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Violence and the Viking Age

A Needs-Based Approach

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Abstract

The Viking Age has long been understood to be a time of great violence. However, research in the last 50 or so years has tended to focus only on more peaceful aspects of Nordic cultures during that period. This thesis works to change that, and tries to find ways to bring violence back into the fold. The aim of this project is to test Johan Galtung's needs-based typology of violence against Viking Age Nordic practices, and to determine whether the application of these typologies affects our images of the Viking Age. The concepts of the Viking Age itself, and of how violence can be defined, are also explored. Further, the thesis seeks to understand how violence in the Viking Age became a potential cultural norm, how it manifested, and how these manifestations can be identified in the archaeological record. The results show that, though his typology and definitions of violence were written for the study of modern societies, Galtung's research is invaluable to archaeological understandings of violence, which was found to have pervaded Nordic societies in a variety of surprising ways.

Keywords

Viking Age; violence; survival; well-being; freedom; identity.

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CONTENTS

1. INTRODUCTION

> *Lo, it is nearly 320 years that we and our fathers have inhabited this most lovely land, and never before has such terror appeared in Britain as we have now suffered from the pagan race, nor was it thought that such an inroad from the sea could be made. Behold, the church of St Cuthbert spattered with the blood of the priests of God, despoiled of all its ornaments; a place more venerable than all in Britain is given as prey to pagan peoples.*
>
> *-Letter of Alcuin to Ethelred, king of Northumbria (793, after 8 June)*

The attack on Lindisfarne, to which Alcuin's letter refers, is just one example of violence committed by Nordic peoples during the Viking Age (and is arguably the example they are best known for), which stretched from approximately 793-1066 (Brink 2008, p. 5). However, several other types of violence were also present in Nordic societies. These will be delved into in subsequent sections, as I present the theory on which this work is based and apply it to various case studies, but a few other examples of violence in these societies include feuding, warfare, and slavery.

As I will describe later, this thesis will not necessarily focus specifically on the years traditionally accepted during the Viking Age, due to the slow progression of culture. In this decision, I found that I will also need to be explicit about who I am referring to when I refer to Viking Age Nordic peoples. When using this term, I am referring to Germanic-speaking Scandinavians, as well as their settlements outside of Scandinavia, such as in the British Isles and Iceland, who lived around the time known as the Viking Age, and who were participants in Nordic cultures at the time. Note that I am not referring only to the pirates who engaged in raids, as their behavior is only a part—though undoubtedly and important part—of Nordic societies and cultures, and is not necessarily representative of all members of those societies. I am also not referring to indigenous Nordic peoples.

It is no secret that the Nordic peoples have been demonized throughout history as bloodthirsty savages. During times of war and nationalism, this image has been romanticized and lionized (Brink 2008, pp. 4-5). Even today, the image remains: an axe, a horned helmet, unsavory behavior committed by "real" men. This idea remains despite the academic community's hard

work at understanding the other aspects of Nordic society, such as farming. No doubt the same nationalism which elevated Vikings (and the generalization of Nordic peoples as Vikings) is alive today, continuing to glorify the violence of their perceived lifestyle. Additionally, the image has continued to be used in media and marketing, for example in the successful television series Vikings. Perhaps it just makes for more spectacle and a more engaging story, but it doesn't look like the popular idea of the violent "Viking" will be going anywhere anytime soon. This thesis will reflect and foil such imagery through the presentation of cases which will impress the true variety of violence and its implementations among Viking Age Nordic peoples.

In this chapter, I will present the purpose and motivation of this thesis. I will also place it into the context of the research which has previously been conducted. The last two sections of the introduction will explain the theoretical underpinnings guiding this research and the methods used to execute it.

Subsequent chapters will define the materials and attempt to apply the theoretical perspectives of the thesis to a series of case studies. An analysis of the data in relation to the research questions will be made, followed by concluding remarks, suggestions for further research, and a summary of the thesis.

1.1 Motivation and Purpose

The purpose of this thesis is to assess the application of Johan Galtung's needs-based typology of violence, in an archaeological context, against Viking Age Nordic societies, and to lay a foundation for future work on this subject. Further, this thesis seeks to determine whether the application of Galtung's work changes prevailing images of the Viking Age, and if so, how it changes those images. Violence initially will be generally defined as any action which has a negative effect on a person's—or group's—welfare; the concept will be further developed in section 1.3.

To describe and classify the phenomenon of violence in Viking Age Scandinavia I will need to strive to answer the following research question: How did violence manifest itself within Viking Age Nordic societies? To better answer the question, I will also explore the following sub-questions: What is violence? What factors contributed to violence as a potential cultural norm? How can different types be identified in the archeological record? How do we define the Viking Age?

I decided to write this thesis to gain a deeper understanding of violence, particularly during the Viking Age. The theory and method I had initially set out to use have taken a back seat to the theory and method presented, changing as my understanding of violence evolved. Originally, I wanted to understand how violent the Nordic people really were, and whether that violence was aimed more at each other or at other communities. It soon became clear to me that this goal was a bit too ambitious: every line of inquiry raised more questions than could be answered in the limited space here, just in describing the subject. I therefore decided to write on a more basic—albeit uncultivated—topic, exploring the application of theory and definitions which could one day be used to enhance research into the violent proclivities of Viking Age Nordic peoples.

1.2 Previous Research

This section will focus on research which has been previously conducted on violence during the Viking Age. The goal here is not only to provide a review of this research or to understand how it has been conducted, but also to identify holes in our understanding and to provide a context to place this thesis within.

1.2.1 Fragmented Understanding

Past research into violence during the Viking Age has tended to only focus on specifics, rather than violence as a phenomenon, with some exceptions. For example, raiding could be seen to be treated as a phenomenon due to its importance in defining the Viking Age. Research has also often failed to place violence into a social theory framework, which could expand our ideas of Nordic peoples and give them some of their humanity back.

Major themes in Viking Age research revolve around raiding and slavery (and of course religion, but that is not under scrutiny in the present work), as well as the internal and external causes of these activities. However, these explanations tend to focus on politics and environment acting on the people, often without trying to examine the mindsets of the actual people at the time. While it is important to understand the world in which these peoples lived, this does not necessarily determine their activities (though it undoubtedly influenced them).

Traditionally, the Viking Age is accepted as being defined by the beginnings of the militarization of Scandinavian peoples, and their terrorizing of neighboring populations, specifically those in England (Brink 2008, p. 5). To understand Nordic peoples then, the cause of

the Viking Age must be understood, as must feuding and raiding, which are possibly the most researched aspects of Nordic Viking Age society, or at least they were until approximately 50 years ago. Because the Viking Age is defined by the beginning of raiding behavior, a discussion of one is also a discussion of the other and so the following discussion will also cover both raiding and the cause of the Viking Age. James H. Barrett's 2008 article *What Caused the Viking Age?* presents an overview of arguments which have contributed to this subject. These arguments center on six causes: technological determinism, environmental determinism, demographic determinism, economic determinism, political determinism, and ideological determinism (Barrett 2008, p. 672). The following discussion will mirror Barrett's and pull heavily from his research.

The concept of technological determinism as a cause of the Viking Age is not new. The idea is that new sailing technologies became available to Scandinavians, which allowed them to travel further out to sea, and thereby raid places such as the British Isles (ibid., pp. 672-673). This technology might come in the form of sails and sturdier ships. However, evidence has pointed to an adoption of these technologies much earlier than the Viking Age, long before raiding behavior began (Crumlin-Pedersen 2007 cited in Barrett 2008, p. 673). Further, it is my opinion that the mere ability to reach places further away does not lead to the mentality of attacking and pillaging those faraway places.

Environmental determinism is another old argument for why the Viking raids began, centering on a weather trend known as the Medieval Warm Period (Dansgaard et al. 1975 cited in Barrett 2008, p. 673; and Dugmore et al. 2007 cited in Barrett 2008, p. 673). Here, the warming trend would have produced favorable conditions, particularly for reaching and settling Iceland and Greenland (Barrett 2008, p. 673). However, the existence of this phenomenon is debated (Hughes & Diaz 1994 cited in Barrett 2008, p.673), as are the periods during which it is said to have occurred; it is sometimes dated as having occurred after the first Viking raids (Bradley et al. 2003 cited in Barrett 2008, p. 673). Again, one must question how the ability to reach a place necessitates sacking that location.

Demographic determinism, which will be further discussed later, has also been argued as causative to the Viking Age and the violence it entailed. 'Population pressure' is said to have forced expansion of Scandinavian territories (Hernæs 1997 cited in Barrett 2008, p. 673). This hypothesis is dismissed with the discovery that expansion indicators, such as forest clearing, were

not seen until after the Viking Age had begun (Skre 2001 cited in Barrett 2008, p. 674). The wave of advance model, which entails Vikings colonizing neighboring territories, and often relies upon information from later, Medieval texts, is also not entirely supported by archaeological evidence (Barrett 2003 cited in Barrett 2008, p. 674). In this model, "Scandinavians first operated as raiders in mainland Britain, Ireland and sometimes even continental Europe" (Barrett 2008, p. 674) after colonizing the Northern Isles of Scotland (ibid.). Again, archaeological evidence is scarce, none pointing to Viking occupation of Atlantic Scotland before the 850s (Barrett 2003 cited in Barrett 2008, p. 674). However, the leapfrog model, in which individuals moved along networks and settled in nodes containing opportunities, information, and/or support, is more likely (Barrett 2008, p. 675). This hypothesis is supported by the short maritime distance to known nodes (Barrett 2008, pp. 675-676).

The previously described arguments of demographic determinism lead to the more relevant hypothesis known as the 'marriage imperative' (Barrett 2008, p. 676). Though it will be described later, the crux of the argument lies upon the idea that a lack of marriageable women (perhaps through selective female infanticide or merely through polygyny), and therefore a surplus of marriageable men, drove young men to seek esteem and wealth through sanctioned acts of violence (ibid., pp. 680-681). Evidence for this argument lies within the female graves of western Norway, many of which contain loot from Ireland or Britain (Wamers 1985 & 1998 cited in Barrett 2008, p. 676; Graham-Campbell 2001 cited in Barrett 2008, p. 676; Raven 2005, p. 43), possibly representing bride wealth (Arrhenius 1995 cited in Barrett 2008, p. 676; Kristoffersen 2004 cited in Barrett 2008, p. 676). Barrett argues that this theory plays well into Gunnar Heinsohn's 'youth bulge' hypothesis (2003 cited in Barrett 2008, p. 677), in which "warfare is often corollary of societies in which young men represent a disproportionately large element of the population" (Barrett 2008, p. 677). Barrett suggests that this demographic shift may have been caused by "increasingly militaristic competition associated with Scandinavian state formation…" which "…led to a preference of sons over daughters" (ibid.).

