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# Creating Material Worlds

The uses of identity in archaeology

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*edited by*

Elizabeth Pierce

Anthony Russell

Adrián Maldonado

*and*

Louisa Campbell



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# Preface

Like many archaeology projects, the genesis of *Creating Material Worlds* can be found in the pub. Throughout years of seminars, papers and conference presentations, postgraduates in the Department of Archaeology at the University of Glasgow found themselves repeatedly using various forms of identity theory in their work regardless of time period or geographic area, proving those categories to be artificial restrictions in the study of past human interactions. We felt that the resulting theoretical cohesion emerging in our work was a strength to be played upon, and eventually *Creating Material Worlds* was born.

Many of the contributors to the volume have crossed academic paths in the past, but some have more recently entered the discussion. What unites us is our clear explanation and application of theoretical concepts to archaeological data sets in the belief that, despite the ever-changing nature of identity, we can begin to understand not just the basic elements of people's everyday lives but how they perceived themselves and the world around them. From the Iroquois burial practices of northern North America to the far reaches of the Classical world, and from the flint scatters of Mesolithic Scotland to the edge of the known world in medieval Greenland, we hope to demonstrate that even old evidence can be re-evaluated to shed new light on the people who lived in the past.

Thanks to a grant from the Chancellor's Fund at the University of Glasgow, we have realised our vision of a project that not only presents a publication of our new approaches to identity, but also has brought together a network of early-career researchers in the field and supported a series of public lectures at the University of Glasgow by young scholars from around the UK. Two of the lecturers from our seminar series – Oliver Harris from the University of Leicester and John Creese from Cambridge University – have since joined us as contributors to this volume.

Early versions of the papers in this volume were presented during a workshop on 24 November 2012 under the watchful eye of Professor Bernard Knapp. Together, the volume represents the work of researchers from five different nations, representing six different institutions. Perhaps identity has played such an important role in our research because many of the contributors have lived and/or worked outside of their home nations. Having an understanding of what it is to negotiate local, national and international identities in the modern world can help to inform our ideas of how people related to one another in the past, regardless of when or where these people lived.

It is our hope that the accessibility of the ideas presented by the early-career researchers in this volume will inspire other scholars who might not otherwise incorporate identity into their work to consider the ways identity can be found in human society past and present. The ideas presented are not unique to a particular time or place, but rather reflect continuing themes within the human experience.



## Contributor Biographies

LOUISA CAMPBELL received her PhD from the University of Glasgow in 2011. Her thesis, entitled *A Study in Culture Contact: the distribution, function and social meanings of Roman pottery from non-Roman contexts in southern Scotland* incorporated an extensive reassessment of all Roman material culture from across northern Britain. Her main research interests are threefold: Roman material culture, the Roman and Provincial interface and theoretical approaches to culture contact. She has taught an evening class at the University of Glasgow's Centre for Open studies and has written several papers which are currently in press, forthcoming and in prep. She is currently coordinating EAA Glasgow 2015, the largest cultural heritage event ever to be held in Europe. She is also co-editing two archaeological volumes on *The Roots of Nationhood: the Archaeology and History of Scotland* and *The Experience of Technology*.

JOHN CREESE recently completed a post-doctoral fellowship at the McDonald Institute for Archaeological Research, University of Cambridge. His current research explores the interrelations of social power, community, and identity among ancestral Wendat societies of eastern North America. He is currently an Assistant Professor in Anthropology at North Dakota State University.

OLIVER HARRIS graduated with a BA in Archaeology from Sheffield in 2002, took an MA at Cardiff University, and stayed on to do a PhD under the supervision of Alasdair Whittle. His PhD focussed on developing new theoretical approaches to identity, emotion and memory, and applying them to the British Neolithic. Since finishing his PhD, Oliver has worked in contract archaeology and held two post-docs. The first, at Cambridge, was part of the interdisciplinary Changing Beliefs of the Human Body project. The second, at Newcastle, was a Leverhulme Early Career Fellowship looking at the different kinds of community that occupied Southern Britain in the Mesolithic, Neolithic and Bronze Age, and what happens when we think about communities not just as collections of people, but as assemblages of people, things, animals, places and monuments. He has just published a book on the history of the human body with John Robb, and spends his summers digging in Ardnamurchan, Western Scotland.

JEREMY HAYNE gained his PhD from Glasgow University in 2013. His thesis examined the long term effects of culture contact on Iron Age Sardinia. Based in Milan, he has excavated in the UK, Spain and Italy and he regularly does field work and research in Sardinia on Punic and Nuragic sites. His current investigations explore sacred sites and their role in identity transformations in the Nuragic communities of early Iron Age Sardinia. For many years an Associate Lecturer for the Open University, his research interests include identities, consumption practices and performance.

ADRIÁN MALDONADO received his PhD in 2011 from the University of Glasgow with a thesis entitled *Christianity and Burial in Late Iron Age Scotland, AD 400–650* and was a lecturer in Archaeology at the University of Chester in 2013–2015. With a background in Medieval History (A.B., Harvard, 2004), he is most interested in the ontological transformations that came with the conversion to Christianity and the adoption of literacy beyond the frontiers of the Roman Empire.

BEATRIZ MARÍN-AGUILERA is currently working at the Department of Archaeology at Ghent University as postdoctoral researcher. She has recently completed her PhD at the Universidad Complutense de Madrid, Spain, where she was granted a four-year government scholarship. During her doctoral studies, she conducted three research stays abroad at the School of Humanities at Glasgow University (2011–2012), at the Spanish School of History and Archaeology in Rome (2012–2013), and at the Joukowsky Institute for Archaeology and the Ancient World at Brown University (2014). She has done fieldwork in Cyprus, Italy and Spain, and is currently field co-director of the research project at Peña Moñuz (Olmeda de Cobeta, Guadalajara). Her research interests include postcolonial theory, household archaeology, the anthropology of food and consumption, and the archaeology of colonialism and cultural contact.

ERIN MCGUIRE has been teaching at the University of Victoria in British Columbia since 2010. Her PhD from the University of Glasgow examined the role of migration in changing funerary practices in Scandinavia, Britain and Iceland in the Viking Age. Her research interests include the archaeologies of gender and identity, death and funerary rituals, migration, and the life course. She also takes an interest in education and teaching methods to assist students in learning.

ELIZABETH PIERCE received her PhD from the University of Glasgow in 2011. Her thesis examined identity and material culture in the North Atlantic in the period after the Viking Age. She has worked in commercial archaeology in Britain and the U.S., and taught courses on the archaeology of the Vikings and early medieval Scotland at the University of Glasgow and at the university's Centre for Open Studies. Currently she lectures about archaeology on board expedition ships in Scandinavia and the North Atlantic. Her research interests include the Middle Ages in the North Atlantic, exotic materials such as walrus ivory and jet, and recumbent monuments in medieval Scotland.

