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## VIKING AGE SWORDS FROM SCOTLAND

### Introduction

In spite of extensive research on Viking Scotland, not much has been said so far on Viking Age swords known from that country. Hopefully, a long-awaited study on Viking graves by J. Graham-Campbell and C. Paterson will fill this gap. In the meantime it is worth offering some general remarks on the context, chronology, typology and territorial distribution of finds as well as their overall significance. In this contribution a Viking Age sword is understood as a weapon of the eighth-to the eleventh centuries, of distinctive typology as classified by J. Petersen based on Norwegian data (Petersen 1919; Peirce 2004). Although a majority of Viking Age swords from Scotland may be related to the Norse based on find contexts (graves), there is also a group of finds from other not necessarily Norse-related contexts.

A set of research questions comprises the following issues:

- a total number of Viking Age swords from Scotland and their find contexts, as compared to a total number of Viking graves;
- a geographical distribution of finds and their context of a broadly understood Viking presence in a given location. This implies both a macroscale of a region and a microscale of a direct neighbourhood of a find site;
- swords as part of burial contexts, with particular reference to other grave goods and burial rites, in order to propose a possible social stratification of burials with swords;
- typological and chronological analysis;
- provenance of Viking Age swords in Scotland;
- brief remarks on construction of swords, as it was not possible to carry out metallographic research.

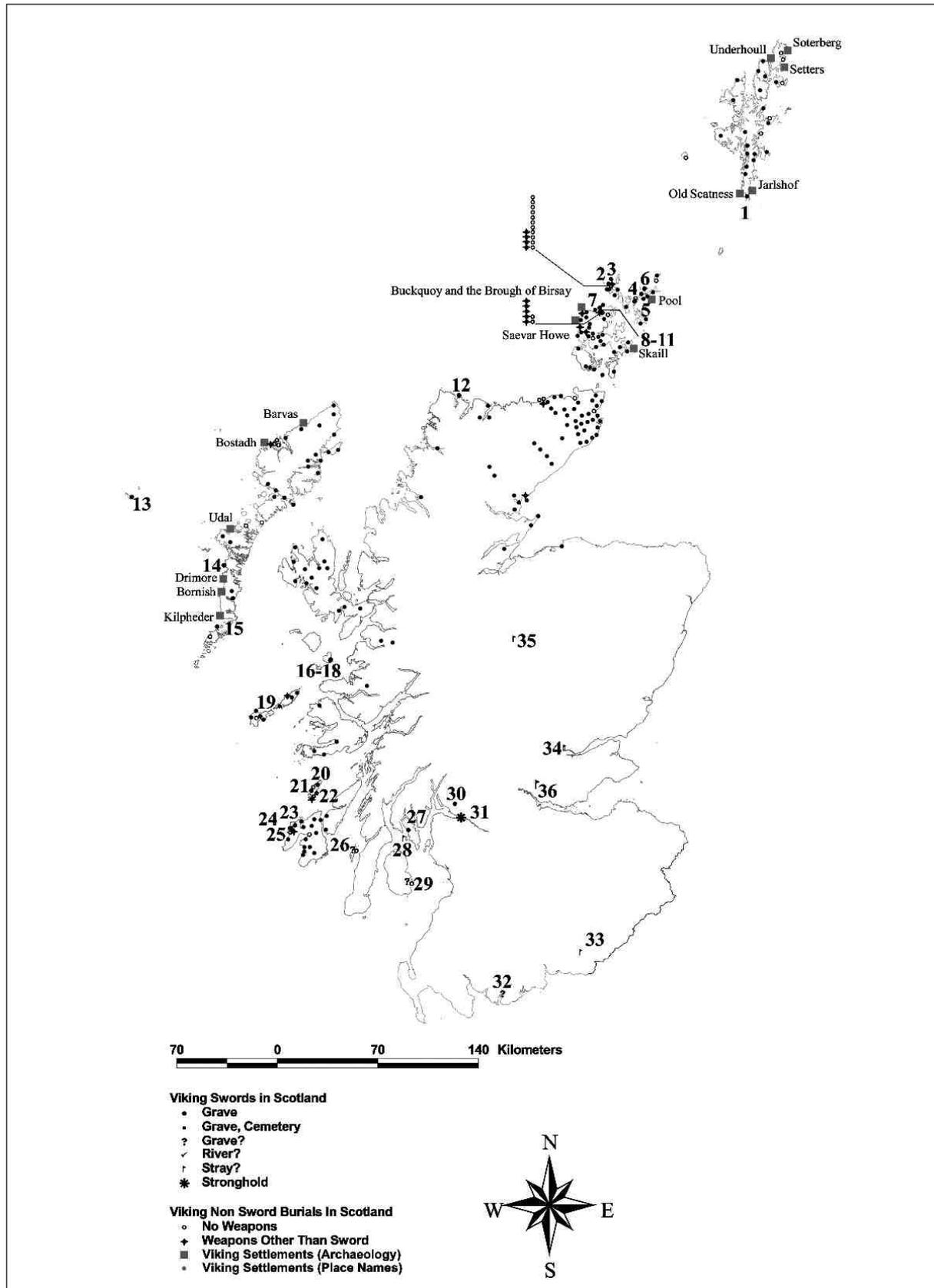
Apart from swords which were examined in museum collections (National Museums of

Scotland in Edinburgh, the Hunterian Museum in Glasgow and the Stewartry Museum in Kirkcudbright), the main bulk of source data (both on swords and Viking burials in general) comes from the Internet database of the Royal Commission on The Ancient and Historical Monuments of Scotland (RCAHMS). Additional data were acquired from the SCRAN and some further swords were analysed based on available scholarship. It must be noted that in many cases the records of finds are far from complete, which often leads to doubts concerning find contexts, grave goods or other issues.

As regards a brief overview of relevant scholarship, of fundamental importance are general works on Viking Age swords by J. Petersen (1919), A. Geibig (1991), M. Jakobsson (1992) and I. Peirce (2004). Furthermore, numerous examples of Viking swords were dealt by J. Graham-Campbell (1980). For the purpose of a broader contextual analysis, a range of works on weaponry from other regions and sites was made use of (e.g. Maryon 1950; Davidson 1962; Bersu, Wilson 1966; Kirpičnikov 1966; 1992; Evison 1967; Bone 1989).

As for Viking swords in Scotland and their find context, of fundamental importance is still the contribution by S. Grieg (1940). As regards particular sites, one has to mention papers by N. MacPherson (1878), J. Anderson (1880; 1907), A. O. Curle (1914), A. J. H. Edwards (1927; 1934), J. N. G. Ritchie (1981), L. Alcock and E. Alcock (1990), L. Alcock, E. Alcock, J. D. Bateson and P. V. Webster (1992) and O. Owen and M. Dalland (1999).

For an analysis of sword finds from Scotland in a general context of Viking presence, worth mentioning are works by J. Graham-Campbell (1995), J. Graham-Campbell and C. E. Batey (1998), C. D. Morris (1998), C. E. Batey and



Map 1. Viking Age swords from Scotland (Viking Age sword finds and Viking graves after *RCAHMS*; Viking settlements after *Barrett 2003*, 79, fig. 4:1, 85, fig. 4:3).

Mapa 1. Miecze okresu wikingińskiego w Szkocji (znaleziska mieczy i grobów skandynawskich wg *RCAHMS*; osiedla wikingińskie wg *Barrett 2003*, 79, fig. 4:1, 85, fig. 4:3).

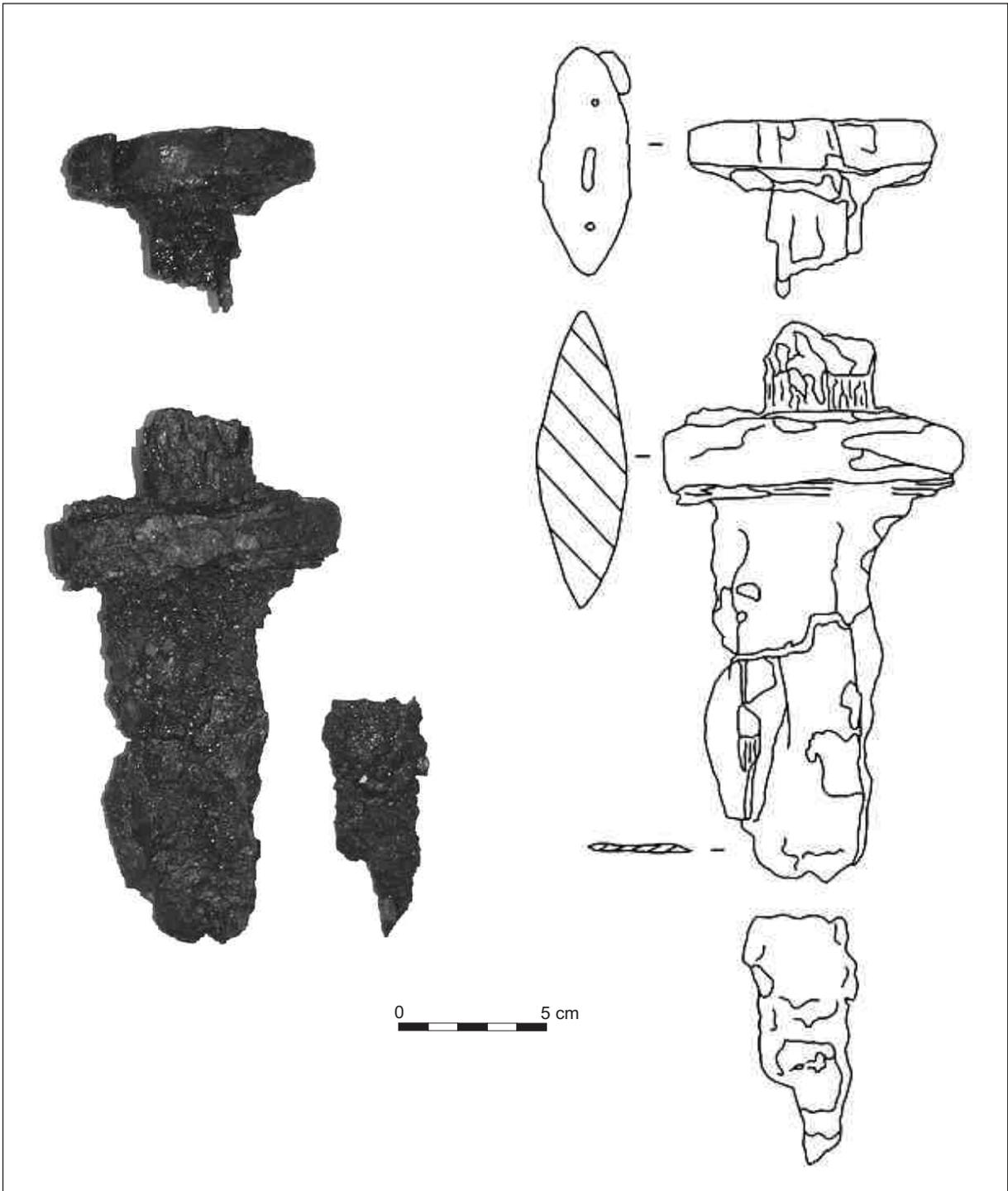


Fig. 1. A sword (Type H) from Pierowall Links, Westray, Orkney (No. 2). *Photo and drawing by G. Żabiński.*

Ryc. 1. Miecz typu H z Pierowall Links, wyspa Westray, Orkady (nr 2). *Fot. i rys. G. Żabiński.*

J. Sheenan (2000) and J. H. Barret (2003; 2004). From among studies devoted to particular areas and sites, the following contributions were especially relevant: by A. Thorsteinsson (1968), R. J. Hunter and S. J. Dockrill (1982), K. Eldjárn (1984), C. E. Batey (1987; 1993), C. D. Morris (1990), E. J. Cowan (1991), J. H. Hunter, J. M. Bond

and A. N. Smith (1993), S. H. H. Kaland (1993), I. Armit (1996), M. M. Brown (1997), A. Allen (2002), O. Owen (2002), P. J. Ashmore (2003), C. D. Cowley (2003) and C. E. Batey and C. Paterson (forthcoming).

Finally, for the purpose of analysing construction details of Viking swords from Scotland,

a range of works concerning metallurgy of sword blades was consulted, those by J. Piaskowski (1959), A. Williams (1977), K. Calissendorf, W. Holmqvist, L. Hyenstrand, I. Serning, L. Thllin-Bergman (1979), J. Ypey (1980), R. F. Tylecote and B. J. J. Gilmour (1986), J. S. R. Lang and B. M. Ager (1989) and D. Edge and A. Williams (2003).

### Context of Finds

Altogether data on about 36 finds of Viking Age swords from Scotland were gathered (see Table 1), including 30 certain and highly possible grave finds (with one possible case of two swords in one grave, Nos. 8 and 10), one (No. 31, Dumbarton Rock) stronghold find and five possibly stray finds (Nos. 28, 33-36).

Unfortunately, there are still no complete comparative data available on Viking graves in Scotland. 87 cases were available for the author from the RCAHMS database, while c. 130 are assumed by Graham-Campbell and Batey (Graham-Campbell, Batey 1998, 47-48; Barrett 2003, 80). A forthcoming study of Viking graves in Scotland by J. Graham-Campbell and C. Paterson will definitely shed more light on this issue (Batey 2006, personal communication). Out of 87 graves available for the analysis, there were 60 male and multiple burials (men and women). In 47 cases the burials were equipped with weapons (including possible two swords in one grave, Nos. 8 and 10), but it was in eighteen cases only that swords were absent in the weapon kit. This means that a half of male Viking graves from Scotland contained swords (see also Graham-Campbell, Batey 1998, 150) and from among burials with weapons burials with swords were much more widespread than those without swords. Even bearing in mind the incompleteness of data (a considerable rise in the number of graves without swords but other weapons may be expected), the ratio of swords seems to be very high. Generally, swords are considered as considerably rare among grave weapons, with spears being the most widespread ones (see, e.g., Graham-Campbell 1980, 67). 316 Viking burials are known in Iceland and in 108 cases it was possible to determine the sex of the individuals. Out of 73 male burials (both certain and possible cases), swords were found in sixteen cases only (the remaining six swords known from Iceland are stray finds), while spears were identified in 59 cases (Eldjárn 2000, 552-590, 594-596, 600-601). In Ireland approximately 71 to 76 Viking graves (with c. 80% coming from Dublin) have been identified so far (Harrison 2002, 63-66). About 90 Viking swords are known from Ireland,

with c. 42 being grave finds. Swords are considered as the most widespread weapon in Irish Viking graves, with spears being second in popularity (Walsh 1998, 225, 234-235; Harrison 2002, 68-70). It could be proposed that the Viking presence in Scotland and Ireland was perhaps (at least in its initial period) of more "conquest" or "military" nature (see, e.g. Graham-Campbell, Batey 1998, 71, 74, 88, 93-95, 98-99, 102, 110-111; Morris 1998, 73-83; Batey, Sheenan 2000, 127-129, 134-139; Barrett 2003, 91-99) than that in Iceland (Eldjárn 2000, 549; Vésteinsson 2000, 164-174), which may have resulted in a greater number of swords known from graves. On the other hand, this particular situation in Scotland and Ireland may have been caused by other reasons. In general, finds of Viking Age swords in Norway (as most Scandinavians coming to Scotland and Ireland were of Norwegian origin) are much more numerous than in any other country in Europe. C. 3000 swords are known from this country, as opposed to c. 650 only from Sweden. According to I. Martens, it resulted from peculiarities of Norwegian laws, which facilitated access to swords to all freemen. Furthermore, there are some regional differences within this country. E.g., there are more weapons in graves from regions which were chiefly inhabited by free farmers, as opposed to areas with stronger centres of power and graves of warriors from upper classes. It was suggested that in the former case the farmers may have intended to stress their rights to carry weapons by providing graves with swords (Martens 2002). In the same way, Jakobsson suggested that the very fact of possessing a sword may have had very different meaning in a different social context. Based on the example of various regions of Viking Age Sweden, the possession of swords may have either been a manifestation of a high social status (and thus limited to a narrow group of "leaders") or an expression of aspirations to a better social position (and therefore more widespread) (Jakobsson 1992, 179-183; this phenomenon was pointed out in a review of this paper by Prof. K. Wachowski from the Institute of Archaeology University of Wrocław, to whom the author is indebted for this).

Almost all of Scotland's Viking Age burials with swords were in all probability inhumation graves (with one possible exception for a possible cremation grave at Boiden in Argyll, No. 30). Most sword graves are single burials, save Quoy Banks, Scar on Sanday in Orkney (No. 6: an old woman, a man and a child), Ballinaby 2 on Islay in Argyll (No. 25: a man and a woman) and Cornaigbeg on Tiree in Argyll (No. 19: a possible multiple

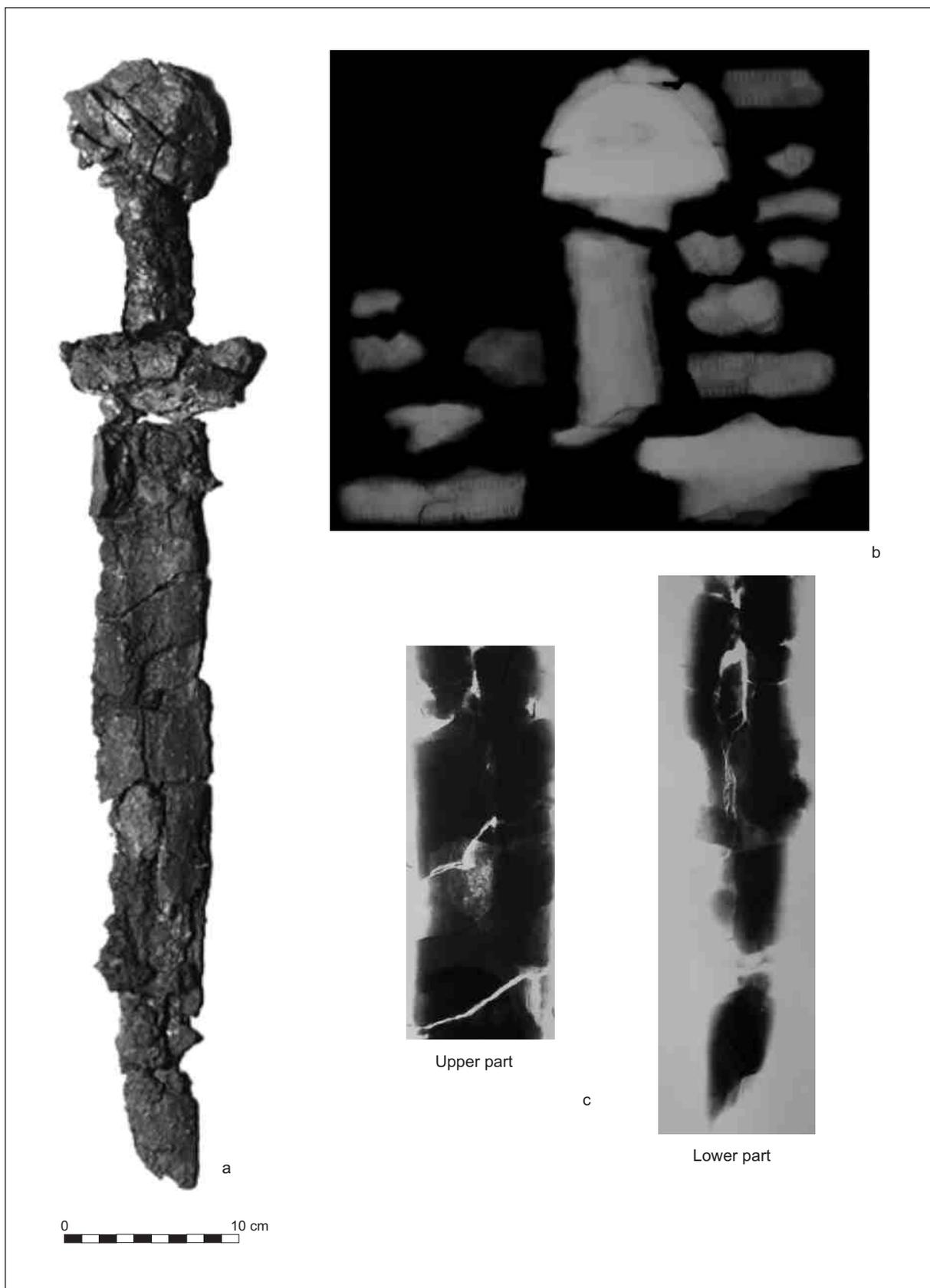


Fig. 2. a – A sword (Type X) from Styes of Brough, Sanday, Orkney (No. 4); b – X-ray of the hilt; c – X-ray of the blade. Hunterian Museum and Art Gallery, University of Glasgow (Copyright Hunterian Museum and Art Gallery, University of Glasgow).

Ryc. 2. a – miecz typu X ze Styes of Brough, wyspa Sanday, Orkady (nr 4); b – zdjęcie rentgenowskie rękojeści; c – zdjęcie rentgenowskie głowni. Hunterian Museum and Art Gallery, University of Glasgow (Prawa autorskie Hunterian Museum and Art Gallery, University of Glasgow).

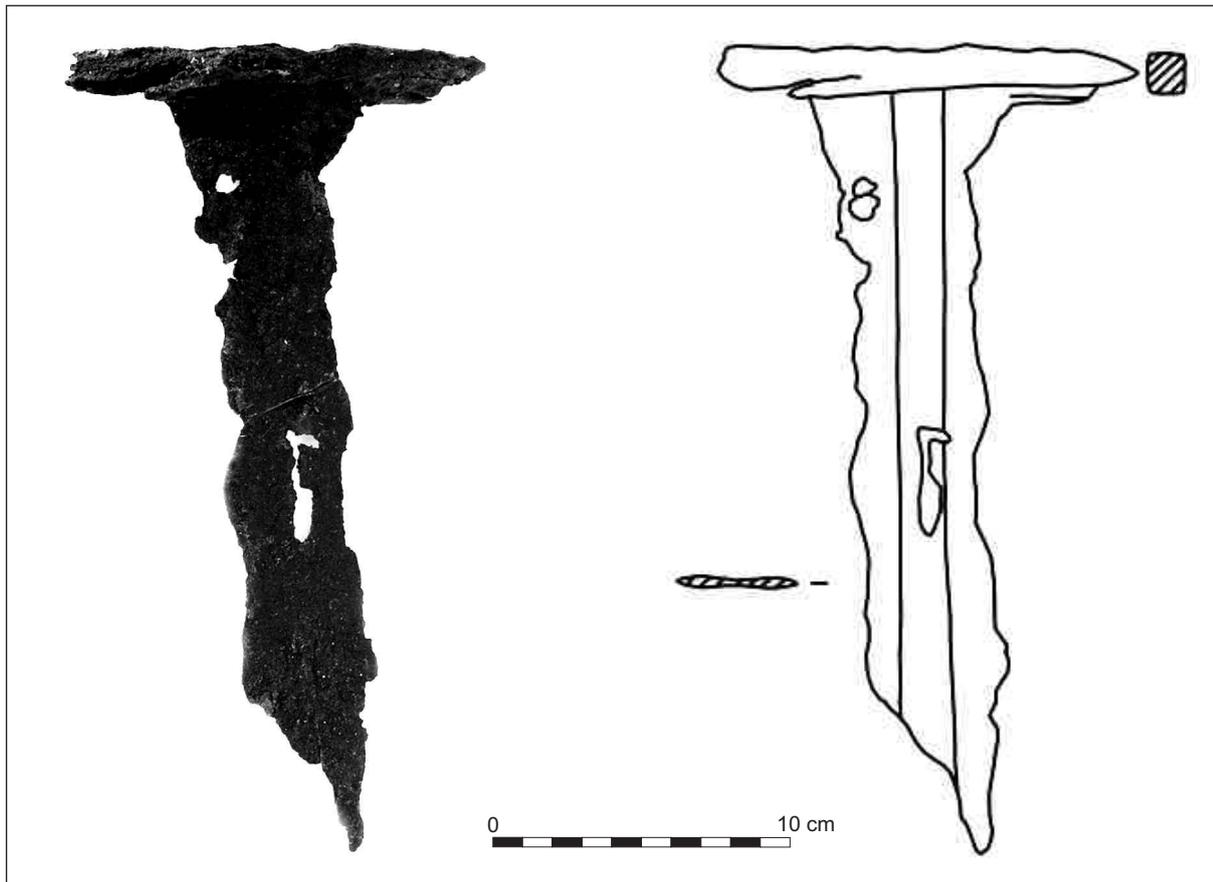


Fig. 3. A sword (Type X) from Lamaness, Sanday, Orkney (No. 5). *Photo and drawing by G. Żabiński.*

Ryc. 3. Miecz typu X z Lamaness, wyspa Sanday, Orkady (nr 5). *Fot. i rys. G. Żabiński.*

burial of men). Inhumation seems to be in perfect accordance with our general knowledge of Viking graves in Scotland (Graham-Campbell, Batey 1998, 144).

A tentative stratification of Viking graves with swords (within their regions of appearance) from Scotland is offered in Table 1. Three categories are notable:

- the most prestigious group (six cases altogether: Nos. 8, 10, 17, 20-21 and 25). It is remarkable for a relative completeness of the weapon kit, numerous other artefacts (tools, ornaments, vessels, pastime items), additional burial features, like mounds, boat burials or stone slabs (usually more than one), and sometimes animal burials (horses at two graves from Colonsay in Argyll: Machrins (No. 21) and Kiloran Bay (No. 20);
- the middle group (thirteen cases altogether: Nos. 2-3, 5-6, 9, 12-13, 15-16, 18-19, 24 and 30). The kit of weapons is usually less complete and other artefacts are less numerous or absent. Additional burial features may occur as well, but they are limited to one only;

- the lowest group (eleven cases altogether: Nos. 1, 4, 7, 11, 14, 22-23, 26-27, 29 and 32). There is sometimes an additional weapon apart from the sword (a shield) or one additional burial feature (stone slabs).

A completeness of the set of arms, a broad range of other grave goods, and additional burial features like boat burials or mounds, are indicators of a high social position of a buried Viking man (Graham-Campbell 1980, *passim*; Graham-Campbell, Batey 1998, 146, 149-151). From this point of view, the first group of Scottish Viking burials with swords is a typical representative of high status male burials. Horse burials were not very common in Viking Scotland (Graham-Campbell, Batey 1998, 150) and they were not particularly associated with sword burials. The same is also true for Viking Age Ireland (Harrison 2002, 72-73) and Iceland (Eldjárn 2000, 574, 576, 580, 598-599, 609).

It seems to be a peculiarity of Scotland and Ireland that graves with swords are so numerous in comparison to graves with weapons in general. Another remarkable feature of Scottish Viking





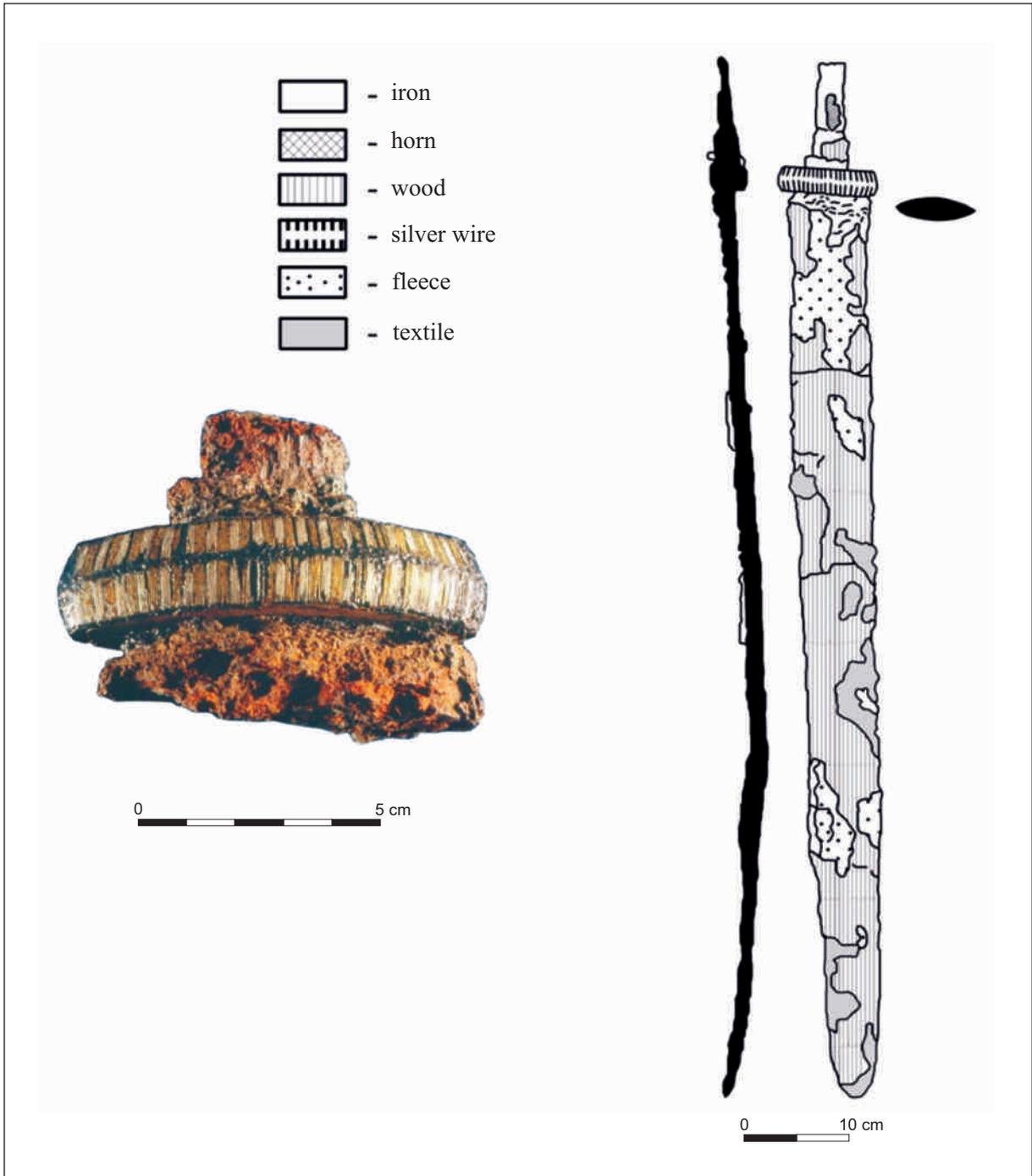


Fig. 4. A sword (Type H) from Scar, Sanday, Orkney (No. 6) (after Owen, Dalland 1999, 103, figs. 67-68; SCRAN. Copyright Orkney Islands Council).

