and relatively little attention has been paid to the body of the deceased. This is undoubtedly partly due to the source material, as skeletal remains have rarely been preserved or recorded (chapter 1.2.1-1.2.2). In this chapter, I will attempt to shift the focus towards the body as far as it is possible. Treatment of the body will be examined in itself, but I will also attempt to relate other factors more directly to the deceased body, such as the internal structure of the grave and the use of grave-goods. The external grave structures and how the graves were placed in the landscape will also be analysed, though not necessarily in direct relation to the body. Part of the purpose of this chapter is to attempt to establish whether or not there were norms in funerary treatment for burials with oval brooches in the western settlements, and also, to assess how individual cases related to them. The latter both in terms of deviations from norms, and also variations within them. This approach is inspired in parts by the above-mentioned work of Nilsson Stutz (2003) which emphasised the importance of norms, and also by Williams's (2006) study of Early Medieval funerary rites in Britain. Utilising well-recorded case-studies, Williams examined different

features of the funerary rites, treatment of the body, use of grave-goods, internal structures, use of monuments, and placement in the landscape.

In order to discuss the ritual treatment of people buried with oval brooches, I have examined the published records available for each individual grave and created a database of the burials with oval brooches. This database recorded factors such as inhumation or cremation, body position, alignment, sex, age, container, and above ground markers. Details about the location of the burials were also recorded; whether they were single burials or part of cemeteries, if they were near rivers, roads, the shore, settlements, borders, or Christian sites, if they were placed on higher ground, and if there is evidence of the reuse of earlier archaeological features. In addition to the above-mentioned factors, grave-goods were also recorded, both in terms of what types of artefacts they were, and where in the burials they had been placed. Using a database such as this runs the risk of concealing variation in the material by breaking the material down into manageable categories. The database has therefore mainly been used to create an overview of the corpus. In order to analyse the various features of ritual treatment observable in the material, it has been necessary to continuously return to descriptions of the individual graves, which has been the purpose of the catalogue (appendix 1). Although information on only a few of the factors recorded in the database are available for the majority of burials, by utilising all the graves with oval brooches, it becomes possible to trace the recurrence of specific practices and thereby possible to identify the presence of norms in the material. In order not to reduce the burials to their many components, I have used the better documented graves to examine how the various features of the ritual treatment of the dead intersect in specific instances. This allows for a dialogue between norms and individual cases.

At times, the burials with oval brooches will be compared with Viking graves in the western settlements more generally, which warrants an explanation of the premise for including burials in this category. All the graves containing Viking Age Scandinavian material culture have been included, though burials without explicitly Scandinavian grave-goods are at times included as well. The graves included generally contain grave-goods, but this has not been followed as a hard and fast rule, and has rather been implemented on a case by case basis. Burials without grave-goods have been included in some instances where they are found with other furnished graves, and certain graves with grave-goods have not been included, for instance, graves in churchyards with a minimal amount of grave-goods. No compilation of Viking burials from the western settlements will ever be definitive, though for the purposes of this thesis, the inclusion or exclusion of individual graves is not of central importance. I have mainly followed the descriptions in existing catalogues: Eldjarn and Friðriksson's (2016) *Kuml og Haugfé* (3rd edition) for Iceland, Harri-

son's and Ó Floinn's *Viking Graves and Grave-Goods in Ireland* (2014) for Ireland, and Harrison's catalogue (2008) of the English and Scottish graves. For Scotland, I have also reviewed the evidence for each individual grave.

In the following section I will present an overview of burials with oval brooches from the different areas, introducing and evaluating the material while pointing out some general trends (section 3.2). I will then continue with an analysis of ritual practices visible in the material (section 3.3), focusing on the above-mentioned features of treatment of the body (section 3.3.1), internal structure of the grave (section 3.3.2), use of grave-goods (section 3.3.3), external structure (section 3.3.4), and placement in the landscape (section 3.3.5). This section will also highlight trends and variations in the material (summarised in section 3.3.6). Four thanatographies will then be presented where I will examine how the different features of the funerary practices conjointly work to re/member the individual deceased (section 3.4). Lastly, there will be a summary and discussion of the findings of this chapter (section 3.5).

3.2 Burials with oval brooches in the west

The purpose of this sub-chapter is to describe the corpus of burials from the study area. I will present the numbers of graves from each area, comment on the quality of records, compare them with Viking burials in the area generally, remark on their location and geographical distribution, and briefly discuss the number and types of artefacts commonly found in the graves. I have identified a total of 81 burials with oval brooches from Britain, Ireland and Iceland, 39 of which are classified as definite burials, 26 as probable, and 16 as possible. The definite burials are those where there are references to skeletal remains, or the artefacts are convincingly stated to have come from a grave. The probable burials are often described as graves, but there is no clear evidence for it. They include all finds of pairs of oval brooches, as a grave seems the most likely context for such a find. The possible burials are in general very poorly recorded. They include all finds of (reasonably) complete oval brooches that have been recovered as single brooches. These are sometimes associated with other artefacts, though it is far from clear that they form a grave assemblage. One example of such an uncertain find included in this thesis is from an unknown location on the island of Mull in the Inner Hebrides (B.ID 47). With reference to another pair of oval brooches, the owner had noted that "similar brooches, one or more, were found in Mull, and were lately in the possession of Lord Northampton at Torloisk, where I saw the things in August 1877" (Anderson 1880:72).

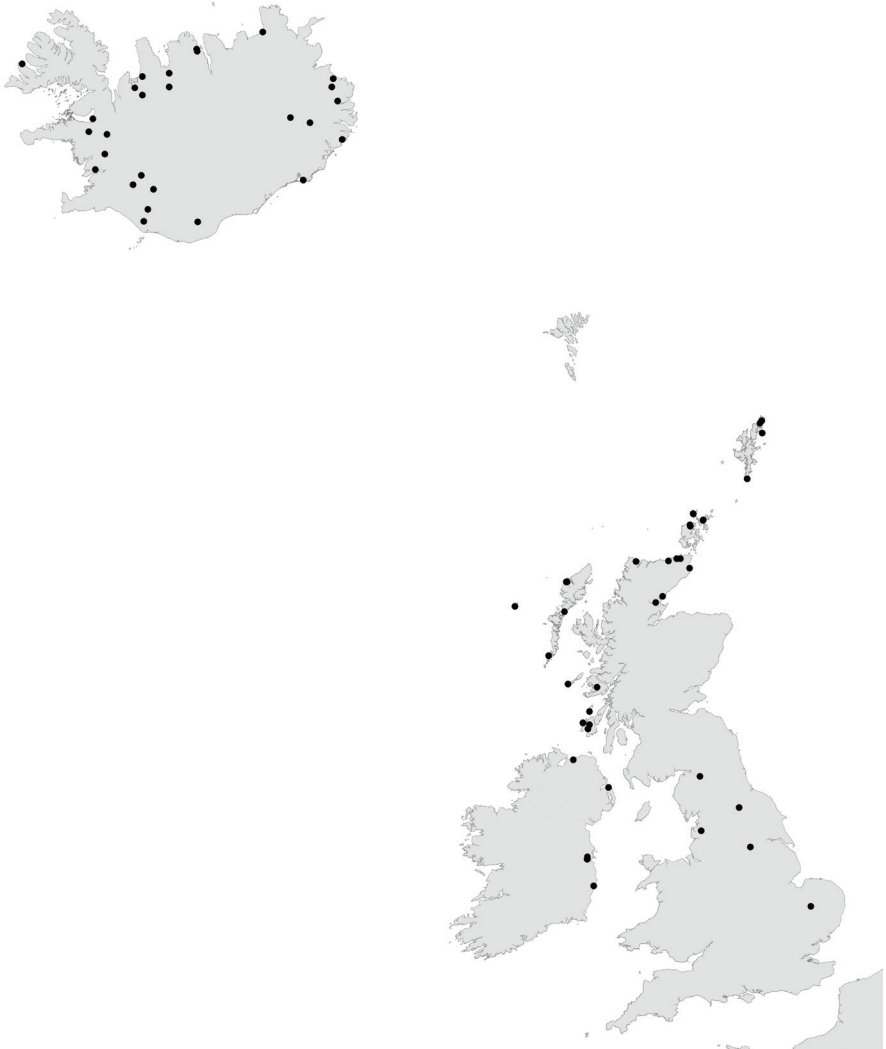


FIGURE 37 *Distribution map of burials with oval brooches from Britain, Ireland, and Iceland. Illustration by the author.*

3.2.1 Burials from Scotland

The exact number of burials with oval brooches from Scotland is debatable as it depends on both what is interpreted as a burial, and, on occasion, what is interpreted as an oval brooch. The quality of the records varies considerably. In total, I have identified 35 burials with oval brooches from Scotland. Of which, 20 are classified as definite, six as probable, and nine as possible burials. There is one find of a fragment of an oval brooch that is not included as a grave. This is a fragment

of a P42 brooch from Mangerstadh on Lewis in the Outer Hebrides (F.ID 05). This was discovered along with a number of unstratified finds between 1974 and 1976 (Carson 1977:370). There was also abundant shell and bone material which has led to suggestions that it came from a midden (Harrison 2008:483).

These 35 graves are out of a total of approximately 150 Viking burials from Scotland. The exact number depends on the highly debateable definition of what constitutes a Viking burial (section 1.2.3). I acknowledge 157 possible burials, out of which 50 are classified as female or probably female, either based on osteological

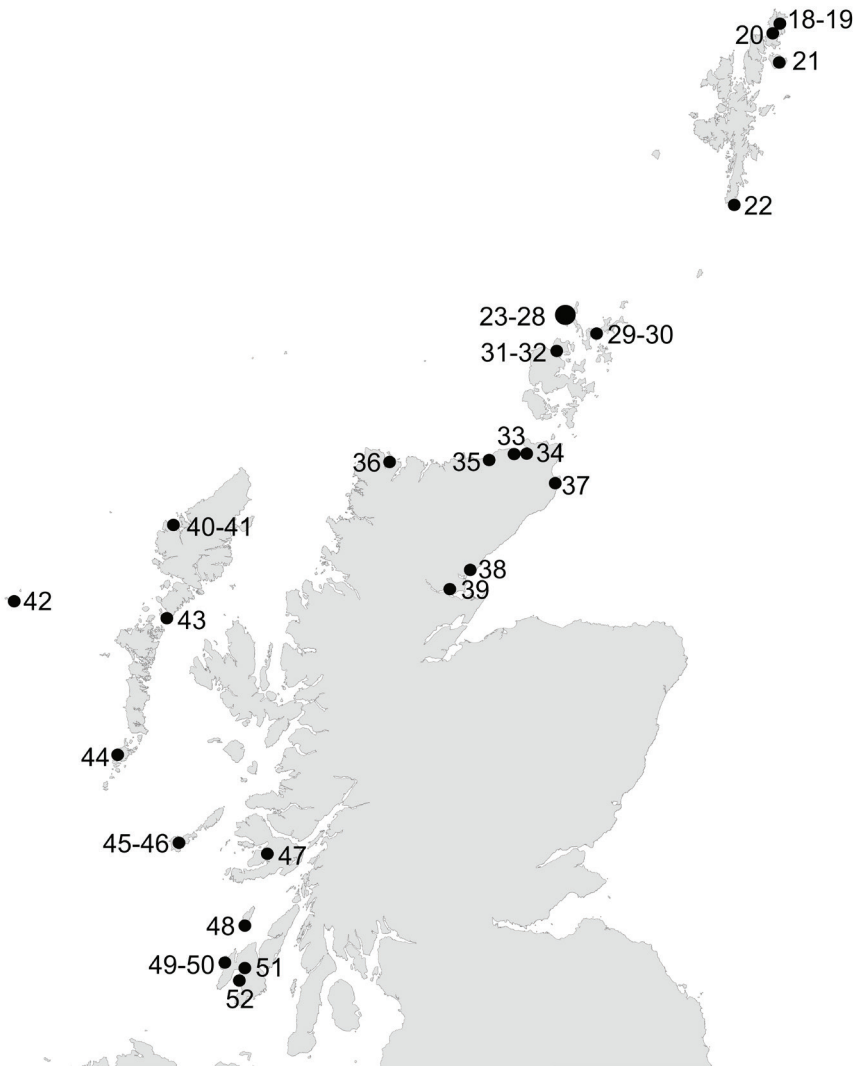


FIGURE 38 *Distribution map of burials with oval brooches from Scotland. Illustration by the author. Numbers refer to B.ID (see appendix 1).*

sexing or grave-goods, and 54 are classified as male or probably male on the same grounds. This means that burials with oval brooches make up 22% of the burials total and approximately 70% of the presumed female burials (as all the burials with oval brooches from Scotland are presumed to be female).

There is a distinct, and often commented upon, lack of cremation graves in the corpus of Scottish Viking burials and burials from the western settlements more generally (e.g. Shetelig 1954:88-91; Eldjárn 1984; Graham-Campbell and Batey 1998:144). Out of the 35 graves with oval brooches from Scotland, only one, from Lamba Ness on Sanday in Orkney (B.ID 29), has commonly been referred to as a cremation grave (Graham-Campbell and Batey 1998:57). However, the brooches were clearly attached to cloth and the distance between them corresponds well with having been used with a strap-dress, meaning that this is not a definite cremation burial (see section 3.3.1).

Body position has been recorded only in six instances, but there are also some cases where it can be construed from other information such as size and shape of the grave cut and placement of grave-goods. There are eleven cases in total where something can be said about the positioning of the body (see section 3.3.1). Most seem to have been supine or slightly to one side, though there is also one probable prone burial, and some that had been lying on the side. Extended (or slightly flexed) is most common, but there also seem to have been instances of crouched and flexed burials. Alignment is noted in ten instances, but there is little to suggest a pattern. The majority seem to have been oriented north-south or south-north, but as five of these are from the same cemetery, this is unlikely to be representative of the burials at large. Six of the burials seem to have been stone-lined or in stone cists, one underneath a flagstone, and one or possibly two were boat burials. Nine burials were possibly placed under mounds and two have been associated with standing stones. Twelve were found in cemeteries and another five seem to have been associated with other burials. Apart from the clear majority having been found near the sea and often near good landing sites for boats, which is hardly surprising since they are mainly located on the northern and western Isles, there are no clear patterns as to how they were related to other features in the landscape, though quite a few were associated with reuse of ancient monuments.

The burials are distributed throughout northern and western Scotland (figure 38), and the distribution corresponds well with the distribution of Viking burials in general (see Graham-Campbell and Batey 1998:115). At twelve of the sites there is at least one other burial with oval brooches in close proximity, though not necessarily in the same cemetery.

TABLE 6 *Types of artefacts occurring in more than one Scottish grave with oval brooches. The numbers in brackets include possible instances.*

Artefact type	No of graves
Beads	10
Ringed pins	7 (10)
Dress pins	6 (7)
Penannular brooches	2
Trefoil brooches	2
Armings	3
Chains	2
Textile equipment	9
Combs	7
Buckles/strap-ends	6
Knives	5
Sickles	4 (5)
Whetstones	3

Among other types of objects frequently discovered in burials with oval brooches, other types of jewellery are most common; particularly beads and ringed pins, as well as other forms of dress pins (table 6). There are also other types of brooches used more rarely, for instance; penannular brooches, trefoil brooches. There is also a single round brooch. Armings of jet or lignite (or shale) have also been found in three graves. Combs occur quite frequently, as do buckles and/or strap-ends. There are also a number of different types of tools in graves; there are 19 different artefacts related to textile work from nine different burials. Knives, sickles, and whetstones are relatively common as well. In addition, there are a number of artefacts that only occur in one or two burials. None of the burials with oval brooches from Scotland contain weaponry.

The average number of artefacts in the graves are 4.7, but this includes very poorly recorded burials. If we exclude the very poorly recorded graves (15), the average number of artefacts becomes 5.7, and the median is five. These numbers are not intended as indicators of wealth, but rather to describe the material in its current form.

3.2.2 Burials from Iceland

As in Scotland, the exact number of Icelandic graves with oval brooches is debatable. This is because it is not clear what should be considered a burial, and what is a stray find. As mentioned, all finds of complete oval brooches have here been

interpreted as graves, whereas single finds of oval brooch fragments have been excluded. This means that I have included 29 burials with oval brooches, which is five more than included by Eldjárn and Friðriksson (2016), who excluded finds of single brooches with no other context. Out of these 29, eleven are counted as definite, twelve as probable, and six as possible. The probable graves include a disputed grave from Vestdalur (B.ID 77) which, although clearly associated with skeletal remains, might have been the result of an accident rather than a deliberate deposit (see Þórhallsdóttir 2018). Four finds of fragmented oval brooches have been excluded as burials, as these might also have been discarded or lost (appendix 2).

In the latest edition of *Kuml og Haugfe* (Eldjárn and Friðriksson 2016), 316 graves were recorded from 157 sites. Since its publication there have been new finds of Viking Age furnished burials in Iceland. Out of all the graves, approximately 20% are classified as female or probably female based on grave-goods or osteology, and 37% male on the same grounds. When excluding the ungendered burials, approximately 65% are male or probably male and 35% are female or probably female. If only the osteologically sexed burials are included (which account for 108 burials), 68% are male or probably male and 32% are female or probably female (Friðriksson in Eldjárn and Friðriksson 2016:625). The burials with oval brooches make up about 9% of the total number of graves and approximately 40% of the female or presumed female burials.

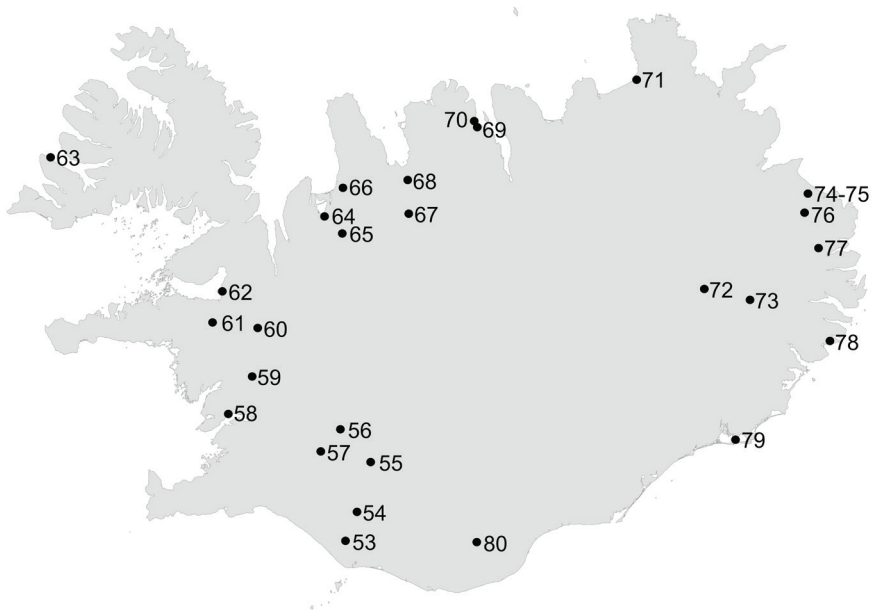


FIGURE 39 *Distribution map of burials with oval brooches from Iceland. Illustration by the author. Numbers refer to B.ID (see appendix 1).*

None of the burials with oval brooches from Iceland are from cremation graves, and there is only one potential cremation grave from the entire country (see Byock and Zori 2012). As with the Scottish material, other information about the graves, such as alignment, body position and so on, is rarely recorded. In the few cases where this is recorded, there is no clear pattern. With reference to alignment, it seems more common for the head to be placed in the south, southwest, or west (five out of six cases). This is also noted by Friðriksson (in Eldjárn and Friðriksson 2016:625) as by far the most common for Icelandic burials overall. Unlike in Scotland, the sex and age of the individuals buried with oval brooches have been osteologically determined in six instances, where all were determined as female or probably female with their ages ranging from between 17-25, to over 45 (Gestsdóttir 1998). Nine of the burials were discovered at sites where there were more than one burial present. It is likely that this might well have been the case for several of the other burials, but their locations and find circumstances are often not recorded. One third of all the burial sites from Iceland contain more than one burial (Friðriksson in Eldjárn and Friðriksson 2016:622), though the real number is likely to be higher. None of the burial sites in Iceland contain more than one burial with oval brooches, though there are two sites (Dalvík (B.ID 70) and Hrísar (B.ID 69)) that are only slightly over 3 km apart. In his doctoral thesis, Friðriksson (2013) studied the placement of Icelandic burials in the wider landscape and concluded that they are often placed near roads or borders, and not far from settlements, but normally outside the borders of the home field. This is clearly the case with the subset of burials that contain oval brooches as well. Of those that Friðriksson was able to locate with any degree of certainty (15), two thirds seem to be associated with roads and over half were found near borders.

The burials with oval brooches are spread throughout the country (figure 39). If compared with the distribution of burials in Iceland more generally (see Vésteinsson 2011), it is apparent that most areas with clusters of burials also contain burials with oval brooches. There are some exceptions, however. Burials with oval brooches seem to be comparatively rare in northern Iceland where there are many burial sites, and comparatively common in the west where there are overall quite fewer graves.

TABLE 7 *Types of artefacts occurring in more than one Icelandic grave with oval brooches. The numbers in brackets include possible instances.*

Artefact type	No of graves
Beads	9
Ringed pins	3
Trefoil brooches	6
Round brooches	5

Artefact type	No of graves
Armring	2
Textile equipment	4
Combs	2
Knives	3 (4)
Bowls	2
Horses	7
Dogs	2

‘Other items of jewellery’ is the category of objects most commonly found in burials with oval brooches, particularly; beads, but also trefoil brooches, round brooches, ringed pins, and more rarely armrings (table 7). There is also a single penannular brooch. Animal remains are common from Icelandic burials in general, especially horses, which are the most common form of grave-good from Icelandic burials (Eldjárn and Friðriksson 2016:628). This clearly stands out in comparison with other areas of the western settlements, and it has also been argued to be much more common in Iceland than in Scandinavia, though Rúnar Leifsson (2018) has recently argued that it is significantly more common in Norway than has previously been thought (e.g. Sikora 2003). Horses are found in seven of the burials with oval brooches, making them more common than artefacts such as knives, combs, or all of the forms of textile equipment combined. Weapons are found in one burial also containing a fragment of an oval brooch, as well as a number of beads. The average number of artefacts is 4.4. Excluding the very poorly recorded graves (which accounts for 16) this number rises to 7.3 with a median of seven.

3.2.3 Burials from England

There are five burials with oval brooches from England. Four are classified as definite and one as probable. It is possible that there are six, depending on whether a third oval brooch from the cemetery of Cumwhitton is interpreted as belonging to the same grave as the other two or from a separate grave. In the present thesis, I have assumed that this third brooch belongs in the burial with the other two brooches (section 2.6.3). In addition to these, fragments of four oval brooches have been discovered through metal detecting (see Kershaw 2013:99-100), but these are not included as burials here. The total number of burials from England is perhaps even more difficult to estimate than those from Scotland and Iceland as it is very unclear what should be considered a Viking burial. This is particularly difficult in England, as poorly recorded Viking burials could be confused with earlier (and perhaps contemporary) Anglo-Saxon graves. Harrison (2008:527-604) counted 105 possible graves, though this included very uncertain cases such as burials in

churchyards with minimal amounts of grave-goods such as a single coin or pin. It is far from clear whether these are all 'Viking' graves (e.g. Halsall 2000). Others researchers have been far more careful, suggesting, for instance, a maximum of 25 sites (Richards 2004:189). Some of these sites, particularly Repton and Heath Wood, contain multiple burials (the total amount is unknown), however, and some more recent finds, such as the cemetery of Cumwhitton, are not included. These numbers are therefore rather difficult to compare with Iceland and Scotland.

Building on the numbers suggested by Harrison alongside his description of the graves, over half of the graves are presumed male based on grave-goods or osteology, compared to approximately 15% female on the same grounds. This means that burials with oval brooches account for less than 5% of the total number of graves. Two of the burials with oval brooches from England also contain weapons. One of these, from Claughton Hall (B.ID 03), is often interpreted either as a male burial or as a double grave (Edwards 1998; Harrison 2008:537-538), whereas the second has been interpreted as a double burial (e.g. Bjørn and Shetelig 1940:13), though no skeletal material was discovered in the first case, and only one skeleton in the second. The uncertainties regarding whether or not these graves should be included as female graves has resulted in a percentage of graves with oval brooches out of the total of female graves ranges that falls between 18-30%. This could suggest that burial with oval brooches was more rarely practiced in England than in Scotland or Iceland.

Cremation burials are not as elusive in England as they are in Iceland (and to a lesser extent Scotland), though inhumation is still far more common. None of the burials with oval brooches seem to be from cremation graves. Skeletal remains are specifically mentioned in four cases. Although not mentioned in the last case (Claughton Hall), there is nothing to suggest that it was a cremation grave either. Two of the oval brooch burials from England were excavated by archaeologists in the last 20 years, and the available information is much more detailed. In both cases, the skeleton seems to have been buried supine in an extended position, though very little skeletal remains survived from Cumwhitton. Two of the burials with oval brooches from England have previously been described as double graves, though they have here been interpreted as single graves (section 3.3.3), and one is from a definite cemetery. It is uncertain if the others are associated with further Viking Age burials. Accepting that the three oval brooches from the cemetery of Cumwhitton have come from the same grave, no site contains more than one burial with oval brooches. Four of the burials seem to have been in the near vicinity of rivers or streams, and at least two were discovered close to older roads.



FIGURE 40 *Distribution map of burials with oval brooches from England. Illustration by the author. Numbers refer to B.ID (see appendix 1).*

All of the burials with oval brooches, like the clear majority of Viking burials from England, are found within the so-called Danelaw area, that is, northern and eastern England. Apart from that, they have a rather widespread distribution (figure 40). Two of the burials, Cumwhitton (B.ID 01) and Claughton Hall (B.ID 03), are found in north-western England, not far from the Irish Sea. Two others, Leeming Lane (B.ID 02) and Adwick le Street (B.ID 04) were found further inland, both in Yorkshire, but a considerable distance apart. The last grave, Santon (B.ID 05), is from Norfolk in eastern England. It is far from given that these graves form a

natural group, and it is very possible that the graves from Cumbria have more in common with other graves around the Irish Sea than they have with the grave from Norfolk.

TABLE 8 *Types of artefacts occurring in more than one English grave with oval brooches.*

Artefact type	No of graves
Beads	2
Knives	2
Keys	2
Textile equipment	2
Weapons	2

The average number of artefacts in the graves with oval brooches is seven, though the differences are significant, ranging from 14 in the recently and professionally excavated grave from Cumwhiton to three each in the rather poorly documented cases from Leeming Lane and Santon. Not all the differences come down to quality of documentation, however. The well-recorded burial from Adwick le Street contained five artefacts (though the grave was partly damaged); whereas the rather more poorly recorded burial from Claughton Hall had ten. Two of the graves, those from Claughton Hall and Santon, may have been double burials, something that further complicates comparing the number of artefacts in these graves with others. If we examine the types of artefacts that are most frequently discovered in graves with oval brooches (table 8), we again find that they are discovered with other types of jewellery in two cases, both of which include beads and a third brooch. However, there are also two cases which were discovered with weapons, something that, with the exception of the fragmented brooch from Brú in Iceland, is not found in the other areas of study. Keys occur in two burials, as do knives. There are also a number of different types of textile equipment, though with the exception of one artefact, are all from the same grave.

3.2.4 Burials from Ireland

The total number of burials with oval brooches from Ireland is open to debate. There are 19 oval brooches from Ireland, though it is uncertain how many graves these represent. The main issue, and that which differs from the other areas, is the lack of records for the burials from the Islandbridge/Kilmainham cemetery complex in Dublin. Although many of the grave-goods from this cemetery are extant, it is very rarely recorded which artefacts were found together. I here recognise twelve graves, four belonging to the definite category, seven of which are probable, and one possible. The number of burials with oval brooches from Kilmainham/Islandbridge is estimated at seven. This number is based on Harrison and O'Floinn's (2014)

catalogue of Irish graves. The oval brooches that form matching sets are presumed to be from the same grave – there is nothing in their acquisition history suggesting that they should not be. Brooches that do not form matching sets are supposed to be from different graves – there is nothing in their acquisition history suggesting that they should be from the same grave (section 2.4.2).

The total number of Viking burials from Ireland is at least equally difficult to determine, but Harrison and O’Floinn have estimated the minimum to be 107, of which 78 (73%) are male and 13 (12%) are female. This means that 11% of the Viking burials from Ireland contain oval brooches. Based on these numbers, 92% of the female burials contain oval brooches, but as the numbers of female burials from Kilmainham/Islandbridge are almost entirely decided by the presence of oval brooches, they are clearly unreliable. The material has been used to calculate the minimum number of graves, which means that presumed female grave-goods from the same acquisitions can be assumed to belong together as long as there is only one pair of oval brooches. This is likely to have underestimated the number of female graves from Dublin, and it means that the proportion of burials with oval brooches is almost certainly overestimated.

None of the burials with oval brooches from Ireland give any indication of having been cremations. In general, there are no furnished Viking Age graves from Iceland that seem to be cremations, though there are unfurnished cremations dating to the Viking Age (Harrison and Ó Floinn 2014:271). Little can be said about body position, alignment, container, or above-ground markers, as this is hardly ever recorded. Ten out of the twelve burials have been discovered near rivers, though seven are from the same cemetery complex.

Nine out of the twelve burials are from Dublin: one from Finglas, some distance north of the Viking Age settlement, seven from the Kilmainham/Islandbridge complex, and one from Phoenix Park, just across the River Liffey from Kilmainham/Islandbridge. The three remaining burials were found on the northern and eastern coasts (figure 41). This distribution corresponds quite well to the distribution of Irish Viking burials generally. By far the most Viking burials have been found in Dublin and the others are more spread out, though more common in eastern Ireland (Harrison and Ó Floinn 2014).



FIGURE 41 *Distribution map of burials with oval brooches from Ireland. Illustration by the author. Numbers refer to B.ID (see appendix 1).*

It is not possible to work out the grave-good assemblages for any of the burials from Kilmainham/Islandbridge, but there are several artefacts which, with comparison to other areas in this study, might well have come from female graves, such as ringed pins, an equal-armed brooch, knives, beads, repurposed mounts etc. There are two cases from Phoenix Park (B.ID 09) and (near) Arklow (B.ID 17) where a third piece of jewellery is mentioned as having been found with the oval brooches (a repurposed mount at Phoenix Park and a chain at Arklow).

The Arklow grave also contained a silver needle case. Additionally, there are two graves where additional artefacts are recorded: from Ballyholme (B.ID 07) where the grave-goods consisted of textile remains and an insular bowl apparently with wool inside, and from Finglas (B.ID 08) where a comb and a box were discovered in addition to the brooches. The scarcity of textile working equipment is striking in the Irish graves, both generally and in those graves containing oval brooches specifically (as also noted by Harrison and Ó Floinn 2014:167). Apart from the Arklow grave, there is only one other piece of textile equipment, also a needle case, that seems to possibly have been found with oval brooches. In addition to these there are three spindle whorls, one whalebone plaque and a linen smoother, all from Kilmainham/Islandbridge, though none of these are from assemblages also containing oval brooches (Harrison and Ó Floinn 2014:167). As all the burials apart from Finglas are either poorly or very poorly recorded, calculating the average number of artefacts in the graves is unlikely to yield useful results.

3.2.5 General trends

Although I have argued that Viking burials are not directly comparable entities (section 1.2.5), I will draw attention to some trends in the corpus.

TABLE 9 *Proportion of burials with oval brooches in the different areas. The numbers must be considered approximations.*

Country	Burials with oval brooches / total	Burials with oval brooches/ female burials	Female burials/ total	Female burials/ gendered graves
Scotland	22% 35/157	70%	32%	48%
Iceland	9% 29/316	40%	20%	35%
England	5% 5/105	18-30%	15%	22%
Ireland ⁸	11% 12/107	92%	12%	14%

The first rather obvious trend is the relatively high proportion of burial with oval brooches in Scotland, where it appears to be considerably more common than in the other areas (table 9). Oval brooches are also found in the clear majority of female burials. This might, to a certain extent, be due to the lack of preserved skeletal remains from Scotland, leading to few osteologically sexed female burials having been discovered there. Excluding Ireland, where the numbers are highly unlikely to be representative, Iceland has the second highest proportion of burial with oval brooches, though it is less than half of that of Scotland. We also see that less than half of the supposed female burials from this area contain oval brooches.

⁸ The numbers for Ireland are misleading as the number of graves without oval brooches, both female and non-female, is likely to be considerably higher.

England has a very low percentage of burial with oval brooches, which is to a certain extent a reflection of the few female burials discovered there. The percentage of oval brooches in only the female burials is also very low, having been found in perhaps as little as 18% of the graves. Ireland is more difficult to evaluate, as the total numbers of graves, both male and female, are likely underestimated, whereas the number of burials with oval brooches is not. This means that oval brooches most likely originally occurred in lower proportions of both female graves and total graves than these numbers suggest.

None of the burials with oval brooches, with the possible exception of Lamba Ness (see section 3.2.1), were cremations. This is not particularly surprising considering the rarity of the rite in the western settlements. Alignment, body position, sex, and age are so rarely recorded that it is impossible to compare the regions. Stone cists, or stone-lined graves, seem to be a feature of the Scottish graves, and though it is found in Iceland, it is not associated with oval brooches (Friðriksson in Eldjárn and Friðriksson 2016:623).

Burials from Scotland, and perhaps Ireland, are far more commonly found close to the shore. In the Scottish case, this is not surprising since the majority of the burials are found in the northern and western Isles. Icelandic and English burials do not seem to have been found particularly close to the sea; specifically none of the English burials were, and less than a third of the Icelandic. Several of the English burials were found close to roads and rivers, however, and this is also a common feature in Iceland. The Icelandic graves are also frequently associated with borders, but the lack of corresponding data from the other areas makes comparison difficult. Roads and the coastline could be associated with travel, however, and many of the Scottish graves have been found close to good landing sites.

When comparing the types of grave-goods discovered with oval brooches, I will concentrate on the material from Scotland and Iceland, as the English material is very small and the Irish very uncertain. Jewellery is the category of artefacts most commonly found in graves containing oval brooches, and beads in particular are frequently found (see tables 6, 7, and 8). There are differences between Scotland and Iceland, though. Ringed pins and pennanular brooches are more commonly used as third brooches in Scotland, whereas round brooches and trefoil brooches are more dominant in Iceland. This trend is by no means absolute, however. The use of repurposed mounts (Insular or Carolingian) as brooches occurs in Scotland, Ireland, and England (with one case each), but not in Iceland. Combs, textile equipment and farming tools are considerably more commonly found in Scotland, whereas tools such as knives, shears, and whetstones occur at approximately the same rate. There are a substantial number of fragments, especially of iron, from Iceland, however, which could account for some of these differences. Horses occur

far more frequently in burials from Iceland than in any other regions, both in burial with and without oval brooches. Oval brooches have been discovered with weapons in three cases in the corpus, one from Iceland and two from England. All three have at some point been put forward as double graves, though this is only due to the presence of both male and female gendered grave-goods. On the whole, there is nothing really to suggest that more than one individual was buried. It is striking that oval brooches occur in two burials with weapons in England, as there are only five brooch burials there (section 3.3.3).

The material described here will form the basis for the following analysis and discussion of ritual practices observable in the corpus. Unlike the present section which emphasised regional variations, the material will henceforth be treated as a single corpus. There are reasons to question to what extent burials from one area of the western settlements are comparable with those from another region. However, as the number of surviving graves is so low, it is necessary to regard the graves as a uniform group in order to create an overview of the material.

3.3 Ritual practices

I will now examine the ritual responses to death that can be physically traced in the material, basically what people in the western settlements did when faced with a corpse. Part of the concern is with attempting to identify norms in the material, and also with how certain practices deviated from these, and what effects this had on the remembering, but more specifically on the re-remembering of the deceased. Following the death of an individual the body was treated in different ways. Many practices are likely impossible to trace in the archaeological material, but some clearly are. In the following, I will examine treatment of the body (section 3.3.1), internal structures (section 3.3.2), use of grave-goods (section 3.3.3), external structures (section 3.3.4), and placement in the landscape (section 3.3.5), before providing a summary of how the dead were treated (section 3.3.6).

3.3.1 Treatment of the body

Death entails radical biological changes to the body, and once dead, the body will also start to undergo considerable alterations as decay sets in. The cadaver that appears after death is not neutral and it has to be dealt with (Nilsson Stutz 2008; Robb 2013). An essential question then is how this is handled; is there an attempt to halt it, accelerate it, conceal it or display it? What do these practices mean for the re-membrance of the individual deceased? I will first examine and discuss cremation practices – and the lack thereof – before moving onto how the body was treated in inhumation practices.

The lack of cremation graves in the western settlements is often explained in religious terms, as the influence of Christianity on otherwise pagan practices (e.g. Ó Floinn 1998a:147-148; Harrison 2001:74). This does not fully take into account the fact that inhumation was commonly practiced in Scandinavia. A detailed examination of differences in practice between cremation and inhumation is beyond the scope of this thesis, particularly as it is uncertain if any of the burials dealt with here are cremation graves. Cremation still existed as a choice, however, and pointing out some of the differences in practice will highlight the intentionality of both practices, as well as enabling a discussion of their effects on re-membrance.

Cremation and inhumation are, at times, regarded as radically different practices where one is concerned with the fragmentation and transformation of the body and the other with its integrity and preservation (Rebay-Salisbury 2012:17). This distinction is not always clear-cut, however. Cremation practices do, sometimes, continue to treat the body as a corporal entity (Sørensen and Rebay 2008), or treat the remains in ways clearly referencing the body in life (Gramsch 2013). In the same way, inhumation burials are not necessarily concerned with bodily integrity and preservation. Decomposition could have been visible or even hastened and the body could have been dismembered. It is therefore important to examine cremation and inhumation practices in more detail. There are considerable differences within both inhumation and cremation practices when it comes to treatment of the body (Oestigaard 2013). As Williams (2014) has pointed out with regards to early Anglo-Saxon burials, cremation is practiced as one out of several technologies for dealing with the dead. He has argued that the focus should be on how rites of inhumation and cremation related to each other, rather than on why the different rites were used. Although there are considerable differences in the treatment of the deceased, there are many other aspects of treatment of the body involved in both cremation and inhumation graves, and these could have been rather similar. Both practices are likely to have involved preparation of the body, probably in terms of cleaning and dressing the dead. There could also have been considerable similarities between laying out the deceased in the grave and on the pyre. It is also essential to examine how the cremated remains were treated following the cremation itself. For example, examinations of whether the remains were left in situ or collected, the way they were contained, and the relation grave-goods have to the remains are all relevant to the study of cremation.

There is only one potential cremation grave in the corpus, from Lamba Ness in Orkney (B.ID 29). The records for this burial are slightly confusing. A group of four artefacts were purchased by the National Museum of Antiquities of Scotland in 1914, and were said to have come from near the broch of Lamba Ness. These artefacts, with the addition of a ringed pin, seem to be the same as those described

by M.M. Charleson (1904), which he reported as having been discovered on an island near the mainland with a deposit of burnt bones in a mound (Harrison 2008:418). There are some issues with the interpretation of this grave as a cremation, however, especially since there were remains of textiles discovered inside one of the oval brooches presumed to be from the burial. Charleson writes: “Adhering to the pin, one could distinctly see a fragment of cloth, which on examination I took to be linen, the texture being extremely fine”, and according to Jørgensen (1992:213) there was a “tiny textile fragment underneath the pin”. This clearly suggests that the brooches were attached to clothing when they were deposited in the grave. They were also described as having been found nine inches (23 cm) apart, which would fit well with a placement of the brooches on either side of the chest. If this was a cremation grave, however, the brooches could not have been worn by the dead. This seems to leave some different options. The farmer describing the grave to Charleson could have been mistaken about the deposit of burnt bones, or it could have represented the burnt deposit of animals rather than of a human. The brooches could have been attached to clothing and then placed on top of the burnt deposit, or there could also have been two interments in the mound. The individual in this case was clearly not placed on the pyre wearing the strap-dress with oval brooches, though it is possible that the person might have been ‘dressed’ after the cremation, when the brooches were placed on top of the cremated remains, apparently also attached to textile. There are cases where artefacts are placed unburnt in cremation graves, but this seems to mainly have been the case with combs (Shetelig 1954:89-90). Although far from certain, if the grave from Lamba Ness is interpreted as a cremation, the grave-goods still seem to reference the corporal entity of the body. In this sense, there are obvious similarities between this possible cremation grave and the inhumation graves that will be presented below. It seems to be a variation on the same theme, rather than something radically opposed. The practice can be said to be a citation, but paraphrasing rather than quoting (Lund and Arwill-Nordbladh 2016).

Although it is possible that all the graves in the present corpus are inhumation graves, this does not mean that the body was always treated in identical ways. In the following, I intend to examine more closely how the body was handled in inhumation burials. The records of most of the burials in the present corpus are far from ideal. Skeletal remains are sometimes mentioned, but further details are a rare occurrence. The following analysis and discussion will therefore mainly deal with a small number of burials, and it is not entirely certain that the trends discovered here are valid for the corpus as a whole.

One question that would be worthwhile to address is whether the burials are primary or secondary. This entails examining if the funerary deposits discovered are

the result of a final deposition shortly after death, or if the remains were moved to a final place of deposition after decomposition had taken place. Articulated skeletons strongly indicate primary burials, though disarticulation is not necessarily an indication of the opposite as there are several other ways a skeleton could become disarticulated (Duday 2009). Poor preservation and lack of recording makes this a difficult question to answer, but the impression is that most of the burials where skeletal remains are noted were primary. Several records mention the presence of a skeleton, and though it is frequently poorly preserved or disturbed, it is not described in a manner that suggests it was disarticulated. There are some cases of articulated skeletons recorded from modern excavation. The clearest example is from Cnip on Lewis in the Outer Hebrides (B.ID 40) where a complete and well-preserved skeleton was discovered (Welander et al. 1987). This example will be examined in greater detail below (sections 3.3.2; 3.4.1). There are no burials in the corpus clearly indicating a secondary burial. Yet among other graves from the western settlements there are *possible* secondary burials. At the cemetery of Westness on Rousay in Orkney, the skeleton of a woman had, according to Sigrid Kaland (1973:95-96), been lying exposed on the top of another (primary) burial. The majority of the bones were only later collected and covered by a stone slab.

One aspect that is recorded or that can be deduced slightly more often, is the position of the body in the grave (table 10). In many cases, the position of the skeleton is deduced based on the location of the oval brooches, which are either stated or presumed to have been placed near each collarbone. In the majority of the burials where there is information that can be used to deduce something about the positioning of the body, it seems to have been buried supine or slightly to one side, and mainly extended, or perhaps slightly flexed. There are some exceptions, however. There are two burials, one from Reay in Scotland (Curle 1914), and one from Valþjófsstaðir, Iceland (Bruun 1903:25) where the body seems to have been crouched, and another two from Pierowall Scotland (Marwick 1932) and Ketillstaðir, Iceland (Þórðarson 1938) which were flexed burials on one side. In addition, there is another burial from Pierowall where the body is said to have been placed on one side although the positioning of the lower limbs is not recorded. There is also a possible prone burial from the site (Marwick 1932).

TABLE 10 *Positioning of skeletons in the graves. The asterisk marks cases where the positioning of the body was determined by the placement of the oval brooches and/or other grave-goods.*

Site		
Cumwhitton, England (B.ID 01)	Supine?*	Extended?
Leeming Lane, England (B.ID 02)	Supine?*	
Adwick-le-Street, England (B.ID 04)	Supine	Extended
Santon, England (B.ID 05)		Extended
Finglas, Ireland (B.ID 08)	Supine	Extended
Phoenix Park, Ireland (B.ID 09)	Supine?*	
Clibberswick, Scotland (B.ID 18)	Supine?*	
Pierowall, Scotland (B.ID 23)	Prone?	
Pierowall, Scotland (B.ID 24)	Supine/side	Flexed
Pierowall, Scotland (B.ID 25)	Side	
Pierowall, Scotland (B.ID 26)	Supine?*	
Pierowall, Scotland (B.ID 27)	Supine?*	
Broch of Gurness, Scotland (B.ID 32)	Supine?*	Extended?
Reay, Scotland (B.ID 35)	Side?	Crouched?
Cnip, Scotland (B.ID 40)	Supine/side	Extended
Sangay? , Scotland (B.ID 43)	Supine?*	
Càrn a' Bharraich, Scotland (B.ID 48)	Supine	Extended
Dalvík, Iceland (B.ID 70)	Supine	Extended
Reykjasel, Iceland (B.ID 72)	Supine/side	
Valþjófsstaðir, Iceland (B.ID 73)	Side	Crouched
Ketillstaðir, Iceland (B.ID 76)	Side	Flexed
Álaugarey, Iceland (B.ID 79)	Supine?	

There appears to be considerable variation in the positioning of the body at the site of Pierowall, justifying a more comprehensive assessment. The site is located on the island of Westray in Orkney, and contains the largest number of Viking Age furnished graves from Scotland. The cemetery which has sometimes been divided into separate parts, the Links of Pierowall (or sometimes the Links of Trenabie) and the Sands of Gill, has a long and confusing research history (see Thorsteinsson 1968 for a discussion). There are accounts from as early as the late seventeenth century referring to the discovery of furnished graves at the site (Graham-Campbell and Batey 1998:129). The majority of the known graves were excavated by the local surgeon William Rendall between 1839 and 1851, though other graves or grave-goods are also mentioned as coming from Pierowall. A thorough reassessment of the research history carried out by Arne Thorsteinsson (1968) concluded that

there were at least 16 certain furnished graves. The description of the graves is limited, but five of them were presented, perhaps by Rendall himself (Thorsteinsson 1968:155), in *The Orkney and Shetland Journal and Fisherman's Magazine* in June 1839, and later reprinted in an account of Viking burials from Orkney by Hugh Marwick (1932). Nine more graves were described by Rendall in a letter which was later published in the *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland* (Anderson 1880:85-87). These two brief accounts contain all the known information about the treatment of the bodies.

Out of the fourteen graves with any degree of description available, six contained oval brooches. The first grave recorded seems to have been buried prone. Little of the skeleton had survived, but it was discovered 'lying on its face', with a ringed pin protruding from 'below the face' (Marwick 1932:28). The oval brooches, described as resembling 'two large muscle shells' were lying a little below the head, but the record does not say if they were upside down (Marwick 1932:28). The ringed pin lying underneath the skull suggests that the individual might well have been buried prone. Graham-Campbell and Batey (1998:131) assumed that this pin was used to fasten a shroud. The use of shrouds in Viking Age burials is a rarely discussed topic in the western settlements. As in the case with this grave, shroud use is sometimes suggested based on the location of dress pins, when it is unclear how these pins could be used to dress the dead (Fanning 1994:127; Batey and Paterson 2012:645). When bodies have been tightly wrapped, this could be visible in the skeletal remains, for instance in verticalization of the clavicles (Duday 2009:45). Skeletal remains are not present in all cases where the ringed pins could suggest the use of shrouds, but there are at least some that do not give any impression of having been tightly wrapped, for instance at Balnakeil or Reay (Edwards and Bryce 1927:203; Batey and Paterson 2012:634-636). It is, in other words, unlikely that these skeletons were wrapped in a shroud. There is another case, however, from Cnip, where the skeleton does appear to have been wrapped. From the illustration, the pelvis appears articulated and there is some verticalization of the clavicles (Dunwell et al. 1995a:730). This burial, although discovered in a cemetery with furnished Viking Age burials, is without grave-goods. I am not aware of any clear examples of furnished Viking Age burials with shrouds in the western settlements, and therefore do not consider a shroud the most likely explanation for the ringed pin in the Pierowall grave. It is possible, however, that bodies could have been covered or loosely wrapped in textiles, for instance a cloak. In the Pierowall case, the ringed pin could very well have been used for a cloak fastened at the shoulder.

The body in the second burial with oval brooches from Pierowall was buried on its back, though 'rather turned to the left.' The knees were bent 'considerably'

and also turned to the left (Marwick 1932:28). As the body was still described as lying on its back, the legs were probably flexed rather than crouched. The arms were lying down by each side and crossed on the abdomen (Marwick 1932:28-29). The third skeleton was discovered lying on its left shoulder, the upper body bent forward and head turned upwards. The right arm was lying half bent by the right side with the forearm and hand on the pelvis. The left arm lay under the left side, with the forearm bent at right angles and pointing out at the left side. The position of the legs is not mentioned, though the skeleton was described as 'nearly entire' (Marwick 1932:29). This might suggest that the legs were extended, as Rendall commonly mentions when they are discovered in any other way. The skeletons in the next two graves are not well described, but for the former, the oval brooches are described as having been found on the chest, and a circular 'piece and pin' on the stomach region, whereas the latter had two combs, one above each shoulder (Rendall in Anderson 1880:86-87). Although neither case is clear, the positioning of the artefacts suggests that the bodies were supine, though perhaps slightly turned to one side. Nothing is known about the positioning of the skeleton in the final grave.

There is considerable variation in how the bodies were placed in the graves, and this is also seen in the burials without oval brooches from Pierowall which contained crouched burials, supine burials with legs crossed, and presumably flexed burials (Rendall in Anderson 1880:86-87; Marwick 1932). This variation indicates that there was no standard way of placing the body in the grave, not even at one small site, though in general there seems to have been a preference for supine burials or burials on one side with the legs extended or slightly flexed.

The treatment of the body observed throughout the corpus suggests a concern with its integrity. The norm was primary inhumation burial either supine extended or flexed on one side. There would have been clear and obvious similarities between the body in death and the body in life, and though we cannot exclude the possibility that decomposition was visible, there is nothing to suggest that it was accentuated. The placement of the deceased in the grave suggests an element of display. The dead appears to have been visible and recognisable, though we cannot exclude the possibility that the body might at times have been covered in some way. This suggests that the dead was re-membered in a manner that highlighted similarities between death and life, and clearly not as something radically different. The transformation of the body seems in most cases to have been hidden. I would also propose that the visual aspect of the placement of the body suggests that the specific individual was re-membered as physically in the grave. There are deviations from this norm. If the Lamba Ness grave is indeed a cremation, that is of course one example. Though as argued above, it is not evident that this grave

would have been understood as radically opposed to the inhumation burials. The possible prone burial from Pierowall is also worth remarking on. Unlike the other graves, the deceased individual would not have been immediately recognisable in this instant. This is not to suggest that the identity of the deceased was in any way hidden, but it was clearly not displayed in the same way that we see in the other graves, and this differentiation in treatment would have been obvious to the participants.

3.3.2 Internal structures

I argued above that the use of shrouds is not evident in the corpus, but there is evidence for other types of containers for the body, mainly stone cists, but also boat burials (table 11). In the clear majority of cases, we do not know if there was any internal structure in the grave, either due to disturbance, lack of preservation, or lack of recording. Detailed study of the *in situ* skeletal remains could have hinted at possible internal structures (Duday 2009), but with the partial exception of Cnip in the Outer Hebrides, the skeletal remains are generally too poorly preserved or recorded.

TABLE 11 *Internal structures identified in the corpus.*

Site	Container
Cloughton Hall, England (B.ID 03)	Wooden container
Kilmainham 1845, Ireland (B.ID 10)	Stone-lined?
Wick of Aith, Scotland (B.ID 22)	Boat
Pierowall, Scotland (B.ID 25)	Stone cist
Braeswick, Scotland (B.ID 30)	Stone-lined?
Broch of Gurness, Scotland (B.ID 32)	Stone-lined/cist
Castletown, Scotland (B.ID 34)	Stone slab
Westerseat, Scotland (B.ID 37)	Stone cist
Westness, Scotland (B.ID 31)	Stone-lined?
Càrn a' Bharraich, Scotland (B.ID 48)	Boat?
Ballinaby, Scotland (B.ID 50)	Stone cist

Internal structures are recorded for eleven graves, the clear majority of which are stone-lined graves or stone cists from Scotland. The stone-lined graves and stone cists both seem to have consisted of upright stone slabs, as seen at the Broch of Gurness (Hedges 1987:74), but the stone cists were also covered by slabs (Marwick 1932:29). It is possible that the Gurness grave was actually a stone cist, as W. Norman Robertson (1969:290) described 'water filtering into the cavity from the soil above', which suggests that the grave was not filled. To what extent this could be the case with other stone-lined graves as well is unknown. The Castletown grave was

described as having been found underneath a flat stone, but nothing more is known about the construction of the grave (cited in Anderson 1874:549-550). A similar lack of information characterises the burial from Claughton Hall where a number of artefacts are said to have been 'enclosed in a wooden case' (Royal Archaeological Institute 1849:74). It is unclear what this means, but it could potentially refer to a coffin, a wood-lined grave, or even a wooden chamber (Edwards 1969:113). In addition, there are possibly two boat burials from Scotland.

The lack of comment on any forms of construction in most of the burials might suggest that many were simple earth-cut graves, though it is also possible that they were lined with or covered by material that had since decomposed. The Cnip burial was suggested as an earth-cut grave, but the disarticulation of the pelvis is mentioned (Welander et al. 1987:153), which might mean that the pubic symphysis was open. This could indicate that the decomposition of the skeleton took place in an empty space, and hence that the grave was covered. One of the brooches was discovered upside down and presumed to have moved after deposition (Welander et al. 1987:152), which could also be indicative of decomposition in a void. The generally poor quality of recording and preservation likely means that use of containers for the body in organic material is underrepresented, and therefore that the Scottish material, with its many stone containers, might be proportionally overrepresented. It does seem a real trend, however, that burial in stone cists or stone-lined graves is more commonly practiced in Scotland, particularly when compared to Iceland which has a more comparable number of burials. This trend is also reflected in the burials without oval brooches (as also noted by Eldjárn 1984:8). The same can be said for boat burials; both boat burials in the present corpus are from Scotland, an area that also has a much higher proportion of boat burial in general than the other areas; twelve possible cases compared to five in Iceland and none in the other regions.⁹

If we examine the different processes involved in these practices, boat burials seem the most elaborate. This practice would have involved moving the boat to the location of the burial, perhaps in an already prepared place, placing the dead in the boat and then covering the burial. It is possible that the burials were covered with stones as seems to have been the case at Wick of Aith (Batey 2016:40), as well as in several cases of boat burials without oval brooches (see McGuire 2010a:155 with references).

The presence of normative practices in the corpus with reference to the use of internal structures is difficult to determine. There seems to have been several fairly

9 There are boat burials from the Isle of Man (Kermode 1930; Bersu and Wilson 1966), but this area has been excluded from this study due to the lack of burials with oval brooches.

common ways of constructing graves, with both earth-cut graves and containers being utilised. The use of containers could be seen as creating and demarcating space around the dead body, though it does not seem like these were always covered. The use of certain internal structures could be assumed to conceal the deceased from view. None of the internal structures that can be traced in the material seem to suggest that the deceased was not visible at some point during the burial, with the possible exception of Cloughton Hall. Although the stone cists were covered, the deceased and the accompanying grave-goods would have been plainly visible as they were placed in the stone cists, which would have been constructed at the burial site. What we do see in this case, however, are sequential acts of display and concealment (Williams 2006:120-121) where the deceased is visible for a certain amount of time before being hidden from view.

3.3.3 Grave-goods

Grave-goods are generally the part of the burial that we have the most information about (section 1.2). It is still evident that we do not have the full picture. This is partly because many artefacts would have decomposed or corroded and thereby disappeared or become unrecognisable. It is also due to the fact that not all artefacts were considered of equal significance by their finders, especially not before the more professional excavations of the twentieth century. The placement of grave-goods in the grave is frequently not recorded, though at times they are described in relation to each other or to the skeletal remains. In the following, I intend to examine different artefacts found in the graves by type. To a certain extent, there will be a focus on what types of artefacts are commonly found with oval brooches, but there will be a greater emphasis on the better-recorded instances where we can say something about *how* the artefacts were used in the burials. Irish material is rarely included in the following analysis as it is impossible to define distinct funerary assemblages for the majority of the Irish graves (section 3.2.4). Although it would have been interesting to study potential clusters in the material, for example which types of artefacts frequently occur together, this will not be a topic investigated due to the nature of the source material. With reference to the graves in this corpus, the processes of preservation, discovery, excavation, documentation, and publication have been so vastly different that direct comparison between graves is unlikely to yield meaningful information. The corpus is also too small to make up for all the unknown factors (section 1.2.5).

The memories evoked by oval brooches when used in funerary rites were, as I have argued in the previous chapter, dependent on both how oval brooches as a group were used, and on how individual brooches had been used (section 2.7). These mnemonic abilities worked in different ways; in the first sense, they were citing a longstanding and widespread custom likely connected to notions of gen-

der and perhaps social roles. In another sense, they were individual brooches with specific object biographies that could evoke remembrances of particular individuals or specific episodes of use. The way they were used in funerary rites appears to have been crucial for how memories could be evoked, and some variations were pointed out (section 2.6). Although there clearly seems to have been a norm of pairs of oval brooches being worn by the deceased, one below each collarbone, there were also deviations from this, suggesting that the brooches were used in a different way in death than in life, or suggesting a different relationship between the objects and the individual. It is not possible here to go into the same degree of detail for other categories of artefacts, but it is important to keep in mind that these were also nodes in material networks, carrying meanings and memories due to their various relationships with people and other materialities (section 2.1).

An aspect that was not much discussed in the previous chapter, but which I will pay greater attention to here, is the role the brooches played in dressing the dead for burial (see also section 3.4). This is likely to be a highly mnemonically charged situation with the interplay of both the familiar and the strange. This act of preparing the body must of course be seen as an important part of the transformation of the deceased from a social personae to something else, and the materials used in this transformation are therefore highly informative when studying how the dead was re-membered. As oval brooches were commonly used in life as well as in death, it is clear that in some ways the deceased were re-membered as similar to the living. The process of dressing the body would presumably have evoked remembrances of the deceased in life, both remembering as well as re-membering the deceased. It is therefore crucial to examine not only what artefacts occur in the grave, but in what manner they occur.

BEADS

Beads are the most common type of artefact discovered in graves with oval brooches, occurring in at least 21 instances (table 12). The number of beads in each grave varies considerably, from a single bead in four instances to the rather spectacular case in Vestdalur where over 500 beads were discovered (Elín Ósk Hreiðarsdóttir cited in Þórhallsdóttir 2018:41). Beads, as a type of jewellery, have traditionally been seen as a type of grave-good associated with women (O’Sullivan 2015), though they also occur in male graves, but then generally in small numbers (Solberg 1985:65, 67; Hreiðarsdóttir 2010:67; O’Sullivan 2015). The beads are most commonly glass, though there are many different types of glass beads (Callmer 1977). There are also beads of amber, jet, and different types of stone. The beads can often be very small, and it is highly likely that their presence in burials is under-recorded, particularly from earlier excavations. Beads were clearly used in necklaces and were perhaps also suspended between oval brooches (Graham-Campbell 1980:27; Ewing

2006:65). They have been interpreted as amulets, especially those of amber and jet that occur alone (Fuglesang 1989:20). In this context, it is worth noting that in three out of the four graves with only a single bead in the corpus, the single bead was made of amber. In the fourth case with a single bead – from Cumwhitton – there might well have been more beads originally present in the grave (Paterson et al. 2014:130). It is also likely that beads could have had extended life histories (Straight 2002; O’Sullivan 2015), and their common use in composite necklaces means that these could have been broken up and the beads distributed, perhaps creating social ties between individuals (Woodward 2002).