ANTHONY RUSSELL completed his PhD at the University of Glasgow in 2011. His thesis, entitled *In the Middle of the Corrupting Sea: Cultural encounters in Sicily and Sardinia between 1450–900 BC*, explored the effects of culture contact in the Middle and Late Bronze Age on the two largest islands in the Mediterranean. He earned a BA in English Literature, and an MA in Classical and Near Eastern Archaeology from the University of British Columbia, and an MLitt in Mediterranean Archaeology at Glasgow. He has participated in field work in Tuscany, the Aeolian Islands, Scotland and the Canadian prairies.

DENE WRIGHT is a lithics specialist undertaking post-doctoral research at the University of Glasgow. An advocate of symmetrical approaches in archaeology, his research focus centres on Mesolithic events and the Mesolithic-Neolithic transition in west central Scotland. He is a senior team member and site director for the Strathearn Environs and Royal Forteviot Project.

# Chapter 4

## Move Along: Migrant Identities in Scandinavian Scotland

*Erin Halstad McGuire*  
(*University of Victoria, ehalstad@uvic.ca*)

### **Abstract**

Theories of migration have recently begun to make a comeback within early medieval archaeology, now built around understanding the new identities that migrants create as they struggle to redefine themselves in the context of their new homes and communities. This paper will explore how migrant and gendered identities are inextricably interconnected within the Viking Age burial rites of Scotland. Bringing together the results of large-scale statistical analyses and key case studies, it is proposed that Norse families living in Scotland felt a clear need to set men apart in the funerary record, emphasising masculine identities in association with a warrior ideal. Intriguingly, the gendered artefacts associated with feminine burial display more flexibility than their masculine counterparts, suggesting that although the marking of gender remained important for women, there were more opportunities to diversify the assemblages in locally specific ways. Finally, for both men and women, funerary assemblages and location within the landscape appear to have been interrelated. Graves were set apart from settlement sites and often associated with prominent features within the landscape, both natural and man-made. The construction of this funerary landscape may have been connected to the creation and display of migrant identities, particularly those associated with warrior or pagan ideals.

**Keywords:** *Viking Age Scotland, migration, burial, gender, masculinity*

Migration shapes people just as people shape the spaces in which they settle. The purpose of this paper is to look at the nature of masculinity and femininity in the context of the Viking-Age settlement of Scotland, looking not only at what practices may be traced back to Scandinavia, but most especially at how and why they may have

changed in an emigrant context. Through combining large-scale statistical analyses with individual case studies, it is possible to tease out some of the richness of the archaeological record. That the Scandinavian expansion in the late eighth through eleventh centuries had a profound impact on the populations of the areas into which they moved is a given (see Barrett *et al.* 2001, for example). What has not yet been considered in depth is how this diaspora shaped the settlers themselves. This paper begins the examination of the nature of gender identities in Scandinavian Scotland, through the funerary record. These gender identities are played out as part of the performance of funerary practices – they are statements of identity, power, and place in a contested landscape, where settlers may have competed with each other as well as with the people on whose lands they settled.

### **The Viking Age in Scotland**

The first documented Viking raids on the British Isles occurred in AD 787 (Portland Bill, Dorset), AD 793 (Lindisfarne, Northumberland), and AD 794 (Iona, Argyll and Bute). It has been suggested, however, that interactions between Scandinavia and the Isles began much earlier (e.g. Ballin Smith 2007). Archaeological evidence for the earliest settlements in Scotland is limited, in part because the palimpsests present on sites like Jarlshof, Shetland and Buckquoy, Orkney are challenging to disentangle, especially where it is unclear whether the settlers took over previously occupied houses before building their own. Evidence is also scarce in areas where we would expect to find it: for example, Shetland is comparatively close to Norway and could be expected to have some of the earliest settlement remains, yet these remains are elusive (but see Bond and Dockrill forthcoming for a new perspective on the Viking settlement of Shetland). Regardless of the problems with identifying the earliest Viking activity in Scotland, archaeological evidence suggests that the Norse presence was well established by the ninth century.

Textual sources tell us that the Vikings came to Scotland to settle, but the nature of this early settlement is contested, especially regarding the interactions between the local population and the incomers (see Morris 1996 for a historiography of this debate). Although there is no consensus as to what happened between the Norse and the natives in Scotland, the general tone of academic research currently seems to accept that it was multifaceted and unsettled (e.g. Barrett 2004, 215; Batey 2003, 66). The Norse who came to Scotland brought their building practices, subsistence strategies, rituals and social structures with them. The archaeological record contains the remains of farmsteads, communities, individual graves and larger cemeteries. These sites clearly demonstrate that Scandinavian Scotland was occupied by families, not armies or raiding parties. For instance, the Viking period of the cemetery at Westness, Orkney, includes the remains of men, women and children (Sellevold 1999). Although this was a period of movement, with settlers arriving in Scotland and moving to and from places like Ireland and Iceland, the

settlement of Northern and Western Scotland by emigrants from Scandinavia was essentially permanent, leaving marks on local languages, place names and cultural practices. Over time, the Scandinavian character of Scotland was moderated by the arrival of new populations, changes in leadership, and larger scale conflicts and exchanges between Scotland and Norway, but traces of this period remain, especially in the Northern Isles.

### **Migration, death and gender**

A relatively recent area of research has focussed on the impact of migration on identity, with a number of authors suggesting that the act of migration has the power to change how individuals and communities perceive themselves (e.g. Crowder 2000, 451; Lyons 2000). These new identities are created, displayed, and enacted in many spheres of activity, not the least of which are those associated with death (e.g. Oliver 2004; Reimers 1999). Anthropological research has tended to focus on recent migrations, but there have been some explorations of ancient migrants and funerary practices. López Castro argues that Phoenician colonists tended to reproduce their own way of life in their new homes, including through traditional mortuary practices (2006, 76). He remarks, however, that hybridisation between indigenous and imported practices occurred quickly within the burial record (2006, 84). A similar study by Lyons (2000) examines gendered burial rites in Colonial Sicily, noting that although indigenous burial practices continued alongside imported Greek burial rituals, elements of Greek material culture were adopted into the local grave good assemblages. Intriguingly, Lyons identifies the presence of indigenous men and women, and immigrant men, but immigrant women are conspicuously absent in her evidence (2000, 101). Although she discusses the funerary evidence for marriage between indigenous women and immigrant men, there is no real analysis of how this might have affected the overall structure of society and the relationships between men and women. Significantly, the funerary practices for both indigenous males and females of seemingly higher status show the adoption of imported material culture, but no mention is made of evidence for hybridisation within the 'Greek' funerary tradition.

It is unsurprising that funerary practices can become catalysts for the creation of new identities. Williams (2006, 26) argues that early medieval funerals were essentially performative (see also Halsall 2003):

Communities were very much treating death as a performance, using death as a changing 'stage' upon which to express their identities and connections with the dead, the ancestors, the sacred and the past in general. Simultaneously, attempts were being made to construct aspirations for the future, both for the dead in the hope of achieving a final destination in an afterlife and for the living in affirming their land, possessions and resources.