Arguments centering on economic determinism focus on the effect of silver from the Abbasid Caliphate. Wladyslaw Duczko's 'silver fever' hypothesis states that this silver is what spurred eastward trade (2004 cited in Barrett 2008, p. 677). The Viking Age, however, is defined by actions directed westward. In this model, the eastern Scandinavian interaction with this wealth,

as well as its availability or scarcity at any given time, would have to have had a swift effect on western Scandinavia, leading to raids in times of scarcity (Barrett 2008, p. 677). However, the wealth obtained in the British Isles was not used to gain silver from the caliphate, as furs and swords were the commodity traded in Baghdad (McCormick 2001, pp. 610-611); these commodities were likely not produced in the British Isles, and loot from the raids likely was traded among Scandinavians (Barrett 2008, p. 677). Drawing on David Hill (1981) and Colmán Etchingham (1996), Barrett states that raid targets were in rural areas, and that raids were conducted by rural people from western Norway, and concludes that "the Viking Age began as a rural rather than an urban phenomenon" (2008, p. 678) and that western trade played only an indirect role (ibid.).

Political determinism as a cause of the Viking Age has focused on push and pull factors (ibid.). Traditional pull factors contend that weaknesses in polities caused them to be targets of raids (ibid.), however the first raids were conducted on strong polities, not only refuting this idea but making these targets all-around unideal (Hernæs 1997 cited in Barrett 2008, p. 678). Traditional push factors include "the centralization of power within Scandinavian kingdoms" (Barrett 2008, p. 678). The idea behind these push factors is that powerful neighbors provided examples of centralized power and of "the role of plunder in maintaining a military following" (ibid., p. 679). Plunder not only increased wealth for the crew members who survived a raid (ibid.), but it allowed chieftains and others with power to maintain their military retinues, thereby maintaining their power (Reuter 1985 cited in Barrett 2008, p. 679). This is corroborated by the increasing size of raiding parties and fleets throughout the Viking Age (Nelson 1997, p. 39; Hennessy 1998, p. 339). Other push factors which have been debated include Christian ideals fueling the raiding mentality, and the possibility that competition caused slaves to be released to become freemen, and therefore engage in raiding to increase their societal standing (Skre 2001, p. 12).

The final argument for the beginning of the Viking Age, and therefore the raiding which ensued is centered on ideological determinism. This hypothesis, one of very few which seek to understand the thoughts of Viking Age Nordic peoples, posits that the fervent belief in the concepts of honor and fatalism were root causes of the Viking Age (see for example Kuhn 1977 cited in Barrett 2008, p. 680; Roesdahl 1991 cited in Barrett 2008, p. 680; Simek 2004 cited in

Barrett 2008, p. 680). Though it likely played a role, at least in maintaining the raiding behaviors, Viking Age Scandinavians were not the only peoples to have held such beliefs (Halsall 2003 cited in Barrett 2008, p. 680), and thus these beliefs cannot be assigned as the sole cause of the Viking Age.

Slavery is closely tied with raiding. Quoted in a Science Magazine article by Andrew Lawler, Neil Price suggests that the Viking raids started in order to take slaves to maintain a growing ship fleet (2016). While this may or may not be the case, it does seem that some raids resulted in the enslavement of raid victims, as will be explored in section 3.5.1. In the past, slavery has been explored mainly through written sources, such as the provincial laws and the Icelandic sagas, each which have their own problems (Brink 2008, p. 49). The provincial laws "evidencing the last phase of thralldom in Scandinavia with the manumission of thralls" (ibid.), are not helpful in understanding the beginning of slave-taking. The sagas were written long after the Viking Age and may show what the "authors thought of or had heard of thralldom in the Viking Age" (ibid.) and nearly certainly relied on tropes in their descriptions of slaves (ibid.). Research has also been conducted to understand the magnitude of slavery in Scandinavian society and how it affected the Scandinavian economy. While the number of slaves in Scandinavia has been debated (Brink 2008, pp. 49, 54), their use as a trade commodity, particularly with the Middle East, has been agreed upon (Poser 1995, p. 12; Brink 2008, p. 54). Further, recent research has explored grave presentation and DNA analyses as methods of identifying slaves and slavery (see for example Naumann et al. 2014; deCODE Genetics 2001).

As has been demonstrated, the arguments centering on violence during the Viking Age have looked only at one or two manifestations at a time, for example the link between raids and slavery. They do not seem to consider violence as a phenomenon, how it could pervade a society, and with what intricacy it transpired. This thesis hopes to begin to fill that gap, offering examples of the multiple extant types of violence.

1.3 Theory

The theoretical groundwork for this thesis has been laid out by Johan Galtung in his papers *Cultural Violence* (1990) and *Violence: Direct, Structural and Cultural* (2013). In them, he defines violence and breaks it down based on what basic need it abuses. This will be explored further with the introduction of the other theoretical concepts which will be utilized in the analysis of this thesis.

The most important term to understand in this thesis is violence. What is it? As stated by Debra L. Martin and Ryan P. Harrod, it is "both easy and difficult to define" (2015, p. 119). As a researcher, I must consider the concept difficult to define on my own. Maybe it's easy for the layperson, as the colloquial definition amounts to blood and bruises, and the actions that cause movies to be deemed inappropriate for young audiences. One can have a violent fall or even a violent cough, the severity of these actions allowing them to be described as violent.

In the context of interaction, violence is violence. It's almost instinctually defined by fighting, murder, and other physical abuses. It may be noticed that these interactions all imply an intent to cause harm to another person, something which may be considered integral to the concept. The above are all forms of violence of course, however violence takes many forms, some of which are invisible if you aren't looking at the politics of a group, or even the forms of a corpse. Violence leaves marks, whether on the mind, the body, or both (Galtung 1990, p. 294; Galtung 2013, p. 35). Words can even be violent.

With all this in mind, it can be hard to nail down a working definition. Fortunately, the father of peace studies, Johan Galtung defined violence as "any avoidable insult to basic human needs, and, more generally, to sentient life of any kind, defined as that which is capable of suffering pain an enjoy well-being" [sic] (2013, p. 33). For my purposes, violence will be defined as such, and will also include the further conditions that it "lowers the real level of needs satisfaction below what is potentially possible." (ibid.). As stated above, the implication of intent is important to our understanding of violence; unfortunately, intent cannot always be recognized. Moreover, I argue that in the case of cultural or structural violence, there is not always an intention to do harm, but only to preserve or improve oneself or one's standing.

In this thesis, however, I will focus on the typical violence, which is known as direct violence- that violence of murder and broken bones, of weapons, starvation, slavery, and disease (among other things, to be described). Galtung describes direct violence as an event or an action, which can be placed inside the process of structural violence, all rationalized by cultural violence (Galtung, 1977, ch. 9 cited in Galtung 1990, p. 294). It is important to understand that "cultural violence is an invariant, a 'permanence', remaining essentially the same for long periods, given the slow transformations of basic culture" (ibid.). I argue that that the direct violence of Vikings can be traced outside of that period, and was resultant from the cultural violence that was already in

motion beforehand, and therefore should be studied within structural and cultural violence models in the future.

According to Galtung, direct violence is often the result of a needs deficit (1990, p. 295). A paper written by Ben Raffield, Neil Price, and Mark Collard (2016) attributes Viking activity to just such a thing. According to their paper, a likely culprit of increased violent activity was male-biased operational sex ratios (Raffield et al. 2016, pp. 315-316). In this scenario, those men at the top of the social-political ladder had the wealth, resources, and esteem to attract and support multiple wives (ibid., p. 320). However, the further down the socio-political ladder a man was, the less opportunities he had to marry and thereby continue his lineage (Dickeman 1979a cited in Raffield et al., p. 320). Raffield et al. argue that this triggers high risk-taking behavior (2016, p. 321). Of course, what could be higher risk than engaging in violence of any kind, let alone travelling the ocean to engage in it in another land? This behavior offered the potential to reach a higher rung, thereby increasing the chances of marriage and offspring (ibid.).

Revisiting Galtung (1990; 2013), he breaks structural, cultural, and direct violence down based on the human need they insult. The needs are the same, whether the violence is direct, cultural, or structural, but the focus of this thesis is on direct violence, and so only the way direct violence insults needs will be discussed. The basic human needs are survival; well-being, or wellness; freedom; and identity (Galtung 1990, p. 292; Galtung 2013, p. 36).

Survival needs are fairly straightforward, and encompass a person's ability to live, ideally without injury or other physical damage to their body. Direct violence against survival needs includes killing, maiming, and siege/ sanctions (ibid.). Killing and maiming are obvious insults, and tend to be what come to mind when thinking about violence. Sanctions, classically known as sieges, are meant to force the surrender of an enemy by cutting off access to resources (Oxford Dictionaries, n.d.). This can have a detrimental effect, particularly on the most vulnerable people under siege, who may have limited access to those resources already, causing them to succumb to illness, injury, or starvation (Galtung 2013, p. 37).

Well-being, or wellness, refers to a person's mental and physical health, or their ability to be happy and physically healthy. Direct violence against well-being needs includes illness and misery (Galtung 1990, p. 292; Galtung 2013, p. 36). This can be due to the intentional (or

otherwise) spread of illness, or refusing to treat an illness. Imposing a medical condition or status upon someone, or causing mental or emotional trauma, can also insult a person's wellness needs.

Freedom refers to a person's ability to make decisions and be mobile; for example, their ability to choose whether to be part of one community or another. Direct violence against freedom needs is comprised of repression, detention, and expulsion (ibid.). These can be physically restraining or subduing a person or group, or otherwise preventing them from taking some action, such as through threat or force (Oxford Dictionaries, n.d.); exiling someone from a group, or otherwise removing them from a group; or imprisoning someone, or otherwise holding them captive.

Identity refers to a person's ability to be part of a chosen community, as an equal to others in that community. Direct violence against identity includes alienation, de-socialization, and secondary citizenry (Galtung 1990, p. 292; Galtung 2013, p. 36). Alienation involves removing someone from a group, generally socially, such as through shunning or bullying. De-socialization involves undoing previous socialization (Galtung 2013, p. 37), often through physical removal from the original society or culture, and often to make way for socialization into a new group. Secondary citizenry refers to a person or group being "forced to express dominant idiom and not their own, at least not in public space" (ibid.). Secondary citizenry is not always intentionally imposed, but it is often justified as being the fault of the victim.

Freedom and identity needs are closely related, as are survival and well-being needs, but hopefully the insults to these needs clarifies their differences. The application of Galtung's typology in the analytical section will demonstrate how they can interact with one another.

Martin and Harrod divide violence into two main types: intragroup and intergroup (2015, p. 121). They define intragroup violence as violence within a community, such as "fights with rivals, spouses, and co-wives, as well as being disciplined by parents, siblings, and other members of the family or community" (Martin & Harrod 2015, p. 121), and intergroup violence as violence between communities, such as raiding and warfare (ibid.). These concepts will be applied to the case studies presented later in this thesis, and are relatively simple. Intragroup violence is violence against someone in one's own group or community and can include illegal activities, such as the murder of one's neighbor, for example. Intergroup violence is violence against a community, or someone in a community, the offender is not a part of, such as in the examples above.

