

THE LANGUAGE OF JEWELLERY

Dress-accessories and Negotiations of Identity
in Scandinavia, c. AD 400–650/700

NORSKE OLDFUNN XXXII

Ingunn Marit Røstad



THE LANGUAGE OF JEWELLERY

Dress-accessories and Negotiations of Identity
in Scandinavia, c. AD 400–650/700

Norske Oldfunn XXXII

Kulturhistorisk museum, Universitetet i Oslo

THE LANGUAGE OF JEWELLERY

Dress-accessories and Negotiations of Identity
in Scandinavia, c. AD 400–650/700

Norske Oldfunn XXXII

Ingunn Marit Røstad

Kulturhistorisk museum, Universitetet i Oslo

CAPPELEN DAMM AKADEMISK

For my parents

Inger-Marie and Pål Olav Røstad

© 2021 Ingunn Marit Røstad.

This work is protected under the provisions of the Norwegian Copyright Act (Act No. 2 of May 12, 1961, relating to Copyright in Literary, Scientific and Artistic Works) and published Open Access under the terms of a Creative Commons Attribution-NonCommercial 4.0 International (CC BY-NC 4.0) License (<https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-nc/4.0/>). This license allows third parties to copy and redistribute the material in any medium or format for non-commercial purposes only, provided the work is properly attributed to the author(s), including a link to the license, and any changes that may have been made are thoroughly indicated. The attribution can be provided in any reasonable manner, however, in no way that suggests the author(s) or the publisher endorses the third party or the third party's use of the work. Third parties are prohibited from applying legal terms or technological measures that restrict others from doing anything permitted under the terms of the license. Note that the license may not provide all of the permissions necessary for an intended reuse; other rights, for example publicity, privacy, or moral rights, may limit third party use of the material.

Most of the images reproduced in this book are excluded from the terms of the book's Creative Commons license and may not be reused in any way without express permission from their respective copyright holders. See each image's caption for more specific information.

Series (ISSN: 0333-127X): Norske Oldfunn XXXII

ISBN print edition: 978-82-02-71620-2

ISBN PDF: 978-82-02-69687-0

DOI: <https://doi.org/10.23865/noasp.132>

The contents of this book have been peer reviewed.
Translation from Norwegian to English: John Hines

Cover photo: Relief brooch from Fonnås in Hedmark, Norway. © Museum of Cultural History. All rights reserved.

Cover design: Have a Book

Typesetting: Have a Book

Printing: Livonia Print



UiO : Kulturhistorisk museum

Kulturhistorisk museum

Arkeologisk seksjon

Postboks 6762

St. Olavs plass

0130 Oslo

Norway

Tlf.: (+47) 22 85 19 00

postmottak@khm.uio.no

Send any inquiries regarding this book to:

Cappelen Damm Akademisk/NOASP

Postboks 1900 Sentrum

N-0055 Oslo

noasp.no

noasp@cappelendamm.no



CONTENT

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	9
FOREWORD	11
CHAPTER 1	
COSTUME AND THE DISPLAY OF IDENTITY IN THE MIGRATION AND EARLY MEROVINGIAN PERIODS	15
1.1 Introduction: the background to the research	15
1.2 Costume and peoples in the European Early Middle Ages	15
1.3 Jewellery and group identity in the context of Scandinavia	19
1.4 Jewellery, costume and the manifestation of cultural and ethnic identity in Scandinavia: the key questions	23
1.5 The structure of the book	24
CHAPTER 2	
JEWELLERY, VISUAL COMMUNICATION AND THE MANIFESTATION OF IDENTITY – THEORETICAL PERSPECTIVES	27
2.1 A practice theory of ethnicity	27
2.2 Jewellery, costume, and negotiations of identity: an ethnic explanatory model	29
2.3 Methodological implications	36
CHAPTER 3	
CHRONOLOGICAL FRAMEWORK AND DATING	41
3.1 The Migration Period	41
3.2 The Merovingian Period	46
3.3 Production, periods of use, and date of deposition	74
CHAPTER 4	
A STUDY OF THE DISTRIBUTION AND CONTEXTS OF THE JEWELLERY	77
4.1.1 Introduction	77
4.2 The Migration Period	80
4.2.1 Cruciform brooches	80
4.2.2 Relief brooches	117
4.2.3 Clasps	175
4.2.4 Other jewellery of the Migration Period	214
4.3 The Merovingian Period	215
4.3.1 Conical brooches	215
4.3.2 Other types of dress-accessory of phase 1 of the Merovingian Period	230
4.4 Summary of the study of the evidence	233

CHAPTER 5

THE GEOGRAPHICAL, CHRONOLOGICAL AND CONTEXTUAL DISTRIBUTION OF THE TYPES OF DRESS-ACCESSORY: A BRIEF SUMMARY	235
5.1 The geographical, chronological and contextual distribution of the types	235

CHAPTER 6

DISTRIBUTION PATTERNS AND THE EXPRESSION OF COSTUME	249
6.1 Expressions through costume and the (re)production of identities	249
6.2 The standardization of dress-accessories and systematic communication: the creation and dissemination of a language of symbols	249
6.3 Sets of dress-accessories, multidimensional identities, and ‘boundary-breaking’ finds of jewellery	252
6.4 The consolidation of regional group identities	262
6.5 The Merovingian Period – the reconfigurations of a new period?	264
6.6 The transition to the Merovingian Period: a breach or continuity in dress-tradition?	268
6.7 Gender and articulations of ethnic identity in the Migration and Merovingian Periods	268

CHAPTER 7

JEWELLERY AND NEGOTIATIONS OF IDENTITY IN SCANDINAVIA, C. AD 400–650/700	279
7.1 Distribution patterns and society	279
7.1.1 Jewellery and centralization: power, politics and cultural identity	279
7.1.2 Cultural Encounters in the north and in the interior: Norse and Saami	290
7.1.3 Cultural connections to the south and west: Scandinavia, England and the Continent	297
7.2 Summary: changing dialogues of identity	302

CHAPTER 8

PEOPLES, KINGS, WARRIORS AND WOMEN: CULTURAL AND ETHNIC DISCOURSES IN THE MIGRATION PERIOD AND EARLY MEROVINGIAN PERIOD	307
8.1 Costume and peoples in the European Early Middle Ages: from jewellery-types to confederate groups	307
8.2 From retinues to peoples?	308
8.3 Warriors, ethnogenesis and women: a new perspective on historical peoples	310
8.4 Conclusion	315

Bibliography	317
Abbreviations used in the Catalogue	338
Catalogue	339

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

For inspiration and never-failing support from the very start of this project, I would like to thank Lotte Hedeager. Without doubt, my research has benefited immensely both from her expertise and from her critical input. Special thanks go also to John Hines, who not only undertook the challenging job of translating the Norwegian text into English, for which I am profoundly grateful, but who has also contributed through his great expertise by providing me with invaluable information about recent research results in Anglo-Saxon archaeology, and with insight concerning the study of textual evidence of the period. I am also greatly indebted to Elna Siv Kristoffersen for discussing with me various aspects of the text, as well as talking about many of the artefacts mentioned in it, thus providing me with useful feedback and advice. I also owe her thanks for our many fruitful discussions about the jewellery of the period and other topics of mutual interest – discussions which always constitute a source of inspiration. I would also like to thank Torun Zachrisson for revising the Swedish catalogue and for good help on all questions concerning the Swedish archaeological finds.

This research would not have been possible without the help of many museum staff, who have made objects available for study, facilitated visits to their collections, ‘dug’ out archive-documentation of the archaeological finds, and provided photos and drawings of the objects. I remain profoundly grateful to all of them, but must mention in particular those who gave substantial amounts of their time to helping me: Åsa Dahlin Hauken at Arkeologisk Museum, University of Stavanger; Asbjørn Engevik and Sonja Innselset at the University Museum of Bergen; Ole Bjørn Pedersen at NTNU University Museum; Monica Hansen and Aud Ahlquist at the Arctic University Museum of Norway; and Ingrid Landmark and Anne Britt Halvorsen at the Museum of Cultural History, University of Oslo. In addition, I have relied upon three colleagues at the museum of Cultural History for help concerning some ‘technical’ aspects of this book: Johnny Kreutz and Tom Heibreen have both contributed with aid and/or advice in image processing/photo-shopping, and without the patient assistance of Espen Uleberg I could not have produced the many maps in this book.

In spite of all the great help and support I have received, there will (undoubtedly) remain errors and shortcomings, and I hasten to add that the responsibility for these is, of course, mine alone.

Without the financial support of the Museum of Cultural History, University of Oslo this book could not have been published and I am greatly indebted for their generous contribution. I am also very grateful for a prize awarded by Kungl. Gustav Adolfs Akademien för Svensk folkkultur (Royal Gustavus Adolphus Academy for Swedish Folk Culture) that provided financial support and thus further enabled this publication to take place.

I am also greatly indebted to friends and colleagues who, through stimulating discussions, presentations, talks, or by lending advice or simply ‘just being there’, have rendered valuable support, help and inspiration during a long period of research. Finally, yet importantly, I would like to express my deepest gratitude to my parents, to whom this book is dedicated. I will always be grateful for their abiding enthusiasm and support!

“[...] Ic wæs mid Hunum & mid Hreðgotum
mid Sweom & mid Geatum & mid Suþdenum
Mid Wenlum ic wæs & mid Wærnum & mid Wicingum.
Mid Gefþum ic wæs & mid Winedum & mid Gefflegum.
Mid Englum ic wæs & mid Swæfum & mid Ænenum.
Mid Seaxum ic wæs & mid Sycgum & mid Sweordwerum.
Mid Hronum ic wæs & mid Deanum & mid Heaþoreamum.
Mid Pyringum ic wæs & mid Prowendum
& mid Burgendum [...]
Mid Froncum ic wæs & mid Frysum & mid Frumtingum.
Mid Rugum ic wæs & mid Glommum & mid Rumwalum. [...]
Mid Scottum ic wæs & mid Peohtum & mid Scridefinnum [...]”.

Widsith, after Malone (1962: lines 57–65a, 68–9 and 79).

“[...] I was with the Huns and with the Hreth-Goths,
with the Swedes and with the Geats and with the South-Danes.
With the Ven[d]els I was and with the Warni and with the Vikings.
With the Gepids I was and with the Wends and with Gefflegs.
With the Angles I was and with the Suebians and with the Ænens.
With the Saxons I was and with the Sycges and with the swordmen.
With the Hrons I was and with the Danes and with the Heatho-Reams.
With the Thuringians I was and with the Trønder,
and with the Burgundians [...]
With the Franks I was and with the Frisians and with the Frumtings.
With the Rugians I was and with the Glomms and with the Romans. [...]
With the Scots I was and with the Picts and with the Scride-Finns [...]”.

Translation: John Hines

FOREWORD

It has often been said that prehistory serves as a mirror in which we look for some degree of affirmation of ourselves today (Diaz-Andreu and Lucy 2005:9–11; Eriksen 2002:74–5, 92–3; Olsen 1997:266–8). According to this view, archaeological research is concerned first and foremost with what we are able to recognize from the standpoint of our own reality, while whatever differs from our own time will not be so readily grasped and is therefore not so likely to become a focus of research. This approach to prehistory is not, however, quite so restrictive as it might appear at first glance, because the viewpoint represented in the history of scholarship will be constantly changing – as society develops, the cultural context of research will be shifting continuously and the cultural baggage will vary. To put this another way, different cultural starting points will mean that the prehistoric reality which we see in the mirror is endlessly changing. Consequently scholarship will always be provided with something new: new aspects, new questions and new answers.

This book discusses the use of jewellery to communicate cultural and ethnic identity in the Migration Period and the early Merovingian Period.¹ Based initially upon dress-accessories as surviving remains of a costume, I attempt to infer how the phenomenon of *ethnicity* functioned in this period. In the case of scholarship concerned with the subject of ethnicity, our contemporary perceptions influence how research into this topic in prehistory is conducted, and the interpretations which result can often be considered as reproducing social relations of the present (Eriksen 2002:92–3). A commonly cited example is how the Viking Period was presented as the origin of the Norwegian nation in the period of state building in the 19th and the beginning of the 20th centuries. Studies of the Viking Period were actively used in the establishment of the Norwegian nation state, and the representation of the Viking Period as the root of a *shared* Norwegian prehistory was seen as being of central importance to the state-formation project in order to provide legitimacy for the contention that the Norwegian population had a right to form an independent state (Eriksen 2002:68–9; Myhre 1994:76–94; Olsen 1986; 1997:271–2; Opedahl 1998:35–7).

The depiction of a common and uniform ethnically ‘Norwegian’ prehistory remained to a high degree

the dominant view in the aftermath of the period of nation-building, and so contributed to the frequent under-representation or avoidance of evidence of a multi-cultural prehistory (Myhre 1994:76–94; Olsen 1986; Opedahl 1998:35–7). The Norwegian Saami, for instance, were long portrayed as a people with no prehistory, a foreign element in the context of Norway, with the presence of Saami in Norway being seen as relatively recent (Hansen and Olsen 2004:10–13, 25–7; Olsen 1986; 1997:263–6). This view in academia of Saami culture and prehistory can be linked to the general tendency in public life and politics, from the second half of the 19th century to the end of the 1960s, to reinforce the idea of a homogeneous and predominantly ‘Norwegian’ form of culture in Norwegian society. In this period there was also a conventional view that integration would relatively quickly lead to the assimilation of Saami identity, a view that was reflected in government policy, attempting to enforce integration. However, through influence from, amongst other sources, the American civil rights movements, ‘back-to-the roots’ movements, and political campaigns in the 1950s, 60s and 70s, understanding of ethnic identity was turned around (see, e.g., Eriksen 2002:19–20). In the American context, this change was often referred to as the shift ‘from melting pot to salad bowl’ (Moen 2009:84–96) – recognition of the fact that cultural and ethnic contacts do not lead automatically to assimilation or the hybridization of cultures (perhaps most often perceived as a result of the minority cultures adopting the form of culture of the majority and of those in power), but that ethnic dividing lines may persist with distinct ethnic groups co-existing in a multicultural society. In Norway, the Alta conflict in the 1970s, when demonstrators supporting Saami and environmental interests tried to stop the building of a dam in northern Norway, may well have had the same sort of effect (Eriksen 2002:126). The phenomenon of ethnicity became an object of scientific research (Diaz-Andreu and Lucy 2005:6; Eriksen 2002:2–10; Jones 1997:28–9, 51–5; Lucy 2005:88–91), and in Norwegian archaeology scholarship on Saami identity and prehistory has gradually become an established field (see, e.g., Bergstøl 2008; Gjerde 2009; 2010; Hansen and Olsen 2004:13–14; Odner 1983; Olsen

1 This book is based on my doctoral thesis *Smykkenes språk. Smykker og identitetsforhandlinger i Skandinavia ca. 400–650/700 e.Kr.* (2016).

1984; Olsen and Kobiński 1991:10; Schanche 1989; 2000; Spangen 2005).

In the course of the 1980s and 1990s, Norway has developed from what was commonly regarded as a bicultural society (Norwegians and Saami) to a multicultural one with a minority population of multiple ethnic and cultural backgrounds. This transformation in our own time influences the understanding of 'Norwegian' prehistory, and we are beginning to search for a new prehistoric mirror-image of our multicultural daily reality (cf. Diaz-Andreu and Lucy 2005:10–11). This can be seen as a positive step, because research into multicultural prehistoric societies has been somewhat neglected in archaeology (Insoll 2007:11). We have come to realize that Norwegian history and prehistory contain both a Saami component (Hansen and Olsen 2004; Olsen 1997:265) and 'creole' or hybrid Saami-Norwegian identities (Bergstøl 2004; 2008; Spangen 2005), and it is now perhaps the time to turn the spotlight on periods and areas of prehistory which have been dominated by an even greater range of social and ethnic groupings. I argue in this book that the Migration Period and early Merovingian Period formed such a period in the prehistory of Norway and Scandinavia – a period in which it is not simply a matter of the communication of 'Norwegian'/'Germanic'/'Norse' versus 'Saami' identity, but of the presence of several different 'Germanic' groups.

Another trend which is now having an impact and which is therefore also affecting research into prehistoric identity is to see Norway and Scandinavia as an integrated social and political part of Europe (Eriksen 2002:74–5; Olsen 1997:273). In earlier archaeological scholarship it was conventional to present Norway and Scandinavia from the viewpoint of 'the great ancient cultures' or 'the cradle of civilization', in relation to which the cultures of the North were largely isolated and 'sufficient unto themselves'. We do not now accept that Norway is 'a society far distanced from the great centres of culture' (Marstrand 1956:33). We are preoccupied with being an active part of Europe, a member of the collective European community, and we choose to focus upon the fact

that contacts between the Continent and Scandinavia have been in existence as long as there has been a human population in these areas. In the period this book discusses, the signs of such contact are strong, and some of the material which is examined in this study is common to Scandinavia and other parts of Europe (see, e.g., Hines 1984; 1993a; 1993b; 1997; Meyer 1935; 1941; Reichstein 1975). One theme discussed in this project, is varying levels of shared, supra-regional identities, and the actualization of this theme can hardly be purely coincidental: in a period in which western and central Europe are to a great extent marked by a common culture, we find echoes and mirror-images of our cultural self-perception in prehistoric cultural links.

Two apparently contradictory tendencies which can be claimed to be dominant in contemporary society, ethnic diversity and a common European identity, are thus both present as research themes in the present project. In keeping with more recent theories concerning the phenomenon of ethnicity, these tendencies can be regarded as representing different levels of social identity which determine the self-identification of many who live in Norway and Scandinavia today. We are Norwegians, Swedes or Danes with Norwegian, Swedish, Danish, Saami, Pakistani or some other cultural background, and at the same time we are Scandinavians, Europeans, part of the culture of the West, and so on. By finding comparable levels of identity in prehistory, the ethnic patterns, including their diversity, of our own age are to some extent reproduced. As archaeologists, however, we cannot allow ourselves to be blinded by this mirror-effect to the extent that we look for continuity and *direct connections* between the ethnocultural groupings of prehistory and today (Eriksen 2002:95; Insoll 2007:4). Neither must we ignore or avoid what to us appears different, contrastive, unfamiliar or foreign. The archaeological evidence has to form the starting point, with the limitations and opportunities it provides for the development of valid theories and interpretations. Otherwise we risk the situation in which only 'empty shells are created' (Insoll 2007:4).

COSTUME AND THE DISPLAY OF IDENTITY IN THE MIGRATION AND EARLY MEROVINGIAN PERIODS

1.1 INTRODUCTION: THE BACKGROUND TO THE RESEARCH

The subject of this research is the use of jewellery (dress-accessories) and costume for the display of cultural and ethnic identity in the period of c. AD 400–650/700: in other words, the Migration Period and the beginning of the Merovingian Period in the Norwegian archaeological scheme. The selected ranges of jewellery which will be examined come from Scandinavia, with a predominance of finds from what is now Norway (cf. Ch. 4.1.3).¹ One of the most characteristic features of Scandinavian jewellery from this period is that the artefacts are closely related to counterparts from the same date found in other parts of Europe. Several of the same types of jewellery are found concentrated in an extensive area around the North Sea, in England and the northern Continent, while also occurring more diffusely to the south in Germany. The corpus of jewellery thus links Scandinavia to a broader European zone. The research that has been undertaken on the jewellery in Scandinavia has, however, differed in various ways from that undertaken elsewhere in Europe. While emphasis has generally been placed on the ethnic associations of the jewellery in Continental and Anglo-Saxon Archaeology, attributing the forms to specific historically attested peoples, Scandinavian scholarship and research have more usually focused on the social status of those who wore the jewellery, on cultural contacts and similar issues.

The research in this study is linked to both of these directions of research. It is closely associable with an ethnographic field of research that resides in the European tradition in terms of the relationship between jewellery, costume and cultural and/or ethnic identity. Through the conjunction of the scholarship that has been undertaken within this field and related research concerned with jewellery of the Scandinavian Migration and Merovingian Periods, I shall attempt to show how *the concept of costume* provides the potential

to introduce new perspectives on cultural and ethnic circumstances in Scandinavia in these periods.

1.2 COSTUME AND PEOPLES IN THE EUROPEAN EARLY MIDDLE AGES

1.2.1 The concept of costume in European scholarship

In English and Continental Archaeology, research into the use of jewellery and costume as expressions of ethnic and cultural affiliation has long constituted a distinct field of scholarship concerned with the European Early Middle Ages – a period of time which corresponds, to a degree, with the Migration and Merovingian Periods in Norway. This field of research became established within the paradigm of cultural history in the period of c. 1900–1960, and from the very beginning was plainly rooted in and connected with the discipline of history. The field has traditionally been characterized by a form of ‘mapping’ of population groups that are referred to in historical sources. Peoples such as Langobards in Hungary and northern Italy, Franks in the Rhineland, Belgium and France, Thuringians in Germany, Angles, Saxons and Jutes in England, and Burgundians in France are ‘identified’ archaeologically though the distribution of particular types and combinations of jewellery, and their place of origin and migratory routes are traced by following the patterns of diffusion of the jewellery in time and space across Europe (Fehr 2002:195–6, 199; Hakenbeck 2006:17; Hamerow 1998:125; Hills 1979:313–17; Hines 1984:6–14; Lucy 2000:11–13, 163; 2005:88).

The concept of costume as an ethnic marker was introduced to this field of research as early as the 1930s (Fehr 2002:187–9) and has since then been central to archaeological scholarship concerned with ethnic groupings in the European Early Middle Ages. The concept was originally linked to the phenomenon of folk costume or national costume – commonly referred

¹ For practical reasons, I will use the names of the modern Scandinavian states of Norway, Sweden and Denmark when I discuss geographical areas which comprise these states today. This does not imply that, in the period in question, these represented single political entities.

to as *bunad* in Norway. Folk costumes as distinctive regional or local modes are a construction of 19th century national romanticism (Eriksen 2002:102; Hakenbeck 2006:12; Pohl 1998a:40). The emergence of this idea can be associated with the establishment and consolidation of new national states over much of Europe. The demonstration of a distinctive cultural tradition was particularly important for the process of state-formation that took place in Europe because it could be used as an argument for the establishment of independent states. The costume tradition turned into an indicator of the nation's cultural distinctiveness through being linked with 'the farmers' costume', because the figure of the farmer was seen as the genuine and real representative of the people of the nation, with 'pure' ethnic and cultural roots that were well preserved and deeply rooted (quite literally) in the land. Research into costume can in itself be said to have contributed to the sense of a shared national identity that was an important component of archaeology as a subject in the first half of the 20th century (Eriksen 2002:100–8; Fehr 2002:179, 181–2, 188; Geary 2003:35; Jones 1997:19; Trigger 1989:149) and which also affected

the so-called 'Germanist' historical research of the same period (Halsall 2005:35–6).

This starting point has, quite naturally, been determinative in how research into costume in the Migration and Merovingian Periods has conventionally proceeded. The national romantic understanding or perception of folk costume as a passive and static, almost 'timeless' cultural or ethnic expression (Pohl 1998a:40) was extrapolated back to those periods. By this means, regional and local groupings could be mapped in a simple and effective way, and in some (lucky) cases it was also possible to 'demonstrate' cultural *continuity* from the present back to this early phase of the Middle Ages. The Migration Period and the early Merovingian Period were compliant objects of research in this view, because this period is characterized more than anything else by a very extensive and varied range of jewellery. The items of jewellery were found mostly in the women's graves of the period, and show regional variation to a much greater extent than weaponry or pottery, for example, do (Hakenbeck 2006:12). In addition, it was also to the European Early Middle Ages that several of the



Figure 1.1 A national romantic portrayal of the Frankish King Chlodwig and Queen Chlothilde by Jean Antoine Gros. © Wikimedia Commons.

newly founded European nation states looked for their particular cultural origins (Geary 1983; 2003; Hakenbeck 2006:1; Halsall 2005:35; Hills 2003:18–19) (Fig. 1.1)

The national romantic, ethnic idea of costume that was introduced to scholarship fitted very nicely with key topics, concepts and explanatory models in the culture-historical paradigm. Culture-historical archaeology can be said to have been particularly strongly shaped by an ethnographic tradition, the aim of which was to trace archaeological cultures or ‘culture groups’. The ‘culture groups’ are usually understood to have been identical with ethnic groups or peoples, and migrations or cultural diffusion served as standard explanations of cultural change (Geary 2003:34–5; Myhre 1994:76; Olsen 1997:31–4; Trigger 1989:148–74). Given the fact that the range of jewellery of the Early Medieval Period stood out with such massive regional variation, dress-accessories or *costume* came to a considerable extent to replace the ‘culture groups’ in research into this period (Fehr 2002:195–6). The yoking of the concept of costume to ethnic grouping in this traditional line of research means that costume and/or the dress-accessories turn into the means for identifying Early-medieval peoples that are referred to in historical sources (Hakenbeck 2006:12). In this light, the study of costume has rather indirectly also brought archaeology to function as an instrument which confirms what the written sources claim about where various peoples were to be found in this period.

1.2.2 Costume and ethnicity

Implicit within the traditional style of costume study lies an essentialist view of ethnicity and cultural groupings. Ethnic identity is regarded as inborn, and determined by birth into a culture group. Ethnicity itself is formed and maintained through the norms and rules of the community which are passed on from generation to generation. Ethnic groups thus emerge as static, culturally unchangeable, and one-dimensional entities. Their cultural conformity is directly expressed in material culture, represented in this case by jewellery. Ethnic groups will naturally always preserve a cultural core or essence and therefore can be traced through relocations in space and back in time to a cultural ‘point of origin’. This is an understanding of the phenomenon of ethnicity that nowadays mostly represents a long-past stage in most subjects within the humanities. This is also, on the whole, the case within archaeological scholarship concerned with the topic of ethnicity, where theories from social anthropology have been very influential. In particular an ‘instrumental’ understanding of ethnicity as it has

been explicated by, amongst others, Frederik Barth in the classic collection of papers *Ethnic Groups and Boundaries* of 1969 has set the tone for how this phenomenon is, on the whole, treated in archaeology.

How an instrumental conception of ethnicity alters our understanding of the relationship between costume, jewellery and ethnic groupings in relation to the traditional, essentialist perception of the phenomenon can be illustrated through Ian Hodder’s ethno-archaeological study in the Baringo district of Kenya in *Symbols in Action* (1979). In this book, Hodder showed how different tribes in certain parts of Baringo used costume and especially ear-hangers as group markers and yet in other areas there were virtually no material differences between groups. The areas with the most conspicuous differences between the tribes were characterized by the greatest competition for resources, such as pasture, leading to rivalry between the ethnic groups. The degree of ethnic marking thus proves to be situation-dependent. It is also possible to change ethnic affiliation in this region by changing costume and jewellery. Hodder argued that such ethnic shifts take place in a situation of competition involving intense social stress in order to gain access to resources, because access is regulated by ethnic identity. Ethnicity thus also emerges as a means or an instrument that is used in order to achieve personal gain, and ethnic identity is something that can more or less be freely chosen by the members of a group. An important point, however, is that the ethnic groups remain in being even if individuals change group-affiliation.

In agreement with Barth and other ‘instrumentalists’, Hodder thus saw ethnicity as an aspect of social organization of a similar type to, and partially interwoven with, economic and political circumstances, amongst other things. Ethnicity is, in this view, a phenomenon that is particularly closely linked to situations of competition between culture groups. Ethnic identity involves the active maintenance of cultural boundaries in social interaction rather than the passive reflection of cultural norms (Jones 1997:28). Even though this way of looking at ethnic groups has been criticised for representing them as nothing more than constellations of economic interests that are constituted by a collection of profit-oriented individuals and governed by a sort of peculiar, eco-functionalist logic (Jones 1997:75–9), these ethnic studies show that there is no simple, one-to-one relationship between ethnic identity and material culture. This means, for example, that a particular set of jewellery does not necessarily directly represent the ethnic identity of the person wearing it as some ‘biological’ or ‘inborn’ identity, as was formerly assumed. Traditional archaeological identifications in

which, for instance, an Alemannic dress-accessory automatically represents a historically one-dimensional entity and is inseparable from a 'biological' identity as 'Alemannic' can no longer be justified.

A related way of understanding ethnicity has also had considerable impact amongst historians who work on the European Early Middle Ages, and recurs in the same context in presentations of Early-medieval peoples or tribal federations as social constructs (e.g. Geary 1983; 2003; Halsall 1998; Heather 1998; James 1991; Pohl ed. 1998; Wolfram 1970). It is in particular supporters of what can be called the *ethnogenesis model* (cf. Ch. 8), often referred to as the *Vienna School*, who have been the spokespersons for this view of ethnic groups in the Migration Period. According to this model, the tribal federations appeared through peoples with different ethnic and cultural backgrounds coming together and forming new groupings. The ethnic identity of the federations is determined by the war-leader/king and by the ethnicity of the military elite. This takes place in connection with a political and social change within the Roman Empire in the West and the post-Roman world from around the end of the 4th century onwards. In a new political climate ethnicity turned into a political factor, and 'ethnic discourse' became 'the key to political power' (Pohl 1998b:1–2). Such an understanding of ethnic relations in the Early Middle Ages was introduced in *Stammesbildung und Verfassung: Das Werden der frühmittelalterliche Gentes* by Reinhard Wenskus (1961) and has dominated the historical view of the period since then.

In the *archaeology* of the Early Middle Ages, meanwhile, research concerned with ethnicity has carried on largely along the same lines as previously. This is perhaps particularly the case in the field of research dealing with costume as an ethnic marker, where a more traditional view of ethnicity has for the most part been retained (Effros 2004:167, 171–2; Fehr 2002:199; Gillett 2002a:3–4; Halsall 1998:151). The objective in many cases continues to be to identify or map ethnic categories that are mentioned in historical sources. Because of unfortunate associations and the misuse of archaeological 'ethnicity scholarship' under the Nazis, this field has also never been regarded as entirely 'clean'. Dress-accessories or costume are indeed treated primarily as expressions of Germanic culture, and terms such as Germanic people and Germanic culture have, in the wake of the Second World War, been regarded as if contaminated. Currently, then, the alternative term *barbarian* (in its original meaning as non-Greek and non-Roman) is commonly used rather than *Germanic* (Hakenbeck 2006:fn. 3; Kulikowski

2002: fn. 2; Näsman 2006:fn. 13). This has possibly been a contributory factor in the establishment of a less 'risky', or a politically neutral, approach in the study of costume: the reconstruction of dress (see, e.g., L. B. Jørgensen 1991). In this tradition the costume is, as a rule, only 'objectively' described, which leads to costume appearing static and passive. The focus is directed at reconstruction on the basis of archaeological evidence and on the classification of different styles of dress – e.g. Anglian, Anglo-Saxon or Alemannic (Christlein 1979:77–82; Owen-Crocker 2004; Vierck 1978a–c). Costume emerges from such works first and foremost as a social object, while its potential as a socially active factor is not investigated (Sørensen 2004:128, 133).

In addition to the points made above concerning unfortunate political associations, it seems, rather paradoxically, to be the availability of historical sources that is the main reason for the conservative approach to ethnicity in respect of costume history. The sources speak of different peoples, and the aim has been to rediscover these groups through material distinctiveness, such as different modes of dress. With a guidebook in hand the theoretical problems that have been grappled with in the study of ethnicity in a different archaeological context are simply by-passed, ignored or marginalized. The same appears to be the case with more recent research discoveries from sociology and social anthropology concerning the subject of costume as an ethnic or cultural marker (cf. Ch. 2.2). The close connection to the historical branch of research also appears not to have been accompanied by any high level of influence from theoretical developments within the discipline of history itself with regard to the study of Early-medieval peoples (cf. above). On the contrary, a general scepticism towards the use of costume and jewellery to identify ethnic groups can be detected amongst historians:

... those objects (notably certain types of brooches, buckles or belt-fittings) which are most often seen by archaeologists as signifying 'ethnicity' are, unfortunately, not described as such in contemporary sources – and there is, therefore, considerable danger in putting 'ethnic' labels on any object (Wood 1998:299–300).

Several British and Continental archaeologists seem also, in recent years, to have abandoned costume as a way into the pursuit of ethnic research (Effros 2004:170, 175; Fehr 2002). This position amongst archaeologists and historians who work on the European Early Middle Ages could, however, in my judgment, be seen as a case of throwing the baby out with the bathwater. Dress-accessories and costume

do not have to be dismissed entirely as a source of information on ethnic relationships even if earlier interpretations are no longer tenable. The Austrian historian Walter Pohl is also rather more moderate in his self-distancing from the 'ethnic costume issue' in archaeology:

The question of archaeological evidence for costume and its possible ethnic connotations cannot be discussed adequately here. Historians should just be warned not to take the interpretation of grave finds as an alternative shortcut to 'hard facts', which they have become used not to expect from their texts (Pohl 1998a:42).

There are also a number of exceptions to the traditional ethnic interpretations of costume in European Early Medieval Archaeology, and the developments of recent years indicate that there is a trend which is bringing about a change of direction in the field. A number of recent archaeological studies comprise research into the dress-accessories of this period on the basis of a more up-to-date understanding of the phenomenon of ethnicity. John Hines (1993a; 1994; 1995), for example, shows how clasps were actively used in the construction of a new English Anglian group in the Migration Period. This happened through wrist-clasps becoming a component in a 'national dress of Anglian England' (Hines 1993a:92). The use of a common costume is, in Hines's view, a reflex of a conscious desire for a shared group identity. Lotte Hedeager (2000) shows how Scandinavian zoomorphic decoration on, inter alia, relief brooches, and gold bracteates with designs derived from the world of Nordic mythological ideas, were used in the formation of a distinct political, ideological and cultural identity for the elite amongst different groups or peoples on the Continent and in England in the Migration and Merovingian Periods. The focus in the more recent studies lies on the use of jewellery and/or costume in the construction or formation of ethnic and social groupings. Costume emerges from these works as an active element in social interactions or negotiations between different social and ethnic groups (e.g. Geake 1997; Hakenbeck 2004; 2006; Hedeager 2000; Hines 1993a; 1994; 1995; Martin 2015; Røstad 2001; 2003). This alternative perspective shows that the field of scholarship concerning costume and ethnicity has the potential to produce new insights into cultural and ethnic relations in the Early Middle Ages of Europe.

1.3 JEWELLERY AND GROUP IDENTITY IN THE CONTEXT OF SCANDINAVIA

1.3.1 Costume and cultural groupings in the Migration and Merovingian Periods in Scandinavia

The ethnographic tradition that has occupied so firm a place in the archaeology of the Migration Period in Europe has not played so determinative a role in scholarship concerned with the Migration and Merovingian Periods in Scandinavia. In respect of Norway, this is undoubtedly at least partly due to the fact that it has been the Viking Period, the age of the 'unification of the kingdom', which has played the role of the first cultural stage of the Norwegian nation state (Myhre 1994:76–94; Opedahl 1998:35–7). The preceding Migration and Merovingian Periods have consequently received less attention in terms of the nation's 'ethnic roots' in Norway than is the case on the Continent. Nor have these periods been 'privileged' in Danish archaeology² as a special period of history in respect of archaeology's contribution to the formation of Danish national identity. The Viking Period has been important in Denmark as well, but in fact it is more or less the *whole* of prehistory that has been characterized as 'Danish' and has acquired significance in the modern Danish self-perception (Jones 1997:6; Kristiansen 1989:187–91, 202–13). The Migration Period and early Vendel [= Merovingian] Period have, by contrast, played a more central role in the case of the evolution of the Swedish nation state. Concurrently, also other periods of prehistory and history, and arguably here again especially the Viking Period, have been important in the formation of a Swedish national identity. It is particularly the *Svear*, the Mälars region, and the burial mounds at Gamla Uppsala and the significance of this centre in the Viking Period that have been the principal objects of attention (Bennett 1987:5; Hyenstrand 1996:9–20, 89–91; Pettersson 2005; Svanberg 2003:53–9).

It has also been important in the context of Scandinavian nation-building, and perhaps particularly in the case of Norway – since Norway had to struggle to become an independent state – to emphasize a distinct but nonetheless common ethnic and cultural past. This led, to a certain extent, to an under-communication of archaeological research which indicated that there were several ethnic or cultural groups within the areas which formed the territory of the three Scandinavian nation states (Myhre 1994:76–94; Olsen 1986; Opedahl 1998:35–7). The dress-accessories of the Migration Period, with their marked regional variance and yet trans-regional distribution patterns

2 The Migration and Merovingian Periods are in Danish archaeology called the Early and Late Germanic Iron Age respectively.

across the national boundaries within Scandinavia, have probably not been regarded as an ideal object of research in this light.

Using costume as a marker and reflection of cultural group-affiliation in the Migration and Merovingian Periods has likewise not been a prominent topic in relation to Scandinavia. A supplementary reason for this is probably the fact that historical sources which could serve as a basis for traditional archaeological 'identifications' of regional costumes are conspicuous by their absence. In *Getica*, composed by the Ostrogothic author Jordanes in the mid-6th century, we do in fact encounter a variety of peoples within Scandinavia, such as the *granii*, *augandzi*, *rugi*, *eunixi*, *taetel*, *arochi*, *ranii*, *screrefinnae*, *gauthigoth*, *ostrogoth*, *suehans*, *dani* and others (Hedeager and Tvarnø 2001:267–71; Myhre 1987a:186–7; 1991:15; Solberg 2000:162–3). Some of the same peoples also find a place in the contemporary Byzantine author Procopius's (2006) *History of the Wars*, VI.xv (Hedeager and Tvarnø 2001:271). In two Old English poems, *Widsith* and *Beowulf*, which may originally have been written down as early as c. AD 600–700 and c. AD 700–800 respectively (Chambers 1912; Malone 1962:112–16; Swanton 1997:2–3; Neidorf ed. 2014; Neidorf 2018; but cf. Chase ed. 1980; Niles 1999:173, 193 for arguments for a later dating of the poems), a range of Scandinavian peoples appear: for instance the *þrowendas*, corresponding etymologically with the Old Norse *þröndr* and modern Trønder (Noréen 1920:47), Jutes, Danes, Svear, Geats and others. These Continental and Anglo-Saxon sources that refer to the area of Scandinavia are, nonetheless, too imprecise in their localization of specific population groups to have been of much help in undertaking identifications comparable with those conventionally produced on the Continent and in England (Ringtved 1991:97). Through an intensive phase of place-name research in the second half of the 19th century and into the 20th century, however, the attempt was made to locate several of the peoples or tribes that are referred to in these sources (and in a description in a rather earlier documentary source: the Greek astronomer, geographer and mathematician Claudius Ptolemaeus, of the 2nd century AD) around Scandinavia (e.g. Noréen 1920; Olsen 1905; 1915:282–5; Svennung 1964; 1965; 1967; 1972; Svensson 1918; 1919). Although the debate was lively and comprehensive, the result of the mapping remains

doubtful. Anton Brøgger (1925:186) critiqued it in the following way (translated):

For anyone who is not a philologist, the many years of scholarly discussion of the 27 tribal names [in Jordanes] will not infrequently look completely misconceived. Spellings and roots are introduced or removed in order to make the names fit with what are often very local terms.

He sums up the place-name discussion by observing that 'even ... plausible conjectures are, and remain, no more than conjecture' (Brøgger 1925:188).

A number of the associations involving the names have, however, seemed so convincing that they have 'put down roots' and are, for the most part, accepted within archaeological scholarship as reasonable inferences on the location of specific groups (see, e.g., Shetelig 1925:163–4, 176–7). This is the case, for instance, with the location of the Danes in Denmark, the Svear in central Sweden, and the Geats/Gautar in Götland.³ Similarly, the location of the *alogii/háleygir* in Hålogaland, the *augandzil/egder* in the provinces of Agder, the *rugi* or *ryger* in Rogaland, the *granii/grenir* in Grenland in Telemark, and of the (*screre*) *finner* – the Saami – in northern and central areas of the Scandinavian peninsula appears sound on the basis of Norse terminology and surviving place-names. These localizations are also in many cases supported by the fact that the terms recur in administrative divisions from medieval Scandinavia (Callmer 1991; Hyenstrand 1996:134–7; Myhre 1987a:186). Several of these tribal names and place-names have, over time, also been linked to archaeologically defined centres (see, e.g., Callmer 1991; Hedeager 1992a; Myhre 1987a; Ramqvist 1991). But little attention has been paid to dress-accessories in these studies.

The information about, amongst others, Danes, Jutes, Geats and Svear has, through its ready linkage with historical groups and modern place-names, created a potential starting point for distinguishing regional groups through costume habits. In that respect, however, the archaeological evidence has largely let us down. Dress-accessories are found primarily in women's graves but the burial practice in southern Scandinavia in this period involves few such artefacts, while in central Sweden cremation is the dominant rite of the Migration Period. It has, as a result, been difficult to define special sets of dress-accessories

³ There has, however, been some debate over whether the historical Gautar should be placed in Götland or on Gotland (Gräslund 1993:196–200; Hyenstrand 1996:51–2; Svennung 1965:27–31).

or costumes for these areas.⁴ While northern, western and south-western Norway alike are characterized by rich collections of dress-accessories from the Migration Period, the inland areas of most of Østlandet (south-eastern Norway) and Trøndelag are, like north-western Sweden, almost void of finds for some of the period. Such major regional differences, within what in a national perspective is Norwegian territory, may well have also contributed to the fact that traditional archaeological identification of peoples on the basis of distributions of jewellery has not become so influential in Scandinavia as it has on the Continent. Moreover many of the finds of dress-accessories in Scandinavia are from graves that were not excavated by trained archaeologists, so that both the find-circumstances and the finds made are only partially preserved, while the large row-grave and inhumation cemeteries with well-preserved skeletons that are found on the Continent and in England are absent here. All this helps to make studies of costume in the Scandinavian context problematic.

Even though no distinct field of research into costume as an expression of cultural and/or ethnic group-affiliation in the study of the Scandinavian Migration and Merovingian Periods has been established on a similar basis to what is found on the Continent and in England, Scandinavian jewellery from this period has nevertheless been recognized as culturally and/or ethnically symbolic (e.g. Hansen and Olsen 2004:74, 106; Hougen 1936; Nielsen 1991; Åberg 1953). In *Den historiska relationen mellan folkevandringstid och vendeltid* ([*The Historical Relationship between the Migration Period and the Vendel Period*], Nils Åberg (1953:156–66) used, inter alia, equal-armed brooches of the Vendel/Merovingian Period to demonstrate the extent of the area inhabited by the Svear in central Sweden, and as evidence of their occupation of other areas, in south-eastern Finland and Åland (Arrhenius 1999:135). Karen Høilund Nielsen (1991) has interpreted the chronological and geographical distribution of selected southern Scandinavian dress-accessories as a reflex of the Danes' political expansion in the course of the Merovingian Period. Bjørn Hougen (1936:22–34) wrote under the heading '6th century: the face of the tribes' that local and regional variants of Style I on, inter alia, relief brooches of the Migration Period reflect the extent

of various 'Norwegian' tribal groups that are referred to by Jordanes, including the Ryger and the Egder. In these interpretations, however, the historical sources continue to supply the backdrop, and the relationship between jewellery/costume and ethnicity or cultural group-affiliation is not questioned.

In so far as dress-accessories are assessed as ethnic markers, it is especially the perception of the jewellery as Germanic or Norse as opposed to Saami that has dominated discussion in the north of Scandinavia (see, e.g., Hansen and Olsen 2004:74, 106; Sjøvold 1962; 1974; Zachrisson 1997). The relationship between jewellery and costume, and possible sub-divisions within the Germanic and Norse populations, conversely, have received little attention. Although several scholars have noted or shown that there is regional variation in the range of dress-accessories found in Scandinavia (e.g. Hines 1993a; Meyer 1935; Näsman 1991a; Ramqvist 1991; Reichstein 1975; Ringtved 1988a; 1988b; Waller 1996), jewellery and costume as expressions of ethnic or cultural assertion have not been selected as the specific subject of studies. While one reason for this may be the absence of a reliable and clear documentary 'mapping' to start from, another may be rooted in the fact that the distribution maps of the dress-accessories are extremely complex. There are also relatively few super-regional studies which systematize the regional variation within the jewellery beyond the distributions of individual artefact-types, and more such studies would certainly make the picture much clearer (Arrhenius 1995a:90). Usually, the range of jewellery from a limited area or region is isolated and treated on its own (e.g. Arrhenius 1960a; Bennett 1987; Gudesen 1980; Helgen 1982; Sjøvold 1962; Vinsrygg 1979; Waller 1996; Ørsnes 1966),⁵ which has led to a situation in which the cumulative distribution pattern has been difficult to access. In these circumstances, it has not been easy to pick out potentially distinctive assemblages of dress-accessories or costumes for particular regions. Ulf Näsman (1991a:324), for example, has claimed that even though the whole area of Scandinavia can be divided up into four regions in the Migration Period on the basis of dress-accessories and gold bracteates (i.e. Norway, southern Scandinavia, a region to the west of the Baltic, and one region around the Gulf of Bothnia),

4 The cemeteries of Sejlflod and Hjemsted in Jutland form an exception because they have large numbers of well-furnished inhumation graves (Ethelberg 1987; Nielsen 2000). The excavation and publication of these sites, however, has only quite recently been completed, and the finds of dress-accessories from them has, as a result, not become significant in a traditional archaeological identification of Jutes or a 'Jutish' costume.

5 Nielsen 1991 is an exception.

... [the distributions of different variants of style and types of jewellery] overlap one another to such an extent that it is impossible to use the folk costume of later periods as an explanatory template for some suggested marking of ethnic affiliation in Iron-age society...

For a range of reasons, then, the linkage of peoples, jewellery and costume in the Migration and early Merovingian Periods has not been given the same attention in the context of Scandinavia as it has in other parts of Europe. The field of archaeological research on jewellery, costume and cultural identity in Europe, moreover, has, as noted above, appeared as a conservative and fossilized 'throwback' of the culture history paradigm. The traditional research objectives and methodology which have been pursued in this field have often been regarded as more or less out-dated in the processual context of the 1960s and 70s and its post-processual successor from around 1980 onwards. Since it had not proved possible to establish a field of 'costume' in Scandinavian archaeology within the tradition of culture history while such a development was taking place in British and Continental archaeology, it was inevitable that no attempts would be made to develop this field within Scandinavia in light of those more recent theoretical paradigms either. This sort of research has, by contrast (as already noted), been critiqued and problematized by different groups of scholars on the basis of the theoretical implications that reside within the traditional interpretations. With the fading of culture-historical archaeology, the field seems, as a result, to have remained in a theoretical 'blind alley' for a long time, and the unfortunate associations with nationalist (and to some extent even fascist) trends that have been considered above have also done nothing to help this topic appear as an appealing subject of research.

1.3.2 The reconstruction of costume, and costume as a zone of social symbolism

In Scandinavian archaeology, reconstructions of the costume of the time are, despite everything, persistently recurrent in Migration and Merovingian Period scholarship (Blindheim 1947; Dedekam 1926; Hofseth 1998; Jørgensen 1992; Kristoffersen 2006; Munksgaard 1974). The focus has, as a rule, been on technical details of the dress, such as how the dress-accessories and the fabrics were combined and fastened. The costume frequently appears in this light as something 'detached' from an ethnic and cultural context. In some cases there are classifications of regional costumes (Bennett 1987; Jørgensen 1994a; Waller 1996). An example

of this is Lars Jørgensen's overview of Scandinavian costume in the Migration and Merovingian Periods under the entry for 'Fibel und Fibeltracht' ['Brooch and brooch-costume'] in the *Reallexikon der germanischen Altertumskunde* (1994a:528–36). This survey reveals that there are regional differences within Scandinavia, but the differences are not seen in connection with cultural groupings, and the relationship between the entities is not taken up as an issue. The objective of these works has rather been the simple description of regional costumes. Such neutral and 'objective' research goals probably also fitted better with the objectivist research ideal that was dominant in post-war archaeology.

Although costume in this line of research is frequently presented as a social object in so far as it reflects the social status of the wearer, it is still, on the whole, left looking rather as if it is ethnically and culturally 'neutral'. Questions that are explored in connection with the reconstructions of costume beyond matters of technical detail and methods of production are concerned principally with the issues of to what extent the textiles and the dress-accessories were locally produced or imported, the quality of the fabrics and the fasteners, and the extent to which fabrics and jewellery represent traded goods etc. There is, as a rule, little attention paid to symbolic aspects of the costume, except insofar as it might represent the social status of the wearer. Jutta Waller (1996) went a little further in an examination of regional or local costume traditions in the eastern Mälaren area in connection with her analysis of the distribution of various types of dress-pin. She argued that there were two distinct 'culture zones or traditions' in respect of combinations of dress-accessories in this area, respectively Migration-period and Merovingian-period traditions. Waller (1996:140), however, regards the two costume traditions as partly contemporary. She argues that in the Migration Period different social classes are reflected in the costume-assemblages, and she demonstrates that certain types of dress-pin are characteristic of specific age and gender categories (Waller 1996:123–7, 140).

Ulla Mannering (2006) has investigated the relationship between costume textile finds and contemporary pictorial representations of Migration-, Merovingian- and Viking-period dress. In this context she has studied chronological, regional and social differences in dress from iconographic images on, amongst other things, bracteates, jewellery, pressed foils and gold foil figures (*gullgubber*). She shows that there is a degree of regional variation within Scandinavia in the Merovingian Period in that there are different

preferences in respect of specific garments or the composition of the costume in Norway, Sweden and Denmark respectively (Mannering 2006:111–12). She also argues that throughout the period there is greater variance within male costume than female, and believes that this is linked to a more differentiated approach to men's dress than to women's (Mannering 2006:223). The potential of the costume as a socially active element, however, does not usually emerge from these and other comparable studies, as they are concerned primarily with dress as a *reflex* of social structure.

With the introduction of contextual archaeology in the 1990s, meanwhile, the mutual interconnectedness of material culture and social practice came into focus (Olsen 1997:207–18).⁶ The range of research concerned with costume in the Migration and Merovingian Periods consequently took on a new dimension, and opened up as a relevant and exciting field for Scandinavian archaeology. Siv Kristoffersen (2000:107–12), for instance, has investigated the composition of sets of jewellery in southern and western Norway by looking at how relief brooches were worn, and which other types of jewellery they were combined with. She believes that different combinations probably represent different regional costumes. Kristoffersen (2000:209–12) also argues that the development of a distinctly Germanic animal art, Style I, which is found on both relief brooches and weaponry, amongst other things, is interpretable in terms of a need to express new identities that stand apart from the Roman. She notes that there are clear common Germanic elements in Style I, but that this zoomorphic style changes in the course of the Migration Period to take on a more local character. Through this development, she suggests, the style functions to make manifest affiliation, alliances and ties of commitment. Kristoffersen (2000:130–45) also shows how elements of costume and style participate in the formation of different social hierarchical identities, including that of the 'lady of the house'. The female costume involving jewellery signalled political marriage connections by expressing the woman's (foreign) origins. She interprets the use of Style I decoration on weaponry as an expression of the fact that this style variant also contributed to the construction of a super-regional 'warrior identity'. Lise Bender Jørgensen (2003) has examined male dress in the Migration Period in a similar way as socially meaningful, and demonstrates the likelihood that a particular costume can be linked to a multifaceted role

as war-leader and shaman, or as Óðinn's bear-warrior, the berserkr.

It is first and foremost different social roles and social identity that have been considered in more recent studies, while costume as an expression of regional, cultural and/or ethnic identity has not been discussed so much in connection with Scandinavia. A partial exception is Hines's (1993a) previously cited study of clasps. In his studies of dress-accessories from the Migration Period, Hines (1984; 1986; 1993a; 1993b; 1997) has generally concentrated upon the distribution and use of various 'Scandinavian' types in England. In the case of clasps, an artefact-type that occurs widely in both Scandinavia and England, he has argued that in addition to participating in the formation of an Anglian identity in England they also function as a cultural marker of a common identity which cuts across political divisions in the Migration Period (Hines 1993a:93). Not only clasps but also several other forms of dress-accessory, such as cruciform brooches and relief brooches, are found not only across Scandinavia but also in England and on the Continent. All of these artefact-types serve as ethnic markers on the Continent and in England (Hawkes 1982:70; Hedeager 2000; Hines 1984; 1993a; 1994; 1997; Martin 2015; Røstad 2001; 2003). In light of this fact, it appears quite logical to ask whether the jewellery could also have been used to communicate cultural and/or ethnic identity in the regions of present-day Norway and Scandinavia in this period.

1.4 JEWELLERY, COSTUME AND THE MANIFESTATION OF CULTURAL AND ETHNIC IDENTITY IN SCANDINAVIA: THE KEY QUESTIONS

Recent theoretical currents influenced by anthropology and sociology (amongst other disciplines) have concurrently contributed to the creation and growth of new perspectives concerning the phenomenon of ethnicity and the relationship between ethnicity and costume in the European Early Middle Ages (Ch. 1.2.2). These fresh perspectives have, however, been applied primarily to the evidence of Continental or English dress-accessories (Hakenbeck 2004; 2006; Hedeager 2000; Hines 1993a; Lucy 2005; Martin 2015; Røstad 2001; 2003) while Scandinavian finds have not been the subject of similar investigation. The application of new theories to the evidence from the

⁶ The term 'contextual' can be debated, as this term is regularly associated with Hodder's (1986) Contextual Archaeology. The term is used here in the wider sense of interpretations that particularly stress the relationship between material culture/social structure and social practice in a given context.

Migration Period in Scandinavia should therefore be able to yield hitherto unrecognized aspects of the use of jewellery as an expression of cultural and/or ethnic group identity in this area. The meeting point between the up-to-date approaches to costume on the Continent and in England, together with scholarship on costume as social practice in the social sciences, where dress is viewed as actively participating in social interaction (cf. Ch. 2.2), will, in my view, produce a fruitful basis for the study of ethnic and/or cultural identity in the context of Scandinavia. Through the understanding of jewellery and clothing as a field for communication within society that both shapes, and is shaped/influenced by, human interaction, dress-accessories can be investigated as a medium used to articulate and negotiate identities at several levels.

The starting point for the study of potential cultural and ethnic groups in Scandinavia through the distribution of jewellery is two-fold. In the first place, there are, as noted, several types of dress-accessory which function as 'ethnic' markers in Continental and English contexts and which are also found in Scandinavia. It is logical, therefore, to posit that these may have had a similar function here. In the second place, there are indications that there were different ethnic and/or cultural groupings in the Migration and Merovingian Periods in the North just as was the case elsewhere in Europe. As I have discussed above, Scandinavia is referred to in some contemporary Continental and Anglo-Saxon documentary sources, where, amongst other things, several different 'Scandinavian' peoples are named. Although these sources come from areas far from the regions of Scandinavia they purport to talk about, making it difficult to prove their historical credibility, they do reflect a contemporary Scandinavia that was characterized by regional and social constellations. This implies that the circumstances in Scandinavia were similar to those elsewhere in Europe at this date (see also Hyenstrand 1996:73; Ringtved 1988a:97).

On the basis of this juxtaposition or 'merger' of Scandinavian, Continental and English situations as they can be perceived through historical and archaeological evidence, the distributions of selected Scandinavian dress-accessories of the Migration Period and the early Merovingian Period will be examined under the hypothesis that they represent manifestations of different ethnic and/or cultural groups articulated through the use of a costume that was principally worn by women. The costume is viewed, in this context, as actively participating in the (re)production of different forms and levels of cultural and/or ethnic group identity. In other words, the dress or the jewellery was playing an active role in ethnic and cultural

discourse of the time. Changes in the distribution of costume evidence during the Migration Period and at the transition to the Merovingian Period reflect, in this perspective, changes in the manifestation of cultural and/or ethnic group identity. Spatial overlaps in the distribution of types (cf. the quotation from Näsman, Ch. 1.3.1) can be viewed through a multidimensional concept of ethnicity as potentially divergent statements of cultural belonging. In the study of the jewellery, therefore, particular importance is attached to revealing chronological changes and synchronous overlaps in costume display over time.

The objective of the study can be summarized as follows:

- To examine how selected types of dress-accessory are used to (re)produce, disseminate and negotiate cultural and/or ethnic identities at a range of levels, by studying the geographical, chronological and contextual distribution of the artefacts.
- To examine the role of jewellery in social interaction by studying what changes take place in respect of the use of dress-accessories during the Migration Period and at the start of the Merovingian Period, and how the jewellery participates in or contributes to, and simultaneously is influenced by, social change in the period in question.

1.5 THE STRUCTURE OF THE BOOK

In Chapter 2, I introduce the theoretical framework that forms the premises of my treatment and interpretation of selected types of jewellery from the Migration and the early Merovingian Periods. This chapter includes a more detailed account of the relationship between *costume* and *cultural or ethnic identity* as entities. Guidance is also provided in this chapter for the subsequent presentation of the jewellery evidence and how this will be handled. Since a relative dating of the individual types of dress-accessory and their sub-types is important for the study of the chronological distribution pattern, a chronological framework for the period under examination is introduced in Chapter 3. The artefactual evidence is presented in Chapter 4, and the geographical and contextual distribution of the dress-accessories is analysed. Particular importance is attached to the examination of changes in the occurrence of specific jewellery-types within the period in question. A summary overview of the distribution patterns revealed follows in Chapter 5. In Chapter 6, the mechanisms surrounding the use of jewellery as ethnic and/or cultural markers are studied in greater detail, accompanied by an interpretation

of the geographical and contextual distribution of the material as specific articulations of costume. The relationship between materialized gender roles and ethnic/cultural identities in the costume evidence is also explored. In Chapter 7, changes in the style of dress are placed into their social and historical context. The use of the selected types of dress-accessory is explained here on the basis of ongoing social, cultural and political discourse both internal to the Scandinavian peninsula, in a more extensive Scandinavian perspective, and in relation to cultural connections across the North Sea. In Chapter 8,

I attempt to give a more thorough account of the implications of my study of the dress-accessories as ethnic and/or cultural expression for an understanding of the historical processes of the period under study. Here I go more deeply into how ethnic groupings have been interpreted in recent years on the basis of written sources, and in particular investigate the relationship between the different theories concerned with the emergence of war-bands and the ethnic and/or cultural processes that can be traced in costume's modes of expression in the Migration Period and the beginning of the Merovingian Period.

JEWELLERY, VISUAL COMMUNICATION AND THE MANIFESTATION OF IDENTITY – THEORETICAL PERSPECTIVES

2.1 A PRACTICE THEORY OF ETHNICITY

The theoretical basis for this project is ‘a *practice theory of ethnicity*’ as developed and presented by British archaeologist Siân Jones (1996; 1997; 1999; 2000; 2007).¹ The theory incorporates an understanding of ethnicity as a primordial or essential identity, which is how the phenomenon has traditionally been conceived. At the same time, however, it also includes the situational, subjective and dynamic aspects of ethnicity that were emphasized by, amongst others, Frederik Barth in 1969 and which have continued to influence the majority of works on this topic (Olsen and Kobilinski 1991:6). Jones also builds upon the *theories of practice* of the French sociologist Pierre Bourdieu (1977), whose concept of *habitus* is particularly crucial for her understanding of what ethnicity is as a phenomenon (see also Hakenbeck 2006:31).²

In contrast to earlier theories, the practice theory of ethnicity bridges a rather artificial division that has emerged between, on the one hand, what is called an objective understanding of ethnicity, in which ethnicity is treated as a primordial identity that is determined biologically and is in-born, and, on the other hand, a subjective and instrumental understanding of ethnicity, whereby ethnic group-membership is treated as a process that is set in train through an individual choice taken in a specific situation in which the actor can identify him- or herself with one group of people, rather than another, for personal benefit. In connection with the concerns of the present project, this involves the perception of jewellery or costume as a direct reflex of group-affiliation, in contrast to the perception of ethnicity as a feature of social organization, with ethnic costume representing an instrument or means of achieving personal gain and possibly political power (cf. Ch. 1). The theory explains and probes the relationship between culture and ethnic identity in a fuller and deeper manner than has been

done before. Although I refer principally to Jones’s works here and use the concept of ethnicity that she presents, she is not the only scholar to have seen the value of applying Bourdieu’s theories of practice or similar practice theories to ethnic questions. Similar views are put forward or implied in a range of more recent anthropological and archaeological studies (e.g. Díaz-Andreu and Lucy 2005:6–7; Eriksen 2002; Jenkins 1994; 1997; Lucy 2005; Shennan 1991). Jones’s theory does, however, have the advantage of showing more explicitly how *archaeologists* can undertake ethnic studies. In what follows I aim to present the practice theory of ethnicity summarily before proposing an explanatory model designed to account for the evidence of dress-accessories.

The concept of ethnicity that Jones presents in the practice theory of ethnicity is dynamic, multidimensional and context-dependent. Jones (1997:95–100) argues that ethnic categories are not static, pre-existing entities but rather are created, reproduced, negotiated and transformed in opposition to specific ‘ethnic others’ through a continual and systematic communication of cultural divergence (see also Eriksen 2002:3, 12–13, for a similar view). Ethnic identity arises, or is a part of our social identity that is activated, when people of different cultural traditions come into contact. The historically specific context in which such cross-cultural encounters take place will be determinative and will influence the manifestation of ethnicity. Economic, political (power-related), social and ideological circumstances will, for instance, play a decisive role in how ethnic identity is expressed and reproduced. Ethnic identity is at the same time rooted in the *habitus* of the social agents. *Habitus* can be explained as a set of conscious and unconscious cultural dispositions which both shape and are shaped through social practice (Bourdieu 1977:72). So perceived, *habitus* reflects a process of socialization, because the cultural

1 Jones (1997:99–100) has taken the concept from Bentley (1987) but develops the theory and gives it a different meaning.

2 Since, as Jones points out (1997:88, fn. 1), the term *habitus* was developed by Bourdieu in order to break down or to build over the gap between ‘objectivism’ and ‘subjectivism’, it is particularly well suited to use with the same view in an ethnic context.

dispositions influence/structure the social practice and become part of the individual's self-perception or identity (Jones 1997:88). This may, for instance, be a matter of concepts of gender, norms, and the like. Such dispositions are often formed at an early stage in human life through collective instruction (Bourdieu 1977:81; see also Jenkins 1994:204; Lucy 2005:98).

The cultural dispositions which people bring into encounters with others, determine how ethnic identity takes shape. Ethnic symbols or markers are grounded in and reflect habitus, while at the same time the ethnic manifestation is governed by the specific social context in which this cultural encounter takes place. This happens through selected sets of the cultural practices and perceptions – in other words the cultural dispositions, which may remain unconscious or latent in an ethnic encounter – being given actual form and coming to be promoted as logically coherent in opposition to specific 'others'. The manifestation of ethnicity, therefore, does not involve random material or immaterial expressions: it is the result of the objectification or concretization of culture which – consciously or not – is based upon common or shared practices and experiences in one particular culture as opposed to another (Jones 1997:95–7; see also Bentley 1987:36; Eriksen 2002:30–5; Jenkins 1994:219; 1997:76–7).

Even though the relationship which exists between habitus and ethnic identity implies that ethnicity has a cultural dimension at one level, and can be said to be culturally based, the degree of cultural rootedness involved will vary according to how the interaction between the distinct groups proceeds, and according to the prevailing power relations between the cultural constellations:

The communication of cultural difference depends upon the particular cultural practices and historical experience activated by any given context of social interaction as well as broader idioms of cultural difference, resulting in substantive differences in the cultural content of ethnicity in different situations (Jones 1997:97).

The manifestation of cultural difference both shapes and is shaped by how power (both real and symbolic) is distributed between the separate groups in society, how the interaction between the groups involved proceeds, and how these circumstances influence further interaction and exchanges. Accordingly, the communication of cultural difference is an unceasing process during which there will constantly be shifts and fluctuations. In some cases there may be a high level of agreement between habitus and ethnic identity while in others it appears that there can be little coincidence between these elements. Ethnic categories can often also be

expressed and/or recognized through material culture. Material culture structures social behaviours at the same time as it is the product of social practice. Material culture thus plays an active role in respect of ethnicity because even the form of ethnic expression also contributes to the formation, maintenance or modification of the ethnic identity (see also Lucy 2005:102). One and the 'same' ethnic identity can therefore find different expression in different social contexts. Ethnic identity and its manifestation are thus not constant; on the contrary they are constantly changing and context-dependent. This means that there will practically never be a one-to-one relationship between ethnic manifestation and all the cultural practices and social conditions which can be associated with an ethnic group (Jones 1997:97–100, 102, 120).

Ethnic symbols are therefore in no way haphazard forms of expression, material or immaterial. They are rooted in a cultural past and so are linked to the conscious and unconscious or subliminal cultural dispositions people bring into a context of ethnic negotiation. At the same time, the actual social situation in which an ethnic encounter takes place is also determinative of the manifestation of ethnicity (Jones 1997:120, 126). What, then, is the significance of this dynamic, multidimensional and situational concept of ethnicity in more concrete terms in regard to how this phenomenon can be explored in archaeology? It is no longer possible to postulate a direct and one-dimensional, one-to-one relationship between a particular type of, or a certain assemblage of, material culture and an ethnic population or group (see also Barth 1969; Hodder 1982; Jones 1997:128; Lucy 2005:93; Odner 1983; Olsen 1984; 1985a; 1985b; Olsen and Kobilinski 1991:13; Pohl 1991:47; Shennan 1991:29–30). The practice theory of ethnicity rejects, in the same way as an instrumental concept of ethnicity does, earlier assumptions that prehistoric ethnic and social groups were monolithic, static entities which can be found directly reflected in the distribution of a given type of material culture – for instance jewellery or costume (cf. Ch. 1). How is ethnicity manifested in material terms then? Is it possible at all for us as archaeologists to discover prehistoric groupings from our evidence?

...the construction of ethnicity is likely to be manifested as multiple overlapping boundaries constituted by representations of cultural difference, which are at once transient, but also subject to reproduction and transformation in the ongoing processes of social life (Jones 2000:452).

What we have to search for instead, Jones declares, are patterns that are complex and overlapping, spatially and chronologically, with the boundaries between the distributions of selected material features continually shifting as individual features are gradually altered: some disappear; new ones are introduced; and others are reproduced or preserved. To discern such patterns it is necessary to take a historical perspective by investigating distributions over time (Wiessner 1989:58). By examining the distribution of material variance through a certain period it will, on the basis of changes in the distribution pattern and/or stylistic features, be possible to point out or distinguish the transformation which takes place when material characteristics are brought into play as ethnic markers (by being included in the systematic and persistent marking of cultural difference in opposition to certain others). It will also be possible to demonstrate when ethnic symbols lose their role: ‘...the transformation of habitual material variation into active self-conscious ethnic symbolism, and vice versa, on the basis of changes in the nature and distribution of the styles involved’ (Jones 1997:126). This is because ‘the systematisation and rationalisation of distinctive cultural styles in the process of the recognition, expression, and negotiation of ethnic identity are likely to result in discontinuous, non-random distribution of material culture...’ (Jones 2000:454). To grasp which changes are linked to ethnic manifestation, several different and independent categories of artefact and evidence must be examined. It is also necessary to assess the distribution of power between the different culture and/or social groups involved, and this must be considered against a general background of social organization (Jones 1997:125–7; 2000:452–5).

Jones has been criticized for presenting ethnicity as something which is constantly changing as changes of ethnic identity are taking place all the time (Bergsvik 2005:11). I understand Jones, by contrast, as not asserting that *whole* identities are transformed in one go; rather she points out that there is always a seed-bed for development or a potential for change. Even though there are continuous shifts and fluctuations in an ethnic identity, the degree of change will probably normally be low, or proceed only in small steps, because it is regulated by both habitus and social structures (see also Eriksen 2002:92 and Lucy 2005:96). It is probably more exceptional for major convulsions to take place (Pohl 1991:40; Shennan 1991:24) – such as, for instance, the apparent emergence of ethnic plurality unleashed by the fall of the Iron Curtain in

Eastern Europe (Díaz-Andreu and Lucy 2005:11; Eriksen 2002:3). Jones argues, rather, the case for a multidimensional ethnic identity, which can mean that while one level or dimension of an identity may change, another may persist. Here there is also an adjustment of Barth’s (1969) statement that individuals can cross ethnic boundaries by changing ethnic identity. Such a change of identity remains possible, but perhaps as something more complicated than has previously been suggested, where ethnic affiliation could be made to appear more or less a matter of free choice (e.g. Hodder 1982; cf. Ch. 1.2.2). On the basis of the theoretical framework I have laid out here, I shall now present an ethnic explanatory model that will form the starting point for the subsequent examination of the archaeological evidence of dress-accessories.

2.2 JEWELLERY, COSTUME, AND NEGOTIATIONS OF IDENTITY: AN ETHNIC EXPLANATORY MODEL

My approach to the exploration of cultural or ethnic groupings is to study how jewellery was used in this period. The dress-accessories can be regarded as a combination of components in the clothing which, like the garments, are part of a costume (cf. Eicher 1999:1; Sørensen 1991:125). According to the social anthropologist Joanne B. Eicher (1999:1), costume can be defined as ‘...a coded sensory system of non-verbal communication that aids human interaction in space and time’. A slightly cruder but nevertheless effective expression is the apophthegm attributed to Mark Twain ‘clothes make the man’ (Harlow 2004). Eicher defines costume or elements of clothing that mark ethnic identity as an ‘ethnic costume’. Although in many contexts costume has been referred to as an obvious potential marker of ethnicity (e.g. Barth 1969:14; Lucy 2005:95–6; Olsen and Kobilinski 1991:15), the significance of costume as an analytical instrument has conventionally been understated in research into ethnicity, and few systematic analyses of ethnic costume have been undertaken.³ Recent sociological, social anthropological and archaeological studies show, however, that garments or clothing are an important feature of ethnic, cultural and social display (see, e.g., Bourdieu 1995:120–1, 135–7, 191–8; Eicher ed. 1999; Hodder 1982; Hakenbeck 2004; 2006; Sørensen 1991; 1997; 2004:128–42).

Several dress-accessory items in the period under investigation here had a practical function, being used to fasten elements of the clothing/costume (Fig. 2.1).

3 Hodder (1982) is an exception.

This is probably the case for all of the brooch-types that form the principal material studied below: cruciform brooches, relief brooches, clasps and conical brooches (cf. Ch. 4). Cruciform brooches were probably used to fasten a peplos dress at the shoulders. The relief brooches are interpreted by many as having been used to fasten a shawl, cape or cloak over the breast, although another possibility is that they may have been used to fasten an over-dress (i.e. the peplos) to an under-dress so as to hold it in position. The clasps, as a rule, fastened sleeves at the wrist or by the elbow. Alternatively they could be used for fastening in front of the neck or in place of a belt buckle. In some male burials clasps are found by the knees or the ankles, which indicates that they were fasteners for knickerbockers or long trousers (Arrhenius 1999; Hines 1984; 1993a; Kristoffersen 2000:107–12; 2006:15–27; Lucy 2000:85; Munksgaard 1974:165–8).

The dress-accessories may be regarded as an integral component of the costume because of their practical functions. But not *all* types of jewellery were worn by *every* woman (or man) in this period. Many, presumably, did not have the right or the opportunity to obtain items of jewellery at all. Another point is that even though the peplos dress apparently went out of use and was superseded by a 'sleeved dress' (the *tunica*) and/or the pinafore dress at the transition from the Migration Period to the Merovingian Period (Blindheim 1947:78–89, 130–1; Jørgensen and Jørgensen 1997:55–9, fig. 46; Owen-Crocker 2004:128; Waller 1996:132–8), jewellery which no longer had any utilitarian function (Martin 1995:42–7) remained in use in many cases. Such jewellery items were in a transitional period placed 'anachronistically' as 'fasteners' for a peplos dress that no longer existed (Pohl 1998a:49–50): in other words, the way the brooches were worn no longer fulfilled a necessary function, but was rather the continuation of an old tradition.⁴ The employment of particular types of brooch was thus not determined by practical needs alone. By perceiving the costume as a coded system of communication, a field of significance in which dress-accessories may not only have a utilitarian function but also participate actively in social practice in this period is opened up.

2.2.1 Habitus, visual communication and the symbolism of identity

The use of dress-accessories around the clothing, or the practice of decking oneself in jewellery, can be said to represent a social act that contributes to the formation and reproduction of a costume or clothing code (see also Eicher 1999:1; Kaiser 1983; Sørensen 1991:122; 2004:128). The social code acquires meaning through a normative pattern of behaviour: namely persistent, repeated use in the same context (Pader 1980:144). The use of jewellery can thus be understood as a shared (largely subconscious) cultural disposition that is shaped by, and concurrently shapes, social practice.

The dress and particular dress codes can form part of social practice by being used actively and consciously – for instance as a political instrument. An example of this is the way that the style of clothing during the French Revolution was changed radically, and breeches and silk stockings, together with rococo dresses with corsets and voluminous skirts, which were characteristic of the nobility, were regarded as being synonymous with an anti-revolutionary position, while clothes which were inspired by the lower social classes such as long trousers and the classically-inspired 'Empire dress' of simple cotton became a token of the 'pro-revolutionary'. Young anti-revolutionaries could adopt an exaggerated version of the old 'noble style' while radicals expressed their political position through clothing that spoke of ideological closeness to the lower social ranks. After the Revolution, under Napoleon, the new, simpler, Empire Style became the symbol of the modern new citizen, even for those who in reality belonged to the nobility (Iwagami 2005:148–9; Suoh 2005:30–1).

In some periods and certain situations, the use of clothing may also be subject to legislation. This has been the case at various times in most of Europe. Napoleon, for example, banned the use of English cottons and required that silks be worn on formal occasions at the court. Behind these regulations lay, amongst other things, the intention of supporting the French silk industry which was on the point of collapsing as a result of the new cotton fashion (Iwagami 2005:148–9). Similar 'sumptuary laws' are found in the Middle Ages, between the 13th and 16th centuries, when bans on foreign garments and fabrics were imposed in order to support domestic trade. The way in which a dress should be worn, which fabrics could

4 An 'out-dated' positioning of dress-accessories of this kind is observed on the Continent, but this seems to have been the case in Scandinavian contexts too (cf. Ch. 4.3.1). Kristoffersen (2006:20), however, argues that the pinafore dress could have been in uninterrupted use in Scandinavia from the Migration Period to the Viking Period.



Figure 2.1 Reconstruction of Migration-period costume with dress-accessories such as cruciform brooches at the shoulders to fasten the peplos dress, and clasps at the cuffs and the neck of the under-dress as well as fastening the belt in the middle. Photograph: Åse Kari Hammer. © Museum of Cultural History.

be used for garments, and the number of outfits one was permitted to purchase in a single year – as well as other aspects of dress – were controlled by law in many parts of the Continent, England and Scandinavia in the Middle Ages. This also affected dress-accessories and the ornamentation of garments: for instance in the form of beads or precious stones that might be sewn on. There were laws regulating what metals the dress-fittings should be made of, and who was allowed to wear precious stones and beads. In the great majority of cases, rank and income determined what clothes and jewellery the individual was allowed to wear. There were sumptuary laws stipulating how the different classes should be dressed. People of lower social ranks risked punishment if they dressed like someone of noble birth (Campbell 2009:42; Evans 1952:15, 20–1; Newton 2002:131–2; Scott 2007:80; Sponsler 1992; Vedeler 2007:170).

In the actual period under examination here, there was the same sort of legislation concerning costume material and form, dyes and the like, in the Byzantine Empire. Under the Eastern Roman Emperors Theodosius II (AD 401–50) and Justinian (527–65) what sort of clothes and textiles different classes were allowed to wear was controlled by detailed laws. In this way a hierarchical dress code which made it easier for the different ranks of society to be distinguished was created. Purple dyes, silks and certain types of gem, for instance, were restricted to the imperial family. The status symbols of the Emperor included a round fibula or brooch ornamented with precious stones, hanging beads and gold, and purple-red boots that were often decorated with gems and beads (Ball 2005:13–16; Bondevik 2007:57–70; Kalamara 2001:77; Muthesius 2004:2–4, 67, 88; 2008:18–20, 25, 31–6; Schulze 1976:157).

A cultural ‘dress disposition’ can be active though, even if the way one dresses oneself is an unconscious ‘decision’ or act in which one only follows ‘fashion’ or some given dress code (see also Díaz-Andreu and Lucy 2005:11; Lucy 2005:96; Turner 1979:32 in Pader 1980:145). How this can operate is illustrated by a scene from the novel *Howards End* by E. M. Forster, published in 1910. The description of the situation reveals something of the dynamic in the long-standing phenomenon of ‘the hat fashion’:

He discovered that he was going bareheaded down Regent Street. London came back with a rush. Few were about at this hour, but all whom he passed looked at him with a hostility that was the more impressive because it was unconscious. He put his hat on. It was too big: his head disappeared like a pudding into a

basin, the ears bending outwards at the touch of the curly brim. He wore it a little backwards, and its effect was greatly to elongate the face and to bring out the distance between the eyes and the moustache. Thus equipped, he escaped criticism. No one felt uneasy as he tittupped along the pavements, the heart of a man ticking fast in his chest (Forster 1992 [1910]:131).

The quotation demonstrates how a dress-code disposition in habitus can structure the individual, and how nonconformity with widely recognized social practice can result in an experience of discomfort both for the person who is responsible for the ‘error’ and for those who experience the breach of the norm, in this case through encountering the hatless man. A hatless man could, as described here, thus be experienced as a threat, even if this reaction takes place at a quite unconscious level, because the man is breaching a norm or generally accepted practice. Social structuration offers scope for individual manipulation, but the reaction the actor encounters can, as in this case, generate recognition of the norm and a decision to adhere to it and so keep the custom alive. In a similar way, a form of social communication which takes place through ‘reading jewellery’ (cf. Sørensen 1997) can be integrated into social practice irrespective of whether or not it takes place at a conscious level (Sørensen 2004:136).

Such a disposition in respect of visual communication will be available for activation and to be endowed with an *ethnic* significance and function in a context of ethnic interaction:

While rarely consciously articulated, the ways in which people dress are subject to a whole range of culturally informed ideas and expectations. Cultural differences in dress are one resource that can be seized on in the articulation of ethnic difference (Lucy 2005:96–7).

In a context of ethnic interaction and negotiation this distinct form of social practice, which amounts, in effect, to communicating through selected types of dress-accessory, may be interpreted as a field of social discourse which is concerned with identity, and within which the categorization of different ethnic, regional and social groups is continuously reproduced, negotiated and transformed. There are, as I have mentioned, indications that costume is incorporated as such a ‘signalling field’ in the Migration Period. In connection with the expansion of the distribution of clasps from Scandinavia to England, for example, Hines (1993a:88) says:

... it was not only the clasps’ form that was introduced into England but also their rule-bound function as

part of a costume. They were not, then, appropriated to variable use by a different people with a different culture but introduced as part of a demand in England for material-cultural sameness (to at least this degree) with folk 400 miles across the sea in Norway.

That clothing had an ethnic significance in the Migration Period is also documented in contemporary historical sources, which record, for instance, how young people who belonged to the ‘Roman’ nobility in the erstwhile Western Empire were speaking Germanic, dressing according to ‘Germanic’ fashions and copying the hairstyles of the Germani (Wolfram 1970:16). Conversely there are also references to Germanic people who dress in the Roman fashion (Geary 1983:19), and Gregory of Tours tells of how the Saxons who settled in northern France were commanded to dress in the Breton manner (James 1991:101). The historian and archaeologist Edward James (1991:113) has emphasized that a breach of norm in the ethnic dress code in the Migration Period could be felt just as ‘strongly’ by a contemporary then as the breach in the hat code could appear at the beginning of the 20th century: ‘...a Frankish woman might wear one imported Thuringian brooch, but would not, so to speak, be seen dead wearing a complete Thuringian costume.’

2.2.2 The fashion of the living and the dead

The majority of the finds of jewellery to be considered are grave finds. An issue that has been much discussed and which must be noted here is the possible use of a ‘burial costume’. This debate concerns whether or not the deceased was interred in her or his own regular clothing and jewellery, or alternatively whether some special outfit and fittings which might have been made use of for the funerary rite itself could have been substituted (see, e.g., Bennett 1987:21, 110; Nilsen 1998; Williams 2006:46). Related to this issue is also the question of whether the deceased could have been given jewellery from, perhaps, the surviving family, friends or the like, on the occasion of the burial. I work from the premise that the items of jewellery were used ‘in life’. This is implied by the severe wear and evidence of repairs found on many dress-accessories. Some items of jewellery had also been attached more or less permanently to the clothing. This is the case with the clasps, for instance, which were mostly sewn or riveted

to the material in such a way that the latter would probably have been wrecked if the clasps were removed (Hines 1993a:12; Lamm 1983:21). This is also true of some brooches (Hines 1997:281, 293). Several pieces of jewellery have also been found at settlement sites⁵ (e.g. Kristoffersen 1993:189–91; Strömberg 1961:92; see also Ch. 4), or in other contexts which indicate that they were objects in regular use.⁶ A conical brooch, for instance, has been found in the foundations of a boat-house in Åkersvika in Hamar (cf. Ch. 4.3.1.4, below), and there is a bow brooch from a culture layer in a cave on Hardangervidda.⁷ Brooch-types that are known from grave finds are also found in pictorial representations that show that these dress-fittings were used in other social contexts too. On the gold-foil figures (*gullgubber*), for example, there are portrayals of women wearing relief brooches, disc-on-bow brooches, disc brooches, etc. (Arrhenius 1962; Munksgaard 1974:168; Watt 1991:96, figs. 8a and 9c). These brooch-types occur in grave finds as well.

Grave finds must not be assumed to be direct mirror images of prehistoric reality; it has been suggested, rather, that, on the occasion of a burial, the community seeks to express how the society should be seen *in ideal terms*, and that at the funeral the community (represented by the survivors) furnishes the deceased with the identity – or those identities – which are conceived as necessary in order to maintain the social order. Alternatively, the survivors might, in some circumstances, use the burial to attempt to undermine the social order (Díaz-Andreu 2005:39; Hakenbeck 2004:41; Kristoffersen 2000:19–21; Lucy 1998:107; 2000:178; Metcalf and Huntington 1991:82–4; Parker Pearson 1993:226–7) (Fig. 2.2). This can, of course, come about through subconscious acts, or at an unconscious level. Dress-accessories from graves can potentially, therefore, offer a starting point for saying something about social circumstances. Marie Louise Stig Sørensen (1991:123–4; 1997:101) points out that funerary rites and the material expressions that are made use of in these contexts do not emerge in a cultural void. She argues that there is probably a structural similarity in relation to how costume is used in different social contexts within a society.

This does not, though, appear to be so *in every case*. Marianne Vedeler Nilsen (1998) has shown, in the context of grave finds from medieval Norway, that the same elements may be used in different ways in burial costume in contrast to ‘going-about clothes’ – in

5 See, e.g., C38683: the settlement finds from Åker, Hamar commune, Hedmark, which include a clasp, brooches and more.

6 On the subject of jewellery from hoards and central places as a category of evidence, see below, Ch. 4.1.3.

7 C34104.

other words, practical dress – and that specialized burial costume may be combined with practical garments in one and the same grave. According to Stig Welinder (1998:188) children in the Early Iron Age were buried in a distinct ‘children’s costume’ which was used in ‘ceremonies and festivities’. It is, however, rather difficult to see the basis for the definition of this form of costume, apart from what Welinder points out in respect of the particularly frequent occurrence of beads in children’s graves on Öland. Both images of jewellery and evidence of wear on examples found from the Migration Period indicate that the burial dress in this period was more or less the same as daily clothing. The question of whether or not the deceased were interred with their own or others’ jewellery is also inessential in the perspective of the current investigation. Even if the dead were furnished with others’ jewellery, the finds still provide some testimony on how constructions of costume as expressions of identity were put into practice within that society.

One question that remains a pressing one in this context is who was being addressed in the burial performance. Was the deceased furnished with an identity that was important in the lived life, i.e. for the current and extant community, or one that would be so in the next life, on the other side? It is not clear, though, if it is really productive to impose such a division between the living society and concepts of life after death. Those concepts are a product of the society in which they appear, and when the jewellery and the deposition of jewellery in graves are quite consistent, as is the case in the area and period under investigation, that fact can be seen as a reflex of the fact that the sets of dress-accessories were a phenomenon that was so important within the living community – so integral to habitus, in other words – that it was unthinkable to fail to furnish the deceased with those visible tokens for the coming life after death.

2.2.3 Ethnicity, gender and yet further identities?

As was noted by way of introduction (Ch. 1), it is a common assumption that it was principally women who wore jewellery in the Iron Age. It is often difficult to undertake osteological analysis of Scandinavian human skeletal remains from this period because the relevant material from cremation burials is severely fragmented and often completely lost to decay in inhumation graves. As a rule, determination of gender in graves is therefore undertaken on the basis of the grave goods. While weapon graves are defined as male, graves with several items of jewellery, spindle-whorls, keys, weaving swords etc. are normally identified as female. Similarly

furnished graves on the Continent and in England in which the conditions for the preservation of bone are more favourable show that, with few exceptions, there is a correspondence between biological sex and the range of grave goods noted (see, e.g., Halsall 1995:5–9; Hines 1984:44; Scull 1993:69; Williams 2006:50–1). In those cases in which osteological analysis of skeletal remains in Scandinavia has been possible, the result shows the same correspondence (Hjørungdal 1991:71–2 and Kristoffersen 2000:102, both with reference to Sellevold et al. 1984). Some Scandinavian graves that include weaponry can, however, contain jewellery as well; I return to this in due course (Ch. 6.7).

The use of this sort of artefact-based set of criteria for determining whether a grave is female or male is, however, open to criticism (see, e.g., Danielsson 2007:60–3) since such a strict dichotomy obscures the fact that there is a large number of graves *without* ‘indications of gender’, and graves which have a mixture of ‘male’ and ‘female’ objects. Moreover osteological studies have in a few cases identified ‘discrepancy’ between biological sex and ‘gendered’ artefacts (Bennett 1987:102; Lucy 1997 in Díaz-Andreu 2005:39). The question is, however, whether we will get very far by depending upon osteological identifications alone, since in fact the osteological criteria themselves ultimately often represent an interpretation – for instance in terms of the strength of build of the bones and muscular connections or the like (Danielsson 2007:63–9). Another and possibly even more important point is that biological sex cannot simply be equated with social sex or *gender* (Kristoffersen 2000:102; Solli 2002:94, 96–104; Sørensen 1991:121–2; 2004:42–52). ‘Gender’ can be understood as a social construction and is culturally conditioned (Pohl 2004:23). It is also possible to argue that it is precisely the ‘divergent’ finds that one should focus upon in order to carry the discussion on, past what could be called a ‘naturalization’ of a dichotomous gender framework which belongs, more than anywhere, in a post-Victorian Western world (Danielsson 2007:60–3; Hjørungdal 1991:117; Solli 2002:94). This, however, is a discussion which falls beyond the limits of the current research project. What is key to the current context is to investigate the signalling of ethnic or cultural identity through the use of jewellery. The social dichotomy that is expressed through weaponry and sets of dress-accessories is in this light significant because it is so characteristic of the period under examination. Even though it is a simplification of the circumstances to keep simply to the binary gender system that furnishing with jewellery contrasted with weaponry represents, this nevertheless does express important aspects that were linked



Figure 2.2 The burial of the woman at Hauge in Klepp. Illustration: Eva Gjerde. © Arkeologisk Museum, University of Stavanger (CC BY-NC-ND 3.0).

to gender identity in this particular period (see also Díaz-Andreu 2005:39; Kristoffersen 2000:22, 26).

A gender identity will – in the same way as other forms of social identity; cf. ethnic identity, above – be negotiated, reproduced and changed through social practice (Sørensen 1991:122). Through understanding material culture as socially constitutive, artefacts do not necessarily just *reflect* the gender categories: they can function as media through which gender identities can be *negotiated*. Sørensen (1991:121–2) claims that, if gender is a meaningful structure in prehistoric societies, it will be traceable through the means the society uses to express gender in the use of material culture. In the Migration and Merovingian Periods this comes about, then, through, for instance, burials that are furnished with sets of dress-accessories (often combined with implements for textile production) in contrast to weaponry. As this is fully embedded into the discourse of identity that is carried on through the use of jewellery, perceptions of gender consequently infiltrate ethnic identity and identities. Such an imbrication or intersection of ethnicity and gender in costume (and possibly other modes of expression) is fairly common (Eicher 1999:3; Jones 1997:85; Lucy 2005:100 with refs.). In some cases, different combinations of elements of the dress can be used to demonstrate and to transform categories such as gender and/or ethnic identity (see also Sørensen 1991:127; 1997:96, 101). This may, for instance, be a matter of different levels of identity, whereby aspects of ethnic identity and gender identity at one level or in one dimension fall together in some specific context. The archaeologist Susanne Hakenbeck (2006:229) has expressed this situation as follows, with reference to how jewellery or costume functioned in Bavaria in the Early Middle Ages (Migration Period):

Ethnic identity did not exist in a social void. The material culture used for expressing ethnic identity also conveyed meanings about gender, kinship and other social networks and the boundaries between these different identities were fluid and cannot easily be separated.

The presentation of the ethnic theory of practice can give the impression that it is a straightforward matter to distinguish ethnicity as a certain form of identity because it is clearly different from other forms of social identity. In practice, however, it is much more difficult if not practically impossible, since the enmeshing of identities is very much the rule rather than the exception (see also Lucy 2005:100; Vedeler 2007:37). Meanwhile one may ask whether there is any genuine point in isolating the phenomenon of ethnicity and discussing that alone. It would perhaps be more

fruitful to expand the focus so that it includes aspects of ethnicity that may pertain to different forms of commingled identity. Hakenbeck (2006:228) adopts a position similar to this when she says:

Ethnicity has turned out to be an elusive category. When we focus on it too narrowly it slips out of our field of vision. But, when we take a step back and let our eyes relax, it does take shape.

In what follows, I shall employ Jones's theory in order to investigate those aspects of cultural and ethnic identity which are connected with the articulation of geographical and social group-affiliation – such as, for example, local, regional and trans-regional cultural identities – through the use of jewellery/costume. These aspects will for the most part be associable with female costume, and thus probably bound up with a gender identity too, and indeed plausibly with age categories as well (cf. Ch. 6.5.1). In addition, there is some articulation of cultural or ethnic identity associated with male clothing. In this regard, it will be of interest to explore whether or not the ethnic or cultural manifestation found in male dress coincides with what is found in female dress (cf. Ch. 6.7).

2.3 METHODOLOGICAL IMPLICATIONS

Visual aspects are essential to the recognition of articles of jewellery as markers (see also Eicher and Sumberg 1999:298). Although beauty, proverbially, is in the eye of the beholder – as indeed is frequently reflected in descriptions of pieces of Iron-age jewellery as 'simple', 'vulgar', 'exquisite' or 'uncommonly attractive' in traditional archaeological literature – it is striking how archaeologists often perceive the same details as being of significance when they undertake typological groupings or classify the corpora of finds. There will be exceptions, nonetheless. In the presentation of the evidence (Ch. 4) I attempt to show what lies at the root of the different classifications, and discuss the basis of the various groupings by type. Through this approach I wish clearly to show that typologizing is a methodological approach in which the visual is at the focus of attention. Typologizing is thus one of the methods which is employed with a view to analysing potentially meaningful distribution patterns in relation to cultural boundaries (see also Bergsvik 2005:11–12).

Extending that, I shall in part follow an analytical principle concerning how similarities and differences can be produced and articulated, and how different identities can be presented and recognized, through the use of material culture in the construction of

appearance (in this case, clothing or costume). This can come about through: 1) the artefact or the form of the object, its finish⁸ and origin; 2) how different objects are usually put together – in other words, the combination of artefacts; and 3) the positioning or physical organization of the objects – in other words, their collective composition (Sørensen 1997:98). In this context, these three aspects correspond respectively to the item of jewellery, the set of dress-accessories, and the mode of wearing. These will be examined as far as the archaeological finds allow in light of the quality of preservation and recording.

That the mode of wearing itself may be significant is shown by previous studies of dress and its accessories in the Migration Period: for instance in Bavaria, where the same types and combinations of jewellery are persistently worn in different ways at two different cemeteries and clearly mark a regional contrast (Fig. 2.3). In one of the cemeteries two bow brooches were worn positioned vertically one above the other at the throat; in the other two different brooches were also worn at the throat/chest and by the pelvis respectively, but here the brooches were positioned alongside one another horizontally, and with the headplate upwards (Hakenbeck 2004:45, fig. 4). Similar regional differences in the mode of wearing are found in Anglo-Saxon England in the Migration Period too, where there is a tendency in Kent to position the brooches in a vertical line from the throat/chest to the pelvis, usually with the brooches lying ‘across’ with the headplate to one side, while the trend elsewhere appears to have been to wear two brooches at the shoulders, and another positioned centrally on the chest (Hines 1997:280–92; Lucy 2000:83–5; Owen-Crocker 2004:36, 91–2; Welch 1992:62–4). Previous studies have also revealed special patterns in terms of how brooches were worn in the Merovingian Period in eastern Sweden and southern Scandinavia (Arrhenius 1960a:80; Jørgensen 1994a; Jørgensen and Jørgensen 1997:55–9; Nielsen 1991; 1999; Ørsnes 1966:180). Relatively few Scandinavian grave finds are of sufficient quality, however, for it to be possible to say exactly what the positioning of the brooches in relation to the body was. The skeleton has often totally decomposed, and in many cases both the deceased and the grave goods were cremated. It is still

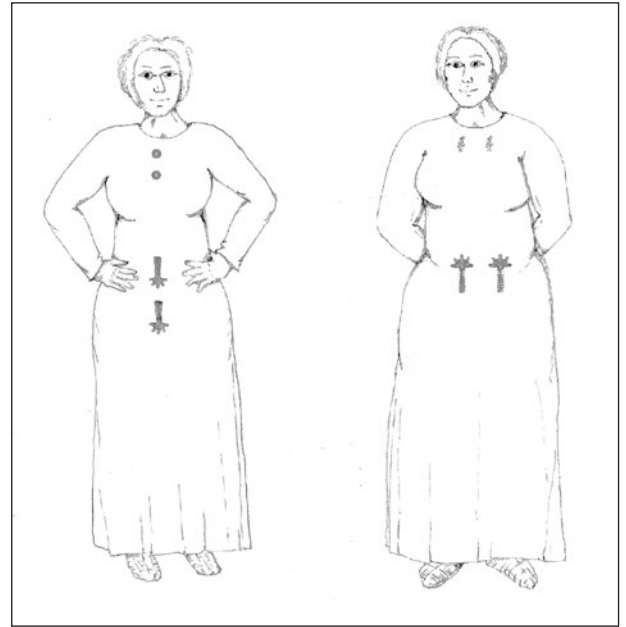


Figure 2.3 Local differences in sets of jewellery in Bavaria: Altenerding (L) and Aubing (R), after Hakenbeck (2004: fig. 4).

possible to produce certain relatively general inferences concerning how the brooches were worn on the basis of the few finds that we do have in which the state of preservation is more favourable. These inferences can be supplemented, to some extent, by analysing the combinations of types of dress-accessory that are found in individual graves. The mode of wearing can in these cases be inferred from the position of the items relative to one another even when the skeleton has disappeared (Fig. 2.4).

A further component which will be important in the chosen theoretical approach is a diachronic or historical perspective, in order to grasp the development through time. Putting the types of jewellery in relation to one another within a chronological framework will be decisive in the interpretation of their distribution patterns. In the next chapter, therefore, problems concerning dating and phasing are discussed in greater detail, and a chronological framework that will be employed in the analysis of the finds is presented.

In order to be able to give an account of dress-accessories and costume as a form of cultural expression and statement of identity, my work is based upon around 1,800 items of jewellery. These are made up of four different main object-types which in turn can be subdivided into a multiplicity of sub-groups and more precisely defined types. The dress-accessories are, as has been noted, primarily from grave finds, although there are some from hoards; a few settlement finds and stray finds are also included. In order to capture potentially divergent costume manifestations, each of the main types is examined by itself in the analysis.

⁸ Several of the artefact-types in question are decorated in animal style. It falls beyond the limits of this project to investigate the capacity of animal style for the communication of iconographic and symbolic contents (see, e.g., Kristoffersen 1995; 2000; 2004, and Martin 2013) as the focus here is on the exploration of the communicative qualities of the costume in situations of ethnic and/or cultural communication.

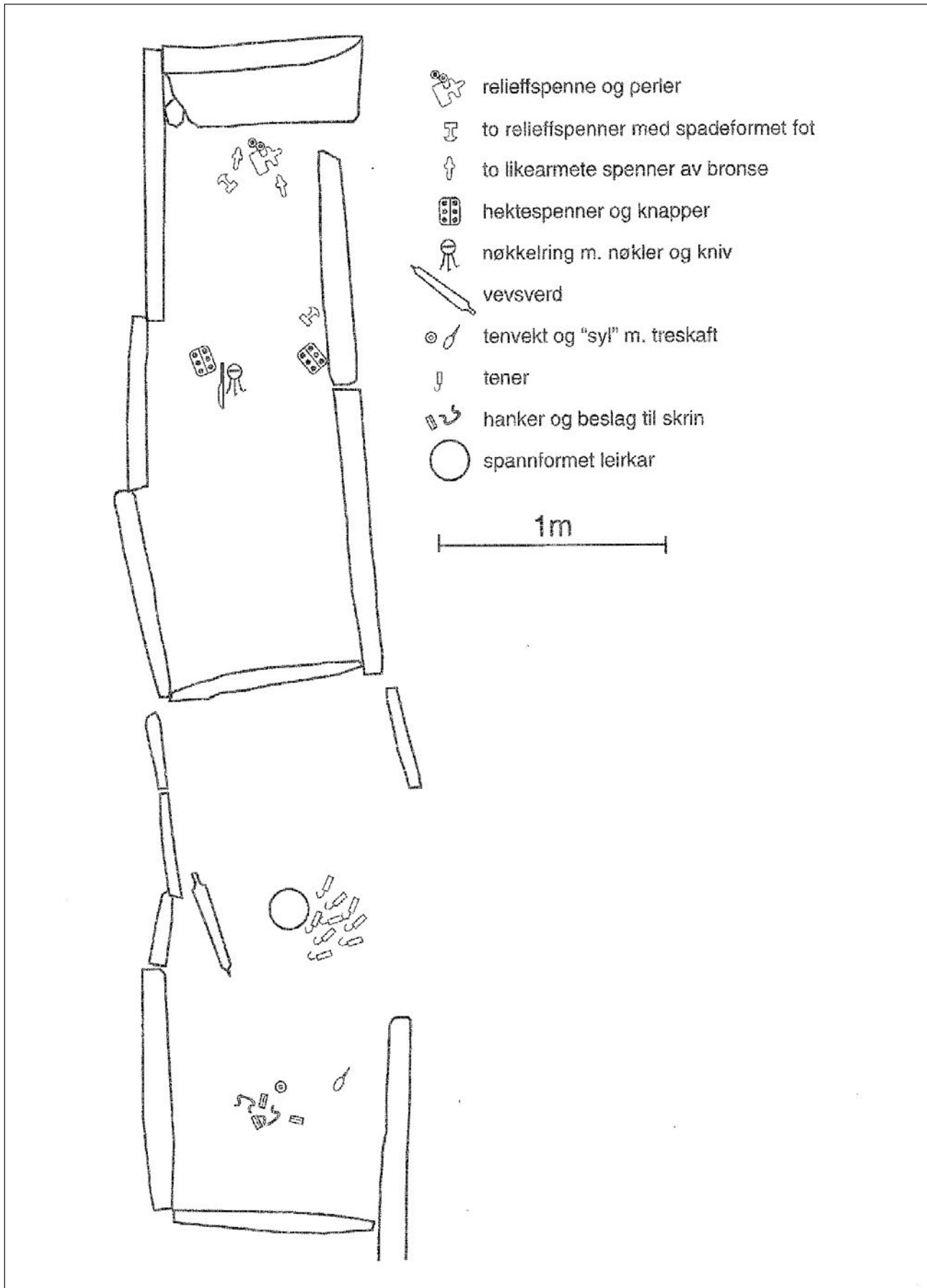


Figure 2.4 Drawing of the grave from Kvåle in Sogndal (B6516), after Kristoffersen (2000:385).

That is also the case with the distinct source categories of graves, hoards, finds from settlement sites and stray finds. These are kept apart in the analysis in order to examine whether the same form of costume manifestations recur in the different source categories (cf. the theory of structural similarity, above), or if there are any differences between these categories (cf. Jones

1997:125–6). The research places particular emphasis on graves and hoards, which represent deliberate deposition, while the settlement and stray finds presumably, for the most part, represent jewellery which people in the prehistoric past mislaid. I return to this in the context of the account of the source material below (Ch. 4.1.3).

CHRONOLOGICAL FRAMEWORK AND DATING

3.1 THE MIGRATION PERIOD

Since the types of dress-accessory of the Migration Period that constitute the primary evidence for these investigations occur mostly in Norway, it is logical to start from the chronologies that have been produced on the basis of jewellery from Norwegian regions.¹ There are two chronological schemes in particular that have been used for dating finds of jewellery from the Migration Period in Norway: Egil Bakka's (1973) grouping into the phases *Völkerwanderungszeit* (VWZ) I–IV, and Eldrid Straume's (1987)/Siv Kristoffersen's (1999; 2000) definition of phases D1 and D2.² Kristoffersen (1999; 2000) further developed Straume's phase-system to distinguish phases D2a and D2b. The chronologies are based first and foremost on Norwegian finds. Bakka's chronology has been debated in respect of two issues in particular. The first is the basis for distinguishing VWZ I and VWZ II by reference to the Sösdala and the Nydam Styles respectively. Since these two styles not only can appear in the same find-contexts but also can even appear on one and the same artefact, they have to be regarded as contemporary, or at the very least partially overlapping (Hansen 1970:93). A second aspect of Bakka's phasing that has been criticised is his attribution of D-bracteates to the last of the phases, VWZ IV, which several scholars believe is too late (see, e.g., Carlsen 2004), along with the rather vague reference to 'late Style I' (Hansen 1988:27; Hines 1984:20–2; Kristoffersen 1999:97). Bakka (1981:27) himself subsequently proposed an adjustment in which the D-bracteates were moved back in time. Nevertheless, Bakka did aim to make his chronology applicable as a trans-regional system, which is an advantage. With certain modifications it has been used in precisely such contexts, where the

objective is the dating of cross-regional artefact-types (see, e.g., Hines 1984; 1993a).

With reference to Norway, it is, however, Straume's (1987) chronological phasing, and Kristoffersen's (1999; 2000) development of it, that have been referred to most in more recent years, and this is the relative chronology that I prefer to employ in the analysis of the evidence. Kristoffersen based her work on Eva Nissen Meyer's (1935) grouping of silver-sheet and relief brooches into six *stadia*, and on Straume's (1987) division of the Migration Period into two phases, D1 and D2, which again are constructed mainly on the basis of the development of the style of cruciform, silver-sheet and relief brooches, together with bracteates. The boundary that Straume identified between phases D1 and D2 represents a transition from the Sösdala and Nydam Styles to the Sjørup Style and Style I. In absolute-chronological terms the phases cover the periods of c. AD 400–475 and c. AD 475–550/575 respectively (Straume 1987:15).³ Kristoffersen linked Meyer's *stadia* and Straume's phases with the aid of Bakka's (1973) phasing in which he picked out Meyer's stadium 2 as being represented by the Nydam Style while *stadia* 3–6 are those in which Style I is the dominant form of decoration (Kristoffersen 1999:97, tab. 6.2). Kristoffersen further sub-divided phase D2 into phases D2a and D2b on the basis of the difference between an early and a later stage of relief brooches defined by Meyer (1935). Relief brooches of the early stage (*stadia* 2–4) are found in combination with cruciform brooches while brooches of the later stage (*stadia* 5–6) are not, but are in contrast often found together with small equal-armed brooches. The latter brooch-type is practically never found together with cruciform brooches. The late relief brooches of stadium 6 are

1 Scandinavian chronological overviews of the Migration Period which are based (amongst other things) on jewellery have also been worked out for Gotland (Almgren and Nerman 1923; Nerman 1935) and Bornholm (Jørgensen 1989). For mainland areas there are also some locally related phase-systems, such as that for the Lunda cemetery on Lovö in Uppland (Petré 1984). There are no super-regional phasings of the Migration Period in relation to Denmark or Sweden otherwise (Bennett 1987:5–13; Hansen 1988:25–7; Waller 1996:19).

2 The label *D* for the Migration Period was first introduced by Otto Tischler and H. Kemke (1902:10–13) in relation to a Continental phasing (Bitner-Wróblewska 2001:15).

3 The transition from D1 to D2 is adjusted to c. AD 450 in Kristoffersen and Magnus 2010:75–81.

also found associated with bucket-shaped pots with surface-covering bead-/knot- or interlace decoration (Kristoffersen 1999:97–8).

NISSEN MEYER 1935	BAKKA 1973	STRAUME 1987
Stadia 3-6	Style I (VWZ III-IV)	D2
Stadia 1-2	Nydam style ----- Søsådal style (VWZ I-II)	D1

Table 3.1. *Straume and Kristoffersen's chronology correlated with Nissen Meyer (1935) and Bakka (1973). After Kristoffersen 2000:table 2.*

The phasing of Straume and Kristoffersen can, as Kristoffersen (1999:97, tab. 6.2) points out, be combined with Bakka's (1973) system, with phase D1 corresponding to VWZ I–II, and D2 to VWZ III–IV (Tab. 3.1). This is of interest, amongst other reasons because I partly follow Hines's (1993a) dating of clasps, and he used Bakka's phasing. Bakka (1973) also defined the transition from VWZ III to VWZ IV on the basis of, inter alia, the disappearance of cruciform brooches, which, as noted, is also used to define the distinction between Kristoffersen's phases D2a and D2b. If we set to one side the disputed D-bracteates (Axboe 1999; Hansen 1988:27; Hines 1984:20–2; Kristoffersen 1999:97), VWZ IV is defined by Bakka on the basis of late relief brooches of stadium 6. However he assigns relief brooches of stadium 5 to VWZ III. This means that while finds that are datable to VWZ IV can securely be assigned to phase D2b, finds which are dated to VWZ III could belong to either D2a or D2b. I am not, here, considering finds that are dated on the basis of D-bracteates. This class of bracteates is found in only five assemblages in the evidence collected for analysis, and only two of those also include clasps. All of the finds with D-bracteates can also be dated on the basis of relief brooches, so this will not introduce errors.

One problem, however, in respect of Straume and Kristoffersen's phasing is that it is not explicitly related to Joachim Reichstein's (1975) chronological schematization of cruciform brooches from across periods C3/D1–D3. Since I shall make use of Reichstein's relative datings in my study of the cruciform brooches, it is necessary to establish a connection between the phase-systems of Straume/Kristoffersen and Reichstein. A potential problem here is the danger of circular reasoning, as both Straume and Kristoffersen, as noted, base themselves on Meyer's schematization of the relief brooches, which in turn is

correlated with the development of cruciform brooches (Meyer 1935:99–104). Meyer relied upon Haakon Schetelig's (1906) work on cruciform brooches in which he attributed technical details of the manufacture of this type with chronological significance (cf. Ch. 4.2.1.1). As I wish to link Reichstein's phasing with Straume/Kristoffersen's chronological scheme, there is consequently a risk of closing a circle. I shall argue, however, that this is not really a problem, since it is stylistic features of the art of the period to which Straume/Kristoffersen attach importance in distinguishing phases D1 and D2a (Straume 1987:14), and in respect of the boundary between phases D2a and D2b, it is only the presence or absence of cruciform brooches, along with the decoration of bucket-shaped pottery, the style of relief brooches, and the presence of equal-armed brooches or relief brooches with a spatulate footplate they see as important (Kristoffersen 1999:98; 2000:83). I shall therefore attempt to position Reichstein's phasing in relation to Kristoffersen's (1999; 2000) relative chronology in order to facilitate analysis of the distribution pattern of the cruciform brooches in relation to the latter's phases D1, D2a and D2b.

3.1.1 Reichstein's phasing of the cruciform brooches in relation to Straume/Kristoffersen's chronology

The main problem posed in correlating Reichstein's phase with Kristoffersen's scheme is that Reichstein does not draw a chronological distinction between different relief brooches, so that find-assemblages incorporating relief brooches are usually encountered in his 'late' phase (i.e. Stufe D3). This means that Reichstein's three phases of Stufen C3/D1, D2 and D3, defined by *ältere*, *jüngere* and *späte* cruciform brooches respectively, should a priori coincide with the span of Kristoffersen's phases D1 and D2a. A comparison is further complicated, however, by the fact that Reichstein's earliest phase, Stufe C3/D1 with the 'older' types of brooch, represents both pure Roman Iron-age finds of phase C3 and transitional finds between the Late Roman Iron Age and the Migration Period (Reichstein 1973:67). This is because Reichstein included amongst the cruciform brooches what are usually defined as notional prototype forms and/or Nydam brooches, and he assigned these to the transition to the Migration Period by defining them as cruciform brooches. In this regard, it should be noted that there is a debate concerning the criteria for defining a cruciform brooch; this is a question to which I return in due course (Ch. 4.2.1).

The great majority of the brooches assigned to Reichstein's Stufe C3/D1 are associated with Roman

Iron-age dress-accessories and can therefore be dated to phase C3 of the Roman Iron Age. A few specimens, however, belong to Straume/Kristoffersen's phase D1. This is the case with some brooches of the older Type Tveitane-Hunn. Type Tveitane-Hunn is also the only one of Reichstein's older types that occurs in combination with cruciform brooches of pure Migration-period types – i.e. the later Type Lunde, which Reichstein puts in his Stufe D2. These two types are found in the same grave-assemblage on four occasions.⁴ This shows that, in part at least, they share a period of distribution, and overlap in time. The definition of Stufe D2 is based upon the associated finds of various 'younger' types with Type Lunde and so with Type Tveitane-Hunn as well (Reichstein 1975:67).⁵ It would, a priori, therefore appear logical for all of the 'younger' brooches of Stufe D2 to belong to Straume/Kristoffersen's phase D1 while the 'late' brooches of Stufe D3 are equated with phase D2a. A systematic survey of cruciform brooches associated in closed finds with relief brooches (which, together with the silver-sheet brooches, are the basis of Straume/Kristoffersen's phasing) shows that there are five finds which contain both phase-D2a relief brooches and assorted principal types of late cruciform brooch,⁶ which corroborates this linkage to a certain extent. There are also, however, not only instances of Reichstein's late leading types of cruciform brooch being associated with relief brooches dated to late phase D1, but also finds in which late cruciform brooches are associated with relief brooches dated to phase D2b. I shall evaluate these assemblages in what follows.

In three finds Reichstein's *späte* ('late') types of cruciform brooch are associated with relief brooches decorated in the Nydam Style and so datable to phase D1. This is the case with a cruciform brooch of Type Mundheim variant 4 from Tu in Rogaland,⁷ a cruciform brooch of Type Varhaug from Hol in Nord-Trøndelag,⁸ and one of Type Stoveland from Stoveland

in Vest-Agder.⁹ Type Mundheim is also represented, as already noted, in another context (see footnote 6)¹⁰ in combination with a relief brooch that is dated to phase D2a or stadium 3. Type Mundheim is a very large group, with 72 specimens in total. The type occurs in one case in association with an early main type of cruciform brooch,¹¹ but in many more finds together with other late main types such as Types Skogøya,¹² Lima,¹³ Søndre Gammelsrød¹⁴ and Bradwell.¹⁵ The type is, however, associated with a cruciform brooch of Type Byrkje in one of these assemblages.¹⁶ This type is associated in another find with the late leading type Lima,¹⁷ which in two further cases is associated with relief brooches of the 'simple bronze group'. Combination with the simple bronze group of relief brooches puts the type at the transition to phase D2b (see below). This may indicate that the brooch-type had a long period of use, as its indirect link to Type Varhaug indicates a functioning period that goes back to the transition of phase D1 to D2a. Type Stoveland has six specimens, but is found in only three finds in Scandinavia: two from Vest-Agder in Norway, and one from Västergötland in Sweden. The latter find had no other artefacts of chronological relevance, but the second Norwegian find has two cruciform brooches of Type Lima: a type that is identified as 'late'. Thus the find-assemblages once more suggest that the functioning period of this type runs from the transition of phases D1/D2a to that of D2a/D2b.

The combination of late cruciform brooches with relief brooches dated to phase D1 or the transition of phases D1/D2a can be interpreted in two different ways: either that the types of cruciform brooch in question should be dated earlier, or that the relief brooches were old when they were deposited – in other words that they were buried right at the end of their period of use. As shown, other associated late types of cruciform brooch appear in clearly late contexts, which argues against a general 'shift backwards' of the relevant forms

4 B5302, C2458–66, C20848, C21648.

5 With regard to the criteria for the distinction of Reichstein's *jüngere* phase, Stufe D2, very few leading types are involved apart from this.

6 Types Skjervum, Mo, Foldvik-Empingham, Mundheim (variant 1) and Skogøya.

7 C21407.

8 T9822.

9 C8933–50.

10 T2809: Hole, Møre og Romsdal.

11 T18453: Type Røssøy.

12 Ts1117–21, S5853.

13 S2589, S4890, S6296, S6385, S5046, B4226.

14 B5984, S1433–37.

15 Skara Museum 4537–39.

16 S5068: Byrkje, Hjelmeland, Rogaland.

17 S4476: Soppaland, Hjelmeland, Rogaland.

of cruciform brooch to phase D1. Wear on some of the relief brooches also indicates that they had been in use for a considerable period before ending up in the grave (Kristoffersen 2000:318). The Stoveland find can also be dated through the equivalent relief brooch in the Lunde find to the transition of phases D1/D2a or to the very start of phase D2a (Kristoffersen 2000:287, 381; Straume 1987:91–2). This also implies that this relief brooch was fairly old when buried.¹⁸ The Hol find, on the other hand, includes artefacts that imply a dating in phase D1: the scutiform pendant with a star design and equal-armed brooches with Sösdala-style decoration (Magnus 1975:72). All the same, as demonstrated, two of the three finds combining early relief brooches and late cruciform brooches can be located towards the end of phase D1 and probably represent the transition to phase D2a.

Relief brooches dated to phase D2b are found with cruciform brooches of Reichstein's late types in four assemblages.¹⁹ In three of those these are, however, relief brooches of the simple bronze group. That type is assigned to stadium 5 by Meyer (1935:60, 102), but close to the transition from stadium 4 to stadium 5, which in respect of Straume/Kristoffersen's chronological scheme is the transition from D2a/D2b. One of the types of cruciform brooch that is associated with these relief brooches, Type Skogøya, is also present in another find along with a relief brooch of phase D2a. The cruciform brooches that are associated with the simple bronze group²⁰ were therefore probably mainly in use in phase D2a although their period of use continued a short way into phase D2b. In addition to the finds involving combinations with the simple bronze group, one relief brooch of the northern ridge-foot group of phase D2b occurs together with a cruciform brooch of the late Type Mo in a find from Nornes in Sogn og Fjordane.²¹ This type also appears in combination with a ridge-foot brooch of phase D2a in a find from Kvåle,²² showing that cruciform brooches of Type Mo were also in use in that phase (see above). The find from Nornes can consequently plausibly be regarded as a transitional find in which a

couple of earlier cruciform brooches were used along with later brooch-types. Once again, it appears that the combination of phase-D2b relief brooches and late cruciform brooches can be assigned to the transitional zone between the phases.

This systematic review shows that, even though there are certain apparent inconsistencies between Reichstein's chronological sequence of development and Straume/Kristoffersen's phase-system, Reichstein's older and younger brooch-types can on the whole be assigned to Straume/Kristoffersen phase D1 while the late types are predominantly to be placed in phase D2a (Tab. 3.2). The relative chronology therefore can be used as a starting point for analysis of the distribution of cruciform brooches across the period.²³

Kristoffersen 1999/2000	Reichstein 1975	
	C3/D1	ältere
D1	D2	jüngere
D2a	D3	späte
D2b	–	–

Table 3.2. Kristoffersen's phases correlated with Reichstein.

3.1.2 The last phase of the Migration Period and the transition to the Merovingian Period: dislocations between phases?

It has been argued that Migration Period phase D2b in south-western Norway actually represents, to some extent, the same period of time as the first phase of the Merovingian Period in eastern Scandinavia (Näsman 1984:70). Bjørn Myrhe (2005) has reassessed this argument in connection with a crucial weapon-grave found at Nerhus in Kvinnherad, Hordaland. Jan Bemmann and Güde Hahne (1994) have defined what they call a 'Nerhus phase' in the transitional zone between the Migration Period and the Merovingian Period on the basis of this find, together with other Norwegian weapon finds. Anne Nørgaard Jørgensen (1999) placed the Nerhus phase in Nordic phase I of her trans-regional Scandinavian chronology of weapon graves, and equated these two phases with

18 Hines (1984:22–3) criticized Reichstein's phasing on the basis that, amongst other things, a cruciform brooch of Reichstein's *späte* types was found together with a relief brooch decorated in the Nydam Style in a find from Lunde, Lista in Vest-Agder. The cruciform brooch in the Lunde find is, however, classified as of individualistic form by Reichstein, and I cannot see that this brooch is dated as 'late' by Reichstein through the associated finds. It may be the Stoveland find that Hines had in mind.

19 These comprise cruciform brooches of Types Lima, Skogøya and Mo, as well as a combination of Types Søndre Gammelsrød and Lima in one grave-assemblage.

20 Types Lima, Søndre Gammelsrød and Skogøya.

21 B9688.

22 B13954. There were two individuals in the grave (see below), but the cruciform brooches of Type Mo were probably with the same person as the relief brooch.

23 Despite criticism of and problems with particular details in Reichstein's relative-chronological framework, it was nonetheless regarded as usable in an earlier overview of chronological relevance (Hines 1984:23).

the Continental phase AM II of Herman Ament (1977). This is dated to c. AD 520/30—560/70. The identification of this phase on the basis of Norwegian weapon finds is debatable,²⁴ but I shall not go more deeply into that question in this context, since here it is the chronological placement of jewellery rather than of weaponry that is central. The Nerhus phase, however, according to Myhre (2004:294–5), covers the same period as Meyer's relief brooches of stadia 5 and 6: in other words phase D2b, which is a point of interest in this context which is almost exclusively concerned with dress-accessories. Myhre (2005:296–7) suggests that it is a matter of definition whether the so-called Nerhus phase is assigned to the end of the Migration Period or the beginning of the Merovingian Period, as there are clearly transitional finds from this period. As far as stylistic criteria are concerned, however, Style II B – in other words true, early, Style II – occurs first in Jørgensen's Nordic phase II. The decoration of the preceding phase is dominated by punched decoration and ribbon interlace (Jørgensen 1999:183, 195; Myhre 2005:296; Solberg 2000:184). Punched decoration is also highly characteristic of the beginning of the Merovingian Period (phase 1, see below). Ribbon interlace is prominent both in late Style I and in Style II, and the late variant that is found on some relief brooches of stadium 6 can be considered a transitional form between these two styles (see also Kristoffersen 2000:211). It is normal to attach significance to precisely the difference between Style I and Style II in defining the beginning of the Merovingian Period (e.g. Solberg 1981:153; 2000:183). I also opt to go along with the traditional periodization, which places the boundary on the basis of this stylistic criterion amongst other things (see also Engevik 2007:124–6, 238, who also places the Nerhus phase/group parallel to phase D2b and furthermore points out that the group includes a Style I-decorated sword pommel, and Kristoffersen and Magnus 2010:77–81, who come to similar conclusions).

What has long been a problem in respect of the establishment of the chronological boundary between the Migration Period and the Merovingian Period in

the case of Norway is that finds of types of dress-accessory that are typical of the earliest phase of the Merovingian Period are almost completely absent from southern and south-western Norway. The lack of finds from Rogaland has been particularly striking because this province stands out with a very high number of finds of jewellery throughout the Migration Period. Attempts have been made to explain this state of affairs by postulating that relief brooches and other types characteristic of the Migration Period remained in use in the west while new Merovingian-period types had been introduced in the east. In this respect the lack of finds of early Style II from western Norway has also been stressed (Solberg 1981:169–70). This picture can now be adjusted. There have, for instance, been several finds in Rogaland of conical brooches with geometrical decoration – the most common brooch-type in Norway at the beginning of the Merovingian Period (cf. Ch. 4.3.1.).²⁵ Conical brooches are also found generally distributed in the provinces of Hordaland, Sogn og Fjordane and Møre og Romsdal that make up Vestlandet (cf. Ch. 4.3.1.3). Several of the finds from western Norway are also decorated in Style II of a variant that I shall argue represents a North Scandinavian version of Style II B (cf. Ch. 3.2.3.1).²⁶ The punched decoration on the conical brooches with geometrical designs is, furthermore, related to that which occurs on weaponry of the early Merovingian Period (the so-called Åker assemblage).

The image of an extended or continuing Migration-period culture in the west thus starts to break up. This does not mean, though, that there are no 'overlapping' finds that combine artefacts of the Migration Period and the Merovingian Period. I shall return to this matter in connection with the discussion of conical brooches (see Ch. 3.2.3.1). It is likely that the replacement of jewellery fashions was a gradual matter, and that changes took place more swiftly in some areas than in others. The situation does not imply, however, that there was a chronological discrepancy between western and eastern areas which covers an entire phase, as some scholars have suggested in the past (see also Myhre 2005:298).²⁷

24 Jørgensen (1999:181, 183) points out that there are no Norwegian closed finds that can be assigned to this phase although she refers to five finds that Bemann and Hahne (1994) ascribe to the Nerhus group.

25 In addition, a couple of finds of equal-armed brooches (of Jenssen 1988, type II.4) from Rogaland represent finds of jewellery that belongs to the first phase of the Merovingian Period.

26 There is also a spindle-whorl from Møkjaländ, Iveland, Aust-Agder (C25677) that is decorated in the same northern Scandinavian variant of Style B, showing that the style was found in southern Norway too, even though, so far, no finds of dress-accessories of the early Merovingian Period have been made in Aust-Agder.

27 The Nerhus phase should perhaps also be understood as made up of transitional finds rather than being defined as a distinct chronological phase, since the find contexts it is based upon are both few and in most cases extremely uncertain (see Myhre 2005:294–8).

3.2 THE MEROVINGIAN PERIOD

In contrast to the chronology of the Migration Period, no common chronological scheme for the Merovingian Period based upon jewellery-types that is valid for the whole of Norway has been devised.²⁸ Gutorm Gjessing (1934) did not attempt any direct phasing of the Merovingian Period but dated artefacts in terms of centuries. This was also Thorleif Sjøvold's (1974) approach. More recently, Synnøve Vinsrygg (1979), Hans Gude Gudesen (1980) and Geir Helgen (1982) have produced phased schemes for northern Norway, Østlandet (south-eastern Norway and its interior), and parts of western Norway respectively, while the material from southern and south-western Norway and from Trøndelag remains unprocessed. The phased schemes for these three areas are, however, based upon inconsistent criteria, and differ amongst themselves in various ways, not least in terms of absolute chronology, so that they cannot simply be joined to one another. Vinsrygg based her divisions on jewellery and beads, while both jewellery and weaponry were used to establish the various phases of Gudesen's scheme. Helgen's starting point for defining phases was principally types of weaponry and their combinations, in addition to decoration, and the dating of individual artefact-types.

Nonetheless it is a matter of fundamental importance to succeed in establishing a common chronology for Norway in order to be able to determine what are contemporary regional differences and which differences in the evidence are chronologically determined. In order to be able to undertake comparisons and to bring together types of dress-accessory from the whole of Norway and a wider zone of Scandinavia and north-western Europe, it is also necessary to modify the Norwegian Merovingian Period chronology in relation to a more general (southern) Scandinavian and Continental chronological system. In this chapter, therefore, I shall review the main lines of Vinsrygg's, Gudesen's and Helgen's chronologies and discuss these in comparison with Mogens Ørsnes's (1966) South Scandinavian chronology and with Nielsen's (1991; 1999) chronology for Bornholm, Sweden and Gotland, in order to try to establish a common phase-system for the *entirety* of Norway that can be relevant to a broad Scandinavian context. The discussion will be focused primarily on the jewellery finds, since this evidence is at the heart of the present investigation. The objective is to be able to link Norwegian chronology into a system which renders comparisons over wide areas more straightforward. Greatest importance is

placed upon the integration of chronology for the early Merovingian Period because this is the period that is relevant to the core questions and analysis of the present research project.

I have chosen to keep to Ørsnes's (1966) chronology, because that has been the system of dating that is generally most widely used for reference. Most of the more recent chronological studies concerned with southern and eastern Scandinavia are also based upon Ørsnes's phasing and typology (Jørgensen and Jørgensen 1997:24; Nielsen 1987:65; 1991; 1999). In several of these later works comparisons have also been made with Ament's (1977) chronology for the entire Merovingian area on the Continent (Jenssen 1998:24–5). Although minor alterations have been made to typology and the absolute dating of the phases in more recent research, Ørsnes's framework has proved to be robust and his principal phase-division has survived more or less intact. Nielsen (1991; 1999) has constructed an overall chronological scheme for an extensive zone of southern and eastern Scandinavia, starting from Ørsnes's typology and phasing, and her system will be crucial for this study, because she includes more types of dress-accessory from eastern Scandinavia and this makes cross-reference to the Norwegian evidence feasible.

Turning to differences in absolute chronology, there has been a definite tendency in recent years to move Ørsnes's datings further back in time. This can be seen in the research of both Jørgensen and Jørgensen (1997) and Nielsen (1987; 1991; 1999). The absolute datings in Nielsen's system (1999:189) are presented as *provisional* and should consequently be used with some reservation and caution. Nonetheless, radiocarbon datings from eastern Swedish grave finds indicate that Ørsnes's chronology is a little late with regard to the boundary between the Migration Period and the Merovingian Period (e.g. Waller 1996:147). At the same time, Märit Gaimster (1998:169–70) has drawn attention to clear similarities in decorative motifs between Scandinavian and Continental disc brooches. She argues that Scandinavian brooches which are derived from Continental disc brooches of the 7th century are given a much earlier absolute dating in Nielsen's chronology. This has consequences for Nielsen's early dating of the first phase of the Merovingian Period. I shall in fact leave questions about absolute dating alone, since it is the *relative* not the absolute dating that is of decisive importance in the present context.

²⁸ Jørgensen (1999), however, has produced a common Scandinavian chronological scheme for weaponry.

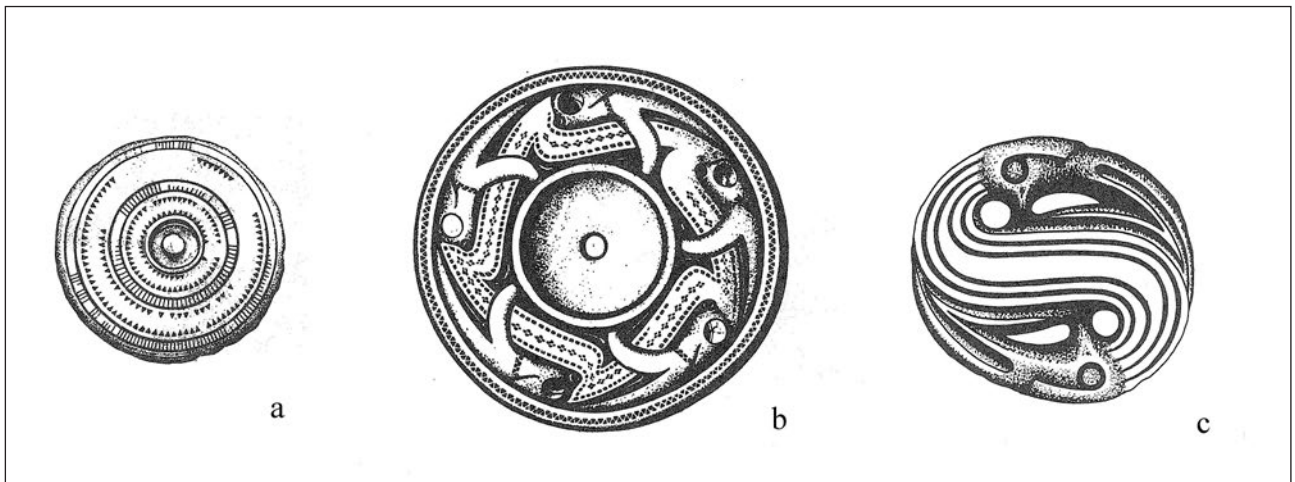


Figure 3.1 Brooch-types of Vinsrygg (1979) Phase 1: **a**) conical brooch with geometric decoration from Ytre Elgsnes, Harstad, Nordland (T33071), **b**) conical brooch with animal-style decoration from Heggstad in Lødingen, Nordland (T34295) and **c**) S-shaped brooch from Horvik in Tjeldsund (T32155). Drawn by: Lars Tangedal. © University Museum of Bergen.



Figure 3.2 Beads of orange-red shades of Phase-1 types, from Dønna, Høy, Nordland (T7351). Photograph: Ole Bjørn Pedersen. © NTNU University Museum.

In what follows, the various Norwegian and the South and East Scandinavian chronological schemes will be presented, after which their phasing schemes will be discussed comparatively. The three Norwegian systems are presented in rather more detail than those relating to southern and eastern Scandinavia. In connection with the latter, only the jewellery evidence is discussed, while weapon-types are also included in relation to the Norwegian schemes. This is because the object is to demonstrate what the basis of the three different Norwegian schemes is, in order subsequently to be able to propose an overall phase-structure for the whole area of Norway or indeed northern Scandinavia.

3.2.1 Chronology in Norway

Vinsrygg (1979) divides the Merovingian Period into two main phases, 1 and 2, with phase 2 further sub-divided into phase 2A and phase 2B. The basis for this phasing was combinations of brooches and forms of style, while the relative chronology was based upon earlier observations such as those of Gjessing (1934) concerning which types of brooch were the earlier and which the later. The leading types of phase 1 are conical brooches with geometrical decoration, along with the 'sub-categories' of conical brooches with animal art and S-shaped brooches 'of Merovingian type' (Fig. 3.1). Through association with conical brooches, three other types of brooches are also included in

phase 1: brooches formed as a bird seen in profile, wheel-shaped brooches and a particular form of ring brooch are also included in phase 1. In the case of the latter type, some reservation is called for, as this may be a belt buckle (Vinsrygg 1979:26). The bead-strings from this phase comprise relatively large quantities of beads, and their composition is dominated by barrel-shaped opaque orange glass beads, walrus-tusk or bone beads, and barrel-shaped copper-alloy beads produced from rolled copper-alloy wire (Fig. 3.2). The beads are of consistent sizes and are relatively small (Vinsrygg 1979:18–33).

Phase 2A has quadruped ‘creeping-beast’ brooches (*krypdyrspanner*)²⁹ as its leading type, with disc-on-bow brooches as a ‘sub-category’ (Fig. 3.3). Rectangular plate brooches and a few specimens of brooches like Oluf Rygh’s (1885) figure 643,³⁰ decorated with two animals (cf. Ch. 3.2.3.2), are also included in the inventory of phase-2A brooches through assemblages in which they are associated with the leading types and/or the bead-strings of this phase (Fig. 3.4). Those bead-strings consist principally of translucent glass beads, usually of green and blue shades, millefiori beads and rock crystal beads. The beads vary in size, and there is often one prominent bead of greater size. That is, as a rule, a millefiori or a rock crystal bead (Fig. 3.5). The millefiori beads are regarded as diagnostic of this phase. The bead-strings otherwise clearly tend to be more limited, consisting of fewer beads, than in phase 1 (Vinsrygg 1979:34–43, 45–6).

Phase 2B has undecorated oval brooches like R640 and oval brooches like R643 as its leading types (Fig. 3.6). An eastern (Finnish) type of equal-armed brooch is also included in the inventory of phase-2B brooches through association with a bead-string. The bead-sets of this phase are, as a rule, more limited than those of the preceding phase, but they are still dominated by translucent glass beads of blue and green shades together with millefiori beads. These, however, are generally smaller in size than those of phase 2A. Rock crystal beads appear to have largely gone out of use, but a new type that appears in this phase are gold-in-glass beads. There is also a tendency for the bead-sets of this phase to be less varied than those of the preceding phase (Vinsrygg 1979:43–6, 56–7).

Vinsrygg’s absolute dating of the phases is imprecise, presumably because her intention was only to map

out the relative-chronological sequence in northern Norway. Phase 1 covers the period from the end of the 6th century to around the end of the 7th century or a little earlier; phase 2 is more loosely described as covering the subsequent period down to the Viking Period, around AD 800. Vinsrygg does not offer a date for the boundary between phases 2A and 2B, although the latter is the final segment of the phase (Vinsrygg 1979:18–19, 52–3, 58).

Gudesen’s phasing was produced on the basis of changes in weaponry and types of jewellery. He devised a new typological classification of one-edged swords of the types R498–R500 which he used as a control on the chronological phase scheme. He divided the Merovingian Period into three principal phases, phases 1–3, dated to c. AD 550–650, 650–750 and 750–800 respectively. Phase 1 has the following types of weaponry as leading types: arrows like R535 and R540, one-edged swords (of the main type like R498–R500) – akin to Gudesen’s (1980) group I and group II, ring-swords, two-edged swords with no hilt, leaf-shaped spearheads, spears with a small head, spearheads with convex edges, spears like Gudesen (1980) plate 12C and spears like R519 of Gudesen’s (1980) sub-group A, and shield bosses with an apical button. Shield-on-tongue buckles also belong to this phase. Types of jewellery that are identified as leading types of phase 1 are: conical brooches, dress pins with polyhedral/polyhedral heads, wheel-shaped brooches and barrel-shaped copper-alloy beads (Fig. 3.7). There are also S-shaped brooches, disc-on-bow brooches and rectangular ‘ornamental plates’ in this phase; the latter two, however, also appear in both of the following phases.

In phase 2 the so-called broad seax, spears like R519 of Gudesen’s (1980) sub-group B, swords like R498–R500 of Gudesen’s (1980) group III, bird brooches (of the viewed-from-above type) and oval plate brooches, are leading types (Fig. 3.8).

In phase 3 one-edged swords like R498–R500 of Gudesen’s (1980) group VI and VII, and swords of Jan Petersen (1919) types A, B and H and special type I, are leading types. There are no brooches identified as leading types for this phase. Undecorated oval brooches such as R640 and quadruped creeping-beast brooches are, in fact, dated to the period c. AD 700–800 and thus belong to both phases 2 and 3; the same is true

29 The term ‘creeping-beast brooch’ is a new coinage. *Krypdyr* would usually be translated ‘reptile’, but the creatures portrayed on these brooches do not resemble reptiles. Attempts to find an English term for these brooches in the past have been rather awkward: e.g. ‘tortoise brooches decorated with a crouching four-footed animal’, ‘oval crouching animal brooch’ and ‘domed oblong brooches with small flattened quadruped animals’. It is hoped that *krypdyr*: ‘creeping beast’ will prove as clear and memorable as the familiar *gripedyr*: ‘gripping beast’.

30 References to figures in Rygh 1885 will be abbreviated to R + the figure number from here onwards.



Figure 3.3 Brooch-types of Vinsrygg (1979) Phase 2A: a) small zoomorphic oval brooches from Ytre Kvarøy, Nordland, grave 8 (Ts6377b-c) and b) disc-on-bow brooch from Ytre Kvarøy, Nordland, grave 9 (Ts6378a). Photograph: June Asheim. © The Arctic University Museum of Norway.



Figure 3.4 Rectangular plate brooch from Ytre Arnestad, Sogn og Fjordane (B10058). Photograph: Svein Skare, © University Museum of Bergen and oval brooch of type R.643 with twin-animal decoration from Skagstad in Steigen, Nordland (Ts3426). Drawn by: Lars Tangedal. © University Museum of Bergen.



Figure 3.5 Beads in blue tones of Phase 2A-type, from Haukland, Lund, Rogaland (S3543b). Photograph: Terje Tveit. © Arkeologisk Museum, University of Stavanger (CC BY-NC-ND 3.0).

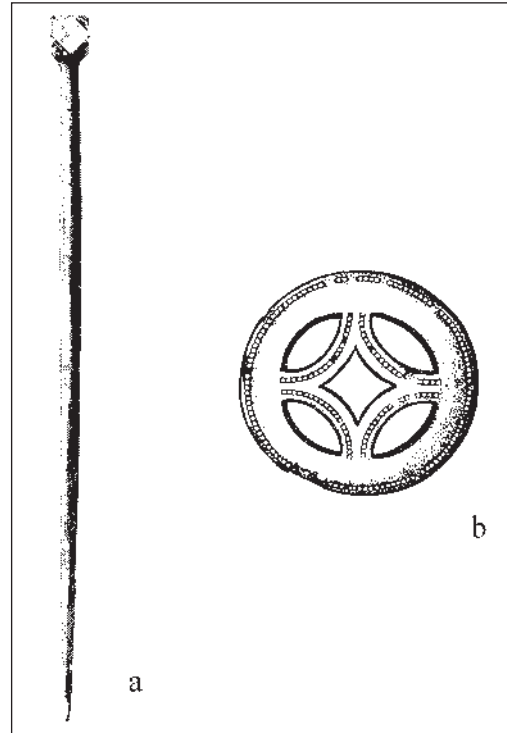


Figure 3.7 a) Dress-pin with polyhedral head of unknown provenience, Gotland (GF c419), after Nerman (1969:Taf. 14, fig. 115) and b) wheel-shaped brooch from Ytre Elgsnes in Harstad (Ts3071). Drawn by: Lars Tangedal. © University Museum of Bergen.

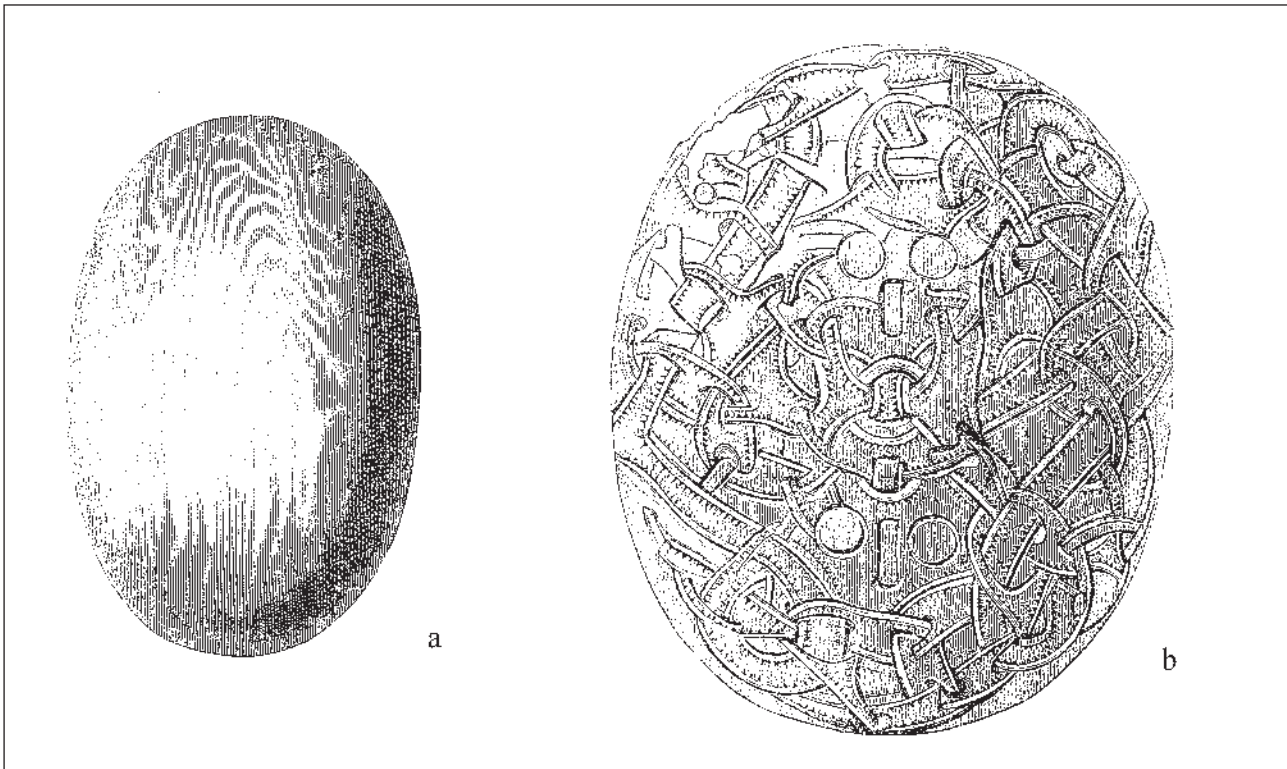


Figure 3.6 Brooch-types of Vinsrygg (1979) Phase 2B: a) type R.640 from Grindberg, Steinkjer, Nord-Trøndelag (T2374) and b) R.643 of unknown provenience (T1945), after Rygh (1885:figs 640 and 643).



Figure 3.8 a) Bird-shaped brooch from Gjesvald, Hole, Buskerud (C58110). Photograph: Ellen C. Holte, © Museum of Cultural History; and **b)** oval plate brooch from Borge, Råde, Østfold (C59622). Photograph: Birgit Maixner. © Museum of Cultural History.

of spears of the form of R520 and R522, Schetelig (1917a) figure 104 and those of Gudesen's group V, and of axes of Petersen (1919) type B. Disc-on-bow brooches and rectangular brooches were in use in all three phases, according to Gudesen. Swords of Gudesen's group IV, shield bosses of the Galgenberg Type and like R564, and axes of Petersen (1919) type C are assigned to both phases 2 and 3 (Gudesen 1980:19–20, 71–2).

Helgen (1982) divided the Merovingian-period material into three groups, groups I–III, which are referred to respectively as 'the earliest finds' from the transition between the Migration and the Merovingian Periods, 'typical finds', and, thirdly, 'transitional finds' – i.e. finds from the period of transition to the Viking Period. Leading types of group I are relatively short one-edged swords with a long pointed terminal, spearheads like R519, Schetelig (1917a) figure 104, and spears of the Vendel type, along with narrow battle axes of rectangular cross-section and low rounded flanges alongside the shaft-hole like the earliest variants of Petersen (1919) types A and B. Spearheads

of type R520 may also occur. Helgen (1982:12–13) included all artefacts with Style II decoration in this early group. The survey of finds includes, amongst the earliest items, conical brooches, S-shaped brooches, disc-on-bow brooches, rectangular brooches and creeping-beast brooches, as well as a small oval brooch that is decorated only with a simple beaded strip along the central ridge (Fig. 3.9). This group is dated from the end of the 6th century, between AD 550 and 600, down to c. AD 675 (Helgen 1982:12–25, 55–6).

Group II includes combinations of one-edged swords with blades of 70–85 cm, spearheads like R520 and Schetelig (1917a) figure 104, and axes like Petersen (1919) types A, B, D and E with more pointed flanges and protuberances parallel with the edge, in addition to rich collections of tools, and finds with Style III decoration. The types of jewellery that appear in the survey of finds from this group are: rectangular brooches, creeping-beast brooches, undecorated oval brooches of type R640 and oval brooches of type R643, and armrings of type R719 (Fig. 3.10). This group is dated c. AD 675–775 (Helgen 1982:25, 56–7).

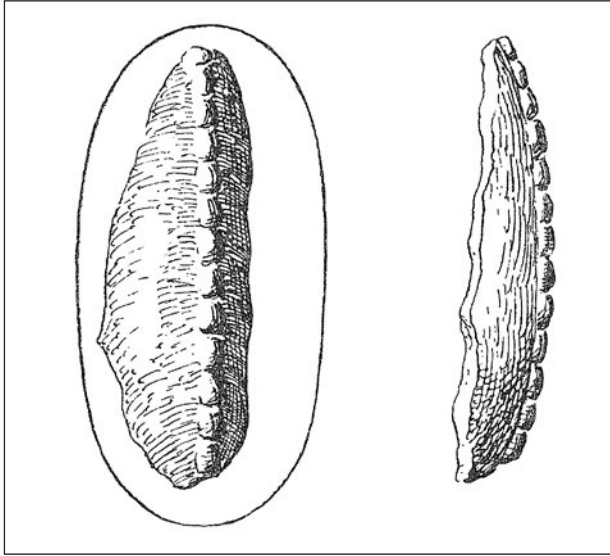


Figure 3.9 Small oval brooch with beaded rim decoration from Birkeland, Jondal, Hordaland (B7163), after Schetelig (1922b:fig. 3), © University Museum of Bergen.



Figure 3.10 Armring of type R.719 from Vågå, Bodø, Nordland (B623), after Rygh (1885:719).

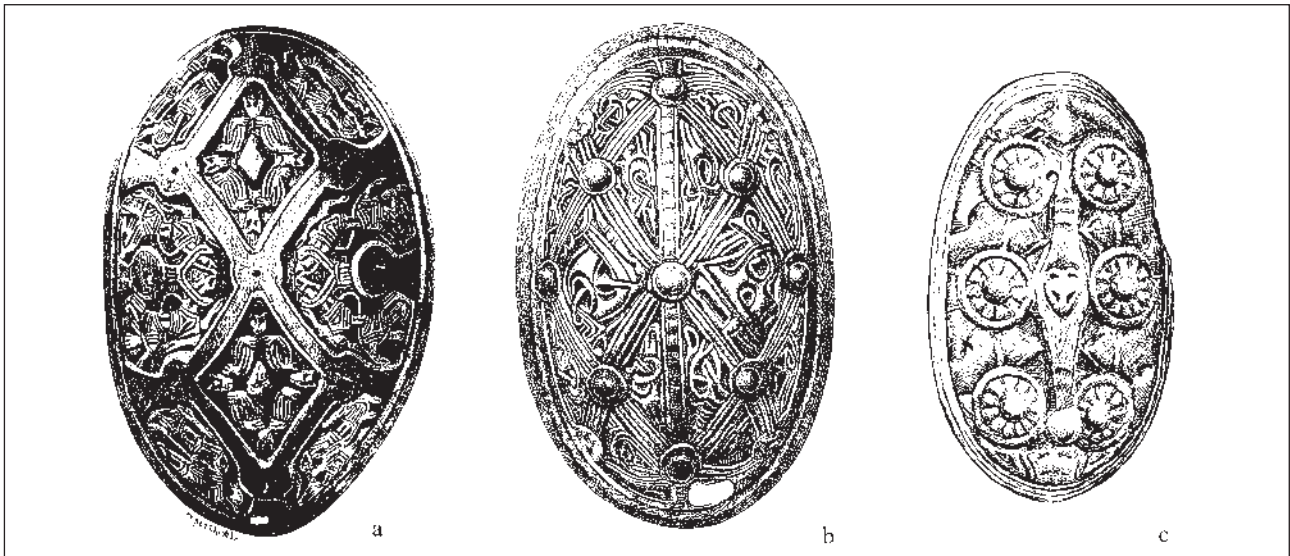


Figure 3.11 Viking-period jewellery—types of Helgen's (1982) Group 3: Oval brooches of type **a**) R647 from Nord-Mageli, Øyer, Oppland (C5324), **b**) R.650 from Øien, Nord-Fron, Oppland (C4584), after Rygh (1885:figs. 647 and 650), and **c**) the Berdal Type from Hurum, Buskerud (C707b), © Museum of Cultural History.

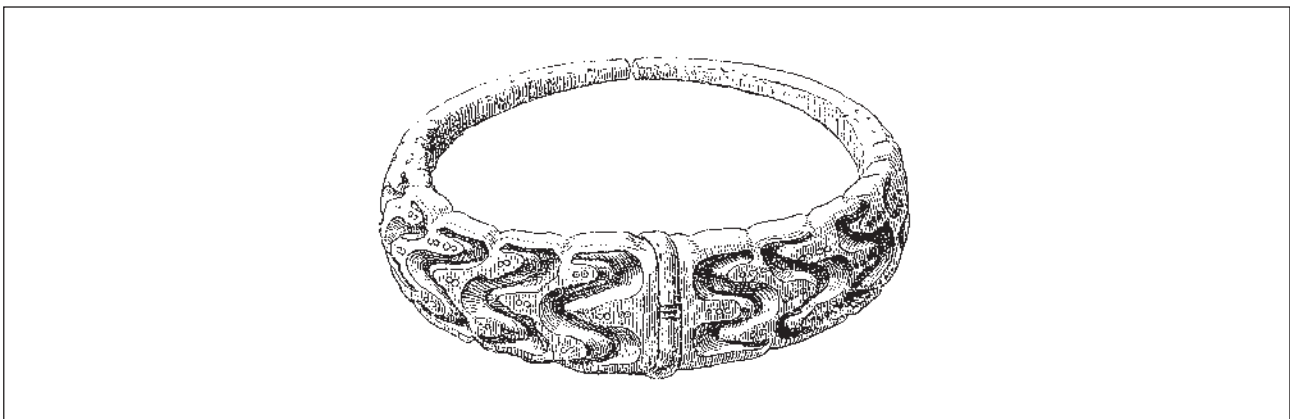


Figure 3.12 Armring of type R.721 from Klungervik, Lekø, Nord-Trøndelag (C8047), after Rygh (1885:fig. 721).

The final group, group III, comprises finds with 8th-century weapon-sets combined with objects that are dated to the 9th century or with Irish or Anglo-Saxon artefacts. This group also includes objects decorated in late Style III, or Style III hybridized with motifs from the earliest forms of Viking-period art such as gripping beasts. Of 'local', Norwegian/Scandinavian types of jewellery, the following are included in the inventory of this group: one disc-on-bow brooch, creeping-beast brooches, oval brooches of types R643, R647 and R650 and of the Berdal Type (Fig. 3.11), as well as armrings of types R719 and 721 (Fig. 3.12). This group does not really constitute a phase as such but rather represents the transition between the Merovingian Period and the Viking Period, and it can be dated to the period around AD 800, i.e. c. AD 775–825 (Helgen 1982:39, 56–7).

On the question of whether the phase-structures of the three chronological schemes can be put together in order to gain an overview of how the results of each piece of research might be used in the present context, it is clear that Helgen's (1982) chronological division of the Merovingian Period is a bit too general to be employed as a basis for the collation of types of dress-accessory from a wider area in the Early Merovingian Period. As noted, he dates all Style II finds to the 7th century, even though identified features or stages of development of Style II are also used for assigning finds late or early within the range of the group. An example of this is the rectangular brooches with decoration of Vendel Styles B and D respectively (Helgen 1982:15, 23). Helgen, moreover, does not systematize his observations concerning the execution of Style II in his phase divisions as he does with Style III decoration, where he picks out stylistic features which point forward to or merge into Viking-period animal art as a distinct group with chronological significance. The reason for this is that he believes that the Style II material is essentially too slight for any such sub-division (Helgen 1982:11, 15). The finds of jewellery that are included in group I include not only conical brooches, but also disc-on-bow brooches of both earlier and later forms, rectangular brooches, S-shaped brooches and one creeping-beast brooch with incised decoration (Helgen 1982:15–25). The latter type is assigned by both Vinsrygg and Gudesen, as noted above, to a later phase than the conical brooches. Vinsrygg also assigns rectangular brooches to her phase 2 while, according to Gudesen, they occur throughout the Merovingian Period. In this respect, it is important

to note that Gudesen includes everything to which he gives a general designation of 'rectangular ornamental plates' in his survey of this type, and that the finds very clearly include what can be distinguished as rectangular sword-belt mounts. I shall return to this subsequently, as it is of chronological significance.

This overview shows that disc-on-bow brooches appear in the earliest phase in both Gudesen's scheme and Helgen's while they appear first in phase 2A of Vinsrygg's scheme. Vinsrygg (1979:45–6) points out, however, that some of the disc-on-bow brooches which contextually fall into her phase 2A have stylistic features which indicate that they really date to – i.e. were produced in – the first phase of the Merovingian Period. According to Gudesen, this type continued throughout the Merovingian Period, while it is only found amongst the finds that are assigned to Helgen's first and last groups. Common to Gudesen's and Vinsrygg's first phase is the occurrence of wheel-shaped brooches, but this type does not occur in Helgen's material, presumably because of a lack of finds from his study area.

Conical and S-shaped brooches appear in all of the chronological schemes in the first phase of the period. From Gudesen's (1980:72) overview, figure 16, it appears that the S-shaped brooches remained in use until around the year 700, although in the review of this type he locates all of the finds of 'real' S-shaped brooches to his first phase, or before c. AD 600/650. The only brooch that is dated later is a brooch which both Gjessing (1934:132–3) and Gudesen see as commensurable with S-shaped brooches but which is really an oval plate brooch,³¹ as indeed Gudesen (1980:60–1) points out. It is unclear, though, if it is just this specimen which has induced the extension of the period of use in Gudesen's table (Gudesen 1980:fig. 16). In this table oval plate brooches are in fact presented as a group of their own, and located chronologically in phase 2, which is in agreement with Ørsnes's (1966) chronological determination within his South Scandinavian phasing (see below). Both Gjessing and Gudesen are also of the opinion that this brooch was probably imported from Denmark, or from southern Scandinavia. Helgen (1982:21) has only two S-shaped brooches in his material.³² These are quite idiosyncratic in form, almost 'naturalistically' produced, and are similar to no other Norwegian brooch (see Schetelig 1910:fig. 88). The brooches are from a boat grave, and can be dated to the end of the Migration Period, in Helgen's view. From the other

31 C23173b.

32 B5815.

finds in the (boat) grave, including a belt buckle/key ring,³³ a socketed weaving sword, thread-picker and wool-comb, Helgen nevertheless dates the burial itself to the 7th century. This is consistent with the dating that Müller-Wille (1970:58–9) assigns to the find, while according to Schetelig (1910:95) the brooches date to the early Viking Period. Petersen (1951:501) for his part dates a button that was within the grave to the end of the 9th century. The brooches are not referred to alongside S-shaped brooches by Gjessing (1934:130–3), indicating that he did not consider them as representing the Merovingian-period type. Vinsrygg (1979:25) also has two S-shaped brooches in her material.³⁴ These differ in being almost round (Fig. 3.1c). The brooches are practically identical and may be from a single mould. Both their stylistic execution and their find contexts indicate that they are contemporary with conical brooches (Gjessing 1934:132; Vinsrygg 1979:250).

In respect of jewellery from the earliest phase, therefore, only conical brooches and S-shaped brooches are common leading types in all three Norwegian schemes. Both of these types also appear in Ørsnes's earliest phase (cf. below). Common jewellery-types for the next phase are disc-on-bow brooches, rectangular brooches and creeping-beast brooches, but, as noted above, these types also occur in various other phases in some of the schemes. It is less easy to bring together the types of jewellery from the last phase in the three schemes because a high proportion of the jewellery finds that are included in the overview of Helgen's group 3 are usually dated to the Viking Period. Nonetheless there are also some Merovingian-period types here, such as late creeping-beast brooches, a disc-on-bow brooch, oval brooches of type R643 with Style III decoration, and an armring of type R719. All of these brooches were found in association with Insular artefacts, a fact which would traditionally date the finds as a whole to the Viking Period (but see Myhre 1993:187, who argues that the finds are earlier). The brooch-types noted are, with the exception of the disc-on-bow brooches, also included amongst

Helgen's 'typical finds' in group 2. Both brooch-types R640 and R643 appear in Vinsrygg's and Gudesen's concluding phases. There is thus a considerable degree of agreement between the three Norwegian phase schemes, but the picture is complicated by regional differences, and by inconsistencies in respect of the absolute dating of the phases.

Table 3.3 illustrates the inconsistent phase-boundaries in the three schemes. The beginning of the Merovingian Period is placed rather differently: Gudesen seeks to bring phase 1 back to AD 550, which Helgen is also open to, while Vinsrygg dates the start of the period to c. 575 or the end of the 6th century AD. With regard to the transition of phases 1/2, Gudesen places this boundary at AD 650 while the other two locate it in the last quarter of the 7th century. Gudesen, however, includes brooches which first appear around 700 in his phase 2, and it appears curious that he does not place a phase boundary at this date that would be more or less concurrent with a boundary identified and dated by both Vinsrygg and Helgen. Helgen, for his part, has indicated that there is some basis for a sub-division of his earliest finds of group 1 through the sequence of development of Style II even though, as he points out, there are few finds to make use of. Since the boundaries within the individual schemes are presented with a margin of up to 50 years (e.g. the date for the start of Helgen's first phase), it is difficult to determine whether or not the discrepancies in the phase structure of the three systems are due to regional differences. I shall return to this below. All three of these Norwegian chronological studies are related to some extent to Ørsnes's chronology, but none of them corresponds fully to it. Before I proceed to discuss the absolute datings and the scope for re-defining the phase-structures of the three separate Norwegian chronological systems, I shall therefore briefly describe the contents of Ørsnes's framework and compare it with Nielsen's super-regional scheme for a wider zone of southern and eastern Scandinavia.

33 In the catalogue description, B5818c is identified as a 'ring brooch'. This, however, is not a Viking-period ring brooch but rather a ring-shaped belt buckle or key ring (pers. comm. Zanette T. Glørstad).

34 Ts2155 and Ts1492.

Date	550	575	600	625	650	675	700	725	750	775
Vinsrygg		Phase 1 (end of 6th c.-end of 7th c.)				Phase 2A (end of 7th c.-mid/end of 8th c.)			Phase 2B (mid/end of 8th c.-ca. AD 800)	
		Conical brooches				Creeping-beast brooches			Oval brooches R.640	
		S-shaped brooches	← ?	←	←	Oval brooches R.643 with two animals			Oval brooches R.643	
		Wheel-shaped brooches				← Disc-on-bow brooches			Equal-armed brooch (eastern/Finnish)	
		Bird-of-prey brooches				Rectangular brooches				
		Ring brooch (special form)								
		large bead sets dominated by opaque orange glass beads, walrus-tusks and bone beads, barrel-shaped beads formed of copper-alloy wire				Smaller bead sets principally of green and blue translucent glass beads, big millefiori beads and rock crystal beads, beads vary in size			Even smaller bead sets, gold-in-glass beads, none locally produced beads, green and blue translucent glass beads, less variation	
Gudesen	Phase 1 (550-650)				Phase 2 (650-750)				Phase 3 (750-800)	
	Conical brooches				Bird-shaped brooches (viewed from above)					
	S-shaped brooches				Oval plate brooches					
	Wheel-shaped brooches						Creeping-beast brooches		→	
	Dress pins with polyhedral heads						Oval brooch R.640		→	
	Barrel-shaped copper-alloy beads									
	Disc-on-bow brooches			→			→		→	
	Rectangular 'ornamental plates'			→			→		→	
Helgen	Group 1 (ca. 550/600, end of 6th c.-ca. 675)					Group 2 (ca. 675-775)			Group 3 (ca. 775-825)	
	Creeping-beast brooch (with Style II)					Creeping-beast brooch/oval animal-brooch with Style III	→	→	→	Creeping-beast brooches
	Disc-on-bow brooches									Disc-on-bow brooch
						Oval brooches R.643 (with Style III)	→	→	→	Oval brooches R.643 with Style III + Oseberg style
	Rectangular plate brooches (with Style II)				→	Rectangular brooches, undecorated				Oval brooches R.647
	S-formed brooches					Bronze arming with tongue-shaped ornaments				Oval brooches R.650
	Conical brooches					Arming R.719				Arming R.719
	small oval brooch decorated with a simple beaded strip along central ridge					Oval brooches R.640/undecorated oval				Arming R.721

Table 3.3. Correlation of Vinsrygg, Gudesen and Helgen's Merovingian Period phases.

