

UNIVERSITY OF LONDON

DEVIANT BURIALS IN VIKING-AGE SCANDINAVIA

Ruth Lydia Taylor

M. Phil, Institute of Archaeology, University College London

UMI Number: U602472

All rights reserved

INFORMATION TO ALL USERS

The quality of this reproduction is dependent upon the quality of the copy submitted.

In the unlikely event that the author did not send a complete manuscript and there are missing pages, these will be noted. Also, if material had to be removed, a note will indicate the deletion.



UMI U602472

Published by ProQuest LLC 2014. Copyright in the Dissertation held by the Author.
Microform Edition © ProQuest LLC.

All rights reserved. This work is protected against
unauthorized copying under Title 17, United States Code.



ProQuest LLC
789 East Eisenhower Parkway
P.O. Box 1346
Ann Arbor, MI 48106-1346

ABSTRACT

DEVIANT BURIALS IN VIKING-AGE SCANDINAVIA

The thesis brings together information yielded from archaeology and other sources to provide an overall picture of the types of burial practices encountered during the Viking-Age in Scandinavia. From this, an attempt is made to establish deviancy. Comparative evidence, such as literary, runic, legal and folkloric evidence will be used critically to shed perspective on burial practices and the artefacts found within the graves. The thesis will mostly cover burials from the Viking Age (late 8th century to the mid-11th century), but where the comparative evidence dates from other periods, its validity is discussed accordingly.

Two types of deviant burial emerged: the criminal and the victim. A third type, which shows distinctive irregularity yet lacks deviancy, is the healer/witch burial. From these results, the changing role of the female as primitive healer/witch, whose status changed from being an accepted, if not revered, part of pagan society, into a feared and deviant individual during the Christian period will be focused upon. A brief summary of the use of witchcraft and *seiðr* is thus included. The burials identified as exhibiting deviant characteristics are then compared, in order to interpret these graves on a local, national or pan-Scandinavian basis.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Many thanks must go to my supervisor, Professor James Graham-Campbell, without whom I could not have produced this thesis, and who provided encouragement together with helpful comments and references throughout the subject.

In addition, I would like to thank Guðrún Nordal and Svanhildur Oskarsdóttir for their guidance in the early stages of my investigations into the role of the female within Norse literature and history. I would additionally thank Anne-Sofie Gräslund for her help with references and guidance on the Swedish material, and both Mjöll Snæsdóttir and Vilhjalmur Örn Vilhjálmsson for their help on obtaining and directing me towards some of the Icelandic material. My thanks also go to Andrew Reynolds and the staff and librarians at UCL and the Institute of Archaeology, as well as to the library staff at Carolina Rediviva, Uppsala and Statens Historiska Museet, Stockholm.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Abstract	i
Acknowledgements	ii
Table of Contents	iii
List of Illustrations	viii
List of Tables.....	viii
Introduction.....	1
1. Choice of Topic.....	1
2. The Period of Time Covered.....	1
3. The Socially Deviant and Outcasts.....	2
Archaeology.....	2
4. The Female, the Healer/Witch and Magic During the Viking Age and Early Christian Period... 3	3
Magic, Witchcraft and Sorcery	4
5. Sacrifice.....	5
6. Comparative Evidence and Inter-Disciplinary Study.....	5
Medieval Texts.....	6
Folklore	7
Medieval Scandinavian Laws.....	8
Runic Evidence	8
Anglo-Saxon Evidence.....	9
7. Summary and Structure of Thesis	9
Chapter 1	11
Introduction to Burials in Viking-Age Scandinavia	
1. Regular Burials: Defining Deviancy	11
Geographic Location.....	11
Dating.....	11
Sexing the Skeletons	12
Cremation and Inhumation.....	12
2. Cremations	12
3. Inhumations.....	13
Single and Multiple Burial	13
Treatment of the Corpse.....	14
Live Burial	15
Grave Linings, Coffins and Chambers	15
4. Grave Goods and Dress Accessories.....	16
Male	16
Female.....	16
5. Graveside Rituals	17
Charcoal	17
6. Markers of Inhumation and Cremation Graves	17
7. Conversion Period.....	18
8. Summary - Criteria for Establishing Deviant and Healer/Witch Burials.....	20
Chapter 2	23
Burials in Viking-Age Denmark	
1. Geographic Area and Background to Denmark	23
2. Traditional Period Divisions in Denmark.....	23
3. General Dating of Burials.....	23
4. Pagan Burial in Denmark – General.....	24
5. Cremations	24
6. Inhumations.....	25
The Grave.....	25
Orientation.....	25

Grave Goods.....	25
7. Conversion Evidence.....	27
Continuation of Pagan Practices.....	28
8. Slaves	28
9. The Slusegård Burials	28
10. Healer/Witch Burials.....	31
11. Deviant Graves.....	34
12. Summary	42
Chapter 3	44
Burials in Viking-Age Sweden	
1. Geographical Area and Background to Sweden.....	44
2. Traditional Period Divisions in Sweden.....	44
3. Pagan Burial in Sweden - General.....	44
4. The Mälars Region.....	45
Cremation.....	45
Stone Settings.....	46
Inhumation	46
Stone Settings.....	47
Grave Goods.....	47
5. Dalarna	48
Cremation.....	48
Inhumations.....	49
Grave Goods.....	49
6. The Conversion to Christianity	50
Continuation of Pagan Practices.....	51
7. Healer/Witch Burials.....	51
8. Deviant Burial	52
Multiple Cremation Graves	52
9. Summary	57
Chapter 4	59
Burials in Viking-Age Norway	
1. Geographic Area and Background to Norway	59
2. Traditional Period Divisions in Norway.....	60
3. Pagan Burial in Norway - General	60
Cremations	61
Cremation and Ship Burial.....	61
Inhumations.....	62
Seated Burial.....	62
Inhumations and Boat Burial.....	62
4. Kaupang	64
Grave Goods at Kaupang	65
5. Grave Goods.....	66
6. Conversion Evidence.....	68
7. Healer/Witch Burials.....	69
8. Deviant Burials.....	70
9. Summary	73
Chapter 5	75
Burials in Viking-Age Iceland	
1. Geographic Area and Background to Iceland.....	75
2. The Conversion	76
3. General Dating of Burials.....	76
4. Pagan Burial in Iceland - General	77
Inhumation Burials.....	77
Cremation Burial.....	77
5. Grave Goods.....	78
6. Early Christian Burials.....	78
7. Slaves and Social Outcasts	79

8.	Healer/Witch Burials.....	79
	Folklore of Sorcerer Graves.....	79
9.	Deviant Burials.....	80
10.	Summary.....	81
Chapter 6.....		82
Scandinavian and European Sources Relating to Sorcery and Healing		
1.	Literature Review.....	82
2.	Magic, Religion and Law in Medieval Europe.....	83
3.	The Origins of Scandinavian Literature.....	84
	Background to the Sagas.....	84
4.	The Different Groups of Saga, Their Problems and Treatment of Magic.....	85
	The <i>Íslendinga Sögur</i>	85
	Other Sagas.....	85
	The <i>Eddas</i> and Skaldic Poetry.....	86
	Other Literary Sources.....	87
5.	Religion and Magic.....	88
	Paganism.....	88
	The Conversion and Early Christian Period.....	88
6.	Magic in the Sagas.....	89
	The Depiction of the Witch.....	90
	The <i>Völva</i>	91
	The Talents and Types of Magic Practised by the Sorcerers.....	91
	Shamanism, Shape Shifting and Travel.....	91
	The Power of Words.....	92
	Divination.....	92
	Cloaks.....	93
	Weather Magic.....	93
	Healing.....	93
	Evil Eye.....	93
	Love and Impotence Magic.....	94
7.	Useful Physical Descriptions for Archaeology.....	94
8.	Punishment Against Sorcery in the Sagas.....	95
9.	Scandinavian Magic from Other Sources.....	96
10.	Summary.....	96
Chapter 7.....		98
Legal and Runic Evidence		
(I) Legal Evidence for Outcasts and Witchcraft.....		98
1.	Danish Law.....	98
	Penalties for Sorcery.....	99
	Mutilation.....	99
	Death Penalty.....	99
	Live Burial.....	99
	Burial Outside the Cemetery.....	99
	Literary Evidence.....	99
2.	Icelandic Laws.....	100
	Sorcery.....	100
	Death Penalty.....	100
	Burial Outside the Churchyard.....	100
3.	Norwegian Laws.....	100
	Sorcery.....	100
	Outlawry.....	101
	Capital Punishment.....	101
	Stoning.....	101
	Burial Outside the Churchyard.....	101
4.	Swedish Law.....	101
	Penalties for Witchcraft.....	102
	Poisoning.....	102
	Sorcery as an Insult.....	102

Burning at the Stake	102
Capital Punishment	103
Live Burial	103
5. Material Items Mentioned in the Laws	103
6. Summary	103
(II) Runestones and Inscriptions Indicating Outcasts, Burial Superstitions and Sorcery	105
1. The Runic Alphabet	105
2. Runic Inscriptions and the Dead.....	105
3. Curses, Insults and the Outcast.....	107
4. Runic Inscriptions and Sorcery	108
5. Apotropaic Sorcery	109
6. Summary	110
Chapter 8	111
Literary Evidence for Burial in Scandinavia	111
1. ‘Normal’ Inhumation Burial.....	111
Ship Burial	111
The Widow or Suttee.....	112
Other Kinship Burial	112
Slave Burial and Sacrifice	112
Burial of Witches and Criminals	113
Decapitation and Mutilation.....	114
Suicides	115
<i>Draugar</i> and Exhumations	115
2. Cremation.....	115
3. Gravegoods	116
4. Uppsala.....	116
5. Christian Burial	117
6. Summary	117
Chapter 9	118
Amulets, Physical Remains of Religion, Superstition, Witchcraft and Healing	
1. Amulets and Objects for Sorcery, Ritual or Healing	119
2. Literary Evidence for Amulet Bags, Amulets and Witchcraft.....	120
3. Primitive Medicine - Literary and Scientific Evidence	121
4. Amulet Bags and Caskets and Their Function	123
5. Scandinavian Amulet Bags and Caskets, the Archaeological Evidence	125
Pre-Viking Evidence	125
Viking-Age Evidence.....	126
Birka.....	126
Other Scandinavian Evidence.....	127
European Amulet Bags.....	128
6. Natural Amulets	129
Stones	129
Literary Evidence and Superstition	129
Archaeological Evidence.....	130
Pre-Viking Evidence	131
Viking-Age Evidence	131
Fossils and Shells	133
Rock Crystal	133
Amethyst	134
Amber.....	134
Jet	135
Iron Pyrites	135
Organic Remains.....	135
Animals: Claws, Paws and Teeth.....	136
7. Man-Made Amulets.....	137
Glass.....	137
Glass Beads	137

Personal Grooming Equipment	138
Pendants and Jewellery	138
Thor's Hammers.....	138
Miniature Weapons and Tools.....	139
Snake Pendants.....	139
Capsule Pendants.....	140
Ring Pendants.....	140
Mask Pendants.....	140
Cross-Shaped Pendants	140
Gold Bracteates and Shield-Shaped Pendants	140
Horse-Shaped Brooches and Pendants	140
Chair-Shaped Pendants.....	141
Human Figures	141
8. Firesteels and Iron Slag	141
9. Knives	142
10. Axes.....	142
11. Keys.....	143
12. Kitchen Equipment.....	143
13. Grave Sticks - A Pagan Survival?	143
14. Ritual Staffs.....	146
15. Rattles.....	147
16. Cloth, Weaving and Spindle-Whorls.....	148
17. Candles and Wax.....	149
18. Summary	149
Conclusion	151
1. Attempts at Defining Normality and Deviancy – A Success?.....	151
2. Attempts at Defining and Identifying Healer/Witch Burials – A Success?.....	151
3. Burials That May Have a Supernatural Association.....	152
Deviant Burial Practices and the Supernatural.....	152
Decapitation and Mutilation.....	153
4. Burials probably not associated with the Supernatural.....	154
Prone	154
One Burial Above the Other: Master, Slave and Sacrifice	155
Other Deviant Burials.....	157
5. Amulets and the Combination of Grave Goods.....	157
Stones.....	159
6. Other Sources and the Interpretation of Archaeology	159
7. Changes in Women's Roles with Christianity.....	161
8. Summary	163
ILLUSTRATIONS.....	164-178
TABLES.....	179-197
GLOSSARY.....	198
BIBIOGRAPHY	203

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

Illustration 1	Bj. 581, Birka	165
Illustration 2	Grave 260, Pk Bank, Lund	165
Illustration 3	Grave 309, Slusegård, Bornholm	166
Illustration 4	Double grave from Gerdrup, near Roskilde	166
Illustration 5	Grave D, Bogøvej, Langeland	167
Illustration 6	Grave P, Bogøvej, Langeland	167
Illustration 7	Grave T, Bogøvej, Langeland	167
Illustration 8	Double grave from Kalmergården, Langeland	168
Illustration 9	West skeleton, Kalmergården, Langeland	168
Illustration 10	Grave 55, Lejre, Sjælland	168
Illustration 11	Grave 1, Gyllenkrok, Lund	169
Illustration 12	Grave 2, Gyllenkrok, Lund	169
Illustration 13	Grave 3, Gyllenkrok, Lund	169
Illustration 14	Grave FII, Stengade II, Fredriksborg	170
Illustration 15	Bj. 660, Birka	170
Illustration 16	Bj. 660, Birka	170
Illustration 17	Grave A 129, Birka	171
Illustration 18	Mound A29, Bollstanäs, Fresta, Uppland	171
Illustration 19	Animal head post, Oseberg	172
Illustration 20	Skeleton I/1953, Kaupang	172
Illustration 21	Skeletons II and III/1954, Kaupang	172
Illustration 22	The Ribe cranium	173
Illustration 23	Male figure, possibly of Freyr	173
Illustration 24	Findings from the male grave at Karlsness, Landmannahreppur	173
Illustration 25	Findings from the female grave at Ketilstaðir, Hjaltastaðahreppur	173
Illustration 26	Smooth pebble from Grave 20, Fyrkat	174
Illustration 27a and 27b	Findings from Grave , Hrifunes, Skaftártunahreppur	174
Illustration 28	Metal box holding the remains of a grass snake, Bäls sn., Gotland	174
Illustration 29	Piece of hair from a cremation urn, Skopinntull, Adelsö	175
Illustration 30	Amulet ring from a grave at Torvalla, Skederid, Uppland	175
Illustration 31	Staff-shaped amulets from Bj. 60 A, Birka	175
Illustration 32	Throne-shaped pendant from Grave 188, Hedeby	175
Illustration 33	Silver chair-shaped pendant from Grave 4, Fyrkat	176
Illustration 34	Picture stone from Tjängvide (I), Alskog parish, Gotland, showing a depiction of a valkyrie	176
Illustration 35	Silver pendant in the form of a woman, possibly a valkyrie.	176
Illustration 36	Grave sticks from the Thule site, Lund	177
Illustration 37	Grave sticks from the PK Bank site, Lund	177
Illustration 38	Classification of roasting spits / ritual staffs	177
Illustration 39	Staffs from Birka	178
Illustration 40	Rattles from Norway	178
Illustration 41	Whipshaft from Gävle, Gästrikland	178
Illustration 42	Rattles from Mora, Kråkberg, Dalarna	178
Illustration 43	Lund weaving tablet	178

NB: Acknowledgements of the illustrations are cited in the captions within the Illustrations section.

LIST OF TABLES

Table I:	Amulet References Cited in the Thesis	179
Table II:	Summary of Birka Amulet Bags and Caskets	183
Table III:	Summary of Scandinavian Amulet Bags and Caskets (not including Birka)	188
Table IV:	Summary of the Deviant Burials	190

INTRODUCTION

1. CHOICE OF TOPIC

To my knowledge, nobody has drawn together the Scandinavian evidence about Viking-Age deviant burial traditions in such a manner as I will attempt. Whilst researching the types of people who were considered to be social outcasts during the Viking Age, I became particularly interested in the changing role of the female as primitive healer/witch. The status of this type of female changed from being an accepted, if not revered, part of pagan society, into a feared individual during the Christian period, and so particular attention is paid to this subject.

The thesis will focus on Scandinavian archaeological material, attempting to establish criteria for deviant burial practices. Graves which could fall into the category of belonging to the healer/witch will be focussed upon and deviant burials, which may or may not have had links to the supernatural, will then be discussed. Comparative evidence will then be used to provide an overall picture of the burial practices and help explain any deviancy encountered during this period. Despite the problems encountered using comparative evidence, attempts will be made to bring together and assess critically any relevant material that may provide an alternative interpretation or may appear to contradict the archaeological evidence completely.

When this thesis was in final draft, Neil Price (2002) produced a book on a similar topic, discussing the relationship of the Viking-Age magic *seiðr* with the shamanistic practices of the Saami; he also uses literary sources to enhance interpretation of the archaeological material. In particular, Price focuses on the iron objects previously assumed to be a type of roasting spit and reinterprets them as ritual staffs associated with magic or *seiðr*. Some of the burials discussed by Price have been considered below, without knowledge of Price's work, but his observations add further substance in their interpretation as belonging to healer/witch burials. Many of the 'witch' burials identified below do not contain a staff-shaped object, which should not discount them from being analysed as this type of a burial (in any case, they may or may not have contained a wooden staff, which could have decomposed).

2. THE PERIOD OF TIME COVERED

The thesis will mostly cover the Viking Age. The dating of the Viking Age is often disputed as more finds are made and the technology to date improves. The period is usually considered to span from the late 8th century to the mid-11th century (Roesdahl, 1994; Myhre, 1993). This period is often broken down further into shorter periods in each of the Scandinavian countries, as is shown in the following chapters. However, some material prior to the Viking Age will be considered as it provides a background or comparison for the Viking-Age material, and some early Christian graves will be included similarly. Attributing dates to certain types of burial and labelling them pagan, conversion period or Christian is fraught with difficulties, as many similar burial customs that were practised over a length of time have traits that cannot easily be dated or attributed to a particular religion.

3. THE SOCIALLY DEVIANT AND OUTCASTS

ARCHAEOLOGY

The term 'deviant' will be used to mark out particular burials in this thesis. These burials may be the remains of anti-social individuals or criminals. Some of the burials may be the remains of individuals who were involved with healing and/or witchcraft, who may have been partially revered for their skill and partially feared, as such knowledge may have linked them to the supernatural. The *Concise Oxford Dictionary* (1990) explains *deviant* thus – 'that deviates from the normal, especially with reference to sexual practices'. In this thesis, 'deviant' will be used where the burial exhibits a trait or combination of traits that are not exhibited elsewhere within the cemetery or local geographic area, and disrespect is shown to the corpse. Carelli (1995, 44) describes the Christian burials that show deviancy as "profane" and "abnormal", as they do not adhere to the usual Christian burial customs.

The problems associated with human remains (such as their deterioration), the difficulties in dating some burials accurately to the Viking Age, and the level of recording material makes giving an accurate ratio of 'normal burial' to 'deviant burial' difficult. However, given the amount of graves datable to the Viking Age that have been excavated and recorded to a high standard, a small but significant proportion can be identified as exhibiting deviant features. Furthermore, other graves less scientifically excavated have also been recorded as exhibiting deviant features, but other information which may have aided in their interpretation may have been overlooked or destroyed. As some of the burials included in the thesis have been found randomly (such as by road building or soil erosion) and as isolated burials sometimes contain deviant characteristics, there may be many more burials exhibiting these traits in existence, which are yet to be found.

In order to establish if a burial is deviant, there has to be a framework of 'normal' burials with which to compare. As many of the Viking-Age burials tend to adhere to a norm, showing popularity of certain burial practices within the various levels of society, regionally, nationally and throughout Scandinavia, it is neither unreasonable to attempt to define deviancy nor to consider such burials together. Many of the deviant burials considered below do seem to adhere to a norm of their own, whether by exhibiting similar mutilation and burial location or by the unusual and uncommon types of object included in the burial. They are also found in varying numbers throughout Scandinavia. Problems do arise with the classification of deviancy and this is discussed further in Chapter 1.

LITERATURE

Social outcasts encountered in the saga literature and legal texts include criminals, beggars, outlaws, individuals who did not adhere to the expected characteristics of their sex and individuals who practised passive homosexuality (*ragr, argr*). Such was the shame of being thought to be passively homosexual (and therefore cowardly), that if someone accused another man of behaving in such a way (*níð*), the accused could instigate a lawsuit or take revenge on the accuser (Meulengracht Sørensen, 1983, 11). 'The most serious verbal offences are thus equated with killing, rape and adultery, and are

regarded as more flagrant than, for instance, bodily injury' (Meulengracht Sørensen, 1983, 17). Meulengracht Sørensen (1983, 12-13, 79-80) notes that the concept of unmanliness, involving passive homosexual behaviour, may have had its roots in the Viking Age, but may have been predominantly a concept of the saga authors, who used such claims to great literary effect. Witches were generally considered social outcasts, with a few exceptions (such as Geirriðr Þórólfsdóttir *bægifóts* in *Eyrbyggja saga*). The homosexual connotations around using a feminine form of witchcraft could be used as a method of defaming a person (Chapter 6). The insult of becoming a *ragr* was used on runestones and may have contained a similar meaning as when it was used in the sagas. *Berserks* were often considered to be of a higher social status than witches and beggars, because they were less anti-social and easier to deal with; they were often attached to armies/warrior troops (Breisch, 1994, 126-8). Slaves functioned as part of society, although they were low status.

These types of social outcasts exist in medieval sources. Had such types of individual existed during the Viking Age, they may be represented in the deviant burials, where disrespect is shown to the remains of the individual.

4. THE FEMALE, THE HEALER/WITCH AND MAGIC DURING THE VIKING AGE AND EARLY CHRISTIAN PERIOD

The position of women in the Viking Age has been assessed increasingly over the last 30 years, both in an archaeological and literary capacity, such as by Bruder (1974), Jesch (1991) and Jochens (1995). Some texts have applied feminist views to archaeology and literature. Lindeberg (1997) provides a review of recently published feminist material.

THE HEALER/WITCH FIGURE

Little attention has been paid to the specific role of healer/wisewoman in literature or archaeology, other than in the article by Mundal and Steinsland (1987) and the thesis about Old Norse witches by Morris (1991), which draws few conclusions. Many of the women defined as witches in the sagas may have been characterisations of wise women, who used collections of amulets, small artefacts, charms and herbs as primitive methods of medicine, perhaps using magic rituals as a form of mysticism. This primitive medicine-magic may have been solely linked with the amulets and herbs and had no association with the high-status Óðinn-style magic (*seiðr*). As women were not encouraged by the Church to practise medicine, as health and life were considered a divine right, labelling the wise women as witches seems to have been an acceptable practice for the saga writers. Women during the pagan period may have participated in religious functions (Gräslund, 1995, 462, 466, 471), which may have been separate from the type of role held by the healing woman.

When examining the deviant burials for this thesis, several of the female burials contained an above average quantity of amulets, beads, and unusual contents of a bag kept at the waist, and appeared to show characteristics of a person associated with the supernatural. Rather than suggest that these women were high priestesses, if that kind of person existed, the burials seem to indicate that these women may have been involved with healing, which may have been part of the duty of the village

witch or wisewoman, or may have had nothing to do with witchcraft. Such graves are defined in detail in Chapter 1. Although many of these burials show reverence to the deceased, such individuals in the saga literature are conversely ridiculed and presented as living on the borders of or outside society.

MAGIC, WITCHCRAFT AND SORCERY

The definitions of magic, sorcery and witchcraft are often blurred (Meaney, 1989, 19-20; Marwick (ed.), 1990, 11-19). Likewise, superstition, religion, magic and ritual often become blurred and overlap their meanings (Merrifield, 1987, 6). Schmidt Poulsen (1986, 170-1) provides a good summary of the definition of magic. The method in which these terms were used during the medieval period can be vague. Meaney (1989, 14-20) discusses different words used to indicate a witch or sorcerer and what they meant during the medieval period. Meaney (1989, 20) suggests using the early medieval usage of witchcraft, where white magic was considered good, and black magic was evil and linked later to sorcery. Specific definitions between the roles of sorcerer, witch, wisewoman or man may have been apparent during the Viking Age, given the quantity and variety of words used to describe supernatural acts and their purveyors. Words associated with the supernatural and magic may have been used interchangeably by the saga authors, who may have been less aware of the pagan nuances of the words when they were used in the 13th and 14th centuries. Steffensen (1967-8, 186, 189) notes that the nicknames attributed to individuals associated with sorcery from the Christian period are not found in the pagan period. Witchcraft appears to have been partly learnt and as well as being an integral aspect of the individual during the Viking Age (Tillhagen, 1962, 7-8). The sagas document families of witches, which may imply that such knowledge could be inherited. Anglo-Saxon witches do not seem to have possessed hereditary magic and supernatural knowledge does not seem to have been passed on through other means (Meaney, 1989, 19). Given the limitations of language and for consistency the terms 'witch' and 'sorcerer' will be used to denote the perpetrators of malevolent supernatural activity. 'Witch' denotes an individual possessing an inherent power, which can be used for good or bad means in a 'mystical' kind of way. 'Sorcerer' denotes an individual involved in a more malevolent magic, which can be practised by anyone and involves actively casting spells (Marwick, 1990, 11-13). Where possible, 'wisewoman/man' will be used, as this also describes knowledge without necessarily consultation with the supernatural, yet implies a raised social position. The term 'healer' also may link some of the supernatural or spiritual knowledge of a witch with the knowledge of being able to cure an individual with herbs or amulets.

The perception of witchcraft in pagan times and early Christian times would have been different. The 'black' type of magic would have been anti-social during both periods. The 'white' type of magic may have been commonly accepted during the pagan period, as, during the Christian period, it would have been condemned by the Church. The people who wrote the sagas may have had a negative, if not didactic, purpose in condemning magical practice in the sagas. This thesis will briefly summarise the types of magic and witchcraft encountered in literature, but will concentrate on literary evidence where the practices relate to material objects, which could perhaps be evidenced in archaeological material.

Religious and seemingly superstitious objects and amulets found in Viking-Age burials indicate that belief in the supernatural was widespread. Runic evidence indicates that verbal magic existed. Magic may have been linked to religion or have been practised separately as part of a low magic healing ritual or for foresight. An artefact that appears to have religious connotations may also have been used as part of a magic ritual, but such practices can only be guessed at and a purely supernatural association may only be attributed.

In Chapters 2 to 5, archaeological evidence will be presented from graves that may have contained the healer/witch type of individual, alongside other burials that also show deviancy that may or may not have been linked to the supernatural.

5. SACRIFICE

How the Vikings defined a sacrifice is unclear. The act of killing a person to appease a god or as part of a funerary ritual may have been considered a sacrifice and as a method of taking an individual into the next life with someone recently deceased. Several graves within Scandinavia have been suggested to contain sacrificed individuals, which will be considered in the following chapters. Graves sometimes considered to contain a sacrifice fall into two types: either when an individual (who is sometimes mutilated) is added above or in the fill of a well laid out burial, or individual or double graves containing maimed or possibly hanged skeletons. The subject and origins of the sacrifice will not be considered in this thesis as the subject has been covered extensively by Ström (1942) and von Amira (1922).

6. COMPARATIVE EVIDENCE AND INTER-DISCIPLINARY STUDY

Due to the general scarcity of evidence relating to the subject of social outcasts and, in particular, the healer/witch figure, references have been drawn from a number of sources outside archaeology. These sources are medieval Scandinavian and European literature, Viking Age and early medieval runic evidence, medieval legal evidence and late medieval to modern day folkloric evidence. Taken in isolation, these other sources bring with them a number of other problems about their subject matter and used in an inter-disciplinary way cause further problems, which may be the reason why these sources are seldom considered together. Comparative evidence, although from a biased, anachronistic, or perhaps not directly relevant source, can be used as a source for providing alternative interpretation of archaeological material, which may not immediately be suggested by the archaeological evidence alone. By taking particular information from each type of source, the knowledge base can be enriched, but not just by combining all the sources (Schmidt Poulsen, 1986, 169). The problems encountered in using interdisciplinary sources are explained in turn below.

MEDIEVAL TEXTS

As will be explained further in Chapter 6, the medieval Icelandic and Scandinavian literature poses problems for use as sources for interpreting Viking Age archaeology. The purpose of the sagas was probably primarily for entertainment, as archaeology is a scientific and more tangible subject. The date differences between the sagas and the archaeology are considerable (the earliest surviving manuscripts containing the sagas date from several hundreds of years after the events they describe) and this time band spreads over a change of religion. Literature is open to retelling and outside influences, whether political bias, personal taste, or refashioning to make it more appealing to a particular audience. In taking these factors into account, the literary sources should not be taken too literally as a method for explaining any archaeological phenomenon. For many years the sagas have been considered too tenuous to link with archaeological evidence and have, perhaps, been judged too critically as sources. Vilhjálmsón (1992, 179) suggests that 'Icelandic archaeology would certainly benefit from a new tradition, where historical sources can receive their well earned rest, and where archaeological excavation and theory could lead the way'. Literary evidence in the form of Nordic mythology has been suggested to originate from a different 'culture' than the archaeology itself and should therefore be used carefully as a means to interpret archaeology (Schmidt Poulsen, 1986, 168).

Despite the problems posed by using the saga and literary evidence, other than the runic evidence, they are the only indigenous sources dating near to the Viking Age. Discounting the literature and relying solely on archaeology ignores a rich source of information and a method of interpretation, which would not be obvious to a 21st-century archaeologist. Archaeological evidence is usually interpreted with a 21st-century critical, scientific and logical mind. Literary sources can add to archaeological research and interpretation, not just in taking the literary references at face value, but by using them where they describe objects, sites and traditions as a starting point for making comparisons and analogies with archaeological evidence. Indeed, some of the burial traditions described in detail in the sagas do seem to reflect the traditions that are evidenced archaeologically. When objects are excavated, are unidentifiable and seem to be unique, analogies are often found in literary evidence, as a method of explaining their purpose or origin (Friðriksson, 1994, 14).

Attempts made in the 21st century to interpret the past are remoter than those of the saga authors, who in some cases were only a few generations apart from their pagan ancestors. The saga authors may not have been overly interested in the finer points of paganism and the status and treatment of the socially deviant individual, but may have unwittingly inserted references about social behaviour or use of artefacts, which may be used cautiously as sources to compare with and interpret archaeological material. Some medieval sources, such as *Íslendingabók* and *Landnámabók*, are perceived to be more reliable and, like the sagas, were based on oral tradition. We are not aware of the extent of memorising and oral tradition during the Viking Age. The Icelandic saga authors may have devoted a large quantity of their time memorising their country's history, traditions and genealogies.

FOLKLORE

Scandinavian folklore from the 17th to 20th centuries has been included in this thesis as a secondary source, partly because of the scant contemporary indigenous information about the role of the healer/witch figure and because it can be used to provide analogies with some of the archaeological material. Folklore is seldom considered by scholars of saga literature, Norse history and archaeology (Halldórsson, 1989, 265). Using folklore as a secondary source is obviously problematic, such as the time differences between when most of it was recorded and the time span covered in this thesis, and the changes which took place over this period in society, religion, material culture and communication. There is also a lack of ability to date beliefs carried within folk tradition. Specific details can become confused in folklore and oral tradition or be changed to adapt to a new environment or circumstance. ‘...nevertheless, a kernel of truth is usually concealed in historical traditions when one sets aside the details and examines the plot which shapes the tradition’ (Halldórsson, 1989, 265-6). Folklore has been used as a source to interpret archaeology by Merrifield (1987), who discusses the problems arising from this approach. Merrifield (1987, 1) suggests that often improbable utilitarian suggestions are made for the function of an ambiguous object, rather than attributing a ritual or religious use. Merrifield (1987) brings different kinds of sources, including folklore, together in an attempt to provide other explanations for unusual finds and practices in England.

The information provided by folklore probably does not reflect Viking thought and practices, however, it may provide an interpretation of an artefact or burial custom, which would otherwise not be considered by a modern scholar. Folklore could carry some continuation of tradition and superstition from the Viking period, but can neither be proved nor disproved. The folklore considered by Hagberg (1936) indicates that until recently some mundane artefacts, natural phenomena or illnesses were thought to be linked to supernatural activity or were feared. Given these recent instances, it may not be unjustified to suggest that similar behaviour patterns occurred during the Viking Age.

Folklore preserves information and traditions that people have thought were important and had to be maintained, often to stave off bad luck, ill-health, etc., or were preserved as part of maintaining local identity. Some of these practices do not seem to have been impacted upon by Christianity. The longevity of several English practices and beliefs have been documented by Merrifield: the belief in Neolithic axe heads as thunder bolts and their use in folk medicine (evidenced from the Roman period through to 19th century rural communities (Merrifield, 1987, 9-16)); the use of animal remains as foundation deposits (from the Roman period to the turn of the 20th century (Merrifield, 1987, 126, 185-6)); and the treatment of the Thames as a place to throw offerings (from the prehistoric period to the 17th century (Merrifield, 1987, 187)). Such longevity of traditions may be evident in Scandinavia, but less well documented.

Folklore can be used to show the geographic spread of a belief. The traditions documented by Hagberg (1936) are often from rural locations, where there has been little influence from outside the community. For example, a burial tradition documented in 1635 in Östergötland is described as still happening in

the early 1900s in a village in Ångermanland, a considerable distance away (Hagberg, 1936, 624). The continuity of a tradition in such a remote place could show the remains of an early and widespread tradition, and should not, perhaps, be put down to coincidence. 'Inert conservatism of ritual behaviour ensured the continuance of similar basic practices through many changes of belief' (Merrifield, 1987, 160).

Christianity changed the traditions around burial customs. Some burial practices recorded in folklore do not reflect conventional Christian practices and they may indicate a continuation and persistence of a pre-Christian tradition.

During the 18th and 19th centuries in Scandinavia, i.e. the period of national romanticism, folklore, local tales and place-names were sometimes attached to building ruins linking them to the Viking Age, when the ruins themselves were not be of any great age (Friðriksson, 1994, 102-3, 182). Such kinds of folklore, designating piles of rubble as temples or attributing burial mounds to particular individuals mentioned in saga literature, will not be considered in this thesis, as it has no value other than as a recent historic tradition. It is when a ritual is described and preserved in folklore that there may be some merit in considering its value as a method of interpreting earlier practices.

MEDIEVAL SCANDINAVIAN LAWS

The medieval Scandinavian law codes, like the saga literature, were produced in a Christian world. Similarly again, the laws may contain fragments of legal practices that had continued from the Viking Age, but disentangling Viking-Age laws from medieval laws, particularly concerning witchcraft or abuse of the supernatural where this activity was strictly against Christian doctrine, is very problematic. Punishments for particular crimes may have remained consistent from the Viking Age into the early Christian period, but the attitude of victims and society to certain crimes may have changed.

The laws do provide information about the physical punishments for certain crimes and it is these physical punishments that are evidenced in some of the deviant burials considered in the following chapters. The medieval laws provide details of the crimes that merited mutilation of the criminal. However, many of the law codes prescribe different punishments for each of the crimes. The laws also, obviously, do not describe any popular lynching types of punishment. Where the laws mention witchcraft, they indicate that this crime received similar physical punishments to other crimes, which, therefore, necessitates the inclusion of many of the deviant burials in this thesis, as it is impossible to suggest the crime of the deceased.

RUNIC EVIDENCE

The more positive aspect of using runic evidence is that it is contemporary with the Viking Age. However, although much has been written regarding rune magic, there is scant runic information that refers specifically to individuals who may be associated with the supernatural. The interpretation of some of the terms used in the inscriptions can also only be guessed at.

ANGLO-SAXON EVIDENCE

Some Viking burial customs or artefacts have been compared with similar Anglo-Saxon finds. Comparing Anglo-Saxon material with the Viking material has to be undertaken carefully because of the significant time, location and resource differences. Some of the Viking material lends itself to comparison with the Anglo-Saxon material, such as the worship of the same gods, similar burial customs, the variety of amulets used and the use of particular designs on jewellery (such as the Vendel/Sutton Hoo designs). Despite the similarities, however, the Anglo-Saxons may have held different beliefs about burial traditions and the significance of artefacts. Modern literature on Anglo-Saxon England often draws from Viking and medieval Scandinavian sources to complement the Anglo-Saxon material. As Viking-Age deviant burials are rare, Anglo-Saxon archaeological and literary material have been included in this thesis for comparison where similarities appear to exist, and also to contrast with the Viking-Age material, where Anglo-Saxon material exists for a particular burial custom but does not appear to exist in Viking-Age Scandinavia.

A particular problem arising from using Anglo-Saxon evidence is that the burial traditions and grave goods which appear to represent 'northern Germanic' traditions may have been adopted by the local non-Anglo-Saxon population and, therefore, may represent a confused or diluted picture of burial rites, where particular objects no longer held their symbolism or significance (Wilson, 1992, 2).

Anglo-Saxon archaeological finds are referenced only where a distinctive comparison or contrast can be made with the archaeological material from Viking-Age Scandinavia. Anglo-Saxon texts have been referenced where they contain references to witchcraft, healing and their associated punishments. These texts are, in most cases, contemporary with the Viking Age, although from a Christian tradition.

7. SUMMARY AND STRUCTURE OF THESIS

The majority of information used in this thesis is derived from cemetery reports, from parts of articles that focus mainly on other material or from lone chapters in books. Some cemetery reports and articles about artifacts show a tendency not to attribute a supernatural purpose to some unidentified objects and to try to rationalise their use away from religion or superstition. These types of unusual artefacts may have been closely associated with superstition, ritual, magic or religion and may have been considered rational to the Vikings and may have been a common part of a Viking's everyday life (Griffiths, 1996, 86). This thesis will attempt to re-assess certain objects and suggest other interpretations for them. The thesis will begin by assessing the archaeological evidence and then will consider any relevant secondary sources for ways to interpret or expand upon the archaeological evidence.

A short literature review pertinent to each chapter is found at the beginning of each one. The archaeological records available for each country differ considerably in content and quality. The thesis begins by considering the archaeological evidence from the Scandinavian countries, beginning with a

summary of the burial customs in Viking-Age Scandinavia (Chapter 1), suggesting normal burial traits. From this, criteria that will be used to define the deviant and healer/witch burials will be outlined. Each Scandinavian country will be considered separately (Chapters 2 to 5), each with its normal burial practices outlined, followed by a focus upon the deviant burials and how far these can be treated as healer/witch burials from the human remains and the treatment of the grave.

Having focussed on the archaeological evidence, other written sources used to help explain some of the deviancy in the archaeology will be discussed in the following chapters. Chapter 6 provides a review of the literary evidence from Europe and Scandinavia concerning the treatment of and belief in witchcraft and sorcery, and considers the extent to which European beliefs and culture may have impacted on some of the medieval Scandinavian literary sources used in the thesis. The European evidence is often contemporary with the Viking Age, although written by Christians. The Scandinavian legal and runic texts are considered in Chapter 7. The legal texts are considerably later than the archaeological evidence, but may be able to shed some light upon burial practices. The runic evidence is contemporary with the burials, describes outcasts and is sometimes used on magical-religious objects. The literary sources describing burial in the Viking Age are discussed in Chapter 8. Chapter 9 uses both archaeological and literary evidence to discuss objects which may be interpreted as amuletic, or possibly amuletic or medico-amuletic, objects found in archaeology. Specific burials will be identified that contain a larger than average number of irregular artefacts or an unusual assemblage of such, that from these items alone may be interpreted as healer/witch type burials. The Conclusion brings together the Scandinavian evidence from the thesis and highlights the key findings. The illustrations and tables follow at the end of the document to ease the comparison of material discussed within the chapters.

Spelling

For consistency, the spelling in the chapters will use Scandinavian forms, with Old Icelandic spelling of the saga characters and gods (except for Thor's hammers). As the Old Icelandic letter 'hooked o' is not available on a standard keyboard, where it occurs in quoted text and personal names in the thesis it will be replaced with the letter 'ö'. Some Scandinavian terms are used in the chapters, which, if they are not clarified in the text, are defined in the Glossary.

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION TO BURIALS IN VIKING-AGE SCANDIANVIA

In order to undertake a summary of deviant burials in Viking-Age Scandinavia, the general patterns of normal burials must be established. This chapter contains a brief summary of regular burial patterns and how deviant burials relate to them. The limitations of the primary and secondary documents concerning the graves have to be considered. Methods of recording archaeological data vary between each country, due partly to the era in which the material was first recorded, who found the material and who excavated it. The topography of the site, environmental and agricultural erosion and road building in particular regions in Scandinavia have all influenced the amount of material surviving. The grave material from Denmark and Iceland has been assessed collectively at stages during the 20th century, which makes the corpus of material easier to access. Regional reports of Norwegian and Swedish burials are more common. More detailed information about each country's specific normal burial practices is found in Chapters 2 to 5, where full references are provided.

1. REGULAR BURIALS: DEFINING DEVIANCY

GEOGRAPHIC LOCATION

Viking-Age burials are found in large or small cemeteries and singularly. Large cemeteries usually belong to large settlements, such as at Hedeby, where the majority of graves are found within the town wall (Gräslund and Müller-Wille, 1992, 186). Cemeteries are often located near the outskirts of a settlement on unused land, such as Hesselbjerg in Central Jutland (Ramskou, 1976, 17). Small cemeteries are sometimes found near farmsteads, perhaps belonging to the farmer and his family. Such burials may have functioned as an indication of land ownership, as may burials on a high point of ground. Grouping of graves may indicate family or ethnic connections. Isolated burials do not necessarily indicate that the individual was not worthy of burial in a communal cemetery and is therefore deviant. In some cases, isolated graves contain high-status individuals (Roesdahl, 1982, 167).

Skeletons showing signs of maltreatment or having had a disrespectful burial are sometimes found on the edge of the cemetery. Such individuals would not have been considered worthy enough to be buried alongside the socially accepted members of society and their deliberate exclusion or sidelining would have probably been seen as a punishment *post mortem*.

DATING

Various techniques have been employed to date Viking-Age burials. In high-status burials the assembly of ornamented artefacts, coins and/or foreign artefacts can indicate a date for the grave. Carbon-14 dating can also provide a date-range if the grave has been recently excavated and the finds kept uncontaminated. In some cases dendrochronology can also provide a date indication. Graves containing a few basic finds, such as a knife and a few nails, can be more problematic and only a broad date-range may be suggested, perhaps taking into account nearby burials and their artefacts.

Many of the deviant burials do not contain datable finds or lack grave goods. In some cases, chance-find burials are outside the confines of a datable cemetery and contain low status grave goods that can only indicate a general Viking-Age context.

A further difficulty with dating finds is that the archaeologist does not know how long individual grave goods may have been in circulation prior to burial. If grave goods show signs of wear and tear broad date ranges must be applied.

SEXING THE SKELETONS

Gender attribution is often made by the types of grave goods and dress accessories, such as a weapon for a male and oval brooches for a female. When a burial does not contain readily ascribable grave goods or dress accessories it can be tenuous to try to sex the burial. In some cases, the skeleton has decomposed to such a degree that it cannot provide osteological information. Bennike (1985, 31-6) discusses the methods employed to determine sex through the analysis of bone material.

Although this study is not primarily concerned with sexing individuals, in a few cases, the irregular distribution and choice of grave goods or dress accessories and skeletal abnormalities have led to the individual's remains needing to be discussed in this study.

CREMATION AND INHUMATION

A variety of burial practices were used during the pagan period and the corpse could be cremated or buried. Cremation and inhumation seldom appear in the same cemetery. Mid to late 10th-century burials appear to adhere to a norm, depending on their geographic location and social background. Burials found near farms, villages and towns have similar characteristics, and rich burials are very alike in their furnishing. In some otherwise 'average' cemeteries a few rich burials have been found, such as at Fyrkat, Denmark. Different grave constructions can appear simultaneously in the same cemetery, such as at the 10th-century Stengade II cemetery, Langeland, Denmark (Skaarup, 1976, 142-3), which need not be considered to represent an irregular custom. Such practices may represent a family or social preference, as there is no other irregularity shown in the treatment of the human remains and grave contents and the burials are integrated with other regular types of burial.

2. CREMATIONS

Cremation was much less common in Denmark than in Sweden and Norway in the period prior to and during the Viking Age. It is so far totally absent from Iceland and rare in Scotland (Roesdahl, 1982, 164; Graham-Campbell and Batey, 1998, 144). Cremation declined during the 10th century, as it was a pagan rite, and inhumation became increasingly popular, probably due to the influence of Christianity.

Cremations were performed on a pyre, which could be constructed on the burial site or in a separate cremation area, the bones and fragments of belongings being collected together after the cremation and placed into the grave. Continued use of cremation areas seems to have led to bones being mixed up and the remains of several individuals cremated on separate occasions being included in a single

cremation pit, potentially falsely indicating a double or multiple cremation. Cremated remains could be placed directly into a pit, put into a bag, a pottery vessel or an urn before being put into the pit. The remains may have been spread over the ground. Unburnt grave goods could be inserted into the cremation grave (Graham-Campbell and Batey, 1998, 144).

Multiple cremation burials are more complex than multiple inhumation burials, but usually contain a male and female or an adult and child. As many grave goods cannot be associated with one particular sex, more double cremations may exist than have been recognised (Gräslund, 1981, 74-5). Multiple cremation urns sharing the same pit in Anglo-Saxon England are described by Wilson (1992, 132-4).

Unless there has been extremely good preservation of the grave goods and dress items, it would be difficult to ascertain whether any individual found in a cremation grave was associated with the supernatural or healing during his or her life.

It would be doubtful if the time and expense in preparing a cremation pyre would be expended on a person who had committed a crime, unless, if the sagas were to be believed, they were so involved in the supernatural that they had to be burnt to prevent any haunting.

3. INHUMATIONS

SINGLE AND MULTIPLE BURIAL

Viking Age burials usually contain one individual per grave. Graves containing more than one individual are rare and could, therefore, be categorised as deviant. Multiple burials may have been the result of a variety of reasons. Some multiple burials appear to be kinship burials, where the skeletons usually lie beside each other and have a similar status of grave-goods and dress accessories, exhibit a similar laying out of the corpse and usually contain the remains of a male and a female, or less commonly an adult and a child. Kinship burials need not be concurrent. Other than being rare, kinship burials do not generally show signs of deviancy and, as such, will not be investigated in this survey, unless other signs of deviancy are present.

Suttee burials may take the form of kinship burial or female inserted above male. If the female had committed suicide or if she or a slave had been killed by a flesh wound, it would be difficult to establish archaeologically. If the female did commit suicide, she may not have been buried with her deceased husband. If the female skeleton is not laid out respectfully next to her husband and inserted carelessly into the grave, such disrespect may be indicative of a case of master and female slave (Wilson, 1992, 73-4) and should be considered as deviant.

Some double burials appear to contain a master/mistress plus a sacrificed slave and should be considered as deviant. Slaves killed to accompany their masters/mistresses may have been classed as a high-status 'grave good' or part of the burial ritual. Sacrificed slaves may not have been buried alongside their master. Such slaves may show signs of mutilation having suffered a traumatic death

and, being excluded from the master's burial, may have been buried elsewhere in the cemetery, perhaps around the perimeters. Sacrifice may be explanation behind the Viking-Age Scandinavian/Irish mound burial at Ballateare, Isle of Man, which contained a middle-aged man, buried with weapons bearing Scandinavian design and a 10th century Irish ring pin. Above him were burnt animal bones and the skeleton of a young woman, whose skull had been broken by a blow. The rear of her skull was missing and her arms were raised above her head (Bersu and Wilson, 1966, 45).

In the rarer cases of multiple burial, where the bodies exhibit mutilation, the remains may have belonged to social outcasts who were buried together.

Multiple burials may not have been considered out of the ordinary during the Viking Age and have been used to bury two or more people who died at the same time, perhaps from disease, fire or other tragedy. Wilson discusses and describes multiple burial in Anglo-Saxon England, where c.75% of c. 200 multiple burials are side-by-side family/spouse type burials (Wilson, 1992, 71-7). In this study some multiple graves have been included as they show deviant burial practices.

TREATMENT OF THE CORPSE

Inhumation burials vary considerably by the positioning and orientation of the body. All orientations in this thesis are given with the direction of the head first. Inhumations are usually supine, but can be flexed or crouched and the arms can be extended or placed across the chest cavity. A burial may be seen as deviant if it is aligned deliberately in a different direction to the other graves in the cemetery. Prone burials are rare and were probably deliberately disrespectful of the deceased. By interring a person face down, he was thought not capable of rising up again (Wilson, 1992, 85-6). Troublesome 'dead' individuals, who had been buried supine, were exhumed and reburied prone (Hagberg, 1936, 633).

Some burials show signs of mutilation, decapitation or hanging and are therefore considered to be deviant, as there was a sinister purpose behind the death or burial of the individual. Mutilation or trauma could be the result of a fatal battle wound. The deceased may have been murdered and buried by his assailant to cover the crime. Meyer (1970, col. 457) suggests that decapitation may be the way of killing a noble-born person by the sword. Disturbance of the grave may lead to an interpretation of decapitation or mutilation or even hide the evidence for such treatment. Decapitation may either be the result of capital punishment, ritual sacrifice or, as Wilson (1992, 92, 95) suggests, a method of preventing the deceased from walking and could have been enacted *post mortem*. Decapitation can be asserted by the absence or dislocation of the skull, particularly to a remote part of the grave (such as between the legs). Waldron and Waldron (1987, 445) describe the osteological effects of running noose hanging, which does not cause bone trauma, except for possible hyoid fracture. Waldron and Waldron (1987, 445) suggest that, as evidence for hanging is tenuous, evidence for tying the hands and flexed fingers may be taken to indicate violent death. Hagberg (1936, 176-7, 204) cites 14th-, 17th- and 19th-century Swedish and Danish burial traditions that describe binding of the hands, feet, legs or toes as a way of preventing the individual from walking after death. The obvious evidence of decapitation

is cuts to the vertebrae and the head from a sharp instrument. Skeletons showing signs of mutilation may have been hanged. Disturbance of the skeleton, in particular, irregular positioning of the head, may indicate hanging, but animal activity can cause such disturbance.

LIVE BURIAL

There does not seem to be any archaeological evidence for live burial in Viking-Age Scandinavia, as has been suggested for some cases in Anglo-Saxon England (Hirst, 1985, 38-45). Live burial is suggested when a skeleton is found in a distorted prone position, exhibiting particular movement of the limbs, perhaps a result of the individual struggling to get out of the grave. The sagas indicate that some double burials were thought to include a live person, but that this was not generally a successful practice. The sagas also document the practice of stoning sorcerers to death then raising a mound above them, but no archaeological evidence for this practice appears to exist either. Despite the lack of Anglo-Saxon literary evidence, four Anglo-Saxon graves have been suggested to contain live burials, all of them sexed as female (Wilson, 1992, 77-80). Other reasons, such as *rigor mortis*, the relaxing of the muscles after *rigor mortis*, or disrespect shown to the individual at burial can be suggested for the unusual position of the skeleton (Wilson, 1992, 78).

GRAVE LININGS, COFFINS AND CHAMBERS

The dead could be buried directly into the ground, in their daily or best clothes or in a shroud. The floor of the grave could be covered with straw, leaves or a bearskin. Coffins were used, either purpose-made or by adapting a suitable piece of furniture, such as the chest from grave 7, Forlev, Denmark (Roesdahl, 1977, 114; Brøndsted, 1936, 214-18). Vehicles have been used to contain the body, such as boats and wagons. Sledges may have been used, but no definite evidence remains. Although rare, the inclusion of a vehicle is high status and may indicate a belief in the journey to the afterlife or the need for the vehicle's use in the afterlife. Wagon-body burials usually contain high-status females, date mainly to the 10th century and may be linked to a Nerthus cult (Roesdahl, 1978, 9-14; Dommasnes, 1991b, 57-8).

Chamber burials represent a specific burial practice and contain both male and female burials (Roesdahl, 1982, 166-7). Chamber burials have large dimensions, can contain a considerably larger quantity of grave goods than coffin burials, and can contain large grave goods (Gräslund, 1981, 30-8). Chamber burial may indicate an individual of a higher status than a coffin burial (Brøndsted, 1936, 217). A large number of chamber graves have been found on Birka (Gräslund, 1981, 30-49). Danish chamber graves were believed to have shown Swedish influence, but 'today there is more of a tendency to see [them] as indicating Denmark's integral part of heathen Scandinavia and expressing dissociation with western European Christian societies' (Grøn, Hedeager Krag and Bennike, 1994, 155).

4. GRAVE GOODS AND DRESS ACCESSORIES

Viking-Age graves may or may not contain grave goods or dress accessories. The difference between grave goods and dress accessories is important. Grave goods were inserted deliberately into the grave as a symbol of wealth, custom or identity of the individual, for use in the afterlife or for whatever other reasons were pertinent at the time of burial. Dress accessories may be seen as less symbolic, being integral to the funerary outfit chosen by the mourners or by the deceased. Difficulties in establishing the difference between grave goods and dress accessories and their interpretation are considered by Graham-Campbell and Batey (1998, 149-51). Rights of inheritance, local economics and changes in beliefs may have determined what was buried.

The majority of Viking-Age burials are poorly furnished (Skaarup, 1976, 96-8). The knife is the most common simple find and is found in graves of both sexes (Albrechtsen, 1958, 83-96). Most burials from the 9th century and earlier are simple, without grave goods, and they are less common than later ones, perhaps because their lack of furnishings may make them difficult to find. Burials from the 10th century are more impressively furnished and more common (Müller-Wille, 1976b, 120-5). A burial without grave goods may not indicate that the deceased was poor, as many double graves that appear to contain a master and slave, have no high-status grave goods, such as at Lejre, Denmark (Andersen, 1960, 26). Grave goods and dress accessories vary in quantity and quality. Graves containing grave goods and dress accessories cannot always be judged as pagan, as the practice occasionally continued into the Conversion and Christian periods, although the type of item buried with the individual after the Conversion is usually simple, such as a dress fastening or a knife. Sometimes a grave can contain a collection of small objects placed closely together. This may indicate the presence of an organic container that has disintegrated, such as a cloth or leather bag or a wooden box.

Grave goods and dress accessories in cremation burials are usually minimal. Typical artefacts from cremations are knives, glass beads, spindle-whorls, whetstones, metal fragments possibly from dress accessories, pins, etc.

MALE

Weapons as grave goods are usually associated with male burial and probably indicate that he was a warrior. Most weapon graves are inhumations. Weapon burial would imply that the deceased would need his equipment for the next world (Roesdahl, 1982, 169-70). The typical 10th-century high-status male burial may contain high quality weapons (such as a sword, spear or axe), riding equipment, a horse, a bucket, bronze plates and drinking vessels (Brøndsted, 1936, 218; Müller-Wille, 1976a, 129-41) (Illustration 1). Weapon graves are much less common in Denmark than in Sweden and Norway (Roesdahl, 1982, 168-9; Skaarup, 1976, 182-6).

FEMALE

High-status female graves contain jewellery (mainly of bronze, but sometimes silver) and may have remains of clothing with gold and silver embroidery. The most common brooch design is the oval

brooch, worn as a pair. Oval brooches are rare in 10th-century west Denmark, but common in the east. Textile and needlework implements and boxes occasionally appear, as well as chests, bronze vessels and drinking containers (Müller-Wille, 1976a, 132-36; Jesch, 1991, 14-22).

5. GRAVESIDE RITUALS

Rites surrounding the preparation of the body for inhumation or cremation can only be suggested. Evidence of burning and pits amongst the graves in some cemeteries may not necessarily be associated with the burials. The inclusion of sheep, cow, pig and fowl bones may indicate burial feasting or a food offering for the individual on the journey to the next life (Gräslund and Müller-Wille, 1992, 187; Randsborg, 1980, 121-2).

CHARCOAL

Burials from the pagan Viking Age to early Christian period sometimes contain charcoal (Skov, 1982, col. 441). Charcoal may indicate ritual activity and be the result of funeral fires or be linked to purification rituals (Hagberg, 1936, 504; Wilson, 1992, 123-30). Blindheim and Heyerdahl-Larsen (195, 129) suggest that charcoal may have helped to absorb the smell of the deceased or be linked to resurrection. Hagberg (1936, 622-4) describes 17th to early 19th century Swedish traditions about using fire, ash and charcoal to prevent the deceased from rising from the grave or from walking too far and that as smoke and fire were thought to frighten off spirits, wood may have been burnt at the graveside to scare the deceased into the next world and then the charcoal may have been kicked into the grave.

Charcoal was found in 40 graves at St. Stefan's churchyard, Lund (Mårtensson, 1980, 61-3). Five of these charcoal burials contained grave sticks (see Chapter 9). At the Thule site there were 18 cases of charcoal layers beneath the graves; graves 174 and 175 contained both a charcoal layer and a hazel stick. One grave (dendrochronologically dated to 1005) in the earliest part of the PK bank cemetery had charcoal. St. Drotten church, Lund, contained five charcoal burials dated 1000-1050. The use of charcoal continued in Lund into the 13th century (Blomqvist and Mårtensson, 1963, 93). Graves containing charcoal-filled urns have been found around Lund (Mårtensson, 1980, 105-6).

Charcoal is present in a grave at Sankt Ibs Church, Vindebode, Denmark. Pottery shards and a small amount of animal bones from graves under the church, led Olsen (1963, 74) to suggest an earlier cemetery and to occupation layer residues.

6. MARKERS OF INHUMATION AND CREMATION GRAVES

Inhumation burials could be marked with a wooden post or small stones, which would easily be destroyed by ploughing or pillaging of the stones (Roesdahl, 1977, 145). Other graves were covered with or surrounded by stones, which also served as a memorial. Inhumation and cremation graves are often covered with large stones, either as a form of a marker or as a type of lid for the burial. Placing

stones on top may have been believed to prevent the deceased person from walking (see Chapter 8 for the saga evidence for this practice) and could, therefore, be used as an indicator of a deviant burial. The belief in walking after death may have been a concern for the living. The large stones placed on the graves of both respected members of society and outcasts may have been a preventative measure, such as the six large stones placed longitudinally on the high status grave 1 at Højstrup, Tømmerby parish, Thisted, Denmark, (Brøndsted, 1936, 85). Some of the deviant burials reviewed in the following chapters have obvious and deliberate stone coverings, which might imply that society was overly concerned about the person walking again. Extra stone and flint fill in deviant Anglo-Saxon burials has been discussed by Wilson (1992, 80), for example, burial 47, at Spong Hill, Norfolk, a young female who had suffered bouts of illness during her life, whose body was weighted down by large flints. Hagberg (1936, 404) cites 19th-century instances of putting stones on graves 'to keep the dead in the earth'.

Both sexes were buried in mounds of varying height. This practice became more common through the Viking Age (Dommasnes, 1982, 79). Mounds are rare in Denmark, except for Bornholm, where they are low and mainly constructed of stone (Randsborg, 1980, 123-6).

Cremation burials were marked in various ways: - by positioning a stone or stone formation above the burial in the shape of a circle, square, triangle or ship (Ramskou, 1976, 146-53). Ship settings have often been pillaged for the stones, leaving no indication of their existence. Ship settings do not always contain a burial, but could be a memorial (Brøndsted, 1960a, 295-6).

Runestones are seldom associated with graves, acting as memorials to the deceased (Moltke, 1976, 248, 252). Brøndsted (1936, 121-2) suggests that in Denmark, probably the only instance of a runestone, barrow and grave associated with each other is at the grave at Randbøl, Vejle.

7. CONVERSION PERIOD

The pagan Scandinavian religion was polytheistic and probably accepted the Christian God into its pantheon, rather than abandon the old religion immediately. The burial of a woman at Thumbby-Bienebek, near Hedeby, contained crosses and Thor's hammers, perhaps showing hesitancy to accept the new religion or a 'liberal attitude to religion' (Roesdahl, 1982, 176). Moulds for hammers and crosses are found on the same mould, indicating that the smith was probably catering for two simultaneous markets (Roesdahl, 1982, 176; Gräslund, 1983, 229-35). Thor's hammers (carved, incised or as jewellery) disappear in the second half of the 10th century. Pendant crosses from burials, such as those on Birka, may indicate Christianity, but also may have belonged to a pagan person who did not attach Christian symbolism to the cross. Gräslund (1985, 291-313) discusses problems associated with this period.

The Church forbade cremation, mound burial and stone-settings and insisted upon inhumation burial. Inhumation was, however, also a pagan method of burial and burials dated to the Conversion period

cannot necessarily be ascribed to one religion or another. Early Christian graves would probably have shared the same burial ground as the pagan graves. During the Conversion period the site of the burial ground changes, which must have been a conscious decision. Graves were now located in enclosed sacred ground, such as a churchyard, usually within a settlement. The shallow ditch used to enclose the Christian cemetery, such as at the 11th-century Löddeköpinge site in south Sweden, is not found in the pagan or Conversion period (Cinthio, 1979-80, 114). Churches seem to have been deliberately built on high points in the landscape, similar sites having also been desirable for pagan religious sites. Churches were occasionally built near or on Bronze Age and prehistoric mounds. Building on pagan sites may have been a deliberate attempt to Christianise the site, such as at Hørning, Denmark (Krogh and Voss, 1961, 7).

The Church discouraged the burial of grave goods, but may have permitted dress accessories during the Conversion period and shroud pins. Grave goods disappeared from the early 11th century (Ramskou, 1950, 182). Some Christian graves, however, contain grave goods and simple jewellery, such as rings. The oval-cut crystal from a grave (located by the right femur) in the Löddeköpinge cemetery, Sweden, had probably been placed or dropped into the grave during the funeral (Cinthio, 1979-80, 117, 119). Pendant silver crosses are also found, such as Bj. 660, Birka, Sweden (Holmqvist, 1979, 121). A lack of grave goods does not indicate Christian influence, since poorly furnished graves were very common during the pagan period. Late pagan burial customs would probably have begun to absorb Christian practices.

The surviving relatives of the deceased and the community would ultimately have chosen any burial rites and, as a result, pagan or partially pagan/Christian deceased individuals may have been buried in a Christian fashion by their recently converted survivors. Accounts of people taking the sign of the cross (*primsigning*) or being baptised in white baptismal shrouds (*i hvítavaðum*) on their death bed, so that they could enter heaven, are documented in *Vita Ansgarii* (XXIV) and on some Uppland rune stones (Roesdahl, 1991b, 160; Molland, 1970, cols 439-44).

Baptised people could be buried in a church cemetery. Criminals and outcasts were buried within the cemetery at the bishop's discretion, or buried in the countryside or dropped into bogs (Hagberg, 1936, 499). During the medieval period and until the mid-19th century suicides were least respected, were feared to haunt and buried on the spot where they were found (Hagberg, 1936, 500). Sex distinction was sometimes implemented in some early medieval churchyards, with the men buried to the south of the church and women to the north. The northern area of the cemetery was least preferred and considered more pagan. Sometimes criminals were buried in the northern area or outside the wall on the north side (Hagberg, 1936, 491-6, 506-7).

Care was taken when burying a Christian, so that the body could rise again on Judgement Day (Griffiths, 1996, 36). The body was buried supine with the arms extended along the sides and the head to the west. Later, the arms were crossed over the pelvis. A few exceptions to the rule appear at the

PK bank site, Lund, where 7 skeletons were buried in crouched position (i.e. 7 out of 258 of the graves investigated from Phase 1) (Mårtensson, 1976, 92).

During the first half of the 11th century a variety of coffins were used; a general description of the coffins and burial traditions used in early Christian Scandinavia is provided by Skov (1982, cols 437-41). Purpose built coffins could be rectangular or trapezoid, such as those from the earliest cemetery at the Thule site, Lund (c. 1000-50) (Mårtensson, 1976, 93-4; Cinthio, 1979-80, 115-16). Trough burials occur at the PK Bank site, whilst in grave 260 a female, aged c. 45-55 years, was buried with an oval-shaped basket covering the upper part of her body (Mårtensson, 1976, 91; Illustration 2). Burials could be stone-lined, constructed with stone slabs, or carved out of a single stone.

The variety of burial customs practised during the early Christian period does not indicate deviancy and, as such, these types of graves are not considered in the following chapters. The variety seems to be due more to fashion than social ostracism (Gräslund, 1985, 296-313).

8. SUMMARY - CRITERIA FOR ESTABLISHING DEVIANT AND HEALER/WITCH BURIALS

Below is a list of criteria that can be used to define a deviant burial.

1. **Location:** - on the periphery of a communal cemetery, or isolated.
2. **Orientation:** - if it is significantly different to that of any surrounding burials.
3. **Position of the skeleton:** - how it relates to any surrounding burials; if it is prone or crouching.
4. **Multiple burial:** - multiple burial is uncommon and could, therefore, be considered deviant. Multiple burial may be considered deviant if there are no obvious kinship characteristics between the individuals and the burial exhibits other characteristics forming this list of criteria.
5. **Grave goods and dress accessories:** - whether they are significantly different to those of any surrounding burials in diversity or rarity.
6. **Piles of stones:** - excessive stone packing or covering, but such a feature alone should not be used to determine deviant burial practice.
7. **Mutilation of the skeleton:** - decapitation, removal of limbs, binding of limbs.

Defining such criteria and then applying them as a formula to identify deviant burials is problematic, but can, in many cases, be achieved. Taken in isolation, each criterion might identify a burial as differing from the norm for a cemetery or geographic area, but may have been due other benign reasons, such as personal or family customs, wealth or resources, and should not be used alone as a method of defining deviancy. A single criterion, which can be identified archaeologically, such as excessive stone packing, may have identified a person as a social outcast in the Viking Age, but this single factor cannot be considered enough to justify labelling the grave as deviant, as this practice is also exhibited on high-status burials. The main difficulty with using the above criteria is that some of the criteria, when used together, can be used as a good method of identifying high-status burials. For

example, if the deceased is unique in a cemetery by being buried in a wagon, has excessive grave goods and other burials are aligned to it. Many high-status burials have several of these 'deviant' traits, but the burials show that the individuals were revered members of society and respect has been shown to their remains. High-status graves are rare and could, therefore, wrongly be considered as deviant.

Other than being high status, if a burial fulfils several of the criteria, then it could reasonably be described as deviant and probably belonging to a person who has contravened the barriers of society, either socially or by committing a crime. For example, if a burial is considered to be deviant it often exhibits several of the above criteria, such as different alignment to other burials, is found on the edge of a cemetery or if it is prone. The maltreatment of the human remains, however, is usually the best indication of a deviant burial and could alone be used as a determining factor.

It is possible to draw up this list of criteria, as a significant, although small, number of burials in Viking-Age Scandinavia are similar in showing these deviancies in burial customs. Many of the deviant burials in the following chapters were chance finds. Their distribution and similarity in burial customs reveal that certain deviant burial practices were known and practised throughout mainland Scandinavia, although the motivation behind such behaviour may have differed.

DEFINING THE HEALER/WITCH GRAVE

Healer/witch burials and burials apparently exhibiting links with the supernatural are significantly different to other burials and seem to fall into two types of burial; those that are high status, showing reverence, and those treated with disrespect and exhibit attributes of deviant burials. In some cases these burials show characteristics that suggest the individual was involved in the supernatural whilst being a respected member of society. In other cases, connections with the supernatural are suggested by the contents of the grave, but the burial clearly exhibits disrespect shown by society. To suggest that the former type of burial was deviant would indicate that they were criminal or outside society, which if the saga evidence and laws were to be relied upon, would be the case. However, the manner in which these individuals were buried is contrary to the majority of the literary evidence describing the healer/witch. From the archaeological evidence, it is evident that some kinds of individual involved with the supernatural were valued members of society.

Using the criteria above, high-status and revered healer/witch burials can mainly be identified by the grave goods and dress items marking them out as different from other graves, such as by containing exotic grave goods, objects that might be used by this person as tools of their trade, such as collections of objects that may be amuletic or used for healing. The combinations and quantities of the artefacts could also lead to such an interpretation. If buried in a cemetery, the grave is usually amongst the other graves and not located on the perimeters, as would be expected with a social outcast. The healer/witch grave may have stones placed on it, as the deceased individual's connections with the supernatural may have made the surviving members of society nervous of potential hauntings, no matter how much the

deceased was respected during life. The burials exhibiting these characteristics are almost always female.

The deviant burials also fulfil several of the criteria, in that they are often located on the periphery of a cemetery or are isolated burials. The burials are sometimes mutilated or treated disrespectfully and may have a different orientation to surrounding burials, if these exist. The grave goods and dress accessories can include unusual objects and often the burials have been covered with one or more heavy stones. If a person had used magic to the detriment of another person or society and had been punished as a result, it would be expected that their remains and/or grave would reflect this and could be considered to be deviant. Such a grave may be expected to exhibit signs of disrespect and mutilation, actions to prevent the spirit 'walking' after burial, perhaps be located away from the bounds of society and without any grave goods, which could be used to ill purpose from the grave or in the next life. Many of the graves considered in Chapters 2 to 5 exhibit signs of mutilation. It is impossible to suggest the reason behind such mutilation. As is explained in Chapters 7 and 8, some of these mutilations were suggested as punishments for crimes involving the supernatural. However, other types of crime not associated with the supernatural also received these types of punishment. The archaeological evidence could indicate some continuity of practice from the Viking Age, but whether the punishments were used for the same sorts of crime cannot be confirmed.

In considering the Danish material, L. C. Nielsen (1991, 260-2) suggested that witchcraft in burials may be identified through the investigation of burials containing more than one skeleton, either lying beside each other or one above the other. L. C. Nielsen (1991, 261) suggested that multiple burials may be of a witch and his/her apprentice who followed their master into the grave and that it is these people who performed the cult activities and worked as medicine providers and wise-people. This method of identifying such burials would not, therefore, include the burials identified in the following chapters belonging to the healer/witch individuals, which more obviously contain artefacts that could be interpreted as being used in early medicine. Few of the burials that fulfil L. C. Nielsen's criteria contain artefacts that appear to connect the deceased with supernatural activity, which is contrary to what might be expected, unless they contained organic items that have since decomposed.

The healer/witch burial type will be described as a separate category of 'deviant' burial in this thesis. Although different from other burials in their grave contents, these burials fulfil few of the criteria from the above list. Given the descriptions of the treatment of individuals associated with the supernatural in the comparative medieval retrospective literary evidence, it would have been expected that these individuals would have fulfilled several of the criteria. Although rare, there is a sufficient number of these burials associated with the supernatural showing similar traits to merit defining them as a discrete category of burial in Viking-Age Scandinavia.

CHAPTER 2

BURIALS IN VIKING-AGE DENMARK

This chapter provides a detailed picture of the burial practices encountered in Viking-Age Denmark, with particular reference to deviant and healer/witch burials. A great deal has been written on Viking-Age Denmark as general history and archaeology (for example, Roesdahl, 1982). Many thorough cemetery reports have been written within the last 70 years (for example, Brøndsted, 1936, 81-228), and the skeletal material has been closely examined particularly by Bennike (1985). Although some of the burials examined in this chapter were excavated in the late 19th century, much of the material considered has been excavated within the last 50 years, using more scientific methods than the majority of burials excavated in Norway and Iceland. This has resulted in more information being recorded regarding the skeletons and the burial customs, and hence more information about deviant patterns of burial.

1. GEOGRAPHIC AREA AND BACKGROUND TO DENMARK

Denmark had different boundaries in the Viking Age from today. In c. 1000, the boundaries extended from present day Denmark, to include southern Slesvig down to the river Ejder, now in Germany. Danish influence was also present in Holstein (Foote and Wilson, 1980, 8). The Danes controlled Skåne, Halland and Blekinge, which are now Sweden (Randsborg, 1980, 2-3). Halland and Jylland had cultural and political links with the Oslofjord area of Norway.

From the types and styles of artefacts found, there appears to have been a distinctive material culture in the eastern parts of Denmark (Sjælland, Skåne and Bornholm). According to Wulfstan's account in King Alfred's translation of *Orosius*, an English source from the late 9th century, Bornholm had its own king (Lund, 1984, 23).

2. TRADITIONAL PERIOD DIVISIONS IN DENMARK

The period prior to the Viking Age in Denmark, the Germanic Iron Age c. 400-800, is divided into an early and late phase. Roesdahl (1994, 113) has suggested the Viking Age be dated from the late 8th century or c. 800 to the mid-11th century. By the end of the Viking Age, Denmark had lost its power in England, the North Sea, the Baltic and Scandinavia. The Medieval Period to c. 1250 is referenced in this chapter for comparative material.

3. GENERAL DATING OF BURIALS

The earlier dating of Danish Viking graves was largely based on the chronology of Jan Petersen (1919 and 1928), which was founded on Norwegian artefacts from graves (Roesdahl, 1982, 164). However, recent dendrochronological work on material from settlements and graves, such as Jelling, has provided more accurate information for dating finds (Roesdahl, 1994, 106-16).

4. PAGAN BURIAL IN DENMARK – GENERAL

Prior to the discussion on Viking-Age burial, the highly important cemetery at Slusegård, Pedersker Parish, Bornholm, should be mentioned. Slusegård is a large cemetery of 115 inhumation burials dating from 100-500. The inhumations are intermingled with cremation graves. Klindt-Jensen (1978b, 15) believed that 'there is no apparent difference between the followers of the two customs'. The majority of burials are oriented north-south, which was customary on Bornholm at this period. Slusegård cemetery has many superimposed graves which differentiates it from other Bornholm cemeteries that expanded instead in area. The cremation graves are regular, such as pits with cremation layers, pits lined with potsherds with the bones on top, and some cremation urns. The inhumation graves are in different forms, such as burial chambers, coffins, stone cists, boat/part of boat used as a coffin or as a cover of the body (the boat being inverted), shrouds, biers, beds, etc. (Andersen, Lind and Crumlin-Pedersen, 1991, 258). Unlike the use of boats in certain Viking-Age contexts, the boats from the burials at Slusegård do not appear to have been used as fuel for a pyre, nor do they appear to have been associated with the late Viking-Age myth of 'sailing' to Valhalla (Andersen, Lind and Crumlin-Pedersen, 1991, 258). Instead, Andersen, Lind and Crumlin-Pedersen (1991, 259) believe that the boats were part of a fertility cult linked to the sea. Due to the small number of boat burials from this period in Slusegård, and throughout Denmark, boats were seemingly buried only with privileged members of society. The cemetery contained a high proportion of deviant burials, which will be summarised at the end of the chapter.

5. CREMATIONS

Cremation appears to have been uncommon in Viking-Age Denmark, which may have been due to local burial customs or because cremations are harder to locate and more easily destroyed by ploughing (Roesdahl, 1982, 164). Different types of cremation graves occur in Denmark. Cremations from Bornholm and Vendsyssel are often covered by a burnt sparse layer of grave goods. Elsewhere, cremations are usually very scantily furnished, but of a characteristic appearance, such as being marked by a triangular stone setting or an oval setting of varying orientation, which may have represented a sailing vessel. Stone ship-settings seem to have been used solely for cremations in Denmark, such as those from Lindholm Høje dating from c. 650 to 1000, where the majority of graves are cremations, but the oldest and youngest graves are inhumations (Ramskou, 1976, 146-53; Brøndsted, 1960b, 295-6, 331-2). The cremated individuals were probably burnt at the same location where their remains were deposited and some of the cremation graves had secondary fires lit above them after being covered. These secondary patches at Lindholm Høje yielded pottery vessels and unburnt bones which may represent the remains of funeral feasts (Ramskou, 1976, 17). Mounds built over cremations are located, for instance, in the Limfjord area (Gräslund and Müller-Wille, 1992, 187; Randsborg, 1980, 121-2).

Most Danish cremations are found in Jylland and there are very few inhumations in northern Jylland. This led Randsborg (1980, 122) to assert that 'the north Jylland cremations may well correlate with a tribal area, geographically well circumscribed'.

