
The Other Body

Persons in Viking Age Multiple Burials in Scandinavia
and the Western Diaspora

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Appendix One

Nomenclature

Abbreviations

MB Multiple burial
SB Single burial
CM Ceremonial modification

Unimus The University Museums' Norwegian Archaeological Collection or
Universitetsmuseenes Samlingsportaler (unimus.no/arkeologi)

BA Bronze Age (1800 to 500 BC)
IA Iron Age (500 BC to AD 1050)

EIA Early Iron Age (500 BC to AD 550)
MgP Migration Period (AD 400 to 550)

LIA Late Iron Age (AD 550 to 1050)
MvP Merovingian Period (AD 550 to 750)
VA Viking Age (AD 750 to 1050)

EVA Early Viking Age (AD 750 to 850)
MVA Mid-Viking Age (AD 850 to 950)
LVA Late Viking Age (AD 950 to 1050)

EM Early Medieval period (AD 1050 to 1200)

Terms

Geo-Cultural Terms

Western Diaspora: a broad designation referring to the modern countries of England (and the Isle of Man), Ireland, Scotland and Iceland.

Scandinavian sample: a specific designation referring to the urban trading centres of Kaupang in Vestfold, Norway, and Hedeby, formerly of the Viking Age kingdom of Denmark, now situated in the Schleswig-Holstein district of modern-day Germany.

Western Viking World: an inclusive term denoting areas of Scandinavian cultural influence to the west of Scandinavia (as compared to the Eastern Viking World across which Scandinavian influence, of a largely Swedish character, was felt in the Baltic, Russia and the Levant).

Burial Terms

Grave: a single context that contains the complete or partial remains of a human.
A single multiple burial can contain numerous graves.

Burial: the complete burial complex, including the grave, internal or external structures and associated features. A burial may comprise more than one grave (i.e. separate, adjacent earth cuts each for a human and an animal, united by a structure like a mound).

Funerary Deposit: the deposition or burial of a dead body (in any form) can be simultaneously an act of disposal and a means of commemorating the deceased. The definition followed in this thesis is that of Williams (2005:254) who views funerary deposits as ritual technologies through

which “the identities of the living and the physical and spiritual elements of the deceased are transformed. The mnemonic reconfiguration of personhood through the interplay of objects, the cadaver and mortuary technologies can be one means by which the mourners cope with their bereavement and transform their relations with the dead person.

Votive or Ritual Deposit: an offering (human, animal or thing) to a deity in order to appease, thank, or enhance the success of pleas, prayers, or supplications (Darvill 2008). A key distinction drawn between these deposits and those deemed funerary in nature is that votive deposits “represent a collective purpose, forming a dialogue between the community and the gods, while grave finds have a personal purpose, relating to the individual or family” (Crawford 2004:87-88, see also Hedeager 1992).

Single Burial: burials containing the remains of one individual. These are the most common type of grave from the Bronze Age onwards.

Multiple Burial: burials containing more than one person deposited in any state of completeness and articulation, for which there is evidence that all remains were intentionally deposited together, within or across contexts and structures purposefully linked by tangible or intangible means.

Forms of Multiple Burial:

Contemporary: a temporal form of multiple burial containing the remains of individuals who were all interred during the same funeral event (keeping in mind that some burial rituals took a number of days to complete).

Consecutive: a temporal form of multiple burial containing the remains of individuals who were not buried during the same funeral

event but were added to existing Viking Age burials over a period of years, decades or even centuries, within the Viking Age.

Antecedent: a temporal form of multiple burial containing the remains of individuals who may have been buried during the same or different Viking Age funeral event(s) but were added to existing prehistoric burials that were first used hundreds or thousands of years prior to the Viking Age. This practice is often labelled 're-use' (see Thäte 2007).

Horizontal: a spatial form of multiple burial where individuals are placed on a horizontal plane in relation to each other.

Vertical: a spatial form of multiple burial where individuals are placed vertically in relation to each other.

Both (Horizontal and Vertical): a spatial form of multiple burial where individuals are placed in both a horizontal and vertical position in relation to each other. This is very common in mounds.

Mixed: a spatial form of multiple burial where skeletal remains of all individuals are commingled. Perhaps the most difficult form of multiple burial spatial data, this admixture can result from a number of circumstances: 1) the intentional disarticulation and admixture of one or all inhumed individuals, 2) the unintentional commingling of remains due to taphonomic disturbance, 3) the admixture of an individuals' ashes in a single cremation deposit, either because the individuals were a) cremated together on the same pyre or, b) were cremated separately but whose ashes ended up intermixed

purposefully during the burial process or, c) intermixed through later taphonomic disturbance.

Structural Terms

Flat Grave: burials not marked on the surface by any form of major structure or earthwork, often consisting of just a pit or earth cut but sometimes also incorporating a coffin, cist or wooden lining, and occasionally, a boat or ship. These graves are sometime marked above ground with features such as post markers, boulders, gravestones, cross shafts, hogbacks or stone covers.

Mound Burial: burials either contained within or below a mound. Often mounds are made of either one or a combination of substances including earth, turf, gravel and small to medium stones. Mounds can also incorporate additional above ground features such as standing stones, cairns and kerbs.

Theoretical Terms

Relationality: "a suite of approaches aimed at conflating the abstract and immutable dualities of modernist ontologies (e.g. nature and culture, self and other, subject and object, mind and body)", by focusing on the relationships that form between entities (Watt 2013:1).

Ontology: the framework of basic assumptions regarding what the world contains and how the elements of this infrastructure are connected (Descola 2014: 273).

Other/Otherness/Othering: the Other can be defined as "a person or group of people who are perceived to be different in some fundamental way from oneself and the group one perceives one belongs to. Otherness refers to

defining characteristics of the Other, and othering is the process whereby otherness is mobilized to produce in- and out-groups within society and to justify the way in which Others are treated” (Rogers et al. 2013).

Personhood: the condition, or state, of being a person as it is understood in any specific context (as per Fowler 2004:7).

Individual: In the common use of the term, all people are individuals in modern, Western, thought. However, in a framework of personhood, 'Individual' is used to refer to personhood in which a constant individuality and a persistent personal identity are stressed over relational identities (see next entry). When referring to this mode of personhood, the term will be designated using an uppercase 'I' (i.e. Individual). Where the term is used to denote one specific person (or reference the burial or personal attributes of a particular person) the term will be designated with a lowercase 'i' (i.e. individual).

Dividual: Term used to denote a person whose personhood is conceptualised as being made up of many different tangible and intangible parts that originate both within and outside of themselves (as per Fowler 2004:7). This type of person is said to have relational personhood. Dividual persons are composites of substances, ideas and relationships, that are ever changing and are configured in contextually specific ways.

Notes on Methodology

This appendix provides further detail regarding the collection of the burial data, its standardisation and classification and the creation of the relational database.

Data Collection

The corpus comprises 91 multiple burials, found amongst 2197 burials across 350 burial sites. The following list outlines the major resources used in compiling the burial catalogue, but these were greatly augmented by data provided by many other antiquarian and modern excavation reports. In no way is this a comprehensive list of the sources consulted in the production of this database; rather, this much-reduced list is intended to direct readers to the more extensive regional corpora available and give an idea of the scope of the data presented in these volumes.

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| England | <p>Bjorn, A. & H. Shetelig, 1940. <i>Viking Antiquities in England</i>. Viking Antiquities in Great Britain and Ireland, Part 4. Oslo: Aschehoug.</p> <p>Graham-Campbell, J., 2001. Pagan Scandinavian burial in the central and southern Danelaw. In J. Graham-Campbell et al., (eds.) <i>Vikings and the Danelaw: select papers from the proceedings of the thirteenth Viking congress, Nottingham and York, 21-30 August 1997</i>. Oxford: Oxbow Books, pp. 105–123.</p> <p>Halsall, G., 2000. The Viking Presence in England? The Burial Evidence Reconsidered. In D. Hadley and J. Richards (eds.) <i>Cultures in Contact: Scandinavian Settlement in England in the Ninth and Tenth Centuries</i>. Turnhout: Brepols, pp. 259–276.</p> <p>Redmond, A., 2007. <i>Viking Burial in the North of England: A study of contact, interaction and reaction between Scandinavian migrants with resident groups, and the effect of immigration on aspects of cultural continuity</i>. BAR British Series 429. Oxford: John and Erica Hedges Ltd.</p> <p>Richards, J., 2010. <i>Viking Age England</i>. Stroud: History Press.</p> |
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Isle of Man	<p>Bjorn, A. & H. Shetelig, 1940. <i>Viking Antiquities in England</i>. Viking Antiquities in Great Britain and Ireland, Part 4. Oslo: Aschehoug. (Includes section on Isle of Man).</p> <p>Wilson, D., 2008. <i>The Vikings in the Isle of Man</i>. Aarhus: Aarhus University Press.</p> <p>Bersu, G. & Wilson, D., 1966. <i>Three Viking graves in the Isle of Man</i>. London: Society for Medieval Archaeology.</p>
Scotland	<p>Grieg, S., 1940. <i>Viking Antiquities in Scotland</i>. Viking Antiquities in Great Britain and Ireland, Part 2. Oslo: Aschehoug.</p> <p>Graham-Campbell, J. & C. Batey, 1998. <i>Vikings in Scotland: an archaeological survey</i>. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.</p> <p>Anderson, J., 1874. Notes on the Relics of the Viking Period of the Northmen in Scotland, illustrated by Specimens in the Museum. <i>Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland</i> 10:536–594.</p> <p>CANMORE National Record of the Historic Environment provided by Historic Environment Scotland. Available at canmore.org.uk/site/search</p>
Ireland	<p>Bøe, J., 1940. <i>Norse Antiquities in Ireland</i>. Viking Antiquities in Great Britain and Ireland, Part 3. Oslo: Aschehoug.</p> <p>Harrison, S. & Ó Floinn, R., 2014. <i>Viking Graves and Grave-Goods in Ireland</i>. Medieval Dublin Excavations 1962-81 Series B. Dublin: National Museum of Ireland.</p> <p>Harrison, S.H. 2008. <i>Furnished Insular Scandinavian Burial: Artefacts and Landscape in the Early Viking Age</i>. Unpublished Doctoral Thesis. Trinity College Dublin.</p>
Iceland	<p>Eldjárn, K. & Friðriksson, A., 2016. <i>Kuml og haugfé: úr heiðnum sið á Íslandi</i>. Third Edition. Reykjavík: Fornleifastofnun Íslands, Mál og menning, Þjóðminjasafn Íslands.</p> <p>Leifsson, R. 2018. <i>Ritual Animal Killing and Burial Customs in Viking Age Iceland</i>. Unpublished Doctoral Thesis. University of Iceland.</p>
Kaupang	<p>Blindheim, C., B. Heyerdahl-Larsen & R. Tollnes, 1981. <i>Kaupang-funnene. Volume 1</i>. Norske Oldfunn Series. Oslo: Universitets oldsaksamling.</p> <p>Blindheim, C. & B. Heyerdahl-Larsen, 1995. <i>Kaupang-funnene. Volume 2. Gravplassene i Bikjholbergene/Lamøya undersøkelsene 1950-1957. Del. A. Gravskikk</i>. Norske Oldfunn Series. Oslo: Universitets oldsaksamling.</p> <p>Stylegar, F.A., 2007. The Kaupang Cemeteries Revisited. In D. Skre (ed.) <i>Kaupang in Skiringssal</i>. Aarhus: Aarhus University Press, pp. 65–101.</p> <p>UNIMUS Collections Web Portal. The University Museums' Norwegian Archaeological Collection (Universitetsmuseenes Samlingsportaler)</p>

Hedeby	Arents, U. & S. Eisenschmidt, 2010. <i>Die Gräber von Haithabu: Bind I Text, Literatur</i> . Ausgrabungen in Haithabu Series number 15. Neumünster: Wachholtz.
	Arents, U. & S. Eisenschmidt, 2010. <i>Die Gräber von Haithabu: Bind II Katalog, Listen, Tafeln, Beilagen</i> . Ausgrabungen in Haithabu Series number 15. Neumünster: Wachholtz.

Most of the burials discussed in the Western regional syntheses are generally accepted as Scandinavian-influenced ‘Viking Age’ burials, however some have proven contentious and are accepted as ‘Viking’ by some and not by others. In these cases, the arguments made for and against each burial were considered, in combination with an assessment of the nature of the burial evidence, in order to establish the probability that each burial demonstrated a persuasive Scandinavian influence and whether the associated records yielded an adequate degree of information relevant to this study. The burials that satisfied these considerations were entered into an Excel workbook, recording all available information. A number of burials did not satisfy these criteria and were excluded.

Managing Data Quality

Once all of the burials were entered into the Excel workbook, each record was assessed for the quality of its data. The diverse nature of the sources used to collate the dataset meant that obtaining data in relation to all of the targeted burial attributes was difficult and, in many cases, impossible due to a lack of recorded information. At the same time, the reliability of some of the records, particularly the antiquarian material, proved questionable. As such, a data quality evaluation system was developed to categorise each burial record based on the degree of its reliability. For the multiple burial data, two quality indicators, ‘possible’ and ‘confirmed’ were assigned to each record (Table 1).

Are there remains of more than one individual intentionally present?	Is at least one person of Viking Age date?	Decision
Yes	Yes	Confirmed
Possible	Yes	Possible
Yes	Possible	Possible

Table 1. Decision matrix for multiple burials.

For the single burial data, which was a much larger group of records containing much more varied data, it was necessary to implement a three-tiered quality evaluation system: ‘Confirmed’, ‘Possible 1’ and ‘Possible 2’ (Table 2). The ‘Possible 2’ burial records were then excluded on the basis that they did not contribute a satisfactory level of reliable information.

Is it a burial?	Is it of Viking Age date?	Decision
Yes	Yes	Confirmed
Possible	Yes	Possible 1
Yes	Possible	Possible 1
Possible	Possible	Possible 2

Table 2. Decision matrix for single burials.

Standardisation of Burial Data

Once all of the information was collected, a process of standardisation was necessary so that the burial data, gathered from a range of sources with varying degrees of content and quality, could be meaningfully compared. Of great importance was the standardisation of disparate sets of biometric data. The skeletal material in this research was compiled from reports that used a number of different classificatory systems based on various aging and sexing techniques. As this research is a thematic exploration of identity and personhood, as opposed to an osteoarchaeologically-driven study, the various methods by which the attribution of sex and age was determined was not evaluated. Rather, the determinations themselves, either given specifically as a number or generally in

age band format, were of more relevance and every effort was made to standardise these determinations across the data.

The broad age categories advocated by Buikstra and Uberlaker (1994) were used to standardise the age data. The skeletal material from Hedeby was analysed by Schafer (1963) and his determinations were adopted in the later Arents and Eischmidt (2010) volumes. Schafer employed the system outlined by Martin and Saller (1957) so the mean age of each of these categories (when a narrower numeric band was not provided) was used to place the individuals into the Buikstra and Uberlaker system (Table 3).

Age Group	Buikstra & Uberlaker (1994)			Martin & Saller (1957)	
	Age Subgroup	Abbrev.	Age Band (years)	Age Subgroup	Age Band (years)
Subadult	Young Juveniles	YJ	0–2	Infans I	0–7
	Older Juveniles	OJ	3–12	Infans II	7–14
	Adolescent	Ad	13–19	Juvenis	14–20
Adult	Young Adult	YA	20–34	Adultus	20–40
	Middle Adult	MA	35–49	Maturus	40–60
	Older Adults	OA	50+	Senilis	60+

Table 3. Classification of age data according to Buikstra & Uberlaker (1994) and Martin & Saller (1957).

Where specific information was not available and individuals were described simply as ‘adult’ or ‘child’ then these records were classified as unspecified (Table 4).

Terms	Abbrev.	Age Subgroup	Age Band (years)
‘Child’	UJ	Unspecified Juvenile	0–19
‘Adult’	UA	Unspecified Adult	20–50+

Table 4. Classification of unspecified individuals.

Other osteological information was also recorded for each burial, where available. For the purposes of this thesis, skeletal remains were classed as

showing trauma if the original or subsequent excavation (and/or osteoarchaeological) reports identified evidence of bone fracture, amputation, dislocation, sharp- or blunt-force trauma and any other soft tissue injuries that affect bone. For much of the data, the timeliness of the events leading to the skeletal trauma have not been determined, so all indications of traumatic injury have been included regardless of their ante- or peri-mortem nature. Where possible, evidence of post-mortem treatment is noted.

Due to the different academic traditions from which many of the original excavation reports originated, it was also necessary to standardise the terminology used to denote particular burial structures. For example, in Iceland the term hummock is used to denote a small mound (either natural or cultural), whereas many of the antiquarian British reports use the terms tumulus or barrow. Moreover, many burial structures were simply described rather than being designated a particular burial form, i.e. an earth cut lined with stone slabs above, below and around, as opposed to a stone 'cist'. Where the only description of the burial was as vague as 'a grave', this was taken to mean that a simple earth cut pit had been identified at the time of discovery. Where only grave goods were described without mention of the deposit being termed 'a grave', the context has been listed as 'unknown'.

Database Creation

Each burial was then entered into a relational database (Microsoft Access), where data relating to each burial attribute (i.e. burial structure, associated animal remains, grave goods etc.) were entered into a series of tables. In total, eight major attribute tables were created: Sites, Graves, Structures, Contexts, People, Grave Goods, Ceremonially Modified Objects (CMOs), and Animals (Figure 1). Data pertaining to each of these major attributes were recorded under a number

of subfields shown in Table 5. Once the database had been constructed, it was used to run a series of queries exploring the interplay between each of the various burial attributes. These formed the basis for the tables provided throughout the text of Volume I.

Table	Sub-attributes	
Sites	Country	Locational Notes
	Site Name	Find Date
	County or Region	Find Category
Graves	Grave Name	Grave Date
	Original Grave ID	Site Date (if no specific Grave Data)
	Single or Multiple Burial	Data Quality Indicator
Structures	Type	Depth
	Length	Diameter
	Width	Orientation
	Height	
Contexts	Type	Depth
	Length	Diameter
	Width	Orientation
	Height	Associated Context Features
People	Rite	Orientation
	Sex	Head Position
	Gender	Body Position
	Osteological Age	Body Placement
	Inferred Age	Treatment
	Standardised Age Band	Pathology
	Standardised Age Subgroup	Trauma
	Standardised Age Group	
Grave Goods	Presence of Grave Goods	
	Presence of CMOs	
Ceremonially Modified Objects	Assemblage	Context Placement
	Weapon Type	Structure Placement
	Modification	Human Contact
	Condition	Human Treatment
	Detail of Modification	Intentionality Indicator
	Modified Portion	
Animals	Animal Type	Structure Placement
	Part or Whole	Grave Placement
	Condition	Body Contact
	Treatment	Nature of Bodily Interaction
	Spatial Placement	Arrangement
	Context Placement	Intentionality Indicator

Table 5. Outline of database tables (major attributes) and the subfields they contain (sub-attributes).

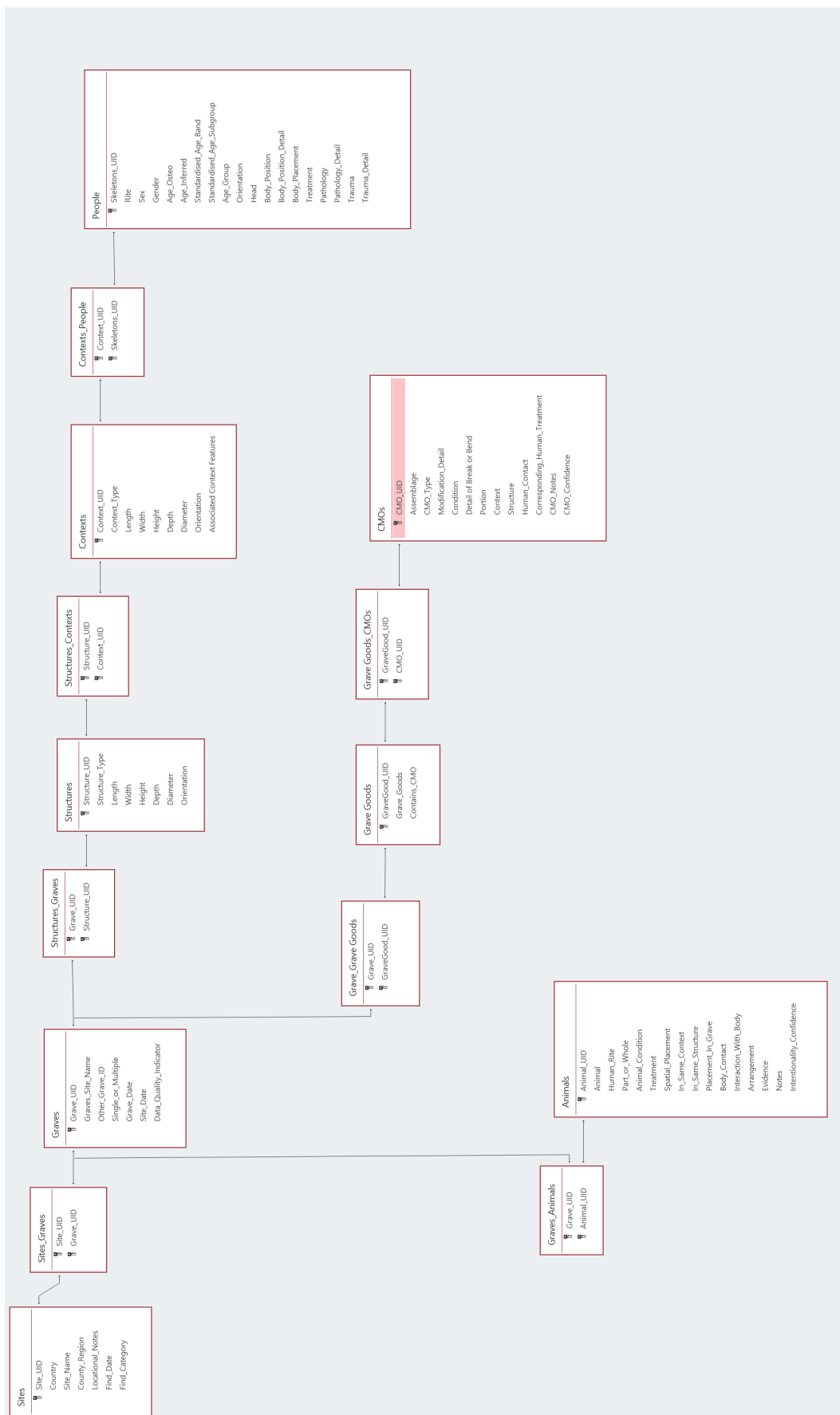


Figure 1. Relationship design for the Burial Database.

Structural Composition of Burials

Single Burial Observations

To fully appreciate the varied character of the multiple burials presented in this study, it is necessary to situate them within their proper funerary context with particular reference to local modes of single burial. This appendix is intended as a companion text to the discussion offered in Chapter 3, which focuses on the physical qualities of multiple burials specifically. In the text below, further detail regarding forms of single burial as observed in each study area is outlined, followed by a key (Table 15 on page 24) which specifies the structural abbreviations used in Tables 15 through 21 of Volume I.

England

There are clear structural differences between single and multiple burials in England (Table 6). Notably, an overwhelming majority of English single burials make use of flat graves in the form of plain earth cuts or cuts using additional features above or within. While earth graves containing no other features within the cut are the most dominant form of burial at 55%, the grave type also shows a diversity of additional components, both inside the grave (coffins, biers and beds, chests, and wooden covers) and above the grave (hogbacks, post markers, gravestones, crosses, stone slab covers and boulders). The use of additional features within the grave is more common (22%) than those that are marked above ground in some way (8%), but in no cases do graves simultaneously use features within and above the cut. Single burials made in mounds are much less common than earth graves, only being used for 12% of graves.

	Single Burial			Multiple Burial		
Structure Type	Freq. (n=107)	Rel. Freq. %	Grouped	Freq. (n=12)	Rel. Freq. %	Grouped
Flat grave (plain)	59	55	86	3	25	50
Flat grave (plus within)	24	22		1	8	
Flat grave (plus above)	9	8		2	17	
Flat grave (plus both)	0	0		0	0	
Mound	13	12	12	6	50	50
Other	2	2	2	0	0	0

Table 6. Structural combinations of English burials. Only known structures shown.

Isle of Man

The Viking Age single burials of Mann show little of the variation exhibited by those in England. Over half of the burials for which structure and context is known are flat graves and all of these burials are either formed by plain earth cuts (n=3) or earth cuts containing lintel stones (n=4) or coffins (n=2) (Table 7). None of the Manx flat grave single burials have any markings above ground. In contrast though, mounds are used quite frequently for single burials in Mann (unlike all other areas studied). In fact, mounds are just as common as lintel burials. But, aside from these forms of burial, no other types are recorded in Mann.

	Single Burial			Multiple Burial		
Structure Type	Freq. (n=16)	Rel. Freq. %	Grouped	Freq. (n=2)	Rel. Freq. %	Grouped
Flat grave (plain)	3	19	56.5	0	0	0
Flat grave (plus within)	6	37.5		0	0	
Flat grave (plus above)	0	0		0	0	
Flat grave (plus both)	0	0		0	0	
Mound	6	37.5	37.5	2	100	100
Other	1	6	6	0	0	0

Table 7. Structural combinations of Manx burials. Only known structures are shown.

Scotland

The majority of single burials in Scotland make use of flat graves in the form of simple earth cuts or cuts containing additional features within or above (Table

8). As with England, flat graves containing no other features are the most dominant form of burial for individual people in Scotland, however there are 20 burials which exhibit diverse additional components, both inside and above the grave. Burials containing features inside the cut (13%) are much more common for the Scottish single burials than those marked above ground (3%) or those with both (3%).

	Single Burial			Multiple Burial		
Structure Type	Freq. (n=109)	Rel. Freq. %	Grouped	Freq. (n=10)	Rel. Freq. %	Grouped
Flat grave (plain)	43	39	58	2	20	30
Flat grave (plus within)	14	13		1	10	
Flat grave (plus above)	3	3		0	0	
Flat grave (plus both)	3	3		0	0	
Mound	34	31	31	6	60	60
Flat grave Boat Burial	7	6	6	1	10	10
Other	5	5	5	0	0	0

Table 8. Structural combinations of Scottish burials. Only known structures are shown.

Also, the use of mounds for single burial is much more common in Scotland than in England, with almost a third of all single burials occurring within mounds. Furthermore, only two of the 34 mounds containing single burials have any other above-ground features, however the internal features of the mound-burials are much more diverse than those in England, with eleven different structural combinations being used for interment. The most common of these combinations are mounds containing plain earth cuts, (n=8), cist or lintel graves (n=5) and stone settings in both the form of a rectangle (n=3) or a boat shape (n=2).

Ireland

The Irish corpus is overwhelmingly dominated by flat earth cut graves, which make up 88% of its single burial corpus (Table 9). There are only three flat graves

that contain any internal features one would expect to see in this context; just three coffins and a cist or lintel grave.

Structure Type	Single Burial			Multiple Burial		
	Freq. (n=64)	Rel. Freq. %	Grouped	Rel. Freq. (n=4)	Rel. Freq. %	Grouped
Flat grave (plain)	51	80	88	2	50	75
Flat grave (plus within)	5	8		1	25	
Flat grave (plus above)	0	0		0	0	
Flat grave (plus both)	0	0		0	0	
Mound	6	9	9	1	25	25
Other	2	3	3	0	0	0

Table 9. Structural combinations of Irish burials. Only known structures are shown.

Oddly, one further earth-cut grave found at South Great George's Street [G2001] contained an inhumed individual placed atop of (what the excavators believe to be) a domestic hearth. There are a few instances of hearths being recorded either in direct relation to human remains or in the general vicinity, however all of these instances are found in cremation contexts, as is the case at Heath Wood [G146, G150 and G156] and possibly Hesket-in-the-Forest [G164] in England, and around the Hochburg [G594–597 and G599–600] at Hedeby. The South Great George's Street burial is the only one which shows any divergence from the seemingly normative flat graves of Ireland.

Iceland

Generally, Iceland has a single burial profile similar to England regarding the frequency of flat graves and mounds (Table 10). As with most other areas studied, simple earth cut graves account for the largest proportion single burials, however the Icelandic form shows great diversity in the use of features within graves as well as a range of above-ground features, including boulders, stone slabs and, perhaps most idiosyncratically, wooden post structures. One form of surface marking typical of the Icelandic corpus is the stone setting, usually used to cover or delineate graves, which features in about 15% of all single burials.

Ten different internal features have been observed within flat graves, of which the most common is the coffin (n=6) and the kerbed or slab-lined cut (n=6). Other less frequent forms consist of cists and lintels (n=4), earth cuts containing wooden linings or covers (n=3), as well as the internal spreading of charcoal deposits and plant matter.

Structure Type	Single Burial			Multiple Burial		
	Freq. (n=278)	Rel. Freq. %	Grouped	Freq. (n=19)	Rel. Freq. %	Grouped
Flat grave (plain)	163	59	70	10	53	63
Flat grave (plus within)	17	6		1	5	
Flat grave (plus above)	13	5		1	5	
Flat grave (plus both)	0	0		0	0	
Mound	31	11	11	3	16	16
Setting	43	15	15	2	10.5	10.5
Other	11	4	4	2	10.5	10.5

Table 10. Structural combinations of Icelandic burials. Only known structures are shown.

One of the most interesting aspects of Icelandic burials, which are shared by both single and multiple burials, is the frequent occurrence of associated horse burials. Usually manifesting as a separate cut at the foot end of a human grave, horse graves can also form part of the same cut as the human but separated by a narrow ridge of soil built up between the burial spaces.

Structure Type	No. in Horse Grave	Single Burial	Multiple Burial
Flat Grave	Single	24	1
	Double	2	3
	Triple	1	0
Mound	Single	5	0
	Double	2	0
Post Structure	Single	3	1*
Stone Setting	Single	7	0
	Double	0	1

Table 11. Frequency of associated horse graves with SBs and MBs. *This burial had three SHG associated with it.

These graves come in single (SHG), double (DHG), and even triple (THG) varieties, being found associated with 44 single burials and 6 multiple burials (Table 11). While they seem more common in single burials, in relative terms they are associated with a higher proportion of multiple burials (33%, compared to 15% in single burials). Although there seems to be a slight correlation between DHGs and double human multiple burials, this is not always the case.

Kaupang

As mentioned in Chapter 3, single burials are rarely made using flat grave earth cuts at Kaupang, accounting for less than one quarter of all known grave structures (Table 12). Compared to the Manx single burials, which seemed to buck the trending dominance of earth cut graves for the Western Diaspora (having just over 56%), the use of earth cut graves at Kaupang is significantly low. Here, there is little difference in the number of graves that are formed of plain earth cuts and those that contain internal features, but those that are marked above ground are remarkably few. The internal features that are found in flat earth cut graves appear to be quite uniformly used, with a clear preference being shown for coffins or coffin-like wooden structures (hollowed out logs or trees, toboggans and sleds, or wooden covers etc.) with charcoal deposits and stone packing.

Structure Type	Single Burial			Multiple Burial		
	Freq. (n=106)	Rel. Freq. %	Grouped	Freq. (n=24)	Rel. Freq. %	Grouped
Flat grave (plain)	12	11	24	0	0	16
Flat grave (plus within)	10	9		0	0	
Flat grave (plus above)	2	2		2	8	
Flat grave (plus both)	1	1		2	8	
Mound	52	49	49	2	8	8
Boats*	29	27	27	18	75	75

*Table 12. Structural combinations of Kaupang's burials. Only known structures are shown. *Boats are included in this table to demonstrate their prevalence at Kaupang but are not considered external structures like the rest of this table.*

Stone settings also seem to be quite rarely used in single burials at Kaupang. Such settings were found in association with just three flat graves; a boat burial, a plain earth cut and another earth cut containing a coffin. Why just three single burials were marked above ground using stone is unclear as each are seemingly unremarkable in their construction. However, the interpreted identities of the individuals interred within suggest that the three individuals were remarkable for various reasons.

The coffin-less earth cut [G3000] contained a female who appeared to have been ‘thrown down’ into a pit in a twisted position with her feet bound. She was found with no grave goods except the jaw of a horse placed next to her head. The second individual [G2086] was a child who had been inhumed in a coffin and furnished with a few grave goods. No unusual features were identified in the burial to suggest that he or she, too, was considered a remarkable person, except perhaps for the occupants’ youth— child graves are uncommon and vastly underrepresented at Kaupang and elsewhere in Norway (Stylegar 2007:86). Finally, the third individual was found in a boat burial covered by a stone setting [G2053]. The individual was a female who appeared to have been seated, which is a relatively infrequent occurrence outside of Sweden and Russia (Stylegar 2007:96). Notably, Price (2019) has linked seated burial with the practice of sorcery and has suggested that seated females may be *völva* (practitioners of *seiðr*). A *völva* was most certainly a remarkable person in the eyes of her community and, taken in evidence with the previous two cases, suggests that the use of stone settings for single individuals at Kaupang reflected the burial of remarkable or memorable people.

Unexpectedly, Kaupang’s mounds are overwhelmingly associated with SBs, being used for 63 graves and composing approximately 60% of the corpus. Most

of these mounds contained loose cremation deposits (n=44), however one mound contained an urned cremation deposit while another enclosed a cist that had charcoal deposits scattered around and under the body of the deceased. Only 11 of the mounds contained boat burials (17%), with nine boats yielding loose cremation deposits and the other two exhibiting a single urned cremation and what is assumed to have been an inhumation in a cist (no human remains were identified). Interestingly, the only two mounds that had any additional above ground features, like kerbs and standing stones, were used for the only two inhumations found in mounds in total— a cist burial[G2070] and a boat burial[G2126]. All other mounds were used for the SB of cremated individuals, who were occasionally interred in boats.

Structure Type	Single Burial		Multiple Burial	
	Freq. (n=29)	Rel. Freq. %	Freq. (n=20)	Rel. Freq. %
Flat grave boats	17	59	4	20
Stone setting boats	1	3	13	65
Mounded boats	11	38	3	15
As % of all known types	29/106	27%	20/31*	65%

Table 13. Boat burials at Kaupang. *There are 31 MB contexts because 3 burials use different contexts and 3 burials use different structures.

Boat burials are the second most dominant form of internal context (after mounded loose cremation deposits) used for single burials at Kaupang and are found in over one quarter of the corpus. Almost 60% of boat burials were made in flat graves that were unmarked on the surface, while the rest were mostly made in mounds (Table 13). Only one of the single boat burials had a stone setting layer and may have been unique in that it was the only single burial in which a textile had been spread beneath the deceased.

Hedeby

Single burials are constructed almost entirely of flat earth cut graves at Hedeby, accounting for almost all known structure types (Table 14). They are usually formed either by plain earth cuts (n=687) or by cuts that contain internal features, of which the coffin is by far the most popular (n=580). Only five graves showed any elaboration above ground and all of these used post markers. Apart from the usual contextual structures in which individuals were interred in flat graves (coffins etc), twenty-eight contained additional minor features such as boulders, wooden post structures, charcoal layers, stone packing and textile spreads. The use of biers (of which there are only two cases, both formed of possible boat parts) is exceedingly rare. Intriguingly, four flat graves containing the remnants of a pyre were found in association with *urned* cremation deposits, not *loose* cremation deposits. Instead, loose cremation deposits and inhumations were augmented with wooden post structures (n=9) and boulders (n=4).

Structure Type	Single Burial			Multiple Burial		
	Freq. (n=1307)	Rel. Freq. %	Grouped	Freq. (n=20)	Rel. Freq. %	Grouped
Flat grave (plain)	687	53	97	4	20	75
Flat grave (plus within)	581	44		9	45	
Flat grave (plus above)	3	0.2		2	10	
Flat grave (plus both)	2	0.2		0	0	
Flat grave chamber*	12	1	1	0	0	15
Mounded chamber*	2	0.2		3	15	
Mound	20	2	2	2	10	10

Table 14. Structural combinations of Hedeby's burials. Only known structures are shown. *Chambers included to give an idea of frequency as a major component of burials at Hedeby but are not regarded external structures— their frequencies have been removed from those given for flat graves and mounds so as not to be counted twice.