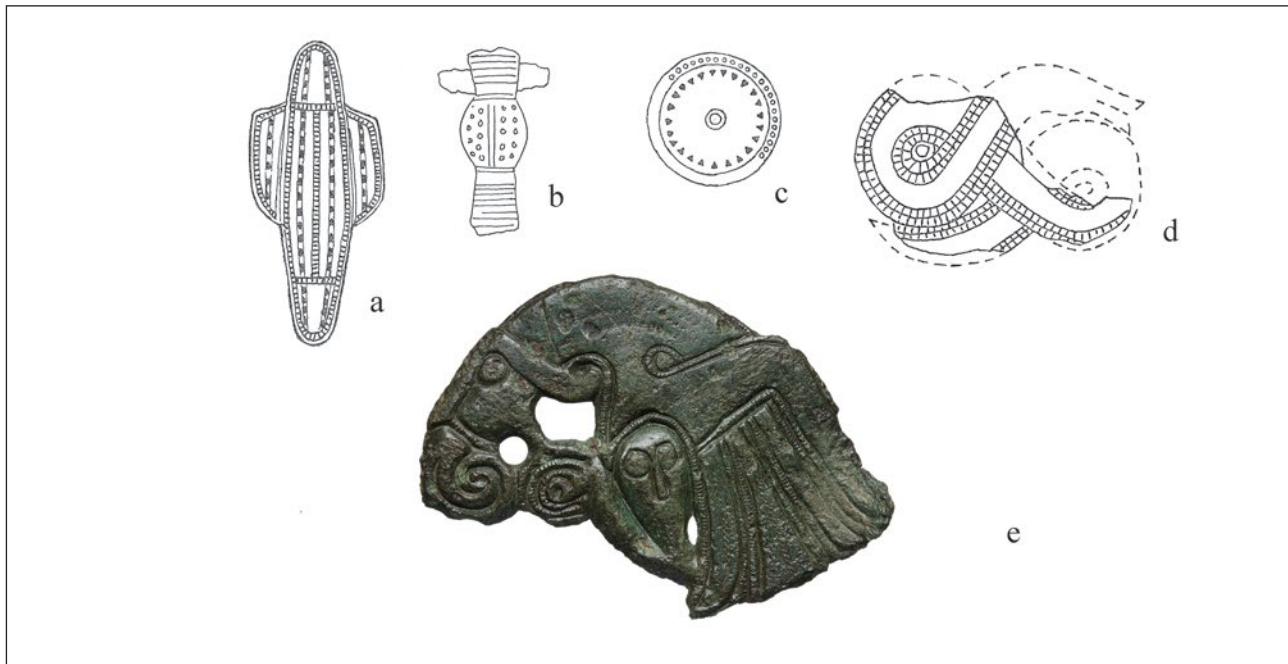


Figure 3.13 Individual brooch-types of Ørsnes (1966) Phase 1: **a**) beak brooch, **b**) equal-armed brooch, **c**) disc brooch, **d**) 'serpent-eye' brooch, after Ørsnes (1966:figs. 105, 94, 131 and 166) and **e**) 'bird-of-prey' brooch from Hornsgård, Jutland. Photograph: Søren Greve. © National Museum of Denmark (CC-BY-SA).

3.2.2 South and East Scandinavian chronology

Ørsnes (1966:180–241) divides the Later Germanic Iron Age of Danish archaeology into three principal phases: phase 1, c. AD 550/75–650; phase 2, c. AD 650–725; and phase 3, c. AD 725–800.

Phase 1 has the following dress-accessories as leading types: so-called 'prototypes' for the disc-on-bow brooch (E0);³⁵ disc-on-bow brooches (E1, E2 and E4); equal-armed brooches (F1–F5); beak brooches (G1–G2, and some examples of G3); special forms of plate brooch (H1–H2); round plate brooches (I1–I2); so-called 'animal-shaped plate brooches' of types L1–L3: i.e. S-shaped brooches (L1), 'serpent-eye'/snake(-coil)-shaped brooches (L2) and early bird-shaped brooches of the type with a profile bird ('bird-of-prey' brooches: L3); round dished brooches with geometrical ornament: i.e. conical brooches (M); dress pins of the type with polyhedral, box-shaped or conical heads (P1–P3), sometimes with a ring or loop (P4–P5); simple armrings (Q7); neckrings or diadems (Q8); bead-sets dominated by opaque orange glass beads (R1); polished amethyst beads (R2); and bead strings of type R1 worn in parallel strands fastened in terminal pieces (R3) (Fig. 3.13). Some bird brooches, namely bird brooches of the type viewed from above (D1), also occur in phase 1. The jewellery of this earliest phase can be divided into two groups, a and b, of which group b is characterized by richer sets of jewellery

than group a. Ørsnes (1966:80) notes the possibility that these groups represent a social rather than a chronological division. The leading types of group b, however, are still found at the beginning of phase 2 (see below; Ørsnes 1966:181). Phase 1 is otherwise typified especially by rich punchmark decoration, Style II of the southern Scandinavian form B, interlace patterns formed in simple two-strand ribbon interlace and a simple wavy line, combined in some cases with animal heads, cloisonné decoration, and encrustation (Ørsnes 1966:42, 180–2).

The range of jewellery of phase 2 is characterized first and foremost by bird brooches of the viewed-from-above type (D2–D6, and possibly D1), beak brooches with an unperforated headplate and no punched decoration (G3), oval plate brooches (J1–J5) and rectangular plate brooches (K1–K3). The introduction of these four principal types defines the beginning of the phase. In addition, there are also disc-on-bow brooches (E2–E3, E5–E6); epaulette-shaped plate brooches with openwork zoomorphic decoration (H3); round plate brooches with cast decoration and a shallow rim (I3); late forms of animal plate brooch of the type with a bird seen in profile (L3) and horse brooches (L4–L5); and some oval (dished) brooches (N1) with Style C decoration (Fig. 3.14). There are also dress pins with symmetrical composite heads (P6–P8) or asymmetrical heads (P9); simple iron pins (P10); spiral

³⁵ Ørsnes's type labels are given in brackets.

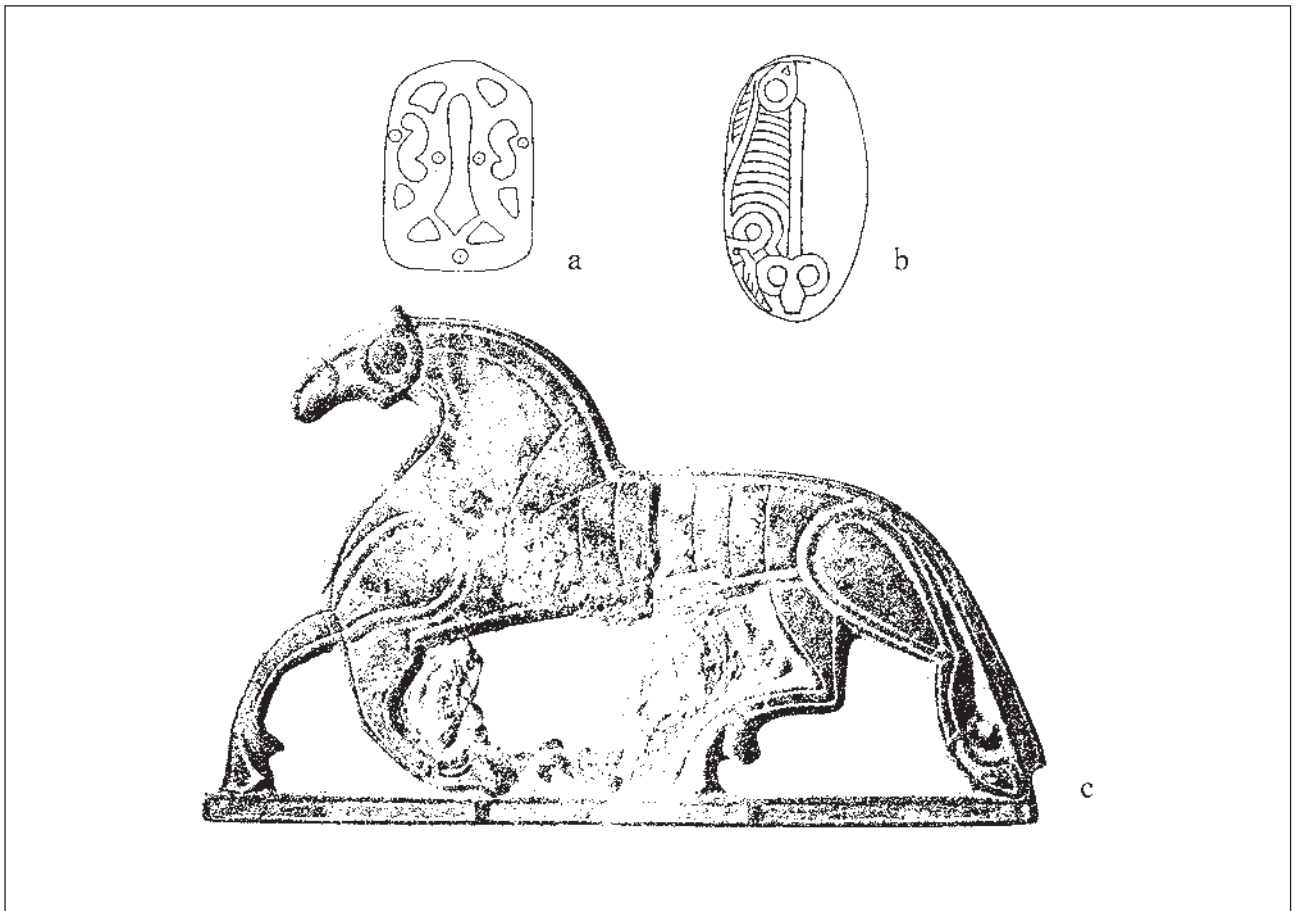


Figure 3.14 Individual brooch-types of Ørsnes (1966) Phase 2: **a)** epaulette-shaped plate brooch, **b)** oval brooch with Style-C decoration, and **c)** horse-shaped brooch, after Ørsnes (1966:figs. 127, 173 and 163 respectively).

armrings (Q1–Q3) and simple armrings with pointed flattened terminals (Q4); large bead sets dominated by orange hues (R1) sometimes worn with hook-shaped bead-distributors (R3); polished amethyst beads (R2); wooden beads with metal tubes and metal end-pieces (R4); some ‘sewn-on ornamental plates’ (S1); special types of ornamental plate (S2); slender iron chains (S3); and cylindrical jewellery cases (S4). According to Ørsnes, this range of jewellery can also be sub-divided into three groups, 2a–2c, which represent distinct chronological phases (1966:207). The range of beads which Ørsnes (1966:171–3) describes for his phases 2b and 2c comprises cool colours along with red and yellow, together with the introduction of some polychrome beads and haphazard bead combinations, while bead sets of type R1 appear only in phase 2a.

Phase 2 is also characterized by zoomorphic art of Style II in the form of South Scandinavian Style C, and interlace decoration in the form of regular plaitwork patterns, wavy lines and knotwork. The interlace patterns also occur in this period in combination with animal heads. Punched decoration is much less frequent in this phase, and to the extent that it does appear is largely confined to simple rows

or single examples of punchmarks. The ornament of this phase is otherwise characterized also by white metal appliqué, a special mask motif, and cloisonné decoration (Ørsnes 1966:207–8).

The most typical types of jewellery of phase 3 are oval (N1–N2) and zoomorphic dished brooches (O1–O3). There are, in addition, disc-on-bow brooches (E5–E6); round plate brooches with high rims (I4); and rectangular plate brooches (K1, K3–K5), which in some cases are reworked mounts. Ørsnes also includes in the inventory of jewellery of this phase a special plate brooch that was made of a three-sided mount (H4). Armrings with markedly splayed terminals or central parts (Q5–Q6) are typical of the phase (Fig. 3.15). The range of dress-accessories also includes a number of pins (P8–P9) and spiral armrings (Q3), ornamental plates (S1–S2) and slender bronze chains (S3). Phase 3 is further sub-divided into two chronological phases: phase 3a, which is characterized by small oval or zoomorphic dished brooches; and phase 3b, which is characterized by large oval dished brooches. In this phase, rich surface-covering punchmark decoration becomes common again, especially on the heavy armrings. Fine-lined and regular interlace decoration

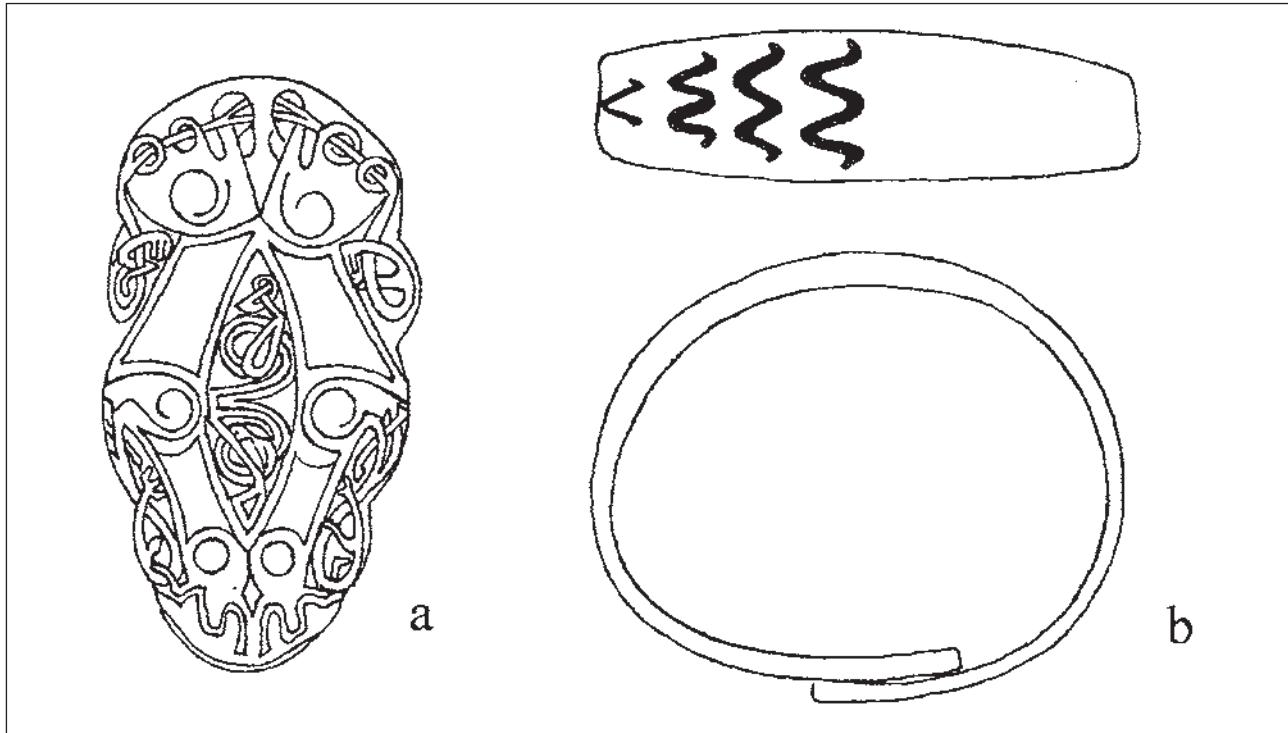


Figure 3.15 Individual brooch-types of Ørsnes (1966) Phase 3: **a)** zoomorphic oval brooch and **b)** armring with an expanded central field, after Ørsnes (1966:figs. 194 and 216).

with knotwork and loops formed out of a single ribbon is typical, and interlaced rings also occur. South Scandinavian animal styles (Style II) D, E and F are dominant in this phase: Style D in phase 3a and Style E in phase 3b. The more precise dating of Style F is less secure, but it is tentatively assigned to the later part of the phase. Cloisonné decoration occurs too, as well as inlays of red, yellow or blue enamel in some cases (Ørsnes 1966:224–6).

Nielsen (1991; 1999) has preserved Ørsnes's three principal phases more or less intact in her super-regional scheme, although she has made some minor changes to the typology. These affect the sub-classification of certain types of jewellery, such as the equal-armed brooches, round plate brooches and oval brooches (see also Nielsen 1987). The recasting of the typology has not had direct consequences for the chronological division into the principal phases, apart from the fact that finds which in Ørsnes's scheme fall into his sub-phase 2c are assigned by Nielsen (1999:175) between the two adjacent phases.

This does not intrinsically challenge Ørsnes's chronological scheme, since he noted that the finds of this phase belong to the transition between his phases 2 and 3 (Ørsnes 1966:207–9). Otherwise the most important difference between Nielsen's chronological system and Ørsnes's is that Nielsen includes

more eastern Scandinavian dress-accessories in her chronological scheme, with the result that this system is more applicable in working out a Norwegian or North Scandinavian chronology, providing more types and cross-finds to make use of.

Nielsen (1991; 1999) divides the Late Germanic Iron Age into four principal phases, which are labelled phases VIIA–VIID (Fig. 3.16). Phases A and B correspond to Ørsnes's phases 1 and 2, while phases C and D correspond to Ørsnes's phases 3a and 3b. In respect of artefact-types which characterize the individual phases, Nielsen has added the eastern Scandinavian types the Husby brooch (F4),³⁶ wheel-cross/wheel-shaped brooches (S2c) and early animal-head/crab brooches (G4a) to the leading types of the earliest phase, VIIA, which she dates c. AD 550–600. The second phase, VIIB (c. AD 600–700), includes animal-head brooches with lines (G4b) and small undecorated dished brooches (N1a), horse-shaped plate brooches (L4) and discoid ornamental plates with openwork zoomorphic ornament (S2a) in addition to the brooch-types listed by Ørsnes for phase 2. In the third phase, VIIC (c. AD 700–750), the leading types are expanded to include animal-head brooches with eyes (G4c) and heavy-cast animal-head brooches (G4d), bead-distributors (S1) and half-moon-shaped pendants (S2f). The concluding phase, VIID (c. AD

³⁶ Nielsen's type labels are given in brackets.

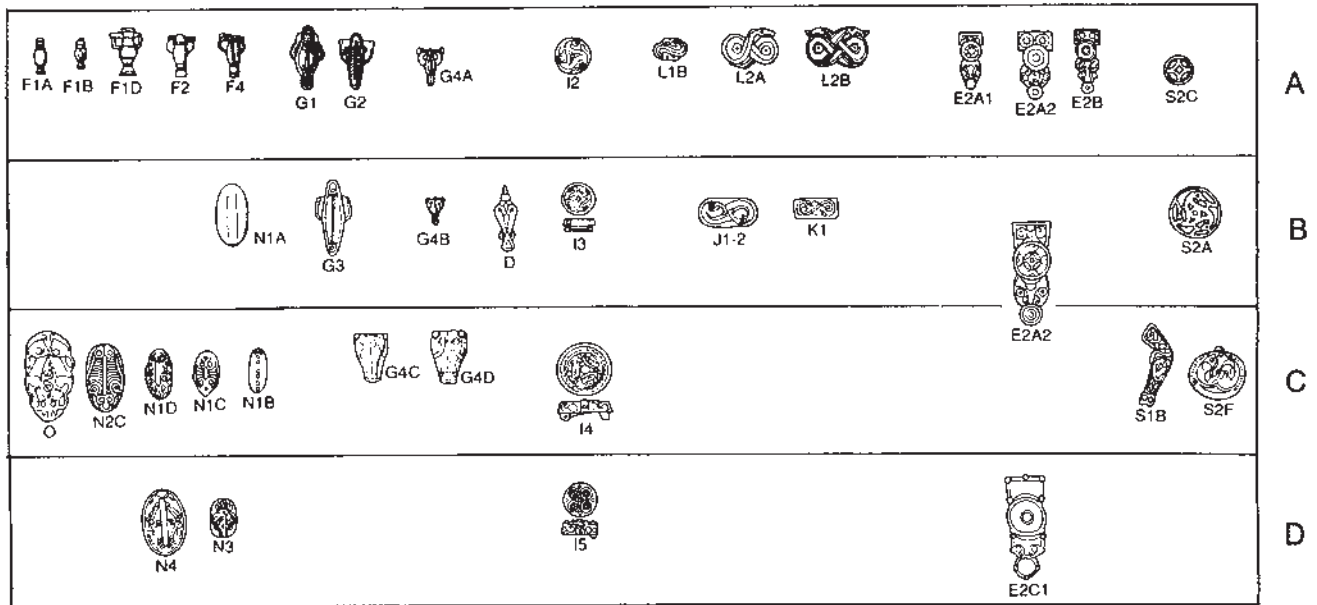


Figure 3.16 Nielsen's (1999) phasing, after Nielsen (1999:fig. 10,39).

750–800), includes only types that are also found in Ørsnes's phase 3: oval dished brooches (from 57–112 mm, N3–N5, which correspond to Ørsnes's N1–N2), round plate brooches with a high rim (16–17 mm: I5, which falls within Ørsnes's I4³⁷), and late, large, 'baroque' types of disc-on-bow brooch without profile heads on the footplate (E2c1, corresponding to Ørsnes E6).

Thus in Nielsen's system a final principal phase from c. AD 750 onwards is identified, phase VIID, in contrast to Ørsnes who allows this period to form a sub-phase which is part of one of the principal phases (phase 3). A difference between Nielsen's and Ørsnes's leading types, however, is that rectangular brooches serve as a leading type only for the second phase in Nielsen's scheme, while this type also occurs in both of phases 2 and 3. This is because rectangular brooches recur in both phases only in western Denmark (Ørsnes 1966:142) but fell out of use before phase 3 elsewhere in southern and eastern Scandinavia. In Norway too, however, it appears that rectangular brooches do occur in both phases 2 and 3 (cf. Ch. 3.2.3 and 3.2.4, below).

3.2.3 Bringing the Norwegian, South Scandinavian and East Scandinavian chronologies together

If Ørsnes's chronology is placed alongside the Norwegian schemes (Tab. 3.4), it transpires that there is most agreement between Ørsnes's phasing

and that of Gudesen with respect to which types of dress-accessory belong to the three principal phases of either framework. With the exception of local artefact-types that are limited to either southern or northern Scandinavia respectively, such as the zoomorphic dished brooches (Ørsnes Type O) on the one hand, and wide, undecorated oval brooches of type R640 on the other, and also with the exception of the frequent presence of many more individual types of jewellery in southern Scandinavia, the phasings differ from each other in that Gudesen includes rectangular brooches in phase 1, unlike Ørsnes. As I have discussed above, however, Gudesen defines this type of dress-accessory as 'rectangular ornamental plates' and thus also includes rectangular mounts amongst the examples. Rectangular mounts are also included in Ørsnes's first phase as features of male accoutrement (Ørsnes 1966:180). Gudesen includes creeping-beast brooches in the final part of phase 2, from around the year 700, and Ørsnes dates some brooches of this type, namely the 'oval dished brooches' of type N1 that are decorated with South Scandinavian Style C, to his phase 2. He draws attention, however, to aspects of uncertainty concerning such an early dating of the brooches, and in Nielsen's 'revised version' of Ørsnes's phasing this type of oval brooch is excluded from phase 2, which is her phase VIIB. Ørsnes otherwise places the start of phase 3 at around AD 725, which is 25 years earlier than Gudesen. Apart from that, there is, on the whole, agreement between the two schemes.

37 It is difficult to define the agreements between Nielsen's and Ørsnes's types of disc brooch, as Nielsen worked with precise measurements while Ørsnes used approximate measurements.

Date	550	650	700	725	750
Gudesen	Phase 1 (550–650)	Phase 2 (650–750)			Phase 3 (750–800)
	Conical brooches	Bird-shaped brooches (of the type viewed from above)			
	S-shaped brooches	Oval plate brooches			
	Wheel-shaped brooches		Creeping-beast brooches	→	
	Dress pins with polyhedral heads		Oval brooches of type R.640	→	
	Barrel-shaped copper-alloy beads				
	Disc-on-bow brooches	→		→	
	Rectangular 'ornamental plates'	→		→	
Ørsnes	Phase 1 (550/75–650)	Phase 2 (650–725)		Phase 3 (725–800)	
	Bird-shaped brooches (D1)	Bird-shaped brooches (D2–D6)			
	Beak brooches (G1–G2)	Beak brooches (G3) (unperforated headplate and no punched decoration)			
	Round plate brooches (I1–I2)	Round plate brooches (I3)		Round plate brooches (I4)	
	Round dished brooches (M) = conical	Rectangular plate brooches (K1–K3)		Rectangular plate brooches (K1, K3–K5)	
	Equal-armed brooches (F1–F5)	Oval plate brooches (J1–J5)		Zoomorphic dished brooches (O1–O3)	
		Some oval 'dished' brooches (N1 with Style C decoration)		Oval dished brooches (N1–N2)	
	Simple armrings (Q7), neckrings or diadems (Q8)	Spiral armrings (Q1–Q3), simple with pointed flattened terminals (Q4)		Some spiral armrings (Q3), armrings with splayed terminals and central parts (Q5–Q6)	
	Disc-on-bow brooches (E0, 1, 2- og 4)	Disc-on-bow brooches (E2–E3, E5–E6)		Disc-on-bow brooches (E2–E3, E5–E6)	
	Dress pins with polyhedral, box-shaped or conical heads (P1–P3) and as P1–P3 with 'ring/loop' (P4–P5)	Dress pins with composite heads (P6–P9), simple iron pins (P10)		Some dress pins (P8–P9)	
	Bead-sets dominated by opaque orange glass beads (R1), polished amethyst beads (R2), bead strings of type R1 in parallel strands fastened in terminal pieces (R3)	Beads R1, R3 (in beg. of phase), R2 (pol. amethyst) and R4 (=wooden beads with metal tubes and metal end-pieces)			
	Animal-shaped plate brooches (L1–L3) 1=S-shaped, 2=snake, 3= bird-of-prey	Animal-shaped plate brooches (late L3, horse brooches L4–L5)			
	Special forms of plate brooches (H1, and possibly H2)	Epaulette-shaped plate brooches with openwork zoomorphic dec. (H3)		Plate brooch (H4)	
		Sewn-on' and special types of ornamental plates (S1–S2), iron chains (S3)		Some ornamental plates (S1–S2), slender bronze chains (S3)	

Table 3.4. Correlation of Gudesen and Ørsnes's Merovingian Period phases.

Placing Ørsnes's and Vinsrygg's chronologies side-by-side reveals that their phases 1 also largely correspond with one another. There are no directly disruptive issues, except that Vinsrygg's phase has a longer duration. The differences are limited to the presence of local northern and eastern as opposed to southern Scandinavian types, such as, for instance, the wheel-shaped and ring brooches in the former as

opposed to beak brooches and round plate brooches in the latter. All of the types, meanwhile, recur in Nielsen's trans-regional phase VIIA, so that contemporaneity between these phases can be established to a certain extent. A difference between the schemes, however, is that bead strings with opaque orange glass beads are typical of Vinsrygg's phase 1 while this type of necklace is found in both phases 1 and 2a in

Ørsnes's scheme. The types of jewellery of Vinsrygg's phase 2A otherwise fit well with those that belong to Ørsnes's second phase, albeit with the exception of the fact that creeping-beast brooches are the key leading type for Vinsrygg's phase 2A while, according to Ørsnes's system, this type belongs primarily to phase 3. In addition to this important difference, the second phases of the two different schemes differ from one another in respect of Ørsnes including a range of types that simply do not occur in Vinsrygg's material. This is primarily a matter of local southern and eastern Scandinavian types. There is also a chronological disjunction in that Vinsrygg's phase 2A is placed about 25–50 years later than Ørsnes's phase 2. The key artefact-types of Vinsrygg's concluding phase, 2B, are oval brooches of type R640 and R643. Both of those are distinctly Norwegian brooch-types (Gjessing 1934:145–7; Vinsrygg 1979:56; Ørsnes 1966:155–6). These types consequently do not occur in the South and East Scandinavian chronology. These brooch-types can, however, be treated as representing a common Scandinavian oval-brooch fashion (Ørsnes 1966:154–5), and the Norwegian types appear from their size to correspond to southern and eastern Scandinavian types that are assigned to Ørsnes's phase 3 and Nielsen's phase VIIC.

Helgen's phasing is the one which agrees least with Ørsnes's and Nielsen's schemes, because, as noted earlier, he includes both rectangular brooches and creeping-beast brooches with Style II decoration in his earliest phase, along with a small oval brooch with a single beaded rim along its central axis, in addition to more widely accepted 'early types' such as disc-on-bow brooches, S-shaped and conical brooches. Moreover Helgen's phasing breaks with Ørsnes's and Nielsen's in that he includes both undecorated oval brooches of types R640 and brooches like R643 with Style III decoration in his second phase. As noted above, there is probably evidence to justify a further division of Helgen's first phase, group 1, which, like Vinsrygg's earliest phase, covers a period of around a century.

The discussion of the different chronological schemes has shown that two brooch-types stand out as particularly crucial to the correlation of the Norwegian phasing with that of southern and eastern Scandinavia: conical brooches and creeping-beast brooches. In order to establish a common Norwegian or North Scandinavian scheme that corresponds with Ørsnes's and Nielsen's chronology, the chronological positioning of these two types in relation to the South

and East Scandinavian framework is going to be of great importance. I shall therefore discuss these types in detail immediately below. Once again, the focus is upon the two earliest phases of the Merovingian Period.

3.2.3.1 Conical brooches

In order to establish a Norwegian or North Scandinavian phase 1 that corresponds with a South and East Scandinavian phase 1, the chronological placement of conical brooches in relation to Ørsnes's and Nielsen's scheme will be important, because this is the most widespread brooch-type in Norway of the early Merovingian Period (cf. Ch. 4.3.1). Such a placement has to some extent already been undertaken by Vinsrygg and Gudesen on the basis of, respectively, the northern and eastern Norwegian finds of the type, and by Ørsnes through one Danish and two Norwegian finds. Ørsnes (1966:148) dated conical brooches with geometrical decoration to his phase 1 on the basis of a grave find from Øster Tørslev in Jutland in which such a brooch was found together with a round plate brooch of an early type, with no rim and with punched decoration, and two northern Norwegian grave finds in which conical brooches were found associated with types that are diagnostic of his phase 1. These comprise a bird-shaped brooch of the bird-seen-in-profile type and copper-alloy pins with polyhedral heads. However, he dated two conical brooches with zoomorphic ornamentation from Madsrud Allé in Oslo,³⁸ and Søm in Telemark (Fig. 3.17),³⁹ to his phase 2 (Ørsnes 1966:212, fn.9). That was done on stylistic grounds, since both finds are stray finds. He thus attributed the decoration on the brooches with chronological significance. As noted above, Vinsrygg used association with conical brooches as a criterion for defining other early brooch-types that she incorporated in her phase 1, and some of these also occur in the earliest phase of Ørsnes and Nielsen: S-shaped brooches, wheel-shaped brooches, and a bird brooch with a bird seen in profile with Style B features. She also noted, as did Gudesen, the combination of conical brooches with pins with polyhedral heads (Gudesen 1980:59; Vinsrygg 1979:47). Gudesen also drew attention to conical brooches associated with S-shaped brooches. In contrast to Ørsnes, Gjessing (1934:124, 128), Vinsrygg (1979:25) and Gudesen (1980:59–60) have all argued that conical brooches with geometrical decoration and those with zoomorphic art are contemporary. In agreement with Ørsnes,

38 C22744.

39 C13395.



Figure 3.17 Conical brooches with animal-style decoration from **a)** Madsrud allé in Oslo (C22744) and **b)** Søm in Telemark (C13395). Photograph: Kirsten Helgeland. © Museum of Cultural History.

Gjessing (1934:127–8) described the animal art on the brooch from Søm in Telemark as late, but he nonetheless claimed that the brooch is not to be dated any later than the first half of the 7th century. He also pointed to a grave find from Grefsheim in Hedemark⁴⁰ in which a conical brooch with zoomorphic decoration was found together with copper-alloy pins with a polyhedral head. Vinsrygg (1979:25, 47) also noted two grave finds from Øyjord in Lødingen⁴¹ and Vang in Oppdal⁴² in which brooches with geometrical decoration and with animal art occur in association.

All in all, relatively few conical brooches have been found in combination with southern or eastern Scandinavian artefact-types, or with diagnostic, ‘common Scandinavian’ phase-1 types such as, for instance, dress pins with polyhedral heads. There are altogether five cases of a combination of conical brooches with polyhedral pins: four of these finds involve brooches with geometrical decoration,⁴³ including one find from Sweden, and one find has a brooch with zoomorphic decoration.⁴⁴ In addition, there is a conical brooch with geometrical decoration that was found in association with pins of bone or antler

with polyhedral heads.⁴⁵ S-shaped brooches have been found combined with conical brooches in two cases, comprising brooches with both geometrical ornament⁴⁶ and animal art.⁴⁷ A wheel-shaped brooch occurred in association with two conical brooches with geometrical decoration in a find from Ytre Elgsnes in Troms.⁴⁸ In a Swedish find from ‘Flygfeltet’ (The Airfield) in Uppsala, grave 71,⁴⁹ two conical brooches with geometrical decoration were found together with polyhedral pins and a ring brooch of an early type (Nielsen type A2e; see Klindt-Jensen 1957:fig. 60:8) which belongs to Ørsnes phase 1/Nielsen phase VIIA (Nielsen 1987:75, Appendix A; 1999:185, 189). As noted earlier, there is also a find involving a pair of conical brooches with geometrical decoration that were found along with a bird-shaped brooch with a bird seen in profile from Prestøy, Alstahaug in Nordland.⁵⁰ The bird brooch is executed in Style B, meaning that it belongs to Ørsnes phase 1. Finally there is also, again as noted earlier, a conical brooch with an early form of round plate brooch in a find from Øster Tørslev in Jutland. Although this does not in total involve more than eleven finds with twelve diagnostically phase 1/

40 C22394.

41 Ts4295.

42 T18758.

43 Ts3071, Ts6387, T15808, SHM23304.

44 C22744.

45 Ts3978.

46 C15714.

47 Ts2156.

48 Ts3071.

49 SHM23304.

50 T13498.

VIIA types of dress-accessory, it is sufficient for us to be able to define phase 1 confidently as the main period of distribution of conical brooches.

Of the total number of eleven cross-combinations, nine have brooches with geometrical decoration and there are only two cross-combinations involving brooches with zoomorphic decoration. In addition, however, there are, as already noted, two finds with conical brooches with the two different forms of decoration associated with one another. Four brooches with animal decoration can thus be assigned to phase 1 on the basis of find-associations. Of a total of 16 finds of this variant, only five have secure contexts, while eight are stray finds and three are mixed finds. Four finds is consequently quite a high proportion of the datable contexts. The fifth find with a secure context⁵¹ was also found together with 63 beads of which the majority were opaque glass beads of red or yellow. According to Ørsnes such bead sets can belong to either phase 1 or phase 2a.

As far as the possible presence of conical brooches in Ørsnes's phase 2 is concerned, there are no finds of such brooches associated with dress-accessories diagnostic of this phase as identified by Ørsnes or Nielsen. I am not including here combinations with bead sets that are dominated by opaque orange glass beads (Ørsnes's R1 beads) which, according to Ørsnes, do also occur in his phase 2a. I have excluded these assemblages because I believe that the finds that Ørsnes ascribed to phase 2a can be defined as transitional finds between phases 1 and 2, as I shall discuss further below (Ch. 3.2.4). Nevertheless, Ørsnes (1966:212 fn.9) placed two Norwegian Style II brooches in his phase 2 on the basis of the form of the animal art, which he believed was related to South Scandinavian Style C. However, the design on one of these brooches, the specimen from Madsrud Allé, is very similar to a brooch from Horvik in Tjeldsund⁵² which was found in a reasonably certain phase-1 context along with an S-shaped brooch (cf. Figs. 3.17a and 3.18). The bead set in this find, meanwhile, comprises altogether 92 opaque monochrome glass beads of which 44 are dark or light red and 46 dark or light green, plus two grey-white beads (probably of whalebone or walrus tusk). The high proportion of green beads could possibly be evidence for a relatively late dating in phase 1 or around the transition to phase 2. Vinsrygg (1979:29), however, counted this find amongst her early group within phase 1. The beads in the find are relatively small, and very consistent in size and

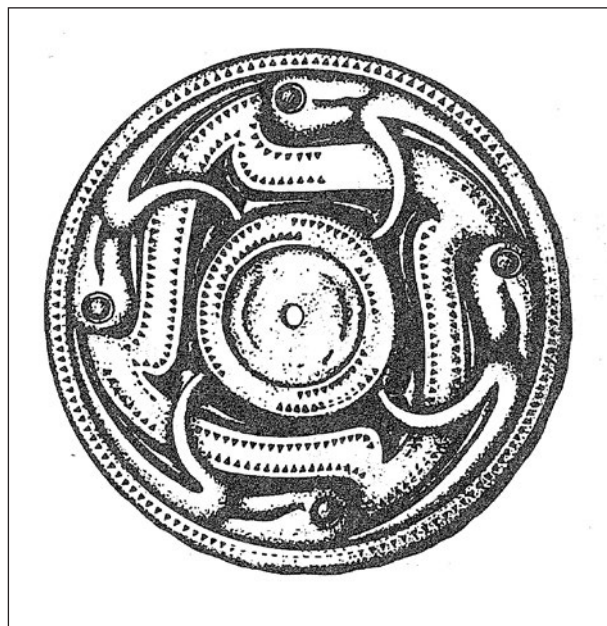


Figure 3.18 Conical brooch with animal-style decoration from Horvik in Tjeldsund (Ts2156). Drawn by: Lars Tangedal. © University Museum of Bergen.

form, a feature that is typical of the earliest phase, as is also the case with the large number of beads in the necklace. The consistent size of the beads, and the composition of various shades of opaque reds and greens that are quite evenly numbered between them, could possibly be associated with the Migration-period bead fashion, although the number of beads is much greater than is typical of bead sets of the end of the Migration Period (Røstad 2008a). It is also possible that the presence of the cool colour tones is a local phenomenon: a find from Ytterstad, Lødingen,⁵³ in the adjacent district, comprises two conical brooches with geometrical decoration and a bead set dominated by blue and green beads. Vinsrygg (1979:29–30) located this find amongst the latest finds of her phase 1 on the basis of the bead set which is highly varied and includes, inter alia, several large mosaic beads, spiral-rolled barrel-shaped copper-alloy beads, glass beads, stone beads and a cowrie shell. In this case the combination of colours thus probably represents the outcome of a chronological development. Two other finds from the same districts (Tjeldsund and Lødingen) of conical brooches with geometrical decoration,⁵⁴ of which one was associated with a conical brooch with zoomorphic decoration,⁵⁵ include, however, the more common opaque orange glass beads. It is uncertain, as a result, whether the predominance of the cool

51 Ts4460.

52 Ts2156.

53 Ts947–48.

54 Ts4465, Ts4295.

55 Ts4295.

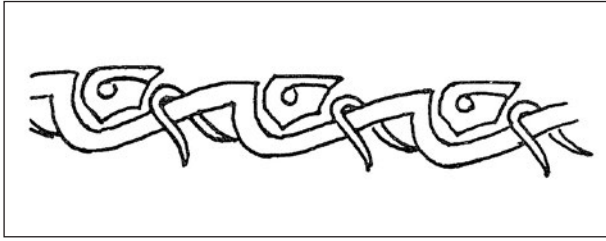


Figure 3.19 A wave-pattern with added zoomorphic elements, after Ørsnes (1966:tav. 5g).

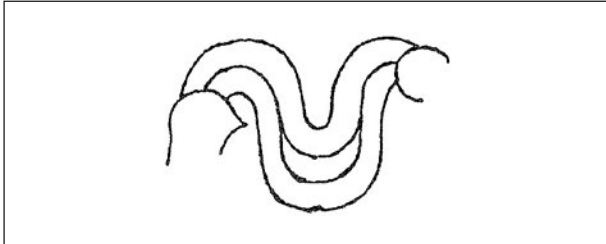


Figure 3.20 Animal body, after Ørsnes (1966:tav. 2.2b).

colour tone in the find from Ytterstad is a reflex of a local fashion. The possibility that the find should be assigned a late date in relation to Ørsnes's phase 1 and be considered a transitional find to the following phase has to be kept open; or that the combination of colours simply represents an exception from the norm of the predominance of orange tones in the early Merovingian Period.

Turning back to the question of the stylistic production of conical brooches with zoomorphic decoration and this type's possible dating to South Scandinavian phase 2, in reality none of the individual elements of the style illustrated by Ørsnes (1966) can be described as close to the design that appears on both of the Norwegian conical brooches. The design that is most similar to that on the conical brooches is what is referred to as a 'zoomorphized wavy line design' that is illustrated by Ørsnes (1966:tav. 5g, fig. 224). The ribbon wave is composed of animals with Style-B heads with open jaws that bite across ribbon-shaped bodies (Fig. 3.19). According to Ørsnes (1966:58) this is a very unusual motif in a southern Scandinavian context, with only one example – on an ornamental plate from western Sjælland. He pointed out, however, that the motif is related to a triskele motif which is also found on, inter alia, round plate brooches, where elements of Styles B–D can be identified. This design is found in southern Scandinavian contexts, primarily on Bornholm and in Skåne. A more detailed examination of the head- and body-elements that Ørsnes identified as typical of the different southern Scandinavian styles shows that bodies of the type of Ørsnes (1966) tavle

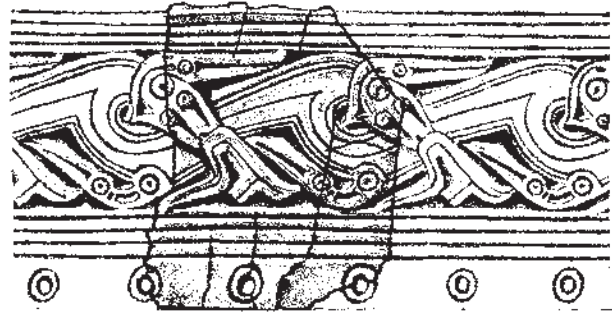


Figure 3.21 Animal-style motif on a bone fragment from the western mound at Gamla Uppsala, after Lindqvist (1936:fig. 103).

2.2, with punched decoration, are closest to those that usually appear on the conical brooches (Fig. 3.20). This is a form of representation that is assigned to Style B. Another type of animal body which recurs on the brooches is a body that is divided up lengthways by several ribbons, rather like Ørsnes (1966) tavle 2.6 and 2.4. These represent South Scandinavian Styles B and C respectively. None of the illustrations, however, are identical or even persuasively similar to the forms on the conical brooches. The forms on the brooches probably represent a particular, local northern Scandinavian stylistic variant. There is also a certain similarity between the zoomorphic design on the conical brooches and the example of animal art on a bone fragment from Västhögen at Gamla Uppsala (Fig. 3.21) (Lindqvist 1936:fig. 103). Nielsen (1991:137–8, 140, fig. 11) put the artwork from Västhögen in her period VIIA, corresponding to Ørsnes's phase 1 (see above). This may therefore corroborate the assignation of the Style II designs on conical brooches to phase 1. Nielsen also argued, however, that this style-variant was from Gotland or southern Scandinavia, although she pointed out herself that 'this position is based partly on negative evidence'. A further relevant point is that she excluded conical and disc brooches from her study (Nielsen 1991:135), which may be crucial for how she places this form of art in the southern Scandinavian area.

A further argument for broad contemporaneity between these two variants of conical brooch is the fact that some examples are decorated in a blend of animal-style ornament and geometrical decoration.⁵⁶ In addition, the presence of punchmark decoration on the Style II brooches suggests a position in Ørsnes's phase 1 because that phase, in contrast to the following one, is characterized by rich punched ornament (Vinsrygg 1979:32). The brooch from Søm in Telemark which

⁵⁶ T18758, B4719 III₀, Ts4295, Ts2156.

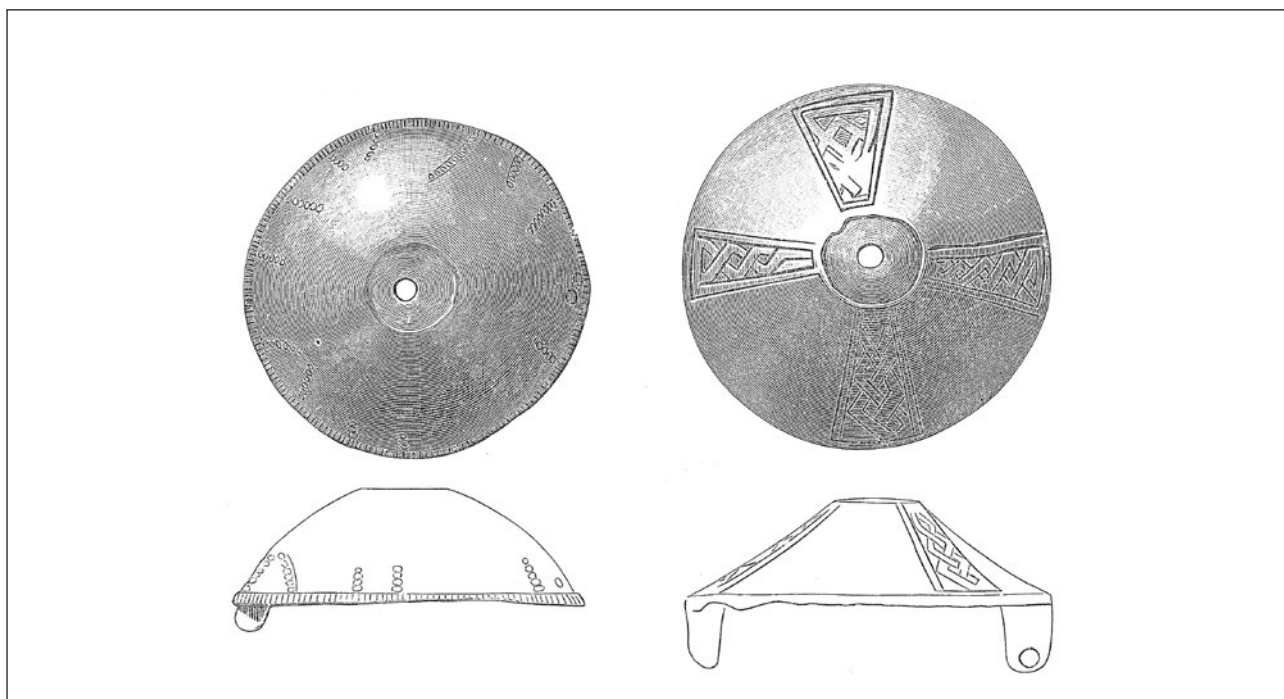


Figure 3.22 Conical brooches with peculiar decoration from Krutberg, Vilhelmina, Lappland (SHM10321), after Salin (1904:figs. 210 and 211).

Ørsnes, as noted above, assigned to his phase 2 does stand apart, however, in that the bodies and animal jaws together from a sort of plaitwork (Fig. 3.17b). This creates the impression of a slightly later style than the other brooches. A find from Nordgården, Seljord in Telemark, contained an unusual S-shaped brooch with a similar zoomorphic design (see Gjessing 1934:pl. XXXIIa, left). This S-shaped brooch can, however, be counted as an intermediary form between S-shaped and oval plate brooches, which in turn could mean that it belongs relatively late in Ørsnes phase 1. The form of the animal on the Søm brooch may thus be interpreted as a reflex of a later stage of development. The artwork is also similar to a motif which appears on several of the southern Scandinavian rectangular and oval plate brooches (see, e.g., Ørsnes 1966:figs. 122–5, fig. 151, and Fig. 3.8b above). The conical brooch from Søm can for this reason be assigned within or around the transition to South Scandinavian phase 2.

As already noted, there is no example of a conical brooch combined with diagnostic phase-2 types. There are, though, two finds with conical brooches combined with creeping-beast brooches: one from Ytre Kvarøy in Nordland⁵⁷ and the other from Krutberg, Vilhelmina, Lappland.⁵⁸ At Krutberg in the 1880s five conical

brooches with partially unparalleled geometrical decoration were found together with two creeping-beast brooches and a number of glass beads (Fig. 3.22). The find was made at a Saami camp site, and it is usually interpreted as a Saami hoard (Petersen 1905:212; Serning 1960:29–32, 153–4). The creeping-beast brooches were placed by Ørsnes (1966:155) with his phase-3 brooches. Since information on the find is sparse, it is difficult to say much that is certain about the dating of this find. The brooches in the assemblage are not necessarily contemporary in terms of having the same date of manufacture. In many cases, hoards of the Late Iron Age contain objects produced over a period of several centuries. The find from grave 9 on Ytre Kvarøy is from a boat grave that was properly excavated (Bjørge 1969). In this grave, a conical brooch with geometrical decoration was found in association with a disc-on-bow brooch and two creeping-beast brooches (Figs. 3.23 and 3.3b). It is unlikely, however, that the three different types of brooch had been worn together: the creeping-beast brooches and the disc-on-bow brooch were found at the neck and chest of the deceased together with a large number of beads, while the conical brooch lay alongside the left hand together with a smaller collection of beads (Bjørge 1969:8–10; Vinsrygg 1979:21). The disc-on-bow brooch is of a

⁵⁷ Ts6378.

⁵⁸ SHM10321.

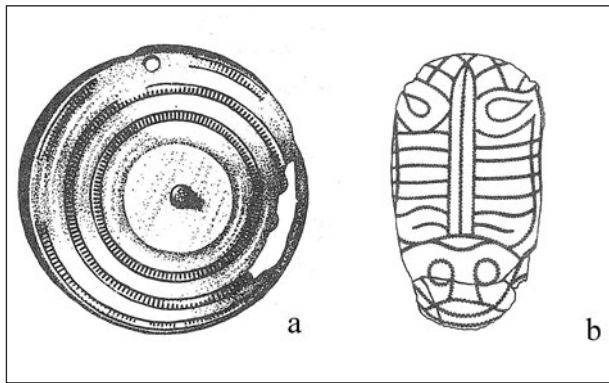


Figure 3.23 a) Conical brooch and b) small zoomorphic oval brooch from grave 9 on Ytre Kvarøy (Ts6378), after Vinsrygg (1979:figs. 3b and 8a).

type that can probably be dated to Ørsnes's phase 1.⁵⁹ According to Vinsrygg it was old when the burial took place, and might be interpretable as an heirloom. The creeping-beast brooches are of the earliest type, with Style C elements in the artwork. According to Ørsnes, these are datable to southern Scandinavian phase 2. The find is therefore probably a phase-2 find with which a conical brooch is associated, but since the conical brooch was not one of the dress-accessories in the normal way – it clearly was not attached to the costume – it is problematic to regard this particular conical brooch as a phase-2 find.⁶⁰ I return to this find in the course of the discussion of the chronological location of creeping-beast brooches.

As far as the terminus post quem for the occurrence of conical brooches is concerned, there are three conical brooches with geometrical decoration which have been found together with bucket-shaped pottery of the Migration-period type in a grave find from Fiskå in Møre og Romsdal.⁶¹ This find was uncovered in the course of an archaeological excavation, and Vinsrygg (1979:19–22) has argued that the pottery and the brooches belong to one and the same deposit. If this is correct, this represents one of the oldest finds of conical brooches, and it can concurrently be regarded as one of extremely few transitional finds between the Migration and Merovingian Periods. In addition

to the Fiskå find, a find from Øysund in Nordland⁶² could also possibly be interpreted as a transitional find in the same way. In this, a conical brooch with geometrical decoration was found in a burial mound that covered both a male grave of the end of the 7th or the 8th century and a female grave of the Migration Period with a spindle-whorl and pottery datable to the 6th century. Gjessing (1934:125) argued that the conical brooch must belong to the woman's grave because it is a typical 'female artefact' that was not normally associated with male equipment. Sjøvold (1974:197) agreed, although because of the lack of information on the find this is difficult to prove. In light of the relatively recent find from Fiskå, though, it is not implausible. It also seems quite unlikely that the brooch came from the later man's grave. There are in addition a couple of finds from Ytterstad in Nordland and Lyhus in Vestfold⁶³ in which conical brooches were apparently associated with bow brooches of the Roman Iron Age. Both of these very probably represent confused grave deposits (Gjessing 1934:124; Vinsrygg 1979:19). There is also a series of finds in which conical brooches are associated with late Merovingian-period types of weaponry,⁶⁴ or Viking-period items.⁶⁵ All of these apparently late contexts can be explained as confused grave deposits, because the objects either come from different places within the individual burial mounds, or the mounds had not been excavated in a proper archaeological manner, and/or because the finds were mixed up after the find was brought in to the museum and there are no records of the finds etc. (see also Gjessing 1934:124–5).

This review has shown that the chronological distribution of conical brooches falls first and foremost in a period that corresponds with South Scandinavian phase 1. There has hitherto been disagreement over where the variant with zoomorphic decoration belongs, but I have made the case that the majority of finds of this type are to be assigned to phase 1 along with the examples with geometrical decoration. One possible exception is the brooch from Søm in Telemark, which can plausibly be dated to (the transition to)

⁵⁹ The brooch is quite like Ørsnes's type E3 although the edges on the sides are undecorated and those of the bow disc carry a simple two-strand interlace.

⁶⁰ The conical brooch should perhaps be regarded as an amulet. In the Iron Age it is quite common, over large parts of Europe, to deposit older artefacts as amulets in graves. From Anglo-Saxon England and the Continent there is also evidence of a similar positioning of amulets in or by the hand (Meaney 1981:68, 89, 123, 134, 222–5). A perforation close to the outer edge of the brooch may also indicate that it had been used as a pendant, which is also common for other types of amulet such as bracteates. A similar find with a clasp of the Migration Period in a phase-2 Merovingian-period context is from Ärvinge, Spånga in Uppland (RAÄ162, anlegg 47).

⁶¹ B12533.

⁶² Ts1631.

⁶³ Ts893 and C18752 respectively.

⁶⁴ B4719: Hovland in Hordaland.

⁶⁵ C17311, C18612, T8268, T18758, B11304.

Ørsnes's phase 2. Find contexts indicate that conical brooches were in use all the time from the transition from the Migration Period to the transition to South Scandinavian phase 2, and the type emerges as the most important leading type for a Norwegian phase 1 which corresponds with South and East Scandinavian phase 1.

3.2.3.2 *Creeping-beast brooches*

Overall, the greatest problem in reconciling the South and East Scandinavian chronology with that of Norway is the dating and establishment of a general Norwegian or North Scandinavian phase 2 which is correlated with Ørsnes's second phase and Nielsen's phase VIIB. This phase in southern and eastern Scandinavia can be recognized in Norway, to a certain extent, through the distribution of some types of dress-accessory that are identifiable with southern and/or eastern Scandinavian types: bird brooches, rectangular brooches, disc-on-bow brooches, oval plate brooches and horse-shaped mounts. There is also a find of a small oval brooch of an undecorated 'eastern Swedish' type from Sele in Klepp, Rogaland, which can be put into this phase (Gjessing 1934:145; Petersen 1928:5 and fig. 1; Ørsnes 1966:155). Unlike the earliest phase, however, it appears that specifically 'Norwegian' types of jewellery are lacking in this phase, with the exception of the conical brooch with Style C decoration discussed above.⁶⁶ This was presumably decisive for both Vinsrygg and Helgen when they extended the range of the earliest phase down to the point at which the oval-brooch fashion had fully emerged, towards the end of the 7th century or around AD 700. Gudesen, by contrast, incorporated many of the southern and eastern Scandinavian forms of jewellery and drew the starting point of phase 2 in eastern Norway back so that it coincides with Ørsnes's phase boundary; at the same time, though, he extended the phase so that it also incorporates later oval brooches which in Ørsnes's scheme belong the next phase, phase 3.

Norwegian finds of types of dress-accessory from Ørsnes's phase 2, meanwhile, 'lie hidden' amongst artefacts which in the Norwegian schemes are ascribed to both the early phase in which conical brooches are predominant and/or to the late 'oval brooch phase' which continued down to the transition to the Viking

Period c. AD 750/800. At first glance this creates the impression that the period which corresponds with Ørsnes's phase 2 is virtually void of finds, especially in the north and in western Norway, in respect of jewellery at least. A revision of the Norwegian Merovingian-period evidence on the basis of Ørsnes's and Nielsen's typologies redresses this impression somewhat. Ørsnes (1966:114, 142, 211), for example, offers dates in his second phase for some Norwegian rectangular brooches, disc-on-bow brooches and horse-shaped mounts and, as I shall explore in more detail below, some of the creeping-beast brooches with Style C decoration, and these include finds from southern, western and northern Norway alike.

New finds that have been made in recent years also help to change the picture and to make phase 2 more visible in the case of Norway. Finds of bird brooches from Norway, for example, now count some 49 specimens of which at least 47 can be dated to phase 2 (Rødsrud and Røstad 2020; Røstad 2008b:103–8).⁶⁷ Their distribution is focused upon eastern Norway, but there have also been finds from Karmøy in Rogaland, Jøa in Nord-Trøndelag and Lunde in Vest-Agder. Finds of rectangular brooches and disc-on-bow brooches have also been made following Ørsnes's publication (Glørstad and Røstad 2015; Munch 1979:65–6; Rønne 2008:74–80; Vinsrygg 1979:45), and some of these brooches can be dated to phase 2. From Ørsnes's typology,⁶⁸ for instance, and/or on the basis of their size, as many as nineteen of the Norwegian disc-on-bow brooches can be dated to phase 2 (Glørstad and Røstad 2015). These brooches are from Vestlandet, northern Norway, Østlandet and Trøndelag. A quick glance at the published and/or catalogued artefacts of this group shows that there are around 77 artefact finds altogether: 47 bird-shaped brooches, 4 rectangular plate brooches, 19 disc-on-bow brooches and one or two (if the hybrid specimen from Telemark, referred to above, is included) oval plate brooches, plus one or two undecorated oval brooches and three horse-shaped mounts. This, however, represents relatively few items in comparison with these types' distribution elsewhere in Scandinavia. Finds of southern and eastern Scandinavian jewellery-types in Norway are, though, also relatively few in phase 1, especially when contrasted with the distribution of conical brooches.

66 A small, undecorated, oval brooch from Vang in Hedmark (C23173; previously T5900–01: illustrated by Petersen 1928:fig. 2) is counted by Petersen (1928:5) as one of the earliest specimens of R640. He emphasizes that this is earlier than the more common, larger examples, and the brooch could then be datable to phase 2.

67 New finds of bird brooches are being produced by metal-detecting all the time. All of these are stray finds, but they can usually be dated to phase 2 on stylistic grounds.

68 Ørsnes's classification needs, however, to be adjusted somewhat, as several of the Norwegian finds, as both Gjessing (1934:138–9) and Ørsnes (1966:114) themselves pointed out, constitute distinct Norwegian variants.

There are, therefore, a number of finds of jewellery from Norway which can be placed within South and East Scandinavian phase 2, while any distinctly 'Norwegian' or northern Scandinavian types are apparently wanting from this phase. One possible exception, however, is the disc-on-bow brooch-type of Gjessing's (1934:138–9) Trøndelag and Jämtland group (*trøndsk-jemtsk*) (Glørstad and Røstad 2015). In Sweden, and in particular in Uppland and on Öland, there is also a peculiarly eastern Swedish or eastern Scandinavian form of small, undecorated, narrow oval brooch which has conventionally been supposed to be early. Both Ørsnes (1966:155) and Nielsen (1991:132, fig. 3; 1999:182) dated this form to phase 2. Ørsnes (1966:157) claimed that the earliest creeping-beast brooches, examples with Style C decoration, are equally early as these East Swedish oval brooches. From Sweden and Denmark, Ørsnes (1966:151, 155–6) noted a total of four finds, along with two finds of such early creeping-beast brooches from Norway: a brooch from Nervik in Hordaland⁶⁹ and Utakleiv, Leknes, in Nordland.⁷⁰ He also referred to a Norwegian find from Skagstad in Nordland⁷¹ of an oval dished brooch, of a type quite similar to R643, which has Style C details in its decoration. Ørsnes nonetheless assigned oval dished brooches in general to his phase 3. Egil Bakka (1972:61–2), however, argued that more specimens than those referred to by Ørsnes must belong to phase 2: including a Norwegian find from Rise in Oppland (Fig. 3.24).⁷² He based this position on the fact that the examples have no clear features of Style D but do have a feature which he, in contrast to Ørsnes, found paralleled in Style C, and he averred that Ørsnes had not been consistent in his dating. In his opinion this was because Ørsnes had been dealing primarily with finds from Bornholm, and that, since the earliest creeping-beast brooches did not occur there, the type was not treated as determinative in the phasing.⁷³ A question which arises in this regard is therefore whether or not creeping-beast and/or other early oval brooches actually came into use more widely in Norway than in southern Scandinavia in phase 2, and whether in fact a particularly 'Norwegian' type can be recognized amongst these brooches. To address this issue, a typological assessment of the brooch-types and a more thorough examination of the find contexts of



Figure 3.24 Small creeping-beast brooch from Rise in Oppland (C29479). © Museum of Cultural History.

these brooches are required. I shall therefore discuss particular finds that are crucial to this question.

According to Ørsnes (1966:151–7, 227), the creeping-beast brooches were introduced in Norway, as has been noted, during phase 2, and concurrently in western areas of southern Scandinavia (western Sweden and Denmark); but they are not commonly found before phase 3. Helgen included the creeping-beast brooches with Style II decoration with his early finds of group 1, while Vinsrygg and Gjessing reckoned the type as a whole as dating only from c. AD 675/700 or 700. Gjessing (1934:144–5), however, dated early creeping-beast brooches back to around the middle of the 7th century. He divided them into two groups: an early group consisting of small brooches (c. 40–60 mm) with incised decoration, and a late group of larger brooches (c. 58–115 mm) with cast decoration, often with Style III details. Ørsnes also distinguished between two groups of oval brooch on the basis of size: type N1 (c. 36–75 mm) and N2 (c. 80–112 mm), and it is currently widely accepted that the overall trend was for the size of the brooches to increase during their period of use, so that the earliest specimens are usually the smallest. One problem in the dating of the introduction of the creeping-beast brooches, however, is the lack of secure contexts, and another is that potentially early finds are rarely part of assemblages including other datable evidence (Bakka

⁶⁹ B4213.

⁷⁰ Ts3497a.

⁷¹ Ts3426.

⁷² C29479.

⁷³ A later publication concerning finds at the Bornholm cemetery of Nørre Sandegård Vest (Jørgensen and Jørgensen 1997:pl. 9) shows, meanwhile, that creeping-beast brooches do occur in combination with Style C-decorated items of jewellery (Fig. 3.28): in other words, just as early as the first finds from the mainland.



Figure 3.25 Small creeping-beast brooches from grave 8 on Ytre Kvarøy (Ts6377), after Vinsrygg (1979:figs. 8b, 9b and 9c).

1972:60; Vinsrygg 1979:58). The dating of the type has consequently relied to a large extent on stylistic criteria alone.

Subsequent to Ørsnes's publication finds have been made, such as that from Kvarøy in Nordland, which have to be included within the earliest group of creeping-beast brooches (Ørsnes type N1) and which can be plausibly dated to phase 2. In these cases the contexts are well recorded. In grave 9 on Kvarøy the type was, as already noted, associated with a conical brooch with geometrical decoration and a phase-1 disc-on-bow brooch. The find circumstances are rather unusual in that the conical brooch, as already noted, was probably not in functional use along with the creeping-beast brooches and the disc-on-bow brooch. Nonetheless, this find is potentially to be seen as a key find in connection with the chronological definition of phase 2 in Norway. Vinsrygg (1979:37–8, 45–6, 57–8) assigned the find to the end of her phase 1, at the transition to phase 2A. The bead sets in the find consist of a large number of beads of various forms and materials: opaque and translucent glass beads, primarily of green and blue shades, stone beads of green and blue tones, mosaic beads, amber beads and copper-alloy beads. The beads therefore are quite different from the orange 'horizon' that is generally predominant in Scandinavia in the early Merovingian Period, and which is characteristic of Ørsnes's phases 1 and 2a. The bead necklace also includes none of the typically 'new' bead-types that are diagnostic of Vinsrygg's phase 2A, namely large rock crystal beads or millefiori beads, although conversely it does have the characteristically early bead-type of copper-alloy

spiral beads. Otherwise the composition of beads agrees with the bead evidence that Ørsnes (1966:170) described for his phases 2b and 2c: cool colours in equal proportion to red and yellow; some presence of polychrome beads and inconsistent bead-assemblages. This appears in fact to have been a general trend in Scandinavia at that date (Nielsen 1987:59; 1997a:189–93; 1999:167–73; Vinsrygg 1979:57–8). On the evidence of the creeping-beast brooches and the bead set, I would argue that this find can be assigned to Ørsnes phase 2 (b or c).

Creeping-beast brooches were found in two further graves on Kvarøy. In grave 8,⁷⁴ three small creeping-beast brooches (Figs. 3.25 and 3.3a) were associated with a typically diverse set of beads such as Vinsrygg has identified as definitive of her phase 2A: a large, spherical rock crystal bead, three relatively large globular millefiori beads, and two barrel-shaped and three cylindrical millefiori beads plus a few opaque and translucent monochrome glass beads, bone beads, and walrus-tusk beads. An undecorated simple arming with pointed and flattened terminals is probably from the same grave. The arming supports the assignation of the find to Ørsnes phase 2, but there is some uncertainty over the dating because the grave was partly disturbed by ploughing. In grave 2,⁷⁵ two creeping-beast brooches were found, again together with a mixed set of beads of various materials and forms, including one millefiori bead but dominated by blue and green beads (Fig. 3.26). Also found between the creeping-beast brooches were remains of what was probably a round, discoid copper-alloy brooch. Vinsrygg (1979:34) noted a possible link to phase 1 for the round brooch since

74 Ts6377.

75 Ts6371.



Figure 3.26 Small creeping-beast brooch from grave 2 on Ytre Kvarøy (Ts6371), after Vinsrygg (1979:fig. 9a).



Figure 3.27 Figure-of-8 loops and interlace patterns in southern Scandinavian Style C on oval plate brooches, after Ørsnes (1966:figs. 124 and 125).

that was the main period in which round brooches were found in the north of Norway. There are otherwise no diagnostic artefact-types in the grave-assemblage. The creeping-beast brooches from both of these graves do, though, have stylistic elements which in my judgment can be associated with general trends in South Scandinavian Style C, in the way that style appears on, for instance, oval plate brooches (Fig. 3.27). This applies both to the form of the looped or figure-of-8 shaped thighs or hindlegs on two of the creeping-beast brooches, and the plaitwork on the back of one of the brooches from grave 8 (cf. also Ørsnes 1966:figs. 122–5 and Vinsrygg 1979:pls. IVa and Vb). The brooches therefore probably belong to phase 2.

According to Vinsrygg (1979:34) all of the northern Norwegian creeping-beast brooches have incised designs, meaning that they belong to Gjessing's earliest group. She has devised a chronological sequence of development for these northern Norwegian brooches, and the brooch, mentioned above, from a grave at Utakleiv on Vestvågøy⁷⁶ is judged by her to be one of the latest brooches (Vinsrygg 1979:tab. VI). This is significant, because in Ørsnes's (1966:156) view this brooch is decorated in Style C and therefore belongs to his phase 2 (see above). This specimen was found together with an oval brooch of type R643. Vinsrygg (1979:39–4) placed this into a distinct sub-group of R643 brooches that she called 'two-animal' brooches, with decoration consisting of a blend of Style C and

Style D (Fig. 3.5b). If Vinsrygg's sequence of development is correct, it implies that the majority of northern Norwegian creeping-beast brooches she refers to are older than the R643 brooch, which from its decoration is to be dated to the transition between Ørsnes's phases 2 and 3. This involves altogether eleven brooches from five finds. There are also individual brooches from other parts of Norway to be considered as well, including the brooches from Hordaland and Oppland noted above (which both Ørsnes and Bakka have described as phase-2 brooches), and a couple from a grave-find at Ferkingstad on Karmøy in Rogaland (Vinsrygg 1974:121–2) and at Sandvik on Jøa in Nord-Trøndelag (Marstrander 1978:21–2). There are also a couple of brooches of the R643 type with combined Style C and Style D decoration,⁷⁷ including the find from Utakleiv already referred to. Both of these examples are from Nordland (Vinsrygg 1979:39) and can be interpreted as transitional finds between phases 2 and 3. Vinsrygg (1979:58) also asserted that only a few northern Norwegian specimens are decorated in Style C while others are in Style D. The latter, in her judgment, are characterized by 'regularly curved lines and the typical figure-of-8 loops'. This appears to be supported by Ørsnes (1966:156), who emphasized figure-of-8 shaped bodies as a feature that belonged to South Scandinavian Style D. I have argued, however, that 'figure-of-8 loops' are also present in South Scandinavian Style C, for instance on the oval plate

⁷⁶ Ts3497. Ørsnes refers to this brooch as from Leknes.

⁷⁷ Ts3426, Ts3497.

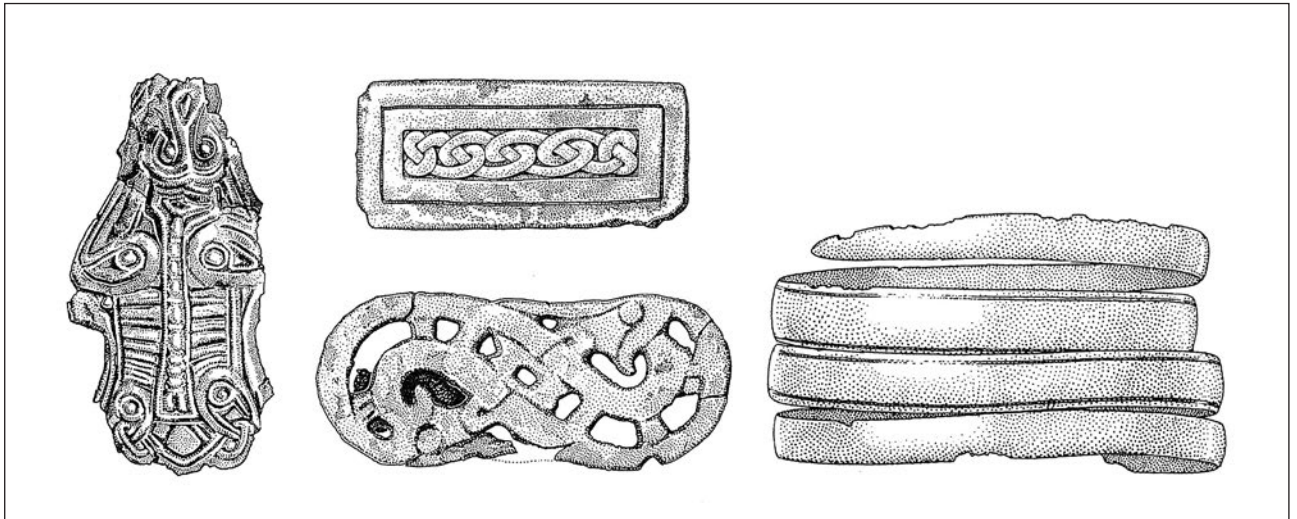


Figure 3.28 Zoomorphic brooch, rectangular and oval plate brooch, and a spiral armring from grave 16 at Nørre Sandegård Vest on Bornholm, after Jørgensen and Jørgensen (1997:pl. 9).



Figure 3.29 Rectangular brooch, small zoomorphic oval brooch, zoomorphic brooch and bead distributor from grave 58 at Nørre Sandegård Vest on Bornholm, after Jørgensen and Jørgensen (1997:pl. 22).

brooches. The Danish ‘parallels’ to Norwegian specimens which Ørsnes (1966:155–6) referred to are not, in my view, particularly similar to the Norwegian versions (apart from his figures 171–4),⁷⁸ since the Norwegian brooches are characterized by simpler and more schematic designs. The decoration on the majority of the Danish brooches is perhaps more similar to that which appears on Norwegian R643 brooches (see Ørsnes’s figures 175–95). The early Norwegian creeping-beast brooches are reminiscent, however, of brooches from, *inter alia*, Nørre Sandegård Vest on Bornholm. The latter were found together with ornamental artefacts with Style C decoration and so can be dated to phase 2. The creeping-beast brooches are included here along with, *inter alia*, an oval plate brooch (Fig. 3.28, grave 16, in which the two unmatched brooches functioned as a pair), along with a rectangular plate brooch and zoomorphic bead-distributors (Fig. 3.29, grave 58) (Jørgensen and Jørgensen 1997:pl. 9, and 22, 178–9, 187). This reinforces the inference that several of the similar Norwegian specimens are also datable to Ørsnes phase 2.

This survey shows that there is a definite distribution of creeping-beast brooches in phase 2 in Norway. It is, however, a little less certain whether or not this type of brooch represents a specifically ‘Norwegian’ or northern Scandinavian form of jewellery in phase 2. The Norwegian examples do stand apart, as noted, from finds from central parts of Denmark but are quite similar to finds from Bornholm. The Norwegian finds are probably in the majority, however, and in that light it is possible that the southern Scandinavian finds should be interpreted as what are known as ‘cross-finds’ (cf. Ch. 6.3): in other words, that they actually represent a northern Scandinavian brooch-type.

3.2.4 Summary: consequences for the chronology of the Merovingian Period

This discussion of the conical brooches and the creeping-beast brooches has shown that these two forms of jewellery can be dated principally to South and East Scandinavian phases 1 and 2 respectively. Stylistic features which can be linked to South Scandinavian

Style C, and associated finds, show, moreover, that the distribution of creeping-beast brooches in phase 2 is wider than previously understood. On the basis of the discussion of the chronology above, the following phase-scheme for jewellery of the Norwegian or North Scandinavian Merovingian Period is proposed (Fig. 3.30):

Phase 1

- Conical brooches with geometrical decoration.
- Conical brooches with Style II decoration in the North Scandinavian variant of Style B.⁷⁹
- S-shaped brooches.
- Disc-on-bow brooches (Ørsnes’s types E0, E1, E2 and E4).⁸⁰
- Equal-armed brooches (Jenssen’s type II.4).
- Wheel-shaped brooches/Quadruped brooches.
- Bird-shaped brooches with Style B features (Ørsnes’s type L3: ‘bird-of-prey’ brooches).
- Dress pins with polyhedral heads.
- Bead sets dominated by equally sized barrel-shaped or tubular opaque orange glass beads; barrel-shaped, rolled spiral copper-alloy beads; and beads of bone or walrus tusk.

Phase 2

- Creeping-beast brooches with incised Style C decoration in its North Scandinavian variant.
- Oval brooches of type R643 with Style C decoration (Vinsrygg’s ‘two-animal’ brooches).
- Bird-shaped brooches of the viewed-from-above type (Ørsnes’s types D2–D6).
- Disc-on-bow brooches of the Trøndelag-Jämtland/northern Scandinavian type.⁸¹
- Oval plate brooches.
- Rectangular brooches with Style C decoration.
- Conical brooches with Style C decoration.⁸²
- Small oval brooches of the eastern Scandinavian type with no decoration.
- Armrings with pointed and flattened terminals (Ørsnes’s type Q4).
- Bead sets dominated by blue and green glass beads, large rock crystal or millefiori beads, often globular; a diverse range of beads and bead-sizes; and fewer beads than in the previous phase.

78 Ørsnes’s figure 173 (here Fig. 3.14c) also illustrates a creeping-beast brooch with Style C decoration.

79 Together, probably, with discoid brooches with the same form of Style II decoration. Cf. Ch. 4.3.1.3.

80 For a revised typology of the Norwegian and mainland Swedish disc-on-bow brooches, see Glørstad and Røstad 2021.

81 In other words, northern Scandinavian variants of the disc-on-bow brooch on which two circular settings/roundels on the sides of the footplate are located *above* the profile heads, in contrast to the southern Scandinavian form on which the profile heads are found uppermost on the footplate, directly below the bow (Gjessing 1934:138–9; Ørsnes 1966:114). See also Glørstad and Røstad 2015.

82 So far there is only one find with Style C, from Søm in Telemark (see above).

In the foregoing discussion I have not paid attention to explicating the last phase of the Merovingian Period, as this period falls outside the period under examination. It has nevertheless been necessary to be clear what is representative of Merovingian Period phase 2 and to draw a boundary line between that phase and both its predecessor and the following phase. In these circumstances, the differentiation of the following types of jewellery have served to mark a division between the phase 2 and the concluding phase of the Merovingian Period:

Phase 3

- Creeping-beast brooches with Style D decoration.
- Oval brooches of type R643 with Style D, E and F decoration.
- Undecorated oval brooches of type R640.
- Large disc-on-bow brooches without profile heads of type R639.⁸³
- Rectangular brooches with Style D (or Style E or F) decoration.
- Rectangular brooches without decoration: merely rectangular frames.
- Armrings of type R719/Ørsnes's type Q5.
- Gold-in-glass beads;⁸⁴ less varied bead combinations dominated by green and blue glass beads. Fewer millefiori beads in individual bead sets. The bead sets are generally smaller: i.e. consisting of fewer beads than in the previous phase.

Phase 3 can also probably be sub-divided into early and late phases that overlap with the Viking Period and which correspond more or less to Ørsnes's phase 3b and Nielsen's phase VIID. Since such a refinement is irrelevant to the current context, this issue is not pursued further here.

In relation to previous Norwegian chronological schemes, the proposed phasing means that Helgen's group 1 is broken up through the tripartite division of Style B, Style C and Style D finds which are assigned to phases 1, 2 and 3 here. Similarly, certain types of dress-accessory which Helgen combined in his group 1 are separated into different phases in the scheme proposed here. Conical brooches, for example, belong primarily to phase 1. Helgen's group 2 is incorporated in its entirety in Norwegian or North Scandinavian

phase 3, where his late 'transitional finds' (group 3) can also be placed, constituting the transition to the Viking Period. One exception, however, is a small creeping-beast brooch from Nervik, Ølen in Hordaland (B4213), which Helgen included in his group 2, but which is decorated in Style C according to Ørsnes and so belongs here in phase 2. Vinsrygg's phase 1 is largely congruent with the proposed phase 1 here, except for some of her late finds (e.g. Ytre Kvarøy grave 9) which have not only a set of beads but also creeping-beast brooches of forms that match the criteria stated for phase 2 here. Vinsrygg's phases 2A and 2B also coincide on the whole with phases 2 and 3 as described above, although the start of phase 2 is placed earlier. The exceptions are a number of creeping-beast brooches with Style D–F/Style III decoration, which belong to phase 3 here, along with some oval brooches of type R643 with Style C decoration that belong to phase 2 in the new chronological scheme. In relation to Gudesen's phasing, the proposed chronology means that rectangular brooches are removed from phase 1 and that further sub-division of the decoration of creeping-beast brooches means that these belong to either phase 2 or phase 3. Oval brooches of type R640 are primarily of phase 3, apart from isolated exceptions such as a small brooch from Vang in Hedmark⁸⁵ which should perhaps be placed in phase 2 because it appears to be of a type that is found in eastern Sweden.

In this proposed general Norwegian phasing, bead sets dominated by opaque orange beads are identified as characteristic only of phase 1, while Ørsnes has this type of necklace (R1) – as discussed above – as a feature of both phase 1 and phase 2a. A review of Ørsnes's (1966:246–63) catalogue reveals, though, that there are six finds from phase 2a, and, in addition, two finds dated to 'phase 1 or phase 2a'. Of these finds there are only two which include two or more unambiguously phase-2 artefact-types associated with bead sets dominated by opaque orange glass beads (R1). The remainder of the finds appear either to be transitional assemblages which contain types of jewellery that belong to both phase 1 and phase 2, or as highly doubtful because they contain, for instance, only one solitary dress pin that can be assigned to phase 2, or an unclassifiable beak brooch that cannot be assigned to any specific phase with certainty.

83 Disc-on-bow brooches of this type are also found in a number of Viking-period graves, but their period of manufacture was phase 3 of the Merovingian Period: cf. Glørstad and Røstad 2015. See also Gjessing (1934:142) and Theodor Petersen (1907:18) on the date of cessation of production of Norwegian disc-on-bow brooches.

84 In Ribe, segmented gold-in-glass appear first in layers that are dated c. AD 780–90 (Feveile and Jensen 2000:23).

85 C23173 (L 49 mm).



Figure 3.30 A schema of the proposed phase-division of Norway/northern Scandinavia in the Merovingian Period. Figures, respectively, for Phase 1: Conical brooches drawn by: Lars Tangedal. © University Museum of Bergen, equal-armed brooch after Jenssen (1998:plansje 13e), S-shaped brooch after Schetelig (1910:fig. 86), wheel-shaped brooch drawn by: Lars Tangedal. © University Museum of Bergen, disc-on-bow brooch and 'bird of prey brooch' after Gudesen (1980:plansje 33a and 26c) and dress pin, after Nerman (1969:taf. 14, fig. 115). Phase 2: Schetelig (1910:fig. 91), © University Museum of Bergen, Vinsrygg (1979:figs. 9a and 11b), Gudesen (1980:plansje 25a), Gjessing (1929:fig. 4), © Kongelige Norske Videnskabers Selskab; Schetelig (1910:figs. 87 [upper] and Helgen (1982:fig. 18). Phase 3: Rygh (1885:fig. 640), creeping-beast brooch (drawing © Museum of Cultural History), Rygh (1885:figs. 643, 639 and 719), and Gudesen (1980:plansje 29b).

3.3 PRODUCTION, PERIODS OF USE, AND DATE OF DEPOSITION

The chronological framework presented here is the basis for the relative dating of the various types of dress-accessory. It is possible, however, for the periods in which the objects were produced and used to diverge from the date at which the items of jewellery were buried, whether as grave goods or in hoards. The period of use may, furthermore, be significantly longer than the period in which the types were produced, as so-called 'heirlooms' in the form of old relief brooches and disc-on-bow brooches are able to bear witness to. The starting point for the study of the evidence will be the premiss that finds from a single grave were part of the same costume, and so were in concurrent use (Hines 1984:2). There will inevitably be exceptions (e.g. the conical brooch from grave 9 on Kvarøy, which represents an object that was probably included in

the grave as an amulet, and the clasps from feature 47 at Ärvinge, noted above), but since the primary evidence is relatively large, this should not distort the overall pattern. It is, then, the *period of use* of the jewellery which importance is attached to, while the date of production in this regard is less significant.

It may, however, be more difficult to produce relative datings of hoards, since it has to be regarded as uncertain that the objects were all buried at the same time and that they were used together – as one may assume to be the case with grave deposits (Hines 1993a:8). In deposits such as the great war-booty offerings from southern Scandinavia, for example, it was normal for successive deposits to be made at the same site. The regular southern Scandinavian jewellery hoards (cf. Ch. 4.1.3) may possibly be datable to a limited period which represents the period of use of the objects. Hines (1989:198–9; 1993a:91) has argued

that these forms of deposits of jewellery represent a sort of surrogate burial, which would also appear to argue for contemporaneity when it comes to actual use of the items of jewellery included. Otherwise, though, isolated cruciform brooches from the same southern Scandinavian area have been found (usually in the course of peat-cutting) in contexts which indicate that

they may represent caches or hoards. In such cases, it is reasonable to assume that deposition took place during the period of use of the brooches. The problems associated with the dating of jewellery from hoards, and the issue of use in this connection, are discussed more fully in the context of the examination of the evidence in the next chapter.

A STUDY OF THE DISTRIBUTION AND CONTEXTS OF THE JEWELLERY

4.1.1 Introduction

The archaeological artefacts which constitute the source material for this study are four different classes of dress-accessory from Migration-period and early Merovingian-period Scandinavia: cruciform brooches, relief brooches, clasps and conical brooches. These have been selected on the basis of three criteria:

1. They are types that are relatively widely distributed and have a broad range;
2. They are dress-accessories which, to some extent at least, have been the objects of systematic analysis in earlier research;

and/or:

3. Artefacts of these classes also functioned as cultural and/or ethnic markers in at least one other area of Europe in the same period (cf. Ch. 1).

Criterion 3 applies, as has been shown, to the clasps, the cruciform brooches and the relief brooches.

4.1.2 Collection of data

The collection of the basic data has relied to a large extent on publications of lists of finds and catalogues of the individual artefact-classes (Gudesen 1980; Helgen 1982; Hines 1993a; Reichstein 1975; Sjøvold 1993; Vinsrygg 1979). In the case of finds from Norway, the Kulturhistorisk Museum in Oslo's printed accession lists of finds made since those publications came out have been searched. With respect to Oslo, this means finds down to the year 2000. For more recent accessions, searches have also been carried out in the Norwegian regional museums' on-line databases (i.e. for the museums in Bergen, Stavanger, Oslo, Trondheim and Tromsø). It is hoped that this means that the majority of more recent finds from these museums' areas have been included, although experience suggests that some finds will elude database searches of this kind. This, however, is not decisively important, because the archaeological evidence is

always fragmentary, and the sample collected here, being extensive and representative, gives a reliable overall picture.

As far as other Scandinavian evidence is concerned, I have limited myself almost entirely to the published material. In addition to the artefact-focused publications referred to above, this means, on the whole, cemetery reports and records of other more haphazard selections of finds – for instance, of particularly striking individual pieces, not least relief brooches. I have also undertaken searches in on-line databases in the form of excavation reports and the like in relation to the museums or institutes that make such things available (e.g. *Historiska museet* in Stockholm, *Göteborgs stadsmuseum*, *Murberget Läns museet Västernorrland*, *Riksantikvarieämbetet* and more). This means that Scandinavia outside Norway may be a little under-represented. It has conventionally been supposed that Denmark is characterized by 'an absence of finds' in the Migration Period because relatively few grave finds with artefacts of this period have been made there. Over the last 15–20 years, metal-detecting has changed this picture, as a considerable number of Migration-period artefacts have been found. I shall return to the point that many metal-detector finds in fact derive from production sites, and will not be included in this study as a consequence. A quick glance at one of the principal web sites for Danish metal-detectorists¹ also indicates that the artefact-types which make up the basic material in this study is only thinly represented in recent metal-detector finds in Denmark. In the case of Sweden, by contrast, there may be a larger number of relevant new finds from the period in question. The publications which I have used as my starting points for collecting the basic evidence comprise, nonetheless, a huge quantity of finds. It is probable, therefore, that the collection of material from Denmark and Sweden this study is based upon is representative, even if not complete.

¹ <http://www.detectingpeople.dk>

4.1.3 The find context, the variable of wear, and representativity

The basic archaeological evidence is overwhelmingly from grave finds (cf. Chs. 1.3.1 and 2.2.2), although both hoards/caches and stray finds are present too. I shall therefore briefly discuss these categories of source as the starting point for the analysis of costumes in light of the principal questions addressed in this project. Many stray finds are probably from graves or hoards that have not been excavated to trained standards, although they can also represent objects that were just lost in antiquity. That such finds are included in the study is based on the understanding that they can be used for the investigation of regional costumes (cf. Ch. 2.2.1). It is extremely likely that items of jewellery that were simply lost will have been lost in the area in which the individual who would normally have been wearing them was resident. This implies that stray finds will, on the whole, reflect the actual provenance of the artefacts in question in the sense of where they were used. ‘Hoard’ and ‘cache’ are generalizing terms for a range of various types of intentional or ‘placed’ deposit that cannot be associated with human burial. One form of hoard that is particularly relevant in this context is a form of precious-metal deposit that includes items of jewellery, often combined with bracteates and other gold artefacts. Other types of hoard that are also relevant are what are known as scrap-metal hoards and votive hoards of weaponry.

Most of the precious-metal hoards containing items of jewellery are from southern Scandinavia – yet further evidence that Denmark is *not* ‘void of finds’ from the Migration Period. These hoards are usually interpreted as votive deposits or ‘sacrificial’ offerings (Hedeager 1991:205). It seems reasonable to assume that what was sacrificed was an object that was available, and also, of course, something with a quality that made it a suitable object of sacrifice: for example items of jewellery that were used in that area. Several brooches from hoards also display signs of wear, indicating that they have been in use for some time and that they were only secondarily deposited as offerings of sacrifice, or for whatever reason (see, e.g., Alenstam 1949:188; Magnus 2006:407; Munksgaard 1966:15–16). Even if the hoards represent pure ‘treasure finds’ – in other words precious artefacts hidden away in times of conflict or the like – the same logic should apply

with regard to the aspect of practical use: the objects deposited would in all probability have belonged in the region in which they were deposited. Of course, there will be exceptions, as indeed there are also exceptions in the case of grave finds (cf. Ch. 6.3). People who lived in foreign regions could lose or bury artefacts, or even on occasion themselves be interred away from their ‘homeland’ dressed in their own costume and with their own dress-accessories. It has also been argued that it was precisely *alien* artefacts that were frequently selected for votive offering because the exotic origins of these and the journey they had experienced were regarded as additionally valuable and powerful as objects of sacrifice (Helms 1988:114). This could be particularly relevant in the case of the great weapon deposits in which it was apparently the equipment of enemies that was sacrificed (Rødstrud 2004:170) but could also potentially apply to the precious-metal hoards (Hedeager 2004:170) if they contain items that are from elsewhere. If this is the case with the hoards of jewellery, it should be possible to identify the fact by comparing these hoards with the *general trends* of the geographical distribution patterns, in that the hoards should consistently include dress-accessories with a ‘foreign’ cast if they indeed reflect a penchant for sacrificing alien items.

In the case of the relationship between finds from production sites and areas of use, by contrast, the situation is quite different. At some production sites – especially, perhaps, those associated with what are referred to as central places – items of jewellery were manufactured which were then distributed over wide areas. This can be illustrated through finds of moulds for relief brooches on Helgö: moulds for 211 brooches, with parallels from pretty much the whole of Scandinavia, have been found. Occasionally some of the moulds have features in common with Anglo-Saxon and Continental brooches, and arguably finds from Hungary in particular. What is most striking about the collection of moulds from Helgö, however, are close parallels with Gotland, Norrland (geographically, the northern half of modern Sweden) and Trøndelag (Holmqvist 1972:232–55; Lundström 1972:137, 155) —relatively close areas, in other words. In all of these areas, however, distinct regional types of relief brooch are found from the same period (cf. Ch. 4.2.2.7),² and these various regional types are also matched at Helgö. This indicates that the production of jewellery at Helgö was centralized (Lundström 1969:81–2;

2 Of Meyer’s (1935) groups, the following are represented: northern ridge- and plane-foot brooches, the Bothnian group (with the closest parallels to a Bothnian equal-armed brooch), the Gotlandic group, some early ridge- and plane-foot brooches, three ‘late pieces’ from Rogaland, two Norrlandic brooches, the Dalum master, the Ågedal master, the Sogne group and the Hauge master/Rogaland group, and relief brooches with a semi-circular headplate of Sjøvold’s (1993) type A-5.

Ringtved 1988a:111; Solberg 2000:159). The finds from Uppåkra, Bejsebakken and Lundeborg/Gudme display similar trends in simultaneously representing a sort of local production of dress-accessories that were used in the surrounding areas *and* items of jewellery which to some extent reflect 'foreign' influences (Hårdh 2003; Helgesson 2002:52–5; Jørgensen 1994b:53–5; J. Nielsen 2002:207–8). Another point is that it appears to have been common at production sites to melt down old dress-accessories which had gone out of use (Hårdh 2003:59, 64–5; Nielsen and Loveluck 2006:72–3; Petersen 1994:31; Watt 1991:93). Jewellery which comes from production or manufacturing sites is therefore ill-suited to shed light upon the use of costume in the manifestation of local, regional and/or inter-regional aspects of ethnic identity, and this material is consequently left out of this study.

So-called 'smith finds' and finds of scrap metal may be a category that is connected to the finds from central places. These finds belong to the overall category of hoards (cf. above), but have often been interpreted as evidence of itinerant smiths. It has been argued that the contents of these deposits are scrap metal meant for re-casting that has only been temporarily cached or hidden – in other words, that they represent secular, not votive, hoards (Hedeager 1991). It is possible to argue, though, that scrap metal hoards should also be interpreted as sacrificial deposits (Hedeager 2004:163–4). The standardized contents of such hoards (Hedeager 1991) and their association with the smith's craft, which appears to have been infused with magical connotations in this period (e.g. Bergstøl 2001; Gansum 2004; Gansum and Hansen 2004; Goldhahn and Østigård 2007; Hedeager 2004:163–70; Rønne 2003), point towards a religious function. One possibility, for instance, is that it was regarded as essential for there to be a ritual disposal of a deceased smith's equipment. Irrespective of whether or not this type of hoard should be attributed with a religious or a secular significance, such finds of jewellery will be included in the study on the supposition that they represent (often destroyed) items of metal for itinerant or permanently settled smiths. It is uncertain from the outset whether or not these smiths should be linked to the centralized production that was taking place at central places, or if the 'smith-find smiths' operated independently of the centralized production – even perhaps for individuals in given districts – who would therefore have deposited jewellery which was used in the area where the deposits are located. In the latter case the smiths can probably be linked to a type of fine metalworking that was practised at major farmsteads: such as, for example, at Högom and Gene in

Norrland (Hines 1997:222; Lindqvist and Ramqvist 1993:103–7; Ramqvist 1983:178–9; 1992:179; Solberg 2000:159). If these hoards contain items of jewellery which grave finds can locate in particular core areas, this will be able to provide some information about how the jewellery maker was working – at central places and as part of a centralized economy, or at a local level.

An evaluation of the various find contexts the jewellery belongs to shows that the relationship between where the production of the objects took place, the area in which they were used, and where they came to be deposited, can be complicated. It is not valid simply to assume that items of jewellery were made in the area where they end up in the ground. I shall posit, nonetheless, that the *areas of use* of jewellery will be reflected in the distribution maps through concentrations of similar brooches contrasted with the presence of 'alien' types, on the premise that there are particular, regional, forms of jewellery, something which Meyer (1935) and Reichstein (1975), amongst others, have shown to be the case in several places. This means that a further premise of the following study is that the items of jewellery were in use in the area in which they occur as finds, for a certain period at least. Possible exceptions are the scrap metal and smiths' hoards.

A consistent feature of the evidence that has been selected is that there is a predominance of finds from Norway, except in the case of clasps, which are found most widely in Sweden. This is true, for instance, of the conical brooches, which are found primarily in Norway. In order to counter this skew in the basic evidence, I shall include the distributions of other relevant Scandinavian forms of jewellery where this is needed in order to be able to draw a correct picture of the actual state of affairs. 'Skewedness' in respect of the distribution of the evidence is probably to some extent due to burial practices and rites of deposition in different areas (a matter I return to below, Ch. 7.1.1).

Even though I have argued that the selected finds primarily represent jewellery that was in use in the area in which it came to be deposited, a lack of finds is not, conversely, direct evidence that jewellery was *not* in use there. Cruciform brooches have been found, for example, which appear to represent a distinct, local type from the central place of Uppåkra in Skåne (see Hårdh 2003:fig. 3, 51–3). However, few cruciform brooches have been found in graves or hoards in Skåne, as most of the finds of this type of brooch from this region are stray finds or settlement-site finds (Reichstein 1975:134–5). There may, as I shall discuss further, be many reasons why jewellery does not end up in graves

or hoards: items may, for instance, have been included as heirlooms or family jewels in the reproduction of kin-relationships (cf. Chs. 6.3.1, 6.5.1 and 7.1.1).

In the following, I shall present and discuss the evidence of the jewellery class by class. By examining each of the classes on its own, the focus will be directed on potentially crossed manifestations of costume (cf. Jones 1997). In these presentations the classification criteria are laid out, evaluated and in some cases modified for the purposes of clarity (cf. Ch. 2.3). After that, the geographical and contextual distribution patterns of the types of dress-accessory in phases D1–D2b of the Migration Period and phase 1 of the Merovingian Period are discussed.³ By means of this approach, a ‘bird’s-eye view’ is used, which looks at Scandinavia as one region, while at the same time the contexts of the finds are explored at a relatively detailed level (cf. Ch. 2.3). In order to capture potential differences between grave finds and hoards in respect of, for instance, whether votive practice involved ‘local’ or foreign artefacts, importance is attached to keeping these categories of depositional context apart in the study. The distribution patterns demonstrable for the two main periods will be discussed in a later chapter (Ch. 5), in which I summarize and collate the development through the Migration Period and the transition to the Merovingian Period.

4.2 THE MIGRATION PERIOD

4.2.1 Cruciform brooches

The cruciform brooch is considered the most important leading type of the Migration Period in western Scandinavia. There has, however, been some disagreement over how this brooch-type should be defined. In essence, that debate concerns how far a related type of brooch, the Nydam brooch, and transitional forms between these two types, known as ‘prototypes’, should be regarded as early variants of the cruciform brooch (Hansen 1970:96, fn.173; Kristoffersen 2000:60–1, fn.19). Nydam brooches and ‘prototype’ brooches are dated as early as the Late Roman Iron Age, phase C3, and remained in use into the transition to the Migration Period. Because the presence of cruciform

brooches is one of the criteria that defines an archaeological ‘Migration Period’ in the context of Norway, the definition of the type is fundamental to the date at which the beginning of the period is set. In agreement with, amongst others, Wenche Slomann (1986a:147 [1977:62])⁴ and Ulla Lund Hansen (1970:96, fn.173) I define cruciform brooches as bow brooches with a quadrangular headplate which covers the pin-spiral and meets the bow at a right angle. The foot of the brooch usually terminates in an animal head, although the terminal may be a triangular, semi-circular or spatulate plate. (In this way I exclude, with a few exceptions that I shall discuss at the appropriate places, Nydam brooches and/or prototypes).

Cruciform brooches are found in Scandinavia principally in western areas – in Norway, the west of Sweden and western Denmark – as well as across northern areas of the Continent in northern Germany and the Netherlands, and in England (Jørgensen 1994a:528; Reichstein 1975; Martin 2015; Mortimer 1990). In Scandinavia, cruciform brooches were in use during the first two phases of the Migration Period (Ch. 3.1) while in England this brooch-type continued in use right through the end of the equivalent period, which is dated to c. AD 570 (Hines 1997:243–4; Martin 2015; Mortimer 1990). This is the most common type of brooch in western Scandinavia in the Migration Period. Fully 931 specimens of the type are known from Scandinavia, with 678 from Norway, 126 from Sweden and 127 from Denmark.⁵ Germany and England also have many examples of cruciform brooch: respectively 234 (Reichstein 1975:21) and more than 2,000 specimens (Martin 2015)⁶ – amongst these German and English finds, however, what are known as ‘Nydam brooches’ and/or ‘prototypes’ may also have been counted. Cruciform brooches are known from both graves and hoards. While the brooches from Norway and Sweden are almost entirely from graves, in Denmark hoards and caches are a little more common (Reichstein 1975:21–6). A single grave may contain anything from one to six cruciform brooches, while caches as a rule involve only single finds (Reichstein 1975:21–6).

With regard to how they were used, these brooches were normally fastened close to the shoulders and

3 For additional detailed information on all the find contexts and find combinations in the different phases of the various jewellery types discussed in this chapter, cf. Røstad 2016 (in Norwegian) or (for an English version) tables and supplementary information in *Dress-accessories from Migration and early Merovingian-period Scandinavia, c. AD 400–650/700* (Røstad 2021): <http://urn.nb.no/URN:NBN:no-86140>.

4 Slomann refers to Schetelig (1906) and Sternquist (1961).

5 Finds from production sites and more recent metal-detector finds are not included in these figures.

6 Mortimer (1990:26–7) referred to 547 finds from England but pointed out that there were probably many more finds than those that were accessible for her research project, e.g. those in private hands. The Portable Antiquities Scheme demonstrates that further brooches are being found all the time. This is also the case in Norway.

were probably used to hold together the material of a peplos dress (Fig. 2.1). They can, alternatively, occur as what are known as ‘third brooches’ in a central position over the chest or in front of the neck, while it is also possible for them to be found in other places functioning as, amongst other things, belt-fasteners or fasteners for attachments to the belt, or fasteners for a shawl or cape at arm level (Jørgensen 1994a:530, fig. 126c; Kristoffersen 2006:10–11, 18–21). From the very beginning of the Migration Period distinct regional variants of the type are visible, and such regional variation is a tendency that strengthens over the course of the period. There is a north-south divide in the Migration Period in that the brooches from Denmark are most similar to Continental brooches while the brooches from the main Scandinavian peninsula form their own Scandinavian formal range (Jørgensen 1994a:528).

4.2.1.1 *The classification of types*

With reference to Scandinavia, two comprehensive studies of the type are fundamental: Haakon Schetelig’s *The Cruciform Brooches of Norway* of 1906 and Joachim Reichstein’s *Die kreuzförmige Fibel: Zur Chronologie der späten römischen Kaiserzeit und der Völkerwanderungszeit in Skandinavien, auf dem Kontinent und in England* of 1975. While the latter is no longer regarded as comprehensive in respect of finds from England (Hines 1984:26–7; Martin 2015; Mortimer 1990:15), it is still the most up-to-date and the fullest survey of the brooches in Scandinavia. Nevertheless it is Schetelig’s study that is referred to most in Norwegian archaeology. He developed a typological sequence of development based upon technical details in the manufacture of the brooches. He divided them into two principal groups of eastern and western Norwegian finds, according to where they were found, and divided the brooches further, on the basis of the formation of the foot:

1. Brooches with the entire foot formed as an animal head.
2. Brooches whose foot has a small plate between the bow and the animal heads which is separated from the animal head by a shaped strip which represents the animal’s neck.
3. Brooches where the area between the bow and the animal head on the foot is decorated with transverse moulded lines.
4. Brooches with a foot formed with a faceted shaft and a short animal head.
5. Brooches with a foot terminating in a semi-circular or a triangular plate.

From finds of cruciform brooches combined with other datable artefact-types, particularly silver sheet and relief brooches of both early and late forms, Schetelig divided the brooch-type as a whole into four stages: 1, early cruciform brooches (the so-called prototypes); 2, early Norwegian forms of cruciform brooch; 3, intermediary Norwegian forms; and 4, late Norwegian forms (Schetelig 1906:152–3).

A problem with Schetelig’s chronological sequence of development of 1906, however, lies in the technical details which he used as the foundation of the dating. This relates, for instance, to whether or not the knobs are cast in one with the headplate or not, and whether the pin-catch is long or short. These, as indeed he himself pointed out, do not provide unambiguous dating criteria. Both long pin-catches and specimens with the headplate and knobs cast separately can be found on brooches that are identified as late using other criteria (Schetelig 1906:54–5). Schetelig’s principal grouping into eastern and western Norwegian brooches respectively is also confusing because brooches which have clear common features end up in different groups on the basis of where they were found – which again Schetelig himself (1906:34, 38) explicitly recognized. This division looks artificial as a result. It does not separate types Eine, Lunde, Røssøy and Skogøya, for example (see below), all of which are classified as eastern Norwegian brooches with the entire foot formed as an animal head. Nor does it separate Types Foldvik-Empingham and Lima which, although both lack an animal-head terminal, otherwise have clearly different features (see below). A great advantage of Schetelig’s work, however, is that he related the cruciform brooches to other sets of finds and stylistic features which have remained important in the chronological phasing of the Migration Period: silver sheet and relief brooches, and the Sösdala and Nydam Styles plus Style I.

Reichstein (1975) also attached importance to the formation of the foot in his classification of the brooches, but included features of the formation of the headplate and the bow as well. He also treated all of the evidence from Scandinavia (and from the Continent and England) together, and so by-passed the artificial division between eastern and western Norwegian finds. Reichstein divided the cruciform brooches of Scandinavia into 30 different Norwegian and two Swedish types. The brooches from Denmark do not, in Reichstein’s scheme, form any distinct Danish group but belong either to Norwegian or Continental types, in addition to individualistic pieces. A relatively large number of brooches are also defined as unique or individualistic ‘Einzelformen’ and others as brooches

of 'singulärer Form'. Twenty-four of the Norwegian types are located in relation to three relative-chronological phases (*Stufen*) over the range of periods C3/D1 to D3 that are characterized by, respectively, 'ältere', 'jüngere' and 'späte' brooch-types (cf. Ch. 3.1.1). The individualistic brooches are dated in some cases by association with datable brooch-types. The two Swedish types and six Norwegian types are rather uncertainly dated but are nonetheless assigned with some probability to a particular phase. The relatively large corpus of individualistic forms and the high number of principal types have been criticized from several quarters (Bitner-Wróblewska 1995:177; Bode 1998:23–5). Such a detailed study and classification is nevertheless a welcome starting point in the current context for the identification of trans-regional, regional and local distribution patterns. I consequently base myself primarily on Reichstein's typology, and to some degree also on his chronology for particular types (cf. Ch. 3.1.1).

Reichstein (1975:67–9) divided the Scandinavian brooches of the earliest phase (Stufe D1) into three Norwegian leading types or types, namely a western Type Kvasshem, an eastern Type Tveitane-Hunn, and a third Type Åk of more widespread distribution. A Continental type, Type Witmarsum, is also present. Amongst the brooches of these types, however, several would not be identified as cruciform brooches by Slomann's (1986a [1977]), Hansen's (1970) and others' criteria (cf. above) but should be regarded as transitional types between Nydam brooches and cruciform brooches proper, and so rather represent the so-called 'prototypes' of cruciform brooches. This affects the whole groups of brooches assigned to Types Kvasshem and Åk, for which one of the defining criteria is that the headplate is narrower than, or of the same width as, the bow, with the consequence that the headplate does not fully cover the pin-spiral (see, e.g., Reichstein 1975:Tafn. 1–7). These, therefore, are not included in the following study. Several examples of Type Tveitane-Hunn and the Continental Type Witmarsum are, however, to be counted amongst the very earliest cruciform brooches because they do have a headplate that covers the pin-spiral and which stands at a right angle to the bow. For the sake of simplicity I shall therefore include both of these groups amongst the cruciform brooches from the transitional

period between the Roman Iron Age and Migration Period, even though some of the specimens within these groups have a headplate that is narrower than, or no wider than, the bow.⁷

In the next phase (Stufe D2) there are four main Scandinavian regional groups: a southern Norwegian group consisting of two types, Type Lunde and Type Eine, a western Norwegian Type Nygard and a northern Norwegian Type Røssøy. There is also one Continental type that is found principally in the south-west of Scandinavia, in Denmark: Type Groß Siemss (see also Jørgensen 1994a:528). In the final phase (Stufe D3) there are four main Norwegian groups, each of which subdivides into several types. Group 5 is a southern Norwegian group represented by four types: Types Stoveland, Gammelsrød, Valandsmoen and Foldvik-Empingham. Group 6 is a south-western Norwegian group consisting of seven types: Types Mundheim, Ådland, Lima, Nøding, Byrkje, Varhaug and Sagland. Group 7 is a western Norwegian group of four types: Types Skjervum, Skaim, Draugsvoll and Mo. Group 8 is a northern Norwegian group consisting of two types: Types Skogøya and Volstad. A Swedish group found in Öster- and Västergötland with Types Götene and Brunnhem also probably belongs to this phase, although the former type is also found in a phase-D1 context in association with a silver sheet brooch. Reichstein (1975:74), however, attached more significance to two other finds in which the type was included along with cruciform brooches of Types Brunnhem and Fristad respectively, and late artefact-types with which these are found in further contexts. There are, in addition, three English types that are also found in Scandinavia in Stufe D3/phase D2a: Types Barrington (2), Bradwell (2) and Lyminge (1), and two Continental types found in Denmark: Types Midlum and Krefeld-Gellep.⁸

The Norwegian Types Eidbukten, Stedje, Fristad, Gjerla, Ålgard and Hasle are less certainly dated (Reichstein 1975:44–5). Reichstein (1975:71) argued, however, that all except the last-named of these types are essentially of his late types. This claim is made on the basis of similarity with late brooch-types and/or the fact that these types have been found together with equal-armed brooches with 'late' features. Type Hasle, on the other hand, is assigned within 'einem nicht näher bestimmbareren älteren Abschnitt der

7 As noted above, four finds of Type Tveitane-Hunn also include cruciform brooches of the Migration-period Type Lunde (Ch. 3.1.1). There are also brooches of Type Tveitane-Hunn in just one find (C12980–7) where they are associated with typical period C3 artefact-types, namely an equal-armed brooch with trapezoidal end plates, and the type is found associated with spiral clasps in several cases. This indicates that the type belongs primarily to the Migration Period.

8 For definitions of the various Types, the reader is referred to Reichstein (1975). I do not, however, take account of his sub-divisions of individual types into variants as this is rather too detailed for a survey of such a large body of evidence.

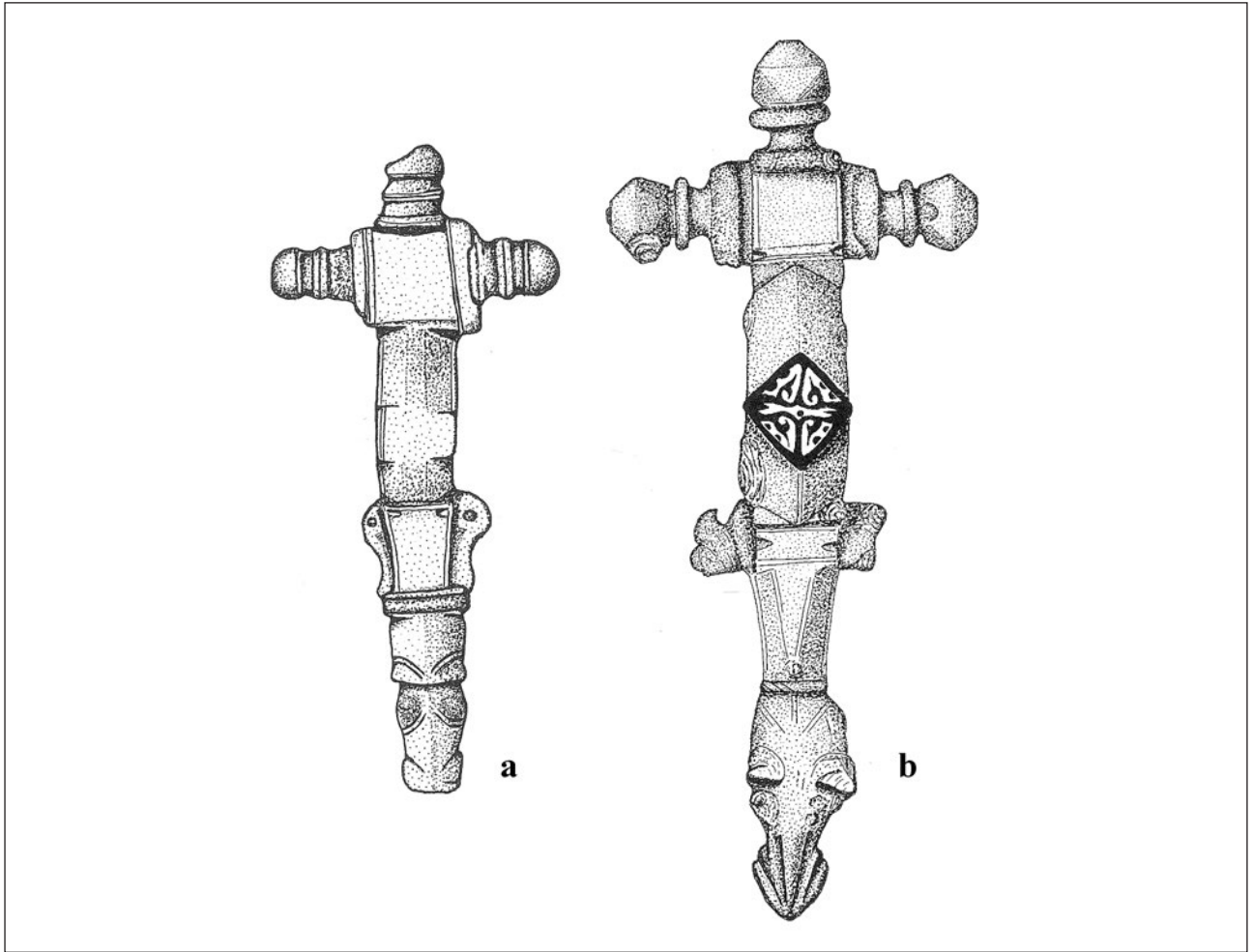


Figure 4.1 Cruciform brooches of type Seilflod **a**) variant 1 (grave OP) and **b**) variant 2 (grave DY), after Nielsen (2000 II:115, x4434 and 63, x1003).

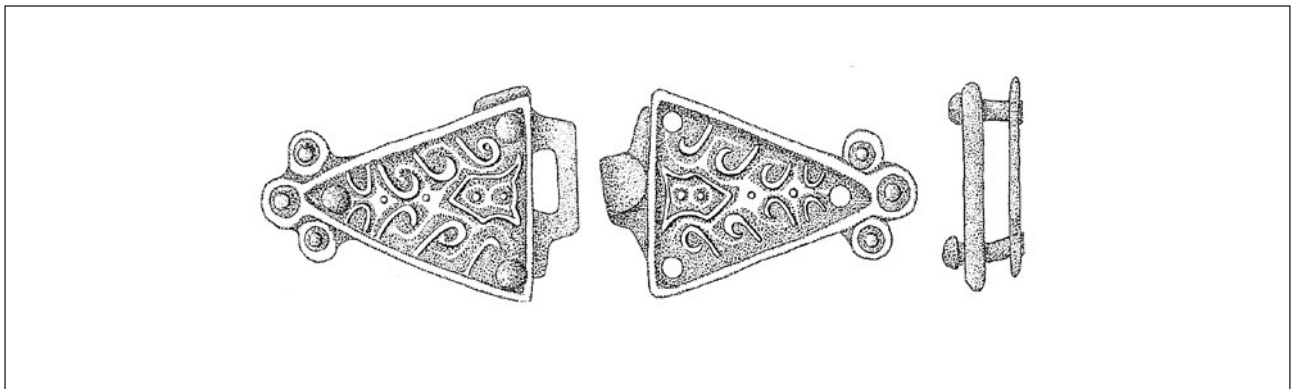


Figure 4.2 Clasps in the Sjørup Style from Seilflod grave DY, after Nielsen (2000 II:63, x1168–1171).

späten kreuzförmigen Fibeln' ('a relatively early, not closely definable, phase of the late cruciform brooches': Reichstein 1975:71).

In addition to these types, there are three Continental types that are also represented in Scandinavia, Types Bützfleht, Oxbøl and Hjelmhede, and one English type, Type Trumpington, which again cannot be securely dated within a single phase, but only afforded a general dating to the Migration Period

(Reichstein 1975:44–6). The English Type Feering, of which a couple of Scandinavian examples are known, from Norway and Sweden, is dated by Reichstein to his *spätteste*, 'latest', types. These belong to the last phase of the Migration Period (Hines 1984:26; 1993a:3), in other words phase D2b (cf. Ch. 3.1).

Several new finds have been made since Reichstein's publication, and it is perhaps particularly finds from Denmark that produce the greatest change in the find

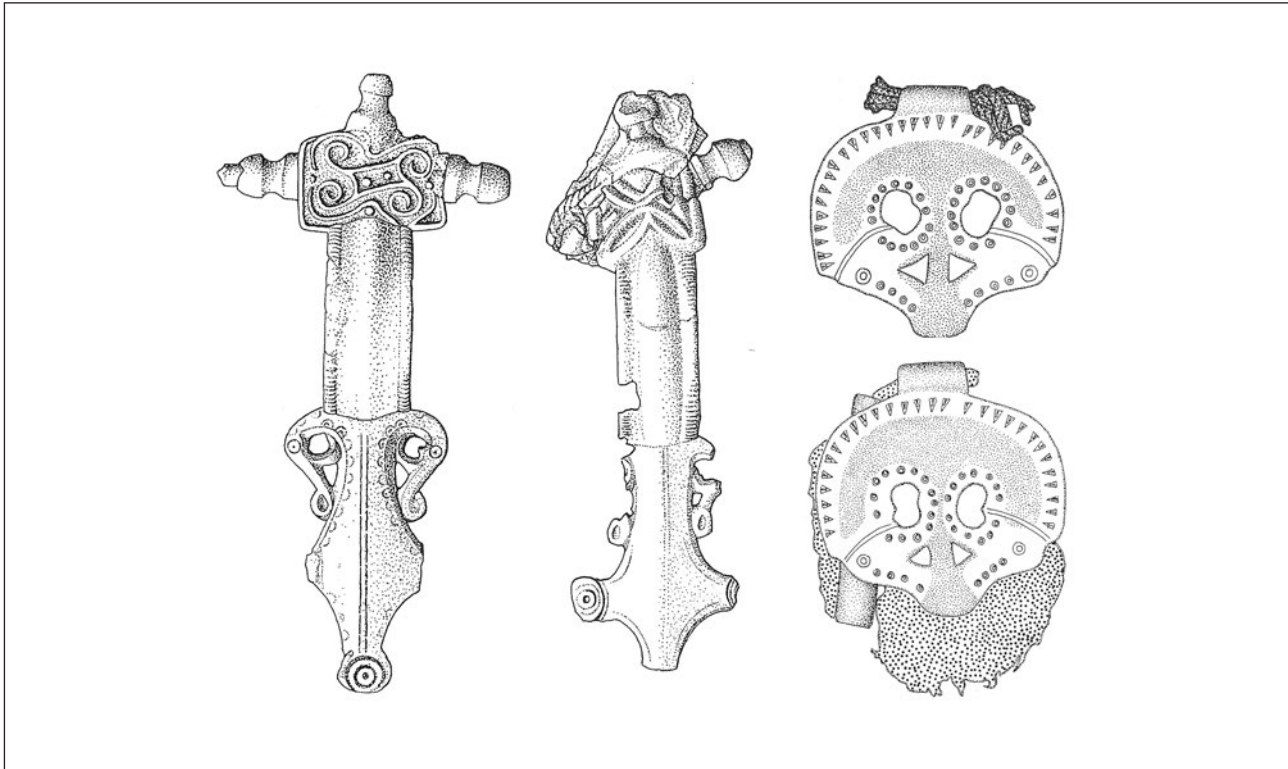


Figure 4.3 Copper-alloy brooches and peltate pendants from Sejlfod grave IZ, after Nielsen (2000 II:106, X1282, x3601, x1284, x1285).

picture compared with the mid-1970s. Several of these finds, however, are from production sites associated with central places, such as Stavnsager and Gudme/Lundeborg, and so will not be discussed here,⁹ but there have also been several new grave finds (Mortimer 1990:162–3; Nielsen and Loveluck 2006). The excavations of the cemeteries at Sejlfod and Hjemsted in Jutland, in particular, have contributed new finds. Amongst the finds from Sejlfod there is a particular local type with a rectangular/square flattened central panel on the bow, a framed rectangular field with lap-pets below the bow, and a foot with an animal head terminal. Another variant of this type has a rhomboidal flattened central panel on the bow. From here on I shall refer to these as Type Sejlfod variants 1 and 2 (Fig. 4.1). Of the latter type, with the rhomboidal panel on the bow, there is so far just a single find. This is from Sejlfod grave DY. This grave also contained a pair of clasps with decoration related to the Sjørup Style (Fig. 4.2). John Hines (1993a:39) dates these clasps on the basis of the decoration to early VWZ III, i.e. the beginning of phase D2a (cf. Ch. 4.2.3.5), and pointed out that the flattened panel on the bow of the cruciform brooch is a late feature, so that the brooch ought to be contemporary with Reichstein's

'late' types. The cruciform brooch in grave DY also has the same type of decoration as the clasps on this rhomboidal panel, confirming Hines's assignation of the brooch to the late types. No example of the type of brooch with a rectangular/square panel on the bow has been found together with securely dated artefacts. A couple of individualistic brooches which are similar in form to Sejlfod variant 1 have been found in a grave (Sejlfod grave DI) together with a silver sheet brooch, while a brooch which is of the variant 1 type is associated with two copper-alloy brooches that give the impression of being a hybrid of silver sheet and relief brooches (Sejlfod grave IZ). This grave also contained two peltate pendants (Fig. 4.3). This could indicate a dating of Type Sejlfod variant 1 to within phase D1 or around the transition of D1/D2a. However, the way in which the brooch is formed is a late feature, as Hines has noted, which could in turn indicate that this type should on the whole be dated to phase D2a. To offer a dating on stylistic features alone can be risky. Nonetheless I would count Type Sejlfod variant 2 as a late brooch-form which belongs principally to phase D2a, even though there must be some uncertainty about this.

⁹ It is interesting, all the same, that several of these finds can be assigned to Reichstein's Types Midlum and Krefeld-Gellep (Mortimer 1990:163), corroborating the general pattern of distribution of Continental types in Denmark.

4.2.1.2 *A general view of the geographical distribution in Scandinavia*

Cruciform brooches in Scandinavia are found most numerous in Norway, with a total of 678 brooches found (Map 4.1). What is most striking about the distribution by province (*fylke*) in Norway is the relatively low numbers of brooches from the inland provinces of Hedmark, Oppland and Buskerud, or from the two parts of Trøndelag. This distribution otherwise reveals a clear predominance in the south-west, with exceptionally large numbers of finds from Rogaland and Vest-Agder, but also a fairly even spread along the whole of the Norwegian coastline north to Troms.

Although many fewer brooches than in Norway are involved, there are still a considerable number of finds of cruciform brooches from Sweden and Denmark. The counts are 126 and 127 respectively. In Sweden there is a clear concentration of finds in Västergötland and the neighbouring province of Bohuslän, as well as some finds in Skåne. There is another rather smaller cluster in north-eastern Sweden, in Hälsingland. In Denmark the great majority of finds of cruciform brooches have been made in Jutland, with a total of 95 brooches from 73 finds. (For the general distribution of cruciform brooches, including Roman-period types [cf. above], see Reichstein 1975, Karte 1.)

4.2.1.3 *Geographical distribution in phase D1*

As noted above, four of Reichstein's principal types which are found in Scandinavia – the Norwegian Types Åk, Kvasseheim and Tveitane-Hunn and the Continental Type Witmarsum – can be dated to the transition between the Roman Iron Age and the Migration Period. Here I shall pay particular attention to the types that can be securely dated to the Migration Period, but shall also note certain tendencies associated with these early 'transitional or prototype brooches'. As Reichstein (1975:67) has shown,¹⁰ the earliest (i.e. the *ältere*) Scandinavian transitional or prototype brooches are primarily from the southern half of Norway (Map 4.2). The brooches of the westerly Type Kvasseheim occur principally in Rogaland (with a cluster at the cemetery of Kvasseheim) while the easterly Type Tveitane-Hunn is diffused over the southern half of Norway (Reichstein 1975:35, 67). Type Åk, as noted, has a wider distribution, with five brooches, each from a separate find, in, respectively, Vest-Agder, Rogaland, Møre og Romsdal, at an unknown site in Denmark, and Västergötland (see Reichstein 1975:Abb. 1). It

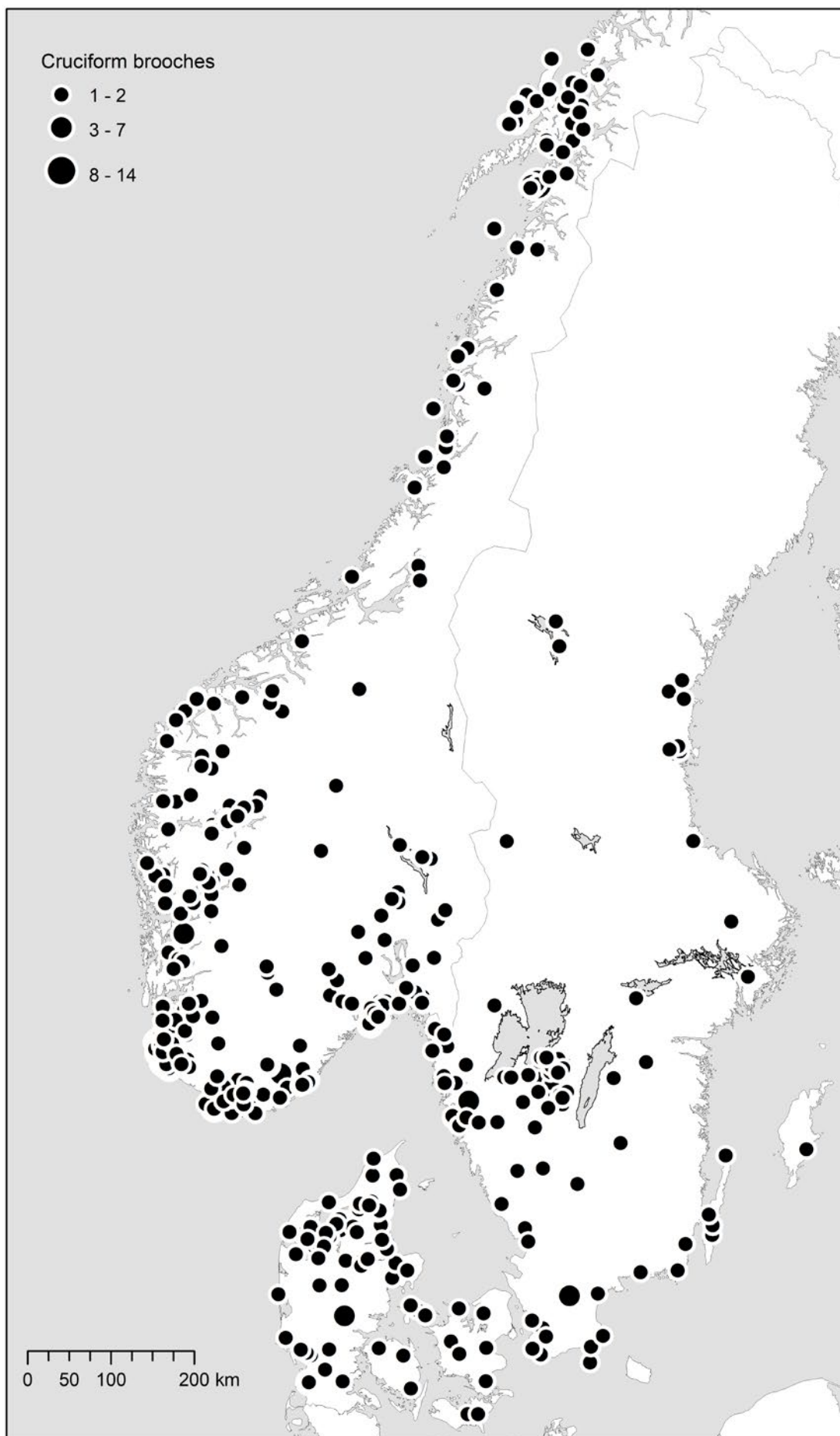
is also possible to note something that anticipates a north-south division in Scandinavia in that Denmark has two finds of the Continental Type Witmarsum that also occurs in Germany, the Netherlands and Belgium (Jørgensen 1994a:118; Reichstein 1975:41, Karte 2). However there is a Norwegian find of this type too, from Nordland.

Although neither Type Kvasseheim nor Type Åk can be counted as true cruciform brooch-types, they certainly represent closely related predecessors, and irrespective of what label one chooses to attach to them it is of interest to note that there is such a difference between the east and the west in northern Scandinavia at the transition to the Migration Period. Another matter of interest in this regard is that it is possible to detect a local trend in the style of wearing: at the cemetery of Kvasseheim, at which Type Kvasseheim is most common, the brooches were normally worn with the foot upwards. They also, in several cases, form part of a set of dress-accessories that combines two sets of paired brooches. These pairs are placed over one another on the chest (Kristoffersen 2006:19; Lillehammer 1996:katalog). It is otherwise usual to suppose that cruciform brooches were worn in pairs fastened at each of the shoulders with the foot pointing downwards. Recorded grave finds, however, do show that the manner in which they were worn was rather more varied (see, e.g., Martin 2015:196–205; Monrad-Krohn 1969:3–5; Mortimer 1990:111).

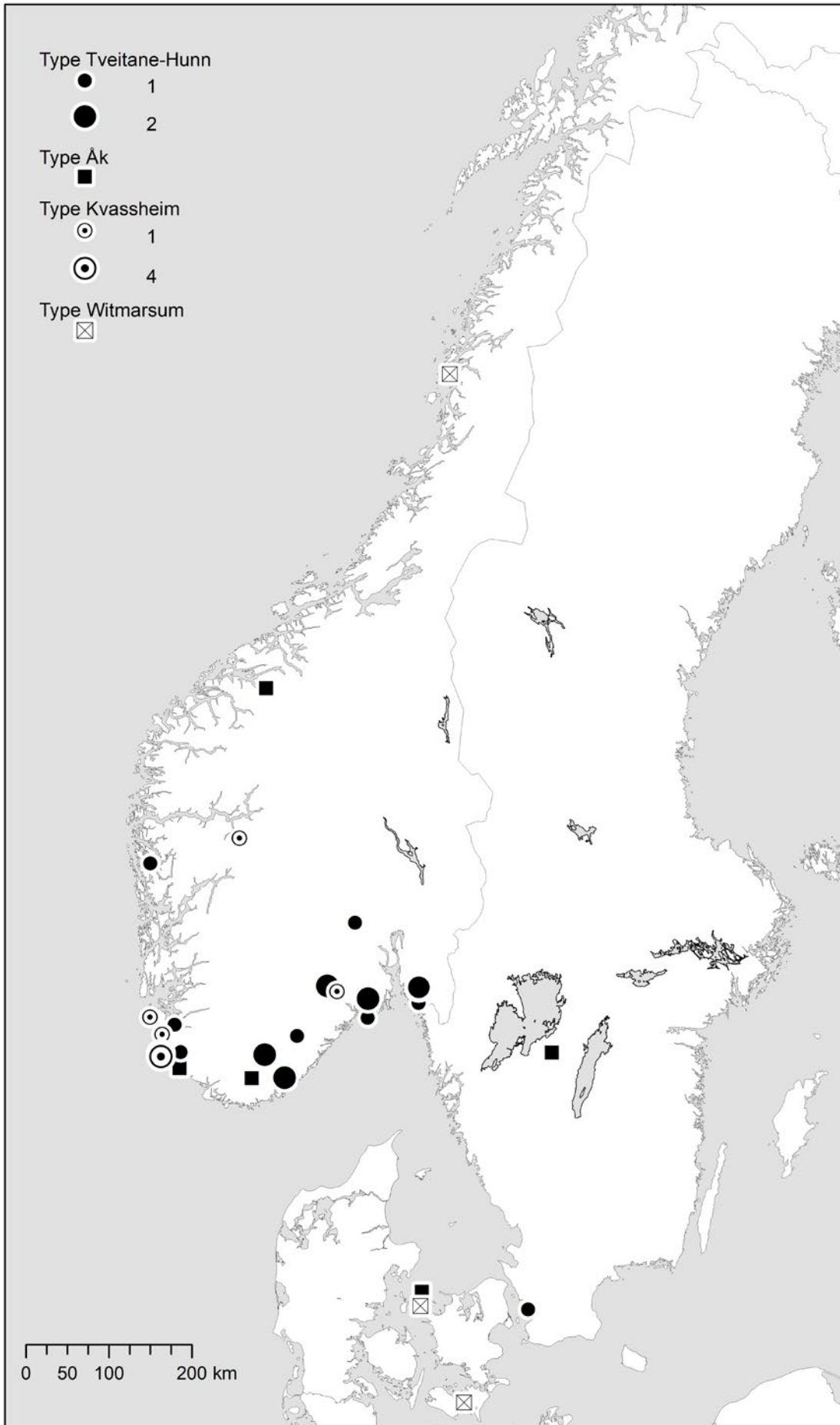
In phase D1, these types are superseded by two southern Norwegian types, Types Lunde and Eine, a western Norwegian Type Nygard, one distinct northern Norwegian type, Type Røssøy, and a Continental type, Type Groß Siemss (Reichstein 1975:Karte 3, Abb. 2–3, and 10; see Map 4.3 for the distribution of these types in Scandinavia). Type Lunde (Fig. 4.4a) is the most populous of these types, with 31 examples (Reichstein 1975:35–6, Abb. 2). The other type from southern Norway, Type Eine (Fig. 4.4b), has 12 known examples (Reichstein 1975:36, Abb. 2). These two types occur, as Reichstein pointed out, over very much the same area. The smaller group of Type Eine is found only in Norway, however, whereas Type Lunde is also distributed to some extent in western Sweden and has one find from Denmark. These two types are very similar, and in a couple of cases are found in the same grave context.¹¹ Type Nygard (Fig. 4.4c) has six known examples from four finds: two from Møre og Romsdal, with two brooches each, and two from Sogn

10 Please note that in the following investigation I include brooches that have been found since Reichstein's (1975) publication. As a result, figures are often different from those given by Reichstein.

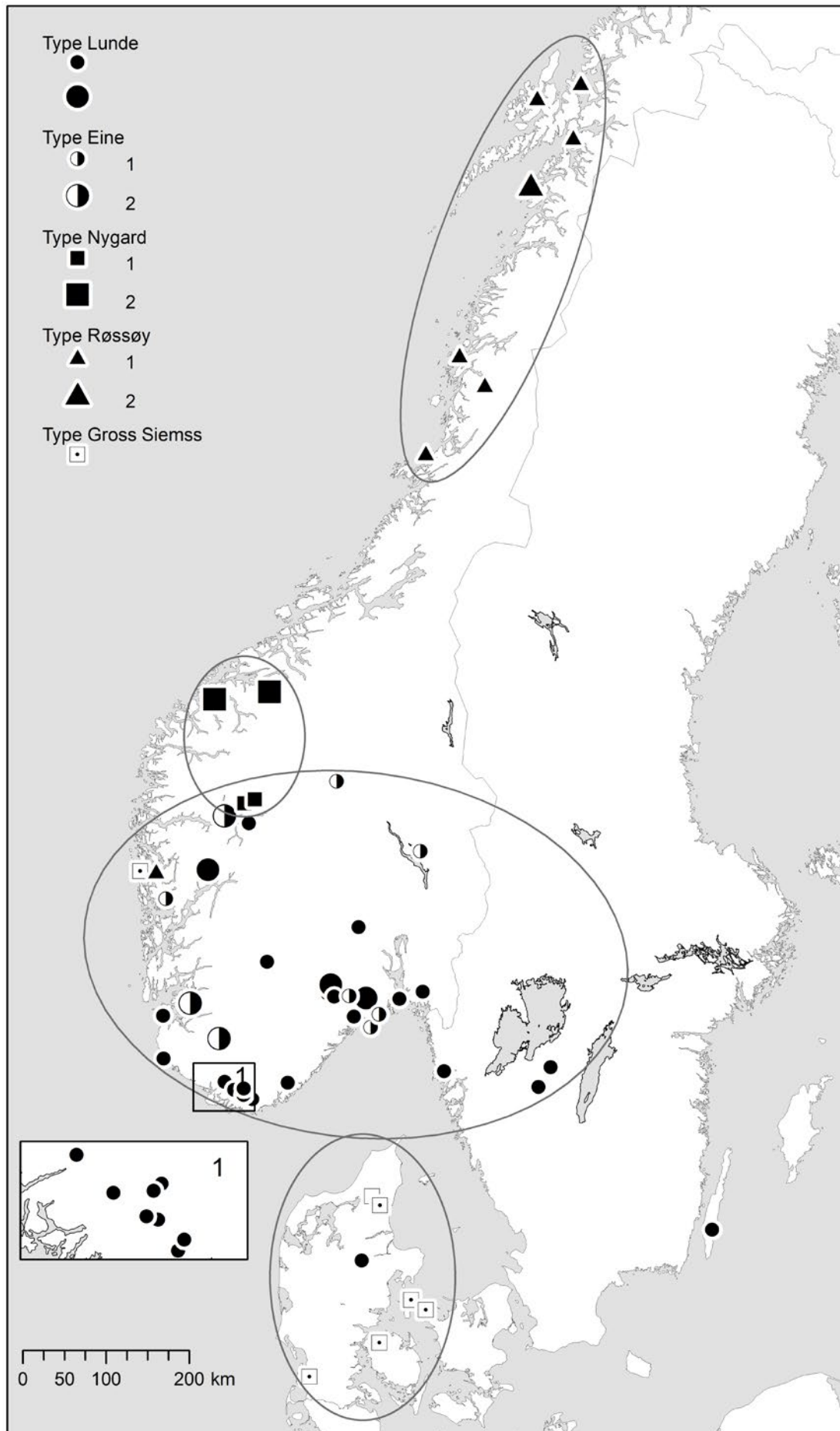
11 C19842: Hvåle, Vestfold; C15687: Vang, Hedmark.



Map 4.1 The distribution of cruciform brooches in Scandinavia in the Migration Period.



Map 4.2 The distribution of Types Åk, Kvasheim, Tveitane-Hunn and Witmarsum from the Phase C3/D1 transition.



Map 4.3 The distribution of Types Lunde, Eine, Nygard, Røssøy and Gross Siemss of Phase D1. The spots placed in the sea represent finds of unknown provenance on the nearest land.

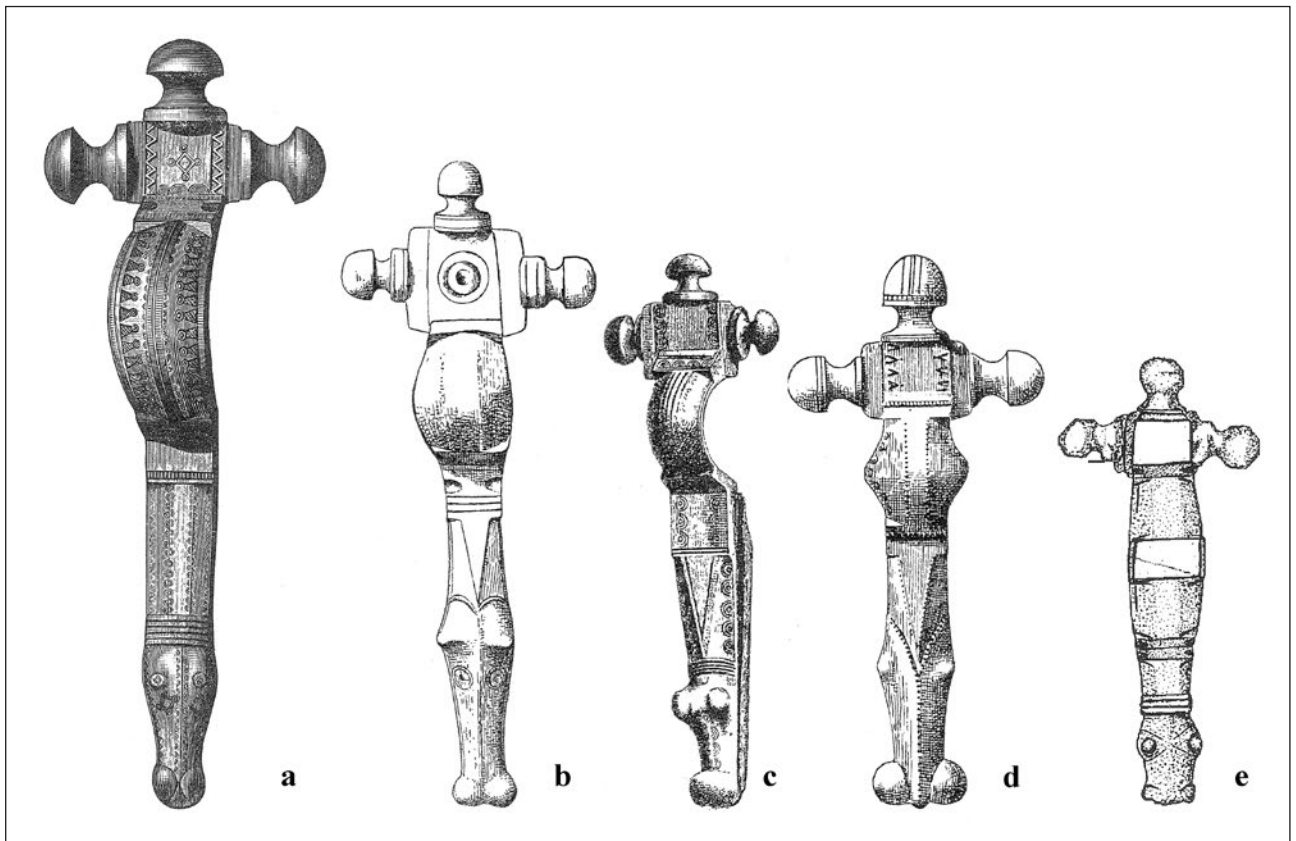


Figure 4.4 Cruciform brooches of Types **a**) Lunde, from Birkeland, Aust-Agder (C2460), after Rygh (1885:fig. 247), **b**) Eine, from Eine, Hedmark (C15688), **c**) Nygard, from Åk, Møre og Romsdal (C6200), **d**) Røssøy, from Gjerøvik, Hordaland (B2266), after Schetelig (1906:figs. 42, 35 and 75), © University Museum of Bergen, and **e**) Gross Siemss from Seilflod grave D1, after Nielsen (2000:55, x1058).

og Fjordane (Reichstein 1936:36, Abb. 3).¹² There are nine brooches of Type Røssøy (Fig. 4.4d) from eight finds. Most of these finds are from Nordland. There are seven brooches of Type Groß Siemss (Fig. 4.4e) in Scandinavia, all found in Denmark apart from one.¹³ This type otherwise occurs principally in northern Germany, with a couple of finds also in the Netherlands and one in England (Reichstein 1975:41–2, Abb. 10). The distribution across these areas appears relatively even, and Type Groß Siemss should therefore, in my view, be regarded as a common Dano-Continental form.

As Reichstein (1975) had already shown, there is a development in the geographical distribution pattern of the brooches in the course of phase D1, from the general distribution of a couple of common principal types (Types Tveitane-Hunn and Åk) in the southern half of Norway – and with something approaching a

cluster of a local type (Type Kvasheim) in Rogaland in phase C3 of the Late Roman Iron Age and at the transition to the Migration Period – to the separation of three areas in northern Scandinavia: an area in northern Norway focused upon Nordland, another in Møre og Romsdal and Sogn og Fjordane in Vestlandet, and a larger area covering the whole of the southern half of Norway south of the provinces of Trøndelag and also including western Sweden (Reichstein 1975:Abb. 2–3). Within the southern Norwegian/western Swedish area are found two different types of brooch, in both the transitional period from the Late Roman Iron Age and in phase D1: first Types Åk and Tveitane-Hunn and subsequently Types Lunde and Eine. Throughout this period it appears, however, as if one of these types is limited to a slightly more restricted area than the other. Of the earliest brooches, Type Tveitane-Hunn is practically only found in Norway while Type Åk

12 I include here a cruciform brooch from Modvo, Sogn og Fjordane (B11341) which, according to Reichstein (1975:155), is an individualistic form but which Straume (1993:222–3) considered practically equivalent to a brooch of Type Nygard illustrated by Schetelig (1906:fig. 35).

13 There is also a find from Hjemsted (grave 125) with two cruciform brooches which are very similar to Type Groß Siemss but with headplates that are slightly differently in form from the archetype. These are, however, not counted as part of the group here.

has a wider distribution. In phase D1, Type Eine is found only within Norway while a few finds of Type Lunde have been made in Sweden and Denmark too. Both in the transitional phase between the Roman Iron Age and the Migration Period (phases C3/D1) and in phase D1, however, it appears as if Denmark has a higher proportion of Continental forms than is usual elsewhere in Scandinavia (Reichstein 1975:Abb. 9–10). I have argued above, though, that Type Groß Siemss should rather be considered as a common, trans-regional, Danish and Continental brooch-type. There is also a tendency throughout Scandinavia for the distributions of the individual types to overlap in between the ‘core areas’ of each type.

Besides these five groups, which together comprise some 65 brooches, there are 32 brooches classified as ‘individual forms’¹⁴ that are assigned to this phase through association with one or more of those leading types and/or other artefact-types diagnostic of this phase – including 23 Norwegian brooches from 15 finds, 5 Swedish brooches from 3 finds, and 4 Danish brooches from 3 finds. There are also 21 unclassifiable brooches,¹⁵ of which two are from separate finds in Denmark and 19 are from 14 finds in Norway. If brooches of Types Tveitane-Hunn (18) and Witmarsum (3) are included, in all 139 brooches can be counted from this phase.¹⁶

Although the Scandinavian cruciform brooches of phase D1 can be divided up into various groups or types, as Reichstein (1975:35–7) has shown, the types nevertheless do appear quite homogeneous in this phase (Reichstein 1975:Tafn. 1–20 and 81). Schetelig (1906:26) noted this too. With the exception of some specimens of Type Røssøy, all of the brooches have parallel-sided bows or bows which only curve slightly outwards around the middle. All of them also have a foot with no field or lappets below the bow, and an animal head terminal is found on all of the various types.¹⁷ Their form appears, therefore, to be relatively simple in comparison with later types (cf. below), and this helps to give the early cruciform brooches a uniform appearance. It is also to be noted that quite a large number of brooches of this phase are classified as

individualistic forms, meaning that they do not belong to a particular group or type. These too are simple in form and share the same similarities in design as the types themselves.

4.2.1.4 Find contexts of phase D1

123 brooches of phase D1 are from grave finds.¹⁸ Most the grave finds are from Norway (111 brooches from 62 finds)¹⁹ while the grave finds from Sweden amount to four brooches from four different finds, and from Denmark eight brooches from four finds (Map 4.4).

Hoards or caches from phase D1 include only four brooches from three finds: two brooches from two finds in Denmark and one find from Sweden (Map 4.4).

One of the finds that is included in the hoard category, the Göingeholm find, has been interpreted as a hoard, but it is not impossible that it was a grave. This find was made near a knoll (Arne 1937:fig. 2) during roadwork, and when excavation carried out later at the site failed to reveal any signs of burials, it was interpreted as a placed deposit. The assemblage comprised two pots that were placed 4 m apart. One of the vessels, a bossed pot, had been used as a container for the dress-accessories. The find included a number of pieces of iron from a knife, a spindle and possibly the shaft of a spearhead (Arne 1937:81–4). This collection of artefacts is also found in graves of the period, and several examples of jewellery in urns are known. It is, moreover, common in the Iron Age to place graves in juxtaposition with natural mounds where the bedrock protrudes. The position of the two pots at 4 m distance from one another could be consistent with their having stood at either end of a grave structure, which in the Migration Period could well be of this size (see, e.g., Schetelig 1912). While these observations argue in favour of considering this a grave find, there are still reasons for persisting in considering it a hoard of some kind, as hoards are also often found close to rocky outcrops, crags or knolls. The absence of bones, which one might have expected to find along with the jewellery in the pot, may furthermore be used to argue that this find is not a grave. It is possible, though, that this was an inhumation in

14 In what follows, I count both Reichstein’s *Einzelformen* and his *singulärer Formen* within this category. It also includes brooches from two finds that are dated to the transition of phases D1/D2a: B1345–57, Olde in Olderdalen, Voss, Hordaland, and VHM201,1–2, Sønderlade, Aalborg, Jutland.

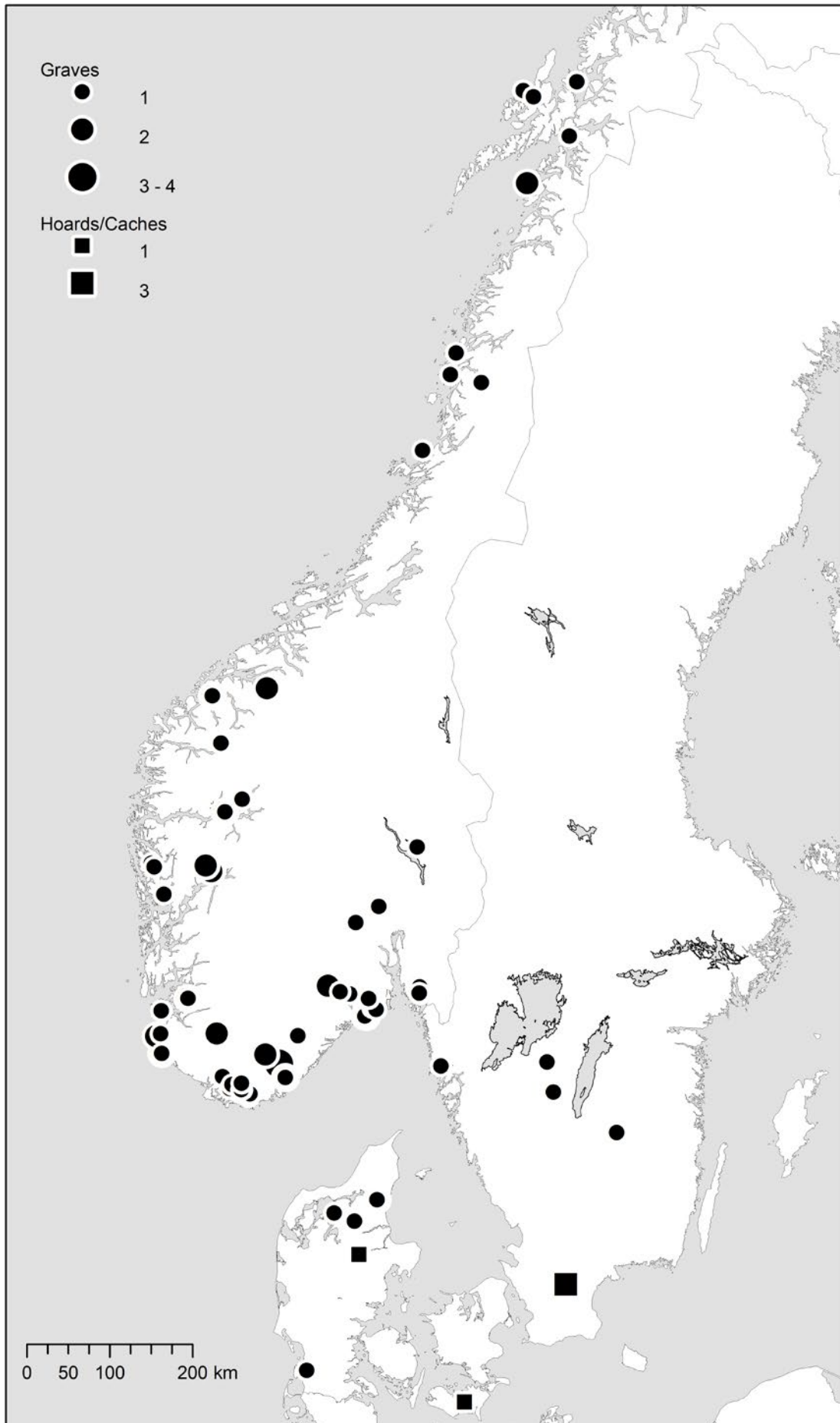
15 Including brooches from a find that is dated to the transition of phases D1/D2a: VHM201,1–2, Sønderlade, Aalborg, Jutland.

16 It is possible that 12 further brooches could be counted in, on typological grounds, but these are not included in the contextual analysis that follows. Because of uncertainty over their dating, these brooches remain undated in the catalogue too.

17 In this respect, I do not include Types Åk and Kvassheim, since these, as has been noted, really belong to the Late Roman Iron Age.

18 There are four brooches from a single find at Hægebostad, Lindesnes, Vest-Agder (C23203). This find comprises two unclassifiable cruciform brooches, a brooch of Type Lunde and a brooch of Type Søndre Gammelsrød. The latter brooch is not included in the number of brooches from phase D1 given here.

19 110 if the brooch referred to in the previous footnote is excluded.



Map 4.4 Graves and hoards/caches with cruciform brooches of Phase D1. Graves are so densely concentrated in some places that the spots overlap.

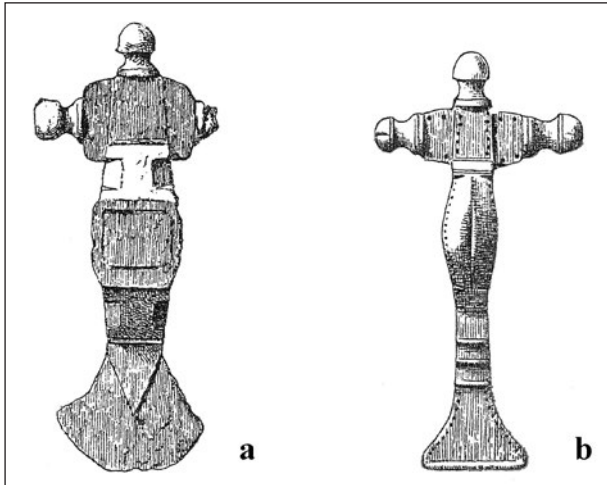


Figure 4.5 Cruciform brooches of Types **a)** *Søndre Gammelsrød*, from *Obrestad*, Rogaland (B4344) and **b)** *Foldvik-Empingham*, from *Giskegjerdet*, Møre og Romsdal (B720), after Schetelig (1906:figs. 107 and 65), © University Museum of Bergen.

which the skeleton has completely decomposed. A further point to consider is that the three cruciform brooches in the assemblage were made of silver, which is only paralleled in two other finds of phase D1.²⁰ This too might point in the direction of the sacrifice or hiding of particularly valuable artefacts (cf. Ch. 4.1.3). Altogether, then, it is unclear if this is a hoard or a grave. If it were the former, though, it apparently confirms several of the tendencies that can be seen amongst the grave finds in terms of the combinations of dress-accessories of this phase of which cruciform brooches are a part, in that they were associated with Class A clasps, beads and a silver sheet brooch. The set of beads is also reminiscent of a pattern found in grave-assemblages: as with necklaces in eastern areas, the set of beads is dominated by amber beads.

With regard to the other contexts in which cruciform brooches occur, there is a brooch of Type Tveitane-Hunn from a settlement site at Löddeköping in Skåne. 11 brooches from this phase are stray finds, five of them from Denmark, four from Norway and two from Sweden.

Most of the various types of cruciform brooch of this phase are found in combination with the same types of dress-accessory. Two of the same brooch-types occur together in both graves and hoards, as

do brooches classified as individualistic. However, brooches of Type Lunde are the only type that occurs in both graves and hoards. Since there are very few hoards or caches, it is difficult to draw any inferences about to what extent the other main types of cruciform brooch were only deposited in burials and were not for deposition in hoards. At the same time, the cache from Jutland involving a cruciform brooch of Type Lunde could represent the deposition of an ‘alien’ brooch-type (cf. Ch. 4.1.3) since the core of this type’s distribution appears to lie further north, in the main Scandinavian peninsula.

4.2.1.5 Geographical distribution in phase D2a

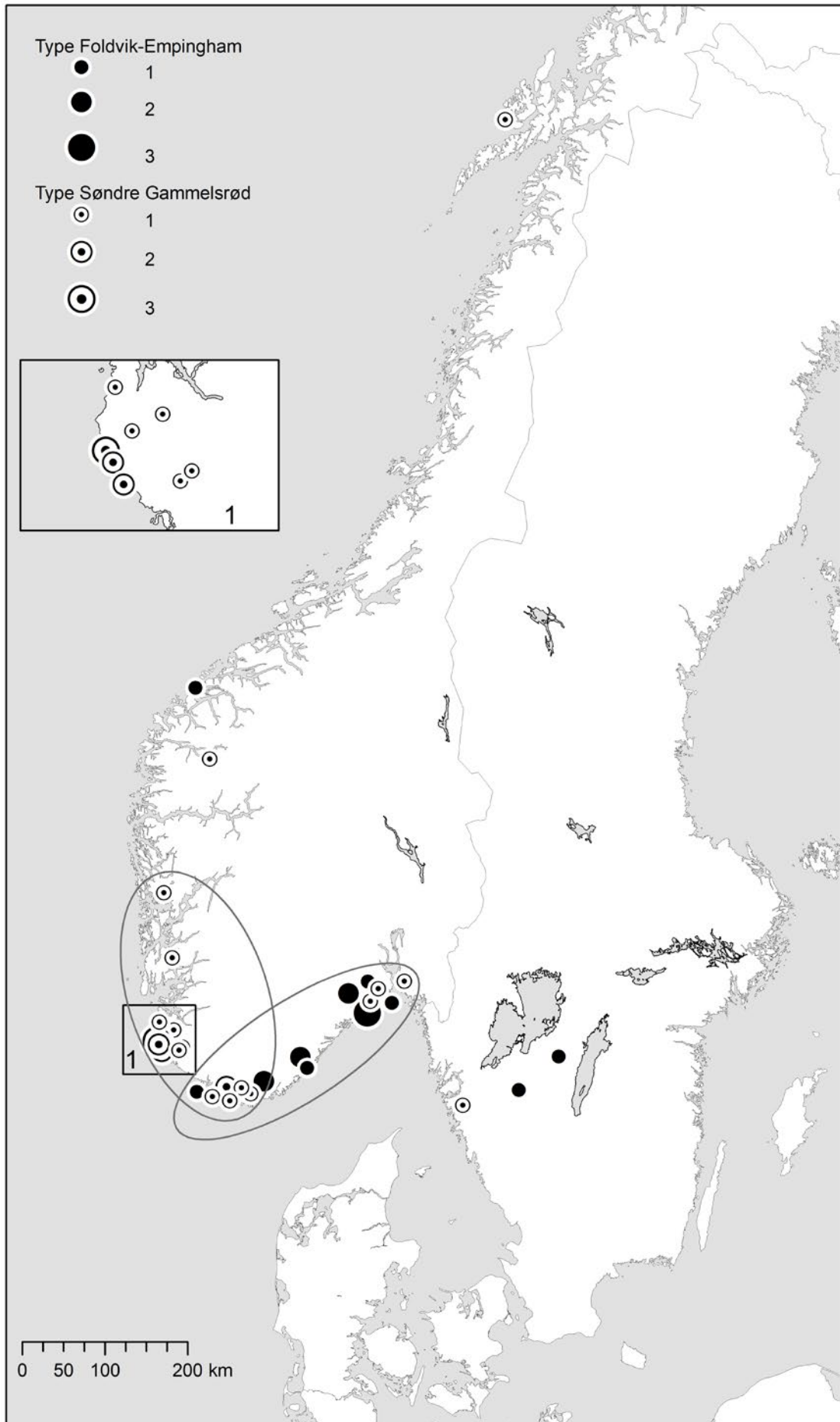
In phase D2a, the number of different brooch-types increases dramatically, as there are more than thirty different types found across Scandinavia (cf. above). The most populous types of the southern Norwegian group are Types *Søndre Gammelsrød* and *Foldvik-Empingham*, with 26²¹ and 16²² examples each (Map 4.5 shows the geographical distribution of these types). The two principal types appear to belong to two partially distinct regions within an extensive area of southern Norway: Type *Søndre Gammelsrød* in the south-west, in Rogaland and Vest-Agder, and Type *Foldvik-Empingham* along the coast from Vest-Agder up to and into Vestfold (Reichstein 1975:Abb. 4). Brooches of Type *Foldvik-Empingham* have also been found in Västergötland in Sweden, where there are two finds, with two brooches in total; there are also five brooches from four finds in England (Reichstein 1975:37, Abb. 4). Catherine Mortimer (1990:150), however, noted that the Scandinavian specimens are clearly different from those in England in that the bow is expanded in the middle with ‘points’. There is one common feature in the form of the two southern Norwegian types: that there is no animal head at the terminal of the foot. The brooches of Type *Søndre Gammelsrød* have a semi-circular or almost round terminal here, while on brooches of Type *Foldvik-Empingham* the foot terminates with a straight cut to produce a virtually triangular terminal (Fig. 4.5).