TABLE 12 *Number of beads in individual graves.*

Site	No of beads
Valþjófsstaðir, Iceland (B.ID 73)	?
Flaga, Iceland (B.ID 80)	?
Cumwhitton, England (B.ID 01)	1
Lamba Ness, Scotland (B.ID 29)	1
Bhaltos, Uig, Scotland (B.ID 41)	1
Newton Distillery, Scotland (B.ID 51)	1
Claughton Hall, England (B.ID 03)	2
Clibberswick, Scotland (B.ID 18)	2
Braeswick, Scotland (B.ID 30)	3
Cruach Mhor, Scotland (B.ID 52)	6
Pierowall, Scotland (B.ID 25)	7
Miklaholt, Iceland (B.ID 57)	11
Ballinaby, Scotland (B.ID 50)	12
Mjóidalur, Iceland (B.ID 60)	25
Brú, Iceland (B.ID 56)	26
Reykjasel, Iceland (B.ID 72)	35
Westness, Scotland (B.ID 31)	40
Ketillstaðir, Iceland (B.ID 76)	40+
Cnip, Uig, Scotland (B.ID 40)	44
Daðastaðir, Iceland (B.ID 71)	52
Vestdalur, Iceland (B.ID 77)	500+

The main issue here is how these beads were used in the funerary rites. As there are great variations in the numbers of beads, there could be significant differences in interpretation. When dealing with single beads, or only a small number of them, the individual beads themselves might be important, either because of their object biographies, or perhaps because of some amuletic significance. Larger numbers

are more likely to signify bead necklaces or strings of beads, in which case their properties as jewellery could have been the most important factor. This does not mean that the individual beads themselves might not have been important. Beads could have been acquired throughout a person's life, through trade, gift-exchange, or as heirlooms (Straight 2002). Furthermore, composite bead necklaces could have been fragmented after the death of an individual; some beads could have been kept by the dead and others could have been shared out among the mourners (Woodward 2002).

Another factor to examine is where in the grave the beads were placed, as this could tell us something about the relationship between them and the dead. This is unfortunately only recorded in eight instances, and only in six of which can we say something about where they were placed in relation to the deceased. In five of these cases the beads were discovered in the neck or chest area, suggesting that they were used in necklaces or suspended between oval brooches. The single glass bead from the grave at Cumwhitton was discovered near the head of the deceased, but it is unclear if this was *in situ* or if there were other beads originally in the grave. The excavators suggested that the bead could have been used for hair decoration (Paterson et al. 2014:130). In the two other cases where something was noted about the placement of the beads in the grave, there is no mention of skeletal remains. In the first instance, from Claughton Hall, a pair of oval brooches was discovered back-to-back and inside them was found a mount repurposed as a brooch as well as two beads (section 2.6.7). These were discovered in what has otherwise often been interpreted as a male burial based on the presence of weapons (e.g. Edwards 1969). The second case is slightly more confusing. An oval brooch and three beads were acquired by the National Museum of Antiquaries of Scotland in 1914, presumably from Braeswick near Lamba Ness on Sanday on Orkney. They were apparently discovered in 'a narrow subterranean passage' (Society of Antiquaries of Scotland 1915:14), which Harrison (2008:419-420) suggests could have been a stone cist. It was also mentioned that the artefacts had been wrapped in a piece of skin, which would suggest that this was not a burial at all. There are remains of textile clearly visible on the inside of the brooch, however (as also noted by Jørgensen 1992:213), demonstrating that it was attached to textile when it was deposited in the ground. Around the pin hinge there are remains of what looks like a cloth strap, which would be expected if the brooch had been used with a strap-dress. This could suggest that the account of the find is erroneous, or that the grave had been disturbed. It is possible that the brooch and beads were removed from the grave and deposited elsewhere. This must have taken place a considerable time after the burial, however, as the dress of the deceased must have been in an advanced state of decomposition. At both Claughton Hall and Braeswick it is possible that

we see beads used in cenotaph assemblages, which could indicate that beads were a type of artefact that could be intimately tied to individual persons.

In sum, the evidence from the corpus suggests that beads could be used in different ways in funerary rites, but it might be useful to divide them into two different forms of use (these will not necessarily cover all cases, however): Bead necklaces worn by the deceased in the chest region, and smaller numbers of beads deposited with the deceased. There might be a connection between the second type of bead deposition and the way beads seem to be used in presumed male burials (e.g. Solberg 1985:65, 67; Hreiðarsdóttir 2010:67; O’Sullivan 2015). This could indicate that the distinction in the use of beads is not between male and female graves, but a practice governed by factors other than gender. It is possible that this also entails a distinction between beads used in dressing the deceased and beads placed in the grave afterwards. Bead necklaces seem to be used to dress the dead, but this is less clear with reference to beads that occur in smaller numbers.

OTHER BROOCHES

There are several other types of brooches, or artefacts used in similar fashion to them, in the graves in addition to oval brooches: trefoil brooches, round brooches, penannular brooches, repurposed mounts, ringed pins, and other dress pins. These are often referred to as third brooches, and assumed to have been worn with the oval brooches, perhaps fastening some form of outer garment (Ewing 2006:62). The term is not necessarily that well-suited, however, as these brooches clearly occur in graves without oval brooches (e.g. Owen 2004), and there can be more than one so-called third brooch in a grave (e.g. B.ID 77). These different types of brooches might well signify different things in burials, but they are discussed together here because they might be seen to fulfil comparable roles in funerary contexts.

TABLE 13 *Number and types of brooches other than oval brooches in the corpus by country. Numbers in brackets include possible finds.*

Type	Country	No of artefacts
Trefoil brooch	Scotland	2
	Iceland	6
Round brooch	Scotland	1 ¹⁰
	Iceland	5

¹⁰ This is possibly be a belt fitting rather than a brooch (MacLeod et al. 1916:186-187). It is also presumably of Celtic rather than Scandinavian manufacture (MacLeod et al. 1916; Grieg 1940:75-76).

Type	Country	No of artefacts
Penannular brooch	Scotland	2
	Iceland	1
Unknown brooch type	Scotland	1
Ringed pin	Scotland	7 (12)
	Iceland	3
Other dress pin	Scotland	
		5
Repurposed mount	England	1
	Ireland	1
	Scotland	1

There are some clear differences in what types of brooches occur in which areas (table 13, section 3.2.5). Trefoil brooches and round brooches are the most commonly found in Iceland, whereas ringed pins clearly dominate in Scotland. This is worth remarking on since ringed pins and penannular brooches were originally used in insular dress before being incorporated into Scandinavian costume (Glørstad 2014:159). Ringed pins are sometimes associated with male costume (Paterson et al. 2014:142), but as this material demonstrates, they are quite common in presumed female graves as well. Although common in Norway, the largest collection of ringed pins has been found in Dublin (Fanning 1994:1). The three repurposed mounts were all discovered in Britain and Ireland and are all of Insular manufacture. Although these types of brooches are all found in Scandinavia as well, it still seems likely that their common occurrence, especially in Scotland, is due to insular influence, presumably as well as their availability.

Another and for the purpose of this thesis, perhaps more relevant question to ask is whether or not the different types of brooches were used in corresponding manners. The placement in the grave is known for fifteen out of the 40 cases. We cannot exclude the possibility that the brooches have moved since their deposition, but there is no direct evidence for it. These cases consist of one mount (discovered between two oval brooches at Cloughton Hall), eight ringed pins, one dress pin, two round brooches, and three trefoil brooches. The trefoil and round brooches all seem to have been found on the central part of the interred bodies; either the chest, beneath the jaw, or on the abdomen. This trend has also been noted by Ewing

(2006:62) with reference to Scandinavian material. The brooch said to be found on the abdomen is also the only example with known placement that is from Scotland, though as the Scottish sample is very small, any conclusions drawn from this are tenuous. The Scottish brooch seems to have been worn differently than the other brooches, and could be compared to the figurine with a trefoil brooch at the waist described in the previous chapter (section 2.6.4). Some brooches could potentially have been merely placed on the body, rather than actually worn.

There is greater variation in the placement of ringed pins. Two of these pins seem to have been found on the chest, one on the abdomen, two in the shoulder area, one by the skull, one at the side of the skeleton, one by the elbow, and one near the chin. This could suggest that ringed pins were not necessarily used to fasten the same types of garments in the funeral. Some might have been worn in corresponding ways to trefoil brooches and round brooches. They could have been used to fasten cloaks at the shoulder or central chest (Fanning 1994:126). The pins need not have been used by the deceased at all, but could have been placed in the grave perhaps with clothing they were often used with.

Cloaks might also have been used to cover the body (Paterson et al. 2014:144), which could account for the variation in placement of the ringed pins. If this is the case, however, the bodies are unlikely to have been tightly wrapped (section 3.3.1). In general, though, the close connection of the ringed pins with the bodies interred suggests that they were worn, but even among the individuals wearing oval brooches, there were clearly differences in how the deceased were dressed for burial.

The differences in use of ‘other brooches’ here are important because they could signify differing relations between the deceased and the artefacts. If we see the Scottish trefoil brooch as placed at the waist rather than actually worn, it could indicate that it was the brooch itself, rather than the dress, which was the important factor, perhaps because of its object biography. The functional aspects of the brooch would not have been the reasons for its use. Artefacts placed in the grave after the body would have attained a higher degree of visibility. The things themselves would have been more clearly in focus, rather than as part of the deceased’s dress. The way other brooches are used is also interesting in relation to the mnemonic abilities of the oval brooches, as it suggests that oval brooches might, at times, have been at least partially covered by an outer garment.

KNIVES

There are eleven knives in the corpus, two from England, possibly five from Iceland, and five from Scotland (table 14). There might well have been more, but, as small and often relatively poorly preserved artefacts, they might have been overlooked in early excavations (Harrison and Ó Floinn 2014:180).

TABLE 14 *Number of knives in the corpus by country. Numbers in brackets include possible finds.*

Country	No of artefacts
Scotland	5
Iceland	3 (5)
England	2

Knives are quite commonly found in Viking Age furnished burials and occur in both presumed male and female graves. Knives are also common in the poorly furnished graves where gender cannot be assigned on the basis of grave-goods (Harrison 2008:174). The placement of knives in the graves is noted in five cases. In three of those cases, they were found in the waist area, and next to the arm in the two other cases. Knives are generally interpreted as having been worn by the deceased and this would seem to have been the case in the graves in this corpus as well. They might have been worn at the waist, possibly with a belt. Belts are generally not considered part of female dress, but in the western settlements buckles are not a rare occurrence in burials with oval brooches having been found in seven instances.¹¹ In five of these instances, knives were also found in the graves. This might indicate a practice of wearing belts at the waist, and artefacts such as knives could have been attached to these belts. Knives are also at times assumed to have been suspended from one of the oval brooches, as in the case from Adwick-le-Street (B.ID 04) (Speed and Walton Rogers 2004:83). Here the knife was discovered by the left arm of the individual, but it was suggested that it had originally been suspended from the right brooch – where remains of a cord had been discovered – and fallen to the left side as the body was placed in the grave. At Cnip (B.ID 40), the knife was also discovered by the left arm, but in this case, a decorated strap end and buckle were discovered in the waist area, suggesting the deceased was wearing a belt. The placement of the knife by the left arm is not conclusive as to whether it was hanging from a belt, suspended from one of the oval brooches (Batey in Welander et al. 1987:170), or not worn by the deceased at all. In general, however, the knives seem likely to have been worn by the deceased, which could indicate that they were personal belongings (Joy 2009:550; Arnold 2016:842; Klevnäs 2016:461) and also used for dressing the dead body. In an Anglo-Saxon context, Klevnäs (2015a:175-176) has argued that knives were so inseparably linked with their owners that they might have been considered polluting to the living and had to be interred with the dead.

¹¹ There are another three burials with buckles, but these are more likely to be equestrian equipment.

TEXTILE EQUIPMENT

There are 34 different artefacts associated with textile work in the corpus (table 15).¹²

TABLE 15 *Number and types of textile equipment in the corpus by country. Numbers in brackets include possible finds.*

Type	Country	No of artefacts
Heckles	Scotland	4
	Iceland	1
Linen smoothers	Scotland	1
	England	1
Needle cases	Scotland	3 (4)
	Iceland	(1)
	England	(1)
Shears	Scotland	3
	Iceland	2 (3)
	England	1
Spindle whorls	Scotland	3
	Iceland	3
	England	1
Weaving swords	Scotland	4
	England	1

These artefacts originate from 15 different graves; two from England, nine from Scotland, and four from Iceland. This category is rather varied, and there are also clear differences in how objects were placed in the grave. Placement is noted for 13 of the artefacts, but the placement of one specific type is rarely noted more than in one instance. However, there is an exception in needle cases where the placement is noted in four instances, suggesting considerable variation. At Cumwhitton (B.ID 01) the needle case was discovered in a box at the foot end of the grave with other artefacts, including other textile working equipment (Paterson et al. 2014:63-64). In one of the graves at Pierowall (B.ID 24), it was found under chin between the

¹² Needles are not counted as individual artefacts as they were found in needle cases.

oval brooches (Marwick 1932:29). At Cnip (B.ID 40) it was found next to the left arm (Welander et al. 1987:151-152), and at Càrn a' Bharraich (B.ID 48), the needle case was associated with a pair of oval brooches and a ringed pin which suggests that the case was discovered in the upper chest or shoulder area (Grieve 1914:275). At Pierowall and Càrn a' Bharraich, the needle case could have been suspended from the neck or from between the oval brooches. It is also possible that it had been placed on the deceased, rather than worn. In the case of Cnip, it was discovered with a knife that was suggested above to have been suspended from a belt or from one of the oval brooches. The same might well apply to the needle case. At Cumwhitton, the needle case is clearly not part of the deceased's clothing, but placed out of sight in a box. There are cases where larger artefacts such as heckles or a weaving sword have been placed on the body, but this would have occurred at a later stage in the funerary process when the deceased was already laid out in the grave.

With textile working equipment there are obvious differences as to how the different artefacts were used during funerary rituals. Those differences in use could suggest differing relations between the deceased and the artefacts, and also that their use might have had different mnemonic effects. The needle cases and spindle whorls worn by the deceased are likely to have been employed during an earlier stage of the funerary process, as part of dressing the dead. The choice of these artefacts could suggest a close relationship between these objects and the deceased. They might have been used by the deceased in life and become intimately associated with them. As for the mnemonic effects, the employment of these artefacts in the intimate process of dressing the deceased might well have evoked memories of their use in other settings. As many of these artefacts may not have been actually visible when the body was laid out in the grave, but covered perhaps with a cloak, their significance might have been personal rather than communal. Many of the other artefacts seem more clearly to have been on display, and some, like the weaving sword from Leeming Lane (B.ID 02) which was placed over the body, would clearly have been placed in the grave after the deceased (Royal Archaeological Institute 1848:220).¹³ This could indicate that the display of these artefacts was important, perhaps because of their citational properties, or potentially their object biographies. Artefacts could have been out of sight without having been worn, such as the textile equipment placed in a box at Cumwhitton. There the artefacts were clearly not displayed, but neither was there a physical relationship between the body of the deceased and the artefacts. However, the deceased seemed to be

13 A 'rude long square spearhead' is described as transfixing the chest. It seems likely that it is rather a weaving sword, and that it was originally placed on the chest (Harrison 2008:546).

wearing a key that fitted the lock of the box (Paterson et al. 2014:59). The display of grave-goods might, in other words, not always have been considered necessary.

COMBS

There are fourteen combs from eleven graves in the corpus; seven of these from Scotland, two from Iceland, one from England, and one from Ireland (table 16). Viking Age combs from Britain have been extensively studied by Steven Ashby (2009, 2011, 2014). He has pointed to the importance of hair and personal grooming as a way of expressing status, cultural identities, and social roles, and has argued that combs could have played a central role in this (Ashby 2014). With particular reference to the combs from furnished Scandinavian graves in Scotland, Ashby noted that they show very little signs of wear, which could indicate that they were rarely used, perhaps mainly for display purposes (Ashby 2009:24).

TABLE 16 *Number of combs in the corpus by country.*

Country	No of artefacts
Scotland	10 ¹⁴
Iceland	2
England	1
Ireland	1

Combs occur rather commonly in furnished Scandinavian burials, and there is considerable variation in their treatment (Ashby 2014: Chapter 6), which is notable in the present corpus as well. The placement of the combs is noted in six instances. At Cumwhitton (B.ID 01), the comb was placed in the aforementioned box along with textile equipment (Paterson et al. 2014:63-64). This is possibly also the scenario at Finglas (B.ID 08), though it could also have been placed next to the box, on the pelvis (Sikora 2010:404). In the four other cases, the combs are likely to have been visible at the funeral. Combs are mentioned in four out of the six graves with oval brooches from Pierowall, and three of these contained two combs each. In one of these graves, the comb lay on the elbow joint of the left arm (B.ID 24). In another, two combs were placed, one on top of the other, on the elbow joint of the right arm (B.ID 25). The third grave had one comb above each shoulder (it is unclear if this means on the shoulders) (B.ID 27), and in the fourth case the position of the combs was not noted (B.ID 28) (Rendall in Anderson 1880; Marwick 1932). At Cnip (B.ID 40), a comb displaying clear traces of use-wear was discovered on top of the right arm (Welander et al. 1987:152, 163). The comb from Finglas might have been suspended from a belt, and hence should be considered part of dress, but this does not seem likely with the combs from Pie-

14 Three of the Scottish graves contain two combs each.

rowall and Cnip. These seem rather to have been placed *on* the body. They appear to be associated with the physical body of the deceased. This is interesting when viewed in relation to Williams' (2007) discussion of the use of toilet implements, including combs, in Anglo-Saxon cremation burials where the unburnt combs are placed in the cinerary urn with the cremated remains of the dead. The practice of placing unburnt combs in cremation graves is also seen in Viking Age burials from Scandinavia (Shetelig 1954:90). Williams sees this use of toilet implements in connection with the transformation of the body, particularly in cremation burials. Inhumation burials are also concerned with transformation, however. The combs might have been used for grooming the corpse and preparing it for burial. This could mean that the combs were considered polluted and had to be interred with the dead. However, this would not explain the presence of multiple combs as seen in several instances at Pierowall. A link between the physical transformation of the body and combs seems likely and could explain why these artefacts were so frequently placed directly on the body. Crucially, however, combs were clearly used in a variations of ways in burials, indicating that there are no uniform explanations.

OTHER ARTEFACTS

There are several other artefacts in the graves, but few with known placements. Some, such as keys and whetstones might have been worn suspended from the oval brooches or from a belt. This could have been the case with the whetstone from Cnip (B.ID 40) which was discovered by the left arm along with a knife and needle case (Welander et al. 1987:151), and with the key from Cumwhitton (B.ID 01) which was found near the waist (Paterson et al. 2014:59). The discovery of a key or latch-lift at the foot end of the (somewhat disturbed) grave at Adwick-le-Street (B.ID 04) suggests this would not always have been the case (Speed and Walton Rogers 2004:60). The majority of the other artefacts only report one example of known placement, making it impossible to draw any conclusions. An exception from this is sickles. There are five sickles; four from Scotland and one from Iceland, three of which with known placement. One was laid on the chest, another by the (presumably left) hand and a third by the waist on the right. Sickles were clearly not worn by the deceased, but would have been placed in the grave after the body. The same would have been the case for the spit from Álaugarey (B.ID 79) which might have lain over the body (Þórðarson 1936:32-34). Among other artefacts clearly added to the grave either before or after the body are the already mentioned boxes from Cumwhitton (Paterson et al. 2014:59) and Finglas (Sikora 2010:404), a copper-alloy bowl from Adwick-le-Street (Speed and Walton Rogers 2004:59), and a stone bowl from Dalvík (B.ID 70) (Bruun and Jónsson 1910:82). This latter is one of two steatite bowls in the corpus; the second is from Snæhvammur (B.ID 78), though its location in the grave is unknown. These steatite bowls could have

served comparative functions to the insular copper-alloy bowls discovered at three sites in Britain and Ireland (Westness (B.ID 31), Adwick-le-Street (B.ID 04), Ballyholme (B.ID 07)). It is possible that the bowls contained something, perhaps food or drink, or possibly some other material; the bowl from Ballyholme seems to have contained wool. There are also a number of other types of artefacts that seem to have a connection with preparing, serving, or consuming food or drink in the grave. There is a cauldron, a drinking horn, a ladle, a quern stone, and a spit in addition to the bowls. There is a possible connection between these artefacts and feasting, perhaps citing feasting as part of the funerary rites.

HORSES

Horses are commonly discovered in Icelandic burials, whereas they are rarer elsewhere (section 3.2.2). There are eight burials with horses in total in the corpus, seven from Iceland and one from Scotland. In most cases it is merely mentioned that horse bones were found, either in the grave or in the near vicinity. At Reykjasel (B.ID 72), the horse bones were discovered at the foot end of the grave (Bruun 1903:17-19). There is also one case from Dalvík (B.ID 70) where the horse skeleton was discovered in a separate grave cut at the foot end of the grave. The horse had been decapitated and the head placed on the horse's stomach (Bruun and Jónsson 1910:80-81). In four cases, including the graves from Dalvík and Reykjasel, buckles and/or bridle-bits were discovered in the graves suggesting that the horses were harnessed. The burials with horses in Iceland have recently been studied by Leifsson (2018) who argued that most of the horses found in burials were complete, male (also demonstrated by Nistelberger et al. 2019), either young or in their prime of life, killed for the burial, and in some cases decapitated (see also Leifsson 2012). Horses were often placed either at the foot end of a grave, or in a separate grave cut a small distance from the foot end of the grave, with the head of the horse generally facing away from the person (Leifsson 2018:292-293). Leifsson (2018:304) suggested most horses were killed by a blow to the head with a blunt instrument, and some also had their throats slit.

The burial from Dalvík is the only one with any detailed description of the horse remains. The remains themselves have since been lost, and could therefore not be studied by Leifsson. There were other graves with horses from the Dalvík cemetery, however, where the horses seem to have been treated in the same way. In one of the other burials a horse was found in the same grave cut with the head cut off and placed at its stomach. In this case, study of the horse skeleton suggested that it had been hit on the head and then had its throat cut. The decapitation seems to have taken place later. Leifsson (2018:304-305) suggested that this could indicate that the decapitated horse head played a significant role in the ritual performances associated with the funeral. The horse seems to have been placed

in the burial after the deceased, as the horse skeleton partially covered the lower end of the deceased's legs (Bruun and Jónsson 1910:72). This sequence of events was not always followed, however. With reference to a grave that is not part of the present corpus, Leifsson (2018:328) suggested that the horse might have already been buried before the deceased as a spear seems to extend over the fill of the horse grave (grave VIII at Ytra-Garðshorn).

It is difficult to assess to what extent there are significant variations in the corpus concerning how horses were part of the funerary rites. They were clearly far more common in Iceland where Leifsson's study suggests there were certain norms. It is not clear at what point during the funerary process the horse was killed and the carcass placed in the grave. At Reykjasel, seeing that the horse was in the same grave cut, it is unlikely that there was a long period of time between placement of the deceased person and the horse in the grave. At Dalvík, however, the horse and human were in two different grave cuts. This is also the case for one of the other burials at Dalvík, whereas two others had horses placed in the same cut (Bruun and Jónsson 1910). The horses were evidently not simply placed in the graves like other forms of grave-goods, however, but first killed. At Dalvík, the horse was perhaps first hit on the head, then had its throat cut before the head was removed from the body, and, perhaps with some delay, placed on the animal's stomach. This treatment highlights the performance aspect of the rites.

WEAPONS

There are three graves in the corpus that contain both weapons and oval brooches: Claughton Hall (B.ID 03) and Santon (B.ID 05) in England, and at Brú (B.ID 56) in Iceland. At Claughton Hall (section 2.6.7) and Brú (section 2.6.6) the oval brooches were obviously not used by the deceased. The Claughton Hall oval brooches were placed back-to-back with other artefacts inside, and at Brú only a small fragment of an oval brooch was present in the grave. At Santon, however, though the placement of the oval brooches was not recorded, there are clear traces of textile on the back of one of them, indicating that it was worn by the deceased.

At Claughton Hall, the parcel made up of the oval brooches and other pieces of jewellery was discovered in some form of wooden structure also containing a sword, a spear, an axe, and a hammer. A presumably Bronze Age cremation urn and stone axe were also discovered, but at least the urn is likely from an earlier burial (Jones 1849:74). Nothing is known about where in the grave these artefacts were placed, and no skeletal remains are mentioned. It is sometimes interpreted as a double grave as it contained both weapons and oval brooches (e.g. Harrison 2008:537-538), but as the brooches were so clearly not worn there is no reason to assume that they must have been personal belongings of the person interred. As we know nothing about the placement of the remaining artefacts in the grave,

and as it is in general difficult to assess whether or not weapons in graves should be considered personal belongings, it is difficult to assess the relationship between the remaining artefacts and a deceased individual. It is not completely certain that a person was interred, but it does seem likely. There is no compelling reason why this should be considered a double burial. I am more inclined to agree with Edwards (1998:15) that this is the burial of a single individual, perhaps a man as Edwards suggested, and at least a person associated with the weapons. The remaining artefacts were prepared for burial in that the molar, the repurposed mount, and the beads were placed inside a pair of oval brooches which then might have been placed in a cloth-lined wooden box, or wrapped in cloth (Jones 1849:74; Edwards 1998:15). This is a process highly likely to evoke memories of the person to whom these object originally belonged. The possibility that the brooches were contained somehow suggests that they were hidden from view as they were placed in the grave, indicating that they were not intended to be seen by all the participants in the funerary rituals.

The burial from Brú has also been suggested as a double burial, or alternatively, as two different burials (Eldjárn and Friðriksson 2016:86). The find circumstances are not well recorded, but the grave-goods consisted of: a sword, two spears, an axe, a shield boss, 26 beads, a bell, a quernstone, two rivets, a small piece of an oval brooch, some iron fragments possibly from a cauldron, lead fragments, and bones from a horse and a dog. These artefacts were not all discovered at the same time; the spears and axes were discovered first, and then the rest, though they were apparently all from the same grave (Vigfússon 1881a:56). The only skeletal remains present were part of the skull and some teeth. According to the finder, the shield boss was placed over the head, and the axe near the right hand. Nothing is known about the location of the other artefacts. The placement of a shield over the head is repeated in a number of other instances (e.g. Rendall in Anderson 1880:86; Marwick 1932:28; Kaland 1973:95-96) suggesting that the finder was correct in this statement. This placement indicates that the face of the dead was not visible after the shield was put there. The only reason why this is a supposed double burial, or grave-goods from two separate burials, is because it contains both traditionally male and traditionally female grave-goods. The oval brooch fragment, the beads, and the bell are suggested as belonging to a different individual than the rest of the artefacts. This interpretation rests on the assumption that grave-goods were always personal belongings of the deceased (as well as always fitting stereotypical gender roles), though this is not necessarily the case. As mentioned in section 2.6.6, the oval brooch from Brú is only extant as one fragment, and though it is possible that an entire brooch or a pair of brooches were originally interred, it seems unlikely that not more pieces of these would have been discovered. If this fragment really was the only piece interred, it was certainly not worn by anyone in the grave,

and its presence in a weapon grave need not be difficult to explain. The presence of 26 beads could be seen as more surprising in an assumed male grave, as male graves rarely have larger quantities of beads (see above). The bell is also supposed by Eldjárn to have been a female grave-good, and is by him assumed to have been worn suspended with the beads (Eldjárn and Friðriksson 2016:86, 387). Similar bells have been found in three Icelandic graves, and there are also some examples known from Britain, one of which from a child's grave, whereas the context of the others is uncertain (Batey 1988; Eldjárn and Friðriksson 2016:387). Without knowing anything about its placement in the grave, the bead necklace is difficult to interpret, but larger quantities of beads are known from other weapon burials, such as at Reykjasel, where 34 beads were found in a burial with a spear, whetstone, knife, and iron ring (Eldjárn and Friðriksson 2016:218). There is another possible case from Traðarholt, where 13 beads were discovered in a grave with an iron object that was suggested to be a sword (Eldjárn and Friðriksson 2016:72). On the basis of the available evidence, the Brú burial is likely to have been that of a single individual.

The grave from Santon in Norfolk has also been interpreted as a double burial, and again, the reason is that it contains both a sword and oval brooches (Bjørn and Shetelig 1940:12-13; Shetelig 1954:79; Evison 1969:330). The grave is very poorly recorded, but the most detailed description states that a skeleton was discovered 'laid at full length' which presumably means extended. It also states that 'With the skeleton was found an iron sword and two bronze brooches' (Greenwell 1874:208; see also Smith 1901:347). There is nothing about the description suggesting that this was a double burial. This grave is different from the two others in that the brooches appear to have been worn by the deceased. Remains of textile are quite obvious on the pin hinge of one of the brooches, clearly indicating that it was attached to clothing when it was interred. In this grave, the brooches are unlikely to represent an offering as suggested by Julian Richards (2004:205). The grave is more likely to be the burial of a person wearing the strap-dress and oval brooches, and who was also buried with a sword. In some ways this could be seen as the opposite scenario to the two graves presented above. The sword must not necessarily have been a personal possession of the deceased, but placing the sword in the grave was clearly a way of re-membering the deceased in a funerary context. We do not know exactly how the sword was placed in the grave. It might have been part of the deceased's dress in the sense that it was in a scabbard and attached at the person's waist. It could also have been laid in the grave beside or on the deceased. This is of course an important distinction, as it could suggest very different relationships between the sword and the individual. If worn, it would have been part of dressing the body for the burial, suggesting either that there was an intimate connection between the artefact and the deceased, or that this was something the mourners

wanted to suggest (re-member). If the sword was placed in the grave afterwards, a greater emphasis could have been placed on the sword itself, either because of its object biography, or because of its citational properties. Either way, it does seem to have been important to re-member the deceased in this grave with a sword, and as the interment of oval brooches and swords together is rather rare, this is likely to have been highly noticeable.

These examples demonstrate that weapons and oval brooches do occur in the same graves, and that this does not have to mean that we are dealing with double burials since grave-goods do not have to be personal belongings of the deceased. As the previous chapter demonstrated, things can have long and complex life histories, and their use in burials will not have *one* clearly defined meaning upon which everyone agrees.

SUMMARY

There are clearly certain types of artefacts that occur more frequently in graves with oval brooches, like other forms of jewellery and types that are rarer, such as weapons. This is likely to mean that some of the connotations carried by oval brooches might not have corresponded well with those of certain other artefacts, and that re-membering an individual with both oval brooches and weapons, though it did occur, was rare. As has also been demonstrated here, however, this is not a definite rule, and it very much depends on how the artefacts were used. Although some types of use appear more common, there are clearly significant individual variations. There are two distinctions observable in the corpus that I especially wish to highlight. They are the distinction between objects used for dressing the dead body versus those placed in the grave before or after the deceased, and the distinction between artefacts visible to the mourners and those that are hidden from view. Both of these distinctions are crucial for how grave-goods could have affected the participants of funerary rites, and as demonstrated here, there are considerable differences in how even artefacts of the same type were used in funerary rites. The effects of these distinctions will be examined further in the individual case studies (section 3.4).

3.3.4 External structures

The external structure of the graves is not regularly remarked upon, often presumably because the burials were flat graves with no surviving above-ground markers. It is also possible that many graves could originally have been capped by mounds, but traces of these might not have survived. Mounds (or descriptions suggesting mounds) are mentioned in 18 instances (table 17), but it is unclear what these structures were. In Britain, many of the mounds seem to have been prehistoric mounds reused in the Viking Age; some presumably burial mounds (Claughton

Hall), others settlement mounds (Broch of Gurness), and others again seem to have reused prehistoric middens (Cárn a' Bharraich). In Iceland it is often difficult to determine if a mound was natural or man-made since they are often described as small hillocks. As larger mounds seem to be non-existent in Iceland (Friðriksson in Eldjárn and Friðriksson 2016:622), it is perhaps likely that these were natural rather than man-made, though they might have been artificially enhanced. There are also some mounds from both Iceland and Scotland that are described in a manner that suggests they might have been made for the burial. In addition, there are other ways the burials have been marked. There are two burials that have been placed next to prehistoric standing stones. These are the only known examples of this practice from Britain, and it is very rare in Scandinavia as well (McLeod 2015a:302). In Iceland there is one instance of a possible stone setting, described as a circular wall 18.5 m in diameter (Eldjárn and Friðriksson 2016:228).

TABLE 17 *External structures recorded in the corpus.*

Site	Structure
Claughton Hall, England (B.ID 03)	Mound (prehistoric)
Muckle Heog, Scotland (B.ID 19)	Mound (prehistoric)
Wick of Aith, Scotland (B.ID 22)	Mound
Pierowall, Scotland (B.ID 26)	Mound (pre-existing, natural?)
Pierowall, Scotland (B.ID 27)	Mound (pre-existing, natural?)
Pierowall, Scotland (B.ID 28)	Mound (pre-existing, natural?)
Lamba Ness, Scotland (B.ID 29)	Mound
Broch of Gurness, Scotland (B.ID 32)	Mound? Broch mound
Castletown, Scotland (B.ID 34)	Mound (broch mound?)
Keoldale, Scotland (B.ID 36)	Mound? (Cairn?)
Westerseat, Scotland (B.ID 37)	Mound
Ardvouray, Scotland (B.ID 44)	Standing stone (prehistoric), Mound
Cárn a' Bharraich, Scotland (B.ID 48)	Mound (partly Mesolithic shell-midden?)
Ballinaby, Scotland (B.ID 49)	Standing stone (prehistoric)
Miklaholt, Iceland (B.ID 57)	Mound
Mjóidalur, Iceland (B.ID 60)	Mound (natural?)
Miðhop, Iceland (B.ID 64)	Mound (natural?)
Hrísar, Iceland (B.ID 69)	Mound (natural?)
Dalvík, Iceland (B.ID 70)	Mound
Ketillstaðir, Iceland (B.ID 76)	Stone setting?
Snæhvammur, Iceland (B.ID 78)	Mound (natural)
Álaugarey, Iceland (B.ID 79)	Mound

The purpose here cannot be to determine what type of external structure was most common as the lack of recording of any structure for the clear majority of the graves means that any conclusion drawn would be highly uncertain. It seems likely, however, that the dead were either placed in flat graves or interred in mounds. The physical construction of mounds does not seem to have been of crucial importance, however, as many of the mounds were clearly extant before the burial, either as prehistoric or natural mounds. The reuse of earlier mounds is relatively common in Scandinavia as well (Thäte 2007), but it is interesting to note that the majority of mounds, particularly in northern Scotland, are associated with earlier settlements rather than burials (Thäte 2007:120-125; Leonard 2011; Norstein 2014:66-69; McLeod 2015b). The types of mounds most commonly reused for burial are broch mounds (see Batey 2002 for a discussion). The brochs were large drystone towers dating from the second half of the first millennium BC and were in decline by the second century AD (Armit 1990:437–438, 2003:55, 108, 133). Their exact purpose is uncertain, but they were undoubtedly monumental and it is possible that display and territorial control was an important factor (Armit 1990:441–443). The brochs were mainly in ruins in the Viking Age, and might well have resembled large mounds (Harrison 2008:231-232). The reuse of these mounds has been interpreted in the context of making claims to land through association with earlier monuments (McLeod 2015b). There were of course no earlier monuments in Iceland, but the use of existing natural mounds could have served similar functions. We should not discount the practical expediency of using an existing mound either. That being said, the creation of new mounds could have been an important part in the funerary process (Gansum and Oestigaard 2004). An example of this is seen in the construction of the, admittedly outside the corpus and considerably larger, mound at Ballateare on the Isle of Man. The mound consisted of strips of turfs collected from a wide area. It had been capped by the cremated remains of several animals, and a post hole suggests an additional grave marker. A second skeleton that has been suggested as a human sacrifice was found in the upper layers of the mound (Bersu and Wilson 1966:47-48), though as pointed out by David Griffiths (2010:83), there are certainly alternative interpretations that could explain its presence.

We do not have similar evidence in the present corpus as very little has been recorded concerning the construction of the grave monuments. At least some of the mounds that appear to be dated to the Viking Age seem to have been created out of stone and earth. At Wick of Aith, the stones appear to have been covering the body directly, or possibly some form of burial chamber, whereas at Dalvík, the burials seem to first have been covered by soil and then a layer of stones to form low mounds (Bruun and Jónsson 1910:67; Batey 2016:40). The creation of a mound, depending on the size, is likely to have been a time- (and possible

resource) consuming process. There seems to have been a desire to mark the burial, though from the present material it is unclear if the process of erecting it was important in itself. The physical process of creating the mound would have been remembered by the people involved particularly if it was associated with ritual performances such as those we presumably see at Ballateare. There are some clear differences in how the body was interred between the use of existing mounds and the creation of new ones. In the latter case, the body seems to have been buried beneath the natural ground surface and the mound raised over it (as for instance at Ballateare). In the former case, however, the body does not seem to have been placed under the mound, but rather in it, and not necessarily in the centre. It is possible that the reason for the many shallow Icelandic graves (Friðriksson in Eldjárn and Friðriksson 2016:622-623) is that several were originally covered by low mounds.

The flat graves may also have had above-ground markers. Although there is little evidence of this among the graves with oval brooches, there are examples among other Viking Age furnished burials. The clearest example is from the modern excavation of the cemetery at Ingiriðarstaðir in Iceland, where several of the graves had post-holes surrounding the grave, suggesting a structure covering the burials (Friðriksson in Eldjárn and Friðriksson 2016:503-509). As the surroundings of the graves in this corpus are rarely remarked upon, it is very possible that traces of structures such as these might have been missed.

Any form of external marker could have evoked remembrances of the burial and the deceased for a long time after the burial itself took place, especially as the funeral should be seen as a dramatic display. If this was the case, however, it might have been the funeral itself that was remembered, and not necessarily details of the individual's life. The funerary rites were performed for the individual, however, and the memories created during them could hence be seen as a process of re-remembering the deceased in manners considered suitable for the community. It is far from certain that the backfilling of the grave or erection of the mound marked the final phase of the burials. It is certainly possible that additional rites were carried out at the site of the burial for some time afterwards. The reopening of burials briefly discussed in section 2.4.1 might be an example of this. The marking out of individual graves could suggest the importance of continuing interactions between the living and the individual dead.

3.3.5 Placement in the landscape

The location in the landscape of British, Irish and Icelandic graves has been recently studied. Harrison (2008) has examined the placement of British and Irish graves, and Friðriksson (2013) that of the Icelandic. The following descriptions and discussion are to a large extent building on their work. The results are not necessarily

easily comparable, however. Friðriksson studied the Icelandic graves in relation to borders, travel routes, and farms, especially the relationship of burial sites to contemporary settlements (Friðriksson 2013). This type of study is not possible in Britain and Ireland where the relationship between burials and settlements is largely unknown (Harrison 2008:196-197). The graves are generally assumed to be related to contemporary settlements, but this relationship is difficult to prove. Harrison (2008:215-216; Harrison and Ó Floinn 2014) noted the possibility of the importance of settlement borders with particular reference to the cemetery sites of Dublin which seem to correspond with the borders of the high medieval Liberty of Dublin. In general, Harrison (2008:209-221) noted a difference between graves from northern Britain and Ireland where the majority were found close to the coast, and the southern areas, where burials less than 2 km from the coast were rare and locations in river valleys far more common. In both areas, burial sites were often placed on sloping ground, avoiding both flat land and summits. The coastal sites were often placed at the edges of bays and inlets, frequently with restricted views to open water. They often seem to be associated with good landing sites (McLeod 2015c). This latter feature was also noted for the Icelandic burials that are found near the coast (Friðriksson 2013:198-199). Harrison's study was moreover concerned with the relationship between furnished Scandinavian burial and both ancient sites and contemporary Christian monuments, which is of course not applicable in Iceland. Despite these differences, I will attempt a comparison with reference to the graves with oval brooches.

In all areas, the burials clearly seem to be found on or near areas of arable land, which is suggestive of settled communities (e.g. Kaland 1982; Harrison 2008:195-196; Friðriksson 2013). In Scotland, the burials have a clearly coastal location, arguably not surprising as they are generally found in the northern and western Isles. Still, only five of the graves have been found more than 1 km from the present coastline. The possible burial at Ospisdale house (B.ID 39) is furthest away, being 8.7 km away from the open sea. It is less than 1.5 km from the Dornoch Firth, however. In Ireland, all but three graves have been found in Dublin. The Dublin burials are all over 5 km inland, but with the exception of the Finglas grave (B.ID 08), they are all found close to the river Liffey. The three burials from outside Dublin were all discovered close to the coast, though the exact location of two of them is rather uncertain. None of the English burials can be said to have a coastal location; the closest to the shore is Claughton Hall (B.ID 03), but it is located 12 km inland, and both Leeming Lane (B.ID 02) and Santon (B.ID 05) lie approximately 50 km inland. The Icelandic graves cannot generally be said to have particularly coastal locations either; only five graves are less than 1 km from the sea. As noted by Harrison with regards to the English burials, many of the Icelandic burials are also found in river valleys, presumably reflecting the more

densely populated areas. There is also a tendency for the Icelandic burials to be located on sloping ground.

Friðriksson argued that the furnished burials of Iceland were very often located near paths of travel (Friðriksson 2013:225). When excluding the burials with very imprecise information about location, we are left with 15 burials, eleven of which Friðriksson located close to roads or tracks. None of the Scottish graves have been associated with roads, but at least two of the five English graves are demonstrably associated with Roman roads. The Dublin burials, as well as possibly being associated with the boundaries of the settlement, were also located close to access points and thus, roads (Harrison and Ó Floinn 2014:294).

A significant part of Harrison's discussion was concerned with the relationship between furnished Scandinavian burials and ancient and Christian monuments, whereas Friðriksson was, as mentioned, mainly concerned with their association to contemporary settlements. These factors are unfortunately not comparable, as the former does not exist in Iceland and there is not enough evidence of the latter in Britain and Ireland. They will therefore be discussed separately here. Harrison (2008:226-227) noted a difference between the northern areas of Britain and Ireland and those of the south, in that burials were more commonly associated with ancient monuments in the north and Christian sites in the south. This distinction is not as clear in the present corpus, mainly because there are few burials with oval brooches in the southern areas. It is evident that the reuse of ancient monuments occur most frequently in Scotland, where there are nine instances. The types of monuments reused were partly presented in section 3.3.4. The majority of these were mounds, most frequently broch mounds. In addition, there is one probable case of reuse of a Bronze Age mound in northern England, at Cloughton Hall. The association with Christian sites is less clear. All the burials from Ireland in this corpus seem to be associated with Christian sites, which are mainly cemeteries (Harrison and Ó Floinn 2014:294-295). However, the evidence for an association with an early medieval church and cemetery suggested for the burial from (near) Arklow, Co. Wicklow (B.ID 17) is very slight (Harrison and Ó Floinn 2014:585-586). The burial at Santon in Norfolk was discovered some 200 m from a church, though this is of later foundation (Harrison 2008:593). There are also sites in Scotland which are clearly associated with pre-Viking burials, though their Christian nature is not overtly clear. The modern excavation at the cemetery of Westness on Rousay in Orkney (B.ID 31) is one example of this. The site contained graves interpreted as both 'Viking' and 'Pictish' (see Kaland 1973, 1993; Kaland 1996; Sellevold 1999, 2010). Radiocarbon dates showed that the cemetery had been in use from the sev-

enth to the tenth century, approximately.¹⁵ There was no intercutting of the earlier graves, indicating that these had been visible and also respected. A continuation of burial is also possible at the cemetery site of Reay in Caithness (B.ID 35). Three definite furnished Scandinavian burials were discovered, but there were also some unfurnished long-cist graves at the site. Their date is uncertain, and they could equally well be late Norse as Pictish (Graham-Campbell and Batey 1998:126-127). However, the site clearly was of some importance in the Pictish period, indicated, for instance, by sculptural assemblage (Batey 1993:153).

Although very few of the farms associated with Viking Age burials in Iceland can actually be dated with any certainty, it is clear that many of them have long histories (Friðriksson 2013:235). The buildings themselves are obviously not still standing, but Friðriksson (2013:232-242) argued that the Viking Age farms are likely to have been located very near their later equivalents. Friðriksson demonstrated that burial sites in Iceland are most frequently found between 100-700 m from a farm, and most commonly between 200 and 500 m (Friðriksson 2013:256-260). He argued that the burial sites are often located just outside the home field, at the furthest borders of the property, or somewhere in between, and are frequently associated with crossroads of tracks leading from the main road to the farm. Friðriksson examined most of the Icelandic burials in the present corpus and was able to determine a more or less accurate location for 14 of them. There is no clear tendency for the burials with oval brooches to fall into one of Friðriksson's categories in particular; rather, examples of all three categories are represented. Both Snæhvammur (B.ID 78) and Rútsstaðir (B.ID 62) are located around 150 m from the farm; Snæhvammur outside the western border of the home field. The majority of the other graves seem to be within 250 and 550 m from the farm, sometimes associated with tracks leading to the farm, like at Brú (B.ID 56) and Miðhóp (B.ID 64). Many of these are also associated with borders. There are also some graves that are clearly further away. Flaga (B.ID 80) for instance is located over 700 m away from the farm at its boundary and next to a ford, and Syðri-Hofdalir (B.ID 68) is 1.5 km from the farm at the southern limit of the property. A couple of the graves, Reykjasel (B.ID 72) and Álaugarey (B.ID 79), cannot be associated with any farm. In the case of the latter it was found on a small island which seems to have been uninhabited in the Viking Age (Friðriksson 2013:251). The possible grave from Vestdalur (B.ID 77) discovered in a mountain pass was clearly not associated with any farm either, though this particular grave was not included by Friðriksson.

This overview demonstrates that there is no single factor determining the choice of burial site, though there are certain features that are rather frequently found.

15 Kaland (1993) writes 7th-9th century, Sellevold (1999) writes 7th-11th century, and Sellevold (2010) writes 7th-10th century.

One is the association with borders, and, at least in Iceland and perhaps Ireland, with paths of travel. The coastal burials in Scotland could also be seen in the same context, especially as they are often found in places overlooking good harbours, which is the case for the rather more rare coastal burial in Iceland as well. An association with rivers is seen in many areas, but in Iceland at least, this might be more of a result of the river as a natural border. In none of the areas do extensive views appear to have been a determining factor in the choice of burial sites. Friðriksson (2013:262-264) even demonstrated that the burial sites are frequently lying lower in the landscape than the farms.

The sites of burials are important in this context because they were creating sites where the deceased could be remembered. These sites clearly seem to be associated with settlements and many also with paths of travel, which means that they might have frequently been visited or at least passed. This would have allowed for continued interactions between the living and the dead. To what extent it would be the individual deceased who was remembered, or rather a collective dead, is a different question.

CEMETERIES OR SINGLE GRAVES

Many of the graves in the corpus are clearly part of larger cemeteries, in this thesis a cemetery is defined as a site with more than two graves, though there are also some that might be single burials. For 46 of the 81 burials in the corpus, there is no available information suggesting the presence of additional burials. In ten cases there are indications that there is at least one additional grave present, whereas 21 are from definite cemeteries and two have information suggestive of a cemetery (table 18). This cannot really help us understand how common single burials were relative to cemeteries because single burials are rather difficult to prove since most of the burials were discovered by chance and the surrounding area has not been examined. This means that there could often have been more graves in the immediate vicinity of the supposed single graves. Sites were clearly frequently used for more than one burial which corresponds well with the indication that burials are generally associated with settlements.

TABLE 18 *Number of burial sites of potential single graves, more than one individual, and cemeteries. The numbers in brackets include possible cases.*

Country	Possibly single	At least two individuals	Cemetery
England	4		1
Ireland	4		7(8)
Iceland	20	2(6)	1(2)
Scotland	19	3(6)	12
Total	46	12	21 (23)

There are great variations in the size of cemeteries, with the largest by far being the site of Kilmainham-Islandbridge in Dublin where there is evidence for a minimum of 53 graves, though these seem to belong to several distinct clusters rather than one continuous cemetery (Harrison and Ó Floinn 2014:242, 252). The other cemeteries are considerably smaller (table 19).

TABLE 19 *Number of individuals in cemeteries. The asterisk marks sites where other features in the vicinity could be additional Viking Age graves. The numbers in brackets include graves not interpreted as Viking graves.*

Site	No of graves
Kilmainham-Islandbridge, Ireland (B.IDs 10-16)	>53
Pierowall, Scotland (B.IDs 23-28)	>16
Dalvík, Iceland (B.ID 70)	14
Westness, Scotland (B.ID 31)	5-8 (31)
Cnip, Scotland (B.ID 40)	7
Broch of Gurness, Scotland (B.ID 32)	7?
Cumwhitton, England (B.ID 01)	6
Ballinaby, Scotland (B.IDs 49-50)	5
Reay, Scotland (B.ID 35)	3 (5)
Westerseat, Scotland* (B.ID 37)	?
Miklaholt, Iceland* (B.ID 57)	?

It is unclear how long the different cemeteries were in use for as the dating is determined by the typology of artefacts that could have been in use over an extended period of time (e.g. section 2.4.4). With the exception of Westness and, possibly, Reay where the cemeteries was clearly in use in the pre-Viking period, there is nothing to indicate that any of the cemeteries were in use for a very long period of time. All the oval brooches from Kilmainham-Islandbridge, for instance, belong to the early Viking Age types (section 2.3.2). The size of the cemeteries might be a reflection of the size of the community they meant to serve. It is ob-

vious, however, that not everyone received this form of burial (e.g. Vésteinsson and Gestsdóttir 2016).

There are no obvious double graves in the material. The only grave that might be part of a burial containing more than one individual is from Cárn a' Bharaich on Oronsay in the Hebrides (B.ID 48). The report of the site is confusing, but there seem to be two people discovered in the centre of a mound in a possible boat (M'Neill 1891). A third individual, who was buried wearing oval brooches, was discovered some considerable time later at the outer edges of the mound (Curle 1914; Grieve 1914). The relationship between these three individuals is unclear, but it is possible that all were buried at the same time, perhaps in a single boat (Harrison 2018). There is also a possible double grave from Westness containing a woman and a full-term infant, and it has been suggested that she died in childbirth (Graham-Campbell and Batey 1998:136; Sellevold 1999).

There are clearly significant differences between a single grave containing several individuals and a cemetery where graves were added at different times. The first does not suggest the same long-term investment in the site. It is possible to see the cemetery sites as sites for the remembrance of the communal dead, rather than for specific individuals. Although the funerary rituals themselves would have been re-remembering the individual deceased, the site of memory created might have meant that the dead was re-remembered as part of a larger community of the dead. Single burials are different in this sense, as the dead were not seen to join a larger community, though to what extent this commonly occurred is unclear. The potential grave from Vestdalur (B.ID 77) might be an example of a single burial, if it is indeed a burial. It was discovered in 2004 in a rock shelter by a mountain pass, presumably far from any contemporary settlements. The unusual location, as well as the lack of any clear indication of human ritual activity, has led to it frequently not being interpreted as a burial at all (Bergsteinsson 2005, 2006; Þórhallsdóttir 2018). Rather, it is suggested that the individual was killed by a rock slide as they rested in the shelter. If this was the case, they were unusually well-dressed, wearing a pair of oval brooches, a trefoil brooch, a round brooch, a ringed pin, as well as over 500 beads. The person is also then likely to have been travelling alone. This has led to suggestions that this could have been a *volva* (see Þórhallsdóttir 2018:20-21). I am more inclined to see this as a burial, though evidently an unusual one. The burial is obviously isolated, both in terms of distance from settlements, and also from contemporary graves. In that sense the dead individual was not re-remembered as part of a community, neither living nor dead. The deceased was clearly dressed in a comparable manner to a number of other Viking Age burials, though certainly among the more well-equipped in terms of jewellery. The individual was in some ways re-remembered in comparable manners to many others, though the location

sets it apart. A similar scenario could be imagined for the rather isolated grave at Álaugarey (B.ID 79).

The issue of community could be worth examining further with reference to four different categories: (i) single burials close to settlements, (ii) single burials far from settlements, (iii) cemeteries close to settlements, and (iv) cemeteries far from settlements (table 20). The first might be rather common; there are many apparent single burials either demonstrably close to settlements (Iceland) or on prime agricultural land, though it is often not completely certain that they were not part of larger cemeteries. The second category is clearly rarer, but there seem to be two very likely cases from Iceland at least. The third category is common, with likely or definite examples from all areas studied here. There are no examples of the fourth category.

TABLE 20 *Spatial relationship between burial sites and settlements.*

	Close to settlements	Far from settlements
Single burial	Common?	Rare
Cemetery	Common	Non-existent?

Burials close to settlements could suggest that the dead were re-membered as still a part of the living community, whereas burials far from settlements suggest that they could have been re-membered as apart from the community. When the dead were buried in larger cemeteries they would have been re-membered as part of a community of the dead, whereas single burials would suggest a greater focus on the individual dead. Although there are variations, the norm seems to be that the dead were re-membered as still a part of the community; perhaps most commonly in cemeteries where they were part of a community of the dead, but this latter point is uncertain. It seems that distinct individuals might have been re-membered apart from the rest in single burials far from settlements, but there are no clear cases of a 'community of outsiders', i.e. cemeteries far from settlements.

This overview of the placement of burials in the landscape has brought up some important points. There seems to be a connection between burials sites and settlements. This is definitely the case in Iceland and for the majority of the Irish graves, but it seems likely in Britain as well since the graves there are generally associated with arable land. The burials are also frequently associated with paths of travel, either by land or sea. These two factors suggest that the dead remained important to the living. They were re-membered as still part of the community, and the frequent associations with borders as well as travel routes could suggest that they were cast in a liminal role.

Burials containing more than one individual are rare in the corpus, suggesting a focus on the individual in funerary rites. They are often part of cemeteries (probably

more often than what is recorded), however, suggesting that the deceased were frequently re-remembered as part of a community of the dead. The often geographically close proximity between settlements and cemeteries suggests continuing interaction between the community of the living and that of the dead.

3.3.6 How were the dead treated?

Viking graves are sometimes seen as characterised by their diversity. This is true for the present corpus as well, but there are still certain norms in the material, though these are not strictly defined or absolute. The norms were there, however, and all the burials were relating to them, either through quotation and paraphrasing, or through purposely disregarding them. This was all done in reference to the norm. What is the norm, then? As demonstrated above (sections 3.3.1-3.3.5), the norm seems to be single primary inhumation of dressed individuals, placed either supine or on one side, with the legs either extended or flexed, placed in flat graves or mounds, and presumably close to settlements and often part of cemeteries, though perhaps also as single graves. What does this norm say about how the dead were re-remembered? One of the clearest features is the similarities between life and death. The dead seem to have been re-remembered as individuals; complete, dressed in a manner resembling life, and also clearly visible. The dead also seem to have been re-remembered as physically close to the living, and often also as part of a community of the dead.

There is room for significant variation within this norm, especially in the use of internal and external structures as well as grave-goods, and there are obvious deviations from it as well. For example, there is a possible cremation grave clearly not emphasising similarities between life and death (at least not to the same extent as the inhumation graves), a prone burial where the individual was in parts hidden rather than displayed (section 3.3.1), graves with unusual combinations of grave-goods, such as weapons and oval brooches (section 3.3.3), possible double and/or triple burials, and burials in unusual locations (section 3.3.5). These deviations would have been deliberate and clearly noticeable because of how they related to the norm. The individuals in these graves were evidently re-remembered differently. Why this was done is practically an impossible question to answer. Identities and social roles in life could have been a factor, but circumstances surrounding death could also have been crucial (further discussed in chapter 4). Particular deaths might have required specific and deviating responses in order to provide the wished for result. The next part will deal with particular deaths, though not really ones with deviating responses. It will rather examine variations within the norm by studying how individuals were re-remembered through funerary rites.

3.4 Thanatographies

The previous section dealt with different types of ritual practices seen in the corpus and how they could have affected the way the dead were re-membered. What it did not do, however, was examine how the different aspects intersected, and how this affected the performative aspects of the rituals. That is the purpose of the following case studies, or thanatographies. I have chosen four case studies, one from each region. These were chosen because they are among the best documented burials in each region, if not the best themselves. They were not chosen because they are supposed to be more representative, but because it is possible to comment on many of the factors discussed above. The four burials which will be examined here are: Cnip, Lewis, Scotland (B.ID 40); Dalvík, Eyjafjarðarsýsla, Iceland (B.ID 70); Cumwhitton, Cumbria, England (B.ID 01); and Finglas, Co. Dublin, Ireland (B.ID 08). The section on Cnip will be comparatively longer as many of the inferences that can be drawn from it are also valid in the other cases.

3.4.1 Cnip, Scotland

The burial from Cnip is easily the best documented of the Scottish burials with oval brooches. It was discovered in 1979, and though not excavated by professionals, considerable care was taken during the excavation allowing for a relatively detailed reconstruction of the content of the grave if not its structure. It was published in the PSAS in 1987 (Welander et al. 1987) with description of the discovery and excavation process based on the original report from the excavation, detailed analysis of the artefacts, as well as interpretation of the burial in its wider context. In the early 1990s, six additional burials were discovered in the vicinity (Dunwell et al. 1995a), clearly demonstrating the presence of a Viking Age cemetery.

The burial was discovered by accident as holiday-makers saw human remains – part of a foot – eroding out of a sand bank. It was excavated by them under the care of the procurator fiscal. About 30 cm above the skeleton ran a darker band of sand which has cautiously been interpreted as the old soil horizon. The skeleton, which seemed to be that of a woman (Mary Harman in Welander et al. 1987:153), was oriented southwest/northeast and tilted slightly down towards the head. The location of the head is not specified, but the skeleton was said to have been lying parallel to the face of the sandbank which was eroded from the south (Welander et al. 1987:151). As it was the feet that were exposed first, this presumably means that the head was lying to the northeast. The body was extended on its back, though slightly on the right side with the arms at the side. The rib cage had collapsed ‘and the bone disarticulated on touch’, and the pelvis was also described as ‘previously disarticulated’ (Welander et al. 1987:151). The ringed pin (3) was discovered first. It is not stated exactly where it was found, but the illustration suggests over the ribs

on the right side (figure 42). A whetstone (5) with a bone needle case (6) beside it was lying next to the left humerus, and lower down a knife (7) apparently in a sheath. A sickle (9) was lying above the lower right ribcage, a buckle and strap-end (4) across the lower left rib cage, an antler comb (8) on top of the right arm (looks under on the illustration), several beads (2) were found in the neck area, as well as two oval brooches (1), one over the right clavicle (from the illustration it looks to be above the upper right humerus), and one immediately under the left jaw. The oval brooch on the right was discovered upside down. Textile remains were found inside both brooches. A rivet (10) was also discovered, but it is not clear if it was part of the burial. The external and internal structure of the grave is unclear, though it was suggested as likely to be a simple earth-cut grave. Parts of a stone wall near/just downhill from the grave seem to have been associated with the same soil horizon, but it is not clear how the two features are related.

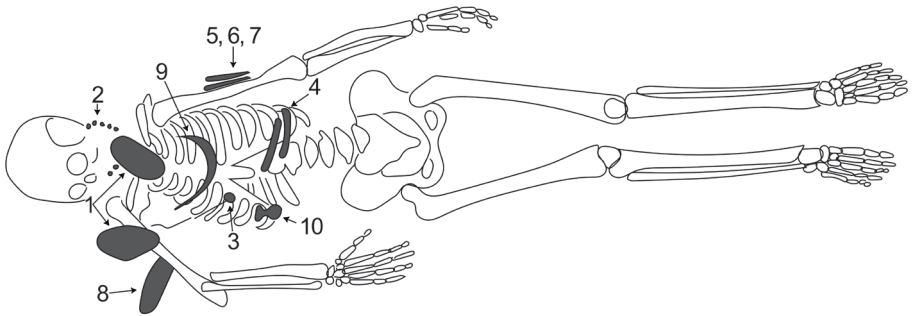


FIGURE 42 *Reconstruction of the placement of artefacts in burial A from Cnip. Redrawn by the author after Helen Jackson in Welander et al 1987:152. With the kind permission of the authors and the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland.*

The possibility that the grave was covered was discussed in section 3.3.2. It was noted that the disarticulation of the pelvis and the possible movement of one of the oval brooches could suggest that the body decomposed in an empty space. However according to the present evidence, it is not possible to say for certain. The placement of the artefacts was noted with some detail, and I will here attempt to divide the grave-goods into artefacts that were worn and those that were not. The oval brooches both had textile remains on the inside, clearly indicating that they were worn by the deceased. The beads in the neck area are suggestive of a necklace, rather than having been suspended between the brooches. The position of the ringed pin is not completely clear, but it might well have been worn, perhaps used to attach a cloak. The belt buckle and strap-end over the lower ribs suggest a belt at the waist. It is possible that the knife, as well as potentially the whetstone and needle case, were worn suspended from this. The two artefacts that clearly do not seem to have been worn by the deceased are the comb and sickle. The comb

was either placed on the right arm (text), or under the right arm (illustration). The sickle was placed on the upper chest. Although we cannot rule out the possibility of a mound, there is no evidence for it.