In one instance, a boulder was found deposited directly on top of a body. Boulders were also found in association with coffins in five cases and appeared to be used mostly to mark the head and foot end of the burial, however in one or two cases the boulders were placed on one side of the coffin or were used as

a shelf for grave goods. Additionally, textiles were found to have been spread under the deceased within four different coffins.

Mounds are in the minority at Hedeby, with only 22 burials showing evidence of once having a mound. This equates to just 2% of the Hedeby single burials, meaning the use of mounds for lone individuals was considerably limited. Most single burial mounds contained coffins (n=8) while in situ pyres containing loose cremation deposits are also common (n=7). Interestingly, no urned cremations were found in mounds. Chambers do feature in the single burial structural repertoire but are considerably infrequent. Only two mounds contained chambers and one of these was the spectacular grave of a single female in Chamber Grave 5. This chamber contained the body of a woman dressed in fine silver and gold jewellery, who had been laid upon the carriage of a wagon that had been furnished with bedding and other textiles (Eisenschmidt 2011:100).

Key to Structural Abbreviations for Multiple Burials

Tables 15 through 21 plot the temporal sequence and spatial configuration of multiple burials showing their structural composition using the format:

[structural elements / context in which remains were found]

set	stone setting	ec	earth cut
stand	standing stone	coff	coffin
fg	flat grave	bp	bone pit
pm	post marker	crem(L)	loose cremation deposit
ps	post structure	crem(U)	urned cremation deposit
SHG	single horse grave	pl	plant lining
DHG	double horse grave	stpk	stone packing
THG	triple horse grave	?	unknown

Table 15. Key to structural abbreviations used in Chapter 3 of Volume I.

Appendix Four

List of All Sites

The following list outlines the sites from which confirmed and possible Viking Age burials, of both multiple and single type, have been included in this research. The 'Find Category' column indicates when each record was made and is included to give readers some context for the overall data quality of the database. Burials with more than one date of investigation ('Find Date') are usually classified as 'Mixed' under 'Find Category', however in instances where the majority of the data was recorded during one particular period of investigation, then it is labelled accordingly.

There is a total of 350 sites included in this research, of which:

195 sites were recorded pre 1935 (Antiquarian)

49 sites were recorded between 1936 and 1955 (AntiqModern)

71 sites were recorded post 1956 (Modern)

28 sites were subject to repeated investigation through the years (Mixed)

7 sites had no known find date recorded (Unknown)

S_UID	Country	Site Name	County/Region	Find Date	Find Category
S100	England	Adwick-le-Street	Yorkshire	2001	Modern
S102	England	Aspatria	Cumbria	1789	Antiquarian
S103	England	Bedale Camphill	Yorkshire	1875	Antiquarian
S104	England	Bedale Leeming Lane	Yorkshire	Before 1848	Antiquarian
S105	England	Bedale Romanby	Yorkshire	Unknown	Unknown
S106	England	Blackrod	Lancashire	1770	Antiquarian
S108	England	Brockhall	Lancashire	1836	Antiquarian
S109	England	Caister-by-Yarmouth	Norfolk	1950s and 1980s	Mixed
S110	England	Cambois	Northumberland	1859	Antiquarian
S111	England	Carlisle Cathedral	Cumbria	1988	Modern
S112	England	Claughton Hall	Lancashire	1822	Antiquarian
S113	England	Crossmoor Inskip	Lancashire	1889	Antiquarian
S114	England	Cumwhitton	Cumbria	2004	Modern
S115	England	Eaglesfield	Cumbria	1814	Antiquarian
S116	England	Farndon, Newark on Trent	Nottinghamshire	1892	Antiquarian
S118	England	Harrold	Bedfordshire	1951-1953	AntiqModern
S119	England	Heath Wood Ingleby	Derbyshire	1998-2000	Modern

S120	England	Hesket-in-the-Forest	Cumbria	1822	Antiquarian
S121	England	Heysham	Lancashire	1823 and 1970-1980s	Mixed
S122	England	Hook Norton	Oxfordshire	1848	Antiquarian
S123	England	Kildale	Yorkshire	1867	Antiquarian
S124	England	Ladykirk Ripon	Yorkshire	1955	AntiqModern
S125	England	Leigh on Sea	Essex	1890s	Antiquarian
S126	England	Low Dalby	Yorkshire	Unknown	Unknown
S127	England	Magdalen Bridge, Oxford	Oxfordshire	1884	Antiquarian
S128	England	Meols	Lancashire	19th C	Antiquarian
S129	England	Middle Harling	Norfolk	1982	Modern
S130	England	Nottingham	Nottinghamshire	1851	Antiquarian
S131	England	Ormside	Cumbria	1823 and 1898	Antiquarian
S132	England	Penrith	Cumbria	17thC	Antiquarian
S134	England	Rampside	Lancashire	1850s	Antiquarian
S135	England	Reading	Berkshire	1831	Antiquarian
S136	England	Repton	Derbyshire	1974-1988	Modern
S138	England	Royston Heath	Cambridgeshire	1938	AntiqModern
S139	England	Saffron Walden	Essex	1830	Antiquarian
S140	England	Sandford Moor	Cumbria	Late 18th C	Antiquarian
S141	England	Santon Downham	Norfolk	1867	Antiquarian
S142	England	Sayle Bottom	Cumbria	Late 18th C	Antiquarian
S143	England	Sedgeford	Norfolk	1997	Modern
S144	England	Silbury Hill	Wiltshire	1723	Antiquarian
S145	England	Sonning	Berkshire	1966	Modern
S147	England	St Mary's Bishophill Junior	Yorkshire	1980S	Modern
S148	England	St Mary's Bishophill Senior	Yorkshire	1963	Modern
S149	England	St Mary's, Reading	Berkshire	1839	Antiquarian
S150	England	Thetford	Norfolk	1953	AntiqModern
S151	England	Torksey	Lincolnshire	2011	Modern
S152	England	Waltham Abbey	Essex	1974	Modern
S154	England	Watling Street	Northamptonshire	1879	Antiquarian
S155	England	Wensley Churchyard	Yorkshire	1915	Antiquarian
S157	England	Wicken Fen	Cambridgeshire	Before 1938	AntiqModern
S159	England	Workington, West Seaton	Cumbria	1900	Antiquarian
S160	England	York Minster	Yorkshire	1969	Modern
S161	Hedeby	Chamber Gravefield	Schleswig-Holstein	1930-1931	Antiquarian
S162	Hedeby	Flat Gravefield	Schleswig-Holstein	1900-1912	Antiquarian
S163	Hedeby	Foot of Hochburg	Schleswig-Holstein	17th C onwards	Antiquarian
S164	Hedeby	Hochburg	Schleswig-Holstein	1889, 1896, 1930s and 1969	Mixed
S165	Hedeby	Noor/Harbour	Schleswig-Holstein	1963-1969	Mixed
S166	Hedeby	South Gravefield East	Schleswig-Holstein	1957-1970	Modern
S167	Hedeby	South Gravefield West	Schleswig-Holstein	1900 and 1957-1969	Mixed
S168	Iceland	Aðalból	Norður-Múlasýsla	1890	Antiquarian
S169	Iceland	Ærlækur	Norður-Pingeyjarsýsla	Before 1974	Modern
S170	Iceland	Álaugarey	Austur-Skaftafellssýsla	1934	Antiquarian
S171	Iceland	Álfsstaðir	Árnessýsla	1894 and 1947	Mixed
S172	Iceland	Áslákshóli	Rangárvallasýsla	1909	Antiquarian

S173	Iceland	Austara-Land	Norður-Píngeyjarsýsla	1900	Antiquarian
S174	Iceland	Austarihóll	Skagafjarðarsýsla	1964	Modern
S175	Iceland	Bakki	Norður-Múlasýsla	1936	AntiqModern
S176	Iceland	Baldursheimur	Suður-Píngeyjarsýsla	1860	Antiquarian
S177	Iceland	Berufjörður	Barðastrandarsýsla	1898	Antiquarian
S178	Iceland	Björk	Eyjaðarsýsla	1909 and 1939	Mixed
S179	Iceland	Blöndugerði	Norður-Múlasýsla	1942	AntiqModern
S181	Iceland	Brandsstaðir	Austur-Húnavatnssýsla	1967	Modern
S182	Iceland	Breiðavík	Barðastrandarsýsla	1913	Antiquarian
S183	Iceland	Brennistaðir	Suður-Múlasýsla	1950	AntiqModern
S184	Iceland	Brimnes	Skagafjarðarsýsla	1937	AntiqModern
S185	Iceland	Bringa	Eyjaðarsýsla	1937	AntiqModern
S186	Iceland	Brjánslækur	Barðastrandarsýsla	19th C	Antiquarian
S187	Iceland	Brú	Árnessýsla	1876	Antiquarian
S188	Iceland	Brú	Norður-Múlasýsla	1988	Modern
S189	Iceland	Búrfellsháls	Árnessýsla	1928	Antiquarian
S190	Iceland	Daðastaðir	Norður-Píngeyjarsýsla	1956	Modern
S191	Iceland	Dæli	Eyjaðarsýsla	1970	Modern
S192	Iceland	Dalir	Norður-Múlasýsla	1895	Antiquarian
S193	Iceland	Dalvík Böggvisstaðir	Eyjaðarsýsla	1937	AntiqModern
S194	Iceland	Dalvík Brimnes	Eyjaðarsýsla	1908	Antiquarian
S195	Iceland	Draflastaðir	Suður-Píngeyjarsýsla	1952	AntiqModern
S196	Iceland	Dufþaksholt	Rangárvallasýsla	1940	AntiqModern
S197	Iceland	Efri-Rauðalækur	Rangárvallasýsla	1902	Antiquarian
S198	Iceland	Einholt	Austur-Skaftafellssýsla	1979	Modern
S469	Iceland	Eldvatn, Skaftártunga	Vestur-Skaftafellssýsla	2016	Modern
S199	Iceland	Elivogar	Skagafjarðarsýsla	1956	Modern
S200	Iceland	Enni	Skagafjarðarsýsla	1934	Antiquarian
S201	Iceland	Eyrarteigur	Suður-Múlasýsla	1995	Modern
S202	Iceland	Fellsmúli	Rangárvallasýsla	1888 through 1930	Antiquarian
S203	Iceland	Flaga	Vestur-Skaftafellssýsla	1892	Antiquarian
S204	Iceland	Fljóbakki	Suður-Múlasýsla	1900	Antiquarian
S205	Iceland	Framdalir	Suður-Píngeyjarsýsla	1899	Antiquarian
S206	Iceland	Galtalækur	Rangárvallasýsla	1929	Antiquarian
S207	Iceland	Gamla Berjanes	Rangárvallasýsla	1912	Antiquarian
S208	Iceland	Garðsá	Eyjaðarsýsla	1952	AntiqModern
S209	Iceland	Gaukshöfði	Árnessýsla	Before 1892	Antiquarian
S210	Iceland	Gautlönd	Suður-Píngeyjarsýsla	1855	Antiquarian
S211	Iceland	Geirastaðir Kumlabrekka	Suður-Píngeyjarsýsla	2010	Modern
S212	Iceland	Gerðakot	Gullbringusýsla	1854	Antiquarian
S213	Iceland	Gilsá	Norður-Múlasýsla	1890	Antiquarian

S214	Iceland	Gilsárteigur	Suður-Múlasýsla	1949	AntiqModern
S215	Iceland	Glaumbær	Suður-Pingeyjarsýsla	1915	Antiquarian
S216	Iceland	Gljúfrá	Vestur-Húnavatnssýsla	1868	Antiquarian
S217	Iceland	Grafarbakki	Rangárvallasýsla	1813	Antiquarian
S218	Iceland	Grafargerði	Skagafjarðarsýsla	1934	Antiquarian
S219	Iceland	Granagil	Vestur-Skaftafellssýsla	Unknown	Unknown
S220	Iceland	Grásíða	Norður-Pingeyjarsýsla	1941	AntiqModern
S221	Iceland	Grímsstaðir	Suður-Pingeyjarsýsla	1937 and 1967	Mixed
S222	Iceland	Grímsstaðir	Norður-Pingeyjarsýsla	1962	Modern
S223	Iceland	Gröf	Vestur-Húnavatnssýsla	1935	AntiqModern
S224	Iceland	Hábær	Rangárvallasýsla	1919 and 1957-1958	Mixed
S225	Iceland	Hafurbjarnarstaðir	Gullbringusýsla	1828, 1868 and 1947	Mixed
S226	Iceland	Hámundarstaðaháls	Eyjafjarðarsýsla	1930	Antiquarian
S227	Iceland	Hemla	Rangárvallasýsla	1932 and 1937	AntiqModern
S228	Iceland	Hof(?)	Austur-Húnavatnssýsla	1850-1860	Antiquarian
S229	Iceland	Höfði	Vestur-Ísafjarðarsýsla	1818	Antiquarian
S230	Iceland	Hólaskógur	Árnessýsla	1978	Modern
S231	Iceland	Hóll	Norður-Múlasýsla	Unknown	Unknown
S232	Iceland	Hólmur Árnanes	Austur-Skaftafellssýsla	1894 and 1902	Antiquarian
S233	Iceland	Höskuldsstaðir	Austur-Húnavatnssýsla	1873	Antiquarian
S234	Iceland	Hrafnstaðir	Suður-Pingeyjarsýsla	1952	AntiqModern
S235	Iceland	Hraungerðishreppur	Árnessýsla	Early 19th C	Antiquarian
S236	Iceland	Hrifunes	Vestur-Skaftafellssýsla	1958 and 1981	Modern
S237	Iceland	Hringsdalur	Barðastrandarsýsla	2006-2011	Modern
S238	Iceland	Hrísar	Eyjafjarðarsýsla	1916	Antiquarian
S239	Iceland	Hrólfstaðir	Norður-Múlasýsla	1996	Modern
S240	Iceland	Hrollaugstaðir	Norður-Múlasýsla	1952	AntiqModern
S241	Iceland	Húsagarður	Rangárvallasýsla	1850	Antiquarian
S242	Iceland	Ingiriðarstaðir	Suður-Pingeyjarsýsla	2008-2015	Modern
S243	Iceland	Innri-Fagradalur	Dalasýsla	1881	Antiquarian
S244	Iceland	Kaldárhöfði	Árnessýsla	1946	AntiqModern
S245	Iceland	Kálfborgará	Suður-Pingeyjarsýsla	1869	Antiquarian
S246	Iceland	Kápa	Rangárvallasýsla	1860, 1883 and 1925	Antiquarian
S247	Iceland	Karlsnes	Rangárvallasýsla	1932	Antiquarian
S248	Iceland	Keldudalur	Skagafjarðarsýsla	2003	Modern

S249	Iceland	Ketilsstaðir	Norður-Múlasýsla	1938 and 1942	AntiqModern
S250	Iceland	Kirkjubær	Vestur-Skaftafellssýsla	1868-1894 and 1943	Mixed
S251	Iceland	Kleifar Strákatangi	Stranddásýsla	2009-2010	Modern
S252	Iceland	Knafahólar	Rangárvallasýsla	18th C	Antiquarian
S253	Iceland	Kolsholt	Árnessýsla	1958	Modern
S254	Iceland	Kornhóll	Vestmannaeyjar	1968 and 1992	Modern
S255	Iceland	Kornsa	Austur-Húnavatnssýsla	1879	Antiquarian
S256	Iceland	Kroppur	Eyjaíjarðarsýsla	1900	Antiquarian
S257	Iceland	Lækjarbakki	Eyjaíjarðarsýsla	1909	Antiquarian
S258	Iceland	Lækur	Árnessýsla	1969	Modern
S259	Iceland	Lambhagi	Rangárvallasýsla	1922	Antiquarian
S260	Iceland	Laufahvammur	Rangárvallasýsla	1880-1890	Antiquarian
S261	Iceland	Laufás	Suður-Pingeyjarsýsla	1900	Antiquarian
S262	Iceland	Laugarbrekka	Snæfellsnessýsla	1794	Antiquarian
S263	Iceland	Litli-Dunhagi	Eyjaíjarðarsýsla	1963	Modern
S264	Iceland	Ljótsstaðir	Skagafjarðarsýsla	1958	Modern
S265	Iceland	Lómatjörn	Suður-Pingeyjarsýsla	1930 and 1949	Mixed
S266	Iceland	Lyngbrekka Daðastaðir	Suður-Pingeyjarsýsla	2004	Modern
S267	Iceland	Miðhóp	Vestur-Húnavatnssýsla	1941	AntiqModern
S268	Iceland	Miklaholt	Árnessýsla	1840	Antiquarian
S269	Iceland	Miklibær	Skagafjarðarsýsla	1895-1896 and 1910	Antiquarian
S270	Iceland	Mjóidalur	Mýrasýsla	1837	Antiquarian
S271	Iceland	Möðruvellir	Eyjaíjarðarsýsla	1839	Antiquarian
S272	Iceland	Moldhaugar	Eyjaíjarðarsýsla	1908	Antiquarian
S273	Iceland	Mörk	Rangárvallasýsla	1936	AntiqModern
S274	Iceland	Narfastaðir	Suður-Pingeyjarsýsla	2012	Modern
S275	Iceland	Núpar	Suður-Pingeyjarsýsla	1915 and 2004-2010	Mixed
S276	Iceland	Öndverðarnes	Snæfellsnessýsla	1962	Modern
S277	Iceland	Ormsstaðir	Suður-Múlasýsla	1966	Modern
S278	Iceland	Öxnadalshéiði	Skagafjarðarsýsla	1962	Modern
S279	Iceland	Rangá	Norður-Múlasýsla	1915	Antiquarian
S280	Iceland	Rangá Eystri	Rangárvallasýsla	1818-1883 and 1954	Mixed
S281	Iceland	Reykjasel	Norður-Múlasýsla	1901 and 1918	Antiquarian
S282	Iceland	Rútsstaðir	Dalasýsla	Unknown	Unknown
S283	Iceland	Sakka	Eyjaíjarðarsýsla	1770	Antiquarian
S284	Iceland	Saltvík	Suður-Pingeyjarsýsla	2002-2004	Modern
S285	Iceland	Sauðanes	Austur-Húnavatnssýsla	1834	Antiquarian
S286	Iceland	Selfoss	Árnessýsla	1958 and 1962	Modern
S287	Iceland	Sílastaðir	Eyjaíjarðarsýsla	1947	AntiqModern
S288	Iceland	Skarðstangi	Rangárvallasýsla	1989	Modern
S289	Iceland	Skeljastaðir	Árnessýsla	1939	AntiqModern

S290	Iceland	Skerðingsstaðir	Barðastrandarsýsla	1898	Antiquarian
S291	Iceland	Skíðastaðir	Skagafjarðarsýsla	1946	AntiqModern
S292	Iceland	Skógar	Suður-Pingeyjarsýsla	1891	Antiquarian
S293	Iceland	Skógar	Borgarfjarðarsýsla	1903	Antiquarian
S294	Iceland	Smyrlaberg	Austur-Húnavatnssýsla	1952 and 1969	Mixed
S295	Iceland	Snæfoksstaðir	Árnessýsla	1832	Antiquarian
S296	Iceland	Snæhvammur	Suður-Múlasýsla	1892	Antiquarian
S297	Iceland	Snartarstaðir	Borgarfjarðarsýsla	1938	AntiqModern
S298	Iceland	Sólheimar	Skagafjarðarsýsla	1956	Modern
S299	Iceland	Staðartunga	Eyjafjarðarsýsla	1932 and 1962	Mixed
S300	Iceland	Stærri-Árskógur	Eyjafjarðarsýsla	1917	Antiquarian
S301	Iceland	Stafn	Austur-Húnavatnssýsla	1933	Antiquarian
S302	Iceland	Stóra-Hof	Rangárvallasýsla	1885	Antiquarian
S303	Iceland	Stóra-Sandfell	Suður-Múlasýsla	1982	Modern
S304	Iceland	Stóri-Klofi	Rangárvallasýsla	1933	Antiquarian
S305	Iceland	Stóri-Moshvoll	Rangárvallasýsla	1913	Antiquarian
S306	Iceland	Strandarhöfuð	Rangárvallasýsla	1951	AntiqModern
S307	Iceland	Straumfjörður	Mýrasýsla	1872	Antiquarian
S308	Iceland	Straumur	Norður-Múlasýsla	1952	AntiqModern
S309	Iceland	Sturluflötur	Norður-Múlasýsla	1901	Antiquarian
S310	Iceland	Surtsstaðir	Norður-Múlasýsla	1945	AntiqModern
S311	Iceland	Syðra-Kálfskinn	Eyjafjarðarsýsla	2005	Modern
S312	Iceland	Syðra-Krossanes	Eyjafjarðarsýsla	1963 and 1965	Modern
S313	Iceland	Syðri-Bakki Kumlholt	Eyjafjarðarsýsla	2006	Modern
S314	Iceland	Syðri-Hofdalir	Skagafjarðarsýsla	1951	AntiqModern
S315	Iceland	Syðri-Reistará	Eyjafjarðarsýsla	1936 and 1940	AntiqModern
S316	Iceland	Þjorsárdalur	Árnessýsla	1864	Antiquarian
S317	Iceland	Þóreyjarnúpur	Vestur-Húnavatnssýsla	1928	Antiquarian
S318	Iceland	Þorljótsstaðir	Skagafjarðarsýsla	1869 and 1948	Mixed
S319	Iceland	Þúfnavellir	Eyjafjarðarsýsla	1948	AntiqModern
S320	Iceland	Þverá	Suður-Pingeyjarsýsla	1945	AntiqModern
S321	Iceland	Tindar	Austur-Húnavatnssýsla	1937	AntiqModern
S322	Iceland	Traðarholt	Árnessýsla	1880	Antiquarian
S323	Iceland	Tyrðilmýri	Norður-Ísafjarðarsýsla	1932 and 1935	Mixed
S324	Iceland	Urriðaá	Vestur-Húnavatnssýsla	1946	AntiqModern
S325	Iceland	Vað	Suður-Múlasýsla	1894 and 1986	Mixed
S326	Iceland	Valþjófsstaðir	Norður-Múlasýsla	1800	Antiquarian
S327	Iceland	Vatnsdalur	Barðastrandarsýsla	1964	Modern
S328	Iceland	Vík	Skagafjarðarsýsla	1908	Antiquarian
S329	Iceland	Vindbelgur	Suður-Pingeyjarsýsla	1902	Antiquarian
S330	Iceland	Ystafell	Suður-Pingeyjarsýsla	1917	Antiquarian
S331	Iceland	Ytra-Garðshorn	Eyjafjarðarsýsla	1952	AntiqModern

S332	Iceland	Ytra-Hvarf	Eyjafjarðarsýsla	1949	AntiqModern
S333	Iceland	Ytri-Neslönd	Suður-Þingeyjarsýsla	1960	Modern
S334	Iceland	Ytri-Tjarnir	Eyjafjarðarsýsla	1925-1926	Antiquarian
S335	Ireland	Arklow/Three Mile Water	Wicklow	1901	Antiquarian
S336	Ireland	Athlumney	Meath	1848	Antiquarian
S337	Ireland	Ballyholme	Down	1903	Antiquarian
S338	Ireland	Barnhall	Kildare	1788	Antiquarian
S339	Ireland	Bride Street	Dublin	1860	Antiquarian
S340	Ireland	Castlerock	Derry	1886	Antiquarian
S341	Ireland	Church Bay	Antrim	1780, 1845 and 1983-1984	Antiquarian
S342	Ireland	Cloghermore	Kerry	1998	Modern
S343	Ireland	College Green	Dublin	1819, 1850 and 1855	Antiquarian
S344	Ireland	Cork Street, Dublin	Dublin	Before 1840	Antiquarian
S345	Ireland	Croghan Erin	Meath	1849	Antiquarian
S346	Ireland	Dollymount, Dublin	Dublin	1872	Antiquarian
S347	Ireland	Donnybrook	Dublin	1879	Antiquarian
S348	Ireland	Eyrephort	Galway	1947	AntiqModern
S349	Ireland	Finglas	Dublin	2004	Modern
S350	Ireland	Golden Lane	Dublin	2005	Modern
S351	Ireland	Inchicore	Dublin	1933 and 1989	Mixed
S352	Ireland	Islandbridge	Dublin	1860-2008	Mixed
S353	Ireland	Kildare Street, Dublin	Dublin	1885	Antiquarian
S354	Ireland	Kilmainham	Dublin	1785-1894	Antiquarian
S355	Ireland	Knoxpark	Sligo	1994	Modern
S356	Ireland	Larne	Antrim	1840	Antiquarian
S357	Ireland	Legar Hill	Armagh	1908	Antiquarian
S358	Ireland	Parnell Square	Dublin	1763, 1765 and 1795	Antiquarian
S359	Ireland	Phoenix Park	Dublin	Before 1846	Antiquarian
S360	Ireland	Ship Street Great	Dublin	2002	Modern
S361	Ireland	South Great George's Street	Dublin	2003	Modern
S362	Ireland	St John's Point	Down	1857	Antiquarian
S363	Ireland	The Murragh	Wicklow	1888	Antiquarian
S364	Ireland	Tibberaghney	Kilkenny	1851	Antiquarian
S365	Ireland	Woodstown	Waterford	2004	Modern
S366	Mann	Ballabrooie	Patrick	1964	Modern
S367	Mann	Ballachrink	Jurby	1880	Antiquarian
S368	Mann	Balladoole	Arbory	1940s	AntiqModern
S369	Mann	Balladoyne	German	1937	AntiqModern
S370	Mann	Ballateare	Jurby	1946	AntiqModern
S371	Mann	Ballaugh	Ballaugh	1824	Antiquarian
S372	Mann	Ballelby	Patrick	1850	Antiquarian
S374	Mann	Claghbane	Ramsey	1979	Modern
S375	Mann	Cronk Moar	Jurby	1939	AntiqModern
S376	Mann	Cronk yn How	Lezayre	1928	Antiquarian
S380	Mann	Kirk Braddan	Braddan	Unknown	Unknown
S381	Mann	Kirk Michael Churchyard	Michael	1885	Antiquarian
S382	Mann	Knock-y-Doonee	Andreas	1927	Antiquarian

S385	Mann	Malew Chruchyard	Malew	1854	Antiquarian
S386	Mann	Ronaldsway	Malew	1939	AntiqModern
S387	Mann	St John's Tynwald Hill	German	1848	Antiquarian
S388	Mann	St Maughold's Churchyard	Maughold	1824	Antiquarian
S389	Mann	St Patrick's Isle	Patrick	1815 and 1982-1987	Mixed
S390	Kaupang	Bikjholberget	Vestfold	1950-1957	AntiqModern
S391	Kaupang	Hagejordet	Vestfold	1955, 1974 and 1999-2003	Modern
S392	Kaupang	Lamøya	Vestfold	1902 and 1950-1956	Mixed
S393	Kaupang	Misc. Kaupang	Vestfold	1842, 1859, 1867 and 1889	Antiquarian
S394	Kaupang	Nordre	Vestfold	1859 and 1965	Mixed
S395	Kaupang	Søndre	Vestfold	1859	Antiquarian
S396	Scotland	Ardskinish, Colonsay	Inner Hebrides	1891	Antiquarian
S397	Scotland	Ardvonrig, Barra	Outer Hebrides	1862	Antiquarian
S399	Scotland	Ballinaby, Islay	Inner Hebrides	1772-1932	Antiquarian
S400	Scotland	Ballindalloch	Morayshire	1829	Antiquarian
S401	Scotland	Balnakeil	Sutherland	1991	Modern
S402	Scotland	Barra	Outer Hebrides	1888	Antiquarian
S403	Scotland	Boiden, Lower Bridge of Froom	Argyll And Bute	1851	Antiquarian
S404	Scotland	Braeswick, Lamba Ness, Sanday	Inner Hebrides	Before 1914	Antiquarian
S405	Scotland	Broch of Gurness	Orkney	1932	Antiquarian
S406	Scotland	Broch of Lamaness	Orkney	1914	Antiquarian
S407	Scotland	Buckquoy	Orkney	1970	Modern
S408	Scotland	Càrn a' Bharraich, Oronosay	Inner Hebrides	1891	Antiquarian
S409	Scotland	Castletown	Caithness	1786	Antiquarian
S410	Scotland	Clibberswick, Unst	Shetland	1863	Antiquarian
S411	Scotland	Clivocast, Unst	Shetland	1875	Antiquarian
S412	Scotland	Cnip, Uig	Outer Hebrides	1979, 1992-1994	Modern
S413	Scotland	Cnoc nan Gall, Colonsay	Inner Hebrides	1902 and 2010	Mixed
S414	Scotland	Cornaiberg, Tiree	Inner Hebrides	1700s	Antiquarian
S415	Scotland	Cruach Mhor, Islay	Inner Hebrides	1958	Modern
S416	Scotland	Dunrobin Castle	Sutherland	1851, 1855 and pre 1940	Antiquarian
S417	Scotland	Finstown	Orkney	Before 1940	Antiquarian
S418	Scotland	From Colonsay, Islay	Inner Hebrides	Before 1940	Antiquarian
S420	Scotland	From Eriskay	Outer Hebrides	1700s	Antiquarian
S421	Scotland	From Langay	Outer Hebrides	Before 1848	Antiquarian
S422	Scotland	From Mull	Inner Hebrides	Before 1877	Antiquarian
S423	Scotland	From one of the Orkney Islands	Orkney	1902	Antiquarian
S424	Scotland	From Orkney	Orkney	Before 1874	Antiquarian
S425	Scotland	From Orkneys or Hebrides	Orkney	Before 1888	Antiquarian
S426	Scotland	From South Uist	Outer Hebrides	1870	Antiquarian
S427	Scotland	From Tiree	Inner Hebrides	Before 1872	Antiquarian
S428	Scotland	From Unst 1	Shetland	1861	Antiquarian
S431	Scotland	From West of Ensay	Outer Hebrides	1716	Antiquarian

S432	Scotland	Gordon Bay	Argyll And Bute	Before 1940	Unknown
S433	Scotland	Gyron Hill	Orkney	1885	Antiquarian
S434	Scotland	Haimer	Caithness	Before 1874	Antiquarian
S435	Scotland	Housegord, Weisdale	Shetland	1862	Antiquarian
S436	Scotland	Howe, Cairnton	Orkney	1870	Antiquarian
S437	Scotland	Huna	Caithness	1935 and 1950	AntiqModern
S438	Scotland	Kildonan, Eigg	Inner Hebrides	1830, 1861, 1875 and pre 1876	Antiquarian
S439	Scotland	Kiloran Bay, Colonsay	Inner Hebrides	1882	Antiquarian
S440	Scotland	King's Cross Point	North Ayrshire	Before 1908	Antiquarian
S441	Scotland	Lamaness, Sanday	Orkney	1878	Antiquarian
S442	Scotland	Links of Skaill	Orkney	1888	Antiquarian
S443	Scotland	Lochan Kill Mhor, Oronsay	Inner Hebrides	1891	Antiquarian
S444	Scotland	Longhills, Westerseat	Caithness	1837	Antiquarian
S445	Scotland	Lyking	Orkney	Before 1872	Antiquarian
S446	Scotland	Machrins, Colonsay	Inner Hebrides	1891 and 1977	Mixed
S447	Scotland	Millhill	North Ayrshire	1896	Antiquarian
S448	Scotland	Newton Distillery, Islay	Inner Hebrides	1845	Antiquarian
S449	Scotland	Nisabost, Harris	Outer Hebrides	1994 and 2009	Modern
S450	Scotland	Ospisdale House	Sutherland	1840	Antiquarian
S451	Scotland	Pierowall, Westray	Orkney	1839-1851	Antiquarian
S452	Scotland	Reay	Caithness	1912 and 1926	Antiquarian
S453	Scotland	Scar	Orkney	1991	Modern
S454	Scotland	St Cuthbert's Churchyard	Dumfries And Galloway	Before 1940	Antiquarian
S455	Scotland	St Kilda	Outer Hebrides	Before 1873	Antiquarian
S456	Scotland	St Olaf's White Ness	Shetland	1938	AntiqModern
S457	Scotland	St Peter's, Thurso	Caithness	1896	Antiquarian
S458	Scotland	Stenness	Orkney	1854 and 1902	Antiquarian
S459	Scotland	Styes of Brough	Orkney	Before 1874 and 1998	Mixed
S460	Scotland	Sumburgh	Shetland	1940s	AntiqModern
S461	Scotland	Sweindrow, Rousay	Orkney	1826	Antiquarian
S462	Scotland	Swordle Bay, Ardnamurchan	Argyll And Bute	2011	Modern
S463	Scotland	Tarbet, Gigha	Inner Hebrides	1849	Antiquarian
S464	Scotland	Torbeckhill	Dumfries and Galloway	1913	Antiquarian
S465	Scotland	Tote Skeabost, Skye	Inner Hebrides	1922	Antiquarian
S466	Scotland	Valtos, Isle of Lewis	Outer Hebrides	1915	Antiquarian
S467	Scotland	Westness, Rousay	Orkney	1968-1984	Modern
S468	Scotland	Wick of Aith, Fetlar	Shetland	Before 1873 and 2003	Mixed

Catalogue of Multiple Burials

This catalogue outlines the evidence for Viking Age multiple burials from the Scandinavian urban centres of Kaupang and Hedeby, and those throughout the western lands of the Scandinavian diaspora, including Britain, Ireland and Iceland. Every confirmed and possible multiple burial identified up to the year 2016 was analysed for the present work and the data is presented here. Each burial is described based on the archaeological evidence at hand and presents the major interpretations posited by previous scholars. A great number of burials outlined here were discovered, recorded or disturbed by local people or antiquarians as early as the seventeenth century, while others in the database were recovered and preserved using professional archaeological methods as recently as 2016. All of the burials have unique taphonomic histories during which environmental and human factors invariably played a major role, leaving behind the fragmented and often ambiguous remains of burials. Where conflicting data is provided by various authors, that which will be adopted in this thesis is made clear.

The descriptions of each burial have been standardised as far as possible for ease of comparison and will include a brief description of the site and its discovery, description of the internal and external structures of the burials, the human and animal remains contained within (see key in Table 16), and the associated grave goods and other features of note, finishing with an outline of previous interpretation. The burial sites are ordered by country, starting with England, and lists all multiple burials in alphabetical order based on the name of the site in which it originates, or by which it is generally known. In the case of the

Scandinavian cemetery sites and the few cemeteries that exist in the West, burials will be listed in numerical order of their modern excavation identifier—at Kaupang this starts with Ka. (in line with Stylegar 2007) and those from Hedeby and the West are prefixed with Gr. Following the site name and grave there is a unique identifier [G000] specific to its inclusion in this study's database. A summary of the data for each burial can be found in Appendix 6.

Key
M=male sex, F= female sex
M*= male gender, F*=female gender
YJ, OJ, UJ, Ad, YA, MA, OA UA as per age-bands outlined in Appendix 2
Unspec. = Unspecified
Unk. = Unknown

Table 16. Key to MNI data in Catalogue of Multiple Burials.

ENGLAND and THE ISLE OF MAN



Figure 2. Map of English and Manx multiple burial sites discussed in the text.