6. INHUMATIONS

THE GRAVE

Flat graves are the most common form of burial, although mound burials do occur. The graves are usually 1m deep, and hardly ever more than 2m. In some cases coffins are used and a covering of stones marks the grave. Müller-Wille (1976a, 119, 159-61) maps and lists Viking Age burials and burial grounds. Chamber graves are associated with high-status burials and are found in large numbers throughout Denmark, with the greatest density on Jylland (Näsman, 1991, 163-80; Müller-Wille, 1991, 181-7; Becker, 1953, 163; Skaarup, 1976, 181). Prior to the Viking Age chamber-type graves are only found on Bornholm (Näsman, 1991, 163).

Over 20 wagon (cart-body) burials have been found throughout Denmark, dating mainly from the 10th century; these are mainly associated with female burials. No wagon burials have been found on Fyn, Lolland-Falster, Sjælland, Halland, Blekinge and Bornholm (Näsman, 1991, 165; Willemoes, 1982, 53; Roesdahl, 1978, 9-14). The high-status wagon burial at Fyrkat contains a healer/witch type of burial and is considered at the end of the chapter.

ORIENTATION

Danish pagan burials are generally regular, oriented with the head to the west (within degrees of accuracy), supine, with the arms extended along the sides. Almost all north-south oriented burials occur in Skåne and Bornholm (Brøndsted, 1936, 217).

GRAVE GOODS

Ninth century cemeteries and earlier usually contain simple burials without grave goods (Brøndsted, 1936, 213-4). Mid to late 10th century burials differ by geographic location and social background. Burials found near farms, villages and towns contain artefacts with similar characteristics, and high-status burials are very alike in their furnishing. 'Average' cemeteries often contain a few very high-status burials. A more segregated system of burial seems to have operated at Hedeby, where the rich were buried in their own small burial-ground, often in chambers, apart from the large cemetery of the other citizens. This separation is mirrored on Langeland, at Stengade I, Nørre Longelse and Skebjerg, and Stengade II (Roesdahl, 1982, 168-9; Skaarup, 1976, 182-6; Brøndsted, 1936, 149-76, nos. 87-9).

The 'cavalry' type of burials, containing a horse or horse furniture and weapons, appear in Denmark, emerging from the south, and are dated mainly to 925 to 975 (Pedersen, 1997, 128). Cavalry graves are often isolated burials, which may be due to the survivors of the deceased wishing to honour the deceased away from a 'normal' cemetery burial and give them a higher status burial and local recognition (Randsborg, 1980, 127). Randsborg (1980, 126-7) accounts for certain high-status 10th-century burials as being the consequence of the emergence of increased social rank, as is sometimes

documented on contemporary runestones and the beginning of building a new political and military state. 'The return of weapon graves to west Denmark in the tenth century, after having been rare for seven or nine hundred years, must be seen in this light' (Randsborg, 1980, 126).

MALE

Few weapon graves exist from the 9th or 11th centuries. Most furnished male burials have a knife and, depending on their wealth and burial traditions, may be buried with weapons (more of a 10th-century custom), vessels or items which perhaps indicates their profession, such as the metalworking tools from Lejre (Andersen, 1963, 8-10).

Several very high-status late Viking-Age male burials exist, many of which were robbed in antiquity, or as at Jelling, the contents of the grave were transferred to another site. The Jelling site has two large mounds; the chamber of the North Mound is dendrochronologically dated to 958/9, although the mound itself is prehistoric (Christensen and Krogh, 1987, 223-31; Roesdahl, 1994, 108). The North Mound is the largest in Denmark and contains a chamber grave, although no human bones have been found. Grave goods, such as riding equipment and a box, suggest that the grave had contained a male. The South Mound may be a memorial, as it does not contain a grave. The two runestones at Jelling are associated with King Gorm and Queen Thyre, and their son Harald Bluetooth who claims to have converted the Danes to Christianity (Christensen, 1969, 234-41; L. C. Nielsen, 1991, 248-9). A large wooden church located between the mounds may have been built by King Harald. The church contained a chamber grave that seems to be contemporary with the building of the church and contained disarticulated bones and high-status grave goods, comparable in style to those from the North Mound. This may indicate that they are the bones and belongings of King Gorm, removed from the North Mound by his son for a Christian burial (Roesdahl, 1982, 174-5). The remains of part of a V-shaped stone setting survive under the South Mound and extend from the mound outwards toward the North Mound. This stone setting may be '...the remains of an enormous ship-setting erected in association with the North Mound...' (Roesdahl, 1982, 173).

The Jelling complex appears to have been of royal, dynastic and political significance and may have encouraged other individuals in the conversion period to exhume their ancestors to give them a Christian burial. 'A good example may be the Ladby grave in which, despite good conditions of preservation, there were no skeletal remains' (Roesdahl, 1982, 175; and see also Müller-Wille, 1976b, 633).

Other high-status burials include Søllested, Fyn, Denmark's largest chamber grave, contained inside a mound (Brøndsted, 1936, 143-4, no. 79), and boat-graves (under mounds) at Ladby, Fyn, and Hedeby (Müller-Wille, 1976a; Thorvildsen, 1957, 50-88; Roesdahl, 1982, 171). Some 10th-century 'cavalry burials' contain fine riding equipment and a varying number (often low) of weapons (Randsborg, 1980, 127). A high-status grave containing fighting gear was found at Mammen, near Viborg, Jylland, which contained a richly ornamented and probably ceremonial silver-inlaid axe and fine textiles (destroyed on

excavation in the 19th century) (L. C. Nielsen, 1991, 245-6). The lack of horse furnishings marks the grave out as an unusual high-status burial, but may be explained by the design on the axe and the dendrochronological dating of the burial to the Conversion period c. 970/71 (Roesdahl, 1994, 108). During the late 10th century the main weapon used as a grave good was the axe. The annular brooch is exclusively found in male graves. Beads occur in male graves, but are more common in female burials.

During the Viking Age, Bornholm appears to have had different traditions from the rest of Denmark. Bornholm males were not buried with weapon sets, which ‘...must be the reason why we find almost only what seem to be women’s graves in the Viking Age on Bornholm’ (Brøndsted, 1936, 227).

FEMALE

Female burials can contain dress accessories, which were probably not regarded as grave goods, and grave goods associated with everyday life. Oval brooches are more commonly found in east Denmark than the west in the 10th century (Brøndsted, 1936, 106-7, no. 35). Other types of jewellery found are disc-shaped and trefoil brooches, beads and arm rings. Textile and needlework implements and boxes have typical female associations and are found, for example, at Sdr Onsild (Randsborg, 1980, 130-1; Brøndsted, 1936, 220-4). Graves with jewellery appear in 9th-century contexts on Bornholm, but disappear in the 10th century.

High-status females interred in cart-bodies can contain expensive clothing with gold and silver embroidery and, in some cases, with silk lining, for example at Fyrkat (discussed below). High-status females may be buried with silver brooches and seldom with oval brooches. There is an above-average number of high-status female burials around Hedeby.

7. CONVERSION EVIDENCE

Denmark was converted to Christianity according to literary sources in c. 965, although from the early 9th century attempts had been made at conversion (Roesdahl, 1975-6, 32-6; 1994, 109). From the archaeological evidence, the process appears to have been peaceful and slow.

Thor’s hammers (carved, incised or cast) disappear during the second half of the 10th century. Some Christian burials are present at Fyrkat, whilst one pagan grave is coin dated to between 959 and 975 (Nielsen, 1990, 137-43). A few graves of the late 10th century contain axes decorated with open-work Christian-style crosses (Roesdahl, 1982, 177; Schiørring, 1978, 28-9). Grave goods disappear by the early 11th century (Brøndsted, 1960a, 307-9).

As the 11th century progressed, the Church grew stronger and many churches were built, in a few instances over a pagan site. The church at Hørning was built over the Viking-Age burial of a woman in a rich chamber grave under a flattened burial mound. The church is dendrochronologically dated to c. 1060-70 and the mound may have been flattened for the church to be built (Roesdahl, 1994, 108).

Irregular early Christian burials can be seen at the PK Bank site, Lund, such as grave 260; this contained a woman aged around 45-55 years whose upper body was covered with an oval-shaped basket (Krogh and Voss, 1961, 7, 34). At the Löddeköpinge site, Skåne, around 15 burials were interred in clinker-built rowing boats. The custom of burying the dead in boats during the Christian period need not indicate that the dead person was considered to be embarking on a sea journey to the next world, but may be due to the deceased's relatives using the materials available to bury the corpse and, as such, the burials may not have been considered high status (Mårtensson, 1976, 91-3; Ohlsson, 1977, 1-18). The reuse of wood from clinker-built boats is evident in grave 322 at the PK Bank site, Lund.

CONTINUATION OF PAGAN PRACTICES

Blackware shards (*svartgods*) are sometimes found in Conversion period graves. The shards may be associated with the culture layer and have been, therefore, redeposited as grave-fill, for example, in graves at the Thule site, Lund. However, at the St. Jakobs churchyard, Lund, shards appear to have been deliberately placed at the hands or other parts of some of the skeletons. 'Have we here a simplified analogy of the Greek idea of the Charon coin, to keep evil spirits away? This custom was adopted by the Christians after a certain transformation and had a long period of use. It is possible that the simple blackware shards had a similar symbolic content' (Blomqvist and Mårtensson, 1963, 65 - my translation; see also Gräslund, 1965-6, 168-97; Grønder-Hansen, 1988, 115-26).

8. SLAVES

Slaves are poorly documented in the Danish Viking Age. One runic source, the Hørning stone, documents a freed slave who raised a stone in appreciation of his master giving him freedom and money (Moltke, 1976, 258-9; Karras, 1988, 131). *Vita Rimberti* (38) mentions Danish slavery in the 9th century. The use of slaves in Denmark seems to have ended in the first half of the 13th century (Foote and Wilson, 1980, 77). According to Randsborg (1980, 134-5), no slave burials have been identified in 10th-century west-Danish cemeteries.

9. THE SLUSEGÅRD BURIALS

SLUSEGÅRD, PEDERSKER A., BORNHOLM

As stated above, the Slusegård cemetery (dating between 100-500) is earlier than the period defined in this thesis. A summary of the deviant burials will be included as much diversity is shown which, compared to the Viking-Age material, shows a large number of surviving mutilated skeletons in a small geographic area. These burials also exhibit signs of severe mutilation and are quite striking in the violence exhibited, perhaps reflecting a violent local society and/or a violent ritualistic treatment of individuals at death.

Double grave – one decapitation: Grave 235 (Klindt-Jensen, 1978a, plan 95/20).

Gender and age not determined. Both skeletons are oriented north-north-east - south-south-west.

The west skeleton was supine, lying towards its left side and slightly flexed. The head appears to be intact. The east skeleton was supine, lying towards its left and slightly flexed. The head was missing and there was a large gap between its shoulder area and lower parts of the body. According to Klindt-Jensen (1978b, 84), the corpse had been dismembered for deposition. Between the skeletons lay a sword and on the western side of the west skeleton lay an iron razor, an iron knife and iron awl.

Double grave, both decapitations, one possibly a hanging: Graves 309 and 310 (Klindt-Jensen, 1978, vol. I plan 105/20, plates 55 and 56) (Illustration 3)

Both skeletons were oriented south-north, lying side by side.

The west skeleton was male, aged 20-35, and supine. The head was positioned higher than would be expected above the lower cervical vertebrae. The position of the head may be the result of decapitation or possibly hanging (Bennike, 1985, 114-16); however, the bones are too decomposed for further investigation. The right arm was broken and placed towards the west. The right foot was broken and turned backwards. Klindt-Jensen (1978b, 41) suggests that the burial shows signs of violence. At the left arm there was a clay pot, a glass bead, two iron knives, an iron awl and an iron razor.

The east skeleton is an unsexed young person without a head, which Klindt-Jensen (1978b, 41) believes had been chopped off. The skeleton is, however, much deteriorated and it is difficult to extract much information. At the skeleton's right elbow was an iron knife.

Decapitation? Grave 324 (Klindt-Jensen, 1978a, plan 105/30).

The skeleton was oriented south-north, supine, and the head was missing (compare with pit 331 to the west). The north-west part of the grave overlaps grave 323. There were traces of a trunk coffin. A bronze buckle was situated at the throat and a knife at the hips.

Skull: Grave (pit) 331 (Klindt-Jensen, 1978a, plan 105/30) (see also grave 438).

A skull of an unsexed individual placed in a pit. The individual was aged 20-35. Covering the pit were large flat stones, 12cm above the eroded burnt layer, in brown-coloured charcoal mixed with sand. Beside the skull lay shards from two pots (Klindt-Jensen, 1978a, 102).

Decapitation? Grave 438 (Klindt-Jensen, 1978a, plan 95/30).

The skeleton was oriented west-east. The head lay in the western quarter of the grave, facing south-east. Separated from the head, lying to the east, was the pelvis and parts of the legs and the feet. The corpse had been dismembered for burial, with the chest area, shoulders and arms missing. There were no grave goods. A large piece of chalk covered by an eroded burnt layer lay over the grave. The skull lay 10cm beneath the chalk.

This grave is similar to Grave 331, where a skull was also placed in a pit covered by a flat stone, and there were nearby skeletons without heads.

Decapitation: Grave 968 (Klindt-Jensen, 1978a, plan 60/10).

The skeleton was oriented north-east - south-west. The skeleton was well preserved, supine with the arms extended along the body, the right arm slightly bent over the stomach. The head was missing and the lower cervical vertebra showed that it had been decapitated. A knife and a vessel were located beside the right lower arm. On the left side of the chest were two amber beads.

Decapitation: Grave 983 (Klindt-Jensen, 1978a, plan 60/20).

The skeleton was oriented north-east - south-west. The skeleton was well preserved, supine, with its upper arms extended along its body. The head was missing and, because of the good state of preservation, it had probably been decapitated before the burial. The upper cervical vertebra showed a sloping cut down to the left shoulder. There were no grave goods.

Double grave, one decapitation: Grave 989 (Klindt-Jensen, 1978a, plan 60/20, plates 57a and c).

Both skeletons were oriented south-south-east - north-north-west, lying side by side. The west skeleton was an adult male, supine, with the arms crossed over the chest. The head was missing and the upper cervical vertebra was cut through. A small iron fragment lay by the right shoulder. The east skeleton was male, aged 35-55 and lay prone slightly over the west skeleton. The ankles were crossed, perhaps suggesting that they were bound. Beside the skeleton's elbow there was a knife and an awl.

Decapitation and dismembering: Grave 1185 (Klindt-Jensen, 1978a, plan 440/70, fig. 141; and 1978b, 253).

The skeleton was oriented north-north-west - south-south-east. The skeleton appeared to have been partially mutilated for burial. The distance between the lower cervical vertebra and the skull may indicate that the neck was cut through and the head inserted separately into the burial. The skeleton had been forced into the grave, lying on its left side hunched over. The head was bent forwards, facing left and looking towards the feet. The right leg was extended to the knee then bent backwards and upwards. The left leg was bent at the hip and knee. The right arm extended between the legs, whilst the left arm was bent upwards at the elbow. There were no grave goods.

Summary

The Slusegård deviant graves are confined to three different locations in the cemetery. A large group of deviant burials is located in the central-to-western area of the main burial ground on a high elevation; these are burials 235 (double, one skeleton with no head and possible dismembering), 309/10 (double, one skeleton possibly hanged or decapitated with arm and foot broken, one skeleton with no head), 331 (pit with head), 324 (skeleton with no head), and 438 (head, legs, no torso). A smaller group of deviant burials is located at the extremity of the south-west part of the main burial area, which is on lower land; these are burials 968 (skeleton with no head), 983 (skeleton with no head) and 989

(double, one skeleton with no head, one skeleton prone). One deviant burial, 1185 (decapitation and possible dismembering), is in the far west area of the cemetery, a short distance away from its main part, on the top of the hill.

Many of Slusegård the burials show violence and disrespect for the body. The burials may either be ritualistic or due to severe punishments. The deviant burials are located within the cemetery, which enabled them to be found, as many Viking-Age deviant burials are chance finds from outside the confines of cemeteries. If the mutilated bodies were criminals, there appears to have been no fear within society of them being buried in the same area as the 'normal' burials. The quantity of mutilated skeletons excavated in this small area is very different to what may be expected with similarly treated Viking-Age skeletons, which are often lone individuals or lone double graves.

10. HEALER/WITCH BURIALS

FYRKAT

About 30 burials were excavated from an area of high land just outside the north-east quadrant of this circular fortress (dated dendrochronologically to 980) (Roesdahl, 1991b, 136). The burials were east-west oriented, in flat graves and generally simple; they were probably associated with the occupants of the fortress. 'The graves are grouped around a structure (38m long and between 3m and 5m wide) which in general terms must have been similar in form to the axial streets of the fortress' (Roesdahl, 1977, 188). The structure was probably a pathway, although it has been suggested that it was a ritual structure used in ceremonies connected with the graves. The graves appear to be aligned with the structure and are unremarkable, except for the two described below. Like other 10th-century burials, few brooches and pins were found in the graves. The impact of Christianity on the cemetery is hard to establish (L. C. Nielsen, 1991, 249, 50). Pagan practices are evident in some burials and the lack of grave goods in many of the graves need not indicate a conversion to Christianity.

Healer/witch grave? Grave 4

Mid to late 10th century. The individual has been sexed as female because of the types of objects contained in the grave. The grave is oriented east-west. The skeleton lay supine in a cart-body and is the only instance of this burial type in the cemetery, with the possible exception of Grave XX (discussed below). Tooth enamel, fragments of tibia and femur and the right humerus remain. There was an outline of the head, shoulders and arms. The left arm seems to have been extended along the body (Roesdahl, 1977, 84). Two small silver rings were located in the area where the feet would have been and were probably worn on either foot (Roesdahl, 1977, 138). Toe-rings are uncommon in Scandinavia and rare in Europe.

Other pieces of jewellery included: the remains of a silver chain; a silver ring; a chair-shaped pendant (presumably a symbol for a god and a fairly common find from Sweden and Denmark – see Chapter 9); a circular tin pendant; a fragment of a Finno-Ugrian style pendant; and various other unidentifiable fragments. A worn Gotlandic style drum-shaped brooch (a type seldom found outside Gotland) was

placed by the head. It had been mended and altered rendering it unusable for its original function. Roesdahl (1977, 138) suggests that it may have been kept as a souvenir. A gold foil-covered pendant, a gilded pin, a copper-alloy bead, two glass beads and several glass fragments were also found, along with gold thread, which may have been associated with leather, traces of textiles and a key (Roesdahl, 1977, 95-102).

The remains of a casket were found by the feet and may have contained the spindlewhorl, a knife with its sheath, a whetstone and an iron object with copper-alloy fittings (Roesdahl and Nordquist, 1971, 28-9 – see Chapter 9). Due to its shape and the copper-alloy fittings, the iron object is interpreted by Price (2002, 156, 185-6) as a ritual staff. A pig's jawbone (its function or meaning in the grave is unknown - it may have been associated with the casket) and an owl pellet may have been kept inside the casket. The owl pellet may have had a magical function, particularly as it appears to have been 'used' and become squashed prior to burial (Roesdahl, 1977, 104, 143). Around the belt area were several hundred henbane seeds, which had probably been kept in a container or pouch. Given the unusual nature of the other grave goods, the seeds may have had a particular function, perhaps magical or medical (see Chapter 9).

Along the side of the grave was a roasting spit beside which Price (2002, 156; 200) has noted that the presence of a thin wooden staff was marked into the corrosion of the spit and may have had some domestic or ritual function. Although generally too early for this practice, the staff may have been a grave stick (see Chapter 9), such as was found in the late pagan grave at Hørning, near Randers, Denmark. Two drinking horns were found along with various vessels. In connection with bowl number 5 were remains of copper salts and plants, consisting mainly of grass blades, moss and some seeds of rhinanthus. A piece of leather, presumably of sheep, may have been the remains of a rug. In the south of the grave was a charcoal area, which was probably associated with a funerary rite (Roesdahl, 1977, 84, 91-104, 130-43; Sherratt, 1996, 14).

The finds from this grave, such as the chair-shaped pendant, the henbane seeds and the pieces of pig jaw and owl pellet could '...have presumably enabled... [the deceased] to contact the higher powers' (Roesdahl, 1977, 150 - my translation) and may have identified her, if she wore and used these items during her life, as a high-status 'wisewoman'. Schmidt Poulsen (1986, 172) suggests other interpretations for these items as '...protection or help for the deceased, protection for the living, or perhaps an attempt to transfer a disease to the dead person'.

Some of the woman's belongings are linked to the east, such as the Gotlandic brooch and the Finno-Ugrian pendant, and she appears to be the only individual in the cemetery whose belongings show definite contact with abroad (Roesdahl, 1977, 150). This is the richest burial in the cemetery. A comparable high-status female burial can be seen at Sdr Onsild, which has a casket, pottery vessels, etc. (Roesdahl, 1975-6, 30-7). Price (2002, 157) compares the quantity of amulets in the Fyrkat grave to

the 6th century Anglo-Saxon burial of a female at Bidford-on-Avon, Warwickshire (discussed in Chapter 9).

Healer/witch? Grave XX

A further possible wagon burial (Grave XX), identified by the six 6 clinker nails, may also have contained a female burial (Roesdahl and Nordquist, 1971, 25-6). The contents of the grave included one silver and one amber bead, a piece of rolled up silver thread, a round stone, a whetstone and keys and metal fragments suggesting the presence of a casket. The stone, whetstone and chest were located in the same area. The quantity and quality of grave goods and dress accessories is significantly lower than that of Grave 4, but if the deceased had been interred in a wagon burial, she would nevertheless have been marked out as high status as well as being buried in a similar manner as the deceased in Grave 4. The suggestion of her connections with the supernatural is very tenuous.

GERDRUP, near ROSKILDE (Illustration 4)

The Viking-Age grave is from a ploughed-out mound situated originally on the edge of the fjord (examined around 1982).

Double inhumation grave; hanging and a witch/valkyrie grave?

The grave was oriented north-south and measured 2.5m x 1.6m. The skeletons were well preserved. The west skeleton was sexed as male, aged 35-40, and lay supine with the head twisted towards the left shoulder. The skeleton's cervical vertebrae were separated '...in a position to suggest that they had been pulled apart by hanging' (Bennike, 1985, 117). The legs were bent, with the right crossed over the left, and may have been bound at the feet. A knife, with traces of a leather sheath, was associated with this skeleton.

The skeleton on the right (45cm away) was female, aged about 40. Two large stones were placed above the skeleton, one of which had its flat side down and was placed exactly on the rib cage; the other was placed on the right leg. At the left hip of the skeleton lay another large stone. These stones were probably gravefill. Several grave goods were associated with this skeleton: an iron knife; a needle case, placed at the skeleton's pelvis and probably attached to the belt (the type is rare in Denmark but not uncommon in Norway); and a long iron spearhead situated c. 5-10cm to the right of the skeleton's right leg (the type is rare in Denmark but common in Norway and central Sweden, dated c. 900-950). The remains of two sheep skulls lay between the skeletons and may be evidence for a funeral feast, which came into the grave as part of the fill, or the skulls may have been included deliberately as part of some other rite. The woman could perhaps have fulfilled a male role. The presence of the large stones may indicate that she was feared and, combined with the grave goods, it could be suggested that she was associated with the supernatural, and her spear could possibly identify her as a valkyrie (T. Christensen, 1982, 19-28).

The combination of grave goods is unusual; the woman is buried with a spear and covered by large stones. There are no parallels to this grave elsewhere in Scandinavia. Anglo-Saxon female burials containing spears are mentioned by Wilson (1992, 76), such as the two females buried in the barrow at Wigber Low, Derbyshire, where both have spearheads.

11. DEVIANT GRAVES

The graves are listed in alphabetical order and are inhumations unless otherwise specified.

BOGØVEJ, LANGELAND

A cemetery of 49 excavated graves; three of which were double graves (Grøn, Hedeager Krag and Bennike, 1994, 10, 145). The grave goods indicate that the cemetery was used for a short period during the 10th century and perhaps into the beginning of the 11th century.

Grave containing two skeletons, one above the other (sacrifice/suttee/slave?): Grave D (Illustration 5)

The grave was oriented with the head to the west and had disarticulated bones. There was no trace of a coffin, but a collection of small stones (3-12cm in size) had been placed over the bodies. The upper skeleton was female, aged 21 or less and was very disarticulated. The lower skeleton was male, aged 25-35. There were fragments of two iron knives. Grave D was on higher ground and fairly centrally placed amongst the other graves in the cemetery (Grøn, Hedeager Krag and Bennike, 1994, 11-12).

Prone Burial: Grave P (Illustration 6)

A well-preserved male, oriented east-west, aged 30-40, with the right arm bent upwards and the left arm on the hip. Two large stones were placed over the body. The largest stone measured 35 x 25cm and lay on the left side of the pelvis. On the right arm lay a stone measuring c. 20 x 15cm. The skeleton's face pressed into a stone by the shoulder. The skull lay at an angle, with an unusual twisting of the cervical vertebrae. The spinal column showed a distinctive arched dislocation towards the north with a few vertebrae missing. A small blunt knife lay at the skeleton's right ankle. The grave fill included shards and charcoal. The presence of a rat incisor and an isolated human toe bone in the grave's west-end indicates that there had been animal disturbance. No coffin was recorded (Grøn, Hedeager Krag and Bennike, 1994, 14-15).

Grave containing two skeletons, one above the other: Grave S

The grave was oriented west-north-west and east-south-east. The upper skeleton was male, aged around 50, and was placed exactly above the lower burial. The upper skeleton was supine, with the arms extended along the sides. A knife and a bronze ring-brooch were found associated with this skeleton, although they probably belonged to the lower skeleton.

The lower skeleton was female, aged 16-20. The bones had become slightly disarticulated when the upper body was buried. The skull, right tibia, right shoulder, humerus and both feet were missing

although a few teeth were found in the neck area, possibly removed when the male skeleton was interred. The skeleton was supine with the legs slightly flexed to the left and the arms crossed over the pelvis.

The interment of the male skeleton directly above the female skeleton appears to have been deliberate (Grøn, Hedeager Krag and Bennike, 1994, 16-7) and may be a case of the husband surviving his wife.

Possible decapitation? Grave T (Illustration 7)

A fairly well-preserved female skeleton, aged 30-40, which was oriented west-east. The head was placed beside the left knee and between the legs, with the jaw resting on the left tibia. The skull faced east, although it had been disturbed and damaged by rodent activity. There were no marks on the skull/vertebrae from the decapitation (Grøn, Hedeager Krag and Bennike, 1994, 17-19).

Grave goods included an iron knife, which lay across the right tibia. At the right shoulder, about 6cm below the collarbone, was a tiny white millefiori glass bead, and c. 20cm above the upper cervical vertebra there was an orange glass bead with four fragments of a vertebra. The beads at the head end may have been attached to clothing or they may suggest that the head had originally been located at the top of the shoulders, but had become disarticulated, or that the body had been decapitated on burial. Between the legs and close to the skull lay a cockleshell. 'On the basis of the other three finds (from other graves at Kaagården), the shell here may also have been placed at the left ear. The fact that they lie slightly displaced from their original position and that there are no holes for attaching these 'beads' could suggest that they are grave goods which were not worn in life' (Grøn, Hedeager Krag and Bennike, 1994, 140). These items may have been kept in a bag or other container.

Animal activity had disturbed the eastern part of the grave, but there was no other disturbance. A coffin is suggested by the presence of a fragment of an iron fitting. The grave was on lower ground in the south-west area of the cemetery.

Large stone on the body: Grave Y

The unsexed skeleton was very poorly preserved, oriented north-south and supine. A large stone was placed where the chest would have been, and a further large stone was placed over the pelvic region. These stones seem to have been placed directly on top of the skeleton and not on top of a coffin, although there were the remains of one. Grave goods included an iron knife, an iron nail, and an iron fragment of unknown function. The grave was on higher ground in the north-eastern part of the cemetery (Grøn, Hedeager Krag and Bennike, 1994, 20-1).

DRÁBY, SJÆLLAND

A small 9th-century cemetery of 12 graves, three of which were double burials (excavated 1953). Most of the graves were 2m long, oriented north-south, 1.5m wide and about 1m deep. There was one instance of a skeleton with its head to the south. The skeletons were generally badly preserved (Ramskou, 1963-5, 84).

Grave containing two skeletons, one above the other (sacrifice/slave?): Grave 1

The lower skeleton was a high-status female burial, above which in the stone fill, 40cm from the surface, were disarticulated unsexed human bones, a small knife and an unidentifiable metal object. Ramskou (1963-5, 84) suggests that this may be a slave.

Grave containing two skeletons, one above the other (sacrifice/suttee/slave?): Grave 2

The upper skeleton lay in the middle of the stone fill. The lower skeleton lay on the grave floor with two small knives. Despite the modest grave goods, the inclusion of the upper and possibly slave burial indicates that this could have been a high-status burial (Ramskou, 1963-5, 84).

Double grave? Grave 10

Skeleton with a knife and an iron nail. About 5-6cm above the centre of this skeleton were the remains of tooth enamel. Ramskou (1963-5, 84) states that... 'this can indicate that the slave was decapitated' (my translation). However, this is more probably the result of animal activity.

FJÄLKINGE, SKÅNE

Multiple burial, possible sacrifice (?)

Cemetery containing an unstated number of burials, dated by the associated finds to the 10th century (Strömberg, 1961, 38-49, 67-8).

Grave 35

Four unsexed skeletons were placed in the same grave, dated by the grave goods to the 10th century. The earth around the skeletons was discoloured which may be due to a coffin or other wooden construction.

Grave 1 - head to south, with an iron knife and whetstone.

Grave 2 - oriented east-west, with the knees drawn up into a crouched position and the head moved to the pelvis. The lower legs were severed and the bones of the feet were missing. Some of the bones were burnt black.

Grave 3 - directly beneath Grave 2, supine, with east-west orientation and no associated finds.

Grave 4 - head to south, with arms crossed over the pelvis and feet crossed. Grave goods included an iron buckle placed near the pelvis, a comb, knife, whetstone, a piece of iron, a pottery shard and a clay whorl.

The maltreatment of the body in Grave 2 led Strömberg (1961, 42) to conclude that this skeleton may represent some kind of sacrifice, particularly as some of the bone show signs of burning. Whether the other skeletons seemed to form part of a kinship group or is unclear from the report.

KAAGÅRDEN, LANGELAND

Of 95 graves investigated, two were double graves. Two further burials both had two skeletons sharing the same plot, but were not apparently contemporary with each other. The majority of skeletons were supine, oriented west-east. There was one crouched burial. The cemetery seems to have been used over a fairly long time. One burial can be dated to the 7th century from a particular type of brooch, but the majority of the burials are 10th century (Grön, Hedeager Krag and Bennike, 1994, 68).

Grave containing two skeletons, one above the other: Grave B

The grave was oriented north-west to south-east, with no coffin remains. The skeletons were badly preserved, one positioned slightly on top of the other. The lower skeleton was female, aged below 45, the higher skeleton was male, aged 45-55. Grave goods include an iron fork and an iron knife. The grave was centrally placed to the south of the cemetery, on lower ground (Grön, Hedeager Krag and Bennike, 1994, 145). This burial may be a kinship grave, but is deviant in that the female is below the male.

KALMERGÅRDEN, STORE FUGLEDE SN., ARS H., HOLBÆK A, TISSØ, VESTSJÆLLAND (Illustrations 8 and 9)

A chance find, dating to the first half of 11th century (examined 1979).

Two inhumation graves of decapitated individuals (Illustration 8)

The east skeleton was oriented to the north-east and the west skeleton to the north; both were male and both were decapitated. A large stone separated the skeletons. The west skeleton had been buried in an old pit containing several animal bones.

The eastern skeleton was slightly flexed (Illustration 9). Although it was decapitated, the jawbone was still at the top of the neck, with the rest of his head between his legs. The decapitation was messy. The initial blow cut just under the base of the skull, but the cutting instrument must have slipped and cut instead '...the occipital condyle, mastoid process and zygomatic arch to pass just under the eye...' (Bennike, 1985, 108). Bennike (1985, 106, 193-4) suggests that the individual may have had a hip complaint 'leading to ankylosis with the femur at a peculiar angle in relation to the pelvis'. Sellevold, Hansen and Jørgensen (1984, 274) state that this would have been 'crippling'. This skeleton has been aged at death as 20-35 years and radio-carbon dated to c. 1040.

The western skeleton appeared to be somewhat healthier, but had 'a much underhung jaw' (Bennike, 1985, 107). The skull was placed between the legs, facing the body. The two top vertebrae were located with the skull. Evidence of decapitation can be seen from the sharp cut on the axis (the second cervical vertebra) and faint traces caused by a sharp instrument are evident on the underside of the

mandible. 'Half the cut vertebra lay under the skull and the atlas, which were in mutually correct anatomical position. The other half lay at the end of the headless spine' (Bennike, 1985, 107-8). This skeleton was aged at death to 35-55 years and radio-carbon dated to c. 1015.

Bennike (1985, 117) suggests that the two individuals may have been criminals, perhaps thieves. The disfigurement also may have led to these individuals being treated unsympathetically or perhaps outcast from the community. The large stone was probably a marker for the grave and may have been a marker for the place for punishment. The stone may also have been used as a boundary post between the two regions which border there, as this was a historically suitable place to punish criminals (Bennike and Christoffersen, 1981, 10-13). The location and presence of the animal bones may have been a mark of disrespect rather than representing sacrificial ritual

LEJRE, (SJÆLLAND), KORNERUP SN., SØMME H., KØBENHAVN A.

Lejre lies c. 8km from Roskilde and is referred to by Thietmar of Merseburg (c. 1015 - about 50 years after the coming of Christianity to Denmark) as an ancient cult centre. He mentions how the local inhabitants sacrificed ninety-nine people and various animals to the gods every nine years in January: '...they thought it certain that these rites would serve their purpose with the powers of the Underworld and placate them after crimes had been committed' (*Thietmar von Merseburg*, 20; Roesdahl, 1982, 163). From his account it is not evident whether this practice took place before and/or during the Viking Age (Roesdahl, 1982, 163).

The excavation at Lejre in 1953 yielded about 49 graves datable to the Viking Age, of which four were cremations. The cemetery has yielded a poor amount of grave goods.

Grave containing two skeletons, one above the other (sacrifice/slave?): Grave 55 (Illustration 10)

First half to the middle of the 10th century. Oriented east-west, this burial was situated inside the north end of a stone ship-setting, along with some other graves (Andersen, 1960, 24). Both skeletons were male.

The upper skeleton, aged 35-55, was prone above the other skeleton, higher up in the grave fill. He had been decapitated from behind, cutting horizontally through the third vertebra. The head was placed at the left shoulder, face down. The underside of the jaw showed traces of damage caused by the blow. The positioning of the hands and feet indicate that they may have been bound. This skeleton had no grave goods.

The lower skeleton was aged 25-40, supine and was a small individual with deformed feet (Bennike, 1985, 108-9; Andersen, 1960, 26; Sellevold, Hansen and Jørgensen, 1984, 76-7). The skeleton was intact with a few associated artefacts: an iron knife, whetstone, a small buckle and an iron strap-end. Roesdahl (1982, 24) suggests that this grave '...was most likely that of a slave who had to accompany his master in death'. However, the other graves in this study containing individuals with deformities

usually show little respect for the deceased. If the lower skeleton were the master, the grave would be of very high-status to have contained a slave burial, despite the apparently low-status grave goods.

There are other double graves at Lejre, but they are in a bad state of preservation and cannot be interpreted with any degree of confidence.

LUND, SKÅNE

Of the 10,000 cemetery burials in Lund, 0.3% were buried outside the confines of a cemetery or received an "abnormal" burial (Carelli, 1995, 44).

LUND, GRYNMALAREN

The grave probably dates to the 11th century (excavated in 1948).

Victim of crime or criminal

The skeleton was male, aged in his 50s and about 172cm tall. The grave was cut c. 40cm into the subsoil and showed no signs of a coffin. The skeleton was flexed, due to the grave being too small and the skull faced north. The arms were bent, with the right hand lying on the right side of the face, and the left hand on a stone, which was placed on the upper part of the chest (Carelli, 1995, 47-8). The burial shows no particular signs of respect for the deceased and may have been done in haste. The skeleton may be the remains of a victim of a crime or lynching.

LUND, GYLLENKROK (Illustration 11)

Possible murder victim or criminal: Grave 1

c. A.D. 1200

The burial was sexed as male and aged at death to about 20 (Carelli, 1993, 8-10). The body was located in an occupation layer, with no evidence for a grave having been dug. The body may have been deposited in a natural hollow. The skeleton lay on its left side with the legs slightly flexed and the arms behind its back. The skull, feet and other bones were missing (Carelli, 1995, 56). 'This can possibly be explained as a result of animal activity, since the body must initially have lain very close to the surface. The grave can, therefore, be explained as the result of a murder, after which the body was quickly disposed of. The victim was not buried, he was not laid east-west, and the body was laid in a position that is not normal in graves' (Carelli, 1995, 47).

Severely mutilated skeleton: Grave 2 (Illustration 12)

c. A.D. 1000-1050

The skeleton was male, aged at death between 35-40, and was located about 50cm away from grave 1 in an occupation layer. The skeleton lay supine in a west-east direction. The legs were flexed, due to the grave being too small, and the arms were crossed over the chest. The right hand had been removed at the wrist and there had been two attempts to remove the left hand about half way up the arm. The right foot had been removed by two blows through the tibia and the left foot was removed just above the ankle. Carelli (1995, 52-3) suggests that the man was lying on his back when he was injured, with

his hands and feet bound to posts. 'Despite this bestial mutilation, the cause of death is uncertain, since the mutilation could have taken place after the man's death. If he was alive when he was maimed, as is most likely, he would probably have bled to death at once. What is remarkable is that neither hands nor feet were found in the grave' (Carelli, 1995, 52-3). Given the extent of the wounds, the individual was probably a criminal or had suffered some kind of lynching.

Decapitation, removal of left hand and both feet: Grave 3 (Illustration 13)

A.D. 1000-1050

The skeleton was male, aged 25-30, and was found in the south of the occupation layer. The skeleton was prone and the head was missing. The hand and both feet had been thrown into the grave, probably after being removed by a sword or axe. Carelli (1995, 53-4) suggests that this skeleton was injured in the same manner as the individual in Grave 2, but the legs were probably untied.

The grave contained unidentifiable wooden artefacts, but Carelli (1995, 53-4) suggests that one is a grave stick. The other is a long piece of wood. The grave had three stakes driven through it, which could have been inserted at the time of burial or later.

These burials in Lund showed no respect for the deceased. Carelli (1995, 55) suggests that it is probable '...that there were public motives behind the executions. They may have been an early manifestation of royal supremacy at a time when the power of the state was still not fully established'. Carelli (1995, 55) believes that the men may have been killed in the area where they were buried, although they may have been murdered elsewhere in the town and the bodies moved to this particular spot. This burial site '...is only a few hundred metres to any one of three medieval cemeteries, but still the men were buried among manure and waste pits' (Carelli, 1995, 55).

MULDBJERG, GØRLØSE SN., LYNGE FREDERIKSBORG, FREDERIKSBORG

Prone burial

The grave was radio-carbon dated to c. 895. The skeleton was oriented north-west - south-east and damaged. An iron knife was found in the grave (Sellevold, Hansen and Jørgensen, 1984, 88-9). The grave was an isolated find.

STENGADE II, TULLEBØLLE SN., FREDERIKSBORG

The cemetery contains about 122 inhumation graves, with 12 cremations, covering the period of the Roman Iron Age (c. 37 inhumations and several cremation graves) and the Viking Age (c. 86 inhumations) (Skaarup, 1976, 17, 164-78). Two graves are thought to be Neolithic, and are isolated from the other graves in the south-east corner of the cemetery area. The majority of the graves are oriented east-west. The corpses were buried either directly in the earth, in simple coffins (hollowed-out trees), or in chambers. Grave goods are generally poor, the majority being knives or glass beads. There are pits throughout the cemetery, but few are from the Viking Age and they have produced few

finds. The purpose of these pits may have been to provide sand, but they were filled with rubbish at later stages (Skaarup, 1976, 132-41).

Double grave with one decapitation: Grave FII (Chamber grave) (Illustration 14)

11th century.

The northern, smaller skeleton was male, aged c. 20-35, and buried supine with the head facing west-north-west. The skeleton appears to have been decapitated, due to the head being positioned above the right shoulder, lying on its left cheek and facing the right hip. The vertebrae had decomposed too much to allow further study. Due to the legs being crossed at the ankles it may be suggested that the skeleton had bound feet. The left hand rested on the pelvis, but the right hand lay behind the right buttock; the right arm seems to have been bent. Skaarup (1976, 58) suggests that the hands were also bound.

The southern, larger skeleton was male, aged 20-35. Skaarup (1972, 5) suggests a height of at least 180cm. The skeleton was supine with the head to the west-north-west. The legs were extended. The left arm was bent and the hand rested on the chest. The right arm was bent, but the hand was not preserved. Remnants of cloth were present on the lower right arm.

Across both skeletons lay a silver ornamented 10th-century style spear. The placing of the spear indicates that both the individuals were buried at the same time.

Roesdahl (1991b, 55) believes this to be ‘...obviously a slave ...who had to accompany his master’. She finds it ‘typical’ that the smaller skeleton is decapitated. The grave was in the northern most group of graves, amongst poorly furnished graves of both sexes, which has led Skaarup (1976, 56-9, 183) to believe that this group was a family burial area.

TRELLEBORG, HEJNINGE SN., VESTSJÆLLAND

About 150 graves have been found, most of which were furnished with low-status grave goods, such as knives, beads and whetstones. Individual graves are difficult to date as the cemetery spans the period from the Roman Iron Age to the Viking Age. The skeletons were supine with their knees brought into a slight crouched position, and were oriented with their heads either to the west or north. The name Trelleborg has been interpreted as ‘slave stronghold’ (Randsborg, 1980, 134-5). Deviant double burials are found on several occasions.

Graves containing two skeletons, one above the other (sacrifice/suttee/slave?): Grave 6 is a double burial, probably of an adult male and female, the female skeleton being disarticulated in the grave fill, possibly fulfilling the role or ‘sacrifice’ or ‘suttee’.

Grave 80 was a double grave, with the upper skeleton being badly preserved; the lower skeleton was male, aged 35-55.

Nørlund (1948, 114) suggests that ‘...in at least one case, and probably two more, we seem to have true burials with slaves’ (Nørlund, 1948, 189-90).

Prone

Hemmendorff (1984, 9) notes that there was a prone burial in plot 2713 at Trelleborg, but that little was recorded about the burial and the grave contained no dateable finds.

Mass burials

Three mass burials were found at the site: one with 10 skeletons (grave 23) and two with five (graves 47 and 87), which may have been charnel pits for slaves (Nielsen, 1990, 139; Nørlund, 1948, 105; Sellevold, Hansen and Jørgensen, 1984, 126-9). In grave 23 one person appears to have been murdered. ‘These mass graves could have been linked with the ransacking of the older Trælleborg. With regard to this it should be mentioned that, within the fortress walls, human bones have been found in several places, where there is evidence of burning’ (Nielsen, 1990, 139 - my translation).

ÅRHUS SØNDERVOLD, JYLLAND

Site dating from 1000-1400 (Andersen, Crabb and Madsen, 1971, 44-6).

Foundation sacrifice or victim of crime

In Grubehus DAQ, a rectangular structure, a skeleton (CZT) was found in the floor. The skeleton was supine, with the left leg extended and the right leg bent at the knee. The right ankle was placed beneath the left knee. The arms were outstretched. Andersen, Crabb and Madsen (1971, 44-6) believe that whoever buried the deceased seemingly wished to dispose quickly of the corpse rather than to perform a legitimate burial.

12. SUMMARY

Different types of deviant burial tradition appear throughout Denmark, more so than in the rest of Scandinavia, which may be due to better excavation techniques and recording and better preservation in general.

Healer/witch burials

Grave 4, Fyrkat, is probably the most obvious candidate for fulfilling the criteria for a healer/witch type of burial in the whole of the excavated Scandinavian graves. Her unusual dress accessories and the quantity of these, together with the grave goods make her somewhat unique. She has also the highest status of the burials that fulfil the healer/witch criteria. Her dress is the most reminiscent of the description of the attire worn by Þorbjörg *lítill-völva* (*Eiriks saga rauða*, IV).

Grave XX, Fyrkat, follows a similar tradition to grave 4, but is in no respect as well furnished and it is too tenuous to suggest that this burial could belong to a healer/witch. It is, however, possible that these two women may have known or known of each other. If so, one would have been aware of how the other was buried and the few similarities between that and her own burial (if she had been responsible

for her burial in any way). There may have been a desire to emulate or to provide as similar a burial as was financially possible.

The Gerdrup burial is particularly unusual when compared with more 'normal' burials. Had the male burial been found in isolation, he could have been interpreted as a criminal. However, the grave contains a male and female and the presence of the sheep skulls and the unusual grave goods could lead to a different interpretation. As the grave contains two skeletons and the male may have been hanged, it may be suggested that he could have been a sacrifice or fulfilled some other religious kind of function to accompany the female. From the inclusion of the spear the female has been interpreted as a type of valkyrie person. The mixing of usually gender-specific grave goods between the sexes is paralleled at Klinta, Öland. The female's non-native grave goods also could link her to a similar tradition as that of the woman in grave 4, Fyrkat. The fact that her remains and not those of the hanged man were covered in stones may indicate that she was more feared after death than the man, which may be the result of her activities, perhaps involving the supernatural, during her life.

Other than the healer/witch burial at Fyrkat, grave 4, a further possible Danish example of a 'sorcerer' burial is highlighted by Price (2002, 195) at Fuldbj, Bjernede sn., Sorø a., Sjælland, which contained an iron staff. This 10th century burial is considered to be of a male due to the presence of a stirrup and was found underneath a large stone.

If the medieval Danish laws were representative of Viking-Age law, then individuals who were convicted of using sorcery would not receive the death penalty. The medieval Danish laws are the most lenient of all the Scandinavian laws which deal with sorcery.

Other burials

The burials containing two skeletons - one above the other, may be benign kinship burials, suttee burials or could be a slave included above his master as a grave good or sacrifice. Other than L. C. Nielsen's (1991) theory about the sorcerer and apprentice, there does not seem to be any other way that these graves could be associated with sorcery.

The prone burials and the majority of the other deviant burials showing mutilation or other forms of serious disrespect probably belong to criminals or in the case of the Skåne burials, perhaps lynchings. The crimes these individuals committed must have been considerably anti-social to merit such treatment. Whether the crimes were linked in any way to sorcery is impossible to say. The mutilated bodies may also show the evidence of some other ritual, perhaps with its roots in a religious or superstitious practice.

CHAPTER 3

BURIALS IN VIKING-AGE SWEDEN

In this chapter Viking-Age activity in the Mälars region in central Sweden and Dalarna will be examined. The Mälars region, populated by the Svear, consisting of Södermanland, Uppland and Västmanland, was the innovative area during the Viking Age. Dalarna was a peripheral region of Mälaren. Other regions in Sweden will be referenced during the study. Much of the recently excavated Gotlandic archaeological evidence has yet to be published and therefore, due to its unavailability, only a few references will be made to the available material. No comprehensive overviews of Viking-Age Sweden have been published, the largest works tending to be extensive cemetery reports, reports covering small regions or research on the Conversion period. The south of Sweden was covered in Chapter 2.

1. GEOGRAPHICAL AREA AND BACKGROUND TO SWEDEN

The Svea dynasty, based in Uppland, was a long established, powerful family, which ruled central Sweden, but it is not known how far their territories extended. Not until the 12th century were the main regions of Sweden united under the same leadership (Roesdahl, 1991b, 64).

From the first half of the 8th century Swedish territories extended along the east of the Baltic to include parts of Latvia, Estonia and the area towards the south of Lakes Ladoga and Onega. From the late 9th century for a period, Sweden secured control of Hedeby in south Slesvig and trade routes through Russia, including at least two bases at Novgorod and Kiev. By the beginning of the 10th century Sweden was the strongest player in the Baltic; controlling also Gotland, Öland and Blekinge (Roesdahl, 1991b, 26-7). By the end of the Viking Age, the northern part of Halland down towards the top of northern Skåne, along the southern border of Småland to the Baltic, and Blekinge all belonged to Denmark. Öland was Swedish, Gotland became an independent country, and Bohuslän was Norwegian (Roesdahl, 1991b, 27).

2. TRADITIONAL PERIOD DIVISIONS IN SWEDEN

Swedish chronology is divided thus: the Older Iron Age, including the Roman Iron Age (0-400), and the Migration Period (400-600); the Younger Iron Age, including the Vendel Period (c. 550/600-800); and the Viking Age (800-1100) (Lundström, 1980a, 10-18; Thunmark-Nylén, *et al.*, 1981, 284-6).

3. PAGAN BURIAL IN SWEDEN - GENERAL

In this section the Vendel period, which immediately preceded the Viking Age, will be considered.

Cremation was prevalent during the Vendel Period in Sweden. Several funerary practices, such as boat burial, continued from the Vendel Period into the Viking Age. The cemetery at Vendel, Uppland, is

probably a family burial site used from the late 6th century to the 11th century. Vendel Period graves are well-furnished and contain animals, such as horses, dogs, hawks, household vessels and joints of meat, full weapon sets and horse furnishings (Lundström, 1980b, 31-44, 65-106; Gräslund, 1981, 43). A similar cemetery to Vendel is located at Valsgårde, Uppland (early 7th to 11th century), containing over 80 graves, of which 15 were boat burials containing cremations, four of which dated to 650-750. There were c. 60 other cremations, whilst the other graves from the earliest and latest periods of use were inhumations (Arwidsson, 1980, 45-64).

One of the largest excavated cemeteries of this period is at Stenby, Södermanland, where there are 35 oval or round stone settings, two mounds, and two unmarked cremation layers dating to 550-800. All the graves were cremations, but grave A54 may have contained an inhumation. Graves during this period were mainly meant for one person. The types of grave goods found in the cremation layers of two of the mounds at Stenby suggest that the grave contained both a male and female burial (Bennett, 1989, 12, 20).

The island of Helgö in Lake Mälaren was settled from the early 1st century to the 11th century, but activity was at its peak during the period 400-800. Due to the rising of the land in the Mälaren region, Helgö was abandoned for the neighbouring island of Birka, which continued as a major trading centre during the Viking Age. There are thousands of excavated graves on Helgö, all of which are cremations, the majority of them containing mainly dress accessories and little else (Holmqvist, 1959, 203-12; 1979, 62-3).

4. THE MÄLAR REGION

During the Viking Age, the Mälaren region was well populated, wealthy, and a religious centre. A huge amount of burials are known from this area, many of which reflect the status of the region. Birka alone has c. 3,000 burials, of which around 1,100 are excavated (Holmqvist, 1979, 84).

CREMATION

The most common form of burial in the Mälaren region up to the mid-Viking Age was cremation, with the remains deposited either as a cremation layer or in an urn and marked by either a mound or stone setting (Gräslund and Müller-Wille, 1992, 187). Cremation pits used to dispose of the ashes are more common during the Migration Period (for example, Ottarshögen in Vendel) and occur at Birka, but are believed to be of foreign influence (Gräslund, 1981, 58). Most mounds on Birka contain cremations. The vast majority of cremation graves contain one individual.

Typical cremation grave goods include dress items, weapons, glass vessels, gaming pieces and horse equipment. Thor's hammer pendants on rings are the most common grave good found placed in or on the urn at Birka (Ström, 1982, cols. 503-6; 1984, 127-40). Cremation graves on Birka have also yielded less common but equally significant grave goods such as 'bread, eggshells and uncremated

poultry bones, which are found in or near the urn in six graves (bread), four graves (eggshells) and three graves (uncremated poultry bones)' (Gräslund, 1981, 54).

Some cremations contain rivets, which could indicate that the deceased was burnt in a boat or that boat timbers were used for the pyre. The custom of burning an animal together with the burial is widespread from the 5th to the 10th century in the Mälars region. In some cases up to 100 litres of animal bones were found in individual graves in east Sweden (Sten and Vretemark, 1988, 145-6, 150). West Swedish graves do not contain such great quantities of animal remains. Three of the graves examined by Sten and Vretemark (1988, 145-56) contained lynx or bear claws, but since no other bones belonging to such animals were found, the claws probably came from pelts. The presence of these claws is discussed further in Chapter 9.

STONE SETTINGS

Circular stone settings are the most common stone monument raised during the Vendel Period and continued in use into the Viking Age. During the Viking Age circular stone settings are as plentiful as circular mounds. Most stone settings found on Birka are unexcavated. Circular, triangular and boat shaped settings are mainly associated with cremation burials. 'The decisive factor probably was the availability of the necessary material: in areas where suitable stones were plentiful stone-settings were raised, while in other areas mounds were built' (Gräslund, 1981, 67).

INHUMATION

Inhumation became popular during the late Viking Age in the Mälars region. The deceased is most often buried supine with extended arms. Burials from this period are often found in grave pits, with or without a coffin. High-status chamber burials are common on Birka, less common in the Mälars region outside Birka, for example, at Långtora, Uppland (Arbman, 1946, fig. 1), and rare, for example, in Västergötland. The chamber graves on Birka may have their roots in older west European graves or be the result of innovation (Gräslund, 1981, 34, 46; Ringstedt, 1997, 130-2). Ringstedt (1997, 132) suggests that boat burials may be considered as a type of chamber burial. Crouched burials are uncommon in Viking Age Sweden. When they do occur, the individual is buried in a chamber grave, for example at Birka, and may be a result of the individual having originally been seated in the grave (Gräslund, 1981, 37).

Graves are normally oriented west-east, but can be oriented with the head to the east, for example on Birka (Gräslund, 1981, 27-30). Small clusters of graves may contain family groups, since these groups sometimes contain both adult and children's graves (Gräslund, 1972-3, 176). Other specific groups of burials on Birka may contain those of foreign merchants (Gräslund, 1981, 73).

During the early- and mid-Viking Age there are examples of isolated inhumation graves (not boat burials) outside Birka. Three isolated inhumation graves are located on the route from Birka to Uppsala, and one located north of Uppsala, along with some stray oval brooch finds with cloth on the backs, indicating they were from burials (Gräslund, 1981, 72).

STONE SETTINGS

Square stone-settings occur during both the Older and Younger Iron Ages (Gräslund, 1981, 67). During the late Viking Age, rectangular stone settings were used to enclose inhumation graves and appear to have replaced burial mounds. These settings are oriented east-west and are without grave goods (Gräslund and Müller-Wille, 1992, 187). Triangular stone settings are found on Birka (Gräslund, 1981, 68). Few boat-shaped stone settings exist on Birka (Gräslund, 1981, 69).

GRAVE GOODS

MALE

Chamber grave Bj. 581 contains a wide range of grave goods typical of a high-status male burial of the mid-10th century on Birka (Arbman, 1943, 188-90). The grave contained two horses, a sword, axe, spear, shield, bronze dish, stirrups and horse harness. The deceased was wearing a conical hat with silver decorations. Often in Birka chamber graves the horse lies outside the burial chamber, on a ledge. Outside Birka, weapons and horse equipment are seldom found south of Enköping and axes are extremely rare (Bodin, 1987, 71; Stenberger, 1962, 38-4). Grave goods from both male and female burials are rarely found in east and south-east Uppland and neighbouring Södermanland, perhaps because cremation was the most prevalent type of ritual or there was a difference in funerary customs (Gräslund, 1981, 72).

FEMALE

High-status female grave goods, for example from Birka chamber grave Bj. 854 (9th century), might include; high-status jewellery, a Thor's hammer amulet ring, a comb, casket-mounts and a key, a bronze dish, glass beakers, a pottery vessel with cruciform decoration, a 'smoothing board' and smoothing stone, a knife and whetstone and two iron-mounted wooden buckets (Arbman, 1943, 326-30). Outside Birka, the high-status 10th-century female boat burial, grave VI at Tuna in Alsike, contained high-status dress accessories, tweezers, comb, pottery vessels, the crest of a harness bow and a currycomb. The other grave goods present suggest that a male was also buried there, i.e. a shield boss and part of a shield grip. The horse equipment may have belonged to either the male or female (Arne, 1934, 11-12; Müller-Wille, 1970, 6). Female burials with a horse are known from Holm, Överlännsås, Ångermanland (coin dated to 901-907), and from Tibble, Rasbokil, Uppland (10th century) (Gräslund, 1981, 42).

Arm-rings are uncommon on the Swedish mainland, but a few instances are documented: at Birka, in Bj. 1083 (c. 1000), from Vedby, Västmanland, as well as from Uppland and Västmanland (Serwing, 1956, 33, note 5; Stenberger, 1947-58, 104).

5. DALARNA

During the Younger Iron Age the outlying areas of Dalarna were settled. From the Vendel Period and during the Viking Age more concentrated settlement developed in areas such as Siljan, Runn, on Tunasläppen, and areas along the Västerdalälven, mainly in Järna parish (Hyenstrand, 1974, 219-20). Several reasons have been suggested regarding the settlement of Dalarna. The Svea may have settled in Dalarna after using the area for pelt trading and hunting (Hallström, 1931, 28-98); the connections with the Mälaren region, combined to a lesser extent with those to Jämtland and Norway, may have encouraged settlement; and the presence of iron in Västerdalarna may have been an economic reason for settlement there (Trotzig, 1936, 132-3). Given the quantity of artefacts and high-status late Viking-Age weapon graves, Andersson (1980-82, 157-8) suggests that modern settlement and trade centres, such as Sollerön, may have been settled in the Viking Age. Hyenstrand (1974, 203) believes that trade on Lake Siljan may have been controlled from Sollerön, but Anderson (1980-82, 158) suggests Leksand, where there is a Viking-Age and early medieval cemetery.

The archaeological finds from Dalarna are chronologically very similar to those from the Mälaren region (Andersson, 1980-82, 147-61). In Dalarna there are c. 735-800 registered Iron Age graves from c. 200-250 sites, the majority of which have not produced artefacts which can be used for research (Hyenstrand, 1974, 177-84). The lack of antiquities in Dalarna may be due to river erosion or medieval farming, or that Dalarna was purely a periphery of the Svea kingdom and had less material wealth. A considerably larger proportion of Iron-Age artefacts has been found in the Mälaren region than in Dalarna, showing a ratio of 240,00:735 (Hyenstrand, 1974, 207). Viking-Age finds are scant in north-west Dalarna.

CREMATION

Cremation is the most prevalent method of burial in Dalarna during the Viking Age. The burials are marked by mounds or filled stone settings and most have cremation layers. During the Vendel Period graves in Dalarna have a cremation layer and in some instances charcoal and burnt bones are placed in a shallow pit and have a low stone setting. A particular type of cremation burial, the so-called 'forest-cairns' (*skogsrösen*) (Hallström, 1931, 42-3) or 'forest graves' (*skogsgravar*) (Serning, 1966, 87), is prevalent during the period 300-800, and continues to a lesser extent into the Viking Age. Andersson (1980-2, 147-61) provides a survey of the research on these burials. Burials are generally in large cemeteries on promontories or areas near the sea, e.g., Fornäs udd i Runn (Hyenstrand, 1974, 178; Andersson, 1980-2, 151). The graves may be with or without cremation layers. Hallström (1945, 110) and Hyenstrand (1974, 48) both believe that these graves may represent a population of hunters, fishermen or seasonal travellers, who may have formed a permanent settlement. Serning (1966, 89) believes that they may represent a permanent settlement possibly in use for a few hundred years, due to some of the cemeteries comprising 30-40 graves. This quantity of graves would require a permanent population and the osteological evidence reveals individuals of varying ages, for example, an older

woman buried at Horrmundsjön. Children and animal remains have been found in the graves (Serning, 1966, 235-6).

INHUMATIONS

The majority of inhumations in Dalarna are late Viking Age in date. A few earlier finds exist, such as the Vendel period graves found at Bengtstarvet in Sollerö, and Kråkberg in Mora. A chamber grave found at Noret, Mora may be from the mid-Viking Age (Hyenstrand, 1974, 182).

Most late Viking-Age inhumations are flat burials (Serning, 1966, 90). The size and manner in which the graves are marked is similar to that of the cremation graves. The grave orientation is mainly east-west or north-east - south-west. There are three cases where the skeleton is oriented with the head to the south. The inhumations are regular burials, cut to a depth of 50-130cm, and some of them may have been in wooden coffins or chambers (Serning, 1966, 90). High-status burials are found, for example, at Sollerön on Siljan, at Kråkberg in Mora and Oljonsbyn in Orsa (Hyenstrand, 1974, 182).

GRAVE GOODS

MALE

Artefacts associated with male burial are very similar to those from the Mälars region, except that there are far fewer high-status burials (Hyenstrand, 1974, 199). Typical high-status male grave goods include: - swords, spears, axes, shield bosses and arrows, mainly of the type used for hunting, and some instances of horse equipment (Hyenstrand, 1974, 201). Some grave goods show links with regions outside the Mälars region, such as the harness 'bit' fittings from Bengtsarvet Grave 1 (Sollerö parish) which are paralleled on Gotland, and in both Finland and Karelia and are dated to 1000-1050, or the iron harness bells from Bengtsarvet graves 1 and 2 with similar types known from Ås-Rösta, Jämtland (Serning, 1966, 56-7).

FEMALE

Artefacts associated with female burial are not as impressive or diverse as those from the Mälars region. Over 30 burials contain oval brooches, but the brooches are worn (Serning, 1966, 63). Due to their poor condition, and the fact that oval brooches were seldom manufactured in Scandinavia after the early 10th century, these brooches may have been manufactured in north-west Russia (Serning, 1966, 63). A further eastern connection is evident in brooches from other graves. For example, an unusual oval brooch, from grave 2, Västannor, Leksand parish (the cemetery is coin dated to the late 11th century), is ornamented with vegetable palmettes, with traces of red and black enamel (Arne, 1914, 219-24).

Around thirteen arm-rings have been found in graves in Dalarna, such as those from Kråkberg, Mora, and Oljonsby, Orsa (Kivikoski, 1937, 238, fig. 9). The ring from Oljonsby had been used for some time before deposition and is therefore difficult to date. Two simple large rings from Kråkberg, Mora are made of a twisted iron/tin alloy with Thor's hammer pendants on them (Serning, 1966, 71). These Thor's hammer pendants on rings may show links with the Mälars region where they are very common.

6. THE CONVERSION TO CHRISTIANITY

The conversion of Sweden to Christianity is scantily documented (Ambrosiani, 1989, 19-21; Roesdahl, 1991b, 166). The first documented missionary activity began in Sweden when Ansgar visited Birka in 829. He stayed on Birka over a year, baptised the Swedes and built the first church in Scandinavia (*Vita Ansgarii*, 125). The early Christian population was unstable, however, and Ansgar returned to Birka in 854 to reinstate a new priest, as the previous priest had been expelled by the heathens (Staecker, 1997, 430-1). Archbishop Unni visited and later died on Birka in 936 (Staecker, 1997, 436).

English and German missionaries visiting Sweden during the 11th century may have played a significant part in the conversion of central Sweden (Staecker, 1997, 446-7). Olof Skötkonung, king of the Götar and the Svear (converted c. 995), founded the bishopric at Skara, Västergötland, whence the conversion of Sweden began in earnest (Thunmark-Nylén, *et al.*, 1981, 187, 237). Western Sweden was converted to Christianity about 1000, but it was not readily adopted by the whole of the population. Paganism existed until the early 12th century in some areas of the Mälars region (Olsen, 1992, 155), but members of the wealthy classes, however, raised many Christian runestones during the Conversion Period in this area (Roesdahl, 1991b, 166). The conversion of Dalarna probably occurred between 1177 (*Sverris saga* (VI) describes king Sverri's journey through Värmland and Dalarna to Norrland states that the land was pagan) and 1248, when the diocese of Västerås is mentioned in the report of Vilhelm of Sabina (Ihrmark, 1903, 218).

Despite the literary evidence for missionary work in the Mälars region in the early 9th century, '...no signs of any change in burial rituals can be detected in the ninth century or the first half of the tenth century' (Andersson, 1997, 356-7), although some of the graves on Birka from the period beginning about 800 may show signs of Christian influence (Gräslund, 1991a, 207; 1985, 296-303). The close proximity of some of the burials to each other in the area north of Borg may indicate that this area of land was sanctified and was in demand (Gräslund, 1985, fig. 3). Early Christians may have been buried with items of dress (Gräslund, 1981, 84). The cemeteries at Grindsbacka and Kärrbacka cannot be Christian as both contain cremation burials, a practice incompatible with Christianity (Gräslund, 1981, 84). The trapezoidal coffins on Birka may reflect Christian influence, as this shape of coffin is associated with early Christian burials (Gräslund, 1981, 19-20). Andersson (1997, 353-70) discusses the cemetery at Valsta, Norrsunda parish, Uppland, and its Conversion Period burials, along with the associated problems of identifying an early Christian burial.

Conversion Period graves from Dalarna are found at Leksand-Västannor, Tibble and Rättvik-Backa, where the burials follow a Christian pattern, but contain grave goods.

CONTINUATION OF PAGAN PRACTICES

Grave goods were sometimes included in Swedish graves until the 12th century. Several other pagan-style practices also continued into the early Christian period (Chapter 1). The burial of food sometimes occurs, for example, in the 13th-century church at Nedre Ullerud, Värmland, where there were remains of sheep/goat and a pig, with evidence on the bones of cutting (Gejvall, 1959, 11-13; 1960, 128).

7. HEALER/WITCH BURIALS

ASKA, HAGEBYHÖGA SN., ÖSTERGÖTLAND

Cremation of a sorceress (?)

9th to 10th century

Grave 1.

Badly recorded excavation of a high status female cremation, which (Price, 2002, 157-8) suggests may have been the grave of a sorceress due to the presence of an iron staff, a silver pendant of a man's head (possibly depicting Mímr's head) and a pendant depicting a seated woman (perhaps depicting a fertility goddess or a *völva* seated to practise foresight).

BIRKA, STOCKHOLMSLÄN

Sorceress graves

Price (2002, 128-41) identifies three Birka graves as belonging to sorceresses, due to the presence of an iron staff amongst the grave goods in each of the graves. **Bj. 660**, an early 10th century chamber grave, contains the remains of a high-status female (Illustrations 15 and 16). The burials in the very high-status chamber grave, **Bj. 834**, containing a double inhumation possibly of a man and wife (Table II), may not have occurred simultaneously and due to the location of the grave goods, the individuals may have been buried seated (Price, 2002, 132-9). Price suggests that the spear struck into the grave (see Chapter 9) may associate the burial further with *seiðr*, through the thrust spear and its connections to Óðinn. The chamber grave burial **Bj. 845** of a female (see Table II), coin dated to 925 – 943, also contained a casket similar to that from Oseberg and may indicate a supernatural connection (Price, 2002, 140).

KLINTA, KÖPINGS SN., ÖLAND

Male and female sorcerers (?)

First half of the 10th century

Mounds 59:2 and 59:3

The high-status double cremation of a male and female, buried separately but close-by each other, involved a complex burial ritual, described by Price (2002, 142-7). The burials were part of several small groups of mounds overlooking the sea. The female's burial pit was filled with a variety of objects (some typically associated with male burial, such as woodworking tools and a battle-axe), had an iron staff placed over the top of the burial pit and a recently killed hen was placed beside the vessel holding her remains (Price, 2002, 144). The male was buried without a pit, but also had a variety of

objects (some typically associated with female burial, such as an oval brooch and needlework tools) and animal bones buried with him from the pyre. Both graves contained boat rivets and nails. Price (2002, 148-9) believes it was intentional that the grave goods were deposited in the unusual combinations and suggests that the female and male may have been sorcerers. Price (2002, 148-9) believes the male and female were burnt together in the same boat and then had the grave goods, with which they were to be buried, separated out. Both graves also had a weapon struck into the cremations (Price, 2002, 149; see Chapter 9). The burial may also be compared to the Gerdrup grave (Chapter 2), with respect to the unusual placing of the grave goods with the different sexes.

8. DEVIANT BURIAL

MULTIPLE CREMATION GRAVES

Several Viking-Age cremation graves contain both female and male bones and may represent the remains of a man and wife or master and servant, but due to the nature of cremation it is impossible to distinguish. Hemmendorff (1984, 11 - my translation) believes that... 'It will not be unrealistic to assert that the reality behind the occurrence of more than one individual in a cremation grave can indicate human sacrifice'. A cremation of five individuals, one unsexed, one female and three males, was excavated at Arning, Täby sn., Uppland and dated to the early 10th century. 'The grave is so well furnished that the different people, if they had had a similarly rich status, also ought to have had separate graves which despite everything was customary' (Sten and Vretemark, 1988, 149). Hemmendorff (1984, 11) suggests that this could be a sacrifice as five individuals were cremated simultaneously on the same pyre. Sten and Vretemark (1988, 145-6) suggest that in this instance, as perhaps with the cremations in Migration period Ottarshög and the west mound at Uppsala, the multiple remains may represent individuals who may have died in connection with the grave-setting.

OTHER DEVIANT BURIALS

BIRKA, STOCKHOLMSLÄN

Multiple burial with a slave burial? Bj. 703

The grave contained three separate burials. The original chamber grave contained a male, who was moved aside to accommodate a female (her skeleton had decomposed, but her jewellery remained). A further very fragmentary skeleton was found above the female, c. 25cm above the bottom of the grave, which had a whetstone pendant. Gräslund (1981, 37) does not believe that the upper female was a live burial of a slave girl.

Slave burial? Bj. 632 with 516

In this light, a further example may be cited: Bj. 632 with 516. Bj. 632, a high-status female chamber burial, oriented northwest-southeast, has a later unsexed skeleton buried 30cm above (Bj. 516), with an iron ring at the hip. This secondary skeleton was positioned (east-west), lying on its side, with its right leg drawn up to its left hip (the left leg is no longer extant). Its head was in the region of the high-

status female's knee. Due to the skeleton's position in the grave, Price (2002, 46) suggests that this burial may be a possible case for live burial. Gräslund (1981, 36) suggests, however, that due to the difference in level of the bodies, they were buried on different occasions, but it is not possible to estimate how much time had lapsed between them.

Primary inhumation with later cremation sacrifice? Bj. 1135

Bj. 1135 was a coffinless inhumation grave, furnished only with a knife fragment, excavated at a depth below ground level of 75 -102cm. A secondary cremation in an urn was placed above it at a depth of c. 15cm below ground level. Gräslund (1981, 74) suggests that this grave may represent a sacrifice, but 'In 1979 the burnt bones could not be found, so no osteological examination can be made to confirm one or other interpretation' (Gräslund, 1981, 74).

At Birka, graves have been found to contain combinations of a cremation and an inhumation in the same pit and are discussed in detail by Gräslund (1981, 74). For the most part, these burials are probably benign and may represent a change in burial customs within the community, different beliefs held by the individuals buried in the grave or chance disturbance of a previous cremation burial by a later inhumation burial, or *vice versa*. However, the case of a secondary cremation placed into an inhumation burial may, in some cases, have been a sacrifice. Other primary inhumations with an associated later cremation burial are: Bj. 855, an inhumation of a moderately high-status male covered by a large cremation deposit; and Bj. 894 A&B, two inhumation graves side by side, where A was a coffin burial, perhaps female, and B was a chamber with male grave goods. The cremation deposit was over B and contained two broken earthenware vessels, three beads and fragments of a comb (Gräslund, 1981, 74).

Double inhumation grave, one skeleton above the other, possible slave burial: Grave A 129 (Illustration 17)

Dated between the Vendel Period and Viking Age.

Grave A 129 was found in the 'black earth' area by the north part of Birka's town wall. This part of Birka was settled during the Viking Age, but beneath this culture layer are the remains of earlier graves dating from c. 400 B.C. - c. A.D. 950 (Holmquist-Olausson, 1990, 176).

Two male skeletons were located beneath a stone setting with irregular stone packing (Holmquist-Olausson, 1990, 176). The upper skeleton, A, lay on its right side in a twisted position, with the right arm behind the back. The left arm and leg were flexed, whilst the right leg was extended towards the upper body and its foot was missing. The head was placed beside the skeleton's chest. This man was aged between 20-30, 177cm high and strongly built. It was not possible to determine how the head had been removed because the upper vertebrae were decayed. He had no associated grave goods. A goat or sheep bone lay beside the left tibia.

The lower skeleton, B, was supine with the legs flexed to the right (Holmquist-Olausson, 1990, 176). He was aged between 40-50 and smaller in stature than the other skeleton. His grave goods included a

damaged shield boss, quiver and arrows, a spear (deposited in pieces) and a knife. By the left hand was a collection of 20 pieces of flint, three pieces of amber and six fragments of segmented glass beads (four gold foil, one silver foil, one blue), which may have been contained in a wooden casket as there were several iron fittings. A fragment of a bronze buckle belonged to his clothing. To the left shoulder was the antler of an elk. Holmquist-Olausson (1990, 180-1) interprets the upper skeleton as a slave, and the lower skeleton as a warrior and suggests that the antler may symbolise status or a warrior ritual (Holmquist-Olausson, 1990, 179-81). The inclusion of the antler may indicate that the deceased was both a warrior and hunter. Complete elk antlers have not been found in the Mälars region, but many have been found in an early Iron-Age cemetery at Krankmårtenhögen, Härjedalen (Holmquist-Olausson, 1990, 179-80). The skeletal remains revealed that both men had a diet of inland food, rather than fish, which was the usual diet of Birka. Holmquist-Olausson (1990, 181) conjectures that the men were not indigenous to Birka, although buried there.

Prone skeleton: Bj. 724

The skeletal remains are fragmentary, but could indicate that the body was prone (Arbman, 1943, 251). Coffin nails were present in the grave and the other associated artefacts were an iron knife, leather purse, parts of a silver coin and a bronze button. This is a tentative suggestion, as the skeleton is badly preserved. The fact that the deceased had grave goods and a coffin suggests that if this were a prone burial, it does not follow the typical pattern of other prone burials.

BOLLSTANÄS, FRESTA SN., UPPLAND

Double prone inhumation on a cremation layer: Mound A29 (Illustration 18)

Carbon-14 dated to A.D. 765 ± 100.

The cemetery was in use between c. 600 and c. 1000. Six graves may have been Christian and one female inhumation was dated to the late 700s. The rest of the burials in the cemetery were cremations (Hemmendorff, 1984, 5).

Two decapitated skeletons, sexed as male, lay prone in opposite directions alongside each other in a cremation layer of male bones, a selection of animal bones and fragmentary pieces of iron, bronze and a bead (Hemmendorff, 1984, 4-12). The skeletons were well preserved and aged at death as between 17-22, and 20-40; both were decapitated from the third cervical vertebrae. One skeleton showed such damage to the skull as to suggest a lethal blow. No grave goods could be linked to the decapitated men.

The first skeleton was positioned with its feet to the west. Its feet were placed very closely together suggesting that they were bound and the fists were also tight together. The skull was placed on the upper part of the back, between the shoulder blades, facing the feet.

The second skeleton lay very close to the first and its right leg lay on top of the first's right arm. The feet also appeared to have been bound, but the hands were outstretched. The head was located at the top of the body in a more natural position.

Hemmendorff (1984, 4-12) suggests that the two inhumations were slaves and would have been grave goods for the cremated deceased. Hemmendorff (1984, 4-12) suggests that the two inhumation burials were not cremated because either they may have not been present when the deceased was cremated (he may have died and been cremated away from home), or perhaps the slaves could not be dispensed with at the time of the cremation. The possibility that the prone burials may have been interred accidentally in the cremation layer is not mentioned by the excavator.

GÄLLÖ, JÄMTLAND

Multiple inhumation

Viking Age

The grave contained four individuals. Two men aged at death between 30-45, a female aged 15-20 and an unsexed individual aged 15-20. One of the older skeletons had a hole in his frontal bone that had not healed (Holmquist-Olausson, 1990, 177). Holmquist-Olausson (1990, 177) considers the females as slave girls and suggests that this grave is comparable to the 'elk-man' of Birka.