The burial detailed above (hereafter burial A) is clearly part of a cemetery (figure 43). Six other graves were later discovered in its immediate vicinity (Dunwell et al. 1995a). Stray finds of human bones and teeth suggest that the cemetery might well have contained more individuals (Dunwell et al. 1995a:743). The burials were those of a child (burial B), three adults (burials C-E), and two infants (burials F-G). Very few artefacts were associated with the burials; an amber bead and a (whet?) stone pendant were found in burial B, a bone pin and iron plate with burial E, an amber bead and one pin with burial F, and a rivet with burial G. The two other burials (C-D) were unaccompanied. There is some variation in the treatment of the bodies. The child burial was some distance away from the other burials (c.40 m). The body had been placed on its left side in a flexed position and oriented north-south. The three adult burials were discovered south of this burial, and presumably only a few metres north of burial A. Two of them (C and D, both male) had been buried supine extended, C with the hands on the pelvis and D with the hands down the side. The former was oriented east-west and the latter south-north. It is possible that the individual in burial C had been buried in a shroud (Dunwell et al. 1995a:732, see also discussion in section 3.3.1). The individual in burial E was female and buried supine with the legs flexed and turned to the right. The left arm was folded across the abdomen and the right lay extended along the torso. The infant burials were located very close to the group of adult burials, one of them (F) was extended supine oriented southeast-northwest, whereas the other was on the right side and flexed, oriented approximately east-west. Burials C-G seem to form a distinct cluster. Burial A may have been part of this cluster, though it seems to be located a few metres to the south. Burial B was located some distance away from these graves (Dunwell et al. 1995a:744).

An arrangement of stones had been placed around each of the adult graves. These partly overlay the grave fills, suggesting that they were placed there after the grave-cut had been back-filled. It was suggested that the graves might originally have been covered by low mounds, with the stones positioned as a kerb (Dunwell et al. 1995a:731). This could suggest that the stones discovered just downhill from burial A might have served a similar function, and therefore would not have been part of the stone wall as suggested by Welander et al. (1987:153).

Burial A is dated on the basis of the ringed pin which is of a type belonging to the tenth or early eleventh century (Welander et al. 1987:170; Fanning 1994:28). The remainder of the cemetery (burials B, C, D, E) have been radiocarbon dated to the later eight-late ninth/early tenth century (1 sigma, burials D and E) and later

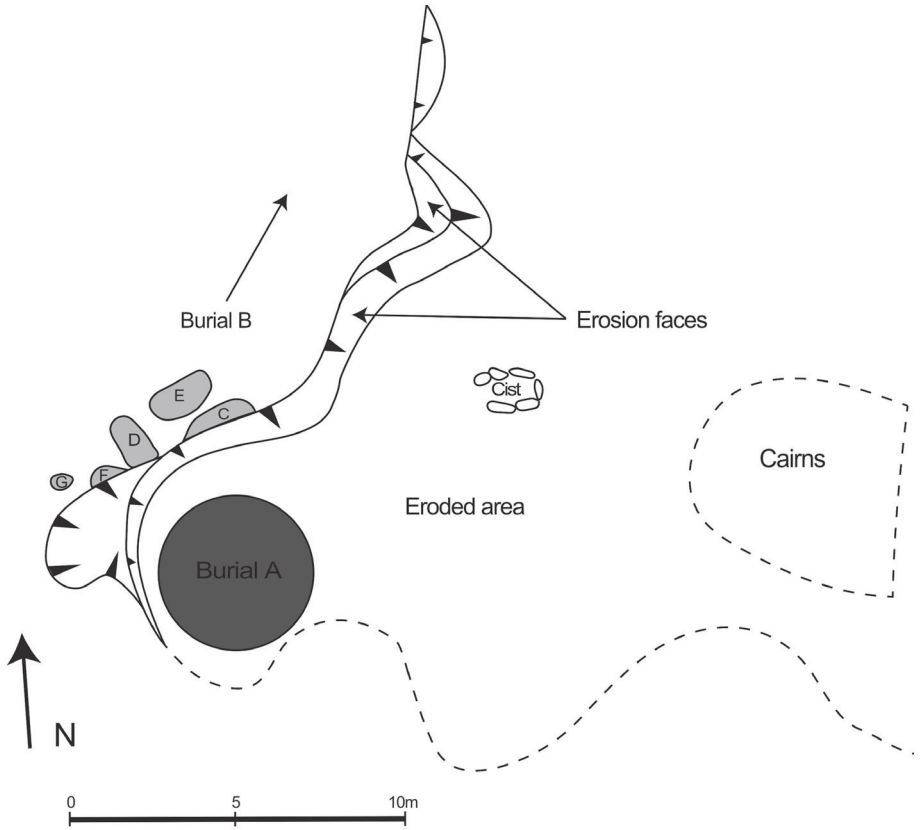


FIGURE 43 *Layout of the cemetery at Cnip. Drawn by the author after Dunwell et al 1995:728. © Crown Copyright HES*

ninth-later tenth century (1 sigma, burials B and C) (Dunwell et al. 1995a:742-743). They are, in other words, supposedly earlier than burial A. It is unclear, however, if the marine reservoir effect has been taken into consideration. It is at least not mentioned. Comparable studies from Pictish, Viking Age, and early Norse Orkney, as well as from the Viking Age burials from Repton in England, have demonstrated that the divergence in date could be considerable, at times even over 100 years, depending of course on the marine component of the individual's diet (Sellevoid 1999:7; Barrett et al. 2000; Jarman et al. 2018). This could mean that burials B-G are considerably younger than their radiocarbon dates seem to indicate, and they might well be contemporary with, if not later than Burial A. The seemingly Christian characteristics of some of the burials correspond well with a later date, particularly burial C with its east-west alignment, lack of grave-goods, and possible use of a shroud.

The site was clearly of some importance before the Viking Age as well. A Bronze Age cairn with three associated burials was located about 18 m east of burial A (Welander et al. 1987:151; Close-Brooks 1995). The cairn was likely visible in the Viking Age, though it may have merely resembled a sandy mound (Dunwell et al. 1995a:735). During the excavation of the Viking Age graves, a Bronze Age cist grave was also discovered between the cairn and the Viking Age graves (Dunwell et al. 1995b). Other archaeological features in the vicinity of the cemetery include 'hut-circles' of unknown function, though they were possibly related to Bronze Age activity. There is also a settlement mound about 50 m southwest of the cemetery site, though its date is unknown. Stray finds include Norse pins and pottery, indicating that there may well have been a settlement nearby (Dunwell et al. 1995a:720-722).

The cemetery (at least burials C-G) is located on a level terrace situated on otherwise sloping ground. The views to the north and west would have been restricted, though it afforded good views of the bay Traigh na Beireigh to the southeast. This would have been a good location to beach ships (Dunwell et al. 1995a:744; Harrison 2008:480; McLeod 2015c). The location corresponds well with Harrison's conclusions about furnished Scandinavian burial sites more generally, in that it was located on sloping ground, near the coast, and at the edge of a beach rather than at the centre of it.

HOW WAS THE DECEASED RE/MEMBERED?

Death involves the disappearance of a social persona and the appearance of a corpse. Although the death might have been expected, perhaps even prepared for, this is still a radical difference. How was this dealt with at Cnip? What ritual practices have we noticed, and how did these affect the remembrance and re-membrance of the deceased? I will attempt to go through some of the processes (performances) that I have been able to trace in the archaeological material, and I will attempt to recreate parts of the funerary rites in chronological succession. The first part possible to trace is the preparation of the body. Someone clearly dressed the dead, and this might have included other rites such as cleaning the body. Several artefacts were part of the dead woman's costume. She was wearing a strap-dress with oval brooches at each shoulder. The Cnip brooches (X.II 799 and X.II 800) (figure 44) were not described specifically in the previous chapter. They are similar, but a non-matching pair of types P51C1 and P51C2. Both are complete and well-preserved, but one of them has a rather obvious dent in the upper shell which might well be pre-depositional. The other has slight damage to one of the cast bosses. Both brooches are gilded, and there are traces of a lead/tin alloy on the platforms for the loose bosses. The columns leading to these platforms on X.II 800 have been acid-etched. This would have removed much of the copper and left a tin-rich

surface which would have been white when polished (Welander et al. 1987:160). This would have created quite a contrast to the gilded surface of the brooch. As argued in chapter 2, oval brooches are likely to have been personal belongings of the deceased (section 2.5.1). They were certainly often used before they ended up in burials, and the dent on X.IL 799 and the dented boss on X.IL 800 clearly suggest it in this case. These brooches were not produced as a pair either, which raises the question of how they came to be buried as one. In section 2.5.2, I argued that oval brooches might have been used in gift-exchange, one brooch could have been exchanged for another, perhaps as a mark of friendship, or they might have been split up as a result of inheritance. The brooches from Cnip might, in other words, have had quite different life histories, remembrances of which could have been evoked through the process of dressing the dead body. They could also have evoked remembrances of the person using them, though perhaps of everyday use rather than of specific episodes.

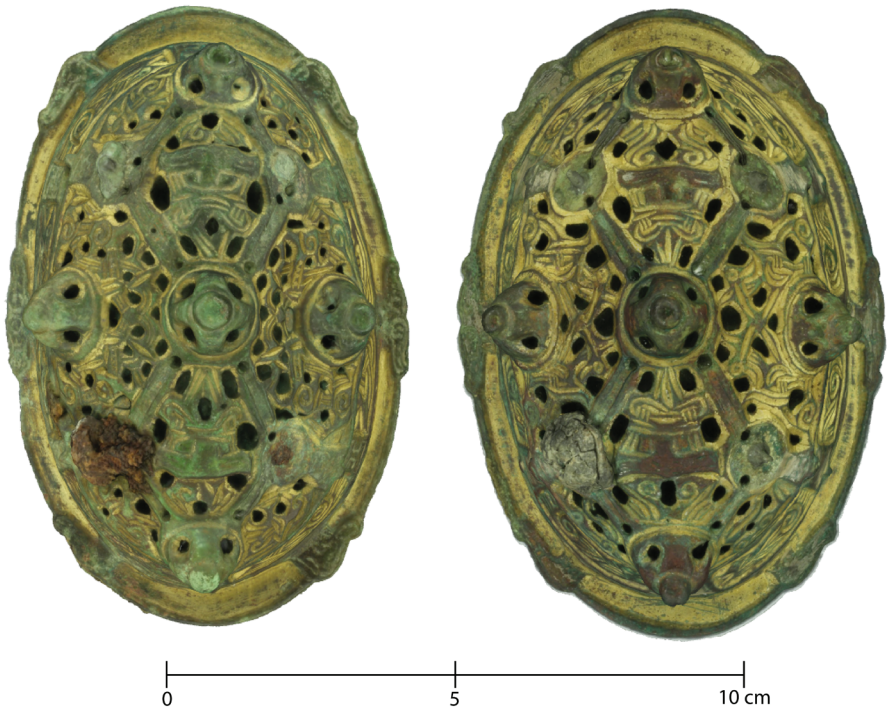


FIGURE 44 Oval brooches from Cnip, X.IL 799 (left) and X.IL 800 (right). Illustration by the author. By kind permission of the National Museums Scotland.

This first part of the funerary rites that we are able to trace is likely to have been performed by a specific group of people. Who these people were is of course im-

portant for how artefacts can evoke remembrance; they could have been people intimately associated with the deceased. These people would also have chosen how the deceased was supposed to be dressed. It is clear from the present corpus that there is no uniformity in how individuals wearing oval brooches were dressed for burial (section 3.3.3).

The woman from Cnip had, in addition to the oval brooches, been buried wearing a number of other artefacts, and these were all nodes in their own networks and able to cite other materialities, ideas, and practices, as well as evoke remembrances. Seemingly around her neck, she wore a string of beads. This was a composite object and it could easily have been fragmented and added to throughout its use-life. Even during the funerary rites themselves, beads could have been added to the necklace or removed to be kept by the mourners. She also seems to have been wearing a belt at the waist, something which has been seen as unusual in burials with oval brooches, but of which there are quite a few examples from the western settlements (section 3.3.3). To this belt might have been attached the knife, needle-case, and whetstone. None of these artefacts were functional parts of the costume, and their choice of inclusion would have been based on other criteria. They might well have been personal belongings of the deceased, as suggested with reference to knives (section 3.3.3), but it is still important to be aware that these artefacts represent a deliberate selection. Among the presumably numerous personal belongings of the woman from Cnip, these three artefacts were chosen. This could, of course, be partly due to their relationship with the deceased, but crucially, also with how the deceased was to be re-membered through the ritual process.

These artefacts were important for the remembering and re-membering of the deceased during the process of dressing the body, though the role they played later on is less evident. In addition to these objects, there was also a ringed pin in the grave, though it is unclear how it relates to the body. It is certainly possible that it was used to fasten a cloak around the body. This would have entailed that many of the artefacts described would have been at least partially concealed. Displaying these artefacts to a wider group of ritual participants may, in other words, not have been considered necessary or desirable. This does not entail that these artefacts were unimportant in the re-membering of the deceased, but rather that it was not important for everyone to witness.

Thus dressed, the body might have lain in state for some time as the grave itself was prepared and people arrived for the burial. How long a period this would be is very difficult to assess, though there are some instances from the western settlements where the eggs of hatched flies suggest that the body was lying in state for at least around 20 days (Bersu and Wilson 1966:70). This would have meant that the body would have begun to decay, visibly changing. How the body was treated and what

kinds of interactions there were between the living and the dead during this period is unknown, but it is possible that someone would have remained with the deceased and that people could have visited, viewing the body dressed and arranged for the burial. During this period of time the grave itself would have been constructed. It seems to have been an earth-cut grave perhaps around 50 cm deep. Into this grave-cut the deceased was placed, fully extended and slightly turned to one side. How the deceased looked at this stage is unclear. It is possible that decomposition had begun, but there is no evidence that the body would have been considerably altered. It does not appear to have been hidden from view, though as mentioned, some aspects of dress might not have been visible. The dead would presumably have been clearly recognisable, however, which suggests that it was important for the individual to be visibly re-remembered in the grave.

The comb was either placed on the arm of the deceased, or it had been lying in the grave before the deceased was placed there. The positioning of combs on the arms or shoulders is evident in other instances as well, particularly at the cemetery of Pierowall in Orkney (section 3.3.3). Combs seem to have played a distinct role in both Viking and Anglo-Saxon cremation rites where these are among the few artefacts not to have been burned with the deceased, but rather placed with the cremated remains (Williams 2007; section 3.3.3). There is a clear correlation between their use in cremation and inhumation rites, which suggests that combs – at least certain combs – played a specific role in these rituals. They were not included simply because they belonged to the dead. Ashby (2009:24) has argued that many of the combs in Viking burials in Scotland show no signs of wear. This suggests that combs in many cases were not included because of their individual biographies, but because of their citational properties. It is possible that they were connected with ideas or beliefs, perhaps concerned with the transformation of the body, as argued by Williams (2007). I have, however, argued that ideas and beliefs are not the most important part of the funerary rites, but rather the practice in itself (chapter 1.3.1). When examining the use of certain objects such as these combs, it is evident that they are often used in distinct ways, and in ways that would have distinguished them in the ritualised practices. Although it is possible that they cited ideas and beliefs, it is definite that they cited earlier practice, both in ritualised and non-ritualised performances. In these cases, the combs seem to be clearly ritualised. They were, in other words, distinguished from their use in other settings. The sickle was placed on the deceased upper stomach/lower chest. Its role in the funerary rites might have been comparable to that of the comb, though on the present evidence it is difficult to say if sickles were consistently treated in particular ways.

It is possible that the grave from Cnip was covered. The disarticulation of the skeleton and the disturbance of at least one of the oval brooches could indicate this. As a rivet was discovered in the grave, such a covering could have been made of wood, but other materials are also possible. Covering the grave could suggest that the dead was assumed to need space, but it does not appear to have been the case with the majority of the graves in the corpus. This would mean that the woman from Cnip was treated differently. The grave might have been capped by a small mound created by the sand that had been displaced by the body. This could have been surrounded by kerb stones, like those seen at the other adult graves from Cnip, clearly marking the location of the grave.

It is uncertain if the burial was placed in an existing cemetery, or if it was the first burial in the cemetery, as the chronological relationship between the graves is unclear. Burial A is likely to belong to the tenth century, an estimate made both on the grounds of the oval brooches and the ringed pin. It is at least unlikely to be earlier, though a date in the early eleventh century cannot be ruled out either. The original report argued that burial A was the latest of the group, but as suggested above, the radiocarbon dates for the other graves in the cemetery are rather uncertain as marine reservoir effect does not seem to have been taken into account. This means that the dates for the graves could be considerably later. Burial A is unlikely to have been the latest of the graves, though there is no clear evidence that it is the earliest one either. We must also be aware that originally there are likely to have been more graves in the cemetery.

Burial A is clearly quite different from the other graves. It is set physically slightly apart from the others, and it does not share an alignment with any of them. As there are considerable differences in alignment within the cluster of burials, the alignment might not be significant though. The greatest difference visible to archaeologists today, however, is in the use of grave-goods. This has been suggested to be a reflection of wealth and social position (Dunwell et al. 1995a:746). Although such an interpretation is a possibility that cannot be ruled out, it is building on the assumption that grave-goods are necessarily personal belongings of the deceased, and that placing them in the grave is a way of displaying wealth. I have less of an issue with the notion that graves with an extensive amount of grave-goods could indicate that the person was an important member of a society, but more with the opposite being taken to indicate a person of lower status. The choice of what artefacts to include in the burial is clearly deliberate and case-specific. This thesis is more concerned with the effects of this choice rather than the reasons for it, however, and from the perspective of re/membering the deceased, the differences could be considerable. As chapter 2 demonstrated, things have the ability to evoke remembrances because of their individual object biographies, and also because

they are part of a specific category of artefacts. The dead were re-membered in part through the use of things. This was clearly not the case in many of the other graves. I particularly want to emphasise the difference between burial A and burial C, where the positioning of the body could indicate that the deceased was buried in a shroud. The last image of the deceased is therefore not one of the individual laid out in the grave. The dead is not re-membered *in* the grave in as visible a way and with the same emphasis on the individual. This is an important distinction. There is a very clear contrast between the anonymity of burial C and the personal and individual expression in burial A. This does not mean that the expression in burial A necessarily reflected any lived experiences. Death is clearly about transformation, about the living person becoming something else. The apparent difference between burial C and A might be limited to the specific grave-side re-membering, and it is highly likely that the preparation of the body for burial would have included a much more personal encounter.

The difficulties with the chronological resolution entail that we cannot easily put this difference down to changing attitudes to death. The rather wide span in radiocarbon dates and the high probability that there were originally more graves present imply that some would have been more or less contemporary with burial A. This means that the deceased was re-membered as part of a community of the dead, and one which might have lasted for some time. The cemetery's relationship with Norse settlements is more difficult to assess. This area of Lewis has a very high density of Norse placenames (Fraser 1974). This, alongside the discovery of Norse pottery, as well as the burials both at this site and the nearby site at Bhal-tos, strongly suggests that there was a settlement nearby, and hence some form of continuing relationship between the living and the dead. The site chosen for the cemetery already contained burials dating from the Bronze Age. It is not clear to what extent this was obvious to the Norse settlers, but the Bronze Age cairn would, in all likelihood, have been clearly visible in the Viking Age, perhaps resembling a mound. The site might have been interpreted as an already established cemetery. The placement of the cemetery also meant that it overlooked a good landing site for ships, and it is possible that the site would have been passed frequently going to and from the harbour. This could indicate that continuing interactions between the dead and the living was important, and that the dead were re-membered as still part of the community.

3.4.2 Dalvík, Iceland

The cemetery of Dalvík is the largest discovered in Iceland. It consisted of thirteen graves excavated in 1909, and a fourteenth discovered and excavated in 1942. The first thirteen graves were reasonably well recorded, though the fourteenth less so. One of the graves (burial 5) contained an oval brooch, and it is this grave that

will be examined in detail here. Unless otherwise stated, this description of the graves is building on the report by Daniel Bruun and Finnur Jónsson (1910) who excavated the cemetery. This grave contained the fragmented remains of a human skeleton. It was oriented southwest-northeast, with the head of the skeleton in the northeast (figure 45). All the graves in the cemetery more or less followed this alignment. Approximately half a meter from the foot end of this grave and on the same alignment was a separate grave cut (B) containing the skeleton of a horse. About

The human skeleton was quite decomposed, though the skull and some of the leg bones survived. The skull seemed to be lying slightly higher than the rest of the body. Decomposed fragments of the remainder of the skeleton were also present in the grave. Close to the skull, a single oval brooch (1) was found lying horizontal to the body. There were remains of textile discovered inside the brooch. An iron knife (2) was discovered near the left hip, and fragments of a bowl of soft stone (presumably steatite) (3) were located towards the bottom of the grave. Parts of the bowl were missing, and Bruun and Jónsson suggested that this might have happened the year before during clearing of the area. There were also two (or three) additional pieces of iron (4 and 5), one of which was suggested as a possible second knife (4). The grave cut to the north contained the skeleton of a horse as well as two buckles (8 and 9) and two (or three) rivets (6 and 7), presumably parts of a saddle. The head of the horse (X) had been decapitated and placed on its stomach. All the other horses from the cemetery had been treated in the same way. The neck of the horse was turned towards the northeast.

The grave cut (A) was 1.8 m long, 0.8 m wide, and between 0.4 and 0.5 m deep. The cut for the horse grave (B) was 1.5 m long, 1 m wide and between 0.45

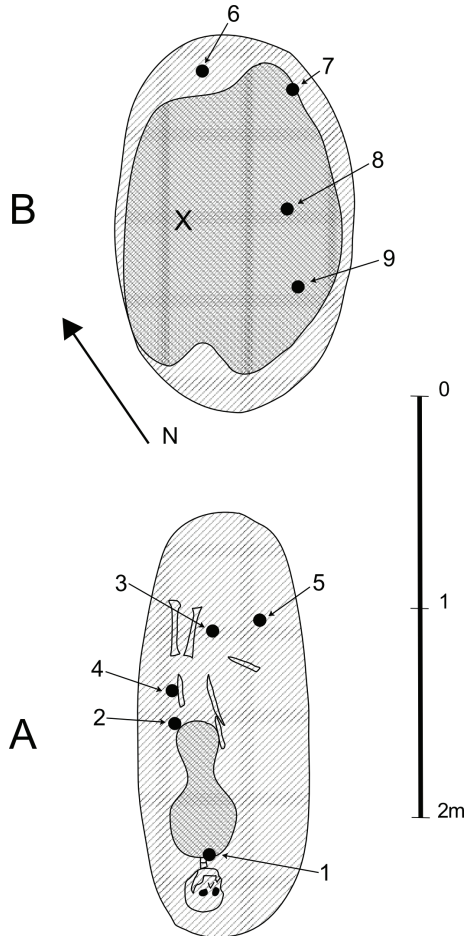


FIGURE 45 Internal layout of burial 5 from Dalvik. Redrawn by the author after Bruun and Jónsson 1910:81.

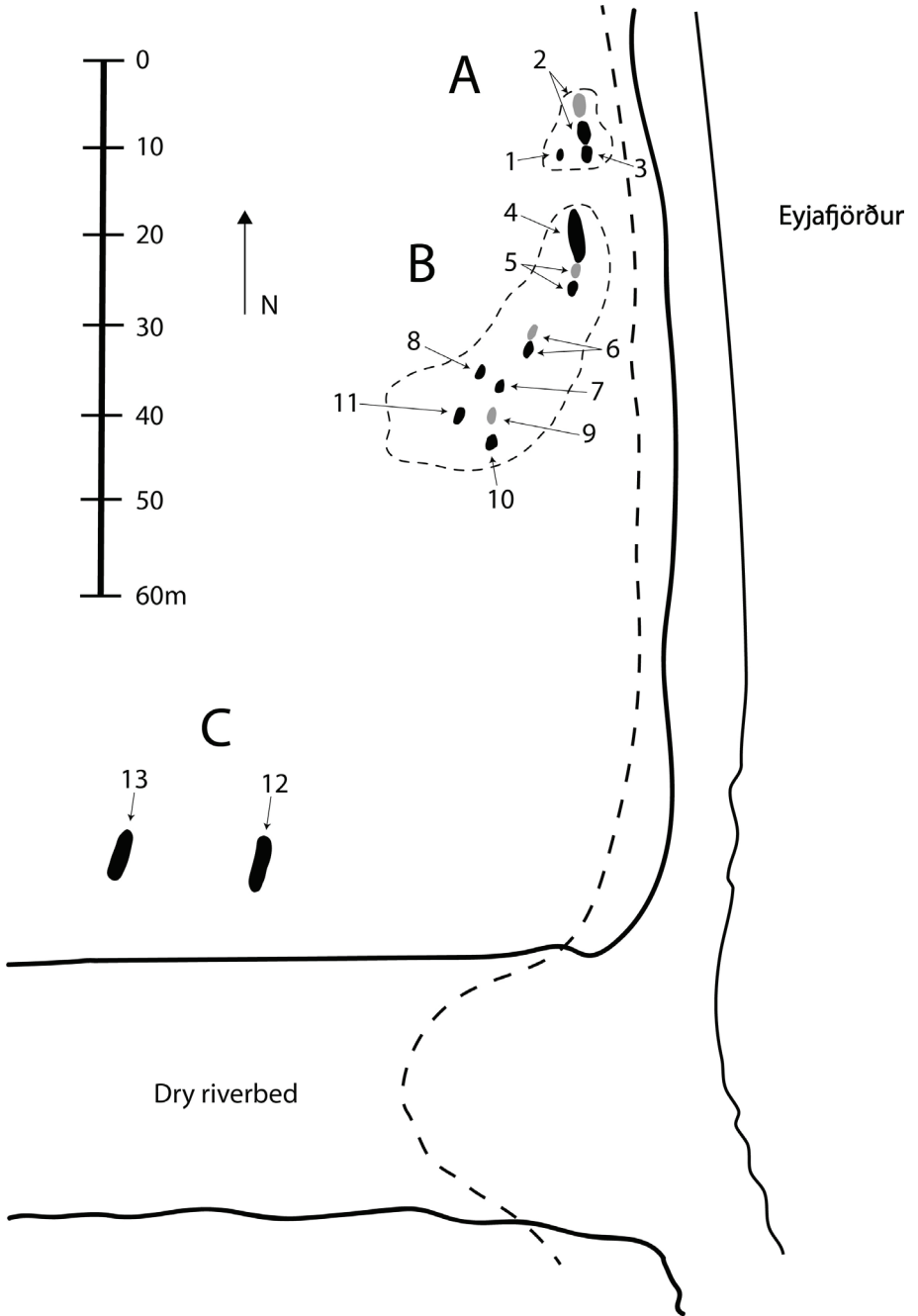


FIGURE 46 Location of the graves at Dalvík. Redrawn by the author after Bruun and Jónsson 1910:65.

and 0.5 m deep. All the graves at the site had been cut into the underlying natural soil which consisted of blue moraine clay. They had been filled with a more yellow soil and turf. The graves had been covered by a layer of stones. This layer did not only cover each individual grave, but all the graves within one group. Although the individual graves did not appear as clearly defined mounds (apart from graves 12 and 13), Bruun and Jónsson (1910:67) suggested that they would originally have been distinguishable as low flat mounds.

The cemetery excavated by Bruun and Jónsson consisted of thirteen graves (figure 46). These were grouped into three clusters (A-C), each covered by a layer of rocks. There were no burials outside these areas. Cluster A was located furthest north and contained three graves. Burial 1 contained the skeleton of a human and a dog. The human was suggested to have been buried in a sitting position on the basis of the location of the skeletal remains. The skull was discovered face down and the jaw separate from it. This could indicate that the grave had initially been covered. Spread among the skeletal remains, ten or eleven beads were found. There were also some remains of wood with traces of an iron rivet. The grave was aligned southwest-northeast. Burial 2 was located to the northeast of the first grave. In Bruun and Jónsson's map (which figure 46 is based on), it seemingly consisted of two grave cuts, but the text makes it clear that it was a single grave cut containing the skeleton of a human and that of a horse. The human was lying extended in the southern part of the grave and the horse was placed in the northern end, partly covering the feet of the human. The individual had been buried with a spear, a whetstone, a knife, and eight lead weights. Some iron nails near the horse skeleton could suggest the presence of a saddle. Burial 3 lay south of 2 and east of 1. It contained the body of a human, again suggested to have been half sitting in the grave. It was also suggested that the grave may have been at least partially covered, which could explain the dispersion of the skeletal remains. Some traces of wood were discovered, which could indicate such a cover. The burial was specifically stated to have been undisturbed. The individual had been buried with a spear and three lead weights. Fragments of iron were also discovered in the grave, some presumably rivets.

Cluster B was located about 10 m south of cluster A. It was the largest one and consisted of seven graves of people as well as three separate horse graves. Two of these were clearly associated with a human burial, but the third (burial 9) was not. It was to this cluster that burial 5 belonged. Furthest north lay burial 4 which was the only boat burial. Partial remains of a human, a dog, and a horse were discovered; the human in the southern end, the dog near the middle, and the horse in the northern end. The rather small space seemingly occupied by the human led to the suggestion that this person could also have been buried half sitting, though

there is no other evidence for it, and it is also possible that the burial was simply flexed or crouched. Apart from a buckle found with the horse skeleton, no other grave-goods were recovered, though it was suggested that the burial could have been disturbed. The already described Burial 5 lay 3 m south of this grave. Burial 6 lay 7 m south of this one again, and it also consisted of two grave cuts, the northernmost for a horse, and the southernmost for a human. No artefacts were recovered from either grave cut. Burial 7 had been disturbed the previous year, though during excavation it became clear that it contained the remains of a human with a dog in their lap and no further artefacts. The human was again thought to have been buried sitting, though no further details were provided. Burial 8 was said to be located southwest of grave 7, though on the map it appears to be west/northwest. Some remains of the skeleton were present as well as some fragments of wood. In burial 9, the skeleton of a horse was discovered. There was no human burial immediately associated with it, but the excavators suggested that it could have belonged with Burial 10 to its south from which it was divided by a few metres. This grave only contained the remains of a human skull. The final burial of this cluster, burial 11, lay a short distance to the west. It contained fragmented human remains as well as some pieces of iron. Pieces of coal were also discovered in the grave.

Cluster C consisted of two burials, each in distinctly separate mounds. The mound of burial 12 was 6 m long and 2 m wide at the centre. It contained the remains of both a human and a horse. The human was placed in a grave cut in the southern end. The individual was buried with a whetstone, a knife, 19 gaming pieces, and remains of a bowl similar to that in burial 5. Towards the northern end of this grave cut, the skull of a dog was discovered. The horse skeleton, which was 0.8 m to the north, seemed to have been placed on top of the natural ground surface, rather than cut into it. A bridle-bit was discovered with the skeleton. Burial 13 was lying somewhat to the west. The mound was 7.5 m long and 2 m wide. Like the former, it contained a human and a horse, the human in the southern part and the horse to the north. Again there was no grave cut for the horse skeleton. Five glass beads, a piece of iron (possibly a knife), and a 2 cm long piece of hollow bone (proposed to be a button, but the description could also suggest part of a needle case) were discovered, as well as some pieces of shell were also found in the grave. The fourteenth grave was discovered in 1942, though very few details are known. It was the burial of a human and a horse, though it is unclear if they were in separate grave cuts or not. A piece of iron, possibly from a buckle was also discovered. The skull seems to have been in the southwest, indicating that the grave was on the same alignment as the others from the cemetery (Eldjárn and Friðriksson 2016:170).

The cemetery of Dalvík is located in northern Iceland in Eyjafjarðarsýsla. It is located very close to the shore of Eyjafjörður, near a harbour. There is a dry riverbed to the south of the site, and a riding path running next to the shore. The site is located 450 m from the farm of Brimnes (Friðriksson 2013:442). There are two other burial sites near Dalvík. One of them, Lækjarbakki, was also examined by Bruun and Jónsson in 1909 and was located 500 m to the north of cluster A. The third site (Böggvisstaðir) is located some 500 m to the south where a boat burial was discovered in 1937. The site had been previously disturbed, but remains of a horse skeleton and some iron fragments, some of which could have been a sword, were discovered. Two other burials are reported from the site, though neither was investigated. One of them was said to contain the skeleton of a human and a horse (Eldjárn and Friðriksson 2016:162-163).

HOW WAS THE DECEASED RE/MEMBERED?

There are of course similarities between the burial at Dalvík and that at Cnip, in the sense that death demands certain responses. We see the preparation and dressing of the body which perhaps lay in state for some time while the rituals were prepared. We have the digging of a grave, the placement of the dead in it, the deposition of grave-goods, and the closing of the grave. With the exception of the deposition of grave-goods, these practices reoccur in almost all the burials in the corpus. There are also differences, however. At Dalvík, only two artefacts possibly used to dress the body were discovered; an oval brooch which had clearly been used as it had remains of textiles on the inside (figure 33), and a knife which was found near the hip and might have been worn suspended from the waist. Suspending a knife from a single brooch worn at the throat does not seem particularly practical, so again, this is suggestive of the use of some form of belt at the waist. The use of the oval brooch at Dalvík was discussed in some detail in section 2.6.4. It is one of a few burials from Iceland that seems to have contained only one brooch. It is not possible to determine with absolute confidence that there was only one brooch present, but no disturbance of that part of the grave was noticed. Inside the brooch, some of the textile remains do look like a strap, similar to what would be expected if the brooch had been worn with a strap-dress. It is perfectly possible, however, that straps such as these could also have been part other types of clothing, perhaps a cloak, as its placement horizontally across the throat or central part of the upper chest would indicate. The brooch is showing signs of both wear and repair, and was likely quite old before it ended up in the burial. It might well have been an heirloom. As there is only one brooch in the grave, it begs the question: what happened to its pair? It is possible that it was lost, destroyed, or given away long before the burial, but it could also have been passed on as an heirloom in connection with the death and burial of this individual. Its

worn state and the fact that it occurs alone indicates that it had an interesting life history, and was associated with other people and perhaps specific events, such as marriages or deaths. As it seems to have been buried alone, this suggests that the woman was not wearing a strap-dress. Hence, the brooch was not used because it was functional; oval brooches might have been ill-suited for wear with other types of garments (section 2.4.3).

The use of this brooch was highly deliberate, it was chosen because of the connotations it carried. Its placement could suggest that it was used to fasten some sort of outer garment, which means that it would have been clearly visible when the deceased was placed in the grave. This is quite different from what we see at Cnip, where the brooches may have been partially covered. The more public use of the Dalvík brooch indicates that it could have evoked remembrances as more than just part of a group of artefacts, perhaps because parts of its object biography would have been known to the attendants. It is also possible, however, that its more public use was in part due to its (obvious) antiquity and possible rarity. It is noteworthy that none of the other burials from around Dalvík contained oval brooches.

The deceased was placed in the grave cut, presumably supine and extended, and like at Cnip, the deceased would have been clearly visible in the grave. By the feet a steatite bowl was placed. This was discovered in a fragmented state, interpreted as the result of disturbance, though the fragmentation could also have been deliberate (see Lund 2013 for a discussion of fragmentation). It is possible that the bowl was used as a container, perhaps for food or drink. This could indicate that the dead was assumed to require nourishment. Two other unrecognisable artefacts were discovered, of which, one could have been a second knife. This was discovered below the other knife, so it is possible that this was also worn, but it could equally well have been placed in the grave afterwards. If this was the case, it is interesting to note how differently the two knives in the burial were treated. Whilst one was used to dress the deceased, and was possibly not even visible during the burial, the other was placed in the grave afterwards and in front of a presumably greater number of participants. This suggests a less personal relationship and greater importance of display.

The most dramatic parts of the funerary rites at Dalvík would presumably have been the killing and burial of the horse discovered in its own grave cut about half a metre from the foot end of the person's grave. The horse had been decapitated and the head placed on its stomach. In Leifsson's (2018:118-119) discussion of the Dalvík graves, he pointed out that the horse from burial 2 had had its throat cut, presumably after being poleaxed. It was probably decapitated after it was already dead. The current location of the skeleton of the horse from burial 5 is unknown,

and it has not been studied, but the similarities in treatment seen with regards to the horses strongly suggest that this is a possibility for the horse in burial 5 as well. This would have involved considerable amounts of blood, at least presuming that the blow to the head would have stunned the animal and not killed it. At what time in the funerary process this occurred is unclear as there is no stratigraphic relationship between the two grave cuts. In burial 2, however, it is clear that the horse was placed in the grave after the human, and also after some of the other grave-goods, since it was partly covering the individual's legs, and was also lying on a spearhead. If the order of events was similar in burial 5, the individual would have been lying in their grave, dressed and with the bowl and other grave-goods, when the horse was killed. The body of the animal was then placed in the grave cut, and at some later point, its head. Despite many similarities between the treatment of the horses in burial 2 and burial 5, there is of course the important distinction that they were placed in the same grave in burial 2, and in two distinct grave cuts in burial 5. Burial 4 also had the human and horse in the same grave cut, this time a boat, whereas there was a separate grave cut for the horse in burial 6. The horses in burials 12 and 13 were not in the grave cut with the human, but at the foot end of it, though covered by the same mound. There is also grave 9 which contained only a horse and did not seem immediately related to any human grave. This last grave suggests that the horse was not necessarily buried as the grave-goods of an individual. Horse-killing might have been associated with ritual performances in other ways that made the killing, decapitation, and burial of horses meaningful. The consistency in methods of killing and depositing horses could suggest that it was not the individual horse that was important, rather the citational properties of the practice. This means that we should be careful in interpreting the horses from burials as 'belongings' of the deceased. It also suggest that burials sites could have been used for other forms of ritual activity in addition to burials.

There is no immediate indication that the grave had been covered, although this could have been the case with some of the others burials from Dalvík (burials 1 and 3). The skeletal remains were rather fragmentary, but do not appear to have been considerably disarticulated. This does not exclude the possibility that the skeleton could have been covered in some way, however. In either case, the grave was filled with yellowish earth and turf, over which a layer of water-rolled stones gathered from the beach was placed, perhaps forming a small mound.

The chronological relationship between the burials at Dalvík is unclear, but it seems likely that burial 5 was placed in an already existing cemetery, and it is clear that these burials have many features in common. One aspect is, of course, the frequent inclusion of horses in the funerary rituals, which occurs far more commonly here than in other places. It is also worth noting that all the burials from

Dalvík share the same alignment – they are all looking towards the fjord. Burial 5 from Dalvík seems to be a much more clearly integrated part of the cemetery than burial A from Cnip, which stood out in relation to the other graves. Although some of the burials from Dalvík also seem to be devoid of grave-goods, this might be a result of later disturbance. Like at Cnip, however, the burials from Dalvík are divided into separate clusters. The different clusters suggest that people were buried in different parts of the cemetery, which could have depended on specific criteria. Each cluster is covered by a layer of stones deliberately brought there from the beach. It is not completely clear, however, if a layer of stone originally covered each individual grave, and it was only later that they came to resemble a layer. However, judging from the appearance of burials 12 and 13, this might be the case. This suggests a desire for marking out individual graves, and hence re-membering the dead as distinct individuals, though still related to a larger community of the dead. The distinct clusters of burials are suggestive of differentiation between groups also in death.

The site of the cemetery does in some ways resemble that at Cnip, in that it was placed close to the shore and near a harbour. It seems to have been some distance from the farm site, however, around half a kilometre, and near the border of a nearby farm. There was also a riding path running between the site and the shore, suggesting that they would probably have been frequently passed. As the graves seem to have been capped by low mounds, they are likely to have been quite easily visible. This could indicate that continuing relationships between the living and the dead were important.

Although there are clear differences between Cnip and Dalvík, they were still variations within the same norm. The dead were quite naturally remembered differently as they would have had completely different lives, but they were not re-membered in radically different ways. Differentiations in the use of grave-goods do not really alter the general picture.

3.4.3 Cumwhitton, England

The burial at Cumwhitton in Cumbria is arguably the best documented of the graves with oval brooches from the western settlements. The grave was discovered in 2004 by metal detectorists who first discovered one, and then the other, of the oval brooches from the grave. It was subsequently excavated and published by Oxford Archaeology North (Paterson et al. 2014). The grave turned out to be part of a cemetery consisting of six graves, of which the grave examined here is grave 1.

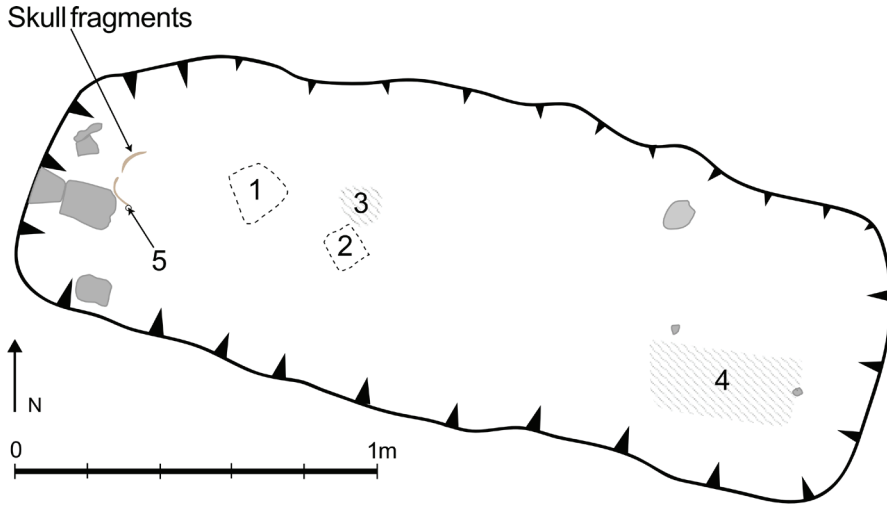


FIGURE 47 Internal layout of grave 1 from Cumwhitton. Redrawn by the author after Adam Parsons in Paterson et al 2014:54. © Oxford Archaeology Ltd.

The acidic soil meant that very little in terms of organic remains had survived, though part of the skull discovered in the western part of the grave could suggest that the burial was supine extended and it was evidently an inhumation grave. The grave was 2.4 m long and 0.92 m wide; rectangular, but with rounded corners (figure 47). It was oriented east-west and had been cut into the natural sand. The burial was discovered directly beneath the ploughsoil and had been disturbed by ploughing (Paterson et al. 2014:53). The oval brooches had been discovered and removed before excavation, but the interventions made by the metal detectorists (1 and 2) suggest that they were originally placed in the chest areas. One brooch was discovered further down the body than the other, but this is likely a result of post-depositional disturbance. The remains of a small knife with decorative silver inlay as well as a key (3) were found not far from the second brooch. A wooden box with a lock matching the key had been placed in the foot end of the grave (4). This box was found to contain several artefacts: a lead spindle whorl, iron shears, a glass linen smoother, an antler comb, and an unidentified iron object, which could have been a needle case. A sowing needle was visible on the x-ray, but no physical remains of it were recovered (Paterson et al. 2014:54-64). A bead (5) was discovered near the skull fragments, but it is unclear if it was in situ. Other beads discovered in the ploughsoil might also have originated from this grave.

Several other artefacts discovered in the ploughsoil could have been from grave 1 as well (figure 32). Two fragments of a Borre-style copper-alloy belt buckle were discovered, as well as a Bernal style oval brooch that I have interpreted as belonging to this grave (section 2.6.3). Other ploughsoil finds in the vicinity of grave 1 were

parts of an antler comb, a second bead, a knife, and part of a second key. There were textile remains discovered in association with the oval brooches, the box, as well as the key. Fly pupae were discovered in the mineralised textiles attached to the oval brooches, and might suggest that there was some delay between when the body was dressed and interred in the grave (Paterson et al. 2014:157). The pupae might have been laid before burial, but hatched after the body was interred, however.

Grave 1 lay approximately 10 m southwest of the other graves which formed a distinct cluster (figure 48). They consisted of five graves organised in two rows. All the graves in the group were oriented approximately east-west, though slightly more northeast-southwest than grave 1. No skeletal remains had survived from the other graves, and all were gendered on the basis of grave-goods. Grave 2 was the only other grave interpreted as female. It contained a buckle and strap-end located in the waist area, eight beads found in the neck area, two copper-alloy chain-links, a finger-ring discovered with the beads, and an armring on the left-hand side of the body. Both the finger-ring and armring were made of oil-shale. A drinking horn had been laid close to the individual's head, and a sickle, a pair of shears, and a comb had been stacked on top of each other not far from it. It is possible that these were originally contained in a now disintegrated organic container (Paterson et al. 2014:70-75). A roughly rectangular dark stain in the bottom of the grave cut could suggest the presence of a coffin or wooden bier (Paterson et al. 2014:68). Textile remains, as well as remains of sheepskin and sealskin were found in association with the buckle and strap-end.

Grave 3 lay closest to grave 1, and southwest of grave 2. The grave-goods, which seemed to be in situ, consisted of; a sword in a scabbard which seems to have been lain over or under the right shoulder with a ringed pin fused to the underside of the blade, a group of seven beads and three silver rings in the neck region, a knife presumably near the waist, and a group of objects consisting of a whetstone, three pieces

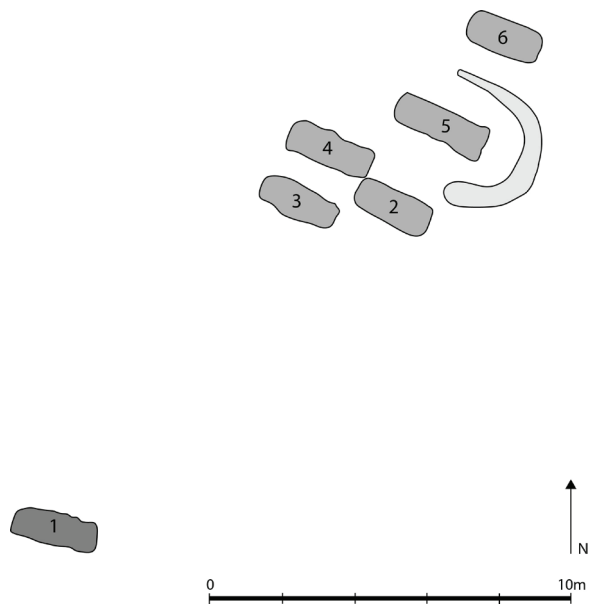


FIGURE 48 Location of the graves from Cumwhitton. Redrawn by the author after Adam Parsons in Paterson et al 2014:117. © Oxford Archaeology Ltd.

of flint, and a folding blade was near it, perhaps contained in a pouch suspended from a belt. Two buckles and strap slides were found in the foot end of the grave, and it is possible that these were associated with a set of spurs, though none were found in the grave. There were, however, fragments of spurs from the ploughsoil which could have originated from this grave. A rectangular area of dark staining, particularly visible in the western end of the grave, might again be suggestive of a coffin or bier (Paterson et al. 2014:79-81).

Grave 4 lay in the same row as grave 3, to its north. The positioning of the artefacts could indicate that it was partly disturbed. The grave-goods consisted of; a spearhead in the foot end of the grave probably to the side of the body with an axe head lying beneath it, a sword with remains of a scabbard lying diagonally over the legs perhaps worn suspended from the waist, and a shield boss centrally placed on the body. Underneath the shield boss, and possibly contained in a pouch, lay an object identified as a strike-a-light and two pieces of flint. There was also a ringed pin near the tip of the sword. It could have been displaced, but it was also suggested that it might have been used to fasten a shroud. A buckle and strap-end were also discovered, but some distance apart, indicating that they were no longer in situ. A knife was also discovered at the waist, and there was a single, likely disturbed glass bead and a small unidentified iron object in the grave as well. A folding knife from the ploughsoil could potentially have been from this grave (Paterson et al. 2014:90-100).

Grave 5 was in the centre of the eastern row. A semi-circular ditch was found surrounding its eastern end, suggesting that the grave could originally have been covered by a mound. A sword was lying in a scabbard along the northern side of the grave, potentially worn suspended from the waist at the left side. There was a spear in the foot end which could have lain alongside or partly over the body. Two beads were discovered in the neck region, whereas a third was found at the deceased's left-hand side, possibly contained in a pouch alongside three pieces of flint, a silver coin, a glass disc, the remains of a knife, an unidentified copper-alloy object, and a ringed pin. A belt buckle and folding knife were also discovered in this region. A large knife (seax) had been placed on the right hand side of the body, perhaps slightly below the waist. Towards the foot end of the grave a set of spurs were found, and at the very bottom of the grave the remains of an iron chain possibly used for the suspension of a vessel, perhaps a cauldron, was found. A drinking horn had been placed near the deceased head on the left-hand side (Paterson et al. 2014:101-116).

Grave 6 was the northernmost grave and had been rather heavily disturbed, with only three artefacts remaining in the grave. These consisted of a spearhead at the foot end of the grave, a knife near the waist area, and a buckle in the same

region. Several artefacts recovered from the ploughsoil are likely to have originated in this grave, however, especially a fragmented sword discovered along with a glass bead less than four meters to the west of the grave. Other possible artefacts that could have belonged to this grave include a ringed pin and two folding blades. A third spearhead was also discovered, but it cannot be confidently linked with any of the graves (Paterson et al. 2014:117-122).

The site of Cumwhitton was extensively investigated, and there were no signs of further graves nor of any early medieval settlement activity in the immediate vicinity. The cemetery is located about 2 km east of the river Eden and about 300 m northwest of the modern village. The site was located on a small ridge aligned northeast-southwest and would have had good views of the surrounding area, particularly to the north and east where it also overlooks the Cumwhitton Beck, approximately 15 m to the east of the easternmost grave. This could possibly have represented a property boundary (Paterson et al. 2014:160). The most significant settlement in the area at the time of the burials might have been Wetheral, some 4 km to the northwest, which could have been a functioning monastic site (Paterson et al 2014:1).

HOW WAS THE DECEASED RE/MEMBERED?

The poor level of preservation at Cumwhitton means that there are many unknown factors in the ritual practices despite the excavation being very well documented. The body was clearly clothed, and in this instance, we do have some evidence that the deceased would have lain in state for some time, as fly pupae were discovered in the mineralised textile attached to the oval brooches. How long a period is not clear, however, as the pupae could have hatched after the deceased was interred. It is worth highlighting that the deceased would have been lying in state wearing the oval brooches, and presumably a strap-dress. Depending on how long this stage lasted, the body might have started to decompose which would have been a highly sensory experience, involving both sight and smell, and perhaps also sounds. It is unknown how visible the body would have been during this process, however. At this stage, the individual would have been wearing the pair of oval brooches, possibly with the knife and key suspended from them, but it is at least equally likely that these were suspended from a belt at the waist as a belt buckle was discovered in the ploughsoil only a short distance away. The single bead discovered by the skull could potentially be part of some form of headdress or hair decoration, but it could also have been displaced, or placed next to the body and hence not worn. Another possibility is that it was part of a necklace and that the other beads had been dispersed, or that only some were deposited in the grave. These artefacts may well have been personal belongings of the deceased, and the process of dressing the body in this manner is likely to have evoked remembrances of other times

the artefacts were used. At the same time, these specific artefacts were selected to re-member the deceased.

Following an indeterminate interval after death, the body was placed in the grave. The skull fragments discovered demonstrate that it was an inhumation grave, and the size and shape of the grave cut and placement of the artefacts suggest that the individual was buried supine extended, and oriented more or less east-west. The deceased individual seems to have been clearly visible in the grave. Dark staining inside the grave cuts of graves 2 and 3 are suggestive of a bier or coffin, but there is no trace of this in grave 1. The deceased might have been placed directly in the earth-dug grave, though it is possible that textiles were lining the bottom of the grave cut. The disturbed nature of the grave means that it is impossible to say whether or not it was originally covered. One of the brooches seems clearly to have moved, but this is presumably due to later disturbance. It is possible that the body had already started to visibly decompose before it was placed in the grave, which could have highlighted death as a transformation, and lessened the similarities between the deceased in life and in death. It appears, however, that the dead was dressed in a manner likely to have resembled life, at least with reference to the pair of oval brooches. The case was discussed in some detail in the last chapter (section 2.6.3), where I demonstrated that the third oval brooch, the Berdal brooch, would have been considerably older than the other pair of brooches, perhaps as much as a hundred years, and I suggested that it might have been an heirloom. It is unclear whether or not it should be interpreted as a personal belonging of the deceased, worn as part of dress, or if it was placed in the burial during the deposition of grave-goods following the deceased. The latter could suggest a more public performance, singling out the brooch, perhaps because of its specific object biography.

In addition to the brooches, the individual is also likely to have been wearing a belt of some sort, from which the knife and key might have been suspended, as mentioned. There were also a number of other artefacts in the grave, many of which found in other graves with oval brooches. Unusually, however, these artefacts do not appear to have been displayed, but were instead all placed within a wooden chest at the foot end of the grave. These artefacts included textile equipment such as the glass linen smoother, the spindle whorl, the needle case with needle, and the shears – but also an antler comb. The treatment of the comb is clearly distinct from what we see in many other graves where they were often placed on the body of the deceased, frequently on or near the arm joints. At Cumwhitton, the comb does not seem to be as intimately related to the body of the deceased. The key at the woman's waist matched the lock of the box (Paterson et al. 2014:59), which could be indicative of personal ownership. If we examine how the various artefacts in the grave were used to re-member the dead, however, it is evident that artefacts

hidden from view in a box would not have the same effect as artefacts placed in the grave during the funerary process. However, we cannot discount the possibility that the objects could have been placed in the grave in front of an audience before the box was placed in the grave. The use of a locked box is interesting as it could suggest that not all parts of the funerary processes were deemed necessary, or perhaps even suitable, to be visible to all participants.

There is no evidence of any above ground features associated with burial 1, but it was extremely shallow, only 9 cm at its deepest. Therefore, it is possible that any traces of a surrounding ditch for a mound, such as that perhaps seen with grave 5, might have been destroyed by subsequent agricultural activity. The graves surrounding grave 5 seem to be spaced too closely together to allow for a larger mound. However, all the graves at Cumwhitton are very shallow, which could suggest that they were all originally covered by smaller mounds (Paterson et al. 2014:157-158). None of the graves are possible to date with any degree of certainty, but there is nothing to suggest that grave 1 should be considerably earlier or later than the other graves in the cemetery (Paterson et al. 2014:153-155). In a similar way to the grave A from Cnip, grave 1 at Cumwhitton, the only one containing oval brooches, was located some distance away from the other graves, which form a distinct cluster. The excavators of Cumwhitton argued that grave 1 was of more demonstrably Scandinavian type than the other graves and that this should be seen in relation to its relative separation (Paterson et al. 2014:67). Issues concerned with regarding the graves as displaying ‘Scandinavianess’ is discussed in the next chapter (section 4.2.1), but the distinction in treatment of the individual in graves 1 could suggest that this person was re-remembered slightly differently from the other inhabitants of the cemetery; as part of the community, and yet somehow separated from it.

No signs of early medieval settlements were discovered during the survey and excavation. The nucleated settlement of Cumwhitton could be medieval in origin, and it was suggested that a Viking Age settlement could have been its precursor (Paterson et al. 2014:159). It is, in other words, possible that it was associated with a contemporary settlement, though it cannot be definitely proven.

3.4.4 Finglas, Ireland

The burial from Finglas, though clearly the best documented of the Irish graves in the corpus, has not been fully published, and the following description is based on a preliminary report by Maeve Sikora (2010) and its description in the catalogue of *Viking Graves and Grave-Goods in Ireland* (Harrison and Ó Floinn 2014:533-537). The description of this grave is therefore not as detailed as that of the other case studies. The burial was discovered accidentally in 2004 during the excavation

of some medieval ditches, and it contained the skeleton of a woman between the ages of 25 and 35 at death, as well as a pair of oval brooches, a casket, and a comb. The body had been buried supine extended and oriented northeast-southwest. The pair of oval brooches had been placed just below the shoulders, and the comb and box were on the pelvis. It is unclear whether or not the comb had been placed in the casket. The burial had been considerably disturbed; the legs were truncated above the knees, the skull had been disturbed, and the left shoulder and upper arm were missing. The oval brooch on the left side of the body was fragmented, but the other was complete. The fingers of the left hand were found underneath the damaged brooch, suggesting that the hand had been placed underneath the woman's dress. There were also a number of animal bones in the grave, but this is likely to be due to later disturbance (Sikora 2010:403-404). Nothing is mentioned about the internal or external structure of the grave.

Unlike the other graves used as examples here, there are no further furnished burials discovered at Finglas, and there are no unfurnished burials in the immediate vicinity either. It seems to have been an isolated grave. The burial is, however, located very close to an early medieval monastic site of some significance. It was clearly in existence both before and after the Viking Age, and there is some evidence of continuity in the Viking period as well, though it cannot be ruled out that it was temporarily abandoned (Sikora 2010:402-403). The burial's exact relation with the ecclesiastical site is unclear, but it was apparently lying close to the edge rather than at its core (Harrison and Ó Floinn 2014:535). Although presently part of the greater Dublin area, Finglas is located about 5.5 km northwest of the Viking Age walled town. The burial is located on rather low-lying flat land, a little more than a kilometre north of the River Tolka (Harrison and Ó Floinn 2014:533).

The lack of a detailed report of the burial from Finglas means that the practices surrounding the death and burial of the individual interred cannot be recreated to the same extent, but some inferences can still be drawn from the material. Like the clear majority, if not all, of the burials in the corpus, the individual is inhumed clothed. The only grave-goods discovered worn by the woman were the oval brooches, which also had remains of textiles still attached to the pin hinge. The grave had been rather severely disturbed, and other artefacts may well have been present. The oval brooches are of type P23/24, which is one of the Berdal types (figure 49). This means that they are likely to be rather early in date, probably made in the early ninth century. Only one of the brooches is complete, and though suffering somewhat from corrosion, it still appears to be worn. Some of the gilding on the protruding animal figures appears to have been worn off. These signs of wear indicate that the brooch had been in use some time before it ended up in the grave, and it is likely that it belonged to the woman interred. The other brooch is extant only in

fragments, and though there are great similarities between the brooches, there are also some differences. There is, for instance, a beaded rim which is more pronounced on the fragmented brooch (Harrison and Ó Floinn 2014:536). This could mean that the brooches, which are of a rare and early form, were made individually rather than as copies from an existing brooch or master mould, though as I have not had the opportunity of studying the fragmented brooch, this suggestion is only tentative. The brooches are still likely to have been made as a matching set, and perhaps as an individual pair, rather than as part of a series. As in the cases of Cnip, Dalvík, and Cumwhitton, the woman appears to have been dressed in a manner that would have resembled dress in life.



FIGURE 49 *Oval brooch (04E900:254:1) from Finglas. Illustration by the author. Photographs taken with kind permission from the National Museum of Ireland.*

HOW WAS THE DECEASED RE/MEMBERED?