Aspatria, Cumbria [G102]

Data Quality: Fair

Burial Sequence: Antecedent

Certainty: Possible

Spatial Configuration: Different Context

MNI: Two Viking Age individuals (Adult Male* and Adult Female?), possible prehistoric individual

Date: L9th – E10th century

Structure: Mound

Contexts: Cist (M* VA inhumation)

Earth cut (F? VA inhumation)

Unknown (prehistoric)

Assoc. Features: NA

Detail of this burial was originally published by Hayman Rooke based on information derived from the amateur excavation of a barrow carried out in 1789 by Mr Rigg, both the landowner and a keen antiquarian. Rigg described opening a mound located on the summit of Beacon Hill, which was approx. 27.4m in circumference and approx. 1.8m in height. Within the mound was a stone-lined grave or cist, containing the remains of a human skeleton and an assortment of grave goods. According to Rigg's account, two of the stones that formed the western side of the cist exhibited "emblematical figures in rude sculpture" (Rooke 1789:113). Harrison suggests that these carvings may actually be of Bronze Age date and were probably repurposed from a monument nearby (2008:531). At the skeleton's right shoulder was a sword and at his left was a spearhead (originally misidentified as a dagger). Near the spearhead was a buckle and strap end of Carolingian type. Also found within the cist were an axe, a horse bit, spur and the remains of wood, which is assumed to have once formed a shield.

Further excavation carried out in 1997 by Northern Archaeological Associates recovered the remains of a pit (006), which could possibly be the cist found in 1789 (Abramson 2000). The cut was oriented E-W and measured 190cm long, 80cm wide and 40cm deep. The cut contained several stones and the irregular southern edge suggests a larger stone had once been embedded at the side of the cut.

The excavation team also revealed the remains of a further pit (003) located approximately 4m to the south of the original grave. This feature was oriented NE-SW and measured 180cm long and 105cm wide, with a maximum depth of 80cm. Fragments of human bone found within the fill belonged to an adult, and possibly a female based on the gracility of the remains. Among the items recovered were a copper alloy ringed pin, an iron buckle, folding knife, spur and axe head.

Abramson has suggested that the additional pit recovered in 1997 should be thought of as the 'scraps' of the original cist excavated by Rigg, due to the obviously disturbed and fragmented human remains recovered and the complementary nature of the two artefact assemblages. But, Abramson also concedes that no stone was found in the second pit while pit 006 appeared to have been lined with large stones, more in line with the account given by Rooke.

This burial is usually interpreted as a single burial (Abramson 2000:87; Edwards 1998:8; Harrison 2008:531), but the true configuration of this burial mound remains unclear and three interpretations are possible. Firstly, the mound may have contained the single burial of a VA male with weapons in a cist, covered by a mound which was constructed in the BA but not used for any BA burial. Or secondly, one of the graves, either pit 003 or 006, was used for a BA burial while

the other was used for the VA individual. Or thirdly, that pit 006 was the grave excavated by Rigg, in which a VA individual was interred in a cist that may have originally contained a destroyed BA inhumation or unnoticed BA cremation burial— like many other re-used burial mounds in the north of England and Scotland— while pit 003 contained a further VA inhumation of a (possibly female) adult. This last interpretation is the one followed here, due to the similarity of the grave structure between Rigg’s cist and pit 006.

Joy Langston assessed the osteological material recovered from pit 003 and reports that the small size of the bones may be suggestive of a female— although not certainly— (Abramson 2000:80-81), which seems to contrast greatly with Rigg’s original observation related by Rooke that the cist contained a “skeleton of a man, which measured seven feet from head to the ancle [sic] bone” (Rooke 1789:112). Although the individual probably did not actually stand at 2.1m tall, one would assume that the remains looked quite robust for Rigg to give such a grand estimation of the deceased’s stature. The lack of recognisably female-gendered objects in pit 003 may be cause for doubt, however it should be kept in mind that almost all osteologically sexed females in Viking Age graves across England did not contain any gender-specific items, such as oval brooches or spindle whorls. In fact, the most common items recovered with osteologically sexed females in this sample are knives, of which one was found in pit 003.

Cambois, Northumberland [G126]

Data Quality: Poor Burial Sequence: Unknown
Certainty: Confident Spatial Configuration: Same Context

MNI: Three Viking Age individuals (Older Adult Female, Young Adult Male and a Middle Adult Male)

Date: 9th – M10th century

Structure: Mound

Contexts: Cist (all three VA inhumations)

Assoc. Features: Stone setting around body

During 1859, a cist burial containing the remains of three individuals was discovered in a mound on the eastern side of the River Wansbeck. Inside the cist, an enamelled disc brooch was found lying by a skeleton interred in an extended supine position, oriented E-W (with the head to the east) and surrounded by a border of stones.

The account of this burial is quite confusing. Despite mentioning three skeletons, the original record only describes the layout of a single individual, so it is unclear whether all three were found in the cist or whether two skeletons were buried elsewhere in the mound. The skulls of all three individuals are the only skeletal material to have survived for analysis, which indicates that they represent two males and a female. The female was aged between 45 and 60 years old, while the two men were younger, one being approximately 20-30 at time of death while the other was about 40-50 years of age.

Also found in the burial was a bone comb, however its precise location is unknown. The comb appears to date to the tenth century while the disc brooch

is likely to be from the ninth century, however there is disagreement as to the manufacturing origin of the brooch and comb, meaning that the typological chronologies given could be incorrect. In any case, for the purposes of this study the burial has been interpreted as a mounded cist burial containing the remains of three likely VA inhumations.

Claughton Hall, Lancashire [G134]

Data Quality: Fair Burial Sequence: Antecedent
Certainty: Confident Spatial Configuration: Different Context

MNI: One Viking Age individual (Male* of unknown age) and one Bronze Age individual

Date: 10th century

Structure: Mound
Contexts: Urned cremation deposit (U BA cremation)
 Coffin (M* VA inhumation)
Assoc. Features: NA

It is unclear whether this burial contains the graves of two or three people. It was discovered in 1822 when a small sand mound was cut through in the course of road building. Approximately 0.6 to .9m below the contemporary surface, a clay vessel containing burnt bone was uncovered along with a wooden box—possibly a chest, small chamber or coffin— enclosing a pair of gilt copper-alloy oval brooches and various iron objects, including a sword, spear, axe and stone axe hammer.

While no skeletal remains were recovered with the VA grave goods, the weaponry suggests the inhumed was a male. The presence of the stone axe hammer has caused some to interpret the clay urn as a BA cremation to which a VA inhumation was later added, however, Harrison (2008:538) believes that the stone axe hammer, which was said to be have found inside the wooden box with the other VA grave goods, should be seen in the context of the VA male's burial and probably had symbolic significance, perhaps linked to the cult of Thor.

The circumstances in which the two of oval brooches were recovered is quite peculiar. The pair were found placed back to back and wrapped up in cloth, encasing two beads, a Carolingian silver mount repurposed as a brooch, and a molar tooth. The find has led some, most notably Shetelig and Bjørn (1940:15-18), to interpret this as the remnants of a female burial and therefore a double VA interment, especially as the brooch package appeared to be somewhat separate to the rest of the male's grave goods. However, this package could also have served as a keepsake of the man's wife (Edwards 1969) or had amuletic properties for the man (Richards 2003). Harrison suggests that the conservators may have mistook the imprints of cloth they recovered to have been an external wrapping rather than the remains of a female's dress on the inside surface, supporting the case for the presence of a female burial. Without further detail regarding the recovery of the brooches, either scenario cannot be proven. While there are cases of oval brooches being deposited in the same manner with inhumations, like that at Reay which were most certainly buried with a female, the same type of brooch deposit at Ballyholme in Ireland was not found in association with an inhumation (although fragmented bone was recovered). There are, however, some instances of oval brooches being used as containers like that at Claughton Hall, particularly in the case of grave Ka.16 [G2161] at Kaupang, in which one oval brooch was used as a cremation urn, found containing burnt bone and ash.

In the face of such ambiguity, the Claughton Hall burial is interpreted here as a BA mound erected for an urned cremation to which only one VA inhumation was subsequently added— a male with a package of oval brooches, of whatever function (keepsake, ritual or other).

Heath Wood Ingleby, Derbyshire

Mound 50 [G162]

Data Quality: Excellent Burial Sequence: Contemporary
Certainty: Confident Spatial Configuration: Same Context

MNI: Two Viking Age individuals (Adult Female and Infant)

Date: AD 870–880s

Structure: Mound

Contexts: Loose cremation deposit (F VA cremation and Infant VA cremation)

Assoc. Features: Cremation Hearth/Pyre Remains; Boulders

The cemetery at Heath Wood in Derbyshire is the only known Scandinavian cremation cemetery in the British Isles and contains fifty-nine burial mounds, although some of the mounds excavated between 1855 and 1955 were thought to have been empty cenotaph mounds by their excavators (Posnansky 1995; Richards et al. 1995).

Excavations between 1998 and 2000 (Richards et al. 2004) revealed that one barrow, Mound 50, contained the cremated remains of two individuals; an adult female aged between 18-45 years old and an infant. The cremation deposit comprised an oval area (approximately 4m in length and 3m in width) of blackened sand and charcoal, in which fragments of burnt bone were embedded. This layer was up to 50mm thick and sat directly upon the clean sand levelling deposit. The cremation hearth was buried under a thick deposit of sandy clay, up to 0.7m thick on the centre of the mound.

An unburnt cow skull was found lying immediately above the level of the cremation hearth but offset to one side. The cremated remains of a whole dog and whole horse were present, as well parts of a pig, a sheep or goat and an ox. It appears that the human bone and artefacts were removed from the pyre site and the animal bone evidence implies that the animal remains were also intentionally collected. Among the grave goods, which included a small knife and nails and fittings from a possible shield and/or chest, was a sword hilt grip which had been heat damaged and deliberately mutilated.

Hook Norton, Oxfordshire [G167]

Data Quality: Poor

Burial Sequence: Unknown

Certainty: Possible

Spatial Configuration: Different Context

MNI: Two Viking Age individuals (of unknown sex/gender and age)

Date: L9th century

Structure: Mound

Contexts: Earth cut (VA inhumation)

Earth cut (VA inhumation)

Assoc. Features: NA

Information pertaining to this burial is scant. The burial was discovered in 1848 in a cottage garden or orchard in the village of Hook Norton in Oxfordshire, approximately 220m to the south of an existing churchyard. Here, the remains of two skeletons were found approximately a meter underground. They were said to have been found under a mound that may have originally been 2.4 to 2.7m tall, although it is more likely this description is of the mound's diameter rather than height (Harrison 2008:590).

The first skeleton was said to have been of a very large size while there are no details of the second skeleton, except that a hoard of 23 coins were found all sticking together, under or beside both of the skeletons, indicating they lay close together. The coins recovered are thought to have been deposited around AD 875 or a few years later (Biddle & Blair 1987: 193). Also located, but perhaps at a later date, was a Hiberno-Viking silver arm ring which Graham-Campbell suggested could have come from the Hook Norton burial, but he has since changed his mind (2001:116). He has also suggested that the burial fits well with the known movements of Guthrum's army from Cambridge to Dorset in AD 875–876 or could also be related to the battle of Edington in AD 878 (2001:115).

Repton, Derbyshire

Gr.360-363 [G192]

Data Quality: Excellent Burial Sequence: Contemporary
Certainty: Confident Spatial Configuration: Same Context

MNI: Four Viking Age individuals (3x Older Juveniles and 1x Adolescent)
Date: AD 872–885

Structure: Post marker with square stone setting
Contexts: Earth cut (all four inhumations)
Assoc. Features: Charnel mass grave

Several Viking Age burials, located in the gardens surrounding St Wystan's church at Repton in Derbyshire and excavated in the 1980s, have been attributed to the over- wintering of the Great Army in AD 873 to 874 (Biddle & Kjølbye-Biddle 1992). Grave 360-363 contained the skeletal remains of four juveniles in a rectangular grave cut measuring 200cm long and 60cm wide. Placed in an extended supine position at the bottom of the cut was an 8-12-year-old child, over which were placed the crouched remains of another two children of roughly the same age, as well as the crouched remains of an adolescent individual aged approximately 17 years-old. The only object in the grave was a sheep's jaw placed at the east end of the burial.

The grave, possibly marked by a timber post secured by a square stone setting at the southern edge of its cut, was located on the edge of the well-known 'charnel deposit' mound. The charnel deposit was found in what was probably originally a free-standing mausoleum but levelled to its foundations during the Viking encampment, and subsequently filled with the disarticulated remains of

approximately 264 individuals— mostly males aged between 15 and 45 years old— and subsequently covered by a cairn and a kerbed mound.

The close spatial and temporal connection between the mound and the multiple burial of the four youths in grave 360-363 has been interpreted as a sacrificial burial associated with the creation of the charnel mound (Biddle and Kjølbye-Biddle 2001:74; Jarman et al. 2018:4).

Gr.83/84 [G194]

Data Quality: Excellent	Burial Sequence: Contemporary
Certainty: Confident	Spatial Configuration: Different Context

MNI: Two Viking Age individuals (Older Adult Male and Young Adult Male)
Date: AD 870–880s

Structure: Flat grave earth cut
Contexts: Coffin (M VA inhumation)
Coffin (M VA inhumation)
Assoc. Features: NA

Grave 83/84 contained the remains of two men, each interred in their own coffin but placed side-by-side in the same large earth cut that was oriented E-W. The man in the southern coffin was approx. 50 years old and was buried wearing a gold ring on his third finger, while the man in the northern coffin, aged approx. 20 years old, was not interred with any grave goods. The placement of an older male next to a younger male is echoed in Gr.295/511, discussed below.

Gr.295/511 [G196]

Data Quality: Excellent	Burial Sequence: Consecutive
Certainty: Confident	Spatial Configuration: Different Context

MNI: Two Viking Age individuals (Middle Adult Male and Adolescent Male)
Date: AD 873–886

Structure: Square stone setting with post marker
Contexts: Earth cut (M VA inhumation)
Earth cut (M VA inhumation)
Assoc. Features: NA

Grave 295/511 contained the remains of two men, each interred in their own earth cut but both covered with a square setting of broken stones, which included a fragment of an Anglo-Saxon cross-shaft, measuring 180cm long and 180cm wide. A 30cm square post-hole, thought to have supported a substantial wooden grave marker, was simultaneously placed at the mid-point of the eastern side of the stone setting (which may have been used to guide its creation) and centrally between the two graves.

Grave 511 was the first burial to be made and contained a male aged at least 35-40. He lay in an extended supine position with his head to the west and his hands placed together on his pelvis. He wore a necklace of two glass beads and a silver Thor's hammer and a belt with a copper alloy buckle. By his left leg was an iron sword which had been deliberately broken at the point and deposited within a fleece-lined scabbard. By the sword were two knives and an iron key. Between his upper thighs, a wild boar's tusk had been placed, while a jackdaw (*Corvus monedula*) humerus was found between his lower thighs, possibly deposited in small box or bag.

The male had met a violent end. He had suffered numerous injuries in his final moments, exhibiting several cuts to the arm and jaw, while his lower vertebrae also showed slashes that could only have been inflicted from within the stomach

cavity itself, suggesting he was disembowelled. Additionally, each of his toes and both of his heels had also been split lengthways with a sharp implement. There is some conjecture as to how the man died; some now believe he had been killed by the thrust of a sharp implement (probably a sword point) into his eye, which pierced the orbital socket and penetrated into the brain, while it was originally reported that his death was caused by receiving a massive cut to the top of his left femur, simultaneously severing his femoral artery and removing his genitals in a single blow.

Grave 295 was made soon after the grave marker was raised for grave 511. It contained the remains of a young man aged between 17-20 years old who had been buried with a knife. He too had been killed by trauma to the head— a cut to the right side of his skull while his post-cranial bones indicated he had lived a strenuous life. The young male was placed at the left side of the older man, which is the same positioning observed in grave 83/84 [G194].

Sandford Moor, Cumbria [G201]

Data Quality: Poor

Burial Sequence: Antecedent

Certainty: Possible

Spatial Configuration: Different Context

MNI: One Viking Age individual (Male* of unknown age) and a possible prehistoric individual

Date: Unknown

Structure: Mound

Contexts: Urned cremation deposit (M* VA cremation)

Loose cremation deposit (prehistoric cremation)

Assoc. Features: NA

This burial mound lay beside the old Roman road from Brough to Carlisle and was opened some time during the late eighteenth century (Preston 1775). It was said to contain at least two individuals; the initial grave seems to have been an unfurnished loose cremation deposit, covered by a layer of sand and a cairn of stones, above which (approx. 1m) was placed an urn appearing to contain ashes, which had been placed inside a further pottery vessel. To one side and slightly lower, directly above the original loose cremation deposit was a sword with a decorated hilt, one or two spearheads and another iron fragment, possibly from a shield. Due to the antiquity of the discovery and lack of description of the grave goods (upon which to ascertain the burial's VA date), it is difficult to state with any certainty whether the mound contained a subsequent Viking cremation, although close parallels can be made with Claughton Hall [G134], and other possibly reused prehistoric burial mounds in Scotland (Finstown [G2278], Housegord [G2297], Stenness [G2350] and Tote Skeabost [G2358]).

Santon Downham, Norfolk [G202]

Data Quality: Poor Burial Sequence: Unknown
Certainty: Possible Spatial Configuration: Same Context

MNI: Two Viking Age individuals (M* and F* of unknown age)

Date: L9th – E10th century

Structure: Flat grave

Contexts: Plain earth cut (both inhumations)

Assoc. Features: NA

This burial, located on the slope of a hill to north of a church and near to the River Ouse, was discovered in 1867, however very little information regarding its composition is available. It was reported that a skeleton was found 60cm below ground that was accompanied by a sword of JP type L (a Late Anglo-Saxon type) and a pair of oval brooches of Rygh 652 type. The typologies of these objects indicate that the burial dates to the early tenth century.

While no second skeleton was observed, this burial has been interpreted by most as a double burial of a male and female— “this must have been a Scandinavian couple who settled in East Anglia during the period 878-917 when it was under Danish rule after the treaty between Alfred and Guthrum” (Evison 1969:342). However, the deposition of oval brooches in the absence of an inhumation or cremation could be seen in the same light as those found in the Claughton Hall burial [G134] (Richards 2010:115).

Sedgeford, Norfolk

S0025 and S0027 [G204]

Data Quality: Excellent Burial Sequence: Consecutive
Certainty: Confident Spatial Configuration: Same Context

MNI: Two Viking Age individuals (Young Adult Female and a child)

Date: 8th – 9th century

Structure: Flat grave

Contexts: Plain earth cut (both inhumations)

Assoc. Features: Horse buried with female

This burial is most probably of Viking Age date, despite the absence of any grave goods upon which to support a date. Discovered during excavation of a Mid to Late Saxon cemetery in 1997 (Faulkner & Hammond 1997), a plain earth cut grave was found to contain the skeleton of a 30-year-old female resting her head on the hind of a 5-year-old horse. The inclusion of a horse in a grave within a Late-Saxon Christian context is particularly unusual, which has led most scholars to agree that this grave is probably of a female from a resident Anglo-Scandinavian community. The female was laid out in a extended supine position oriented E-W (with her head in the west) while the horse was laid perpendicularly in a N-S orientation.

Although the burial was reported to lack any grave goods, more recent analysis has revealed that fragments of pottery, oyster shell and quern stone were found, as well as the skeletal remains of a minimum of one cow (toe/ phalanx), two sheep, one pig (humerus), and one chicken, which have been interpreted as the remains of food offerings or a ritual meal (Cross 2011:202).

At a later date, a child was interred in the same cut to the north of the female, truncating the upper body of the horse in the process, also laying in an extended supine position, oriented E-W (with the head in the west). No grave goods were found in direct association with child, although it is entirely possible that some of the fragmented inclusions described above were linked with the juvenile's burial.

Sonning, Berkshire [G206]

Data Quality: Fair	Burial Sequence: Contemporary
Certainty: Possible	Spatial Configuration: Same Context

MNI: Two Viking Age individuals (Two Young Adult Males)

Date: L9th – E10th century

Structure: Flat grave

Contexts: Plain earth cut (both VA inhumations)

Assoc. Features: NA

This burial was located approximately 275m from the River Thames at Play Hatch (although the name Sonning is more commonly associated with this burial) and was discovered in 1966, when a quarry worker noticed a sword projecting from the load of gravel in the bucket of his machine. Upon further inspection of the gravel bank from which the load had been taken, he found the rest of the sword blade, together with the remains of two skeletons of young men with a ring-headed pin of Celtic origin, an Anglo-Saxon knife and six arrowheads. Both individuals were found to be male, aged around 20 years old.

The first male was of relatively large stature for the period (180cm) while the second man's stature was more average at 170cm. The ring-headed pin was probably buried with the second man, as a bronze stain on his hip bone suggests that he was wearing a cloak fastened at the hip by the pin. Evison (1969:342) has imagined the men could have been early Viking raiders who died in attacks launched from boats which had been rowed up the Thames, or more specifically may be related to the Viking army based at Reading for the attacks on Wessex around the years AD 870—871.

Isle of Man

Balladoole, Arbory [G2010]

Data Quality: Excellent Burial Sequence: Unknown
Certainty: Confident Spatial Configuration: Same Context

MNI: Two Viking Age individuals (Unspec. Adult Male and Unspec. Adult Female)

Date: L9th – E10th century

Structure: Mound with post-marker

Contexts: Boat/ship (both VA inhumations)

Assoc. Features: Cairn; Boulders; Charcoal layer (over burial)

This burial was excavated in the 1940s by the German archaeologist Gerhard Bersu while he was interned on Man during the Second World War, and his detail-rich notes were later published posthumously by David Wilson in 1966. In the course of investigating an Iron Age enclosure located on a slight prominence overlooking Bay ny Carrickey, Bersu and company discovered an early Christian cemetery containing numerous lintel graves, as well as the eroded remains of a Viking Age boat burial. Originally covered by an earth mound at least 12m in length and 5m wide, it was only 70cm tall at the time of Bersu's excavation. Inside, an 11m long boat had been pulled into a shallow cut, surrounded by kerbstones and then capped at each end with a large boulder.

Laying in an extended supine position in the southwest end of the boat was an adult male, approximately 176cm tall and surrounded by numerous grave goods. His shield had been placed over his knees, while a ringed pin (also at his knees) was probably used to fasten a shroud. He was also furnished with a

cauldron, a flint and a knife, while a horse harness and stirrups were placed near to his head and a pair of spurs were placed at his feet.

Amongst the male's skeleton was found the incomplete remains of an adult female which have been interpreted as the 'Viking's woman' (Bersu and Wilson 1966:7). Because the boat burial disturbed some earlier lintel graves, some argue that the female's remains should be considered intrusive and not part of the burial proper. In support of this argument is that no grave goods can be clearly associated with her, however, the grave good assemblage was also lacking in offensive weapons, such as a sword or a spearhead, which one may expect to find in a burial of this nature. Moreover, a great number of female burials dated to this period also do not bear evidence of gender-specific objects, like brooches, so the adage holds— absence of evidence is not evidence of absence. Consequently, it should be considered probable that this burial was made for a male and a female.

Cremated animal bone was found above the two individuals in the boat containing the remains of at least one dog, cow or ox, sheep, goat, pig and cat, while the presence of the harness suggests a horse was interred also. The cremated animal bone was probably dispersed before or during the erection of the mound, which was then capped with a cairn while a large wooden post marker was placed at the edge of the mound, just outside the prow of the boat.

Ballateare, Jurby [G2012]

Data Quality: Excellent Burial Sequence: Contemporary
Certainty: Confident Spatial Configuration: Different Context

MNI: Two Viking Age individuals (adolescent/young adult male and young adult female)

Date: L9th – E10th century

Structure: Mound with post-marker

Contexts: Earth cut containing Coffin (M VA inhumation)
Platform/Floor (F VA inhumation)

Assoc. Features: Charcoal layer (over female body and platform)

Also excavated by Bersu, a substantial mound of approximately 12m diameter and measuring 3m in height was excavated at Killane farm in the parish of Jurby. It was found to contain the remains of two individuals interred at different levels within the mound but were most probably carried out at the same funerary event.

Firstly, a male aged 18–30 years old was placed in a coffin in the centre of a mound. The mound was specially constructed of non-local, individual sods (potentially representing the male's land holdings) and a platform was constructed above his coffin. On the platform was placed a 20 to 30-year-old female whose death was brought about in a manner which causes some to argue that she was a human sacrifice, and possibly a slave. A portion of her skull's parietal bone was cleaved off by a sharp and heavy instrument (the cleaved portion was not recovered), while the positioning of her body and raised arms indicate that rigor mortis had set in before she was buried. She was placed upon the southern part of the platform in the upper level of the mound, upon which cremated animal bone was dispersed.

The 'unceremonious' nature of her burial and the condition of her remains leads some to interpret this burial in a negative sense, highlighting "how little she was regarded in death" and conjecturing that the woman must have been "valued on the same scale as the animals" (Wilson 2008:33).

SCOTLAND

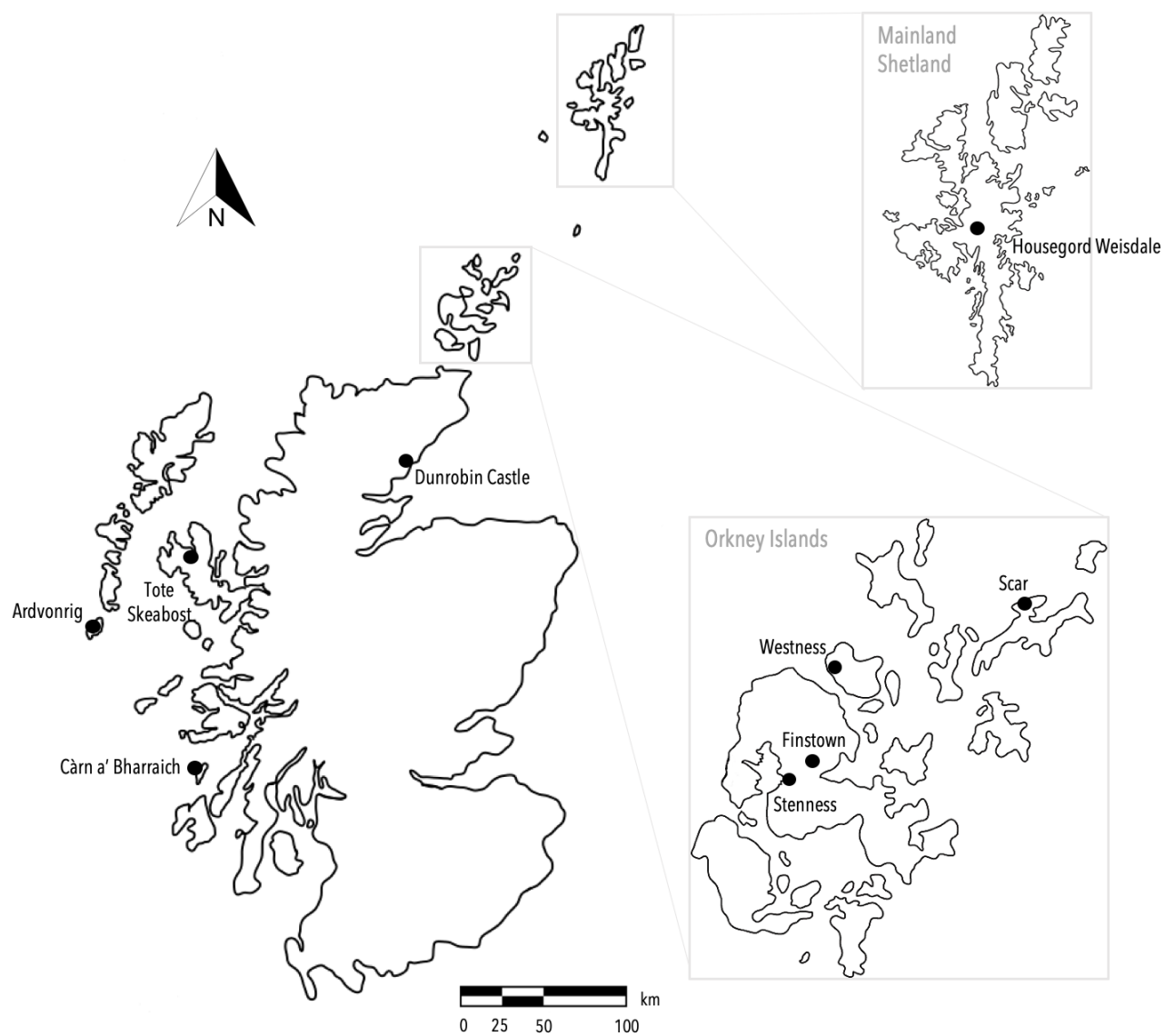


Figure 3. Map of Scottish multiple burial sites discussed in the text.

Ardvonrig, Barra, Outer Hebrides [G2237]

Data Quality: Fair Burial Sequence: Unknown
Certainty: Possible Spatial Configuration: Unknown

MNI: Two Viking Age individuals (Middle to Older Adult Male and Female* of unknown age)

Date: L9th – E10th century

Structure: Mound with Standing Stone

Contexts: Earth Cut (M inhumation)

 Unknown (F* unknown)

Assoc. Features: NA

This burial, sometimes known to as Ardvouray, was discovered in 1862 when Commander Edge, who was investigating an area populated by standing stones during his survey of the Hebrides, took a closer inspection of one such standing stone embedded in ‘a tumulus of sand’. Upon excavation, Edge recovered a skeleton ‘3ft’ (or 0.9m) below the surface and orientated NNW-SSE.

There are numerous conflicting accounts of the grave good assemblage recovered in relation to the remains. Curle asserted in 1914 that “a sword, the remains of a shield, portions of buckles, a whetstone, and a comb of boxwood” were found beside the skeleton based upon Edge’s original description (Curle 1914:308). However, during Harrison’s (2008:490-491) review of this burial and its artefacts, he has suggested that the sword may have been a weaving sword, the shield boss may have been a heckle, and that drinking horn mounts may have been mistaken for ‘portions of buckles’. He also notes that a number of other items were also found close to the body, including an oval brooch, a schist whetstone, and a clam shell, although these are not described in the earliest accounts of 1862 or 1914. Harrison states that all of the artefacts had formed a

discrete corpus when observed by Grieg around 1940, however he believes that Grieg (1940:72-73) mistakenly documented a second oval brooch— “thus creating a ‘second’ woman’s grave” (Harrison 2008:490). It is unclear when the weaving sword and shears were first associated with the assemblage, as Harrison states that it was only in 1998 that Graham-Campbell and Batey (1998:82-83) published their existence.

The original description of a sword in relation to a human skeleton has caused many to think this burial was that of a male, however the introduction of a pair of oval brooches to the assemblage by Grieg speaks of the presence of a female. Thus, this burial has historically been conceived as a possible multiple burial of a male and female, and it is that interpretation which is followed here.

Càrn a' Bharraich, Oronosay, Inner Hebrides [G2260]

Data Quality: Good Burial Sequence: Consecutive
Certainty: Confident Spatial Configuration: Same Context

MNI: Three Viking Age individuals (Older Adult Female, Older Adult Male, and further Female* of Unknown age)

Date: 9th century

Structure: Mound with Two Standing Stones

Contexts: Boat/Ship (all inhumations)

Assoc. Features: NA

First explored by Sir John M'Neill in April 1891, this burial was formed of a large but low mound containing a boat. The mound name translates to "the cairn of the men of Barra" but it is unclear whether the mound was entirely artificial in its Viking period construction for there is some evidence that it was built up on the site of a Mesolithic shell-midden. The mound, located in an area of sand dunes on the east coast of Oronsay, was estimated by Grieve (1914:277) to be around 10–12m in diameter. Upon excavation, two skeletons were found positioned horizontally in the centre of the mound, approximately a meter from its top. The pair were surrounded by burnt charcoal and rivets, the discovery of which has caused much confusion over the years. Some scholars attribute the charcoal and rivets to an earlier boat cremation (as it was found to contain a stone line sinker and some small bronze fragments) while others have suggested that the couple were buried within the boat.

Further excavation was carried out by Mr Neil Ban McNeil in 1913 (some twenty odd years later) in the area of the earlier central trench which had been left open and had eroded by the 1891 excavation team. This later excavation discovered a third individual on the edge of the mound.

Due to the uncertainty surrounding the earlier interpretation of the couple's relation to the boat, this burial has also confused scholars over the years and stratigraphic recordings are scant. The traditional view is that the second woman was added at the same time or after the woman and man were interred in the main body of the boat. The second woman's inhumation was disturbed but it is unclear whether this occurred during the burial of the man and woman (thereby being made earlier) or was disturbed by M'Neill's 1891 excavation. Most believe the woman to have been inhumed in the mound in a completely separate context and not contemporaneously with the others. However, Stephen Harrison has recently offered a new interpretation of this burial based on a fine-detailed analysis of the published documents and plans, and some additional archive material. He suggests that all three inhumations were placed in the same boat, the couple located amidships and the woman in the bow or stern, possibly but not certainly at the same time (Harrison 2019), much like the Kaupang boat burials.

Dunrobin Castle, Golspie, Sutherland [G2276]

Data Quality: Fair

Burial Sequence: Consecutive

Certainty: Possible

Spatial Configuration: Same Context

MNI: Two Viking Age individuals (2 x Unspec. Adult Males)

Date: Unknown

Structure: Flat Grave

Contexts: Cist/Lintel (both VA inhumations)

Assoc. Features: Pictish symbol stone

To male inhumations were found to share the same cist near Dunrobin Castle in 1851. Ross notes that the area was often frequented by the Norsemen, suggesting that it was likely that the cist was Scandinavian (Ross 1851:298–299). The cist was 2.4m long, oriented SW–NE, and was walled and paved with flat pieces of sandstone. Sand mixed with round shiny stones, similar to those found at a neighbouring beach, was found below the paving and the cist had been covered on top by three flat slabs of stone. Two of these covering stones were located at the foot end while a larger, thicker, engraved stone was placed closer to the head end. Harrison (2008:462) has argued that the engraved motifs— depicting a fish, a possible sword hilt, a possible mirror, and a decorated rectangle— suggest that the stone originally formed a Pictish symbol stone that had been later repurposed by those making the burial.

The first of the two male skeletons were above average in size, with prominences indicating highly developed muscles, while the other skeleton was of average size. The cist contained grave goods consisting of one hollow iron object that appeared to be a socket of an iron spearhead, but it is impossible to determine to whom the object belonged. Regarding the sequence of the burial, it appears

that one male was interred and then the other was added a considerable time later based on the condition of the bones. The bones of the larger skeleton were hard and white, thus relatively well preserved. The other bones were darker in colour and very much decayed.

Finstown, Mainland Orkney [G2278]

Data Quality: Poor

Burial Sequence: Antecedent

Certainty: Possible

Spatial Configuration: Different Context

MNI: One Viking Age individual (Unknown sex and age) and one prehistoric individual (Unknown sex and age)

Date: Unknown

Structure: Mound

Contexts: Cist containing a Loose Cremation Deposit (Prehistoric cremation)

Urned Cremation Deposit (VA cremation)

Assoc. Features: NA

The reliability of this record is open to considerable questioning, being based upon the recollections of an elderly man who remembers the discovery of a prehistoric multi-chambered mound. Within the mound, a chamber exhibiting fire-damaged stonework was found to contain a loose cremation deposit, to which a steatite urn presumably containing the cremated remains of a Viking Age individual had been added. The urn was very small and may have been of Rygh type 729 according to Grieg (1940:85). It has been included here for the possibility that the steatite urn was indeed a Viking Age interment.

Housegord Weisdale, Shetland [G2297]

Data Quality: Fair

Burial Sequence: Antecedent

Certainty: Possible

Spatial Configuration: Different Context

MNI: One Viking Age individual (Unknown sex and age) and one Bronze Age individual (Unknown sex and age)

Date: Unknown

Structure: Mound

Contexts: Urned Cremation Deposit (BA cremation)

Unknown (VA unknown)

Assoc. Features: NA

The burial was recorded in 1866 by David Dakers Black, who published a paper on a series of mysterious circular gatherings of small stones called “Fairy Knowes” by local people in Shetland (Harrison 2008:412). It was discovered in 1862 or 1863 by a tenant farmer whilst removing stone from a knowe (knoll or mound) at Housegord near Kergord on gently sloping ground overlooking the Burn of Weisdale. He found the remains of a well-burnt Bronze Age cremation urn containing a cremation deposit, a small sandstone whetstone pendant, and a large glass bead, striped with blue and white. Also found with the artefact assemblage were the remains of calcified bone (Redmond 2007).