The other two southern Norwegian principal types, Types *Stoveland* and *Valandsmoen* (Fig. 4.6), have six and five examples each (Map 4.6). Only three of the former are from Scandinavia, though:

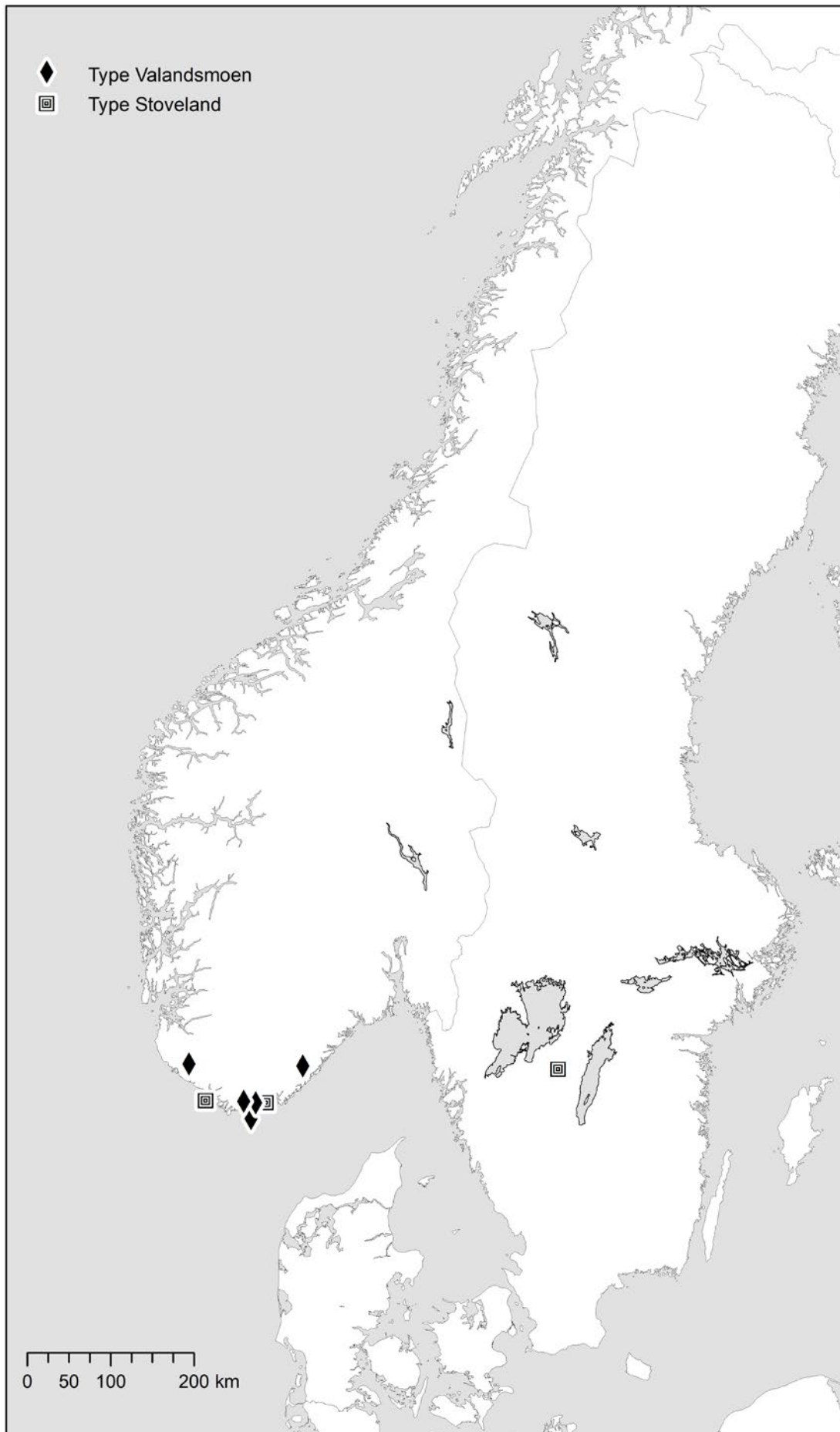
20 B728, Gejsfjorden, Herøy, Nordland; B2269–99, Hauge, Klepp, Rogaland.

21 This figure includes one find that Reichstein’s study did not include: C33591, from Hestehammeren av Gare, Sør-Audnedal, Vest-Agder. There are also three finds that are not included in this count but with brooches that are very similar to the type: SHM15718, ÅH669/3308/HT and C8867. These are included in the review of contexts, below.

22 This is the figure for Scandinavia. If the finds in England are included, the tally rises to 21. There is also an incomplete specimen that Reichstein (1975:116) classified as either Type *Foldvik-Empingham* or Type *Ådland*: C6071–7. This is not assigned to either of the sub-groups because of the uncertainty over classification, but it is included in the review of contexts, below.



Map 4.5 The distribution of Types Foldvik-Empingham and Søndre Gammelsrød.



Map 4.6 The distribution of Types Stoveland and Valandsmoen.

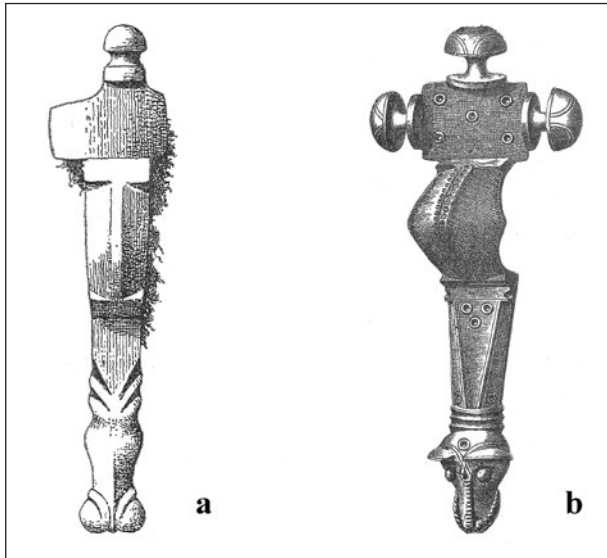


Figure 4.6 Cruciform brooches of Types **a**) Stoveland, from Stoveland, Aust-Agder (C8938) and **b**) Valandsmoen, from Ertseid, Vest-Agder (C9188), after Schetelig (1906:figs. 168 and 55), © University Museum of Bergen.

two from separate finds in Vest-Agder and one from Västergötland.²³ There are also two brooches from a single find in England and one from Schleswig-Holstein. This type thus appears to be a trans-regional form. The brooches of Type Valandsmoen are concentrated primarily in Vest-Agder.

Of Reichstein's four 'southern Norwegian' brooch-types, therefore, closer inspection suggests that only two, Types Foldvik-Empingham and Valandsmoen, really qualify for this description, while Type Søndre Gammelsrød would more accurately be described as 'south-western Norwegian' and so should belong to the large group of brooches which Reichstein labelled thus. Type Stoveland, meanwhile, can be considered a trans-regional type. Type Foldvik-Empingham also appears in Reichstein (1975) as a trans-regional type, but this has, as already noted, been rejected by Mortimer (1990:15), who added:

There are similarities between English and Scandinavian examples of Reichstein's Type Foldvik-Empingham, but only at a very general level. Certainly, none of the Scandinavian examples of Type Foldvik-Empingham could be mistaken for imports from other areas, since they mostly have pointed edges to their bows.

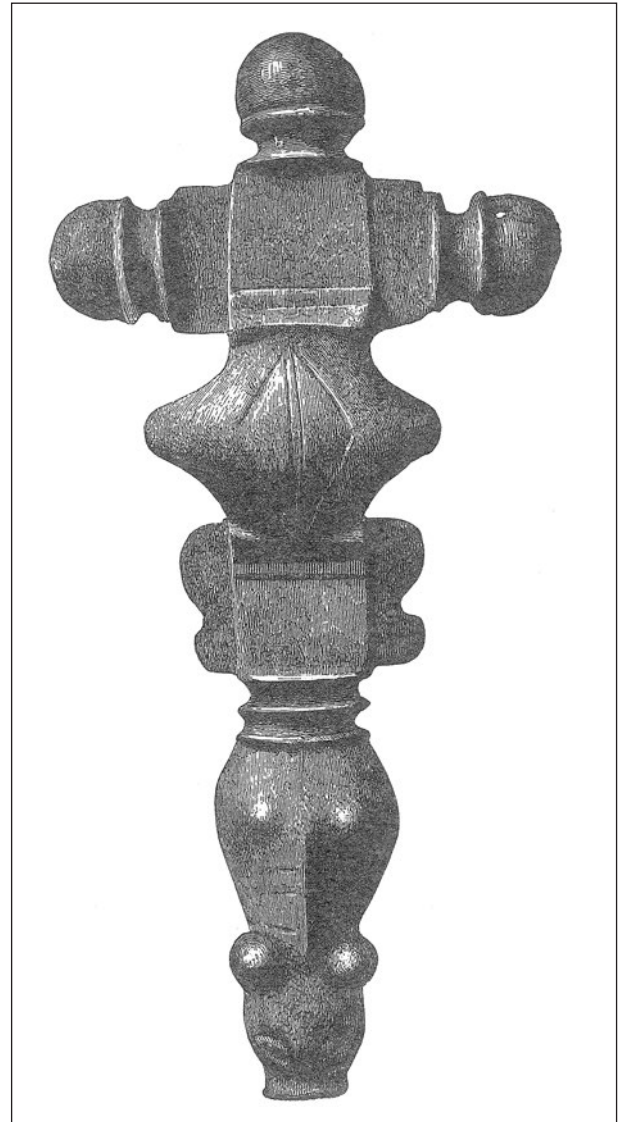
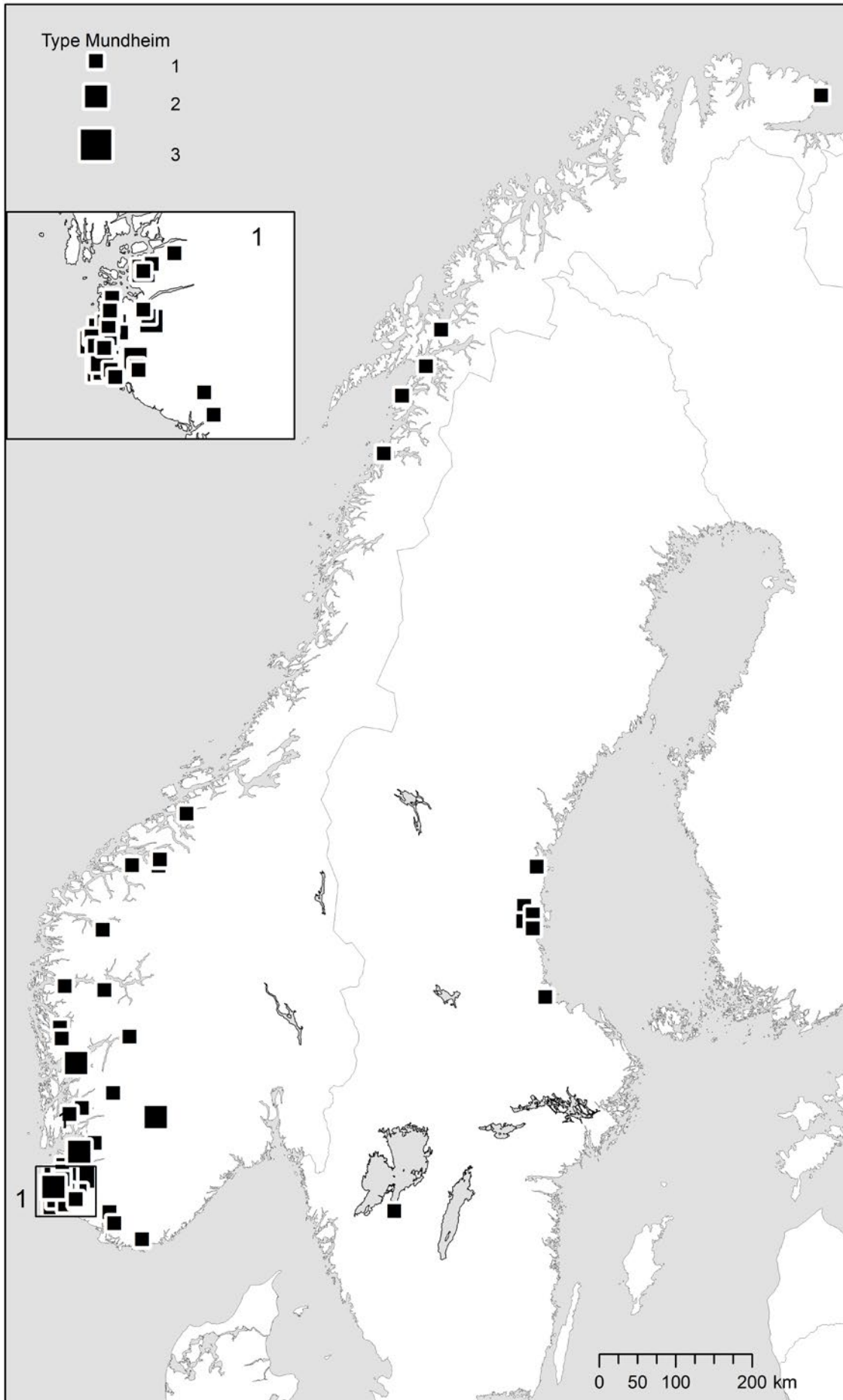


Figure 4.7 Cruciform brooch of Type Mundheim from Øksnevad, Klepp, Rogaland (B542), after Rygh (1885:fig. 252).

Reichstein's (1975:37–9) south-western Norwegian brooches consist of seven main or principal types: Types Mundheim, Ådland, Lima, Nøding, Byrkje, Varhaug and Sagland. Type Mundheim (Fig. 4.7) comprises no fewer than 72 brooches,²⁴ and is the most numerous of all the types. This is further sub-divided into eight different variants, while there is also a subgroup of brooches that should belong to variants 1, 4, 6 or 7 (15 brooches) but are too fragmentary to be able to be assigned to any particular variant with confidence. All of the variants except for variant 6 (represented by a single specimen from Møre og Romsdal) occur in

²³ There is also a fourth brooch of unknown provenance in Denmark that is similar to this type (Reichstein 1975:140, Cat. No. 521): HM, no number.

²⁴ There are six further brooches which are regarded as related to the type: T2069–73 (two brooches), B5984, B2476, C1286–8, S2848/S5372. Two fragmentary brooches also probably belong to this type: T16105 and S9326.



Map 4.7 The distribution of Type Mundheim.

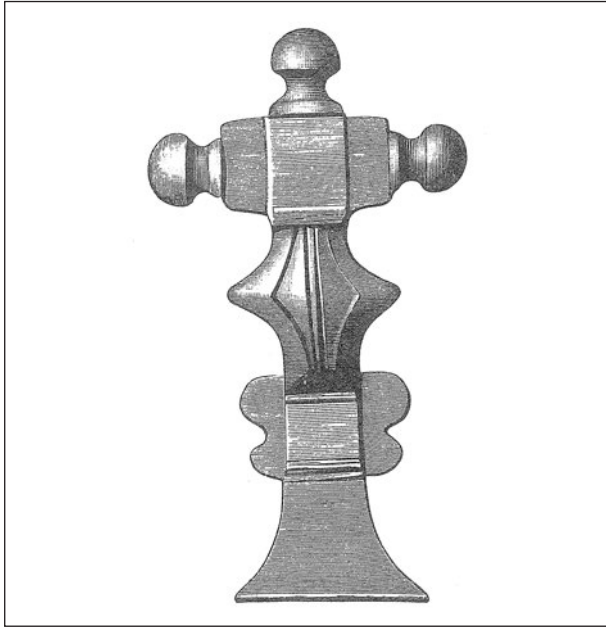


Figure 4.8 Cruciform brooch of Type Lima from Tjøtta, Klepp, Rogaland (C4924), after Rygh (1885:fig. 253).

Rogaland, where the group as a whole is also clearly most densely concentrated, with 39 brooches²⁵ from 32 finds. Despite this massive clustering of the type in Rogaland, which accounts for around half of the known corpus of this brooch-type, its distribution otherwise

covers an extensive area which comprises the entirety of the Norwegian coast in the south-west and west, and northwards up to Troms (except for Trøndelag), plus a small cluster along the eastern coast of Sweden alongside the Gulf of Bothnia (Map 4.7; Reichstein 1975:Abb. 5). The term 'south-western Norwegian' may therefore seem rather too narrow, bearing in mind that the type has quite a wide geographical distribution within the main Scandinavian peninsula, as well as its huge concentration in Rogaland. The latter is nevertheless striking.

The northernmost find of this brooch-type is from Finnmark, in such an unusual context that it should be noted. The find was made deep within the North Saami area which at that date extended along the coast south to Sør-Troms, and further south in the interior (cf. Ch. 7.1.2). The brooch was found in what is known as a Saami scree grave, an inhumation grave in a re-lined cave (Schanche 2000:115, 219, 391; Sjøvold 1962:118).

Type Lima (Fig. 4.8) is another large group, with 29 brooches.²⁶ Once again there is a concentration in Rogaland, consisting of 19 brooches from 14 separate finds (Map. 4.8). The remaining five brooch-types of south-western Norway are less populous (Maps 4.9–4.10). Type Ådland (Fig. 4.9a) has eight

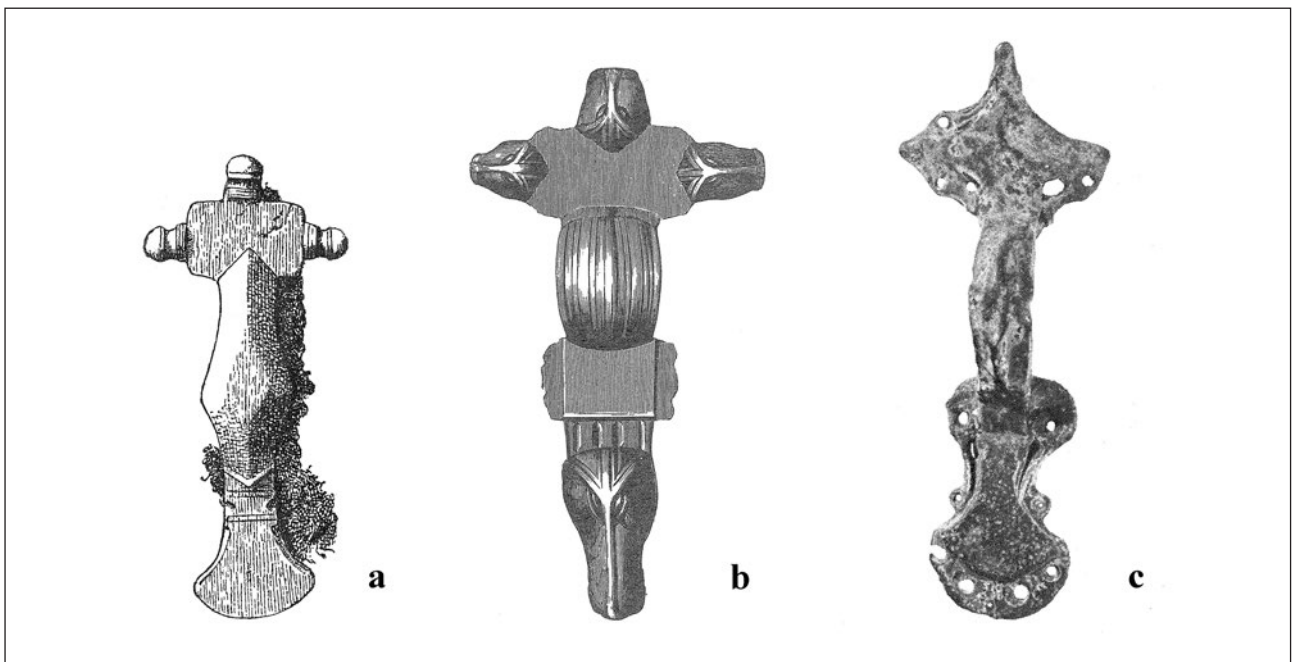
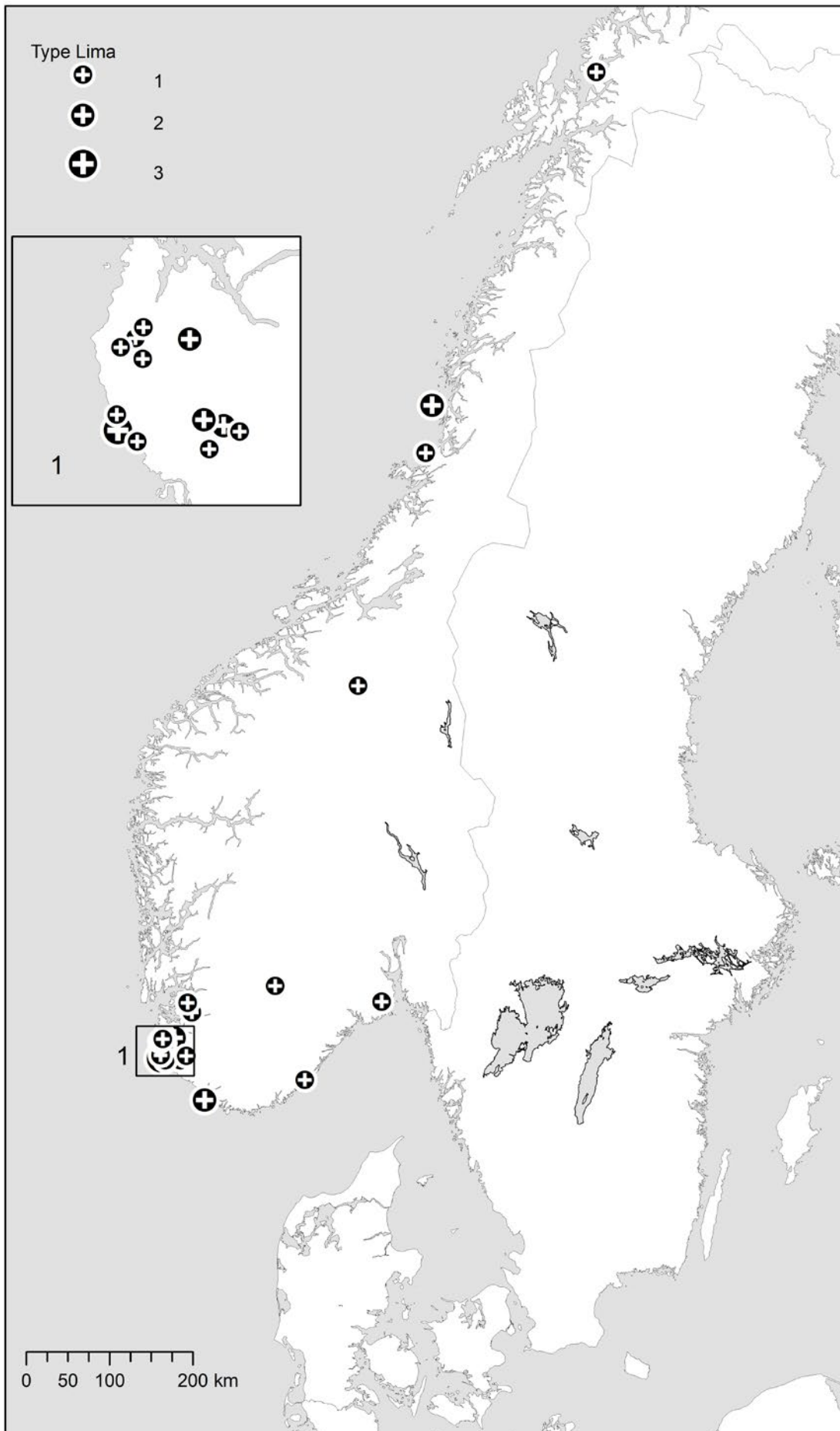


Figure 4.9 Cruciform brooches of Types **a**) Ådland, from Lunde, Lista, Vest-Agder (BB4234), after Schetelig (1906:fig. 108), © University Museum of Bergen, **b**) Byrkje, of unknown provenance (B451), after Rygh (1885:fig. 251), and **c**) Sagland, from Varhaug, Hå, Rogaland (S6450), after Reichstein (1975:Tafel 41.9).

²⁵ 43, if brooches similar to Type Mundheim are included. See the preceding footnote.

²⁶ There are four further brooches that are very similar to Type Lima: T13164/12570, C7388, SHM31286/A5 and SM3242–6. These are included in the analysis of contexts, below.



Map 4.8 The distribution of Type Lima.

examples²⁷ concentrated in Vest-Agder and Rogaland. Type Byrkje (Fig. 4.9b) has four examples from Scandinavia, although two further brooches from the Netherlands and England are identified as ‘related types’ (my translation) (Reichstein 1975:39). Within Norway, this type may represent a local form that is found primarily in Rogaland. Type Sagland (Fig. 4.9c), with four brooches, Type Varhaug (Fig. 4.10a), with four brooches, and Type Nøding (Fig. 4.10b), with two brooches, also appear to be local forms: the former two in Rogaland and the latter in Vest-Agder (Reichstein 1975:38–9; for the distribution map of these types, see also Reichstein 1975:Abb. 5–6).

Three of the four western Norwegian brooch-types – Types Mo, Skaim, Draugsvoll and Skjervum (Fig. 4.11) – are clearly local types that occur only within a single province. Types Skaim and Mo are represented by three and nine examples respectively, all from Sogn og Fjordane.²⁸ These two types also have many common features. On both types, for instance, the uppermost section of the foot immediately below the bow is formed as a plate that is wider than the bow but which tapers in towards the animal head. A relatively wide form of headplate is also shared by these two types (Reichstein 1975:40; see Tafn. 51:7, 54 and 55:6). I shall argue, therefore, that these

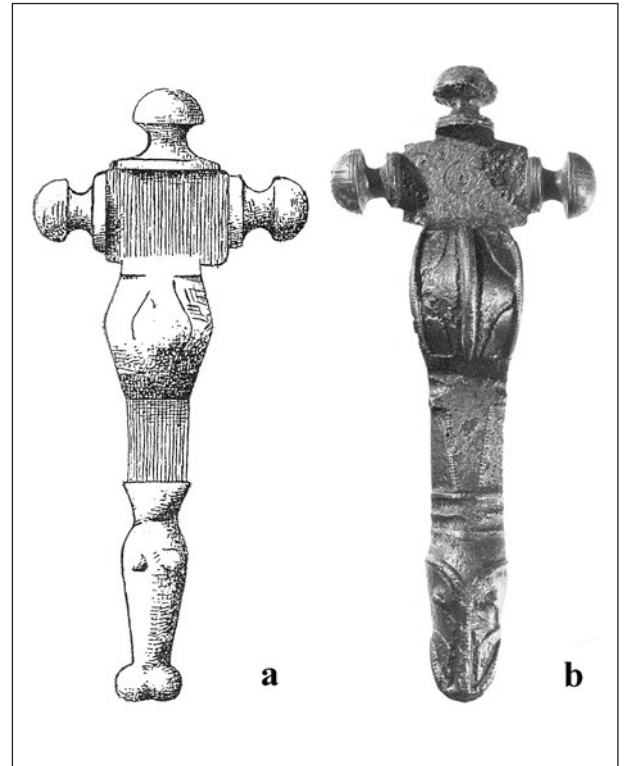


Figure 4.10 Cruciform brooches of Types **a)** Varhaug, from Varhaug, Hå, Rogaland (S1559), after Schetelig (1906:fig. 87), © University Museum of Bergen, and **b)** Nøding, from Valandsmoen, Mandal, Vest-Agder (C976), after Reichstein (1975:Taf. 22.3).

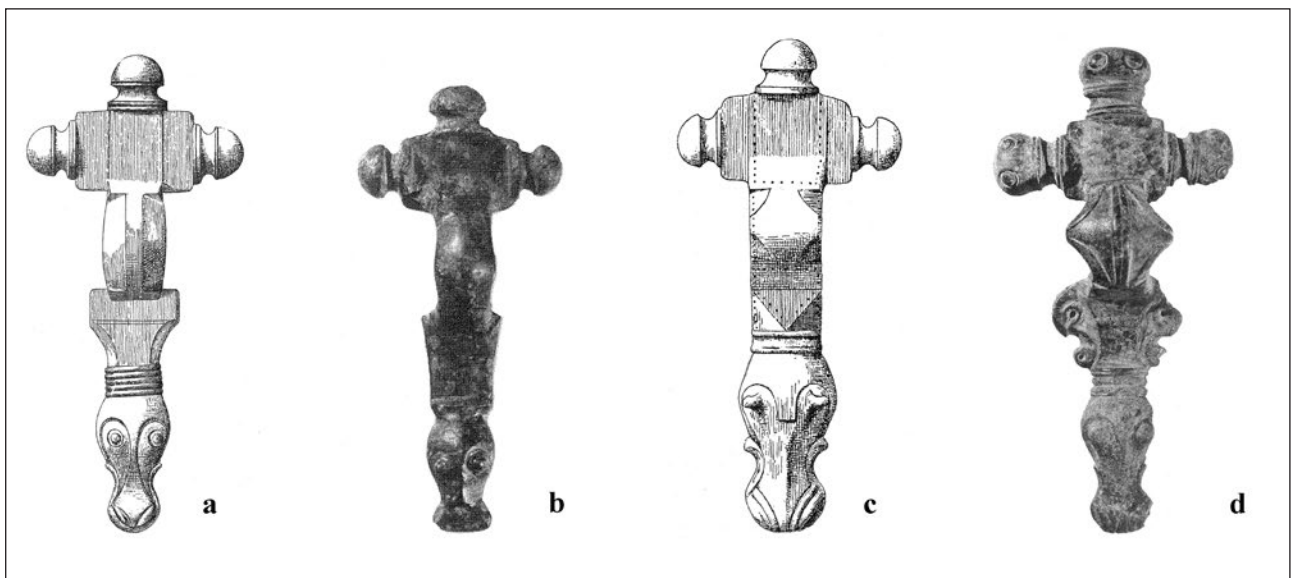


Figure 4.11 Cruciform brooches of Types **a)** Mo, from Mo, Førde, Sogn og Fjordane (B2828), after Schetelig (1906:fig. 84), © University Museum of Bergen, **b)** Skaim, from Skaim, Aurland, Sogn og Fjordane (B8552), © University Museum of Bergen, **c)** Draugsvoll, from Draugsvoll, Voss, Hordaland (B4353), after Schetelig (1906:fig. 83), © University Museum of Bergen, and **d)** Skjervum, from Skjervum, Vik, Sogn og Fjordane (B8830b), Photograph: Ann-Mari Olsen. © University Museum of Bergen.

²⁷ Reichstein (1975:39) refers to five specimens but this figure does not agree with the total count in the finds referred to as of this type.

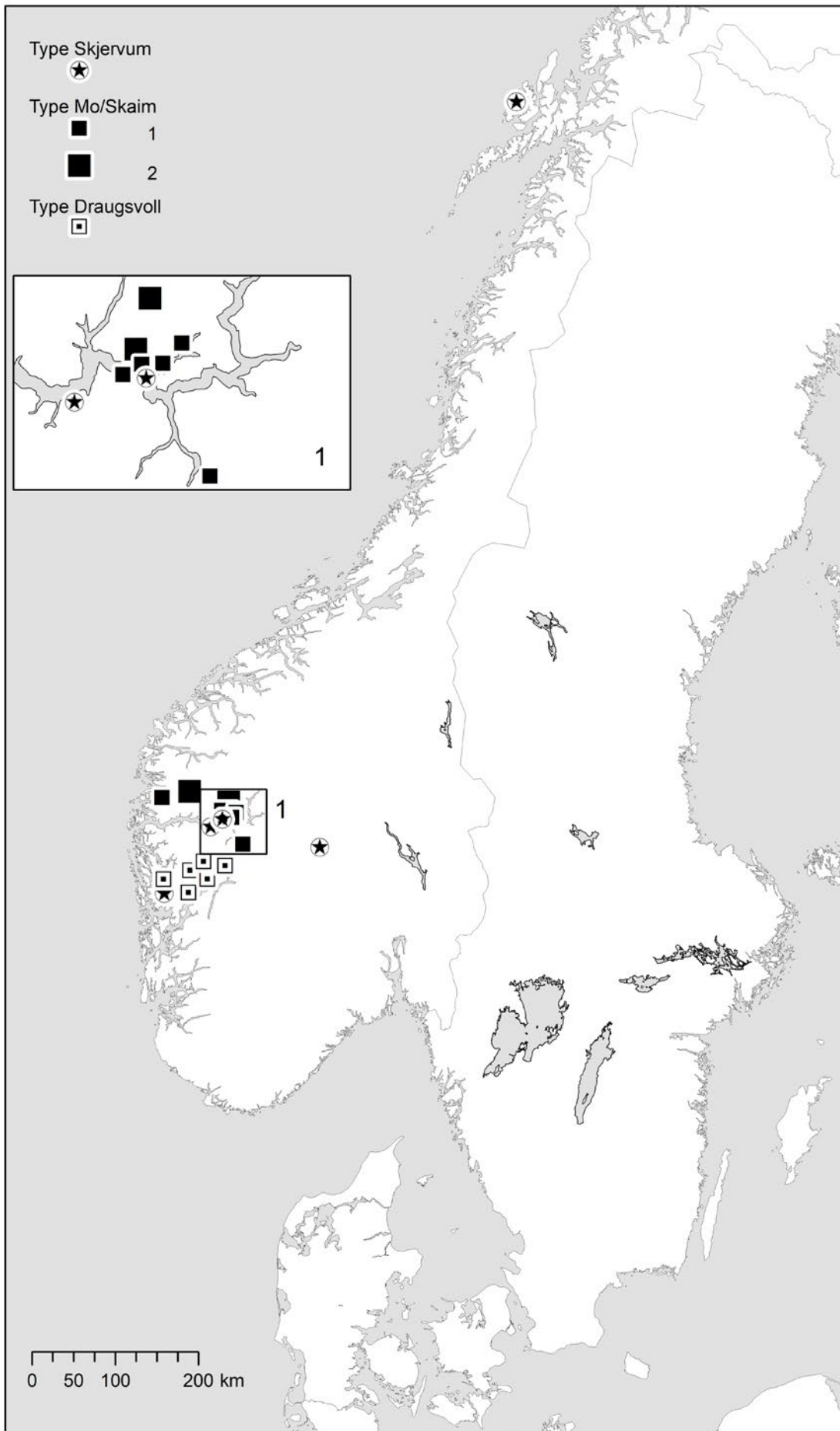
²⁸ There is also a find from Vindblæs, Jutland (C8719), and another from Store Hatlø, Møre og Romsdal (Å995–6), which are similar to Types Mo/Skaim. The latter find is damaged, so that it is difficult to determine the type. These two finds are included in the analysis of contexts, below.



Map 4.9 The distribution of Types Ådland, Byrkje and Sagland.



Map 4.10 The distribution of Types Varhaug and Nøding.



Map 4.11 The distribution of Types Mo/Skaim, Draugsvoll and Skjervum.

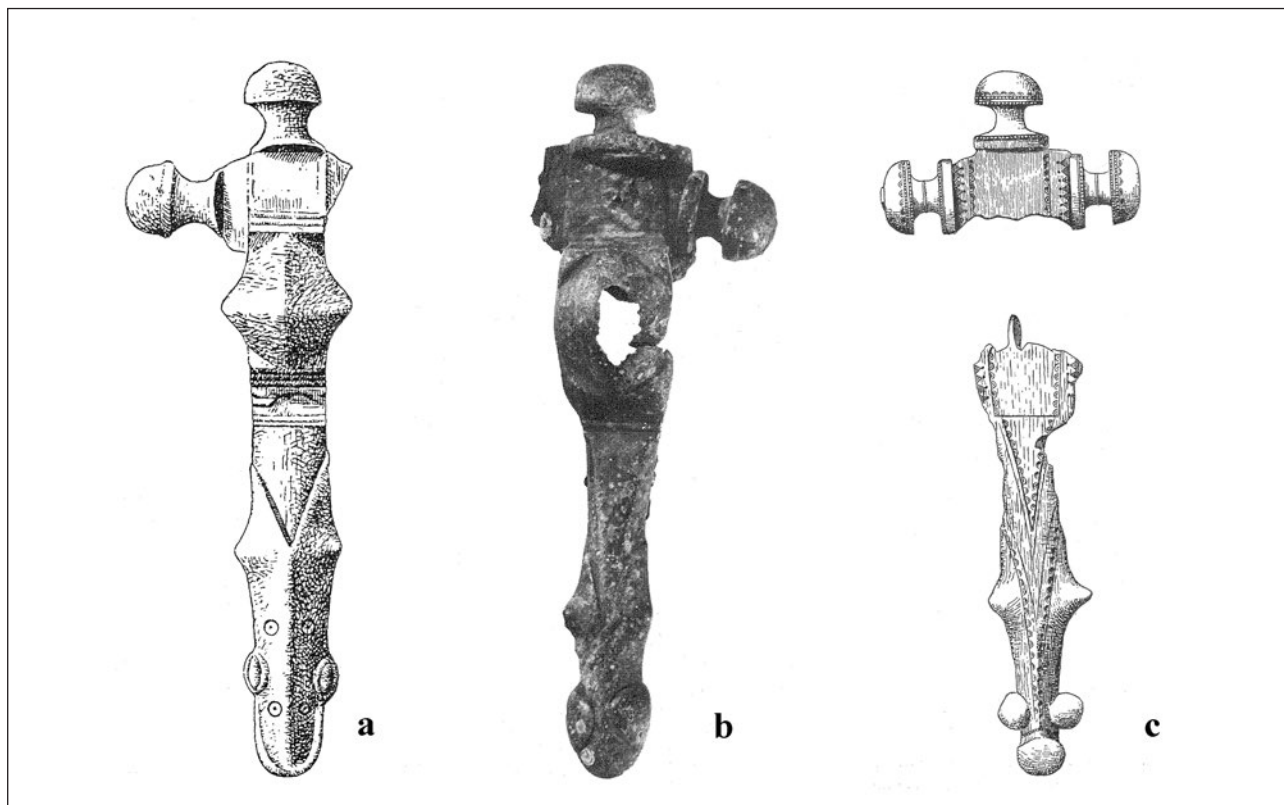


Figure 4.12 Cruciform brooches of Types **a**) Skogøya, from Dirdal, Rogaland (C3457), after Schetelig (1906:fig. 74), © University Museum of Bergen, **b**) Volstad, from Voldstad, Troms (T32378), after Reichstein (1975:Tafel 58.5) and **c**) Eidsbukten, from an unknown farm, Rauma, Møre og Romsdal (B444), after Schetelig (1906:fig. 40), © University Museum of Bergen.

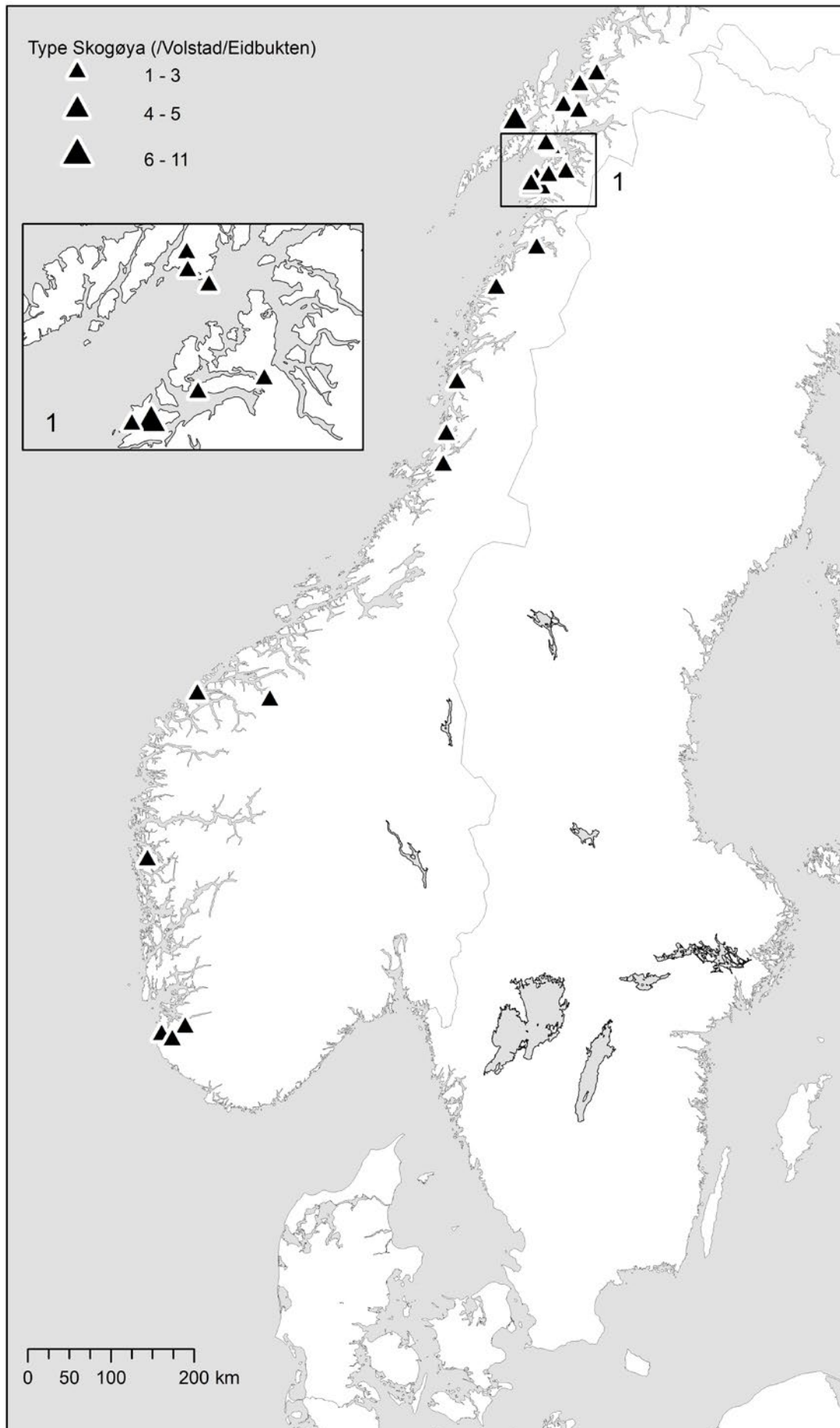
ought rather to be classified as variants of one type, and I treat them as a single group in what follows. The final local type amongst the western Norwegian brooches is Type Draugsvoll, with six examples from six different finds in Hordaland (Map 4.11). Four of these finds are from a single district, Voss (Reichstein 1975:40, Abb. 7).

The only one of the western Norwegian brooch-types that is found in more than one province is Type Skjervum. This is represented by five brooches, from Sogn og Fjordane (two brooches from two finds), Hordaland, Oppland and Nordland (one find, with a single brooch, in each case). However Type Skjervum shares many features with Type Mundheim variant 2. Both types have knobs in the form of masks attached to the headplate: in the case of Type Skjervum this applies to all three knobs, while for Type Mundheim variant 2 it applies only to the central knob. The main difference between these two types is that Type Skjervum has clearly modelled profile heads below the bow, perforated in many cases, while Type Mundheim variant 2 has an animal head with 'nostrils' and a 'snout'

formed of three masks (Reichstein 1975:38, 40; cf. Tafn. 43:7 and 48:2). Despite this difference, there is a marked similarity between the two types, and it may be contended that Type Skjervum should really also be counted as a sub-type of Type Mundheim. On the other hand, there are also features shared between Types Mo, Skjervum and Draugsoll in that they have a similar finish to the animal head (Reichstein 1975:4), which gives them a consistent character even though they clearly differ amongst themselves in respect of the form of other details. I have opted, as a result, to hold to Reichstein's classification and to treat this as a distinct group. At all events, the brooches of Type Skjervum do reinforce the coherency of a western Norwegian area, whether this be a distinct sub-type or not.

The brooches in the northern Norwegian group comprise two types of very different size: Type Skogøya, with 41 examples,²⁹ and Type Volstad with two. Type Skogøya (Fig. 4.12a) is found primarily in Nordland and Troms, while the two finds of Type Volstad (Fig. 4.12b) are from Møre og Romsdal and

²⁹ There are two further examples, from Krejberg, Viborg amt, Jutland (C5411) and Myren av Kjerringvåg, Hitra, Sør-Trøndelag, (T15490) respectively, that are similar to this type. The find from Krejberg will be included in the analysis of contexts, below. The find from Myren cannot be securely identified as a cache, and so will not be included in that analysis.



Map 4.12 The distribution of Types Skogøya/Volstad/Eidsbukten.

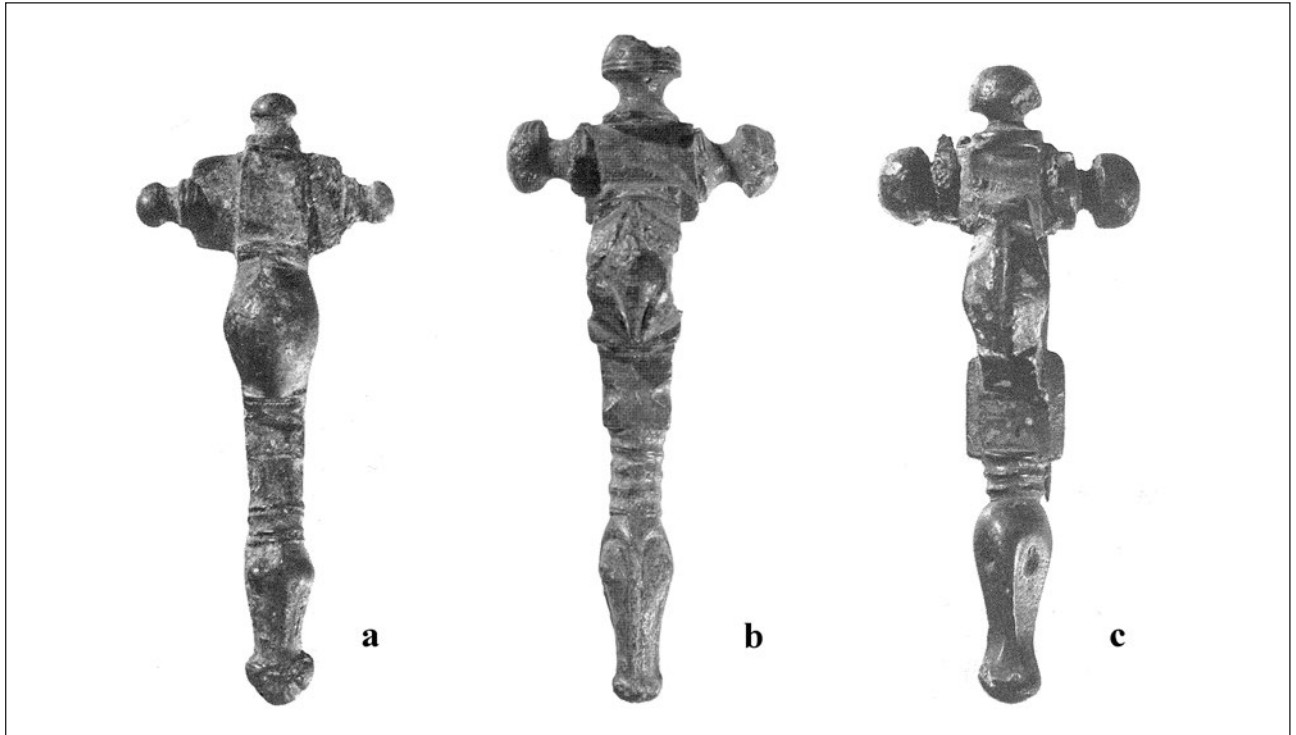
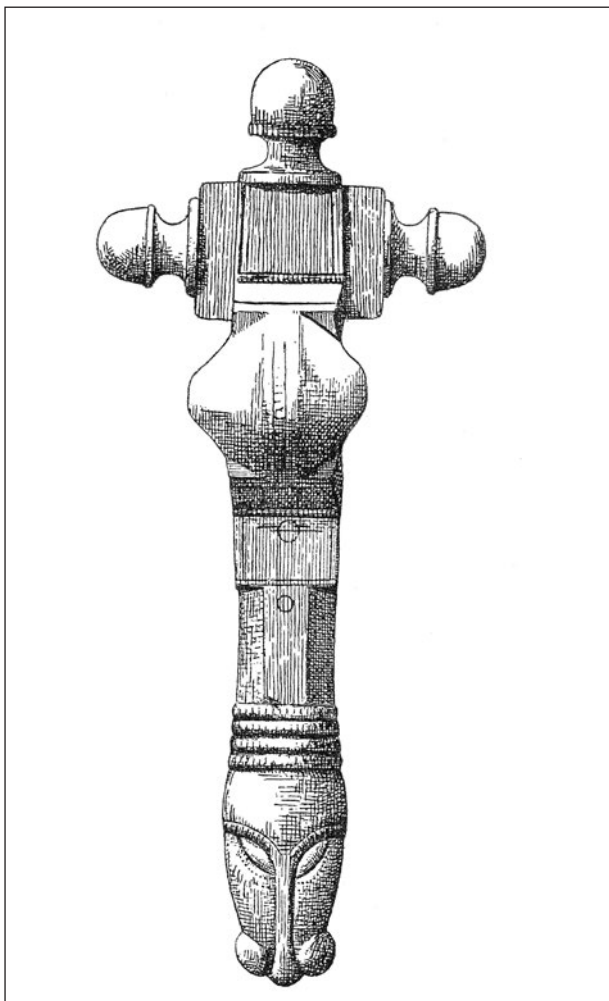


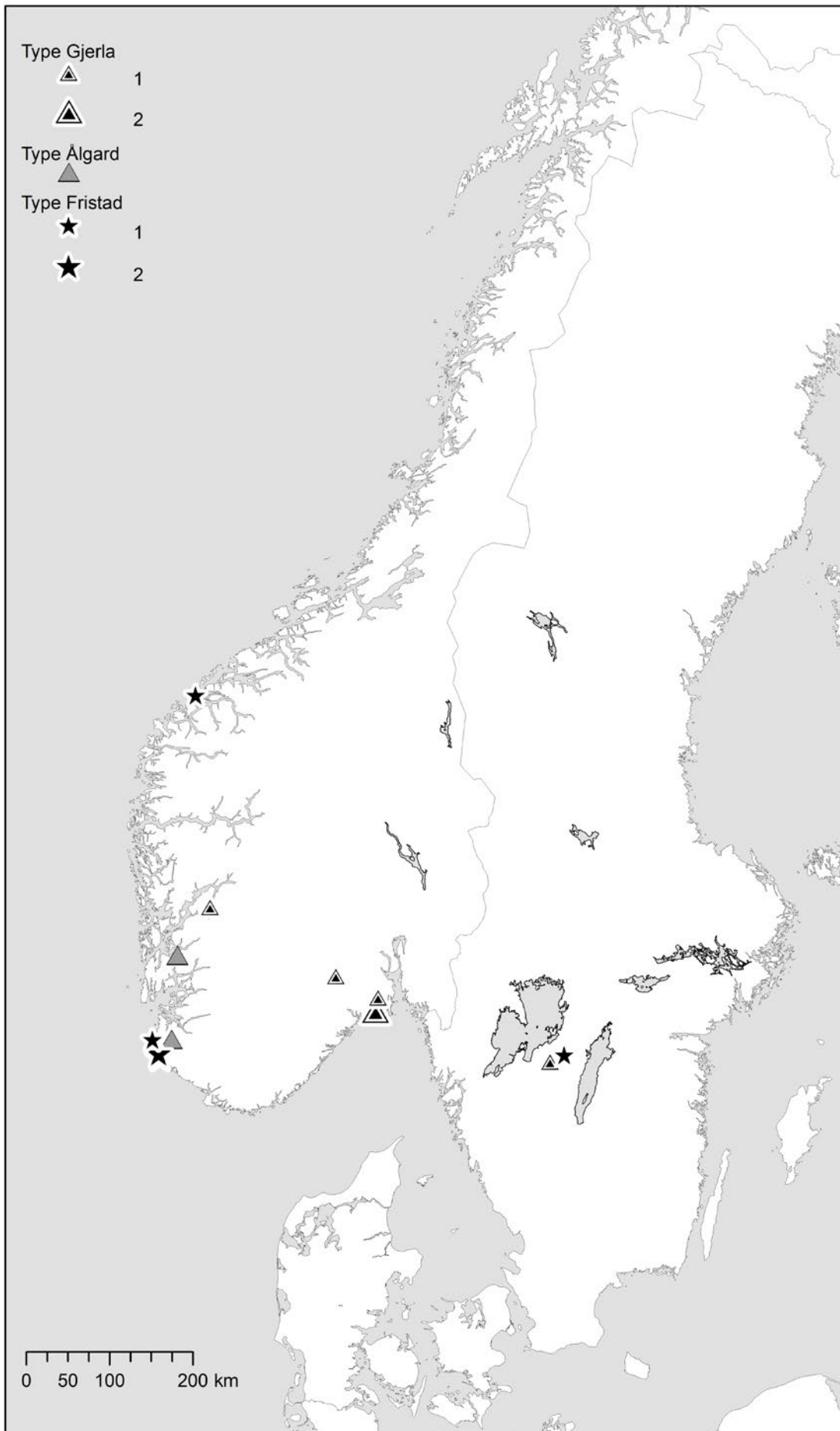
Figure 4.13 Cruciform brooches of Types **a**) Gjerla, from Måge, Ullensvang, Hordaland (B5733b), Photograph: Olav Espevoll. © University Museum of Bergen, **b**) Ålgard, from Ålgard, Gjesdal, Rogaland (S2035), and **c**) Fristad, from Bø, Hå, Rogaland (S828), © Arkeologisk Museum, University of Stavanger (CC BY-NC-ND 3.0).



from Troms (Reichstein 1975:40). The finish of the foot is very similar on these two types, with a faceted, triangular field that reaches a point down by the animal head, and an animal head with emphasized ears and protruding nostrils to the side. What distinguishes these brooch-types from one another, as defined by Reichstein (1975:4), is that brooches of Type Skogøya have more triangular nostrils, contrasting with the more rounded forms on the specimens of Type Volstad, and that the animal head has a sort of marked ridge or a sharp axial line continuing on from the triangular faceted field on Type Skogøya. Type Volstad can consequently, in my view, readily be considered a variant of Type Skogøya, and this view is adopted here (Map 4.12: note that this distribution map also shows the find spot of Type Eidsbukten, as I categorize this as being of the same type as the other two brooch-types referred to here; see below).

Types Gjerla, Ålgard, Fristad, Eidsbukten and Stedje are probably also to be dated to phase D2a (cf. above). Type Gjerla (Fig. 4.13a) is represented by six brooches and appears as primarily a southern Norwegian brooch-type. Type Ålgard (Fig. 4.13b) has just two brooches. The manner in which the animal

Figure 4.14 Cruciform brooches of Type Stedje from Stedje, Sogndal (B4640), Sogn og Fjordane, after Schetelig (1906:fig. 80), © University Museum of Bergen.



Map 4.13 The distribution of Types Gjerla, Ålgard and Fristad.

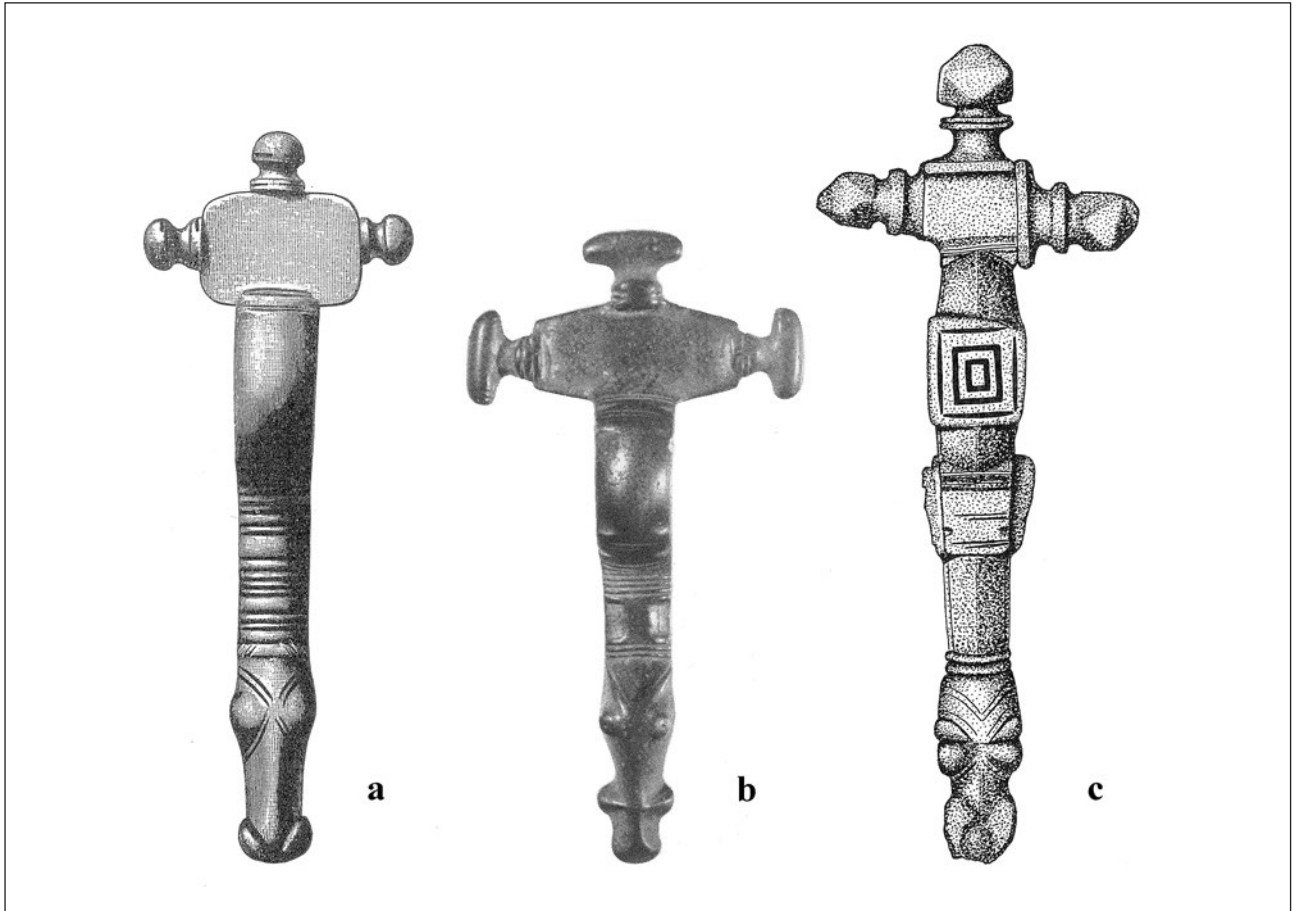


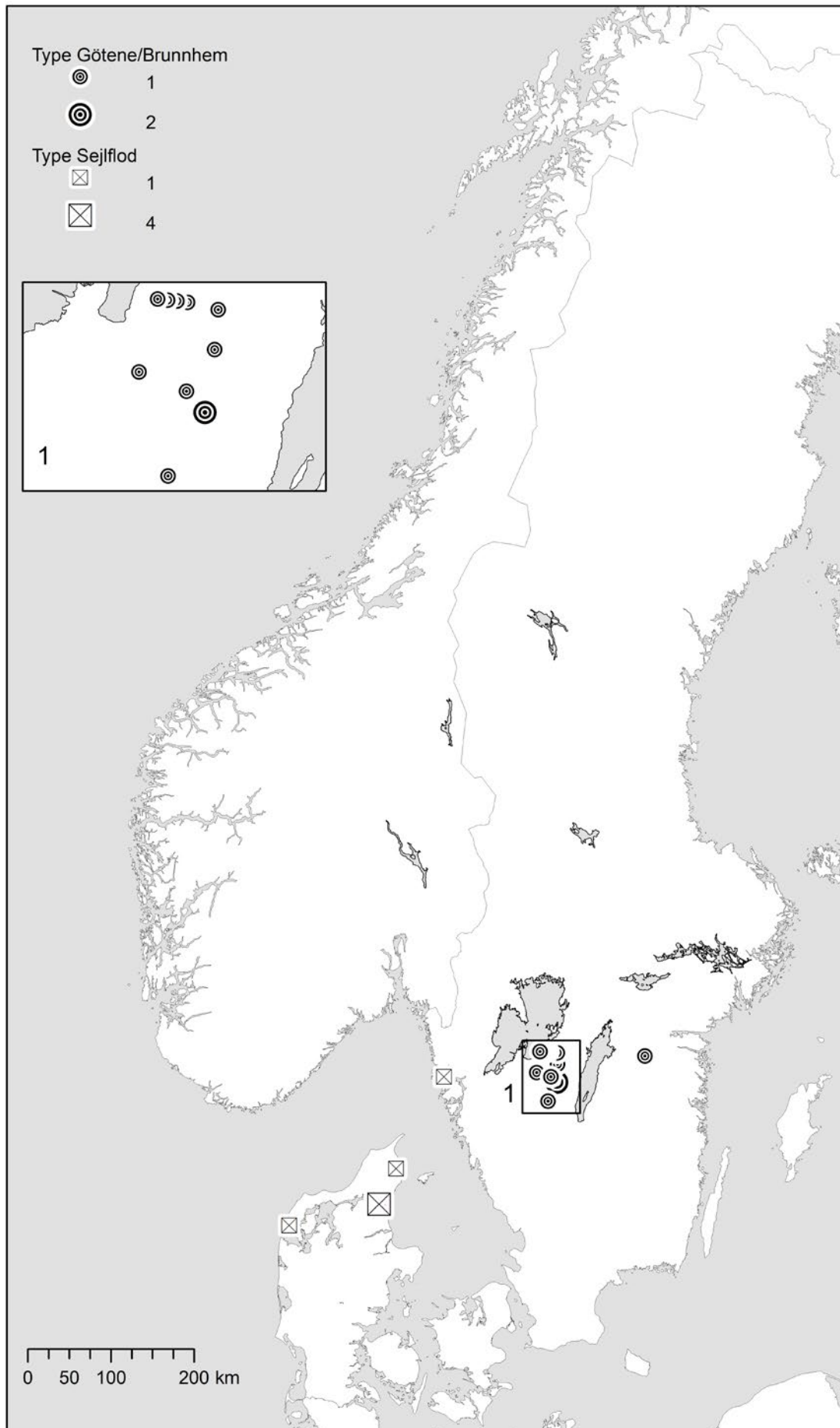
Figure 4.15 Cruciform brooches of Types **a**) Götene, from Stångebro, Östergötland (SHM9589/37), after Salin (1904:fig. 454), **b**) Brunnhem, from Jättene, Bosgården, Västergötland (SHM6261), after Reichstein (1975:Tafel 73.4) and **c**) Sejlflod, (variant 1) from Sejlflod, Jutland (grave IZ), after Nielsen (2000:106, x1293).

head is formed with a ‘mask-like frame surrounding the animal head’ is broadly similar to several late western Norwegian brooch-forms (Types Mo, Skaim, Skjervum and Draugsvoll) and a local form of south-western Norway from Vest-Agder (Type Nøding) (Reichstein 1975:71). A similar animal head is found on Type Fristad (Fig. 4.13c), which is represented by five examples. Both of these types can be seen as south-western Norwegian (Map 4.13). Type Eidbukten (Fig. 4.12c), with two finds from Nordland and Møre og Romsdal, shares several features in the form of the foot with Type Skogøya, and was defined by Reichstein (1975:45) as a hybrid form between Type Skogøya and Type Mundheim. My own view is that this brooch-type should instead be regarded as a sub-group or variant of Type Skogøya, along with Type Volstad – in other words, as a northern Norwegian type. Consequently I count this type here in with Type Skogøya. Type Stedje (Fig. 4.14) has three examples. One find is of unknown provenance in Norway and the other two are from Sogn og Fjordane and Vest-Agder respectively.

The specimens of unknown provenance and from Sogn og Fjordane are very similar, possibly identical (Reichstein 1975:Taf. 115:1–2). The example from Vest-Agder³⁰ has been damaged below the eyes so that it is difficult to say whether or not this brooch is completely similar to the other two in the form of the animal head, although this specimen does differ a little in having an almost parallel-sided bow. It is also difficult, on the basis of these finds, to determine whether or not this brooch-type is to be counted as a south-western or just a western Norwegian type.

The two Swedish types, Type Götene and Type Brunnhem (Fig. 4.15a–b), with ten and two brooches respectively, are both reckoned as distinct Västergötland local forms (Reichstein 1975:75; Map 4.14). The types are so similar that I count them as one (see Reichstein 1975:Tafn. 72–4). I have argued, above, for the identification of a distinct northern Jutlandic type in this phase, Type Sejlflod (Fig. 4.1), of which there are two variants with a total of seven brooches from the same number of finds: six in Jutland

30 C56701.



Map 4.14 The distribution of Types Götene/Brunnhem and Sejlflod. The four spots in a line in box 1 represent finds of unknown provenance in Västergötland.

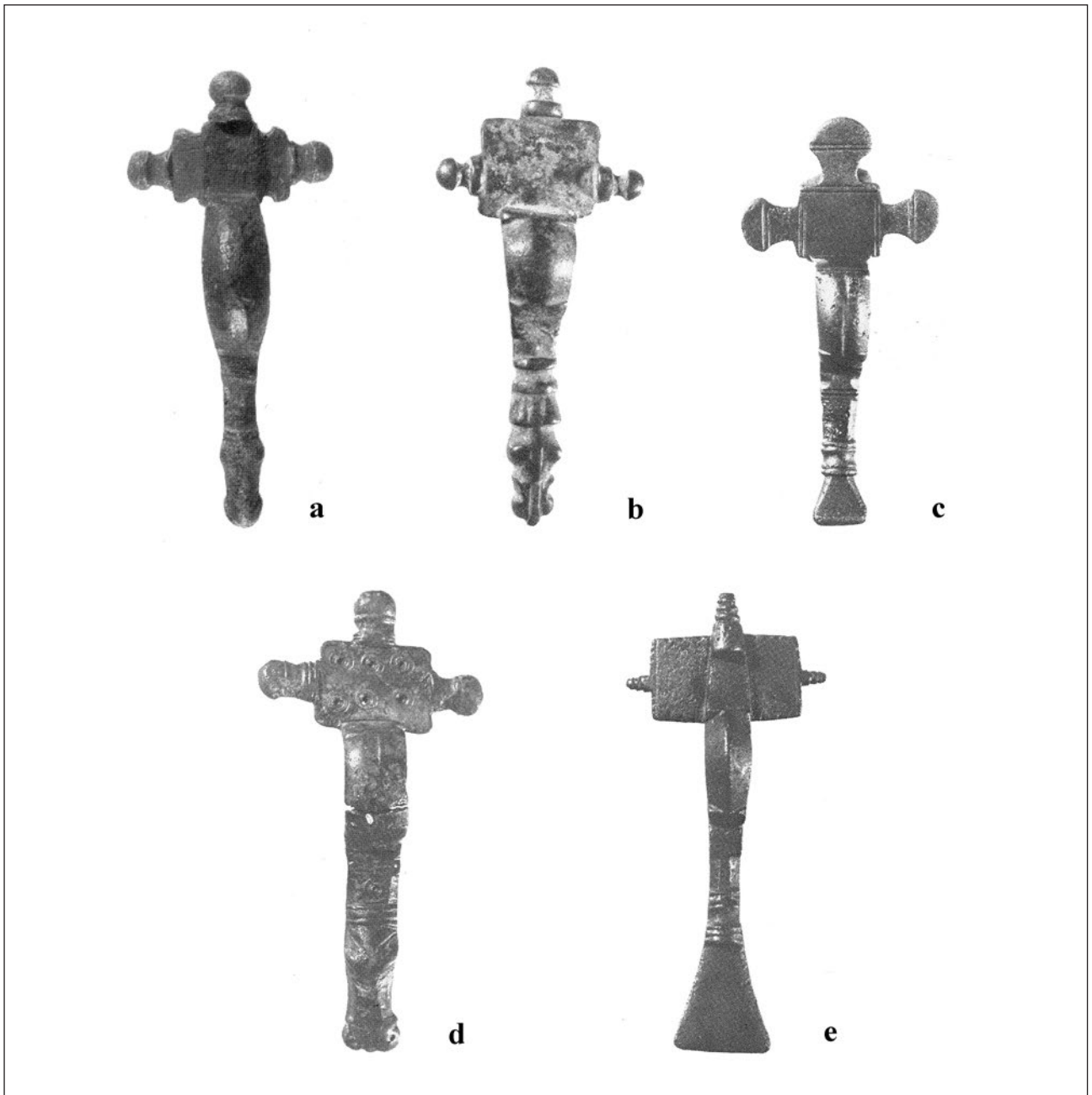


Figure 4.16 Cruciform brooches of Types **a** Midlum, of unknown provenance, Denmark (C6396), **b** Krefeld-Gellep, from Barrington, Cambridgeshire, **c** Bradwell and **d** Barrington, from Little Wilbraham, Cambridgeshire, and **e** Lyminge, from Lyminge, Kent, after Reichstein (1975:Tafn. 84.2, 89.8, 98.4, 100.7, 101.5).

and one from Bohuslän (Map 4.14). Four brooches are from one grave each in the cemetery of Sejlflod in the Aalborg region while the two other Jutlandic finds are from the Hjørring and Thisted regions respectively. The brooch from Store Stensingsmark, Hjørring,³¹ has a broken foot, so its classification is somewhat uncertain, although the specimen is very similar to a brooch of Type Sejlflod (variant 1) from Hamrevik in Bohuslän with spiral-ornamented pressed silver foil on the bow – which it had probably also had on the

headplate, like the specimen from Store Stensingsmark (see Reichstein 1975:Taf. 120:6). This brooch is therefore counted as part of this group here.

There have been, respectively, three and two examples of the Continental Types Midlum and Krefeld-Gellep found (Fig. 4.16a–b), all of them in Denmark. The English Types Bradwell, Barrington and Lyminge (Fig. 4.16c–e) are represented in Scandinavia by two, two and one examples respectively. Both of the brooches of Type Bradwell were found in Västergötland, in two

31 C26076.



Map 4.15 The distribution of Continental types of cruciform brooch in Scandinavia in Phase D2a.

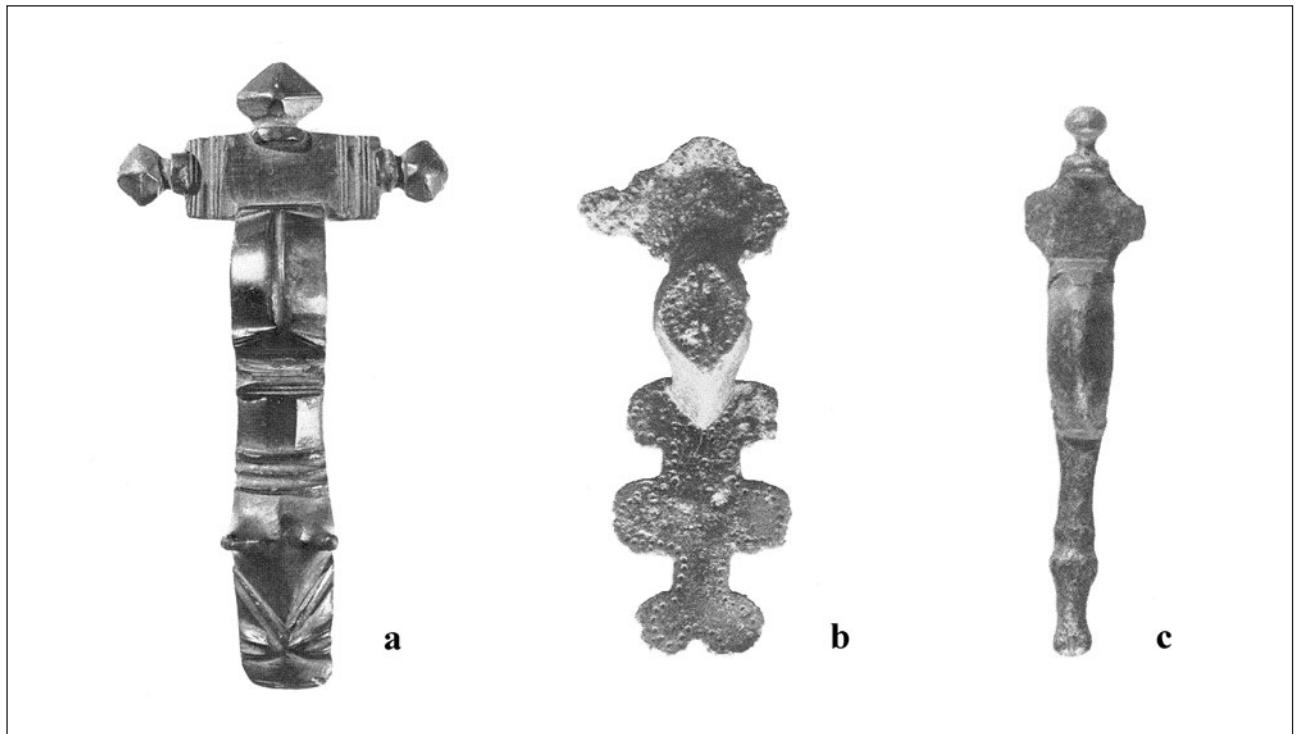


Figure 4.17 Cruciform brooches of Types **a**) Hasle, from Saugstadviken, Ringsaker, Hedmark (C24800), **b**) Oxbøl, from Oxbøl, Jutland (C.1.avd.Ox37), and **c**) Hjelmbede, from Hjelmbede, Jutland (C16842), after Reichstein (1975:Tafn. 113.8, 114.4 and 115.6).

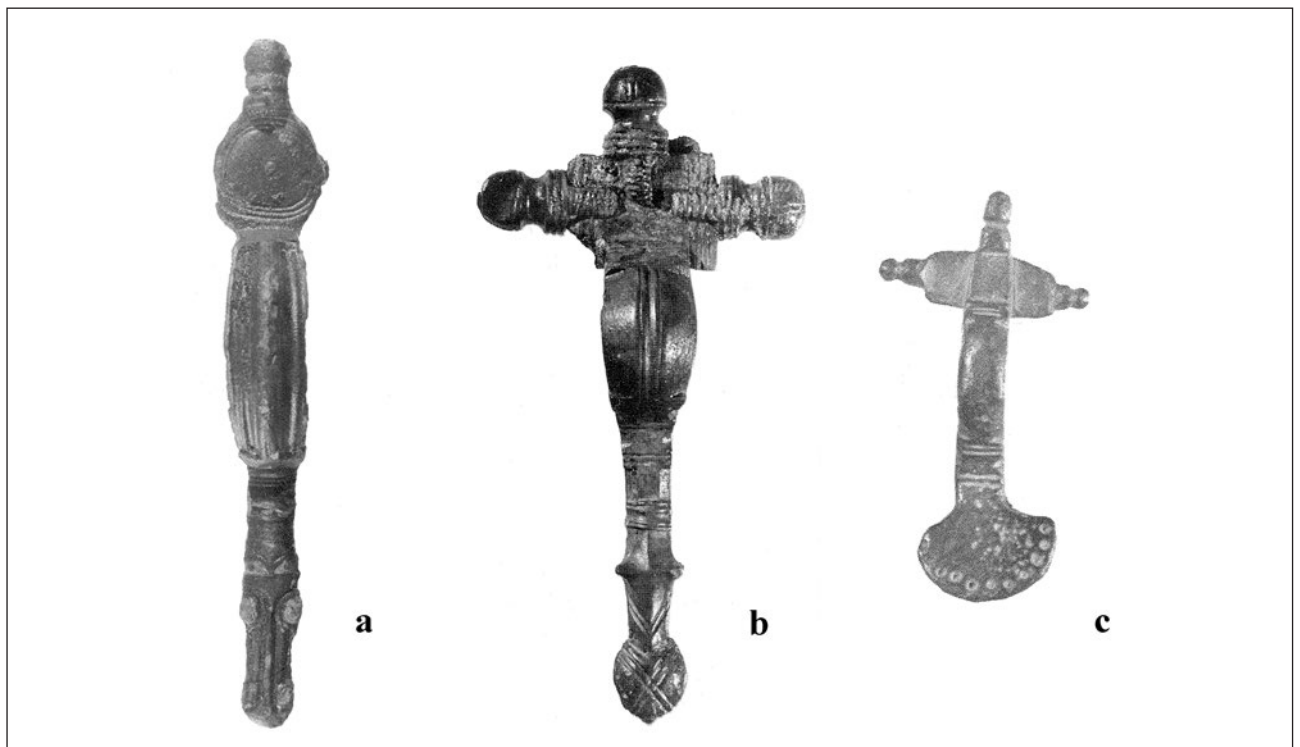


Figure 4.18 Cruciform brooches of Types **a**) Bützfleht, from Holmslund, Jutland (C2771), **b**) Trumpington, from Skogen, Vestfold (C19769) and **c**) Feering, of unknown provenance, Skåne (SHM1518), after Reichstein (1975:Tafn. 117.7, 116.6 and 107.7).

different contexts, while the two of Type Barrington are from Småland and Västergötland. The brooch of Type Lyminge is from Hordaland (Map 4.15).

Of brooch-types with a less secure dating within this phase, Type Hasle (Fig. 4.17a) consists of just two brooches, found in eastern Norway, in Østfold and Hedmark. Type Oxbøl (Fig. 4.17b) is represented by one specimen from Jutland and two in England, while Type Hjelmhede (Fig. 4.17c) has been found in Jutland (one example), Schleswig-Holstein and England (six examples) (Reichstein 1975:45–6). Type Bützfleht (Fig. 4.18a) has three examples found in Scandinavia: two in Jutland and one in Rogaland. Two brooches of the English Type Trumpington (Fig. 4.18b) are known from a grave-assemblage from Vestfold. The English Type Feering (Fig. 4.18c) occurs in two Scandinavian finds, one in Nordland and the other in Skåne. This type is dated to phase D2b and has to be regarded as exceptional since in this phase cruciform brooches had fallen out of use in Scandinavia.

The majority of the cruciform brooches therefore belong to phase D2a. In addition to the principal types and examples that are similar to them (a total of 307 brooches), there are 53 cruciform brooches which can be classified as individualistic types and 49 that are collectively unclassifiable, and all 102 of these can be assigned to this phase through association with diagnostic artefact-types and/or leading types (Reichstein 1975:69). This means, then, that a total of 409³² brooches are datable to this phase.³³ Of the individualistic forms, 47 are brooches from Norway, four from Sweden and two from Denmark. Of the unclassifiable brooches, 44 are from Norway, three from Denmark and two from Sweden.

A common feature of two large groups of brooches from south-western Norway of this phase, Types Lima and Søndre Gammelsrød, is that they do not have an animal head at the terminal of the foot, a feature also shared by the most numerous southern Norwegian group, Type Foldvik-Empingham. The south-western Norwegian local form from Rogaland, Type Sagland, also lacks an animal head terminal. This feature is not found, however, on any other southern or south-western Norwegian type. All of the western and northern Norwegian types, in contrast, have preserved the animal head terminal at the foot. This aspect of form

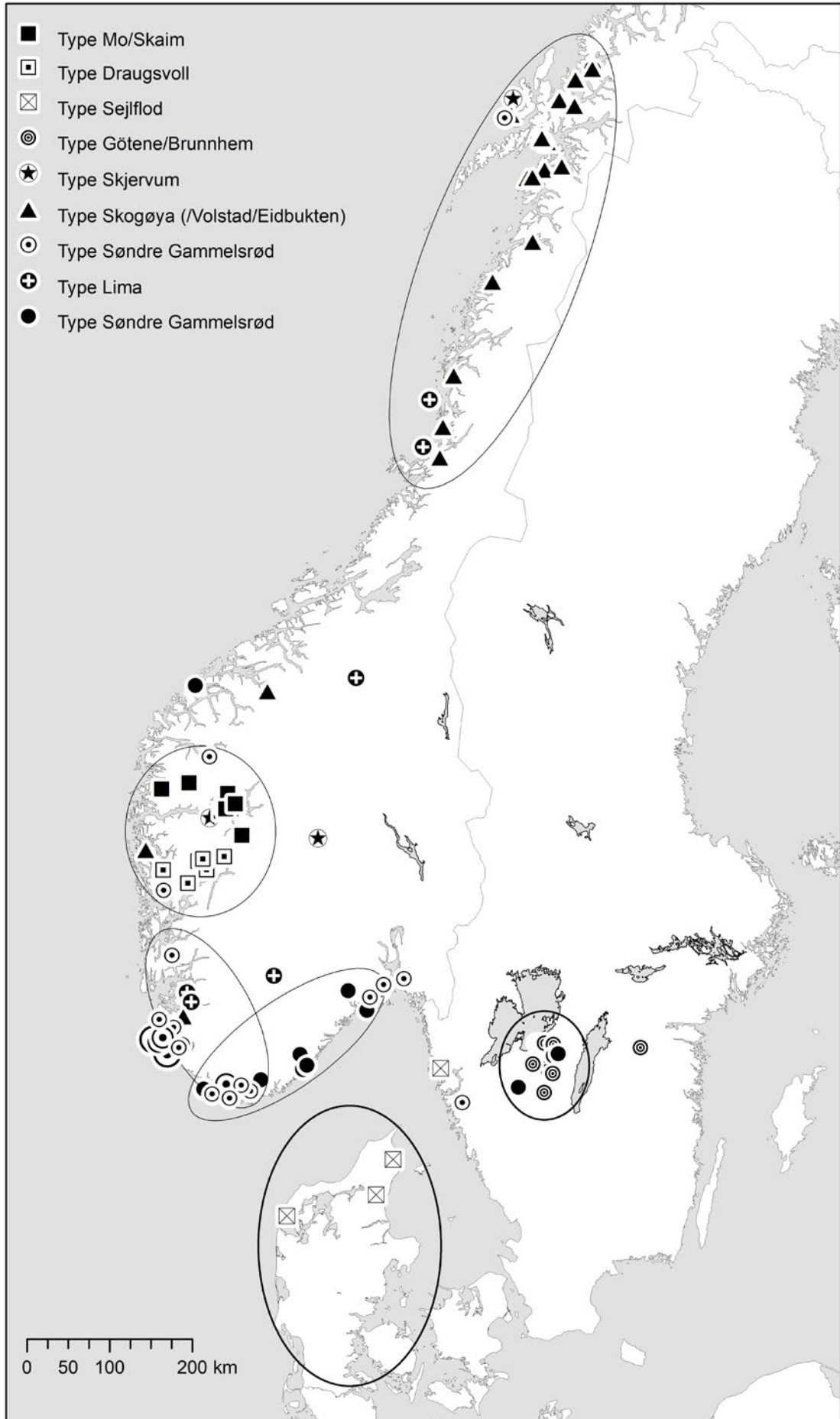
may therefore, at first sight, appear to be a significant criterion in distinguishing regional characteristics. Type Mundheim, however, has a very dense distribution in south-western Norway, particularly in Rogaland where more than half of the finds have been made (cf. above), and this type also has the animal head terminal. The dichotomy that seems to appear in the conspectus of finds is thus not unambiguous. The picture is further complicated by the fact that the south-western Norwegian Types Lima and Mundheim also appear quite similar, if one does not attach importance to the termination of the foot, a point Schetelig (1906:89) has observed. Both types have a strongly laterally pointed bow and a square field with animals in the outer borders as 'lappets' immediately below the bow on the foot.

A review of Reichstein's types (1975:37–40, Abb. 4–8) reveals that behind the generalizing regional labels 'southern, western and south-western Norwegian' brooches lurk not only brooch-types with a local distribution but also types with a distribution that is limited to parts of the area indicated by the label. In one case, too, one of the types (defined as a southern Norwegian type: Type Mundheim) probably represents a common (northerly) Scandinavian form that is found over large parts of the main Scandinavian peninsula (cf. Reichstein 1975:Abb. 5). The picture is complicated further by the fact that certain groups in neighbouring areas or with overlapping distributions share a range of features and so appear to be more similar to one another than to others. Some brooch-types emerge in this way as trans-regional, others regional, while some show themselves to have been local forms. To some degree, this modifies the regional boundaries that have previously been observed (Reichstein 1975), but the general impression remains as it was: in phase D2a the number of cruciform brooches increased massively; the brooches are divided into more types than in the preceding phase; and the geographical distribution pattern also shows that certain types cluster in specific areas.

In Scandinavia, six areas become visible through the concentration of particular cruciform brooch-types (Map 4.16). Within Norway there are four such areas: one in the south and south-east from Vestfold to Vest-Agder; one in the south-west from Vest-Agder

32 I do not include here the brooches of Types Hasle, Oxbøl, Hjelmhede, Bützfleht and Trumpington, as it is uncertain whether or not these are of this phase. Consequently they are not included either in the analysis of contexts, below. The finds involving Type Feering are also omitted because this type is dated to phase D2b. There are also 18 brooches which might be dated to this phase on typological grounds. These are also omitted from the following analysis of contexts, while because of uncertainty over their dating they remain undated in the Catalogue too.

33 In addition to the brooches that can be dated to a specific phase, there are 342 undatable cruciform brooches that are of individualistic type or unclassifiable.



Map 4.16 Map of the six principal areas of Phase D2a (ringed).

to Rogaland; one in the west in Hordaland and Sogn og Fjordane; and one in the north with the greatest concentration in Nordland and Sør-Troms. There is also an area in western Sweden, in Västergötland, and one in the area of southern Scandinavia, in Denmark, where Type Sejlflod constitutes a particular, northern Jutlandic type. Denmark appears also to have been connected to England and the Netherlands through the Continental and English brooch-types (Reichstein 1975:Abb. 10).³⁴ Within a number of these areas it is possible, as noted, to find local types amongst the evidence: e.g. in the west of Norway, where regions are so defined within the individual provinces. There are also specific local types in the area of eastern and south-western Norway, within, respectively, Vestfold/Telemark, Vest-Agder and Rogaland. A constant feature is that the finds are from coastal areas.

Another important detail in the distribution patterns of phase D2a is that between the regional core areas there are boundary areas or zones of overlap in which various types from neighbouring regions occur. Aust-Agder, for instance, emerges as just such an area of overlap, with three finds of the south-eastern regional Type Foldvik-Empingham, one of the southern Type Valandsmoen, and two of the south-western Type Lima. In one of these finds there are also two cruciform brooches of Type Foldvik-Empingham and one of Type Valandsmoen in combination. Another boundary region of this kind is found in Møre og Romsdal, with finds not only of northern Norwegian brooch-types (Types Skogøya, Voldstad and Eidsbukten) but also of Type Fristad together with Type Foldvik-Empingham. These indicate connections northwards and southwards (and eastwards to Västergötland in Sweden), and to the south-east.

4.2.1.6 *Find contexts of phase D2a*

367 brooches of phase D2a are from grave finds. The majority of these are from Norway, with 325 brooches from a total of 158 graves. There are 30 brooches from 19 graves in Sweden and 12 brooches from seven graves in Denmark (Map 4.17). Only eight brooches can be assigned with reasonable confidence to caches of phase D2a. None of those was found with any other artefacts. Five of the finds are from Jutland and one each from Västergötland, Vest-Agder and Troms. The brooches are respectively of Types Sejlflod, Midlum, Götene, Stedje and Lima, along with three brooches of forms that are reminiscent of Types Lima, Mo

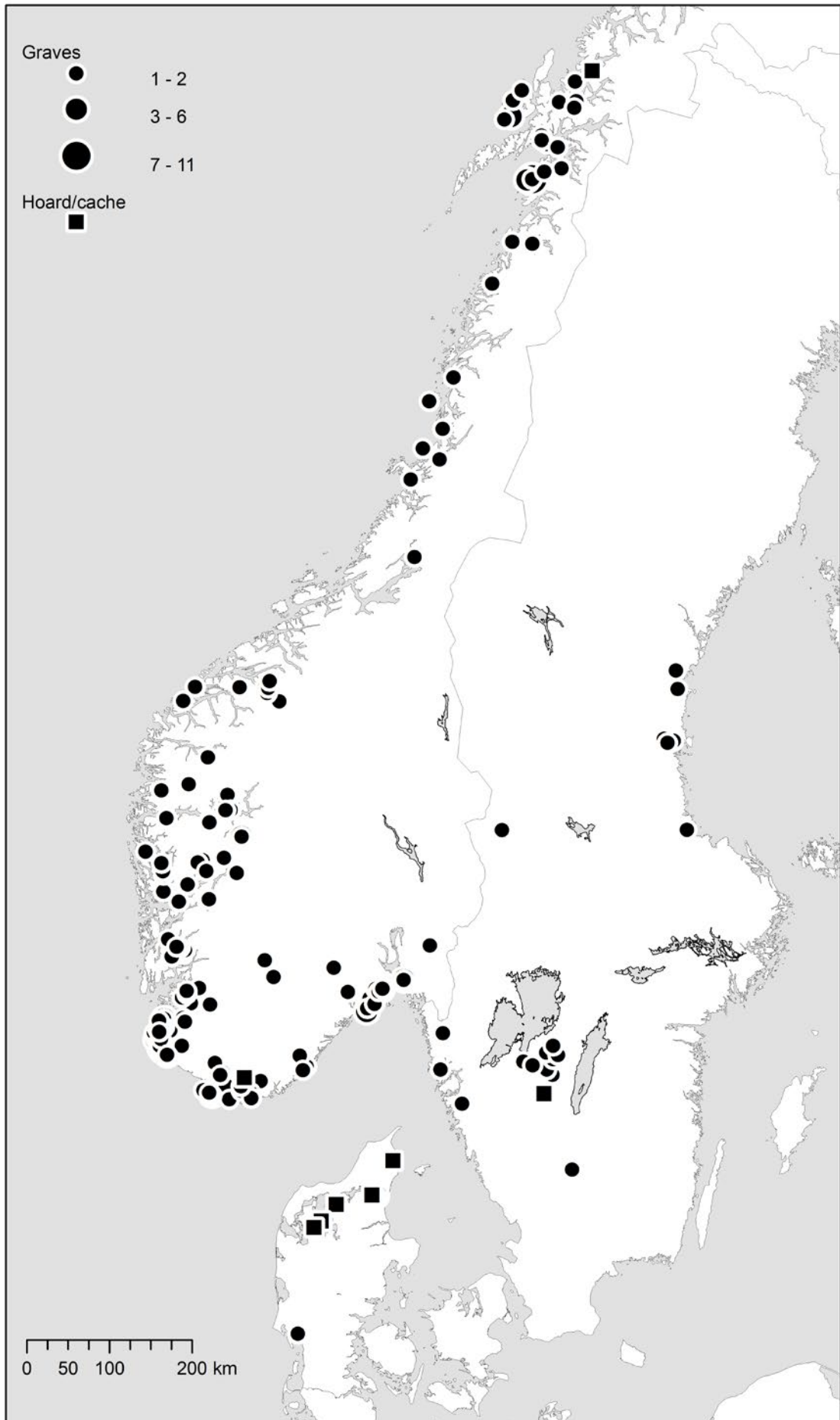
and Skogøya in turn. There is a certain congruency between the areas the caches are known from and the brooch-types concerned: the Norwegian caches have Norwegian brooch-types while two of the Danish caches involve a Danish and Continental type respectively, while the specimen of Type Götene is that from Västergötland. Conversely, three of the Jutlandic caches have brooches that are similar to three different 'Norwegian' variants: Types Lima, Mo and Skogøya. These finds, together with a cache in Troms of Type Lima, may represent placed deposits of 'alien' brooch-types, as they are situated beyond the core areas of the relevant types. This is also the case with the deposit of a brooch of Type Midlum from Jutland: a type that is found principally in the Netherlands and England (Reichstein 1975). That these caches involve just a single brooch is a trend which can be traced back to deposits of the preceding phase found in Denmark. It is also to be noted that, since all of the caches are of single brooches, it is possible that placed deposits of brooches of the 'individualistic' category are not registered by this study, since I have only included finds that can be dated by association with one of Reichstein's dated main types or through combination with other diagnostic artefact-types (cf. Ch. 3.1), and have not included finds of brooches which otherwise can only be dated by typological criteria.³⁵ Nevertheless the cruciform brooches occur as the only type of dress-accessory in both caches and grave-assemblages, and it is also the same types which occur in both graves and placed deposits.

The number of stray finds of cruciform brooches from this phase is 33, consisting of 21 from Norway, eight from Sweden and four from Denmark. There are no finds of brooches of this phase from settlement sites.

When the associated ranges of dress-accessories within the two phases are compared, it transpires that the brooches are for the most part associated with the same dress-accessories in grave-assemblages. There are a few changes: for instance button clasps, relief brooches and bird pins become more frequent in phase D2a. In the case of pendants, these are more varied in the later phase, while bead sets follow the same trend in both phases D1 and D2a. The quantity of beads that occur in individual contexts, however, decreases in phase D2a compared with the opening phase of the Migration Period. It is no longer common to find copper-alloy chains or silver/copper-alloy

³⁴ Mortimer (1990:162–3) also drew attention to the fact that several of the finds from Gudme could be assigned to Types Midlum and Krefeld-Gellep, which suggests that these types were in use over a wider area of Denmark.

³⁵ 11 undated cruciform brooches of the individualistic and/or unclassified categories are from caches, all of which are from Jutland.



Map 4.17 Graves and hoards or caches with cruciform brooches of Phase D2a. Graves are so densely concentrated in some places that the spots overlap.

sheet brooches. It was also more common for four cruciform brooches to be worn together, although apparently only in Norway. In the case of the caches, the tendency for the cruciform brooches to occur alone is reinforced in phase D2a.

4.2.1.7 Summary of the geographical and chronological distribution patterns

At the transition from the Late Roman Iron Age to the Migration Period there is a development from the relatively even distribution of a couple of common (proto)types, Types Tveitain-Hunn and Åk, predominantly in the southern half of Norway, towards a tripartite division of Norway into northern, western and southern segments through the introduction of distinct regional types. Within the southern area, which includes Bohuslän and Västergötland in western Sweden in phase D1 as well as the southern half of Norway from Møre og Romsdal southwards, an embryonic stage of a distinct southern Norwegian group (Type Eine), found only within Norway, can be seen. Denmark is characterized above all by the distribution of primarily Continental (German) and common Dano-Continental forms from the transition of the Late Roman Iron Age/Migration Period and into phase D1 (Types Witmarsum and Groß Siemss respectively). However, all of the cruciform brooches of this date are fairly uniform, with the different types being much more similar to one another than in the following phase. The composition of the brooches is fairly homogeneous; they are relatively even in size and volume, and only minor details such as the form of the nostrils on the animal heads and/or the segmentation of the 'root' of the foot distinguish the types from one another.

At the transition to phase D2a the number of brooches and the range of types increase, and the various sub-types start to differ from one another more clearly. Groupings can now be seen in south-eastern, south-western, western and northern areas of Norway, in western Sweden and in Jutland. Denmark, however, is still characterized to some degree by Continental connections through the distribution of Continental (German) forms such as Types Midlum and Krefeld-Gellep. Some regional groupings can be traced through from the first phase of the Migration Period to the second: in the north, where Types Skogøya, Volstad and Eidbukten supersede Type Røssøy, and to a degree also in the west, where Type Nygard is superseded by Types Mo, Skaim, Draugsvoll and Skjervum. In the west, however, the area of concentration appears to move

south from Møre og Romsdal and Sogn og Fjordane in phase D1 to Sogn og Fjordane and Hordaland in phase D2a. In the latter phase, Møre og Romsdal is strikingly lacking in western Norwegian types,³⁶ while the occurrence of both northern Norwegian and southern Norwegian types is more marked in this province at this time.

Concurrently, we see more local groupings of types in phase D2a. Within the region in western Norway that is defined by Type Skjervum, distinct local brooch-types can be identified in Sogn og Fjordane (Types Mo/Skaim) and Hordaland (Type Draugsvoll), while local types can be identified both in Rogaland and in Vest-Agder in south-western Norway. In Denmark too, a particular local form (Type Sejlflod) developed in North Jutland. In phase D2a, however, what may have been a common northern Scandinavian form, Type Mundheim, came into use. This is found across much of the main Scandinavian peninsula although it has a particularly dense cluster in Rogaland.

A characteristic feature of both phases is that there is a relatively high number of individualistic forms, as well as overlap in the distribution of the various regional and/or local types. Brooches of different main types are in many cases also found together on the same costume. There are some brooch-types of phase D2a which are more similar to one another than others in terms of the actual form of the brooches, in that they share common features such as the triangular footplate (Types Lima and Foldvik-Empingham) or the shape of a laterally pointed bow, or the presence of a square field with lappets below the bow (Types Mundheim and Lima). Furthermore, one and the same sub-type (such as, for instance, Type Lima) may share features with several different regional variants. This means that the distribution patterns become very complex, and that the individual areas stand out as core areas for the distribution of one or more specific types rather than clearly separate zones. The overlapping geographical distributions, and the forms, and the fact that throughout the period of their use there are examples that cannot be classified to specific types but rather represent individualistically formed brooches, together show that there were distinct norms for the brooches produced in different geographical regions but that it nevertheless appears to have been 'permissible' to have a relatively high degree of 'personality' and a range of 'options' in clothing – or at least in the use of this class of brooches (cf. Ch. 2.2.1).

³⁶ A possible exception is a brooch of a form quite similar to Type Mo from Store Hatløy, Utstein (Å995–6).

4.2.2 Relief brooches

Relief brooches are a class of bow brooch that usually has a rectangular, square or semi-circular headplate, a bow, and a footplate that is most commonly rhomboidal. There are also brooches with triangular, spatulate or even virtually parallel-sided footplates, but these are relatively exceptional. There is also a set of relief brooches with mirrored head- and footplates, typically of the rhomboidal form, which are known as equal-armed relief brooches. The brooches have decoration cast in relief, whence the name. The decoration consists most often of geometrical motifs, spiral and/or zoomorphic ornamentation, and ribbon interlace. Two related forms of animal style appear on the brooches: the earliest examples have decoration in the Nydam Style, while Salin's Style I takes over as the most common form of decorative artwork during the last quarter of the 5th century. The brooches are made of silver or copper alloy, and are usually gilt. In length, they vary from 5.0 to 24.0 cm, but the majority measure from 7.0 to 15.0 cm (Sjøvold 1993:10–15). It has been argued that relief brooches, and in particular the large specimens, 'would have had a striking effect, communicated through their size and shiny surface. These are visual aspects that would have had an impact and caught the attention of observers.' (Kristoffersen and Pedersen 2020:47).

The most common type in Scandinavia comprises relief brooches with a rectangular headplate. Relief brooches of this shape are usually understood as a development out of the Scandinavian silver sheet brooches of the Late Roman Iron Age and early Migration Period. They are dated to the period of c. AD 450–550/600 and occur in this period across Scandinavia, in Finland, and in Anglo-Saxon areas of England. There are also a number of finds of this form of brooch on the Continent: in Germany, north-eastern France, Austria, Switzerland, Italy and Hungary (Fett 1941:3; Leigh 1980:2, 27–8). There is a parallel development in respect of ornamental details and the form of the relief brooches throughout the 6th century in different areas of Scandinavia and England, and it has long been discussed what direction or directions the influence(s) ran in (Haseloff 1981:23–7; Hines 1984; 1997; Myrhe 1966:72–3).

Of a total of 216 relief brooches from Scandinavia,³⁷ 110 are from Norway, 74 from Sweden and 32 from

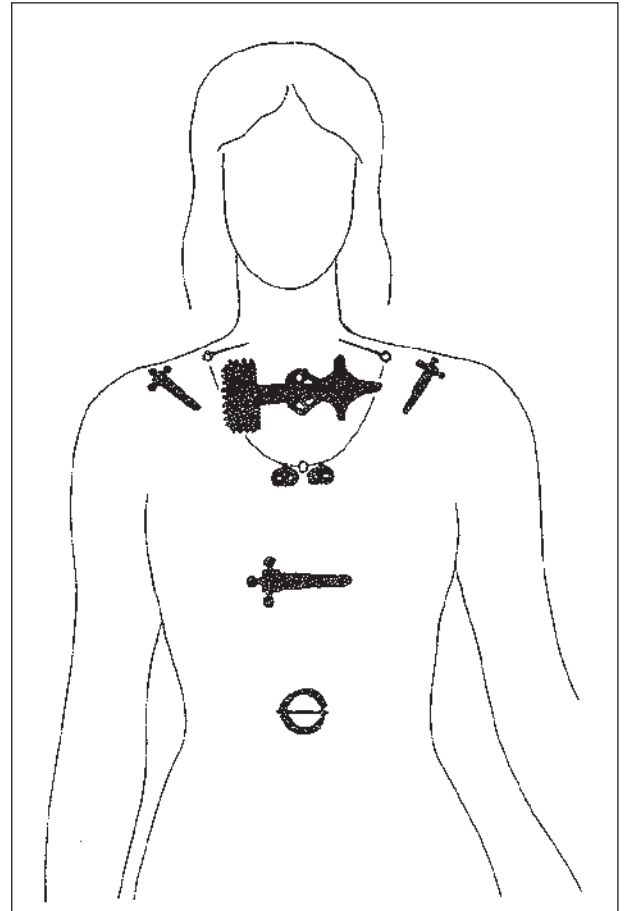


Figure 4.19 Position of relief brooch, after Jørgensen and Jørgensen (1997:fig. 46g).

Denmark (Magnus 2004a:106–7; Sjøvold 1993:10).³⁸ The great majority of the brooches from Norway and Sweden are from grave finds, but hoards predominate in Denmark (Meyer 1935). With regard to how these brooches were used as part of a costume, in Scandinavian contexts relief brooches usually occur singly, centrally located in the region of the chest or the neck, and most often fastened horizontally across the body or at an angle with (as a rule) the headplate higher up (Fig. 4.19). Their possible function as a fastener for a shawl or cape has been noted by many. The brooches can, however, also – and exceptionally – occur in other fashions, as paired brooches or fastened on the side or in the sleeve of the costume. In the latter case, the relief brooch may have served to hold the cape or shawl fixed in place to the side (Jørgensen 1994a:530; Kristoffersen 2000:108–12; 2006:15).

³⁷ Excluding finds from production sites: cf. Ch. 4.1.3. Only three brooches are counted from the Høstentorp hoard as it is difficult to determine how many more relief brooches may have been represented in this assemblage in light of the high degree of fragmentation of the material. Please note that more recent metal-detector finds are not included; nor are finds from Sandby Borg on Öland.

³⁸ The count reported here is not the same as that which Sjøvold and Magnus operated with, amongst various reasons because I include more relief brooches with spatulate footplates than Sjøvold did, and the equal-armed relief brooches. Magnus apparently omitted the B-1 brooches. Another reason for inconsistency in counts is referred to in the preceding footnote.

4.2.2.1 *The classification of types*

Several scholars have shown that there are grounds for sub-classification and grouping amongst the Scandinavian brooches (Haseloff 1981; Kristoffersen 2000; Magnus 2001; 2007; Meyer 1935; Sjøvold 1993; Åberg 1924). In the case of Norway, it is particularly Eva Nissen Meyer's (1935) discussion of the relief brooches that has been highly influential, while Sjøvold's (1993) monograph represents the fullest and most up-to-date overview. Both of these scholars also considered the finds from Scandinavia as a whole. In the analytical section of this study, I shall refer to the work of both of these scholars. Since they differ on several points, I shall briefly outline the two different classificational systems they proposed here.

Meyer (1935) presented a study of relief brooches with a rectangular headplate and rhomboidal footplate. The principal criterion she used for division into subsets is the form of the footplate of the brooch: whether it is what is called 'plane' (i.e. flat), or in the form of a 'roof' (here called 'ridge-foot') – in other words, if the footplate is divided by a longitudinal ridge which (often) leaves the footplate with an angled profile in cross-section. Meyer in addition took decoration and find-associations into consideration in her sub-groupings, and also posited a key distinction between 'early' and 'late' ridge- and plane-foot brooches. The early ridge-foot brooches have a footplate on which the side lobes are located below the centre lengthways and protrude well beyond the profile heads in the footplate upper borders adjacent to the bow, while on the early plane-foot brooches the side lobes are located above the centre and end more or less in line with the profile heads. Both of these main groups develop an almost cross-shaped footplate in their latest manifestations. Meyer divided the brooches into five chronological *stadia*, numbered 2–6, with silver sheet brooches constituting stadium 1. Amongst the later brooches of stadia 5 and 6 she could pick out brooches produced by specific local craftsmen, referred to as the Ågedal, Hauge and Dalum Masters, that are followed by brooches with features that have limited local distributions: the Rogaland group, the Sogne group, the Bothnian group, the northern ridge-foot group, the northern plane-foot group, the Gotlandic group, and a group of 'simple bronze' brooches of which the majority of specimens in her corpus are from Rogaland (Meyer 1935:36–84).

Meyer has, however, been criticized for attaching too much significance to one particular stylistic

element in her classificational system in differentiating fundamentally between the 'plane-foot' and the 'ridge-foot' brooches (e.g. Sjøvold 1993:17). It has gradually become evident that features which Meyer considered to pertain only to specimens of the one sub-category are actually found in the other group too. This is the case, for instance, with a disc on the bow, which she claimed was found only on plane-foot brooches (Meyer 1935:62). A brooch with a disc on the bow from Jorenkjøl in Rogaland, for instance, has a longitudinal ridge on the footplate that visually produces exactly the impression of a 'ridged' footplate, even though in this case it makes no difference at all to the shape in cross-section, which is plane. The brooch is therefore usually assigned to the plane-foot category (Fett³⁹ 1974:11–12; Petersen 1945:9). Finds which have come to light since Meyer's work was published have also, on occasion, proved to conflict with the areas of distribution of the regional groups as they were defined by her, as indeed she has pointed out herself (Fett 1974:11–12). This is the case, for instance, with the finds of brooches of the northern plane-foot group made at Eikeland in Time (Myhre 1966:66) and Jorenkjøl in Hå, both in Rogaland, and at Gjemmestad in Gløppen in Sogn og Fjordane (Fett 1974:11–12).⁴⁰ I shall contend, nevertheless, that there can be no doubt that in several cases Meyer's groupings do reflect local and/or chronological distinctions, even though the distribution of some brooches falls outside of the 'core zone' of a type. I return to this in the discussion below.

Meyer omitted several relief brooches of more 'untypical' forms from her classification. This is the case, for instance, with relief brooches with a rectangular headplate but a spatulate or semi-circular footplate, and the brooches of the form with a semi-circular headplate (Meyer 1935:3). The former are a type of quite widespread occurrence in Norway while the latter, conversely, are eastern Scandinavian in distribution (cf. below). It seems logical to include both of these forms in order to achieve a more comprehensive impression of the distribution of the relief brooches. Both of these types are represented in Sjøvold's (1993) classification of the relief brooches, where they appear as types B-1 to B-4 and A-5 to A-6.

Sjøvold (1993:15–19) also divided the Scandinavian relief brooches into two primary sub-categories, groups A and B, according to the shape of the footplate, but in accordance with a different criterion than that which Meyer had employed. Group A consists of

³⁹ Eva Nissen Meyer married the archaeologist Per Fett and subsequently published under her married name.

⁴⁰ S9181g, S6970 and B12549.

brooches with a rhomboidal footplate and group B of brooches with a non-rhomboidal footplate. Group A, which is by far the larger of the two groups, is further sub-divided into six sub-groups, labelled types A-1 to A-6, on the basis of combinations in the shape of the headplate (angled or rounded), the bow (ribbon-like/parallel-sided or expanded), and whether or not the footplate is divided (i.e. ridge-foot brooches) or undivided (plane-foot brooches). Types A-1 to A-4 comprise brooches with a right-angled headplate, which therefore are rectangular or possibly even square; together, in turn, with a parallel-sided bow plus a divided footplate (A-1) or an undivided one (A-2), or with an expanded bow plus a divided footplate (A-3) or an undivided one (A-4). Types A-5 and A-6 consist of brooches with a rounded headplate (usually semi-circular), a parallel-sided bow, and a divided or an undivided footplate respectively. A further sub-division of types A-1 to A-6 brooches into sub-types a-f is based upon the shape of the side and terminal lobes. The brooches of group B, i.e. those with a non-rhomboidal footplate, are sub-classified in a similar way into four types, B-1 to B-4, on the basis of the form of the headplate, the bow and the footplate. Types B-1 and B-2 have a rectangular or square headplate and a spatulate⁴¹ and triangular footplate respectively. Types B-3 and B-4 have a semi-circular headplate and a spatulate⁴² and triangular footplate respectively. In Sjøvold's corpus, the brooches of group B comprise, however, only fourteen brooches in total, two of which are fragmentary, while three more are defined as unclassifiable. Some of the types thus consist of very few examples, which in turn serves to render the classification less convincing. In group B-4 – as Sjøvold himself (1993:18–19) pointed out – there is just one solitary brooch. But since this is of a type that is known from the Continent (Kühn 1965:Taf. 62:1,41) it is still identified as a distinct group in the context of Scandinavia too.

As demonstrated, it is first and foremost the shape of the various components of the form, and therefore the contours of the brooches, that are treated as significant in Sjøvold's classification scheme. In contrast to Meyer, however, he gave the form of surface decoration less weight as a criterion in this grouping of the brooches (Sjøvold 1993:15, 17). All groupings or classifications will to some extent be based upon subjective criteria according to which certain elements of form are prioritized over others, but in my own

opinion it is a key criticism of Sjøvold's scheme that he does not include surface decoration as a classification criterion (see also Kristoffersen 2000:67). It is not only the contours of the brooches but also the decoration of the individual elements that are crucial to our holistic perception of them, and which help to determine whether we see particular specimens as being related to, or distinct from, one another. In respect of the relative dating of the brooches, too, it is unfortunate that this aspect is not included, because surface decoration is a crucial element in relative-chronological determination, as Meyer had shown (cf. above). Sjøvold (1993:17) was clear about the significance of surface decoration in this respect, but quite consciously chose to separate himself from chronological distinctions in his system. It is also possible to question Sjøvold's criteria for presenting type B-2 as a coherent set. The two specimens in this group⁴³ are in my judgment visually quite different, with a square versus a rectangular headplate and different forms of animal art, while only one of the brooches has inlaid semi-precious stones. Moreover, Sjøvold appears to contradict his own principal criterion, the contour of the brooch, in the definition of this group. According to what he says (Sjøvold 1993:57), type B-2 should have a triangular footplate, but it is certainly arguable that the only common feature these brooches have is a triangular field on the footplate, a field that is generative of neither the contour nor the form of the footplate. I shall return to this in due course. Another important general criticism of Sjøvold's classification is that he did not take any account of an element of form such as the disc on the bow, a feature that not only is highly conspicuous but also fundamentally affects the contour of the brooch.

The classification schemes of both Meyer and Sjøvold can therefore be criticized in respect of particular aspects, but both studies have, nonetheless, contributed to making important features and characteristics of the form of the brooches evident. I shall therefore take both schemes into account in my analysis of the distribution of the brooches. The two schemes both supplement and overlap each other in key aspects, for instance by taking account of different types of brooch, and in that they examine the brooches at different levels of detail – not least in respect of their chronological significance. All of Meyer's types, for instance, fall within Sjøvold's main types A-1 to A-4, apart from a single brooch which he assigns to type B-2 (represented by

41 Sjøvold's term is 'splayed'.

42 Again, Sjøvold's term is 'splayed'.

43 The group consists of three brooches, but one of these (C8939) is extremely fragmentary.

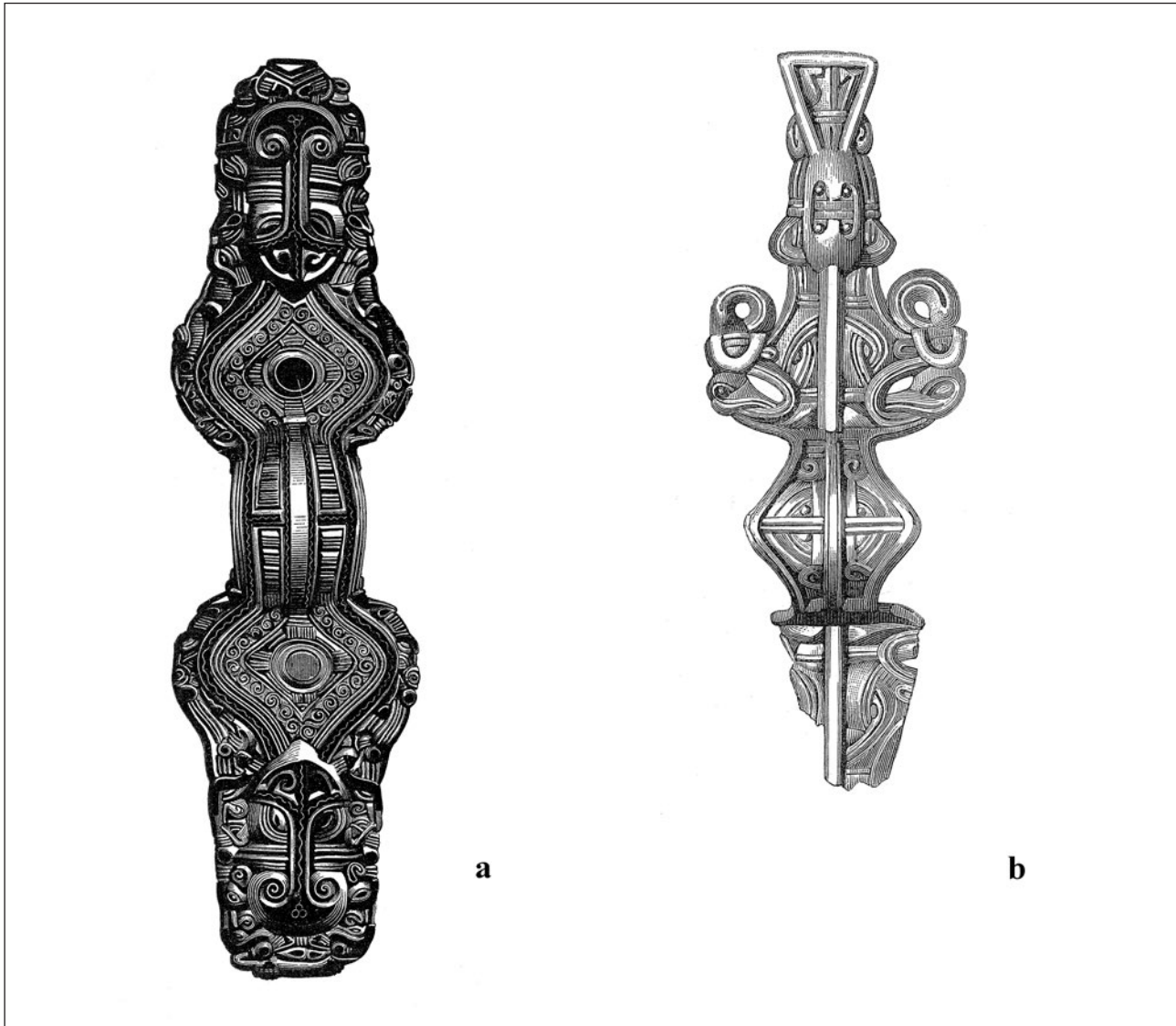


Figure 4.20 Equal-armed relief brooches of **a**) variant 1 from Gillberga, Närke (SHM3445) and **b**) variant 2 from Utnäs, Hälsingland (HM87/7567A), after Salin (1904:fig. 178 and Åberg (1924:fig. 125).

a brooch from Grönby: cf. below). Sjøvold (1993:23) also pointed out that there was extensive agreement between Meyer's early ridge-foot brooches and his group A1a. I have decided primarily to make use of Meyer's classification of these brooches, or at least use them as a starting point, because Sjøvold's groupings are in many cases too imprecise to be useful in the present context. Like Meyer, I am of the view that surface decoration is relevant to the visual impact of a brooch. She also took account of features such as the bow disc, which I consider to be of decisive importance in the overall impression given by a brooch. Meyer thus went more fully into detail in classifying the brooches, even though she was often not herself explicit about the actual basis for her attribution of brooches

to the various groups. She also went into detail with regard to the chronological assignment of individual brooches, which is of great importance to this study because I am attempting to study the development and diffusion of forms and types throughout the period. I do believe, however, that in some respects Meyer's classification is a little too narrow. This is particularly the case with groupings involving later brooches, a point I return to in the course of the following discussion. I shall make reference to Sjøvold's types in the case of relief brooches with spatulate footplates (B-1), semi-circular headplates (A-5 and A-6), and other brooches that fall outside the range of Meyer's scheme (B-3 and B-4).⁴⁴

⁴⁴ I also make a few adjustments to both Meyer's and Sjøvold's classifications in my analysis where I can argue for some partially revised grouping in respect of particular brooches.

In addition to the classifications of Meyer and Sjøvold, I shall include a group of brooches that was omitted from both of their schemes, the equal-armed relief brooches. These brooches have features which reflect influence from Norway although the form itself is evidently a distinctly eastern Swedish one (Jørgensen 1994a:530; Magnus 1995:36–8; 1999a:120; 1999b:164; 2001:182; 2006; 2007; Åberg 1924:51; 1953:69–75). Åberg (1924:51–3) picks out these brooches as a particular sub-class of relief brooches. The group has been discussed by Bente Magnus (1995; 1999b; 2004a; 2006; 2007) in several articles, and both Åberg's and Magnus's assessments serve as starting points for the discussion of the equal-armed relief brooches in this study. There are two variants of this brooch-type (Fig. 4.20). The more common variant (variant 1) – the principal group – has 'tongue-shaped' or rounded, approximately rhomboidal, plates, of greatest width nearest the bow, while the bow may be straight-sided or be expanded (winged) in the centre. The plates have a frame or ridge that separates an often almost heart-shaped central field from a border zone. The central fields terminate, as a rule, in an *en face* animal or human mask. Brooches of this group also often have triangular panels at the terminal end of the plates, and do not have profile heads where the plates adjoin the bow. The second variant (variant 2) has profile heads, a winged bow, and a different form of segmentation of the plate from the almost heart-shaped central field that characterizes the main group of equal-armed relief brooches. This variant is similar to the Bothnian group of relief brooches, having two similar plates that correspond in varying degrees to the footplates of brooches of that group (Lamm 1979:132–3; Magnus 1999b:164–6; 2006:400; 2007:177; Åberg 1924:51–3). In addition to these there is also – as I shall consider further below – some relief brooches of individualistic or unique type which is almost equal-armed in form but which is not one of Magnus's defined types.

In terms of the chronological scheme presented above, the relief brooches of stadium 2 belong to phase D1; those of stadia 3–4 to phase D2a; and stadia 5–6 to phase D2b (see Ch. 3.1). With reference to groups of brooches or individual brooches that are not discussed by Meyer (1935), such as the equal-armed relief brooches and several relief brooches with semi-circular headplates of types A-5 and A-6, I shall discuss their assignment to particular phases as the issues arise in the course of the following study. I rely here on relative datings offered by various scholars for individual brooches or find contexts, including the

datings produced by Kristoffersen (2000) for brooches from south-western Norway or Vestlandet that have either only been discovered since Meyer's publication or were not dated by her. For the relative dating of certain southern Scandinavian brooches I have made particular use of Günther Haseloff's (1981) stylistic evaluation in order to locate the brooches in relation to the three-phase scheme.

4.2.2.2 *A general view of the geographical distribution in Scandinavia*

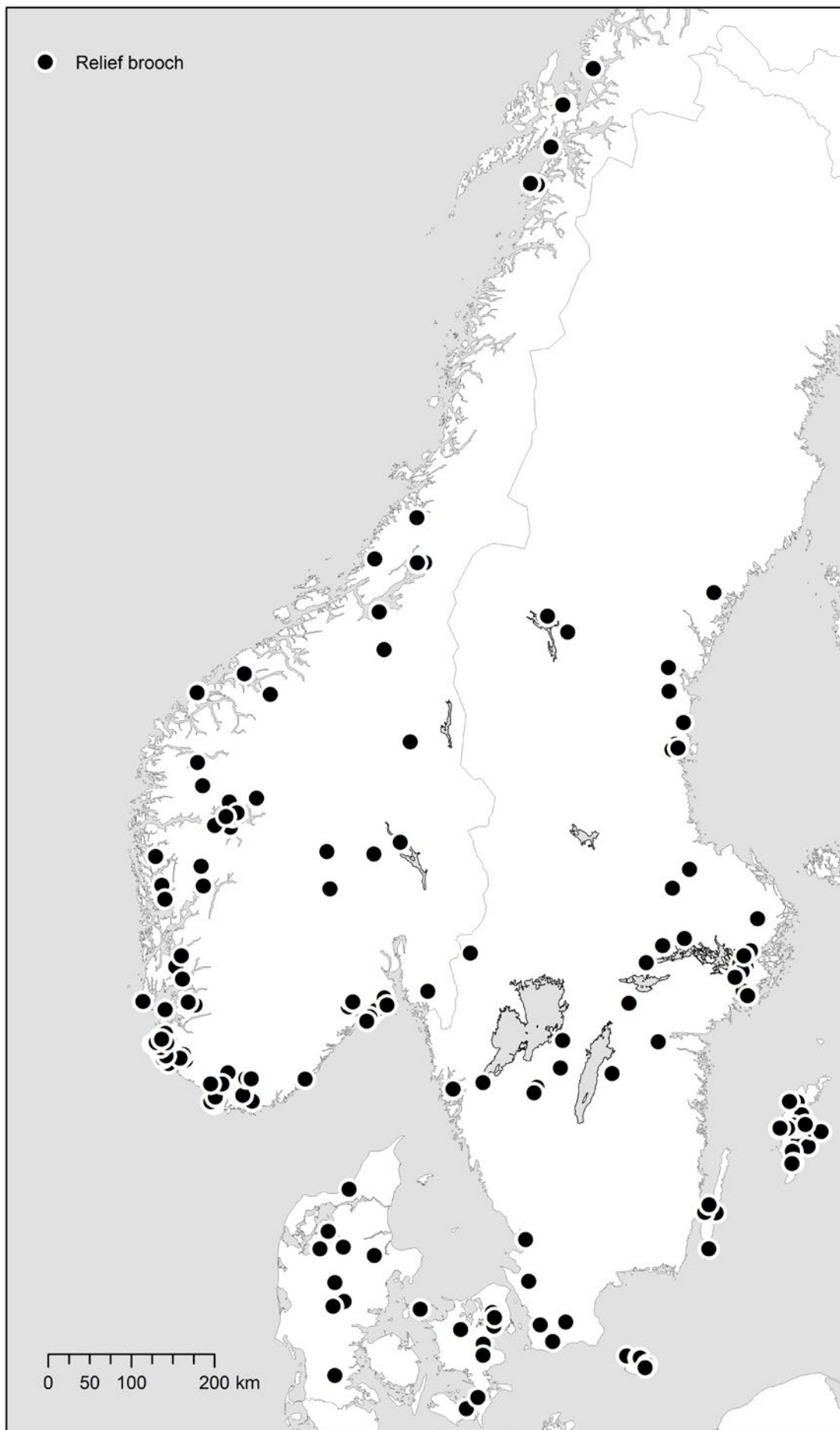
As has been noted, the relief brooches are most numerous represented in Norway, with 110 brooches (Map 4.18). Within Norway there is a striking concentration in the south-western coastal regions in the provinces of Rogaland and Vest-Agder and also quite a high number from Sogn og Fjordane and the provinces of Vestlandet, while the brooches are relatively evenly spread over the remaining areas except for the coast of Helgeland. The majority of finds in Sweden are from Gotland, but there is also a concentration in Södermanland and Uppland. In Denmark there is a relatively regular distribution over Jutland, Sjælland and Bornholm.

4.2.2.3 *The geographical distribution in phase D1*

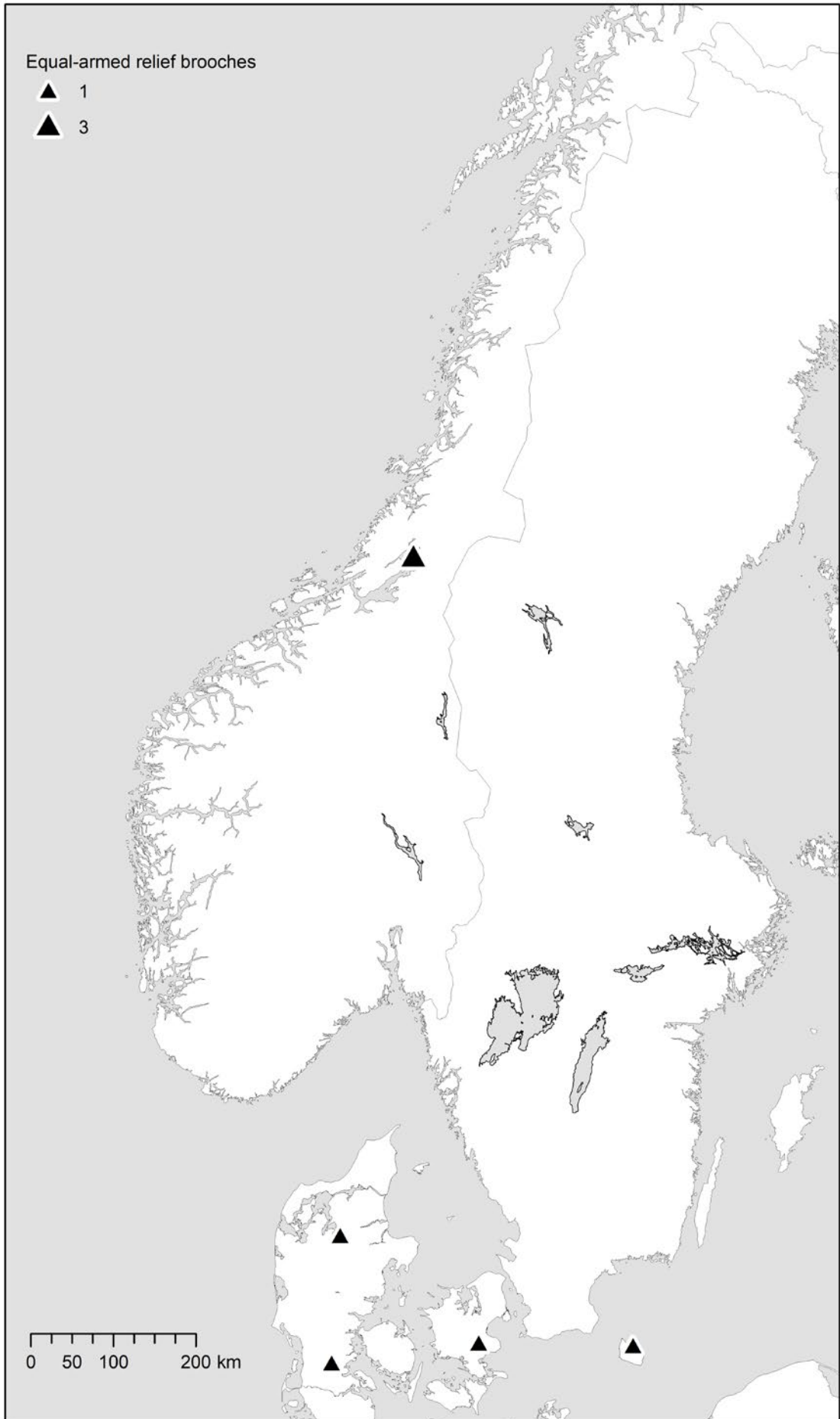
The relief brooches of phase D1 represent the following types: type A-6, relief brooches with a semi-circular headplate and a rhomboidal (plane) footplate; type B-3, brooches with a semi-circular headplate and a semi-circular or spatulate footplate; type B-2, brooches with a square or rectangular headplate, a parallel-sided bow and a triangular (or oblong and of constant width: cf. below) footplate; isolated or unique forms of nearly equal-armed relief brooches; and brooches with a rectangular headplate and rhomboidal footplate: early plane-foot brooches and early ridge-foot brooches.

There are seven nearly equal-armed relief brooches that can be assigned to this phase: four from separate finds in Denmark and three from a single find in Norway (Map 4.19). None of the equal-armed brooches of this phase is of either of the two principal variants of Magnus (2007) as described above. All of them appear as unique, individualistic brooches. The three brooches from Hol in Nord-Trøndelag have an approximately common form, but one of them⁴⁵ is a little larger than the others and is gilt, which the other two are not (Fig. 4.21a). The zoomorphic decoration (Nydram Style) which is found on the plates is quite plastic. In one of the Danish finds, from Høstentorp on Sjælland, there is a plate and part of the bow from

45 T9823.



Map 4.18 The overall distribution of relief brooches in Scandinavia.



Map 4.19 The distribution of equal-armed relief brooches of Phase D1.



Figure 4.21 Equal-armed relief brooches of Phase D1 from **a**) Hol, Inderøy, Nord-Trøndelag (T9823). Photograph: Kari Dahl. © NTNU, University Museum, **b**) Møllebakken, Bornholm (C32), after Salin (1904:fig. 492), **c**) Galsted (C.DCLVIII, DCCXXXVIII), after Salin (1904:fig. 394) and **d**) Holmgårds mose in Jutland (C.df.6-9/36), after Geisslinger (1966:Tafel 2,8).

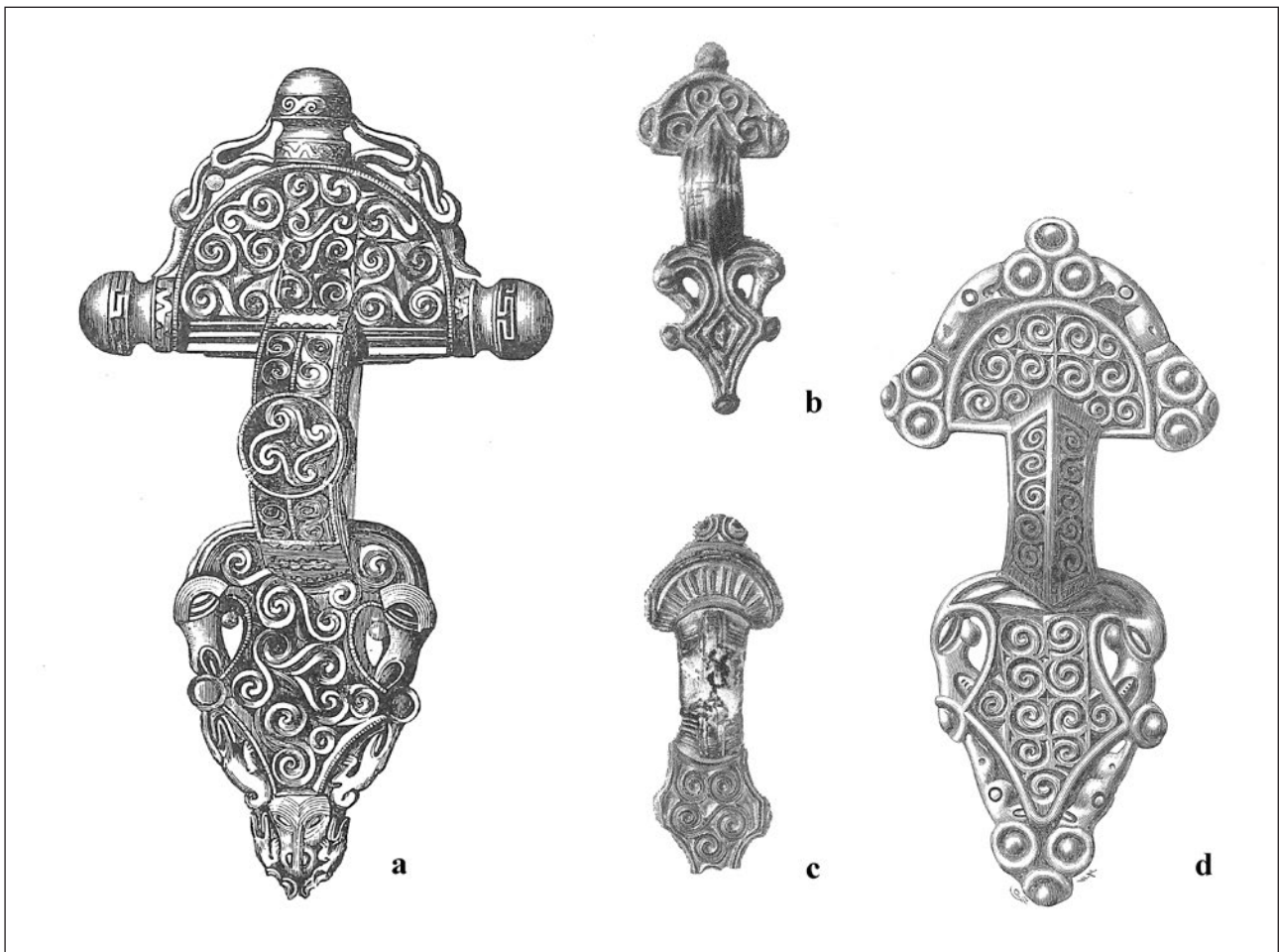


Figure 4.22 Relief brooches of type A-6 from **a**) Skerne, Falster (C22127), after Salin (1904:fig. 116), **b**) of unknown provenance in Denmark (C754). Photograph: Thorleif Sjøvold. © Museum of Cultural History, **c**) Vik, Aust-Agder (C7076). Photograph: © Museum of Cultural History, and **d**) unknown provenance, Skåne (SHM4442), after Salin (1904:fig. 117).



Figure 4.23 Relief brooches of type B-2 from **a)** Lunde, Farsund (B3543), after Salin 1904:fig. 490 and **b)** Stoveland, Mandal (C8939), after Schetelig (1906:fig. 169), © University Museum of Bergen.

what may have been an equal-armed brooch with the same type of plastic ornament. The shape of this brooch is, however, different from those in the Hol find, and since only the one plate has been preserved this has to be regarded as an uncertain find. A brooch from Møllebakken on Bornholm (Fig. 4.21b)⁴⁶ was classified by Sjøvold as type A-6 but should in my opinion be regarded instead as a nearly equal-armed brooch, since it has a special shape of footplate that distinguishes it from the remainder of the group of A-6 brooches and which is very similar to the largest of the equal-armed brooches in the Hol find. This is supported by Ole Klindt-Jensen (1957:70), who also declared that the brooch was 'almost bisymmetrical'. The final two Danish equal-armed brooches, from Galsted and Holmgårds mose in Jutland (Fig. 4.21c–d), are not only different from one another but also from the remaining equal-armed brooches. The Galsted

46 C32.

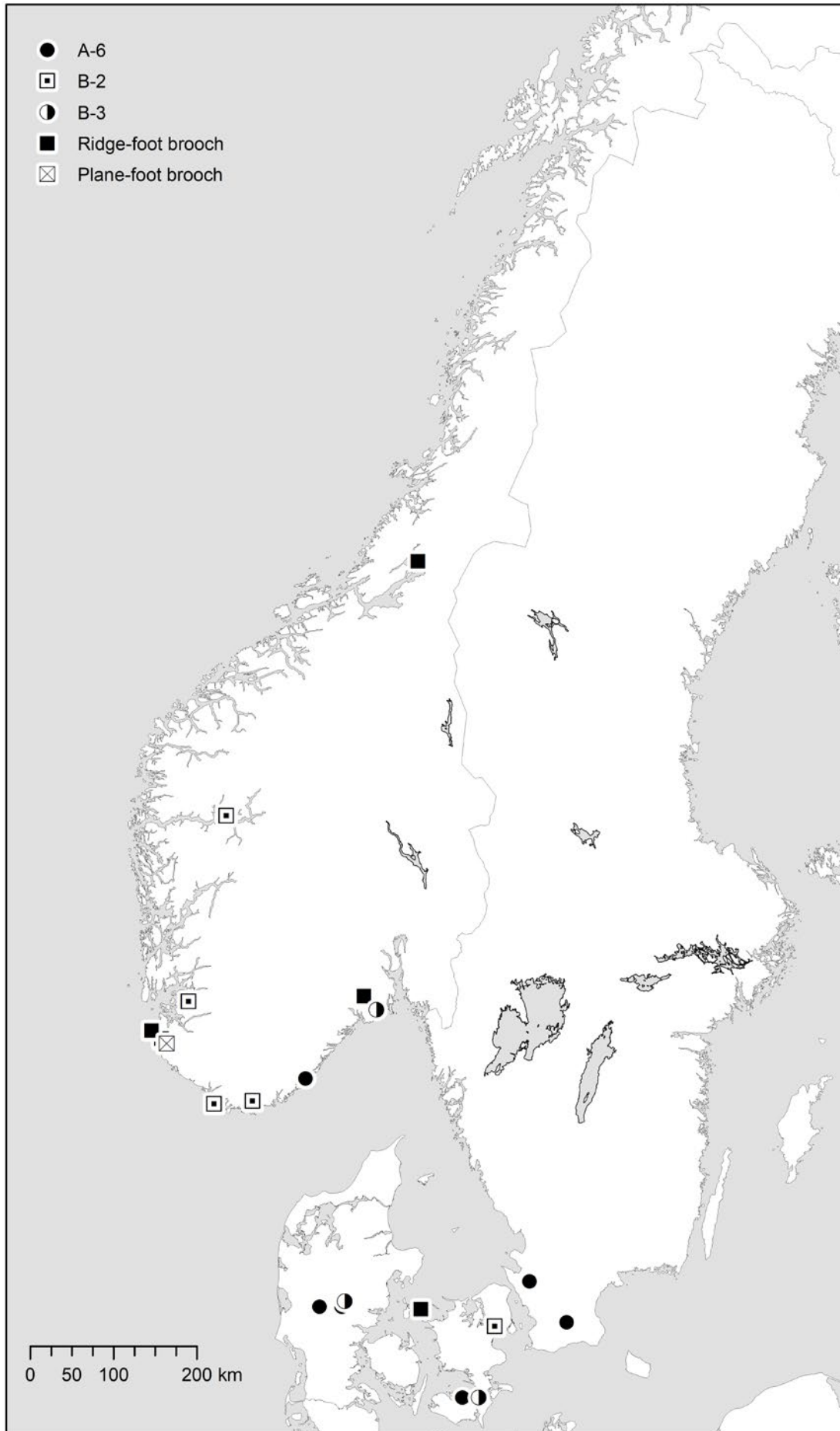
47 In the description in Vilhelm Boye's catalogue (1859:121) it would appear that one find of unknown provenance in Denmark (C754) was a matter of a single brooch, but according to Åberg (1924:79) and Haseloff (1981) this find comprised two small relief brooches with vine-scroll decoration and a semi-circular headplate. According to Sjøvold (1993:5), one of these brooches is in fragments and survives only as the footplate. I shall count this as an A-6 brooch as this find is usually referred to a 'pair of brooches', implying two matching pieces.



Figure 4.24 Relief brooch from Grönby, Skåne (L3655), after Salin (1904:fig. 495).

brooch can also, on stylistic grounds, be identified as a transitional find between phases D1 and D2a because it is decorated in a mixture of the Nydam Style and early Style I (Haseloff 1981:27–9). This group thus stands out as being highly mixed and varied.

There are six A-6 brooches, namely brooches with a semi-circular headplate and a rhomboidal footplate, from six separate finds, two of which were made in Skåne, two at an unrecorded site in Denmark and one from the island of Falster, plus one from Aust-Agder (Fig. 4.22 and Map 4.20).⁴⁷ Two of these brooches, that from Falster and one of unknown provenance within Skåne (Fig. 4.22a and d), in fact have a footplate that is almost triangular, but which is still fairly similar to the shape of the footplate on the plane-foot brooches of the following phase (Meyer 1935:100; cf. below). A brooch from Björnkulla in Skåne survives only as the headplate and bow, and must therefore be regarded as an uncertain member of this group. The A-6 brooch from Vik in Fjære (Fig. 4.22c) is



Map 4.20 The distribution of relief brooches of Types A-6, B-2, B-3 and early plane- and ridge-foot brooches of Phase D1. Two of the Danish finds and one from Skåne of A-6 brooches are of unknown provenance.

also fragmentary, although it appears to resemble the southern Scandinavian relief brooches of this group.⁴⁸ It is not possible to determine, however, whether or not the footplate was of the same triangular shape as that on the other brooches referred to.

There are two brooches which can be classified as of type B-2, with a rectangular or nearly square headplate, a straight-sided bow and a triangular footplate (Fig. 4.23). Both are from Vest-Agder. Only the footplate survives of the brooch from Stoveland. Its classification should therefore be regarded essentially as a hypothetical type-definition, although the fragment is extremely similar to the other example of this type from Lunde on Lista. Sjøvold (1993:57–8) also added a relief brooch from Grönby in Skåne to this early group (Fig. 4.24).⁴⁹ This brooch is datable to phase D2a since it is regarded as stylistically contemporary with a ridge-foot brooch it was found together with and which dates to stadium 3 (Alenstam 1949; Meyer 1935:11–12, 89; Sjøvold 1993:57–8). It does indeed have a framed triangular central panel on the footplate, but the outline of the footplate does not differ in any particular way from other plane-foot brooches of the same stadium (see further under the next phase, below). In my view, the Grönby brooch is much closer to two Danish plane-foot brooches from Gummersmark and Vedstrup on Sjælland,⁵⁰ both of which are datable to phase D2a, than are the other two brooches which constitute type B-2 (compare with Sjøvold 1993: pl. 12, D7 and D9). This holds not only for the constituent elements of the brooches or their shape but also for details of the zoomorphic decoration such as the form of the profile animals in the outer border, with a distinctive ‘turn back’ of the lower jaw. Although the segmentation of the footplate is a bit different on the Grönby specimen from other plane-foot brooches of the same phase, I count the brooch in with those, since the principal criterion, the shape or outline of the footplate, is the same. I also agree in this with Brita Alenstam (1949:192–6) who pointed out that the Grönby brooch has features in common with early plane-foot brooches, despite the unique decoration of its footplate.

Two copper-alloy relief brooches from Riskedal, Hjelmeland in Rogaland and Røysum in Sogn og Fjordane can in my judgment, by contrast, be counted as a variant or sub-type of type B-2 (Fig. 4.25). These two brooches are identical, and possibly cast in the

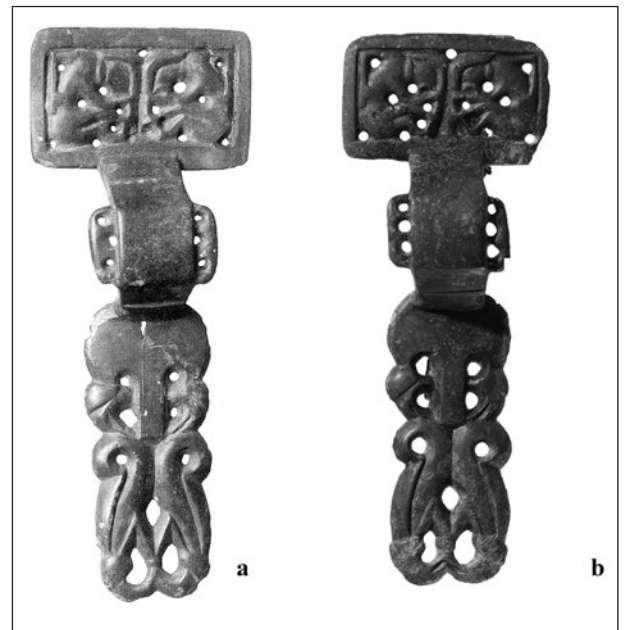


Figure 4.25 Relief brooches of type B-2 (variant) from **a)** Riskedal, Hjelmeland, Rogaland (S2587), Photograph: © Arkeologisk Museum, University of Stavanger (CC BY-NC-ND 3.0), and **b)** Røysum, Leikanger, Sogn og Fjordane (B15903 A), Photograph: Svein Skare, © University Museum of Bergen.

same mould (Diinhoff and Kutschera 2002:11). They are similar to type B-2, with animals with a rolled tail in classic Nydam Style along the border of the footplate and a similar motif in two confronted figures on the headplate. The brooches, however, were produced with openwork decoration on both the headplate and the footplate, and also differ from the type-specimen from Lunde in having a footplate of more consistent width and a rectangular head plate, along with a side panel on either side of the bow (Diinhoff and Kutschera 2002:fig. 16; Kristoffersen 2006:pl. 18). There is one further brooch which could be assigned to this sub-type: a find from Tåstrupgård on Sjælland, where only part of a square or rectangular relief brooch headplate survives. This plate has much in common with the two brooches that are variants of type B-2 (Diinhoff and Kutschera 2002:11–12). With this brooch included, there are therefore five brooches of this type (Map 4.20).

There are four ridge-foot brooches from separate finds in Nord-Trøndelag, Vestfold, Rogaland and an unknown site in Denmark (Fig. 4.26). Three of these four brooches were described by Meyer (1935:18–24) as ‘variants’ of early ridge-foot brooches – this applied

48 Kristoffersen (2000:267), however, associates it particularly with a brooch from Mosseberga on Öland (counted here under the next phase).

49 LUHM3655.

50 C12524, C10739.

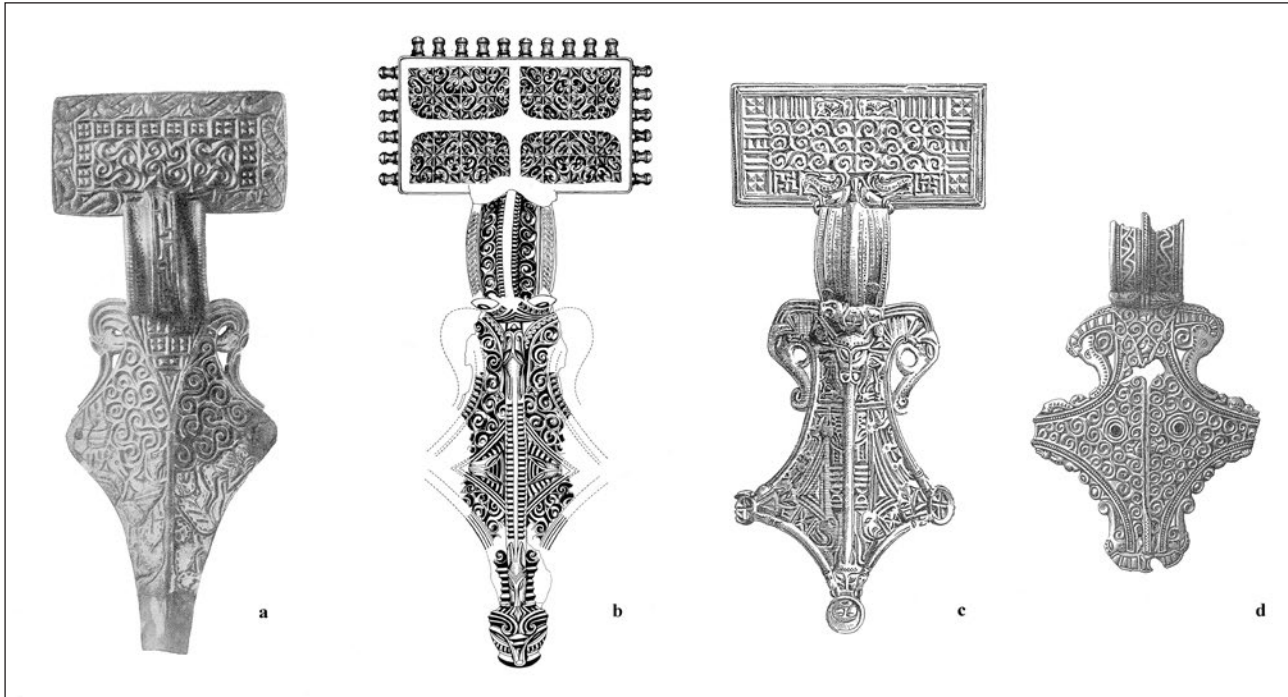


Figure 4.26 Early ridge-foot brooches from **a**) Hol, Inderøy, Nord-Trøndelag (T9822), after Åberg (1924:fig. 39), **b**) Krosshaug, Hauge, Klepp, Rogaland (B2271), after Magnus (1975:fig. 16), **c**) Nordheim, Larvik, Vestfold (C19858), after Schetelig (1906:fig. 151), © University Museum of Bergen, and **d**) unknown provenance in Denmark (C.Boye753), after Salin (1904:fig. 502).



Figure 4.27 Relief brooches of type B-3 from **a**) Ommundrød in Vestfold (C29300/a), Photograph: Kirsten Helgeland. © Museum of Cultural History, and **b**) Skerne, Falster (C288), Photograph: Lennart Larsen. © National Museum of Denmark (CC-BY-SA). The background is altered.

to the specimens from Nord-Trøndelag, Rogaland and Denmark. The brooch from Hol on Inderøy in Nord-Trøndelag has been interpreted as an import from southern Scandinavia (Meyer 1935:22, 95). The Danish brooch⁵¹ survives only as parts of the footplate and bow but was nevertheless classified by Meyer (1935:22) as an early variant of ridge-foot brooch. However, as it lacks the headplate, its classification has to be considered uncertain. The ridge-foot brooch from Nordheim in Vestfold belongs to Meyer's 'main group' of ridge-foot brooches and is of the same form as the ridge-foot brooches of the next phase (cf. below). According to Haseloff (1981:200) it is decorated in a mixture of the Nydam Style and Style I and should therefore, perhaps, be counted as a transitional find between phases D1 and D2a. Kristoffersen (2000:253), by contrast, identifies the decoration as pure Nydam Style and, like Meyer (1935:8, 99), places this amongst the stadium-2 brooches: i.e. in phase D1.

Two brooches of type B-3 with a semi-circular headplate and an almost spatulate footplate are from Ommundrød in Vestfold and Skerne on Falster (Fig. 4.27). There is also a fragment of a relief brooch from Hundshoved, Nørre Snede, Jutland, which in my judgment probably represents a B-3 brooch (Sjøvold 1993:Pl. 35, D3). Since only a fragment of the footplate remains, this must be considered uncertain. As

51 C.Boye 753.



Figure 4.28 Relief brooch of type B-4/Typ von Krefeld from Röra, Bohuslän (SHM1472), after Salin (1904:fig. 112).

Sjøvold (1993:58) noted, the two definite examples of this group differ from one another in many ways: the brooch from Skerne, for instance, has a disc on the bow and a footplate that flares more than the Ommundrød brooch.

Of the remaining relief brooches of this phase, there is one plane-foot brooch from Rogaland which is so fragmentary that it is difficult to identify its real form.⁵² There is also a Continental type of brooch with a semi-circular headplate and a parallel-sided footplate (type B-4/Typ von Krefeld) from Röra in Bohuslän (Fig. 4.28).⁵³ This find is unparalleled in Scandinavia. The type otherwise has its principal distribution in the German Rhineland (Kuhn 1965:73–87; Sjøvold 1993:59). The Röra brooch differs from its Continental counterparts, however, in having a larger headplate and in that its footplate has no animal-head terminal (Sjøvold 1993:59). Finally there is also a peculiar or unique brooch (one of Sjøvold's [1993] *misfits*) from Ommundrød in Vestfold with what is practically a three-lobed headplate and a uniquely curving, 'baroque' footplate (Fig. 4.29). There are also two other unclassifiable relief brooches from separate finds in Rogaland,



Figure 4.29 Unique relief brooch from Ommundrød, Larvik, Vestfold (C29300/b). Photograph: Kirsten Helgeland. © Museum of Cultural History.

whose form cannot be determined. With the unclassifiable specimens included, the relief brooches of this phase amount to 30 brooches in total.

Seen as a whole, the diversity and multiplicity of forms is a striking feature of the brooches of this initial phase. Included are brooches with square, rectangular, semi-circular and practically three-lobed headplates (the unique brooch), while the footplates are also shaped in varied ways: rhomboidal, semi-circular, almost spatulate, triangular and oblong/parallel-sided. The impression of diversity is further reinforced by the fact that the examples within each of the main types are often very different from one another. This is perhaps particularly the case with the equal-armed relief brooches of this phase, which really cannot be regarded as a coherent group because they are made up of a series of idiosyncratic or unparalleled specimens; but it is also the case with the brooches of types A-6 and B-3. With regard to the use of metal, the brooches are, by contrast, more uniform. All of

52 I include the brooch from Tu, Klepp, Rogaland (C21407) amongst the phase D1 brooches even though datings of this fragment vary (Kristoffersen 2000:318). Here I go along with Haseloff (1981:441) and Kristoffersen (2000:318).

53 SHM1472.

the brooches of this early period were made of silver except for three B-2 brooches, two of the smaller equal-armed brooches from Hol, and an equal-armed brooch from Holmgårds mose in Jutland – and the latter does carry applied silver foil.

Despite their diversity, it is possible to make out some sort of trend towards grouping, in terms of the spatial distribution of the different types. Brooches with a semi-circular headplate (types A-6 and B-3) are found primarily in southern Scandinavia, while types with a rectangular or square headplate (type B-2, ridge- and plane-foot brooches) cluster in the southern half of Norway (Map 4.20: note the contrast between the round and the square symbols). Also discernible are hints of some peculiar features of brooches of a local character. This applies, for instance, to the brooches from Falster (types A-6 and B-3), both of which have a round and flattened field on the bow that anticipates the later bow discs. The plane-foot brooch from Tu in Rogaland and the unique brooch from Ommundrød in Vestfold have the same peculiar feature, however, and the former clearly originally had a 'proper' disc (Meyer 1935:31; Kristoffersen 2000:3018). The four brooches of type B-2 ought perhaps, in this context, to be understood as a distinct relief brooch variant distributed in south-western and western Norway, although the brooch-fragment from Tåstrupgård on Sjælland may concurrently indicate that the type had a wider geographical distribution.

In general, the finds of these earliest brooches have quite a broad distribution in Scandinavia, albeit with a clear westerly leaning: the distribution is stretched out around the coast of Norway from Vestfold to Nord-Trøndelag, along the west coast of Sweden from Bohuslän to Skåne, and across Denmark, including Bornholm. At a local level, however, it appears that the finds cluster into smaller groups: three of the four finds from Rogaland and the two finds from Vestfold are from the same parish or the same administrative district (*kommune*).

4.2.2.4 Find contexts of phase D1

Twenty relief brooches of this phase are from grave finds: 16 from 11 such finds in Norway, three from the same number of Danish finds⁵⁴ and one from a find in Sweden (Map 4.21). An examination of the context of the relief brooches shows that many of

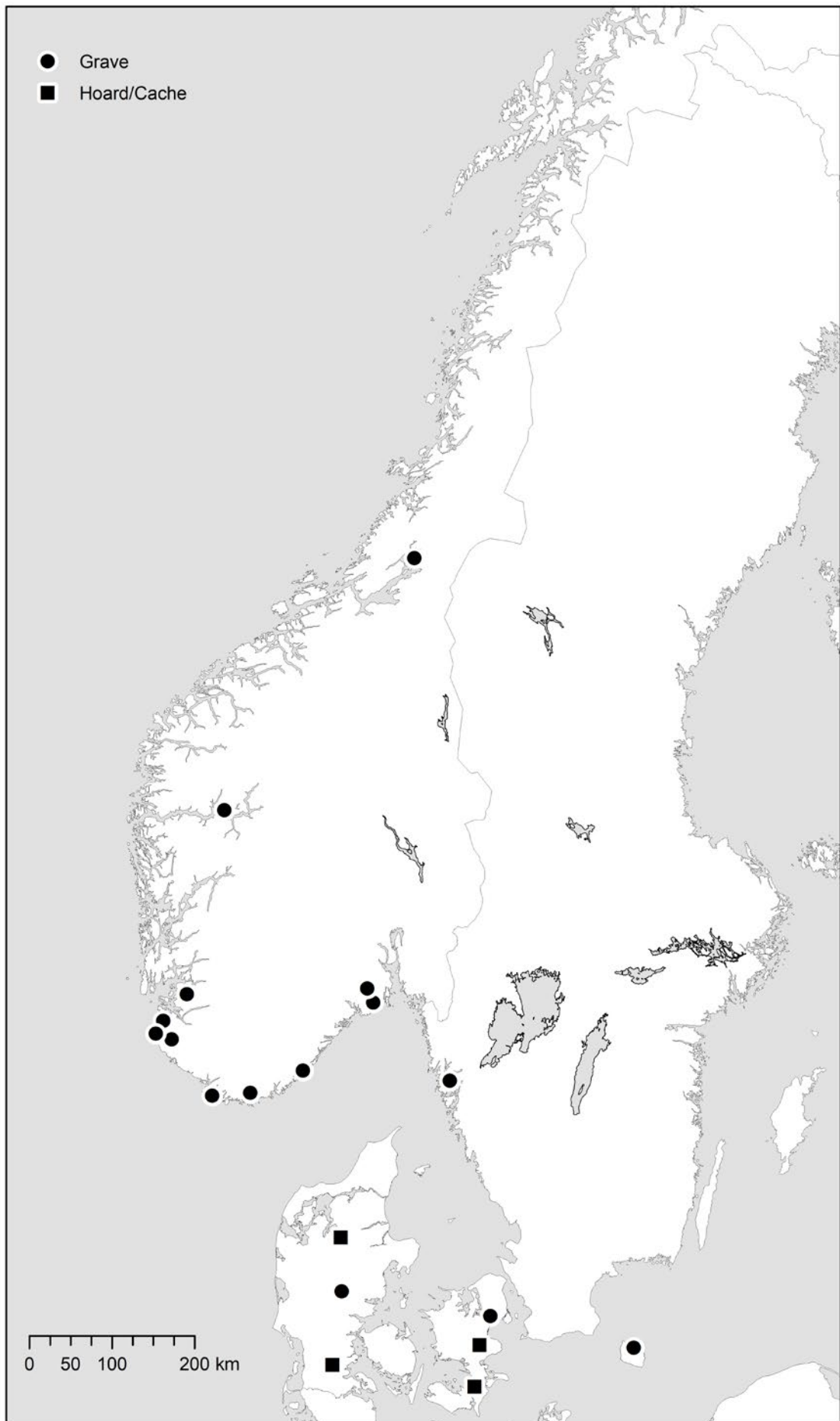
the brooches which occur in grave finds were probably already old when they were buried. Several of the relief brooches are dated to phase D1 on stylistic grounds, while other dress-accessories and/or different artefacts in the grave are later, and belong to phase D2a. This is the case for seven of the total of 15 grave finds, as the associations with cruciform brooches have demonstrated. In many cases the relief brooches also carry evidence of wear: for instance the A-6 brooch from Vik in Fjære (Kristoffersen 2000:267) and the plane-foot brooch from Tu in Rogaland, which was repaired before it ended up in the grave (Kristoffersen 2000:318; Schetelig 1917:198). Such finds of earlier, phase-D1 relief brooches in phase-D2a contexts are known from Vik in Fjære, Ommundrød in Vestfold,⁵⁵ Lunde and Stoveland in Vest-Agder, Hol in Nord-Trøndelag, Riskedal and Tu in Rogaland. In the Ommundrød find, however, the position of the finds indicates that the brooches had not been worn by the deceased, but rather lay in a box by the feet along with a gold ring (Fig. 4.30). The woman interred was, by contrast, wearing a pair of cruciform brooches and another gold ring, and the costume included several pairs of clasps (Dybsand 1956:fig. 4,22; Kristoffersen 2000:253). An almost equal-armed relief brooch from Møllebakken on Bornholm⁵⁶ was probably manufactured in phase D1 but was included in a grave-semblage along with phase-D2a brooches (Klindt-Jensen 1957:70, 234). In this case we may, as noted earlier, be dealing with a mixed find. In any event, around half of the relief brooches of this phase are from later grave-assemblages.

There are five relief brooches from a total of four hoards, all of them from Denmark: two in Jutland and one each on Sjælland and Falster (Map 4.21). The examination of the jewellery collections shows that the hoard from Høstentorp is quite different in composition from the other three cases. This assemblage is also different from the others in that it contains only silver objects, including ingots, rods and spiralled wire, together with fragmented artefacts such as scabbard mouthpieces, metal vessels, coins, and items of jewellery. This find represents a scrap-metal assemblage that is interpreted as a smith's hoard, while the other three are what are known as votive precious-metal hoards (cf. Ch. 4.1.3). The artefacts of the Høstentorp hoard were found during drainage work and the metal

54 A find from barrow 2 at Møllebakken on Bornholm contained three relief brooches. This find, however, probably comprises (at least) two confused burials (Klindt-Jensen 1957:70) and since two of the relief brooches date to phase D2a they are not counted here.

55 This is a little uncertain because of the fragmentary cruciform brooch of Type Gjerla, but both of the relief brooches in this find showed signs of wear when they were deposited in the grave (Dybsand 1956:20–2).

56 C32.



Map 4.21 Graves and hoards or caches with relief brooches of Phase D1.