The discovery of the finger bones of the left hand underneath the left brooch suggests that the hand was deliberately positioned on the woman's upper chest, presumably under the strap-dress. The woman was placed in the grave in an extended supine position, apparently with the skull at a higher level than the rest of the body. It is unclear how this was achieved, but it could mean that there was some form of structure underneath the skull. There are Viking Age examples of stones being placed underneath the heads of the deceased (e.g. Price 2010:129), and possibly also pillows (Berglund 2009). This could suggest the creation of a scene where the deceased appeared to be resting or sleeping, which would mean a scene resembling life. At this stage the comb and casket were placed in the grave, apparently *on* the pelvis of the deceased, though it is unclear if the comb was placed next to the casket or inside it. This is an important distinction. In one case, it would have been clearly displayed to the onlookers, and placed in the grave with

some ceremony. In the other, it would presumably have been concealed from view. Each would indicate rather different functions for the comb in the ritual process. Other artefacts could also have been concealed in the casket in the same manner that we see at Cumwhitton. As mentioned, there is no information available on the internal or external structure of the grave. The positioning of the finger bones in situ under the brooch could suggest that the body had not moved much, and hence decomposed in a filled space – but this suggestion is tentative at best.

The relatively isolated location of the Finglas burial in comparison with the other burials examined in this section suggests that the deceased was not re-membered as part of a community of the dead in the same way that we see in the other case studies. Although there were presumably burials associated with the ecclesiastical site, the Finglas burial had evidently not been placed among these. It is unclear how the site relates to contemporary settlements, but it might not have been chosen because of its proximity to the living community who performed the funerary rites. There seems to be only one burial at the site, which does not suggest long-term investment or any desire to create a community of the dead. Instead, the site seems to have been chosen at least partly due to its obvious association with an important ecclesiastical site, though it is unclear whether or not it was temporarily abandoned at the time. This could suggest that the deceased was re-membered as somehow associated with the site, perhaps due to its local significance as a centre of power.

3.4.5 Summary and discussion

There are obvious similarities in practice between the four sites, indicating that they were all relating to the same norm, but there are also variations. It is possible that the grave from Cnip was covered, and it cannot be completely ruled out in the other instances either. Low mounds are possible, at least at Dalvík and possibly at Cnip and Cumwhitton, although the evidence from Finglas does not enable such an assumption. The possible marking of the graves could suggest that it was considered important to know the spot where the individual dead was buried. Three of the graves were found in cemeteries, which indicates that they were re-membered as part of a community of the dead, though there were certain differences in practice. At Cumwhitton and to a lesser extent Cnip, the burials with oval brooches were physically separated from the other graves. At both sites, a difference in the use of grave-goods was also noted between the graves examined here and the rest of the cemetery, though this was considerably more pronounced at Cnip. There could well be a connection between the differentiation in terms of the use of grave-goods and the physical separation from other graves, suggesting that the more isolated deceased were re-membered slightly differently from the rest of the deceased at the sites. This does not appear to have been the case at Dalvík, however, where there are considerable similarities between the graves, particularly

in the killing and deposition of horses. Finglas clearly stands out in relation to the other graves, as it is not part of a cemetery. It is connected to an ecclesiastic site which would presumably have had associated burials, but the deceased does not seem to have been re-membered as part of a community. There is some evidence for nearby settlements at Dalvík and Cnip, and it does not seem unlikely at Cumwhitton and Finglas either. At least at the two former sites, this could suggest that continued interactions between the living and the dead remained important, and, if the graves were marked, perhaps with the individual dead. These four examples, despite their differences, are all within the norm, though the grave from Finglas does to some extent stand out.

There are considerable differences in the use of grave-goods between the sites, however, and not just in what types were being used, but also in how they were used. The thanatographies presented above have attempted to bring a performative aspect back to the funerary rituals by assessing when and how the different types of grave-goods came to be part of the funerary process. This awareness is crucial, as practices performed would have had significantly different effects depending on when and how they were performed, and of course also on who was witnessing them. With reference to participants, there are likely to have been differences between those present for the preparation and dressing of the body, and those who were attending the actual interment. Those participating in the preparation of the body might well have been more intimately connected with the deceased, and hence artefacts used to dress the body could have been more likely to evoke remembrances of the deceased in this context, whereas they might not have had the same effect during the interment itself. This effect would also have depended on funerary display. Some of the artefacts used to dress the body might have been covered by garments and would hence not have been visible to the participants at the grave-side. This seriously questions the importance of display of wealth and identities through the use of grave-goods. Other artefacts seem not to have been displayed either. At both Cumwhitton and Finglas, caskets suggest that certain artefacts were hidden from view. The thanatographies emphasised the important distinction between artefacts used to dress the body and artefacts that were placed in the grave after the deceased. The latter were visible in a different sense, and their functions could also have differed considerably (Williams 2006:51). In the four examples presented, artefacts of the same type were clearly used in different ways, such as the third oval brooch at Cumwhitton and the possible second knife in the grave at Dalvík. Neither artefact seems to have been intimately connected with the deceased. The use of combs is also worth remarking on. These are found in all the graves apart from Dalvík, and in none of the cases do they appear to have been part of the deceased dress, though it is not quite clear how it was used in the grave from Finglas. At Cnip, it seems to have been placed on the shoulder

or upper arm of the dead, a positioning mirrored in graves from Pierowall. This comb would have been clearly visible as it was placed in the grave on the deceased body, a practice citing similar practices in other graves, and as argued above, possibly also citing practices associated with cremation burials. The comb from Cumwhitton on the other hand was not displayed; instead it seems to have been hidden away in a locked casket. This indicates that these combs served different functions in the funerary rites.

3.5 People remembered

This chapter asked the question: how was the deceased remembered through funerary rites? It has understood funerals as arenas where the life of the deceased will be remembered, partly through the use of things as demonstrated in the previous chapter. This is possible because there is likely to have been a personal connection between certain artefacts and the deceased individual. It was also emphasised, however, both in the previous chapter and in the present one, that we cannot simply assume that artefacts in the graves were personal belongings of the deceased. Such a view does not take into account the purpose of the funerary rites which is here seen as concerned with the transformation of the deceased and meant to function as a rite of passage from one state of being into another. They were, in other words, more concerned with who the deceased was meant to become rather than with who they were. I have called this the re-membering of the dead, and studying how individuals in graves with oval brooches were re-membered has been the main purpose of this chapter.

In order to approach this, I argued that it was necessary to focus more explicitly on the dead body, as it was the catalyst for these rituals. In previous studies of Viking Age burials in Britain, Ireland, and Iceland, the corpse has received relatively little attention, at least in terms of what it can tell us about death and dying. This is partly due to the great variations in information available on the different burials where grave-goods are the features most commonly recorded (section 1.2). This chapter attempted to include other aspects of the funerary rites in addition to grave-goods, partly in order to examine if we could discover norms in the treatment of the dead. For the 81 graves from the western settlement with oval brooches I have examined treatment of the body, internal structures, use of grave-goods, external structures, and placement in the landscape. Although a lack of detailed reports meant that many of these factors are unknown for most of the burials, normative behaviours can still be traced in the material. One of the most evident norms is concerned with the treatment of the body. Burials with oval brooches predominantly seem to be primary inhumation burials (section 3.3.1). This means that the corpse would

have been placed in the grave complete and presumably not long after death. There is nothing to suggest that the corpse was hidden from view. In cases where there is evidence of internal structures, these were either open or would have been constructed in the grave, and hence only covered after the deceased was placed in the ground (section 3.3.2). The individual would, therefore, have been clearly visible in the grave. The body interred was also dressed, but it is in many cases difficult to determine which artefacts were used to dress the body and which were placed in the grave afterwards. Nevertheless, this is a crucial distinction and it will be elaborated on below. There are difficulties in establishing any norms in what types of artefacts were used in burials with oval brooches. Objects of certain types, for instance, other forms of jewellery, are markedly more common than artefacts such as weapons. As a norm, oval brooches do not seem to occur in graves with weapons, but as this chapter has demonstrated (section 3.3.3), there are evident deviations from this norm.

Several of the graves were marked by mounds, though it is not possible to determine how common this was (section 3.3.4). There are also likely to have been other ways of marking the burials which would have left fewer material traces. This makes it difficult to determine how frequently individual burials were marked. It does appear to have been important in a number of instances, however. Most of the burials are found in association with arable land, and in Iceland, they are often clearly related to settlements (section 3.3.5). They graves are frequently associated with paths of travel, both by land or sea, and, in Iceland at least, also with borders. Furthermore, we often see the use of cemeteries, and this is presumably under-recorded. The use of cemeteries suggests that the deceased were regularly interred as part of a community of the dead, although single burials do seem to occur as well.

What does this say about how the dead were re-membered? This study demonstrates that there was a strong emphasis on the individual deceased in the funerary rites and a concern with the integrity of the body. The graves overwhelmingly seem to be primary inhumations, and almost exclusively single burials. The dead would have been clearly visible in the grave, and at times at least, it was considered important to mark individual graves. The dead were, in other words, re-membered as individuals, and though becoming part of communities of the dead, they did not lose their individuality. There are considerable similarities between the deceased in life and in death. The dead do not appear to have been re-membered as something radically different. They also seem to have been re-membered as part of the community; the burial sites are often physically close to settlements or at least arable land and routes of travel, indicating the importance of continuing interactions between the living and the dead (section 3.3.5).

As has been argued above, there are obvious deviations from these norms which must have been deliberate and meaningful, perhaps resulting from specific social roles or circumstances surrounding death that required deviant practices to achieve the desired results. In addition to deviations from the norm, there are also clearly variations within it. Through studying individual deaths, or thanatographies, I examined how the different factors of funerary treatment worked together in individual cases (section 3.4). By emphasising the performative aspect of the rituals, and also by focusing more explicitly on the mourners as the ones doing the remembering and re-remembering, I highlighted the difference between grave-goods used to dress the body and artefacts placed in the grave after the deceased, and argued that this distinction affects how things can be interpreted.

Artefacts used for dressing the body are likely to have re/membered the deceased in different ways than artefacts placed in the grave before or after the body. The former would have been handled by the mourners preparing the body and would have evoked remembrances of other instances of use. Artefacts used for dressing the dead are more likely to have been personal belongings, or for other reasons intimately associated with the deceased. Although the main purpose of the artefacts in the grave is to re-member the deceased, they would also have been remembering them. The difference between remembering and re-remembering is also dependent on the participants, as the objects might not have been able to evoke remembrances of the deceased for all the people involved in the rituals. The practice of preparing and dressing the body was presumably performed by a more exclusive set of people than the interment, and perhaps also by people more intimately associated with the deceased. The choice of which artefacts to use for dressing the dead was of course highly deliberate and certainly an important part of re-remembering the deceased, but this was also an important arena for remembering the dead.

The dressing of the dead could be seen as more of a private remembering of the deceased, a remembering that was based on personal experiences. The placement of artefacts in the grave before or after the body, and also the placement of the dressed body itself, is more concerned with a public re-remembering of the dead. These artefacts that were placed in the grave after the deceased may well have been used for different reasons. With reference to the use of combs, I argued that their conspicuous use in specific manners suggests that these artefacts were clearly ritualised and distinguished from everyday practice (section 3.4.1). They had less to do with the individual and their personal biographies, and more to do with their transformation after death. In other words, re-remembering rather than remembering. The same can be argued for certain other types of grave-goods. The consistency in deposition of horses in Iceland suggests that these were citing clearly ritualised, rather than everyday, practices (sections 3.3.3; 3.4.2). I am not

arguing that artefacts placed with the deceased instead of being worn could never have been personal belongings; this is certainly possible, but it should not merely be assumed. I would also be hesitant in discussing artefacts that were often used in specific ways as personal belongings, such as for instance the combs. This is not necessarily an either/or situation, however. Certain artefacts could have been singled out for use in certain ways because of their specific object biographies, rendering their display desirable in the performance of the funerary rites.

Chapter 4

Death processed

Graves with oval brooches from the western settlements have commonly been interpreted as the graves of (pagan) Scandinavian women of relatively high status, an easily understood and uniform phenomenon. As the previous chapters have demonstrated, and which will be further elaborated on here, this notion of uniformity is due to grave-goods and graves having been regarded as static entities. The main aim of this thesis has been to provide an approach to grave-goods and graves that allows for the identification of variation. This has entailed examining grave-goods and graves as processes rather than objects. Chapter 2 demonstrated how oval brooches were used in various ways in life and death and argued that this affected their abilities to evoke remembrances in funerary rites. Chapter 3 examined how the funerary rites themselves were performed. It demonstrated the presence of norms, variations, and deviations in the material and discussed what the practices entailed for how the deceased was remembered and transformed through the rituals. The present chapter builds on the results from these chapters in order to address the two central research questions:

- How were meanings produced and mediated through burials with oval brooches?
- In what ways and to what extent can graves with oval brooches – and by extension Viking graves – be interpreted as the graves of a particular group of people?

In order to address the first of these questions, I will summarise and assess how similar the graves would have been and discuss how norms, variations, and deviation in practice can be interpreted from a theoretical perspective emphasising ritualization and contextualisation (section 4.1). I will then discuss what implications this has for the interpretation of graves with oval brooches, and Viking graves more generally, as distinct phenomena (section 4.2). Then, I will demonstrate how an

emphasis on the practice and performance of funerary rites makes it possible to examine attitudes towards death and dying in the Viking Age western settlements (section 4.3) before I conclude and make a few comments on promising ways forward for further research (sections 4.4-4.5).

4.1 Interpreting norms, variations, and deviations

Through this study I have demonstrated that there certainly were norms in how burials with oval brooches were performed. On a structural level, these norms are significant because they demonstrate the continuation of practice through which meanings had become constituted (Kozioł 1992:303). For the oval brooches, this entailed that their meaning was dependent on how oval brooches had commonly been used; what I termed their citational properties (sections 1.3.2; 2.1.1). Their meaning was dependent not only on their use in funerary rites, but also on their use in other settings. The continuation of practice suggested by the presence of norms in the material is not interpreted here as a result of uniform ideas or beliefs informing practice. Instead, the performance of ritualised practices was incorporated by the ritual participants, creating an embodied understanding of how to act ritually; termed ritual mastery (Bell 2009:107; section 1.3.1).

Despite the presence of norms, the graves were not mindless repetitions of form. There were clearly different ways of burying individuals in graves with oval brooches (section 3.3). I have referred to some of these differences as deviations. These are cases where the observed practices were at odds with otherwise strong norms. Strong norms are observable concerning treatment of the body and location of the graves. Most graves appear to have been single primary inhumation burials (section 3.3.1) and were frequently located near settlements or at least on arable ground (section 3.3.5). Examples of deviations include the possible cremation grave from Lamba Ness (B.ID 29) and the prone burial from Pierowall (B.ID 23), both from Scotland, and the seemingly isolated burials such as Vestdalur (B.ID 77) and Álaugarey (B.ID 79), both from Iceland. These deviations in practice would presumably have been highly noticeable because the burials were not performed in accordance with normative practices (section 3.3.6).

Other differences in burial practice I have described as variations within the norm, since strong norms governing how these practices were performed have not been apparent. Practices with less strong norms include the types of grave-goods used (section 3.3.3) and the internal structures of the graves (section 3.3.2). The lack of strong norms could suggest that the use of grave-goods and internal structures were highly dependent on circumstances surrounding the death of a particular

individual. Those features governed by strong norms, on the other hand, appear to have been less dependent on the individual (see section 4.3).

There were not only considerable variations in what types of grave-goods were used, but also in *how* they were used (sections 2.6; 3.3.3). Certain artefacts were part of the deceased's dress, whereas others were placed in the grave with the deceased, presumably in front of the people participating in the interment (section 3.4.5). This distinction could indicate a difference in the objects' relationship with the deceased, as objects used to dress the deceased were far more intimately connected with the dead person. It is also possible that some artefacts that were part of costume had been covered (section 3.3.3), suggesting that they were not intended for public display. The intimate connection between the deceased and these artefacts suggests that they could have evoked remembrances of the deceased in life. The less personal but also more public and noticeable use of artefacts placed in the grave with the deceased could indicate greater significance of display. The deviations, as well as variations, in how the rites were performed highlight the funerary rites as responses to an actual and contemporary situation. Ritual mastery would entail that the participants were able to adjust the practices for any given situation to communicate meanings differently. In this way, the funerary rites were meaningful as responses to the death of specific individuals.

The distinction in how artefacts were used for burials is not only between different types. Artefacts of the same type were also used in distinct ways. I demonstrated this distinction for a number of different artefacts (section 3.3.3), especially with regards to the oval brooches (section 2.6). It is frequently assumed that oval brooches were all used in the same way, i.e. one oval brooch worn below each collarbone, in combination with a strap-dress. This dress practice is at times assumed even when there is no clear evidence for it, most notably in the case from Kilmainham-Islandbridge in Dublin where some of the brooches are presumed to form pairs, even when there is little evidence to suggest that the brooches came from the same grave (Harrison and Ó Floinn 2014:743-747; section 2.4.2). The present study has not undermined the notion that there was a clear norm in the use of oval brooches for burial (section 2.4.3). Nevertheless, the detailed investigation has demonstrated that there were several cases deviating from the norm (section 2.6.1). Although the brooches appear to have mainly been used as dress items in burials, they were evidently not always worn with the strap-dress. Nor were strap-dresses always worn with oval brooches, demonstrated by the two instances where other brooches have been worn instead (section 2.6.2). The oval brooches were, at times, seemingly worn as single brooches, perhaps at the throat or upper chest and at the waist (section 2.6.4). In other cases they were worn as a pair of brooches at the waist rather than the upper chest (section 2.6.5). The brooches,

both oval and otherwise, were not worn in these ways because they were practical. The shape and size of oval brooches meant that these particular brooches were suited for use with strap-dresses and unsuited for use with other garments (Ewing 2006:25; section 2.4.3).

The variations in use clearly suggest that oval brooches were intended to serve different functions in different funerary rites, and hence that they cannot be considered to ‘mean’ the same. The in-depth study of oval brooches here has demonstrated that these were not static entities with uniform or easily comprehensible meanings. Instead, these things were able to produce and mediate meanings in funerary rites because of the way they referred to oval brooches as a category of things at large and the associations they would have been connected with through practice. Oval brooches cited previous use of oval brooches. They were also meaningful because of the ways individual objects would have been used (section 2.5). Through their relationships with people and materialities, as well as their contexts of use, specific brooches would have been capable of evoking distinct remembrances that other brooches could not (section 2.7).

Burials with oval brooches from the western settlements made sense because of their referentiality. The practices performed and materialities used were constantly referring to other practices, materialities, and episodes of use (Jones 2007:80). This referentiality had no end point. There was no ultimate meaning to get at. Instead, meaning was continually shifting and changing due to changes in practice.

4.2 Interpreting graves

By emphasising process and the dynamic qualities of things and practices, I have demonstrated that there were considerable variations in how things were used and how practices were performed. These variations in practice are indicative of differences in both intentions and effects. In the following section, I assess what the results presented thus far entail for the interpretation of graves with oval brooches in particular (section 4.2.1), but also Viking graves in the western settlements more generally (section 4.2.2).

4.2.1 Oval brooches and Scandinavian women

The considerable variations in both how oval brooches were used and how burials with them were performed warrants the question of whether these graves can be regarded as the graves of a specific group of people: Scandinavian women of relatively high status (section 1.2.6). The present study supports the interpretation that there was an evident connection between oval brooches and women from Scandinavia. Along with several others (e.g. Harrison 2001:67; Hayeur Smith

2004:109; Kershaw 2013:132, 245), I have argued that oval brooches were imported from Scandinavia, and that the variations in types and qualities correspond with them arriving in the western settlements on the clothes of women (section 2.4.3). Smaller numbers of brooches could also have been brought from Scandinavia to be sold or given away as gifts, but there is nothing in the corpus that suggests large-scale import or local production of oval brooches in the western settlements (section 2.3.5). In this sense, there is a clear connection between oval brooches and women from Scandinavia.

Because oval brooches were commonly used in specific ways in the western settlement as part of the strap-dress, they would have cited this use, as well as the group of people with whom it was associated (section 2.7). In the cases where oval brooches were used in funerary rites according to the norm, they indicate that the deceased was dressed in a manner common for women in Scandinavia. The intimate relationship between the deceased and the brooches could suggest that they were personal belongings or otherwise intimately associated with the deceased (section 2.5.1). In these cases it is reasonable to assume that the deceased had a clear connection with Scandinavia.

Where the oval brooches' use in death echo their use in life, they could not only be interpreted as Scandinavian expressions, but certainly also as female expressions, since the individual would have been buried dressed in manner common for, and presumably exclusive to, women. Oval brooches were not always worn with strap-dresses, however (section 2.6). In some cases, they were evidently worn, either alone or in pairs, but in different manners. All these cases are from Iceland, and it is likely that they are rather late in date, possibly after strap-dresses had gone out of fashion (section 2.7). Their continued use is noteworthy, as oval brooches would generally have been ill-suited for use with alternative types of dress (Ewing 2006:25; section 2.4.3). The reasons for their use are, therefore, unlikely to have been purely functional. If strap-dresses had gone out of fashion by the time these brooches were used in funerary rites, it is not certain that their citation of female modes of dress was as important anymore. In her study of the gendered expression in Viking Age burials from Vestfold in Norway, Moen (2019:260-268) argued that the decline in the use of oval brooches in the tenth century suggests either that gender could have been expressed in different ways, or that gendered expressions were not always considered important. Following this line of argument, the unusual use of oval brooches in Iceland could have been the result of alternative ways of marking gender, or that gender display was no longer as significant. That would entail that the brooches' object biographies, rather than their citational properties, might have been the most important factor in deciding to use them in funerary rites. Since at least some of the brooches worn in alternative ways were

old, they might have been able to evoke remembrances of specific events as well as people who had worn them (section 2.5). In such a scenario, it is not certain that the oval brooches would exclusively be worn by women in burials. However, in all four cases in the corpus, there are either other artefacts frequently associated with women, such as other brooches and large amounts of beads, or the individual is osteologically sexed as female. The use of grave-goods in these non-normative cases is, therefore, similar to what is seen in graves where oval brooches were worn according to the norm (section 3.2). This suggests that oval brooches, when worn, are seemingly exclusive to female gendered graves.

The brooches were not always worn, however. There are at least three cases in which the brooches do not appear to have been part of the deceased's clothing (section 2.6.6-2.6.7). In these cases, it is far from evident that the brooches should be interpreted as personal belongings of the interred individual. Two of these cases, Claughton Hall in England (B.ID 03) and Brú in Iceland (B.ID 56), are among the three graves from the western settlements that contained both oval brooches and weapons; artefacts frequently regarded as communicating diverging gender expressions. In both these cases, the use of the oval brooches suggests a different relationship with the deceased than in the cases where the brooches were worn, and there is no reason why their presence definitively indicates the presence of a woman. The distinction between the instances when oval brooches were worn by the deceased and the instances when they were not worn would also have played out very differently during the funerary performance (section 3.4). There is a considerable difference between artefacts used to dress the deceased and artefacts placed in the grave afterwards, as they would have been visible in distinctly different ways (section 3.5). Artefacts used to dress the dead would have become part of the burial during an earlier stage, and, depending on potential outer garments, may not have been generally visible at the funeral. Artefacts placed in the grave afterwards would have been far more visible, and perhaps also more public. This entails a distinction between the use of jewellery and the use of weapons (as also argued by Williams 2006:59). In most cases, oval brooches were part of costume and intimately related to the body of the deceased. Weapons, on the other hand, were in many, if not most, cases placed in the grave afterwards and in front of a larger group of ritual participants. The distinction between weapons and jewellery as representative of men and women respectively is therefore, from a ritual perspective, rather problematic, since these groups of artefacts would have played very different roles in the ritual performances.

There is a third grave from Santon in England (B.ID 05) containing both oval brooches and weapons. The brooches in this case were presumably worn by the deceased, and there is nothing to indicate that this was a double burial (section

3.3.3). This case demonstrates that an individual wearing female dress could also have been buried with a sword. Weapons are often seen as included in graves either because they were personal belongings of the deceased, or because they served a definite ritual function. If the weapons are instead (or in addition) assumed to have been added to graves because of their citational properties or specific object biographies in an attempt to re-member the deceased in specific ways, the picture changes. As weapons were generally not worn by the deceased but placed in the grave in front of a larger group of participants, their significance could be seen to be in the re-membling of the deceased, therefore not necessarily in remembering them.

Oval brooches and weapons do occur together in the same graves, and apart from the presence of these two types of grave-goods, there is no reason why these graves should be interpreted as having contained more than one individual (section 3.3.3). Oval brooches, when worn, might well have been personal belongings of the deceased. Weapons, on the other hand, were used in ways that do not necessarily indicate such personal relationships. The interpretations of weapon graves as warrior burials, both male and female, rest on the assumption that weapons in burials were personal belongings of the individual interred (e.g. Gardęła 2013; Price et al. 2019). In an Anglo-Saxon context, however, Heinrich Härke (1997) has demonstrated that weapons were also found in the burials of people who could not have used them, indicating that they did not have to represent active warrior status. Regarding weapon graves in Viking Age Britain and Ireland, Harrison (2015) certainly saw the deposition of weapons as doing more than reflecting the deceased as a Viking warrior. However, the weapon graves in his interpretation are still undeniably male. Although weapons were more commonly associated with men and oval brooches with women, the present study has demonstrated that these groups of artefacts were not opposites. If grave-goods are interpreted not as static objects with uniform meanings but as dynamic and referential, they gain the potential to produce and mediate meanings in more subtle ways. By playing on their citational properties as well as their object biographies, the mourners could have been able to make arguments about who the deceased were and who they were meant to become.

‘SCANDINAVIANESS’

Individuals buried with oval brooches used according to the norm were dressed in a manner that would echo a mode of dress common in Scandinavia, and also worn in the Scandinavian settlements. The intimate connection between the deceased and the brooches indicate that they might well have been personal belongings of the deceased. This is less evident when the brooches were used in non-normative ways. Particularly in those cases where the brooches were not worn by the deceased at all, we should be cautious in assuming that their presence can tell us much about

the life of the deceased. There are certainly many other reasons why the interment of oval brooches with the deceased could have been considered appropriate. Where oval brooches were worn with strap-dresses, it is reasonable to consider these burials as female graves. They also demonstrate an obvious connection with Scandinavia. In recent years, a more instrumental view of ethnicity has led to graves with oval brooches not automatically being interpreted as reflecting the deceased as a Scandinavian woman (section 1.2.5). Instead, this is regarded as something the mourners actively wanted to communicate (Hayeur Smith 2004:79; Harrison 2008:131; Norstein 2020¹⁶). In such studies, graves with oval brooches are still female and Scandinavian, but they are now actively female and Scandinavian. A necessary question to ask, however, is: how important would communicating 'Scandinavianess' have been?

In the western settlements, the oval brooches have at times been regarded as gaining in significance, since they would have been imported from Scandinavia and would have expressed this connection in burials (Hayeur Smith 2004:79-80; McGuire 2010a:270-271; Norstein 2014:43-45). In recent years, the importance of women in the western settlements has been stressed, as they would have been crucial as communicators and maintainers of culture (Kershaw 2013:173-178). Harrison (2008:128-129) noted that furnished female burial in Scotland appeared to be more common than in areas of Norway, and argued that this reflected the importance of high-status women in the Norse settlements there. In previous studies of Viking graves from Scotland, I made a similar argument, suggesting that it was more important to remember women in an overseas settlement context than in Norway (Norstein 2014:52-53, 2020). Although this might well be correct, such an interpretation has a tendency to regard burials with oval brooches as high-status by virtue of being Scandinavian. This is clearly distinct from high-status male burials, which are defined by weapons and connected with ideas of domination and control (Harrison 2008:131-132, 141). High-status women in the western settlements have a tendency to be equated with Scandinavian women, where their worth is connected to their capacity to produce Scandinavian descendants (Harrison 2008:141; Norstein 2014:77). The women themselves become rather passive. This is partly a result of the importance placed on oval brooches as the defining feature of Scandinavian female graves. Brooches are viewed as symbols that communicate female Scandinavian identities, and this act is often regarded as their central purpose in funerary rites.

Accordingly, there is an emphasis on the importance of displaying these identities, but there is a question of whether this actually reflects something that was

16 Although published in 2020, the paper was written in 2016 before the findings of the present study.

important in the past, or if it is rather created as important by archaeologists today. Although oval brooches do not appear to have been used differently in the western settlements than in Scandinavia, the change in context is still regarded as changing the significance of oval brooches. A change in significance could very well have happened as a result of migration, but the present study suggests that such an interpretation is not really grounded in the archaeological material. Even in the cases where brooches were worn according to the norm, it is still necessary to ask how this would have affected the participants in funerary rituals. In some of the graves, it is highly likely that an outer garment was worn over the brooches, which could have concealed them from view (sections 3.3.3; 3.4.1). In these cases, the brooches are likely to have been of greatest importance during the early stages of the funerary rituals as they were used to dress the body. This suggests that displaying the ‘Scandinavianess’ of the deceased was not always considered important during the later, and perhaps also more public, parts of the funerary rites.

4.2.2 Viking graves

Individual graves with oval brooches are often viewed as Scandinavian and pagan, partly based on the presence of these specific brooches, and also by virtue of being Viking burials. The interest in the ‘Scandinavianess’ of the graves with oval brooches is reflected in the study of Viking graves more generally. The purpose of studies is often to ‘find the Vikings’. Distinguishing between pagan Scandinavian and local Christian graves has often been the goal in itself, in order to discuss the number of pagan graves (e.g. Batey 1993; Graham-Campbell 2001), the scale of Scandinavian settlements (e.g. Wilson 1976a, 1976b), or the date of conversion (e.g. Barrett 2003). Although discussions have certainly moved beyond topics of scale and extent of Viking settlement, the graves are still regarded as interesting by virtue of being Viking graves, and their purpose is often interpreted as displaying the pagan Scandinavian identities of both the deceased and the mourners (e.g. McGuire 2010a; Norstein 2014). Viking graves are identified by the presence of grave-goods, which deposition is, at times, regarded as a pagan rite in and of itself. This feature has also commonly been regarded as separating these graves from local/ later graves. Although few would argue that a burial with a single artefact such as a pin, a coin, or a knife is explicitly pagan, even burials with only a minimum amount of grave-goods have a tendency to be included in the discussion of pagan Viking graves (section 1.2.3). At times, Viking graves are more explicitly discussed as pagan, either on a general level since the artefacts are regarded as intended for the deceased in the afterlife (e.g. Maher 2013:13), or, more commonly, as particular practices or artefacts are regarded as explicitly linked with specific deities or beliefs (e.g. Owen 2004:15-16). There is a tendency towards seeing both artefacts and practices as pointing to definite beliefs that would have been understandable in

the past and can still be understood by archaeologists today (section 1.3.1). As I have demonstrated, however, things and practices produced and mediated multiple meanings because they cited previous use of things and practices (section 4.1). Cosmological meanings might well have been within the citational fields of specific practices and objects, but these would have been dependent on the participants for being understood. It is therefore worth questioning how relevant beliefs are to our interpretation of the graves. Even if we could identify cosmological beliefs cited by specific objects, we cannot know that these were interpreted the same way by the participants at the funeral.

How pagan is the use of grave-goods, and how comparable was the practice of furnished burial? Christian burial of the early medieval period was hardly uniform (Geary 1994:30-45; Halsall 2000). Although grave-goods are rare in late Anglo-Saxon burials, they are not entirely absent (Halsall 2000:264-265). There is nothing inherently unchristian about grave-goods. If the graves are studied from a perspective that emphasises practice, there are good reasons to question the suitability of treating furnished burials as a distinct category. This thesis has demonstrated that despite the presence of norms in the material, there are considerable variations in how funerary rites were performed. Even within the rather narrow subset of burials that the graves with oval brooches represent, there were evidently many different ways of dealing with the death of a member of the community. The use of grave-goods is only one feature of the rituals, and not necessarily the most memorable one (section 3.4). Some funerary rites appear to have been far more complex than others, including for instance the killing of horses (section 3.3.3) or the erection or repurposing of mounds (section 3.3.4). The difference between furnished and unfurnished burials in terms of practices performed were not necessarily as great as the differences within the group of furnished graves. Sparsely furnished graves may have had more in common with unfurnished graves than with elaborate practices such as seen for instance in some of the mound burials on the Isle of Man (Bersu and Wilson 1966).

Just as there is nothing necessarily overtly pagan about the presence of grave-goods, it is not necessarily overtly Scandinavian either. At times, it seems as if it is the assumed connection between grave-goods and pagan beliefs that is the reason for seeing graves with artefacts as a Scandinavian rather than local phenomenon. The repeated performance of ritualised practices could certainly be seen as a way of recreating and mediating cultural identities (e.g Connerton 1989; Rowlands 1993), but there are good reasons for asking whether the deposition of artefacts of very different types and in very different quantities can really qualify as 'repeated practice'. It is far from certain that the ritualised practices responsible for the occurrence of artefacts in these graves would have been similar. The ritualised

practices are the important aspects if we are to see the funerary rites as mediators and producers of cultural identities, and with the Viking graves from the western settlements, it is in many cases highly uncertain if these practices would have been at all comparable. The notion that graves with grave-goods make up a distinct group that can or should be distinguished from local or later graves is far from evident.

Regarding the differences between pagan and Christian graves, as well as Scandinavian and local, as essentially the difference between furnished and unfurnished graves does not take into account practice and performance. By including practice and performance, we can discuss other features of how the furnished and unfurnished burials compared to each other. In chapter 3, I highlighted the differences between two of the graves from the cemetery of Cnip on the Isle of Lewis in Scotland (section 3.4.1). The individual in burial A had been buried wearing oval brooches and belt at the waist, perhaps with several artefacts suspended from it. In this grave, and in the majority of the graves with oval brooches, the individuality of the deceased was emphasised through the funerary rites. Burial A differs considerably from burial C from the same cemetery. The latter grave was unfurnished and the position of the skeleton suggests that the body was buried in a shroud. The use of a shroud entails that the deceased was not visible during the actual interment. Since the treatment of the body in burial C would have been at odds with strong norms, this distinction in the visibility of the deceased is significant. Although the lack of grave-goods in burials C may be more noticeable to archaeologists, this distinction would not have been a break with strong norms.

The differences between graves such as burials A and C from Cnip could be seen in terms of religious beliefs. However, the relationship between ritual practices and beliefs is far from simple (section 1.3.1). Even if ritual experts might have been able to explain the rationale behind specific aspects of the funerary rites, this would not ensure that everyone else would have understood it. Interpretations centred on distinguishing pagan from Christian practices have a tendency to place too great an emphasis on grave-goods. Instead of attempting to separate the different types of graves, they should be seen in relation to each other. This involves asking questions about other aspects than the numbers of graves and date of conversion, but perhaps also questions that the material is better suited to addressing. How did practices change, and how would these changes have affected the participants? Such an approach to conversion has been implemented in Lund's (2013) work on the conversion of Scandinavia, where she argued that the changes in practice should be regarded as instrumental in making the conversion, not simply as a result of it (Lund 2013:40). Orri Vésteinsson (2016) has studied the transition from pagan to Christian practices in Viking Age Iceland. He pointed out that there is a tendency to assume that all practices which can be related to conversion are also

regarded as explained by it (Vésteinsson 2016:321). Vésteinsson's study is instead concerned with how changes in funerary practice unfolded, and what these can say about society. His interest was not in when conversion occurred, or whether individual graves were pagan or Christian, but in how conversion occurred, in the changes actually visible and how these related to the process of Christianisation.

Although it is worth questioning the pagan Scandinavian nature of many individual graves (see Halsall 2000 for a discussion), there are other graves which demonstrate evident connections with Scandinavia, in terms of both rites performed and material culture employed. Examples include the cremation cemetery of Heath Wood (Richards 2003), the mound burials on the Isle of Man (Bersu and Wilson 1966), and a number of boat burials, such as that from Scar on Sanday in Orkney (Owen and Dalland 1999). These examples, however, differ from local rites in more aspects than just the presence of grave-goods. This study of graves with oval brooches has demonstrated that there are no strong norms governing the use of grave-goods (section 3.3.3). Instead, the furnishing of graves appears to have been governed more by individual circumstances. Grave-goods should therefore not be regarded as necessary for pagan Scandinavian graves, and their presence or absence is ill-suited for defining which graves should be incorporated into this category.

4.3 Death and dying in the western Viking settlements

Creating, mediating, and claiming Norse identities in the culturally diverse settlements of Britain, Ireland, and Iceland could certainly have been crucial. However, studies emphasising these aspects stand in danger of reducing all parts of the Viking graves to questions about identities, and leave little room for the funerary rites as responses to the death of specific individuals. Studies of Viking burials in the western settlements have, in general, been more concerned with what burials can say about the deceased and the groups they belonged to, than they are with death (section 1.2). This is likely in large part due to the interest in identifying Viking graves, but is presumably also a result of the often poorly recorded burials. Emphasizing process and performance has been crucial for demonstrating the variation in the material, but it has also been key to unlocking the potential of the often poorly preserved and recorded material. The study of norms, variations, and deviations has been necessary for examining how the funerary rites in the western settlements related to each other (section 1.3.3). This approach takes into account the relational way rites produced and mediated meaning (section 4.1). It also allowed for the analysis of material excavated and recorded to very different standards, since the burials were not directly compared with each other, but used to determine the presence of normative practices against which individual graves

were assessed (section 3.1.1). Studying norms and how individual burials related to these has been essential in my study, since the interplay of norms, variations, and deviations are able to give information about death and dying in the Viking Age western settlements. In the following, I will summarise and assess what the norms, variations, and deviations in practice observed in burials with oval brooches can tell about death and dying both on a communal level and in individual situations. This discussion is primarily intended to demonstrate the potential of the approach presented in the present thesis.

The strong norms in the corpus relating to treatment of the body and placement in the landscape suggest some form of uniformity in communal attitudes towards death. There appears to have been a strong emphasis on the individuality of the deceased (section 3.3.6). The graves in this study were almost exclusively single primary inhumation burials (section 3.3.1), and there is nothing about internal features that suggests the deceased would have been hidden from view (section 3.3.2). Variation in the use of grave-goods also indicates a concern with individuality, though not necessarily with ‘identities’ (section 3.3.3). As other studies of Viking graves in the western settlements have also suggested, burials are generally found close to settlements, or at least on arable ground (Harrison 2008; Friðriksson 2013; McLeod 2015b; section 3.3.5). This suggests that the dead were often re-membered as still part of the community. The burial sites are also frequently found in connection with paths of travel, both by land and sea (section 3.3.5). Both of these factors suggest that continued interactions between the living and the dead remained important. Such continued interactions are evident in the cases where the graves have been deliberately disturbed. No such instances are recorded in the present corpus, but there are several cases from Scandinavia (Klevnäs 2016). This has also been recorded in more recent excavations in Iceland (e.g. Roberts 2014). The motivation behind such disturbance is unclear, but it indicates that the dead could still have had a role to play in society (e.g. Gardęła 2016). It is also possible that other ritual activities could have taken place at burial sites, as suggested by the decapitated horse at the cemetery of Dalvík, which does not appear to have been associated with any human grave (section 3.4.2). The frequent occurrence of cemeteries also demonstrates a continuity of ritual practice and long-term investment in a site. In these cases, the deceased can also be seen to become part of a community of the dead (section 3.3.5). Although cemeteries are quite common in the western settlements and their occurrence is presumably under-recorded (Friðriksson 2013:348), there appears to be a number of single burials as well, demonstrating that such a community of the dead was not always created (section 3.3.5; table 18).

Despite this presence of strong norms suggestive of shared attitudes towards death, people could, and did, break these norms in particular cases. One of the most noticeable examples of this is the prone burial from the cemetery Pierowall in Orkney (B.ID 23) (section 3.3.1). In this case, details of the interred individual's dress and appearance would not have been visible to the graveside participants. This is a clear deviation in practice, and it would have been highly noticeable. The grave does not deviate from the remainder of the burials at the cemetery in other respects, neither in its location nor the types or amounts of grave-goods used. The preparation of the body, resources consumed, and the process of internment itself would have been closely comparable. The two most obviously deviating burials in terms of location, Álaugarey (B.ID 79) and Vestdalur (B.ID 77), both in Iceland, also appear to have been deviant in only certain ways and not in others. These burials appear to have been placed some distance away from any settlement. Both burials are comparatively wealthy, indicating that their isolated location does not correspond with a marginalised social position. Apart from their unusual locations, there are no other obvious deviations in ritual practice.

Deviating burials are often explained by the deceased being in some way deviant, which has recently been interpreted as due to magical abilities (e.g. Gardela 2011). For instance, because of its unusual location, the Vestdalur grave has been interpreted as the grave of a ritual specialist, in this case specifically as a *volva* (Bergsteinsson 2005, 2006; see Þórhallsdóttir 2018:20-21 for a discussion). The interpretation of the deceased as a *volva* or some other kind of ritual specialist might reflect this as one of the few established and accepted female roles outside that of married woman in Viking scholarship (Moen 2019:87-112). Deviating treatments could be the result of the deceased's social roles, but as the examples above demonstrate, the funerary treatment was only deviating in certain respects. The deceased was not necessarily inherently deviant. The distinction in treatment could result from circumstances surrounding the deaths of these particular individuals and for the needs of the surviving community. Because the people performing the rituals had ritual mastery, they were able to adjust the rituals to allow for specific and perhaps unusual situations.

I have suggested that the features of the ritual practices that were not governed by strong norms, i.e. the use of internal structures and grave-goods, were more dependent on specific deaths than on communal attitudes towards death (section 4.1). Although the use of grave-goods seems, therefore, to be more dependent on the individual than many other parts of the funerary rites, this does not entail that the grave-goods were intended to, or even did, communicate who the deceased was. As demonstrated clearly by this study of oval brooches, there are evident differences in how things of the same type were used in funerary rites,

often suggesting a different relationship with the deceased (section 2.6.8). This is apparent for a number of other types of artefacts as well (section 3.3.3). In some cases beads and knives were artefacts that were worn by the deceased, though in other cases they were not. Combs are also a category that appears to have been used in numerous ways, sometimes hidden from view, and in other cases obviously on display. The variations in how grave-goods were used have definite implications for interpretations. They demonstrate that people were able to use similar types of artefacts to make different arguments. They strongly suggest that the meaning of grave-goods was not uniform. The artefacts were able to produce and mediate meanings in a variety of ways depending on former use of both specific artefacts and categorical groups.

4.4 Conclusions

The various ways in which things were used and practices performed demonstrate that burials with oval brooches were not uniform. Therefore, interpretations of these burials should not be uniform either. There are good reasons for assuming that oval brooches, when worn in the normative way in burials, were buried with women who had a clear connection with Scandinavia. As the brooches in these cases were at times covered up, however, it is far from evident that displaying this connection was important. When the brooches were used in non-normative ways, the connection with Scandinavian women is not as obvious. Particularly in the cases where the brooches were not worn at all, there is no reason to assume that they must have been personal belongings of the deceased. Therefore, their presence cannot automatically be assumed to say anything about who the deceased was. This is not only the case for oval brooches. This thesis has demonstrated that the same types of artefacts were used in a variety of ways in burials. These variations in use suggest differences in the artefacts' relationships with the deceased. The distinctions concerning if, how, and when artefacts would have been visible to the ritual participants suggest differences in both intentions and effects. The considerable variations in the use of grave-goods in terms of types, quantities, placements, and performance, demonstrate that these factors were not governed by strong norms, and questions the validity of seeing grave-goods as the unifying and distinguishing factor of the Viking graves.

Discussions of Viking graves have often been primarily concerned with what the graves, and particularly grave-goods, can say about the deceased. There certainly are reasons to assume that the funerary rites were concerned with the individuality of the deceased. This is indicated by the preference for single primary inhumation graves and the apparent visibility of the deceased in the funerary rituals. The varia-

tions in use of grave-goods also suggest that this was dependent on the individual. Individuality does not equal identity, however. Viking burials have frequently been regarded as reflecting or communicating who the deceased was, or at least how the mourners wanted to portray them. They are, in other words, generally interpreted as concerned with the past, hence, with the remembering of the deceased. I have argued that the purpose of the funerary rites was first and foremost to re-member the deceased (section 3.1). Therefore, we cannot assume that the way in which this re-membering was done and the artefacts used in it would necessarily be reflecting the deceased in life. The funerary rites were creating a new state of being for the deceased. There could still have been a connection between the deceased in life and in death. It seems highly likely that lived life was a crucial factor in determining how the deceased could be re-membered, but the rituals were not an automatic response upon which performance everyone would necessarily agree. The rituals were responses to a specific situation, and they would have been tailored to fit exactly this situation. This specific situation would have included who the deceased was, but other crucial factors too, such as circumstances surrounding death, the local context, and the needs of the surviving community.

The variations observable in funerary rites suggest that their meaning was not uniform, and neither was the rationale behind the employment of specific practices. The rituals were meaningful because they cited previous practice and use of artefacts, ritualised and otherwise. They carried meaning through use in other settings, and could therefore be adjusted by people who had an embodied sense of ritual mastery to respond to specific deaths.

4.5 Further research

This thesis has been concerned with a rather small and specific subsection of the Viking graves, i.e. those containing oval brooches. I have demonstrated the value of studying these graves in relation to each other, both in order to get the most out of the material and because it is in relation to each other that they were able to produce and mediate meaning. I have demonstrated that these graves with oval brooches did not form a uniform group and should not automatically be seen as belonging to a specific group of people. This raises questions concerning how meaningful the discussion of norms within this group of graves is. Can graves with oval brooches from Scotland, for instance, be understood in relation to the Icelandic graves? Due to the low number of graves, it has been necessary to treat them as a single corpus, but this does not entail that the people performing burials in one place would knowingly relate to burials from a completely different region. The norms I have discussed are rather broad, and the brief comparisons with Viking

graves more generally suggest that they could be relevant outside this rather small group. This is a possible topic for further study, however; examining whether there are different norms beyond the presence of specific types of grave-goods that are observable within the category of Viking graves.

I have also critiqued the common emphasis in previous scholarship on the paganism and particularly the ‘Scandinavianess’ of the graves. The treatment of the material as if it were static has had a tendency to reduce variation and to over-privilege the use of grave-goods to an unreasonable degree. This is partly because the questions the material has most commonly been used to answer are concerned with the scale, date, and ‘Scandinavianess’ of the settlements. Separating the pagan Scandinavian graves from the local Christian ones has therefore been a priority. There is no denying the significance of such topics, but they are unable to take into account the variation in the material and have a tendency to create too strict boundaries between pagan Scandinavian and local Christian graves. An alternative approach could be to consider these graves in relation to each other. By decentralising the significance of grave-goods as ethnic and religious markers, it would become possible to explore similarities and differences in approaches and attitude towards death and dying in Viking Age Britain, Ireland, and Iceland.

Sammanfattning

Gravar från vikingatidens bosättningar i Storbritannien, Irland och Island som innehåller ovala spännbucklor har ofta uppfattats knutna till en specifik och homogen grupp av människor: (hedniska) skandinaviska kvinnor med relativt hög status. Denna tolkning är delvis ett resultat av hur materialet har behandlats, nämligen som statiska enheter med mer eller mindre bestämda betydelser. Hur lika var då dessa gravar, och kan de tolkas tillhöra en specifik grupp av människor? Genom att studera ovala spännbucklor och gravarna i vilka dessa förekommer, undersöks i avhandlingen hur gravgods användes i livet, i döden samt hur själva begravningsriterna genomfördes. På så sätt skapas ett förhållningssätt till gravgods och gravar som möjliggör en identifiering av variationer i materialet. För att identifiera dessa variationer ses materialet som processer snarare än som objekt. Genom ett teoretiskt ramverk där ritualisering betonas läggs tyngdpunkten på ritualpraktiker som meningsfulla i sig själva, snarare än som återspeglings av enhetliga idéer. Betydelsen av begravningsriter förstås som relationella snarare än väsentliga: de måste ses i förhållande till varandra och till andra former av mänskligt handlande.

Avhandlingen omfattar två djupgående fallstudier. Den första fallstudien (kapitel 2) visar att det finns betydande skillnader i hur ovala spännbucklor användes i både liv och död, och argumenterar för att dessa variationer i användning påverkade spännbucklornas förmåga att framkalla minne i begravningsriter. Istället för att betrakta deras betydelse som statisk, betonas i kapitlet hur deras betydelse var relationell och beroende av människors tidigare erfarenhet av ovala spännbucklor, både som kategori och som enskilda objekt. Den andra fallstudien (kapitel 3) undersöker hur själva begravningsriterna utfördes. Det visar att det fanns normer som reglerade begravningspraktiker, men också att praktikerna i flera fall varierade eller avvek från normerna. Dessa variationer och avvikelser belyser begravningspraktiker som svar på en faktisk situation: en enskild grupps bortgång.

Medan tidigare studier har betraktat gravar med ovala spännbucklor som tydligt definierade och homogena, visar denna studie att det fanns stor variation i de faktiska praktikerna. Eftersom gravar med ovala spännbucklor inte var enhetliga, bör tolkningar av dem inte heller vara enhetliga. De betydande skillnaderna i hur föremål användes och begravningspraktiker utfördes tyder starkt på att det fanns distinktioner i både avsikter och effekter av begravningsritualerna. Även om gravar med ovala spännbucklor ibland kan betraktas som informativa vad gäller de dödas identiteter och sociala tillhörighet, beror det på fler faktorer än enbart förekomsten eller avsaknaden av specifika föremål. Sammantaget hävdar avhandlingen att studier av gravar med ovala spännbucklor i synnerhet, och vikingagravar i allmänhet, har fokuserat för mycket på gravarnas antagna hedniskhet och skandinaviskhet. Forskning av detta slag riskerar att reducera alla komponenter av vikingagravar till frågor om identitet, och lämnar därmed mindre utrymme för att förstå begravningsriterna som svar på en enskild individs död. Genom att istället decentralisera gravgodsens betydelse både som etnisk och religiös markör och som gemensam nämnare för ritualer, ger det tillvägagångssätt som presenteras i denna avhandlingen möjlighet att utforska både grupp- och fallspecifika förhållningssätt till död och att dö i vikingatidens Storbritannien, Irland och Island.

Appendix 1

Catalogue of graves with oval brooches

The catalogue consists of all graves with oval brooches from England, Ireland, Scotland, and Iceland. I will describe the graves by country beginning with the northernmost grave and moving south. The exception is Iceland, where the order follows the graves clockwise around the country. The maps showing the placements of the graves can be found in chapter 3 (figures 38-41). Each grave has been given a unique ID and classified as either definite, probable, or possible (see criteria section 3.2). The entry for each grave consists of a description of the grave, its construction, content, and context. The level of detail in the descriptions varies considerably due to the variations in information available. There is a brief description of the location of the burial, mainly building on the work of Harrison (2008) for Britain and Ireland and Friðriksson (2013) for Iceland. There is also a description of the oval brooches discovered in the grave. Finally I have listed the main sources available for each grave.

1.1 England

B.ID 01 CUMWHITTON, CUMBRIA

Classification: Definite

The burial is part of a cemetery with six graves, two possibly female and four possibly male. The present burial was the first discovered. The pair of oval brooches were discovered by metal detecting in 2004 and archaeological excavation of the site took place shortly afterwards. The grave was 2.4 m long and 0.92 m wide,

rectangular, but with rounded corners (Paterson et al. 2014:53) and was oriented east-west. It had been cut into the natural sand. Part of a human skull was discovered, but no other skeletal remains. The oval brooches had been removed before the excavation, but the interventions made by the metal detectorists suggested that they were originally placed in the chest area. A bead was found close to the skull fragment, and there were other beads in the ploughsoil which could have come from this burial. The oval brooches seem to have been at the chest, though one was discovered further down than the other (Paterson et al. 2014:54). A small knife decorated with silver wire lay at the waist of the deceased, and an iron key was discovered in the same position. It is possible that the key and knife were hanging from one of the brooches. At the foot end of the grave (approx. 170 cm from the head) was the fragmented remains of a wooden box with a lock. It had contained a lead spindle whorl, iron shears, a glass linen smoother, and antler comb, and an unidentified iron object, which could have been a needle case (Paterson et al. 2014:54,59,64). A sowing needle was visible on the x-ray, but no physical remains of it was recovered (Paterson et al. 2014:61). There were textile remains discovered in association with the oval brooches, the box, as well as the key. Fly pupae were discovered in the mineralised textiles attached to the oval brooches, and might suggest that there was some delay between the body was dressed and interred in the grave. They might have been laid before burial, but hatched after the body was interred, however (Paterson et al. 2014:157).

The other graves were placed in two rows about ten meters to the east of the first. Remains of a ditch was found around the central one in the second row, indicating that it had originally been covered by a mound. All the graves were shallow and had been disturbed and truncated by ploughing. The soil was very acidic and little organic material had survived. The excavators suggested that grave 1 might have been the earliest, as this was physically separated, on a slightly different alignment, and contained a person dressed in a clearly Scandinavian manner (Paterson et al. 2014:43). This differs from the other graves which contained furnishing of a more mixed nature (Paterson et al. 2014:67).

Two fragment of a Borre-style copper-alloy belt buckle were discovered in the ploughsoil. One fragment was found approximately 1.1 m south of the grave, whereas the other was discovered some meters to the west of it, with a fragment of a Berdal brooch. Several other fragments of this Berdal brooch were discovered, though it is not clear which grave it originally belonged to. The excavators suggested that it might be from grave 2 rather than grave 1, as grave 1 already contained a pair of oval brooches (Paterson et al. 2014:46). The association with the copper-alloy belt buckle which seems more closely linked to grave 1, suggests that the Berdal brooch might well be from grave 1, a possibility also raised by the

excavators (Paterson et al. 2014:127-113). The distance from the discovery of the fragments of the Berdal brooch and grave 2, makes it more likely that it was originally from grave 1.¹⁷ Both the Borre style belt-buckle and the Berdal brooch are here interpreted as belonging to grave 1.

Location: The village of Cumwhitton is at an altitude of 110 maOD. The land rises towards the east and falls gently towards the river Eden in the west. The most significant settlement in the area at the time of the burials might have been Wetheral which could have been a functioning monastic site (Paterson et al 2014:1). The site of the burials is on a small ground overlooking the Cumwhitton Beck, and it has good views towards both the east and west. Geophysical survey was undertaken, but no trace of early medieval activity was located in the vicinity (Paterson et al 2014:8)

Oval brooches: There are three brooches from the cemetery of Cumwhitton, all currently in the Tullie House Museum and Art Gallery in Carlisle. I have not been able to study any of them in detail, but the cemetery is well published, and the brooches are described in the report (Paterson et al. 2014:55-57).

The two brooches found together (10002 and 10003) are both of type P51B1¹⁸. According to Paterson et al. (2014:55), the brooches are so similar that it is highly likely that they were manufactured as a pair. Judging from the illustrations available, I would agree that this is likely. Both brooches are gilded, and much of the gilding still remains. They are also decorated in part with white metal. They have grooves and holes for silver wire, but none is extant. They both have five cast and four loose bosses, all of which are missing, but were originally made from a lead-tin alloy. The upper and lower shells were fastened together with copper-alloy rivets underneath the loose bosses. Textile remains are found inside both brooches, clearly suggesting that they were worn by the deceased. Both pin catch and hinge are extant inside the brooches, with remains of the iron pin and textiles. The level of corrosion and the nature of the images make it difficult to discuss wear. According to the conservation report, the protruding areas of the brooch are abraded (meaning that the bosses are worn) (Watson et al. 2011:46).

The third brooch from Cumwhitton consists of eight fragments of one (or possibly two) oval brooch of type P23/24 (Berdal D). There is one drawing, but no other illustrations of this brooch. As far as I know, there are no exact parallels for this brooch, but the pair from Skógar in Iceland (B.ID 59) is a close comparison. This is also mentioned by the authors who take this as a confirmation of a late

¹⁷ This is further discussed in section 2.6.3.

¹⁸ Kershaw (2013:99) claims they are P51B4, but the side panels are Sa3, not Sa1, meaning that the brooch is type P51B1 following Jansson's classification.

ninth century date for the brooch (Paterson et al. 2014:46). This is not necessarily the case, however, as the Icelandic brooches were clearly old and well worn, and in general it seems that oval brooches could well have been in use for a long time before they were deposited in the grave. I would suggest a date (of production at least) in the first half of the ninth century as more likely. It is possible that some of the fragments show signs of having been subjected to heat, though these traces could also be an effect of corrosion (Paterson et al. 2014:46).

Sources: Paterson, Caroline, Adam J. Parsons, Rachel M. Newman, Nick Johnson, Christine Howard-Davis, Anthony Dickson, Alan Lupton, Fiona McGibbon, Sharon Penton and Penelope Walton Rogers 2014: *Shadows in the Sand: Excavation of a Viking-age cemetery at Cumwhitton, Cumbria*. Lancaster Imprints, vol. 22. Oxford Archaeology North. Lancaster; Watson, Jacqui, Karla Graham, Angela Karsten, Lucy Skinner, Ulrike Schaefer, Sharon Penton, Jie Gao, Vanessa Fell and Jennifer Jones 2011: Townfoot Farm, Cumwhitton, Cumbria: investigative conservation of material from the Viking cemetery.

B.ID 02 LEEMING LANE NR BEDALE, NORTH YORKSHIRE (NORTHALLERTON)

Classification: *Definite*

The first notice of the discovery is from 1848, when a pair of oval brooches were noted as having been discovered with a skeleton underneath a Roman road at a depth of 0.3-0.6 m (one or two feet) (Royal Archaeological Institute 1848:220; Harrison 2008:546). The grave is poorly recorded, but it contained a skeleton with two oval brooches, one on each shoulder, and something described as a 'rude long square spearhead' transfixing the chest (Royal Archaeological Institute 1848:220). Harrison (2008:546) suggests that this might mean that it is lying across the chest, but it is unclear. He also suggests it could be weaving sword or a roasting spit. The description does not seem to fit a roasting spit, but it does fit that of a weaving sword, as these might well be socketed like spearheads. It could of course also be a spearhead.

Location: The location has been a little disputed, as the find has also been associated with Northallerton (Bjørn and Shetelig 1940:15). Harrison (2008:546-547) suggests that its most likely location is on the road from Leeming Bar to the Village of Leeming. This road was earlier called Leeming Lane. The present day road going between Leeming Bar and Leeming is called Roman Road. The burial clearly seems to be associated with a possibly older road (which might have shifted, hence the burial being under the road), and possibly also a small stream called Bedale Beck.

Oval brooches: Harrison (2008:546) suggests that the brooches seem to have been reunited by York Archaeological Trust 'after an extended period in two separate institutions'. This is not the case, however, as one of them is currently in the

National Museums Scotland. The description says it is ‘one of two found with skeleton, near Northallerton, Yorkshire’. It is an understandable mistake, however, as the two brooches are pictured together in Julian D. Richards *Viking Age England* (Richards 2004: plate 20) and the image is property of York Archaeological Trust. I have not been able to locate the second brooch of this pair. It is stated in the *Archaeological Journal* of 1848 that it was in the possession of William Hedley, of Monkwearmouth (Royal Archaeological Institute 1848:220). The following description of the brooches therefore differs in the degree of detail as I have been able to create a 3D model of the first brooch (X.IM 1), but only studied a picture and a drawing of the front of the second. Richards (2004:205) claims that the two brooches were wired together, but, as also pointed out by Harrison (2008:546) it is unclear on what grounds. I have not found any evidence to support it.