Scar, Sanday, Orkney [G2342]

Data Quality: Excellent Burial Sequence: Consecutive
Certainty: Confident Spatial Configuration: Same Context

MNI: Three Viking Age individuals (Older Adult Female, Older Juvenile and Young Adult Male)

Date: AD 950–1050

Structure: Flat Grave
Contexts: Boat/Ship Chamber (all inhumations)
Assoc. Features: Stone Packing and Wall

This boat burial was first discovered in 1985 when farmer, John Deerness, observed some human bones and iron rivets eroding out of a low sandy cliff located along the NW-facing bay at Scar on Sanday. He unknowingly picked up a Viking Age lead weight that had fallen onto the beach below, meaning to notify the resident archaeologist in Orkney, Dr Raymond Lamb. However, this was not achieved before Deerness passed away, meaning that the boat burial only came to light again in 1991, when Historic Scotland's monuments warden, Julie Gibson, investigated the story of bones being found at Scar and notified Lamb. Upon inspection, the burial was confirmed to be Viking Age in date, and so a salvage excavation was carried out by Historic Scotland's Archaeological Operations and Conservation team before the burial was lost to the sea.

Excavation showed that a large pit had been dug in the sand down to the boulder clay beneath into which the boat had been placed, with the gaps at either end filled with stones. The boat, oriented E–W, measured around 7.15m in length and was made of oak with pine fittings and iron rivets and nails. A simple grave chamber was created by filling the east end of the boat with stones, behind a large upright slab placed across the boat. The remaining two-thirds of the boat,

at the west end (the stern), was then used for the burial of three bodies. The chamber was then covered over, perhaps with planks of pine. The community had made use of a dune created by wind-blown sand becoming trapped next to a pre-existing wall to inter the burial, but an analysis of the site's stratigraphy did not indicate the level at which the boat had been cut into the dune. Accordingly, some consider this burial to have been mounded while others treat it as a flat grave. It is counted as a flat grave in this research as it is unclear whether the dune was chosen for its naturally occurring mound (as the decisive feature dictating its placement) or whether the protection of the wall was sought after (if either and possibly both). In either case, much of the dune must have been destroyed in the digging of the earth cut for the boat. It has also been suggested that the stem of the boat may have projected out of the dune as a grave-marker (Graham–Campbell and Batey 1998:139).

The skeletal remains of three individuals were found. In the centre of the boat were the remains of a female in her 70s (a remarkable lifespan for the period) and a ten-year-old child of undetermined sex. They were both laying in extended supine position with their heads to the west. In the western end of the boat, a male in his 30s was placed in the same orientation as the others, however his legs had been tightly flexed to his left and the entire lower right leg had been twisted 180 degrees at the knee joint (Owen et al. 1999:28). The nature of the manipulation signals that this part of the male's body was moved when soft tissue still articulated his remains, thereby indicating that perhaps his body was already in a state of rigor mortis when he was interred, and that perhaps force was needed to fit his body into the small space of the bow.

The excavators believe that all three burials had been made contemporaneously, however the cramped space in which the male was interred, and the

manipulation needed to fit his body in to this space suggests that he may have been a later addition to the burial. He had been buried with grave goods consisting of a sword (JP type H) that had been ceremonially broken and replaced in its scabbard, eight arrows with the remains of a quiver, a comb, lead scale weights, a mount, and 22 whalebone gaming pieces. The older female had been furnished with a whalebone plaque at her feet, standing up against the drystone wall so as to face her, while most of her other grave goods had been placed on her right side. These consisted of a gilt equal armed brooch found upside-down beneath the wooden handle of a sickle, a comb, an iron weaving sword, shears, a needle case, a maple wood box with metal fittings, and a couple of spindle whorls. No objects were found with the child's remains, however the part of the boat in which he had been interred was almost entirely lost to the sea at the time of excavation, meaning he may well have been buried with goods like the others.

Interestingly, sand grains under the boat's strakes were not of local origin, nor were they from northern Scotland, meaning the boat may have originated from Scandinavia. The combination of the woman's brooch and whalebone plaque suggest she was of north Norwegian origin and, given her advanced age, she may have been a first-generation settler (Graham-Campbell and Batey 1998:140).

Stenness, Mainland Orkney [G2350]

Data Quality: Fair

Burial Sequence: Antecedent

Certainty: Possible

Spatial Configuration: Different Context

MNI: One Viking Age individual (Unknown sex and age) and one 'Celtic' individual

Date: Unknown

Structure: Mound

Contexts: Cist/Lintel containing Urned Cremation Deposit (VA cremation)

Cist/Lintel containing Urned Cremation Deposit (Celtic cremation)

Assoc. Features: NA

This burial was formed by a mound containing two stone cists, each containing an urned cremation deposit. The find was presented to the Museum in December 1854, by Mr Farrer, M.P (Charleson 1903). The mound was located in close proximity to the circle of standing stones at Stennis in Orkney. It measured 18m in diameter and 2.75m in height, being circular in shape and flat on the top, the sides being sloped at a high angle. One cist was located at the periphery of the mound and contained a steatite urn, while the other cist containing the clay 'Celtic' urn was found nearer the centre of the mound. The clay urn was of usual Celtic form (12cm high and 12cm in diameter) and was most probably the initial burial made in the mound. The cist containing the steatite (possibly Viking Age) urn was made at a later time and was composed of large stones, measuring almost 2m in length 60cm wide, being placed about 90cm above original ground level. The interior of the cist, however, was only about 76cm long, 60cm wide and 60cm deep. The steatite urn had been hewn out of a single block of steatite by a metal tool, the marks of which were apparently still visible in the inside of the vessel at the time of discovery. It had an incised border round the outside of the rim and contained the remains of burnt bones. No grave goods were found in association with either grave.

Tote Skeabost, Skye, Inner Hebrides [G2358]

Data Quality: Poor

Burial Sequence: Antecedent

Certainty: Possible

Spatial Configuration: Different Context

MNI: One VA individual (Unknown sex and age) and one prehistoric individual

Date: Unknown

Structure: Mound with Cairn

Contexts: Cist containing Loose Cremation Deposit (prehistoric cremation)

Loose Cremation Deposit (VA cremation)

Assoc. Features: NA

This burial was discovered in the Autumn of 1922 and investigated by T.C. Lethbridge who was excavating a mound capped by a cairn (Lethbridge 1920). The mound measured about 12m in diameter and 2.5m in height but was probably originally taller (perhaps 3m). A cup shape depression was visible on the top of the cairn, which may have been caused either by the removal of stones for building, or during the addition of the Viking Age burial to the mound. On the ground level in the centre were several large boulders which formed a makeshift cist, containing over 150 flints and other flakes, as well as two rude scrapers and abundant charcoal remnants. The Viking Age burial was also located centrally, approximately 45cm below the surface of the depression in the top of the cairn.

The mound was composed of fine sand in which some fragments of human femur were found amongst a collection of charred bone, which didn't appear to have been placed in a cist or a coffin. The grave goods thought to be associated with this grave include an iron 'battle-axe' of Scandinavian type and a bronze penannular brooch of simple form with some fragments of leather still attached (according to Grieg 1940:70–71) but Lethbridge describes it as a bronze pin with

a loop head, not unlike a common Bronze Age type found in the Swiss lakes. Very close to the pin was a circular bone or ivory bead. Also found was a hone made of close-grained sandstone (found close to the axe head), a piece of wood with a narrow piece of iron inserted into one side of it, and a great number of rusty iron pieces attached to fragments of wood (possibly the remains of a shield).

Westness, Rousay, Orkney

Gr.1A [G2388]

Data Quality: Good Burial Sequence: Contemporary
Certainty: Confident Spatial Configuration: Same Context

MNI: Two Viking Age individuals (Young Adult Female and Infant)

Date: L9th – E10th century

Structure: Flat Grave

Contexts: Earth Cut (both inhumations)

Assoc. Features: NA

Located on a low lying peninsular at the south-eastern side of Swandro Bay and immediately above the beach, the Westness burial ground has yielded finds from as early as 1826, when a sword and shield boss of typical Viking type were ploughed up and donated to the National Museum. However, it wasn't until 1963, when a farmer burying a dead cow, uncovered the first formal burial at Westness, thereby prompting archaeological excavation in that year, and again more extensively between 1968 and 1984.

The burial ground was found to contain between 30 and 40 graves of both Pictish (perhaps seventh century) and Viking Age date, although only a few were found to contain grave goods. The graves were not visible on the surface but excavation showed that, at the time of use, most of the graves had been marked using headstones. The Pictish burials had no grave-goods, and the dead were usually deposited in extended supine position in narrow and shallow graves. The Viking Age burials were of different types, sometimes rectangular without grave-goods, sometimes oval-shaped or boat burials containing grave-goods.

The burial described here, Gr.1A, was that discovered in 1963. It contained the remains of a young female, perhaps not yet 30 years old, and her newborn child in a simple earth cut burial, oriented NW–SE (Kaland 1995:314). It is probable that the two individuals died during childbirth, however it is not known in what circumstances the remains of the infant were found. The female was accompanied by a rich array of grave goods including jewellery— a pair of oval brooches, an eighth century Irish brooch pin of silver and gold filigree decoration with glass and amber settings, an unusual guilt-bronze mount with animal ornamentation of Insular manufacture and a necklace of 40 beads— and other items such as two Anglo-Saxon strap ends, a comb, sickle, and weaving implements like heckles, shears and a weaving sword. A bronze basin had also been placed at her feet. It is impossible to tell whether any of these objects were directly associated with the infant.

Gr.2A/2B [G2360]

Data Quality: Good	Burial Sequence: Consecutive
Certainty: Confident	Spatial Configuration: Same Context

MNI: Two Viking Age individuals (Middle Adult Male and Young Adult Male)
Date: Unknown

Structure: Flat Grave
Contexts: Earth Cut (both inhumations)
Assoc. Features: NA

This burial was one uncovered during the excavations between 1968 and 1984. It comprised two adult males stacked vertically in the same oval earth cut burial, oriented NW–SE. The lower grave contained the remains of a young adult male, probably between 20 and 30 years of age at death, while the upper grave contained the incomplete skeleton of another possible male, aged between 35

and 55 years. This individual was missing all his vertebrae and almost all the bones from his hands and feet (Sellevold 1999:27). He was also relatively short in stature, having a height of approximately 164.5cm, and his left collar bone was severely deformed, probably as a result of a traumatic injury.

Larsen considered the injury evidence of torture: "the changes to the bone are consistent with the arms having been tied behind the back at the wrists, after which the individual was strung up by the wrist ties. The individual clearly lived for some time after the traumatic event, as the fracture healed and there were pathological changes in the joints of the other bones of the shoulder girdle, where secondary osteoarthritis had developed as a consequence of the injury" (Sellevold 1999:37). This individual also possessed strongly developed muscle attachment areas on both upper arms, indicating he lived a life of hard physical stress on the arm muscles. Very few details are available about the younger male's burial and no grave goods were recovered in association with either of their graves.

IRELAND



Figure 4. Map of Irish multiple burial sites discussed in the text.

Church Bay, Antrim [G1911]

Data Quality: Poor

Burial Sequence: Antecedent

Certainty: Possible

Spatial Configuration: Different Contexts

MNI: One Viking Age individual (Male* of Unknown age) and a prehistoric individual

Date: Unknown

Structure: Flat Grave

Contexts: Cist/Lintel (VA inhumation)

Urned Cremation Deposit (Prehistoric cremation)

Assoc. Features: NA

This burial ground was discovered sometime prior to 1784, as it was in this year that W. Hamilton wrote of the investigation of several small mounds located on a little plain in the middle of Rathlin Island, a short distance from the shore of Church Bay and the island's main landing place. The burial ground, probably originating during the Early Bronze Age period, contained several cist burials furnished with food vessels and appeared to have been re-used in the Viking Age for the burial of at least four individuals.

The burial of concern here was found many years later and was described by C. Gage in 1851. He recounts the opening of a cist which contained an urn holding a quantity of ashes and an iron sword, found close to the coastguard station and about 200m NE from a standing stone. It is unclear whether the cist was located within a mound or was a flat grave but, in the absence of further detail, it has been counted as a flat grave here. Harrison (2008:517) believes that the details relating to this burial have been confused and regards the association of the sword and vessel with wariness. Nevertheless, he concludes, as do I, that it is possible that a Viking Age inhumation may have been inserted into this Bronze Age cist, based upon the many other more probable examples of this mode of interment being observed across the British Isles.

Cloghermore Cave, Kerry [G1913]

Data Quality: Good Burial Sequence: Antecedent
Certainty: Confident Spatial Configuration: Same Context

MNI: Two Viking Age individuals (Young/Middle Adult Male and Unspec. Adult Male) and two prehistoric Irish individuals (Young Juvenile and Older Juvenile)

Date: L9th – E10th century

Structure: Cave
Contexts: Earth cut (all inhumations)
Assoc. Features: Charcoal layer

The Cloghermore cave burial is a unique inhumation that has few parallels across the Viking World. A shallow earth-cut grave was uncovered in the floor of a cave at the foot of its entrance, which was accessed through a narrow shaft that originated in a ninth to tenth century earthwork enclosure above the cave.

The grave contained the skeletal remains of an articulated male, aged 30 to 40 years old. With his body were the partial remains of another three individuals: the torso, arms, hands and feet of another adult male of the same date, and five fragments of bone representing two juveniles thought to be from earlier pagan Irish burials from the time the cave was used by the locals as an ossuary from AD 635-815 (Connolly et al. 2005:40). The additional bones from the earlier burials may have been disturbed and accidentally mixed in with the soil covering the articulated Viking Age male during his internment, but it is also possible that they were deliberately included as part of the burial ritual (Connolly et al. 2005: 60).

The selective deposition of disarticulated body parts of a second male above and around the articulated individual has strengthened the ritual connotations of this burial, as does the post-mortem manipulation of the articulated man's remains. His head had been deliberately removed from his body— while it was still fleshed— soon after burial, and the lack of associated trauma on the bones infers it was pulled off rather than severed with a blade. His right foot had also been pulled off and placed prone (the sole of the foot facing upwards) across his left knee. While the disturbance of the foot could have been accidental, the removal of the head was certainly purposeful. The motivations behind its removal are unclear and the excavators have suggested it may have been an act of deliberate desecration by the native Irish population in retaliation for the Scandinavian intrusion (Connolly et al. 2005:54).

Excavation of the grave produced evidence of four individual sheep— a newborn lamb, two further lambs both less than 6 months old, and an adult sheep aged 3-4 years. It is unknown whether these animals received their own earth cut graves or were placed within the human burial, however the remains of two cows/oxen (both just a year old) and two pigs (both not yet one year old) were also found, probably representing food inclusions rather than wholly deposited animals, like the sheep.

Those that excavated the cave suggest that the male burial was most probably the last to be made in the cave, located as it was immediately before the entrance shaft, while the chamber in which it was placed seemed to be reserved solely for his grave. This led them to interpret the burial as a part of the ritual closing or decommissioning of the cave (Connolly et al. 2005:57).

Croghan Erin, Meath [G1919]

Data Quality: Fair Burial Sequence: Antecedent
Certainty: Possible Spatial Configuration: Same Context

MNI: One VA individual (Male* of Unknown age) and a prehistoric individual
Date: Unknown

Structure: Mound
Contexts: Chair/Seat (prehistoric inhumation)
 Unknown (VA inhumation)
Assoc. Features: NA

This burial was discovered around or prior to 1848, as indicated by its presentation to the Royal Irish Academy in June of that year (Harrison & Ó Floinn 2014). This isolated mound, known as Croghan Erin in the 1836 Ordnance Survey, measured 3.7m in height and 18.3m in diameter at the base, and was flat-topped. Dug into the gravel below the mound was an earth cut pit that contained an EBA food vessel (of usual type) and a decorated sheet of bronze. Approximately two meters above this, was a stone cist-like structure. It was made up of two flag stones (one oriented upwards like a chairback) supported by two round stones and may have formed a rudimentary seat. It was found in the centre of the mound and it was upon/within this structure that a Bronze Age individual had been placed in a crouched or seated position. A Bronze Age dagger and an iron throwing spearhead (of Halpin 'shouldered' type with Anglo-Saxon parallels) were found nearby— but not directly associated with— the stone structure. Although no Viking Age inhumation was recovered, the presence of a spearhead placed within an antecedent mound suggests that it was probably deposited as part of a Viking Age burial, as observed elsewhere across the British Isles.

Islandbridge, Dublin [G1935]

Data Quality: Poor

Burial Sequence: Unknown

Certainty: Possible

Spatial Configuration: Same Context

MNI: Two Viking Age individuals (Young Adult Male and Unspec. Juvenile)

Date: Unknown

Structure: Flat Grave

Contexts: Earth Cut (both inhumations)

Assoc. Features: NA

The Kilmainham–Islandbridge burial complex located in Dublin is home to the largest collection of Viking Age burials across all of Ireland (Harrison & Ó Floinn 2014). During the eighteenth and nineteenth century, the time when most of these burials were discovered, Kilmainham and Islandbridge were two small villages situated approximately 1km apart in open fields to the west of Dublin on the southern side of the Liffey. Specific recording of the location of each find was often not established so many of the artefacts taken to represent burials were not observed in connection with any specific grave context and were indifferently provenanced to either of the two villages. Thus, the details regarding many burials found within the burial complex are seriously lacking. The possible multiple burial of interest here is one such account from Islandbridge.

The artefacts taken to represent this burial were presented to the Academy by William Young in 1860 after they were found in the yard of a house in the village of Islandbridge. In December of that year, the Irish Times newspaper reported that 'some Danish swords' and a bronze scale had been recovered beside a body of which the skull fragments and some animal bone, horn, shell and teeth (that had been mixed in with the deposit) had been retained. Upon examination, it

was found that the individual had been male and was in young to mid-adulthood at the time of his death. During this process, part of a child's skull was found to have been preserved amongst the adult's bones, suggesting that he was possibly not buried alone.

The grave goods found in association with the burial deposit include a single-edged sword (a variant of JP type K) which had been ceremonially broken in two, a spearhead (of Dublin type), 14 fragments of implements (perhaps weights or pieces of shield boss), and a tinned bronze collapsible balance beam with pans (of Rygh 476 type) which had stained the skeletal material recovered from the head of burial. Unfortunately, the nature of the animal bone remains unknown.

ICELAND

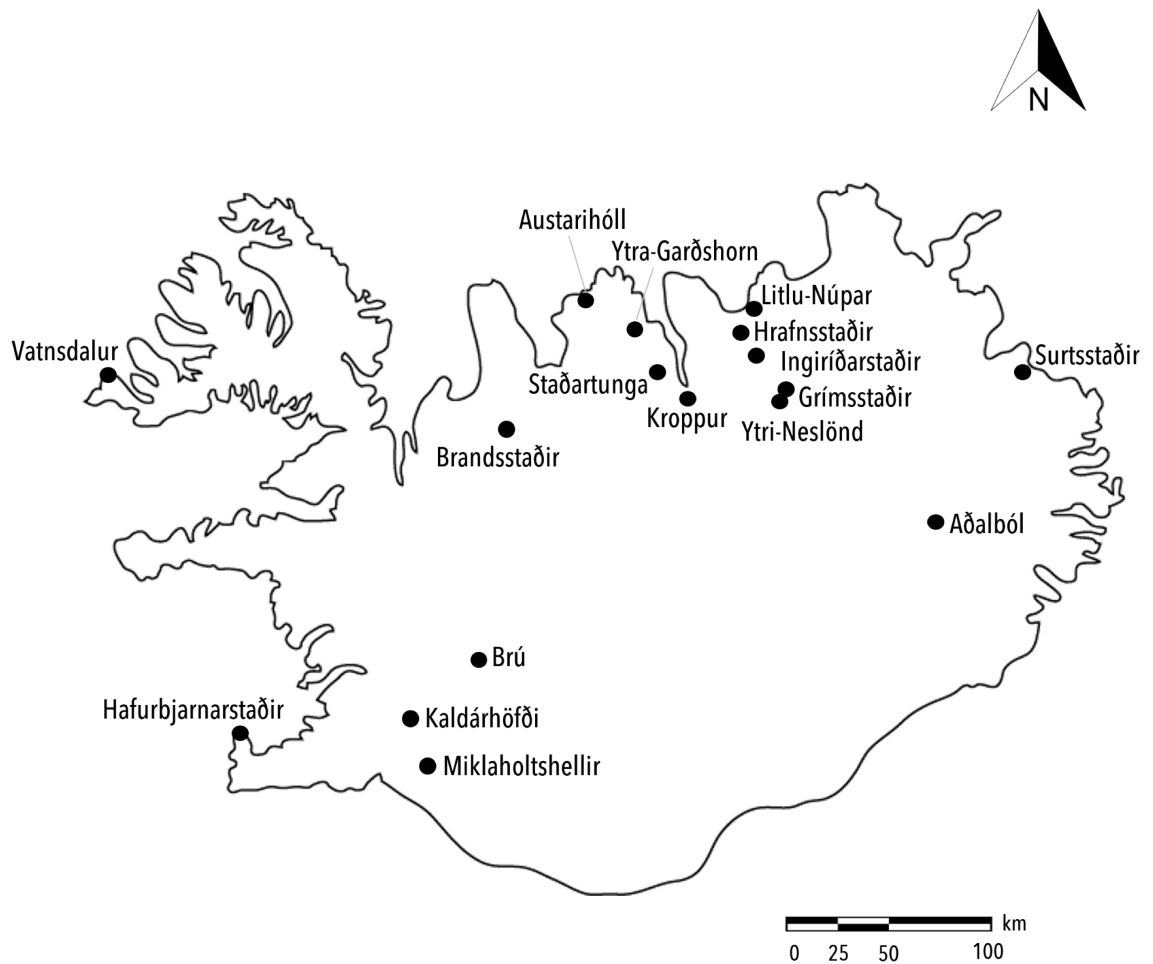


Figure 5. Map of Icelandic multiple burial sites discussed in the text.

Austarihóll, Skagafjarðarsýsla [G1596]

Data Quality: Good

Burial Sequence: Unknown

Certainty: Possible

Spatial Configuration: Same Context

MNI: Two Viking Age individuals (Male* and Female* of Unknown ages)

Date: AD 900–1000

Structure: Flat Grave

Contexts: Earth Cut (both inhumations)

Assoc. Features: NA

During the course of road construction, a burial was discovered approximately 100m southwest of the farm at Austarihóll and was excavated by Kristján Eldjárn in 1964 (Eldjárn & Friðriksson 2016). Eldjárn uncovered a rectangular earth cut burial, oriented NE–SW and measuring 4m in length and 1m in width. The burial contained two horses in the north eastern end and, although no human remains were preserved, may possibly have contained two human individuals (a male and a female) in the southwestern end, based upon the grave goods that were discovered *in situ* there. The SW part of the burial had already been disturbed in antiquity, however, in the centre of the cut was an assemblage of goods which included a spear, arrowheads, scissors, loom weights and a crampon. The presence of the two horses, one fully adult (5+ years old) and a younger animal (perhaps 3.5 years old) also supports the possibility that two human individuals were interred.

Aðalból, Norður-Múlasýsla [G1588]

Data Quality: Fair

Burial Sequence: Unknown

Certainty: Possible

Spatial Configuration: Same Context

MNI: Two Viking Age individuals (Middle Adult Male and a Middle Adult of Unknown sex)

Date: L9th – E10th century

Structure: Flat Grave

Contexts: Earth Cut (both inhumations)

Assoc. Features: Plant Spread (over body)

Very little detail exists for this burial. It was discovered approximately 150m north of the farm at Aðalból and was excavated by Sigurður Vigfússon in 1890 (Eldjárn & Friðriksson 2016). He recovered a simple earth cut burial containing the remains of two individuals— one of which had been oriented S–N— that had been covered by birch wood. While no grave-goods were recovered, patches of iron corrosion in the soil suggest that some may have once been deposited with the deceased.

Brandsstaðir, Austur-Húnavatnssýsla [G1620]

Data Quality: Fair

Burial Sequence: Unknown

Certainty: Possible

Spatial Configuration: Same Context

MNI: Two Viking Age individuals (2 x Unspec. Adult Males*)

Date: Unknown

Structure: Flat Grave

Contexts: Earth Cut (both inhumations)

Assoc. Features: NA

The circumstances surrounding this burial are unclear so it has been included in the sample very tentatively on the basis that it represents a possible Viking Age multiple burial. Human remains were discovered on a low rise to the southwest of the Brandsstaðir farm when the owner was constructing a barn in 1965 (Eldjárn & Friðriksson 2016; Leifsson 2018:97). The farmer sent the remains to the National Museum who determined that they belonged to two adult males. Amongst this skeletal material was also the partial remains of a horse.

Excavation carried out by Eldjárn in 1967 recovered another grave containing the remains of a young adult female and a horse grave separated from her grave by a small earthen barrier at her feet. The woman's grave was undisturbed but the horse's grave had been truncated by the building of the barn, indicating that the horse remains recovered earlier with the two males probably originated from this animal. Because the building works totally destroyed the first burial described, the remains are taken to represent the possible co-burial of two males in the same earth cut, however this is only but one possibility.

Brú, Árnessýsla [G1628]

Data Quality: Fair

Burial Sequence: Unknown

Certainty: Possible

Spatial Configuration: Same Context

MNI: Two Viking Age individuals (Male* and Female* of Unknown ages)

Date: AD 960–1000

Structure: Flat Grave

Contexts: Earth Cut (both inhumations)

Assoc. Features: NA

An eroded burial was discovered in a soil bank at the top of a hill in 1876 when a young girl recovered an axe and a couple of spearheads. The farmer notified the National Museum in 1877 and the antiquarian Sigurður Vigfússon investigated the find in 1880 (Eldjárn & Friðriksson 2016; Leifsson 2018:71). He found that the burial was oriented SE–NW, presumably a simple earth cut, and was found to include a number of artefacts, including a spearhead (JP type K 22), another spearhead, an axe (type H or K), a shield boss, 26 beads, a copper alloy bell, a quern stone, two rivets, fragments of an oval brooch (JP type 51), iron fragments possibly from a cauldron, and a fragment of lead. Along with the objects, the remains of a horse and a dog were also recovered, although details regarding their inclusion have not been recorded and the skeletal remains are now lost. Vigfússon suggested that the artefacts might have derived from two graves— the brooch and bell from a female inhumation and the weaponry from a male inhumation— thus being classed as a possible multiple burial.

Grímsstaðir, Suður-Þíngeyjarsýsla [G1692]

Data Quality: Good

Burial Sequence: Unknown

Certainty: Possible

Spatial Configuration: Same Context

MNI: Two Viking Age individuals (Middle Adult Male and Middle Adult of Unknown sex)

Date: Unknown

Structure: Flat Grave with DHG

Contexts: Earth Cut (both inhumations)

Assoc. Features: NA

This burial was discovered when workmen turned up human and horse bone during the course of road construction in 1967, necessitating examination by Gísli Gestsson (Eldjárn & Friðriksson 2016). He ascertained the general area of the human grave, which appeared to have been oriented NE–SW and contained the remains of two individuals; an adult male aged between 36 and 45 years old, and the remains of a second individual for which sex and age could not be determined. Also associated with this grave was a large double horse grave located to its east, measuring 2m long and 1.3m wide. It is unknown how far apart these two graves were situated but because the horse grave was oriented E–W, Leifsson believes the horse burial was not connected to the human burial.

Other aspects of this double horse grave are also unusual, suggesting that the funerary ritual which occurred at this site was not one commonly followed elsewhere in Iceland (Leifsson 2018:172). Of particular interest is the positioning of the horses' bodies. Although the construction work had already disturbed the upper levels of their grave before its examination, the manner in which the remaining *in situ* bones were placed suggested to Gestsson that the horses had been severed in half, with one half of each horse being redeposited

with the other half of the other horse (thereby making two composite horses), however Leifsson's assessment of the horse material has led him to counter this claim. He believes that both horses were buried unbutchered and whole, but that complex taphonomic conditions created a distorted picture for Gestsson (2018:173). Instead, Leifsson asserts that the animals were laid on their sides facing each other with their front legs suspended upwards in a fashion reminiscent of horse baiting (2018:177). This type of bodily arrangement is unique and, by deviating from more regularly observed bodily and burial arrangements, could be taken in evidence that the double horse burial is a distinct deposit unconnected to the human multiple burial. However, despite the differences in orientation and structure presented by this burial in comparison with others like it in Iceland, it is also possible that the double human and double horse grave were associated in a similar (but not identical) manner as other multiple burials in Iceland (i.e. Austarihóll [G1596], Ingiríðarstaðir 2 [G1736], and Ytra-Garðshorn 1 [G1889]). This is the interpretation followed here

Hafurbjarnarstaðir, Gullbringusýsla [G1702]

Data Quality: Good Burial Sequence: Unknown
Certainty: Confident Spatial Configuration: Same Context

MNI: Two Viking Age individuals (Middle Adult Male and an Adolescent Male*)
Date: AD 900–1000

Structure: Flat Grave
Contexts: Boat/Ship (both inhumations)
Assoc. Features: NA

The burial ground located on the seashore at the coastal farm of Hafurbjarnarstaðir was discovered in 1828 when a silver ring and some human remains were found and reburied. Later, substantial erosion caused by strong winds during the winter of 1868 exposed further burials on the spot, leading farmer Ólafur Sveinsson to excavate the area in 1868, who sent his findings to the National Museum (Eldjárn & Friðriksson 2016; Leifsson 2018:78).

One of the burials he found was a multiple burial, in which an adult male and an adolescent were inhumed together in a small boat. The cut containing the boat was oriented W–E and measured approximately 4.4m in length and 1.2m in width. The adult and adolescent were found in the western end of the boat, while a dog was placed amidships at their feet and a horse occupied the eastern end of the boat. Leifsson's recent analysis of the animal bone has shown that the dog was a tall breed, standing at 64cm at the shoulder, and was adult at the time of death. The horse was also adult at death and was relatively short, with a withers height of 1.25m. An unworn pig molar was also recovered which could be considered to be intrusive but may also be intentional in the same manner as other pig and cattle teeth have been found in other Viking Age contexts.

Grave goods found in association with the burial include a spearhead (JP type K 21), sword (JP type S) with a copper-alloy chape, a shield boss (Rygh 562), and an axe (JP type K). The weaponry was all deposited next to the adult male, however the shield appeared to have been placed over his face. Other items recovered were a comb and comb-case, a whetstone, a buckle and an iron cauldron (resembling Rygh 731). The equestrian gear (harness, bridle-bit) were not found with the horse but were rather stacked upon the man's weaponry.

Hrafnstaðir, Suður-Píngeyjarsýsla [G1718]

Data Quality: Fair Burial Sequence: Unknown
Certainty: Confident Spatial Configuration: Same Context

MNI: Three Viking Age individuals (Middle Adult Female, Middle Adult Male and an Unspec. Adult Female)

Date: AD 800–900 (male burial only)

Structure: Mound
Contexts: Earth Cut (two VA inhumations)
 Earth Cut (one VA inhumation)
Assoc. Features: NA

This burial came to light during the levelling of a mound south of the farm at Hrafnstaðir in 1952 (Eldjárn & Friðriksson 2016; Leifsson 2018:182). In the process, the farmer recovered a quantity of human remains and what appeared to be the outline of two earth cuts, oriented N–S. Kristján Eldjárn subsequently investigated the find, recovering the skeletal remains of three individuals; an adult male aged between 36 and 45 years, an adult female aged approximately 46 years old, and another adult female of unspecified age. It is unclear if a further earth cut was observed by Eldjárn or whether one of the two earth cuts contained more than one individual. According to Leifsson, a single horse bone was also recovered at the time, but it is not held by the National Museum's collections. It is unclear which grave or graves contained the recovered artefacts (an axe of JP type G and a whetstone).

Gr.2 [G1736]

Data Quality: Good Burial Sequence: Unknown
Certainty: Possible Spatial Configuration: Unknown

MNI: Two Viking Age individuals (Unspec. Adult of Unknown sex and another individual of Unknown sex and age)

Date: Unknown

Structure: Post Structure with DHG
Contexts: Coffin (one VA inhumation)
 Unknown (one VA inhumation)
Assoc. Features: NA

The burial ground at Ingiríðarstaðir was investigated by the Institute of Archaeology between 2008 and 2015, during which time they recovered twelve features incorporating human or animal bone, including the burials of six adults, a neonate, five horses (across four graves that are associated with human burials) and a pit including both human and animal remains, but it seems likely at least four more graves await investigation.

The burial of concern here, Gr.2, was excavated in 2009 and was found to contain the remains of two humans and two horses, each in two separate earth cuts but surrounded by four large postholes.

The collection of skeletal remains found within the southern human cut represented an adult of unknown sex, while some fragments of a second individual's cranium were also found just outside the cut. Eldjárn and Friðriksson (2016:504) suggest that these fragments belong to another unrelated grave, however it is equally likely that the individual was interred in

the current burial. This is strengthened by the fact that the associated horse grave contained two individual horses; although no direct correlation between the number of co-buried humans and horses has yet been established, other confirmed and possible examples of the practice from Austarihóll [G1596], Grímsstaðir [G1692] and Ytra-Garðshorn 1 [G1889] suggest there may be some substance to this proposition.

Found with the human remains were four pieces of hack silver, two ornate glass beads and a number of 'delicately patterned' bronze buckles and strap ends, although the burial was reopened in antiquity so more objects may have originally been deposited with those interred (Roberts 2013:2)

The two horses that occupied the northern cut had also been buried with objects. Both horses were oriented similarly with their heads in the northern end of their earth cut. The first horse was younger than the other (approximately 3 or 3.5 years old) and was deposited into the grave first, without being harnessed. The second horse was older (aged 10+ years old) and was dressed with a harness and bridle bit decorated with bronze studs and ornamental fittings. This horse had been deposited partially on top of the first horse. Examination of the horse remains by Leifsson (2018:268) show that both horses had been poleaxed, but only the younger one had also had its throat cut, presumably for bloodletting.

Gr.3 [G1737]

Data Quality: Good

Burial Sequence: Unknown

Certainty: Possible

Spatial Configuration: Different Contexts

MNI: Two Viking Age individuals (Younger Juvenile of Unknown sex and Unknown individual)

Date: Unknown

Structure: Wall
Contexts: Earth Cut (neonate inhumation)
Bone Pit (skull fragments)
Assoc. Features: Stone Packing

This particular burial is unique both at Ingiríðarstaðir and throughout the entire multiple burial corpus. The dominant feature at Ingiríðarstaðir is the enigmatic L-shaped turf wall, which probably represents the remnants of a larger square enclosure, occupying the most south-easterly section of the burial ground. The E–W running section of the wall measured 11.6m in length and the N–S running section measured 10.9m in length. Located at the mid-point of the north–south running section of the wall, positioned partly under and to its western side, was a small earth cut grave. The cut measured 0.6m long, 0.5m wide and 0.3m deep and contained the inhumation of a neonate lying on its left side and oriented SW–NE (head in the SW).

No grave goods were found with the infant but, approximately a meter to its south, another pit had been dug under the turf wall and contained a human leg bone and two pieces of a human cranium. The cranial fragments showed evidence of blunt force trauma, which may have caused the skull-owner's death (Roberts 2013:3). An assortment of animal bone (cattle, caprine and pig) was also found in the pit but, most distinctively, an articulated skeleton of a whole cat was found to have been placed near the skull fragments. The whole assemblage had then been closed over with a pile of stones (Leifsson 2018:192).