Ryc. 4. Miecz typu H ze Scar, wyspa Sanday, Orkady (nr 6) (wg Owen, Dalland 1999, 103, figs. 67-68; SCRAN. Prawa autorskie Orkney Islands Council).

graves is the strong presence of the “lowest group” graves with swords, with seven cases where the sword is the only grave good at all (Nos. 4, 10, 14, 22-23, 26 and 27). It is obviously tempting to explain this by incompleteness of data. Out of sixteen swords found in Icelandic burials, in eight cases swords were found together with other

weapons and other items. Furthermore, more than a half of burials with swords also had additional burial features like mounds, stone slabs or boats (Eldjárn 2000, 558, 560-563, 565, 568, 576, 578-580, 586). However, there are also examples (mainly concerning cases where the burials were not recorded properly) of swords accompanied by

few goods only. Moreover, there are some similar examples of Irish Viking graves with swords, which are simply considered as poorly furnished sword graves (Harrison 2002, 68-69).

Some of apparently “poor” graves with swords may have actually contained other grave goods as well, which went unrecorded. On the other hand, both the fact that burials with swords are quite numerous in comparison to Viking burials in general and a relatively high number of “lowest group” graves might suggest that some graves with swords intentionally contained few or no other artefacts at all. Thus, although swords were part of the assemblage of grave goods in high status graves, it seems that swords in Viking Age Scotland (and possibly Ireland as well) did not need to be a status symbol on their own.

These groups of graves can be related to what is known of the Norse social structure (see, e.g., Graham-Campbell, Batey 1998, 25; Jorgensen 2000, 72-85). The highest group perhaps represents “leaders” of any kind, be it the richest and the most influential members of settled communities (Nos. 8 and 9 from Westness on Rousay in Orkney), chiefs of merchant and/or warrior crews (No. 20 from Kiloran Bay on Colonsay in Argyll), or especially skilled and renowned craftsmen (No. 25 from Ballinaby on Islay in Argyll). Two other groups of graves may represent members of the main Norse social group of free farmers and reflect their internal wealth and diversification.

#### **Territorial Distribution of Finds**

Finds of Viking Age swords in Scotland fall within three main regions (see Map 1):

- the North: Orkney, Shetland and Sutherland/Caithness, twelve cases altogether (Nos. 1-12);
- the West: Western Isles, Argyll and Firth of Clyde, nineteen cases altogether (Nos. 13-31);
- other regions: single finds from Dumfries, Galloway, Perth, Highland and Firth of Forth, five cases altogether (Nos. 32-36).

#### **The North**

Viking settlement of the Northern Isles commenced no sooner than in the ninth century, with Orkney becoming the central part of the Earldom (established c. 860) (Morris 1990, 212-213; Graham-Campbell, Batey 1998, 45; Batey, Sheenan 2000, 137-138). Norse settlement in Orkney and Shetland is testified to by place names, archaeological evidence for settlements and burial sites, hoards and numerous stray finds (Morris 1990, 213-242; Graham-Campbell, Batey 1998, 38-40, 54-67, 127-140, 155-173, 229-244; Barrett 2003, 77-87; see also Map 1). Norse

settlement in Sutherland was probably less intensive and more confined to its north-eastern part. The evidence includes graves and some stray finds, but no definite settlement sites are known so far (Batey 1993, 148-162; Graham-Campbell, Batey 1998, 67-70, 125-127; 140-142; see also Map 1). On the one hand, there is generally no direct evidence for a straightforward relation between pagan Norse graves and settlement sites (Graham-Campbell, Batey 1998, 145). However, a closer analysis of a more local context of sword finds enables the researcher to suggest some tentative connections.

#### **Sumburgh Airport**

The only sword known so far from Shetland (see No. 1) was found together with a shield boss and remains of a skull near Sumburgh Airport. Apart from these finds (now lost), interpreted as remains of a Norse grave, an oval brooch (possibly coming from a Viking female grave) was also discovered in this area (Graham-Campbell, Batey 1998, 64). This site is located in the vicinity of two Viking settlements at Jarlshof and Old Scatness, both of possibly mid-ninth century origin. Evidence like an Anglo-Saxon (dated to before 1000), a Hiberno-Norse style stick pin, and stone slabs with incised representations of long Viking warships could testify to trading or raiding activities of the settlers. Regretably, there are no certain data for graves related to the first Viking phase at Jarlshof (Graham-Campbell 1980, 20, 60, 79, 141, 205, Fig. 70, 234, Figs. 211, 213-214, 255, Fig. 280, 295, Fig. 483; 1995, 13-14, 32, 54, 60-61, 88, 158, 161, 249, pl. 71:d, 252, pl. 74:d-f; Graham-Campbell, Batey 1998, 10, 13, 48, 50, 58, 65-67, 145, 155-160, 209, 213-214, 221-223, 238, 246; Owen 2002, 140-145, 153-157; Barrett 2003, 86-87; Cowley 2003, 77-79).

#### **Pierowall**

Two swords were found within the area of Scotland’s greatest pagan Norse inhumation cemetery at Pierowall Links on Westray in Orkney. The first grave (dated back to c. 850-c.900) with the sword (referred to as Grave 1; see No. 2) was located under a circular mound and it may have been associated with a secondary burial. Apart from the sword (see Fig. 1; in all probability Type H, although distinctive Types 1 and 2 could also be considered), the grave was possibly also furnished with a shield, a spear and a comb. The other grave (dated back to c. 850-950) with a sword (referred to as Grave 10; see No. 3) was located on the side of another mound and it was additionally provided with a rectangular stone slab setting. Other grave

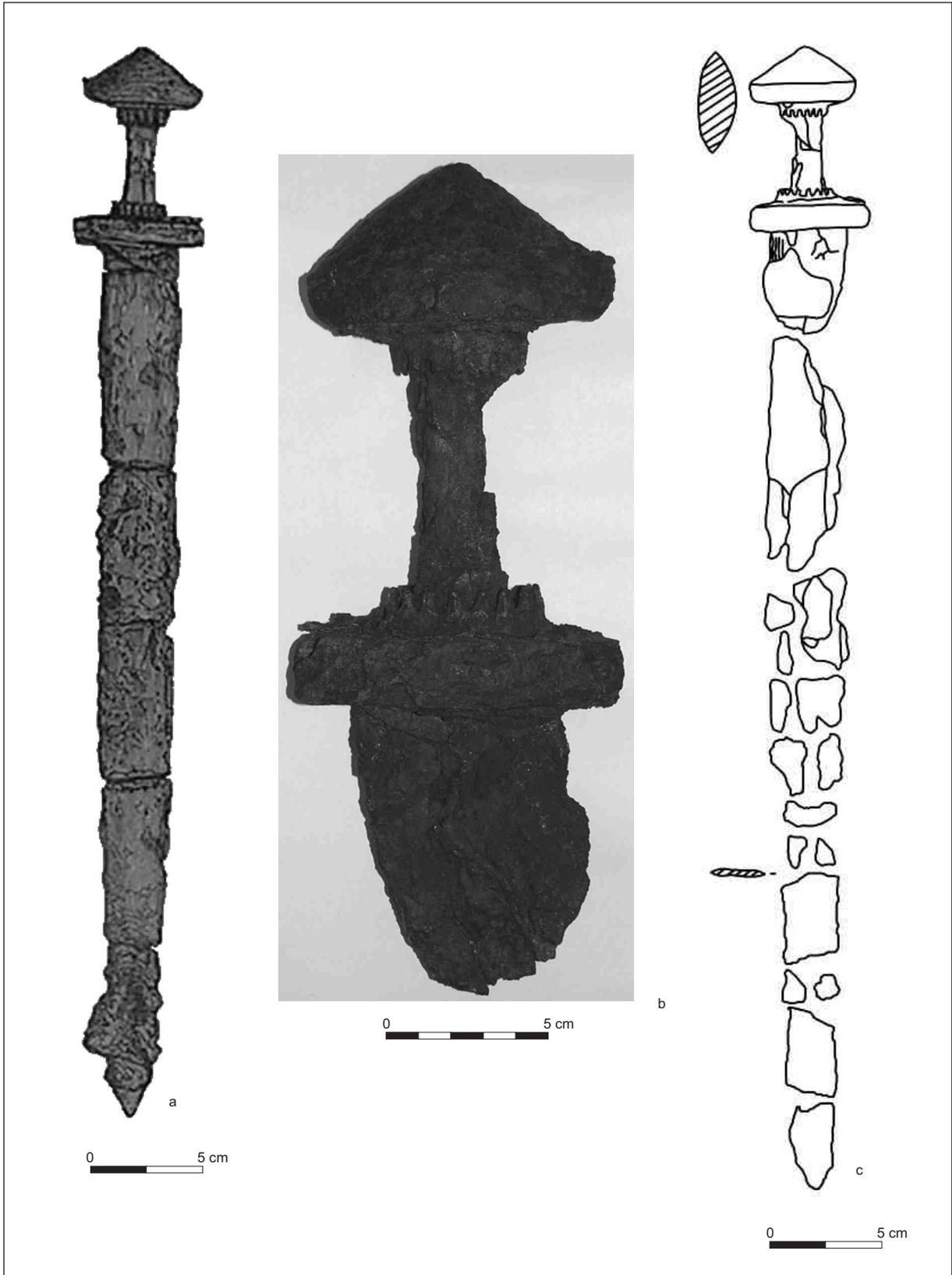


Fig. 5. A sword (Type H) from Sweindrow Westness, Rousay, Orkney (No. 7) (a – after *Anderson 1888, 57, fig. 8* (left); b-c – *photo and drawing by G. Żabiński*).

Ryc. 5. Miecz typu H ze Sweindrow Westness, wyspa Rousay, Orkady (nr 7) (a – wg *Anderson 1888, 57, fig. 8* (z lewej); b-c – *fol. i rys. G. Żabiński*).

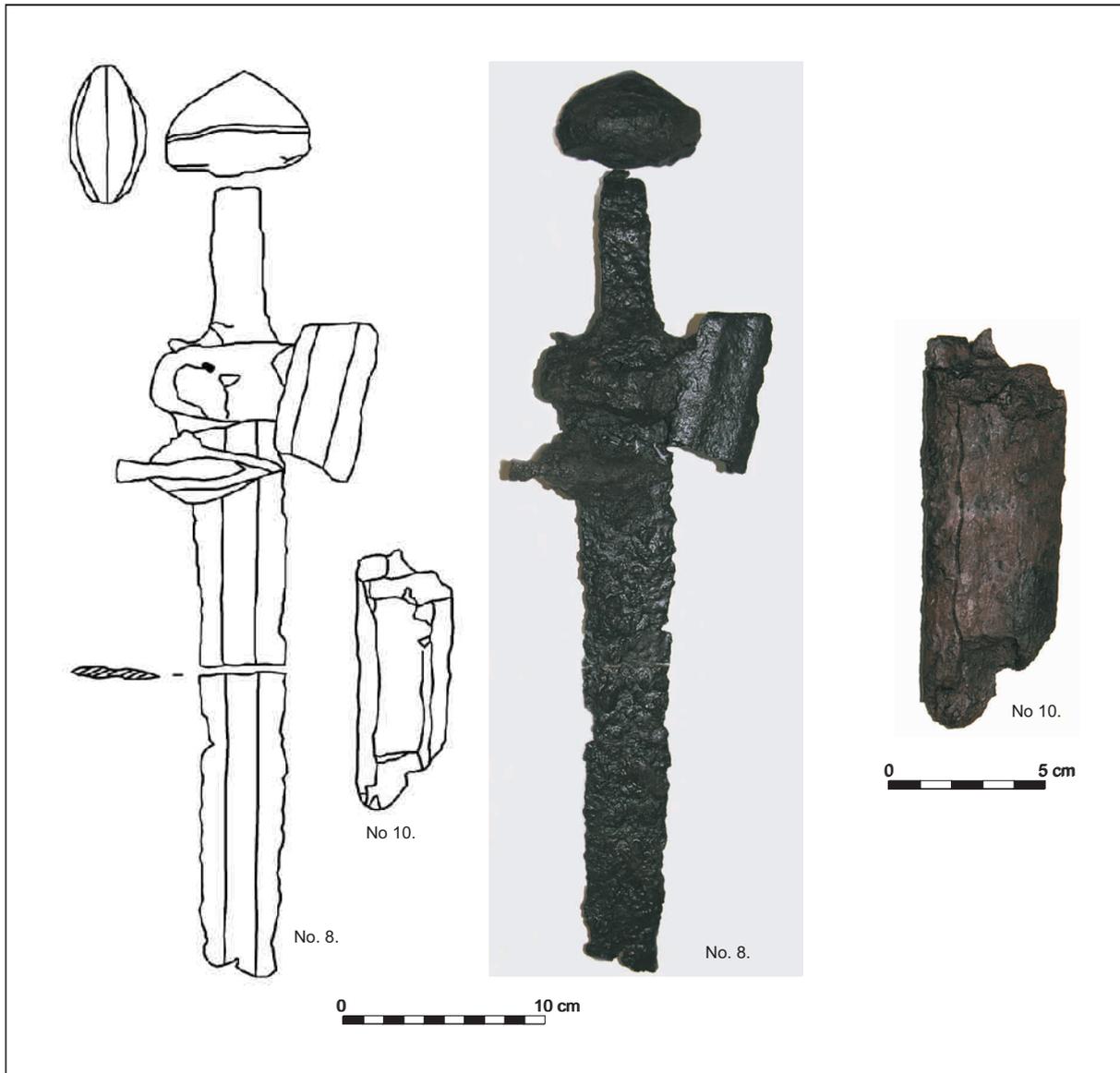


Fig. 6. Swords (Type H and unknown) from Westness, Rousay, Orkney (Nos. 8 and 10). Photo and drawing by G. Żabiński.

Ryc. 6. Miecze typu H i nieokreślony z Westness, wyspa Rousay, Orkady (nr 8 i 10). Fot. i rys. G. Żabiński.

goods included a shield, a whetstone, a comb, beads and fragments of iron and wood. The cemetery as a whole contained a minimal number of seventeen graves with burials of adult men and women, and possibly three female adolescents. The burials may represent a settled community with a sort of social ranking, with 2 sword graves belonging to the top group (Anderson 1872-1874, 552-553, 560-561, 570-574; Grieg 1940, 90-100; Thorsteinsson 1968; Graham-Campbell, Batey 1998, 129-134). Some piratical or raiding activities of the community members cannot be excluded, either (contra Eldjárn 1984, 7).

Some general remarks on grave goods may provide a valuable insight into the nature of the

community. Two hemispherical iron shield bosses with broad collars (Anderson 1872-74, 570; Grieg 1940, 93-94, Fig. 53:c) are of possible Norwegian origin, although they may have been made within the British Isles (cf. Bersu, Wilson 1966, 14-18, Figs. 6-8, pl. IV:a-b, 59-61, Fig. 36, pl. XV, 77-78, Fig. 45). Raiding or trading contacts to Ireland or mainland Scotland may be suggested by the presence of an eighth century bronze penannular brooch of Irish origin, ornamented with ribbon interlacing (Grieg 1940, 93-94, Fig. 53:b; Thorsteinsson 1968, 172; Graham-Campbell, Batey 1998, 134), or a Celtic style drinking horn terminal (Anderson 1872-1874, 573-574, Figs. 1-2; Grieg 1940, 96-97, Fig. 54; Thorsteinsson 1968, 170;

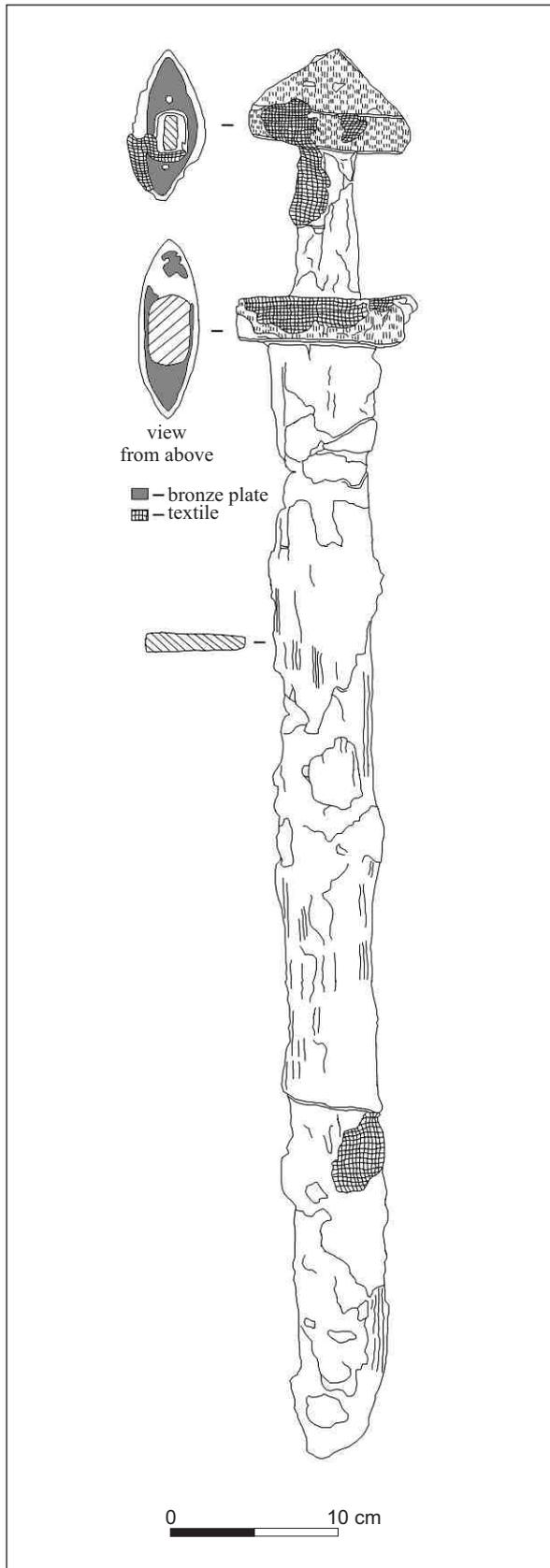


Fig. 7. A sword (Type H) from Westness, Rousay, Orkney (No. 11).  
Drawing by G. Żabiński.

Ryc. 7. Miecz typu H z Westness, wyspa Rousay, Orkady (nr 11).  
Rys. G. Żabiński.



Fig. 8. A sword (Type H) from Westness, Rousay, Orkney (No. 11).  
Photos by G. Żabiński.

Ryc. 8. Miecz typu H z Westness, wyspa Rousay, Orkady (nr 11).  
Fot. G. Żabiński.

Graham-Campbell, Batey 1998, 134). So far, no traces of Viking settlement structures which would be contemporary to the cemetery have been discovered (Morris 1998, 87). However, a considerable maritime traffic through the Bay of Pierowall (Graham-Campbell, Batey 1996, 56, 134) or even an existence of a periodic marketplace (Owen 2002, 151-153) have been suggested.

### Styes of Brough

A Type X sword was discovered possibly in the area of Styes of Brough by the Bay of Brough on Sanday in Orkney (see No. 4 and Fig. 2). Dated for c. 850-1000, the sword may have been associated with a Viking shield boss, found with a skull within, and an iron axe (information from the Hunterian Museum, University of Glasgow, 2006; Grieg 1940, 171-172, Fig. 86). The promontory area of the Ness of Brough may have also contained a Viking cemetery and four cairns in this area may have contained burials (Hunter, Dockrill 1982, 575-576; Graham-Campbell, Batey 1998, 56).

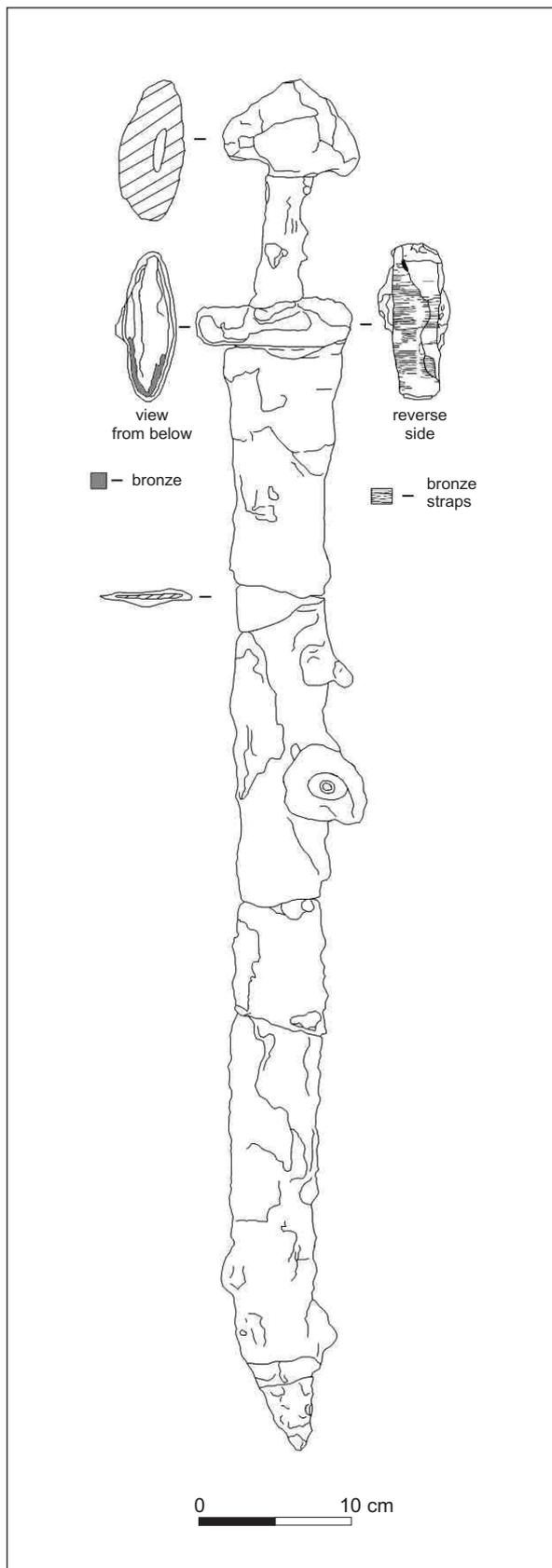


Fig. 9. A sword (Type H) from Westness, Rousay, Orkney (No. 9).  
Drawing by G. Żabiński.

Ryc. 9. Miecz typu H z Westness, wyspa Rousay, Orkady (nr 9).  
Rys. G. Żabiński.



Fig. 10. A sword (Type H) from Westness, Rousay, Orkney (No. 9).  
Photos by G. Żabiński.

Ryc. 10. Miecz typu H z Westness, wyspa Rousay, Orkady (nr 9).  
Fot. G. Żabiński.

### Lamaness

Another grave was discovered at Lamaness on Sanday in Orkney (see No. 5 and Fig. 3). Again, an exact find place is unknown (Grieg 1940, 87-88, Fig. 49). The finds comprised a sword (Type X, dated to c. 900-1000), a spear (of possibly Insular manufacture), an axe and perhaps a shield boss. They could possibly be related to two potential Viking female burials in the vicinity (Grieg 1940, 86-87; Hunter, Dockrill 1982, 570-575; Graham-Campbell, Batey 1998, 56-57). Furthermore, a tenth century Viking settlement is known from Pool, c. 800 m to the south-east from the find site of the sword grave (Hunter et al. 1990, especially 189-193; Hunter, Bond, Smith 1993, 275-281; Graham-Campbell, Batey 1998, 171-173).

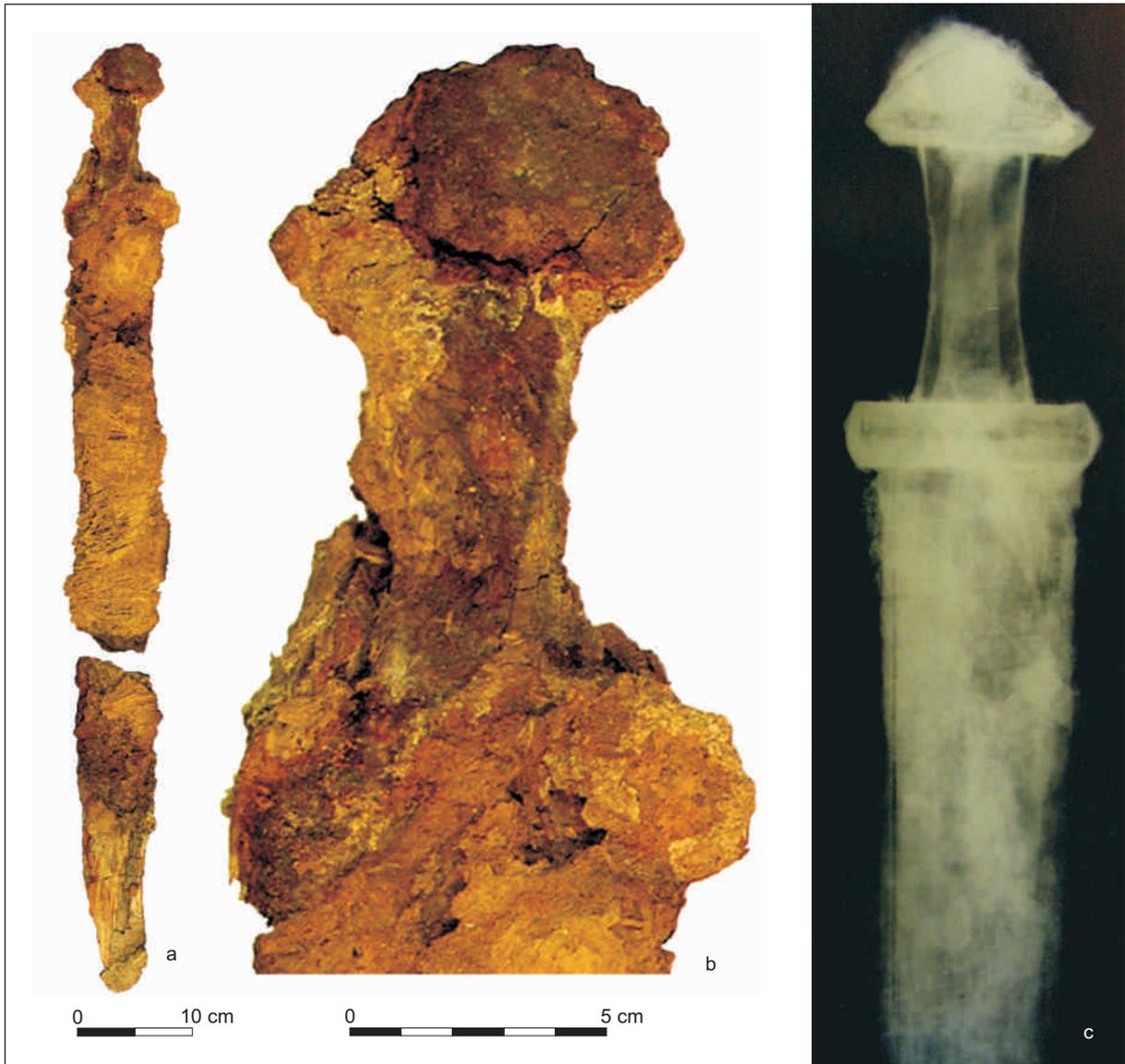


Fig. 11. a-b – A sword (Type H) from Balnakeil, Durness, Sutherland (No. 12); c – X-ray of a sword (a-b – photos by G. Żabiński; c – after NMS. Copyright The Trustees of the National Museums of Scotland).

Ryc. 11. a-b – miecz typu H z Balnakeil, Durness, Sutherland (nr 12); c – zdjęcie rentgenowskie miecza (a-b – fot. G. Żabiński; c – wg NMS. Prawa autorskie The Trustees of the National Museums of Scotland).

### Scar

The next grave with a sword was discovered at Quoy Banks, Scar on Sanday in Orkney (see No. 6). It was a boat burial of a woman in her seventies, a man in his thirties and a child (Owen, Dalland 1999, 26-32, 39-50, 52-59; Allen 2002, 259-261). A tentative date of c. 875-950 has been proposed for this grave (Owen, Dalland 1999, 157-165; cf. Ashmore 2003, 37-38, 48-49). Apart from the sword (Type H, see Fig. 4), arrows, a comb and possibly other artefacts (which may have been lost to the sea), a relatively high social position of the man is also suggested by the presence of lead weights and gaming pieces (Owen, Dalland 1999,

112-132, Figs. 72-91). The woman who definitely held the most prestigious position in the grave may have been a religious leader involved in the cult of the fertility goddess Freyja (ibidem, 137-148, 153-157). Her grave goods (including a splendid whalebone plaque and a copper alloy brooch) strongly suggest her Norwegian origin (ibidem, 60-102).