A final important concept to briefly address is also a note of caution. Viking Age Nordic peoples are often reduced to the raiders who went on vikings (expeditions to bring back riches), for which they became infamous. However Nordic culture, or more accurately cultures, were rich and diverse.

Galtung argues that cultures are not violent, but have violent aspects (2013, p. 39). In this thesis, I will demonstrate this through the study of violence, which has as much diversity. Because violence is cultural, we cannot simply overlay another group's tendencies and views upon Viking Age Nordic peoples, and expect them to match. Similarly, we must take caution when using ethnographical data to understand violence in the Nordic and Viking world.

While some arguments presented in this thesis attempt to explain why violence was present in Nordic Viking Age societies using environmental factors and human behavior, it is important to recognize that humans are not inherently violent (Grossman 1995 cited in Nordstrom 1998, p. 151). Humans can be violent, with and without intent to be so, but our predisposition is to solve conflict through cooperation (Howell & Willis 1989 cited in Nordstrom 1998, p. 151). Therefore, while pressures can cause humans to behave violently, and those behaviors can become engrained in a society, we should remember that the propagation of those behaviors are more likely a matter of culture responding to those initial pressures. In fact, I believe that the mere fascination with *why* various violent phenomenon occurred (Viking activity, World Wars, etc.) points to a species which would generally rather avoid participating in violence.

1.4 Method

To test the applicability of Galtung's typology to Viking Age violence, I will present and examine a series of case studies to which his typology of insults to needs due to violence can be applied. Each case study will highlight at least one insult to at least one of the listed needs.

John Creswell defines case study research as "the study of an issue explored though one or more cases within a bounded system (i.e., a setting, a context)" (2007, p. 73). The decision to utilize multiple case studies was made because case studies offer the opportunity to study specific instances of an event or phenomenon (Creswell 2007, p. 74), such as violence in this circumstance. At first, the idea of using case studies, which require "multiple sources of information" (ibid., pp. 73, 75) may seem inappropriate, as the cases will consist only of information from previous

publications, however the primary sources for the original publications are, themselves varied, consisting of previous research, archaeological material, and the like. It should also be mentioned that both the single case study approach and the multiple case study approach were used in this thesis, as each type of violence will be exemplified using one case study, but all of the case studies will be used to understand the phenomenon of violence. The difference between the two methods is only in the number of cases used to understand a concept (ibid., p. 74), however the nature of this thesis allows and encourages both to be utilized.

The decision to build cases from multiple sites was made for a couple of reasons. The intention of this paper has never been to study the violence of one site, but to give a broader overview of violence during the Viking Age, and to assess the application of Galtung's typology. Further, it can be difficult—to impossible—to find a site which has been fully excavated, with all reports accessible, and in English. This severely limits the information available, and stunts any attempt to glean a deep understanding of the political and social factors which influence violent behaviors. Finally, choosing case studies across multiple sites allows for a bird's eye view, so that cultural patterns may become apparent. Within-case analyses will be conducted of each case study, in which the case and its themes will be described (ibid., p. 75), which will lend to an analysis of the cases together. The analysis of data across multiple case studies referred to as cross-case analysis (ibid.).

Other methods for conducting this study seemed to have benefits, however none quite had the ability to provide the analysis desired. For example, a narrative approach would have been too narrow in scope, focusing on an individual rather than a society (ibid., p. 76). However, the two other major contenders were a phenomenological or an ethnographic approach.

Though it may be of use in a further study, I found the phenomenological approach to be outside the scope of this thesis, which is less about the experience of violence and more about the presence of it (ibid., p. 77). It may be that this study is the groundwork of a future study about the Viking Age experience of violence among Nordic peoples and those they interacted with, just as it may be a groundwork for understanding nonviolent interactions.

The cultural emphasis of ethnographic studies made it an appealing candidate for this research (ibid.); unfortunately, some drawbacks caused me not to use it, though ethnographic studies may be referenced through the sources from which the case studies are built. Ethnographic studies in

archaeology are often used to draw analogies between a modern society and one which existed in the past (Charlton 1981 p. 130). While it can be an effective method to understand specific aspects of a culture, or how an artifact may have been used, I believe that it is less reliable when studying something as broad as violence in another culture. It may give us a better understanding cross-culturally of when violence is utilized among humans, and how it is perceived, but cultures come with their own unique rules of perception, experience, and acceptability. To compare different cultures without taking this into account can cause us to make inaccurate assumptions. Further, comparing today's Nordic peoples with their ancient counterparts will not suffice, particularly in the study of violence. The cultures have undergone too much change for any meaningful assessment to be made.

As stated above, Galtung's research will provide the framework with which this thesis will strive to analyze and understand violence during the Viking Age, and the case studies which are selected will reflect this. Further criteria for the selection includes the obvious condition that the subjects be of Nordic origin, culturally. This means that the subject need not be from Scandinavia, but at least from an area in which the culture brought by Nordic peoples was the dominant culture, or where Nordic peoples originally settled. Examples of such areas are Iceland, from which one case study will be presented, or Dublin, especially during the late first century.

2 MATERIALS

The case studies for this thesis will be built from previous studies and articles. This is to ensure that a wide range of examples are selected, and is also due to my limited field experience and access to primary material culture. It also limits the possibility of error due to my own interpretational flaws, though it does leave my research vulnerable to the flaws of those researchers upon which this paper relies.

The articles and studies used will draw their data from a variety of sources, including osteological remains, texts, artifacts, and burial contexts. Together, these lines of evidence can build a vivid image to answer various questions pertaining to the lives and deaths of the subjects of the studies and how violence affected them. They are also valuable separately.

Osteological remains have the potential to reveal vast information about a person. Age, sex, health, diet, lifestyle, and injuries can all be read from a well-preserved skeleton (Larsen 2002,

p. 119). One can even infer where the person was born and raised as opposed to where they died (Price et al. 1994a, pp. 414-415; Larsen 2002 and sources cited therein, p. 122). In this thesis, marks left on bones by weapons will be paramount to indicating insults to survival. Well-being can be indicated by dental enamel hypoplasias, cribra orbitalia, porotic hypertosis, and other morpheological anomalies in dentition and bone tissue; these can be caused by illness, starvation, and other similar factors (Lewis 2000, pp. 45-46). When compared with other individuals in an assemblage, wear on a body, or other deviant treatment, can indicate social classes, such as slaves, signifying an insult to freedom (Naumann et al. 2014, p. 533). It should be noted that grave goods and context are also important in confirming such a social class (ibid.), but this will be discussed further below.

Texts, though not always representative of the people they were written about, can provide valuable background information which can be used to contextualize an observation or phenomenon. Sources written during the Viking Age include mostly etic observations, such as those made by Ibn Fadlan and Ansgar; as outside sources, it should be noted that biases or other errors could severely cloud the reality from their work (Montgomery 2008, p. 550; Brink 2008, p. 622). The Icelandic sagas present another source of textual information. Common practice is to caution against relying on these sources as they were not written until well after the Viking Age and do not always reference real people or events (Lönnroth 2008, p. 305). However, as stated, they can be used to provide some context and understanding.

Material culture, the crux of archaeological study, is used to establish many things about a person or place. Valuables can establish social class, for example (Greene 1995, p. 152). A profusion of weapons at a site might indicate a defensive or offensive group of people. Large stones brought from far away to construct a building might indicate that the building was of great importance. Leading from there, the materials present at a site indicate the materials accessible to the people of that site; though more materials may have also been available to them, it in the very least shows which materials were being utilized.

Burial context brings together all the above elements to tell a story about the person being studied. Grave goods can establish a person's social station and can be suggestive of gender roles, etc. (Arnold 2007, p. 107). How and where a person was buried could also hint at how accepted they were by their society (Weiss-Krejci 2008, pp. 169-170). An important note is that the living

bury the dead. Contexts such as grave goods and burial place represent how society perceived and interacted with a person. Even osteological remains can be affected by the living; for example, a body could be mutilated before burial. In essence, osteological remains represent how a person lived and was treated, and should be read together with the rest of the burial context.

In the next section, a series of case studies will be explored in order to test the application of Galtung's typology of violence. Additional measures will be taken to apply the concepts of intergroup and intragroup violence introduced by Martin and Harrod. The cases were chosen based on availability and accessibility of information; in particular, sources had to be available in English, a severely limiting factor due to the fact that many articles written by Swedish, Norwegian, and Danish authors seem to have been penned in their authors' native languages. The cases had to be instances of Scandinavians or Nordic peoples committing direct violence during the Viking Age, or at a proximate time in which the pressures which lead to violence during the Viking Age were present. Further, the cases had to illustrate at least one type of needs insult as described by Galtung. An effort was made to include all of Galtung's types, in both an intergroup and intragroup form, and in a variety of contexts. Additional effort was made to encompass a variety of locations to grasp the scope of the phenomenon, though this thesis has tended to focus on the North Atlantic and has neglected interactions to the east.

The first case study will examine an intragroup insult to survival needs in Mosfell, Iceland, and will briefly speculate about intragroup insults to freedom needs. The second will look at an intergroup insult to survival in Repton in England. The third case study will explore intragroup insults to wellness needs at Birka in Sweden. The fourth case study will consider intragroup violations against freedom and identity in Flakstad, Norway. The fifth case will investigate a large-scale intergroup insult to freedom, identity, and wellness, which involves Iceland as a whole and the British Isles. See Figure 1, below, for a visualization of the incidences of violence discussed in this work.

Figure 1 Map of incidences of violence. 1. Mosfell, 2. Repton, 3. Flakstad, 4. Birka, 5. Iceland and the British Isles. The area in the circle, and marked number 5, refers to the raiding and taking of captives from the British Isles to Iceland.

3 ANALYSIS

In this chapter, I will present a series of case studies to illustrate the types of violence present in Nordic Viking Age society. I will apply Galtung's model of needs-based insults to survival needs, well-being needs, freedom needs, and identity needs on an intragroup and intergroup basis to identify violence in the archaeological record. In some cases, a study may stretch across two or more types of violence; this will be noted. Ultimately, I hope to bring a new perspective to the study of violence for this population through the implementation of Galtung's theory on various instances of violence among Nordic Viking Age peoples.

3.1 INTRAGROUP VIOLATION AGAINST SURVIVAL

The following case study represents an intragroup insult to survival needs in the form of killing. The excavation was carried out in 2001 by the Mosfell Archaeological Project, which is directed by Jesse Byock and Phillip L. Walker (now deceased), at the Viking Age site of Kirkjuhóll on Hrísbrú farm in the Mosfell Valley in western Iceland (Walker et al. 2001, p. 26). Here, approximately 20 skeletons were uncovered in a churchyard, one of which, a male, had sustained lethal injuries of similar nature to those caused by a sword or an axe (ibid., p. 35). He has come to be known as the "Axed Man" and has been dated to AD 855-1015 (ibid., p. 26).