If this is indeed the case, then it can be anticipated that burial rituals would be more fluid than has previously been assumed. This would be particularly true in a

migrant community, where the settlers are faced with new challenges, new ideas and beliefs, and new environments. The funerary rituals that emerge in such a setting would have to address the needs of a society in flux. This includes establishing identities and claims to land and resources, but also remembering home and the people who came before.

Gender, as a field of reference for identity, is understandably complicated. It can be argued that gender identities are one of the basic structuring principles of many societies, including those of Viking-Age Scandinavia and the areas into which they expanded (e.g. Dommasnes 1982; 1991; Hadley 2008; 2010; Hayeur Smith 2003a; 2003b; Moen 2011, 3). This said, gender is not a passive reflection of a biological reality. Rather, it is caught up in social practices and beliefs, often becoming part of the performance of life and death (Sofaer and Stig Sørensen 2013, 527). One of the most obvious arenas for gendered display in the archaeological record is within the grave. Material culture has long been used to inform assumptions about gender identities, sometimes being conflated with biological sex and sometimes being treated in isolation. Within this paper, gender is understood to be influenced by, but not necessarily determined by, biological sex. This provides space in which to be open to alternative gender possibilities. However, because the skeletal material in Scotland tends to be poor, there have been few opportunities to contrast the treatment of the dead with the nature of their bones.

It is widely believed that burial practices offer insight into social identities, although there are many caveats (see Maldonado, this volume). If we see funerary ritual as representing not the reality of life, but perhaps some ideal of it, then examining burials in a migrant context becomes even more poignant. Burial ritual may then become a sort of window into social expectations and aspirations for men and women, suggesting to us what people thought they should be doing in their new communities. For those living in Scandinavian Scotland, it is reasonable to assume that funerary practices were connected to components of identity perceived to be crucial in the context of the newly settled landscape, and that elements of traditional practices imported from Scandinavia would have been common.

### **Masculinity and femininity in the graves of Scandinavian Scotland**

This analysis is based on the Scottish portion of a larger dataset, consisting of Viking-Age graves from northern and western Norway, Scotland and Iceland (Halstad McGuire 2010a). The present data includes 108 individuals in 101 graves from 58 different sites across Scandinavian Scotland. The data was gleaned from published and unpublished reports of excavations from the antiquarian period to 2008 (the full catalogue of graves included in this study can be found in Halstad McGuire 2010a). For the purposes of data analysis, sex was only assigned to an individual where this could be demonstrated by osteological analyses; this resulted in 14 males and 13 females. Gender was assigned based on the grave goods found with each individual (following Hayeur Smith 2003a

and Solberg 1985), resulting in 32 males and 30 females. When discriminant analysis was used to check the gender assignments with the sex of the skeletons there was a high level of correspondence (80%). Of the 27 sexed skeletons, seven were found to lack gendered grave goods and thus were assigned to the unknown gender category. Finally, it was possible to assign an age category to 30 individuals (Fig. 4.1). A further 11 were identified only as adults. Only two individuals fell into the adult (18–35) category, but this may be a reflection of how the age categories were assigned and the lack of recording for age estimations in many site reports.

The larger dataset was subjected to multivariate statistical analysis (discriminant analysis, factor analysis, and cluster analysis). These tests suggested the presence of gender- and age-based patterning in grave goods. Factor analysis was used to examine which artefact types tended to appear in groups. The results indicated the presence of gendered assemblages, including the association of oval brooches with other types of adornment and textile tools, and weapons with knives, axes, strike-a-lights, etc. Of the seven clusters produced by cluster analyses of graves and grave goods, only two appeared to lack any gendering in the artefact clusters. Members of two clusters were buried with oval brooches, other types of adornment, and textile tools; based on evidence in Scotland and elsewhere, it seems reasonable to identify these as female graves. The remaining three clusters all contained weapons. These apparently masculine clusters could be distinguished from one another by the presence of other artefacts, such as one cluster where the members were buried with things such as combs and strike-a-lights, and another where the members had belt fittings and axes. Not surprisingly, with one exception (discussed below), all juveniles fell into the genderless clusters. Children's graves are relatively uncommon in the Viking Age (Callow 2006, 58), and generally speaking, the grave goods tend to be markedly fewer. Perhaps more notable, however, is that the majority of mature and older adults also fall into the genderless clusters (see Halstad McGuire 2010a for a detailed discussion).

### Case studies

With over a hundred graves in Scandinavian Scotland, it was necessary to identify a selection for closer examination (Fig. 4.2, Fig. 4.3). Sites were selected on the basis of publically accessible records, and where possible, complete excavation reports. This included concentrating on sites with reasonable levels of preservation and

	Age range	Count
Infant/Child	0–12	8
Young adult	13–17	2
Adult	18–35	2
Mature adult	36–45	7
Old adult	46+	11
Unknown adult	18+	11
Unknown		66

*Fig. 4.1: Age categories and number of individuals in each category (after Halstad McGuire 2010a, 94).*

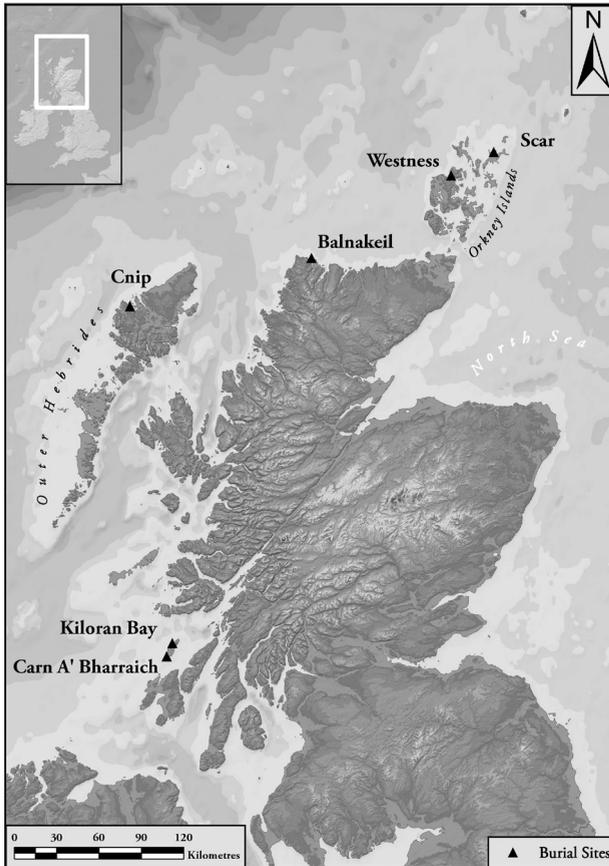


Fig. 4.2: Case study sites (map by Ryan K. McNutt).

available photographs or plans. Because the primary approach is through material culture, sites were also selected on the basis of the number and range of grave inclusions.