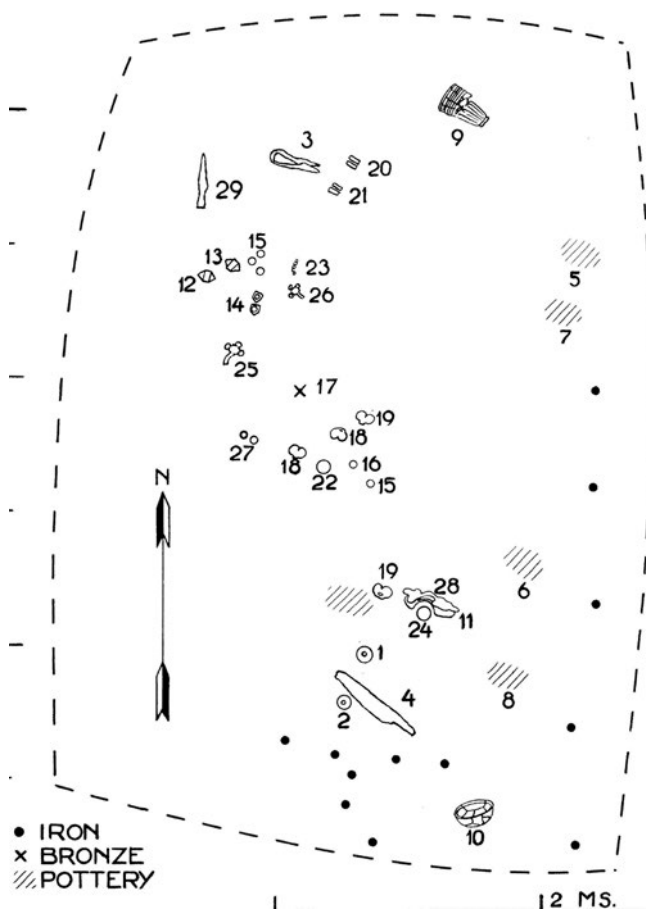


Figure 4.30 Plan of the grave containing two relief brooches (marked as no. 28), probably deposited in a box by the feet of the deceased, from Ommundrød, Larvik, Vestfold (C29300). © Museum of Cultural History.

objects were mixed up with pieces of wood, which may indicate that they were originally deposited in a wooden box. Some of the dress-accessory fragments are from jewellery decorated in early Style I, including relief brooches with both a rectangular/square headplate and semi-circular headplate (Haseloff 1981:438; Voss 1954:183–213), and so can be assigned to phase D2a. The dating of the find as a whole should thus presumably be to that phase (Haseloff 1981:438). As the relief brooches in this assemblage are so fragmentary it is difficult to say anything definite about their provenance – namely, whether or not they are of types whose main area of distribution was outside the area in which they were found. It is possible that the fragments of brooches with rectangular or square headplates represent an ‘alien’, northern Scandinavian type of ridge-foot brooch, but since this plate could be

from a B-2 brooch, such as may have been part of a find from Tåstrupgård on Sjælland (see above) of phase D1, this inference has to be treated as uncertain. None of the types of relief brooch represented in the other three hoards represents any clearly regionally characteristic type apart from the A-6 brooch in the Skerne find, which can plausibly be claimed to represent a southern Scandinavian, and thus a ‘local’, type.

No brooch of this phase was a settlement-site find. There are, however, five finds of relief brooches of this phase whose context is unknown, three from Denmark and two from Skåne.

This study shows that it was the same types of relief brooch which were deposited as grave goods and in hoards. On the whole they are associated with the same range of jewellery in both categories of context, albeit with somewhat fewer types of dress-accessory in the precious-metal hoards. The relief brooches are usually associated with rich finds in this phase, something which is shown by the fact that a relatively large number were found associated with objects of gold. Gold bracteates, however, are only found in combination with relief brooches of phase D1 in (precious-metal) hoards. Relief brooches are also found in hoards only in Denmark, where hoards are overwhelmingly of precious metals. There is one brooch in particular which stands out for having ended up in the ground far from its ‘place of origin’: the Continental type found in a grave-assemblage at Röra in Bohuslän.

4.2.2.5 The geographical distribution in phase D2a

In phase D2a, the principal forms of relief brooch are reduced essentially to just three: ridge-foot brooches, plane-foot brooches and brooches with a semi-circular head plate (types A-5 and A-6). The brooches that belong to the sub-categories of ridge- and plane-foot brooches differ not only in having an angled or plane foot in cross-section; they are also clearly different from one another in this phase in terms of outline. The plane-foot brooches have a footplate on which the widest point lies above the centre of the footplate and is in line with the profile heads. The ridge-foot brooches, by contrast, have as a rule the widest point below the centre of the footplate, and their lateral arms protrude well beyond the profile heads (Fig. 4.31). A couple of ridge-foot brooches (from Falkum and Søtvet)⁵⁷ have what is referred to as a fully developed ‘cross-shaped’ footplate, while some other brooches of this group (the so-called ‘variant brooches’ from Gotland, Bornholm and Västergötland: see below) have arms that lie above the central point of the footplate.

⁵⁷ C212856 and C9441.

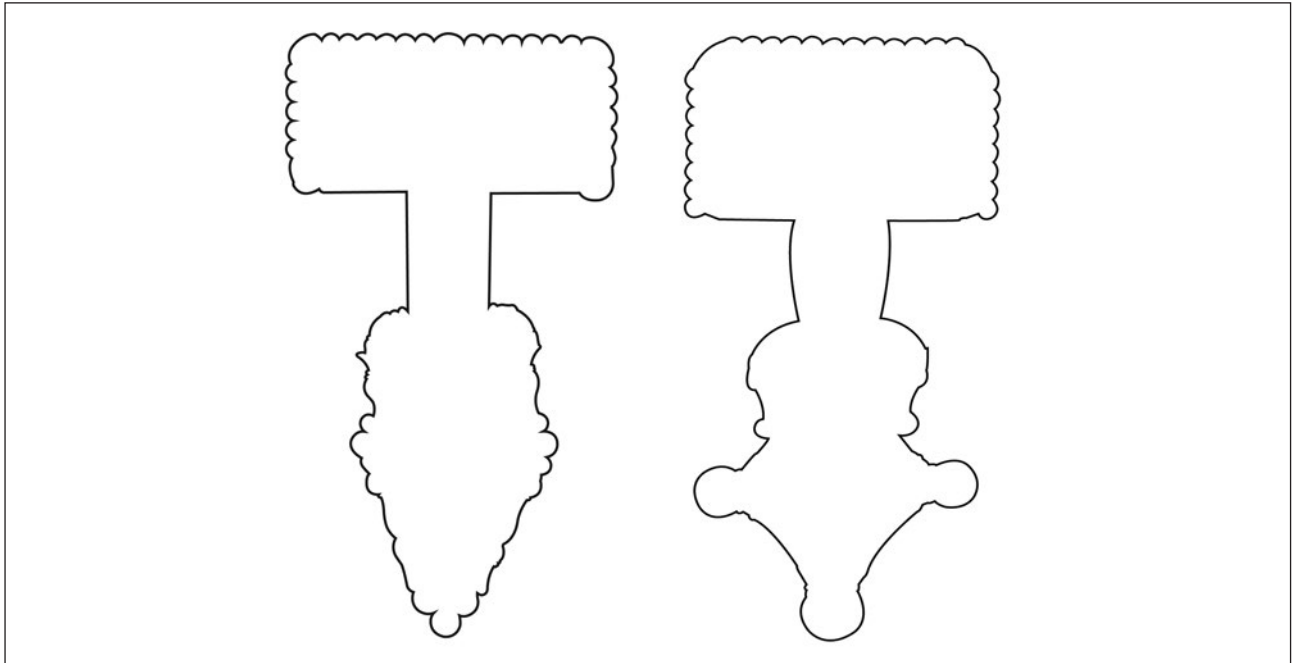


Figure 4.31 Outline of a plane-foot brooch (L) contrasted with a ridge-foot brooch (R) of Phase D2a. Illustration: Johnny Kreutz, after Salin (1904:figs. 134 and 523).

These brooches, however, still differ from the plane-foot form in that the arms protrude far beyond the profile heads. The cross-shaped footplate is in fact a feature which becomes predominant in the following phase. The relief brooches with a semi-circular headplate are found with both a ridged (type A-5) and plane (type A-6) footplate in this phase; however, in the case of brooches with this shape of headplate, the two forms of footplate do not differ from one another – as brooches with a *rectangular* headplate do (cf. below) – because they are similar in outline.

A relief brooch of type A-6 from Hagbartsholmen in Steigen in Nordland⁵⁸ can be dated to phase D2a on the evidence of stylistic features (Haseloff 1981:308). On the whole though, in the case of brooches of types A-5 and A-6, a dating to phase D2a has often to be considered insecure. The problem with dating these brooches is not just that a substantial majority are stray finds, 13 out of 19 brooches, but also that their decoration is dominated by spiral ornament. This makes it difficult to place the brooches stylistically, because in so far as animal art is present at all it occurs primarily as marginal decoration, and so gives a different impression from the surface-covering animal art that occurs repeatedly on relief brooches with rectangular

headplates. The marginal animals are also represented by birds' heads in the majority of cases, which generally do not appear on other types of Scandinavian relief brooch but which are, conversely, paralleled in Hungarian Migration-period decorative art (Åberg 1924:49).⁵⁹ With the exception of the type A-6 specimens that have been assigned to phase D1 (see above), with some reservation I treat all type A-5 and A-6 as of phase D2a, including two brooches that appear to belong to the transition to the following phase.⁶⁰ This dating receives support from some scholars, from Näsman (1984:63–4) for instance, who assigned the brooches to the second half of the 5th century – in other words to the end of phase D1 and the beginning of D2a; and from Birger Nerman (1935:64–5) who pointed out a number of Style I features (and also assigned these to his period VI:2).⁶¹

There are a total of 19 relief brooches with semi-circular headplates (Fig. 4.32) from this phase: there are seven type A-6 brooches and ten of type A-5 (Map 4.22). Two brooches, one from Vallstenarum and one of unknown provenance on Gotland, only have the headplate and part of the bow preserved (Sjøvold 1993:pl. 28, S35–36). The headplates, the semi-circular outline of which is slightly flattened

⁵⁸ Ts1438.

⁵⁹ Equal-armed relief brooches (Magnus 2001:182), however, are an exception, which I return to below.

⁶⁰ SHM16390: unknown provenance, probably Öland; SHM8492: Roses, Tingstäde, Gotland.

⁶¹ The inclusion of these brooches in phase D2a has necessary consequences for the analysis of geographical distribution, but not for the contextual section of the interpretation because the uncertain cases involve single or stray finds.



Figure 4.32 Relief brooches of Types **a**) A-5 of unknown provenance, Gotland (SHM16390) and **b**) A-6 from Mossberga, Öland (SHM7571/494), after Salin (1904:figs. 118 and 444).

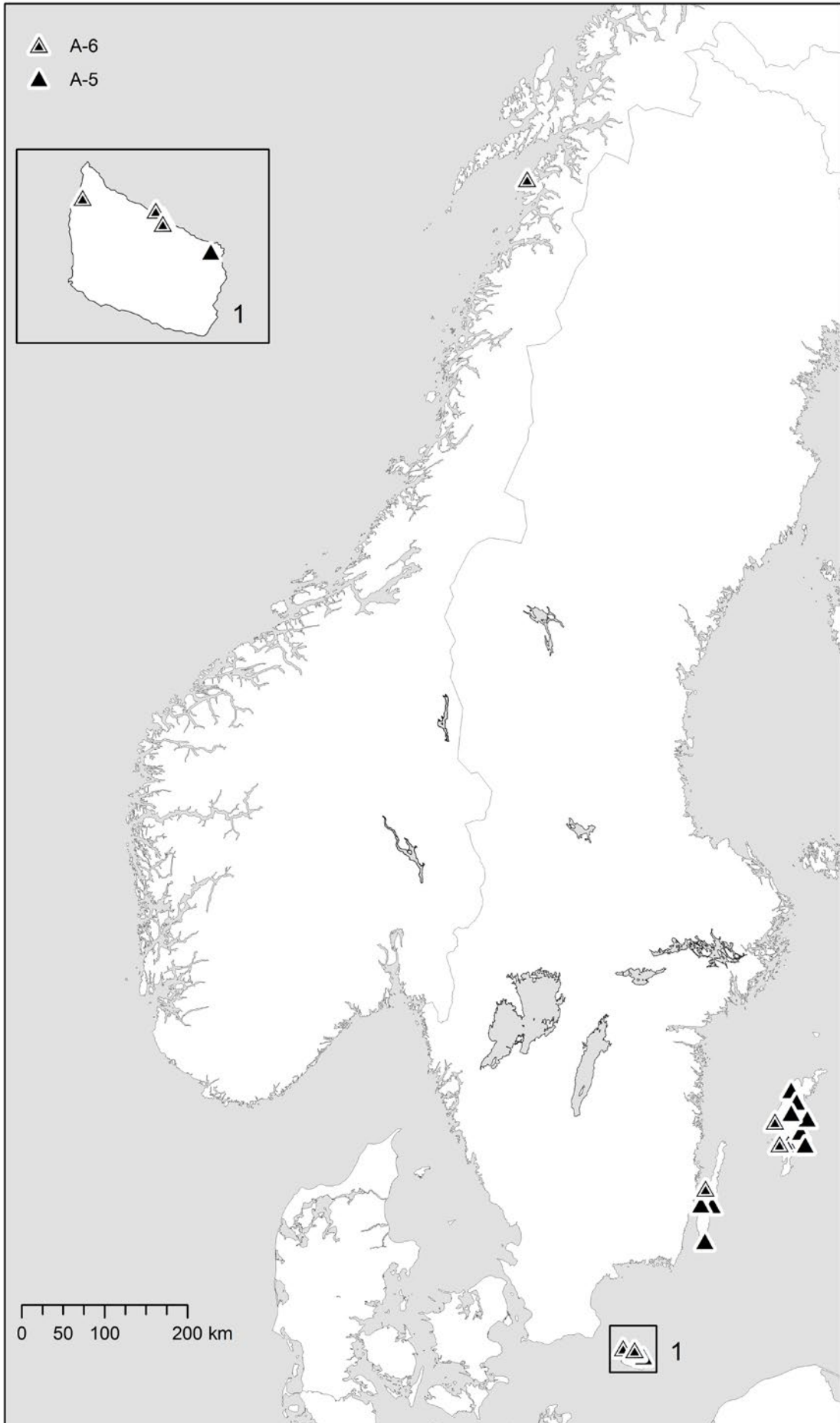
on the upper edge, and which have a design made up of two birds' heads confronting each other, and three protruding animal-head knobs around the border, are, however, similar to three A-5 brooches from Öland (compare Sjøvold 1993:pl. 27), and it seems logical to include these brooch-fragments with type A-5, as Sjøvold did. There are also fragments of relief brooches with a semi-circular headplate (therefore presumably of type A-5 or A-6) with Style I decoration from Södermanland (Waller 1996:pl. VI,40) and with spiral ornament from Barshalder on Gotland (Rundkvist 2003:140–1). The Hagbartsholmen brooch is perhaps most similar to the Norwegian type A-6 brooch of the preceding phase, from Vik in Fjære. At the same time, though, it is related to certain finds from the southern and eastern Scandinavian islands (Sjøvold

1993:54). The brooches of the A-5 group appear more homogeneous than those of type A-6. The former group also includes, as already noted (see footnote 60), two brooches which are probably datable to the transition between phases D2a and D2b. These two brooches are decorated with animal style art in which the animals have been broken up, and the art, especially on the brooch of unknown provenance on Öland, is beginning to display a trend towards ribbon interlace. There is, as far as I can perceive, a possibility that at least some of the A-5 brooches actually belong to phase D2b.

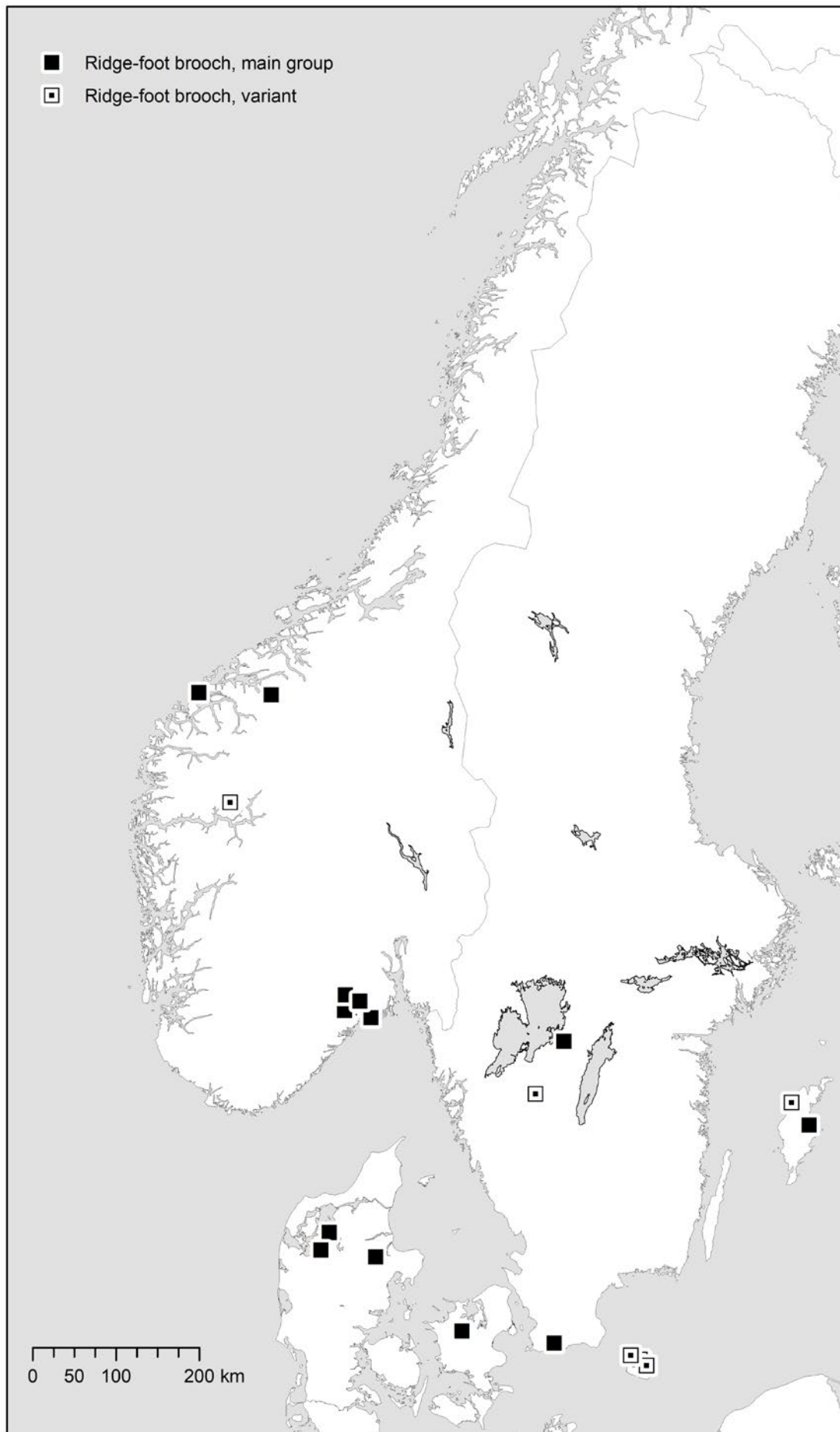
There are 18 ridge-foot brooches⁶² from this phase (Map 4.23). 13 of these can be assigned to Meyer's principal group of early ridge-foot brooches (Fig. 4.33).⁶³ They are characterized by 'the standard

62 Including the brooches from Vadsbo, Trevattna, Västergötland (Falbygdens museum, unnumbered), Trullhalsar, Gotland (SHM8555/31) and Overhornbæk in Jutland (C9613). The brooch from Overhornbæk was assigned to stadium 5 by Meyer (1935:101): in other words, to the beginning of phase D2b. She nevertheless counted it in with the series of early ridge-foot brooches and to the same stage of development, typologically, as the relief brooches from Søvnet and Falkum which are assigned to stadia 3–4. She noted that the brooch could be older than the other brooches in the assemblage in which it was found (Meyer 1935:12–15) and that 'the Overhornbæk brooch is in fact one of the latest of the early group (as noted, it is practically a matter of taste whether or not one should transfer it across the dividing line to the late examples)' [translated]. The brooch is here, consequently, counted in with phase D2a although it probably belongs to the transitional zone to phase D2b.

63 Including C26566: Bratsberg, Gjerpen, Telemark, which was found after Meyer's publication.



Map 4.22 The distribution of Types A-5 and A-6 in Phase D2a.



Map 4.23 The distribution of ridge-foot brooches in Phase D2a.



Figure 4.33 Early ridge-foot brooches from **a)** Tveitane, Larvik, Vestfold (C11221). Photograph: Kirsten Helgeland. © Museum of Cultural History, **b)** Hole, Møre og Romsdal (T2809). Photograph: Kari Dahl. © NTNU, University Museum and **c)** Sørøvet, Skien, Telemark (C9441). Photograph: Kirsten Helgeland. © Museum of Cultural History.

form' of footplate described above, or by a cross-shaped footplate, and by the fact that the footplate usually terminates in a roundel (Meyer 1935:6–14). Meyer (1935:10–11, 17) also demonstrated that there are brooches which are practically identical amongst the brooches of this group. This is the case with two brooches from Møre og Romsdal and two from Telemark respectively. In both cases, then, we are dealing with brooches found in the same province. Meyer (1935:11, 17, 95) also pointed out that the two relief brooches from Møre og Romsdal are similar to ridge-foot brooches from the area around Larviksfjorden. According to Meyer (1935:17) all of the Norwegian ridge-foot brooches, and the brooch from Västergötland, stand apart within the main group by virtue of a range of characteristics, including border-decoration consisting of isolated heads, so that they can be said to form a specific sub-group with a northern distribution. The southern Scandinavian ridge-foot brooches that are part of the main group stand apart from the northern group in that spiral ornament dominates the whole surface of the brooches. This is also true, though, of a specimen from Bratsberg in Telemark, while a ridge-foot brooch which is of the

main group of unknown provenance within Denmark stands out by having a couple of undecorated inner panels on the footplate. Another find from Jutland⁶⁴ has an unornamented footplate and bow while the headplate is decorated with two simple animal figures (Meyer 1935:12).

According to Meyer (1935:21–3), three brooches could be classified as variants of early ridge-foot brooch: one from Lundbjers on Gotland, and two, from Møllebakken and Melsted, both on Bornholm.⁶⁵ Two other brooches, which were found after Meyer's book was written, can be added to the variant brooches: one from Vadsbo in Västergötland and the other from Kvåle in Sogndal. Three of the five 'variant brooches', the two from Bornholm and the one from Västergötland, form a sub-group with downward-bent side lobes. All three of these brooches also have spiral ornament. Sjøvold (1993:28) in fact placed these three brooches in their own sub-group (A1e) along with two brooches of phase D2b. The other two variant brooches of phase D2a, those from Lundbjers and Kvåle (Fig. 4.34), have a footplate which is similar to examples with a semi-circular headplate of type A-5 (e.g. a brooch from Roses, Tingstäde, Gotland:

64 C1577: Filholm mose, Thise parish, Jutland.

65 GF.C7182, C32–43 and C2943.

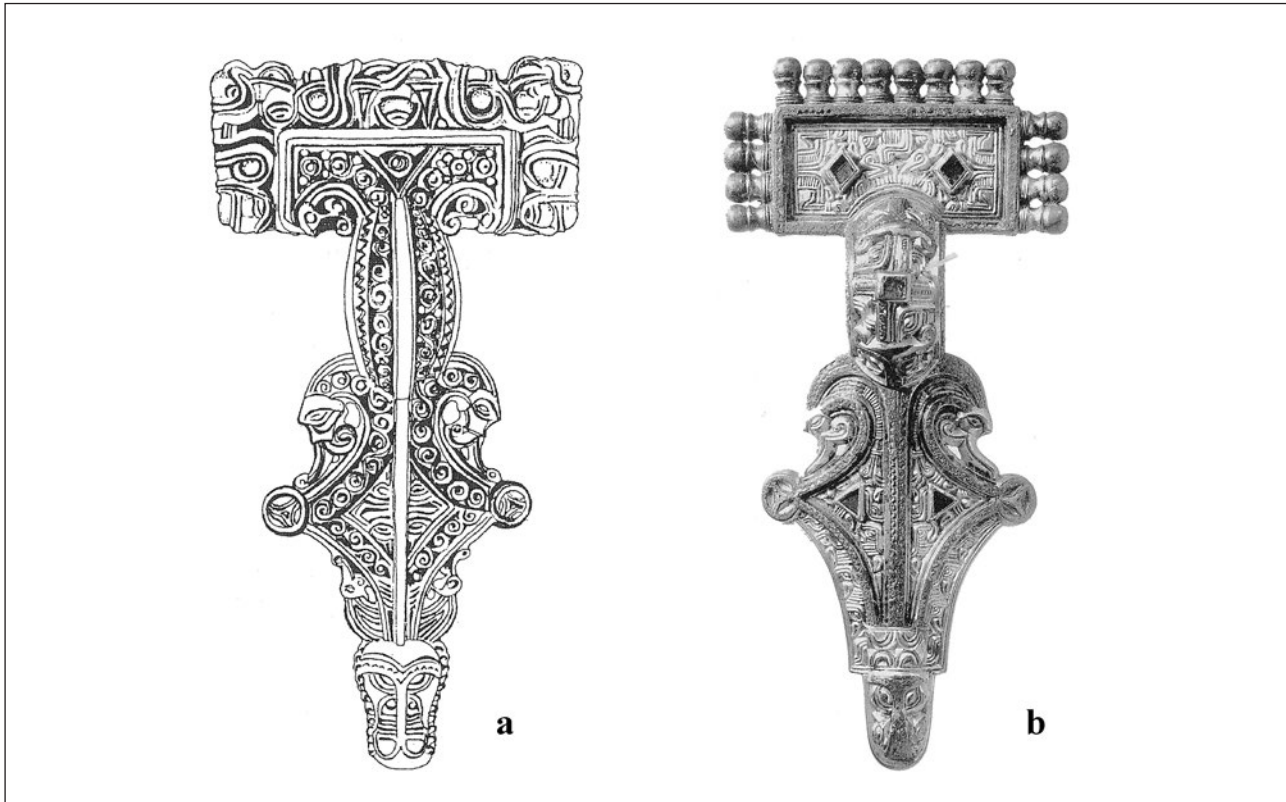


Figure 4.34 Variants of early ridge-foot brooch from **a**) Kvåle, Sogndal, Sogn og Fjordane (B13954/1), after Kristoffersen (2000:plansje 36, 1) and **b**) Lundbjers, Gotland (GF.C.7182). Photograph: Thorleif Sjøvold. © Museum of Cultural History.

cf. Kristoffersen 2000:363) and the ridge-foot brooch of phase D1 from Hol on Inderøy, Nord-Trøndelag (referred to above). Sjøvold (1993:27) in fact called the Lundbjers brooch a 'hybrid' between the type with a round headplate and that with a square headplate (i.e. ridge-foot brooches). These two brooches can thus be regarded as a sub-group, as they are in Sjøvold's study (1993:27). They correspond to his sub-group A1b.

There are 13 plane-foot brooches of phase D2a (Map 4.24).⁶⁶ I have included with these a brooch from Grönby in Skåne, in line with what I argued above in connection with the B-2 brooches of the foregoing phase. In the case of the plane-foot brooches too, there is a higher level of similarity amongst Norwegian brooches from the same provinces, for instance in that both of the brooches from Vestfold have an openwork area between the profile heads and the footplate, while the two specimens from Vest-Agder have no such feature.⁶⁷ The plane-foot brooch from Høyland, Vanse in Vest-Agder has a pattern on the

footplate that is unique in the context of Norway. It is to some extent reminiscent, however, of the geometrical pattern that is found on both the plane-foot brooch from Neldesø mose on Sjælland⁶⁸ and that from Åker in Västergötland,⁶⁹ as well as on further Continental brooches (e.g. Haseloff 1981: Tafn. 60–2), although it is not identical with any of these.

The brooches from Tveitane in Vestfold (Fig. 4.35), Åker in Västergötland, Agerskov mose and Klithuse/Tranum Klit in Jutland⁷⁰ are also included in Haseloff's (1981:21–173) *jütländische Fibelgruppe*. This is a group of 15 brooches with decoration in the earliest form of Style I: six of the finds are from Scandinavia,⁷¹ five from Kent in England, and four from the Continent (France and Germany). Haseloff (1981:212) considered that this group was originally from Jutland, and that many of the brooches were manufactured there, subsequently to be exported to the other areas. The label 'Jutlandic' is in my view somewhat misleading, as three of the four Jutlandic brooches Haseloff includes

66 One brooch from Høyland, Vanse in Vest-Agder (C5037b) is extremely fragmentary and its classification cannot therefore be other than uncertain.

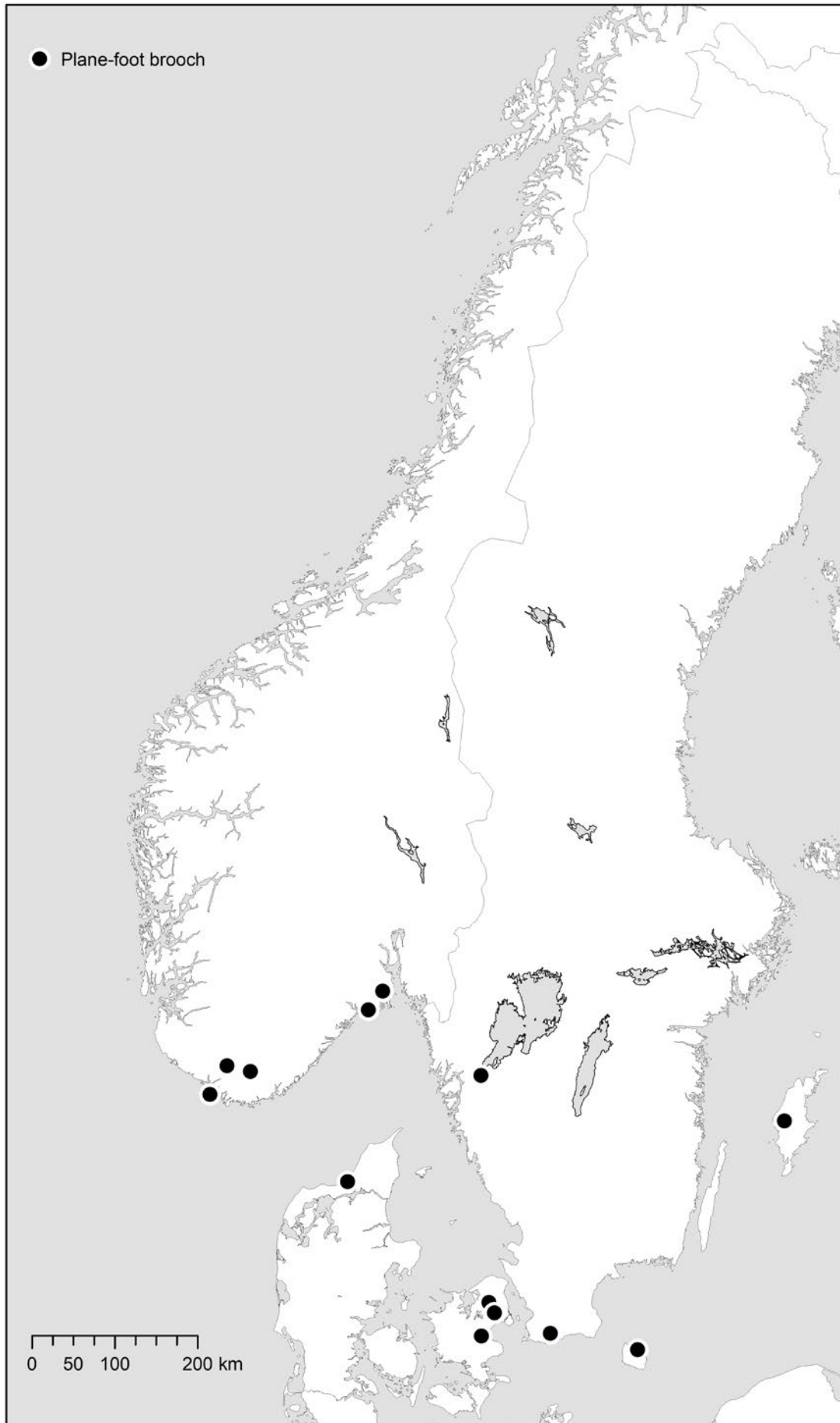
67 Not including the extremely fragmentary brooch from Høyland, in Vanse (C5037b).

68 C3500.

69 SHM581.

70 C11237, SHM581, C12/19 and C8-11-41.

71 Galsted, Agerskov, Skonager and Tranum Klit in Jutland; Åker in Västergötland; and Tveitane in Vestfold.



Map 4.24 The distribution of plane-foot brooches in Phase D2a.



Figure 4.35 Plane-foot brooch from Tveitane, Vestfold (C11237). Photograph: © Museum of Cultural History.

in the group are fragments, surviving only as two headplates and one bow, which makes it difficult to say anything about the whole form of the brooches. One of these three brooches is also thought to have been an equal-armed brooch (the piece from Galsted: cf. above). The only complete brooch from Jutland assigned to this group is that from Klithuse/Tranum Klit in Hjørring *amt.* This plane-foot brooch (which is assigned to Haseloff's group C) is in Haseloff's (1981:23, 173) judgment probably a little later than the Tveitane brooch (which belongs to group B). The focus of Haseloff's attention, moreover, was first and foremost the animal art, and not so much the form of the brooches, even though the majority of the brooches in this group are early plane-foot brooches. The term therefore in essence reflects the area which Haseloff believed was the place of origin for the development of Style I art. Without entering into an 'origin debate' of this nature, it is interesting to observe that the



Figure 4.36 Relief brooch from Bifrons in Kent (grave 41), after Salin (1904:fig. 700).

Scandinavian plane-foot brooches of this phase are of a form that recurs amongst Continental and Kentish brooches (Fig. 4.36). It is also a matter of interest that this form did not dictate development within Scandinavia in the following phase. In the context of Scandinavia it was principally the so-called 'cross-shaped' footplate that became dominant in the case of brooches with rectangular headplates, in both the ridge- and the plane-foot categories. There are, admittedly, a few exceptions, which I shall return to below, in the context of the survey of the various types of brooch of phase D2b.

Two relief brooches of phase D2a can be classified as individualistic or unique (i.e. in Sjøvold's 'misfits' group): brooches from Skjervum in Sogn og Fjordane and from Isesjøen in Østfold (Fig. 4.37). Both of these have a nearly semi-circular headplate and, respectively, an almost parallel-sided oblong footplate and a triangular one. The headplate on the Skjervum

brooch can appear reminiscent of the (A-6) brooch from Björnkulla in Skåne of phase D1, referred to above (Kristoffersen 2000:355). Only the headplate and the bow of the Björnkulla brooch survive, so it is impossible to determine if the two brooches had more in common.

Including the three main types of relief brooch and the two unique brooches plus four unclassifiable relief brooches, three of which have a rectangular headplate⁷² and one a semi-circular one,⁷³ the total number of relief brooches of this phase is 56. It is clear, then, that there are more relief brooches from this phase than from the previous phase, but they are distributed amongst fewer types and so are less varied than in the previous phase. Virtually all of the brooches can be classified either as the main type with a rectangular headplate and a rhomboidal footplate or as the type with a semi-circular headplate and a rhomboidal footplate. Within the main groups too, the brooches are more similar to one another than was the case in the previous phase. The majority of the relief brooches are also made of silver. There are only five examples of copper alloy: three ridge-foot brooches respectively from Møre og Romsdal,⁷⁴ Jutland⁷⁵ and Gotland,⁷⁶ plus a plane-foot brooch from Sjælland⁷⁷ and an A-5 brooch from Gotland.⁷⁸

Turning to spatial distribution, the relief brooches occur over a wide area that stretches from the coastal area of southern Norway from Møre og Romsdal southwards, along the west coast of Sweden, including Västergötland and Skåne, and now also incorporating eastern areas of Scandinavia, including Gotland, Öland and Bornholm. The A-6 brooch from Nordland is the only relief brooch found that far north in this phase, and this stands out in the Norwegian context. Compared with the preceding phase it is striking that brooches with semi-circular headplates are no longer found in western areas of southern Scandinavia. With the exception of the brooch of type A-6 from Hagbartsholmen in Nordland and a fragmentary specimen from Södermanland (cf. above), these occur only on the islands of Gotland, Öland and Bornholm (see also Sjøvold 1993:48–50). Within this region, moreover, it seems that divergent local preferences are reflected in the fact that the type with a ridged foot (A-5) is dominant on Gotland while that with a plane

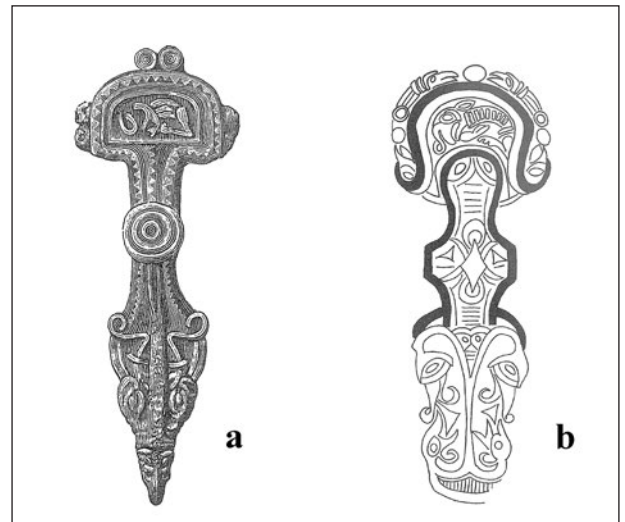


Figure 4.37 Unique relief brooches from **a**) Isejæen, Østfold (C15665), after Rygh (1885:fig. 255) and **b**) Skjervum, Sogn og Fjordane (B8830a), after Kristoffersen (2000:plansje 32, 5).

foot (A-6) may have been preferred on Bornholm. The centre of gravity of the distribution of plane-foot brooches is further west in southern Scandinavia, with the two northernmost finds from provinces in the far south of Norway. The ridge-foot brooches are found distributed over part of the same area as the plane-foot brooches, but the geographical range of this type also extends further north (Map 4.25) with the northernmost finds in Møre og Romsdal. In an area in between, which extends from Vestfold over Västergötland and Skåne to Gotland and Bornholm, both types of brooch are found. In Skåne, indeed, a ridge-foot brooch and a plane-foot brooch appear in the same assemblage (Alenstam 1949:183–4). On Bornholm and Gotland there are relief brooches with both rectangular and semi-circular headplates inter-associated with both plane and ridged footplates.

There is, as has been shown, also a tendency towards clustering at a regional level in this phase, for instance with a northern sub-group of ridge-foot brooches of the main form that is found in Norway and Västergötland and a distinct southern Scandinavian sub-group of the type formed of 'variant brooches' with bowed arms and spiral ornament. Spiral ornament is also predominant on both ridge- and plane-foot brooches from Denmark and the Baltic islands (Meyer 1935:31, 89). Spiral ornament is also found, as noted

72 C10884: Hardenberg, Maribo; C17200: Agerskov mose, Bording, Jutland; C.df.24-109: Høstentorp, Sorø, Sjælland.

73 C.df.24-109: Høstentorp, Sorø, Sjælland.

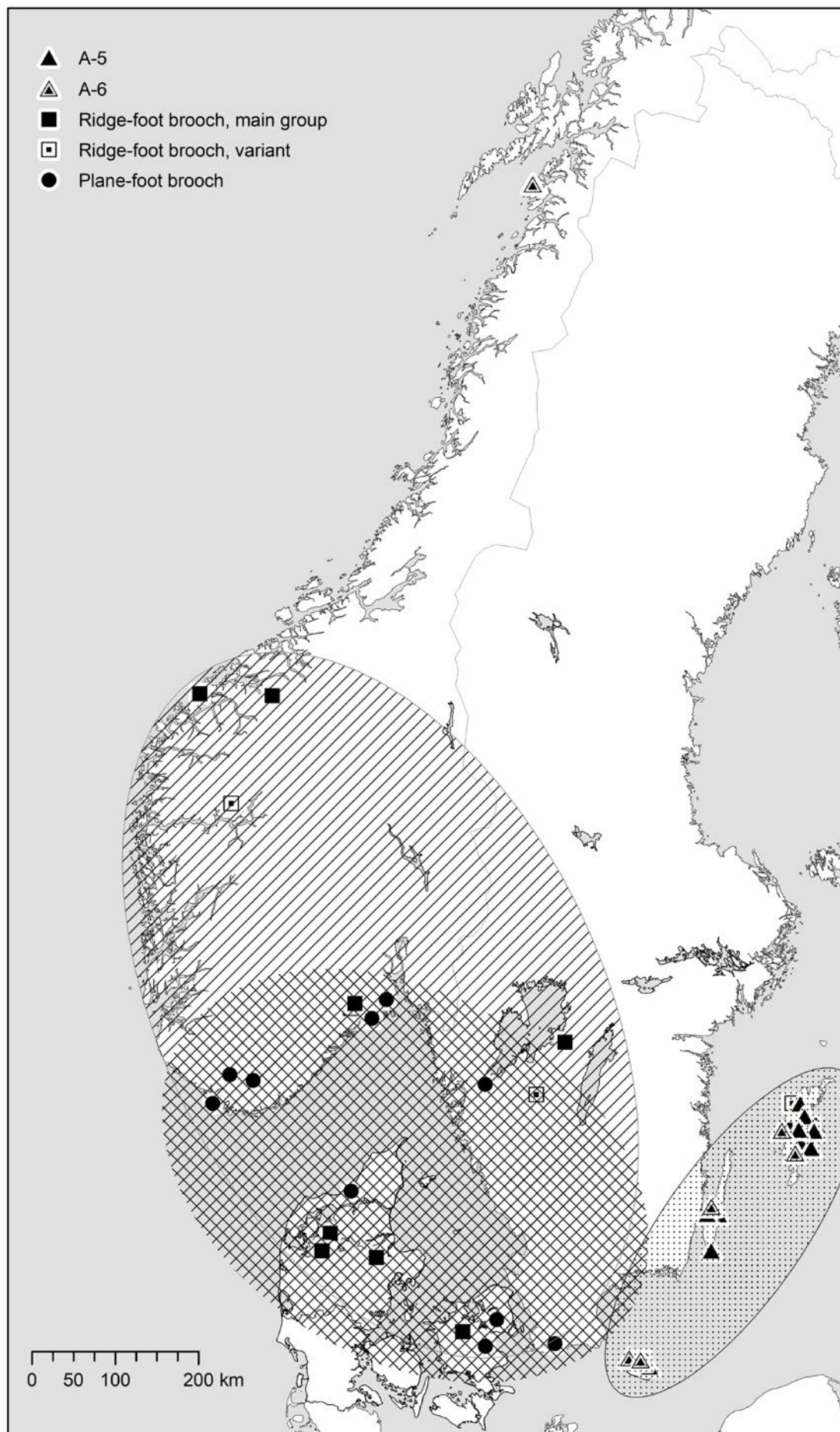
74 Å1683.

75 C1577: Filholm mose.

76 GF7182: Lundbjers.

77 C3500: Neldsø mose.

78 SHM1079. It is also uncertain what metal a brooch from Öland is made of (Kalmar museum 2748: find spot unknown).



Map 4.25 The distribution of the principal types of Phase D2a.

above, on brooches of the type with a semi-circular headplate on Gotland, Öland and Bornholm. In addition, it is possible to identify shared features in the finishing of brooches at a local level: for instance the ridge-foot brooches from Telemark, which stand out with their side and terminal lobes being formed of *en face* masks.

4.2.2.6 Find contexts of phase D2a

There are 25 relief brooches of phase D2a from grave finds, including 15 brooches from 14 finds in Norway, three finds with a total of five brooches from Denmark (all from Bornholm), and five brooches from as many grave finds from Sweden (Map 4.26).⁷⁹ Although there is a clear formal distinction between ridge- and plane-foot brooches and brooches with semi-circular headplates in this phase, there appear to be no differences in the assemblages of dress-accessories within which the brooches occur. A slight reservation needs to be noted, however, in respect of relief brooches with semi-circular headplates, since such a high proportion of these are stray finds. In two grave-assemblages from Melsted and Møllebakken on Bornholm, ridge-foot brooches were found together with type A-6 brooches – in other words a distinct ‘Scandinavian island’ type; this shows that relief brooches with semi-circular headplates are found in the same sets of dress-accessories as the other two main categories of relief brooch of this phase. In terms of costume groups, however, it is in fact the finds from Bornholm that stand further apart, not only in that they include crossbow brooches and, in one case, an equal-armed brooch, but also in their bead combinations. It should also be noted that the relief brooches that have been found in combination with bracteates of this phase are all ridge-foot brooches. The bead necklaces in the grave finds with relief brooches have, on average, more beads than before. It is still quite usual to find clasps and pendants too, but the trends are towards more pendants in the form of gold bracteates and more frequent use of Class B clasps rather than Class A. Dress pins are commonly found in association with relief brooches. The norm for both phases appears to have been for relief brooches to occur as the sole brooch of that type, except on Bornholm (Klindt-Jensen 1957:108).

A general problem is that the hoard finds have, on the whole, been unearthed long ago in the course of digging activities such as peat-cutting, and so have not been excavated in an archaeological manner. This makes the interpretation of the finds as placed

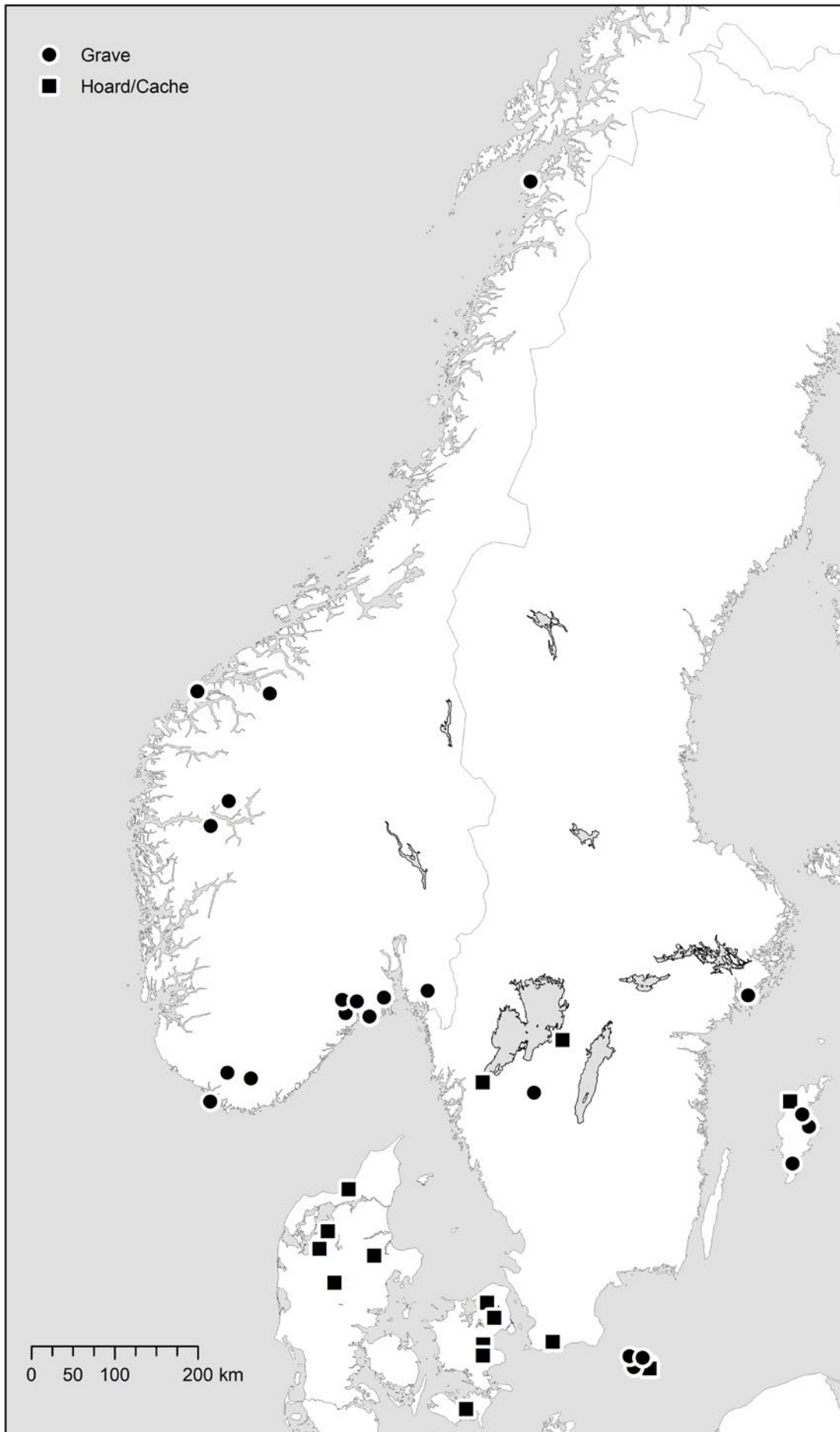
deposits uncertain in several cases. With this reservation, though, there are around 17 relief brooches from hoards of this phase, comprising 15 separate finds of which 11 are Danish and four Swedish (Map 4.26).⁸⁰ Once again, the scrap metal hoards stand out in their composition. In the case of the Hardenberg hoard, however, the pieces of relief brooches are so fragmentary that it is difficult to infer their provenance. The other hoards or caches are homogeneous, with either relief brooches found on their own, or relief brooches combined with beads and occasionally also with gold bracteates (cf. Hedeager 1991). This trend in the composition of hoards can be traced back into the preceding phase (cf. above), as can the trend towards the concentration of the hoards and caches in southern Scandinavia. The brooches in these deposits are types that are found distributed in south-western Scandinavia, mostly plane- and ridge-foot brooches. In the hoard from Grönby in Skåne relief brooches of either type are found together. The placed deposit of a ridge-foot brooch from Lundbjers on Gotland could initially be perceived as the caching of an ‘alien’ western Scandinavian ridge-foot brooch, but it is precisely this example which has been discussed above because it stands out especially as ‘hybrid’: a combination of a typically Gotlandic footplate, as if part of a relief brooch with a semi-circular headplate but conjoined with a rectangular headplate. It consequently looks dubious to treat this as ‘foreign’.

All of the three main types of relief brooch from this phase occur both in graves and in hoards/caches, so that no definite differences between those two categories of deposition in relation to particular types of brooch can be found. One difference between grave and hoard finds, however, is that, apart from the Høstentorp find, there are no other types of brooch, dress pin or clasp in the hoards in association with relief brooches, such as there are in grave-assemblages of this phase. Also to be taken into consideration is the fact that the grave finds including relief brooches cluster in a more northerly area, with the majority of the finds from Norway, while the hoards and caches are found principally in the south-west of Scandinavia.

As noted by way of introduction, a common perception is that the relief brooches from Denmark are from hoards or stray finds (Meyer 1935:90) while the other Scandinavian finds are from graves. This study modifies that perception somewhat. Alongside finds from Denmark, relief brooches appear in hoards or caches also in Skåne and Västergötland and on Gotland. The

⁷⁹ Five of these finds are undocumented beyond the fact that they were grave finds.

⁸⁰ This includes the Høstentorp hoard on Sjælland with finds from both phases D1 and D2a.



Map 4.26 Graves and hoards or caches with relief brooches of Phase D2a.

grave find from Tåstrupgård in København *amt* of phase D1 concurrently demonstrates that the brooches can also occur in grave finds in Denmark too.

There are also 14 stray finds of this phase. Fully 12 of these finds are relief brooches with semi-circular headplates from Bornholm, Gotland and Öland. Included amongst these finds is one from one of the ring-forts of Öland at Mossberga, Högsrom. This is the only settlement-site find from this phase.

4.2.2.7 Geographical distribution in phase D2b

Characteristic of the brooches of this phase, as already noted, is the fact that they form distinct groups with a pattern of geographical distribution that is relatively coherent. However, the difference between ridge- and plane-foot brooches is no longer as fundamental as in the preceding phase (see also Hines 1997:13). In this stage, both sub-categories display what is essentially a cross-shaped footplate, and so are more similar to each other in respect of shape or outline. It is now, for the most part, other features which enable us to differentiate between types of brooch: for instance the presence or absence of a disc on the bow, variation in the side lobes, a spatulate terminal lobe, to name a few. On the whole, brooches with semi-circular headplates no longer appear. With certain exceptions, which I shall discuss below, spiral ornament has also largely gone out of use and animal art is almost ubiquitous, developing in the direction of decoration characterized by ribbon-shaped animals.

The types of relief brooch which belong to this phase are the Rogaland group, the Sogne group, the Bothnian group, the northern ridge-foot group, the northern plane-foot group, the Gotlandic group, and a group of 'simple bronze' brooches (Meyer 1935). There are also brooches with a spatulate footplate which form a separate group (Sjøvold's type B-1) while several equal-armed relief brooches (as defined by Åberg and Magnus: see above) form a distinct regional group that is included in the following analysis even though (as will be discussed) there are certain problems in the dating of these brooches.⁸¹ Meyer (1935) also discussed a group of individualistic brooches of this phase, the majority of which have features in common with one or more of the regional groups to which, however, she did not assign them.

One problem with using Meyer's grouping as the basis for classification is that she does not always

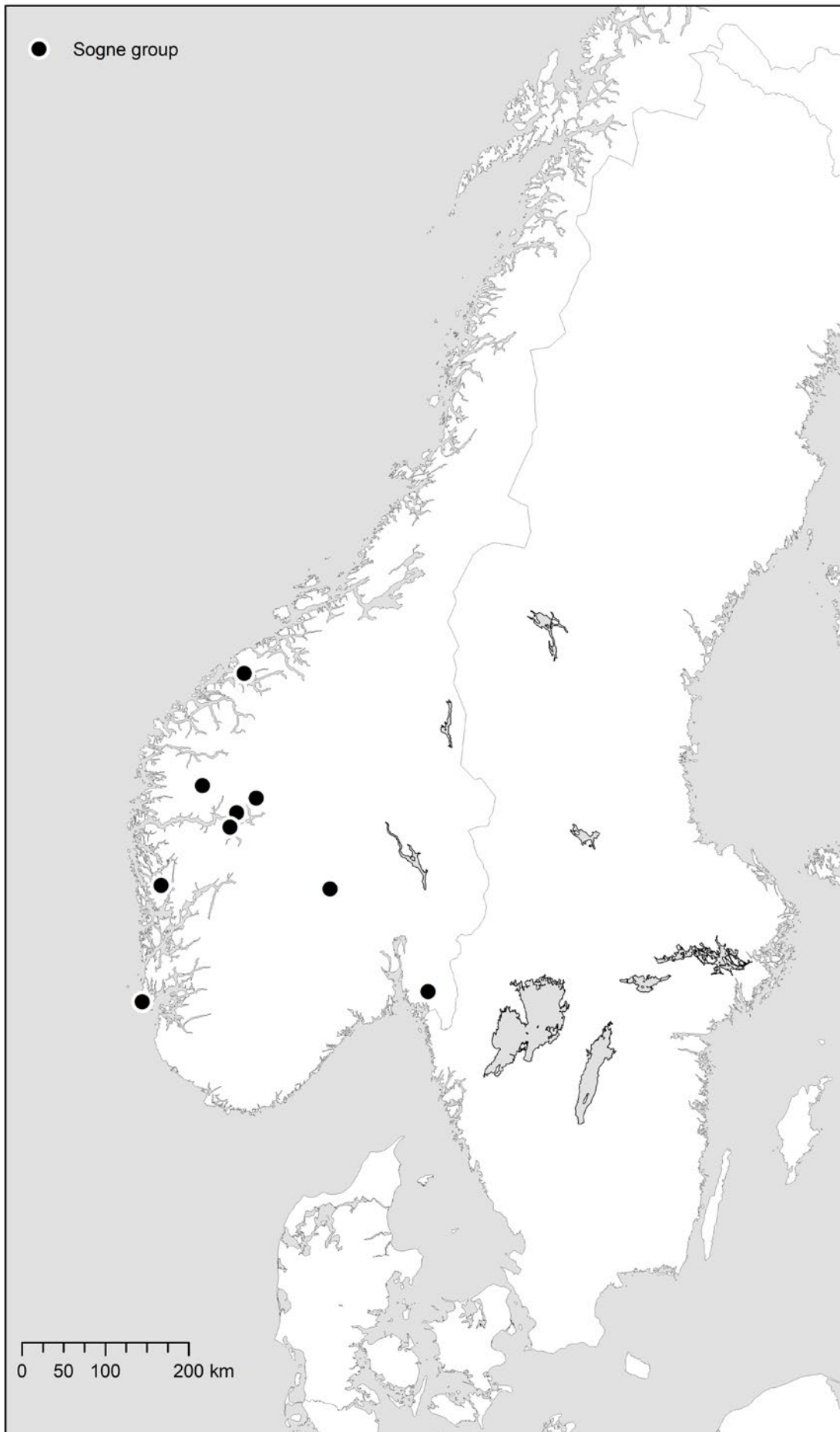
explain the basis of her divisions (Hines 1997:13). I shall attempt, therefore, to provide a brief definition of the groups as I use them. In this regard I emphasize the point that my definitions will consequently not necessarily be identical with Meyer's, nor will they include all of the features which she stressed in her descriptions of the individual specimens. Meyer made a point of picking out details, in the decoration for instance, which are shared between brooches within a group, but which are rarely present on all of the examples of the group. I have, for the most part, chosen to ignore such features and only to use those features that cover the entire (or practically the entire) group as definitive criteria. My definitions are therefore often broader and more general than Meyer's criteria appear to have been, and it is possible, as a result, for me to assign brooches which Meyer regarded as 'unique' to some of the groups. These cases are discussed *passim* in the context of the survey of the distributions of the individual sub-types in such a way as to make them clear in the text. This is also done where my definition diverges from Meyer's and I divide a group into further sub-groups. With respect to the definitions of the local groups in what follows, the footplate will be the cross-shaped type, unless anything different is noted.

The Sogne group is characterized above all by a bow disc, arms that terminate in animal or human heads (also described as *en face* masks) and a plane footplate (Fig. 4.38) (Meyer 1935:75). This group comprises nine brooches in total, with their principal range in Sogn og Fjordane and the neighbouring provinces of Møre og Romsdal and Hordaland (Map 4.27). In addition to these nine brooches, Meyer classified a specimen from Husvegg, Hå in Rogaland⁸² as a hybrid between the northern ridge-foot group and the Sogne group because the brooch has a shape of headplate and bow that is similar to the former group (cf. below) but has a plane foot with arms that terminate in *en face* masks like the latter (Meyer 1935:54, 72). I have not included this brooch with the Sogne group because it does not have the bow disc that is one of this group's most prominent characteristics. The brooch from Møre og Romsdal⁸³ can also be regarded as a hybrid, in this case between the northern plane-foot group and the Sogne group, as the arms terminate in roundels but with *en face* masks beyond them (Meyer 1935:79).

81 There are also a few finds of the type with a semi-circular headplate that are datable to the transition between phases D2a and D2b, but these have been discussed along with the brooches of the earlier phase.

82 S4752a.

83 C5605: Romsdal, unknown find spot.



Map 4.27 The distribution of the Sogne group.



Figure 4.38 Relief brooch of the Sogne group from Indre Arna in Hordaland (B564). Photograph: Svein Skare. © University Museum of Bergen.

This is counted in with the Sogne group as it does have the bow disc and *en face* masks.

The related northern plane-foot group is characterized, like the Sogne group, by a bow disc, but has arms that terminate in roundels (Fig. 4.39). This group also for the most part has a plane footplate (Meyer 1935:76, 78–9). The group is more or less the same as a sub-group of Sjøvold's (1993:33–5) type A2a. It comprises ten brooches found in strictly 'Scandinavian' contexts (Map 4.28). There is also an example of this sub-type from Rovaniemi in Lapland, Finland. As noted above, the distribution of this group covers a more extensive geographical area than Meyer could have known when she named the group (Fett 1974:11–12). With the advent of finds from Sogn og Fjordane and Rogaland, the northerly regions no longer appear to be the core area in Norway, and the type has a more generally westerly distribution than a really northern one in Norwegian terms. The three finds from Hälsingland, and that from Lapland and another from Önsvala

in Skåne, also show that the distribution cuts across modern national boundaries and testifies to contacts between west and east. Four of these brooches have peculiar features. One from Jorenkjøl in Rogaland⁸⁴ stands out for having a footplate divided lengthwise by a bar. The footplate consequently appears almost ridged, but the bar is irrelevant to the cross-section, which is essentially plane. The brooch from Ullsäter in Hälsingland⁸⁵ is also a ridge-foot brooch while that from Hällan in Hälsingland⁸⁶ has a decorative division of the footplate which also makes it look practically like the ridge-foot type. The specimen from Önsvala in Skåne has certain 'lappets' by the roundel in the lobes. Despite these peculiarities, the brooches of this group appear quite homogeneous.

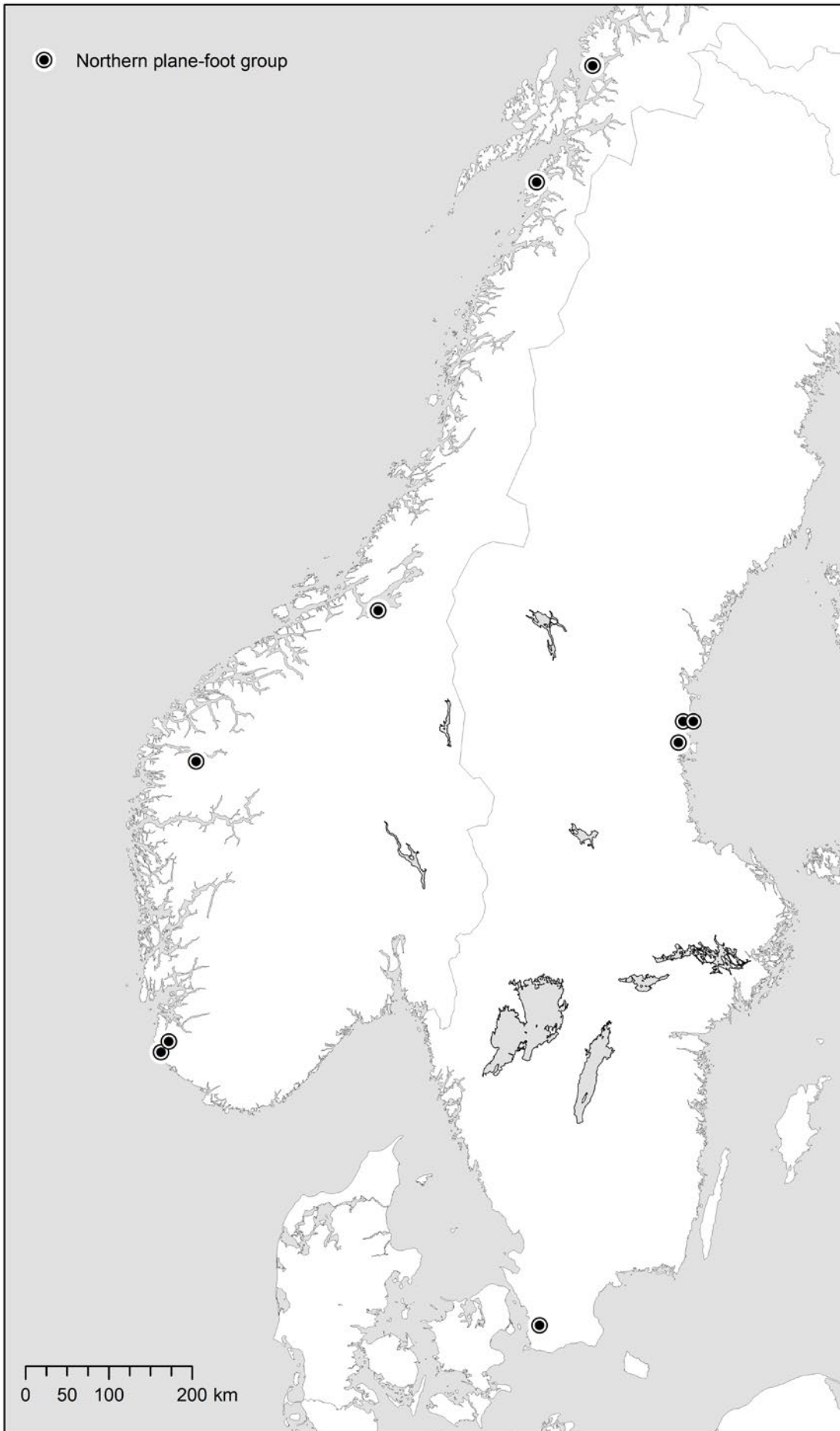
The Rogaland group consists of brooches with a ridged foot with arms that terminate in animal or human heads. The bow is parallel-sided or has some faint indication of widening into 'wings' (Fig. 4.40). What is most conspicuous with this group is the dense zoomorphic decoration in sharp relief that covers the entire surface, including the frame around the headplate. The animals are ribbon-shaped and interlaced with one another through sharp, almost right-angled turns, and it is hard to distinguish the various body-parts from one another (Meyer 1935:44–7). According to Meyer (1935:44) another characteristic is that the central ridge of the bow is continued up into the headplate and down into the footplate, but this is not found on all brooches of this group. This group can be linked to brooches which Meyer attributed to the 'Hauge Master' or which are regarded as copies of his or her products. These comprise five brooches that have the same principal characteristics as the Rogaland group. They can therefore, in my view, be regarded as part of the group, even though for Meyer (1935:93) they should be recognized as predecessors of the Rogaland group. Since phase D2b covers both stadia 5 and 6 of Meyer's chronology, this chronological distinction is not relevant here, apart from the fact that the inclusion of the 'Hauge Master's brooches' shows that the manufacture of local or regional brooch-types goes right back to the beginning of phase D2b.

The whole group – including the Hauge Master's brooches – consists of 12 brooches, with a concentration in Rogaland and Vest-Agder (Map 4.29). Only a small part of the bow and the profile heads on the footplate survives of the one specimen from Vestfold. Meyer (1935:47) included this in the Rogaland group

84 S6970.

85 SHM32359.

86 SHM934.



Map 4.28 The distribution of the northern plane-foot group.

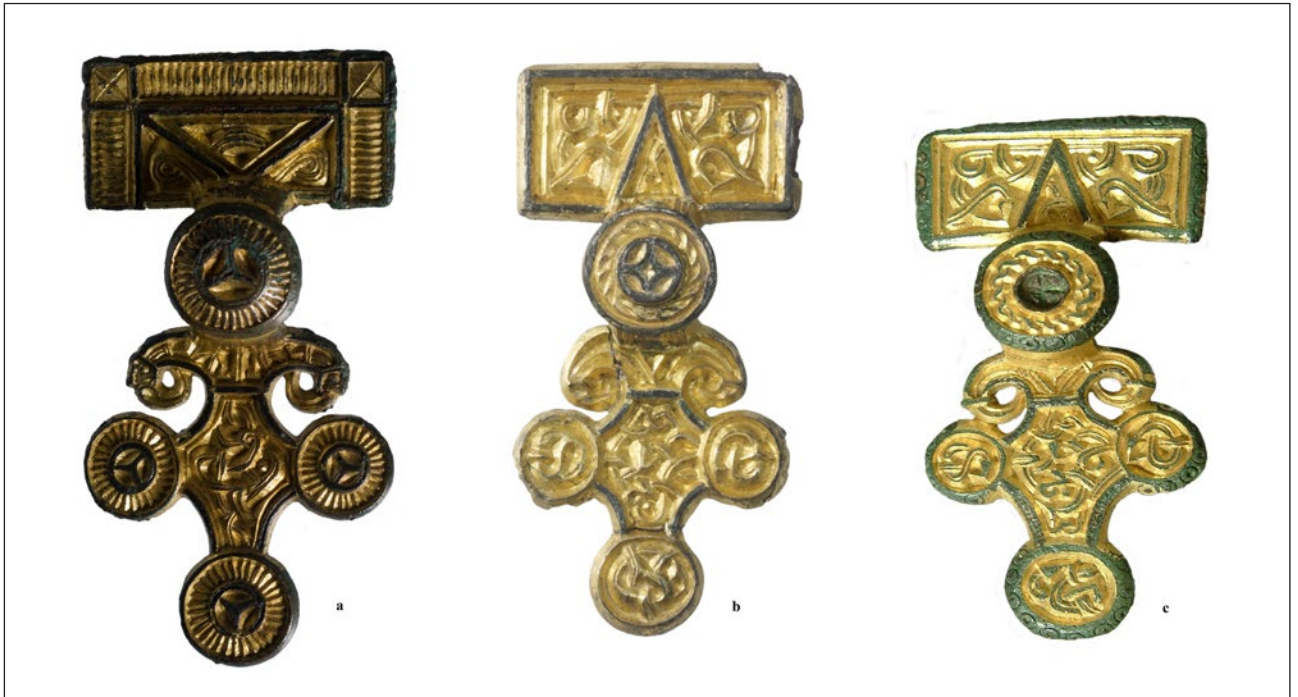
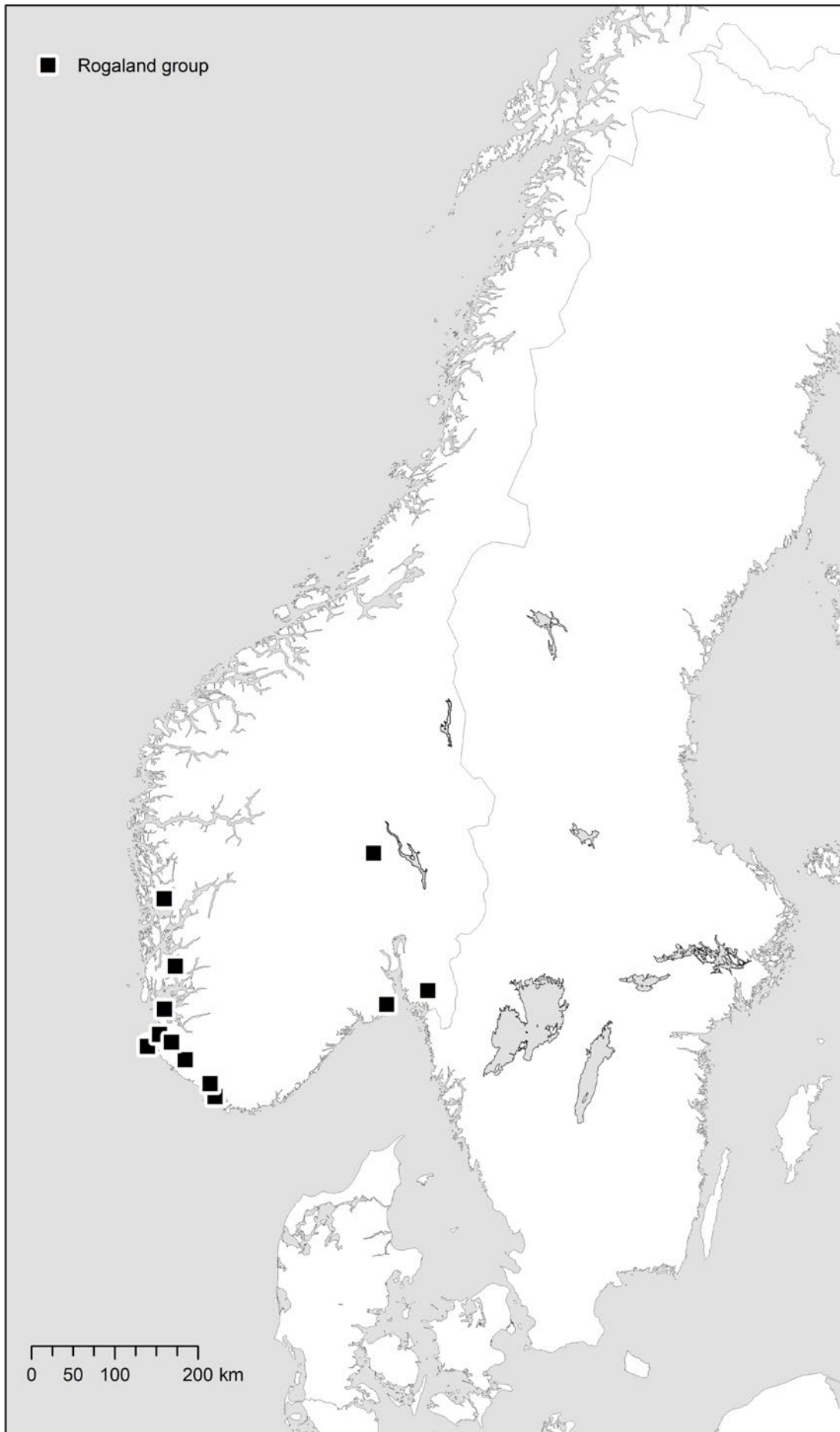


Figure 4.39 Relief brooches of the northern plane-foot group from: **a)** Amalienborg, Ranheim, Sør-Trøndelag (T3642). Photograph: Kari Dahl. © NTNU, University Museum, **b)** Eikeland, Time, Rogaland (S9181g). Photograph: Terje Tveit, © Arkeologisk museum, University of Stavanger (CC BY-NC-ND 3.0), and **c)** Hällan, Hälsingland (SHM1774). Photograph: John Ljungkvist. © Swedish History Museum (CC BY).



Figure 4.40 Relief brooches of the Rogaland group from **a)** Hauge, Klepp, Rogaland (B4000a). Photograph: Svein Skare. © University Museum of Bergen, **b)** Sande, Vest-Agder (C55731/1). Photograph: Ellen C. Holte. © Museum of Cultural History, and **c)** Iesjøen, Østfold (C15668). Photograph: Kirsten Helgeland. © Museum of Cultural History.



Map 4.29 The distribution of the Rogaland group.



Figure 4.41 Relief brooches of the northern ridge-foot group from **a**) Dalem in Nord-Trøndelag (C4816). Photograph: Kirsten Helgeland. © Museum of Cultural History, **b**) Häste, Jämtland (SHM19572/JLM12272). Photograph: Sören Hallgren. © Swedish History Museum (CC BY) (the background is altered), **c**) Brunflo, Jämtland (JLM15700a). Photograph: © Jamtli/Jamtis fotosamlingar, **d**) Fonnäs, Hedmark (C8154). Photograph: Kirsten Helgeland. © Museum of Cultural History, and **e**) Åfjord prestegård (T1821). Photograph: Kari Dahl. © NTNU, University Museum.

because of the similarity to a couple of brooches from Rogaland and to the example from Isesjøen in Østfold. Given its condition, it must remain uncertain whether or not the fragment does belong to this group. Of the five brooches of the 'Master', one example from Gyland in Vest-Agder survives only in the form of

an *en face* mask from the footplate terminal lobe. Its inclusion in the group must consequently be viewed as uncertain, although Meyer (1935:42, 66) assigned it to her 'Hauge Master'. The fragment was found in the same grave as a brooch that is assigned to the 'Ågedal Master'.⁸⁷ This context is one of a number of

⁸⁷ C7454.

circumstances which imply some connection between the brooches of the Rogaland group or the Hauge Master's brooches and the products of the Ågedal Master, as well as other finds from Vest-Agder (see further below).

The northern ridge-foot group shares several features with the Rogaland group. It is principally made up of ridge-foot brooches on which the side and terminal lobes of the footplate have *en face* masks (Fig. 4.41). Typical of brooches of this group, however, is an emphatic widening of the bow which in most cases appears, as a result, practically as a square field in the middle of the bow, making the silhouette of the bow octagonal. There is a further characteristic feature on most of the brooches: running on from the outer frame of the bow, two lines continue into the headplate and terminate in a rectangular marked frame that runs parallel to the outer edge of the headplate (Meyer 1935:51–6). This definition is partly congruent with that of Sjøvold's (1993:39, pls. 19–25) type A-3. Sjøvold's definition, however, is rather wider than that given here, as a result of which he included further brooches which belong to the simple bronze group and the Gotlandic group (see below). Sjøvold (1993:39–40) emphasized that the expanded bow is a purely Scandinavian feature found primarily on brooches from Norway and Sweden, which makes it logical to select it as a classification criterion. I agree with Sjøvold on this point, but nevertheless consider that features which are equally significant in visual terms separate out the groups just referred to (the simple bronze and the Gotlandic groups), and return to this matter below.

According to Meyer (1935:55–6), the Dalum Master's brooches are to be considered amongst the earliest brooches of the northern ridge-foot group. There are two brooches which are regarded as his masterpieces: the great brooch from Dalum – by which this Master is known – and a brooch from Häste in Jämtland. In comparison with the brooches that Meyer (1935) assigns to this group, I would expand it by adding a further six pieces. I include two brooches that Meyer classified as 'individualistic': the brooch from Fonnås in Hedemark⁸⁸ that has been assigned

to a 'Fonnås Master' and a brooch from Skrautval in Oppland.⁸⁹ I have also included a brooch from Mo by in Hälsingland, Sweden,⁹⁰ which Meyer treated on its own. She noted the similarities between this brooch and brooches of the northern ridge-foot group but insisted that 'all the same, we dare not count this piece of work as one of the northern ridge-foot group; the composition of the [head]plate is insufficiently characteristic' [translated]. I have decided to include this brooch because it has all of the features that I regard as characteristic of the group in the present context. That is also the case with a more recent find from Hälsingland, from Björka in Hälsingtuna.⁹¹ Only the headplate survives of this brooch, but it is very similar indeed to the brooch from Mo by and to some other brooches of the group: inter alia from Brunflo in Jämtland and Å in Nord-Trøndelag (see also Hines 1993a:25). For the same reason I have also included a find from Nornes in Sogn og Fjordane.⁹² The group further includes a brooch from Åkerby in Uppland,⁹³ and another from Älvesta in Södermanland.⁹⁴ In the former case, the brooch has to be regarded as an uncertain member of the group because the lateral arms and the terminal lobe of the footplate have been lost. The headplate on this brooch lacks the typical framing ridge, but the brooch does have the diagnostic 'squared' expanded bow. Only fragments of the masks from the side and terminal lobes of the footplate plus the bow remain of the Älvesta brooch. These are of a form consistent with the criteria that define this group. My definition of this group is thus a little more general than Meyer's. However, I have excluded one brooch which Meyer (1935:44) had originally included within the group,⁹⁵ because it is so fragmentary that I consider it to be impossible to determine whether or not it has the diagnostic features of the group.

Defined in this way, the northern ridge-foot group comprises 17 brooches⁹⁶ and its geographical distribution clusters especially in Nord-Trøndelag and Sweden's Norrland (Map 4.30). Some of the brooches lack one or more of the definitive features I have identified above, so that the group appears rather more varied than the other groups I have reviewed. The visual continuation of the bow with lines drawn

88 C8154.

89 C12280.

90 HM7562: Mo by, Tuna, Hälsingland.

91 SHM34566/A52.

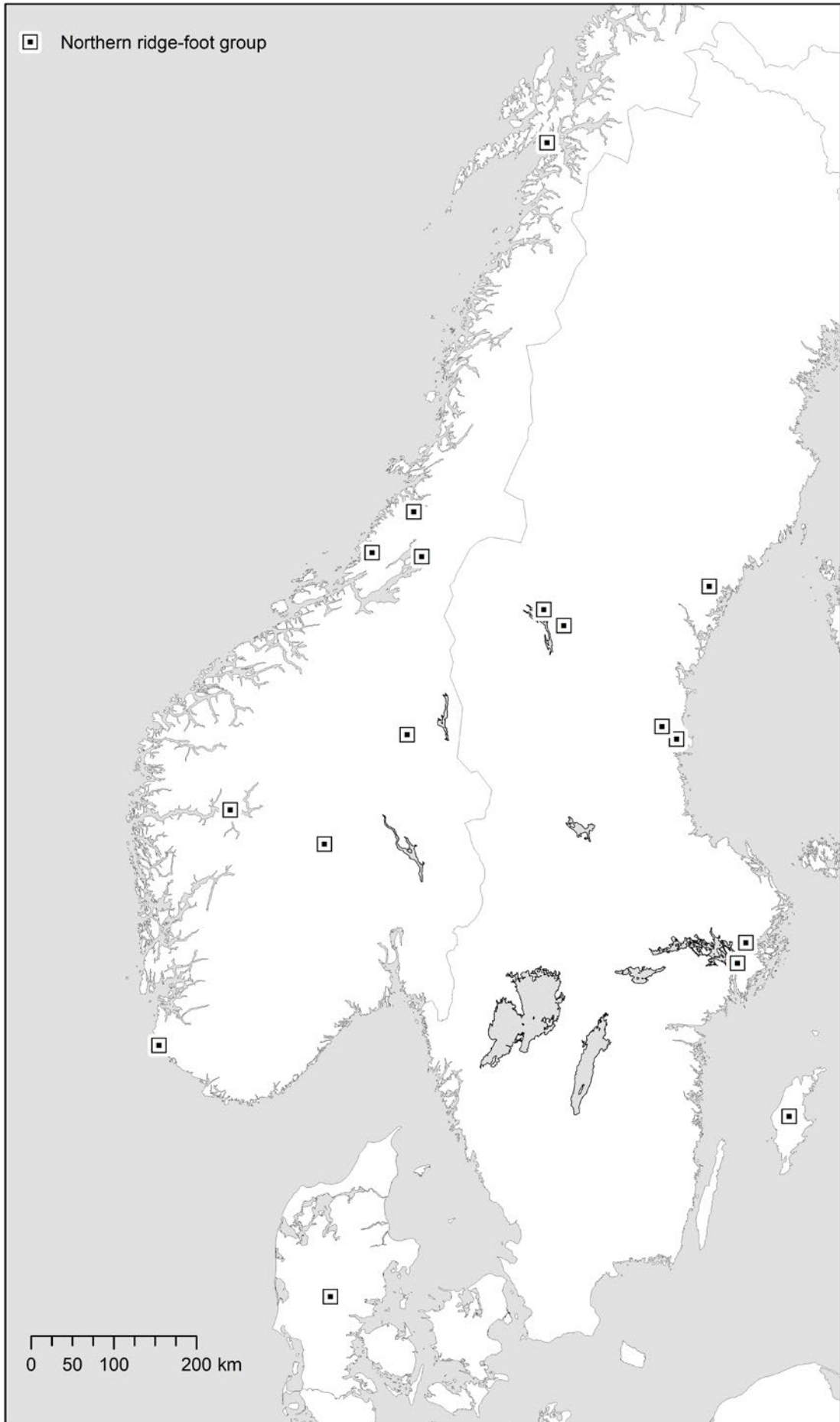
92 B9688a.

93 SHM d.nr. 3290/83.

94 SHM30980/A24.

95 B6899a: Indre Alvik, Hordaland.

96 Including the brooch from Åkerby, Uppland (SHM d.nr.3290/83).



Map 4.30 The distribution of the northern ridge-foot group.



Figure 4.42 Relief brooches of the Bothnian group from *a*) Refset, Sør-Trøndelag (T1645). Photograph: Kari Dahl. © NTNU, University Museum, og *b*) Bjällsta, Medelpad (SHM4046). Photograph: John Ljungkvist. © Swedish History Museum (CC BY).

up into the headplate recurs on 11 of the 16 brooches of this group. This feature is not, however, a principal criterion for classification. Three brooches stand apart in relation to definitive elements, one of which is the previously discussed find from Husvegg in Hå.⁹⁷ This find was classified by Meyer (1935:54, 72) as a hybrid of the northern ridge-foot group and the Sogne group. As noted earlier, I count it in with the northern ridge-foot group even though the brooch does not have a ridged footplate. Two further brooches, from Offersøy in Lødingen and from an unknown find spot in Denmark, stand apart in that their footplate side and terminal lobes have roundels. For this reason these are closely related to the northern plane-foot group, and ought perhaps to be regarded as hybrids between these two groups. I nevertheless include them, as Meyer did, with the ridge-root group because they have no bow disc, which I consider to be of fundamental importance regarding visual impact. Three of the brooches that I do include within the group are fragmentary and have consequently to be treated as uncertain: the brooches from Bangsund in Nord-Trøndelag and Björka in Hälsingland survive only in

the form of the headplates and a small piece of the bow. Meyer considered the former to belong to this group because both the bow and the headplate have the features characteristic of the group, and I have done the same with the Björka brooch. The brooch from Skrautval in Oppland, which Meyer regarded as individualistic but I would include within this group, survives in the form of the footplate and the majority of the bow, both of which are of a form consistent with the criteria laid out by way of introduction.

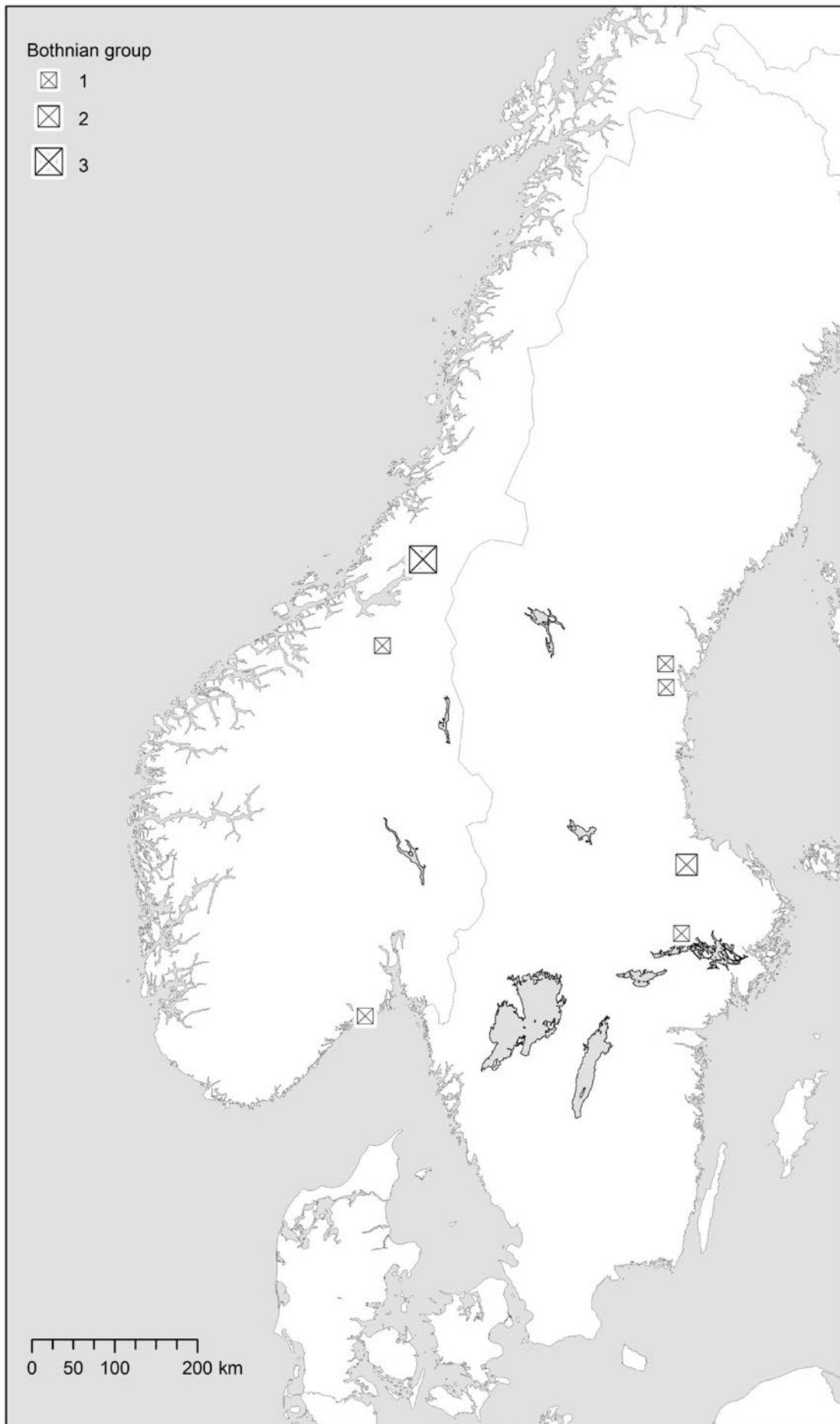
Like the Rogaland group, the Bothnian group of brooches shares some common features with the northern ridge-foot group – but not the same features (Fig. 4.42). Like the preceding group, this group also has the laterally expanded bow. Otherwise it is characterized by a plane foot with arms that terminate in what are practically triangular panels which are not shaped as either animal or human masks, while the terminal lobe has a roundel above a triangular panel. In the lower borders of the footplate between the side and terminal lobes there are tongue-shaped projections. This can be reminiscent of the shape of the footplate on some specimens assigned to the northern ridge-foot group, because the side and terminal lobes with animal and human masks can be almost triangular in shape (e.g. the brooch from Häste in Jämtland, which also has tongue-shaped spikes along the outer edge of the footplate) (Meyer 1935:80–2). The group comprises ten brooches (Map 4.31) if three ‘miniature brooches’⁹⁸ that were found together with the great relief brooch from Dalum are included.⁹⁹ These are exceptionally small, and ‘schematic’, and could just about be considered an intermediary type between relief brooches and small bow brooches. Meyer (1935:51, 81) noted that one of these must have been a copy of brooches of the Bothnian group. Although two of the miniature brooches are fragments, what is left of the footplates shows that these were practically identical in appearance. I therefore include all three here. I also include a brooch from Hade (II) in Gästrikland¹⁰⁰ which Meyer (1935:57, 81) treated separately under the sub-heading of ‘two brooches from Norrland’. She also, however, pointed out similarities between this specimen and brooches of the Bothnian group. It is a relief brooch with a bar or ‘ridge’ on the footplate but no expansion of the bow, while the arms terminate in triangular panels. This brooch

97 S4752a.

98 C4817–19.

99 I have omitted a brooch from Österbotten that Meyer (1935:82–3) discussed in the context of her review of the group but which she in fact left out of it too. This lacks its bow, which makes it difficult to classify it as belonging to this group, and the only surviving side lobe terminates in a mask. In this way it differs from the other examples of this group.

100 SHM1209 (II).



Map 4.31 The distribution of the Bothnian group.

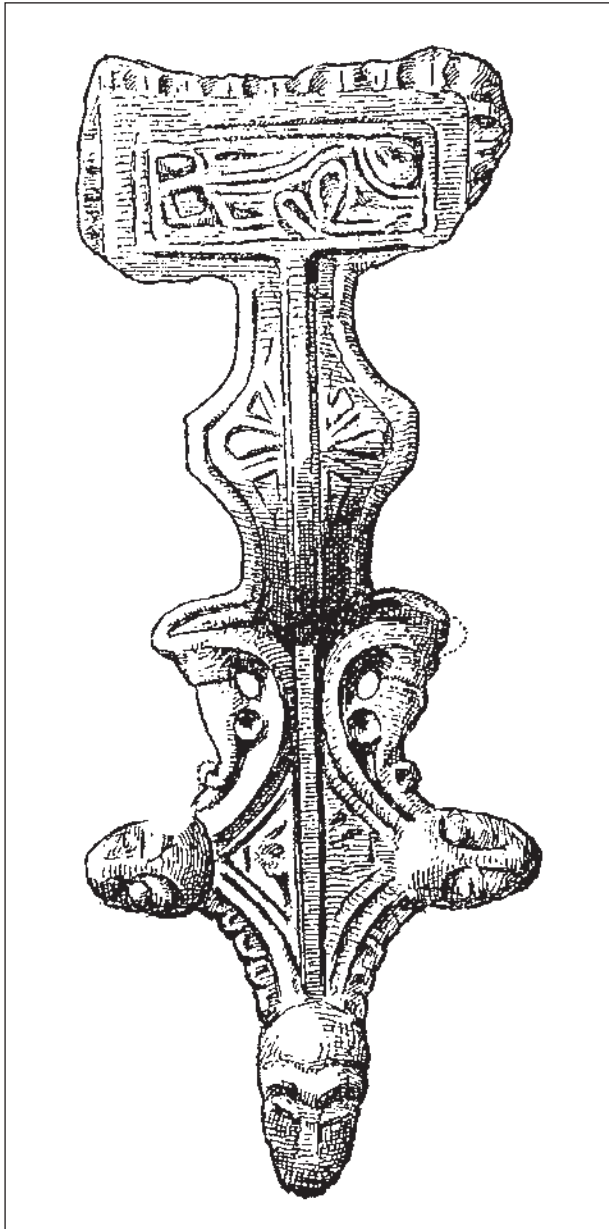


Figure 4.43 Relief brooch of the simple bronze group from *Hå prestegård, Hå, Rogaland (B4398a)*, after Schetelig (1910:fig. 12), © University Museum of Bergen.

thus diverges in respect of certain features from the other examples of the group, but since the shape and outline of the footplate are so typical I have decided to include it. Another brooch of the group is also a little divergent: a brooch from Berg in Vestfold,¹⁰¹ on which both the side lobes and the terminal lobe have roundels with no panels beyond them. Along with Meyer I nonetheless choose to include this find since the brooch does have the same features typical of the group otherwise. The distribution of the Bothnian group as defined here is concentrated in Trøndelag

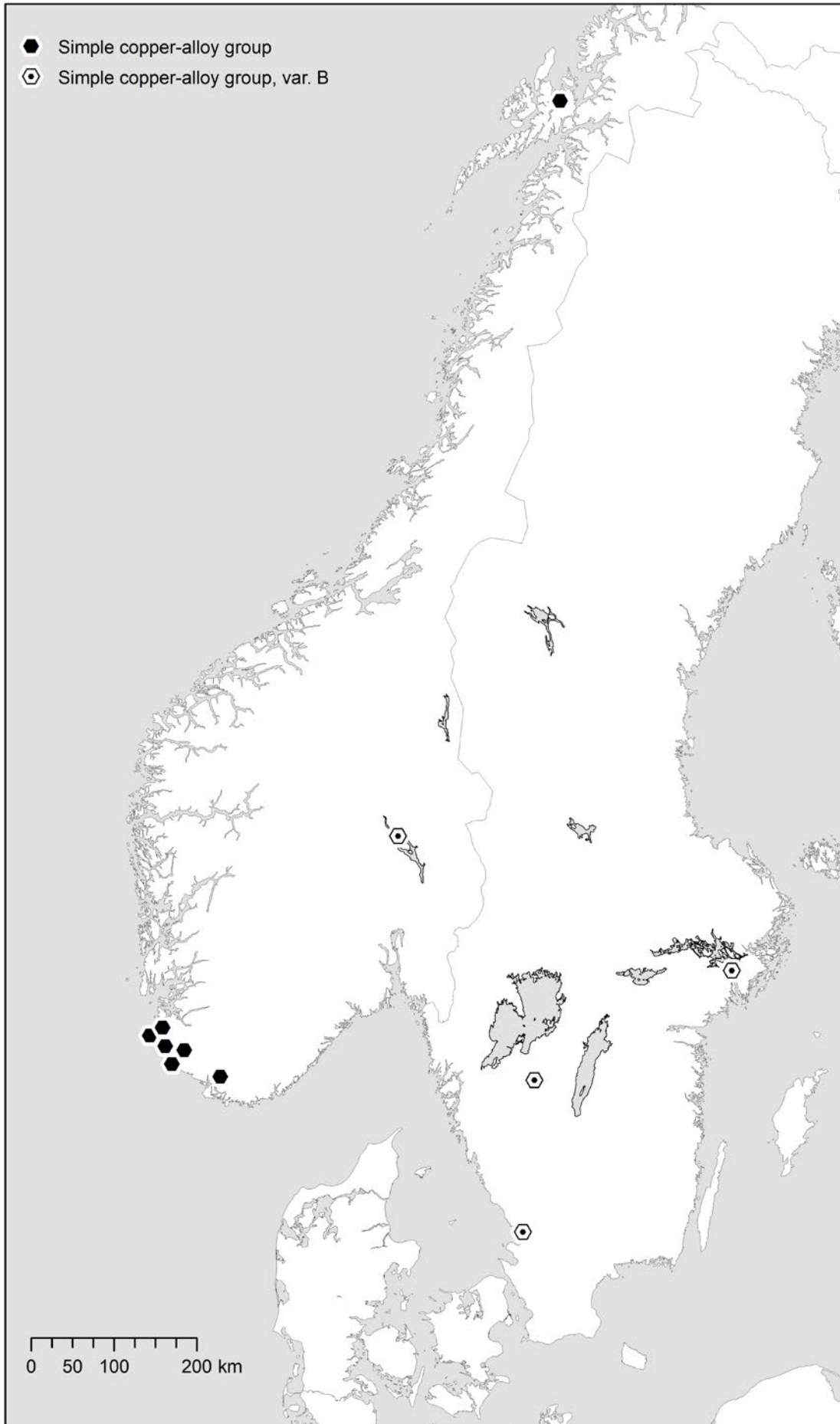
and Norrland, with a denser core to the east of the area (in Gästrikland and Medelpad). It is almost fully identical with Sjøvold's (1993:46) type A-4. Sjøvold, however, also included the brooch from Husvegg in Rogaland, which I have assigned to the northern ridge-foot group, with type A-4, and he did not include the Hade II brooch. Five specimens from Sør-Trøndelag, Gästrikland, Medelpad (two finds) and Västmanland are very similar to one another but not cast in the same moulds (Meyer 1935:80).

The simple bronze group is distinguished by the fact that the brooches are ungilded (Kristoffersen 2000:85). They are of a form that appears narrower than other relief brooches of this phase (Fig. 4.43). The footplate has side and terminal lobes modelled as lumpy animal or human masks, and the footplate itself is ridged. As a rule, the bow is expanded, with a triangular field which ends in a long point on either side. The decoration is markedly simple, weakly modelled, and shallow. This group comprises seven brooches in total, five of which were cast in the same mould (Meyer 1935:60): three found in Rogaland, one from Vest-Agder and one from Troms. The type is most numerous overall in Rogaland, where five of the seven brooches have been found (Map 4.32). The spatial distribution within this province clusters on Jæren. The two brooches that were cast in different moulds, from Tjøtta in Klepp and Holmen in Helleland in Rogaland, are a little smaller and not quite as slender as the other members of the group. The Holmen brooch also has rather more distinctive decoration on the headplate and an almost parallel-sided bow, and is comparable to the brooches of the Rogaland group.

Meyer (1935:60–1) discussed a brooch from Gullydynt in Österbotten in connection with her review of the simple bronze group. However she did not count this specimen as a member of this group even though it is simple in form, made of copper alloy, and not gilded. This brooch has four parallels in finds from Hedmark, Halland, Södermanland and Västergötland.¹⁰² These five brooches differ from Meyer's simple bronze group in being decorated in an even simpler manner: nothing more than unsophisticated spiral ornament. They also lack expanded bows, and are not as narrow as the brooches of the simple bronze group but are often smaller, with side and terminal lobes that are virtually lumps, or ball-like (Fig. 4.44). These five brooches are quite similar to each other and should really be regarded as a subgroup or variant of the main group of simple bronze

101 C19227.

102 Meyer (1935) does not discuss any of these finds.



Map 4.32 The distribution of the simple bronze group.



Figure 4.44 Relief brooch of the simple bronze group variant b from Karleby grave A42, Södermanland (SHM33985), after Waller (1996:fig. 30).

brooches, with an easterly distribution (henceforward referred to as variant b). Including the four strictly Scandinavian examples of variant b, the group as a whole amounts to 11 brooches.¹⁰³ I discuss the finds together here but nevertheless regard the group as dividing into two. Meyer (1935:101–2) assigned the simple bronze brooches to stadium 5 – in other words relatively early within phase D2b – because some of them were found associated with cruciform brooches.¹⁰⁴ This combination of brooches could, as noted (Ch. 3.1.1), indicate that the type was in use during the transition between phases D2a and D2b (see also Kristoffersen 2000:90 and tab. 6).

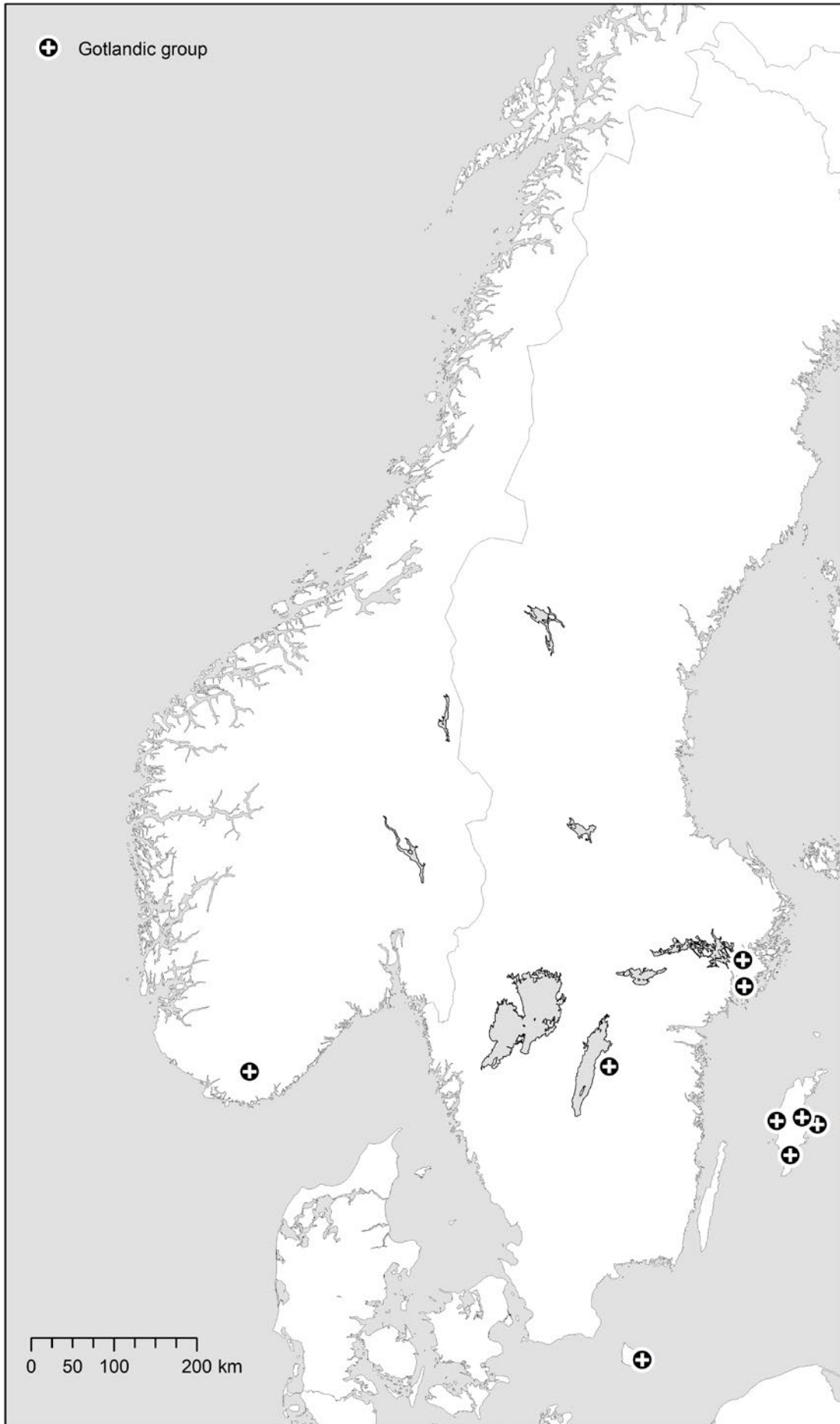
The Gotlandic group is characterized above all by an exceptionally wide and narrow headplate (Meyer 1935:59). This type has a ridged foot, with lateral arms terminating in animal or human heads (Fig. 4.45). The heads of the side lobes are in profile on some of the brooches, and in these cases the arms bend downwards



Figure 4.45 Relief brooches of the Gotlandic group from Trygslund, Vest-Agder (DCCCXXXIV), after Rygh (1885:fig. 261), and Sojvide, Gotland (SHM4392), after Salin (1904:fig. 132).

¹⁰³ I am not including the Finnish example of the variant b brooches.

¹⁰⁴ As well as individual specimens from Rogaland which belong to the 'main group', this is also the case with an example from Gökshem in Västergötland which is of the variant-b sub-group.



Map 4.33 The distribution of the Gotlandic group.



Figure 4.46 Relief brooch of Type B-1 with spatulate footplate from Garpestad, Rogaland (B1874), after Rygh (1885:fig. 256).

(e.g. the brooch from Sojvide on Gotland)¹⁰⁵ as on some ridge-foot brooches of phase D2a (see above). Most of the examples have an expanded bow. Meyer's original group consisted of five brooches, four of them from Gotland. This group now comprises nine examples, the distribution of which is primarily on Gotland (Map 4.33). Only the headplate survives of a brooch from Södermanland,¹⁰⁶ but this has the typically wide and narrow shape and is therefore assigned to this group. Another find from Södermanland¹⁰⁷ is no more than a footplate fragment on which only the trace of a downward-bent side lobe and the terminal lobe remain; consequently this find has to be treated as uncertain. Two brooches may have been cast in the same mould: the find from Vest-Agder and one from an unknown find spot on Gotland.¹⁰⁸ Both of these have long, narrow footplate arms with 'normal' *en face* animal or human heads (Meyer 1935:58–9). One of the brooches which Meyer included within

the group, from Grötlingbo on Gotland, differs in the shape of the arms, which are very coarsely formed and lumpish, like the examples of the simple bronze group. Another brooch from Gotland (Petsarve)¹⁰⁹ also differs in the way the arms have been made, although in this case they terminate in a triangular panel. This links this brooch to the Bothnian group (see also Meyer 1935:59). This brooch also has no expanded bow, but does have the typically wide and narrow headplate. Four brooches have downward-bent side lobes or arms with a suggestion of curvature: the brooch from Sojvide on Gotland and the brooch-fragment from Ålby in Södermanland, plus two more recent finds from Abbetorp in Östergötland and Biskopenge on Bornholm. On two of these brooches – those from Bornholm and Södermanland – the profile heads in the side lobes look like birds' heads, a feature that also occurs on several brooches in south-eastern Scandinavia around the Baltic Sea (Sjøvold 1993:45–6). These two brooches also differ from the rest of the group in that they are made of silver, while the rest are copper-alloy. The Sojvide find also has a parallel-sided bow.

The type with a spatulate footplate (type B-1) has to be regarded as yet another regional group of this phase, even though Meyer did not distinguish it as a group as Sjøvold was to do. This type has a parallel-sided bow, sometimes with small 'wings'. The bow usually has a flattened rectangular panel in the middle (Fig. 4.46). Meyer (1935:46) noted the similarity between two brooches with spatulate footplates from Rogaland and brooches of the Rogaland group in respect of the form and arrangement of the decoration. This applies to four brooches. The type as a whole comprises 21 brooches and its distribution is focused upon south-western Norway, and Vestlandet from Sognefjord southwards, with a centre of gravity in Rogaland (Map 4.34).

There is finally a group of equal-armed relief brooches which I choose to include amongst the relief brooches of phase D2b even though an absence of good contextual information makes it problematic to date these brooches securely to this phase (Fig. 4.47). Only two of them are from contexts in which they are associated with other types of dress-accessory that could locate the brooches more precisely in relation to the phase-system used here. An equal-armed relief brooch of variant 2 from Utnäs in Hälsingland (Fig. 4.20b)¹¹⁰

105 SHM4392.

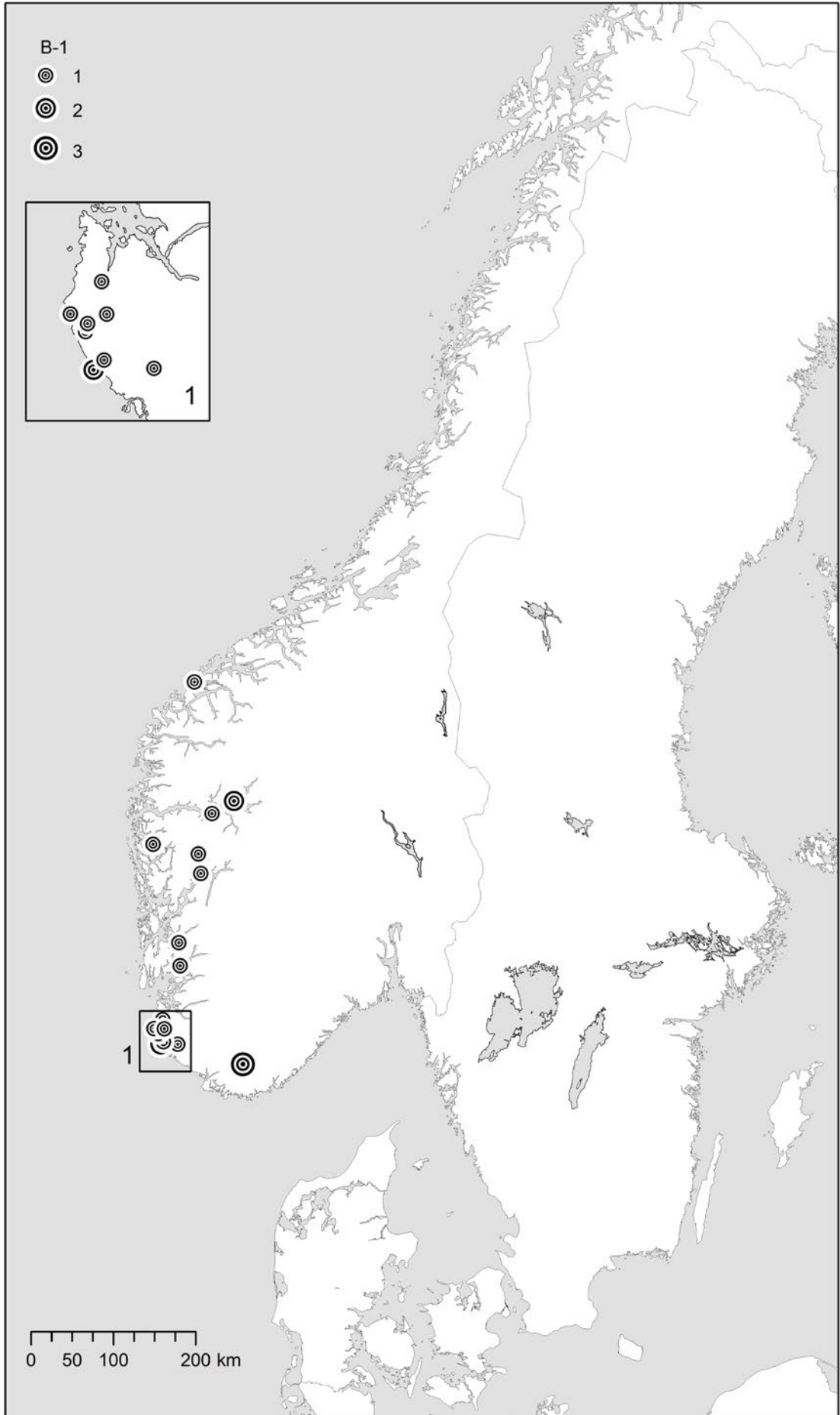
106 SHM31711: Segeltorp, Huddinge.

107 SHM26771.

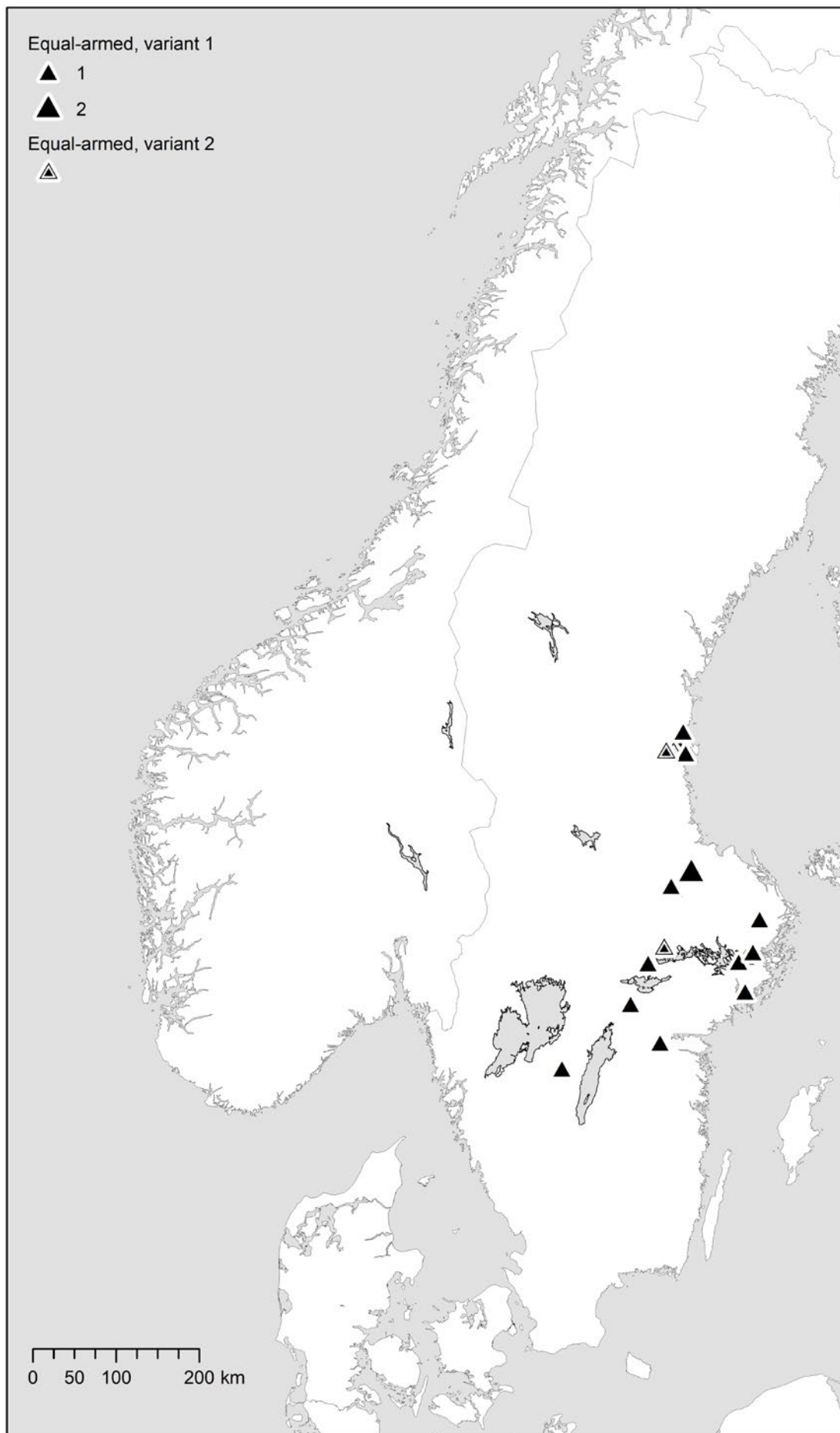
108 SHM14255.

109 SHM7571:337.

110 HM87 or 7567A. Different accession numbers are given by Åberg (1924) and Magnus (1995; 2006) respectively.



Map 4.34 The distribution of type B-1 relief brooches with spatulate footplate.



Map 4.35 The distribution of equal-armed relief brooches of Phase D2b.

was found together with a cruciform brooch of Type Mundheim, and so can be dated to phase D2a. The zoomorphic decoration on the Utnäs brooch gives a late impression, however, and the similarity of the variant-2 brooches to the Bothnian group of relief brooches (cf. above) indicates that the Utnäs find – and so the variant-2 brooches as the whole – should be assigned to the transition between phases D2a and D2b. An equal-armed relief brooch from Lovö in Uppland¹¹¹ was found together with a dress pin with a polyhedral head (of Waller's sub-type II:2 or II:3: i.e. with an attached plate or loop respectively). Dress pins of this type in the Mälars region are primarily dated by Waller (1996:102, 147) to the Merovingian Period or the transition between the Migration and Merovingian Periods, but the type can also be dated back to late in the Migration Period. This find can therefore plausibly be assigned to phase D2b.

The dating of the remainder of the brooches depends principally on stylistic features, and a stylistic dating of these brooches brings with it many of the same problems as the same approach brings to dating relief brooches with semi-circular head-plates (cf. above). This is the case, for instance, with an equal-armed relief brooch from Måsta in Hälsingland (Fig. 4.47a).¹¹² This specimen, which is of the variant-1 type, is unusual in its decoration, which is relatively simple and, apart from the animal heads/*en face* masks at the ends of the plates and the frame decoration along the outer borders of the plates, consists solely of spiral ornament. Åberg (1924:51) considered this brooch to be the oldest in the group, on the basis of its spiral decoration. Another brooch, from Gillberga in Närke (Fig. 4.20a),¹¹³ has spiral ornament in the central panel and animal art only along the outer borders of the plates. Spiral decoration is considered to be an early stylistic feature and is frequently connected with the Nydam Style of the 5th century. Åberg (1924:52), however, emphasized the form of the zoomorphic decoration along the border as a late feature: '...the edge-panel's animal decoration renders it probable, nonetheless, that this brooch dates later than the middle of the 6th

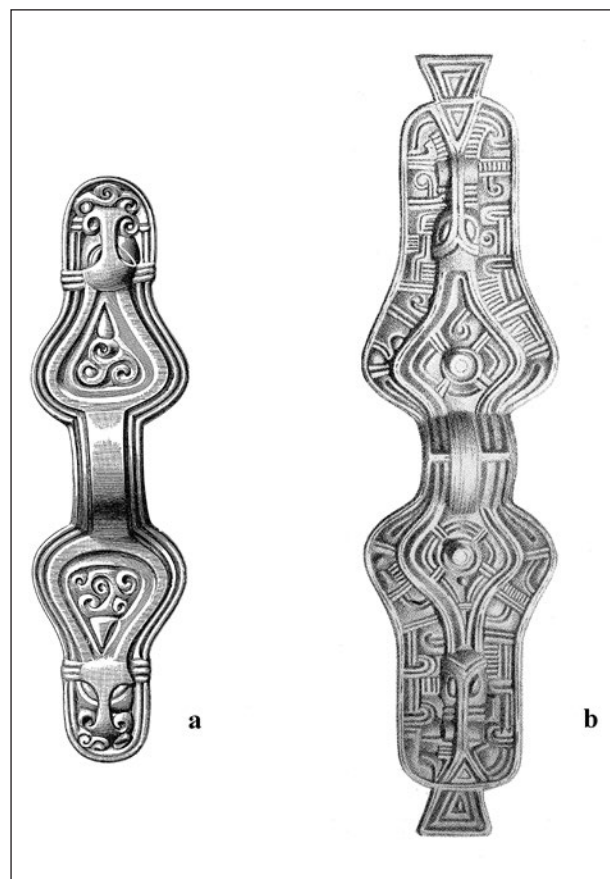


Figure 4.47 Equal-armed relief brooch from a) Måsta, Hälsingland (SHM14374) and b) Hade, Gästrikland (SHM1209) after Åberg (1924:figs. 120 and 122).

century' [translated].¹¹⁴ Several of the brooches of this group, however, have clear late stylistic features, with surface-covering, much developed, animal art (Magnus 1999a:119–20; Åberg 1924:52–3). Magnus (2007:190) dates the equal-armed brooches to the late Migration Period, from c. AD 500 for some two to three generations onwards. I shall therefore, for the sake of simplicity, count this group of brooches as a whole within phase D2b, even though some of the brooches, such as that from Utnäs, may have been in use around the end of phase D2a.

The 15 equal-armed brooches¹¹⁵ are found predominantly in central and eastern Sweden, in the Mälars region and neighbouring areas (Map 4.35).¹¹⁶ There are

111 SHM32300/157.

112 SHM14374.

113 SHM3445.

114 Attention is drawn, however, to the fact that Åberg (1924) considered that the Migration Period continued to around AD 600. His dating of the brooch is thus not to the very latest phase of this period.

115 Two other finds, a fragmentary specimen from Uppåkra in Skåne (Magnus 2001:182) and a brooch from Sättuna in Östergötland (Magnus 2007:191; Rundkvist 2007:119–22), are from central places and consequently are not included here.

116 The example from Torp, Sorunda, Södermanland (SHM34492–3/A14) is so fragmentary that its identification as an equal-armed relief brooch has to be regarded as uncertain, although Waller (1996:57) concluded that it was probably such a brooch. From the illustration (Hines 1993a:fig. 52) it would appear in that case that the fragment could be from a brooch of variant 1. The example from Kymlinge, Spånga, Uppland (SSM Gf.168/67) is also so fragmentary that this identification is similarly to be considered uncertain,

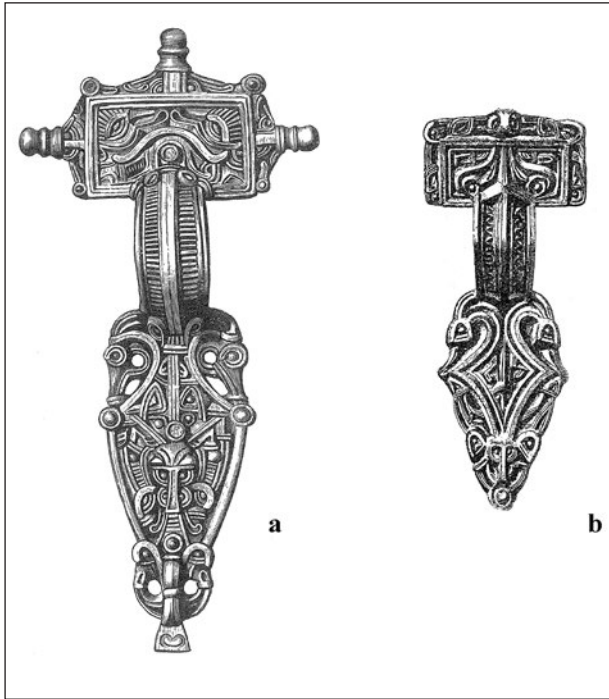


Figure 4.48 Late idiosyncratic forms of relief brooch from **a**) *Fristad, Klepp, Rogaland (S1969), after Rygh (1885:fig. 258), and b*) *Gyland, Flekkefjord, Vest-Agder (C7454), after Åberg (1924:fig. 72).*

only two examples of variant 2, from Västmanland and Hälsingland respectively, while the other 13 brooches are probably all of variant 1.¹¹⁷

Amongst the brooches of phase D2b, there remain individual specimens which do not appear to form any local or regional groups in the same way as those just reviewed. This is the case, to begin with, with four brooches which Meyer (1935:63–9) ascribed to the ‘Ågedal Master’ or saw as copies of his or her artwork, as well as the brooches which she discussed under the sub-heading of ‘three late works in Vest-Agder–Rogaland’. These seven brooches, which are from Vest-Agder (3), Rogaland (3) and Aust-Agder

(1), share some common features, even though Meyer (1935:93) asserted that ‘...they do not come together to constitute any school...’ [translated]. All of them are plane-foot brooches with footplates of essentially the same form as the plane-foot brooches of the preceding phase (D2a), with the widest part above the middle point of the footplate’s axis (Fig. 4.48). On three of the brooches the widest point is at a line through the profile heads, while the other four have lateral arms that protrude further, which was *not* a feature of the preceding phase. The shape of the footplate is thus different when compared with other Scandinavian brooches of this date. The brooches have parallel-sided bows, in one case with ‘wings’, a feature that they share with the Rogaland group and type B-1, which occur in the same region. Meyer pointed out that the brooches which she discussed as ‘three late works’¹¹⁸ have a number of features in common with the Rogaland group, but that they nevertheless differ from that group to such an extent that she opted to keep them separate. The two brooches from Rogaland¹¹⁹ show the closest relationship to the group, while that from Vest-Agder¹²⁰ looks like a hybrid of the brooches ascribed to the Ågedal Master and the Rogaland group (Meyer 1935:66–68).

There are two further individualistic relief brooches (Fig. 4.49): late ridge-foot brooches from Järnskögsboda in Värmland and Trygslund in Vest-Agder that are both dated to stadium 5 (Meyer 1935:39–40), which means the beginning of phase D2b. Meyer emphasized that they must be amongst the earliest of the late ridge-foot brooches, so that they should probably best be regarded as transitional types between phases D2a and D2b.¹²¹ Finally, there are also two unclassifiable brooches which are presumably to be assigned to this phase, one from Södermanland and the other from Hordaland.¹²²

although again Waller (1996:59) considered that this was probably from an equal-armed relief brooch. From the illustration (Waller 1996:pl. XII) it would appear in that case too that the fragment could be from a brooch of variant 1. Likewise the example from Hamre, Västmanland (VM17121/3) is so fragmentary that its identification as an equal-armed relief brooch is uncertain; Lamm (1979:129–31), however, considered that it was from such a brooch. On the basis of the illustration in Lamm (1979:image 3) I would consider that the brooch should rather be labelled unclassifiable. I have nonetheless included it here in accordance with Lamm’s classification.

117 Another example of variant 2, and one of variant 1, are from Österbotten in Finland. Finds of a couple of equal-armed relief brooches of variant 1 have also been made in Hungary and Russia (Magnus 2007:180–3).

118 B5361a, S2547a, C13697.

119 B5362a: Kvasheim; S2547a: Rivjeland.

120 C13697: Hægebostad.

121 Meyer (1935:39–40) also pointed out that these two brooches should be considered broadly contemporary with the ridge-foot brooch from Overhornbæk which is counted under phase D2a here but which is also regarded as a transitional find of phases D2a/D2b: see above.

122 These are an unclassifiable brooch that was found in combination with a relief brooch of the northern ridge-foot group from Älvestad in Södermanland (SHM30980/A24) and also the previously discussed example from Indre Älvik in Hordaland (B6899a) which Meyer (1935) assigned to the northern ridge-foot group but which I consider unclassifiable. There are additionally three unclassifiable brooches from Karleby, Södermanland (SHM33985/A44) and Ärvinge (SSM RAÄ 157A/A68) and Hjulsta (SSM35735/A2), Uppland, which

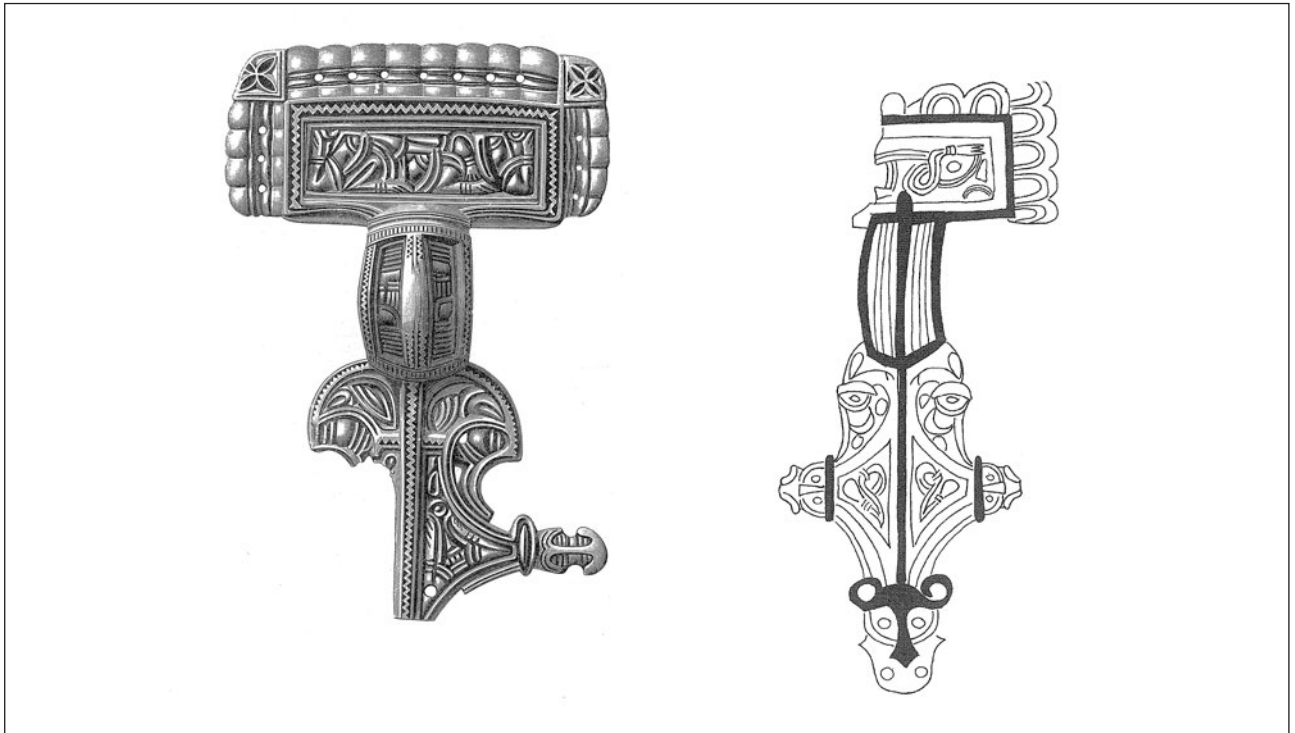


Figure 4.49 Late ridge-foot brooches from **a**) Järnskogboda, Varmland (SHM2564), Salin (1904:fig. 129), and **b**) Trygslund, Vest-Agder (DCCCXXXIII), after Kristoffersen (2000:plansje 6, 2).

Altogether, then, 125 relief brooches pertain to this phase, of which 79 are from Norway, 44 from Sweden and two from Denmark. What we see in phase D2b compared with the preceding phase is that the number of brooches has increased and that there is considerable growth in the number of types and sub-groups of relief brooch. The brooches within the individual groups are, as has been shown, fairly uniform. There is a preponderance of relief brooches of copper alloy from this phase. In addition to the brooches of the simple bronze group, the great majority of the specimens of the Gotlandic group, the Bothnian group, the northern plane-foot group and the equal-armed relief brooches were manufactured in copper alloy. In the case of the remaining groups, copper alloy and silver are used with more or less equal frequency. At the same time, the majority of the relief brooches appear similar to each other because of another couple of features. Firstly, nearly all of the relief brooches have rectangular headplates, with the

exception only of the equal-armed variety discussed. Secondly, the brooches predominantly have the 'cross-shaped' footplate, the exceptions in this respect being the relief brooches with a spatulate footplate (B-1), and equal-armed relief brooches. The cross-shaped footplate is a feature that is common to brooches all over Scandinavia in this phase, and something that they share with the Anglo-Saxon great square-headed brooches. Moreover both Anglo-Saxon and Scandinavian brooches may have a bar or 'ridge' on the footplate, something that is practically unknown on the Continent (Sjøvold 1993:60).¹²³ The Anglo-Saxon brooches, however, have shorter bows, a feature that helps to distinguish between the two areas (Hines 1984:257; 1997:233). Nevertheless, a bow disc is known on a number of Anglo-Saxon great square-headed brooches too (Hines 1997:130, 145, 195). It also occurs on contemporary brooches from Kent in England (Leigh 1980:pls. 12–15, 60), even though the Kentish examples are markedly different

are datable to phase D2a or D2b. Because of the uncertainty over precise dating these have not been included here. There remain two unclassified relief brooches from Sweden which have not been seen and which could potentially belong to either phase D2a or D2b but which are also not included here because they cannot be assigned to a particular phase: SHM34492–3/A15 from Torp, Sörunda, Södermanland, and a find from Värby, Huddinge, Södermanland which comes from a Migration-period building foundation (Biuw 1992:314; Ferenius 1971:110): cf. below.

¹²³ In *A Corpus of Early Anglo-Saxon Great Square-Headed Brooches* (1949), Leeds treated the presence of an 'undivided' or a 'divided' footplate as fundamental in his classification, defining Classes A and B respectively. It is difficult to believe that he had not been influenced by Meyer (1935). This feature had not been treated as particularly significant by Åberg in *The Anglo-Saxons in England, During the Early Centuries after the Invasion* (1926).

from the Scandinavian brooches in other ways, for instance in form and decoration.

Turning to the geographical distribution of the Scandinavian relief brooches of phase D2b, there are startlingly few finds from Denmark compared with the preceding phase, while the distribution of this class of brooch in the main Scandinavian peninsula had increased markedly. In this area brooches are now found also in inland zones as well as in northerly and easterly areas. It transpires that there are clusters of specific sub-types of relief brooch in particular areas (Magnus 1995:36–7; 1999a:120; 2001:182; 2007; Meyer 1935; Sjøvold 1993). In between the core areas or centres of gravity, however, the various groups do overlap. The centre of gravity of the distribution of the Rogaland group, for instance, covers Rogaland and Vest-Agder, while the area of distribution of the Sogne group lies primarily north of this zone, with a core area in Sogn og Fjordane along with the neighbouring provinces of Hordaland and Møre og Romsdal. Both types of brooch are found, however, not only in Hordaland and Rogaland but also (remarkably) in Østfold. To the north and north-east of the Sogne group, the distribution of the northern ridge-foot group has a centre of gravity in Nord-Trøndelag, Jämtland and Ångermanland. Between the core areas of these two types, their distribution overlaps (Map 4.36). There is a further area of overlap in the east, between the northern ridge-foot group and the Bothnian group (Map 4.37). Moreover, in eastern Sweden (Map 4.38) the distribution of equal-armed relief brooches and the Bothnian group overlaps. Some groups nevertheless have practically complementary, mutually exclusive, distribution, such as the Gotlandic group on Gotland and in the south-east of Sweden, and the Bothnian group – north and north-west of the Gotlandic group – in central Sweden and Trøndelag (Map 4.39).

The instances of overlap that can be demonstrated from the distribution patterns manifest themselves in another way too. An area, or parts of a geographical area, can be the core area for more than one group. This is the case, for instance, in south-western Norway, especially in Rogaland, which appears as the main area of brooches with a spatulate footplate (B-1), the Rogaland group, and the simple bronze group alike. Restricted areas or local groups can also be isolated within a wider geographical area. This is the case, for instance, with brooches that belong to the simple bronze group, which are concentrated within Rogaland in Jæren (Meyer 1935:93). It can also be argued that the brooches of the 'Ågedal Master' form such a local sub-group within an area that is otherwise dominated

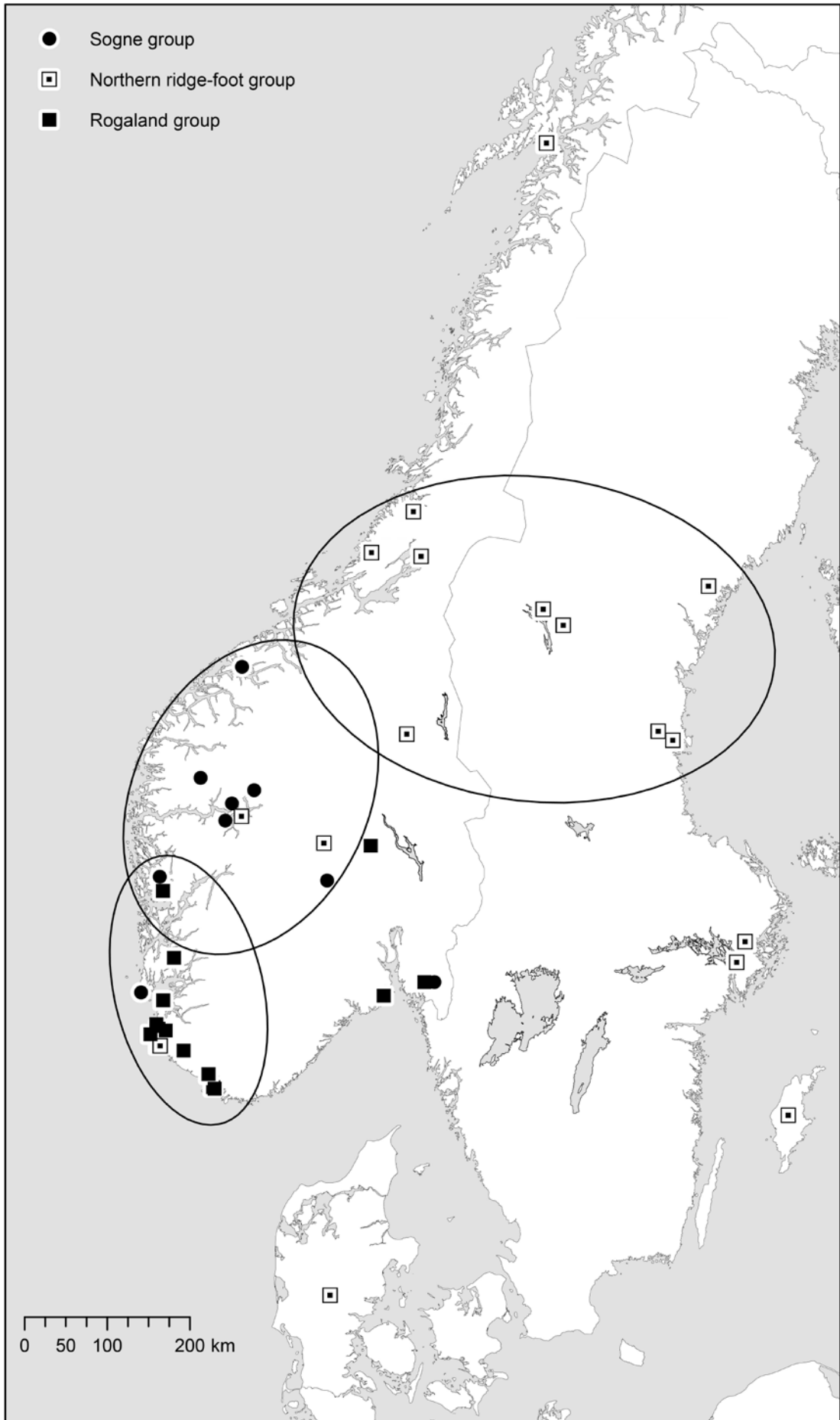
by different brooch-types, such as the Rogaland group. In a broader perspective, this would also appear to hold for the Sogne group, the Rogaland group, the Gotlandic group, the Bothnian group, and the northern ridge-foot group, all of which have regionally constrained distributions within the main Scandinavian peninsula. Most of these regions appear to be covered by the northern plane-foot group, which has a more general distribution that runs across most of the Scandinavian peninsula and so cuts across the regional divisions between the types of relief brooch noted.

A third point of interest is the fact that several types, often those that are found in neighbouring areas, share a number of characteristics, with the result that they look more similar to one another than to other contemporary relief brooches. An example of this is the 'octagonally' expanded bow on brooches of the northern ridge-foot type and the Bothnian group, and the bow disc of the Sogne group and the northern plane-foot group.

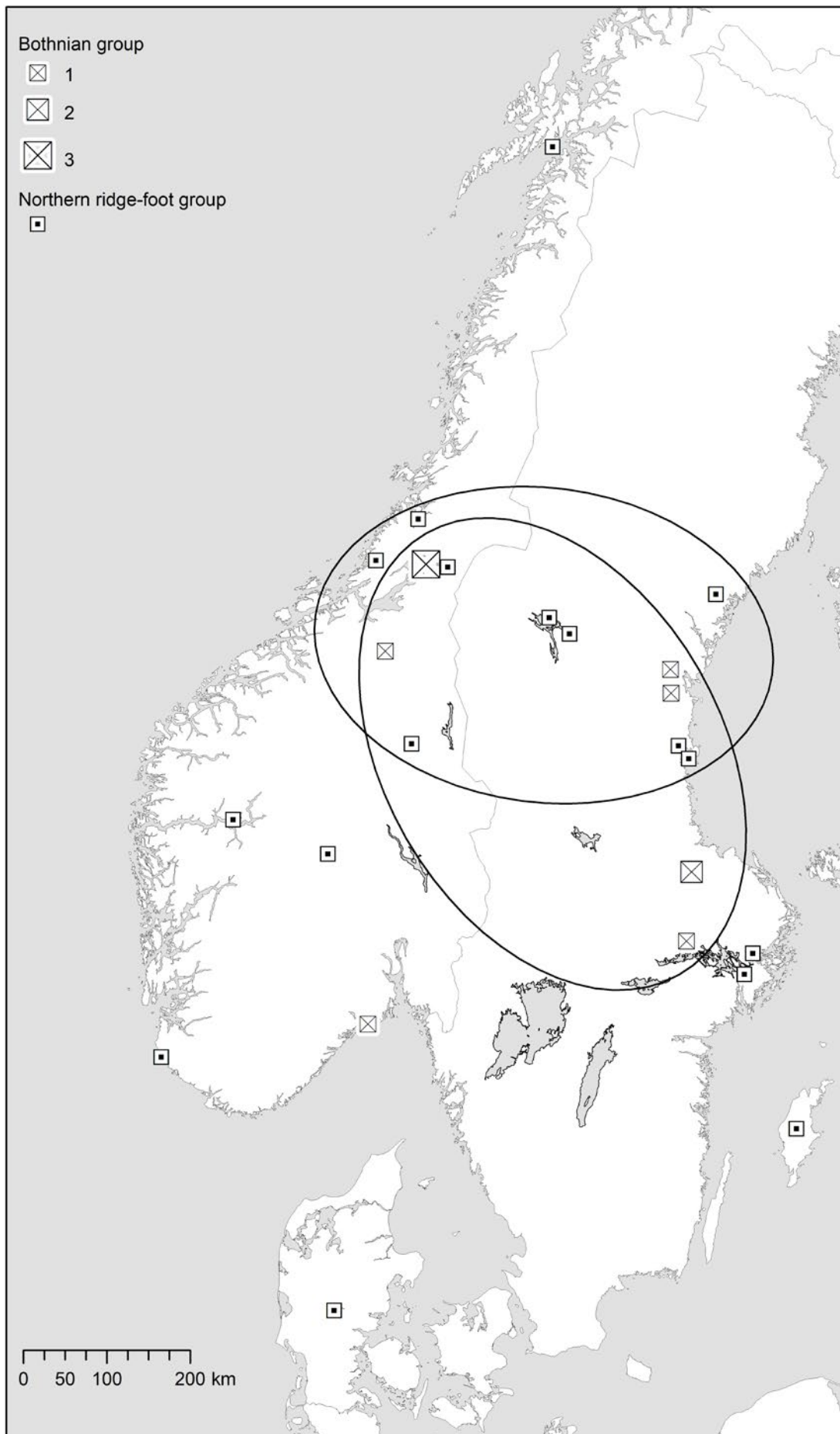
4.2.2.8 Find contexts of phase D2b

Turning to the contexts of finds of relief brooches of phase D2b, 91 of the brooches are from grave finds: 64 brooches from 52 Norwegian grave-assemblages and 27 brooches from 23 Swedish grave-assemblages (Map 4.40). One of the grave finds from Sweden, however, has to be regarded as uncertain. This is a relief brooch from Järnskogsboda in Värmland, which was found by a farmer when lifting potatoes. The brooch was discovered on the top of a bank where there were several large stones that seemed to have been deliberately placed. Two gold bracteates were found in the same location (Statens Historiska Museum [SHM] catalogue). I interpret this as a grave find from its position and the contextual information, but it is not possible fully to exclude the possibility that it was a hoard. There are no grave finds of this phase from Denmark.

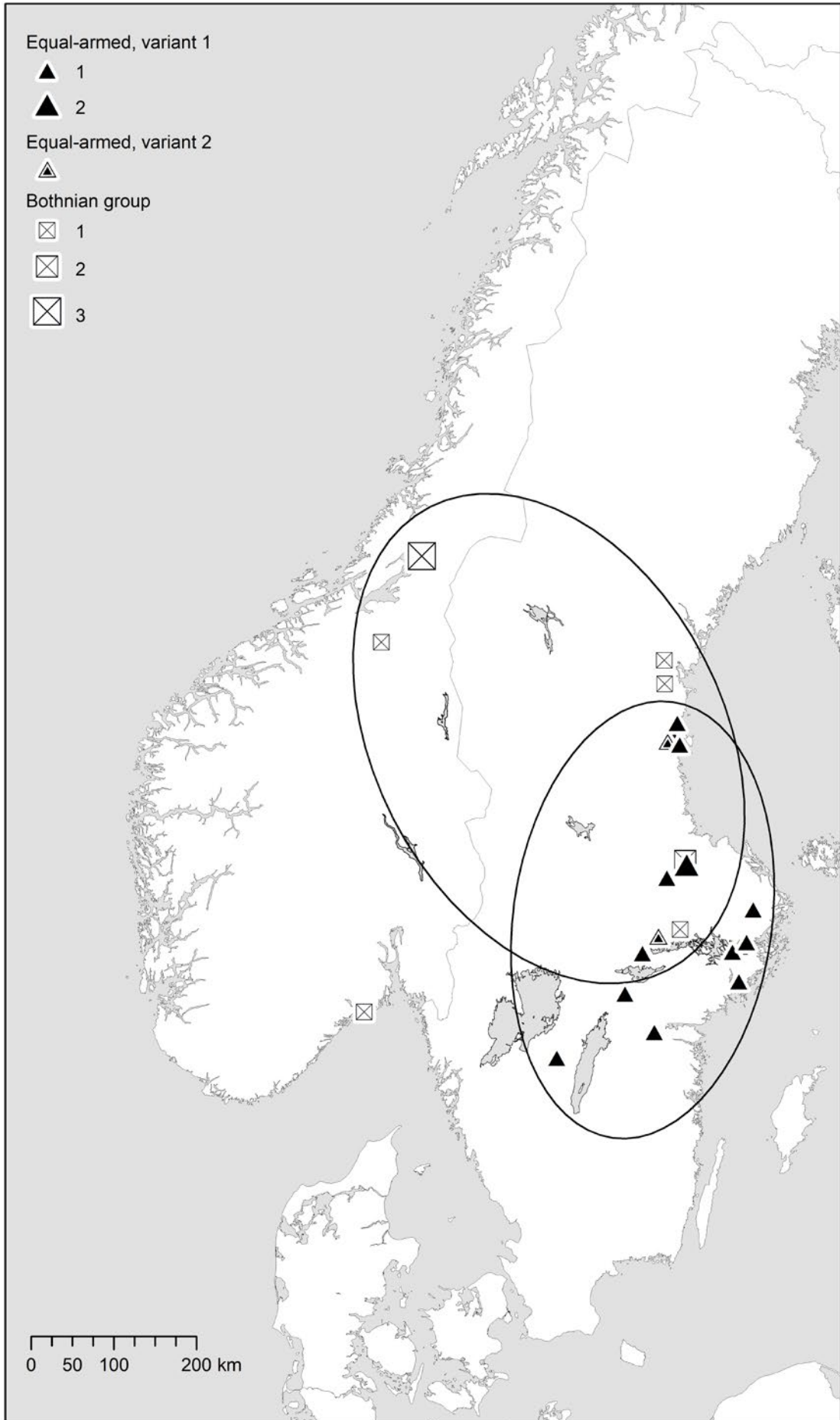
Six relief brooches are counted as coming from hoards or caches of this phase: four in Norway and two in Sweden (Map 4.40). Such finds are, as already noted, rarely excavated in a trained manner, so that in many cases it has to remain unsure whether or not they were intentionally placed deposits or chance losses. The only one of the caches or hoards of this phase that has been properly excavated is the find of a relief brooch of the Gotlandic group at Abbetorp in Östergötland. This brooch was found in a cemetery, close to a larger stone, with no indication of any grave structure, and consequently it is reckoned to have been cached. The find of a brooch of the northern ridge-foot group at Fonnås in Rendalen, Hedmark,



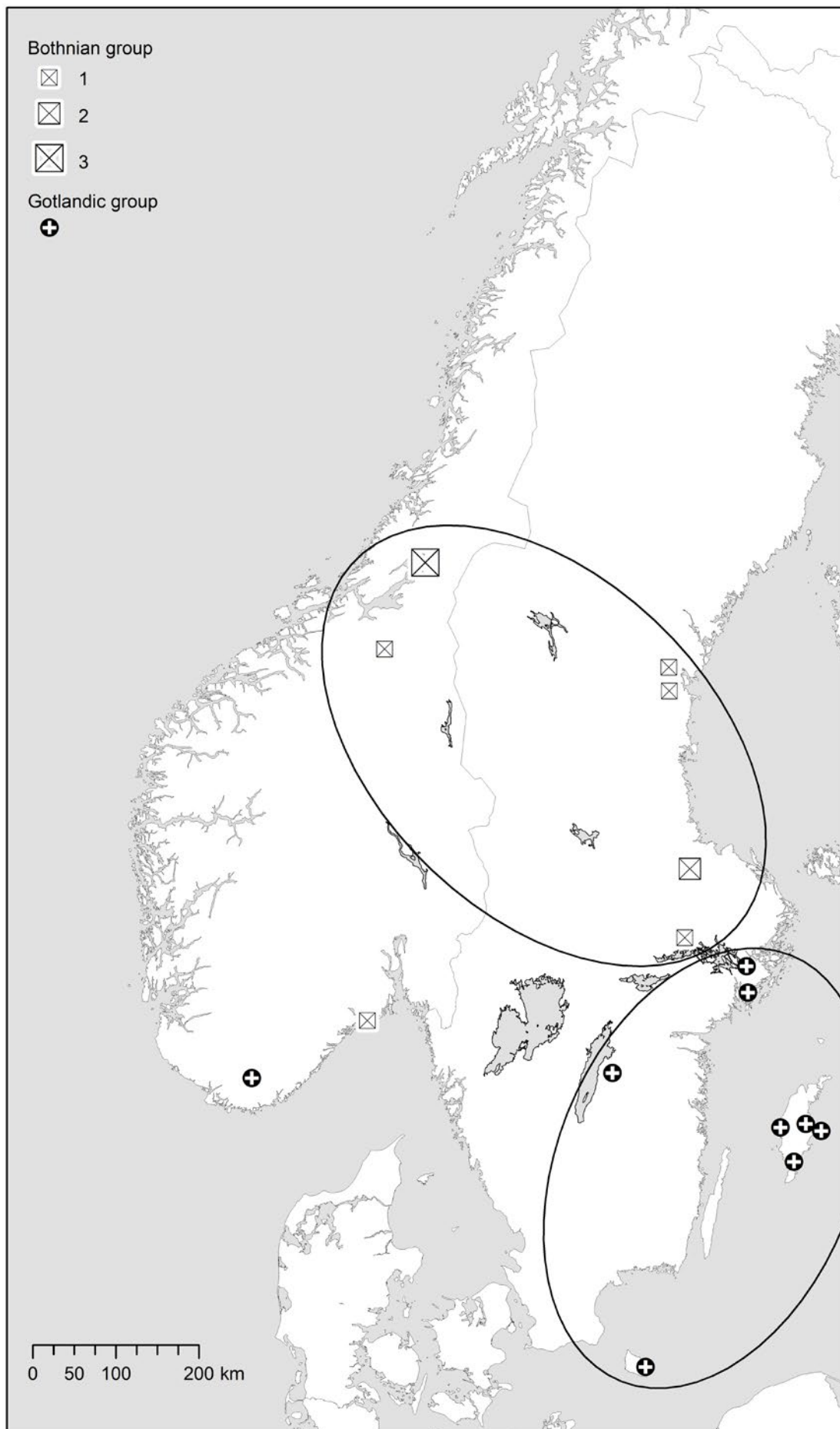
Map 4.36 The distribution of the Rogaland group, the Sogne group and the northern ridge-foot group.



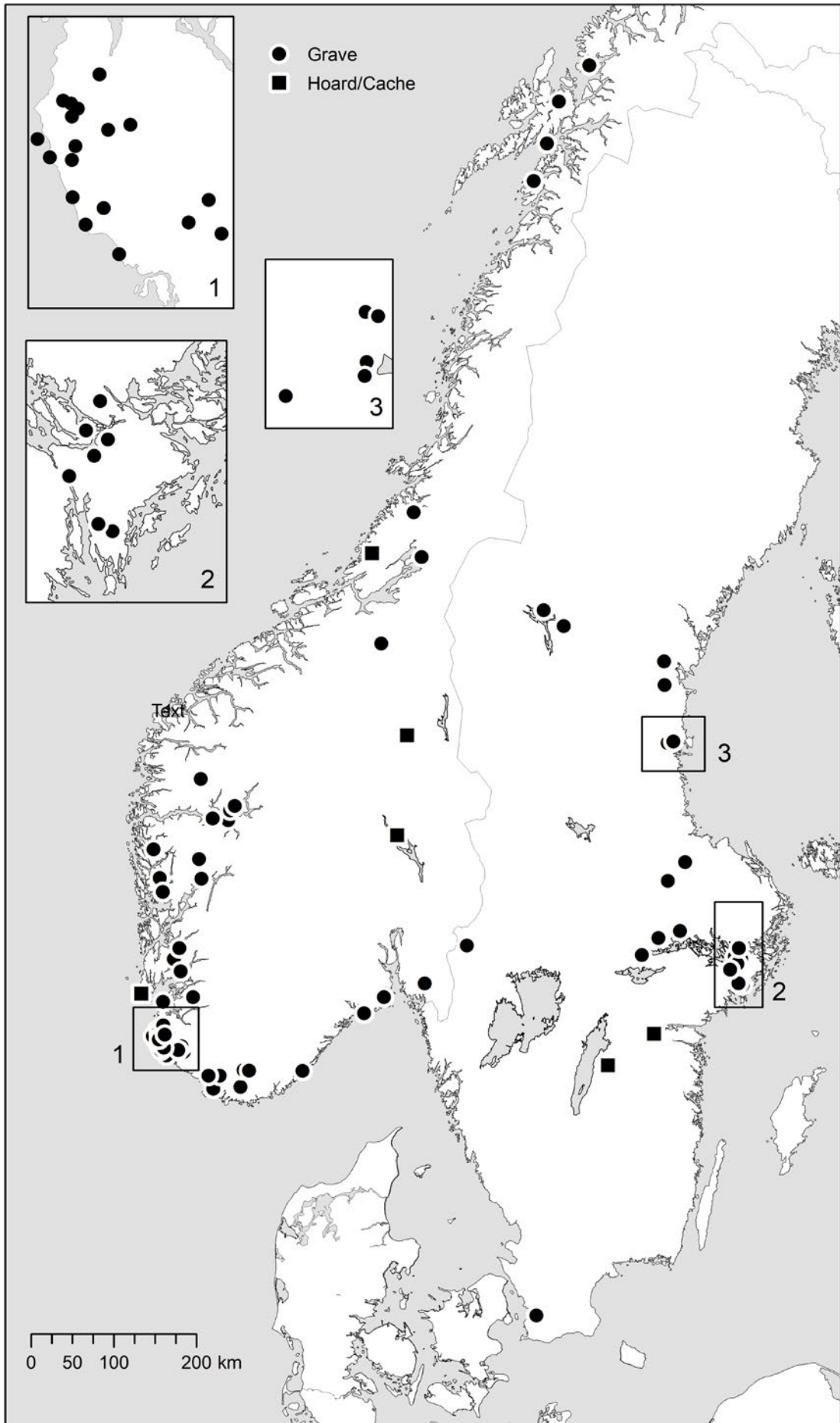
Map 4.37 The distribution of the northern ridge-foot group and the Bothnian group.



Map 4.38 The distribution of the Bothnian group and equal-armed relief brooches.



Map 4.39 The distribution of the Bothnian group and the Gotlandic group.



Map 4.40 Graves and hoards or caches with relief brooches of Phase D2b.

is included as a cache here, even though this is not certain. The find was made during the initial cultivation of an area in Øvre Rendal where very few finds of the same period have been made. In this case too, nothing was observed that would suggest there was a grave structure present (cf. Ch. 7.1.2). A further find from Stein in Ringsaker *kommune* in Hedmark,¹²⁴ of a brooch of the simple bronze group (variant b), is interpreted as a placed deposit because the brooch was found in Lake Mjøsa at a depth of around 0.8 m, at a location where a sort of spit runs out from the mainland (Kulturhistorisk Museum catalogue). This is also the case with a Swedish find of an equal-armed relief brooch from Kullern in Östergötland, which is likewise interpreted as a deliberately placed deposit because the brooch was found during the lowering of Lake Kullern (at a depth of six feet) (SHM catalogue). The find of a relief brooch of the northern ridge-foot group at Å in Åfjord, Nord-Trøndelag,¹²⁵ was made deep down in a stone scree beneath a mountain. The find of a relief brooch of the Sogne group at Syre on Karmøy in Rogaland was made in a layer of white quartz stones around a metre below the ground surface, with a number of large stones in the vicinity. There was no sign that any burial mound had formerly been standing here.

There was just the one relief brooch in each of these placed deposits – more specifically: brooches of the northern ridge-foot group (two finds), the Sogne group, the Gotlandic group, the simple bronze group (variant b) and an equal-armed relief brooch. Only one hoard included further artefacts: the find at Syre in Rogaland. This find included two gilt copper-alloy clasps (of class B) and a copper-alloy ingot with a copper-alloy strip wound around it. Most of the finds appear to have been of types of relief brooch that came from the area in which they were deposited, although it is possible that the find from Hedmark of a brooch of the simple bronze group (variant b), and the brooch of the Sogne group from Rogaland, do represent the deposition of ‘alien’ brooch-types; in any event, these appear to be situated at the edge of the core areas of distribution of the groups in question. Compared with the preceding phase, the hoards and caches are of a new character: the trend in this phase is for relief brooches to be deposited on their own, whereas association with

beads and gold bracteates was most common in the foregoing phase (but cf. below).

28 brooches of this phase are listed as stray finds,¹²⁶ and, because some types of brooch are more substantially represented amongst the stray finds than others, the study of contexts may produce a slightly skewed impression. This is the case, for instance, with the Gotlandic group, of which five out of nine brooches in total are stray finds, and with the northern plane-foot group, of which six of a total of ten Scandinavian finds are stray finds. The study of the contexts has nonetheless demonstrated that both types are associated with the same range of dress-accessories as most of the other types of relief brooch. That these two types are not found in association either with cruciform brooches or gold bracteates, and that relief brooches of the northern plane-foot and the Gotlandic groups are absent from assemblages involving small bow brooches and equal-armed brooches respectively, may, however, represent concrete differences in brooch-use, as small equal-armed brooches do occur particularly frequently in southern and south-western Norway (Engevik 2007:167; Kristoffersen 2000:73).

In summary, the examination of the find contexts of the relief brooches of phase D2b shows that, in comparison with the preceding phase, the number of hoards/caches has declined. The relief brooches are now most commonly associated with grave contexts. Nevertheless, a degree of caution is required in the case of some stray finds which *could* originally have represented placed deposits. The same types of relief brooch appear in graves and caches/hoards alike. The relief brooches also occur as the only dress-accessory in both types of context, although the documentation of this fact in the case of the grave finds is not strongly based, and again a degree of caution is necessary. The norm is still, as has been the case in all phases, for the relief brooch to be worn as the only brooch of that class. It is only in exceptional instances that different types of relief brooch can occur in the same assemblages, as was the case in phase D2a, but there are never more than two types from one and the same find. Equal-armed brooches and small bow brooches have largely superseded the cruciform brooches in this phase, and these most frequently occur as the only brooches of their type in association with relief brooches, although it is also reasonably common for two or more small

124 C36804.

125 T1821.

126 A relief brooch from Värby, Huddinge parish, Södermanland, comes from a building foundation of the Migration Period. This building underlay graves that are dated to the later Migration Period (Biuw 1992:314; Ferenius 1971:11). I have not been able to access any information about the form of the relief brooch, and its dating to this phase must therefore be regarded as uncertain. For this reason, as noted, this find is not included in the present analysis.



Figure 4.50 **a)** Small equal-armed brooch from Kvåle, Sogn og Fjordane (B6516e). Photograph: Svein Skare, © University Museum of Bergen, **b)** a plate-ring with animal-style decoration from Holum, Sogn og Fjordane (B8045c), Photograph: Ann-Mari Olsen, © University Museum of Bergen, **c)** small bow brooch and **d)** a gold bracteate, both from Kvassheim, Rogaland (B5994c-b respectively). Photograph: Terje Tveit, © Arkeologisk Museum, University of Stavanger (CC BY-NC-ND 3.0).

brooches to compose the jewellery set. Dress pins are found with relief brooches in all three phases. As far as pendants are concerned, bracteates are now the most usual type of pendant to be found in association with these brooches. Beads are still quite commonly associated with them, but the number of beads per assemblage has fallen in comparison with the phase before.