The possibilities of feuding and vendetta will be explored as social causes of the Axed Man's death. Research by Jesse Byock about Iceland's feuding culture, and by Phillip Walker, et al. about the Axed Man and Mosfell, will be consulted to understand the burial and the social structure surrounding this case.

This case was selected to test the applicability of Galtung's model of insults to needs, in this case survival, as violence. Because killing is easily identified as violence, I predict that the Galtung's model will be easily applied to the Axed Man.

3.1.1 The Case

The image of Viking Age Iceland garnered from Icelandic sagas is that of a violent society. Death, blood, and battles could be said to be celebrated in Icelandic medieval literature. However, the reality is that Icelanders as a group did not idolize violence to the degree one might expect. Nevertheless, the sagas focus on violent conflict resolution, such as in the case of feuding in Njál's Saga. A feud is a form of interpersonal violence and is "an extended period of back and forth killings, one death at a time" (Black 1983 cited in Martin & Harrod 2015, p. 126). When we consider however, the archaeological evidence, it seems feuding was a last resort, to be utilized only when all other legal options had been exhausted (Byock 2003, p. 241).

We can take for example the remains found at the Viking Age site of Mosfell. Out of approximately twenty skeletons in the same churchyard, one is shown to have sustained traumatic injuries (Walker, et al. 2012, pp. 39-40). These injuries killed him. He was subsequently buried on consecrated grounds with his feet to the east, in Christian fashion (ibid., p. 38). From this information alone we can draw several conclusions: 1) this man did not die in a group such as in war or a massacre, 2) his injuries point to murder or some other unpleasant encounter with another human being, 3) he was most likely not an outlaw or otherwise extradited from Icelandic society.

Byock argues that the reason for such low rates of feuding in Viking Age Iceland is the culture which developed, which he refers to as a "great village society" (2003, p. 230). The basis of this principle is that, unlike Viking Age Scandinavia, which saw petty kingdoms and warlords, Iceland developed as a single, spread out community which saw value in compromise and a distinct benefit in cooperation (ibid.).

However, this is not to say that violence did not exist, a caveat made obvious by the finding at Mosfell. While feuds, themselves, were relatively rare, Byock describes a similar form of violence which took place more abundantly, called vendetta, which he describes as "personalized violence often within or touching upon internal village life" (ibid., p. 233), in which the personal mentality is opposite the group mentality of a feud. He states, "the anthropologist E. L. Peters distinguishes feud between rival tribes from vendetta killings in villages whose residents recognize codependence and accept the need for moderation in order to live together" (ibid.).

Linguistic evidence also points to a preference toward compromise and nonviolent solutions. According to Byock, while Icelanders had an extensive vocabulary which referred to types of conflict, most of these words described non-violent conflict where peaceful resolutions to problems were sought (ibid., p. 234). This echoes the sentiment of the Althing, an annual event in which disputes were settled and new laws were discussed and implemented for the entire island (ibid., p. 230). The key was the unity of the people and the emphasis on dialogue in order to move forward without violent behavior.

The above-mentioned Axed Man of Mosfell, as he is called, cannot be understood without this background. As stated, he was found in a churchyard with approximately 20 other individuals. He was buried in a similar manner to the rest, feet facing east, and possibly with an offering of his own clothing (Walker, et al., p. 39). The joint wear suggests that he likely spent a large proportion of his time ploughing, building stone houses, building ships, or some other similar activity (Capasso, et al. 1999 cited in Walker, et al. 2012, pp. 32-34).

According to Walker, et al. (2012, pp. 34-35), his skull showed telltale signs of deadly trauma inflicted with an axe, or possibly an axe and a sword, which distinguishes him from the group. He was obviously a victim of a homicide, but was this a more personal murder along the scale of a vendetta, or was this a result of a larger scale feud? The authors of *The Axed an of Mosfell* state only that such a murder "rarely went unavenged" (Byock 1982; Byock 1988; Byock 2001 cited in Walker et al. 2012, p. 37).

Though not much evidence is available, it is my current interpretation that this was a personal vendetta. This interpretation relies on the assumption that none of the other individuals buried at Hrísbrú met similar ends (Walker et al., 2012, pp. 39-40). This may be a leap as the other individuals have been too poorly preserved to say for sure whether they ever met severe physical

harm (ibid.), and for this reason it is important to keep other avenues of interpretation open. However, with this assumption it would seem that this killing did go unavenged, or at least that the subsequent killing went unavenged, as there is no evidence of further violence.

From here, I see two possibilities: the perpetrator was never identified, or the perpetrator was identified and legally punished, possibly through payment, banishment, or execution. A compelling case, it is likely that the exact reason for the Axed Man's death will be a matter for speculation, with never enough evidence to truly draw a conclusion.

3.1.2 Conclusion

The Axed Man represents intragroup violence as an insult to survival needs. This is because he was likely killed by someone within his community, even if it was someone in his extended community. Survival needs, which encompass an avoidance of both injury and death, are—needless to say—violated when an individual is murdered, as was likely the case with the Axed Man.

If the example of this cemetery is extrapolated to the whole of Iceland, it can be assumed that approximately 1 out of 20 people could expect to be murdered. This figure is incredibly high, more so than modern-day Honduras, which currently tops the charts at 60 homicides per 100000 people (United States Department of State Bureau of Diplomatic Security 2017). This would make Viking Age Iceland's homicide rate 83 times higher than Honduras's. However, while such comparisons are interesting to make, the data available from modern societies is much more complete than what the archaeological record will ever be. Moreover, extrapolating the rate represented in one cemetery is likely to lead to population biases; more cemeteries should be included to prevent this. Based on this cemetery, the appearance of a high homicide rate in Viking Age Iceland may prod us to make assumptions about the prevalence of homicide, however it would be unwise to base any such definitive statement or conclusion on the data provided.

3.1.3 Punishment and Freedom?

A further discussion to be had revolves around the assailant(s) of the Axed Man. It is unlikely that they were not found out (see Byock 2003, p. 239), and due to the Axed Man's obvious status as an honored individual, it is unlikely this crime went unpunished. Despite there being no evidence for what happened following this murder, speculation is possible; I will take this opportunity to briefly discuss an aspect of judicial punishment and Galtung's model.

It is accepted that in Viking Age Iceland there were several forms of punishment for killing someone, depending on the type of killing. These could range from payment to execution (ibid.). Of interest, however, are exile and detention. Exile, or expulsion as Galtung refers to it, is the banishing of people to other lands or to remote areas (Galtung 2013, p. 37). Detention generally refers to locking people in prisons or concentration camps (ibid.), but it can be applied to the general denial of the right to leave a place. Both were forms of legally prescribed outlawry in Viking Age Iceland. Outlawry could be three years abroad for a smaller crime or a life sentence in Iceland "as an outcast until hunted to death" (Byock 2003, p. 240) for a more heinous crime.

It is possible that whoever murdered the Axed Man was outlawed for their crime by other members of their community, an intragroup interaction. Galtung lists expulsion and detention as insults to freedom needs. It can also be argued that such judicial punishment is also a form of repression and therefore yet another insult to freedom needs. This presents a unique opportunity to quickly acknowledge one of Galtung's statements that "violence breeds violence" (1990, p. 295). Indeed, outlawry is a violent reaction to murder, and can place the outlaw into a permanent state of misery or cause their death.

3.2 Intergroup violation against survival

This case study illustrates intergroup insults to survival needs through killing. Excavations upon which this study is based were carried out between 1974-1993 (Richards 2003, p. 384) by Martin Biddle and Birthe Kjølbye-Biddle (deceased) at the church and shrine of St. Wystan at Repton in Derbyshire, England. At this site, several burials were found, including a mass burial (Biddle & Kjølbye-Biddle 1992, pp. 42, 45; Biddle & Kjølbye-Biddle 2001, pp. 67-68, 74; Richards 2003, pp. 386-387). Further, defensive structures were uncovered (Biddle & Kjølbye-Biddle 1992, p. 40; Biddle & Kjølbye-Biddle 2001, p. 59; Richards 2003, p. 385).

This case study will focus on Grave 511, which contains the remains of a man who sustained several lethal injuries (Richards 2003, pp. 385-386), likely at the hands of Anglo-Saxon warriors. His remains have been dated to approximately AD 873-874, when the Great Viking Army is written to have wintered in the area (Biddle & Kjølbye-Biddle 1992, p. 36; Biddle & Kjølbye-Biddle 2001, p. 45; Richards 2003, p. 385). An adjacent, related burial will also be discussed, which contains a young man who is also dated to the presence of the Great Viking Army (Biddle & Kjølbye-Biddle 1992, p. 41; Biddle & Kjølbye-Biddle 2001, pp. 60, 74; Richards 2003,

p. 385). Articles written by the excavators and by Julian D. Richards will be referenced to understand the historical context and the burial itself.

This case was selected to test the relevance of Galtung's model of insults to needs, here again survival, as violence. While killing is easily identified as a form of violence, this case is not meant to illustrate violence against these Vikings, but instead to discuss the evidence which points to an intent by the Great Viking Army to insult survival needs.

3.2.1 The Case

This case study is, admittedly, indirect evidence of intergroup violence perpetrated by Vikings. A series of burials lie in Repton of South Derbyshire in Derbyshire, England, which have been interpreted as belonging to the Great Viking Army, which is known to have wintered in the area during and after the 873-874 campaigning season (Biddle & Kjølbye-Biddle 1992, p. 36; Biddle & Kjølbye-Biddle 2001, p. 45; Richards 2003, p. 385).

Repton was an Anglo-Saxon monastery where the Great Viking Army made camp (Biddle & Kjølbye-Biddle 1992, pp. 36-37; Biddle & Kjølbye-Biddle 2001, pp. 49-52; Richards 2003, p. 385). Evidence of their presence can be found not only in the burials at the site, but also by a D-shaped earthwork enclosure they built on the river bank (Biddle & Kjølbye-Biddle 1992, p. 40; Biddle & Kjølbye-Biddle 2001, p. 59; Richards 2003, p. 385), which is similar to those found in other Viking Age Scandinavian defenses, such as Aarhus and Hedeby (Roesdahl 1991 cited in Biddle & Kjølbye-Biddle 2001, p. 59 and 1992, p. 40). Several burials are located within the perimeter of the defensive structure, as well as outside of it (Biddle & Kjølbye-Biddle 1992, pp. 40-42; Biddle & Kjølbye-Biddle 2001, pp. 60-67). One such burial consists of a mound, which held a central burial and at least 249 individuals, mostly male, and is dated to the presence of the Great Viking Army (Biddle & Kjølbye-Biddle 1992, pp. 42, 45; Biddle & Kjølbye-Biddle 2001, pp. 67-68, 74; Richards 2003, pp. 386-387).

The burial in question, labelled Grave 511, contains the remains of a middle-aged man, around 35-45 years old, possibly older (Biddle & Kjølbye-Biddle 1992, p. 40; Biddle & Kjølbye-Biddle 2001, pp. 60, 74; Richards 2003, p. 385)—and of similar physiological build to those entombed in the nearby mass burial mound (Biddle & Kjølbye-Biddle 1992, p. 41; Biddle & Kjølbye-Biddle 2001, p. 61)—who died brutally. This burial has been dated to the time of the

Great Viking Army's presence at the site. A second, possibly related, burial will also be briefly discussed.