X.IM 1 is of type P51F. It has a few holes in the shell, but is otherwise complete. Two thirds of the brooch is well preserved, but the last third has suffered quite badly from corrosion. It has holes and grooves for silver wire, but none remain. It has five cast bosses, and platforms for four loose bosses, though only in one place is any of this preserved. The upper and lower shells were attached by rivets underneath the loose bosses. There is iron corrosion around the platforms for two of the loose bosses. There is also iron corrosion on the inside of the brooch around the pin catch, and something seems to have been attached to the inside of the brooch. Part of the original pin catch is still present; it is damaged, but it is uncertain when this damage occurred. It is possible that this is an example of adding a new pin catch, but in that case two of the loose bosses would have had to be removed and reattached. There is no iron corrosion around the platforms for the loose bosses on the other end of the brooch, nor on the inside, suggesting that the rivets used here were copper-alloy (or that the rivets and bosses were lost before deposition). It is also possible that iron rivets were used to reattach the upper and lower shell, or to attach new bosses. The pin hinge is still extant and there are traces of an iron pin on and around it. The execution of the brooch is decent, and it is clearly worn. This is especially the case on the bosses, and in particular the central one, but it is also evident on the back panels and the upper parts of the side panels.

The second brooch of this pair is evidently of a different subtype, namely P 51B1. The two brooches are noticeably different. The brooch has five cast and four loose bosses, none of the latter are extant. There are holes and grooves for silver wire, nothing remains on the image in Richards (2004: plate 20), but it is clearly still extant on the drawing in the *Archaeological Journal*. The brooch had apparently been damaged by a pick-axe when it was discovered (Royal Archaeological Institute 1848:220), but it is in general well-preserved. It also looks to be quite well-made. There is a small metal ring attached to the upper shell on one of the side panels in

the picture, but as it is not there in the drawing, it is presumably a later addition. It is difficult to tell if the brooch is worn, especially as it is black and white, but it looks like the bosses could be.

Sources: Royal Archaeological Institute 1848: Archaeological Intelligence. *Archaeological Journal*, 5, pp. 220-221; Anderson, Joseph 1874: Notes on the Relics of the Viking Period of the Northmen in Scotland, illustrated by Specimens in the Museum. *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland*, 10, p. 556; Bjørn, Anathon and Haakon Shetelig 1940: *Viking Antiquities in England*. Viking Antiquities in Great Britain and Ireland, Aschehoug. Oslo, p. 15; Richards, Julian D 2004: *Viking Age England*, Tempus; Harrison, Stephen H. 2008: Furnished insular Scandinavian burial : artefacts & landscape in the early Viking age. Doctoral thesis. Department of History. Trinity College. Dublin, Ireland, pp. 546-547.

B.ID 03 CLAUGHTON HALL, LANCASHIRE

Classification: Probable

The burial at Claughton Hall in Lancashire was excavated in 1822 by workmen building a road through a small hill or tumulus of sand (Jones 1849:74). The various descriptions of the find are rather confusing, but there seems to be a secondary Viking burial in a Bronze Age mound, as various Viking Age artefacts were recorded along with a Bronze Age stone-axe and a ceramic pot containing cremated bones (Jones 1849; Kendrick 1936; Edwards 1969, 1998:14-15). This interpretation is not certain, however. Harrison (2008:538) argues that the stone-axe was part of the Viking Age assemblage as the sources imply that these were discovered together. Of artefacts clearly belonging to the Viking Age, was found a sword, a spear, an axe, a hammer, two oval brooches, a Carolingian silver plaque reused as a brooch and two beads. These artefacts were found 2-3ft (0.6-0.9 m) below the surface. There was no mention of any skeletal remains, but as the mound was said to be made of sand, it is possible that the bones had disappeared in the acidic conditions. There are no indications of a cremation. The artefacts seem to have been found in some sort of wooden container, perhaps a coffin, a wood-lined cist, or potentially a chamber grave (Edwards 1969:113, 1998:15). The two oval brooches had been found back-to-back (with the hollow sides opposing). They might have been wrapped in cloth, though traces of cloth were not mentioned when they were cleaned in 1930. These brooches contained the silver plaque and the two beads as well as a molar.

Location: The road referred to was identified by Edwards (Edwards 1969:114) as Lodge Road, which is less than a kilometre east of the Preston-Lancashire road

(as identified by Kendrick 1936:117).¹⁹ That would mean it was located on a very gentle slope, facing west or south west, and close to the Rivers Brock and Kendrick (Harrison 2008:538).

Oval brooches: The brooches are currently in the Harris Museum and Art Gallery in Preston. Both the oval brooches are of the type P51B1. I have only seen pictures, so this description is based on those and earlier descriptions. T.D Kendrick (1936) thinks they were made from the same mould, which from the illustrations appear to be likely. Both brooches are damaged, especially the edges, and they both demonstrate signs of corrosion, especially one of them. Both have five cast and four loose bosses, none of the latter are extant. It is likely that the upper and lower shells were attached with rivets underneath the loose bosses, but not completely clear from the pictures. They both have grooves and holes for silver wire, but none remain. Although the pictures are black and white, the brooches clearly appear to have remains of gilding. Edwards (1998:16) notes that the gilt surface of the lower shell would have caused the brooch to appear to sparkle, but it is unclear if he is referring to the Claughton Hall brooches in particular or double-shelled oval brooches in general. Though the illustrations are not great, both brooches seem well-made. The quality of the images, as well as the corrosion makes it very difficult to say anything about wear. The inside of the brooches has not been photographed.

Sources: Royal Archaeological Institute 1849: February 2, 1849. *Archaeological Journal*, 6, pp. 74-75; T. D. Kendrick, T.D. 1936: The Claughton Hall Brooches. *Saga Book of the Viking Society for Northern Research* 11, pp. 117-24; Bjørn, Anathon and Haakon Shetelig 1940: *Viking Antiquities in England*. Viking Antiquities in Great Britain and Ireland, Aschehoug. Oslo, p. 21; Edwards, B.J.N. 1969: The Claughton Viking Burial. *Historic Society of Lancashire* 122, pp. 109-116; Harrison, Stephen H. 2008: Furnished insular Scandinavian burial : artefacts & landscape in the early Viking age. Doctoral thesis. Department of History. Trinity College. Dublin, Ireland, pp. 537-538.

B.ID 04 ADWICK-LE-STREET, SOUTH YORKSHIRE

Classification: Definite

The burial was discovered in 2001 during the excavation of a Romano-British trackway ditch. The grave had been truncated by ploughing, and it is possible that objects associated with the burial may have been removed (Speed and Walton Rogers 2004:51). The grave was aligned west/southwest-east/northeast, and con-

¹⁹ According to Harrison the site is likely to be located somewhere along the 300 m of the southern stretch of this road. It is unclear on what ground this is supposed to be the case. He also writes that it is approximately halfway between the rivers Brock and Calder, but the southern part of this road, is considerably closer to River Calder.

tained a poorly preserved human skeleton, badly damaged by ploughing, but also due to the soil conditions. The skeleton was lying in an extended, supine position (Speed and Walton Rogers 2004:58). A fragmented bronze bowl badly damaged by ploughing had been disturbed by topsoil stripping, but it had originally been positioned at the foot end of the grave, on the south-eastern side, where fragments of it were found. The two oval brooches were found in situ on either side of the chest. Part of a knife was discovered around the upper left arm (perhaps suspended from one of the oval brooches), and parts of a key or latch-lifter lay near the feet area (Speed and Walton Rogers 2004:59-60). Due to the deteriorated nature of the skeletal remains, the sex of the individual could not be determined, but some traits suggest it could be a woman. The person was adult at time of death, at least 33-45, but asymmetric wear on the teeth as well as degenerative changes to the spine could suggest an age of over 45 (Speed and Walton Rogers 2004:60). Strontium analysis demonstrated that the person had not grown up locally, and a Norwegian origin was suggested, though a very specific area of north-eastern Scotland could not be excluded as a place of origin. There was no indication what the individual moved long-distance in childhood, though there might have been some change in diet (Speed and Walton Rogers 2004:63). The copper-alloy bowl is made out of sheet metal, and though artefacts like these are found in Scandinavia, they are there assumed to be insular imports. This specimen might have been produced in Ireland, and is likely to have been an import in South Yorkshire (Speed and Walton Rogers 2004:82). It can be compared with the bowl from Ballyholme, Co. Down (B.ID 07).

Location: The site was located 27 m OD. It is located on the eastern side of a 51 m ridge overlooking the floodplain of the river Don. The site is 1 km west of the old centre of Adwick-le-Street, which is recorded in the Domesday Book. It is called le-Street due to its location near the Roman Road, though it lay 1.5 km to the west of the Medieval and Post-Medieval village (Speed and Walton Rogers 2004:55). The burial is approximately 500 m from the Roman Road. There have been finds of Roman burials in the vicinity (Speed and Walton Rogers 2004: P52-54). Evidence of Scandinavian settlement in the area, apart from place-names are rare (Speed and Walton Rogers 2004:55). The burial had cut one of two ditches for a Romano-British trackway leading to an enclosure. There were geophysical anomalies in the vicinity that could potentially be graves (Speed and Walton Rogers 2004: 55-58). More recent excavations uncovered the presence of a late seventh to late eighth century cemetery a few hundred metres to the south-east, but the relationship between the sites is not clear (McKinley 2016).

Oval brooches: The brooches are currently in the Doncaster Museum and Art Gallery. The burial itself is well-published, and the brooches have also been ana-

lysed. The following description is based both on the analysis by Penelope Walton Rogers and Erica Paterson, and my own analyses of the images.

Brooch AB is of type P37.3, though it is not a particularly well made example. The execution of some of the lines is rather angular, and there is a thick and rather uneven edge around the side panels that is not usually there on brooches of this kind. The décor on one of the side panels, especially towards this edge becomes quite indistinct. Apart from one small part of the edge of the brooch, it is complete and well preserved. It is very clearly worn, and according to Paterson (Speed and Walton Rogers 2004:72) the hinge on one of the brooches appears to have been broken and repaired using a solder and new support. It has clearly not been repaired in a similar fashion to other brooches in the western settlements. There is also a dent in the brooch that according to Paterson was not recent. None of the bosses survive, and as no metal fragments survive on the surface or in the surrounding soil, Paterson suggests that they were lost prior to burial (Speed and Walton Rogers 2004:72-73). As surviving loose bosses on P37 brooches in particular, but also on oval brooches in general must be considered rare, this suggestion is not entirely convincing. The absence of the bosses could be mean that they were generally all lost prior to burial, but it is more likely that they were made of a different material (often tin/lead) that decomposes more quickly. The pin catch is still extant, with remains of an iron pin. There are remains of textiles and cord attached to it (Paterson in Speed and Walton Rogers 2004:75-76).

Brooch AC is of type P37.12, and the only one of this type discovered in the western settlements. It is considerably smaller than its pair, and the décor is also obviously not matching. It was also a paler shade of copper-alloy than its pair (Speed and Walton Rogers 2004:73). The décor itself is quite indistinct, to such an extent that in some cases the motif becomes illegible, particularly on the corner panels. This is not uncommon with later types of P37 brooches, where the motif has suffered due to the repeated copying. The casting was apparently quite thin, and the metal has not run into all the spaces in the mould, which has led to missing areas in the brooch (Paterson in Speed and Walton Rogers 2004:69). Some white metal coating is still visible on the flange of the brooch, and it seems that the bosses were also made of some white metal. Slight damage to both brooches was also interpreted as having been pre-depositional (Paterson in Speed and Walton Rogers 2004:72). There are clear signs of wear on the back of the brooch. Both pin catch and hinge remains, with the corroded iron pin. There are remains of textile and textile loops still attached to it.

Sources: Speed, Greg and Penelope Walton Rogers 2004: A burial of a Viking woman at Adwick-le-Street, South Yorkshire. *Medieval Archaeology*, 48:1:51-90;

McKinley, Jacqueline I. 2016: A Conversion-Period Cemetery at Woodlands, Adwick-le-Street, South Yorkshire. *Yorkshire Archaeological Journal*, 88:1:77-120.

B.ID 05 SANTON, NORFOLK

Classification: Definite

The burial is very poorly recorded. The most detailed description says that a skeleton was discovered at 2 feet (0.6 m) depth with a sword and a pair of oval brooches (Greenwell 1874:208). It has been interpreted as a double burial (Bjørn and Shetelig 1940:12-13; Shetelig 1954:79; Evison 1969:330), or as the burial of a man with the oval brooches as a memento (comparable to Claughton Hall) (Richards 2004:204-205). Harrison (2008:592) points out that it could equally well have been a female burial with the sword as some form of 'offering'. At least one of the brooches have clear traces of textiles around the pin hinge, indicating that it was attached to clothing when it was buried. This suggest that the deceased was dressed wearing oval brooches. The burial has here been interpreted as that of an individual wearing oval brooches and buried with a sword.

Location: Harrison (2008:593) locates the site in Santon, about 1.4 km east/southeast of the village of Santon Downham. It was apparently found one a hill to the north of the church. It would then have been located 200 m north of the church (which may well have been later), and 300 m from the Little Ouse River. It would have been at about 5-10 m above the valley floor with good views towards the south and southwest.

Oval brooches: The brooches are presently in the British Museum (1883,0727.1 and 1888,0103.1). Both brooches are of type P51A1, more or less complete (apart from the flange) and well preserved. The present description is based on high-quality images from the British Museum. Both brooches are very well made, and the similarities in quality and execution of the upper shells at least suggest that they were made as a pair. It is possible that the lower shells were not made from the same master mould. There is ring and dot decoration on the posts on one of the brooch and not on the other, which has remains of a silvered-coloured coat or acid-etching instead. There also seems to be differences in the execution of the motif, but based on the images available, this is not possible to ascertain. Both have five cast and four loose, bosses, remains of the latter are present in parts on some of the platforms. The upper and lower shells were attached with rivets underneath the loose bosses; these rivets seem to have been made of copper-alloy. Gilding remains on both brooches, and there is also silver wire still attached to them. Both pin catch and hinge are extant inside one of the brooches, the latter with textile remains still attached (there is no illustration available of the inside of the other brooch).

Sources: Greenwell, W 1874: Scandinavian Brooches, found at Santon in Norfolk. *Proceedings of the Suffolk Institute of Archaeology and Natural History*, 4, pp. 208-217; Smith, Reginald A 1901: Anglo-Saxon Remains. In: H. Arthur Doubleday (ed.): *The Victoria History of the Counties of England: Norfolk*, vol. 1, pp. 325-351; London; Evison, Vera I 1969: A Viking Grave at Sonnig, Berks. *The Antiquaries Journal*, 49:330-345; Richards, Julian D 2004: *Viking Age England*. Tempus. Stroud, pp. 204-205; Harrison, Stephen H. 2008: Furnished insular Scandinavian burial : artefacts & landscape in the early Viking age. Doctoral thesis. Department of History. Trinity College. Dublin, Ireland, pp. 592-593.

1.2 Ireland

B.ID 06 (NEAR) CASTLEROCK, CO. DERRY

Classification: Possible

One double-shelled oval brooch (P51B1) discovered in the River Bann and sold to the museum. Being an oval brooch, Harrison and O’Floinn (2014:608) assume that it is from a grave.

Location: The brooch was discovered in the River Bann, and Harrison and O’Floinn (2014:608) argue that it is likely to originally have come from the sand dunes where the river enters the sea. Undated human remains as well as prehistoric and early medieval finds have been discovered in the extensive stretch of sand dunes to the east of the river mouth. Among these finds were fragments of a steatite bowl which could indicate a Viking Age settlement.

Oval brooch: The brooch is in the National Museum of Ireland (**1886:31**). The brooch is type P51E.²⁰ It is now somewhat damaged, central parts of the upper shell, including the central boss, are missing. It is also dented. It has five cast and four loose bosses. As already mentioned is the central cast boss missing, and so are three of the loose bosses. The fourth is still present, though in corroded form. It appears to have been made of lead or tin alloy. Gilding is visible on very small parts of the brooch, mainly on one of the platforms for loose bosses, and in connection with the silver wire which is still extant. Harrison and O’Floinn (2014:608-609) writes that the upper and lower shells are now attached by the silver wire, and that though contemporary it does not appear in its original position. This is not necessarily correct, however. Although the silver wire is clearly attached to both the upper and lower shells, there are evidently two separate wires, one single rather thicker which is attached to the lower shell directly below the upper shell.

20 Harrison and O’Floinn (2014:608) states that it is of type P51B1, but this is incorrect.

The other consists of three separate strands of thinner twisted silver wire which is attached to the upper shell alone. Although the wire below the edge of the upper shell is a little unusual, there are other examples of this, for instance the pair of brooches from Arklow, Co. Wicklow.²¹ There are also several other brooches from the western settlements that have perforations for silver wire on corresponding places.²² Although the silver wire on the present brooch has clearly shifted slightly, there is no reason to assume that it is not in its original position. The upper shell of the brooch is clearly quite worn, but as it was discovered in a river, this cannot be put down to use-wear. Both pin catch and hinge are extant inside the brooch.

Sources: Harrison, Stephen H. and Ragnhalla Ó Floinn 2014: *Viking Graves and Grave-Goods in Ireland*. Medieval Dublin Excavation, Ser. B., National Museum of Ireland. Dublin, pp. 608-609.

B.ID 07 BALLYHOLME, CO. DOWN

Classification: Probable

The burial was discovered in the summer or autumn of 1903. The grave was placed in an elevated position (crown of a hill/top of a slight elevation) into which the grave was cut. The feature seems to have been natural, but Harrison and Ó Floinn (2014:599) notes that it may have been artificially enhanced as there were two feet of sand between the top of the cut and the modern surface. The grave cut was 1.8 m deep and wedge-shaped, narrowing towards the base. Nothing was mentioned about the length of the cut (Cochrane 1906b:74). The two brooches (P37.3) were found at the bottom of the cut and had been placed with the hollow sides face to face. A bronze vessel (clearly related to the Insular hanging-bowl series, but with no evidence for suspension) was also found with some material inside that could have been wool (Cochrane 1906b:74). A bronze chain was said to be attached to the bowl, but there is no obvious means by which such a chain could be attached to the bowl, and it may be that it should rather be seen in connection with the oval brooches (Harrison and Ó Floinn 2014:603). The piece of chain has since been lost. Black earth or charcoal was noted, but as some bones (uncertain what they are) were noted and none of the artefacts were burnt, little else suggests cremation. The bones may well have been human, but it is not definite. A large piece of thin linen was also found, but none of the organic material has been preserved.

Location: The burial was found on the top of a small hill in the centre of Ballyholme Bay. It is close to the sea shore and a small stream (though the latter might of course

21 Other examples include C19859a from Stange, Hedmark, Norway; C4030 from Vikna, Trøndelag, Norway.

22 For instance 12454 and 96:1-2 from Iceland and X.II.215, X.II.217, and X.II.219 from Scotland.

have shifted). The burial is located 2.5 km from the early medieval monastery of Bangor which was raided by Vikings in 823 and 824. The monastery continued to function, however, as prominent ecclesiastics from there are mentioned from the ninth and tenth centuries (Harrison and Ó Floinn 2014:601).

Oval brooches: The brooches are in the National Museum of Ireland (1907:113 and 1907:114).

1907:113 The brooch is of type P37.3 and clearly well made. This décor on this brooch (and presumably the second of this pair) is clearly the best executed on any of the P37 brooches in the corpus. The brooch is missing pieces, and it is also quite corroded in places. Much of the gilding still remains. It seems likely that the posts and framework was decorated with silver coloured metal, as there are some small areas where traces of this remains (it could have been coated with lead or tin alloy, or added tin using a soft solder. Acid etching is unlikely as it seems to be covering the gilding). Both pin catch and hinge are extant inside the brooch. The pin was apparently originally present, but removed when it was discovered (Cochrane 1906b:74). There are traces of it on the pin catch. Harrison and Ó Floinn (2014:601) seems to suggest it could have been a replacement, perhaps as it seems to have been made of iron, but as nearly all oval brooches have iron pins, there is nothing to support it. There are no clear traces of wear, but this might have been obscured by corrosion.

1907:114 The other brooch of the pair is in a considerably worse state of preservation. Significant portions are missing, and the brooch is also very corroded. The brooch is now supported on the back with a synthetic resin that covers the inside of the brooch, obscuring all details apart from the pin catch and hinge. From the small portions of the brooch where the motif is legible, it seems to be closely matching that found on the first brooch. It is highly likely that these brooches were made from the same master mould. On one small part of the framework there seem to be remains of coating of metal in silver colour, suggesting that this brooch was decorated in the same way as the former. Both pin catch and hinge are extant inside the brooch, and there are traces of the pin on the pin hinge. The corrosion makes it impossible to say anything about wear.

Sources: Cochrane, Robert 1906: Two Viking brooches and a bowl found in a hillock on a portion of raised beach at Bangor and Groomsport, County Down. *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of London*, 2nd series, 22, pp. 72-79; Harrison, Stephen H. and Ragnall Ó Floinn 2014: *Viking Graves and Grave-Goods in Ireland*. Medieval Dublin Excavation, Ser. B., National Museum of Ireland. Dublin, pp. 598-604.

B.ID 08 FINGLAS, CO. DUBLINClassification: Definite

Extended supine inhumation of a woman aged 25-35 years, oriented north-east-southwest. The head was positioned slightly higher than the rest of the body. Buried with two oval brooches (Berdal D/P23/24, one in fragments) close to the shoulders, an antler comb, and a small box or casket decorated with bone plaques, only the plaques are extant. Both comb and box had been placed near her right hip. Only one of the oval brooches was intact. The brooch on the left side of the body had been damaged as well as the comb and casket. The fingers of the left hand were found underneath the remains of the damaged brooch. The skeleton was damaged and partially disturbed. The legs were truncated above the knees, and the left upper arm and shoulder were missing. Remains of a small animal were found on or near the upper torso, but this represents a later disturbance (Sikora 2010). The fragmented comb is 15 cm long in reconstructed form, and is of type Ambrosiani A1, and might well be a Scandinavian import. It has clearly been used (Sikora 2010:406).

Location: Finglas is situated 5.5 km north-west of the later Viking Age walled town. The burial was found on relatively low-lying, flat land 1.2 km north of the River Tolka (Harrison and Ó Floinn 2014:533). The burial was found in an area otherwise devoid of graves, and was situated close to an ecclesiastical site, although it may have been temporarily abandoned in the Viking Age (Sikora 2010:402-403). The direct relationship between the grave and the ecclesiastical site is unclear, but it appears to be close to its edge, rather than at its core (Harrison and Ó Floinn 2014:535)

Oval brooches: The brooches are in the National Museum of Ireland (04E900:254:1 and 04E900:254:2)

04E900:254:1 Small, but opulent brooch, with many details, but the decor in itself is not particularly well-executed. It has nine protruding bosses, five integral in the shape of sitting animals, possibly bears, and the other four animal heads, again possibly bears, which are riveted to the brooch. They all appear to have had glass eyes, though some of these are lost. One of the sitting bears is in the centre on the back of the brooch, on either side of this is a band going down the back of the brooch. This central band is found on all Berdal brooches. The brooch is gilded, and much of the gilding remains. The two bands were originally inlaid with silver (Sikora 2010:407). It seems that the sitting bears were also gilded, but probably not the bear heads, though these may originally have had a zinc or silver coating (Harrison and Ó Floinn 2014:535). At either end of both the bands is a platform, where rivets seem to have attached four additional bosses to the brooch. There is

something which could potentially be a casting flaw on the side of the brooch. This is an area where the motif is obscured, and it corresponds with an area with a protruding metal lump on the inside of the brooch. It is suffering from corrosion which makes it difficult to discuss wear, but it is worth noting that the gilding on the sitting bears has been worn off on the heads and knees and shoulder joints, but not in other areas. This could suggest that this was worn off in antiquity. Both pin catch and hinge, as well as part of the pin is still extant inside the brooch. Textile remains are still adhering to the remains of the pin, clearly suggesting that the brooch was worn by the deceased.

04E900:254:2 The brooch is extant in several fragments. Harrison and Ó Floinn (2014:536) writes seven substantial fragments of the brooch remains, though I have not seen these myself (they were not in the box which was said to contain the brooch. This only contained undistinguishable fragments). The following description is therefore based on that in Harrison and Ó Floinn's (2014:536) catalogue. The pieces included part of the animal mounts, clearly demonstrating that the two brooches were similar in design, though apparently not identical. There is a beaded border just above the rim which is more pronounced on the fragmented brooch, as well as differences in the chip carving. Without actually having seen the fragments, it is difficult to assess if this means that the brooches could have been made from the same master mould. It is also possible that the brooches could have been made free-hand.

Sources: Sikora, Maeve 2010: The Finglas burial: archaeology and ethnicity in Viking-Age Dublin. In: John Sheehan and Donnchadh Ó Corráin (eds.): *The Viking Age: Ireland and the West. Proceedings of the Fifteenth Viking Congress*, Four Court Press. Dublin, pp. 402-417; Harrison, Stephen H. and Ragnall Ó Floinn 2014: *Viking Graves and Grave-Goods in Ireland*. Medieval Dublin Excavation, Ser. B., National Museum of Ireland. Dublin, pp. 533-537.

B.ID 09 PHOENIX PARK, CO. DUBLIN

Classification: Definite

Inhumation grave containing a pair of oval brooches and a modified insular mount discovered in Phoenix Park Dublin sometime around 1843. Two oval brooches (P37.6) were found with a skeleton, apparently one on each breast, indicating that the body was supine. A modified insular mount (also at BM 1854.0307.3) was said to have been found with two oval brooches from Phoenix Park, and a drawing from NMD confirms that it is this grave (there are no other likely candidates). The mount might have been a book clasp, and might be as early as eight century (Harrison and Ó Floinn 2014:569-572).

Location: The exact location of the burial is not known, though Harrison and Ó Floinn (Harrison and Ó Floinn 2014:570-571) tentatively suggests that it could have been associated with the church Cell Mo Shamóc which is thought to have located on the bluff of the Liffey valley, overlooking the Kilmainham/Islandbridge complex.

Oval brooches: One of the oval brooches is in the British Museum (BM1854.0307.1) and the other is in the National Museum of Denmark (NMD10515). I have examined high-quality images of the brooch from the British Museum, but I have not seen the brooch presently in Copenhagen. The description of that brooch is therefore based on descriptions and illustrations published elsewhere.

BM1854.0307.1 The oval brooch is of type P37.6. It is mostly complete, though parts of the flange are missing, and there are also some smaller holes in the brooch. It is suffering from corrosion in some areas, but the motif is still easily legible. There is a perforation in the flange at one of the short ends of the brooch. It is clearly deliberate, but it is uncertain if it occurred before deposition. The flange is decorated with incised chevrons which is somewhat unusual (as also noted by Harrison and Ó Floinn 2014:571), but also seen on X.IL 215 and 216 (B.ID 49) and X.IL 862 (B.ID 33). Harrison and O’Floinn (2014:571) notes that the both pin catch and hinge are extant inside the brooch, with remains of the iron pin. The mark on one of the upper side panels is possibly worn, but it is difficult to say from the images.

NMD10515 The brooch is of type P37.6. It is difficult to say based on a drawing, but the two seem to be alike and might well have been made from the same master mould. This brooch is slightly more damaged than the first, about half of the flange is missing, and perhaps also more of the side of the brooch. Eogan (1991:170) notes the remains of both pin catch and hinge inside the brooch, as well as two internal loops. The flange of this brooch is also decorated with the incised chevrons. It is not clear if the flange of this brooch is perforated. Just at the break in the flange on one end, there appears to be a semi-circular hole, though it is not clear if this is intended or not. Nor is it possible to say anything about wear based on the illustration.

Sources: Hall, RA 1974: A Viking Grave in Phoenix Park Co. Dublin. *The Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland* 104, pp. 39-43; Eogan, G. (1991) ‘Irish antiquities of the Bronze Age, Iron Age and Early Christian period in the National Museum of Denmark’ *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy* 91C, pp. 133-176; Harrison, Stephen H. and Ragnall Ó Floinn 2014: *Viking Graves and Grave-Goods in Ireland*. Medieval Dublin Excavation, Ser. B., National Museum of Ireland. Dublin, pp. 569-572.

B.ID 10 KILMAINHAM 1845, Co. DUBLINClassification: Definite

The record of discovery is very incomplete. Discovered during the construction of a railway, 65 artefacts were donated to the Royal Irish Academy in 1845, comprising a minimum of twelve graves, of which one is assumed to be female. This is the single largest group of grave-goods from insular contexts, only Pierowall has evidence of more graves (though there are several more graves at the Kilmainham/Islandbridge complex, and twelve graves from this acquisition must be considered a minimum) (Harrison and Ó Floinn 2014:314). One damaged oval brooch of type P37.3 (mislabelled as 2420 (Harrison and Ó Floinn 2014:320)) were among the finds. As the rest of the artefacts from this group were sent to the museum together, it is not possible to say for certain what other artefacts were buried with this brooch. A second oval brooch (P1303, P37.3) was later given to the Academy by George Petrie who had acquired it from Kilmainham, probably in 1845, and Harrison and Ó Floinn (2014:317) suggests it could form the second of a pair (further discussed below). Apart from these artefacts the assemblage consisted of eleven swords, eleven spearheads, five single-edged spearheads, nine shield bosses, two axeheads, three ringed pins (one certain, two probable), one equal-armed brooch (Troms type, P64), one buckle, six tanged knives, eight arrowheads, four gaming-pieces, one ferrule, one harness mount, one enamelled mount, one cauldron handle, two 'iron rods' (Harrison and Ó Floinn 2014:319-352). According to Worsaae (1852 cited in Harrison and O'Floinn 2014:317) the skeletons were laid in single graves in rows "...each is said to have set or enclosed with stones..."

Location: The location of the burials seem to have been just outside the monastic enclosure overlooking the ford of Cell Mo Shamóc, which was an important crossing point for the River Liffey (Harrison and Ó Floinn 2014:318-319).

Oval brooch: The brooch is in the National Museum of Ireland (**D328**) (The brooch has been labelled R2420, but Harrison and O'Foinn (2014:320) has demonstrated this to be an error). The brooch is of the type P37.3. It is damaged around the edges and corroded in places. The décor is not particularly well-executed, the various incisions and lines are rather angular, and there are areas where the motif is missing. There are nine platforms for loose bosses, with remains of bosses on three of these. The posts leading from the platforms to the band are generally lighter in colour, perhaps indicating that these areas were treated differently in some way, perhaps coated or acid-etched. The décor is quite rough, and it is suffering from corrosion, making it difficult to say to what extent there are traces of wear. Minuscule traces of gilding remains on the inside of the flange, suggesting the brooch was originally gilded. Both a slightly damaged pin catch and hinge are present inside the brooch, and there are remains of textiles as well, indicating that it was

attached to textiles when deposited. Harrison and O’Floinn have suggested that this brooch could form a pair with P1303 as both seem to be from the Kilmainham 1845 railway cut (Harrison and Ó Floinn 2014:370-371). The brooches are evidently not made from the same master mould, however. Although they may still have been buried together as a pair, they could equally well have been from separate graves, especially as the record of finds from Kilmainham is so imprecise, however, and many artefacts were evidently sold to private collectors. They could have been buried with other brooches now lost, or they could have been used as single brooches. They have here been interpreted as belonging to separate graves.

Sources: Harrison, Stephen H. and Raghnaill Ó Floinn 2014: *Viking Graves and Grave-Goods in Ireland*. Medieval Dublin Excavation, Ser. B., National Museum of Ireland. Dublin, pp. 314-352.

B.ID 11 KILMAINHAM 1845 MS, CO. DUBLIN

Classification: Probable

This group of objects consists of miscellaneous artefacts from the 1845 railway cutting. It consists of ten artefacts acquired by the Royal Irish Academy as donations and purchases from different collection, and are stated to come from the 1845 railway cuttings. It is unclear how many graves the artefacts belonged to, but Harrison and O’Floinn suggests a minimum of three male burials (this seems to have left out the likely female grave-goods, however, suggesting that it should rather represent a minimum of four burials, three male and one female following Harrison and Ó Floinn’s method) (Harrison and Ó Floinn 2014:364-365). The material consisted of: three swords, one spearhead, one shield boss, one single-edged spearhead, an oval brooch, a Byzantine seal matrix, and iron spike and an antler burr. There was also a human skull which was never registered and an unlocated ‘bronze ink bottle’ which Harrison and O’Floinn suggests could be a copper-alloy flask (Harrison and Ó Floinn 2014:366-372). The oval brooch (P37.3) (mislabelled as R2404A) was part of Petrie’s collection, and he presumably acquired from the 1845 railway cutting. Harrison and O’Floinn suggests it could be the pair of D328 (Harrison and Ó Floinn 2014:370-371), though these are here treated as belonging to separate graves (see above).

Location: It is likely to be from the same railway cutting as Kilmainham 1845, meaning that the location is the same as B.ID 10 (Harrison and Ó Floinn 2014:365-366).

Oval brooch: The brooch is in the National Museum of Ireland (**P1303**) (The brooch has been labelled R2404B, but Harrison and O’Foinn (2014:370-371) has demonstrated this to be an error. It is the closest match for the brooch registered as P1303). It is complete and well-preserved, though the back is suffering from corrosion and it has been extensively cleaned, removing its patina. It has

nine platforms for loose bosses, at one of them there are some slight remains of a boss. There is also some discoloration around some of the other platforms, but it is unclear if this is a result of conservation or not. Both the pin catch and the pin hinge are extant inside the brooch, and there are remains of textile both adhering to the back and also around the remains of the pin which is found between the pin-attachment lugs. According to Jørgensen (1992:216), this is the remains of a loop. This clearly indicates that the brooch was attached to clothing when it was deposited, probably worn by the deceased. Due to corrosion and cleaning it is difficult to say anything about wear. Harrison and O’Floinn have suggested that this brooch could form a pair with D328, though they are interpreted as belonging to separate graves here (see description of D328 above).

Sources: Harrison, Stephen H. and Ragnall Ó Floinn 2014: *Viking Graves and Grave-Goods in Ireland*. Medieval Dublin Excavation, Ser. B., National Museum of Ireland. Dublin, pp. 362-372.

B.ID 12 KILMAINHAM 1845CA, Co. DUBLIN

Classification: Definite

This assemblage consists of nine artefacts specifically stated to come from Kilmainham, almost certainly found there c. 1845, but not specifically linked to the railway cuttings. All the artefacts came into the possession of the Royal Irish Academy through dealers and collectors (Harrison and Ó Floinn 2014:372-373). Two oval brooches were among these (P11B), as well as two swords, a sword pommel, two spearheads, the hoop of a small annular brooch, and two tinned copper-alloy shield(?) mounts (Harrison and Ó Floinn 2014:373-381). One of the oval brooches (1881:253) was part of the collection of William Perry, an entry states that it was ‘found in Kilmainham on the breast of a human skeleton’. Either from the 1845 railway cutting or gravel extraction on the Railway company’s land in the years after that date (Harrison and Ó Floinn 2014:378-380). The second oval brooch (2013:86) is almost identical to the first and also with almost identical metal composition. It is uncertain how it entered the NMI’s collection, but as it is a very rare type and practically identical to (1881:253) it is highly likely to be from the same grave (Harrison and Ó Floinn 2014:380-381).

Location: The artefacts may have come from the railway cutting, in which case it would have been the same location as B.ID 10, but could also have been discovered as a result of gravel extraction (Harrison and Ó Floinn 2014:373).

Oval brooches: The brooches are both in the National Museum of Ireland (1881:253 and 2013:86)

1881:253 The brooch is of the type P11B, which is an early type of the Berdal brooches, with moulds from Ribe dated to the last decade of the eighth century (Feveile and Jensen 2006:156). The type is very rare, with only ten brooches in total according to Jansson (1985:26). The Kilmainham brooches are not close matches for any of the other of this type. This is especially visible with the entrelace motif on the centre of the brooch which is more intricate on the Irish examples. It seems that the Irish examples are also bigger than the others, both are over nine cm long. Harrison and Ó Floinn (2014:134) raise the possibility that the brooches could show signs of Irish influence. He seems to be basing this on a suggestion made by Jansson, but Jansson (1985:26) is merely saying that it was suggested by Paulsen (1933:28) with reference to all brooches of type P11B, and not specifically the pair from Dublin. Jansson himself does not think the simple entrelace motif on most of the P11B brooches is particularly influenced by insular art. The entrelace motif on the back of the Dublin brooches is far more intricate than what is seen on the comparable brooches from Scandinavia, however, which could perhaps support such a claim for this pair of brooches in particular. Based on typology, these are the earliest forms of oval brooches discovered in the western settlements, and although Irish influence is possible, this is far from indicating that they could have been produced in Dublin, a suggestion tentatively raised by Harrison and Ó Floinn (2014:134). The cleaning and corrosion makes it difficult to say if the brooch is worn, but its central band is clearly dented, something that could have happened pre-deposition. Both pin catch and hinge are extant inside the brooch.

2013:86 The brooch is of the same type as the former, P11B. The brooches are very similar, clearly suggesting that they were made from the same master mould. Its history of discovery is confused, it was not given an acquisition number until 2013. It is consequently not obvious from the various records that the two brooches were found together, but the rare form and clear similarities make it highly unlikely that they were not originally a pair. This brooch appears to have been less extensively cleaned (as also noted by Harrison and O’Floinn 2014:380), and its patina remains. It is well-preserved, though with a slight dent on one side of the brooch next to the central band. The brooch is still partly gilded. The brooch exhibits clear signs of wear, the décor on the central band has almost been worn smooth. Both pin catch and hinge are extant inside the brooch, and there is corrosion from an iron pin around both.

Sources: Harrison, Stephen H. and Ragnall Ó Floinn 2014: *Viking Graves and Grave-Goods in Ireland*. Medieval Dublin Excavation, Ser. B., National Museum of Ireland. Dublin, pp. 362-381.

B.ID 13 ISLANDBRIDGE 1866B, Co. DUBLINClassification: Probable

The assemblage consists of 23 artefacts, representing minimum two female and one male grave according to Harrison and O Floinn's method of determining. Among the artefacts were four oval brooches, as well as one sword, two spearheads, one shield boss, one balance, two decorated weights, set of purse mounts and a mount from a second, one needle case, one hoop for an annular brooch, two ringed pins, a matching buckle and strap-end, min. 28 beads, a stick pin in form of miniature axe, a copper-alloy ring (from harness?), a nail or rivet-head (Harrison and Ó Floinn 2014:444-464). Two of the brooches (R2404 and R2405) are type P37.3, and the other two (R2420 and 2421) are of the much rarer type P39. It is not possible to say which artefacts were interred together, but it seems likely that the oval brooches represent two different graves. There are also 23 additional artefacts (Islandbridge 1866ms) that could have come from the same burials as 1866B. It is also possible that material from the subgroup 1866C (and to a lesser extent 1866A) could include material from the same graves as 1866B (Harrison and Ó Floinn 2014:444-445).

Location: They were discovered in a gravel pit southwest of the village of Islandbridge. According to Harrison and O'Floinn (2014:429) they are likely to come from a north-facing gentle slope overlooking the ford of Kilmohaouc (Cell Mo Shamóc). It would also have been overlooked by the monastic site at the top of the ridge to the south.

Oval brooches: There are as mentioned four oval brooches from this assemblage, almost certainly representing two pairs of brooches, R2404 and R2405 being the first, and R2420 and R2421 forming the second. All four brooches are currently in the National Museum of Ireland. The following will treat the former pair.

R2404 (the brooch was initially incorrectly labelled as 2405 (Harrison and Ó Floinn 2014:452-453)). The brooch is of type P37.3, but it has two cast bosses on the centre of the side panels, instead of panels for loose bosses, which is more common. It is complete and quite well preserved. The execution of the décor is good. The decoration has two wing-like fringes on the side panels, which is more commonly found on brooches of high-quality (though also seen on X.IL 197 (B.ID 24), X.IL 313 (B.ID 20) and Wick of Aith (B.ID.22)). It is corroded, and appears to have been intensively cleaned, removing its patina. Both pin catch and hinge are extant inside the brooch, as well as parts of the pin attached to the latter. There are also textile remains present. The corrosion and cleaning makes it difficult to discuss wear.

R2405 Like the former the brooch is of type P37.3, and the two are very similar in execution, strongly suggesting that they were made from the same master mould. Apart from a small part of the flange, and some minor holes it is complete, and quite well preserved. There is some corrosion, however, especially on the back panels. It has been cleaned, removing the patina. Both pin catch and hinge are extant inside the brooch, the latter with remains of the iron pin. The corrosion and cleaning makes it very difficult to say anything about wear.

Sources: Harrison, Stephen H. and Ragnall Ó Floinn 2014: *Viking Graves and Grave-Goods in Ireland*. Medieval Dublin Excavation, Ser. B., National Museum of Ireland. Dublin, pp. 426-429; 444-445; 452-453.

B.ID 14 ISLANDBRIDGE 1866B, CO. DUBLIN

Classification: Probable

Same assemblage as previous, see B.ID 13

Location: Same assemblage as previous, see B.ID 13

Oval brooches: There are as mentioned four oval brooches from this assemblage, almost certainly representing two pairs of brooches, R2404 and R2405 being the first, and R2420 and R2421 forming the second. The following description will treat the latter pair.

R2420 (the brooch was initially incorrectly labelled as 2421 (Harrison and Ó Floinn 2014:461)). The brooch is of the type P39, which is quite a rare type. They differ from the type specimen discussed by Petersen (1928:35) in that the joints of the framework are not decorated by loose bosses, but rather by panels decorated with rounded or cruciform motifs. The brooch is slightly damaged and quite corroded. The damage is pre-depositional. There is a hole in the brooch on one of the back panels, but it seems to have been covered up by a copper-alloy plate underneath the pin hinge. The corrosion caused by the pin means that it is not possible to make out exactly how it is attached. It does not seem to have anything to do with repair of the hinge, which appears undamaged. From the outside, the repair is clearly visible as part of the décor is missing. Both pin catch and hinge are extant, the latter with remains of the pin. According to Jørgensen (1992:216), one of the brooches has a tiny textile fragment on the inside, though it is unclear if she is referring to this brooch or R2421. Due to the corrosion, it is not possible to say whether or not the brooch is worn.

R2421 The brooch is of type P39 like the former. It is heavily corroded, and the motif is difficult to make out. It is therefore not possible to say for certain that the two brooches were made from the same master mould and were an original pair. As this brooch type is quite rare, however, it is likely that they are.

Part of the flange is missing, and there are also some holes in the brooch. There is a crack between one of the side panels and the framework. A small part of the now broken pin catch and the hinge are extant inside the brooch, as are part of the iron pin in connection with the hinge. According to Jørgensen (1994:216), one of the brooches has a tiny textile fragment on the inside, though it is unclear if she is referring to this brooch or R2420. The corrosion makes it impossible to say whether or not the brooch is worn.

Sources: Harrison, Stephen H. and Ragnall Ó Floinn 2014: *Viking Graves and Grave-Goods in Ireland*. Medieval Dublin Excavation, Ser. B., National Museum of Ireland. Dublin, pp. 426-429; 444-445; 452-453.

B.ID 15 ISLANDBRIDGE 1869, CO. DUBLIN

Classification: Probable

The assemblage consists of a minimum 17 artefacts representing at least one female and two male burials according to Harrison and Ó Floinn's method of determining. As this acquisition had not previously been described or registered as a group, it is very difficult to reconstruct the original assemblage (Harrison and Ó Floinn 2014:483-486). The cost of the 1869 assemblage suggests to Harrison and Ó Floinn (2014:485) that there were originally considerably more artefacts as part of this acquisition. The artefacts they associate with Islandbridge 1869 are: two swords, two spearheads, one shield boss, one oval brooch, an insular mount reused as a brooch, a copper-alloy ring, a box mount, a slotted and pointed tool, three iron fragments or knives, an iron rod (not located), two 'iron fragments', (at least) one stone artefacts (unlocated). The provenance of the oval brooch 2013:87 (P37.3) is uncertain, but as it was acquired sometime between 1866 and 1906, the very poorly recorded Islandbridge 1869 acquisition is the most likely (Harrison and Ó Floinn 2014:494-495). There is no obvious pair to this brooch.

Location: The Islandbridge 1869 acquisition seems to have come from almost exactly the same place as the Islandbridge 1866 acquisition, see B.ID 13

Oval brooch: The brooch is currently in the National Museum of Ireland (2013:87) (the brooch was initially incorrectly labelled as 2404B (Harrison and Ó Floinn 2014:494-495)). The brooch is of type P37.3, and the décor is quite well executed. It is mostly complete, though there are some holes in the shell and it has suffered from corrosion. It has been cleaned at some point in the past, removing any patina, and also likely causing the holes. This makes it difficult to discuss use-wear. Both the pin hinge with remains of the pin and the pin catch remain on the inside of the brooch. It has platforms for nine loose bosses. At two of the platforms there are remains of lead alloy bosses. There are also some traces of similar metal in the grooves for the framework, perhaps as a contrast to a gilded brooch. No traces of

gilding remain, however. Jørgensen (1992:216) noted the remains of a textile loop on the back of the brooch.

Sources: Harrison, Stephen H. and Ragnall Ó Floinn 2014: *Viking Graves and Grave-Goods in Ireland*. Medieval Dublin Excavation, Ser. B., National Museum of Ireland. Dublin, pp. 483-487; 494-496.

B.ID 16 ISLANDBRIDGE 1875, CO. DUBLIN

Classification: Probable

The oval brooch (P37.3) is the only known artefact from this acquisition, and it is assumed to be from the Islandbridge area of the Kilmainham-Islandbridge burial complex. Nothing more is known about its provenance (Harrison and Ó Floinn 2014:496-498).

Location: It is presumably from the western zone of the Kilmainham-Islandbridge cemetery; nothing further is known about its location.

Oval brooch: The brooch is in the National Museum of Ireland (**RSAI17**). It is of the type P37.3, and is complete and well-preserved. In quality it resembles D328, though the motif on this one is perhaps slightly better executed. There is an unusual detail on the corner panels on the brooch, in that part of the legs of the bottom animals is missing, this is repeated on all the panels. The brooch has nine platforms for loose bosses, all of which are missing, though there is some discolouration in these areas. The brooch is gilded. The posts leading from the flange to the platforms for bosses are in parts silver in colour, indicating that these areas were treated in some way, perhaps coated with lead or acid-etched. Both the pin catch and hinge are extant inside the brooch, the latter with remains of the iron pin. There are faint remains of textile around the pin fastener (Jørgensen 1992:217). There are no obvious signs of wear, but the back panels, where this is most common, are somewhat corroded.

Sources: Harrison, Stephen H. and Ragnall Ó Floinn 2014: *Viking Graves and Grave-Goods in Ireland*. Medieval Dublin Excavation, Ser. B., National Museum of Ireland. Dublin, pp. 496-498.

B.ID 17 (NEAR) ARKLOW, CO. WICKLOW

Classification: Probable

The artefacts discovered suggest that this is a burial, but no human remains are mentioned. Two oval brooches (P51B1) and a silver chain with a needle case were discovered while digging a ditch somewhere north of Arklow in the winter of 1900-1. The silver chain was of insular manufacture and perhaps intended to

be suspended between the oval brooches (Ó Floinn 1998b:31-34; Harrison and Ó Floinn 2014:585-589).

Location: The exact location cannot be ascertained. Ó Floinn (1998b:33-34) has suggested that it could potentially be from near a Christian cemetery, but it is far from certain. The place name seems to be Scandinavian, incorporating the name Arnketill and the Scandinavian *ló* (meadow) (Harrison and Ó Floinn 2014:585-586).

Oval brooches: The brooches are in the National Museum of Ireland (SA1901:50 and SA1901:51).

SA1901:50 The brooch is of the type P51B1. Parts of the rim and flange is missing, but otherwise it is well preserved though slightly corroded especially on the cast bosses. It has five cast and four loose bosses, remains of four of the latter are still extant. There is white discolouration around the platforms for these loose bosses. Underneath the corrosion of the loose bosses, it is possible to see that they are silver in colour, presumably lead or tin alloy. The upper and lower shells were attached with copper alloy rivets underneath the loose bosses. The brooch is still partly gilded and silver wire is still present. Both pin catch and pin hinge are extant inside the brooch, and there are remains of textile on the pin catch, representing part of a loop according to Jørgensen (1992:217). There are no obvious signs of wear, though as the bosses are corroded, it cannot be said for certain.

SA1901:51 The brooch is of the type P51B1 and almost identical to the former brooch, clearly suggesting that the two were made from the same master mould. Approximately half of the edging and flange are missing, but otherwise the brooch is well preserved, though slightly corroded in places. It is well made with traces of gilding, and also with silver wire surviving in places. It has five cast and four loose bosses, remains of two of the latter are still extant. There is greyish white discolouration on or around the platforms for the loose bosses. The upper and lower shells were attached with copper-alloy rivets underneath the loose bosses. Both pin catch and hinge are still extant inside the brooch, and there are remains of a textile loop on the pin catch (Jørgensen 1992:217). The pin catch appears to have been bent the wrong way. It does not align correctly with the hinge. This is a mistake made during the casting of the brooch and would have meant that the brooch would not have hung straight. There are no obvious signs of wear, though this might be obscured by corrosion on the bosses.

Sources: Harrison, Stephen H. and Ragnall Ó Floinn 2014: *Viking Graves and Grave-Goods in Ireland*. Medieval Dublin Excavation, Ser. B., National Museum of Ireland. Dublin, pp. 585-589.

1.3 Scotland

B.ID 18 CLIBBERSWICK, UNST, SHETLAND

Classification: Definite

In 1863 a burials was discovered at Clibberswick, Unst (British Archaeological Association 1863:313-314). The artefacts consisted of a pair of oval brooches, a trefoil brooch, two glass beads which are also now lost, and a now also lost silver 'armlet'. This 'armlet' is likely to have been a Hiberno-Norse arm ring (Graham-Campbell 1995:154; Graham-Campbell and Batey 1998:235). The objects were found in a layer of black soil just above the bedrock. This was presumed to be a result of decay of the body, its clothes, and/or a coffin. A skeleton was apparently present as the oval brooches were thought to have lain 'near to, or on, one shoulder' (British Archaeological Association 1863:313-314) leading Harrison (2008:405) to suggest that the body was buried supine, perhaps slightly turned to one side. Harrison (2008:405) writes that the location of the trefoil brooch was not recorded, but Grieg (1940:105) writes that it was presumed to have been 'on the middle portion of the chest'. According to the proceedings of the British Archaeological Association (1863:314), which is the account they are both working form, it was found 'about the centre', which presumably means the centre of the chest. The silver armlet was found at the left wrist, and the location of the glass beads is unknown.

Location: The burial was found within a farmyard, and was presumably a flat grave (Harrison 2008:405). According to Harrison (2008:405), it is situated about 400 m from Harold's Wick to the southeast with good views towards it. It is about halfway between the modern beaches of Harold's Wick and Cross Geo.

Oval brooches: The brooches are currently in the collection of the National Museums Scotland (X.II 222 and X.II 223).

X.II 222 is a slightly damaged brooch of type P23/24 (Berdal D). It is different from most of the Berdal brooches with raised animals as it has three platforms for loose bosses, whereas most of this type only has two. The loose bosses/animals were attached with iron rivets; the staining is still visible, particularly on the inside of the brooches. The animal heads are also placed further towards the edge of the brooch than what is commonly seen. It also has a central crown, or perhaps two animals in the middle of the centre band. The closest parallel I have been able to find are B2159a-b from Sogn og Fjordane, although these do not have the central animal. The brooch is rather corroded, and the motif, which in itself seems rather roughly executed, is very difficult to distinguish. It clearly gives the impression of having been old before it was deposited in the burial, as there are evident signs of repair. Both the pin catch and the hinge on the brooch have been replaced. New

ones have been attached to the inside, visible as an iron band for the hinge and iron staining for the catch. The rivets used to fasten them are also visible on the outside of the brooch. It is possible that one part of the brooch was broken/ partly broken in antiquity and repaired. The level of corrosion makes it difficult to discuss wear.

X.II 223 is also of type P23/24 (Berdal D), but considerably better preserved. It is complete apart from a smaller part of the edging and flange. The motif is still difficult to distinguish, however, but the execution is rather rough. The loose bosses/ animals were attached with iron rivets; the staining is still visible, particularly on the inside of the brooches. There are no signs of repair on this one, but some of the protruding animal heads seem clearly worn. Parts of the pin catch and hinge are extant inside the brooch, the latter with remains of the iron pin.

Sources: British Archaeological Association 1863: Proceedings of the Association. *Journal of the British Archaeological Association*, 19, pp. 4:313-314; Grieg, Sigurd 1940: *Viking Antiquities in Scotland*. Viking Antiquities in Great Britain and Ireland, Aschehoug. Oslo, pp. 103-105; Graham-Campbell, James 1995: *The Viking-age Gold and Silver of Scotland, AD 850-1100*. National museums of Scotland. Edinburgh, p. 154; Graham-Campbell, James and Colleen E. Batey 1998: *Vikings in Scotland: an archaeological survey*. Edinburgh University Press. Edinburgh, p. 235; Harrison, Stephen H. 2008: *Furnished insular Scandinavian burial : artefacts & landscape in the early Viking age*. Doctoral thesis. Department of History. Trinity College. Dublin, Ireland, pp. 405-406.

B.ID 19 MUCKLE HEOG, UNST SHETLAND

Classification: Possible

“In one of the graves opened on the Meikle Heog two beautiful circular bronze brooches of the Scandinavian form were found. They are now in the museum at Lerwick (Anderson 1874:543, fn3).” This footnote is the only reference to this possible grave from Muckle Heog which consists of two prehistoric mounds (and seemingly several graves). Several steatite urns or vessels had been discovered from a different grave, and though Anderson associates these with the Viking Age, this is not substantiated. The two ‘beautiful circular bronze brooches’ could well be oval brooches, but as Harrison (2008:406) points out, the fact that Anderson does not include them in his main list of oval brooches from Scotland in the same paper, casts some doubt on this. They were apparently kept in the Lerwick museum, but were lost following its break-up in 1882. The brooches have been associated with Harold’s grave, which is one of the three burial mounds on Muckle Heog, though the evidence for it is not particularly strong (Historic Environment Scotland 2020f).

Location: The exact location of the find is unknown, Historic Environment Scotland (2020f) associated it with Harold’s grave, one of the three mounds on Muckle

Heog, but Harrison (2008:406) points out that this would be an unusual spot for a burial. It is more than 1 km from the shore, and despite its elevated position there is no clear view of the bay of Harold's Wick. There are two presumably prehistoric cairns on higher ground 250 m to the south.

Oval brooches: The possible oval brooches are now lost.

Sources: Anderson, Joseph 1874: Notes on the Relics of the Viking Period of the Northmen in Scotland, illustrated by Specimens in the Museum. *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland*, 10, p. 543, fn 3; Harrison, Stephen H. 2008: Furnished insular Scandinavian burial : artefacts & landscape in the early Viking age. Doctoral thesis. Department of History. Trinity College. Dublin, Ireland, p. 406; Historic Environment Scotland 2020f: Unst, Harold's Grave. <https://canmore.org.uk/site/167/unst-harolds-grave>. Electronic document, accessed 20.01.20.

B.ID 20 UNKNOWN LOCATIONS, UNST, SHETLAND

Classification: Possible

A group of artefacts consisting of an oval brooch, a serpentine button, and a circular bronze cup were acquired by the National Museum of Antiquaries of Scotland in 1893 following the sale of the Bateman collection and recorded to have been found in a Viking grave in Unst in 1861 (Society of Antiquaries of Scotland 1893:5-6). Brøgger (1929:116) and Grieg (1940:103) suggest the bronze cup is a case for a bronze balance.

Location: They can only be provenanced to Unst generally.

Oval brooch: The brooch is in the collection of the National Museums Scotland (**X.II 313**). It is of type P37.3. Though now quite corroded it is complete and well made, with traces of gilding still extant. It has two cast bosses with mask-like faces on the side panels, these seem to exhibit traces of wear. The decoration has two wing-like fringes on the side panels, which is more commonly found on brooches of high-quality (though also seen on X.II 197 (B.ID 24), R2404 and 2405 (B.ID 13) and Wick of Aith (B.ID.22)). The brooch seems to be missing the raised diamond shape in the centre of one of the back panels. There is some trace of it, but the décor on that panel is partly flattened. This appears to be a casting flaw rather than wear or damage, though there is also a small break in the brooch next to it. Neither pin catch or hinge are extant.

Sources: Society of Antiquaries of Scotland 1893: Purchases for the Museum. *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland*, 28, pp. 5-9; Brøgger, A.W. 1929: *Ancient Emigrants*. Clarendon Press, Oxford, p. 116; Grieg, Sigurd 1940: *Viking Antiquities in Scotland*. Viking Antiquities in Great Britain and Ireland, Aschehoug. Oslo, p. 103; Graham-Campbell, James and Colleen E. Batey 1998: *Vikings in*

Scotland: an archaeological survey. Edinburgh University Press. Edinburgh, p. 64; Harrison, Stephen H. 2008: *Furnished insular Scandinavian burial : artefacts & landscape in the early Viking age*. Doctoral thesis. Department of History. Trinity College. Dublin, Ireland, pp. 407-408.

B.ID 21 SUMBURGH, MAINLAND SHETLAND, SHETLAND

Classification: Possible

Very little is known about this find. An oval brooch was discovered during the construction of Sumburgh Airport during the Second World War (Historic Environment Scotland 2020e). Nothing more is known, but a second probable burial had also been discovered, containing a sword, and what might have been a shield boss, as well as a part of a human skull (Harrison 2008:410-412). These artefacts have since been lost. It is not certain that the oval brooch is from a burial.

Location: The exact location of this possible burial is not known, but Harrison (2008:412) argues that it is likely to have been discovered near the other probable burial. This means it could have been discovered during the construction of the control tower, which according to McLeod (2015c) is placed on a hill which has clearly been levelled. This places it approximately at equal distance from two sheltered bays (c. 3-400 m). It would have had clear views to the north. Sumburgh is 2 km from the southernmost tip of Mainland Shetland.

Oval brooch: The brooch is supposed to be in the Shetland Museum (Historic Environment Scotland 2020e), but I have been unable to verify this.

Sources: Harrison, Stephen H. 2008: *Furnished insular Scandinavian burial : artefacts & landscape in the early Viking age*. Doctoral thesis. Department of History. Trinity College. Dublin, Ireland, pp. 410-412; McLeod, Shane 2015: *Viking Burials in Scotland: Landscape and burials in the Viking Age*. Electronic document <https://vikingfuneralsapes.wordpress.com/>; Historic Environment Scotland 2020e: *Sumburgh Airport*. <https://canmore.org.uk/site/555/sumburgh-airport>. Electronic document, accessed 18.01.2020.

B.ID 22 WICK OF AITH, FETLAR, SHETLAND

Classification: Definite

The site is locally known as the Giant's Grave, and presumed to be the site of a Viking boat burial. In 1878 it was recorded as a mound resembling a boat turned upside down. Rivets discovered at the site are now in National Museums Scotland, as well as a piece of bronze plate interpreted as a modern intrusion (Batey 2016:40). This site was excavated by Time Team in 2002. It was clear that it had been disturbed, but it also became obvious that it was a boat burial, with a max-

imum length of 8 m (Batey 2016:40-41). The boat was covered by a low mound made of stones. The only surviving find was an oval brooch.

Location: The mound is on an elevated position on the shore, on low cliffs, 6m from the edge, it would presumably have been visible to passing boats. (McLeod 2015c) According to McLeod (2015c), there is a good beaching for boats to the east. Harrison (2008:418) notes that the mound is oriented northeast-southwest parallel to the north shore of the Wick of Aith.

