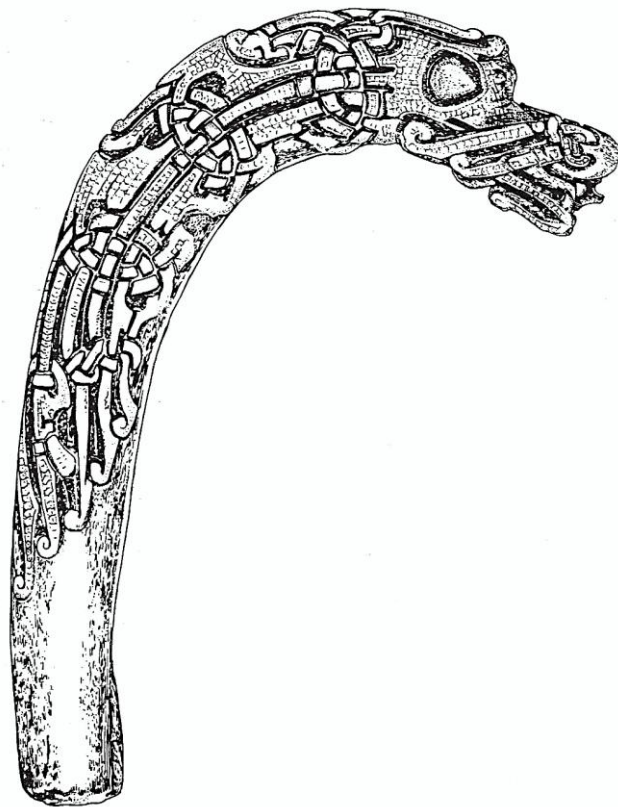# Black Pool

Hiberno-Norse identity in Viking Age and Early Medieval Ireland.

Uppsala University

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Author: Anton Amlé

Institution of Archaeology and Ancient History

One year master's thesis in Archaeology, 30 HP

Supervisor: Docent John Ljungqvist

Co-supervisor: Professor Neil Price

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Abstract

This paper is aimed at mapping important traits in a Hiberno-Norse identity. This is the main focus of the essay, but another important part is to problematize this using several theoretical approaches of which the main are identity, creolization and hybridization. The Hiberno-Norse culture being primarily an urban phenomenon, the thesis is delimited to the Hiberno-Norse towns with occasional comparisons to Scandinavia to see how the native Irish population influenced the invaders and how they gradually evolved into the Hiberno-Norse. Early on the Norse show signs of creolization that would ultimately lead to the creation of the Hiberno-Norse hybrid culture known from history and archaeology – an urban culture that show blended Norse and Irish features.

Denna uppsats är till för att sammanställa viktiga uttryck I en Iro-Skandinavisk identitet. Detta är huvudsyftet med uppsatsen, men en annan viktig del är att problematisera detta genom flera teoretiska begrepp, där de främsta är identitet, kreolisering och hybridisering. Då den Iro-Skandinaviska kulturen framför allt var ett urbant fenomen har uppsatsen avgränsats till de Iro-Skandinaviska städerna, med sporadiska jämförelser med Skandinavien för att se hur den inhemska Irländska befolkningen influerade angriparna och hur de skulle komma att utvecklas till Iro-Skandinaverna. Tidigt uppvisar nordborna tecken på kreolisering, som till slut skulle leda till uppkomsten av den Iro-Skandinaviska hybridkulturen känd från historian och arkeologin – en urban kultur som uppvisar blandade nordiska och irländska drag.

Key words: *Hiberno-Norse, Vikings, Celtic, Hybrid Culture, Identity, Influences, Art, Viking Age, Scandinavia, Ireland, Gaelicization, Creolization, Hybridization.*

Anton Amlé, Department of Archaeology and Ancient History, Uppsala University, Box 626, SE - 751 26 Uppsala, Sweden.

Picture above is of a wooden "crook" from Dublin decorated in the so-called "Dublin School", dated to the 11th century (Lang 1988: 46). After Lang 1988: 14.

1. Introduction

The choice to write about the Hiberno-Norse came from years of interest in both Vikings and Irish/Celtic history and literature. Due to this interest the Hiberno-Norse felt like the natural choice. Because of the fact that not many Scandinavians have written about the Hiberno-Norse it also feels fulfilling to contribute to a relatively small field and to approach these matters from a different angle, especially since identity is such a popular and growing subject. To approach this subject from a Scandinavian background and to include theory in the discussion will hopefully yield some interesting results. The idea of this paper is to map certain traits in the Hiberno-Norse identity to see how they differ from the Scandinavian identity during the Viking Age and early medieval period.

1.1. Purpose and issues

The main goal in this paper is to explore what traits that characterize a Hiberno-Norse identity and see how it differs from that of Scandinavians in their homeland. To achieve this I've chosen to focus on these following issues:

- How did the Hiberno-Norse express themselves?
- To what degree did the Norse population embrace the Irish culture? What changed and what remained of their Scandinavian identities? How quick was this process?
- What is a "Hiberno-Norse" identity? Is it a creolized identity or a hybrid?

1.2. Material and delimitation

This study is a literature study, due to the fact that the Hiberno-Norse existed in Ireland and not in Scandinavia. Several books, articles, papers and dissertations have been chosen that discuss the topic, some of which are very general works, while others are very narrow. The main focus lies with books, as according to my experience, this is by far the most common medium used in the sources.

New to me is the use of historical sources as a supplement to archaeology which presents interesting new ways to reach deeper understanding of the subject. The two are undoubtedly intertwined. This being an archaeological thesis, the use of historical

sources has been kept to a minimum in favour of archaeology, but their importance in this subject cannot and should not be denied.

This paper has been delimitated to the five Viking Age towns in Ireland with the undoubtedly largest focus being on Dublin. The other towns are Waterford, Wexford, Limerick and Cork. This is because the Hiberno-Norse culture is a primarily urban phenomenon. Due to the fairly scarce material from Ireland, certain places, especially England, and of course Scandinavia will be used as a backdrop. The study is written from a Scandinavian point of view, i.e. with focus on the Scandinavians, rather than the Irish as the Scandinavians were the invading minority that would change and embrace the local culture to a larger degree. Another large focus is to look at these issues from a theoretical angle.

1.2.1. Definitions

The most common name for the group of people studied in this paper is "Hiberno-Norse". This group of people are the Vikings that settled in Ireland during the 9th century AD that would, in time, share much of its culture with the local Irish culture. They are called "Hiberno-Norse" because they are generally seen as a cultural mix of two cultures – the native Irish population and the Viking settlers from Scandinavia. This name, however, is a little problematic. Further, there are several other names that have been used for this group of people, such as "Norse-Irish", "Norse-Gaels", "Hiberno-Scandinavian", "Hiberno-Norwegian" "Hiberno-Viking" etc. but in this paper the most common name will be used for simplicity's sake, i.e. "Hiberno-Norse". Below I will, however, address the problem mentioned.

The problem with the name "Hiberno-Norse" is that it has often been used to describe the Vikings in all Gaelic speaking areas of Northern Britain and Ireland. Most often, though, it is used to describe the Vikings of Ireland. The term "Norse" also requires some definition as it is most often used to describe all Scandinavians, regardless of nationality but sometimes the term is specifically connected with Norwegians (Downham 2009: 139-140). Therefore I would like to make it clear, that when I speak of Hiberno-Norse I mean the "hybrid culture" in Ireland and areas that they have settled in, such as Cumbria that has both Irish and Scandinavian elements. In this case the term "Norse" will be used as a general term to define all Scandinavians and not

specifically Norwegians. The usual division of the Scandinavian groups into national belongings could be problematic as discussed by Fredrik Svanberg (Svanberg 2003a; See Downham 2011).

When speaking of the early raids in the country, i.e. before AD 917 I will describe the Scandinavians as "Vikings" and after, when they were permanently settled in Ireland, I will use the term "Hiberno-Norse". It is however important to mention that the clear division between the Vikings and the Hiberno-Norse in Dublin is usually set at around AD 980, at the end of king *Óláfr Kvárans (Amlaíb Cuarán)* reign, which, according to Howard B. Clarke marked the end of Viking Dublin and the beginning of the Hiberno-Norse town (Clarke 1998: 334).

The term "Viking" is also somewhat problematic. The Vikings have been known by many different names and the term has been widely used. Besides the word *"Wicing"* the English described them as "Danes" or "Pagans", and in Ireland they are known as "Pagans (Gentiles)", *"Finngaill", "Dubgaill",* as well as the more special term *"Gallgoídil".* In the east they were known as *"Rus"* or *"Varjag"* (Brink 2008: 5-6; Smyth 1977: 113). In this paper when the word "Viking" is used it is not used as an ethnic marker, but rather as a cultural and professional label (See Downham 2009: 140).

1.3. Method and theory

The methods used are a descriptive and a comparative literature study where expressions of Hiberno-Norse identity can be tracked and where the Norse impact can be analysed, as well as influences back and forth between the two peoples. The literature used are primarily from archaeologists but also from historians that touch the subject. A comparative analysis will be done in order to find similarities and differences between the Hiberno-Norse on Ireland and the Norse in Scandinavia. One large addition is also the theoretical approach which is discussed below. These different approaches, some major and some minor, have been chosen because they can be connected to the issues presented in this thesis. They have also been chosen because they represent different approaches to archaeology and can therefore be put against one another in order to reach interesting conclusions.

The descriptive and comparative literature study will be used in order to answer the first and second of my issues, i.e. (1) how the Hiberno-Norse people expressed themselves and (2) to what degree they embraced the native Irish culture and made it part of their own, what changed and what remained as well as how quick this process was.

To answer my third issue, i.e. if the Hiberno-Norse identity is a creolized identity or if it is something entirely new, ergo a hybrid, I will instead approach and discuss this from a theoretical angle. The largest focus here will be the concepts of creolization and hybridization, but I also make use of several different approaches that can all be connected with this paper in one way or another, not least the concept of identity. The theoretical approaches are not strictly limited to the third issue.

1.3.1. Hybridization

Hybridity is a concept best understood as not caring about the beginning or the end (Petersson 2011: 169). Caroline Petersson describes it as:

> "*a river, a flow of water that is impossible to freeze into essential*
> *categories like 'a culture' or 'national belonging' ".*
> (Petersson 2011: 169).

Hybridity is interesting because it makes us question the very fundamentals of archaeology, such as the division of peoples into different cultures. Discussions with hybridity as a theoretical point of view means that no culture, state or nation is static and homogenous (Petersson 2011: 169). I find Peterssons description of hybridity as an ever flowing river very colourful. My interpretation of this description is that cultures and peoples are not like a frozen lake that has ceased it's movement at some point in time, but rather like the river that keeps flowing, and what we archaeologists find are those floes of ice that existed at some point in time, but then vanished or changed as time had its course. By that reason we can't say that "This is how this culture expressed itself", but rather say that it is one of the expressions that once existed, and that it does not necessarily have to represent that entire culture (See Petersson 2011).

In postcolonial theory hybridity is seen as something that cannot be classified into a single cultural or ethnical category. This is different from traditional view of colonialism

where separate cultural identities exist, that maintain their own identities over time. Hybridity, on the other hand, maintains that these separate cultures interacted and in time produced something new, that is neither fully indigenous nor fully foreign and that both parties are mutually interdependent and producing, a form of symbiotic relationship (Liebmann & Rizvi 2008: 82). Homi K. Bhaba is a well-known advocate of hybridity and he means that the important part of hybridity is not to trace the origin from which something new arises, but rather to see this "third space" from which something new can and is given the opportunity to appear. Something entirely new that is different and not just a corporation of different elements (Rutherford 1990: 211, cf. Bhabha 1994).

Using hybridity, I may see if the cultures did indeed become something entirely new or if they remained the same or changed to a certain degree. One interesting aspect is to see if the cultures did indeed have the time to become one and something new, which is by far not impossible. This is, after all, a period of about several hundred years. Anne-Christine Larsen mentions that this is a period of about 450 years (Larsen 2001: 148), although I quite don't see how that works out, seeing as they arrive around AD 800 and are conquered around 1170, as well as disappearing on at least two occasions I rather make it out as a period of roughly 350 years.

Hybridity, the "third space", is still going to be very interesting to see if it is traceable in the material, specifically with focus on the Hiberno-Norse towns and the material produced in those environments.

1.3.2. Creolization

The concept of creolization has its origin in linguistics research where the term is used to define where two languages have borrowed words from each other and created something new, a so called "creole language". The term has since broadened and is nowadays used as a metaphor to define the processes leading towards a synthesis between two cultural forms (NE 2014).

One good example of creolization in archaeology is given by Susanne Thedéen in her paper "Box brooches beyond the Border: Female Viking Age Identities of Intersectionality" (2012) where she discusses the occurrence of Gotlandic Viking Age box brooches in graves around the Baltic Sea. She gives several examples of where the

brooches have seemingly been given a new function outside of Scandinavia and argues that in graves where females have been buried with several different objects from several different ethnic groups we may find people that have had an important function in maintaining important social relations between these groups. She also argues that towns, trading places and urban centres, where these brooches have been found, might be such places where the original meaning of the objects have been set aside in favour of new, creolized identities that have been formed by life experiences, encounters with different people and a new urban lifestyle. However, the brooches are still found exclusively in female graves which indicate that certain connotations persisted (Thedéen 2012: 78-79). Raghnall Ó'Floinn gives a similar example of important individuals in Viking Age Ireland, where Scandinavian women have been critical in forming political marriage alliances with the local Irish. He argues that this could have happened very early in the Viking phase, and gives examples of two Irish kings in the early 850's with the Norse name *"Broðir"* (Ó'Floinn 1998: 163).

The creolization of cultures is, unlike hybridization, where people have embraced certain elements from the different groups while still retaining some of their original cultural identities. Their original culture remains, but changed or expanded. Thedéens example of creolization in urban environments is going to be highly interesting to discuss as opposed to hybridization, and more specifically the "third space".

1.3.3. Identity

When it comes to Viking identities Fredrik Svanbergs dissertation "Decolonizing the Viking Age" (2003a; 2003b) is a much referenced work. This thesis is written in two parts where he discusses regional identities in southern Scandinavia and argues that there are no larger national identities, i.e. Danish or Swedish, but rather several smaller, regional identities. He argues that people belonged to several different communities at the same time, and that a far more complex, multidimensional perspective is most accurate in describing these. When it comes to traditions, he argues that it is very hard to generalize this, and that each example has to be treated contextually. However, he also mentions that some groups of peoples no doubt followed very small, local and specific traditions while others followed those of greater geographical realms (Svanberg 2003a: 190-191).

In part two he argues that the death rituals are not just one aspect of a culture, as has been argued earlier. He instead means that as these rituals include complex patterns that have been repeated for hundreds of years and includes a huge investment in material wealth and physical labour. Further these actions are strongly connected with ideas of death, identity and the general nature of the world. This cannot be seen as just one aspect, but rather as many aspects and as an incredibly important part of a culture (Svanberg 2003b: 5). This latter information certainly show connections to the idea of habitus, presented below.

As a response to Svanbergs work Shane McLeod wrote "Know Thine Enemy: Scandinavian identity in the Viking Age" (2008). In this paper he argues that while Svanbergs has written a very thought-provoking dissertation, he did not account for the historical sources. McLeod presents several historical sources, including Othere's account and several runestones. From his studies of historical sources he arrives at a slightly different conclusion than Svanberg. McLeod believes that at least some people in Scandinavia believed themselves to belonging to a greater entity than their home region, ergo the "nations" of Norway, Denmark and Sweden. This greater entity is more geographically based than politically. He does acknowledge that people no doubt identified themselves by their home region, but at least some people in Scandinavia used these national terms to identify themselves. He also points out that people from outside of Scandinavia used the national terms but it is still unclear how their terms correlates with those used in Scandinavia (McLeod 2008).

When it comes to identity and material culture, one of the most classical examples comes from Ian Hodder and his ethnoarchaeological studies and experiences with the Baringo people of Kenya. Within this tribe the women did not wear the clothes of different tribes because they did not wish to be perceived as a stranger within their own tribe. For example, one of the chiefs had told the women to wear their own distinctive clothes because they might be recognized as enemies during war times. This supports the idea of certain decorations expressing identity within a group and conformity with the rulers. On the subject of exogamy and specifically when the women were changing tribes one woman said that she changed dress to that of her husband's tribe because she had agreed to follow his tribes' customs, i.e. the material culture expressed her identity and conformity. When the woman returned to her tribe, her original dress was

worn again. Another woman expressed that when she wanted to be like one from another tribe she would wear their articles. Clothing could therefore be temporary and depend on the situation, and this certainly stresses the point that material culture is used as a medium for communication (Hodder 1982: 26-27). This can also be compared with the example given by Raghnall Ó'Floinn described above (See page 12).

The historical sources name different contesting groups of Vikings active on Ireland. These are the *"Dubh gall"* and the *"Finn gall"*. This was usually translated as "Dark foreigners" and "Fair foreigners" and was thought to be ethnic markers representing the Danes and the Norwegians respectively. After many years of discussions this is no longer universally accepted and it is now believed that they might represent different Norse factions on Ireland (Hall 2007: 89), but this has recently also been challenged (See Downham 2011). The sources also discuss a third faction among these first mentioned in the Annals of Ulster for the year 856 – the *Gallgoidil.* These are the descendants of the Vikings and Irish, i.e. the Hiberno-Norse (Smyth 1977: 113; *AU*: Mac Airt & Mac Niocáill).