This assemblage has much in common with other irregular deposits containing human remains, often conceptualised as votive offerings rather than burials. However, due to the inclusive methods applied in this research, both pits containing the neonate and skull fragments have been included as a possible multiple burial that was united by a single overarching structure: the turf wall.

Kaldárhöfði, Árnessýsla [G1746]

Data Quality: Good

Burial Sequence: Unknown

Certainty: Confident

Spatial Configuration: Same Context

MNI: Two Viking Age individuals (Unspec. Adult Male* and Older Juvenile Male*)

Date: AD 900–950

Structure: Mound

Contexts: Boat/Ship (both inhumations)

Assoc. Features: NA

This burial became exposed after it eroded out of the shore of Lake Ulfljótsvatn and was excavated by Kristján Eldjárn in 1946. The burial consisted of a low mound made of stones and soil, which was oriented W–E. It was found to contain the poorly preserved remains of two individuals— an adult and a child who had been buried together in a small boat. On the basis that the burial contained multiple numbers of the same weapon type, it has been tentatively suggested that both individuals were male. The grave goods found in association with the remains include a sword (JP type O), spearhead (JP type I), five arrowheads and part of a sixth, an axe (JP type G), shield boss (Rygh 362), fragments of a second shield boss, another spearhead (a version of JP type K), another axe (JP type H), two knives, a belt buckle (very similar to Rygh 603) and strap-end, some silver wire and two fragments each of jasper and flint. The remains of the boat comprised between 80 to 90 rivets and nails, while fishing gear, including a fish-hook and possible boat-hook, a lead sinker and a fragment of textile were also recovered.

Kroppur, Eyjafjarðarsýsla [G1768]

Data Quality: Fair

Burial Sequence: Unknown

Certainty: Confident

Spatial Configuration: Different Contexts

MNI: Two Viking Age individuals (Middle Adult Female and Middle Adult Male)

Date: AD 900–1000 (male burial only)

Structure: Mound

Contexts: Earth Cut (F inhumation)

Earth Cut (M inhumation)

Assoc. Features: NA

In the summer of 1900, road construction revealed two graves in a gravel mound outside the homefield and to the west of the farm at Kroppur (Eldjárn & Friðriksson 2016). The find was surveyed by antiquarian Daniel Bruun in 1902 who uncovered two individuals inhumed in separate earth cut graves located approximately a meter away from each other. The first grave, oriented N–S contained a male, aged 36–45 years, who had been buried with an axe and a spear, while the second grave of the same orientation contained a female of the same age interred with a copper alloy pin in a folded piece of copper alloy sheet-metal.

Litlu-Núpar, Suður-Þingeyjarsýsla [G1795]

Data Quality: Excellent

Burial Sequence: Consecutive

Certainty: Confident

Spatial Configuration: Different Structures

MNI: Three Viking Age individuals (2 x Middle Adult Male and a Female of Unknown age)

Date: AD 850-1050

Structure: Post Structure with 3 x SHG

Contexts: Boat/Ship

Assoc. Features: Post Marker

This burial was discovered on a grassy slope on the bank of the River Laxá at the abandoned farmstead of Litlu-Núpar in the summer of 1915. Initial excavation carried out by the State Antiquarian, Matthías Þórðarson, revealed just two burials but, almost 90 years later, archaeologist Adolf Friðriksson surveyed the site to locate the 1915 burials and discovered a grave field of nine Viking Age burials. The grave field's centrepiece, the multiple burial described here, was a seven-meter-long boat containing the remains of three individuals around which a number of related burials were positioned. However, the boat burial only came about through a number of preparatory steps, as outlined by Roberts & Hreiðarsdóttir (2013:126-7).

The first individual to be buried was a human male with a dog, who had been temporarily interred in an earth cut surrounded (or possibly tented over) with a wooden post structure (Gr.4). The male was not moved until the boat (Gr.3) had been placed a few meters to the north of his temporary grave and adjoined by an extension of the first wooden structure which formed a larger wooden superstructure— perhaps a causeway or canopy. At the same time as the boat and causeway/canopy were installed, a horse burial was also placed immediately

north of the boat (Gr.5). The male was then disinterred and placed in the boat; during this process, a few elements of his clothing were left behind in his temporary grave, as was the skull of the dog whose body was also removed at the same time. The excavators have suggested that the moving of his body may have taken place in private, perhaps hidden from view within the wooden superstructure. The boat burial was then closed over until another individual had died years later, for which it was appropriate to inter them in the boat with the first male. Accordingly, the boat burial was reopened, the second individual was added directly into the boat (not needing a temporary grave) and a horse was killed and buried in another horse grave (Gr.6), perhaps marked with further posts. This process was repeated when a third individual died, was placed in the boat (Gr.3) and a third horse was killed and buried nearby (Gr.7), this time without post markers.

This burial is not considered to be of the 'same context' type because of its use of multiple structures to inter the dead over the course of the pro-longed funerary ritual which saw the inhumation of three humans and three horses.

Miklaholtshellir (Hraungerðishreppur), Árnessýsla [G1719]

Data Quality: Poor

Burial Sequence: Unknown

Certainty: Possible

Spatial Configuration: Same Context

MNI: Two Viking Age individuals (Both Unknown sex and age)

Date: Unknown

Structure: Flat Grave?

Contexts: Earth Cut (both inhumations)?

Assoc. Features: NA

Very little is known about this possible Viking Age burial. It was found sometime during the early nineteenth century at an eroding site for which the location is unknown. The Icelandic antiquarian Brynjúlfur Jónsson investigated the find, reporting that two skeletons were found together with a sword, spear and "iron helmet" (possibly mistaken for a shield boss). Eldjárn and Friðriksson (2016) note that the find originated from somewhere in the parish of Hraungerðishreppur, while Leifsson (2018:472) gives the narrower location of the farm of Miklaholtshellir as a possible location for the find. No other details are known, so this burial has been classed as a possible example of a multiple burial.

Staðartunga, Eyjafjarðarsýsla [G1837]

Data Quality: Poor Burial Sequence: Unknown
Certainty: Confident Spatial Configuration: Different Contexts

MNI: Three Viking Age individuals (3 x Middle Adult Males)
Date: Unknown

Structure: Mound
Contexts: Earth Cut (M inhumation)
Earth Cut (M inhumation)
Earth Cut (M inhumation)
Assoc. Features: NA

The accounts of this burial according to Eldjárn and Friðriksson (2016) and Leifsson (2018) are conflicting. The greater level of detail found in Leifsson's description has served as the basis of the interpretation recounted here. According to Leifsson, a burial containing both human and animal bone was discovered on a hillock called Mannhóll (hill of men) by local man Jón Ólafsson in the early 1870s and was subsequently reinterred. The skeletal remains had belonged to a male, aged between 36 and 45 years old, two horses and a dog. The horses were different ages; one was quite young (approximately 3 years old) while the other was as old as 10+ years when it was killed. The dog was found to be adult but not very old and was 0.54m tall at the withers. Along with the humans and animal remains was an iron buckle, but it is possible that further goods may have originally been placed in the burial.

Later in 1932, road construction taking place on the same mound (but somewhat further to the west than the original find) revealed another burial which was excavated in 1935 by antiquarian Matthías Þórðarson. He found the remains of another male, also aged between 36 and 45 years old although no grave goods

or animal remains were found with him. This was also the case in 1962, when a third grave came to light during further quarrying in the hillock. This grave contained another male aged at least 46 years old. It appears that three men were inhumed in the mound, but it is unknown whether this occurred contemporaneously or consecutively.

Surtsstaðir, Norður-Múlasýsla [G1852]

Data Quality: Poor

Burial Sequence: Consecutive

Certainty: Confident

Spatial Configuration: Same Context

MNI: Two Viking Age individuals (Middle Adult Male and Unspec. Adult Female)

Date: L9th – E10th century

Structure: Flat grave

Contexts: Plain earth cut (both inhumations)

Assoc. Features: NA

Discovered in 1947 but not excavated until 1949 by Jón Steffensen, this burial was formed by a simple earth cut that was oriented SW-NE. It contained the remains of two individuals; a middle-aged adult male and a female adult of unspecified age. The grave appeared to have been reopened at some point after the burial was completed, as a number of bones had been piled up at the side of the earth cut. However, the lower section of the burial remained intact showing that the female's legs had lain upon the legs of the earlier male, suggesting that the burial was of vertical type made over consecutive interments, in which the female was added to the male's existing grave at a later date (Eldjárn and Friðriksson 2016:220).

Vatnsdalur, Barðastrandarsýsla [G1884]

Data Quality: Good Burial Sequence: Consecutive
Certainty: Confident Spatial Configuration: Same Context

MNI: Seven Viking Age individuals

Adolescent of Unknown sex (13–17)	Young Adult Male (18–25)
Young Adult Female (18–25)	Young Adult Male (26–35)
Middle Adult Female (36–45)	Middle Adult Male (36–45)
Adolescent Male (13–17)	

Date: AD 950–980 (first female burial)

Structure: Stone Setting (Layer)
Contexts: Boat/Ship (all inhumations)
Assoc. Features: NA

In 1964, the remains of a small pagan burial ground were discovered during sand removal on the shoreline of the south coast of Patreksfjörður. Excavation undertaken by Þor Magnússon revealed a boat burial dug into the sand dune and covered with soil and a layer of stone. Although the wood of the boat had disintegrated an impression remained in the sand along with a number of rivets which showed the boat was oriented E–W and measured approximately 6m in length. Þór Magnússon (1967) has suggested that the boat was made of larch wood and was probably a fishing boat, equipped with two carved pieces of whale bone nailed to the port side gunwale for the running of fishing lines (Vilhjálmsson 1994, in Leifsson 2018:88).

Within the boat, Magnússon found the remains of seven individuals and a young adult dog, who appeared to have been killed by poleaxing. Leifsson's analysis of the dog's remains indicates that the dog may not have been treated well in life; the animal had suffered an injury to its right shoulder at an early age which most

likely resulted from the violent and forceful pulling of the dog's leg inflicted by its human companions. However, the injury may have precluded it from acting as a working dog, meaning that some level of care must have been shown it in life for it to have lived so long. Other odd treatment is also exhibited by its remains though; four of the dog's teeth were extracted well before its death, for which the purpose remains unknown.

An extensive assemblage of grave goods were found along with the human and animal remains: 30 beads, a silver Thor's hammer, a copper-alloy bell, a fragment of a Cufic dirham dating to AD 870–930, a pendant, copper-alloy chain, copper-alloy pin, a small piece of lead with an inlaid cross, two arm rings, a finger-ring, two combs, a fragment of a third comb and a comb case, 14 lead weights, a small wooden pin, a knife, a perforated white pebble, and a round perforated piece of bone.

Magnússon has suggested that this was originally the burial of one of the women, with the bones of the other individuals being added later, however which woman of the two indicated above is unclear.

Ytra-Garðshorn, Eyjafjarðarsýsla [G1889]

Data Quality: Fair Burial Sequence: Unknown
Certainty: Possible Spatial Configuration: Same Context

MNI: Two Viking Age individuals (Middle Adult Male and individual of Unknown sex or age)

Date: Unknown

Structure: Stone Setting (Layer) with DHG
Contexts: Earth Cut (both inhumations)
Assoc. Features: NA

In 1952, road construction revealed a burial ground located approximately 300m east of the farm at Ytra-Garðshorn, which was excavated by Eldjárn (2016) between 1954 and 1958. He uncovered the remains of about ten burials of which one was a possible multiple burial (K.87.1). The burial was composed of a long earth cut burial, oriented SSW–NNE and measuring 4.7m long and 0.8–0.9m wide. The cut contained the remains of one almost complete human skeleton and the further cranium of another individual, as well as a double horse grave located immediately to its north. The DHG measured 2.7m long, 0.8–0.9m wide and 80cm deep. Both the human and animal earth cuts had been covered with a stone setting layer. The more complete human skeleton belonged to an older male (46+ years old) but the cranium of the second individual could not be identified.

Leifsson's (2018:157-158) analysis of the animal remains indicates that one of the horses was male, both were of different ages (one not quite fully grown at 4.5–5 years and a mature horse aged 5+ years old), while the older horse was of smaller stature (1.23m versus the smaller horse's 1.34m stature at withers height). The two horse skeletons were found with two buckles, nails and some other unidentifiable iron fragments, while those found with the human remains include two beads, three gaming pieces, a lead weight and some unidentified iron fragments.

Ytri-Neslönd, Suður-Píngeyjarsýsla [G1901]

Data Quality: Fair

Burial Sequence: Unknown

Certainty: Confident

Spatial Configuration: Same Context

MNI: Two Viking Age individuals (Middle Adult Male and Adolescent of Unknown sex)

Date: AD 770–900

Structure: Mound

Contexts: Earth Cut (both inhumations)

Assoc. Features: NA

Road construction carried out in 1960 revealed a burial in a small mound about 400-500m northeast of Ytri-Neslönd farm on the hill Stórirforvaði near Lake Mývatn (Leifsson 2018:206). The burial had been destroyed before it could be excavated but the burial was said to have contained the remains of two individuals— an adult male and an adolescent of unknown sex— along with some horse bones. Leifsson (2018:206) believes that the horse must have been harnessed and saddled due to the recovery of a bridle-bit and buckle found with the remains. His analysis of the horse remains indicate it was a male and was approximately 1.35m tall at the withers. It had been aged about 5 years old at the time of its death by way of poleaxing. A spearhead and another unidentified iron fragment were also found.

KAUPANG

VESTFOLD, NORWAY

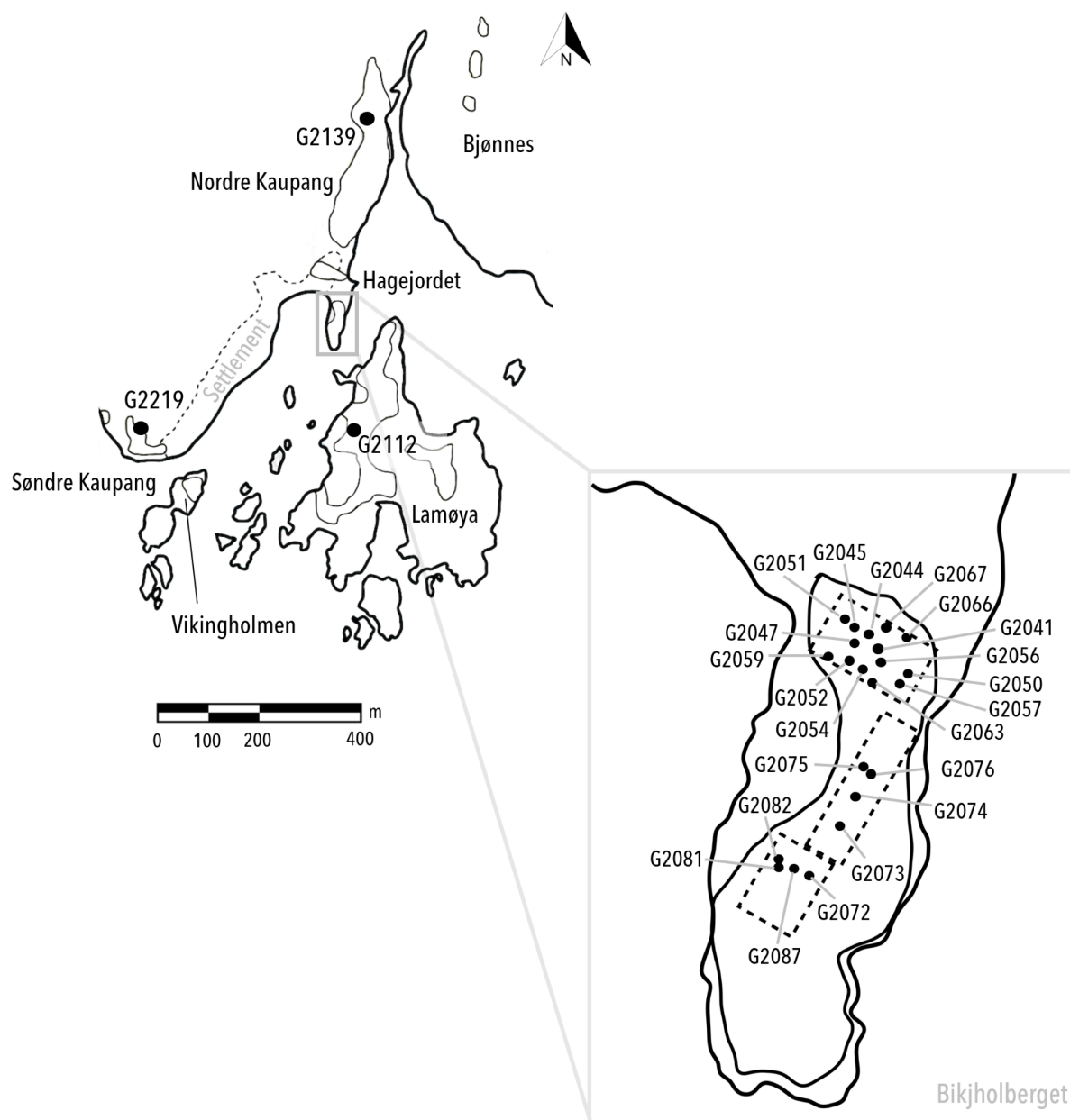


Figure 6. Map of Kaupang's multiple burial discussed in the text.

Ka.150/151, Søndre Kaupang [G2219]

Data Quality: Poor

Burial Sequence: Consecutive

Certainty: Possible

Spatial Configuration: Different Context

MNI: Two Viking Age individuals (Males* of unknown age)

Date: AD 800–850 and AD 900–950

Structure: Mound with cairn

Contexts: Loose cremation deposit (M VA)

Loose cremation deposit (M VA)

Assoc. Features: NA

This is a badly preserved burial located within a small cairn at Søndre Kaupang. It was investigated in 1859 (or possibly earlier) and is logged in the Unimus database under find numbers C2270–80. The male gender assigned to both cremation deposits is based upon the recovery of two swords. The grave good assemblage indicates that the individual forming Ka.150 was interred first with a full weapon set sometime between AD 800-850, while the individual represented by Ka.151 was deposited at a later time, between AD 900-950.

Ka.203/204, Lamøya [G2112]

Data Quality: Fair Burial Sequence: Consecutive
Certainty: Confident Spatial Configuration: Different Context

Burial Sequence: Consecutive (Male cremation first, Female inhumation second)
Spatial Configuration: Different Context

MNI: Two Viking Age individuals (Male and Female of unknown age)
Date: AD 800–900

Structure: Mound
Contexts: Boat (M cremation)
 Boat (F inhumation)
Assoc. Features: NA

This burial was excavated by Gustafson in 1902. He encountered a small mound, rising approx. 80cm from the contemporary surface and measuring 10 to 11.5m in diameter, containing dual boat burials. Although both graves are dated circa AD 800-900, excavation showed that the first boat to be buried in the mound was that of a male, who had been cremated along with one or more oxen, pigs and (possibly) a sheep. Sometime later, another boat was buried in the mound, this time containing the inhumed remains of a female. The excavators remarked at how richly furnished both graves were, however they noted that it was unusual for such a wealthy male to not be buried with a sword— only a spearhead and a few arrowheads were recovered from his grave. The female was buried with two tortoise brooches of extraordinarily high quality, an imported equal armed brooch of silver, and a Thor's hammer.

Ka.250, Bikjholberget [G2041]

Data Quality: Poor

Burial Sequence: Unknown

Certainty: Possible

Spatial Configuration: Same Context

MNI: Two Viking Age individuals (Male* and Female* of unknown age)

Date: AD 800–900

Structure: Flat grave

Contexts: Boat (both inhumations)

Assoc. Features: Stone packing

The burial was discovered 100–150m south of the houses on the farm of Nordre Kaupang while digging a pit for winter storage of cabbage root. In 1939, the construction of a cottage on the site had begun, and the burial was completely destroyed by this and the previous earthworks. Most of the artefacts lay at about 70–75 cm deep in the earth. The grave good assemblage included a pair of oval brooches (JP 37), wool or linen textiles, an equal-armed brooch in asymmetric animal style, a strap buckle with copper alloy mount of Insular origin, a double-edged sword, spearhead, scythe, spindle-whorl of soapstone, scissors, a knife, iron key, a copper alloy key, hone, copper alloy trefoil brooch (SK type 1) and about 160 rivets. Also found was a horseshoe (Clark 1995 type 1?) although most agree it is a later intrusion, however horse bone was also recovered from the burial. No skeletal material was recovered. The discovery was inspected by county conservator Harald Hals, who recommended no further action.

Ka.253, Bikjholberget [G2044]

Data Quality: Poor	Burial Sequence: Unknown
Certainty: Possible	Spatial Configuration: Same Context

MNI: Two Viking Age individuals (Females* of unknown age)

Date: AD 800–900

Structure: Flat grave earth cut

Contexts: Boat (both inhumations)

Assoc. Features: Stone packing around boat

This burial was poorly preserved when excavated by Blindheim in 1949 and 1950 and is logged under find number C27997 in Unimus. It most probably contained a boat, based on the rivets recovered, and was deposited within a flat grave earth cut stabilised by a stone packing. A collection of skeletal remains was discovered along with three oval brooches— a pair of JP type 37 and an additional single brooch of JP type 27. The recovery of three oval brooches has been taken to indicate the presence of two females, although it is unclear whether the skeletal remains verifies this. Although the JP 27 brooch is of an earlier type than the pair of JP 37 brooches it is likely that the burial was made between AD 800-900, if indeed they represent two interred individuals.

Ka.254/255, Bikjholberget [G2045]

Data Quality: Fair Burial Sequence: Unknown
Certainty: Possible Spatial Configuration: Same Context

MNI: Two Viking Age individuals (Female and Male* of unknown age)
Date: AD 800–850

Structure: Stone setting layer
Contexts: Boat/ship (both inhumations)
Assoc. Features: Charcoal layer under and around bodies

This burial was heavily disturbed prior to excavation by the construction of a farm road to Lamøya and house building in the immediate vicinity. It was excavated by Blindheim in 1949 once the initial burial had been uncovered. A number of nails and rivets attested to the presence of a boat which was placed within an earth cut which was then covered by a stone setting layer. The grave found within this context contained a female interred with a rich assemblage of copper alloy jewellery that was found *in situ* upon her upper body; two oval brooches, an equal-armed brooch, a rectangular brooch in symmetrical animal style, a beaded chain necklace and four copper alloy arm rings. This is the richest female burial to have been recovered from all of the Kaupang cemeteries. In addition, a considerable volume of charcoal was recovered from under and around her body.

Another grave was uncovered in close proximity, suggesting that the individual was probably interred in the same boat as the female, although this is not certain. While no skeletal material was observed, this grave is thought to have contained a male due to the presence of a complete weapon set— comprised of a sword, spear and shield— found *in situ*. Charcoal was also identified in the male's grave,

mostly concentrated over his grave goods although some was found dispersed around his grave as well. Items from amongst both grave good assemblages suggest that both graves were made between AD 800 and 850 although whether they were buried during the same funerary event or at different times during the VA is unknown.

Ka.257-259, Bikjholberget [G2047]

Data Quality: Fair Burial Sequence: Consecutive
Certainty: Confident Spatial Configuration: Same Context

MNI: Three Viking Age individuals (Unspec. Adult Male*, Middle Adult Male and Unspec. Adult Female)

Date: AD 900–950 and AD 900–1000

Structure: Stone setting layer
Contexts: Boat/ship (all three inhumations)
Assoc. Features: NA

Excavated in 1950, this burial was made clear by the impression left by a boat in the soil after its wooden components had decayed, leaving a few scattered rivets. As with other graves in this area, the boat was placed within an earth cut and then covered by a stone setting layer.

Inside the boat, the remains of three individuals were recovered, all oriented N-S and laying along the bottom of the vessel, possibly in a line along the keel. The first inhumation uncovered was that of an adult male in the northern end of the boat, who had been interred with a weapon set. The sword was deposited on his right side, while the spear was placed on top of his body with the tip pointing towards his feet and the shield lay resting on his hip. A bundle of arrows was found near the spear.

In the centre of the boat was the skeleton of an adult female. She had been wrapped in a layer of textile and a bronze coin brooch seemed to have been concealed under her clothes due to parts of its fittings being found imbedded in her skeletal remains. Blindheim suggests the concealment of the coin brooch and

the lack of oval brooches may be significant. She appears to have been positioned on her side, quite closely to the male to her north, as his spear point lay upon her arm.

A second male, approximately 40 years old, was found at the feet of the female in the southern end of the boat. He was furnished with a spear and a sword; the latter having been bent into an arc at the midpoint of the blade.

All three inhumations are dated to the tenth century although the first male's grave goods (in the northern end of the boat) give a narrower date range at AD 900-950, compared to the female and male in the southern end at AD 900-1000. This may indicate that the Male* and Female were buried concurrently, while the other Male was buried at a different time.

Ka.262, Bikjholberget [G2050]

Data Quality: Fair

Burial Sequence: Unknown

Certainty: Possible

Spatial Configuration: Same Context

MNI: Two Viking Age individuals (Male* of unknown age with an Unspec. Juvenile)

Date: AD 900–950

Structure: Stone setting layer

Contexts: Boat/ship (both inhumations)

Assoc. Features: NA

This burial, excavated in 1952, was composed of an earth cut containing a boat, oriented N–S, which was subsequently covered by a stone setting layer. Within the boat was an individual, gendered male due to the presence of a sword, inhumed on his side at the bottom of the boat. The position of the sword may indicate that the dead had been lying with his head to the WSW, the sword lying along his left side with its hilt in the NW. A knife lay in the corner and an axe was placed near the sword tip so that the shaft must have been lying inward of the sword, towards the corner. Close to the sword's blade and the axe, a black layer of charcoal lay about 2cm long and 8cm wide. Weak traces of bone were recovered at the same depth, from the sword point and westward, assumed to be remnants of the deceased however the bone was not confirmed to be human. The burial also yielded a small piece of leather and, upon X-ray photography, it was observed that metallic residue was present amongst the leather suggesting that this was a leather wallet containing coins. Originally the male was thought to be alone, however upon osteological analysis the remains of a child were also recovered amongst the adult's skeletal material. Its position in relation to the adult male is unknown.

Ka.263/264, Bikjholberget [G2051]

Data Quality: Fair Burial Sequence: Unknown
Certainty: Confident Spatial Configuration: Same Context

MNI: Two Viking Age individuals (2 x Male* of unknown age)
Date: AD 800–900 and AD 900–950

Structure: Stone Setting (Layer)
Contexts: Boat/Ship (both inhumations)
Assoc. Features: NA

This burial was partially excavated in 1952 (Ka.263) and then again in 1954 (Ka.264) by Blindheim's team. The records for this burial are confusing owing to the fact that the burial was greatly disturbed prior to excavation, and that Blindheim didn't realise that these graves formed a multiple burial, which only became clear in 1954. She has interpreted the burial to contain two males based on the recovery of two swords, found lying parallel to the side of the rock face which also ran parallel to the boat in which the men were interred. The boat was 4 or 5m long and was oriented E–W. It was covered in a dense and heavy layer of stones and was supported underneath with larger boulders. The more intact assemblage belonged to Ka.264, exhibiting a full weapon set containing a sword ornamented in Anglo–Saxon style. This sword was found *in situ* (unlike the other sword thought to belong to Ka.263) and the recovery of skeletal material in this area suggests that the individual with whom it was buried lay in the bottom of the boat with their head to the east.

The burial assemblage contained a sword (JP type H), spearhead (JP type E?), an axe (JP type G/H), a knife, sickle, a possible mount for casket, a strike-a-light, copper alloy ring-pin, two small Insular copper alloy objects (perhaps manuscript

turners?), a copper alloy button, an ornament of copper alloy or silver, three pieces of hacksilver, two tongue-shaped mounts (strap ends) of sheet copper alloy, two soapstone vessels, another axe (JP type A?), a forging hammer and a hone.

While the typologies of the assemblage yield two different chronologies for each grave, it is still possible that these individuals were interred contemporaneously and so the burial has not been assigned a temporal sequence.

Ka.265/266, Bikjholberget [G2052]

Data Quality: Fair Burial Sequence: Consecutive
Certainty: Confident Spatial Configuration: Same Context

MNI: Two Viking Age individuals (Unspec. Adult Female and a Male* of Unknown age)

Date: AD 800–850 and AD 800–950

Structure: Stone Setting (Layer)
Contexts: Boat/Ship (both inhumations)
Assoc. Features: Plant Spread over the body

This burial, formed much like the others by a boat covered by a layer of stone, was excavated in the Spring on 1953 and found to contain the remains of two individuals: a male based on the recovery of a sword (JP type H), and an adult female. The female was placed in the bottom of the boat, with her head pointing to the north. The male remains, found near the sword, were highly disturbed, suggesting that they had been disarticulated and laid in a pile. It is probable that he wasn't deposited in this way but was, rather, the initial interment which was later moved aside to make way for the later addition of the female.

Blindheim states that the sword was moved with him, indicating a degree of care in his re-deposition, as was also demonstrated by the manner with which he was placed in a secondary, purpose-built pit. The sword was the only item found with the male. The female's jewellery was found *in situ* on her chest with two unusually beautiful beads of rock crystal. A big spindle whorl of a hard, reddish rock species was also found nearby. Substantial textile residues were preserved with the brooches and the spindle whorl lay on one of her leg bones along with a knife. Bark residues were present on top of the brooches and textile remains, indicating that birchbark must have covered her body.

Ka.268, Bikjholberget [G2054]

Data Quality: Fair Burial Sequence: Unknown
Certainty: Confident Spatial Configuration: Same Context

MNI: Two Viking Age individuals (Middle Adult Female and an Unspec. Juvenile)

Date: AD 800–850

Structure: Stone Setting (Layer)
Contexts: Boat/Ship (both inhumations)
Assoc. Features: Textile Spread over and under bodies

This burial was excavated by Blindheim and her team in 1953 and was formed by a boat covered by a layer of stone. The boat had measured 7–8m in length between the stern and bow and was oriented NNW–SSE. In one end of the boat was found a female, laying extended on her left side with one arm bent at the elbow. Her jewellery set was found fastened to her chest and consisted of a pair of oval brooches, a Celtic book bracket (made into a brooch), a needle pin and 18 glass beads. Two small knives and a spindle whirl were also found among the grave goods. The Celtic bracket was found lying with its ornamental side down above one of the oval brooches. Immediately below the Celtic bracket, the needle pin was placed on top of some bone pieces which must have been the rest of her upper arm. Between the oval brooches, a chain lay intact. As preservation was particularly good in this burial, irregularities observed on the surface of her skull were taken to indicate that her hair had been tied in a knot or braid. She appeared to have been covered with textile, of which its remains were also found under her body suggesting that she may have been wrapped in a blanket.

Upon inspection of the skeletal material at the Anatomical Institute carried out by Per Holck, it was found that the remains also contained a small assemblage

of teeth, possibly from a child. The female's skull seemed to belong to a small, 'flimsy' individual while the *in situ* teeth were well worn, signalling that the female was probably elderly, perhaps approximately 40 to 50 years old.

Ka.270/271, Bikjholberget [G2056]

Data Quality: Fair

Burial Sequence: Unknown

Certainty: Possible

Spatial Configuration: Different Context

MNI: Two Viking Age individuals (Male* of Unknown age and another individual of Unknown sex and age)

Date: AD 900–950

Structure: Stone Setting (Layer) covering a Chamber

Contexts: Coffin (M* VA inhumation)

Unknown (Unknown VA inhumation)

Assoc. Features: NA

Also excavated by Blindheim during the 1953 field season, the recovery of an ambiguous combination of wooden features has raised some questions as to the structural nature of the burial and whether the wooden remains represent a chamber or multiple coffins. Initially, Blindheim suggested that the wood remains appeared as if an earth cut pit had been lined with wooden planks, much like a chamber. The main earth cut was relatively clear; it was rectangular in shape, measured 2m long and 1.2m wide and was oriented E–W. However, there also appeared to be a rectangular extension projecting from the main chamber, measuring 0.8m long and 1.2m wide.

There is much confusion over what these remains represent structurally. In essence, Blindheim suggests that the chamber was constructed in a rough L-shape, which contained an individual inhumed in a coffin, oriented W–E, along the southern wall of the chamber with a possible further inhumation occurring in the northern extension of the chamber. Conversely, Stylegar (2007) suggests that the extension is actually an intrusive coffin burial that intercut the smaller rectangular chamber burial running N–S. As Blindheim's interpretation is based

upon the stratigraphy she observed at the time, her interpretation has been followed here, although it is also possible that Stylegar's suggestion is correct.

The individual in the coffin was probably male, based on the grave goods with which he was associated, which included a sword (JP type M), axe (JP type G/H), a spearhead (JP type K?), knife, sickle, a couple of hones, a trefoil brooch (SK3), four glass beads, some hand-made pottery (of North-sea type) and a possible smoothing stone. Gold thread found at the head end of his burial suggests he was interred with fine textiles, while the recovery horse teeth may suggest a horse may have also occupied the chamber. The grave goods associated with the other Unknown individual include an axe (JP type H) and a knife.

Ka.272, Bikjholberget [G2057]

Data Quality: Fair

Burial Sequence: Unknown

Certainty: Possible

Spatial Configuration: Same Context

MNI: Two Viking Age individuals (Unspec. Adult Male and Unspec. Juvenile of Unknown sex)

Date: AD 850–900

Structure: Stone Setting (Layer)

Contexts: Boat/Ship (both inhumations)

Assoc. Features: Stone Packing

Excavated in 1953, this burial was identified by the impression of a boat's keel plank and rows of rivets left in the soil. One end of the burial had been destroyed by the construction of a road and cottage on the site, but an assessment of the rivets suggests the boat was oriented NNE–SSW and was approximately 4.5m in length. The boat had been placed within an earth cut and then packed with stones and covered by a stone setting layer.

Placed in the bottom of the boat, perhaps near to its western end, were the remains of an adult male who had been laid in extended supine position. According to the Anatomy Institute, teeth from a child were also present amongst the remains of the adult, however no other traces of the juvenile were identified during excavation.

Within the boat were found a number of grave goods, including an axe (JP type G), knife, a needle hone, a glass bead, a penannular copper alloy brooch (JP 231), the remains of what may have been an oval brooch, a tongue-shaped strike-a-

light with copper alloy mount (JP 146/147 in symmetric animal style) and a fragment of pottery.

Although the Anatomy Institute determined that the remains were of an adult male, Blindheim and colleagues have noted how unusual it is for no sword to have been recovered in connection with his inhumation, particularly in that most of the burial seemed completely intact (apart from the truncation of the eastern end by the Lamøya road) so it is unlikely the sword was removed or disturbed. Others, too, have been similarly confused by the grave goods. Lia (2001), like Blindheim et al. (1995:106), has interpreted this burial to have contained a male with a child, however Hofseth (1999) has suggested that the adult may have been a female, which is certainly supported by the recovery of an oval brooch, and the axe and knife should not necessarily be regarded as male weaponry, appearing relatively frequently in other female burials at Kaupang (e.g. Ka.253 [G2044], Ka.280/281 [G2063], Ka.284/285 [G2066], Ka.303/304 [G2076], Ka.400/401 [G2139]).

The remains are interpreted here as that of a male in line with Blindheim and colleagues' findings, but it is important to keep in mind that the burial may have contained a female or someone with whom it was appropriate to be buried with some female objects. All that can be established with confidence is that gender determinations based on grave goods may be misleading.