A Viking settlement (with a longhouse, midden deposits and animal enclosures) may have existed in the immediate neighbourhood of the burial site. This could be also supported by the place name of Quoy Banks (“quoy/kvi” stands for “enclosure” in Old Norse). It may be possibly assumed that the

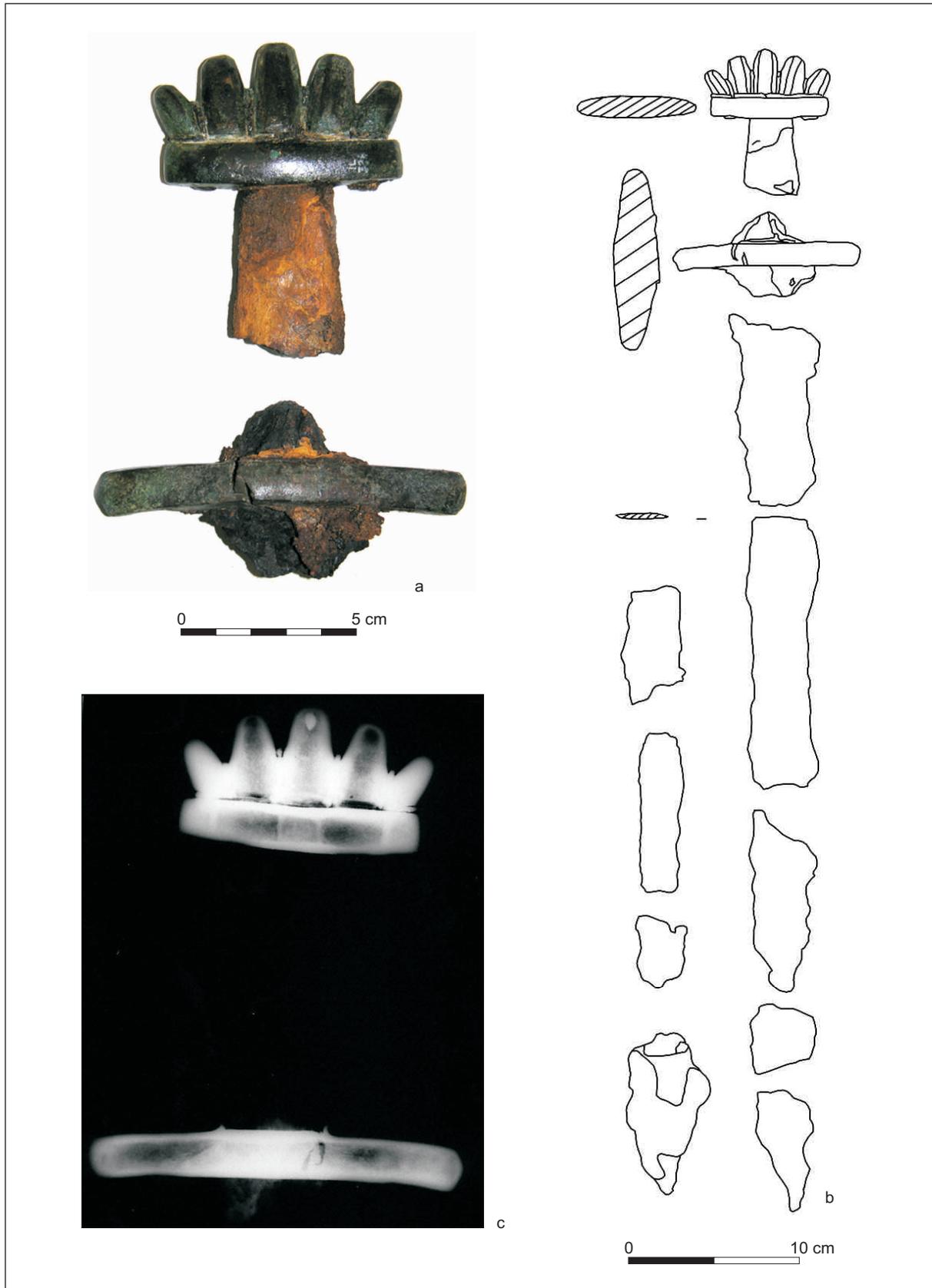


Fig. 12. a-b – A sword (Type O) from Eriskay, South Uist, Western Isles (No. 15); c – X-ray of the hilt (a-b – photo and drawing by G. Żabiński; c – after *SCRAN*. Copyright The Trustees of the National Museums of Scotland).

Ryc. 12. a-b – miecz typu O z wyspy Eriskay, South Uist, Wyspy Zachodnie (nr 15); c – zdjęcie rentgenowskie rękojeści (a-b – fot. i rys. G. Żabiński; c – wg *SCRAN*. Prawa autorskie The Trustees of the National Museums of Scotland).

people buried at Scar were also living in Sanday (Graham-Campbell, Batey 1998, 138-140, 150, 213-214, 221, Owen, Dalland 1999, 17-21, 189).

### Westness

In the area of Westness on Rousay in Orkney there is a group of five sword finds (Nos. 7-11). A Type H sword (dated to c. 800-950) comes from a coastal area of the Bay of Sweindrow (see No. 7 and Fig. 5). It is associated with a shield boss find and they may have come from the same grave (Anderson 1872-1874, 563-566; Grieg 1940, 88-91, Fig. 51). Furthermore, a silver ring of a possible tenth century date is known from Sweindrow (Graham-Campbell 1995, 161). Local place-names Westness (a "west promontory") and Skaill (a "hut") may suggest an earlier Viking presence before the establishment of a permanent settlement (Morris 1990, 222, Graham-Campbell, Batey 1998, 39). Furthermore, there is a Viking cemetery, dated to c. 800-c. 1000, where three other graves with swords were found (Graham-Campbell, Batey 1998, 62, 135-138; Batey, Sheehan 2000, 138; Ashmore 2003, 37, 46-50).

The cemetery contained both Pictish and Norse graves, with the latter being possibly eight in total. The first grave (referred to as Grave 34, dated to c. 850-950) with a sword (Type H, see No. 8 and Fig. 6) was a *faering* boat burial with the boat being externally faced with stone slabs and the bow and the stern being infilled with stones (for the boat cf. Owen and Dalland 1999, 145-146, 174; Allen 2002, 248, 255-256). Grave goods of the buried man (aged c. 50-60) comprised a sword, a spear, a shield, an axe, arrows, a knife, a bone pin, a whetstone, a strike-a-light, a mount, a comb, a fishing weight and fittings of lead. A slash mark on the shield boss may have been related either to fighting or to burial rites. In the same grave two other fragments of a sword blade were found (see No. 10 and Fig. 6). Graham-Campbell and Paterson suggest that these two fragments may in fact belong to the same sword (cf. Graham-Campbell, Paterson, unpublished). On the other hand, due to differences in the width of these fragments and the item listed under No. 8, it is also possible that they represent two different swords. Another grave (referred to as Grave 11, dated to c. 800-950; see No. 11 and Fig. 7) was also a boat burial, with a boat of an analogous type as in the previous case and with a similar facing with stone slabs and an infill with stones. The set of grave goods comprised a sword (Type H), a shield, a spear, an axe, arrows, a whetstone, a strike-a-light, a sickle, an adze and a ploughshare. The man (aged 45-55) may have been shot with four arrows (ibidem). This, apart from the finds from other graves (see



Fig. 13. A sword (Type D) from Kildonnan, Eigg, Western Isles (No. 16) (after MacPherson 1878, 687, figs. 3-5 – profiles; photo by G. Żabiński – en face).

Ryc. 13. Miecz typu D z Kildonnan, wyspa Eigg, Wyspy Zachodnie (nr 16) (wg MacPherson 1878, 687, figs. 3-5 – rzuty z boku i z góry; fot. G. Żabiński – en face).

below) could suggest that some members of this Norse community may have been involved in raiding. The third grave (referred to as Grave 12, dated to c. 800-950; see No. 9 and Fig. 8) of a man aged 35-45 was provided with stone slabs and was furnished with a sword (Type H), an axe, arrows and a sickle (ibidem). Other Norse graves comprised burials of both men and women of a broad age range (newborns to c. 50 years old), with weapons and grave goods related to farming and handicraft. Interestingly, a rich grave of a young woman and newborn twins contained a heirloom of a silver brooch pin of possibly the eighth century Irish manufacture and two oval bronze brooches. An early twelfth century Norse farm is known from Westness and it may have been preceded by an earlier Viking settlement (Graham-Campbell 1980, 90, No. 312, 266, Fig. 312; 1995, 8, Figs. 7, 26, 87; Morris 1990, 221-222; 1998, 80; Kaland 1993, 312-317; Graham-Campbell, Batey 1998, 137). Therefore, the cemetery could represent a settled Norse community with a broad range of

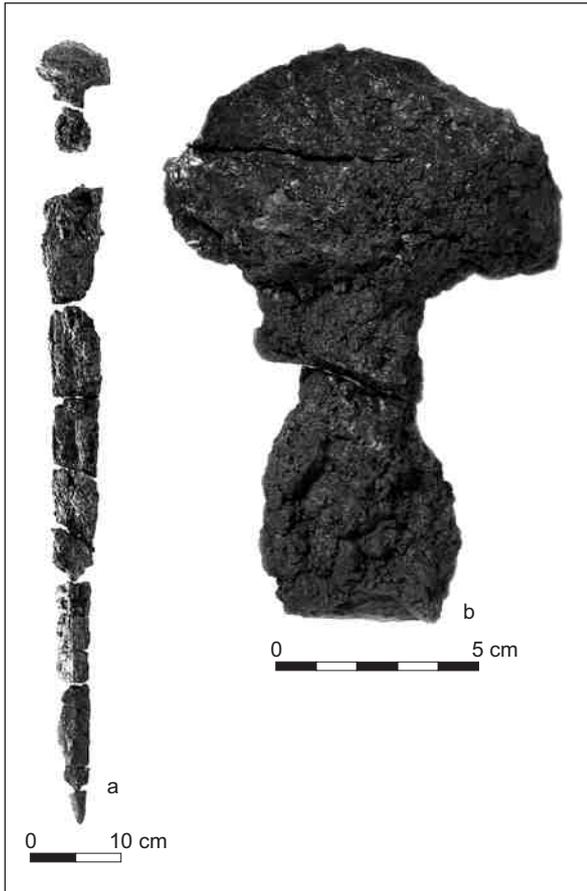


Fig. 14. A sword (Type W?) from Kildonnan, Eigg, Western Isles (No. 18). (a – after *SCRAN*; b – photo by G. Żabiński. Copyright The Trustees of the National Museums of Scotland).

Ryc. 14. Miecz typu W (?) z Kildonnan, wyspa Eigg, Wyspy Zachodnie (nr 18) (a – wg *SCRAN*; b – fot. G. Żabiński. Prawa autorskie The Trustees of the National Museums of Scotland).

activities including agriculture, fishing and trading or raiding. The men buried with swords (and especially those buried in boats) may have been leaders or the most prominent members of this community. Agricultural tools could symbolise the landholding status (cf. Graham-Campbell, Batey 1998, 150).

### Balnakeil

The last sword from the Northern region comes from a grave at Balnakeil, Durness in Sutherland (see No. 12). In this grave (dated to c. 850-900) a boy at the age of c. thirteen was buried with a sword (Type H; see Fig. 9) in a scabbard, a spear, a shield, a knife, a comb, a brooch pin, beads, a fishing hook, a possible whetstone mount, a possible fragment of a pin, a needle set, gaming pieces and iron shears. The shield boss seems to be of Norwegian type, with a possibility of its Insular manufacture. Insular manufacture cannot be excluded, either, for a Type K spearhead (the

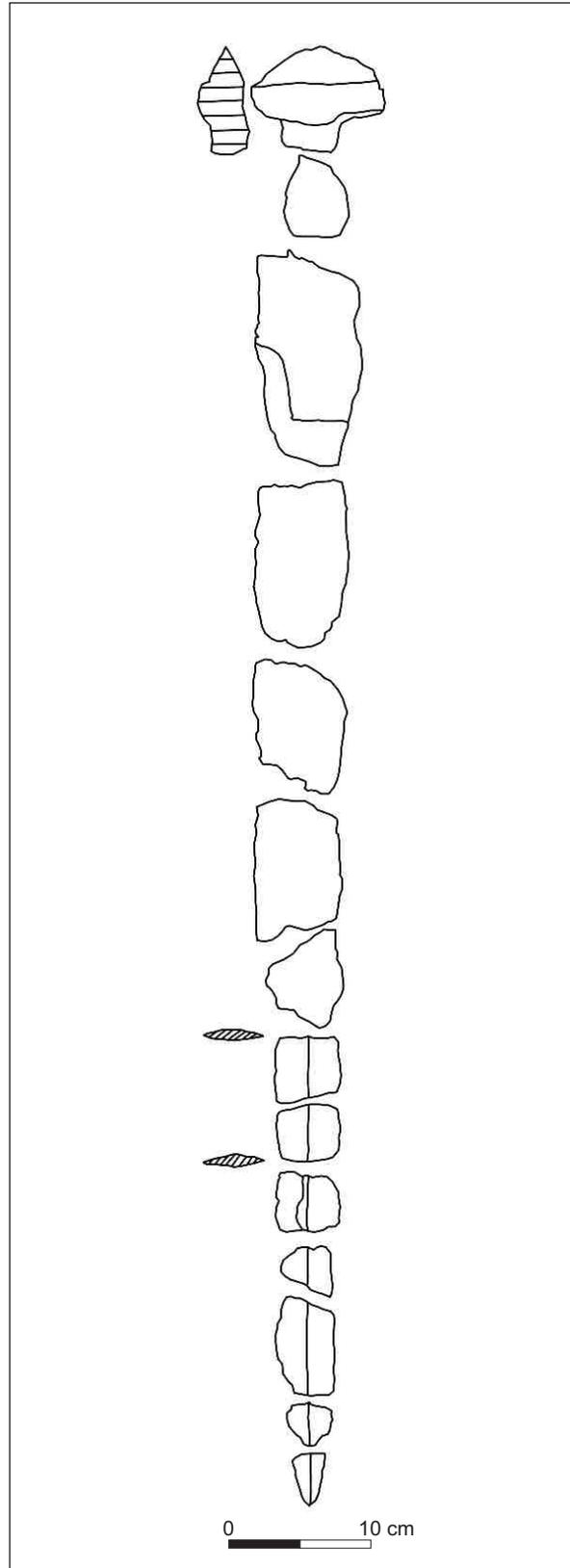


Fig. 15. A sword (Type W?) from Kildonnan, Eigg, Western Isles (No. 18). Drawing by G. Żabiński (Copyright The Trustees of the National Museums of Scotland).

Ryc. 15. Miecz typu W (?) z Kildonnan, wyspa Eigg, Wyspy Zachodnie (nr 18). Rys. G. Żabiński (Prawa autorskie The Trustees of the National Museums of Scotland).



Fig. 16. A sword (Type U or V) from Kiloran Bay, Colonsay, Argyll (No. 20) (a – after *SCRAN*; b – photo by G. Żabiński. Copyright The Trustees of the National Museums of Scotland).

Ryc. 16. Miecz typu U lub V z Kiloran Bay, wyspa Colonsay, Argyll (nr 20) (a – wg *SCRAN*; b – fot. G. Żabiński. Prawa autorskie The Trustees of the National Museums of Scotland).

type itself is Norwegian) and for the leaded bronze mount (Batey, Paterson, *forthcoming*). There may also be other traces of the Viking presence in this area, with special reference to burials. Furthermore, the existence of a Norse settlement at the bay at Balnakeil is assumed (Batey 1993, 155-158; Graham-Campbell, Batey 1998, 69, 140-142; Low, Batey, Gourlay 2000).

### The West: Western Isles, Argyll and Firth of Clyde

The “West” is much more heterogeneous with regard to the nature and distribution of Norse place names (Brown 1997, 232-233; Armit 1998, 186-188; Graham-Campbell, Batey 1998, 38-41). According to written sources, the Viking presence in this area started with raids at the end of the eighth century and c. 850 the Norse were said to take permanent possession of the Western Isles (Brown 1997, 205-207; Armit 1998, 186; Graham-Campbell, Batey 1998, 43-45; Morris 1998, 73-78; Barrett 2003, 75-76). Concerning the northern group of Outer Hebrides, traces of the Viking presence

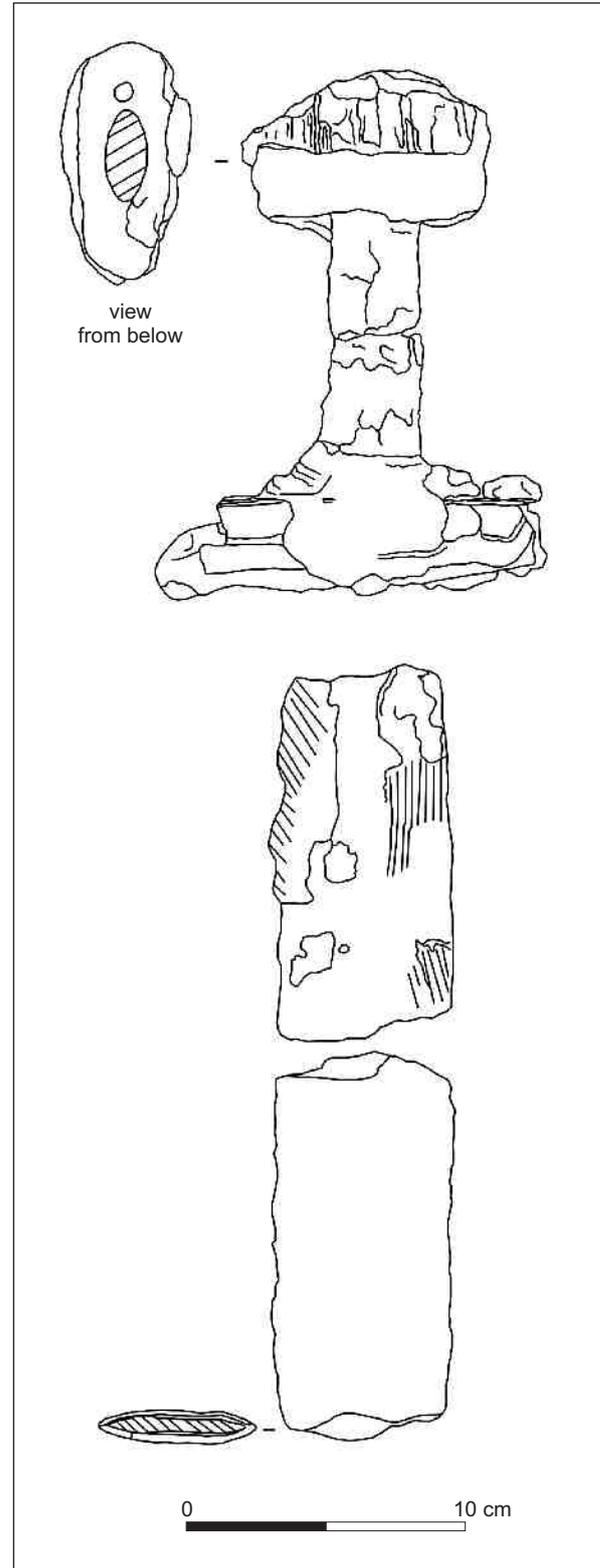


Fig. 17. A sword (Type U or V) from Kiloran Bay, Colonsay, Argyll (No. 20). Drawing by G. Żabiński.

Ryc. 17. Miecz typu U lub V z Kiloran Bay, wyspa Colonsay, Argyll (nr 20). Rys. G. Żabiński.

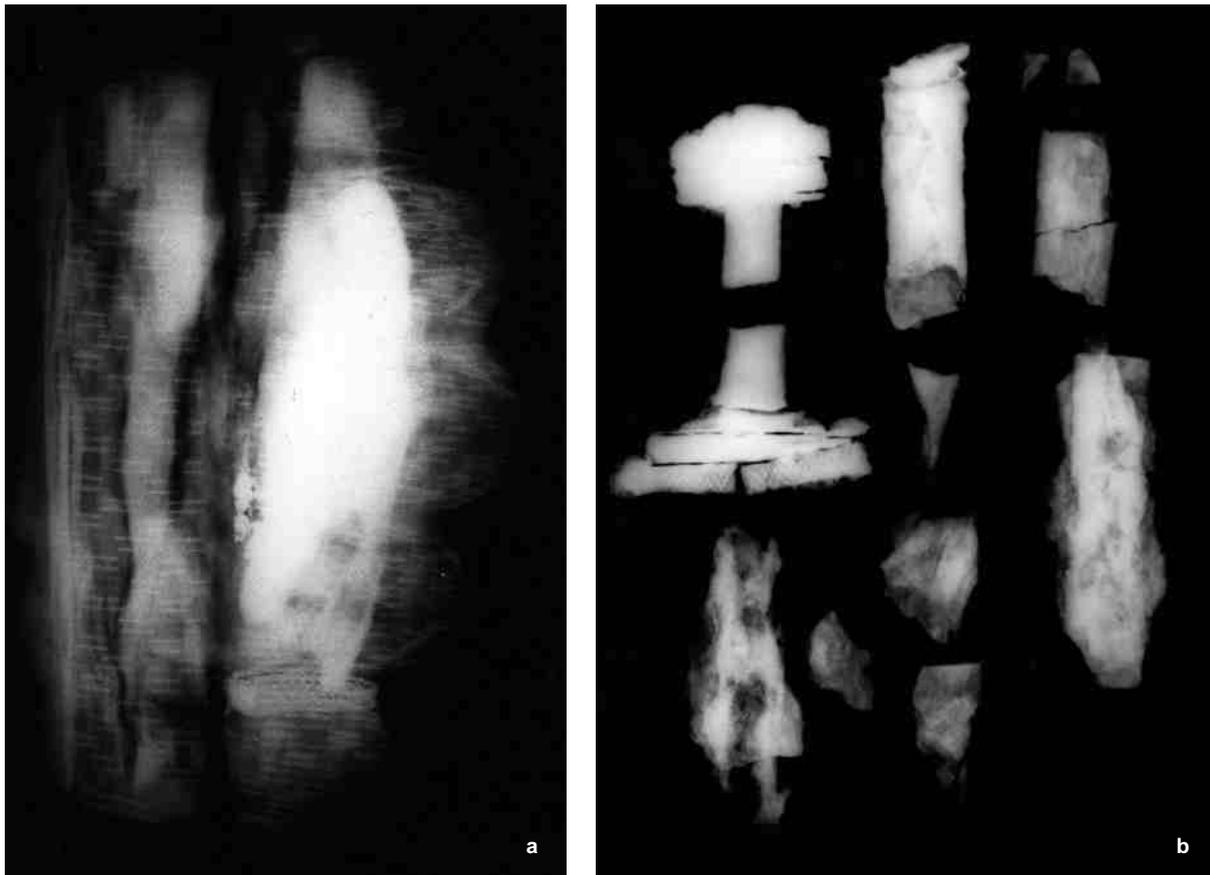


Fig. 18. A sword (Type U or V) from Kiloran Bay, Colonsay, Argyll (No. 20): a – X-ray of the crosspiece; b – X-ray of the sword (after *SCRAN*. Copyright The Trustees of the National Museums of Scotland).

Ryc. 18. Miecz typu U lub V z Kiloran Bay, wyspa Colonsay, Argyll (nr 20): a – zdjęcie rentgenowskie jelca; b – zdjęcie rentgenowskie miecza (wg *SCRAN*. Prawa autorskie The Trustees of the National Museums of Scotland).

on Lewis include cemeteries, settlements and silver hoards. Viking settlements, burials and hoards are also known from North and South Uist, Barra and Vatersay. As regards Inner Hebrides, there is a concentration of Viking age burials on Eigg. In the southern part of the region, Norse place names and graves are known from the islands of Coll, Tiree, Mull, Colonsay, Oronsay, Islay and Gigha. Furthermore, Viking period coin hoards are known from Tiree, Mull, Iona, Islay. Scarce evidence from the mainland of Argyll implies that the Norse did not effectively penetrate into the mainland heart of Scottish Dalriada (Brown 1997, 208-231; Armit 1998, 188-203; Graham-Campbell, Batey 1998, 70-92, 95-100, 113-125, 173-178, 233-244; Morris 1998, 78-80, 85-86, 88-90; Barrett 2003, 85, 87). Traces of the Viking presence in the Firth of Clyde may be reasonably related to Viking incursions into mainland Scotland. Archaeological traces encompass burial sites or stray finds. Furthermore, although the significance of these relics is still open to a debate, there is a series of Scandinavian hogbacks from Govan

upon the Clyde (Graham-Campbell, Batey 1998, 95-100; Morris 1998, 79-80).

#### **St Kilda**

St Kilda, west of Lewis/Harris (see No. 13) yielded a find of a sword together with a spearhead and a whetstone, possibly coming from a mound grave. Other Viking relics from St Kilda include a pair of late ninth-tenth century oval brooches (a vestige of a female burial?) or two silver coins hoards. The original name of the island, Hirta, may suggest its importance for the Norse as stag hunting ground (Anderson 1872-1874, 555-556, 562; 1880, 70; Grieg 1940, 78; Graham-Campbell, Batey 1998, 77).

#### **Bebencula**

From the region of South Uist two other swords are known. The first one (see No. 14) comes from an unidentified location, perhaps in the neighbourhood of a Viking period settlement at Rosinish in the north-eastern part of the island. It was found in a grave provided with a stone “bed”,

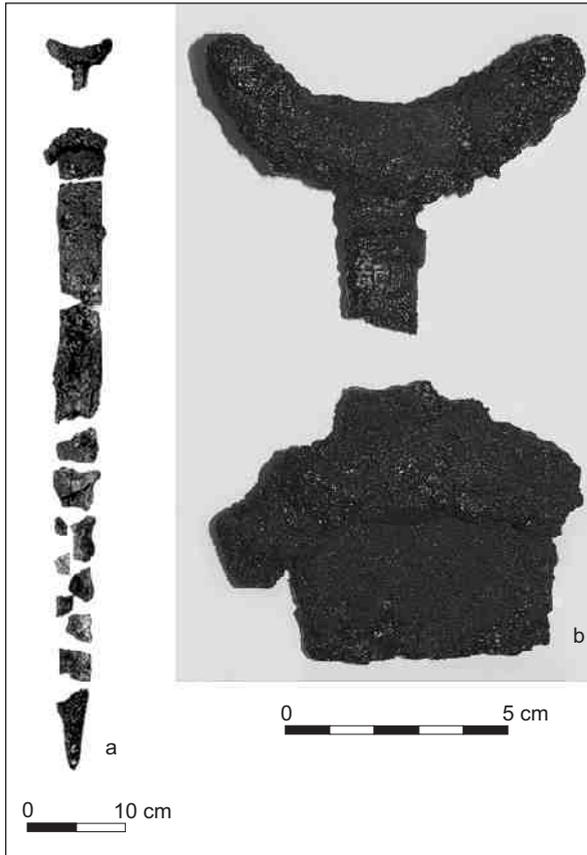


Fig. 19. A sword (Type L) from Machrins, Colonsay, Argyll (No. 21) (a – after *SCRAN*; b – photo by *G. Żabiński*. Copyright The Trustees of the National Museums of Scotland).

Ryc. 19. Miecz typu L z Machrins, wyspa Colonsay, Argyll (nr 21) (a – wg *SCRAN*; b – fot. *G. Żabiński*. Prawa autorskie The Trustees of the National Museums of Scotland).

in the hand of a skeleton in a sitting position. The burial may have also been associated with an urn with silver coins (Graham-Campbell, Batey 1998, 82).

**Eriskay**

Another sword (Type O, dated to c. 900-950; see No. 15 and Fig. 10) comes from an undefined location on Eriskay. It was found together with an iron spearhead and a whetstone, thus pointing to a possible male grave. Nothing can be said of a broader find context (Grieg 1940, 73; Graham-Campbell, Batey 1998, 82).

**Eigg**

A series of sword finds comes from Eigg in the Inner Hebrides. The first grave (dated to c. 800-900; see No. 16 and Fig. 11) was discovered in a putative mound at Kildonnan. The grave may have been disturbed before discovery. It contained a Type D sword with an ornamented bronze covered hilt (with analogies from Norway, Sweden, Denmark,

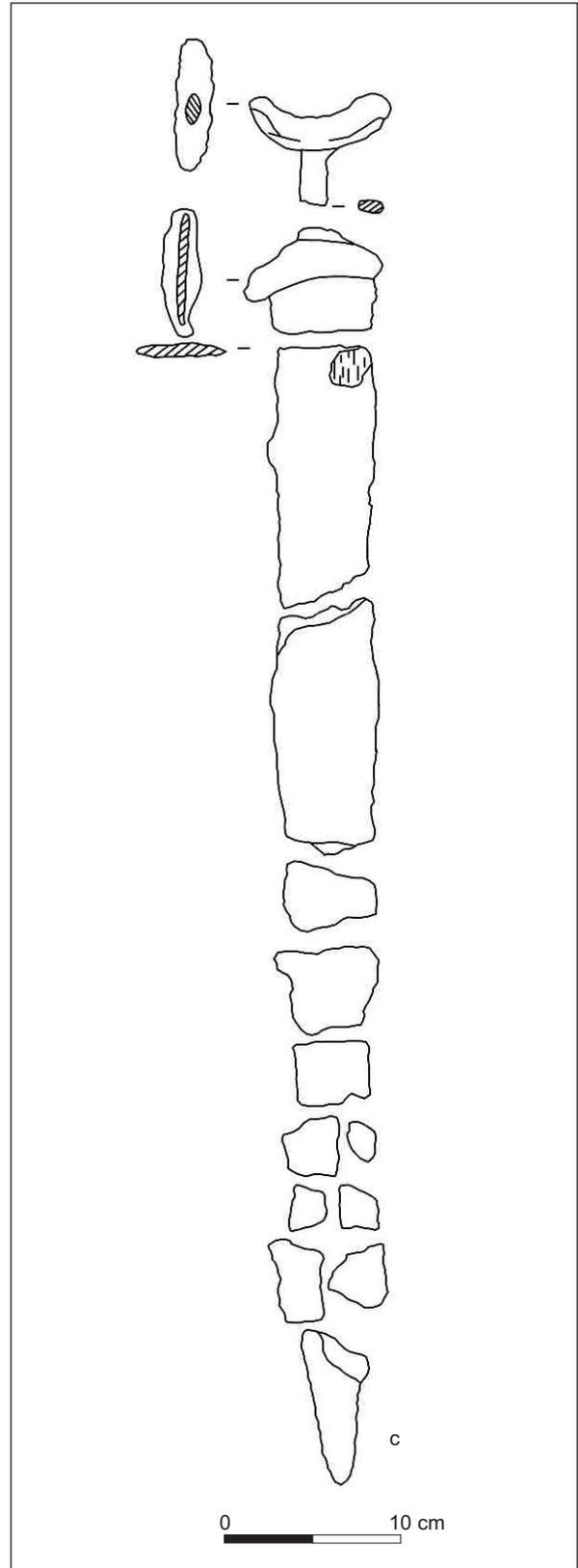


Fig. 20. A sword (Type L) from Machrins, Colonsay, Argyll (No. 21). Drawing by *G. Żabiński* (Copyright The Trustees of the National Museums of Scotland).