The individual interred in Grave 511 sustained a number of severe perimortem injuries. Among these injuries was a "massive cut into the head of the left femur" (Biddle & Kjølbye-Biddle 1992, 40), which "would have removed his genitals" (Richards 2003, p. 4) and was originally interpreted as being the cause of death (Biddle & Kjølbye-Biddle 1992, 40). It has later been interpreted that another, synchronistic, injury—a sharp object, such as a sword, through the orbital socket and into the brain was the cause of death (Richards 2003, p. 4). Additionally, cut marks were found on the arm and lower vertebrae, the latter suggesting disembowelment (ibid.). Biddle and Kjølbye-Biddle mention in their 2001 article that he had also sustained a blow to the head, which was likely delivered just before the rest of the injuries (p. 61).

Grave 511 was fitted with a variety of goods. These included a necklace with two glass beads, a silver alloy Thor's hammer, and a "leaded bronze ?fastening" [sic] (ibid., p. 61) which he wore. He may have also had a leather belt, fastened with a copper-alloy buckle (Biddle & Kjølbye-Biddle 1992, p. 40; Biddle & Kjølbye-Biddle 2001, p. 61). Blades in his grave included a sword with wooden scabbard and copper alloy buckle from a suspension strap, a knife with a wooden handle, and a folding knife (Biddle & Kjølbye-Biddle 1992, pp. 40-41; Biddle & Kjølbye-Biddle 2001, pp. 61, 65; Richards 2003, p. 386). Other goods include a key (Biddle & Kjølbye-Biddle 1992, p. 41; Biddle & Kjølbye-Biddle 2001, p. 65); a wild boar's tusk between his thighs, which Richards hypothesizes was to replace his genitals in case they were needed in the afterlife (2003, p. 4); and a jackdaw humerus, also between the thighs, which may have been originally placed in a box or a bag (Biddle & Kjølbye-Biddle 1992, p. 41; Biddle & Kjølbye-Biddle 2001, p. 65; Richards 2003, p. 386).

Possibly related to this burial is Grave 295. The individual in Grave 295 was a young man, aged between 17 and 20 and as also buried with a knife (Biddle & Kjølbye-Biddle 1992, p. 41). He likely died of a head wound (Biddle & Kjølbye-Biddle 2001, p. 65). Biddle & Kjølbye-Biddle hypothesize that he may have been the weapon bearer to the individual in Grave 511 (2001, p. 65). Both graves were marked by a "substantial wooden grave marker" (Biddle & Kjølbye-Biddle 1992, p. 41), which was placed centrally between the two, and covered with a rectangle of broken stones (ibid.). It also seems that both individuals were buried with their hands on their pelvises and

their heads facing east, their bodies in an "east-west alignment immediately adjacent to a Christian shrine" (Richards 2003, p. 4). Though he was specifically referring to Grave 511 in his interpretation, Richards suggests that this burial method of including both pagan and Christian features was a way of ensuring the best possible afterlife, no matter the circumstances (ibid.).

3.2.2 Grave 295 as an example of violation against identity?

I would like to take a moment to note that not a lot of information has been released (or possibly even studied) about the individual in Grave 295. The brutal treatment of the man in Grave 511, when compared to the relative lack of perimortem injuries of the man in Grave 295, is suspect in my opinion. Though it is beyond the bounds of this work, I inquire whether it is possible that he was killed to join the individual in Grave 511 in the afterlife, perhaps to continue his duty as a weapon bearer? If he was killed for this purpose, he would represent a violation against identity (and of course survival). Galtung lists secondary citizenry as a violation against identity needs (1990, p. 292). If this individual was killed merely to join and serve the man in Grave 511 in death, then he was considered to be of significantly less value than the man in Grave 511, which would place him in a second class, forced to express his superiors' culture.

It does not seem that the information provided by the excavators about this individual is complete; they seem to have focused on other aspects of the site in their articles. For this reason, I believe it is important to disclose that the possible sacrifice of Grave 295 is based on that possibly incomplete information. Because so little is mentioned, it cannot be discerned whether the individual was potentially bound, as is often seen in Nordic burials which feature humans as grave gifts (Brink 2008, p. 55; Naumann et al., 2014, p. 533). It would therefore be prudent to, for now, assume that he was not offered, but rather killed in battle in a much more humane fashion than the individual in Grave 511.

3.2.3 Conclusion

As indicated earlier, Grave 511 indirectly illustrates violence against survival needs on the behalf of the Vikings (though of course it blatantly shows this violence on the behalf of the Anglo-Saxons who likely killed him). The individual in this interment was given a warrior's burial at a site known to have been occupied by the Great Viking Army around the time of his death. Therefore, this individual can be inferred to have been a soldier in this army, perhaps of a high ranking.

Continuing along this line of thought, it can be justifiably assumed that this individual was in England for aggressive purposes, such as raiding or warfare, noted to be intergroup violence by Martin and Harrod (2015, p. 125). The direct results of these activities include maiming and loss of life. Both of these results are obvious insults to human needs, in this case survival needs, and are given as examples of insults to survival needs by Galtung in his chapter, *Violence: Direct, Structural, Cultural* (2013, p. 35).

3.3 INTRAGROUP VIOLATION AGAINST FREEDOM AND IDENTITY

The ensuing case study represents intragroup insults to both freedom and identity needs, in the forms of secondary citizenry and detention, or more simply slavery. Excavations for this site were carried out between 1980-1983 (Naumann et al. 2014, p. 533) at Flakstad on Flakstad Island in the Lofoten archipelago in northwestern Norway. Ten individuals were found and dated to the late Viking Age, AD 550-1030 (ibid.). Some individuals were buried together, and some had their own graves (The Schreiner Collection Database 2013 cited in Naumann et al. 2014, p. 533; Sandmo 1985a cited in Naumann et al. 2014, p. 533). In the interments which included multiple people, one individual was buried normally, while the others were buried with their heads removed (Naumann et al. 2014, p. 533).

Elise Naumann et al. performed stable isotope and ancient DNA analyses on these skeletons to determine their diet, origin, and genetic relation to one another. Not only did these analyses reveal that the individuals may all have been of Norwegian heritage but unrelated (Naumann et al. 2014, p. 538), they showed that there were dietary discrepancies between some of the individuals (ibid.). This may reinforce physical evidence of social stratification (ibid.).

Because the original publications concerning this site were written in Norwegian, I will rely on Naumann et al. to provide the information about the site and burials, as well as to inform this thesis about the results of the stable isotope and ancient DNA analyses performed on the skeletons. Stephan Brink and the National Museum of Denmark will furnish background information concerning slavery among Viking Age Nordic peoples.

This case was chosen to test the application of Galtung's model. It represents an affront to freedom and identity needs. I believe Galtung's model will, once again, be of use and easily applied to this case.

3.3.1 The Case

Slavery, perhaps the vilest form of detention and secondary citizenry, has been a part of human history for millennia. Unsurprisingly, slaves were an important part of Viking Age Nordic societies, performing various tasks ranging from estate management to manual labor, depending on the social standing of the slave (Brink 2008, pp. 52-55).

Slaves were not only taken from other groups of people, but also from Nordic societies themselves (National Museum of Denmark n.d.). Because these people all identified as part of an overarching Nordic culture, Viking Age slavery is not only an intergroup issue, but also an intragroup issue. Whether a specific case is inter- or intragroup in nature can be hashed out through chemical analyses of the remains, which can help discern dietary changes and place of genetic origin (Naumann et al. 2014, p. 535).

This case study covers several individuals, found at Flakstad in northern Norway. Ten individuals were found, four buried in pairs, three alone (The Schreiner Collection Database 2013 cited in Naumann et al. 2014, p. 533; Sandmo 1985a cited in Naumann et al. 2014, p. 533). One burial contained three individuals (ibid., p. 534). Four of these individuals have their heads missing, either through lethal decapitation or after their deaths (ibid.); interestingly, there is no evidence of decapitation other than the fact that their heads are missing (Holck 1983 cited in Naumann et al.)". I will occasionally use the term "beheaded" to describe the individuals whose heads have been removed; this should only be interpreted as meaning their heads were at some point removed.

Those who had had their heads removed were all part of double or triple burials, and were accompanied by one individual who had not been decapitated (Naumann et al. 2014, p. 533). The double burials each had one beheaded person, and one whose head had not been removed (ibid., p. 534). The triple burial contained two headless individuals and one whose cranial and postcranial remains matched (ibid.). Each individual burial contained both cranial and postcranial remains (ibid., pp. 534, 536).

Archaeologists examined grave goods in the double burials and were able to use them to date the graves. These goods included "two knives, a horse bit, a bead of amber, animal bones, part of a whetstone, and iron fragments" (Sandmo 1985b cited in Naumann et al. 2014, p. 534).

Unfortunately, the graves had been disturbed and no distribution analysis of the goods could be made, thus hindering the possibility to use the goods to establish social ranking (ibid.).

Body treatment and grave goods are not the only evidences that can be used to understand the social differences between these people. Chemical analyses point to stratification, with the headless and single burials lower on the social ladder than those who kept their heads and were buried in double or triple burials (Naumann et al., p. 538).

The chemical analyses of the remains are described by Naumann, et al. in their 2014 paper *Slaves as burial gifts in Viking Age Norway? Evidence from stable isotope and ancient DNA analyses.* Stable isotope analyses were taken of the individuals as well as the local fauna (ibid.). Values were taken of the human individuals' teeth, when available, to uncover childhood diet, and of bone to uncover adult diet (ibid., p. 535). This allows a comparison between the two to discern whether the diet changed over the course of the individual's life (ibid.). Faunal values were used to relate the diet to the area and food consumed by the human specimens (ibid.).

The stable isotope analyses revealed that the diet varied greatly between some individuals, which the authors suggest indicates different protein sources (ibid.). The beheaded individuals, as well as the single burial individuals, consumed a similar diet, which was high in marine protein sources (ibid., p. 536)—though variation in the exact sources is evident (ibid., p. 536)—while those who were not beheaded and were part of the double or triple burials consumed a very different diet, high in terrestrial protein sources (ibid.). The latter group is to the exclusion of one individual whose marine intake drastically increased during the course of their life (ibid.).

Ancient DNA analyses were conducted using mitochondrial DNA (mtDNA) from bone samples of the ten individuals. It was revealed that these individuals almost certainly had no maternal relation (ibid., p. 538). Combined with the stable isotope analyses, it was concluded that even if the individuals were otherwise related, they were not closely related, and even still such a relation is unlikely (ibid.). Therefore, these are not family graves.

The DNA analyses also revealed that the individuals were all of European descent, and that their haplogroups "fall into previously reported Norwegian mitochondrial DNA variation" (ibid.), suggesting that both the slaves and those they were buried with may have all been Norwegian.