One of the most famous Viking graves in Scotland was discovered in 1991 at Scar, on the north end of Burness in Sanday. The grave site was located in a low cliff, on the exposed north face of the bay, facing out towards the Atlantic. Within the grave rested the remains of an older woman, a man and a young child, carefully laid out in a 7 m boat (Owen and Dalland 1999). Although the burial was radiocarbon dated to AD 875–950, the grave goods and the ritual practices evident here harken back to earlier decades and to Norway rather than Scotland (Owen and Dalland 1999). For these reasons, I have suggested

elsewhere that this grave may have been the product of funerary rituals designed, at least in part, to create and display migrant identities (Halstad McGuire 2010a, 192; 2010b, 178). Multiple burials are rare, however, and so more information is likely to be gleaned from looking at individual graves.

### ***Being male in Scandinavian Scotland***

Fourteen graves have skeletons that have been identified as likely male and 32 have grave goods typically associated with males. Of this collection, several graves stand out because of their levels of preservation and their impressive assemblages; three in particular are valuable to examine in the context of masculinity and warrior imagery.

The Pictish and Viking cemetery from Westness, Rousay, Orkney, was excavated between 1968 and 1984 (Kaland 1993). The Viking graves at Westness are significant

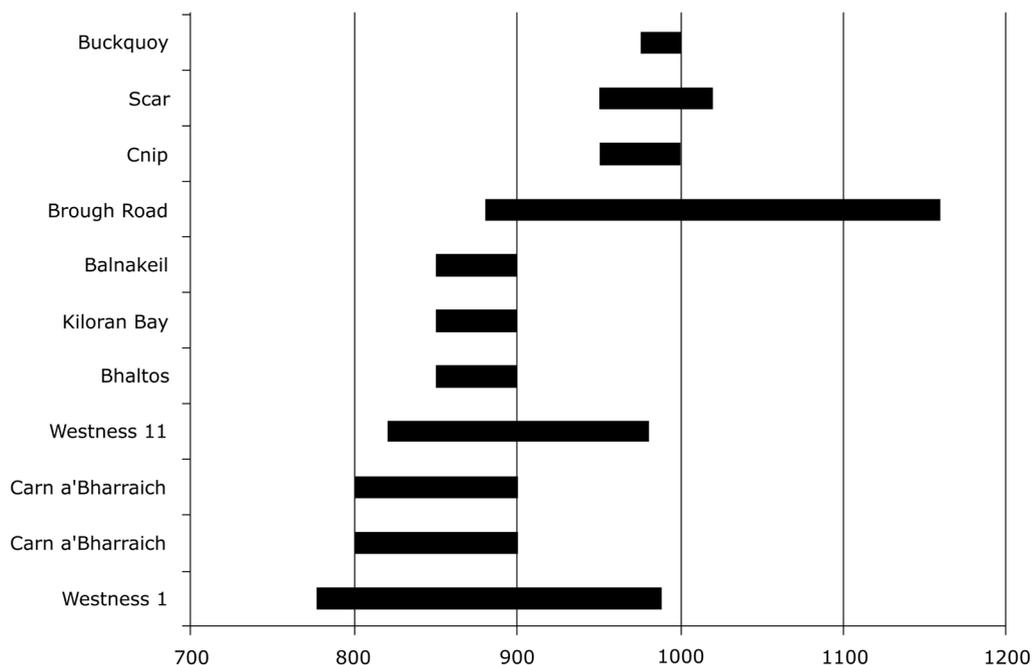


Fig. 4.3: Approximate date ranges for graves, based on combined artefacts and radiocarbon dates where possible.

for a number of reasons. First, prior to the Viking arrival, the cemetery has the appearance of a typically Pictish family cemetery; the Norse appear to have co-opted it for their own use, possibly laying claim to the landscape both physically and spiritually (Halstad McGuire 2010a, 212). Second, the presence of women and children from the Viking Age in this cemetery is indicative of settlement, rather than the movement of raiding parties or military units, as at Repton, Derbyshire (see Kjølbye-Biddle and Kjølbye-Biddle 1992). Among the eight furnished Viking-Age graves are two boat-burials containing the remains of adult males and numerous weapons. Stable isotope analysis indicates that two of the males, both buried with weapons, emigrated from central or northern Norway (Montgomery *et al.* 2014, 64, graves 11, 12), suggesting that there may have been members of a warrior elite among the families. Finally, the continuation of W-E (head to west) unfurnished burial practices after the influx of 'pagan' burials may be indicative of a continued Pictish presence.

Examining one of the Westness boat graves, we find the remains of a tall adult male (45–55 years), who suffered from arthritis and dental disease (Sellevold 1999, grave 11). He was buried lying on his back with his legs slightly flexed, and alongside his body was a sword, a damaged shield boss, arrowheads, a spear, an axe, a large whetstone, a knife, fire-starting tools, a sickle and an adze (Graham-Campbell and

Paterson forthcoming; Kaland 1993, 316; handlist held by the National Museum of Scotland). His single piece of adornment was a bronze pin. The other boat-burial looked much the same, except in this case the arrowheads were not grave goods, but rather cause of death: they were found embedded in the remains (Sellevold 1999, 25, grave 34), underscoring the possibility that the Viking presence in Scotland was not unchallenged. Both boat-burials belong to the late ninth or early tenth century (Sellevold 1999, 7), contemporary with the Scar burial. Although these are not likely to be the earliest Viking settlers in Scotland, it appears that the burial practices used for some members of their generation are deliberately Scandinavian, and possibly pagan, in nature.

It is unusual to find boat-burials like the Westness finds within a non-Viking cemetery. Within the Iron Age hillfort at Balladoole, Isle of Man, there are a large number of early Christian burials. At the entrance to the cemetery is a Viking burial: a man in a boat, with weapons and both human and animal sacrifice (Wilson 2008, 39). This grave is performatively pagan – it not only dominates the cemetery, but also overlays and disturbs earlier cist graves. Balladoole, and other similar burials, may have demonstrated Viking authority in the local context (Wilson 2008, 46), and the presence of Viking boat-burials in Westness might be interpreted in a similar fashion (Halstad McGuire 2010a, 267).

However, where Balladoole might represent an attack directed towards the local population and their collective memories of ancestors (Tarlow 1997; Williams 2006, 174), at Westness we find no comparable disturbance. Indeed, during the period of Viking burial at Westness, we see what might be a continuation of Christian practice. There are five W-E unfurnished burials (graves 9, 17, 18, 21, 26), including one infant, three adult males, and one adult female (Halstad McGuire 2010a, 214–16). Given the continuity of practice and the lack of disturbance of earlier graves, we might consider the possibility of intermarriage, or at least co-habitation, between native Orcadians and the incoming Norse settlers. If we accept that the unfurnished burials represent a continuation of a native, Christian population, it raises the possibility that it was culturally acceptable to continue Christian burial alongside ‘pagan’ funerals in the Westness community. The alternative explanation is that these were not local individuals at all, but settlers who did not receive furnished burial, as sometimes seen elsewhere in the Viking world. Unfortunately, we currently lack isotopic analysis of these graves and so this remains unknown. Regardless of the relationship between Norse and native in Westness, it is worth noting that for some members of the community, furnished burial, including both weapons burial and boat-burial, remained a significant component in the performance of identity among the settlers.