Ryc. 20. Miecz typu L z Machrins, wyspa Colonsay, Argyll (nr 21). Rys. *G. Żabiński* (Prawa autorskie The Trustees of the National Museums of Scotland).

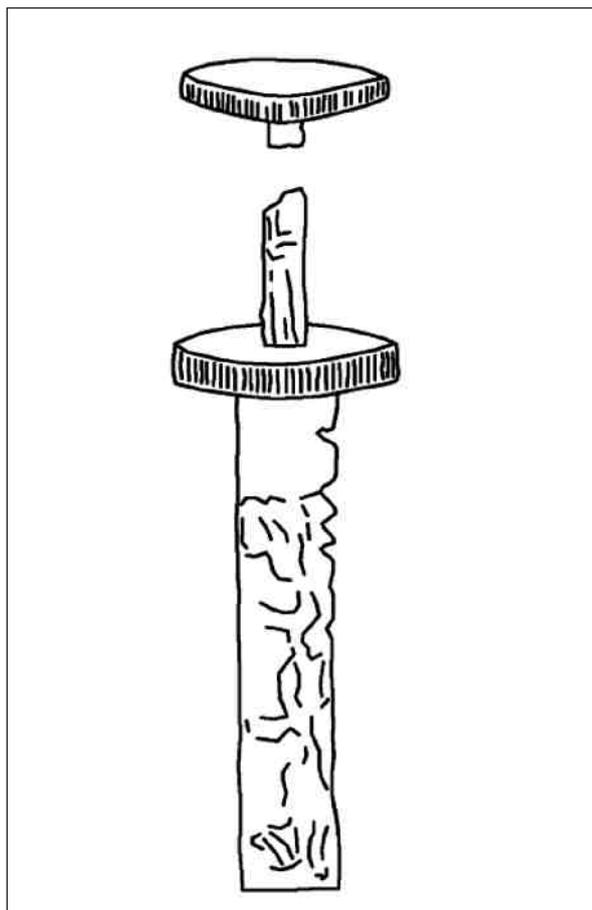


Fig. 21. A sword (Type H) from Ballinaby, Islay, Argyll (No. 23) (after Pennant 1790, pl. XLIV – no scale available; drawing by G. Żabiński).

Ryc. 21. Miecz typu H z Ballinaby, wyspa Islay, Argyll (nr 23) (wg Pennant 1790, pl. XLIV – bez skali; rys. G. Żabiński).

Ireland, Rus' and Slovakia) a whetstone, a buckle (of Continental origin) and bucket mounts. The other mound grave (dated to c. 900-950; see No. 17) was probably located c. 540 m to the S of the previous grave, and it was additionally furnished with stone slabs. Grave goods included a single-edged sword (perhaps Type C or H?), a spear, a whetstone, a sickle, a bronze penannular brooch of possibly Norwegian manufacture, a leather belt with a possibly Frankish buckle and a clasp, a Type K axe, three beads, and a piece of cloth. The third mound grave (dated to c. 875-925; see No. 18 and Fig. 12) was located next to the previous one. It contained a sword (Type W?), a whetstone, an Insular belt buckle, a bronze penannular brooch, beads of amber and jet and splinters of flint (MacPherson 1878; Grieg 1940, 67-69; Graham-Campbell, Batey 1998, 84). Other Viking age finds from Eigg include a ringed pin and two boat stem posts, found in a peat bog on the western side of the island. All these finds may suggest that Eigg may have been used as a base by the Norse for their seaborne

expeditions (MacPherson 1878, 577-578, 586-589, 595-596; Grieg 1940, 62-63; Armit 1996, 202; Graham-Campbell, Batey 1998, 24, 84).

### Cornaigbeg

Another area of concentration of sword finds from grave contexts is Argyll. A series of artefacts (regrettably, now lost), including possibly Viking swords, other weapons and human and horse remains, was reported at the end of the eighteenth century from Cornaigbeg on Tiree (see No. 19; Grieg 1940, 63; Graham-Campbell, Batey 1998, 87-88). Tiree has yielded other Viking artefacts like two tortoise brooches, a bronze ornamental pin and possibly one or two coin hoards of a rough date of the 970s (Anderson 1872-1874, 554-555, 560, Fig. 2; Grieg 1940, 63; Graham-Campbell 1995, 9, 21-22, 24-25, 59, 83-84, 97-99, 181, pl. 3:a; Brown 1997, 209, 212, 228; Graham-Campbell, Batey 1998, 87-88, 241).

### Colonsay

Colonsay in Argyll yielded three important sites: the first one at Kiloran Bay (see No. 20 and Fig. 13) is a mound boat grave (dated to c. 850-950), additionally provided with stone slabs and an associated horse burial. Apart from the sword (Type U or V), grave goods also comprised a spear (possibly of Celtic origin), an axe, a shield (possibly of Irish origin), arrows, knives, an iron pan, a silver pin (Vestfold Norwegian type), a bronze pin, a set of scales and weights (with Irish and Anglo-Saxon ornaments), bronze horse harness mountings (with Celtic and Anglo-Saxon ornament) with a horse bit, an iron hinge, an iron buckle, a whetstone and three Anglo-Saxon stycas from the mid-ninth century. As two slabs are ornamented with incised crosses, Christian affinities of the burial are possible. This burial in all probability belonged to a high status warrior merchant (Anderson 1907, 443-449; Grieg 1940, 58-61, Fig. 33; Brown 1997, 212, 223-228, Figs. 10:19-23, 233-234; Graham-Campbell, Batey 1998, 90-91, 118-122, 150-152).

Another grave (dated to c. 850-950) was discovered at Machrins (see No. 21 and Fig. 14). It was also a mound boat grave with stone slabs, associated with a horse burial. Apart from the sword (of Anglo-Saxon Type L), grave goods included an axe, an iron pot, shields, a spear, an amber bead, a Pictish penannular bronze brooch, a bronze pin and a horse bridle bit. As for a broader context of this find, there was possibly another Viking boat grave in its direct vicinity at Cnoc nan Gall. There are also traces of a possibly Norse settlement at Machrins, c. 1 km from the site. This settlement may have also been associated

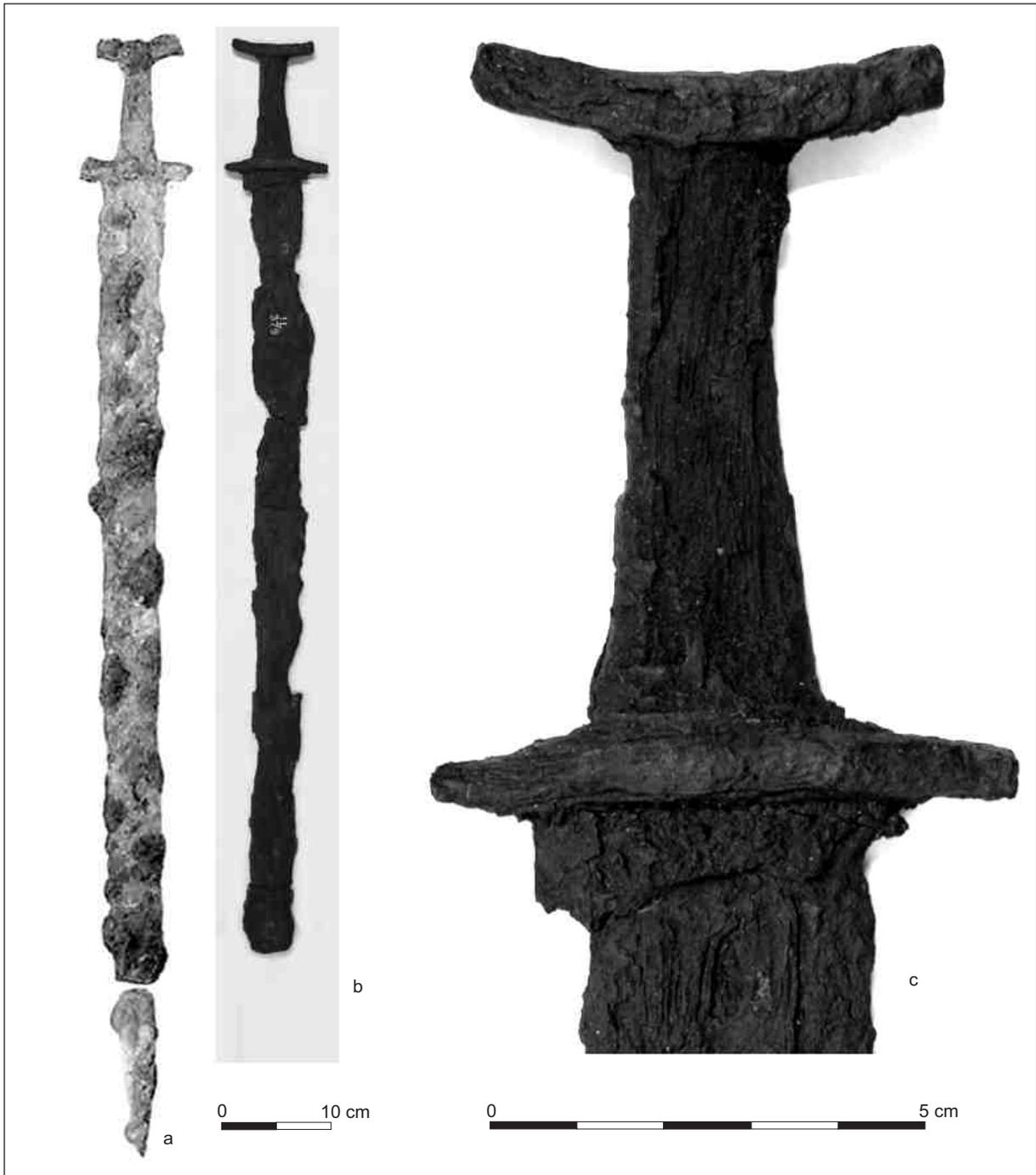


Fig. 22. A sword (Type Q) from Ballinaby, Islay, Argyll (No. 24) (a – after *Edwards 1934, fig. 2:1*; b-c – photos by *G. Żabiński*).

Ryc. 22. Miecz typu Q z Ballinaby, wyspa Islay, Argyll (nr 24) (a – wg *Edwards 1934, fig. 2:1*; b-c – fot. *G. Żabiński*).

with another known Norse burial (Ritchie 1981, 263-281; Brown 1997, 226, 228, Fig. 10:25, 231; Graham-Campbell, Batey 1998, 90-91, 150).

The last sword burial from Colonsay was discovered at Traigh Nam Barc (see No. 22). The burial was also provided with stone slabs, but no other details are known. Local tradition sees the area of the find as a Norse ship landing place or a battle site. Archaeological evidence from the

farther neighbourhood comprises a Hiberno-Norse bronze pin and a long (possibly Norse) rectangular hearth, discovered c. 1,5 km from the sword burial site (Brown 1997, 227-228, 231; Graham-Campbell, Batey 1998, 91).

Apart from those mentioned above, there is also a possible Norse grave site at Ardskenish on Colonsay. However, there are no settlement-related place names and archaeological traces of Norse

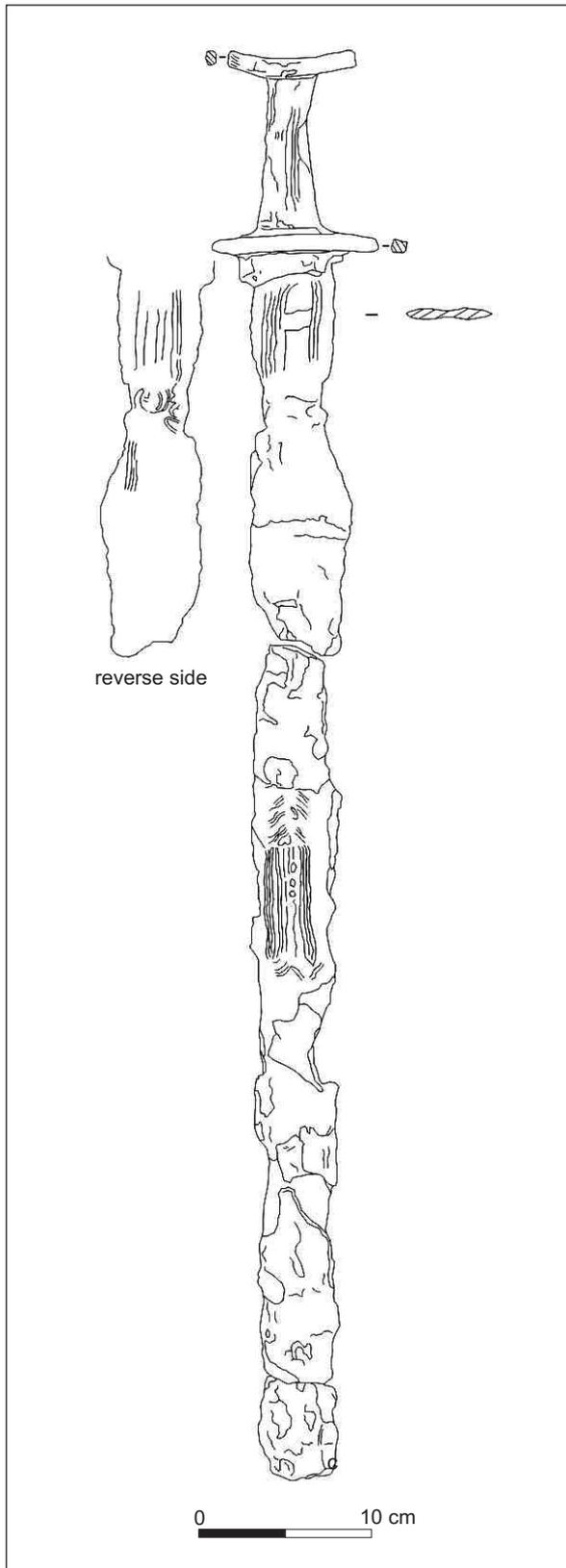


Fig. 23. A sword (Type Q) from Ballinaby, Islay, Argyll (No. 24).  
Drawing by G. Żabiński.

Ryc. 23. Miecz typu Q z Ballinaby, wyspa Islay, Argyll (nr 24).  
Rys. G. Żabiński.

settlement are scarce (Brown 1997, 209-213, 223-228, 232; Graham-Campbell, Batey 1998, 39-40, 89-91). Therefore, the evidence would imply a rather seasonal exploitation of the island by the Norse, with its possible role as a base for seaborne expeditions.

### Ballinaby

Another location in Argyll with a notable concentration of swords is Ballinaby on Islay. The first sword (Type H, dated to c. 800-950; see No. 23 and Fig. 15) possibly came from a grave context (Ballinaby 5; see Brown 1997, 217; Graham-Campbell, Batey 1998, 122). Another burial, dated to c. 900-1000 (Ballinaby 3; see No. 24 and Figs. 16-17) was provided with a cist of stone slabs. Apart from the sword (Type Q), the burial was furnished with an axe (Type F), a shield boss (of Norwegian type, but possibly manufactured in the British Isles), a sickle, a buckle of Insular (perhaps Irish) origin and a ringed pin (Edwards 1934, 74-78; Brown 1997, 210, 212, 222, Figs. 10:16-17; Graham-Campbell, Batey 1998, 124-125). The richest grave was discovered in direct vicinity of the previous one and dated to c. 800-925 (referred to as Grave 2; see No. 25 and Figs. 18-19). It was a stone slabs multiple burial, with skeletons of a man and a woman. The man's grave goods included a sword (Type B), a Celtic type shield, a spear of Type K (possibly of Celtic manufacture), two axes (Types A and D), an adze, smithing tools, a cauldron (possibly Norwegian) and a drinking horn (with a terminal of possibly Scottish or Irish origin). The female burial was provided with a silver pin (possibly Scandinavian, with an ornament similar to those from the Low Countries, the Frankish realm, England and Ireland) with a chain of possibly Insular manufacture, two oval brooches, a possibly Irish bronze ladle, bronze mounts, a needle case, a glass linen-smoother, beads and an iron heckle. Smithing tools point to a high status specialist, possibly a weaponsmith. Items like the cauldron, the drinking horn and the ladle could be related to hospitality, thus additionally underlining the social position of the buried (Anderson 1880, 51, 63-72; Edwards 1934, 74-78; Grieg 1940, 31-42; Brown 1997, 217-222; Graham-Campbell 1995, 30, 155-156, Figs. 60-62, 252, pl. 74:a-b; Graham-Campbell, Batey 1998, 122-125, 150, 239-240).

Other Viking related finds from Ballinaby included a pair of oval brooches, a putative discovery of one or two swords and a spearhead, and a potentially Viking shield boss. All this may imply the tenth cemetery with at least five graves (Anderson 1872-1874, 554; Brown 1997, 210-212, 217, 222; Graham-Campbell, Batey 1998, 122-125).

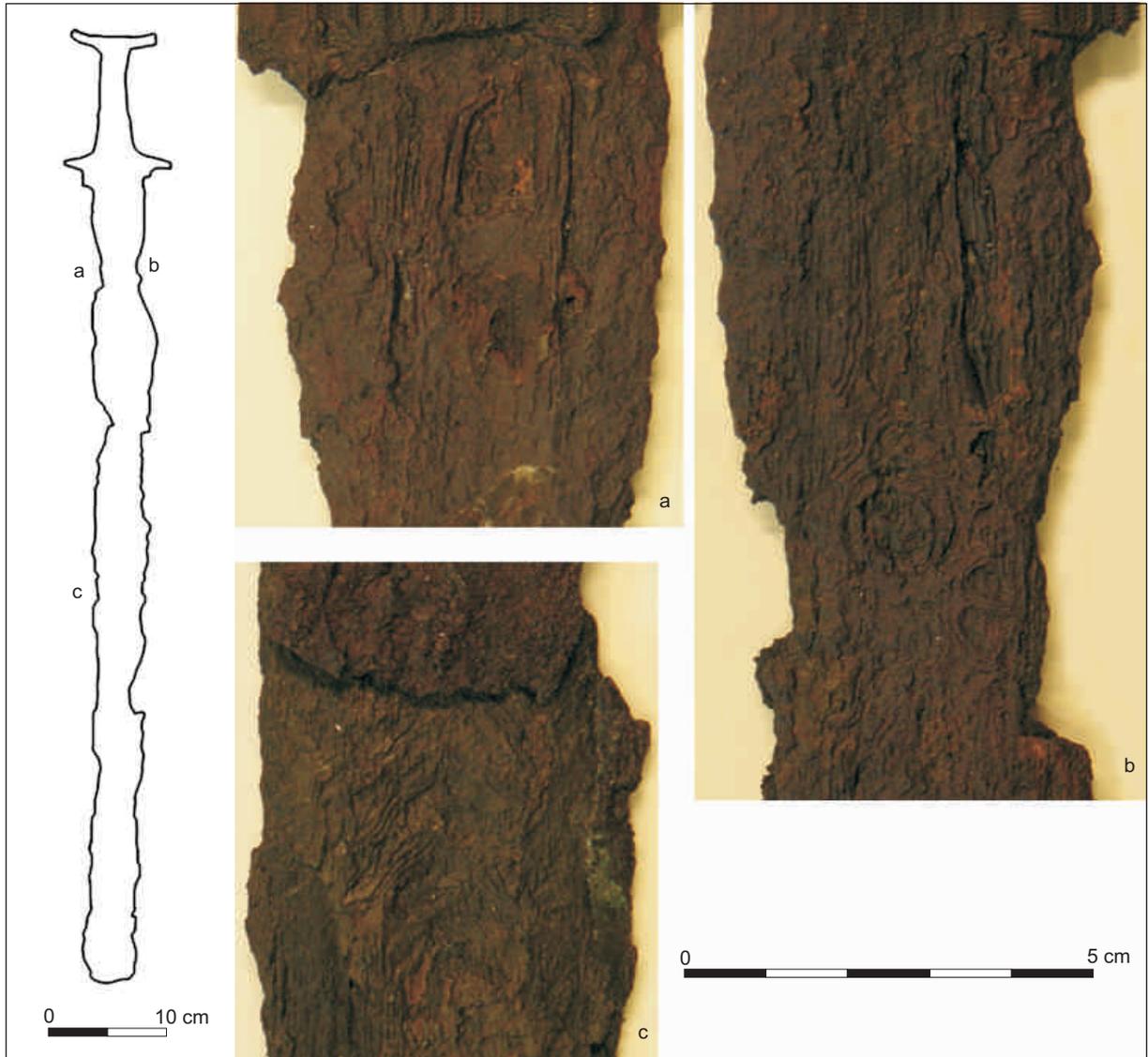


Fig. 24. A sword (Type Q) from Ballinaby, Islay, Argyll (No. 24). Pattern welding. Photos by G. Żabiński.

Ryc. 24. Miecz typu Q z Ballinaby, wyspa Islay, Argyll (nr 24). Widoczny dziwier. Fot. G. Żabiński.

Other traces of the Viking presence on Islay encompass a female grave at Cruach and a coin hoard from Machrie. A concentration of Norse settlement place names is considerable, but no settlement structures as such are known (Gordon 1990, 151-160; Brown 1997, 210-211, 217-223; Graham-Campbell, Batey 1998, 89, 213). Thus, the Viking presence was possibly of a more permanent nature, not confined to seasonal exploitation as a maritime base.

#### East Tarbert Bay

A possible grave (dated to c. 900-1000) with a sword is known from East Tarbert Bay in Gigha (see No. 26). In the direct vicinity of the find site a possibly Norwegian set of scales and weights was

discovered, which may imply remains of a Norse burial or concealment of a valuable object (Grieg 1940, 29-30, Fig. 12; Brown 1997, 228; Graham-Campbell, Batey 1998, 92).

#### Bute

A highly obscure find of a sword hilt is known from Drumachlay farm on Bute (see No. 27; Graham-Campbell, Batey 1998, 97-98). It cannot be excluded that the next find from Bute (a sword of Type H, dated to c. 800-950; see No. 28 and Fig. 20) in fact refers to the previous site as well (Grieg 1940, 165-166, Fig. 80). Other traces of the Viking presence from Bute comprise a settlement at Little Dunagoil (Graham-Campbell, Batey 1998, 97-98).



Fig. 25. A sword (Type B) from Ballinaby, Islay, Argyll (No. 25).  
Photos by G. Żabiński.

Ryc. 25. Miecz typu B z Ballinaby, wyspa Islay, Argyll (nr 25).  
Fot. G. Żabiński.

### Lamlash

As for other finds from the region of the Firth of Clyde, a single-edged sword (perhaps Type C or H? dated to c. 800-900; see No. 29 and Fig. 21) with a possibly Irish type shield boss were found in Lamlash on Arran. The only other Viking vestige on Arran are traces of a rich Viking female burial on the other side of the Lamlash Bay at King's Cross Point (Balfour 1909-1910, 221-224, Figs 1-3; Grieg 1940, 26-27, Figs. 10-11; Graham-Campbell, Batey 1998, 95-96).

### Boiden

In mainland Argyll, a possible cremation grave (dated to c. 800-900) with a sword (perhaps Type H), a spear and a shield is known from a mound of Boiden near Loch Lomond (see No. 30). This grave may have been related to a raid by

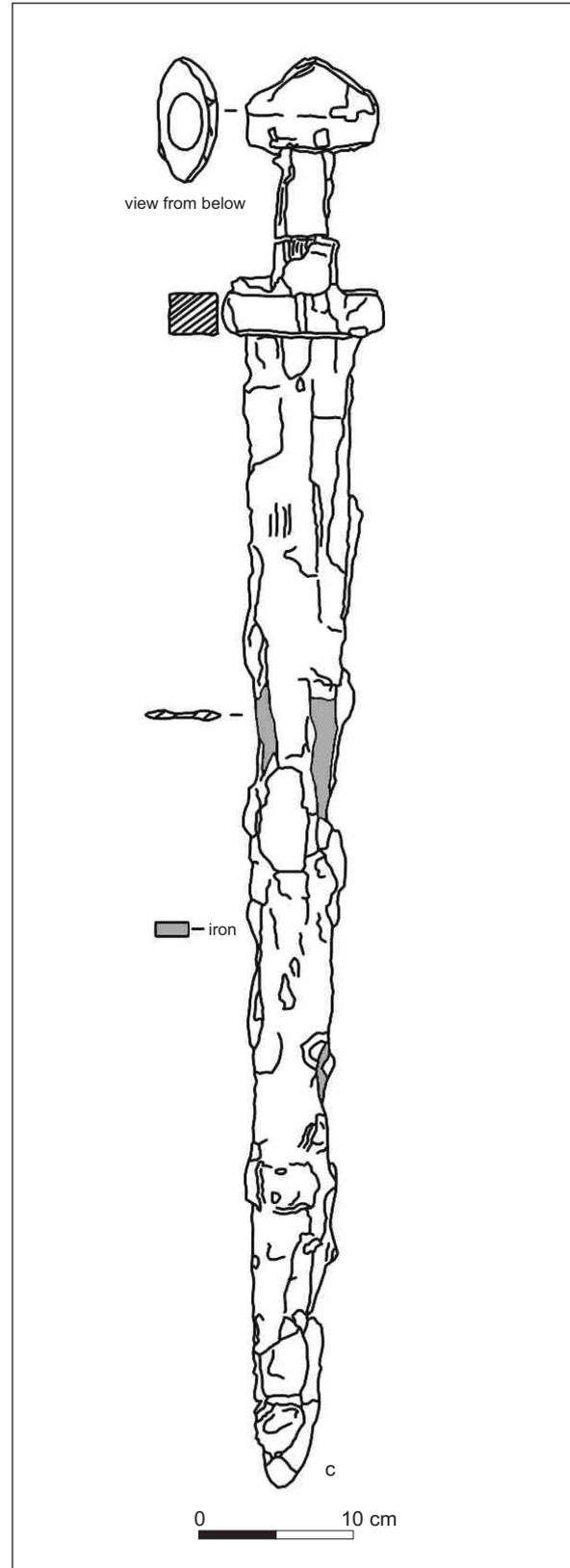


Fig. 26. A sword (Type B) from Ballinaby, Islay, Argyll (No. 25).  
Drawing by G. Żabiński.

Ryc. 26. Miecz typu B z Ballinaby, wyspa Islay, Argyll (nr 25).  
Rys. G. Żabiński.

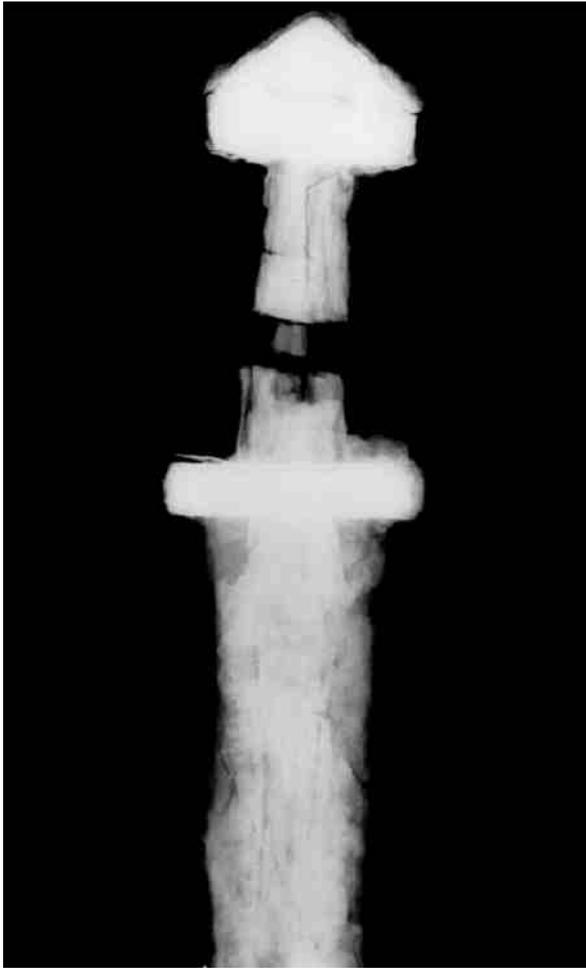


Fig. 27. A sword (Type B) from Ballinaby, Islay, Argyll (No. 25). X-ray (after *SCRAN*. Copyright The Trustees of the National Museums of Scotland).

Ryc. 27. Miecz typu B z Ballinaby, wyspa Islay, Argyll (nr 25). Zdjęcie rentgenowskie (wg *SCRAN*. Prawa autorskie The Trustees of the National Museums of Scotland).

Dublin Viking chieftains Olaf and Ivar in 870, during which the fortress of Strathclyde Britons at Alt Clut (Dumbarton Rock) was destroyed and the entire region may have been raided (Stewart 1851-1854, 144-145; Grieg 1940, 15; Graham-Campbell, Batey 1998, 98-100, 144).

#### Dumbarton Rock

A pommel base of a sword (Type I; see No. 31 and Fig. 22) was found at Dumbarton Rock in the Firth of Clyde, together with two lead weights (one is decorated with an Irish type ornament in a typical Viking fashion) within remains of a burnt rampart (Alcock, Alcock 1990, 96-119; Alcock, Alcock, Bateson, Webster 1992; Graham-Campbell, Batey 1998, 18, 98-100). Although a direct relation of this find to the Viking raid of 870 is tempting, it seems more probable that this find is a vestige of local sword manufacture.