3.3.2 Conclusion

As mentioned above, this evidence points toward a stratified society. The burials seem to indicate three major strata: upper class freemen (or possibly nobility), lower class freemen, and slaves. While the lower-class freemen and slaves ate a similar diet, the upper-class freemen had their own, which in my opinion suggests that lower class freemen were not valued much more than slaves; perhaps the only true difference was their ability to make their own decisions. This distinction could be the difference between life and death if a slave's master dies. A freeman would have no obligation to join anyone in death, however a slave would not be allowed to resist if the decision was made to sacrifice them as a grave offering.

Galtung makes plain that secondary citizenry is an insult to identity needs (1990, p. 293). In this case study, the headless individuals—as well as those interred alone, though to a lesser degree—have a secondary status compared to those buried intact in double and triple burials.

Galtung also writes that detention is an insult to freedom needs (ibid.). As I posited above, slavery is a form of detention. This only applies to those buried without their heads, who have been interpreted to have been the slaves to those they were buried with. Therefore, this study illustrates both violations against identity and freedom needs, as well as survival needs, even if the single burials are not included.

A further interesting aspect of this case is the European ancestry of the interred. The haplogroups they belong to suggest Norwegian descent for all of the individuals tested. Moreover, four individuals are shown to have moved from a terrestrial diet to a more marine diet, perhaps indicating a change in status. For this reason, I lean heavily toward an interpretation that these are Norwegian individuals, and that the violence extended toward them was done by members of their own society, and therefore this case should be classified as one of intragroup violence.

3.4 Intragroup violation against well-being

This case study represents intragroup violations against wellness, in the form of illness. Excavations of the site, Birka in central Sweden, just southwest of modern day Stockholm, have taken place over a great span of time; most of the burials having been excavated in the 19th Century (Sundman & Kjellström 2013, p. 4460). Birka was a place of craft production and high population density, a circumstance that could have led to increased illness of its inhabitants (ibid., p. 4463).

Elin Ahlin Sundman and Anna Kjellström have performed an analysis of the paranasal sinuses of 34 individuals, dated to the Viking Age between AD 750-960 (ibid., p. 4460), at Birka to determine the extent of chronic sinusitis at the site. Because of death rituals, such as cremation, varied bone preservation, and excavations which did not conform to today's standards, the sample size was quite small (ibid.). Still, an interesting pattern emerged. Whereas all the females showed signs of chronic sinusitis, only 68% of males presented signs (ibid., p. 4462). Drawing on information presented by the National Museum of Denmark and John Ljungkvist, I will argue that a gendered division of labor led to these disparities.

This case study was selected to test Galtung's model of insults to wellness needs as violence. This territory can be a little tricky to navigate, as questions of intent come into play. However, as I will demonstrate, I believe the cultural circumstances leading to increased illness in a portion of the population do not excuse this case from being classified by Galtung's model as violence. Further, I believe cases like this are where his model is most effective, identifying violence where it might otherwise have been missed.

3.4.1 The Case

The level of well-being or wellness in a person or group can be measured by the amount of illness they have experienced (Galtung 2013, p. 36). When studying modern people, levels of misery can also be used to measure well-being (Galtung 1990, p. 292.). Of course, it can be assumed that a person experiencing illness is also experiencing a certain level of misery.

This case study will focus on illness in Birka, specifically on the gendered prevalence of sinus infections, or sinusitis. Sinusitis is an inflammation of the mucous membrane of the paranasal sinuses (Sundman & Kjellström 2013, p. 4457). The symptoms of infection include nasal congestion, facial-dental pain, headache, coughing, postnasal drainage, and runny nose with pus (ibid.). Other symptoms include fever and malaise, which is the general unidentifiable feeling of illness (ibid.).

A sinus infection which persists for longer than 8 weeks is classified as chronic (Slavin et al. 2005, p. S16). It should be noted that Brook (2009, p. 126) cites 12 weeks as the beginning of the chronic stage. Chronic sinus inflammation can be detected in the archaeological record because it causes the bone to change (Sundman & Kjellström 2013, p. 4457). While sinusitis may seem like any common illness, it is important to understand that the infection can spread in the body,

causing abscesses, meningitis, sepsis, and death (Slavin et al. 2005, p. S40). Thus, the well-being of the person can be greatly affected, even in the long term.

In Birka, it was found that sinusitis was significantly more prevalent in women than in men, among the sample studied (Sundman & Kjellström 2013, p. 4462). Rates for chronic infection reached 100% for women, while men suffered at rates of about 68% (ibid.). While there may be biological causes for higher rates among women, such as smaller ostium which may be more easily blocked (Falagas et al. 2007 cited in Sundman & Kjellström 2013, p. 4463), samples taken from Sigtuna and the Mälaren Valley did not have the same gendered disparity (Sundman & Kjellström 2013, p. 4462), which means that it is more likely that lifestyle played a larger role.

I argue that the division of labor, coupled with unique site characteristics, are the main causes of higher rates of sinusitis among women. Gendered labor has been accepted as a reality for Viking Age life and production (ibid., p. 4464). Traditionally, women would tend to the home and farm, cook, and produce and repair textiles for the family (Ljunkvist 2008, pp. 186-188; National Museum of Denmark n.d.). This required time both out of the home and indoors. However, the people of Birka did not produce their own food, instead relying on nearby farmsteads to provide it for them (Wigh 2001 cited in Sundman & Kjellström 2013, p. 4460). This freed up time for them to focus on their crafts, which for women was likely textile work. Men, on the other hand, were heavily involved in trade and therefore spent time travelling (ibid., p. 4464), away from pollutants.

It is believed that the amount of time spent indoors is causal to the prevalence of sinusitis. This is due to the burning of solid fuel indoors, such as wood, which releases toxic pollutants and tiny particles into the small, enclosed space, thereby producing poor air quality (ibid., p. 4463). Modern populations who use solid fuel indoors have higher rates of sinusitis, and health problems related to the use of solid fuels indoors cause 1.6 million deaths annually (ibid.). Evidence for the use of solid fuel indoors has been found at Birka (ibid.). Those who spent more time indoors, namely women, had longer exposure to these pollutants and irritants, thereby putting them at a significantly higher risk for infection than their male counterparts.

3.4.2 Conclusion

Galtung lists illness and misery as insults to well-being needs (1990 p. 292; 2013 p. 36). The women in this study clearly had a higher prevalence of sinusitis, an illness, than the men. This was

likely due to the gendered way labor was divided at Birka, with women spending far more time indoors inhaling toxins and particles as they performed their work.

While the people at Birka were not only locals (Linderholm et al. 2008 p. 455), these people were all part of the community of tradesmen and craftsmen at the site. It is therefore appropriate to name this as an intragroup violence, and at that one in which the victims likely willingly participated, though without knowledge of the consequences.

Had these women been provided with the opportunities and structures to produce crafts outdoors and to travel, they likely would not have been exposed to such a toxic environment for as long as they were. Therefore, they would not have become chronically ill at nearly twice the rate of the men at Birka. Though the structure of society is what caused these women to stay indoors, it is important to remember that this case study still exemplifies direct violence, and not structural violence. The line between the two in this case is fine, so I will briefly reiterate the difference: structural violence is the process in which the events of direct violence take place.

This particular type of violence is especially interesting because, even today, most laypeople would not consider it violent. It is unlikely that the people at Birka would have thought it violent, especially in the face of the more obvious types they dealt with daily. However, the social system at play does prevent a group of people, in this case women, from achieving their highest possible well-being needs.

3.5 Intergroup violation against freedom, identity, and well-being

The following case study represents intergroup insults to freedom, identity, and well-being needs in the forms of slavery and illness. Unlike previous cases presented in this thesis, archaeological excavations will not provide a base to research the needs insults here. This study focuses on the spread of susceptibility to multiple sclerosis from Nordic peoples to other populations. It brings archaeology into the present, citing mtDNA and Y chromosome DNA analyses on members of the modern Icelandic population to serve as evidence of migration from the British Isles. The prevalence of multiple sclerosis in parts of the world affected by Vikings will also serve as evidence of violence.

Charles M. Poser suggested in his 1994 paper that prevalence rates of multiple sclerosis were less dependent on latitude and more dependent on Viking influence in an area (p. 11). His

hypothesis was reinforced by Giulio Rosati's 2001 article on the subject. Drawing on Ruth Mazo Karras's (1990) research into slavery and concubinage and the Annals of Ulster, it will be demonstrated that British women were taken as slaves and captives by Vikings. Data presented by deCODE Genetics (2000) will confirm the use of these women to produce heirs. Taken together, this information will show that Nordic men spread a susceptibility to multiple sclerosis to the children they produced with unwilling participants.

This case was selected to assess Galtung's model of insults to needs as violence. Again, Galtung's model will be instrumental in identifying violence that is not so obvious, and will show the complexity with which violence can take place.

3.5.1 The Case

In section 3.3.1 it was mentioned that slavery was a large part of Nordic societies during the Viking Age and that slaves were taken both from abroad and from other Nordic communities. Not only were slaves a valuable commodity in trade, but they could increase production on farmland. Importantly in this case, slaves could provide heirs and sexual pleasure. This case study will explore how the enslavement of non-Nordic peoples contributed to the spread of disease.

Nordic countries today, such as Sweden, Norway, Denmark, and Iceland all have relatively high prevalence rates of multiple sclerosis (Bailey 1922, p. 583; Davenport 1922, p. 51; Poser 1995 and sources cited therein). However, other areas of Europe and parts of Asia also have strangely high prevalence rates, which correlate with Viking activities and slave trade (for examples, see Wadia & Bhatia 1990 cited in Poser 1995, p. 20; Al Din et al., 1991 cited in Poser 1995, pp. 18-19).

Multiple sclerosis (MS) is a disease which causes nerve damage, and can lead to a variety of impairments, such as difficulty walking (Mayo Clinic 2017). Its distribution follows an intriguing pattern: it is most common in people of Scandinavian descent and seems to have a higher prevalence rate (PR) in areas known to have been affected by Scandinavian activities (Poser 1995, p. 11). According to Charles M. Poser "wherever the Vikings had raided, taken slaves, traded and settled, the MS prevalence rate (PR) was higher than that of the people in nearby areas through the XIIth century" (1995, p. 11). Poser suggests that these high prevalence rates are due to genetic susceptibility, rather than inheritance of the disease itself (ibid., p. 12).

This brings us to the concept of slavery, or captivity. It will be expanded upon in section 3.5.3, but a brief introduction to it and how it affects this case will be presented here. Vikings took slaves from a variety of places, including their own territory (Poser 1995, p. 12). Prevailing thought is that women may have been more often made slaves (Karras 1990, p. 141); this is linked to sexualization and women's ability to birth children, providing potential heirs to a male slaveholder (Karras 1990, pp. 141-142). In this case, the slaveholders are imposing their genetic makeup, here a susceptibility to a disease, upon the slaves' offspring, and down through the generations.