When it comes to the relief brooches and the combinations of dress-accessories they are part of, the various types or groups of relief brooches are, as a rule, all found together with the same dress-accessories and brooch-types. Some combinations, however, occur rather more frequently than others: for instance the combination of relief brooches of type B-1 with equal-armed brooches and/or small bow brooches, and of brooches of the Rogaland group with small bow brooches. The combination of relief brooches with a bow disc (the Sogne and northern plane-foot groups) and what are known as 'plate rings' (*plateringer*) is also recurrent. Furthermore, it is only in Norwegian contexts, with one possible exception, that relief brooches appear in combination with gold bracteates (Fig. 4.50). The possible exception is the recently discussed find from Järnskogsboda in Värmland with an individualistic relief brooch of the late ridge-foot brooch-type and C-bracteates. As already noted, it is unclear if this should be counted as a grave find or a hoard. It is dated to the transition of phases D2a/D2b (cf. above) and could therefore represent a hoard of a composition that we have seen to be typical of phase D2a. Its geographical location, however, may suggest that the find was a grave-assemblage, with a composition similar to several other Norwegian finds of phase D2b. In the preceding phase there was a tendency for the sets of dress-accessories on Bornholm which included relief brooches to stand out as distinct. Since there are no recorded contexts with relief brooches from Bornholm of this phase it is impossible to trace this state of affairs further.

4.2.2.9 Summary of the geographical and chronological distribution patterns

The examination of the distribution patterns of the relief brooches and of their form through the Migration Period reveals that the earliest phase (D1) involved relatively few brooches, which subsisted in a

multiplicity of forms. The distinct groups that can be distinguished consist of brooches with relatively little similarity. In the case of the ridge-foot brooches too, a type that came to predominate in the following phase, we are faced with what are referred to as 'variants' in three out of four cases. Distinctive features appear not to have any geographical basis in this phase. Despite that, there are signs of some embryonic regional variance, for instance in the distribution of B-2 brooches in south-western and western Norway and the predominance of type A-6 in southern Scandinavia, together with a tendency for the ridge-foot brooches to cluster in the north (Map 4.20).

This north-south divide can to some extent be traced into the next phase (D2a) in that the distribution of the ridge-foot brooches then extended further north than that of the plane-foot brooches, which are concentrated in southern Scandinavia. However the ridge-foot brooches do overlap with the area of distribution of plane-foot brooches in phase D2a, in that they are also quite widespread in the south. Phase D2a is also dominated by a larger and more homogeneous corpus of brooches through the creation of three principal groups made up of the ridge- and the plane-foot brooches and the type with a semi-circular headplate (A-5 and A-6). The A-5 and A-6 brooches also have a regional distribution that is almost entirely restricted to the islands of Bornholm, Öland and Gotland.

At the transition to the last of the phases (D2b) the distribution pattern changes once again, with the introduction of even more brooches and the distinction of many more regional groups, at the same time as the finds from inland regions of Norway and Sweden increase. Something that is striking in comparison with the preceding phase is the paucity of finds of relief brooches from Denmark. This may, however, for one thing be connected to the fact that there are few grave finds of this phase from this area (Haseloff 1981:18; Hedeager 1988:310; Nielsen and Loveluck 2006:74–5), while supplementarily this type of brooch may to some extent have been superseded here by large de luxe brooches (Fig. 4.51) covered with gold foil and decorated with filigree and granulated ornamentation (Bakka 1973:73). Some six or seven finds of these de luxe brooches are known, all from Denmark, in Jutland, and on Fyn and Sjælland, except for one possible Norwegian find¹²⁷ (Map 4.41). As a rule these brooches occur in hoards in which they

127 C66/1–18: Kitnæs, Sjælland; C20881: Skodborghus, Jutland; C.df.9746: Adslev, Jutland; at present with no museum accession number: Kirkemosegård near Spendtrup, Randers, Jutland (Clemmensen 2014); C1532: Elsehoved, Fyn; and probably also C7648: Nørre Tranders, Aalborg, Jutland. The Kitnæs brooch is probably rather older than the other brooches, but severe wear indicates that it was old when it was deposited, while the C-bracteates that it was found together with were practically mint (Jensen 2004:124–6;



Figure 4.51 *De luxe brooches from Kitnæs strand, Sjælland (18/66) and Skodborghus, Jutland (20881 and 22138). Photograph: Lennart Larsen. © National Museum of Denmark (CC-BY-SA).*

were deposited together with, amongst other things, gold bracteates. The de luxe brooches can therefore probably be interpreted as a particular regional variant pertaining to the southern Scandinavian area in phase D2b, and the deposition of these brooches in hoards with gold bracteates points to a continuation of the practice of deposition that had been initiated as early as the transition from phase D1 to D2a with the Galsted find (see above).

Despite the changes in the distribution pattern at the transition to phase D2b, local variants from phase D2a can still be tracked into the succeeding phase. This is the case, for instance, with the downward-bent side lobes on some relief brooches from Östergötland and Bornholm in both phase D2a (ridge-foot brooches) and D2b (on brooches of the Gotlandic group). The brooches attributed to the 'Ågedal Master' too, and the individualistic brooches that were grouped as 'three late works', may represent some reminiscence of the plane-foot brooches of the previous phase (Meyer 1935:93) even though the Ågedal Master's brooches have long triangular projections on the side lobes

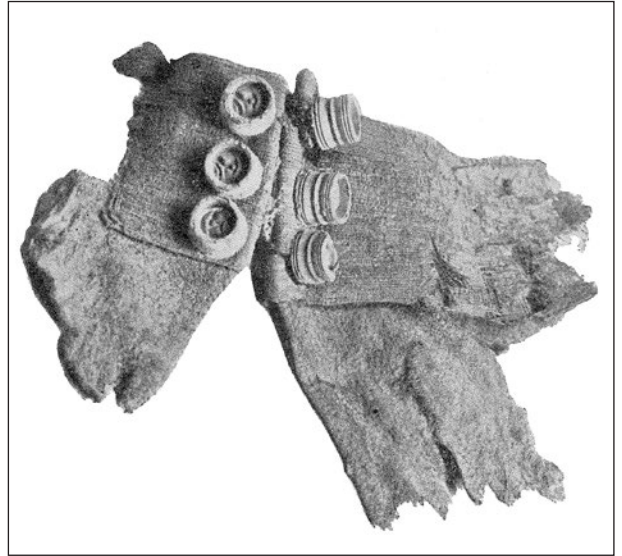


Figure 4.52 *Cuff with clasps from the Evebo find (B4590gg), after Schetelig (1912:fig. 255), © University Museum of Bergen.*

which are associated with the common cross shape that predominates in phase D2b.

The study of the relief brooches has revealed a pattern of development that proceeds from a formally heterogeneous corpus of material to similarities across wide areas, with hints of a tripartite division of Scandinavia into north, south and the eastern islands, and on, finally, to a profusion of even clearer regional groups towards the end of the Migration Period.

4.2.3 Clasps

Clasps started to be used in southern Scandinavia during the Late Roman Iron Age, as early as c. AD 250–300, but the majority of the finds from Scandinavia are of the Migration Period. The use of clasps spread, in the course of the Migration Period, to England, where the items have a special and substantial range in the east, in the Anglian English zone. There are also a number of finds of clasps from Finland, Estonia and Schleswig in northern Germany (Hines 1993a:7–9, 13, 87–9; Slomann 1986a [1977]; 1986b [1956]). There is a total of 616 finds of clasps from Migration-period Scandinavia: 319 in Sweden, 220 in Norway and 77 in Denmark. Thus the densest cluster in Scandinavia is that in Sweden.

Clasps were usually used to fasten a sleeve at the wrist. In several cases they are found attached to tablet-woven braids that were sewn on like a

Munksgaard 1966:15–16). A further Norwegian find should perhaps be included – C1042: Frogn, Akershus. This find consisted of a headplate (of gold) decorated with garnets and filigree work. The headplate lacks the projections that are found on the Danish brooches but the presence of five nails on the back of the brooch indicates that it did once have such a projection.



Map 4.41 The distribution of De luxe brooches of Phase D2b.

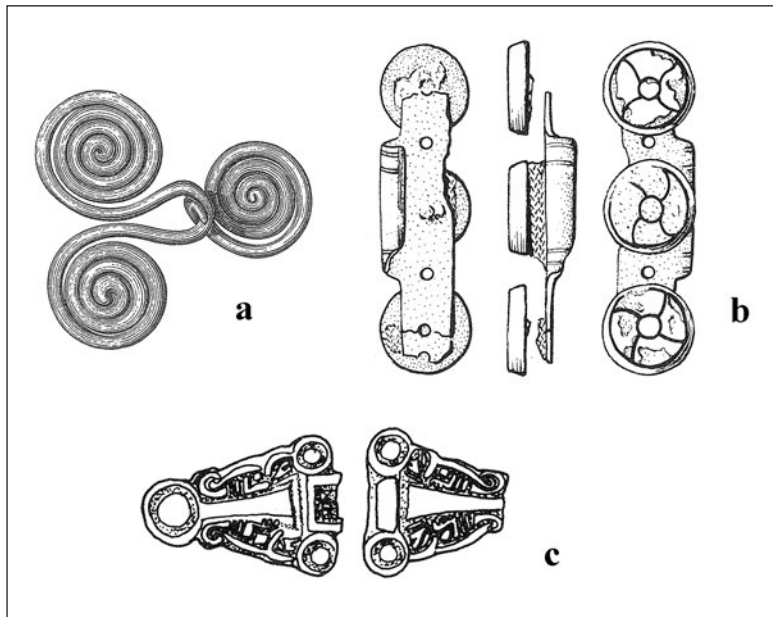


Figure 4.53 Clasps of **a**) Class A from Ådland, Vest-Agder (C8715), after Rygh (1885:fig. 271), **b**) Class B from Lunde, Vest-Agder (B3203), drawing Tone Strenger. © Museum of Cultural History and **c**) Class C from Djurgårdsång, Västergötland (SHM6563), after Hines (1993a:fig. 135a).

cuff (Fig. 4.52; see also Kristoffersen 2006:pl. 9). It would appear that their function as ‘cuff links’ became more common as the Migration Period progressed (Kristoffersen 2006:27). The clasps are also, however, used in some cases on trouser legs by the knee or the ankle, as belt-fasteners and at the neck of a blouse/shirt or jacket, or at the elbow (Bennett 1987:109; Blindheim 1949:48, 50; 1947:84–6; Hines 1993a:76–81; Kristoffersen 2006:26–7).

4.2.3.1 The classification of types

John Hines (1993a) has compiled a comprehensive corpus of clasps from Scandinavia and England. He divided the clasps into three classes from their form and decoration: Class A comprises clasps made of metal wire rolled into spirals; Class B comprises clasps that are formed using metal plates with riveted buttons or bars; and Class C comprises what are referred to as ‘ornamental’ clasps with cast (zoomorphic) relief decoration (Fig. 4.53).¹²⁸

Class B is further sub-divided into 20 sub-groups or ‘forms’ labelled B1–B20, based amongst other things on how they were fastened to the garment and on the

form of the compositional elements. Of these forms B1 and B7 are then further sub-divided into six and seven distinct ‘types’ on the basis of the design of the buttons or the form of decoration. Clasps of Class B are the most common in both Scandinavia and in England, but it is only B1–B6 and the first sub-type of form B7 – plain, undecorated, clasps consisting of plates alone – that are found in Scandinavia. The remaining forms of Class B occur only in England. Form B4, however, is found both in Scandinavia and in England. Form B1 is far and away the most common sub-group of clasps of Class B in Scandinavia, where it accounts for 96% of this class (Hines 1993a:12–65).

Class C is further divided into five forms, C1–C5. These forms are defined in terms of shape and decoration. Form C1 has six different sub-types. Only one unique form C1 clasp-half from Høstentorp on Sjælland and the first of the sub-groups of type C1i, ‘the Norwegian type’, are finds from Scandinavia. All of the Scandinavian finds that belong to this sub-group are, as the name implies, from Norway. The remaining five sub-types of form C1 represent finds from England alone. That is also the case with forms C3 and C5, but form C2 clasps are found only in Scandinavia and form C4 in both Scandinavia and England. In addition to the three principal classes, A, B and C, there are a few clasps which do not belong to any of these major sets and which can be classified, as a result, as individualistic forms. There have also been a few finds of ornamental mounts known as ‘gusset plates’ associated with clasps from both Norway and England (Hines 1993a:67–75).¹²⁹

According to Hines (1993a:11), clasps of Class A are found in Scandinavia from the Late Roman Iron Age through to the transition between *Stufen* VWZ III and VWZ IV (Bakka 1973), in other words between phases D2a and D2b. Class B clasps also date back to the Late Roman Iron Age but are mainly found in phases D2a and D2b (VWZ III and VWZ IV). The Scandinavian clasps of Class C are dated by Hines to the transition between phases D1 and D2a (VWZ II to VWZ III) and on into phase D2b (VWZ IV) (Hines 1993a:7–11, 31–3, 67–72, 78–9).

128 Andreas Rau (2010:Abb. 43, 125–45) has shown that, in the Nydam find and elsewhere, there are clasps with buttons of a wider range of shapes than round alone and which do not belong to any of Hines’s (1993a) sub-divisions of Class B. As these date to the Roman Iron Age, however, they are not discussed here.

129 It was formerly usual to distinguish between ‘hooks and eyes’ (Norw.: *bekter og maljer*, Class A) and ‘clasp-fasteners’ (Norw.: *bektespinner*, Classes B and C), for instance when cataloguing, but I discuss all of Hines’s classes as *bekter* or ‘clasps’.

In the context of the publication of the mould finds from Helgö in the Mälars region, Kristina Lamm (1972:70–131) developed a typology for clasp buttons pertaining to clasps of Class B. Hines built upon Lamm's work in his sub-division of the Scandinavian Class B clasps and there is consequently some congruence between their groupings of these clasps. Hines's types B1i, B1ii d, B1iii and B1v correspond to Lamm's variants IX, II, V and I, while his type B1vi corresponds to Lamm's variants VI, VII and VIII. This difference in the number of groups is due to the fact that Lamm went into more detail than Hines in respect of the sub-division of certain types of clasp. For the sake of convenience I shall base myself here on Hines's classification scheme because it includes all types of clasps and not only those with buttons. Where the identification of sub-groups or types is concerned, I shall, however, argue that in some cases the schemes of both Lamm and Hines are too detailed. I return to this below.

There is also a problem with Hines's classification of the clasps in the current context, because it is in many cases based upon technical distinctions which do not necessarily have any significance in terms of how the clasps actually appeared. An example of this is the clasps of forms B1 and B3, which are essentially distinguished from one another on the basis of how the buttons and plate are fastened together. This, however, is only visible on the underside of the clasps. This means that clasps which look extremely similar can be assigned to different types and sub-groups. Hines's (1993a:39, 70) form B5 consists of a solitary pair of clasps – a type which Hines himself notes shares many formal characteristics with form C2. This is significant, because the typological scheme that is used will influence the understanding of the distribution patterns in the study, and thus will have consequences for the interpretation of regional groupings within the material. Per Ramqvist (1995:150) shares this view when he notes that:

If one wishes to study clasps as distinctive cultural expressions, it is logical to study them as the observer could see them: namely the number of buttons on the dress, their decoration, and their basic form. The production of the buttons and how the clasps were fixed on to the garment are of no relevance at all to this question. [Translated]

Consequently, I shall undertake a re-assessment of Hines's classification scheme from a 'perception

perspective' in which what the clasps look like is prioritized, irrespective of technical details (cf. Ch. 2.3). I make use here of observations made by Hines himself (1993a) in terms of similarities and differences between his types. I shall only discuss types which are relevant in relation to finds in Scandinavia, and ignore the Anglian English types, since these will not be included in my analysis.

Hines's three principal classes reflect, to a considerable extent, three visually quite different types, but from the 'perception perspective' it is nevertheless appropriate to introduce a re-evaluation of Class A clasps. These clasps stand out very clearly as a distinct main group in this perspective in that they are relatively uniform in respect of both form and material (metal wire). There is, however, scope to sub-divide the class further. Per Ethelberg (1987:44–5), for instance, distinguished between a ring-shaped type on which the ends terminate simply in a single loop (e.g. as R270; Fig. 4.54b) and the type with ends rolled up into a spiral (e.g. as R271; Fig. 4.54a), and he showed that there was a chronological distinction between these two sub-groups in the context of Denmark. The former type appears, in his assessment, from the end of the Late Roman Iron Age and the transition to the Migration Period while the second is found only in clearly Migration-period contexts, along with cruciform brooches. In the case of Norway, however, ring-shaped clasps appear in the Krosshaug find,¹³⁰ which is datable to phase D1, while a spiralled clasp has been found along with diagnostic Late Roman Iron-age phase-C3 items, such as an equal-armed brooch with triangular plates and a large bead necklace dominated by blue beads, for instance in a find from Skui in Vestfold.¹³¹ Thus the relative dating of these types cannot simply be transferred to context of Norway.

Amongst the so-called 'ring-shaped' clasps of Ethelberg there are also a number of finds of small clasps of the same type as Hines's (1993a) figure 2 (Fig. 4.55). These belong amongst Hines's group of early Class A clasps. From a visual approach it would be appropriate to distinguish between small ring-shaped Class A clasps on which the terminals terminate in a single roll and the actual hook- or eye-element is larger than the rings, and ring-shaped clasps on which the turned ends are clearly larger than the hook or eye itself. The latter are most similar to, or most closely connected to, what we can call the true or typical

130 B2269–99: Hauge, Klepp, Rogaland.

131 C11603–7.



Figure 4.54 *A*-clasps of the types with **a**) rolled spiral ends (Type A1) from Skaim, Aurland, Sogn og Fjordane (B8552 and **b**) ring-type ends (type A2a) from Krosshaug, Klepp, Rogaland (B2277). Photographs: Svein Skare. © University Museum of Bergen.

Class A clasps with rolled spiral ends, which also stand out as a group to themselves.¹³² To summarize, then, we can distinguish three sub-groups of Class A clasps: (typically) spiral-rolled clasps (A1), ring-shaped clasps (A2a) and small clasps of the ring-shaped type with a hook- or eye-element that is larger than the rings (A2b).

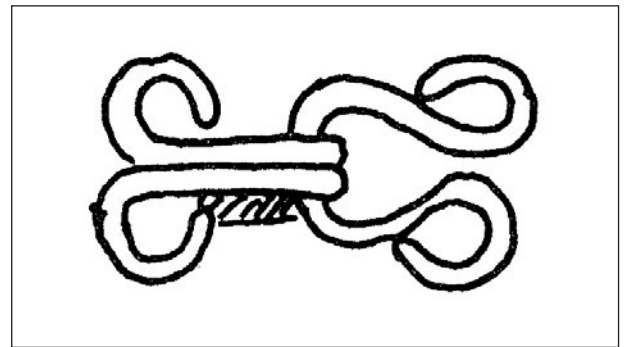


Figure 4.55 Small *A*-clasps with hook- and catch-elements larger than the ends (type A2b), after Hines (1993a:fig. 2).

A strikingly large number of sub-group A2b (i.e. as in Hines [1993a], figure 2), however, are dated to phases C2 or C3 of the Late Roman Iron Age. This is the case with five of a total of eight finds of this variant. This dating agrees well with the earlier observations that clasps with a small diameter spiral are from the earliest phase of use of such clasps (Hines 1993a:5).¹³³ Of the remaining finds of A2b clasps only one can be securely dated within the Migration Period. This is the supposedly scrap-metal hoard from Stenhørgård/Gudme,¹³⁴ which includes all three variants or sub-groups of Class A clasp, A1, A2a and A2b, as well as hacked arm- and neckrings (Balling and Petersen 1985). An inhumation grave from Karlsborg in Östergötland,¹³⁵ which included an A2b clasp, is not more closely datable since this find incorporated no diagnostic artefact-types. The four clasps in this find also lay ‘under the back’ of the deceased, which implies a different mode of use for these clasps. A third grave find with an A2b clasp, from Folkeslunda on Öland,¹³⁶ is dated to the Viking Period (Lundh and Rasch 1991:308, figs. 71–6 and 291, tab.) but could possibly represent a mixed find. This burial is osteologically sexed as a male grave, but it also included a number of beads. It is uncertain, though, what period the beads should be dated to. Altogether, therefore, it can be inferred that this type of clasp only exceptionally

132 To complicate the picture even further, there is one example which appears to be a hybrid of these types. This is the find from Harpelev on Sjælland, grave II (C28269, 28272–3) which is one of the earliest clasp finds and is dated to phase C2 of the Late Roman Iron Age. As this mixture of types is exceptional, and the find does not belong to the period that is under discussion here, I shall not include it in this study.

133 There is also a find with an untypical Class A clasp from Bredsättra on Öland (SHM18406/1) on which the spirals on the clasps are turned the opposite way from one another and which according to Hines (1993a:fig. 2) is dated to phase C3 of the Late Roman Iron Age, although Sjöberg (1987:218, tab.) dated it to the Early Roman Iron Age. In Sjöberg’s publication this clasp is also catalogued as the fastener of an item of jewellery. For this reason it is not included amongst the clasps here. Another grave find which is dated to the transition between the Late Roman Iron Age and the Migration Period, from Brostorp on Öland (Lundh and Rasch 1991:79, tab.), includes clasps with almost straight ends and no sign of rolling. These can also, then, be classified as untypical A2b clasps. Since their dating does fall within the Migration Period I do include them in this study.

134 C.df.11/84.

135 SHM15694.

136 SHM29352.

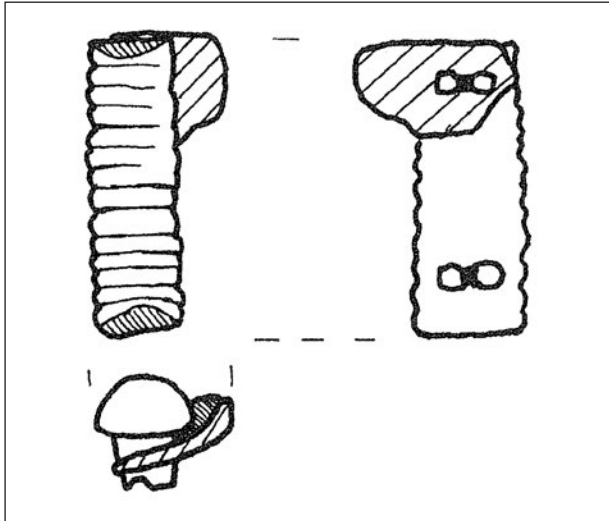


Figure 4.56 Clasp of Type B4 from Lunde, Sandnes, Rogaland (B3160), after Hines (1993a:fig. 75c).

appears in the Migration Period. I shall consequently leave this type out of the further discussion, except where the context, with reasonable certainty, can be dated within the period under review.

The range of forms of Class B and Class C clasps can also be combined or regrouped in a slightly different manner from a 'perception perspective'. Forms B1, B3 and B6, and several of the form B2 clasps, had just one visible component: a row of buttons. The buttons may differ in decoration and shape, or indeed be undecorated, and that is the basis of Hines's distinguishing of six sub-types of form B1, types B1i–B1vi (see further below). The number of buttons also varies, from one to six, but the norm is three or at least two. The clasps with buttons do, nonetheless, appear as one coherent group in comparison with the other Class B clasps, which do not have buttons. Form B1 is, moreover, the form with by far the widest distribution in Scandinavia (cf. above), so there is a sharp contrast between Class B clasps with and without buttons. On several occasions, Hines (1993a:34, 37, 39) pointed out similarities between 'button clasps' which he assigns to different forms or types. He wrote of the form B3 clasps, for instance, that 'the types of buttons on these examples vary in no way at all from those found in the B1 series', and of the form B2 clasps that several have '...the bar formed in such a way as to present the appearance of a row of buttons, as would be seen on form B1 clasps' (Hines 1993a:36–37). He also noted, when discussing the shape of the form B6 clasps, 'These

roundels evidently reproduce the appearance of form B1 clasp buttons, and are particularly reminiscent of the penannular type (type iii)' (1993:39). This makes a case for the identification of 'button clasps' as a particular analytical entity in the present context.

The remainder of the Class B clasps from Scandinavia consist of one uncertain Norwegian find of form B4 (Fig. 4.56), one pair of form B5 clasps, and two finds of form B7 clasps, in addition to seven finds of form B2 clasps without buttons. The form B4 clasps, which besides the example from Norway are known from three English finds,¹³⁷ differ from the Scandinavian button clasps in that the upper part is formed as a small 'bar'. On the finds from England this bar is T-shaped while the Norwegian specimen, which is incomplete, seems only to have had a straight bar (Hines 1993a:37–8, fig. 75a–c). Two of the English form B4 clasps are similar in appearance to a pair of clasps that is classified as form B11, while the Norwegian find is visually most similar to Hines's form B10. Both forms B10 and B11 are represented by only one pair each, both of them from England, and Hines (1993a:45) notes that both of these types are derived from, and can be interpreted as variants of, form B4.¹³⁸ The remaining form B2 clasps that do not have 'buttons' are of a roughly similar form to the Norwegian form B4 clasp (Hines 1993a:figs. 70d–j and 82) but it is doubtful if these can be counted as a coherent group from a visual perspective. They are, as a result, treated here as individualistic forms. With form B7 clasps, the clasp-halves consist of a rectangular plate alone, which may be decorated or undecorated. This is an extremely common type in Anglian England but is very rare in Scandinavia (Hines 1993a:39–40). The two Scandinavian finds of form B7 can therefore be regarded as outliers in the context of Scandinavia. Both, in fact, are undecorated.

The final Scandinavian find that Hines classifies as part of Class B is the form B5 clasps from Sejlflod in Denmark, as noted above, which look like clasps of form C2. C2 clasps are triangular, with cast animal-style art. The pair of clasps of form B5 has the same triangular shape and cast decoration, but in this case this is spiral ornament which Hines (1993a:39) associates with the Sjørup Style (Fig. 4.2). If one ignores the decoration, the difference between these two forms is limited to the manner of fastening to the garment, which is of no significance in respect

¹³⁷ There are now three known specimens of form B4 from England: a find from Feltwell in Norfolk was made by a metal detectorist a few years ago and recorded under the Portable Antiquities Scheme (pers. comm. John Hines, January 2020).

¹³⁸ The third English specimen of form B4, the new find from Feltwell, has a T-shaped bar with animal-head terminals of a form that suggests it could have served as a prototype for the form C4 clasp design (pers. comm. John Hines, January 2020).

of how the clasps are seen when they are fixed on to the garment. I shall count these, therefore, in with the form C2 clasps. The total number of Class C clasps in Scandinavia is not great: nine finds, four of which are of form C1, four of form C2,¹³⁹ and one Swedish find which Hines (1993a:72) assigned with some reservation to form C4.¹⁴⁰ The form C1 clasps differ from form C2 with their rounded, oblong/oval 'epsilon' form which is reminiscent of the spiralled Class A clasps. The final type of Class C clasp represented amongst Scandinavian finds is the untypical form C4 clasp. This clasp has a number of features similar to a couple of English finds, and they were grouped together by Hines. The Scandinavian specimen, however, is much smaller than those from England, and its shape is nearly square rather than the oblong shape of its English counterparts (Hines 1993a:fig. 138). This clasp was previously classified as form C1 (Hines 1993a:72), showing that it is not particularly easy to place it in Hines's scheme. In any event, this Scandinavian find is an outlier in the sense that it is unique in Scandinavian terms, and has therefore to be classified on its own.

The regrouping that I propose for the Scandinavian clasps can be summarized as follows:

A1: Clasps of metal wire with the ends rolled into spirals ('spiral clasps')

A2a: Clasps of metal wire with ring-shaped ends that are larger than the hook- or catch-elements

A2b: Clasps of metal wire with ring-shaped ends but with the hook- or catch-elements larger than the rings

B1, B2, B3 and B6: Clasps with buttons as the only visible element ('button clasps')

B4, B2 (without buttons): Clasps with a bar on the upper side (individual forms)

B7: Clasps in the form of an externally visible rectangular plate (outliers/individualistic forms)

C1: Rounded oblong/oval or approximately 'epsilon-shaped' clasps with cast (zoomorphic) decoration

C2, B5: Triangular clasps with cast decoration

C4: Rectangular/square clasps with cast (zoomorphic) decoration (outlier/individualist form)

With reference to the 'button clasps', i.e. forms B1, B2, B3 and B6, some of the details in Hines's (1993a:15–30) sub-groupings of form B1 can be significant. This sub-classification was based on details of the decoration, or in some cases the lack of decoration, on the buttons, and on the very shape of the buttons. Both Lamm (1972) and Hines (1993a:15–30) went into a high level of detail in their sub-groupings of the button clasps, and distinguished between quite a large number of sub-groups. In terms of perceptibility and the 'perception perspective' that is the basis of my own examination of the items of jewellery, however, the question must be how far such details really were visible or were conspicuous on a dress in use. In contrast to brooches and dress pins, which were usually worn over the chest or the upper body, the clasps, as has been noted, were usually worn lower down, by the arms. Alternatively, but much more rarely, they were found at the neck-opening, on the chest, by the knee or the ankle (Hines 1993a:76–81). The most common form of use thus meant that the clasps were not 'centre stage' in the same way as the other types of dress-accessory discussed here.

From the perception perspective that is at the core of the current analysis, it is therefore necessary, in my view, to undertake a re-assessment and minor re-grouping of the button clasps with reference to those features which actually would have been visible when they were in use. These adjustments particularly affect the sub-groups in Hines's system concerning buttons with linear and spiral decoration, and punch-decorated buttons.

With reference to the first group, clasp buttons with spiral ornament constitute a distinct sub-type in Hines's scheme (B1ii d). This corresponds to Lamm's variant II. It is a group which stands out quite automatically (Fig. 4.57a). From here on in this study these are referred to as 'button clasps with spiral designs'. Another of Hines's sub-groups of linear and spiral-decorated clasps comprises clasps with relief ring designs (type Bii c). These can, in my view, be combined with Hines's sub-group B1iii, clasp buttons with a crescent or broken ring-shaped ('penannular') design, in relief. This group corresponds with Lamm's variant V, and will be referred to as 'button clasps with ring designs' (Fig. 4.57b).¹⁴¹ Moreover, clasps of Hines's type B1ii b with a 'quartered design' in relief, which comprise three Norwegian finds, and his type B1ii e with faceted designs, can also be counted as a single

139 Including the find that Hines has classified as form B5: see above.

140 Nygårds, Dalhem, Gotland.

141 This group also includes a few clasps that are assigned to Hines's forms B2 and B6.

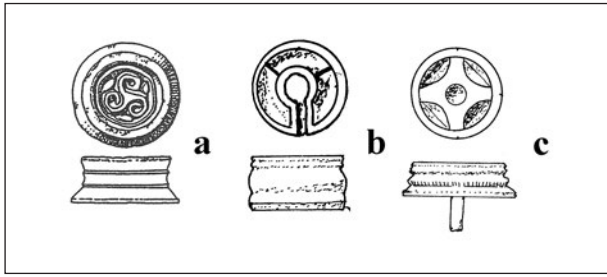


Figure 4.57 Buttons from button clasps with **a**) spiral decoration from Botkyrka/Elvesta grave A35, Södermanland (SHM30980), after Waller (1996:plansje III, 10), **b**) ring decoration from Grimstadby, Uppland (SHM Dnr. 3988/79 / RAA 106/A33), and **c**) faceted cross decoration from Syre, Rogaland (S9269), after Hines (1993a:figs. 33p and 30a).

group. Hines (1993a:18, fn. 58) also discussed one of the two pairs of form B3 clasps along with the B1ii e clasps because they have the same form of faceted decoration on the upper face of the buttons. In what follows, I shall treat all of these clasps together under the common heading of ‘button clasps with faceted triangular or cross designs’ (Fig. 4.57c).

Of the remainder of Hines’s B1ii types (i.e. clasp buttons with linear or spiral decoration in relief), sub-group B1ii a, with Nydam-style decoration, consisting of two finds with relief ornament in the form of crosses that are composed of practically leaf-like arms, will be combined with type B1iv a (see further below). I make use here of the fact that Hines (1993a:21) pointed out that these two types are very similar in decoration. In Hines’s study (1993a:19), type B1ii f is a miscellaneous group with two individualistic examples. The decoration on one pair of clasps in this group, from Eikeland in Time, Rogaland,¹⁴² is, however, similar to the type with spiral ornament (i.e. type B1ii d) even though the buttons in the Eikeland find have a sort of reversed triskele motif (Hines 1993a:fig. 32b). Since two further Norwegian finds of the type with spiral ornament are also quite different from the Swedish finds (Hines 1993a:18), I choose to incorporate the Eikeland find with type B1ii d. The other find from the miscellaneous group (B1ii f), a find from Snartemo, Hægbostad, Vest-Agder,¹⁴³ can for its part be linked to the epsilon-shaped C1i clasps (cf. above). However, since the Snartemo pieces differ from these in that, amongst other things, they do not have zoomorphic decoration, I shall treat these clasps as exceptional or individualistic forms.

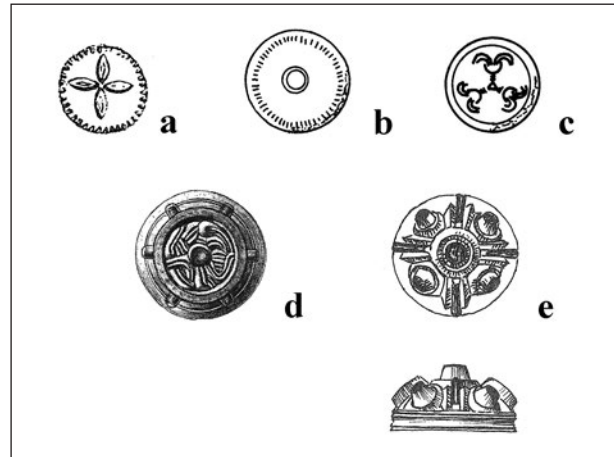


Figure 4.58 Buttons from button clasps with **a**) three-armed or cross punched decoration as R.268 from Sætvet, Telemark (C9442). Drawn by: Tone Strenger. © Museum of Cultural History, **b**) dot-in-circle punchmarks from Bolstad, Hordaland (B9614), after Hines (1993a:fig. 42b), **c**) ‘Norråla type’ decoration from Nordanberg, Jämtland (JLM9047), after Hines (1993a:fig. 41b), **d**) animal-style decoration from Karleby grave A42, Södermanland (SHM33985), after Waller (1996:fig. 30), and **e**) domed buttons from Viken grave 1, Lovö, Uppland (SHM29401/1), after Lamm (1972:plansje 1, 11).

Out of the punch-decorated buttons, I would pick out as a group Hines’s sub-type B1iv a, buttons with three-armed¹⁴⁴ or cross punched motifs (like R268), and sub-type B1iv c, a group with decoration consisting of punchmarks in the form of dot and/or ring patterns (Fig. 4.58a–b). In the first group, the crosses or the arms are formed of virtually leaf-shaped punches and are very similar to the relief ornament on the two clasps of type B1ii a referred to above. I shall consequently treat these as the same sub-group. Type B1iv c is also quite similar to the group of buttons with ring or penannular designs in relief, and I shall return to the question of whether these really ought to be regarded as part of the same group. Hines’s final sub-type of punch-decorated buttons (B1iv b, the ‘Norråla type’) consists of just two, possibly three, finds, and it is debatable whether or not these should be classified as a distinct sub-type (Fig. 4.58c). I choose, however, to regard these two or three finds as a distinct group.

Hines’s sub-types B1v a–c with masks and animal ornament – profile masks, *en face* masks and Style I designs respectively – I shall treat together (Fig. 4.58d). In this case I rely upon the fact that Hines has grouped them under the same ‘main’ sub-division and that he also points out that in some cases it is

142 S9181.

143 C28026.

144 Hines (1993a:21) refers to these as ‘triskeles’ but this is a term that is commonly used with reference to curved arms, which is not the case with the decoration on this type of button.

difficult to distinguish at least two of the sub-groups (B1v a and B1v c) from one another (Hines 1993a:23). Button clasps with domed buttons (Hines's type B1vi and Lamm's variants VI, VII and VIII) will also be treated here as a group of their own (Fig. 4.58e). This is because this group stands out, first and foremost through this domed shape, from all other types of button clasp, and because I see the variant details of decoration that were the basis for Lamm's further sub-division as subordinate to that.

Like both Hines and Lamm, however, I shall also regard the undecorated button clasps as a distinct group.

To summarize, then, attention is paid to the following details concerning the form and decoration of the button clasps in the following analysis (the forms/types of Hines's typological scheme are given in brackets):

1. Absence of decoration (B1i)
2. Spiral ornament in relief (B1ii d, B1ii f [one specimen])
3. Crescentic, annular and penannular designs in relief (B1iii, B1ii c, B2 and B6 [one specimen of each of the latter two groups])
4. Faceted triangular or cross-shaped designs (B1ii b, B1ii e and B3 [one specimen])
5. Cross-shaped or three-armed punchmark (and relief) designs of a leaf-like pattern (like R268) (B1iv a and B1ii a).
6. Dot and/or ring punchmarked designs (B1iv c)
7. Flat-surfaced buttons with Style I decoration (B1v a-c)
8. Domed buttons with relief decoration (B1vi)

The smaller groups of form B2, B3 and B6 clasps can also be systematically correlated with these features (see, e.g., Hines 1993a:37, 39). All of the groups except for the punch-decorated buttons and buttons with linear decoration in relief will also be found, as the assessment above has noted, in Lamm's (1972) scheme of grouping, supporting the point that these are significant visual aspects.¹⁴⁵

A complicating factor involved with the study of the distribution pattern of the button clasps, however, is that buttons with different designs often appear in the same contexts. With a number of finds made long ago the documentation is not of a standard that makes it possible to judge whether or not the buttons were

attached to one and the same pair of clasps. More recent, well-recorded finds do show that a clasp-half can have buttons that differ in decoration.¹⁴⁶ When clasp buttons with different decoration occur in the same find, it may be either due to the fact that the costume was furnished with pairs of clasps of several different (sub-)types, or that it had clasps with individual buttons that varied in decoration. The great majority of the clasps, however, appear to have been provided with matching buttons.

4.2.3.2 *A general view of the geographical distribution in Scandinavia*

As already noted, Sweden has the largest number of finds of clasps, with a total of 283 finds and 319 different examples of clasp¹⁴⁷ (Map 4.42). What is most striking about the distribution within Sweden is the concentration in Uppland and Södermanland, around Mälaren, and the large number of finds from Gotland. There are also quite a large number of finds from a little further north in eastern Sweden, in Hälsingland and Medelpad, and some in Bohuslän and Västergötland in western Sweden. Clasps also have quite a wide distribution in Norway, with a total of 220 different clasps from 191 finds. In Norwegian territory there is a concentration towards the south-west and Vestlandet, while Hedmark, Buskerud and Sør-Trøndelag have produced no finds at all. Of the 77 different clasps from 68 finds in Denmark, the majority are from Jutland. In terms of the geographical distribution of the clasps in general, the principal clustering is in coastal areas in the southern half of Norway, in eastern and central Sweden, and on Gotland and in Jutland (Map 4.42; Hines 1993a:87-9).

4.2.3.3 *Geographical distribution in phase D1*

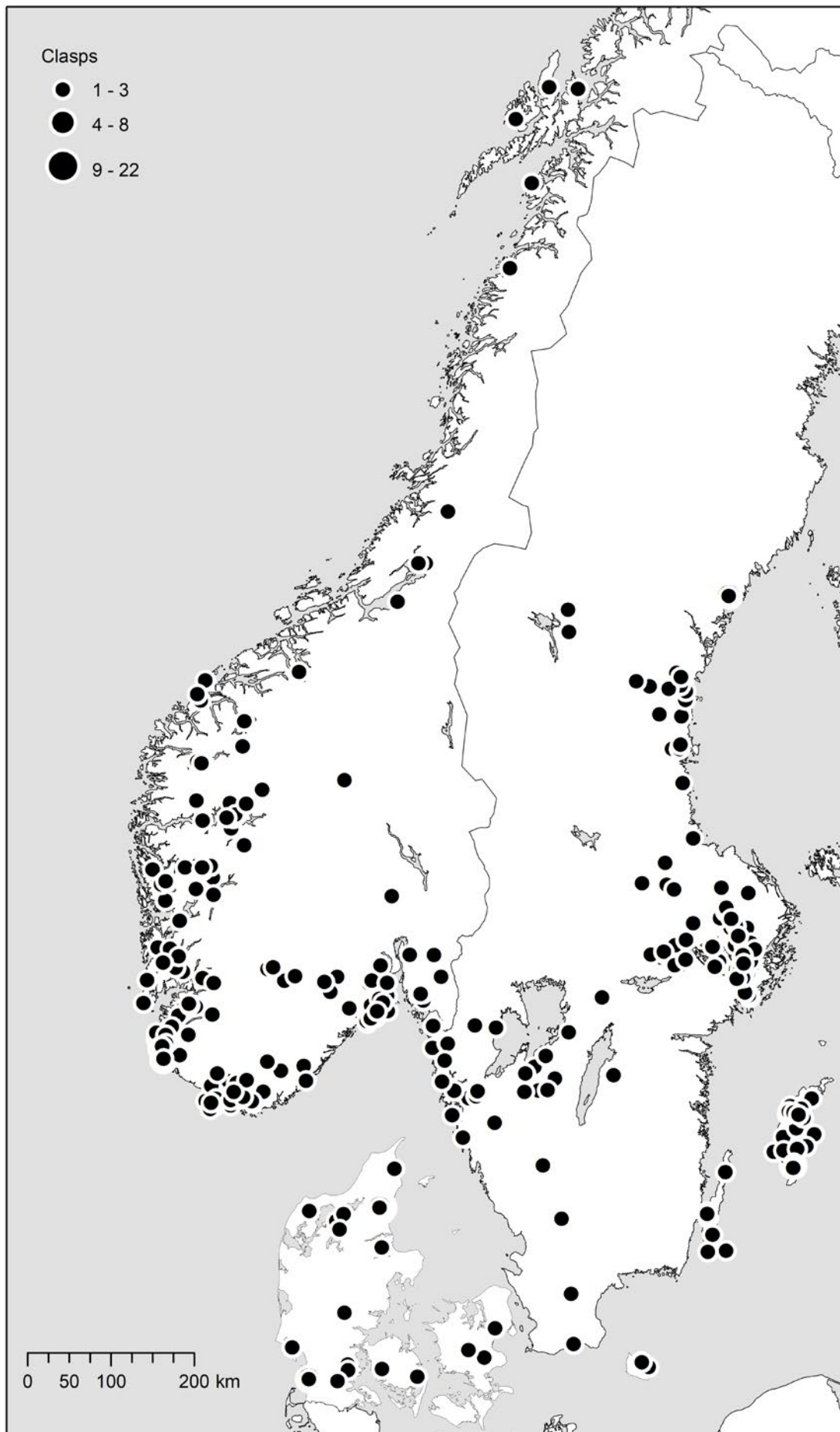
Turning to the matter of chronological distribution, the majority of the Class A clasps of the Migration Period belong, according to Hines (1993a:11), to the period before VWZ III, meaning that, in terms of the chronological system applied here, they fall into phase D1. Hines noted, however, that spiral clasps do occur in the succeeding phase, even though they diminish in frequency in the course of that phase and went completely out of use at the transition from VWZ III to VWZ IV, or phase D2a to D2b.

Type A1 clasps, namely clasps with clearly spiral-rolled ends (Fig. 4.54a), constitute by far the largest

145 The reason why those two types of button clasps are not included amongst Lamm's variants is that, on the whole, they do not occur in Sweden (cf. below).

146 This is the case in the find from Sande, Farsund, Vest-Agder (C55731).

147 Including the untypical type A2b clasp from Brostorp, Glömminge, Öland (SHM31890).



Map 4.42 The distribution of clasps in Scandinavia in the Migration Period.

group of Class A clasps, at a total of 91 finds (of which six are uncertain)¹⁴⁸: 66 from Norway, 20 from Denmark,¹⁴⁹ and five from Sweden (Map 4.43). There is thus a clear majority of the most typical, properly spiralled clasps from Norway. The earliest finds are dated to the transition between the phase C3 of the Late Roman Iron Age and phase D1, and 32 finds are dated to the period in between the transition of phases C3/D1 and that of phases D1/D2a. The number of finds may not seem so high, but when only ten finds of type A1 clasps can be dated either to the following phase of the Migration Period or to the transition of phases D2a/D2b, phase D1 stands out clearly as the main period of use for the A1 clasps. This also agrees with previous observations that finds of spiral clasps from western Norway can overwhelmingly be dated to the beginning of the 5th century (Næss 1996:132). I shall therefore review this group as a whole here, and only make a few comments about the late finds from the following phase.

Spiral clasps are found mostly to the west of Scandinavia, in southern and western Norway, especially in Rogaland and the neighbouring provinces of Vest-Agder and Hordaland, in Vestfold, and also in Jutland. In Jutland there are also localized clusters of this type of clasp at the two cemetery sites of Sejlflod and Hjemsted in northern and southern Jutland respectively, accounting for 12 of the 16 Jutlandic finds in total. Three of the five finds from Sweden are from south-western regions.

The great majority of the spiral clasps (type A1) are of silver, with only 12 examples of copper alloy. In four cases this type of clasp has been finished off with white gold or electrum – an alloy of silver and gold – or tinned silver, which is visually hard to distinguish from silver itself (as long as the silver remains unoxidized). Some of the silver clasps are also gilt. It is striking that, of the 12 finds of copper-alloy spiral clasps, no fewer than six are from the cemetery at Sejlflod in Aalborg *amt* in Jutland, while a seventh find is from Sønderlade in the same *amt*. The other five copper-alloy spiral clasps are from Rogaland (two finds), Troms, Vestfold and Oppland. Copper-alloy spiral clasps thus appear to have had a markedly local

distribution focused on the cemetery of Sejlflod in North Jutland, from where more than half of the A1 clasps made of copper-alloy wire have come. But type A1 clasps of both silver and copper alloy occur in the same grave at this site.¹⁵⁰

Sub-type A2a, ring-shaped clasps (Fig. 4.54b), comprises altogether six finds that are from Fyn (one find) and Jutland (four), together with one from ‘Krosshaug’ in Rogaland in Norway (Map 4.44). Four of the six finds can be dated to the transition of phase C3/D1 or phase D1, while the other two cannot be dated more closely than to the Migration Period. This indicates a phase of use within phase D1, possibly focused at the very beginning of the phase. This sub-type is therefore concentrated in Denmark, in Jutland. All of the type A2a clasps are made of silver.

Two finds of type A2b clasps (Fig. 4.55) are datable to this phase. These are from Brostorp on Öland and Stenhøjgård/Gudme on Fyn (cf. above). As a result, there are in total 99 Class A clasps that are assigned to this phase. In the case of the so-called button clasps, namely clasps of Hines’s forms B1, B2, B3 and B6 (cf. above), there are 16 finds (with 18 Class B clasps) that can be dated to the transition of phase C3/D1 or phase D1.¹⁵¹ These all belong to Hines’s form B1. No clasps of forms B2, B3 or B6 are dated to phase D1 (Hines 1993a:34–7, 39). The largest number of Class B clasps, however, belong to the two later sub-phases of the Migration Period (see both above and below). For the sake of simplicity I shall therefore present the distribution of this type of clasp and its sub-types collectively under phases D2a and D2b. The same is done with the Class C clasps, which in the context of Scandinavia date primarily to the transition between phases D1 and D2a and to phase D2a. Two finds of Class C clasps, however, can be dated to phase D1 (cf. below), and along with the finds of early button clasps they will be included in the examination of the find contexts of this phase. Altogether there are 119 clasps from 107 finds dated to phase D1.¹⁵²

4.2.3.4 Find contexts of phase D1

99 grave finds with a total of 108 clasps are datable to phase D1, meaning that practically all of the clasps of

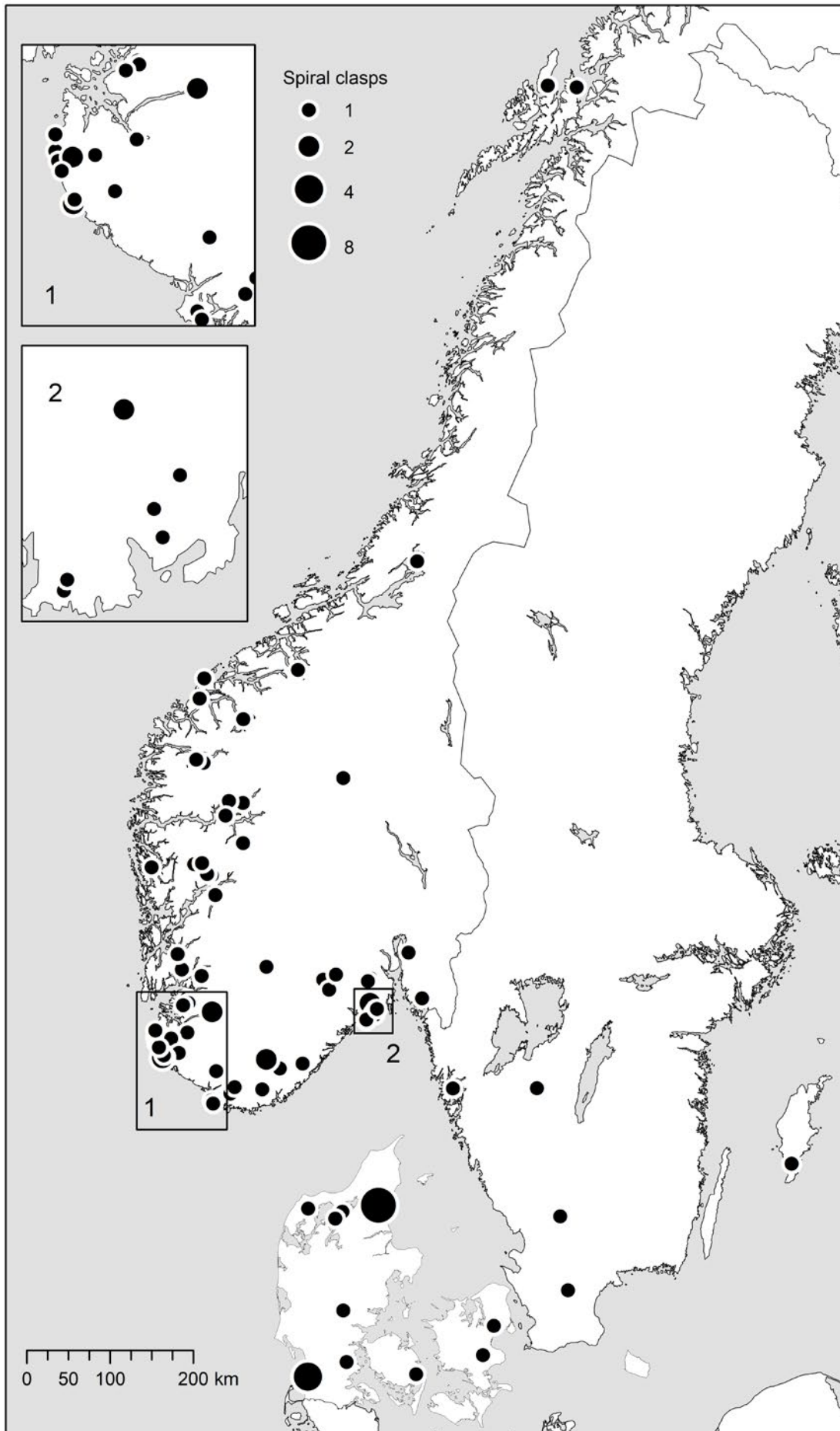
148 The uncertain finds are from Rogaland (two finds), Sogn og Fjordane, Vestfold, Jutland and Sjælland.

149 C28269, C28272–3 from Harpelev, Præstø, Sjælland, is counted as a possible example of type A2b even though it is difficult to determine if this is a case of spiral-rolled clasps or clasps of type A2b. Its dating to phase C2 of the Late Roman Iron Age, however, renders it probable that this was a type A2b clasp. It is also uncertain whether or not the clasps in the grave-assemblage from Nykirke mark, Vejle *amt*, Jutland (C691–2) are spiral clasps. They are counted here under that type, i.e. as A1 clasps. This is also the case with the clasps from Tåstrupgård, København, Sjælland (C26665–74) and C16391–4: Grønneberg, Tjølling, Vestfold.

150 ÅHM669/4340, 4343, 4354: grave NV.

151 This includes nine Class B clasps from a total of seven finds which have both Class A and Class B clasps.

152 There are several examples of different types of clasp in the same context.



Map 4.43 The distribution of spiral clasps (Type A1) in Phase D1.



Map 4.44 The distribution of ring clasps (Type A2a) in Phase D1.

this phase are from graves. The majority of these are from Norway (77 clasps from 71 finds) while there are 24 clasps from 22 finds from Denmark and seven clasps from six finds from Sweden (Map 4.45). Nine clasps¹⁵³ from a total of six hoards, from Denmark (four finds) and Sweden (two finds), belong to this phase (Map 4.45). One of the hoards, however, that from Göingeholm in Skåne, as I have noted above, has not been securely identified as a hoard (cf. Ch. 4.2.1.4). All of the hoards except for the Göingeholm find, which has been thoroughly discussed already (Ch. 4.2.1.4), and a hoard from Ejsbøl mose, which is a votive weapon hoard, can be classified as scrap-metal or smith's hoards which also include ingots, metal wire and strips, chopped up and fragmentary artefacts and the like. In two of the scrap-metal hoards, from Høstentorp on Sjælland and Djurgårdsäng in Västergötland, the clasps are associated with artefacts that can be assigned to phase D2a and/or D2b. The dating and composition of the Høstentorp hoard has been thoroughly discussed above (Ch. 4.2.2.4). In the case of the Djurgårdsäng find, Hines (1993a:9) suggested that it might be dated as late as VWZ IV, or to phase D2b, from the association with the D-bracteates that are part of the assemblage. As already observed (Ch. 3.1), it is precisely this late dating of the D-bracteates which is one of the most contested aspects of Bakka's phasing – a phasing which Hines in fact uses as a starting point. The D-bracteates should not, then, be decisive in the dating of this find as a whole. The C2 clasps in the find are decorated in the Nydam Style (Haseloff 1981:13). Ulf Erik Hagberg (1983:89) dated the find to around the middle of the Migration Period, c. AD 500. Irrespective of whether the date of deposition of the hoard was in phase D2a or in the next phase, the Høstentorp and Djurgårdsäng finds show that scrap-metal hoards can consist of objects which have been collected over an extended period, a point which is corroborated in finds of cashiered imported objects that can be dated to the Roman Iron Age, and Roman coins which occur in several hoards of this type. The votive hoards of weapons were also usually built up over an extended period, and that is also the case with the finds from Ejsbøl mose (Ørnsnes 1984; 1988).

It is also noteworthy that four of the five hoards with spiral and ring-shaped clasps were located outside

of the core area of distribution of these types of clasps, namely Jutland and southern and western Norway (cf. above). The only one of the hoards containing spiral clasps that is from within the main area of distribution is the scrap-metal find from Simmersted in Haderslev to the south of Jutland,¹⁵⁴ while the other four are from Fyn, Sjælland, Skåne and Västergötland. The votive hoard of weaponry from Ejsbøl mose, Haderslev, in south-eastern Jutland, which stands somewhat apart in this perspective, included button clasps of type B1ii a, in the Nydam Style. This find belongs to the (edge of) the main area of distribution of this type of clasp (cf. below), but the clasps themselves stand out by being decorated in relief, whereas the main group has punched decoration (cf. above). With regard to the cast, triangular form C2 clasps, it is not so easy to say if the find from Västergötland is inside the core area or not, a point that I return to in the course of my survey of clasps from the following phases.

A find of clasps from Gitlevåg in Lindesnes *kommune*, Vest-Agder,¹⁵⁵ may be from a settlement site. This includes a type C1i clasp and a button clasp with ring design (B1ii c).¹⁵⁶ Otherwise there is one stray find of a spiral clasp, from an unknown site in Rogaland.

Both grave and hoard finds in this phase have the same types of clasp. The clasps are also, to a large extent, found in association with the same types of dress-accessory in either category of context. The difference is, as demonstrated, that the hoards are dominated by scrap metal.

In summary, certain trends are apparent in respect of the use of clasps in phase D1. In the first place, it would appear that clasps had a markedly westerly Scandinavian distribution in the southern half of Norway and in Jutland in this phase (cf. Hines 1993a:87).¹⁵⁷ In that light, as has already been emphasized, it is remarkable that four of the five hoards which contain spiral and/or ring-shaped clasps are distributed around the marginal areas of the western Scandinavian core zone of this type of clasp. Secondly, it appears that the Class A clasps took on a more consistent character in the course of this phase. Amongst the earliest finds there is more variation in terms of form, so there are several parallel sub-types (spiral clasps, ring-shaped clasps, and possibly type A2b clasps). In the course of the phase it appears that the spiralled

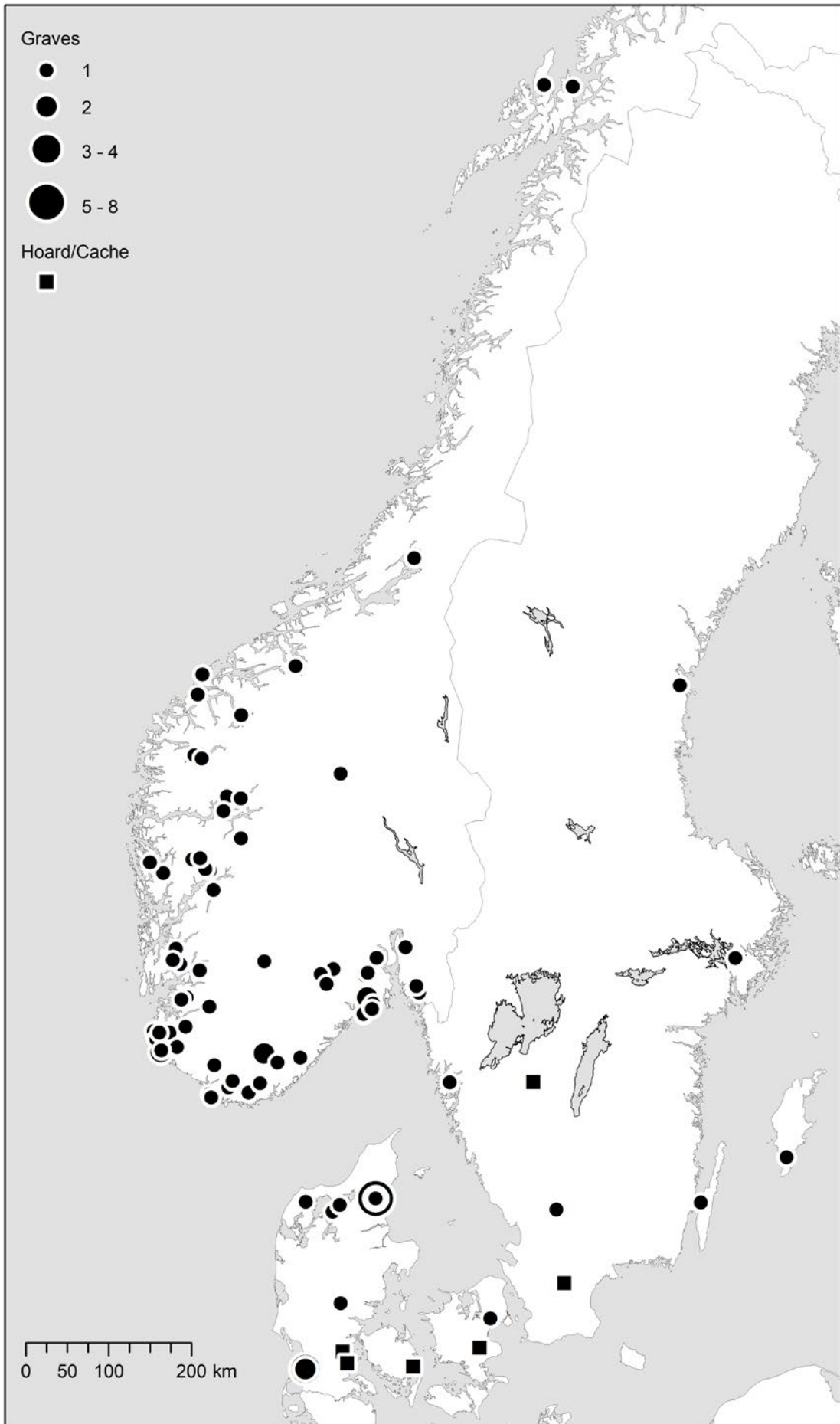
153 Here I count clasps and parts/fragments of clasps of the same sub-type as single examples.

154 C.df.11-28/46.

155 B5060.

156 The type B1ii c clasp is counted amongst the contexts of the next phase while the type C1i clasp is decorated in the Nydam Style and is counted here under phase D1.

157 This is also, to a large extent, the case with the distribution of button clasps of phase D1 (cf. below).



Map 4.45 Graves and hoards or caches with clasps of Phase D1.

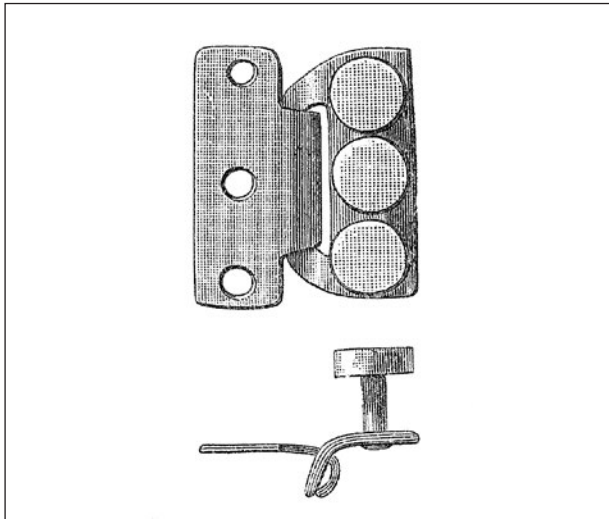


Figure 4.59 Undecorated button clasps (B1i) from Gotland, after Stjerna (1905:fig. 189).

clasps become the predominant form. A geographical difference is also noticeable in that copper-alloy spiral clasps are concentrated particularly at Sejlflod in the north of Jutland. Moreover the ring-shaped clasps appear to have been a distinctly Jutlandic variant in this period.

4.2.3.5 Geographical distribution in phases D2a and D2b

Hines (1993a:31, tab. 5) dated only one sub-type of the button clasps specifically to VWZ III, which is phase D2a: sub-type B1iii – button clasps on which the upper face of the buttons is decorated with a crescent or broken ring (penannular) design in relief. He was cautious about this dating, too, describing it as ‘possible’, and the group as ‘largely’ VWZ III. The other sub-types are assigned, on the whole, to the two concluding phases of the Migration Period, so here they belong to phases D2a and D2b, while sub-type B1ii a (represented by two finds which are counted in with Hines’s sub-type B1iv a here: see above) and clasps of type B1v a with Nydam-style decoration date to phase D1, according to Hines. It is difficult to date many finds of clasps to within a single phase, because clasps often occur as the only type of dress-accessory in contexts, and are indeed quite often the only artefact-type at all. Of a total of 506 finds of button clasps from the Migration Period,¹⁵⁸

only 18 can with certainty be dated to the transition between phases C3 and D1 or phase D1 itself, while 205 finds belong to the period from the transition between phases D1 and D2a through to the transition between phase D2b and phase 1 of the Merovingian Period. The remaining finds cannot be dated more closely than to somewhere in the Migration Period. The limited number of button clasps of phase D1 in relation to the overall count can in all probability be linked to the fact that it was the two phases which followed that were the main period of use of button clasps. From here on, as already noted, I shall discuss the button clasps from the two sub-phases of D2 together. I shall nevertheless attempt to identify specific tendencies towards groupings and geographical diffusion in the individual sub-phases, and shall discuss the distribution of some early finds (which have been included with the contexts of phase D1, above) when this is crucial in respect of the questions this project is attempting to answer.

Formally, the largest group of button clasps is the type with undecorated (‘plain’) buttons (B1i) (Fig. 4.59). This group amounts to as many as 223 finds (one of which is uncertain).¹⁵⁹ The undecorated button clasps have a relatively wide range, and should perhaps best be understood as a common Scandinavian type of clasp. The distribution by provinces does nevertheless reveal clusters within the area of Sweden, especially in the Mälars region and on Gotland. In the context of Denmark, all of the finds are from Jutland, and no fewer than 24 of the 27 Danish finds are from the cemetery of Sejlflod in northern Jutland. The type is otherwise quite evenly spread out across the coastal provinces of southern and western Norway.

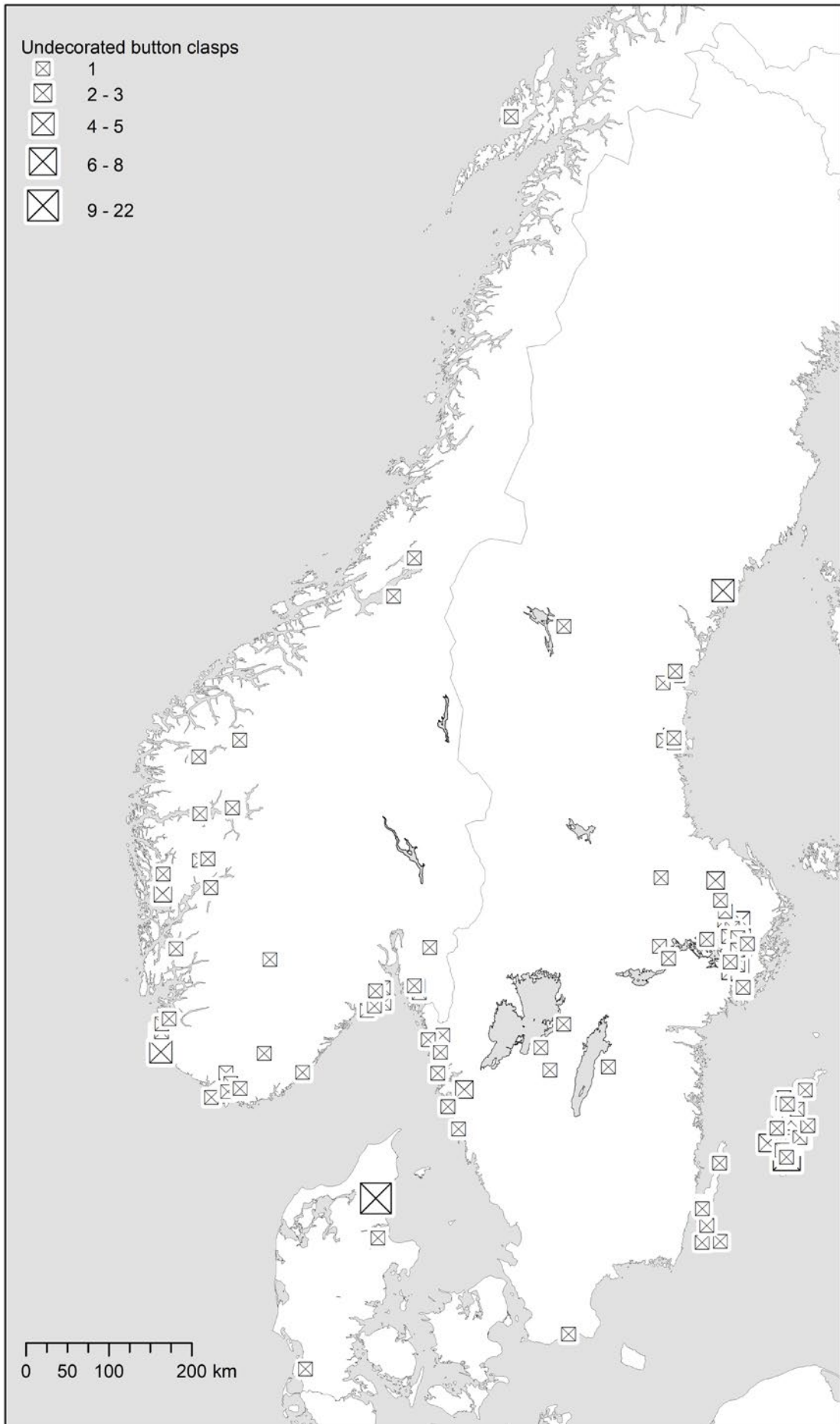
The undecorated button clasps are a type that was in use all the time from the Late Roman Iron Age and throughout the Migration Period, but the greatest density of use occurred in the concluding two sub-phases of the Migration Period (Hines 1993a:15). There are two finds that can be dated to period C, the Late Roman Iron Age, seven that can be assigned to phases C3 and D1,¹⁶⁰ 22 to the transitional period of phases D1/D2a and phase D2a, six to phase D2b, nine to phase D2a and/or phase D2b, and two finds which belong to the transition to the Merovingian Period.¹⁶¹ The remainder cannot be closely dated but will be

¹⁵⁸ The figure does not include finds of the Late Roman Iron Age.

¹⁵⁹ There is also a find of a B1i clasps from Uppåkra in Skåne, but this is not included here because it is from a central place. Note also that two finds of the Late Roman Iron Age, period C, are excluded too.

¹⁶⁰ These nine finds are not included in the analysis of contexts which follows.

¹⁶¹ The type occurs in association with jewellery of the early Merovingian Period in grave-assemblages from Gudings, Vallstena, Gotland (SHM5130) and Värberg, Huddinge, Södermanland (SSM. Fl.35B/A5).



Map 4.46 The distribution of undecorated button clasps (Type B1i) in Phase D2. In many areas, the density is so great that the spots overlap.

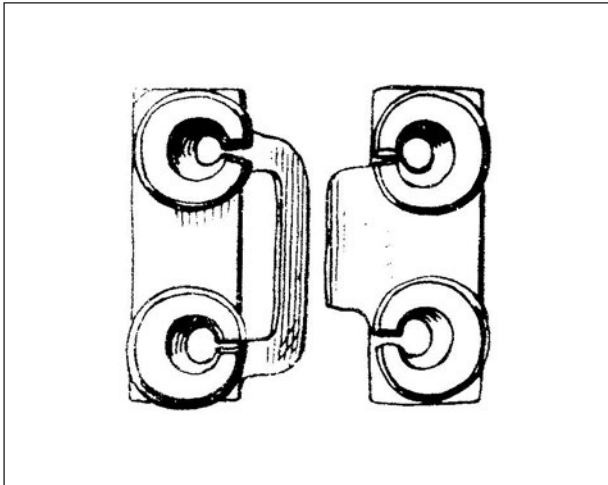


Figure 4.60 Button clasps with ring motifs (C29300). Drawn by: Mary Storm. © Museum of Cultural History.

assigned here to an undifferentiated phase D2.¹⁶² This means that a total of 214 finds can be counted from this phase (Map 4.46). There is therefore a majority of datable clasps from phase D2a, but still quite a considerable number of finds from phase D2b.

Looked at as a whole, button clasps with ring designs (i.e. Hines's types and forms B1ii c, B1iii, B6 and B2) account for 41 finds (Fig. 4.60).¹⁶³ This variety of clasps is found across a wide area of Scandinavia, even though there is a certain local cluster in the Mälars region (see also Hines 1993a:fig. 34).¹⁶⁴ Hines (1993a:19–20, fig. 34) pointed out that clasps with crescentic designs of this type were found primarily in Norway and Denmark while those with penannular forms were from central Sweden. In my view, however, it is doubtful that this difference represents a visual impact that could readily have been noticed. As noted, Hines dated the B1iii type generally to phase D2a. Of a total of 41 finds, there are seven (three from Denmark and the remainder from Norway) which date to this phase, while two finds belong to phase D2b and one can be dated to the transition between phase D2b and phase 1 of the Merovingian Period (Hines 1993a:36). Two further finds date to phase D1. The primary occurrence of the group can therefore be regarded as having been phase D2a but the type was also in use in phase D2b. 39 finds are assigned to the undifferentiated phase D2 here (Map 4.47).

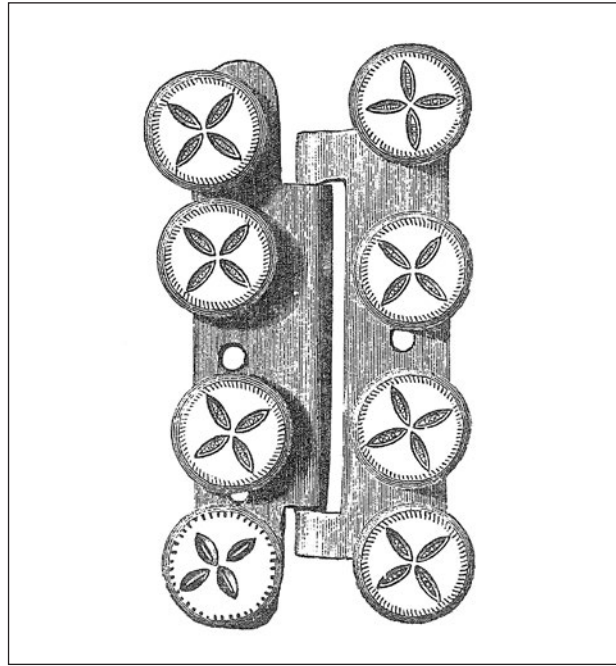


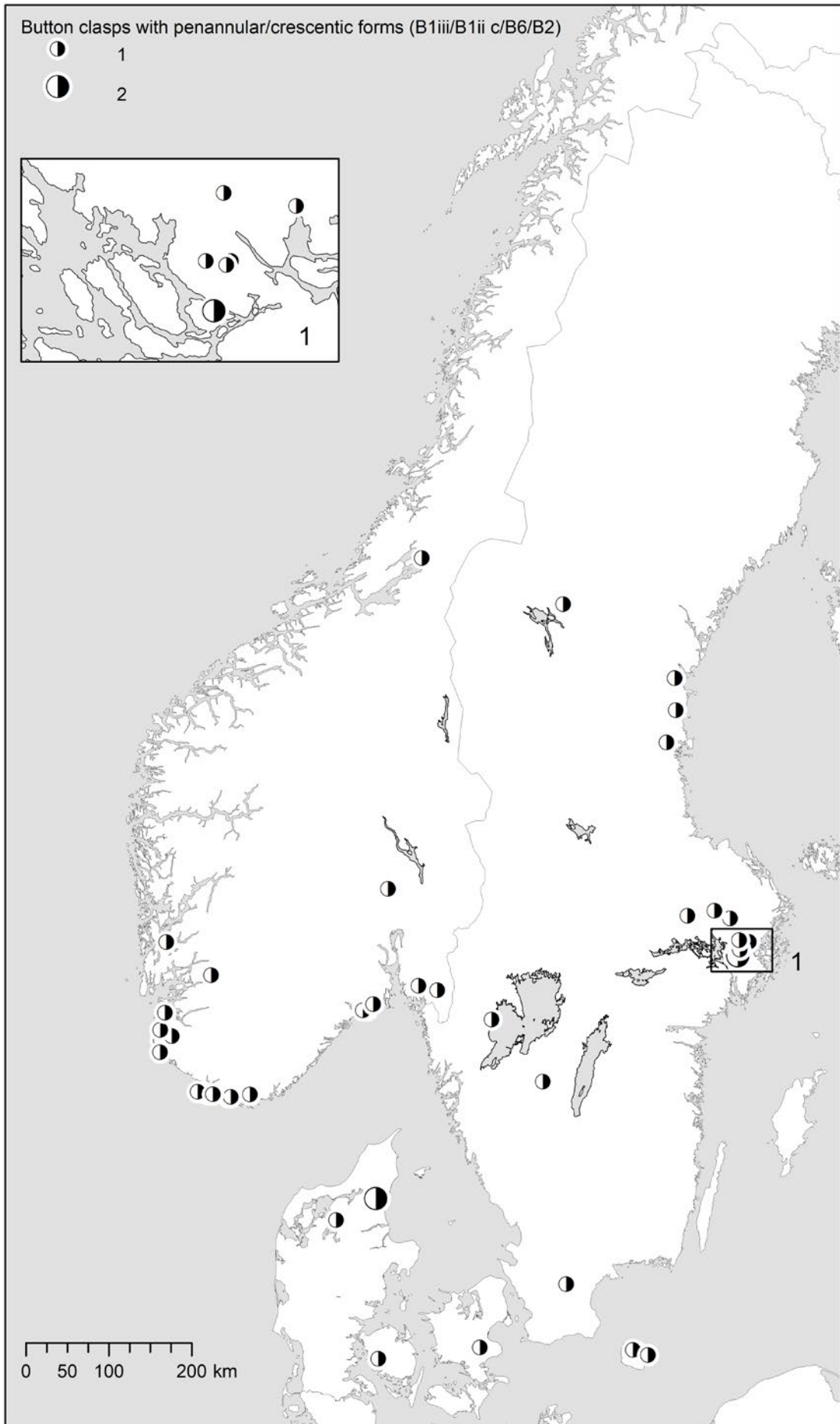
Figure 4.61 Button clasps as R.268 from Østby, Østfold (C15597), after Rygh (1885:fig. 268).

Buttons of the form of R268 (Fig. 4.61) with a cross or three-armed motif, whose arms are formed of leaf-like or pointed oval punchmarks (B1iv a) or in relief (B1ii a), make up a total of 23 finds. Clasps with this design are a western Scandinavian type that is found primarily in the areas of western and south-western Norway and western Denmark. Hines (1993a:22) has also noted that one Swedish find, from Skulsta in Medelpad, differs from the other finds of this group and appears 'untypical' (Hines 1993a:21–2, fn.68). Of the total of 23 finds, four Norwegian finds can be assigned to phase D2a from associations with relief brooches and/or cruciform brooches, while three further Norwegian finds of the type are datable to phase D2b. Two finds are classified as showing the Nydam Style (B1ii a) (cf. Hines 1993a:16). This initially suggests they should be placed in phase D1, but one of the finds is from a phase-D2 context (cf. Ch. 6.7) and therefore is counted in with the contexts of this undifferentiated phase. Another find was associated with a type A1 clasp and so is counted as phase D1 here, while the find itself should probably be dated to the transition of phases D1/D2a. The remainder

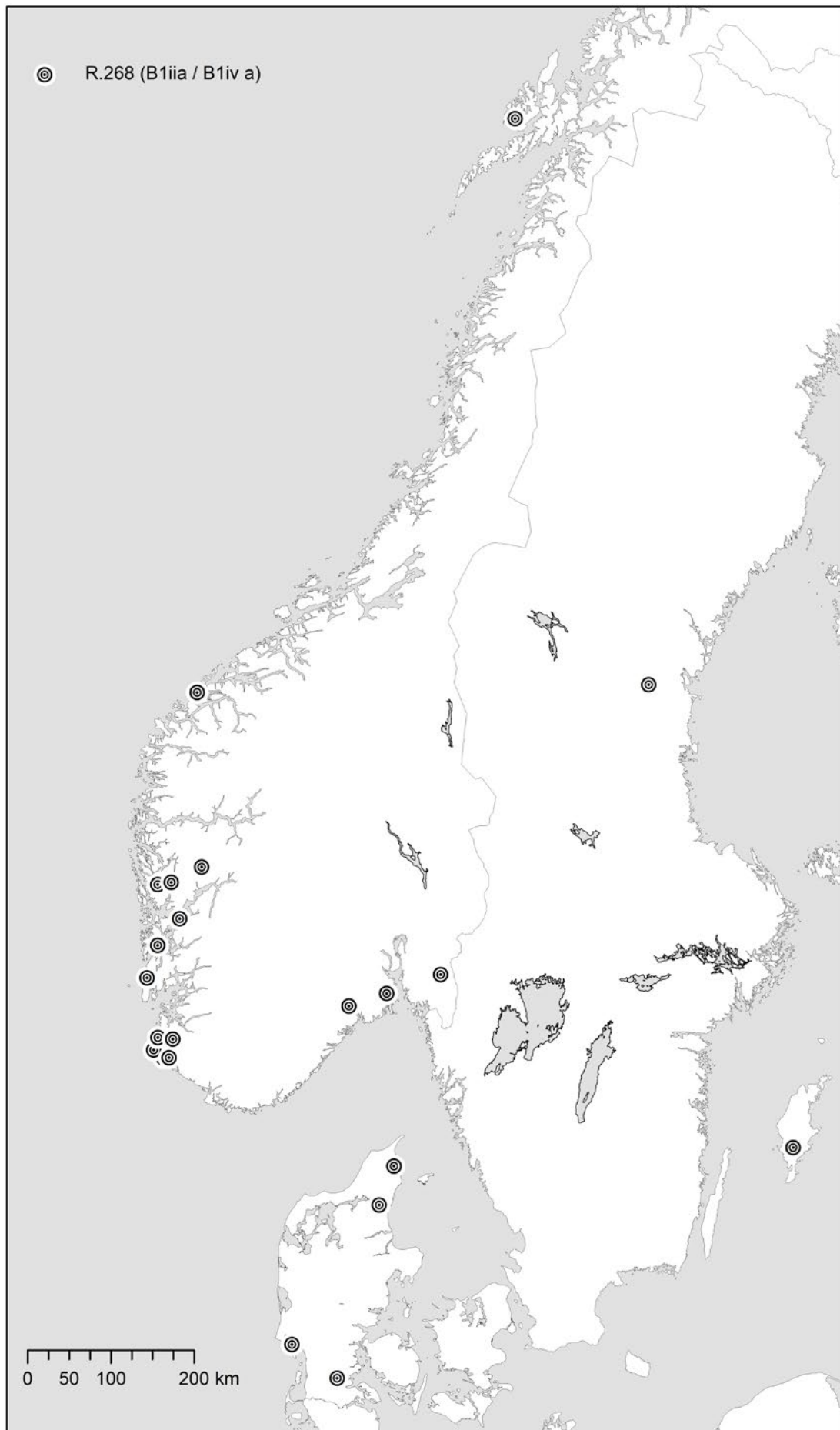
162 Note that maps of sub-types of button clasp show only finds of the Migration Period unless otherwise indicated. Roman Iron-age finds are excluded.

163 There is also a find from Sams Udde, Naverstad, Bohuslän (HM15718/1) which is a hybrid of types B1iii and B1v (Hines 1993a:19–20, Cat.). Here it is counted in with the clasps of type B1v.

164 There is also now a find of a type B1iii 'penannular' shaped clasp (i.e. an 'eastern' Scandinavian form) from Oxborough in Norfolk. This is one of a few examples of artefacts found in East Anglia or around the Fens which have specifically and close eastern Scandinavian (i.e. Swedish) parallels rather than western ones (in Jutland or Norway). They include an object which appears to be an incomplete type B1vi domed clasp button in silver (pers. comm. John Hines, January 2020).



Map 4.47 The distribution of button clasps with penannular or crescentic forms. The finds in the margin comprise 7 finds, but two of these are so close that the spots overlap.



Map 4.48 The distribution of button clasps like R.268 (Types B1ii a / B1iv a).



Figure 4.62 Button clasps with faceted triangular motifs from *Døsen haug II, Hordaland (B6090)*. Photograph: Svein Skare. © University Museum of Bergen.

are not more closely datable in terms of the chronological scheme that underlies the present study. As a whole, therefore, the group is to be regarded as having had a period of use that essentially covered both sub-phases of D2, a period to which 21 finds are assigned (Map 4.48).

Clasps with faceted triangular or cross designs (Fig. 4.62), namely types B1ii b, B1ii e, and one pair of form B3, comprise 15 finds altogether, two of which are from Sweden and the remainder from Norway.¹⁶⁵ Of these 15 finds, one can be dated to the transition of phases C3/D1 or early in phase D1. This clasp stands out somewhat because its design is a 'cross pattée': a cross with arms with splayed but straight-cut terminals (see Hines 1993a:fig. 22a). There are three finds dated to phase D2a and five to phase D2b, while three finds



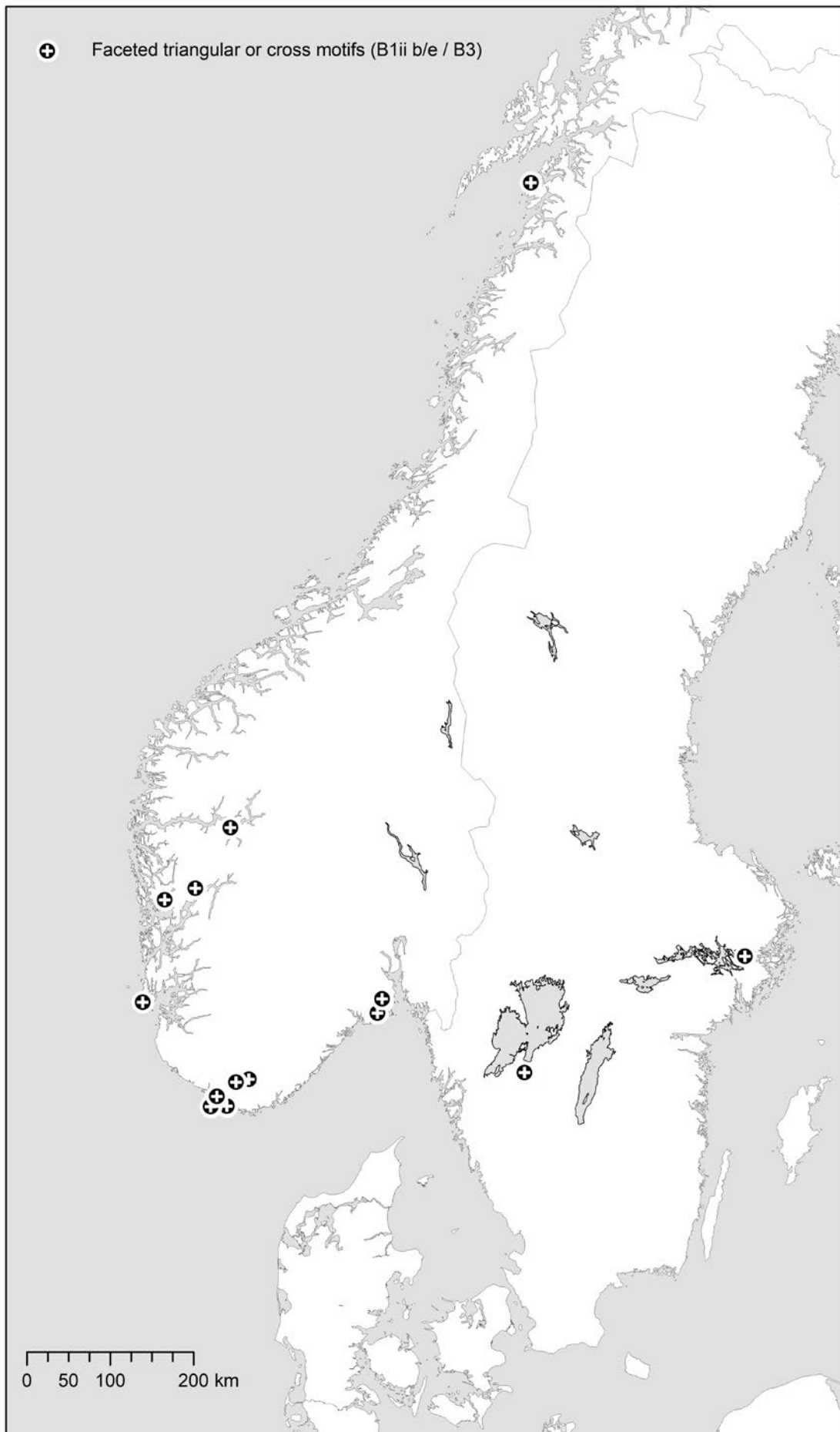
Figure 4.63 Button clasps with spiral motifs from *Skäcklinge, Södermanland (SHM31097/10)*, after Waller (1996:plansje I, 6).

belong either to D2a or D2b. On the whole, this type of clasp was in use during the two concluding phases of the Migration Period, and 14 finds are assigned to an undifferentiated phase D2 here (Map 4.49). The find from Uppland stands apart by belonging to a burial context of the Merovingian Period (the transition of phase 2 to phase 3). The clasp in this context is considered to have been an antique (Biuw 1992:91). This type is primarily a 'Norwegian' form. The earliest find is from Østfold but the principal distribution of this type in the two D2 sub-phases is in Vestlandet and the south-west. The one late pair from Sogn og Fjordane is in fact a form B3 pair from Hauglum that was found together with a relief brooch of the Sogne group. The unusually constructed fastening on this piece (that is definitive of Hines's form B3), which would allow the clasps to be easily removed from the garment, may represent a technical development.

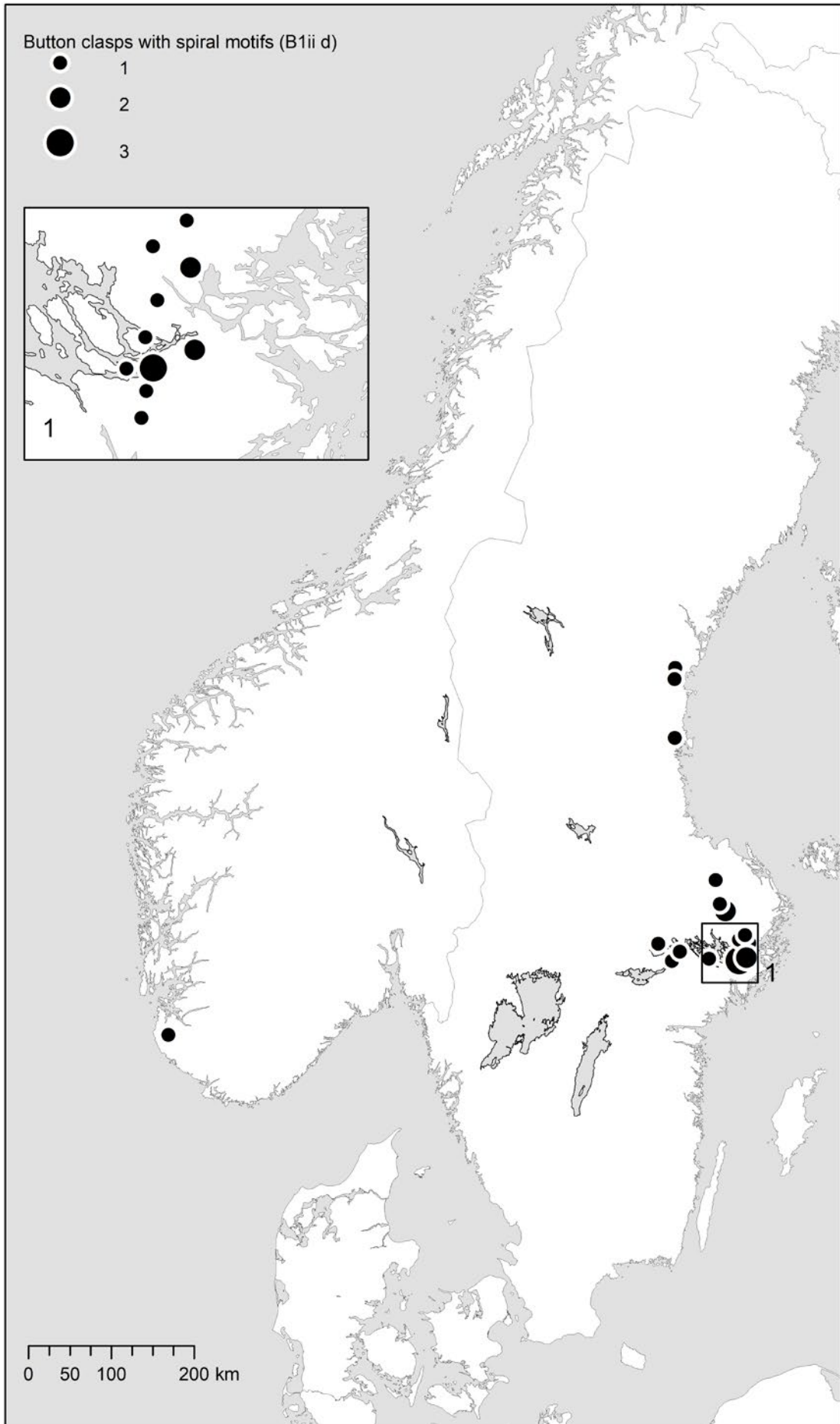
Button clasps of sub-type B1ii d, on which the buttons are decorated with spiral designs of various forms of triskele, swastika or what are referred to as 'running-spiral' patterns, constitute a relatively large group of 28 finds altogether (Fig. 4.63).¹⁶⁶ Apart from three Norwegian finds, all of the examples are from Sweden, where there is a clear cluster around the

¹⁶⁵ I do not include here two finds from Hordaland which Hines regarded as hybrids between types B1ii b and B1ii d, and count these in with the spiral-decorated clasps of type B1ii d: cf. below.

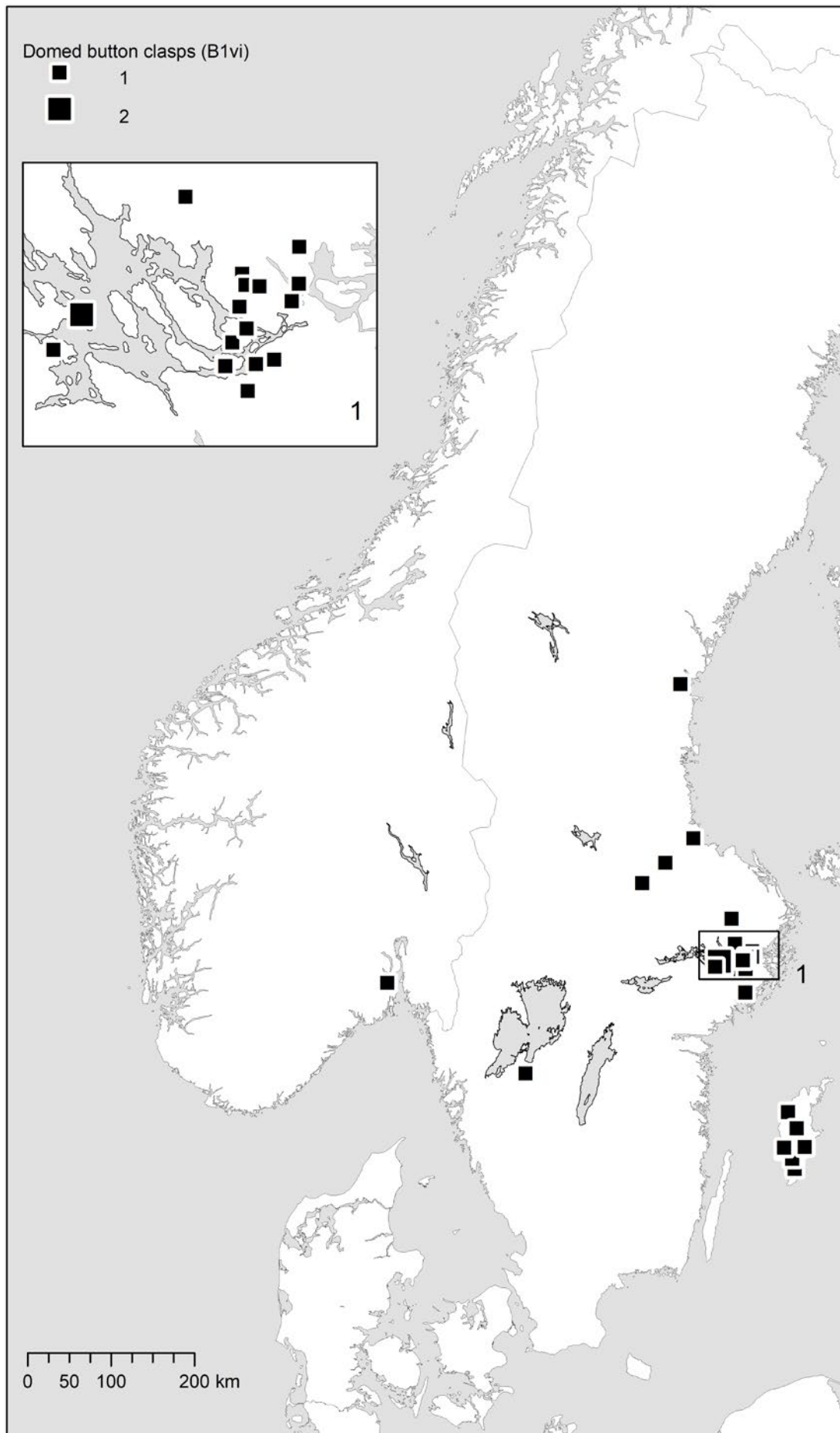
¹⁶⁶ Including four finds which according to Bennett's (1987) data list and figure are probably of this type. Bennett, however, did not describe the decoration in her data list and catalogue, but the figure given as an example in the text showing the typological abbreviations has a triskele design.



Map 4.49 The distribution of button clasps with faceted triangular or cross motifs. The find from Uppland is dated to the Merovingian Period.



Map 4.50 The distribution of button clasps with spiral motifs.



Map 4.51 The distribution of domed button clasps. The finds in the box comprise 20 finds, but the find-spots are so close in some places that the spots overlap.

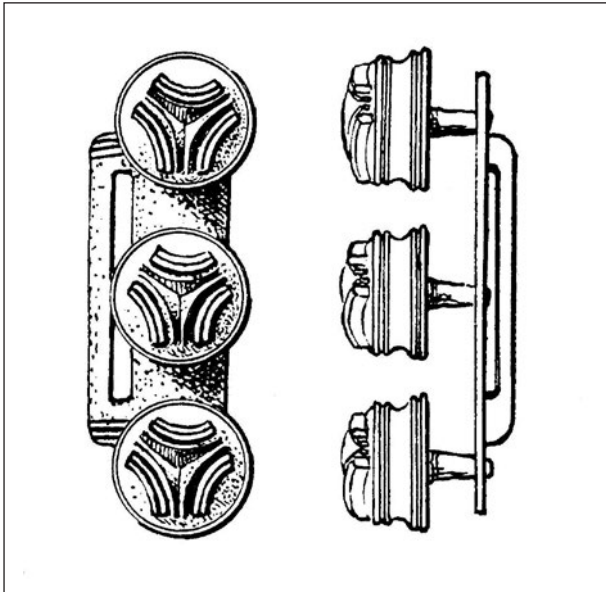


Figure 4.64 Domed button clasps with relief decoration from Brucebo, Gotland (SHM11351/9), after Nerman (1969:Taf. 55, fig. 536).

Mälars region (Hines 1993a:fig. 26). All three of the finds from Norway that can be assigned to this type have different spiral ornament. This is dominated by spirals but they are not organized in the same basic pattern as triskele, swastika or running-spiral designs. Two of the finds, both of them from Hordaland, are counted as of Nydam Style (Kristoffersen 2000:344, 347) and also show a sort of combination of two types of decoration (respectively of Hines's types B1ii b and B1ii d), meaning that it is a matter of judgment which group they should be counted as part of here (cf. Hines 1993a:18). The third Norwegian find was classified by Hines in a 'miscellaneous' group consisting of two very different buttons (B1ii f), but since it has spiral decoration I have chosen to include it here. Thus, of the 28 finds, two are dated to phase D1 (these are from Norway, with Nydam Style), one to phase D2a, two to phase D2b (including one from Norway), and three to phase D2a and/or phase D2b. Consequently, the period of use of the type with spiral designs as a whole appears to cover both of the concluding sub-phases of the Migration Period, with 26 finds counted from this whole phase here (Map 4.50).

Type B1vi clasps with domed buttons decorated in relief (Fig. 4.64) are represented by 34 finds,¹⁶⁷ one of which is from Norway and the remainder from



Figure 4.65 Button clasps with a level upper edge and Style I decoration from Staurnes/Giskegjerde, Møre og Romsdal (B724), after Rygh (1885:fig. 269a-b).

Sweden. As Hines (1993a:28) noted this is a distinctly eastern type which is also found in Finland and in Estonia. There is, once again, a cluster in the area around Mälaren but there are also quite a large number of finds from Gotland.¹⁶⁸ Of the 34 Scandinavian finds, three are datable to phase D2a, four to phase D2b, 20 to either phase D2a or D2b, and seven are no more closely datable than to the Migration Period. All 34 of the finds are counted as of the undifferentiated phase D2 here (Map 4.51).

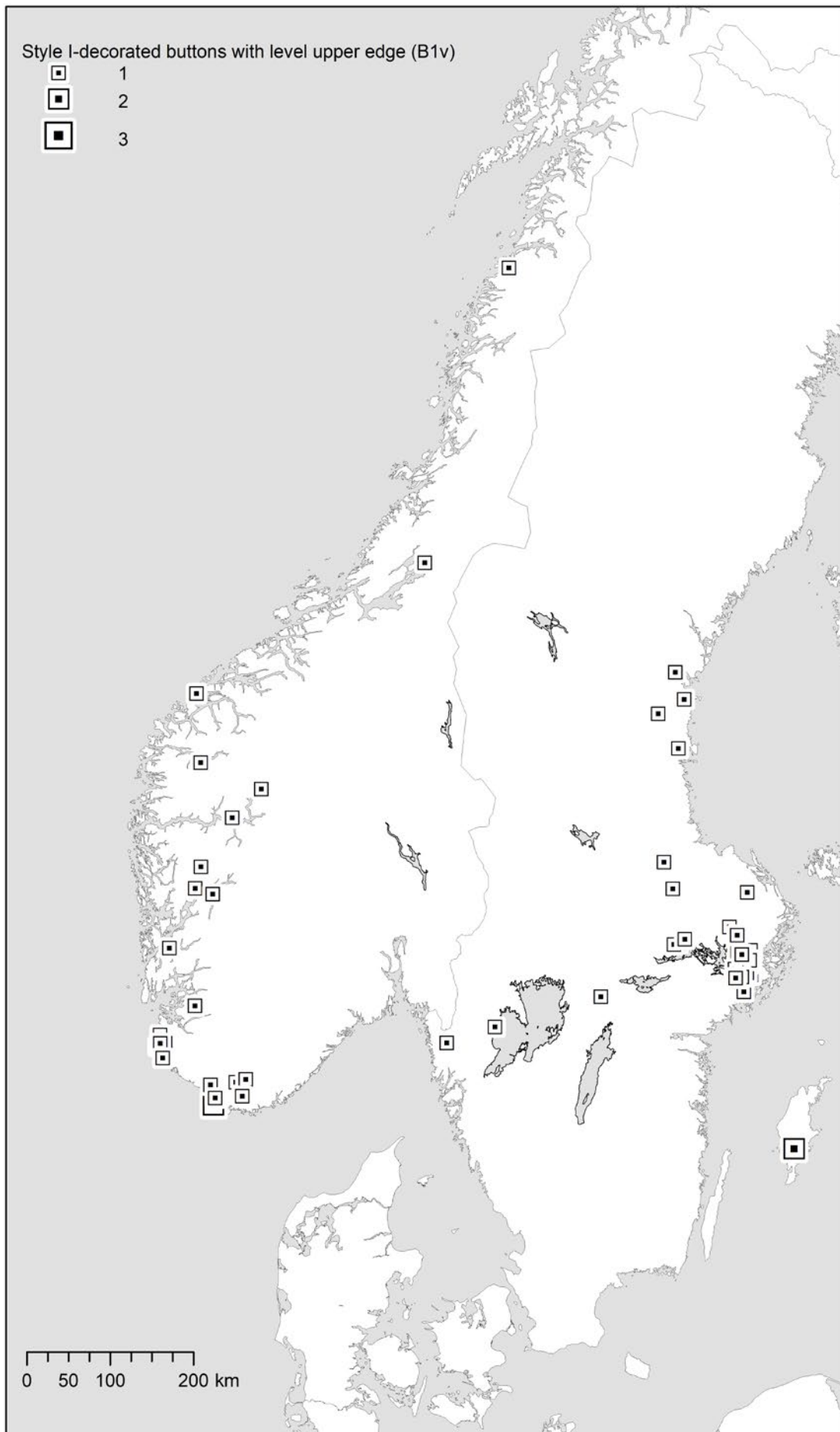
There are 60 finds which are classed as clasp buttons in relief with a flat surface/level upper edge and Style I elements (Hines's types B1v a–c, and one specimen of form B3) (Fig. 4.65): 24 finds from Norway and 36 from Sweden.¹⁶⁹ In Norway, the type is concentrated in the south and in Vestlandet while in Sweden it is distributed primarily in the Mälars region (Hines 1993a:Cat.). What is perhaps most noteworthy in the distribution pattern of this type is the absence of finds from anywhere in Denmark. The geographical range is nevertheless sufficiently broad for this type to be regarded as a common, transregional, northern Scandinavian form. Seven of the finds can be dated to phase D2a. Three of those can be assigned to the transition of phases D1/D2a. One of those three, from Giskegjerde/Staurnes in Møre og Romsdal,¹⁷⁰

167 By Hines's count (1993a:28) around 48 finds. This figure includes eleven finds from Finland and one from Estonia.

168 Including a find from Havor, Hablingbo (SHM8064:185) which Hines (1993a:114) refers to as a hybrid of types B1v c and B1vi. I will count it in with the present group and not with type B1v.

169 Hines (1993a:23–5) identified a total of c. 78 finds of this type, but he included twelve finds from Finland and one from Estonia.

170 B719–27.



Map 4.52 The distribution of Style I-decorated button clasps with a level upper edge. The density in many places is so great that the spots overlap.

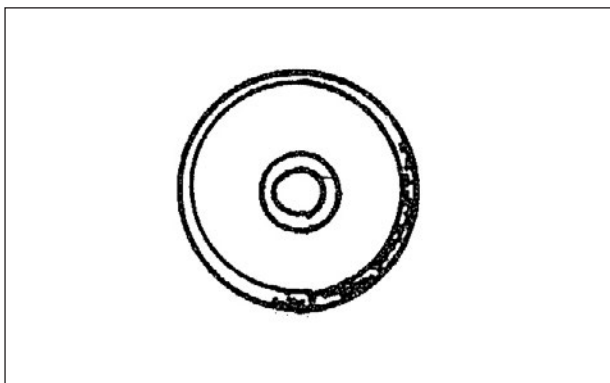


Figure 4.66 Button clasps with punched dot-in-circle decoration from Vestly, Time, Rogaland (B2546), after Hines (1993a:fig. 42 c).

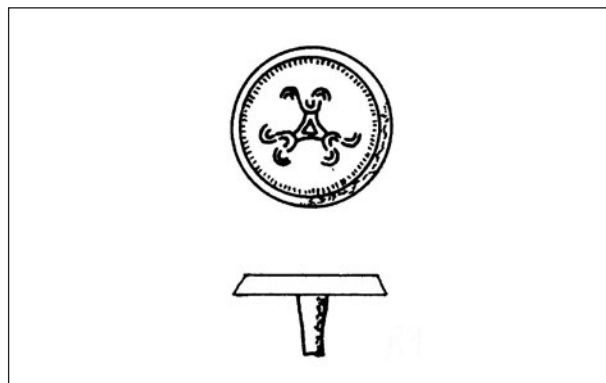


Figure 4.67 Button clasps of the Norrala type from Borg, Norrala, Hälsingland (SHM26520/6), after Hines (1993a:fig. 41 a).

differs in that the clasps are decorated with a Nydam-style mask (Hines 1993a:24). These clasps, however, are associated with, amongst other things, cruciform brooches of phase D2a. There are 19 finds that are datable to phase D2b, including two from Sweden that are associated with jewellery of phase 1 of the Merovingian Period.¹⁷¹ The remaining finds can only be dated to either phase D2a or phase D2b from the animal art. This shows that the type was in use from the transition between phase D1 and D2a to the transition to the Merovingian Period, with a possible majority of finds from phase D2b. All 60 finds are assigned to the undifferentiated phase D2 here (Map 4.52).

There are ten buttons with simple punched decoration in the form of a dot-in-circles and/or circles (B1iv c) (Fig. 4.66) in Scandinavia (Hines 1993a:23). This type has quite a broad geographical distribution, with a tendency towards a cluster in Medelpad. Like clasps with relief ring designs, this should perhaps be regarded as a common Scandinavian form (cf. above), although, unlike the variant in relief, the punched variant has not been found in Denmark. One of the ten finds can be dated to phase D1, one to phase D2a and one to phase D2b, while there are four finds that can be dated to phase D2a or phase D2b (Hines 1993a:21 fn3). The remainder can only generally be dated to the Migration Period. The main period of use of this type must be inferred, therefore, to have covered phases D2a and D2b, and nine finds are assigned to that undifferentiated phase here (Map 4.53).

There are three finds with a distinctive form of three-armed punched decoration (Fig. 4.67) which

Hines classified, as already noted, as the 'Norrala type' (B1iv b) (Hines 1993a:22–3). These finds are from Härjedalen, Jämtland and Ångermanland, and should presumably be regarded as a specifically northern Swedish type. Two of the finds are datable as phase D2a or D2b. The third cannot be dated other than to the Migration Period, but is counted here as of the undifferentiated phase D2 (Map 4.54).

There are also 12 Class B clasps with idiosyncratic forms of button and/or decoration that are datable to phases D2a–D2b. The virtually 'kidney-shaped' clasp button from Snartemo grave II, Vest-Agder, which was included in Hines's 'miscellaneous' group B1ii f, is to be considered as an outlier or of individualistic form. This find is datable to phase D2b (Kristoffersen 2000:276). Class B clasps that are not with buttons but are in the form of a rectangular plate or in most cases an oblong bar (eight of form B2, one of form B4 and the two form B7 clasps: cf. above) account for 11 finds.¹⁷² One pair of these clasps is datable to phase D2b and four are datable to phase D2a or D2b, while the rest cannot be dated any more precisely than just to the Migration Period. These are regarded as individualistic forms (cf. above). There are otherwise 54 unclassifiable (including four unclassified) form B1 clasps, two of which are dated to the Late Roman Iron Age, three to the transitional phase C3/D1 or to phase D1,¹⁷³ and nine to the period from the transition D1/D2a through phase D2b. There are finally two clasps which must be of type B1ii but which have not been ascribed to any of the sub-groups.¹⁷⁴ None of these is more closely datable.

171 SHM13934: Logsjö, Edsberg, Närke (see also Hines 1993a:28) and RAÄ fl.98/A5: Flemingsberg, Huddinge, Södermanland.

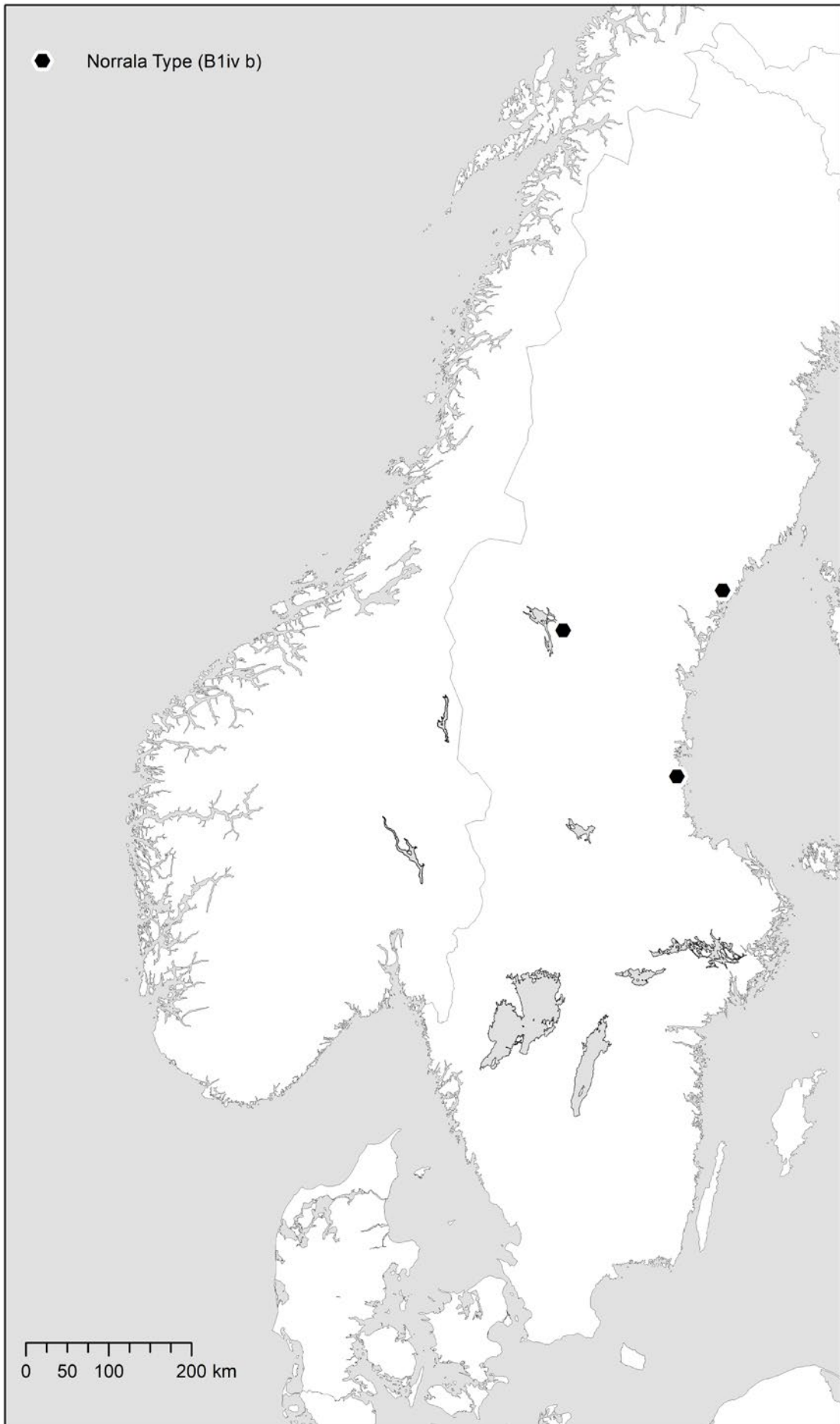
172 This includes three finds from Hordaland (1) and Rogaland (2) in which the clasps are in a condition that makes their identification to type rather uncertain.

173 These five are not included in the analysis of contexts which follows.

174 Hines (1993a) referred to one clasp of this type, of unknown provenance within Norway, as B3202, but thus must be an incorrect accession number. Nevertheless I have included the clasps as a stray find.



Map 4.53 The distribution of button clasps with punched decoration in the form of circles or dotted circles.



Map 4.54 The distribution of button clasps of the 'Norralla Type'.

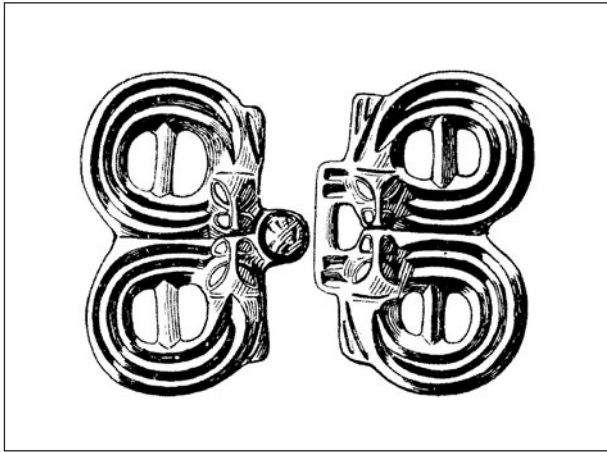


Figure 4.68 C1i-clasps from Ommundrød in Vestfold (C29300). Drawn by: Mary Storm. © Museum of Cultural History.

Type C1i clasps (Fig. 4.68) are known from three finds, in Rogaland, Vest-Agder and Vestfold respectively. The clasp in the find from Gitlevåg in Vest-Agder is classified as being in the Nydam Style (Kristoffersen 2000:283) and so can be assigned to phase D1. The other two are counted as belonging to the undifferentiated phase D2. The clasp in the find from Ommundrød in Vestfold also has motifs that are reminiscent of the Nydam Style (Kristoffersen 2000:254), while the find as a whole is dated to the transition of phases D1/D2a¹⁷⁵ on the basis of a pair of cruciform brooches of Type Gjerla. The clasp in the find from Rogaland is stylistically and contextually to be placed in phase D2b (Hines 1993a:67, 14; Kristoffersen 2000:326). This group could possibly be treated as a southern Norwegian type (Map 4.55) but this must be considered rather doubtful because it comprises so few finds and they are widespread in date. It is also remarkable that a fourth type C1i clasp, an example which is strikingly similar to the clasps from Ommundrød in Vestfold, has been found at Willoughby-on-the-Wolds (Broughton Lodge) in Nottinghamshire in England (Hines 1986; 1993a:67).

Triangular clasps with cast decoration (type C2; Fig. 4.69) are known from four finds, in Västergötland (two finds), Jutland and Sogn og Fjordane. The clasps from grave DY at Sejlflod (form B5/C2) are dated on the basis of their decoration, which can be associated with the Sjørup Style, and of their contextual association with cruciform brooches (Hines 1993a:fig. 77) to early in VWZ III, which means phase D2a

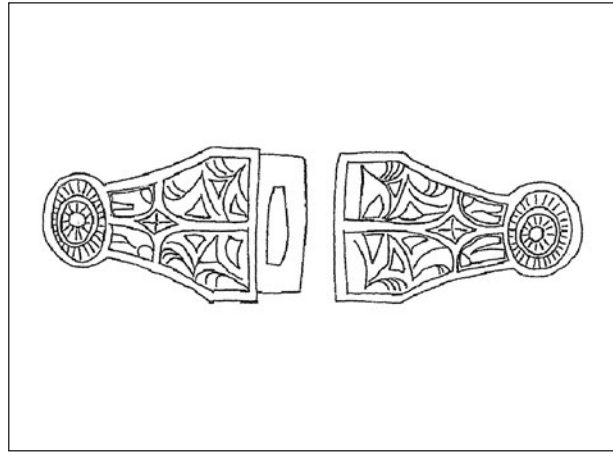


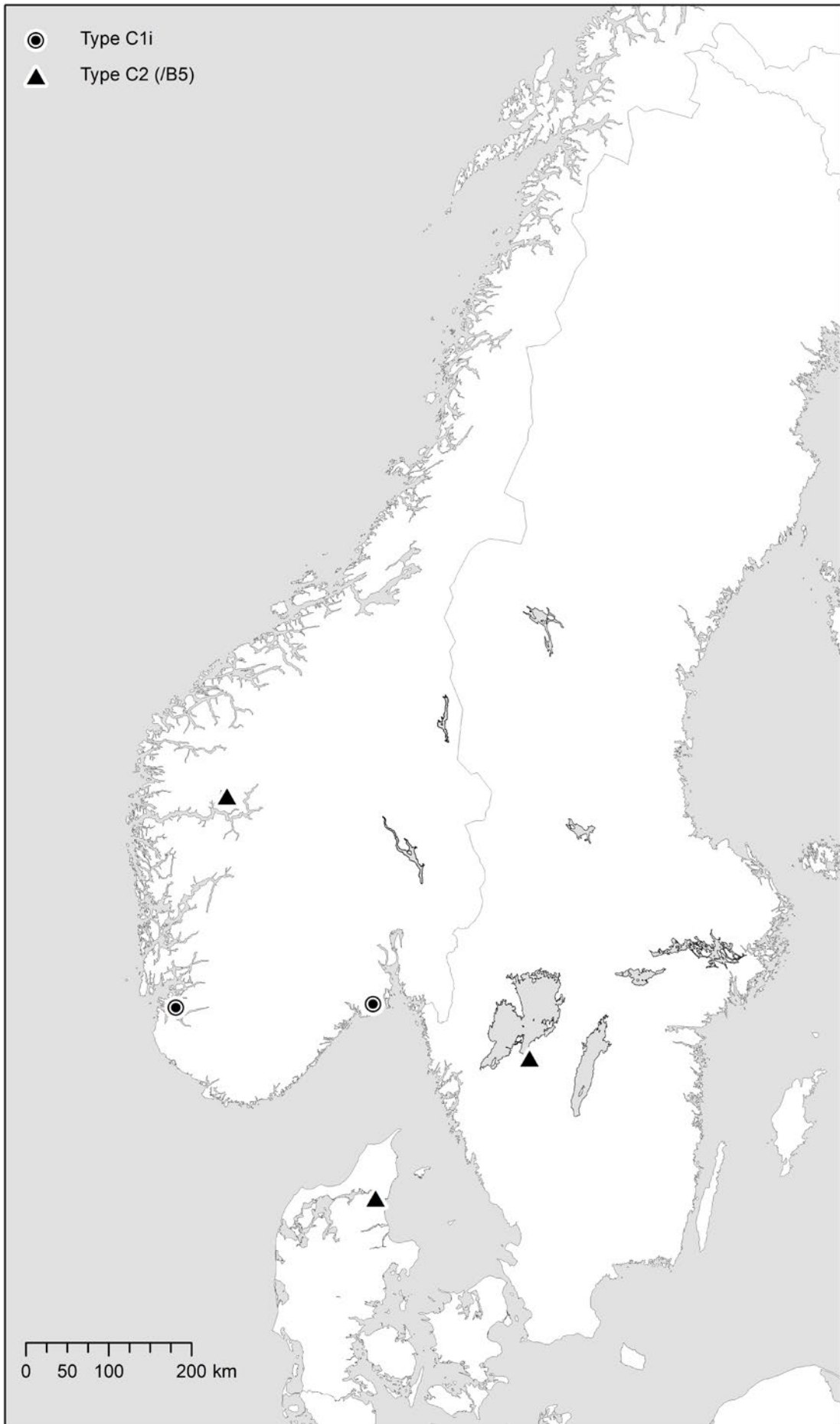
Figure 4.69 C2-clasps from Kvåle in Sogndal (B13954/6-8), after Kristoffersen (2000:Plansje 36, 2).

(Hines 1993a:39, 70). The find from Kvåle in Sogn og Fjordane that has already been referred to on several occasions is to be dated to the same phase (cf. Ch. 4.2.1 and 4.2.2.5).¹⁷⁶ The two finds of form C2 clasps from Västergötland,¹⁷⁷ by contrast, are dated to VWZ IV by Hines (1993a:70), and so would belong within phase D2b. This dating, however, is based upon their association with D-bracteates, which undermines the reliability of the dating because it is precisely this principle which is a weak point in Bakka's phase-scheme. One of these finds is the previously discussed hoard from Djurgårdsäng which, in connection with the Class A clasps above, I have argued cannot be dated any more precisely than as being no earlier than phase D2a. The form C2 clasp in this find is, moreover, again as noted above, decorated in the Nydam Style (Haseloff 1981:13) and for this reason is included amongst the find contexts of phase D1. The other find from Västergötland, a hoard from Grumpan, does not include D-bracteates but does have three C-bracteates. This assemblage contained no chronologically diagnostic artefacts apart from the Style I-decorated form C2 clasps. These clasps can therefore just as readily be dated to phase D2a. Altogether, then, the three finds are counted as of the undifferentiated phase D2 here. With the Class C clasps there is a hint of a north-western group (type C1i) and a southern Scandinavian group (form C2) (Map 4.55) but since there are only a very few finds to base this upon, and also because of relatively uncertain dating of the groups to any one specific phase, this cannot be more than a suspicion.

¹⁷⁵ The find is counted here within the combined phase-D2a and -D2b contexts.

¹⁷⁶ B13954.

¹⁷⁷ SHM6563: Djurgårdsäng; SHM14932: Grumpan.



Map 4.55 The distribution of Type C1i and C2 clasps in Phase D2.

Otherwise, there are two finds of 'divergent' Class C clasps to be counted under phase D2a-D2b. A unique form C1 clasp is part of the Høstentorp hoard from Sjælland,¹⁷⁸ and on the basis of its early Style I art it can be assigned to phase D2a (Hines 1993a:67). As noted above (Ch. 4.2.2.4), this find as a whole also probably belongs to this phase. The unique form C4 clasp from Nygårds, Dalhem on Gotland also has Style I decoration but cannot be dated any more precisely than to phase D2a-D2b.

In sum, 215 clasps can be dated to phase D2a-D2b,¹⁷⁹ but if the clasps representing the sub-types of button clasps which are not closely datable are taken into account, as many as 495 clasps could be assigned to the two concluding phases of the Migration Period.¹⁸⁰ The proportions of clasps that are specifically datable to one of the sub-phases of phase D2 are even. Compared with the previous phase, this period of time is not only dominated by a different principal type of clasp (button clasps), but also by there being many more finds in total, and in addition by the differentiation of many more different sub-types amongst the clasps. Interestingly, this sudden 'breakthrough' of Class B clasps is associated with the adoption of button clasps as a regular part of the female costume (Hines 1993a:76–81; cf. also Ch. 6.7). It is an issue, however, that no new types of button clasps appear to have been introduced in the last sub-phase of the Migration Period – not if the material is assessed from a visual perspective, in any event. As noted above, it is possible that some technical innovations could be assigned to this phase, since, for instance, both of the form B3 finds can be dated to phase D2b (Hines 1993a:37). Simultaneously, the Scandinavian clasps differ comprehensively from their non-Scandinavian counterparts – which means, for the most part, the Anglo-Saxon clasps of the same period – through one shared feature: the buttons (Hines 1993a).

The geographical distribution of the 18 button clasps of phase D1 is largely congruent with that of the Class A clasps.¹⁸¹ The button clasps also appear to have been a primarily western Scandinavian type in the first phase of the Migration Period, and in the context of Norway to have been restricted to the southern half of the country, and there first and foremost to the coastal stretches. There are, however, also a few finds from

eastern Sweden and Gotland. These early button clasps include many different sub-types: plain (undecorated) buttons (type B1i: seven finds, of which two are of the 'tiny type'); with (idiosyncratic) spiral ornament (type B1ii d: two finds); ring designs in relief (types B1ii c/ B1iii: two finds); faceted triangular or cross designs (type B1ii b: one find); cross or three-armed motifs like R268 (types B1ii a/B1 iv a: two finds); punched dot-in-ring decoration (type B1iv c: one find); and unclassified button clasps (three finds).

Although the button clasps that are datable to phase D1 comprise several sub-groups, an important point is the fact that both of the finds of the sub-type with spiral ornament (B1ii d) which are assigned to this phase (Kristoffersen 2000:344, 347) have a different form of spiral motif from the remainder of that group (cf. above; Hines 1993a:18). They also differ from the rest of the group in their geographical location. The type B1ii a clasp of phase D1 is also different from the majority of the group which I deal with as single group here: the great majority of the clasps of this group have punched decoration like R268 while this specimen has faceted decoration in the Nydam Style. There is only one further example with Nydam Style art, but this was found, as has been observed, in a phase-D2 context (Hines 1993a:16; cf. Ch. 6.7). Furthermore, the early find of a type B1ii b clasp from Østfold can be said to be inconsistent with its primary group in geographical location, since the primary group, as noted, clusters in south-western and western Norway. This specimen also differs from the main group in terms of the representation of the cross motif (cf. above). The other finds that can be assigned to phase D1 are common Scandinavian types. This could indicate that the more standardized regional sub-types developed first in phase D2a.

With reference to the general distribution pattern of clasps in phases D2a and D2b (Map 4.56), in the case of Norway they have more or less the same distribution as both Class A clasps and the button clasps of the preceding phase: that is, they occur primarily in the southern half of Norway and predominantly in areas close to the coast. There are, however, a number of finds around the Trondheimsfjord and in northern Norway too. In Denmark, button clasps occur overwhelmingly, like Class A clasps, in Jutland, and

178 Df. 100/33.

179 I have not included late occurrences of Class A clasps here.

180 This includes the B1ii e clasp that was found in a Merovingian-period context (phases 2/3): cf. above.

181 I am not taking account here of finds of the Late Roman Iron Age from Gotland, Öland and Jutland (Hines 1993a:31–2). Hines (1993a:33) also included a find from Gamme, *Gran kommune*, Oppland, in the earliest phase of the Migration Period. This find must, though, be regarded as uncertain, as Hines dates it on the evidence of a cruciform brooch; it is uncertain, in fact, whether these two artefacts were from a single context (Pedersen 1976).

once again there is a sharp local concentration at the cemetery of Sejlflod. What is most striking about the geographical distribution of the button clasps compared with the early metal wire clasps, however, is the major concentration of finds that emerges in eastern Sweden, particularly in the Mälars region, on Gotland and in Norrland along the coast of the Gulf of Bothnia (Hines 1993a:87–8, fig. 69).¹⁸² Also very noticeable, as Hines (1993a) amongst others has previously demonstrated, is the fact that there is a range of sub-groups and that some of these are clustered within delimited areas. At the same time the clasp-types also have overlapping distribution patterns, of the kind that I have already discussed in relation to the two previous types of dress-accessory examined here (Ch. 4.2.1 and 4.2.2). This is shown by the fact that several sub-types are found concentrated in the same area: for instance button clasps with spiral ornament and domed buttons, both of which are focused upon the Mälars region (Map 4.57), and the type with leaf-shaped punchmarks like R268 (types B1ii a/B1iv a) and the type with triangular or cross designs in relief (types B1ii b/e) which have overlapping distributions in southern and western Norway (Map 4.58).

4.2.3.6 *Find contexts of phase D2a/D2b*

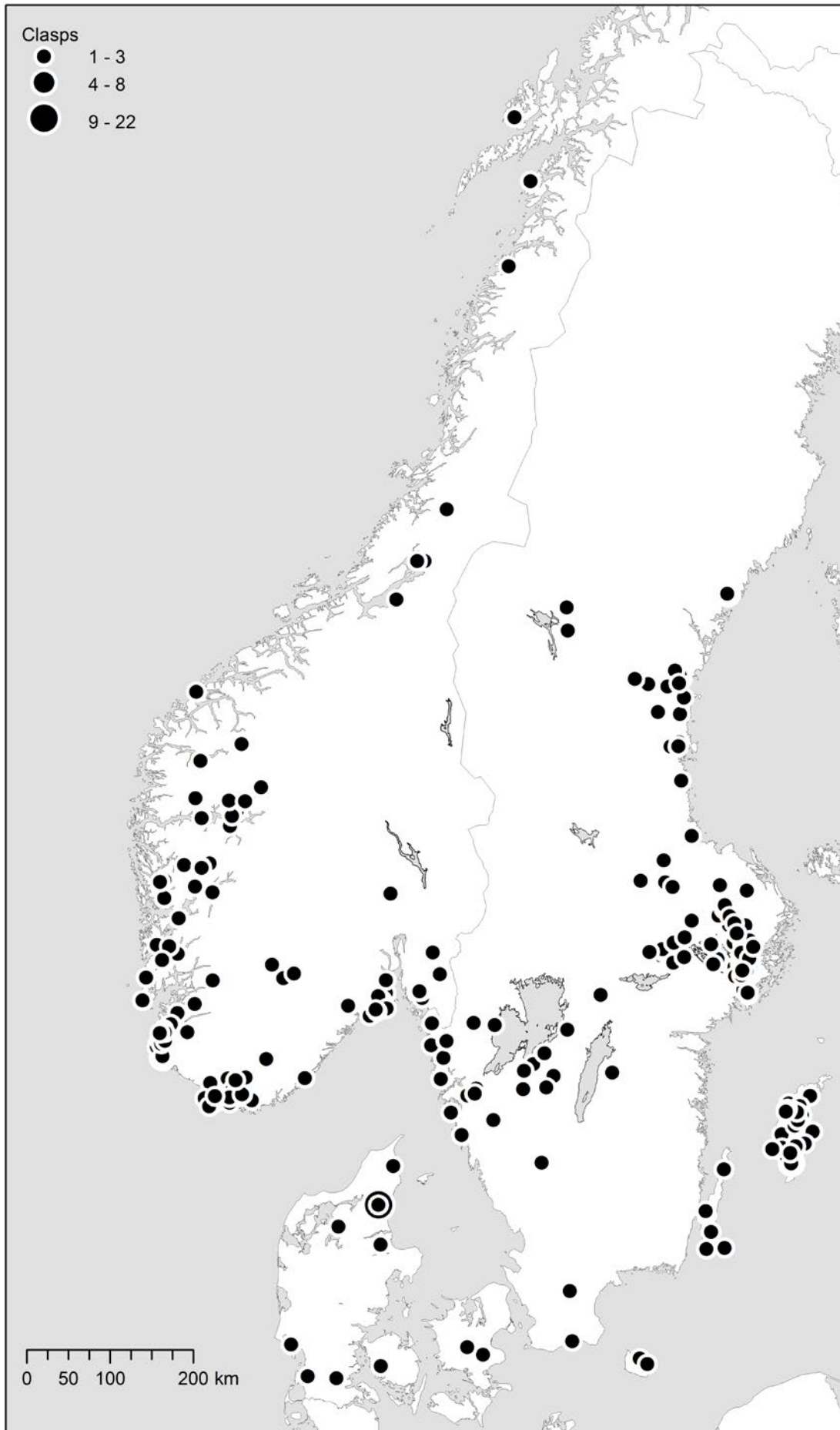
There is a total of 407 grave finds with altogether 459 different examples of clasps from the undifferentiated phase D2a–D2b. The largest number of grave-assemblages containing clasps is from Sweden (258 finds with 285 different clasps) while there are 111 finds from Norway (with 134 different clasps) and 38 from Denmark (with 40 different clasps) (Map 4.59). Nine examples of clasps belonging to these sub-phases have come from a total of seven hoards: four hoards in Sweden, two in Denmark and one in Norway (Map 4.60). Two of the hoards, the find from Sjörup in Skåne already referred to and a find from Kragehul on Fyn, can be counted as votive weapon hoards. The much discussed find from Høstentorp on Sjælland is a scrap-metal cache. In the hoard from Syre in Rogaland a copper-alloy ingot, with a strip of the same metal wrapped around it, was found along with clasps and a relief brooch (cf. Ch. 4.2.2.8). Ingots usually occur in scrap-metal finds, but apart from this ingot this assemblage has nothing in common with typical scrap-metal collections in which the items of jewellery are usually cashiered and have been hacked to pieces. The contents of the Syre hoard and the other three hoards from Gotland, Uppland and Västergötland that contain dress-accessories appear similar, in fact,

to precious-metal hoards in southern Scandinavia (cf. Ch. 4.1.3). The tendency for the clasps of the preceding phase to be found predominantly in scrap-metal hoards is thus less evident. The clasps are associated for the most part with the same other types of dress-accessory in the hoards and in the graves of this phase, but there are no dress pins, cruciform brooches or small bow brooches in the hoards.

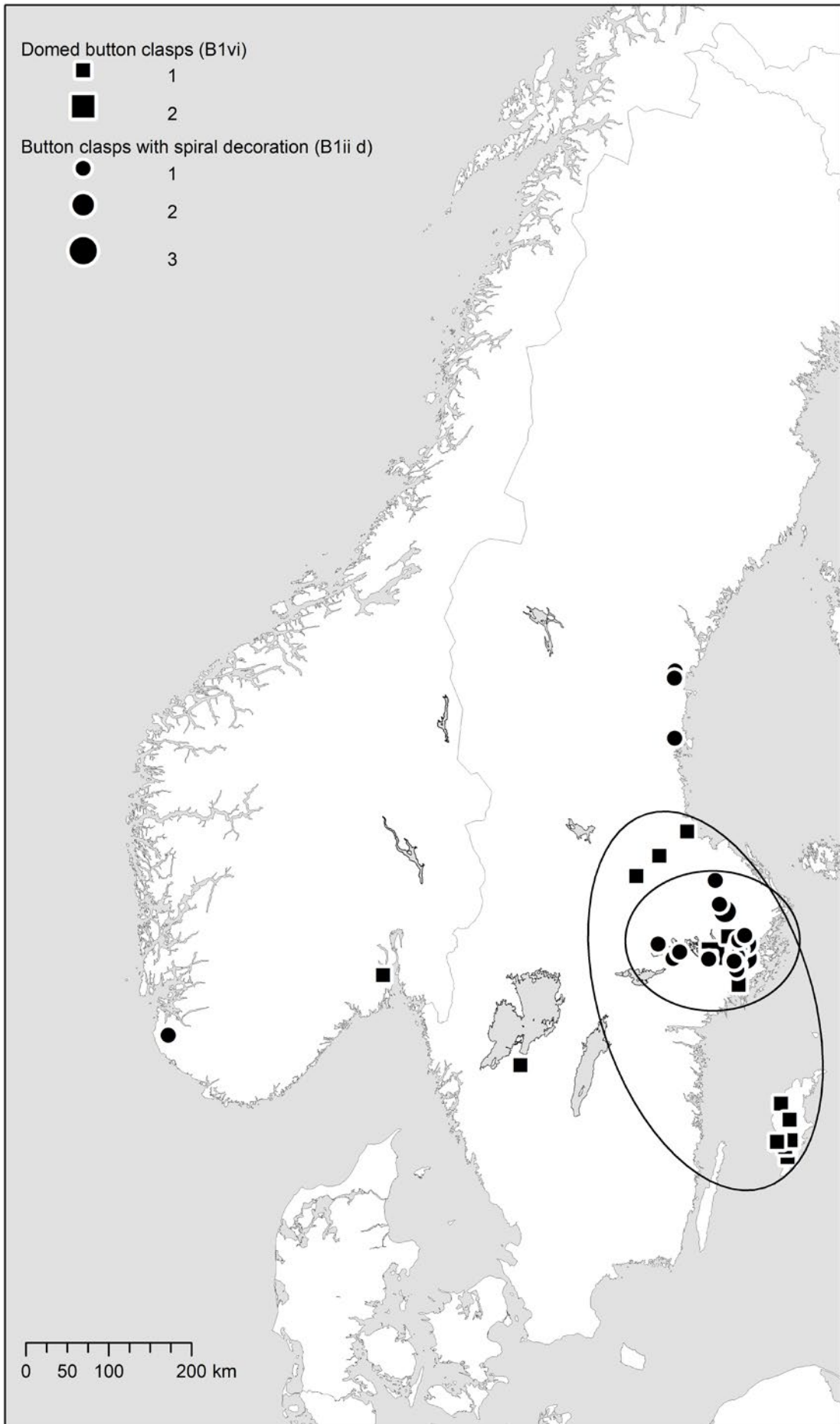
On the whole it is also the same types of clasp that recur in both grave-assemblages and hoards of phase D2. On the question of whether the clasps in the hoards were ‘local’ or ‘alien’ types, it is interesting that in both phases D1 and D2, cast triangular form C2 clasps occur in hoards in Västergötland. Where this type really ‘belonged’ is, as already noted (in connection with the find contexts of phase D1), uncertain, but it does appear also in grave-assemblages at Sejlflod in northern Jutland and Kvåle in Sogndal. The clasps in the latter find, however, are, it has been suggested, from southern Scandinavia (cf. Ch. 6.3). With the one ‘in situ’ find from Sejlflod, it is possible that the form C2 clasps in the Västergötland hoards are to be perceived as having been deposited in a marginal zone in relation to an area of use in Jutland. But with so few finds this has – in anticipation of further finds – to remain undetermined. The clasps of type B1ii e in the Syre find are within the core area of use of that type. The form C1 clasp from the Høstentorp find is unique. The other clasp-types in this hoard, B1i, B1iii and B1iv, have a super-regional distribution in Scandinavia – albeit not in Denmark in the case of type B1iv. The hoards with these clasp-types are all, therefore, located inside the wider area of distribution.

There are 12 clasps from six finds made on settlement sites: four in Sweden, one in Norway and one in Denmark. The clasps from settlement sites are of type B1i (seven clasps), B1ii c/B1iii (two clasps), and one specimen each of B1iv b/unique and form B7, plus one unclassifiable button clasp. The only one of these clasps which constitutes a regional or local type is that of B1iv b. This was found within the principal area of distribution of that type. Three settlement-site finds comprise a number of different types of clasp: at Gene in Ångermanland clasps of both types B1i and B1iv b/unique; the find at Dalshøj on Bornholm included form B7 clasps of the rectangular plate type and form B1 clasps – namely button clasps of an unclassifiable sub-type; and the possible settlement-site find at Gitlevåg in Vest-Agder, referred to in connection with the context of clasps of phase D1, had clasps of type B1ii c/B1iii and C1i. The latter is decorated in the

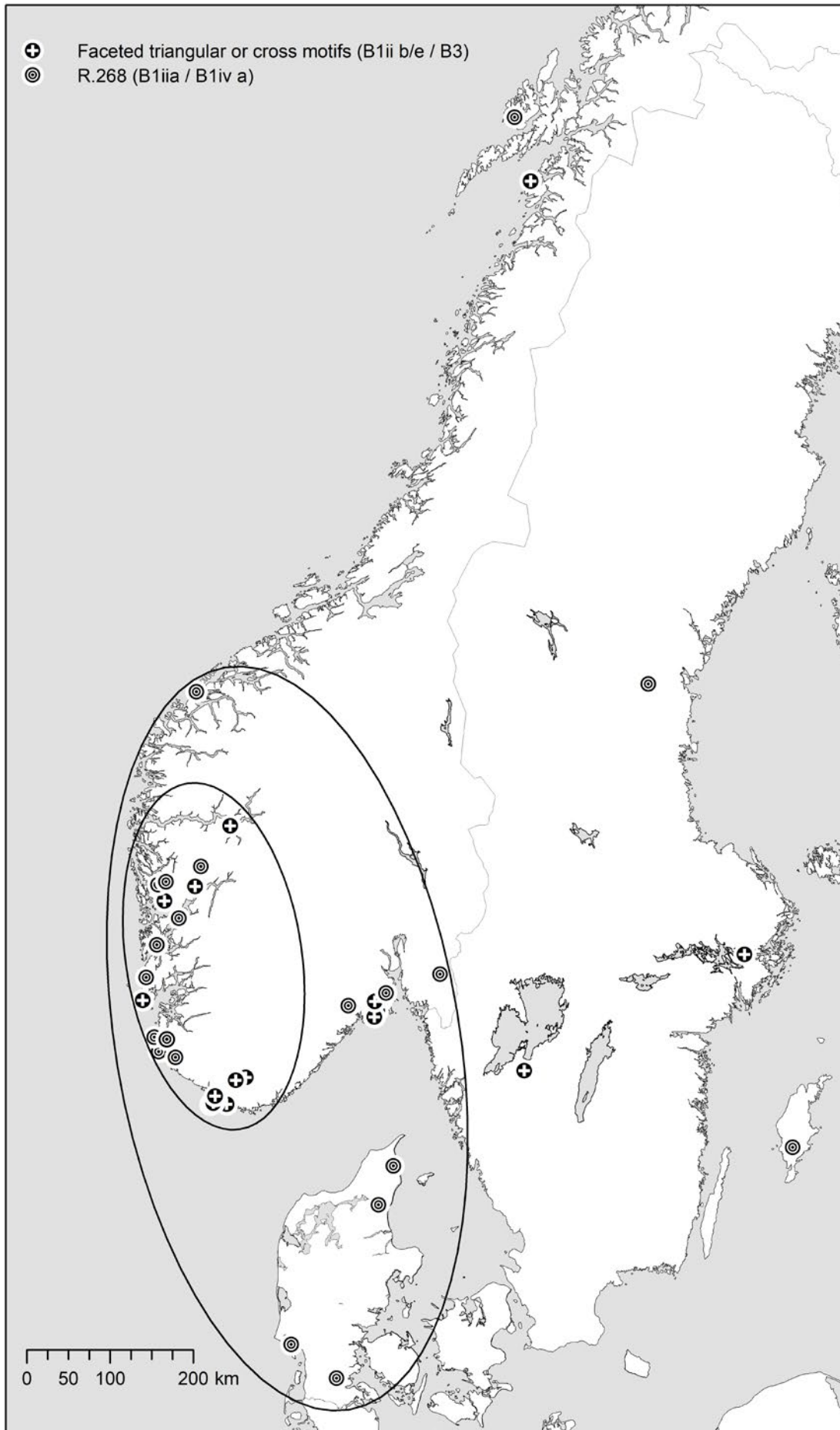
182 It must be noted that Hines (1993a:Cat.) included finds from the central place area on Helgö which are excluded here: cf. Ch. 4.1.3.



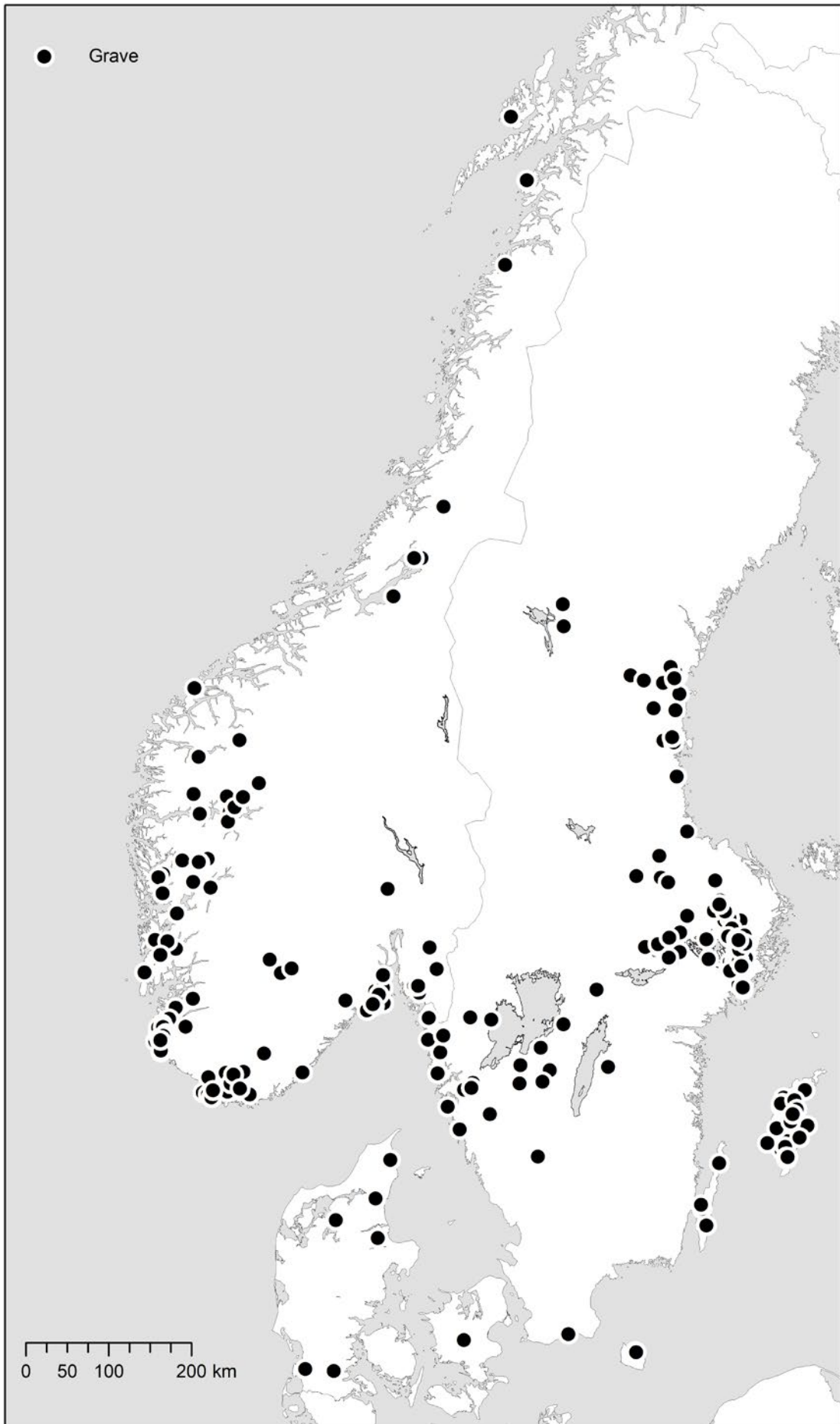
Map 4.56 The distribution of clasps in Phase D2.



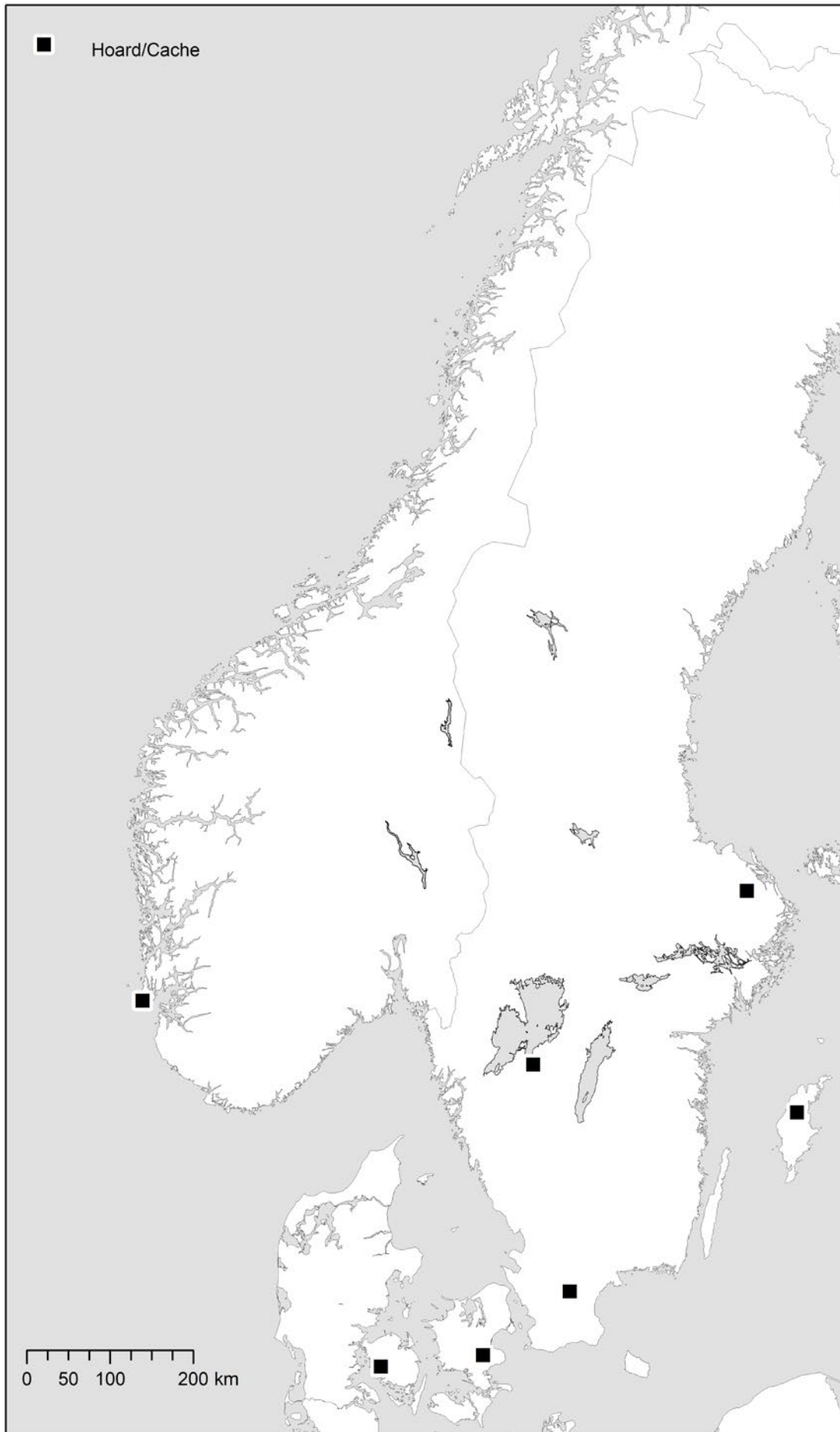
Map 4.57 The distribution of domed button clasps and button clasps with spiral decoration



Map 4.58 The distribution of button clasps with faceted triangular or cross motifs and R.268 decoration.



Map 4.59 Graves with clasps of Phase D2. The density in many places is so great that the spots overlap.



Map 4.60 Hoards or caches with clasps of Phase D2.

Nydam Style (Kristoffersen 2000:283) and therefore dates to phase D1. As already noted (Ch. 4.1.3), metalworking took place at the settlement site of Gene. This settlement has been interpreted as a chieftain's farmstead and the production of dress-accessories was probably undertaken for local use (Lindqvist and Ramqvist 1993:103–7; Ramqvist 1983:178–9; 1992:179; Solberg 2000:159).

Finally, there are also 12 stray finds of clasps,¹⁸³ primarily of phase D2: nine from Sweden, two from Norway and one from Denmark. In respect of distribution, all of the stray finds were found within the core areas of the types in question.

When the combinations of dress-accessories comprising clasps from phase D1 are compared with those of the undifferentiated phase D2, it transpires that these combinations involve, on the whole, the same artefact-types. There are some changes, nonetheless, for instance in that moulded pins (Fig. 4.70a) become a common type of dress-accessory associated with the clasps of phase D2, and that relief brooches supersede the silver- and copper-alloy sheet brooches. Scutiform (i.e. shield-shaped) pendants (Fig. 4.70b) occur in combination with clasps in both phases, while gold bracteates become more frequent in phase D2. There are certain tendencies for particular types of jewellery to occur in combination with specific clasp-types in phase-D2 grave-assemblages: for instance the associations of moulded pins with types B1i, B1ii d, B1v and B1vi clasps in the Mälars region of eastern Sweden; of C-bracteates and clasps with Style 1 animal art (B1v); of, amongst other things, relief brooches of the Rogaland group and clasps of types B1ii b/e and B1v; and of equal-armed relief brooches and clasps with domed buttons (type B1vi). The study also shows that the number of hoards containing clasps remained consistent in both of these main phases. While the majority of the clasps in such contexts of phase D1 ended up in scrap-metal hoards, precious-metal hoards come to predominate in phase D2. In a couple of cases, however, the scrap-metal assemblages with phase-D1 clasps were actually deposited in phase D2; after the types had gone out of use, in other words. Clasps of both phases are also incorporated in votive deposits of weaponry.

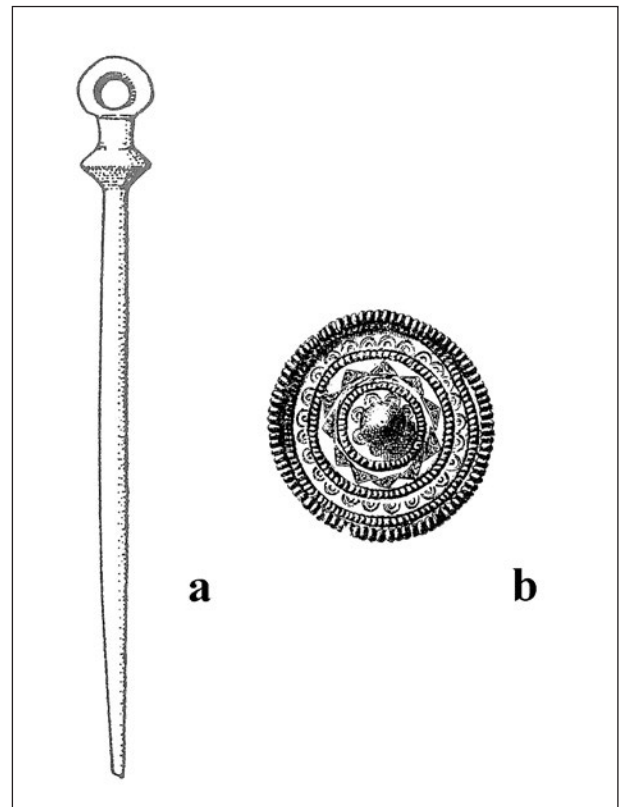


Figure 4.70 a) Moulded pin from Skälby, Hammarby, Uppland (SHM Dnr. 7188/68), after Waller (1996:Plansje VI, 53) and **b)** scutiform pendant from Rostad, Tune, Østfold (C10000), after Magnus (1975:fig. 18).

4.2.3.7 Summary of the geographical and chronological distribution patterns

Several lines of development emerge from the distribution patterns of clasps throughout the period in which they were in use. To begin with, there appears to be steadily increasing standardization of the production of clasps from the transition between the Roman Iron Age and the Migration Period and on through phase D1. This is expressed through the use of metal in the production of the wire clasps (Class A) becoming more and more consistent and in silver spiral clasps (form A1) becoming more and more predominant, possibly even monopolizing the material. The ring-shaped clasps (type A2a) appear to have been a peculiarly Danish local form which was probably limited to the beginning of phase D1 (Ethelberg 1987:44–5) while the small clasps of type A2b apparently went out of use as early as the transition from the Late Roman Iron Age to the Migration Period. The Scandinavian type C1i clasps were introduced from the beginning of phase D2a. In the C1i clasps from Ommundrød the

183 I have furthermore excluded from the analysis of contexts three finds because I have not been able to access records about the find contexts: GAM48392/1: Stängselgatan, Göteborg, Bohuslän; VS number unknown: Broa, Halla, Gotland; and S5538: find place unknown, Suldal, Rogaland.

standard shape of spiral clasps of phase D1 is preserved (cf. Hines 1993a:67. Hines also interprets these clasps as showing the influence of form B6). The technique of production, however, had changed to casting. It appears in this case that an attempt was made to adapt the standard shape, namely that of the spiral clasps, to a new direction in taste, towards the relief style. The range of type C1i clasps is, however, extremely limited, and this type of clasp did not become established as a main type. The Norwegian group of C1i clasps might perhaps therefore be interpreted as the reflex of an experimental period or 'episode' in which the Class A clasps went out of use but before the button clasps became almost the exclusive type;¹⁸⁴ Meyer's (1935:19) observation that '...isolated experiments of this kind occur more easily before a type is firmly established' [translated] is to be borne in mind. It is possible, too, that the early 'divergent' examples of Class B clasps with spiral decoration (type B1ii d) and faceted cross designs (type B1ii b/e) should be interpreted in much the same way: experimentation with decorative elements before they became standardized in phase D2a-D2b.¹⁸⁵

But it is the button clasps (of forms B1, B2, B3 and B6) which stand out as the principal or standard form of the two concluding sub-phases of the Migration Period. Triangular clasps of form C2 occur, as noted above, in phase D2a, but this Class C form is also limited in range and does not become common in the corpus. The form might, however, be considered a primarily southern Scandinavian type. Button clasps came into use from as early as the end of the Late Roman Iron Age, but they appear, as has been observed, only occasionally in phase D1. In phase D2a, however, this clasp fashion spread from an area that is essentially western Scandinavian, comprising Denmark and the southern half of Norway, to a wider Scandinavian area which included eastern Sweden and the Baltic islands – and also to Anglian England. With the demise of the metal-wire clasps and the increase in the use of button clasps, the uniform impression given in phase D1 dissolves in face of greater variation. This is brought about by the use of several different types of clasp and the decoration or ornament on the various types (represented by different forms and types of Class B and the Class C clasps). Although this undifferentiated phase is dominated by a common main type, the button clasps, these are in fact more

varied than the spiral clasps because of the forms and varying decoration of the faces of the buttons.

There are other clear trends towards local and regional groups of specific sub-types of button clasp: this can be demonstrated, for instance, in the Mälär region, which has a clear preponderance of clasps with triskele, swastika or running-spiral designs (type B1ii d) and domed buttons with relief ornament (type B1vi). The latter type also has a concentration on Gotland. Clasps with leaf-shaped punch-decorated buttons (type B1iv a) and faceted triangular or cross designs (type B1ii b/e) emerge as a western Scandinavian (Norwegian and Jutlandic) and a south-western 'Norwegian' type respectively. Clasps with plain undecorated buttons (type B1i) or with ring designs (type B1ii c/B1iii), conversely, probably represent common Scandinavian types, while clasps with (flat) buttons with zoomorphic decoration (type B1v) can be seen to be a common type in the main Scandinavian peninsula. The latter two types are not, though, on the whole, found in northern Norway, where, quite simply, clasps were not particularly common at any point within the Migration Period. The use of regional forms of clasp continued into the final phase of the Migration Period right up to the transition to the Merovingian Period.

4.2.4 Other jewellery of the Migration Period

Alongside the forms of jewellery discussed above, there are several other forms of dress-accessory that were in use in the Migration Period. I would particularly note two types of brooch which had a wide distribution in Norway. The first is the simple type of bow brooch in Figure 4.71a. Such brooches are often referred to as 'R243' following the illustration in Rygh (1885). This type was principally in use from the end of the Late Roman Iron Age into the beginning of the Migration Period (Engevik 2007:114; Kristoffersen 2006:9; Straume 1993:223). Another common brooch-type comprises a group of small bow brooches which Schetelig (1910) labelled 'small bronze brooches' (*smaa broncespænder*). This group is diverse in form, but all the brooches have a headplate and footplate (Fig. 4.71b). The two plates are often different in shape: for instance a rectangular headplate and a semi-circular footplate. This type is represented most substantially in the final phase of the Migration Period (Schetelig 1910:61, 86)

184 It should, however, also be noted that if this were the case the same form of experimentation must have taken place on either side of the North Sea, as there are extraordinarily similar form C1 clasps from Ommundrød in Vestfold and Broughton Lodge, Willoughby-on-the-Wolds, Nottinghamshire, in England (Hines 1986; 1993a:67).