KOPPARSVIK, GOTLAND

Cemetery containing prone, crouched and slightly flexed burials.

A.D. 700 to 1000

The cemetery at Kopparsvik, located south Visby, contains c. 350 graves, of which around 50 have been excavated (Mälarstedt, 1979, 99-101). Two thirds of the burials contained stone fill or covering. Most graves were oriented with the head to SSW, but other graves were oriented with the head to NNE. Ten graves lay W-E. The graves were sexed by their contents (many of the dead were buried clothed which was ascertained by the presence of dress fastenings) and osteologically. The cemetery does not follow the pattern of cemeteries with mainly kinship-type burials. The majority of burials were male and there were no child burials, perhaps indicating that the cemetery was used for deceased traders, as weapons are rare (Pettersson, 1966, 12; Mälarstedt, 1979, 101-2). The cemetery may also have been considered a suitable area for burying the local social outcasts. However, similar grave goods were found at the nearby Gustafsvik cemetery, which may indicate similar populations, either indigenous or trading.

Several burials exhibit deviant characteristics (cited without reference numbers by Pettersson, 1966). Pettersson (1966, 12) suggests that the prone/supine burials may indicate a family or local tradition, but concedes that prone burial '...can have a particular significance' (my translation). A male burial contained claws at the head and foot end, which would indicate burial on a bearskin. A female burial contained 12 silver Arab coins, dated 924-36, distributed over her body.

NABBERÖR, ÖLAND

Multiple inhumation burial

Early 8th century

Isolated boat burial from a mound, which is not normal practice for Öland (Anderbjörk, 1939, 63-72). The grave contained one individual, sexed as male from the associated high-status weapons, which lay centrally in the boat. The grave and skeleton were badly preserved, due to erosion and grave robbing. The form of the designs on the artefacts is very similar to that found at Vendel and Valsgärde. Approximately 50 human teeth were spread over the entire grave which Anderbjörk (1939, 68) believed may have belonged to three or four other individuals. The remains of two individuals were found in the north-west gunwale, near the stern. Fragments of foot-bones, cranium and teeth were found in the north-east part of the boat. A third individual may have been buried in the north-east stern. Anderbjörk (1939, 68) believed that all four individuals were buried simultaneously. One of the three skeletons may have been female as three glass beads and a stone spindle whorl were present in the grave. Anderbjörk (1939, 68) suggested that the female may have been killed for the burial, but does not suggest untoward circumstances around the remains of the two other individuals, who had a few simple associated grave goods. Due to the seemingly simultaneous nature of the burials, a less sinister reason may lie behind the multiple grave, such as fatal illness. The ownership of the possessions is difficult to distinguish due to the disturbance caused by the grave robbing. The remains of three dogs, a goat or sheep, a pig and a horse were found in the grave.

PAVIKEN, GOTLAND

Inhumation burial, violent death

10th century

The flat grave in a ditch in a refuse layer was located in the harbour area associated with the Viking-Age shipyard (Lundström, 1981, 120). The grave seems to have been dug hurriedly. The skeleton was prostrate and seems to have suffered violence before death. The spine was severely bent upward and one of the finger bones was charred. The skeleton was covered with a partially burnt piece of wood and a thin layer of earth. The Carbon-14 dating of the bone to the 10th century coincides with the closure of the shipyard. Lundström (1981, 120) believes that the individual met a brutal death which may have been associated with the final violent closure of the yard.

RÖSTA, ÅS SN., JÄMTLAND

Inhumation and cremation

10th century

Male inhumation (Grave 1) oriented south-east - north-west (Kjellmark, 1910, 7-8). Between, and on either side of the skeleton's knees were cremated human remains. The grave goods associated with the male consisted of an iron arrow, knife and spearhead. Amongst the cremated bones were two bronze oval brooches and the iron fittings and handles of a casket. The cremation may have been a secondary burial, but might alternatively have been a sacrifice (Gräslund, 1981, 74) or suttee type of burial.

SKÄLSÖ, VÄSKINDE SN, GOTLAND

Six inhumation graves

Probably Viking Age

The cemetery was found due to ploughing, which had damaged four graves. Two further burials were found. No finds were datable. The burials were unmarked in flat gravelly ground and may have been connected to the Viking-Age cemetery found 200m south-east (Pettersson, 1981, 193). In this respect these burials would have been located on the periphery of the cemetery (Pettersson, 1981, 193).

The skeletons were either supine or prone, two prone burials being sexed as a female and a male (Hemmendorff, 1984, 9), with their heads either to the NNE or SSW. One male skeleton was mutilated and bent forwards with the torso between the legs. The skull was located separately from the body, behind the pelvis. The left tibia, arms, feet and hands were absent. The skeleton showed no signs of decapitation (Pettersson, 1981, 193). Pettersson (1981, 193) suggests that the individuals were probably criminals or social outcasts.

9. SUMMARY

A variety of deviant burial customs appear within Sweden, in both the treatment of the skeleton and, to a lesser extent, the variety of grave goods.

Healer/witch

The majority of the healer/witch burials are from Birka. If the role of healer was one per village – such as the village wisewoman, this would mean that either several generations of wise women are well represented on Birka or that there was not a monopoly on this role, which perhaps is evidenced best at Fyrkat, where the main woman was centrally placed in the cemetery (unless she held some particularly high status). No burial is comparable to that of Grave 4, Fyrkat, Denmark, despite the good survival of grave goods and dress accessories on Birka and elsewhere in Sweden. Other than the burials mentioned above, further burials identified by Price as containing staffs associated with the supernatural are: the 10th-century female burial at Jägerbacken, Ånesta sn., Närke (Price, 2002, 194-5); and the 9th- to 10th-century female burial at Aska – Hagebyhöga, Östergötland (Price, 2002, 198). Other healer/witch burials are discussed in Chapter 9, as most burials that could be identified as belonging to these women show no deviancy other than the unusual quantities and types of grave goods and jewellery.

Swedish medieval laws vary in their punishment for sorcery, from hanging, stoning, and burning, to outlawry. Hanging and decapitation, however, seem to be suggested as most suitable as a punishment for theft or for crimes committed by slaves.

Other burials

Prone burial and mutilation appear on mainland Sweden and also on Gotland, which are presumably the remains of criminals or other burial tradition; they are found both in and nearby cemeteries.

Several double burials occur in combinations of either inhumation + inhumation, cremation + cremation, inhumation + cremation, perhaps showing that different beliefs were practised and tolerated in families. The combination of cremation and inhumation seems to be more prevalent in Sweden than in the other Scandinavian countries. As in Denmark, there are instances of a normally laid-out burial with a secondary burial interred above. These burials, as well as the prone, and other mutilated individuals probably have no associations with sorcery.

CHAPTER 4

BURIALS IN VIKING-AGE NORWAY

Many Norwegian archaeological sites were excavated during the 19th and early years of the 20th century. Many graves were exhumed by farmers and amateur archaeologists who did not apply the same standards of scientific technique to excavation as today's archaeologists. Hence, many of the artefacts and reports remaining from these excavations should be treated cautiously. Additionally, low-status artefacts and grave structures were often not regarded as significant enough to be recorded and preserved, and, therefore, an incomplete picture of sites and their artefacts is presented. Extensive excavations of Viking-Age cemeteries have not taken place during the last hundred years in Norway, except for the excavation at Bikjholberg, Kaupang (Blindheim and Heyerdahl-Larsen, 1995, 136). Over the last few decades several articles and books covering the Iron-Age and Viking-Age Norwegian material have been written from a feminist viewpoint, such as Høgestøl (1986, 49-58) and Høigård Hofseth (1990, 83-93). Such feminist interpretations do not appear to be mirrored in the other Scandinavian countries. Since so much material has already been excavated in Norway, there is, perhaps, a desire to reinterpret, since some of the early accounts may have been written from a somewhat misogynist view.

1. GEOGRAPHIC AREA AND BACKGROUND TO NORWAY

Viking-Age Norway may be divided into four regions defined by natural boundaries and cultural practices (Foote and Wilson, 1980, 36-52).

Northern Norway or Hålogaland included the area north of Namdal, comprising Helgeland, Salten, Lofoten-Vesterålen, South Troms, North Troms and Finnmark (Sjøvold, 1974, 182-95). Despite the harsh terrain, this region produced many rich and powerful families during the Viking Age. Sjøvold (1974, 346) has suggested that the settlers in Northern Norway came from Rogaland.

Trøndelag, which stretched from Namdal down the west coast, has rich agricultural land around Trondheim (Helle, 1993, 11). During the 9th century the area contained several wealthy and politically active families.

South-west Norway, Sognefjord and Rogaland produced many of the Vikings who emigrated westwards. Rogaland and Jæren are agriculturally rich (Roesdahl, 1991b, 26).

South-east Norway or Vikin consisted of the coastal region of Götaälv (taken during the 11th century, now Swedish Bohuslän), the area around Mjøsa and south along Oslofjord, including Østfold, Grenland and Vestfold. This area was often controlled by the Danes, especially around Ranrike and Østfold. South-east Norway sustained a wealthy population throughout the Viking Age, as is

evidenced by the boat-burials, and included the trading centre of Kaupang. Good agricultural land is found around the Oslo fjord (Foote and Wilson, 1980, 37; Roesdahl, 1991b, 26; Helle, 1993, 10).

During the early Viking Age Norway was split into earldoms and ruled locally unlike Denmark and central Sweden, which were unified far earlier. A review of Norwegian history and the role of the aristocracy are provided by Helle (1993). By the late 9th century Harald Finehair, king of Vestfold, is said to have unified Norway under his own leadership (Foote and Wilson, 1980, 43). However, royal control of the majority of Norway was not fully possible until the death of King Cnut in 1035; it was a 'politico-military process that took more than three hundred years to complete' (Helle, 1993, 10).

2. TRADITIONAL PERIOD DIVISIONS IN NORWAY

Generally in Norway, the period prior to the Middle Ages is referred to as the Iron Age, which spans from around 500 - 1050. More specifically it is divided into periods: the Late or Roman Iron Age from c. 200-400; the Migration Period from c. 400-550; the Merovingian Period from c. 550-800; and the Viking Age from c. 800-1050 (Shetelig, 1912, 69).

3. PAGAN BURIAL IN NORWAY - GENERAL

Prior to the Viking Age, graves of the 5th to 6th centuries in Norway are more comparable to graves in Western Europe than in Denmark and Sweden (Shetelig, 1912, 160). From the 7th to 8th centuries the richest furnished graves in Norway are cremations and contain a variety of tools and weapons, such as Grave III mound 2 at Myklebostad (Shetelig, 1912, 104, 160-4). Inhumations contain fewer grave goods (Shetelig, 1912, 160-4). Weapon burial is more prevalent in the west of Norway and, during the 8th century, the richest burials are known from Trøndelag (Shetelig, 1912, 172). There are fewer female burials in the period prior to the Viking Age. Shetelig (1912, 164-70) believed that inhumation burials remained mostly unchanged in style from the Roman Iron Age to the Viking Age. Cremations did change, in that they contained more weapons. Burial mounds become lower during the Viking Age and stone cairns and flat graves were used.

Some sites, such as Kaupang (see below), grew from Viking-Age settlements and appear to have had little activity prior to the Viking Age. Other sites based in farming communities, such as Hunn, Østfold, on the east side of the outer Oslofjord, had been inhabited since the Bronze Age and the cemetery was moved as settlement location and possibly beliefs changed (Resi, 1986, 7-11). Hunn, excavated between 1894 to 1979, had many different types of burial: boat settings, stone piles or cairns (*røs*), long and round mounds. The amount of animal bones amongst the graves, belonging to both large and small farm animals, probably reflects the nature of the settlement (Resi, 1986, 18). One particular high-status burial, F. 48 A.L. Nr. 50 (Store Vikingegrav), contained a sword, shield boss, two horns - possibly used for drinking, a frying pan, etc. and, as there were no human remains, it was interpreted as being male from the grave contents (Resi, 1986, 83). Otherwise, few high-status grave

goods were found, which may reflect the wealth of the Viking-Age farming settlement (Resi, 1986, 79-80).

CREMATIONS

Cremation is most common in eastern Norway. The ashes in Norwegian cremation graves are either placed in a clay, iron or bronze vessel, or are placed directly into the ground, the bones having possibly been placed in a bag which has since decomposed. The cremation may be inserted into an older mound, for example at Sande, Gloppen in Nordfjord (Shetelig, 1912, 187). In her study of the Iron-Age graves in Sogn, Dommasnes (1982, 71) establishes that around 20 per cent of the male and female graves were cremations, the majority containing burned grave goods. 'For the men's burials, there is no correlation between treatment of the body and form of the grave. Female cremations... are with one exception found in mounds. Also with one exception they are all from the 9th and 10th centuries' (Dommasnes, 1982, 79-80).

Double cremation burials appear to exist, where the grave goods conspicuously belong to both sexes. Such a burial is from Tinghaugen, Ytre Arne, Nordhordland, which contained a sword, two axes, three sickles, two oval brooches and beads. Shetelig (1912, 195) believed that this showed that both individuals were burnt on the same pyre. Holck (1986/87, 167) believes that male/female double cremation graves need not have been man and wife, but could be the chance result of epidemics and non-related people dying at a similar time and being cremated together.

CREMATION AND SHIP BURIAL

During the mid-Viking Age, after the individual was cremated, the bones were usually collected together, placed in an urn and put into the centre of the grave. Small bones and grave goods may have remained in the pyre. The larger burnt grave goods were often placed above the centre of the grave.

The presence of a boat or ship in a grave may be identified from a large number of clinch nails, which would have been used in the ship's construction. The clinch nails may, however, be from old ship timbers used as fuel for the pyre. A cremation containing clinch nails was found at Langlo, Stokke sn., Jarlsberg, Vestfold, and contained ten or twelve shield bosses, which Shetelig (1904, 341) believed belonged to the ship and not the man. A further cremation containing clinch nails was found at Ølbør, Jæderen, Rogaland, in a stone ship setting beneath a large mound (Shetelig, 1912, 199). The burial was probably of a male due to the presence of an axe and a shield boss.

Cremations containing clinch nails may contain female remains, such as that from Hilde, Indviken, Sognefjord. Amongst the grave goods were kitchen utensils, weaving tools, fragments and nails of a box, a large bronze buckle and silver, cornelian and glass beads (Shetelig, 1904, 343). Price (2002, 192) considers one of the artefacts to be a ritual staff.

INHUMATIONS

Inhumation burial in either flat graves or mounds is the more common rite in the northern regions of Norway during the Viking Age (Sjøvold, 1974, 335). Sjøvold (1974, 339-40) documents the geographic extremities where graves have been found. Sjøvold (1974, 339-40) suggests that 9th-century male burials from Ingøy, Måsøy and Nordvågen, Magerøy may be the graves of 'daring pioneers' and that 'they anticipate an expansion in the late Viking Period which can be followed almost as far as the country extends eastwards'. The burial customs exhibited in the north of Norway were similar to those in the rest of Norway, except that cremations are very rare (Sjøvold, 1974, 194).

The majority of burials in West Norway are found in small numbers and associated with individual farms. Burial traditions can vary from farm to farm, which may be due to different interpretations of the symbolism of burial customs within a small area, rather than deviancy *per se* (Dommasnes, 1982, 71-2).

Inhumations are sometimes placed directly into the ground and can have wood fragments, which may suggest that the grave was either lined with wood or the body was in a coffin (Shetelig, 1912, 203). Stone-lined graves were used, such as from Svingesæter, Stryn in Nordfjord, which contained a high-status female burial (Shetelig, 1912, 202). A common feature was for the grave to be covered by a large slab of stone (Shetelig, 1912, 203).

A practice which may stem from before the Viking Age is the insertion of a large stone disc into the burial mound, such as at Nornes, Sogn (Shetelig, 1912, 222-8). These discs do not appear to be associated with the actual burial or have a specific function, as they are often uneven and roughly cut. Shetelig (1912, 227) believed that the discs were symbolic or part of a burial custom and may derive from the stone discs that had been laid over cremation pits. As the discs were too small to cover the inhumation burials, their inclusion therefore became symbolic. The disc (not preserved) from Storhaug, Karmø, had been placed on some boulders on the eastern side of the ship setting. Around and beneath the disc was ashen earth, which led Shetelig (1912, 227) to suggest that the disc may have been used as an 'altar' or 'sacrificial table'.

SEATED BURIAL

Seated burial may exist in Norway at Sandvik, Jõa, Fosnes, North Trøndelag, dating from the Merovingian Period to the Viking Age (Marstrander, 1973, 137-45). The graves were flat, had a diameter of 70-120cm and cut deep enough to seat an individual (Gräslund, 1981, 38). These graves are much smaller in dimensions than the Birka chamber burials, which may contain seated individuals (Gräslund, 1981, 30).

INHUMATIONS AND BOAT BURIAL

Despite cremation being more common in eastern Norway, it is there that most ship-burials containing inhumations have been found. Such a variation in burial custom may be due to the individuals buried in the ships having a high social status, being involved with sea travel, or practising a specific burial

tradition involving ship burial (Shetelig, 1904, 337). Norway appears to be the only Scandinavian country that has such numerous and high-status ship burials (Müller-Wille, 1976a, 122). The vessel within the burial can be classified as a ship, rather than a boat, as ships are much larger and often contain a burial chamber (Müller-Wille, 1976a, 116).

The ship or boat often served as the 'coffin' in inhumation burials, with the deceased either placed on a bed or in a burial chamber built into the boat, often at its centre (Shetelig, 1904, 359). Many Norwegian ship burials do not contain other high-status grave goods. Below are short descriptions of some of the high-status ship burials from the Viking Age.

The cemetery at Borre contains at least nine mounds (of which seven still exist) and one cairn, dating between the mid 7th to early 10th century, perhaps indicating one mound per generation of a family (Myhre, 1992, 301-8). During the excavation of 1852, late 9th- to early 10th-century ship rivets were excavated from a grave. Other excavated finds included: wooden fittings with attached metal plates; perhaps belonging to a cart or sleigh; cooking vessels; three horse skeletons; metal harness plates; a large rock crystal bead; a soapstone spindle whorl; claw-beaker shards; and some weapons and tools from within and beside the boat. The grave remains unsexed because of the ambiguity of the finds and the absence of human remains (Myhre, 1992, 303).

The high-status burial mound at Gokstad, near Sandefjord, was excavated in 1880 and is dendrochronologically dated to c. 900-05 (Bonde and Christensen, 1993, 582). The grave was robbed in antiquity. The ship was a sea-faring vessel and had a total of 32 large shields, sixteen along each gunwale, and was buried with the prow facing towards the sea. The burial chamber had a gabled roof and was located before the mast. The human remains indicated a man of around 50 years and six feet tall. The finds included rich textiles, a horse harness, and a gaming board. Outside the grave were fragments from a high seat, five beds, pieces of a sleigh, cooking utensils and vessels. The skeletons of twelve horses, six dogs and the bones and feathers of a peacock were also found. No weapons were found which might be due to plundering.

Two late 8th-century high-status ship burials have been found at Grønhaug and Storhaug, on Karmø, on the west coast of Norway, and are of similar same status as Gokstad. Grønhaug had been looted and was badly damaged. The burial from Storhaug survived intact, containing male grave goods, such as two swords, two spears, a quiver and arrows, smithing tools, a quern of granite and 'a little box in which there lay a bronze ring and a big bird's feather, flint and steel' (Shetelig, 1904, 354). Amongst the other grave goods were two sets of playing pieces, a wax disk, amber and glass beads, a gold arm ring, which would indicate high status, and the jaw of a horse. No human remains survived. Other ship burials on the island do not contain such diverse grave goods. The deceased was laid on feathers, which also appears at the burials at Gokstad, Oseberg, and Haugen in Tune and may have been the remains of a feather bed. Using feathers was a Viking-Age innovation, as previously bear fur or rugs may have been used (Shetelig, 1912, 223).

The Oseberg burial, a large mound on the farm at Slagen, Tønsberg, was excavated in 1904 and is dendro-chronologically dated to 834 (Bonde and Christensen, 1993, 581). The ship had not been built strongly enough for seafaring and may have functioned as a vessel for a high-ranking individual (Sjøvold, 1985, 34). The ship was 'moored' by a rope to a large rock. The grave contained the remains of two females (discussed below) and had been robbed in antiquity, which may account for the absence of any jewellery. The surviving grave goods included the ship's equipment and a highly decorated cart, three decorated sledges, a working sledge and three highly carved sledge shafts which were found in the front part of the ship (Roesdahl, 1978, 11). Other grave goods include kitchen utensils, some basic farming equipment and the remains of two oxen. Three beds, two tents and a large quantity of high quality textiles and bedding were excavated. A tapestry illustrates a frieze of people, horses and carts and women with shields and spears and may depict valkyries or a cult event (Sjøvold, 1985, 51; Jesch, 1991, 124-6). Around fifteen horses were excavated, all of which had been beheaded, presumably as part of the burial ritual (Gjessing, 1943, 59).

Generally, stone ship settings are rare in Norway. However, several stone ship settings from southern Vestfold, such as Istrehågan, Tjølling, date from before the 9th century. Stone ship settings may have been replaced by burials in actual boats (Blindheim, Heyerdahl-Larsen and Tollnes, 1981, 92).

4. KAUPANG

Kaupang, in Tjølling, Vestfold, appears to have functioned partly as a farming community and as a trading site; it was at its most active during the 9th century. The site has been excavated on several occasions between 1867 to 1974, and recently from 2000 to 2002. Cemeteries have been found on four farms: Lamøya/Bikjholberg, South Kaupang, North Kaupang and Bjønnes. North Kaupang is a large cemetery and seems to have been in continuous use; South Kaupang may consist of many small cemeteries or one very large cemetery.

Kaupang and Birka in Sweden are often compared. Kaupang, like Birka, was based around trade and seafaring. From the types of grave goods excavated, traders and some foreigners were buried at Kaupang, such as burials K/X and 1954 gr. VI (Blindheim, Heyerdahl-Larsen and Ingstad, 1999, 15). Both sites contain varied burial customs, i.e. both cremation and inhumation burials under mounds and under flat ground, suggesting a religious mixture (Blindheim, Heyerdahl-Larsen and Tollnes, 1981, 68-9, 89, 92). However, many more boat burials exist at Kaupang than on Birka and Kaupang burials are less richly furnished, with fewer beads and combs, but a larger number of sickles, perhaps reflecting the agricultural nature of the site (Blindheim, Heyerdahl-Larsen and Tollnes, 1981, 107). At Kaupang, boats and half-boats were used as coffins (Blindheim and Heyerdahl-Larsen, 1995, 138).

Cremation graves dominated the South Kaupang excavation and date from the 9th century. The cemetery at North Kaupang contained cremation and inhumation graves, both of which date to the 10th century. The cremation and inhumation graves are kept separate at Bikjholberg and Lamøya, except

for one mound from South Bikjholberg that contained both a cremation and an inhumation (Blindheim, Heyerdahl-Larsen and Tollnes, 1981, 68, 89, 92, 121). The majority of the 9th-century graves are female and the majority of the 10th-century graves are male, which may be due to a change in function of the site (Hougen, 1993, 83). The burials vary in status from very high to very simple (Blindheim, Heyerdahl-Larsen and Ingstad, 1999, 187). The multiple burials from Kaupang are outlined below.

From the inhumation burials at Bikjholberg and Lamøya around 17 boat burials were recovered, containing either sex. The majority of the boat burials from the whole of the Kaupang excavations contained single burials. Many of the male boat burials contained kitchenware which could be associated with long voyages and imported goods. Other than at Kaupang, Norwegian ship burials do not usually contain kitchenware (Blindheim, Heyerdahl-Larsen and Ingstad, 1999, 167-9 and Vol.IIA, 94-5). Many coffin burials were excavated, the majority containing male burials. Boat burials may not necessarily have been considered higher status than coffin burials, which in some cases contained higher quality grave goods. Blindheim, Heyerdahl-Larsen and Ingstad (1999, 168) suggest that, because of the large quantity of boat burials and diverse coffin burials, the Bikjholberg cemetery is unique in Norway and may reflect the type of people who lived in Kaupang, rather than their religious beliefs. 'This mixture of burial types indicates a wider milieu, one possibly more receptive of Christian impulses from abroad' (Blindheim, Heyerdahl-Larsen and Ingstad, 1999, 168-9).

GRAVE GOODS AT KAUPANG

Several unusual grave goods have been excavated from Kaupang, but none in burials that can be described as being deviant. The amulets and unusual artefacts are considered in Chapter 9. The female jewellery from the cremation and inhumation graves at Kaupang is generally consistent in style and quantity as that from the rest of Norway. An above average number of bracelets have been recorded, for instance, four were found in grave 1949 C 27997C (Blindheim, Heyerdahl-Larsen and Ingstad, 1999, 19), and jet and 'Celtic' type jewellery is more prevalent than in the rest of Norway. Female graves without oval brooches may indicate a foreigner (Blindheim, Heyerdahl-Larsen and Ingstad, 1999, 170). Foreign jewellery, for example, in cremation graves from the 9th century tends to be Continental or from areas east of Norway, whereas 10th-century graves tend to contain more artefacts from the west (Blindheim, Heyerdahl-Larsen and Tollnes, 1981 175). The inhumation graves from Bikjholberg/Lamøya (9th century onwards) show more western influence in the styles of artefacts than the cremations.

Some Christian-style artefacts were included in some burials at Kaupang, but whether they were indicative of the deceased's religion is uncertain. For example the 'small lead capsule' from beneath the boat burial, K/III gr. II Bikjholberg has been interpreted as a reliquary, probably originating from the area around Hedeby (Blindheim, Heyerdahl-Larsen and Ingstad, 1999, 18), or the continental coin brooch from grave V/1950, a 10th-century female burial (Blindheim and Heyerdahl-Larsen, 1995, pl. 52).

Beads were found in both male and female burials and were made of a variety of materials, from glass, to amber, rock crystal and jet. Any superstition linked with such materials is discussed in Chapter 9.

5. GRAVE GOODS

The inclusion of grave goods in both cremation and inhumation graves seems to have been a common practice in Viking-Age Norway. The choice of grave goods is varied. The inclusion of grave goods may not have been practised throughout the whole of society. There is a 'relatively small amount of graves [containing grave goods] discovered even in well-investigated areas. Probably economic considerations limited its practice to the more affluent members of society' (Dommasnes, 1982, 71, 76-9).

MALE

High-status male graves contain weapons and a significant number of graves contain tools, such as for carpentry, smithing and agriculture. Equestrian burials were never fully adopted in Norway and only occur in the eastern part of Norway; an example is found at Kaupang, grave 6, which contained full horse equipment, an imported sword and scabbard (Blindheim, Heyerdahl-Larsen and Tollnes, 1981, 123). The sword is more common in Norway than Sweden and Denmark, which may be due to the late introduction of Christianity and the continuation of grave goods in Norway (Brøndsted, 1985, 119).

FEMALE

The higher status female graves usually contain jewellery and cooking, spinning and weaving equipment. Sometimes a sickle is included, which may represent the woman working on the land, such as grave K/VII gr. I from Kaupang (Blindheim, Heyerdahl-Larsen and Ingstad, 1999, 15).

Recently, a lot of work over has been undertaken giving feminist interpretations of Iron-Age burial in Norway. Several theories have been suggested regarding the distribution and quantity of female burials and regarding the symbolism of grave contents. In her survey of the burial rites in Late Iron-Age Sogn, Dommasnes (1982, 73) derives from the grave goods that a quarter of the 264 graves, spanning c. 500 years, could be female and suggests that those buried with grave goods represent individuals wealthy enough to dispose of these objects on their death. The types of grave goods and the methods of burial or markers used to denote the burial may have been chosen by the deceased or mourners to be symbolic of the deceased's life and status in society (Binford, 1971, 6-29).

During the 8th and 9th centuries, female graves in areas such as Vik and Aurland became better furnished with higher status and more varied grave goods, but decrease in their contents during the 10th century. Dommasnes (1982, 81) suggests that the rise may be due to the female's increased responsibilities and independence, perhaps in managing the farm and household whilst her husband was away on trading voyages or involved with internal disputes. Dommasnes (1982, 82) notes that more high-ranking females lived inland than on the coast, which may be a result of having long-distance trading husbands. She suggests that 'rank in Old Norse society was not only inherited, but

could be achieved as well' (Dommasnes, 1982, 83). Dommasnes suggests that the quantity of different types of grave good could reflect the status held by the individual during their lives. Høigård Hofseth (1988; and 1990) has analysed the graves in the northern part of Rogaland and southern Gudbrandsdalen, of which c. 10% can be identified as female. Høigård Hofseth (1990, 92) also believes that females could not only have achieved an elevated social status of their own accord, but also through religious functions (citing saga evidence) and by being responsible for trade, which she believes can be seen in the iron and bronze weights from female graves at Kaupang and Birka, and in Viking-Age graves in Russia. She disagrees with Dommasnes, suggesting that these women may have survived their seafaring husbands to look after the farms, from which they achieved their own status, rather than relying on the status of their deceased husbands (Høigård Hofseth, 1990, 92).

Burials in south-west Norway have been analysed by Høgestøl (1986, 51-6), who concluded that male graves are of a higher status and more plentiful in the Late Iron Age as female graves are higher in status during the Early Iron Age. She attributes this to the predominance of agriculture during the Early Iron Age, whilst the Late Iron Age was economically more complex and revolved around crafts, such as boat building, textile work, and smithying, as well as the emergence of market places. Such an environment would have changed the type of work in which women were involved and thus their responsibilities. Steinsland (1985b, 31-42) develops the idea of pre-Viking-Age women involved in agriculture, in that they became involved in fertility cults and may have achieved a high religious function. Steinsland (1985b, 31-42) suggests that the more highly furnished graves in Sogn could be the graves of priestesses (*gydjer*). These cults may have continued in a different form into the Viking Age, despite the emerging warrior culture and may be seen in the burials of wagons, such as at Fyrkat, in Denmark, which could be linked to the Nerthus cult (Dommasnes, 1991b, 57-8; Roesdahl, 1978, 9-14). Hjørungdal (1991, 104-5) suggests that some Early Iron-Age high-status female burials may belong to the seeress cult (*völvekult*). As an example, she suggests the Migration Period female grave from Døsen, in Os near Bergen, which was under a long barrow and covered by a large 'holy white stone'. The 'holy white stone' is believed to be associated with a male fertility cult or perhaps as symbolic for bread (Hjørungdal, 1991, 105; Shetelig, 1912, 132; Dommasnes, 1991b, 57; Holmqvist, 1959, 206-10; Lundström and Adolfsson, 1995, 22). The grave contained jewellery and a spindlewhorl. A wooden staff c. 2m long and 9cm in diameter, interpreted by Shetelig (1912, 132-3) as a weapon, and a flat square stone from the south end of the grave, by the feet, lead Hjørungdal (1991, 105) to suggest that the woman may have been involved with the supernatural. The wooden staff has also been considered by Price (2002, 201) who believes that, although it may have been use as 'a tool for sorcery', because of its size it does not fall into the same group of significantly smaller ritual staffs dating to the Viking Age.

Blindheim and Heyerdahl-Larsen (1995, 141) do not believe that these feminist theories of burial customs can be used to account for the uneven male to female ratios (2:1) found at Kaupang. Instead, Blindheim and Heyerdahl-Larsen (1995, 141) suggest that the lack of burials containing feminine grave goods could be due to the fact that the male and female roles were often intermingled. Graves that may

have been tenuously interpreted as male, because they contained perhaps a few arrowheads as well as kitchen equipment, may have been female. Women may have been buried with organic objects, such as wood or furs, which would normally leave entirely empty burials due to their decomposition. The fact that there are more men may be due to the fact that Kaupang was a trading centre as well as being a large farming area, which would have involved a majority of male workers (Blindheim and Heyerdahl-Larsen, 1995, 141).

6. CONVERSION EVIDENCE

As Norway was often allied with Denmark and visited by English monks, Christianity would have been known during the 10th century. The Conversion of Norway has been thought to be due to the influence of Ólaf Tryggvason and Ólaf Haraldsson during the late 10th and early 11th centuries. Despite his conversion in 994, Ólaf Tryggvason is said to have used auguries and soothsayings (Foote and Wilson, 1980, 43). Evidence from burials and stone crosses in west Norway suggest that coastal areas were converted earlier (Helle, 1994, 8).

Evidence of early Christianity may be present in some burials, whether of converts or foreigners, in the southern Bikjholberg grave-field, Kaupang. The graves are oriented with the head to the west and contain no or very few grave goods, such as grave K/XVIII (10th century) which was oriented with the head to the west, with the arms over the chest and a knife (Blindheim and Heyerdahl-Larsen, 1995, 129, 142). Three very late pagan burials, dating between the late 10th and the first half of the 11th century, from Bringsvær, near Grimstad, Aust-Agder, are discussed by Rolfsen (1981, 112-28). These graves contain grave goods, as burials from elsewhere in the area lose pagan characteristics by the mid-10th century. Rolfsen (1981, 127) suggests... 'Even though the three burials are pagan, we cannot from this infer that the man and his family were unfamiliar with the Christian faith. We should, rather, interpret the pagan burial practice as an attempt at upholding religious and cultural traditions. And thus these three graves demonstrate the deep roots of the Norse religion among certain families'.

Early Norwegian churches and early Christian-style graves are discussed by Vibe-Müller (1991, 359-69). The 12th-century church at Mære, Trøndelag, may have been built on an earlier pagan cult site as there is evidence of earlier structures, finds dating from the early 6th century and *guldgubbar* figures, dating from the Migration period, which may have been used in fertility ceremonies (Lidén, 1969, 3-32; Lindeberg, 1997, 99-110; Grieg, 1954, 164-5).

7. HEALER/WITCH BURIALS

KAUPANG

Weapons buried with females

On several occasions a female burial contains weapons. Grave K/VII gr. I and gr. II is suggested to contain two females. Grave K/VII gr. I contained the dress accessories of one equal armed and one oval brooch, one amber and seven glass beads, two spindlewhorls, a sieve, a lock plate and two egg-shaped stones. The grave also contained an axe, an arrowhead, a fishing hook, five knives and a whetstone (Blindheim and Heyerdahl-Larsen, 1995, 15, 128). Grave IX 1954, which contained two oval brooches, one glass and two amber beads, a grass fragment, a knife and a clay spindle whorl, is also suggested to contain two axes (Blindheim and Heyerdahl-Larsen, 1995, 19). Blindheim and Heyerdahl-Larsen (1995) do not indicate that these burials may have contained a male, although, given women's graves contain weapons only in exception, it perhaps should be considered (Jesch, 1991, 21). Jesch (1991, 21) suggests that as the axes were small, they may have been used to chop wood and should be considered more of a practical tool rather than as a masculine symbol. Female graves containing weapons are evidenced at Gerdrup, near Roskilde in Denmark and at Solør (Chapter 6).

OSEBERG

The ship burial at Oseberg contained the remains of two female skeletons. The mound was looted in antiquity and within the disturbed layer most of the disarticulated human bones were found (Brøgger, 1945, 2). The two women had probably lain on beds in the burial chamber before their disturbance (Brøgger, 1945, 1). The high-status precious metal grave goods were probably looted. The surviving grave goods are described above. Some of the grave goods had been inserted into the grave without being finished, for instance the sledges had not had their carving finished. The ship was covered with a layer of stones from the surrounding area, perhaps to prevent the deceased from walking again (Sjøvold, 1985, 10).

The younger skeleton was of a woman of c. 25 years, the older female is not aged at death (Sawyer, 1990, 268). The older skeleton has been interpreted as a slave woman and the younger skeleton as the queen (Brøgger, 1945, 4). The older woman's bones showed signs of hard work and her spine had been affected by spondyloarthritis anchylopoietica rhematica (Schreiner, 1927, 101). However, the older skeleton was buried wearing finely made boots, which indicate high status. If the older skeleton were not the queen, she could be a high-status lady in waiting. Davidson (1992, 334) describes the burial of the older woman as too fragmentary to interpret too closely... 'Even though some of this evidence is early and incomplete, the case for human sacrifice is sufficiently strong for archaeologists to take further indications of it seriously'. Davidson (1998, 111-12), however, suggests that the main burial at Oseberg may be '...a priestess of either Freyja or Frigg', which may lead to the interpretation of the older woman with the fine shoes also being associated with the worship of the goddess (Ingstad, Christensen and Myhre, 1992, 240).

The Oseberg burial may be linked to the cult of Freyja from the imagery in the wall hangings (Davidson, 1998, 45, 51, 106-13; Ingstad, Christensen and Myhre, 1992, 242-9) and the association of Freyja with spinning and weaving (Davidson, 1998, 104, 106-7; see Chapter 9). Oseberg contained four looms and several diverse objects linked to textile production (Davidson, 1998, 107). Price (2002, 159-60) also suggests that the burial had connections with the supernatural, albeit as a side role. The backboard of the wagon had carved illustrations of cats, perhaps linking the deceased with Freyja worship. One of the chests, which had remained unlocked and undisturbed by the grave robbers, contained a staff (which has been interpreted as a ritual staff) and two iron lamps which resemble those carried by the females heading the processions, as depicted on the wall hangings (Price, 2002, 160). The burial also contained hazelnuts and several rattles (see Chapter 9). The five animal head posts from the burial have also been interpreted as possibly having a ritualistic purpose (Sjøvold, 1985, 40-1; Illustration 19). The posts are carved wood, stylistically close to the carved sleigh shafts and may have been used for processional and/or religious purposes, as they do not appear to have a practical function and, on excavation, a pair of tongs were situated through the jaws of one of the heads.

8. DEVIANT BURIALS

HOV, DØNNES, NORDLAND

Slave burial

Viking Age

A boat burial containing a skeleton sexed as male, beside which was a dog skeleton. A skeleton sexed as female lay just outside the boat, which Shetelig (1904, 357) believed to be that of a slave girl. Her location outside the ship may be a deliberate distinction from the primary burial.

KAUPANG

Quadruple burial: grave K/V

The 9th- to 10th-century high-status boat burial, K/V, from South Bikjholberg contained two males, one female and one child (the milk teeth remain). The female burial appears to have been the original burial and she was moved to make space for a male (K/V gr. III) who was buried at the northern end of the boat. The female had a miniature spearhead buried with her, whilst the rest of the grave goods lay outside the boat. K/V gr. III contained a sword that had been broken into fragments and laid on top of each other. The other male (K/V gr. I), aged at death to 45-50 years, was supine and lay at the south end of the ship with his head to the south west. He was buried with the remains of the child and the pair was probably the most recently buried (Blindheim and Heyerdahl-Larsen, 1995, 115). Blindheim, Heyerdahl-Larsen and Ingstad (1999, 167) doubt that any of the individuals were slaves, but that the female was of an older generation to both of the males and the grave is a kinship burial, 'rather than lack of space. - But as a rule the boats held one body only' (Blindheim, Heyerdahl-Larsen and Ingstad, 1999, 167).

However, Blindheim and Heyerdahl-Larsen (1995, 118) suggest that the body in K/V gr. I 'had been dismembered. This must be intentional' and later suggest (1995, 118 - my translation) that 'he is lying on his side with both arms in front of the chest and the head lying over the stomach... that the ribcage is not aligned with the spine, and that the two joint bones which are lying in front of the ribs are probably leg joints rather than arm joints. The head lies presumably facing the earth, a vertebra lies on top of the cranium. Parts of the skeleton are missing. This is not a normal burial'.

Blindheim and Heyerdahl-Larsen (1995, 127) suggest that the weapons associated with K/V gr. I may help to interpret the burial. As the shield boss has a puncture and a cut at the top, Blindheim and Heyerdahl-Larsen (1995, 127) suggest that the man may have been killed and dismembered in a dispute or battle and was later buried by his relatives. The other weapon, an axe, appeared to have been struck into the earth, perhaps associated with an axe cult (see Chapter 9) and Blindheim and Heyerdahl-Larsen (1995, 127-8) suggest it may have been used to injure the man.

Boat burial covered with cremated human and animal bones: grave K/XII

The whole of the boat in Grave K/XII (10th century) was covered in a burnt layer comprising c. 40g of bone fragments from animals and from human extremities which Blindheim and Heyerdahl-Larsen (1995, 129) suggest may derive either from the cremation cemetery or from ritual burning outside the boat.

Crouched burials

Around five skeletons at Kaupang were buried in a crouched position. As the majority of burials at this site were supine and extended, crouch burials may, therefore, be deemed deviant. As noted above, K/VIII contained a young male lying on his left side. K/IV grave II and K/IV grave III were also crouched (Blindheim and Heyerdahl-Larsen, 1995, 118). The crouched position may be a result of trying to fit the body into a small grave or due to a specific burial custom, rather than being indicative of a disrespectful burial.

Mutilated skeletons – sacrifice or criminals? Graves I/1953, II/1954 and III/1954 (Illustrations 20 and 21)

The skeletal remains from the north field of Bikjholberg were in far worse condition than those from the south, except for the group of three skeletons I/1953 (Illustration 20) and skeletons II/1954 and III/1954 (Illustration 21), which were far better preserved and show signs of mutilation. These burials contained neither any grave goods nor looked to have been given respectful burial (Blindheim and Heyerdahl-Larsen, 1995, 74-5, 130). Several fragments of unidentifiable burnt bones were scattered throughout the inhumation cemetery and became more plentiful in the area where these three graves were located. Blindheim and Heyerdahl-Larsen (1995, 131) suggest that this area may have been used for cooking the last meal, for ritual burning or sacrifice. These burials, however, may have been mutilated by accident, as one of the skeletons is buried very near the surface, perhaps accounting for

the dislodged head. The disarticulation may be the result of the removal of bodies from old burials if the grave-field was short of space (Blindheim and Heyerdahl-Larsen, 1995, 140).

Skeleton I/1953 may be sexed as female. The head was oriented to the north, the knees were bent to the south, both feet were drawn up to the skeleton's right and the arms were extended (Blindheim and Heyerdahl-Larsen, 1995, 70). Blindheim and Heyerdahl-Larsen (1995, 130) suggest that skeleton 1953/I's feet may have been bound. Some animal bones, including a horse jaw and pelvis, were found in the layers above the grave. 'Our impression was that the skeleton I had been covered by a large animal...' The inclusion of the animal bones 'reinforce the idea of "sacrifice" in connection with these three individuals...' (Blindheim and Heyerdahl-Larsen, 1995, 130 - my translation).

Skeleton II/1954 was sexed as male, but skeleton III/1954 remains unsexed and is of smaller proportions. The head was missing from skeleton II. Skeletons II/1954 and III/1954 lay in very close proximity and their feet were located close to I/1953's feet, near boat burial 1953/I. The skeletons were oriented with their feet to the north and the legs of skeleton II/1954 were extended and may have been bound (Blindheim and Heyerdahl-Larsen, 1995, 130). Skeleton III/1954 lay on its left side in a crouched position with the knees bent on the left. Skeletons II/1954 and III/1954 were probably buried at the same time. Blindheim and Heyerdahl-Larsen (1995, 130, 132) do not believe that these two burials represent man and wife or that any of the three skeletons may be instances of a slave following the master into the burial.

These three burials show significantly different burial customs to the surrounding burials, suggesting that they may have been those of criminals or other forms of outcast. The skeletons exhibit a similar treatment to those found in Lund. However, these Kaupang burials contained animal bones and burials that are usually interpreted as belonging to criminals or murder victims seldom contain animal bones.

Minor mutilation: Grave K/XXXVII

Grave K/XXXVII (8th to 9th centuries) contained an unsexed skeleton, aged at death at c. 16-20 years. The skeleton lay in a twisted position, so that the back and legs were supine, but the upper body lay to the right. The body may have been damaged during inhumation. The skeleton was diagnosed as having a hunchback (kyphoscoliosis) (Blindheim and Heyerdahl-Larsen, 1995, 119-20).

Minor mutilation: Grave K/XV

Another grave, a boat burial, K/XV, is deviant in that the individual's legs and feet are missing and the head looks contorted (Blindheim and Heyerdahl-Larsen, 1995, 120). Blindheim and Heyerdahl-Larsen (1995, 120) suggest that the body was mutilated in order to fit into a coffin, which looks more suited to a child's burial. The burial contained a spearhead, an axe (struck into the earth – see Chapter 9) and a shield boss, dating to different periods. Milk teeth were found in the burial, which has given rise to another interpretation, that the child belonged to the coffin burial. The child's coffin was then dug into

an older burial, which was disturbed in the process and pushed deeper into the ground. The older weapons could have belonged to the maltreated individual and the more recent ones to the child.

Disarticulated bones: grave I/1953

Several human bones were found outside boat grave I/1953 that were so disorientated that it is difficult to judge whether the bones had been interred in a grave that had been disturbed. There were no grave goods.

Bear hunter/bear cult burial? grave K/VIII

Beside the boat in Grave K/VIII, the richest male burial at the site, a young male was buried in crouched position (Blindheim and Heyerdahl-Larsen, 1995, 128). A shield lay over the young man's pelvis, an axe was struck into the ground in front of his face (see Chapter 9) and a spearhead and knife lay behind him. There were also the remains of a young bear. Blindheim and Heyerdahl-Larsen (1995, 128) suggest that because some of the neck vertebrae were missing from the animal it was probably killed to be put into the grave. The authors believe that the presence of the bear is linked to a 'bearcult', due to the decapitated head being placed next to the deceased, with its body lying further away in the grave, and suggest that the male may have been an unlucky bear hunter. The bear, however, may have been a prestigious grave good. Blindheim and Heyerdahl-Larsen (1995, 128) also suggest that the horse burial, K/XXI, was sacrificial and that the horse's head had been ritualistically decapitated.

9. SUMMARY

The majority of Norwegian graves excavated in the 19th and early 20th centuries do not provide much information other than for the existence of 'double' burials, which appear to be kinship burials. Grave goods, such as pebbles, organic material and rusted metal fragments would now be identified, but would probably have been disregarded previously. The deviant material above is heavily weighted to the Kaupang material, most of which has been scientifically analysed. The variety of burial customs evidenced at Kaupang may provide an insight into the various practices that have been lost from earlier excavated burials, although this would not allow for any regional variation. Of all the Scandinavian material, modern Norwegian scholars have focussed more on female burial customs and the issues surrounding the perception of the widow. From the results these scholars have reached, an unusual pattern may be seen, which is perhaps unique within Scandinavia, whereby there are more high-status female burials, particularly around the coast.

Healer/witch

Oseberg can be assigned tentatively as a burial associated with sorcery. If the woman/women buried at Oseberg were involved with healing and/or witchcraft it would be secondary to their function as socially important individuals. The looting in antiquity of the burial removed the jewellery belonging to the women, which, had it been intact, may have provided more clues to the women's possible links with the supernatural. The status of the burial would indicate that the main woman buried at Kaupang

was not the village healer/witch type of individual, as such a role would probably not merit a burial of such high status. There does seem to be some archaeological and pictorial evidence from the grave that the woman/women had connections with the supernatural, whether passively through religious beliefs – seemingly in Freya, or actively as a priestess type of figure. Other than the Oseberg burial, 14 burials containing ritual staffs in Norway are briefly discussed by Price (2002, 192, 196-8).

The female burials containing axes do not present any other evidence leading to an interpretation of deviancy in the burial custom. The axes were perhaps included in the grave as a tool and would not have been bestowed with any supernatural symbolism. Without taking into account Price's (2002) identification of burials from the presence of iron staffs, there are no immediately identifiable healer/witch burials in Norway, compared with the evidence from Sweden, Denmark and Iceland, where more deviant features are evident in the burials, either in the choices of grave goods and dress accessories or through the treatment of the corpse. Either the graves belonging to these individuals have not been found or have been badly excavated, or these women did not exist in the same manner as in the rest of Scandinavia. They may be only identifiable through some other means, such as the presence of an iron staff. Although from an earlier period, the burial at Kvåle, Sogndal in Sogn and Fjordane (Chapter 9), is a more easily attributable burial of a healer/witch.

Deviant burials

The deviant burials from Norway seem either to belong to slave/sacrifice victims. Kaupang graves I/1953, II/1954 and III/1954 may be the remains of a sacrifice, due to the presence of animal bones. The disrespect shown to the bodies may infer punishments for criminal acts.

Norway does not have the same amount of archaeological evidence as Sweden and Denmark for burials interpreted as belonging to criminals. In this respect, the Norwegian evidence is similar to that of Iceland. Medieval Norwegian laws suggest severe punishments for crimes, but for whatever reason, these punishments are not evidenced in the Viking-Age burials.

CHAPTER 5

BURIALS IN VIKING-AGE ICELAND

Iceland has been written about extensively. The majority of Icelandic burials were excavated during the 19th and early 20th century, some of which came to light due to soil erosion, and have been recorded in varying quality of detail. The Viking-Age graves discovered before 1956 have been described by Eldjárn (1956) and compared typologically with the graves from mainland Scandinavia and Scotland (Eldjárn, 1984, 2-11). Additional finds were published by Eldjárn (1965) and further articles have appeared in subsequent years in *Árbók* (Jónsson, 1996, 19). Eldjárn's study (1956) has recently been revised by Friðriksson (2000) and includes finds from 1955 to 1999. A review of Icelandic burial excavations and literature to 1996 has been produced by Jónsson, as an undergraduate dissertation including an appendix of all excavated Viking-Age burials in Iceland (1996, 8-9). A review of secondary literature about the archaeology of the settlement and society of Viking-Age and early Christian Iceland is provided by Friðriksson (1994).

1. GEOGRAPHIC AREA AND BACKGROUND TO ICELAND

The settlement of Iceland began towards the end of the 9th century by people from Scandinavia, perhaps mainly south-west Norway, and the British Isles (Eldjárn, 1984, 2-3). Vilhjálmsson (1992, 176-7) suggests that the Saamis from northern Norway may have been included amongst the settlers. Iceland is said to have been fully settled by 930, when the Alþing was established (*Íslendingabók*, 1, 3), but the interior of Iceland and the regions with bad quality land appear to have been settled over time past that date. Hermanns-Auðardóttir (1989, 63-8) has contentiously suggested that Herjólfssdalur on Heimaey may have been settled as early as the 6th to 7th century. *Íslendingabók*, written by Ari Þorgilsson c. 1122-33, summarises Icelandic history from 870-1120 (Strömbäck, 1975, 18). *Landnámabók*, written in the early 12th century, details the names and origins of around 400 settlers of Iceland, the majority of whom would have been pagan, but some are recorded as being Christian, mixed faith and atheist (Byock, 1993, 17; Jones, 1986, 50; Aðalsteinsson, 1978, 26-30). Much has been written (for example, Byock, 1993; Jones, 1986; Kristjánsson, 1992, Smith, 1995) on the settlement and development of the Icelandic nation, as unlike the other Scandinavian countries, medieval Iceland had a tradition of strong oral and written history. The archaeological remains of paganism on Iceland and early literature have been reviewed by Briem (1945).

As well as the Scandinavian links, Icelandic Vikings had considerable contact with the British Isles through intermarriage, slavery and trade. Around a seventh of the settlers mentioned in *Landnámabók* had connections with the Celtic regions, which is borne out by the different types of grave goods.

The population at the time of settlement has been estimated as around 20,000 rising to around 60,000 (Foote and Wilson, 1980, 53). The distribution of Viking-Age pagan burials corresponds with the

distribution of the settlers as accounted in *Landnámabók* (Roesdahl, 1991b, 266-7). Smith (1995, 339) believes that Icelandic society comprised three or four social strata as defined by the quantity and recurrent class-specific object type and likens this social pattern to that of the contemporary social situation in Norway (Solberg, 1985, 61-75), which contradicts society represented in the sagas.

2. THE CONVERSION

Iceland was pagan for around 150 years. According to *Íslendingabók* Iceland was converted to Christianity in 999 or 1000 (Strömbäck, 1975, 18; Foote, 1984, 56-64). A summary of the early medieval sources regarding the Conversion is provided in Aðalsteinsson (1978, 55-78) and the social process surrounding the Conversion is discussed by Hastrup (1990b, 203-17). A period of grace was allowed for pagans to continue certain practices. 'Men might sacrifice in secret if they so wished, but it would be a case of lesser outlawry [three years absence from Iceland] should witnesses come forward (*Íslendingabók*, 7)' (Jones, 1986, 150). 'The permission to sacrifice in secret must have been given for reasons which the Christians were prepared to take seriously, and which led them to reconcile themselves to it as a temporary measure' (Steffensen, 1967-8, 191), serving as a 'safety valve'. In any case, too few priests were present in Iceland at the time of Conversion to prevent sacrifices from taking place (Steffensen, 1967-8, 192). The first Icelandic bishop was appointed in 1056 (Byock, 1993, 3).

3. GENERAL DATING OF BURIALS

Pagan burial in Iceland can be dated from c. 860s to c. 1000, when the Conversion to Christianity began. There has been a tendency until recently to fit the archaeological evidence and dating around events in sagas and the *Landnámabók* (Friðriksson, 1994, 8). Shetelig (1937) and Eldjárn (1956) were among the first to move away from this tradition and date the grave goods on typological grounds, drawing comparisons with mainland Scandinavian and Irish artefacts. However, the chronology applied to the graves by Eldjárn (1956) did not contradict the literary evidence (Jónsson, 1996, 14, 17-18). Eldjárn (1956, 25) suggested that the inclusion of grave goods would indicate that the burial was pagan and that the graves with few grave goods, such as only a knife, could be pagan burials dating to the 10th century, or be Conversion period burials of the 11th century. Dating drawn from the typology and ornamentation of grave artefacts is tenuous, as there may have been a tendency to bury old family possessions, as, being an island with fewer natural resources than the Scandinavian and British mainlands, the population may have preferred to retain new items. Dating Conversion period graves can be problematic. The distinction between the deliberate inclusion of grave goods and dress accessories can be blurred, as, for example, a knife may have been considered part of a belt, and not associated by the individuals at the time as a pagan style grave good. During the Conversion period, individuals could have received a Christian burial, yet have still been buried in their clothing.

Jónsson (1996, 26-7) summarises the date periods suggested by his review of the work on Icelandic burials generally as: -

Period 1 c. 874 - 1000: the settlement period (containing grave goods), taking longer than the dates suggested by *Íslendingabók*;

Period 2 1000 - c.1060/1100: the Conversion period, with some pagan practices continuing;

Period 3 c.1100 onwards: the establishment of Christianity.

‘Those burials that have been found not to comply with accepted Christian burial methods and that include a few undateable grave goods or none at all, have either been ascribed to period 1 or period 2. Burials complying with Christian burial methods have been ascribed to period 3’ (Jónsson, 1996, 27). Problems associated with using Carbon 14 dating and tephrochronology for sites which have been dated by the sagas are discussed by Smith (1995, 325-6) and Vilhjálmsón (1992, 168-9, 173-4).

4. PAGAN BURIAL IN ICELAND - GENERAL

INHUMATION BURIALS

At least 300 inhumation burials are suggested to date from the Viking Age in Iceland, which are distributed unevenly throughout the country (Einarsson, 1989, 47). Friðriksson (2000, 590-2) describes the distribution and location of Icelandic burials. Icelandic burials follow most closely the Norwegian burial traditions, except for the absence of cremations in Iceland (Friðriksson, 1994, 90). Inhumation burials are found under low mounds, which can be difficult to distinguish in the modern landscape. Burials are often cut directly into the earth and are shallow. Graves may be located near farms (sometimes in what may be family groups), and, in some cases, no specific importance appears to have been attached to the location of the cemetery, as different sites were used around the farms. Graves are also found on hillside slopes or on promontories (Magnússon *et al.*, 1992, 55-7). The majority of Viking-Age burials are in small cemeteries of around five graves.

The skeleton is often supine, with the arms extended along the sides, but crouched positions are also used (Eldjárn, 1984, 4). The suggestion by Shetelig (1937, 209) that there may be cases of seated burial in Iceland has been due to the influence of saga literature (*Grettis saga Ásmundarsonar*, XVIII). A possible seated burial has been suggested for the burial (grave 1) at Dalvík, (Brimnes), Svarfaðardalshreppur, Eyjafjarðarsýsla (Eldjárn, 1956, 124). The extent of crouched burial must be treated with caution due to disturbance of the graves. Many graves are oriented with the head to the west and sometimes covered with a layer of stones (Eldjárn, 1984, 4). Clinker-built boats used as coffins have been found in five instances (Eldjárn, 1984, 4).

CREMATION BURIAL

As yet, no cremations have been found on Iceland, which is similar to the burial traditions in Scotland and northern Norway, where cremation is rare (Eldjárn, 1984, 8; Sjøvold, 1974, 189; Graham-Campbell and Batey, 1998, 144). Eldjárn (1956, 440) suggests that their absence may be due to the Icelanders becoming a distinct separate nation. Eldjárn (1984, 8) also suggests that time may be a factor for their absence; in Scotland, where cremations are rare, burials date from the 9th century, whereas in Iceland, most burials date from the 10th century and by this time appear to be purely inhumations. Vilhjálmsón (1992, 177) suggests that the lack of cremations may indicate that the Icelandic settlers

may have originated from regions that did not practice cremation. Their absence may also be due to difficulties in their detection, if they were cut directly into the ground, or if they were simple flat graves, they may have eroded away. Cremation also demands a large amount of wood, which was a valuable commodity on Iceland because of its scarcity.

The areas of Iceland that appear to lack Viking-Age burials may contain undiscovered cremations. The inhumation graves in these areas that have been attributed to early Christian settlement, due to their lack of grave goods, may rather be low status pagan Viking-Age burials (Einarsson, 1994, 64).

5. GRAVE GOODS

Much of the Icelandic grave material is diverse and imported from mainland Scandinavia, whilst some originated in Britain and Ireland, like the 'disproportionately numerous Scoto-Irish ring-headed bronze pins' (Eldjárn, 1984, 9). The majority of Icelandic grave goods are 'modest' (Eldjárn, 1984, 4).

Unlike the rest of Scandinavia, few obviously symbolic grave goods associated with life or religion exist, except Thor's hammers and far less intricate amulet types, which may be due to availability, survival or the use of organic amulets instead. Horse burial appears in male and female burials during the Viking Age and there is a larger number of horse burials *per capita* in Iceland than in the rest of Scandinavia (Gjessing, 1943, 60-1; Eldjárn, 1956, 53-7; Müller-Wille, 1970-1, 119-204). The male grave at Grímsstaðir, Skútustaðahreppur, Suður-Þingeyjarsýsla, contained two horses, both of which were cut into large pieces prior to interment (Eldjárn, 1967, 99-101). Dogs are occasionally buried with the deceased (Shetelig, 1912, 231; Eldjárn, 1956, 95-6). The presence of rivets may indicate a boat burial or using boat timbers as a coffin lining material, but there are no remains of high-status ship burials such as are found in Norway (Müller-Wille, 1970-1, 119-204).

High-status male burials generally contain simple weapons, for example, a spear and axe, or a sword and shield boss. Female burials may contain beads, oval brooches and textile equipment. Amber beads are included in burials, such as the three on a necklace of 26 beads from Brú, Biskupstungnahreppur; Árnessýsla; this is probably a double burial of a male and a female, given its range of grave goods (Eldjárn, 1956, 62). A high-status female burial containing 52 beads was found at Daðastaðir, Núpasveit, Presthólahreppur (Jónsson, 1996, 60).

6. EARLY CHRISTIAN BURIALS

So-called Christian burials have received less attention in Icelandic archaeology than those believed to date from the heathen period, and burials with few grave goods have often been attributed to early Christian converts or Christian settlers (Friðriksson, 1994, 92-101). When Iceland was first settled possessions and implements may have been in short supply and, therefore, not buried with the deceased until resources were more plentiful. 'This lack of interest in Christian remains as opposed to pagan ones is yet another reflection of how the sagas have influenced archaeological thought' (Friðriksson,

1994, 104). As mentioned above, some of the settlers seem to have been Christian, which would mean that some burials that have been dated to the time of Conversion might, in fact, be far earlier. However, the number of early settlers who were Christian appears to have been few and their descendants apparently became heathen (*Landnámabók*, 8, V).

After the Conversion, individuals were buried in consecrated ground or in churchyards where they existed and the deposition of grave goods ceased (Magnússon *et al.*, 1992, 55-7). The 'Christian Laws' section in *Grágás* states that the corpse be wrapped in linen or homespun cloth and placed in a coffin (Nilsson, 1987, 137; Dennis, *et al.* 1980, 26-7). The *Grágás* laws suggested that Christian burials from a disused churchyard could be re-interred into a churchyard in use (Dennis, *et al.* 1980, 30-1). This theme has been discussed by Steffensen (1966b, 71-8), although his conclusion was that no archaeological evidence confirms this.

7. SLAVES AND SOCIAL OUTCASTS

Due to the quantity of medieval literature encompassing the subject, slavery and outlaws have been written about extensively, particularly by Karras (1988; and 1992) and Amory (1992). Social structure, slaves and social outcasts, particularly in terms of their legal status, during the Viking Age and early Middle Ages (900-1300) have been the subject of a doctoral thesis by Breisch (1994). Slaves under a certain level of wealth were legally prohibited from marrying in Iceland and Norway and would have had a very low status, in some cases on a par sexually with animals (Karras, 1992, 291, 295). Considering this low status, it is noteworthy that there are fewer double burials of master and slave in Iceland, as there are horse burials, unless horses were regarded as a more fitting possession to take to the next world, perhaps by providing transport.

8. HEALER/WITCH BURIALS

From the archaeological evidence, there is no definitive evidence for burials displaying deviancy that can be linked to the supernatural. A few graves, which are considered in Chapter 9, have an irregular type and/or quantity of grave goods and dress accessories and it is from this that these burials may be considered to belong to wise women or females associated with the supernatural in some way. These burials do not exhibit any other form of deviancy, however.

FOLKLORE OF SORCERER GRAVES

Ægisson (1992, 6-8) describes placenames, monuments or unusual natural features, which were held in folk memory or old texts as sorceress graves (*völvuleiði*). Around 50-60 sites in Iceland, particularly in the south and east, can be attributed thus. No dates are suggested for these 'graves', and it is not known if any contain human remains. There does not seem to be any comparative phenomenon in the rest of Scandinavia or Greenland. The naming of natural landmarks by association with a sorceress appears in the sagas, such as Þórdís of *Kormáks saga* (IX), who lived at Spákonufell. Ægisson (1992, 6-8) suggests that the sorceresses or wise-women who would have died in the 11th century, of whom

there may have been a reasonable number, would probably not have been buried in consecrated ground, but it is not clear what would have happened to their remains.

9. DEVIANT BURIALS

Due to the manner in which many graves were excavated in the past and the erosion sustained by the skeletal remains, irregularities in the deposition of the body and associated artefacts, which could lead to an identification of deviancy, can be difficult to identify. Several instances of the burial of stones and possible amulet bags are considered separately in Chapter 9.

BRINGA, ÖNGULSSTAÐAHREPPUR, EYJAFJADARSÝSLA

Grave with stones

The grave contained the remains of a young male furnished with spear and sword. Above the skeleton was a large amount of small stones with a large stone slab positioned above his head (Eldjárn, 1956, 149). The grave was uncovered by workmen and poorly documented. This grave was included as an example, as it appears to have more stones than a 'normal' burial. It is not uncommon to find large stones covering burials, however. The stones may indicate the surviving population fearing the deceased walking after death or have just been used as a grave marker.

SURTSSTAÐIR, HLÍÐARHREPPUR, NORÐUR-MÚLASÝSLA

Double grave, one skeleton above the other

The disturbed grave contained two skeletons (Eldjárn, 1956, 170-1). The lower skeleton was male, middle-aged, and lay supine with the head to the south west. The upper skeleton was an adult female who had been put into the mound at a later time. Her feet lay over the male skeleton's feet. Little else could be deduced from the burial due to the disturbance. The grave goods included ten small glass beads and a knife. This is probably not a suttee-type of burial as the woman was buried later and so they could be man and wife in a comparable way to the double grave D, Bogøvej, Langeland, Denmark (Grøn, Hedeager Krag and Bennike, 1994, 10).

VATNSDALUR FARM, PATREKSFJARDARHREPPUR, BARÐASTRANDARSÝSLA

Disarticulated boat grave, multiple burial

The original burial was probably that of a female, but a pile of human remains belonging to six other individuals, three males and three females, aged from 18 to 40 were also found in the grave (Steffensen, 1966a, 54). Magnússon (1966, 31-2) suggests that the other skeletons may have come from graves in the same area and that they were exhumed and re-buried by grave robbers or other people who needed to remove the bones. None of the six skeletons had associated grave goods. Amongst the original burial's grave goods were 30 beads, two bronze bracelets, 13 balance weights, a silver Thor's hammer, a bell and a piece of lead weight inlaid with a cross, which may indicate religious ambiguity from the time of the Conversion. The Christian style artefacts may alternatively have belonged to another person prior to burial in this grave.

10. SUMMARY

The majority of burials in Viking-Age Iceland are regular. Due to the erosion of the soil around certain graves and the way in which many burials were excavated, evidence for deviant practices would probably have not been observed or has been lost prior to excavation. The majority of evidence for 'deviant' burials in Iceland comes from the grave goods, which is discussed in Chapter 9. Price (2002, 190-9) identifies two instances of ritual iron staffs from Icelandic burials, both from females graves dating from the 9th to 10th century; one at Álaugarey, Austur-Skaftafellssysla, and the other at Stærri-Árskógur, Árskógshreppur.

There is a noticeable absence of un mutilated graves in Iceland, when compared with the archaeological material from Denmark and Sweden. Either these burials have not been found, were buried in the top soil and have eroded away, or the penal traditions during the Viking Age were different in Iceland and mutilation as a punishment was rarely enacted.

CHAPTER 6

SCANDINAVIAN AND EUROPEAN SOURCES RELATING TO SORCERY AND HEALING

Written evidence from predominantly medieval Scandinavia will be considered in this chapter, which may aid in the interpretation of the archaeological evidence. European sources, contemporary either with the Vikings or with the sagas will be included, where mention is made of artefacts which could be used to interpret the archaeological evidence and where references are made to sorcery and healing.

1. LITERATURE REVIEW

The occurrence of *seiðr* (for definitions, see the Glossary) during the Viking Age has been documented extensively by Strömbäck (1935), whose sources include the *Íslendinga sögur* (*Family sagas*), the *fornaldarsögur* (*sagas of ancient times*), the *Sturlunga sögur* (*sagas of the Sturlungs*) and the *biskupa sögur* (*Bishops' sagas*), the *Gesta Danorum* by Saxo Grammaticus and legal texts. Strömbäck's (1935, 1-16) introduction provides an overview of the uses of the different sagas, influences (especially from the Saami) and their reliability as sources for *seiðr*, and puts them into context with other contemporary sources. Strömbäck (1935, 17-106) considers specific occurrences of *seiðr* in the sagas, analyses the associated linguistics and literary function and the use of black and white magic. Magic has also been discussed extensively by Lid (1950) and Davidson (1973). Grambo (1991, 133-8) discusses the problems associated with the study of *seiðr*, its links to unmanliness and shamanism. He discusses the fact that a Siberian shaman could be a transvestite or change sex, and that acting as a woman a shaman could marry and live together with another man. Price (2002) has published a work describing in great detail the occurrences of *seiðr* in medieval Scandinavian literature and has linked it extensively to the shamanistic practices of the Saami.

Icelandic and early Christian legal sources used as sources for medicinal magic are evaluated by Mundal and Steinsland (1987). Mundal and Steinsland (1987, 99-101) suggest that *seiðr*, *galdr* and runes were used in the female magic domain. Mundal and Steinsland (1987, 99-101) juxtapose the female versus male roles of using magic and the possible cross-dressing and sexual 'deviation' these arts may have permitted. Grambo's (1991, 134-5) and Mundal and Steinsland's (1987, 99-101) suggestion of sexual ambiguity linked with magic could be applied to the burial at Gerdrup, Denmark (Chapter 2), at Klinta, Öland (Chapter 3), or some of the burials at Kaupang, Norway (Chapter 4), where female graves contain male grave-goods. Tacitus (*Germania*, XLIII) documented druids in women's clothes.

The literary motif of the witch has been considered in several works (Strömbäck, 1935; Pálsson, 1991, 157-68; Miller, 1986, 101-23; and Wax, 1969). A more recent work by Morris (1991) aims to consider the early Germanic and Icelandic witch figure and she divides the motif into five categories: - 'the seeress, the sorceress, the witch and animals, the lascivious witch, and the cannibal woman' to which

she assigns, lists and translates the various early European sources (Morris, 1991, 5-14). On several occasions Morris (1991, 7, 10) refutes the idea that Icelandic sources considered sorceresses in a Christian misogynistic way. Morris (1991, 21) suggests that 'The Icelandic sorceress... manifests more of a pagan survival than a Christian demonization', yet later acknowledges that the sorceress 'probably... reflect(s) the attitudes of Icelanders towards witchcraft and paganism in thirteenth-century Iceland' (Morris, 1991, 15). Morris (1991, 9, 18-19) oscillates between the late medieval European attitudes towards witchcraft and pre-Conversion Icelandic attitudes several hundred years earlier. Morris states that '...The Icelandic sorceresses and seeresses could be compared to the Germanic seeresses and priestesses described by Caesar and Tacitus. These witches of high magic were venerated in early Germanic culture' (Morris, 1991, 91). However, although these Latin sources describe such women in a framework of generally reliable information about the Germanic people, the sources pose problems as they appear to have been written for political or moral purposes (Mattingly, 1948, 25-30). Therefore, descriptions of these females may have been included for other purposes by the authors and should not be taken too literally as a source.

Early European magic is an extensive subject about which many books have been written, such as by Dukes (1996), Flint (1991) and Kieckhefer (1976 and 1989) who provide information on classical and early Germanic sources and their interpretations. As with the Icelandic sources, the European material needs to be treated cautiously as representative of the beliefs of the general population on magic.

2. MAGIC, RELIGION AND LAW IN MEDIEVAL EUROPE

As in northern mythology, classical religion was intertwined with magic. The use of magic in the classical and early Germanic worlds was not specific to any part of society, nor was it consistently punished (Kieckhefer, 1976, 66-7). Many classical authors described events caused by magical interference, which were often unquestioned by the medieval scholars as actual historical fact. Some saga authors did, however, question the content and likelihood of events (Kieckhefer, 1989, 29). The classical writers developed stereotypes of the witch as either the old hag or the young seducer (Kieckhefer, 1989, 33). The *Bible* was also used as a source for defining witchcraft and as a reference for punishment (Peters, 1978, 67-78).

The early Church was hostile to all types of magic and linked pagan religion with demons. Magic, therefore, became inseparable from demon worship (Kieckhefer, 1989, 45). The Church opposed magic suggesting it was harmful to the soul and to those around the witch. Magic was often deemed blasphemous and, as such, was a threat to the power of God and the Church (Kieckhefer, 1989, 176).

At the time of the Conversion in Europe the type and amount of witchcraft performed is difficult to ascertain. Despite the rise of Christianity in the major settlements, '...the combined weight of the Church and State... failed to eradicate paganism in the outlying regions' (Dukes, 1996, 191). The activities amounting to sorcery are difficult to establish. Many individuals could have practised 'low' magic in their own homes, using herbs for medicinal reasons or attempting foresight. The population

probably valued such types of people, perhaps above the new clerics, who had recently arrived in the community to establish a congregation. As a result, these home practitioners were an obstacle for the Church and were probably more plentiful than the clerics. The clerics may not have been able to provide the type of service performed by the home practitioner (Flint, 1991, 79). Dukes (1996, 204, 211) suggests that the manner in which Buchard of Worms wrote the *Corrector* (1008-1012) may imply that magic was a reality in the everyday lives of Christians.

Witchcraft was often cited as the cause of misfortunes or anti-social human behaviour (Flint, 1991, 70). Once the perpetrator was found, he was charged with magic and obliged to repent of his actions. Priests would have insisted on confession and may have owned a penitential to specify the penance required for a person guilty of magic. Buchard of Worms' *Corrector* differentiates between the belief in and the practice of magic (Dukes, 1996, 209). Penitentials provide accounts of the different types of magic which the Church believed a person could practise, such as augurism, divination through dreams, raising storms, using magic potions for love, impotence or death, etc. Penitentials differ in their punishments (Peters, 1978, 71-81). The 'Egbert' penitential, which may be the work of Egbert, the 8th-century Archbishop of York, prescribed a year's penance if a woman was found performing witchcraft, but if she killed with witchcraft she must do a penance of seven years (Meaney, 1981, 255-6). The action taken against witches was not always of a Christian nature, such as the death penalty (Flint, 1991, 80-1). Blaming a person for witchcraft could result in a punishment, such as the *medici herbarii*, who did not fulfil their clients' wishes (*History of the Franks* VI, 25, and *Chronicle of Fredegar* III, 82).

Over time throughout Europe, civil and ecclesiastical laws against witchcraft, such as Charlemagne's laws (A.D. 789) and Wulfstan, Archbishop of York's laws (early 11th century), enforced increasingly strong penalties against witchcraft (Flint, 1991, 62; Kieckhefer, 1989, 179). Other early laws against witchcraft are documented in Ankarloo (1984, 29-37).

3. THE ORIGINS OF SCANDINAVIAN LITERATURE

BACKGROUND TO THE SAGAS

Mainland Scandinavia provides some early literary evidence in the form of runic inscriptions, and some literature exists from Denmark and North Germany. In pre-Christian Iceland, there was an oral tradition of recording events. Writing using a form of the Roman alphabet began in Iceland from around 1100 and the tradition of writing in Iceland began earlier than the other Scandinavian regions, due perhaps to Iceland's early acceptance of Christianity in 1000 (Kristjánsson, 1992, 115). Iceland always had ties with Scandinavia during the pagan period. After the Conversion to Christianity, cultural and ecclesiastical links between Iceland and the rest of Europe grew. It is known that some of the Icelandic clerics travelled for educational purposes to Europe, particularly France, Germany and England (Kristjánsson, 1992, 116-17) and Icelandic translations were made of important Latin works. The translation of the Latin texts may have made some impression on the minds of the saga authors (Kristjánsson, 1992, 115).

4. THE DIFFERENT GROUPS OF SAGA, THEIR PROBLEMS AND TREATMENT OF MAGIC

The medieval Icelandic sources that provide information about magic are the sagas, the *Eddas* and skaldic poetry. The sagas are split into several groups: only the groups of sagas referenced in this thesis will be described below.

THE ÍSLENDINGA SÖGUR

The *Íslendinga sögur* or *Family sagas* were written down from the early 13th to mid-14th centuries; it is not possible to date the individual sagas with any accuracy further than within a few decades (Kristjánsson, 1992, 217). Many of these sagas also appear in different versions and in fragments (Kristjánsson, 1992, 219). The events recorded in the manuscripts date to around two to three hundred years earlier, i.e. c. 930 to c. 1030 (Kristjánsson, 1992, 203). Due to the time delay in writing down these accounts, the contents of the sagas should, therefore, be treated cautiously (Ellis, 1977, 4-5).

The authors of these sagas, for the most part, are unknown. The authors would have probably been trained academically by the Church. The style of the sagas is a combination of ‘...sober fact and exaggerated fancy, the real and the imagined, [which] come together in a seemingly coherence which is the hallmark of the classical *Íslendinga sögur*...’ (Kristjánsson, 1992, 22). As the sagas were written over a long period of time, they show differences in language and style, with the earlier examples, such as *Sverris saga*, using less colloquial language than the later sagas, such as *Laxdæla saga* (Kristjánsson, 1992, 212). The later sagas also reveal influences from the *riddara sögur* (sagas of chivalry) or *fornaldarsögur* (sagas of the ancient times), which came to Iceland from Norway in the second quarter of the 13th century, such as in their more florid descriptions (Kristjánsson, 1992, 219). The sagas were written for several reasons: for entertainment, as commissions by the descendants of the saga heroes wishing to portray their ancestors in a good light, or as documents for land ownership and history.