#### Other Regions

A possible Viking grave (dated to c. 850-950) was discovered at St Cuthbert's Kirkcudbright in Galloway (see No. 32 and Figs. 23-24). The sword was found together with a bronze ringed pin and a bead. The find site may be related to a possible burial ground of the eighth century Northumbrian minster at Kirkcudbright. Alternatively, the sword could be related to the Norse presence at Whithorn and its possible role as a market place. Other traces of the Scandinavian presence in this region comprise a network of Norse place names in the vicinity of Kirkcudbright, which may have resulted both from Hiberno-Norse activity and the Anglo-Scandinavian influence from the Danelaw. Scarce archaeological evidence comprises some possible burials and stray finds (Cowan 1991, 63-75; Graham-Campbell 1995, 4, 85; Graham-Campbell, Batey 1998, 106-109, 203-205, 227). A stray find of another sword from southern Scotland (Old Torbeckhill in Dumfries; see No. 33 and Figs. 25-26) may be related to Northumbrian Anglian expansion into this area, especially as it is of Type L, considered to be Anglo-Saxon in origin (Curle 1914, 335; Grieg 1940, 14; Graham-Campbell, Batey 1998, 109). A stray find of a sword from Watergate in Perth (see No. 34) might be related to the mid-ninth and the early tenth century Norse expeditions to East Pictland, although the Norse presence in the region of Perth has no firm evidence (Graham-Campbell, Batey 1998, 103-104). Nothing closer can be said about a stray find of a sword (Type Y, dated to c. 900 – c.1000) from Strathspey in Highland (see No. 35 and Figs. 27-28; Anderson 1872-1874, 567; Grieg 1940, 158). The Northumbrian Anglian expansion could be perhaps proposed for another stray find of a Type L sword (dated to c. 800-950) from Harvieston in the Firth of Clyde (see No. 36 and Fig. 29). On the other hand, as there is evidence for Norse expeditions to East Pictland in the mid-ninth and the early tenth centuries and some archaeological traces of the Viking presence there, the find could have Viking associations as well (Graham-Campbell 1995, 5, 13-14, 19, 24, 53, 59-60, 62, 84, 152, 157; Graham-Campbell and Batey 1998, 102-104; Laing 2000, 89, 92, Fig. 7).

#### Typology, Provenance and Construction of Blades

##### General Data

Out of 36 finds of Viking Age swords from Scotland it was possible to classify 25 items. In the remaining 11 cases the finds were either lost or proved inaccessible for analysis. For the sake of

Type	Number of Cases	Broad Dating	Number of Cases	Broad Dating	Number of Cases	Broad Dating
	Scotland (36 cases)		Ireland (90 cases)		Iceland (22 cases)	
B	1	800-925	-	-	-	-
C	-	-	8	800-850	-	-
C or H	2	800-950	-	-	-	-
D	1	800-900	5	800-850	-	-
E	-	-	4	800-900	-	-
F	-	-	3	800-850	-	-
H	10	800-950	25	800-900	-	-
I	1	870	5	850-900	-	-
K	-	-	9	800-900	-	-
M	-	-	1	850-950	4	900-1000
O	1	900-950	1	-	1	900-1000
Q	1	900-1000	-	-	3	900-1000
R	-	-	2	-	-	-
S	-	-	-	-	2	900-1000
U or V	1	850-950	-	-	-	-
V	-	-	-	-	2	900-1000
W	1	875-925	-	-	-	-
X	2	850-1000	8	900-1100	1	900-1000
Y	1	900-1000	-	-	-	-
L	3	800-950	10	900-1100	1	900-1000
Unclassifiable	11	-	9	-	8	-

Table 2. Typochronology of Viking Age swords from Scotland, Ireland and Iceland (data for Ireland after Walsh 1998, 225, table 8:1, 226-235; for Iceland after Eldjárn 2000, 600).

Tab. 2. Typochronologia mieczy okresu wikingińskiego ze Szkocji, Irlandii i Islandii (ane dla Irlandii wg Walsh 1998, 225, table 8:1, 226-235; dane dla Islandii wg Eldjárn 2000, 600).

comparison, data from Ireland and Iceland are also provided (after Walsh 1998, 225, table 8:1, 226-235; Eldjárn 2000, 600).

A paucity of Viking Age swords from Iceland prevents the researcher from drawing any more profound conclusions, although a concentration of Type M swords (the second most widespread type in Norway; see Petersen 1919, 117) is notable. Although dating of all the sword types from Iceland to the tenth century does not need to be precisely true, it clearly demonstrates a relation between tenth century intensification of Viking settlement in Iceland and later types of Viking swords.

Analogous to Scotland and in contrast to Iceland, the typology of Viking Age swords in Ireland is diversified, although earlier types (up to c. mid-tenth century) prevail both for Ireland and Scotland. A preponderance of Type H is notable in Ireland as well (Bře 1940, 13-16, Figs 1-2, 18-20, 22, 25, 60-66, Figs 40-44, 68, 82-83, Fig. 53:a, 91; Walsh 1998, 225, table 8:1, 229-230, Fig. 8:3, 235, Fig. 8:2; Harrison 2002, 69). As the proportion of unclassifiable finds is lower in Ireland than in

Scotland, more can be said about the significance of particular types. Walsh suggested a correlation between an almost complete absence of Type M swords in Ireland and the fact that swords of this type are chiefly known from eastern Norway. Furthermore, based on an assemblage of swords from the cemeteries at Islandbridge and Kilmainham (42 cases in total) he proposed a link between Type H swords as the most popular in Ireland and a domination of swords of this type on the west coast of Norway. Therefore, he claimed that the Norse buried in those cemeteries were of western Norwegian origin (Walsh 1998, 234-235).

For Scotland, the fact that the most prominent place is taken by Type H swords (ten cases, with two possible Type C or H swords) is not surprising, as Type H was the most widespread one in the Viking Age (see below). One could perhaps also assume a relation between Type H swords from Scotland and Viking settlers from the west coast of Norway. The presence of two Type L swords may be plausibly easily explained by Anglo-Saxon expansion into southern Scotland (Nos. 33 and 36). On the other hand, such a sword is also known



Fig. 28. A sword (Type H) from Bute, Firth of Clyde (No. 28) (after *SCRAN*. Copyright Anne Speirs, Bute Museum Trustees).

Ryc. 28. Miecz typu H z Bute, Firth of Clyde (nr 28) (wg *SCRAN*. Prawa autorskie Anne Speirs, Bute Museum Trustees).

from the Viking burial at Machrins (No. 21), which seems to be in contrast to Ireland where no such sword has been found so far in a burial context (*ibidem*, 233-234). Generally, as almost 1/3 of cases from Scotland could not be classified, most types are represented by single finds only, which means that any more general conclusions need to be drawn with utmost care.

### Particular Types

#### Type B

Swords of this type are notable for their triangular pommel heads, relatively short and thick pommel bases and crosspieces with central ridges. Their pommel heads and pommels are directly attached to the tang. Hilts are usually plain iron and this type is usually dated to between c. 750 and c. 825. Petersen knew 22 examples of this type from Norway (all with plain iron hilts), out of which fourteen were double-edged. Two of these swords were possibly pattern welded. Type B swords are

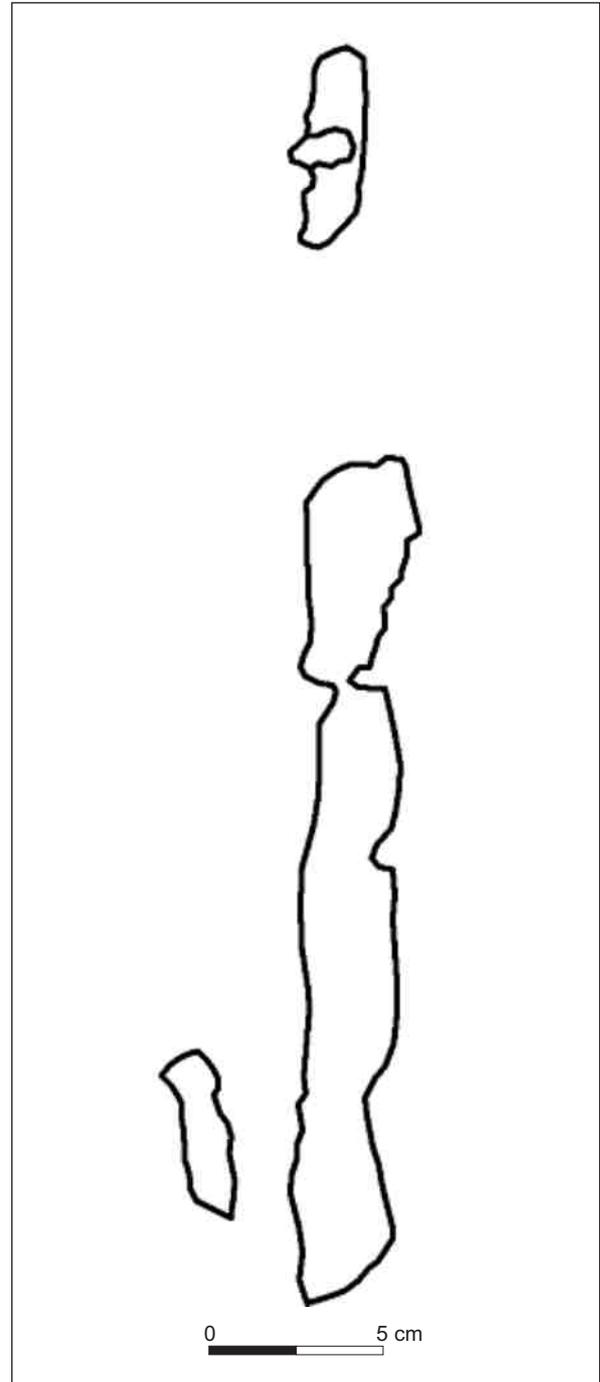


Fig. 29. A sword (Type C or H) from Lamlash, Arran, Firth of Clyde (No. 29) (after *Balfour 1909-1910*, 223, fig. 3; drawing by G. Żabiński).

Ryc. 29. Miecz typu C lub H (?) z Lamlash, wyspa Arran, Firth of Clyde (nr 29) (wg *Balfour 1909-1910*, 223, fig. 3; rys. G. Żabiński).

considered as predecessors of Type H, which was usually remarkable for rich inlay ornament of brass, copper and silver wires (Petersen 1919, 61-62; Peirce 2004, 16-19).

The only Scottish Viking Ages sword of this type (Ballinaby, Islay, Western Isles; see No. 25) has a plain iron hilt (see Figs. 18-19). Swords of

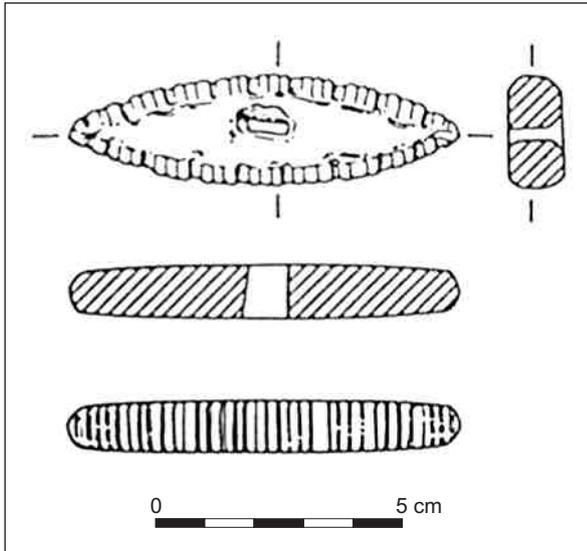


Fig. 30. A sword pommel base (Type I) from Dumbarton Rock, Firth of Clyde (No. 31) (after Alcock, Alcock 1990, 115, figs. 14:26-28).

Ryc. 30. Podstawka głowicy miecza typu I z Dumbarton Rock, Firth of Clyde (nr 31) (wg Alcock, Alcock 1990, 115, figs. 14:26-28).

that type with ornamented hilts, which are therefore considered as possibly being transitive to Type H, are often of a slightly later date (from the late eight century onwards; see, e.g., Kirpičnikov 1966, 26; Peirce 2004, 34-35). Therefore, although although the entire burial at Ballinaby is dated to the second half of the ninth-the early tenth centuries, the sword may be of a somehow earlier date.

### Type C or H?

This awkward manner of classification concerns two swords (Kildonnan, Eigg, Western Isles, No. 17; Lamlash, Arran, Firth of Clyde, No. 29, Fig. 21). Both these swords are single-edged and correspond to Geibig's blade Type 14 (Geibig 1991, 84, Fig. 22, 89). In neither of these cases anything can be said about the hilts. Their tentative classification as Type C or H is due to the fact that almost all other single-edged Viking swords from Scotland and Ireland belong to either of these types. According to Petersen, single-edged swords originated in Norway from short *scramasax* knives before the Viking Age. By the beginning of the Viking Age they commenced to be provided with typical hilts of double-edged swords, with special reference to Types B, C, F and G. They seem to predominate among weapons provided with hilts of Types C, F and G. They were also quite often equipped with hilt Types B, H and M. Single-edged swords are rare after the end of the ninth century; however, Petersen noted two swords of that kind with hilts of his Type X, which may be broadly dated to between c. 850 and c. 1000 (Petersen 1919,

55-59, 61-62, 68, 91, 161, 166; Peirce 2004, 18-21). Type C (c. 800-900), in all probability a direct descendant of Type B, differed from its predecessor by the pommel head and the pommel base forming a single piece. Type C hilts were also usually made of plain iron. Type H swords (c. 750-950), closely related to Types B and C, are notable for their crosspieces and pommel bases being wide and of elliptical contour. Type H hilts are usually ornamented with inlay. Furthermore, as opposed to Type B, Type H pommel heads are riveted to pommel bases and not fastened directly to the tang. Petersen considered Type C swords as Norwegian in origin and pointed to 110 examples from Norway, out of which almost 2/3 were single-edged. For type H (its Norwegian origin is supposed by Petersen as well), out of 213 examples from Norway known by Petersen, 52 were single-edged (Petersen 1919, 66-69, 91-100; Peirce 2004, 17).

Two other single-edged swords (both Type H) are known from Scotland (Westness, Rousay, Orkney, No. 9, Fig. 8 and No. 11, Fig. 7). Furthermore, six or seven Viking single-edged swords are known from Ireland. Six are Type C while one may be of Western European Type K. They come from the ninth century Viking cemeteries at Kilmainham and Islandbridge (Bře 1940, 12-13, 25, 65; Davidson 1962, 41; Walsh 1998, 226, 236; Peirce 2004, 39). Thus, it seems that both Nos. 17 and 29 from Scotland could be either Type C or H. Furthermore, based on a considerable popularity of single-edged swords in Viking Age Norway, a Norwegian origin of all Scottish finds of such weapons is very probable.

### Type D

Swords of Type D are remarkable for their massive hilts and tri-lobed pommel heads with the middle lobe being the highest. Pommel heads are usually riveted to pommel bases. Hilts consist of iron cores covered with non-ferrous metal coating. They are extensively ornamented with sections of recessed and raised areas, which are additionally inlaid with brass, bronze, copper or silver. Patterns of ornament vary. Petersen knew eleven examples of Type D swords from Norway, all with double-edged blades, but did not consider this type as Norwegian in origin. This type is usually dated to c. 800-900. Apart from Scandinavia and Ireland, swords of this type are also known from Eastern Europe (Petersen 1919, 70-75; Graham-Campbell 1980, 70, No. 246; Peirce 2004, 17-19). According to Petersen, there is a distinctive group of hilts of that type, decorated with small knobs apparently resembling animal heads. Within this group there is the only Type D sword from Scotland (Kildonnan,

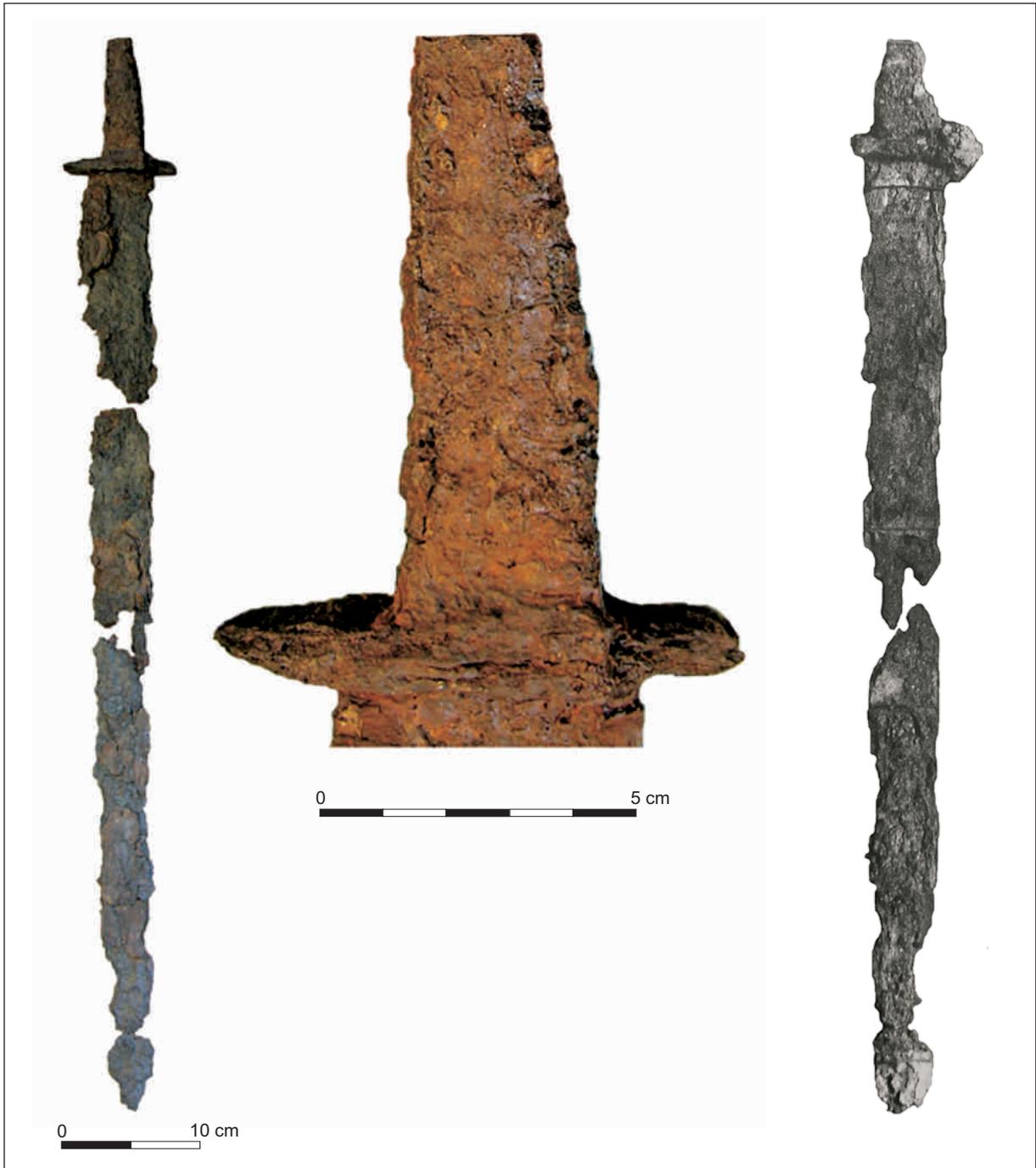


Fig. 31. A sword from St Cuthbert's Kirkcudbright, Galloway (No. 32): a-b – after conservation; c – before conservation (a-b – photos by G. Żabiński; c – Stewartry Museum Kirkcudbright. By permission of the Stewartry Museum, Kirkcudbright).

Ryc. 31. Miecz ze St Cuthbert's Kirkcudbright, Galloway (nr 32): a-b – po konserwacji; c – przed konserwacją (a-b – fot. G. Żabiński; c – Stewartry Museum Kirkcudbright. Za zgodą Stewartry Museum, Kirkcudbright).

Eigg, Western Isles; see No. 16, Fig. 11), three Norwegian swords from Vaage, Ved Moss and Eltoft, two (or three) examples from Ireland (Islandbridge and Kilmainham), one possible case from Rus', one in Denmark and one in Sweden. Petersen claims that this sub-group may be of Norwegian (or West Norwegian) origin (Petersen

1919, 70-75, Fig. 60; for Irish swords see also Bře 1940, 21-24, Figs. 5-6; Davidson 1962, 60-61, 70, Fig. XII:78, pl. IV:b; Walsh 1998, 226-228, Fig. 8:2; Peirce 2004, 42-43). Other analogies could include a possibly ninth-century sword from Björnsholm (at the Lake of Söndersö) in Denmark (Davidson 1962, 60, Fig. XII:83; Peirce 2004,

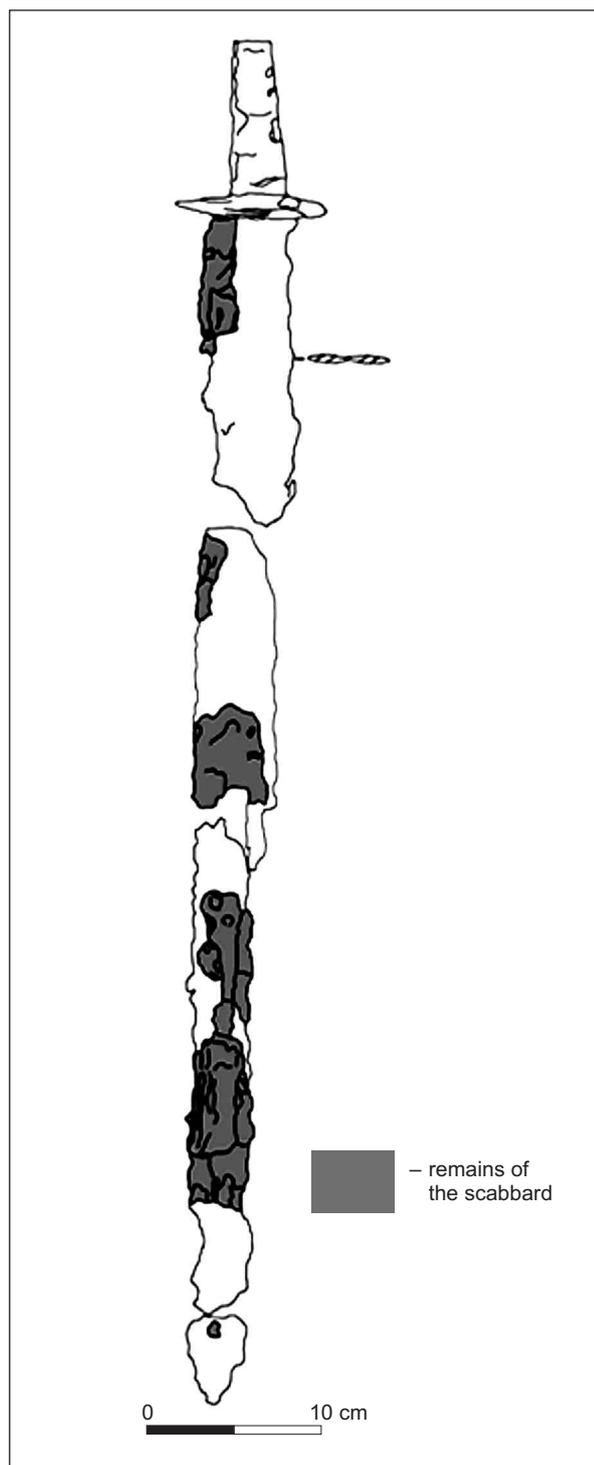


Fig. 32. A sword from St Cuthbert's Kirkcudbright, Galloway (No. 32).  
Drawing by G. Żabiński.

Ryc. 32. Miecz ze St Cuthbert's Kirkcudbright, Galloway (nr 32).  
Rys. G. Żabiński.

44-45) as well as a ninth-century sword from Blatnica in Slovakia (Ruttkey 1975, No. 10, 132-133; 1976, 247-248, 273). In contrast to earlier scholarship, Ruttkey suggested that this weapon was not of Nordic but of Carolingian style, which

may have influenced local Slavonic craft. Basing on the sword find from Blatnica, Wachowski proposed that what he called *mask ornament* originated rather in Byzantine-Rus' than in Norwegian cultural sphere (Wachowski 1989, 211).

Apart from the *animal head* group, there are also other Type D swords with hilts ornamented with patterns of crosses, like Norwegian swords from Bergen, c. 900 (Oakeshott 2000b, 32-33, Fig. 31; see Fig. 43) or from Ophus (Petersen 1919, 72, Fig. 59; Davidson 1962, 60, Fig. XII:80). Basing on similarity of ornaments, Peirce assumes that these swords (excluding some examples from Finland due to their later dating) may come from the same workshop or a group of closely associated ones (Peirce 2004, 44; see also MacPherson 1878, 588-589).

However, it seems that it would be better to replace a notion of "closely associated workshops" with a concept of "common inspirations" or "mutual influences." The *animal head* group swords in fact seem to form a coherent group of possibly common origin, in all probability Norwegian. However, it seems difficult to find direct similarities between this group and swords ornamented with the cross patterns, apart from a generally analogous manner of arranging the ornament into panels. In this case, the Kildonnan sword could be a link between both groups. Such an interpretation could additionally be supported by finds of Type D swords from Rus' (Mikhailovskoe and Gnezdovo, with the latter being of possibly local manufacture). These swords are perhaps of the tenth century date. Their hilts are covered with bronze plates and ornamented with triangular holes or with a symmetrical pattern resembling animal paws, not dissimilar to ornaments of the Borre Style (Kirpičnikov 1966, 26-27, the catalogue, 74-75, Nos. 4-5, pl. III:1, IV:1, XVIII:6, XXI:2).

All in all, Norwegian origin or at least influence may be assumed with reasonable certainty for the Kildonnan sword. Furthermore, its international analogies, no matter whether interpreted as "associated workshops" or "common inspirations", seem to match quite well a broad international context of Viking Age sword finds from Eigg.

### Type H

As noted above, Type H swords are notable for their pommel heads being triangular in profile, their crosspieces and pommel bases being wide and of elliptical contour. Hilts are usually ornamented with inlay of copper alloy and silver. Their pommel heads are riveted to pommel bases and not fastened directly to the tang. Hilts of Type H have a very

broad dating of c. 750-950. Petersen supposed that they are of possible Norwegian origin. According to him, it was the most widespread type of Viking Age swords in Norway and a concentration of finds along the west coast is noteworthy. Out of 213 Norwegian examples known by Petersen (including 194 identifiable cases), 142 were double-edged and 52 single-edged (Petersen 1919, 66-69, 91-101; Peirce 2004, 17). Conversely, Jakobsson proposed that both Type H and its predecessor Type B originated from Frankish realms (Jakobsson 1992, 178). 10 swords of Type H from Scotland include finds from (in all probability) Pierowall Links (No. 2), Scar (No. 6), Sweindrow Westness (No. 7), Westness (Nos. 8-9 and 11), Balnakeil (No. 12), Ballinaby (No. 23), Bute (No. 28) and Boiden (No. 30).

The sword from Pierowall Links (No. 2, Fig. 1) is dated to c. 850-900 (Grieg 1940, 90). No traces of non-ferrous ornament are visible on the hilt, but this may be due to corrosion. On the other hand, some Type H sword hilts of that type were in all probability intentionally left unornamented. Another such sword from Scotland comes from Balnakeil (dated to c. 850-900, No. 12; see Fig. 9): in this case the lack of inlay may be somehow related to the age of the buried, who was a boy at the age of c. thirteen (Batey, Paterson, *forthcoming*). As analogous swords are chiefly known from Norway (Petersen 1919, 92-93, 95, Fig. 83; Peirce 2004, 52-53; Batey, Paterson, *forthcoming*), a Norwegian origin of the Balnakeil sword could be proposed (for some analogies from Germany see Geibig 1991, 211, Fig. 2, No. 3, the catalogue, 5, No. 3; 284, Fig. 74:1-2, No. 108, the catalogue, 116-117, No. 108; 372, Fig. 162:1-4, No. 306, the catalogue, 283-284, No. 306). Furthermore, it cannot be excluded that the Type H hilt of the sword from Westness (dated to c. 850-950, No. 8; see Fig. 6) was not ornamented, either (cf. Graham-Campbell, Paterson, unpublished).

Concerning the sword from Sweindrow Westness (broadly dated to c. 800-950, No. 7, Fig. 5), Grieg says that the hilt was ornamented with copper alloy and silver (Grieg 1940, 88-89, Fig. 91). However, the ornament is not visible any more. Attention is drawn to examples of swords with analogous bronze mounts (so-called *vettrim*) on the grip. Among Viking Age swords from Scotland, such a mount is also visible on the Type H sword from Scar (No. 6, Fig. 4). A Type H sword from Vig, Norway, has almost identical bronze ferrules on the grip, with a decoration interpreted as animal heads (Petersen 1919, 93, Fig. 82). Further analogies include a Type K sword from Hedeby, Denmark (at present Germany), dated to the late ninth-the

mid-tenth centuries, and displaying a combination of Western European and Scandinavian features (Graham-Campbell 1980, 70, No. 249, 245, Fig. 249). Another example are Type D swords from a Viking cemetery at Kilmainham in Dublin, generally dated to the ninth century (Bře 1940, 21-22, Fig. 5; Davidson 1962, 61, pl. IV:b; Walsh 1998, 228, Fig. 8:2; Peirce 2004, 42-43).

The crosspiece of the sword from Scar (dated to c. 850-950, No. 6; see Fig. 4) is ornamented with straps of silver and brass, in a usual manner for this type of sword (Owen, Dalland 1999, 105-111, Figs. 67-71). This type of ornament is also notable for two Type H single-edged swords (dated to c. 800-950) from Westness. In the first case (No. 9 and Fig. 8), the inlay consists of narrow bronze straps. The other sword (No. 11, Fig. 7) displays an ornament of straps of bronze and copper, arranged into groups of three and forming a chequer-board pattern. Due to their geographical proximity, analogies of Type H swords from Ireland are also interesting. Their hilts display various combinations of silver, copper or silver and copper ornaments (usually straps, but also chequer-board and "herring bone" patterns) (Bře 1940, 13-16, Figs. 1-2, 19-20, Fig. 4, 83, Fig. 53:a; Davidson 1962, 70, Fig. XII:77; Walsh 1998, 229-230, Fig. 8:3; Peirce 2004, 56-59).

The sword from Bute (generally dated to c. 800-950; see No. 28, Fig. 20) was found with its pommel head missing. Due to the way of construction of the hilt, this was often the case for swords of Type H. The sword hilt from Bute may have been ornamented with a copper or silver inlay (Grieg 1940, 165-166, Fig. 80). A missing pommel head is also the case for another Type H sword from Scotland, found in Ballinaby (generally dated to c. 800-950, No. 23; see Fig. 15). This sword hilt was ornamented with a vertical inlay of straps of non-ferrous metal (Pennant 1790, I, pl. XLIV), but no other details are available.