1.3.4. Memory

There is a distinct difference between history and memory. Pierre Nora is an author who means that it is a shame that we have seemingly lost or destroyed our own memory in favour of history. Our memories are almost all gone and destroyed, however, they are alive and well in traditional or "older" societies (Nora 2001: 366). He means that there are certain places connected to a memory, a *"lieux de memoire"* as he calls them. In these places we are aware that our connection with the past is broken, yet something remains. We have created these places because we do not have any real memory environments, or so called *"mileux de memoire"* that once existed and that still exist in traditional societies (Nora 2001: 365).

Joakim Wehlin gives us a great example of a *mileux de memoire* on the island of Gotland. His study is regarding a certain megalith and a ship setting in a pasture in Ansarve, Tofta parish. During excavations of this location the archaeologists found that it has been used from the middle of the Neolithic era, to the bronze age and even in to the early iron age (Wehlin 2011: 73-74). What this tells us is that this place has been

important to the local people for a long time. During periods of great change people have a tendency to cling on to their past to feel safe in their identity. One reason could be political, to tie yourself to the location and the ancestors and the other could be a religious matter (Wehlin 2011: 80-81). What is important here is that this location has existed as a place where people could maintain the collective memory, from the Neolithic portal tomb, to the bronze age ship setting to the iron age grave (Wehlin 2011: 82).

This can be a highly interesting theoretical approach to discuss in this paper. Of course it can be used to discuss the Irish as well as the Norsemen, but I believe that this approach is more interesting when discussing the Norse population. Were they open to the changes brought on by the Irish or did they cling to their own culture, during this time of great stress, like in the example provided above?

1.3.5. Habitus

The best way to describe the concept of habitus is by using its creator's own words:

"*The habitus, the durably installed generative principle of regulated improvisations, produces practices which tend to reproduce the regularities immanent in the objective conditions of the production of their generative principle, while adjusting to the demands inscribed as objective potentialities in the situation, as defined by the cognitive and motivating structures making up the habitus*"
(Bourdieu & Nice 1977: 78).

Pierre Bourdieus concept of habitus is generally defined as an action that is constantly repeated to the point where is becomes the social norm. It is the result of collective memories, social encounters, patterns of thinking etc. that has been carved into the mind and body of the people (Broady & Albertsen 1998: 6).

I believe that this concept might be useful to my studies with regards to the graves. Here, using the concept of habitus, I may track differences in the Scandinavian grave rituals and see which grave goods were common from the early Viking raiders to the late Hiberno-Norse tradesmen. By doing this comparison I can see if the rituals have changed anything and to what degree when both cultures collided and not just focus on the material finds, but bring rituals and religion in to the discussion as well.

1.3.6. Additional useful approaches

Gender discussions might be very useful with regards to the grave material. One part of this thesis will lie on the material finds on a personal level and it is here that gender could be applied. It is important to keep in mind that when looking at burials that the individual buried had limited influence over their own burial. What we see articulated is the work of the living people and it is they who have decided what the deceased should be buried with. This is an important aspect when we discuss gender as a part of the individual's identity (Fahlander 2012: 140; cf. Amlé 2013: 10).

Another useful approach is Claude Levi-Strauss' structural anthropology with his ideas of hot vs. cold societies. Levi Strauss uses these terms to describe different societies and how they have developed but mentions that there is of course no concrete societies that fit the descriptions perfectly. The hot societies are the societies that, for example, embraced the Neolithic revolution and began growing their food. The cold societies are, on the other hand, the societies that maintained their hunter-gatherer based economy and refused to take part in the "revolution". Now, these were only examples, and what it means is that these hot societies are the ones that are open towards change, while the cold societies are more conservative (Levi Strauss 1987: 29). This is a very useful approach to classify the Viking and Hiberno-Norse population and see their hot, or cold qualities.

1.4. Prior research

Many scholars have researched the Hiberno-Norse and the Irish Vikings for a long period. In archaeology Raghnall Ó'Floinn (e.g. 1998; 2001), Howard B. Clarke (e.g. 1998), Patrick F. Wallace (e.g. 2001; 2008) and James Graham-Campbell (e.g. 1976; 2013) are some prominent researchers in this field that have written books and papers regarding the Vikings in Ireland and the Hiberno-Norse. Naturally there are many more prominent archaeologists in the field, for example Eamonn P. Kelly (e.g. 1998) who has written much on the *longphuirt*.

Raghnall Ó'Floinns research mainly lies on ecclesiastical artefacts, decorated metalwork and the Irish church. One important work much referenced by me and many others is the book "Ireland and Scandinavia in the early Viking Age" (1998) where both

Ó'Floinn and Clarke are editors and have written contributions. Ó'Floinns forthcoming work "Viking Graves and Grave-Goods in Ireland" is awaited with massive interest.

Another large and here much referenced work that have many contributions by well-known names in Hiberno-Norse history and archaeology is Anne-Christine Larsen's "The Vikings in Ireland" (2001).

The work of Howard B. Clarke most used in this thesis is his work on the proto towns and towns of Viking Age Ireland. Like Clarke, Patrick F. Wallace, the former Director of the National Museum of Ireland, has also written a great deal on the Hiberno-Norse towns and it is these works that have primarily been used for this thesis (e.g. Clarke 1998; Wallace 2001).

James Graham-Campbell is another archaeologist who has written a lot about the Vikings, but most used in this thesis is his work on Scandinavian and Hiberno-Norse art (e.g. 2013).

Much prior archaeology has focused on the early Vikings and their artefacts, for example the *longphuirt* and the Hiberno-Norse towns, but not so much on the Hiberno-Norse people themselves. There are of course research on this, and a rather large focus has been on their art, which is a fusion of the later Scandinavian Viking Age art and the native Irish art (See Ó'Floinn 2001 & Lang 1988). The largest focus, however, has been on the early Vikings and their impact on Ireland. Very little has been written on Hiberno-Norse identity, in comparison.

There are also of course many who focus on the historical side of this, for example Donnchadh Ó'Corráin (e.g. 1998; 2001) and Clare Downham (e.g. 2009; 2011) who have both written books and papers that are more focused on how the Vikings are described in the historical material. The largest focus of the historians seems to be on the many annals that exist in Ireland.

As far as I can tell, Donnchadh Ó'Corráin is the most prominent historian of Viking Age Ireland. He is often referenced by authors and is referenced in here as well, with regard to some historical aspects on the Vikings and the Hiberno-Norse. He focuses on the strictly historical part of the Vikings in Ireland often with connections to Scotland, but

also on the kings and certain difficulties that arise in the old texts, for example the problem with identifying *"Laithlind"* (See for example Ó'Corráin 1998).

Clare Downham is another prominent and much referenced historian. In her paper "Viking identities in Ireland: It's not all black and white" (2011) she discusses how several different authors have interpreted the Gaelic labels *"Finn gall"* and *"Dubh gall"* and the problem that these cultural and ethnic labels can produce. Another one of her articles is "Hiberno-Norwegians and Anglo-Danes: anachronistic ethnicities and Viking Age England". These papers give a great insight into the labels used in the historical sources for the different groups of Vikings that settled Ireland and how they can be problematic (Downham 2009; 2011). Like Ó'Corráin she also writes about the Hiberno-Norse kings. However, as their major focus lie with the historical sources these papers are not used extensively, but nonetheless deserves an honourable mention.

Other names in the Hiberno-Norse field that I make use of are Richard Hall and David Griffiths. Richard Hall's informative and well-written and illustrated book "Exploring the World of the Vikings" (2007) is a very good start for researchers as it includes both archaeological and historical sources in the entire Viking world, and with a good focus on the experiences in Ireland. David Griffiths book "Vikings of the Irish Sea" (2012) has proven to be very useful in this thesis as it provides deeper knowledge in the field. Although these books are a little short on the concept of identity they have nonetheless proven to be quite useful for various background purposes. Another massive work is "The Viking World" (2008) by Stefan Brink and Neil Price. Many historians and archae-ologists have contributed to this volume (both my supervisors included) and it has proven to be very useful for various purposes.

I also make use of the historical sources available from this period. There are several historical sources for information on early Ireland. The oldest, and the most prominent one in this thesis is The Annals of Ulster, from the fourteenth century (Laing 2006: 12). The translation I am using is by Seán Mac Airt and Gearóid Mac Niocaill from 1983. This edition can be found on the Corpus of Electronic Texts (CELT), provided by the University College Cork.

Other important historical sources are the Annals of Tigernach, the Annals of Clonmacnoise, the Annals of Inisfallen and the Annals of the Four Masters. The Ann-

als of the Four Masters, compiled in the seventeenth century is especially important because it contains material that is otherwise now lost (Laing 2006: 12).

I also, unfrequently, make use of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle translated by James Ingram in 1823 and the *Cogad Gáedel re Gallaib (The War of the Irish with the Foreigners),* translated by James H. Todd in 1867.

As far as I am aware, no major work has been published with specific regard to Hiberno-Norse identity, which is hopefully where this study might be useful. The study of identity is a very important one in order to reach a deeper understanding and not just study these individuals on the surface, and I believe that this surface has only been scratched.

1.5. Source criticism

The absolutely biggest obstacle has been the acquisition of many important primary sources as this topic is not often discussed in Sweden, hence the books not existing here, or at the very least not existing on the island of Gotland, where I am writing this. Because of this many of my books have been interlibrary loans. Many primary sources are more than 40-50 years old and older (Indeed, several are from the very early 20th, 19th and even 18th centuries) and it is these books that have proven to be quite difficult to access, which has taken a great deal of time and resources. A very common sight is that Author A uses key references from Author B from the 80's, who then uses key references to Author C from the 60's and so on. This becomes an obstacle when the early references are hard to come by and when time is running.

One other issue is that not much of the literature is focused on the issue of identity. It is rather focused on the archaeology or the history of the early Viking Age and not so much on the later Hiberno-Norse period, and there it seems that ethnicity is the preferred subject to discuss over identity (See e.g. Sikora 2005; Downham 2009). However, this also presents the opportunity to contribute to an area that is not widely explored, at the very least here in Sweden.

The sources are a fantastical way of seeing the world through the eyes of the Irish so long ago, but naturally everything the sources tell us cannot be taken as fact right away, since they are coloured by the emotions and politics of the day. We can, however, use

them in order to extract certain important events, such as when the Vikings first came to Ireland, while keeping in mind that the information might not be entirely objective (See for example *Brjánssaga* and the *Cogad Gaedel re Gallaib)*.

Important to keep in mind is that while there is such a thing as "Hiberno-Norse", the cultural exchange between the Norse and the Irish was not as extensive as it had been in Scotland and England. It did occur, but not in a very large scale (Lang 1986: 243; Fellows-Jensen 2001: 107; Larsen 2001: 133; Mytum 2003).

Finally, as English is not my native tongue any grammatical errors or inconsistencies are of course my own. While I do not have any specific difficulties in grasping the English language, one must still keep this in mind.

2.0. Early Norse influence

In this chapter I will provide a short introduction to the early Viking period in Ireland. This begins with the early raids and continues on to the *longphort phase* and then ends with the foundation of the Hiberno-Norse towns.

The attackers most likely came from modern day Norway and Denmark and later from Scotland (Mytum 2003: 114; Ó'Corráin 1998: 297), but simple ethnic markers such as "Norwegian" or "Danish" have been heavily questioned (See e.g. Mytum 2003; Downham 2009, 2011, 2012; Svanberg 2003a, 2003b).

The Viking Age is traditionally set between the years AD 793 AD - 1066 (although this varies greatly). The beginning of the Viking Age is so set because of a certain event from the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, namely the raid on the Northumbrian monastery of Lindisfarne (Brink 2008: 5). The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle recalls:

"This year came dreadful fore-warnings over the land of the Northumbrians, terrifying the people most woefully: these were immense sheets of light rushing through the air, and whirlwinds, and fiery, dragons flying across the firmament. These tremendous tokens were soon followed by a great famine: and not long after, on the sixth day before the ides of January in the same year, the harrowing inroads of heathen men made lamentable havoc in the church of God in Holy-island, by rapine and slaughter."
(Anglo-Saxon Chronicle 793, transl. by James Ingram).

One year later, in AD 794 they are mentioned for the first time in the Irish Annals of Ulster. The annals recall:

"Devastation of all the islands of Britain by heathens"
(Annals of Ulster 794, transl. by Mac Airt & Mac Niocáill).

The earliest documented raid in Ireland occurred one year later in AD 795. The Annals of Ulster describes this event as:

"The burning of Rechru by the heathens, and Scí was overwhelmed and laid waste"
(Annals of Ulster 795, transl. by Mac Airt & Mac Niocáill).

This "Rechru" is today believed to be Rathlin Island, off the north-eastern coast of Ireland, today Northern Ireland, whose Irish name is *"Reachlainn"* (Hall 2007: 86; Nic Pháidín 2014) or Lambay Island near Dublin, whose Irish name is *"Reachrainn"* (Downham 2005: 5; Nic Pháidín 2014).

Harold Mytum has recognized five different phases of Norse activities in Ireland. The first being the sporadic raiding phase (Mytum 2003: 117). After 795 there are mentions of the "heathens" in 798, 802, 807, 811 and 812 but for the years 813 – 821 there are no mentions of any Viking raids or battles (*AU*: Mac Airt & Mac Niocáill; Hall 2007: 86). From the 830's the Annals become more detailed and extensive in describing the Viking attacks. The raids now changed in character and the Vikings started travelling further up the Irish rivers and into the great lakes. Several monasteries were raided on a regular basis and the attacks started occurring in the inland instead of being strictly coastal bound. Another major change in the Vikings pattern was that they became permanently settled, by erecting the so called *"longphuirt"* (Hall 2007: 86; Griffiths 2012: 26-27).

2.1. Viking Impact: The longphort and the emergence of Hiberno-Norse towns

The second phase of Norse activity on Ireland is the *longphort* phase (Mytum 2003: 118). The *longphort* (Plural: *longphuirt*) is a type of fortified camp and is most often translated to "ship camp". By erecting these, the Vikings now had the opportunity to prolong the raiding season to include the winter, which they demonstrated by raiding during Christmas Eve in 835/836. The first *longphuirt* recorded are at *Linn Dúachaill*, near Annagassan in Co. Louth and *Dubh Linn*, present day Dublin, both first mentioned in 841 (*AU*: Mac Airt & Mac Niocáill: 841; Hall 2007: 86-87). However, the first mention of a Viking base might be as early as AD 836 (Griffiths 2012: 30) where the annals recall that:

"Cell Dara was plundered by heathens from Inber Dea, and half of the church was burned"
(Annals of Ulster 836, transl. by Mac Airt & Mac Niocáill).

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The lack of archaeological evidence is obvious when reading about these camps which might have its explanation in the fact that some were only inhabited for a very short period, while others (although few) were continuously settled and grew into towns (Griffiths 2012: 31).

2.1.1. The longphuirt in Ireland

Two examples of the Irish *longphuirt* will here be presented. The reason behind these choices are simply that Viking towns would emerge on these, or very near these locations. Noteworthy is that all sites that would later grow into Viking towns are associated with river camps before AD 900, but Cork, Limerick Wexford have yet to produce some significant evidence (Griffiths 2012: 33). Noteworthy is however that there is a possible location for the *longphort* at Limerick (Kelly 1998).

2.1.2. The longphort at Dublin

The most famous *longphort* at Dublin was erected around AD 841. It is not known exactly where it was located, but a clue lies in the name *"Dubh Linn"* which translates to "Black Pool". This becomes more interesting when applied to the former pool in the river Poddle, which is a tributary on the Liffey. According to David Griffiths the most probable location of the Dubh Linn *longphort* is the site of Dublin Caste, overlooking the former pool. Former suggestions have pointed towards the area of Kilmainham and Islandbridge where several Viking burials are known (Griffiths 2012: 34). Linzi Simpson has argued that there was another *longphort* at the Liffey known as *"Ath Cliáth"*. She argues that this *Ath Cliáth* was a possible pre-Viking secular settlement while *Dubh Linn* certainly was of an ecclesiastical nature. What is certain is that the name *Dubh Linn* is replaced with *"Ath Cliáth"* in the historical record (Simpson 2005: 418). Interesting is also the fact that the modern day Irish name for Dublin is *"Baile Átha Cliath"* (Nic Pháidín 2014). From the Dublin burials a lot of Viking swords are known. However, the spear points and shield buckles are of Irish types. Four women's graves contained typical Scandinavian tortoise brooches. According to the now late archaeologist Richard Hall, these artefacts are more characteristic for the 9th than the 10th century. During excavations from 2002-2003 at Ship Great Street and South Great George's Street evidence of and early settlement was found. The evidence consisted of several man's graves that have been dated to the 9th century. These are probable Viking graves since the grave goods consist of tools and weapons. In addition to this

several clinker nails have been found, which strengthens the theory of an early Viking base (Hall 2007: 88). Noteworthy is also that at Dublin, as well as at Annagassan and Repton, monasteries have been found close to the supposed *longphort*/D-shaped enclosure. These settlers were more of a parasitic nature, and thus different from those that settled and farmed Scotland and the mobile forces who ravaged England due to the fact that they rather extracted resources from the surroundings but did not own the land (Hall 2007: 87, 89; Biddle & Kjølbye-Biddle 1992).