The *Íslendinga sögur* are referenced in this thesis more than the other types of saga, as they depict magic being used amongst accounts of day to day life, feuds and legal events. The sagas show a continuous interest in magic and document male and female witches from different social backgrounds. According to *Íslendinga sögur og þættir* (1987, III, xxii-xxiv), 78 people are named as witches in the *Íslendinga sögur*, of whom 39 are male, 38 female and one unspecified, and at least 116 references to witchcraft are made (Pálsson, 1991, 159). Wax (1969, 73-4) indicates that the 10th-century warrior characters from the main sagas ‘...were beginning to regard certain types of witchcraft as beneath them. Of all the notable men of the classic sagas, only Egil is depicted as a practising magician’.

OTHER SAGAS

The *fornaldarsögur*, based on mythical events before the settlement of Iceland, were written from the mid 13th century and were based on oral traditions (Kristjánsson, 1992, 342). The *fornaldarsögur*

contain some references to *seiðr* and present a more positive view of women involved in magic (Damsholt, 1984, 89; Wax, 1969, 73-4; Price, 2002, 74).

The *konungasögur* (*Kings' sagas* contained in *Heimskringla*) provide some information about magic, in particular, *Ynglingasaga* (*Heimskringla, VII*) which gives a detailed description of *seiðr* and Óðinn. *Heimskringla* was written by Snorri Sturlason in c.1230 (Hallberg, 1979, 34). Snorri cites his sources in his *Prologue*: he used information from learned men, from legends, from the historian Ari Þorgilsson and from skaldic poetry, in which he believed the information had been best preserved.

The *samtíðarsögur* (*Contemporary sagas*), sometimes referred to as the *Sturlunga sagas* (a collection of sagas named for the Sturla family, describing events contemporary with the period they were written, c. 1120-1264), provide little information about magic (Byock, 1993, 31-2). This leads Pálsson (1991, 158) to suggest that '...accusations of witchcraft were important during the earlier years of the Commonwealth Period [from the foundation of Iceland until control of Iceland passed to Norway c. 1262/4] but not during the age of the Sturlungs' (Miller, 1990, 17).

THE EDDAS AND SKALDIC POETRY

There are two *Eddas*; the *Poetic Edda* and *Snorra Edda* (Snorri's *Edda*). The *Poetic Edda* is a collection of mythological poetry, such as *Völuspá* and *Hávamál*, the authors of which are unknown and it is also unknown as to when they were written. Fragments of eddaic poetry are found in *Snorra Edda* (Kristjánsson, 1992, 25-6). Attempts to date the *Poetic Edda* have been made by analysing the level of language development used in the poetry, which is datable between c. 800 (although the poems may be earlier and the language updated) and the recorded text in 1220 (Kristjánsson, 1992, 27-8). The *Poetic Edda* is thought to originate from Norway and/or Iceland (Kristjánsson, 1992, 29). *Snorra Edda* contains mythological stories written in prose and poetry and was written down in the 1220s, (Kristjánsson, 1992, 26). Although the text was written during the Christian period, the roots of the text are from the pagan period, showing that Snorri was obviously interested in pagan Iceland. Although it appears that Snorri was keen to preserve, explain and encourage the Icelandic tradition of skaldic verse in his *Edda*, he was, nevertheless, influenced by the increasingly popular Latin tradition of treatises from southern Europe (Faulkes, 1987, ix).

Skaldic poetry appears in the *Eddas* and in some of the sagas. The distinction between skaldic and eddaic poetry can be blurred; the differences are laid out in Kristjánsson (1992, 83-4). Skaldic poetry was written to strict metrical rules, is usually attributed to a named poet, and concerns the current or recent activities of and praise for leaders (Foote and Wilson, 1980, 319). Some of the poetry provides glimpses of magic, which may be considered more reliable information, as the words were trapped in the verse structure and would be difficult to remove (Price, 2002, 68).

The *Eddas* preserve and describe the Norse myths and the mythical history of the North much more than the *Family sagas*. The magic mentioned in the *Eddas* is not distinct from that in the sagas, but deals more with magic in mythology than with the everyday lives of people (Kieckhefer, 1989, 53).

Examples of witches in Scandinavian mythology can be found in Baroja (1990, 91-6). References from the *Eddas* have been included in this thesis where they describe objects or practices found in the archaeological material, which may not have been described in the *Family sagas*. The references from the *Eddas* may contain more reliable information dating from the Viking Age, which has been trapped in the skaldic metre, but it cannot be said for certain. The *Eddas* also contain references to Viking religion, which may be applicable to the interpretation of some of the burial customs and objects that have been found in the graves.

OTHER LITERARY SOURCES

Saxo Grammaticus's work *Gesta Danorum*, written at the beginning of the 13th century (Davidson, 1979, 1), contains many references to sorcery in mainland Scandinavia. Although Saxo was a cleric and wrote in accomplished Latin, his style is more academic rather than religious (Davidson, 1979, 2-3). His *Preface* to *Gesta Danorum* makes clear that the purpose of the book was for his patron Absalon, Archbishop of Lund, to 'glorify the fatherland' and Saxo also wrote favourably of the current King Valdemar II and of Anders Sunesen, Absalon's successor. As well as wanting to glorify Denmark's past and his patrons, he also wanted to represent Denmark as a civilised country through writing this history, as other European authors were doing in the histories of their respective countries (Book 1). He '...like other scholars, was very conscious of the great achievements of Virgil and his glorification of Rome, and wanted his own people to possess a literary monument on the model of the *Aenid*' (Davidson, 1979, 2). Although Saxo used medieval Scandinavian literature as sources for his work, he was influenced by classical literature and thinking.

Saxo comes from a different, more European, literary tradition than the saga authors and was far removed from any connection with the Viking world. His treatment of women is more misogynistic than that in the sagas, in that women are shown to be morally weak, unreliable, and cunning, and are thus a danger to men (Sawyer, 1992a, 87). The only single women who exist in *Gesta Danorum* are from the pagan period and are either warriors or associated with the supernatural. His ideal is that 'normal' women ought to be married and not pose a threat to men or societal order (Sawyer, 1992a, 88; Strand, 1981, 149-51).

Saxo is included in this thesis because he does document certain practices or ways of thinking that could be used to interpret some of the archaeological material and because such references in medieval literature are rare. The information included in his history that is pertinent to this thesis may be reliable to some extent, but may be coincidental and the inclusion of this information may have been due to knowledge of classical traditions or have been invented in order to undermine Danish pagan traditions.

5. RELIGION AND MAGIC

PAGANISM

Paganism varied over time and location (Ellis, 1977, 4). The sagas neither indicate that magic was part of organised religion or practised regularly as part of worship of the gods (although sorcerers occasionally appeal to or refer to the gods), nor if it was an everyday event or considered purely superstition (Kieckhefer, 1989, 52). In Christian Iceland and Scandinavia, magic and pagan religion appear to have been regarded as separate entities, though they may have merged at times (Kieckhefer, 1989, 52). Such merging of magic and religion can be seen in *Gísla saga Súrssonar* (XVIII) when the land around Þorgrímr Þorsteinsson's burial mound did not freeze, which was attributed to his sacrifices and connections with Freyr.

The precise function and status of a witch/sorcerer/sorceress in pagan times is not clear (Pálsson, 1991, 165). Óðinn was a master of *seiðr*, *galdr* and rune magic and his cult was widespread (*Heimskringla: Ynglingasaga* II, VI, VII) (Turville-Petre, 1953, 86, 178). According to Schön (1991, 38-40), Snorri described Óðinn as a king learned in *galdr* and a leader of people. Freyja, the best-documented goddess, is a *fordæða* and the mistress of *seiðr* (*Heimskringla: Ynglingasaga*, IV). The Freyja cult appears to have been old and widespread (Turville-Petre, 1964, 175-9; Foote and Wilson, 1980, 389). Freyja is fundamentally connected with fertility, which may give *seiðr* its female and unmanly attributes. *Seiðr* is the total opposite of the magic used by Óðinn (Brøgger, 1951, 39-47). When Óðinn practised *seiðr*, a form of magic he had to learn and was unnatural to him, he was considered unmanly (Brøgger, 1951, 47). Brøgger (1951, 49) explains that the conflict and differences between *galdr* and *seiðr* appear during the Migration period, so that *seiðr*, a fertility magic, had its roots in the Bronze Age as *galdr* belonged to the world of the Iron-Age warrior culture with influence from the Saami. Brøgger (1951, 50) stresses the sexuality associated with magic more so than Strömbäck (1935). With women closely tied to *seiðr* via their sex and reproduction, some artefacts in female graves may have had a magical association. Other Norse goddess figures associated with fate, such as the *dísir* and valkyries (also known as shield maidens, who were supernatural beings and chose the slain from the battlefield to go to Valhalla, where they also attended the dead) are discussed by Ellis (1977, 130-8) and Price (2002, 331-46).

THE CONVERSION AND EARLY CHRISTIAN PERIOD

Iceland was converted to Christianity around 1000, as is documented in *Íslendingabók* (c. 1122-33). *Íslendingabók* (VII) describes how pagan sacrifice was forbidden, but that a remission period was given. The speed and effectiveness of the Conversion cannot be taken literally. Some Christian priests may have been more forceful in their implementation of Christianity, making their subjects less inclined to talk of magic and superstitions. The leaders of society would be less likely to use magic than they had earlier. 'Explicit low magic was... in large part relegated to the lower classes, or to the "little tradition"' (Kieckhefer, 1976, 67). For some, Christian prayer could have served a similar function as magical formulas and rites. Once baptised, most people apparently gave up sorcery (*Eyrbyggja saga*, LXI).

The Icelandic priests needed to prove that Christianity overcame pagan magic. The sagas often show how magic was weaker than Christianity and was used against the truth and good of society, such as Óláfr Tryggvason, who defeated hostile magic by the stronger and better 'Christian' magic (*Heimskringla; Óláfs saga Tryggvasonar*, LXIV) (Simpson, 1973, 165-83).

Icelandic women seem to have played a small active role in pagan religious activities. Men and women seem to have had equal opportunity to become sorcerers. According to the sagas, men credited women with the ability to contact or manipulate the natural and the supernatural, but their divinity and importance was removed by the Church, without providing them any other religious function (Sawyer, 1992a, 78). As Christianity was practised within the confines of the Church, women could no longer practise religion 'from home', as they would have done in the pagan period (Sawyer, 1986, 3-14).

The introduction and spread of Christianity throughout Iceland and Scandinavia would have diminished the number of sorcerers, as they died or were converted. Christian laws demanded a stop to the practice of sorcery (*Grágás*, VII; see Chapter 7). As Iceland became a more stable state during the Sturlunga period, the need to settle disputes would have diminished, decreasing any need for someone to foresee the future and provide curses. The role of the sorcerer, in some ways, would have become defunct. *Grettis saga Ásmundarsonar* (LXXVIII) states that the witch Þuríðr practised magic during the pagan period, but during the Conversion period, '...she was thought to have forgotten everything about it. But though the country had been Christianized, there were still many sparks of heathenism around' (translation Fox and Pálsson). The saga writers, however, were writing many years after the Conversion and do not account specifically for the decline of witchcraft.

6. MAGIC IN THE SAGAS

The sagas contain a large amount of information about magic, which has inspired many theories regarding the attitudes of the saga writers and their knowledge of magic. It is impossible to ascertain how much the saga authors knew about magic in the Scandinavian pagan period and the extent to which they were influenced by any contemporary European thought or literature. No evidence exists regarding the popular opinion of magic during the pagan period in Scandinavia.

The interpretation of the portrayal of magic in the sagas differs. Pálsson (1991, 165) suggests that the saga authors would not have included all the information about magic, had they '...subscribed to a world-view very much opposed to heathen customs'. Morris (1991, 21) claims that the sorcery in the sagas was more of a pagan survival. Contrary to this, Flint (1991, 48) states that many of the saga authors deliberately discredited, exaggerated and ridiculed paganism and sorcery. Schach (1975, 133) suggests that the saga authors almost overstated the praise of Christians against the heathens. Kieckhefer (1989, 52) indicates that a similar practice was adopted by Horace and Lucian at the time when the Roman authorities were attempting to eliminate sorcery from society.

The portrayal of magic and witches in the sagas as true to the pagan Viking form, as a reflection of the saga author's perception of sorcery, or as a mixture of the two, is difficult to judge. Although the sagas are unique as a body of medieval literature, they contain European influences. The sagas, European literature and legal codes all contain, for example, love magic or weather magic. Witches are generally stereotyped in the sagas in a similar way to their European counterparts. The witch's behaviour is generally considered threatening to society and unpopular and, in some cases, explicitly connected with paganism. Witches often live on the boundaries of society, perhaps reflecting their connection with the supernatural (Morris, 1991, 172).

THE DEPICTION OF THE WITCH

The witch and sorcerer in the sagas can be male or female. Men were often associated with sacrifice and magic (*fræði, fróðleikur*), the type of magic connected with Óðinn (*Heimskringla: Ynglingasaga*, VII), possibly because the saga authors only credited men with having 'knowledge' (Hastrup, 1990a, 388; Steffensen, 1966-69, 183-4). A male witch described as *spámaðr* was, to a lesser extent than women, associated with the lower forms of witchcraft. McCreesh (1985, 763) identifies two types of female witch in the *Family sagas* - the *spákona* and the *fóstra*, where the *spákona* resembles a witch of a more European origin, who practises divination. 'Their attributes are as follows: they can bring down darkness; they can make things appear to be other than they are; they can lay curses; they can alter the weather. And they all appear in the pre-Christian part of the sagas' (McCreesh, 1985, 763). The *fóstra*, the foster-mother and crone, may have been expected to be wise in medical magic, such as Egil Skalla-Grimsson's foster-mother who was a witch, Þorgerðr *brák* (*Egils saga Skallagrímssonar*, XL) (Ringstad, 1988, 388; Davidson, 1973, 28-9). Witches were outspoken, unyielding and independent of men.

Witches were of varying financial and social status. An example of a high status and socially acceptable witch is exemplified in *Íslendingabók* (I). Þuríðr *in spaka*, the daughter of Snorri *goði*, is described as *margspök ok óljúfród* - 'wise in many things and reliable in her knowledge' - as in Snorri's *Foreword to Heimskringla* she is called *spákona* (Steffensen, 1966-69, 188). Witches may be lone individuals or part of a family group of sorcerers, such as Kotkell's family in *Laxdæla saga* (XXXV-XXXVII) or Þorgrímur *nef* and his sister, Auðbjörg in *Gísla saga Súrssonar* (XI-XIX) (Strömbäck, 1935, 61-3). Witches can be native or foreigners and travel to wherever they are needed, as in *Eiríks saga rauða* (IV) or *Vatnsdæla saga* (X) (Grambo, 1984, 61).

To resort to sorcery was a secretive, unmanly, anti-social and unfair way to achieve one's aims (*Grettis saga Ásmundarsonar*, LXXXII). Sometimes minor events involving witches/sorcerers can lead to the restructuring of the community by their actions, such as casting curses on families and on the land (Pálsson, 1991, 163).

THE VÖLVA

The term *völva* is occasionally applied to characters in the *Íslendinga sögur*, such as Þorbjörg lítill-völva (*Eiríks saga rauða*, IV) and also belongs to mythology (Motz, 1980, 196-206). The *völva*'s function involved prophesying, slipping into ecstatic trances and possessing mystic qualities, more than the traits usually associated with witchcraft and sorcery (Price, 2002, 112-16; Steinsland, 1985a, 128; Lundström and Adolfsson, 1995, 17-22). The word *völva* derives from *volr*, a stick or staff, and probably indicates that the woman who practised foresight was closely linked to her staff (Koktvedgaard Zeiten, 1997, 24). Price (2002, 112) suggests that there is little to separate the *völva* and the *seiðkona*, as the term is used interchangeably in the sagas and they appear to fulfil a similar role. The best known example of the *völva*'s foresight is in the *Edda* poem, *Völuspá* which has been discussed by McKinnell (1994), Steinsland (1985a, 126-9) and Näsström (1991, 261-72). Steinsland (1985a, 127-8) suggests a connection between the *völva* and Freyja worship, which would elevate the status of women and may be a reason for the larger than average number of burials in Sogn, Norway (Chapter 4). The *völva* was generally an old woman who behaved like a sibyl, lived on the borders of society and travelled to where she was wanted. She appears to have occupied a position between religion and magic. Men who practised foresight or magic do not seem to have received a similar level of reverence during their life (or after death, see below).

THE TALENTS AND TYPES OF MAGIC PRACTISED BY THE SORCERERS

The witches' supernatural activities have been covered extensively by Strömbäck (1935), but a few examples are cited below. Necromancy is seldom performed in the sagas, but appears in the *Edda* poems and in Saxo (Ellis, 1977, 151-69).

SHAMANISM, SHAPE SHIFTING AND TRAVEL

Shamanism, when the magician falls into a trance to reveal psychic powers, can be compared to that practised by the Saami, who appear to have been held by the saga writers to be sorcerers '*par préférence*' (Strömbäck, 1935, 198; Davidson, 1973, 37-8; Buchholz, 1971, 7-20; Ellis, 1977, 122-7). Shamanistic journeys allowed the shaman to enter the supernatural realm whence he could deliver his soothsayings (Hastrup, 1990a, 391). The spirit (*hugr*) of the sorcerer sometimes travelled out of the body often by night (*kveldriða*, *trollriða* or *myrkriða*) to gather information, cause havoc or attack someone in an animate form (*hamr*) (*Eyrbyggja saga*, XVI and XX; *Njáls saga*, CXXV) (Raudvere, 1991, 91; Vaughan, 1974, 63-9).

A more specific reference to flight in *Hávamál* (v. 155), describes how the narrator/Óðinn sees 'witches playing up in the air' (translation Larrington, 1996, 36). The notion of the flying witch may have come from the *Bible*, when an angel carried the prophet Habakkuk through the air (*Daniel*, 13-14). The witch in this instance was seen as a fallen angel who retained its power of flight (Kieckhefer, 1989, 196-7). Flight is mentioned in passing in Buchard of Worms' *Corrector* and he described a night-riding witch named Diana, instead of the more usual Germanic Hulda (Dukes, 1996, 206, 208).

Shape shifting was used to transform people into objects or animals to prevent their detection through concealment or to attack an enemy. Examples of this type of shape shifting are found in *Fóstbræðra saga* (X) when Gríma concealed Kolbakr by passing her hands over his head, making him invisible through her sorcery, or the witch Þórveig, who appeared as a walrus in *Kormáks saga* (XVIII). This animal form can become confused with the animal spirit (*huldr*), which is considered a guardian in Icelandic folk belief (Bjartmarsdóttir, 1990, 105-15; Alver, 1989, 110-27; Davidson, 1973, 37-8; Kieckhefer, 1989, 52). Witches are occasionally linked to animals, such as Þórólf *sleggja* (*Vatnsdæla saga*, XXVIII) or have animal spirits to aid them. Sacrifice, or the slaughtering of animals, is used as a motif to empower spells, such as Þórdís in *Kormáks saga* (XXII).

THE POWER OF WORDS

Words, according to Hastrup (1990a, 387-8), were the 'most important instrument of supernatural power in Iceland...' and thus '...knowledge was its ultimate source'. Magic could be conveyed by means of speech, song, and defamation (*níð*), but often required a ritual, such as that carried out by Þorbjörg who invited Guðríðr along with other women to make a ring and sing her songs (*Eiríks saga rauða*, IV) (Pálsson, 1991, 158; Kieckhefer, 1989, 51). In *Oddrúnargrátr* (verses 7-9), a chant (*galdr*) was used to aid childbirth (Mundal and Steinsland, 1987, 103). Grambo (1984, 66-7) suggests that the singing of the incantation may have been similar to that practised by Saami shaman who try to mimic birds.

During the Norse period, magic was closely linked with writing (van Hamel, 1932-3, 260-88). The power of written letters and words (runes) could be charged with magic, to ill or good effect. Such an example is described in *Grettis saga Ásmundarsonar* (LXXIX) when the sorceress Þuríðr carved runes and smeared them with her blood to aid Grettir's downfall. In the 13th-century *Sigrdrifumál* (v. 9) runes were carved to aid childbirth (Mundal and Steinsland, 1987, 103). Óðinn touched a girl with a piece of bark inscribed with spells and made her demented (Saxo, III).

DIVINATION

Pálsson (1991, 158-9) states that the sagas distinguish between witchcraft and divination, '...but such a distinction is not a rigid one for sometimes a prediction is also a curse'. Divination appears in two forms, prophecy (*forspá*) and the identification of hidden knowledge (*eftirryni*). Diviners had an important social function as they could identify wrongdoers. However, their predictions are sometimes based only on common sense (Miller, 1986, 107-10).

Mumbling and muttering into one's cloak (see below) appears to be linked to prophesying and soothsaying, such as when Þórhallr *veiðimaðr* mumbled on the cliff to invoke Þórr in *Eiríks saga rauða* (VIII) (Aðalsteinsson, 1978, 112-13). Sleeping and falling into a trance were important for divination, such as Þorbjörg in *Eiríks saga rauða* (IV). In *Laxdæla saga* (XXXVII) the importance of chanted spells can be seen when Kotkell and his wife, Gríma, and their sons, Hallbjörn *sliksteinsauga* and Stigandi, are asked to humiliate a rival of their landlord and sing incantations on his rival's roof.

CLOAKS

The cloak, which was fastened with a pin or brooch, sometimes acquired a magical purpose and was highly valued (Aðalsteinsson, 1978, 110-12). Óðinn wore a cloak. In *Víga-Glúms saga* (VI), Vigfús and his kinsmen put great faith in a cloak that seems to have had a protective capacity other than against the elements. The ability to reveal the truth and practise foresight is also linked with 'murmuring into the cloak' (*Geirmundar þátr*). In *Þorsteins þátr uxafóts* in *Flateyjarbók*, Geitir sat on the high seat, murmured into his cloak and was also able to see a *fylgja*. Poetry and soothsaying were aided with the cloak to '...open their minds to the source of poetry and supernatural knowledge' (Aðalsteinsson, 1978, 113). Lying beneath the cloak allowed the individual to enter a shamanistic trance and travel spiritually. Such an example is found in *Hávarðar saga Ísfirðings* (XIX, XXI), when the sorcerer Þorgrímr Dýrason slept under his cloak to '...send his mind out of the body on an exploration' (Aðalsteinsson, 1978, 120). The *spákona* Þórdís was described as having a staff and a black hooded cloak (*Vatnsdæla saga*, XLIV). The presence of any cloak pins in a burial, however, ought not to lead to any interpretation of the burial as belonging to someone involved with the supernatural, as cloaks would have been a common item of clothing. The literary references, however, do relate to an object whose fastening can be evidenced in archaeology.

WEATHER MAGIC

Belief in weather magic may have existed in pagan Scandinavia, but could have been the invention of the saga authors. '...by the thirteenth century [European] theologians were arguing that demons could arouse destructive storms, as *Exodus 7* and *Job 1* seemed to attest' (Kieckhefer, 1989, 184). Accusations of weather magic appear occasionally in the Icelandic sagas, for example the snowstorm created by Auðbjörg (*Gísla saga*, XVIII). The use of the wind in the sagas and its association with Þórr is discussed by Perkins (2001, 18-26).

HEALING

Beneficial healing magic is occasionally mentioned in the sagas. In *Egils saga Skallagrímssonar* (LXXII), Egil carved runes to heal a woman who had been made ill by wrongly carved runes. In *Droplaugarsona saga* (XV), Grímr is wounded in the leg in combat. A woman who claimed to be skilled in medicine aided him, but he died. She was revealed to be skilled in magic and the mistress of the man Grímr had killed and was taking her revenge.

EVIL EYE

The sagas bear witness to the belief of the witch being able to curse someone or cause destruction through the evil eye (Turville-Petre, 1964, 167). The author of *Laxdæla saga* (XXXVII and XXXVIII) confirmed that putting a bag over the head of a witch would prevent them from putting the evil eye on something. A bag covered Katla's head in *Eyrbyggja saga* (XX) before she was stoned to death. Putting a bag over the head of someone about to be murdered appears in *Gísla saga Súrssonar* (XIX) and *Hrafnkels saga Freysgoða* (XV). A witch's stare was thought capable of blunting a weapon (*Vatnsdæla saga*, XXIX, and *Gull-Þóris saga*, XVII). The blindfolding of criminals and fear of being seen by a criminal is discussed by Ström (1942, 126, 242-7).

LOVE AND IMPOTENCE MAGIC

Love and impotence magic were directed against the stable marriage promoted by Christianity. Magic was used to cause impotence, for example, in *Kormáks saga* (VI), when Kormákr lost interest in his betrothed because of witchcraft and in *Njáls saga* (VI-VII) when Queen Gunnhildr put a spell on Hrútr Herjólfsson, which prevented him from consummating his marriage with Unnr, daughter of Mörðr gígja Sighvatsson.

7. USEFUL PHYSICAL DESCRIPTIONS FOR ARCHAEOLOGY

Simple artefacts associated with sorcery are occasionally mentioned in the sagas, such as a staff, amulets, a cloak or animal skin, or a platform or high-seat (Kieckhefer, 1989, 51). A rare example detailing the attire of Þorbjörg *lítill-völva* from Greenland is found in *Eiríks saga rauða* (IV) written in the mid-13th century. Pagan rites were still practised in Greenland until c. 1027 (McCreech, 1985, 766). Þorbjörg existed during the Conversion, showing a continuing need for her services, or perhaps to juxtapose her paganism against Christian characters (Strömbäck, 1935, 56-60). Þorbjörg was a rich and respected seeress. She wore a blue cloak fastened with straps and set with stones down to the hem, a necklace of glass beads and, around her head, a lambskin kerchief lined with cats' fur, and white and furry catskin gloves. Her staff had a brass-bound knob studded with stones and she wore a belt either of touchwood or mounted with toadstools (see Chapter 9). A large amulet pouch hung from the belt. She wore calfskin shoes with long thick laces with big tin buttons on the ends (notes, *ÍF*, IV, 206). The fact that Þorbjörg wore catskin gloves may be a reference to Freyja who was associated with cats (Grambo, 1984, 62). The fact that she *had* to be seated on a hens' feather cushion is considered pertinent by Hagberg (1936, 96) who notes recent Scandinavian superstitions of fear and death being linked with hens' feathers. Grambo (1984, 64) indicates that the broken tip on her walrus-handled knife is significant, in that it had medicinal powers and was anti-demonic. The spoon may have been used as a tool for foresight. The ritual of eating and the nature of the food (hearts) is discussed by Grambo (1984, 63-4). Þorbjörg was invited to sit on a high seat to make a prophecy. The high seat was reserved for special people and would have been a mark of honour (Grambo, 1984, 62). Grambo (1984, 66) likens seated prophecy in the sagas to the fact that kings sat on burial mounds, which links into the realm of the dead. 'In other words: the sitting position is in itself magically effective' (Grambo, 1984, 66-7, my translation). Another instance of a seat of honour being offered to a Saami prophetess occurs in Norway (*Vatnsdæla saga*, X).

The necklace may have had symbolic, amuletic or religious significance, other than as being a display of economic wealth, as it may have been associated with Freyja's necklace, Brisingamen, around which several myths arose during the Viking Age (Koktvedgaard Zeiten, 1997, 6; *Gylfaginning*, 35).

Staffs and wands are mentioned on several occasions in Icelandic literature. Strömbäck (1935, 140) draws comparisons between the staff belonging to Þorbjörg *lítill-völva* and the Siberian shaman staff which may have been used as riding equipment for their shamanistic journeys and not be associated with *seiðr*. This riding equipment may be linked to the use of the 'rattle' on Viking-Age carts (see

Chapter 9). The exhumed witch in *Laxdæla saga* (LXXVI) is described as having bad-looking blue bones, a brooch and a magic staff. The connection of the brooch with magic has been discussed in passing by Grieg (1954, 167). A 'rod of divination' is referenced in *Völuspá* (stanza 29), which produces 'wise speech' '*spjöll spaklig ok spá ganda*' (Larrington, 1996, 8). 'In the north, as elsewhere, for a long time, the staff has clearly been a power-giving tool of great significance... and has been a shaman's requisite, which followed him into the grave' (Strömbäck, 1935, 140 - my translation). A staff belonging to Þórdís, who wore a black hooded cloak, was used in *Vatnsdæla saga* (XLIV) to cause memory loss and change the course of justice. In *Þorsteins þátr bæjarmagns* (II) gloves and a crooked stick (produced from a burial mound) were demanded by a boy, which he used to go on a witch-ride. Skírnir used a wand (*tams-vöndr*) to hit the maid Gerðr in *Skírnismál* (verse 26). The *tams-vöndr*, a twig of some sort, had magical 'taming' properties (Mundal and Steinsland, 1987, 109-10; Kuhn, 1962, 74). Other instances of wands or staffs are documented by Price (2002, 175-80)

Women wearing items of clothing more often associated with men are found in the sagas. Þórhildr, described as 'pagan in spirit', dressed in trousers and helmet, struck an axe into the water of a fjord to determine future vengeance in *Ljósvetninga saga* (XXI). This description displays actions more in keeping with those of a valkyrie than the typical saga sorceress. Her weapons may be compared to the burial at Gerdrup, near Roskilde, Denmark (Chapter 2). Women bearing arms are referenced in *Laxdæla saga* (XXXV) and *Gísla saga* (XXXVII). A few Norwegian female burials contain weapons, such as at Kaupang and at Solør, and from the Migration Period at Døsen, in Os near Bergen (Chapter 4). Women seem to have existed as warriors in their own right, perhaps belonging to small bands of warriors. Saxo also described the activities of warrior women, such as when Hagbarðr dresses as a woman and claims to be a 'fighting-woman' (Saxo VII, trans. Fisher, 1979, 214) or the female foreign warriors who had their own band (Saxo, VIII). These women fought alongside men and on an equal level (Saxo, VIII). Jesch (1991, 178) notes that whilst Saxo had read and drawn upon the medieval Icelandic literature, his warrior women show classical influences. Saxo used the motif of warrior women as a way of exemplifying the chaotic state of Denmark before conversion, as these women did not conform to the desired (more passive) role of women held by the Church (Jesch, 1991, 178). The figures of women bearing shields on the Kaupang tapestry may be depictions of valkyries or women performing other religious roles (Ingstad, 1992, 244-6).

Witches or sorcerers may have other strengths, such as being able to smith (Þorgrímr nef in *Gísla saga Súrssonar*, XI). Tools are occasionally found in burials and, although they have an obvious practical function, they may have been believed to be charged with some supernatural powers or empower the deceased with a supernatural ability.

8. PUNISHMENT AGAINST SORCERY IN THE SAGAS

A charge of witchcraft could secure outlawry (*Grettis saga Ásmundarsonar*, LXXXII) and perhaps a death sentence (Hastrup, 1985, 136-45). The burial and treatment of witches before their death is covered in Chapter 8. Most women who were accused of and punished for witchcraft were generally

social outcasts, widows, women successfully running farms without male assistance or attempting to protect relatives from harm (Miller, 1986, 115). Conversely, if a woman successfully ran a farm whilst her husband was abroad, she was not convicted of sorcery, which may be due to her husband's status as a trader or warrior (Miller, 1986, 115). 'The sagas show very few prosecutions of women for any offences except sorcery... yet it is worth suggesting that sorcery accusations might be a way for men to blame and then kill women without loss of reputation' (Miller, 1986, 114).

9. SCANDINAVIAN MAGIC FROM OTHER SOURCES

A North German reference to Norwegian magicians is made by Adam of Bremen in *Gesta Hammaburgensis Ecclesiae Pontificum* (c. 1070), which is similar to that mentioned in the *Canon episcopi*, a clerical statute issued in 906 that described witches as illusions. Adam wrote this book mainly as publicity and propaganda for the Hamburg-Bremen see (Tschan, 1959, xvii). Adam considered Norwegians to be the worst offenders for practising magic, recording an abundance of witches (Book II, 38-9, 59, and Book IV, 30). He described how in Norway, '...soothsayers and augurs and sorcerers and enchanters and all other satellites of Antichrist live where by their deceptions and wonders they may hold unhappy souls up for mockery by the demons' (Tschan, 1959, 94). He described an island, 'Courland', off the Swedish coast where '...all the houses are full of pagan soothsayers, diviners, and necromancers...' (Book IV, 9).

Arab sources mention medicine men or sorcerers. Ibn Rustah cited a 'medicine man' in his description of the Rus (c. 940). 'There are *atibba* (medicine-men) who wield great power; they act as if they own everything. They tell the people exactly what offerings of women, men, and cattle to make to their creator. When the medicine man has given his orders there is no way of evading them. The *attiba* (sic) then takes the offering, human or animal, and hangs it from a pole till all life has expired, saying "This is a sacrifice to God"' (Brøndsted, 1985, 268).

Tacitus' *Germania* was written in A.D 98 as a description of the Germanic peoples, but the text may also be interpreted as a moral or political tract extolling the virtues of the Germanic people and their customs, as a contrast to the current state of Rome (Mattingly, 1948, 25-6). Despite its problems and age, references from the *Germania* have been included in this thesis as a comparative source to shed some light onto what may be the origins of certain practices held amongst the Germanic people. The references include information otherwise not mentioned in the sagas or indicate that beliefs or practices appear to have continued in some form, but perhaps with a different meaning, amongst the Germanic people.

10. SUMMARY

Disregarding the literary functions and motifs applied to magic and witchcraft in the sagas, witchcraft was considered by the saga authors not uncommon within and outside of the barriers of society during the Viking Age and for several years after the Conversion. The sagas occasionally account for superstition and belief in amulets, often linked to magic and the pagan gods. The sagas also indicate

that people generally were ready to believe that particular individuals and amulets were capable of having supernatural powers. The later medieval Christian evidence also indicates that people were still unsure about the supernatural powers witches could have and consequently felt threatened.

Given the frequency of magic in the sagas, artefacts and burial practices reflecting the practice of magic and superstition would be expected to be encountered on a not too infrequent basis. Identifying such objects when they are excavated using literary sources is, however, tenuous. The Viking-Age significance of these objects may have been very different from that recorded by the saga authors and the inclusion of these objects, although perhaps generally associated with the supernatural, may have been benign in certain cases.

CHAPTER 7

LEGAL AND RUNIC EVIDENCE

(I) LEGAL EVIDENCE FOR OUTCASTS AND WITCHCRAFT

Medieval Scandinavian laws pertinent to this study will be considered because of a lack of legal evidence from the Viking Age, other than that which is referred to in the medieval sagas or poetry. 'The majority of the laws which survive today were thus codified after the end of the [Viking] period... There is however no doubt but that they embody many customs and regulations that are much older than the thirteenth century, and it is often possible to distinguish the relatively old and the relatively new without great difficulty' (Foote and Wilson, 1980, xix). The extent to which they can be distinguished is not always clear, unless a law relates specifically to the Church and/or its activities. In some cases legal punishments for witchcraft and other crimes might be visible in archaeology. The punishments for witchcraft were often the same as for other serious crimes. Deviant burials, however, do not indicate what crime the individual had committed. A guide to crimes that necessitated the death penalty in medieval Nordic laws is provided by Meyer (1970, cols 455-9) and general punishment and the implementation of the laws is discussed by Hemmer (1970, cols 253-60), Jørgensen (1970, cols 260-6) and Ingvarsson (1970, cols 266-75). The dating of the laws is provided by Norseng (1987, 48-77).

The legal aspects of witchcraft and social outcasts in Viking-Age and early medieval Scandinavia have been discussed by Ankarloo and Henningsen (eds.) (1990) and Breisch (1994). Other works focussing on the pre-Christian period, such as by Ström (1942), Heusler (1911) and Amira (1922) discuss the motives and 'sacral' origins behind the death penalties, which will not be considered in this thesis.

The laws considered below were written at least 100 to 200 years after the end of the Viking Age and should be treated cautiously as having had their roots in Viking-Age legal practice. Many of the laws are contemporary with the period when the sagas were written. The treatment of medieval laws as historical documents has been discussed by, for example, Sjöholm (1979, 74-80).

1. DANISH LAW

No written legal documents exist in Denmark dated before the 13th century and regional codes were used, rather than a code applicable to the whole of Denmark (Norseng, 1987, 49). *Skånske Lov* and *Valdemars Sjællandske Lov* (promulgated c. 1170) were enforced in Skåne, Halland, Blekinge and Bornholm and date mainly from the early 13th century, but may contain earlier parts. *Jyske Lov* (1241) was implemented in Northern and Southern Jylland, Fyn and the south Fyn islands. The original

version contains no reference to witchcraft, but a supplement to *Jyske Lov* dating to the 15th century has an extensive section on witchcraft. The *Sjællandske Kirkelov* is dated to 1171 (Norseng, 1987, 49-50).

PENALTIES FOR SORCERY

Skånske Lov (section 7) and *Valdemars Sjællandske Lov* (section 11) both mention sorcery, but only in relation to murder (Johansen, 1990, 339). The *supplement on witchcraft* to *Jyske Lov* states that if a man accuses another of bewitching one of his possessions, the defendant had to defend himself by tribunal in the parish.

Skånske Kirkelov (ch. 7) suggests trial by ordeal (carrying hot iron) for the defendant in a murder case and for a charge of witchcraft, if nobody will swear against them. *Sjællandske Kirkelov* (ch. 11) suggests ordeal by carrying hot iron for cases of murder, magic and witchcraft and then excommunication, which presumably would lead to burial outside the confines of the churchyard.

MUTILATION

Jyske Lov (ch. 65) states that hands could be chopped off for counterfeiting. This punishment is a more recent law and is probably the result of the King's economic interests (Jørgensen, 1970, col. 265).

DEATH PENALTY

Theft often resulted in hanging for male criminals, but not female (Meyer, 1970, col. 456). Hanging is recommended for slaves caught with stolen goods, money or food in *Skånske Lov* (ch. 162), *Valdemars Sjællandske Lov* (younger edition) *Trælleretten* (ch. 86 and 87) and *Jyske Lov* (ch. 87, book 2). *Anders Sunesens Paraphrase* (ch. 131-2) suggests hanging for particular cases of arson. *Ribe stadsret* (1269) suggests the death penalty (decapitation) for theft or counterfeiting.

LIVE BURIAL

Live burial is documented as a female punishment for theft in *Tønder stadsret* (1243 (ch. 52) (Meyer, 1970, col. 456).

BURIAL OUTSIDE THE CEMETERY

Skånske Lov (ch. 215) states that a murdered adulterer should be buried outside the churchyard in the field. *Jyske Lov* (ch. 37, book 3) takes a similar perspective, that the adulterer should be buried outside the perimeters of the churchyard if he is unrepentant, but if he is repentant before he dies of his wounds, he can be buried in the churchyard.

LITERARY EVIDENCE

In *Gesta Hammaburgensis*, Adam of Bremen (c. 1070) (IV, 6) mentions only capital punishment and enslavement and that the criminal had to take his punishment honourably and joyfully. If a virgin was raped the assailant was to be beheaded. Men who committed adultery were punished by death. Men who committed treason or betrayed the king were to be beheaded.

2. ICELANDIC LAWS

The main text for Icelandic law is *Grágás*, which is the earliest form of Icelandic law written between 1117 and 1262-4 (Kristjánsson, 1992, 118). However, many of the *Íslendinga sögur* contain references to legal practices, which do not always correlate with *Grágás* and in this respect it is difficult to judge whether the sagas or *Grágás* best reflect Viking-Age legal practices (some examples of such discrepancies are outlined in Anderson and Miller, 1989, 9, 43).

SORCERY

Grágás (7.23) advises lesser outlawry for worshipping heathen beings, for the use of ‘...spells or witchcraft or magic - he uses magic if he utters or teaches someone else or gets someone else to utter words of magic over himself or his property... If a man practises black sorcery (*fordæðuskapur*), the penalty... is full outlawry. It is black sorcery if through his words or his magic a man brings about the sickness or death of livestock or people’ (Hastrup, 1990a, 395; Steffensen, 1967-8, 192).

DEATH PENALTY

During the Commonwealth (from the foundation of Iceland until c. 1262/4) decapitation was implemented for crimes such as murder and for attempts on royal power (Meyer, 1958, col. 457; Miller, 1990, 17). Sources from the 14th and 15th centuries prescribe decapitation for manslaughter, hanging for theft and live burial for murder (Ingvarsson, 1970, col. 272).

BURIAL OUTSIDE THE CHURCHYARD

The *Christian Laws* section in *Grágás* states that four types of corpse should not be buried in a churchyard: the unbaptised; a full outlaw, unless granted permission by a bishop; suicides, unless they repent before they die; and ‘...anyone the bishop sees fit to ban from burial at church’ (Dennis, *et al.*, 1980, 30). The *Christian Laws* section suggests that individuals excluded from churchyard burial should be buried away from habitation on barren land (Dennis, *et al.*, 1980, 30).

3. NORWEGIAN LAWS

During the 13th century, Norway was divided into four legal regions: Frostaping (from Trøndelag to the north), Gulaping (western Norway), Eiðsivaping (southern central Norway) and Borgarping (Oslo region), each region having specific laws (Kristjánsson, 1992, 363).

SORCERY

Norwegian laws differ in their outlook to sorcery, from forbidding and fining the practice to outlawry and the death penalty. The *Borgarþings kristenrett* (mid-12th century) merely forbids going to Finnmark to find out about the future (Tillhagen, 1962, 12). The *Eiðsivapingslov* (ch. 24) forbids a ‘staff or altar, device for sorcery or sacrificial offering...’ being kept in a man’s house (Price, 2002, 175; who dates this law to the 12th century). The ability for a person to ride either people or animals appears in the *Eldre Eiðsivapings kristenrett* (ch. 46) (early 14th century), if found guilty they were fined three marks, and also appears in the *Eldre Gulapingslög* supplement (Mundal and Steinsland,

1987, 108-9). *Eldre Gulabingslög* says that a guilty sorceress should be sailed out to sea, where her back shall be broken and then she will be drowned (Meyer, 1958, col. 459). *Ældre Gulabingslög* (ch. 28) (c. 1164; Meyer, 1958, col. 455; or c. 1250; Norseng, 1987, 49, 52) prescribes outlawry for man or woman found guilty of sorcery or soothsaying (Larson, 1935, 56-7). *Frostabingslög* (ch. 45) (c. 1220-25; Norseng, 1987, 49, 52; or c. 1164; Meyer 1958, col. 455) describes those who were responsible for witchcraft... 'or for going abroad at night to call forth evil spirits or for seeking fortune tellers to promote heathendom... and sorcerers... all such men are in permanent outlawry and have forfeited their right to peace and property' (Larson, 1935, 290-1).

The summoning of trolls, *draugr* or mound-dwellers in order to perform magic, 'sitting-out' and the performance of shamanistic flights is forbidden and given the death penalty in *Ældre Gulabingslög* (XXXII) and *Gulabings kristenrett* (V. II) (Keyser and Munch, 1846-95, 19, 308; Ellis, 1977, 168). The *Landsloven* (13th century) states that death or maiming caused by supernatural means (*maleficium*) was to be punished by death (Naess, 1990, 368).

The *Eldre Eiðsivabings kristenrett* (ch. 45) states that 'No-one shall believe in Finns or witches or magical devices (possibly drums) or sacrifice, or roots or that which belongs to paganism...' (Mundal and Steinsland, 1987, 107 - my translation; Tillhagen, 1962, 12).

OUTLAWRY

The *Frostabingslög* (ch. 45) punishes sorcery (see above), thieves, bandits, murderers, assassins and rapists with outlawry (Larson, 1935, 290-1).

CAPITAL PUNISHMENT

In the *Gulabingslög* (ch. 259) decapitation is a slave punishment (Meyer, 1958, col. 457).

STONING

Frostabingslög (XIV: 12) advises stoning for theft (Meyer, 1958, col. 458).

BURIAL OUTSIDE THE CHURCHYARD

The *Eldre Eiðsivabings kristenrett* relates the types of criminals (other than the excommunicated) who were not permitted a churchyard burial. '...suicides, those who had infringed the sanctity of the church, those who broke agreements, those guilty of treason, murderers, people who caused death by arson, thieves, hired criminals, and robbers' (Nilsson, 1987, 146 - my translation).

4. SWEDISH LAW

Early Swedish laws are regional, but may be placed into two groups, the *Göotalagen* and *Svealagen* (Norseng, 1987, 49). The oldest surviving laws, *Äldre Västgöotalagen*, dating prior to 1250, are in fragmentary form. The majority of *Äldre Västgöotalagen* dates to c. 1280. Other laws are thought to post-date *Äldre Västgöotalagen*, to the first part of the 14th century (Norseng, 1987, 49, 54).

PENALTIES FOR WITCHCRAFT

Except for witchcraft, women did not usually take responsibility for their own criminal acts, instead their husbands or fathers were liable (Ankarloo, 1990, 287; Schön, 1991, 40). Punishments for sorcery were severe. Ankarloo (1984, 31-7) provides a summary of the various laws and different punishments for sorcery.

Outlawry is suggested for witchcraft (or for going out at night to summon evil spirits and to promote heathendom), thieves and bandits in *Östgötalagen* (ch. 32) and in *Västgötalagen* (I and II) (Larson, 1935, 58-9; Ankarloo, 1984, 31-6). The predicted consequence for outlawry was, however, if anyone met the criminal either male or female, to kill them (Ankarloo, 1984, 32).

Äldre Västgötalagen, Tjувbalken (ch. 33) permits hanging or beheading only for crimes of witchcraft (Ankarloo, 1990, 287-8). *Östgötalagen* states that if a woman is charged and caught in the act of sorcery she will be stoned (Edsman, 1982, cols 657-67). A woman found guilty of sorcery (or stealing from the fields) in *Dalalagen* [Kk 11] became '...food for stones and the seashore' (*Wari stens mattit [for matir] oc stranda*), *Västmannalagen* [M 26] (Ström, 1942, 105-6). Stoning is also suggested in *Magnus Erikssons landslag* (c. 1350) (Ankarloo, 1984, 31; Liedgren, 1970a, cols 222-6).

Burning is suggested in *Upplandslagen, Västmannalagen, Södermannalagen, Magnus Erikssons landslag*, whereas in *Kristoffers landslag* (c. 1441/2) prescribes burning for a woman and being broken on a wheel for a man (Ankarloo, 1984, 31; Liedgren, 1970b, cols 363-5).

POISONING

Poisoning was '...according to the mediaeval view most nearly identical with witchcraft' (Ström, 1942, 189-90) and is connected to witchcraft in *Upplandslagen* (M. 19), *Södermannalagen* and *Värmlandslagen* (Edsman, 1982, col. 664). *Upplandslagen* (*Ärvdabalken* 1) suggests that if the accused is guilty of causing death by sorcery and poisoning she should be burnt at the stake (Ström, 1942, 189-90). Her life could be spared, however, if the family of the deceased wished it (Nordenstorm, 1994, 268).

SORCERY AS AN INSULT

The *Äldre Gutalagen* states that 'it is slanderous to accuse a woman of riding on a staff with her hair down in the shape of a troll' (Morris, 1991, 151; Ankarloo, 1990, 287; Schön, 1991, 40).

BURNING AT THE STAKE

Various early Swedish laws, for example *Upplandslagen*, state that arsonists were to be burnt at the stake. Ström (1942, 192) believes this punishment to be a later addition to the penal code as little pre-Christian evidence exists for its use, and witches were more associated with burning at the stake.

CAPITAL PUNISHMENT

Hanging is prescribed for theft in, for example, *Äldre Västgötalagen* (Meyer, 1970, col. 455). Decapitation is prescribed in *Upplandslagen* for theft and treason and in *Upplandskyrkobalk* and in *Östgötalagskyrkobalk* for protesting against church laws (Meyer, 1970, col. 457).

LIVE BURIAL

Live burial is documented as a female punishment, such as for theft, and for a man accused of bestiality or sodomy in *Upplandslagen* (Ström, 1942, 199).

5. MATERIAL ITEMS MENTIONED IN THE LAWS

The laws of each country except Denmark refer to objects used in sorcery or deviancy, which may be relevant to archaeology. *Grágás* (c. 1125) states that 'people shall not have stones about them, or fill them with magic power in order to tie on people or on people's cattle. If people put trust in stones to ensure their own health or that of cattle, the penalty is minor outlawry' (Steffensen, 1966-9, 192). Other than sorcery, *Grágás* (*Festabáttir*, 27) states that women would be punished with lesser outlawry if they dressed as men, cut their hair or bore weapons (Karlsson, Sveinsson and Árnason, 1992, 125; Arnórsdóttir, 1986, 29). This suggests that either the situation changed regarding women bearing arms after the coming of Christianity or that local traditions were different, given the so-called valkyrie burial at Gerdrup, Denmark, and the burials of axes in Norway in female graves (Chapters 2 and 4).

The *Eldre Eidsivapings kristenrett* (ch. 45) states that... 'if a woman uses medicine and blood letting as if she can heal people, and is found guilty of it, then shall she pay three marks' (Mundal and Steinsland, 1987, 107 - my translation). The *Borgarþingslög kristenrett* prescribes trial by ordeal of carrying hot iron when items concerned with sorcery, such as frog's feet or human nails are found in the bed or bedclothes (Tillhagen, 1962, 12).

Södermannalagen (13:7) mentions nails and hair used with living and dead creatures in connection with sorcery (Edsman, 1982, col. 664; Ström, 1942, 106). *Upplandslov* (c. 1295) forbids 'knowledge' surrounding stones (Reichborn-Kjennerud, 1921, 17).

6. SUMMARY

The medieval laws described above derive from a Christian tradition and any earlier legal attitudes that may be contained within the text can only be guessed at (Fenger, 1991, 156-7). The manner in which legal disputes were solved during the Viking Age is not known, but they were probably solved on a local basis, either by the local chief, victim or affected family, with the punishment perhaps according to tradition or to the nature of the crime. Some information can be gleaned from the sagas. 'According to the accounts in the Icelandic sagas, ...revenge had to be exacted with honour' (Carelli, 1995, 55).

The laws listed above provide a variety of punishments for witchcraft. As the laws mention witchcraft as a significant activity, witchcraft must have been considered a serious threat to society. The level to

which the punishments were exacted is vague (Hemmer, 1970, cols 260; Jørgensen, 1970, cols. 260-6; Ingvarsson, 1970, col.s 266-75). Although stoning was mainly used for theft, it was one of the main punishments for witchcraft, which ‘...would seem to indicate it as an old-established practice in customary law’ (Ström, 1942, 104). Hanging and burning are suggested as capital punishments for witchcraft, but no specific mention is made to decapitation. Capital punishment and removal of limbs was restricted, and seemed to belong mainly to crimes of theft. Removal of the hands does not seem to be linked to crimes of witchcraft. No mention is made of prone burial in any event or to the individual being inserted into the grave with their limbs tied. The deviant burials considered in Chapters 2 to 5 were, therefore, either due to an unknown legal practice, or were conducted on a local level to local reactions.

The *Eldre Eidsvabings kristenrett* (ch. 45) states the penalty for a woman’s attempts to practice medicine as well as the use of roots, etc., for witchcraft. Such a reaction emphasises the Church’s fear of women and potential power in society as a healer and person from whom to seek advice. A similar attitude is found in other Christian literature (Chapter 6), but is contrary to what is found in archaeology, where burials with a variety of unknown amuletic or possibly medical objects are generally perceived as medium to high-status and integral to the cemetery, rather than on the peripheries. The several references to the prohibition of beliefs surrounding stones could indicate a continuation in a Viking-Age belief or practice, which had become demonised by the Church.

(II) RUNESTONES AND INSCRIPTIONS INDICATING OUTCASTS, BURIAL SUPERSTITIONS AND SORCERY

This part of Chapter 7 provides a brief survey of the evidence for sorcery used in Viking-Age runic inscriptions, as the runic evidence is the only written evidence contemporary with the burials considered in Chapters 2 to 5. The runic evidence sheds little light on the burial customs and only an ambiguous amount of evidence on social outcasts and anti-social behaviour. The evidence is presented by subject matter, rather than by country. Several of the nouns and adjectives used in the inscriptions are explained in the Glossary. Extensive work has been undertaken on runic inscriptions, from the academic to very speculative work about the use and meaning of runes, such as the work published by Andersson (1995) considering the application of the magical nature of runes and the later interpretations of the runic alphabet and inscriptions.

The inscriptions presented below provide information that may be linked to archaeology and provide evidence for witchcraft, for medical or protective reasons, rather than the more speculative assumptions about the magical nature of runes and rune-masters.

1. THE RUNIC ALPHABET

The runic system is the oldest form of writing in Scandinavia and dates from the 3rd century A.D. in Sweden (Jansson, 1987, 9-24). Page (1987) provides a basic introduction to runic alphabets and inscriptions. The origins of Scandinavian runes are considered by Jansson (1987, 9-24). A background to runic inscriptions during the Viking Age and into the Christian period is provided by Jansson (1970, cols 481-94). Many inscriptions are very basic and refer to, for example, ownership of a brooch. As well as conveying a meaning in the inscription, the runic letters individually were associated with gods, animals or food, etc. (Page, 1987, 14-5).

2. RUNIC INSCRIPTIONS AND THE DEAD

As has been shown in the medieval Scandinavian literature and by the treatment of the dead in archaeology (Chapters 2 to 5), the fear of the dead walking and physically harming the living was a widespread belief. Some runic inscriptions seem to reflect a similar sentiment, in that the inscriptions appear to attempt to bind the deceased to the grave. The verb *njóta* (to use/employ) may have been used as a mild spell to keep the deceased in the grave and not walk after death. *Njóta* is used in two inscriptions: a stone from Gørlev, Denmark (c. 850) requests the dead ÓðinKar to 'Make good use of the monument. *Þmkii:sssttiiiilll'* (Moltke, 1981, 158); and on the stone from Nørre Nærå, Denmark (Moltke, 1981, 166-7). The inscription *Þmkii:sssttiiiilll* is interpreted by Moltke (1981, 168-9) as a threatening curse directed at anyone who disturbs the grave.

An inscription on a bronze brooch from Strand in Åfjord, Sør-Trøndelag, Norway (c. 700) may come from a female burial. The brooch is inscribed *siklisnahli*, which has been interpreted in two ways: 'the jewellery is protection against the dead' (which may mean protection from the walking dead in general or protection from the person in the grave from walking again) or 'the jewellery is protection against distress' (Flowers, 1986, 274-5). Either way, the inscription is an invocation against trouble.

A few small bronze or lead plaques bearing runic inscriptions have been found in burials from the Viking Age, but the majority is from 'Christian' graves (Moltke, 1938, 121-5). The inscriptions appear to command the deceased to stay in the grave and leave the living alone (Nordén, 1943, 143-89; Gustavson and Snædal Brink, 1981, 188). The plaques may have had another function, such as to pass evil or an ailment from the living to the dead (Gustavson and Snædal Brink, 1981, 188) or perhaps to send the invocation via the dead person as a plea to God or the spiritworld to help the afflicted living (Merrifield, 1987, 138-9). If the plaques had been worn by the living to protect against sickness and evil, they may be expected to have a hole, so that the plaque could be worn as a pendant around the neck. The plaques could otherwise have been carried in a pouch (Gustavson and Snædal Brink, 1981, 188-9). Many plaques show signs of folding or breaking, which Gustavson and Snædal Brink (1981, 188) suggest may be part of a magic ritual. A brief summary of some of these plaques is presented below.

An early 8th-century copper plaque was found in a grave at Hallbjäns, Sundre parish, Gotland (Gustavson and Snædal Brink, 1981, 186-7). It is inscribed *þunurþurus* which Gustavson and Snædal Brink (1981, 190) suggest may establish a devil's identity. The inscription on the plaque from an Ulvsunda grave, Sweden, dated to c. 800, has been interpreted as 'Do not be too lively outside of the grave, ghost (*misfulkiR* = *gengångare*). May the one who damages be unlucky!' or 'Do not leave your burial mound. And if you still do, may the invocation lay you dead!' (Nordén, 1943, 146, 152 - my translation).

Later inscriptions have been described in various reports and are generally invocations for the deceased to stay in their graves or continue to the next world. Many have a magical content, such as the plaques from Sigtuna, Sweden (plaque number I, c. 1000; Nordén, 1943, 169, 172; and plaque number II, c. 1100; Nordén, 1943, 166). The Sigtuna plaque (number I) uses the word *sarriþu*, which Nordén (1943, 169) links to activities such as *kveldriða*, *myrkriða*, *trollriða*, *túnriða*, and may suggest that the invocation is aimed at preventing the deceased, who was feared by the living, from haunting. Other similar plaques are: a late 12th/early 13th-century bronze plaque bearing an invocation from Högstena, Västergötland (Jungner and Svärdström, 1958-70, 394-99; Nordén, 1943, 177; Moltke, 1981, 351); and from Vassunda (number II), Sweden, where three plaques were found placed over the pelvis of the deceased (Nordén, 1943, 179-86). Occasionally, medieval runic inscriptions bear 'Christian formulae and invocations in Latin...' (Fuglesang, 1989, 23), such as the lead plaque from Västannor, Leksand parish in Dalarna (late 12th to early 13th century) (Gustavson and Snædal Brink, 1980, 229-31). Lead in other parts of Europe was '...traditionally used for cursing and retribution' (Merrifield, 1987, 150). A

review of post Viking-Age amulets, predominantly from Denmark, is presented by Moltke (1938, 116-47). The article by Hultgård (1991, 49-103) discusses the continuity of beliefs from the pagan period into the Christian period and that runic inscriptions evidence this form of continuity. Hultgård (1991, 76-7) believes that runic inscriptions from the medieval period functioned as an important medium for the Christian religion on the popular level, whilst the Latin alphabet became the official Christian way of expression.

3. CURSES, INSULTS AND THE OUTCAST

The term *ræte* appears occasionally on runestones and has an ambiguous meaning, perhaps implying a person of bad or antisocial character (Moltke, 1981, 224) or a shrivelled witch or warlock (Nielsen, 1968, 12-13). Two runestones appear to show that the same woman, Ragnhild, was married to two high-status men at separate times. The first man, Gunulv on the stone at Tryggevælde, Sjælland, Denmark was described on his stone as being a 'clamorous man'. The inscription threatens that if anyone were to move or damage the stone they would become a *ræte* (Moltke, 1981, 226). The second man, Alle on the stone from Glavendrup, Fyn, Denmark, is described as *gōði* (Albrechtsen, 1958, 83-96). The inscription invokes Þórr to hallow the runes and threatens the same *ræte* curse (Moltke, 1981, 226).

Other Danish examples of being threatened with becoming a *ræte* if the stone is moved or defaced have been found on the Glemminge stone, Skåne (Moltke, 1981, 232), on the Glavendrup stone (Albrechtsen, 1959, 19) and on the Sønder Vinge stone 2, North Jutland (Moltke, 1981, 234). The Sønder Vinge stone 2 and the Skern stone 2, North Jutland, use the verb *síða*, which may mean 'affect or fix by supernatural means' (Moltke, 1981, 140-1, 236, 243-4). In the latter case, the curse is to change the person causing damage into a *síði*, i.e. a *seiðmaðr*, a warlock.

A further insult, which may be linked to the use of sorcery and its anti-social connotations, is the state of becoming *argr* or *ragr* (see Glossary; Ström, 1974, 6).

Moltke (1981, 140) interprets the inscription on the Stentofte stone, Gammalstorps, south-west Blekinge (c. 550-750), as threatening the person who damages the runestone with becoming *argr* and dying of sorcery, '...which probably meant his next-world prospects were unpromising too' (Moltke, 1981, 140). The Saleby stone, Sweden (c. 550-750), uses both the threats of becoming a *ræte* and an 'arg woman' if a person defaces the stone with a cross (possibly against Christian missionaries?) (Moltke, 1981, 140). Like the Stentofte rune carver, the curse of becoming an 'arg woman' was the worst curse the Saleby rune carver could envisage (Moltke, 1981, 140).

The term *weladauþ* appears in inscriptions and may be linked to witchcraft and being a dead social outcast. *Weladauþ* may refer to a level of existence after death between living and dead or where the individual is rejected from both the worlds of the living and dead. Moltke's (1981, 142) interpretation

of the word *weladauþ* is one who is 'doomed to a death caused by black magic'. The Stentofen, Blekinge, and Björketorp, Blekinge, stones both carry the term *weladauþ*.

4. RUNIC INSCRIPTIONS AND SORCERY

Several runic inscriptions have been considered as having magical content, whether in the runes themselves or in the content of the words and sentences. Other inscriptions appear to be 'charged' with magic. Many runic inscriptions are indecipherable and could contain magical formulae or perhaps be practice-pieces (Moltke, 1981, 77). Moltke (1981, 102) believes some recurring formulae to be magical, such as *agla*, *alu*, *gagaga* and the formula of *fupark* itself was considered to be both powerful and protective (Moltke, 1981, 167-8). Such formulae are found on amulets and runestones from the Migration period to the Viking Age (Moltke, 1981, 101-7, 131-4). The meaning of these words can only be guessed at and, therefore, what these runic inscriptions meant to the Vikings cannot be known with any certainty.

Gold bracteates, which are often considered to have had an amuletic or other symbolic function, often bear runic script (see also Chapter 9). Like other objects inscribed with runes, some of the inscriptions are formulaic, using words such as *alu* (mead), *lapu* (invitation) and *laukaR* (onion) and the *fupark*. The bracteates date from the Migration period and are found in graves mostly belonging to women and in hoards (Lindeberg, 1997, 99). That 22 bracteates carry the *lapu*, *alu* and *laukaR* runes could indicate the type of ceremonial or feasting circumstance in which these items were worn (Lindeberg, 1997, 103). The link between the mead and the woman in such a setting also reflects the later medieval texts which describe the activities of valkyries offering mead from a horn to the dead in Valhalla (*Gylfaginning*, 35-7), and also depicted on the Gotlandic picture stones from the Viking Age (Jesch, 1991, 126-7). *LaukaR* were often linked to fertility. However, the personal names, which have been identified on the bracteates so far, are only attributable to men. One of the most common runic inscriptions on Norwegian bracteates are the runic letters for 'flu', which Grieg (1954, 163 – my translation) explains is most often translated as 'protection' or amulet'.

Runes have been associated with *Þórr* and *seiðr* (Chapter 6), but only as later literary references. The power of the spoken or chanted word was paramount (Chapter 6). Runes may not only have been used as a source of communication, but also have been regarded by some as having some mysticism about them. '...runes had been used as formulas of incantation or exorcism in Scandinavia since the late Iron Age. *Rún* or *rúnas* in Old Scandinavian referred to something "secret" or "occult"... In addition to runes, *galdrastafit* (magic staves) were used in combination with formulas' (Hastrup, 1990a, 390).

A few instances exist in medieval Scandinavian literature describing runic inscriptions used for magic (see Chapter 6). *Sigrdrífumál* (verses 5-19) describes many functions of runes, such as to assist childbirth or to heal wounds (*Sigrdrífumál* is contained in the late 13th-century *Poetic Edda*, but, like other eddaic poetry, probably has its origins between the 9th and 11th centuries, Kristjánsson, 1988, 28). Verses 15-17 carry instructions to carve runes for magical purpose on the shield, on glass and gold, on

amulets and the owl's beak amongst other mythological references. Verse 16 requires them to be carved 'on the bear's paw, ...on the wolf's claw and the eagle's beak and on the bloody wings'. Meaney (1981, 19-20) states that this combination was used in 12th-century England to clear disfiguring growths and the combination of these three animals may have been necessary for it to work (Griffiths, 1996, 194-5).

Regarding the *Sigrdrífumál* reference to inscriptions on weapons, Fuglesang (1989, 15) indicates that '...attention may be drawn to the discrepancy between literature and actual remains in the case of runic inscriptions on weapons. In actual fact only 20 of the 5,000 or so weapons surviving from the Viking and Medieval periods bear runic inscriptions, and none of them has a magical content...' In defence, however, a lot of Viking Age swords are so badly corroded, it would be almost impossible to state with any certainty whether they had been etched with a runic inscription or not.

Wooden lots were carved and cast for divination purposes by three fates in *Voluspá* (20) (Larrington, 1996, 3, 6). Tacitus (*Germania*, 10) documented women using lot casting for divination purposes... 'they cut off a branch of a nut-bearing tree and slice it into strips; these they mark with different signs and throw them completely at random onto a white cloth'. Meaney (1981, 260) suggests these may be a reference to runes. Saxo (XIV) mentions lot casting (Griffiths, 1996, 137). Casting of lots and divination was forbidden by the late 7th-century *Penitential of Theodore* (ch. 27) (Griffiths, 1996, 136).

5. APOTROPAIC SORCERY

The 8th-century cranium from Ribe, Denmark, measuring 6 x 9.5cm, may bear an inscription of an apotropaic charm (Illustration 22). The skull was old when inscribed. The inscription mentions three names: Ulfur and Óðinn and Hydyr (Moltke, 1981, 151,346).

The earliest known runic amulet in Sweden, from Gotland, is a copper sheet dating to c. 700. Fuglesang (1989, 23) suggests that the inscription may be interpreted as an apotropaic charm against disease.

The addition of runes to an artefact may have changed the way in which the object was perceived. Whether the runes meant anything or not their presence may have changed the object into an amulet (Ringstad, 1988, 324). Amulets bearing runic inscriptions were probably thought to have a magic effect (Kieckhefer, 1989, 7). A bone from a bog at Lindholmens gård, Skytts sn., Skåne (c. 350-550), has been interpreted as amuletic because it contains '...eight a-runes, eight *æsir*, and the following runes - [which] might... stand for their names R is yew, b is birch...' (Moltke, 1981, 106-107, 131-2). A similar runic pattern is evident in an Icelandic *kvennagaldur* (women's spell) 'I cut for you eight *æsir*, nine *nauðir*, thirteen *þursar* - eight gods, nine hardships, thirteen giants'. The word *áss*, *nauð* and *þurs* are the names of the a-, n- and þ-runes' (Moltke, 1981, 131-2).

Thunmark-Nylén (1986, 76) suggests that, during the early to mid-Viking Age, runic inscriptions were uncommon and in the domain of higher status individuals. Runic inscriptions could have been used to

intimate power and magic amongst those who could not read the runes. As runes became more commonplace, combined with the acceptance of Christianity, runes may have been used more frequently as a method of communication. The lower classes may have seized the opportunity to use the rune carver to put runes on personal items. In this light, Thunmark-Nylén (1986, 76) suggests that, when one considers late runic inscriptions, one should ask whether the individual had asked the rune inscriber to write a 'text' or 'runes'.

6. SUMMARY

Much has been discussed around the levels to which magic can be associated with runic characters and inscriptions. What one individual may have read as runic communication, another may have associated with supernatural powers. From the inscriptions cited above, runes were carved in particular orders during the Viking Age and early Christian period, seemingly without coherency, which perhaps indicates a hidden meaning. Runic scripts were used to invoke the dead or act as curses.

The terms (*ræte*, *argr* and *ragr*) used to describe individuals who attacked runestones appear to be very damning and refer to the culprit becoming a particularly unpleasant type of individual, who would probably have been a form of social outcast. Contemporary society may have considered people of this nature as being a reality and have feared such individuals. It could be that these are the types of people with mutilated remains or an excessive amount of stones over their bodies who have been excavated. Further fear of the benign or social outcast dead can be interpreted from the inscriptions on the metal plaques which attempt to bind the individuals to their graves. The runic evidence, although contemporary with the burial material, provides no indisputable evidence for interpreting the human remains and graves, which may be associated with the supernatural, in particular the wisewoman/sorcerer/ess type of individual. It is only from the medieval sources, which document the use of runes, that healing and sorcery are mentioned in connection with runes.

CHAPTER 8

LITERARY EVIDENCE FOR BURIAL IN SCANDINAVIA

Many literary references from the sagas and foreign sources detail the treatment of the dead in the Viking Age. The sources deal with the attitudes to death of the living and can shed some light onto the types of burial considered in this study. Reviews of burials in the saga literature are provided by Almgren (1904, 307-46) and Ellis (1977, 30-64). An overview of perceptions of the afterlife is provided by Ellis (1977).

Cremation is considered below under the treatment of the bodies of outcasts.

1. 'NORMAL' INHUMATION BURIAL

The *Íslendinga sögur* provide many references to inhumation burial. In his 'Foreword' to *Heimskringla* Snorri describes two phases of burial customs - the period of cremation and the period of mound burial. Most of the literary references describe a normal type of inhumation, the type of which is most commonly evidenced in archaeology. After a person had died he was laid out and then a mound was dug for him. He was placed in the mound, perhaps given some grave goods, and then the mound was closed (Ellis, 1977, 30-2, 34); for example, *Egils saga Skalla-Grímssonar* (LVIII) describes the burial of Skalla-Grímr with his horse, weapons and smithing tools. The burial mound was often where the deceased was thought to reside after death, from whence he could watch over his lands (*Njáls saga*, LXXVIII). This practice may explain why people sat on mounds to communicate with their forefathers (*sitte på haug*) (Ellis, 1977, 95).

Coffins are mentioned in *Sigrdrífumál* (v.34) and *Atlamál* (v.103), which also mentions that the corpse be bound in wax sheets (Almgren, 1904, 325). The embalming of a king is mentioned in Saxo (V), whose body was kept for three years. *Sigrdrífumál* (v.34) advises that, before someone is put into a coffin, his or her hands and head should be bathed, combed and dried (Nilsson, 1987, 134). The inclusion in burials of normal and miniature sized combs and toiletry equipment which appear not to have been used, may have been made especially for this final funeral rite (see Combs, Chapter 9). After the deceased's hair had been combed, none of the living may have wanted to inherit or use the comb.

SHIP BURIAL

High-status individuals of both sexes could be buried in a ship (Ellis, 1977, 39-50). Such an example is from *Gísla saga Súrssonar* (XVII) when the slain Þorgrímr Þorsteinsson was laid to rest in a ship and a mound raised above it. Gísli laid an enormous stone on the mound so that the ship could not lose its mooring (and perhaps so that the deceased would be unable to rise from the grave).

Another example, which would leave little archaeological evidence, is the account of the Swedish King Haki in *Ynglingasaga* (XXIII); *Heimskringla*. The king was laid out on a pyre on one of his ships whilst he was just alive. The ship, which contained weapons and other men killed in the same battle, was then set alight and pushed into the lake.

THE WIDOW OR SUTTEE

Women seem to have been treated differently after their husbands had died, although this may have depended on local customs and belief. Norse literature refers to voluntary suicide amongst widows, as an act of sacrifice to be with her husband after death, and to how many of the widows did not wish to live alone (Ellis, 1977, 57). The widow as a suttee is a fairly common theme in the sagas (Ellis, 1977, 52-8 lists many examples). An example of avoiding a widow's death is found in *Óláfs saga Tryggvassonar* (1, 63); *Flateyjarbók*, when Sigríðr Storráða abandoned her husband King Eiríkr since the law in Sweden stated that if a king died, the queen should be put by his side on the pyre. The saga also stated that the wife had to die if there was a disproportionately large length of time which she may survive her husband (Ellis, 1977, 51).

Foreign accounts of Viking suttee burial are provided by two Arab sources. Ibn Fadlan, c. 921, described an event on the Volga, when a female slave was sacrificed to accompany the dead chief and both were then burnt in his ship (Wikander, 1978, 66-69). Ibn Rustah, c. 922, described the chamber burial of a chief who had his favourite living wife interred with him (Foote and Wilson, 1980, 412).

The rarity of double burials containing a male and female in comparison to the quantity of single burials may show that the suicide of the widow was voluntary. A widow's survival may have been difficult during the Viking Age, in that her role as head of the household would change if she lost her husband and another member of the family took control. Age and sickness would have been a considerable discomfort. Survival of the wife after the husband's death is considered in Chapter 4.

OTHER KINSHIP BURIAL

Sacrificing oneself for a dead relative appears in two renditions of the same story in *Egils saga ok Ásmundar* (VII) and in Saxo (V), which tell how the foster brothers Ásmundr and Aran (also referred to as Asvith) pledged to be buried together when one died. Ásmundr was buried alive with Aran who, although dead, behaved in a totally antisocial manner. In Saxo's version Ásmundr is freed by grave-robbers (Ellis, 1977, 56). In the saga version Ásmundr cuts off Aran's head and a staff was driven through his body (Holck, 1982, 21-2). '...these stories seem to be of a different kind from those of human sacrifice; they give no impression of a half-remembered custom, and here the resemblance between them is one of motif rather than of spirit infused into them' (Ellis, 1977, 56).

SLAVE BURIAL AND SACRIFICE

Slaves were common during the Viking Age and were respected to varying degrees. Despite the Church using slaves, Christianity discouraged the trade of slaves, especially Christian slaves. Slavery in Scandinavia has been studied on several occasions by Mazo Karras (1988) and Foote and Wilson (1980, 66-78). The sagas appear to imply that it was almost an honour for the slave to follow his

master into the grave and share with him the good things of Valhalla. Such a practice backfired in *Landnámabók* (II, 6; *Hauksbók* ch. 60) when the dead Ásmundr requested the removal of his slave, who was also put into his grave, since he considered it better to be alone than 'live' with such bad company. The literary references to slave burial add to the interpretation of archaeological material, where a respectfully laid out individual is accompanied by a disrespectfully interred individual, such as at the Danish sites of Dråby and Lejre in Sjælland. Thietmar (I.7) documents slaves being apparently killed in connection with pagan rites.

The sagas provide references to sacrifice to the gods. Slaves or criminals seem to have been considered suitable to be killed to appease the gods, but more important sacrifices demanded the sacrifice of individuals of a higher rank (Ellis, 1977, 50-8).

BURIAL OF WITCHES AND CRIMINALS

Early Icelandic legal texts stipulate only outlawry for witchcraft, unlike the sagas that suggest '...stoning, hanging, and drowning of sorcerers and the hanging of thieves. Such punishments may be considered a form of lynching since they are not preceded by a trial. For these offences women, normally spared in acts of revenge, are dealt with in the same manner' (Duncan, 1969, 78; Heusler, 1911, 36-7). The origins of the death penalties, how the penalties were applied to different crimes and what the penalty meant in its social and religious sense are discussed by Ström (1942). Witchcraft (*seiðr*) and the crime of 'unmanliness' are sometimes grouped together and could have been punished in the same fashion (Ström, 1942, 53-7). Ström (1942, 115-71) discusses hanging in the sagas and early laws as a punishment for theft and treason, particularly for those of low birth. The sources providing information about death penalties are discussed by Heusler (1911, 1-18). The ritualistic sacrifice of the slave girl for the funeral of a chief, noted by Ibn Fadlan in c. 921, mentions that she was garrotted and stabbed to death, which may be associated with the cult of Óðinn (Wikander, 1978, 68; Davidson, 1998, 165).

Death by stoning is used as a punishment, for example, Katla in *Eyrbyggja saga* (XXI) and Auðbjörg, who is stoned and her brother Þorgrímr nef, who has a bag put over his head and is then stoned to death (*Gísla saga Súrssonar*, XIX). Auðbjörg and Þorgrímr nef were buried beside each other under a pile of stones. Kotkell and his wife Gríma were stoned and a cairn of stones was piled over their bodies in *Laxdæla saga* (XXXVII), perhaps as a measure to stop them from walking after death. Þorgrímr nef had practised *seiðr*, the feminine type of witchcraft, and, therefore, practised *ergi* (Meulengracht Sørensen, 1983, 63-4). From their description, the latter two burials were specifically double burials of outcasts. Stoning can be interpreted as a form of private killing (Ström, 1942, 102-15).

Drowning is used as a punishment (Ström, 1942, 171-8). Such an example is Hallbjörn *slíksteinsauga* (*Laxdæla saga*, XXXVII) who was drowned with a stone tied around his neck. 'Drowning is ...well attested ...as a means of getting rid of magicians without encountering the malevolence of their dying words or glance' (Simpson, 1973, 169).