Oval brooch: The brooch is in the collection of Shetland Museum. The following description is based partly on O'Connor's analysis, as summarised in Batey (2016:41-42) as well as the photographs of the brooch. The brooch is clearly of type P37.3. The edges are damaged (this apparently happened as it was removed from the ground), but otherwise it is well preserved, though suffering a little from corrosion. The decoration has two wing-like fringes on the side panels, which is most often found on brooches of high quality. The execution of this brooch is not on the highest quality, but comparable to X.II 313 (B.ID 20), X.II 197 (B.ID 24), and R2404 and 2405 (B.ID 13), which also have wing-like fringes. There were silver-rich strips in the grooved lines between the platforms for loose bosses. Two of the platforms for bosses had traces of a more lead-rich disk. There were apparently also small textile fragments on the upper face of the brooch, and on the inside, an organic mass including silk fragments, a thin sheet of wood, as well as slightly folded skin (Batey 2016:41). I have not been able to examine much of the brooch in detail, but it does not show any obvious signs of wear.

Sources: Batey, Coleen E. 2016: Viking Burials in Scotland: Two 'New' Boat Burial Finds. Papers from the Proceedings of the Seventeenth Viking Congress, Lerwick. In: Val E. Turner, Olwyn Owen and Doreen J. Waugh (eds.): *Shetland and the Viking World*, Shetland Heritage Publications. Lerwick, pp. 39-42; Harrison, Stephen H. 2008: Furnished insular Scandinavian burial : artefacts & landscape in the early Viking age. Doctoral thesis. Department of History. Trinity College. Dublin, Ireland, p. 413; Historic Environment Scotland 2020c: Fetlar, Wick Of Aith, Giant's Grave. <https://canmore.org.uk/site/1405/fetlar-wick-of-aith-giants-grave>. Electronic document, accessed 20.01.20.

B.ID 23 PIEROWALL, WESTRAY, ORKNEY²³

Classification: Definite

The grave was excavated on April 25th 1839 by William Rendall (Rendall in Marwick 1932:28). Rendall excavated five graves from Pierowall in late April/early May 1839. These were published (presumably by Rendall) in *The Orkney and Shetland*

23 The cemetery of Pierowall is discussed in section 3.3.1.

Journal and Fisherman's Magazine XVIII, and republished by Hugh Marwick in the *Proceedings of the Orkney Antiquarian Society* (Marwick 1932:28-29). The grave contained a badly decomposed skeleton, which seems to have been buried prone on a north-south alignment with the head to the south. Rendall writes that the skull was lying on its face. A ringed pin lay beneath the skull protruding from below the face on the left side. A pair of oval brooches were lying in situ below the head, though it does not say if they were lying face up or face down. Rendall (in Marwick 1932:28) describes them as ornaments resembling two large muscle shells, the distance between them were about 2 inches. Something like a sword or a dagger was lying at the right side (viewer's?), but it mouldered when handled (Rendall in Marwick 1932:28). This is suggested to be a knife or weaving sword by Graham-Campbell and Batey (1998:131), whereas Harrison (2008:424) raises the possibility that it could have been a roasting spit or a seiðrstafr. The other 'daggers' from Pierowall are generally interpreted as spearheads, which is also a possibility in this case.

Location: According to Rendall (in Marwick 1932:28), the site of the group of burials this one belongs to was a quarter of a mile north of the village. This would place it approximately 300 m from the shore of the Bay of Pierowall to the south-west according to Harrison (2008:423) (though it should presumably be to the southeast). It would have had good views of that bay, as well as of Papa Sound and Papa Westray.

Oval brooches: The brooches are potentially now in the British Museum (1987,0510.1 and 1987,0510.2). These brooches are from Pierowall and were excavated in 1839. Crofton Croker identified them as belonging to the second grave excavated on the 25th of April (Croker 1846:331), but Thorsteinsson (1968:158) was not entirely convinced, and it could potentially be from one of the other graves (see also Ager 1999). The following description is based on an image from the British Museum. The brooches are both of type P37, but they do not form matching pairs. Both brooches are late in the series of P37 brooches, and in both cases the motif is very much simplified, angular and difficult to make out.

1987,0510.1 is of type P37.10. It has seven platforms for loose bosses. None of these bosses are extant, though copper-alloy rivets are present on some of the platforms. There is some discolouration in connection with these platforms. This is silver in colour and could suggest that the loose bosses would have been of tin or lead alloy. The brooch has a hole near the pin catch that Barry Ager (1999:359) describes as small, irregular and unintentional. On the images it appears circular, and it is possible that it is intentional. It might have been made after recovery, however. It is otherwise complete and well preserved. Traces of gilding are still extant. The back of the brooch appears clearly worn.

1987,0510.2 is of type P37.12. The flange has been damaged in two places, in one place after it was recovered, but it is otherwise well-preserved. It has seven platforms for loose bosses. None of these bosses are extant, though copper-alloy rivets are present on some of the platforms. There is some discolouration in connection with these platforms. This is silver in colour and could suggest that the loose bosses would have been of tin or lead alloy. Like the former this brooch also shows traces of wear.

Their long history after their recovery could potentially account for some of the wear, but it is worth noting that it is worn in the same areas as other oval brooches. At the time of discovery the iron pin of one of the brooches was still present, but according to Ager (1999:361) only stubs of the iron pins remain. This could indicate that the brooches were not very carefully treated.

Sources: Croker, T. Crofton 1846: Antiquities discovered in Orkney, the Hebrides, and Ireland, compared. *Journal of the British Archaeological Association*, 2, pp. 328-333; Rendall, William in Hugh Marwick 1932: Notes on Viking Burials in Orkney. *Proceedings of the Orkney Antiquarian Society*, 10, p. 28; Thorsteinsson Arne 1968: The Viking Burial place at Pierowall, Westray, Orkney. In: Bjarni Niclasen (ed.): *The Fifth Viking Congress, Tórshavn, July 1965*, Føroya Landsstýri. [Torshavn], pp. 150-173; Graham-Campbell, James and Colleen E. Batey 1998: *Vikings in Scotland: an archaeological survey*. Edinburgh University Press. Edinburgh, pp. 129-134; Ager, Barry 1999: Pierowall, Orkney: The Re-Discovered Provenance of a 'Pair' of Ninth-Century Viking Oval Brooches in the Department of Medieval and Later Antiquities of the British Museum. *Archaeological Journal*, 156:1, pp. 359-362; Harrison, Stephen H. 2008: Furnished insular Scandinavian burial : artefacts & landscape in the early Viking age. Doctoral thesis. Department of History. Trinity College. Dublin, Ireland, p. 424.

B.ID 24 PIEROWALL, WESTRAY, ORKNEY

Classification: Definite

The grave was discovered in the same place as the previous (B.ID 23) and excavated on May 1st 1839. The badly decomposed skeleton was lying on its back, but turned towards the left, in a flexed position, knees turned to the left, with the arms lying along the sides and the forearms crossed on the abdomen (Rendall in Marwick 1932:28-29). Two oval brooches were found, one on each collarbone, a semicircular piece of iron (suggested to be a sickle by Thorsteinsson (1968:165)) lay on the side of the left arm, and a comb on the elbow joint of the left arm. A small circular perforated stone (probably a bead or spindle-whorl (Thorsteinsson 1968:165)) was found on the breast – “as if it had been suspended from the neck by a cord (Rendall in Marwick 1932:29)” – a large ring-headed pin (Harrison

(2008:424) suggests it could have been a penannular brooch) lying in the angle formed by the right elbow joint. A small cylindrical piece of bone with an iron rod (presumably needle-case with needle (Graham-Campbell and Batey 1998:131)) was lying under the chin between the oval brooches (Rendall in Marwick 1932:29).

Location: Same location as previous grave (B.ID 23).

Oval brooches: There is no information about the oval brooches. There is one brooch in the National Museums Scotland that is from Pierowall (X.II 197), but there is nothing to suggest which grave it is from. It could be from this grave or B.ID 25, 26, 27, or 28. The brooch will be described here.

X.II 197 is of type P37.3 and mostly complete, though the flange is slightly damaged. The execution of the motif is of good quality, though not among the best of its type. The side panels have two wing-like fringes which are normally found on brooches of high quality, but this is not always the case, as exemplified by this brooch and also X.II 313 (B.ID 20), R2404 and 2405 (B.ID 13) and Wick of Aith (B.ID 22). It is rather corroded in places, but the back panels are clearly worn. There appears to be a casting flaw on one of the back panels, where the head of one of the animal heads is obscured by metalwork attached on top of the decoration. Parts of the pin hinge and catch are extant inside the brooch, though both are damaged.

Sources: Rendall, William in Hugh Marwick 1932: Notes on Viking Burials in Orkney. *Proceedings of the Orkney Antiquarian Society*, 10, pp. 28-29; Thorsteinsson, Arne 1968: The Viking Burial place at Pierowall, Westray, Orkney. In: Bjarni Niclasen (ed.): *The Fifth Viking Congress, Tórshavn, July 1965*, Føroya Landsstýri. [Torshavn], pp. 150-173; Graham-Campbell, James and Colleen E. Batey 1998: *Vikings in Scotland: an archaeological survey*. Edinburgh University Press. Edinburgh, pp. 129-134; Harrison, Stephen H. 2008: Furnished insular Scandinavian burial : artefacts & landscape in the early Viking age. Doctoral thesis. Department of History. Trinity College. Dublin, Ireland, pp. 424-425.

B.ID 25 PIEROWALL, WESTRAY, ORKNEY

Classification: Definite

The grave was excavated May 2nd 1839, and lay about 30 yards (ca 27.5 m) east of B.ID 23 and B.ID 24. It was a north-south oriented long cist grave, surrounded and covered by large flat stones (Rendall in Marwick 1932:29; Thorsteinsson 1968:151 fn2). The well-preserved skeleton was lying on its left shoulder, the upper body bent forward and head turned upwards. The right arm was lying half bent by the right side with the forearm and hand on the pelvis. The left arm lay under the left side, with the forearm bent at right angles and pointing out at the left side.

Two oval brooches lay in situ at the chest with seven beads lying next to one of them on the left. The head of a ring-headed pin (Harrison (2008:425) suggests a circular brooch it is described as a “circular metal ornament, of about an inch and a half in diameter. This article has evidently been the head of an ornamental pin” (Rendall in Marwick 1932:29)) was lying below the chin, and a ring-headed pin lay on the abdomen. Two combs lay in a line across the right upper elbow joint (Rendall in Marwick 1932:29).

Location: The burial was situated a little less than thirty meters from the previous burial (B.ID 24), with means that it was slightly closer to the Bay of Pierowall (Harrison 2008:426).

Oval brooches: Possibly X.II 197, see B.ID 24

Sources: Rendall, William in Hugh Marwick 1932: Notes on Viking Burials in Orkney. *Proceedings of the Orkney Antiquarian Society*, 10, p. 29; Thorsteinsson, Arne 1968: The Viking Burial place at Pierowall, Westray, Orkney. In: Bjarni Niclasen (ed.): *The Fifth Viking Congress, Tórshavn, July 1965*, Føroya Landsstýri. [Tórshavn], pp. 150-173; Graham-Campbell, James and Colleen E. Batey 1998: *Vikings in Scotland: an archaeological survey*. Edinburgh University Press. Edinburgh, pp. 129-134; Harrison, Stephen H. 2008: Furnished insular Scandinavian burial : artefacts & landscape in the early Viking age. Doctoral thesis. Department of History. Trinity College. Dublin, Ireland, p. 425.

B.ID 26 PIEROWALL, WESTRAY, ORKNEY

Classification: Definite

The grave was excavated sometime between 1839 and 1849 as part of two groups with a total of nine graves excavated by William Rendall and described in a letter to a Captain Thomas, and published by Joseph Anderson in the Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland (1874:85-87). The grave lay with two other graves (one of which contained oval brooches (B.ID 27) on the north side of a pre-existing mound, perhaps, but not necessarily natural. Rendall's letter states that the graves were “found round a mound of sand and small stones, at a considerable distance from the sea, in a line running north-west from the former site of graves” (which ran north-south along the sea shore) (Rendall in Anderson 1880:86). The skeleton was described as ‘small’ and oriented north-south. Oval brooches were discovered on the chest and a trefoil brooch in the stomach region. This was described by Rendall (in Anderson 1880:86) as a circular piece and a pin, but Daniel Wilson (1851:553), identifies it as a “trefoil-shaped clasp” on the basis of a drawing belonging to Lieutenant Thomas (to whom the letter was written). The brooch was presumed not to exist by Thorsteinsson (1968:152). Both Graham-Campbell and Batey (1998:133) and Harrison (2008:430-431) identify it as a trefoil brooch.

Location: The site is described by Rendall (in Anderson 1880:86) as lying north-west of the 'former' graves and some considerable distance inland. The former graves referred to are presumably from the Sand of Gill to the north of earliest Pierowall graves (Harrison 2008:430-431). Although they are described as some considerable distance inland, the coast of Westray is quite narrow at this point, so it would have been less than 500 m.

Oval brooches: Possibly X.I.L 197, B.ID 24

Sources: Wilson, Daniel 1851: *The Archaeology and Prehistoric Annals of Scotland*. Sutherland & Knox. Edinburgh, pp. 551-555; Rendall, William in Joseph Anderson 1880: Notes on the contents of two Viking graves in Islay, discovered by William Campbell Esq. *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland*, 14, pp. 85-87; Thorsteinsson, Arne 1968: The Viking Burial place at Pierowall, Westray, Orkney. In: Bjarni Niclasen (ed.): *The Fifth Viking Congress, Tórshavn, July 1965*, Føroya Landsstýri. [Torshavn], pp. 150-173; Graham-Campbell, James and Colleen E. Batey 1998: *Vikings in Scotland: an archaeological survey*. Edinburgh University Press. Edinburgh, pp. 129-134; Harrison, Stephen H. 2008: Furnished insular Scandinavian burial: artefacts & landscape in the early Viking age. Doctoral thesis. Department of History. Trinity College. Dublin, Ireland, p. 430-431.

B.ID 27 PIEROWALL, WESTRAY, ORKNEY

Classification: Definite

Like B.ID 26, the grave was discovered on the north side of pre-existing mound. There was a 'small' skeleton oriented north-south. It lay 'between a row of small stones' (Rendall in Anderson 1880:86). Harrison (2008:431) suggests this is a curb associated with the mound, and that this grave therefore is adjacent to it. Two oval brooches were found, together with 'a small pin as the former' (Rendall in Anderson 1880:86). Thorsteinsson (1968:169) interprets this as a ring-headed pin. Two combs were discovered, one above each shoulder (it is unclear if this means on the shoulders) (Rendall in Anderson 1880:87). These are by Thorsteinsson (1968:169) and Graham-Campbell and Batey (1998:133) described as in comb-cases, but as Harrison (2008:431) points out, Rendall's comment that the teeth were 'fastened between two plates of bone' is more likely to be a reference to their construction.

Location: Same as previous, see B.ID 26

Oval brooches: Possibly X.I.L 197, see B.ID 24.

Sources: Rendall, William in Joseph Anderson 1880: Notes on the contents of two Viking graves in Islay, discovered by William Campbell Esq. *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland*, 14, pp. 85-87; Thorsteinsson, Arne 1968: The Viking Burial place at Pierowall, Westray, Orkney. In: Bjarni Niclasen (ed.): *The*

Fifth Viking Congress, Tórshavn, July 1965, Føroya Landsstýri. [Torshavn], pp. 150-173; Graham-Campbell, James and Colleen E. Batey 1998: *Vikings in Scotland: an archaeological survey*. Edinburgh University Press. Edinburgh, pp. 129-134; Harrison, Stephen H. 2008: *Furnished insular Scandinavian burial : artefacts & landscape in the early Viking age*. Doctoral thesis. Department of History. Trinity College. Dublin, Ireland, pp. 430-431.

B.ID 28 PIEROWALL, WESTRAY, ORKNEY

Classification: Definite

The grave is very poorly described. Rendall's (in Anderson 1880:87) letter states: "Found part of a small skeleton on the north-east side of the mound, with ornaments, pin, and combs as formerly described, and evidently a female." Two oval brooches, and a pair of combs are implied, as well as a pin, which is often identified as ring-headed (Thorsteinsson 1968:87; Graham-Campbell and Batey 1998:133), but it is not clear. It was discovered on the north-east side of the same mound as B.ID 26 and B.ID 27.

Location: Same as previous, see B.ID 26.

Oval brooches: Possibly X.II 197, see B.ID 24.

Sources: Rendall, William in Joseph Anderson 1880: Notes on the contents of two Viking graves in Islay, discovered by William Campbell Esq. *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland*, 14, pp. 85-87; Thorsteinsson, Arne 1968: The Viking Burial place at Pierowall, Westray, Orkney. In: Bjarni Niclasen (ed.): *The Fifth Viking Congress, Tórshavn, July 1965*, Føroya Landsstýri. [Torshavn], pp. 150-173; Graham-Campbell, James and Colleen E. Batey 1998: *Vikings in Scotland: an archaeological survey*. Edinburgh University Press. Edinburgh, pp. 129-134; Harrison, Stephen H. 2008: *Furnished insular Scandinavian burial : artefacts & landscape in the early Viking age*. Doctoral thesis. Department of History. Trinity College. Dublin, Ireland, p. 432.

B.ID 29 LAMBA NESS, SANDAY, ORKNEY

Classification: Definite

The records for this burial is slightly confusing. A group of four artefacts were purchased by the National Museum of Antiquities of Scotland and were said to have come from near the (incorrectly called (Harrison 2008:418)) broch of Lamba Ness. These consisted of a pair of oval brooches, a jet armband and an amber bead (Society of Antiquaries of Scotland 1915:15). These artefacts seem to be the same as those described by M.M. Charleson (1904:560-562) as having been discovered on an island near the mainland with a deposit of burnt bones in a mound, though a ringed pin is also mentioned by Charleson. Grieg (1940:86-88) interprets the

accounts as two separate graves, though the artefacts with the museum numbers he refers to as belonging to the Lamba Ness grave are the same artefacts as those he illustrates as being found on an ‘island near the mainland’. This suggests that Graham-Campbell and Batey (1998:57) are right in connecting Charleson’s description with the finds from Lamba Ness. The grave was excavated by the local farmer. The grave-goods consisted of two oval brooches, a ringed pin, a lignite armband, and an amber bead. The oval brooches were apparently found nine inches apart, and the other objects were found in close proximity to them. The deposit of burnt bones suggest that this could possibly be a cremation. There are textile remains on the inside of one of the brooches, however, suggesting that if this is a cremation grave, as some propose (Graham-Campbell and Batey 1998:57), the oval brooches attached to some form of textiles must have been placed in the grave after the cremated remains of the deceased (see section 3.3.1 for a discussion).

There is another burial from Lamba Ness which Grieg (1940:88) describes as found during the ‘digging out of the ruins of a building in Lamaness’ which could be the ‘broch’ of Lamba Ness (Harrison 2008:417). It is unclear where Grieg’s information is from, however. The literature he refers to simply states that the object having been found ‘in digging at Lamaness’ (Society of Antiquaries of Scotland 1878:599). There is also a third burial less than 1 km to the south B.ID 30.

Location: Lamba Ness is situated on a small peninsula on the western part of Sanday, close to the western end of the island. The burial is described as being found near the ‘broch of Lamba Ness’. As Harrison (2008:418) points out, there is no broch on Lamba Ness, but a site close to the end of the peninsular was identified as such as late as the 1920s. This is about a hundred meters from the northern end of the peninsula (Harrison 2008:418). The location cannot be more precisely identified.

Oval brooches: The brooches are in the collection of the National Museums Scotland (X.I.L 347 and X.I.L 348).

X.I.L 347 is a rather badly corroded brooch, but still recognisable as type P51G because of its distinctive side panel. The level of corrosion makes it practically impossible to discuss issues of quality and wear. Parts of the flange and edging are missing. It has nine cast bosses, all of which are extant, and the upper and lower shells were fastened with rivets below the normally loose bosses. Three out of four rivets are made of iron whereas the fourth is of copper-alloy. This could suggest that some of these rivets are secondary, and that the upper and lower shells have been reattached. As copper-alloy rivets are far more common, the iron rivets were presumably replacements. The pin catch and hinge are extant inside the brooch with a complete iron pin.

X.II 348 is of the same type as the previous, though this is slightly better preserved. Most of the décor is still obscured by corrosion, but from what little is visible, it does not appear to be of great quality. Like the former, the flange and edging is damaged. It has nine cast brooches and the upper and lower shells were fastened with copper-alloy rivets below the normally loose bosses. The brooch appears to have been repaired. There is discolouration from an iron band where the pin catch has been. This suggests that the pin catch was replaced, though the replacement is now missing. The hinge is still extant with parts of the pin inside. In his description of X.II 347, Charleson (1904:561-562) writes: “Adhering to the pin, one could distinctly see a fragment of cloth, which on examination I took to be linen, the texture being extremely fine”. According to Jørgensen (1992:213) there is a “tiny textile fragment underneath the pin”.

Sources: Society of Antiquaries of Scotland 1878: Donations to the Museum. *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland*, 12, pp. 598-603; Charleson, M. M. 1904: Notice of some Ancient Burials in Orkney. *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland*, 38, pp. 559-566; Society of Antiquaries of Scotland 1915: Purchases for the Museum. *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland*, 49, pp. 14-17; Grieg, Sigurd 1940: *Viking Antiquities in Scotland*. Viking Antiquities in Great Britain and Ireland, Aschehoug. Oslo, pp. 86-88; Graham-Campbell, James and Colleen E. Batey 1998: *Vikings in Scotland: an archaeological survey*. Edinburgh University Press. Edinburgh, p. 57; Harrison, Stephen H. 2008: Furnished insular Scandinavian burial : artefacts & landscape in the early Viking age. Doctoral thesis. Department of History. Trinity College. Dublin, Ireland, pp. 417-419.

B.ID 30 BRAESWICK NR LAMBA NESS, SANDAY, ORKNEY

Classification: Possible

This possible grave find consists of an oval brooch and three beads (two glass, one amber). These artefacts were acquired by National Museum of Antiquities of Scotland in 1914, and it was said that they were found together on Sanday (Society of Antiquaries of Scotland 1915:14). By RCAHMS they have been associated with Braeswick (Historic Environment Scotland 2020a). They were apparently found in “a narrow subterranean passage”, which Harrison (2008:420) suggests could have been a stone cist. They also note that the artefacts were wrapped in a piece of seal or other skin, which could suggest that this was not a burial at all. Traces of textile on the inside of the brooch clearly indicate that it was attached to textiles when buried, however (see below).

Location: The site was less than 150 m south of the beach at Braeswick (Historic Environment Scotland 2020a). Its views are restricted to both the west and north. It is less than 1km from the burial at Lamba Ness (Harrison 2008:420).

Oval brooch: The brooch is in the collection of the National Museums Scotland (X.II 343). X.II 343 is an incomplete fragment of a brooch of type P27A. This fragment makes up most of the brooch, though all the edging and flange is missing. It is quite heavily damaged by corrosion, something that makes the décor difficult to analyse, though the execution does not appear to be particularly good. The corrosion also makes it impossible to discuss wear. Parts of the pin catch and hinge are still extant, though both are damaged. There are traces of textiles on the back (Jørgensen 1992:213), possibly the remains of a strap. The traces of textiles clearly indicate that the brooch was attached to textiles when it was deposited, which would be indicative of a dressed burial. This would not be in accordance with the artefacts having been discovered in a skin. It is possible that the brooch could have been attached to textiles and wrapped in a skin, and it is possible that the artefacts could have been redeposited at a later time.

Sources: Society of Antiquaries of Scotland 1915: Purchases for the Museum. *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland*, 49, p. 14; Grieg, Sigurd 1940: *Viking Antiquities in Scotland*. Viking Antiquities in Great Britain and Ireland, Aschehoug. Oslo, pp. 88-89; Graham-Campbell, James and Colleen E. Batey 1998: *Vikings in Scotland: an archaeological survey*. Edinburgh University Press. Edinburgh, p. 57; Harrison, Stephen H. 2008: Furnished insular Scandinavian burial : artefacts & landscape in the early Viking age. Doctoral thesis. Department of History. Trinity College. Dublin, Ireland, pp. 419-420; Historic Environment Scotland 2020a: Braeswick. <https://canmore.org.uk/site/3421/sanday-braeswick>. Electronic document, accessed 18.01.20.

B.ID 31 WESTNESS, ROUSAY, ORKNEY

Classification: Definite

The burial was the first discovered of the burials from the cemetery at Westness (see Kaland 1993; Graham-Campbell and Batey 1998:135-138; Sellevold 2010). It was found by accident in 1963 by a farmer burying a dead cow. Nothing is known about the shape of the grave, nor where in the grave the various artefacts were placed, but its sides had been ‘built with slabs laid horizontally’ (Henshall 1963:40). It contained the skeleton of an adult woman (less than 30 years (Sellevold 1999:56)) and a full term infant, which could indicate that she died in childbirth (Graham-Campbell and Batey 1998:136). The grave-goods consisted of two oval brooches, 40 beads, an eight century silver penannular brooch, clearly of insular manufacture (see Stevenson 1968; 1989), an insular bronze mount reused as a brooch, two Anglo-Saxon strap-ends, a comb, a sickle, a copper-alloy basin, shears, a weaving sword, and two heckles (Graham-Campbell and Batey 1998:136). The burial is part of larger cemetery with several other graves, both Pictish and Norse.

There is also a Late Norse settlement site nearby (Graham-Campbell and Batey 1998:195).

Location: The cemetery of Westness is located on a peninsula on the south-eastern side of the Bay of Swandro, just above a small beach. The exact location of the cemetery on the peninsula might have been slightly raised, so that the site afforded a view southwards of the Eynshallow Sound. The small island of Eynshallow is less than 1 km away across the channel (Harrison 2008:438).

Oval brooches: The brooches are in the collection of the National Museums Scotland (X.II 729A and X.II 729B).

X.II 729A is of type P37.3. It is complete and well-preserved, but quite corroded in places. The décor is not very well executed, and there are some flaws in the design, particularly on one of the side panels. It is possible that some of the posts are worn, but it is difficult to ascertain due to the corrosion. The pin catch and hinge with a complete iron pin are preserved within the brooch.

X.II 729B is also of type P37.3. A piece is missing from the flange, but it is otherwise complete. It is more corroded than the former, which means that details of the décor are difficult to make out. Although X.II 729B is of the same type and variation as X.II 729A and without clear difference in quality of execution (though this might be due to difficulties of determining quality of X.II 729B), it is not certain that they were originally made as a pair. There are some differences in detail, particularly on the side panels where the décor on 729A is more slender than on its pair. 729A is also slightly larger than 729B.

Sources: Henshall, A.S. 1963: Westness, Rousay *Discovery and Excavation Scotland*, p. 40; Stevenson, Robert B.K 1968: The Brooch from Westness, Orkney. In: Bjarni Niclasen (ed.): *The Fifth Viking Congress*, Tórshavn, July 1965, Føroya Landsstýri. Torshavn, pp. 25-31 Føroya Landsstýri. Torshavn; Kaland, Sigrid H.H. 1973: Westnessutgravningene på Rousay, Orknøyene. *Viking* 37, pp. 77-102; Stevenson, Robert B.K 1989: The Celtic brooch from Westness, Orkney, and hinged pins. *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland*, 119, pp. 239-269; Kaland, Sigrid H.H. 1993: The Settlement of Westness, Rousay. In: Colleen E. Batey, Judith Jesch and Christopher D. Morris (eds.): *The Viking Age in Caithness, Orkney and the North Atlantic: select papers from the proceedings of the Eleventh Viking Congress*, Edinburgh University Press. Edinburgh, pp. 308-317; Kaland, Sigrid H.H. 1996: En vikingtidsgård og gravplass på Orknøyene. In: Jens Flemming Krøger and Helge-Rolf Naley (eds.): *Nordsjøen: handel religion og politikk*, Vikingfestivalen. Karmøy, pp. 63-68; Graham-Campbell, James and Colleen E. Batey 1998: *Vikings in Scotland: an archaeological survey*. Edinburgh University Press. Edinburgh, pp. 135-138; Sellevold, Berit J. 1999: Picts and vikings at Westness: anthropological

investigations of the skeletal material from the cemetery at Westness, Rousay, Orkney Islands. Norsk institutt for kulturminneforskning; Sellevold, Berit 2010: Life and death among the Picts and Vikings at Westness. In: John Sheehan and Donnchadh Ó Corráin (eds.): *The Viking Age: Ireland and the West, Papers from the Proceedings of the Fifteenth Viking Congress*, Four Courts Press. Dublin, pp. 369-379.

B.ID 32 BROCH OF GURNESS, MAINLAND ORKNEY, ORKNEY

Classification: Definite

The broch of Gurness was excavated between 1930 and 1939, with the main aim of uncovering the structure and recovering relics. No excavation report was published by the excavators, but the site records were reassessed and published by John W. Hedges (1987). There seems to have been several graves at the broch of Gurness, as during the excavation of the broch, several human bones were discovered (though they are not necessarily all Viking Age) as well as Scandinavian Viking Age artefacts (Hedges 1987:73). These included: two shield bosses, these could represent two graves (I and II in Hedges), an “iron sock for a hand plough”, the putative grave III was represented by a glass linen smoother, a copper-alloy folding balance, a large bead or whorl of “polished jet”, a whetstone, and small pieces of iron ore. A fourth grave (IV) might be associated with a copper-alloy ring-headed pin and an amber bead which were found with fragments of bones from a human skull. A second amber bead was also discovered (putative grave V), but it is far from certain that this belonged to a burial. There is also a potential sixth grave (VI) where apparently two hands were discovered in a small chamber with five copper-alloy finger-rings still in place. The only indisputable grave was discovered in 1939, the last season of excavation. The grave, which measured about 1.8 m x 1.1 m, was stone-lined and inserted into the outer ramparts of the broch or the curb of an external passage (Hedges 1987:73). The skeleton had been placed east-west and was badly preserved, but the skull and part of the left femur remained. There is some evidence that the foot of the grave had been disturbed (Robertson 1969:290). Two oval brooches were lying at breast level, there was an iron necklet around the neck (this was originally described as being of sea-shells or lobster shells) (Robertson 1969:290; Hedges 1987:73). Graham-Campbell and Batey (1998:128) writes that it carried some amulets “most clearly one in the shape of a Thor’s hammer”. A now lost bone pin was found at the right shoulder. An iron sickle was placed at the right side of the skeleton, and a knife with a wooden handle on the left.

Location: The ruins of the broch into which the graves were placed is located on the northern coast of the peninsula of Aiker Ness, which protrudes into Eynshallow Sound. The burial would have had clear views north across the sound. When it was investigated it consisted of a round mound. The peninsula of Moa Ness, with

the Westness cemetery is visible north of the sound, but the cemetery site itself would not have been visible (Harrison 2008:447; McLeod 2015c).

Oval brooches: The brooches are displayed at the Broch of Gurness (X.GAA 220.1 and X.GAA 220.2) and I have not seen the original, but there are high-quality images of the fronts of the brooches available at the National Museums Scotland's website.

X.GAA220.1 is of type P51C1. It is well made, with nine cast bosses, and mostly complete, though there is some damage to the edging and flange. There is some corrosion, but not much. The upper and lower shell have been fastened with copper-alloy rivets below the normally loose bosses. There are some potential signs of wear, especially on the bosses, and the central one has a circular hole in the centre. The framework is decorated, and there are no grooves for silver wire.

X.GAA220.2 is also of type P51C1, and very similar to the former. The impression is that these were made as a pair. It is far more corroded, however, making details of the décor and use-wear difficult to discuss. Much of the flange and parts of the edging is missing. It has nine cast bosses, some of which are damaged. Like the former the upper and lower shell have been fastened with copper-alloy rivets below the normally loose bosses, and the framework is decorated, and there are no grooves for silver wire.

Sources: Robertson, W. Norman 1969: A Viking grave found at the Broch of Gurness, Aikerness, Orkney. *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland*, 101, pp. 289-90; Hedges, John W. 1987: *Bu, Gurness and the brochs of Orkney*. British Archaeological Reports, British Series, vol. 164. B.A.R. Oxford, p. 73; Graham-Campbell, James and Colleen E. Batey 1998: *Vikings in Scotland: an archaeological survey*. Edinburgh University Press. Edinburgh, pp. 127-129; Harrison, Stephen H. 2008: Furnished insular Scandinavian burial : artefacts & landscape in the early Viking age. Doctoral thesis. Department of History. Trinity College. Dublin, Ireland, pp. 446-7; McLeod, Shane 2015: Viking Burials in Scotland: Landscape and burials in the Viking Age. <https://vikingfuneralscapescapes.wordpress.com/>. Electronic document, accessed 30.04.2019.

B.ID 33 THURSO EAST, SUTHERLAND, NORTHERN MAINLAND

Classification: Possible

A single oval brooch was discovered in ground disturbed by heavy machinery on the eastern side of Thurso Bay during the winter of 1973-4. Nothing more is known about its context (Batey 1993:158-159).

Location: Harrison (2008:467) places the site on low-lying ground on the east of the Thurso river, with good views over the bay, but restricted by higher ground to the northwest and east.

Oval brooch: The brooch is in the collection of the National Museums Scotland (X.II 862), but it was on loan when I visited and I have not been able to study it in detail. The following description is therefore based on images from the National Museums Scotland's website and earlier description of this brooch (Batey 1993:159). The brooch is quite heavily corroded, but it is of type P51B1. The level of corrosion obscures much of the décor, but it does not give the impression of being particularly well-made, especially the lower shell. It is not possible to say anything about traces of wear from the images. It has five cast and four loose bosses, the latter of which are all missing. The lower and upper shells seem to have been attached by rivets underneath the loose bosses. The flange is decorated with incised chevrons as also seen on X.II 215 and 216 (B.ID 49) and both brooches from B.ID 09. There are grooves for silver wire, but none is extant. According to Batey (1993:159) there are traces of gilding on the underside and on the upper part of the lower shell. She also mentions staining in the area of attachment which she argues could indicate traces of textile, which would indicate that it is from a burial.

Sources: Batey, Colleen E. 1993: The Viking and Late Norse graves of Caithness and Sutherland. In: Colleen E. Batey, Judith Jesch and Christopher D. Morris (eds.): *The Viking age in Caithness, Orkney and the North Atlantic*, Edinburgh University Press. Edinburgh, pp. 158-159; Harrison, Stephen H. 2008: Furnished insular Scandinavian burial : artefacts & landscape in the early Viking age. Doctoral thesis. Department of History. Trinity College. Dublin, Ireland, pp. 466-467.

B.ID 34 CASTLETOWN, CATITHNESS, NORTHERN MAINLAND

Classification: Definite

The burial was discovered in 1786. A pair of oval brooches (P52A) as well as a lignite (possibly) arm-ring and a bone pin were discovered with a skeleton in the top of a mound. The skeleton had been buried under a flat stone.

A black Ring or Brooch of Cannel Coal, $2\frac{3}{5}$ inches in diameter, with a slender pin of bone, 4 inches long; two oval Brooches of copper gilt, embossed and decorated with rich carvings, each surrounded with a double row of silver cord near the edge, with an iron tongue on the hollow side, much corroded; the length of each Brooch, $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches, the breadth 3 inches. These were, in September last, dug out of the top of the ruins of a Pictish house in Caithness, lying beside a skeleton, buried under a flat stone with very little earth above it (Society of Antiquaries of Scotland 1831:61).

As they are described as lying beside the skeleton this could mean that the body had been placed on one side.

Location: The artificial mound (it is debated if it is a broch, or just an artificial hill (Historic Environment Scotland 2020b) is located very close to the shore, and would clearly have been visible from land and from sea when sailing through the bay (McLeod 2015c).

Oval brooches: One of the brooches is in the National Museum of Scotland (X.II.221). The other was given to Worsaae and is in the National Museum in Copenhagen and has not been studied.

X.II.221 is of type P52A. It has a central crown and four protruding cast ‘horns’. There are six perforations penetrating the upper and lower shells which are likely to have attached loose bosses around the framework connecting the ‘horns’. These are now missing, though remains of copper-alloy rivets are still extant on two places. Like most brooches of this type it is rather opulent, the motif is in places difficult to interpret as it appears slightly cramped. If we compare it with 1967:184 (B.ID 63), which is a smaller brooch of the same general type, it is evident that although X.II.221 has much more elaborate décor, the execution of it is poorer. This is especially visible on the edging. The brooch is very well preserved, and still gilded. There is no silver wire now remaining, but from the description in *Archaeologia Scotia* (1831:61), this was evidently originally present at the lower part of the edging where there are perforations for it. The brooch is slightly corroded in places and it is possible that some of the gilding has been worn off on the crown, but it is not certain. The upper and lower shells seem to have been attached with six rivets, two placed either end of the brooch underneath the loose bosses, and the rest in the framework combining the horns and surrounding the central crown.

Sources: Society of Antiquaries of Scotland 1831: Account of the Institution and Progress of the Society of Antiquaries in Scotland, Part III, List of Donations. *Archaeologia Scotia*, p. 61; Anderson, Joseph 1874: Notes on the Relics of the Viking Period of the Northmen in Scotland, illustrated by Specimens in the Museum. *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland*, 10, pp. 549-551; Grieg, Sigurd 1940: *Viking Antiquities in Scotland*. Viking Antiquities in Great Britain and Ireland, Aschehoug. Oslo, p. 24; Batey, Colleen E. 1993: The Viking and Late Norse graves of Caithness and Sutherland. In: Colleen E. Batey, Judith Jesch and Christopher D. Morris (eds.): *The Viking age in Caithness, Orkney and the North Atlantic*, Edinburgh University Press. Edinburgh, p. 148; Harrison, Stephen H. 2008: Furnished insular Scandinavian burial : artefacts & landscape in the early Viking age. Doctoral thesis. Department of History. Trinity College. Dublin, Ireland, pp. 465-466; McLeod, Shane 2015: Viking Burials in Scotland: Landscape and burials in the Viking Age. <https://vikingfuneralscapes.wordpress.com/>. Electronic document, accessed 30.04.2019; Historic Environment Scotland

2020: Castlehill. <https://canmore.org.uk/site/8383/castlehill>. Electronic document, accessed 08.01.20.

B.ID 35 REAY, CAITHNESS, NORTHERN MAINLAND

Classification: Definite

The burial was discovered in September 1913. A human skeleton was exposed by wind blowing away the sand. There were no signs of a cist, and the bones were discovered about 4 feet below the then (1913) surface level. Few bones were recovered, but the skeleton may have laid in a crouched position.

The burial was discovered through the wind blowing aside the loose sand upon the links, and thus exposing a human skull, of which the back portion lay uppermost. The depth at which it was found was some four feet below the present surface level. No signs of a cist were discovered, and the bones, which were few in number, were simply those of an unburnt body which appeared to have been laid in the sand possibly in a doubled-up position (Curle 1914:295)

Two oval brooches were found upon the body; these had been placed together face to face, about a feet below the skull. Remains of a corroded bridle bit, a copper-alloy ringed pin (plain loop-headed), a copper-alloy buckle, a stone spindle whorl, all found 'near them'. An iron buckle and a small iron cross (tweezers) may be associated with the skeleton. They were discovered later and may have been removed when the sand around the skeleton was removed (Curle 1914:295). A horse astragalus was picked up at the site of the grave, though two other graves are also known from this area (Edwards and Bryce 1927:207). Edwards (1929:138) seems to believe the horse bones are from the 1913 burial, as he writes that the position of this grave can still be determined by the quantities of horse bones still found in the sand. It was site of some importance in the pre-Viking period, indicated by sculptural assemblage (Batey 1993:153). There are two other Viking burials from Reay, and also unfurnished graves, but it is uncertain if these are Pictish or Late Norse (Graham-Campbell and Batey 1998:153).

The burial was disturbed and the record of how the brooches were deposited in the grave is open to debate. Although Curle (1914:295) says that they were found face-to-face, Batey (1993:152) suggests that this means "with the rear faces opposing", though it is unclear on what grounds. As there were textile remains discovered inside the brooch (Jørgensen 1992:215), they were presumably attached to clothing in the grave. As the individual seems to have been buried in a crouched position (which presumably means on one side), it is possible that the brooches shifted as the textile disintegrated as ended up face-to-face (see section 2.6.7).

Location: The exact location of this burial is not clear, but it was presumably found in the same location as the 1927 burial, which was east of the modern village to

the west of the stream Burn of Isauld. This would mean it was less than 700 m from the sea (Harrison 2008:458).

Oval brooches: The oval brooches are in the collection of the National Museum of Scotland (X.IL 334 and X.IL 335), though they were on loan when I visited and they have therefore not been studied in detail. The following analysis is therefore based on pictures and earlier descriptions (Curle 1914:295-298; Grieg 1940:20-21; Batey 1993:152.153). The two brooches are of different types.

X.IL 334 is of type P51A1, and X.IL 335 is P51B1. It has five cast and four loose bosses, none of the latter are extant. The upper and lower shells appear to have been fastened with rivets underneath the loose bosses. Grooves and holes for silver wire are present, but as far as I can tell, none is present. Due to the poor quality of the images, it is difficult to say if it is worn, but it is possible that the bosses are. The brooch appears to have been repaired. There is a patch at one end of the flange of the brooch, which is also noted by Batey (1993:152) and Curle (1913-14:298). Jørgensen (1992:215) notes that there were indistinct textile remains around the pin fastener of brooch X.IL 334, suggesting that it was attached to textile when it was placed in the grave.

X.IL 335 is of type P51B1 and does hence not form a matching pair with X.IL 334. It is complete with remains of gilding preserved. It has five cast and four loose bosses, none of the latter are extant. There are holes and grooves for silver wire, some of which was still extant when illustrated in Curle (1914:296). The upper and lower shells appear to have been fastened with rivets underneath the loose bosses. There are no signs of repair, but there are two perforations close to each other on the flange of the brooch. It is possible that these could have been used to attach a chain or thread or something similar in order to suspend something from the brooch.

Sources: Curle, James 1914: On recent Scandinavian Grave-finds from the Island of Oronsay, and from Reay, Caithness, with Notes on the Development and Chronology of the Oval Brooch of the Viking Time. *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland*, 48, pp. 292-315; Edwards, Arthur J. and Thomas H. Bryce 1927: Excavation of Graves at Ackergill and of an Earth-house at Freswick Links, Caithness, and a Description of the Discovery of a Viking Grave at Reay, Caithness. With a Preliminary Note on the Skeletal Remains from the Various Graves. *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland*, 61, pp. 138-50; Edwards, Arthur J 1929: Excavations at Reay Links and at a Horned Cairn at Lower Dunreay, Caithness. *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland*, 63, p. 138; Grieg, Sigurd 1940: *Viking Antiquities in Scotland*. Viking Antiquities in Great Britain and Ireland, Aschehoug, Oslo, pp. 20-22; Batey, Colleen E. 1993: The Viking and Late Norse graves of Caithness and Sutherland. In: Colleen E. Batey,

Judith Jesch and Christopher D. Morris (eds.): *The Viking age in Caithness, Orkney and the North Atlantic*, Edinburgh University Press. Edinburgh, p. 152; Harrison, Stephen H. 2008: *Furnished insular Scandinavian burial : artefacts & landscape in the early Viking age*. Doctoral thesis. Department of History. Trinity College. Dublin, Ireland, pp. 459-460; McLeod, Shane 2015: *Viking Burials in Scotland: Landscape and burials in the Viking Age*. <https://vikingfuneralscapes.wordpress.com/>. Electronic document, accessed 30.04.2019.

B.ID 36 KEOLDALE, SUTHERLAND, NORTHERN MAINLAND

Classification: Possible

This find consists of a group of artefacts, some of which could possibly be from a Viking burial. T.C. Lethbridge noted that what appears to be a pair of oval brooches had been found together with padlocked chests within a short distance of a rifled barrow (quoted in Batey 1993:155). These may be related to another group of artefacts from Keoldale illustrated by Lethbridge which included: a small bell, an enameled bronze brooch and two bronze and silver ear-rings (Batey 1993:155). Similar bells have been found in Viking contexts (see Batey 1988), but the other artefacts seem to predate the Viking Age. All of the artefacts are now lost (Batey 1993:156).

Location: The exact site of the burial is unknown, but the settlement of Keoldale is situated on the eastern shore of the Kyle of Durness, and is, according to Harrison (2008:458) overlooked by higher ground on all sides.

Oval brooches: Lost

Sources: Batey, Colleen E. 1993: *The Viking and Late Norse graves of Caithness and Sutherland*. In: Colleen E. Batey, Judith Jesch and Christopher D. Morris (eds.): *The Viking age in Caithness, Orkney and the North Atlantic*, Edinburgh University Press. Edinburgh, pp. 155-156; Harrison, Stephen H. 2008: *Furnished insular Scandinavian burial : artefacts & landscape in the early Viking age*. Doctoral thesis. Department of History. Trinity College. Dublin, Ireland, pp. 457-458.

B.ID 37 WESTERSEAT, CAITHNESS, NORTHERN MAINLAND

Classification: Definite

A pair of oval brooches (X.II.217 and X.II.218) discovered in a stone cist²⁴ in the top of a gravel mound near the broch of Kettleburn in either 1837 (Society of

²⁴ Short according to Anderson (1874:551) and the entry in the list of donations of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland (1875:152), Brøgger (1930:195) notes that no dimensions were available, Grieg (1940:25) writes that it was long. Grieg lists Anderson's description as the only reference, however, suggesting that Grieg's description might be a mistake.

Antiquaries of Scotland 1892:278; Grieg 1940:25), 1840 (Anderson 1874:551), or 1841 (Society of Antiquaries of Scotland 1875:152). As there are remains of textile inside one of the brooches (X.II 217, see below), they are likely to have been worn as part of dress. They might have been recovered during gravel quarrying, which seems to have been the case with other cists recovered at the site. No other artefacts are said to have been discovered, however (Society of Antiquaries of Scotland 1875:152). Although the brooches are of different types, there is no reason to suppose that they are from different graves.

Location: Though the mound can no longer be located, Harrison (2008:468) locates the site 1 km upstream of where the Wick River flows into Wick Bay, on the northern bank of the river.

Oval brooches: The brooches are in the collection of the National Museums Scotland (X.II 217 and X.II 218).

X.II 217 is a partly damaged and corroded brooch of type P51B, probably B1, though B2 cannot be excluded. The perforations on the back panels are unusual and do not seem to correspond with the decoration. The brooch is corroded which obscures much of the décor, though the execution does not appear to be of great quality. It has five cast and four loose bosses, none of the latter are extant. The upper and lower shells are fastened with rivets underneath the loose bosses. It also has a rivet through one of the lower perforations on one of the side panels, though it is unclear whether or not this goes through the lower shell as well. There is potentially another rivet on the opposite side of the brooch, but this does not correspond with any perforations in the décor, and it could potentially be a casting flaw. There are grooves and perforations for silver wire, and there might be remains of it in one area, but the level of corrosion makes it difficult to be certain. Both pin catch and hinge are extant inside the brooch, the latter with remains of the iron pin. There are textile remains associated with it, possible from a loop (Jørgensen 1992:214).

X.II 218 is of type P51G, and was found with X.II 217, though they are clearly not a matching set. As with the former, the brooch is slightly damaged and rather corroded, which obscures much of the motif. It has nine cast bosses, and the upper shell is attached to the lower with copper-alloy rivets below the cast bosses at the edge of each corner panel. It appears to be rather poor quality as the incisions are rather angular and of different depths. The corrosion makes it practically impossible to say anything about wear. Both pin catch and hinge are extant inside the brooch with remains of the iron pin.

Sources: Society of Antiquaries of Scotland 1875: Donation to the Museum, Monday 8th March 1875. *Proceedings of the society of Antiquaries of Scotland*, 11, pp. 152-153; Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, *Catalogue of the National Museum*

of *Antiquities of Scotland*. Society of Antiquaries of Scotland. Edinburgh, p. 278; Anderson Joseph 1874: Notes on the Relics of the Viking Period of the Northmen in Scotland, illustrated by Specimens in the Museum. *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland*, 10, p. 551; Brøgger, Anton Wilhelm 1930: *Den norske bosetningen på Shetland-Orknøyene: studier og resultater*. Jacob Dybwad. Oslo, p. 195; Grieg, Sigurd 1940: *Viking Antiquities in Scotland*. Viking Antiquities in Great Britain and Ireland, Aschehoug. Oslo, pp. 24-25; Batey, Colleen E. 1993: The Viking and Late Norse graves of Caithness and Sutherland. In: Colleen E. Batey, Judith Jesch and Christopher D. Morris (eds.): *The Viking age in Caithness, Orkney and the North Atlantic*, Edinburgh University Press. Edinburgh, p. 151; Harrison, Stephen H. 2008: Furnished insular Scandinavian burial : artefacts & landscape in the early Viking age. Doctoral thesis. Department of History. Trinity College. Dublin, Ireland, p. 468.

B.ID 38 DUNROBIN CASTLE, SUTHERLAND, NORTHERN MAINLAND

Classification: Probable

Little is known about this burial. A pair of oval brooches were discovered in grave (unclear if there were associated with definite human remains), sometime before 1855 (Anderson 1874:554; Grieg 1940:15-17). Other Viking period artefacts discovered in the vicinity are likely to belong to other graves (Grieg 1940:17; Batey 1993:155). The site seems to have been of importance in the pre-Viking period (Ross 1854; Graham-Campbell and Batey 1998:68).

Location: The location is not certain, but Harrison (2008:462) suggests that it was likely found in the same area as other burials from Dunrobin, which means on a long raised beach, about 5 m above sea level, with good views up and down the coast.

Oval brooches: The lower shells of the brooches are in Dunrobin Castle Museum. It is unclear where the upper shells are, but from Anderson's description which specifies that "the under shells of them are now in the Duke of Sutherland's museum at Dunrobin Castle (Anderson 1874:554)" it sounds like the upper shells were originally present. I have not seen the brooches, and the following description is based on an image of the upper sides of lower shells (Highland Historic Environment Record 2020). The decoration on the rim as well as the perforations used to attach the upper shells suggest that they belong to P51, though it is not possible to say which variation. The brooches appear well preserved, though the flange and the edging is damaged. The upper and lower shells have been attached by rivets underneath the loose bosses, which clearly suggest that the brooches had five cast and four loose bosses.

Sources: Ross, J.J. 1854: Notices of two ancient Graves recently opened in the vicinity of Dunrobin Castle, Sutherlandshire. *Proceedings of the Society of Anti-*

quaries of Scotland, 1, pp. 297-299; Anderson Joseph 1874: Notes on the Relics of the Viking Period of the Northmen in Scotland, illustrated by Specimens in the Museum. *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland*, 10, p. 554; Grieg, Sigurd 1940: *Viking Antiquities in Scotland*. Viking Antiquities in Great Britain and Ireland, Aschehoug. Oslo, pp. 15-17; Graham-Campbell, James and Colleen E. Batey 1998: *Vikings in Scotland: an archaeological survey*. Edinburgh University Press. Edinburgh, p. 68; Harrison, Stephen H. 2008: Furnished insular Scandinavian burial : artefacts & landscape in the early Viking age. Doctoral thesis. Department of History. Trinity College. Dublin, Ireland, p. 462; Highland Historic Environment Record 2020: MHG10866 - Nr Dunrobin Castle, tortoise brooches. <https://her.highland.gov.uk/monument/MHG10866>. Electronic document, accessed 09.01.20.

B.ID 39 OSPISDALE HOUSE, SUTHERLAND, NORTHERN MAINLAND

Classification: Possible

This uncertain grave is very poorly recorded. An oval brooch (X.II 377) was discovered around 1830 from nearby Ospisdale (Graham-Campbell and Batey 1998:80; Harrison 2008:469). It is at times associated with a steatite vessel (Grieg 1940:18), but there is no actual evidence for it, and Graham-Campbell and Batey (1998:68) suggests that the vessel might as well be midden material. According to Grieg (1940:17) the grave was found close to a standing stone.

Location: According to Harrison (Harrison 2008:469), the burial is located about halfway up a steep slope, 1.3 km north of Dornoch Firth, with good views over the Firth, but restricted views to the open sea.

Oval brooch: The brooch is in the collection of the National Museums Scotland (X.II 377), but it was on loan when I visited and I have not been able to study it in detail. The following analysis and description is therefore based on images, and Grieg's (1940:17-18) description. The brooch is type P51B1. It has been damaged by a blow from above that has flattened it in places, and one of the side panels is lost. It has four loose bosses, and it seems that the rivets used to attach the upper and lower shells were underneath these. There is silver wire still extant in the grooves of the framework connecting the bosses. There is also silver wire through two of the cast bosses on either end of the brooch, though from the images it is difficult to ascertain what the function would be. According to Grieg (1940:18), the pin hinge and catch were preserved, and also a part of the pin itself. This was badly corroded and apparently carried the imprints of cloth. This was not noted by Jørgensen (1992:214), however.

Sources: Anderson Joseph 1874: Notes on the Relics of the Viking Period of the Northmen in Scotland, illustrated by Specimens in the Museum. *Proceedings of the*

Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, 10, p. 554; Grieg, Sigurd 1940: *Viking Antiquities in Scotland*. Viking Antiquities in Great Britain and Ireland, Aschehoug, Oslo, pp. 17-18; Batey, Colleen E. 1993: The Viking and Late Norse graves of Caithness and Sutherland. In: Colleen E. Batey, Judith Jesch and Christopher D. Morris (eds.): *The Viking age in Caithness, Orkney and the North Atlantic*, Edinburgh University Press, Edinburgh, p. 155; Graham-Campbell, James and Colleen E. Batey 1998: *Vikings in Scotland: an archaeological survey*. Edinburgh University Press, Edinburgh, p. 68; Harrison, Stephen H. 2008: *Furnished insular Scandinavian burial : artefacts & landscape in the early Viking age*. Doctoral thesis. Department of History. Trinity College. Dublin, Ireland, p. 469.

B.ID 40 UIG, CNIP, LEWIS, OUTER HEBRIDES

Classification: Definite

The burial was discovered in the summer of 1979 as human bones were protruding from a sandbank, and though the burial was not excavated professionally, it was still well recorded (Welander et al. 1987:149). The sandbank in which the body was found lay 18 m west of a prehistoric cairn, and was about 1.5 m high. The skeleton was carefully uncovered and found to be lying fully extended, slightly on the right side with the arms at the sides, and it was oriented approximately southwest-northeast (presumably with the head to the northeast, see section 3.4.1), and the skeleton was tilted slightly downwards towards the head (Welander et al. 1987:151). The skeleton had not been disturbed, but the ribcage had collapsed, and the both that and the pelvis had become disarticulated. The ringed pin was discovered first, and it was taken as a clear indication that this grave could be of significant archaeological interest and that great care should be taken in its excavation. A whetstone lay beside the left humerus, and a bone needle case with two iron needles lay alongside it. Lower down lay the haft and the blade of a badly corroded iron knife, apparently contained in its sheath when discovered. Above the right lower ribcage lay a badly corroded iron object that was later identified as a sickle. Two oval brooches were discovered, one over the right clavicle, and one immediately under the left jaw, this one was found upside down, and it was assumed that it had moved since the deposition of the body. Remains of fabric was still attached to the brooches. 44 coloured glass beads were found in the area of the neck. An incomplete antler comb was found in fragments on top of the right arm. A copper-alloy (bronze) buckle and strap-end were found across the lower left ribcage. A rivet was found in the sand that had been dug away, but it is uncertain if there is a direct association between it and the skeleton (Welander et al. 1987:151-152). Nothing was noted about the grave-cut or possible grave markings, and it was assumed to be a simple dug grave (Welander et al. 1987:153). The ribcage had collapsed and disarticulated when touched, and '[t]he pelvis had also previously

been disarticulated' (Welander et al. 1987:151)(Welander et al 1987:153). The disarticulation of the pelvis could suggest decomposition in an empty space, as could the apparent movement of one of the oval brooches. The skeleton, which was in excellent condition, was examined by an osteologist, and it was assumed to be that of a woman of about 35-40 years, it is very possible that she had given birth at some point of her life. No cause of death could be suggested (Mary Harman in Welander et al. 1987:153). The beads discovered were surprisingly uniform, and they might have been worn as a necklace, or suspended between the oval brooches (Welander et al. 1987:163).

About 10 years later, between 1991 and 1994, six more burials were discovered and excavated in what was assumed to be the immediate vicinity (though the exact location of this first grave was not originally recorded) (Dunwell et al. 1995a). These graves were those of one adult woman, two adult men, one child and one infant. Four of these contained grave-goods, but on a much smaller scale than the first grave, consisting of in total two beads, a pin, a stone pendant, and an iron plate (Dunwell et al. 1995a:726-737). These graves were radiocarbon dated to early ninth-early tenth century, though they need not have been strictly contemporary. It is unclear, however, if the marine reservoir effect has been taken into consideration. It is at least not mentioned. The 1979 burial was dated to the later parts of the tenth century on basis of the ringed pin (Dunwell et al. 1995a:742-743). It is very possible that there were more burials at the site, which had suffered from erosion, as one human tooth was discovered in the immediate vicinity of one of the child burials (Dunwell et al. 1995a:739). This site is not far from Bhaltois, where another inhumation with oval brooches has been discovered (B.ID 41).

Location: The burial site is on the northwestern coast of the Isle of Lewis, close to the site of Bhaltois. It is located 18 m to the west of a Bronze Age cairn which is likely to have been clearly visible in the Viking Age. According to Harrison (2008:480), it is located above the beach of Tràigh na Clibhe, on the western side, and is about 125 m from the shore. A sheltered pool directly to the south of the site could have functioned as a harbour in the Viking Age. There is a naust of uncertain date at the site, and good views of the beach from the site (Harrison 2008:480).

Oval brooches: The brooches are in the collection of the National Museums Scotland (X.II.799 and X.II.800).

X.II.799 is of type P51C2, complete and well preserved, with few traces of corrosion, but with a dent likely to have occurred in antiquity (Welander et al. 1987:154). Although the brooch is clearly of variation C2, its side field is not exactly similar to the type specimen. Although the motif is generally well-executed, it gives the appearance of being slightly cramped, which makes the motif difficult to make out in places. The upper and lower shells do not line up correctly. There

are remains of fabric on both the inside and the outside of the brooch. When it was found in the grave it was apparently lying face down, which might account for the remains of cloth (though the woman buried could of course have been wearing a cloak over the brooches). There are five cast and four loose bosses, traces of the latter remain on two of the platforms. There are traces of lead/tin alloy there (Welander et al. 1987:160). The textile remains on the outside of the brooch is found over one of these platforms. The upper and lower shells have been attached by copper-alloy rivets underneath the loose bosses. Covering one of the rivets is a stain that looks like corrosion. This could suggest that this rivet was made of iron, but there are not traces of this on the inside of the brooch. Alternatively it could be textile remains, as it looks similar in colour to the textiles covering one of the other platforms. There are grooves and holes for silver wire, and some is extant above one of the corner panels. The brooch is gilded, and there is potentially some wear on the masks on the back panels, though some of the loss of detail might be due to corrosion as well. Both pin catch and hinge are extant inside the brooch.

X.II 800 is of type P51C1, and hence a different variation from its pair. This brooch is also complete and well-preserved, though perhaps slightly more corroded than X.II 799. The décor is well-executed, and in general is the motif easier to make out on this brooch than on X.II 799. There is not a perfect fit between the upper and lower shells, though it is not as noticeable as on the former brooch. The brooch has five cast and four loose bosses, the majority of one of them is still present. This is white/grey in colour and qualitative XRF and wet chemical analysis showed it to be made of a lead/tin alloy (Welander et al. 1987:160). The upper and lower shells are attached with copper-alloy rivets underneath the loose bosses. The posts leading to the platforms for loose bosses are lighter in colour. Welander (1987:160) suggests that the brooch might have been acid-etched in these areas to remove copper from the surface and leave a tin-rich surface which would be white when polished. The brooch is gilded, and there would have been considerable colour difference between the gold brooch and the white loose bosses, and raised sections. One of the cast bosses is slightly damaged on its tip. The normally protruding tip has been pushed in. This seems likely to have occurred in antiquity. There is also a slight dent on one of the back fields right next to the central boss. There are grooves and holes for silver wire, and some is still remaining in two areas. It is again possible that the masks on the back panels are worn, but these are also the areas that have suffered most from corrosion, which makes it difficult to say with any degree of certainty. The brooches are of approximately the same size, and of the same general type, but it is possible that they could have looked different in colour due to the potential acid-etching on X.II 800. Both pin catch and hinge are extant inside the brooch, and so is the iron pin, with remains of textiles.