2.1.3. The longphort at Woodstown

The Vikings in Co. Waterford are mentioned in the historical records from the 850's and onwards. The *longphort* at Woodstown, located near Waterford, was discovered in 2003. Evidence from this location has provided further evidence of native settlements being taken by the Vikings and fortified. Radiocarbon dates, as well as the lack of medieval pottery, have shown that the location was abandoned in the middle of the eleventh century. Many significant artefacts have been found that strengthen the theory of this being a Viking *longphort,* for example a pagan Viking warrior grave with a very well-preserved armour, dated between the ninth and eleventh centuries, by stylistically analysing the sword pommel. Due to the acidic soil the skeleton was not preserved. Further evidence of activity include a Viking furnace, indicating metalwork. One remarkable find is a Kufic coin, which is the first one ever found in the region of Munster. This coin combined with finds of silver, weights and a hone stone of possible Norwegian origin prove Scandinavian imports to the location. The large number of weights and silver (the largest outside of Dublin) from the site indicate that Woodstown may have been a trading centre. However, there are also finds that indicate that raiding occurred from here as well, as are attested in the historical sources and further strengthened by the recovered swords and of native objects of an ecclesiastical nature (O'Brien et al. 2005: 17-19, 59).

2.1.4. D-shaped enclosures in Britain

The origin of the *longphort* is credited to the Vikings, but did the Vikings in Britain raise similar constructions?

Similar to the *longphuirt* are the D-shaped enclosures found in Britain, also of Viking design and they seem to have served the same purpose. The most famous example

is at Repton in Derbyshire which will be thoroughly presented as it is far more documented than the Irish *longphuirt.*

2.1.5. D-shaped earthwork at Repton

In AD 873/874 one D-shaped enclosure was built in what is today Repton, on the River Trent in Derbyshire, then the Kingdom of Mercia (Gibbons 2004). As Repton was a royal site with great symbolic value and neighbouring food supplies, as well as having a natural access to the river and a monastery it would have appeared as a very attractive target for the Vikings (Hadley & Richards 2013).

One entry in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle for the year 874 tells us that the Great Heathen Army went from Lindsay to Repton, and there set up winter camp and drove out the king (ASC: Ingram). There was, however, no indication as to where this encampment might be located. During excavations from 1974-1988 the D-shaped earthwork was located (fig. 1). This wall was found on both sides of the church, connecting the church to the defences. The excavations in 1979 found four consecutive ditches but no dating evidence (Biddle & Kjølbye-Biddle 1992: 36, 39-40). Found within this enclosure are many Scandinavian burials, some of which are weapon burials as well as a mound containing a mass burial, located just outside the enclosure (Biddle & Kjølbye-Biddle 1992). One very interesting report from the 18th century tells us that within this mound a stone coffin was found. This coffin contained a nine foot (ca 2,74m) long skeleton, and surrounding this coffin was one hundred skeletons with their feet pointed towards the coffin (Degg 1726: 363). The mound and associated features was excavated in 1985. The mound contained 249 (or more) people of unsure origin. The "giant" burial was gone, but due to the pagan practices in preparing the grave, it is likely that the person buried within was a Viking (Biddle & Kjølbye-Biddle 1986: 24).
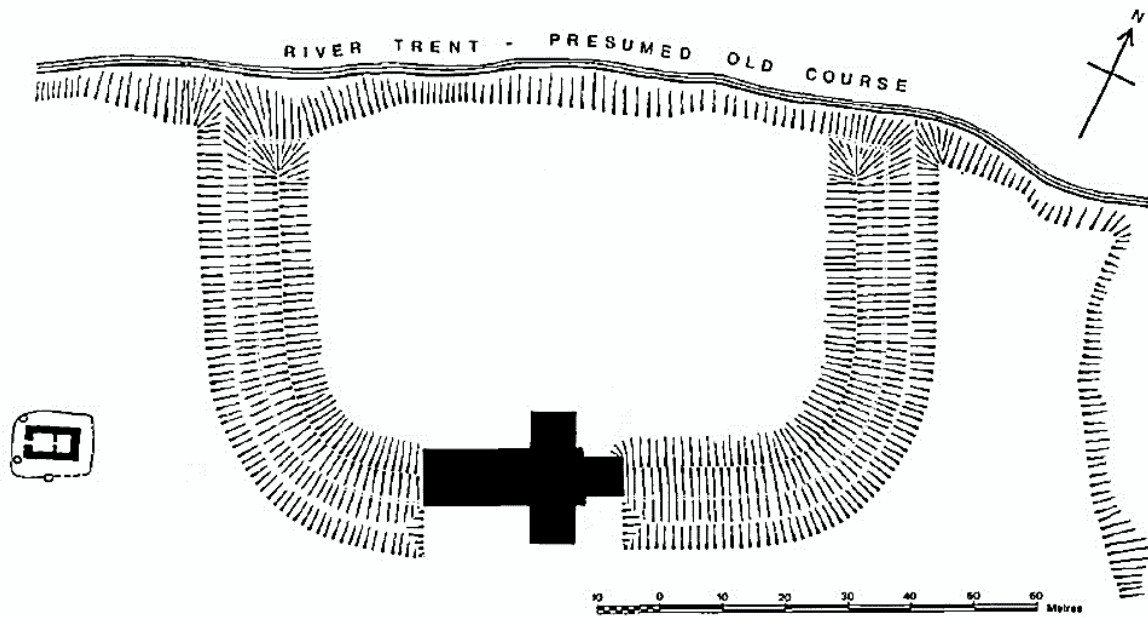
Figure 1. Reconstruction of the Repton winter camp.
After: M. Biddle & B. Kjølbye-Biddle 1992: 39

There has been a lot of debate regarding the relatively small size of Repton and the reportedly large size of the Great Heathen Army, and as of 2013 with the findings of the Torksey winter camp, it would seem very unlikely that Repton could hold the entire army. The historical sources report that the army included several different leaders as well as women and children. Archaeological evidence has broadened this with finds of craftsmanship and trade, indicating that there were specialized workers travelling with them as well (Hadley & Richards 2013). Archaeologist Michael Gibbons has suggested that due to the small size of Repton, the enclosure could perhaps have functioned as the centre piece of the encampment, and that the soldiers could have been housed elsewhere, such as in nearby Saxon building, or on the ships (Gibbons 2010).

2.2. Hiberno-Norse Towns

The Hiberno-Norse towns was where the Irish and the Scandinavians met and lived side by side, which is why, to understand where and how the Hiberno-Norse identity could be created, it is important to present and explain these towns as well as their common Hiberno-Norse qualities. These were, after all, hybrid towns with a hybrid population.

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After the *longphort*-phase there is the "third" phase of relative peace, from the years 876-916 when not much occurred in terms of raiding in Ireland. France and England were more attractive targets, and Iceland had opened up as a land for settlement (Mytum 2003: 122).

Noteworthy are the knowingly unorthodox remarks made by Howard B. Clarke in his chapter in the book "Ireland and Scandinavia in the Early Viking Age" where he remarks that the achievement of towns, specifically Cork, Limerick, Waterford and Wexford because of the lack of evidence, cannot be credited to the Vikings, but rather seems to be a Hiberno-Norse achievement. During the earlier period there were *longphuirt*, beach markets and large monasteries with flourishing markets and crafting, which rendered urbanization unnecessary (Clarke 1998: 368).

2.2.1. Dublin

The fourth phase recognised by Harold Mytum started in AD 917, with the re-establishment of Dublin (Mytum 2003: 125). According to the Annals of Ulster, the Vikings were driven out of Dublin in AD 902. In the Annals for the year 902 we can see that:

"The heathens were driven from Ireland, i.e. from the fortress of Áth Cliath, by Mael Finnia son of Flannacán with the men of Brega and by Cerball son of Muiricán, with the Laigin; and they abandoned a good number of their ships, and escaped half dead after they had been wounded and broken."
(The Annals of Ulster 902, transl. by Mac Airt and Mac Niocáill).

During excavations at Temple Bar West in the eastern section of the old town remains from houses dating to the late 9th and early 10th century have been found, that indicate that the settlement did not get abandoned when the Vikings were driven out, though this might have just been the elite. What occurred in the years 902 – 917 is unclear, but it is likely that the people who remained were traders and not warriors and that what portable value remained from the *longphort* was removed into the Irish interior (Hall 2007: 90; Griffiths 2012: 120, Mytum 2003: 122). The Vikings returned to Dublin in AD 917 and this time Dublin's independence would last (more or less) until 1170 when the Normans invaded (Hall 2007: 120). It was during this time that Dublin would expand. The expansion probably occurred in order to consolidate enough land for basic needs for the rural population, such as food and raw material, without having to

rely on their Irish neighbours, with whom fragile diplomatic relations were maintained. The trade in Dublin might have been relatively small down to the 920's with the exception of the slave market. It was also during this time that Dublin's rural hinterland became known as *"Dyfflinaskíri"* and the *"Fine Gall"*, which means "The territory of the foreigners" (Griffiths 2012: 120; Clarke 1998: 338).

Activities occurred much like it had before, but the Dublin Norse changed around 950 and started to act more like their Irish neighbours, as a powerful local kingdom trying to build its power base. Around the same time Dublin started to appear as a proper town and it was also during this time that Harold Mytums fifth and final phase would begin, what he calls the beginning of the major trading and population centre. In AD 980, the King of Dublin *Óláfr Kváran (Amlaíb Cuarán)* was defeated at the Battle of Tara by *Máel Sechnaill mac Domnaill*. According to Howard B. Clarke, this marks the end of Viking Dublin and the beginning of the Hiberno-Norse town. Dublin was now under Irish sovereignty and would remain so until the arrival of the son of *Óláfr – Sigtryggr Silkiskegg* in 989, who would rule until the famous Battle of Clontarf in 1014, when Irish rule was finally established over Dublin (Ó'Corráin 2001a: 97-101; Ó'Corráin 2001b: 24; Clarke 1998: 334; Mytum 2003: 127). In 1169 the Normans arrived in Ireland and subsequently seized control of Dublin (Hall 2007: 122). The remaining Norse were given a settlement north of Dublin known as *"Austmannabyár"*, a name that remained until the 15th century. This caused the Scandinavians to lose their influence over the town, but Old Norse continued to be spoken at least until the late 13th century, after which they were absorbed by the English colony (Ó'Corrain 2001a: 109; Ó'Corráin 2001b: 27).

Though there were extensive Celtic elements present in Dublin it was still very much part of the Scandinavian world in the 10th and 11th centuries (Hudson 1994: 322) and the people who lived in the Hiberno-Norse towns were probably a mix of Norse groups that included wives, slaves and servants of different ethnicities from several different regions, like Picts, Manx, Saxons, Welsh as well as Irish. This is very important to keep in mind when studying the artefacts, as they might not represent only the dominant ethnicity (Mytum 2003: 114-115).

Of the five Hiberno-Norse towns Dublin is the one with most extensive evidence of Viking occupation, followed primarily by Waterford with the Woodstown excavations, but Wexford has also produced a small amount of evidence of urban occupation. Cork

and Limerick has yet to produce significant evidence of Norse occupation prior to the 12th century (Griffiths 2012: 24, 137-138; Clarke 1998; Jefferies 2010; O'Brien et al. 2005).

2.2.2. Waterford

The name "Waterford" comes from the Old Norse word *"Vedr fjörðr"* and is usually translated to either *"Fjord of the Rams"* or *"Windy fjord".* The first translation is probably a reference to the export of sheep, while the other might be a reference to Waterford as a safe haven for ships that seek shelter from the windy sea (Larsen 2001: 146; Waterford City Council 2013). The location of Waterford is on a small triangular promontory, surrounded by the River Suir and the marshy grounds on the side of St. Johns River (Wallace 2001: 37). The origin of Waterford is more difficult to establish than Dublin. One story comes from 18th century writer Charles Smith, who writes that Waterford was founded in 853 by Sitricus (Sigtryggr). At the same time Ivorus (Ívarr) built Limerick and Amlavas (Óláfr) built Dublin (Smith 1774: 96; Downham 2005: 81).

There are no serious archaeological evidence prior to the mid-11th century from Waterford directly, as most are from the nearby Woodstown area, but it is clear that it grew to a substantial trading settlement in the 12th century. Excavations from 1986-1992 have given significant evidence for an urban growth in the mid-eleventh century. Several houses have been found that resembles the house types known from Dublin and excavations at Peter Street have shown evidence of 14 plots along a 90m street frontage. So far, Waterford has produced evidence of houses, churches and streets, but also evidence of an urban material culture with extensive crafting. These all had their origins in the 11th century but were well established in the 12th. No evidence of coins earlier than 1190 have been found, but finds, among others, of pottery show the cities trading connections with north-western France and south-western England (Griffiths 2012: 24). Waterford is the Hiberno-Norse town that is most well-documented after Dublin, and show a great deal of similarities with many elements of Hiberno-Norse Dublin. Among others there are continuity in houses aligned much in the same way as those of Dublin, plot fences, a similar street alignment, similar defensive structures as well as the building types present in all excavated Hiberno-Norse towns (Wallace 2001).

2.2.3. Wexford

The name Wexford probably comes from the Norse *"Ueig fjörðr"* which could mean "The waterlogged one" (Larsen 2001: 146). Wexford was also built on a confluence of two rivers – The Slaney and the Bishops Water River. During the Bride Street excavations in Wexford several plots were found with a continuity from the 11th to the 14th century. During these levels it is clear that these plots have been aligned along the main street, much like in Dublin and Waterford, and adjoining and separated by fences and other divisions, more or less for hundreds of years. There are, however, three lower levels that do not align with the main street, indicating that they are earlier and perhaps that the layout of Wexford has been redrawn in the later 11th century. Early Wexford does not appear to have been defended as no evidence of an earthen bank have been found and the surviving walls date to much later. Although, Gerald of Wales, or Giraldus Cambrensis, uses the term *"murum"* to describe the walls of Dublin, Wexford, Waterford and Limerick, which indicated that there were walls present during the arrival of the Normans (Wallace 2001: 42, 44).

2.2.4. Limerick

From the Old Norse *Hlymekr* (Greene 1976: 81) Limerick was built on north of the River Shannon and its tributary the Abbey River. The archaeological record from Limerick is far scarcer than the other towns. This shows since there are no archaeological evidence of plot use like there are in the other Hiberno-Norse towns of the period. There are, however, historical sources that mention housing in Limerick, which is why the situation should be similar there. Archaeology has, however, revealed an approximately 1,7m high defensive structure in Limerick, roughly dated to the 12th century (Wallace 2001: 38, 42, 44). The Vikings of Limerick were often in conflict with the Vikings of Dublin (Ó'Corráin 2001b).

2.2.5. Cork

According to the Annals, the earliest contact Cork had with Vikings was in 820 when the monastery was attacked. After this, the Vikings established a settlement at Cork (Jefferies 2010). The Vikings settling in Cork is also documented by another source: The *"Cogad Gaedel re Gallaib (The War of the Irish with the Foreigners)"*. In this source it is mentioned that Ragnall (*Rögnvaldr)*, grandson of Imar *(Ívarr)* and Earl Ottir (*Óttar)* arrived with a large army that ravaged Munster and then split into three parts, where

one third settled in Cork (*CGG*: Todd: 31). This occurred in AD 914 and this initial experience was peaceful, as an understanding had been reached with the nearby monastic community, where the priests used the Vikings trading skills in order to obtain English salt, French wine and other imported wares, and it was because of these priests that the Vikings were able to establish themselves in Cork (Jefferies 2010). Cork appears to have been located on the southern island in the River Lee (Wallace 2001: 38). Excavations were carried out between 1974 and 1977 in order to find Viking Cork. During these excavations several Hiberno-Norse buildings were found, but no evidence of occupation prior to the 12th century was produced. Due to this fact and that Cork is not well represented in the historical record it is believed that the settlement prior to the 12th century was very small. This is further strengthened by the absence of stone walls prior to the English arrival (The last Hiberno-Norse leader Gilbert mac Turgar was killed in 1173). There is also an historical record for the absence of walls from Prince John in Cork's royal charter from 1185, who ordered the English community to construct a wall (Jefferies 2010).

The population of Cork is described as Hiberno-Norse in the 12th century. Intermarriage and acculturation/gaelicisation had given the population an Irish character which is obvious from several recorded names, for example "Malmaras Macalf (son of Olaf)" and one person named "Ua Dubgaill (descendant of a dark foreigner)". During this time they had also adopted Christianity, as is exemplified by one Hiberno-Norse leader that had a chapel attached to his residence and that Hiberno-Norse people apparently attended the mass in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre. During this later Hiberno-Norse period Cork's trading networks stretched to include France, England and Wales. However, the traders does not appear to have used coins (Jefferies 2010).