Ka.275/276, Bikjholberget [G2059]

Data Quality: Fair Burial Sequence: Contemporary
Certainty: Confident Spatial Configuration: Same Context

MNI: Two Viking Age individuals (Young Adult Male* and individual of Unknown sex or age)

Date: Unknown

Structure: Stone Setting (Layer)
Contexts: Earth Cut (both inhumations)
Assoc. Features: NA

This multiple burial is quite unique amongst the cemeteries of Kaupang. In the 1953-54 field season, Blindheim and colleagues uncovered evidence of three individuals who had been interred in seemingly informal pits rather than formal burial structures; two individuals in a single pit who appeared to be holding hands (the multiple burial of interest here), and a further female individual interred singly a few meters to the north.

Although the stone layer over which the pits had been covered was in keeping with the rest of the graves at Kaupang, Blindheim wrote that their bodies appeared to have been 'thrown down', as if they had died *in situ* and were accidentally covered over during the course of the settlement of Kaupang. However, the depth of the pits indicates that they were buried during the time that Kaupang was in full occupation, meaning that they must have been known about by the community and intentionally buried in this fashion.

Other aspects of their treatment are unusual too; all of the individuals were found in a twisted position, having been placed directly into the pits, and their

feet may have been tied together as indicated from the placement of their legs (Blindheim et al. 1995:130).

While the single female burial is not the focus in this description, it appears to have been the product of the same rationale which structured the inhumation of the individuals in the multiple burial and is included here for contextual purposes. The single female had been laid in a crouched position, oriented N–S, and the jaw of a horse had been placed next to her head.

In opposition, those interred in the multiple burial were placed in the reverse orientation, with the head-end of their bodies pointing to the south. The first individual, perhaps a young adult male, seemed awkwardly placed on their back and had been decapitated, while the other individual was turned on their left side in a flexed position, and seemed to be clutching the decapitated individual's arm.

No grave goods were found with any of those interred (except for the horse jaw), and the unusual treatment of their bodies led Blindheim to believe that they were thralls or slaves. She notes that their orientation and positioning suggest that "Christians could have had a hard death in a foreign country" (Blindheim et al. 1995:130). However, Stylegar disagrees with her interpretation, supposing that these burials reflect Kaupang's judicial function as an administrative centre (2007:91).

Ka.280/281, Bikjholberget [G2063]

Data Quality: Fair

Burial Sequence: Unknown

Certainty: Possible

Spatial Configuration: Same Context

MNI: Two Viking Age individuals (2 x Females* of Unknown age)

Date: AD 900–1000

Structure: Stone Setting (Layer)

Contexts: Chamber (both inhumations)

Assoc. Features: NA

The structure of this burial has been difficult to ascertain. Excavated in the Spring of 1954, Blindheim first believed this burial may have been some sort of partial boat burial, due to the recovery of 32 nails, where a boat board was used as a bier or a coffin, or even as a burial cover. However, the stratigraphy at the end of the burial appeared to indicate that a cut had been made for a large 'chest' or chamber which may have accommodated two individuals (although Blindheim counted each individual as single interments out of caution). Stylegar's interpretation is similar; he suggests that the burial could have been formed by a plank-lined pit (2007:92).

In the absence of any clarity, and the fact that the earth cut no doubt contained a substantial wooden structure of some kind, the burial has been treated here as a possible multiple burial of two gendered females in a wooden chamber (a place holder for whatever wooden enclosure actually occurred in the burial). The possibility that the structure was in fact a chamber is strengthened by the fact that objects of Eastern influence (specifically items originating from Finnish and Slavic regions) were recovered in the burial. One female had been interred with a cruciform silver pendant, five glass and two amber beads, a knife, arrowhead

and a silver coin. The other female was buried with an axe (JP type K?), a scythe, a knife, flint, two beads, a needle hone, a soapstone vessel (R729), and a casket mount, amongst other items. Neither of the individuals were buried with oval brooches which, when considered in relation to other elements of this burial (the objects of Eastern influence and the rarity of chambers recovered at Kaupang), may suggest that these women were not locals.

Ka.284/285, Bikjholberget [G2066]

Data Quality: Fair

Burial Sequence: Consecutive

Certainty: Possible

Spatial Configuration: Same Context

MNI: Two Viking Age individuals (2 x Unspec. Adult Females*)

Date: AD 900–950

Structure: Flat Grave

Contexts: Boat/Ship (both inhumations)

Assoc. Features: Stone Packing

This burial was formed by a boat that had been placed in an earth cut and packed with stone. The boat had been placed parallel to the rocky outcrop and the rivets left behind in the soil indicate that it was oriented N–S and had to be greater than 3m in length. It contained the remains of two adult females who had been placed in each end of the boat; the female in the southern end had been laid with her head in the north while it is unclear whether the female in the northern end followed this orientation as no skeletal remains were recovered except horse teeth. The first female was represented by her vertebra and it appeared that the oval brooch pair remained *in situ* at her breast. Blindheim believes that nails found in the vicinity of her chest could indicate that she was interred in a coffin, however it is equally likely that a chest had been placed near her body, perhaps linked with the key that was found there also. Other items found with her body included an axe (JP type H), an iron cauldron (R731), a soapstone vessel (R729), a small ring, a mount from casket, some knives, scissors and needle hone, two glass beads and a spindle-whorl of amber, as well as a heckle and some wool.

The female in the northern end of the boat was buried with similar items, including a pair of oval brooches (JP type 51), one or two axes (JP type K), a knife, two spindle-whorls, one glass bead, two amber beads, a fragmentary glass beaker, and the remnants of textiles.

Ka.286/287, Bikjholberget [G2067]

Data Quality: Fair	Burial Sequence: Consecutive
Certainty: Possible	Spatial Configuration: Same Context

MNI: Two Viking Age individuals (Unspec. Adult Female and Unspec. Adult Male*)

Date: AD 800–850 (M*) and AD 850–900 (F)

Structure: Stone Setting (Layer)

Contexts: Boat/Ship (both inhumations)

Assoc. Features: NA

Excavated by Blindheim's team in 1954, this burial was also found to comprise a boat, oriented E–W, which had been dug into the ground and covered with a dense and heavy stone setting layer. The boat had contained two individuals; an adult female, possibly oriented with her head to the west, was placed in the western end of the boat, while the few skeletal remains of a second individual—an adult male—were found heavily disturbed on the southern long-side of the boat. It appears the male was the initial inhumation in the boat, perhaps being interred amidships or towards the eastern end around AD 800–850, but his remains were later moved (or removed) when the female was interred some years later (AD 850–900).

Textile remains suggest that the female had been wrapped in a shroud, and she had been buried with a number of items, some exhibiting Eastern (Finnish and Slavic) influence. These included a pair of oval brooches (JP 37) along with a further two trefoil brooches (one in symmetric animal style and the other of SK type 3), a carnelian bead and an amber bead, a belt buckle, two hones, some fragments of soapstone, and woollen textiles.

The heavily disturbed and dispersed grave goods of the male were equally as rich and are thought to exhibit Western continental influences comprising a spearhead (JP type E?), an axe (JP type D), two iron fishing gaffs, a few knives and a lead sinker, as well as a hone, a bead (of amber or carnelian), and a soapstone vessel. A sword (JP type H) that appears linked with the single burial Ka.288 on Blindheim's excavation plan could possibly have originated from the male's grave described here.

Ka.292/293, Bikjholberget [G2072]

Data Quality: Fair Burial Sequence: Consecutive
Certainty: Confident Spatial Configuration: Different Structures

MNI: Two Viking Age individuals (Young Adult Male* and Unk. Male*)
Date: AD 800 (Unk. M*) and AD 900–950 (YA M*)

Structure: Mound
Contexts: Boat/Ship (YA M* inhumation)
 Earth Cut (Unk. M* inhumation)
Assoc. Features: Four Boulders (on Unk. M*)

This burial differs from most at Kaupang as it was covered by a low barrow, although it still comprised a boat that had been surrounded and covered by a stone packing. The boat was oriented NE–SW and was approximately 8m long and 1.5m wide. Two long, narrow wooden objects, encountered just above the base of the boat, were interpreted as paddles or oars, while some iron clamps identified in the base of the boat indicated that the vessel was repaired in this area.

The first skeleton encountered was interred amidships at ground level, with their head towards the north. The skeletal remains were those of an adult, not older than 30 years of age, who may have been male based on the grave goods found in association with the burial. One of two spearheads was found close to his head (both JP type K), as was a shield boss (R562), but he was also interred with two hones, a glass bead, a possible wooden bucket, and some sherds of clay, flint, and pottery. At his feet were an axe (JP type F), a knife, a sickle (R358), a soapstone vessel and some carpenter's tools, including a planer, two iron awls and an iron scraper.

While cleaning up the excavated western portion of the boat, it was found that another individual had been interred below the boat, with a horse skull placed under a stone. Closely to and partly below the western edge of the boat near the SW prow, the hips, thighs and lower extremities of a skeleton were 50 to 65cm deeper than the first skeleton mentioned above. This individual, perhaps a male based on the grave goods, had been placed in extended supine position, also oriented NE–SW, and surrounded by a number of boulders: his feet were placed between two boulders, while another boulder was placed over his upper left thigh, and the largest boulder was located immediately to the right of his shoulder. He had been interred with a spearhead, four arrowheads (R540), a knife, a possible leaden reliquary, a copper alloy belt buckle and, of course, the horse's skull. Some of his items are suggestive of a western continental influence. The objects indicate that he was buried sometime around AD 800 while the male in the boat above was probably interred up to 100 years later, between AD 900–950.

Ka.294-297, Bikjholberget [G2073]

Data Quality: Fair Burial Sequence: Consecutive
Certainty: Confident Spatial Configuration: Different Structures

MNI: Five Viking Age individuals

Middle Adult Female (AD 900–950)	Unspec. Adult Female* (AD 850–950)
Unspec. Juvenile (AD 900–950?)	Unspec. Adult Male (AD 800–850)
Unspec. Adult Male* (AD 900–1000)	

Date: AD 800–1000

Structure: Stone Setting (Rectangle)
Contexts: Earth Cut (UA M inhumation)
 Boat/Ship (all other inhumations)
Assoc. Features: Stone Packing (around boat); Boulder (on UA M)

Much like the previous example, this burial (excavated in 1951) adopted much the same temporal and structural format, which consisted of an initial interment in an earth cut grave below a boat which received further inhumations as the years progressed. The initial grave, probably made sometime between AD 800–850, was of an adult male who had been inhumed in a simple earth cut grave that was oriented NE–SW. He had been laid on his left side with a boulder pressed up against his chest and/or head which pointed northwards. He had been equipped with a penannular brooch, a spearhead, two knives, a strike-a-light (R426) and hone, two flints, a soapstone vessel and an egg-shaped stone.

Many years later in the later ninth century, a 10m long boat was pulled into position above the male following the same NE-SW alignment of his grave. At the steering oar in the north-eastern end of the boat, a female was inhumed in a seated position with a bronze bowl inscribed with runes placed on her lap.

Within the bowl was the decapitated head of a dog while the rest of its carved carcass was placed at her feet. She had also been buried with many items commonly found in other burials, including a pair of oval brooches (JP type 51), an iron weaving sword, a hone, some pottery, and five glass beads. However, she had also been interred with some more unusual items. These included an iron rod, which most probably functioned as a *seiðr* staff (often considered a roasting spit), an egg-shaped stone, an axe (JP type G/H), a shield boss (R562), and the bridle bit for a horse.

The bridle bit was found near where her feet may have rested but it is also possible that this became dislodged and was actually interred with the decapitated and dismembered horse that was placed in front of the dog towards the middle of the boat. The dismembered sections of the horse had been replaced in rough anatomical order when buried and had been dressed with a studded bronze bridle. It is unclear whether the horse was inhumed at the same time as the female or sometime later in the tenth century when a further three individuals were interred in the middle and south-western sections of the boat.

The burial sequence of these further three individuals is not known. In the south-western end of the boat were the remains of a middle to older adult female, perhaps aged between 45 and 50 years at the time of her death, who had been placed in extended supine position with her head to the north. Less than 10cm above her pelvis were found the remains of an infant (or perhaps a small animal) suggesting that it had been placed upon her hip. She had also been interred with a pair of gilded oval brooches (JP type 51), a trefoil brooch (JP type 98 in symmetric animal style), a silver ring, almost 30 glass beads, a silver arm ring and the remnants of a woollen textile recovered in the area around her chest.

Additionally, a key and a knife were placed at her hip, while an iron weaving sword was laid at her feet.

Immediately to the north of this pair were the remains of an adult male located close to the middle of the boat, laid on his back with his legs drawn up in tight flexion and with his head to the south. He was interred with a sword (JP type X), two axes (JP types B and K), at least four arrowheads (R539), a shield boss (R562), scythe (R386), a soapstone vessel, hone, two spindle whorls, three glass beads, two knives, some pottery and an iron object that may have been a dog collar. Interestingly, an iron frying pan or saucepan had been placed upon his chest. One of these three individuals was most likely the final interment to be received by the boat.

The whole burial had been covered by a layer of stone packing and a rectangular stone setting, but at what time these features were constructed over the life span of the burial is unknown.

Ka.298-300, Bikjholberget [G2074]

Data Quality: Fair Burial Sequence: Consecutive
Certainty: Confident Spatial Configuration: Different Structures

MNI: Four Viking Age individuals (Older Adult Male, Unspec. Juvenile, Unspec. Adult Female* and Unk. Male)

Date: AD 800–850 (UA F*), AD 850–950 (Unk. M), AD 900–1000 (OA M and Juvenile)

Structure: Wall

Contexts: Platform/Floor (UA F* inhumation)
Boat/Ship (all other inhumations)

Assoc. Features: Charcoal Layer (above boat); Stone Packing (above and under boat)

This burial, excavated in 1952, is quite unique at Kaupang as it is the only structure which incorporates a naturally-occurring feature to serve as a structure for the overall burial. The main component of the burial was a 9m long boat which had been dug into an earth cut oriented N–S. The boat had been constructed out of oak and subsequently covered with three layers of stone packing. Between the two lowest levels of stone was a thin charcoal layer that contained fragments of burnt bone.

Along the eastern long-side of the boat, a round deposit of charcoal suggested that some form of wooden post marker or structure, supported by stone packing, had once stood there. To the western side of the northern end of the boat, a small clearing that had been overgrown with juniper, pine and oak stumps revealed a large stone slab or boulder laying at the base of the rock wall. Upon and around it lay some nails, a quantity of beads, a knife and an equal-armed brooch.

It appears that initial interment in the middle of the boat (where an arm-ring and a piece of bone had been recovered) was that of a female who was buried circa AD 800–850. Sometime time later when her remains were no longer articulated, she was removed from the boat and was placed as a pile of bones on the small stone shelf nestled into the rock wall. In total, her grave good assemblage is thought to have also contained a bronze arm ring (JP type 195), a bronze ring from necklace, a total of 22 beads (including one of rock crystal, one of carnelian and two amber beads), a miniature spearhead, an axe (JP type A), a key, and a spindle-whorl. Some of these items display a connection to the East.

It is likely that she had been removed for the burial of another individual in the northern end of the boat, perhaps occurring between AD 850 and AD 950. Only traces of this individuals' skeletal remains were present, however the presence of a sword in direct association with the grave would indicate that he was male. The single-edged sword (JP type H) had been ceremonially modified, being found broken into three pieces and each piece stacked one on top of the other with the hilt uppermost on the stack. An axe (possibly of JP type E–G) was found chopped into the ground east of the sword and 10 cm east of this lay a shield with an indentation that suggests the boss was ceremonially modified also. A spearhead and two knives were recovered, one knife placed at the male's breast and the other at his thigh. Some of his grave good assemblage displayed Insular origins, including a gilt bronze mount, but other objects, like the hone and strike-a-light, were of more standard kind. A soapstone vessel was placed between this man's graves and the interment of a further two individuals in the southern end of the boat.

Sometime between AD 900 and AD 1000, the remains of an older adult male, perhaps in his 50s, had been placed in the southern end of the boat in an odd configuration; his head was found resting on top of his lower ribs and many parts of his skeleton were missing. At first it was thought that the man had been placed in a crouched or foetal position with his arms crossed over his chest, however further examination carried out by biological anthropologist, Per Holck, determined that the male had been dismembered. Apparently, his torso had lain in supine position, the head-end pointing to the south. A sword (JP type M) had been placed with the hilt at his hip level, running northwards so that the tip lay where his feet should have been.

Amongst his remains was skeletal material originating from an older juvenile, perhaps aged 8 to 10 years old. Grave goods associated with the man and child include a forging hammer and tongs, a sickle (R348), spearhead (BS VII2B), axe (JP type F), shield boss (R562), a couple of knives, bronze ring-pin (JP 237), a round gilt bronze Insular mount with spiral ornamentation, another Insular bronze mount, four beads (two glass and two amber), and iron gaff, a looped hone, flint and some textiles. It is unclear whether the child and the male had been buried contemporaneously or consecutively.

Ka.301/302, Bikjholberget [G2075]

Data Quality: Fair Burial Sequence: Unknown
Certainty: Confident Spatial Configuration: Same Context

MNI: Two Viking Age individuals (2 x Unk. Males*)

Date: AD 860–900 and AD 900

Structure: Stone Setting (Layer)

Contexts: Boat/Ship (both inhumations)

Assoc. Features: NA

This burial comprised a boat— measuring approximately 6m long, 1.25m wide and oriented N–S— which was covered by three layers of stone packing and a stone layer on the surface. It was found to contain two individuals; one each placed at opposite ends of the boat. Due to the poor survival of both individuals' skeletal remains, both have been gendered male on the recovery of weaponry.

The male in the southern end of the boat was associated with an assemblage of objects which hinted at a number of foreign influences from the East, the continent and the Insular world. With him was a double-edged sword (JP type C), a spearhead (BS VI.3A), knife, spherical weight, a bronze ring-pin, two amber and one jet bead, a spindle-whorl, and some hand-made pottery (although Blindheim and colleagues noted that it is possible that the weight, jet bead and pottery were possibly connected to Ka.303/304 rather than this burial).

The objects clustered in the northern end, taken to represent another male but also possibly belonging to a female, included a spearhead (JP type F), axe (JP type K), a sickle, a pair of scissors, up to three knives, a casket mount, a possible iron weaving sword, a looped hone, and a crampon.

Ka.303/304, Bikjholberget [G2076]

Data Quality: Fair Burial Sequence: Consecutive
Certainty: Confident Spatial Configuration: Same Context

MNI: Two Viking Age individuals (2 x Unspec. Adult Females*)
Date: AD 800–850 and AD 875–900

Structure: Stone Setting (Layer)
Contexts: Boat/Ship (both inhumations)
Assoc. Features: NA

This burial also comprised a boat— one of the smallest in South Bikjholberget measuring between 5m and 6m long and oriented N–S— which was covered by layers of stone packing and a stone layer on the surface. Blindheim and colleagues have ventured that the boat may have been dismantled and placed over the burial in parts, although the basis upon which this suggestion rests is unclear. Nevertheless, this burial was formed by a boat with the inhumed remains of two individuals, one each placed at either end of the boat. As was the case in the previous burial, poor skeletal preservation means both individuals have been gendered female on the recovery of oval brooches.

The female associated with the northern end of the boat may have been the initial burial, probably taking place between AD 800 and AD 850, and was placed in an extended supine position with her head possibly to the north. She was interred with an assemblage of objects exhibiting continental and Insular influences; a pair of oval brooches (JP 37), a gilt bronze Insular (Anglo-Irish) mount, three glass beads, five sherds of glass (Trichterbecher), some hand-made pottery, a knife, some flints and woollen textile and an egg-shaped stone.

The female in the southern end of the boat was associated with an assemblage of objects including a single oval brooch (JP 30), an equal-armed brooch (SK type 3), an axe (JP type G), arrowhead (R545), a sickle, five knives, a lead sinker, a hone as well as a spindle-whorl and up to eight beads, of which four were glass and one was amber. Some slag and a further two egg-shaped stones were also found in the burial and could have belonged to either individual.

Ka.309, Bikjholberget [G2081]

Data Quality: Fair Burial Sequence: Consecutive
Certainty: Confident Spatial Configuration: Same Context

MNI: Two Viking Age individuals (Unk. Male* and an individual of unknown sex and age)

Date: Both AD 900–950

Structure: Stone Setting (Boat)
Contexts: Boat/Ship (VA M*)
 Loose Cremation Deposit (VA Unk.)
Assoc. Features: Charcoal Layer (inside boat)

This burial contained a boat made of oak and measuring 6.5–7m long, topped with a boat-shaped stone setting. The boat was oriented E–W and contained the remains of two individuals; one whom had been inhumed and one who had been cremated. Due to few skeletal remains having been preserved, the inhumed individual was assumed to be male on the basis of weaponry located in the middle of the boat. It is possible that it was here that the individual once lay with their head in the east. This individual's grave good assemblage was extensive; he was interred with a double-edged sword (JP type M), two spearheads (JP types K and I), a shield, an axe (JP type I), three all-purpose knives and one weapon-like knife, arrowheads, a bronze ring-pin, some remains of wool and glass bead, a soapstone vessel, and a horse's harness fittings and bit. He was also interred with items related to forging, including tongs, a file and a hammer.

At first, Blindheim and colleagues thought that boat, along with a number of items, had been burnt due to the large quantity of charcoal that was spread about the boat and concentrated largely in the western end. However, it was soon

established that the entire boat had been covered by a layer of about 40 grams of burnt bone and charcoal. Analysis of the deposit found that it contained three bones from indeterminate animals as well as bone elements from human extremities, most probably from an adult of uncertain sex. The recovery of a second sword, of which sections were found within and outside the southern long-side of the boat may suggest that the cremation deposit contained the remains of a male. The large circular patches of charcoal and burnt grain in the western end of the boat may be related to the dispersed human/animal cremation deposit, or may have resulted from some other ritual practice, the nature of which is not yet clear.

Ka.310/311, Bikjholberget [G2082]

Data Quality: Fair Burial Sequence: Unknown
Certainty: Confident Spatial Configuration: Same Context

MNI: Two Viking Age individuals (Middle Adult Female* and Middle Adult Male*)

Date: AD 800–900

Structure: Stone Setting (Layer)
Contexts: Boat/Ship (both inhumations)
Assoc. Features: NA

The burial was constructed in much the same fashion of other boat burials at Kaupang, being packed with stones in the surround and topped with a stone setting layer. The boat's total length reached between 10–12m and oriented N–S. It contained the remains of two individuals, one each placed in the northern and southern ends of the boat. In the northern end, a middle-aged female had been laid on left her side with her head to the north. She had been buried wearing her oval brooch pair (JP type 37), a horse-shaped bronze brooch and a string of 57 beads (56 glass and one amber). Also recovered nearby was a rectangular mount, an iron rod, some pottery, a spindle-whorl, the remains of a sickle, a scutcheon and a wooden bucket.

In the southern end lay a middle-aged male with his face turned to the side and possibly oriented with his head to the south (the remains of a fragile cranium lay about 90 cm from the end of the boat). He was buried with a double-edged sword, a knife and an axe (JP type D), as well as up to nine arrows (R539) in a quiver located at the level of his head. Other recovered objects included a knife, a bronze ring-pin, an iron chain, as well as a wooden cup (of Gokstad type) that was to the left of his chest. However, other more unusual remains— like bark, a flint and a burnt stone— were also found, although their nature and location in relation to his body remains unclear.

Ka.316/317, Bikjholberget [G2087]

Data Quality: Fair Burial Sequence: Consecutive
Certainty: Confident Spatial Configuration: Same Context

MNI: Two Viking Age individuals (Older Juvenile Male* and Unspec. Adult Male*)

Date: Both AD 850–900

Structure: Stone Setting (Layer) with associated SHG
Contexts: Chest/Box (both inhumations)
Assoc. Features: Charcoal Layer (around chest/box)

Relatively unique amongst the burials at Kaupang is the inhumation of two individuals in a domestic chest instead of a coffin. Although chests were used primarily as furniture, for storage or for travelling throughout the Viking Age, they also had a secondary function as coffins in some circumstances, this being the only example at Kaupang yet identified. The Oseberg type chest had had a vaulted lid with two hinges and a lock, and measured approximately 125–140cm long, 65–75cm wide and 20–30cm tall. It had been placed in an earth cut oriented N–S, surrounded by stone packing and topped with a stone setting layer on the surface. A considerable quantity of charcoal was found scattered within the cut and along the walls of the chest.

As noted, the chest contained the remains of two individuals; a child of about 6 or 7 years of age as well as the remains of an adult male. The adult male had been lying on his back with his head to the side and his face pressed in the ground (perhaps due to pressure from the masses above). His left arm lay tightly along the side, while the right was bent with the hand at the left elbow. Conspicuously, his legs and feet were found to be missing, it initially being

assumed that they were chopped off to fit into the chest. However, in light of the recovery of the teeth of the juvenile male, it was later established that the child had initially been buried in the chest, after which time the chest had been reopened in later years for the interment of the adult male. The mutilation of the adult male was probably not simply a method of interring an individual into a too-small space, but is rather more likely to have been carried out for other purposes— an interpretation strengthened by the fact that there are other examples of dismembered males being found interred with children elsewhere (e.g. Cloghermore Cave [G1913] in Ireland, and Ka.298 [G2074] also at Kaupang).

A number of items were found both within and outside the walls of the chest; one shield boss (R562) was inside the chest's northern short-side wall, while a large iron kettle stood sideways in the cut outside the western long-side of the chest. Outside the southern short-side of the chest was a spearhead (BS VI.4B). Inside the eastern long-side was another shield boss (of 'sugar loaf' or Zuckerhut type) and a file tool, while elsewhere in this area was an axe (JP type A) found chopped into the soil outside the chest in similar circumstances to that found in Ka.298-300 [G2074]. Other items were also found but their find location is unknown: a scutcheon (Oseberg type), a couple of knives, a hone, a trefoil brooch (geometric style), a sickle, an iron fishing hook, and a glass bead. It is difficult to ascertain to whom each grave good belongs, however Blindheim and colleagues suggest that the older types of weaponry (the spearhead and axe) along with the rare 'sugar loaf' shield boss, may have been associated with the child.

Later in 1957, a single horse grave was discovered immediately to the south of the chest, and perfectly aligned with its earth cut. It had been buried in a circular

cut and although the horse's skeleton was poorly preserved, an impression of its remains was observed in the soil. From this it could be established that its backbone had been oriented E-W and one of its hind legs had lay under its spine. It was also apparent that the horse had also been decapitated prior to burial and was placed with its bridle and imported harness fittings laying against a stone. Additionally, a double-edged axe had been placed a short distance to the north from the horses' spine, while a stone had been laid over the back of its head.

Ka.400/401, Nordre Kaupang [G2054]

Data Quality: Poor

Burial Sequence: Consecutive

Certainty: Possible

Spatial Configuration: Unknown

MNI: Two Viking Age individuals (2 x Unspec. Adult Females*)

Date: AD 800–900 and AD 900–1000

Structure: Mound

Contexts: Loose Cremation Deposit (UA F* cremation)

Unknown (UA F* inhumation)

Assoc. Features: NA

First investigated by Nicolaysen in 1859, this burial was formed by a long mound which was found to contain three oval brooches and an iron axe. The exact location of the axe is uncertain, causing Blindheim and colleagues (1981:211) to disregard it and restrict their assessment on the basis of the three brooches, bringing them to a conclusion that the burial contained two women, one of whom was cremated and the other inhumed. Traditionally, the recovery of weaponry would be interpreted as belonging to a male burial, however recent work by Aannestad and Glørstad (2018) has demonstrated that many women of a particular social standing were buried with weaponry at Kaupang. Thus, the axe has been included as part of the burial assemblage. This burial also may demonstrate a considerable time lapse between interments; on the assumption that neither of the brooches were heirlooms at the time of their deposition, the brooch types indicate that one of the women was buried in the AD 800s, while the second was interred during the AD 900s.

HEDEBY

VIKING AGE KINGDOM OF DENMARK

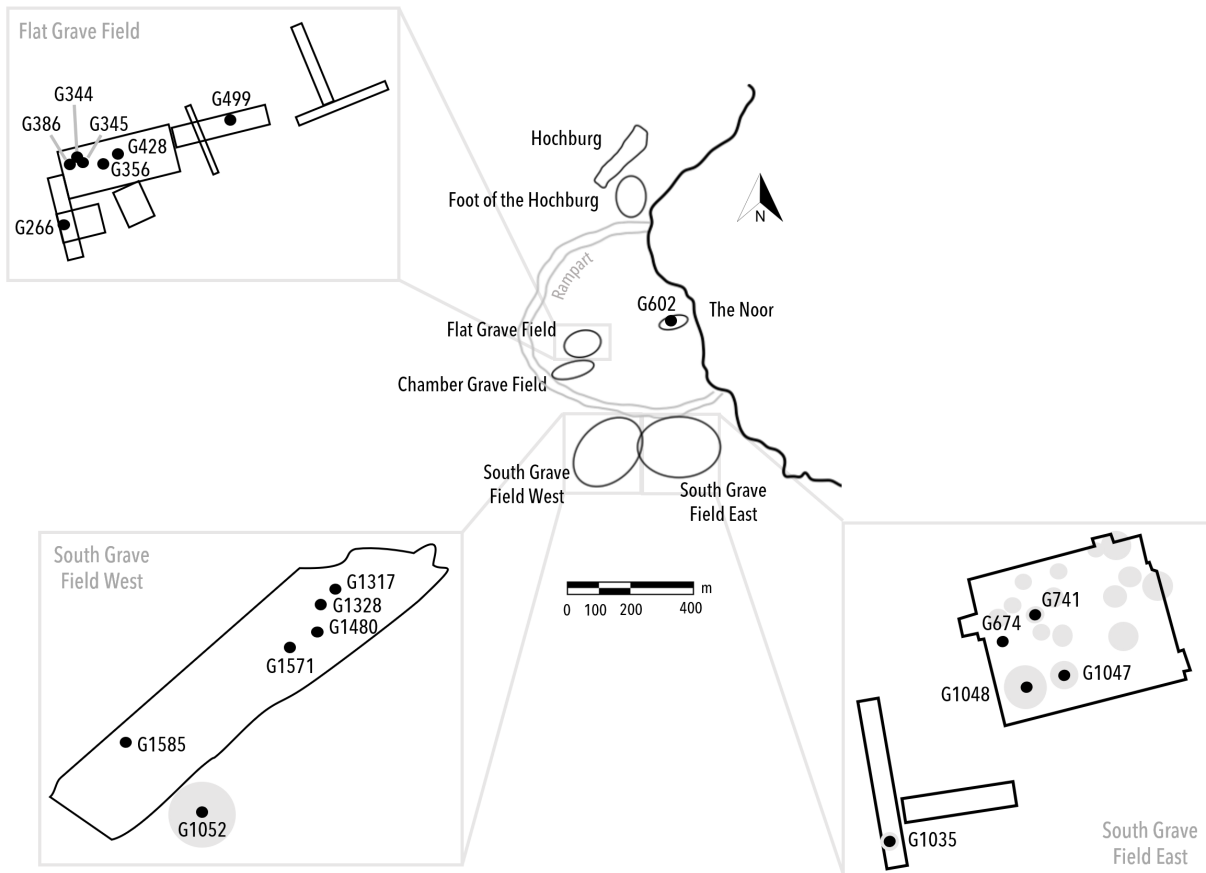


Figure 7. Map of Hedeby's multiple burials discussed in the text. The location of Gr.2 [G262] in the Flat Grave Field is unknown and could not be mapped.

Schietzel Gr.2/3, The Noor [G602]

Data Quality: Fair Burial Sequence: Contemporaneous
Certainty: Confident Spatial Configuration: Same Context

MNI: Two VA individuals (Young Adult Female and Young Adult Male)
Date: Unknown

Structure: Flat Grave
Contexts: Earth Cut (both inhumations)
Assoc. Features: Plant spread under and over body

A rectangular earth cut, oriented N-S and measuring at least 2.0–2.3m long and 1.6–1.7m wide, was found to contain the inhumed remains of two individuals. The first individual (Gr.2) was laying in extended supine position with their arms resting on their body. The skeleton belongs to a woman of early-adulthood, with a stature of 167-169cm and crowded front teeth. Her skull was found about 1m east of her body. Her upper body was slightly deviated to her burial companion, being partially located on his right arm. The other individual was most likely male, also of early-adulthood (about 20-24 years old), of similar stature (168–172cm) and also had crowded front teeth. Both individuals were found buried on the same layer of brushwood, which was also used to cover their bodies when their burial was being backfilled. No grave goods were deposited with the pair.

Gr.2, Flat Grave Field [G262]

Data Quality: Fair

Burial Sequence: Unknown

Certainty: Possible

Spatial Configuration: Same Context

MNI: Three VA individuals (2 x Unspec. Adult Males* and 1 x Young Adult Male*)

Date: Unknown

Structure: Bone Pit

Contexts: Earth Cut (all inhumations)

Assoc. Features: NA

This burial is either a disturbed burial containing three individuals or is the secondary interment of previous single or multiple burials, as denoted by its lack of structural form. The deposit was described as a bone pile or pit, approximately 0.3m deep without any formal burial orientation. The excavation report states that a package containing mostly arm and leg bones was discovered, assumed to have represented three individuals based on the recovery of three crania. Osteological analysis of the remains did produce some identifying features though: one individual was an adult male, with a stature of approximately 176cm; a further two adult males were also represented, one of which was in early adulthood but showing strong wearing of the upper teeth. No grave goods were recovered.

Gr.6/7, Flat Grave Field [G266]

Data Quality: Fair

Burial Sequence: Unknown

Certainty: Possible

Spatial Configuration: Same Context

MNI: Two VA individuals (Unspec. Adult of unknown sex and an Unspec. Juvenile)

Date: Unknown

Structure: Flat Grave

Contexts: Coffin (both inhumations)

Assoc. Features: NA

This burial comprises two coffins possibly placed in the same earth cut and both found oriented WSW–ENE at a depth of 1.5m. The skeleton in Gr.6 was placed in an extended supine position, with their arms to the side of their body. The coffin placed immediately to its south contained the remains of a child, although no further detail is known. No grave goods were recovered.

Gr.83, Flat Grave Field [G344]

Data Quality: Fair Burial Sequence: Unknown
Certainty: Confident Spatial Configuration: Same Context

MNI: Two VA individuals (Unspec. Adult of unknown sex and an Older Juvenile
Date: Unknown

Structure: Flat Grave
Contexts: Coffin (both inhumations)
Assoc. Features: NA

The remains of two individuals were found in a single nailed wooden coffin, oriented WSW–ENE, at a depth of 0.75m. Originally thought only to contain the remains of an adult of unknown sex placed in an extended supine position, the osteologist, Schaefer, later identified the partial remains of a child amongst the adult's skeletal material. No grave goods were recovered.

Gr.84, Flat Grave Field [G345]

Data Quality: Fair

Burial Sequence: Unknown

Certainty: Confident

Spatial Configuration: Same Content

MNI: Four VA individuals (Unspec. Adult Female, Unspec. Adult Male, Unspec. Adult of unknown sex and a further individual of unknown sex and age)

Date: Unknown

Structure: Flat Grave

Contexts: Coffin (all inhumations)

Assoc. Features: NA

This burial was made up of a single unnailed coffin, oriented WSW–ENE, containing the remains of four individuals. The internal arrangement of the remains is unknown, and the dimensions of the coffin were not identified meaning it is difficult to infer whether they were stacked atop each other or placed side by side. The only remains found to be lain in extended supine position were of an adult female. She was buried with an adult male, approximately 168–170cm in stature, as well as another adult (sex unknown) and a further individual for which no details are known. No grave goods were associated with any of the individuals inhumed in this burial.