Nothing closer is known about a possible Type H sword from Boiden in Argyll (c. 800-900, No. 30; see Stewart 1851-1854, 144-145; Grieg 1940, 15; Graham-Campbell, Batey 1998, 98-100, 144). It was found bent, which may imply cremation and ritual destruction of weapons (cf. Petersen 1919, 127, Fig. 104; 1940, 115, 119, Fig. 119; Bře 1940, 92; Graham-Campbell 1980, 151, 153, No. 508, 306, Fig. 508; Peirce 2004, 87-89).

As mentioned above, by analogy with Ireland one could point to a possible relation between Type H swords from Scotland and settlement from western Norway. However, Type H swords were the most widespread type not only in Norway, but also in other regions where Norwegian influence



Fig. 33. A sword (Type L) from Old Torbeckhill, Middlebie, Dumfries (No. 33). *Photos by G. Żabiński.*

Ryc. 33. Miecz typu L z Old Torbeckhill, Middlebie, Dumfries (nr 33). *Fot. G. Żabiński.*

was not as prominent as in Scotland or Ireland. For example, Type H was also the most popular Viking Age sword type in Rus' (eighteen out of 87 identifiable cases, within a total 108 examples known to Kirpičnikov; see Kirpičnikov 1966, 24, table 1, 27, the catalogue, 74-85). Based on examples with ULFBERHT inscriptions on their

blades this author even assumed a Rhineland origin of this type (Kirpičnikov 1966, 27). Although one should rather assume that only some of these swords were manufactured in Western Europe (Petersen 1919, 89-101; Peirce 2004, 17), it seems that it would be fairly difficult to consider Type H as originally Norwegian.

### Type I

Swords of Type I are usually dated to c. 875-960. They directly derive from Type H and share a lot of common features with this type. In both cases pommel heads are triangular in cross-section, although Type I pommel heads are usually lower and their upper edges have a slightly concave contour. Furthermore, both pommel bases and the crosspieces of Type I swords are somehow narrower. In both Type H and Type I pommel heads are usually fastened to pommel bases with rivets. Finally, both types are usually lavishly decorated with inlay of silver, copper or brass, most often in the form of a parallel ornament of wires. Petersen knew sixteen examples of such swords from Norway, with thirteen with double-edged blades, one with a single-edged one and one undefined. As for its Type H predecessor, he assumed its Norwegian origin (Petersen 1919, 90-91, Fig. 79, 96, Fig. 84, 101-105, Figs 86-87; Peirce 2004, 17-19, pl. VII, 50-51, 58-62). Five examples of Type I swords have been found so far in Ireland, with two coming from the ninth century Viking cemeteries at Kilmainham and Islandbridge (Walsh 1998, 225, table 8:1, 229-230, 235, table 8:2).

However, in the case of the only Type I sword from Scotland, found at Dumbarton Rock (No. 31, Fig. 22), the matter is more complex. Everything that remains from the sword is an iron pommel base, with its rim and faces ornamented with raised ribs. Such an ornament was usually the first step to decorate the item with inlay, but no traces of such a decoration were found in this case. Furthermore, there are irregularities in the distribution of ribs and the tang slot is misaligned. Moreover, there are no traces of rivet holes to rivet the pommel head to the base (Alcock, Alcock, Bateson, Webster 1992, 292). This pommel base was found in association with a Norse lead weight, which (together with evidence concerning the destruction of Alt-Clut by the Vikings in 870), gave rise to an assumption of its Norse origin. Although a find spot in the core of a burnt rampart could naturally imply a battle loss, a complete decomposition of the sword hilt is unlikely in such circumstances. One could rather expect that the entire pommel would have been broken off if the tang broke or the entire hilt may have been separated from the blade in case of a breach of the latter. All this: the lack of usual inlay and rivet holes, a rather crude appearance and a complete separation from other parts of the sword implies that this pommel base has hardly anything to do with the Norse. Instead, it is in all probability an unfinished product, and perhaps even a vestige of local manufacture of swords.

### Type O

Swords of Type O are remarkable for their pommel heads with five distinctive "tongue-like" lobes, with the outermost ones protruding outwards. Type O swords are usually dated to c. 900-950 and this type evolved from the Frankish origin of Type K. Pierce considered it to have evolved in Norway. Conversely, Petersen supposed its foreign provenance and pointed to swords of that type with ULFBERHT inscriptions on the blades as evidence of their Frankish origin. Altogether, Petersen counts 39 swords of that type from Norway. He divides them into three groups: Group I (twelve to fifteen cases) with guards of bronze and silver or bronze wire between the lobes of the pommel; Group II (eight cases) with guards of iron, covered with plates of silver and decorated with animal ornament or intertwined patterns; Group III (nine cases) with lower pommels and straighter crosspieces (sometimes hardly distinguishable from Type K), ornamented with inlay of plain stripes, analogously to Type H. While Type O generally belongs to the tenth century, with special reference to its first half, Group I may be somehow earlier in date. Furthermore, while Group I is more or less evenly distributed in Norway, Group II has a more coastal concentration and Group III seems to be entirely coastal (Petersen 1919, 126-132; Peirce 2004, 18-20).

The only known Viking sword from Scotland of that type (Eriskay, generally dated to c. 900-950, No. 15; see Fig. 10) would belong to Group I. The pommel and the crosspiece are made of iron core covered with bronze. A bronze/silver wire is twisted around the pommel head and between its lobes (Grieg 1940, 73-74, Fig. 41). Attention is drawn to a series of Type O swords from Norway, which are supposed to be of English or generally Insular origin (Petersen 1919, 127-128, Figs. 104-105; 1940, 115-117, Nos. 2, 4, 6, and 16, 119, Fig. 119, 120, Nos. 18-19, 124, No. 1, 125, Fig. 125, 127, Fig. 127, 129, Fig. 128; Peirce 2004, 87-98). Only one sword of Type O has been discovered in Iceland, in a rich burial at Kaldárhöfði (Eldjárn 2000, 89-90, Fig. 28, 324, Fig. 150, 560, No. 37, 600). One sword of this type is also known from Ireland (Walsh 1998, 225).

On the basis of these analogies, the sword from Eriskay could possibly be considered as rather of Frankish or English than Norwegian origin, but it seems that nothing more certain may be said about it.

### Type Q

Swords of Type Q seem to directly derive from Type M, the difference being that iron bars which form the pommel and the crosspiece are not

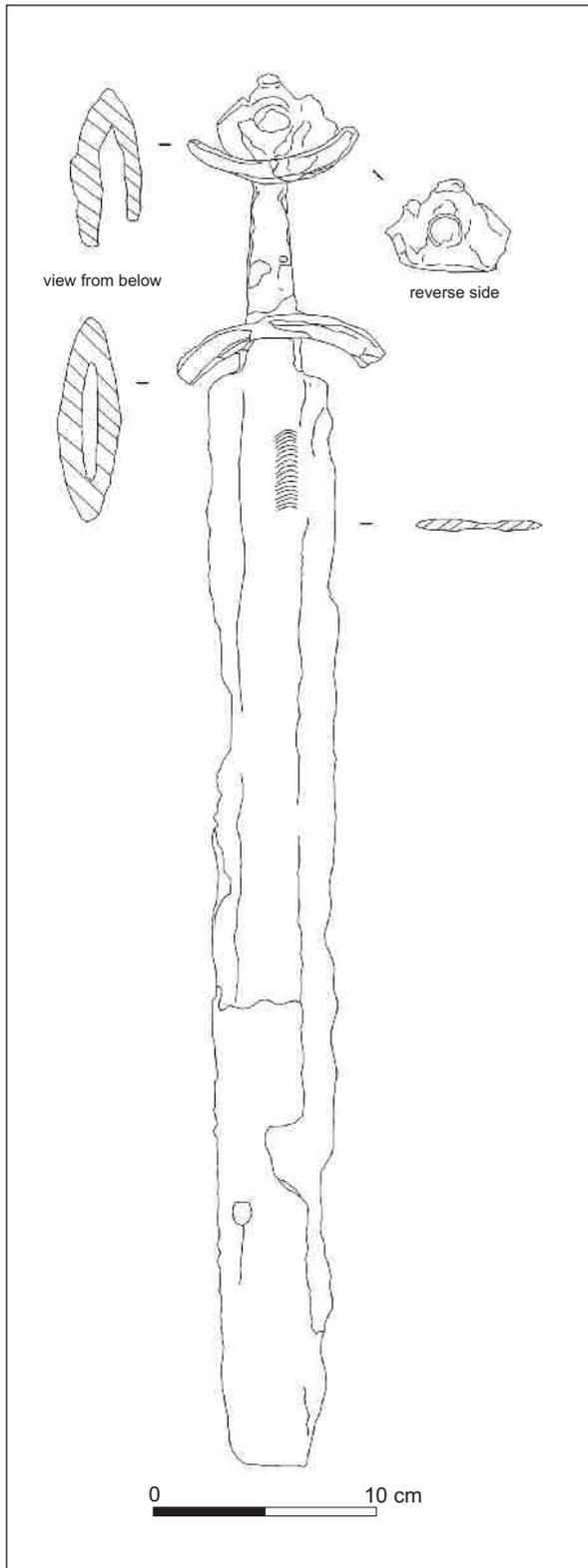


Fig. 34. A sword (Type L) from Old Torbeckhill, Middlebie, Dumfries (No. 33). Drawing by G. Żabiński.

Ryc. 34. Miecz typu L z Old Torbeckhill, Middlebie, Dumfries (nr 33). Rys. G. Żabiński.

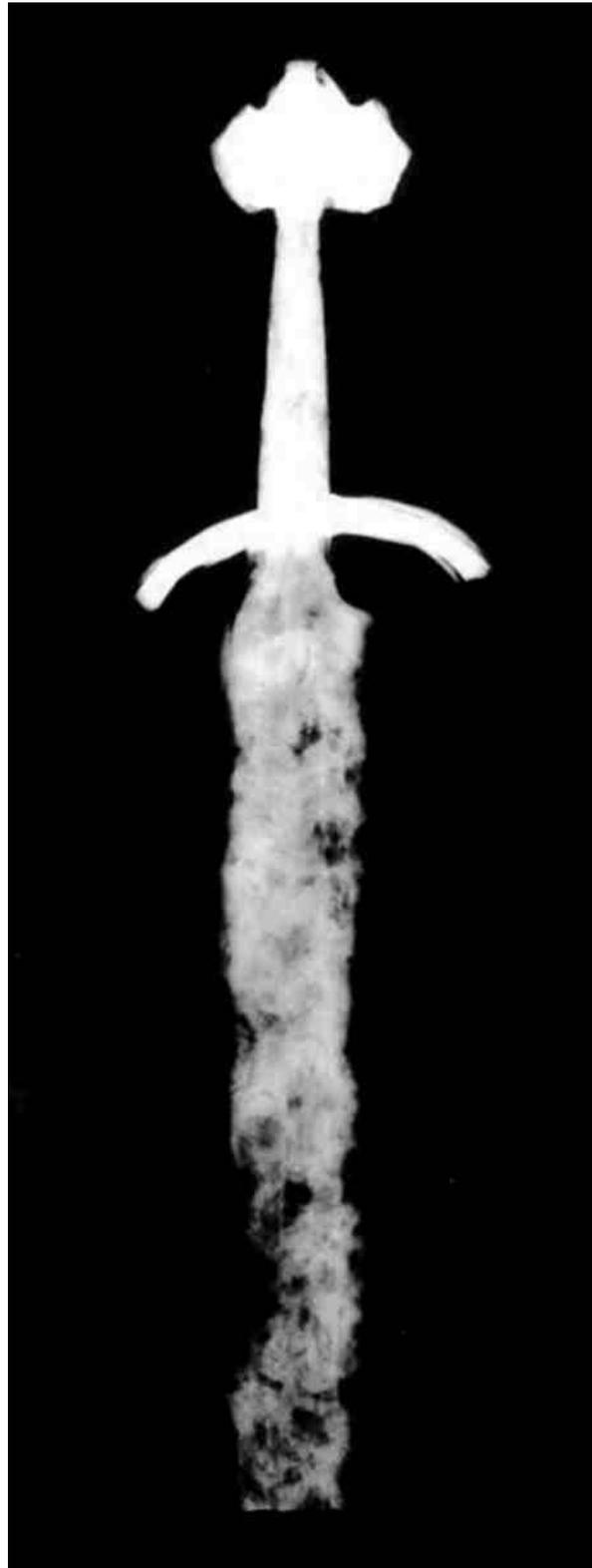


Fig. 35. A sword (Type L) from Old Torbeckhill, Middlebie, Dumfries (No. 33). X-ray (after *SCRAN*. Copyright The Trustees of the National Museums of Scotland).

Ryc. 35. Miecz typu L z Old Torbeckhill, Middlebie, Dumfries (nr 33). Zdjęcie rentgenowskie (wg *SCRAN*. Prawa autorskie The Trustees of the National Museums of Scotland).

straight but slightly curved. Such hilts are usually plain iron. This type is generally dated to between c. 900 and c. 1025. It was fairly widespread in Norway, as Petersen pointed out 122 examples, with 118 cases of double-edged blades. The type itself may be of Nordic origin (Petersen 1919, 136-140; Peirce 2004, 18-20). It could be added that the type may be of Western Scandinavian origin, as, e.g., no sword of this type was mentioned for Rus' by Kirpičnikov (1966).

The only known sword from Scotland of that type comes from one of the graves at Ballinaby (dated to c. 900-1000; see No. 24; Figs. 16-17). The hilt is plain iron with no traces of ornament. In Iceland, three swords of Type Q were discovered (all dated to the tenth century), out of a total number of 22 Viking swords known from that country (Eldjárn 2000, 181-183, Figs. 89-90, 324-327, Fig. 159, 162-163, 329, 576, 578, 600).

#### **Type U or V**

Due to a considerable degree of corrosion of the sword hilt from Kiloran Bay (dated to c. 850-950; see No. 20 and Fig. 13) its classification is tentative only and is based on a general shape of the hilt and on its ornament (a chequer-board pattern of inlaid silver and copper wire ornament). It seems that the most probable classification is either Type U or V. These types, both having three lobed pommels, in all probability derive from Types D and E. All these hilt types usually consist of an iron core, covered with bronze or copper and richly ornamented in various ways. In several cases the hilts are plain iron and they are decorated with circular or oval holes. What speaks in favour of Types U or V as opposed to D or E is a general proportion of the hilt, as Types U and V are usually more slender and their pommel heads are more semicircular in profile. Type U is generally dated to the tenth century and Type V is usually associated with its first half. Petersen pointed out eight Type U swords from Norway and counted six examples of Type V. All had double-edged blades (Petersen 1919, 75-80, 153-156; see also Grieg 1940, 48-50; Peirce 2004, 17-20, 46). A classification of the Kiloran Bay sword as Type U or possibly V could also be supported by other weapons found in the grave, such as the spear and the axe, as well as by other evidence pointing to a chronological horizon of the grave coming from c. 850 (Grieg 1940, 48-61; Graham-Campbell 1980, 88-89, No. 307, 265, Fig. 307; 1995, 13, 16, 31, 87, 157, 252, pl. 74 c; Graham-Campbell, Batey 1998, 90-91, 118-122, 150-152, 228, 240).

As for the ornament of the Kiloran Bay hilt, a similar decoration may be seen on several other

swords of Types V and U, with special reference to those coming either from Norway or being of possible Norwegian origin (Petersen 1919, 154, Fig. 122, pl. III; Bersu, Wilson 1966, 51-54, pl. X:b-c, XI:a, d-e, XII:a; Peirce 2004, 114). Furthermore, some analogies may be found among the swords of these types from Rus' (Kirpičnikov 1966, 31-32, the catalogue, 80-82, Nos. 53, 62, and 64, pl. I:3, VII:1, 3, X:1, 4, XVI:1, 3, 7). Two Type V swords are known from Iceland, with one of them coming from a burial context (Eldjárn 2000, 231-232, 328, 330, Fig. 168, 586, 600), but no Type U swords have been found so far. Types U or V are presently unknown from Ireland.

Basing on these analogies the dating of the Kiloran Bay sword could be possibly refined to c. 900-950. On the other hand, it would be quite risky to draw too far-reaching conclusions concerning its provenance. Although there are several examples of swords of such a type and with similar ornament from Norway, attention is also drawn to those from other regions, with special reference to Rus'. Therefore, it would probably be recommended to generally state that this weapon may be of Scandinavian origin.

#### **Type W?**

Hilts of Petersen's Type W are usually covered with bronze, which is the most prominent difference between Petersen's Types W and X earlier. Their pommels are usually quite flat, roughly semicircular in profile and consist of one part only. They are usually decorated with grooves, resembling a three lobed construction. They are usually dated to c. 900-950. This type was perhaps not very popular, as Petersen knew only eight such swords from Norway. Thus, similarly to what Petersen says about his Type X, Type W would be rather commonly Germanic than especially Norwegian (Petersen 1919, 156-158; Peirce 2004, 18-20, 114).

The only sword from Scotland which possibly belongs to this type, known from Kildonnan (generally dated to c. 875-925, No. 18 and Fig. 12), seems to bear no ornament on its plain iron pommel. However, nothing closer can be said about this due to an extremely poor condition of the relic. The lower edge of the pommel seems to be curved, based on which the sword may be considered as a variation of Type W (Grieg 1940, 70). Due to the lack of ornament (cf. a British-Norse or Norse origin sword from Norway, Petersen 1940, 116, No. 6, 120, Fig. 120), one could possibly assume a Norse and not Insular origin of the Kildonnan sword, although it must be said that it is a pure supposition only.



Fig. 36. A sword (Type Y) from Strathspey, Kingussie and Insh, Highland (No. 35). Photos by G. Żabiński.

Ryc. 36. Miecz typu Y ze Strathspey, Kingussie and Insh, Highland (nr 35). Fot. G. Żabiński.

### Type X

Swords of Type X are generally divided into “earlier” and “later” ones, with the former being dated to c. 850-1000 (most examples seem to come from the tenth century) and the latter to c. 900-1100. In both cases the pommel consists of one part

and is flat and semicircular in profile. In the case of earlier types the crosspiece is usually shorter and may be slightly bent downwards, while in later types it is usually straight and relatively long. In both cases pommels are usually of plain iron, but a distinctive feature of earlier types is the

presence of grooves which resemble a three lobed pommel. Furthermore, pommels of earlier types are usually taller and slimmer. Petersen knew 49 examples of Type X swords from Norway, out of which only one had a single-edged blade. He considered this type as commonly Germanic in central and northern Europe, with no special affinity to or roots in Scandinavia (Petersen 1919, 158-167; Peirce 2004, 18-20). On the other hand, Jakobsson proposed that Type X was of late Carolingian origin (Jakobsson 1992, 179).

The first sword of that type which is known from Scotland (Styes of Brough, generally dated to c. 850-1000, No. 4, Fig. 2) may be classified as Type X earlier, based on a visible groove along the lower edge of the pommel (information from Dr Sally-Anne Coupar, the Hunterian Museum, University of Glasgow, 2006, [www.huntsearch.gla.ac.uk](http://www.huntsearch.gla.ac.uk); Grieg 1940, 171-172, Fig. 86). What is quite unusual for this type of sword is rich silver inlay forming triangular patterns on the pommel and the crosspiece. This kind of ornament was very popular for Viking Ages swords (see above). However, it has not been possible so far to find an analogous kind of ornament on any other sword of this type.

The case of the sword from Lamaness (generally dated to c. 900-1000, No. 5, Fig. 3) is extremely dubious, as the relic is preserved in a fragmentary condition only. However, its classification as Type X later has been proposed based on general proportions of the item. Interestingly, Petersen notes that in Norwegian contexts swords of his Type X later are often found together with Type K spears, as in the case of the Lamaness item (Grieg 1940, 87-88, Fig. 49; cf. Petersen 1919, 162-163). Swords of this type usually have little distinctive features (cf. Petersen 1919, 161, Fig. 127; Leppäaho 1964, 8-9, pl. 2, 14-17, pl. 5-6; Oakeshott 2000a, 24, Fig. 4; 2000b, 30, Fig. 27; Peirce 2004, 115, 118-121). On typological grounds this sword could be also classified as Oakeshott's X<sub>,-3</sub> Type (see Oakeshott 2000a, VII-IX, 10).

### Type Y

Swords of Type Y, remarkable for their “cocked-hat” shaped pommels and canoe shaped crosspieces slightly bent downwards, have a very broad dating of between c. 900 and c. 1100. Their hilts are considered as usually being plain iron. The pommel often consists of two parts. Petersen knew nineteen examples of such swords from Norway, seventeen of which had double-edged blades, only one had a single-edged one and two could not be identified (Petersen 1919, 167-173, Fig. 130-133; Peirce 2004, 18-19, 126).

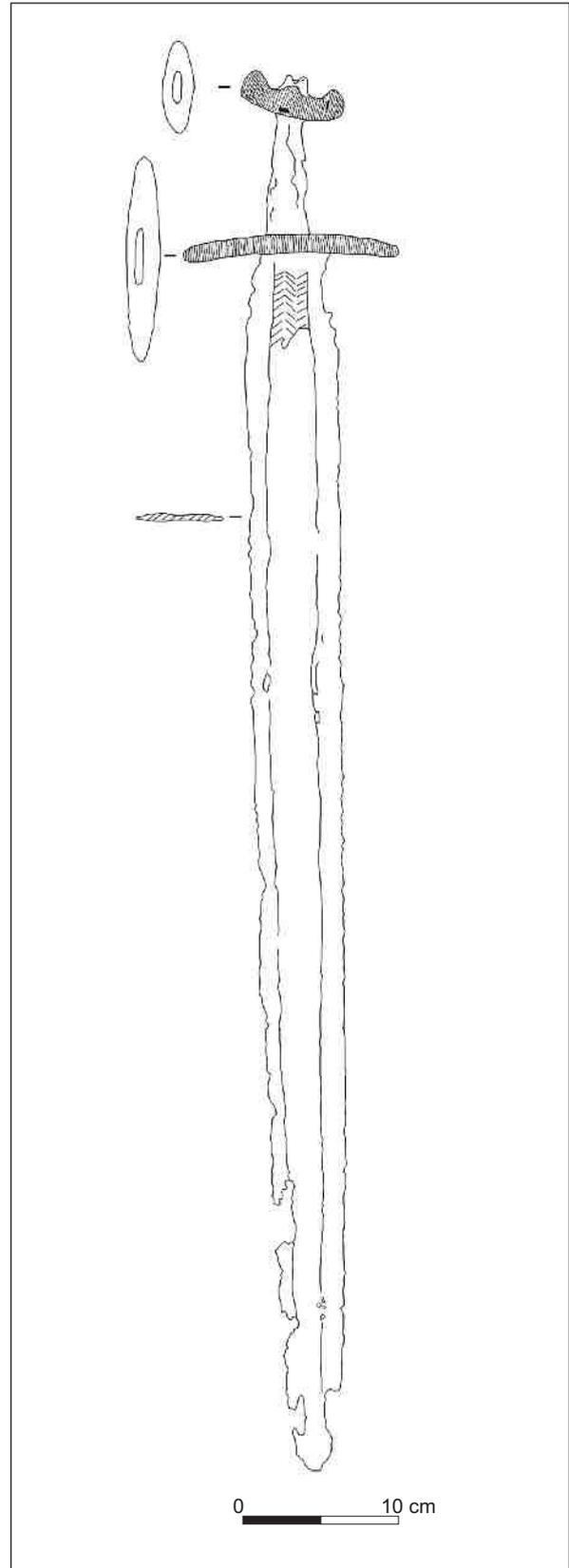


Fig. 37. A sword (Type Y) from Strathspey, Kingussie and Insh, Highland (No. 35). Drawing by G. Zabiński.

Ryc. 37. Miecz typu Y ze Strathspey, Kingussie and Insh, Highland (nr 35). Rys. G. Zabiński.

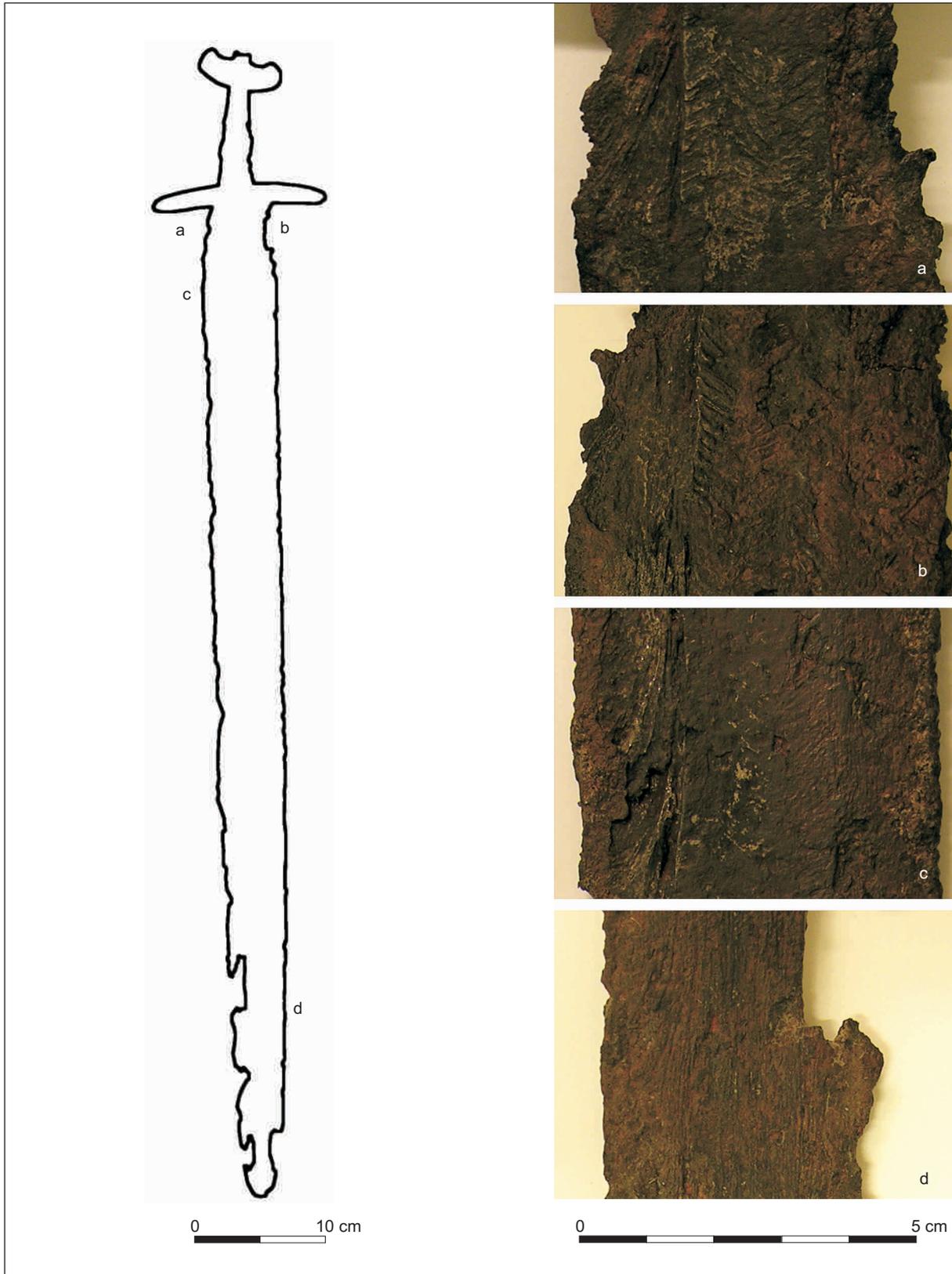


Fig. 38. A sword (Type Y) from Strathspey, Kingussie and Insh, Highland (No. 35). Pattern welding. *Photos by G. Żabiński.*

Ryc. 38. Miecz typu Y ze Strathspey, Kingussie and Insh, Highland (nr 35). Widoczny dziwer. *Fot. G. Żabiński.*

Only one sword of this type is known from Scotland (Strathspey, dated to c. 900-1000, No. 35, Figs. 27-28). The hilt is ornamented with a herringbone pattern of diagonally intertwined copper and silver wires (Anderson 1872-1874, 567-568; Grieg 1940, 157-158, Fig. 74). This ornament could enable the researcher to narrow the dating of this weapon up to c. 1000. Type Y swords are closely related to Type P ones, and they possibly derive from them. Type P swords are usually dated to c. 900-950 and they are often ornamented with silver and copper inlay (Petersen 1919, 134-135, Fig. 109; Peirce 2004, 18-19, 92-93).

Four swords of Type Y (all but one unornamented) known from Rus' up to the 1970s were mentioned by Kirpičnikov. He assumes that this type was of Western European origin, although it was possibly also manufactured in other countries (Kirpičnikov 1966, 34, the catalogue, 82-83, Nos. 74-76, 117, pl. V:2; 1992, 66, 71, Fig. 5:3, 76, Fig. 17, 80, No. 17). Regrettably, basing on the type of the sword only and bearing in mind that it was a stray find, nothing can be said about the provenance of the weapon.

### Type L

Swords of Type L are remarkable for their crosspieces and pommel bases curved away from the grip and lobed pommels. This type, considered as Anglo-Saxon in origin, is usually dated to c. 850-975. Swords of this type, with particular stress on those found in England, often display various kinds of ornament on the central lobes of their pommel heads, including patterns enclosed in borders of various shape. Type L swords, often decorated with an English "Trehiddle" style ornament, are also known from Norway. Petersen noted fourteen swords of that type from Norway, all with double-edged blades, chiefly of coastal distribution. According to him, many of them are of possible English origin (Petersen 1919, 112-116; 1940, 116, No. 9 and 11, 117, No. 12-15, 121, Fig. 121 and No. 20-21 and 23, 122-123, Figs 122-123, 124, Fig. 124 and No. 24, 131, Fig. 129; Davidson 1962, 55-56, Figs IV:23-25, VII: 41:b, 43-44, X:66-68; Evison 1967, 162, Fig. 1:e-f, 170, Fig. 5:a-b; Bone 1989, 66-67; Jakobsson 1992, 179; Oakeshott 2000b, 29-31; Peirce 2004, 4, 19-20).