The sagas describe a form of burial for criminals and sorcerers less contemptuous than cremation, which was to raise a mound of stones - *kasa* or *dysja* (Almgren, 1904, 334-5; Ström, 1942, 108). The *haugr* was the burial mound used for honourable individuals (Ström, 1942, 108; Ellis, 1977, 34). A *dys* is like a stone cairn and found in the landscape where the individual was slain - such as in *Laxdæla saga* (XXXVII), where two witches were stoned to death. *Dys* are often found on geographical ridges between regions and the specific mention of using stones is possibly as a measure against the dead from walking. The victims of crime are also sometimes buried under stones, presumably so their souls do not walk, for example in *Njáls saga* (XVII) (Ellis, 1977, 37). *Íslendinga saga* (LV) documents the casting of a corpse into the sea by its murderer. '...We may suppose that there is here a survival of an ancient custom of burying in the wilderness, under stones... or of casting into the sea the bodies of ill-doers, sorcerers and the like. But in fact, the practice may just as well be Christian and represent a refusal to bury a villain in the soil of Christian Iceland!' (Boyer, 1975, 137). Location of the burial of the outcast is important, as it is deliberately outside the confines of society and the land used by the community. As deceased respectable people were buried on their farms, the burials of outcasts often took place on promontories (*Eyrbyggja saga*, XXXIV). Skalla-Grímr was buried with his horse, weapons and smithing tools on a promontory and although being a socially acceptable individual, the descriptions of him and insinuations in the saga to his connections with the 'dark' supernatural (his father was thought to be a shape-changer (*Egils saga Skalla-Grímssonar*, I), which may have influenced the choice of his grave (*Egils saga Skalla-Grímssonar*, LVIII). Burying the dead offender by the seashore appears in the sagas as a way to prevent the ghost from walking again (Ström, 1942, 107).

Live burial is not documented in the sagas (Ström, 1942, 199).

DECAPITATION AND MUTILATION

Decapitation was seen as a way of preventing the body from walking after death (Ström, 1942, 164-71). The head itself seems to have been credited with possessing supernatural powers, for example, the instance with Mimir's head being smeared with herbs and used for occult reasons in *Ynglingasaga* (IV, VII); *Heimskringla*, and the warning issued by the head in *Eyrbyggja saga* (XLIII). In *Fljótsdæla saga* (V) a troublesome giant is slain and his head cut off. Once his body had stopped contorting, his head was placed between his legs. His remains were then cremated to prevent him walking again. Other such examples are found in *Svarfdæla saga* (XX), *Grettis saga Ásmundarsonar* (XXXV, see below) and *Bárðar saga* (Ström, 1942, 168). In Saxo (I) Mithothyn, a wizard, was exhumed from his tomb as he was causing the community terrible problems. He was decapitated and the rest of his body impaled on a stake through the breast, which succeeded in thwarting the problem.

The dead bodies of thieves, killed by sword wounds, were hung up on gallows in Saxo (VII) to display publicly the achievement of the man who had slain them and perhaps to set an example. When there appears to be evidence of hanging in archaeology, it could be post-mortem whereby society hung up its dead criminals to act as a reminder to the community. Saxo (VIII) documents the punishment for adultery as being trampled on by a herd of animals and that seduction should be punished by hanging.

SUICIDES

Suicide was considered socially unacceptable (other than the suttee) and as a result the body was not treated with any reverence (Ström, 1942, 187-8).

DRAUGAR AND EXHUMATIONS

A *draugr* is an individual who, in most cases, was anti-social when living, and when dead, caused chaos, often resulting in physical harm. The *draugr* often behaves in the same fashion as the witch and could appear in dreams (Ellis, 1977, 92-6, 162-4). The *draugr* was not a ghost or apparition as such, but a physical, evil, dead, individual who required his body to cause havoc and could be 'killed' again. In many cases, the bodies of *draugr* were not decomposed when exhumed and needed to be cremated to stop the haunting (Brøgger, 1945, 31-44). McCreesh (1985, 767-8) states that 'Christian ghosts, ...are... the bodies of people who have not yet received proper burial; once laid in consecrated ground with hymns sung over them, they stay put. This is consistent with the tradition, which maintained that it was the souls of the damned who walked the earth'.

An example of a *draugr* is Þórólfr Bægifótr (*Eyrbyggja saga*, XXXIV, LXIII), an anti-social individual who terrorised the community after his death. His body was exhumed and reburied on a promontory away from the farms. He was, however, still troublesome and his body was exhumed again and burnt on a pyre on the beach so that the sea took away his ashes and stopped any further problems. The witch in *Laxdæla saga* (LXXVI) who had caused trouble from her grave was discovered under the floorboards of the church (Chapter 6), and 'the bones were taken far away to a place where people were least likely to pass' (translation Magnusson and Pálsson). In a similar way, in *Flóamanna saga* (XXI), the witch Gyða would not stay in her coffin and had to be exhumed and burnt.

In *Grettis saga Ásmundarsonar* (XXXII, XXXV), the anti-social slave Glámr wreaks havoc after his death (he was buried where he fell, under a cairn of stones). He is stopped when Grettir cuts off his head and places it against his bottom. His body is burned and his ashes are put into a bag and buried away from the farm and its animals. Other hauntings are mentioned by Ellis (1977, 94-6) where the bodies of the ghosts have to be destroyed either by decapitation or cremation of the corpse.

In *Óláfs Þáttr Geirstaðaálfs* (V-VIII; *Flateyjarbók*) a dream is described where a mound is broken into in order to steal gold and the deceased is decapitated.

2. CREMATION

Cremation is mentioned in the sagas, but mainly appears in the *Eddas* (Almgren, 1904, 324-5; Ellis, 1977, 32-4). The practice of cremation may have been to free the spirit to the next world, which ensured that the deceased did not remain on earth to torment the living, or it may be related to a fire ritual for the dead (Griffiths, 1996, 35-6). Cremation is only used in the sagas to prevent the dead from causing trouble, to ensure that the individual is absolutely dead and is often associated with those who had supernatural powers (Almgren, 1904, 333-5; Ellis, 1977, 37-9). Cremation appears to be seen as a way of cleansing the environment of the individual, as the remains of the deceased are occasionally

documented as being a threat to the health and well-being of society (Ström, 1942, 188). Perhaps the diseases the corpse could cause were seen as 'supernatural' diseases, which, in turn, may have required 'supernatural' medicine to remove. In Saxo (II) the bodies of slain hobgoblins were burnt on a pyre, so that '...the sickening stench of their hideous carcasses should not spread a pestilential vapour and afflict anyone approaching with its contamination' (translation Fisher, 1979, 44). The bearers of the restless body of a deceased witch in *Flóamanna saga* (XIII) had to abandon the journey to her burial site and build a pyre to cremate the body. 'We can be sure that this custom did not die out with heathenism' (Ellis, 1977, 38).

In Old Norse literature cremation is permitted for the burial of particular Swedish kings, gods and poetic figures (Ellis, 1977, 38). In *Ynglingasaga* (VIII); *Heimskringla*, Óðinn ordains the cremation rites and describes boat and mound burial for the men of high rank (Almgren, 1904, 39-40). Both Óðinn in *Ynglingasaga* (IX); *Heimskringla*, and king Gelder of the Saxons (Saxo, III) are cremated with stately honours.

In a few cases in the sagas and in Saxo some individuals are considered unworthy of any form of burial. A verse in Saxo (VI) speaks of the corpses of the men who were killed in retaliation of an unsettled feud. '...drive away these corpses unworthy to receive the final rites or be housed in tombs; no funeral procession or pyre shall bring them to the sacred honour of a barrow. Strew them over the land to rot and be pecked away by birds, and pollute the fields with their noxious putrefaction' (translation Fisher, 1979, 194). The murderer Fengi's corpse was considered 'ungodly' and burnt (Saxo, IV). His stepson declared... 'sprinkle the guilty dust, cast away his pitiless ashes; no urn, no burial mound shall enclose the accursed relics of his bones. Nothing must survive to remind us of that murder... no region catch the plague from his presence; neither sea nor earth shall be contaminated by harbouring his execrable body' (translation Fisher, 1979, 95).

3. GRAVEGOODS

If the deceased was believed to 'live' in his mound, he would presumably need objects from everyday life, else he may be inclined to leave the grave to search for the things he needed (Moltke 1981, 166-7; Hagberg, 1936, 211-15). As mentioned above, Skalla-Grímr was buried with his weapons and smithing tools (*Egils saga Skalla-Grimssonar*, LVIII) to symbolise his status and profession (Ellis, 1977, 34-5). In this light, socially acceptable witches, wise women or healers may be expected to be buried with the tools of their trade and, therefore, some of the grave goods would be amuletic or have a magical purpose. However, such artefacts may not have survived, as they could have been made of organic material (*Laxdæla saga*, LXXVI) or have not been buried with the deceased in case the deceased chose to use these artefacts malevolently from the grave.

4. UPPSALA

Much has been written about Adam of Bremen's account (c. 1070) of the temple at Uppsala, as a place where pagan rituals and worship of the gods were performed prior to the Conversion (Turville-Petre,

1964, 244-6). Uppsala was one of the last places to be converted to Christianity and was the central shrine of the Svear, the people that populated the area around Uppsala. Adam describes a pagan temple where sacrificed humans and animals were hung in the trees (Roesdahl, 1991b, 152-3). No mention, however, is made of what happened to the bodies other than that they were left to decay there. A further reference is made to a well beside the temple, into which a living man was thrown as a sacrifice (Turville-Petre, 1964, 246).

5. CHRISTIAN BURIAL

With the coming of Christianity, the terminology used in Old Norse changes from *heygja* (to bury in a howe) and *brenna* (to cremate), to *grafa* or *jarða* (to bury) by the church. Churchyard burials are mentioned in several sagas, such as *Laxdæla saga* (LI) and *Eyrbyggja saga* (L) (Almgren, 1904, 340-1). A Conversion-period burial practice is documented in *Eiríks saga rauða* (VI). The Christian dead were buried on unconsecrated land with a stake through their bodies until the priest reached them and could bury them in the churchyard, which perhaps reflects a continued belief in the danger of the dead until given a proper burial (Ström, 1942, 213). Suttee burial or sacrificing oneself for a dead relative would have been forbidden onwards from the Conversion period as suicide is forbidden in the Bible. Some widows appear to have had high enough social status and finance during the 10th to 11th centuries to raise runestones to commemorate their deceased husbands, which indicates that these widows survived successfully (Sawyer, 1992b, 102).

6. SUMMARY

As explained above, individuals were thought to 'live' after death behaving honourably or dishonourably from the grave. Individuals were documented as being buried with objects from everyday life and perhaps objects peculiar to themselves. Such characteristics are evidenced in archaeology.

Archaeology provides insufficient evidence to suggest what particular crime an outcast would have committed to be buried in a particular manner. The sagas and early laws can hint at the types of crime and their punishments that may have resulted in a particular form of burial. Crimes injurious to society were punished in very similar ways. So-called 'black' magicians, if such a perception or activity existed during the Viking Age, would probably been given low-status burials, cremation or would have been stoned. If the black magician had been a threat to society whilst alive, he would not be buried with grave goods or the tools of his trade that could be used to create further havoc within society after death. Unfortunately the sagas provide no information about the burial of socially acceptable sorceresses, which could shed light on high-status 'deviant' burials, such as Fyrkat grave 4, Denmark, which appears to have strong connections to the supernatural.

CHAPTER 9

AMULETS, PHYSICAL REMAINS OF RELIGION, SUPERSTITION, WITCHCRAFT AND HEALING

This chapter will commence with a section on amulet bags and then follow the pattern used by Meaney (1981) by considering natural amulets and then man-made amulets. The amulets are introduced by literary references, including both Scandinavian and contemporary European sources, which are more diverse, and then supported by archaeological evidence. The literary evidence will hopefully provide a fuller view as to whether the grave goods should be considered amuletic, associated with divination and the supernatural or used in early medicine. Comparable material from Europe and Anglo-Saxon England will be provided where possible. Runic amulets are considered in Chapter 7. Certain burials are included in this chapter, rather than in Chapters 2 to 5, because if they did not contain their irregular quantity or type of grave goods and/or dress accessories, these burials would otherwise not be considered deviant.

Kivikoski and Bø (1980, col.s 129-33) provide a brief overview of the use of amulets in medieval Scandinavia from the saga and archaeological evidence. A review of Viking-Age amulets in Denmark from graves and hoards, and their Scandinavian context, is provided by Koktvedgaard Zeiten (1997). A fairly extensive article by Fuglesang (1989) considers the different Viking-Age artefacts that have been regarded from time to time as amulets. In many cases she dismisses many of the artefacts as being amuletic, often without providing a plausible suggestion for what the artefact could be other than 'ornaments and cult objects', which are difficult to distinguish from amulets (Fuglesang, 1989, 15). In her conclusion Fuglesang (1989, 24) states '...in the Viking period, the emphasis is on miniatures while amulets of natural origin and runic amulets are relatively few and often of questionable interpretation', and that except for the Thor's hammer, few of the amulets bear any connection with the gods. She states conversely that natural, written and numerous runic amulets exist in the later Middle Ages. Fuglesang (1989, 24) advises '...that only with the utmost caution should later, written sources be used to interpret Viking objects as amuletic'. Therefore, by dismissing their amuletic or superstitious properties, the objects from the bags located around the pelvic area or caskets (discussed further below), could be interpreted as aids to divination, healing and witchcraft, the link between which may have been less defined during the Viking Age. The artefacts discussed below might have had purely an amuletic or healing function, been used as part of a 'white' witchcraft ritual or have been worn as unusual decorative objects. Meaney (1981) has written extensively on the literary and archaeological evidence for amulets and sorcery in Anglo-Saxon England and has drawn many comparisons with European sources. A more recent summary by Wilson (1992, 103-123) considers Anglo-Saxon pagan burial rites and the amulets found therein.

1. AMULETS AND OBJECTS FOR SORCERY, RITUAL OR HEALING

The amuletic value of an object can be assessed in several ways. 'If it is neither beautiful nor useful, then we have an *a priori* case for considering its value to the owner consisted in something intangible' (Meaney, 1981, 28). This may also be the case if one object amongst a collection is clearly amuletic, some of the other objects are possibly also amulets (Meaney, 1981, 28). Kieckhefer (1989, 75) describes amulets as superstitious and protective objects, which put the owner's mind at rest, rather than having a religious or magical function. An object may, however, have been worn or kept as a curiosity or item of beauty and not necessarily had amuletic values (Koktvedgaard Zeiten, 1997, 4). Where an object from a grave differs from the norm or is unusual in any way, it should not immediately be considered as an amulet or treated in isolation, but should be assessed on its own merit and in relation to any other objects or dress accessories within the grave. Amulets could protect against disease and supernatural attack, often by their location, as when disease was already present, cures were provided by '...herbs, animal remedies, and charms' (Kieckhefer, 1989, 75). The combination of a charm, herbs and amulets may have been necessary for healing or protection (Griffiths, 1996, 85).

Individuals most needy of amulets would be the vulnerable, such as pregnant mothers, children, warriors and the rich, who may have been subject to envy and may account for the large amount of amulets found in the graves of wealthy individuals (Meaney, 1981, 28-30). Gräslund (1972-3, 165-7, 175) suggests that the items found buried with babies and children may represent items they would have inherited, toys or teething aids. The location of the object in the grave in relation to the body may be important in defining whether an object is an amulet (Meaney, 1981, 26). The combination or number of amulets may also have been significant.

Fewer amulets have been found in Danish graves than from the graves in Sweden and Norway. In Norway and Sweden amulets are often worn in multiples around the neck, often accompanied with several beads in female graves, as in Denmark they are often worn singly (Koktvedgaard Zeiten, 1997, 37-8). On Birka, amulets apparently associated with the gods or other cult practices seem to have been worn separately on a different string from the other pendants, which may be linked to the tradition for wearing singular amulets in Denmark (Koktvedgaard Zeiten, 1997, 38). Koktvedgaard Zeiten (1997, 2, 43) notes that amulets are most commonly found in female graves, which may reflect the cultic or ritualistic activities of women, perhaps more in a private location, as more formal rituals may have been held publicly by men and may not have needed personal amulets. Amulets from male burials tend more to be more specifically linked to the gods.

In Anglo-Saxon instances, Meaney (1981, 247-50; and 1989, 9-10) suggests that the main objects that could connect a female with magic are crystal balls, cylindrical boxes and groups of small, often valueless, objects found beside the left leg, possibly indicating they were kept in a bag. Meaney

(1981, 27) does not believe that functional objects would have been regarded as possessing magic powers.

From the Conversion period in Scandinavia, amuletic objects continue to appear in burials, but are more in the vein of runic inscriptions on metal (Chapter 7).

2. LITERARY EVIDENCE FOR AMULET BAGS, AMULETS AND WITCHCRAFT

Several medieval documents allude to amulet bags and their contents. The artefacts found archaeologically in the amulet bags do not and perhaps cannot always replicate these sources, as much of the documented contents are organic and do not survive easily, and the type of artefacts may have been more of a personal choice. Meaney (1981, 10-12) documents several of the literary references. Gregory of Tours described the contents of a bag confiscated from a *malefici* which was thrown into the river, '...a big bag filled with the roots of various plants; in it, too, were moles' teeth, the bones of mice, bears' claws and bear's fat' (*History of the Franks IX*, 6). Alcuin, in a letter to Archbishop Æthelheard of Canterbury in c. 800, documented the practice of '...carry[ing] bones around in little bags...' (Meaney, 1981, 14). Bishop Baldock (1311) heard rumours that '...some pretend to invoke spirits in nails and mirrors, in stones and rings' (Kittredge, 1972, 51-2; Meaney, 1981, 262). Hincmar of Rheims (806-882) wrote in his *De Divortio Lotharii et Tetbergae* of diviners using small animal bones, ashes and coals, human hair (head hair and pubic hair), coloured threads, herbs, snail shells and snakes (Flint, 1991, 56, 64). Saint Corbinian, Bishop of Bavaria (680-730), was documented as casting out a sorceress with her pouch (similar to that described in Gregory of Tours), who had been sent to heal the prince (*Vita Corbiniani Episcopi Baiuvariorum Rectractata B*; Flint, 1991, 248). Adam de Stratton, the English Chancellor of the Exchequer (arrested 1289), possessed a 'coffer or silk bag' containing '...parings or nails, human hair, the feet of toads and moles, and other "diabolical things"'. Adam broke the seal put on it by the king's justiciary and threw the objects into a vault, and was therefore considered a sorcerer' (Meaney, 1981, 259). Buchard of Worms described in his *Corrector* (1008-1012 A. D.) the use of 'medicinal herbs with evil incantations' (Dukes, 1996, 209-10).

Eiríks saga rauða (IV) refers to an amulet bag belonging to Þorbjörg *lítill-völva* (Chapter 6). Around her middle she had a *hniosku-linda* or *knusk*. This object is unclear and has been suggested by Strömbäck (1935, 52) and Magnusson and Pálsson (1965, 82) to be a belt made of *fnöske* or a belt set with *fnöske* ('touchwood' a brown flecked toadstool, growing on trees and used to bind wounds - notes, *ÍF*, IV, 204). A large pouch hung from the belt in which she kept her amulets, which she used to gain knowledge. Grambo (1984, 60) suggests that the sibyl's pouch was filled with dust. She also wore a necklace of glass beads and had a staff with a brass bound knob studded with stones. The toadstool may have been needed to achieve the trance-like state for prophecy.

In *Hallfreðar saga* (VI), Hallfreðr was accused of carrying '...an image of Þórr made of tusk in his wallet' and an amuletic silver Freyr figure in *Vatnsdæla saga* (X) disappeared from Ingimundr's purse

and was later produced by a Lapp sorceress. Miniatures of male figures found in burials have been interpreted as gods. Two figures, both suggested to be of Þórr, as they hold and divide their beards into two, have been found in Iceland: a late Viking-Age bronze figure from Eyrarland, Eyjafjarðarsýsla, and a carved whalebone figure from a high-status 10th-century male burial at Baldursheimur, Mýrvatnssveit (Eldjárn, 1982, 72-3; Perkins, 2001, 82-7, 135). Other Scandinavian Viking-Age carved figures dividing their beards are discussed by Perkins (2001, 62-81). A similar example is the figure believed to be Freyr from Rällinge, Södermanland (Grieg, 1954, 181) (Illustration 23). A bone animal figure seated in a human fashion on a stool from Alm, Hedmark may also belong to this tradition (Kivikoski and Bø, 1980, col. 130). These figures are often considered to be playing pieces or may be images used for private worship.

A late (1639) Scandinavian reference to a woman from Södertälje describes her providing a man with an amulet bag as protection against the law and not for conjuring purposes (Schnittger, 1912, 106). The bag confiscated by the Court contained 'a caul, some *daphne mezereum*, snake bones, a 'heart-stone', a knotted rag, five blue, brown and grey small stones which were smooth as if they were polished, a 'firestone', [which the author suggests is either lapis, sulphur, or bluestone (containing a copper oxide)], roots' (my translation). Similar items were found in the woman's box when she was later tried. Amulet bags and caskets, their contents and functions, carried by 'wise-people' from the 19th and 20th centuries are documented by Tillhagen (1962, 82-8). One was observed by Tillhagen (1962, 82 - my translation) to contain 'the ashes of a snake, a shroud pin, a vertebra, the tooth of a corpse, a coffin nail, a pair of batwings, a four-leafed clover, a five-leafed clover and an old man's finger', the owner of which described the uses of the contents (Tillhagen, 1962, 82- 8).

3. PRIMITIVE MEDICINE - LITERARY AND SCIENTIFIC EVIDENCE

The majority of sources for early medicine are medieval and the few Viking-Age sources that mention plants or animals do not give reasons for their use or have been transcribed later by medieval scholars. Females are cited as being doctors in the sagas. A female doctor (*læknir*) bathed the wounded at the battle of Stiklastaðir from her shack (*Heimskringla; Óláfs saga Helga*, CCXXXIV). She boiled up mashed leeks and herbs in a clay pot to feed the injured men. She claimed to be able to smell the leeks through the wounds that had pierced deep into the body (Næss, 1974, 138). No mention was made of this woman being a sorceress. A female doctor bound and healed Grímr's wounds in *Droplaugarsonar saga* (XI), whilst another female masqueraded as a doctor in the same saga (XV), but was skilled in sorcery and caused Grímr's death. There is a difference between the use of *læknir* and the various terms used for sorcerer in the sagas, but it is difficult to judge whether the Vikings would have had such a differentiation. Both men and women are credited with healing in the sagas, but the women are referred to as *læknir* whilst in connection to tending the battle-injured and housebound sick (Davidson, 1998, 162-3). Snorri described the goddess Eir as 'an extremely good physician' (*Gylfaginning*, XXXIV-V).

The healing properties of organic objects is borne out in *Hávamál*, which advises the use of oak bark with red soot. Tillhagen (1996, 10) indicates that herbal knowledge was extensive. Forest herbs were used as a memory suppressant and herbs known as *groblad* (*Plantago major*), juniper and *Friggjar gras* (*Orchis maculata*) made a love potion.

Garlic was considered amuletic and protective against magic, particularly witchcraft (Grieg, 1954, 176-7). Onions were thought to have particular powers, such as acting as aphrodisiacs and are often associated with linen in runic evidence. Garlic and onions are antibiotics; garlic particularly prevents the growth of several types of bacteria (Cameron, 1988, 202). A possible reference to a fertility rite is documented in *Völsa Þáttur*, in *Ólafs saga Helga* (*Flateyjarbók*, II, CCLXV), where the farmer's wife dried and wrapped a horse penis and onions together in linen (Turville-Petre, 1964, 256-8). The word *laukr* (onion) often appears in runic inscriptions on bracteates and other objects from the Viking Age. Onions appear to be connected with fertility and women (Lindeberg, 1997, 103). The words *linalaukaR* and *laukr* appear occasionally on knives in Norwegian female burials and are thought to be part of an ancient fertility chant or phallic cult and their potency may have been increased with the alliteration (Grieg, 1954, 176-7). Linen is associated with Freyr (Lindström and Adolfsson, 1995, 22). More recently, flaxseeds have been used to aid fertility and childbirth (Grieg, 1954, 179). Flaxseeds in particular, although other seeds have been used, were used as part of the funeral ritual. They were scattered or inserted into the grave in a bowl to prevent the deceased from walking (i.e. the deceased has to collect them all before he can rise again) (Hagberg, 1936, 626-8).

Henbane has been found in several archaeological contexts, such as at Fyrkat, Denmark, and on the Continent (Roesdahl, 1977, 104, 143; Meaney, 1981, 64; Lid, 1970, cols. 363-4). Medieval European and English Leechbooks advise using the lower part of the henbane plant and coriander seeds to aid childbirth (Meaney, 1989, 23, 37). The use of henbane was documented in the Danish Henrik Harpestreng's texts (15th century) for swelling, foot and eye pain (Lid, 1970, cols. 363-4). The inclusion of henbane at Fyrkat, combined with the other organic artefacts, may have constituted items used for medicine. The narcotic and hallucinogenic effects of henbane include experiencing a sense of flying (Price, 2002, 205). Henbane's 'psychotropic properties' are discussed by Sherratt (1996, 14), who describes how it is '...associated with witchcraft or the esoteric knowledge of monks. The witches' phantom flight on a broomstick... is thus a version of the old shamanic spirit-flight, in which the shaman visits the realm of the dead and may even accompany the souls of the departed'. Four cannabis seeds found in amongst the cushions and the feather stuffing in the burial chamber at Oseberg may have been used in a similar way as the henbane seeds (Price, 2002, 160, 205). A further cannabis seed was found at Oseberg in what appeared to be a leather pouch, which may have originally contained all the seeds (Price, 2002, 206). Grains of barley, *cicuta* and *daphne* (an evergreen shrub with poisonous berries) were considered amuletic (Fuglesang, 1989, 22). The use of hazelnuts or fruit stones in burials, for example at Birka, may be linked to fertility and resurrection, by way of symbolic or medical belief or as food offerings (Wilson, 1992, 99; Arwidsson, 1984, 273-4). The *Second Lay of*

Guðrun (stanza 23) describes a potion used to promote memory loss, which contained burnt acorns, forest herbs and a boiled pig's liver.

Snake's tongues were considered apotropaic against black magic, and a stone taken from a toad's head was believed to indicate the presence of poison (Fuglesang, 1989, 22). Hemlock was used by a woman connected with the supernatural in Saxo (I, 31) (Davidson, 1998, 176).

The fragments of metal found in the amulet bags may have been used to extract metal salts. Brass and copper in suitable acidic circumstances produce copper salts, which could then be stored in a non-metallic container. Copper salts destroy human cells and bacteria and can be used for eye remedies (Cameron, 1988, 202-3). Iron cooled in water and wine (an Anglo-Saxon recipe) would cure a swollen spleen, as the iron forms an acetate which is '...a rational treatment for an enlarged spleen' and wounds (Cameron, 1988, 207-8).

4. AMULET BAGS AND CASKETS AND THEIR FUNCTION

Cloth or leather bags, or what appear to be their contents, are occasionally found in burials, as are caskets, which can contain the same type of objects as the amulet bags, and are perhaps the more high-status equivalent (Meaney, 1981, 34; Petersen, 1951, 448-63). Many caskets, however, appear to have contained household items and are unlikely to have had any symbolic link with the supernatural. On a few occasions, Price (2002, 155-6, 161, 200) touches on the fact that the graves he describes as belonging to sorceresses contain caskets, often with unusual contents, perhaps associated with sorcery. In the case of Oseberg, when the grave was robbed, one locked casket was noticeably undisturbed. If the casket owned by a high-status individual associated with the supernatural was held in some kind of reverence or fear, the presence of the casket in a burial may further affirm the activities of the deceased individual.

The types of objects included in the bags or caskets appear to form a pattern. In the case of the Anglo-Saxon amulet bags, Meaney (1981, 250) suggests the recurring items are 'a piece of broken glass; rings of iron and bronze, often linked; something at least a hundred years old; something of animal substance; a mixture of materials... [or] origin'. This pattern is less evident in the Birka material, which seldom appears to have the linked rings, but more amber, beads, unworked materials, coins and weights (such as grave Bj. 503 or Bj. 964), which probably indicates a more practical function, representative of the trading status of the site. The other Scandinavian evidence (excluding Finland) accounts for around 14 bags or caskets, many of which contain unworked, unusually shaped or coloured stones, knives or metal fragments and occasionally organic remains. These artefacts appear less practical than the Birka bag contents, perhaps indicating a more superstitious nature or had a ritual healing purpose. As the contents of the bags appear to have held little modern monetary value, they must have been symbolically useful, valuable to the individual or may have had significance as part of a collection. Their value is also borne out by being buried close to the individual. The meaning or symbolism of

these different types of amulets is considered separately below, although the combination of the items in the bags may have been more important to the owner.

The bags were important enough to the individual and considered one of their attributes, to be deemed sufficiently important to be buried by the deceased's family. As the bags do not appear to elevate the deceased's status in the next life, unlike, say, high-status jewellery would have done, the bags must have served a purpose other than as a status symbol, which perhaps was pertinent to the individual and could not be inherited. Bags have been found with both old and young women, some of whom were buried with a baby, which leads Meaney (1981, 262) to ask if '...this [might] indicate that witchcraft was hereditary among the Germanic peoples? ...If the power to work magic were believed to be purely an acquired characteristic, ...we should expect to have more evidence of it among the elderly, and virtually none among the young'. Other than on Birka, usually only one grave per cemetery contains an individual with a bag of diverse artefacts, which perhaps marks them out as individuals in the community who were honoured in death with their tools of the trade, perhaps the 'wise-woman' of the community (Meaney, 1981, 249).

If the owners of the bags were more superstitious than the rest of the community, Meaney (1981, 253) suggests they may have worn more amulets around their necks. Personal beliefs would probably dictate the amount of amulets an individual carried and how many they could afford if they were purchased. The ratio of amulets per individual per cemetery is impossible to judge as organic amulets may have been less, equally or more popular than the amulets which have survived archaeologically (Meaney, 1981, 32).

The majority of the bags are found in female graves and females would probably have been generally responsible for the health of the population in the Viking Age. The women probably owned only one bag or casket, which would probably have contained their small and valuable items, such as items used in everyday life, healing objects, be they herbal, amuletic or used to invoke supernatural powers, and collections of objects which the owner found attractive (Meaney, 1981, 319). In the few Scandinavian and Anglo-Saxon instances where an organic substance survives, its purpose can only be guessed at from later sources, which in themselves may be misleading or present evolving and recent superstitions. The organic objects are often inedible, indicating that they may have been amuletic or symbolic, such as the owl pellet from Fyrkat, Denmark, or used for poisoning, such as the plants and seeds from the Anglo-Saxon thread-boxes (Meaney, 1981, 65). As often only one type of seed or herb appears in the Anglo-Saxon thread-boxes, Meaney (1981, 64-5) suggests that its presence would be symbolic, as... 'Most important and well-organised Anglo-Saxon homesteads probably had a very large collection of herbs ready for use'. Other herbs may have been present in the bags but have deteriorated. Herbs from Frankish graves (see below) have medicinal properties and may '...have been current medication for the women who carried them to their graves? Or could they ...have been symbolic of woman's role as the healer of the family?' (Meaney, 1989, 10).

A practical theory regarding the bags is provided by Myres (1978, 352), who suggests a primitive monetary or scrap value of the objects found in amulet bags, as 5th- and 6th-century Anglo-Saxons did not have a coinage. He indicates that many of the objects in the amulet bags could be linked together to prevent easy loss, which ‘...suggests their use as token currency rather than as amulets’ (Myres, 1978, 352). Meaney (1981, 319) refutes this idea, suggesting that the linked rings could easily be separated as necessary. Myres (1978, 352) does, however, point out that ‘Amulets are normally worn on the person not hoarded as a bunch in a bag’, which can lead to the interpretation of these objects being used for divination or medical purposes, particularly as Myres’ theory does not include the plant and animal artefacts. Furthermore, being buried with ‘primitive money’ may have encouraged grave robbing, unless the objects were seen as symbolic.

The objects could have been used for divining, sorcery, healing or all three. As the objects were hidden in a bag they may have been considered as secretly potent. Although Meaney (1989, 12) prefers the theory of divination, ‘...the balance of probability is, ...that these strange collections *were* used in magic, but [in what type of magic], we shall probably never know’ (Meaney, 1981, 262).

After the Conversion, Christian cures were administered through male priests (Steffensen, 1966-9, 192). Physicians, who were all male, are documented in Scandinavia from the 13th century and from late Anglo-Saxon England and travelled to increase their knowledge (Tillhagen, 1962, 11; Rubin, 1989, 11). However, ‘...many midwives and “wise-women” must have given advice and help in the villages and hamlets’ (Rubin, 1989, 11). In some graves which are assumed to belong to the Conversion period the surviving family has buried a bag with the deceased, but hidden it behind the deceased, perhaps from the priest who administered the funeral (Meaney, 1981, 253), which also may indicate the potency of the bag.

5. SCANDINAVIAN AMULET BAGS AND CASKETS, THE ARCHAEOLOGICAL EVIDENCE

The finds will be listed first and then discussed. Burials that contained bags or caskets are difficult to count, as some have indisputable evidence that a container was present, but others merely contain a selection of artefacts collected tightly together, perhaps indicating the presence of a deteriorated container.

PRE-VIKING EVIDENCE

A few finds from Scandinavia, prior to the Viking Age, are noteworthy. The 5th-century stone cist under a large mound at Kvåle, Sogndal in Sogn and Fjordane, Norway, contained a double burial of an adult female and child of 8-10 years (Ringstad, 1988, 325-6). The cist was divided into two by a row of stones and the smaller half had been used as a kind of ‘supplies chamber’. Ringstad (1988, 326) gives a list of the unusual finds... ‘a piece of Roman glass, stone axe, two pieces of rock crystal, seven small, smooth, white, egg-shaped/round pieces of quartz, a piece of light grey flint, a piece of mica, a

green stone with small lumps, two glass 'buttons', three small silver facemasks' (my translation). Ringstad (1988, 326) believes that the artefacts would probably have been in a small holder as they are tightly packed in an area of around 20cm. As the burial contained a child, Ringstad (1988, 326) suggests that the artefacts may have been the child's toys or collection, but believes there is a stark contrast between toys and amulets. He suggests that the woman could be either a wise-woman or a kind of medicine woman who used magic to cure people and took away sickness caused by evil spirits (Ringstad, 1988, 337-8).

VIKING-AGE EVIDENCE

Birka

Many instances exist of amulet-type collections from either bags or caskets throughout Scandinavia. Of the c. 1,100 graves excavated on Birka around 50 individuals appear to have been buried with one or two leather bags or a casket, one of which Gräslund (1984, 142) believes to be a 'sorcery bag' (Table II provides a summary of the contents of the bags). The leather bags are often in very fragmentary condition. In a couple of cases no traces were found of a bag, but the location of the artefacts suggest that the contents were originally kept together. Pieces of leather may be identified as having belonged to a bag from the metal rivets and fittings. Leather bags appear evenly spread between the sexes in high, medium and low status burials, with the majority in chamber graves (Gräslund, 1984, 141). As with the Anglo-Saxon evidence, the caskets from Birka contain similar objects to the bags.

In most cases the bags contained fragments of Arab Dirhem coins and a bronze or iron weight, which reveals a consistent choice of contents and may be symbolic of the deceased's involvement with trade. Coins and weights are fairly evenly distributed between the sexes on Birka, although many of the graves have been difficult to sex. Gräslund (1984, 145) states that many of the bags, particularly those that appear to have been carried around the neck or in clothing (found on the skeleton's chest), would probably be money bags. There do not appear to be any instances of complete coins in the pouches. The Birka bags are different from the Anglo-Saxon bags in that the contents are generally predictable in a different way. The typical objects from the Anglo-Saxon bags, such as pieces of iron and glass (not including beads) are plentiful in the Black Earth and are not generally included in the contents of the Birka bags. Myres (1978, 352) suggested that the contents of Anglo-Saxon bags could have been monetary units and representative of Anglo-Saxon trade, which is similar to the interpretation of most of the Birka bags. Many of the Birka bags appear to have a practical rather than supernatural base, as they contain lead weights and coin fragments (such as in Bj. 709). Other bags contain not only weights and coin fragments, but also less easily explicable objects, such as the unworked amber and glass, four plum stones and five cherry stones (which may have been included as food or for a symbolic purpose), an iron fragment and bead fragments (Bj. 710). The objects included in the bags would have had a practical value or symbolic significance to the deceased and/or the surviving family. The contents of the Birka bags are separately tabulated from the other Scandinavian evidence (Table II: due to the

different types of artefacts kept in the Birka bags to the rest of the Scandinavian evidence, the headings in the tables are different).

Other Scandinavian Evidence

A Selection of caskets

The large size of the casket in grave 18, Ketting, Sønderborg, Denmark, probably influenced the wider than average dimensions of the coffin (Brøndsted, 1936, 133-4). This first half of the 10th-century grave contained a female with rheumatism, aged at death as 40-45 years old. The casket with metal fittings measured 28cm x 28cm and was placed at the female's right hip. It contained some unidentifiable decomposed silver objects and a Hedeby silver coin. Other grave goods included two iron rings each with a Thor's hammer pendant and one which also had an iron strip pendant, a key, knife, whetstone and three iron buckles, possibly for horse equipment.

A small box from the high-status burial at Grønhaug at Karmø, Norway, contained '...a bronze ring and a big bird's feather...' (Shetelig, 1904, 354). Amber and glass beads were also excavated from the burial. The grave contained male grave goods but no human remains.

The high-status female mound burial at Veka, Vangen, Hordaland, Norway, contained a casket (Shetelig, 1912, 207). The casket was located at the feet and measured c. 80cm long x 60cm wide and appeared to contain flax combs, 11 loom weights, two soapstone spindle whorls, a chisel-shaped iron tool, two vaguely conical iron hooks with loops and the remains of a wooden shaft which probably was some sort of tool and the hair from a brush (the hair was spread in lumps along a 15cm length). There was a well-defined toolbox in the chest. Other grave goods included a sickle, spindlewhorls, one of which was lead, a miniature axe, an arm ring, frying spit (identified by Price (2002, 196) as a ritual staff), etc.

Bags

A selection of bags is described here; Table III provides more details of the Scandinavian evidence. Grave 2 from Ramme parish, Ringkøbing, Denmark contained an amulet bag and is dated to the second half of the 10th century (Brøndsted, 1936, 110-11). The skeleton had decayed but the finds indicate that the individual was female and oriented with the head to the east. The amulet bag probably lay by her left hip. The bag contained two small stones, an echinite and an amber ring. The grave also contained eight glass and amber beads located near her head and an iron ring on her right hip.

Several Icelandic burials are cited by Steffensen (1966-69, 192-4) and Eldjárn (1956, 135-42) that may have contained bags containing stones (see also below under Stones). The grave of a young male from Karlsnes, Landmannahreppur, Rangávallahreppur, contained a small opaque square stone and a knife which may have been kept in a bag (he also had three beads by his neck and a spearhead) (Eldjárn, 1956, 50-1; Illustration 24). Two burials from Sílastaðir, Glæsibæjarhreppur, Eyjafjarðarsýsla, may have contained bags. Grave no. 4 contained a young male with a full weapon set and possibly a bag,

due to the location of the following objects: an opaque stone, a piece of jasper, an iron object with a piece of jasper affixed at one end, and two lead weights. Grave no. 2 contained a middle-aged male and possibly a bag. At his left hip was a collection of a knife, a fragment of jasper, a firesteel, two fragments of a silver coin, silver thread and a calcium flake, which may have been from a shell (Eldjárn, 1956, 135-42). In the middle-aged female burial, grave 1 at Selfoss, Sandvíkurhreppur, Árnessýsla, were some small dark stones and some iron fragments held in a small pile of blue-coloured clay positioned by the right hip. Further up her back was another collection of small iron fragments and a small bead-like opaque stone with a hole in it, a small seashell, and two stones - one grey and oval-shaped with a hole, like a tiny loom-weight, the other shaped like a cylinder or ring. Eldjárn (1965, 10) suggests that, although these objects seem 'worthless trifles', they were collected for some reason, be it superstition or curiosity and prized enough to be buried in the woman's grave. The female burial at Ketilsstaðir, Hjaltastaðahreppur, Norður-Múlasýsla, may have contained an amulet bag (Illustration 25). At her hip were two horn strips (possibly from a comb), two whetstones, fragments of iron shears and a light blue opaque piece of stalactite shaped like a human hand, which Eldjárn (1956, 179-81) suggests may be some kind of amulet. Grave no. 1 at Hafurbjarnarstaðir, Miðneshreppur, Gullbringusýsla, contained a crouched female burial with the upper part of the body covered by stone slab. In the pelvis area was a collection of small artefacts: two stones - one egg-shaped and dark grey, the other white with dark markings and clog-shaped - and a comb, which all may have been held in a bag. Positioned behind the bent knees were a trefoil brooch, a piece of whalebone measuring (50cm x 60cm) and three mussel shells (Eldjárn, 1956, 74-5).

EUROPEAN AMULET BAGS

Anglo-Saxon and Continental burials of high-status women with bags or caskets containing a diverse selection of amulets outnumber the Scandinavian instances. Meaney (1981, 28-36, 249-55) provides a *résumé* of Anglo-Saxon amulet bags and caskets and recounts several examples from the Continent. Meaney (1981, 34) notes that in 7th-century Anglo-Saxon female graves amulet bags are often found around the necks or hanging on the left side of the body from the chatelaine and that the 'thread-boxes' often seem to have been symbolic of the female's work with yarn, rather than of supernatural powers (Meaney, 1981, 185).

The children's graves from Marina Drive, Dunstable, Bedfordshire, contain a variety of amulets, which had possibly been contained in leather bags (Meaney, 1981, 28-9). The amulets are typical of the sort found in the Birka graves. Grave E2 contained a thread-box, stone spindle-whorl, polished milky quartz pebble, flattened mass of iron with embossed bronze mount, and four fragments of glass and an iron spike and clasp (possibly from a second bag).

The Anglo-Saxon 'cunning woman' from grave HB2, Bidford-on-Avon, Warwickshire, had remarkable grave goods (Dickinson, 1993, 45-54). She was supine, oriented south-west to north-east and dated to the first three quarters of the 6th century (Dickinson, 1993, 52). Amongst her grave goods were 54 beads, including amber and coloured glass, located around the neck and around the waist, which may have ornamented a belt. The grave also contained a damaged metal triangular 'spangle' on

a ring; four copper-alloy cylinders and 12 miniature bucket-shaped pendants (containing the remains of spun animal fibre) worn near the neck (Dickinson, 1993, 45-51). The bucket-shaped pendants may have been sewn onto or kept in a bag (as they were associated with leather and cloth remains) and the copper cylinders may have been on lace-ends that tied the leather bag. '...these bucket pendants... may have conferred or represented specific magical or symbolic functions, and which by its very emblematic appearance may have signified a special role or status for its wearer' (Dickinson, 1993, 51-2). The remains, possibly of a leather bag, lay at the left side of the woman's pelvis with two iron rings that might have been kept inside the bag or acted as a closing mechanism. The bag contained an antler cone, which Dickinson (1993, 52) suggests may symbolise a drinking horn or 'allusion to fertility or immortality'. The woman also had a scalpel-like knife at her hip, which would probably have been too big to fit into the bag and perhaps had some function in her occupation. The combination of the bucket pendants and the amulet bag lead Dickinson (1993, 53) to suggest that 'this grave was the grave of someone with special powers' and that the idea of 'cunning' does not rest alone on the inclusion of the amulet bag. The finds and costume of this woman are reminiscent of the Þorbjörg *lítill-völva* (Chapter 6) (*Eiríks saga rauða*, IV). Perhaps this Anglo-Saxon woman fulfilled a similar role to the female from grave 4, Fyrkat, Denmark, but was buried with fewer high status artefacts.

Organic remains from amulet bags and so-called thread-boxes from Anglo-Saxon England and the Continent are discussed by Meaney and linked to various early English texts (1981, 59-65, 181-9). The Anglo-Saxon bronze boxes were small, carefully made and only appear in Christian period cemeteries. They usually contain threads, small pieces of fabric and occasionally needles, but not enough to have made any significant repairs to clothing (Meaney, 1981, 181). The cloth fragments are often high quality fabric and seem inappropriate for use as patches. Meaney (1981, 184-9) suggests that they may have been fragments of saints' clothing, which were often attributed as having special medicinal powers. An amulet box from Barton-on-Humber contained caper spurge (*Euphorbia lathyris*), but otherwise few organic objects survive from amulet bags or boxes. Frankish 'amulet boxes' have been found to contain organic and medicinal remains, such as '...a stem of aromatic chamomile (*Anthemis tinctoria*), leaves of henbane (*Hyoscyamus niger*), cloves, date nuts, umbellifer seeds, and the root of a rush' (Meaney, 1989, 10).

6. NATURAL AMULETS

STONES

Literary Evidence and Superstition

Belief in stones and their use in superstitious practices appear in medieval literature and legal texts (as noted in Chapter 7). *Grágás* (c. 1125) and *Upplandslov* (c. 1295) forbid the use of stones in witchcraft. In *Þorsteins saga Boejarmagns*, Þorstein '...was given a steel spike and a three-cornered pebble, which was white in the middle, red "on the other side", and with a gold rim. If the white part were struck there would be a hailstorm, if the gold sunshine, and if the red "fire and embers and... a shower of sparks"' (Meaney, 1981, 211). The stone clearly appears to be associated with weather magic. The sword *Skofnung* in *Laxdæla saga* (LVII) had an associated healing stone used to heal wounds caused

by the sword. This was evidenced later (LVIII) when it was bound to a victim's arm '...and all the pain and swelling disappeared at once'. In a Penitential ascribed to Archbishop Theodore (late 7th century), he permitted the use of stones and/or herbs for those afflicted by an evil spirit, but prohibited incantations (Meaney, 1981, 13). As late as 1486 the German Dominicans Sprenger and Kramer, who published *Malleus Malficarum*, permitted the use of stones and herbs to drive away witchcraft (Merrifield, 1987, 161).

How stones were used for superstitious activities during the Viking Age is unknown, but several suggestions have been made. Schnittger (1912, 105) suggests that after a 'wise-man' had been sucking or charming a wound, he would produce a stone, bone fragment, or charcoal as having been 'sucked out' which would have been the cause of pain. As Steffensen (1966-9, 194) indicates with the Icelandic material (below), the stones are of different types but all have unusual shapes, contain no human working and are generally few in number per burial. All the stones appear to have been revered and '...it is likely that they acquired their healing powers through some kind of heathen ceremony...' Steffensen (1966-69, 195-6) cites various recent uses of stones in Scandinavia for healing purposes, and Ringstad (1988, 328) lists several sources regarding the use of stones in Norwegian medical folklore. Stones from medieval contexts inscribed with runic inscriptions are considered by Moltke (1938, 139-44), who suggests that these amuletic stones may be regarded as healing stones. Where stones appear in large numbers, they may have been used as gaming pieces (Meaney, 1981, 261). It is also possible that the stones could have been kept for their aesthetic appearance and interesting shape and had no superstitious beliefs attached to them.

Smooth or sea-washed stones occasionally appear in graves. Roesdahl (1977, 142) suggests that these stones may have been either gaming pieces or *suttesten*, which were kept in the mouth to stave off thirst and hunger, a practice used by soldiers in 19th-century Denmark (Adriansen, 1975, 27-9). The large size of some of the stones at Kaupang, led Blindheim, *et al.* (1999, 186) to dispute that the stones could be used as 'sucking stones' and, instead, suggest that '...perhaps they were substitutes for eggs - the ancient symbols for eternity and rebirth'.

Until the early 20th century in parts of Scandinavia, stones were used to cure sick animals or kept to bring love, which illustrates the continuation of superstition attached to stones. Such stones used in Norway are discussed by Reichborn-Kjennerud (1921, 3-17) and Saxlund (1919, 97-9). Reichborn-Kjennerud (1921, 17) suggests that the use of stones and amulets probably stems back to the pagan period. Some Scandinavian folklore requires stones to be bound to the left arm to aid childbirth (Mundal and Steinsland, 1987, 104).

Archaeological Evidence

Particular types of stones appear to have been included as grave goods in some inhumation graves. Such stones can be defined due to their condition, i.e. if they are sea-washed or particularly smooth, by their type and colour, location in the grave and whether they form part of a collection included in the

grave. It is usually the quantity and colour of the stones that has prevented them from being dismissed as grave-fill. On many occasions, the type of stone is not indicated in the excavation reports.

Pre-Viking Evidence

Unusual stones have appeared in burials since before the Viking Age. Ringstad (1988, 332-4) documents collections of small stones found in Neolithic, early Bronze-Age and Iron-Age circumstances. Several small round stones were found in a high-status male cist burial at Veiem, Grong in Nord-Trøndelag, Norway dating to c. 500 (Farbregd, 1980, 23). They were laid in a 25cm circle outside the eastern end of the grave and associated with a thick charcoal layer which may have been associated with the funeral (Ringstad, 1980, 333). A cremation burial dating to the early Iron Age from Risefeltet, in Oppdal, Norway had 5 to 10 small stones collected together in the grave (Ringstad, 1980, 333). Several instances of collections of pebbles have been found in the Slusegård cemetery (dating to c. 100-500), which Klindt-Jensen (1978b, 50) suggests may be gaming pieces or, as they are often found in cooking vessels, food substitutes.

Viking-Age Evidence

Grave 20, Fyrkat contained a smooth pebble that may have been kept in a casket. The pebble resembles four others found in the fort area of Fyrkat, Denmark (Roesdahl, 1977, 70-1, 112-5; fig 173; Illustration 26). Twelve pebbles were found in a woman's grave in Ellidshøj sn., Ålborg a., Denmark, which may also have been in a casket (Roesdahl, 1977, 142). The Viking-Age cremation grave from mound 25, Enehagen, Östbo, Vernamo, Småland, Sweden yielded a round flat stone, a burnt hazelnut and an iron casket lock amongst other finds (*Fornvännen*, 1908, 203).

The seven smooth quartz pebbles from Kvåle, Norway (see above), show no signs of working, but due to their number they have been identified as intentional grave goods (Ringstad, 1988, 332). Thirteen smooth pebbles of different colours were found in a Viking-Age male boat burial from Sandal in Jølster, Norway (Ringstad, 1980, 334).

A list of Icelandic graves containing stones has been created by Steffensen (1966-69, 192-4). He interprets the stones as amulets, used to promote health, and that they are 'most likely ...[to be] regarded as having particular power, like those forbidden in the laws' (Steffensen, 1966-69, 192). These amuletic qualities are questioned by Fuglesang (1989, 22), who does not suggest any other reason for their inclusion in the graves. The male grave from Austarihöll, Haganeshreppur, Skagafjarðarsýsla, contained seven differently sized stones at the foot end, which were probably struck to produce fire; one of the stones was unusual, a rounded zeolite with holes and scratches, the others were light coloured (Eldjárn, 1965, 22-33). Three of the ten graves from Ytre-Garðshorn, Svarfaðardalshreppur, Eyjafjarðarsýsla contained stones. At the foot of grave no. 3, a badly disturbed grave of a young female, was a small round piece of quartz. A few other items were contained in the grave (Eldjárn, 1965, 39). At the foot of grave no. 9, the middle-aged female were 58 pieces of quartz (chalcedony) of varying size, tweezers and a piece of beeswax and a necklace of 25

beads, including one of amber (Eldjárn, 1965, 46). Steffensen (1966-69, 194) likens this grave to a 'pagan drugstore', perhaps with the deceased as a female healer '...as the fragments of wax and the tweezers might indicate too. Wax was a common element in many ointments...' A small round piece of quartz was found at the foot of the adult grave no. 10 (Eldjárn, 1965, 47). Grave no. 3 from Sílastaðir, Glæsibæjarhreppur, Eyjafjarðarsýsla, a mature female, contained, amongst other grave goods, three pieces of quartz, of unspecified location, iron nails and a lockplate perhaps from a chest (Eldjárn, 1956, 141-2). Steffensen (1966-69, 194) states that all these graves were excavated after 1932, and it is possible that many other graves excavated earlier may have contained stones that were not recorded.

A few other Icelandic graves containing stones are known. A small yellow stone was found in the badly excavated grave from Efri-Rauðalækur, Holtahreppur, Rangárvallasýsla, which also contained an axe and ice spike (Eldjárn, 1956, 51; Jónsson, 1996, 40). The adult grave no. 3 at Hrífunes, Skaftártunguhreppur, Vestur-Skaftafellsýsla, contained five fragments of red jasper (the four largest fragments from the same stone), a small egg-shaped basalt stone, a lead weight and some lead fragments which may be all be weights (Jónsson, 1996, 61; Eldjárn 2000, 246; Illustrations 27a and 27b). Four pieces of jasper, probably used to produce fire, were included in grave 1, Hemla, Vestur-Landeyjahreppur, Rangárvallasýsla, a male burial, which also contained amongst other artefacts; a spear-head, shield-boss, small axe, knife and whetstone (Eldjárn, 1956, 31-3). The suggested male burial, grave 1, at Stóri-Klofi, Landmannahreppur, Rangárvallasýsla, also contained a yellow jasper fragment, located at the middle left side of the deceased and may have been used with the firesteel (Eldjárn, 1956, 46-8). Two very small round stones were found in the suggested boat burial of an individual, aged about 10, from Straumur, Tunguhreppur, Norður-Múlasýsla (Eldjárn, 1956, 173; Jónsson, 1996, 53). The disturbed female grave at Kornhóll, Skansinn, Vestmannaeyar, dating from the last half of the 10th or early 11th century, contained two flints and an agate (or glass-stone), along with a twisted bronze alloy bracelet, and iron and bone comb fragments (Snæsdóttir, 1992, 2-3). The double burial from Kaldárhöfði, Grímsneshreppur, Árnessýsla (Chapter 5) contained two jasper fragments, used to make fire, and lay beside the silver wire at the belt buckle. The multiple burial from Vatnsdalur, Patreksfjarðarhreppur, Barðastrandarssýsla (Chapter 5), contained a white perforated pebble. The male grave at Eyrarteigur, Skriðdalshreppur, Suður-Múlasýsla, dated c. 935-1015, contained a piece of agate amongst other grave goods, such as; a sword, spearhead, four lead weights in a purse (Friðriksson, 2000, 586).

Several male and female graves from Kaupang, Norway contained small oval or round stones. Cremation graves, for example, C 4216-24 (high-status male), C 4244 (low status of unknown gender) and C 4271-75 (a high-status female) contained stones (Blindheim, *et al.*, 1981, 92-3, pls 8 and 20, 201-3). Stones were also found in, for example, high-status female inhumation graves K/VII, gr.s I (2 egg-shaped stones) and II (an egg-shaped stone), male burial K/IV gr. IV and high-status female K/IV gr. III (an egg-shaped stone), which Blindheim, *et al.* (1999, 186) suggest '...must have been used during the burial rituals'.

Fossils and Shells

Fossilised sea urchins (echinites), when found in graves, may be interpreted as amulets, associated with magical practices or may have been used as playing pieces (Resi, 1986, 81; Ringstad, 1988, 335; Roesdahl, 1977, 71). An echinite was found in cremation grave F.41 A.L. Nr. 41 (Perlehaug), Hunn, Østfold, Norway (late Merovingian - early Viking Age), along with 18 glass beads, fragments of a bone comb, a simple brooch, five pieces of flint and other minor grave goods. Cremation grave F.43. A.L. Nr. 56 (Lyshaug/Lysgatehaug), Hunn, Østfold (early Viking Age), contained a quartzite 1/2 spherical object which looked very like the echinite from the other grave (Resi, 1986, 79-81). Roesdahl (1977, 219) cites other instances of echinites in Viking-Age graves.

The burial at Ramme parish, Denmark, containing an echinite (see above) leads Fuglesang (1989, 22) to state however, that ‘...fossils have been found spread over most of the town site at Hedeby, and there is nothing to indicate that they were used as amulets. This evidence cautions against general interpretations of fossils as amulets in Viking Scandinavia...’

Shells sometimes appear in amulet bags and can appear on their own at the hip. For example, the grave of a young adult in mound 2, Moldhaugar, Glæsibæjarhreppur, Eyjafjaðarsýsla, Iceland, contained three shells which were placed at the left hip upside down. Beneath the shells were iron fragments, perhaps belonging to a knife (Eldjárn, 1956, 143). Viking-Age burials do not seem to contain cowry shells like Anglo-Saxon burials, where they were included in female burials and often kept in boxes (Wilson, 1992, 104-8).

Rock Crystal

Rock crystal has played a significant and varied part in folk tradition. It has been used in protection against the supernatural, evil powers and illness, as a thunderstone, to bring wealth and ‘...as a symbol of sun rays and in Christianity it was seen as a symbol of the purity of Mary and the Holy Spirit’ (Ringstad, 1988, 331-2). In later traditions, crystal, rings and mirrors were used to bind spirits to the magician (Merrifield, 1987, 177).

A few Scandinavian graves contained crystal balls compared with the Anglo-Saxon evidence, but rock crystal fragments are far more common by comparison. A crystal ball mounted in metal was found in the Merovingian period female grave at Skåla in Kvinnherad, Norway, along with an echinite. Two similar finds came from the bog at Vimose, Denmark, and a grave at Ugulen in Hafslo, Luster, Norway (Ringstad, 1988, 334-5). A small white stone supported in a bronze wire net with a loop to use it as a pendant or amulet, similar to the crystal ball metal supports, was found in a grave at Täby, Uppland, Sweden. Holmqvist (1959, 208-9) believes the net is comparable with stones with net-like carving on them and could be symbolic of binding the stone and its powers.

Rock crystal beads seem mainly to be ornamental. Rock crystal pendants mounted in metal are uncommon and are found mostly on Gotland. Located together in the grave at Kvåle, Norway (see above), were unworked rock crystals, a stone axe and '...other stones of some "mystic" character, ...[which] can mean that they did not have a specifically practical function' (Ringstad, 1988, 331 - my translation). Ringstad (1988, 331) lists other instances of unworked rock crystal from Migration period burials. Blindheim, *et al.* (1999, 173) list finds of rock crystal and cornelian beads from Vestfold, Norway. A large rock crystal bead was found in the boat burial from Borre, Norway (Sjøvold, 1985, 72). The 58 pieces of quartz from grave no. 9, Ytre-Garøshorn, Svarfaðardalshreppur, Eyjafjarðarsýsla, (see above) is highly irregular and their inclusion, combined with the other artefacts, lends to an interpretation involving the supernatural and/or early medical use. Rock crystal beads and unworked crystal may have been used in lot casting.

Wilson (1992, 113) documents instances of Anglo-Saxon quartz beads and unperforated pieces of quartz in burials, such as the piece from the 'work box' at Marina drive, Bedfordshire (Wilson, 1992, 138).

Amethyst

Amethyst beads are dismissed by Fuglesang (1989, 20) as having any amuletic association, given that the Scandinavian examples have not been found in amuletic circumstances. Meaney (1981, 75-7) describes amethyst as being used against drunkenness, but as many of the Anglo-Saxon graves that contain amethyst beads are from the Christian period, they may simply have been a fashion influence from Byzantium.

Amber

Amber was considered to have healing and health-giving properties during the Viking Age, perhaps due to its magnetic properties leading to a belief that it drew out illness (Koktvedgaard Zeiten, 1997, 11). Amber had been used for a long time as a panacea, a cure for specific ailments or a barrier/prevention against witchcraft (Meaney, 1981, 70-1). Bø and Kivikoski (1980, col. 132) suggest amber may have been thought to bring good fortune. Fuglesang (1989, 21) concedes that amber may be considered amuletic in some instances.

Amber is found in graves throughout Scandinavia, most often found singly amongst other glass or stone beads and would have been considered decorative and probably of some value (Stenberger, 1958, 222-3; Fuglesang, 1989, 20). Amber may have had special amuletic significance for children and it appears in various forms in seven Birka child graves (Gräslund, 1972-3, 173-4). Single amber beads are found in both high and low status burials, such as from the high-status female burial at Hvilehøj, Randers, Denmark (Brøndsted, 1936, 101), or the low-status grave 2, Lillevang, Gudhjem on Bornholm (Brøndsted, 1936, 203). Amber beads are most frequently found singly, which may indicate that their presence, rather than quantity, is significant. Amber spindle whorls were found in graves at Bikjholberget, Norway (Blindheim, 1958-9, 80).

Amber appears in carved forms in graves, such as the animal figures from Norway (see below), which Fuglesang (1989, 21) does not believe to be amuletic due to their distribution and rarity. A carved amber figure of a female was found in house foundations near Bikjholberget, Kaupang. This figure may be compared to a bead carved into a human form from a 9th-century high-status female boat burial at Longva on Haram, Sunnmøre, Norway and the silver Valkyrie figures from Birka. Such items may be linked to a fertility cult (Blindheim, 1958-9, 78-88).

Amber beads occur frequently in Anglo-Saxon cemeteries (Meaney, 1981, 67-71).

Jet

Imported English jet is found mainly in Norway during the Viking Age. Jet was used to carve arm and finger rings, beads and animal-shaped figures (Shetelig, 1944, 3-14). Jet beads occur singly in Norwegian graves, such as the female burial at Sunnmøre that also contained a jet snake, an amber bead carved in the female form and 66 glass beads (Blindheim, 1958-9, 82). Diverse views exist as to the amuletic nature and function of jet. Meaney (1981, 71-5) documents its early use against sorcery, illness and thunder. Shetelig (1944, 3, 13) believed jet and amber had magical powers, which may be due to both materials being found by the sea, combustible and becoming electrically charged when rubbed. Shetelig (1944, 13) suggested that, when jet or amber were carved into animal forms, they acquired a magical protective power, that ‘...brought the stone to “life”, giving strength to the stone’s inner properties’ (my translation), and that the carved figures may have been carried around in bags or on the dress. Fuglesang (1989, 21) believes that neither the jet nor the animal-shaped figures are amuletic.

Iron pyrites

Iron pyrites (fools gold) emits sparks when hit by steel and may have been a source of superstition. As iron pyrites is widely distributed in Scandinavia, especially Norway, its appearance in graves may be accidental; however, iron pyrites appears deliberately in male Anglo-Saxon burials (Meaney, 1981, 101). Flint, in a similar way, may have been included for superstitious reasons as well as for its practical purposes.

ORGANIC REMAINS

A round metal box with a hinged lid, resembling the bronze containers used to hold weights, measuring c. 6.65cm in diameter and 3.2cm high (dated c. 850-950), was found in a field in Bäls sn., Gotland (Schnittger, 1912, 98-109) (Illustration 28). It contained the curled up skeleton and some scales of a young grass snake, which Schnittger (1912, 99) believed to be a medicinal object, a prophylactic object or a lucky charm - a ‘whitesnake’ or *spiritus* which was attributed special powers. Schnittger (1912, 101, 106-9) describes three boxes from the 18th and 19th centuries that also contained a *spiritus* (which may also have legs, such as a beetle or toad-like creature) and small stones.

Several hundred henbane seeds were found in the amulet bag in grave 4, Fyrkat, Denmark, together with an owl pellet and a pig jaw, perhaps from the casket (the burial is detailed in Chapter 2). The owl pellet is similar to the animal hair-balls mentioned by Lid (1921, 17; 1927, 46-7) and Reichborn-Kjennerud (1921, 1-9), documented from the middle ages in Sweden and Norway, these were prized as having magical functions and used to cure cattle of sickness.

Occasionally nuts and fruit kernels are preserved in graves and may have been included as food for the deceased or for some other symbolic meaning. Hazelnuts appear in graves from the Viking Age, such as Oseberg (Høeg, 1970, cols. 240-2), and the Conversion period, such as Mammen (Brøndsted, 1936, 106), Barsaldershed, Gotland (11th century), and in twenty instances on Birka (Arwidsson, 1984, 273-4). Hazelnuts had economic significance; the shell was an important factor in the smelting of metal and the nut provided food. Hazelnuts may have been part of the funeral meal (Brøndsted, 1936, 224).

ANIMALS: CLAWS, PAWS AND TEETH

Bear claws are rare in Viking-Age cremations and inhumations. Munksgaard (1959, 18) states that bears were not found in Denmark after the younger Stone Age and so the presence of claws suggests that bear skin was imported from North Scandinavia. Bear claws in Viking-Age Norwegian and Swedish inhumations often lie in each corner of the grave, indicating that the deceased was placed on a bearskin; both male and female burials may contain claws. Petré (1980, 5-6) catalogues bear claws found in Sweden from the Roman Iron Age to the Viking Age in cremation and inhumation graves, but notes that none were found as amulets (Petré, 1980, 8). Grave K/VIII from Kaupang (see above Chapter 4) may represent a bear cult. Bear claws have been found in Iron-Age Finnish cremation burials and clay models of paws (also interpreted as human feet or hands) have been found on Åland dating to the 9th century, and there is one fragmentary example from Södermanland, Sweden. A bear's tooth was included in a child's grave on Birka (Bj. 890; Gräslund, 1972-3, 170). Kivikoski (1965, 31) does not believe that the Swedish material belongs to a hunter-cult and, as it is early and from a Viking area, refrains from interpreting it in the same fashion as the Finnish material, which may have been associated with a bear cult.

The existence of bear claws in burials may be due solely to the individual being buried with a bearskin, as a status symbol. However, as presented in the literary evidence, claws were sometimes used as amulets and kept in bags for witchcraft. The bear was associated with Óðinn (Krüger, 1988, 363) and the skin was believed to have the capacity of providing the human wearer with the animal's power, such as the *berserkr* (translated as bear-shirt) (Morris, 1991, 99). Munksgaard (1959, 18) cites a Gotlandic oral history recording the use of a bearskin to exorcise the spirit of an ancient magician who terrorised people. Bear claws in Anglo-Saxon burials are documented by Wilson (1992, 154-6).

Lynx claws have been found on several occasions in graves, but may also have been attached to a pelt put beneath the individual in the grave (Petré, 1980, 8).

An amulet of a goshawk's claw was found in a small child's grave, Spånga sn., Uppland, Sweden (Sten and Vretemark, 1988, 154). Meaney (1981, 144) cites Roman and Anglo-Saxon literary references documenting the uses of bird claws, i.e. to alleviate toothache and aid teething. High-status burials containing claws may be indicative of falconry, such as in the east mound, Uppsala, Sweden, and a grave at Vårberg, Södermanland, Sweden (Petré, 1980, 8).

7. MAN-MADE AMULETS

Amulets could be deliberately made to fulfil a particular function. Beads could be made to protect against the Evil Eye, and miniature weapons as symbols of protection.

GLASS

Glass fragments, such as those found in amulet bags, may have been prized because of their colour and transparency. Glass may have been symbolic, as only the rich and later, during the medieval period, the church could afford glass. Glass '...could perhaps have been used for scarification, as a lens in cauterization or, along with any of the other objects, have been dipped in water to make a powerful medicine' (Meaney, 1981, 227-8). Cauterization may be an inapplicable suggestion for Scandinavia, as reliance on the sun for many months of the year is tenuous and metal could have been used more effectively instead. The pieces of glass may have been used as a small cutting tool, as more control of the cutting edge may be achieved than with a knife, which is considerably larger and can be less sharp.

GLASS BEADS

Glass beads are found in many high-status female burials and occasionally in male burials, singly, such as the large dark glass bead from the high-status cremation burial at Miklebostad, Nordfjord, Norway (Shetelig 1904, 343-4) and sometimes in twos and threes, such as the two Viking graves from the mounds at Kildonnan chapel, Scotland (Graham-Campbell and Batey, 1998, 84).

Occasionally beads are found in large quantities and may be an indicator of material wealth, fashion or some other high status activity. Large numbers of beads have been found in some of the graves which may contain a healer/witch individual, for example, 25 beads were found in grave no. 9, Ytre-Garöshorn, Svarfaðardalshreppur, Eyjafjarðarsýsla, along with 58 pieces of quartz, tweezers and wax fragments. The high-status female burial from Birka, Bj. 943, contained large quantity of beads, as well as lots of other jewellery and possibly two amulet bags. In *Eiriks saga rauða* (IV) Þorbjörg *lítill-völva* is described as wearing a necklace of glass beads.

Many of the beads were probably just considered by the owner to be decorative, but whether the owner prized or attributed meanings to the beads is hard to tell when they are worn as strings of jewellery, or even interspersed with metal amulets. The use of glass beads is documented extensively by Meaney (1981, 192-210), whether singly against the Evil Eye or in combinations of material or colour. A large number of glass beads were found in the children's graves at Birka (Gräslund, 1972-3, 173).

PERSONAL GROOMING EQUIPMENT

Wilson (1992, 139) suggests that items associated with the hair of the deceased, such as combs, tweezers and sheers, may be connected to '...sympathetic magic, the toilet articles had to be buried with the dead in order to prevent other people from using them for such magic'. Hair used in spells from 19th-century Norway was documented by Lid (1921, 14-16). In 19th-century Sweden, facial and head hair removed from the deceased was buried along with the comb or knife with the deceased (or burned separately) and nail clippings were burned so that nobody could use them to a supernatural end (Hagberg, 1936, 130). Viking mythology also attaches significance to human nails. The ship *Naglfar* (*Gylfaginning*, 51) was supposed to be made of 'dead people's nails' (Turville-Petre, 1964, 281 and note 18) and Price (2002, 56) notes that the *norns* (female supernatural powers who foretold the future) had a rune on each fingernail.

A rare find, a piece of human hair measuring c.35cms, was placed near the bottom of a bronze cremation urn at Skopintull, Adelsö, Sweden (grave 1) (Illustration 29). The cremation layer was unusually large and contained fragments of high-status grave goods (Rydh, 1936, 104-13). Rydh (1919, 238-9) suggests that either the hair belonged to the deceased and was cut off to symbolise severed links with earthly life, or that the hair belonged to one of the surviving relatives/friends and was cut off as a symbol of mourning.

PENDANTS AND JEWELLERY

Thor's hammers

Thor's hammers appear throughout Scandinavia and are usually made of either iron or silver; they date from the 8th century, but most date to the second half of the 10th and into the 11th century (Koktvedgaard Zeiten, 1997, 25). The majority of Thor's hammer pendants suspended from iron rings have been found in the Mälars region of Sweden and these date from the 9th into the first half of the 10th century (Ström, 1984, 130-5); they are mainly associated with cremation burials. Gräslund (1992, 190) suggests that the position of the Thor's hammer on the top of the cremation urn may indicate a particular burial custom. Jansson (1992, 278) suggests that as 'they are usually found in graves, above or around the burial urn, [this may be] indicative of their magical intent'. Thor's hammers have been found in some inhumations on Birka where they were worn around the neck, often singly as pendants. The Thor's hammer pendant is one of the most common amuletic grave goods in Scandinavia (Koktvedgaard Zeiten, 1997, 25).

The Thor's hammer appears to be used as an adornment and as an amulet and does not appear to have any links with witchcraft or divination. Meaney (1981, 158-9) suggests tentatively that Thor's hammers may compare to the Anglo-Saxon miniature weapons, which were associated with 'masculine daily life' and therefore symbolically protective. Since Scandinavian Thor's hammers are later than Anglo-Saxon examples, Meaney (1981, 159) suggests that Thor's hammers may be an '...emulation of the crosses worn by Christians' (1981, 159). However, Ström (1982, cols 502-6) suggests that Thor's hammer rings should not be viewed as a heathen comparison to the Christian cross during the conversion period, since their usage begins from the 8th century, when Christianity was not perceived

as a threat to the heathen religion. Koktvedgaard Zeiten (1997, 28) states that in the Danish finds of Thor's hammers, all but two (from unsexed burials) are from female burials. Such an association may link the Thor's hammer to a fertility or female death rite, particularly as the Thor's hammer was used as carved decoration on the wagon bodies of grave 18, Ketting on Als and grave 21 Thumbby-Bienebek, Slesvig. Conversely in Sweden, 40% of Thor's hammers are from male burials, whereas both countries have 'Thor-vie' formulae carved on rune stones honouring men, which may indicate that Þórr had a different meaning for men at death or during life (Koktvedgaard Zeiten, 1997, 28).

Thor's hammers made of amber showing no signs of wear have been found in Gotlandic graves and were probably made specifically for burial (Gräslund, 1992, 190). Other amber Thor's hammers have been found in Scandinavia, such as one from Bjerrehøg, Fly parish, Viborg, Denmark, dating from the second half of the 10th century (Brøndsted, 1936, 109).

Miniature weapons and tools

Miniature weapons are found in both male and female graves, are usually made of iron or silver and can be suspended from an iron or silver ring, like the Thor's hammer. Some iron and silver pendants common to Södermanland, Uppland (such as the ring from Torvalla, Skederid, Uppland; Illustration 30) and from Åland, have been tentatively linked to particular gods. Jansson (1992, 278) suggests that spear and sickle or scythe pendants are attributes of Óðinn and Freyr respectively and may be linked to fertility beliefs. Gräslund (1992, 190) suggests that they are linked to fertility cults. Ström (1984, 138-40) discusses firesteel-shaped pendants from Birka. Miniature axes and their suggested use in cult activity are discussed in detail by Koktvedgaard Zeiten (1997, 15-18). Miniature strike-a-light pendants are sometimes found with Thor's hammer pendants and may have been associated with fire cults (see below). Staff-shaped pendants may be interpreted 'as shaman staves, a symbol dedicated to Odin' (Gräslund, 1992, 190) (Illustration 31). Price (2002, 203-4) notes that staff-shaped pendants are found in female graves and that, as the other amulets often found suspended together with the staff-shaped pendants on a silver or bronze ring are often associated with Óðinn and not Þórr, their link to *seiðr* may be reinforced. Koktvedgaard Zeiten (1997, 25) suggests that the wearing of the staff pendants may have been a proclamation of one's knowledge of *seiðr*.

Snake pendants

Pendants of snakes curled in a spiral have been regarded as amuletic by Shetelig (1944, 11-12). Norwegian examples of curled snakes are found, for example, in gold from Hon on Eiker, in silver from Hardanger (suspended from a necklace composed of rings joined together with beads), and in bronze from Nordfjord. In early Europe, snakes were often believed to hold the souls of the dead because they were believed to live underground (Schnittger, 1912, 107). Koktvedgaard Zeiten (1997, 13) suggests that they may have been associated with Óðinn who changed into the shape of a snake and also with shamanism and magic.

Capsule pendants

Silver capsule pendants occur during the mid to late Viking Age, are rare and may have been Slavic imports (Koktvedgaard Zeiten, 1997, 31). The capsule may have contained herbs. An example from Birka, Bj. 552, was inscribed with runes to repel vermin (Fuglesang, 1989, 16).

Ring pendants

Rings may have had significance when suspended from pendants and may have been considered protective against general harm (Meaney, 1981, 174; Ström, 1984, 138-40).

Mask pendants

Pendants of human head masks are discussed by Grieg (1954, 185-9) as amulets or as a protective 'house-god', in the same way as masks used on ships' prows or on axes. Koktvedgaard Zeiten (1997, 9) describes both the pendants and use of human heads as decoration during the Viking Age and suggests they may have been used against the 'evil eye'.

Cross-shaped pendants

Cross-shaped pendants occur in pagan graves, but are more common in hoards and are usually made of bronze and occasionally silver. Cross-shaped pendants are often found in the same grave as other so-called pagan type of pendants, such as Bj. 968, Birka, where the woman had a necklace strung with a cross, a miniature chair, a miniature shield and a female figure (Koktvedgaard Zeiten, 1997, 29). As the cross's associations with Christianity would have been known from the 9th century onwards in various areas of Scandinavia, the inclusion of both a Christian and a pagan symbol may reflect uncertain beliefs of the deceased or surviving family. A cross may not have been considered a Christian symbol in pagan contexts and may represent something else, amuletic or decorative.