185 However the late find of a type C1i clasp from Melberg in Rogaland (cf. above) may not be explicable in this way.

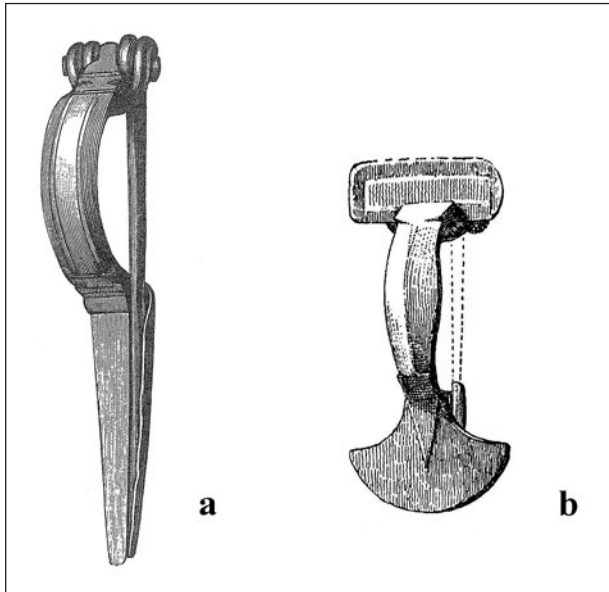


Figure 4.71 *a)* Simple bow brooch of type R.243 from Orre, Klepp, Rogaland (B2601), after Rygh (1885:fig. 243) and *b)* brooch of the "små bronsespænder" [small bronze brooch] type with plates from Veien, Buskerud (C5163), after Schetelig (1910:fig. 29), © University Museum of Bergen.

and has counterparts outside of Scandinavia too, for instance in Anglo-Saxon England and on the northern Continent in Schleswig-Holstein (Hines 1984:10–13; Leeds 1945; Schetelig 1910:76–80, 87). The small bow brooches with head- and footplates have been discussed by, amongst others, Kristoffersen (2000:70–4), Atle Jenssen (1998) and Anna Bitner-Wróblewska (2001) but none of them has examined the evidence comprehensively. I regard the small brooches as an important type in light of the fact that they have such a wide distribution, and consider that they may have functioned as potential markers of identity, as is also noted by Bitner-Wróblewska (2001:76). Given that the present project involves types of dress-accessory that are especially widely found in Norway (cf. Ch. 4.1.3), an investigation of these two types of small bow brooch could have contributed a fuller picture of the situation in this area in the Migration Period. It would, however, have gone beyond the framework of this project to have classified the sub-groups of these small brooches.

4.3 THE MEROVINGIAN PERIOD

4.3.1 Conical brooches

Conical brooches are small round brooches with diameters in the range of c. 2.0–5.5 cm, cast in bronze or

copper alloy. The term 'conical' is a little misleading as only a few examples are of such a shape, and most of them are in fact rounded. The brooches usually have a flat flange around the rim and a frame around the apex with a button with an inlaid white fill that is attached with a rivet. The button is usually of (whale)bone but there are examples made of enamel or other materials. The surface is normally decorated with incised concentric rings grouped in pairs and connected with transverse lines, referred to as 'cross-hatching', and/or punched decoration in the form of concentric rings, produced by using triangular punchmarks (Fig. 4.72). Conical brooches also quite often occur with a different form of decoration: cast zoomorphic ornament in Salin's Style II (Fig. 4.73). The animals have ribbon-shaped bodies and usually form some form of triskele, quadruped or 'running spiral' pattern with the animals' jaws biting over the beast in front of them. Brooches of this type tend to be somewhat larger than those with linear decoration, and may lack the flange around the rim (Gjessing 1934; Vinsrygg 1979).

In early studies, conical brooches were sometimes assumed to have been discs that had belonged to disc-on-bow brooches, an error which was pointed out by Theodor Petersen (1905:211). The type has also been defined and treated as a sub-group of a larger class of 'circular brooches' and been assigned to a relatively late stage in the sequence of development of eastern or southern Scandinavian round plate brooches (Gjessing 1934:124; Salin 1904:82; Stjerna 1905:185–94). It is not certain, though, that the southern Scandinavian disc brooches should be identified as the predecessors of the conical brooches. Both types of brooch (the disc brooches and the conical brooches) appear to have been more or less contemporary within Scandinavia, belonging to the first phase of the Merovingian Period (cf. Ch. 3.2). Disc brooches are also found in Anglo-Saxon England, where they appear primarily in Migration-period contexts dated to c. AD 450–550 (Dickinson 1979:42; Lucy 2000:34). The brooches in England are therefore commonly regarded as models for the Scandinavian disc brooches (Arrhenius 1960a:175–7; Dickinson 1979:49; Ørsnes 1966:129–32). It is possible that the Anglo-Saxon disc brooches should also be regarded as the predecessors of the conical brooches (Vinsrygg 1979:49).

As has already been noted (Ch. 3.2), conical brooches are the brooch-type that is found most widely within Norway in the early Merovingian Period. The type is nevertheless fairly modest in numbers. There



Figure 4.72 Conical brooch with geometric motifs from Holter østre, Nes kommune, Akershus (C58243). Photograph: Kirsten Helgeland. © Museum of Cultural History.



Figure 4.73 Conical brooch with animal-style decoration of unknown provenance in Skiptvet, Østfold (C17643). Photograph: Kirsten Helgeland. © Museum of Cultural History.

are 91 examples from Scandinavia altogether: 74 from Norway,¹⁸⁶ 15 from Sweden,¹⁸⁷ and two from Denmark. With the exception of Finland, this type does not occur outside of Scandinavia.

4.3.1.1 *The classification of types*

Conical brooches were first presented as a distinct and coherent group by Gjessing in 1934, and his discussion of the brooches has been determinative for how they have been classified in subsequent studies (e.g. Gudesen 1980; Helgen 1982; Vinsrygg 1979). Gjessing (1934:124–8) divided the conical brooches up into two groups on the basis of decoration. Brooches decorated with incised concentric rings and punchmarks are characterized as a ‘north of the mountains’ (Norw. *nordenfjelsk*) type and the brooches with zoomorphic decoration as an ‘eastern Norwegian’ type. These geographical labels are, however, a bit misleading, and Vinsrygg (1979:21) consequently introduced the more neutral term ‘brooches with geometrical ornament’, while Gudesen (1980:59–60) distinguished between brooches with ‘geometrical ornament’ and ‘animal

ornament’ respectively. Like Vinsrygg and Gudesen, I opt to use the form of decoration and not a geographical association to distinguish the two types.

In addition to these two main or standard types of conical brooch – brooches with geometrical ornament and brooches with animal-style decoration/Style II brooches – there are also some divergent specimens: for instance undecorated brooches, brooches with other forms of geometrical decoration, and brooches with animal-style decoration in which the elements are composed in different ways. I shall discuss these in greater detail, since on the whole they have been neglected. The brooch from Søm in Telemark, which has already been discussed, stands out by virtue of its decoration – the form of animal art is close to southern Scandinavian Style C, and so belongs to phase 2 or the transition between phases 1 and 2 (cf. Ch. 3.2.2). In this case, then, the special features probably reflect a chronological distinction. Vinsrygg (1979:50), meanwhile, separated out two conical brooches with animal-style decoration which she characterized as a combination of the two principal types, as they have

186 The number from Norway is continually increasing because of new metal-detector finds. 89 new finds have been recorded as having been delivered to the provincial museums but only a few of these have been catalogued. For this reason they are not included in what follows.

187 According to Arrhenius (1960b:78) there are about 18 conical brooches from Sweden, but this does not agree with the figure given by Åberg (1953:147) which is what Arrhenius referred to. Åberg (1953:147) referred to four conical brooches. In the case of the finds from Sweden, brooches of the form of Salin (1904) figure 209 are not counted in because they lack the typical conical or rounded shape that defines the type here. This is also in contrast to Åberg (1953:147) who does not distinguish between the two types. I make use of Vinsrygg (1979:47), who also draws attention to the differences between the two forms of brooch in this regard.



Figure 4.74 Conical brooch from Vang in Oppdal with a mixture of geometric decoration and animal-style decoration (T18758). Photograph: Ole Bjørn Pedersen. © NTNU, University Museum.



Figure 4.75 Conical brooch of unknown provenance in eastern Norway (?) with an outer ring or frieze of zoomorphic motifs in an interlace pattern (C230). Photograph: Kirsten Helgeland. © Museum of Cultural History.

both animal art and geometrical patterns: one brooch from Vang in Oppdal, Sør-Trøndelag (Fig. 4.74)¹⁸⁸ and the other from Hovland in Hordaland.¹⁸⁹ She drew attention to the Vang brooch in particular, which as well as the animal style has incised pairs of lines with cross-hatching which are in fact typical of brooches of the geometrical type. The Hovland brooch, meanwhile, only has a line of triangular punchmarks around the upper frame in addition to its animal-style decoration (Schetelig 1912:fig. 391). It is more dubious, therefore, to refer to this brooch as a ‘transitional phenomenon’ between the two types, as Vinsrygg did. Several of the animal-style brooches have punched decoration,¹⁹⁰ along the outlines of the animals’ bodies for instance, so that the combination of punched decoration and animals does not look like a distinctive feature of this particular example alone. Both the Hovland brooch and the Vang in Oppdal brooch, together with a brooch from Prestegården in Vangen in Sogn og Fjordane,¹⁹¹ a brooch of unknown provenance but probably from Østlandet,¹⁹² and a brooch from Bjørke nordre in

Oppland,¹⁹³ are distinctive because the animals do not cover the whole surface but only a strip or small area that is located at a distance from the upper frame, between it and the outer flange, thus creating a form of frieze with animals in a plaitwork pattern (Fig. 4.75). The only one of these five brooches that can be dated with any precision on the evidence of context is that from Vang in Oppdal, which was found together with a conical brooch with geometrical decoration of the normal type. In appearance or style, none of these examples looks late, which again implies that the differences are not determined by chronology. These five brooches may represent a sub-group of the Style II brooches, even though, simultaneously, they have a lot in common with other examples carrying that style of decoration.

A couple of brooches stand apart with a form of geometrical decoration dominated by radial patterns. A brooch from Virrik in Vestfold¹⁹⁴ has the typical concentric double rings with cross-hatching, located alongside the upper frame and by the flange. Between

188 T18758a.

189 B4719.

190 E.g. Ts2156: Horvik, Tjeldsund; Ts4295: Heggstad, Lødingen; C22744: Madserud allé, Oslo.

191 B9007.

192 C230.

193 C58775.

194 C17311.



Figure 4.76 Conical brooch from Virrik in Vestfold with radially organized decoration (C17311). Photograph: Ingunn M. Røstad. © Museum of Cultural History.



Figure 4.77 Conical brooch from Lunda on Lovö with radially organized decoration (SHM32300/A118). Photograph: Gabriel Hildebrand. © Swedish History Museum (CC BY).



Figure 4.78 Conical brooch from Koppangøyene with dot-in-circle decoration (C57205). Photograph: Eirik I. Johnsen. © Museum of Cultural History.



Figure 4.79 Conical brooch from Belsheim in Oppland (C23035). Photograph: Eirik I. Johnsen. © Museum of Cultural History.

the two pairs of lines, however, there are four incised dot-in-circles which are separated by several radially placed rows of punchmarks (Fig. 4.76). This sort of radial design involving rows of punchmarks is also found on a brooch from Lunda on Lovö in Uppland,¹⁹⁵ but in that case without the incised concentric double

rings (Fig. 4.77). Three other brooches from Norway, from Øysund in Meløy in Nordland, Koppangøyene in Storelvdal in Hedmark, and Fremmin med Vätliengen in Eidsvoll in Akershus,¹⁹⁶ also have combinations of typical double lines and ring-punchmark decoration, but lack the radial lines of punchmarks (Fig. 4.78).

¹⁹⁵ SHM32300/A118.

¹⁹⁶ Ts1631; C57205; C58019.



Figure 4.80 Conical brooch from Lyhus in Vestfold of unusual decoration and form (C18752). Photograph: Eirik I. Johnsen. © Museum of Cultural History.

A specimen from Belsheim, Vang in Oppland¹⁹⁷ has a row of small circles that look similar to dot-in-rings but with nothing in the centre, between the upper frame and the innermost pair of lines (Fig. 4.79). Dot-in-ring decoration is also found on a brooch from Norrland¹⁹⁸ and on two or three specimens from Vörå in Finland.¹⁹⁹ On one of the Finnish finds the dot-in-rings are arranged concentrically in a row alongside the flange and in radial lines. In contrast to the five Norwegian brooches with dot-in-ring decoration, however, a combination of dot-in-ring motifs and the typical incised double lines seems not to be found in the finds from Sweden (or Finland).

There are other forms of 'divergent' decoration too: for instance on a brooch from Lyhus in Vestfold (Fig. 4.80).²⁰⁰ This brooch also differs in that its shape is taller than usual and it lacks a real upper frame, with only a flattened field at the apex. In the centre of this flattened field, however, a rivet-shank is fastened so there was probably once a decorated button here, similar to what is typical on brooches with the more familiar upper frame. At the top, beside the flattened field on the apex, and out by the rim, double concentric lines have been incised in a very 'home-made'-looking style, with crude and clumsy lines. The surface

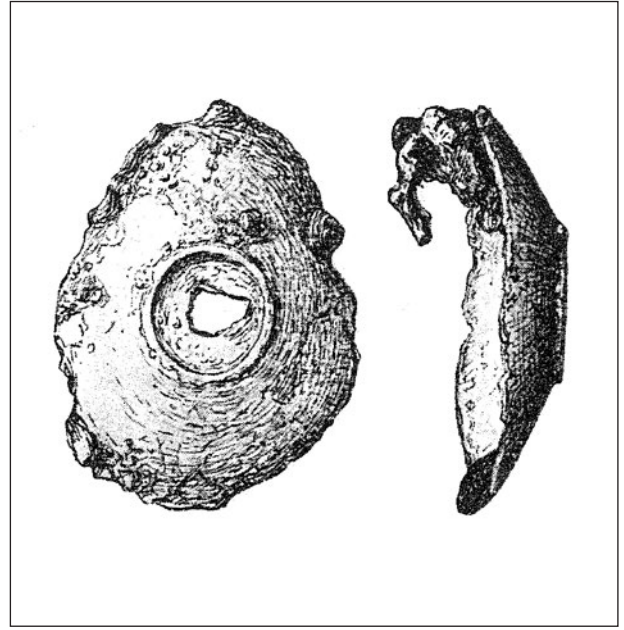


Figure 4.81 Conical brooch with no decoration from Bjørnes in Namdalen (T7378), after Schetelig (1910:fig. 89), © University Museum of Bergen.

between these two pairs of lines looks quite large, and is undecorated except that in a couple of places there are signs of incised triangles that cut across the outer pair of lines, with the apex of the triangles uppermost. The triangles are quite large, and like the incised lines have been clumsily executed. The same markedly tall shape is also found on one of the five brooches from Vilhelmina in Lappland (cf. Ch. 3.2.3.1).²⁰¹ The Vilhelmina brooch also has a unique form of decoration involving semi-circles formed of beaded staves along the rim. One of the other brooches from the Vilhelmina find is also uniquely decorated: this piece is decorated with four radially positioned two-strand twists. Once again, it would appear that the Swedish finds diverge more from the 'decorative norm' than the untypical Norwegian brooch does, because the former lack the incised double lines.

The conical brooches with divergent geometrical decoration do not form obvious groups or sub-types; they may rather be described as highly varied. It is possible that brooches with dot-in-ring motifs could be counted as a specific sub-type, but to date there are only six specimens (if one includes the Norwegian find with rings that lack a central dot, noted above). All of the Norwegian examples with dot-in-ring or

197 C23035.

198 Unnumbered.

199 HEM2996/92(?), HEM8077/49 and HEM8562/2.

200 C18752.

201 SHM10321.

other forms of unusual geometrical decoration can also be described as hybrids of typical and divergent geometrical decoration since they do have the normal incised concentric double lines. It is logical, therefore, to regard these as a variant of the type with geometrical decoration, in the same way as conical brooches with, for example, particularly rich punchmark decoration. Altogether, then, there are six specimens which may be counted as a variant of brooches with geometrical decoration: i.e. with concentric double lines combined with dot-in-ring or other forms of geometrical motif.

As far as the brooches with 'divergent' geometrical decoration are concerned, the Swedish find from Vilhelmina probably, as noted, represents a hoard datable to around AD 700 (cf. Ch. 3.2.3.1). That is also the case with a possible hoard from an unknown find spot in Norrland (cf. below). The untypical decoration in these cases is perhaps to be related to Finnish conical brooches (Ch. 7.1.2). In both the find from Norrland and that from Lappland, however, the divergent brooches are associated with specimens that are normal in decoration. Of the other divergent finds, the brooch from Øysund in Meløy with incised lines and dot-in-rings is one of the earliest known finds, probably to be dated to the transition between the Migration and the Merovingian Period (cf. Ch. 3.2.3.1). The other brooches from recorded contexts can only be dated to phase 1 in a general way. The brooches with 'divergent' decoration thus appear on the whole to be more or less contemporary with brooches with typical decoration: i.e., they belong to phase 1. The brooch from Meløy, meanwhile, can apparently be assigned to the transitional phase from the preceding period. Dot-in-ring decoration also occurs on Anglo-Saxon disc brooches of the Migration Period, and it is possible, as noted, to regard those as models for the Scandinavian conical brooches. The abnormal decoration could therefore conceivably reflect the fact that the surface decoration had not yet become standardized at that juncture, or that a distinct decorative scheme for the conical brooches developed only in the course of the phase, while the earliest specimens were more influenced by decoration on Migration-period models.

There are finally, as has been noted, a number of conical brooches that are undecorated. There are five such brooches: from Namdalen in Nord-Trøndelag, Modum prestegård in Buskerud, Bejsebakken in Jutland, Stenby in Södermanland and Tibble in

Uppland (Fig. 4.81).²⁰² Karl Rygh (1904:20) indicated that the decoration on the Namdalen brooch could have been lost to abrasion. That could also be the case with the example from Buskerud. Even when a surface is severely corroded, however, it is often possible to make out traces of incised lines and the like, if they had been made. Since the specimens from Sweden and Denmark listed here also lack decoration, it is feasible that the two pieces from Norway were indeed quite plain. However, the uncertainty over whether or not their undecorated surfaces do represent the original form of the brooches makes it problematic to distinguish them as a specific sub-type.

4.3.1.2 A general view of the geographical distribution in Scandinavia

In Norway, conical brooches are the most frequently found brooch-type of the first phase of the Merovingian Period and Norway is, as already noted, the main area of distribution of this type. Of a total of 91 such brooches from Scandinavia, 74 are from 65 Norwegian finds, 15 from nine Swedish finds and two from two Danish finds (Map 4.61).²⁰³ Most striking about the geographical distribution pattern within Norway is perhaps the high proportion of finds from northern Norway and from Sør-Trøndelag, and also the absence of finds from Vest- and Øst-Agder. While every other province has at least one find, no brooches at all have been found in those two provinces. The spatial distribution of the brooches thus marks out an area of eastern Norway that extends from the coasts of Østfold, Oslo and Vestfold up through the inland regions of Akershus, Buskerud, Oppland and Hedmark. In Sweden there is a small concentration around Mälaren in Uppland and Södermanland, and a few finds scattered diffusely in central and northern Sweden. Both of the finds from Denmark are from the north-east of Jutland (Map 4.61).

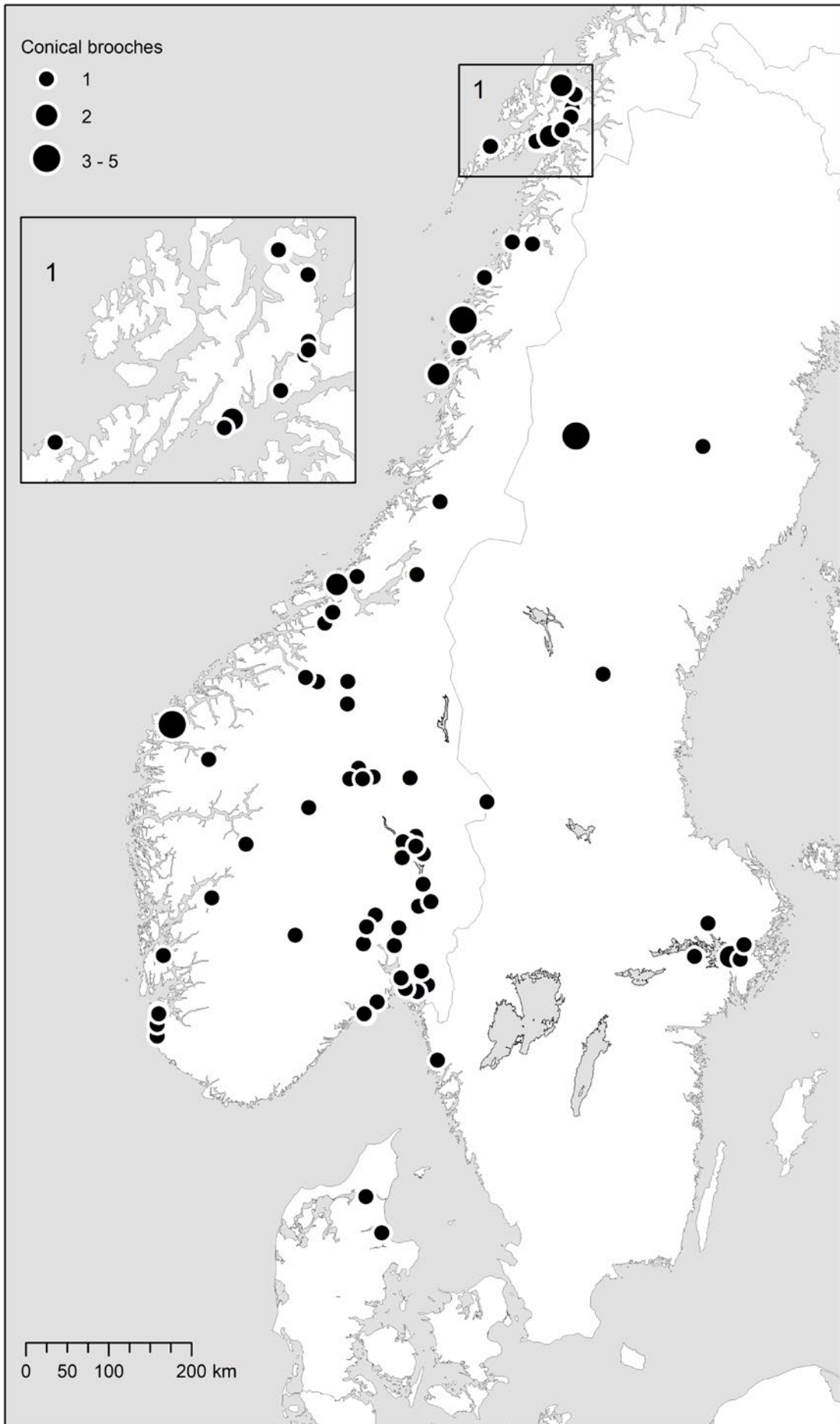
4.3.1.3 Geographical distribution of the types

There are altogether 66 conical brooches with the typical form of geometrical decoration, or some variant of it, involving concentric (double) lines (Map 4.62). Nordland, Sør-Trøndelag and Østlandet (i.e. south-eastern Norway) prove to be the core areas of this type, with a small supplementary cluster in Uppland in Sweden.

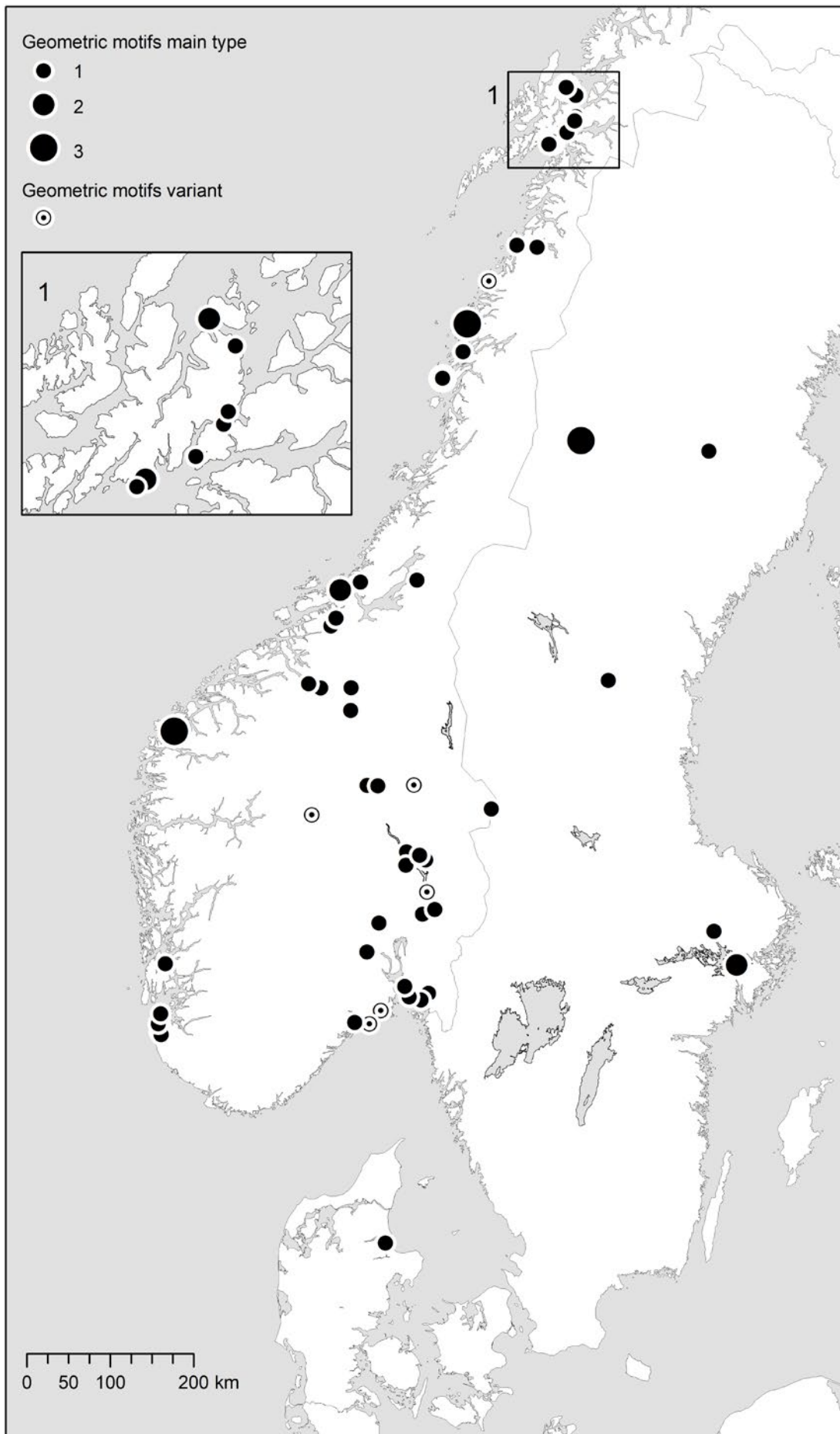
Of a total of 16 brooches with Style II decoration there are 15 from Norway (from 15 finds) and one

202 T7378, C57986, NMI j.nr. 6462/82, SHM32577 and SHM33824/A7. There is also an undecorated specimen from Vörå in Finland (HEM8331/2).

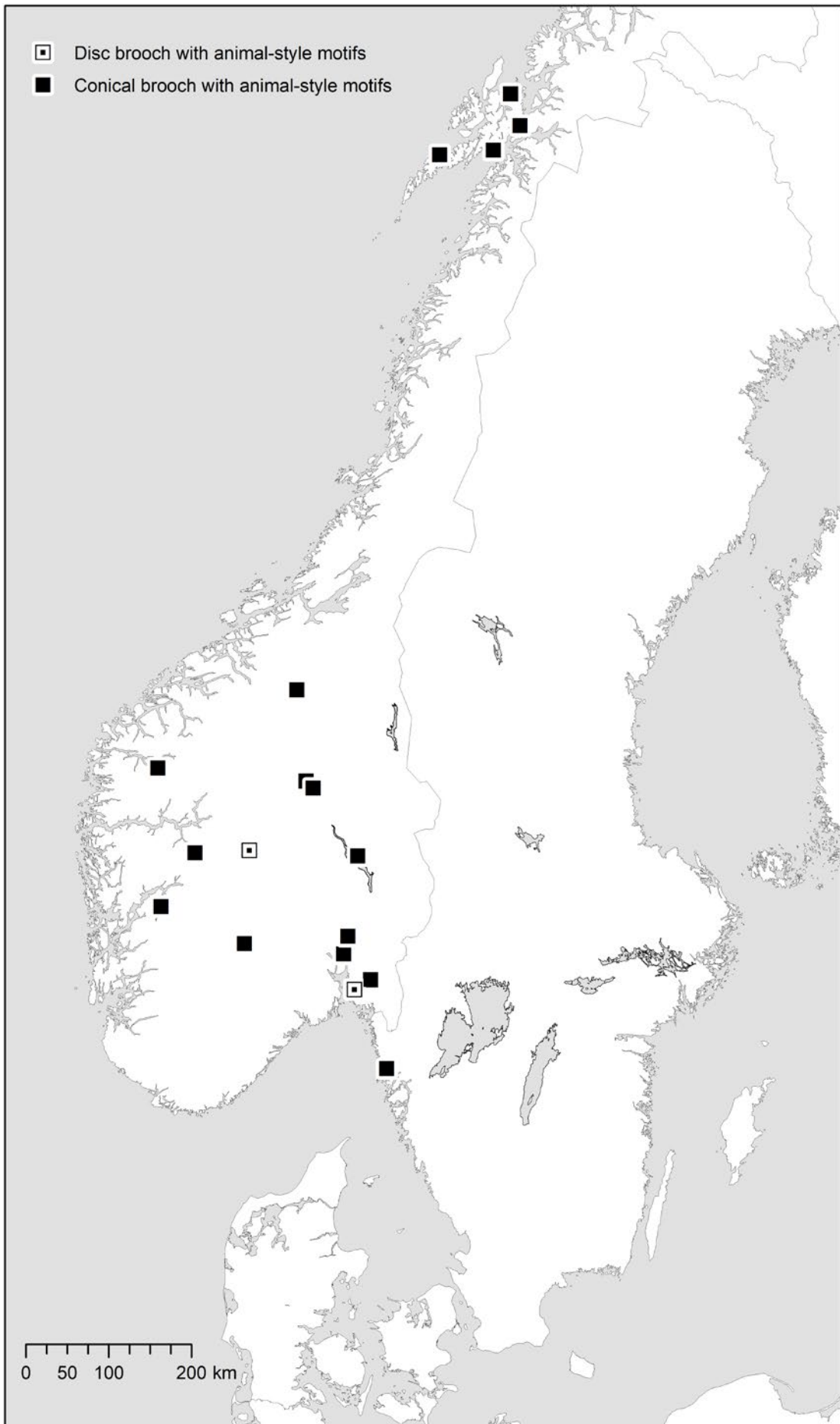
203 There are also about eight finds from Finland.



Map 4.61 The overall distribution of conical brooches in Scandinavia.



Map 4.62 The distribution of conical brooches with geometric motifs.



Map 4.63 The distribution of conical and disc brooches with animal-style motifs.

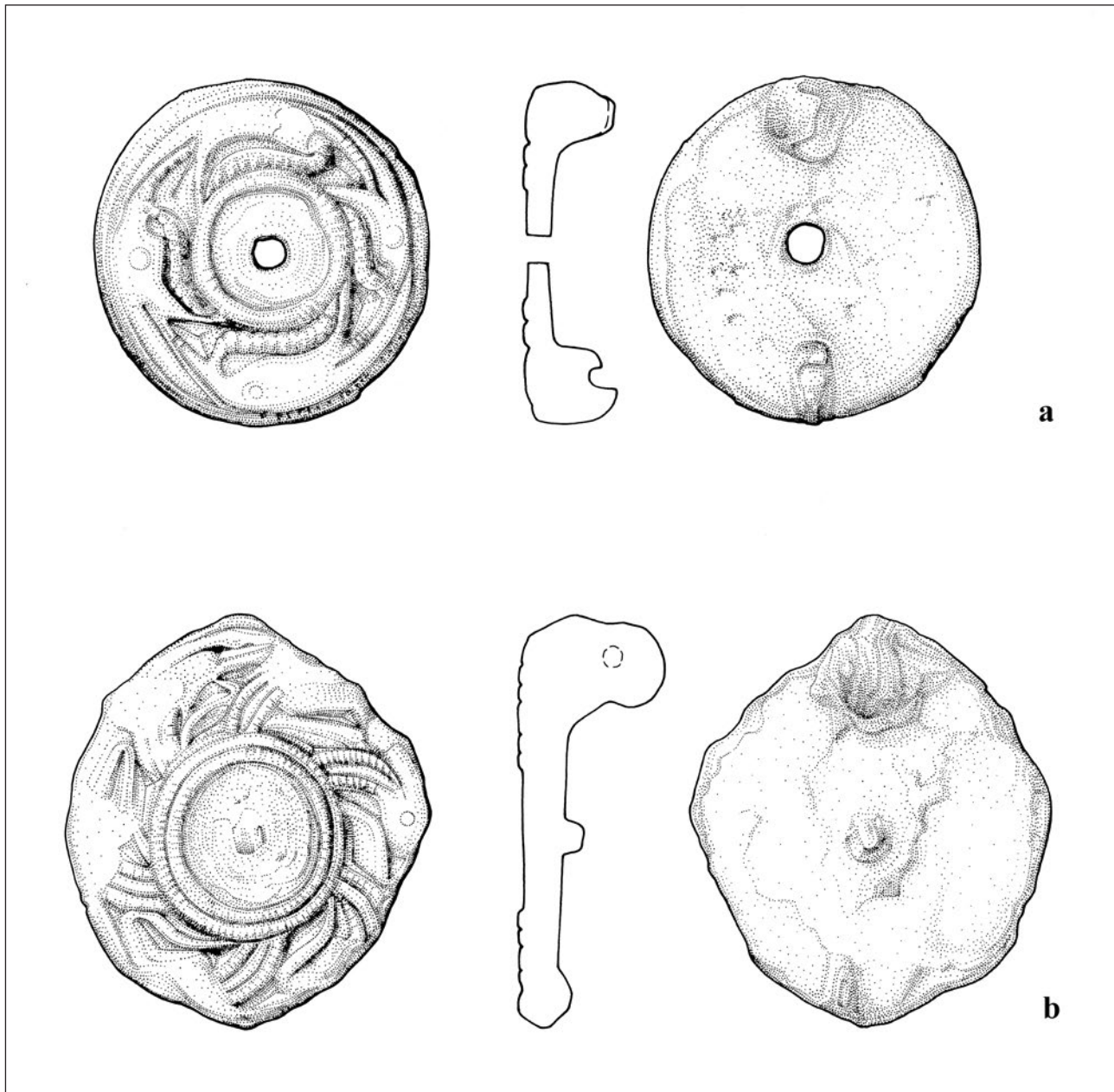


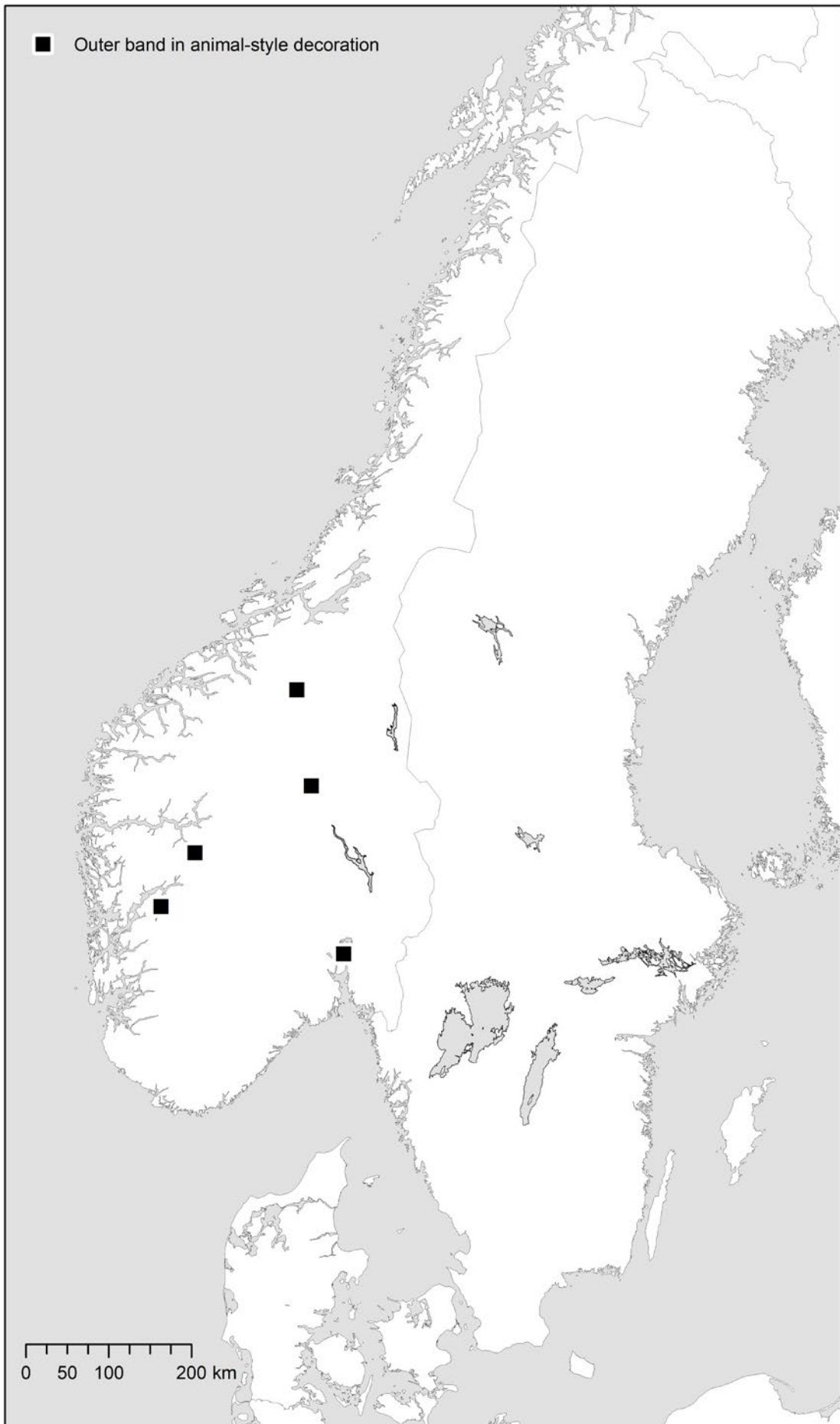
Figure 4.82 Disc brooches with animal-style decoration from **a**) Skaadengård, Buskerud (C52879/1) and **b**) Huseby, Østfold (C53024). Drawn by: Bjørn-Håkon Eketuft Rygh. © Museum of Cultural History.

from Sweden (Map 4.63). Besides these 16 brooches with zoomorphic decoration there are also two discoid or disc brooches with Style II art from Buskerud and Østfold.²⁰⁴ Although these do not have the conical or rounded shape that is, necessarily, the principal definitive feature of the type, they are similar to the conical brooch-types in several respects. Both brooches are round in shape, with a frame for an inlay and space for a button in the centre, and the zoomorphic decoration is organized by the same rules on both types (Fig. 4.82). The two discoid brooches are, though,

markedly smaller than the conical Style II brooches: all of the conical brooches with animal art are more than 4.0 cm in diameter while the two discoid brooches are 2.8 and 3.3 cm in diameter respectively – and thus more similar in size to the conical brooches with geometrical decoration.

If these two discoid brooches are included in the group of Style II conical brooches, the finds from eastern Norway amount to half of the total corpus of the type with zoomorphic decoration: nine out of 18 brooches in all. The specimen from Tossene in

²⁰⁴ C52879/1; C53024.



Map 4.64 The distribution of conical brooches with an outer band or frieze in animal-style decoration.

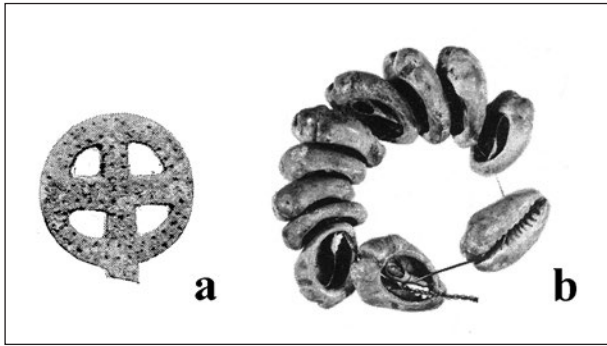


Figure 4.83 *a) Wheel-shaped decorative plates and/or hangers from Grefssheim, Hedmark (C22394c), after Gjessing (1934:plansje XXXIb), b) Cowrie-shell jewellery from Ytterstad, Nordland (Ts940-Ts949), after Vinsrygg (1979:plansje VIIa).*

Bohuslän²⁰⁵ must also be counted in with this group, as the border between eastern Norway and western Sweden here is a modern construct and Bohuslän should be seen as part of the same geographical zone. Style II brooches thus appear as a little more common in an area of eastern Norway than elsewhere in the area in which they are distributed, but the conventional geographical labels of the two different types of conical brooch are still misleading, because the majority of the conical brooches from eastern Norway have geometrical decoration like their northern Norwegian counterparts. Apart from the brooch from Bohuslän referred to here, there have otherwise not been any finds of conical brooches with zoomorphic decoration outside of Norway. Conical brooches from the other Scandinavian countries all have some form of geometrical decoration, or may even lack surface decoration altogether. Looking at all of the conical brooches with animal-style art together, two groupings do, however, emerge within the Norwegian area: one in Lofoten-Vesterålen and the other in a broader, primarily southern area from Oppdal in Sør-Trøndelag in the north to Bohuslän in the south.

The brooches with what is referred to as the frieze variant of Style II decoration appear to have a distribution in the northern and western areas of the southern half of Norway (Map 4.64). One of the finds, however, cannot be provenanced more precisely than as possibly being from Østlandet.²⁰⁶

Turning to the geographical distribution of the four brooches with divergent forms of geometrical decoration, namely the specimens that lack the typical

incised concentric rings/lines, these are distributed over Lappland (two brooches from a single find), Norrland and Uppland. As observed, these brooches do not form any clear sub-groupings or sub-types but differ from the usual scheme of decoration in diverse ways: for example, with radially organized decoration, or ribbon-interlace. The five undecorated conical brooches are, as has been noted, from north-eastern Jutland, Buskerud, Nord-Trøndelag, Södermanland and Uppland respectively.

In total, then, there are 91 conical brooches. Overall, their geographical distribution can be summarized by observing that conical brooches with geometrical decoration predominate all over Norway and in the area of Sweden where the brooch-type occurs at all, while brooches with zoomorphic decoration are concentrated in the southern half of Norway and in the Lofoten-Vesterålen region of Nordland.

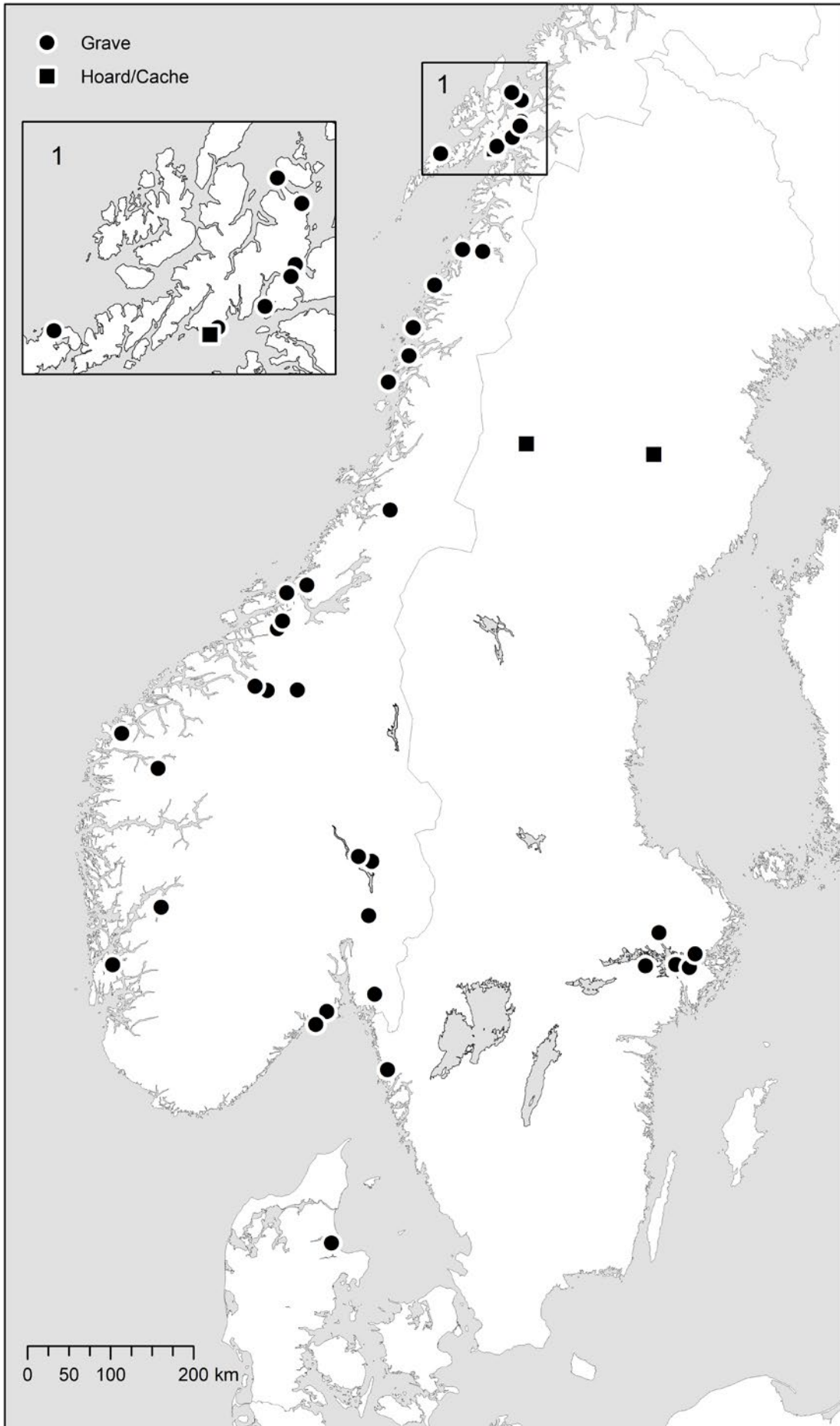
4.3.1.4 Find contexts

51 of the conical brooches are from grave finds. These comprise 43 brooches from 36 finds in Norway, seven brooches from six finds in Sweden and one from a find in Denmark (Map 4.65). Since there are altogether relatively few brooches with zoomorphic decoration, and those are primarily stray finds (Ch. 3.2.3.1), it is difficult to draw any reliable conclusions about possible differences in terms of the combinations of dress-accessories in which the two main types of conical brooch occur. It is a matter of interest, though, that the combination of conical brooches and ring brooches is found only in Uppland, and that wheel-shaped ornamental plates and/or pendant ornaments, and cowrie shells (Fig. 4.83), appear as new types of (pendant) jewellery contrasting with the previous phases. Shell/mussels are common in graves of, inter alia, the Early Middle Ages on the Continent in what is now France (Effros 2003:167–8) and in England. In the Anglo-Saxon area they are also often used as pendants (Meaney 1981:123–30). The other forms of jewellery in these assemblages – bird-of-prey brooches, disc brooches and dress pins with polyhedral heads – are also new in comparison with the preceding phases.²⁰⁷ An exception is the S-shaped brooch, which does occur in Migration-period contexts (cf. above). The absence of gold and silver objects in the assemblages is conspicuous in contrast with earlier phases, and no finger rings occur in combination with conical

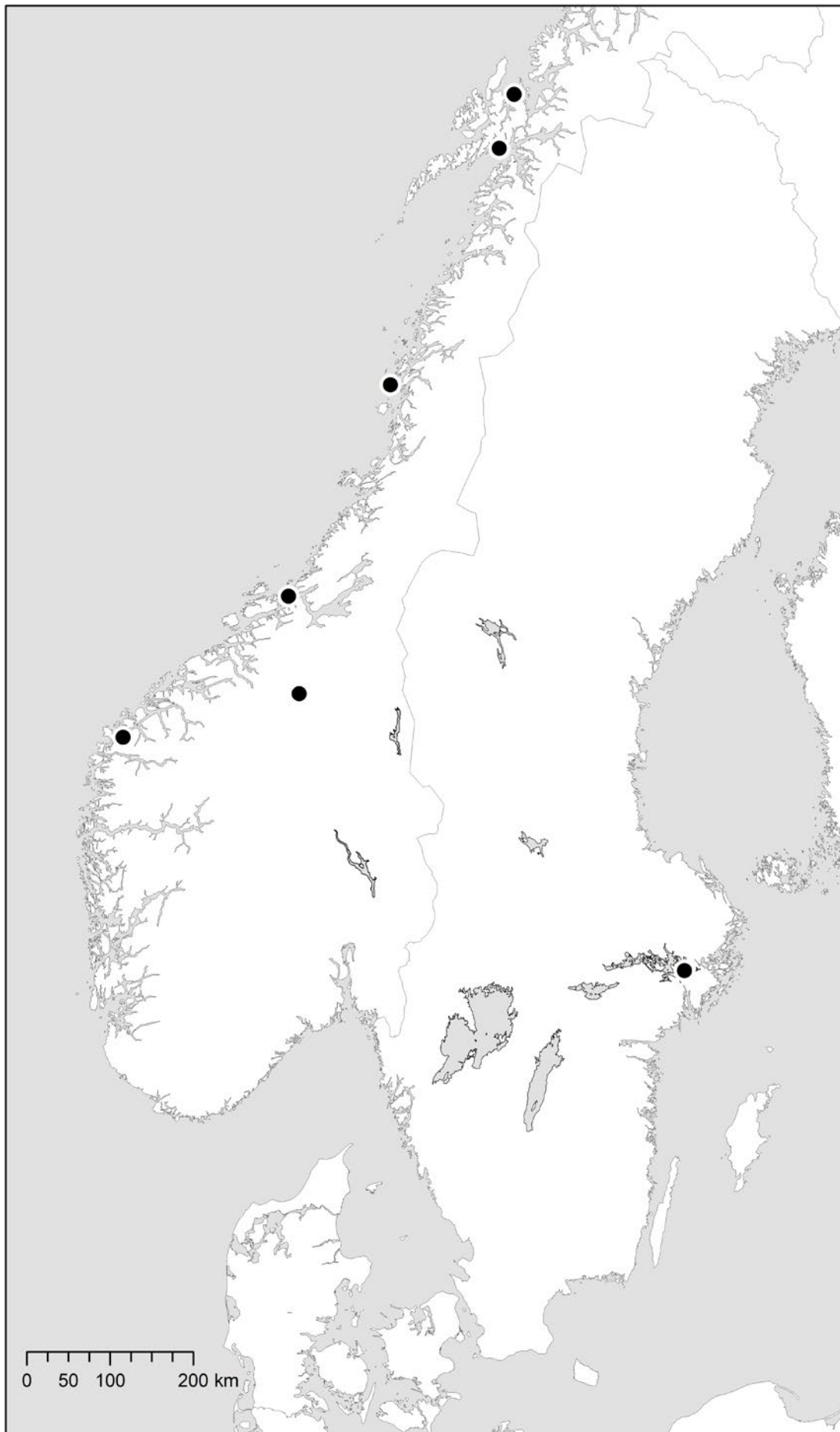
205 SHM23230.

206 The find of unknown provenance but possibly from Østlandet has been located over the Oslofjord on the map.

207 One grave also contains creeping beast brooches and a disc-on-bow brooch, but these had not been worn together with the conical brooch (cf. Ch. 3.2.3.1).



Map 4.65 Graves and hoards or caches with conical brooches. On Ytre Kvarøy in Nordland and Ytre Elgsnes in Troms there are respectively four and two of these graves. The find-spots in the Lofoten area are so close in some places that the spots (eight) overlap.



Map 4.66 Grave-assemblages containing two or three conical brooches.

brooches. Dress pins *per se*, on the other hand, are found both in this phase and in its predecessors. The most common other class of dress-accessory with which conical brooches are associated is beads.

The brooches were worn in a variety of ways, a point that Vinsrygg (1979:59) argued in relation to the finds from the north of Norway. I shall consider this in detail here, as the mode of wearing conical brooches has not hitherto been examined comprehensively. The brooches could be used as the only brooch in a set of dress-accessories; as two together in pairs that may either be matched in size or not; or in combination with other types of brooch or dress pin. As noted, three conical brooches were found together in one case. In that context, one of the brooches is a little larger than the other two, which are more or less of the same size and probably formed a pair (Vinsrygg 1973:19–20). This forces an adjustment to the view that the use of paired brooches does not feature in Norway in the early Merovingian Period (Blindheim 1947:88; Hougen 1968:92). Although conical brooches were used in pairs in a few cases, or occur combined with other types of brooch, the norm was for this type of brooch to be worn as the only brooch on a costume. The conical brooches could, however, be worn along with one or two dress pins. Grave-assemblages with a set of dress-accessories involving more than a single brooch do appear, in reality, to be exceptional in the context of Norway in this phase. This is also the case with the mainland areas of Sweden, where pairs of brooches and sets of dress-accessories involving more than a single brooch are also rare at this date. There are never more than two brooches even in the richer grave-assemblages (Arrhenius 1960b:80). In southern Scandinavia and on Gotland, by contrast, symmetrical costume sets employing paired brooches of either the same or of unmatched types, or in some cases two dress pins, are common, and there can even be three or four brooches in a costume set (Arrhenius 1960b:80; Jørgensen 1994a:536; Waller 1996:133, 137–8; Ørsnes 1966:180).

It is possible to spot a potential regional difference in terms of how conical brooches were worn. The majority of the finds which involve two (and in the one case, three) conical brooches are found distributed across an area from Fiskå in Møre og Romsdal

in the south to Ytre Elgsnes in Troms in the north (Map 4.66). In the south-east of Norway no finds are known with two conical brooches. It should also be noted that four of the finds with two conical brooches also contained a third brooch.²⁰⁸

Four reliable finds which contained one single conical brooch in combination with another type of brooch are from Nordland,²⁰⁹ Østfold,²¹⁰ Uppland²¹¹ and Jutland²¹² respectively. It would appear, in other words, as if there is a somewhat wider geographical range to this group. Compared with the distribution of finds involving two conical brooches, there appears, nonetheless, to be a tendency for the use of more than one brooch, whether in matched pairs of the same type or as two or more different brooch-types, to be more common along the coast of Møre og Romsdal, Trøndelag and northern Norway than in south-eastern Norway. It is also of interest that two finds of conical brooches from Uppland in Sweden include more than a single brooch; indeed there are as many as three brooches in one of these contexts. According to Arrhenius (1960b:80) this was not, as already noted, common in this part of Sweden at that date. It is rather more predictable that one of the Jutlandic finds includes two brooches, as the use of paired brooches was the norm in southern Scandinavia (cf. above).

Nine conical brooches are from hoard finds, seven of them from two finds in Sweden and two from a find in Norway (Map 4.65). The previously noted find from Krutberg, Vilhelmina in northern Sweden (cf. Ch. 3.2.3.1)²¹³ contained five conical brooches along with creeping beast brooches and beads. The creeping beast brooches from this find are dated, as has been noted, to phase 3 of the Merovingian Period. A find from an unknown find spot in the Swedish Norrland²¹⁴ may also represent an 8th-century hoard. The circumstances of this find are unknown, but the combination of artefacts, like the Krutberg find, apparently included both creeping beast brooches and beads as well as the two conical brooches. Since there are extremely few finds of jewellery at all from the north of Sweden, it has been inferred that the items of jewellery, or the brooches at least, are from a single find spot (Serning 1960:30–2). The possible similarity with the Krutberg find, and the general absence of grave finds from the northern regions of Sweden, may corroborate the

208 B12533 (in this case the third brooch is another conical brooch); Ts3071; T13498; SHM23304.

209 Ts2156.

210 C15714.

211 SHM26149.

212 C10076–8.

213 SHM10321.

214 Unnumbered, Norrland.

assumption that the dress-accessories in both cases are from hoards. The conical brooches in these finds are of the types with geometrical decoration and with divergent decoration. Sjøvold (1952:34–5) argued that, in addition, a Norwegian find from Øyford/Heggstad in Lødingen in Nordland was a hoard.²¹⁵ Here two conical brooches were found together with beads alongside a large stone, and no traces of a burial were observed at the site. One of these conical brooches belongs to the type with geometrical decoration and the other to the type with zoomorphic decoration.

If the Øyford find is really a hoard, it means that both main types of conical brooch are found in both graves and in hoards. In both contexts they also appear along with beads. There is, however, a clear chronological disjunction in terms of the brooches with which the conical brooches are associated in the two Swedish hoards, as the latter belong to a later phase of the Merovingian Period. This means that those assemblages were deposited at a date by which the conical brooches had gone out of use.

There are 30 conical brooches which are stray finds, with no information about the finding other than where it was made. There is one of these finds each from Sweden and Denmark and the remainder are from Norway. None of the conical brooches is from a settlement site, although one find was made in the foundations of a boathouse.²¹⁶

Conical brooches represent a new type, introduced in this phase, but they are combined with several of the same types of dress-accessory that were used in the Migration Period: e.g. S-shaped brooches, dress pins and beads. Otherwise, as has been observed, several new types of dress-accessory appear in the assemblages of this phase. A contrast with the preceding phase, however, is the absence of gold and silver artefacts, both in graves and in hoards. It must also be regarded as doubtful if conical brooches were deposited in hoards within the period that can be identified as the main phase of use of the brooches, namely Merovingian Period phase 1. Two of the three possible hoards pertain, as noted, to a later phase of the Merovingian Period. All of the hoards also differ from the previous phases in their geographical location – far in the north of the main Scandinavian peninsula.

4.3.2 Other types of dress-accessory of phase 1 of the Merovingian Period

The first phase of the Merovingian Period in Norway is clearly marked by a major reduction in the quantity of finds, and in this brooch-finds have been no exception. Even conical brooches, constituting the most common group of brooches, are relatively few. Although there are other types of brooch in Norway in this phase, they can be regarded as ‘exceptional’ or ‘divergent types’ because none of them is particularly at home in the context of Norway. In fact they are often more widely distributed in the other countries of Scandinavia and/or on the Continent. I shall not go into these brooch-types in detail here as they have been discussed thoroughly in other contexts (see, e.g., Arrhenius 1960a; 1960b; 1963; Nielsen 1987; 1991; 1999; Ørsnes 1966). Finds from Norway, conversely, have only occasionally been included in previous studies concerned with eastern or southern Scandinavia, and within Norway itself we have, for the most part, examinations of finds from limited areas that are the foci of the studies (see Helgen 1982; Gudesen 1980; Sjøvold 1974; Vinsrygg 1979; and cf. Ch. 3.2.1).²¹⁷ Below, I offer, therefore, a short review of Norwegian finds of brooch-types found in some numbers, which can be linked to principal types within Scandinavia in this phase (cf. Ch. 3.2.2): S-shaped brooches, disc-on-bow brooches, small equal-armed brooches and wheel-cross/quadruped brooches. These do not amount to all that many finds in total, but in relation to the paucity of finds of jewellery from this phase, their numbers are not negligible.

Small equal-armed brooches of Jenssen (1998) type II.4 (Fig. 4.84) total 27 brooches from 23 finds (Jenssen 1998:41, fn.14).²¹⁸ Jenssen (1998:96) pointed out that this type is highly typical of the central regions of Sweden. S-shaped brooches account for 10–11 finds datable to phase 1 of the Merovingian Period in Norway (Fig. 4.85).²¹⁹ This brooch-type has something of a wide range in Scandinavia, perhaps focused especially on Gotland and Öland (Nielsen 1991:103; Ørsnes 1966:144), and on Bornholm and in Skåne (Gjessing 1934:130–3). Beyond Scandinavia the distribution of the type has a centre of gravity in southern Germany and northern Italy (Strauss 1992:59–61; Ørsnes 1966:144 with refs.). The majority of the brooches from Norway cluster in

215 Ts4295a. In a later discussion of the find, however, Sjøvold (1974:85) interpreted it as a grave-assemblage.

216 C38001: Åker, Hamar *kommune*, Hedmark.

217 Jenssen's unpublished *hovedfag* dissertation (1998) on equal-armed brooches is an exception, however.

218 Several more recent finds have been made since Jenssen's work was completed, and the number is growing continually because of new metal-detector finds.

219 The number is continually increasing thanks to new metal-detector finds.



Figure 4.84 Small equal-armed brooch from Hovum, Akershus (C52325). Photograph: Ellen C. Holte, © Museum of Cultural History.



Figure 4.85 East Norwegian variant of S-shaped brooch from Ovri, Eidsvoll, Akershus (C59464). Photograph: Lill-Ann Chepstow-Lusty. © Museum of Cultural History.



Figure 4.86 Four-opening/wheel-cross brooch from Ytre Elgenes, Troms (Ts3071). Photograph: Ann-Mari Olsen. © University Museum of Bergen.



Figure 4.87 Disc-on-bow brooch from Haukenes in Hadsel (Ts6362a). Photograph: Adnan Icgic. © The Arctic University Museum of Norway.

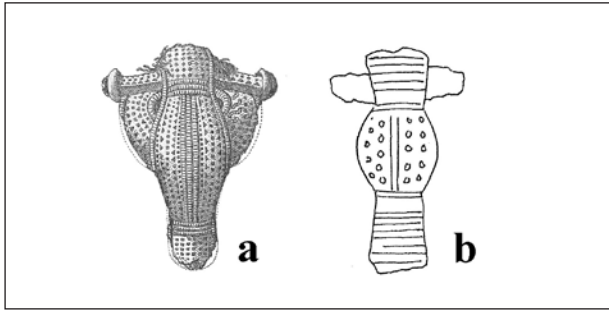


Figure 4.88 Typical brooch-types from southern Scandinavia: **a)** beak brooch, after Müller (1888:plansje XXXIII, fig. 523), and **b)** equal-armed brooch, after Ørsnes (1966:fig. 94).

two local sub-groups or variants: one in eastern and one in northern Norway (Gjessing 1934:132–3; Grieg 1918:153–4; Vinsrygg 1979:25). There are also a couple of specimens which can be described as ‘individualistic forms’. In the context of Scandinavia one can also distinguish a Danish variant and a Gotlandic type (Ørsnes 1966:144). The Norwegian brooches are therefore distinct from the other Scandinavian S-shaped brooches and from non-Scandinavian variants of the type. Of what are known as wheel-cross/quadruped brooches (Fig. 4.86) there is just a single find from Norway, at Ytre Elgsnes in Troms (Vinsrygg 1979:50). This type is otherwise concentrated in the Mälars region, although also found to some extent on Gotland and Öland (cf. below; see also Arrhenius 1960b:66). A total of nine finds of so-called prototypes and early disc-on-bow brooches datable to phase 1 have been made within Norway (Glørstad and Røstad 2015) (Fig. 4.87). In phase 1, the majority of disc-on-bow brooches have been found on Gotland and Öland, albeit with some representation also in central Sweden (Nielsen 1991:132) and a few finds from Denmark and Skåne (Ørsnes 1966:107–8). Ørsnes (1966:107–8) identified nine southern Scandinavian disc-on-bow brooches or prototype forms of disc-on-bow brooch of phase 1, while Nerman (1975:11–14) referred to 40 examples on Gotland. On Gotland and in other parts of eastern Sweden the brooches are standardized as what is usually referred to as a Gotlandic type.

There do not seem to be any marked patterns in the geographical distribution of these types in Norway, except for the fact that the majority are

from Østlandet.²²⁰ Since the distribution of conical brooches is essentially restricted to Norway and areas of northern Scandinavia, and since Norwegian finds of other types of jewellery that are also common to other parts of Scandinavia are relatively few, as shown, the study of those types provides little insight into the use of dress-accessories in the other Scandinavian regions in this phase. Limiting oneself to only these primarily Norwegian finds makes it difficult to trace developments in terms of regional differences within Sweden and Denmark, such as were identifiable in the corpora of finds of the Migration Period. I shall therefore take a brief look at the geographical ranges of the most common types of jewellery in Denmark and Sweden.

Studies of dress-accessories in southern and eastern Scandinavia have shown that there are clear trends towards regional groupings in the distribution of specific types in phase 1 (Nielsen 1991:132; Ørsnes 1966). Three areas emerge in southern and eastern Scandinavia from concentrations of particular types of dress-accessory – 1: A southern Scandinavian region in Denmark (including Bornholm) and Skåne in which equal-armed brooches²²¹ and beak brooches with punched decoration are the most characteristic types of brooch (Fig. 4.88); 2: an area on Gotland – and to a certain degree on Öland – where small disc-on-bow brooches with profile animal heads, S-shaped brooches of the Gotlandic type, early forms of animal head brooch/punch-decorated crab brooches, and disc brooches either with no rim/flange and undecorated or with a low brim and zoomorphic decoration²²² are common (Fig. 4.89); 3: an area in eastern and south-eastern Sweden, which includes Öland, in which ‘snake-eye brooches’, equal-armed brooches (without grooves on the bow, or with a longitudinal pointed-oval furrow on the bow)²²³, wheel-cross/quadruped brooches and Husby brooches (Fig. 4.90) are dominant (Nielsen 1991; 1999; Ørsnes 1966). Within the latter region, Uppland stands out as a distinct sub-region, partly through differences in types of jewellery and the later use of certain types (Nielsen 1999:182). There is, however, a degree of overlap in the distribution pattern. This is particularly the case on Öland, where both ‘Gotlandic’ and ‘eastern Swedish’ types of jewellery are found in some quantities, and on Bornholm, where

220 One should be aware of the fact that the predominance of finds from Østlandet may be due the fact that metal-detecting has been most intense here. Metal-detecting has, though, been intensively practised in Rogaland for several years, so that if this had impacted upon the quantities of finds one should have expected more examples from there as well.

221 With a *Verbindungsdraht* (= Ørsnes [1966] type F3) and with a loose pin-spiral plate (= Ørsnes [1966] types F3–F5).

222 Cf. Nielsen (1999) types I1a and I2.

223 With a *Verbindungsdraht* and either no grooves on the bow (= Ørsnes [1966] type F4) or with the longitudinal pointed-oval furrow (= Ørsnes [1966] type F2).

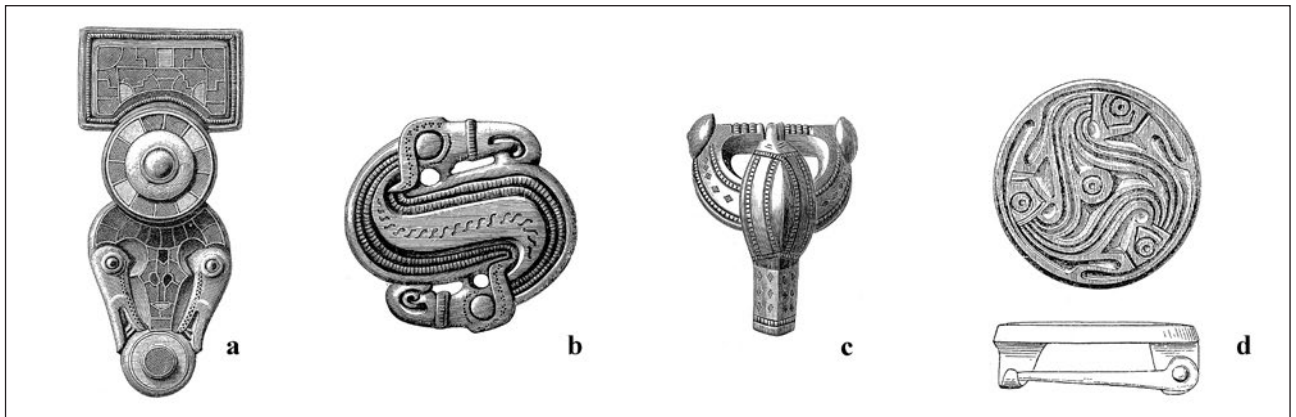


Figure 4.89 Typical brooch-types from Gotland: disc-on-bow brooch, after Stjerna (1905:fig. 73), S-shaped brooch, after Salin (1904:fig. 192), early animal-head brooch, after Nerman (1969:Taf. Taf. 2, fig. 15) and disc brooch, after Montelius (1892/93:fig. 37).

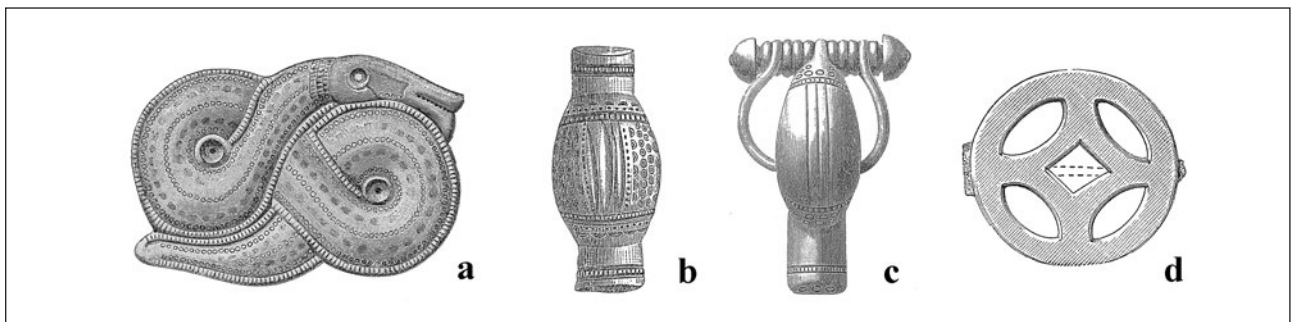


Figure 4.90 Typical brooches from eastern Sweden: respectively 'a serpent-eye brooch' after Stjerna (1905:fig. 67), equal-armed brooch after Salin (1904:fig. 180), Husby brooch after Salin (1904:fig. 179) and wheel-cross brooch after Rydh (1936:fig. 88).

'southern Scandinavian' and 'Gotlandic' types occur (Nielsen 1991:fig. 2). Moreover, one of the principal types of Gotland, disc brooches, is also found to some extent in Denmark (Ørsnes 1996:129–30). Some of the types of jewellery are also probably more common in certain areas or limited zones within the wider regions of Denmark, Gotland and eastern and south-eastern Sweden sketched out here. It is, however, beyond the scope of this study to explore this issue.

The distribution of conical brooches clearly demarcates a distinct northern Scandinavian zone in Norway (except, perhaps, for Vest- and Øst-Agder) that stands out as a fourth 'focal zone' of specific types of jewellery of phase 1 against this wider Scandinavian background. However, in this region of northern Scandinavia we also encounter a degree of overlap embodied in the occurrence of brooch-types that are typical of the other three Scandinavian 'core regions'. Although this phase is marked by a diversity of brooch-types in different parts of Scandinavia, there are some types of jewellery that are nonetheless common to the various regions: bead-sets that are dominated by opaque glass beads of red and orange tones, and barrel-shaped spiral beads of wound copper-alloy wire are common to Scandinavia as a whole. Another common type is the dress pin with a polyhedral head. These are also

found in Österbotten in Finland, in England and on the Continent: in other words across an extensive zone of West and Central Europe (Nielsen 1987:59; 1997:189–93; 1999:167–73; Vinsrygg 1979:51–2; Waller 1996:48; Ørsnes 1966:164–5). Another common feature for brooches of this phase is that practically all of them are made of bronze or copper alloy while, apart from the disc-on-bow brooches, they are as a rule quite simple in conception and lack gilding, granular decoration, inlays and the like.

4.4 SUMMARY OF THE STUDY OF THE EVIDENCE

The study of the individual types of dress-accessory has demonstrated trends in the geographical and contextual distributions of the objects throughout the period under examination. Certain classes of jewellery clearly pertain to particular places and times; different types supersede others throughout the period of study; specific areas emerge as focal zones for a range of different types; some combinations of dress-accessories recur more frequently than others; and so on. In the next chapter I highlight the trends that have been identified, and discuss them in relation to elements of costume-signalling throughout the period.

THE GEOGRAPHICAL, CHRONOLOGICAL AND CONTEXTUAL DISTRIBUTION OF THE TYPES OF DRESS-ACCESSORY: A BRIEF SUMMARY

The individual types of dress-accessory have now been examined separately, and both their spatial distribution and the immediate contexts in which the known items occur have been explicated. From this examination certain trends in the distribution, in time and space, of these selected types of dress-accessory have emerged, and in this chapter these trends are synthesized, and linked more directly to the manifestation of identity through the use of costume. This is done initially by taking a 'step backwards', with an integrated presentation of the distribution of the selected dress-accessories as this distribution occurs in the period under examination. In Chapter 6, the overall distribution pattern will be interpreted in light of the proposition that the jewellery represents components of costume which were used in a discourse concerned with cultural and ethnic identity.

5.1 THE GEOGRAPHICAL, CHRONOLOGICAL AND CONTEXTUAL DISTRIBUTION OF THE TYPES

5.1.1 Distribution patterns in the Migration Period

A synthesis of the distribution patterns of the three different types of dress-accessory – cruciform brooches, relief brooches and clasps – produces a variegated picture with overlaps and continually shifting distributions throughout the Migration Period. From the end of the Roman Iron Age into the transitional phase leading to the Migration Period an extensive western Scandinavian area can be discerned which comprises the southern half of Norway below and including Møre og Romsdal in the north, and reaches to the coastal area of western Sweden (especially Västergötland and Bohuslän), while also including (principally) Jutland, in the south (Maps 5.1 and 5.2). Within this area, spiral- and ring-shaped clasps (types A1 and A2a) were in use. In the northern part of this extensive area, in the southern half of Norway and along the western coast of Sweden, there were also common types of cruciform brooch in use: Types Åk and Lunde. In the southern part of the area, by contrast, within what

is now Denmark, it is more common at this date to encounter Continental and/or Dano-Continental forms of cruciform brooch: Types Witmarsum and Groß Siemss (Jørgensen 1994a; Reichstein 1975). This area of western Scandinavia emerges gradually from the end of the Late Roman Iron Age onwards and during the transition to the Migration Period. In phase D1, meanwhile, the distribution of cruciform brooches extends further northwards in Norway, and a distinct type evolved in the north-west of western Scandinavia in Møre og Romsdal and Sogn og Fjordane in the form and range of Type Nygard.

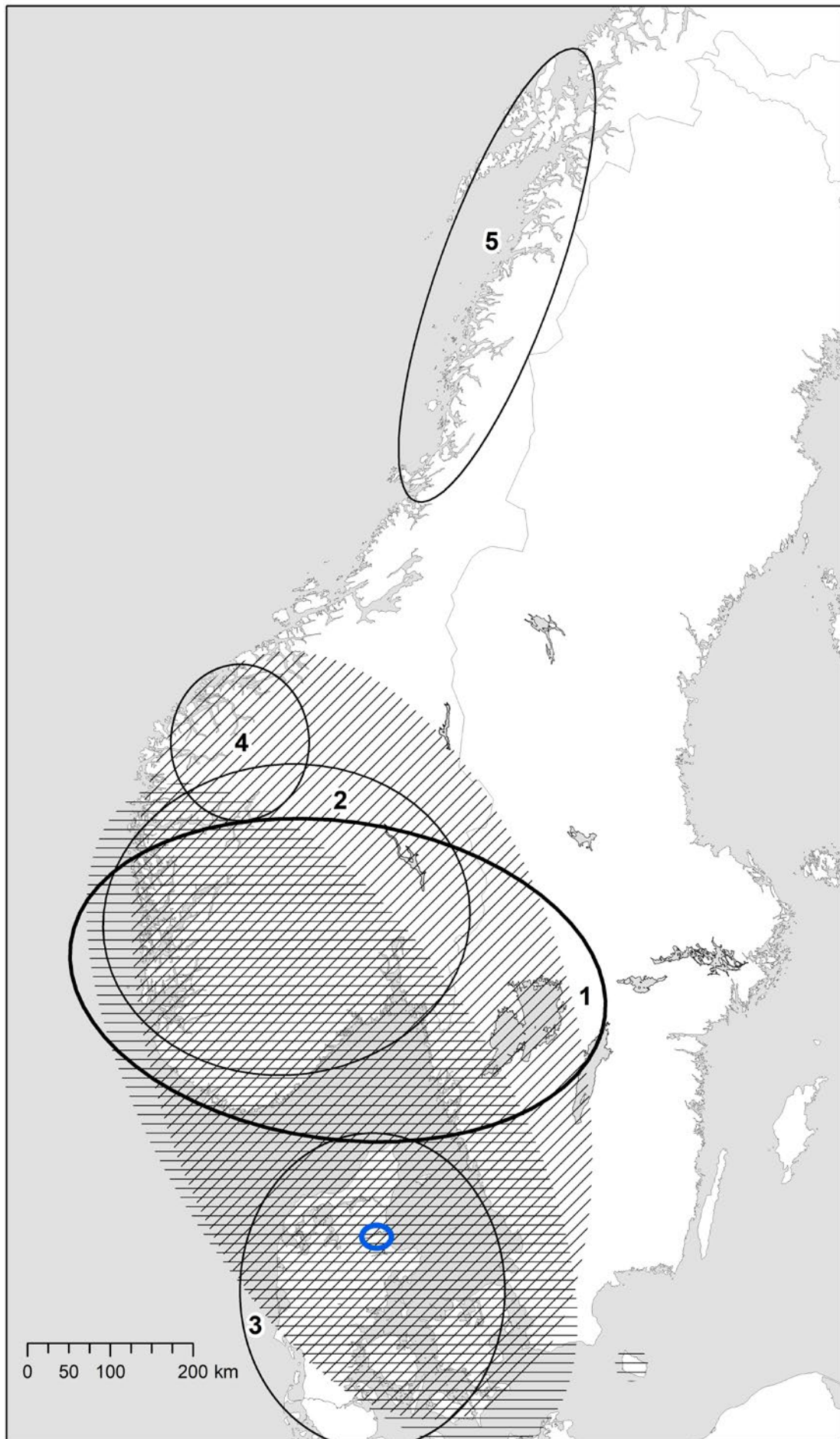
A new region also appears in the north, comprising Nord-Trøndelag, Nordland and Troms, through the development of a specific regional type of cruciform brooch, Type Røssøy.

The relief brooches display a partially congruent distribution pattern in the earliest phase of the Migration Period in that these also cluster in western Scandinavia, albeit with a more conspicuous southerly centre of gravity within the zone. With the exception of one find from Sør-Trøndelag, the brooches are distributed largely between the coastal area of southern Norway from Rogaland round to Vestfold, and in the south-west of Scandinavia in Jutland, Sjælland, Falster and Skåne. One can make out a tendency towards the division of the area into two, through the distribution of relief brooches with rectangular headplates to the north and those with semi-circular headplates to the south. There may also be a distinct south-western and western Norwegian type of relief brooch (B-2), but as there are so few finds, and one specimen of the type from Sjælland, the specific regional association of this type has to be considered uncertain. What is most characteristic of this phase is actually the *multiplicity* of types of relief brooch.

From the transition from the Late Roman Iron Age through into phase D1 there is, as has been noted (Ch. 4.2.1.3), a constant tendency for the development of narrowly local and more tightly regionally distributed variants of brooch-type, and this cumulatively reinforces the further sub-division of the area of western



Map 5.1 The distribution of types of dress-accessory of Phase C3. The shaded area shows the distribution of spiral- and ring-shaped clasps. The ringed areas show the distribution of cruciform brooches of 1: Type Åk, 2: Type Tveitane-Hunn, 3: Type Witmarsum. The red circle shows the distribution of Type Kvasseheim and the blue circle the concentration of ring clasps.



Map 5.2 The distribution of types of dress-accessory of D1. The area with diagonal shading shows the distribution of spiral clasps, and the area with horizontal shading shows the distribution of relief brooches. The ringed areas show the distribution of cruciform brooches of 1: Type Lunde, 2: Type Eine, 3: Type Gross Siemss, 4: Type Nygard, 5: Type Rössøy. The blue circle shows the concentration of copper-alloy spiral clasps.

Scandinavia. This is the case, for example, with the cruciform brooches of Types Tveitane-Hunn and Eine, which are largely restricted to southern Norway, and the concentration of Type Kvasheim in Rogaland – particularly at the cemetery site of Kvasheim. We have also seen that ring-shaped clasps of type A2a have a markedly southern Scandinavian, and probably a specifically Jutlandic, distribution. This is also the case with spiral clasps of copper alloy, which concentrate on the cemetery at Sejlflod (cf. Ch. 4.2.3.3).

The earliest Scandinavian relief brooches belong to a relatively limited period of time at the end of phase D1, and several of the finds are dated to the transition between D1 and D2a. This is the period in which several of the Scandinavian type C1i clasps were manufactured, and these have been interpreted above as an experimental period in the production of clasps, when the standardized spiral clasps were going out of use and button clasps taking over as the principal form (cf. Ch. 4.2.3.7). The earliest relief brooches of this stage, with their many divergent forms, can also be interpreted in such a way. They may represent an experimental period before the following phase's standard forms 'bed in'.

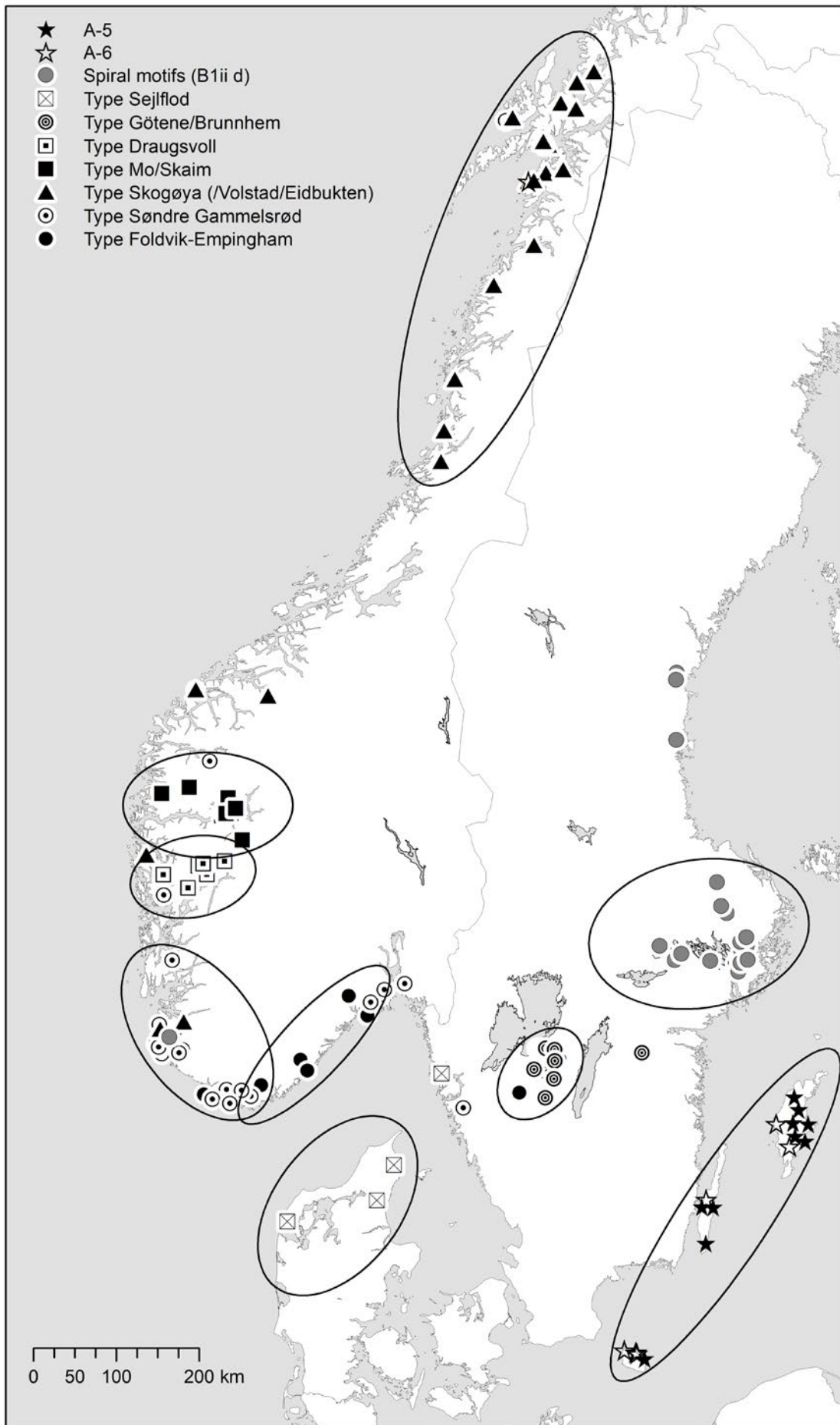
In phase D2a, the outlines of this area of western Scandinavia can be traced further through the distribution of button clasps with punched ornament and one of the sub-groups of relief brooches with rectangular headplates – the ridge-foot brooches. The plane-foot brooches are also distributed in part within the same area, although like the relief brooches of the preceding phase their distribution has a more southerly centre of gravity within the zone. At the same time, button clasps with Style I decoration were used both to the east of the Scandinavian peninsula and the west, while plain button clasps or button clasps with ring designs appear to have been common Scandinavian types, albeit with a limited distribution in northern Norway, where the clasp-habit never seems to have made any great inroads.

What is most characteristic of this phase, however, is the great flourishing of regional and local variants of various types of dress-accessory (cf. Hines 1993a: 88, 91), which helps to distinguish various regions of Scandinavia from one another (Map 5.3). Localized regional variants of cruciform brooch divide the area of Norway into five zones along the coast from northern Norway round to Vestfold, and also mark out a region of western Sweden in Västergötland as well as a northern Jutlandic region in southern Scandinavia. There is also a distinct eastern Swedish region around Mälaren, defined by the use of particular forms of button clasp, while the islands of Bornholm, Gotland

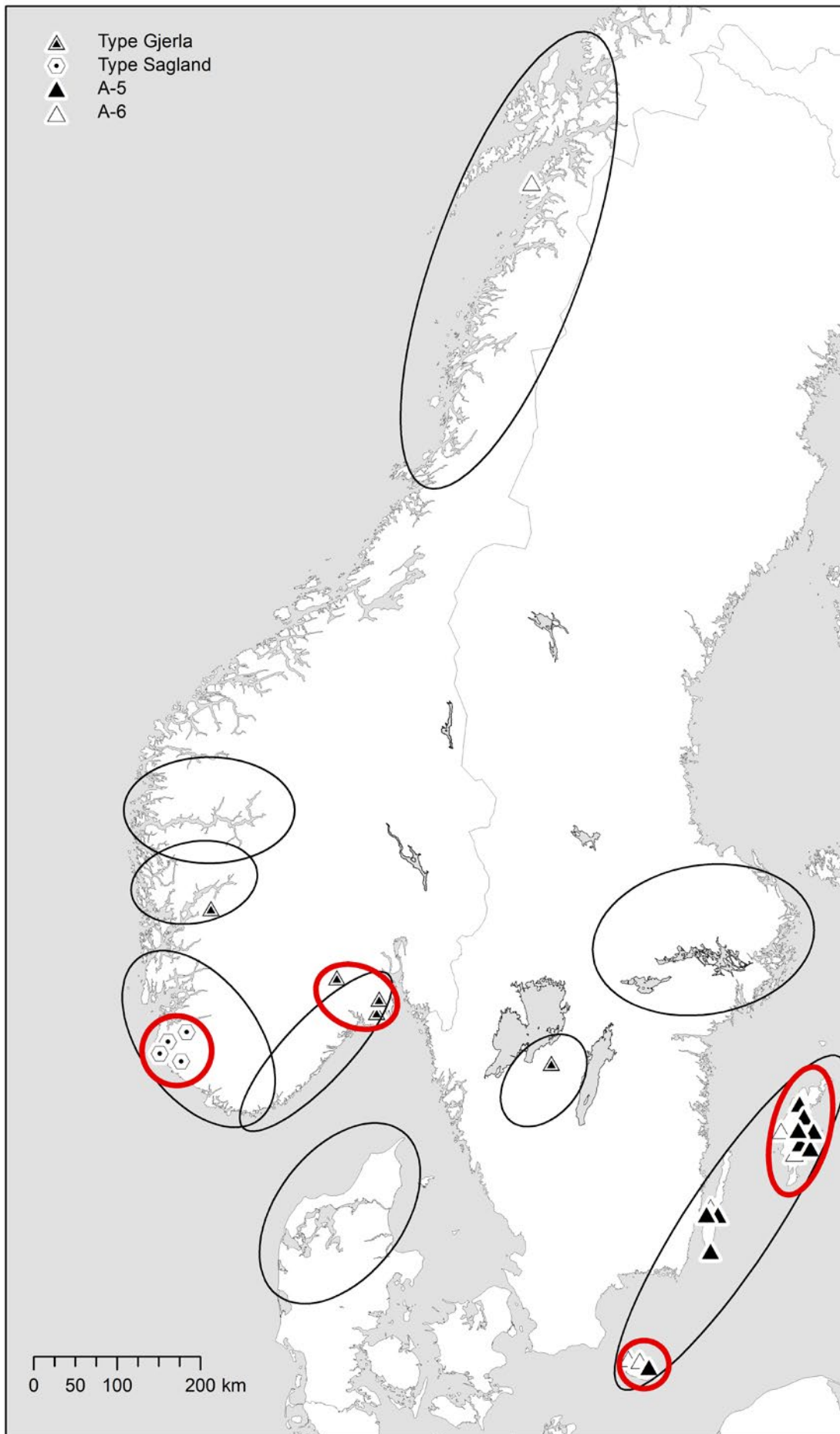
and Öland are distinguished by the use of their own types of relief brooch with semi-circular headplates.

Within these regions, it is sometimes possible to identify particularly local individual types of cruciform brooch (such as Type Sagland in Rogaland, and Type Gjerla in Vestfold/Telemark) or relief brooch (for instance Type A-5 on Gotland and Type A-6 on Bornholm, and a distinct version of ridge-foot brooches in Telemark with *en face* masks as the lobes on the footplate) (Map 5.4). It is also possible to demonstrate trends towards specific regional and/or local variants, for example in the case of relief brooches of the ridge-foot type with a 'northern', primarily Norwegian, sub-group that is distinct from the non-Norwegian brooches that usually carry spiral ornament. In some areas there are several of these brooch-types, or indeed all the different types. In Sweden, meanwhile, there is a marked difference between the Mälars region (Uppland, Södermanland and Västmanland), where particularly local variants of button clasps are concentrated and where there is a general absence of cruciform brooches, and Västergötland, which has no local type of clasp but where there were local variants of cruciform brooch in use (Map 5.3). Some areas also have *several* local variants of a single artefact-type. This is the case in Rogaland, for example, which is the core area of the distribution of the cruciform brooches of Types Lima and Søndre Gammelsrød and Types Varhaug and Sagland. A similar state of affairs is also found in the Mälars region, where button clasps both with 'running spiral' designs (type B1ii d) and with domed buttons with relief decoration (type B1 vi) are concentrated.

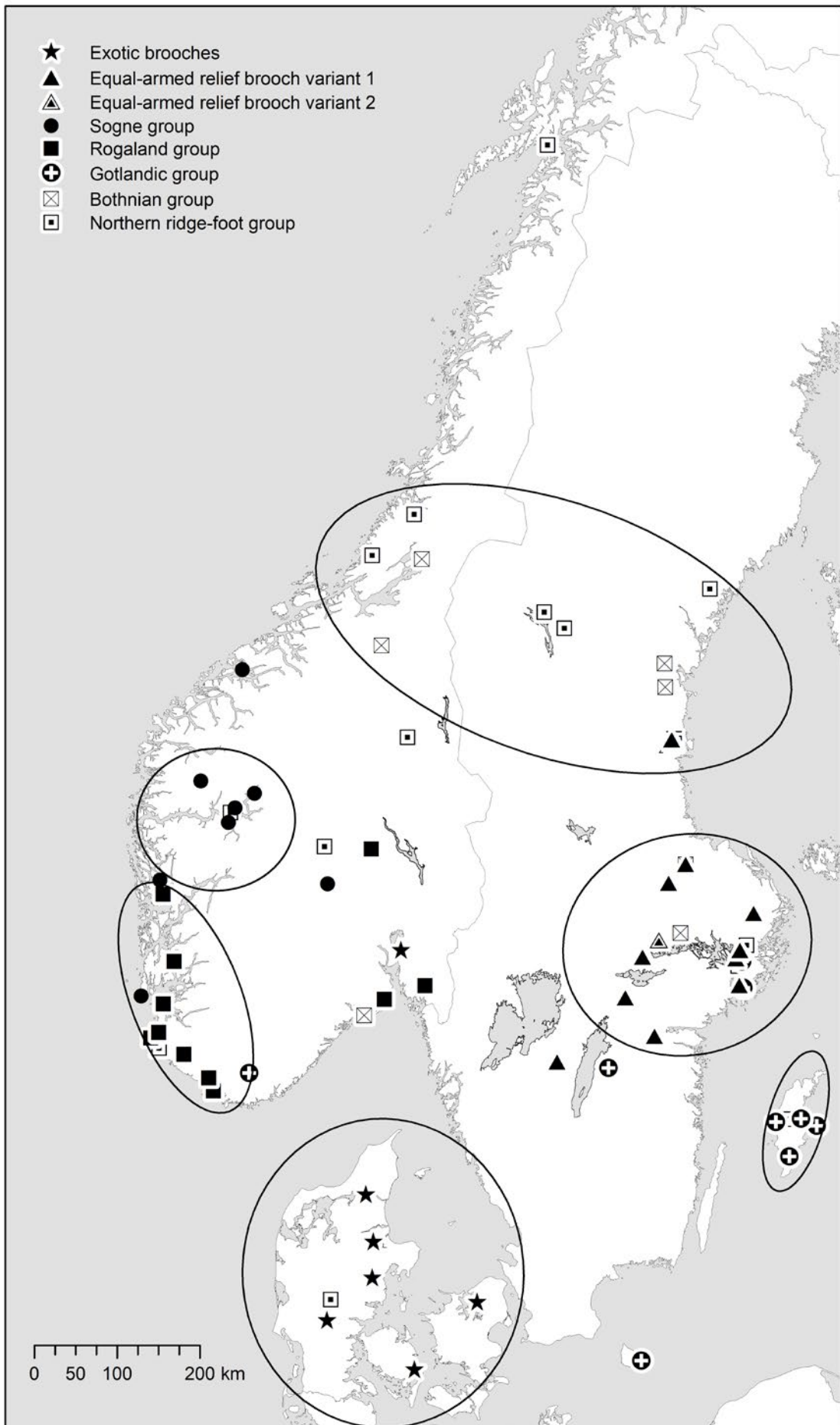
In these cases, however, it is not always possible to exclude the possibility that the types in question represent a chronological development in the course of the phase within which they occur: in other words that the individual types are not contemporary in the sense that they were used by the same generation. The phases cover periods of some 50–75 years and so represent a number of generations (Hines 1993a:91–2; Reichstein 1975:69). It is therefore impossible to ignore the possibility that several of the types of dress-accessory were worn or were in circulation for only a limited amount of time within the overall phase. In this regard, Waller (1996:15) has proposed that the jewellery of the Migration Period and the beginning of the Merovingian Period can be compared with items of jewellery that are used as part of 'regional costume' in more recent times: i.e. that they are used throughout the wearer's adult life, and so have a functioning life of around 30–50 years. This is supported, inter alia, by observations concerning the jewellery of the Migration Period from Anglo-Saxon



Map 5.3 Nine areas (ringed) with their own types of jewellery in Phase D2a.



Map 5.4 The distribution of local brooch-types in Rogaland, Vestfold/Telemark, Gotland and Bornholm in Phase D2a (ringed in red). The areas ringed in black show the core areas of other brooch-types: cf. Map 5.3.



Map 5.5 The distribution of types of dress-accessory of Phase D2b.

Kent (Hawkes and Pollard 1981:332). It has also been demonstrated above (Ch. 4.2.1–4.2.3) that several different local and/or regional types were worn in combination on a costume.

At the transition to the following phase, D2b, the cruciform brooches disappear. This type of brooch had contributed substantially to regional differentiation during the first two phases of the Migration Period; however, the distribution of specifically regional and local variants of dress-accessory continues in phase D2b in the form of different types of relief brooch and clasp. The number of relief brooches also rises markedly in comparison with the preceding phase. It is less easy to demonstrate an increase in the use of clasps but it is possible that the level of use remained at the same level in both of the last two phases of the Migration Period (cf. Ch. 4.2.3.5). In several cases areas which in phase D2b were defined or marked by particular types of relief brooch were, in the preceding phase, characterized by, inter alia, specific local types of cruciform brooch (Map 5.5). There is, for instance, an area in the south-west of Norway, in Rogaland, which is defined in phase D2a by several different types of cruciform brooch, while in phase D2b three local types of relief brooch – the Rogaland group, relief brooches with a spatulate footplate (type B-1), and the simple bronze group – have a concentrated distribution here. There is also an area of western Norway which corresponds with the core area of the cruciform brooches of the earlier phase's Types Mo and Skaim, and which is demarcated in this later phase through the distribution of relief brooches of the Sogne group.

The Mälär region continues to be distinguished by the use of its own forms of clasps, and is also defined by equal-armed relief brooches. Gotland can still be distinguished through relief brooches of the Gotlandic group and domed button clasps which it shares with the Mälär region. In southern Scandinavia, there is still a distinct focal zone in Denmark which is marked out by finds of a specific type of de luxe brooch. A new feature in this phase, however, is the emergence of a larger zone running east-west, in the provinces of Trøndelag and Norrland, embodied in relief brooches of what is called the Bothnian group. Partly in the same area, albeit with a slightly wider range of distribution, occur relief brooches of the northern ridge-foot group. Meanwhile there is also the basis of a more general Scandinavian area, comprising, essentially, the main Scandinavian peninsula, represented by the use of

the northern plane-foot group of relief brooches and button clasps with zoomorphic decoration (type B1 v). This area coincides, to a certain extent, with the core region of the distribution of cruciform brooches of Type Mundheim in the preceding phase, but with a difference in that the Mälär region is included in the later phase. Undecorated button clasps are found over the whole of Scandinavia, and distinguish this area from the neighbouring regions to the south and the east.¹

The distribution patterns of the selected types of dress-accessory show that some clusters are detectable as early as phase D1, consolidate in phase D2a, and continue on to the end of the Migration Period. Further marking or definition of areas appears, conversely, at times to emerge within the period, only to disappear again. The most intense definition of regions was a feature of phase D2a. This phase is distinguished, as noted above, by the near-explosive introduction of regional and local types of dress-accessory (see also Hines 1993a:91–5). Although this sort of differentiation continues into the concluding phase of the Migration Period, the *quantitative* range of such marking seems to be receding. This is a trend that can be followed into the first phase of the Merovingian Period.

5.1.2 Distribution patterns in the Merovingian Period

The most striking feature of the distribution patterns of the beginning of the Merovingian Period when compared with the concluding phase of the Migration Period is the fact that overall there are fewer jewellery finds in Norway. Both the number of finds and the range of types of dress-accessory are markedly reduced. Another feature that characterizes this phase is that brooches of one sub-type, conical brooches with geometrical ornament, occur throughout the area in which conical brooches are found. This area stands out as a core area with its centre of gravity in northern Scandinavia, and particularly in Norway, where there are only a few regional sub-types. On the other hand a tendency towards regional variation within the overall area has been demonstrated in respect, for instance, of the distribution of conical brooches with Style II decoration. These are found primarily in the southern half of Norway, as well as in Lofoten-Vesterålen. There is also some suggestion of a particular version of zoomorphic decoration on

¹ Clasps are also found to a certain extent in specific regions of Finland, and through scattered examples in the Baltic lands and in Schleswig-Holstein (cf. Ch. 4.2.3), as well as in Anglo-Saxon England, to which I shall return (Ch. 7.1.3).



Map 5.6 The distribution of types of dress-accessory of Phase 1 of the Merovingian Period. The contrastive shading shows the core areas of different types of dress-accessory.

the conical brooches to the west and north within the southern zone. Another regional preference is the use of paired brooches, which in Norway seems to be most common in its northern half, from and including Møre og Romsdal, at this date (cf. Ch. 4.3.1.4). This is in fact a tendency that can be traced further into the following phase of the Merovingian Period (Vinsrygg 1979:53). Compared with the preceding phase, there is also a more pronounced marking of the area of northern Norway now, through the strong presence of conical brooches along the coast of Helgeland and in Vesterålen. South-western Norway, including Rogaland, by contrast, moves into the background, forming a very conspicuous contrast compared with the prominent distribution of specific types of dress-accessory here at the end of the Migration Period.

The conical brooches help to distinguish a separate area of northern Scandinavia which proves to be one of four principal or core areas of distribution of particular types of jewellery of this phase in Scandinavia (Map 5.6). These four areas are marked, to a great extent, by different types of jewellery, but the boundaries between them are far from watertight, as finds of 'southern', 'south-eastern' and 'eastern' Scandinavian types made in Norway show. Similar 'cross-finds' are known, as has been observed, in the other core areas as well. As in the previous phase, in some measure the same types of dress-accessory were used in different areas, but the fact that different types of dress-accessory are now used to a greater extent in areas where it was normal, in the Migration Period, to see different forms of the same artefact-type can be interpreted as an increasing inclination to mark difference. This is possibly the clearest change from the preceding phases. At the same time, a degree of reservation has to be maintained with regard to the use of beads and dress pins, since, as has been noted, there are dress pins with polyhedral heads, opaque glass beads in shades of red and orange, and barrel-shaped wound beads of copper-alloy wire throughout Scandinavia (Nielsen 1987:59; 1997:189–93; Vinsrygg 1979:51–2; Ørsnes 1966:164–5, 185). The representation of some of the four regions can also be, to some extent, traced through from the two last phases of the Migration Period into the Merovingian Period. I return to this point below, when I attempt to summarize the trends that have become visible through the geographical and contextual analysis of the jewellery evidence.

5.1.3 Overview of development throughout the Migration Period and at the transition to the Merovingian Period

The patterns of distribution of the selected types of dress-accessory through the four different phases reveal that differentiation was increasing as the Migration Period progressed. The beginning of this period is characterized by the same types of jewellery being found over large areas: the three categories of the cruciform brooches, the clasps and the relief brooches had a partially, although not completely, overlapping distribution (Map 5.2). The southern half of Norway emerges as a core area for the distribution of spiralled clasps and of the same types of cruciform brooch (Type Lunde, and in part also Type Eine). Relief brooches were produced in this phase that are found primarily in south-western Scandinavia: in the south-west of Norway, the south-west of Sweden, and on the Danish islands. The design of both cruciform brooches and clasps was on the whole quite uniform at this date. Variation in terms of the design of cruciform brooches is limited, and the clasps, which are dominated by spiral clasps, were virtually standardized in appearance. This was not the case, with the relief brooches, which are, by contrast, characterized by great variation. This variation is, however, a feature of the individual specimens and so can scarcely be systematized in any scheme of subtypes. What one may just about discern, nonetheless, is a movement towards a differentiation in the distributions of brooches with rectangular headplates in the north, and semi-circular headplates in the south. It is also possible to note some local preferences in the design of relief brooches and clasps, although the overall picture is one of an overlapping distribution of relatively homogeneous types of dress-accessory in the context of an extensive western Scandinavian zone.

Jørgensen (1994a) has also drawn attention to the existence of a line of division between west and east in brooch-forms in the Nordic countries, with the western area consisting of Norway, Denmark and western Sweden, and the eastern area of eastern Sweden, including Öland and Gotland, along with Bornholm and Finland. He claims that there had been an earlier trend towards regional differentiation in the eastern area than in the western, because there are several local forms of bow brooch in the former. The study conducted above has shown that this claim needs to be moderated, since it is possible to glimpse trends towards both local and limited regional marking in the western area as well. In relation to the following phase, the range of dress-accessories is relatively limited, and the demarcation of areas in phase D1 is also far from

observably strong compared with what would happen in the next phase of the Migration Period.

There is a dramatic change in the picture as a result of the 'explosion' that took place in phase D2a, when the quantity of items of jewellery increased substantially, while at the same time a considerable number of specifically local and regional variants of types of dress-accessory came to dominate the distribution patterns. The spatial distribution of relief brooches, clasps and cruciform brooches no longer strikes one as distinctly western Scandinavian, since all of the artefact-types in question are now found across eastern Sweden and, in a few cases, on Gotland and Öland. At this date a number of groupings can be seen in the distribution pattern which appear, to some extent, then to be reproduced or maintained throughout the remainder of the Migration Period and into the first phase of the Merovingian Period. Some of them can also be traced back, in some form at least, to the first phase of the Migration Period. The demarcation of both the northern and western zones of Norway that had its origin in phase D1 carried on in this phase. The distribution pattern is nevertheless extremely complex: there are overlapping distributions of the various types of dress-accessory and also regional or local variants of the same general type; there are combinations of different regional types being worn together; and there are a large number of individualistic forms, particularly amongst the cruciform brooches – all of these factors help to make the identification of definite regions a complex matter because they obscure the boundaries between core areas of distribution for specific types. Several common forms of button clasp were, for instance, in use over large areas of Scandinavia at the same time as certain areas also had their own peculiar types of clasp (cf. Ch. 4.2.3.5).

The concluding phase of the Migration Period, phase D2b, is characterized to a great extent by the maintenance of this state of affairs by means of the continuation of regional demarcation. All the same, there was a reduction in this phase not only in the overall quantity of items of jewellery but also in the number of different types. This contributes to the impression that regional demarcation is a little less intense than in the previous phase. It is to be stressed, nevertheless, that this impression could be attributable to the fact that this study concentrates selectively and deliberately on types of dress-accessory that are found primarily within Norway. Since the most numerous type of all, the cruciform brooch, went out of use at this juncture, this *may* distort or influence the view of the remainder

of Scandinavia. Even though cruciform brooches were no longer in use, the whole of Scandinavia continues to appear relatively homogeneous because the use of relief brooches is now common to much of the main Scandinavian peninsula. Button clasps were also used in most regions of Scandinavia.

It is possible that the manufacture of a specific type of de luxe brooch that is found principally within Denmark (cf. Ch. 4.2.2.9) may be interpreted in terms of increased distancing, or a need to make this area more distinct. The form or shape of the Danish de luxe brooches is, however, closely related to that of the relief brooches with a rectangular headplate and rhomboidal footplate, although in place of relief decoration the brooches are adorned with filigree and cloisonné ornament and/or inlaid semi-precious stones. These styles of decoration are also found on, inter alia, Continental jewellery, although the designs, like those on the relief brooches, are in Style I (Jørgensen 1994a:533). Filigree and cloisonné and/or inlaid semi-precious stones are relatively commonly found in Scandinavian contexts otherwise, perhaps particularly in the decoration of sword pommels and scabbard mouthpieces (Lindqvist 1926:55–87). There are also several relief brooches of phase D2b, such as the brooch from Hauge in Klepp,² which show the influence of filigree decoration. The occurrence of these brooches does not, in my view, constitute evidence of a sharp break or the manifestation of a complete separation between Denmark or the south-west of Scandinavia and the remainder of Scandinavia, but perhaps, instead, an attempt to define a distinct form *within*, yet still *connected to*, a wider Scandinavian zone of culture. This interpretation may be supported by the fact that the use of clasps associates the area of southern Scandinavia with the principal Scandinavian peninsula (cf. Ch. 4.2.3.5). It is possible that this represents the seed of the development that came about in the following phase, phase 1 of the Merovingian Period, with its growing differentiation within Scandinavia (cf. below). At the same time, it is still possible to identify some continuity in local manifestation through details of relief brooches; in Rogaland, for instance, where there are similarities between brooches of the Rogaland group and individualistic brooches (referred to by Meyer as 'three late works': cf. Ch. 4.2.2.7). Another feature which bears witness to the maintenance of demarcation is that, both in the preceding phase and in this phase, Rogaland stood out with a particularly dense distribution of items of jewellery, and with the presence of relatively many concurrent types and variants of dress-accessory.

² B4000.

Despite that, the marking/stressing of a west–eastern oriented area, between central Norway (Trøndelag) on the one hand and Norrland and parts of Svealand/the Mälars region on the other, appeared as something new (cf. Ch. 5.1.1). This connection might also be said to have been anticipated by the earlier distribution of cruciform brooches of Type Mundheim in both of these areas in phase D2a – although that type has a more coastal distribution, along the coastal regions of Norway and the Gulf of Bothnia.

At the beginning of the Merovingian Period there are further changes. What is typical of this phase is the presence of distinct brooch-types that divide Scandinavia into four core regions (cf. Ch. 5.1.2). It is to be emphasized, however, that what this concerns is core areas, not areas with exclusive and complementary ranges of types of dress-accessory. Nielsen's (1991:fig. 2) distribution map makes it clear that there is a degree of overlap between the areas in this phase too. There are, for instance, small equal-armed brooches in both southern and eastern Scandinavia (Jørgensen 1994a:533) and, as already noted, there are also finds of this type from the southern half of Norway (Ch. 4.3.2). Furthermore, since bead necklaces and dress pins with polyhedral heads are common types over the whole of Scandinavia, they can be said to go against the divergent tendency between the four core areas. The primary impression is nevertheless one of the demarcation of larger and fewer regions than in the preceding pair of phases.

There are certain 'threads' that may be traced through the patterns of distribution with regard to the development of regional marking in the course of the period under investigation. One feature is the fact that the marking out of certain areas can be followed through several of the phases. This is the case in northern Norway, which becomes distinct in phases D1 and D2a, in Rogaland where regional demarcation can be demonstrated in both phases D2a and D2b, and in the Mälars region where such manifestation started to develop in phase D2a and continued into the first phase of the Merovingian Period. There is also an area in Sogn og Fjordane that stands out in the last two phases of the Migration Period and can additionally be traced back, at least in part, into phase D1. The areas of concentration with locally specific variants and/or principal types, in Jutland and Gotland respectively, are in evidence in both phase D2a and D2b, while on Gotland the range of distinctive forms of jewellery continued in phase 1 of the Merovingian Period. The definition of a wider region of western Scandinavia can also be followed through an extended period of time, from the beginning of the Migration Period and

through phase D2a. Another tendency is for areas to be marked out in one period, only to 'disappear' subsequently. The demarcation of Västergötland in phase D2a, with its own types of cruciform brooch, is an example of this. In some cases, such demarcation then 're-appears' at a later date. This was the case in Rogaland, for instance, which at the transition from the Roman Iron Age to the Migration Period stood out as a core area for the geographical range of Nydam/cruciform brooches of Type Kvassheim. The demarcation of this area disappeared in phase D1, but in the two final phases of the Migration Period it is precisely this area which stands out through what can be described as a 'massive' concentration of distinctive forms of dress-accessory. At the beginning of the Merovingian Period, such regional manifestation here (apparently) disappears again: from this date only common forms of dress-accessory, such as conical and small equal-armed brooches (of Merovingian-period form: see Jenssen 1998:43, 75, 171, 175), occur here. Another example is northern Norway, which is distinguished through its own cruciform brooches of phases D1 and D2a, but where such demarcation apparently disappeared in phase D2b, only to re-appear, in part, through the use of paired brooches in phase 1 of the Merovingian Period.

Since I have only analysed a selection of types of dress-accessory, we cannot exclude the possibility that there were also instances of demarcation through other forms of jewellery, which could result in certain areas standing out during more phases than what has been observed here; or that more regions would be discernible than this study has revealed. This appears – as I shall discuss further, below – to have been the case in Norrland, for instance (Åberg 1953:34–79, cf. Chs. 6.2 and 7.1.1, below). It is also possible that regional and local variation in the study area could be traceable through other artefact-types, such as the bucket-shaped pots (Engevik 2007; Kristoffersen and Magnus 2010). Here, the aim of this study is neither to undertake an exhaustive mapping of all divergent cultural features that can be found in this period, nor to provide an overview of the distribution of all types of jewellery in Scandinavia. The objective is, as has been emphasized earlier, to investigate changes that may be linked to the marking of identity through the use of costume in the chosen period. Even though the core evidence represents a selection, and so provides only a limited insight into the use of dress-accessories for this purpose within Scandinavia, I would assert that the study does, nonetheless, reveal *general tendencies* in respect of how this phenomenon played its part in this period.

DISTRIBUTION PATTERNS AND THE EXPRESSION OF COSTUME

6.1 EXPRESSIONS THROUGH COSTUME AND THE (RE)PRODUCTION OF IDENTITIES

Study of the individual types of dress-accessory has demonstrated that there are clear, if complex, tendencies in the patterns of distribution, both chronologically and spatially. How are we to understand these in relation to the manifestation of the phenomenon of ethnic/cultural identity within the period under examination? I have argued, above, that, through costume, the dress-accessories became part of a social discourse concerned with ethnic and cultural identity. Items of jewellery can, as already noted (see Ch. 2.2), be regarded as part of a costume, and the costume can in turn be recognized as a coded sensory system of non-verbal communication that plays a role in human interaction in time and space (Eicher 1999:1). The strength or advantage of costume may indeed reside in the embodied, non-verbal experience produced through the material (the dress-accessories) which it makes available for interaction. The importance of costume in social discourse may thus remain unconscious even though it structures social interaction. Someone who lives in a society in which a strong 'hat code' is in operation (cf. the example from the novel *Howard's End*: Ch. 2.2.1) will, as earlier noted, relate to the norm, whether this be done as a conscious act or not. The acquisition and preservation of costume as a 'semiotic field' in social discourse concerned with cultural group-association can, seen thus, occur through the activation of a cultural disposition towards visual communication through the marking of cultural difference in opposition to specific cultural others in contexts of ethnic negotiation. The costume may thus acquire a function as an instrument or tool in ethnic discourse. The assemblage of dress-accessories and the costume also make it possible for vertical (socially hierarchical) and horizontal group-membership to be symbolized concurrently. The costume can be employed instrumentally in a strategy of differentiation (cf. Pohl ed. 1998), whether that involves cultural, ethnic or social manifestation (cf. Ch. 2.2.1). In what follows, I attempt to enter in a more concrete way into how this was the case in the Migration Period and at the

beginning of the Merovingian Period through an interpretation of the chronological, geographical and contextual distribution patterns which have been revealed by the research above. Since cultural and ethnic costume manifestations in the period appear also to be imbricated with the articulation of gender (cf. Ch. 2.2.3), this topic is also discussed in relation to dress-accessories that are found in certain male-related grave-assemblages.

6.2 THE STANDARDIZATION OF DRESS-ACCESSORIES AND SYSTEMATIC COMMUNICATION: THE CREATION AND DISSEMINATION OF A LANGUAGE OF SYMBOLS

The connection between cultural and ethnic identity and the symbolic language of costume in the period under examination may perhaps best be illustrated through the relief brooches. In phase D1, we see, as noted, wide variation in the form of the brooches, and it has not been possible to define real 'sub-types' at this stage, except possibly in the case of the earliest ridge-foot brooches which in fact become one of the principal types of the following phase. The distribution is also limited, and represented by relatively few specimens overall. In phase D2a, this situation begins to change: three different 'external signs' stand out clearly in the form of the ridge- and plane-foot brooches and relief brooches with semi-circular headplates (types A-5/A-6) respectively. These different forms are found within specific areas even though there is also some degree of overlap between these zones. The form with a semi-circular headplate has the most clearly defined distribution in that it is almost entirely confined to Gotland, Öland and Bornholm. There were also, on the whole, more brooches around than previously. In phase D2b the quantity almost triples, while at the same time a range of regional variants that occur specifically within particular areas are produced. The brooches at this date are very often manufactured in copper alloy rather than the silver that was normal in the earlier phases. What is observable through this process can

be interpreted precisely as the transformation of ‘... habitual material variation into active self-conscious ethnic symbolism ... on the basis of changes in the nature and distribution of the styles involved’ (cf. Ch. 2.1), which according to Jones (1997:126) makes it possible to identify the point at which a material feature starts to be used as an ethnic marker. This comes about through the systematization of specific cultural traits, represented in this case by relief brooches, resulting in ‘... discontinuous, non-random distribution of material culture’ (Jones 2000:454). The distribution pattern reveals that relief brooches were not serving as ethnic/cultural markers in phase D1, but were rather symbols of social hierarchy, as they occur in very richly furnished graves (cf. Ch. 4.2.2.4; see also Kristoffersen 2000:99–100, 105).¹

In order to probe this process of change in a little more detail, the re-organization and systematization that came about through a standardization of the forms of relief brooches and in the distribution of the three separate main types of phase D2a is interpreted as expressing the fact that the function of relief brooches has undergone a transformation, following which they pertain to a level at which they function as super-regional markers of shared identity across major areas. The most clearly defined signal is manifestly encountered on the Baltic islands (in the south-east), where there is least overlap in respect of this class of brooch. There too, the complementary distribution of sub-types A-5 and A-6, which predominate on the islands of Gotland and Bornholm respectively, may represent the manifestation of specific ‘island identities’. At the same time, relief brooches still very probably served as status symbols for an upper rank of society in the various areas of Scandinavia: they were manufactured overwhelmingly in silver, and frequently gilded, and it is clear that they were valuable items of jewellery.

The transformation carried on, and in phase D2b relief brooches were clearly employed as regional markers, albeit now to a large extent in respect of smaller and more sharply defined areas. They also appear by this stage to have shed some of their socially hierarchical significance: the brooches are no longer as expensively styled as they were previously, and they are now used by a wider range of the population. Kristoffersen (2000:105–6, 210) has noted that there is a development in the course of the Migration Period with the earliest relief brooches being large brooches of very high quality, which often occur in richly furnished graves, but subsequently the contexts, size and

quality of the brooches varied increasingly through the course of phases D2a and D2b. The simplest examples, without gilding, are from the last phase of the period of production and distribution, although both extremely valuable and simpler variants occur at the same time in the final two phases. In agreement with this, Meyer (1935:102) remarked that the relief brooches of the simple bronze group, which are of phase D2b, are a simpler type of brooch ‘for women of more modest means’ (translated). Considering that it was only at this date that relief brooches assume the role of ethnic marker in place of cruciform brooches (cf. below), the change in the manner of manufacture may also be cited in support of the view that it was now necessary for a wider spectrum of the population to gain access to the symbol of the group.

The standardization of cruciform brooches and clasps into clearly differentiated sub-types took place earlier than any comparable imposition of normativity affecting relief brooches. The former is evident from as early as phase D1, when Class A clasps were standardized or rendered uniform through the adoption of spiral clasps and ring-shaped clasps with clearly defined distributions, and there are several defined sub-types of cruciform brooch with specific geographical ranges (cf. Ch. 4.2.1.3 and 4.2.3.3). In parallel with this sort of systematization in the production and use of cruciform brooches, however, there was also quite a large number of *unique* cruciform brooches which cannot be assigned to classified sub-types (cf. Chs. 4.2.1.3 and 5.1.3). Such ‘individualistic forms’ of cruciform brooch account for 32 of the total of 139 known specimens of phase D1, and 53 of the total of 409 known specimens of phase D2a. There is thus a proportionally higher percentage of unique brooches at the beginning of the Migration Period than in phase D2a. This can be interpreted as meaning that at the beginning of the Migration Period there was some sort of rooting or consolidation of the relationship between dress-accessories and culture group affiliation, with the costume acquiring a function as a ‘semiotic field’, and that this relationship gradually became part of the habitus in the course of that phase. At the same time, one must note with reservation that as many as 342 cruciform brooches of the individualistic or unclassifiable categories cannot be precisely dated to any one phase (cf. Ch. 4.2.1.5). The fact that unique brooches were still being produced in phase D2a can also be interpreted in terms of there having existed a degree of *flexibility* in the use of cruciform brooches all the time, while normativity appears to have been

1 This is also the case in Anglo-Saxon England (Hines 1997:295–301).

stronger in respect of clasps, both in the case of the metal-wire clasps of phase D1 and the button clasps of the two following phases; there are altogether very few unique specimens of clasp. The possible exceptions in the Scandinavian context are a couple of Class C clasps and a few Class B types that do not have buttons (cf. Ch. 4.2.3.5). These, however, amount to very few clasps in total.

The signalling of identity through the use of female costume appears to have been linked primarily to super-regional levels in phase D1, with the exception of western and northern Norway, where specific types of cruciform brooch can plausibly be accepted as evidence of an incipient demarcation of regional identity, and in Jutland, where ring-shaped clasps were probably used in much the same way. It was first in phase D2a that the general focus shifted and greater importance came to be attached to regional and local group identities *all across* Scandinavia. At the same time, the manifestation of super-regional identities was still maintained in this phase through, for instance, the use of relief brooches, cruciform brooches of Type Mundheim in northern Scandinavia, and some common types of button clasp (type B1 i, B1 iii/B1 ii c, and B1 v). The overall quantity of items of jewellery is at its greatest in phase D2a (see also Hines 1993a:91–5). In this phase, cruciform brooches have a copious distribution (409 specimens); a high proportion of the button clasps are of this phase; and the use of relief brooches is relatively extensive. This can be interpreted in terms of the need to signal affiliation and difference through the use of female costume being *extra strong* at this date, and in terms of this resulting in quite massive investment in group symbolization.

There was thus an intensification of signalling in the course of the second phase of the Migration Period. The female costume appears to have been well established as a semiotic field at this time and to have functioned as an effective means of making visual, or articulating, a perceived reality based upon affiliation and the separation of different cultural and social constellations. I have referred above (Ch. 5.1.1) to how two adjoining areas of Sweden, the Mälars region and Västergötland, differ from one another in terms of the distribution of their own clasp-types and distinct variants of cruciform brooch respectively. Åberg (1953:45–6) sought to explain the absence of cruciform brooches from Svealand/the Mälars region through the isolation of the area (which he counted as part of ‘the Baltic Sea Zone’s cultural territory’) from Norrland, where there were cruciform brooches and which he claimed belonged to a ‘Norwegian’ North Sea Zone. Viewed in the light of the general

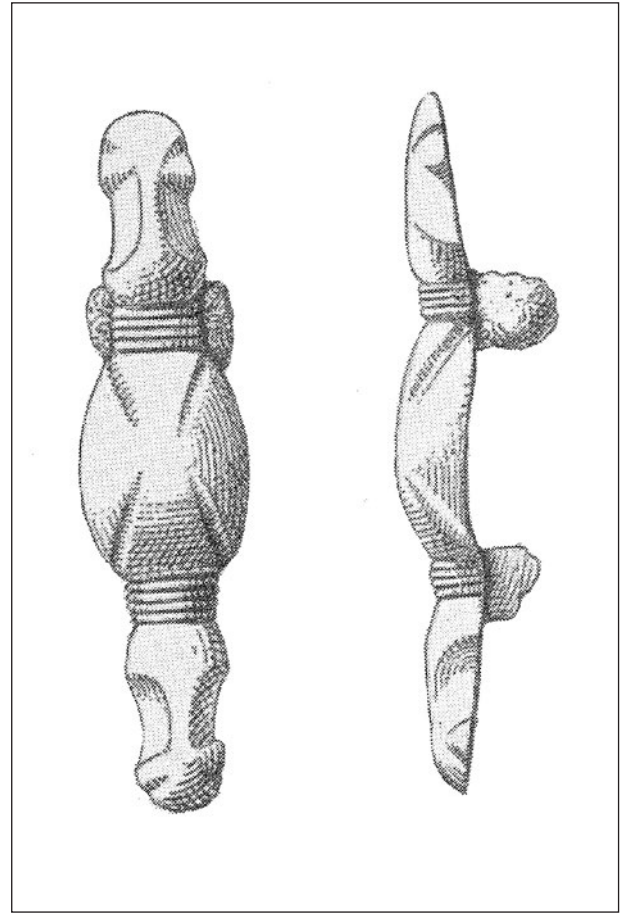


Figure 6.1 ‘Norrland’ Type of equal-armed brooch with animal-head terminal, of unknown provenance, Hälsingland (Hudiksvall museum 7576), after Åberg (1953:fig. 77).

distribution patterns, with greater weight attached to regional differentiation in this phase, the absence of cruciform brooches from the Mälars region could also be interpreted in terms of a need or a wish of the people living there to differentiate themselves from two neighbouring areas, Norrland and Västergötland. Västergötland also, as noted, had its own variants of cruciform brooch (Types Götene and Brunnhem), which differ from those in Norrland. The Norrlandic brooches are largely of the northern Scandinavian common type, Type Mundheim, alongside individualistic examples and unclassifiable brooches. In Norrland – but also in central Sweden and on Gotland – there is, however, also a distinct type of equal-armed brooch with an animal-head terminal (Jørgensen 1994a:530; Åberg 1953:65–9) that appears to have served as a regional marker in the second half of the Migration Period (Fig. 6.1). A complex articulation of identities through the use of jewellery is thus indicated. In order to achieve deeper understanding of costume as a semiotic field it is also necessary to consider in greater detail *the context* of the jewellery by studying how the dress-accessories were worn.

6.3 SETS OF DRESS-ACCESSORIES, MULTIDIMENSIONAL IDENTITIES, AND 'BOUNDARY-BREAKING' FINDS OF JEWELLERY

A more detailed investigation of the immediate contexts of the finds has shown that relief brooches, cruciform brooches and clasps have often been found in mutual combinations, having been worn by one and the same individual (in the burial context at least: cf. Ch. 2.2.2). Distinct regional variants or sub-types were often directly associated in such a way with 'super-regional' types of dress-accessory that are distributed over broader ranges. One example of this is the grave-assemblage from Falkum in Telemark² which contained both a relief brooch of the early ridge-foot type and two cruciform brooches of Type Foldvik-Empingham. In accordance with the concept of multidimensional ethnicity and/or identity (cf. Ch. 2), this is interpretable as an example of how the set of dress-accessories manifests different levels of identity. From such a perspective, the ridge-foot relief brooch should symbolise affiliation to a 'super-regional' group, presumably in north-western Scandinavia, while the cruciform brooches of Type Foldvik-Empingham imply a regional grouping focused upon Vestfold, Telemark and Agder in southern Norway.³ The super-regional identity that is made manifest by means of the relief brooch fastened to the woman's costume is presumably also directly linked to connections within an upper social class, since such brooches were worn by women who belonged to a high rank in society (cf. Ch. 6.2). Features of the Falkum brooch have, however, also been identified which connect this specimen more closely to other relief brooches in this region than to the wider group of ridge-foot brooches (cf. Ch. 4.2.2.5; see also Meyer 1935:9–11). This special design can also be regarded as a means of expression of a local identity.

There are innumerable examples of combinations of dress-accessories that indicate that several different expressions of identity were being made at the same time or in parallel, particularly, perhaps, in the Migration Period, but also in the early Merovingian Period. In a grave-assemblage from Ommundrød in Vestfold⁴ there are, for instance, button clasps of the

common Scandinavian undecorated types (B1i) and with ring-designs (B1iii) – although one of these pairs, the form B1i clasps, might be from a secondary interment: cf. Ch. 4.2.2.4 – together with two cruciform brooches of the regional variant, Type Gjerla, along with a couple of early relief brooches. This could express the signalling of a region affiliation with the population of the Telemark-Vestfold area through the cruciform brooches, concurrently with the clasps representing and articulating connections with a broader Scandinavian zone. The relief brooches appear, as noted, to express a hierarchical social identity at this date: namely, the end of phase D1 or transition D1/D2a. The relief brooches in this assemblage were not fastened to the costume of the deceased, however, but rather were deposited in a box at the feet of the body (cf. Ch. 4.2.2.4; see also Dybsand 1956:22, and also Figs. 4.29–4.30).

Distinct signs and levels of identity can also be manifested through a variety of sub-types or variants of the same principal type; a point that can be illustrated by means of a grave-find from Sagland in Rogaland⁵ which contained three cruciform brooches: one of the local Type Sagland, one of the regional Type Lima, and one of the widely shared northern Scandinavian Type Mundheim (cf. Ch. 4.2.1.5). This may be interpreted in terms of the one person expressing her affiliations to not only a local grouping within Rogaland but also a regional group in south-western Norway and an extensive northern Scandinavian group. A second example is a grave from Versland in Rogaland⁶ in which cruciform brooches of Types Mundheim and Søndre Gammelsrød were found in association. Once again, the two variants of cruciform brooch can be interpreted as expressing group-affiliation with both northern Scandinavian and south-western Norwegian communities. As noted, the use of distinct variants of clasps can also be interpreted in the same sort of way. In a grave-assemblage from Tibble in Uppland, for instance,⁷ both the common Scandinavian type B1i clasps, and the regional variant with running-spiral decoration (B1ii d) which is largely restricted to the Mälars region, were found. The deceased may thus have been clothed in a costume which manifested connections with both of those different regional groupings.

2 C21856.

3 It is possible that Type Foldvik-Empingham also implies a connection with England, but Reichstein's study of the cruciform brooches from England (which might support this view) has been criticised from various quarters (Hines 1984:28, 250–2; Mortimer 1990:39–41, 149), and the Anglo-Saxon links of this type should consequently be regarded as uncertain in this particular case.

4 C29300.

5 S6385.

6 S1433–37.

7 SHM29348:5.

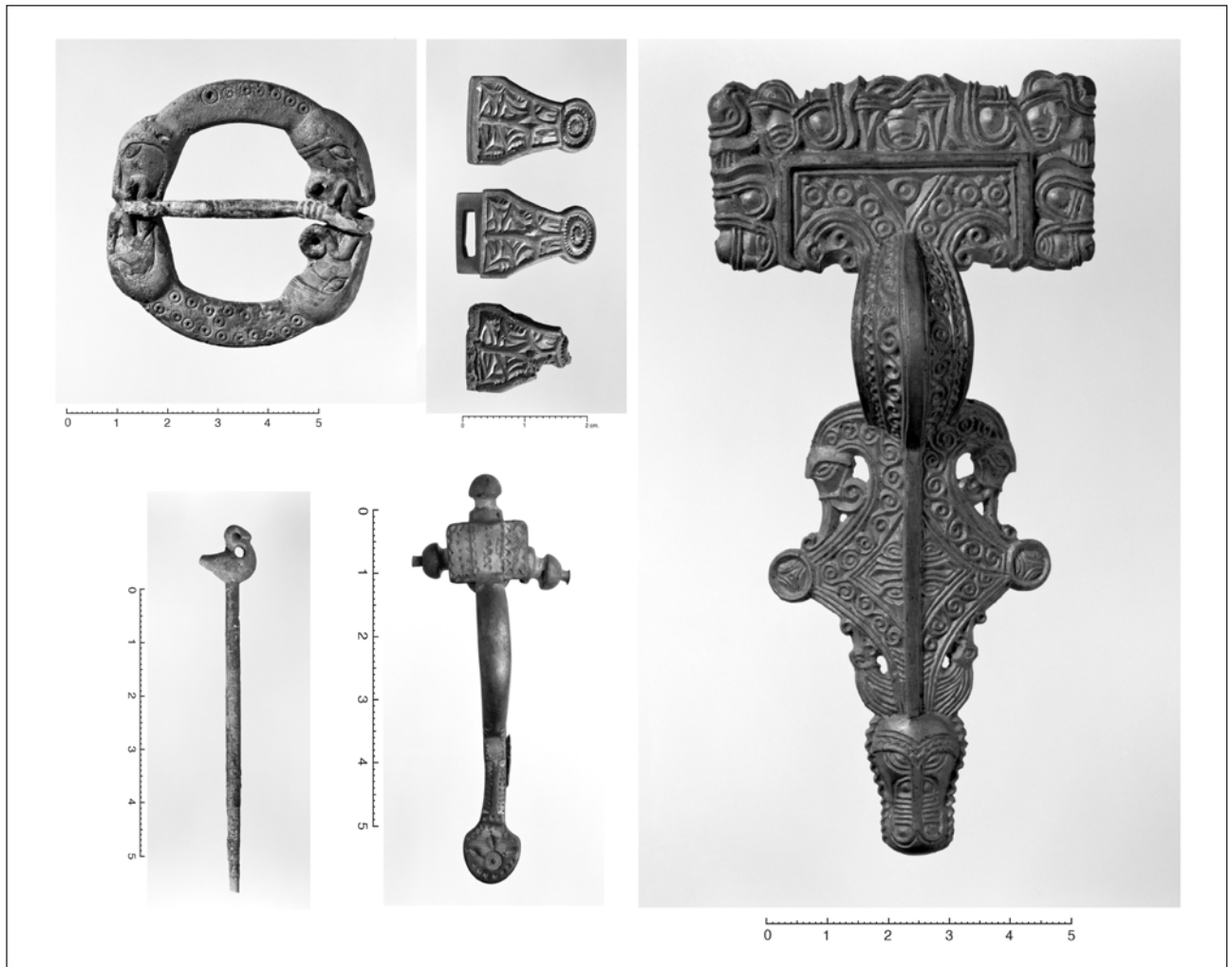


Figure 6.2 Jewellery from the double grave at Kvåle, Sogn og Fjordane (B13954): ring ('annular') brooch, clasps, bird pin, cruciform brooch and relief brooch. Photograph: Ann-Mari Olsen. © University Museum of Bergen.

A related and particularly interesting case of what appear to be different levels of signalling is the already discussed find from Kvåle in Sogn, which contained a ridge-foot relief brooch which has features in common with some Gotlandic relief brooches with semi-circular headplates (Kristoffersen 2000:363; cf. Ch. 4.2.2.5). The deceased woman was also wearing a peculiar ring brooch with cast animal-head terminals. Also found in the grave – which housed two individuals: a girl and an adult woman (cf. Ch. 3.1.1 and 4.2.2.5) – was a pair of triangular, cast clasps with zoomorphic ornament (form C2) of a type which has otherwise only been found in two hoards from Västergötland in Sweden and one Jutlandic grave-find, a bird pin, and a pair of special silver cruciform brooches with a disc at the terminal of the foot (Fig. 6.2). On the basis of the relief brooch, the form C2 clasps, the ring brooch, the silver cruciform brooches, and also a glass bowl and a foreign type of key, Kristoffersen (2000:140–1) has argued that the adult woman in this grave had been married into the local population from southern

Sweden or Gotland in the context of alliance politics between these areas.

It is difficult to determine which objects were directly associated with the girl and which with the woman (Ch. 3.1.1 and 4.2.2.5). They were probably interred at the same time (Fig. 6.3). Kristoffersen (2000:109–10) is of the opinion that both the clasps and the silver and copper-alloy cruciform brooches probably belonged to the adult female. From their positions, however, I believe that the silver cruciform brooches, the form C2 clasps and the bird pin could just as well have belonged to the juvenile. It would appear that beads had been spread across both of the dead (Røstad 2008a:442). Either way, both the relief brooch and one copper-alloy cruciform brooch can with tolerable confidence be said to have been part of the woman's costume. This is of interest because this cruciform brooch is a variant of Type Mo: in other words a western Norwegian type that is found only in Sogn og Fjordane (cf. Ch. 4.2.1.5). The woman was thus furnished with a set of jewellery that signalled

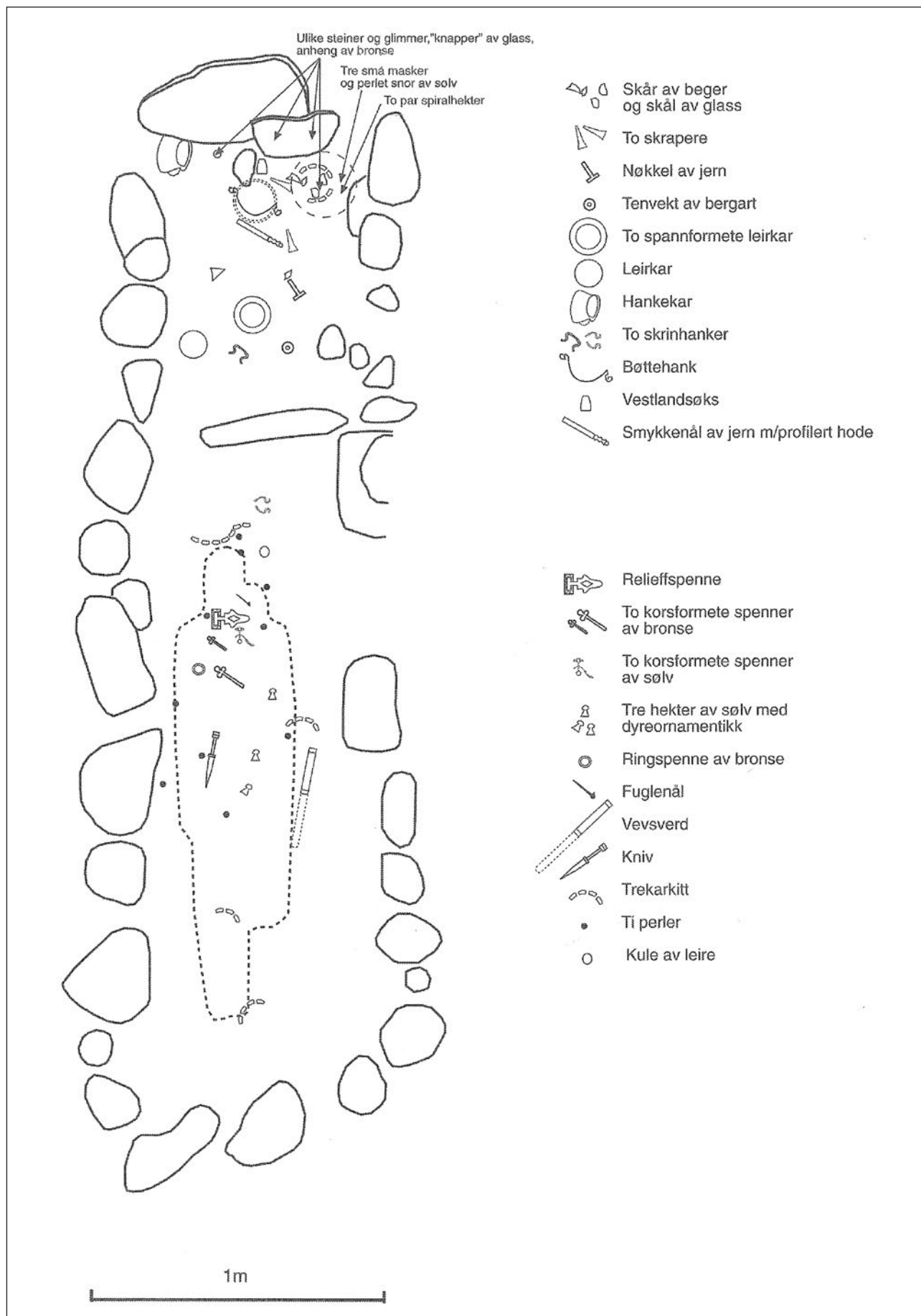


Figure 6.3 Plan of the Kvåle grave (B13954), after Kristoffersen (2000:386).

both local affiliation and a more distant connection. The latter was manifested not only through the ring brooch (and possibly the silver cruciform brooches) but also through the relief brooch: an item of jewellery of a type which at this date (phase D2a) is linked to an upper rank of society. The relief brooch, nevertheless, does not have a semi-circular headplate as was usual on Gotland in this phase, but instead a rectangular headplate and a ridged foot congruent with a primarily northern Scandinavian tradition, even though it also has details which form links with Gotlandic brooches (cf. Ch. 4.2.2.5; see also Kristoffersen 2000:363).⁸ It is possible that the triangular clasps (form C2) in the find also represent an alien costume element since clasps of this type only otherwise occur in southern Scandinavia (cf. Ch. 4.2.3.5; Kristoffersen 2000:141).

Dress-accessories as costume components thus represent the potential of expressing group-affiliation in a complex manner by allowing one and the same individual simultaneously to express connections with different communities at a range of levels. The contextual analysis of the Scandinavian jewellery-types (Ch. 4.2.1–4.2.3) has shown that the individual items are found in a range of combinations, and that the numbers of such dress-accessories vary considerably from grave to grave. Kristoffersen (2000:107–12) has undertaken similar analyses of relief brooches that have been found in contexts within the coastal provinces of Norway, from Vestfold round to and including Sogn og Fjordane. She has shown that the relief brooches appear in combinations with a wide range of different brooches and dress-accessories across this area. From the positioning of the brooches in relation to the bodies, she concluded that relief brooches were probably used in connection with a range of different costumes, and that their use seems to have been independent of the type of costume. Kristoffersen pointed out that the relief brooches occur, as a rule, *in addition* to a ‘complete’ set of dress-accessories – that is, of a set consisting of a pair of brooches with or without a third brooch. She took the view that the different costumes may have represented social or regional variance. My own study has shown that certain variants, for instance the use of paired brooches in the Merovingian Period in northern Norway and, secondly, of double sets of brooch-pairs and an ‘up-and-down’ placement of cruciform brooches in the Kvassheim

cemetery, may be interpreted as regionally and locally conditioned respectively. In this view, even the *mode of wearing* may form part of costume manifestation. Might it be possible to imagine that relief brooches, in phases D1 and D2a, were worn on special occasions in which it was a matter of interest or significance to reflect one particular social and/or cultural affiliation rather than another, whereas in daily life it was most important to communicate a regional and/or local identity? Magnus (1995:39; 1999b:164, 167) has suggested, in this regard, that relief brooches were used by special women of higher social level who had definite roles in the course of particular rites or rituals, and that in those circumstances the brooches expressed a common mythical origin and group identity. This could, if so, be comprehensible in a manner consistent with the proposition that the culturally ‘ethnic’ component varies according to the specific situation that the communication of cultural difference occurs within (Jones 1997:97).

6.3.1 Jewellery as the expression of exogamous connections

Finds of ‘foreign’ types of dress-accessory and/or sets of jewellery which are specifically associable with other areas have traditionally been interpreted as the product of *exogamy* – that is, the custom of marrying outside a community. In the context of what is being discussed here, this implies that the women were originally coming from another place. For the most part, such interpretations have involved finds on the Continent or in England, including ‘Scandinavian’ women who had migrated to those areas (Arrhenius 1995a:87–90; Effros 2004; Hakenbeck 2004:49–51; Hawkes and Pollard 1981:326, 330–40; 2006:122, 128, 159–60; Koch 1999:183; Magnus 1999b: 167; 2004b; 2007; Vallet 1993; Vierck 1981:68; Werner 1970:75–81; 1981).⁹ This is probably due to the fact that such an interpretative model very much presupposes that there are defined regional sets of dress-accessories available which make it possible to distinguish foreign elements and to associate them with some specific area. As I have discussed previously (Ch. 1), on the whole there is a lack of defined regional sets of dress-accessories of that kind for Scandinavia (see also Arrhenius 1995a:90).

⁸ It may also be tempting to speculate on whether or not the spiral clasps which formed part of the furnishings (cf. Ch. 4.2.3) belonged to or were sewn on to an everyday garment which it was not appropriate to be wearing in this special funerary context, but which the woman, or perhaps the girl, used on a daily basis, and thus also participated in the reproduction of a ‘north-western Scandinavian’ identity.

⁹ There are exceptions: for example Kristoffersen’s (2000:140–1) interpretation noted just above, and Straume’s (1995) or Bergljot Solberg’s (1996; 2000:161) interpretations of certain Norwegian women’s graves which suggest exogamous connections within Norway and Scandinavia.



Figure 6.4 Cruciform brooch similar to Type Lima and a bird pin from Näs, Medelpad (SHM031286/A5). Photograph: S. Hallgren. © Swedish History Museum (CC BY).

In the analysis above, however, what we may call ‘outliers’ or ‘abnormalities’ can be demonstrated within the distribution patterns of most of the selected regional or local Scandinavian types of dress-accessory. In the case of the relief brooches, this can be illustrated through the finding of a brooch that belongs to the northern ridge-foot group in Denmark, the finding of a brooch of the Rogaland group at Isesjøen in Østfold, and the finding of a brooch of the Gotlandic group at Trygslad in Vest-Agder. Other such examples are: a find from Näs in Medelpad, Sweden (Fig. 6.4)¹⁰ which includes a cruciform brooch similar to the type of south-western Norway, Type Lima, and a bird pin (type A1) – a combination of dress-accessories which recurs also in three grave-assemblages from Rogaland; the finding of a cruciform brooch of the North Jutlandic Type Sejlflod (variant 1) at Hamrevik in Bohuslän;¹¹ and the finding of a typically

eastern Swedish domed button clasp (type B1 vi) from Linnestad in Vestfold.¹² Another case is the woman buried in the Krosshaug barrow at Klepp on Jæren in Rogaland,¹³ who was furnished with ‘Jutlandic’ ring-shaped clasps (type A2a) and a ‘south-western Scandinavian’ relief brooch (of the early ridge-foot type with a rectangular headplate) that has typically ‘southern Scandinavian’ spiral ornament. Such finds could potentially represent exogamous connections. An alternative proposed explanatory model for comparable finds of women buried with ‘foreign’ jewellery is that these represent women who had accompanied male warriors to foreign lands. Ursula Koch (1999:180, 183, 191), for instance, has interpreted the Bavarian finds of a moulded pin in a female grave at Schretzheim (grave 177) and of a Jutlandic type of de luxe brooch from Neresheim (grave 20) as showing that the women who were buried in these two places were originally from, respectively, central Sweden and from Jutland but had come along with a military band, and so subsequently dwelt amongst Thuringian families who had settled alongside the Danube.

It is, however, important to remember in this context that the individual who was wearing the ‘foreign’ dress-accessories will not necessarily have been of foreign cultural and/or ethnic origin. There is no obligatory one-to-one relationship between the ‘biological’ ethnicity of the wearer and the geographical ‘place’ of an item or set of jewellery (Ch. 1.2.2), as is often implied in exogamy interpretations. A woman was buried at Veiberg in Sunnmøre in phase D1 of the Migration Period, for example, furnished with a necklace of glass beads including what is known as a face bead, which is probably from Constantinople in the East Roman Empire. This woman should not be regarded as having been born in the East Roman Empire on that basis, although on the basis of the other jewellery she was wearing, including two small bow brooches with an attached copper-alloy chain and a moulded ring, it has been suggested that she was originally from the Baltic region, or possibly from Agder (Solberg 1996).¹⁴ The Veiberg woman was also wearing a pair of cruciform brooches of Type Lunde and spiral clasps (type A1) that were common forms of dress-accessory in western Norway. The face bead cannot be regarded as having participated in any form of systematic communication of cultural difference,

10 SHM031286/A5: Näs, Skön parish, Medelpad.

11 SHM? Fl. 8.

12 C30166c.

13 B2269–99.

14 Attention should be drawn, however, to the fact that copper-alloy chains are possibly rather more commonly found in southern Norway than Solberg (1996) would lead one to believe.

but I have argued that the cruciform brooches and clasps, amongst other items, represent just such a form of communication (Ch. 6.2). Again, what emerges is the use of a set of dress-accessories which articulates different dimensions of affiliation, and, if the small bow brooches with the attached copper-alloy chain and the moulded ring did contribute to the systematic communication of cultural difference, we may also – possibly – be dealing with the manifestation of a ‘foreign’ identity.

One can suppose that the use of ‘foreign’ dress-accessories could represent other types of contact besides marriage alliances, for instance the exchange of gifts between leading families, chieftains and/or petty kings and the like in different regions. Magnus (2006:405), for example, has interpreted finds of ‘Swedish’ equal-armed relief brooches in Finland as diplomatic gifts. Gift-giving in the upper range of society in the form of garments and jewellery is documented in written sources from a slightly later period: at the beginning of the 9th century, a Frankish king gave a Danish prince, amongst other things, Frankish clothing and jewellery as a baptismal gift (Lynch 1986:175–7). From contemporary Continental and Anglo-Saxon documentary sources we also know that the fostering of one another’s children was relatively common amongst the upper levels of society (Crawford 1999:122–38). Was it perhaps the case that women who were brought up in fosterage away from home, thus acquiring cultural roots in different areas, wished to signal this duality through the use of types of dress-accessory from both regions? It is a matter of debate, however, whether the fostering of *girls* was a common cultural practice in this period (Crawford 1999:126; Evans 1997:118–20). Some historical sources indicate that this did take place, at least in the Late Anglo-Saxon Period/Viking Period,¹⁵ and within contemporary Celtic societies in the Migration Period (Crawford 1999:126; but see Evans 1997:118–20 for an opposite view). The previously discussed form C2 clasps in the Kvåle burial could, in light of this, manifest the southern Scandinavian cultural origin of the girl buried there – or possibly that of the adult woman (cf. above) – while the cruciform brooches, and the bird

pin, allude to a regional Norwegian grouping in the area in which she was resident and was buried. It is possible, however, for an ‘inverse’ interpretation to be suggested for the adult woman: that she was fostered in a Swedish area, and took back to her place of birth those cultural markers from that Swedish area, in order to make known the ‘foreign’ aspect of her identity.

‘Cross-border’ jewellery finds of this kind occur all over north-western Europe in the Migration Period. It would seem, too, that there is a consistent feature: ‘foreign’ types of dress-accessories regularly show signs of having been manufactured locally – in other words they were produced in the areas in which they eventually ended up in the ground, or at the very least differ from their ‘parallels’ in the ‘area of origin’ in the same way as the ‘Gotlandic’ relief brooch from Kvåle does. The nominally ‘Scandinavian’ or ‘Nordic’ relief brooches from the Continent and England exemplify this. Although the relief brooches have unambiguous Scandinavian models, they are shaped in ways that reveal that they nevertheless are quite distinct from Scandinavian specimens (Haseloff 1981:708; Hines 1997:233). In the case of the Anglo-Saxon great square-headed brooches, for instance, one such telling feature is the length of the bow, which is conspicuously shorter than on the Scandinavian counterparts (Hines 1997:233). Cruciform brooches, which are found over a wide area of Europe and which have, amongst other things, been accepted as evidence for a North German or Anglian, and Jutish, migration to England, are also shaped differently on either side of the North Sea (Mortimer 1990:17). There was also local manufacture of what are known as ‘Danubian’ brooches (often referred to as ‘Visigothic’ brooches) in those parts of Frankish territory that lie in what is today France (Effros 2004:181). The American historian Bonnie Effros (2004:176–9) has, corroboratively, pointed out that these ‘Frankish’ ‘Visigothic’ brooches ‘have surprisingly few parallels in regions which the Visigoths are known from written sources to have inhabited at the same period.’

The form of these local variants of foreign items of jewellery shows that the objects were not imported from somewhere else even though the type itself is

15 According to Snorri’s Kings’ Sagas, there were several examples of the practice of fostering including girls in Viking-age Scandinavia. In *Ynglinga saga*, there is an account of Queen Gauthild, daughter of the king of Gautland (*Götaland*) and married to the King of the Svear, Ingjald, sending their son for fosterage with her own foster-father Bove, in Västergötland. Gyda, daughter of the King of Hordaland, was, according to *Haralds saga ins hárfagra*, fostered by a powerful farmer in Valdres. In *Óláfs saga Tryggvasonar*, the foster-parents of Astrid from Obrestad, the mother of Olav Tryggveson, and of Tyre, daughter of the King of the Danes, are referred to. In *Óláfs saga ins helga*, Astrid, daughter of the King of the Swedes Olav Eiriksson and wife of Olav Haraldsson, grew up in the home of a chieftain in Västergötland. In the cases of both Gauthild and the two Astrids, it is also noted that the biological father was still alive when his daughters reached adult age. In my view, this indicates that this custom was practised in the same way for both girls and boys, in that the children were sent away to be fostered even while their biological parents were still alive.

originally from there. What appears to have been local production of 'foreign' dress-accessories indicates that the objects were not brought from elsewhere, but were deliberately made with the objective of copying such pieces in certain other areas (Arrhenius 1995a:91; Effros 2004:181; Haseloff 1981:708; Røstad 2001:44–5, 77–9; Straume 1995:98; Vallet 1993:118). Another feature that is recurrent with examples of such 'foreign' items of jewellery is that, as was the case with the Kvåle find, they were usually used in combination with local items, and that their positioning is also often consistent with the local costume style (Effros 2004:181; Hakenbeck 2004; 2006:128, 131; Koch 1999:176, 177, 181–3; Owen-Crocker 2004:91–2; Røstad 2001:47–78; 2003:10). What these 'cross-border' finds may reveal more than anything else, then, are the extant connections between far-distant areas and the general knowledge that *some people* at least must have had concerning the use of items of jewellery in other surrounding, and more remote, areas.

Irrespective of what such 'foreign' dress-accessories represent, their use can be regarded as a deliberate manifestation of a foreign-looking connection, and an aspect of the wearer's cultural identity. This can be illustrated through Migration-period burials in a cemetery at Altenerding in Bavaria (Sage 1984). In this cemetery, several women with artificially modified skulls were interred. The modification of the skull was a custom practised at the end of the 4th and beginning of the 5th centuries in south-eastern Europe (Buchet and Pilet 1994:123; Hakenbeck 2009) and has traditionally been regarded as an ethnic marker linked to the Huns (Werner 1956:11–17). The feature has, however, also been attributed to other ethnic groups, including the Burgundians, the Goths, the Alemanni, the Gepids, the Avars, and the Alans (Buchet 1988:64; Effros 2004:182; Hakenbeck 2009:3; Werner 1956:17). Without adopting a position over whether or not modification of the skull can be assigned to a particular ethnic group, it is possible to accept this as an ethnic feature which in Migration-period western and central Europe was understood to mark a south-eastern (Asian/Oriental) connection and possibly also ethnic origin (Buchet 1988:65). In the period of c. AD 450–550, individuals with artificially modified skulls are found in a number of cemeteries in central Europe. Generally, these are women, more often relatively elderly individuals. However, skull modification does *not* appear to have been a custom in these central European areas. For one thing, there is no sign of this

practice having been carried out on any children buried there – artificial cranial modification has to be carried out in earliest infancy, because then the skull is 'soft' and can be moulded. For another thing, the number of individuals with modified skulls found in graves in central Europe is relatively low. We can, therefore, conclude that these elderly women with artificially modified skulls who have been found in graves in central Europe were of eastern origin (Hakenbeck 2009:7). The modification of the skull involves the skull being pressed together and elongated, thus changing the facial features to produce an 'Asiatic'-looking appearance (Buchet 1988:61). The women from Bavaria with elongated skulls have 'morphological characteristics' which imply a south-eastern European origin. Because of their modified skulls, they stood out physically, and yet these 'culturally foreign', possibly south-eastern European, women were still wearing a costume with a set of dress-accessories that was consistent with local fashion and similar to the majority of the other women interred in the cemetery. It appears, likewise, to have been the norm all over western and central Europe in the second half of the 5th century and first half of the 6th for eastern 'Asiatic/Oriental' women with modified skulls to be buried in local costume (Hakenbeck 2006:181–3; 2009:7). Contrarily, one woman at Altenerding who did *not* have an elongated skull, was provided with a 'North European' peplos-dress and buried with 'Scandinavian' types of dress-accessory which were placed as if in a typically 'Scandinavian' set (Hakenbeck 2004:49–51; 2006:122, 128; Werner 1970:78–81). This 'Scandinavian' woman very probably did not stand apart by dint of some 'foreign' physical appearance, but it was *her* cultural difference, that was emphasized in her mode of dress and the burial rite.

Another example which serves to illuminate the use of foreign jewellery for the deliberate manifestation of cultural and/or ethnic identity can be taken from a Migration-period cemetery at Saint-Martin-de-Fortenay in Normandy, where seven interred individuals had artificially modified skulls. Six of these had not been buried with jewellery that signals any cultural or ethnic affiliation, but the seventh, a woman (in grave 300), was interred with jewellery that can be considered typical of the south-eastern Danubian zone and the area north of the Black Sea. Such artefacts are often referred to as 'Visigothic', and the area of origin and core region of distribution of these items appears, potentially, to agree with the source of the practice

of modification of skulls.¹⁶ The brooches, however, are decorated with (Romano-)Germanic geometrical chip-carved decoration, and the distribution of 'Visigothic' brooches with this sort of decoration is concentrated in the central Rhineland and westwards, north of the Seine. The woman in this grave was also wearing these supposedly 'Visigothic' brooches horizontally, or at an angle with the headplate pointing downwards, positioned side-by-side above one another and very low down to one side of the chest/upper body. This is consistent with local, northern French 'Frankish' practice and is not consistent with the *mode Danubienne*, where one brooch on each shoulder is the norm (Buchet and Pilet 1994:119, 121; Effros 2004:182; Pilet et al. 1994:99–105; Vallet 1995:88–91). Physical anthropological study has shown that this woman was also different in terms of, inter alia, stature and skeletal build (Alduc-le Bagousse and Buchet 1990:111–12). This woman therefore not only manifested a cultural and/or ethnic connection with areas further east 'physically' on the basis of the implications of her elongated skull, of her appearance and of her use of jewellery, but concurrently also expressed a degree of local belonging through how the items of jewellery were fastened on her dress and how they were decorated.

Examples of this kind show that foreign origin or a different cultural background would not necessarily be reflected in the mode of dress and the set of jewellery *directly*.¹⁷ In cases of the use of 'foreign' jewellery, it is, however, probable that these do manifest some identity, or aspect, of the deceased which, in that person's own time, it was considered necessary or desirable to express (cf. Hakenbeck 2004:49–51; 2006:159–60, 228–9). The use of foreign dress-accessories stands out in its contemporary context as a 'divergent' habit of clothing, and this is decisive in its semiotics (see also Kaiser 1983:3):

...normative behaviour in dress is not seen by society; it is 'invisible' in seeming to be 'naturally' appropriate. Deviant behaviour, on the other hand, is seen. It is seen as an intentional form of communication which stands out and directs attention to itself [...]. Deviance is an 'interruption of symbolic order'. Thus the deviant burials must be regarded as bearing a message, which would be understood by those burying

them, one equal in importance to, but different from, the normative burials. [...] That the living *chose* to differentiate a person from the others around, and perpetuate this difference into death, must have been intentional behaviour (Pader 1980:155).

As far as the 'Scandinavian', or possibly even 'Swedish', woman from grave 421 at Altenerding in Bavaria is concerned (Werner 1970:78–81), for example, it may have been important, for some reason or another, to allude to a foreign, Scandinavian link or to the fact that the deceased was of Scandinavian descent. The identification of this woman's jewellery as 'Scandinavian' or 'Swedish' is debatable, however. Bitner-Wróblewska (2001:84, 88, 197) argues that the brooches in the grave are of a Baltic type but had been made in a Scandinavian workshop. Magnus (2004b:281) for her part declares that '...no grave find with a set of jewellery similar to that of the Altenerding grave is known from Scandinavia. It comprises an unusual mixture of Baltic and Anglo-Saxon items, and the only items that may tentatively be labelled Scandinavian are the two dress pins.' The two dress pins are what are known as moulded-head pins: a type that is found primarily in the Mälars region (Waller 1996). However, there are no *identical* pins from Scandinavia, because the Bavarian finds differ from their Swedish counterparts, as Magnus (2004b:275) points out, by having flat and perforated, mushroom-shaped heads. The imitation of an originally Scandinavian type of dress-accessory, and the placement of these items on the costume in accordance with Scandinavian and/or northern European models, appears perhaps most of all as a wish to preserve a 'foreign' identity, at one level at least. A possibly related case from Scandinavia is the grave-find from Medelpad already discussed,¹⁸ with a set of jewellery of 'south-western Norwegian' character, including a bird pin and a cruciform brooch that is like Type Lima. This brooch, however, diverges from its Norwegian relatives by lacking 'wings' on the bow.