Gr.95, Flat Grave Field [G356]

Data Quality: Fair Burial Sequence: Unknown
Certainty: Confident Spatial Configuration: Same Context

MNI: Three VA individuals (Unspec. Adult Male, Unspec. Juvenile and a further individual of unknown sex and age)

Date: Unknown

Structure: Bone Pit
Contexts: Earth Cut (all inhumations)
Assoc. Features: NA

Like Gr.2 above, this burial is either a disturbed burial containing three individuals or is the secondary interment signalled by its informal structural form. The deposit was described as a bone pile or pit, approximately 1.3m deep but shared the same WSW–ENE alignment as the other burials in the grave field. The excavation report states that three skeletons were found lying on top of each other, largely still in association however the skulls were found at the same height, and one was found to have been placed with the face pointing down, perhaps indicating a prone inhumation? The upper-most burial was placed in extended supine position with their left lower leg placed over the right. Below this inhumation were the remains of an adult male, although the position of his body is unknown. Presumably the lower-most burial in the stack was that of a child, represented only by a skull. No grave goods were recovered.

Gr.124A/124B, Flat Grave Field [G386]

Data Quality: Fair

Burial Sequence: Unknown

Certainty: Confident

Spatial Configuration: Same Context

MNI: Three VA individuals (Unspec. Adult Male, Unspec. Adult Female and further individual of unknown sex and age)

Date: Unknown

Structure: Flat Grave

Contexts: Coffin (all inhumations)

Assoc. Features: NA

This burial was made up of a single nailed coffin, oriented WSW–ENE, containing the remains of three individuals. As with Gr.84, the internal arrangement of the remains is unknown as are the dimensions of the coffin so ascertaining the arrangement of the bodies is impossible. Nevertheless, the remains were of an adult male and female, of whom both had been inhumed in an extended supine position, while the cranium of a third individual was recovered on the male's pelvic bones. The female was 153–155cm tall and the male was between 170–171cm tall. No grave goods were discovered in the burial.

Gr.166-168, Flat Grave Field [G428]

Data Quality: Fair

Burial Sequence: Consecutive

Certainty: Possible

Spatial Configuration: Different Context

MNI: Three VA individuals (Older Adult Male, Unspec. Adult Male, and Unspec. Adult Female)

Date: 8th century (just Gr.167)

Structure: Flat Grave

Contexts: Coffin (F inhumation)

Earth Cut (2 x M inhumation)

Assoc. Features: NA

These three inhumations were stacked within the same earth cut, oriented WSW–ENE, each separated by 5–20cm of earth. The first inhumation was made in a nailed wooden coffin at a depth of 1m. Inside were the remains of an adult female who appeared to have been placed in extended supine position. Upon her left hand was a bronze fragment, possibly a finger ring.

At a later time, an adult male had been inhumed in extended supine position above the first grave within the same earth cut at a depth of 0.75m. A silver dirham, originating from the Abbasid Caliphate, cast at al-Kufa circa AD 759/760, was placed to the right side of his mouth. The latest grave to be made in this earth cut was that of a male of late maturity, with a height of 173–175cm, who was placed in extended supine position also. No grave goods were found with his skeleton.

Gr.238/239, Flat Grave Field [G499]

Data Quality: Fair Burial Sequence: Contemporary
Certainty: Confident Spatial Configuration: Different Context

MNI: Two VA individuals (both unknown)

Date: 10th century

Structure: Flat Grave
Contexts: Coffin (VA inhumation)
 Coffin (VA inhumation)
Assoc. Features: NA

This burial contains two separate coffins deposited in the same earth cut. Both coffins were aligned WSW–ENE, found at a depth of 1.1m and were of the unnailed type. The excavators believed that the two inhumations had been made at the same time. The first coffin (Gr.238) contained no preserved remains, however near the northern wall of the pit was found a silver three-lobed brooch which had been plated in gold. Only the skull was preserved in the second coffin (Gr.239) however at the level of the left shoulder there was a silver pin, also plated in gold, and a wooden dish was placed at the foot end of the grave.

Boat Chamber Grave, South Grave Field West [G1052]

Data Quality: Excellent Burial Sequence: Contemporaneous
Certainty: Confident Spatial Configuration: Same Context

MNI: Three VA individuals (all Unk. Males*)

Date: AD 825–850

Structure: Mound containing Boat/Ship and THG

Contexts: Chamber (all inhumations)

Assoc. Features: NA

By far the most lavishly furnished burial found across all of the Hedeby cemeteries, the boat chamber burial of the western section of the Southern Grave Field is famous for its monumental structure. Excavated by Knorr in 1908, the burial proper was formed by a dual compartment wooden chamber measuring 3.7m long, 2.4m wide and 1.7-1.9m deep. The chamber was constructed of 2-3 cm thick wooden planks which had been driven about 20cm deep into the ground. The chamber was partially separated into two unequal sections by a N–S running plank not more than 50cm high. The larger eastern section (A) measured 2.2m by 2.4m and contained two swords lain parallel to the divider plank with a blade placed between them. It is here that many scholars suggest that two individuals were inhumed. In addition, two shields rested against the northern wall, while iron fragments, presumably from a stirrup or spur pair, and a wooden box were found near the swords. Further east, a bridle, bridle fittings and some buckles were found, causing Knorr to suspect that two horses were deposited in this section of the chamber with their heads pointing in opposite ends (Muller-Wille 1976:31).

In the smaller chamber (B), a sword, amber bead, playing board and knife were found in the NW corner, to the right of the buried individual who was probably

laying parallel to the other two individuals in section A. In the corner there may have been a quiver of arrows and, probably near the head region of the buried individual, lay a shield. At about waist-height in the middle of the chamber, several fittings with silver filigree ornamentation (probably from a sword hanger and a pair of spurs) were found at the foot end. South of the spur pair, on the south wall, stood a bronze bowl in which a further shield and two wooden vessels lay. Around the bronze bowl were scattered parts of a horse harness and a comb, while a glass beaker was located immediately to the east. A pig bone may have originated from this area and has been interpreted as a joint of pork.

The grave chamber appears to have been cut into the existing ground surface, after which time a long, narrow clinker-built boat measuring about 17-20m in length was pulled over the chamber running W-E. The boat was laid down on its keel supported by larger stones was filled with rocks and sand. Approximately 3.5m east of the chamber (discovered during a later excavation) a small pit containing three horses' skeletons was located. The horses' heads were looking westward, after being placed in the cut measuring about 0.5m deep and 2.5m in length. The horse skeletons were gone but were able to be clearly identified from the impressions their bodies left in the earth. The chamber, boat and THG was covered by a large mound, measuring about 40m in diameter, although no traces of it remained at the time of the excavations.

Gr.579/580, South Grave Field West [G1317]

Data Quality: Fair	Burial Sequence: Consecutive
Certainty: Possible	Spatial Configuration: Different Context

MNI: Two VA individuals (both unknown)

Date: Unknown

Structure: Post Marker

Contexts: Earth Cut (VA inhumation)

Earth Cut (VA inhumation)

Assoc. Features: NA

This burial contained two overlapping graves. What may be the earlier grave was formed by an oval earth cut oriented SW–NE, measuring 1.6m long, 0.75m wide and 1.07m deep. The later grave was smaller but made in the same orientation as the first, measuring 1.48m long, 0.5m wide and 0.85m deep. In the SW corner of the burial were the remnants of a post hole, suggesting that a wooden marker or other above-ground feature had been erected over the burial. No grave goods or skeletal material were found.

At the time of data collection, the burial plan was unavailable and the possibility of these two graves forming a multiple burial was decided based upon the written excavation report and description of the stratigraphy. Since that time, the burial plan has been accessed and it appears that a further grave (Gr.578) may once have formed part of this multiple burial, although this is not indicated in the report's description. Thus, this multiple burial has been counted as containing two graves in this research, but there is potential that it should be considered a triple grave. Further investigation is required.

Gr.591/592, South Grave Field West [G1328]

Data Quality: Fair

Burial Sequence: Consecutive

Certainty: Possible

Spatial Configuration: Different Context

MNI: Two VA individuals (both unknown)

Date: Unknown

Structure: Post Structure

Contexts: Earth Cut (VA inhumation)

Earth Cut (VA inhumation)

Assoc. Features: NA

This burial contained two overlapping graves separated by a 4cm gap in the stratigraphy. What presumably forms the earlier grave is a trapezoidal earth cut oriented N-S, measuring 1.32m long and varying widths at each end (0.56m in the northern end and 0.94m in the southern end). The later grave was smaller and slightly askew to the first, being oriented NW-SE and measuring 1.16m long, 0.46m wide in the NW end and 0.94m in the SE end. In the NE and SE corners of the burial were the remnants of two post holes, suggesting that a structure had been erected over the burial. No grave goods or skeletal material were found.

Gr.742/742A, South Grave Field West [G1480]

Data Quality: Fair Burial Sequence: Consecutive
Certainty: Confident Spatial Configuration: Different Context

MNI: Two VA individuals (both unknown)

Date: 8th century

Structure: Flat Grave

Contexts: Urned Cremation Deposit (VA cremation)
 Earth Cut (VA inhumation)

Assoc. Features: NA

A rectangular earth cut grave, oriented S–N and measuring 1.47m in length and 0.5m in width, was found to contain the remains of an inhumation and a cremation. Along the eastern long–side of the cut, at a depth of 75–80cm, were the calcified bones of an inhumed individual (Gr.742) and a concentration of charcoal in the southern end of the burial. The charcoal was interpreted to be the remains of a destroyed cremation deposit (Gr.742A), which was discovered during the interment of the inhumation and reburied together. A small clay vessel stood in the southwestern part of the cut at a depth of 60–70cm. At the southern end, 19 beads and a vessel rim sherd were found. No other grave goods were recovered and the skeletal material was not analysed further.

Gr.832, South Grave Field West [G1571]

Data Quality: Fair

Burial Sequence: Consecutive

Certainty: Possible

Spatial Configuration: Different Context

MNI: Two VA individuals (both unknown)

Date: Unknown

Structure: Flat Grave

Contexts: Earth Cut containing Urned Cremation Deposit (VA cremation)
Coffin (VA inhumation)

Assoc. Features: NA

This burial was formed of a single earth cut 0.93m deep which contained an inhumation made in a coffin which appears to have disturbed an earlier cremation burial. The cut was rectangular with slightly rounded edges and contain a nailed wooden coffin measuring 1.64m in length and 0.34m in width. It contained human remains, however no osteological analysis was undertaken. Apart from the regularly-distributed nails left behind by the coffin, only a single sherd of a clay pot was recovered, causing excavators to interpret the find as the remnants of a ‘destroyed cremation’ grave (Arents and Eisenschmidt 2010:185).¹ It is possible that, in the process of making the inhumation grave, an earlier urned cremation deposit was disturbed and its remains were intentionally left in place upon discovery and it is on this basis that this burial is classed as a possible multiple burial. No grave goods were recovered in either grave.

¹ “Aus einer zerstörten (Brand?) Bestattung” translated as “from a destroyed (fire?) burial” by the present author (Arents and Eisenschmidt 2010:185).

Gr.846A/846B, South Grave Field West [G1585]

Data Quality: Fair Burial Sequence: Consecutive
Certainty: Possible Spatial Configuration: Same Context

MNI: Two VA individuals (both unknown)

Date: Unknown

Structure: Flat Grave

Contexts: Earth Cut (VA inhumation)

 Loose Cremation Deposit (VA cremation)

Assoc. Features: NA

An elongated oval earth cut, oriented N-S and measuring 1.58m in length and 0.66m in width was found to be partially covering an earlier grave made in a rounded pit almost a meter deep. The rounded pit is interpreted to have contained a loose cremation deposit, although the excavation report indicates that no cremated skeletal material was found. The report also does not indicate whether the co-burial appeared intentional but, on the basis of other burials of a similar nature occurring in the same grave field, this burial has been included as a further possible example. No grave goods or skeletal remains were recovered.

Gr.905/905A, South Grave Field East [G674]

Data Quality: Fair	Burial Sequence: Consecutive
Certainty: Possible	Spatial Configuration: Different Contexts

MNI: Two VA individuals (both unknown)

Date: 10th century (just Gr.905)

Structure: Pit (irregular-shaped earth cut)

Contexts: Coffin (VA inhumation)
Earth Cut (VA inhumation)

Assoc. Features: NA

This burial contained two graves located within an elongated oval grave cut that was almost 1m deep, 1.98m long and 0.96m wide. The first grave (Gr.905) to be excavated was made in an unnailed coffin, 1.69m in length and 0.4m in width. Along the northern long wall at about the middle of the grave was a corroded group of objects consisting of a buckle, a knife and an unknown iron object. To its north was a belt end fitting. The grave all but completely destroyed another grave (Gr.905A) comprised of an earth cut oriented W-E and containing no grave goods. Cranial remains were found in both graves but not recovered.

Gr.971/976, South Grave Field East [G741]

Data Quality: Fair Burial Sequence: Unknown
Certainty: Confident Spatial Configuration: Different Context

MNI: Two VA individuals (both unknown)

Date: Unknown

Structure: Mound

Contexts: Coffin (VA inhumation)

 Coffin (VA inhumation)

Assoc. Features: Post structure

This burial contained two unnailed coffins within the same ring ditch measuring 4m in diameter, suggesting they were both placed within the same mound. The first coffin measured 1.9m long and 0.4m wide and was surrounded at regular intervals by post holes 0.14m in diameter. The second coffin measured 2.44m and 0.6m wide and contained an iron chain, although its position in the grave was not documented. Cranial remains were found in both coffins but were not recovered.

Chamber Grave 1 and Gr.884, South Grave Field East [G1047]

Data Quality: Fair

Burial Sequence: Unknown

Certainty: Possible

Spatial Configuration: Different Context

MNI: Two VA individuals (both unknown)

Date: Unknown

Structure: Mound

Contexts: Chamber (VA inhumation)

Earth Cut (VA inhumation)

Assoc. Features: NA

This burial was composed of a wooden chamber covered by a mound and an earth cut grave placed directly above it. The chamber, measuring 2.1m in length and approximately 1.9m in width, no longer contained skeletal remains but a number of grave goods were recovered. At the centre of the western wall lay a knife and, slightly elevated on an accumulation of yellow sand, was a bronze bowl which exhibited the impression of a cloth binding. To the east was a bucket, also perhaps covered by cloth. A chest was also said to be found but its location in the grave was not documented.

Directly above the chamber and slightly to the west was positioned an earth cut grave, oriented W-E and measuring 2m in length and 0.7m in width. In the SW corner lay a knife. A number of other grave cuts were found to be located around/intercutting the mound, however only this earth cut was recorded as being connected to the chamber specifically. It is unclear whether this is reflective of actual stratigraphic connection or inconsistent recording processes.

Chamber Grave 2 and Gr.982/983, South Grave Field East [G1048]

Data Quality: Fair Burial Sequence: Unknown
Certainty: Possible Spatial Configuration: Different Contexts

MNI: Three Viking Age individuals (all unknown)

Date: AD 900–950 (just Chamber Gr.2)

Structure: Mound

Contexts: Chamber containing coffin (VA inhumation)
 Earth Cut (VA inhumation)
 Earth Cut (VA inhumation)

Assoc. Features: NA

This burial was found within a ring-ditch suggesting that the central wooden chamber was placed within a mound. The chamber measured 3m in length and 1.9m in width, and contained what appears to have been a coffin, measuring 1.9m in length and 0.7m in width, in the NE corner along the chamber's northern wall. All skeletal remains were gone, however, a number of grave goods were recovered; located presumably near the head and chest were a gold filigree brooch, three beads and a silver coin with adherent organic residues. Located at about belt height was a knife. In the SW corner of the chamber stood a bucket, a bronze bowl containing food remains, and a wooden box held together by 240 ornamental nails. Elsewhere, a key, four chain links and the remains of a brocade ribbon (perhaps from a tunic) were also recovered. In the middle of the chamber lay some organic material near the foot end, and a small iron frame or ring.

Two earth cut graves were located at the edge of the mound: one was oriented SW–NE. and measured 1.78m long and 0.56m wide, while the second was oriented NNW-SSE and measured 1.68m long and 0.7m wide. Cranial remains were found in both graves but not recovered. Neither of these two burials were

furnished. Like the previous mound, a number of other grave cuts were found to be located around/intercutting the mound, however, only these two earth cuts were recorded as being connected to the mound specifically. It is unclear whether this is reflective of actual stratigraphic connection or inconsistent recording processes.

Gr.1258/1259 South Grave Field East [G1035]

Data Quality: Fair Burial Sequence: Consecutive
Certainty: Confident Spatial Configuration: Different Contexts

MNI: Two VA individuals (both unknown)

Date: Unknown

Structure: Mound

Contexts: Coffin (VA inhumation)

Earth Cut (VA inhumation)

Assoc. Features: NA

A mound measuring 3.8m in diameter contained a nailed coffin in its centre and an earth cut grave located 'in the marginal area' of the mound. Some remains of a skull were found in the coffin, but no other skeletal material was recovered. No grave goods were found in either grave.

Appendix Six

Summary of Multiple Burials

C = cremation; I = inhumation; U = unknown; Asterisk (*) = antecedent grave under 'Rite'.

England

G_UID	Grave Name	Site Name	Temporality	Spatiality	Config.	Rite	People	Initial Grave	Final Grave	Find Date	Data Quality
G102	Aspatria	Aspatria	Antecedent	Different Context	Unknown	U* I I	3	Bronze Age	AD 850-950	1789	Possible
G126	Cambois	Cambois	Unknown	Same Context	Mixed	I I I	3	AD 800-950	AD 800-950	1859	Confident
G134	Claughton Hall	Claughton Hall	Antecedent	Different Context	Vertical	C* I	2	Bronze Age	AD 900-1000	1822	Confident
G162	Mound 50	Heath Wood	Contemporary	Same Context	Mixed	C C	2	AD 870-880	NA	1998-2000	Confident
G167	Hook Norton	Hook Norton	Unknown	Different Context	Horizontal	I I	2	AD 850-900	AD 850-900	1848	Possible
G192	Gr.360-363	Repton	Contemporary	Same Context	Both	I I I I	4	AD 872-885	NA	1974-1988	Confident
G194	Gr.83/84	Repton	Contemporary	Different Context	Horizontal	I I	2	AD 873	NA	1974-1988	Confident
G196	Gr.295/511	Repton	Consecutive	Different Context	Horizontal	I I	2	AD 873-886	AD 873-886	1974-1988	Confident
G201	Sandford Moor	Sandford Moor	Antecedent	Different Context	Vertical	C* C	2	Prehistoric (Unknown)	AD 750-1050	c.1750-1800	Possible
G202	Santon Downham	Santon Downham	Unknown	Same Context	Unknown	I U	2	AD 850-950	AD 850-950	1867	Possible
G204	S0025/S0027	Sedgeford	Consecutive	Same Context	Horizontal	I I	2	AD 750-1000	AD 750-1000	1997	Confident
G206	66/5-6	Sonning	Contemporary	Same Context	Mixed	I I	2	AD 800-1000	NA	1966	Possible

Mann

G_UID	Grave Name	Site Name	Temporality	Spatiality	Config.	Rite	People	Initial Grave	Final Grave	Find Date	Data Quality
G2010	Balladoole	Balladoole	Unknown	Same Context	Mixed	I I	2	AD 850-950	AD 850-950	1940s	Confident
G2012	Ballateare	Ballateare	Contemporary	Different Context	Vertical	I I	2	AD 850-950	NA	1946	Confident

Scotland

G_UID	Grave Name	Site Name	Temporality	Spatiality	Config.	Rite	People	Initial Grave	Final Grave	Find Date	Data Quality
G2237	Ardvonrig	Ardvonrig, Barra	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	I U	2	AD 850-950	AD 850-950	1862	Possible
G2260	Càrn a' Bharraich	Càrn a' Bharraich, Oronosay	Consecutive	Same Context	Horizontal	I I I	3	AD 750-900	AD 800-900	1891	Confident
G2276	1851.1	Dunrobin Castle	Consecutive	Same Context	Mixed	I I	2	AD 750-1050	AD 750-1050	1851	Possible
G2278	Finstown	Finstown	Antecedent	Different Context	Horizontal	C* C	2	Prehistoric (Unknown)	AD 750-1050	Pre 1940	Possible
G2297	Housegord	Housegord, Weisdale	Antecedent	Different Context	Vertical	C* U	2	Prehistoric (Unknown)	AD 750-1050	1862	Possible
G2342	Scar	Scar	Consecutive	Same Context	Horizontal	I I I	3	AD 950-1050	AD 950-1050	1991	Confident
G2350	1854.2	Stenness	Antecedent	Different Context	Both	C* C	2	'Celtic'	AD 750-1050	1854	Possible
G2358	Tote Skeabost	Tote Skeabost, Skye	Antecedent	Different Context	Vertical	C* C	2	Prehistoric (Unknown)	AD 750-1050	1922	Possible
G2360	Gr.2A/2B	Westness, Rousay	Consecutive	Same Context	Vertical	I I	2	AD 750-1050	AD 750-1050	1968-1984	Confident
G2388	Gr.1A	Westness, Rousay	Contemporary	Same Context	Unknown	I I	2	AD 850-950	NA	1963	Confident

Ireland

G_UID	Grave Name	Site Name	Temporality	Spatiality	Config.	Rite	People	Initial Grave	Final Grave	Find Date	Data Quality
G1911	1845B	Church Bay	Antecedent	Different Context	Horizontal	C* I	2	Prehistoric (Unknown)	AD 750-1050	1845	Possible
G1913	Cloghermore	Cloghermore	Antecedent	Same Context	Mixed	I* I* I I	4	AD 635-815	AD 880-1010	1998	Confident
G1919	Croghan Erin	Croghan Erin	Antecedent	Different Context	Vertical	I* I	2	Prehistoric (Unknown)	AD 750-1050	1849	Possible
G1935	1860	Islandbridge	Unknown	Same Context	Mixed	I I	2	AD 750-1050	AD 750-1050	1860	Possible

Iceland

G_UID	Grave Name	Site Name	Temporality	Spatiality	Config.	Rite	People	Initial Grave	Final Grave	Find Date	Data Quality
G1588	K.129	Aðalból	Unknown	Same Context	Horizontal	I I	2	AD 850-1000	AD 850-1000	1890	Possible
G1620	K.68.1965	Brandsstaðir	Unknown	Same Context	Mixed	I I	2	AD 850-1000	AD 850-1000	1967	Possible
G1628	K.35 Brú	Brú	Unknown	Same Context	Unknown	I I	2	AD 960-1000	AD 960-1000	1876	Possible
G1692	K.116.2	Grímsstaðir	Unknown	Same Context	Mixed	I I	2	AD 850-1000	AD 850-1000	1967	Possible
G1702	K.40.3	Hafurbjarnarstaðir	Unknown	Same Context	Horizontal	I I	2	AD 900-1000	AD 900-1000	1868	Confident
G1718	K.111	Hrafnstaðir	Unknown	Same Context	Horizontal	I I I	3	AD 800-900	AD 850-1000	1952	Confident
G1719	K.27	Miklaholtshellir (Hraungerðishreppur)	Unknown	Same Context	Unknown	I I	2	AD 850-1000	AD 850-1000	c.1800-1850	Possible
G1737	Gr.3A/3B	Ingiríðarstaðir	Unknown	Different Context	Horizontal	I I	2	AD 850-1000	AD 850-1000	2010	Possible
G1746	K.37	Kaldárhöfði	Unknown	Same Context	Horizontal	I I	2	AD 900-950	AD 900-950	1946	Confident
G1768	K.101	Kroppur	Unknown	Different Context	Horizontal	I I	2	AD 850-1000	AD 900-1000	1900	Confident
G1795	K.121.5-7	Núpar	Consecutive	Different Structures	Horizontal	I I I	3	AD 850-1050	AD 850-1050	2007-2010	Confident
G1837	K.96	Staðartunga	Unknown	Different Context	Both	I I I	3	AD 850-1000	AD 850-1000	1935	Confident
G1852	K.132	Surtsstaðir	Consecutive	Same Context	Unknown	I I	2	AD 850-1000	AD 850-1000	1945	Confident
G1884	K.54.1	Vatnsdalur	Consecutive	Same Context	Unknown	I I I I I I	7	AD 950-980	AD 950-1000	1964	Confident
G1889	K.87.1	Ytra-Garðshorn	Unknown	Same Context	Unknown	I I	2	AD 850-1000	AD 850-1000	1952	Possible
G1901	K.115	Ytri-Neslönd	Unknown	Same Context	Unknown	I I	2	AD 770-990	AD 770-990	1960	Confident
G1596	K.82	Austarihóll	Unknown	Same Context	Horizontal	I I	2	AD 900-1000	AD 900-1000	1964	Possible
G1736	Gr.2	Ingiríðarstaðir	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	I I	2	AD 850-1000	AD 850-1000	2009	Possible

Kaupang

G_UID	Grave Name	Site Name	Temporality	Spatiality	Config.	Rite	People	Initial Grave	Final Grave	Find Date	Data Quality
G2219	Ka.150/151	Søndre	Consecutive	Different Context	Unknown	C C	2	AD 800-850	AD 900-950	1859	Possible
G2112	Ka.203/204	Lamøya	Consecutive	Different Context	Unknown	I I	2	AD 800-900	AD 800-900	1902	Confident
G2041	Ka.250	Bikjholberget	Unknown	Same Context	Horizontal	I I	2	AD 800-900	AD 800-900	1939	Possible
G2044	Ka.253	Bikjholberget	Unknown	Same Context	Unknown	I U	2	AD 800-900	AD 800-900	1949-1950	Possible
G2045	Ka.254/255	Bikjholberget	Unknown	Same Context	Horizontal	I I	2	AD 800-850	AD 800-850	1949	Possible
G2047	Ka.257-259	Bikjholberget	Unknown	Same Context	Horizontal	I I I	3	AD 900-950	AD 900-1000	1950	Confident
G2050	Ka.262	Bikjholberget	Unknown	Same Context	Mixed	I I	2	AD 900-950	AD 900-950	1952	Possible
G2051	Ka.263/264	Bikjholberget	Unknown	Same Context	Unknown	I I	2	AD 800-900	AD 900-950	1952	Confident
G2052	Ka.265/266	Bikjholberget	Consecutive	Same Context	Horizontal	I I	2	AD 800-850	AD 800-950	1953	Confident
G2054	Ka.268	Bikjholberget	Unknown	Same Context	Mixed	I I	2	AD 800-850	AD 800-850	1953	Confident
G2056	Ka.270/271	Bikjholberget	Unknown	Different Context	Horizontal	I I	2	AD 900-950	AD 900-950	1953	Possible
G2057	Ka.272	Bikjholberget	Unknown	Same Context	Mixed	I I	2	AD 850-900	AD 850-900	1953	Possible
G2059	Ka.275/276	Bikjholberget	Contemporary	Same Context	Horizontal	I I	2	AD 750-1050	NA	1953-1954	Confident
G2063	Ka.280/281	Bikjholberget	Unknown	Same Context	Horizontal	I I	2	AD 900-1000	AD 900-1000	1954	Possible
G2066	Ka.284/285	Bikjholberget	Consecutive	Same Context	Horizontal	I I	2	AD 900-950	AD 900-950	1954	Possible
G2067	Ka.286/287	Bikjholberget	Consecutive	Same Context	Horizontal	I I	2	AD 800-850	AD 850-900	1954	Possible
G2072	Ka.292/293	Bikjholberget	Consecutive	Different Structures	Both	I I	2	AD 800	AD 900-950	1951	Confident
G2073	Ka.294-297	Bikjholberget	Consecutive	Different Structures	Both	I I I I I	5	AD 800-850	AD 900-1000	1951	Confident
G2074	Ka.298-300	Bikjholberget	Consecutive	Different Structures	Both	I I I I	4	AD 800-850	AD 900-1000	1952	Confident
G2075	Ka.301/302	Bikjholberget	Unknown	Same Context	Horizontal	I I	2	AD 860-900	AD 900	1954	Confident
G2076	Ka.303/304	Bikjholberget	Consecutive	Same Context	Horizontal	I I	2	AD 800-850	AD 875-900	1953	Confident
G2081	Ka.309	Bikjholberget	Consecutive	Same Context	Vertical	I C	2	AD 900-950	AD 900-950+	1955	Confident
G2082	Ka.310/311	Bikjholberget	Unknown	Same Context	Horizontal	I I	2	AD 800-900	AD 800-900	1957	Confident
G2087	Ka.316/317	Bikjholberget	Consecutive	Same Context	Vertical	I I	2	AD 850-900	AD 850-900	1957	Confident
G2139	Ka.400/401	Misc. Kaupang	Consecutive	Unknown	Unknown	I C	2	AD 800-900	AD 900-1000	1859	Possible

Hedeby

G_UID	Grave Name	Site Name	Temporality	Spatiality	Config.	Rite	People	Initial Grave	Final Grave	Find Date	Data Quality
G602	Sch. Gr.2/3	Noor/Harbour	Contemporary	Same Context	Horizontal	I I	2	AD 900+	NA	1963-1969	Confident
G262	Gr.2	Flat Gravefield	Unknown	Same Context	Mixed	I I I	3	AD 850-1000	AD 850-1000	1902	Possible
G266	Gr.6/7	Flat Gravefield	Unknown	Different Context	Horizontal	I I	2	AD 850-1000	AD 850-1000	1904	Possible
G344	Gr.83	Flat Gravefield	Unknown	Same Context	Unknown	I I	2	AD 850-1000	AD 850-1000	1908	Confident
G345	Gr.84	Flat Gravefield	Unknown	Same Context	Mixed	I I I I	4	AD 850-1000	AD 850-1000	1908	Confident
G356	Gr.95	Flat Gravefield	Unknown	Same Context	Vertical	I I I	3	AD 850-1000	AD 850-1000	1908	Confident
G386	Gr.124A/124B	Flat Gravefield	Unknown	Same Context	Both	I I I	3	AD 850-1000	AD 850-1000	1909	Confident
G428	Gr.166-168	Flat Gravefield	Consecutive	Different Context	Vertical	I I I	3	AD 850-1000	AD 850-1000	1910	Possible
G499	Gr.238/239	Flat Gravefield	Contemporary	Different Context	Horizontal	I I	2	AD 850-1000	NA	1911	Confident
G1317	Gr.579/580	South West	Consecutive	Different Context	Vertical	I I	2	AD 750-900	AD 750-900	1967-1969	Possible
G1328	Gr.591/592	South West	Consecutive	Different Context	Vertical	I I	2	AD 750-900	AD 750-900	1960	Possible
G1480	Gr.742/742A	South West	Consecutive	Different Context	Horizontal	I C	2	AD 750-900	AD 750-900	1960	Confident
G1571	Gr.832	South West	Consecutive	Different Context	Vertical	I C	2	AD 750-900	AD 750-900	1960	Possible
G1585	Gr.846A/846B	South West	Consecutive	Same Context	Vertical?	I C	2	AD 750-900	AD 750-900	1960	Possible
G674	Gr.905/905A	South East	Consecutive	Different Context	Vertical	I I	2	AD 900-1000	AD 900-1000	1964	Possible
G741	Gr.971/976	South East	Unknown	Different Context	Both	I I	2	AD 900-1000	AD 900-1000	1964	Confident
G1035	Gr.1258/1259	South East	Consecutive	Different Context	Unknown	I I	2	AD 900-1000	AD 900-1000	1970	Confident
G1047	CG1/884	South East	Unknown	Different Context	Vertical	I I	2	AD 900-1000	AD 900-1000	1963-1965	Possible
G1048	CG2/982/983	South East	Unknown	Different Context	Both	I I I	3	AD 900-1000	AD 900-1000	1963-1965	Possible
G1052	Boat Chamber Grave	South West	Contemporary	Same Context	Horizontal	I I I	3	AD 850-950	NA	1908	Confident

Appendix Seven

Animal Data

A total of 284 animals are represented across 184 graves in this dataset.