Gold bracteates and shield-shaped pendants

Gold bracteates are most common during the Migration period and Iron Age in Scandinavia (Ringstad, 1988, 325; Kivikoski and Bø, 1980, col. 129) and have been suggested to possess magical powers. Bracteates may be inscribed with runes and can be associated with the gods (Grieg, 1954, 162-5). Fuglesang (1989, 16) suggests shield-shaped pendants may be decorative as they do not coincide with any other miniatures of weapons, as Gräslund (1992, 190) suggests that the shields '...decorated with a whorl pattern (a sun symbol)... are associated with fertility cults'.

Horse-shaped brooches and pendants

Nancke-Krogh (1978, 179-89) discusses horses pendants and believes that their root is in the horsemen who came to Europe from Asia and passed the decorative tradition to the Celts. Gjessing (1943, 42-64) provides an overview of horse ornament, cult and burial in Scandinavia from pre-history to the Viking Age, when the horse was associated with the cult of Freyr and fertility or with Óðinn's horse Sleipnir.

Blindheim, *et al.* (1999, 35-6) suggest that horse brooches (for example, from Kaupang C27220 and K/XIII gr. I) may be amuletic, but also have been used as a dress-fastener.

Chair-shaped pendants

Chair-shaped pendants appear to be unique to Sweden and Denmark (none have been found in Norway (Koktvedgaard Zeiten, 1997, 22)) and may be linked to the Asa belief and Óðinn (Gräslund, 1992, 190; Fuglesang, 1989, 16; Illustration 32). Such a link with Óðinn may be found on an amulet ring of unknown provenance from Sweden, from which were suspended chair, horse, spear and sword amulets, all of which can be associated with Óðinn as a battle god (Koktvedgaard Zeiten 1997, 21). Price (2002, 162-7) describes extensively the miniature chair pendants found in Scandinavian graves and hoards and their possible association with the *völva* figure, who is noted as having prophesied from a high-seat (see Chapter 6). Chair-shaped pendants are only found in female burials. Grave 4, Fyrkat, Denmark yielded a chair pendant (Illustration 33). The chair motif may be an indicator of a person of high status who would be entitled to sit on such a chair. Perkins (2002, 55-6) suggests that the seat may be connected with Þórr who has been associated with chairs, such as being seated in the temple at Uppsala or as his image was carved into a chair in *Fóstbræðra saga* (XXIII).

Human figures

Female figure pendants are sometimes depicted with a drinking horn and may be interpreted as Valkyries, especially when compared with the depictions of females with drinking horns on the Gotlandic picture stones (Illustration 34) (Gräslund, 1992, 190; Illustration 35). Jansson (1992, 276) believes 'these small dress ornaments probably also had a symbolic or magical significance...' That some of the women hold drinking horns may link them to the *gyðja*, the priestess for the Freyja cult, who sanctified the mead (Lindström and Adolfsson, 1995, 21). Koktvedgaard Zeiten (1997, 10-11) suggests that as human figure pendants from Danish graves only occur in female burials, there may be associations with these figures and the supernatural or death, such as with Valkyries or Freyja, who was both a goddess of fertility and death.

8. FIRESTEELS AND IRON SLAG

As well as being functional, Blindheim, *et al.* (1999, 185) suggest that firesteels could be seen as possessing magical properties as they produced fire. Cremation grave C 21960, Kaupang, contained a firesteel and a Thor's hammer and the whole cemetery yielded ten firesteels in total. Gräslund (1992, 190) suggests that they may represent '...life-giving and purifying fire' and may be linked to a fertility cult.

A fire-cult theory is suggested by the regular presence of iron slag in burials (Burström, 1990, 261). Burström's (1990, 261) suggestion is founded on how the extraction of iron from stone/slag had supernatural connotations in early civilisations and that both stone/slag and human beings go through a transformation involving fire (cremation) before reaching their end - i.e. as a sword or as a way to the

afterlife. Iron slag may conversely signify economic activity or have been simply used as a form of easily-carried grave fill.

9. KNIVES

The most common grave find is a knife. Knives may not be symbolic grave finds, being linked to the dress and belt equipment of the deceased and a fundamental and inexpensive tool. They may, however, have been symbolic in that they indicated some level of rank and their inclusion in the grave would have been deliberate, even as part of the clothing. The inclusion of the knife would have removed a useful tool from society and where the surviving family was poor, including such a resource in a burial could have been considered a great expense and a mark of honour. During the last century knives were believed to keep the deceased in the grave. Rituals around the time of the funeral involving iron implements, which the dead could not overcome to cross into the living world, are described by Hagberg (1936, 622).

10. AXES

A few instances exist where an axe has been found struck into the wall of a grave, which may be representative of an axe cult. Several instances of this custom are found at Kaupang, Norway, such as from inhumation grave K/V gr. I, from South Bikjholberg; from the boat burial K/XV; from the young male buried in crouched position next to the boat in grave K/VIII; and an axe struck was struck into the earth from the cremation field at C 4226-34, South Bikjholberget (Blindheim and Heyerdahl-Larsen, 1995, 128, 134). A similar custom is documented by Gräslund (1980, 30-1, 766) where a spearhead was struck into the side of a grave wall at Birka (Bj. 834). Price (2002, 139) suggests that the practice of throwing a spear over the burial may have linked to the cult of Óðinn and, in turn, to *seiðr*. In *Gylfaginning* (XLIX) Þórr consecrates a funeral pyre with his axe Mjöllnir. The tradition of using an axe in a burial ceremony from 1635 at a farm in Landeryd, Östergötland, Sweden, is documented by Hagberg (1936, 624). When the coffin had been brought out, an uninvited woman with a tucked-up skirt appeared and stood in the middle of the doorway at the entrance of the house. She had one hand around the axe head and used the shaft as a stick. As soon as the corpse had been taken to the churchyard, she made a fire to prevent the deceased from 'running again' (my translation).

The inclusion of axes may be of a similar tradition to the inclusion of Stone-Age axes in graves, which was primarily an Early Iron-Age practice. Stone-Age axes seem to have been associated with 'thunder stones, thunder bolts or Þórr stones' (Carelli, 1996, 153-170; Werner, 1964, 176-97). A rare example is from the late Migration period at Kvåle, Norway (mentioned above) and a Viking-Age female burial at Terum, Aurland, Norway (Ringstad, 1988, 329-30).

11. KEYS

Keys are occasionally found singly in graves, often with a chest or casket (Arwill-Nordbladh, 1990, 256). Keys are often used to identify female burials and may be symbolic of the deceased being the guardian of the house or the family riches. Steuer (1982, 203) suggests that the key may represent a relationship or fertility, as keys are also linked to birth and Freyja (Arwill-Nordbladh, 1990, 257; Dübner-Manthey, 1990, 78). Grave 4289-90 (mound 5), Kaupang, contained a key and three clay shards, and was sexed as female because of the key (Blindheim, *et al.*, 1981, 93). However, keys also appear in male and child burials (Arwill-Nordbladh, 1990, 256; Gräslund, 1972-3, 174). The key may have been a Christian amulet or symbol, with the association of St Peter's keys.

12. KITCHEN EQUIPMENT

Lundström and Adolfsson (1995, 21) suggest that kitchen equipment, such as pans, shears, or ladles had not only a practical function, but could also be symbolic of both the wife and the *völva*, but do not suggest how they are linked to the *völva*. A roasting spit was buried beneath a large stone in the floor of the boat grave of female burial K/IV gr. III, Kaupang, Norway. The grave also contained a bronze bowl with a runic inscription and a dog that may have been decapitated. Burial of roasting spits can be paralleled in three instances at Birka (Blindheim and Heyerdahl-Larsen, 1995, 27).

13. GRAVE STICKS - A PAGAN SURVIVAL?

Conversion period and early Christian graves, particularly around the area of Lund, occasionally contain a long stick, usually of hazel, but occasionally of willow, cornell, rowan or ash, of no apparent use (Ohlsson and Cinthio, 1979, 51; Cinthio, 1979-80, 112-23). The custom appears to have been widespread in early medieval churchyards in Scandinavia and Germanic Europe. The excavations at Thule uncovered hazel sticks in 64 graves (with and without coffins). The sticks in the coffin graves were found in various positions inside and outside the coffin and varied in length and in number. Blomqvist and Mårtensson (1963, 51-3) suggest that the positioning of the sticks in some graves seems to be deliberate, suggesting that the relatives of the deceased may have tried to express a particular sign or letter. Some grave sticks form a cross shape, whilst others appear to form runic letters, which were still in use. The positioning of the sticks in Thule graves 52, 121, 128 and 168 can be compared to the letter 'f'; grave 173 appears to show 'fu'; and graves 36, 38 and 39 seem to show 'o'. Runic 'f' stood for 'money, cattle, wealth', 'u' possibly for 'wild ox', and 'o' (the fourth letter of the runic alphabet) 'god' (Page, 1987, 15; Jansson, 1987, 14, 26) (Illustration 36), none of which make much sense in this context. It is stressed that this is merely a suggestion. Grave sticks were also found in child graves. Grave 111 contained two sticks lying parallel to the south side of the grave, whereas in graves 110, 112 and 123 the sticks were placed under the skeletons, and in grave 123 the sticks were bent. In child grave 57, hazel sticks were crossed over the lower part of the skeleton, with a fragmentary wooden board placed on the upper half of the body (Blomqvist and Mårtensson, 1963, 59).

Ten instances of hazel sticks were found in early graves (i.e. 1/3 of the graves) at Sankt Drotten, Lund, which neighbours the Thule site and was probably used during the 11th century. Runic characters may be interpreted in the positioning of some of the sticks, such as grave 276, which resembles runic 'f', and under grave 248, which resembles runic 'u' (Mårtensson, 1980, 47-63). Fifty-two of the graves at the church of Sankt Stefan, Lund, dendrochronologically dated between c. 1050-1110 from the coffins, contained sticks. The usual number of sticks found in each grave in this cemetery was between one and three; however, under the body in grave 1888 was a bundle of seven sticks (Blomqvist and Mårtensson, 1963, 48).

One or more sticks were found in 110 graves out of a total of 368 at the PK Bank site in Lund and date from the two earliest phases (Mårtensson, 1976, 107) (Illustration 37). The vast majority were hazel, but there was also guelder rose, ash and olvon (*Viburnum opulus*, a 2-4m high bush with red fruit), oak and willow, together with the roots of these plants. Bartholin (1976, 165) dismisses the willow roots found in the graves at the PK Bank site as secondary, due to the presence of willow stumps above the graves. Mårtensson (1980, 51), however, finds no reason to doubt that the willow roots had been deliberately put into the graves. An unusual hazel stick was found under the coffin of grave 252 and was thicker than the other grave sticks. It was deliberately narrowed at one end where there are four grooves, which run around the stick parallel with one another (Mårtensson, 1976, 110).

From excavations at the cemetery in the Sankt Clemens area, Lund, and from the extension of the excavations at the Thule and PK Bank sites, grave sticks were found in 117 graves. The majority are from graves with coffins, which could be dendrochronologically dated to the 11th century, although it appears that the custom of putting sticks into graves lasted throughout the churchyard's existence (Mårtensson, 1976, 105-13).

Grave sticks have also been found during excavations around the present cathedral in Lund (Mårtensson, 1976, 108).

In mainland Denmark, hazel sticks have been found at Trans church, near Bovbjerg, northern Jylland and beneath the church at Hørning, near Randers, which contained the late pagan Viking-Age chamber grave of a woman (Chapter 2). The presence of a grave stick amongst her grave goods may indicate that this custom was already being practised during this period (Kriig, 1987, 1-25). More than three grave sticks were found in the cemetery at Svendborg, Fyn, although no church has been located there. The graves containing sticks have been dated pre-1100 because of the comparable evidence from other cemeteries. A hazel stick was found in a coffin at the Franciscan cemetery, Svenborg; this friary was founded 1236, but the grave may be earlier (Rydbeck, 1914, 382; 1946, 17).

Grave sticks have been found elsewhere in Scandinavia to a lesser extent. In Sweden a small birch stick and a juniper stick longer than the associated skeleton were found in a 12th-century grave at Skara

Cathedral (Welin, 1889, 121-5; Zachrisson, 1958, 199). A grave of a middle-aged female at Kärro parish, Västmanland, contained a stick from an indistinguishable deciduous tree. The grave also contained two wooden bowls, a wooden plate, a wooden spoon, a comb and a glass bead, which may indicate a Conversion period date (Tkocz and Brøndum, 1985, 15-23).

Six graves from the churchyard at Søndre Gate, Trondheim, Norway, contained long hazel sticks placed either beside or underneath the burials (Long, 1975, 16). The church dates from the early 12th century, although the burials are undated (Long, 1975, 14).

One Viking-Age grave from Iceland, grave 3 at Brimnes, Viðvíkurhreppur, Skagafjarðarsýsla, an unsexed but probably male adult grave, contained birch branches in leaf beneath the body. The other grave goods were an axe, knife, piece of a silver ring, and two lead weights (Eldjárn, 1956, 112).

In England, hazel sticks were found in undated graves from the Priory of St. Andrew, Northampton, along with rough woven habits and sandals (Wilson and Moorhouse, 1971, 40), and from a burial at Barton-upon-Humber (Morris, 1997, 81).

Sticks have been found in German burials, such as a hazel stick at Würtemberg, and from a 6th-century child's grave under the cathedral at Cologne, where the birch stick was 74cm long (Doppelfeld, 1964, 164; Mårtensson, 1976, 60). The oldest evidence of a grave stick was found with the well-preserved bog body of a 14-year-old girl from Windeby, Kreis Eckernförde, North Germany (Mårtensson, 1976, 111). The body was recorded at c. 150cm deep, blindfolded with shaven hair and dated to around the birth of Christ (Jankuhn, 1958, 180); she had drowned. Her arm was bent upward with several birch sticks held in the crook, one of which went diagonally under her body and protruded at the bend in her knee. The burial has been interpreted as an illustration to Tacitus' later description of the punishment for women if they were charged with infidelity or pre-marital intimacy (*Germania*, IX). Meaney (1981, 19) documents other European instances of hazel sticks: from the graves of Childeric II and his wife Blihhilde at Saint-Germain-des-Prés (22cm long); and from a 7th- or 8th-century grave at St Ouen's Church, Rouen, as well as a few others in France. Meaney (1981, 19) suggests that '...if these "sceptres" had protective powers, they probably stemmed as much from their royal associations as from any virtues intrinsic in the wood itself'. Such an interpretation of the sticks as sceptres is difficult to attribute to the burials in the Skåne area, due to their quantity and general status of the burials.

Including sticks in graves may have been considered a symbolic act representing rebirth or resurrection. Mårtensson (1980, 58-9) believes that the presence of grave sticks is inexplicable without them having a magical content. He suggests that, as day-to-day life in the Middle Ages cannot have been too dissimilar to life in the pagan period, pagan beliefs and superstitions could have passed from generation to generation. The concepts of rebirth and resurrection were also present before the introduction of Christianity to Scandinavia (Mårtensson, 1980, 59). Sjöbeck (1965, 207-11) suggests a link between the resurrection belief and the regeneration of the bushes and trees of the medieval

Scanian meadows and, therefore, by giving the deceased one or more sticks, his resurrection into the afterlife could be secured. Blomqvist and Mårtensson (1963, 48; Høeg, 1970, cols. 240-2) explain that magical powers have been attached to hazel since the medieval period, which is shown in the laws and stories of the period. In *Egils saga Skallagrimssonar* (LVIII) Egil put a horse's head on a hazel branch as a pole of insult (*níð*) against King Eiríkr and Queen Gunnhildr, then cut runes into the pole directing insults at the spirits of the land. When an official meeting place or a site for a duel/battle was chosen, hazel sticks were used to construct a fence or used to mark the site, which led to the phrase of *hassla en vall*. Morris (1997, 79) describes the problems and superstitions associated with a nut tree in William of Malmesbury's biography of Wulfstan, Bishop of Worcester (1060-95), and discusses the possible ritualistic nature of the hazel nuts and sticks found in Roman contexts in England (Morris, 1997, 80-1). Morris (1997, 81) suggests that '...some ancient practices and beliefs involving fruitbearing trees were absorbed into marginal Christian traditions'. Sticks and animal remains (perhaps representing a food offering) found in the water hole at the Migration period settlement at Eketorp were probably associated with ritual activity (Backe, Edgren and Herschend, 1993, 327, 336-8). Almost 50% of the sticks were hazel, with c. 20% willow, c. 15% ash and the remaining sticks were, in descending order of quantity, oak, birch, apple, lime, maple and aspen (Backe, Edgren and Herschend, 1993, 327).

Bartholin (1976, 165) doubts whether magical significance should be specifically attached to hazel as other different types of wood (such as the 8 others from the PK Bank site) are used for grave sticks, although the table he produces (1976, 165) indicates that there were 110 hazel sticks, and the next most plentiful was willow with only 7. Bartholin (1976, 165) also suggests that as hazel produces the straightest shoots it was chosen to provide straight sticks, although the other types of wood used produce straight shoots when young. Many grave sticks, however, are crooked and small, which suggests straightness was not a factor in their choice.

Nicolovius (1924, 218) described how, in the early 19th century, sticks were placed in the sign of the cross in newly dug graves. Hagberg (1936, 172) suggested that the inclusion of fir twigs in early 20th-century Sweden was to provide a fresh smell, yet Nicolovius (1924, 217-8) suggested that placing fir twigs in graves prevented the dead from walking. A more practical reason for the inclusion of grave sticks is provided by Hagberg (1936, 259) who suggests that the coffin was measured first with a stick before the grave digging commenced. The stick was then buried with the individual, but this does not account for the number of small and irregularly distributed sticks.

14. RITUAL STAFFS

Price (2002) reassesses the function of the iron staff-shaped object previously considered to be a roasting spit as being, in some cases, a ritual staff, possibly connected with magic (Illustrations 38 and 39). From this interpretation, he has reconsidered several burials containing this object. From the combinations of the grave goods and the presence of the staff, Price suggests that these burials have qualities that may lead them to being considered as witch burials. Instances of these staffs have been mentioned above (Chapters 2 to 5).

Price (2002, 200-2) also considers the few wooden staffs which have survived, such as that from grave 4, Fyrkat (Chapter 2) and Oseberg, which was made from two pieces of birch strapped together, to be 'symbols of sorcery'.

15. RATTLES

Iron rattles (*ranglor*) have been found in several Viking-Age graves and so far have not been fully interpreted. Rattles appear to be associated with horse harnesses and driving equipment and appear mainly in male burials. They have been separated into different types (A, B, and C) by Hackman (1925 and 1938) and covered in detail by Petersen (1951, 42-62) and Lund (1974, 45-120). Rattles can be identified by their long metal tapering shaft and have rings and pendants suspended from a loop at the tapered end (Illustration 40). Hackman (1938, 127-8) and Lund (1974, 64) suggest that the rattle was used to scare wild animals or had a magical purpose to keep evil spirits away by rattling. Lund (1974, 86-7) also suggests that rattles had a connection with ritual/shamanistic activity and may have been associated with the Freyja/fertility cult, particularly in the case of the Oseberg rattles (described below). As rattles would probably have been expensive to make and are mostly found in high-status male burials, Lund suggests (1974, 86) that they may have been an indication of the head of the community or *godí*. Almgren (1946, 93) suggests that the rattle was fitted to the body of the wagon and that the crooks with rings may have been located at the front end of the wagon shaft. Serning (1966, 60) identifies a modern rattle in use on a photo from Ormsö, Estonia, where the rattle is positioned at the shaft-ends at the rear of the wagon. Price (2002, 189) suggests that in one instance from Gävle, Gästrikland, Sweden, what may have been considered a whip shaft may be interpreted as a ritual staff, due to its construction (Illustration 41). Serning (1966, 62) suggests that rattles of Types A and C, which have rings with strap-fittings and pendants, were attachments to the whip-shaft.

Rattles are more common in Norway, particularly eastern Norway, than in Sweden and Finland and appear to be absent from Denmark (Lund, 1974, 51). Blindheim, *et al.* (1981, 123-4) indicate that rattles are more common in Norway than stirrups and spurs. Two rattles with hooks and two crooks were found associated with two of the animal head staffs in the Oseberg grave. 'These iron implements have moulded bronze rings on the ferrule, decorated with the customary animal motifs which closely resemble some of the examples of wood-carving' (Sjøvold, 1984, 42). At Kaupang, a rattle was found in the following burials: mound 6, grave C 4293-4315 (an equestrian burial); mound 113, grave C 4206-15 (containing two oval brooches, beads, a ladle, a frying pan and sickles amongst other minor grave goods); grave C 4237-43 (sexed as male); grave C 4206-15 (high-status female); and C 4226-35 (Blindheim, *et al.*, 1981, 93, 99, 120-3, 207-10).

The earliest rattle in Sweden is from Vendel Grave III dated to c. 750 (Stolpe and Arne, 1927, 19-24, plates XIV and XV) and other early instances are from Vendel grave IV and from grave IV in Västana, Älvkarleby, and from Valsgårde 2 and 14 (Arne, 1934, 9, 10, pl. 8, SHM 1189; Dyfverman, 1929, fig. 43). Later rattles (Type C) appear in Birka graves 151, 834 and 977 and are 10th century. Other

Swedish rattles were found at Tuna, Alsike, Uppland, from a male and a female grave (dated 950-1000) and a female grave (800-850); from Vendel grave VI (dated 850-900); Valsgårde grave 4, Valbo in Gästrikland; and Raglunda in Västmanland (early 11th century). At least five rattles have been excavated in Dalarna (Serning, 1966, 58-9) (Illustration 42).

Whip shanks from Fuldbý, Bjernede parish, Sorø, Denmark and from Gefle, Sweden have a similar style as some of the rattles, particularly the example from Gefle, which has the ornamental or rattle pieces of iron on the hoop at the taper (Brøndsted, 1936, 196).

16. CLOTH, WEAVING AND SPINDLE-WHORLS

Spindle-whorls are frequently found in Viking-Age graves and occasionally weaving swords. These tools were probably purely functional and used by the deceased woman during her life. However, given the literary evidence regarding spell making, these objects may also have been used in magic rituals, such as in 'weaving spells' where words were spoken over the spinning and weaving. The woollen thread/cloth was then passed to another to bear the curse or spell (Meaney, 1981, 188). The appearance in burials of such equipment, therefore, may have had a more complex symbolism to the surviving family and may even have been symbolic of a connection to Freyja or Frigg (Frigg was able to prophesy men's fates) (Davidson, 1998, 104, 113). Davidson (1998, 109) queries Jesch's (1991, 33) suggestion that the inclusion of textile equipment in the grave was a means of keeping the deceased occupied on the journey to the next life.

Valkyries (who may have been confused with norns) are documented as weaving on a loom made of men's entrails whilst reciting the fate of men in poetry in *Njáls saga* (CLVII) (Davidson, 1998, 119-20). The weaving of speech-runes is mentioned in *Sigrdrífumál* (v. 12). Two non-Scandinavian examples are cited by Meaney (1981, 185): Eligius of Noyon (Bishop of Noyon 640 – 648) preached against women who '...name unfortunate persons either at the loom, or at dyeing, or in any kind of work with textiles' and the *Corrector* of Buchard of Worms (c. 1010) described women, who in their weaving '...hope to be able to bring it about that with incantations and with their actions, that the threads... become so intertwined that unless [someone] makes use of these other diabolical counter-incantations, he will perish totally?' Meaney (1981, 187-8) documents two spells involving weaving, both requiring a lot of cloth. The pieces of cloth from Anglo-Saxon workboxes may have been woven with spells and used as amulets and '...preserved because of the magic power within them'. The workboxes, however, are from the Christian period (Meaney, 1981, 185-6). The thread-boxes would have been too small to have held more than a fragment of cloth, but perhaps a fragment was all that was needed for a spell to work.

The curses of a spurned girl appear in the inscription on the Viking-Age Lund weaving tablet, which is interpreted as 'Sigvor's Ingemar shall have my weeping' and finishes with *aallatti* (Jesch, 1991, 43) (Illustration 43). Moltke (1981, 358) believes this to be 'the magic word which unlocks the wizardry, actuates the curse...'

17. CANDLES AND WAX

Some high-status mid to late Viking-Age graves contain traces of wax and pieces of candles. Candles were probably rare during the Viking Age and may have been thought to contain magical attributes and used to prevent ghosts or other supernatural activity (Brøgger, 1945, 35; Gräslund, 1991a, 208; Worsaae, 1869, 212). A candle may have been placed on the roof of the burial chamber during the burial ceremony (Gräslund, 1991a, 208; Iversen and Näsman, 1991, 45-66). Wax and candles have been found in Denmark, such as at Jelling and Mammen, and in Norway at Grønhaug on Karmø (Leth-Larsen, 1991, 110). According to Iversen and Näsman (1991, 57) no Viking-Age candles are known to exist in Sweden.

The sagas describe superstitions attached to candles, for example, in *Harðar saga Grímkelssonar ok Geirs*, Hörðr, along with several others, breaks into Sóti's burial mound. A fight results with the dead Sóti overcome by Geirr when he lights a candle (Brøgger, 1945, 34-5; Tillhagen, 1977, 235, 259). Gräslund (1991a, 208) is sceptical about the folk belief that wax has supernatural powers as evidence is scant and she believes that Worsaae (1869, 212) emphasised too fragmentary evidence. Gräslund (1991a, 208) suggests that the presence of a candle may be linked to Christian influence. As the graves containing wax and candles are high status and mid to late Viking Age in date, the wax and candles may represent an early sign of Christianity, where the surviving family members were possibly Christians and were giving the deceased a semi-Christian burial. During the first few centuries of Christianity, candles became associated with the life and resurrection of Christ. In some cases, the wax may have belonged to later grave robbers.

18. SUMMARY

A lot of work has been produced on amulets or objects that may be considered amuletic. Some artefacts have been accepted or dismissed as amuletic by various scholars, but when an object is dismissed, another likely function is seldom suggested for it. Objects should not be so readily dismissed, because how can a scholar be sure what an object is not, when it is not known what it is, - or if its purpose appears complex and its function or symbolism may have been fulfilled when linked to other objects, which may have deteriorated (such as the carved figures, which are often thought to be gaming pieces, and amulet bag contents). Unusual objects, even if comparable to finds from elsewhere in Scandinavia, may not have had the same associations for each population, and so caution should be applied to assigning a particular function or ritual use to them (Schmidt Poulsen, 1986, 172-3).

Consulting medieval or folklore-type evidence will not give reliable information as to the specific purpose of a particular object or practice. Folklore may, however, give clues to allow the archaeologist to interpret objects or practices as belonging to a ritual or as having a complex function, which may be associated with ritual or superstition. An instance cited by Schmidt Poulsen (1986, 173) of the differing connotations of an object is of burnt acorns; these were used for a negative purpose in the drink given to Guðrun by Grímhildr, but were later considered to have beneficial properties. Schmidt Poulsen (1986, 173) suggests that the literary and religious written sources '...relate to different aspects

of the culture' than the archaeological sources, particularly since there is a sizeable time lapse between the archaeological evidence and dates when the documentary sources were written down. In such a way, Schmidt Poulsen (1986, 173) suggests that 'Archaeology has thus been able to 'falsify' literary evidence'. Archaeology can only be 'falsified' if the literature is read too literally.

During the Viking Age, many of the objects discussed above may or may not have been considered as amuletic or associated with the early medicine. Indeed, they may have fulfilled unknown functions. Given how superstitious people still are today, as is borne out by recent folklore evidence, the Vikings were no doubt at least as superstitious, particularly as their understanding of natural phenomena was less than ours. We cannot judge how the Vikings perceived what might today be considered a rational everyday occurrence or illness. An open mind should be kept about unidentified objects in the burials, or even some of the identifiable possessions, which may have been multifunctional or symbolic in a way unknown to us. There are objects in Viking-Age burials that will probably never be identified and we should not try to rationalise them with a 21st-century mind.

Although the amulets have been treated individually in this chapter, their potency or relevance may have only existed as part of a group of objects – many of which may no longer exist or be recognisable in the grave, due to deterioration. It is, therefore, difficult for the archaeologist to assess how the amulets functioned individually or together as part of the whole grave and dress assemblage.

Healer/witch burials

From the amuletic and irregular grave goods evidence alone, a small number of graves can be identified potentially as a separate and unique group of healer/witch burials. These burials are grave 2 from Ramme parish, Ringkøbing, Denmark, grave 1 at Selfoss, Sandvíkurhreppur, Árnessýsla, grave 9, Ytre-Garðshorn, Svarfaðardalshreppur, Eyjafjarðarsýsla, and Birka grave Bj. 943. These graves would not otherwise be identified as being out of the ordinary, as they have no other irregular features in the treatment of the human remains or the grave itself.

Healer/witch individuals may have held a higher social position in some geographic areas more than in others. Such talents may not have been held in especially high esteem if each household had its own 'healer', such as a grandmother figure, who had knowledge of the treatment of illnesses purely due to her age and experience. If this were the case, the graves of such women may not have contained the amuletic/medical objects found elsewhere.

Many Viking-Age burials may have contained items that constituted part of a healer/witch's amulet or medicine bag. A specific object may have been thought to heal or prevent an ailment and have been carried by an individual prone to that ailment. This may explain one-off unusual objects in bags and probably should not indicate a person was involved actively in healing or was a wise person. As there is a lack of organic evidence, the complete contents of such bags may in better preservation have, however, revealed that the bag contained many other items that could be used for healing.

CONCLUSION

1. ATTEMPTS AT DEFINING NORMALITY AND DEVIANCY – A SUCCESS?

From the archaeological evidence, it has been possible to define deviancy in burial customs in Viking-Age Scandinavia. Although Viking-Age burials are very varied, they can generally be seen to fall into definable groups of normal (whether low, medium or high status) and deviant. The survival of the artefacts and skeleton, differences in levels of archaeological excavation techniques and recording, all influence the interpretation of the burial on a fundamental level. Added to this, local Viking-Age customs, availability of materials and goods, beliefs of the deceased individual and the survivors, all affect the way in which the deceased was buried. Therefore, boundaries between any suggested category of burial need to be quite vague, as strict categorisation of the graves would be limiting and potentially misleading. After taking into account all of these factors, it was possible to establish what was 'normal' for a Viking-Age burial in each Scandinavian country, if not generally in Scandinavia.

Some burials exhibit unusual characteristics, either in dress accessories, grave goods or the manner in which the grave has been dug or treated. Whether such a finding would lead to a burial being considered deviant is difficult. Having assessed several burials that exhibited practices that were not normal, but in their own small group appeared to exhibit some similarities, a brief list of these criteria was drawn up. When several of the criteria appeared together in a grave, this would generally indicate that the burial was far from what would normally be expected in a Viking-Age burial. The combination of criteria is, however, quite loose and a level of common sense has to be employed for defining a deviant burial and not judging a high status burial as deviant, as it exhibits many features which are not normal in most Viking-Age burials. One of the best methods of defining deviancy is when the burial shows signs of disrespect, which can be employed in several ways as is accounted for in several of the criteria.

2. ATTEMPTS AT DEFINING AND IDENTIFYING HEALER/WITCH BURIALS – A SUCCESS?

From analysing normal and deviant burials in Chapters 2 to 5 it was possible to identify several burials which could fall in to the group of healer/witch burials in the treatment of the skeleton, the grave and its contents. When the artefact evidence was considered in Chapter 9 another group were identified on this evidence alone, as without these artefacts these burials would have otherwise not displayed any other deviant characteristics. There is no single criterion that establishes a female burial as belonging to a healer/witch; it is a combination of the grave goods and dress accessories that could indicate the woman's occupation or interest. From the Viking-Age evidence considered, the number of graves

identified as showing the most evidence for this particular type of female occupation was low, especially when compared with the archaeological evidence for other types of deviant burials. The quality of the archaeological evidence and its recording, however, influences interpretation and it would, therefore, be unwise to put exact figures on the amount of females or deviants that can be counted. As a rough guide, the Viking-Age Danish evidence suggests that there are around 16 deviant burials, counting the grave, whether single or double, as one instance (rising to 22 when including the south of Sweden) and around four burials of healer/witch type individuals (one of whom is male (Price, 2002, 195)). The quantity of graves of healer/witch type individuals and criminals is still very small when compared to the amount of Viking-Age burials in general.

Defining the healer/witch graves could generally be done on artefacts alone. In most cases these burials were of high to moderately high status. Any deviancy from other neighbouring burials was generally only seen in the grave goods and dress accessories.

Despite the problems described above, identifying the deviant and healer/witch burial types could be achieved with some certainty in several cases and, because of the quality of archaeological evidence, suggested as a possible interpretation in a few other cases.

3. BURIALS THAT MAY HAVE A SUPERNATURAL ASSOCIATION

Individuals connected with the supernatural, other than healer/witch burials

A few burials have been suggested to contain the remains of female warriors or valkyrie-type figures, such as Gerdrup, Denmark. The inclusion of grave goods more often associated with the opposite sex was also found at Klinta, Öland. Graves with weapons struck into their walls may be indicative of a person more associated with the supernatural than a 'normal' person would be or representative of a burial custom suitable for those particular individuals. Female burials with spears are not paralleled in Scandinavia but are found in Anglo-Saxon England.

Deviant burial practices and the supernatural

Deviant burial practices in Viking-Age Scandinavia may have resulted from the deceased having exhibited anti-social behaviour whilst he or she was alive and the wish of the surviving population to mark this behaviour and its acquired status in death. Such burials may have been ritually or religiously motivated, with the individuals interred in such a manner as to stand out from the practices exhibited in the surrounding burials.

From the medieval literature and laws (which may reflect and/or contain references to earlier practices), the Vikings appear to have had particular strong moral beliefs (Ström, 1974, 3-20). To dishonour an individual by oaths, name-calling and insinuations appears to have been a very serious offence. The insinuations often referred to deviant behaviour, such as *níð* for a man or *ergi* for a woman, both implying what was then considered anti-social, unnatural or ambiguous sexual behaviour.

Such terms were used in a similar disrespectful manner on rune stones. Whether individuals were ever proved guilty of these accusations by a local court is not known, but perhaps it was such people - those who contravened the barriers of society - who are some of the deviant burials with mutilations. Perhaps the remains of the worst criminals may never be found, if they had been drowned or cremated to obliterate their remains totally. Given that it was considered appropriate to avenge oneself by manslaughter when such words were used as insults (Ström, 1974, 6), such behaviour would, perhaps, be punished by the most disrespectful methods of death and burial.

Some burials containing skeletons showing trauma have been suggested to be the remains of criminals. The laws and sagas indicate that some punishments are applicable for certain types of offence, which sometimes includes sorcery, but these punishments are not exclusive for one type of crime. It is, therefore, not possible when a skeleton appears to show signs of decapitation, to determine whether the crime was sorcery or something else. The number of deviant burials that bear signs of punishment that are suggested in the laws and sagas as fitting for witchcraft is around 13 and is discussed in further detail below.

DECAPITATION AND MUTILATION

Mutilated bodies, when found near ground level, may have been the result of ploughing or, at any greater depth, have been caused by grave plundering or animal disturbance. Few burials of decapitated and maimed skeletons contain grave goods, and their absence could reflect the status of the individual and the lack of desire by the community to furnish the grave for economic reasons, and perhaps to prevent the deceased from using any items included in the grave in the afterlife.

Instances of skeletons showing decapitation, sometimes also with bound limbs, are found at Bogøvej grave T, Denmark (decapitation); Lejre, Denmark (decapitation and binding); Stengade II grave FII, Denmark (decapitation and binding); Kaupang grave II/1954 (binding and missing skull); and Bollstanäs, Sweden (both decapitated and bound). Binding seems to have been closely linked to decapitation and may have been done to prevent the individual struggling before death. Where there only appears to be binding of the individual, this may be indicative of flesh wounds and may suggest a ritualistic killing; such burials are found at Fjällkinge, Skåne (binding); Gerdrup, Denmark (binding and hanging?); and Kaupang Grave I/1953 (binding).

Decapitation may have been employed to kill the individual or after death for either a symbolic or a disrespectful motive. Decapitation may exhibit a belief in the need to remove the head to prevent the deceased from walking again, if the head was considered to contain the spirit of the individual. Without the head attached, the body could not function (Merrifield, 1987, 75). As Merrifield (1987, 75) suggests, perhaps it was the dead witch who was most feared as he/she may also have had the shamanistic ability to send the soul out of the body before death and then return to revive the corpse supernaturally. The removal of the head would therefore be a further measure to help prevent the individual from returning after death.

Decapitation, if the sagas and some of the laws (e.g. Västgötalagen Tjuvbalken) were to be relied upon, could be a good indicator that the deceased was involved with the supernatural. Decapitation was a very disrespectful punishment and seems to have been reserved for persons of low social status and perpetrators of serious crime. The death penalty, although by unspecified means, is suggested in several Swedish and Norwegian laws for sorcery. In Swedish, Icelandic and Norwegian law outlawry is also suggested as a punishment for sorcery, which permitted society to kill the assailant legally if he/she did not leave the country. Removal of the head is a very symbolic and effective method of killing someone and may have been preferred by society to prevent the individual from walking again. Many different crimes could have been legally punished with decapitation during the Viking Age. The medieval laws may or may not have been as severe as those from the Viking Age about some kinds of crime. Decapitation may also have been a result of lynching, so that the victim did not come back to haunt the murderer, although some of the burials which exhibit decapitation are quite carefully laid-out and do not look hurried (such as the skeletons from Kalmergården, Langeland), as may perhaps be expected with a lynching (such as the graves at Paviken, Gotland, and at Grynmalaren, Lund, which seem to have been interred in a hurry).

Like prone burials, decapitation is a concerted effort by society to prevent the deceased from enjoying the afterlife and could have prevented unwanted supernatural behaviour. Where a decapitated skeleton occurs, their involvement with the supernatural ought not to be ruled out. The surviving society was clearly nervous enough about the deceased to remove their head and, in many instances, cover their remains with large stones, but whether the individual was involved with sorcery prior to burial cannot be ascertained.

As is suggested by the medieval laws, individuals with missing limbs or hands or feet could be criminals bearing the marks of the punishment for their crimes. Individuals showing signs of such injuries are; Gyllenkrok, grave 1, Lund (missing feet, skull and other bones); Gyllenkrok, grave 2, Lund (hands and feet missing); Gyllenkrok, grave 3, Lund (missing skull, hands and feet removed but thrown in grave); and Skälsö, Gotland (missing hands and feet). These types of punishments do not seem to have any links to sorcery and seem to be punishments for crimes of theft in particular.

4. BURIALS PROBABLY NOT ASSOCIATED WITH THE SUPERNATURAL

PRONE

Prone burials are uncommon in Scandinavia and, when they occur, they reveal a particular burial practice held locally or regionally as appropriate for the particular deceased. Denmark, Sweden, and Gotland, in particular, have prone burials. Prone burials are unknown from Norway and Iceland. Denmark has four prone burials, including both male and unsexed; two from cemeteries and two were lone. The Swedish burial on Birka (Bj. 724), has tentatively been assigned as prone, but is very badly preserved. The Birka and Bollstanäs burials are from cemeteries. Other than the lone burial from

Paviken, which appears to be a murder victim, the Gotlandic evidence is from cemeteries, at Kopparsvik and Skälsö; these contain several instances of prone burial, including at least one female prone burial. Male and female prone burials are found in Anglo-Saxon England in seemingly equal numbers (Wilson, 1992, 80-5), both as lone and multiple burials, mainly in cemeteries; none seems to have been in a coffin (Wilson, 1992, 81). Prone burials in Scandinavia do not appear to have been in coffins, perhaps also showing a sign of disrespect by the community. This burial practice is far less common than mutilation, perhaps suggesting that few individuals merited such a disrespectful death or that if such individuals existed elsewhere, they were subjected to a different, but equally disrespectful, burial tradition.

Prone burials have clearly had utter disrespect shown to them after death, as they are not only buried face down but also often mutilated. The laws and sagas do not mention prone burial. As there is no comparative evidence to consider for the interpretation of prone burial, it may only be assumed that the deceased had committed some heinous crime or anti-social behaviour (Wilson, 1992, 81), which cannot be suggested by the burial alone. Prone burial may have been a punishment to send the individual to hell, for this was the direction in which he/she was facing, thus preventing the individual from rising from the grave. The burials reveal that the person was clearly feared, perhaps indicating that there may have been a fear that they may return to haunt the community. Other than this, no other supernatural connection can be suggested.

ONE BURIAL ABOVE THE OTHER: MASTER, SLAVE AND SACRIFICE

A deviant form of burial in Scandinavia occurs when the primary burial is laid out respectfully and a further individual is added above in the grave fill of the primary burial. Where the primary burial is a male, the secondary burial might be that of his wife or slave, sacrificed and interred deliberately on a different level within the grave so as to separate her or him from the primary burial and thus be seen as a chattel rather than a double 'kinship' grave, where both individuals had a similar status. Wilson (1992, 73) suggests that if the upper female were a suttee wife, she would be expected to have the same value of grave goods as her husband. In Denmark, two burials with the male as the primary burial with a female above (Bogøvej grave D and Trelleborg grave 6) exist, and one with a male above, the secondary male being prone and maltreated (Lejre grave 55). There is one primary male burial with an unsexed individual above (Trelleborg grave 80), and two unsexed primary burials with an unsexed skeleton above in the grave fill (Dråby graves 2 and 10 – grave 10 having only tooth enamel above). In Sweden, one burial conforms to this pattern, with the main male burial being beneath a maltreated male skeleton (Birka grave A29). At Surtstaðir, Iceland, a primary male burial had a female burial above him, which seems to have been added later. No such burials have been found in Norway. In Scandinavia, therefore, the total identifiable primary male burials are six, three of which had identifiable females above. Where the upper skeletons are identified males, they appear to have experienced serious trauma prior to, or just after, death and may be slave and/or sacrifice burials. Where it is possible to make any assumptions, the females who have been inserted above primary male burials are not recorded as having received violent treatment; this may be an indication of their role in life or of their expected role in the afterlife. In Denmark, there are two female primary burials with a

male above (Bogøvej grave S, which may be accidental, and Kaagården grave B, which is placed centrally to the south in the cemetery), and one primary female burial with an unsexed skeleton above (Dråby grave 10). There do not appear to be primary female burials with other burials interred above in the other Scandinavian countries. Perhaps these two burials contained husbands who outlived their wives and who were added later to the burial site, but not alongside for some reason. The rarity of these burials in Scandinavia may be due to unreliable recording techniques or to soil erosion, for such may have removed upper skeletal material if the upper skeleton was a shallow burial. Disrespectfully buried females appear above male skeletons and, to a lesser extent, above female skeletons in Anglo-Saxon England (Wilson, 1992, 72-5). Rarely has a male been found buried above another male, or a male above a female (Wilson, 1992, 75).

Primary graves with a secondary suggested slave burial are generally poorly furnished, with Birka grave A 129, and perhaps the Surtstaðir burial, containing the highest status grave goods. Had there not been a secondary burial in the poorly furnished graves, these burials would probably have been considered low status. Local tradition in such cases may point to the absence of belief in burying artefacts, or the burial could have contained now decomposed organic artefacts, whilst the sacrifice of a slave or the inclusion of a second person was considered necessary.

Burials containing at least one respectfully laid out individual with another mutilated, or awkwardly buried, individual have been suggested to contain a slave/sacrifice and master and are similarly rare. Examples from Denmark of these graves are grave 35, Fjälkinge grave 35, and grave FII, Stengade II. The Oseberg burial, Norway, has been suggested to contain a royal female and her lady-in-waiting interred as a sacrifice, but assigning specific status to either skeleton remains a subject of speculation. The lone ship burial of a male at Hov, Norway, contained the remains of a female just outside the ship, which have been suggested to be those of a slave. The female and unsexed skeletons that accompanied the burial of two males at Gällö, Sweden may have been slaves or concubines.

There is no reason to suggest that these burials have supernatural connections. At most, these burials may represent a person of high social status with a sacrifice.

Sacrifices may have been used solely for religious purposes, perhaps in connection with the worship of Óðinn, who was associated with hanging (Turville-Petre, 1964, 45). The suitability of a criminal or slave for use as a sacrifice to a god may have been thought convenient, or blasphemous, and, perhaps, in such a situation, high-status individuals may have been selected. The mutilated skeleton may not have been considered sacrificial by the Vikings, but as a servant for the high-status deceased. However, individuals who had been maimed or decapitated may not have been considered useful or able citizens of the next world, as obviously they would not have been able to work or assist their masters with their body parts missing or broken. Were a slave to accompany his master to the next life and continue his work, he could have been stabbed or suffocated to prevent problems of broken limbs. It is difficult, however, to suggest another reason for a grave containing a well laid out skeleton, with

an accompanying mutilated skeleton, other than as a slave companion. Slave burials accompanying a master often suffer the same type of mutilation as the skeletons suggested to be criminals.

Animal bones are seldom found in the graves of mutilated skeletons considered to be the remains of criminals or murder victims, and they may be indicative of sacrificial or ritual practice (Blindheim and Heyerdahl-Larsen, 1995, 130). Deviant burials containing animal bones were found at Kalmergården, Denmark, and Kaupang Grave I/1953. The density of the scattered bones in the area of the Kaupang cemetery where the individual was buried along with the other two deviant burials (II/1954 and III/1954) may also include these other two individuals with sacrifice or a graveside ritual. The mutilated upper burial in Birka A 129 had a goat/sheep bone beside his upper tibia, whilst the well laid out burial below had an elk antler (perhaps symbolic of a warrior/hunter status or cult). The goat/sheep bone may have been part of a funeral feast, but may also have had some other significance. The two sheep skulls that separated the two skeletons at Gerdrup, Denmark, may have had some ritual significance and may have been linked to the burial ritual rather than any feast tradition. The suggested multiple kinship burial at Nabberör, Sweden, contained a horse, sheep/goat, pig and three dogs, which may have been included as domestic animals to take to the next world, rather than as ritual sacrifices.

OTHER DEVIANT BURIALS

The remaining deviant burials identified in this thesis probably did not have a direct connection with the supernatural or were linked to any form of healing. Some mutilated skeletons could be those of murder victims. Such burials are sometimes found in unlikely places, buried near the topsoil, seemingly in haste. The prone burial at Paviken, Gotland, was poorly laid out and appears to have been buried in haste, having suffered trauma prior to death. The burials at Gyllenkrok (grave 1), Lund, and Grynmalaren, Lund, also seem to have been interred covertly in the topsoil with haste. Females do not generally seem to have been treated in this respect, as all the evidence is male. A foundation sacrifice may be the reason for the burial at Århus Søndervold (skeleton CZT), found in the foundations of the dwelling. The burial seems to have been interred quickly, but the burial would probably not have been that of a murder victim, as the family who lived in the house, who may have been responsible for the death, would presumably have feared the deceased, had this been the case. This burial seems to be unique in Viking-Age Scandinavia.

5. AMULETS AND THE COMBINATION OF GRAVE GOODS

Some of the burials considered in Chapters 2 to 5 and, in particular, 9 have been considered deviant because of the types of grave goods and dress accessories that have been interred with the skeleton. Certain grave goods or combinations of grave goods can identify a grave as being different from the rest of the cemetery and/or local burial traditions, such as Fyrkat grave 4, Denmark.

Burials containing both deviant skeletons and unusual grave goods are rare, perhaps one of the few examples being Gerdrup, Denmark. Objects buried with a person may have had personal significance

to that individual, such as the unusual assemblage of goods from grave 9, Ytre-Garðshorn, Svarfaðardalshreppur, Eyjafjarðarsýsla, Iceland. If an individual carried an amulet for a particular superstitious belief or to ward off disease, there may have been a belief that these objects were not suitable to be inherited. Old and worn objects excavated from graves may have been included so as not to bury valuable new items and exhibit part of a different belief in the symbolism of items placed in the grave or worn by the individual in their funeral clothing.

Viking-Age burials containing artefacts possibly associated with the supernatural, religion or with primitive medicine are often high status and must have belonged to socially acceptable individuals, who seem to have had an elevated social position. These individuals seem to have been trusted enough by the surviving members of society not to use these objects malevolently from the grave. These burials can be unique to a cemetery or form part of a small quantity of high-status burials.

Several burials may be considered as having overt connections with the supernatural or as containing early medical amulets. The female buried in grave 4, Fyrkat, Denmark, was the person of highest status in the cemetery and the grave contained a number of unusual artefacts, marking her out as having a different role in society than the other burials. Her jewellery had foreign connections and the organic remains point to activities other than cooking. A possible comparison to this burial is from the 5th-century grave Kvåle, Sogndal in Sogn and Fjordane, Norway. Several burials from Birka contained grave goods that suggest supernatural belief and could be considered medical amulets. These burials, described in Table 2, are Bj. 503, Bj. 639, Bj. 710, Bj. 759, Bj. 920, Bj. 943, Bj. 964, Bj. 1062, A 129. Two Icelandic burials show similarly unusual collections of grave goods: grave no. 9, Ytre-Garðshorn, Svarfaðardalshreppur, Eyjafjarðarsýsla, and the burial at Selfoss. The items contained in the amulet bags and grave good collections often comprise stones, fragments of metal, slag, glass, beads and unworked materials. The fragmentary or unworked nature of many of the items could suggest a symbolic or amuletic capacity, rather than monetary value. The inclusion of worked and unworked amber may indicate that amber was prized for its properties, appearance and as well as probably for its economic value.

If each community had a wise man or woman to advise on health and perhaps give counsel over social issues, it may be expected that more graves expressing such a role may yet be excavated or identified. There is, however, little evidence to suggest the frequency of occurrence of such individuals. Graves containing such individuals may have been overlooked or not interpreted as such in the past, due to the decay and identification of significant objects. Otherwise, it may be assumed that such individuals did not exist in any great number and health issues were treated on an individual basis by the afflicted person, or by a family member, and that little emphasis or reverence was laid upon this role or skill during the Viking Age, which would be surprising as overcoming sickness is a fundamental necessity. The absence of other similar graves may be that, like the sagas suggest, such women travelled about to where they were invited and so every village did not need its own healer/witch.

Price (2002) suggests that sorcerer/ess graves may be determined by the inclusion of a bronze-mounted iron staff-shaped object; this interpretation is often re-inforced by the presence of other objects considered to have amuletic functions in the grave. Price focuses on the high-status individuals involved with the supernatural, who would have had a prestigious position in society whilst alive, and were buried with equal reverence. Price has not used other criteria to identify the 'sorceress' graves, such as other deviant burial practices (in particular mutilation or binding, as suggested by the literary sources and legal texts as a means of punishing people involved with the supernatural) or the presence of stones and other artefacts which may have been used for 'low' or everyday types of magic practised by the average person. In several cases within Chapters 2 to 5, similar conclusions regarding the unusual and possibly supernatural aspect of particular graves have been made without prior knowledge of Price's interpretations.

Stones

Small and unusual stones appear in both male and female inhumations and, to a lesser extent, cremations (which may be due to loss when the remains were moved from the pyre to the grave or to lack of detection by the archaeologist). The number of stones varies from one or two to nearly 60 in one case (Grave no. 9, Ytre-Garðshorn, Svarfaðardalshreppur, Eyjafjarðarsýsla, Iceland). Stones could be linked to primitive medicine, superstitious practice, used as game pieces, as symbolic of food (at Slusegård several stones were found in cooking vessels), representative of eggs as symbolic of rebirth, or as weights, as a few have been found with actual weights in male amulet bags. The smoothness, form and colour of the stones may have been symbolic or prized in some way. The stone from Fyrkat grave 4 was kept in a casket, suggesting that it was precious enough to be kept hidden and locked away. It is impossible to suggest whether the stones were used singly, with other stones or with other amulets or objects for a particular purpose. The fact that many of these stones were carried either at the hip in a bag or were kept separately in a box would perhaps give an indication that they had a function other than that of an amulet, which is often kept close to the skin or around the neck.

6. OTHER SOURCES AND THE INTERPRETATION OF ARCHAEOLOGY

Medieval Scandinavian literature and laws

Using the sagas and laws to interpret and try to identify healer/witch/outcast burials has provided mixed results. For the most part, the sagas are misleading and purely fictitious in their description of healer/witch individuals as realistic human beings. Most characters involved with sorcery and, to a much lesser extent, healing are portrayed as anti-social and deserving of their usually unpleasant ends. Where the sagas deal with material objects and burial customs, i.e. something more tangible than a character used as a literary device, the information gleaned can be more helpful in the interpretation of the graves, i.e. similar customs and objects appear to exist. If a socially acceptable healer/witch/midwife character lived in each village or small geographic area, they are not mentioned as such in the literature. In fact, characters fulfilling these functions are generally reviled in the literature. The archaeological evidence for such individuals, if they are correctly interpreted as healer/witch types, are actively revered in death and show no signs whatsoever of any *ante* or *post*

mortem trauma. The archaeological evidence shows that relying on medieval evidence to interpret archaeology can be unhelpful. The medieval evidence is from a different world, often with a Christian or didactic purpose, where the women were not permitted to hold roles as healers.

The sagas provide little evidence about good or socially acceptable witches and even less about midwifery and healing activities, which were probably honourable occupations during the pagan period. Medicine and healing during the pagan period were probably connected in some way with the supernatural and were, therefore, against the activities of the Church. The witches and healers may have had a similar local role as the new Christian priest, in matters of assessing the future and helping the sick. It would be expected then that there would be no or very little continuity in pagan ritual medical traditions surviving from the Viking Age expounded in the medieval literature. Wise women or men, whether practitioners of witchcraft, healing or early medicine, must have existed during the Viking Age, as all communities suffer from sickness. The old woman, grandmother figure or foster mother, through her years, would have acquired knowledge on the general treatment of illnesses and could have been consulted by her family or local community. One such type of person per community may not be an excessive estimate for such a role.

The medieval Scandinavian laws and the sagas show that penalties for witchcraft were diverse and ranged in severity: forbidding its use, fines, trial by ordeal, outlawry and lesser outlawry, drowning at sea, hanging, beheading, stoning, burning at the stake, breaking at the wheel, and 'the death penalty', with no further explanation as to how this is achieved. Denmark was the most lenient in its punishments, as Sweden and Norway are equally as harsh and more in line with the punishments suggested by the sagas. Icelandic law suggested forms of outlawry, but this could lead to death by lynching. Therefore, with such diverse penalties, the laws cannot be seen as a gauge to how these individuals or activities were perceived, other than as perpetrators of a crime. As there is no specific or consistent punishment for sorcery, all burials exhibiting these punishments could be considered as candidates for anti-social sorcerers, if the laws could be said to be representative of Viking-Age legal practices. The laws provide more useful information for archaeology in their descriptions of how the sorcery was enacted and the use of objects.

The sagas describe methods of burial, including the burials of high-status individuals and criminals, which can be used to elucidate the interpretation of similar excavated burials, as the saga descriptions are often similar to what appears in the excavated graves. The archaeological evidence shows that burials containing many amulets or other items perhaps linking the individual with the supernatural are high status, indicating that these individuals were socially acceptable.

The saga evidence suggests that both females and males were involved in sorcery and the supernatural during the Viking Age. From the archaeological evidence, however, female burials that indicate this kind of involvement are more easy to identify than those belonging to males, suggesting either than the

female and male practised different kinds of magic that required different objects or that the healer/witch figure was particularly distinct female role during the Viking Age.

Runic evidence

Runic evidence gives no mention to the healer/witch type of individual. It does, however, mention magic and also the sexually deviant warlock/witch type (*argr*, *ragr* and *ræte*) in a very derogatory manner and perhaps these types of individual are best evidenced, if at all, as mutilated or prone burials.

Other comparative evidence

The non-Scandinavian documentary sources, such as Saxo and Adam of Bremen, are from a different European tradition and, like the sagas, are from a significantly later date. The information they provide may hold some truth, but its reliability is tenuous. The Arabic sources provide contemporary descriptions, although language and cultural differences may have led to misinterpretation of Viking activities. Early texts, such as Tacitus, are likewise from a very different tradition and have a very different motive behind their writing. Tacitus provided very limited comparative evidence, which may only be coincidental, given the huge differences in date between recording the customs of the Germanic people and the Viking Age. Anglo-Saxon burial rites may have become mixed within British customs and the Anglo-Saxon texts, like those existing in Scandinavia, were written during the Christian period and are probably not representative of pagan tradition. These sources, however, were consulted because of their references to Germanic and Viking customs and because some of their references are to Viking-Age uses of the supernatural, which may contain some truth but are probably accidentally or deliberately distorted.

Scandinavian folkloric evidence can, in rare instances, be seen to document and uphold early traditions, some of which may date from the Viking-Age. There may be similarities in the continued traditions, but meanings behind the practices can become altered over time, being adapted to personal or social changes. The inclusion of folklore is valuable in such a study as this, as human vulnerabilities, such as health, religion, etc, often rely upon tried and tested ways and traditions and superstition, which then preserve the custom in a fairly unchanged state. The vast majority of folkloric traditions documented during the 18th, 19th and early 20th centuries describe many customs that do not appear to have any similarities with Viking-Age practices and artefacts, but a few do seem to show some similarities. Whether this is coincidence or a continuation of practice is impossible to say for certain.

7. CHANGES IN WOMEN'S ROLES WITH CHRISTIANITY

During the Viking Age, women could take part in religious ceremonies to a degree and run a household as a widow or in the absence of her husband. She could occupy a role of status, obviously dependent on her level in society, and have a level of autonomy (Chapter 4). Information regarding the status of women from the Viking Age, i.e. runic evidence, however, relates to high status individuals and similarly often the most detailed accounts of women in the sagas relate to women of high status.

Whether the women of a lower status in society had such freedoms or functions cannot be ascertained (Sawyer, 1990, 264). Women, inheritance and property ownership in the Viking Age and the problems brought about by the financial burdens imposed by the Church are dealt with extensively by Sawyer (1990, 271-277).

Christianity offered females different kinds of opportunities and status that appear not to have existed in the pagan religion. Christianity promised women the chance to reach paradise in heaven (unlike Valhalla, Óðinn's home and the supernatural home of dead pagan warriors, or Hel, where bad men went after death, or Gimle where righteous men went after death) (Sawyer, 1992a, 81; *Gylfaginning*, 3-4). Christianity also offered a faith for men and women, regardless of rank. Women were treated equality with men before God and, perhaps because of this, many women seemed to embrace Christianity. Women could have their independence of men and their families by joining religious orders, by being chaste and financially supporting the Church. '...it was these very opportunities that led to increased restraints on their freedom of action, as the male leaders of families tried to prevent dissipation of family property by the unchecked generosity of their kinswomen, a development that is clearly reflected in both the laws and literature of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries' (Sawyer, 1990, 281).

Despite the promises of Christianity, the position of the female after the Conversion does not seem to have improved and may have got worse. As Sawyer (1992a, 85) indicates, the saga writers described women, more often than men, as trouble makers and unreasonable. The women who are praised in the sagas are often obedient and do not challenge authority or social structure. Women during the pagan period were often given nicknames, such as 'the wise' or 'the deep-minded', which decreased in tradition during the Conversion and early Christian period, which may reveal a pre-Christian level of respect for the female as an individual in her own right. Some of the women in the Bible would probably have been used as roles for misogynistic purposes in literature, such as Eve (Sawyer, 1992a, 85). Despite the prevalence of misogyny in literature, the sagas (particularly the *fornaldarsögur* and the skaldic poetry (Chapter 6)) contain strong and socially revered women. Sawyer (1992a, 86) accounts for this reverence in that these sagas were based on an oral tradition that had preserved such roles and were shaped in their oral form by both men and women. The Church, as an institution, however, did not provide women with equal roles to men in leadership or learning and the diminishing respect for women can be seen in the *contemporary sagas* (Sawyer, 1992a, 86). The Church, however, did seem to want to limit certain activities of women, such as acting as a healer, which undermined the role of the local priests (Chapter 6).

From the archaeological evidence, it is clear that females were honoured as high status individuals. In death, they were honoured with the inclusion of their high status dress accessories and grave goods in a similar manner to their male counterparts. Male and female burials appear alongside each other and are not segregated to different parts of the cemetery (as sometimes happens in churchyards). Archaeological evidence shows that a small but significant number of high-status female burials belong

to what seem to be healer/witch type individuals. These burials are not isolated from other burials, but are within a community site (such as on Birka, Fyrkat). These burials are not double graves, which could indicate that these women were esteemed in their own right.

The level of understanding of the medicinal properties of herbs, without the use of spells or invocations, cannot be suggested for the Viking Age. Some of the saga evidence refers to women as *læknir* without resorting to sorcery. With the arrival of Christianity, the role of healer became officially obsolete. Either the parish priest or God would have fulfilled the role of healer, which perhaps indicates that these women did not use herbs or amulets as purely material items, with which to heal, and that their healing was linked with the supernatural in some way. If herbs had been treated rationally, these women may have been left alone in their work, although the *Eldre Eidsivapings kristenrett* (ch. 45) stated that... 'if a woman uses medicine and blood letting as if she can heal people...., then shall she pay three marks' (Mundal and Steinsland, 1987, 107 - my translation), which clearly shows that the woman's power had been eroded, in favour of the healing power of the Church. This perhaps typifies the attitude of the Church and state. The law indicates that women practised primitive medicine, although no mention is made of using witchcraft to help the healing. Instances of using stones, animals, human hair or nails are singled out in the laws as being associated with detrimental sorcery. The stones are the only connecting objects between the medieval laws and the Viking-Age women found in the graves, as all the other objects would have decomposed. Where stones are found in burials, particularly those belonging to women, they are high status burials. The arrival of Christianity clearly shows that the healer/witch lost her social status and her knowledge was dismissed as superstition, if not made illegal. The healer/witch may have retained her social status within isolated communities or practised in secret.

8. SUMMARY

In general, Viking-Age Scandinavian burials show many similarities, but each Scandinavian country did have its own burial traditions, combined with local traditions practised by individual communities. In this respect, it is difficult to generalise about pan-Scandinavian burial deviancy and it is therefore easier to identify deviancy on a local level. However, certain traditions, such as decapitation or binding of the limbs, although rare, exist throughout Scandinavia, except Iceland. The archaeological excavation techniques in each Scandinavian country also give false readings as to the quantity of deviant burials, due to the differing ability to excavate graves scientifically over time. During the Viking Age local resources and economy would have affected to some extent the objects which were inserted into the grave and perhaps the methods of burial (such as cremation, which is more time consuming and takes more resources than inhumation).

There is a definite category of female burial that seems to represent a healer/witch, who was esteemed and respected by society. The archaeological evidence for this type of woman is, for the most part, contrary to any medieval saga and legal evidence for such roles. The archaeological evidence shows

that a few women seem to have been actively practising a form of primitive medicine, combined with some mysticism, as a form of work or skill. These burials, although very few in number, are found throughout Scandinavia. The types, combinations and quantities of artefacts from their burials defined these women's role to their survivors. In many instances the bags or caskets from these burials contain what appear to be amulets or items for use in some medical-magical function. These items would have been hidden from general view, perhaps increasing their potency or to be used secretly by the bearer, unlike the religious symbols, such as a Thor's hammer, which were worn openly as a proclamation of religious faith. As archaeological excavation and recording techniques improve and are more consistently applied throughout Scandinavia, it may be expected that more of these types of women are identified.

ILLUSTRATIONS

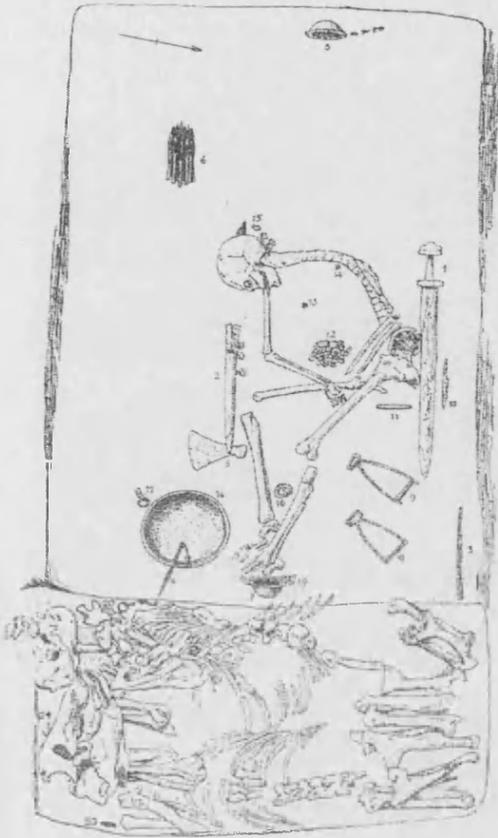


Illustration 1 (left). Bj. 581, Birka, showing a high-status chamber grave containing a male (Thunmark-Nylén, *et al.*, 1981, 136).

Illustration 2 (right). Grave 260, PK Bank, Lund. Skeleton of a female covered by a basket (Mårtensson, 1976, 91, fig 63).

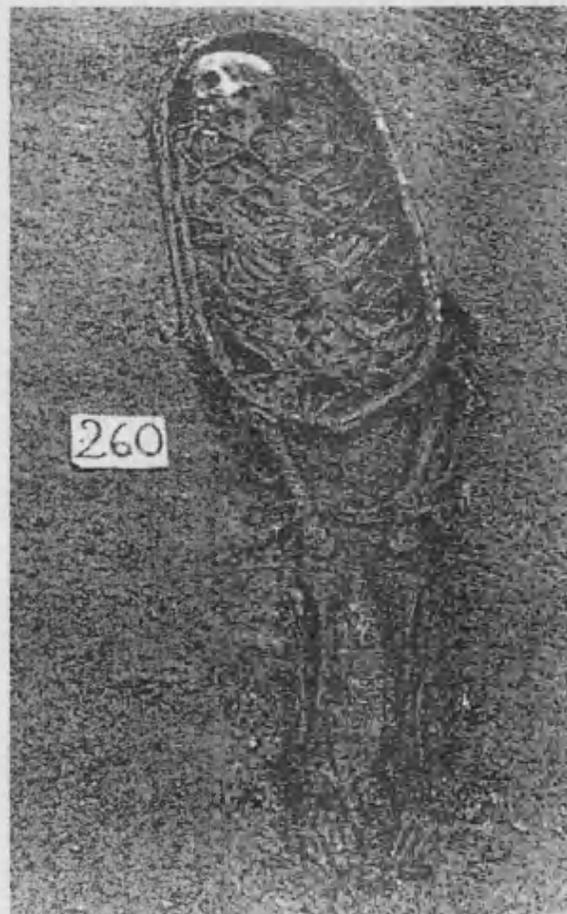




Illustration 3 (left). Grave FII, Stengade II, Fredriksborg. Double grave containing a suspected decapitation or hanging (Bennike, 1985, 116 fig 70).



Illustration 4 (left). Gerdrup, near Roskilde. Double grave containing a male (left, possibly hanged) and female (right, with two stones placed above her) (Christensen, 1985, 23, fig 5).



Illustration 5 (left). Grave D, Bogøvej, Langeland. Diagram showing the double grave containing a male (below) and female (above) (Grøn, Hedeager Krag and Bennike, 1994, 12, fig 3).

Illustration 6 (below left). Grave P, Bogøvej, Langeland. Prone burial (Grøn, Hedeager Krag and Bennike, 1994, 12, fig 3).

Illustration 7 (below right). Grave T, Bogøvej, Langeland. Decapitated (?) female skeleton (Grøn, Hedeager Krag and Bennike, 1994, 18, fig 14).

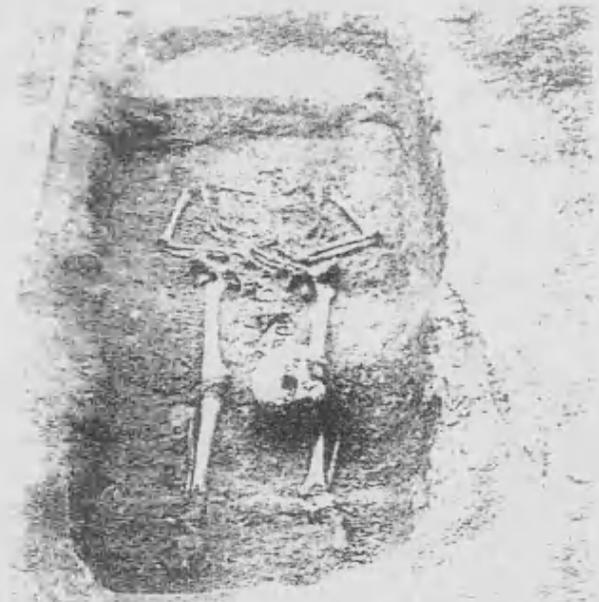
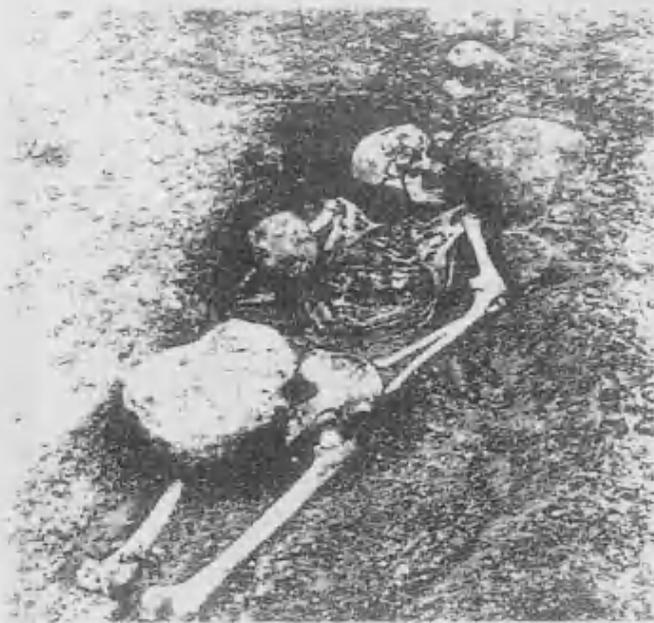


Illustration 8 (right). Plan of two decapitated skeletons, Kalmergården (Bennike, 1985, 106 fig 58)

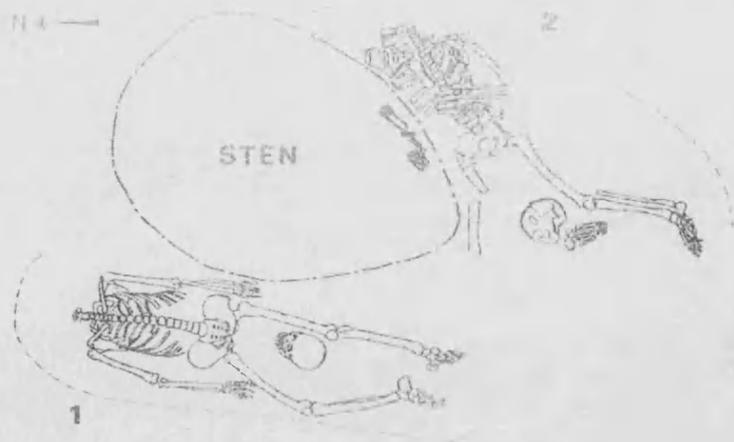


Illustration 9 (right). West skeleton, Kalmergården, Langeland (no. 1 in Illustration 8 above). The skeleton had a pronounced underhung jaw (Bennike, 1985, 107 fig 59).

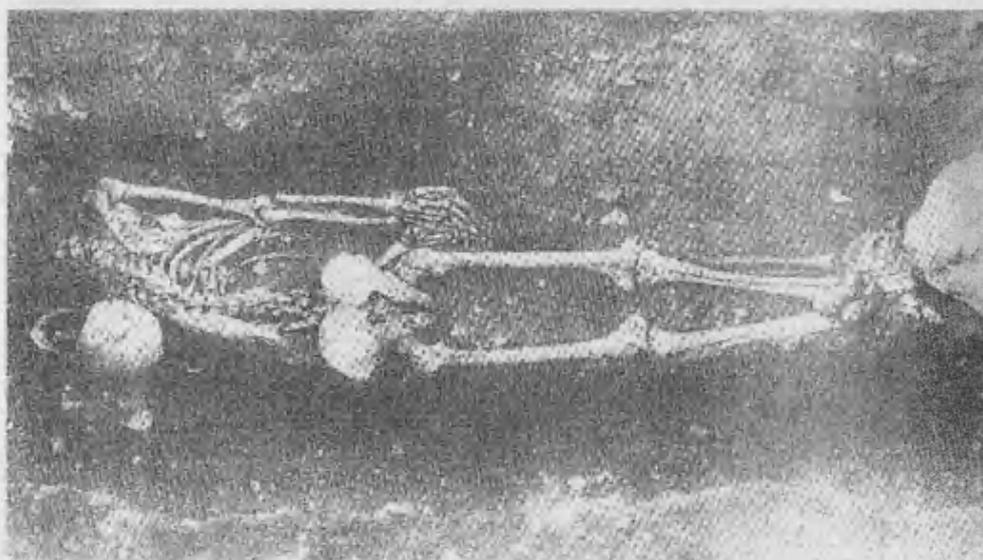
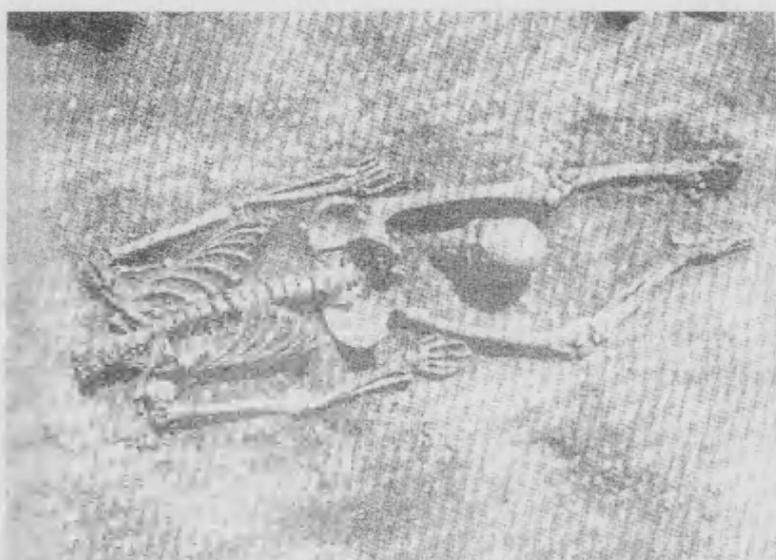


Illustration 10 (left). The upper skeleton from Grave 55, Lejre, Sjælland, showing decapitation and bound hands and ankles (Bennike, 1985, 108 fig 61).



Illustration 11 (left).
Grave 1, Gyllenkrok,
Lund. Decapitated
skeleton with feet and
other bones removed.
Possibly a criminal
(Carelli, 1995, 46 fig 3).



Illustration 12 (left).
Grave 2,
Gyllenkrok, Lund.
Severely mutilated
skeleton possibly of
criminal (Carelli,
1995, 53 fig 10).