Sources: Welander, R.D.E., Colleen E. Batey and T.G. Cowie 1987: A Viking burial from Kneep, Uig, Isle of Lewis. *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland*, 117, pp. 149-175; Dunwell, Andrew, Trevor Cowie, Margaret Bruce, Tim Neighbour, Alastair Rees, B. Finlayson, N. Kerr, N. Murray and R.J. Strachan 1995: A Viking Age cemetery at Cnip, Uig, Isle of Lewis. In *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland*. vol. 125, pp. 719-752; Harrison, Stephen H. 2008: *Furnished insular Scandinavian burial : artefacts & landscape in the early Viking age*. Doctoral thesis. Department of History. Trinity College. Dublin, Ireland, pp. 479-480.

B.ID 41 UIG, BHALTOS, LEWIS, OUTER HEBRIDES

Classification: Definite

The burial was discovered by schoolchildren and the excavation continued by the school inspector, D.J. MacLeod, later the same week on the 26th of April 1915 (MacLeod et al. 1916). The schoolchildren had discovered two oval brooches, a circular copper-alloy ornament with Celtic designs, a copper-alloy Celtic penannular brooch, a copper-alloy buckle also with Celtic design, part of a copper-alloy chain, and an oblong amber bead. These artefacts were found with human bones. MacLeod visited the site which was heavily eroded due to cultivation, and discovered what he described as ‘an old rusted iron knife about 12 inches long, with portion of a hollow iron handle and broken blade’ (MacLeod et al. 1916:182), as well as a composite copper-alloy and iron object. Gibson suggest that the iron implement is “possibly a knife and portions of a socketed spearhead” (MacLeod et al. 1916:186). James Curle (in MacLeod et al. 1916:186-187) argues that the copper-alloy circular ornament is not a brooch, because there is no pin, but a copper-alloy band that seems to have been attached to the back with rivets on either side, one of which is still attached (this band was not attached to the ornament at the time of discovery). Curle therefore suggests that the ornament might have been attached to a strap, probably as a belt mounting. Harrison (2008:478) and Grieg (1940:75-76) both refer to it as circular brooch. It is difficult to say with any degree of certainty what the iron objects were, and if there were two or one. Curle (in MacLeod et al. 1916:188) writes that ‘the remains of an iron knife and socketed spearhead - do not call for any special comment’, and Grieg does not comment on these artefacts either. Graham-Campbell and Batey (1998:74) writes that it was in all probability a weaving sword, this seems to be based on a comparison with the situation in Ardvouray (B.ID 44). If MacLeod’s description of ‘an old rusted iron knife about 12 inches long, with portion of a hollow iron handle and broken blade’, is interpreted as describing one artefact instead of two, as seems to be Curle’s interpretation, a weaving sword is probably the most likely explanation, as these

are often socketed, with a long blade (see Gordon 1990:153-154). Two separate objects, a spearhead and a knife cannot be excluded either, however.

Location: The burial is located on the northwestern coast of the Isle of Lewis. According to Harrison (2008:479), it is at the centre of the beach of Tràigh na Clìbhe, about 200 m from the high water mark partway up a slope. The view from the site is limited to the beach. The burials of Cnip (B.ID 40) are not far from the site.

Oval brooches: The brooches are part of the Lewis Museum Trust Collection and currently on display at Museum nan Eilean, Lews Castle (**LMT 731 I** and **LMT 731 II**). It is unclear from the pictures kindly provided by the Lewis Museum which brooch is which, so they will be described together. The brooches are both of type P37.3 and well-preserved, though one of them has a hole on the back. Gibson (in MacLeod et al. 1916:183) comments that both 'have been cast from the same mould', suggesting that they were made as a pair. From the picture, this appears highly likely. Gibson also comments that some of the platforms for loose bosses exhibit traces of white metal. It is possible that the backs of the brooches are worn, though it is not possible to ascertain from the picture. The pin catch and hinge are present within both brooches, on one of them there are also remains of an iron pin inside the pin hinge.

Sources: MacLeod, D.J., W.J. Gibson and James Curle 1916: An account of a find of ornaments of the Viking time from Valtos, Uig, in the Island of Lewis. *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland*, 50, pp. 181-189; Grieg, Sigurd 1940: *Viking Antiquities in Scotland*. Viking Antiquities in Great Britain and Ireland, Aschehoug, Oslo, pp. 75-78; Graham-Campbell, James and Colleen E. Batey 1998: *Vikings in Scotland: an archaeological survey*. Edinburgh University Press, Edinburgh, p. 74; Harrison, Stephen H. 2008: Furnished insular Scandinavian burial : artefacts & landscape in the early Viking age. Doctoral thesis. Department of History. Trinity College. Dublin, Ireland, pp. 478-479.

B.ID 42 ST. KILDA, OUTER HEBRIDES

Classification: Probable

Nothing is known about the find circumstances apart from that a pair of oval brooches were discovered in St Kilda sometime before J.J.A. Worsaae's visit to Scotland in 1846-1847. He mentions that one out of a pair of oval brooches from St Kilda was exhibited in the Andersonian Museum in Glasgow (Worsaae 1852:270-271).

Location: The site can only be provenance to St Kilda generally.

Oval brooches: The current location of the brooches is unknown. The collection of the Andersonian Museum was dispersed in or after 1866 (Taylor 1969:134). Harrison (2008:483) states that one of the brooches is still extant in National-

musset in Copenhagen, but his sources for this is unclear. Taylor (1969:134) explicitly states that “recent attempts to trace them in likely museums, including the National Museum of Copenhagen, have been unsuccessful.” The brooch that was presumably seen by Worsaae is illustrated in an article by him (1872:420). It is certainly of type P51, and presumably P51D, though it is difficult to ascertain from the illustration. Harrison (2008:484) states that Graham-Campbell and Batey (1998:77) were wrong to say that the brooch was double-shelled, though it is unclear on what grounds. As Harrison also states that Anderson’s (1874) article is the first to refer to the brooches, he is presumably mistaken. It is unclear which type the other brooch of this pair belonged to.

Sources: Worsaae, J.J.A. 1852: *An Account of the Danes and Norwegians in England, Scotland, and Ireland*. John Murray. London, pp. 270-271; Worsaae, J.J.A. *Ruslands og det skandinaviske Nordens Bebyggelse og ældste Kulturforhold. Aarbøger for nordisk oldkyndighed og historie*, p. 420; Anderson Joseph 1874: Notes on the Relics of the Viking Period of the Northmen in Scotland, illustrated by Specimens in the Museum. *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland*, 10, pp. 555-556; Taylor, A.B. 1969: The Norsemen in St Kilda. *Sagabook of the Viking Society for Northern Research*, 17, pp. 133-135; Graham-Campbell, James and Colleen E. Batey 1998: *Vikings in Scotland: an archaeological survey*. Edinburgh University Press. Edinburgh, p. 77; Harrison, Stephen H. 2008: *Furnished insular Scandinavian burial : artefacts & landscape in the early Viking age*. Doctoral thesis. Department of History. Trinity College. Dublin, Ireland, pp. 483-484.

B.ID 43 SANGAY? OUTER HEBRIDES

Classification: Definite

In a letter from June 1760, Richard Pococke, bishop of Meath writes that he was presented with an ornament of brass in an oval shape and that “there was one on each side of the breast of the skeleton” and he supposes that they were once attached to a shield. With the skeleton was apparently also found “a pin of about four inches long, and a brass needle two inches long” (Pococke and Kemp 1887:91). Harrison (2008:486) points out that these are presumably copper-alloy dress pins as pins for oval brooches are mainly iron. Pococke also states that it was found “in the Isle of Sangay between Wist and Harris” (Pococke and Kemp 1887:91). There is no island called Sangay between Uist and Harris, and a couple of different islands have been suggested, mainly Langay (Harrison 2008:485-486; Historic Environment Scotland 2020d) (CANMORE, Harrison), and Ensay (Graham-Campbell and Batey 1998:76). In a description of one of the brooches in *Vestusta Monumenta* (Society of Antiquaries of London 1789: plate XX) it is stated that exactly its fellow is in the British Museum, though as oval brooches of

the same types are frequently very similar, this does not mean that the brooch in the British Museum belonged to the same grave.

Location: Unknown, presumably on some island between Harris and Uist.

Oval brooches: The present location of the brooches is unknown. Although two brooches were said to have been found one on each side of the breast, only one seems to have been presented to Pococke and illustrated both in Pococke and Kemp (1887:92) and in *Vestusta Monumenta* (Society of Antiquaries of London 1789: plate XX). This is a brooch of type P37.2. One end of it is damaged, but otherwise very little can be said about the brooch from the illustration. Parts of the iron pin seems to have been present as Pococke (Pococke and Kemp 1887:91) writes that “the iron to fix it [to the shield] remains in part”. It is not certain that its pair was of the same type.

Sources: Society of Antiquaries of London 1789: *Vestusta Monumenta*. vol. 2. London, Plate XX; Anderson, Joseph 1874: Notes on the Relics of the Viking Period of the Northmen in Scotland, illustrated by Specimens in the Museum. *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland*, 10, p. 555; Pococke, Richard and Daniel William Kemp 1887: *Tours in Scotland 1747, 1750, 1760*. vol. 1. Printed at the University Press by T. and A. Constable for the Scottish History Society. Edinburgh, pp. 91-92; Grieg, Sigurd 1940: *Viking Antiquities in Scotland*. Viking Antiquities in Great Britain and Ireland, Aschehoug, Oslo, p. 79; Graham-Campbell, James and Colleen E. Batey 1998: *Vikings in Scotland: an archaeological survey*. Edinburgh University Press. Edinburgh, p. 76; Harrison, Stephen H. 2008: *Furnished insular Scandinavian burial : artefacts & landscape in the early Viking age*. Doctoral thesis. Department of History. Trinity College. Dublin, Ireland, pp. 485-486; Historic Environment Scotland 2020d: Langay. <https://canmore.org.uk/site/10515/langay>. Electronic document, accessed 03.02.2020.

B.ID 44 ARDVOURAY (ARDVONRIG), BARRA, OUTER HEBRIDES

Classification: Definite

This find seems to represent a wealthy, but poorly recorded and confused find. The site was excavated by Commander R.N. Edye²⁵ in September 1862 as he was investigating the area around a 7ft high stone “standing upright in a tumulus of sand” (Society of Antiquaries of London 1864:229). A skeleton was found at a depth of about 3ft, in ‘tolerable condition’ and with the head to the north/northwest (Society of Antiquaries of London 1864:230-231). There has been some confusion as to the number of burials and the sex of the individual(s) buried, as the weaving

²⁵ In the *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of London*, the name is recorded as Edge, but according to Shane McLeod (2015a:229), it is supposed to be Edye.

sword was originally interpreted as a sword and the heckles as a shield boss (Gordon 1990:153; Graham-Campbell and Batey 1998:83). The weaving sword was found beside the skeleton, and the heckles was found on it. The oval brooches, something referred to as ‘tongues of buckles’ (Harrison (2008:490) suggests they are drinking horn mounts), a whetstone, a comb, and clam shell were found close to it. These were the artefacts reported by Edye (Society of Antiquaries of London 1864:230). In the online collection of the British Museum, some additional artefacts are included in this assemblage: a ringed pin with the shaft broken, another scroll-headed pin (perhaps a ringed pin missing its ring), an iron buckle, a balance beam, and a silvered or tinned copper-alloy fragment. This latter artefact is suggested as a folding case in the British Museum description, and is presumably the artefact referred to by Grieg (1940:72) and Harrison (2008:490) as a needle case. Harrison (Harrison 2008:490) also includes a broken iron knife and shears to the assemblage, the knife is also included by Grieg (1940:72), and is illustrated with other artefacts from Ardvouray in Alexander Bugge’s *Norges historie fremstillet for det norske folk* (1910:77), but I cannot find any other reference to the shears.

Location: The exact location has been a matter of some debate, but Shane McLeod (McLeod 2015a) has recently identified it as having been discovered near one of the two standing stones at ‘Ardvonrig’, which he identifies as the Ardvouray peninsula near Borve village of the Isle of Barra. The site is then less than 200 m from the promontory of Stong Mòr. The shore itself is not visible, but the water is. The site is also 42 m south of a pre-Viking Age cairn which is clearly visible from the site.

Oval brooches: The oval brooches are at present in the British Museum (**1895,0613.1** and **1895,0613.2**). The following description is therefore based on a high-quality image of the front of the brooches, where it is not evident which brooch is which. I will therefore discuss them together. The brooches are both of type P27A which is a single-shelled variant with only cast bosses. They give the impression of having formed a matching set. They are complete and well preserved, with very well-executed decoration. It is possible that the back of the brooches are worn.

Sources: Society of Antiquaries of London 1864: Thursday, March 5th, 1863. *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of London 2nd series*, 2, pp. 229-231; Bugge Alexander 1910: *Norges historie fremstillet for det norske folk*. vol. 1; 2, p. 77; Smith, Reginald A 1923: *A Guide to the Anglo-Saxon Antiquities and Foreign Teutonic antiquities in the Department of British and Mediaeval Antiquities*. British Museum. London, pp. 128-129; Grieg, Sigurd 1940: *Viking Antiquities in Scotland*. Viking Antiquities in Great Britain and Ireland, Aschehoug. Oslo, pp. 72-73; Gordon, Kate 1990: A Norse Viking-age grave from Cruach Mhor, Islay. *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland*, 120, pp. 151-160; Graham-Campbell, James and Colleen E. Batey 1998: *Vikings in Scotland: an archaeological survey*. Edinburgh

University Press. Edinburgh, p. 83; Harrison, Stephen H. 2008: *Furnished insular Scandinavian burial : artefacts & landscape in the early Viking age*. Doctoral thesis. Department of History. Trinity College. Dublin, Ireland, pp. 490-491; McLeod, Shane 2015a: 'Ardvonrig', Isle of Barra: an appraisal of the location of a Scandinavian accompanied burial. *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland*, 145, pp. 299-305.

B.ID 45 UNKNOWN LOCATION, TIREE, INNER HEBRIDES

Classification: Probable

Little information is available about this find. An oval brooch and a bronze pin were presented to the Museum in June 1872 by Rev. Dr Norman Macleod. They were said to come from a grave (Anderson 1874:554-555). As there are textile remains on the inside (see below), it is likely to have been attached to clothing, supporting the interpretation that this is a grave find. Anderson (1874:555) connects this with a notice of a second oval brooch from Tiree, this seems to be on the sole grounds that this is a second oval brooch and also from Tiree. Although it is certainly possible that they were found together, they are here included as two separate graves (B.ID 46).

Location: Anderson (1874:555) connects the find with the site of Cornaibeg which is associated with possible weapon burials. As Harrison (2008:493) points out, however, there is no firm evidence to connect the find of this brooch with the site. It can therefore only be provenanced to Tiree generally.

Oval brooch: The brooch is in the collection of the National Museums Scotland (X.II 219). It is of type P51A, well made and well preserved. The lower and upper shells were attached with rivets beneath the loose bosses, all of which are missing. It has holes and grooves for silver wire, some of which is extant in places. The bosses are worn, especially the central boss and the ones on the side panels. A now damaged pin catch and a complete pin hinge is extant inside the brooch. There are textile remains on the inside of the brooch (Jørgensen 1992:213), clearly suggesting that it was attached to clothing and therefore worn.

Sources: Anderson, Joseph 1874: *Notes on the Relics of the Viking Period of the Northmen in Scotland*, illustrated by Specimens in the Museum. *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland*, 10, pp. 554-555; Anderson, Joseph 1883: *Scotland in Pagan Times: The Iron Age*. vol. 1. D. Douglas. Edinburgh, pp. 40-42; Harrison, Stephen H. 2008: *Furnished insular Scandinavian burial : artefacts & landscape in the early Viking age*. Doctoral thesis. Department of History. Trinity College. Dublin, Ireland, p. 493.

B.ID 46 UNKNOWN LOCATION, TIREE, INNER HEBRIDESClassification: Possible

This second find from Tiree is highly uncertain. When referring to the other oval brooch from Tiree (B.ID 45), Anderson (1874:555) notes that a second brooch presumed to be the pair of the first was exhibited to the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland in 1847. They were assumed to be a pair because they were both from Tiree and ‘resembling to minuteness, several in the Museum’. It is not stated to resemble the other Tiree brooch specifically, but Anderson assumes that ‘as these brooches usually occur in pairs, it was probably found with [the other brooch from Tiree] (Anderson 1874:554-555). Although this brooch might form a pair with the other Tiree brooch (B.ID 45), it is here included as a separate grave.

Location: The brooch can only be provenanced to Tiree generally

Oval brooch: The current location of the brooch is unknown. It may have been of type P51 as the other brooch from Tiree. The description only states that it is similar to several other brooches in the museum. This would suggest P51 or P37, as these are most numerous.

Sources: Anderson, Joseph 1874: Notes on the Relics of the Viking Period of the Northmen in Scotland, illustrated by Specimens in the Museum. *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland*, 10, pp. 554-555; Anderson, Joseph 1883: *Scotland in Pagan Times: The Iron Age*. vol. 1. D. Douglas. Edinburgh, pp. 40-42

B.ID 47 UNKNOWN LOCATION, MULL, INNER HEBRIDESClassification: Possible

This is a highly uncertain find. All that is known is that the owner of the Newton brooches (B.ID 51) said that “similar brooches, one or more, were found in Mull, and were lately in the possession of Lord Northampton at Torloisk, where I saw the things in August 1877” (Anderson 1880:72). It is possible that this could represent a grave, but far from certain

Location: They can only be provenanced to Mull generally.

Oval brooches: It is unknown where the brooches are. They were apparently similar to the Newton brooches, but this might only mean that they were also oval brooches.

Sources: Anderson, Joseph 1880: Notes on the contents of two Viking graves in Islay, discovered by William Campbell Esq. *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland*, 14, p. 72; Graham-Campbell, James and Colleen E. Batey 1998: *Vikings in Scotland: an archaeological survey*. Edinburgh University Press. Edinburgh, p. 87; Harrison, Stephen H. 2008: *Furnished insular Scandinavian burial : artefacts &*

landscape in the early Viking age. Doctoral thesis. Department of History. Trinity College. Dublin, Ireland, p. 494.

B.ID 48 CÀRN A' BHARRAICH, ORONSAY, INNER HEBRIDES

Classification: Definite

The site is rather difficult to interpret. There are three skeletons present, two at the centre of a mound, presumably a man and a woman. These were discovered in 1891 and buried south/southeast-north/northwest, seemingly supine extended. The 'woman' was buried with two shrine mounts repurposed as oval brooches (M'Neill 1891:432-435). 18 iron rivets, as well as charcoal and oak fragments acquired by the museum in 1891 are also likely to be from this site. The rivets were found in the western and southern parts of the mound, so it is not certain that it was directly associated with the burials (Harrison 2008:503). Harrison (2008:503) also notes that the 'charcoal' could have been decayed rather than burnt wood. The rivets and fragments of woods raises the possibility that this was a boat burial. At the edge of the mound a third burial was discovered in 1913 by a local farmer Neil M'Neill. The skeleton seems to have been supine extended, and buried north/northwest-south/southeast. The skull of a skeleton was lying partly exposed in the sand. M'Neill dug a little around the skull and immediately discovered a pair of oval brooches, a ringed pin, and a hollow bone object (presumably a needle case) (Grieve 1914:275). This could suggest that these artefacts were lying in the shoulder area (also suggested by Harrison 2008:504). These artefacts were presented to Symington Grieve to give to the National Museum of Antiquities, who also carried out further excavations at the site (Grieve 1914:276-278). A pair of shears were found at the right side of the skeleton (Harrison (2008:504) writes left). The lower part of the skeleton was missing, and Grieve (1914:278) suggested that it was removed during the excavation in 1891, being confused for the other individuals. Graham-Campbell and Batey (1998:116) raise the possibility that this could have happened if this was the primary burial, and it was disturbed by the secondary central burial. In favour of this is the early date of the oval brooches, but as Harrison (2008:504) points out, its position on the edge of the mound would be more common for a secondary burial. The alignment of the burials also open up for the possibility that all three individuals were buried in the same vessel, more or less at the same time (Harrison 2018). The ringed pin discovered was an Irish knobbed ringed pin, which is not known from the tenth century levels in Dublin, but there is one from a ninth century burial at Islandbridge (Graham-Campbell and Batey 1998:116). The mound itself could have been made from a Mesolithic shell-midden.

Location: The site of the burials is on the eastern coast on Oronsay. It is located about 100 m from the shore, close to a secluded inlet called Port na h-Atha. There

are good views of the inlet southeast of the island and to Eilean Ghaoideamal of Jura. The site is also close to the possible burials of Druim Arstail (Harrison 2008:504).

Oval brooches: The brooches are in the collection of the National Museums Scotland (X.II.329 and X.II.330).

X.II.329 is an oval brooch of type P14 (Berdal D), though differing somewhat from Petersen's type specimen. It has three circles with cast bosses (the other of similar types seem to have loose bosses) on each side of a central band, and between the bosses are animal figures. There are two circular marks on the upper side of two of the cast bosses, these seem to be on either side of the pin catch (or possibly hinge), and seem to be related to its attachment. They do not appear secondary, and the same is evident with the other brooch. It is a good quality brooch and well preserved. The brooch is clearly worn in places (as also noted by Grieve 1914:278), especially on one of the ends, and the central band, and possibly also on the bosses. The pin is still present inside the brooch, with substantial remains of textile preserved, clearly indicating that the brooch was worn by the deceased.

X.II.330 is of similar type as the former. The motif is similar to the other brooch, but there are considerable differences in detail. The brooches are likely to have been made by free hand instead of being the result of mechanical copying. One is slightly larger than the other, but this would presumably not have been evident. The pin is still present in this brooch as well, but with less textile remains. This brooch is also worn, in much the same places as the former.

Sources: M'Neill, Malcolm 1891: Notice of Excavations in a Burial Mound of the Viking Time, in Oronsay. *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland*, 25, pp. 432-435; James 1914: On recent Scandinavian Grave-finds from the Island of Oronsay, and from Reay, Caithness, with Notes on the Development and Chronology of the Oval Brooch of the Viking Time. *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland*, 48, pp. 292-315; Grieve, Symington 1914: Note upon Carn nan Bharraich, or Cairn of the men of Barra, a burial mound of the Viking time on the island of Oronsay Argyllshire, with an outline of the political history of the western Isles during the latter half of the ninth century. *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland*, 48, pp. 272-291; Grieg, Sigurd 1940: *Viking Antiquities in Scotland*. Viking Antiquities in Great Britain and Ireland, Aschehoug. Oslo, pp. 42-44; Graham-Campbell, James and Colleen E. Batey 1998: *Vikings in Scotland: an archaeological survey*. Edinburgh University Press. Edinburgh, pp. 113-118; Harrison, Stephen H. 2008: Furnished insular Scandinavian burial : artefacts & landscape in the early Viking age. Doctoral thesis. Department of History. Trinity College. Dublin, Ireland, pp. 502-505; Harrison, Stephen H. 2018: New Graves & New Readings - A Case Study from the Isles. Conference paper presented at Vikings in Scotland 20 Years On. Glasgow.

B.ID 49 BALLINABY, ISLAY, INNER HEBRIDESClassification: Probable

Little is known about the find circumstances, Joseph Anderson (1874:554) notes that two oval brooches were discovered on Islay and presented to the museum in 1788 by Colin Campbell, Esq. of Ballinelly. In 1883, however, he states that “a grave was discovered under a large standing-stone in the year 1788. There is no precise record of the circumstances beyond the fact that a pair of oval bowl-shaped brooches were found in it (Anderson 1883:38).” Two standing stones now survive, but there were originally three (Graham-Campbell and Batey 1998:122). Nothing further is known about the find circumstances, but there are other burials in the vicinity.

Location: The site is located approximately 1 km from the coast, at an altitude of about 50 m and would have commanded good views of the open sea (Harrison 2008:505). There are other burials in the vicinity, and this is possibly part of a cemetery (McLeod 2015c).

Oval brooches: The oval brooches are in the collection of the National Museums Scotland (X.II 215 and X.II 216), but one of them X.II 216, was not possible to remove from exhibition and the description of that brooch is therefore based on images of the front only.

X.II 215 is of type P51F. It is complete and well preserved, though with some corrosion in places. It is of decent quality, and the flange has been decorated with incised chevrons as seen on both brooches from B.ID 09, and X.II 862 (B.ID 33). There are five cast and five loose bosses, though the latter are all lost. The upper and lower shells were attached with copper-alloy rivets underneath the loose bosses. The marks on the back panels are clearly worn. It has holes and grooves for attaching silver wire (none of which remain), but in places the holes don't seem to go through the brooch, and in one place it does not line up with the grooves. This could indicate that silver wire was never actually attached to the brooch. Both pin catch and hinge are extant inside the brooch, the latter with traces of the iron pin.

X.II 216 is of type P51E, which means that the décor differs clearly from its pair. They are otherwise quite similar, and it is worth noting that the flange of X.II 216 is also decorated with incised chevrons, as this motif is not very common, though it is found on other brooches from the western settlements (see above). It is slightly surprising therefore that it is found of a pair of non-matching brooches. It has five cast and four loose bosses, no traces of the latter are extant. The upper and lower shells appear to have been attached with rivets underneath the loose bosses. This brooch is also complete and well preserved, with seemingly less traces of corrosion than the former. It is also of decent quality, and gives the impression

of being slightly less worn than its pair (though this is based on images of not great quality). It also has grooves and holes for silver wire, and from what I can see, they all appear to be functional.

Sources: Anderson, Joseph 1874: Notes on the Relics of the Viking Period of the Northmen in Scotland, illustrated by Specimens in the Museum. *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland*, 10, p. 554; Anderson, Joseph 1883: *Scotland in Pagan Times: The Iron Age*. vol. 1. D. Douglas. Edinburgh, p. 38; Grieg, Sigurd 1940: *Viking Antiquities in Scotland*. Viking Antiquities in Great Britain and Ireland, Aschehoug. Oslo, pp. 41-42; Graham-Campbell, James and Colleen E. Batey 1998: *Vikings in Scotland: an archaeological survey*. Edinburgh University Press. Edinburgh, p. 122; Harrison, Stephen H. 2008: *Furnished insular Scandinavian burial : artefacts & landscape in the early Viking age*. Doctoral thesis. Department of History. Trinity College. Dublin, Ireland, p. 505; McLeod, Shane 2015: *Viking Burials in Scotland: Landscape and burials in the Viking Age*. <https://vikingfuneralsapes.wordpress.com/>. Electronic document, accessed 30.04.2019.

B.ID 50 BALLINABY, ISLAY, INNER HEBRIDES

Classification: Definite

Two burials were discovered in Ballinaby in August 1878. The finds were presented to the Museum along with a brief description of the discovery. The two skeletons were lying west-east, and they were found a little apart, each enclosed by a line of stones on edge. There is no account of where in the graves the artefacts were placed, and there seems to be some confusion as to what artefacts belonged to which grave. In Anderson's (1880) description, the artefacts said to belong to the first grave were: a sword in its sheath, a conical shield boss, a drinking horn terminal (described as a scabbard end, or mounting of the point of a quiver by Anderson), a spear-head, two axes, a fishing spear (described by Anderson as a ferrule), tongs, adze, hammer, cauldron, and a heckle (described by Anderson as "bands formed of iron wires laid side by side which may have been parts of a helmet"). According to Anderson, the other grave contained: a pair of oval brooches with their copper-alloy pins, three discs of thin bronze or copper, a silver pin, a trichinopoly chain, a bronze ladle, a glass linen smoother, small and large beads of glass (seven glass, one amber, one jet, three ceramic). Graham-Campbell and Batey (1998:124) state that the heckle belonged to the woman, and Harrison (2008:506), identifying the copper-alloy discs as shield mounts states that they belong to the male burial. According to Harrison (2008:506), the rim mount for the drinking horn was originally listed as belonging to the female grave. I am not sure on what grounds, but if he is correct, that would demonstrate that Anderson's separation of the assemblages in two was not necessarily based on clear descriptions from the finder. That the shield boss

and shield mounts were also sorted out as belonging to separate graves also support this. It does, however, complicate these burials considerably. Harrison's separation of the grave-goods into traditionally male and female is logical, and might well be correct, but attempting to separate the assemblages based on traditional assumptions of male and female roles in the Viking Age could also obscure variation in the material. Due to these uncertainties as to which artefacts belonged to which grave, they will not be separated here.

Location: The site is located to the west of the modern settlement, about 250 and 400 m from the southern and northern standings tones respectively. It is located on a southwards facing slope, about 800 m from the nearest coast. It is likely to be part of the same cemetery as the previous burial. Good views towards the south and east, but restricted by higher ground to the west and north (Harrison 2008:506). A further burial was later discovered to the west of these graves (Harrison 2008:507-508).

Oval brooches: The brooches are in the collection of the National Museums Scotland (X.II.138 and X.II.139).

X.II.138 is of type P42. It has platforms for nine loose bosses, but no traces of the bosses remain. The upper and lower shells were attached with copper-alloy rivets underneath the loose bosses. It is gilded and still adorned with silver wire. The brooches appear to be lacking perforations on the platforms for loose bosses for the wire to be fastened through. This is apparently also seen on other brooches of this type, and then the wire is fastened by holding them in place with the loose bosses (Jansson 1985:57). In the case of this brooch, the wire is not only fastened underneath the loose bosses, but also appears to have been fastened by additional silver wire through some of the holes that are part of the decoration of the upper shell. The posts leading to the platforms for loose bosses may have been coated with lead or tin alloy, or acid etched as they appear in places to be silver in colour. As with most brooches of this kind, the decoration is well executed, though there are other brooches of this type that are clearly better. The small circles in the middle of the corner panels are slightly elevated, which is nearly always the case according to Jansson (1985:59). It is difficult to say much about wear, though it is possible that some of the posts are worn, and the gilding on the spiral joints on the side panels appears to have been worn off. Both pin catch and hinge are extant inside the brooch. The pin which was made of copper-alloy is also extant, but no longer attached to the brooch. It appears to have been attached with iron rivets, as there is some iron corrosion on the needle hinge. Brooches of type P42 more often have copper-alloy pins than other types of brooches (Jansson 1985:61).

X.II.139 is of the same type and very similar to X.II.138. It has platforms for nine loose bosses, but no traces of the bosses remain. The upper and lower shells

were attached with copper-alloy rivets underneath the loose bosses. The brooches differ slightly in detail. Most notably, the heads on the back and side panels of X.II 139 are clearly elevated above the rest of the ornamentation, as are the circles on the corner panels. There are a few more differences, however, particularly on the corner panels, where the neck of the animal as well as part of the tail/leg is decorated with lines at angle to the neck/leg, whereas on X.II 138 the decorating lines run parallel. In places X.II 139 also clearly has holes under the loose bosses (parts of one still remains) for the silver wire, something not apparent on X.II 138. The differences in detail are slight, and may be the result of finishing touches to the wax models. The silver wire is otherwise attached in the same way as one X.II 138. X.II 139 is also gilded, and with little obvious signs of wear. The posts leading to the platforms for loose bosses may have been coated with lead or tin alloy, or acid etched as they appear in places to be silver in colour. Both pin catch and hinge are still extant. Like the former, the pin of this brooch is of copper-alloy and still extant, though no longer attached to the brooch. It appears to have been fastened to the hinge with iron rivets.

Sources: Anderson, Joseph 1880: Notes on the contents of two Viking graves in Islay, discovered by William Campbell Esq. *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland*, 14, pp. 51-94; Grieg, Sigurd 1940: *Viking Antiquities in Scotland*. Viking Antiquities in Great Britain and Ireland, Aschehoug. Oslo, pp. 32-40; Graham-Campbell, James and Colleen E. Batey 1998: *Vikings in Scotland: an archaeological survey*. Edinburgh University Press. Edinburgh, pp. 123-125; Harrison, Stephen H. 2008: *Furnished insular Scandinavian burial : artefacts & landscape in the early Viking age*. Doctoral thesis. Department of History. Trinity College. Dublin, Ireland, pp. 506-507; McLeod, Shane 2015: *Viking Burials in Scotland: Landscape and burials in the Viking Age*. <https://vikingfuneralscapes.wordpress.com/>. Electronic document, accessed 30.04.2019.

B.ID 51 NEWTON DISTILLERY, ISLAY, INNER HEBRIDES

Classification: Probable

This find was discovered in 1845. It is said to be a grave, but it is unclear on what grounds. The 'grave' was discovered in a gravel bank and the only part of its content that has been recorded is a pair of oval brooches and an amber bead (Anderson 1880:71). The Argyll inventory includes a knife in the assemblage according to Harrison (2008:510).

Location: Harrison (2008:510) locates the site on the north bank of the river Sorn, on sloping ground, overlooking the river, but not the sea. The closest beach is between 300-700 m away.

Oval brooches: The brooches are now lost. There is a woodcut of one of the brooches reproduced in Anderson's (1883:39) *Scotland in Pagan Times* and his article in the PSAS volume 14 (Anderson 1880:71). This brooch is of type P37.2, but it is unknown if its pair was of the same type. From the description the impression is given that the other brooch is similar to this (Anderson 1883:39).

Sources: Anderson, Joseph 1880: Notes on the contents of two Viking graves in Islay, discovered by William Campbell Esq. *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland*, 14, pp. 71-72; Anderson, Joseph 1883: *Scotland in Pagan Times: The Iron Age*. vol. 1. D. Douglas. Edinburgh, pp. 39-40; Grieg, Sigurd 1940: *Viking Antiquities in Scotland*. Viking Antiquities in Great Britain and Ireland, Aschehoug. Oslo, p.42; Stephen H. 2008: *Furnished insular Scandinavian burial : artefacts & landscape in the early Viking age*. Doctoral thesis. Department of History. Trinity College. Dublin, Ireland, pp. 509-510.

B.ID 52 CRUACH MHOR, ISLAY, INNER HEBRIDES

Classification: Probable

Several Viking artefacts were recovered as surface finds from an eroded area in 1958 and 1959, along with older material, as well as probable Viking Age settlement material. Remains of a rectilinear building were discovered nearby, but could not be dated (Gordon 1990:151). The proposed grave-goods consisted of fragments of a pair of oval brooches of type P37, six beads (three jet, two glass, one amber), a copper-alloy buckle (recovered from the site in 1978), an iron weaving sword, a steatite spindle whorl, one or two small iron knives, a small perforated whetstone, and a sickle (Gordon 1990:151-155). Graham-Campbell and Batey (1998:89) includes a heckle(s) in this list, probably referred to as iron fragments in Kate Gordon's account. This is interpreted as a possible burial, but it is impossible to know what artefacts were originally part of the burial, and what might have been settlement finds.

Location: According to Harrison (2008:511), the site is located in an area of rough grazing and dunes about 400 m from the 8 km long strand of Laggan Bay, though it is not certain that it would have been visible. There are no well sheltered points on the beach.

Oval brooches: I have been unable to locate the brooches. After discovery they were sent to the National Museum of Antiquities of Scotland for examination and analysis (Gordon 1990:151), but they are not in the list of oval brooches currently in the National Museums Scotland. There is an illustration of the brooch fragments in Gordon's (1990:152) article, from which it is possible to identify both brooches as type P37, though it is not possible to determine if they belong to subtype P37.1 or P37.3. Nor is it possible to determine if they form a matching pair. The motif of

one of the brooch fragments appears to be very well-executed, certainly among the best from the western settlements. The fragment of the other brooch is too corroded to compare with. Both brooches would have had platforms for nine loose bosses.

Sources: Gordon, Kate 1990: A Norse Viking-age grave from Cruach Mhor, Islay. *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland*, 120, pp. 151-160; Graham-Campbell, James and Colleen E. Batey 1998: *Vikings in Scotland: an archaeological survey*. Edinburgh University Press. Edinburgh, p. 89; Harrison, Stephen H. 2008: *Furnished insular Scandinavian burial : artefacts & landscape in the early Viking age*. Doctoral thesis. Department of History. Trinity College. Dublin, Ireland, pp. 510-511.

1.4 Iceland

B.ID 53 GAMLE BERJANES, VESTUR-LANDEYJAHREPPUR, RANGÁRVALLASYSLA

Classification: Probable

Two oval brooches were discovered together in an area impacted by erosion, and donated to the National Museum of Iceland in 1912 (Þórðarson 1914:75-76). There is no information available about the find circumstances. As the two brooches were discovered together, and as there are remains of textiles inside one of them, this is likely to represent a burial.

Location: The record of the location is limited to the farm name, but it seems to have been discovered at the summit of a gravel ridge. The site is located near the junction between the old main road and the track leading to the farm (Friðriksson 2013:461).

Oval brooches: The brooches are in the collection of the National Museum of Iceland (6411a and 6411b). As the brooches appear to have been of the same type and variation, they are likely to have been made as a pair, though most of the motif on 6411a is obscured by corrosion, which means it is not possible to examine minor details in the décor.

6411a is of type P51C3. Parts of the upper shell and of the edging on the lower shell is missing, and it is very corroded. It would have had five cast and four loose bosses. Only one of the cast bosses remains, two are damaged, and two are missing. Traces of the loose bosses remain. The upper and lower shells appear to have been fastened with rivets underneath the loose bosses. Traces of gilding remain on the edging, and there are holes and grooves for silver wire, though none is extant. The pin hinge is slightly damaged, but extant with traces of the iron pin. Remains of the pin catch are also present. There are obvious textile fragments on the inside of

the brooch, indicating that it was attached to clothing when buried. The degree of corrosion makes it impossible to discuss wear.

6411b is of type P51C3. Parts of the edging and flange are missing, and the upper shell is damaged. It is suffering from corrosion, though not quite as much as the former. It has five cast and four loose bosses, traces of the latter are extant in two places. The upper and lower shell appear to have been attached with rivets underneath the loose bosses. These rivets appear to have been of iron. Some traces of gilding remain and there are holes and grooves for silver wire, though none is now extant. The pin catch is extant, but not traces of the hinge remains. The degree of corrosion makes it impossible to discuss wear

Sources: Þórðarson Matthías 1914: Skýrsla um viðbót við Þjóðmenjasafnið árið 1912. *Árbók*, 29, pp. 75-76; Friðriksson, Adolf 2013: La Place du Mort: Les tombes vikings dans le paysage culturel islandais. Doctoral thesis. Université Paris-Sorbonne, p. 461; Eldjárn, Kristján and Adolf Friðriksson 2016: *Kuml og haugfé: úr heiðnum síð á Íslandi*. 3rd ed., Mál og menning. Reykjavík, p. 49.

B.ID 54 KNAFAHÓLAR, RANGÁRVALLAHREPPUR, RANGÁRVALLASYSLA

Classification: Probable

This burial site was exposed by severe erosion in the eighteenth century (Olafsen 1772:1035). Two double-shelled oval brooches were discovered, though they were not recognised as such at the time. Human remains were also noted in the immediate surroundings. According to Kålund (1882:63-64), there were also two cairns containing skeletal remains at this site, one perhaps containing the remains of five individuals, and some artefacts. This has later been repeated in other publications, but according to Eldjárn and Friðriksson (2016:57), this latter material is from a different site, and their connection is a result of attempting to make the sites fit events in *Njáls saga*. The brooches are now lost.

Location: The site of the burial was not located during Friðriksson's field work, though there are a number of old farmsteads in the vicinity (Friðriksson 2013:501).

Oval brooches: The brooches are lost. The description of them states that: "De vare af stærkt forgyldt Messing, og dobbelte, med udplukket, giennemskaaret Arbeide" (Olafsen 1772:1035). This description explicitly states that they were double, and perforated, indicating that the brooches were double-shelled, though it is not possible to determine their type. They were also gilded.

Sources: Olafsen, Eggert 1772: *Vice-Lavmand Eggert Olafsens og Land-Physici Biarne Povelsens Reise igiennem Island, foranstaltet af Videnskabernes Selskab i Kiøbenhavn*. vol. 2. Jonas Lindgrens Enke. Copenhagen, p. 1035; Kålund, Kristian 1882: *Islands Fortidslævninger. Aarbøger for nordisk oldkyndighed og historie*, pp. 63-64;

Friðriksson, Adolf 2013: *La Place du Mort: Les tombes vikings dans le paysage culturel islandais*. Doctoral thesis. Université Paris-Sorbonne, p. 501; Eldjárn, Kristján and Adolf Friðriksson 2016: *Kuml og haugfé: úr heiðnum sið á Íslandi*. 3rd ed., Mál og menning. Reykjavík, pp. 56-57.

B.ID 55 ÞJÓRSÁRDALUR, GNÚPVERJAHREPPUR, ÁRNESSÝSLA

Classification: Probable

In 1864, a group of artefacts were received by the museum. These consisted of two oval brooches, a penannular brooch, a playing piece, and a piece of steatite (Guðmundsson 1868:75-78). According to Eldjárn and Friðriksson (2016:81) the playing piece is medieval, and the piece of steatite could have been from a settlement. It is not certain that the three brooches were found together either. Only the head and part of the pin of the penannular brooch remain. The ring itself is missing. It is ball-headed and could be compared with P206-9. Eldjárn believes it would be similar to P209 (Eldjárn and Friðriksson 2016:81). There were apparently textile remains discovered inside at least one of the oval brooches (Guðmundsson 1868:75), suggesting that it was attached to clothing, and therefore likely from a burial

Location: The original report having been lost, nothing is known about the location of the burial, apart from that it was found in Þjórsárdalur (Friðriksson 2013:576).

Oval brooches: The brooches are in the collection of the National Museum of Iceland (96:1 and 96:2).

96:1 is of type P51C1. Parts of the flange and edging are missing, as are parts of the upper shell. It is corroded in places, but the motif appears to be well-executed. It has five cast and four loose bosses, no traces of the latter are extant. The upper and lower shells were attached with rivets underneath the loose bosses. These rivets were of iron, which is relatively unusual. There are four extra perforations in the lower shell, one on the inside of each perforation used to attach the loose bosses. Their function is uncertain. The brooch is gilded and there are holes and grooves for silver wire, though none remain. Both the pin catch and hinge are extant. According to Sigurður Guðmundsson (1868:75) were there textile inside one of the brooches when they were found, though no trace of this now remains. There are no obvious signs of wear, though this could be obscured by corrosion.

96:2 is of type P51C1. It is very similar to the former, but there are some smaller differences in detail. Part of the flange and edging is missing. There are five cast and four loose bosses. Some corrosion on of the platforms for loose bosses could be the remains of part of one of the bosses. The upper and lower shells were attached with rivets underneath the loose bosses. Like on the former brooch, these rivets were made of iron. As this is quite rare, it suggest the brooches were made together.

The lower shell has one extra perforation comparable to the four on the former brooch. There are also two extra perforations next to one of the holes for attaching the upper and lower shells. They appear to be secondary, though their function is uncertain. The pin hinge and catch are extant but damaged. Gilding remains in places, and there are grooves and holes for silver wire, though none is extant. There are no obvious signs of wear, though this could be obscured by corrosion.

Sources: Guðmundsson, Sigurður 1868: *Skýrsla um Forngripasafn Íslands í Reykjavík*. vol. 1. Ízlenska bókmentafélagi. København, pp. 75-78; Kålund, Kristian 1882: *Íslands Fortidslævninger. Aarbøger for nordisk oldkyndighed og historie*, p. 73; Friðriksson, Adolf 2013: *La Place du Mort: Les tombes vikings dans le paysage culturel islandais*. Doctoral thesis. Université Paris-Sorbonne, p. 576; Eldjárn, Kristján and Adolf Friðriksson 2016: *Kuml og haugfé: úr heiðnum sið á Íslandi*. 3rd ed., Mál og menning. Reykjavík, p. 81.

B.ID 56 BRÚ, BISKUPSTUNGAHREPPUR, ÁRNESSÝSLA

Classification: Definite

It was first discovered in 1876 when a ten-year-old girl found two spears and an axe. The local farmer later recovered the rest. The artefacts discovered consisted of: a sword, two spears, an axe, a shield boss, a fragment of an oval brooch, 26 beads, a bell, a quernstone, rivets, iron fragments (possibly from a cauldron), a lead fragment, and the bones of a horse and dog (Vigfússon 1881a:52-56). Part of the skull and some teeth were all that remained of the skeleton. The head appeared to have been placed in the southeast and the feet in the northwest. Nothing is known about the placement of the artefacts in the grave, apart from that the shield may have been placed over the head (Vigfússon 1881a:56). Due to the grave-goods belonging to both traditionally male and female categories, this grave has been suggested as a double burial (Eldjárn and Friðriksson 2016:86), but it is here interpreted as a single grave (see section 3.3.3 for discussion).

Location: It was discovered on the top of an area of raised terrain called Langibakki. The exact location is unknown, but according to Friðriksson (2013:437-438) it was presumably 450 m west of the farm near a road leading to the ford across the river Tungfljót. It's elevation is 135 m and that of the farm 110 m.

Oval brooch: The brooch fragment is in the collection of the National Museum of Iceland (**1202**). The fragment is of the upper shell of a brooch, presumably of type P51. It consists of parts of one of the cast bosses on the side panel, as well as the remains of one of the loose bosses. The upper shell would have been attached to the lower shell with rivets underneath the loose bosses. The rivet fastening the loose boss seems to have been made of iron. There are two perforations that could have been used to attach silver wire.

Sources: Vigfússon, Sigurður 1881: Brúarfundurinn. *Árbók*, 1, pp. 52-56; Kålund, Kristian 1882: Islands Fortidslævninger. *Aarbøger for nordisk oldkyndighed og historie*, p. 62; Friðriksson, Adolf 2013: La Place du Mort: Les tombes vikings dans le paysage culturel islandais. Doctoral thesis. Université Paris-Sorbonne, pp. 437-438; Eldjárn, Kristján and Adolf Friðriksson 2016: *Kuml og haugfé: úr heiðnum sið á Íslandi*. 3rd ed., Mál og menning. Reykjavík, pp. 85-86.

B.ID 57 MIKLAHOLT, BISKUPSTUNGNAREPPUR, ÁRNESÝSLA

Classification: Probable

The grave mound was discovered and excavated by the local farmer in 1840, and the artefacts were sent to the museum in Copenhagen in 1841. These consisted of two oval brooches, one round brooch in Jellinge style, one trefoil brooch (P97), eleven beads of different types, a now lost bridle-bit found in a horse head, and lost iron fragment described as part of a padlock. The report also describes four or five small cairns nearby, made of stone slabs (Undset 1878:55-56; Eldjárn and Friðriksson 2016:86-87).

Location: According to Friðriksson (2013:518), the burial was located at a place called Háumelar. Háumelar is crossed by a track linking Miklaholt to the nearby farm of Tjörn. The track is called Hámelagötur. It is at the junction between Miklaholt, Torfastaðir and Sydri-Reykir. It was discovered 300-600 m north of the farm at an altitude of between 130-150 m (farm 120 m altitude). The site is not visible from the ruins of the farm.

Oval brooches: The brooches are in the collection of the National Museum of Denmark (6461). The following description is based on an image of the front of the brooches (Eldjárn and Friðriksson 2016:87). They will be described together. The brooches are type P51C1. Parts of the flange and edging are missing on both brooches, and one is also missing parts of the upper shell. Detailed study of the motif has not been possible, but the brooches might well have been made as a matching set. Both brooches have five cast and four loose bosses, no trace of the latter are extant. The brooches were fastened with copper-alloy rivets underneath the loose bosses. They have holes and grooves for silver wire, though none is extant. The brooch with damaged upper shell has remains of gilding. They are both somewhat corroded, and from the picture at least it is not possible to discern clear signs of wear.

Sources: Undset, Ingvald 1878: *Norske Oldsager i fremmede Museer: en oplysende Fortegnelse*. I kommission hos Jacob Dybwad. Kristiania, pp. 55-56; Kålund, Kristian 1882: Islands Fortidslævninger. *Aarbøger for nordisk oldkyndighed og historie*, p. 62; Friðriksson, Adolf 2013: La Place du Mort: Les tombes vikings dans le paysage culturel islandais. Doctoral thesis. Université Paris-Sorbonne, p. 518;

Eldjárn, Kristján and Adolf Friðriksson 2016: *Kuml og haugfé: úr heiðnum sið á Íslandi*. 3rd ed., Mál og menning. Reykjavík, pp. 86-87.

B.ID 58 KALASTAÐIR, STRANDARHREPPUR, BORGARFJADARSÝSLA

Classification: Possible

An oval brooch was found in a scree on stony ground east of the field of Kalastaðir. It was recorded as a stray find by Eldjárn and Friðriksson (2016:355).

Location: Nothing further is known about its location.

Oval brooch: The brooch is in the collection of the National Museum of Iceland (7931). It is an almost complete and well-made brooch of type P48 (Borre style), though it is clearly corroded, especially on the back. The décor on the side panels and the band demonstrate that the brooch is of high-quality, but the degree of corrosion makes it very difficult to say anything about wear. It has been gilded, which is mainly evident in the areas that have not been as badly affected by corrosion. The upper and lower shells were fastened using copper-alloy rivets just over the edge of the upper shell. Both pin catch and hinge are extant inside the brooch, both with corroded remains of the iron pin. The brooch is, in other words, unlikely to have been lost while worn.

Sources: Kristján and Adolf Friðriksson 2016: *Kuml og haugfé: úr heiðnum sið á Íslandi*. 3rd ed., Mál og menning. Reykjavík, p. 355.

B.ID 59 SKÓGAR, REYKHOLTSDALSHREPPUR, BORGARFJADARSÝSLA

Classification: Probable

Very little information is available about this possible burial. Two oval brooches were discovered in an eroded area and were received by the museum in 1903 (Eldjárn and Friðriksson 2016:100)

Location: The site could not be located (Friðriksson 2013:537).

Oval brooches: The brooches are in the collection of the National Museum of Iceland (5030:1 and 5030:2).²⁶

5030:1 is of type P23/24. It is single-shelled and a significant part of the brooch is missing. It is corroded and not well preserved which makes the motif difficult to discern. It would have had nine cast bosses, though four of these are badly damaged or missing. The pin catch would have been on the missing piece of the brooch. Traces of the pin hinge are visible. There are two iron rivets piercing the brooch on either side of the hinge. These are also visible on the outside of the brooch.

²⁶ The brooch have a single museum number, for the analysis I have referred to them as 5030:1 and 5030:2.

There is no reason to suppose that they were a primary part of the brooch as they are not present on the other brooch in this pair. Comparison with the Scottish brooches suggests that the pin hinge has been repaired, possibly replaced (section 2.4.1). The brooch is too poorly preserved to discuss wear.

5030:2 is of type P23/24. It is clearly similar to the former, though as both are very corroded, it is not possible to discuss finer differences in detail. Parts of the edging is missing, but it is more complete than the former. All the nine cast bosses are extant, though some are damaged. There are minor traces of gilding visible on the inside of the edge. The damaged pin catch and the complete pin hinge are extant, both with remains of the iron pin. The brooch is too corroded to discuss wear. There are holes on top of several of the cast bosses, which could suggest that the metal here had been worn thin.

Sources: Friðriksson, Adolf 2013: *La Place du Mort: Les tombes vikings dans le paysage culturel islandais*. Doctoral thesis. Université Paris-Sorbonne, p. 537; Eldjárn, Kristján and Adolf Friðriksson 2016: *Kuml og haugfé: úr heiðnum sið á Íslandi*. 3rd ed., Mál og menning. Reykjavík, p. 100.

B.ID 60 MJÓIDALUR, NORÐURÁRDALSHREPPUR, MÝRASÝSLA

Classification: Definite

In 1837, a group of artefacts were discovered during excavation of a mound or hill in an deserted valley (Rafnsson 1976). They discovered human teeth, a small piece of textiles as well as two oval brooches (P48), a trefoil brooch (P97), 25 beads, and two perforated Cufic coins. The finds were donated to the museum in Copenhagen, but the beads and coins were returned to the Museum of Iceland in 1930. When Þorsteinn Helgason later excavated the site, he discovered human bones and an unidentified iron object which is now lost. The iron object could have been a sword or a large knife (Rafnsson 1976:497), but a weaving sword is also a possibility. There has been some confusion as to both the site of the grave and its content (Kålund 1882:74-75), though the matter was cleared up by Sveinbjörn Rafnsson (1976)

Location: According to the report the burial was found on the top of a hillock at the bottom of the valley, but the site could not be located by Friðriksson (2013:519).

Oval brooches: The brooches are in the collection of the National Museum of Denmark (5425). The following description is based on an image of the front of the brooches (Eldjárn and Friðriksson 2016:103). The brooches are both of type P48, both are almost complete, though with some damage to the flange. There are some traces of gilding remaining. Detailed study of the motif has not been possible, but the brooches might well have been made as a matching set. One is

slightly more corroded than the other, but they are both well preserved. There are some indications of wear, but it is difficult to say for certain without closer study.

Sources: Undset, Ingvald 1878: *Norske Oldsager i fremmede Museer: en oplysende Fortegnelse*. I kommission hos Jacob Dybwad. Kristiania, pp. 54-55; Kålund, Kristian 1882: Islands Fortidslævnninger. *Aarbøger for nordisk oldkyndighed og historie*, pp. 74-75; Sveinbjörn Rafnsson «Mjóadalsfundurinn» *Minjar og menntir: Afmælisrit helgað Kristjáni Eldjárn* 6. desember 1976, ed. Guðni Kolbeinsson, Bjarni Vilhjálmsson, Jónas Kristjánsson, and Þór Magnússon, Reykjavík: Bókaútgáfa Menningarsjóðs, pp. 489-501; Friðriksson, Adolf 2013: *La Place du Mort: Les tombes vikings dans le paysage culturel islandais*. Doctoral thesis. Université Paris-Sorbonne, p. 519; Eldjárn, Kristján and Adolf Friðriksson 2016: *Kuml og haugfé: úr heiðnum sið á Íslandi*. 3rd ed., Mál og menning. Reykjavík, pp. 102-104.

B.ID 61 TJALDBREKKA, HRAUNAHREPPUR, MÝRASÝSLA

Classification: Possible

A damaged oval brooch was discovered to the east of a stream that flows to the east of the field of Tjaldbrekka. It was recorded as a stray find by Eldjárn and Friðriksson (2016:355).

Location: Nothing further is known about its location.

Oval brooch: The brooch is in the collection of the National Museum of Iceland (2576). It is of type P51B1 and is now extant in two fragments, though part of the edging is missing. It is heavily corroded, obscuring some of the motif. It has seven cast bosses and flat panels in the centre of each side panel where there is normally a cast brooch. There are no grooves or holes for silver wire. There are traces of gilding in one area of the brooch. The upper and lower shells were attached with copper-alloy rivets below the normally loose bosses. The pin catch appears to have been repaired or replaced. There is iron staining, presumably the remains of iron rivets on either side of the pin hinge on the outside of the brooch. On the inside of the brooch there is an area of iron corrosion in the area where the pin catch has been. This could be explained by a pin catch in iron being attached here. It is corroded, but it is possible that some of the bosses are worn.

Sources: Kristján and Adolf Friðriksson 2016: *Kuml og haugfé: úr heiðnum sið á Íslandi*. 3rd ed., Mál og menning. Reykjavík, p. 355.

B.ID 62 RÚTSSTAÐIR, LAXÁRDALSHREPPUR, DALASÝSLA

Classification: Possible

Little is known about this potential burial. The lower shell of an oval brooch was discovered with horse bones north of the ruins of a farm. Eldjárn believes that

the horse bones, which the local farmer said there were more of, suggest that this represents a burial (Eldjárn and Friðriksson 2016:108).

Location: According to Friðriksson (2013:527-528), the remains of the burial was located 140 m north of the mound of the former farm. The site is a few meters southwest of an old road called Tröllaskeið.

Oval brooch: The brooch is currently in the collection of the National Museum of Iceland (12454). All that remains of the remains is one large fragment that makes up most of the lower shell of a double-shelled brooch. It might well be of type P51. There are seven perforations in the shell, in addition to the perforations generally used for securing silver wire. With most P51 brooches, there are four perforations securing the upper and lower shell. Four of the perforations seem from their placement to correspond with loose bosses in the upper shell. Of the rivets for these, two are made of iron, one of copper-alloy, and the last uncertain. The use of different metals for the rivets might suggest that the brooch was repaired at some point, perhaps to secure the upper and lower shells. The function of the three remaining perforations is uncertain; they are found on either side of the pin catch which could indicate that they had something to do with repair, as this is seen on other brooches (section 2.4.1). Although the pin catch is damaged, it is not missing entirely, and it is difficult to say when this damage occurred. Another possibility is that these perforations were also added to secure the upper and lower shells together.

Sources: Friðriksson, Adolf 2013: *La Place du Mort: Les tombes vikings dans le paysage culturel islandais*. Doctoral thesis. Université Paris-Sorbonne, pp. 527-528; Eldjárn, Kristján and Adolf Friðriksson 2016: *Kuml og haugfé: úr heiðnum síð á Íslandi*. 3rd ed., Mál og menning. Reykjavík, p.108.

B.ID 63 SÉLARDALUR IN ÁRNARFIRÐI, VESTUR-BARÐARSTRADARSÝSLA

Classification: Possible

An oval brooch discovered on the shore by the mouth of the river Selárdalsá. It was recorded as a stray find by Eldjárn and Friðriksson (2016:355).

Location: Nothing further is known about its location.

Oval brooch: The brooch is in the collection of the National Museum of Iceland (1967:184). It is of type P52D. The brooch is well-made and of type P52, variation A or D. It has a central crown and four protruding cast ‘horns’. There are six small platforms around the framework where loose bosses could have been attached. There are no corresponding perforations on the inside of the brooch as seen on X.IL 221 (B.ID 34) which is of the same type. It is unclear if loose bosses were attached to these platforms. The décor is not quite as extravagant as other

brooches of this type (for instance B.ID 34 and B.ID 76). The décor on the upper shell consists mostly of straight lines, but it is well executed and the decor on the edging is of high-quality. It is on the smaller side of brooches of this kind, which could indicate that it is a typologically later form. This could partly explain the simplicity of the décor. It seems to have been damaged by some kind of blow to the top of the brooch where the upper shell has caved in. The upper and lower shells are attached with copper-alloy rivets just above the edge of the upper shell. Both pin catch and hinge are extant; there are iron corrosion from the pin around the latter. Traces of gilding remain, particularly on the edging. There are no obvious signs of wear, though this could potentially be obscured by the corrosion on the protruding ‘horns’.

Sources: Kristján and Adolf Friðriksson 2016: *Kuml og haugfé: úr heiðnum sið á Íslandi*. 3rd ed., Mál og menning. Reykjavík, p. 355.

B.ID 64 MIÐHÖP, ÞORKELSHÓLSHREPPUR, VESTUR-HÚNAVATNSSÝSLA

Classification: Probable

Road construction in 1941 exposed a presumed burial in a gravel hillock containing an oval brooch. It had been discovered with human bones and horse bones were found close by. Kristján Eldjárn went to examine the site in 1958, but it could no longer be located. The brooch and one horse tooth have survived. Iron weapons were said to have been discovered in the vicinity, leading Eldjárn to suggest that it was a burial site (Eldjárn 1965:11-12; Eldjárn and Friðriksson 2016:123).

Location: The exact location of the site (50 m altitude) could not be determined, but according to Friðriksson (2013:516), it was presumably 250 m south-southeast of the farm (35 m altitude), near the main road and possibly near the junction between the main road and the farm track. It is not far from the border between Miðhóp and Gröf.