An interesting phenomenon related to the finding of 'foreign' items of jewellery, and perhaps particularly relief brooches, is the fact that in some cases these had remained in circulation for an extended period before they ended up in a grave (see, e.g., Hines 1997:226). This can be deduced from contemporary repairs and

16 This means the area of origin of this practice *in the Migration Period*. The practice has been found more or less throughout prehistory and in diverse parts of the world (Buchet 1988).

17 That there is no direct link between the use of ethnic markers and biological descent is also shown by strontium isotope analyses from England (Lucy 2005:106).

18 SHM031286/A5: Näs, Skön parish, Medelpad.



Figure 6.5 Swedish equal-armed relief brooch and reconstructed costume from Szentes-Nagyhegy grave 84, after Magnus (2007: *Abbn.* 2 and 13).

severe wear on the brooches. In Anglo-Saxon England, for instance, there is one such ‘old’ relief brooch in a rich female grave from Finglesham, Kent, grave D3. The brooch, with a pair of gold bracteates (Chadwick 1958:fig. b, e-f), is interpreted as an heirloom, or family treasure, which signalled the Jutish origin of the woman buried here (Hawkes and Pollard 1981:326, 330–40). A woman buried in Szentes-Nagyhegy in Hungary, grave 84, with an equal-armed relief brooch that was old and worn when it was deposited in the grave, is interpreted in the same way (Fig. 6.5): in this case in terms of the signalling of an eastern

Swedish/Scandinavian family connection (Magnus 1999b:166–7; 2007:177, 190).

This sort of depositional custom implies that there may exist a certain time-lag between, for instance, the relief brooches which had been in circulation for a relatively long time and other items of jewellery and objects in the grave-assemblage – a phenomenon that is frequently referred to in an English context as *the heirloom factor* (Hawkes and Pollard 1981:326, 340; Leigh 1980:17; Mortimer 1990:110). This phenomenon could also be linked to several of the Scandinavian relief brooches of phase D1 that occur in phase-D2a contexts (cf. Ch. 4.2.2.4). Examples of this are, for

instance, the two relief brooches from Tu in Klepp, Rogaland and Vik in Fjære, Aust-Agder, which are older than the other dress-accessories in the grave-assemblages and both of which show evidence of wear before they were buried in the graves (Kristoffersen 2000:266–7, 318; Schetelig 1917b:198). In this phase, what the Scandinavian relief brooches manifested was, first and foremost, super-regional connections and high social status. This is intrinsically able to support the view that the Scandinavian brooches were also heirlooms. These ‘family treasures’ stand out in the European context because they often appear to represent genuinely imported objects: items of jewellery that had been carried from one area to another. Such imported objects are few, however, in comparison with the total quantity of finds of ‘foreign’ dress-accessories – for instance only two Anglo-Saxon great square-headed brooches out of some two hundred specimens distributed in England (Hines 1997:1, 11, 233), and about five out of a hundred Kentish square-headed brooches (Haseloff 1981:21–3; Leigh 1980:11–34), are considered to be genuine imports from Scandinavia. Most of the ‘cross-finds’, by contrast, were locally manufactured (cf. above).

Items of jewellery that were locally made and therefore should be counted as ‘imitations’ can represent neither that sort of old heirloom that has been brought to a foreign place nor imported ‘exchange goods’ or gifts. The traditional interpretation, as noted, is that marriage connections and alliances between kin-groups in different areas were expressed by means of the curatorial of such ‘external’ or foreign costume elements (Engevik 2007:174; Koch 1999:183; Kristoffersen 2000:140; Solberg 1996; 2000:161). When this type of find is considered in a more general fashion as the expression of family links and/or alliances between kin-groups independent of the individual’s – i.e. the person who was wearing the jewellery – ‘biological’ descent and the place where the jewellery was manufactured, the ‘cross-finds’ are able to represent super-regional connections, such as ancestors in other areas (cf. Koch 1999:180), political alliances (including those created by the mutual fostering of children), or marriage connections; but first and foremost the manifestation of a level of identity as ‘foreign’. In this context it is, moreover, interesting to return to the burial find from Kvåle in Sogndal (Ch. 6.3), and ask if some of the ‘foreign’ (south-eastern Swedish) items of jewellery belonged to the young girl, as I have suggested. If they did, this would imply that both the adult woman and the young girl were wearing ‘foreign’ jewellery. The find could then be interpreted as one in which foreign ancestry or connections were signalled

in more than one successive generation, and that, in turn, could be understood as the active maintenance of ethnic association.

Such an interpretation of the distribution of foreign items of jewellery also implies that those items of jewellery which *belong* to their home territory, in geographical terms, express family links and/or alliances between kin-groups. This means, further, that the majority of the family connections and alliances existed at a local or regional level. Ethnological sources show, however, that practices can vary when it comes to regional or local costumes and whether or not women change costume when entering into marriage. In some cases the custom may be for the bride to change her costume and to observe the local mode in the area she has moved into, while other examples reveal that negotiations over a possible change of costume can precede the marriage itself and that a change of costume will not necessarily accompany a ‘cross-connection’ through marriage between different costume areas (Straume 1995:99).

Straume (1995:99–100) also drew attention to an interesting ethnological analogue which she considered might serve as a model for a social ‘farmer rank’ in Migration-period Germanic society: the marriage patterns in Valdres c. AD 1600–1850 (Saugstad et al. 1976). During this period of some 250 years only 1–2% of a total of about 1,900 marriages involved someone from Valdres marrying someone from neighbouring areas or districts (Nord-Aurdal and Lærdal). The rest of the marriages were arranged between relatives in Valdres. In half of the cases the distance between the bride and the groom was less than five kilometres. This was despite the fact that the royal road between Bergen and Oslo passed through Valdres, which might lead one to expect greater contact between settlements. The marriages referred to involved those of the rank of ‘farmer’, and the relatively narrow geographical framework within which marriages were contracted may have had its roots in a desire or a strategy to keep the land as far as possible ‘in the family’ and to reinforce and stabilize the social structures of the local community, such as relationships with neighbours, by means of marriage alliances (Saugstad et al. 1976 in Straume 1995:99–100). From this analogous case, it may then be correct that jewellery signals the fact that kin-group connections and alliances in the Migration Period were above all local. The ethnological sources also indicate that the use of costume and dress-accessories was a conscious choice and a deliberate decision in the context of exogamy. The latter supports the proposition that the external associations represent a deliberate signalling of ‘foreignness’.

6.4 THE CONSOLIDATION OF REGIONAL GROUP IDENTITIES

Turning back to the overall distribution patterns within Scandinavia, a range of changes came about when the cruciform brooches fell out of use at the transition to phase D2b and relief brooches apparently took over as regional group markers (cf. Ch. 5.1.1). To begin with, the number of markers diminished at this threshold, with a total of 125 relief brooches, contrasted with 409 cruciform brooches in the preceding phase. (I am keeping the button clasps, which occur in both phases, out of the reckoning here, but shall return to them shortly.) The reduction in the quantity of items of jewellery can be interpreted as a reduction in investment in group symbols. Some caution is necessary here, however, because the reduction may be attributable to other factors or to changes in society. Several scholars have claimed, for instance, that there was a natural catastrophe around AD 536–7, with subsequent famine and epidemic plague which in the end led to a dramatic fall in population levels in Scandinavia and the rest of Europe alike (Gräslund 2008; Jensen 2004:136–40; Solberg 2000:197–8, 201–2). A social development in the direction of greater centralization of power and political stability has also been seen as the reason for, overall, diminished investment in grave deposition towards the end of the Migration Period and at the transition to the Merovingian Period (see, e.g., Myhre 1992b:164; 2003:85–6; Solberg 2000:176; Ystgaard 2014:261–4, and cf. Ch. 7.1.1). The reduction in the number of brooches could thus be seen as a consequence of a population decline, or of a reduced need for social marking because of the consolidation of political power. I return to political development in the following chapter.

There was, however, another change involved in the transition from cruciform to relief brooches. Compared with the relatively high number of unique (individualistic) cruciform brooches of phase D2a, there are few unique relief brooches in phase D2b which cannot be grouped within some regional sub-type. Of the 125 relief brooches of this phase there are only nine unique or individualistic brooches which cannot be assigned in that way (three by the Ågedal master, one which is defined as a ‘copy’ of the Ågedal master, two individualistic brooches, and the brooches which Meyer (1935) labelled ‘three late works’).¹⁹

Six of these brooches are dated by Meyer (1935) to stadium 5.²⁰ Although no great weight is attached to the distinction between Meyer’s two latest stadia here, since they together constitute phase D2b, it is possible that these brooch-variants of stadium 5, together with the specimen that is dated to the transition between stadia 4 and 5, belong to an early part of phase D2b. In a couple of these finds²¹ the unique or individualistic relief brooches occur in association with ‘untypical’ cruciform brooches, supporting an early dating within phase D2b or around the transition of D2a/D2b, since the latter brooches disappear in phase D2b. The individualistic relief brooches may therefore represent some sort of ‘experimentation’, such as attempting new designs, which did not take root, in a transitional period before the new types became established, as has also been argued in the case of the type C1i clasps, above (Ch. 4.2.3.7).

In the case of clasps, too, there are extremely few unique examples. It is only clasps of the bar-type and a couple of Class C clasps that stand out (cf. Chs. 4.2.3 and 6.2). It is harder to demonstrate any reduction in the distribution of clasps in phase D2b compared with the foregoing phase, but in any event no *new* types of clasps were introduced in the concluding phase of the Migration Period. This phase is thus characterized by standardization in the use of clasps.

The ‘thorough systematization’ that generally marks phase D2b in respect of relief brooches and clasps may possibly mean that the situation in respect of the signalling of identity was no longer experienced as being as flexible as it had been. This restriction in the use of brooches and clasps, and the general reduction in the quantity of ‘items of marker jewellery’ in this phase compared with its predecessor, could possibly be explained in terms of the regional groupings having become so thoroughly established by then that there was no longer any need to invest so much in their material manifestation. At the same time, the apparent lack of flexibility can also be interpreted as meaning that alternative affiliations and groupings on top of the already extant regional groupings were no longer available as ‘self-identification options’, as they had been before. Put another way, this could be seen as expressing the fact that potential levels of identity for individual group members were fewer than in the preceding phase. This could indicate that geographical

19 Respectively B3410: Ågedal, Vest-Agder; C7454: Gyland, Vest-Agder; S1969: Fristad, Rogaland; unnumbered: Vik, Aust-Agder; Cp. Dcccxxxiii: Trygslund, Vest-Agder; SHM2564, 2786, 4409: Järnskogsboda, Värmland; S2547: Rivjeland, Rogaland; B5362: Kvasheim, Rogaland; C13697: Hægebostad deserted farm, Vest-Agder.

20 B3410: Ågedal, Vest-Agder; C7454: Gyland, Vest-Agder; S1969: Fristad, Rogaland; Cp. Dcccxxxiii: Trygslund, Vest-Agder; SHM2564, 2786, 4409: Järnskogsboda, Värmland.

21 C7453–62: Gyland, Bakke, Vest-Agder; B3410: Ågedal, Bjelland, Vest-Agder.

and social mobility at this juncture was more restrained than it had been, a state of affairs which could in turn be a consequence of the structures of Migration-period society becoming fixed and consolidated after a more 'open' phase (Hines 1993a:91–5; Ringtved 1988b:49; cf. Ch. 7.1.1, below). It is nevertheless not possible to exclude the possibility that, for example, small equal-armed brooches and 'small brooches' (small bow brooches) also took over the function as markers when the cruciform brooches went out of fashion, and that there are several unique specimens amongst these brooch-types.²²

A further change that took place in phase D2b was, as noted, that more people were participating in the form of marking that involved the use of relief brooches than had previously been the case. The range of relief brooches is, at the same time, much wider and more varied than before, and there are examples of more ornate and valuable relief brooches besides simple variants. This contrasts with the two preceding phases of the Migration Period, when relief brooches can in themselves be defined as status markers. This development can be interpreted as a 'democratization' of the relief brooches: the change may reflect the diffusion of the brooch-type to a broader social register that covers more ranks of society than before. Another possible interpretation is that society underwent a transformation through which social ranks and roles changed, and that the brooches were adapted to these changes. There could, for instance, have been a social change through which the distance between what formerly constituted separate social ranks in the highest stratum of society was dissolved. Alternatively, the change in brooch-use in phase D2b could mean that group identity had become more important than individual identity and/or the manifestation of individual status.

An apparent paradox is the fact that, at the same time as the relief brooches of this phase are characterized by readily recognizable, distinct regional variants or sub-types, *all of the relief brooches* are nevertheless more similar to one another in form than they had ever been before. Virtually all of them now have a cruciform footplate and rectangular headplate (cf. Ch. 4.2.2.7). The cruciform footplate and (more or less) rectangular headplate are also features found on the Anglo-Saxon great square-headed brooches (cf. Ch. 4.2.2.7). This

may mean that the relief brooches were also used for *trans-regional marking* in the concluding phase of the Migration Period. If so, this would imply that one and the same type of brooch had a double function at this stage, in that it simultaneously marked both a regional identity and affiliation to a trans-regional grouping. In some cases, brooches that are particularly valuable could also have functioned as status markers. The use of a common type, the northern plane-foot group, over large parts of Scandinavia, can also be accepted as evidence for the reinforcement of a common, super-regional Scandinavian identity by means of relief brooches. The super-regional identity which is expressed by the use of the brooches appears, however, not to be linked exclusively to an upper stratum of society at this time, but rather to apply to a number of the higher ranks of society. This can be perceived as the maintenance of a super-regional association which was manifested in phase D2a by the use of cruciform brooches of Type Mundheim and common Scandinavian clasp-types.

As already noted (Ch. 5.1.3), in phase D2b a tendency for (some of the female) population in Denmark increasingly to distance themselves from people in northern and eastern Scandinavia, through the use of a distinct *de luxe* type of brooch, can be detected. Button clasps, meanwhile, are found not only in Denmark but also over much of the mainland Scandinavian peninsula. This may indicate that there was no complete cultural distancing between these areas, and that there were still some levels of identity at which a common Scandinavian identity was preserved in the southern regions too. In this context, the fact that this is a matter of costume manifestation which principally involved women is also to be taken into account, and the possibility that the situation appears different when male costume and other forms of manifestation are incorporated.

The inferred distancing is equally not to be understood in terms of the areas becoming isolated from one another. It was not lack of communication which led to ethnic signalling; quite the opposite. Ethnic and cultural marking are often catalysed when contact between groups intensifies (cf. Barth 1969). Reichstein (1975:112) commented that the growing production of different types of cruciform brooches, i.e. dress-accessories, in phase D2a (his Stufe D3), indicates the

²² Small bow brooches of the 'small brooch' type constitute a widely distributed type of jewellery in the second half of the Migration Period, and new finds are being made all the time. Since small brooches (i.e. 'small long brooches') in Anglo-Saxon contexts can be interpreted as ethnic or cultural markers (see Leeds 1945), it is not improbable, as noted, that they functioned similarly in the context of Scandinavia. Regrettably, though, no comprehensive investigations of brooches of this type have been undertaken in Scandinavia, and it is not within the scope of this project to carry out such an analysis (cf. Ch. 4.2.4).

presence of cultural connections, not their absence. This distancing should rather be understood as expressing the fact that there had been a change in how south-western Scandinavian identity was negotiated at this point, and that the change appears to have brought with it an increased consciousness of, and possibly increased need to express, difference in this area in relation to the remainder of Scandinavia – at least in terms of the semiotic elements of female dress. It also appears likely that *local* semiotic elements have diminished in relation to the previous phase, when there were several distinct local variants of cruciform brooch and generally a wider distribution of jewellery representing cultural symbolism. The overall focus of phase D2b seems, nevertheless, like that of its predecessor, still to have been a matter of smaller regional groupings.

6.5 THE MEROVINGIAN PERIOD – THE RECONFIGURATIONS OF A NEW PERIOD?

The beginning of the Merovingian Period is characterized by increasing differentiation between northern, southern, eastern and south-eastern Scandinavia in the distribution of various types of dress-accessory. This distancing can be interpreted in terms of an increased need to mark the difference between these regions. At the same time, the individual areas that are constituted by the shared use of similar types of jewellery are larger than the regional groupings which dominated the previous phase. Conical brooches with geometrical decoration occur, for instance, across virtually the whole of Norway. An area comprising Denmark, including Bornholm, and Skåne is dominated by beak brooches and equal-armed brooches, and although the Mälars region still stands out with a great concentration of finds, the typical dress-accessories of this region are also found across a fairly wide area of eastern Sweden. All the same, a thread of continuity can be traced through from the preceding phase, and indeed to some degree back to phase D2a, in that the islands of Gotland and Öland, and also, in part, Bornholm, still largely share common forms of jewellery (see the map in Nielsen 1991:fig. 2). The fact that the Mälars region still stands distinct, as an area where particular types of dress-accessory cluster, can also be explained in terms of some continuity in costume marking from the previous phase. The shift in focus which emerges – of a sort of ‘regrouping’ into larger

and fewer, and more clearly distinguished, areas – can be understood as the creation or formation of several different super-regional identities. These new extensive groupings may have been rooted in the activation of a partially latent level of identity that was already operative in earlier phases. Some congruency can be seen, for instance, between those areas in which Type Mundheim is found in phase D2a and those where conical brooches are distributed in the first phase of the Merovingian Period. The areas of distribution of cruciform brooches of Type Lunde in phase D1 and of conical brooches with Style II ornament in Merovingian Period phase 1 are partly the same. As has been noted, ‘island identities’ on the Scandinavian Baltic islands were also maintained.

During the transition to the Merovingian Period, the focus alters and smaller or more narrowly bounded local and regional groups appear to fade into the background. Nevertheless, regional manifestation can be detected through the more extensive use of paired brooches in northern Norway than anywhere else in Norway or Sweden. This implies, as already noted, that the mode of wearing may also have been an element of cultural expression. Conical brooches with Style II decoration occur primarily in the southern half of Norway but otherwise have a local cluster in Lofoten-Vesterålen. The distribution of the Style II brooches can be interpreted as the manifestation of a narrower regional and local grouping within the area throughout which conical brooches are found. These two principal types of conical brooch are found, as noted (Ch. 3.2.3.1), in combination with one another in two cases, which may indicate the manifestation of different, or possibly partially overlapping, levels of identity.

As in the preceding phases, there are still some forms of jewellery that are common to the whole area of Scandinavia, including dress pins with polyhedral heads, S-shaped brooches, bead sets that are dominated by orange-red and yellow opaque glass beads, and possibly disc-on-bow brooches too. It is possible that some allusion to a shared Scandinavian group identity may be glimpsed through the use of common types of dress-accessory such as these.²³ These common jewellery-types are also often combined with brooches that are considered to be regional markers. The opaque orange glass beads, for instance, are found in assemblages of dress-accessories along with conical brooches, and dress pins with polyhedral/

23 Dress pins with polyhedral heads and S-shaped brooches are also found on the Continent and in England (Gjessing 1934:130–3; Strauss 1992:58–61, 175; Waller 1996:48; Ørnsnes 1966:144, 164–5, 185) and should therefore possibly be viewed as common European types (cf. Ch. 4.3.2).

polyhedral heads appear in combinations not only with conical brooches but also with snake brooches, beak brooches and equal-armed brooches. There are also combinations involving a range of regional types with different geographical associations, such as a pair of conical brooches found together with an 'East Swedish' domed wheel-cross/quadruped brooch.²⁴ Just as with combinations of jewellery-types in the Migration Period, this can be interpreted as the expression of different levels of group identity in one and the same individual. It could thus represent the manifestation of association with an eastern Swedish grouping, alongside participation in a wider Scandinavian, or even northern European, grouping (cf. Ch. 6.3).

With the exception of the early disc-on-bow brooches, a striking feature is that all of the various brooch-types that represent group marking in this period (phase 1 of the Merovingian Period) are very simple, and not particularly valuable objects. The brooches are virtually uniformly made of copper alloy, and decoration in the form of gilding, cloisonné, granulation or filigree is practically totally absent. The most common form of ornamentation is punchmarking or simple incised work. This type of decoration often looks like 'DIY' work on the conical brooches of the period, and of little individuality. This is a sharp contrast to the carefully manufactured items of jewellery of the Migration Period, arguably above all of the relief brooches, compared with which the brooches of the early Merovingian Period look quite 'amateur'. One exception, though, is the conical brooches with Style II decoration, which are consistently of high quality and in some cases have inlaid garnets to form, for instance, the eyes. The (burial) contexts in which the items of jewellery are deposited can also be described as generally quite simple in the first phase of the Merovingian Period. It is consistently rare to find gold or imported items in the graves of this phase (cf. Ch. 4.3.1.4; see also Gudesen 1980; Helgen 1982; Solberg 2000:186–8; Vinsrygg 1979).²⁵ The common Scandinavian types of bead ornaments and dress pins also represent simple forms of jewellery. This may indicate that costume manifestation was to a great extent a feature of an upper, but not the very highest, tier of society.

The more costly disc-on-bow brooches are an exception, and may perhaps be regarded as a shared

marker of a supreme social class. Ørsnes (1966:111, 184) argued for similarities between southern and eastern Scandinavian disc-on-bow brooches on the one hand, and Norwegian examples on the other, in this phase. The distribution pattern of the type, however, is one of the things that would appear to contradict this view, as so many disc-on-bow brooches are from Gotland (and eastern Sweden) compared with the rest of Scandinavia. On Gotland (and in eastern Sweden), moreover, the disc-on-bow brooches have a distinct design, which means that they can be identified as a particular sub-type (cf. Ch. 4.3.2). The brooches could, nevertheless, have functioned as regional markers for a higher tier of society on Gotland and in eastern Sweden.

As I have mentioned above (Ch. 6.4), there was a range of social change at the transition to the Merovingian Period which has to be looked at in connection with the development that took place concerning the signalling of group identities. I return to this issue in the following chapter, but shall first present another factor that may have been determinative in the use of jewellery, namely age.

6.5.1 Age bands

The number of items of jewellery and the wealth of sets of dress-accessories are not necessarily directly reflective of the social status of the person buried in a grave (cf. Ch. 2.2.2). With regard to burial contexts and the number of brooches found in any one grave, one must take into account that an important factor might be the age of the individual at death. The historian and archaeologist Guy Halsall (1996) illustrates this in a very interesting study of the status and power of women in central Austrasia (in present-day Lorraine, France) in the 6th century and the beginning of the 7th. He shows that in the 6th century in this area the richest grave goods, meaning the most costly and the largest assemblages of dress-accessories, are recurrently found in the graves of younger women in their teens and early twenties (Halsall 1996:10–11).²⁶ He associates this with a law that sets the *wergild*²⁷ of women of this age band very high, on the grounds of female fertility. Children, meaning young girls and/or newly born infants, and women aged 40 or more, may also be buried wearing jewellery, but they are furnished

24 Ts3071: Ytre Elgsnes, Harstad *kommune*, Troms.

25 The trend towards fewer (Ch. 5.1.2) and more simply designed jewellery, and likewise towards more simply furnished graves, is also found on the Continent: for instance amongst Frankish burials in Lorraine, France (Halsall 1996:11–12); cf. below.

26 Similar trends have also been demonstrated in an Anglo-Saxon cemetery at Berinsfield, Oxfordshire (Williams 2006:55) and RAF Lakenheath, Eriswell, Suffolk (Caruth and Hines forthcoming).

27 *Wergild*: economic compensation paid in the case of killing and/or maiming.

with markedly fewer types of dress-accessory. The older women are often buried only with a necklace.

Halsall was of the view that the set of dress-accessories worn by the individual was determined by the role they played in the household and in the community, and that age bands were thus imbricated with their gendered role. More was invested in the costume of young women because they were important to the kin-group's future position by means of potential marriage alliances. Eligible young women were 'decked out' and put on show in the public arena, and this is reflected in burial practice too. He argued that the age bands were significant in relation to social status, but that older women buried with few items of jewellery or none do not necessarily represent 'low-status' individuals. The social status of this age group could have been expressed in different ways. The graves of women aged 40–60 at death are, for instance, often richly furnished with 'domestic equipment' such as pottery, keys, chatelaines and the like, even though they have less jewellery (Halsall 1996:17, 23).

Investment in grave goods can be seen as connected to the degree of social stress consequent upon the death of an individual. The high level of investment associated with teenage girls and young women up to the age of 40 or so is probably linked to their important role in the construction of alliances between kin-groups and to the role of women in the household, perhaps particularly in connection with the raising of a new generation. Another important point is that in Lorraine in the Migration Period there appears to have been a custom that declared that it was not 'right' for more middle-aged and genuinely elderly women to wear jewellery and sets of dress-accessories that were associated with a different stage of life (Halsall 1996:12–21). In terms of what Halsall discussed as 'the grammar of display', the items of jewellery were associated with the social role of an 'eligible' young woman, and adult women who had passed this threshold consequently passed their own items of jewellery on to their teenage daughters. He argued that this is what lies behind Gregory of Tours's comment in the context of the burial of a woman of high rank in a church in Metz in AD 585. This father of the Church emphasized two points: the woman was childless, and she was interred with 'much gold and a profusion of ornaments' (*cum grandibus ornamentis et multo*

auro) (Halsall 1996:1, 20).²⁸ It is easy to comprehend the existence of a possible practice of this kind that determines the use of jewellery in light of modern dress codes which are effectively determinative of how adult women (and also men) dress in comparison with teenagers. The often unwritten rules of this kind have existed in many periods, and lie behind popular expressions like 'mutton dressed as lamb', reflecting the fact that the breaking of such rules is considered inappropriate. A similar practice and social mechanism may have lain behind the deposition of the two relief brooches and a gold finger ring in the Ommundrød grave in a box at the feet of the deceased woman (cf. Chs. 4.2.2.4 and 6.3). Had the Ommundrød woman passed a stage of life at which it would have been natural for her to wear such items, without any surviving daughter she could pass the jewellery on to? In this context it is also interesting that the other individual interred in the same grave, who only had a garment with clasps and no other jewellery, is thought to have been a child (Kristoffersen 2000:253).²⁹ She might have been the deceased woman's heir.

Studies of the connection between jewellery and age bands have to some extent been difficult in Scandinavia because so much of the human skeletal evidence is in a very poor state, and was often not curated during early excavations, and sometimes bones had been completely destroyed (i.e. decomposed) before archaeological excavation began. This is particularly the case in Norway, where the conditions for the survival of osteological material are almost uniformly unfavourable. Waller (1986; 1996), however, has investigated age bands in relation to the use of dress pins in the Migration and Merovingian Periods on the basis of relatively recently excavated cremation graves from the Mälär region in Sweden. The relationship between age and the use of jewellery in the early Merovingian Period has also been studied in the area of southern Scandinavia (Jørgensen 1994a:536). Both of these analyses reveal that the situation is not fully congruent with Halsall's observations on the situation in Lorraine. To begin with, some types of dress pin were worn by both men and women in the Mälär region. Moreover, Waller (1986:146; 1996:126) points out that it was adult women (aged 20–40 at death) who constituted the largest group of 'pin-wearers'. One should, however, be aware that in Waller's study

28 We may note that there is legislation concerning the use of jewellery in later periods in Italy that reveals a similar tendency. A Florentine law of 1472 permits newly married women to wear two brooches and a necklace for the first three years of their marriage. In the second three years, the number of brooches is reduced to one, while it is still permitted to wear a necklace. After six years of marriage, wedded women are forbidden to wear brooches. Whether or not this law was observed is, of course, another matter (Campbell 2009:96).

29 The individual is apparently inferred to have been a child from the dimensions of the burial, because the skeleton has completely decomposed.

(1986:146, tab. 1) it is difficult to distinguish between teenagers and older children. At this period, too, the dress pins may be regarded as relatively 'simple' types of jewellery, so that it is difficult to correlate the results with Halsall's conclusions. In southern Scandinavia, the largest and finest sets of jewellery with paired and de luxe brooches were worn by 'adult women', while girls and younger women were usually buried with a simple small brooch and no display brooches (Jørgensen 1994a:536). I will return to these apparent discrepancies between Halsall's conclusions and the Scandinavian studies below.

It has not been possible for me, in the course of the present research, to examine possible age bands in relation to the evidence of the jewellery on a systematic basis. However, the human skeletal remains are preserved in several of the grave finds in northern Norway of phase 1 of the Merovingian Period, allowing us to determine an approximate age at death. In one find from Våje in Nordland,³⁰ with a set of dress-accessories consisting of just one conical brooch and 18 beads, the deceased has been identified osteologically as 'possibly a woman of Nordic type, around 50 years old' (see the *Schreinerske samlinger* database). In a find from Rønnvik in Nordland,³¹ an 'adult' woman was buried with a set of jewellery consisting of a conical brooch, 24 beads, and two bone dress pins. In a find from Storfosen in Sør-Trøndelag, too,³² the individual interred was identified as a woman aged c. 40–50. The grave contained a conical brooch, two dress pins, and 82 beads. In grave 3 on Ytre Kvarøy in Nordland,³³ fragments of the skull of a child were found, and this grave might consequently be identified as a child's grave. It contained a conical brooch with geometrical decoration and about 32 beads. It would appear, therefore, that in the case of Norway in the first phase of the Merovingian Period the issue of age at death had no influence on the number of brooches buried with the dead person.

We must also take into account the fact that the boundaries between the different age bands in osteological studies are artificial, and that no account is taken of, for instance, possible sub-groupings *within* any one age category: for instance whether or not individuals were in their early 20s or around 30, etc. In the Scandinavian studies referred to here, there is very often no information about what end of a range the adult women belonged to: around 20, or closer

to 40. It is difficult, therefore, to compare the situation in Scandinavia with Halsall's results concerning Continental evidence. Another consideration is that the Frankish graves pertain to a Christian population, in contrast to that of Scandinavia.

Even though the practices revealed, and the traditions involved with the use of jewellery in Lorraine, cannot simply be carried over into Scandinavia at the same date, there are aspects of congruency in the form of the high investment in the grave goods of adult women in both regions. The situation also changed in central Austrasia around the turn of the 6th century to the 7th. There was a general reduction in the level of furnishing of graves. Women were less frequently provided with jewellery than they had been, while the range of dress-accessories also changed in character, appearing simpler and more standardized (albeit with individual exceptions). From this watershed onwards age categories and to some extent also gender categories gradually dissipated. The change must probably be viewed in connection with the appearance of a more stable and firmly grounded aristocracy, in which the position of the kin-group no longer needed to be reinforced and demonstrated through investment in the funerary practice. The change may also be due to younger women no longer playing the same key role in political marriage alliances (Halsall 1996:11–12, 24) because ecclesiastical and royal power were firmly consolidated. It is possible that there were similar reasons for the use of conical brooches not being governed by age banding (cf. above), since these are dated to after the time by which the changes in burial practice took place in the Frankish territory of central Austrasia. Comparable processes, with a reduction of grave goods and the introduction of jewellery of simpler form, took place, as has been noted, in Norway at the transition to the Merovingian Period as well (cf. Ch. 4.3.2).

In any event, the results from Halsall's and similar investigations provide an indication that less elaborately furnished 'jewellery graves' do not necessarily represent a lower social class. It is important to keep this point in mind when addressing the Scandinavian jewellery finds. This has, for instance, been a core premiss of discussion concerning exogamy or marriage-alliance interpretations, as noted above (Ch. 6.3.1). It has conventionally been assumed that marriage alliances took place almost exclusively within the very highest level of society in the period under review, because

30 Ts4465: Våje, Tjeldøya, Nordland.

31 Ts3978.

32 T15808.

33 Ts6372.

that is what is described in contemporary historical records. Some of the graves of the Migration Period that contain, for instance, valuable relief brooches can indeed be assigned unproblematically to such a social level (Koch 1999:178; Magnus 1999b:167; 2004b:280). This applies, *inter alia*, to the graves from Kvåle and possibly Krosshaug, already discussed, and from Hol on Inderøy, Nord-Trøndelag (Solberg 2000:161). Nevertheless, far from *all* such finds with ‘foreign’ items of jewellery look especially ‘rich’ (Arrhenius 1995a:88; Koch 1999:183; Magnus 2004b:280). Such is the situation with, for example, the ‘Scandinavian’ woman’s grave from Altenerding in Bavaria that has been discussed (Magnus 2004b:280) and comparable ‘cross-border’ finds of the Merovingian Period.

It is also relevant to note that even in those cases in which the quantity of brooches worn is correlated with the age of the deceased, the overall impression given by the distribution patterns of the dress-accessories across all areas is based upon adults. There are far fewer children’s graves than adults’ in the basic data available. This means that it is primarily the use of jewellery by adult women that is investigated and compared here. In those cases where there are exceptions, as in the Kvåle grave, where a child’s skeleton has been preserved (Ch. 6.3), the details of the find indicate that children may also be buried with ethnic markers.

6.6 THE TRANSITION TO THE MEROVINGIAN PERIOD: A BREACH OR CONTINUITY IN DRESS-TRADITION?

Hines (1993a:95) has argued that the end of the use of clasps and other types of dress-accessory of the Migration Period at the transition to the Merovingian Period indicates that it was a particular type of *female costume* that went out of use, and that this was the result of a comprehensive break with the past and with what the female costume previously symbolized. I agree with Hines’s proposition to a considerable extent. The emergence of fewer, clearly bounded and more extensive regions, and the greater distancing in the use of particular brooch-types within the individual regions, can be interpreted as a new feature of the way in which costume manifestation functioned. Nevertheless, I believe that the geographical distribution patterns revealed (cf. Chs. 4 and 5.1) can also be accepted as evidence that the transition between the Migration Period and the Merovingian Period was characterized by some degree of continuity. It was, as demonstrated, to some extent the same areas that were marked out by the use of particular jewellery types in these two periods (e.g. the Mälars region; Denmark–Skåne in

southern Scandinavia; and Gotland), and typical of the distribution patterns in both the Migration Period and the early Merovingian Period is a degree of overlap between the regions, together with the distribution of certain common types across these borders.

It is possible also to emphasize the breaks that took place in the course of the Migration Period, with the disappearance of spiral clasps at the transition to phase D2a, and the point at which cruciform brooches went out of use at the transition to phase D2b. Both of these can be regarded as conspicuous breaks in the costume tradition (see also Hines 1993b:120). We do not know, however, whether these changes were experienced in that way, as ‘conspicuous breaks’, by any contemporary individual, because the transitions could have taken place over a period of a number of years, or even have been drawn out over several generations. Moreover the obsolescence of a type does not necessarily represent the disappearance of a cultural grouping or identity – it is possible, indeed, that this marking was no longer required because the presence of the group was fully embedded within habitus. This could have rendered material manifestation superfluous. Such a fully embedded grouping could have helped to change the context of ethnic negotiation and redirected the focus to forms of marking that were more contested, or of greater strategic significance at the time.

Another point is that even though the Migration-period types of dress-accessory were abandoned, and the garments themselves may have changed their cut (cf. Ch. 2.2), women’s dress nevertheless retained its function as a cultural semiotic field. Hines may still be right that this change represents a deliberate breach with elderly and out-dated symbolism. I return to this matter in Chapter 7.1, questioning the specific historical context to which these costume manifestations belonged.

6.7 GENDER AND ARTICULATIONS OF ETHNIC IDENTITY IN THE MIGRATION AND MEROVINGIAN PERIODS

So far, discussion has been concerned primarily with jewellery associated with female graves. I have already observed (Chs. 1.3.1 and 2.2.3) how ethnic and cultural manifestation in the Migration and Merovingian Periods appears to be imbricated with articulations of gender. In simpler terms, one might say that while women were buried with items of jewellery, men were buried with weaponry. The reality is more diversely faceted, of course: some women were buried without jewellery, and by no means all men’s graves contain weaponry. There are also some dress-accessories found

in men's graves. Nonetheless the impression on the whole is that there was a clear tendency for a gender-based dichotomy, according to which jewellery was used to express or to underpin a social role linked to women (Hjørungdal 1991:71–2; Kristoffersen 2000:102; cf. Ch. 2.2.3). The weapon-burial rite can in itself be viewed in connection with the emergence of warrior bands and a military aristocracy (cf. Ch. 7.1.1) and as expressing the fact that *the warrior* was a key social role at the time, making it important to present and to reproduce the role in funerary practice (cf. Hakenbeck 2006:160; Halsall 1998:154–6; Hanisch 2003:29–30; Hedeager 1990:136–7; Kristoffersen 2000:143, 183; Steuer 1987:190). To a far greater extent than is the case with jewellery, the weaponry of this period shared trans-regional common characteristics (Bemman and Hahne 1994:353; Effros 2004:171; Hakenbeck 2006:160, 227; Jørgensen 1999:13, 164; Kristoffersen 2000:171, 188; Nielsen 1991:130; Siegmund 1998:188–9; Steuer 1987; Ystgaard 2014:130–2).³⁴

Although the items of jewellery are found overwhelmingly in women's graves, there are, as noted, some exceptions. This is the case first and foremost with belt-fittings that were part of the baldric or weapon-harness. These can be carefully made and richly decorated, as is exemplified by the famous Åker find (Åker, Vang, Hedmark), where the weapon-belt was ornamented with gilt Style II-decorated mounds, strap-distributors and belt buckle (Røstad 2020). Like the weaponry itself, the belt-fittings are usually of similar design over large areas (Bemman and Hahne 1994:497; Hakenbeck 2006:227). The belt set from Åker, for instance, has some close parallels in Germany (Gjessing 1934:26–7). With reference to Bavarian finds, Hakenbeck (2006:227) has argued that the trans-regional distribution patterns may be taken as evidence that such male 'jewellery' (i.e. mounts from weapon-harness) and weaponry mark the identity of a warrior retinue or band, rather than a local or regionally based identity. This concurs with interpretations of the homogeneous armament of this period (Effros 2004:171; Hedeager 1992a:294–5; Steuer 1987).

As well as the belt-fittings, ornamented dress-accessories such as beads, brooches, clasps and pendants also

occasionally occur in weapon graves: in other words in association with artefact-types that are conventionally understood as 'male' and associated with a masculine social role. Of the selected types of dress-accessory that have been studied above, this involves clasps and cruciform brooches.³⁵ These, however, account for relatively few finds in comparison with the whole corpus of jewellery finds. One problem in this regard is that it is inevitably impossible to exclude the possibility that jewellery which has been found in combination with neither diagnostically female nor male artefacts is in fact from male graves. It would be extremely difficult to identify any such finds, although some osteological analyses suggest this to have been the case, for instance in the Mälars region (see, e.g., Bennett 1987:102, fig. 73a; Waller 1986; 1996:126). Systematic osteological studies of the human skeletal remains from the graves that are included in this study have largely been carried out on finds from eastern Sweden (Bennett 1987:111; Gejvall and Persson 1970; Iregren 1972a; 1972b; 1983; Persson 1972; Petré 1984:88–113; Waller 1986:157, amongst other things in connection with the project *Mälardalen i folkvandringstid* [The Mälars Valley in the Migration Period]). Since the whole of the data sample has not been subjected to such thorough scientific investigation, it would risk creating a false picture of the real situation if only the results from the studies in that area were incorporated into this study here.³⁶ The sexing of this evidence has often, in fact, been extremely problematic, as what was being dealt with were highly fragmented skeletal remains from cremation burials (Bennett 1987:102).

Another point is that, even though an osteological study may indicate whether the individual buried was a man or a woman, examination of the skeletal remains really only tell us about the person's *biological sex*, which cannot automatically be equated to *social sex* or *gender* (cf. Ch. 2.2.3; Kristoffersen 2000:102; Solli:2002:94, 96–104; Sørensen 1991:121–2; 2004:42–52). Finds of jewellery combined with weaponry, by contrast, express an aspect of a *social role* and thus make it possible to explore the function of this jewellery in its particular context in more detail. In this respect, we are dealing more concretely with what type or types of identity are manifested through dress-accessories

34 There are still some exceptions, such as the 'Kvamme Group', which according to Bemman and Hahne (1994:320, 322) represents a distinct weapon-group of western Norway in the first phase of the Migration Period. An investigation into whether or not armament can represent ethnic and/or regional manifestation lies, however, outside the scope of this study.

35 In a grave-assemblage from Sörfors, Attmar, Medelpad (SHM12220), a relief brooch of the *Bothnian Group* was found together with cremated bone and a two-edged sword. It is uncertain whether or not this is a mixed grave find. The find is consequently not counted in here.

36 Accordingly, I shall also not make use of gender-indicative artefacts in this area, such as handled combs and/or comb cases and buckles which are presumed to be 'male' artefact-types (Bennett 1987:110).

in weapon burials in this period. In what follows this will, in consequence, be a matter of a selected social role as 'warrior' when items of jewellery in 'male graves' are discussed. The warrior role has traditionally been understood as a male role, but there are certain exceptions, including the warrior women or 'Amazons' of the Migration Period (Geary 2006:26–34; Pohl 2004; cf. Ch. 8.2). It is therefore not entirely impossible that some weapon graves which have not been sexed osteologically represent female warriors.³⁷

I shall make use of a slightly broad definition of the weapon grave, in that, in addition to finds which contain swords – including 'weapon knives' (seaxes), sword pommels and scabbard chapes – spears and/or shields, I shall also include burial finds consisting of no more than arrowheads or an axe. Arrows might represent hunting equipment, which makes their classification as 'weaponry' a little uncertain. There are, however, only two finds in which only arrows occurred. Axes are recorded in male graves of the Iron Age but it is debatable whether these represent tools or weapons, or both. Bone arrows do in fact occur in graves that are usually identified as female (Hjørungdal 1991:71–2). Thus, there are elements of uncertainty regarding the axe and arrowhead graves.

Of a total of 616 Scandinavian finds of clasps, 46 are from weapon graves.³⁸ This total is made of 21 finds in Sweden, 22 in Norway and three in Denmark.³⁹ The geographical distribution of these grave finds is congruent with the general distribution of clasps (cf. Ch. 4.2.3). When the various types of clasp that occur in the weapon graves are examined in more detail, it transpires that, in every case but one, these are button clasps. The exception is one find of Class B clasps of the 'bar type' (type B2/B individualistic form) (cf. Ch. 4.2.3) which are part of an assemblage that also includes button clasps. 17 finds are of the type with plain buttons (type B1i), five of clasp buttons with ring designs (types B1iii/B1ii c), three of buttons with Style I decoration in relief (type B1v), and there is one find each of the types with faceted decoration (types B1ii b/e), the Norrala Type/three-armed punch decoration (type B1iv b) and the type with a dot-in-ring punchmark (type B1iv c). Seven finds contained unclassifiable button clasps. There are

also ten combinations of different clasp-types in the same context in 11 weapon graves: combinations of two types in eight of these graves, of three different button types in two of the graves, and of four different types in one of the graves. The use of more than two types of clasps or clasp button may represent a phenomenon that is correlated with weapon graves.⁴⁰

Thus the most common types of clasp found in weapon graves are simple, undecorated clasps, clasps with ring designs, and clasps with Style I decoration. The plain button clasps (B1i) and the type with ring designs (B1iii/B1ii c) are, as shown (Ch. 4.2.3.5), common, super-regional, types in Scandinavia. The flat relief-decorated buttons in Style I (B1v) mostly cluster, as has been noted, in south-western Norway and Vestlandet as well as the Mälars region in Sweden, but are also found fairly evenly distributed around the main Scandinavian peninsula, and thus can be considered a super-regional type covering this entire area. The type with punched ornament in the form of a dot-in-ring and circles (B1iv c) should, as noted (Ch. 4.2.3.5), also properly be regarded as a super-regional type since the relatively few specimens that constitute this type have a wide, pan-Nordic range, albeit with a certain tendency towards a cluster in Medelpad. Altogether 28 finds, more than half of the weapon graves, contain clasps of these four types that have a super-regional range, while only ten weapon graves contain clasp-types with regionally more limited distributions pertaining to specific areas of Scandinavia.⁴¹ That clasps associated with the dress of the warrior are dominated by types that are shared over wide areas agrees well with the fact that the weapon-belts and accoutrements that the warriors had with them in the grave are also super-regional (cf. above). It is thus, first and foremost, the ten finds that do not conform to this pattern – the finds with regional clasp-types – that are of interest. I shall therefore consider them in detail.

Five of the weapon graves with regional clasp-types are from sites located within the core area of distribution of those types, as outlined in Chapter 4.2.3.5: the type with faceted decoration (B1ii b/e) from Lunde, Farsund *kommune*, Vest-Agder and Snartemo, Vest-Agder; the Norrala Type (B1iv b)

37 My thanks to Lene Melheim for drawing my attention to this!

38 I am not considering clasps from mixed finds, or multiple graves of individuals of different genders in which the grave goods cannot be separated with confidence. I also exclude finds of the Late Roman Iron Age.

39 For more details, see table 38 in Røstad 2021: <http://urn.nb.no/URN:NBN:no-86140>, or Røstad 2016:tabell 6.1.

40 For more details, see supplement to table 28–30, Graves with clasps from phase D2a/D2b, in Røstad 2021: <http://urn.nb.no/URN:NBN:no-86140>, or Røstad 2016:Tekstvedlegg tabell 4.51–4.53.

41 There are also the seven finds with unclassified button clasps, and one find with both the plain type (B1i) and the form B2 bar type (B individualistic form).

from Borg, Norrala, Hälsingland; clasps with domed relief buttons (B1vi) and spiral ornament (B1ii d) from Salby in Södermanland, and with domed relief buttons from Viken, Lovö, Uppland. These finds belong to some of the geographical areas that are most prominently distinguished by other types of jewellery in the Migration Period (cf. Chs. 4.2.1–2, 5.1–3 and 7.1.1) and where clasps are generally widely found (cf. Ch. 4.2.3.2): the south-west of Norway; the Mälars region in eastern Sweden; and partly also the north-east of Sweden, even though that area is rather less conspicuously marked in terms of specific variants of items of jewellery amongst the range of types discussed here (cf. Ch. 4.2.1–2) compared with the two others. The area does, however, have some other local jewellery-types or variants: for instance equal-armed brooches (cf. Ch. 7.1.1).

The other five finds involving regionally distinctive clasp-types disrupt the typical distribution patterns as shown in Chapter 4.2.3.5 to a greater or lesser degree. To begin with there is a weapon grave from Skåra/Skreia in Vestfold⁴² with clasps of the type with faceted decoration (B1ii b/e) which is considered to be a typically south-western or western Norwegian type, focused on Hordaland and Vest-Agder (cf. Ch. 4.2.3.5). This find thus lies rather on the margins of the main area of distribution. Two male graves with weaponry from Skyttberg/Prästbolet and Högom (barrow 2) in Medelpad⁴³ contained a regional clasp-type that is found predominantly in the Mälars region: the type with spiral ornament (B1ii d). The Högom find also includes clasps with domed relief buttons (B1vi) which are a distinctly south-eastern and eastern Scandinavian (East Nordic) type, focused in the Mälars region and on Gotland. This too can be counted a breach of the normal distribution pattern. A find from Salands on Gotland⁴⁴ contained clasps of type R268 (B1ii a/B1iv a) which is a type of south-western and western Norway and western Denmark. This clasp is dated on the evidence of its Nydam Style to phase D1, while two other objects in the grave-assembly, a crossbow brooch and a belt buckle, can be assigned to Nerman's (1935) period VI:2 (Hines 1993a:16): in other words a little later in the Migration Period and within what is treated here as phase D2a or D2b. Finally there is an interesting find from Rasagården

in Västergötland in which clasps of the types with faceted decoration (B1ii b/e) and domed buttons (B1vi) were deposited in a weapon grave. This find spot is located both outside of and between the core distribution areas of each of these clasp-types. Altogether, then, there is a recurrent pattern involving 50% of the regional types of clasps from weapon graves being found outside of the principal areas in which those types are concentrated.

Turning to the find contexts of the clasps in weapon graves, there are 16 finds that only have weaponry along with the clasps, apart from pottery and other organic containers, tools such as fire-making equipment and whetstones, or other simple items such as combs, belt buckles and the like. 12 of these finds have only one type of clasp. In 19 finds, one of which is uncertain, there are belt-fittings. In 15 graves there are objects or fragments of gold: most common are gold finger rings, while there are also gold bracteates and other types of gold pendants. One find contained a gold coin medallion.⁴⁵ Copper-alloy or silver bow brooches (including crossbow brooches) are known from six or possibly seven finds. Cruciform brooches are known from two finds. Glass drinking vessels or sherds from such vessels have been found in 13 finds,⁴⁶ while bronze vessels or cauldrons occur in seven. In general, we can infer that the quantity of both gold and imported objects in weapon graves which also have clasps is relatively high in relation to the total number of graves.

Six of the ten finds involving regionally specific clasp-types contained items of gold, while a seventh context had remains of a glass vessel. In light of the criteria for the marking of status (Hedeager 1990:103–12; 1992b:92; Myhre 1987a:169–70; 1992s:165; Ringstad 1992:118; Storli 2006:90, 94), this implies that a relatively high proportion of the weapon graves with geographically distinctive clasp-types can be counted as high-status burials. There are also two of the most richly furnished graves of the Scandinavian Migration Period overall in this group: the weapon graves from Snartemo, grave II, in Vest-Agder and at Högom (barrow 2) in Medelpad. There are two other graves in this group which also stand out as exceptionally rich high-status burials, with imported glass and bronze cauldrons or bowls as well as gold:

42 C18892–904.

43 SHM25518/II and Sundsvall museum: Högom grave 2.

44 SHM25386.

45 The Högom find had two gold finger rings, two triangular gold pendants, and a round gold plate.

46 B3731: Øvsthus, Hordaland, is a double grave, but the position of the glass vessel adjacent to two spearheads and a whetstone (Schetelig 1912:154–9) may indicate that it was part of the man's grave goods.

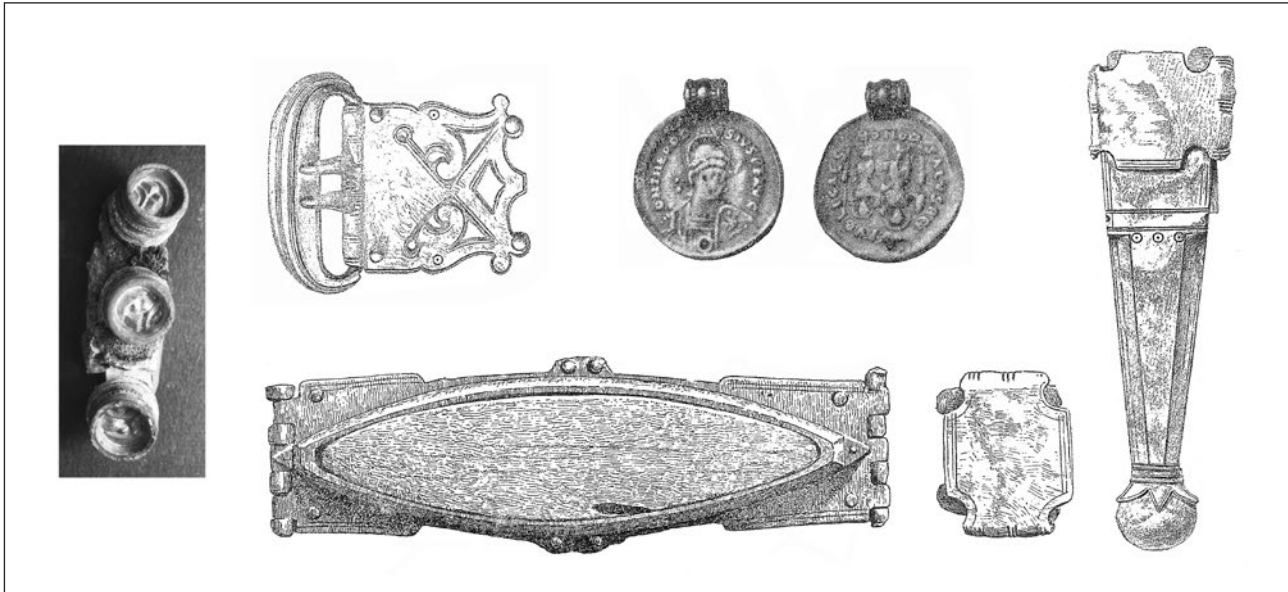


Figure 6.6 Clasps, belt-mounts, buckle and gold solidus from Evebø (B4590), after Schetelig (1912:figs. 258 and 259) © University Museum of Bergen. Clasps photograph: © University Museum of Bergen.

the weapon graves from Lunde on Lista, Vest-Agder,⁴⁷ and Skåra in Tjølling, Vestfold.⁴⁸ According to the accession register, the latter had been subject to intrusion and disturbance in antiquity and may therefore have contained even more grave goods. By contrast, undecorated button clasps (type B1i) are found in nine contexts with only weaponry, pottery or other organic containers, and simple equipment such as combs or fire-making apparatus,⁴⁹ while five further finds also include belt-fittings (three) or small bow brooches (two). These account for 14 of the total of 17 graves that have only plain button clasps. The weapon graves with this type of clasp can thus be seen to be relatively modestly furnished burials. Only six of these graves have a sword as part of the armament, which may be significant in light of the fact that swords occur in 26 of the total of 46 weapon graves with clasps.⁵⁰ Swords were also found in all ten of the finds with regionally specific clasp-types.⁵¹

Regarding the finds that include the super-regional common types with ring designs (types B1iii/B1ii c), a dot-in-ring punchmark (type B1iv c) and Style I ornament (type B1v), the contexts are somewhat more diverse. This applies both to finds of these types

on their own, and to finds in combination either with one another or with undecorated button clasps (type B1i).⁵² Four of the five grave finds with Style I button clasps (B1v) also include one or more objects of gold. Three of the graves also include imported glass and/or bronze vessels besides the items of gold. Amongst these graves is the very richly furnished male grave from Evebø in Gloppen.⁵³ In addition to a garment with gilt button clasps on the sleeve, the man interred at Evebø was also furnished with a belt with belt-fittings, a decorated buckle and a mounted belt-stone, a looped gold solidus and a balance (Fig. 6.6). Silver and gold coins used as pendants are commonly interpreted as status symbols expressing an elite identity in contemporary Continental grave finds, such as, for instance, the graves under St-Denis in Paris, and in Cologne Cathedral (Bursche 2001:95–8; Effros 2003:147). Balances are linked to a juridical function associated with a leadership role (Kristoffersen 2000:145; Solberg 2000:106) and can thus also be interpreted as markers of status. All five graves with this type of clasp included swords in the armament.

Two of the five graves containing clasps of the type with a ring design (B1iii/B1ii c) contained items or

47 B3203.

48 C18892–904.

49 I am here referring to weapon graves with undecorated button clasps as the sole clasp-type.

50 Including one find with a seax.

51 In one of these finds, the grave from Salands, Linde, Gotland (SHM25386) there is no more than a U-shaped scabbard chape and a few iron fragments, but these indicate either that there had been a sword in the grave or that the scabbard-elements represented a sword in a *pars pro toto* manner.

52 In what follows, I have excluded finds of these types combined with regionally specific types.

53 B4590: Evebø, Gloppen, Sogn og Fjordane.

fragments of gold. One of these graves and another burial at Skottssund, Njurunda, Medelpad,⁵⁴ also included fragments of glass vessels. The find from Skottssund may have been robbed (Baudou and Selinge 1977:248–61; Straume 1987:114). Also found in this grave were 33 complete or fragmentary decorated belt-mounts of gilt silver. As with gold, baldrics with mounts and ornamentation are regarded as symbols of power and rank (Bemmann and Hahne 1994:495). Two of the five graves with clasps with ring designs (B1iii/B1ii c) had a sword or a seax amongst the weaponry, including the Skottssund grave referred to. In the case of the solitary grave with clasps of the punched dot-in-ring type (B1iv c), a grave from Veiem in Grong, Nord-Trøndelag,⁵⁵ its other grave goods included belt-mounts, a rich collection of weaponry including a sword, two spears, an axe, arrows, a bow and a shield, a number of containers of wood and other organic material, but not gold or imported items such as glass or bronze vessels.

The principal period in which button clasps occur consists of, as already noted, phases D2a and D2b. Hines (1993a:76–81), who also includes clasps of the Roman Iron Age in his study, has pointed out an interesting difference between spiral- and ring-shaped Class A clasps and Class B button clasps in burial contexts: Class A clasps are found almost exclusively in women's graves, while in the Roman Iron Age and early in the Migration Period Class B clasps occur overwhelmingly in male graves. In the main period of distribution of the button clasps, by contrast – in phases D2a and D2b – these types of clasp are found predominantly in women's graves (I shall be returning to the exceptions below). There is also a striking tendency for the clasps in the women's graves to be used regularly on the sleeve at the wrists, while their use in men's graves is more varied: they are, for instance, also used on the trouser legs at the knee or the ankle (Fig. 6.7), as belt-fasteners, and at the neck opening of a shirt or jacket (Hines 1993a:76–81).⁵⁶ This sort of difference in use can be illustrated by the grave, referred to earlier, from Högom (Ramqvist 1995:151) and the weapon graves from Borg in Norrala, Hälsingland (Bennett 1987:109),⁵⁷ Skottssund, Njurunda, Medelpad (Baudou and Selinge 1977:258–61), and Vestly, Time, Rogaland (Kristoffersen 2000:307–8; Møllerup 1961:6).⁵⁸ If we conjoin these observations with what has been

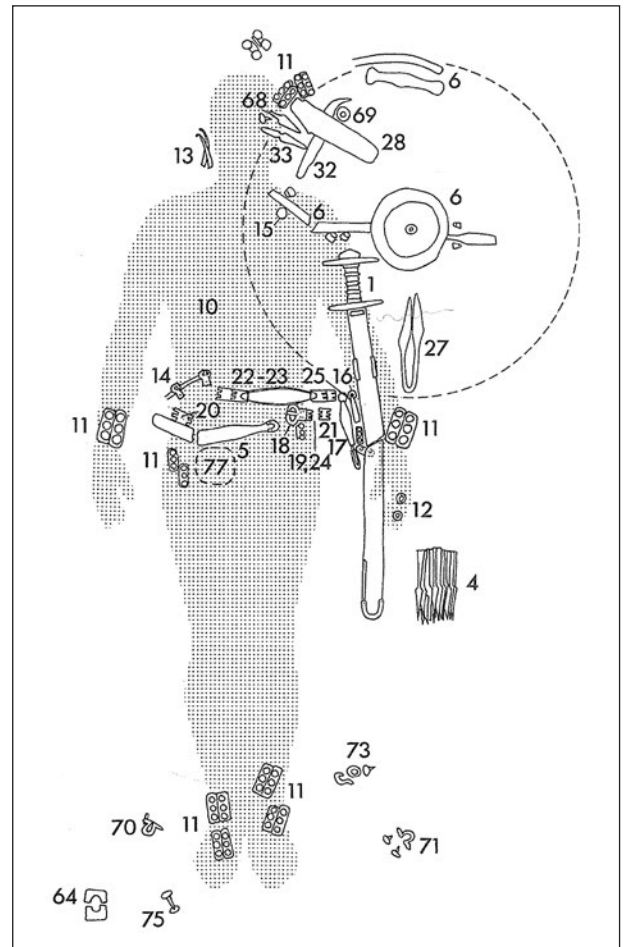


Figure 6.7 Clasps at the ankle in the man's grave in Högom mound 2, after Ramqvist (1992:pl. 11).

argued above about how female costume functions as a semiotic field in relation to identity (see Ch. 6.2–6.3), these trends in gender-association may show that it was only when the clasps came to be integrated as a component of a *standardized* costume that they also became gender-specific: Class A clasps, as shown, become an embedded element of female dress in phase D1 while button clasps (form B1) do not take over the function of a standardized costume element in female dress until the beginning of phase D2a.

There is thus a tendency for individual items of jewellery which obtain a function as markers of cultural or ethnic identity to also become gender-specific. Meanwhile there is another aspect in the use of these items of jewellery in warrior graves. Even though this is unusual (according to Hines 1993a: 76–81), some men were also wearing clasps at a date when

54 SHM25337/6.

55 T19624.

56 All types of clasp in England are found only in female graves, where they were used on the sleeve at the wrists (Hines 1993a:81).

57 SHM26520/6.

58 S8635.

these had become an integral feature of the female dress. About half of the weapon graves with clasps can be dated to the period of phase D1/D2a–D2b.⁵⁹ It is particularly interesting that some of the richest Scandinavian graves of the Migration Period belong to this group (see Ramqvist 1995:154 for similar observations). This applies, to begin with, to the find from Enebø in Gloppen, Sogn og Fjordane, which is dated to the transition of phase D1/D2a or early in D2a (Kristoffersen 2000:373; Straume 1987:80). It applies also in the cases of Högom barrow 2 and Snartemo grave II, which are dated to phase D2a and phase D2b respectively (Kristoffersen 2000:276; Straume 1987:110). More of the richly furnished weapon graves discussed above with, amongst other things, imported and gold objects, are dated to this period: the graves from Lunde, Vanse, Vest-Agder (Hines 1993a:19), Vestly, Time and Vatshus, Klepp, Rogaland (Kristoffersen 2000:308, 322), Øvsthus, Kvinherad, Hordaland (Straume 1987:106),⁶⁰ Skåra/Skreia, Tjølling, Vestfold (Hines 1993a:16; Hougen 1924:46), and Viken on Lovö, Uppland (Hines 1993a:21). There is also a fairly rich weapon grave with unclassifiable button clasps from Kvasheim in Rogaland that is datable to phase D2a (Kristoffersen 2000:297; Straume 1987:89–90), and probably also a rich weapon grave with plain button clasps from Barshaldershed on Gotland.⁶¹

What the context may reveal, then, is that when clasps occur in weapon graves, they are frequently associated with richly furnished graves and a high social class. This is particularly the case with those finds that incorporate clasps of distinctly regionally associated types. It was, moreover, not the clasps alone that were used to decorate the costume in these rich grave finds: there are other items of jewellery such as gold finger rings, gold medallions and belt-sets worn by the warriors (see also Solberg 2000:168–9). The picture is nuanced a little, however, in that the majority of the finds with simple plain button clasps as the only clasp-type present are *not* especially well furnished in respect of high-status artefacts such as imported items and/or gold. The use of clasps of this type by men thus does not appear to have been linked to an exceptionally high social group (see also Bennett 1987:110). This is

also the case, as noted, with a number of finds involving the super-regional common types of clasp with ring designs (B1iii/B1ii c) and dot-in-ring punchmarks (B1iv c). The preference for undecorated clasps (B1i) may, as I discuss further below, be associable with the manifestation of a super-regional identity. This can, once more, possibly be regarded as the expression of a need for a more ‘open’ or dynamic identity in the context of the warrior role, an issue which is discussed further in a later chapter (Ch. 8.3).

Several of these graves, as we have seen, contain more than one type of clasp, such as grave 3 at Viken on Lovö in Uppland, which had clasps not only of the plain type (B1i) and ring designs (B1iii/B1ii c) but also domed buttons (B1vi). Bennett (1987:109–10) explained this through the use of multiple types representing status, and she also maintained that several garments had been laid in the grave. She notes at the same time that the number of garments could also be considered in light of the season of the year in which the burial took place. As I have argued in the case of diverse types and variants of items of jewellery being worn by one woman (Ch. 6.3), the use of different clasp-types may manifest multidimensional identities for the warriors interred. The man from Viken may, through his clasps, have articulated both a common Scandinavian and an eastern Scandinavian identity. The chieftain or petty king from Hogöm, who was wearing both the common Scandinavian clasp-types with a ring design (B1iii/B1ii c) and a dot-in-ring punchmark (B1iv c) together with a clasp with spiral ornament (B1ii d) that is characteristic of the Mälars region, and a type that is common to both the Mälars region and Gotland, the domed button type (B1vi), could have used the clasps not only to present a common Scandinavian identity as a warrior but also concurrently to emphasize his connections with the area to the south and south-east of Medelpad.⁶² In this regard, a further significant point is that several of the grave finds with distinct regional clasp-types also have common Scandinavian types. That is the case in six finds out of ten. It thus appears to have been especially important to present super-regional identity (or identities) in the weapon graves. A near exact parallel in the clothing fabric/textiles (tablet-woven

59 In addition there are two finds that can be assigned to phase D1 while the remaining finds cannot be more closely dated other than to the Migration Period in terms of the system used here (cf. Ch. 3.1).

60 B3731.

61 SHM19535 and SHM32260A. The grave contained an iron shield boss which is of Nerman's (1935) period VI:2 (Rundqvist 2003:124).

62 Interestingly, the weapon grave from Skottsund, Njurunda, Medelpad of phase D1 also displays contacts with the Mälars region/Uppland and Gotland through some of the grave goods (the sword and the belt-fittings). However, this find also shows contacts with the west of Norway through the pottery (Straume 1987:115).

braids) between the graves of Högom and Enebø may also show that the material and the cut of the dress were a common denominator for the uppermost rank of the warrior aristocracy (Nockert 1991; Ramqvist 1995:154).

Turning to *cruciform brooches*, only 13 finds, involving 15 out of the total of 931 brooches, are cases that can be claimed with reasonable certainty to have been male graves: i.e. they are found associated with weaponry and there is no indication that the context is a mixed male and female burial (cf. above). All of these finds are from Norway.⁶³ One of these 13 finds is dated to the transition of phase C3/D1,⁶⁴ six are of phase D1,⁶⁵ three of phase D2a,⁶⁶ while the remaining three cannot be dated any more closely within the range of C3/D1–D2a of the Migration Period. Six finds in weapon graves involving seven cruciform brooches in total can be assigned to specific sub-types: Type Skogøya (twice), Types Røssøy and Groß Siemss (one each from the same find), and Type Lunde (three times). Four finds involve individualistic forms and the remainder are unclassifiable.

It is noteworthy that three of the finds involve northern Norwegian types, a detail that at first glance might suggest that there was a distinct costume practice for men in that region. Both the find involving a brooch of Type Røssøy (together with Type Groß Siemss) and one of the finds involving a brooch of Type Skogøya, however, are from Hordaland and thus not from the core area of distribution of these brooches in Nordland and Troms. The specimen of Type Groß Siemss was also found far from the principal area of distribution of this type in Denmark and northern Germany. The other four finds with regional types, conversely, are from sites within the core areas of distribution of these types: Type Lunde from three sites in Vest-Agder and Type Skogøya from Skogøya in Nordland. The male-associated finds of cruciform brooches otherwise have a wide range of distribution within Norway. Male wearing of cruciform brooches consequently cannot be seen as an expression of a

regionally based dress-style. That the finds are exclusively from Norway could possibly be interpreted as a super-regional, 'Norwegian' fashion, but this seems an over-interpretation since the brooch-type as a whole is found most frequently in Norway (cf. Ch. 4.2.1). A similar tendency to that which was suggested in connection with the clasp finds, above, can be sketched for the cruciform brooches. A relatively high proportion of distinct regional types of dress-accessory that occur in male graves tend to be types that are outside of those types' core areas. The sample of cruciform brooches in weapon graves is so small, however, that this can only be suggested as a tentative pattern.

Of the 13 finds in which there are cruciform brooches, eight had no other items of jewellery, but two finds had glass beads, two included clasps, two a bow brooch, and two belt-fittings. Four finds had items of gold: in three cases these were gold finger rings, and one was a looped gold imitation-coin medallion.⁶⁷ One of the finds with gold is a grave from Veien at Nordrehov in Buskerud,⁶⁸ which contained two gold finger rings and a larger ring of gold of the type known as a 'payment' or 'currency ring'.⁶⁹ Only one of the weapon graves with cruciform brooches included imported objects in the form of glass drinking vessels and bronze cauldrons: the already discussed burial from Skåra/Skreia in Tjølling in Vestfold, which also included clasps. In the Veien burial, which included a leather belt with copper-alloy fittings and a scabbard with a decorated display mount, there were also copper-alloy drinking horn mounts. Two finds also contained balances: the grave from Veien already noted and the burial with the gold medallion from Hove, Vik, Sogn og Fjordane. These balances may, as observed above, be associated with a leadership role and interpreted as status symbols. The gold medallion, which consists of a 'coin', can also be regarded as expressing affiliation to the highest social rank (cf. above). Additionally, eight of these finds included a sword.⁷⁰ Otherwise, it is appropriate to note that none of the

63 For more details, see table 39 in Røstad 2021: <http://urn.nb.no/URN:NBN:no-86140>, or Røstad 2016:tabell 6.2.

64 C335: Veien, Nordrehov, Buskerud (type: individualistic form).

65 B2258–68: Gjervik, Hamre, Hordaland (Types Røssøy and Groß Siemss); B3353: Viblemo, Audedal, Vest-Agder (Type Lunde); C15286: Åmot, Kvinesdal, Vest-Agder (Type Lunde); C2646–80: Holmegård, Mandal *kommune*, Vest-Agder (Type Lunde); C5153: Veien, Nordrehov, Buskerud (individualistic form, similar to Type Eine); and B4842: Bø, Stryn, Sogn og Fjordane (individualistic form with spatulate footplate).

66 B3175: Lygra, Lindås, Hordaland (Type Skogøya); Ts2685–92/2790: Skogøya, Salten/Steigen, Nordland (Type Skogøya); and C18892–904: Skåra/Skreia, Tjølling, Vestfold (unclassifiable).

67 B560: Hove, Vik, Sogn og Fjordane.

68 C325–39 and C343–8.

69 The payment/currency ring, however, might have been a secondary deposit in the barrow (Gustafson 2016).

70 In a grave from Holmegård, Mandal *kommune*, Vest-Agder (C2646–80) there were two cruciform brooches. This grave contained a double set of weaponry, however, with two swords and two shield bosses. This was probably, then, two weapon graves, but it is uncertain

graves with *regional* brooch-types included 'status markers' such as gold and/or imported items.

Compared with the social context of the regional and Style I decorated button clasps, it would not appear that weapon graves with cruciform brooches are similarly associable with an exceptionally high social class. The finds including cruciform brooches appear to cover a wider social range. This is congruent, too, with the social context of cruciform brooches that is found in women's graves (cf. Chs. 4.2.1 and 6.2).

As conical brooches are the only form of jewellery of the Merovingian Period included in the core evidence here, it is more problematic to discern anything detailed concerning the relationship between warriors, jewellery and articulations of identity in this period. There are also no weapon graves that definitely included conical brooches. The tendency for warriors who were articulating cultural or ethnic identity through using items of adornment and costume to belong to a markedly elevated social rank can nevertheless be matched in the Merovingian Period. This emerges through the finds from, for instance, Åker, Vendel, Valsgärde, Kobbeå on Bornholm, and Kylver on Gotland in which the 'warriors' are furnished with weapon belts with, inter alia, gilt Style II decorated fittings and buckles of extremely high quality. In several of these graves the deceased was also furnished with a helmet and/or ring-sword. Like the belt buckles, the helmets are decorated, and interpreted by some as 'crowns', or markers of an exceptionally high social status (Almgren 1983; Härke 1992:159; Steuer 1987:196, 202). It has been argued that these graves represent members of the retinue or warrior band, and/or local chieftains or petty kings who were buried around the periphery of the central zone where the supreme 'warlord'/king was located (Ambrosiani 1983; Hedeager 1992a:294; Myhre 1992a:170; Steuer 1987:203, 225).

In these ways, three main trends appear in the function of items of jewellery in relation to the social role of the warrior in the Migration and Merovingian Periods. To begin with, there seems to have been a need to manifest affiliation through the use of items of jewellery in cases in which the deceased was from some area external to the core zone of the regional grouping. Secondly, cultural or ethnic regional manifestation often makes itself evident through the use of regional clasp-types when the deceased is of a particularly high social class. The third trend is that in a broader social stratum within the warrior-class it is primarily a super-regional affiliation that is expressed through the use of a common Scandinavian clasp-type, the

undecorated button clasps (type B1i) and possibly also types B1ii c/b1iii and B1iv c. The general preference for super-regional clasp-types may mean that the role of warrior was acted out first and foremost at a super-regional cultural or ethnic level with reference to potential membership of a social warrior group or warrior band. This is to a certain extent reflected, as I have noted earlier, by the use of homogeneous armament over Scandinavia as a whole, and in other 'Germanic' areas (see also Ch. 8).

In the case of the higher social tiers, the use of 'regional' clasp-types on the warrior's costume may indicate that the situation was different. In this context it could have been desirable for the manifestation to resonate with the regional costume signalling components that are found recurrently in women's dress. This could mean that affiliation or association with a regional grouping was an aspect of the warrior's identity in a particular social role amongst the upper social echelons. This ought perhaps to be looked at in connection with the fact that mobility was greatest amongst the uppermost social ranks (Odner 1973:116), leading to the highest level of cultural contact. If the warriors who were adorned with 'regional' signalling clasps represent local leaders, chieftains, petty kings (and queens?), or similar social roles, the manifestation of regional association may be linked, amongst other things, to specific rights or to access to resources (cf. Barth 1969; Hodder 1979; see Ch. 1.2.2). Alternatively, if not concurrently, individuals who held this social role may have had a function as cultural or ethnic 'markers' for the group – of warriors? – they led. In that case this could be linked to the inferred politicization of ethnicity that took place in the Migration Period (Pohl 1998b; cf. Ch. 7.1.1).

If we compare the use of jewellery by warriors as it can be seen through the weapon graves of this period with those patterns that have been identified here concerning how jewellery appears on the female costume, it would seem that the relationship between gender and ethnicity operated at different levels for warriors on the one hand and women on the other. With women of this period, ethnicity seems to suffuse *several* gender-related social roles, at least in the Migration Period. It has been argued, for instance, that the manifestation that is effected through relief brooches is linked to a role as 'lady of the house' (Kristoffersen 2000). Relief brooches are able, concurrently, to express both regional and local belonging, and super-regional connections (cf. Chs. 6.2–6.4, 7.1.1, 7.1.3). Furthermore, a group of simpler

if there was originally one brooch with each man or if one man had been buried with two brooches.

relief brooches (the simple bronze group) are, as already noted (Ch. 6.2), associated with ‘women of lesser means’ (Meyer 1935:102) – in other words a social tier which presumably lay below that of the ‘lady of the house’. This is often also the case with cruciform brooches and clasps, which can be found in quite modestly furnished women’s graves. In the previously discussed find from Kvåle in Sogndal (Ch. 6.3), a girl aged about 10 appears to have been buried with cruciform brooches. The dead girl must have had a social role or identity that was different both from that of the lady of the house and from other ‘adult’ female roles. This can be taken as evidence that ethnic or cultural manifestation also operates at a level at which the articulation is linked to the role of child, or at least a not yet fully adult woman (see also above, Ch. 6.5.1).⁷¹

The articulation of ethnic and cultural identity that is interwoven with the warrior identity appears on the whole – just as the role of warrior itself – to be connected to a super-regional level. In this regard, it may be noted that clasps found in the weapon-booty hoards are also of common Scandinavian varieties, with the exception of one find of a regional type from Ejsbøl mose (Ch. 4.2.3.5).⁷² A relevant point in this context is that the clasp is part of a 5th-century ‘substitute deposit’ in which it was the officers’ or warrior leaders’ items that were sacrificed and that several of the objects are of ‘princely’ character (Ørsnes 1984:43; 1988:25–6, 105). Only in the case of the leading ranks of society does it appear that the warriors’ ethnic or cultural regional affiliation is an aspect to which attention is drawn. This is of particular interest because it agrees with what can be inferred from contemporary documentary sources on the Continent, where ethnicity was a phenomenon that was only articulated with royalty or the aristocracy (Geary 1983). Regional sub-types of cruciform brooch from simply furnished weapon graves may, however, represent an exception, since none of these finds, as has been shown, indicates that the ‘wearers’ of the brooches were of the upper social ranks.

The finds of regional types of jewellery made outside of their core areas of distribution, and associated with weaponry, are not numerous, but this is a phenomenon

of interest all the same. Conventionally, similar ‘out of place’ finds in female graves have been interpreted as evidence of exogamy, i.e. women who have been married in to the area from elsewhere (cf. above, Ch. 6.3.1). Should these warrior graves be interpreted in the same way? That cannot, of course, be ruled out, but the find from Gjervik in Hordaland, with two different ‘foreign’ regional types, which represent on the one hand a connection with southern Scandinavia and northern Germany, and with northern Norway on the other, does not support such an interpretation. An alternative explanation, as I have already indicated, is that these weapon graves represent members of a warrior aristocracy, and mark access to resources or perhaps the group’s rights over a specific area.

As has been shown, the situation changes in the Merovingian Period. The ethnic or cultural jewellery markers of this phase, such as the conical brooches, appear to belong to a more homogeneous social level. None of the brooches is from an exceptionally rich grave find. The graves with conical brooches are relatively consistently furnished and appear to represent neither the uppermost nor the lowest level of society, but what might rather be characterized as an intermediate stratum (Ch. 6.5). A related phenomenon, as noted (Ch. 6.5), has been observed on the Continent (Hakenbeck 2006:138–9; Halsall 1996:11–12, 24). According to Mannering (2006:223), pictorial representations of costumes of the Merovingian Period show that the *male costume*, by contrast, was more varied than that of women at this date. This may indicate that *textiles* had to some extent superseded jewellery as social and cultural markers in the context of male clothing in the Merovingian Period.

I have argued in this chapter that, in the course of the Migration Period, dress-accessories acquired an instrumental function in strategies of social, cultural and/or ethnic differentiation (cf. Pohl ed. 1998), and I have sought to demonstrate how the items of jewellery worked as a semiotic field in a complex social discourse. In the next chapter, I go further into the historical context of costume signalling, and investigate the reciprocal influences between jewellery and society.

71 Similar observations have been made in the context of younger girls buried in row-grave cemeteries in Lorraine, France (Halsall 1996:10–11; 1998:154).

72 This hoard included a button clasp of type B1ii in the Nydam Style. Being in relief, it differs, as noted, from the main group, which are punch-decorated (Ch. 4.2.3.5). The only other clasps of this variant in the Nydam Style are from the weapon grave at Salands on Gotland, discussed above.

JEWELLERY AND NEGOTIATIONS OF IDENTITY IN SCANDINAVIA, C. AD 400–650/700

7.1 DISTRIBUTION PATTERNS AND SOCIETY

What social context did the costume manifestations of the Migration Period and the Merovingian Period that have been revealed above pertain to? What sort of society ought we to understand to have been the basis of this sort of signalling, and what influenced the changes in the manifestations demonstrated? The marking of group identity does not take place in a social or historical vacuum: ethnic or cultural categories are formed, maintained, negotiated and transformed in opposition to specific ‘cultural others’, and the social context in which cultural meetings take place will be determinative of the form of cultural manifestation (cf. Ch. 2.1). Immediately below, therefore, I investigate what premises underlie the various significant cultural manifestations that have been reviewed above (cf. Ch. 6.1–6.5). This will be done through an assessment of social organization and the course of history in the period in question. In this context, the power relations between different cultural, ethnic and/or social groups who participated in the cultural meetings are also assessed, as this is considered significant to how cultural and ethnic manifestation is expressed (cf. Ch. 2.1). The following factors will be highlighted in this context: 1, the political power relations; 2, ongoing, broader, ethnic discourses in the context of northern Scandinavia where the relationship between Germanic/Norse and Saami cultures will be investigated in fuller detail; and 3, an assessment of extra-Scandinavian cultural connections and in particular areas of contact with Anglo-Saxon England in respect of the manifestation of cultural affiliation and distance.

7.1.1 Jewellery and centralization: power, politics and cultural identity

A question that it is natural to pose in this context is *why* there was a need to signal ethnic or cultural identity by means of female costume in this period. In the European context, the Migration Period stands out as a period of conflict with major social and political convulsions, involving migrations and wars, as the Roman Empire in the West collapsed. This period is

characterized by all-embracing social changes in the establishment of the earliest European kingdoms, and eventually also the emergence of Frankish overlordship in western Europe (Brown 2001; Geary 2003; Hamerow 2005; Hedeager 2011; Hedeager and Tvarnø 2001:138–91; Hills 2003; James 1991; 2001; Todd 2004; Vallet 1995; Yorke 1990). Both archaeological and historical research has shown that the ethnic situation in this period was extremely complex. Conventionally, early Germanic peoples such as the Franks and the Goths have been understood to have been fixed and one-dimensional ethnic entities whose migrations across the continent of Europe can be traced (cf. Ch. 1). More recent research has, as noted, demonstrated that one strand in the development of the early European petty kingdoms was the formation of new ethnic and social groupings as populations from different groups conjoined and created new confederations or ‘tribal bands’ (*Stammesverbände*). On the basis of both documentary and archaeological sources, historically known peoples such as the Alemanni, Franks, Saxons, Visigoths, Angles, Jutes and Danes can be said to represent new confederations of this kind. The confederations were dynamic, and such bands were formed and dissolved according to need and dependent upon how social circumstances changed. It has been argued that the ‘tribal bands’ are to be understood first and foremost as multi-ethnic war bands: a political and military leader with his own, culturally composite retinue which was independent and free of tribal or kinship ties. The new group identities were actively formed and reinforced in a political context (see, e.g., Geary 1988; 2003; Halsall 1998; Harrison 1991; Hedeager 1992a; 1993; 2000; 2011:33–50; Hedeager and Tvarnø 2001:143–4; James 1991; Pohl ed. 1998; Wolfram 1970). In this reality or setting, Germanic culture assumed a new, identity-forming function. It became a symbol of the new social structure consisting of political ‘tribal’ bands or ‘nations’ (Hedeager 1992a:282; 2011:48–58; see also Härke 1992:155; Näsman 1998:274–8), with ethnicity functioning as a political factor (Hedeager 2000; Pohl 1998b:1–2).

As in large parts of western and central Europe, the situation in Scandinavia in the Migration Period and the early Merovingian Period was also suffused with an increasing centralization of political and economic power, and the establishment and consolidation of the earliest petty kingdoms.¹ The warrior retinue was also seen as a contributory factor in the centralization of political power that took place in Scandinavia. With the introduction of this social institution, a social mobility that had not been available under the earlier clan-based society became possible. This resulted in the formation of a new warrior aristocracy with control over landholding, which in turn laid the foundation for the establishment of central kingships.² The establishment of the warrior aristocracy was a process that started back in the 2nd century AD but sped up from around the year 200 (Hedeager 1990:134–45, 183–94; 1992a:280; Hedeager and Tvarnø 2001:104–7, 113, 144; Näsman 1998:277; Steuer 1982:55–6, 522–3; 1987). A society which develops from chieftainships to petty kingdoms will often be affected by profound changes and continuous conflict between social and political entities. The struggles usually end up with one entity having to submit to the overlordship of another. The boundaries between the political and economic power centres were probably fluid, and access to resources in surrounding or adjacent areas must have been a cause of conflicts and competition between the centres. Chieftainships and petty kingdoms therefore cannot be counted as geographically fixed and rooted entities at this time; political links were dependent rather upon alliances, ties of loyalty and personal connections between the leader and his retinue, between different leaders, and between the chief and the rest of the population. This was a system with an inbuilt, flexible structure, in that the political units underwent continuous change through fluid power-alliances: the latter were continuously negotiated and redefined. Political development was, accordingly, probably not linear but instead marked by the construction of larger political and economic units with constant reversions and collapses and dissolution. All the same, gradual centralization did take place in the latter part of the Migration Period, as power fell into fewer hands (Hedeager 1990; 1992a:291; 1992b:91; 2011:49; Myhre 1991:18; 2002:160–1, 168–9, 185–6; 2003:76–7, 82–93; Näsman 1998; 2006; Storli 2006:45–6, 151).

The question we must ask is whether the political and economic entities that were the various Scandinavian chieftainships or petty kingdoms reflect ethnic and/or cultural regional groupings. According to Knut Odner (1973:158) it is likely that economic and social groups were coincident in the Migration Period. Myhre (1991:15) has also argued that people within the individual political and economic units had a 'social association and connection with the leaders in the central settled areas'. He was also of the view that this social organization might have its roots in an earlier clan-based structure, and refers to Jordanes's list of names of Scandinavian peoples of the 6th century (see also Myhre 1987a:186–7). He further postulated that early forms of state-formation take place through the conglomeration of several minor territorial units of similar social structure, language, culture *and ethnicity* (my emphasis) (Myhre 1991:10). Is it, however, unproblematic to juxtapose politico-economic groupings and cultural/ethnic categories, and to regard them as two sides of the same social block? The contemporary state of affairs on the Continent is distinguished especially, as has been noted, by the emergence of new ethno-political units. At one level, these can be claimed to represent the merging of political and ethnic groupings, yet at the same time they were founded upon multi-cultural/multi-ethnic constellations or confederations. This makes it relevant to investigate the relationship between 'tribal' groups or political confederations and cultural/ethnic groupings in Scandinavia at this date.

A comparison of the distribution patterns that have been revealed by the evidence of the jewellery against the economic and political territories that have been identified, will be able to provide a signpost to what relationships existed between cultural and/or ethnic entities and units of political power in Scandinavia throughout the period. This comparison will be able to show to what extent there was correlation or coincidence between cultural and politico-economic groupings, or to what extent they diverged from one another and/or exercised mutual influence. The comparison of the distribution patterns of the jewellery with defined political centres does, however, bring with it a risk of drawing conclusions from circular argumentation, because some of the items of jewellery could have served as part of the fundamental

1 Farbregd 1980; 1986; Hedeager 1990; 1992a:286–7, 289–91; Jensen 2004:52–71, 178, 193–204; L. Jørgensen 1991:122; Myhre 1987a; 1987b; 1991; 1992a:308–13; 1992b; 2002:160–213; 2003:69–90; Näsman 1998; 2006; Odner 1973; 1974; Ramqvist 1991:305–6, figs. 1–2; Ramqvist and Müller-Wille 1988:104–6, 133–4; Ringstad 1992:115–17; Särilvik 1982:102–12, 119–25; Stenvik 1996; Storli 2006:129–53; Watt 1991:105; Wik 1985:231–8, 247; Ystgaard 2014:52–3.

2 The kin-group nevertheless retained its significance within the retinue (Evans 1997:51–2, 69–70; Kristoffersen 2000:42).

evidence for the identification of the centres. Imported objects, gold and precious metal, monumental burial mounds, and favourable agricultural conditions, plus strategic position, are often regarded as indicative of centres (Hedeager 1990; Myhre 1987a:170, 182–3; 1992a:165; Ringstad 1992; Storli 2006:90–4, 99–100). From criteria of this kind, it is the relief brooches in particular that can be included in the basic material or evidence, because they are often made of silver and/or gilded, and thus fall into the key category of precious metal. A few clasps and cruciform brooches were also made of silver. Several scholars (Hedeager 1990:110–11; Myhre 1987a:169; 1992a:165; Ringstad 1992:118) base their research, however, solely upon finds of gold, a procedure which will not, apart from the gilt artefacts, include the types of dress-accessory selected here.³ The jewellery may, all the same, be part of some particularly rich grave finds, along with objects of gold and/or imported items, and in this way still be part of the basis upon which a distribution map of political centres is produced. Once again, these observations are apposite to relief brooches, which can be extremely valuable artefacts and be present in rich contexts (cf. Ch. 4.2.2). As shown, though, this is especially the case with finds from phases D1 and D2a – phases in which relatively few relief brooches are found, in other words – but also with some finds of phase D2b, when this brooch-type occurs more widely (cf. Ch. 4.2.2).

Most of the range of jewellery that has been studied here consists, however, of relatively simply modelled copper-alloy dress-accessories, which are usually from contexts that do *not* include imported items or precious metal. This is the case, for instance, with the cruciform brooches and the great majority of the button clasps, which are also by far the most numerous groups of artefacts that have been examined. It is also the case with the conical brooches and the great majority of other finds of jewellery of phase 1 of the Merovingian Period (cf. Ch. 4.3). I am therefore of the opinion that the ‘double role’ some pieces of jewellery will have in this comparative study will not significantly affect its result. The costume manifestations that are studied here also represent only a sample of possible cultural marking in the period of study, and furthermore are linked first and foremost to the female dress of the

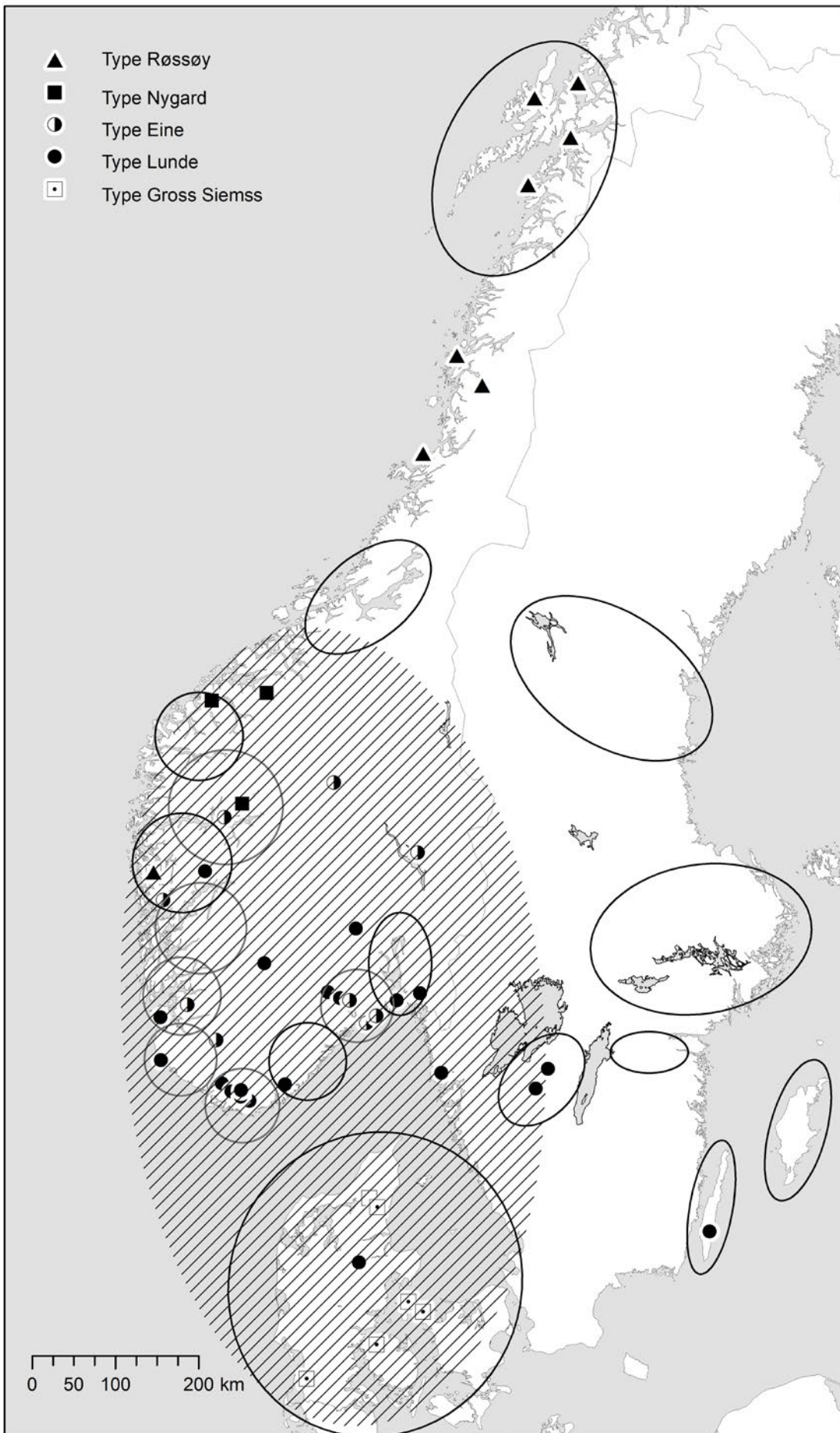
period (cf. Chs. 1, 2.2.3 and 7.2, but cf. Ch. 6.7). The comparison will not, therefore, give us a complete picture of the situation, but it will be able to produce some insight into how the interplay between different social categories played out in this period.

When the distribution of jewellery in the first phase of the Migration Period (phase D1) is compared with the economic and political centres which have been proposed for Scandinavia, the ranges of the individual types of dress-accessory appear to a great extent to cut across economic and political territories (Map 7.1). An inclination towards the marking of more limited regional entities is nevertheless detectable, as shown above (Ch. 5.1). This is particularly the case in Norway, where this can be seen in the production of specific sub-types of cruciform brooch in Vestlandet and northern Norway. The individual types nonetheless cover relatively large ranges at this time. If the distribution of the individual sub-types of cruciform brooch is compared with the postulated political centres, it transpires that, for instance, Type Nygard is found within an area that comprises several centres in western Norway: one in the inner Sognefjord and a centre in Sunnmøre and at the end of Romsdal (Myhre 1987a:fig. 7; Ringstad 1992:114–21). This is also the situation with Type Røssøy, which is found over the range of several identified political and economic centres of North Norway (as defined by Myhre 2002; 2003:89; Solberg 2000:114–16; Storli 2006; Wik 1985:238).

In southern Scandinavia the outline of a distinctly Jutlandic marking is adumbrated by the distribution of ring-shaped clasps (type A2a) and copper-alloy spiral clasps (type A1) in phase D1. The latter type, moreover, is typical of the area of northern Jutland, and it is possible that these copper-alloy clasps represent a local sub-type from Sejlflod (cf. Ch. 4.2.3.3). The date at which a political and economic centralization of a ‘Danish’ territory came into effect is a matter of debate. Some have posited that it was as early as the beginning of the Late Roman Iron Age. In light of wide-ranging archaeological studies of the last 20–25 years, it would appear, however, most probable that it came about first around the end of the Migration Period (Hedeager 1990; Näsman 2006).⁴ From a study of cremation urns, coffin/cist structures and

³ Ringstad (1992:118) and Hedeager (1990:110) further do not include gilt objects of silver or copper alloy, only items of gold.

⁴ See, however, Hedeager (2002:371) for the proposition that a national unity under one king came about only from the beginning of the 8th century. Hedeager, meanwhile, also argues here that: ‘For centuries, the land of the Danes, like both Anglo-Saxon England and the rest of Scandinavia, must have been a variable mass, at times divided into competing petty kingdoms, at other times combined into larger units and – plausibly already from the beginning of the 8th century – not so infrequently combined as a unified nation under a single king...’ [translated]. This leaves it possible that the centralization of much of Denmark in terms of political power could also have been a reality at an earlier stage (cf. Näsman 2006).



Map 7.1 The distribution of selected types of dress-accessory in Phase D1 against political centres or core areas after Myhre (1987a:fig.7) and Ramqvist (1991:fig.1). The shaded areas show the extent of distribution of spiral clasps. Note that the political divisions of south-western Norway are according to Myhre (1987a).

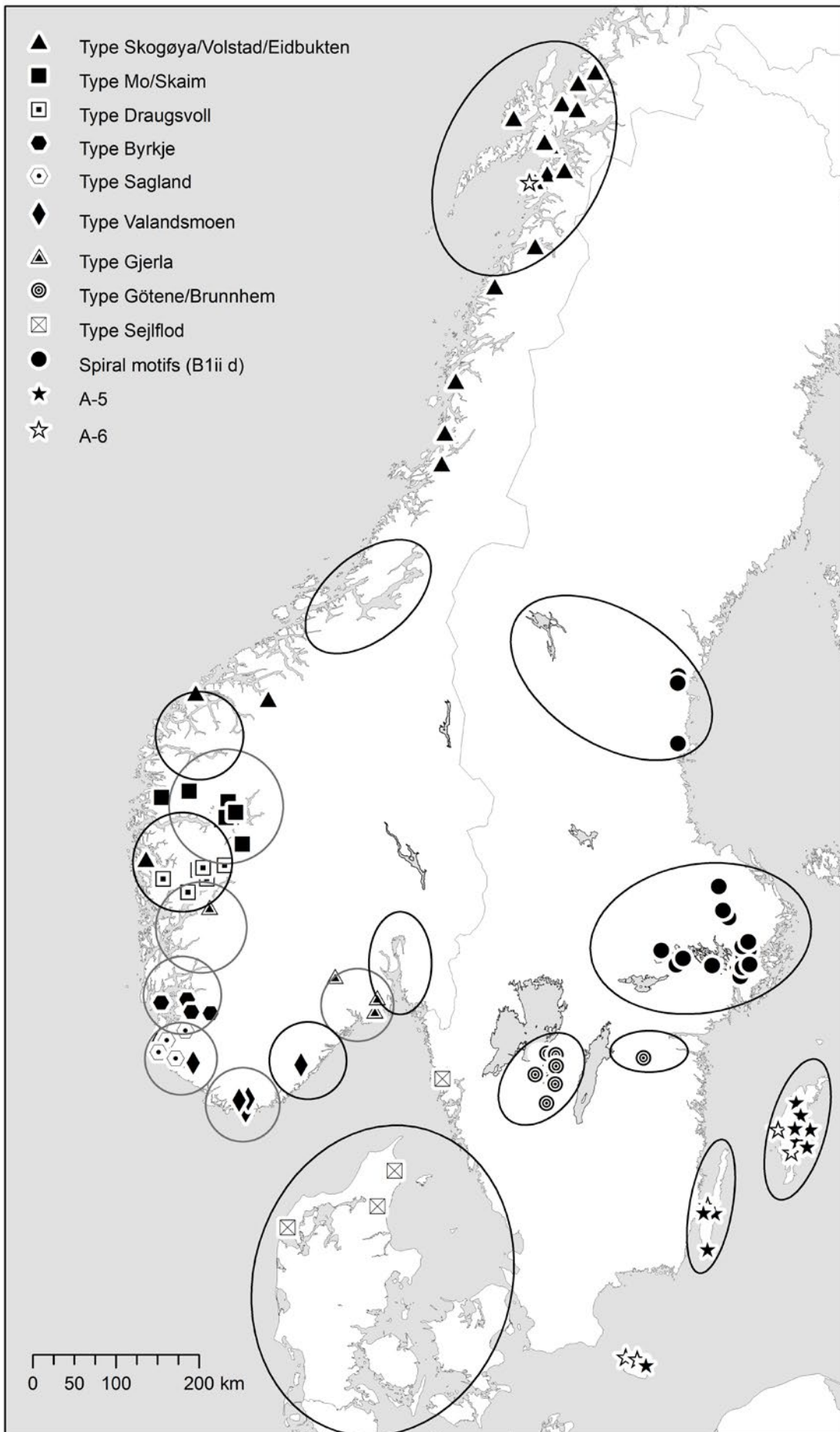
pottery, Jytte Ringtved (1998a; 1998b) has divided Jutland into two social and political core zones in the Migration Period: one in northern Jutland and one in the centre and south. Ringtved (1988a:111) also pointed out that both Class A clasps and brooch-types are common to both of these areas at the end of the Late Roman Iron Age and in the Migration Period. Through a more detailed examination of the Class A clasps, however, this study has revealed that a regional division between southern and northern Jutland is, to some extent, reflected through the use of clasps too. At the same time, the whole of the territory of Denmark is characterized by the distribution of cruciform brooches of Type Groß Siemss in phase D1, a type which is also found over an extensive area of northern Germany (cf. Ch. 4.2.1.3; see Reichstein 1975:Abb. 10). The overall impression of the situation in southern Scandinavia thus corresponds, to a considerable extent, to what is seen in Norway: the boundaries between economic and political centres in phase D1 are not directly reflected in female dress. What the relationship between political and cultural groupings in the east and south-east of Scandinavia was like cannot be inferred from the types of jewellery that constitute our basic evidence in this regard, because the distributions are limited primarily to the western regions of Scandinavia in this primary phase (cf. Ch. 4.2.1–3).

When the distribution patterns of the next phase, phase D2a, are compared with the hypothetical power centres and their associated territories, it would appear, by contrast, that the situation has changed over much of Scandinavia. It would now appear that in several cases there are striking congruencies in the distribution of individual types of jewellery and identified economic and social territorial units (Map 7.2). This is especially the case in Norway in Vestlandet and in the south-west, where several sub-types of cruciform brooch can be located primarily within a specific territory, as defined by Myhre (1987a) – for instance Type Valandsmoen in Vest-Agder; Type Sagland centred around Jæren and Type Byrkje in Ryfylket in Rogaland; Type Draugsvoll in North Hordaland; and Types Mo/Skaim in Sogn og Fjordane. It also appears that there is a certain correspondence between a postulated centre in Telemark/Vestfold and Type Gjerla. The same relationship recurs in western Sweden, where the central zone of

Västergötland is now marked by its own variant of cruciform brooches: Types Götene/Brunnhem (see also Särilvik 1982:102–12, 119–25). The Mälars region/Svealand stands out, too, through the use of distinctive button clasps.⁵ Both of these regions in Sweden have been identified as centres of the Migration Period (Gräslund 1993; Hyenstrand 1996; Ramqvist 1991; Särilvik 1982; Åberg 1953:34–79). Gotland, Öland and Bornholm are distinctively marked through the use of relief brooches with semi-circular headplates (types A-5 and A-6) while, as has been noted, there is a tendency for type A-5 to cluster on Gotland while A-6 predominates on Bornholm. Gotland, and also Öland and the coastal region of Småland, probably constituted separate political units (Welinder 2009:441). On Bornholm, this date may represent the beginning of the phase of establishment of a central kingship (L. Jørgensen 1991:121–3; Näsman 1991b:174–5). Jutland continues to stand out with its own type of cruciform brooch, Type Sejlflod, within what is gradually beginning to come into view as a ‘Danish’ constellation of political power (cf. Näsman 1998; 2006:220).

Even though there seems to be extensive correspondence between the distribution of special variants of dress-accessory and political groupings in phase D2a, cruciform brooches of Type Mundheim (for example) were in use within several of the definable political centres of northern Scandinavia. This is also the case, as has been shown, with some clasp-types (undecorated button clasps, and button clasps with either ring designs or animal art) and relief brooches of the plane- and ridge-foot types. The latter type, however, served principally as a status symbol of the period, and probably functioned to mark out super-regional groupings amongst the upper levels of society. As in the preceding phase, a grouping in northern Norway is marked by its own sub-type of cruciform brooch that appears to be common to several separate political units. It is still a question of debate how early the Helgeland coast and Lofoten-Vesterålen were conjoined into a single political territory that would later figure as the historically documented Hålogaland (Storli 2006). There are also a series of centres of political power that do *not* stand out with their own forms of jewellery. This is the case, for instance, with inner Trøndelag, and several centres in Norway’s Østlandet

⁵ The Mälars region also stands out through a concentration of a type of dress pin known as ‘moulded head pins’ (*vulsthodenåler*) (Bennett 1987:105–6; Waller 1972). The moulded head pins also frequently occur together with button clasps and relief brooches (Bennett 1987:106–7). This indicates that they probably belong to the period which covers phases D2a and D2b as the relief brooches of phase D1 have a markedly westerly distribution (i.e. they are not found in the Mälars region), and the button clasps are primarily of the final two phases of the Migration Period. In addition to the pins, relief brooches and clasps, Bennett (1987:105–7) identifies Husby brooches and belt rings as typical of female dress in the Mälars valley in the Migration Period.



Map 7.2 The distribution of selected types of dress-accessory in Phase D2a against political centres or core areas after Myhre (1987a:fig.7) and Ramqvist (1991:fig.1). Note that the political divisions of south-western Norway are according to Myhre (1987a).

including the Østfold/Bohuslän area. As has been noted, Åberg (1953:34–79) pointed out that Norrland is distinguished by its own jewellery-types, but this ‘kingdom of Norrland’ (Ramqvist 1991; Åberg 1953) is only weakly indicated in the distribution patterns of the types of dress-accessory studied here.⁶ In this particular case, this situation can be explained by the fact that other types of jewellery are involved, such as a distinct type of equal-armed brooch with animal-head terminals (Fig. 6.1).

The congruence between the distribution of regional types or variants of jewellery and politico-economic centres seems to be maintained in phase D2b. As shown above (cf. Ch. 5.1 and Map 5.5), in many cases it is the same areas that stand out, such as Sogn, Rogaland and the Mälars region, although there are also certain changes in relation to the preceding phase. This perhaps especially concerns the manifestations which now come into view in an extensive central and northern Norwegian area, plus central and northern Sweden, through the use of relief brooches of the Bothnian group and the northern ridge-foot group. These manifestations cut across the posited political boundaries between, *inter alia*, Svealand, Trøndelag and Helgeland-Lofoten-Vesterålen. This also includes the political unit in Norrland, although it has been argued that the ‘kingdom of Norrland’ was then a reduced power which was gradually becoming subject to the more powerful kingdom of the Svear (Ramqvist 1991:317; Åberg 1953:154). Some of the centres that recur in the distribution patterns of the jewellery evidence of the previous phase appear now to have disappeared: e.g. Bornholm, Västergötland and Vestfold-Telemark. As only selected types of dress-accessory have been examined, it is not possible to exclude the possibility that these central areas might be visible in the distribution of jewellery of other types. As in the preceding phase, there are also a number of centres that have no manifestation in the use of distinct items of jewellery. As before, this is the case with the postulated political entities in Østlandet, for instance in Ringerike and Romerike, and the coastal zone in the Oslofjord area from Akershus to Østfold-Bohuslän.

If the relationship between political and ethnic/cultural regional groups, as it emerges through female costume, is investigated in more detail – which I shall illustrate through the course of development in western Norway – it is interesting that the hypothetical territories identified here had apparently, in Myhre’s view (1987a:186), been in existence as equally important

and powerful political centres *early* in the period; while in the course of the 5th and 6th centuries there was apparently a process of centralization of power which led to some centres thriving at the expense of others. If Myhre’s observations are valid, there was a sort of *inverted* political development in comparison with what went on regarding the marking of identity through the use of jewellery: as we have seen, both regional and local costume manifestation strengthens from phase D2a onwards, and regional marking continues into the concluding phase of the Migration Period. This means that regional and local marking through the use of female costume intensified at a stage at which several of the centres appear to have been combined under common political control, and small states or petty kingdoms may have been formed. Myhre (1987a:171; 1992a:165, 167) also noted that the centres in Nordfjord, at Lista-Lyngdal, and in Jæren stand out in the 6th century through rich graves with imported material: something which should then indicate that these centres held ‘overlordship’ over surrounding ones. This political marking appears, however, to have no direct connection with the manifestation of cultural identity through the use of jewellery in these three (or four) areas at this date. The postulated centre in Nordfjord does not stand out in the jewellery evidence in either phase D2a or phase D2b since only a couple of finds of cruciform brooches of phase D2a and one (stray) find of a relief brooch of phase D2b have been made.⁷ Jæren, by contrast, is highly prominent, as the study above has shown, through massive marking in both of these phases in the 6th century. Lista-Lyngdal has the appearance of a third variant, with a certain level of manifestation of regional and local affiliation in the use of jewellery but of more moderate character compared with Jæren. There is therefore no one-to-one relationship between centres of political power and ethnic/cultural/regional manifestations of group identity in the 6th century (i.e. in phases D2a and D2b) in western Norway.

There is, all the same, one contact point between the two levels of social identity (i.e. political and cultural/ethnic regional identities): the political situation appears to have influenced the ethnic and/or cultural marking which was expressed through female costume in the Migration Period. This is shown in the fact that the regional manifestation that intensifies in phase D2a does to some extent reflect a political and economic structure that was probably already in existence from the transition between the Late

6 Through clasps of sub-type B1iv b, the ‘Norralla Type’, which comprises just three finds.

7 All three finds are from Gloppen *kommune*: B6588: Skrøppa; B7008: Steinsåker; B12549: Gjemmestad.

Roman Iron Age and the Migration Period. (Once again here, I am limiting myself to western Norway.) This may mean that ethnic or cultural groups were formed and became distinct under the influence of the process of political centralization that was operative in Migration-period society. It is, however, also possible – and conceivably more likely – that, as Myhre (1987a:186–7; 1991:15) has argued, the regional groupings and their signalization were based upon older ‘tribal’ differences. This would then mean that the political context had the effect of bringing out latent or already present, but materially unarticulated (through jewellery, in any case), regional group identities as something that it was important to negotiate and promote in a changed social reality and new political climate. Put another way, the development may be seen as an expression of unconscious or latent cultural dispositions – which this sort of ‘tribal’ affiliation could represent – becoming concretized and promoted as logically coherent in contrast to specific ‘others’ in the ‘cultural encounters’ that the process of centralization and the struggle for political power brought in their train (cf. Ch. 2.1).

Myhre (1987a:187) also suggests that the political and economic territories in Grenland, Agder, Rogaland and Hordaland may represent the ‘tribal’ centres of the *granii*, *augandzi*, *rygi* and *arochi* of Jordanes respectively. If these historical peoples referred to by Jordanes and Procopius through place names are compared with the regional groupings that appear in the archaeological evidence of jewellery in the latter two phases of the Migration Period, there are further palpable points of agreement. Several of the areas which stand out through clusters of specific types or variants of jewellery correspond more or less to areas that are associated with particular people: this is the case, for instance, with Götaland, Svealand, Denmark, Hålogaland, Rogaland, the provinces of Agder, and Hordaland. The aim of this study is not to identify specific peoples known from historical sources. This said, a comparison between the distribution patterns of jewellery and areas attributed to specific historical peoples indicates that there is an articulation of identities in documentary sources which matches, to some degree, one (of several) costume manifestations of cultural grouping in the archaeologically found jewellery of the last two phases of the Migration Period: from phase D2a onwards. The development of intensified material articulation of regional grouping upon a foundation of older ‘tribal’ affiliation may indicate that ethnic and/or cultural identity turned into a factor of political power (cf. Pohl 1988b) around this juncture.

Hines (1993a:91–5) has discussed the connection between, on the one hand, the intensification, or flourishing, that is found in the creation of artefacts and the distribution of jewellery at the beginning of phase D2a, and, on the other, the political development of the Migration Period. He has pointed out that this explosive phase of jewellery production coincided with other social changes, which were probably linked to the emergence of a more individualistic or individually oriented social system. This is linked to the introduction of the retinue system and growing state-formation. The cultural flourishing, he argued, points to a situation under social stress that was characterized by intense political competition, a competition that grew sharper with the foundation of the earliest Scandinavian kingdoms. The reduction in the distribution of and production of types of jewellery in phase D2b can be interpreted, he suggested, as a sign that the political situation had stabilized, and that the new aristocratic leaders of this phase were consolidating their positions. The analysis above, however, has shown that, although the quantity of items of jewellery is less in phase D2b than in the previous phase, regional marking was still, to a considerable extent, maintained. Moreover the foregoing analysis of the degree of correlation between politico-economic centres and groupings as reflected in the distribution of jewellery has shown that there was probably no one-to-one relationship between political and cultural categories in the Migration Period. Hines may nevertheless be right that the circumstances of political competition led to the increased production and consumption of jewellery: the increasing degree of regional marking through the first half of the Migration Period may reflect that the process of centralization which was underway activated a need for greater emphasis or visualization of regional and/or ethnic identities which found themselves at risk of disappearing or being swallowed up in this process of the union of, or dissolution of, formerly separate cultural entities. In that light, the political situation could have been determinative of the intensification of marking that came about (cf. Ch. 2.1). Considered in this context, the massive regional (and local) marking that is found in Rogaland in phases D2a and D2b, particularly on Jæren, also becomes more comprehensible: for much of prehistory, this stands out as a key area of contact with Jutland. The need for self-marking to emphasize one’s distinctness from the growing political power centre which the kingdom of the Danes represented might therefore have been greatest precisely here (cf. Hedeager 1990; 1992a; 1993; 2011; Näsman 2006).

The continuation of regional manifestation in phase D2b can be interpreted as reflecting a political situation which was still a stress factor for the existence of regional cultural groupings. The situation had changed, though, as is reflected in 'new' or formerly unarticulated groupings coming into view. A clearly marked area with its heart in Trøndelag and Jämtland now emerges, for instance, through the use of relief brooches of the northern ridge-foot group, and to a certain extent through the Bothnian group with its centre of gravity to the east of the region in Gästrikland and Medelpad. Ramqvist (1991:315–17), as noted, has argued that there was a petty kingdom in central Norrland, in the first half of the Migration Period, with its principal centre at Högom, but that it became subject to the kingdom of the Svear, with its centre around Mälaren and Gamla Uppsala, towards the end of the period. He has also argued for socio-political contacts between Norrland and Trøndelag. Some scholars have also claimed that the kingdom of the Svear gained power over Götaland around the same time (Gräslund 1993:195), while others have noted the possibility that Västergötland fell under Danish overlordship in the course of the Migration Period (Hyenstrand 1996:131–2). The flourishing in the use of jewellery at this date perhaps suggests an underpinning of cultural connections between Norrland to the east and Trøndelag to the west. This could be the product of distancing from an ever stronger political power player represented by the kingdom of the Svear, which could also have posed a threat to cultural links across the Scandinavian peninsula, cutting across existing and shifting political boundaries.

It is also a point of interest, however, that throughout the Migration Period there were centres of political power and political entities which were *not* reflected in the distribution of distinct variants of jewellery. Several of these areas also have very few finds of jewellery altogether. This is true, to an extent, of Denmark, where the general lack of grave finds, offset by the finding of rich hoards, including gold hoards, has been interpreted as evidence of the progressive centralization of political power, and of one or more centralized kingdoms being established and consolidated as early as during the Migration Period (Hedeager 1990:204–6; 1992b:94; Näsman 1998; 2006). Solberg (2006:176; cf. below) has argued for similar situations in the areas of inner Østlandet in Norway. These are districts which, in a similar way, are characterized by a general lack of rich grave finds and a paucity of finds of jewellery. But there are gold hoards in these areas too. What might the general absence of jewellery in such areas signify? A paucity of richly furnished grave finds is

often interpreted as a token of there having been no need for social marking, because the political situation was stable and the leaders had consolidated their positions of power (cf. Hedeager 1990:204–6; 1992b:94; 1993; L. Jørgensen 1991:123; Myhre 1992a:164, 171; 2003:85–6; Nielsen 1991:146; Ringtved 1988a:201; Solberg 2000:176). The absence of graves with jewellery *cannot*, however, be taken as showing that women in these areas did not use jewellery on their dress. In Denmark we do have different types of brooch in hoards throughout the Migration Period, indicating the brooches were used in this area, even though they do not constitute a substantial group of finds in either hoards or graves. The predominant trend is for cruciform brooches to be deposited alone, while the relief and de luxe brooches are often found in association with beads and gold bracteates (cf. Ch. 4.2.1–2). Even if the costume had indeed been subject to change – with the use, for instance, of different types of textile or a new cut etc. – all the same, possible changes of that nature would appear not to have had any effect on the use of jewellery.

In Hedmark and Östergötland too, areas with few finds of jewellery from the Migration Period, relief brooches occur in hoards of the last phase of the Migration Period. These relief brooches are of types that are common in neighbouring areas (cf. Ch. 4.2.2.8). This *may* be due to the fact that the same brooch-variants were in use over larger areas than where they are represented in burials. As already noted (Ch. 4.1.3), dress-accessories are also found at production sites in areas where those same items do not appear in graves. An example of this is the finding of equal-armed relief brooches of phase D2b at Sättuna in Östergötland and Uppåkra in Skåne (cf. Ch. 4.2.2.7). There may, then, be diverse reasons – besides a lower degree of social marking consequent upon political stability – for the brooches not having finally been deposited as grave goods in the various regions. The items of jewellery could possibly have remained in circulation through passing by inheritance, for instance from mother to daughter (cf. Ch. 6.5). In this way they could still be significant in signalling origin, cultural or ethnic affiliation, or tradition, even though these were no longer values people needed to emphasize through the burial ritual (cf. above, Ch. 2.2.2).

The preceding investigation has shown that, despite there being relatively few jewellery finds from Denmark, Jutland itself, and indeed Bornholm, still stand out through a number of distinct types of jewellery throughout the Migration Period – including their own types of cruciform brooch and variants of clasp (cf. Chs. 4.2.1, 4.2.3 and 5.3). This could represent

the manifestation of cultural groupings within the emergent 'Danish' power bloc (cf. Näsman 1998:272; Ringtved 1988a:201–2).

At the beginning of the Merovingian Period, the picture changes again, and the range of jewellery is now dominated by four major constellations, in the north, south, east and south-east of Scandinavia respectively (cf. Chs. 5.2–3 and 6.5, and Map 5.6). Nielsen (1991:133–4, 151; 2002:20–1) has argued that regional variance in the jewellery evidence from southern and eastern Scandinavia in the Merovingian Period represents difference between ethno-political groups, and that the distribution patterns reflect a political expansion in the course of the period. As I have attempted to demonstrate here, the relationship between political and cultural groupings can be highly complex, and those entities will not necessarily be corresponding or isomorphic categories. In the context of Norway, for instance, it is assumed that there were several petty kingdoms or chieftainships at this date (phase 1 of the Merovingian Period) – including one in eastern Norway centred upon Åker by Lake Mjøsa; others in Romerike, at Borre in Vestfold and at Bertnem in Nord-Trøndelag; one or more southern and inland Trønder centres around the Trondheimsfjord; also around Tjøtta, Steigen, Lofoten-Vesterålen and Bjarkøy in Troms; and several political units in western Norway – and that the boundaries between the kingdoms were probably fluid (Lillehammer 1994:181, 206–12, 223; Myhre 1992a:168–73; 1992b:308–13, fig. 60; 2002:201–13; 2003:87–9; Näsman 2006:fig. 6b; Skre 1998:252, 292, 322; Storli 2006:151–3, 184–5; Welinder 2009:441). The study above has shown, however, that the phase is characterized by what is practically common Norwegian or common north-western Scandinavian costume marking involving the use of conical brooches.

The situation in southern Scandinavia at this time may have been different. Here there is also a cultural or ethnic regional identity manifested through female dress in what appears, in effect, to coincide with the historical Denmark (including Skåne). This may represent the areas which fell under Danish overlordship and shared political government (possibly with the exception of Bornholm) (Näsman 1991b:174–5; 1993:33–4; 1998:272–3; 2006:fig. 6a, 200, 226–8).⁸ This possible central political authority is not, however, reflected directly in the distribution of jewellery

evidence from the Migration Period, as Jutland and Bornholm, as noted above, diverge in the use of their own types. Since the distribution of the various southern Scandinavian types of dress-accessory of phase 1 of the Merovingian Period has not been examined in detail here, it is not impossible that some such manifestation that was specific to Jutland and to Bornholm took place. Nevertheless the cumulative distribution of the jewellery, as it can be perceived through Ørsnes (1966) and Nielsen (1991), indicates that there was in any event a manifestation in costume of a common southern Scandinavian grouping at this date. What we see, then, is the articulation of cultural and/or ethnic regional identity which may also have been a political identity or reality as early as towards the end of the Migration Period (cf. above). If Denmark was subject to relatively stable rule and constituted a unit of political power from the end of the Migration Period and in the early Merovingian Period (cf. Näsman 1993:34; 1998:273; 2006:220), the development that took place in southern Scandinavia can be interpreted as a case of the political situation having influenced the experience of cultural affiliation. In that case, this also led to, or contributed to, the formation of a shared, southern Scandinavian identity in the wake of the unification of the region under a political entity. Nielsen may indeed be right that the evidence of the jewellery in the context of southern Scandinavia possibly represents an ethno-political grouping at this particular, initial stage of the Merovingian Period. This coincidence between the cultural/ethnic and political categories is not, however, found (as has been shown) at any earlier stage, and it likewise is not necessarily the case in the subsequent phases of the Merovingian Period.⁹ If the centralization of political power, by contrast, came later in this area (cf. Hedeager 2002:371), the same sequence is suggested as in Norway, where a common identity precedes political unification.

It has been noted that there are two areas in eastern Scandinavia which are quite distinct at the beginning of the Merovingian Period (phase 1), on account of their particular jewellery-types. One of these comprises Gotland and Öland. The other is an area of the mainland that is centred upon Svealand/the Mälars region but also includes, if to a lesser degree, Öster- and Västergötland. From Norrland there are now very few finds of jewellery altogether, a point that must be linked to the fact that there is an overall reduction of

⁸ It must, however, be regarded as doubtful that this whole area was under single political governance at so early a date: cf. Hedeager 2002:371, above.

⁹ A corollary of this is that the distribution patterns of items of jewellery cannot then directly be interpreted in terms of political expansion during the Merovingian Period (cf. Nielsen 1991).

finds from this area (Åberg 1953:154). What the political circumstances were in these areas in the earliest phase of the Merovingian Period has been a subject of discussion. The kings of the Svear established themselves, with Uppsala as their royal seat, in the course of the Migration Period, and the burials in both the Western and Eastern Mound from the first phase of the Merovingian Period (Arrhenius 1995b:320–30; Gräslund 1993:192; Hyenstrand 1996:91; Ljungkvist 2005:255–256; 2008; Ljungkvist and Frölund 2015) can be interpreted as a sign that the royal dynasty was still marking its position of power at that date. It has been claimed, as noted previously, that the Svear dominated (meaning that they were placed in a position of over kingship) Väster- (and Öster-) götland and Norrland at the end of the Migration Period (see also Gräslund 1993:195). It is not clear whether this position was maintained in phase 1 of the Merovingian Period for, as already acknowledged, Danish overlordship in Västergötland has also been considered a possibility (Hyenstrand 1996:121–2, 131–2). Through the use of jewellery, a common eastern Scandinavian/Swedish identity was reinforced, but what is perhaps most striking when we compare the distribution patterns of the jewellery with the political situation is the extensive marking that was going on in the *core areas* of the two ‘great powers’ – the Danes (including Skåne: cf. above) and the Svear – while the manifestation of group identity (by means of jewellery) in the areas of central Sweden in between was kept at a ‘low level’. This may initially appear to be paradoxical in light of the theories of ethnicity which emphasize precisely the role of marking in *boundary zones* (cf. Ch. 2.2.1). The distribution pattern can be explained, all the same, in terms of the level of contact having probably been greatest precisely between the two different centres: it was here that mobility was most pronounced, and cultural contact most frequent, because the centres served as cultural meeting points. In this regard, it is interesting that several conical brooches have been found in the vicinity of postulated ‘Norwegian’ centres that were not marked through their own types in the range of jewellery at the end of the Migration Period: Åker and the region around Hamar in the Mjøsa region; Hundorp in Gudbrandsdalen; the Fredrikstad-Sarpsborg area in Østfold; the Brunlanes-Tjølling area in Vestfold; and around Tyrifjorden in Ringerike. This can be seen as reflecting the fact that it was now desirable to signal a common identity shared with other southern, western and northern centres in Norway, on Jæren for instance (Sola), in Helgeland and Lofoten-Vesterålen (where also conical brooches have been found). There is also a relatively high level of

‘overlapping’ of types of dress-accessory between the mainland region of eastern Sweden and Öland with Gotland (Nielsen 1991:148–9). As has been noted, these islands conceivably stood as distinct political entities. The islands thus signalled a distinct identity, but at the same time there was a level of communality in a shared identity between the populations on the mainland and on the islands.

Consequently, there appears to have been no one-to-one relationship between the ethnic or cultural regional costume marking and political entities at the beginning of the Merovingian Period, even though some groupings that are articulated through the medium of material culture – such as that which can be discerned through the distributions of certain types of dress-accessory in Denmark and Skåne – may have corresponded to some political entity (see, however, Harrison 2009:67, who argues for the existence of a separate petty kingdom in Skåne with its principal seat at Uppåkra). The shift that took place in Scandinavia at the transition to the Merovingian Period, when the whole area divided into four major ‘jewellery zones’ which clearly sought to distance themselves from one another through the use of different types of dress-accessory (cf. Chs. 4.3.2 and 5.2), may, conversely, represent a *change in mentality* in relation to cultural groupings. This change may reflect the fact that the relationship between ‘them and us’ was now relocated to a more super-regional level so that the ‘we’ included more people, and according to which there was greater focus upon larger cultural units. At the same time there appears to be more distance between the different groupings. The change also reveals a shift from socio-political (hierarchical) units to geo-political groupings (regions). The jewellery of the early Merovingian Period is characterized rather by ‘simplicity’, and no longer appears to be greatly adapted to the marking of ‘status’ (with the possible exception of the use of disc-on-bow brooches on Gotland: cf. Chs. 4.3.2 and 6.5). Through this shift, it would appear that whatever differentiated between minor regional/cultural groupings lost emphasis, while communality across both earlier and contemporary cultural and political boundaries was reinforced. The development in Scandinavia thus appears to have been parallel to what was happening on the Continent – where political processes led to the foundation of the earliest European kingdoms (cf. above). A similar process is also noted in Anglo-Saxon England (Geake 1997:129–36; see also Hines and Bayliss eds 2013:543–5 and Ch.7.1.3 below).

The almost total replacement of types of dress-accessory that took place at the transition to the

Merovingian Period can be viewed in connection with the fact that '[i]nnovation in dress often expresses more fundamental changes in society, and usually goes along with actual or intended social advancement of new groups' (Schubert 1993:19–20 in Pohl 1998a:49; see also Ch. 2.2.1). This is consistent with Hines's interpretation of the replacement of dress-accessories at the transition to the Merovingian Period as a break with an old costume tradition and with what that custom previously meant to society (cf. Ch. 6.6). Regarded thus, the change may reflect the seed of a political change that anticipates eventual processes of state-formation similar to those that are seen on the Continent, where previously multi-ethnic confederations of peoples such as the Franks, the Visigoths and the Ostrogoths gradually acquired common identities as regionally rooted groups embedded in their own state-kingdoms (e.g. Geary 2003; Hedeager and Tvarnø 2001:165–80; James 1991; Vallet 1995). The changes in costume which took place in the context of Scandinavia at the transition to the Merovingian Period should perhaps be linked specifically to the political development on the Continent, where the establishment of Frankish overlordship was a fact from around the middle of the 6th century (Todd 2004:193). The altered political situation on the Continent could have been determinative for ethnic and/or cultural manifestation in Scandinavia by provoking a need to emphasize a common regionally based identity that extended over a large area in opposition to an 'imperial' Frankish identity and other early European political groupings.¹⁰ A further point is that it was easier to gather larger areas into one kingdom when there was a common identity to build on.

The relationship between ethnic and/or cultural identity and political identity in Scandinavia proves to be complex. This study shows that there was a dynamic between these two elements, and that ethnic/cultural and political identity were imbricated and intersected in various ways in different places throughout the Migration and Merovingian Periods. This is possibly not so very surprising when one considers that both the political and the cultural conditions must have been different from place to place. In southern Scandinavia, for example, the distance from the Continent was less, and contacts with that area were denser than would have been the case in the north. Northern Scandinavia, for its part, was affected by the presence of a different form of culture, a culture that does not figure further south. Over much of the Scandinavian peninsula there were at this time Saami (hunting) populations. I will

now turn to the encounter between Germanic or Norse culture and Saami culture, for this encounter must have been a factor that influenced the activation of cultural difference and its signalling (cf. Ch. 2.1). It will, therefore, be a matter of interest to explore how the relationship between these major cultural and ethnic groups took form in this period, and how it came to be expressed in costume manifestations.

7.1.2 Cultural Encounters in the north and in the interior: Norse and Saami

In the period under examination here, Saami culture(s) can be classified as a distinct hunting culture or cultures, formed and reproduced through interaction with a Germanic/Norse culture (Hansen and Olsen 2004:38–42, 52–136). In the Iron Age, Malangen in Troms appears to have been a major frontier between areas of Saami and Norse settlement in northern Norway. North and east of this boundary Saami culture was predominant. South of the boundary in South Troms and in Nordland, Germanic/Norse culture was predominant in the outer coastal reaches while Saami culture prevailed in the inner arms of the fjords and the interior. There was probably, however, a Saami population also present within the Germanic/Norse area of South Troms and Nordland (Hansen and Olsen 2004:78–82, fig. 10). The full extent of Saami settlement to the south-east in Norway and in central Sweden at this date is a matter of more uncertainty. It nonetheless appears to be widely accepted that there was at least a Saami population in those areas where the historically recorded South Saami were living, namely parts of Trøndelag, Hedmark, Dalarna, and Jämtland, Härjedalen and Gästrikland in Norrland (Bergstøl 1997:83–92; Hansen and Olsen 2004:103–9; Magnus and Myhre 1976:318–19; Zachrisson 1997:7–10). From historical sources such as medieval law-codes and the like, however, there is reason to believe that Saami lived over a much wider area of south-eastern Norway than that defined by the modern South Saami zone (Bergstøl 1997:fig. 8.1; 2004:20; 2008:146–9; Hansen and Olsen 2004:108–9; Zachrisson 1997:7–10). This view appears also, bit by bit, to be gaining credence from archaeological finds, such as rectangular row-hearths of Saami character from Dovre in Lesja *kommune* in Oppland. These are in fact dated to the Viking Period (Bergstøl and Reitan 2008).

Saami identity in the southern zone appears, however, to have progressively differentiated itself from the northern zone, *inter alia* through a much greater

¹⁰ See Näsman (1998:277–8) for the significance of the dominance of Merovingian power in relation to Scandinavian identity.

degree of *creolization* with the Norse culture and population (Hansen and Olsen 2004:107). Jostein Bergstøl (2004:8) defines creolization thus:

When cultural traits are disconnected from their former contexts and melded with other cultural traits, new entities can be built. Such a mixture and new creation is called ‘creolization’.

A quantity of finds that are interpreted as tokens of creolization are dated to the Viking Period and the earlier Medieval Period, but Bergstøl (2004:18–20; 2008:225–30) draws attention to agriculture and hunting-ground burials as early creolization factors in Østerdalen at the transition between the Early and Late Iron Age. He regards these as cultural features which had been influenced and adopted from the Germanic culture and which were adopted by a Saami population in a situation of ethnic stress. These cultural features helped to differentiate the population in this area not only from its Germanic counterpart but also from the Saami population further north (Hansen and Olsen 2004:107). Bergstøl (2004) argues that the process of creolization took place in association with the expansion of a Germanic/Norse mode of settlement at the transition to the Merovingian Period, when agriculture was expanded into former Saami hunting areas in eastern Norway. This led to more frequent and more direct contact between the two culture groups in this area (Bergstøl 2004:18–20).

Relief brooches, cruciform brooches, clasps and conical brooches are conventionally interpreted as Germanic/Norse artefact-types: in other words as expressions of a Germanic/Norse cultural form (cf. Ch. 1). Saami identity in this period was manifested in different ways. In the north it was manifested, inter alia, through the construction of features such as rock pits (cf. below), through a distinct form of settlement represented by round building foundations with a special partition of the floor, and partly, too, through a special form of burial, known as the ‘scree grave custom’. In the South Saami area, Saami identity found expression in, amongst other things, the construction of what are known as ‘hunting-ground burials’, which in the Migration Period took the form of flat stone settings, and in the Merovingian Period principally of cairns (although there are also flat graves) (Bergstøl 2004:18–20; Hansen and Olsen 2004:40, 56–8, 69–72, 104, 117).

When we compare the distribution patterns of the items of jewellery with what we know about the extent of Saami and Germanic/Norse settlement, however, we can see that there is no complete coincidence

between the area of Germanic/Norse occupation and the distribution of dress-accessories. It is, for instance, a general characteristic in the case of the northern Scandinavian, and particularly the Norwegian and northern Swedish, distribution pattern that most finds of jewellery are from coastal areas. This is particularly the case in the Migration Period, but also to a considerable extent in the early Merovingian Period, when a cluster of conical brooches follows the coastal strip of northern Norway, extending southward to the coasts of Trøndelag and Møre. There are individual exceptions: it transpires from the analysis above (Ch. 4.2.2.7) that a distinct type of relief brooch of phase D2b is found both in Nord-Trøndelag and in the Storsjö region of settlement in Jämtland. Something that I shall be returning to is a particular concentration of conical brooches of the first phase of the Merovingian Period in the Lake Mjøsa districts and in Gudbrandsdalen, in the inner valley reaches of Sør-Trøndelag, and a few dispersed finds also in the inner valleys and districts of Østlandet (cf. Chs. 4.3.1 and 7.1.1).

In the context of northern Norway, the coastal distribution pattern of jewellery coincides fairly convincingly with the area of Germanic/Norse settlement. In some parts of the south-eastern half of Norway, and in central and northern Sweden, where the conditions for agriculture are favourable and there is also a Germanic/Norse agrarian population, there are, by contrast, surprisingly few finds of jewellery (cf. Ch. 7.1.1; see also Hansen and Olsen 2004:106; on exceptions, however, see below). In the Migration Period, this was the case with, for instance, the ‘broad inland settlement districts’ in Romerike, Ringerike, Toten, Hadeland and the Mjøsa area, the farming areas of Sør-Trøndelag such as Klæbu, Melhus, Meråker, and Meldal, and in the inner valley zones of Østlandet such as Gudbrandsdalen, Gauldal and Hallingdal. These areas are characterized by a general absence of rich grave finds. In the case of Østlandet, it has been argued, as already noted (Ch. 7.1.1), that this was because the centralization of power was completed in the interior areas earlier than along the coast (Solberg 2000:176). Germanic/Norse settlement also expanded, however, in the course of the Roman and Migration Periods out into what are regarded as ‘marginal regions’: i.e. into areas where the conditions for agriculture were not ideal, such as to the higher altitude localities around Valdres and inner Telemark and other comparable upland, forest and mountain areas (Magnus and Myhre 1976:292, 299–304; Solberg 2000:111–13, 146–8, 153, 177). There is reason to suggest, therefore, that there was a Germanic/Norse population in much of the interior which did *not* mark itself through the

use of jewellery in grave finds in the manner that was customary in the coastal zones (cf. above).

Finds of the 'Germanic/Norse' jewellery-types are extremely few in the Saami areas. One find that has already been referred to (Ch. 4.2.1.5) is a cruciform brooch from a grave at Grunnes in Vardø *kommune*, Finnmark.¹¹ This is the northernmost find of a cruciform brooch, and it is from a location situated well within the Saami area. The brooch, which is of Type Mundheim, is from what is known as a Saami scree grave. The grave, which was placed beneath a rock and had been walled, contained the uncremated bones of a young, not fully adult, woman. Several other scree graves were found at the same place, which is understood to have been a Saami cemetery (Schanche 2000:115, 219, 391; Sjøvold 1962:118). In light of the fact that there are so few jewellery-finds from Saami areas in this period, this find is of additional significance. What we see, is an inter-mixture of two ethnic markers, represented by a typically 'Germanic/Norse' artefact-type and special 'Saami' type of grave and burial site. Is it a Saami woman who lay buried here, with a typically 'Germanic/Norse' brooch, or was she originally from the Germanic/Norse section of the population but interred in a Saami cemetery in accordance with Saami practice because at the time of her burial she belonged to the Saami community? Irrespective of the woman's genealogical descent (the burial of) this woman can be said to manifest an identity which carries clear elements of both a 'Germanic/Norse' and a 'Saami' affiliation since the language of symbolism references features of both of those cultures (see also Ch. 6.3). This may possibly express a self-consciousness and identity as bi-cultural – both Germanic/Norse and Saami. It may also be significant that this cruciform brooch was not a regionally specific form but rather a *common* northern Scandinavian type. A common Germanic/Norse form of dress-accessory could have been perceived as best suited to express the contrast with the Saami context. This must, nonetheless, be regarded as speculative, since it is possible that it was simply a question of availability that determined what brooch was placed in the grave.

An interesting feature of this find is the fact that the scree grave custom, which is understood to be a distinctly Saami burial-type, appears in fact to have

been limited to Varanger at that date. It was only after around the year 800 that this burial practice expanded to, or was adopted in, other Saami areas in the rest of northern Norway, Trøndelag, Jämtland, Norrbotten and Västerbotten (Hansen and Olsen 2004:117; Schanche 2000:160–4, 171–81). Occasional other items of jewellery have also been found in scree graves of the Migration Period in Varanger: a grave with 'Scandinavian' ('Germanic/Norse') types of bead,¹² and another with 'Finnish' dress pins¹³ (Schanche 2000:169, 176–7, 213) (Fig. 7.1). Alongside the scree grave rite, which thus is regionally restricted in the period under investigation, Saami in the northern areas very probably also buried their dead in other ways: for instance in simple 'earth graves' and through procedures which would not produce archaeological traces. Moreover burial cairns were used in both the Germanic/Norse and the Saami cultures: they are usually inter-distinguishable only on the basis of the context in which they occur (Schanche 2000:159, 164). Potentially Saami graves in cairns close to the Germanic settlement area, for instance along the outer coastlands of Troms where Saami were probably present within the Germanic area of settlement (cf. above), would therefore be indistinguishable from Germanic graves, in many cases. It remains striking, nevertheless, that three graves with 'non-Saami' jewellery appear within an area where in this period a distinctly Saami mode of burial was used. If items of jewellery had been included in other Saami burial contexts, hoards or the like outside of the Varanger region, one should expect at least some 'stray finds' of such objects. This may indicate that the presence of the 'non-Saami' dress-accessories is to be understood precisely on the basis of this particular Saami burial practice. Could the situation reflect the fact that a material manifestation of Saami belonging was demanded in order to 'clear the way' for the signalling of 'non-Saami' connections at another level in the burial practice?

There are, then, few finds of jewellery from Saami areas in the north. Audhild Schanche (2000:176–7) notes the finding of a relief brooch at Rovaniemi (Finland)¹⁴ which may be from a Saami context, but, this apart, all the other finds are from Varanger. There are similarly very few finds of jewellery of the Migration and early Merovingian Periods from Saami areas further south, in Trøndelag, eastern Norway,

11 Ts4307.

12 Unnumbered: Perlarsenvik, Nesseby k., Finnmark. The beads (one round blue, eight complete and two half biconical blue beads) may be datable to the 4th century (Schanche 2000:386 nos. 135–7) but could in my view also date to the beginning of the Migration Period.

13 Ts6482: Mortensnes, Nesseby k., Finnmark.

14 NM19807: Tammenharju, Rovaniemi (Koivunen 1975:5).

Jämtland, Härjedalen, Dalarna and Gästrikland. A few finds of bead ornaments have been made in hunting-ground graves dated to the 7th and 8th centuries: for instance from Rena in Østerdalen and in the north of Dalarna (Bergstøl 1997:70; 2004:12; Zachrisson 1997:49). Of the forms of dress-accessory discussed in this study, some are from peripheral or upland areas such as Nord-Aurdal in Valdres,¹⁵ Skåbu in Vinstra,¹⁶ and Oppdal,¹⁷ plus the Storsjö region of Jämtland, but these finds are closely connected to areas which had agrarian settlement from the Roman Period, or earlier (Björnstad 1962:73, 80; Magnus and Myhre 1976:292, 299–304; Solberg 2000:111–13, 146–8, 153).

The ethnic affiliation of finds from mountainous and/or forested areas in eastern Hedmark, which are generally understood to have been Saami settlement zones or possibly occupied by a creolized Saami-Germanic/Norse population (Bergstøl 2008), is however open to question. An example can be seen in a relief brooch from Fonnås in Øvre Rendalen (cf. Ch. 4.2.2.8). This brooch was found during land clearing in the 19th century. Brøgger (1942:21) has argued that it probably did *not* originally belong to a grave. Valuable artefacts like this brooch would usually be part of richly furnished graves, and one would therefore anticipate finds of other associated objects. If the brooch originated from a grave, one would also expect charcoal or humus-rich soil to be noted in connection with the find. Brøgger took the find as evidence that the farm of Fonnås must have been the first farm to have been founded in the upper valley reach. There are, however, no burial mounds of the Migration Period from Fonnås (Bergstøl 2008:92–104), but Brøgger drew attention to the position of the find spot in relation to a striking mountain that stands out as a conspicuous landmark over a wide area. Studies of Migration-period caches and hoards have shown that these often occur in boundary zones between settled land and wilderness, and otherwise adjacent to water, bog, mountain or scree (Hedeager 1999a; Wiker 2000:124–39). I have consequently regarded this find as a cache (Ch. 4.2.2.8).

The Fonnås brooch may represent a deposit made in a peripheral area or an 'outland' zone seen from the perspective of the Germanic/Norse settlement further south in the valley. Silver hoards of the Late Iron Age and Medieval Period are most commonly from boundary zones between Saami and Germanic/Norse areas (Bergstøl 2008:103–4; Hansen and Olsen

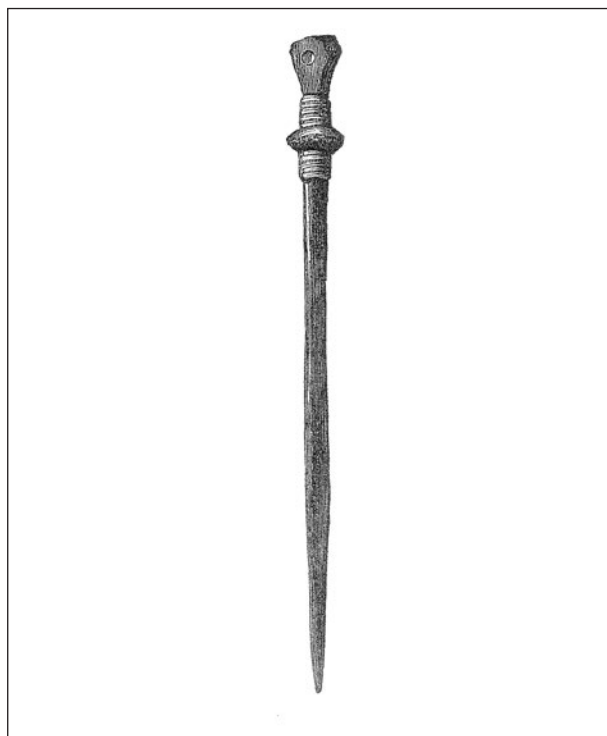


Figure 7.1 Dress pin from Österbotten of the same or similar type as that found in Mortensnes grave 145, after Aspelin (1880:fig. 1262; T36482).

2004:82–5). In this context, therefore, it is of interest that a Late Iron-age hoard has been found further north along the valley system that runs north-eastwards from Fonnås (at Undset) (Bergstøl 2008:96–7). The location in a boundary area up against the mountain, and the association with a geographical 'landmark' such as Fonnås Mountain, may indicate that this find is a religious deposit (Hedeager 1999a; Wiker 2000:123–7). The brooch also has a runic inscription on the back, which may have made it particularly 'magical' (Andrén 1991:249–50; Axboe 1991:191; Hedeager 1999b:230; Røstad 2018:84–8).

At the same time, it is possible that the find should be understood in terms of the expression of an incipient process of creolization (cf. Bergstøl 2004; 2008; Hansen and Olsen 2004:107), by representing the adoption of a Germanic/Norse costume habit within Saami culture. Several scholars have noted that Saami and Germanic/Norse pre-Christian beliefs have some clearly similar elements, and the practice of religion could have been a social field in which these two cultures met and which made it easier to pass through an ethnic shift (Bergstøl 2004:14, 18; Hansen and Olsen 2004:108–9; Price 2002:275–8, 324; Solli 2002:169–90). Relief brooches

15 C15066: Hipplesbygda – cruciform brooch; C12280: Skrautval – relief brooch.

16 C5700: Kvalen/kvålen – cruciform brooch.

17 T5310: Grøte – cruciform brooch; T3880: Rise – conical brooch; T18757: Vang – conical brooches.

with zoomorphic art have also been interpreted as having been used by *vöplur* or shamans within Germanic society (Magnus 1995:39; 1999b:167, 170–1; Wiker 2000:83–4; cf. Ch. 6.3). A creolization specifically of the shamans of the South Saami area has already been proposed, and particular importance has been attached to cross-dressing. This involved the shamans breaking the gender boundaries concerning dress by using both gender-specific female and male dress-accessories. Cross-dressing is a practice linked to these religious specialists that is understood to derive from Germanic/Norse culture (Bergstøl 2004:14; Solli 2002:176–8). Might the Fonnås brooch have belonged to a religious specialist, a shaman who was practising within both Saami and Germanic/Norse communities?

There are also certain finds from the early Merovingian Period from relatively peripheral zones of the interior. A conical brooch was found in the south of Ljørdalen in the eastern part of Trysil,¹⁸ an area that can be classified as ‘outland’ in relation to the agrarian settlement of both the Migration Period and the Merovingian Period (Bergstøl 2008:118–23; Brøgger 1942:20–2). This is a stray find with no further details of its find context, making interpretation difficult. From its location it ought perhaps to be best understood as conveying a Germanic/Norse-Saami contact. Another find that has a clearer link to Saami culture is the already noted hoard from Vilhelmina in Lappland. Here, as already outlined, five conical brooches were found at a Saami ‘camp’ site (Saami *goatte*: cf. Chs. 3.2.3 and 4.3.1.4), and it has been argued that this find should be regarded as a Saami hoard (Serning 1960:153–4). The find is dated to c. AD 700, however, on the basis of association with oval brooches and beads. A stray find from an unknown location in Norrland¹⁹ may also represent an 8th-century hoard of the same form, comprising two conical brooches, together with oval brooches and beads (cf. Ch. 4.3.1.4), but, because the find context and circumstances are unknown, in this case the interpretation has to remain quite uncertain (Serning 1960:163–4). An intriguing detail in this connection is the fact that conical brooches are also found in Finland in the Merovingian Period (cf. Ch. 4.3.1.2). As is known, eastern brooches that are predominantly from Finland and the Baltic zone appear in Saami contexts in northern Norway in the Viking Period (Schanche 2000:213–14; Solberg 2000:224;

Zachrisson 1997:206–7). Finds of eastern Viking-period jewellery have also been made in the South Saami area, for instance in certain hunting-ground burials and hoards (Zachrisson 1997:206–8). Could the conical brooches in the Vilhelmina find, and the other possible hoard from Norrland, represent the primary stage of this tradition? If the conical brooches from these finds in northern Sweden had come from Finland, this would serve to explain why the decoration of these brooches differs from what is typical on Norwegian brooches (cf. Ch. 4.3.1.1).

The Vilhelmina find and the find of unknown provenance in Norrland cannot, however, be considered in the context of the dress fashion of phase 1 of the Merovingian Period since, as noted, the deposits are later in date, and there is no basis for determining whether or not the brooches had been used on clothing in the Saami area in the period under investigation in this study (although that is certainly not inconceivable, since they may have been circulating amongst a Saami or creolized Saami-Germanic/Norse population before they were deposited). Various other finds of jewellery, by contrast, such as the two finds of brooches noted from outland areas in Hedmark (Fonnås and Ljørdalen),²⁰ may have been in use on clothing in the Saami area during their main period of use, like the bead sets that are found in hunting-ground burials. These two brooch-finds are dated, respectively, to phase D2b of the Migration Period and phase 1 of the Merovingian Period.²¹ The finds may possibly be associable with the process of creolization that was under way in part of the South Saami areas around the end of the Migration Period and the beginning of the Merovingian Period, when individual cultural features were taken from the Germanic/Norse culture and adopted in Saami culture, where, by being relocated in a different cultural context, they contributed to the formation of a new cultural entity (cf. above). The use of Germanic/Norse costume expressions may, like agriculture and hunting-ground burials, have been one such feature. It is possible that the non-Saami items of jewellery from Varanger, discussed above, should be interpreted in a similar way.

In general, then, we see that in the interior of the main Scandinavian peninsula there were relatively few amongst the Germanic/Norse population who manifested group-affiliation through the employment of dress-accessories (at least the types that are examined

18 C17166: Nordgården, Ljørdalen Søndre, Trysil k., Hedmark.

19 Unnumbered: Norrland.

20 Together with the finding of a relief brooch at Rovaniemi, Finland, which has been noted.

21 The Rovaniemi find, too, is dated to phase D2b.

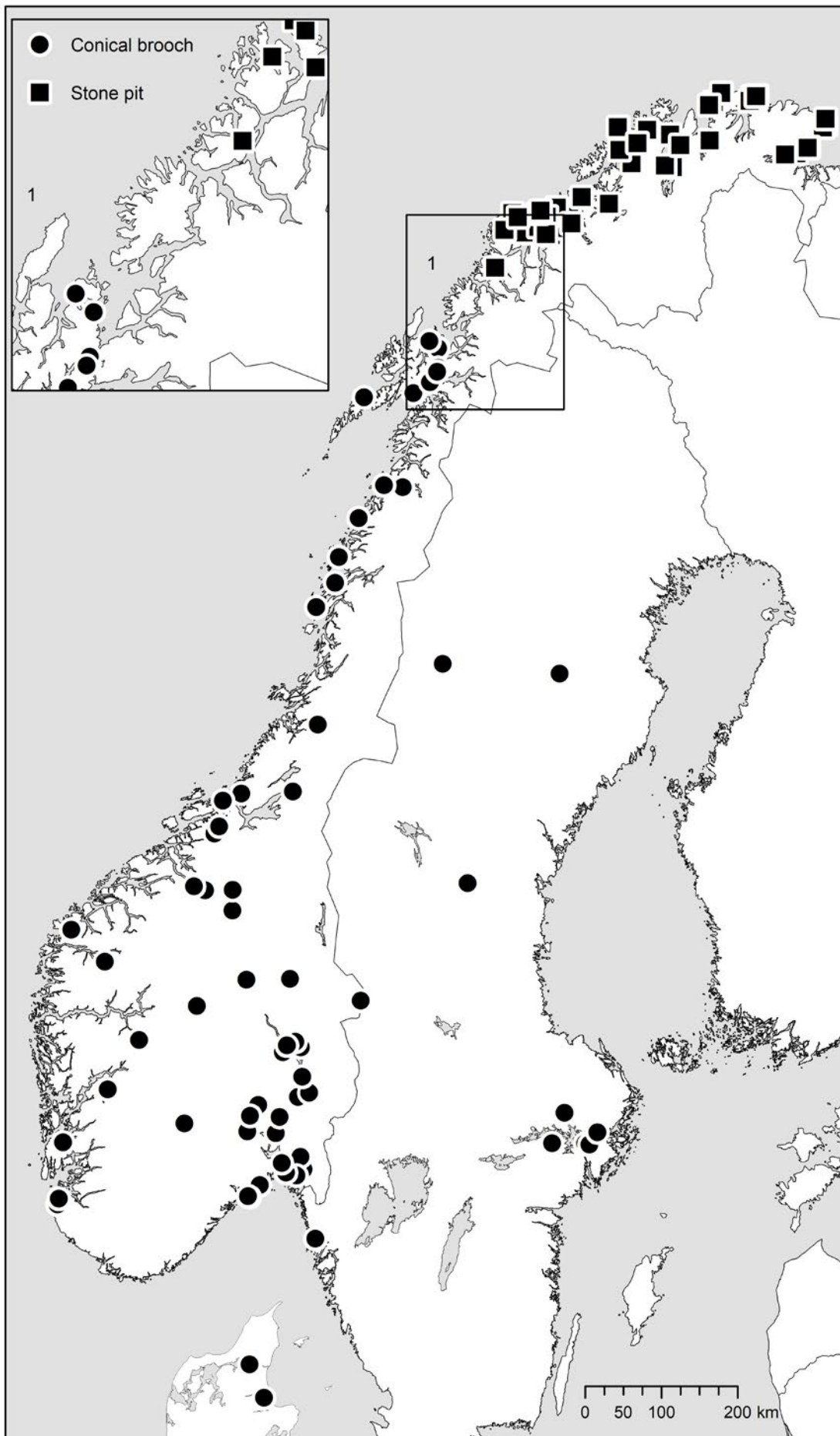
here). This was especially the case in the Migration Period, as has been noted. Concurrently, some individuals in the Saami areas may have adopted Germanic types of jewellery, something that may be linked to a process of creolization that was underway around the end of the Migration Period and the beginning of the Merovingian Period. The predominantly coastal distribution of the items of jewellery may indicate that the need for signalling ethnic affiliation in opposition to ‘cultural others’ was greatest in these coastal zones. The distribution may, in other words, reflect the fact that ethnic costume marking by means of dress-accessories, in respect of the two primary groups Saami and Germanic/Norse, was not needed or wanted in the interior in this period. That might, for instance, be due to the fact that the mutual economic and social dependency between these two populations was so substantial at this time that the ethnic differences were under-communicated. Alternatively, the ethnic and cultural positioning in respect of how economic and social transactions/negotiations were conducted in this period was clear, so that no material manifestation of the cultural difference was asked for. This could imply that the economic and/or political situation was not characterized by competition for access to resources, so it was unnecessary to mark the ethnic lines of division (cf. Barth 1969; cf. Chs. 1.2.2 and 2.1).

This view is modified a little by the distribution of relief brooches of the northern ridge-foot group at the end of the Migration Period (phase D2b), which signal a common identity amongst (some of) the population in interior areas of Trøndelag and the Storsjö district of Jämtland (cf. Chs. 4.2.2.7 and 7.1.1). The manifestation of this common identity did not necessarily only function as a way of defining a contrast with other Germanic/Norse groupings but could equally have expressed a shared Germanic/Norse identity in opposition to a Saami population in the intervening and surrounding areas. This trend towards ethnic/cultural costume manifestation in interior areas can be followed through into the beginning of the Merovingian Period in the distribution of conical brooches from the Mjøsa districts centred around Hamar, Hundorp in Gudbrandsdalen, and otherwise in interior (mountain or forest) districts and valley-systems such as Oppdal in Sør-Trøndelag, Koppang in Østerdalen, Tinn in Telemark, and Lockne in Jämtland (cf. Chs. 4.3.1.2 and 7.1.1).

Another factor that may be cited in order to add nuance to the picture of a clearer cultural positioning contrasting Germanic/Norse and Saami population is that of the *rock pits* of northern Norway. Rock pits (*hellegroper*) are rectangular or oval, rock-lined pits that

occur on the shoreline in North Troms and Finnmark. The pits are dated from c. AD 100 to c. AD 1000. The use of rock pits intensified from the 4th century onwards, and there is a particularly large number from c. AD 600–900. The rock pits were linked to the production of oil (tallow) from whale and seal blubber. This oil can be used for lighting and heating, greasing and the impregnation of, inter alia, wood and rope, and in leather production. It was therefore a very important commodity right up to modern times. The distribution area of the pits, however, lies immediately north of the Germanic/Norse settlement zone. The southern border of the rock-pit area coincides with a border to the area in which Russians and Karelians demanded taxation from the Saami in the Late Middle Ages. On the basis of the location of the rock pits, their close association with Saami settlement evidence (small circular turf buildings and/or tents with a central hearth and a distinctively ‘Saami’ partition of the floor), together with historical accounts, it is usual to infer that tallow production was a Saami speciality and a traded commodity in the Iron Age (Hansen and Olsen 2004:69–77).

The phase in which these pits were in use is coincident with the consolidation of the Germanic/Norse chieftainships based on, amongst other things, farming settlements in Nordland and South Troms, and the greatest concentration of rock pits occurs along the northern side of the Lyngenfjord, right up against the border with the Germanic/Norse settlement area (Hansen and Olsen 2004:fig. 9). This distribution pattern has been interpreted in terms of the pits having been used in the course of this period as territorial and ethnic markers within the Saami region. The dense concentration of pits to the south of the North Saami area is taken as evidence that the marking of rights to the resource which the oil represents was of the greatest importance in relation to the Germanic/Norse population. It has also been argued that the southerly concentration of the rock pits was due to practical factors such as proximity to trading partners in the Germanic/Norse population (Hansen and Olsen 2004:69–77). Inger Storli (2006:38) has argued, in this respect, that Saami culture represented specialist knowhow concerning natural resources, something on which the upper level of the Norse population was dependent in order to achieve and consolidate its leading position. In addition to the exploitation or production of tallow, furs, bone, horn and the like, prestige goods such as walrus tusks, down and furs were particularly important. The relationship of dependency promoted, according to Storli, a clearer and respectful ethnic interaction between the groups.



Map 7.3 The distribution of stone pits and conical brooches. The spots for stone pits are taken from Askeladden (accessed 20 June 2014).

If we consider the rock pits alongside the ethnic signalling that was practised through the use of jewellery or dress as shown above, it does emerge that the ethnic manifestation of the two groups is congruent to a certain extent. The use of rock pits increased gradually from the 4th century onwards, with an intense phase of use from around AD 600. The study of the jewellery has shown that the ethnic manifestation in burials in the Germanic area also intensified throughout the first half of the Migration Period, reached a peak in phase D2a, and carried on through to the end of the period. Cultural/ethnic costume signalling in the Germanic/Norse zone continued in the start of the Merovingian Period, when it achieved a relatively wide extent in northern Norway, as well as in the interior regions of Sør-Trøndelag and in *Østlandet*. At this date, however, manifestation by means of dress-accessories was transformed, so that regional types, on the whole, disappeared, to be replaced by a single 'principal type', the conical brooch, over practically the whole of Norway. This meant increased focus on a *common* Germanic/Norse identity in northern Scandinavia (cf. Chs. 6.5 and 7.1.1). In northern Norway there is also a marked concentration of conical brooches along the east side of Hinnøya, at Tjeldsund and Lødingen, on sites facing the mainland towards the postulated boundary between the Germanic/Norse and the Saami areas (Map 7.3; cf. also Vinsrygg 1979:fig. 15, and Hansen and Olsen 2004:fig 10; see also Baardsen 2014:63, who also draws attention to the concentration of finds in this area). Conical brooches cluster along the coast of Helgeland, too. There thus appears to have been a reinforcement of the ethnic borderlines between a Saami and a Germanic/Norse population in northern Norway at the beginning of the Merovingian Period. The clearer marking of the ethnic boundaries in the north may be attributable to increasing pressure on resources in this part of the country. This must, once again, be viewed in the light of the centralization of power and the change in the political situation (cf. Ch. 7.1.1).

Greater pressure on resources as a consequence of political centralization has also been proposed as a contributory factor in the creolization of the Saami population in the inland areas further south. This is visible, *inter alia*, by the introduction of farms and iron-production sites in former Saami hunting grounds (Bergstøl 2004:14, 20). There also appears to have been an increase in the number of hunting-ground burials in the South Saami area from the transition to the Merovingian Period onwards (Bergstøl 2004:7, 167; 2008:129; Hansen and Olsen 2004:104–7), something which is interpretable in terms of greater Saami

territorial marking. As I have shown above, ethnic costume manifestation accelerated in these inland areas from the final phase of the Migration Period and the beginning of the Merovingian Period. The transition to the Merovingian Period is also characterized by a change in the context of ethnic negotiation between Saami and Germanic/Norse populations in both the north and the inland areas further south in the main Scandinavian peninsula. The consequence of this change was, however, rather different in the north from in the south: while in both areas there was a growing differentiation of the two populations, with more conspicuous marking of the ethnic boundaries, it would appear that the new circumstances led, in some cases in the south, to a transformation or creolization of an earlier Saami hunting population. It assimilated more with the Germanic population in its symbolic modes of expression or language of identity, bringing with it a partial erasure of the ethnic boundary lines in certain fields (Bergstøl 2004:18; 2008:185, 228–9).

There was, then, a maintenance of distinction between Germanic/Norse and Saami culture both in the Migration Period and at the beginning of the Merovingian Period, but while the circumstances of this ethnic interaction appear to have been clarified at the beginning of the Migration Period, political centralization led to a change in the context of negotiations at the end of the period and during the transition to the Merovingian Period. The reinforcement of and reference to a common Germanic/Norse-related identity over much of northern Scandinavia/Norway through female costume (cf. Ch. 4.3.1) may also have contributed to the changes in ethnic interactions between the Saami and the Germanic/Norse populations. The new social context at the beginning of the Merovingian Period cleared the way for a more fundamental transformation of identities, not only in the case of the Germanic/Norse groupings (cf. Ch. 7.1.1) but also in the case of Saami groupings.