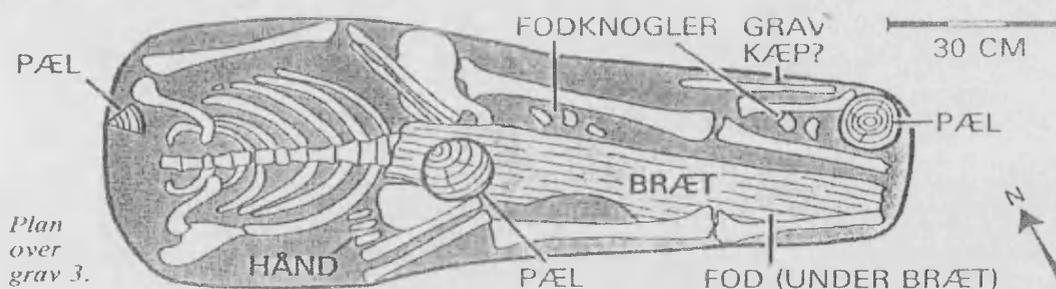
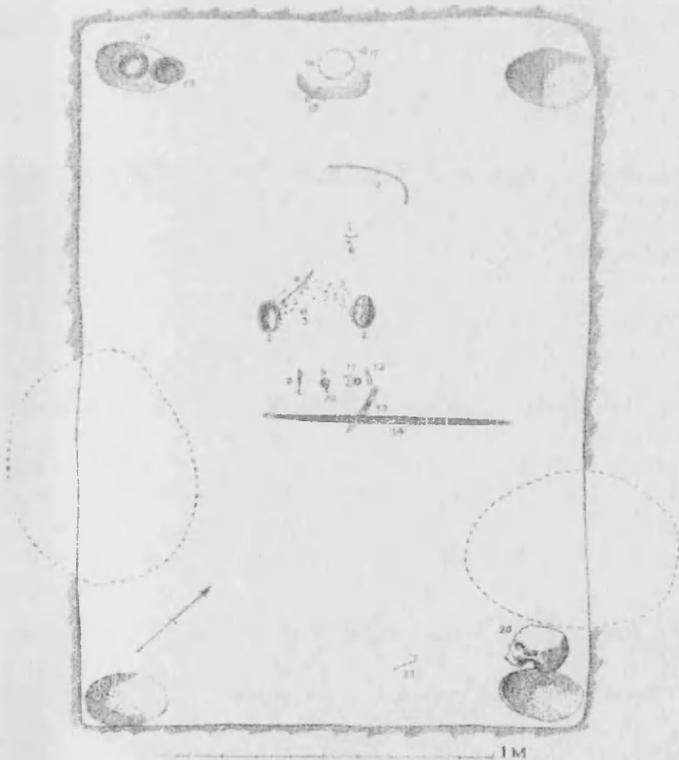
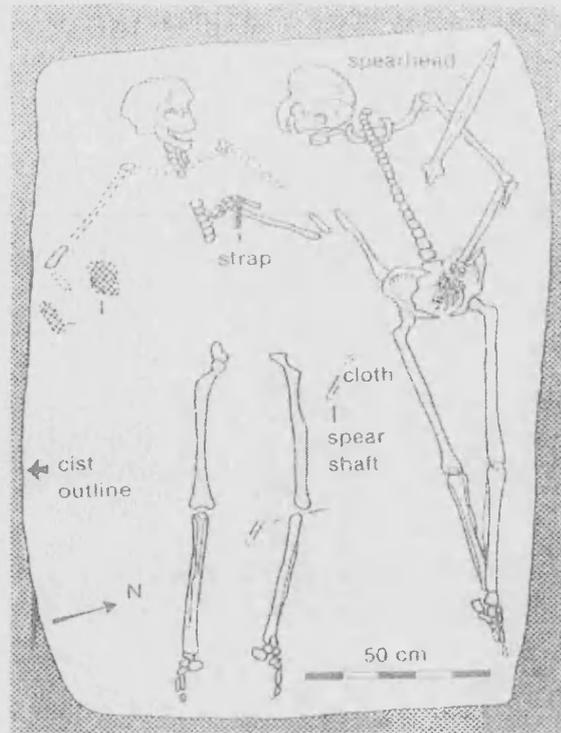


Illustration 13 (above). Grave 3, Gyllenkrok, Lund. Diagram showing the prone burial of a decapitated skeleton, possibly of criminal. The hands and feet had been thrown into the grave and the grave had three stakes driven into it (Carelli, 1993, 10, fig 5).

Illustration 14 (right).
 Grave 309, Slusegård,
 Bornholm. Double
 burial. The left skeleton's
 skull is missing and the
 right skeleton may also
 have been decapitated.
 The burial shows other
 signs of mutilation
 (Klindt-Jensen, 1978,
 210, pl 55).



Illustrations 15 and 16 (above). Bj. 660, Birka, showing the grave and a reconstruction of how the grave may have looked. The staff lies across the woman's left hand (Price, 2002, 130-1, figs 3.4 and 3.5 - left and right respectively).



Illustration 17 (left).
Diagram of Grave A129,
Birka, showing skeletons A
and B (grave goods not
shown). The antler
belonged to skeleton B
(Holmquist Olausson,
1990, 176, fig 2).

Illustration 18 (below). Mound A29, Bollstanäs, Fresta, Uppland.
Two prone decapitated male skeletons (Hemmendorff, 1984, 6, fig 2).





Illustration 19 (left). One of the five animal head posts from the Oseberg burial, possibly used for ceremonial or ritual purposes (Sjøvold, 1985, 35).



Illustration 20 (above right). Skeleton I/1953, Kaupang. The legs may have been bound and there were animal bones in the layers above the grave, perhaps suggesting a sacrifice (Blindheim and Heyerdahl-Larsen, 1995, Fig. 6, 130).



Illustration 21 (above left). Skeletons II and III/1954, Kaupang, show signs of mutilation (Blindheim and Heyerdahl-Larsen, 1995, Fig. 7, 130).

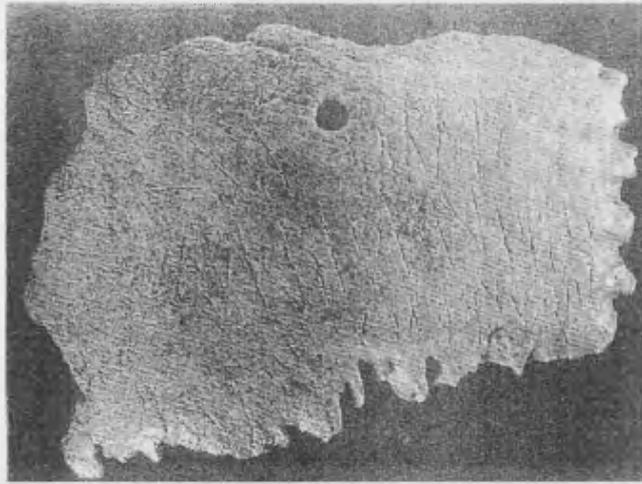


Illustration 22 (left). Fragment of a human cranium inscribed with runes, including the name of the god Óðinn, from Ribe (Steinsland, 1992, 146, fig 2).



Illustration 23 (right). Male figure suggested to be of the god Freyr, Rällinge, Sweden (Steinsland, 1992, 147, fig 4).



Illustration 24 (above left). Finds from the male grave at Karlsnes, Landmannahreppur. The knife and small opaque square stone may have been kept in a bag (Eldjárn, 2000, 66).

Illustration 25 (above right). Finds from the female grave at Ketilsstaðir, Hjaltastaðahreppur, which may have contained a bag. The light blue hand-shaped piece of stalactite (shown on the lower right of the photograph) may have been an amulet (Eldjárn, 2000, 229 fig. 118).

Illustration 26 (left). Smooth pebble from Grave 20, Fyrkat (Roesdahl, *et al.*, 1977, 113, fig 173).

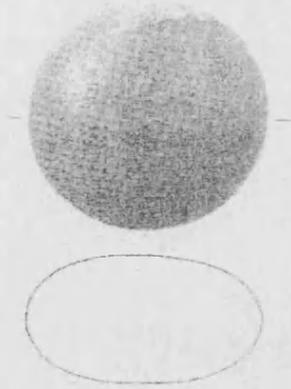


Illustration 27a and 27b (right). Finds from Grave 3, Hrífunes, Skaftártunhreppur, including 5 pieces of red jasper, a small egg-shaped basalt stone and lead weights. The jasper may have been used for producing fire (Eldjárn, 2000, 246, figs. 130-131).



Illustration 28 (left). Metal box (probably originally used to hold weighing scales) containing the scales and skeleton of a young grass snake, Bäls sn., Gotland (Schnittger, 1912, 98, figs 1a and 1b).



Illustration 29 (left).
Piece of hair, measuring
c.35 cms from the
bottom of a cremation
urn, Skopinntull, Adelsö
(Rydh, 1936, 113, fig
291).

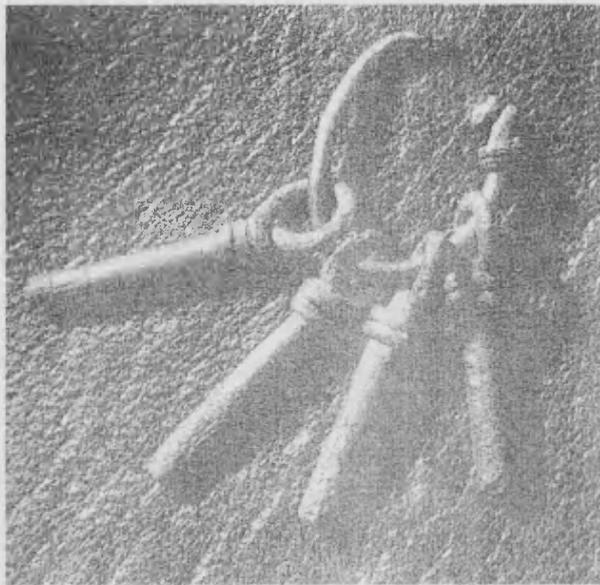


Illustration 30 (above left). Amulet rings from the grave at Torvalla, Skederid, Uppland, suspended from which appears to be a scythe, club or spade and a spear (Gräslund, 1992, 190, fig 2).

Illustration 31 (above right). Staff-shaped amulets suspended on a ring from Bj. 60 A, Birka (Holmqvist, 1979, 119).



Illustration 32 (left). Coin-dated 10th-century silver throne-shaped pendant, Grave 188, Hedeby. Other finds in the grave may be associated to Þórr and Óðinn and could link the throne to their worship (Roesdahl and Wilson, 1992, 277, fig 187).

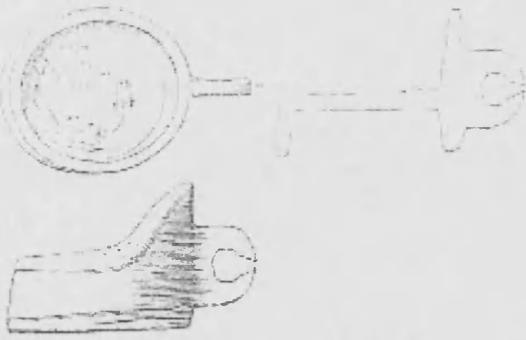


Illustration 33 (left). Silver chair-shaped pendant, Grave 4, Fyrkat (Roesdahl, 1977, 102, fig141).



Illustration 34 (left). Gotlandic picture stone from Tjängvide (I), Alskog parish, showing a depiction of a valkyrie in the centre, 8th to 9th century (Nylén and Lamm, 1988, 69)



Illustration 35 (left). Silver pendant in female form bearing a drinking horn, from a hoard. The figure may be a depiction of a valkyrie (Roesdahl and Wilson, 1992, 277, fig 186).

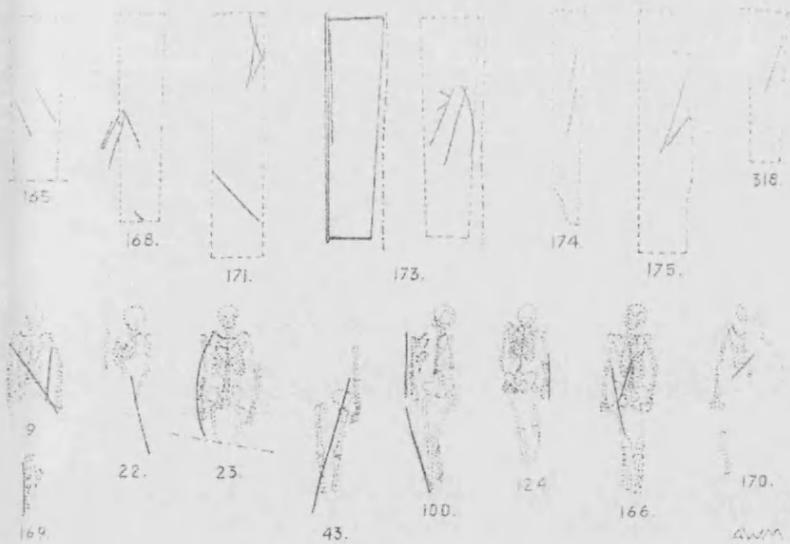


Illustration 36 (left). Grave sticks from the Thule site, Lund. The sticks in Grave 168 may show the rune for 'f' and Grave 173 may show the runes for 'fu' (Blomqvist and Mårtensson, 1963, 61, fig 40).

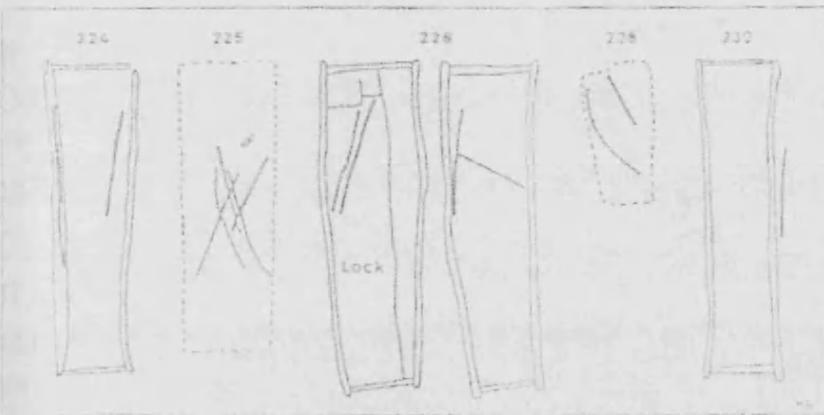


Illustration 37 (left). Grave sticks from the PK bank site, Lund (Kriig, 1987, 16, fig 13).

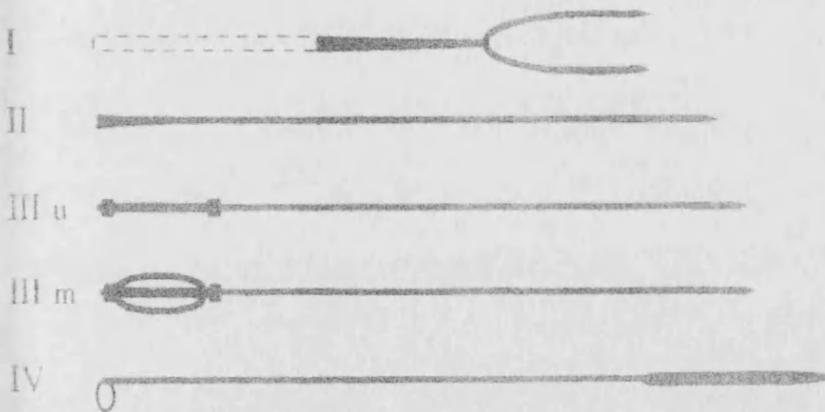


Illustration 38 (left). Classification of 'roasting spits'. Types III u and III m are reclassified by Price as being ritual staffs (Price, 2002, 188, fig 3.72).



Illustration 39 (above). Staffs from Bj. 834, 845, and 660, Birka and Grave 59:3, Klinta (Price, 2002, 185, fig3.70).

Illustration 41 (near right). Whip shaft from Gävle, Gästrikland. The combination of the handle and the metal ornaments attached to the loop may allow for the object to be reinterpreted as another type of staff (Price, 2002, 188, fig3.72).

Illustration 42 (far right). Swedish rattles from Mora, Kråkberg, Dalarna (Serning, 1966, plate 31).



Illustration 43 (left). The Lund weaving tablet inscribed 'Ingemar shall get my weeping' (Moltke, 1981, 359).

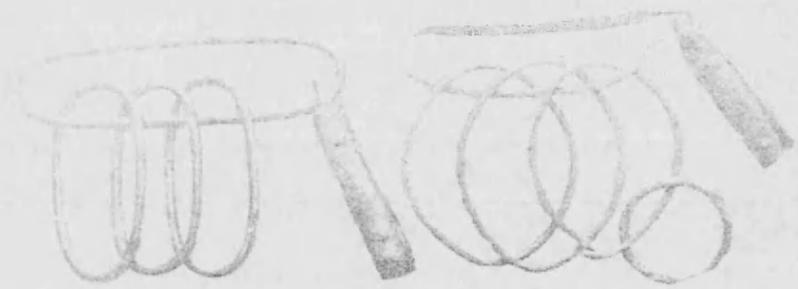


Illustration 40 (above). Norwegian rattles from Torshov, Gjerdrum Akh, (left) and Hennem, Tranby sn., Lier p. , Busk (right) (Petersen, 1951 No. 4, 47 figs 40 and 41).

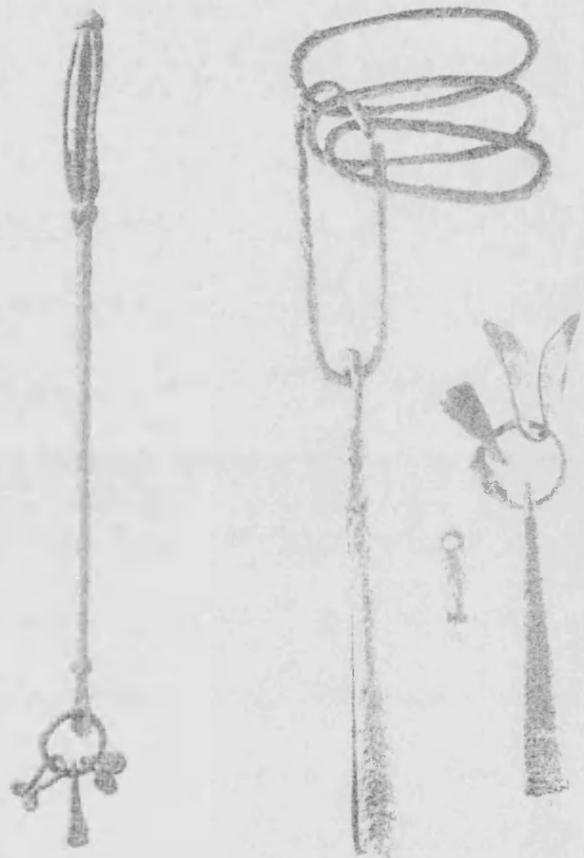


TABLE I
AMULET REFERENCES CITED IN THE THESIS

Amulets

Site	Type of grave	Date	Dress accessories and gravegoods	Stones	Fossils *	other	bag/casket	comments
Denmark								
Slusegård, Denmark	several inhumations	100-500 A.D.		several stones found in burials, often found in cooking vessels				
Fyrkat, Denmark grave 20.				smooth pebble kept in casket, resembling 4 other stones found in the fort area				
Ellidshøj, Ålborg, Denmark	female inhumation			12 pebbles, perhaps kept in a casket				
Enehagen, Østbo, Vernamo, Småland, (Denmark) mound 25	cremation	Viking Age		round flat stone		burnt hazelnut	iron casket lock	
Ramme Ringkøbing, Denmark, grave 2	?	2nd half 10th century	8 glass and amber beads		echinite in a bag			see other bags sheet
Iceland								
Ytre-Garðshorn, Iceland. Grave no.9	middle aged female inhumation	Viking Age	necklace of 25 beads (one of which was amber)	58 pieces of quartz		tweezers, wax fragments		
Austarihöll, Haganeshreppur, Iceland	male inhumation	Viking Age		7 stones of different sizes at foot end, one was a zeolite with holes and scratches				stones probably struck to start a fire
Ytre-Garðshorn, Iceland. Grave no.3	young female inhumation, very disturbed	Viking Age		small round piece of quartz at foot end				
Ytre-Garðshorn, Iceland. Grave no.10	adult inhumation	Viking Age		small round piece of quartz at foot end				
Sílastaðir, Iceland	mature female inhumation	Viking Age	gravegoods present	3 pieces of quartz of unspecified location			iron nails and lockplate	
Efri-Rauðalækur, Holtahreppur, Iceland	badly excavated inhumation	Viking Age	axe, icespike	small yellow stone				
Hrífunes, Skaftártunguhreppur, Iceland	adult inhumation	Viking Age	lead weight, lead fragments (possibly weights)	4 fragments of red jasper, small egg-shaped volcanic stone				
Straumur, Tunguhreppur, Iceland	10 year old suggested boat inhumation	Viking Age	small knife, 1 lead weight	2 small round stones				

Amulets

Site	Type of grave	Date	Dress accessories and gravegoods	Stones	Fossils *	other	bag/casket	comments
Skansinn, Vestmannaeyar, Iceland	disturbed inhumation grave	late 10th - early 11th century	bronze bracelet, iron and bone comb fragments,	2 flints and an agate (or glass-stone)				
Moldhaugar, Glæsþæjarhreppur, Iceland, mound 2	mound, young adult inhumation					3 shells, fragments of iron		
Norway								
Veiem, Grong in Nord-Trøndelag, Norway	high status male, cist	500 A.D		several small stones in a 25cm circle outside the burial and associated with a thick charcoal layer				
Risefeltet in Oppdal, Norway	cremation	early Iron Age		5 to 10 small stones collected together in the grave				
Sandal in Jølster, Norway	male boat burial, in humation	Viking Age		13 smooth pebbles of different colours				
Kaupang, Norway C 4216-24. Mound 112.	high-status male cremation	Viking Age	high status grave goods	egg shaped stone, 3 large and one small piece of burnt flint				
Kaupang, Norway C 4244. Mound 84.	low status unknown gender cremation	Viking Age	nails and a piece of an iron pan?	egg shaped stone				
Kaupang, Norway C 4217-75	high-status female cremation	Viking Age		stone				
Kaupang, Norway K/VII graves I and II	two high status female inhumations	9th century	high status	two egg-shaped stones				
Kaupang, Norway grave K/IV gr. IV (male)	male inhumation in a ship	10th century	spear, ring pin, clay pot, fire steal, 2 knives bryne, iron object	egg shaped stone				
Kaupang, Norway grave K/IV gr. III (female)	high status female inhumation in a ship	10th century	high status, axe	egg shaped stone				
Hunn, Østfold, Norway grave F.41 A.L. Nr. 41 (Perlehaug)	cremation grave	late Merovingian to early Viking Age	18 glass beads, simple brooch, fragments of a bone comb	5 pieces of flint	echinite			

Amulets

Site	Type of grave	Date	Dress accessories and gravegoods	Stones	Fossils *	other	bag/casket	comments
Hunn, Østfold, Norway grave F.43 A.L. Nr. 56 (Lyshaug)	?	early Viking age		a quartzite 1/2 spherical object which looked like the echinite from the other grave at Hunn mentioned above				
Skåla, Kvinnherad, Norway	female inhumation	Merovingian			echinite	Metal mounted crystal ball		
Ugulen in Hafslo, Luster, Norway	inhumation	Viking Age				Metal mounted crystal ball		
Sweden								
Täby, Uppland, Sweden	inhumation	Viking Age		small white stone in a bronze wire net with a loop to hang it as a pendant etc.				
The list of general grave goods and dress accessories is not exhaustive and the original site reports should be consulted as space does not permit for all details of minor grave goods, such as metal fragments, etc.								
* (see Roesdahl 1977, 219) for other instances								

TABLE II
SUMMARY OF BIRKA AMULET BAGS AND CASKETS

Grave Number, i=inhumation; c=cremation	Grave status/grave goods not in casket or bag	Sex m=male, f=female, ?=undetermine d	location of bag/casket or tight collection of items	Coin fragments	Weights	Fragments of brooch	Beads or pendants	Rods/ strips	Unworked materials	Fruit stones	Other contents, including stones	Other comments about the bag	Associated burial?
86 (i & c)	moderate - i.e., knife, comb etc	?	on rib cage	yes			Amber pendant shaped as a whetstone; cornelean bead						
97 (i & c)	skeleton in poor condition. Big stone on right of grave, the other grave-good was a pot vessel.	f?	centrally in the grave - possibly at the hip (but skeleton is very badly preserved).				Possible bead (hard to see on x-ray).				Large ring on which were a number of smaller rings. Other small rings.	Bag consists of a little branch swathed with woollen thread. Several items in the bag seem to have fallen out, the others could be seen by x-ray.	In S-E of grave was a cremation layer in which was an urn containing bones and charcoal. On top of the urn, was a piece of charred bread suspended on a bronze wire hook. Further cremation layer & urn cast of this cremation layer.
229 (c)		?										Contained bronze fittings associated with leather bag.	
503 (i)	high - axe, knife, penanular brooch	m?	central position in grave	Bronze (poss. 800AD)		fragment of oval brooch		4 fragments of square and round bronze rods		Hazelnut shell	Pressblech fragment; round slightly domed lead disc. Small lump of bronze which seems to be enameled		
523 (i)	quite high - lots of jewellery	f	upper body								Chess pieces		
second bag			upper body									Seemed to have a impression of either a bead or penanular brooch.	
520 (i)	medium - typical female furnishing, + bronze keys, piece of resin, needle case.	f	top of body under chin	Burka coin					Glazed/enameled piece of silver, like hack-silver				
639 (i)	fairly high - jewellery + shears, etc.	f	beside the casket fittings lay the following: bronze bowl, and the other grave contents were probably kept in the casket, which was placed on lower right of the skeleton				cornelean bead				2 fragments of glass, 5 fragments of resin with impressions of the bark.		
Bj. 543 (i)	medium - shears, knife etc, + stone of iron pyrites & soap stone/steatite.	f	upper body		2 iron								
Bj. 644 (double i)	very high - bones of skeletons are oddly arranged, perhaps the female was seated on the male	m & f	lower body		1 iron						Firesteal; bone comb.	Bag associated with female, the bag is of Hungarian design.	
Bj. 709 (i)	low - urn & knife	?	in the knee area	1 Arab Dirhem	Lead weight?				Bronze slag				
Bj. 710 (i)	very high - horse burial	m	top left shoulder	Roman Denars	13		Fragment of bead, silver foil bead		Unworked piece of amber; lump of glass	4 plum stones, 5 cherry pips	Iron fragment.		
Bj. 715 (i)	coffin burial, low - knife, comb etc	?	around where the head should be	Silver coin									
Bj. 716 (i)	silver band - elaborate girdle with metal plates	?	near waist									Remains of bag, but no contents.	
Bj. 717 (i)	coffin, medium - axe, penanular brooch, knife, etc	m	mid body/waist	4 Arab c. end 900/ early 1000									
Bj. 724 (i)	low - possible prostrate inhumation, bronze button, iron knife	?	near head on his left if face down.	Arab silver									
Bj. 727 (i)	high - horse, shield, spear	m	possibly at his feet - but no skeletal remains	2 Arab Dirhems									

Grave Number, i=inhumation; c=cremation	Grave status/grave goods not in casket or bag	Sex m=male, f=female, ?=undetermin ed	location of bag/casket or tight collection of items	Coin fragments	Weights	Fragments of brooch	Beads or pendants	Rods/ strips	Unworked materials	Fruit stones	Other contents, including stones	Other comments about the bag	Associated burial?
Bj. 731 (i)	high - chamber, spear, sword, shield boss etc, possibly casket	m	no body, grave-goods in disarray- bag towards eastern corner.	Silver Arab (A.D. 900/1000)									
Bj. 740 (i)	low- coffin, knife whetstone, penannular brooch etc	?	beside the brooch, possibly at the neck.									May have contained a bag	
Bj. 750 (double i)	very very high	m & f	in a bowl at foot of grave	Dirhem (from AD 297 or 299), a Denar A.D. 161- 180 and half a Dirhem A.D. 894/95	4 iron	Bronze knob of brooch						Bag was rolled up	
second bag			lay in corner at top west of grave	2 Samien Dirhem									
Bj. 759 (i)	coffin - artefacts - keys, whetstone, bronze pendant, iron shears etc in a pile at top of burial	f?	waist area			Bronze terminal of penanular brooch					2 glass sherds or pieces of mirror		
776 (i & c)	low - firesteal, iron fragment, knife, whetstone, bronze pendant, iron weight, amber pendant.	?	near neck									Little bronze knob-shaped object.	
Bj. 777 (i)	knife, beads, whetstone etc		not placed									Tiny remains of leather bag, no finds	
Bj. 798 (i)	chamber -high status, 2 shield bosses, ring pin brooch, silver bands round skull	m	near hip area									Nothing in leather bag	
Bj. 804 (i & c)	low status grave goods, knife, whetstone	?	area of chest	2 fragments of possibly gilded silver coin - Dirhem c. 912/913AD	1 iron								
Bj. 808 (i)	low - coffin only - knife	?	in west			Fragment of bronze brooch						Bag had hair lining	
Bj. 819 (i)	low -ring pin, coffin	?	on the belt									Leather bag was attached to the belt.	
Bj. 834 double (i)	very high - huge chamber (with <i>rattle</i>), horse, sword, shield boss, etc; female had oval brooches, etc	m & f	at top beside oval brooches	2 Arab silver - dated 913 -932 AD and the other is a copy									
possible second bag			at top beside oval brooches	Silver coin dated to 917/18 AD									
Bj. 837 (i)	coffin, oval brooches, needle box, knife, tweezers, etc	f	near oval brooches	fragment Arab Dirhem AD 846/65									
Bj. 838 (i)	chamber, 2 oval brooches, nice beads- cornelian, rock crystal, glass	f	Wooden chest located at foot on the left of grave away from body.	2 Arab Dirhem fragments 842 AD	1 bronze & 1 iron - which seem to have been kept in a separate bag					Hazel nut	Ring with staple attached; iron awl with wooden handle; cornelian with mount for a ring; piece of wood with paint on; piece of resin.		
Bj. 845 (i)	high - oval brooches, bucket + an iron staff	f	bag at the waist, casket below to the right of the feet - high status casket, similar to that at Oseberg									Nothing in the bag or box	

Grave Number, i=inhumation; c=cremation	Grave status/grave goods not in casket or bag	Sex m=male, f=female, ?=undetermin ed	location of bag/casket or tight collection of items	Coin fragments	Weights	Fragments of brooch	Beads or pendants	Rods/ strips	Unworked materials	Fruit stones	Other contents, including stones	Other comments about the bag	Associated burial?
Bj. 847 (i)	coffin - 2 oval brooches, beads, iron casket fittings + 2 faience beads beside it & flint nearby	f	casket at knees				2 large faience beads				Piece of flint		
Bj. 855 (i & c)	high, chamber - sword, shield, spear etc.	m	waist		1 bronze & 1 iron	Terminal of penannular brooch	Cornelean bead		bronze slag				
Bj. 886 (i & c)	high - sword, shield, gaming board, firesteal etc	m	away from left leg	Dirhem - 900 AD							Iron hook or crampon		
Bj. 904 (i)	medium, coffin - brooch under chin, spear, arrows.	m	no skeleton - on chest area	Coin					lump of bronze		Iron hook or crampon		
Bj. 920 (i & c)	coffin - no other goods		between the lower legs - head to N-E				3 semi-circular halves of blue glass beads		lump of bronze; possibly a dark piece of glass slag.		Bobbin-shaped stone; fragment of flint	Goods not found in a bag, but in a concentrated heap.	
Bj. 943 (i)	high - large chamber, oval brooches, lots of beads, pendants, coins as pendants, bronze buckle, needlecase, silver bands etc	f	on her right upper body				Long amber pendant; brown slate pendant; possibly a Thor's hammer in amber.		10 pieces unworked amber		Iron awl with wooden handle and possibly with a wooden sheath; iron ring with a staple through.	Only bronze fitting surviving from the bag	
Second bag			fragment on upper body	Dirhem (907/8 - 911/12 AD)	1 round iron; possibly a second iron weight; 2 bronze weights		Yellow-red round glass bead						
Bj. 949 (i)	low - penannular brooch, arrows	m										Bronze fittings of the bag remain and there are no contents.	
Bj. 955 (i)	high - chamber, horse, shield, spear etc	m										Fragment of bag containing nothing.	
Bj. 956 (i)	high - chamber, shield boss, penannular brooch	m		Dirhem (893-902 AD) & silver coin	1 bronze & 2 round iron						Round bronze fitting.		
Second bag												Fragment with silver fittings and lots of ornamentation but no contents.	
Bj. 958 (i)	medium - shield boss etc	m										Bronze fitting from bag remain but no contents.	
Bj. 964 ?	??	f	it is a chest						1 piece of unworked amber		polished stone of glass ??? a comb		
Bj. 964 (i)	high - 2 oval brooches, silver bands, equal armed brooch, knives, needle case etc	f	foot of grave, away from the body	2 small fragments of Dirhems			Thor's hammer in bronze; white glass bead; small light blue glass bead.	Blue glass rod.	Melted piece of green glass; yellow glass-like lumpy; unworked piece of amber.		Small indistinguishable silver wire mesh shaped like a flower; glass mirror.	No remains of a bag, but grouping of goods insinuates its presence.	
Bj. 965 (i)	high - chamber, horse, oval brooches, lots of beads & pendants, silver bands, iron shears, needle case.	f?		3 Arab Dirhems	1 round iron weight	Fragment of a relief brooch					Barrel-shaped sandstone		
Bj. 966 (i)	medium - 2 oval brooches, bead necklace	f	at the hip		2 bronze, 2 iron		Shield-shaped pendant; piece of glass bead	small bronze					
Bj. 968 (i)	high - big chamber, 2 oval brooches, shears, trefol brooch, necklace & pendants, silver band, needlecase, silver ring, bucket, etc.	f	on her right hip		1 bronze & 1 iron, 1 round piece of lead (weight?)		Fragment of blue bead;		Glass droplet		Bronze needle; 3 water-polished stones;	Leather bag not in existence.	

Grave Number, j=inhumation; c=cremation	Grave status/grave goods not in casket or bag	Sex m=male, f=female, ?=undetermine d	location of bag/casket or tight collection of items	Coin fragments	Weights	Fragments of brooch	Beads or pendants	Rods/ strips	Unworked materials	Fruit stones	Other contents, including stones	Other comments about the bag	Associated burial?
Bj. 991 (i & c)	medium - spear	m?		Arab Dirhem	1 bronze & 1 iron						Piece of wood (possibly from coffin); bits of wool; bronze fitting fragment; leather fragment; iron knife; 5-sided whetstone; firesteel; 7 pieces of flint; iron hook or crampon.	Leather bag not in existence, but goods close to each other.	
Hj. 1036 (i - child)	medium - coffin, arrow heads, knife, penannular brooch etc	m?			1 bronze			2 long thin pieces of bronze strip			Broken off piece of bronze bracelet; fragment of bronze mount.	Leather bag not in existence, but goods close to each other.	
Bj. 1037 (i & c)	low - bronze brooch	?	top right of chest		1 bronze		Gold foil bead.			Cherry stone	Silver finger ring; bone comb.		
Hj. 1062 (i)	quite high - coffin, 2 oval brooches, trefoil brooch, penannular brooch, 23 beads, silver and bronze pendants, knife, 2 iron shears, tweezers, comb, iron hook, bucket, firesteel etc.	f	At foot of grave away from the body.								Bronze ornamented leather fragment; damaged iron pyrites ball; flint splinter; water-smoothed flint balls; quartz pebble.	Leather bag not in existence, but goods close to each other.	
Hj. 1074 (i)	low - spear, knife, firesteel, etc	m		1 Arab Dirhem	1 bronze weight	Terminal of penannular brooch.							
Bj. 1081(i)	high - large chamber, iron necklge with Thor's hammers, oval brooches, equal arm brooch, 2 bronze bracelets, 94 beads, needle case, iron shears, knife, bucket etc	f	on chest	3 Arab Dirhems (835 AD)			1 silver ware; 1 cornelean.						
Bj. 1125 A + B	2 separate burials in same pit, A has coffin & iron artefacts, B has bundle of arrows, horse, shield, etc	m										Possibly has leather bag - no contents.	
Bj. 1149 (i)	low - coffin, knife, etc	?	centre of grave		1 bronze						1 piece of flint.		
Bj. 1151(i)	high - large chamber, shield, spear, etc.	m	centre of grave	Arab Dirhem (767 - 776 AD), frag other Dirhem							2 pieces of flint		
A 129 (i - double)	medium	2m	a box located near left hand				fragments of 4 gold foil, 1 silver foil, 1 blue		3 pieces of amber		20 pieces of flint		the main burial has an elk horn

TABLE III
SUMMARY OF SCANDINAVIAN AMULET BAGS AND CASKETS
(NOT INCLUDING BIRKA)

Location	Grave Number, all graves are illuminated	Date	Grave status/grave goods	Sex m=male, f=female, ?=undetermined	Location of container; b=bag; c=casket; x=trussing, but finds in a closely placed collection; u=unspecified location	Coin fragments	Weights	Glass	Rings	Metal objects	Fossils	Unworked stone	Organic remains, including fruit stones	Other contents	Other comments
Denmark															
Fyrkat, Denmark	4	c. 980	High status cart burial (see main text); diverse selection of jewellery.	f	C - at feet					Knife with its sheath; an iron object with copper-alloy fittings			Owl pellet and pig jaw possibly from casket	Spindlewhorl; a whetstone	
Fyrkat, Denmark. Second container	4		High status cart burial (see main text); diverse selection of jewellery.	f	X - bag? from belt area								Several hundred henbane seeds		
Ketting, Denmark	18	1st half 10th C	Large coffin, Thor's hammer, horse buckles? knife, whetstone	f	C - right hip, coffin enlarged to contain casket.	Hedeby silver coin				Decomposed silver fragments.					
Karum, Ringkøbing, Denmark	2	2nd half 10th century	8 glass and amber beads	f?	B - left hip				Amber ring		Eclamate	2 small stones			
Tulle site, Lud (Denmark)	98	1000-1050	none other than bag	?	between the knees										due to the grave being disturbed by animals, the bag may have been placed elsewhere. The bag was empty, perhaps suggesting organic contents.
Iceland															
Karlsnes, Iceland		Viking Age	3 beads by neck and spear head	m	X-U					Knife		Opaque square stone			
Silastaðr, Iceland	4	Viking Age	High, full weapon set	m	X-U		2 lead weights			Iron object with piece of jasper fixed at one end.		Opaque stone; piece of jasper			
Silastaðr, Iceland	2	Viking Age		m	X - left hip	2 fragments of a silver coin				Knife; firesteel; silver thread.		Fragment of jasper	Flake of calcium - from a shell?		
Selfoss, Iceland	1	Viking Age		f	X - right hip					Iron fragments (in blue clay).		Small dark stones			
Selfoss, Iceland. Second bag?		Viking Age			X - Upper back					Iron fragments		Small bead-like opaque stone with hole in it; small grey oval stone with hole in like a loom weight; stone shaped like a cylinder or ring.	Small sea shell		
Kehlstaðr, Iceland		Viking Age		f	X - hip					Iron scissors fragments		Light blue piece of stalactite stamped like human hand.	Horn strips - from a comb?	Whetstones	
Hafurbjarnarstaðir, Iceland	1	Viking Age	Crouched burial with upper body covered by stone slab, behind knees were 3 shells, a trefoil brooch and piece of whalebone.	f	X - pelvis							Dark grey egg shaped stone; clog shaped white stone with dark markings.		Comb	
Norway															
Kvåle, Sogn, Norway	n/a	Late 5th century	High -stone cist	f? child	X - Neighbouring cell			Fragment of Roman glass; 2 glass 'buttons'.		3 small silver facemasks.		Pieces of rock crystal; 7 smooth oval white pieces of quartz; grey flint; mica; green stone		Stone axe	
Grenslaug, Karum, Norway		Viking Age	Male grave goods, high status mound burial; amber & glass beads	m?	C - U				Bronze ring					Bird's feather	
Osberg, Norway		834	Extremely high status ship burial in a mound	f? f	C - (lower) in grave chamber, high status and similar to Bj. 845					2 ornate iron chains				wooden staff	
Veka, Voss, Norway		Viking Age	high status mound; arm ring, sickle, frying spit, miniature axe etc	f	C - at feet					Chisel shaped iron tool, iron books - probably belonging to a tool.			Hair - probably from a brush	Flax combs; 11 loom weights, 2 spindle whorls; toolbox	there seem to be a lot of tools in this woman's grave

TABLE IV
SUMMARY OF THE DEVIANT BURIALS

Site and grave number	Location of grave	Date	Disturbance/state of preservation	Burial type.	Sex	Age at death	Orientation, direction of head is cited first	Position.	Mutilation?	Grave goods	Dress accessories	Coffin, structure etc, in-fill, stones on grave	Other / Additional Comments
Mutilated or Prone Single Burials													
Bogøvej, Langeland, Denmark. Grave P	C	10th - 11th c	Some animal disturbance, otherwise good	SG	M	30-40	e-w	Prone	Right arm bent upwards. left arm on hip. face pressed into a stone by the shoulder. spinal column arched with a few missing vertebrae.	Small blunt iron knife		No coffin, sherds and charcoal in-fill, two large stones over the body	
Bogøvej, Langeland, Denmark. Grave T	C. South west corner of cemetery, on low ground.	10th - 11th c	Some rodent activity, otherwise fair.	SG	F	30-40	w-e	Supine	Head located placed between legs but no physical signs of decapitation on vertebrae or skull.	Iron knife, cockleshell between legs close to the skull near left ear. The shell may not have been worn as it has no hole.	Glass beads by shoulders.	Yes	Location of skull could be due to decapitation, but probably it had moved as glass beads and a cervical vertebra was in the neck area.
Fjälkings, Skåne (Denmark). Grave 35	C	10th c	Unstated	Four separate burials	????	Unstated.	Grave 1=e-n. Grave 2 = e-w. Grave 3=e-w. Grave 4=e-n.	Grave 2 crouch, Graves 3 and 4 supine.	Grave 2 was in a crouched position with the lower legs severed and the foot bones missing. Some of the bones were burnt. Grave 4 had arms crossed over the pelvis and the feet crossed.	Grave 1=iron knife and whetstone. Grave 2=none. Grave 3=none. Grave 4=comb, knife, whetstone, piece of iron, pottery sherd, clay whorl.	Grave 4=iron buckle		Grave 2 may be a sacrifice. Grave 4 may have been bound.
Kalmervården, Store Fugled, Vestsjælland, Denmark. No grave number.	2 lone	East skeleton C14 dated c. 1040. West skeleton C14 dated c. 1015.	Good	2 SG	2M	East skeleton 20-35. West skeleton 35-55.	East skeleton=e=sw; West skeleton=n=s.	East skeleton slightly flexed, west skeleton supine.	Both decapitated with physical evidence for knife blows. East skeleton still had jawbone at top of the vertebrae, with the rest of the skull between the legs. West skeleton had the skull and the top two vertebrae placed between the legs.	no	no	West skeleton had been buried in an old pit containing several animal bones. A large stone separated the skeletons.	East skeleton also may have had a hip problem. west skeleton had very underhung jaw. the stone may have been a marker for the place of punishment or to mark the graves of these criminals.
Gyllenkrok, Lund (Denmark). Grave 1.	1. occupation layer with no evidence for a grave cut. significantly not in the nearby cemetery	A.D. 1200	Possible disturbance, good otherwise.	SG	M	20		Slightly flexed lying on the left side, arms behind back.	Skull, feet and other bones missing.				Missing bones probably due to animal activity as burial was so close to the surface, perhaps a murder victim buried in haste.
Gyllenkrok, Lund (Denmark). Grave 2.	1. Occupation layer with no evidence for a grave cut. Significantly not in the nearby cemetery	A.D. 1000-1050	Good	SG	M	35-40	w-e	Flexed, due to the grave being too small.	Right hand removed at the wrist, two attempts to remove left hand half way up the arm. Right foot removed through tibia and left foot removed just above the ankle. Hands and feet not in the grave.				Mutilation may have caused the death or have been committed <i>post mortem</i> .
Gyllenkrok, Lund (Denmark). Grave 3.	South of the occupation layer. Significantly not in the nearby cemetery	A.D. 1000-1050	Good	SG	M	25-30		Prone	Missing skull, the hands and feet had been thrown into the grave, probably being removed by a sword or axe.	Wooden artifacts, possibly a grave stick		Grave had three stakes driven into it, from either before or after the time of burial.	
Grynmøllen, Lund (Denmark). No grave number.	L. Grave cut into topsoil.	Probably 11th c	Good	SG	M	50s	Skull faced north	Flexed, due to grave being too small.				No coffin, stone on upper chest.	Burial shows no signs of respect for the deceased and may have been dug in haste.

Site und grave number	Location of grave	Date	Disturbance/state of preservation	Burial type.	Sex	Age at death	Orientation, direction of head is cited first	Position.	Mutilation?	Grave goods	Dress accessories	Coffin, structure etc, in-fill, stones on grave	Other / Additional Comments
Muldbjerg, Gørløse, Frederiksborg, Denmark. No grave number.	L.	C14 dated to A.D. 895.	Not stated	SG	?	?	nw-se	Prone		Iron knife			
Slusegård, Bornholm, Denmark. Grave 324.	C	A.D. 100-200		SG	?	?	s-n	Supine	Skull missing (compare with pit 331 to west).	Knife	Bronze buckle	Traces of trunk coffin.	
Slusegård, Bornholm, Denmark. Grave pit 331.	C	A.D. 100-200		SG	?	20-35	n/a	n/a	Skull placed in a pit.	Two pot shards		No coffin, large flat stones covered the pit.	12 cm above the pit was an eroded burnt layer in brown-coloured charcoal and sand.
Slusegård, Bornholm, Denmark. Grave 438.	C	A.D. 100-500		SG	?		w-e	Supine?	Separated from the head and lying to the east was the pelvis and parts of the legs and feet. The chest, shoulders and arms were missing.				Large piece of chalk with an eroded burnt layer above it layer over the skull, the body had been dismembered prior to burial.
Slusegård, Bornholm, Denmark. Grave 968.	C	A.D. 100-500	Good	SG	?	?	ne-sw	Supine	Skull missing, showing signs of decapitation in the lower cervical vertebra.	Knife and a vessel	Two amber beads		
Slusegård, Bornholm, Denmark. Grave 983.	C	A.D. 100-500	Good	SG	?	?	ne-sw	Supine	Skull missing, showing signs of decapitation in the upper cervical vertebra.	no			
Slusegård, Bornholm, Denmark. Grave 1185.	C	A.D. 100-500		SG	?	?	nnw-sse	Lying on its left side hunched over, seriously mutilated.	the distance between the lower cervical vertebra and the skull may indicate that the neck was cut through and the head inserted separately into the grave.				
Thule, Lund (Denmark). Grave 121.	C. Close to southern side of church	A.D. 1000-1050	Good	SG	M?	Unstated.	Unstated	Unstated	Seems to have died of three axe marks on cranium.	no	Shoes survived, perhaps skeleton was buried clothed		
Århus Søndervold, Denmark. DAQ - grubehus. Skeleton CZT	Settlement	Site dates from A.D. 1000-1400	Good	SG	?	?	?	Supine	Left leg extended and right leg bent at the knee. The right ankle was placed beneath the left knee. The arms were outstretched.	no	no	no	Burial appears hastily done.
Kaupang, Norway. Grave I/1953	C. North field of Bjikholberg, in much better condition than the other graves from this area.	Viking Age	Good	SG	F		Head to north	Mutilated	Knees bent to south, both feet (bound?) drawn up to the skeleton's right and extended arms	no		Some animal bones were found in the fill layers above the grave.	Scattered burnt bones covering the cemetery were more plentiful in the area of these skeletons. The disarticulation and mutilation may have been due to the location of the skeletons near the surface or from removal from another grave site. Perhaps a sacrifice, because of the presence of the bones.
Kaupang, Norway. Grave II/1954.	C. North field of Bjikholberg, in much better condition than the other graves from this area. II/1954 and III/1954 in close proximity.	Viking Age	Good	SG	M		Head to south	Supine	Missing skull. Legs extended, possibly bound.	no		no	Scattered burnt bones covering the cemetery were more plentiful in the area of these skeletons. The disarticulation and mutilation may have been due to the location of the skeletons near the surface or from removal from another grave site.

Site and grave number	Location of grave	Date	Disturbance/state of preservation	Burial type.	Sex	Age at death	Orientation, direction of head is cited first	Position.	Mutilation?	Grave goods	Dress accessories	Coffin, structure etc, in-fill, stones on grave	Other / Additional Comments
Kaupang, Norway. Grave III/1954.	C. North field of Bikjholberg, in much better condition than the other graves from this area. II/1954 and III/1954 in close proximity.	10th c	Good	SG	?	? - small proportions		Crouch on left side		no		no	Scattered burnt bones covering the cemetery were more plentiful in the area of these skeletons. The disarticulation and mutilation may have been due to the location of the skeletons near the surface or from removal from another grave site.
Kaupang, Norway. Graves K/III.	C	9th c	Good	SG	M	c. 20	w-e	Crouch		Shield, and axe struck into the ground, spearhead and knife, remains of a young bear with missing vertebrae.		Boat, centrally placed	Perhaps involved with a bear cult?
Kaupang, Norway. Graves K/IV grave II and K/IV grave III.	C	Viking Age	Good	SG	K/IV II = M and K/IV III = F.	Unstated.	K/IV grave II was s-n, and K/IV grave III was n-s.	Both crouch		Generally medium to high status, see Blundheim, Heyerdahl-Larsen and Ingstad (1999, 15-16)			Crouch burials maybe a result of fitting the deceased to the grave cut or a particular custom.
Kaupang, Norway. Grave K/XXXVII.	C	8th to 9th century	Good	SG	?	16-20 years	n-s	Upper body twisted to right, lower body and legs supine.		no			Body may have been damaged during inhumation. Individual had a hunch-back.
Birka, Sweden. Bj. 724.	C	Viking Age	Poor	SG	?	?	?	Prone?		Leather purse, part of a silver coin, iron knife	Bronze button	Coffin nails	Remains are fragmentary but could indicate a prone burial
Kopparsvik, Gotland, Sweden. Several graves (see text).	C	A.D. 700-1000		SG	Majority M			Prone					
Faviken, Gotland, Sweden. No grave number	L, in a refuse layer	10th c		SG	M			Prone	Dug hurriedly, seems to have suffered mutilation after death with charring to the fingers.				Damage to the individual may have been due to the violent closure of the shipyard.
Skalså, Väskaide, Gotland, Sweden. No grave number.	S. Maybe connected with graves nearby as the outcasts on the edge of the cemetery.	Probably Viking Age	Some plough damage	SG	M, F and ?		All skeletons were saw, with head either to one or saw.	Prone, supine and twisted	One male skeleton was mutilated, bent forward with the torso between the legs and the skull behind the pelvis (but no signs of decapitation). The left tibia, arms, feet and hands were missing.	No datable finds.	One grave had a bronze thread arming and another a bone pin on either side of the head	Some had stone packing just below and above the soil line	Due to peripheral location and treatment of skeletons, suggests criminals or social outcasts.
Double Burials - One above other, with and without mutilation													
Bogøvej, Langelund, Denmark. Grave D	C. central, on high ground	10th - 11th c	Poor, female totally disturbed	D**K?	M and F.	M = 25-35; F = 21 or less	w-e	Both supine, F above M.	Too much disarticulation to say	2 iron knives, one perhaps associated with each burial	No	No coffin small collection of stones on grave	
Bogøvej, Langelund, Denmark. Grave S	C	10th - 11th c	Lower skeleton disturbed by burial of upper skeleton, otherwise good preservation.	D**	M and F.	M = 50; F = 16-20	w/w-ese	Both supine, M above F.			Knife and bronze ring-pin associated with male probably belonged to female.	Coffin for female burial	Probably deliberate that the male was above the female
Dråby, Spøulund, Denmark. Grave 1	C	9th c	Poor	D**	F and ?	?	?	Supine lower F, disarticulated bones 40cms above.	?	Small knife and unidentified object with disarticulated remains			

Site and grave number	Location of grave	Date	Disturbance/state of preservation	Burial type.	Sex	Age at death	Orientation, direction of head is cited first	Position.	Mutilation?	Grave goods	Dress accessories	Coffin, structure etc, in-fill, stones on grave	Other / Additional Comments
Dråby, Sjælland, Denmark. Grave 2	C	9th c	Poor	D**, M&S	? and ?	?	?	Supine lower skeleton with upper skeleton in the middle of the stone fill.		Lower skeleton had two small knives	no	no	
Dråby, Sjælland, Denmark. Grave 10.	C	9th c	Poor	D**, M&S?	? and ?	?	?	Supine, c.5-6cm above the pelvis were the remains of tooth enamel.		Knife and iron nail	no	no	The presence of the tooth enamel has led to an interpretation of a secondary upper burial, but the tooth enamel may be due to animal activity in the primary burial.
Kaagården, Langeland, Denmark. Grave B	C, centrally placed south of cemetery on low ground	10th c	Poor	D**K?	F and M	F= 45, M=45-55	nw-se	Both supine M above F.		iron fork and iron knife		no	
Kaagården, Langeland, Denmark. Grave FX.	C	10th	Poor	D**	??	?	ws-w-ene	Both supine with the child below the adult.		Iron knife, pot shard		Yes, not surrounding the cremation layers	charcoal and burnt bones were present, amongst which were some human remains. One on top of the other in a cremation burial, with a second possible cremation.
Trelleborg, Hejninge, Denmark. Grave 6.	C	Roman to Viking Age	Moderate	D**K?, M&S?	M and F	Adult	?	F above supine M, disarticulated in the grave fill.		All graves in this cemetery were poorly furnished, making dating and sexing at times difficult.	?	?	
Trelleborg, Hejninge, Denmark. Grave 50.	C	Roman to Viking Age	Moderate	D**K	F and child			Supine. Child above F. A thin layer of soil separated the skeletons.		All graves in this cemetery were poorly furnished, making dating and sexing at times difficult.			
Trelleborg, Hejninge, Denmark. Grave 80.	C	Roman to Viking Age	Upper skeleton badly preserved	D**	Lower = M, other is ?	M aged 35-55, other ?		Unsexed skeleton placed above M skeleton.		All graves in this cemetery were poorly furnished, making dating and sexing at times difficult.			
Sarastaður, Hlíðarfirreppur, Iceland. No grave number.	L	Viking Age	Disturbed	D**, DK, F interred later.	M and F	M = middle-aged; F = adult.	Male with head to south west	Lower skeleton is M and supine. F lay above with her feet over M skeleton's feet.			10 small glass beads, knife		Probably not suttee burial. She seems to have been added later.
Ljyre, Sjælland, Denmark. Grave 55.	C, in the north end of a stone ship-setting	First to mid 10th c	Good	D** M&S?	2M	Upper skeleton 35-55. Lower skeleton 25-40.	e-w	Upper skeleton prone. Lower skeleton supine.	Upper skeleton decapitated from behind (knife blows visible), with the head placed at the left shoulder face down, possible binding of the hands and feet.	Lower skeleton had an iron knife, whetstone, small buckle, iron strap-end.			Lower skeleton was small and had deformed feet.
Birka, Sweden. Grave A129.	L stone setting, in a Viking-Age settlement area, over older graves	Viking Age	Good, upper vertebrae on upper skeleton decayed.	D**	2M	Upper skeleton 20-30, lower 40-50.		Upper skeleton twisted but essentially supine/flexed. Lower skeleton supine with legs flexed.	Upper skeleton in a twisted position with right foot missing. The head beside his chest.	None for upper skeleton, other than a goat/sheep bone beside upper tibia. Lower skeleton had a damaged shield boss, quiver, arrows, spear, knife. Beside his left hand was a collection of 20 pieces of flint, 6 bead fragments (perhaps all kept in a casket as fittings were present).	Lower skeleton had a bronze buckle and to his left shoulder an elk antler.	Irregular stone packing	Upper skeleton may have been a slave. The elk antler may indicate a hunter or warrior ritual.
Double Burials - Kinship													
Trelleborg, Hejninge, Denmark. Grave 75.	C	Roman to Viking Age	Moderate	DK	M and F	?	Male = head to west, female = head to east	Supine		All graves in this cemetery were poorly furnished, making dating and sexing at times difficult.			
Kaupang, Norway. Graves K/VII gr. I and gr II	C. ship	9th c	Moderate	DK	2F		n-s.	K/VII II supine		Gr. I had a sieve and a lockplate, two egg-shaped stones. Grave also contained an axe, an arrowhead, a fishing hook, five knives and a whetstone.	Gr I had one oval and one equal-armed brooch, one amber and seven glass beads.		Probably kinship rather than mistress and servant.

Site and grave number	Location of grave	Date	Disturbance/state of preservation	Burial type.	Sex	Age at death	Orientation, direction of head is cited first	Position.	Mutilation?	Grave goods	Dress accessories	Coffin, structure etc, in-fill, stones on grave	Other / Additional Comments
Double Burials - Mutilation													
Slusegård, Bornholm, Denmark. Grave 235.	C	A.D. 100-500	Moderate	DC?	??	??	nne-ssw	Both west and east skeletons supine and slightly flexed.	East skeleton decapitated with a large gap between the shoulder and lower parts of the body. Probably dismembered on deposition.	A sword, iron razor knife, iron awl and iron knife.			
Slusegård, Bornholm, Denmark. Graves 309 and 310	c	A.D. 100-200	Poor	DC?	West skeleton n=M, east skeleton n=?	West skeleton 20-35; east skeleton 'young' person.	s-n	Supine west skeleton.	West skeleton head positioned much higher than would be expected above the lower cervical vertebrae, possibly hanging or decapitation? Right arm and foot broken. East skeleton has skull missing.	West skeleton had a clay pot, two iron knives, an iron awl and an iron razor knife. East skeleton had an iron knife.	West skeleton had a glass bead.		West skeleton shows signs of violence.
Slusegård, Bornholm, Denmark. Grave 989.	C	A.D. 100-400	Good	DC?	2M	West skeleton?, east skeleton 35-55.	sse-nnw	West skeleton supine, east skeleton prone, slightly over the west skeleton.	West skeleton had skull missing, showing signs of decapitation in the upper cervical vertebra. East skeleton ankles were crossed, perhaps bound.	small iron fragment lay near right shoulder of west skeleton. knife and awl beside the elbow of the east skeleton.			
Stengade 11, Tulleballe, Denmark. Grave F11.	C, in northernmost area amongst poorly furnished graves	11th c	Decomposing of smaller bones	M&S	2M	North skeleton=20-35, south skeleton= 20-35	nwn-ese	Both supine	North skeleton possibly decapitated, due to position of head above the right shoulder and legs crossed at ankles, suggesting bound feet and possibly the arms were bound.	A silver ornamented 10th century spear lay over both individuals.			South skeleton was much larger than the north skeleton, probably 180cm tall.
Bollstaås, Fresta, Uppland, Sweden Grave A29.	Mound, cemetery.	A.D. 765±100	Very good	CR & 2 Servants?	2M	First 17-22 and other 20-40.	Skeletons buried in opposite directions alongside each other. First skeleton with feet to west. Second skeleton with feet to east.	Both prone	Both decapitated from the third cervical vertebrae. Both skeletons probably had bound feet. First skeleton had the skull was placed on the upper part of the back facing the feet. Second skeleton had the head more naturally placed.	no	no		The burials were in a cremation layer, which had gravegoods, which may have been the master and these two inhumations slave burials.
Double Burials - Other													
Thorslunde, Copenhagen county, Denmark. No grave number.	L	c.800, possibly earlier	?	DK?	F?	?	Unstated	Supine			2 oval brooches, one with each skeleton.	No coffin, grave covered with a heap of stones	Both skeletons may have been female due to the positioning of the brooches. however, animal activity may have moved one of the brooches.
Hov, Donnes, Nordland, Norway. No grave number.	L, ship burial	Viking Age	Moderate	M&S	M and F	?	?	M contained in ship. F lay just outside the ship		Dog			Girl may have been a slave.

Site and grave number	Location of grave	Date	Disturbance/state of preservation	Burial type.	Sex	Age at death	Orientation, direction of head as cited first	Position.	Mutilation?	Grave goods	Dress accessories	Coffin, structure etc, in-fill, stones on grave	Other / Additional Comments
Oseberg, Norway. No grave number.	L, large ship in a mound	A.D. 834	Good	M&S	2F	Younger skeleton c. 25, the older is not aged at death.				(see text)	Older woman had fine boots.	Stones on grave	Some of the grave goods were not finished. Older woman showed signs of wear on her bones and other disease - perhaps not the queen but a lady in waiting.
Rösta, Ås, Jämtland, Sweden. Grave 1.	L, but other cremation burials nearby	10th c		D	Inhumation = M, cremation = F	?	se-nw			Male had iron arrow, iron knife, iron spearhead.	2 oval brooches and iron fittings to a casket in the cremation layer	Pile of stones - röst	On either side of the skeleton were cremated human remains. the cremation may be secondary or a sacrifice/suttee.
Klinta, Köping, Öland. Mounds 59:2 and 59:3	S, groups of mounds	900-950	good	D? M & F cremated together but buried separately	M and F	?	cremations			Male had a sword, 18 gaming pieces, silver coin, etc. Female had a large selection of goods from inside, around and above the cremation urn, including an iron woodworking cramp, battle axe, mounts and strap ends, etc. (see Price, 2002, 144-5, 147 for extensive list).	Male had 16 beads of rock crystal, silver and gold foil and glass. Female had 151 beads + a further 33 from the layer above the grave, 2 oval brooches, etc (see Price, 2002, 144-5, 147 for extensive list).		
Multiple Burials													
Trelleborg, Hejlinge, Denmark. Several mass burials, graves 23, 47 and 87 (see text).	C	Roman Iron Age to Viking Age		M						All graves in this cemetery were poorly furnished, making dating and sexing at times difficult.			
Vamsdalur farm, Patreksfjörður, Iceland. No grave number.	L	Viking Age	Secondary burials were disarticulated.	SG, then M	F?, then 3 F and 3 M	?	?	?		Original burial had 13 balance weights, a bell and a piece of lead weight inlaid with a cross. No grave goods with the secondary burials.	Original burial had silver Thor's hammer, 30 beads, 2 bronze bracelets. No dress accessories with secondary burials.		Type of artifacts may indicate religious ambiguity.
Kaupang, Norway. Graves K/V, K/V III, K/V I	C, ship	Viking Age	Moderate	M, K?	2M, 1F and child	Male grave K/V I aged 45-50.		F was original burial, moved for subsequent burials. M K/V III at north end of ship. M K/V I supine at south end of ship with head to southwest and buried with child remains.	K/V I had been dismembered (see main text) with parts of the skeleton missing.	Female had miniature spear head with her. Other grave goods were located outside the ship. K/V III had a deliberately broken sword. K/V I had a damaged shield boss and an axe struck into the earth.			K/V I and child were probably the most recently buried. K/V I may have been a relative caught in a dispute or murdered and merited burial in the family grave.
Gällö, Jämtland, Sweden. No grave number.	I	Viking Age		M&S	2M, F, ?	Two men aged 30-45, a female 15-20, and ? aged 15-20.	?						Perhaps the female and unsexed individual were slaves
Nabberör, Öland, Sweden. No grave number.	L, ship burial in a mound	Early 8th century	poor, robbed and disturbed	M	M, ? , F?			Main burial centrally in grave, 2 individuals in the north-west part of the ship and a third in the north-east		Weapons, a spindle whorl perhaps belonging to a female. Three dogs, a goat or sheep, a pig and horse.	3 glass beads perhaps belonging to a female		Around 50 human teeth belonging perhaps to 3 or 4 individuals were scattered over the grave. the burials were probably interred at the same time.
Burials with other unusual features													
Bogovej, Langeland, Denmark. Grave Y	C, North-eastern part on high ground.	10th - 11th c	Very poor	SG	?	?	n-s	Supine		Iron knife, iron nail, iron fragment.	no	Traces of a coffin, two large stones seemingly placed directly above the skeleton	

GLOSSARY

DEFINITIONS OF OLD NORSE WORDS AND TERMS

Definitions from Zoëga (1926), unless otherwise stated. A far more extensive and discursive collection of terms used regarding sorcery is included in Strömbäck (1935, chapter II), Pálsson (1991, pp.158f), Price (2002, 111-27) and under *trolldom* in *KLNM*.

ÁHRÍNISORÐ: words (spells) that come true. Pálsson (1991, 158) includes this as a method in which ‘...magic spells [are] inflicted’.

ÁKVÆDI: decision, spell, verdict. It was used in the manner described under *hrínisorð*.

BERSERKR: a pagan warrior who became uncontrollable when fighting. He seems to have believed he could transform into a bear or wolf or acquire their qualities by wearing the skins of such animals and was associated with the cult of Odin (Griffiths, 1996, 152).

BRAGÐ: trick, scheme, device.

DRAUGR: a dead person who, as a ghost, resides in his grave or mound and often physically terrorises the nearby population.

EFTIRRYNI: hidden knowledge.

VERA EIGI EINHAMR: not being single shaped, used with the ability to change shape, i.e. werewolf.

FJÁNDI: fiend, devil, enemy.

FJÖLKUNNIGR: skilled in magic.

FJÖLKYNGI: a general term for the black art, witchcraft, sorcery, ‘much knowledge’.

FJÖLKYNGIS -FÓLK: wizard-folk; **-ÍDRÓTT:** magic art. **-KONA:** sorceress, witch. According to *KLNM* these terms with the prefix **FJÖL-** are the most common terms applied to a person with supernatural powers. **-VEDR:** gale produced by sorcery.

FORDÆDA: a bad witch, with negative connotations (Price, 2002, 118).

FORDÆDU -MADR: wizard, sorcerer; **-SKAPR:** witchcraft, sorcery. *KLNM* describes this as more of a negative term for sorcery. **-VERK:** execrable deed.

FORN: the old (heathen) custom, religion; in phrases as *forn i skapi* inclined to old, or heathen ways, *hann var forn mjök* he was a great wizard.

FORNESKJA: a general term for heathenism, old lore, witchcraft.

FORNESKJUMADR: sorcerer, wizard.

FORN - FRÓÐR: skilled in old lore, versed in witchcraft; **-FROEDI:** ancient lore, witchcraft.

FOR -NJÓSN: foresight (*-njósnar augu*); **-SPÁ:** prophesy.

FORVITRI: very wise, foresight.

FRAMSÖNN: prophetic.

FRÓÐLEIKR: magic, witchcraft.

FROEDI: charms, spells. Pálsson (1991, 158) writes that *fróðleikr* refers ‘...specifically to the knowledge and power of the witch’. According to Hastrup (1990, 388) *fræði* and *fróðleikr* were ‘...associated with men, at least after the introduction of Christianity and the emergence of a new kind of literati...’ *Fróðr* can refer to a person being ‘wise’ and having a knowledge of law (Steffensen, 1967-8, 186-7).

FYRNSKA: witchcraft, has implication of old heathen time and lore; as a phrase *vita fyrnsku* to be skilled in witchcraft, cf. **FORN**.

GALA: to sing, chant.

GALDR: magic song, charm, witchcraft, sorcery (*galdrar ok görningar*) (Price, 2002, 65-6). Pálsson (1991, 158) claims that *galdr* refers ‘...to what may be called ‘witch-acts’, the use of knowledge and abilities pertaining to witchcraft’. Hastrup (1990, 389) writes ‘...the notion of *galdr* referred to... verses of magical power, which ... testifies to the “origin” of witchcraft in chants, and to the power in metric forms’.

GALDRA -BÓK: book of magic; **-FULLR:** full of sorcery; **-HRID:** magic storm; **-KIND:** foul witch; **-KONA:** witch, sorceress; **-LIST:** magic art; **-LÆTI:** magical mummeries; **-MADR:** wizard; **-RAUMR:** great sorcerer; **-SMIDR:** sorcerer.

GALDRLIGR: magical.

GANÐR: Possibly a type of sorcery dating to before the Viking Age and associated with the beginning of the world. It is sometimes used with *seiðr* to prophesy (Price, 2002, 65).

GØRNINGA -HRID/VEDR: a storm raised by witchcraft; **-MADR:** sorcerer.

GØRNINGAR: witchcraft, sorcery.

GØRNINGA -SOTT: sickness caused by sorcery; **-STAKKR:** enchanted jacket; **-VÆTTR:** witch.

HAMRAMR: to be able to change one’s shape.

HUGR: spirit, mind.

HULDR- animal spirit, often confused with the animal form achieved by people who shape shift.

KUNNA: to know.

KUNNASTA/KUNNÁTTU: knowledge, magical lore.

KUNNÁTTUMADR: wise man. Hastrup (1990, 399) suggests that such a term ‘...had no immediate female counterpart’.

KUNNIGR: versed in magical art. (= *Fjölknunigr*).

KVELÐRIDA: night-hag, witch (riding on wolves in the twilight).

MARG -FRÓÐR/KUNNIGR: knowing many things (*fjölknunigr*). Pálsson (1991, 158) groups *margkunnandi* with *fróðleikr*.

MARLÍÐENDR: ‘sea-traversers’ (of witches).

MYRKRIDA: ‘night-rider’, hag, witch. The term may have associations with shape-shifting (Price, 2002, 119-22).

NÍÐ: libel, insult, derision. It was used in the manner described under *hrínisorð*.

SEIDA: to enchant by a spell, to work a spell.

SEID -BERENDR: sorcerers; **-GALDR**: enchantment by spells; **-HJALLR**: incantation-scaffold; -

KONA: sorceress, witch; **-LÆTI**: the sounds heard during the incantation; **-MADR**: enchanter, wizard; -

MAGNAN/SLA: the working of a spell.

SEIDR: spell, charm, enchantment, incantation. It is used for prophecy (Price, 2002, 63-5). *KLNM* states that *seiðr* was a sort of operative magic (similar to *galdr*), which involved either harming a certain person or gaining knowledge about a person’s future, the coming weather conditions, harvest, etc. Although both women and men practised *seiðr* in the Viking Age, it was considered more of an effeminate form of magic.

SEID -STAÐR: the place where a spell is worked; **-STAFR**: enchanter’s wand; **-VILLA**: spells to counteract witchcraft (*rísta seiðvillur*).

SJÓN -HVERFILIGR: eye-deceiving; **-HVERFING**: ocular delusion, produced by spells.

SÖNGVAR: singing. It was used in the manner described under *hrínisorð*.

SPÁ: to prophesy, foretell.

SPÁ -DÍS: spae-sister, prophetess; **-DÓMLIGA:** prophetically; **-DÓMR:** prophecy; **-GANDR:** divination-rod; **-KERLING/KONA:** prophetess; **-MADR:** soothsayer, prophet; **-MÆLI:** prophetic words; prophecy.

SPAKR: can refer to a person being 'wise' and being knowledgeable of law. *Spakr* may indicate a form of wisdom through foresight (Steffensen, 1967-8, 186-7).

SPÁR: prophetic (like *forspár*, *veðrspár*).

STAFR: staff, stick, wand (*fornir stafir*).

STAFSPROTI: stick, wand.

TROLL -DÓMLIGA: belonging to witchcraft; **-DÓMR:** witchcraft; **-RÍÐA:** ridden by a troll, witch-ridden; **-SKAPR:** witchcraft; **-KARL/KONA:** magician/female magician.

VEÐRSPÁ: weather-wise.

VÖLVA: prophetess, sybil, wise woman, witch. Word is derived from *völ* meaning a staff.

PULR: seems to have indicated a position of pagan religious significance.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

PRIMARY SOURCES

- The Aeneid*. Virgil. *A New Prose Translation*. Translated by David West. Penguin Books, London, 1991.
- The Agricola and the Germania*. Tacitus. Translated with an introduction by H. Mattingly. Revised by S. A. Handford. Penguin Books, 1948. Revised 1970.
- Ansgars liv*. Rimbert. In: *Boken om Ansgar*. With a commentary by Anders Ekenberg *et al*. Translated by Eva Odelman. Stockholm, 1986.
- Atlamál and Sigrdrífumál*. In: *The Poetic Edda*. Translated by Carolyne Larrington. World Classics, Oxford, 1996.
- Bárðar saga Snæfellsáss*. Íslenzkar Fornögur. Íslendinga Sögur. Vol. II. Edited by Grímur Helgason and Véstein Ólason. Skuggsjá, 1969.
- Danmarks gamle Landskabslove*. Edited by J. Brøndum-Nielsen and P. J. Jørgensen. Det danske Sprog- og Litteraturselskab, 1920-61.
- Danmarks gamle Love paa Nutidsdansk I-III*. Edited by E. Kroman and S. Juul. Copenhagen, 1945-8.
- Danorum Regum Heroumque Historia*. Saxo Grammaticus. Books X-XI. Vol; 1; Books X, XI, XII and XIII. Eric Christiansen. BAR International Series 84, 1980.
- Edda*. Snorri Sturluson. Translated by Anthony Faulkes. Dent, London. Everyman's Library, 1987.
- Eddius Stephanus. Life of Wilfred*. In: *The Age of Bede*. Translated by J. F. Webb. Penguin Books, 1965, reprinted 1988.
- Egil's saga*. Translated with introduction by Hermann Pálsson and Paul Edwards. Penguin Books, 1976.
- Eirik's saga*. In: *The Vinland sagas. The Norse Discovery of America*. Translated by Magnus Magnusson and Hermann Pálsson. Penguin Books, 1965.
- Eyrbyggja saga*. Translated by Hermann Pálsson and Paul Edwards. Penguin Books 1972, rev. 1989.
- Flateyjarbók. En samling af norske konge-sagaer*. Vol. 1. P. T. Mallings Forlagsboghandel, Christiania 1862.
- Flateyjarbók. En samling af norske konge-sagaer*. Vol. 2. P. T. Mallings Forlagsboghandel, Christiania 1862.
- The Fljotsdale Saga and The Droplaugarsons*. Translated by Eleanor Haworth and Jean Young. Everyman, 1990.
- Flóamanna saga*. Íslenzkar Fornögur. Íslendinga Sögur. Vol. VIII. Ed.s Grímur Helgason and Véstein Ólason. Skuggsjá, 1973.
- For Scírmis*. In: *Edda. Die Lieder des Codex Regius Nebst Verwandten Denkmäler*. Ed. Gustav Neckel. 1. Text. 4th edition from Hans Kuhn. Carl Winter, University Press Heidelberg, 1962, 69-77.

- The Saga of Gísli*. Translated by George Johnston. J. M. Dent and Sons Ltd, 1963. Reprinted 1984.
- The Golden Ass*. Apuleius. Translated by Robert Graves. Penguin Books, 1950.
- Grágás I. Laws of Early Iceland: Grágás. The Codex Regius of Grágás, with material from other Manuscripts*. Translated by Andrew Dennis, Peter Foote and Richard Perkins. University of Manitoba Press, 1980.
- Grágás. Lagasafn íslenska þjóðveldisins*. Gunnar Karlsson, Kristján Sveinsson and Möður Árnason. Mál og Menning, Reykjavík, 1992.
- Grettir's saga*. Translated by Denton Fox and Hermann Pálsson. University of Toronto Press, 1974.
- Gunnlaugssaga ormstungu*. With an introduction, notes and glossary by Peter G. Foote and Randolph Quirk. Viking Society for Northern Research, University College London. Reprinted, 1974.
- Gylfaginning*. In: *Edda*. Translated by Anthony Faulkes. Dent, London. Everyman's Library, 1987.
- The Saga of Hallfred. The Troublesome Scald*. Translated by Alan Boucher. Iceland Review Saga Series. Reykjavík, 1981.
- The Saga of Havard the Halt together with The Saga of Hen-Thorir*. Translated by Alan Boucher. Iceland Review Saga Series. Reykjavík, 1986.
- Heimskringla. History of the Kings of Norway*. Translated by Lee M Hollander. University of Texas Press, 1991.
- The Histories*. Tacitus. Translated by Kenneth Wellesley. Penguin Books, 1964, reprinted 1986.
- The History of the Archbishops of Hamburg-Bremen. Gesta Hammaburgensis Ecclesiae Pontificum*. Adam of Bremen. Translated by F. S. Tschan. New York, 1959.
- The History of the Danes*. Saxo Grammaticus. Vol. 1. English Text. Translated by Peter Fisher. Ed. Hilda Ellis Davidson. Cambridge, 1979.
- A History of the English Church and People*. Bede. Translated by Leo Sherley-Price. Revised by R E Latham. Penguin Books, 1955, revised 1968.
- The History of the Franks*. Gregory of Tours. Translated by Lewis Thorpe. Penguin Books 1974, reprinted 1986.
- The Holy Bible containing the Old and New Testaments*. Cambridge University Press, 1965.
- The Saga of Hord and the Holm-Dwellers*. Translated by Alan Boucher with an introduction by Anthony Faulkes. Iceland Review Saga Series, Reykjavík, 1983.
- Hrafnkel's saga and other stories*. Translated by Hermann Pálsson. Penguin Books, 1971.
- Íslendingabók* by Ari Þorgilsson. In: *Tekster og Læreboker til Universitetsbruk*. Ed. A. Holtmark. Oslo, 1951.
- Íslenzk fornrit. (ÍF)* In progress from 1933. Hið Íslenska Fornritafélag, Reykjavík.
- Kormáks saga*. In: *The Sagas of Kormák and the Sworn Brothers*. Translated by Lee M. Hollander. Princeton University Press, 1949.