In the Western Isles of Scotland, another man was buried in a boat at Kiloran Bay, Colonsay. This grave was first excavated in 1882 and subjected to reanalysis in 2005, thus precise details of the remains may not be certain. When he died in the late ninth century, this man was over 40 years of age (Bill 2005). In addition to the boat, he was

buried with a horse and associated gear, a sword, a shield, arrows, an axe, a spear, knives, a whetstone, several Anglo-Saxon coins, trading equipment, and various other items. He also had personal adornment in the form of a silver Hiberno-Norse ringed pin, a bronze pin and a bronze buckle (Bill 2005, 348; Grieg 1940, 49).

The burial was in the bay area, with the sea approximately 180m to the north (Bill 2005, 347): ships sailing from the north to Ireland would potentially sail past the site, much the way that ships coming from Norway to Orkney may have passed by Scar. The presence of a substantial boat-burial with a possible stone setting could have made it visible to those at sea, thereby making it a part of the seascape/landscape. An unavoidable question with this particular grave is whether the man was resident in the area, or merely passing through. As is typical with Scandinavian Scotland, there is little evidence for contemporary settlement nearby, although there are other Viking burials, such as Machrins and Cnoc Nan Gall (see Ritchie 1981). The stone setting also seems to have incorporated two knife-incised cross-marked stones. It is impossible for us to know who made the crosses or when. On the one hand, they may have been made at the time of burial as part of a syncretic practice, combining both Christian and pagan symbolism. Alternatively, they could have been made later, perhaps providing a posthumous conversion or even a means to Christianise a pagan place. Indeed, it has recently been suggested that the cross-marked stones were never part of the original grave (Ritchie 2012, 444). Regardless of when or why the crosses were added, this warrior-style grave formed part of the memorial landscape, forging a visible connection between the Vikings, their homelands, and the local culture of the Scottish Isles.

One of the most compelling masculine burials discovered in Scotland emerged from the sand dunes at Balnakeil Bay, near Durness, Sutherland in 1991. The young man, buried here sometime between AD 850 and 900, was probably only 12–13 years old at the time of his death (Batey and Paterson 2013, 637). In spite of his youth, he was buried with an array of weapons similar to those seen at both Westness and Kiloran Bay. In addition to a sword, shield, spearhead, and knife, his grave goods included tools and personal items, such as those common in other Viking graves (Batey and Paterson 2013, 634). His adornment included a penannular brooch, a simple bronze pin, and three beads. Male burials tend to have a single bead, if any; multiple beads are more commonly associated with females. The bronze pin was found on his head and likely served as a shroud pin. Among his supplies was a needle case and needles – such objects are found with adult females and a very few children (Batey and Paterson 2013, 648; Gräslund 1973, 174). Batey and Paterson (2013) have suggested the presence of bedding of some sort, on the basis of traces of feathers. Finally, the young man had a bag of game pieces buried with him, possibly part of a *tafl* set. Board games, although not the exclusive purview of the elite, can be associated with elite ideals relating to leisure, strategy, and power (Caldwell, Hall and Wilkinson 2009, 176–77). Where game pieces appear in graves, they tend to be with adult males buried with weapons, as at Scar (Owen and Dalland 1999, 127) and Westness (Kaland 1993, 313).

The point at which a Viking child becomes an adult is not something that we can know for certain, although later law codes from Iceland would suggest that this may have been twelve, at least for males (*Grágás* K20, 53; see also Stoodley 2000, who identifies a similar age threshold among Anglo-Saxon males). So it is possible that the Balnakeil boy is better identified as the Balnakeil man (Batey and Paterson 2013, 653–54). Although he was young, he may well have been a warrior, as suggested by his weaponry, or at least entitled to the status symbolised by that weaponry. His weapons are all of types found with adults, however there are some intriguing aspects of the weapon assemblage that we might consider further. Type H swords are among the most ubiquitous of the period and this one lacks the inlay commonly associated with the type (Batey and Paterson 2013, 640). Although the ritual deposition of *any* sword represents a sacrifice of resources, this one may not have been a particularly expensive sacrifice, comparatively, especially as it was damaged prior to burial. The spearhead belonged to a light throwing spear, possibly of Insular manufacture (Batey and Paterson 2013, 643). It may be that the lighter blade was more suitable for a youngster. This is not to suggest the weapons lacked value or that they were unimportant within the context of the ritual. Rather, the possibility is that the symbolism of the weapons was of greater importance than the material quality of the weapon.

The burial was discovered eroding from a sand dune at the north end of Balnakeil Bay. Batey and Paterson (2013, 656–57) suggest that the area may have been more active in the Viking Age than previously assumed and that this bay could have provided important shelter for those travelling along trade routes to the Irish Sea. It is unknown whether there was an above-ground marker and thus we cannot be certain as to whether or not the grave formed part of the visible landscape. In spite of this, we might propose that the funeral and the resulting grave became a part of the memorial landscape of Balnakeil, helping to create and define the Norse presence in Scotland. The burial of the well-armed young man in this location may have linked him and his family to both land and sea. Laid out as a warrior, he can be seen to ‘claim’ the land. There is, of course, a certain amount of ambiguity with this grave because of the inclusion of multiple beads, sewing equipment and feathers – was he a man, or a child on the cusp of manhood? It may not have entirely mattered at the time that he was buried. Those who survived him buried him as a warrior, laying claim to whatever that identity entailed for him and for his family, in a landscape newly settled.

### ***Being female in Scandinavian Scotland***

Identifying potential case studies for female graves proved more problematic. Of the most well-known female graves, only Scar (the multiple burial mentioned above), Cnip A (excavated in 1979), and Westness 1 (disturbed by a farmer in 1963) are relatively recent and have significant levels of publication. Three other female graves from Westness are

also known (graves 3, 5, 36), but less information is currently available regarding these individuals. The majority of the remaining female graves from Scotland are poorly preserved or heavily disturbed and cannot be analysed in depth.

An accidental discovery in 1979 uncovered a small Viking-Age cemetery at Cnip, Uig, Lewis in association with a Bronze Age cairn. The location of the cemetery is relatively common for Viking burial in Scotland: it was placed on a headland, overlooking the beach and in conjunction with an earlier monument (Dunwell *et al.* 1995, 720; see Leonard 2011 for a discussion of the linkage between prehistoric monuments and Viking burial in Orkney). Although there is strong Norse place-name evidence throughout the Western Isles, settlement locations are rare, and none have been definitively identified near Cnip (see Armit 1994 for some as yet unexplored possibilities). There were several adults and a few infants within the cemetery. The richest grave of the site is a female comparable to those from Westness (Cnip A). The woman was in her late thirties at the time of her death and she was accompanied by a range of grave goods, including a pair of oval brooches, 44 glass beads, a bronze Hiberno-Norse ringed pin, tools (textile and agricultural), and a decorated bronze belt buckle and strap-end (Welander *et al.* 1987).