The raids in the British Isles provided a wealth of slaves, particularly females. It was described in the Annals of Ulster that the Vikings had sailed away with a "great booty of women" in 821 A.D. (cited in Lawler 2015; see also Bambury & Beechinor 2000). DNA evidence, which came to light within the last 20 years, suggests that many of these women likely ended up in Iceland. In fact, mitochondrial DNA from the British Isles is stronger in the Icelandic population than Nordic DNA (deCODE Genetics 2001). Mitochondrial DNA can trace only the female lineage. Through mtDNA, researchers were able to deduce, not only the fact that the majority of female settlers in Iceland were from the British Isles, but that the percentage of female British settlers was 62% compared to only 37% Nordic female settlers (ibid.).

For this study, it is also important to understand the percentage of British male settlers in Iceland. Because the Y chromosome only exists in males, it is possible to trace the male lineage of modern Icelanders as well (ibid.). A follow-up study found that up to 80% of the island's settlers were of Nordic origin, while less than a quarter were of British origin (Helgason et al. 2000, pp. 714-715). Thus, it can be concluded that Iceland was mainly settled by Nordic men and British women.

These percentages draw back to the accounts of women being taken captive by the Vikings, and of their use as tools for sexual pleasure and increasing the possibility of producing heirs. As can be inferred from the genetic makeup of the modern population of Iceland, the British women were, indeed, used for these purposes, passing down their genetic material, but more importantly in this case, also passing down the genetic material of their Nordic captors. As it stands, the prevalence rate of multiple sclerosis in Iceland is 92 per 100,000 people as of 1989 (Rosati 2001, p. 119). To compare, the rate is 112 in Denmark as of 1990, 10 among Kuwaitis, and 24 among Palestinians in Kuwait (ibid.). Poser argues that the disparity between Kuwaitis and Palestinian

Kuwaitis is due to Viking activity which affected the ancestors of the Palestinians (1995, pp. 18-19; see also Rosati 2001, p. 131). Further, prevalence rates are higher among Americans (United States) of Scandinavian descent than in any other American group (ibid., pp. 126-128).

3.5.2 Conclusion

Poser admits that the idea that Viking activity spread susceptibility to MS to other populations is purely hypothetical (1995, p. 21), so I feel I should also include this caveat, however it is worth noting that various studies on the prevalence of MS have cited Poser's hypothesis and others have given credence to it (see for example Rosati 2001). It is also worth noting that Vikings often settled in the areas they invaded, eventually adapting to the local customs and becoming a part of that society, even if not in the initial generation (Poser 1995, p. 12). By effectively becoming a member of the new society, the invader would have new opportunities to pass their genes, consensually, to the new population.

While consensual acts could pass on this susceptibility, this case study is more concerned with nonconsensual aspects, namely slavery. The evidence has strongly suggested that Vikings took slaves during their expeditions, and that many of these slaves were sold or traded away, particularly in the Middle East (Al-Din 1971 cited in Poser 1995, p. 12). However, it seems that many of the female slaves, or captives, from the British Isles were instead taken to Iceland. In Iceland, they contributed to the population, not only through their own numbers, but through childbirth. It is presumed that their children were conceived with Nordic men, and not British men due to the high percentage of Nordic men who settled Iceland.

For the same reasons stated in section 3.3.2, slavery, or captivity, is a violation against freedom and identity. I will discuss slavery as violence in section 3.5.3 for added clarity.

In this study, well-being needs were insulted through ways which were discussed, as well as ways in which they were not. Galtung lists misery as an insult to well-being (1990, pp. 292; 2013, p. 36), and also lists illness as an insult to well-being (2013, p. 36).

It was not discussed in depth in this case study, but I believe it is relevant to touch on the idea of pregnancy and childbirth as a form of misery. Surely, there is enough misery to be had in simply being taken away from your home by a group of strange men, and forced to live in a foreign land. A new world of misery must open up when the captive is then forced to provide sexual

pleasure and children, who may not even be eligible for inheritance based upon the father's prerogative (Karras 1990, p. 142), to their captors. Childbirth can be extremely painful and incredibly dangerous, with a natural mortality rate approximately 1500 for every 100000 pregnancies (Van Lerberghe & De Brouwere 2001, p. 10). Further, keeping the child alive would also be a burden on the woman's already limited resources, such as time and food. It cannot be understated that what makes this violent is the lack of consent, which allows these violations to have a far greater effect on the captive women than on their captors.

The main insult to well-being needs discussed in this case is the spread of susceptibility to illness. Of course, I am not suggesting that the Vikings knew they were spreading a susceptibility to illness. The violence here again comes from a lack of consent, and is only pronounced because of its intergroup nature, where Nordic peoples inflicted violence upon British peoples and those otherwise outside of their society. Prevalence rates of multiple sclerosis likely would only have remained high among Germanic Nordic peoples anyway, with a few exceptions due to globalism, had Vikings not engaged in activities such as taking captives and slaves, raping them and others, and then trading their slaves throughout Europe and Asia.

Unfortunately, they did introduce their genes, likely including a susceptibility to multiple sclerosis, to other populations, often by force. In the case of Iceland, the prevalence rate would have been high regardless of whether they brought women from the British Isles, but again, it is the intergroup nature which makes this an act of violence. These women were forced to bear children with a susceptibility to a disease, which would not have existed in their children's genetics had they been allowed to bear children with British men.

3.5.3 A note on slavery as violence

Slavery is a complex form of violence, and a process. The various stages of the process of slavery, which for my purposes will be treated in its most elementary fashion, intersect with various types of violence. For example, slaves were often taken from the field of battle; survivors from the losing side were either slaughtered or allowed to live. The mentality, though, was that those defeated in battle were unworthy of living, their lives a gift from the victorious side. Therefore, the only fitting thing to do was to enslave those allowed to live from the losing side (Watson 1987, p. 8; Turley 2000, p. 3). Here, clearly is a violation against survival needs, through the denial of survival itself (Galtung 1990, p. 292; Galtung 2013, p. 36).

Being forcibly removed from their society—desocialized—these survivors were then resocialized into a new society as secondary citizens, all listed as insults to identity needs by Galtung (1990, p. 292; 2013, p. 36). While they were being held in their new society against their will, obvious insults to their freedom needs were being inflicted in the form of detention and, should they be punished for attempting to revolt or escape, repression (Galtung 1990, p. 292; Galtung 2013, p. 36). Finally, the misery of being enslaved (and all that enslavement entails), or even the possible purposeful—or otherwise, but certainly class-based—malnutrition are insults to well-being needs (Galtung 1990, p. 292; Galtung 2013, p. 36).

As I have demonstrated, slavery is a complex subject which has the potential to incorporate insults to all basic human needs. In truth, violence in Nordic societies may well have been able to have been demonstrated through just the phenomenon of slavery. However, Nordic cultures were much more complex and this thesis was meant to address that complexity on some level. Slavery was therefore chosen twice to exemplify insults to freedom and identity because it was wielded both exogenously and endogenously. It was also chosen because the affected needs were different based upon who was being enslaved or for what purpose, something I felt important to demonstrate. Finally, exhibiting that violence can occur in multiple ways, often caused by other types of violence allowed me to elucidate the complexity of the subject.

4 DISCUSSION

The purpose of this study was to test the efficacy of Galtung's needs-based typology of violence in an archaeological context, namely the activities of Viking Age Nordic peoples. To attain this purpose, it became important to understand how violence manifested itself within Viking Age Nordic societies. This goal was explored through a series of subqueries: What is violence? What factors contributed to violence as a potential cultural norm? How can different types be identified in the archeological record? How do we define the Viking Age?

Galtung provided a base from which violence could be defined, broken down, and categorized. He defines violence as "any avoidable insult to basic human needs" (2013, p. 35) and divides it into the four categories used in this thesis by which need is affected: survival, well-being, freedom, and identity (1990, p. 292; 2013, p. 36). I further subdivided these types, based on whether the violence was directed outward toward another group, as in intergroup violence, or inward toward

the perpetrator's own group, as in intragroup violence, as described by Martin and Harrod (2015, p. 121).

Galtung also divided violence into three overarching types—cultural, structural, and direct—of which only one, direct violence, was focused on here (2013, p. 35). Direct violence is the event of violence itself, rather than the norms, values, and social and power structures which allow violence to take place and can contribute directly to the violence (1990, p. 294). All of these types, however, are important for a deeper understanding of violence during the Viking Age.

It is important to remark that Galtung's research focusses on peace and conflict within and between present-day societies. As it was written, it was not specifically meant to be applied to the archaeological record. Societies today can be studied with great scrutiny, the complexities and interactions between things like economics and cultural ideals, values, and norms can be evaluated and measured with an acceptable degree of accuracy. The same cannot be said for past societies, of which we can only study fragments.

Despite the differences between studying modern-day and past societies, I believe Galtung's research does have a place in archaeology. He gives us a language which can be used to take control of the concepts we are studying, breaking them down into manageable bits. As has been illustrated by the case studies in this thesis, these bits can be analyzed to understand how they intersect and interact with each other and with other aspects of a society. Further, his model allows us to identify violence where we might not have recognized it before. I believe this may be the most important benefit of Galtung's work. Understanding the various materializations of violence can lead to further studies and new perceptions of violence during the Viking Age.

Truthfully, Galtung's work does have consequences for our image of violence in the Viking Age. Often, manifestations are treated separately, with one study about slavery, another about raiding, and yet another about feuding. Violence as a trend or more general phenomenon is less often studied, and not with the scrutiny of Galtung to notice the almost invisible violence that can accompany, for example, well-being insults. With this model, we can now see the ebb and flow in types of violence and who they were wielded against. We can potentially see how one type becomes more dominant—and which types follow with it—while other types recede.

While this thesis is too narrow in scope, a chronological, long-term application of Galtung's model could reveal the evolution of violence into and throughout the Viking Age. It has been illustrated through his model that all types of direct violence were used by Viking Age Nordic people, but how prevalent was the use of violence?

Galtung's model reveals that some violence was unknown to the victims, that it was often used to solve conflicts and problems, and that it affected—positively or negatively—all members of their society, and many members of those societies with which they interacted. Violence was a phenomenon set deep into Nordic cultures, and normalized both domestically and passively, and actively as an activity to be taken part in in foreign lands.

While Galtung is only one example, I believe archaeologists should continue to pull from other disciplines, such as sociology, anthropology, and the hard sciences. The sheer number of disciplines which seek to understand some aspect of humans or humanity is a testament to human complexity. By using these disciplines, including those developed for studying modern peoples, we gain a fuller picture of the vast array of human experiences.

Each case study has already been individually analyzed as it was presented in this thesis. In this section, I will discuss the case studies taken together as a whole, to understand what they say about violence in Nordic Viking Age societies. During this discussion, it is important to also remember that different groups had different cultures, even if the disparities weren't major (Svanberg 2003, cited in Downham 2012, p. 8). That said, violence did pervade Nordic Viking Age societies, in general. The violence was not always intentional, but it was there. Both intergroup and intragroup direct violence existed in all forms, and across the diaspora. Often, especially in the cases of slavery and/or captivity, several types of violence met to produce a particularly violent and complex event. Though violence was so prevalent, this does not mean that all people took part in all types of violence; however, it is likely that all people took part in at least one type at some point in their lives, as many do today in all societies across the world.