- Landnámabók*. In: *The Norse Atlantic Saga. Being the Norse Voyages of Discovery and Settlement to Iceland, Greenland, and North America*. Gwyn Jones. OUP. Second Edition, 1986.
- Law and Literature in Medieval Iceland. Ljósvetninga saga and Valla-Ljóts saga*. Translated by Theodore M. Andersson and William Ian Miller. Stanford University Press, California, 1989.
- Laxdæla saga*. Translated by Magnus Magnusson and Hermann Pálsson. Penguin Books 1969, reprinted 1988.
- Natural History*. Pliny. Translated and edited by H. Rackham, W.H.S. Jones and D. E. Eichholz. 10 vols. Cambridge, Massachusetts and London, 1962-7.
- Njál's saga*. Translated by Magnus Magnusson and Hermann Pálsson. Penguin Books, 1960.
- Norges Gamle Love indtil 1387*. Vol.1. Edited by R. Keyser and P.A. Munch. Chr. Grøndahl, Christiana, 1846.
- The Odyssey*. Homer. Translated by E. V. Rieu. Penguin Books, 1946. Reprinted 1958.
- The Poetic Edda*. Translated by Carolyne Larrington. World Classics, Oxford, 1996.
- Saxo Grammaticus Books X-XVI*. Vol.I: Books X, XI, XII, and XIII. Eric Christiansen. BAR International Series 84. 1980.
- The Second Lay of Guðrun*. In: *The Poetic Edda*. Translated by Carolyne Larrington. World Classics, Oxford, 1996.
- Seven Viking Romances*. Translated with an introduction by Hermann Pálsson and Paul Edwards. Penguin Classics, 1985.
- Skaanske Lov og Jyske Lov*. Ed.s E. Kroman and S. Iuul. Third edition. GEC Gads forlag, Copenhagen, 1963.
- Svarfdæla saga (ÍF, IX, Eyfirðinga sögur)*. Hið Íslenzka Fornritafélag. Ed. Jónas Kristjánsson. Reykjavik, 1956.
- Svenska landskapslagar, 1-5*. Edited by Å. Holmbäck and E. Wessén. Hugo Gebers, Stockholm, 1933-46.
- The Sworn Brothers' saga*. In: *The Sagas of Kormák and The Sworn Brothers*. Translated by Lee M. Hollander. Princeton University Press, 1949.
- The earliest Norwegian laws. Being the Gulathing Law and the Frostathing Law*. Translated by L. M. Larson. Columbia University Press, New York, 1935.
- Thietmari Merseburgensis Episcopi Chronicon. Die Chronik des Bischofs Thietmar von Merseburg und ihre Korveier Überarbeitung*. Monumenta Germaniae Historica. Scriptores rerum Germanicarum. Nova series 9. Edited by R. Holtzmann. Berlin, 1935.
- Vatnsdalers' saga*. Translated with an introduction by Gwyn Jones. Princeton University Press, (No date).
- Viga-Glúms Saga and the Story of Ögmund Dytt*. Translated by Lee M. Hollander. Twayne Publishers Inc, New York, 1972.
- Vita Ansgarii. Boken om Ansgar. Rimbert: Ansgars liv*. Translated by Eva Odelman. Proprius Förlag, Stockholm, 1986.

- Vita Corbiniani Episcopi Baiuvariorum Rectractata* B. Ed.s B. Krusch and W. Levison. MGH SRM vi. Hanover and Leipzig, 1913.
- The Saga of the Volsungs. The Norse Epic of Sigurd the Dragon Slayer.* Translated with an introduction by Jesse L Byock. University of California Press, 1990.
- Þáttur Olafs Geirdstade álfs.* In: *Flateyjarbók. En samling af norske konge-sagaer.* Vol.1. P. T. Mallings, Christiania, 1862.
- Þjóðsagnabókin. Sýnisbók íslenzkra þjóðsagnasafna. vol. II.* Ed. Sigurður Nordal. Almenna bókfélagið, Reykjavík, 1971-3.
- Þórsteinns tjaldstødingr Ásgrímsson (Þórsteinns Þáttur Þaldst'æings)* Den norsk-isländska skaldediktningen. Första banded. Revised by Ernst A Kock C W K Glerup, Lund, 1946.
- Þorsteins þáttur bæjarmagns, Fornaldar Sögur Norðurlanda, 4.* Reykjavík, 1959.
- A Concise Dictionary of Old Icelandic.* Geir T. Zoëga. Oxford, 1926.
- The Concise Oxford Dictionary of Current English.* First edited by H. W. Fowler and F. G. Fowler. Eighth Edition edited by R. E. Allen. Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1990.

SECONDARY SOURCES

- KLNM: Kulturhistorisk Leksikon for Nordisk Middelalder: fra vikingetid til reformationstid.* Rosenkilded og Bagger, 1956-1978. Copenhagen. 22 vols.
- Aðalsteinsson, Jón Hnefill (1978). *Under the Cloak: The Acceptance of Christianity in Iceland with Particular Reference to the Religious attitudes prevailing at the Time.* Studia Ethnologica Upsaliensia, 4.
- Adriansen, Inge (1975). "Stene for brød." *Skalk* VI, 27-9.
- Ægisson, Sigurð (1992). "Sagnir og minjar um Völvuleiði á Íslandi." *Lesbók Morgunblaðsins*, 21 November 1992, 6-8.
- Albrechtsen, Erling (1958). "Runemonumentet ved Glavendrup." *Fynske Minder* III, 1959, 83-96.
- Albrechtsen, Erling (1959). "Til en ræde vorde den -" *Skalk* III, 19-27.
- Almgren, Bertil (1946). "Om vagnåkarnas färder." *Gotlänskt Arkiv*, 87-95.
- Almgren, Oscar (1904). "Vikingatidens Grafskick." In: *Nordiska Studier til A. Noreen.* Uppsala, 307-46.
- Alver, Bente G. (1989). "Concepts of the Soul in Norwegian Tradition." In: *Nordic Folklore. Recent Studies.* Ed. Reimund Kvideland and Henning K. Sehmsdorf in collaboration with Elizabeth Simpson. Indiana University Press, 110-127.
- Ambrosiani, B. (1989). "Kontinuitet och förändring i Mälaramrådet under slutet av 900-talet." In: *Männsklighet genom millennier: En vänbok till Åke Hyenstrand.* Stockholm, 19-21.
- Amira, K. von (1922). *Die germanischen Todesstrafe. Untersuchungen zur Rechts- und Religionsgeschichte.* (Abhandlungen d. Bayer. Akad. d. Wiss. Philos.-philol. u. hist. Kl. 31: 3). München.
- Amory, Frederic (1992). "The medieval Icelandic outlaw: life-style, saga, and legend." In: *From Sagas to Society. Comparative Approaches to Early Iceland.* Ed. Gísli Pálsson. Hisarlik Press, Enfield, 119-203.
- Anderbjörk, J. E. (1939). "Nabberör i Böda." *Kalmar Läns Fornminnesförening. Medd.* 27 Kalmar, 63-72.
- Andersen, H. (1960). "Hovedstaden i riget." *Nationalmuseets Arbejdsmark*, 13-35.
- Andersen, H. (1963). "Smeden fra Lejre." *Skalk* I, 8-10.
- Andersen, H. H., Crabb, P. J. and Madsen, H. J. (1971). *Århus Sønder vold. En byarkæologisk undersøgelse.* Jysk Arkæologisk Selskabs Skrifter IX. Copenhagen.
- Andersen, Søren H., Lind, Birgit and Crumlin-Pedersen, Ole (1991). *Slusegårdgravpladsen III. Gravformer og gravskikke. Bådgravene.* Jysk Arkæologisk Selskabs Skrifter XIV, 3, Jysk Arkæologisk Selskab, Århus. Copenhagen
- Anderson, Bonnie S. and Zinsler, Judith P. (1988). *A History of their Own. Women in Europe from Prehistory to the Present.* Vol. I. Penguin, London.

- Andersson, Björn (1995). *Runor, magi, ideologi. En idéhistorisk studie*. Acta Universitatis Umensis. Umeå Studies in the Humanities 136. Umeå University.
- Andersson, Gunnar (1997). "A Struggle for Control. Reflections on the Change of Religion in a Rural Context in the Eastern Mälaren Valley." In: *Visions of the Past, Trends and Traditions in Swedish Medieval Archaeology*. Eds. Hans Andersson, et al. Lund Studies in Medieval Archaeology 19. Riksantikvarieämbetet Arkeologiska undersökningar Skrifter nr 24, 353-72.
- Andersson, Kent (1980-1982). "Gravtyper i Dalarna under järnålder". *Tor* XIX, 147-61.
- Ankarloo, Bengt (1984). *Trolldoms processerna i Sverige*. Lund. Second edition.
- Ankarloo, Bengt (1990). "Sweden: The Mass Burnings (1668-76)." In: *Early Modern European Witchcraft. Centres and Peripheries*. Eds. Bengt Ankarloo and Gustav Henningsen. Clarendon Press, Oxford, 285-317. Originally published as *Häxornas Europa 1400-1700*. Rätthistoriska Studier 13. Lund, 1987.
- Anon. (1908). "Statens Historiska Museum och K. Myntkabinettet. Tillväxten under år 1908." *Fornvännen* III, 144-311.
- Arbman, Holger (1943). *Birka. Die Gräber*. Kungl Vitterhets Historie och Antikvitetsakademien.
- Arbman, Holger (1946). "Uppståndelseägg' av glaserad lera." *Situne Dei* IV, 1945 (1946), 73-6.
- Arge, Simun V and Neils Hartmann (1990-1). "Fornur grevstur við Kirkjugarð heima á Sandi." *Mondul* 1990/1, 18-32.
- Arne, T.J. (1914). *La Suède et l'Orient. Études archéologiques sur les relations de la Suède et de l'Orient pendant l'âge des Viking*. Uppsala (Archives d'étuds orientales 8).
- Arne, Ture Johansson (1934). *Das Bootgräberfeld von Tuna in Alsike, Uppland*. Kungl. Vitterhets historie och antikvitets akademien. Monografer 20. Stockholm.
- Arnórsdóttir, Agnes Siggerður (1986). "Viðhrof til kvenna í Grágás." *Sagnir* VII, 23-30.
- Arwidsson, Greta (1980). "Båtgravarna i Valsgårde." In: *Vendeltid*. Statens Historiska Museum. Centraltryckeriet AB, Borås, 45-64.
- Arwidsson, Greta (1984). "Haselnüsse und Kerne." In: *Birka* II:1. *Systematische Analysen der Gräberfunde*. Ed. Greta Arwidsson. Stockholm, 273-4.
- Arwill-Nordbladh, Elisabeth (1990). "Nyckelsymbolik i järnålderns kvinnogravar." *Fornvännen* LXXXV, 255-60.
- Attenborough, F.L. (1922) trans. *The Laws of the Earliest English Kings*. Cambridge UP, Cambridge.
- Backe, Margareta, Edgren, Bengt and Herschend, Francis (1993). "Bones thrown into a water-hole." In: *Sources and Resources. Studies in honour of Birgit Arrhenius*. *PACT* 38, 327-42.
- Baroja, Julio Caro (1990). "Witchcraft amongst the German and Slavonic Peoples." In: *Witchcraft and Sorcery. Selected Readings*. Ed. Max Marwick. Penguin. Second edition, 91-101. Orig. publ. by the author in *The World of the Witches*. Translated by N Glendinning. Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1964.

- Bartholin, Thomas Seip (1976). "Dendrokronologiske og vedanatomiske undersøgelser af traefundene." In: *Uppgrävt förflutet för PKbanken i Lund. En investering i arkeologi*. Ed. Anders W. Mårtensson. (Archaeologica Lundensia. Investigationes de Antiquitatibus urbis Lundae VII). Kulturhistoriska Museet i Lund, 145-69.
- Becker, Carl Johan (1953). "Lousgaard 28. Ein Kammergrab des 10. Jahrhunderts aus Bornholm." *Acta Archaeologica* XXIV, 115-63.
- Bennett, Lagerlöf (1989). *Vendeltid vid Stenby, Arkeologiska undersökningar åren 1978 och 1979*. RAÄ, UV. 1989:4.
- Bennike, Pia and Christoffersen, J. (1981). "Et hoved kortere." *Skalk* III, 10-3.
- Bennike, Pia (1985). *Palaeopathology of Danish Skeletons. A Comparative Study of Demography, Disease and Injury*. Akademisk Forlag, Copenhagen, 1985.
- Binford, Lewis (1971). "Mortuary Practices: Their Study and Their Potential." *American Antiquity* XXXVI, 6-29.
- Birkeland (1954). *Nordens historie i middelalderen etter arabiske kilder*. Jacob Dybwad, Oslo.
- Bjartmarsdóttir, Guðrún (1990). "Den isländska huldran, medsystem eller demon?" In: *Folklore och Folkkultur. Föredrag från den 24. etnolog- och folkloristkongressen i Reykjavik. 10. - 16. Augusti 1986*. Ed. J. H. Aðalsteinsson. Reykjavik, 105-115.
- Blindheim, Charlotte (1958-9). "En amulett av rav." *Universitetets Oldsaksamling. Årbok 1958-9*. Oslo, 1960, 78-90.
- Blindheim, Charlotte, Heyerdahl-Larsen, Birgit and Tollnes, Roar L. (1981). *Kaupang-funnene, bind I*. Norske Oldfunn XI, Oslo
- Blindheim, Charlotte and Heyerdahl-Larsen, Birgit (1995). *Kaupang-funnene, bind II. Gravplassene i Bikjholbergene/Lamøya. Undersøkelsene 1950-1957. Del. A. Gravskikk*. Norsk Oldfunn XVI, Oslo.
- Blindheim, Charlotte, Birgit Heyerdahl-Larsen, Anne Stine Ingstad (1999). *Kaupang-funnene, bind II. Graveplassene i Bikjholbergene/Lamøya. Undersøkelsene 1950-1957. Del. B. Oldsaksformer. Kultur historisk tilbakeblikk. Del C. Tekstilene*. Universitetets Kulturhistoriske Museer, Oldsaksamlingen, Oslo 1999.
- Blomqvist, Ragnar and Mårtensson, Anders W. (1963). *Thulegravningen 1961*. Archaeologica Lundensia II. Lund.
- Bø, O. Swartling, I. and Kivikoski, E. (1980). "Amuletter." *KLNM* I. Cols. 129-33. Reprint. Copenhagen.
- Bodin, Ulf (1987). *Vapengravar i Mälardalen. En studie i vapenfrekvenser och vapenkombinationer under folkvandringstid, vendeltid och vikingetid*. Inst. f. arkeologi, Uppsala (C-uppsats).
- Bonde, Niels (1994). "De norske vikingskibes graves alder. En vellykket norsk-dansk forskningsprosjekt." *Nationalmuseets arbejdsmerk*, 128-148.
- Bonde, Niels, and Christensen, K. (1993). "Dendrochronological dating of the Viking Age ship burials at Oseberg, Gokstad and Tune, Norway." *Antiquity* LXVII, 575-83.

- Boyer, Régis (1975). "Paganism and Literature: The so-called 'Pagan Survivals' in the samtidarsögur." *Gripla* 1, 135-67.
- Braathen, Helge (1989). *Ryttergraver: politiske strukturer i eldre rikssamlingstid*. U. O. Varia, 19. Oslo.
- Breisch, Agneta (1994). *Frid och fredlöshet. Sociala band och utanförskap på Island under äldre medeltid*. Acta Universitatis Upsaliensis. Studia Historica Upsaliensia, 174.
- Briem, Ólafur (1945). *Heiðinn siður á Íslandi*. Reykjavik.
- Brøgger, A. W. (1937). "Gullalder." *Viking* I, 137-95.
- Brøgger, A.W. (1945). "Oseberggraven - Haugbrottet." *Viking* IX, 1-44.
- Brøgger, A. W. and Schetelig, H. eds. (1917-28). *Osebergfunnet*. Oslo.
- Brøgger, A. W. and Shetelig, H. (1950). *Vikingskipene, deres forgjengere og etterfølgere*. Oslo.
- Brøgger, Niels Chr. (1951). "Frøya-dyrkelse og seid". *Viking* XV, 39-63.
- Brøndsted, J. (1936). "Danish inhumation graves of the Viking Age." *Acta Archaeologica* VII, 81-228.
- Brøndsted, J. (1960a). *The Vikings*. London. Reprinted 1985.
- Brøndsted, J. (1960b). *Danmarks Oldtid III. Jernalderen*. Second edition. Copenhagen.
- Brøndsted, J. (1985). *The Vikings*. London. Reprint.
- Bruder, Reinhold (1974). *Die germanischen Frau im Lichte der Runeninschriften und der antiken Historiographie*. Berlin.
- Buchholz, Peter (1971). "Shamanism - the Testimony of Old Icelandic Literary Tradition." *Medieval Scandinavia* IV, 7-20.
- Burström, M. (1990). "Järnframställning och grav ritual." *Fornvännen* LXXXV, 261-71.
- Byock, Jesse L. (1993). *Medieval Iceland. Society, Sagas, and Power*. Harvill Press, Enfield.
- Cameron, M.L. (1988). "Anglo-Saxon Medicine and Magic." *Anglo Saxon England* XVII, 191-215.
- Carelli, Peter (1993). "Hals- og Håndsret." *Skalk* V, 8-10.
- Carelli, Peter (1995). "We Are Not All Equal in the Face of Death. Profane Graves in Medieval Lund." In: *Thirteen Essays on Medieval Artefacts*. Ed. Lars Ersgård. Papers of the Archaeological Institute, 1993-1994. New Series, 10. University of Lund, 43-59.
- Carelli, Peter (1996). "Blixtar och dunder, magiska under. Om åskstenstraditionen och förekomsten av stenåldersfynd i medeltida kulturlager." *Fornvännen* LXXXVI, 153-70.
- Christensen, Aksel E. (1969). *Vikingetidens Danmark paa oldhistorisk baggrund*. Gyldendal, Copenhagen.
- Christensen, Tom (1982). "Gerdrup-graven." *ROMU II. Årskrift fra Roskilde Museum* 1981. Viborg, 19-28.
- Christiansen, K. and Krogh, K.J. (1987). "Jelling-højene dateret." *Nationalmuseets Arbejdsmark*, 223-31.

- Cinthio, H. (1979-80). "The Löddeköping Investigations III. The Early Medieval Cemetery." In: *Meddelanden från Lunds universitets historiska museum 1979-80*, 112-31.
- Damsholt, Nanna (1984). "The Role of Icelandic Women in the Sagas and in the Production of Homespun Cloth." *Scandinavian Journal of History IX*, 75-90.
- Davidson, Hilda Ellis (1973). "Hostile Magic in the Icelandic Saga." In: *The Witch Figure: Folklore Essays by a Group of Scholars in England Honouring the 75th Birthday of Katherine M. Briggs*. Ed. Venetia Newall. London and Boston, 20-42.
- Davidson, Hilda Ellis (1992). "Human Sacrifice in the Late Pagan Period in North-Western Europe". In: *The Age of Sutton Hoo: The Seventh Century in North-Western Europe*. Ed. Martin Carver. Boydell, Woodbridge, 331-40.
- Davidson, Hilda Ellis (1998). *Roles of the Northern Goddess*. Routledge, London and New York.
- Dennis, Andrew, Foote, Peter and Perkins, Richard (transl). *Grágás I. Laws of Early Iceland: Grágás. The Codex Regius of Grágás, with material from other Manuscripts*. University of Manitoba Press, 1980.
- Dickinson, Tania M. (1993). "An Anglo-Saxon 'cunning woman' from Bidford-on-Avon." In: *In Search of Cult. Archaeological Investigations in Honour of Philip Rahtz*. Ed. Martin Carver. The Boydell Press. University of York Archaeological Papers, 45-54.
- Dommasnes, Liv Helga (1978/9). "Et grav materiale fra yngre jernalderbrukt til å belyse kvinners stilling." *Viking XLII*, 95-114.
- Dommasnes, Liv Helga (1982). "Late Iron Age in West Norway. Female roles and ranks as deduced from an analysis of burial customs." *Norwegian Archaeological Review XV*, 70-84.
- Dommasnes, Liv Helga (1991a). "Women, Kinship, and the Basis of Power in the Norwegian Viking Age." In: *Social Approaches to Viking Age Studies*. Ed. Ross Samson. Cruithne Press, Glasgow, 65-73.
- Dommasnes, Liv Helga (1991b). "Arkeologi og religion." In: *Nordisk Hedendom*. Et symposium redigeret av Gro Steinsland *et al.* Odense, 47-64.
- Doppelfeld, Otto (1964). "Das Fränkische Knabengrab unter den Chor des Kölner Domes." *Germania XLII*, 164.
- Dübner-Manthey, Birgit (1990). "Zum Amulettbrauch in Frauen- und Kindergräbern." In: *Frauen in Spätantike und Frühmittelalter; Lebensbedingungen, Lebensnormen, Lebensformen. Beiträge zu einer internationalen Tagung am Fachbereich Geschichtswissenschaften der Freien Universität Berlin 18. bis 21. Februar 1987*. Ed. Ursula Vorwerk. Werner Affeldt. Thorbecke, Sigmaringen, 65-87.
- Dukes, Eugene D. (1996). *Magic and Witchcraft in the Dark Ages*. University Press of America.
- Duncan, Annelise Marie (1969). *A Study of Ethics and Concepts of Justice in Two Sagas of Icelandic Outlaws*. Ph.D. Rice University. Houston, Texas.
- Dyfverman, M. (1929). "Båtgraven Nr 2 vid Valsgårde, Gamla Uppsala." *Rig*, 170-79.
- Edsman, Carl-Martin (1982). "Trolldom". *KLNM: Kulturhistorisk Leksikon for Nordisk Middelalder. Fra Vikingetid til Reformationstid*. XVIII. Copenhagen. Second Edition. col.s 657-67.

- Einarsson, Bjarni F. (1989). "Ísländska vikingatida gravar och grävda gardar. Fakta eller fiktion?" *Hikuin* XV, 47-52, 232.
- Einarsson, Bjarni F. (1994). *The Settlement of Iceland; A Critical Approach*. Gothenburg University. Department of Archaeology. Gotarc. Series B. Gothenburg Archaeological Theses No.4.
- Eldjárn, Kristján (1956). *Kuml og haugfé úr heiðnum sið á Íslandi*. Akureyri.
- Eldjárn, Kristján (2000). *Kuml og haugfé úr heiðnum sið á Íslandi*. Akureyri. Second edition. Edited by Adolf Friðriksson.
- Eldjárn, Kristján (1965). "Kuml úr heiðnum sið, fundin á síðustu árum." *Árbók hins Íslenska Fornleifafélags*, 5-68.
- Eldjárn, Kristján (1967). "Kumlatíðindi 1966-7." *Árbók hins Íslenska Fornleifafélags*, 94-109.
- Eldjárn, Kristján (1982). "Þórslikneski svonefnt frá Eyralandi." *Árbók hins Íslenska Fornleifafélags*, 62-75.
- Eldjárn, Kristján (1984). "Graves and Grave Goods: Survey and Evaluation." In: *The Northern and Western Isles in the Viking World. Survival, Continuity and Change*. Ed. Alexander Fenton and Hermann Pálsson. J. Donald, Edinburgh, 2-11.
- Ellis, Hilda Roderick (1977). *The Road to Hel. A Study of the Conception of the Dead in Old Norse Literature*. Greenwood Press, Westport, Connecticut. Second Edition.
- Engdahl, Kerstin (1993/4). *Mäniskooffer i gravat i Skandinavien under yngre järnålder*. Stockholm VT 1990. Handledare Ingmar Jansson. (Stencil. C-Uppsats Stockholm)
- Farbregd, O. (1980). "Perspektiv på Namdalens jernalder. Undersøkingar på Veiem, Sem, Værem og Bertnem." *Viking* XLIII, 20-80.
- Fenger, Ole (1991). "Germansk Retsorden med særligt henblik på det 7. Århundrede." In: *Fra Stamme til Stat i Danmark 2. Høvdingesamfund og Kongemagt*. Ed. Peder Mortensen and Birgit M Rasmussen. Jysk Arkæologisk Selskabs Skrifter XXII, 2. Aarhus University Press, 155-64.
- Flint, Valerie, I. J. (1991). *The Rise of Magic in Early Medieval Europe*. Clarendon Press, Oxford.
- Flowers, Stephen E. (1986). *Runes and Magic. Magical Formulaic Elements in the Older Runic Tradition*. American University Studies. Series I, Germanic Languages and Literature, vol. 53. Peter Land, New York, Berne, Frankfurt am Main.
- Foote, Peter and Wilson, David (1980). *The Viking Achievement. The society and culture of early medieval Scandinavia*. Sidgwick and Jackson, London. Second Edition.
- Foote, Peter (1984). "On the Conversion of the Icelanders." In: *Aurvandilst - Norse Studies*. Ed. Peter Foote. Odense, 56-64.
- Freke, David (1987). "Pagan Lady of Peel." *Archaeology Today*. 8/1, 40-5.
- Friðriksson, Adolf (1994). *Sagas and Popular Antiquarianism in Icelandic Archaeology*. Worldwide Archaeology Series, 10. Avebury, Aldershot.
- Friðriksson, Adolf (2000). "Viking Burial Practices in Iceland". In: *Kuml og haugfé úr heiðnum sið á Íslandi*. Akureyri. Second edition. Kristján Eldjárn. Edited by Adolf Friðriksson, 549-610.

- Fritzner, Johan (1886). *Ordbog over det gamle norske Sprog*. Den Norske Forlagsforening, Kristiania.
- Fuglesang, Signe Horn (1989). "Viking and medieval amulets in Scandinavia". *Fornvännen* VIII, 15-25.
- Gejvall, Nils Gustav (1959). "Anthropologisk analys av skelett-material från Nedre Ulleruds kyrka." In: *Nedre Ulleruds Kyrkor*. Helge Kjellin. Karlstad, 1-18.
- Gjessing, Gutorm (1943). "Hesten i førhistorisk kunst og kultus." *Viking* VII, 5-143.
- Graham-Campbell, James and Batey, Colleen E. (1998). *Vikings in Scotland. An archaeological survey*. Edinburgh University Press.
- Grambo, Ronald (1984). "En seidkvinne på Grønland. Noen tanker om et avsnitt i *Eiriks saga rauða*." *Middelalderforum*. Nr. 3/4. 1984. Vol. 9, 56-69.
- Grambo, Ronald (1991). "Problemer knyttet til studier av seid. En programmerklæring." In: *Nordisk Hedendom: Et symposium*. Ed. Gro Steinsland, et al. Odense universitetsforlag, 133-9.
- Gräslund, Anne-Sofie (1965-6). "Charonsmynt i vikingatida gravar." *Tor* XI, 168-97.
- Gräslund, Anne-Sofie (1968). "Vikingatida gravfynd från Sunnersta vid Fyrisåns utlopp". *Tor* XII, 1967-68, 38-51.
- Gräslund, Anne-Sofie (1972-73). "Barn i Birka". *Tor* XV, 161-79.
- Gräslund, Anne-Sofie (1978-79). "Vikingatidens örnslevar - ursprung och funktion". *Tor* XVIII, 295-310.
- Gräslund, Anne-Sofie (1981). *Birka IV. The Burial Customs. A study of the graves on Björkö*. Stockholm.
- Gräslund, Anne-Sofie. (1983). "Tor eller Vite Krist? Några reflektioner med anledning av Lugnåshammeren." *Västergötlands fornminnesförenings tidskrift* (1983-1984). Skara, 229-36.
- Gräslund, Anne-Sofie (1984). "Beutel und Taschen." *Birka* II:1. Systematische Analysen der Gräberfunde. Ed. Greta Arwidsson. Stockholm, 141-54.
- Gräslund, Anne Sofie (1985). "Den tidiga missionen i arkeologisk belysning - problem och synpunkter." *Tor* XX, 1983-85, 297-313.
- Gräslund, Anne Sofie (1991a). "Var Mammen -mannen kristen?" In: *Mammen - Grav, kunst og samfund i vikingetid*. Ed. Mette Iversen. Jysk Arkæologisk Selskabs Skrifter, vol XXVIII, 1991. Århus, 205-10.
- Gräslund, Anne-Sofie (1991b). "Arkeologi som källa för religionsvetenskap. Några reflektioner om hur gravmaterialet från vikingatiden kan användas." In: *Nordisk Hedendom: Et symposium*. Ed. Gro Steinsland, et al. Odense universitetsforlag, 141-47.
- Gräslund, Anne-Sofie (1992). "Thor's hammers, pendant crosses and other amulets." In: *From Viking to Crusader. Scandinavia and Europe 800-1200*. Ed. Else Roesdal and David M Wilson. Uddevalla, Sweden, 190-1.
- Gräslund, Anne Sofie and Michael Müller-Wille (1992). "Burial customs in Scandinavia during the Viking Age." In: *From Viking to Crusader. Scandinavia and Europe 800-1200*. Ed. Else Roesdal and David M Wilson. Uddevalla, Sweden, 186-7.
- Gräslund, Anne Sofie (1995). "Runstenskviinnorna ännu en gång." *Tor* XXVII, 459-74.

- Grieg, Sigurd (1941). "Raknehaugen". *Viking* V, 1-28.
- Grieg, Sigurd. (1954). "Amuletter og gudebilder." *Viking* XVIII, 157-210.
- Griffiths, Bill (1996). *Aspects of Anglo-Saxon Magic*. Anglo-Saxon Books, Hockwold-cum-Wilton.
- Grimm, Jacob (1883). *Teutonic Mythology, III*. Translated by J. S. Stalybrass. London, 1880-1888.
- Grimsson, Þorkell (1965). "Tveir kumlfundir." *Árbók hins Íslenska Fornleifafélags*, 78-86.
- Grinder-Hansen, Keld (1988). "Penge til Færgemanden. Mønter i dødekulten." *Nationalmuseets Arbejdsmark*, 115-26.
- Grøn, Ole, Hedeager Krag, Anne and Bennike, Pia (1994). *Vikingetidsgavpladser på Langeland*. With contributions from Bjarne Lønborg. Langelands Museum, Rudkøbing.
- Gustavson, Helmer and Snædal Brink, Thorgunn (1980). "Runfynd 1979". *Fornvännen* LXXV, 229-234.
- Gustavson, Helmer and Snædal Brink, Thorgunn (1981). "Runfynd 1979". *Fornvännen* LXXVI, 186-91.
- Hackman, A. (1925). *Eisenzeitliche Peintschenstiele und Leitstockbeschläge aus Finnland. - Studien zur vorgeschichtlichen Archäologie Alfred Götze zu seinem 60 Geburtstag dargebracht*. Leipzig.
- Hackman, A. (1938). Das Brandgräberfeld von Pukkila in Isokyrö. - Suomen muinaismuistoyhdistyksen aikakauskirja. - *Finska fornminnesföreningens tidskrift* XLI.
- Hagberg, Louise (1936). *När döden gästar*. Stockholm.
- Halldórsson, Óskar (1989). "The Origin and Theme of Hrafnkels saga." In: *Sagas of the Icelanders*. ed. John Tucker. Garland Reference Library of the Humanities, Vol 758. New York and London, 257-271.
- Hallström, G. (1945). "En skandinavisk gränsbygd under yngre järnålder." *Fornvännen* XL, 102-21.
- Hallström, Gustaf (1931). "Den tidigaste järnåldern i Dalarna." *Dalarnas hembygdsbok*, 28-98.
- Hastrup, Kirsten (1985). *Culture and History in Medieval Iceland. An anthropological analysis of structure and change*. Clarendon Press, Oxford.
- Hastrup, Kirsten (1990a). "Iceland: Sorcerers and Paganism." In: *Early Modern European Witchcraft. Centres and Peripheries*. Ed. Bengt Ankarloo and Gustav Henningsen. Clarendon Press, Oxford, 383-401. Originally published as *Häxornas Europa 1400-1700*. Rättshistoriska Studier 13. Lund, 1987.
- Hastrup, Kirsten (1990b). *Island of Anthropology. Studies in past and present Iceland*. Odense University Press.
- Helle, Knut (1993). "Norway, 800 - 1200." In: *Viking Revaluations. Viking Society Centenary Symposium 14-15 May 1992*. Ed.s Anthony Faulkes and Richard Perkins. Viking Society for Northern Research, 1993.
- Hemmendorff, Ove (1984). "Människoffer. Ett inslag i järnålders gravritualer, belyst av ett fynd i Bollstanäs, Uppland." *Fornvännen* LXXIX, 4-12
- Hemmer, Ragnar (1970). "Straff." *KLNM*, XVII, col.s 253-60. Copenhagen.

- Hermanns-Auðardóttir, Margrét (1989). *Islands tidiga bosättning. Studier med utgångspunkt i merovingertida-vikingatider gårds lämningar i Herjólfssdalur, Vestmannaeyjar, Island*. Studia Archaeologica Universitatis Umenensis 1. Umeå Universitet Arkeologiska institutionen.
- Hermannsson, Halldór (1911). *The Ancient Laws of Norway and Iceland*. Islandica IV, 1911. Reprinted 1966.
- Heusler, Andreas (1911). *Das Strafrecht der Isländersagas*. Leipzig.
- Hjørungdal, Tove (1991). *Det skjulte kjønn. Patriarkal tradisjon og feministisk visjon i arkeologien belyst med fokus på en jernalderkontekst*. Acta Archaeologica Lundensia. Series in 8. Nr 19.
- Høeg, Ove Arbo (1970). "Hassel." *KLNM*, vol 6, cols. 240-2.
- Høgestøl, M. (1986). "Endringer i sosial posisjon hos jernalderens kvinner." *Kvinner i Arkeologi i Norge III (KAN)*. Bergen, 49-58.
- Høigård Hofseth, Ellen (1988). "Liten tue velter.. Problemer knyttet til manns- og kvinne gravenes fordeling i Nord-Rogaland." *Ams-skrifter XII*, Stavanger, 5-38.
- Høigård Hofseth, Ellen (1990). "Kvinnegraver fra Vikingtida i Sør-Gudbrandsdalen." *Kvinner i Arkeologi i Norge* 9-10, 83-93.
- Holck, P. (1982). "En underlig gravskikk." *Nicolay* 1982:2. Oslo, 21-2.
- Holck, P. (1986/7). *Cremated Bones: a medical anthropological study on cremation burials*. Anatomical Institute, University of Oslo.
- Holmqvist, Wilhelm (1959). "Hednisk kult på Helgö." In: *Septentrionalia et Orientalia. Studia Bernharδο Karlgren a. D. III Non. Oct. Anno MCMLIX dedicata*. Kungl. Vitterhets Historie och Antikvitets Akademiens Handlingar, 91. Stockholm, 203-212.
- Holmqvist, W. (1979). *Swedish Vikings on Helgö and Birka*. Stockholm.
- Holmqvist-Olausson, Lena (1990). "Älgmannen" från Birka. Presentation av en nyligen undersökt krigargrav med människoeffter." *Fornvännen* LXXXV, 175-82.
- Hougen, Ellen Karine (1993). *Bosetningsområdets keramikk. Kaupang-funnene Vol. III:B*. Norske Oldfunn, XIV. Oslo.
- Hultgård, Anders (1991). "Religiös förändring, kontinuitet och ackulturation/synkretism i vikingatidens och medeltidens skandinaviska religion." In: *Nordisk Hedendom: Et symposium*. Ed. Gro Steinsland, et al. Odense universitetsforlag, 49-103.
- Hyenstrand, Åke (1974). *Järn och bebyggelse. Studier i Dalarnas äldre kolonisationshistoria*. Dalarnas Hembygdsbok.
- Ihrmark, A. (1903). *Öfre Dalarna förr och nu*. Stockholm.
- Ingstad, A.S., Chirstensen, A.E. and Myhre, B. ed. (1992). *Oseberg-dronningens Grav: vår arkeologiske nasjonalskatt i nytt lys*. Schibsted, Oslo.
- Ingvarsson, Lúdvík (1970). "Straff." *KLNM*, XVII, col.s 266-75. Copenhagen.

- Iregren, E. (1972). *Vårby och Vårberg II. Studie av kremerat människo- och djurbensmaterial från järnåldern*. Theses and Papers in North-European Archaeology. Stockholm.
- Iversen, M. and Näsman, U. (1991) "Mammengravens indhold". Mammen. *Grav, kunst og samfund i vikingetid*. Ed. Mette Oversem. Jysk Arkæologisk Selskabs Skrifter XXVIII, 45-66.
- Jacobzon and Sjögren (1982). "Människor I stadens utkant – Helgeandshuset kykogård berättar om liv och död." In: *Helgeandsholmen. 1000 år I Stockholms ström*. Ed Göran Dahlbäck. LiberFörlag, Stockholm, Monografier utgivna av Stockholms kommun, 48.
- Jakobsson, Mikael (1997). "Burial Layout, Society and Sacred Geography. A Viking Age Example from Jämtland." *Current Swedish Archaeology* V, 79-98.
- Jankuhn, Karl Schlabow-Herbert (1958). "Zwei Moorleichenfunde aus dem Domlandsmoor. Zur Deutung der Moorleichenfunde von Windeby." *Praehistorische Zeitschrift* XXXVI, 118-219.
- Jansson, Ingmar (1992). "The way to the East." With a contribution by Evgenij N. Nosov. In: *From Viking to Crusader. Scandinavia and Europe 800-1200*. ed. Else Roesdal and David M Wilson. Uddevalla, Sweden, 74-83.
- Jansson, Sven B. (1970). "Runinskrifter". *KLNM* XIV, col.s 481-94. Copenhagen.
- Jansson, Sven B. (1987). *Runes in Sweden*. Translated by Peter Foote. Reprint. Gidlunds, Stockholm.
- Jesch, Judith (1991). *Women in the Viking Age*. Boydell Press, Woodbridge, Suffolk.
- Jochens, Jenny (1995). *Women in Old Norse Society*. Cornell University Press, Ithaca and London.
- Jónsson, Guðmundur (1996). *Viking Age Burial Remains in Iceland: A Critical Review of Archaeological Research unto the Present Day*. University College, London, Undergraduate Dissertation.
- Jørgensen, J. U. (1970). "Straff." *KLNM*, XVII. col.s 260-6. Malmö.
- Jungner, Hugo and Svärdström, Elisabeth (1958-70). *Västergötlands Runinskrifter*. Vol.1. Text. Kungl. Vitterhets Historie och Antikvitets Akademien, Stockholm. Fifth Edition.
- Karras, Ruth Mazo (1988). *Slavery and Society in Medieval Scandinavia*. Yale University Press.
- Karras, Ruth Mazo (1992). "Servitude and sexuality in medieval Iceland". In: *From Sagas to Society - Comparable Approaches to Early Iceland*. Ed. Gísli Pálsson. Hisarlik Press, Enfield, 289-304.
- Kieckhefer, Richard (1976). *European Witchtrials. Their Foundations in Popular and Learned Culture, 1300-1500*. Routledge and Kegan Paul, London.
- Kieckhefer, Richard (1989). *Magic in the Middle Ages*. Cambridge University Press.
- Kieffer-Olsen, J. (1990). "Middelalderens gravskik i Danmark - en arkæologisk forskningsstatus." *Hikuin* XVII, 85-112.
- Kittredge, G.L. (1972). *Witchcraft in Old and New England*. Harvard University Press. Reprint of 1927.
- Kivikoski, E. (1937). "Studien zu Birkas Handel im östlichen Ostseegebiet." *Acta Archaeologica* 8, 229-250.

- Kivikoski, E. (1965). "Magisches fundgut aus finnischer Eisenzeit." *Suomen Museo* LXXII, Helsinki, 22-35.
- Kivikoski, E. and Bø, Swarthing (1980). "Amulettar". *KLNM* I, col.s 129-33. Second Edition. Copenhagen
- Kjellmark, Knut (1910). "Järnåldersgravvar i Jämtland undersökta 1909." *Jämtlands Läns Fornminnesförenings Tidskrift* V, 1910-1913. Östersund, 1-8.
- Klindt-Jensen, O. (1960). "Var det en yndig tid?" *Skalk* III, 9-11.
- Klindt-Jensen, O. (1978a). *Slusegårdgravpladsen I-II. Bornholm fra 1 årh. fra til 5 årh. e.v.t. Anlægstyper, planer, plancher.* Jysk Arkæologisk Selskabs Skrifter, XIV, I. Jysk Arkæologisk Selskab, Århus. Copenhagen.
- Klindt-Jensen, O. (1978b). *Slusegårdgravpladsen I-II. Bornholm fra 1 årh. fra til 5 årh. e.v.t. Beskrivelse af oprindelig overflade og grave.* Jysk Arkæologisk Selskabs Skrifter, XIV, II. Jysk Arkæologisk Selskab, Århus. Copenhagen.
- Koktvedgaard Zeiten, Miriam (1997). "Amulets and Amulet Use in Viking Age Denmark". *Acta Archaeologica*, LVIII, 1-74.
- Kriig, Stefan (1987). *Lunds äldsta kyrkogård.* Unpubl. essay in medieval archaeology. Lund University.
- Kristjánsson, Jónas (1992). *Eddas and Sagas. Iceland's Medieval Literature.* Translated by Peter Foote. Reykjavik.
- Krogh, Knud J. and Voss, Olfert (1961). "Fra hedenskab til kristendom i Hørning. En vikingetids kammergrav og en trækirke fra 1000-talet under Hørning kirke." *Nationalmuseets Arbejdsmark*, 5-34.
- Krogh, K. (1965). "Det grønne æg." *Skalk* IV, 13-5.
- Krüger, Signe Hvoslef (1988). "Bjørneklør fra vestlandske graver". *Arkeologiske skrifter Historisk Museum.* Universitetet i Bergen No. IV. Festschrift til Anders Hagen, 357-66.
- Leth-Larsen, Bodil, (1991). "Mammanlyset." In: *Mammen. Grav, kunst og samfund i vikingetid.* ed. Mette Oversem. Jysk Arkæologisk Selskabs Skrifter XXVIII, 109-21.
- Lid, Nils (1921). "Um finnskot og alvskot. Eit område av norsk sjukdomsmagi." In: *Trolldom. Nordiska Studier.* Ed. Nils Lid, Cammermeyers Boghandel, 1950, 1-36.
- Lid, Nils (1927). "Gand og tyre." In: *Trolldom. Nordiska Studier.* Ed. Nils Lid, Cammermeyers Boghandel, 1950, 37-58.
- Lid, Nils (1970). "Bulmeurt" in *KLNM* II, col.s 363-4. Reprint. Copenhagen.
- Lidén, H.-E. (1969). "From pagan sanctuary to Christian church. The excavation of Maere church in Trøndelag." *Norwegian Archaeological Review* II, 3-32.
- Liedgren, Jan (1970a). "Magnus Erikssons landslag." *KLNM*, II. Col.s 222-6. Malmö.
- Liedgren, Jan (1970b). "Kristoffers landslag." *KLNM*, IX. Col.s 363-5. Malmö.
- Lindeberg, Marta (1997). "Gold, Gods and Women". *Current Swedish Archaeology* VI, 99-110.

- Long, Clifford D. (1975). "Excavations in the Medieval City of Trondheim, Norway." *Medieval Archaeology* XIX, 16.
- Lund, Cajsa (1974). "Paa rangel 1974". *Stavanger Museum Årbok*, 45-120.
- Lund, Nils ed. (1984). *Two Voyagers at the Court of King Alfred. The ventures of Ohthere and Wulfstan together with the Description of Northern Europe from the Old English Orosius*. Translated by Christine E Fell. William Sessions Ltd., York.
- Lundström, Agneta (1980a). "Vendel och Vendeltid." In: *Vendeltid*. Statens Historiska Museum. Centraltryckeriet AB, Borås, 10-18.
- Lundström, Agneta (1980b). "Gravgåvorna Vendel." In: *Vendeltid*. Statens Historiska Museum. Centraltryckeriet AB, Borås, 31-44.
- Lundström, Agneta (1980c). "Gravgåvorna Valsgårde." In: *Vendeltid*. Statens Historiska Museum. Centraltryckeriet AB, Borås, 65-106.
- Lundström, Inga and Adolfsson, Gundula (1995). *Den Starke Kvinnen - fra volve til heks*. Stavanger.
- Lundström, P. (1981). *De kommo vida. Vikingars hamn vid Paviken på Gotland*. Sjöhistoriska museets rapportserie. Uddevalla.
- Magnússon, T, Arge, S. and Arneborg, J. (1992). "New lands in the North Atlantic." In: *From Viking to Crusader. Scandinavia and Europe 800-1200*. ed. Else Roesdal and David M Wilson. Uddevalla, Sweden, 52-61.
- Magnússon, Þór (1966). "Bátkumlið í Vatnsdal í Patreksfirði." *Árbók hins Íslenska Fornleifafélags*, 5-32.
- Mälärstedt, Hilka. (1979). "Kopparsvik - ett vikingatida gravfält vid Visby." *Arkeologi på Gotland*, Visby, 99-104.
- Marstrander, S. (1973). "...menneskebenrad i siddende stilling..." *Finska Fornminnesföreningens Tidskrift* LXXV, Helsingfors, 137-45.
- Mårtensson, Anders W. (1976). "Gravar och kyrkor. I." In: *Uppgrävt förflutet för PKbanken i Lund. En investering i arkeologi*. Ed. Anders W. Mårtensson. (Archaeologica Lundensia. Investigationes de Antiquitatibus urbis Lundae VII). Kulturhistoriska Musett i Lund, 87-134.
- Mårtensson, Anders W. (1980). *S:t Stefan i Lund. Ett monument ur tiden*. Gamla Lund förening för bevarande av stadens minnen. Årsskrift LXII.
- Marwick, Max (ed) (1990). *Witchcraft and Sorcery*. Penguin Books, London. Reprint.
- McCreech, Bernadine (1985). "Contrasting Christian and Pagan Motifs in Certain Family Sagas." *The Sixth International Saga Conference*. Copenhagen, 763-75.
- McKinnell, John (1994). *Both One and Many. Essays on Change and Variety in Late Norse Heathenism*. Philologia 1. Rome.
- Meaney, Audrey L. (1981). *Anglo-Saxon Amulets and Curing Stones*. B.A.R. British Series 96.
- Meaney, Audrey L. (1989). "Women, Witchcraft and Magic in Anglo-Saxon England." *Superstition and Popular Medicine in Early Medieval England*. ed. D. G. Scragg. Manchester Centre for Anglo-Saxon Studies, 9-40.

- Merrifield, Ralph (1987). *The Archaeology of Ritual and Magic*. New Amsterdam Books, New York.
- Meyer, Poul (1970). "Dødsstraf." *KLNM*, III, col.s 455-9. Copenhagen.
- Miller, William Ian (1986). "Dreams, Prophecy and Sorcery: Blaming the Secret Offender in Medieval Iceland." *Scandinavian Studies* LVIII, 101-23.
- Miller, William Ian 1990. *Bloodtaking and Peacemaking. Feud, Law, and Society in Saga Iceland*. The University of Chicago Press, Chicago and London.
- Moffat, Brian, (1989). "Investigations into medieval medical practice; the remnants of some herbal treatments, on archaeological sites and in archives." *Medicine in Early Medieval England*. Ed. Marilyn Deegan and D. G. Scragg. Manchester Centre for Anglo-Saxon Studies, 33-40.
- Molland, Einar (1970). "Primsigning". *KLNM* XII, col.s 439-44. Copenhagen.
- Moltke, Erik (1938). "Medieval rune-amulets in Denmark." *Acta Ethnologica* III, 116-47. Copenhagen.
- Moltke, Erik (1976). *Runerne i Danmark og deres oprindelse*. Copenhagen.
- Moltke, Erik (1981). *Runes and their Origin. Denmark and Elsewhere*. Copenhagen.
- Morris, Katherine (1991). *Sorceress or Witch? The Image of Gender in Medieval Iceland and Northern Europe*. University Press of America.
- Morris, Richard (1997). *Churches in the Landscape*. Phoenix Giant. New edition.
- Motz, Lotte (1980). "Old Icelandic Völva." *Indogermanische Forschungen* LXXXV, 196-206.
- Müller-Wille, M. (1970). "Bestattung im Boot. Studien zu einer nordeuropäischen Grabsitte." *Offa* 25/6, (1968/69), 1-203.
- Müller-Wille, M. (1970-1). "Pferdegrab und pferdeopfer im frühen Mittelalter". In: *ROB Berichten van de Rijksdienst voor het Oudheidkundig Bodemonderzoek* 20-21, 1970-71 (1972), 119-248.
- Müller-Wille, Michael (1976a). *Das Bootkammergrab von Haithabu*. Berichte über die Ausgrabungen in Haithabu, 8. With contributions from Ole Crumlin-Pedersen and Maria Dekówna. Ed. K Schietzel. Weachholtz, Neumünster.
- Müller-Wille, Michael (1976b). *Das wikingerzeitliche Gräberfeld von Thumbby-Bienebek (Kr. Rendsburg-Eckernförde)*. Offa-Bücher XXVI. Neumünster.
- Müller-Wille, Michael (1991). "Wikingerzeitliche Kammergräber." In: *Mammen - Grav, kunst og samfund i vikingetid*. Ed. Mette Iversen. Jysk Arkæologisk Selskabs Skrifter, XXVIII. Århus, 181-7.
- Mundal, Else and Steinsland, Gro (1987). "Kvinner og medisinsk magi." In: *Kvinnors Rosengård. Medeltidskvinnors liv och hälsa, lust och barnafödande. Föredrag från nordiska tvärvetenskapliga symposier i Århus aug. 1985 och Visby sept. 1987*. Ed. Hedda Gunneng, Beata Losman, Bodil Møller Knudsen, Helle Reinholdt. Stockholm University, 1989, 97-121.
- Munksgaard, Elisabeth (1959). "Soveskind - eller sort magi." *Skalk* III, 18.

- Myhre, B. (1992). "The Royal Cemetery at Borre, Vestfold: a Norwegian centre in a European periphery." In: *The Age of Sutton Hoo. The Seventh Century in North-Western Europe*. Ed. M. Carver. Boydell Press, 301-13.
- Myhre, B. (1993). "The beginning of the Viking Age - some current archaeological problems." In: *Viking Revaluations*. Ed. A Faulkes and R Perkins. London, 182-204.
- Myres, J. N. L. (1978). "Amulets of small change?" *Antiquaries Journal* LVIII, 352.
- Naess, Hans Eyvind (1990). "Norway: The Criminological Context." In: *Early Modern European Witchcraft. Centres and Peripheries*. Eds. B Ankarloo and G Henningsen. Oxford, 367-382. Orig. publ. as *Häxornas Europa 1400-1700*.
- Næss, Jenny-Rita (1974). "Kvinner i vikingetid." *Frå haug ok hedini*. Tidsskrift for Rogalands Arkeologiske Forening II, Stavanger, 124-39.
- Nancke-Krogh, Søren (1978). "Ribehesten og dens slægtninge." *Kuml*, 179-89.
- Näsman, Ulf (1991). "Grav og økse. Mammen og den danske vikingetids våbengrave." In: *Mammen - Grav, kunst og samfund i vikingetid*. Ed. Mette Iversen. Jysk Arkæologisk Selskabs Skrifter, XXVIII. Århus, 163-80.
- Näsström, Britt-Mari (1991). "Freyas funktioner. En spegling av den ideala kvinnan." In: *Nordisk Hedendom: Et symposium*. Ed. Gro Steinsland, et al. Odense universitetsforlag, 261-72.
- Nicolovius (1924). *Folkklivet i Skytts härad i Skåne vid början av 1800-talet*. Gleerups, Lund. Fourth edition.
- Nielsen, Leif Chr. (1990). "Trelleborg." *Aarbøger for Nordisk Oldkyndighed og historie*. Copenhagen, 105-78.
- Nielsen, Leif Chr. (1991). "Hedenskab og Kristendom. Religionsskiftet afspejlet i vikingetidens grave." In: *Fra Stamme til Stat i Danmark 2. Høvdingesamfund og Kongemagt*. Ed. Peder Mortensen and Birgit M Rasmussen. Jysk Arkæologisk Selskabs Skrifter XXII: 2. Aarhus University Press, 245-67.
- Nielsen, Niels Åge (1968). *Runestudier*. Odense.
- Nilsson, Bertil (1987). "Död och begravning. Begravningskicket i Norden." In: *Tanke och Tro: - Aspekter på Medeltidens Tankevärld och Fromhetsliv*. Studier till det medeltida Sverige 3. Ed. Ole Ferm and Göran Tegnér. Riksantikvarieämbetet, 133-49.
- Nordén, Arthur (1943). "Bidrag till svensk runforskning. I. Magiska runinskrifter. Runblecken." *Antikvariska studier 1*. Kungl. Vitterhets Historie och Antikvitets Akademiens Handlingar LV, Stockholm.
- Nordenstorm, Leif (1994). "Dödande vid begravningar. Ett inslag i järnålderns gravritualer i komparativ religions historisk belysning." *Fornvännen* LXXXIX, 265-77.
- Nordic Archaeological Abstracts*. since 1974.
- Nørlund, Poul (1948). *Trelleborg*. (=Nordiske fortidsminder IV/1) Copenhagen.

- Norseng, Per (1987). "Lov materialet som kilde til tidlig nordisk middelalder". In: *Kilderne til den tidlige middelalders historie*. Rapporter til den XX nordiske historikerkongress, Reykjavík, 1987. Vol. I. Ed. Gunnar Karlsson. Ritsafn Sagnfræðistofnunar 18, 48-77.
- Ohlsson, T. (1977). "Tidigkristna gravar i Löddeköpinge." *Ale. Historisk tidskrift för Skåneland* 4, 1-18.
- Ohlsson, Tom and Cinthio, Hampus (1979). "Löddeköpinge - Kävlingebygdens äldsta centralort." *Kävlingebygden nu och då 1979. En årsbok från Kävlinge kulturnämnd*. Årgång 2. Kävlinge, 25-65.
- Olsen, Olaf (1963). "Sankt Ibs kirke i Vindebode. Et bidrag til Roskildes ældste historie." *Fra Københavns Amt* 1962 (1963), 61-87.
- Olsen, Olaf (1992). "Christianity and Churches." In: *From Viking to Crusader. Scandinavia and Europe 800-1200*. Ed. Else Roesdal and David M Wilson. Uddevalla, Sweden, 152-61.
- Olsen, Olaf (1965). *Hørg, hov og kirke. Historiske og arkæologiske vikingestudier*. Arbøger for nordisk oldkyndighed og historie. Copenhagen.
- Page, R. I. (1987). *Runes. Reading the Past*. British Museum Publications, London.
- Pálsson, Gísli (1991). "The Name of the Witch: Sagas, Sorcery, and Social Context." *Social Approaches to Viking Studies*. Ed. Ross Samson. Cruithne Press, Glasgow, 157-68.
- Perkins, R. (2001). *Thor the Wind-Raiser and the Eyrarland Image*. Viking Society for Northern Research Text Series, Volume XV. Viking Society for Northern Research, University College London.
- Parker Pearson, Michael, van de Noort, Robert and Woolf, Alex (1993). "Three men and a boat: Sutton Hoo and the East Saxon Kingdom." *Anglo-Saxon England* XXII, 27-50.
- Peters, Edward (1978). *The Magician, the Witch and the Law*. Harvester Press.
- Petersen, J. (1919). *De Norske Vikingesverd*. Kristiania.
- Petersen, Jan (1951). *Vikingetidens Redskaper*. Oslo.
- Petré, Bo (1980). "Björnfallen i begravningsritualen - status-objekt speglende regional skinnhandel?" *Fornvännen* LXXV, 5-13.
- Pettersson, A.-M. (1981). "Gravar vid Skälsö i Väskinde." *Gotländskt arkiv*, 192-3.
- Pettersson, Hilka (1966). "Undersökningen av gravfältet vid Kopparsvik, Visby. Preliminär redogörelse." *Gotländskt Arkiv* XXVIII, 7-18.
- Price, Neil S. (2002). *The Viking Way. Religion and War in Late Iron Age Scandinavia*. AUN 31, Department of Archaeology and Ancient History, Uppsala.
- Præstgaard Andersen, Lise (1983). "Skjoldmøer- en kvindemyte." In: *Kvinder i Middelalderen; symposieforedrag, Københavns Universitet*. Den danske historiske Forening, København, 1982.
- Ramskou, Thorkild (1950). "Viking Age Cremation Graves in Denmark." *Acta Archaeologica* XXI, 137-82.
- Ramskou, Thorkild (1963-5). "Vikingerne ofrede mennesker." *Nationalmuseets Arbejdsmark* 1963-5, 79-86.

- Ramskou, Thorkild (1976). *Lindholm Høje Gravpladsen*. Nordiske Fortidsminder. Serie B - in quarto. Vol. 2. Det kgl. nordiske Oldskriftselskab. Copenhagen.
- Randsborg, Klavs (1980). *The Viking Age in Denmark. The Formation of a State*. Duckworth, London.
- Raudvere, Catharina (1991). "... mara trað hann. Maragestatens förutsättningar i nordiska förkristna själsföreställningar." *Nordisk Hedendom: Et symposium*. Ed. Gro Steinsland et al. Odense universitetsforlag, 87-102.
- Reichborn-Kjennerud, I. (1921). "Bustein." *Maal og Minne*, 1921. Kristiania, 1-17.
- Resi, Heid Gjostein (1986). *Gravplassen Hunn i Østfold*. Norske Oldfunn XII, Oslo.
- Ringstad, Bjørn (1988). "Steiner brukt som amuletter i forhistorisk tid - et eksempel fra Kvåle i Sogndal." *Festskrift til Anders Hagen. Arkeologiske Skrifter Historisk Museum*. Universitetet i Bergen, No. IV, 325-41.
- Ringstedt, Nils (1997). "The Birka Chamber-Graves - Economic and Social Aspects. A quantitative analysis." *Current Swedish Archaeology* V, 127-46.
- Roesdahl, Else and Nordquist, J. (1971). "De døde fra Fyrkat." *Nationalmuseets Arbejdsmark*, 15-32.
- Roesdahl, Else (1975-6). "Otte vikingetidigrave i Sdr. Onsild." *Aarbøger forn nordisk oldkyndighed og Historie*, 22-51.
- Roesdahl, Else et al (1977). *Fyrkat. En jysk vikingeborg. II. Oldsagerne og gravpladsen*. Nordiske Fortidsminder Serie B - in quarto. Bind 4. Det kgl. nordiske Oldskriftselskab. Copenhagen.
- Roesdahl, Else (1978). "Vognen og vikingerne." *Skalk* IV, 9-14.
- Roesdahl, Else (1982). *Viking Age Denmark*. (Translated by Susan Margeson and Kirsten Williams.) British Museum Press, London.
- Roesdahl, Else (1991a). "Nordisk førkristen religion. Om kilder og metoder". In: *Nordisk Hedendom: Et symposium*. Ed. Gro Steinsland, et al. Odense universitetsforlag, 293-301.
- Roesdahl, Else (1991b). *The Vikings*. Transl. Susan M Margeson and Kirsten Williams. Allen Lane, The Penguin Press, London. Originally published as *Vikingernes Verden*. Gyldendal, Copenhagen, 1987.
- Roesdahl, Else and Wilson, David, ed.s (1992). "Catalogue". In: ". In: *From Viking to Crusader. Scandinavia and Europe 800-1200*. Ed. Else Roesdal and David M Wilson. Uddevalla, Sweden, 224-391.
- Roesdahl, Else (1994). "Dendrochronology and Viking Studies in Denmark, with a Note on the Beginning of the Viking Age." *The Twelfth Viking Congress. Developments around the Baltic and the North Sea in the Viking Age*. Birka Studies [3]. Eds. B. Ambrosiani and H. Clarke. Stockholm, 106-16.
- Rolfen, Perry (1981). "Den siste hedning på Agder." *Viking* XLIV, 112-28.
- Rubin, Stanley (1989). "The Anglo-Saxon Physician." In: *Medicine in Early Medieval England*. Ed. Marilyn Deegan and D. G. Scragg. Manchester Centre for Anglo-Saxon Studies. University of Manchester, 7-15.

- Rydbeck, Otto (1914). "Kartläggning af vid grundgräfningsarbeten i Lund anträffade fornlämningar." *Ymer*, 382-386.
- Rydbeck, Otto (1946). *Lunds domkyrka, byggnadens och dess inventariers historia enligt de nyaste forskningsresultaten*. Lund.
- Rydh, Hanna (1919). "Ett förhistoriskt fynd av människohår från Adelsö." *RIG* 2, 237-42.
- Rydh, Hanna (1936). *Förhistoriska undersökningar på Adelsö*. Stockholm.
- Sawyer, Birgit (1986). "Sköldmön och madonnan - kyskhet som ett hot samhällsordningen." *Kvinnovetenskaplig Tidskrift*, 3-14.
- Sawyer, Birgit (1990). "Women and the conversion of Scandinavia." In: *Frauen in Spätantike und Frühmittelalter. Lebensbedingungen-Lebensnormen-Lebensformen*. Beiträge zu einer internationalen Tagung am Fachbereich Geschichtswissenschaften der Freien Universität Berlin. 18 bis 21 Februar, 1987. Ed. Ursula Vorwerk. Werner Affeldt. Thorbecke, Sigmaringen, 263-81.
- Sawyer, Birgit (1992a). *Kvinnor och familj i det forn- och medeltida Skandinavien*. Viktoria Bokförlag, Skara.
- Sawyer, Birgit (1992b). "Runmaterialet som källa till kvinnohistoriska studier i nordisk medeltid." In: *Fokus på kvinnor i middelalder kilder. Rapport fra symposiet 'Kilder til kvinnehistoriske studier i nordisk middelalder.'* Isegran, Sept. 1990. Ed. Berit Hansen-Sellevoid, Else Mundal and Gro Steinsland. Viktoria Bokförlag, Skara.
- Saxlund, H. (1919). "'Busteina' og 'buvatten'". *Maal og Minne* III, 1919. Kristiania, 97-99.
- Schach, Paul (1975). "Antipagan Setiment in the Sagas of Icelanders." *Gripla* I, 105-34.
- Schietzel, K. and Ulbricht, I. (1977). "Bemerkungen zu Bestattungen und verstreuten Skeleresten der Ausgrabung Haithabu (1963-9)." In: *Berichte über die Ausgrabungen in Haithabu* II. Ed. K. Schietzel. Neumünster, 57-63.
- Schiørring, O. (1978). "Korset i øksen." *Skalk* VI, 28-9.
- Schmidt Poulsen, Grete (1986). "The Complimentarity of Magic in Nordic Mythology and in Archaeological Sources." In: *Words and Objects. Towards a Dialogue Between Archaeology and History of Religion*. Ed. Gro Steinsland. Norwegian University Press. The Institute for Comparative Research in Human Culture. Serie B: Skrifter XXI, 168-79.
- Schnittger, B. (1912). "En trolldosa från vikingatiden... Ett bidrag till kännedomen om ormens betydelse inom folk-medicin." *Fataburen*, 98-109.
- Schön, Ebbe (1991). *Häxor och Trolldom*. Rabén and Sjögren, Kristianstad.
- Schreiner, K.E. (1927). "Menneskeknoglene fra Osebergskibet of andre Norske Jernalderfund." In: *Osebergfunnet*. Vol. V. Ed. Anton Wilhelm Brøgger and Haakon Schetelig. Oslo.
- Sellevoid, B. J., Hansen, U. L. and Jørgensen, J. B. (1984). *Iron Age man in Denmark (Prehistoric Man in Denmark, vol III)*. Nordiske Fortidsminder, Series B, Vol VIII, Copenhagen.
- Serning, Inga (1956). *Lapska offerplatsfynd från järnålder och medeltid i de svenska lappmarkerna*. Nordiska Museet. Acta Lapponica XII, Stockholm.

- Serning, Inga (1966). *Dalarnas Järnålder*. Stockholm.
- Sherratt, Andrew (1996). "Flying up with the souls of the dead." *British Archaeology*, June 1996, XV, 14.
- Shetelig, H. (1904). "Ship burials." *Saga Book of the Viking Club* IV. London, 326-63.
- Shetelig, H. (1910). "Traces of the Custom of "Suttee" in Norway during the Viking Age." *Saga Book of the Viking Club*, January, 1910. London, 180-208.
- Shetelig, H. (1912). *Nordiske Graver fra Jernalderen*. Bergens Museums Skrifter. Ny Række. BD. II. No. I, Bergen.
- Shetelig, H. (1944). "Smykker av jet i norske vikingfunn". *Bergens Museum, Årbok*. Historisk-antikvarisk rekke nr. 1, 3-14.
- Shetelig, Haakon (1937). "Islands graver og oldsaker fra vikingetiden." *Viking* I, 205-219.
- Simpson, Jacqueline (1973). "Olaf Tryggvason and the Powers of Darkness." *The Witch Figure. Folklore essays by a group of scholars in England honouring the 75th birthday of Katherine M. Briggs*. Ed. Venetia Newall. London and Boston, 165-87.
- Sjöbeck, Mårten (1965). "Några markhistoriska miljöundersökningar i Skåne." *Skånes Natur* LII, 200-224.
- Sjöholm, Elsa (1979). "Medeltidslagarna som historiska källor." In: *Kvinnans ekonomiska ställning under nordisk medeltid*. Ed. Hedda Gunneng and Birgit Strand. Lindome, 1981, 74-80.
- Sjøvold, Thorleif (1974). *The Iron Age settlement of Arctic Norway II. A study in the expansion of European Iron Age Culture within the Arctic Circle. Vol. II. Late Iron Age (Merovingian and Viking Periods)*. Tromsø Museums skrifter X,2. Norwegian Universities Press. Tromsø/ Oslo/ Bergen.
- Sjøvold, Thorleif (1985). *The Viking Ships in Oslo*. Oslo.
- Skaarup, Jørgen (1972). "Rejsekammeraten." *Skalk* I, 4-9.
- Skaarup, Jørgen (1976). *Stengade II. En langelandsk gravplads med grave fra romersk jernalder og vikingetid*. Langelands Museum, Rudkøbing.
- Skov, Erik (1982). "Grav og gravskik." *KLNM: Kulturhistorisk Leksikon for Nordisk Middelalder: Fra Vikingetid til Reformationstid*. Copenhagen, 1982. Second Edition. Vol. 5, col.s 437-41.
- Smith, Kevin (1995). "Landnám: the settlement of Iceland in archaeological and historical perspective." *World Archaeology* XXVI no. 3, 319-47.
- Snæsdóttir, Mjöll (1992). *Athugun á beinafundi á Skansinum í Vestmannaeyjum 30.1.92 - 2.2.922. Bráðabirgðaskýrsla*. (Unpublished paper).
- Solberg, B. (1985). "Social status in the Merovingian and Viking periods in Norway from archaeological and historical sources." *Norwegian Archaeological Review* XVIII, (1-2), 61-75.
- Steffensen, J. (1966-69). "Aspects of life in Iceland in the heathen period." *Saga Book* XVII, 177-205.
- Steffensen, J. (1966a). "Lýsing mannabeina úr fornminjafundinum í Vatsdal, Patreksfirði." *Árbók hins Íslenska Fornleifafélags*, 33-54.

- Steffensen, J. (1966b). "Ákvæði kristinna laga þattar um beinafærslu." *Árbók hins Íslenska Fornleifafélags*, 71-78.
- Steffensen, J. (1967-68). "Aspects of life in Iceland in the heathen period." *Saga Book XVII*, 177-205.
- Steinsland, Gro (1979). "Den gamle tro." *Norges kulturhistorie*. Vol 1. Eds. Ingrid Semmingsen *et al.* Oslo, 129-63.
- Steinsland, Gro (1985a). "Husfruer, Gydjer og Volver." *Kvinnernes Kulturhistorie I* Univ. forlaget Oslo-Bergen-Trondheim-Tromsø, 126-9.
- Steinsland, Gro (1985b). "Kvinner og kult i vikingetid". *Kvinnearbeid i Norden fra vikingetiden til reformasjonen*. Eds Andersen, R *et al.* Foredrag fra et nordisk kvinnehistorisk seminar i Bergen 3. - 7. Aug 1983, Bergen, 31-42.
- Steinsland, Gro (1992). "Scandinavian Paganism". In: *From Viking to Crusader. Scandinavia and Europe 800-1200*. Ed. Else Roesdal and David M Wilson. Uddevalla, Sweden, 144-51.
- Sten, S. and Vretemark, M. (1988). "Storgravsprojektet - osteologiska analyser av yngre järnålderns benrika brandgravar." *Fornvännen LXXXIII*, 145-56.
- Stenberger, M. (1947-58). *Die schatzfunde Gotlands der Wikingerzeit. I. Text. II. Fundbeschreibung und tafeln*. Lund and Uppsala (KVHAA).
- Stenberger, M. (1958). *Die Schatzfunde Gotlands der Wikingerzeit 1*. Lund.
- Stenberger, M. (1962). "Das Gräberfeld bei Ihre im Kirchspiel Hellvi auf Gotland. Der wikingerzeitliche Abschnitt." *Acta Archaeologica XXXII* (1961), 1-134.
- Steuer, H. (1982). "Schlüsselpaare in frühgeschichtlichen Gräbern. - Zur Deutung einer Amulett-Beigabe." *Studien zur Sachsenforschung*, 3. Veröffentlichungen des Landesmus. Hannover, 185-247.
- Stolpe, Hjalmar and Arne, T. J. (1927). *La Nécropole de Vendel. Explorée par Hjalmar Stolpe*. Kungl. Vitterhets Historie och Antikvitetsakademien. Monografserien 7, Stockholm.
- Ström, F. (1942). *On the Sacral Origin of the Germanic Death Penalties*. Lund.
- Ström, F. (1970). "Sakrala element i straff." *KLNM*, XVII, col.s 275-80. Malmö.
- Ström, F. (1974). *Níð, Ergi and Old Norse Moral Attitudes*. The Dorothea Coke Memorial Lecture in Northern Studies delivered at University College London 10 May 1973. Viking Society for Northern Research, University College London.
- Ström, K. (1982). "Tors hamrar." *KLNM* vol 18. col.s 502-506.
- Ström, K. (1984). "Thorshammerringe und andere Gegenstände des heidnischen Kults." *Birka II:1. Systematische Analysen der Gräberfunde*. Ed. G. Arwidsson. KVHAA. Stockholm, 127-40.
- Strömbäck, Dag (1935). *Sejd*. Nordiska texter och undersökningar 5. Stockholm and Copenhagen.
- Strömbäck, D. (1975). *The Conversion of Iceland. A Survey*. Translated and Annotated by Peter Foote. Viking Society for Northern Research, University College, London.
- Strömberg, M. (1961). *Untersuchungen zur jüngeren Eisenzeit in Schonen I-IV*. Vol. I. Acta Archeologica Lundensia. Lund.

- Tegnér, Göran (1992). "Christian graves and funerary monuments." *From Viking to Crusader. Scandinavia and Europe 800-1200*. Ed. Else Roesdal and David M Wilson. Uddevalla, Sweden, 188-9.
- Thorvildsen, Knud (1957). *Ladbyskibet*. Nordiske Fortidsminder, 6.1. Nationalmuseet, Copenhagen.
- Thunmark-Nylén, L. (1986). "'Gammalt' spänne med 'ny' runinskrift. Några reflexioner kring magiska runor utifrån ett nyfynd." *Fornvännen* LXXXI, 73-79.
- Thunmark-Nylén, L. *et al* (1981). *Vikingatidens ABC*. Statens Historiska Museum. Centraltryckeriet AB, Borås.
- Tillhagen, Carl-Herman (1977). *Folklig Läkekunst*. Second Edition. Stockholm
- Tkocz, Isabella and Brøndum, Niels (1985). *Anthropological Analyses:- Medieval Skeletons from the Franciscan Cemetery in Svenborg. The Archaeology of Svenborg, Denmark no. 3*. Odense University Press.
- Trotzig, Dag (1936). "Den yngre järnåldern i Dalarna." *Dalarnas hembygdsbok*, 100-35.
- Turville-Petre, G. (1953). *Origins of Icelandic Literature*. Oxford.
- Turville-Petre, G. (1964). *Myth and religion of the North. The Religion of Ancient Scandinavia*. Weidenfeld and Nicolson.
- van Hamel, A G. (1932-33). "Óðinn haging on the tree." *Acta Philologica Scandinavica* VII, 1932-33, 260-88.
- Vaughan, J. (1974). "'Með ólögum eyða'. A Note on the Witchride in Njáls saga." In: *Iceland and the Medieval World. Studies in Honour of Ian Maxwell*. Eds G. Turville-Petre and John Stanley Martin. Victoria, Australia, 63-9.
- Vibe-Müller, Inger Helene (1991). "Fra ættfelleskap til sognefellesskap. Om overgangen fra hedensk til kristen gravskikk." In: *Nordisk Hedendom*. Et symposium redigeret av Gro Steinsland *et al*. Odense, 359-72.
- Vibe-Müller, Inger Helene (1992). "Fra gravplass til kirkegård. Om settens, kongens og kirkens rolle ved etablering av kirkesteder." In: *En Norrlandsbygd möter yttervärlden*. Styresholmsprosjektet medeltidssymposium på Høla Folkhøgskola. 26-28 juni 1992, 35-8.
- Vilhjálmsson, V. Ö. (1992). "The early settlement of Iceland. Wishful thinking or an archaeological innovation?" *Acta Archaeologica* LXII, 167-81.
- Waldron, Tony and Waldron Gillian (1987). "Two felons from Surrey." *London Archaeologist* 5:16, 443-5.
- Wax, Rosalie H. (1969). *Magic, Fate and History. The Changing Ethos of the Vikings*. Coronado Press.
- Welin, S. (1889). "Nyfunna grafvar vid Skara domkyrka." *Månadsbladet*, 121-5.
- Werner, J. (1964). "Herkuleskeule und Donar-Amulett". *Jahrbuch des Römisch-Germanischen Museums Mainz* XI, 176-97.
- Whitelock, D. (ed.) (1981). *Councils & Synods with other Documents relating to the English Church I: A.D. 871-1204*, part 1. Oxford University Press.

- Wikander, Stig (1978). *Araber Vikingar Våringar*. Svenska Humanistiska Förbundet 90. Lund.
- Willemoes, Anette (1982). *En Analyse af et udvalgt kildestof fra Danmarks vikingetid med henblik på vurdering af ændringer i samfundsforholdene*. Upubliceret hovedgagsspeciale. Aarhus Universitet.
- Wilson, David (1992). *Anglo-Saxon Paganism*. Routledge, London and New York.
- Wilson, David and Moorhouse, Stephen (1971). "Excavation of Cluniac Priory of St. Andrew, Northampton." *Medieval Archaeology* XV, 124-79.
- Worsaae, I. I. A. (1869). "Om Mammenfundet." *Aarbøger for Nordisk Oldkyndighed og Historie*, 203-17.
- Zachrisson, Sune (1958). "Några gravkistor av trä från tidig medeltid". *Tor* IV, 183-203.