Several of the artefacts stand out. The oval brooches were mismatched and worn. They likely date to the late ninth or early tenth century. The ringed pin, on the other hand, belongs to the late tenth or early eleventh century. The Cnip belt buckle and strap-end are equally intriguing, being rare finds in women's graves in the Viking world. A strap-end in the same style as the Cnip strap-end was discovered in Kroppur, Eyjafjarðarsýsla, Iceland although the grave lacked oval brooches (Hayeur Smith 2003a; 2003b). It has been suggested that the women from Cnip and Kroppur were of a mixed Scandinavian/Insular descent (Hayeur Smith 2003b), or had another strong connection to the islands. Stable isotope evidence further supports this hypothesis, as the Cnip woman has been identified as local to the area in which she was buried (Montgomery *et al.* 2003, 650–51). This means that she likely grew up in or around Cnip (or in another area with a similar isotopic signature), but what we do not know is whether her parents or spouse were local as well, or immigrants from some other area. It seems reasonable to suppose that any one of them could have come from Scandinavia. This raises interesting questions with regards to migrant communities – how many generations does it take to become local and can we see this in the archaeological record? This is an issue to which we will return below.

Discovered in 1963 at the base of a standing stone, the first Viking grave uncovered at Westness contained the remains of a woman and infant (grave 1). Based on the available data, it has been suggested that they died during, or shortly after, childbirth (Graham-Campbell and Batey 1998, 136). A large number of grave goods accompanied the burial, including the traditional paired oval brooches, 40 glass beads, Anglo-Saxon strap ends, a recycled book-mount brooch, a comb and a range of textile tools, including an iron weaving sword (a rather uncommon find in Viking Scotland). The most famous artefact from this grave is the Westness brooch. This gilt silver brooch has gold filigree

and inlaid amber and was likely made in Ireland one hundred years before it was buried (Stevenson 1989, 265). There are many ways in which the inclusion of an early Irish brooch in a Viking woman's grave can be interpreted (whether the woman was buried in Scotland or in Norway). Did she wear it in life or only in death and what might it have meant to her and her community? Perhaps she was Irish and it was an heirloom. Alternatively, the brooch may have come to Viking Orkney as an object of trading or raiding. Either way, the wearing of the Westness brooch could be read as a statement (deliberate or otherwise) regarding the relationship between the Viking settlers and the varied populations of the British Isles. Alongside the more widely discussed brooch was a smaller one, made from what was once likely an Insular book mount. In a recent discussion of re-purposed Insular metalwork in Viking contexts, Sheehan (2013) proposed that there was a connection between the metalwork and Scandinavian gift-exchange processes. As is discussed below, this brooch may play a role in displaying prestige for the deceased, and perhaps more significantly, for her family.

A range of evidence suggests that Viking men married women from diverse backgrounds. The sagas tell us that Viking men in Scotland had access to both local women and women from home (Hayeur Smith 2003b, 238). The presence of Scandinavian women may be supported by the presence of imported artefacts in female grave assemblages. Although it is true that artefacts do not necessarily equal an ethnic identity (Hadley 2002, 46; Halsall 2000, 270), when the majority of the artefacts are imported from Norway, as with Scar, then it seems likely that there is a strong connection. Isotopic data suggests that at least a few of the women are immigrants, but not always from where we might expect. The woman from grave E at Cnip and the woman from grave 5 at Westness were both identified as having emigrated from either Ireland, North Yorkshire, or eastern Scotland (Montgomery *et al.* 2003, 650–51; Montgomery *et al.* 2014, 64). In both instances, these women's graves were much simpler than their counterparts discussed above. While Westness 5 was buried with a knife, comb, two spindle whorls and a penannular brooch (Handlist held by the National Museum of Scotland), Cnip E had only an unidentified iron plate and small bone pin (Dunwell *et al.* 1995, 719–52). Because we do not know exactly what determines the number and nature of grave goods, it is difficult to speculate why these women have fewer grave goods than those discussed above. On the one hand, it may be that as outsiders, they have a lower social status in their respective communities. On the other hand, it is possible that the traditions from their own homelands tended to include fewer grave goods.

### **Gender in an immigrant landscape**

What did it mean to be a man in Scandinavian Scotland? For some men, it would seem that masculinity was closely connected to the appearance of martial prowess. Halsall (2003, 33) suggests that wealthy weapons burials may be indicative of competition between households, something that might be expected in a settler landscape. We

cannot know for certain if these men ever *used* the weapons in their grave assemblages. Härke (2004) convincingly argues that Anglo-Saxon weapon burials relate to aspects of identity, rather than military actions. While this may be true in terms of day to day life, it is still important to acknowledge the function of weapons as implements of killing (Hedenstierna-Jonson 2006, 23–24), as well as symbols for more esoteric social ideals. Regardless, the people who buried these men made deliberate choices about the contents of their graves, creating the image of a well-armed warrior. Nearly one-third of all Viking burials in Scotland contained weapons, of these 22 had swords – perhaps the most expensive and personal form of weapon. In 11 instances, there was only a single weapon present in the grave, and five of these were swords. Moreover, 11 of the 14 skeletons that were sexed as male were buried with some form of armament. Although the sample size is small, we see two-thirds of the males given some form of weapons burial – two-thirds of the males are connected through their funerals to a warrior identity.

Weapons are not the only components in the creation of masculine funerary identities. The men buried in these graves also carried with them adornment in the forms of brooches and pins and personal effects such as combs and knives. Several of the men went to their graves with gaming pieces. Perhaps these were meant to while away the time in Valhalla, or perhaps they were part of the informal strategic and mental training taken up by military elites across Medieval Europe (Kimball 2013, 70). The inclusion of subsistence tools, such as farming/hunting equipment and cooking utensils, highlights the importance of self-sufficiency and the maintenance of particular ways of life brought from Scandinavia. A warrior was not simply a soldier – he could also be a farmer, hunter, trader, and/or the head of his household. Sayer (2010) proposes that the most well-furnished burials in each generation of an Anglo-Saxon cemetery represent the burials of heads of households. While the generational evidence for Scandinavian Scotland is made substantially more difficult to assess because of the rarity of cemetery burial, it stands to reason that as in Sayer's examples, wealthy burials may be indicative of powerful families, as well as powerful members of those families. Funerary display may have been a part of the social competition in the contested landscape of Scandinavian Scotland.

The age range for these individuals spans from adolescence to old adults. Among the eldest, arthritis, healed wounds, and dental disease were prevalent – none of these conditions appear to have been substantial enough to inhibit combat skills. While it may be easy to envision the older men as experienced warriors with past (and possibly current) glories to be celebrated during their funerals, the youngest individuals may be harder to explain. Was the Balnakeil grave the grave of an untested warrior, or had he already proven himself in battle? We cannot tell from the remains, but as noted above, it may not be entirely relevant. Whether a warrior was green or whether he was too old to take up his sword, in the context of Scandinavian Scotland, where relations with the local population were uncertain at best and where neighbours may be allies or competitors, certain kinds of masculinity were being emphasised.