3 Type L swords are known from Scotland. The first one, from Machrins (dated to c. 850-950, No. 21, Fig. 14), is in a very poor condition and the pommel head is missing. No traces of ornament can be seen on the hilt, but this may be due to corrosion (Grieg 1940, 46-47, Fig. 27). Taking into consideration an overall shape and proportions of the hilt, a good analogy to the Machrins sword is posed

by a sword from Wheelam, Ireland, dated to the first half of the tenth century (Bře 1940, 82-83, Figs 53:b and 54, 85, Peirce 2004, 82-83). Further analogies would encompass several Type L swords from England, dated to the tenth or the early eleventh centuries. These swords, together with the relic from Ireland, are considered to form a distinctive group (Maryon 1950, 175-179; Davidson 1962, 45, 56, Figs. V:30, X:23; Evison 1967, 160-189; Lang, Ager 1989, 98, Fig. 7:7 b, 103-105, Figs. 7:11:a-b, 116, table 7:1; Oakeshott 2000a, 26; 2000b, 6, Fig. 1, 12, Fig. 8; Peirce 2004, 77-79, 80-82). Obviously, a more precise classification of the Machrins sword to this group is rendered impossible due to its fragmentary condition. Taking into account the provenance of this weapon, the type itself is English, but the find context is obviously Norse. As no other distinctive features are available, it seems virtually impossible to decide whether the sword was manufactured in England or was a product of Scandinavian origin.

Another sword of this type from Scotland, found at Old Torbeckhill (generally dated to c. 850-950, No. 33, Figs. 25-26) is remarkable for its pommel with three somehow triangular lobes. The hilt is plain iron now, but at least the pommel may have been ornamented with non-ferrous inlay. On both sides of the central lobe there is an undecipherable stamped pattern within a circular border (Curle 1914, 335; Grieg 1940, 13-14, 16, Fig. 2). This sword may have some Norwegian analogies with regard to the shape of the hilt. As these swords are not unambiguously classified as English or Norwegian in origin (Petersen 1919, 116, Fig. 97:a; 1940, 121, 131, Fig. 129; Grieg 1940, 13), the same could be said about the Old Torbeckhill weapon. On the other hand, the absence of any Viking find context and the geographical location of the find spot could suggest its English provenance.

The third Type L sword from Scotland coming from Harvieston (perhaps c. 800-950, No. 36; see Fig. 29) and is notable for a slender and narrow pommel base and crosspiece, which seem to taper at the ends. The pommel head itself is missing. Basing on analogous Type L swords from Norway (considered to be of possibly English origin, Petersen 1919, 113, Fig. 94; 1940, 116, No. 9, 124, Fig. 124, erroneously referred to 121, Fig. 121; Davidson 1962, 69-70) and England (Davidson 1962, 31, 55-56, 60, 69-70, Fig. X:66; Bone 1989, 66-67; Oakeshott 2000b, 28, Fig. 26, 29-31), the Harvieston sword may be considered as possibly Anglo-Saxon in origin.

Only one Type L sword is known from Iceland (a stray find; see Eldjárn 2000, 323, Fig. 165-166,

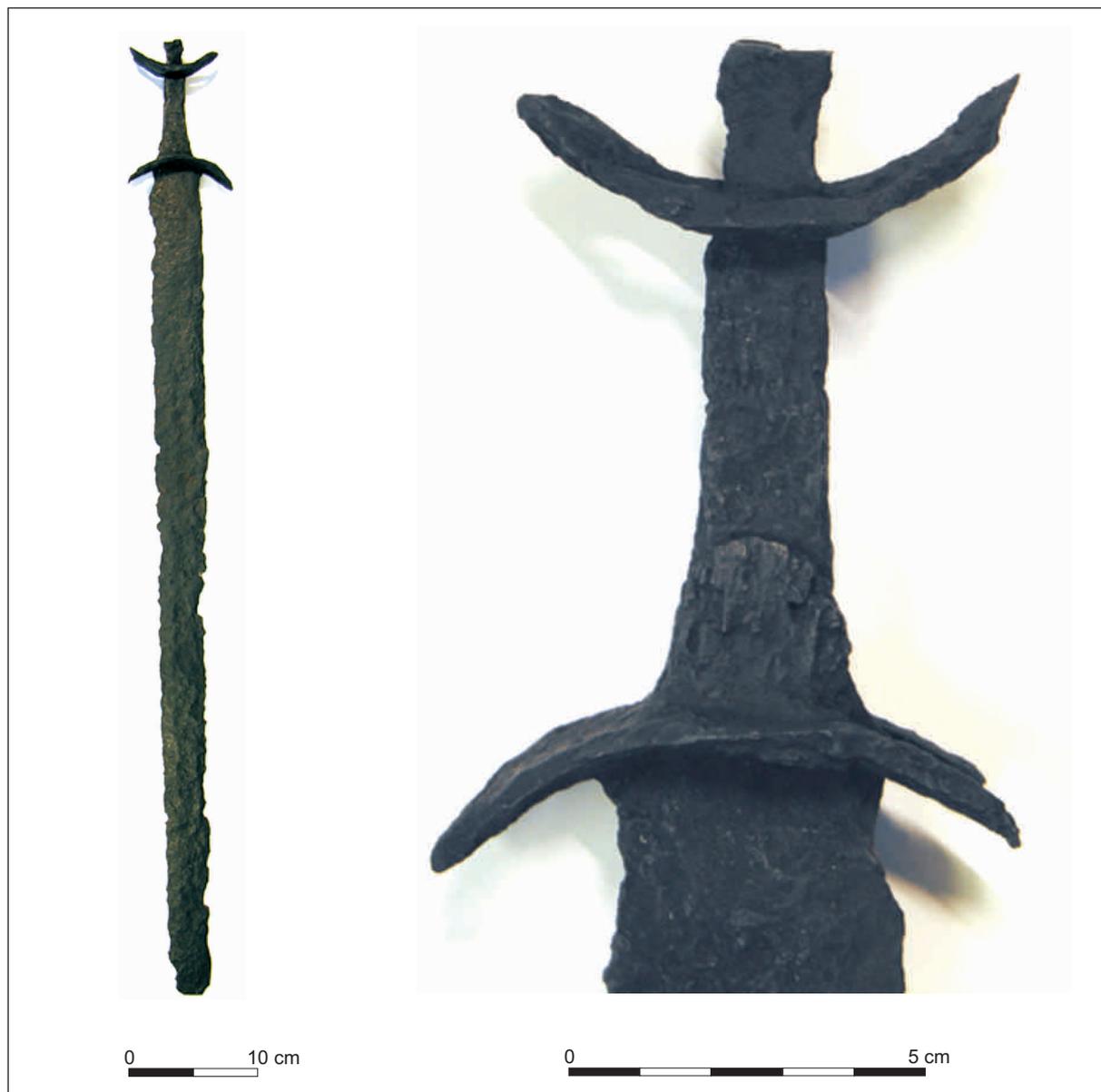


Fig. 39. A sword (Type L) from Harvieston, Tillicoultry, Firth of Forth (No. 36). *Photos by G. Żabiński.*

Ryc. 39. Miecz typu L z Harvieston, Tillicoultry, Firth of Forth (nr 36). *Fot. G. Żabiński.*

330, 600). As for Ireland, ten Anglo-Saxon type swords are known. Walsh says that although they show similarities to Petersen's Type L, they belong to later types, dated to the tenth and the eleventh centuries. According to this author, these swords, although most probably used by Vikings, are of English manufacture or inspiration. None of these swords may be associated with a burial (Walsh 1998, 225, 233-234; see also Bře 1940, 82-83, Figs. 53:b and 54, 85, Peirce 2004, 82-83).

#### Construction of Blades

As it proved impossible to carry out archaeometallurgical examinations, it is only in

a few cases that some conclusions may be drawn based on visual observation and available results of X-ray examinations. Therefore, all that can be said are general remarks, such as the presence of pattern welding and its sub-types, or other kinds of manufacturing technology. Furthermore, in some cases the technology may also provide some evidence for dating the blades.

Basing on the results of a radiographic study of 142 Anglo-Saxon and Viking period swords from the British Museum, 45% of all examined swords from the ninth and the tenth centuries (i.e., the period to which the Old Torbeckhill sword is dated) were pattern welded (Lang and Ager 1989, 89, 107,

table 7:3). This technique of sword manufacture reached its peak in the ninth century, and then it was gradually abandoned (Peirce 2004, 146; for pattern welding see also Piaskowski 1959, 162-163; Davidson 1962, 23-36; Williams 1977, 75; Callissendorf Holmqvist, Hyenstrand, Serning, Thllin-Bergman 1979, 121-129; Ypey 1980, 192-202; Edge, Williams 2003, 203).

Pattern welding cannot be excluded for the Type X earlier sword from Styes of Brough (dated to c. 850 – c.1000, No. 4), as traces of a possible pattern may be seen on an X-ray photo (see Fig. 2:c). The same could perhaps be said about the blade of the Type O sword from Eriskay (dated to c. 900-950, No. 15; see Fig. 10:c). Due to the fact that fragments of the blade decomposed into layers under the influence of corrosion, a laminated blade structure could be proposed for the Type H sword from Pierowall Links (No. 2; see Fig. 1).

More can be said about the Type B sword from Ballinaby (dated to c. 850-925, No. 25). X-ray revealed that the core of the blade was forged of four rods, arranged in parallel to the length of the blade. No twisting of the rods is discernible (see Fig. 19). This technique of so-called vertical pattern welding is of very old origin and it can be observed in the case of some swords from Nydam in Denmark, dated to c. 300 AD (Davidson 1962, 23-24; Bergman, Arrhenius 2005, 29-30, Fig. 12:3). On the other hand, Williams points to a somehow similar method, which possibly consisted of forging together a core, two flats, two central parts of the blade and two cutting edges (with carbon contents varying in particular parts of the blade). This technique was applied for an ULFBERHT sword of possible Rheinland origin, tentatively dated to the tenth-the eleventh centuries (Williams 1977, 81-84).

Pattern welding is visible on the blade of another sword from Ballinaby (Type Q, c. 900-1000, No. 24; see Fig. 17). On one flat in the upper part there are lines parallel to the length of the blade  $\text{=====}$ , followed by a simple herringbone pattern  $\text{>>>>>>}$ , then by parallel lines, ending with a simple herringbone pattern again. Wherever possible, it was noticed that the intervals between changing patterns were c. 7 cm. According to a scheme proposed by Lang and Ager, this pattern could be referred to being between Types A and B1/B2a (Lang, Ager 1989, 88, Fig. 7:2). According to these authors, Type A pattern in its basic version (i.e., a simple herringbone) was most common between c. 600 and c. 700, although it did occur later as well. Type B1 is remarkable for a triple twisting, while B2a is notable for triple twisting with intervals of parallel lines. Type B1, although it also occurs in

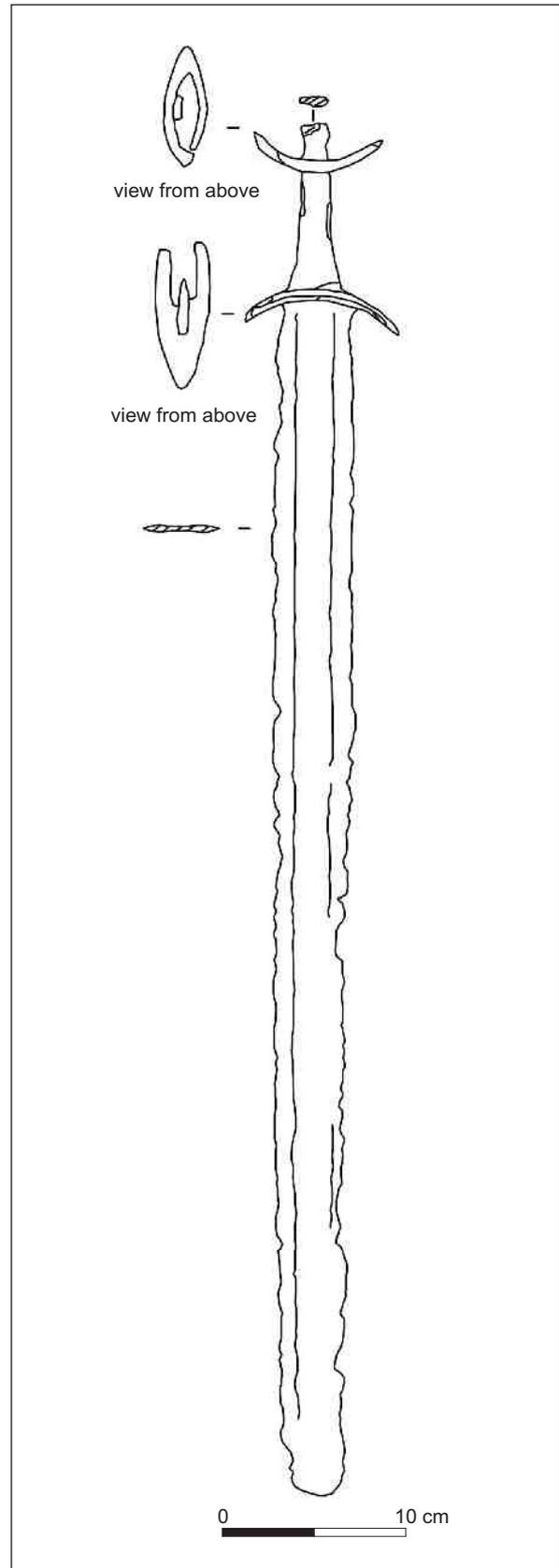


Fig. 40. A sword (Type L) from Harvieston, Tillicoultry, Firth of Forth (No. 36). Drawing by G. Żabiński.

Ryc. 40. Miecz typu L z Harvieston, Tillicoultry, Firth of Forth (nr 36). Rys. G. Żabiński.

the period between c. 800 and c. 1000, is most widespread for c. 500-700, while type B2a seems to have been most popular between c. 400 and c. 700 (ibidem, 91, Table 7:2). On the other flat in the upper part of the blade there is a more complicated pattern, combining lines, circular and u-shaped patterns. Thus, as patterns on both flats vary, existence of a central rod in the core of the blade is to be assumed. A similar pattern of herringbone and straight lines which indicates that the rods were partly twisted and partly left straight, is sometimes found on swords from Sweden from the early Viking period (c. 750-850; Bergman, Arrhenius 2005, 36, 44, 46, Table 10). An even more complex pattern may be seen on an eighth century sword blade from Lahdinko in Finland (Leppäaho 1964, 66-69, pl. 31:1:b, 32; Oakeshott 2000b, 20, Fig. 16; Peirce 2004, 148-149). Furthermore, analogous patterns are known from some Viking Age swords from Norway (Peirce 2004, 25, Plate 1). As for u-shaped semicircular symbols as part of pattern welded structure, they may be noted on a Viking Age blade from the Nationalmuseet in Copenhagen (ibidem, 150). The technology of a herringbone pattern with rods partly twisted and partly left straight also occurs in the case of an Anglo-Saxon sword (the sixth-the seventh centuries) (Tylecote, Gilmour 1986, 191-194, Fig. 81). With regard to pattern welded symbols in the shape of circles, S-shapes, crosses, etc., Bergman and Arrhenius assume that they commenced to appear in the eighth and the ninth centuries (Bergman, Arrhenius 2005, 33, 36, 43; see also Lang, Ager 1989, 98, Fig. 7:7:b, 102-106, Figs. 7:9-7:11). All this may suggest that the blade may be considerably earlier than the hilt.

Pattern welding is also notable for the Type Y sword from Strathspey (dated to c. 900-1000, No. 35, see Fig. 27). One notices a Type B1 triple twisting pattern in the upper part of the blade and parallel lines in the lower part, close to the point. However, visual examination alone cannot give an answer to the question whether the triple twisting pattern continues throughout the length of the blade or displays any possible variations (Lang, Ager 1989, 88, Fig. 7:2, 91, Table 7:2, 95-96, 116-119, Table 7:1). This pattern (usually with a central rod) may be noted in the case of many earlier (the sixth-the ninth centuries) Anglo-Saxon swords (Tylecote, Gilmour 1986, 168-172, Fig. 69, 174-176, Fig. 71, 197-201, Fig. 83, 202-212, Figs 85-88; Lang, Ager 1989, 90, Fig. 7:3:c, 100, Fig. 7:8). This technology is also visible for later (the tenth century) Anglo-Saxon swords (Tylecote, Gilmour 1986, 229-232, Fig. 97). This pattern is also analogous to

examples from the early Viking period (c. 750-850) from Sweden (Bergman, Arrhenius 2005, 30-31, Figs. 12:4, 13:f, 36, Table 3:39, 6:41, 8:42, 9:43, Fig. 31, 44-47, Table 10, 48, Fig. 34:a-b, 81). As mentioned above, Lang and Ager assume that this pattern was much more common for the earlier period (between c. 500 and c. 700) than for the tenth century (Lang, Ager 1989, 91, Table 7.2). On the other hand, basing on visual examination only it cannot be determined whether the blade was also provided with a central rod or not (cf. Peirce 2004, 146). Also in this case it could be suggested that the blade may be a bit earlier than the hilt.

As for the Type L sword from Old Torbeckhill (dated to c. 850-950, No. 33; see Figs. 25:c, 26), its central part seems to have been formed of three or four twisted and forge-welded rods, each consisting of several strips of metal of various levels of carburisation. However, it is difficult to say whether pattern welded rods formed a true core of the blade or a set of rods was forged on each side to a core made of low carbon iron. This type of blade manufacture is considered as one of the most common for pattern welded swords. The construction type of the sword from Old Torbeckhill can be possibly classified as B1 (with three rods) or C1 (with four rods). According to Lang and Ager, Type B1 was the most widespread for swords dated to between 500 and 600. Both Types B1 and C1 were less common between 800 and 1000 (Tylecote, Gilmour 1986, 168-217, 222-225, 227-234, 244-254; Lang, Ager 1989, 90, Fig. 7:3:c, 91, Table 7:2, 95-96). Furthermore, it is notable for early Viking period (c. 750-850) swords from Sweden (Bergman, Arrhenius 2005, 30-33, 36-51, 74-77, 87-96, 122-123). All these data may additionally support dating of the Old Torbeckhill sword to between c. 850 and c. 950.

Pattern welding was also revealed by X-ray examination of the Type H sword from Westness (dated to c. 850-950, No. 8). It is a herringbone pattern, corresponding to Type A according to Lang and Ager (Graham-Campbell, Paterson *unpublished*; cf. Lang and Ager 1989, 88, Fig. 7:2). As mentioned before, this pattern was most common between c. 600 and c. 700 (Lang, Ager 1989, 91, Table 7:2, 94, Fig. 7:5:c, 95, 116-119, Table 7:1; for some Anglo-Saxon swords from the period between c. 500 and c. 1100 – see Tylecote, Gilmour 1986, 177-180, 213-217, 232-234; see also Peirce 2004, 26-27, 30-31). It is also visible on some Viking swords from Denmark and Norway, dated to the tenth century (Peirce 2004, 112-113, 118-119), as well as on several early Viking period (c. 750-850) swords from Sweden (Bergman, Arrhenius 2005, 36, 39-40, 42-47).

On the other hand, no traces of pattern welding were detected by X-ray on the blade of the Type H sword from Scar (dated to c. 850-950, No. 6; see Owen, Dalland 1999, 105-111, Figs. 67-71). The same can be said about the Type U or V sword from Kiloran Bay (dated to c. 850-950, No. 20; see Fig. 13:e) or the Type H sword from Balnakeil (dated to c. 850-900, No. 12; see Fig. 9:c; Batey and Paterson, *forthcoming*).

### Conclusions

Concerning the territorial distribution of finds of Viking Ages swords in Scotland, a disproportion in the relation between the sword finds (with special reference to graves with swords) and other traces of Viking presence (especially burials and settlements) in the North and the West would apparently support Eldjárn's argument about the Northern Isles and Outer Hebrides being inhabited by a Norse farming population and Inner Hebrides and Argyll being related to "Vikings" in the true sense of the word (Eldjárn 1984, 7-8; Armit 1998, 202). However, although trading and piracy in the West was a fact, and sword finds from this region may naturally be interpreted as a testimony to these phenomena, a distinction between "Northern farmers" and "Western Vikings" seems to be rather oversimplified. As argued above, apart from sword finds from Islay (Nos. 23-25), there are also data on other graves (including female ones) and a considerable evidence of Norse settlement place names. Moreover, the very number and distribution of all known Norse graves from the region considered as a "Viking base" may imply the permanence of settlement (Graham-Campbell, Batey 1998, 71-92, 151-152). The West (particularly Inner Hebrides and Argyll) cannot be considered in isolation from Viking routes linking Scandinavia, the Northern Isles, the Western Isles, Ireland, mainland Scotland and later Iceland (cf. Brown 1997, 212; Morris, 1998, 73-74, 77-82, 89-91). Furthermore, although graves with swords from the North provide data on Norse settlers and farmers from this region, there is no reason to completely exclude trading and/or raiding activities in their case. This can be said based on the presence of Insular origin grave goods in female graves from the cemeteries at Westness, Rousay and Pierowall Links, Westray, where graves with swords were found (Nos. 2-3 and 8-11). Insular origin grave goods are also known from sword graves from Lamaness, Sanday (No. 5) or Balnakeil, Sutherland (No. 12).

Another problem is a closer settlement context of sword finds. Viking burials in Iceland are generally located quite close (about 0,5 km) to farmsteads (Eldjárn 2000, 590-592). C. 80% of all

known Viking graves in Ireland fall within five kilometers from the centre of Dublin, with a particular stress on the cemeteries at Kilmainham and Islandbridge. This seems to match the general nature of Viking settlement in Ireland, to a great degree confined to the townships, especially Dublin (Batey, Sheenan 2000, 129-130, 134-136; Harrison 2002, 63-66).

In Scotland, however, practically in all the cases where it is possible to suggest a link between a sword find and a settlement, the argument is hardly based on unquestionable evidence. For Westness (Nos. 7-11), a contemporary settlement may be assumed based on the size of the cemetery and on the existence of the late Norse farm. The size of the cemetery may also suggest an existence of a settled community at Pierowall Links (Nos. 2-3). On the other hand, possible settlement structures which could be related to the burial from Scar (No. 6) still await discovery, which is also the case for the sword grave from Balnakeil (No. 12). A relation of a sword grave from Lamaness (No. 5) to the contemporary settlement at Pool (at a distance of c. 800 m) needs further evidence to be confirmed. The same could be said about a relation of the sword grave from Sumburgh (No. 1) to Viking settlements at Jarlshof and Old Scatness, situated at a similar distance, or about any link between the sword grave at Machrins (No. 21) and a probable Norse settlement there (at a distance of c. 1 km). Any relation between a sword grave from Bebenula (No. 14) and the settlement at Rosinish is putative only. Although there are place names data about Viking settlement from Islay, no settlement structures are known which could be linked to local sword finds (Nos. 23-25).

As for the number of particular sword types, the most widespread Viking Age sword type, i.e., Type H, was also the most popular one in Viking Scotland. A considerable number of Type L swords may be related to Viking raids to England or to English expansion into southern Scotland. A slight preponderance of earlier types (up to c. mid-tenth century) may be easily explained by a growing influence of Christendom and a gradual abandonment of pagan burial rites with grave goods.

As regards the problems of dating of swords as compared to the rest of available evidence from Norse graves, it must be remembered that many Viking Age sword types have very broad dating (even up to 200 years). Basing on other evidence from graves, it is often possible to narrow this dating. However, in many cases other evidence cannot be dated very precisely, either. This may especially concern cases where the sword is best

datable and most distinctive item, thus offering the main evidence for dating the grave as a whole. Furthermore, there seems to be general coherence between the two. Even in case there is sufficient evidence to precisely date a grave and thus a date of deposition of the sword, there is still a possibility that the sword itself may have been manufactured considerably earlier. This may especially concern sword types with the broadest dating. It is only in the case of the Type B sword from Ballinaby (No. 25) that the sword type dating (c. 700-850) may be considerably earlier than the grave (c. 800-925). Thus, the sword may represent a heirloom.

Little can be said about the provenance of weapons based on their typology only, bearing in mind that Viking Age swords from Scotland usually do not display any more remarkable features (like ornament) which could yield more data about their origin. It is generally assumed that most Scandinavians arriving in Scotland in the Viking Age were Norwegians (e.g. Brown 1997, 209; Graham-Campbell, Batey 1998, 2-3, 37-53; Morris 1998, 82-83; Barrett 2003, 74, 78-80) and thus a Norwegian origin of their weapons would be natural. However, it is only in a few cases that more can be said about a given sword's provenance. Basing on popularity of single-edged swords in Norway, Norwegian origin may be proposed for swords (tentatively classified as Types C or H?) from Kildonnan (No. 17) and Lamlash (No. 29), as well as for two swords from Westness (Nos. 9 and 11). Due to analogies from Norway and Ireland, Norwegian manufacture may be assumed for the Type D sword from Kildonnan (No. 16), although its associations may be much more international. As mentioned, it would be tempting to suggest a relation between Type H swords from Scotland and Norwegian settlement there, were it not for the fact that Type H was also the most widespread one in other regions with little Norwegian influence.

Frankish or possibly English origin could be supposed for the Type O sword from Eriskay (No. 15),

which of course does not exclude its having come to Scotland from Norway with Norwegian Vikings.

English origin is generally supposed for Type L swords. However, as the find context of the sword from Machrins (No. 21) is the Norse grave and the weapon does not bear any other distinctive features, it is difficult to assess whether it is of English or Scandinavian manufacture. English provenance could be tentatively assumed for Type L swords from Old Torbeckhill (No. 33) and Harvieston (No. 36).

Conversely, a Western Scandinavian origin may be assumed in the case of the Type Q sword from Ballinaby (No. 24). Scandinavian provenance may generally be assumed for the Type U or V sword from Kiloran Bay (No. 20), for the possibly Type W sword from Kildonnan (No. 18) or for the Type X swords from Styes of Brough (No. 4) and Lamaness (No. 5).

In one case of the Type I sword from Dumbarton Rock (No. 31) a local Scottish manufacture may tentatively be supposed. However, further research is necessary to confirm or disprove this assumption.

Scant evidence was available for the construction of blades, but some conclusions may be drawn with regard to this issue. Based on blade construction technology of some swords (such as Type Q from Ballinaby, No. 24 and Type Y from Strathspey, No. 35) it could be proposed that these blades may be considerably older than hilts. Furthermore, blade construction technology may offer additional support for dating the sword (Type L from Old Torbeckhill, No. 33).

To sum up, several finds of Viking Age swords from Scotland seem to reflect various aspects of the Norse presence there, like settlement, trade and raiding. In certain locations a concentration of finds together with their contexts could bear testimony to an intensification of raiding and trading in given areas. In other places, sword finds form a corpus of evidence to Viking settlement, although their direct relation to known settlement structures cannot be proved yet.

## Appendix

### Metrical Data of Swords

1. – , Sumburgh Airport, Dunrossness, Shetland, – .

No data.

2. Probably Type H, Pierowall Links, Westray, Orkney, c. 850-900.

Total Length: c. 33 cm (preserved part); Total Weight: 0,547 kg Blade Length: c. 20 cm (preserved part); Blade Width and Thickness at the Shoulder: c. 5 x c. 0,6 cm; Blade Width and Thickness at the Point: – ; Hilt Length: c. 12,5 cm (preserved part); Tang Cross-section at the Pommel: 1,2 x 0,5 cm; Tang Cross-section at the Crosspiece: – ; Crosspiece Length: c. 8,7 cm; Crosspiece Stretch: c. 8,7 cm; Crosspiece Cross-section: 2,8 x 2,3 cm; Pommel Height: 1,8 cm (preserved part); Pommel Cross-section: 7,3 x 2,5 cm; Point of Balance: – .

3. – , Pierowall Links, Westray, Orkney, c. 850-950

No data.

4. Type X earlier, Styes of Brough, Sanday, Orkney, c. 850-1000.

Total Length: 62 cm; Total Weight: – ; Blade Length: 45 cm; Blade Width and Thickness at the Shoulder: 6 cm; Blade Width and Thickness at the Point: – ; Hilt Length: 17 cm; Tang Cross-section at the Pommel: – ; Tang Cross-section at the Crosspiece: – ; Crosspiece Length: c. 10,5 cm; Crosspiece Stretch: c. 10,5 cm; Crosspiece Cross-section – ; Pommel Height: c. 4 cm; Pommel Cross-section: 8 cm.

5. Type X later, Lamaness, Sanday, Orkney, c. 900-1000.

Total Length: – ; Total Weight: 0,1357 kg; Blade Length: c. 21,3 cm (preserved part); Blade Width and Thickness at the Shoulder: 5 x 0,5 cm; Blade Width and Thickness at the Point: – ; Hilt Length: – ; Tang Cross-section at the Pommel: – ; Tang Cross-section at the Crosspiece: – ; Crosspiece Length: 11,3 cm; Crosspiece Stretch: 11,3 cm; Crosspiece Cross-section: 1 x 1 cm; Pommel Height: – ; Pommel Cross-section: – ; Point of Balance: – .

6. Type H, Scar, Quoy Banks, Sanday, Orkney, c. 850-950.

Total Length: 98 cm; Total Weight: – ; Blade Length: 84 cm; Blade Width and Thickness at the Shoulder: 6,9 cm; Blade Width and Thickness at

the Point: – ; Hilt Length: 10,7 cm; Tang Cross-section at the Pommel: – ; Tang Cross-section at the Crosspiece: 3 x 0,8 cm; Crosspiece Length: 8,8 cm; Crosspiece Stretch: 8,8 cm; Crosspiece Cross-section: 2,5 x 2,2 cm; Pommel Height: – ; Pommel Cross-section: – ; Point of Balance: – .

7. Type H, Sweindrow Westness, Rousay, Orkney, c. 800-950.

Total Length: c. 95 cm; Total Weight: well over 1 kg; Blade Length: c. 79 cm; Blade Width and Thickness at the Shoulder: c. 6 x c. 1 cm; Blade Width and Thickness at the Point: 2 x 0,5 cm; Hilt Length: 15,2 cm; Tang Cross-section at the Pommel: 1,5 x 0,8 cm; Tang Cross-section at the Crosspiece: 2 x 1 cm; Crosspiece Length: 9,5 cm; Crosspiece Stretch: 9,5 cm; Crosspiece Cross-section: 2 x 2,8 cm; Pommel Height: 4,7 cm; Pommel Cross-section: 9 x 3 cm; Point of Balance: – .