2.2.6. Common elements in Hiberno-Norse towns

Due to the common elements found in recent excavations, leading Dublin archae-ologist and former Director of the National Museum of Dublin Patrick F. Wallace means that we can now establish that there is such a thing as a Hiberno-Norse town (Wallace 2001: 37). As described above all towns have certain elements in common. One of these are the layout of the towns. Houses with clearly defined plots, aligned along a main street is one example that is featured in all of the Hiberno-Norse towns, even if the evidence from Limerick is strictly historical. All towns are also located very close to rivers. Also common in most towns are defensive structures, present in all towns but

Wexford, although there are indications that walls could have existed there as well (Wallace 2001). Finally there are the different types of buildings present in all towns. There are (probably) six house types present in the Hiberno-Norse towns. The type 1 house is the most common type, representing 75% of all buildings from Dublin and is the only type found in all towns. Due to this type being the most common it is known as the Hiberno-Norse building Type 1. The other types are far more scattered in frequency and location (Wallace 2001: 44-49; See Wallace 2008: 434-435; cf. Wallace 2014). Within these towns, Bhabhas concept of hybridity could perhaps be applied. These towns would arguably have acted as a type of third space in which something new can arise, i.e. the Hiberno-Norse culture (cf. Bhabha 1994; Ó'Ríagáin 2010). The Norse and the Irish living side by side for several hundred years would undoubtedly have shaped their identities with continuing influences back and forth. Thedéens (2012) example of creolized individuals in urban centres is also noteworthy and both aspects will be discussed later.

Now that the *mileux* and the theoretical "third space" of the Hiberno-Norse population is established, below I will present how the Hiberno-Norse individuals expressed their identities in life and in death.

3.0. Presentation of material

Below I will present different expressions of the Hiberno-Norse identity and their fellow hybrid Anglo-Scandinavian counterparts as a backdrop, as the available material from England is far more extensive than that which exists in Ireland. First, however, I will present the elements of the Scandinavian Viking Age identity.

3.1. Gaelicization and the formation of a new identity

The Norse peoples expressed their identity through religion, art and personal dress/equipment, among other things; the core of this identity stretching hundreds of years back in time (Hall 2007: 165; Larsen & Stummann Hansen 2001: 121). When the Norse arrived in Ireland they adopted a form of colonial, or emigrant identity during the course of the tenth century. They adopted certain types of personal equipment and displayed certain, colonial artistic elements which indicated that they were part of a "West Viking" culture that blended Scandinavian and Celtic elements. These expressions came to life in the Hiberno-Norse towns where the population showed a general acceptance of Irish decoration, forms and ideas (Larsen & Stummann Hansen

2001: 122; Lang 1986) which is why the process of gaelicization could be so successful. Claude Levi-Strauss theory regarding hot or cold societies comes to mind, and it would appear that the Norse that settled Ireland could be classified as a "hot" society; a society which embraces new ideas (cf. Levi-Strauss 1987).

3.2. Scandinavian artistic styles

Below I will present the Scandinavian artistic styles that would travel across the North Sea to the colonies and evolve into something new and local. I will also present the first local example, which is the Anglo-Scandinavian style that can be used to compare the process in Ireland with.

3.2.1. The late Viking Age artistic styles

Following the early Viking Age styles, the Broa and the Oseberg styles, is the Borre style (fig. 2), named after a ship burial mound at Borre in Norway. This is the first of the younger styles and became more common in the middle of the 800's when the Vikings intensified their actions in Britain and Ireland. Used for more personal objects, this style was used approximately from 850 – 950, believed to have gained foothold in the Irish Sea in the early 10th century. This is the first of the Scandinavian styles found outside of Scandinavia where the "true" Borre style and local variants have been found in settlements from Iceland in the west to Russia in the east. This style is characterized by being more formalized and geometrical than its predecessor, where one of its characteristic motifs is a so called "ring chain", a chain consisting of interlocking squares and circles as well as the small forward-facing heads of animals. The gripping beasts are still featured as are ribbon-shaped animals (Graham-Campbell 2013: 63, 75, 78; Hall 2007: 177). It is these later styles that travelled to the colonies with the Vikings and were blended with the local artistic styles to create new, colonial, hybrid styles (Graham-Campbell 2013).

Figure 2. A pendant in the Borre style.
After Casiopeia 2004

The next stage in the Scandinavian artistic development is the Jelling style (fig. 3), named after a silver goblet in the famous Jelling burial in Denmark. This style is dated o the late ninth and first half of the tenth century and is characterized by S-curved ribbon-shaped animals of even width that have no indentations or perforations (Graham-Campbell 2013: 84, 87).

Figure 3. The Jelling cup.
After Laurascudder 2007

Following is the Mammen style (fig. 4), named after an axe from the Mammen burials in Denmark which is dated to the latter half of the tenth century. This style might have been created under the patronage of King *Harald Blåtand ("Bluetooth")*. The animals are described as having two contour lines, but with thicker bodies and legs that join the body in prominent spirals and tendrils. On one side of the axe we have the animal motifs but on the other we only have plant motifs, which has been interpreted as either

Yggdrasil or the Tree of Life (Graham-Campbell 2000: 98; Graham-Campbell 2013: 100; Hall 2007: 178).
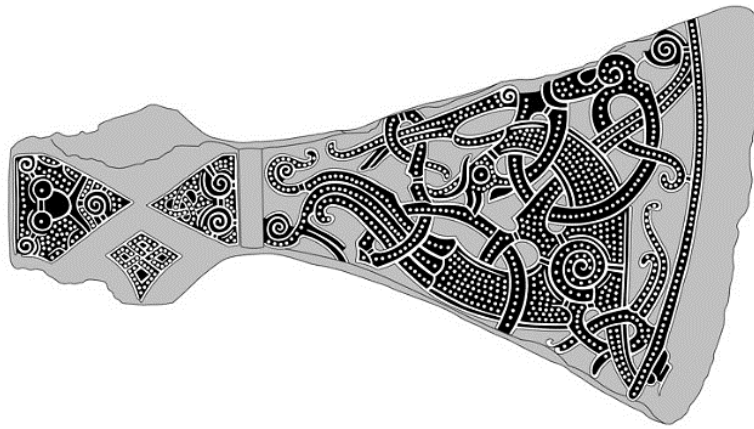
Figure 4. The Mammen axe.
After Bollman 2007

The Ringerike style is named after the area Ringerike in Norway, where it is used on several memorial stones. The Ringerike style continue with the animal motifs and made use of the so-called "Great Beast" and bird motifs, as displayed on the ship's vane below (fig. 5). The style is known from several ship's vanes from Scandinavia and is very common on Swedish runestones. This style was also to be popular in England, and even made its way to Dublin (Graham-Campbell 2013: 120, 124-127).

Figure 5. The Ringerrike style. Ship's prow vane from Sweden.
After Berig 2008

Finally there is the Urnes style (fig. 6), named after the Urnes Stave Church in *Sogn og Fjordane* shire in Norway, although the origin of the style is likely in Sweden where it, together with the Ringerike style is known as the "Runestone style". This church is also a testament to the craftsmanship of the Scandinavian woodcarvers. The style is characterized by a remade "Great Beast" motif as well as ribbon-shaped animals and snakes that are featured in the so-called "figure-of-eight" designs and more complex multi-loop schemes. These form the basis for the Urnes styles compositions. The style was very popular in Scandinavia, and especially in Sweden and on the island of Gotland, which is why it is rather remarkable that it is so underrepresented in England. The style made its way to Dublin where it was to be included in the ecclesiastical metalwork, although blended with local fashion (Graham-Campbell 2013: 133-135, 142, 150, 154). Although these different styles came in a certain order, it does not mean that the later style immediately replaced the earlier, and there are examples of the styles overlapping (Graham-Campbell 2013).

Figure 6. The Urnes style. Part of the Urnes stave church in Norway.
After Ultraomio 2005

3.2.2. Anglo-Scandinavian artistic styles

During the 10th century, the Borre and the Jellinge style would contribute to new northern English innovations (Fuglesang 1986: 236). In England it was not just a question of assimilation and integration, but rather a question of cultural exchange, and

the rise of something new: an Anglo-Scandinavian culture. This is best represented in the sphere of religion and belief, but also connected with art. There is evidence of pagan practice taking place (burials, deposits in the Themes etc.), but it is in the Christian sphere that this Anglo-Scandinavian culture is best understood. Before the arrival of the Vikings there was already a large stone carving tradition present, but in the 10th century there is a notable change in the featured elements, most notably Scandinavian art styles in the decoration. Among these new elements are carvings of armed warriors surrounded by weapons, which have been interpreted as symbols of military prowess intended to enforce Scandinavian supremacy in the region. For the Scandinavians it seems that these carvings were taken out of their monastic realm and put in a secular environment where it was used for propaganda and political as well as for commemorative purposes. There are several examples of pagan imagery on Christian crosses. These have been interpreted as Christ triumphing over the old, pagan religion, or as an expression of parallels between the two cultures, for example of the common religious theme of the judgement day. This is however in no way certain and they may have served an altogether different purpose (Graham-Campbell 2000: 137; Hall 2007: 113).

Besides the stone crosses there is one more example of Anglo-Scandinavian stone carving tradition and these are called "Hogbacks" (fig. 7). These do not exist in Scandinavia, hence they appear to be a strictly colonial and seem to have been used as grave covers, often with decoration. Many are in the form of a house, with clearly visible walls and roof; some are flanked by large bears grasping the gables of the house. These hogbacks are usually around 1.5 m long and have curved ridges that is reminiscent of a hogs back, thereby giving the sculpture its name. As these are found only in Britain the origin of this sculpture could possibly be the many shrine tombs or house-shaped reliquaries found in Britain. These are most common in North Yorkshire and might have originated when the Hiberno-Norse flooded the area during the period AD 920-950 (Fuglesang 1986: 227; Graham-Campbell 2000: 137; Hall 2007: 106, 108).

Figure 7. Hogback from Brechin, Scotland.
After Otter 2009

One fascinating example of a Scandinavian element being copied by the locals is the Thor's hammer (fig. 8). Surveys in Norfolk and Lincolnshire have yielded evidence of cheaper, local variants of the Thor's hammer that have blended Danish and Anglo-Saxon designs. There are also very high quality copies and imported hammers from Scandinavia that show just how deep the Scandinavian influence in England was. However, the obvious lack of oval brooches that were very common in Viking Age Sweden and Norway is confusing, although, Richard Hall mentions that they might have gone out of fashion earlier in Viking Age Denmark (Hall 2007: 107), which could perhaps can be seen as another testament to regional identities among the Vikings.

Figure 8. Anglo-Scandinavian Thor's hammers found in Norfolk.
After Hall 2007: 107

During the 880's the Scandinavians in the East Midlands and East Anglia started minting coins very much alike the Anglo-Saxon coins minted by Alfred the Great of Wessex during the same time. Since the Scandinavians did not have any experience in minting, craftsmen from the continent were brought to England. Often their names as well as the place of the minting are preserved on the coins. After the death of Guðrum (Æthelstan) the Viking leader in 895, several other chieftains started minting their own coins in the name of several different saints which gives a fascinating insight into how Scandinavian political control was maintained as well as how they gained Anglo-Saxon acceptance by respecting their customs. According to Hall, this might have been in order to create several power blocks where a unique identity for the children of the Vikings and the Anglo-Saxons that differed from that of Alfreds Wessex could be created (Hall 2007: 108).

3.3. Hiberno-Norse artistic styles

It is important to mention that the Hiberno-Norse would have been culturally different from the Anglo-Scandinavians in some respects (Downham 2009: 169). There were many things that Scandinavia and Ireland had in common prior to the arrival of the Norsemen. They are both (with the exception of Jutland) unconnected to mainland Europe and both were located outside the Roman Empire, which rendered them rather "uncivilised", to turn a phrase, in comparison, as they lacked towns, roads, buildings and an administration which were all featured in the nearby Roman provinces of *Britannia* and *Germania*. Both had connections to the Empire through trade and were therefore influenced by it, which is why the native craftsmen's knowledge of the antique world only came through imported objects. Raghnall Ó'Floinn means that there are no convincing evidence of any direct contacts between Scandinavia and Ireland prior to the arrival of the Vikings, but they still share many similarities in their metalworking traditions. Animal ornament is predominant in both traditions and is derived from Germanic art, which is in turn based on the Late Roman art. This artistic element arrived in Ireland filtered through Anglo-Saxon Britain, which would continue to be an important channel throughout the Viking Age and the Hiberno-Norse period (Ó'Floinn 2001: 87).

Ireland in the 11th and early 12th centuries remained in a post-Viking cultural residue and it is mostly in the social and cultural sphere as well as the aesthetic preferences this influence can be noted (Hurley 2005: 160). Important to mention is that the often

mentioned "impact" the Vikings had on insular art can be exaggerated, and could perhaps be rewritten to say that the Vikings had *some* influence on the native art (Lang 1986: 243), some even suggest that it was the other way around (See Lang 1986). What is clear is that as time went by, their art gradually became more creolized.

The first Scandinavian artistic style to reach the colonies was the Borre style, described above. While this particular style did not have a huge influence on Irish art, it did exist. There are examples from Dublin where this style has been used on a strap-end on insular origin and a few so called "motif pieces" (Graham-Campbell 2013: 77; See O'Meadhra 1979), but it also exists on a more prominent wooden gaming board from a high status crannog in Co. Meath (fig. 9). Why this particular style did not achieve much success might be due to the fact that the Vikings were driven out of Dublin in AD 902 (Graham-Campbell 2013: 77).
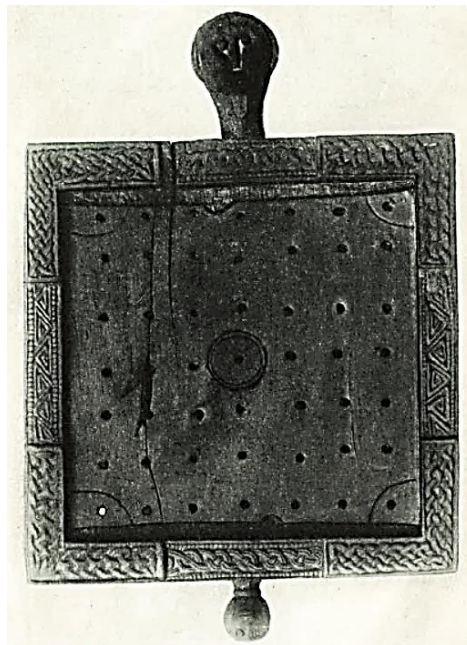
Figure 9. The Meath gaming board.
After Shetelig & Bøe 1940: 80

3.3.1. Wood carving

Ireland had a rich wood carving tradition that greatly differs from Britain and the Isle of Man, where stone carving was much more common. This is likely due to the fact that there was no stone carving tradition present on Ireland when the Vikings arrived as wood seem to have been preferred. Due to the very good preservation conditions in Dublin many wooden pieces are preserved, as are many other wooden remains,

including houses and streets (Graham-Campbell 2000: 163; Griffiths 2012: 145; Ó'Floinn 2001: 91).

In the 10th century we see a fusion of Insular and Middle Viking elements that well correspond to the trends in Northern England and the Isle of Man. These are to be viewed against the political background in the Irish Sea region. The links with Anglo-Scandinavian England were strong and in such a diverse society artistic traditions were bound to mix. This style is known as "West Viking" and is characterised by the ring-knot which became a sort of *leitmotif*. The likely origin of this style is the Borre style. Worthy of noting is this styles equivalents on Hiberno-Norse monuments in Cumbria and on the Clyde (Lang 1988: 10, 45, 48).

The many wood carvings from Ireland are very hard to place into contemporary Scandinavian style categories as each settlement produce their own, distinctive artistic style, especially Dublin. For example, of 150 pieces, only 3 are of *pure* Ringerike style, dated to the 11th century. That said, the Norse still had their influence on much of the wooden art from Ireland (Lang 1988: 46, 48). It becomes clear that the Irish version of the Scandinavian styles takes on another, local form, most prominent in the so-called "Dublin School" (fig. 10). This style has elements from the Ringerike style but it is far more disciplined, which is characteristic of the insular styles and for some reason the Ringerike did not achieve the same success as the later Urnes style in decoration in general, which would continue to be used well into the 12th century where it would become a major influence on Irish Romanesque art (Ó'Floinn 2001: 93-94; Fuglesang 1986: 236). Lang describes the Dublin School style as flamboyant and almost baroque and the style is generally described as foliate with often grouped tendrils that conclude in a volute. All pieces of Dublin school woodwork are from the 11th century, along with the few Ringerike pieces. The inspiration likely came from southern England and the Norse adaption of that style (Lang 1988: 20, 46, 48). By this time it would appear that the influences from Scandinavian and Irish styles were of equal importance. It is hard to say if either is dominant, but what is clear is that both have joined in a new type of hybrid art style.
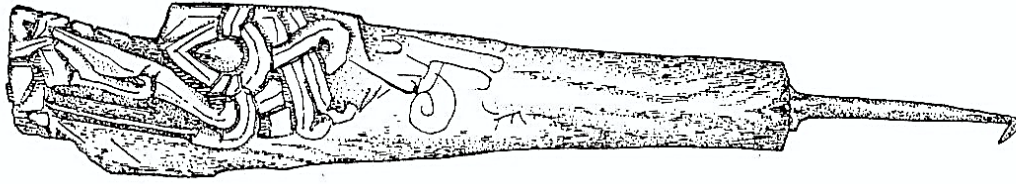
*Figure 10. Wooden awl decorated in the Dublin school.*
After: Lang 1988: 20

From the latest period the two pieces presented in Lang (1988) are of the Urnes style, but rendered in a local fashion, one of the pieces echo the Dublin- or West Viking styles. Based on the archaic traits of the pieces Lang suggests a late 11th century dating (Lang 1988: 47-48).