To understand why violence became a social norm in Viking Age Nordic societies, we must first admit that any action is potentially violent, and that it is easy to act violently. The example of women being more afflicted by sinusitis at Birka comes to mind. Still today, women in many societies are viewed as homemakers, even if they have work outside of the home. The persistence of such gender roles is tangible today (though perhaps for those living in modern western European

societies the bodily consequences are less extreme). This unintended effect of today's gender roles is violence.

More to the point, violence pervaded Nordic Viking Age societies, whether it was realized or not. Several hypotheses have attempted to pin down what exactly led up to this violence. There is no simple answer and it depends on what type of violence is being studied. Likely, several types were already in practice long before the Viking Age began. Nevertheless, it may be that violence increased during the Viking Age, and perhaps around that time new types were adopted. It is probable that several factors led up to this. In my opinion, though, the idea of male-biased operational sex ratios is the best candidate for a main driver. Not only does it explain raiding behavior, but it explains the prevalence of violence throughout Viking Age Nordic cultures.

In sections 1.4 and 2, I have outlined the method and material examined in this thesis, and by proxy, I have outlined some ways violence can be identified in the archaeological record. The marks left on human tissues, usually bone, can reveal violence in the forms of survival and well-being insults, through deformations and injury marks. Graves, themselves, and the goods within them can reveal violence in the form of identity and freedom insults, particularly when compared to other graves in the same society. For example, the single burials in section 3.3 were likely secondary citizens to the individuals whose heads were not removed and who were interred in multiple burials. Those without their heads in the multiple burials were likely of an even lower class, buried with their masters. Historical written materials can be used to back up or inform research; they should not be used as a primary argument, however, due to possible the biases of the authors, whether perceptual or chronological. Finally, modern day population studies, such as genetic or disease susceptibility studies, can help establish the effect a group has had in the past; the nature of that effect can be understood through the previously mentioned materials.

An important aspect of this work is how the Viking Age is defined. I have used basic definitions in this thesis, but I believe the subject merits further discussion. The focus on raids in the western part of Europe is what has defined the Viking Age, but why? Similar voyages were also carried out eastward as well. The western emphasis is, in my opinion, a colonialist construction, though this thesis admittedly falls into that trap. The Viking Age should be defined by the culture, and it is therefore fine to define it by the raids perpetrated by Nordic peoples, though only a percentage of the population actually engaged in them. They represented an obvious shift

in the culture, whether needs-based or otherwise. However, it is both unfair and irresponsible to effectively erase violent relations with the East when defining such an important age in the histories of both Europe and Asia.

To fully answer how we should define the Viking Age would take the efforts of another thesis, or more likely a dissertation. I have addressed a basic problem in the labelling, but I cannot provide a definitive answer, and have only attempted to have this small discussion as a caveat to how I have used the definition of the Viking Age throughout this thesis. I will therefore recommend the answer be sought within the pages of Fredrik Svanberg's work, *Decolonizing the Viking Age.*

As all research has faults, it would be prudent to point out a few here, of this thesis. The research presented is fairly basic, seeking to lay out a groundwork. While I believe it has been successful in that regard, it has not illustrated every manifestation of every type of violence which was present in the Viking Age, or even provided a single example for every way the types of violence manifested. Such a project would be a herculean undertaking—likely impossible—but it would be the ideal.

This thesis also does not place Nordic peoples into the world stage in reference to violence. By this, I mean that contemporary groups have not been analyzed in this way, and therefore a comparison between Nordic violence and the violence taking place in other parts of Europe cannot be made. Along this point, frequency and temporality have also not been addressed, for Nordic peoples or otherwise. Comparing how frequently various types of violence took place, or comparing a timeline of these event clusters (should they exist) with other groups could reveal a pattern of violence as the practice spread between cultures.

Finally, sources for some case studies were limited. This, in turn, restricted the depth of those cases and of the analyses which could be made. For example, when discussing sinusitis in Birka, further skeletal analyses could not be found. Identifying whether the women had developed different morphologies on their skeletons compared to the men, and whether those developed morphologies were consistent with certain types of work (e.g. textile production) could strengthen the argument that gender-based labor divisions were the reason women at Birka were so heavily affected by sinusitis. I believe having more information than was sometimes available would have improved the quality of some of the case studies, and therefore of the thesis overall.

5 CONCLUSIONS

During the course of this research, a suspicion of mine was confirmed, even with such a small sample of case studies. Violence does not manifest in one single form; attempting to illustrate this was one of the main goals of this thesis. What's more is that these forms often coincide and interact with each other in complex ways. These interactions are most obvious in the case studies concerning insults to freedom, where slavery could mean death and did mean becoming a secondary citizen. In such an example, three human needs are violated: the aforementioned freedom needs, survival needs, and identity needs.

As discussed in section 4, it was found that violence permeated Nordic Viking Age societies. It was present when dealing with other Nordic peoples, as well as when dealing with other groups entirely. This violence was not just killing and maiming, but taking slaves and perpetuating illness. Some of this violence was intentional, while some was accidental, and only discovered a thousand years later. Some of this violence was meant to punish those who had committed violent acts against other members of their communities. Some of the effects of Viking Age violence can still be felt today, particularly in the form of illnesses that would not have otherwise been experienced by certain populations, and being able to trace it may have real advantages to those presently affected. Violence was—and is—complicated and diverse, but by breaking it down into meaningful categories, we can increase our ability to study and understand its presence and effects during the Viking Age.

Using a theoretical framework which has been established to observe and study modern violence can benefit archaeologists' study of past violence. This thesis sought to use Galtung's definitions, and was successful in classifying and applying the types of violence. His definitions can contribute greatly to the language archaeologists use so that we can be more precise in describing and understanding the phenomenon of violence and how it interacts with the people and places that it does, and how and why those people use violence in their daily lives and beyond. It is my hope that this thesis has successfully laid the groundwork for future research in this area, both of Viking Age Nordic societies and of other ancient groups, particularly those who did not have writing to allow them to explain their violence to us.

6 REFLECTION

In the future, perhaps in a longer dissertation, I would like to further explore the topics introduced in this thesis. There are a number of lines of inquiry to follow, which will yield a deeper understanding of violence—and of life—during the Viking Age.

Peace studies, the obvious foil to studies of violence can shed light onto the parts of life not permeated by violence, or more importantly, how various interactions and conflicts transpired without the use of violence. This is something I have thought a lot about during the course of my research, and I believe studying peace in Nordic Viking Age societies is the next step in understanding how and why violence was used, and how it was perceived and experienced.

On the specific subject of violence, two main types have been merely defined here, which must be explored. These are cultural and structural violence. As with peace studies, understanding these phenomenon in a Nordic Viking Age context will result in a greater understanding of how violence was used and perceived. It will provide the cultural reasons behind violence and what factors allowed it to propagate.

Further, I would like to perform a similar study to this, especially including the above recommendations for further research, on more cases. It would be particularly interesting to compare different areas and chiefdoms with each other, perhaps uncovering patterns or differences in violent behavior. This could be important for understanding Nordic peoples as having a range of cultural ideals, or less so; in such a case, such an interpretation could change how the Viking Age is studied and how Nordic peoples from that period are understood. To fill a gap in the current work, expanding the study to include violence in the eastern diaspora would also help broaden our comprehension. Ideally, these studies could be compared to contemporary cultures; how violent were they compared with the rest of the world, particularly those who demonized them?

6.1 A FINAL NOTE

During the course of my research, I noticed a somewhat unsettling trend. Case studies were less than plentiful. It may be well known to those who specialize in the Viking Age that for the last 50 or so years, research has been led away from the study of the violent aspects of Nordic societies. For example, as of 26 April 2017, a query on the research website Academia.com for ‘Viking raid’ will not yield any results.

The avoidance of this research is understandable—it can play into tropes and nationalism, and it was taken on to a fault previously—however, the emphasis on the farmer Viking to the exclusion of the more violent aspects of Nordic culture may be just as dangerous. The propaganda that states that higher education is liberal indoctrination cannot be so easily shaken when we allow nationalism to affect our work. It is my opinion that research is meant to reveal as unbiased a truth as possible, no matter how ugly that truth may be. This is not to say that all research on the subject has ceased, but that it has waned too dramatically for there to be any balanced understanding of Viking Age Nordic cultures.

Going forward, I would like to see both peace and violence equally represented in archaeological research of the Viking Age. Nordic cultures were (and are) multifaceted. We would be doing ourselves and the world a disservice by continuing to ignore the various manifestations of those cultures, stunting our understanding and ability to move forward with a balanced view of these peoples and their world.

7 SUMMARY

This thesis was written to explore how applicable Johan Galtung's needs-based model of direct violence is to the Viking Age, and thereby to archaeological studies as a whole. To do this, I asked how violence manifested in Viking Age Nordic societies. To better explore this question, I set out to define violence and identify what factors contributed to violence as a potential cultural norm. Further, I asked how different types of violence can be identified in the archaeological record, and attempted to provide a working definition of the Viking Age.

In order to answer these questions and test the theoretical underpinnings, a series of case studies was selected. Each case represented at least one type of violence, one violation against a basic human need—survival, well-being, freedom, and identity—as either an intergroup act or an intragroup act. Feuding provided an example of intragroup violence which insulted survival needs. The possibility of expulsion, or exile, showed intragroup violence which insulted freedom needs. War or raiding provided an example of intergroup violence which also insulted survival needs. Slavery was used to illustrate intragroup violence which insulted freedom and identity needs, and it was also used to portray intergroup violence which insulted freedom and well-being needs. Gendered division of labor showed intragroup violence which insulted well-being needs.

The analysis of the case studies suggested that violence was present in many forms and in many parts of Nordic Viking Age societies. Often, various types of violence were involved in a single event. Understanding how violence manifested in Viking Age societies, and how it affected people and groups was made possible and manageable through Galtung's typology, despite its development for observation of modern violence. This also confirmed a need to continue with a multidisciplinary approach to archaeology.

One of the goals in writing this thesis was to lay a groundwork for other archaeologists to follow, so that we can improve research on violence in the archaeological record. Not only does it bring a new perspective and new terminologies into the fold, which can be used to understand sites and regions across the world, but it provides a small jumpstart to Viking Age research. It is my hope that this research will continue, expanding to more cases in the Viking diaspora, and also to contemporary societies so that a fair comparison can be made. Further, Galtung defined Structural Violence and Cultural Violence, which should also be studied alongside Direct Violence to get a true, deep understanding of violence and how it was perpetuated. Finally, I would like to see the study of violence match the study of nonviolent aspects of Nordic Viking Age societies so that the complex relationships between the two can become more apparent.

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