Oval brooch: The brooch is in the collection of the National Museum of Iceland (15560). It is of type P51B1, and, apart from some slight damage to the edge, it is undamaged. It is corroded, but it is still possible to tell that it is not of very high quality. The décor is rather angular, and the lines appear to be of unequal depth. It has five cast and four loose bosses, the latter are all lost. The upper and lower shells were attached with copper-alloy rivets underneath the loose bosses. There are no grooves or holes for silver wire. Some traces of gilding remain. Both pin catch and hinge are extant inside the brooch. The bosses could potentially be worn, but the corrosion makes it difficult to ascertain.

Sources: Eldjárn, Kristjan 1965: *Kuml úr heiðnum sið, fundin á síðustu árum. Árbók*, 62, pp. 11-12; Friðriksson, Adolf 2013: *La Place du Mort: Les tombes vi-*

kings dans le paysage culturel islandais. Doctoral thesis. Université Paris-Sorbonne, p. 516; Eldjárn, Kristján and Adolf Friðriksson 2016: *Kuml og haugfé: úr heiðnum sið á Íslandi*. 3rd ed., Mál og menning. Reykjavík, pp. 123-124.

B.ID 65 HÓF(?), ÁSHREPPUR, AUSTUR-HÚNAVATNSSÝSLA

Classification: Probable

In 1867, the museum received an oval brooch that had allegedly been discovered in an eroded burial. There had originally been a pair of brooches, but the second was lost (Guðmundsson 1874:8-9).

Location: The location is unknown (Friðriksson 2013:483).

Oval brooches: One of the brooches is in the collection of the National Museum of Iceland (371). Nothing is known about the second brooch. The surviving brooch is of type P51G. The flange and edging are damaged, but otherwise it is well preserved, though slightly corroded. It has nine cast bosses. The upper and lower shells were attached with copper-alloy rivets below the bosses that are frequently loose on other brooches of type P51. There are no grooves for attaching silver wire, the framework is decorated by diagonal lines instead. There are some traces of gilding on the inside of the brooch. Both pin catch and hinge are damaged but extant. The bosses of the brooch are worn.

Sources: Guðmundsson, Sigurður 1874: *Skýrsla um Forngripasafn Íslands í Reykjavík*. vol. 2. Ízlenska bókmentafélagi. København, pp. 8-9; Friðriksson, Adolf 2013: *La Place du Mort: Les tombes vikings dans le paysage culturel islandais*. Doctoral thesis. Université Paris-Sorbonne, p. 483; Eldjárn, Kristján and Adolf Friðriksson 2016: *Kuml og haugfé: úr heiðnum sið á Íslandi*. 3rd ed., Mál og menning. Reykjavík, pp. 124-125.

B.ID 66 SAUÐANES, TORFALÆKJARHREPPUR, AUSTUR-HÚNAVATNSSÝSLA

Classification: Definite

Little is known about the find circumstances. An oval brooch was discovered in 1834, and sent to the museum in Copenhagen in 1835. It was apparently found close to a skull and the remains of a skeleton (Eldjárn and Friðriksson 2016:127).

Location: The location of the burial is unknown (Friðriksson 2013:528-529).

Oval brooch: The brooch is in the collection of the National Museum of Denmark (3419). The following description is based on an image of the front of the brooch (Eldjárn and Friðriksson 2016:127). The brooch is of the type P51B1. It is very well preserved and almost all the gilding remains. It has five cast and four loose bosses, the latter are all lost. The lower and upper shell seems to have been attached by rivets underneath the now lost loose bosses. There are no traces of

iron corrosion, which suggests that they were copper-alloy. There are no grooves and holes for silver wire, but the framework has been decorated with angular lines. An iron pin was originally present inside the brooch, but fell apart when touched (Eldjárn and Friðriksson 2016:127). Without closer study it is difficult to say anything about wear.

Sources: Undset, Ingvald 1878: *Norske Oldsager i fremmede Museer: en oplysende Fortegnelse*. I kommission hos Jacob Dybwad. Kristiania, p. 54; Kålund, Kristian 1882: Islands Fortidslævninger. *Aarbøger for nordisk oldkyndighed og historie*, p. 68; Friðriksson, Adolf 2013: *La Place du Mort: Les tombes vikings dans le paysage culturel islandais*. Doctoral thesis. Université Paris-Sorbonne, pp. 52-529; Eldjárn, Kristján and Adolf Friðriksson 2016: *Kuml og haugfé: úr heiðnum sið á Íslandi*. 3rd ed., Mál og menning. Reykjavík, p. 127.

**B.ID 67 REYKJAVELLIR (OR MÆLIFELL), LÝTINGSSTAÐAHREPPUR,
SKAGAFJARÐARSÝSLA**

Classification: Probable

The brooch was discovered by a young girl in Mælifell. A similar brooch said to be from Reykjavellir is presumably a reference to the same brooch (Guðmundsson 1868:112). It was recorded as a stray find by Eldjárn and Friðriksson (2016:355).

Location: Nothing further is known about its location.

Oval brooch: The brooch is in the collection of the National Museum of Iceland (245). It is of type P48, though the motif differs from the type example used by Petersen (which is 7931 from Kalastaðir (B.ID 58)). The motif appears cramped and is difficult to interpret in places. It is not well executed, the depths of the incisions are uneven, and the decor is not symmetrical. Much of the gilding still remains. The upper and lower shells were fastened using copper-alloy rivets just over the edge of the upper shell. Both pin catch and hinge are broken. There is also some damage to the lower shell inside the pin hinge which could have occurred pre-deposition. The back of the brooch is quite corroded, and it is unclear whether or not it is worn.

Sources: Guðmundsson, Sigurður 1868: *Skýrsla um Forngripasafn Íslands í Reykjavík*. vol. 1. Ízlenska bókmentafélagi. Copenhagen, p. 112; Kristján and Adolf Friðriksson 2016: *Kuml og haugfé: úr heiðnum sið á Íslandi*. 3rd ed., Mál og menning. Reykjavík, p. 355.

B.ID 68 SYÐRI-HOFDALIR, VIÐVÍKURHREPPUR, SKAGAFJARÐARSÝSLAClassification: Definite

The burial was discovered during road construction in 1951. Remains of a human skull were found along with an iron ring and an oval brooch. Remains of the iron pin and textile were extant inside the brooch (Eldjárn and Friðriksson 2016:142).

Location: The burial was discovered in a gravel pit called Brotholtsmelur, which is to the south of the farm (Eldjárn and Friðriksson 2016:142). The exact location could not be confirmed by Friðriksson, but the outcrop (20 m altitude) is 1.5 km south of the farm (20 m altitude), and near the south limit of the property. This limit is marked by the Kyrifsá river between the farms S-Hofdalir and Ytri-Brekkur. The modern road as well as riding paths can be found along Brotholtsmelur. The site is not visible from the farm (Friðriksson 2013:559).

Oval brooch: The brooch is in the collection of the National Museum of Iceland (14871). It is of type P55C2, and like most brooches of this type the décor is simple, consisting of angular lines within a framework. It is single-shelled and there are some holes in the brooch. The iron pin is still extant inside the brooch, and there are remains of textiles, possibly suspension loops, still attached to it, suggesting that it was attached to clothing when it was deposited in the ground. It is quite corroded in places, making it difficult to say if it is worn.

Sources: Friðriksson, Adolf 2013: *La Place du Mort: Les tombes vikings dans le paysage culturel islandais*. Doctoral thesis. Université Paris-Sorbonne, p. 559; Eldjárn, Kristján and Adolf Friðriksson 2016: *Kuml og haugfé: úr heiðnum sið á Íslandi*. 3rd ed., Mál og menning. Reykjavík, p. 142.

B.ID 69 HRÍSAR, SVARFAÐARDALSHREPPUR, EYJAFJARÐARSÝSLAClassification: Definite

The burial was discovered on a hillock called Álfhóll in 1916, where bones were seen sticking out of the ground. The burial contained a human skeleton buried with an oval brooch, a ringed pin, spindle-whorl of lead, and iron fragments (possibly a pair of shears). The bones were those of a middle-aged woman. There was metal staining on the jaw, the shoulder, and the legs, but it is not mentioned how the body or the artefacts were laid in the grave (Eldjárn and Friðriksson 2016:148-149). It is unknown if there ever was a second brooch present.

Location: According to Friðriksson (2013:487), the hillock it was found on does no longer exist. It was located 500 m south-southeast of the farm (5 m altitude) and was on the border between Hrísar and the neighbouring farm Hamar.

Oval brooch: The brooch is in the collection of the National Museum of Iceland (7346). The brooch is of type P51C. It is complete, well preserved, and still gilded. It lacks grooves and holes for silver wire. It has five cast and four loose bosses, the latter of which are now lost. The lower and upper shell were fastened with copper-alloy rivets underneath the loose bosses, but the rivets are no longer attached to the brooch. They are still extant however. There iron pin still survives, and there are textile fragments, possibly a loop, attached to the pin near the pin hinge. This suggests that it was attached to clothing when it was deposited in the ground. It is not obviously worn, but this might be obscured by corrosion on the bosses.

Sources: Friðriksson, Adolf 2013: *La Place du Mort: Les tombes vikings dans le paysage culturel islandais*. Doctoral thesis. Université Paris-Sorbonne, p. 487; Eldjárn, Kristján and Adolf Friðriksson 2016: *Kuml og haugfé: úr heiðnum sið á Íslandi*. 3rd ed., Mál og menning. Reykjavík, pp. 148-149.

B.ID 70 DALVÍK (BRIMNES), SVARFAÐARDALHREPPUR, EYJAFJARÐARSÝSLA

Classification: Definite

The grave from Dalvík was examined in detail in chapter 3 (section 3.4.2). It is quite well documented. It is part of a cemetery of fourteen graves. Thirteen of these were excavated by Daniel Bruun and Finnur Jónsson in 1909 after discovery in 1908 when the area was supposed to be cleared, the last was discovered and excavated in 1942 (Eldjárn and Friðriksson 2016:163-170). The grave containing an oval brooch was grave 5 which was oriented northeast-southwest (Bruun and Jónsson 1910:80). 50 cm from the foot end of the grave a horse grave was discovered in a separate grave cut. The head of the horse was lying on its stomach, and two buckles and some nails were discovered with it. The grave cut containing the human skeleton was 1.8 m long, 0.8 m wide, and between 0.4 and 0.5 m deep. The skeleton seems to have been in an extended position, perhaps with the head slightly raised. The skull and the leg bones were preserved, but only fragmented remains remained of the rest of the skeleton (Bruun and Jónsson 1910:81). The bones were those of a middle-aged woman (Eldjárn and Friðriksson 2016:167). In the hip area on the left side, a knife with a wooden handle was discovered, the oval brooch was found close to the skull below the chin. There were still remains of textiles on the back. It was lying sidewise compared to the direction of the body. Fragments of a bowl of soft stone (presumably steatite) were located towards the foot end of the grave. Parts of the bowl were missing, and Bruun and Jónsson suggested that this might have happened the year before during clearing of the area. Three iron fragments were also found in this end of the grave, one of which was suggested as a possible second knife (Bruun and Jónsson 1910:81-82). Bruun

and Jónsson (1910:95) saw no reason to suppose that there was originally more than one oval brooch in the grave.

Location: The graves (30 m altitude) were located at the edge of the sea, next to a riding path and on the bank of the river Brimnesá which is also the border between Brimnes and Böggvisstaðir. The cemetery is 430 m east-southeast of Brimnes (15 m altitude) (Friðriksson 2013:441-443). The cemetery was divided into three spatially distinct clusters, each covered by a layer of rocks (Bruun and Jónsson 1910:65-68).

Oval brooch: The brooch is in the collection of the National Museum of Iceland (5960). It is of type P51B1 and mostly complete with the exception of a small part of the flange. It has five cast and four loose bosses, though none of the latter are extant. The upper and lower shells appear to originally have been fastened with copper-alloy rivets underneath the loose bosses. No remains of rivets are observable now, however. There are evidently iron rivets perforating the upper and lower shells below the round platforms for loose bosses. These occur in two places, whereas there are no similar traces below the two remaining platforms. This indicates that these iron rivets were a later addition, perhaps added in order to secure the upper and lower shells more securely. There are grooves and holes for silver wire, though none is extant. Faint traces of gilding remains in places. It is possible that the back panels of the brooch are worn (along with the bosses), but corrosion makes it difficult to ascertain.

Sources: Daniel and Finnur Jónsson 1910: Dalvík-fundet. *Aarbøger for nordisk oldkyndighed og historie*, pp. 62-100; Friðriksson, Adolf 2013: La Place du Mort: Les tombes vikings dans le paysage culturel islandais. Doctoral thesis. Université Paris-Sorbonne, pp. 441-443; Eldjárn, Kristján and Adolf Friðriksson 2016: *Kuml og haugfé: úr heiðnum sið á Íslandi*. 3rd ed., Mál og menning. Reykjavík, pp. 163-170.

B.ID 71 DADASTAÐIR, PRESTHÓLAHREPPUR, NORÐUR-ÞINGEYKARSÝSLA

Classification: Definite

In spring 1956, the upper shell of an oval brooch had been discovered by a boy. The discarded lower shell was later discovered as well and sent to the museum. Later that summer, the site was investigated by Eldjárn. First horse bones were discovered in an eroded gravelbank, probably connected with bridle-bit and human skeletal remains found at the same place at an earlier time (Eldjárn 1958:134). About 35 m south of this burial, a second burial was found. This was also eroded, but a little better preserved. The grave was oriented south/southwest-north/northeast, but little of the skeleton remained. The skeletal remains were those of a person of unknown sex, over the age of 46 (Gestsdóttir 1998:10). Close to the jaw, an oval brooch was found, presumably the pair of the previous one. In this area 52 beads were also found, presumably a bead necklace, with the largest ones in the middle.

The oval brooch was discovered in the open, it was upside down and some of the beads were lying on top of it, some of them clearly out of place. Remains of the head of the skeleton was discovered just north of this. It is likely that the oval brooch found by the boy was from this grave, but it is not certain. Between the brooch and the jaw, a trefoil brooch (P97) was found, and to one side a plate-headed ringed pin with the ring missing. A bracelet made of two copper wires twisted together was found by the left hand, ca 40 cm from the oval brooch. Alongside this were a sickle and a belt-clasp of copper-alloy. The latter had presumably been placed at the waist. Below this, the burial was very disturbed. The grave-goods appeared to be in situ, perhaps apart from the oval brooches and some of the beads, but these are unlikely to have moved far. Little can be said about the placement of the body, apart from the orientation, as very little of the skeleton had survived. The rest of the grave-goods was not in situ: a fragment of a comb, shears, a knife, two spindle-whorls of steatite, heckles, a piece of flint, an iron hook, an iron strap-end, five iron fragments, and a copper-alloy cylinder. Two dog teeth were also discovered. The burial had not been robbed, but it had suffered severely from soil erosion and only the central part of the grave was intact. Some of the objects were damaged as they had laid exposed by the wind (Eldjárn 1958:135-141).

Location: The exact location of the site could not be confirmed by Friðriksson, but it was discovered 2 km southwest of Daðastaðir and 100 m east of a high cliff called Björgin, On the edge of the cliff there is a riding path (Friðriksson 2013:440).

Oval brooches: The brooches are in the collection of the National Museum of Iceland (15691a and 15961b).

15691a is of type P51B2 (the motif on the back panels are very difficult to make out due to corrosion, though both seem to be b1, it is a slight possibility that one is b2, this would mean that the brooch is of type P51B1). There is an extra perforation in the centre of the décor on the back fields, which is not seen on other brooches of this type. The brooch is slightly damaged, parts of both the upper and lower shells are missing in the areas where they have been attached to each other. It has nine cast bosses. The upper and lower shells were attached with (iron?) rivets below the normally loose bosses. The brooch is still gilded in places. There are no holes or grooves for silver wire. The lower shell is damaged, and there are pieces missing from it. It is unclear when this damage occurred. Both pin catch and hinge are complete and extant. There were apparently both textile remains and remains of twisted cord inside the brooch, but it is now missing (Eldjárn and Friðriksson 2016:212). The brooch is suffering from corrosion, particularly the back, which makes it impossible to say if it is worn.

15691b is of type P51B2. Although it is of the same variation as 15691a, the two were not made as from the same master mould. This one has five cast and four

loose bosses, whereas the bosses on the other brooches were all cast. The décor on this brooch appears to have been better executed. Apart from that they are quite similar, though how similar they would have looked would have depended on the shape and metal used for the loose bosses which are all missing. Like the former, the brooch is suffering from corrosion, but apart from a small part of the flange, it is complete. The upper and lower shells were attached with iron rivets underneath the loose bosses. One side is more corroded than the other, especially on the back. There are remains of gilding on the brooch. There are neither grooves nor holes for silver wire. The pin catch and hinge are still extant, as well as the entire iron pin with obvious remains of textile. Like the former, the corrosion obscures any potential signs of wear.

Sources: Eldjárn, Kristján 1958: Þrjú kuml norðanlands. *Árbók*, 55, pp. 134-144; Gestsdóttir, Hildur 1998: Kyn- og lífaldurgreiningar á beinum úr íslenskum kumlum. Fornleifastofnum Ísland. Reykjavík; Friðriksson, Adolf 2013: La Place du Mort: Les tombes vikings dans le paysage culturel islandais. Doctoral thesis. Université Paris-Sorbonne, p. 440; Eldjárn, Kristján and Adolf Friðriksson 2016: *Kuml og haugfé: úr heiðnum sið á Íslandi*. 3rd ed., Mál og menning. Reykjavík, pp. 211-214.

B.ID 72 REYKJASEL, JÖKULDALSHREPPUR, NORÐUR-MÚLASÝSLA

Classification: Definite

The site was excavated in 1901 by Bruun (Bruun 1903:17-19). Before Bruun arrived the local farmer had discovered some human bones, some glass beads and an oval brooch. Horse bones were discovered during the excavation, and had also previously been discovered at the site. These were found at the foot end of the grave. The grave was oriented north-south with the head in the south. The upper part of the skeleton was well preserved, but the lower part of the grave was very eroded, and no remains of the legs survived. There were several remains of textile in the grave, among those two pieces of thick wool ribbons, which had been attached (in what is called a strange fashion) to green thread. This thread had been in connection with copper-alloy, as it was stained with verdigris. At one side, the textile wool bands were fastened to the oval brooch with the green thread, but at the other the needle seems to have pierced the woollen fabric. The excavators suggested that the brooch was used to fasten a dress or tunic at the waist (Bruun 1903:18; letter by Daniel Bruun published in Rafnsson 1990:30-31; further discussed in section 2.6.3). The verdigris on the ribs led Steffensen (1966:45) to agree with Bruun's interpretation, though he also suggests that the person might have been lying on one side. 35 beads were discovered (34 glass, one rock crystal), along with iron fragments and an iron buckle. The buckle was suggested to belong with the horse. In 1975, two more glass beads, as well as iron fragments were discovered at this

site (Aðalsteinsson 1976:176). There was also a second burial discovered in the vicinity in 1913, this contained among other artefacts, a spear and a necklace of 34 beads (Eldjárn and Friðriksson 2016:218). The skeleton was that of a middle-aged (36-45) woman (Gestsdóttir 1998:13).

Location: The site is located on the western border of the farm Vaðbrekka, on the bank of the river Jökulsá (Friðriksson 2013:527). It lies 2.5 km south of the ruins of an abandoned farmhouse, Bakkastaðir. The farm of Vaðbrekka (established at the end of the eighteenth century) is located 3 km away at the other side of the mountain.

Oval brooch: The brooch is in the collection of the National Museum of Iceland (4872). It is of type P51E. Part of the edging is missing, but it is otherwise complete. It has five cast and four loose bosses, none of the latter are extant. Unusually, the upper and lower shells seem to be attached by rivets both below and underneath the loose bosses. They might all be original, but it is also possible that some are secondary. All seem to have been made of copper-alloy. There are grooves and holes for silver wire, but none remains. The brooch is suffering from corrosion, but the motif appears to be quite well executed, through perhaps slightly less so on the lower shell. The bosses of the brooch are clearly worn. The way it was attached to textiles is interesting. It seems evident that it was not used with a strap-dress. The textile remains are clearly different from those normally found inside oval brooches. It was not simply used to pin folds of material together either, however. It seems to have been attached to some form of woollen band, at one side this was attached to thread which was used attached to the brooch, and at the other the pin seems to have pierced the woollen band itself. This might have made it possible for the brooch to function more or less as a belt clasp (see section 2.6.3).

Sources: Bruun, Daniel 1903: Nokkrar dysjar frá heiðni, eftir kapt. Daniel Bruun. *Árbók*, 18, pp. 17-19; Steffensen, Jón 1966: Lýsing mannabeina úr fornminjafundinum í Vatnsdal, Patreksfirði *Árbók*, 63, p. 45; Aðalsteinsson, Stefán 1976: Leitað að kumli fornaldarkonu á Efra-Jökuldal. *Múlaping*, 8, pp. 174-176; Rafnsson, Sveinbjörn 1990: *Byggðaleifar í Hrafnkelsdal og á Brúardölum*. Hið íslenska fornleifafélags Reykjavík, pp. 28-31; Gestsdóttir, Hildur 1998: Kyn- og lífaldurgreiningar á beinum úr íslenskum kumlum. Fornleifastofnum Ísland. Reykjavík; Friðriksson, Adolf 2013: *La Place du Mort: Les tombes vikings dans le paysage culturel islandais*. Doctoral thesis. Université Paris-Sorbonne, p. 527; Eldjárn, Kristján and Adolf Friðriksson 2016: *Kuml og haugfé: úr heiðnum sið á Íslandi*. 3rd ed., Mál og menning. Reykjavík, p. 217-218.

B.ID 73 VALÞJÓFSSTAÐIR, FLJÓTSDALSHREPPUR, NORÐUR-MÚLASÝSLAClassification: Definite

The burial was discovered by the local priest Vigfús Ormsson in an eroded area around 1800, and the three brooches were donated to the museum in Copenhagen in 1822 (Bruun 1903:25). The skeleton seemed to be lying in a crouched position on its side. Several beads in different sizes were found between the head and the body, but these are now lost. A disc brooch was discovered in the chest area. It seems to be decorated in Borre style, somewhat similar to P116, but far from a clear match. The oval brooches were apparently discovered in the waist area, one with remains of textiles (Ormsson, cited in Eldjárn and Friðriksson 2016:224-225).

Location: The site could not be located (Friðriksson 2013:564-565).

Oval brooches: The brooches are in the collection of the National Museum of Denmark (**DCLIX** and **DCLX**). They have therefore not been studied in detail, and the following description is based on an illustration in *Árbók Hins íslenska fornleifafélags* from 1903 (volume 18, plate V, image 2). From the illustration, it is unclear which brooches is which, and they will here be described as a pair. The brooches are both P51B, but one is clearly P51B1, whereas the other could be P51B2, though it is not completely clear from the illustration. They were clearly not a matching set, however. The P51B1 (referred to as P51K by Eldjárn following Petersen's classification) has seven cast bosses. There are no bosses in the centres of the side fields, but rather a decorated platform. The upper and lower shells seem to have been attached with rivets below the normally loose bosses, but it is not completely clear from the illustration. Parts of the flange and edging are missing. The P51B2 brooch has five cast and four loose bosses, all of the latter are missing. The upper and lower shells appear to have been attached with rivets underneath the loose bosses. Parts of the flange is missing. Neither brooch appears to have grooves or holes for silver wire. From the illustration, it is not possible to say much about wear, but they both seem rather corroded. The central boss on both brooches is damaged, which could suggest wear. Textile remains were apparently discovered inside one of the brooches.

Sources: Undset, Ingvald 1878: *Norske Oldsager i fremmede Museer: en oplysende Fortegnelse*. I kommission hos Jacob Dybwad. Kristiania, p. 53; Kålund, Kristian 1882: *Islands Fortidslævninger. Aarbøger for nordisk oldkyndighed og historie*, pp. 71-72; Bruun, Daniel 1903: *Nokkrar dysjar frá heiðni, eftir kapt. Daniel Bruun. Árbók*, 18, p. 25; Friðriksson, Adolf 2013: *La Place du Mort: Les tombes vikings dans le paysage culturel islandais*. Doctoral thesis. Université Paris-Sorbonne, pp. 564-565; Eldjárn, Kristján and Adolf Friðriksson 2016: *Kuml og haugfé: úr heiðnum sið á Íslandi*. 3rd ed., Mál og menning. Reykjavík, pp. 224-225.

B.ID 74 HÓLL, HJALTASTAÐAHREPPUR, NORÐUR-MÚLASÝSLAClassification: Probable

Very little known about the circumstances of the find, but a number of artefacts were discovered in an eroded area, perhaps in the early twentieth century (they were shown to Halldór Ásgrímssonar between 1920 and 1930). The find consisted of four oval brooches that Eldjárn assumes from the description to be P51 (Eldjárn and Friðriksson 2016:226), and a disc brooch. The finds are now lost. Although the artefacts could be from a single grave, I have followed Eldjárn and Friðriksson (2016:226) and interpreted the find as representing two graves.

Location: The exact location of the find could not be determined (Friðriksson 2013:484).

Oval brooches: The brooches are lost, but were presumably of type P51 (Eldjárn and Friðriksson 2016:226).

Sources: Friðriksson, Adolf 2013: *La Place du Mort: Les tombes vikings dans le paysage culturel islandais*. Doctoral thesis. Université Paris-Sorbonne, p. 484; Eldjárn, Kristján and Adolf Friðriksson 2016: *Kuml og haugfé: úr heiðnum sið á Íslandi*. 3rd ed., Mál og menning. Reykjavík, p. 226.

B.ID 75 HÓLL, HJALTASTAÐAHREPPUR, NORÐUR-MÚLASÝSLAClassification: Probable

Same find as previous, see B.ID 74.

Location: Same find as previous, see B.ID 74.

Oval brooches: Same find as previous, see B.ID 74.

Sources: Same find as previous, see B.ID 74.

B.ID 76 KETILLSTAÐIR, HJALTASTAÐAHREPPUR, NORÐUR-MÚLASÝSLAClassification: Definite

The burial was discovered under road construction in 1938 and excavated by Matthías Þórðarson in the same year and again in 1942 (Þórðarson 1938). It was located 300 m to the north of an abandoned farm. There were no mark above ground, but there seems to have been a circular wall 18.5 m in diameter with the body inside. The body was lying on its left side, slightly flexed. The oval brooches were presumably placed one on each shoulder, as one of them came into contact with the face preserving skin fibres. The other brooch seem to have slipped and was ended up on the right upper arm (Hayeur Smith 2015:26). Remains of (indigo) blue textiles were discovered in the grave, which has given the woman the name “the woman in blue”. In addition to the oval brooches, a trefoil brooch (P91)

decorated with Frankish acanthus motifs was discovered, along with 40 whole beads and some fragments, a soapstone spindle whorl, carved bone plates (handle, possibly for a knife), one whetstone, one touchstone, iron fragments (one fits in the handle, two others may be the hinge or latch for a small wooden box), and an unusually shaped light blue stone (caledone) (Þjóðminjasafn Íslands 2015:65-68). Textile had been preserved in connection with the oval brooches, demonstrating that the woman had been wearing a linen shift, with a woollen apron/strap-dress over. The wool seems to have been spun in a spinning tradition common in Norway and Gotland, and unlike the rest of Scandinavia. The strontium isotope ratio of the textile are comparable to Icelandic baselines, suggesting that the wool may well have been from Iceland. It had been dyed blue, which seems common in both Iceland and Scandinavia (Hayeur Smith 2015:35-38; Hayeur Smith et al. 2019). She was 17-25 years old when she died and isotope analysis suggested that she was probably from the British Isles (Walser III 2015:53). She was probably born around 900, which entails that the burial is likely to date from the first quarter of the tenth century (Smith 2015:41).

Location: According to Friðriksson (2013:500-501), the burial is located 300 m north of Litlu-Ketilsstaðir and 2.5 km north of Ketilsstaðir. Its elevation is 30 m above sea level. There is a modern road on the site and an older track passing a little further east. It is near the boundary between Ketilsstaðir and Bóndastaðir. The site is not visible from the ruins of Litlu-Ketilsstaðir.

Oval brooches: The brooches are in the collection of the National Museum of Iceland (**12435**). The brooches could not be removed from their display case, and this description is therefore based on images as well as Hayeur Smith's description (Hayeur Smith et al. 2019:100-102). From the illustrations the brooches appear to be type P52A. From the pictures it is difficult to ascertain if they were made from the same master mould, but it might well have been the case. Both brooches have four cast 'horns' around a central crown, though one of the brooches is now missing the crown. There are also perforations for four rivets used to attach loose bosses in the framework connecting the 'horns'. Four of these rivets are present on one of the brooches (Hayeur Smith et al. 2019:101). The pin is extant inside one of the brooches, and there are also considerable amounts of textile present. The flanges on both brooches are damaged.

Sources: Þórðarson, Matthías 1938: *Merkilegur Fornleifafundur í Hjaltastaðapingghá. Lesbók Morgunblaðsins*, 38, pp. 297-298; Friðriksson, Adolf 2013: *La Place du Mort: Les tombes vikings dans le paysage culturel islandais*. Doctoral thesis. Université Paris-Sorbonne, pp. 500-501; Hayeur Smith, Michèle 2015: *Klæðnaður, skartgripir og textílar. Frá sjónarhóli textíl fræðings / Dress, Jewellery and Textiles. From the Textile Specialist's Perspective*. In: Þjóðminjasafn Íslands (ed.): *Bláklædda konan : ný*

rannsókn á fornu kumli / Bundled-up in blue : the re-investigation of a viking grave, Þjóðminjasafn Íslands. Reykjavík pp. 25-38; Smith, Kevin P. 2015: Aldursgreining Ketilsstaðakumlsins / Dating of the Ketilsstaðir Grave. In: Þjóðminjasafn Íslands (ed.): *Bláklædda konan : ný rannsókn á fornu kumli / Bundled-up in blue : the re-investigation of a viking grave*, Þjóðminjasafn Íslands. Reykjavík pp. 38-43; Walser III, Joe W. 2015: Hvað segja benin okkur? Frá Sjónarhóli mannabeinafræðings / Reading the Bones. From the Osteologist's Perspective. In: Þjóðminjasafn Íslands (ed.): *Bláklædda konan : ný rannsókn á fornu kumli / Bundled-up in blue : the re-investigation of a viking grave*, Þjóðminjasafn Íslands. Reykjavík, pp. 47-53; Eldjárn, Kristján and Adolf Friðriksson 2016: *Kuml og haugfé: úr heiðnum sið á Íslandi*. 3rd ed., Mál og menning. Reykjavík, pp. 228-230; Hayeur Smith, Michèle, Kevin P. Smith and Karin M. Frei 2019: 'Tangled up in Blue': The Death, Dress and Identity of an Early Viking-Age Female Settler from Ketilsstaðir, Iceland. *Medieval Archaeology*, 63:1, pp. 95-127.

B.ID 77 VESTDALUR, SEYDISFJÖRÐUR, NORÐUR-MÚLASÝSLA

Classification: Probable

An oval brooch and a trefoil brooch were discovered by chance in 2004, which led to an excavation of the site (Bergsteinsson 2005, 2006). Part of a skeleton was discovered under rocks in a rock shelter. This was found in the mountains, close to a long-used path to cross them. The excavators suggested that the individual was killed by an avalanche while resting from travel in the rock-shelter. The excavators did not believe that this was a burial, as it was too isolated, and there were no clear signs of ritual activity. It was however close to an ancient foot path. It has been argued that the woman was a *volva*, because she was apparently travelling alone through the mountains (Þórhallsdóttir 2018:20-21).

Some of the artefacts were found in the rock shelter, and others a little way down from it in connection with a nearby stream. The grave-goods consisted of: two oval brooches (P51C1), there is also an iron fragment thought to be part of the pin from 2004:53:2, it has traces of woollen fibres assumed to belong to the woman's dress, a trefoil brooch (F2.2 Maixner, P110), a small iron fragment was also found, possibly the needle hinge for this brooch, a round brooch in Borre style with both a broken pin catch and hinge and a copper-alloy loop for suspension, it is difficult to say from the image, though neither method for attachment appears secondary, there are other cases with suspended round brooches, a ringed pin, Scandinavian (Vestfold type, linked(?)-ringed, plate-headed), as well as over 500 beads (at least 497 and perhaps 552). Most of the beads are of glass, some of rock crystal, one amber, and two carnelian. The types of beads are very different from the ones more commonly found in Iceland from the Viking Age, and many

might have been imported from the Middle East or India (Bergsteinsson 2006:8-10; Þórhallsdóttir 2018:22-43).

One of the oval brooches was found under the left upper arm, near the woman's chest. A ringed pin, and a round brooch as well as several beads were also found in the chest area, indicating that these items were worn. She seems to have been lying with her head towards the innermost part of the rock shelter (Bergsteinsson 2006:8). The bones were badly damaged, and no portions of the lower skeleton remained, which meant that osteological sex determination based on the pelvis was impossible. Wear on the teeth suggested she was between 20-30 years of age. Strontium ratios showed that she was not born in Iceland, but no place of origin could be suggested. Her diet seems to have been a mixture of marine and terrestrial with a low percentage of plant based food. Radiocarbon dates suggest she died during the period 877-963, Bayesian modelling suggests 877-907 (Þórhallsdóttir 2018:44-50).

Despite the lack of obvious human ritual activity, the find is here interpreted as a grave due to the considerable number of artefacts associated with the skeleton.

Location: The site is located in a rock shelter in the mountains close to a mountain pass. There are no settlements sites known nearby.

Oval brooches: The brooches are currently in the National Museum of Iceland (2004:53:1 and 2004:53:2).

2004:53:1 is of type P51C1. This was the brooch discovered outside the rock shelter. The decor is of good quality and easy to make out. The brooch is complete and most of the brooch is well preserved. It has five cast and four loose bosses, remains of one, and smaller remains of a second are still extant. There is white discolouration around all the platforms for loose bosses. The upper and lower shells were attached with copper-alloy rivets underneath the loose bosses. There is silver wire still attached to the brooch. The pin catch and hinge are extant inside the brooch, with parts of the pin present inside the pin hinge. Silver wire is still extant in places. There are no obvious traces of use-wear.

2004:53:2 is also of type P51C1, though there are smaller differences in décor, especially visible on the back panels, but the perforations on the side panels also clearly differ. Most strikingly though, are the different cast bosses. According to Jansson (1985:74), these bosses might well have been damaged on the wax models during copying and therefore often made free-hand. This means that it is still possible that the brooches were made from the same master mould. The brooch is complete and well preserved, though the upper shell is slightly cracked in places. It has five cast and four loose bosses, none of the latter are extant, but there are remains of corrosion and white discolouration on and around the platform. The

upper and lower shells were attached with copper-alloy rivets underneath the loose bosses. There is still gilding visible in places. In some areas silver wire is still attached to the brooch. The pin catch and hinge are still extant, but nothing of the pin remains.

Sources: Bergsteinsson, Sigurður 2005: Fjallkonan – fundur leifa 10. aldar konu við Afréttarskarð. *Glettingur*, 38:1, pp. 30-38; Bergsteinsson, Sigurður 2006: “Fjallkonan”: fundar leifar konu frá tíundu öld ofan Vestdalsheiðar. *Múlaping*, 33, pp. 7-13; Þórhallsdóttir, Rannveig 2018: Fjallkonan: „Sér hún hátt og vítt um veg“ – hinsta hvíla konu frá 10. öld á Vestdalsheiði. Síð-fræðileg rannsókn á mannvistarleifum og gripum. Unpublished Master thesis. Faculty of History and Philosophy. University of Iceland.

B.ID 78 SNÆHVAMMUR, BREIÐALSHREPPUR, SUÐUR-MÚLASÝSLA

Classification: Probable

During house construction in 1892, an assemblage of artefacts was discovered in a hillock. This consisted of two oval brooches (P57), a trefoil brooch (P97), a steatite vessel, some textile remains, small copper-alloy fragments and some horse bones (Eldjárn and Friðriksson 2016:238-240). It is not completely certain that this is a grave deposit, but it seems very likely, especially as there were textile remains on the pin of one of the oval brooches. The artefacts were found at a depth of 1m, but it seems likely that this was created little by little over a long period since the burial (Eldjárn and Friðriksson 2016:239).

Location: The burial (altitude 20 m) lies outside the western border of the cultivated field, about 150 m southwest of the farm ruins (20 m altitude) (Friðriksson 2013:540).

Oval brooches: The brooches are in the collection of the National Museum of Iceland (3928 and 3929).

3928 is of type P57, hence decorated in Jelling style. It is well-made and gilded, though not much of the gilding remains. It is damaged by corrosion, especially on one side, but the décor is still quite easy to make out. The upper and lower shells have been attached with four copper-alloy rivets at the edges of the upper shell so that there are one rivet one each side of the pin catch and the same at the pin hinge. Both pin catch and hinge remains, and part of the iron pin is also extant. The flange of the brooch is damaged and some parts are missing. Otherwise the brooch is complete. There are no obvious signs of wear, but the brooch is quite corroded.

3929 is of type P57. It is damaged and is currently extant in nine parts, though there are clearly pieces missing. The largest part consists of the lower shell, of which more than half is extant. The pin catch is still present inside it, but the part with

the pin hinge is missing. There are small traces of gilding remaining. Though the upper and lower shell are no longer attached, they were originally attached in the same way as the former brooch. Remains out of three of the four rivets are clearly visible on the fragmented remains of the lower shell. The upper shell is more fragmented, but it is evidently the same type as 3928. All the three animal heads are still extant. The brooches might well have been made from the same master mould, but the level of fragmentation makes it difficult to ascertain. It is quite corroded. A small piece of the iron pin still remains with textile still attached. There is also a fragment that might be part of the pin hinge.

Sources: Friðriksson, Adolf 2013: *La Place du Mort: Les tombes vikings dans le paysage culturel islandais*. Doctoral thesis. Université Paris-Sorbonne, p. 540; Eldjárn, Kristján and Adolf Friðriksson 2016: *Kuml og haugfé: úr heiðnum sið á Íslandi*. 3rd ed., Mál og menning. Reykjavík, pp. 238-239.

B.ID 79 ÁLAUGAREY, NESJAHREPPUR, AUSTUR-SKAFTAFELLSSÝSLA

Classification: Definite

The burial was discovered during road construction on the small island of Álaugarey in 1934, and Þórðarsson investigated it later the same year (Þórðarson 1936:32-34). It was in the northern part of the island on the eastern side, close to the sea. By the time Þórðarsson arrived the skeleton had already been removed, and it was not possible for him to say how it had been placed in the burial. He was told, however, that the head was in east and the feet in the west. It was the burial of a middle-aged woman (36-45) (Gestsdóttir 1998:10) and she had been buried with an iron spit, two oval brooches, a jet or lignite arm ring, a bone comb, shears, a knife, one or two iron rings, two iron fragments and textile remains. A low mound had been raised over the grave, and the remains were around 35 cm below the surface. The spit might have lain over the body (Þórðarson 1936:33). Steffensen (1966:46) argued that the verdigris staining on the bones suggested that she was lying on her back with her right arm diagonally across the waist. Although the placement of the artefacts was not recorded, the verdigris staining on the bones suggests that one of the brooches lay at the waist, and the other at the upper left arm according to Steffensen. As there was no staining on the ribs, it had presumably not originally lain on the chest. It is possible that both brooches were originally placed at the waist, but that one had shifted after the burial. Textile remains on the inside of the brooches clearly indicate that they were worn by the deceased, and not simply placed in the grave (Þórðarson 1936:34). The burial was covered by a small mound without any stone. Stontium analysis identified her as an immigrant to Iceland (Price and Gestsdóttir 2006:140).

Location: Álaugarey is now part of the town of Höfn, but it used to be an uninhabited island belonging to the farm of Hafnarnes (5 m altitude) which is 3 km north-west of the site. The burial (2 m altitude) was on the north coast, slightly to the east of the northern tip (Friðriksson 2013:419-420).

Oval brooches: The brooches are in the collection of the National Museum of Iceland (**11564a** and **11564b**), but they were not available for study during my visit. The following description is therefore based on illustrations and earlier descriptions (Eldjárn and Friðriksson 2016:240; Sarpur 2020). It is unclear from the illustrations which brooch is which, hence they are here described together. The brooches are both of type P51A1. They have five cast and four loose bosses. Some traces of the loose bosses remain. The upper and lower shells were attached with rivets underneath the loose bosses. There is considerable discolouration around the platforms for loose bosses, though this could also be the remains of textiles. The flanges of both brooches are damaged, and pieces are missing. They both appear to be quite corroded. From the illustration it seems possible that at least the central boss on one of the brooches is worn. There is apparently remains of textile inside the brooches, both linen and wool (Þórðarson 1936:34).

Sources: Þórðarson, Matthías 1936: Rannsókn nokkurra forndysja, o.fl. *Árbók*, 45, pp. 32-34; Steffensen, Jón 1966: Lýsing mannabeina úr fornminjafundinum í Vatnsdal, Patreksfirði *Árbók*, 63, p. 46; Gestsdóttir, Hildur 1998: Kyn- og lífaldurgreiningar á beinum úr íslenskum kumlum. Fornleifastofnum Ísland. Reykjavík, p. 10; Friðriksson, Adolf 2013: La Place du Mort: Les tombes vikings dans le paysage culturel islandais. Doctoral thesis. Université Paris-Sorbonne, pp. 419-420; Eldjárn, Kristján and Adolf Friðriksson 2016: *Kuml og haugfé: úr heiðnum sið á Íslandi*. 3rd ed., Mál og menning. Reykjavík, pp. 240-241.

B.ID 80 FLAGA, SKAFTÁRTUNGUHREPPUR, VESTUR-SKAFTAFELLSSÝSLA

Classification: Probable

Two oval brooches were sent to Museet for nordiske Oldsager in Copenhagen in 1832. They were discovered in 1829 from an eroded area, in what was said to be the ruins of an old building. Some beads were also discovered with the brooches, but these have since been lost. Iron remains were also discovered, making the excavator suggest that the building was a forge, but these could also be from a later phase, or from iron fragments once part of the burial. Other artefacts have been found at the site earlier, and an axe head was apparently discovered in the same place in 1910. It is not certain that these remains actually represent a burial, but it seems likely (Eldjárn and Friðriksson 2016:248-249), particularly as one of the brooches had textile remains inside (see below).

Location: According to Friðriksson (2013:455-456), the site (50 m altitude) is located near the shore of the river Kálfá, about 750 m to the northeast of the farm (60 m above sea level), and next to the Kálfá ford which is the boundary between the farms Flaga and Hemra.

Oval brooches: The brooches are in the collection of the National Museum of Denmark (2445). They have therefore not been studied in detail, and the following description is based on their illustration in *Kuml og haugfé* (Eldjárn and Friðriksson 2016:248). They are both of type P51B1, and are quite corroded with pieces missing. One of them appears to be missing significant parts of the lower shell. Both have five cast and four loose bosses, the latter are missing on both, though small remains of two are present on one of the brooches. The upper and lower shells were attached with rivets underneath the loose bosses. They appear to form a matching set. The two brooches might well have been made from the same master mould, but without studying them, it is difficult to be certain. I have not seen the insides of the brooches, but there were apparently remains of textiles inside at least one of them, clearly suggesting they were attached to clothing (Kålund 1882:77). There are neither perforations nor grooves for silver wire. Due to the level of corrosion, it is not possible to determine from the illustration if the brooches are worn or not.

Sources: Undset, Ingvald 1878: *Norske Oldsager i fremmede Museer: en oplysende Fortegnelse*. I kommission hos Jacob Dybwad. Kristiania, pp. 53-54; Kålund, Kristian 1882: *Islands Fortidslævninger. Aarbøger for nordisk oldkyndighed og historie*, p. 77; Friðriksson, Adolf 2013: *La Place du Mort: Les tombes vikings dans le paysage culturel islandais*. Doctoral thesis. Université Paris-Sorbonne, pp. 455-456; Eldjárn, Kristján and Adolf Friðriksson 2016: *Kuml og haugfé: úr heiðnum sið á Íslandi*. 3rd ed., Mál og menning. Reykjavík, pp. 248-249.

B.ID 81 UNKNOWN FIND PLACE

Classification: Possible

The brooch was given to Oldnordisk Museum in 1840 and handed over to the National Museum of Iceland in 1930. It was recorded as a stray find by Eldjárn and Friðriksson (2016:355).

Location: Nothing is known about the location.

Oval brooch: The brooch is in the collection of the National Museum of Iceland (10912). It is of type P55:1A, and missing part of the edging and flange. Brooches of this type are generally rather simple single-shelled versions of the far more elaborate P52 brooches. The decoration consists of straight lines. It has a central crown and four protruding cast 'horns'. There are 4 small platforms with perforations around the framework where loose bosses could have been attached.

Small traces of gilding remain. Both pin catch and hinge are still extant inside the brooch, the latter with parts of the iron pin. The brooch is corroded, obscuring possible signs of wear.

Sources: Kristján and Adolf Friðriksson 2016: *Kuml og haugfé: úr heiðnum sið á Íslandi*. 3rd ed., Mál og menning. Reykjavík, p. 355.

Appendix 2

Oval brooches from non-funerary contexts

2.1 England

F.ID 01 KILNWICK NEAR BESWICK, YORKSHIRE

A fragment of an oval brooch riveted onto a piece of lead, making a weight. It is of type P51E and was discovered in Kilnwick near Beswick in Yorkshire (Kershaw 2013:100; Portable Antiquities Scheme 2020c).

F.ID 02 MILEHAM, NORFOLK

One badly preserved fragment of the upper shell of an oval brooch, consisting of one cast boss and partial remains of a side panel. It was discovered in Mileham, Norfolk and is presumably of type P51 (Kershaw 2013:100).

F.ID 03 WORMEGAY, NORFOLK

Two fragments of an oval brooches were discovered by metal-detecting in Wormegay, Norfolk. It is of type P51B, though it is unclear if it is variation B1, B2, or B3. Kershaw (2013:99) classifies the brooch as P51B3. She classifies the different panels as Sa1/2, Ha, Rb1 (see Jansson 1985:70). I agree that the side panels are most likely Sa1 or 2, but based on the perforations, the corner panel is more likely to be Hb (see image Portable Antiquities Scheme 2020a). The back panel could equally well be Rb2 as Rb1. She also argues that because the cast bosses only have two perforations instead of four, this should assign the brooch to type P51B3, but I cannot find any reference to this. The brooch has remains of gilding, and holes and grooves for silver wire.

F.ID 04 MAUTBY, NORFOLK

One badly preserved fragment of the upper shell of an oval brooch, consisting of one cast boss and partial remains of a side panel. It was discovered in Mautby, Norfolk. It is presumably of type P51 (Kershaw 2013:100; Portable Antiquities Scheme 2020b).

2.2 Scotland**F.ID 05 MANGERSTADH, LEWIS, OUTER HEBRIDES**

A number of unstratified finds were discovered from 1974-1976. These consisted of potsherds, a comb (not Viking type), and two fragments of bronze, one clearly a fragment of an oval brooch (Carson 1977:370). Abundant shell and bone material might suggest that it was a midden (Harrison 2008:483). The brooch exists only in a small fragment, but from the illustration it is obviously type P42, which has quite characteristic animal legs (Carson 1977:373).

2.3 Iceland**F.ID 06 ÞÓRARINSSTAÐIR, HRUNAMANNAHREPPUR, ÁRNESSÝSLA**

A fragment of an oval brooch (**14038a** National Museum of Iceland) was discovered in the ruins of a farmstead (Eldjárn and Friðriksson 2016:354). It is a fragment of one of the side panels of a P51 brooch, presumably P51B1 or B2.

F.ID 07 NORÐURÁRDALUR, MÝRASÝSLA

The upper shell of an oval brooch (**290** National Museum of Iceland) was discovered in the mountains near Norðurárdalur (Eldjárn and Friðriksson 2016:355). It is of type P51C3, and like most P51C brooches it is well-made, though now quite corroded. There are traces of gilding still remaining. It has holes and grooves for silver wire, but none is extant. It is slightly dented on the back. There are five cast and four loose bosses, none of the latter are extant. The upper and lower shells would have been attached with rivets underneath the loose bosses. The corrosion makes it difficult to discuss wear.

F.ID 08 KIRKJUSTAÐUR, BERUNESHREPPUR, SUÐUR-MÚLASÝSLA

Fragments of the upper shell of an oval brooch (**15325** National Museum of Iceland) were discovered along with green stone beads in the floor of a ruined building (Eldjárn and Friðriksson 2016:356). It is of type P51, but due to corrosion and its fragmented state, it is not clear which subtype. It has five cast bosses, and one of the platforms for loose bosses remain.

F.ID 09 VIÐEY, REYKJAVÍK, GULLBRINGUSÝSLA

A small fragment of the lower shell of an oval brooch was discovered during excavation at Viðey in 1989 (Eldjárn and Friðriksson 2016:356). Apart from that it was from a double-shelled brooch, it is unclear what type it is. It is currently exhibited at Reykjavík City Museum.

Appendix 3

Oval brooches from Göteborgs Stadsmuseum

GAM 1416 SMIRISHAMN, SKÅNE

Fragmented brooch of type P37.9, extant in one large fragment. The décor is well executed. The pin catch and hinge, with part of the pin remains. It is possibly slightly worn, but not definite.

GAM 1669 SLAGERSTAD, ÖLAND

Fragments of two oval brooches, both with copper-alloy pins, fragments of which are extant. One of the brooches seems to be considerably more damaged than the other, and it looks possible that it might have been affected by heat. Both brooches are P51, at least one is type P51B, though it is not clear which subtype. One of them, and possibly both appears to have had nine cast bosses. The upper and lower shells were attached with rivets underneath the normally loose bosses.

GAM 1759 STENÅSA, ÖLAND

Badly damaged and corroded fragment of an oval brooch. It might be double-shelled and type P51, but it is very uncertain from the fragment. There seems to be some traces of burnt bone or wood on the inside, but as it is attached to a board, it is not possible to tell. Due to its condition, the possibility that it is single-shelled cannot be excluded.

GAM 1775 SLAGERSTAD, ÖLAND

Two oval brooches, one of which is extant only in the form of the lower shell of one and a copper-alloy pin. The more complete brooch, though also damaged, is type P51G. It would have had nine cast bosses, though due to damage only six are

extant. The pin is not present inside the brooch, but the iron staining suggests that it was made of iron, and hence that the copper-alloy pin did not belong to this brooch. The other brooch is represented by the bent and fragmented lower shell of a brooch, presumably of type P51. It does not appear to have been matching the other, as the perforations in the lower shell suggests that the upper and lower shells were attached with rivets underneath the loose bosses. The copper-alloy pin seems to belong to this brooch.

GAM 1905 SMÅLAND

Not in the collection. Missing since 1992.

GAM 1906 SMÅLAND

Fragment of a brooch of uncertain type. The framework is the same as P40, but the décor is more similar to P39, though there are still considerable differences. It also appears to have had five cast and four loose bosses, which is not seen on the type specimens for either P39 or P40. It is a very thick cast. It is corroded in places, but the motif is clearly legible. It is very well executed with considerably more detail than what is seen on P39 and P40. It is possible that this brooch was made free-hand and not from a master mould used to produce a series of brooches. The slightly damaged pin hinge is extant inside the brooch.

GAM 1935 TRÄBY, ÖLAND

Complete brooch of type P51B1. It has five cast and four loose bosses, none of the latter are extant. The upper and lower shells were attached with rivets underneath the loose bosses, though none of these are extant and the upper and lower shells are no longer attached. The pin hinge and pin catch seems complete, but no traces of a pin remains. There is a circular perforation on the flange, slightly to one side of the pin hinge, which could be deliberate, perhaps for suspension, though it would perhaps have been expected directly below the pin catch rather than to one side. It is possible that the bosses are worn.

GAM 1936 TRÄBY, ÖLAND

Practically complete brooch of type P51B1 (some minor damage to the flange). It is the pair of GAM 1935 and the two might very well form a matching set. There are some minor differences in execution, and the cast bosses are different. The brooch has five cast and four loose bosses, none of the latter are extant. The brooch has suffered from corrosion, but the décor is still legible. The upper and lower shells were attached with rivets underneath the loose bosses. Some of the copper alloy rivets remain. The pin catch and slightly damaged hinge remain, and there is iron corrosion as well as remains present inside the brooch. The upper and lower shells are no longer attached.

GAM 2200 EKSJÖ, SMÅLAND

Upper shell of an oval brooch of type P51C1. It is in rather bad condition (from fire?) making the motif difficult to make out. It is also slightly dented, and a minor piece is missing. It has five cast and four loose bosses, none of the latter are extant. The upper and lower shells were attached with rivets below the loose bosses, slightly unusual for brooches with four loose bosses. Some of the bosses seem worn, but due to the condition of the brooch it is difficult to be certain.

GAM 2346 VÄXJÖ, SMÅLAND

Partly damaged brooch of type P51G. It has nine cast bosses, and the upper and lower shells are attached with rivets below the normally loose bosses. The pin hinge and catch are both damaged. Significant parts of the edging are missing on both long sides. The upper shell is cracked and a small part is missing. There are small traces of gilding on the inside of the brooch. It is corroded, especially one of the back fields. Some of the bosses demonstrate clear signs of wear. It was acquired alongside the brooches GAM 2347, 2348, 2349, 2350 and 2351, but it is not clear if anyone of them were discovered together.

GAM 2347 KARABY SOCKEN, ÅSE HÄRAD, VÄSTERGÖTLAND, OR KARABY BY, ÅS SOCKEN, VESTBO HÄRAD, SMÅLAND

Oval brooch of type P51B2. Quite corroded in places. It has five cast and four loose bosses, none of the latter are extant. The upper shell is slightly damaged, and large parts of the edging and flange of the lower shell are missing. Both the upper and lower shell have corresponding dents in the centre. The upper and lower shells were attached with rivets underneath the loose bosses. These are now missing, and the two parts are no longer attached. The pin catch and hinge are still extant, and there are traces of iron corrosion near the pin catch. It has holes for silver wire, but no grooves, suggesting these were not used. There is a circular perforation in the flange which does not seem to be damage, but its purpose is uncertain. It was acquired alongside the brooches GAM 2346, 2348, 2349, 2350 and 2351, but it is not clear if anyone of them were discovered together.

GAM 2348 FALKÖPING, VÄSTERGÖTLAND

Lower shell of an oval brooch, presumably P51. It has four perforation for rivets used to attach the upper and lower shells, three of the rivets are still extant. These correspond with having been placed underneath loose bosses. There are also perforations that might have been used for silver wire. A rather large portion of the iron pin is still extant, and very well preserved. It was acquired alongside the brooches GAM 2346, 2347, 2349, 2350 and 2351, but it is not clear if anyone of them were discovered together.

GAM 2349 UNKNOWN

Lower shell of an oval brooch, presumably P51. The holes in the lower shell suggests that the upper and lower shells were attached with rivets underneath the loose bosses. The pin catch and the damaged hinge is extant, with parts of the iron pin, which is corroded, but quite well preserved. It was acquired alongside the brooches GAM 2346, 2347, 2348, 2350 and 2351, but it is not clear if anyone of them were discovered together.

GAM 2350 UNKNOWN

Fragmented part of the lower shell of and oval brooch, presumably P51. The perforations suggest that the upper and lower shells were attached with rivets underneath the loose bosses. A slightly damaged pin hinge is extant inside the brooch. It was acquired alongside the brooches GAM 2346, 2347, 2348, 2349 and 2351, but it is not clear if anyone of them were discovered together.

GAM 2351 UNKNOWN

Fragmented and badly corroded part of the upper shell of an oval brooch of type P51, but it is not possible to say which subtype. It was acquired alongside the brooches GAM 2346, 2347, 2348, 2349 and 2350, but it is not clear if anyone of them were discovered together.

GAM 2400A VÄSTMANALAND

Oval brooch of type P51C3 and pair of 2400b. The flange and some of the bosses are damaged. A small part of the upper shell is also missing. It has five cast and four loose bosses, none of the loose bosses are extant. The upper and lower shells are attached with rivets beneath the loose bosses. The pin hinge has clearly been repaired, but not in the same way as we see on brooches from the western settlements. Instead of an iron band stretching out on either side of the pin hinge, it is only on one side. This is attached by an iron rivet which penetrates the edging of the brooch. The rivet is clearly visible on the outside. It is unclear if the entire hinge is a replacement, or if only one half of it has been repaired. A visual examination and comparison with the hinge on 2400b suggests the whole pin catch has been replaced. The pin catch has broken, but it is still extant inside the brooch. The brooch is very corroded and it is difficult to say anything about wear.

GAM 2400B VÄSTMANALAND

Oval brooch of type P51C3, and pair of 2400a. It is more damaged than the other brooch, a large part of the upper shell is missing. The flange is missing in part and also clearly dented. It would originally have had five cast and four loose bosses, but parts are now missing. The shells were attached by rivets beneath the loose bosses. Like its pair, it is very corroded and it is not possible to say to which

extent it is worn. The missing parts and the level of corrosion makes it difficult to assess the similarities in detail between the two brooches, though the differences in perforations in the upper shell might suggest that they were not made from the same mould.

GAM 2467 SMÅLAND

Missing from the collection.

GAM 2684 GOTLAND

Fragmented and corroded part of an oval brooch of type P37.3. It has no loose bosses, but rather rounded low cast bosses. It appears quite well made, but it is difficult to say due to the condition of the brooch,

GAM 2778 SÄVE, BOHUSLÄN

Oval brooch of type P51G. It has five cast and four loose bosses, none of the latter are extant. The brooch is mostly complete, but parts of the flange and a small part of the upper shell is missing. It is very corroded in places. The upper and lower shells were attached with rivets underneath the loose bosses. There are now some iron remains on the inside of the brooches covering the perforations on either side of the pin catch. There are also remains of iron on the two corresponding platforms for loose bosses on the upper shell. This could suggest that new iron rivets were used to reattach the upper and lower shells. The two are now not attached.

GAM 2779 SÄVE, BOHUSLÄN

Oval brooch of type P51G, and pair of 2778. The two brooches are clearly of the same type, but it is unclear if they were made from the same master mould. This is partly due to corrosion, but there are also some clear differences in the perforations of the upper shells. Other aspects of the décor are strikingly similar, however. They seem likely to have appeared to be more or less identical. There are parts missing from both the upper and lower shells, and the brooch appears to have been repaired. There seems to be an iron patch of some sort close to the pin catch which is also visible between the upper and lower shells. On the inside of the brooch this has been covered up by what seem to be some form of more recent conservation, and upper and lower half are now glued together making it very difficult to say what has been done to it. There are five cast and four loose bosses, none of the latter are extant. The upper and lower shells were fastened together with rivets underneath the loose bosses. There are some indications that these were repaired. In front of the pin hinge, from one perforation to the other there seems to be remains of some form of textile, it looks like a thread, covered by iron corrosion. There is also some discolouration on the upper shell of the brooch between the platforms for loose bosses. It is possible that some form of

thread was used to keep the two parts together. There is iron staining around the perforations for rivets on the other side of the brooch as well, near the pin catch, and here there is also a crack in the lower shell between these areas. It seems that the upper and lower shells might have been reattached (or possibly that they were originally attached in a rather unusual manner).

GAM 45583 UNKNOWN

Damaged lower shell of an oval brooch, presumably type P51. The perforations suggest that the upper and lower shells were attached with rivets underneath the loose bosses. There is one extra perforation in a place more or less corresponding with a rivet below the loose bosses, but its function is not clear. There are perforations likely to have been used for silver wire. There is some damage around the perforations for rivets, suggesting that these might have been damaged at some point. The pin catch and the hinge are both in fairly good condition. There are traces of iron on the outside of the pin hinge, demonstrating that the rivet used to attach the pin was iron. There are no traces of the pin itself remaining.

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