According to James T. Lang, what this wood represents is the native perseverance in the centre of the Hiberno-Norse towns, but above all it is a representation of the commercial aspect of Dublin in the Hiberno-Norse period (Lang 1988: 48).

3.3.2. Hiberno-Norse stone carvings in England

The Hiberno-Norse settled in England in the 10th century. Although the historical source from England are quiet on the matter one Irish source mentions the travels of a Viking leader called Ingemund. Ingemund apparently tried to invade the island of Anglesey in Wales, but was driven out and was forced to settle in near modern day Chester in England. This is the only historical source to complement the many finds from North-western England, from the River Dee near the Welsh-English border to the Solway Firth near the Scottish-English border. The main evidence, besides the one historical source are place names, Viking burials, some silver hoards and some magnificent stone carvings, all with ties to the Hiberno-Norse world (Hall 2007: 110). Here the stone carvings will be presented as they represent identity more than place names and hoards.

Besides the hogbacks discussed earlier, the most striking example of Hiberno-Norse influence in England is the Gosforth cross and the Gosforth fishing stone in Cumbria. The fishing stone is located inside the church and is a relief of Thor and Hymir's fishing expedition. This story is told in several sagas, including *Ragnarsdrápa, Hymiskviða* and The Prose Edda and on several runestones (Hall 2007: 113; Steinsland 2007: 218).
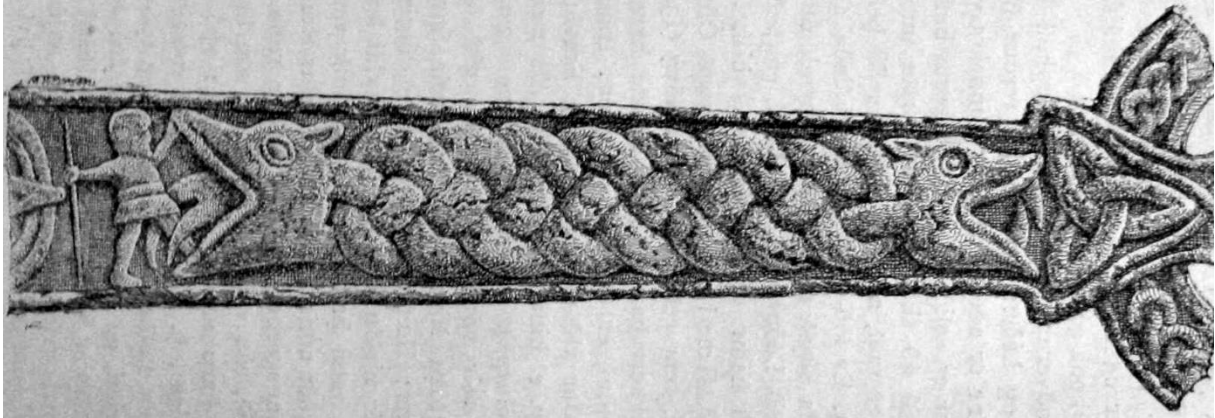
Figure 11. Part of the Gosforth Cross illustrated by Julius Magnus Petersen.
After Þorgeirsson 2008

On the graveyard, just outside the church stands the Gosforth cross (fig. 11) on its original socket. This Celtic cross is 4.42m high and is carved from a single block of sandstone and includes many different carvings that show both Christian and Scandinavian pagan motifs. Besides the scenes the cross is covered in the Borre style ring chain. In the higher part of the cross we find scenes from Ragnarrök with several different gods featured. The only Christian motif is a crucifixion scene. Richard Hall mentions that this cross has been interpreted as representing the common element of a Doomsday and as integrating the new, heroic Viking beliefs with a pre-existing Christian Anglo-Saxon heroic tradition (Hall 2007: 113; Graham Campbell 2013: 78-79). David Griffiths also mentions that, besides connecting the two religions, the cross could have served as a nostalgic reminder of an old pagan past, while also articulating the Christian message (Griffiths 2012: 144-145). Another thing this cross tells us is that even though there was a Viking influence in England at the time, the local Anglo-Saxon iconography had not succumbed to the new, foreign traditions (Lang 1986: 244).

3.3.3. Metalworking

Especially in metalwork there is something that is approaching a hybrid style. These objects made their way around the Irish Sea and further (Griffiths 2012: 151), some even reaching Scandinavia itself (See Tsigaridas-Glørstad 2012). Those objects that have been discussed in particular are the Pennanular brooches and the armrings, which are discussed more below (Griffiths 2012: 151). Here I will, however, briefly present three very important ecclesiastical objects with influences from the Scandinavian artistic styles. These are the Clonmacnoise Crozier, the Cross of Cong

and the Shrine of St. Patrick's Bell. More examples of metalworking are given below when discussing more personal items.

Figure 12. The Clonmacnoise Crozier.
After Ward 1924: 177

The Ringerike style came to Ireland not from Scandinavia itself, but rather from southern England. A less stiff version of the Ringerike style, when compared to the wood carving tradition, can be seen on the famous Clonmacnoise Crozier (fig. 12). The creator of this probably took the inspiration from the Dublin school of woodworking (Ó'Floinn 2001: 93). Dated to the late 11th century, the crozier is made from two pieces of bronze fitted around a wooden staff and held together with three knobs. Both sides of the crozier is decorated with the Irish version of the Ringerike style with ribbon-shaped animals that are inlaid with silver and arranged in figure-of-eight pattern (Larsen 2001: 140). The figure-of-eight pattern is characteristic of the Irish Urnes style (Ó'Floinn 2001: 94) and this crozier, with its general disposition and the lack of tendril ornamentation suggest some influence from the later Urnes style (Larsen 2001: 140).

Figure 13. Panels on the Cross of Cong.

After Schosa 2010

Another important ecclesiastical object is the Cross of Cong (fig. 13). The cross was made as a royal commission to enshrine a very important relic – a relic of the True Cross. This relic had been acquired by the High King of Ireland Turlough O'Connor in 1122. In the panels of the cross the classic motif of the intertwined snake and beast is utilized, but it is still different from the classical Scandinavian version of the Urnes style, where its appearance is given a much more freedom. Keeping in touch with the native Irish style, this is much more symmetrical and balanced. Noteworthy is that this is most likely not the work of Dublin, but rather of the workshop of a rich monastery (Graham-Campbell 2013: 154, 157).

The final ecclesiastical object is the Shrine of St. Patrick's Bell (fig. 14). Believed to have belonged to St. Patrick himself, this bell is often mentioned as one of the principal Irish relics. The bell is itself made from two sheets of iron, coated with bronze while the shrine is made from several bronze plates that have been fitted together. The shrine has an inscription that indicates that the bell was made around AD 1100. It is the sides

of the shrine that are of particular interest here, as they are covered in several panels depicting beasts intertwined with ribbon-bodied snakes (National Museum of Ireland 2014) characteristic of the Irish Urnes style (Ó'Floinn 2001: 94; cf. Ó'Floinn 2014).
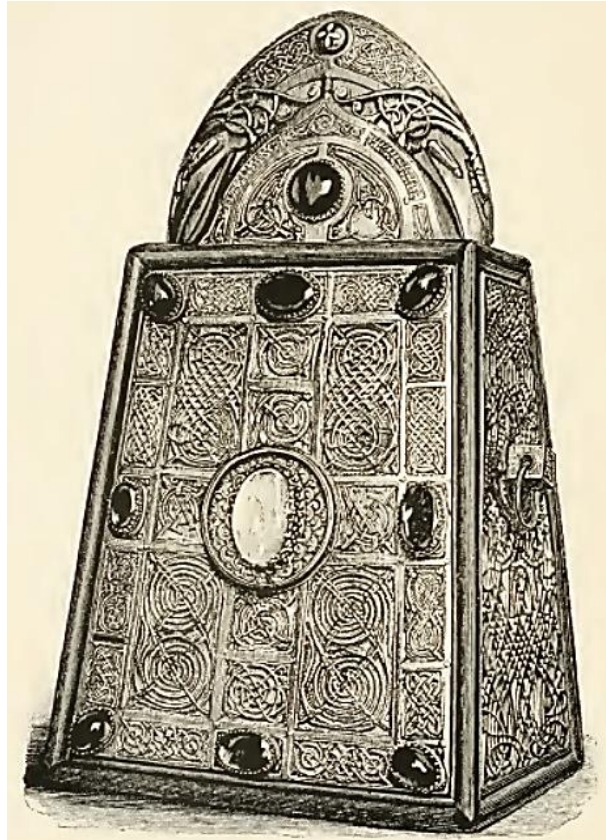
Figure 14. The Shrine of St. Patrick's Bell.
After Ward 1924: 172

When the Urnes style reached Ireland, it was already turning into the Late Urnes/Romanesque style in Scandinavia. It appears as if the Urnes style was first incorporated into the metalwork and then transferred to include sculpture and manuscripts. The style proved to be so popular that it continued to be used into the Romanesque period (Ó'Floinn 2001: 94). The Urnes style is probably the best example of this hybrid style that flourished during the 12th century and beyond. In a way, this hybrid version of the Urnes style is the apex of the Hiberno-Norse artistic hybridization.

3.4. Hiberno-Norse personal expressions

Here I will present the more personal expressions of a Hiberno-Norse identity, as opposed to the more monumental expressions described above. In this chapter I will focus on their beliefs, what they wore in life and what they brought with them to the afterlife, from the early pagan Vikings to the Christian Hiberno-Norse population.

3.4.1. Language and names

Old Norse, or *dönsk tunga* (Greene 1976: 75) did not make a serious impact on the Irish language (Larsen 2001: 144). Not many Old Norse place names are known from Ireland. Those that are known are located mostly in eastern and south-eastern Ireland, some of which have been mentioned above (Fellows-Jensen 2001: 107-108). Language is an important part of one's identity, which perhaps could explain why Old Norse was continued to be spoken amongst the Norse population in Ireland until the Norman invasion. There are examples of Irish describing Norse settlers trying to speak Irish, which was not very flattering. Most of the loanwords are connected with trade, fishing and seafaring suggesting that maybe there was a Norse-inspired trade language, or possibly a creole language (Larsen 2001: 144-145; Griffiths 2012: 153). Old Norse was still a very important language in the British Isles and they were probably understood in the major Viking centres of Dublin, York, Isle of Man etc., although it is fairly uncertain how many actually spoke it (Griffiths 2012: 153). Regardless of its success Old Norse continued to be spoken until the 13th century in Dublin (Ó'Corráin 2001b: 27) which give us an insight into what could be a very strong individual statement, a type of memory, to preserve one's language in a foreign country, the same could be said about names.

Norse names appear early in the Irish texts, the most common being *Amlaib (Óláfr), Gothbrith, Gothfrith* and *Gofraid (Goðrøðr), Ragnall (Ragnvald), Ímar (Ívarr)* and *Sitruic (Sigtryggr).* Both factions seem to have borrowed names from each other. There are examples of Vikings doing this in early and there are even Vikings with purely Irish names in the 11th century. Irish aristocrats similarly borrowed Norse names at the end of the 10th century and well into the 11th and 12th (Ó'Corráin 2001a: 105) although they are relatively rare in the 12th century (Fellows-Jensen 2001: 112).

3.4.2. Norse paganism and Christianization

When the Scandinavians arrived in Ireland in AD 795 they met a society that had been Christian for centuries (Ó'Floinn 2001: 87) and what often came to define the Vikings in the eyes of the Irish and Anglo-Saxons were the fact that they were pagans. In the 9th century missionaries were active in all Scandinavian lands and due to travels the Scandinavians themselves became more familiar with this "new" religion, but in the

eyes of the Irish they were still pagans which will be presented below (Hall 2007: 166; Ó'Corráin 2001a: 105-106).

The religion of ancient Scandinavia did not have a contemporary name, at least not that we know of. However, when Christianity entered the sphere it came to be known as *"Heiðinn dómr"*, as opposed to the new *"Kristinn dómr"*. This was a polytheistic religion where the Scandinavians worshipped many different gods and supernatural beings. There are no contemporary written records about this religion in Scandinavia, most records we have are all from later Christian cultures (Steinsland 2007: 11, 36; Hall 2007: 166), but the closest contemporary we get are the rune stones and the archaeological material (See Steinsland 2007).

One thing that would eventually unite the Norse and the Irish was their common religion (Ó'Corráin 2001a: 107). The Norsemen's pagan past would, however, continue to haunt them in the eyes of the Irish as exemplified by the texts *"Brjánssaga (Brian's Saga)"* and *"Cogad Gaedel re Gallaib (The War of the Irish with the Foreigners)"* written in the 12th century when the Hiberno-Norse were Christians, and had been for hundreds of years. These are propaganda texts written about the Battle of Clontarf and the miseries caused by the early raids and wars, leading up to the battle. The Norse in these texts are described as ruthless pagan traitors, even though the population of which the texts are about were Christians, subjects of a Christian king (Ó'Corráin 2001a: 105-106).

As early as the 9th century there were Christian Scandinavians in Ireland, but the ruling dynasties did not convert to the local religion until the 10th century. The first example being the famous *Óláfr Kváran (Amlaíb Cuarán)* who converted to Christianity in 943, followed by his son *Sigtryggr Silkiskegg (Sithric Silkenbeard)* who made a pilgrimage to Rome in 1028. A diocese of Dublin that acted as a suffragan to Canterbury was founded some time later (Ó'Corráin 2001: 107). One thing that is important to mention is that it was the archbishop of Canterbury, not Lund, which Dublin looked to for ecclesiastical leadership (Graham-Campbell 2013: 153).

3.4.3. Viking and Hiberno-Norse graves

Below I will present a short background with the graves used in Scandinavia. After that I will present the Viking graves of Ireland and what characterises them and their Hiberno-Norse successors.

3.4.3.1. Scandinavia

In Scandinavia we cannot speak of a standard Viking Age grave, which might be one of its main characteristics (Price 2008: 257). Svanberg has argued that there is not a "pan-Scandinavian" culture, that there are rather many cultural traditions when regarding burial practice and death (Svanberg 2003a; 2003 b). While Svanberg does have a point, this view has been questioned (See e.g. McLeod 2008; Price 2008). Neil Price instead means that while burials are very individual, there are many similarities between the different groups in Viking Age Scandinavia, for example the material culture, settlement pattern, language etc. and that this view only focuses on differences that are still practiced within the same, otherwise consistent region, i.e. that even if villages or larger communities promote their own, local identities does not mean that they do not belong to something larger (Price 2008: 257, 259; See McLeod 2008). One thing that is clear when studying Viking Age graves is that not everyone was given a grave. Those who did, however, were mostly buried through cremation, after which the ashes were buried in mounds or unmarked graves. Objects were often burned with the individual, but this varies, and in some cases the objects were undamaged when place in the grave, and sometimes the objects were broken before being buried, possibly to signify their "death" alongside their owner's (Price 2008: 259-260).

Not as common are inhumation burials. These are sometimes interpreted, especially from the later Viking Age, as transitional Christian burials, but this is debated. Usually the deceased are placed in rectangular grave cuts, often on textiles or bark, in shrouds or in coffins, but sometimes just on the plain ground. Various positions are known, but it is not uncommon that the deceased has been placed lying on their backs or in a slightly curled position, as if sleeping, which is reinforced by finds of blankets and pillows. More uncommon are unnatural positions which might require the removal of limbs in order to make it function. It is not known why some are buried like this, but finds of stones placed upon the graves indicate a fear that they might

walk again. These two types of burials can vary greatly, from single burials on family farms, to large cemeteries in towns such as Birka or Hedeby (Price 2008: 261-262).

3.4.3.2. Viking graves in Ireland

The information which can be extracted from the graves in Ireland is somewhat disappointing. The one exception are the grave fields of Kilmainham and Islandbridge in Dublin, but this material was recovered in the 19th century and have no satisfying records from these digs (Graham-Campbell 1976: 40). Stephen H. Harrison mentioned in 2001 that the most comprehensive documentation of these finds are from Johannes Bøe's "Norse Antiquities in Ireland" from 1940 that this record have a great deal of errors (Harrison 2001: 75). Raghnall Ó'Floinn has made an up to date version of this information in 1998 in the book "Ireland and Scandinavia in the Early Viking Age", however he mentions that much information still needs work (Ó'Floinn 1998: 165). The National Museum of Ireland is currently in the process of publishing a complete inventory of Irish Viking Age graves which will, hopefully, remedy the missing parts and errors from earlier publications.