England

G_UID	Grave Name	Animal	Whole/Part	Condition	Treatment	Intentionality
G146	Heath Wood Mound 1	Cattle	Unknown	Unburnt		Confident
		Sheep/Goat	Unknown	Cremated		Confident
		Dog	Unknown	Cremated		Confident
G150	Heath Wood Mound 5	Horse	Unknown	Cremated		Possible
		Cattle	Unknown	Cremated		Confident
G151	Heath Wood Mound 6	Cattle	Unknown	Cremated & Unburnt		Possible
		Sheep/Goat	Unknown	Cremated		Possible
		Pig	Unknown	Cremated		Possible
G156	Heath Wood Mound 11	Dog	Part	Cremated		Confident
		Sheep/Goat	Part	Cremated		Confident
		Horse	Unknown	Cremated		Confident
G162	Heath Wood Mound 50	Cattle	Part	Cremated		Confident
		Sheep/Goat	Part	Cremated		Confident
		Cattle	Part	Unburnt		Confident
		Dog	Whole	Cremated		Confident
		Horse	Whole	Cremated		Confident
		Pig	Part	Cremated		Confident

G164	Hesket-in-the-Forest	Horse	Unknown	Cremated	Possible
G177	Leigh on Sea	Horse	Unknown	Unknown	Confident
G179	Magdalen Bridge, Oxford	Horse	Unknown	Unknown	Confident
G190	Reading	Horse	Whole	Unburnt	Impaled?
G192	Repton Gr.360-363	Sheep/Goat	Part	Unburnt	Confident
G196	Repton Gr.295 and Gr.511	Pig	Part	Unburnt	Confident
		Bird	Part	Unburnt	Confident
G204	Sedgeford S0025/S0027	Bird	Unknown	Unknown	Confident
		Horse	Whole	Unknown	Confident
		Cattle	Unknown	Unknown	Confident
		Sheep/Goat	Unknown	Unknown	Confident
		Pig	Unknown	Unknown	Confident
		Sheep/Goat	Unknown	Unknown	Confident

Isle of Man

G_UID	Grave Name	Animal	Part/Whole	Condition	Treatment	Intentionality
G2010	Balladoole	Unidentified	Unknown	Cremated		Confident
G2012	Ballateare	Dog	Unknown	Cremated		Confident
		Sheep/Goat	Unknown	Cremated		Confident
		Cattle	Unknown	Cremated		Confident
		Horse	Unknown	Cremated		Confident
G2017	Cronk Moar	Unidentified	Unknown	Cremated		Confident
G2024	Knock-y-Doonee	Horse	Unknown	Unknown		Confident
		Dog	Unknown	Unknown		Confident
G2033	St Patrick's Isle 84.16/L	Bird	Part	Unburnt		Confident

Scotland

G_UID	Grave Name	Animal	Part/Whole	Condition	Treatment	Intentionality
G2245	Ballindalloch	Horse	Whole	Unknown		Confident
G2267	Cnip Gr.D	Cattle	Unknown	Unknown		Possible
G2271	Cnoc nan Gall	Cattle	Unknown	Unknown		Confident
G2272	Cornaiberg	Horse	Unknown	Unburnt		Confident
G2307	Kiloran Bay	Horse	Whole	Unburnt	Damaged R leg (battle wound)	Confident
G2310	Links of Skail	Bird	Unknown	Unknown		Confident
		Fish	Unknown	Unknown		Confident
		Unidentified	Unknown	Unknown		Confident
		Horse	Unknown	Unknown		Confident
G2316	Machrins 1977	Dog	Whole	Unburnt		Confident
G2317	Machrins 1891	Horse	Whole	Unburnt		Confident
G2328	Pierowall Gr.7	Dog	Whole	Unburnt		Confident
		Horse	Whole	Unburnt		Confident
G2329	Pierowall Gr.8	Horse	Unknown	Unburnt		Confident
G2338	Pierowall Gr.17	Horse	Whole	Unburnt		Confident
G2340	Reay 1913	Horse	Unknown	Unknown		Confident

Ireland

G_UID	Grave Name	Animal	Part/Whole	Condition	Treatment	Intentionality
G1904	Athlumney	Horse	Unknown	Unburnt		Confident
G1913	Cloghermore	Pig	Unknown	Unburnt		Possible
		Cattle	Part	Unburnt		Possible
		Cat	Part	Unburnt		Possible
		Sheep/Goat	Whole	Unburnt		Possible
		Sheep/Goat	Whole	Unburnt		Possible
		Cattle	Part	Unburnt		Possible
		Sheep/Goat	Whole	Unburnt		Possible
		Pig	Unknown	Unburnt		Possible
		Sheep/Goat	Whole	Unburnt		Possible
G1931	Inchicore 1934A	Cattle	Part	Unburnt		Confident
G1932	Inchicore 1934B	Cattle	Unknown	Unburnt		Confident
		Horse	Unknown	Unburnt		Confident
		Unidentified	Unknown	Unburnt	Disarticulated	Possible
G1935	1860 Islandbridge	Unidentified	Unknown	Unknown		Possible
G1986	1861.1 Kilmainham	Unidentified	Unknown	Unknown		Possible
G1991	Knoxpark Gr.30	Cattle	Part	Unburnt		Confident
G1992	Knoxpark Gr.80	Cattle	Part	Unburnt		Confident
G2002	South Great George's St F342	Horse	Unknown	Unknown		Confident
		Pig	Unknown	Unknown		Confident
		Dog	Unknown	Unknown		Confident
		Cattle	Unknown	Unknown		Confident
		Sheep/Goat	Unknown	Unburnt		Confident

Iceland

G_UID	Grave Name	Animal	Part/Whole	Condition	Treatment	Intentionality
G1592	Álfsstaðir K.29.2	Horse	Whole	Unburnt		Confident
G1595	Austara-Land K.123	Horse	Whole	Unburnt		Confident
G1596	Austarihöll K.82	Horse	Whole	Unburnt		Confident
		Horse	Whole	Unburnt		Confident
G1598	Baldursheimur K.117	Horse	Whole	Unburnt		Confident
G1612	Berufjörður K.50 CC3	Horse	Part	Unburnt		Confident
G1620	Brandsstaðir K.68	Horse	Whole	Unburnt		Confident
G1621	Breiðavík K.53	Horse	Whole	Unburnt		Confident
G1623	Brimnes K.79.1	Horse	Whole	Unburnt	Decapitated, head facing down between legs	Confident
		Horse	Whole	Unburnt	Decapitated, head placed on its mid-section	Confident
G1624	Brimnes K.79.2	Horse	Whole	Unburnt	Decapitated?	Confident
G1628	Brú K.35	Horse	Whole	Unknown		Confident
		Dog	Whole	Unknown		Confident
G1629	Brú K.128	Horse	Whole	Unburnt		Confident
G1631	Daðastaðir K.126.1	Horse	Whole	Unburnt	Poleaxed	Confident
G1632	Daðastaðir K.126.2	Dog	Part	Unburnt		Confident
G1633	Dæli K.86	Horse	Whole	Unburnt		Confident
G1635	Dalvík Böggvisstaðir K.88.1	Horse	Whole	Unburnt		Confident
		Horse	Whole	Unburnt		Confident
		Horse	Whole	Unburnt	Poleaxed	Confident
		Horse	Whole	Unburnt		Confident
G1637	Dalvík Brimnes K.89.1	Dog	Whole	Unburnt		Confident
G1638	Dalvík Brimnes K.89.2	Horse	Whole	Unburnt	Poleaxed, decapitated, throat cut	Confident

G1640	K.89.4 Dalvík Brimnes	Horse	Whole	Unburnt	Poleaxed, decapitated	Confident
G1640	Dalvík Brimnes K.89.4	Dog	Whole	Unburnt		Confident
G1641	Dalvík Brimnes K.89.5	Horse	Whole	Unburnt	Decapitated	Confident
G1642	Dalvík Brimnes K.89.6	Horse	Whole	Unburnt	Decapitated	Confident
G1643	Dalvík Brimnes K.89.7	Dog	Whole	Unburnt		Confident
G1645	Dalvík Brimnes K.89.10	Horse	Whole	Unburnt	Decapitated	Confident
G1647	Dalvík Brimnes K.89.12	Dog	Part	Unburnt		Confident
		Horse	Whole	Unburnt	Decapitated	Confident
G1648	Dalvík Brimnes K.89.13	Horse	Whole	Unburnt	Decapitated, possibly poleaxed?	Confident
G1649	Dalvík Brimnes K.89.14	Horse	Whole	Unburnt	Decapitated?	Confident
G1654	Elivogar K.72	Horse	Whole	Unburnt		Confident
G1655	Enni K.77	Horse	Whole	Unburnt		Confident
G1656	Eyrarteigur K.144	Horse	Whole	Unburnt		Confident
G1668	Galtalækur K.17	Horse	Whole	Unburnt	Poleaxed and throat cut	Confident
G1672	Gautlönd K.118	Dog	Whole	Unburnt		Confident
G1676	Gilsá K.138	Horse	Whole	Unburnt		Confident
G1679	Glaumbær K.120.1/2	Horse	Whole	Unburnt		Confident
		Dog	Whole	Unburnt		Confident
G1680	Glaumbær K.120.3456	Horse	Whole	Unburnt		Confident
		Horse	Whole	Unburnt		Confident
		Dog	Whole	Unburnt		Confident
G1681	Gljúfrá K.61	Horse	Whole	Unburnt		Confident
G1682	Grafarbakki K.14.1	Horse	Whole	Unburnt		Confident
G1683	Grafarbakki K.14.2	Horse	Whole	Unburnt		Confident
G1685	Grafargerði K.81.2	Horse	Whole	Unburnt		Confident
G1692	Grímsstaðir K.116.2	Horse	Whole	Unburnt		Confident
		Horse	Whole	Unburnt		Confident
G1702	Hafurbjarnarstaðir K.40.3	Horse	Whole	Unburnt		Confident

		Dog	Whole	Unburnt	Confident
		Pig	Part	Unburnt	Confident
G1703	Hafurbjarnarstaðir K.40.4	Horse	Whole	Unburnt	Confident
		Dog	Whole	Unburnt	Confident
G1704	Hafurbjarnarstaðir K.40.5	Dog	Whole	Unburnt	Confident
G1705	Hafurbjarnarstaðir K.40.6	Dog	Whole	Unburnt	Confident
G1707	Hámundarstaðaháls K.92	Horse	Whole	Unburnt	Confident
		Horse	Whole	Unburnt	Confident
G1708	Hemla K.5.1	Horse	Whole	Unburnt	Confident
G1712	Hólaskógur K.34.1	Horse	Whole	Unburnt	Confident
G1716	Hólmur Árnanes K.152	Horse	Whole	Unburnt	Confident
G1733	Hrollaugsstaðir K.141.2	Horse	Whole	Unburnt	Confident
G1735	Ingiríðarstaðir 1	Horse	Whole	Unburnt	Confident
G1736	Ingiríðarstaðir 2	Horse	Whole	Unburnt	Unbutchered, poleaxed and then cut throat
		Horse	Whole	Unburnt	Poleaxed
G1737	Ingiríðarstaðir 3A/B	Cat	Whole	Unburnt	Confident
		Cattle	Unknown	Unknown	Confident
		Sheep/Goat	Unknown	Unburnt	Confident
		Pig	Unknown	Unknown	Confident
G1738	Ingiríðarstaðir 4	Horse	Whole	Unburnt	Confident
G1738	Ingiríðarstaðir 4	Horse	Whole	Unburnt	Confident
G1739	Ingiríðarstaðir 5	Horse	Whole	Unburnt	Unbutchered, poleaxed
G1739	Ingiríðarstaðir 5	Dog	Whole	Unburnt	Confident
G1742	Ingiríðarstaðir 8	Horse	Whole	Unburnt	Confident
G1743	Ingiríðarstaðir 9	Horse	Whole	Unburnt	Confident
G1752	Kápa K.3.2	Horse	Whole	Unburnt	Confident
G1753	Kápa K.3.3	Horse	Whole	Unburnt	Confident
G1756	Keldudalur 2	Dog	Whole	Unburnt	Confident

G1757	Keldudalur 3	Dog	Whole	Unburnt		Confident
G1760	Kirkjubær K.154	Horse	Whole	Unburnt		Confident
G1764	Kolsholt K.24	Horse	Whole	Unburnt		Confident
G1767	Kornsá K.63	Horse	Whole	Unburnt		Confident
		Dog	Whole	Unburnt		Confident
G1770	Lækur K.28	Horse	Whole	Unburnt		Confident
G1774	Laugarbrekka K.46	Horse	Whole	Unburnt		Confident
G1775	Litli-Dunhagi K.93	Horse	Whole	Unburnt		Confident
G1776	Ljósstaðir K.80	Horse	Whole	Unburnt		Confident
G1777	Lómatjörn K.107.1	Horse	Whole	Unburnt		Confident
G1778	Lómatjörn K.107.2	Horse	Whole	Unburnt		Confident
G1779	Lyngbrekka Daðastaðir 1	Dog	Whole	Unburnt	Poleaxed	Confident
		Horse	Whole	Unburnt	Poleaxed	Confident
G1783	Miðhóp K.60	Horse	Whole	Unburnt		Confident
G1785	Miklibær K.75.1	Horse	Whole	Unburnt		Confident
G1786	Miklibær K.75.2	Horse	Whole	Unburnt		Confident
G1784	Miklaholt K.36	Horse	Whole	Unburnt		Confident
G1789	Moldhaugar K.99.1	Horse	Whole	Unburnt		Confident
		Dog	Whole	Unburnt		Confident
G1791	Mörk K.15	Horse	Whole	Unburnt		Confident
G1792	Narfastaðir	Horse	Whole	Unburnt		Confident
		Dog	Whole	Unburnt		Confident
G1793	Núpar K.121.1/2	Horse	Whole	Unburnt		Confident
		Horse	Whole	Unburnt		Confident
		Horse	Whole	Unburnt		Confident
G1794	Núpar K.121.4	Dog	Whole	Unburnt		Confident
		Horse	Whole	Unburnt		Confident
G1795	Núpar K.121.5-7	Horse	Whole	Unburnt		Confident
		Dog	Whole	Unburnt		Confident

		Horse	Whole	Unburnt		Confident
		Horse	Whole	Unburnt	Poleaxed	Confident
G1798	Öxnadalshéiði K.76.1	Horse	Whole	Unburnt		Confident
G1799	Öxnadalshéiði K.76.2	Horse	Whole	Unburnt		Confident
G1800	Rangá K.135	Horse	Whole	Unburnt		Confident
		Dog	Whole	Unburnt		Confident
G1808	Rangá Eystri K.9.8	Horse	Whole	Unburnt		Confident
G1810	Reykjasel K.130.1	Horse	Whole	Unburnt		Confident
G1813	Sakka K.84	Horse	Whole	Unburnt		Confident
G1814	Saltvík 1	Horse	Whole	Unburnt		Confident
G1819	Sílastaðir K.98.1	Horse	Whole	Unburnt		Confident
		Horse	Whole	Unburnt		Confident
		Sheep/Goat	Unknown	Unburnt		Confident
G1822	Sílastaðir K.98.4	Horse	Whole	Unburnt		Confident
G1828	Skógar K.108	Horse	Whole	Unburnt		Confident
		Dog	Whole	Unburnt		Confident
G1833	Snæhvammur K.150	Horse	Whole	Unburnt		Confident
G1834	Snartarstaðir K.41	Horse	Whole	Unburnt		Confident
G1835	Sólheimar K.70.1	Horse	Whole	Unburnt		Confident
		Horse	Whole	Unburnt		Confident
G1836	Sólheimar K.70.2	Horse	Whole	Unburnt		Confident
G1837	Staðartunga K.96.1	Horse	Whole	Unburnt		Confident
		Horse	Whole	Unburnt		Confident
		Dog	Whole	Unburnt		Confident
G1838	Stærri-Árskógur K.91	Horse	Whole	Unburnt		Confident
		Horse	Whole	Unburnt		Confident
G1839	Stafn K.67	Horse	Whole	Unburnt		Confident
G1851	Sturluflötur K.136	Horse	Whole	Unburnt		Confident

G1841	Stóra-Sandfell K.143	Horse	Whole	Unburnt	Confident
		Horse	Whole	Unburnt	Confident
G1842	Stóri-Klofi K.18.1	Horse	Whole	Unburnt	Confident
G1844	Stóri-Moshvoll K.7	Horse	Whole	Unburnt	Confident
G1856	Syðra-Krossanes K.100.2	Horse	Whole	Unburnt	Confident
G1863	Þóreyjarnúpur K.58	Horse	Whole	Unburnt	Confident
G1870	Þorljótsstaðir K.74.7	Horse	Whole	Unburnt	Confident
		Dog	Whole	Unburnt	Confident
G1871	Þúfnavellir K.97	Horse	Whole	Unburnt	Confident
G1872	Þverá K.119	Horse	Whole	Unburnt	Confident
G1873	Tindar K.66	Horse	Whole	Unburnt	Poleaxed
G1875	Traðarholt K.25.2	Horse	Whole	Unburnt	Confident
G1876	Traðarholt K.25.3	Horse	Whole	Unburnt	Confident
		Dog	Whole	Unburnt	Confident
G1877	Traðarholt K.25.4	Horse	Whole	Unburnt	Confident
G1882	Vað K.145.2	Dog	Whole	Unburnt	Confident
G1885	Vatnsdalur K.54.2	Horse	Whole	Unburnt	Confident
		Pig	Unknown	Unburnt	Possible
G1886	Vík K.71	Horse	Whole	Unburnt	Confident
G1888	Ystafell K.110	Horse	Whole	Unburnt	Confident
G1889	Ytra-Garðshorn K.87.1	Horse	Whole	Unburnt	Confident
		Horse	Whole	Unburnt	Confident
G1890	Ytra-Garðshorn K.87.2	Horse	Whole	Unburnt	Confident
G1891	Ytra-Garðshorn K.87.3	Horse	Whole	Unburnt	Confident
G1894	Ytra-Garðshorn K.87.6	Horse	Whole	Unburnt	Confident
G1895	Ytra-Garðshorn K.87.7	Horse	Whole	Unburnt	Confident
G1896	Ytra-Garðshorn K.87.8	Horse	Whole	Unburnt	Poleaxed
G1897	Ytra-Garðshorn K.87.9	Horse	Whole	Unburnt	Confident

G1898	Ytra-Garðshorn K.87.10	Horse	Whole	Unburnt		Confident
G1899	Ytra-Hvarf K.85.1	Horse	Whole	Unburnt		Confident
		Horse	Whole	Unburnt		Confident
G1900	Ytra-Hvarf K.85.2	Horse	Whole	Unburnt		Confident
G1901	Ytri-Neslönd K.115	Horse	Whole	Unburnt	Poleaxed	Confident

Kaupang

G_UID	Grave Name	Animal	Part/Whole	Condition	Treatment	Intentionality
G2041	Ka.250 Bikjholberget	Horse	Unknown	Unburnt		Confident
G2043	Ka.252 Bikjholberget	Horse	Unknown	Unburnt		Confident
G2056	Ka.270/271 Bikjholberget	Horse	Unknown	Unburnt		Confident
G2058	Ka.273 Bikjholberget	Horse	Part	Unburnt		Confident
G2066	Ka.284/285 Bikjholberget	Horse	Unknown	Unburnt		Confident
G2068	Ka.288 Bikjholberget	Horse	Part	Unburnt		Confident
G2070	Ka.290 Bikjholberget	Unidentified	Unknown	Cremated and unburnt?		Possible
G2071	Ka.291 Bikjholberget	Horse	Unknown	Unburnt		Confident
G2072	Ka.292/293 Bikjholberget	Horse	Unknown	Unburnt		Confident
G2073	Ka.294–297 Bikjholberget	Dog	Whole	Unburnt	Decapitated, butchered and carved	Confident
		Horse	Whole	Unburnt	Decapitated, butchered and carved	Confident
G2074	Ka.298–300 Bikjholberget	Moose	Unknown	Unburnt	Possibly decapitated	Confident
		Horse	Unknown	Unknown		Possible
G2075	Ka.301/302 Bikjholberget	Horse	Unknown	Unknown		Possible
		Unidentified	Unknown	Cremated		Possible
		Cattle	Unknown	Unburnt		Confident
G2077	Ka.305 Bikjholberget	Horse	Unknown	Unburnt	Possibly decapitated	Confident

		Bear	Whole	Unburnt	Decapitated	Confident
		Cattle	Unknown	Unburnt		Confident
G2080	Ka.308 Bikjholberget	Horse	Unknown	Unknown		Confident
G2081	Ka.309 Kaupang, Bikjholberget	Unidentified	Unknown	Cremated		Confident
G2085	Ka.314 Bikjholberget	Cattle	Unknown	Unburnt		Possible
G2087	Ka.316 and Ka.317 Bikjholberget	Horse	Whole	Unburnt	Decapitated	Confident
G2093	Ka.323 Bikjholberget	Horse	Unknown	Unknown		Confident
G2112	Ka.203/204 Lamøya	Sheep/Goat	Unknown	Cremated		Confident
		Pig	Unknown	Cremated		Confident
		Cattle	Unknown	Cremated		Confident
G2126	Ka.218 Lamøya	Dog	Whole	Unburnt		Confident
G2225	Ka.157 Søndre	Dog	Unknown	Unknown		Possible

Hedeby

G_UID	Grave Name	Animal	Part/Whole	Condition	Treatment	Intentionality
G1052	Boat chamber grave, South Gravefield West	Horse	Whole	Unburnt		Confident
		Horse	Whole	Unburnt		Confident
		Horse	Whole	Unburnt		Confident
		Pig	Unknown	Unburnt		Confident
		Horse	Whole	Unburnt		Confident
		Horse	Whole	Unburnt		Confident
G258	CG VIII, Chamber Gravefield	Unidentified	Unknown	Unknown		Possible
G340	Gr.79 Flat Gravefield	Unidentified	Unknown	Unknown		Possible

Appendix Eight

Ceremonial Modification Data

Asterisk (*) = weapon recovered in broken state but most probably only originally bent

Multiple Mod. = weapon shows evidence of more than one type of modification (i.e. broken and bent)

England

G_UID	Grave Name	Rite	No. of Objects	Weapon	Modification	Condition	Intentionality
G146	Heath Wood Mound 1	Cremation	Single	Sword	Broken	Part Present	Likely
G152	Heath Wood Mound 7	Cremation	Single	Sword	Broken	Part Present	Likely
G162	Heath Wood Mound 50	Cremation	Single	Sword	Broken	Part Present	Likely
G164	Hesket-in-the-Forest	Cremation	Set	Sword	Bent	Whole	Likely
				Shield Boss	Multiple Mod.	Whole	Possible
				Spearhead	Bent	Whole	Possible
				Spearhead	Bent	Whole	Possible
G180	Meols	Unknown	Single	Arrowhead	Bent	Whole	Possible
G190	Reading	Inhumation	Single	Sword	Bent	Whole	Possible
G219	Thetford 1	Inhumation	Single	Sword	Bent	Whole	Likely
G230	Workington	Unknown	Single	Sword	Bent*	Whole	Likely
G196	Repton Gr.295/511	Inhumation	Single	Sword	Broken	Whole	Likely
G138	Cumwhitton Gr.3	Inhumation	Single	Sword	Bent	Whole	Possible

Isle of Man

G_UID	Grave Name	Rite	No. of Objects	Weapon	Modification	Condition	Intentionality
G2012	Ballateare	Inhumation	Set	Sword	Broken	Whole	Likely
				Shield Boss	Struck	Whole	Likely
				Spearhead	Broken	Whole	Possible
G2017	Cronk Moar	Inhumation	Single	Sword	Broken	Whole	Possible

Scotland

G_UID	Grave Name	Rite	No. of Objects	Weapon	Modification	Condition	Intentionality
G2246	Balnakeil	Inhumation	Single	Sword	Broken	Part Missing	Likely
G2248	Boiden	Unknown	Single	Sword	Bent	Whole	Possible
G2317	Machrins 1891	Unknown	Set	Sword	Broken	Whole	Likely
				Spearhead	Multiple Mod.	Whole	Likely
				Axe	Struck	Whole	Likely
G2342	Scar	Inhumation	Single	Sword	Broken	Whole	Possible
G2355	Swordle Bay, Ardnamurchan	Inhumation	Set	Spearhead	Broken	Whole	Likely
				Sword	Multiple Mod.	Whole	Likely
				Shield Boss	Struck	Whole	Likely
G2367	Westness Gr.11	Inhumation	Single	Shield Boss	Struck	Whole	Likely

Ireland

G_UID	Grave Name	Rite	No. of Objects	Weapon	Modification	Condition	Intentionality
G1907	Bride Street	Inhumation	Set	Sword	Multiple Mod.	Whole	Likely

				Spearhead	Broken	Whole	Likely
				Shield Boss	Struck	Whole	Likely
				Halpin	Bent	Whole	Likely
G1914	College Green 1819.1	Inhumation	Two Items	Sword	Bent*	Part Missing	Possible
				Spearhead	Bent	Whole	Possible
G1915	College Green 1819.2	Inhumation	Single	Spearhead	Multiple Mod.	Whole	Likely
G1929	Inchicore 1933.1	Inhumation	Single	Sword	Broken	Whole	Likely
G1930	Inchicore 1933.2	Inhumation	Single	Sword	Bent*	Whole	Likely
G1933	Inchicore 1934C	Inhumation	Two Items	Sword	Broken	Whole	Likely
				Spearhead	Broken	Part Missing	Possible
G1935	1860 Islandbridge	Inhumation	Single	Sword	Bent*	Whole	Possible
G1936	1866A.1 Islandbridge	Inhumation	Single	Shield Boss	Struck	Whole	Likely
G1940	1866B.1 Islandbridge	Inhumation	Single	Sword	Bent	Whole	Likely
G1943	1866C Islandbridge	Unknown	Two Items	Shield Boss	Broken	Whole	Possible
				Sword	Broken	Whole	Likely
G1946	1869.2 Islandbridge	Unknown	Set	Shield Boss	Struck	Whole	Likely
				Spearhead	Bent	Whole	Likely
				Sword	Multiple Mod.	Whole	Possible
G1947	1869.3 Islandbridge	Unknown	Single	Sword	Bent*	Whole	Likely
G1950	2008 Islandbridge	Inhumation	Two Items	Spearhead	Bent	Whole	Likely
				Sword	Broken	Whole	Possible
G1957	1845.2 Kilmainham	Inhumation	Set	Sword	Bent	Whole	Likely
				Spearhead	Bent	Whole	Likely
				Shield Boss	Struck	Whole	Likely
G1958	1845.3 Kilmainham	Inhumation	Set	Sword	Bent	Whole	Likely
				Spearhead	Bent	Whole	Likely
				Shield Boss	Struck	Whole	Possible
G1970	1845A.3 Kilmainham	Unknown	Single	Spearhead	Bent	Whole	Likely

G1971	1845ms.1 Kilmainham	Unknown	Single	Sword	Bent	Whole	Likely
G1972	1845ms.2 Kilmainham	Unknown	Single	Sword	Broken	Whole	Likely
G1975	1845ca.2 Kilmainham	Unknown	Single	Sword	Broken	Whole	Likely
G1978	1845pb.1 Kilmainham	Unknown	Set	Sword	Broken	Whole	Likely
				Shield Boss	Struck	Whole	Likely
				Spearhead	Broken	Whole	Possible
G1981	1848.1 Kilmainham	Unknown	Single	Sword	Broken	Whole	Likely
G1986	1861.1 Kilmainham	Inhumation	Single	Shield Boss	Struck	Whole	Likely
G1989	Kilmainham Wakeman	Unknown	Two Items	Spearhead	Broken	Whole	Possible
				Shield Boss	Struck	Whole	Possible
G1990	Knoxpark Gr.4	Inhumation	Single	Spearhead	Broken	Whole	Possible
G2000	South Great George's St F196	Inhumation	Single	Shield Boss	Struck	Whole	Possible
G2007	Woodstown	Inhumation	Set	Sword	Broken	Whole	Likely
				Spearhead	Broken	Whole	Likely
				Shield Boss	Struck	Whole	Likely
G1923	Eyrehort	Inhumation	Single	Spearhead	Broken	Part Missing	Possible
G1959	1845.4 Kilmainham	Inhumation	Single	Shield Boss	Struck	Whole	Likely
G1966	1845.11 Kilmainham	Inhumation	Single	Sword	Broken	Part Missing	Likely
G1967	1845.12 Kilmainham	Inhumation	Single	Sword	Broken	Whole	Likely
G1976	1845ca.3 Kilmainham	Unknown	Single	Sword	Broken	Part Present	Possible
G2004	St John's Point	Inhumation	Single	Sword	Broken	Part Present	Possible
G2006	Tibberaghney	Inhumation	Single	Sword	Broken	Part Present	Possible
G1960	1845.5 Kilmainham	Inhumation	Single	Sword	Bent	Whole	Likely
G1961	1845.6 Kilmainham	Inhumation	Single	Sword	Bent	Whole	Likely
G1962	1845.7 Kilmainham	Inhumation	Single	Spearhead	Bent	Whole	Possible
G1963	1845.8 Kilmainham	Inhumation	Single	Spearhead	Bent	Whole	Likely
G1964	1845.9 Kilmainham	Inhumation	Single	Spearhead	Bent	Whole	Likely
G1965	1845.10 Kilmainham	Inhumation	Single	Spearhead	Bent	Whole	Likely

Iceland

G_UID	Grave Name	Rite	No. of Objects	Weapon	Modification	Condition	Intentionality
G2391	Eldvatn, Skaftártunga	Inhumation	Single	Spearhead	Bent	Whole	Likely

Kaupang

G_UID	Grave Name	Rite	No. of Objects	Weapon	Modification	Condition	Intentionality
G2043	Ka.252 Bikjholberget	Inhumation	Single	Shield Boss	Struck	Whole	Likely
G2058	Ka.273 Bikjholberget	Inhumation	Single	Sword	Bent	Whole	Likely
G2060	Ka.277 Bikjholberget	Inhumation	Two Items	Sword	Bent	Part Missing	Likely
				Spearhead	Broken	Whole	Possible
G2061	Ka.278 Bikjholberget	Inhumation	Single	Axe	Broken	Whole	Possible
G2074	Ka.298–300 Bikjholberget	Inhumation	Two Items	Sword	Broken	Whole	Likely
				Shield Boss	Struck	Whole	Likely
G2092	Ka.322 Bikjholberget	Inhumation	Single	Sword	Broken	Part Missing	Likely
G2141	Ka.403 Misc. Kaupang	Inhumation	Single	Sword	Multiple Mod.	Part Missing	Possible
G2149	Ka.4 Nordre	Cremation	Two Items	Sword	Broken	Whole	Possible
				Spearhead	Broken	Whole	Possible
G2219	Ka.150/151 Søndre	Cremation	Single	Sword	Bent*	Whole	Possible
G2228	Ka.160 Søndre	Cremation	Single	Sword	Bent*	Whole	Likely

Hedeby

G_UID	Grave Name	Rite	No. of Objects	Weapon	Modification	Condition	Intentionality
G581	Gr.319 Flat Gravefield	Inhumation	Single	Sword	Broken	Part Missing	Possible

Appendix Nine

List of Excluded Burials

The following list outlines the single burials which were excluded from this research on the basis that they either:

1. Did not meet the criteria that the find was a) certainly a burial or b) certainly from the Viking Age
2. Had insufficient detail regarding aspects of the burial to such a degree that little value was gained by including them.

Ashingdon, Essex [G101]

Find Date: Unk. Find Category: Unk.

Description: A fragmentary shield and spearhead were found in a church yard

Decision: Objects could be grave goods but possible VA artefacts were also found with two 'coats of armour', which is unlikely. Thus, it is excluded on this basis.

Brigham, Cumbria [G107]

Find Date: 1984 Find Category: Modern

Description: Ring-headed pin found under the church tower close to a hogback

Decision: This could be a grave as it was found in a graveyard, but no formal grave structure was observed. Also, it is possible that a VA pin was also discovered but there were no diagnostic features identified or recorded. Thus, it is excluded on this basis.

Gooderstone, Norfolk [G144]

Find Date: 1957 Find Category: Modern

Description: A VA sword was ploughed up in Gooderstone in Norfolk

Decision: Considered by both Wilson (1965) and Evison (1969) as tenth or eleventh century in date, the suggestion that it derives from a burial has arisen from the fact that the blade is bent. In this regard, Wilson has written: "...the circumstances of the find preclude any positive statement as it might have been bent by the plough" (1965:35). Richards (2010) and Graham-Campbell (2001) do not include it as a possible burial. As it is not clearly VA in date (the sword is too fragmentary to make any clear diagnosis) and that it was found in isolation (without grave structures observed), it is excluded in this research.

K.43 Borgarnes, Mýrasýsla [G1619]

Find Date: 1866 Find Category: Antiquarian

Description: Alleged burial mound previously excavated by a farmer yielded no artefacts or bone

Decision: Eldjárn and Friðriksson (2016:592) state that "in each of the two reports available from this excavation, which are both confusing and contradictory, there is a description of a man-made mound with all the characteristics of a disturbed grave mound". Both criteria (that it is a grave and/or is of VA date) have not been satisfied due to the absence of any diagnostic features. Thus, it is excluded.

K.155.6 Hrifunes, Vestur-Skaftafellssýsla [G1723]

Find Date: 1957 Find Category: Modern

Description: Small mound made of turf and stone, badly damaged by a river

Decision: This mound is possibly a grave, but no burial structure, human remains or artefacts were found. Hence, it is excluded on this basis.

Ingiríðarstaðir, Suður-Pingeyjarsýsla [G1744]

Find Date: 2015 Find Category: Modern

Description: Grave containing a single mammal bone, found in 2015

Decision: There were no objects to tell the date of the burial and the record describes the 'burial' as a burial-like feature. Furthermore, it is unclear whether the mammal bone is human or not. Thus, it has been excluded here.

1823 Ormside, Cumbria [G185]

Find Date: 1823 Find Category: Antiquarian

Description: Ormside bowl thought to have originated from a VA grave

Decision: There was no grave identified with the bowl, which is not of Viking manufacture. This doesn't preclude the bowl from being once owned by a 'Viking' but, in the absence of any observed burial structure, the burial must be excluded.

Pippin Castle, Yorkshire [G187]

Find Date: 1901 Find Category: Antiquarian

Description: Possible hogback located on the edge of a mound which may have yielded artefacts

Decision: Some of the artefacts found at this site are VA in date however many others are not. Also, the artefacts were not found in a specific context but from across all mounds excavated in the area. Hence, there is no certainty which artefacts belong to this supposed grave. This is excluded as the record is too vague.

Rampside, Lancashire [G189]

Find Date: 1854 Find Category: Antiquarian

Description: Remains of a broken sword were found in a Christian graveyard reported in 1854

Decision: This could be a grave as the sword was found in graveyard and it is also possible that the sword is VA, but with no diagnostic features identified or recorded, and with no formal burial structure observed, it is excluded in this research.

Calf of Man, Rushen [G2015]

Find Date: 1818 Find Category: Antiquarian

Description: Two swords and a spearhead were found at this site

Decision: There is uncertainty about where these objects originated and whether they are definitely of Viking Age date. Hence, it is excluded in this research.

Glen Rushen, Patrick [G2019]

Find Date: 1810 Find Category: Antiquarian

Description: Sword recovered at Glen Rushen

Decision: There is uncertainty about where the object originated and whether it is definitely of Viking Age. Hence, it is excluded in this research.

Jurby Churchyard, Jurby [G2020]

Find Date: 1932 Find Category: Antiquarian

Description: Possible grave mound in churchyard but not excavated

Decision: There is no evidence to say this mound contains a burial or whether that burial is Viking Age in date because it cannot be excavated due to the

modern graves overlying it. Even so, Wilson (2008:38) believes it is likely to be a Viking grave mound. Until it is excavated it cannot be considered here and is, thus, excluded.

King Orry's Grave, Lonan [G2021]

Find Date: 1842 Find Category: Antiquarian

Description: This grave is a possible Viking Age burial (Wilson 1974:45). Redmond (2007:89) states, that "the details of the mound opened at Kirk Lonan during the nineteenth century are very patchy, and report the discovery of a sword along with a skeleton of a horse, an iron horse-shoe, some teeth and crumbling bones and a piece of Neolithic pottery."

Decision: Due to the ambiguity of the remains found in the 'tomb', including the uncertainty of the sword being of VA date, this burial is excluded.

Lezayre, Lezayre [G2025]

Find Date: 1750 Find Category: Antiquarian

Description: A group of artefacts (sword, axe and 39 coins) were recovered somewhere near the present church, although not in the churchyard

Decision: This site can no longer be identified and artefacts are lost. Without a burial structure or a better description of the objects, this possible burial must be excluded.

St Patrick's Isle, Patrick [G2040]

Find Date: 1818 Find Category: Antiquarian

Description: The only information available for this burial is that a boat grave may have been found in 1818, as described by Wilson in 1974

Decision: With so little information, the record is uncertain at all levels and the possible burial is excluded here.

Aucorn Wick, Caithness [G2238]

Find Date: c.1850s Find Category: Antiquarian

Description: Two stone vessels, possibly urns, were recovered at Aucorn

Decision: Batey (1984:61) doubts their Viking provenance— "Two steatite urns, possibly ascribable to the Viking period, were found at Aucorn near Wick in the 1850s. The published illustration is rather poor and although they do not seem to be of a particularly typical Viking form, the illustration may be misleading (Anderson 1874:538-539). It is conceivable that they may be Prehistoric in date, similar to finds from Jarlshof in a Bronze Age context." In the absence of other diagnostic objects, this possible burial must be excluded.

Walthamstow, Essex [G224]

Find Date: 1990 Find Category: Antiquarian

Description: Human remains were recovered under an up-turned boat on the riverbank, possibly with sword

Decision: The connection between the human remains and the boat have not been established. The boat could be a post-medieval barge and it is unclear whether the sword (which is VA) was actually found with the boat or the human remains. Hence, it is excluded here.

Eigg, Inner Hebrides [G2280]

Find Date: Pre 1876 Find Category: Antiquarian

Description: Workmen came upon the lower jaw of a pig, the antler of a deer, a flat annular brooch of bronze, of singularly simple, unadorned form on Eigg

Decision: There was no formal grave identified and the brooch is only possibly of VA date. Thus, it is excluded here.

Witherslack, Cumbria [G229]

Find Date: c.1800-1900 Find Category: Antiquarian

Description: Sword found in a bed of gravel

Decision: There is no certainty that the sword represents a burial, or that it can be dated to the VA because the sword is now lacking all diagnostic features. Without observable burial structure, this possible burial must be excluded here.

Unst, Shetland

2A [G2290] and 2B [G2291]

Find Date: Pre 1874 Find Category: Antiquarian

Description: Fragments of a steatite pot or vessel containing burnt bone were found in 'ancient burial places' on the island of Unst

Decision: Due to the uncertainty of the vessel and bone being part of a human burial and that it is of VA date, this find cannot be considered here and is excluded.

Kildonan, Eigg, Inner Hebrides [G2305]

Find Date: 1861 Find Category: Antiquarian

Description: The fourth item described by MacPherson in 1861 recounts that a mound was found to enclose a cist containing burnt bone

Decision: This description may be a duplicate account of other finds at Kildonan. Additionally, since there are no diagnostic grave goods to confirm whether it is of VA date, the burial is excluded here.

31 Westness, Rousay, Orkney [G2387]

Find Date: 1968-1984 Find Category: Modern

Description: An incomplete stone setting of a boat was recovered within the Westness burial ground. It is not mentioned as a burial in Sellevold's report (1999)

Decision: Given the uncertainty as to whether this is a burial and whether it originates from the Viking Age activity on the site, it is excluded here.

83 York Minster, Yorkshire [G246]

Find Date: 1969 Find Category: Modern

Description: An 'uncertain grave' said to contain tenth century pottery was recovered in the Christian churchyard at York Minster (Phillips & Carver 1995).

Decision: The excavators are uncertain whether this is a burial at all and the recovery of tenth century pottery is not indicative of specific VA activity. Accordingly, it has been excluded.