Women's grave assemblages were more varied than men's in Scandinavian Scotland. The iconic oval brooches were certainly present, but not ubiquitous (24 graves of a potential 34 females had pairs of oval brooches). Where they did occur, they were sometimes old, worn, repaired or mismatched, as at Cnip. In rare instances, oval brooches were replaced with something different. The most notable example of this was at Carn a'Bharraich, Oronsay, where a woman was buried with a pair of recycled shrine mounts in the place of brooches (M'Neill 1891). A second female grave was added to this burial mound at a later date; her assemblage included a pair of matched oval brooches, which Grieg suggested were antiques at the time of burial (1940, 43). It may be that in the context of the migrant community in Scotland, where oval brooches were not produced locally, the symbolism associated with the brooches was deemed necessary to preserve. Hayeur Smith (2003a, 79) suggests that oval brooches in Icelandic graves may have served to set apart women of Scandinavian descent from those who came from the British Isles, taking on ethnic attributes (see Härke 2004 for a similar approach to swords in Anglo-Saxon burials). One possibility to consider for Scotland is that the identities of women who were first generation migrants may have been more secure than those of their daughters. This might explain why the Cnip woman, who was local to the area, was given such a demonstrably Scandinavian pagan burial, in contrast to all of the others in the cemetery. Although generational differences in migrant identities have not been explored in archaeological contexts, they are a frequent topic of anthropological and sociological research, where studies have found that in some immigrant communities tensions exist between generations, sometimes resulting in greater emphasis on ethnic identities by those born in the new communities (e.g. Waters 1994). We could consider the rather late Scar burial, for instance. It is possible that this distinctly Scandinavian burial represents a deliberate return to traditional practices, although it is important to remember that the woman at the heart of this burial was old at the time of her death and may therefore have been a first generation immigrant.

Children and older adults were less likely to have gendered burial, as noted above. It seems likely that identities connected to stages in the life-cycle were also at play. The entanglement of life-cycle, gender identity, and funerary practices has been explored by relatively few early-medieval archaeologists. Thedéen (2008) describes a series of transitions for females in Viking-Age Gotland, but her conclusions are based on very regionalised evidence and do not necessarily translate well to other parts of the Viking diaspora. Stoodley (1998; 2000) proposes that the apparent emphasis on gendered adults in the context of Anglo-Saxon England is connected to their history of migration. The implication of his conclusions is that adults who were capable of contributing to the next generation were the ones most likely to received gendered burials.

The gendering of adult burials was as important in Scotland as it was in Norway. Masculinity, although not limited to warrior-type imagery, was closely associated with it, albeit in different degrees between the regions studied (Halstad McGuire

2010a, 261). Feminine assemblages in Scotland were more diverse, but still stood out as distinctly female. In contrast, the contemporary Scandinavian presence in England vanished swiftly through acculturation, but warrior-like identities in early funerary practices are notable. Hadley (2008, 281) proposes that this is linked to the renegotiation of elite masculinities during and after conquest. Conquest, migration, and other dramatic social changes lead to disruptions in society and may cause periods of transition that threaten traditional practices, including gender roles (Halstad McGuire 2010a, 67, 261; Härke 2011, 104). The Viking response to such transitions during the Scandinavian expansion into Scotland, Iceland and elsewhere may have included the idealisation of certain traditional identities through funerary practices.

### **Repair, reuse, recycle: older artefacts in burials**

In the ritual context of burial, one might expect to find only the best artefacts. In recent centuries, Western funerary traditions have involved dressing bodies in their best clothing, for instance. Why then do we sometimes find objects that are worn, broken, repaired, or old in Viking-Age burials? This is not unique to Scandinavian Scotland – indeed, Härke (2000) addresses the circulation and ritual deposition of weapons in Anglo-Saxon England, noting the occurrence of antiques in certain graves. Williams (1998, 96) suggests that there may be spiritual significance in the inclusion of ancient artefacts, perhaps linking individuals to ancestors or a mythical past. In Scandinavian Scotland, several artefacts are notably old at the time of burial. These include the famous brooch found in Westness grave 1, the equal-armed brooch and whalebone plaque from Scar, and the three sets of mismatched oval brooches found at Cnip, Bhaltos and Carn a’Bharraich, some of which displayed evidence of repair. The inclusion of older material in graves suggests that these objects held social significance, perhaps during the lifetime of the deceased, as well as during the funeral. This makes sense; according to Hayeur Smith (2003b, 228) jewellery, as an heirloom, is a ‘connecting agent with one’s ancestral group.’ Indeed, whether we see older objects as heirlooms or as ties to a mythical past, the point is that they connect the living to ancestors, real or imagined. In connecting to ancestors, they may also be drawing on and recreating images of homeland.

A pair of shrine mounts that had been removed from an Insular house-shaped shrine were modified to serve as brooches and included in the woman’s grave at Carn a’Bharraich. In the Westness 1 burial, there was a small brooch made from what may have been a book mount, while at Bhaltos there was a possible brooch made from a gilded circular mount. The recycling of metalwork as jewellery is well known from Viking contexts (e.g. Sheehan 2013; Wamers 1998). In some instances, Insular religious objects, such as shrines and books, appear to have formed the raw materials for recycled jewellery in both Norway and Scotland. Raiding seems like the most likely means of acquisition when the original material was ecclesiastical, as such objects were unlikely to have circulated through trade (Bakka 1965, 40; Halstad McGuire 2010,

165). Recently, Sheehan (2013, 820) proposed that Insular metalwork may have been specifically targeted by raiders for use in Scandinavian gift-exchange networks. He implied that the presence of this metalwork in women's burials in Norway may be indicative of its use as bride wealth. This could be equally true in other parts of the Viking diaspora.

Whilst it may be impossible to definitively ascribe motives to people in the past, it is tempting to speculate that the wearing of stolen material culture could have been both about the display of beautiful objects and the celebration of successful raiding activities. The women who wore these items of jewellery were unlikely to have been raiders themselves, but Ibn Fadlan's tenth-century chronicle *Risala* states that women displayed their husbands' wealth through adornment. This implies a passive role for women that may be unpalatable in current interpretations; nevertheless, it is worth exploring. Sayer (2010, 62) argues that furnished burials in early Anglo-Saxon England were more indicative of family identities, than individual ones. If we see Viking society as focusing not on the individual, but on the family, then it becomes possible for women to actively engage in the display of a family's place and social prestige through choices in jewellery.