The early Viking Age graves in Ireland are very different from similarly dated graves from Scotland, Cumbria and the Isle of Man. In these regions the majority of graves are single graves with only two large concentrations at Westness and Pierowall on the Orkney Islands. In Ireland the pattern is very different with 80% of the graves within 5km of central Dublin. Further, 75% of these graves (Or 60% of all Irish Viking graves) are from Kilmainham and Islandbridge. Stephen Harrison in 2001 estimated that the total number of Viking burials on Ireland is approximately 71-76 (Harrison 2001: 63). Raghnall Ó'Floinn instead estimated this number to be *at least* around 80-90 in the Dublin area, without accounting for unaccompanied burials that might be pagan. He further pointed out that there were at least four different cemeteries as well as a number of single graves in Dublin. He compared this to especially Kaupang, but also other settlements in Scandinavia. Some of these graves might also be placed on earlier, prehistoric or Christian cemeteries (Ó'Floinn 1998: 137, 142). At the very least to my knowledge two additional graves have surfaced in the Dublin area since then. One at Islandbridge where in 2004 an iron sword and a spearhead were found. This was followed by an excavation in 2008 when a ringed pin, a possible scale pan and a fragment of a copper-alloyed object were found (Sikora *et*

al. 2011). The other being at Finglass and was excavated in 2004 where a casket, a comb and a pair of oval brooches were found (Sikora 2005: 402-404, 407).

Since human remains were not considered interesting when these older burials were excavated, a proper reconstruction of the graves become difficult. The burials have nonetheless been sex determined by their associated grave goods (Harrison 2001: 66). The Dublin burials have shown several different burial practices including inhumation, cremation and burials in flat graves, however these are believed to be contemporary (Ó'Floinn 1998: 137).
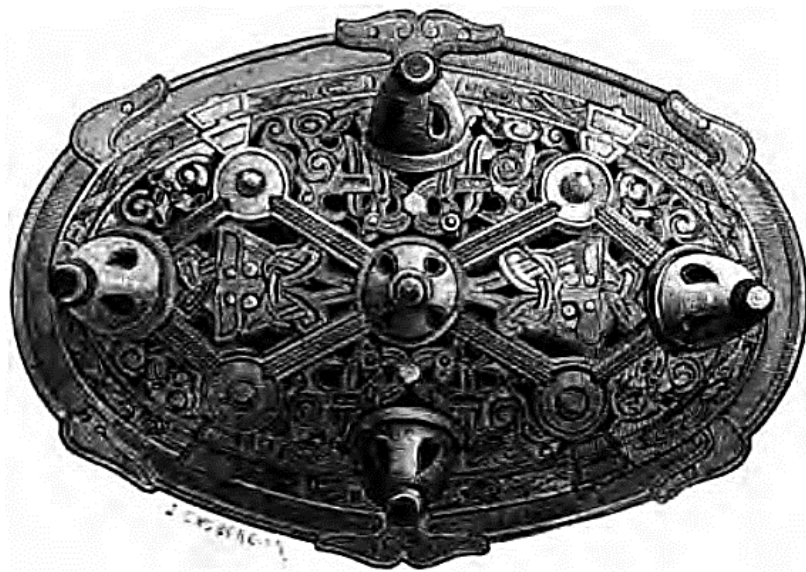
Figure 15. Oval brooch from Öland.
After Montelius 1877: 328

In the female graves the most common artefact was without a doubt the oval brooch (fig. 15). That said, they are still fairly rare. The vast majority of these are of the more simple single-shelled type that can be broadly dated to the 9th century. These show no native influence, and have been interpreted as coming directly from Scandinavia. Due to the small number of brooches found they could be interpreted as something brought by the Scandinavian women, rather than some large-scale export from Scandinavia. Besides the most common features in women's graves from this period; beads, chains and other jewellery pieces, some other artefacts can most likely be ascribed to women's graves. These are a whale-bone plaque, a needle case, spindle whorls a linen smoother and other items associated with cloth production. A find of a roasting spit can possibly also be ascribed to a woman's grave (Harrison 2001: 66-68).

It is important to mention that the decorated Scandinavian artefacts during the early Viking phase apparently did not reach the Irish but stayed with the Scandinavians (Ó'Floinn 2001: 89-90).

The most common feature in the men's graves are their weapons, especially the sword (fig. 16). Unlike oval brooches the swords are not confined to graves but are sometimes found in other locations, but these are rather few exceptions and the bulk of the swords are likely from male graves. A typical well-furnished male Irish Viking grave consist of a sword, a spearhead, a ringed pin, a bone fragment and a comb (Harrison 2001: 68).

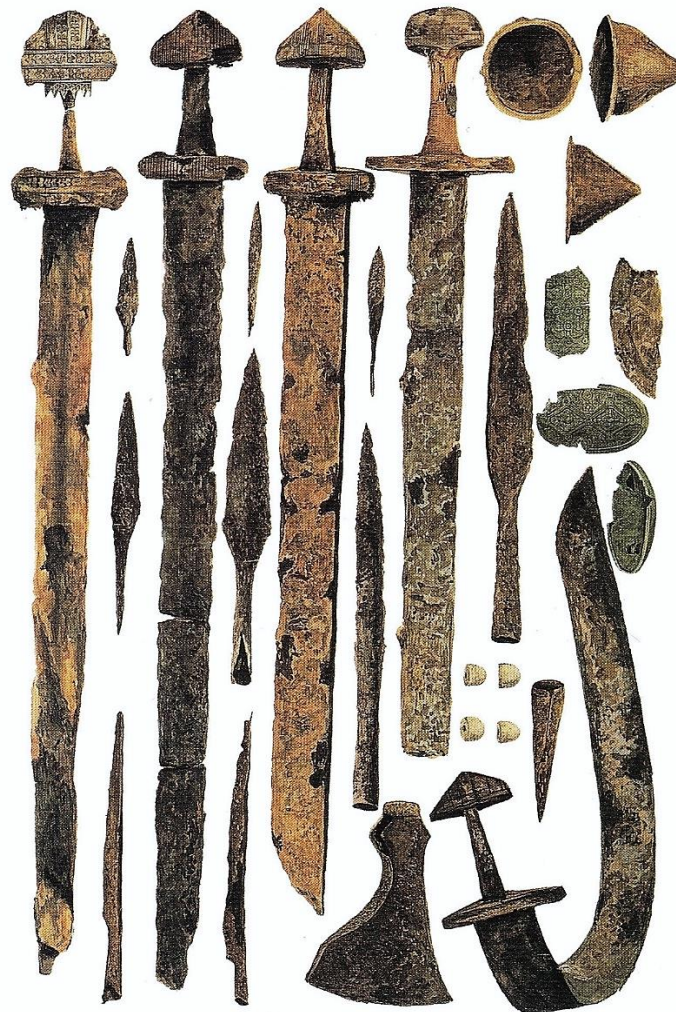*Figure 16. Viking artefacts from the cemeteries at Kilmainham and Islandbridge painted in 1847 by James Plunket (edited by the author). After Hall 2007: 90*

Besides the weapons, discussed more below, common artefacts include shield bosses. There are two types of shield bosses that occur in these graves. One larger model has parallels in Norway, but there are other shield bosses of Irish, or at least

insular origin occurring in Viking graves (Harrison 2001: 70-71; Hall 2007: 88). Besides weapons and shield bosses, which are all dominant in male graves, other artefacts that occur include smith's tools, gaming pieces, different sorts of knives and scales with weights, as well as items more difficult to determine. However, these are all sometimes found in female graves as well and thus have no specific gender connotations. Worthy of mentioning is also that most of the scales have insular decoration (Harrison 2001: 71).

The early Christian influences I believe indicate that the Norse were very open towards the Irish, as mentioned before. However, that the furnished burials continued I believe indicate a sense of what is known as "habitus". That this is a deeply rooted behaviour not removed in the first place, as this type of behaviour has become so deeply rooted for these individuals that it can only be observed from the outside (cf. Bourdieu 1977).

3.4.3.3. Weapons

Since weapons (particularly swords, closely followed by spears) are such a common find among the Viking graves of Ireland they deserve to be more closely examined (Harrison 2001: 68).

The common view is that the Vikings faced a military inferior society which is how they were able to establish themselves in Ireland, however this is in need of reinterpretation. According to the historical sources the Irish had swords, spears and shields in the 8th century. The initial military success of the Vikings would have been quickly compensated for by the powerful Irish kings, as military subjects are often responded to quickly, especially when facing new influences (Halpin 2005: 125).

Still the most complete and most referenced collection of Viking swords in Ireland is Johannes Bøe's "Norse Antiquities in Ireland" from 1940 (Shetelig & Bøe 1940). The swords that arrived with the Vikings were of very fine quality and represented a new form of military technology in Ireland. Perhaps not in quality, but certainly in quantity. Due to the lack of literature regarding native Irish swords, it is hard to see what impact the Viking swords had on the Irish, especially when Viking swords are almost exclusively found in graves or deposited in water. The best example of this is likely the Ballinderry sword (fig. 17) of Petersens Type K, discovered in a crannog in Co. Meath. This sword is 92,8cm long and very well-preserved, plated with silver and with the

name "HILTIPREHT" carved on the guard and "ULFBEHRT" carved on the blade (Shetelig & Bøe 1940: 77-79; Halpin 2005: 125-126; Peirce 2009: 63).
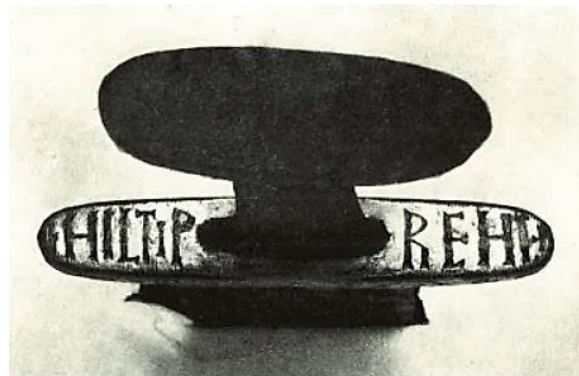

Figure 17. The Ballinderry sword guard.
After Shetelig & Bøe 1940: 79

Aidan Walsh of the Northern Ireland Museum Council has identified some 90 swords from Ireland and classified these. What he saw was that 42 were from the Kilmainham/Islandbridge burials with the most prominent type being Petersens Type H with 16 examples. Of these swords 34 belong in the period AD 800-950. The type H swords stretch for the entire period, but flourished in the 9th century. The consensus of Walsh's study is that the majority of the Irish Viking swords can be dated to the early Norse period, as strengthened by the artefacts from the Kilmainham/Islandbridge burials. When studying the sword types it became clear that the origin of most swords are in Western Norway which strongly suggests that the Vikings buried in Kilmainham/Islandbridge came from there (Walsh 1998: 234-235).

As mentioned above, the second most common find among weapons in male graves is the spear. Unlike the swords, which can be connected with Petersens typology, the spears could perhaps show an Irish influence. Johannes Bøe mentions that this type is very rare, or even non-existent in Scandinavia and that these spears might ultimately be derived from a Celtic predecessor (Shetelig & Bøe 1940: 26; Harrison 2001: 70).

Besides swords and spears, the axe was adopted from the Norse as a cheaper substitute and is frequently referred to in the historical sources (Halpin 2005: 126). Axes are not as common in the grave material as the spear and the sword, but they do, very rarely, occur. Two axes have been identified from graves. There is also a possible third example from Barnhall that was recovered in the 18th century that might have been found in a grave (Harrison 2001: 70).

The bow, or rather arrowheads, is the most common weapon in the later archaeological material from the Hiberno-Norse towns. This is very interesting in contrast to the earlier Viking graves where arrowheads are very rare. The Norse are still credited with having re-introduced the bow in Ireland which had been extinct for at least a thousand years. There are primarily two categories of arrowheads used in Ireland: broad-bladed arrowheads and bodkin-bladed arrow heads. The latter form was used for one purpose only, i.e. armour-piercing, and constitutes about 70% of the total number from Ireland. Around 80% of the total number of arrowheads is believed to be of military purpose, while only 5% can definitely be ascribed to hunting (Harrison 2001: 70; Halpin 2005: 128-129).

3.4.3.4. Hiberno-Norse graves

To distinguish Irish from Viking and Hiberno-Norse graves is very difficult. People of non-Scandinavian origin could have been given pagan rites at their burials, to become Vikings, just as Scandinavians and people of Scandinavian background might have been given unfurnished graves. Even so, they are a great source for studying cultural hybridity (Griffiths 2012: 99). To distinguish earlier Irish Iron Age graves from Viking graves is somewhat easier, since grave goods were very uncommon in Iron Age Ireland (Harrison 2001: 61-62). That it is difficult to distinguish Hiberno-Norse graves from Irish graves is evidence that by this time the Norse had completely adopted the new religion and abandoned their old "habitus" of furnished graves. This is another step towards hybridization, rather than creolization.

Pagan graves did not continue past the middle of the 10th century in the Irish Sea region. This date coincides well with other evidence for the spread of Christianity and the end of paganism, the Cumbrian stone sculptures for example, or similar examples from the Isle of Man. While these cannot be linked with graves, they do display a mix of pagan and Christian themes and are generally associated with religious change (Griffiths 2012: 99). This date also coincides very well with the conversion of the ruling Norse dynasty in Dublin (See chapter 3.4.2; Ó'Corráin 2001: 107).

Important to mention is that at his time of writing, Barra O'Donnabhain (2005) mentions that the cemeteries that the Hiberno-Norse population used between the tenth and twelfth centuries have not been explored archaeologically. He has, however, examined a sample of graves from these centuries consisting of seven skeletons of women and

children from the 10th and 11th centuries as well as 17 skulls from the same period. From the twelfth century he has examined eight graves that are located north of Dublin's town wall (O'Donnabhain 2005: 272, 277).

The tenth and eleventh century individuals were buried in shallow graves. They displayed several different positions that do not seem to follow to standard Christian burial practices. If the early settlement at Dublin had cemeteries, which is likely, perhaps these individuals did not merit inclusion in these. Because they were placed at a liminal location along a riverfront and that the burials included mainly women and children, which in some societies can be treated more casually in death, as well as the fact that the bones did not show any pathological conditions or signs of struggle, they may perhaps have been viewed as socially marginal (O'Donnabhain 2005: 272-274).

This is in contrast with the other remains from the same centuries, where several skulls show evidence of trauma. The skulls belong to 11 adult males, 1 adult female, 4 uncertain and 1 juvenile. Six of these skulls, or 35.3%, or about 50% of the male skulls show signs of interpersonal violence, i.e. not accidental damage. No injuries had healed which indicate that they were received just before, or after death. This point towards the individuals being killed in violent circumstances after which the head has been removed from the body. As these were found in the same liminal area discussed before the skulls have been interpreted as possible enemies whose skulls have been placed for display along the town's walls. There are examples from this practice in the historical sources, although these predate the arrival of the Vikings. Worthy of mentioning is also that two of the skulls had been buried with animal skulls (O'Donnabhain 2005: 274-277, 280-281).

The twelfth century material consists of eight graves located north of the town's wall. These bodies did not fit any Christian burial norms either, in the way that they lack standard Christian body positions and orientations, even though Dublin in this era had been Christian for at least a century. These burials consisted of 9 juveniles, 7 adult males, 6 adult females and 1 undetermined individual. Due to their proximity to the wall, one might interpret these burials as an invading force, but since they include older individuals and children, as well as them lacking evidence of trauma this is no longer applicable. Since standard Christian burial practices were abandoned they have instead been interpreted as dying during a period of great stress, when the death toll peaks. The historical sources, for example mention three such events during the 12th

century when clashes between Dublin and other factions resulted in mass slaughter of Dublin's inhabitants. O'Donnabhain also mentions that nutritional deficiency or disease could have been involved (O'Donnabhain 2005: 277, 279).

These burials display some interesting cultural behaviours and give us an insight into how the Hiberno-Norse population of Dublin viewed this burial area. Two of the three different burials tell us that at least two show signs of clashes between Dublin and their neighbours, where the 10th/11th century skulls show signs of trauma and the 12th century remains signs of great stress for the population of Dublin. This also show us that the Dubliners were very thorough with removing these individuals from the confines of the town. Although this may not be applicable to the skulls, that indeed had a different purpose of a more political nature. These skulls also tells us of the different cultural perceptions of the body. This was a time where the people of Dublin were separated from their Irish neighbours. The Irish believed that severed heads were objects of great power, to be used against one's enemies. The Norse also believed that severed heads held power, which Barra O'Donnabhain has interpreted as the heads placed in the liminal zone, whether displayed or not, could have had different meanings for the towns Scandinavian and Irish citizens (O'Donnabhain 2005: 280-281). Because of the lack of evidence (O'Donnabhain 2005: 272) and because Hiberno-Norse burials are very hard to distinguish from other Christian graves from the many different groups of people that inhabited Dublin (Mytum 2003: 114-115; Griffiths 2012: 99) this, unfortunately, does not tell us a great deal regarding the Hiberno-Norse and their graves from the later centuries. What this does give us is instead a slight insight into how the people of the later Hiberno-Norse periods viewed the deceased.

3.4.4. Clothing and jewellery

Clothing is often understood as a denominator for gender, status, culture and identity (Wincott Heckett 2005: 555). An account of its importance comes from a passage in the *Cogad Gáedel re Gallaib* during a plundering of Limerick in AD 968:

"They carried off their jewels and their best property, and their saddles beautiful and foreign; their gold and their silver; their beautifully woven cloth of all colours and of all kinds; their satins and silken cloth, pleasing and variegated, both scarlet and green, and all sorts of cloth in like manner"
(Cogad Gáedel re Gallaib: 79, transl. by James H. Todd).