8. Type H, Westness, Rousay, Orkney, c. 850-950.

Total Length: 53,3 cm (preserved part); Total Weight: 0,658 kg; Blade Length: 35,7 cm (preserved part); Blade Width and Thickness at the Shoulder: 4,2 x 0,5 cm; Blade Width and Thickness at the Point: – ; Hilt Length: 17,1 cm; Tang Cross-section at the Pommel: 2,2 x 0,4 cm; Tang Cross-section at the Crosspiece: 2,6 x 0,7 cm; Crosspiece Length: 8,8 cm; Crosspiece Stretch: 8,8 cm; Crosspiece Cross-section: 3 x 3 cm; Pommel Height: 4,8 cm; Pommel Cross-section: 6,8 x 3,5 cm; Point of Balance: – .

9. Type H, Westness, Rousay, Orkney, c. 800-950.

Total Length: c. 90 cm; Total Weight: 1,665 kg; Blade Length: c. 72,8 cm; Blade Width and Thickness at the Shoulder: 6,1 x 0,6 cm; Blade Width and Thickness at the Point: 2,5 x 0,2 cm; Hilt Length: 16,8 cm; Tang Cross-section at the Pommel: 1,5 x 0,5 cm; Tang Cross-section at the Crosspiece: 3 x 0,5 cm; Crosspiece Length: 9,5 cm; Crosspiece Stretch: 9,5 cm; Crosspiece Cross-section: 2,5 x 2,6 cm; Pommel Height: 5,7 cm; Pommel Cross-section: 8,5 x 3,7 cm; Point of Balance: – .

10. – , Westness, Rousay, Orkney, c. 850-950.

Total Length: – ; Total Weight: 0,129 kg; Blade Length: 13,2 cm (preserved part); Blade Width and Thickness at the Shoulder (here: Central Part): 4,6 x 1,2 cm; Blade Width and Thickness at

the Point: – ; Hilt Length: – ; Tang Cross-section at the Pommel: – ; Tang Cross-section at the Crosspiece: – ; Crosspiece Length: – ; Crosspiece Stretch: – ; Crosspiece Cross-section: – ; Pommel Height: – ; Pommel Cross-section: – ; Point of Balance: – .

11. Type H, Westness, Rousay, Orkney, c. 800-950.

Total Length: 87,5 cm; Total Weight: 1,829 kg; Blade Length: 69,5 cm; Blade Width and Thickness at the Shoulder (In Scabbard): 6,1 x 1,4 cm; Blade Width and Thickness at the Point (In Scabbard): 4,2 x 0,5 cm; Hilt Length: 18,2 cm; Tang Cross-section at the Pommel: 2,4 x 1 cm; Grip Cross-section at the Crosspiece: 3,9 x 2,1 cm; Crosspiece Length: 10 cm; Crosspiece Stretch: 10 cm; Crosspiece Cross-section: 2,4 x 2,2 cm; Pommel Height: 6,3 cm; Pommel Cross-section: 9,4 x 3,4 cm; Point of Balance: – .

12. Type H, Balnakeil, Durness, Sutherland, c. 850-900.

Total Length: 86 cm (preserved part); Total Weight: – ; Blade Length: – ; Blade Width and Thickness at the Shoulder: – ; Blade Width and Thickness at the Point: – ; Hilt Length: – ; Tang Cross-section at the Pommel: – ; Tang Cross-section at the Crosspiece: – ; Crosspiece Length: – ; Crosspiece Stretch: – ; Crosspiece Cross-section: – ; Pommel Height: – ; Pommel Cross-section: – ; Point of Balance: – .

13. – , St Kilda, Harris, Western Isles, – .  
No data.

14. – , Benbecula, South Uist, Western Isles, – .  
No data.

15. Type O, Eriskay, South Uist, Western Isles, c. 900-950.

Total Length: 97,5 cm; Total Weight: 0,595 kg; Blade Length: 82,5 cm; Blade Width and Thickness at the Shoulder: c. 5 cm x – ; Blade Width and Thickness at the Point: c. 1,5 x c. 0,3 cm; Hilt Length: c. 15 cm; Tang Cross-section at the Pommel: 1,3 x 0,5 cm; Tang Cross-section at the Crosspiece: 3 x 0,5 cm; Crosspiece Length: 10,1 cm; Crosspiece Stretch: 10,1 cm; Crosspiece Cross-section: 2,5 x 1 cm; Pommel Height: 4 cm; Pommel Cross-section: 6,5 x 1,6 cm; Point of Balance: – .

16. Type D, Kildonnan, Eigg, Western Isles, c. 800-900.

Total Length: – ; Total Weight: 0,627 kg (hilt only); Blade Length: – ; Blade Width and

Thickness at the Shoulder: 6,2 x 0,6 cm; Blade Width and Thickness at the Point: – ; Hilt Length: 18,8 cm; Tang Cross-section at the Pommel (here: Grip): 3,8 x 1,9 cm; Tang Cross-section at the Crosspiece (here: Grip): 4,2 x 2,1 cm; Crosspiece Length: 10,9 cm; Crosspiece Stretch: 10,9 cm; Crosspiece Cross-section: 2,9 x 2,9 cm; Pommel Height: 6,5 cm; Pommel Cross-section: 9,4 x 2,8 cm; Point of Balance: – .

17. Type C or H (?), Kildonnan, Eigg, Western Isles, c. 900-950.

No data.

18. Type W (?), Kildonnan, Eigg, Western Isles, c. 875-925.

Total Length: c. 92,4 cm; Total Weight: 1,204 kg; Blade Length: 79,9 cm (preserved part); Blade Width and Thickness at the Shoulder: c. 6,5 x 0,7 cm; Blade Width and Thickness at the Point: c. 2,1 x 0,4 cm; Hilt Length: 12,5 cm; Tang Cross-section at the Pommel: c. 2 x c. 1 cm; Tang Cross-section at the Crosspiece: – ; Crosspiece Length: – ; Crosspiece Stretch: – ; Crosspiece Cross-section: – ; Pommel Height: c. 4,8 cm; Pommel Cross-section: c. 8,8 x 3 cm; Point of Balance: – .

19. – , Cornaigbeg, Tiree, Argyll, – .

No data.

20. Type U or V, Kiloran Bay, Colonsay, Argyll, c. 850-950.

Total Length: c. 87,5 cm; Total Weight: – ; Blade Length: c. 69 cm; Blade Width and Thickness at the Shoulder: 5,5 x 0,5 cm; Blade Width and Thickness at the Point: – ; Hilt Length: 16,6 cm; Tang Cross-section at the Pommel: – ; Tang Cross-section at the Crosspiece: – ; Crosspiece Length: 10,7 cm; Crosspiece Stretch: 10,7 cm; Crosspiece Cross-section: 1,2 x 1 cm; Pommel Height: 4,7 cm; Pommel Cross-section: 8,5 x 3,3 cm; Point of Balance: – .

21. Type L, Machrins, Colonsay, Argyll, c. 850-950.

Total Length: c. 87,5 cm; Total Weight: 0,739 kg; Blade Length: c. 73 cm; Blade Width and Thickness at the Shoulder: 5,6 x 0,6 cm; Blade Width and Thickness at the Point: 2 x 0,3 cm; Hilt Length: – ; Tang Cross-section at the Pommel: 1,5 cm x 0,6 cm; Tang Cross-section at the Crosspiece: 3 x 0,7 cm; Crosspiece Length: – ; Crosspiece Stretch: c. 9 cm; Crosspiece Cross-section: c. 3 x c. 1,5 cm; Pommel Height: 2 cm; Pommel Cross-section: 7,8 x 3 cm; Point of Balance: – .

22. – , Traigh Nam Barck, Colonsay, Argyll, – .  
No data.
23. Type H, Ballinaby, Islay, Argyll, c. 800-950.  
No data.
24. Type Q, Ballinaby, Islay, Argyll, c. 900-1000.  
Total Length: c. 99 cm (before conservation, now 82,8 cm); Total Weight: 0,75986 kg; Blade Length: 70,6 cm (preserved part); Blade Width and Thickness at the Shoulder: c. 4,6 x 0,4 cm; Blade Width and Thickness at the Point: c. 3,4 cm x 0,2 cm; Hilt Length: 11,9 cm; Tang Cross-section at the Pommel: 2,2 x 0,4 cm; Tang Cross-section at the Crosspiece: 3,7 x 0,4 cm; Crosspiece Length: 9,5 cm; Crosspiece Stretch: 9,1 cm; Crosspiece Cross-section: 0,8 x 0,9 cm; Pommel Height: 1,1 cm; Pommel Cross-section: 7,3 x 1,9 cm; Point of Balance: – .
25. Type B, Ballinaby, Islay, Argyll, c. 800-925.  
Total Length: 92,7 cm; Total Weight: 2,062 kg; Blade Length: 75,7 cm; Blade Width and Thickness at the Shoulder: c. 5,5 cm x – ; Blade Width and Thickness at the Point: 2,5 cm x 0,4 cm; Hilt Length: 18,2 cm; Grip Cross-section at the Pommel: 3,4 x 2,4 cm; Grip Cross-section at the Crosspiece: 3,9 x 2,8 cm; Crosspiece Length: 9,8 cm; Crosspiece Stretch: 9,8 cm; Crosspiece Cross-section: 2,3 x 2,4 cm; Pommel Height: 5,5 cm; Pommel Cross-section: c. 7,8 x 3,9 cm; Point of Balance: – .
26. – , East Tarbert Bay, Gigha, Argyll, c. 900-1000.  
No data.
27. – , Drumachlay, Bute, Firth of Clyde, – .  
No data.
28. Type H, Bute, Firth of Clyde, c. 800-950.  
Total Length: – ; Total Weight: – ; Blade Length: – ; Blade Width and Thickness at the Shoulder: 5,5 cm x – ; Blade Width and Thickness at the Point: – ; Hilt Length: – ; Tang Cross-section at the Pommel: 2 cm x – ; Tang Cross-section at the Crosspiece: 3 cm x – ; Crosspiece Length: 11,6 cm; Crosspiece Stretch: 11,6 cm; Crosspiece Cross-section: – ; Pommel Height: – ; Pommel Cross-section: 8,5 x 2 cm; Point of Balance: – .
29. Type C or H (?), Lamlash, Arran, Firth of Clyde, c. 800-900.  
Total Length: 54,5 cm (preserved parts); Total Weight: Blade Length: – ; Blade Width and Thickness at the Shoulder: 6 cm x – ; Blade Width and Thickness at the Point: – ; Hilt Length: 11,5 cm (preserved part); Tang Cross-section at the Pommel: – ; Tang Cross-section at the Crosspiece: – ; Crosspiece Length: – ; Crosspiece Stretch: – ; Crosspiece Cross-section: – ; Pommel Height: – ; Pommel Cross-section: – ; Point of Balance: – .
30. Type H, Boiden, Luss, Argyll, c. 800-900.  
Total Length: 88,9 cm; Total Weight: – ; Blade Length: 76,2 cm; Blade Width and Thickness at the Shoulder: 6,99 cm x – ; Blade Width and Thickness at the Point: – ; Hilt Length: 12,7 cm; Tang Cross-section at the Pommel: – ; Tang Cross-section at the Crosspiece: – ; Crosspiece Length: – ; Crosspiece Stretch: – ; Crosspiece Cross-section: – ; Pommel Height: – ; Pommel Cross-section: – ; Point of Balance: – .
31. Type I, Dumbarton Rock, Firth of Clyde, c. 870.  
No data.
32. – , St Cuthbert's Kirkcudbright, Galloway, c. 850-950.  
Total Length: 78,5 cm; Total Weight: 0,602 kg; Blade Length: 68,5 cm; Blade Width and Thickness at the Shoulder: 4,9 cm x 0,4 cm; Blade Width and Thickness at the Point: 1,2 cm x 0,2 cm; Hilt Length: 10,3 cm; Tang Cross-section at the Pommel: 1,95 x 0,5 cm; Tang Cross-section at the Crosspiece: 3,2 x 1 cm; Crosspiece Length: 8 cm; Crosspiece Stretch: 8 cm; Crosspiece Cross-section: 2 x 0,95 cm; Pommel Height: – ; Pommel Cross-section: – ; Point of Balance: – .
33. Type L, Old Torbeckhill, Middlebie, Dumfries, c. 850-950.  
Total Length: 62,23 cm (preserved part); Total Weight: 0,9231 kg; Blade Length: 49,2 cm (preserved part); Blade Width and Thickness at the Shoulder: 5,2 x 0,6 cm; Blade Width and Thickness at the Point: – ; Hilt Length: 14,6 cm; Tang Cross-section at the Pommel: 1,4 x 0,8 cm; Tang Cross-section at the Crosspiece: 2,7 x 0,6 cm; Crosspiece Length: 11 cm; Crosspiece Stretch: 8,9 cm; Crosspiece Cross-section: 2,4 x 1 cm; Pommel Height: 5,1 cm; Pommel Cross-section: 7,4 x 3,1 cm; Point of Balance: – .
34. – , Watergate, Perth, – .  
No data.
35. Type Y, Strathspey, Kingussie and Insh, Highland, c. 900-1000.  
Total Length: 89,2 cm; Total Weight: 0,971 kg; Blade Length: 77,2 cm; Blade Width and

Thickness at the Shoulder: 5,3 x 0,3 cm; Blade Width and Thickness at the Point: 2 x 0,2 cm; Hilt Length: 12 cm; Tang Cross-section at the Pommel: 1,4 x 0,2 cm; Tang Cross-section at the Crosspiece: 3 x 0,3 cm; Crosspiece Length: 13,2 cm; Crosspiece Stretch: 12,8 cm; Crosspiece Cross-section: 1 x 2 cm; Pommel Height: 2,5 cm; Pommel Cross-section: 6 x 2 cm; Point of Balance: c. 21 cm from the crosspiece.

36. Type L, Harvieston, Tillicoultry, Firth of Forth, c. 800-950.

Total Length: 75,5 cm (preserved part); Total Weight: 0,557 kg; Blade Length: 66 cm; Blade Width and Thickness at the Shoulder: 4 x 0,3 cm; Blade Width and Thickness at the Point: (of breaking) 3,2 x 0,2 cm; Hilt Length: 9,5 cm; Tang Cross-section at the Pommel: 1,5 x 0,3 cm; Tang Cross-section at the Crosspiece: 2,5 x 0,3 cm; Crosspiece Length: 10,2 cm; Crosspiece Stretch: 8 cm; Crosspiece Cross-section: 2,4 x 0,3 cm; Pommel Height: – ; Pommel Cross-section: 2,1 x 0,6 cm; Point of Balance: 24 cm from the crosspiece.

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29. Lamlash, Arran, Firth of Clyde, NMRS No. NS03SW 6.
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1. Fig. 4 – Scar Sword Hilt (No. 6). Copyright Orkney Islands Council. SCRAN ID 000-000-144-206-R.
2. Fig. 12:c – Eriskay Sword Hilt X-ray (No. 15). Copyright the Trustees of the National Museums of Scotland. SCRAN ID 000-190-004-753-C.
3. Fig. 14:a-b – Eigg Sword (No. 18). Copyright the Trustees of the National Museums of Scotland. SCRAN ID 000-000-099-724-C.

4. Fig. 16:a-b – Kiloran Bay Sword (No. 20). Copyright the Trustees of the National Museums of Scotland. SCRAN ID 000-000-099-678-R.
5. Fig. 18:a – Kiloran Bay Sword X-Ray Hilt Details (No. 20). Copyright the Trustees of the National Museums of Scotland. SCRAN ID 000-180-001-441-C.
6. Fig. 18:b – Kiloran Bay Sword X-Ray (No.20). Copyright the Trustees of the National Museums of Scotland. SCRAN ID 000-000-099-679-C.
7. Fig. 19:a-b – Machrins Sword (No. 21). Copyright the Trustees of the National Museums of Scotland. SCRAN ID 000-000-099-757-C.
8. Fig. 28 – Bute Sword Hilt (No. 28). Copyright Anne Speirs, Bute Museum Trustees. SCRAN ID 000-000-192-292-C.
9. Fig. 35 – Old Torbeckhill Sword X-Ray (No. 33). Copyright the Trustees of the National Museums of Scotland. SCRAN ID 000-190-002-218-C.

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1. Fig. 2:a – Styes of Brough Sword Before Conservation (No. 4). Acc. No. B.1914.826.
2. Fig. 2:b – Styes of Brough Sword Hilt X-Ray (No. 4). Acc. No. B.1914.826.
3. Fig. 2:c – Styes of Brough Blade X-Ray (No. 4). Acc. No. B.1914.826.

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## MIECZE OKRESU WIKIŃSKIEGO ZE SZKOCJI

### Streszczenie

Artykuł niniejszy omawia zasadnicze zagadnienia związane ze znaleziskami mieczy okresu wikińskiego ze Szkocji: ilość zachowanych zabytków, kontekst odkrycia, typologię i ich związek z innymi śladami bytności Skandynawów w Szkocji oraz znaczenie znalezisk mieczy dla całościowego obrazu obecności Wikingów w tym kraju.

Spośród 36 zidentyfikowanych okazów (zob. tab. I) 30 to pewne i wysoce prawdopodobne zabytki pochodzące z grobów, jeden z grodu, a pięć to prawdopodobne znaleziska luźne. W chwili przygotowywania niniejszej pracy do badań dostępne były dane o 87 przypadkach zidentyfikowanych pochówków skandynawskich w Szkocji (ich całkowita liczba najprawdopodobniej przekracza 130). Na 87 grobów 60 to pochówki męskie oraz wspólne groby mężczyzn i kobiet. Spośród tych 60 pochówków w 47 przypadkach dary grobowe

obejmowały broń, a jedynie w 18 z nich nie występowały miecze. Oznacza to, że połowa znanych obecnie męskich grobów skandynawskich z okresu wikińskiego w Szkocji zawierała miecze. Sugeruje to, że podobnie jak w przypadku Irlandii (71 do 76 znanych grobów, ok. 90 mieczy z okresu wikińskiego, w tym ok. 42 ze znalezisk grobowych), a w przeciwieństwie do Islandii (316 grobów, 73 zidentyfikowane pochówki męskie, 16 przypadków znalezisk mieczy z kontekstów grobowych, na ogólną liczbę 22 znanych mieczy), pobyt Skandynawów w Szkocji w początkowym okresie w znacznym stopniu nosił cechy podboju militarnego. Z drugiej strony na przykładach z Norwegii i Szwecji wskazuje się, że popularność mieczy jako darów grobowych wynikać mogła także z wielu innych przyczyn, jak np. lokalne systemy prawne czy struktury osadnicze w danym regionie. Pochówki z mieczami podzielić można

na trzy grupy pod względem ich prestiżu. Najwyższa obejmuje groby z w miarę kompletnym zestawem broni, innymi przedmiotami (narzędzia, ozdoby), dodatkowymi elementami pochówku (obramowanie kamienne, pochówki w łodziach, kurhany – zazwyczaj więcej niż jeden z tych elementów) i pochówkami zwierzęcymi (w tym przypadku końskimi). Grupa pośrednia to groby z mniej kompletnym zestawem broni, mniejszą liczbą lub brakiem innych przedmiotów i co najwyżej jednym dodatkowym elementem pochówku. W grobach najniższej grupy czasami pojawia się inna broń oprócz miecza (tarcza) lub jeden dodatkowy element pochówku (obramowanie kamienne). Grupę najwyższą powiązać można z „przywódcami”, zaś dwie pozostałe z wewnętrznie zróżnicowaną grupą wolnych chłopów. Interesujące są groby najniższej grupy, gdzie w siedmiu z nich miecz był jedynym darem grobowym – acz kuszącym jest tłumaczenie tego stanu rzeczy niekompletnością danych związaną z błędnym badaniem stanowiska, podobne przypadki z terenu Irlandii uważa się po prostu za ubogo wyposażone groby z mieczami. Pozwalałoby to na wysunięcie hipotezy, że choć miecze były częścią wyposażenia pochówków o wysokim statusie, to same w sobie (przynajmniej w Szkocji i prawdopodobnie w Irlandii) nie musiały być symbolem wysokiej pozycji społecznej.

Znaleziska z północy Szkocji (Orkady, Szetlandy, Sutherland i Caithness, ogółem 12 przypadków) najprawdopodobniej wiązać można generalnie z osadnikami skandynawskimi, jako że z obszarów tych znane są inne liczne ślady osadnictwa wikingów. Pamiętać jednak należy, że w przypadku Szkocji brak jest jednoznacznych dowodów na związki danego znaleziska miecza ze znaną osadą skandynawską. W niektórych przypadkach istnienie osady przyjąć można na podstawie rozmiarów cmentarzyska (Westness, typ H, nr 7-11, oraz Pierowall Links, typ H i nieokreślony, nr 2-3) i późniejszej osady skandynawskiej. Zaproponować można by istnienie związku między okazem typu X z Lamaness (nr 5) a osadą w Pool, mieczem nieokreślonego typu z Sumburgh (nr 1) a osadami w Jarlshof i Old Scatness oraz w kilku innych przypadkach, jak Machrins (miecz typu L, nr 24) czy Bebencula (miecz typu nieokreślonego, nr 14). Przypuszcza się, że osada mogła istnieć w pobliżu znaleziska miecza typu H ze Scar (nr 6), acz stwierdzenie jej istnienia wymaga dalszych badań. To samo powiedziec można o mieczu typu H z Balnakeil (nr 12). Sytuacja ta różni się znacząco od stanu rzeczy na Islandii, gdzie pochówki skandynawskie zazwyczaj położone są dość blisko (ok. pół kilometra) od osad, czy w Irlandii, gdzie 80% znanych grobów wikingów (ze szczególnym uwzględnieniem cmentarzysk z Kilmainham i Islandbridge) znajduje się w odległości nie większej niż 5 km od centrum Dublinu. Wpisuje się to dobrze w generalny charakter osadnictwa skandynawskiego okresu wikingów w Irlandii, zasadniczo ograniczonego do ośrodków miejskich. Niektóre znaleziska z zachodu Szkocji (Wyspy Zachodnie, Argyll i Zatoła Clyde, ogółem 19 przypadków) także mogą wskazywać na bardziej stałe osadnictwo, acz znaczna liczba mieczy z obszarów, gdzie brak jest znaczniejszej ilości innych

śladów stałego pobytu Skandynawów, oznaczać może, iż miecze te wiązać należy z działalnością handlowo-piracką oraz sezonowym wykorzystywaniem danych miejsc jako baz morskich. Mogłoby to potwierdzać tezę o różnicy w charakterze obecności Skandynawów na północy i na zachodzie Szkocji, gdzie pierwszy region był obszarem stałego osadnictwa, drugi zaś obszarem działalności handlowo-pirackiej. Pamiętać jednak należy, że sama liczba i rozmieszczenie wszystkich znanych pochówków wikingów na zachodzie Szkocji mogłyby sugerować istnienie bardziej stałego osadnictwa. Np. oprócz grobów z mieczami z Islay (typ H, nr 23; typ Q, nr 24, oraz typ B, nr 25) z wyspy tej znane są jeszcze inne groby (także kobiece) oraz całkiem spory zasób nazw miejscowych pochodzenia skandynawskiego. Ponadto zachodu Szkocji nie można traktować w izolacji od szlaków łączących Skandynawię, północ, zachód i centralny obszar Szkocji, Irlandię, a później też Islandię. Wreszcie, na prowadzenie działalności handlowo-pirackiej przez Skandynawów osiedlających się na północy Szkocji wskazują dary grobowe pochodzenia celtyckiego, które występują także bądź to w niektórych grobach z mieczami w tym regionie (miecz typu X z Lamaness, nr 5, oraz typu H z Balnakeil, nr 12), bądź to w innych grobach na cmentarzyskach, gdzie znaleziono miecze (Westness, miecze typu H, nr 8-11, oraz Pierowall Links, miecze typu H i nieokreślony, nr 2-3). Niektóre znaleziska z innych regionów Szkocji (Dumfries, Galloway, Perth, Highland, Zatoła Forth, ogółem pięć przypadków) mogą być związane z ekspansją anglosaską w Szkocji bądź też być produktami miejscowego rzemiosła szkockiego.

Spośród 36 mieczy możliwe było zaklasyfikowanie 25. Wśród typów mieczy dominuje najpopularniejszy w okresie wikingów typ H (10 egzemplarzy), widoczna jest także znacząca obecność mieczy typu L (trzy egzemplarze). Inne pojawiające się typy to – przypuszczalnie C lub H (jednosieczne – dwa egzemplarze), X (dwa egzemplarze), pojedynczo występują także typy B, D, I, O, Q, U lub V, prawdopodobnie W oraz Y. Chronologia mieczy przypada generalnie na okres ok. 800-1000 r. i w przypadku znalezisk grobowych ich datowanie jest zazwyczaj zgodne z datowaniem innych elementów pochówku. Pamiętać jednak należy, że liczne typy mieczy wikingów są jednak dość szeroko datowane (nawet na okresy ok. 200 lat). Tak więc określając chronologię grobu, a tym samym czas złożenia doń miecza, liczyć należy się z możliwością, że sam miecz wyprodukowany został dużo wcześniej. Sytuację taką założyć można dla miecza typu B z Ballinaby (nr 25), gdzie typ miecza datowany jest na lata ok. 700-850, zaś grób na okres ok. 800-925 r. Ponadto w niektórych przypadkach to właśnie miecz, jako najbardziej charakterystyczny z darów, jest podstawą do datowania całego grobu. Dla porównania przedstawiono dane dotyczące znalezisk z Islandii i Irlandii. Dla Islandii wyraźny jest związek między intensyfikacją osadnictwa w X w., a późniejszymi typami mieczy wikingów. W przypadku Szkocji i Irlandii możliwe byłoby powiązanie popularności mieczy typu H (ogółem 25 przypadków) z osadnictwem z zachodniej Norwegii, gdzie widoczna jest do-

minacja tego typu mieczy. Ponadto niektóre miecze typu L ze Szkocji wiązać by można z ekspansją anglosaską na południu Szkocji, bądź z wyprawami Wikinów do Anglii. Niewielka przewaga mieczy wcześniejszych typów (do ok. połowy X w.) może zostać wyjaśniona wzrostem wpływów chrześcijaństwa i stopniowym odejściem od pogańskich praktyk pogrzebowych z darami grobowymi.

W kwestii pochodzenia większości mieczy okresu wikingów ze Szkocji brak jest zazwyczaj danych pozwalających (jak np. ornament) na dokładniejsze określenie ich proveniencji. Zazwyczaj wskazać można jedynie na ich generalnie skandynawskie pochodzenie. Przyjmuje się, iż skoro większość Skandynawów przybywających do Szkocji pochodziła z Norwegii, naturalnym jest więc uznanie norweskiego pochodzenia znacznej części ich broni. W oparciu o popularność mieczy jednosiecznych w Norwegii można uznać zabytki z Kildonnan (nr 17), Lamlash (nr 29 – zapewne typu C lub H) i Westness (nr 9 i 11 – oba typu H) za najprawdopodobniej pochodzenia norweskiego. Norweską proveniencję przyjąć można dla miecza typu D z Kildonnan (nr 16) na podstawie analogii norweskich i irlandzkich, acz związki tego miecza mogą być o wiele szersze, włączając w to interesujący przykład ze Słowacji (Blatnica). Frankijskie lub anglosaskie pochodzenie przyjąć by można dla miecza typu O z Eriskay (nr 15). Niektóre znaleziska można uznać za prawdopodobnie pochodzenia anglosaskiego. W szczególności dotyczy to powszechnie uważanych za anglosaskie mieczy typu L – ze Szkocji. Znane są one z Machrins (nr 21), Old Torbeckhill (nr 33) i Harvieston (nr 36). Z drugiej strony, jako że kontekstem miecza z Machrins jest grób wikingów, a sama broń nie posiada innych cech

charakterystycznych (typu ornament), trudno orzec, czy jest ona wyrobem skandynawskim czy anglosaskim. Zachodnioskandynawskie pochodzenie przyjąć można dla miecza typu Q z Ballinaby (nr 24). Generalnie skandynawską proveniencję założyć można dla mieczy typu U lub V z Kiloran Bay (nr 20), typu W (?) z Kildonnan (nr 18) czy typu X ze Styes of Brough (nr 4) i Lamaness (nr 5). W kwestii zabytku typu I z Dumbarton Rock (nr 31) można przypuścić, że jest to lokalny wyrób szkocki, acz celem potwierdzenia tego konieczne są dalsze badania.

Co do konstrukcji głowni, możliwe jest wyciągnięcie jedynie ogólnych wniosków, jako że niemożliwe było przeprowadzenie badań metalograficznych. Prawdopodobnie dziwerowane były miecze typu X ze Styes of Brough (nr 4), typu O z Eriskay (nr 15) i typu H z Pierowall Links (nr 2). Na podstawie zdjęć rentgenowskich stwierdzić można występowanie skuwania głowni z równoległych prętów w mieczu typu B z Ballinaby (nr 25). Dziwerowanie wyraźnie widoczne jest na mieczu typu Q z Ballinaby (nr 24), mieczu typu Y ze Strathspey (nr 35), mieczu typu L z Old Torbeckhill (nr 33) oraz na zdjęciach rentgenowskich miecza typu H z Westness (nr 8). Z drugiej strony zdjęcia rentgenowskie wykazały brak dziwerowania dla mieczy typu H ze Scar (nr 6), typu U lub V z Kiloran Bay (nr 20) oraz typu H z Balnakeil (nr 12). Ponadto na podstawie technologii produkcji głowni założyć można, że głownie mieczy typu Q z Ballinaby (nr 24) i typu Y ze Strathspey (nr 35) mogą być znacznie starsze niż rękojeści. Wreszcie technologia konstrukcji głowni może dostarczyć dodatkowych informacji dla datowania miecza, jak w przypadku miecza typu L z Old Torbeckhill (nr 33).

Tłumaczył Grzegorz Żabiński