### **The lay of the land**

Proximity to water seems to have been the driving determinant of burial location in Scandinavian Scotland. Viking graves in both Norway and Iceland are associated with water, but also generally with settlements and farms. Of course, being near to water is somewhat inevitable in environments dominated by fjords and islands. However, in marked contrast to elsewhere, there appears to be a disconnect between contemporary settlements and burial sites in Scandinavian Scotland. Instead, graves and cemeteries are found associated with earlier man-made features and natural landscapes (Leonard 2011 notes the same general pattern where Viking Age settlements are associated with earlier ones). Many of the graves from Scotland are located in sand-dunes (e.g. Scar, Balnakeil, and Kiloran Bay), some in conjunction with small islands, eroding cliff faces and hills. Many burials are connected to earlier man-made sites, such as settlement mounds, middens, ancient cairns and cemeteries (Fig. 4.4). Although these sites could be deemed appropriate for disposal of the dead, either already being places of burial, or being otherwise conspicuous in the landscape, the decisions to use these sites may be more meaningful than functional. Convenience would suggest that they be placed in easily accessed locations, while tradition would require them to be placed in conjunction with a settlement. In some instances, burials are associated with pre-Viking settlements, rather than contemporary ones. Leonard (2011, 60) argues that the act of inserting a burial into a pre-existing settlement or monument serves to create mnemonic landmarks, connecting the settlers with their new landscape. Essentially, these funerals became part of the process of claiming Scandinavian Scotland, similar to

<i>Monument type.</i>	<i>Period(s)</i>	<i>Site name(s)</i>
Settlement mound	Pictish/Viking	Buckquoy
Broch	Iron Age	Gurness; Lambaness
Shell midden	Mesolithic	Carn a' Bharraich
Cairn	Bronze Age; Late Roman Iron Age; Pictish	Cnip; Brough Rd, Birsay
Cemetery	Pictish	Westness; Dunrobin

*Fig. 4.4: Viking-Age burials associated with pre-existing man-made monuments.*

the way that Thäte (2007, 277) has suggested that the reuse of burial mounds in Scandinavia legitimises claims of inheritance.

The reuse of ancient monuments in the early Middle Ages has been a topic of discussion for almost two decades (e.g. Driscoll 1998; Leonard 2011; Semple 1998; 2009; Thäte 2007; 2009; Williams 1998; see also Maldonado, this volume). Some of the core ideas that have emerged from these studies include seeing ancient monuments as tools to secure the power of ruling elites, legitimising claims to land, and linking people to ancestors and lineages (real or invented). Thäte (2007) argues that the reuse of monuments in Viking-Age Norway was central to the socio-political lives of landowners, whereby the use of ancient funerary mounds creates lineal links, while burial in settlements allows the taking over of a territory by an outsider. In a subsequent paper, Thäte (2009, 108) observes that many Viking-Age burials were associated with liminal spaces (high ground, water ways, etc), proposing that these choices emerged from a much wider phenomenon of near-death experiences. The implication of Thäte's research is thus: in Viking-Age Scandinavia, decisions about where to place a burial were embedded in worldviews that were both spiritual and secular. Religion and politics may have been deeply intertwined in Viking-Age funerary practices.

A funeral procession would have made a journey from some settlement to a prominent place in the landscape. A warrior may have been transported in, or accompanied by, a boat, his weapons and personal items, and some number of mourners. Textual sources from other parts of the early medieval world hint that the funeral was a spectacle, with singing, feasting, and various other dramatics (consider the funeral in *Beowulf*, the rules for cremation laid out by Oðinn in *Ynglinga* saga, and the description in Ibn Fadlan's *Risala*, for instance). In a few instances in Scotland, a horse might be sacrificed as part of the ritual (e.g. Kiloran Bay). This seems most likely to have been done near to the grave, as the animal would be large and heavy to shift once dead. Women's burials occur in the same places as men's, suggesting that they too would have had a funeral procession, with accompanying rituals. A procession of this nature would inevitably garner attention from anyone near enough to hear it coming, incomer and local alike and need not have been limited to the community in which the deceased had lived.

The spectacle of the funeral would become part of the collective memories of the witnesses (Williams 2005, 256). Bringing together practices from home and displays of power and identity, the funeral may thus become an agent for both competition and cooperation between groups of settlers.

With so many Viking-Age burials placed along Scottish waterways, in bays, and with prominent features, they must have made for a landscape/seascape peopled with memories of the dead. As established and later Viking settlers sailed down the coasts and along the isles, every monument they passed could have told a story about those who came before. Moreover, by associating their own dead with earlier monuments, the Vikings in Scotland may have been appropriating those spaces and stories for themselves. They would have made themselves a fundamental part of the landscape. Their reasons may have been spiritual, secular, or a combination of both. Were they passively re-enacting funerary rituals carried over from their homelands, consciously conquering the land by ‘conquering’ the dead (as per Thäte 2009), or creating imagined ancestral connections to earlier inhabitants (as per Williams 1998)? These are questions for which we cannot provide concrete answers, but such answers may not be completely necessary. Each of these interpretations leads to the same destination – the incorporation of the Scandinavian settlers into the Scottish Isles.

## **Conclusion**

This paper began by suggesting that migration shapes people. The Viking-Age settlers who came to Scotland brought with them a set of ritual practices that continued to be used long after settlement. Furnished burials located in prominent locations are perceived to be one of the most recognisable features of this period in Scotland. Through these practices, the Vikings shaped the landscapes into which they settled, but over time, the rituals were also changed in subtle ways, as the settlers engaged with each other and with the local populations. An issue that was outwith the scope of this paper, but worth considering in the future, is the potential impact of contact with and conversion to Christianity. The settlers would have been exposed to Christian influences both in Scotland and increasingly from the Scandinavian homelands.

Gender was one of the most defining characteristics of funerary practices in Scandinavian Scotland. Gender identities for men and women had their roots in the homelands of the settlers, but were played out in an environment where ownership of land may have been disputed. As such, they became both idealised and dramatised, with warrior rites being central to the display of masculinity. In a few instances, the inclusion of weapons was emphasised, even if it is not certain that the deceased would have actively engaged in armed conflict. Even in death, the land was being aggressively claimed. Although there are rare instances of Viking women’s burials with weapons, none are known from Scotland. Instead, the women buried in the Scottish landscape were buried as Scandinavian women, wearing jewellery imported from their homelands (old and repaired, in some cases) or recycled from valuable Insular objects.

Perhaps oval brooches and their substitutes were curated, worn, and eventually placed in graves as a means to maintain ties to ancestors, not just for the individual women, but as part of reiteration and communication of family identities. By continuing traditions imported from Scandinavia, the settlers may have been actively declaring their identities to each other as well as to any persisting local populations.

Finally, this paper has highlighted the importance of landscape choices and monument reuse in Scandinavian Scotland. It appears that the settlers broke with the tradition of associating burials with settlements, in favour of traditions of burial along waterways or in conjunction with older sites. This may, however, be a reflection of circumstances of archaeological discovery and therefore any conclusions drawn from this pattern are necessarily tentative. The locations selected for burial allow for a continuation of practices that may be connected with belief in access to the supernatural, but they also make visible statements about the presence of settlers within the natural and ritual landscapes of the Scottish Isles. The processions, funerals, and monuments may have worked together to inscribe memories of individuals in the minds of the living, both settler and local. Conducting Scandinavian funerary rituals for men and women in places like Pictish cemeteries could simultaneously declare the appropriation of space and the continuation of tradition. Thus, they enable the settlers to create connections to their (imagined) homelands, while asserting the permanence of their place in Scotland.

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