Since cloth is awarded such a large focus, this passage tells us that the cloth plundered from Limerick must have made quite the impression of the Irish raiders and chroniclers.

It is apparent that silk was valued by the Irish, but not a lot has been found in their settlements. These finds are instead concentrated to the Hiberno-Norse towns, probably because of their long way trade connections and subsequent import of silks from the Byzantine Empire (Wincott Heckett 2002: 1-2; Hall 2007: 38) which is why I've chosen to present these objects rather than say, common tunics or dresses as they are more characteristic of the Hiberno-Norse population.

Among the silk finds from Ireland are bands, head wear and scarves. Head bands are known to have been worn by both men and women from the historical sources and there is one probable archaeological find from Dublin of this type of clothing. Among the scarves found from Dublin is one large purple scarf made of silk that could almost be worn as a veil. Another find of a scarf from Dublin is dyed blue with woad. This is shorter than the former and could perhaps be worn around the head or shoulders, or as a cap or band (Wincott Heckett 2002: 1-2).

Among the nine caps researched by Elizabeth Heckett three are of silk and six of wool. In addition there are four more possible finds of caps, where one is silk and three wool. Since there are so many finds of caps from only ten dwellings in Dublin, it would appear that the caps were a common feature among the Hiberno-Norse people. The wool caps are different from the silk caps in the way they were made. The wool caps used the entire width of the cloth while the silk versions have been cut to fit to that size, which, according to Elizabeth Heckett would indicate that the silken versions were a luxury commodity made after the original woollen model (Heckett 1987: 165, 171).

3.4.4.1. Armrings

Armrings are very common finds in Scandinavia (One great example being the Spillings hoard from Gotland) and it is likely that the Hiberno-Norse types are derived from these (Sheehan 1992: 47-48).

The armrings represent the innovative nature of the Hiberno-Norse. Especially important when studying the economic aspect, together with the Hiberno-Norse coins (Sheehan 1992: 41), but they are also important in the aspect of identity as they are a Scandinavian feature being worn at the same time as the brooches, discussed below, a clear testament to their colonial identity.

The most common type of armrings from Ireland is the "broadband" type, a less common type being the coiled armring (Sheehan 1992: 45). The broadband armring is characterized by a broad band of silver of rectangular cross-section (fig. 18). Their form is of the penannular type and when they have decoration it is confined to the outer part of the ring. The decoration has been described by James Graham-Campbell as a series of vertical grooves that have been stamped in, most often with a diagonal cross in the middle that can also be found at the terminals (Graham-Campbell 1973: 51). These were likely manufactured in Dublin and seem to have been conformed to a certain weight standard of 26,15g. Based on the decoration of the rings, their origin have been proposed to lie in Denmark, rather than Norway (Sheehan 1998: 194; 2001: 58-59).

Figure 18. Two broadband armrings from Ulster.
After Notafly 2010

At his time of writing (1992) John Sheehan writes that there are 26 known coiled armrings (fig. 19) and that 19 of these are of Irish provenance. (Sheehan 1992: 41-42).

All rings but one are decorated. Due to the rather thin nature of the rings the decoration is very simple. Sheehan has recognized four different types of decoration, all of which consist of opposed or paired motifs on single rows. The first decoration type consist of opposed rows of triangles with facing tips. The second type is similarly decorated, but with larger rows and the tips of the triangles more irregularly faced and often overlapping. The third and fourth decoration types are very similar, where type three is characterized by pairs of ovoid or sub-ovoid stampings that occasionally overlap. The fourth type is instead characterized by opposed lozenge or sub-lozenge forms. While

there are no correlation either between the different subgroups of between the different decoration schemes, the decorations present are not rare in the Viking Age (Sheehan 1992: 42-43). In contrast to the broadband armrings, the coiled armrings seem to have had their origin with the so-called "rod armring" type, a Scandinavian type with roots in Norway (Sheehan 1992: 47).
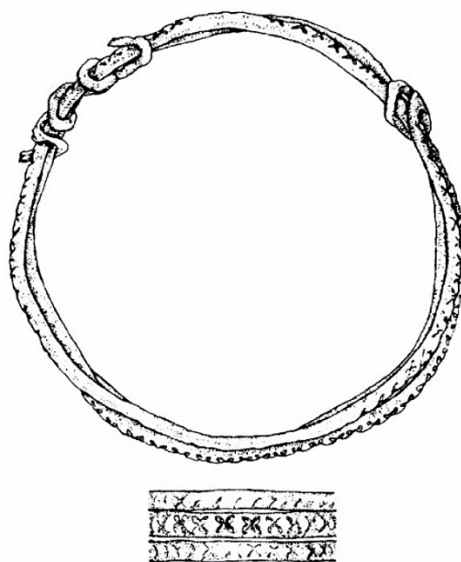
Figure 19. Example of a coiled armring.
After Sheehan 1992: 42

Both types of armrings appear to have been manufactured in Ireland as a way of storing silver, while also functioning as a way of circulating it. In one aspect it served the economic purposes while also serving as a status indicator among the Hiberno-Norse (Graham-Campbell & Sheehan 1995: 776-777). Noteworthy is that like in Scandinavia armrings are common in hoards (Sheehan 2000) and in Ireland, most common in the coinless hoards. Ireland has approximately 130 hoards of which 52 are coinless (Sheehan 1998: 167). Noteworthy is also that these types of armrings are not very common outside of Ireland (Sheehan 1992; Graham-Campbell 1976) and that they existed for a fairly short period, approximately during the latter half of the 9th century to the first half of the 10th, with the main production cycle lying around AD 880-930 (Sheehan 1992: 47; Graham-Campbell 1976: 52).

3.4.4.2. Penannular brooches

The origin of the ringed pin lies in 5th century Ireland and it was one of the earliest phenomenon that the Vikings adopted from the Irish. Thomas Fanning has recognised many different types of brooches/ringed pins (fig. 20) but only a small sample will be

discussed here. The type that was most popular when the Vikings arrived in Ireland was the plain-ringed, loop-headed type. It is not known exactly when the Vikings adopted this fastener but it would not have taken a great deal of contact for the newcomers to adopt a basic dress-fastener. The next type adopted by the Norse is the so-called plain-ringed polyhedral-headed form, or Hiberno-Norse type. This flourished between AD 925-975 and became very popular outside of Ireland, possibly due to the Norse being expelled in 902 and switching focus towards other countries. It is, however, mostly absent from Scandinavia itself, with a few exceptions. This certainly show the areas of interest to the Norse once they were banished. The following types, the kidney-ringed and the stirrup-ringed variations were popular in the 11th century and beyond but it is clear from the Dublin material that the ringed pin was degenerating and changing which eventually led to its disappearance (Fanning 1994: 53-56).

Figure 20. Different brooch types from the Penrith hoard.
After Ealdgyth 2010

This ringed pin, or penannular brooch was one element that spread from Hiberno-Norse Dublin back to Scandinavia and copied there, where it became very popular, especially in Norway (Fanning 1994; Tsigaridas-Glørstad 2012).

There is a clear pattern when regarding the dating and the gender connotations of the insular and the local Norwegian brooches which can be grouped into two categories. The first group consists of the imported insular brooches. These were introduced to Norway in the 9th century and were worn by women throughout the century. In the latter half of the 9th century these brooches were copied and their gender connotations changed (See fig. 22). Now worn by men, the majority of these brooches were deposited during the years AD 900-950 in graves as well as hoards (Tsigaridas-Glørstad 2012: 36).

Objects in a new context cannot be given an illogical meaning, completely detached from their original function and symbolism. They relate to their original meaning but can be re-interpreted within their new context, both socially and ideologically (Kristiansen and Larsson 2005: 14; Tsigaridas-Glørstad 2012: 46).

One theory regarding the insular brooches are that they belong to women of Celtic/Pictish origin. This may be the case, however, the graves include many typically Norse objects as well. One other interpretation is that these women are of Norse origin but associated with the western colonies. The brooches could therefore be seen as symbols of regional alliances among the local social elites either among the Norse communities at home or abroad, or between the Norse and the Celtic communities of the colonies (Tsigaridas-Glørstad 2012: 37-38).

4.0. Analysis

So how did the Hiberno-Norse express themselves? What changed and what remained, and to what degree? How quick was this process? I have presented many different expressions from different parts of their society, from their towns to their clothing, and here I will attempt to break it down to make it clearer. After all, the different expressions are the ones presented above, but here I will try to firmly resolve my issues.

First we can see that through their artistic styles they expressed themselves on several levels, be it through stone in Cumbria or through metal and wood in Ireland, specifically Dublin. The examples of stone working are best represented in Cumbria in north western England. In this graveyard there are several stone pieces that have incorporated motifs from the Scandinavian mythology. The most prominent piece is a large stone cross that incorporates scenes from *Ragnarök* as well as a crucifixion. This

particular cross has been interpreted as symbolising the fusion between the two religions active in the region, representing common elements (Hall 2007: 113) or serving as a nostalgic reminder (Griffiths 2012: 144-145). Here it would appear that the Hiberno-Norse in the region actively sought to incorporate their particular decoration on the pre-existing tradition, possibly to establish themselves or to reinforce their involvement in the region by displaying their characteristic elements. I also believe that the theories regarding religious fusion put forth by Hall and Griffiths are well funded. Like I mentioned above, it is also interesting that the Norse arriving in the region incorporated their decoration on an existing tradition. To incorporate foreign elements in this manner and make it their own suits their behaviour.

The decoration of this cross has elements of the Borre style which made its way to Ireland in the early 10th century. While this particular style did not achieve much success in Ireland (Graham-Campbell 2013: 77-79) it does show that it was quickly absorbed and used on a number of items/monuments, although these are of Hiberno-Norse creation and it does not appear that this style received a colonial version. This points to a regional difference, since the use of the Borre style is rare in Ireland, but occur in Cumbria.

In Ireland, however, the West Viking style existed in the 10th century that is derived from the Borre style and Anglo-Saxon elements, possibly as a predecessor to the more common Dublin School (Lang 1988).

That the Hiberno-Norse absorbed something and made it their own is also true with regards to the wood carving and metalworking traditions present at specifically Dublin, but also on other locations discussed earlier. It is very clear from the different schools of wood carving, mostly in the Dublin School, that they incorporated Norse elements in a pre-existing tradition, much like in Cumbria. Here it proved that the native tradition was very strong which is also clear from the available material (Lang 1988). They displayed the same behaviour, to take something existing and make it into something new. This behaviour proves that the Norse and Hiberno-Norse were very open to the change brought on by the Irish they settled amongst. To borrow a phrase from Claude Levi-Strauss they can be classified as a "hot society", a society open towards changes (cf. Levi-Strauss 1987). Further, that they took something and made it into something new, into a hybrid, undoubtedly connected with Bhabhas ideas of hybridization (cf. Bhabha 1994).

The later artistic styles, beginning with the Ringerike and ending with the Urnes style had greater success among the Hiberno-Norse as is proven by much of their artwork, specifically with metal but also with wood. The Ringerike and the Urnes styles both have colonial counterparts where they have been mixed with the local art (Lang 1988; Ó'Floinn 2001). The Ringerike style appear to have arrived in Ireland in the early 11th century and the Urnes style at the end of the century (Graham-Campbell 2013: 153-154). This shows us that the artistic elements were rather slow to be completely absorbed and used by the Hiberno-Norse as few artistic elements were blended prior to this. The Borre style had no big success and the following styles do not appear to have made a huge impression either. This is in contrast with other features of their society where local or Norse characteristics were more quickly absorbed. Why this is the case might be due to the fact that, as described before, the native Irish artistic traditions were very strong, as we have seen proven several times when Norse and Irish expressions mixed and became something new.

For their personal wear the situation is a bit different than in the artistic sphere. Much of the finer clothing, silk for example, in these towns arrived through the Norse connections to the east. Here the Vikings and their connections were of crucial importance, and it appears that these luxury wares were characteristic of the Hiberno-Norse population, since they did not reach the Irish in large quantities (Wincott-Heckett 2002). This is in contrast to the adoption of penannular brooches by the Norse. Here, instead, the Norse completely adopted an Irish feature (Fanning 1994). This was no cultural mix, just an Irish feature adopted by the Norse, and then subsequently, it became very popular and transformed in Norway where it also received strong gender connotations (Tsigaridas-Glørstad 2012).

Armrings is another feature characteristic of the Hiberno-Norse dress (See Sheehan 1992). The armring is a Scandinavian feature that was transferred and transformed in Ireland. These all display certain dress features characteristic of the Hiberno-Norse population. The fact that they wore these things could state that they were displaying certain regional belonging. This can be compared to the example from ethnoarchaeology given by Ian Hodder where women wore different clothing to adapt to their tribe (Hodder 1982). To wear armrings and penannular brooches at the same time could, for example, indicate that they in fact were displaying that they were part of this specific "West Viking" (See Larsen & Stummann Hansen 2001) or Hiberno-

Norse culture, while simultaneously serving a practical purpose. However, the Hiberno-Norse armring types existed in Ireland for a fairly short period, apparently ceasing in the 10th century (Sheehan 1992: 47), while the penannular brooches were probably quickly adopted and used at least used until the 11th century (Fanning 1994: 56), indicating that this expression was fairly short-lived. This might also be the case for the wooden art, where only two pieces from the Urnes style are known that are dated to the late 11th century (Lang 1988: 48). The metalworking tradition, where the Urnes style became very popular, flourished during the 11th century and onwards (Ó'Floinn 2001: 94). Worthy of mentioning is also the decline of Norse names in Ireland during the 12th century (Fellows-Jensen 2001: 112). This indicates that in certain aspects, names, wood carving, dress etc. the Norse influence/fashion was declining or had disappeared entirely in the 12th century, while still being strong in other aspects, such as metalworking. This might, however, be due to the Norman invasion of 1169.

The change in grave rituals coincide very well with the general spread, and the elites adoption of Christianity in the middle of the 10th century (Ó'Corráin 2001a: 107; Griffiths 2012: 99). The early graves seem relatively conservative with regards to the grave goods retrieved. There are non-Scandinavian objects present, but this is often also the case in Scandinavian burials (e.g. Birka). The graves show an early Christian influence due to the fact that they are inhumation burials, rather than cremations, although few cremations exist. This is strengthened by the fact that they seems to have preferred being buried near churches (Harrison 2001). Even from this early point they show signs of creolization, but also some form of habitus or memory since they are rather conservative. By this I mean that they are furnished burials. The fact that they are furnished might be view as a deep form of habitus, a deeply rooted behaviour and not something you get rid of in the first place. While creolization did occur, it might just be to a certain degree this early. After all, furnished burials occurred for a period of around 150 years (See Harrison 2001). The furnished burials could perhaps in another way be seen as a form of *"mileux de memoire"* in the way that the Norse retreat into their past when they feel threatened in their identity (cf. Nora 2001; Wehlin 2011). This can occur during times of stress in which a foreign culture with a foreign religion could fit the picture. The Norse might accentuate their identity in contrast with the new identity being presented to them. However, dual identities is not impossible to maintain (cf. Hodder 1982; Petersen 2011) and the fact that furnished burials appear in a Christian

context might just be this type of compromise, where the new, creolized meets the old, yet accentuated.

A similar example is given by Susanne Thedéen in her paper "Box Brooches Beyond the Border" where she gives examples of several creolized individuals in urban centres that have, seemingly, kept some of their original cultural ideas while also embracing new ideas and features (See chapter 1.3.2.; Thedéen 2012). She also discusses the roles of women in urban centres. Interesting on Ireland are the finds of scales and weights in women's graves (Harrison 2001: 71), pointing to the fact that they might have been businesswomen, and very important in the early Norse society on Ireland (cf. Thedéen 2012) not only for marriage alliances with the Irish (Ó'Floinn 1998:163).

The later graves (after ca 950) are much harder to decipher due to the fact that they have not been archaeologically examined, apart from a few examples. It is, however, likely that they used standard Christian positions (Griffiths 2012: 99; O'Donnabhain 2005) which is why they are hard to distinguish from other Christian graves (Griffiths 2012: 99). What is clear is that the pagan graves are gone from Ireland, which does give us some insight into what degree the Norse community had been absorbed and gaelicized. The creolization had been going on for a very long time and what we see now might be approaching a hybrid, rather than a creole. For the grave material it is thus very hard to say what remained of their Scandinavian identities, but it is likely that since they are very hard to identify that not much of the earlier furnished graves remained by this point and that they had been completely submerged in the new religion, not unlike the development in Scandinavia. However, as mentioned in the theoretical chapter, what a person is buried with need not represent that person's identity. Just because there are no indications that a person was Hiberno-Norse in death does not mean that they weren't in life.

So what is a Hiberno-Norse identity? Is it a creolized identity or a hybrid? I believe that as a creolized identity is a lighter version of a complete hybrid there is a distinct difference. Early in their existence, in the 9th and 10th centuries I would argue that they are indeed creolized. They retain their furnished burials for a lot of the time while also embracing some new elements, such as the ringed pin, but still keeping some of the Norse-inspired articles, such as the armrings. The artistic styles had not yet become really enunciated, with few exceptions in the Borre style.

Norse names were also becoming more common amongst the Irish and vice versa (Fellows-Jensen 2001). It is not until later, in the eleventh century, or at least at the end of the tenth that I believe that they really do become a hybrid culture, which coincides well with the date of 980 set by Howard B. Clarke (Clarke 1998: 334). A little earlier we see the cessation of furnished burials (Griffiths 2012: 99), indicating that the new religion had completely changed how the Norse viewed their dead although this information is very scarce. Noteworthy is also the fact that Old Norse and Norse names survived for a long time in Ireland (Ó'Corráin 2001b: 27), either out of necessity (cf. Larsen 2001) or possibly as a form of memory preservation and as a way to accentuate your identity (See page 46).

Also during the 11th and 12th centuries we see the appearance of some very beautifully carved wooden pieces decorated in the Dublin School that display a clear mix of Scandinavian and Irish elements. The *pure* Scandinavian styles are very rare. Though there is the "West Viking" style, this style rather have Scandinavian and English elements (Lang 1988). In metalworking we see a similar development with some very important ecclesiastical objects being produced that show distinct hybrid versions of the Ringerike and Urnes styles (Ó'Floinn 2001). However, during this time the armrings have disappeared and the ringed pins are degenerating and are soon to follow (Sheehan 1992: 47; Fanning 1994: 56), even Scandinavian names were becoming more uncommon in the 12th century (Fellows-Jensen 2001: 112) and it is noteworthy that around the middle of the 10th century the Hiberno-Norse were starting to act more like their Irish neighbours (Ó'Corráin 2001a: 100) all of which indicates that the differences between the Hiberno-Norse and the Irish were becoming smaller. Their differences were being erased, but still retained some of their characteristic elements, hence they might be seen as something new, that has slowly been created in the third space of enunciation, and in this case this roll has been taken by the Hiberno-Norse towns, most specifically Dublin, since the Hiberno-Norse culture was primarily an urban phenomenon.

According to the historical records; in the eyes of the Irish they had been, were, and would always be the "*gaill*", the foreigners, but in the archaeological record this does not appear to be quite so simple.

5.0. Discussion

The aim of this study has been to map different traits of a Hiberno-Norse identity and to problematize this with several theoretical angles. My issues were to find out how the Hiberno-Norse expressed their identity, to what degree the Irish influences were absorbed by the Norse, and what effect this had, i.e. if they went "completely native" or if something from their Scandinavian identity remained as well as how quick this process was. Further I would problematize the concept of a "Hiberno-Norse identity" and discuss whether this is a creolized identity or a hybrid. To answer this following question I relied on what traits I had mapped and what I had arrived at with my two prior issues and to discuss this through the concepts of creolization and hybridization. I believe that such a study is useful since there are not much information written on the subject of Hiberno-Norse identity. Identity is an important and very popular subject these days which is why a study such as this might be useful.

This thesis is undoubtedly angled towards the post-processual school of archaeology, which is how it differs some from much available literature that is far more angled towards the processual and cultural historical schools, with much focus placed on the society and the objects. However, to just discuss the individual without first referring to the objects and their society is very difficult which is why this evolution has been necessary. Without the studies of the objects and the society this study would not be possible.

What I have found out in this study is that there were many different ways in which the Hiberno-Norse expressed themselves. The most prominent are art, religion and graves as well as clothing and equipment, but there are also some expressions in language and names. All of which are highly important when regarding the subject of identity.

My research has led to believe that these are the most prominent expressions for the Hiberno-Norse individual and indeed their society. I have interpreted these expressions with several different theoretical approaches, the most prominent being identity, creolization and hybridization. Here I will discuss my issues.

The Norse that settled Ireland did indeed embrace much of the local culture. This seems to have begun with the native religion – Christianity. The early graves show signs of Christian influence and there are not many examples of cremation occurring. The Christian influence was, however, limited since the burials are still furnished

(Harrison 2001) which I have argued might be because of a very strong habitus, or possibly it has to do with the combination of a more conservative memory preservation in connection with dual identities (see analysis), although I believe that habitus is the more likely reason as furnished burials is something that must have been deeply rooted amongst the Norse settlers.

They show early signs of creolization, mostly with regard to the graves, but also that they seem to have adopted the Irish ringed pins fairly early. As creolization includes that some of the prior connotations persisted this would be a good place to mention the armrings, which is clearly something that is Scandinavian, even though they are of different forms in Ireland. The forms are new, but their connotations and are still there as are their function since they are still common in hoards, for example (Sheehan 1992). As creolization continued, the art became influenced. This is first shown in the "West Viking" style that show elements of the Borre style and Anglo-Saxon influence. This might not show as strong Celtic signs as the later Dublin School, but it nevertheless existed in Ireland (Lang 1988). Also during this earlier phase the Norse and the Irish adopted each other's names and probably began to learn each other's languages (Fellows-Jensen 2001).

After the adoption of Christianity around the middle of the tenth century (Ó'Corráin 2001a) more things changed. The art in both metal and wood carving received heavy influences from the Irish styles and became a more strict and symmetric (Lang 1988; Ó'Floinn 2001). The armrings also disappeared during this time and a little later the ringed pins would change and degenerate (Sheehan 1992: 47; Fanning 1994: 56). But art flourished.

I believe that all of these elements point to the fact that the early Norse on Ireland were a very open society, a so-called "hot society" that became creolized from a rather early point, even though they show a strong sense of habitus connected with their graves. They were quick to adopt Irish features, but the change into hybrid was a much slower process that took places under several hundred years. Some things disappeared from their Scandinavian identity, such as armrings, swords and their religion and cult. And indeed, one might argue that nothing purely Scandinavian remained, since most expressions had become heavily influenced by the Irish. This includes religion, art, personal expressions, names and probably language as well. This happened to a certain degree, which is why it can instead be said that much remained from their

Scandinavian identities. These features had simply evolved and adapted. The Irish then had a huge impact on the Norse settlers, but what effect this Viking landfall had on Ireland is an entirely different matter to be explored.

The issues/questions I have attempted to answer in this study are the following:

- How did the Hiberno-Norse express themselves?
- To what degree did the Norse population embrace the Irish culture? What changed and what remained of their Scandinavian identities? How quick was this process?
- What is a "Hiberno-Norse" identity? Is it a creolized identity or a hybrid?

The answer of my first issue has been given in the presentation of my material, as well as in the analysis and discussions. I would here instead attempt to break down my second and third issues.

My second issue is several questions related to each other. To what degree they embraced Irish culture could be answered quickly. They did indeed embrace many Irish things, including "their" religion, some local fashion with the ringed pins, their art, their names and language, and, although unrelated to identity, they after a way acted politically like their Irish neighbours (See Ó'Corráin 2001b).

But not everything changed completely; some things only changed to a certain degree. Art is possibly the best example of this where we early see some influence back and forth with the West Viking style, an influence that grew greater with the Dublin School (Lang 1988). We also see a similar development in metalworking with the Ringerike and Urnes schools gaining foothold and becoming heavily influenced by Irish art (O'Floinn 2001). Names and language naturally also changed to a certain degree, yet they remained (Fellows-Jensen 2001). Clothing changed in the way that the penannular brooches became extremely popular, which then spread to other "Viking regions" (Fanning 1994; Tsigaridas-Glørstad 2012). The armrings also changed and then disappeared rather quickly (Sheehan 1992) and this is important since it is one of the Scandinavian features, together with religion and seemingly swords that disappears from their society, or at the very least from their graves and in some cases towns (Harrison 2001; Halpin 2005). Everything else remained, but had adapted to

local taste. Rather than to say that the Scandinavians influenced the Irish or that the Irish influenced the Scandinavians I would rather see the Hiberno-Norse as their own culture that is undoubtedly heavily connected with both cultures but is nonetheless a hybrid culture, that is not one nor the other but rather something new, while still retaining several characteristic features. This leads me to the third part of this question.

If this process is to be seen as quick or slow is up for debate. It seems that the Vikings early adopted Irish features, so it is possible to say that the process of creolization was rather quick. For them to turn into something else, a hybrid, was instead a process that would take a much longer time to complete, which I believe coincide well with the historical date set by Howard B. Clarke (Clarke 1998: 334). Through this discussion I have also answered my third and final issue regarding if the Hiberno-Norse are to be viewed as a creolized identity or a hybrid.

This study will hopefully be of some use with regards to the subject of Hiberno-Norse identity. What this study could bring to the table is a reference point, or a beginning from which larger studies could be produced. As mentioned above, not much has been done in this particular field, especially not with a theoretical focus. But there are some examples, for example Harold Mytums 2003 study well referenced above. Also David Griffiths book reprinted in 2012 includes the subject of acculturation and identity. Russel Ó'Ríagáins master thesis from 2010 regarding Viking and Norman colonisation of Ireland also presents some of these subjects, although his focus lies with settlements in the larger portion of Ireland. My thesis is different in that I am delimited to just the Hiberno-Norse with some occasional comparisons with Scandinavia and England, and as my primary focus is on the individuals and their identities. Ó'Ríagán brings up the important fact that he is Irish and that true objectivity is very hard for any scholar, because of your society, education etc. This is naturally also applicable here, that I am Swedish and could therefore unintentionally approach this issue from a different angle, while trying to be as objective as possible. In order to reach true objectivity several scholars from different backgrounds would be needed to approach this issue, but today it is still true that most scholars in this subject are Irish and English. Ó'Ríagáins master thesis is further recommended to reach deeper understanding from a different perspective and angle.

My views and interpretations might also be angled since my education has likewise been angled towards the post-processual field since my archaeological education has

taken place during this era. Other archaeologists with different perspectives can, of course, further enhance this field with their perspectives and experiences.

This study could of course be larger, but since it is a one year master thesis there is unfortunately neither room nor time to expand to include several other areas or theories that would be highly interesting. These results could of course be further interpreted with other theoretical models, which could bring forth new interesting results and discussions. Further studies could perhaps put a much larger focus on different expressions in different towns, and to explore the relationship between the towns.

Another very interesting aspect would be to see a similarly large study explore the Irish side of this Viking landfall and how the Irish reacted and if they were influenced by the Norse etc. While there are several publications on how they were presented in the historical sources, this aspect could further be explored. One other important aspect that unfortunately could not be satisfyingly included is if the later Hiberno-Norse graves show *any* different expressions than their Irish neighbours. It has been mentioned that this material is very hard to distinguish from their Irish counterparts (See Griffiths 2012), and that the available material is not fully archaeologically explored (See O'Donnabhain 2005) which is a point that could be much explored in the future.

This study was to include the impact of the Viking landfall on Ireland in Scandinavia, but unfortunately there was no room. To see what effect this had in the Vikings homelands would in itself be a very interesting study. There are many aspects that could be explored, archaeological and historical. There are, for example, many Irish objects from this period in Scandinavia, specifically Norway, (See Tsigaridas-Glørstad 2012) and Ireland, especially Dublin is known from the Norse sagas, another point that could be further explored.

Another point that would also be very valuable would be to physically look at these objects and make a more practical study. Unfortunately, these objects are not available for study in Sweden, but to further examine and interpret these objects for yourself would be valuable. And indeed, to look at the available imported Scandinavian objects could further strengthen similar studies. Possibly a subject for future studies.

One self-criticism I am aware of and have to repeat is that there may be important works out there that have slipped past me. This is likely due to the fact that many Irish and English sources are hard to come by here on the Island of Gotland and indeed in

Sweden. It is hard to say if there is some crucial information that I have missed that might change the results of this thesis, but that remains to be seen.

It is also important to keep in mind that due to this fact the information retrieved for this thesis has been built upon earlier research, which means that the authors own interpretations and prior knowledge has to be accounted for, as well as their interpretations of what earlier scholars have written. Source criticism is always a key element. Earlier research could for example have been built on a rather vague material, which I would then further make use of, making it even vaguer as it proceeds.

Another important aspect to mention is that since my education has been focused on Sweden and Scandinavia I am not as well-versed in Irish earlier and later history. By this I mean that further depth could possibly have been added to this thesis with that knowledge, with a description of Irish society prior to the Viking landfall, and what long-term effects this landfall had after the Hiberno-Norse had disappeared in the 12th/13th century.

The last self-criticism I will mention is again the fact that English is not my native tongue. If there are any inconsistencies they might owe to this fact, although I generally do not have any difficulties in this, and should therefore (hopefully) have read all the material correctly.

I would like to conclude this discussion with what this study has achieved. I have mainly used prior Irish research in order to map and compile the different traits the Hiberno-Norse used to express themselves, since there were no prior compilation of this kind with this particular focus. Secondly I have analysed this information and discussed it using several theoretical approaches in order to reach the results presented above and below. Because of these theoretical analyses I have thus answered the purpose I set out to answer. Their identity is definitely different from their Scandinavian counterparts, but much remained and they did not go completely native.

6.0. Conclusion

- How did the Hiberno-Norse express themselves?

They did through various mediums. Early on their graves were very characteristic of the Norse population that settled Ireland. These show Christian influence, which I believe show a very early degree of creolization, while also indicating a strong sense

of habitus due to them being furnished. Also during this early period they wore Hiberno-Norse armrings, of different shape than their Scandinavian predecessors and they adopted the Irish ringed pin, or penannular brooch, indicating that they were very open to Irish influence, a so-called "hot society". Due to the Norse connections to the east, they also made use of silk. A little later on Norse artistic styles blended with Irish, creating different hybrid styles, primarily in metalworking and wood carving that took form in several wood pieces and in several ecclesiastical metal objects. On the social level this also occurred, with Norse names blending with Irish and the two languages co-existing in the Hiberno-Norse towns.

- To what degree did the Norse population embrace the Irish culture? What changed and what remained of their Scandinavian identities? How quick was this process?

They embraced the Irish culture to a large degree. They adopted their artistic styles, some equipment, they tried to learn their language, they shared their names, had children etc. This was a true hybrid Hiberno-Norse culture. Much changed, their art remained, but changed, their language, their names remained to varying degrees. Some characteristic Norse elements however disappeared, such as their furnished "pagan" graves, indeed their religion, the use of armrings ceased, Norse names were becoming more uncommon, in wood carving the artistic styles faded etc. In the eyes of the Irish, however, they were still foreigners.

- What is a "Hiberno-Norse" identity? Is it a creolized identity or a hybrid?

I would say that early on in their existence in Ireland they were a creolized group of people that retained much of their Scandinavian culture. This began to gradually change around the end of the 10th century/beginning of the 11th where some characteristic Norse features had disappeared and what remained started to blend very much with the local taste. In this later period, they were a true hybrid culture created in the third space of enunciation over a period of several hundred years.

7.0. Summary

The purpose of this essay has been the compilation and interpretation of several traits in the so-called "Hiberno-Norse" identity. The Hiberno-Norse is the hybrid culture that existed after the Vikings landed on Irish shores and established themselves. The Hiberno-Norse population emerged in their newly founded towns of Dublin, Waterford, Wexford, Limerick and Cork (Wallace 2001; Clarke 1998). The usual line between Viking and Hiberno-Norse is usually drawn at 980 AD, when the Norse king of Dublin *Amlaib Cuaran (Óláfr Kváran)* was defeated and the Irish took over the rule of Dublin (Clarke 1998: 334; Ó'Corráin 2001b). The Hiberno-Norse expressed themselves through several different mediums. Their art incorporated clear elements from the Scandinavian art, but the native Irish tradition was so strong and the Norse appear to have been very quick to adopt Irish traits that a type of hybrid art erupted that shared elements from both cultures. This is best shown in their wooden art and metalworking traditions where several pieces are known, including several very important ecclesiastical objects (Ó'Floinn 2001; Lang 1988). There are also examples of this art in Cumbria (Hall 2007; Griffiths 2012). Besides these more monumental expressions there are also smaller, more personal expressions shown in their graves, equipment and their dress. The early raiders incorporated a great deal of weapons in their graves, which changed over time when the population became more familiar with the native religion – Christianity. Not a lot is known from later graves, but it is clear that the pagan traditions ceased around the middle of the 10th century, coinciding with the adoption of Christianity by the Norse kings (Ó'Corráin 2001a; Harrison 2001; Halpin 2005). Besides their cultural expressions when regarding death, they show several distinctive expressions in life. Specific, hybrid, objects include first and foremost armrings and penannular brooches. These armrings were a way of carrying around and showing your wealth, i.e. they were practical, decorative as well as acting as a status symbol. The penannular brooches was an Irish invention adopted by the Hiberno-Norse and copied. This dress fastener became so popular that it is found to have been copied even in Norway (Graham-Campbell 1976; Graham-Campbell & Sheehan 1995; Fanning 1994; Tsigaridas-Glørstad 2012). Gradually their differences faded and they became one, a true hybrid culture with Scandinavian and Irish elements created in the third space of enunciation, in this case in one of their greatest achievements – The towns.

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9.0. List of abbreviations

ASC: *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*

AU: *The Annals of Ulster*

CGG: *Cogad Gáedel re Gallaib* (*The War of the Irish with the Foreigners).*

10. Figure Index

All pictures have in one way or another been altered by the author but are not to be regarded as my own. Following are the original sources for all pictures used in this thesis.

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