7.1.3 Cultural connections to the south and west: Scandinavia, England and the Continent

The Migration Period is characterized by extensive connections between Scandinavia, England and the Continent, represented, amongst other ways, through the dress-accessories of the period. Several of the types of jewellery that have been examined here occur, as noted, not only in Scandinavia but also in a major area of central and northern Europe which includes, for instance, Anglo-Saxon England and parts of what are now Germany, the Netherlands, Belgium and France

(cf. Ch. 1). This holds for cruciform brooches, relief brooches with rectangular and semi-circular headplates and rhomboidal footplates, and clasps (cf. Ch. 4.2.1–3). Other types of dress-accessory that have not been investigated in this study, such as S-shaped brooches, small equal-armed brooches, bird-shaped / so-called (profile) bird-of-prey brooches, and disc brooches with Style II decoration, are found both in Scandinavia and on the Continent. Previous research has demonstrated a tendency towards the parallel development of some jewellery-types – as far as the shape of the objects goes – in the European region: this is the case, for instance, with details in the actual form of relief brooches on either side of the North Sea in this period (Hines 1997:232); and a tendency towards a parallel development of the footplate on Continental and Scandinavian silver-sheet and relief brooches, and their decoration etc. (Åberg 1922:41–68). The shaping of cruciform brooches both in Norway and in England, with continually more ‘florid’ or ‘baroque’ shapes, has also been picked out as a parallel, although the Anglo-Saxon brooches develop much further in this direction than their Scandinavian counterparts (Hines 1984:250–3; Mortimer 1990:71, 155, 170–1; Schetelig 1906:106–12).

As the form and distribution of these jewellery-types show, there is clear evidence of recurrent or unbroken contact between these diverse areas of Europe through the Migration Period and the early Merovingian Period. What is the significance of this contact in relation to dress-accessories and the presentation of identity through the medium of costume at this time? I shall attempt to discuss this in more detail by comparing the distribution patterns in Scandinavia that have emerged from the foregoing study with the concurrent development in England. This discussion will attach particular weight to the relationship between Norway and England, since these two areas have a relatively similar situation as regards find circumstances and also share most common types

of jewellery. Another area that will be brought into the discussion is Bavaria. There are studies from several cemeteries there which makes it possible to compare the distribution patterns in this area with the situation in Scandinavia and in England.

Scandinavia and England not only share certain common artefact-types. On both sides of the North Sea there was a surge in the range of forms and variants of dress-accessory, and a powerful increase in the quantity of items, in phase D2a. The sequence of development in these two areas also proceeded to a reduction in both the number of items and the range of forms towards the end of the Migration Period, in phase D2b (Hines 1993a:92, 94–5).²² The development at the beginning of the following period, the Merovingian Period, can also be seen as paralleled. In both England and Scandinavia the transition between the periods is marked by a replacement of certain types of jewellery by others.²³ Moreover, it was, to some extent, the same types that went out of use, among them clasps and relief brooches. However, the new forms of jewellery differed in the two areas, thus distinguishing the one from the other. This is comparable with what happened *within* Scandinavia, where new types of jewellery being used in one district could be very different from new types in another. However, some common features can still be found on both sides of the North Sea: dress pins were used both in Scandinavia and in Anglo-Saxon England (including pins with polyhedral heads: see Lethbridge 1936:fig. 4C.1; Waller 1996:48; Ørsnes 1966:164–5, 185) and so were small round brooches. Both Norway and England also see a marked reduction in the number of furnished graves, resulting in fewer finds of items of jewellery overall when compared with the Migration Period. In both areas there are also very few finds that combine both Migration- and Merovingian-period dress-accessories (Geake 1997:123–4; Hines 1997:231, 302–3). The course of development in the two areas thus appears to be in lockstep as regards qualitative,

²² Hines equates the intensive phase with phase VWZ III and the following phase of reduction with phase VWZ IV. These can be treated as phases D2a and D2b respectively (see Ch. 3.1).

²³ The periodization of Anglo-Saxon archaeology is not as consistent as that of the Iron Age in Scandinavia (Hines 2013:27–30). The most clearly defined phase is an ‘Early Anglo-Saxon Period’ characterized by regular burial of the dead with grave goods, a practice which continued to the last quarter of the 7th century. The Early Anglo-Saxon Period is thus similar in date-range to the whole period covered in this book. Closer to phase 1 of the Norwegian/Scandinavian Merovingian Period is Geake’s ‘Conversion Period’ (Geake 1997), although, as the name implies, Geake assumed a starting date of c. AD 600 for this period, coordinated with the arrival of the mission led by Augustine in Kent in the year 596. Geake also saw conversion to Christianity as a *symptom* of a deeper cultural Romanization (as described in this section) rather than as a *causal factor* in material cultural changes. Leeds’s ‘Final Phase’ (Leeds 1936:96–114; Boddington 1990) is also comparable, and has been an influential concept, but Leeds defined his Final Phase in relation to Kent and mistakenly assumed a chronological correlation with other regions of Anglo-Saxon England where there was actually a dislocation of half-a-century if not more. The term still causes a great deal of confusion. The start of phase 1 of the Merovingian Period can be aligned most closely with the transition from phase AS-FB to AS-FC in the modelled female burial sequence for Anglo-Saxon England (Hines and Bayliss eds. 2013). The corresponding transition in the male sequence is that from AS-MB to AS-MC. (John Hines, pers. comm.).

quantitative and contextual aspects of the distribution of the items of jewellery.

There is, meanwhile, one more common feature in the distribution patterns of jewellery in Scandinavia and Anglo-Saxon England. In the Anglo-Saxon area similar trends have been observed as those demonstrated for Scandinavia (cf. Ch. 5.1–3) with regard to how the geographical distribution of the jewellery develops during the Migration Period and into the beginning of the Merovingian Period (Dickinson 1991:55–60; Hines 1997; Mortimer 1990; 1993:122; Nielsen 1997b; Røstad 2001; 2003; Sørensen 1999:71–7; Åberg 1926:29–31; 1953:30). The Anglo-Saxon area of England can be subdivided into three ‘areas of concentration’ that are distinguished by their use of specific types or variants of jewellery. These areas have traditionally been labelled ‘Anglian’, ‘Saxon’, and ‘Jutish’ or ‘Kentish’, on the basis of comparability between the distribution maps and Bede’s account of where these three groups settled when they invaded Britain around the middle of the 5th century AD (Hills 1979:313; Hines 1984:6–14). The ethnic attribution or identification of the dress-accessories has, however, been a matter of debate, and recent research has led to recognition of the fact that the ethnic situation was far more complex than the historical account might lead one to believe (Hills 1979:313, 316; Hines 1984; 1993a; 1994; 1995; Martin 2015; Nielsen 1997b; Pohl 1997; Røstad 2001; 2003).

The differentiation of these three areas, moreover, is *not* identifiable in the first phase of the Migration Period. The regions in fact gradually become distinctive from the late 5th century on to the end of the Migration Period. This separation comes about through a *process of polarization*, which results in an increasing marking of difference between these areas. This was brought about primarily through the use of jewellery, a component of costume linked to the female dress (cf. Ch. 2.2.1). The process of polarization can be interpreted as an expression of how people from many different cultural backgrounds, including some from Denmark, Sweden and Norway, and from various parts of the Continent (probably including, for instance, Franks and Frisians as well as Angles and Saxons), alongside a Romano-British population, participated in the formation of new, regionally associated, group identities (Hamerow 2005; Hines 1995; Røstad 2001; 2003; see also Martin 2015, coming to similar conclusions). At the beginning of the phase AS-FC, equivalent to the Merovingian Period, most

of the types of jewellery that had helped to distinguish the areas from one another were discontinued, and the same types of jewellery came into use over practically the entire area of early Anglo-Saxon England (Carver 1999:25, 30–6; Geake 1997:123, 126, 130, 133; Hines 1995:83; 1997:302–3; Hyslop 1963:190–1; Vierck 1978a:255–6). This resulted in the erasure of the boundaries between the three areas.²⁴ This change may represent a shift in focus and mentality in accordance with which the construction of the foundations of a common Anglo-Saxon identity became important (Geake 1997:125–36; Hines 1994; 1995:83; Røstad 2001; 2003).

If we compare the development in the Anglo-Saxon area with the changes that have been demonstrated in the context of Scandinavia (cf. Chs. 4.2.1–4.3.1 and 5.1–3), it transpires that the differentiation of the three regions within early Anglo-Saxon England began around the same time as did that of the massive marking of regional groupings in Scandinavia. The process of polarization in England was underway and grew in intensity in the last quarter of the 5th century – around the date that Style I was introduced – and on through the Migration Period (Røstad 2001:63–70, 80, 108): that is, from around the beginning of phase D2a and on into phase D2b. The most intensive phase of marking was, as has been noted, simultaneous in both areas. The manifestation of regional groupings thus took place in parallel on both sides of the North Sea in the Migration Period, and it was also to some degree the same types of dress-accessory that were used for this marking: relief brooches, clasps and cruciform brooches (but also, in England, Anglo-Saxon types of jewellery that do not occur in Scandinavia, such as ‘saucer brooches’). The changes in the geographical distribution patterns found at the transition to the Merovingian Period also have much in common. Distribution at the beginning of the Merovingian Period is characterized in both areas by the fact that common types of jewellery or costume were in use in areas which one could formerly differentiate through their use of different types and/or variants of dress-accessory. The marking now came primarily to reflect group identities that were shared amongst populations over larger areas: i.e. super-regional group identities. Similarly to what we see in Norway, in Anglo-Saxon England the foundations of a super-regional identity, cutting across political units, were constructed. At the end of the 6th and around the beginning of the 7th centuries, contemporary with the advance of costume

24 Some reservations have to be made in the case of Kent, where in addition to the common Anglo-Saxon types there were certain distinctively ‘Kentish’ types of jewellery of the late 6th century (Geake 1997:123–5; Leeds’s ‘Kentish phase’ – 1936:59–78).

manifestation of the super-regional identity, England was divided into a range of minor kingdoms (Bassett 1989:26; Blair 1977:27–8; Hamerow 2005; Yorke 1990:9–15, 157–62). These political borders, however, are *not* visible in the archaeological evidence of jewellery (Geake 1997:126, 130, 133; Hines 1995:83).

Hines (1993a:88) drew attention to the existence in the Anglo-Saxon area of a desire for ‘material-cultural sameness...with folk 400 miles across the sea in Norway’ in the Migration Period (cf. Ch. 2.2.1). This need appears, as Hines stressed, to have been related particularly to clothing or costume. In both areas, costume functioned as a medium for the manifestation of identity (cf. Chs. 1, 2 and 6.2–6.6; for England, see Dickinson 1991:40; Geake 1997:107; Hines 1993a; 1994:52–4; 1995; 1997; Martin 2015; Røstad 2001; 2003). It may concurrently appear as if the need for similarity in costume was associated with a level of identity that was shared between these areas, and that this expressed the existence of a common North Germanic/northern European identity. This identity was supported by the use of the same artefact-types, such as cruciform brooches, clasps, and relief brooches with rectangular headplates and cross-shaped footplates.

A potential North Germanic/northern European identity of this kind could take different forms in different contexts and with different populations. This can be illustrated through, for instance, the distribution of cruciform brooches and of clasps in north-western Europe, which are partially but not entirely congruent. When the courses of development in this period in Scandinavia and in England are compared, as already noted, strikingly parallel trajectories appear. Even though development proceeded similarly in the two areas, this does not mean that it took place at the same time – in the sense that the absolute chronology is the same. I would propose, nonetheless, that this parallel development in Scandinavia and the Anglo-Saxon area cannot be accidental, but must be due to the fact that the situations in the separate regions exercised reciprocal influence on one another through the ongoing contacts that have been demonstrated between these areas. This is valid whether or not there was a chronological ‘dislocation’ between them. The ethnic discourse and the negotiation of cultural identity between these areas appear to have been maintained throughout this period. The cultural or ethnic costume dialogue was influenced by the cultural encounters that took place, and at the same time through changes in social structure in both areas. Both these factors contributed to a gradual change of the context of ethnic negotiation.

The comparison of the distribution patterns of Norwegian and Anglo-Saxon jewellery thus shows that there is a connection in terms of how costume manifestations in these two areas developed in the course of the period under investigation. An ethnic study of several cemeteries in Bavaria (Hakenbeck 2004; 2006) reveals that there were similar tendencies in respect of how female dress manifested ethnic group-membership in this distant (from a Scandinavian viewpoint) region too. I shall now therefore explore the situation in Bavaria in greater detail.

At the beginning of the Migration Period (which means around AD 450), the situation in Bavaria was rather different from that in Scandinavia in that the range of jewellery and dress-accessories was characterized by a varied selection of types with a range of different ethnic associations – including ‘Roman’, ‘Scandinavian’, and Frankish/Alemannic and Thuringian associations. In the course of the period, the typical four-brooch costume (which ideally would include four brooches, but did not always do so) came into use. This form of dress, together with Frankish/Alemannic types of dress-accessory, dominated the remainder of the Migration Period, but there is nevertheless quite a large presence of other ‘ethnic’ types of jewellery. These, however, were practically always worn in accordance with the local practice in respect of the positioning of the items on the costume. At the same time a *local identity* was marked in two different areas within Bavaria, through how the brooches were positioned on the dress (as noted in Ch. 2.3 and illustrated in Fig. 2.3): either in a vertical line, or with two symmetrical pairs placed horizontally one above the other. Close to a date which coincides with the transition to the Merovingian Period in Scandinavia, the different local four-brooch costumes were superseded by a common single-brooch costume over the entire region. At this point the number of graves containing jewellery also falls, and the items of jewellery become more simple in form. The bow brooches of the Migration Period give way to round disc brooches. At the same time, Byzantine influence also appears in the jewellery fashion. This development was gradual, but the change involved the distinguishing of local or regional groupings during the Migration Period, and emphasis upon a super-regional ‘Bavarian’ identity at the beginning of the phase that can be considered equivalent with the Merovingian Period of Scandinavia (Hakenbeck 2004; 2006:121–42, 159–61).

The course of development in Bavaria is remarkably similar to that in England at the same period (cf. above), and the Anglo-Saxon distribution patterns have, as has been shown, major similarities with those

in Scandinavia. Something, however, that differentiates between Scandinavia on the one hand and England and Bavaria on the other is the fact that the latter areas adopted forms of jewellery that were ‘imported’ or which imitate/copy jewellery found in a different area geographically and at an earlier date. These are used throughout the Migration Period. On the basis of a mixture of types of jewellery of different geographical origins, and the combination and positioning of the items on the costume, it has been argued that the dress-accessories in Bavaria and England allude to the culturally composite populations’ (real and/or legendary) cultural and ‘ethnic’ areas of origin (Hakenbeck 2006:226; Hamerow 2005:268–70; Hines 1984; 1993a:92; 1994; 1995; Røstad 2001:79; 2003:13). No similar pattern can be demonstrated in Scandinavia, however. Nevertheless, this difference cannot be accepted uncritically as evidence that the populations on the Continent and in England were polyethnic, or multicultural, while the inhabitants of Scandinavia had a homogeneous demographic background. The difference may, instead, manifest a distinction regarding which cultural and material features were emphasized when the different populations alluded to their cultural backgrounds.

A polyethnic background appears from such a perspective as having been of greater significance on the Continent and in England than in Scandinavia. In both England and Bavaria, these types of jewellery with diverse ‘ethnic’ connotations were used over a period of around a century, starting in c. AD 450/475 (Hakenbeck 2006:226; Røstad 2001:79–80; 2003:12–13). This implies that the material ethnic manifestation had some significance in the different cultural constellations. The continuing emphasis on cultural background through the use of the range of dress-accessories can be interpreted as showing that cultural and ethnic association with particular areas was socially important.

Another phenomenon common to England and Bavaria (and indeed the Frankish area in general: Hakenbeck 2006:99–106; Owen-Crocker 2004:128; Schulze 1976; Vierck 1981) is a form of Byzantine or ‘classical’ influence on the range of jewellery of the

early Merovingian Period.²⁵ This is different from the situation in Scandinavia, where there is no or very little such influence.²⁶ The influence has been read by some as a sign of a Roman ‘renaissance’ (Geake 1997) while others would emphasise Byzantine inspiration. Irrespective of how the details of this cultural manifestation took shape, it is a matter of importance that this classical-Byzantine affiliation seems to come into focus from around the beginning of the Merovingian Period (Geake 1997; Hakenbeck 2006:225; Hines 1995:83; Hyslop 1963; Owen-Crocker 2004:128; Schulze 1976:149–50, 157; Vierck 1981:65–70, 83–94). Perhaps we can here glimpse the germ of the cultural distancing that gradually emerged between Scandinavia on the one hand and England and the Continent on the other. This distancing appears to have intensified from around the year 700, and continued into the Viking Period (cf. Myhre 2003:93; Nielsen 1991:147, 151). The contrast could express there having been a cultural realignment towards Byzantine culture on the Continent and in England, while Scandinavia distanced itself – by *not* adopting the same cultural features (Owen-Crocker 2004:128). It is possible that this Byzantine influence can also be linked to the whole Byzantine cultural complex, including Christianity, and to the close connection there was at this date between the Church and royal houses over much of the Continent and in England (Blair 1977:211; Geake 1997:133–6; Hakenbeck 2006:113–44; Scull 1993:76; Yorke 1990:173–5; 2003:187–95). The cultural dispositions developed, in this respect and others, in different directions in Scandinavia and in the other two areas discussed here, England and Bavaria, and this is possibly what the evidence of the jewellery reflects.

The social or historical context was not the same in Scandinavia, England and on the Continent. It is still possible to identify similar tendencies in a political development that was greatly affected by rivalry between several petty kingdoms, through which some gained hegemony only to lose it again, with the trend moving in the direction of ever greater centralization of power (Bassett 1989:26; Blair 1977:27; Geary 2003:136–9; Hamerow 2005:280–8; Stenton 2001:32–94; Yorke 1990:9–15, 157–62). The comparison of the

25 This applies to other artefact-types as well, for instance Byzantine luxury goods and prestige objects (imported or imitations) that were adopted by leading households all over Europe (Pohl 1991:48).

26 Vierck (1981) argues that there was such influence in Scandinavia, but I believe there is a fundamental difference in this from what is seen on the Continent and in England, since it is far less conspicuous in the range of jewellery. Some Byzantine influence can, however, be said to emerge in the southern Scandinavian ‘bead collars’ of the early Merovingian Period (see, e.g., Vierck 1981:Abb. 17,1). Vierck (1981:99) referred to Arrhenius (1960b) in connection with the Scandinavian bead sets, but Arrhenius (1960b:75–6, 83–7) referred to Anglo-Saxon parallels for specific types of beads or brooches. John Ljungkvist (2010) has demonstrated the presence of some artefact-types that are attributed to Byzantine influence in Scandinavia. The finds are however quite few and sporadic in the first phase of the Merovingian Period and are primarily restricted to the Mälars region.

distributions of the jewellery in the three different areas provides insight into the complex ethnic and cultural *interplay* which, in all probability, was found over a wide European context in the Migration Period and at the beginning of the Merovingian Period. At one level there was local or regional negotiation of group identity between different areas within Scandinavia; at another level identity negotiations could generate communication of cultural affiliation, and of cultural distancing, in a trans-regional discourse, and this could extend across the North Sea and probably also to areas to the south on the Continent. The distribution patterns indicate that there were dialogues of identity at such a trans-regional level. The cultural and/or ethnic groupings were reproduced and transformed through participation in this multidimensional social discourse, and the diverse categories must be understood on the basis of the dynamic which the constantly maintained communication through costume brought about.

7.2 SUMMARY: CHANGING DIALOGUES OF IDENTITY

The investigation of the social and historical contexts of the distribution patterns of the jewellery has revealed factors that show how the female costume played a functional role as part of a comprehensive and complex discourse concerning identity. This discourse ran in parallel at many levels. At one level, there were wider internal ethnic discourses in parts of Scandinavia: for instance with respect to the relationship between Saami and Germanic/Norse culture. In this context, the significance of costume manifestation appears to have grown from the end of the Migration Period and around the transition into the Merovingian Period, as the ethnic boundary lines between the different cultures seem to be emphasized more, or at least in a different way from before. It is possible, too, that costume was given a role in the formation of a hybrid or 'creolized' Saami-Germanic/Norse grouping within the South Saami area around this date. On another dimension, the negotiations were concerned with the reproduction of different local or regional groupings within the Germanic/Norse culture. The focus in the manifestation of these groups is continually changing, and yet certain 'core areas' appear to remain over longer periods: for instance Lofoten/Vesterålen and the Helgeland coasts, Jæren, the Målar region, and Jutland. Parallel with this persistent communication of local and regional ethnic group membership, several

super-regional or pan-Scandinavian identities are manifested in various ways throughout the Migration Period. Moreover, adding in the distribution patterns of Anglo-Saxon and Bavarian jewellery indicates that more extensive European connections were involved in the experience and signalling through costume of cultural affiliation and distance, in both the Migration Period and the early Merovingian Period. In the case of this latter line of connection, one may, however, note a hint of a 'parting of the ways' at the beginning of the Merovingian Period in that the identity that was articulated by means of jewellery associated with female dress in several parts of western Europe (including England and Bavaria: cf. above) made play of classical or Byzantine models.

The exploration of the historical context shows that there was also a dynamic between the formation of units of political power and the (re)production of ethnic and/or cultural groupings throughout the period under study. This does not mean, though, that there was a fixed or constant relationship between these different social categories, resulting in them remaining identical phenomena *vis-à-vis* one another. The relationship is expressed rather in political development appearing, in some cases, to have affected the cultural manifestations. This happened through the formation of political units influencing or contributing to the shaping of cultural or ethnic groupings. This sort of dynamic can be discerned in the contexts of southern and western Norway, where local and regional socio-political groupings, which were apparently already present around the end of the Late Roman Iron Age and the transition to the Migration Period, only become ethnically 'meaningful', and effective and dominant in costume manifestations, in the two last phases of the Migration Period.²⁷ At the same time, it would appear that the systematic communication which was being maintained through costume manifestations was able in other cases to have a reciprocal impact on the political context, through ethno-cultural entities providing the foundations for the clustering of political constellations, as in Anglo-Saxon England (cf. Ch. 7.1.3 above) and in the 'Norwegian' context (cf. below). In both of these areas, it seems that a common, super-regional, cultural and/or ethnic identity was being formed at a date when the political situation was still dominated by the existence of a series of minor kingdoms.²⁸

The spatial, contextual and chronological distribution patterns of the jewellery show that there was

27 Hakenbeck (2006:223) argues that a political consolidation in Bavaria influenced the formation of a common ethnic identity.

28 The same may be the case in Denmark, although the course of political development here is, as noted above, a matter of discussion.

probably *no* simple, linear development leading from a multiplicity of small ‘tribes’ with different identities to the clustering of larger areas through the assimilation of the various populations into a common cultural and political grouping. On the contrary: we can see the opposite sequence in the Migration Period in that the *beginning* of the period was characterized by the reinforcement or manifestation of group identities at a very general level where the identity – or, more precisely, the identities – that were expressed at various levels or steps and in different areas appear to be common over larger areas of Scandinavia. In the course of the period more and smaller regional and local groupings come to be distinguished in the jewellery evidence. This does not, however, exclude the possibility that such regional groupings were also in existence at the beginning of the Migration Period; rather that they were not articulated in the archaeological evidence of dress-accessories. Ingrid Ystgaard (2014:285, 296–8) has also shown that there was a similar development in the case of warfare of the period: in the Roman Iron Age and the beginning of the Migration Period, it was oriented to a super-regional level, while towards the end of the Migration Period it was marked more and more by regional and local struggles.

However, narrower regional groupings were emphasized in the medium of costume to a greater extent as the Migration Period went on, and the articulation of these reflects a shift in focus in terms of the communication of cultural and/or ethnic identity. The distribution patterns reflect the fact that mobility – social and geographical – apparently reached its zenith in phase D2a and gradually reduced over the course of phase D2b, when the groupings seem to have been consolidating (cf. Chs. 6.2–4 and 7.1.1, above). The growing emphasis on regional ethnic and/or cultural groupings may also be linked to a *politicization* of ethnicity that came about in the course of the Migration Period, when ethnic affiliation became an instrument for the achievement of political power over much of Europe (cf. Pohl 1998; Chs. 1.2.2 and 7.1.1). This politicization clearly appears, however, to have been linked to the warrior ideology and the growing multi-ethnic confederations (*Stammeverbände*: see Geary 1983; 2003; Hedeager 2000; Pohl 1998b; Pohl ed. 1998), while the use of costume in signalling that has been examined here is largely restricted to women. How should we understand that relationship? I shall discuss this in the concluding chapter (Ch. 8).

At the transition to the Merovingian Period, the situation was once more dominated by major cultural and ethnic groupings. This development may reflect a change in strategy concerning cultural distinction (cf.

Pohl 1998b:5). After a period in which smaller regional groupings had consolidated, and therefore probably no longer needed to be articulated as assertively as they had been previously, super-regional identities gained new relevance in a changed political climate, in which the battle for hegemony grew more acute. Some of the groupings of the beginning of the Merovingian Period appear to coincide more or less with areas that at later dates would emerge as early Scandinavian states. Myhre (1982:112) pointed out that a common ‘Norwegian’ identity probably existed *before* Norway was unified into a political state. Might the distribution of conical brooches represent an early stage in the formation of a common ‘Norwegian’ identity of this kind? There is no one simple answer to that question, and the sequence of development was also more complex than has been presented here. To begin with, signalling by means of jewellery may, as noted, provide a medium for the presentation of one out of several identities that may be shared within a particular group of people at one level. The same group of people will not, however, necessarily share identities at *all* stages or levels. Secondly, the conclusions drawn here are primarily based upon the signalling of identity through selected dress-accessories that were first and foremost part of female costume. If we added other potential ethnic and/or cultural forms of manifestation, such as expressions of identity through the male costume of the period (cf. Ch. 6.7), weaponry or pottery (Engevik 2007), the picture would look different. Thirdly, a peep into the following periods, the later Merovingian Period and the Viking Period, would also probably serve to nuance any such interpretation. If items of jewellery were used for the manifestation of identity in these later times, as has been proposed (Magnus 2005), the standardization and homogeneity of design of jewellery over pretty much the whole of Scandinavia implies that the reconstruction of a common Scandinavian identity had returned to centre-stage.

The evidence of costume and jewellery suggests that social and cultural/ethnic identity in the Migration and Merovingian Periods was a protean or fluid phenomenon. The focus in the cultural and ethnic discourse is continually shifting throughout the periods. The costume manifestations make various groupings apparent – they come into view, disappear, and in some case re-appear (cf. Heather 1998) in what emerges as the continual negotiation and transformation of identities. From this perspective, later manifestations of a common ‘Norwegian’ identity might perhaps be said to relate to an identity that was already articulated in the early Merovingian Period through female costume via the use of conical brooches. This identity was shared at

the beginning of the Merovingian Period at one level by a population which was found primarily within an area that would later constitute Norway. 'Norwegian' identity would not, however, be the same at different times, since identities are subject to continuous change. Patrick Geary (2003:174) has expressed the situation in a telling way by quoting Heraclitus: 'One cannot step into the same river twice.'

I have argued that, as components of a costume, various combinations of dress-accessories were used for the *systematic communication of cultural similarity and difference* in the Migration Period and the beginning of the Merovingian Period, and that the attribution to categories that emerges in this way is continuously maintained, negotiated and changed through the activation of various levels of identity in particular social contexts. The social situation releases a

mechanism or a focus opposed to specific cultural others, the communication of which is put into practice by means of participation in a sort of 'costume dialogue'. Simultaneously, the materialized communication that was being carried on through costume probably also contributed to changes in society. Costume probably contributed to a consolidation of identities, which in turn, in particular situations, came to be reflected in the fact that cultural signalling was reduced, amongst other reasons because the same level of investment in the manifestations was no longer required. In this way, then, there was a sort of persistent reciprocal interaction and mutual influence between identity, ethnic and/or cultural manifestation and the structures of political power and economic relations in society in the period under study.

PEOPLES, KINGS, WARRIORS AND WOMEN: CULTURAL AND ETHNIC DISCOURSES IN THE MIGRATION PERIOD AND EARLY MEROVINGIAN PERIOD

The scholar, therefore, needs to interpret an ethnic label within a kaleidoscope of changing discourses, while, at the same time, he or she should also identify the particular discourse which is of immediate relevance (Wood 1998:300).

8.1 COSTUME AND PEOPLES IN THE EUROPEAN EARLY MIDDLE AGES: FROM JEWELLERY-TYPES TO CONFEDERATE GROUPS

Through a detailed study of selected Scandinavian jewellery-types, I have sought to demonstrate how the archaeological evidence can lay the foundation for a new understanding of ethnic and/or cultural relations in Scandinavia in the Migration Period and Merovingian Period. I have argued that the use of dress-accessories may be understood as *social practice*, and that this practice contributed to the (re)production of different forms of, and different levels of, cultural and/or ethnic group identity (Chs. 1–2). The chronological and geographical distribution patterns of the items of jewellery imply a process in which the standardization of types was a factor within a *systematic communication* of cultural and/or ethnic differences (cf. Ch. 6.2). By means of standardization, a symbolic language and a social field were created within which costume was used to manifest multidimensional identities. This systematic communication also paved the way for deliberately ‘divergent’ costume articulations which made it possible to express and/or present ‘foreign’ identities through the use of ‘foreign’ items or sets of jewellery. Such ‘foreign’ identities may have been manifested in order to emphasize important social or political connections (Ch. 6.3). The dress accessories were thus employed in a discourse through which distinct regional, social, cultural and/or ethnic groupings

were attributed with values and moved in and out of focus (Ch. 7). I have argued that the overall course of development moves from an articulation of larger, super-regional groups at the beginning of the period to the manifestation and consolidation of smaller, regionally rooted groupings in the last two phases of the Migration Period, only to swing back to the marking of common cultural and/or ethnic identities over wider areas at the beginning of the Merovingian Period (Chs. 6.2–5 and 7).

In order to crystallize what new perspectives and knowledge have been obtained by this study of dress-accessories, it is necessary, however, to situate the results more specifically against the dominant conceptions of how the phenomenon of ethnicity took shape in the period being studied. I have touched upon this issue several times above (Chs. 1.2.2, 6.7, 7.1.1), but shall now address it in greater detail.

Research into ethnic groupings in the Migration Period and the early Merovingian Period, as was explained in the Introduction (Ch. 1), has been shaped by two different positions or points of view: while early scholarship was dominated by the identification of the migrations and locations of historically recorded people, often making use of mapping of the geographical distribution of particular jewellery-types and of the concept of a *national costume*, discussion in the most recent years has been focused first and foremost upon *ethnic processes* in the formation of the warrior retinues or confederations of this period (cf. Chs. 1.2.2, 7.1.1). The dominant direction of ethnic studies in recent years is known as the *theory of ethnogenesis* or *the model of ethnogenesis* (see, e.g., Gillett ed. 2002), and this has had particularly strong influence in the study of medieval history.²⁹ The ethnogenesis theory has relatively rapidly also won acceptance in the field of archaeology, and become important with regard to how ethnic circumstances are perceived in

²⁹ This movement is associated first and foremost with what is known as the Vienna School, which was itself strongly inspired by Reinhard Wenskus's *Stammesbildung und Verfassung: Das Werden der frühmittelalterliche gentes* (1961), and it is represented, amongst others, by Herwig Wolfram, Walther Pohl and Patrick Geary (Gillett 2002b:85; Hakenbeck 2006:24–5; cf. Ch. 1.2.2, above).

the Migration and Merovingian Periods – including in Scandinavia (cf. Chapters 1.2.2 and 7.1.1).³⁰

It is, however, possible to see a discrepancy between how the phenomenon of ethnic groupings is understood in those works that are influenced by the theory of ethnogenesis and how it is understood in archaeological studies which focus upon the distribution of jewellery as an expression of ethnic and/or cultural, regional costume signalling. On one side we have the confederations or warrior retinues; on the other, the regionally-based ethnic and/or cultural groupings which are represented by costume manifestations (cf. Ch. 7.2). By way of conclusion, therefore, I shall discuss in more detail how the results which have come from the foregoing study concerned with ethnic and/or cultural costume signalling in this period are related to the ‘ethnogenetic’ ideas of ethnic relationships in the Migration and Merovingian Periods. I shall also include within this discussion more recent research from England and the Continent concerned with ethnic costume (cf. Ch. 7.1.3). In this way I shall attempt to show how recent research on ethnogenesis can be integrated with ethnic costume research, and together provide us with a more solidly based understanding of how the phenomenon of ethnicity takes form in this period. To begin with, however, it is essential to highlight the underlying premises of the theory of ethnogenesis.

8.2 FROM RETINUES TO PEOPLES?

... organizing a large group of warriors and their following always meant setting off an ethnogenesis; only ethnic bonds, supported by traditional myths and rites, could be strong enough to hold such a group together, to give it a structure that could resist failure (Pohl 1991:44).

... the adoption of a new ethnic identity could be important in striving for authority and power against rivals... (Halsall 2005:53).

According to what is known as the *theory of ethnogenesis*, the warrior groups or confederations of the period are understood as ethnic peoples with a multicultural background. At the root of this perception lies the view of ethnicity as a social construct (see, e.g., Geary 1983; 1988; 2003; Harrison 1991; Hedeager 1992a; 1993; 2000; Hedeager and Tvarnø

2001:143–4; Pohl 1991:40–1; 1997:23; 1998b:1–4; 2004:23–4; cf. Ch. 1.2.2). A central concept in how the emergence or evolution of these confederations is understood is the *Traditionskern* (Wenskus 1961): the leading families of society curate and transmit the traditions of the people and their collective memory, including origin myths, that are decisive in the formation of a common ethnic identity (Hedeager 2000; Pohl 1991:40; Wenskus 1961), and new peoples or nations are ‘born’ by the remainder of the retinue or the army adopting the cultural tradition of the leader or leaders (Kolikowsky 2002:72; Pohl 1991:44; cf. the quotation above).

According to the theory of ethnogenesis, therefore, it is the ethnic affiliation of the king and/or the royal family which determines the ethnicity of the whole group (Harrison 1991:27; Geary 1983:22; 2003:74–8, 108; 2006:18–19; Halsall 2005:53; Hedeager 1992a:282; 1993:123; 2000:48; James 1989:47; Pohl 1997:23; 1998b:3–4; Wenskus 1961; Wolfram 1970:4; 1990:17). An example of this is the way in which the confederation of ‘the Franks’ initially identified itself first and foremost as a political grouping in encounters with, and in contrast to, other major groupings such as the Romans and the Alemanni, while the members of the group otherwise regarded themselves as members of minor ‘clans’ (James 1991:6–9). From the end of the 5th century, and in the course of the 6th and 7th centuries, Frankish identity came to be dominant as a result of the political confederation being governed without interruption by Frankish kings: a situation which, according to Edward James (1991:9), led to ‘... their subjects, of whatever origin, [beginning to] think of themselves as Franks.’ Nevertheless, James insists that the Frankish identity in this period is an expression of political subjection rather than of ethnic affiliation.

Another example is how warriors with different ethnic backgrounds became Langobards, Alemanni or Franks by becoming part of the warrior retinue of various kings or warlords. One and the same person could in this way appear and indeed regard him or herself as, for instance, Gallic, Frankish or Alemannic, depending upon the social context which he (and perhaps she?) was in (Geary 1983:25; 2003:84, 104–5; Kulikowski 2002:83–4). There are historical examples of individuals, such as Odoaker, the Germanic warlord and subsequently ‘Roman’ king in Italy, for instance, who identified himself in relation to as many as six different ethnic groups in the course of his life and

³⁰ In some areas, perhaps especially on the Continent, archaeological research is still shaped by a traditional approach to the question of ethnicity (Effros 2004:171–3; Fehr 2002:199; Gillett 2002a:3–4; Halsall 1998:151; cf. Ch. 1.2.2, above).

political career (Pohl 1991:4). Pohl (1998b:4) describes the situation in the following way:

One may debate whether, and in what cases, 'Gothicness' or 'Frankishness' was a matter of a *Traditionskern* of a few dozen, a few hundred, or of an army of some thousand men. But any schematic answer would miss the point. One was a Goth, or a Frank, in the full sense as long as one maintained direct participation in the affairs of the *gens*.

The examples he cites of relevant contexts which were determinative for the activation of ethnic attribution and ethnic self-identification are linked to political matters and acts of war (Pohl 1991:42; 1998b:4). Amongst the Langobards, for instance, accepting that one was subject to Langobardic law was synonymous with being a Langobard, and the Langobards demanded the subjection of their allies from different ethnic groups, such as Saxons (Harrison 1991:25). Such shifts in ethnicity are historically attested in the context, for instance, of the movement of the Langobards (Lombards) into northern Italy. The Langobard army consisted (as seems, indeed, to have been the norm throughout the Migration Period) of warriors of various ethnic connections and/or cultural origins such as Gepids, Suevi, Alemanni, Bulgars, Saxons, Goths and Romans (Pohl 1991:41). The image which the presentations of ethnogenesis yield of how ethnicity functioned in the Migration Period and the early Merovingian Period is thus suffused with a flexible and contextually dependent identity that was first and foremost political.

In the model of ethnogenesis, the dynamic of the warrior groups might, in some respects, appear to be governed by the personal advantage of the separate individuals, with ethnic identity turning into a strategy which can be almost freely exploited in order to achieve political power (Pohl 1997:23; 1998b:1–2) and/or other social privileges (Halsall 1998:151–2; 2005:53; Pohl 1991:41). An important point, however, is that '... to some extent, custom dictates which identities may be "played" in which situations; the social actor does not have a completely free choice' (Halsall 1998:142; see also Barth 1969:14–17; Eriksen 2002:56–7, 92; Olsen and Kobiliński 1991:11–12). There must then be some form of *acceptance* of this sort of ethnic shift in the Migration Period. Even though the warriors – in other words the members of the army – probably regarded one another as either more similar or less similar amongst themselves by virtue of, for instance, different languages and customs (Bowlus 2002:245;

Pohl 1991:41), this was under-communicated, at least in historical accounts and in material culture. At the same time the common 'ethno-political' identity was reinforced, inter alia, by means of myths of origin, animal style art, armament and belt-fittings (Hakenbeck 2006:160, 227; Halsall 1998:152, 154; Härke 1992; Hedeager 1992a: 282, 289–92; 1993:123–7; 2000:17–18, 46–9; 2011:41–58; Kristoffersen 2000: 171, 188; Pohl 2004; Siegmund 1998: 188–9; Steuer 1987:190, 225), and – in the context of Scandinavia – possibly also dress-accessories such as plain button clasps (Ch. 6.7). The ethnic identity of the warrior thus had a political dimension, which appears in the Migration Period to have overruled any other levels of identity associated with his (or her) social role.

The trans-regional, shared warrior identity is a cultural phenomenon which the Germani may have inherited from the Romans (Pohl 1991:42–3). The Roman army was poly-ethnic, but Roman all the same. It is known that Germani and other 'barbarians' formed part of the Roman army from as early as the time of Julius Caesar: to begin with as auxiliary or mercenary soldiers, but in time as regular 'Roman' troops. In the 4th century and at the beginning of the Migration Period in the 5th century into the beginning of the 6th, the 'barbarians' constituted a large majority (Geary 1988:20–6; Hakenbeck 2006:160; Harlow 2004:66; Hedeager and Tvarnø 2001:82–6, 98–100; James 1991:39–58). The trans-regional identity of the warrior probably therefore had a basis in generations of Germano-Roman (mercenary) soldiers, but the political 'ethnification' of the warrior identity appears to have come about quite specifically in *contrast* to Roman culture. As the Germanic warrior retinues and/or armies have been described in classical sources, they regarded themselves as a people with a common origin (Bowlus 2002:245; Gillett 2002a:17; Hakenbeck 2006:159; Hedeager 1992a: 282; 1993:122–3; Hedeager and Tvarnø 2001:153, 178; Kulikowski 2002; Pohl 2004:23–4; Wolfram 1990:17). The Germanic warrior identity was therefore ethnic, and in this way it was fundamentally different from the Roman warrior identity (Geary 2003:63; Hedeager 1993:122; Hedeager and Tvarnø 2001:143–4).

It is debatable, all the same, what the fact that the army was regarded as a 'people' actually implies (Kulikowski 2002). The participation of men who were not warriors, and of women, the elderly and children, in the formation and maintenance of ethnic groupings is relatively 'invisible' in historical representations. An exception, albeit a minor one, is the topic of 'warrior women' (Amazons) and their role in connection with the origin myths of various groups

of people in the Migration Period, and the ethnic identity of these women (Geary 2006:26–34; Pohl 2004). In this connection, too, the case at issue is essentially the ethno-political identity of the warrior role, even when it is a matter of female warriors (Pohl 2004:24). In general, however, the focus of historical and archaeological work of recent years on the peoples of the Migration Period can be described as having been directed first and foremost on the *male* group members (Effros 2004:167; Gillett 2002a:17) and above all on the *warriors* (see, e.g., Pohl 1997:23).

The question is whether the flexible, ethno-political identity that has been demonstrated in the case of the warriors of the Migration Period can also be assigned to women of the period, or to the remainder of the male population (or, to put it more precisely, to other male social roles than that of the warrior). According to representations which are based upon the ethno-genesis model, it is more probable that the identity of the broader layers of the population – except for royalty and those belonging to the highest levels of society (including the army) – is ‘... rooted in smaller local groups, like clans or villages,’ and it is doubtful if these identified themselves at all with ‘any large-scale ethnical group’ (Pohl 1991:41). Ethnicity, therefore, is a phenomenon that was limited to a higher social rank, and a class-division emerges between an ‘ethnic’ high-status population comprising for the most part royalty and warriors and a low-status population of ‘commoners’ who were, in principle, ‘without ethnicity’. In this way the model can be said to reduce the concept of ethnicity to something synonymous with ethno-political identity, and something which in principle is to be associated with royalty and warriors rather than anyone else. What we can infer about ethno-political identity and warrior groups as ethnic peoples appears, therefore, not to comprise the whole population, but to be limited to men alone (Gillett 2002a:17), or, more precisely, to men in the role of warrior.

8.3 WARRIORS, ETHNOGENESIS AND WOMEN: A NEW PERSPECTIVE ON HISTORICAL PEOPLES

From this understanding of ethnicity, it is logical for the interpretation of jewellery – where it is discussed in works that are influenced by the theory of ethnogenesis – to be attributed with a mainly *political* meaning:

In the new, emerging political units of the post-Roman West, dress-style and artefact-forms were important in demonstrating

one’s political affinity, and this is shown archaeologically in the brooch fashions and so on (Halsall 2005:54).

In addition to this, it has been asserted that clothing in the form of garments and jewellery functions as ‘... a social marker rather than for ethnic distinction, that is vertically... Horizontally, it rather distinguishes small communities, for instance villages, in a neighbourhood that falls within the limited horizons of most of its members’ (Pohl 1998a:40). Costume, therefore, is assigned to an ethnicity-free or non-ethnic sphere.

Female costume and its jewellery are, however, in my view, also an obvious medium for ethnic and/or cultural manifestation in this period. A number of archaeological studies, as has been shown, have demonstrated that there is a definite correspondence between the distribution of particular types of dress-accessory, where these are preserved in grave-assemblages, and the location of historically documented people on the Continent and in England in the Migration Period (cf. Chs. 1.2.1 and 7.1.3). In the foregoing analysis, it has been shown that particular costume manifestations in Scandinavia also coincide to a certain extent with historically attested ‘folk areas’ of the Migration Period (Ch. 7.1.1) – although we must not forget that several regions, some of them political entities, are not defined in such a way (cf. Ch. 7.1.1 and 7.1.3). To put it differently, it is striking that in many cases there is an approximate correlation, or congruence, between specific forms of costume signalling and the articulation of group identities which found its way into the historical records of the period. One might therefore anticipate that this topic would also have been taken up for discussion from the perspective of an instrumental view of ethnicity and in connection with the theory of ethnogenesis. To explain the congruence *only* as the outcome of political or hierarchical social marking is, in my view, to under-appreciate the potential of jewellery in the social practice of this period.

The role of women in the formation of ethnic and/or cultural groupings at various levels has remained a neglected field, not only within this branch of historical research but also in archaeological studies that have been dominated by the model of ethnogenesis (cf. Ch. 1.2.2). This may to some extent be an (unintended) consequence of the paradigm shift that there has been within these disciplines, involving the transition from a biological to an instrumental concept of ethnicity (Effros 2004:170; Pohl 2004:23). Ethnic costume research is, as has been noted, a field of research which is widely regarded as retrogressive, probably because

this field is so closely connected with the works rooted in a 'primal'/biological tradition (cf. Ch. 1.2.2). Another contributory factor is without doubt the fact that we have very few ethnographical observations concerning women and costume in the contemporary documentary sources. This has meant that historians concerned with the Early Middle Ages are hesitant to take the matter up (Geary 2006; Pohl 1998a:42–51; 2004; Wood 1998:299–300). Once again, this appears to have influenced archaeologists who work on comparable questions, and who discount costume as a line of approach to be used in undertaking ethnic research (cf. Ch. 1.2.2).

While a dynamic and constructivist concept of the phenomenon of ethnicity is predominant in the perception of the warrior bands, ethnic interpretations of the female costumes of this period, as I have already discussed (cf. Ch. 1.2.1–2), are consequently often suffused with an 'old-fashioned' or out-dated understanding of ethnicity as a homogeneous, unchangeable and one-dimensional identity (see also Effros 2004:167 and Hakenbeck 2006:164 for a similar view).³¹ Effros (2004:174–5, 183) has, for example, pointed out that one often encounters a *conservative* representation of female ethnicity in interpretations of jewellery as ethnic markers: the ethnic identity of the woman is represented as something static, in-born, and remaining unchanged from cradle to grave. The woman retains her 'original' biological ethnicity even though she is 'transplanted' into alien surroundings by accompanying her 'warrior husband' to foreign lands, being married out in some marriage alliance, or abducted or kidnapped by rampaging armies. Through portrayals of this kind, women emerge as passive and unable to have any active influence on, or make any contribution to, ethnic manifestation, by, for example, changing dress and/or their set of jewellery (see also Hakenbeck 2006:120). The social context similarly appears to have no influence on the experience of ethnic affiliation in interpretations of this kind. Ethnic identity is biologically determined and unchangeable, and therefore, according to this view, functions independent of the historical and social context.

The foregoing investigation of Scandinavian female costumes is based upon a dynamic and multidimensional concept of ethnicity (Ch. 2). It has revealed that the costume expressions are anything but as static as the conventional studies might seem to suggest. It has been shown, for example, that there are changes in dress-accessories and sets of jewellery in cases of 'external' or 'foreign' items of jewellery being made

use of. In such cases, which have traditionally been interpreted in terms of exogamy and marriage alliances, there is often, at least partially, some assimilation to local customs, even though the items of jewellery at one level are concurrently able to represent the manifestation of alliances with people in distant areas, or places of origin (cf. Ch. 6.3). In addition to this, there is a continuous modification of costume manifestations throughout the period of study, at the same time as various dimensions of cultural and/or ethnic group membership are articulated in parallel through the sets of dress-accessories and the forms of the jewellery (cf. Ch. 6.2–5). The examination of how the costume manifestations are related to the political development of this period has shown that ethnic and/or cultural identity is, quite understandably, modified when social circumstances change, and that different levels of identity are activated in particular situations and in step with how the historical context is developing (Ch. 7.1.1–3).

The examination of the distribution of the selected types of Scandinavian jewellery also reveals that the form of ethnic identity that is persistently found with the warriors of this period, for whom ethnicity served as a factor of political power in the field of the social circle around the royal and/or uppermost social ranks, and where the ethnicity of the 'folk' is the same thing as the ethnic identity of the king or leader, expresses only one dimension of a phenomenon which was in fact very much more complex. While dress-accessories which can be linked to the warrior role, namely dress-accessories found in 'warrior graves', do to a certain extent confirm the existence of a trans-regional warrior identity (Ch. 6.7), female costume expresses the presence and the communication of many more levels of ethnic and/or cultural identity. The 'warrior peoples' and the equation of the army with the people is thus a modified truth. This applies, as noted, not only in the context of Scandinavia alone. In other parts of Europe, too, costume manifestations indicate that the female population was at this time signalling a multidimensional ethnic and/or cultural identity that was *rooted in place* and which diverges from the trans-regional ethno-political warrior identity (cf. Chs. 1.2.2 and 7.1.3). How, then, is the inter-connectedness between the flexible and mobile armies, in other words the 'warrior peoples', and the territorially rooted, historically documented 'peoples', who are reflected in the practices of female dress, to be understood?

The relationship between features of material culture – and perhaps items of jewellery in particular – which

31 There are exceptions, as noted (cf. Chs. 1.2.2 and 7.1.3).

show clear regional variation and historical records that tell us of a mobile and dynamic ‘warrior people’ with a flexible ethnic affiliation has confused archaeologists and historians alike. The German archaeologist Frank Siegmund (1998:188) attempted to explain the relationship by distinguishing between, on the one hand, folk referred to as nomadic (Gepids and Avars), who were poly-ethnic, and, on the other hand, ‘ordinary people of mostly stable ethnic groups’, represented by the Franks and the Alemanni. He pointed out that the elite shared common features with regard to certain selected high-status items (such as gold-hilted swords, ring-swords and helmets), but that otherwise they had a material culture which was congruent with the ethnic identity of ‘their own people’ (Siegmund 1998:191–4). This view, however, stands in contrast to the views of many historians and archaeologists concerning the multi-ethnic warrior bands of both the Franks and the Alemanni (cf. Ch. 8.2, above).

Hedeager (1992a: 287–9) has proposed that the migrations of the ethnic armies in Scandinavia, in Denmark at least, took place primarily *before* the archaeological Migration Period, and that the Danes, formerly a mobile ethno-political warrior people, had established themselves as a territorially defined unit in eastern Denmark from as early as the beginning of the 5th century. There may have been some process of formation of new groupings in Scandinavia in line with how this is described by the theory of ethnogenesis, namely that multi-ethnic warrior retinues may have shared an ideological and ethnic association with the leader of the group, and their group identity may have been underpinned by, amongst other things, origin legends (cf. Ch. 8.2). Concurrently, costume manifestations, which are primarily associated with women in Scandinavia in this period, indicate that at least one aspect of group-affiliation implied regional/territorial affiliation or connection from the very beginning of the Migration Period right through into the Merovingian Period (cf. Chs. 5, 6 and 7.1.1). The extent of regional manifestation is, however, overlapping, as shown. In Denmark, for instance, one can discern a connection northwards to Norway (for instance through the distribution of spiral clasps), and southwards to the Continent (through the use of common Danish-Continental types of cruciform brooch) in the same phase. Furthermore, the costume manifestations do change throughout the period, with various geographical groupings emerging at different times. There was thus a flexible and dynamic aspect with *women’s* ethnic and/or cultural identity as well.

Considered from another angle, the relationship may be explained through the different forms of

manifestation representing two contrastive foci in the articulations of identity in the case of women and warriors respectively. Warriors were overwhelmingly signalling a political, trans-regional ethnic identity governed by ‘interest’ (i.e. ‘situational’). According to Olsen and Kobiliński (1991:21) ‘the cultural stuff’ that such interest-directed flexible ethnic groupings will have held would not have been significantly different from ‘that of other such groups’. This fits well with the material manifestation of the warriors that ‘amongst themselves’ are relatively uniform over the whole of Europe: the warriors primarily, as has been noted, make use of elements of personal ornamentation which express membership of trans-regional units (cf. Hakenbeck 2006:227–8). Women, by contrast, overwhelmingly manifest an ethnic and/or cultural identity that is *regionally rooted*.

Once again, it must be pointed out that this is a simplification of the actual situations. To begin with, the foregoing investigation has shown that some warriors, usually associated with a higher social stratum, can be furnished with regional dress-accessory markers (cf. Ch. 6.7). It has also been pointed out that weapon-sets may vary from region to region (Siegmund 1998:183–4). In Scandinavian, English and Continental contexts alike, one also finds, as I have noted on several occasions and discussed more fully in Chapter 6.3, what are referred to as ‘cross-finds’: in other words, foreign items of jewellery whose origin lies in another area. These are, from a traditional perspective, often interpreted as signs of exogamous connections.

Another recurring feature is that, although there are concentrations of particular types or combinations of jewellery in specific districts, the types themselves very often have slightly different distribution patterns, which only partially overlap. This is the case on the Continent and in England as well as in Scandinavia (Hakenbeck 2006:116; Røstad 2001:2, 48; 2003:7–12; Scull 1993:71). Overlapping distribution patterns of this kind have been interpreted above (Chs. 6.3, 7.1.1 and 7.1.3) as expressions of the manifestation of multidimensional identities. However, there is a trend, in Scandinavia, England and on the Continent alike, for more marked regionally and locally delimited groupings to dominate the female-associated corpora of jewellery of the Migration Period (Hines 1995:81) and for these groupings to crystallize out from around the last quarter of the 5th century and into the early 6th century.

The regionally-based ethnic and/or cultural identity that is particularly manifested by women does not necessarily coincide with political constellations (cf.

Ch. 7.1.1). At certain dates and in particular areas there can be a degree of correspondence between politico-economic regions and the ethnic and/or regional group marking that is effected by means of dress-accessories. All the same, there is probably no one-to-one correspondence between these entities in Migration-period Scandinavia (cf. Ch. 7.1.1). Hines (1995:83) pointed out that there is likewise no correspondence between political and ethnic units in the Anglian English area at any phase within the Migration Period. The political situation was probably so unstable that political constellations changed rapidly (see also Scull 1993:75). In the contexts of Scandinavia, Anglo-Saxon England and Bavaria there is, however, an *interplay* between the political context and the costume manifestations (cf. Ch. 7.1.1 and 7.1.3; see also Hakenbeck 2006:223). This interplay does not only appear through the ‘overlapping’ which occurs at some date between features of material culture and the settlement areas of historically known people (i.e. tribal confederations). It also appears in other ways, for example through the ongoing centralization of power bringing ever greater areas under common political control, and through the development of the ethnic and/or cultural expression of costume which is characterized in all three cases by a trend for a uniform type of marking to spread over increasingly extensive areas in the early Merovingian Period. In connection with this, it is also interesting that both in Norway and in England (cf. Ch. 7.2; Hamerow 2005:268–9; Hines 1995:83) costume signalling expresses a common identity at a date which precedes by several centuries the unification of the two areas into single kingdoms. In Bavaria and in England we also find a manifestation of a Bavarian and a common Anglo-Saxon identity in documentary sources, from the Migration Period and the Merovingian Period, respectively (Hakenbeck 2004:40; 2006:2; Hines 1994:51; 1995:83).

Last but not least, the interplay between the political situation and costume articulations also appears in the war leaders’/army-kings’/chieftains’ use of components of costume which are also found in female dress in certain areas. In Scandinavia, as noted (Ch. 6.7), we find distinct regional clasp-types in some of the richest warrior graves of the Migration Period. In addition, the use of clasps by the war leaders coincides with the most intensive period in the use of regional variants of jewellery (phases D2a and D2b; cf. Ch. 6.7): namely in a period when regional marking was very much required (cf. Chs. 6.2 and 7.1.1). The use of this form of cultural and/or ethnic symbolism by the leading sections of society fits in well, as has been observed, with the ethnogenesis model’s attribution of

ethnic dominance to the kings/leaders of the Migration Period. Above, I have interpreted this as reflecting that membership of, or affiliation to, a regional ethnic and/or cultural grouping is a dimension of the war leaders’ ethnicity (Ch. 6.7). In this context, however, I would highlight the fact that the war leaders chose to make use of a medium of communication that was very much dominated by *women*: ethnic/cultural costume. The role of leader appears in this light not to have been independent of the contemporary, regionally-based, cultural and/or ethnic groupings which were manifested through female costume. The use of clasps, by contrast, could indicate a *two-way influence* between those different ethnic entities represented by ‘war leaders’ and ‘the womenfolk of the group’.

To carry this point further, it is significant in relation to the two contrasted foci in the discourse of identity – associated, respectively, with the female component of the population and the warriors – that the emergence of the institution of the retinue represents in itself a dimension which brought about changes in ethnic discourse in other areas too (Halsall 1998:143). The formation of a trans-regional warrior identity influenced, to put it another way, how ethnic and/or cultural identities were manifested in other contexts. Those identities that have been identified in connection with the use of female costume must in consequence be perceived in connection with the ethno-political warrior identity and *vice versa*. I have commented on this already (cf. Ch. 7.1.1 and 7.2), for instance in relation to Hines’s (1993a: 91–5) discussion of the link between the emergence of the retinue and the flourishing in the range of jewellery in phase D2a. As noted earlier (Ch. 7.1.1), he perceived a connection between a more individualistically oriented society, social stress, and an intensification of costume manifestation. It is, however, not the individual that is most conspicuous in the articulation of identity effectuated through female costume at this date, but rather collective regional and local group identities. There is, furthermore, a striking contrast between a growing degree of regional marking in the Migration Period and the establishment and consolidation of a supra-regional warrior-retinue institution. This may imply that the social mobility and the deeply influential social changes – for which the introduction of the warrior retinue acted as a catalyst – set off a sort of social ‘regulation mechanism’ through the stronger marking of more stable cultural regional groupings. These groupings may have been based upon earlier ‘clan’-like relationships of belonging (cf. Ch. 7.1.1). It could have been a means of isolating the flexible ethnic membership of the warrior retinue from other

classes within the population where cultural and/or ethnic group membership continued – apparently at least – both geographically and socially to be more fixed and stable. From this perspective, the establishment of the institution of the warrior retinue may have had an impact as a ‘catalyst’ for the extensive regional costume articulation that can be found over large areas of Europe in the Migration Period.

The flexible ethno-political identity of the warriors may thus have operated in isolation from the remainder of the population. In a similar way to what has been demonstrated with regard to costume manifestations, which in the overwhelming majority of cases are associable with women, *men* may also, however, have held several identities. Farmer and warrior, for instance, need not have been irreconcilable roles which were assigned to different individuals; quite the reverse: it is a known fact that soldiers in the Roman army practised agriculture at their border forts and in occupied areas in the fourth and fifth centuries, a circumstance that is indeed also known from several other historically recorded war situations (Geary 1988: 15–16; Kulikowski 2002:78; MacMullen 1967:1–22). In a similar way, Scandinavian men could have had alternating roles as farmers and warriors in different contexts: farmers may have sought out activity as warriors for periods of time, only to return eventually to agriculture.³² Some will presumably have participated in wars on the Continent as Roman soldiers, later returning home to their areas of origin, as, for instance, the man interred at Evebø in western Norway in the fifth century seems to have done (Solberg 1996:30). While some men, probably a minority, were permanent members of the warrior aristocracy, with a special life-style as warriors (Evans 1997:2, 56, 66–8), the major part of the army might have comprised men who were warriors only for periods, in which they joined up in ‘warrior bands’ and went off on expeditions, or participated in conflicts between neighbouring areas in Scandinavia (cf. Hedeager 1990:140–1, 203–6; Näsman 2006:218–20). If it was only a person’s role as a warrior which made ethnic shift acceptable, it is probable that the majority of returned warriors re-activated a local and regional group identity as members of one (or more) geographical, cultural and/or ethnic groupings such as Ryger, Egder, Trønder, Geats, Jutes and Danes.

In this context, it is once again a matter of interest to draw attention to the ‘cross-border’ finds of jewellery. Although such finds of ‘external’ items of jewellery and

components of costume do not necessarily represent either imported dress-accessories or ‘foreign’ women (cf. Ch. 6.3), these finds do indicate that a regional and/or cultural ‘displacement’ of individuals did not automatically bring about a shift of ethnic and/or cultural identity in the form of ‘assimilation’. In other words, there was not perhaps the same acceptance of shifts of ethnic identity *outside of* the warrior role. Changes of ethnic costume for women clearly were accepted, and happened in certain cases: consider the ‘eastern’ (‘Hunnic’?) women from Bavaria who were buried clothed in local Bavarian outfits (cf. Ch. 6.3.1). In other contexts, however, it appears that ‘foreign’ signalling was sought after; in other words, it was actively maintained. This appears, for instance, through obvious imitations of items of jewellery from different geographical areas. Another point is that, since the warrior aristocracy’s male members for the most part made use of common and trans-regional markers, it is conceivable that the need to express different political alliances at a regional level was met by means of women’s accoutrements (Arrhenius 1995a:85; Hjørungdal 1991:128).

Studies of costume manifestations and especially of the development of female costumes through this period may, as I have argued here, contribute to a more detailed and nuanced view of ethnic groupings than the one created through the focus on warrior retinues, where such groupings are seen as being synonymous with political entities in this period (cf. Ch. 7.1.1). By including costume and jewellery as ethnic markers, I believe one obtains a more firmly rooted understanding of how the phenomenon of ethnicity took shape in the Migration Period and the early Merovingian Period. In a holistic view, the model of ethnogenesis and ethnic costume research provide insight into a complex, ‘kaleidoscopic’ field in which continuous ethnic discourses were being performed, and in which different levels of identity were relevant in different situations and at different points of time. Together, the two interpretative perspectives yield a new understanding of the society these discourses set their mark upon.

What emerges is a system which had, on the one hand, an ethno-political dimension that involved warriors, and which functioned in a social context in which changes of identity were permissible. This ethno-political identity became active when a warrior became a member of an ethnic army or retinue. On the other hand, there was at the same time a locally and

³² According to saga literature, for instance, it appears to have been common practice in the Viking Age to be a farmer for some of the year and to adapt Viking expeditions to seasons in which there was no sowing, harvesting or the like to be done.

regionally rooted dimension, operative in the context of a more or less permanently settled population. This level also included individuals who in different phases of life entered into warrior retinues and the ethnic armies. I have argued that it is in the context of this level, i.e. of locally and regionally rooted identities, that female costume becomes part of the formation and reconstruction of ethnic groupings.

8.4 CONCLUSION

The study of jewellery from the period c. AD 400–650/700 clears the way for a new understanding of society in the Migration and early Merovingian Periods by informing us how people perceived one another as members of different groupings, and how they categorized one another as culturally similar or different, around 1,500 years ago. The items of jewellery show how cultural and ethnic lines of division gradually changed throughout this period and also testify to discourses which were ongoing at various levels. Regional and local conditions affected material manifestation, for instance in the north and in the interior of the main Scandinavian peninsula, where a cultural encounter between Saami and Germanic/Norse populations left its mark on the discourse. Other

discourses reached as far away as England and central Europe – and possibly even further. In the political arena, the possibility for advantageous ethnic change of identity became available to men of the age of ‘military service’ since they could enrol in army service with various ‘warrior peoples’ or confederations (*Stammeverbände*). The material symbols which the warriors made use of were common over wide areas and indicate that their ethnic identity had a ‘trans-regional’ aspect. In other contexts, it was more important to mark regional differences. Dress-accessories and female costume reinforced regional and local cultural and/or ethnic groupings, while at the same time external connections were expressed through the deliberate maintenance of a ‘foreign’ identity by divergence from local dress-customs, and by the maintenance or adoption of foreign types of jewellery. Communication between ‘the others’ and ‘ourselves’ appears to have been a process in which the gradual political conglomeration of large geographical areas at the transition to the Merovingian Period contributed to ethnic affiliation being generated within larger groupings. However, the formation of these ethnic groupings had a dynamic of its own, and in several cases preceded the construction of a common political system of government.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Åberg, Nils
1922 *Die Franken und Westgoten in der Völkerwanderungszeit*. Vilhelm Ekmans universitetsfond, Arbeten, 28, Uppsala.
1924 *Den nordiska folkvandringstidens kronologi*. Kungliga Vitterhets Historie och Antikvitets Akademiens Monografier, 14. Kungliga Vitterhets Historie och Antikvitets Akademien, Stockholm.
1926 *The Anglo-Saxons in England during the early centuries after the invasion*. Uppsala.
1953 *Den historiska relationen mellan folkvandringstid och vendeltid*. Kungliga Vitterhets Historie och Antikvitets Akademiens Handlingar, 82. Kungliga Vitterhets Historie och Antikvitets Akademien, Stockholm.
- Alduc-le Bagousse, Armelle and Luc Buchet
1990 La presence d'étrangers dans la plaine de Caen (IVe et Ve siècles). Interprétation des observations anthropologiques. In *Attila. Les influences Danubiennes dans l'ouest de l'Europe au Ve siècle. Du 23 juin au 1er octobre 1990*, edited by Jean-Yves Marin pp. 109–113. Publication du Musée de Normandie no. 9. Musée de Normandie, Caen.
- Alenstam, Brita
1949 Zwei Reliefspangen aus Grönby, Skåne. *Meddelanden från Lunds Universitets Historiska Museum*: 69–113.
- Almgren, Bertil
1983 Helmets, crowns and warrior's dress – from the Roman emperors to the chieftains of Uppland. In *Vendel Period Studies: Transactions of the Boat-Grave Symposium in Stockholm, February 2–3, 1981*, edited by Jan Peder Lamm and Hans-Åke Nordstrom, pp. 11–16. Statens Historiska Museum, Stockholm.
- Almgren, Oscar and Birger Nerman
1923 *Die ältere Eisenzeit Gotlands: Nach den in Statens historische museum, Stockholm, aufbewahrten Funden und Ausgrabungsberichten. Im Auftrage der Kungl. vitterhets historie och antikvitetsakademien; dargestellt von Oscar Almgren und Birger Nerman*. Archäologische Monographien, no. 4, Kungl. Vitterhets historie och antikvitets akademien, Stockholm.
- Ambrosiani, Björn
1960 En uppländsk skelettgrav. *Fornvännen* 1960:28–33.
1983 Regalia and symbols in the boatgraves. In *Vendel Period Studies: Transactions of the Boat-Grave Symposium in Stockholm, February 2–3, 1981*, edited by Jan Peder Lamm and Hans-Åke Nordstrom, pp. 23–30. Statens Historiska Museum, Stockholm.
- Aments, Herman
1977 Zur achäologischen Periodisierung der Merowingerzeit. *Germania* 55:133–140.
- André, Anders
1991 Guld och makt – en tolkning av de skandinaviska guldbrakteaternas funktion. In *Samfundsorganisation og Regional Variation. Norden i romersk jernalder og folkevandringstid. Beretning fra 1. nordiske jernaldersymposium på Sandbejerg Slot 11 – 15 april 1989*, edited by Charlotte Fabech and Jytte Ringtved, pp. 245–256. Jysk Arkæologisk Selskabs Skrifter XXVII, 1991. Jysk Arkæologisk Selskab, Aarhus University Press, Aarhus.
- Arne, T.J.
1937 Ett skånsk fynd från folkvandringstiden. In *Från stenålder till rokokko. Studier tillägnade Otto Rydbeck den 25 augusti 1937*, pp. 81–95. Lund.
- Arrhenius, Birgit
1960a Båtgraven från Augerum. *Tor. Meddelanden från Institutionen för nordisk fornkunskap vid Uppsala Universitet*, vol. 6, 1960, pp. 167–185. Almqvist & Wiksell, Uppsala.
1960b En vendeltida smyckeuppsättning. *Fornvännen* 55:65–91.
1962 Det flammande smycket. *Fornvännen* 57:79–101.
1963 Smycken från järnåldern (yngre germansk tid). *Ur Statens Historiske Museums Samlinger*. 8. Almqvist & Wiksell, Stockholm.
1995a Women and gold. On the role of women in society at the time of the Great Migrations and their relationship to the production and distribution of ornaments. In *Produksjon og samfunn. Beretning fra 2. nordiske jernaldersymposium på Granavolden 7.–10. mai 1992*, edited by Heid Gjøstein Resi, pp. 85–96. Varia 30. Universitetets Oldsaksamling, Oslo.
1995b Regalia in Svealand in Early Medieval times. *Tor. Tidskrift för arkeologi* 27 (1):311–335.
1999 De likarmade spännena från Vendeltid funna på Uppåkraboplatsen. In *Fynd i centrum: keramik, glas och metall från Uppåkra*, edited by Birgitta Härdh, pp. 135–143. Uppåkrastudier 2. Acta Archaeologica Lundensia, Series in 8°, No 30. Almqvist & Wiksell International, Stockholm.
- Aspelin, Johann Reinhold
1880 *Antiquités du Nord Finno-Ougrien. Bind 4. L'âge du Fer*. Helsinki.

- Axboe, Morten
1991 Guld og guder i folkevandringstid. Brakteaterne som kilde til politisk/religiøse forhold. In *Samfundsorganisation og Regional Variation. Norden i romersk jernalder og folkevandringstid. Beretning fra 1. nordiske jernaldersymposium på Sandbejerg Slot 11–15 april 1989*, edited by Charlotte Fabech and Jytte Ringtved, pp. 187–202. Jysk Arkæologisk Selskabs Skrifter XXVII, 1991. Jysk Arkæologisk Selskab, Aarhus University Press, Aarhus.
- 1999 The chronology of the Scandinavian gold bracteates. In *The Pace of Change. Studies in Early-Medieval Chronology*, edited by John Hines, Karen Høiland Nielsen and Frank Siegmund, pp. 126–147. Cardiff Studies in Archaeology. Oxbow Books, Oxford.
- Baardsen, Kirsti
2014 *Nordnorske koniske spenner fra merovingertid – analyse av utbredelse*. Unpublished Master's thesis. Institutt for arkeologi og sosialantropologi, University of Tromsø.
- Badou, Evert and Klas-Göran Selinge
1977 *Västernorrlands förhistoria*. Västernorrlands läns landsting, Motala.
- Bakka, Egil
1963 *Some English decorated metal objects found in Norwegian Viking graves: contributions to the art history of the eighth century A.D.* Årbok for Universitetet i Bergen, Humanistisk serie, 1963 (I):1–66. Bergen.
- 1972 Eine ovale Schalenfibel von Fehmarn. *Offa. Berichte und Mitteilungen zur Urgeschichte, Frühgeschichte und Mittelalterarchäologie*. Bind 28, 1971. Institut für Ur- und Frühgeschichtelehre dem Archäologischen Landesmuseum der Christian-Albrechts-Universität zu Kiel sowie dem Landesamt für Vor- und Frühgeschichte von Schleswig-Holstein. Karl Wachholtz Verlag, Neumünster.
- 1973a Goldbrakteaten in norwegischen Grabfunden: Datierungsfragen. *Frühmittelalterliche Studien. Jahrbuch des Instituts für Frühmittelalterforschung der Universität Münster* 7:53–87.
- 1981 Scandinavian type gold bracteates in Kentish and Continental grave finds. In *Angles, Saxons and Jutes. Essays presented to J.N.L. Myres*, edited by Vera I. Evison, pp. 11–35. Clarendon Press, Oxford.
- Ball, Jennifer
2005 *Byzantine dress: Representations of secular dress in eighth- to twelfth-century painting*. Palgrave, New York.
- Balling, Anne Kromann and Peter Vang Petersen
1985 Romerske mønter, skattefund og jernalderhuse. Fra et rigdomssenter på Sydøen. *Nationalmuseets arbejdsmark* 1985:194–206.
- Barth, Fredrik
1969 Introduction. In *Ethnic Groups and Boundaries*, edited by Fredrik Barth, pp. 9–38. Little Brown, Boston.
- Barth, Fredrik (editor)
1969 *Ethnic Groups and Boundaries*. Little Brown, Boston.
- Bassett, Steven
1989 In search of the origins of Anglo-Saxon kingdoms. In *The Origins of Anglo-Saxon Kingdoms*, edited by Steven Bassett, pp. 3–27. Studies in early history of Britain. Leicester University Press, London.
- Becker, Carl Johan
1955 Smykkefundet fra Ørby. Et glimt fra Sjællands glemte storhedstid. *Fra nationalmuseets arbejdsmark* 1955:26–34.
- Bemmann, Jan and Güde Hahne
1994 Waffenführende Grabinventare der jüngeren römischen Kaiserzeit und Völkerwanderungszeit in Skandinavien. Studie zur zeitlichen Ordnung anhand der norwegischen Funde. *Bericht der Römisch-Germanischen Kommission* 75. Mainz am Rhein.
- Bennett, Agneta
1987 *Graven. Religjös och social symbol*. Theses and papers in North-European archaeology 18. Institute of Archaeology, University of Stockholm, Stockholm.
- Bentley, G. Carter
1987 Ethnicity and practice. *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 29:24–55.
- Bergstøl, Jostein
1997 *Fangstfolk og bønder i Østerdalen. Rapport fra Rødmoprojektets delprosjekt Marginal Bosetning*. Varia, nr. 42. Universitetets Oldsaksamling, Oslo.
- 2001 Iron technology and magic in Iron Age Norway. In *Metals and Society. Papers from a session held at the European Association of Archaeologists Sixth Annual Meeting in Lisbon 2000*, edited by I. B. Ottaway, pp. 77–82. BAR International Series 1061. Archaeopress, Oxford.
- 2004 Creoles in Iron Age Norway? In *Reconsidering Ethnicity. Material Culture and Identity in the Past*, edited by Susanne E. Hackenbeck and Steven G. Matthews, pp. 7–24. Archaeological Review from Cambridge vol. 19.2. The Department of Archaeology, Cambridge.
- 2008 *Samer i Østerdalen? En studie av etnisitet i jernalderen og middelalderen i det nordøstre Hedmark*. Acta Humaniora no. 325. Det humanistiske fakultet, University of Oslo. Oslo.
- Bergstøl, Jostein and Gaute Reitan
2008 Samer på Dovrefjell i vikingtiden. Et bidrag til debatten omkring samenes sørgrense i forhistorisk tid. *Historisk Tidsskrift* 87(1):9–27.
- Bergsvik, Knut Andreas
2005 En etnisk grense ved Stad i steinalderen. *Primitive Tider* 7:7–27.

- Bitner-Wróblewska, Anna
1995 Long Distance – Close Connections. Norway and the Balt Lands during Migration Period. *Universitetets Oldsaksamling Årbok 1993/1994*:171–189. Oslo.
- 2001 *From Samland to Rogaland. East-West Connections in the Baltic Basin during the Early Migration Period*. Państwowe Muzeum Archeologiczne, Warszawa.
- Biuw, Anita
1992 *Norra Spånga: Bebyggelse och samhälle under järnåldern*. Monografier utgivna av Stockholms stad, bind 76. Stockholm.
- Biörnstad, Margareta
1962 Uppkomsten av den sydkandinaviska järnåldersbygden i Storsjöområdet i Jämtland. *Jämtlands och Härjedalens historia. Arkeologisk inledning*, pp.73–98. P.A. Norstadt och Söners förlag, Stockholm.
- Bjergo, Tore
1969 *Innberetning om undersøkelse av gravfelt på Ytre Kvarøy, gnr. 49 brnr. 1 i Lurøy*. Unpublished excavation report, Tromsø Museum.
- Blair, Peter Hunter
1977 *An Introduction to Anglo-Saxon England*. 2nd ed. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.
- Blindheim, Charlotte
1946 En detalj i eldre jernalders drakthistorie. *Særtrykk av Stavanger Museums Årbok 1946*:47–54. Stavanger.
- 1947 Drakt og smykker. Studier i jernalderens drakthistorie i Norden. *Viking* 11:1–139.
- Boddington, Andy
1990 Models of Burial, Settlement and Worship: The Final Phase Reviewed. In *Anglo-Saxon Cemeteries: A Reappraisal*, edited by Edmund Southworth, pp. 177–199. Alan Sutton Publishing, Stroud.
- Bode, Martina-Johanna
1998 *Schmalstede: Ein Urnengräberfeld der Kaiser- und Völkerwanderungszeit*. Offa-Bücher: Untersuchungen aus dem Schleswig-Holsteinischen Landesmuseum für Vor- und Frühgeschichte in Schleswig, dem Landesamt für Vor- und Frühgeschichte von Schleswig-Holstein in Schleswig und dem Institut für Ur- und Frühgeschichte der Universität Kiel. 78. Wachholtz, Neumünster.
- Bondevik, Hjørdis
2007 *Bysantinsk silke og keisarleg drakt med vekt på mellomby-santinsk tid omlag 800 – 1200. Hovedfagsoppgave i kunsthistorie*. Unpublished Master's thesis. University of Oslo, Oslo.
- Bourdieu, Pierre
1977 *An Outline of a Theory of Practice*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.
- 1995 *Distinksjonen. En sosiologisk kritikk av dømmekraften*. Pax Forlag, Oslo.
- Bowlus, Charles R.
2002 Ethnogenesis: The Tyranny of a Concept. In *On Barbarian identity. Critical approaches to ethnicity in the Early Middle Ages*, edited by Andrew Gillett, pp. 241–256. Studies in the Early Middle Ages, volume 4. Centre for Medieval Studies University of York. Brepols, Turnhout, Belgia.
- Boye, Vilhelm
1859 Oplysende Fortegnelse over de Genstande i det Kongelige Museum for nordiske Oldsager i København, der ere forarbejdede af eller prydede med ædle Metaller. Første Afdeling (omfattende den hedenske Tid). Thieles, Copenhagen.
- Brown, Thomas
2001 The Transformation of the Roman Mediterranean. 400–900. In *The Oxford Illustrated History of Medieval Europe*, edited by George Holmes, pp. 1–61. Reprinted, originally published 1988. Oxford University Press, Oxford.
- Brøgger, Anton W.
1925 *Det norske folk i oldtiden*. Instituttet for sammenlignende kulturforskning. Serie A, Forelesninger, 6 a. Oslo.
- 1942 *Glåmdalen i oldtiden*. Glåmdalen, norske bygder, bd. 5. Bergen.
- Buchet, Luc
1988 La déformation crânienne en Gaule et dans les régions limitrophes pendant le haut Moyen Age. Son origine – sa valeur historique. *Archéologie Médiévale*, tome XVIII:55–71.
- Buchet, Luc and Christian Pilet
1994 Les femmes orientales en Basse Normandie au Ve siècle. In *La femme pendant le moyen âge et l'époque moderne. Actes des Sixièmes journées anthropologiques de Valbonne, 9-10-11 juin 1992*, edited by Luc Buchet, pp.114–123. Dossier de Documentation Archéologique 17. Paris.
- Bursche, Aleksander
2001 Roman gold medallions as power symbols of the Germanic elite. In *Roman gold and the Development of the Early Germanic Kingdoms. Aspects of technical, socio-political, socio-economic, artistic and intellectual development, A.D. 1–550. – Symposium in Stockholm 14–16 November 1997*, edited by Bente Magnus, pp. 83–102. Konferenser 51. Kungl. Vitterhets Historie och Antikvitets Akademien. Almqvist & Wiksell, Stockholm.
- Callmer, Johan
1991 Territory and Dominion in the Late Iron Age in Southern Scandinavia. In *Regions and reflections. In honour of Märta Strömberg*, edited by Kristina Jennbert, Lars Larson, Rolf Petré and Bozena Wyszomirska-Webart, pp. 257–273. Acta archaeologica Lundensia, Series in 8°, No. 20. Institute of Archaeology and the Historical Museum, Almqvist & Wiksell, Lund.

- Campbell, Marian
2009 *Medieval jewellery in Europe 1100–1500*. Victoria and Albert museum, London.
- Carlsen, Elisabeth Barfod
2002 Fabeldyr i udvikling: en analyse af D-brakteaterne. *Hikuin* 29:119–142.
- Carut, Jo and John Hines
Forthcoming *The Anglo-Saxon Cemeteries at RAF Lakenbeath, Eriswell Parish, Suffolk: Excavations 1997–2008*. East Anglian Archaeology. Needham Market.
- Carver, Martin
1999 Exploring, Explaining, Imagining. Anglo-Saxon Archaeology 1998. In *The Archaeology of Anglo-Saxon England: Basic reading*, edited by Catherine E. Karkov, pp. 25–52. Basic Reading in Anglo-Saxon England, vol. 7. Garland Publishing, New York & London.
- Chadwick, Sonia E.
1958 The Anglo-Saxon Cemetery at Finglesham, Kent: a Reconsideration. *Medieval Archaeology* 2:1–71.
- Chambers, Raymond W.
1912 *Widsith. A study in Old English Heroic Legend*. University press, Cambridge.
- Chase, Colin R. (editor)
1981 *The Dating of Beowulf*. Centre for Medieval Studies, University of Toronto Press, Toronto.
- Christlein, Rainer
1979 *Die Alamannen. Archäologie eines lebendigen Volkes*. Konrad Theiss Verlag, Stuttgart.
- Clemmensen, Benita
2014 Kirkemosegård. Et offerfund med smykker fra ældre germansk jernalder. *KUML* 2014:109–143. Aarhus.
- Crawford, Sally
1999 *Childhood in Anglo-Saxon England*. Stroud, Sutton.
- Danielsson, Ing-Marie Back
2007 *Masking Moments. The Transitions of Bodies and Beings in Late Iron Age Scandinavia*. Doctoral thesis in archaeology at Stockholm University, Sweden. Stockholm Studies in Archaeology 40, Department of Archaeology and Classical Studies, Stockholm University.
- Dedekam, Hans
1926 To tekstilfund fra folkevandringstiden. Enebø og Snartemo. Med et tillæg om hetespænders anvendelse i dragten. *Bergen Museums Aarbok 1924–25, Historisk-Antikvarisk række*, nr. 3, edited by Carl Fred. Kolderup, pp. 3–57. Bergen museum, Bergen.
- Díaz-Andreu, Margarita
2005 Gender identity. In *The Archaeology of Identity. Approaches to gender, age, status, ethnicity and religion*, edited by Margarita Díaz-Andreu, Sam Lucy, Stasa Babic and David N. Edwards, pp. 13–42. Routledge, London.
- Díaz-Andreu, Margarita and Sam Lucy
2005 Introduction. In *The Archaeology of Identity. Approaches to gender, age, status, ethnicity and religion*, edited by Margarita Díaz-Andreu, Sam Lucy, Stasa Babic and David N. Edwards, pp. 1–12. Routledge, London.
- Dickinson, Tania M.
1979 On the Origin and Chronology of the early Anglo-Saxon Disc Brooch. *Anglo-Saxon Studies in Archaeology and History* 1, edited by Sonia Chadwick Hawkes, David Brown and James Campbell, pp. 39–80. BAR British Series 72, BAR, Oxford.
1991 Material Culture as Social Expression: The case of Saxon Saucer Brooches with running spiral decoration. In *Studien zur Sachsenforschung 7*, edited by Hans-Jürgen Hässler, pp. 39–70. Veröffentlichungen der Urgeschichtlichen Sammlungen des Landesmuseums zu Hannover, Band 39. Niedersächsisches Landesmuseum, Hildesheim.
- Diinhoff, Søren and Espen Kutschera
2002 Dei arkeologiske undersøkingane ved Leikanger sommeren 2001. *Syrstrendingen* 1 (2002):3–13.
- Dybsand, Guri
1956 Et folkevandringstids gravfund fra Ommundrød i Hedrum, Vestfold. *Universitetets Oldsaksamling Årbok*, 1954/1955:7–29. Oslo.
- Effros, Bonnie
2003 *Merovingian Mortuary Archaeology and the Making of the Early Middle Ages*. The Transformation of the Classical Heritage XXXV. University of California Press, Berkeley, Los Angeles, London.
2004 Dressing conservatively: A Critique of Recent Archaeological Discussions of Women's Brooches as markers of ethnic Identity. In *Gender in the Early Medieval World: East and West, 300 – 900*, edited by Julia Smith and Leslie Brubaker, pp. 165–184. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.
- Eicher, Joanne B.
1999 Introduction: Dress as Expression of Ethnic Identity. In *Dress and Ethnicity. Change Across Space and Time*, edited by Joanne B. Eicher, pp. 1–5. Reprinted. Originally published 1995, Berg Ethnicity and identity series. Berg, Oxford.
- Eicher, Joanne B. (editor)
1999 *Dress and Ethnicity. Change Across Space and Time*. Reprinted. Originally published 1995, Berg Ethnicity and identity series. Berg, Oxford.

- Eicher, Joanne B. and Barbara Sumburg
1999 World Fashion, Ethnic and National Dress. In *Dress and Ethnicity. Change Across Space and Time*, edited by Joanne B. Eicher, pp. 295–306. Reprinted. Originally published 1995, Berg Ethnicity and identity series. Berg, Oxford.
- Engevik, Asbjørn
1995 *Fuglenåler fra folkevandringstid. En komparativ analyse av det fenno-skandiske materialet*. Unpublished Master's thesis. University of Bergen.
2007 *Bucket-shaped pots: style, chronology and regional diversity in Norway in the late Roman and migration periods*. Dr.art-thesis, University of Bergen.
- Eriksen, Thomas Hylland
2002 *Ethnicity and Nationalism. Anthropological Perspectives*. Anthropology, Culture and Society Series. 2nd ed. Pluto Press, London, Sterling, Virginia.
- Ethelberg, Per
1987 *Hjemsted – en gravplads fra 4. og 5. årh. e.Kr.* Skrifter fra museumsrådet for Sønderjyllands amt, 2. Haderslev museum, Haderslev.
- Evans, Joan
1952 *Dress in Mediaeval France*. The University Press, Oxford.
- Evans, Stephen S.
1997 *Lords of Battle. Image and reality of the comitatus in Dark-Age Britain*. The Boydell press, Woodbridge.
- Farbregd, Oddmund
1980 Perspektiv på Namdalens jernalder. Undersøkingar på Veiem, Sem, Væren og Bertnem. *Viking* 43:20–80.
1986 Elveosar – Gamle sentra på vandring. *SPOR* 1986 (2):6–12.
- Fehr, Hubert
2002 “Volkstum” as Paradigm: Germanic people and Gallo-Romans in early medieval archaeology since the 1930s. In *On Barbarian identity. Critical approaches to ethnicity in the Early Middle Ages*, edited by Andrew Gillett, pp. 177–200. Studies in the Early Middle Ages, volume 4. Centre for Medieval Studies University of York. Brepols, Turnhout, Belgium.
- Ferenius, Jonas
1971 Vårby och Vårberg. En studie i järnålderns bebyggelse-shistoria. *Studies in North-European Archaeology Series B*, 1. Acta Universitatis Stockholmiensis. Stockholm University, Stockholm.
- Festin, Eric
1937 Brunflofyndet – Ett av Norrlands förnämligsta praktgravsfynd från äldre folkevandringstid. *Festskrift till Erik Modin på hans 75-årsdag 16/8 1937. Fornvårdaren* 6:80–87. Östersund.
- Fett, Eva Nissen
1941 Relief-Fibelns von nordischem Typus in Mitteleuropa. *Bergen Museums Årbok* 1941. Historisk-antikvarisk rekke, nr. 5. Bergen.
1974 Relieffspenne fra Nordfjord. *Arkeo – arkeologiske meddelelser fra Historisk museum, Universitetet i Bergen* 1974:11–12.
- Feveile, Claus and Stig Jensen
2000 Ribe in the 8th and 9th Century. A Contribution to the Archaeological Chronology of North Western Europe. *Acta Archaeologica* 71:9–24.
- Forster, Edward M.
1992 [1910] *Howards End*. Penguin Books, London.
- Gäimster, Märit
1998 *Vendel period bracteates on Gotland: On the significance of Germanic art*. Acta archaeologica Lundensia. Series in 8°, 27. Lunds Universitets Historiska museum, Lund University, Lund.
- Gansum, Terje
2004 Role of the bones. From iron to steel. *Norwegian Archaeological Review* 37 (I):41–57.
- Gansum, Terje and Hans-Johnny Hansen
2004 Fra jern til stål. In *Mellom himmel og jord. Foredrag fra et seminar om religionsarkeologi. Isegrav 31. januar – 2. februar 2002*, edited by Lene Melheim, Lotte Hedeager and Kristin Oma, pp. 344–376. Oslo arkeologiske serie, vol. 2, Institutt for arkeologi, kunsthistorie og konservering, University of Oslo, Oslo.
- Geake, Helen
1997 *The Use of Grave-Goods in Conversion-Period England, c. 600–c. 850*. BAR British Series. 261. John and Erica Hedges, British Archaeological Reports, Oxford.
- Geary, Patrick
1983 Ethnic identity as a situational construct in the early middle ages. *Mitteilungen der Anthropologischen Gesellschaft in Wien*, band 113, 1983, pp.15–26. Anthropologischen Gesellschaft in Wien, Horn.
1988 *Before France and Germany. The creation and transformation of the Merovingian world*. Oxford University Press, Oxford.
2003 *The Myth of Nations. The Medieval Origins of Europe*. Princeton University press, Princeton, Oxford.
2006 *Women at the beginning: Origin myths from the Amazons to the Virgin Mary*. Princeton University Press, Princeton.
- Geisslinger, Helmut
1967 *Horte als Geschichtsquelle dargestellt an den völkerwanderungs- und merowingerzeitlichen Funden des südwestlichen Ostseeraumes*. Offa-Bücher. Untersuchungen aus dem Schleswig-Holsteinischen Landesmuseum für Vor- und Frühgeschichte in Schleswig, dem Landesamt für Vor- und Frühgeschichte von Schleswig-Holstein in Schleswig und dem Institut für Ur- und Frühgeschichte der Universität Kiel. Bind-/heftenr. 19, Neumünster.

- Gejwall, Nils Gustaf and Ove Persson
1970 Osteological Analysis of the Human and Animal Cremated Bones. In *Excavations at Helgö III. Report for 1960–1964*, edited by Wilhelm Holmqvist, pp. 227–233. Kungl. Vitterhets historie och antikvitets akademien. Almqvist & Wiksell, Stockholm.
- Gillett, Andrew
2002a Introduction: Ethnicity, History, and Methodology. In *On Barbarian identity. Critical approaches to ethnicity in the Early Middle Ages*, edited by Andrew Gillett, pp. 1–18. Studies in the Early Middle Ages, volume 4. Centre for Medieval Studies University of York. Brepols, Turnhout, Belgium.
2002b Was Ethnicity politicized in the Earliest Medieval Kingdoms? In *On Barbarian identity. Critical approaches to ethnicity in the Early Middle Ages*, edited by Andrew Gillett, pp. 85–121. Studies in the Early Middle Ages, volume 4. Centre for Medieval Studies University of York. Brepols, Turnhout, Belgium.
- Gillett, Andrew (editor)
2002 *On Barbarian identity. Critical approaches to ethnicity in the Early Middle Ages*. Studies in the early middle ages, volume 4. Centre for Medieval Studies University of York. Brepols, Turnhout, Belgium.
- Gjerde, Hege Skalleberg
2009 Samiske tufter i Hallingdal? *Viking* 72:197–210.
2010 Tilfeldig? Neppe: finsk-ugriske smykker i Sør-Norge. *Viking* 73:49–60.
- Gjessing, Gutorm
1929 Norske ryggknappspenner fra vendeltiden. *Det Kongelige norske videnskabers selskab Skrifter* 1929 (8):4–17. Trondhjem.
1934 *Studier i norsk merovingertid. Kronologi og oldsakformer*. Det Norske Videnskaps-Akademi i Oslo Skrifter, II. Hist.-filos. klasse. Jacob Dybwad, Oslo.
- Glørstad, Zanette Tsigaridas and Ingunn Marit Røstad
2015 Mot en ny tid? Merovingertidens ryggknappspenner som uttrykk for endring og erindring. In *Smykker – Personlig pynt i kulturhistorisk lys*, edited by Marianne Vedeler and Ingunn M. Røstad, pp. 181–210. Museumsforlaget, Trondheim.
2021 Echoes of the Past: Women, memories and disc-on-bow brooches in Vendel and Viking Period Scandinavia. *European Journal of Archaeology* 24 (1):89–107.
- Goldhahn, Joachim and Terje Østigård
2007 *Rituelle spesialister i bronse- og jernalderen*. Gotarc serie C. Arkeologiska Skrifter No 65. Institutionen för arkeologi och antikens kultur. University of Gothenburg, Gothenburg.
- Gräslund, Bo
1993 Folkvandringstidens Uppsala. Namn, myter, arkeologi och historia. *Kärnhuset i riksäpplet. Upplands fornminnesförening och hembygdsförbunds årsbok* 1993:173–208.
- 2008 Fimbulvintern, Ragnarök och klimatkrisen år 536–537 e.Kr. *Saga och Sed. Kungliga Gustav Adolfs Akademiens Årsbok* 2007:93–123.
- Green, Barbara, Andrew Rogerson and Susan G. White
1987 *The Anglo-Saxon Cemetery at Morningthorpe, Norfolk*. East Anglian Archaeology No. 36. Norfolk Archaeological Unit, Norfolk.
- Grieg, Sigurd
1918 Akerfundet. *Oldtiden* 7:149–163.
- Gudesen, Hans Gude
1980 *Merovingertiden i Øst-Norge. Kronologi, kultur-mønstre og tradisjonsforløp*. Varia 2. Universitetets Oldsaksamling, Oslo.
- Gustafson, Lil
2016 *Møter på veien – Kultplass gjennom 1500 år. Et maktsenter på Ringerrike i eldre jernalder*. Museum of Cultural History, University of Oslo. Cappelen Damm, Oslo.
- Hagberg, Ulf Erik
1983 Ein Schatzfund der Völkerwanderungszeit: Djurgårdäng bei Skara, Västergötland, Schweden. *Studien zur Sachsenforschung* 4:79–92.
- Hakenbeck, Susanne E.
2004 Ethnic Tensions in Early Medieval Cemeteries in Bavaria. In *Reconsidering Ethnicity. Material Culture and Identity in the Past*, edited by Susanne E. Hakenbeck and Steven G. Matthews, pp. 40–55. Archaeological Review from Cambridge vol. 19.2. Department of Archaeology, Cambridge.
2006 *Ethnic identity in early medieval cemeteries in Bavaria*. Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation. Department of Archaeology, University of Cambridge.
2009 “Hunnish” modified skulls: physical appearance, identity and the transformative nature of migrations. In *Mortuary practices and social identities in the Middle Ages. Essays in burial archaeology in honour of Heinrich Härke*, edited by Duncan Sayer and Howard Williams, pp. 64–80. University of Exeter Press, Exeter.
- Halsall, Guy
1996 Female Status and Power in early Merovingian central Austrasia: the burial evidence. *Early Medieval Europe* 5 (1):1–24.
1998 Social identities and social relationships in early Merovingian Gaul. *Franks and Alamanni in the Merovingian period. An Ethnographic Perspective*, edited by Ian Wood, pp. 141–165. The Boydell Press, Woodbridge.
2005 The Barbarian Invasions. In *The New Cambridge Medieval History volume I, c. 500 – c. 700*, edited by Paul Fouracre, pp. 35–55. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.

Hamerow, Helen

- 1998 Wanderungstheorien und die angelsächsische „Identitätskrise“. In 46. *Internationales Sachsensymposium* „Die Wanderung der Angeln nach England“ im *Archäologischen Landesmuseum der Christian-Albrechts-Universität, Schloss Gottorf, Schleswig, 3. Bis 5. September 1995*, edited by Hans-Jürgen Hässler, pp. 121–134. Sonderdruck aus *Studien zur Sachsenforschung* 11. Oldenburg.
- 2005 The earliest Anglo-Saxon kingdoms. In *The New Cambridge Medieval History volume I c. 500 – c. 700*, edited by Paul Fouracre, pp. 263–288. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.

Hanisch, Morten

- 2003 Gravritualene som fortællinger om ære. *Primitive tider* 5:23–38.

Hansen, Lars Ivar and Bjørnar Olsen

- 2004 *Samenes historie*. Cappelen Akademisk forlag, Oslo.

Hansen, Ulla Lund

- 1970 Kvarmløsefundet – en analyse af søsdalastilen og dens forudsætninger. *Aarbøger for nordisk oldkyndighed og historie* 1969:63–102.
- 1988 Hovedproblemer i romersk og germansk jernalders kronologi i Skandinavien og på Kontinentet. In *Fra Stamme til Stat i Danmark 1. Jernalderens stammesamfund*, edited by Peder Mortensen and Birgit M. Rasmussen, pp. 21–35. Jysk Arkæologisk Selskabs Skrifter XXII, 1988. Aarhus University Press, Aarhus.

Härke, Heinrich

- 1992 Changing Symbols in a Changing Society: the Anglo-Saxon weapon burial rite in the seventh century. In *The Age of Sutton Hoo. The Seventh Century in North-western Europe*, edited by Martin Carver, pp. 149–165. Boydell Press, Woodbridge.
- 1997 Early Anglo-Saxon social structure. In *The Anglo-Saxons from the Migration Period to the Eighth Century. An Ethnographic Perspective*, edited by John Hines, pp. 125–160. *Studies in Historical Archaeoethnology*, Vol. 2. Boydell Press, Woodbridge.

Harlow, Mary

- 2004 Clothes maketh man: power dressing and elite masculinity in the late Roman world. In *Gender in the Early Medieval World. East and West 300–900*, edited by Leslie Brubaker and Julia M.H. Smith, pp. 44–69. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.

Harrison, Dick

- 1991 Dark Age Migrations and Subjective Ethnicity: The Example of the Lombards. *Scandia, tidskrift för historisk forskning* 57(1):19–36.
- 2009 *Norstedts Sveriges Historia. 600–1350*. Norstedts, Stockholm.

Haseloff, Günther

- 1981 *Die germanische Tierornamentik der Völkerwanderungszeit. Studien zu Salins Stil I. Mit Beiträgen von Birgit Arrhenius, Sonja Chadwick Hawkes, Wolfgang Krause †, Elisabeth Nau und Dorit Reimann*, Band 1–3. Vorgeschichtliche Forschungen. Begründet von Max Ebert, Fortgeführt vor Ernst Sprockhoff, herausgeben von Herbert Jankuhn, Band 17 I. Walter de Gruyter, Berlin.

Hawkes, Sonja Chadwick

- 1982 Anglo-Saxon Kent c. 425–725. In *Archaeology in Kent to AD 1500*, edited by Peter E. Leach, pp. 64–78. Council for British Archaeology Research Report 48. London.

Hawkes, Sonja Chadwick and Mark Pollard

- 1981 The gold bracteates from sixth-century Anglo-Saxon graves in Kent, in the light of a new find from Finglesham. *Frühmittelalterliche Studien. Jahrbuch des Instituts für Frühmittelalterforschung der Universität Münster* 15:316–370. Berlin.

Heather, Peter

- 1998 Disappearing and reappearing tribes. In *Strategies of Distinction. The Construction of Ethnic Communities, 300 – 800*, edited by Walter Pohl, with Helmut Teimitz, pp. 95–111. *The Transformation of the Roman World*, Vol. 2. Boston, Köln, Brill.

Hedeager, Lotte

- 1988 *Danernes land. Fra ca. år 200 f.Kr. – ca. 700 e.Kr.* Gyldendal og Politikens Danmark historie bind 2, edited by Olav Olsen. Nordisk forlag A/S og Politikens Forlag, Copenhagen.
- 1990 *Danmarks jernalder – mellem stamme og stat*. Aarhus University Press, Aarhus.
- 1991 Gulddepoterne fra ældre germanertid – forsøg på en tolkning. *Samfundsorganisation og Regional Variation. Norden i romersk jernalder og folkevandringstid. Beretning fra 1. nordiske jernaldersymposium på Sandbejerg Slot 11 – 15 april 1989*, edited by Charlotte Fabech and Jytte Ringtved, pp. 203–212. Jysk Arkæologisk Selskabs Skrifter XXVII, 1991. Jysk Arkæologisk Selskab, Aarhus University Press, Aarhus.
- 1992a Kingdoms, Ethnicity and Material Culture: Denmark in a European Perspective. In *The Age of Sutton Hoo. The Seventh Century in North-western Europe*, edited by Martin Carver, pp. 279–300. Boydell Press, Woodbridge, UK.
- 1992b Centerdannelse i et langtidsperspektiv. *Danmarks jernalder*. In *Økonomiske og politiske sentra i Norden ca. 400 – 1000 e.Kr.* Åkerseminaret, Hamar 1990, edited by Egil Mikkelsen and Jan Henning Larsen, pp. 89–95. Universitetets Oldsaksamlings Skrifter, Ny rekke, 13. Universitetets Oldsaksamling, Oslo.
- 1993 The Creation of Germanic Identity. A European Origin-Myth. *Frontière d'empire. Actes de la Table Ronde Internationale de Nemours 1992*, edited by P. Brun, S. Van der Leeuw and C.R. Whittaker, pp. 121–131. *Mémoires du Musée de Préhistoire d'Ile-de-France*, 5, 1993.

- 1999a Sacred topography. Deposition of wealth in the cultural landscape. In *Glyfer og arkeologiska rum – en vänbok till Jarl Nordbladh*, edited by Anders Gustafsson and Håkan Karlsson, pp. 229–252. Gotarc Series A, vol. 3. University of Gothenburg, Gothenburg.
- 1999b Skandinavisk dyreornamentik. Symbolsk representasjon af en førkristen kosmologi. In *Et hus med mange rom. Vennebok til Bjørn Myhre på 60-årsdagen*, edited by Ingrid Fuglestad, Terje Gansum and Arnfrid Opedal, pp. 219–238. AmS-Rapport 11 A. Archaeological museum in Stavanger, Stavanger.
- 2000 Migration Period Europe: The Formation of a Political Mentality. In *Rituals of Power. From Late Antiquity to the Early Middle Ages*, edited by Frans Theuvs and Janet L. Nelson, pp. 15–57. The Transformation of the Roman World, vol. 8. Ian Wood, series editor. Leiden, Boston, Köln.
- 2002 *Danernes land (ca. 200 f.Kr. – 700 e.Kr.)*. Gyldendals Danmarkshistorie. Bind 2, edited by Olaf Olsen. Revised and enlarged edition, originally published 1988. Gyldendals Bogklubber, Copenhagen.
- 2004 Asgård rekonstruert? In *Mellom himmel og jord. Foredrag fra et seminar om reliegsarkeologi. Isegrav 31. januar – 2. februar 2002*, edited by Lene Melheim, Lotte Hedeager and Kristin Oma, pp. 156–183. Oslo arkeologiske serie, vol. 2. Institutt for arkeologi, kunsthistorie og konservering, University of Oslo, Oslo.
- 2011 *Iron Age Myth and Materiality. An Archaeology of Scandinavia AD 400–1000*. Routledge, London and New York.
- Hedeager, Lotte and Henrik Tvarnø
- 2001 *Tusen års europahistorie. Romere, germanere og nordboere*. Norwegian edition, translated by Kåre A. Lie. Originally published 1991. Pax Forlag, Oslo.
- Helgen, Geir
- 1982 *Odd og egg. Merovingertidsfunn fra Hordaland, Sogn og Fjordane*. Arkeologiske avhandlinger fra Historisk museum i Bergen. No. 3. Historical Museum, University of Bergen.
- Helgesson, Bertil
- 2002 *Järnålderns Skåne. Samhälle, centra och regioner. Uppåkrastudier 5*. Acta Archaeologica Lundensia. Series in 8°. Arkeologiska institutionen Lund. Almqvist & Wiksell International, Stockholm.
- Helms, Mary W.
- 1988 *Ulysses' Sail. An Ethnographic Odyssey of Power, Knowledge, and Geographical Distance*. Princeton University Press, Princeton, New Jersey.
- Hills, Catherine
- 1979 The Archaeology of Anglo-Saxon England in the pagan period: a review. In *Anglo-Saxon England* 8, edited by Peter Clemons, pp. 297–329. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.
- 2003 *Origins of the English*. Duckworth, London.
- Hines, John
- 1984 *The Scandinavian Character of Anglian England in the pre-Viking Period*, British Archaeological Reports, British Series. 124. British Archaeological Reports, Oxford.
- 1986 A “Norwegian-Type” Wrist-Clasp from Willoughby-on-the-Wolds, Nottinghamshire, England. *Universitetets Oldsaksamling Årbok 1984/1985*:87–98. Oslo.
- 1989 Ritual hoarding in Migration-Period Scandinavia: a review of recent interpretations. *Proceedings of the Prehistoric Society* 55:193–205. Cambridge.
- 1993a *Clasps: Hektespinner: Agraffen. Anglo-Scandinavian Clasps of Classes A-C of the 3rd to 6th centuries A.D. Typology, Diffusion and Function*. Kungl. Vitterhets Historie och Antikvitets Akademien, Stockholm.
- 1993b På tvers av Nordsjøen – Britiske perspektiv på Skandnaviens senere jernalder. *Universitetets Oldsaksamling Årbok 1991/1992*:103–124. Oslo.
- 1994 The Becoming of the English: Identity, Material Culture and Language in Early Anglo-Saxon England. *Anglo-Saxon Studies in Archaeology and History* 7, edited by William Filmer-Sankey and David Griffiths, pp. 49–59. Oxford University Committee for Archaeology, Institute of Archaeology, Oxford.
- 1995 Cultural Change and Social Organisation in Early Anglo-Saxon England. In *After Empire. Towards an Ethnology of Europe's Barbarians*, edited by Giorgio Ausenda, pp. 75–88. Studies in Historical Archaeoethnology. Vol. 1. Center for Interdisciplinary Research on Social Stress, San Marino.
- 1997 *A New Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Great Square-Headed Brooches*. Reports of the Research Committee of the Society of Antiquaries of London 51. The Boydell Press, Woodbridge.
- 2013 The Archaeological Study of Early Anglo-Saxon Cemeteries. In *Anglo-Saxon Graves and Grave Goods of the 6th and 7th Centuries AD: A Chronological Framework*, edited by John Hines and Alex Bayliss, pp. 13–32. The Society for Medieval Archaeology Monographs 33, Leeds.
- Hines, John and Alex Bayliss eds.
- 2013 *Anglo-Saxon Graves and Grave Goods of the 6th and 7th Centuries AD: A Chronological Framework*. The Society for Medieval Archaeology Monographs 33, Leeds.
- Hjørungdal, Tove
- 1991 *Det skulte kjønn. Patriarkal tradisjon og feministisk visjon i arkeologien belyst med fokus på en jernalderkontekst*. Acta archaeologica Lundensia. Series in 8°. Nr. 19. Almqvist & Wiksell international, Lund.
- Hodder, Ian
- 1979 Economic and social stress and material culture patterning. *American Antiquity* 44:446–454.
- 1982 *Symbols in Action*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.
- 1986 *Reading the past. Current Approaches to interpretation in Archaeology*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.

- Hofseth, Ellen Høigård
1998 Valgets kval. To rekonstruksjoner fra folkevandringstid. *Universitetets Oldsaksamling Årbok 1997/1998*:93–112. Oslo.
- Holmqvist, Wilhelm
1972 Relief brooches. Comparative analysis of the A-B-C elements at the Helgö workshop. In *Excavations at Helgö IV. Workshop*, edited by Wilhelm Holmqvist, pp. 230–255. Kungl. Vitterhets historie och antikvitets akademien, Stockholm.
- Hougen, Bjørn
1924 *Grav og gravplass. Eldre jernalders gravskikk i Østfold og Vestfold*. Videnskapsselskapets Skrifter. II. Historisk-filosofisk Klasse. 1924, 6. Dybwad, Kristiania.
1936 *The migration style of ornament in Norway. Catalogue of the exhibition of Norwegian jewellery from the migration period*. International congress of prehistoric and protohistoric sciences. Second session, Oslo.
- Hougen, Ellen Karine
1968 Glassbegre i Norge fra sjetten til tiende århundre. *Viking* 32:85–109.
- Hyenstrand, Åke
1996 *Lejonet, draken och korset. Sverige 500 – 1000*. Studentlitteratur, Lund.
- Hyslop, Miranda
1963 Two Anglo-Saxon Cemeteries at Chamberlains Barn, Leighton Buzzard, Bedfordshire. *The Archaeological Journal* 120:161–200.
- Hårdh, Birgitta
2003 Uppåkra i folkvandringstiden. *Fler fynd i centrum. Materialstudier i och kring Uppåkra. Uppåkrastudier 9*, edited by Birgitta Hårdh pp. 41–80. Acta Archaeologica Lundensia. Series in 8°. Department of Archaeology, Lund. Amqvist & Wiksell International, Stockholm.
- Insoll, Timothy
2007 Introduction. Configuring identities in archaeology. In *The Archaeology of Identities. A Reader*, edited by Timothy Insoll, pp. 1–18. Routledge, London and New York.
- Iregren, Elisabeth
1972a *Värby och Värberg II: Studie av kremerat människo- och djurbensmaterial från järnåldern*. Theses and papers in North-European archaeology, vol. 1. The Institute of Archaeology, University of Stockholm, Stockholm.
1972b Osteologisk analys av bränt benmaterial från gravfält 57, Viken, Lovö sn, Uppland. In *Undersökningar på Lovö 1958 – 1966*. Arkeologiska rapporter och meddelanden från institutionen för arkeologi, särskilt nordeuropeisk vid Stockholms universitet. Vol. 1, 1972, pp. 102–129. University of Stockholm, Stockholm.
1983 Förhistoriska kremationer i Västmanland. *Västmanlands fornminnesförening och Västmanlands läns museum årskrift 61*, 1983:23–39. Västerås.
- Iwagami, Miki
2005 19th century. The Empire Style and Court Clothing. In *Fashion. A history from the 18th to the 20th century. Volume I: 18th and 19th Century*, edited by Akiko Fukai, pp. 148–149. Taschen, Köln.
- James, Edward
1989 The Origins of barbarian kingdoms: The continental evidence. In *The Origin of Anglo-Saxon Kingdoms*, edited by Steven Bassett, pp. 40–52. Leicester University Press, London.
1991 *The Franks. The Peoples of Europe*. Reprinted, originally published 1988, Blackwell, Oxford.
2001 The Northern World in the Dark Ages, 400–900. In *The Oxford Illustrated History of Medieval Europe*, edited by George Holmes, pp. 63–114. Reprinted, originally published 1988, Oxford University Press, Oxford.
- Jenkins, Richard
1994 Rethinking ethnicity: Identity, categorization and power. *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 17 (2):197–223.
1997 *Rethinking Ethnicity. Arguments and Explorations*. SAGE, London, Thousand Oakes, New Delhi.
- Jensen, Jørgen
2004 *Yngre jernalder og vikingetid: 400 – 1050 e.Kr. Danmarks oldtid*. Bind 4. Gyldendal, Copenhagen.
- Jenssen, Atle
1998 *Likearmede spenner. Overgangen mellom eldre og yngre jernalder i Norge – en kronologisk analyse*. Unpublished Master's thesis, University of Bergen.
- Jones, Siân
1996 Discourses of identity in the interpretation of the past. In *Cultural identity and archaeology. The construction of European communities*, edited by Paul Graves-Brown, Siân Jones and Clive Gamble, pp. 62–80. Routledge, New York.
1997 *The Archaeology of Ethnicity. Constructing identities in the past and present*. Routledge, London.
1999 Historical categories and the praxis of identity: the interpretation of ethnicity in historical archaeology. In *Historical archaeology. Back from the edge*, edited by Pedro Paulo A. Funari, Martin Hall and Siân Jones, pp. 219–232. Routledge, London.
2000 Discourses of identity in the interpretation of the past. In *Interpretive archaeology. A reader*, edited by Julian Thomas, pp. 445–457. Leicester University Press, London, New York.
2007 Discourses of identity in the interpretation of the past. In *The Archaeology of Identities. A Reader*, edited by Timothy Insoll, pp. 44–58. Routledge, London, New York.
- Jørgensen, Anne Nørgård
1999 *Waffen und Gräber: typologische und chronologische Studien zu skandinavischen Waffengräbern 520/30 bis 900 n. Chr.* Nordiske fortidsminder. Serie B, vol. 17. Det Kongelige Nordiske Oldskriftsselskab, Copenhagen.

- Jørgensen, Lars
 1989 En kronologi for yngre romersk og ældre germansk jernalder på Bornholm. In *Simblegård-Trelleborg. Danske gravfund fra førromersk jernalder til vikingetid*, edited by Lars Jørgensen, pp.168–187. Arkæologiske Skrifter, 3. Institute of Prehistoric and Classical Archaeology, University of Copenhagen, Copenhagen.
- 1991 Våbengrave og krigeraristokrati. Etableringen af en centralmagt på Bornholm i det 6. – 8. årh. e.Kr. In *Fra Stamme til Stat i Danmark 2. Høvdingesamfund og Kongemagt*, edited by Peder Mortensen and Birgit M. Rasmussen, pp. 109–125. Jysk Arkæologisk Selskabs Skrifter XXII:2. Aarhus University Press, Aarhus.
- 1994a Fibel und Fibeltracht § 35. VWZ.a F.-Typen *Reallexikon der Germanischen Altertumskunde*. Band 8. Walter de Gruyter, Berlin, New York.
- 1994b The Find Material from the Settlement of Gudme II – Composition and Interpretation. In *The Archaeology of Gudme and Lundeberg. Papers presented at a Conference at Svendborg, October 1991*, edited by P. O. Nielsen, K. Randsborg and Henrik Thrane, pp. 53–63. Arkæologiske studier. Institute of Prehistoric and Classical Archaeology, University of Copenhagen, volume X. Akademisk Forlag, Universitetsforlaget, Copenhagen.
- Jørgensen, Lars and Anne Nørgård Jørgensen
 1997 *Nørre Sandegård Vest. A Cemetery from the 6th–8th Centuries on Bornholm*. Nordiske Fortidsminder. Serie B. Volume 14. Det kongelige nordiske oldskriftselskab, Copenhagen.
- Jørgensen, Lise Bender
 1991 The Textiles of Saxons, Anglo-Saxons and Franks. In *Studien zur Sachsenforschung 7*, edited by Hans-Jürgen Hässler, pp. 11–23. Veröffentlichungen der Urgeschichtlichen Sammlungen des Landesmuseums zu Hannover Band 39. Niedersächsisches Landesmuseum, Hildesheim.
- 1992 *North European Textiles until AD 1000*. Aarhus University Press, Aarhus.
- 2003 Krigerdragten i folkevandringstiden. In *Snartemofunnene i nytt lys*, edited by Perry Rolfsen and Frans-Arne Stylegar, pp. 53–79. Universitetets kulturhistoriske museer. Skrifter nr. 2. Universitetets kulturhistoriske museer, University of Oslo, Oslo.
- Kaiser, Susan B.
 1983 Toward a Contextual Social Psychology of Clothing: A Synthesis of Symbolic Interactionist and Cognitive Theoretical Perspectives. *Clothing and Textiles Research Journal* 1983, vol. 2 (1):1–8.
- Kalamara, Paraskévé
 2001 *Le système Vestimentaire à Byzance du IV^e jusqu' à la fin du X^e siècle*. Thèse du Nouveau Doctorat Histoire et Civilisations, Presses universitaires du Septentrion, Villeneuve d'Ascq.
- Klindt-Jensen, Ole
 1957 *Bornholm i Folkevandringstiden og forudsætningerne i tidlig Jernalder. Med bidrag af H. Helbæk, U. Møhl o.a.* Nationalmuseets skrifter. Større beretninger. Bind-/heftenr. 2. National Museum of Denmark, Copenhagen.
- Koch, Ursula
 1999 Nordeuropäisches Fundmaterial in Gräbern Süddeutschlands rechts des Rheins. *Völker an Nord- und Ostsee und die Franken. Akten des 48. Sachsesensymposiums in Mannheim vom 7. bis 11. September 1997*, edited by Uta von Freeden, Ursula Koch and Alfred Wiczorek, pp.175–194. Kolloquien zur Vor- und Frühgeschichte, bind 3. Römisch-Germanische Kommission, Reiss-Museum Mannheim, Bonn.
- Koivunen, Pentti
 1975 A gilded relief brooch of the migration period from Finnish Lapland. *Acta Universitatis Ouluensis, Series B, Humaniora*, 4. University of Oulu, Oulu.
- Kristiansen, Kristian
 1989 “Fortids Kraft og Kæmpestyrke”. Om national og politisk brug av forhistorien. I *Brugte historier. Ti essays om brug og misbrug af historien*, edited by Lotte Hedeager and Karen Schousboe, pp.187–218. Det Humanistiske Forskningscenter, University of Copenhagen. Akademisk Forlag, Copenhagen.
- Kristoffersen, Elna Siv
 1993 Gård og gjenstandsmateriale – sosial sammenheng og økonomisk struktur. *Minneskrift til Egil Bakka*, edited by Bergljot Solberg, pp.151–206. Arkeologiske skrifter 7. Historisk Museum, University of Bergen, Bergen.
- 1995 Transformation in Migration Period Animal Art. *Norwegian Archaeological Review* 28/1:1–17.
- 1999 Migration Period Chronology in Norway. In *The Pace of Change. Studies in Early-Medieval Chronology*, edited by John Hines, Karen Høilund Nielsen and Frank Siegmund, pp. 93–114. Cardiff Studies in Archaeology. Oxbow Books, Oxford.
- 2000 *Sverd og spenne. Dyrornamentikk og sosial kontekst*. Studia Humanitatis Bergensia, vol. 13. Høyskoleforlaget, Kristiansand.
- 2004 Bridal jewels – in life and death. In *Combining the Past and the Present. Archaeological perspectives on society*, edited by Terje Oestigaard, Niels Anfinset and Tore Saetersdal, pp. 31–37. BAR International Series 1210. Oxford.
- 2006 *Kvinne drakten fra Rogaland i folkevandringstid. Draktutstyr*. AmS-Varia 45. Archaeological Museum in Stavanger, Stavanger.
- Kristoffersen, Elna Siv and Bente Magnus
 2010 *Spannformete kar. Utvikling og tradisjon*. AmS-Varia, 50. Archaeological Museum, University of Stavanger, Stavanger.

- Kristoffersen, Elna Siv and Unn Pedersen
2020 Changing perspectives in southwest Norwegian Style I. *Barbaric Splendour: The Use of Image Before and After Rome*, edited by Toby F. Martin and Wendy Morrison, pp. 47–60. Archaeopress, Oxford.
- Kühn, Herbert
1965 *Die germanischen Bügelfibeln der Völkerwanderungszeit in der Rheinprovinz*. Reprinted, originally published 1940. Akademische Druck- und Verlagsanstalt, Graz, Austria.
- Kulikowski, Michael
2002 Nation versus Army: A Necessary Contrast? In *On Barbarian identity. Critical Approaches to Ethnicity in the Early Middle Ages*, edited by Andrew Gillett, pp. 69–84. Studies in the Early Middle Ages, vol. 4. Centre for Medieval Studies, University of York. Brepols, Turnhout.
- Lamm, Jan Peder
1979 De folkvandringstida reliefspännena från Hamre och Rallsta. *Västmanlands Fornminnesförening Årsskrift* 57:126–134. Västerås.
1983 Nicktunafunnet. *Västmanlands fornminnesförening och Västmanlands läns museum. Årsskrift 61, 1983:15–22*. Västerås.
- Lamm, Kristina
1972 Clasp buttons. In *Excavations at Helgö IV. Workshop. Part I*, edited by Wilhelm Holmqvist, pp. 70–131. Kungl. Vitterhets historie och antikvitets akademien, Stockholm.
- Leeds, Edward Thurlow
1945 The distribution of the Angles and Saxons archaeologically considered. *Archaeologica* 91:1–106.
- Leigh, David
1980 *The square-headed brooches of sixth-century Kent*. Upublicert Ph.D. thesis, University College, Cardiff.
1991 Aspects of Early Brooch design and Production. In *Anglo-Saxon Cemeteries. A reappraisal. Proceedings of a Conference held at Liverpool Museum 1986*, edited by Edmund Southworth, pp. 107–124. Alan Sutton, Stroud.
- Lethbridge, Thurlow C.
1936 *A Cemetery at Shudy Camps, Cambridgeshire. Report of the Excavation of a Cemetery of the Christian Anglo-Saxon Period in 1933*. Cambridge Antiquarian Society, Cambridge.
- Lillehammer, Arnvid
1994 *Fra jeger til bonde – inntil 800 e.Kr.* Aschehougs Norgeshistorie, bind 1. Aschehoug, Oslo.
- Lillehammer, Grete
1996 *Død og grav: Gravskikk på Kvassheimfeltet, Hå i Rogaland*. Ams-Skrifter, 13. Archaeological Museum in Stavanger, Stavanger.
- Lindqvist, Anna-Karin and Per H. Ramqvist
1993 Gene. En stormansgård från äldre järnålder i Mellannorrland. HB Prehistorica, Umeå.
- Lindqvist, Sune
1926 *Vendelkulturens ålder och ursprung*. Kungliga Vitterhets Historie och Antikvitets Akademiens handlingar, del 36:1. Akademiens förlag, Stockholm.
1936 *Uppsala högar och Ottarshögen*. Kungliga Vitterhets Historie och Antikvitets Akademiens Monografier, 23. Wahlström & Widstrand, Stockholm.
- Ljungkvist, John
2005 Uppsala högars datering och några konsenkvenser av en omdatering till tidliga vendeltiden. *Fornvännen* 100(4):245–59.
2008 Dating two Royal Mounds of Old Uppsala – Evaluating the Elite of the 6th–7th Century in Middle Sweden. *Archaeologische Korrespondenzblatt* 38 (2):263–282.
2010 Influences from the Empire: Byzantine-related Objects in Sweden and Scandinavia – 560/570–750/800 AD. In *Byzanz – das Römerreich im Mittelalter. Teil 3. Peripherie und Nachbarschaft*, edited by Falko Daim and Jörg Drauschke, pp. 419–441. Römisch-Germanisches Zentralmuseum, Forschungsinstitut für Vor- und Frühgeschichte, Mainz.
- Ljungkvist, John and Per Frölund
2015 Gamla Uppsala – the Emergence of a Centre and a Magnate Complex. *Journal of Archaeology and Ancient History* 16:3–29.
- Lucy, Sam
1997 Housewives, warriors and slaves? Sex and gender in Anglo-Saxon burials. In *Invisible People and Processes*, edited by Jenny Moore and Eleanor Scott, pp. 150–168. Leicester University Press, Leicester.
1998 *The Early Anglo-Saxon Cemeteries of East Yorkshire. An Analysis and Reinterpretation*. British Archaeological Reports, British Series 272. British Archaeological Reports, Oxford.
2000 *The Anglo-Saxon Way of Death. Burial Rites in Early England*. Sutton Publishing, Stroud, Gloucestershire.
2005 Ethnic and cultural identities. In *The Archaeology of Identity. Approaches to gender, age, status, ethnicity and religion*, edited by Margarita Díaz-Andreu, Sam Lucy, Stasa Babic and David N. Edwards, pp. 86–109. Routledge, London, New York.
- Lund, Wenche Helliksen
2008 Grav, kult og hall i folkevandringstid og merovingertid på Sande i Farsund k., Vest-Agder. *Primitive tider* 10:7–19.
- Lundh, Kiki and Monika Rasch
1991 V. Långlöts socken. Ölands järnåldersgravfält II, edited by Ulf Erik Hagberg, Berta Stjernquist and Monika Rasch, pp. 263–338. Riksantikvarieämbetet and Statens historiska museer, Stockholm.

- Lundström, Agneta
1969 Utländsk lyx i inhemsk handel. Handelshuset på Helgö. In *Helgö – den gåtfulla ön*, edited by Wilhelm Holmqvist and Karl-Erik Granath, pp. 80–85. Rabén & Sjögren, Uddevalla.
- 1972 Chapter 4. Relief brooches. Introduction to form-element and variation. In *Excavations at Helgö IV. Workshop. Part I*, edited by Wilhelm Holmqvist, pp. 132–229. Kungl. Vitterhets historie och antikvitets akademien, Stockholm.
- Lynch, Joseph H.
1986 *Godparents and kinship in Early Medieval Europe*. Princeton University Press, Princeton.
- MacMullen, Ramsay
1967 *Soldier and civilian in the Later Roman Empire*. Harvard Historical Monographs LII. Reprinted, originally published 1963. Harvard University press, Cambridge, Massachusetts.
- Magnus, Bente
1975 *Krosshaugfunnet. Et forsøk på kronologisk og stilhistorisk plassering i 5. århundre*. Stavanger Museums Skrifter, 9. Archaeological Museum in Stavanger, Stavanger.
- 1995 Praktspennen fra Gillberga. *Från Bergslag och Bondebygd. Årsbok för Örebro läns hembygdsförbund och Stiftelsen Örebro läns museum* 46:29–40. Örebro.
- 1999a The assemblage from Hade in Gästrikland. *The Pace of Change. Studies in Early-Medieval Chronology*, edited by John Hines, Karen Høiland Nielsen and Frank Siegmund, pp. 115–125. Cardiff Studies in Archaeology. Oxbow Books, Oxford.
- 1999b Monsters and birds of prey. Some reflections on form and style in the Migration Period. *Studies in Archaeology and History* 10:161–172.
- 2001 Relieffspenner fra Uppåkra og andre steder i Skåne. *Uppåkra. Centrum och sammanhang. Uppåkrastudier 3*, edited by Birgitta Hårdh, pp. 175–185. Acta archaeologica Lundensia. Series in 8°, No. 34. Arkeologiska institutionen, Lund University, Lund.
- 2004a Ørnen flyer – om Stil I i Norden. *Hikuin* 29 (2002):105–118.
- 2004b Brooches on the move in Migration Period Europe. *Fornvännen* 99:273–283.
- 2005 Et etnisk signal? Noen tanker om vikingtidens kvinne-drakt. *Frå haug ok heidni* 2005 (2): 9–11.
- 2006 Tanker omkring et funnkart. *Samfunn, symboler og identitet – Festskrift til Gro Mandt på 70-årsdagen*, edited by Randi Barndon, Sonja M. Innselset, Kari I. Kristoffersen and Tron K. Lødøen, pp. 399–410. UBAS – Universitetet i Bergen Arkeologiske Skrifter. Nordisk 3. University of Bergen, Bergen.
- 2007 Die Frau aus Grav 84 von Szentés-Nagyhegy und die Gleicharmigen Relieffibeln der Völkerwanderungszeit. *Communicationes archaeologicae Hungariae* 2007:175–193.
- Magnus, Bente and Bjørn Myhre
1976 *Forhistorien. Fra jegergrupper til høvdingssamfunn. Norges historie, bind 1*. Cappelen, Oslo.
- Malone, Kemp (editor)
1962 *Widsith*. Revised edition. Rosenkilde and Bagger, Copenhagen. Originally published 1936, Rosenkilde and Bagger, Copenhagen.
- Mannering, Ulla
2006 *Billeder af dragt. En analyse af påklædte figurer fra yngre jernalder i Skandinavien. Ph.d.-afhandling af cand. mag., M.Phil. Ulla Mannering. Københavns Universitet, Saxo-Instituttet, Afdeling for Forhistorisk og Klassisk Arkæologi, Februar 2006*. Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Copenhagen.
- Marstrander, Sverre
1956 Hovedlinjer i Trøndelags forhistorie. *Viking* 20:1–69.
- 1978 Sandvikgravfeltet på Jøa med "sittende lik". *Setrykk av Årbok for Namdalen* 1978:3–23. Namsos.
- Martin, Max
1995 Schmuck und Tracht des frühen Mittelalters. In *Frühe Baiern im Straubinger Land*, edited by Martin, M. and J. Prammer, pp. 40–71. Gaubodenmuseum Straubing, Straubing.
- Martin, Toby F.
2013 Women, knowledge and power: the iconography of early Anglo-Saxon cruciform brooches. *Anglo-Saxon Studies in Archaeology and History* 18, edited by Helena Hamerow, pp. 1–17. Oxford University School of Archaeology, Institute of Archaeology, Oxford.
- 2015 *The Cruciform Brooch and Anglo-Saxon England*. Anglo-Saxon Studies. Boydell Press, Woodbridge.
- Meaney, Audrey
1981 *Anglo-Saxon Amulets and Curing Stones*. British Archaeological Reports, British Series, 96. British Archaeological Reports, Oxford.
- Metcalf, Peter and Richard Huntington
1991 *Celebrations of death. The Anthropology of Mortuary Ritual. Second Edition*. Originally published 1979. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.
- Meyer, Eva Nissen
1935 *Relieffspenner i Norden*. Bergens Museum Årbok 1934. Historisk-antikvarisk rekke, vol. 4. University of Bergen, Bergen.
- Moen, Ole O.
2009 *USA. Annerledeslandet i en ny tid*. Historie og Kultur, Oslo.
- Monrad-Krohn, Danckert
1969 *Innberetning om utgravning av gravhauger på gnr. 65, bnr. 2, tomt nr. 16, Store Tune, Tune s. & pgd., Østfold, juni–august 1969*. Unpublished excavation report, Museum of Cultural History's Archive, Oslo.
- Mortimer, Catherine M.
1990 *Some aspects of early medieval copper–alloy technology, as illustrated by the Anglian cruciform brooch*. Unpublished D.Phil. thesis, University of Oxford, Oxford.

- 1993 The Cruciform Brooches. *Anglo-Saxon Studies in Archaeology and History* 6, edited by William Filmer-Sankey, pp. 122. Oxford University Committee for Archaeology, Oxford.
- Müller-Wille, Michael
1970 *Bestattung im Boot. Studien zu einer nordeuropaischen Grabsitte*. Offa 25/26. Berichte und Mitteilungen aus dem Schleswig-Holsteinischen Landesmuseum für Vor- und Frühgeschichte in Schleswig, dem Landesamt für Vor- und Frühgeschichte von Schleswig-Holstein in Schleswig und dem Institut für Ur- und Frühgeschichte an der Universität Kiel. Band 25/26, edited by Karl Kersten and Georg Kossack, Kiel.
- Munch, Gerd Stamsø
1976 En 1300 år gammel kvinnegrav på Tjeldøya i Nordland. *Gløtt fra Tromsø museum, 33, på sporet av fortidens mennesker i Nord-Norge*, edited by Bjørn Aarseth and Dikka Storm, pp. 40–42. Ottar 89, populære småskrifter fra Tromsø museum. Tromsø Museum, Tromsø.
1979 En merovingertids kvinnegrav fra Haukenes i Hadsel. *Hofdasegl* 27:57–70. Stokmarknes.
- Munksgaard, Elisabeth
1966 Guldfundet fra Kitnæs strand ved Jægerspris. Et skattefund fra germansk jernalder. *Nationalmuseets arbejdsarkiv* 1966:5–20. Copenhagen.
1974 *Oldtidsdragter*. National Museum of Denmark, Copenhagen.
- Muthesius, Anna
2004 *Studies in silk in Byzantium*. Pindar Press, London.
2008 *Studies in Byzantine, Islamic and Near Eastern silk weaving*. Pindar Press, London.
- Myhre, Bjørn
1966 Et gravfunn fra Eikeland i Time. *Stavanger Museum Årbok* 1965:59–78. Stavanger.
1982 Rogaland forut for Hafrsfjordslaget. In *Rikssamlingen og Harald Hårfagre. Historisk seminar på Karmøy 10. og 11. Juni 1993*, edited by Marit S. Veia with introduction by Bjørn Myhre, pp. 41–64. Karmøy kommune, Kopervik.
1987a Chieftains' graves and chiefdom territories in South Norway in the Migration Period. *Studien zur Sachsenforschung* 6, edited by Hans-Jürgen Häßler, pp. 169–187. Verlag August Lax Hildesheim, Hildesheim.
1987b Fra smårike til stat. In *Hafrsfjord. Fra rikssamling til lokalt selvstyre*, edited by Hilmar Rommetvedt, pp. 111–125. Dreyer bok, Stavanger.
1991 Bosetning og politisk organisasjon i Vest-Norge før vikingtid. In *Nordatlantiske foredrag. Seminar om nordatlantisk kulturforskning i Nordens Hus på Færøene 27.–30. august 1990*, edited by Jóan Pauli Joensen, Ruth Johansen and Jan Kløvstad, pp. 10–19. Annales Societatis Scientiarum Færoensis. Supplementa, 15. Nordurlandahusid í Føroyum, Torshavn.
- 1992a Borre – et merovingertidssenter i Øst-Norge. In *Økonomiske og politiske sentra i Norden ca. 400 – 1000 e.Kr. Åkerseminaret, Hamar 1990*, edited by Egil Mikkelsen and Jan Henning Larsen, pp. 155–179. Universitetets Oldsaksamlings Skrifter, Ny rekke, 13. Universitetets Oldsaksamling, Oslo.
1992b The Royal Cemetery at Borre, Vestfold: A Norwegian centre in a European periphery. In *The Age of Sutton Hoo. The Seventh Century in North-western Europe*, edited by Martin Carver, pp. 301–313. Boydell Press, Woodbridge.
1993 The beginning of the Viking Age – some current archaeological problems. In *Viking revaluations. Viking society centenary symposium 14–15 May 1992*, edited by Anthony Faulkes and Richard Perkins, pp. 182–205. Viking Society for Northern Research, University College, London.
2002 *Jorda blir levevei. Norges landbrukshistorie 1. 4000 f.Kr. – 1350 e.Kr.* Det norske samlaget, Oslo.
2003 The Iron Age. In *The Cambridge History of Scandinavia, volume 1. Prehistory to 1520*, edited by Knut Helle, pp. 60–93. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.
2005 Kriger i en overgangstid. In *Fra funn til samfunn. Jernalderstudier tilegnet Bergljot Solberg på 70-års dagen*, edited by Knut Andreas Bergsvik and Asbjørn Engevik, pp. 279–306. Universitetet i Bergen Arkeologiske Skrifter 1. Arkeologisk institutt, University of Bergen, Bergen.
- Myhre, Lise Nordenborg
1994 *Arkeologi og politikk. En arkeo-politisk analyse av faghistoria i tida 1900–1960*. Varia 26. Universitetets Oldsaksamling, Oslo.
- Møllerop, Odmund
1961 Foreløpig meddelelse om et smedgravfunn fra Vestly i Time. *Stavanger Museums Årbok* 70:5–14. Stavanger.
- Neidorf, Leonard
2018 Caesar's wine and the dating of Widsith. *Medium Ævum*, vol. LXXXIII (1):124–128.
- Neidorf, Leonard (editor)
2014 *The Dating of Beowulf: A Reassessment*. Anglo-Saxon Studies. D S Brewer, Cambridge.
- Nerman, Birger
1935 *Die Völkerwanderungszeit Gotlands. Im Auftrage der Kungl. Vitterhets historie och antikvitetsakademien dargestellt von Birger Nerman*. Monografier 21. Kungl. Vitterhets historie och antikvitetsakademien, Akademien, Stockholm.
1969 *Die Vendelzeit Gotlands. Im Auftrage der Kungl. Vitterhets historie och Antikvitets Akademien. II. Tafeln*. Kungl. Vitterhets historie och antikvitetsakademien, Almqvist & Wiksell, Stockholm.
1975 *Die Vendelzeit Gotlands. Text herausgegeben von Agneta Lundström*. Kungl. Vitterhets historie och antikvitetsakademien, I:1. Almqvist og Wiksell, Stockholm.

- Newton, Stella Mary
2002 *Fashion in the Age of the Black Prince. A Study of the years 1340–1365*. Originally published 1980. The Boydell Press, Great Britain.
- Nielsen, Jens N.
2000a *Sejfflod – ein eisenzeitliches Dorf in Nordjütland. Katalog der Grabfunde. Band I: Text und Pläne*. Det kongelige nordiske oldskriftselskab, Copenhagen.
2000b *Sejfflod – ein eisenzeitliches Dorf in Nordjütland. Katalog der Grabfunde. Band II: Abbildungen und Tafeln*. Det kongelige nordiske oldskriftselskab, Copenhagen.
2002 Bejsebakken, a Central Site near Aalborg in Northern Jutland. *Central places in the Migration and Merovingian periods. Papers from the 52nd Sachsensymposium. Uppåkrastudier 6*, edited by Birgitta Hårdh and Lars Larsson, pp. 197–213. Acta Archaeologica Lundensia. Series in 8°, No. 39. Amqvist & Wiksell International, Arkeologiska institutionen, Lund.
- Nielsen, Karen Høilund
1987 Zur Chronologie der jüngeren germanischen Eisenzeit auf Bornholm. Untersuchungen zu Schmuckgarnituren. *Acta Archaeologie 57* (1986):47–86.
1991 Centrum og periferi i 6. – 8. årh. Territoriale studier af dyrestil og kvindesmykker i yngre gærmansk jernalder i Syd- og Østskandinavien. In *Fra Stamme til Stat i Danmark 2. Høvdingesamfund og Kongemagt*, edited by Peder Mortensen and Birgit M. Rasmussen, pp. 127–154. Jysk Arkæologisk Selskabs Skrifter XXII: 2, 1991. Jysk Arkæologisk Selskab, Aarhus.
1997a Die frühmittelalterliche perlen Skandinaviens. Chronologische Untersuchungen. In *Perlen. Archæologie, Technique. Akten des Internationalen Perlensymposiums in Mannheim vom 11. bis 14. November 1994*, edited by U. Von Freeden and A. Wiczorek, pp. 187–196. Kolloquien zur Vor- und Frühgeschichte, Römisch-Germanische Kommission, Bind I. Römisch-Germanische Kommission, Reiss-Museum der Stadt Mannheim, Bonn.
1997b The schism of Anglo-Saxon chronology. In *Burial and Society*, edited by Claus Kjeld Jensen and Karen Høilund Nielsen, pp. 71–99. Aarhus University Press, Aarhus.
1999 Female grave goods of southern and eastern Scandinavia from the Late Germanic Iron Age or Vendel Period. In *The pace of change. Studies in Early-Medieval Chronology*, edited by John Hines, Karen Høilund Nielsen and Frank Siegmund, pp. 160–194. Cardiff Studies in Archaeology. Oxbow Books, Oxford.
2002 Den anden germanske dyrestil – og dens vej til Norge. *Frå Haug ok Heidi 2*(2002):18–27.
- Nielsen, Karen Høilund and Christopher P. Loveluck
2006 Fortid og fremtid på Stavnsager – om de britiske undersøgelser august 2005 og de foreløbige resultater. *Kulturhistorisk Museum Randers Årbog 2006*:63–79. Randers.
- Niles, John D.
1999 *Widsith* and the Anthropology of the Past. *Philological Quarterly 78*:171–213.
- Nilsen, Marianne Vedeler
1998 Gravdrakt i østnorsk middelalder. Et eksempel fra Uvdal. *Collegium Medievale 11*:69–85.
- Nockert, Margareta
1991 *The Högom find and other Migration period textiles and costumes in Scandinavia*. Archaeology and Environment, 9. Högom 2. Department of Archaeology, University of Umeå, Umeå.
- Noréen, Adolf
1920 Nordens äldsta folk- och ortnamn. *Fornvännen 1920*:23–50.
- Näsman, Ulf
1984 Zwei Relieffibeln von der Insel Öland. *Praehistorische Zeitschrift 59*:48–80.
1991a Nogle bemærkninger om det nordiske symposium «Samfundsorganisation og Regional Variation» på Sandbjerg Slot den 11. – 15. april 1989. In *Samfundsorganisation og Regional Variation. Norden i romersk jernalder og folkevandringstid. Beretning fra 1. nordiske jernaldersymposium på Sandbjerg Slot 11. – 15. april 1989*, edited by Charlotte Fabech and Jytte Ringtved, pp. 321–333. Jysk Arkæologisk Selskabs Skrifter XXVII, 1991. Jysk Arkæologisk Selskab, Aarhus University Press, Aarhus.
1991b Det syvende århundrede – et mørkt tidsrum i ny belysning. In *Fra Stamme til Stat i Danmark 2. Høvdingesamfund og Kongemagt*, edited by Peder Mortensen and Birgit M. Rasmussen, pp. 165–177. Jysk Arkæologisk Selskabs Skrifter XXII: 2, 1991. Jysk Arkæologisk Selskab, Aarhus.
1993 Från region till rike – fra stamme til stat. Om danernas etnogenes och om den danska riksbildningen. *Meta 1993*:3–4.
1998 The Justinianic Era of South Scandinavia. An Archaeological view. In *The Sixth Century: Production, Distribution and Demand*, edited by Richard Hodges and William Bowden, pp. 255–278. The Transformation of the Roman World, 3. Brill, Leiden.
2006 Danerne og det danske kongeriges opkomst. Om forskningsprogrammet ”Fra Stamme til Stat i Danmark”. *KUML 2006*:205–241. Aarhus
- Næss, Jenny Rita
1996 *Undersøkelser i jernalderens gravskikk på Voss*. AmS-rapport, 7. Archaeological Museum in Stavanger, Stavanger.
- Odner, Knut
1973 *Økonomiske strukturer på Vestlandet i eldre jernalder*. Ullshelleren i Valldalen II. Historical Museum, University of Bergen, Bergen.
1974 Economic Structure in Western Norway in the Early Iron Age. *Norwegian Archaeological Review 7*:104–112.

- 1983 *Finner og Terfinner. Etniske prosesser i det nordlige Fennoskandinavia*. Oslo Occasional papers in social anthropology, 9. University of Oslo, Oslo.
- Ørsnes, Mogens
1966 *Form og stil i Sydskandinaviens yngre germanske jernalder*. Nationalmuseets skrifter, Arkæologisk-historisk række, bd. 11. National Museum of Denmark, Copenhagen.
- 1984 *Sejrens pris. Våbenofre i Ejsbøl mose ved Haderslev. Mit deutscher Zusammenfassung*. Haderslev Museum, Haderslev.
- 1988 *Ejsbøl 1. Våbenopferfunde des 4.-5. Jahrh. nach Chr.* Nordiske fortidsminder. Serie B, in quarto, bd. 11. Det Kongelige Nordiske Oldskriftselskab, Copenhagen.
- Olsen, Bjørnar
1984 *Stabilitet og endring. Produksjon og samfunn i Varanger 800 f.Kr. – 1700 e.Kr.* Magister (Master) thesis, University of Tromsø, Tromsø.
- 1985a Arkeologi og etnisitet; et teoretisk og empirisk bidrag. In *Arkeologi og etnisitet*, edited by Jenny-Rita Næss, pp. 25–32. AmS-Varia 15. Archaeological Museum in Stavanger, Stavanger.
- 1985b Comments on Saamis, Finns and Scandinavians in History and Prehistory. *Norwegian Archaeological Review* 18:13–18.
- 1986 Norwegian archaeology and the people without (pre-) history: or how to create a myth of a uniform past. *Archaeological Review from Cambridge* 5:25–42.
- 1997 *Fra ting til tekst. Teoretiske perspektiv i arkeologisk forskning*. Universitetsforlaget, Oslo.
- Olsen, Bjørnar and Zbigniew Kobiłiński
1991 Ethnicity in anthropological and archaeological research: a Norwegian-Polish perspective. *Archaeologia Polona* 29:5–27.
- Olsen, Magnus
1905 Det gamle norske ønavn *Njarðarlog*. *Christiania Videnskaps-selskabs Forhandlinger for 1905*, vol. 5, pp. 1–29. Jacob Dybwad, Christiania.
- 1915 Hedenske kultminder i norske Stedsnavne. *Videnskapselskapets Skrifter* II, Historisk-filosofisk klasse, 1914, vol. 4. Jacob Dybwad, Kristiania.
- Opedal, Arnfrid
1998 *De glemte skipsgravene: makt og myter på Avaldsnes*. AmS-småtrykk 47. Archaeological Museum in Stavanger, Stavanger.
- Owen-Crocker, Gale R.
2004 *Dress in Anglo-Saxon England. Revised and enlarged edition*. The Boydell Press, Woodbridge. Revised edition, originally published 1986. Manchester University Press, Manchester.
- Pader, Ellen-Jane
1980 Material symbolism and social relations in mortuary studies. In *Anglo-Saxon cemeteries 1979. The Fourth Anglo-Saxon Symposium of Oxford 1980*, edited by Philip A. Rahtz, Tania Dickinson and Lorna Watts, pp. 143–159. British Archaeological Reports 82. British Archaeological Reports, Oxford.
- Parker Pearson, Michael
1993 The powerful dead: archaeological relationships between the living and the dead. *Cambridge Archaeological Journal* 3(2):203–229.
- Pedersen, Ellen-Anne
1976 *Innberetning fra Gamme gnr. 181, bnr. 3, Gran s., p., k., Oppland. Utgravning av rest av Haug 13 (Grieg, Hadeland s.100)*. Unpublished excavation report. Museum of Cultural History's Archive, University of Oslo, Oslo.
- Persson, Ove
1972 Osteologisk analys av obränt benmaterial från gravfält 57, Viken, Lovö sn, Uppland. In *Undersökningar på Lovö 1958–1966*. Arkeologiska rapporter och meddelanden från institutionen för arkeologi, särskilt nordeuropeisk vid Stockholms universitet 1, 1972, pp. 130–140. Institutionen för Arkeologi, särskilt Nordeuropeisk, Stockholm University, Stockholm.
- Petersen, Jan
1919 *De norske vikingesverd. En typologisk-kronologisk studie over vikingetidens vaaben*. Videnskapsselskapets Skrifter. II. Historisk-filosofisk klasse 1919, 1. Jacob Dybwad, Kristiania.
- 1928 *Vikingetidens smykker*. Stavanger museums skrifter 2. Stavanger Museum, Stavanger.
- 1945 En praktspenne fra folkevandringstiden fra Jorenkjøl i Varhaug. *Stavanger Museum Årshefte* 1944:7–11. Stavanger.
- 1951 *Vikingetidens redskaper*. Det Norske Videnskaps-akademi Skrifter, 2. Historisk-filosofisk Klasse, 1951:4. Dybwad, Oslo.
- Petersen, Peter Vang
1994 Excavations at Sites of Treasure Trove Finds at Gudme. In *The Archaeology of Gudme and Lundeberg. Papers presented at a Conference at Svendborg, October 1991*, edited by P. O. Nielsen, Klavs Randsborg and Henrik Thrane, pp. 30–40. Arkæologiske studier. Institute of Prehistoric and Classical Archaeology, University of Copenhagen, volume X. Akademisk Forlag, Universitetsforlaget, Copenhagen.
- Petersen, Theodor
1905 Fortsatte utgravninger i Namdalen. II. *Forening til norske fortidsmindesmerkens bevaring. Aarsberetning for 1904*:200–213.
- 1907 A Celtic reliquary found in a Norwegian burial-mound. *Det kongelige norske videnskabers selskabs skrifter* 1907 (8): 3–25. Trondhjem.

- Petré, Bo
1984 *Arkeologiska undersökningar på Lovö, del 2. Fornlämning RAÄ 27, Lunda*. Acta Universitatis Stokholmiensis. Studies in North-European Archaeology 8. Almqvist og Wiksell International, Stockholm.
- Pettersson, Håkan
2005 Nationalstaten och arkeologin: vetenskapsideologi och nationalism, *Primitive tider* 8:7–19.
- Pilet, Christian, Luc Buchet and Michel Kazanski
1994 Derniers vestiges culturels des peuples barbares. La mode “danubienne”. In *La nécropole de Saint-Martin-de-Fontenay. Calvados. Recherches sur le peuplement de la plaine de Caen. Du Ve s. avant J.-C. au VIIe s. après J.-C.*, edited by Christian Pilet, pp. 96–111. 54e supplément à Gallia, 1994. Centre national de la recherche scientifique, Paris.
- Pohl, Walter
1991 Conceptions of ethnicity in Early Medieval studies. *Archaeologia Polona* 29:39–49.
1997 Ethnic names and identities in the British isles: A comparative perspective. In *The Anglo-Saxons. From the Migration Period to the eighth century. An ethnographic Perspective*, edited by John Hines, pp. 7–31. Studies in Historical Archaeology, volume 2. The Boydell Press, Woodbridge.
1998a Telling the Difference: Signs of ethnic Identity. In *Strategies of Distinction. The Construction of Ethnic Communities, 300 – 800*, edited by Walter Pohl, pp. 17–69. The Transformation of the Roman World, Vol. 2. Boston, Köln, Brill.
1998b Introduction: Strategies of Distinction. In *Strategies of Distinction. The Construction of Ethnic Communities, 300 – 800*, edited by Walter Pohl, pp. 1–15. The Transformation of the Roman World, Vol. 2. Boston, Köln, Brill.
2004 Chapter 2. Gender and ethnicity in the early Middle Ages. In *Gender in the Early Medieval World. East and west, 300–900*, edited by Leslie Brubaker and Julia M.H. Smith, pp. 23–43. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.
- Pohl, Walter (editor)
1998 *Strategies of Distinction. The Construction of Ethnic Communities, 300 – 800*. The Transformation of the Roman World, Vol. 2. Boston, Köln, Brill.
- Price, Neil
2002 *The Viking Way. Religion and War in Late Iron Age Scandinavia*. AUN 31, Department of Archaeology and Ancient History, Uppsala University, Uppsala.
- Procopius
2006 *History of the wars, books V–VI, 15. With an English translation by H. B. Dewing*. Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Massachusetts, London, England.
- Ramqvist, Per H.
1983 *Gene. On the Origin, function and development of sedentary Iron Age settlement in Northern Sweden*. Archaeology and Environment, 1. University of Umeå, Department of Archaeology. Umeå.
1991 Perspektiv på regional variation och samhälle i Nordens folkvandringstid. In *Samfundsorganisation og regional variation. Norden i romersk jernalder og folkevandringstid. Beretning fra 1. nordiske jernaldersymposium på Sandbjerg slot 11 – 15 april 1989*, edited by Charlotte Fabech and Jytte Ringtved, pp. 305–318. Jysk Arkæologisk Selskabs skrifter XXVII. Aarhus University Press, Aarhus.
1992 *Högom. The excavation 1949 – 1984. Högom part I*. Archaeology and environment, 13. University of Umeå, Department of Archaeology. Umeå.
1995 Artefakter och samhällelig interaktion. En diskussion med utgångspunkt från några av föremålen i Högom, Medelpad. In *Produksjon og samfunn. Beretning fra 2. nordiske jernaldersymposium på Granavolden 7.–10. mai 1992*, edited by Heid Gjøstein Resi, pp. 147–162. Varia 30. Universitetets Oldsaksamling, Oslo.
- Ramqvist, Per H. and Michael Müller-Wille
1988 Regionale und überregionale Bedeutung des völkerwanderungszeitlichen Gräberfeldes von Högom, Medelpad, Nordschweden. Ein Vorbericht. *Germania* 66(1):95–133.
- Rasch, Monika
1991 II. Glömminge socken. In *Ölands järnåldersgravfält II*, edited by Margareta Beschow Sjöberg, pp. 39–147. Riksantikvarieämbetet and Statens historiska museer, Stockholm.
- Rau, Andreas
2010 *Jernalderen i Nordeuropa. Nydam mose 1. Die personengebundenen Gegenstände. Grävungen 1989–1999. Text*. Jysk Arkæologisk Selskab, Aarhus.
- Reichstein, Joachim
1975 *Die Kreuzförmige Fibel. Zur Chronologie der späten römischen Kaiserzeit und der Völkerwanderungszeit in Skandinavien, auf dem Kontinent und in England*. Offa-bücher, Band 34. Georg Kossack and Karl W. Struve, Kiel.
- Ringstad, Bjørn
1990 Ein Webschwert der Völkerwanderungszeit mit Entrelacs-Ornamentik aus Kvåle, Sogndal, Westnorwegen. *Offa* 46 (1989):145–158.
1992 Økonomiske og politiske senter på Vestlandet ca. 400 – 1000 e.Kr. In *Økonomiske og politiske sentra i Norden ca. 400 – 1000 e.Kr.* Åkerseminaret, Hamar 1990, edited by Egil Mikkelsen and Jan Henning Larsen, pp. 107–128. Universitetets Oldsaksamlings Skrifter, Ny rekke, 13. Universitetets Oldsaksamling, Oslo.
- Ringtved, Jytte
1988a Jyske gravfund fra yngre romertid og ældre germanertid. Tendenser i samfundsudviklingen. *KUML* 1986:95–231. Aarhus.

- 1988b Regionalitet. Et jysk eksempel fra yngre romertid og ældre germanertid. In *Fra Stamme til Stat i Danmark. 1. Jernalderens Stammesamfund*, edited by Peder Mortensen and Birgit M. Rasmussen, pp. 37–52. Jysk Arkæologisk Selskabs Skrifter XXII. Jysk Arkæologisk Selskabs Skrifter, Aarhus University Press, Aarhus.
- 1991 Fremmede genstande på Sejlflodgravpladsen, Nordjylland. Importens lokale kontekst. In *Samfundsorganisation og Regional Variation. Norden i romersk jernalder og folkevandringstid. Beretning fra 1. nordiske jernaldersymposium på Sandbejerg Slot 11 – 15 april 1989*, edited by Charlotte Fabeck and Jytte Ringved, pp. 47–73. Jysk Arkæologisk Selskabs Skrifter XXVII. Jysk Arkæologisk Selskab, Aarhus University Press, Aarhus.
- Rødsrud, Christian Løchsen
2005 Dypets maker – en fortolkning av våpenofferfunnene som offernedleggelse. *Primitive tider* 8:47–60.
- Rødsrud, Christian Løchsen and Ingunn Marit Røstad
2020 Hedmarkens merovingertid i et fugleperspektiv. In *Ingen vei utenom. Arkeologiske undersøkelser i forbindelse med etablering av ny rv. 3/25 i Løten og Elverum kommuner, Innlandet*, edited by Christian Løchsen Rødsrud and Axel Mjærum, pp.175–186. Cappelen Damm Akademisk, Oslo.
- Rønne, Ola
2003 Smeden i jernalder – ildens hersker. *Primitive tider* 5:55–63.
2008 Kapittel 6 Rødbøl 27 – Lokalitet med smieplass fra romertid, eldre jernalders gårdsanlegg, gravrøyser fra eldre- og yngre jernalder. In *Steinalderboplasser, boplasspor, graver og dyrkningsspor. E18-prosjektet Vestfold. Bind 2*, edited by Lars Erik Gjerpe, pp. 61–120. Varia, 72. Fornminneseksjonen, Museum of Cultural History, University of Oslo, Oslo.
- Røstad, Ingunn Marit
2001 *Skandinaviske trekk i angelsaksisk England ca 450–800 e.Kr. Materiell kultur og sosial identitet*. Unpublished Master's thesis, Institute of Archaeology, Conservation Studies and Art History, University of Oslo.
2003 Fra saksisk leiesoldat til prins Beowulf: Skandinavisk identitet i angelsaksisk England. *Primitive tider* 5:7–21.
2008a En liten perle. Om perler og magi i folkevandringstid. In *Facets of Archaeology. Essays in Honour of Lotte Hedeager on her 60th Birthday*, edited by Kontantinus Childis, Julie Lund and Christopher Prescott, pp. 439–450. Oslo Archaeological Series, 10. Institute of Archaeology, Conservation Studies and History, University of Oslo, Oslo.
2008b Fugl eller fisk? En liten fugleformet spenne fra merovingertid. *Viking* 71:103–114.
2016 *Smykkenes språk. Smykker og identitetsforhandlinger i Skandinavia ca. 400–650/700 e.Kr.* Unpublished PhD dissertation. Faculty of Humanities, University of Oslo.
- 2018 The Immortal Brooch. The Tradition of Great Ornamental Bow Brooches in Migration and Merovingian Period Norway. In *Charismatic Objects. From Roman Times to the Middle Ages*, edited by Marianne Vedeler, Ingunn Marit Røstad, Elna Siv Kristoffersen and Ann Zanette Tsigaridas Glørstad, pp. 73–101. Cappelen Damm Akademisk, Oslo.
2020 The Åker Assemblage – Fit for a King? A New Account and Discussion of a Collection of Treasure of the Norwegian Merovingian Period. *Medieval Archaeology* 64 (1):1–30.
2021 *Dress-accessories from Migration and early Merovingian-period Scandinavia, c. AD 400–650/700*. DUO Research Archive University of Oslo. Permanent link: <http://urn.nb.no/URN:NBN:no-86140>
- Rundkvist, Martin
2003 *Barshalder. A Cemetery in Grötlingbo and Fide Parishes, Gotland, Sweden, c. AD 1–1100: Excavations and Finds 1826–1921*. Stockholm Archaeological Reports, 40. Institute of Archaeology, Stockholm University, Stockholm.
2007 Kort meddelande. Östergötland's First Gold Foil Figure Die Found at Sättuna in Kaga Parish. *Förnvännen* 102:119–122.
- Rydh, Hanna
1936 *Förhistoriska undersökningar på Adelsö*. Kungliga Vitterhets Historie och Antikvitets Akademien, Wahlström & Widstrand, Stockholm.
- Rygh, Karl
1904 Videnskabsselskabets Oldsagsamlingens tilvækst i 1904 af Sager ældre end Reformationen. *Det kongelige Norske Videnskabers Selskab Skrifter* 3:1–27.
- Rygh, Oluf
1885 *Norske Oldsager*. Cammermeyer, Christiania.
- Sage, Walter
1984 *Das Reihengräberfeld von Altenerding in Oberbayern. 1: Katalog der anthropologischen und archäologischen Funde und Befunde*. Germanischer Denkmäler der Völkerwanderungszeit. Serie A, Römisch-Germanische Kommission des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, 14. Gebrüder Mann, Berlin.
- Salin, Bernhard
1904 *Die Altgermanische Thierornamentik. Typologische Studie über Germanische Metallgegenstände aus dem IV. bis IX. Jahrhundert, nebst einer Studie über Irische Ornamentik*. Wahlström & Widstrand, Stockholm.
- Särilvik, Ingegerd
1982 *Paths towards a Stratified Society. A Study of Economic, Cultural and Social Formations in South-West Sweden during the Roman Iron Age and the Migration Period*. Stockholm Studies in Archaeology 3. Institute of Archaeology, Stockholm University, Stockholm.

- Saugstad, Letten Fegersten and Ørnulf Ødegård
1976 Naboskap og ekteskap. Giftermålsmønsteret i en norsk fjellbygd 1600–1850. *Norveg* 19:99–115.
- Schanche, Audhild
1989 Jernalderens bosettingsmønster i et fleretrisk perspektiv. In *Framsritt for fortida i nord. I Povl Simonsens fotefar*, edited by Reidar Berthelsen, Per Kyrre Reymert and Astrid Utne, pp. 171–183. Tromsø museums skrifter, 22. Tromsø Museum, Tromsø.
- 2000 *Graver i ur og berg. Samisk gravskikk og religion fra forhistorisk til nyere tid*. Davvi Girji, Karasjok.
- Schetelig, Haakon
1906 *The Cruciform Brooches of Norway*. Bergens Museums Aarbog 8. Bergen Museum, Bergen.
- 1910 Smaa bronsespænder fra folkevandringstiden. *Oldtiden* 1:51–99.
- 1912 *Vestlandske graver fra jernalderen*. Bergens Museums Skrifter. Ny række. Bd. II, no. 1. Griegs boktrykkeri, Bergen.
- 1917a Nye jernaldersfund paa Vestlandet. *Bergen Museums Årbok*, 1916, 7. Bergen.
- 1917b Universitetes Oldsaksamlings tilvekst 1904–1915. *Oldtiden* 6 (2):191–288.
- Schubert, Gabriella
1993 *Kleidung als Zeichen: Kopfbedeckungen im Donau–Balkan–Raum*. Balkanologische Veröffentlichungen, bind 20. Osteuropa-Institut an der Freien Universität Berlin, Berlin.
- Schulze, Mechthild
1976 Einflüsse byzantinischer Prunkgewänder auf die fränkische Frauentracht. *Archäologisches korrespondenzblatt* 6:149–161.
- Scott, Margaret
2007 *Medieval dress and fashion*. British Library, London.
- Scull, Christopher
1993 Archaeology, Early Anglo-Saxon Society and the Origins of Anglo-Saxon Kingdoms. *Anglo-Saxon Studies in Archaeology and History* 6, edited by William Filmer-Sanky, pp. 65–82. Oxford University Committee for Archaeology, Institute of Archaeology, Oxford.
- Sellevold, Berit J., Ulla Lund Hansen and Jørgen Balslev Jørgensen
1984 *Iron Age Man in Denmark*. Prehistoric Man in Denmark, vol. III. Nordiske Fortidsminder, serie B. Bind 8. Det Kongelige Nordiske Oldskriftselskab, Copenhagen.
- Serning, Inga
1960 *Övre Norrlands järnålder*. Skrifter utgivna av Vetenskapliga Biblioteket i Umeå, bind 4. Vetenskapliga biblioteket i Umeå, Umeå.
- Shennan, Stephen J.
1991 Some current issues in the archaeological identification of past peoples. *Archaeologia Polona* 29:29–37.
- Shetelig, Haakon
1922a Tilvekst fortegnelse for 1918–19 for Bergen museum. *Oldtiden* 9:1–69.
- 1922b Bergens Museums tilvekst av oldsaker 1920. *Bergens museums aarbok* 1920–1921:1–50. Bergen.
- 1925 *Norges forhistorie. Problemer og resultater i norsk arkeologi*. Instituttet for sammenlignende kulturforskning. Serie A, Forelesninger, 5 a. Oslo.
- Siegmund, Frank
1998 Social structure and relations. In *Franks and Alamanni in the Merovingian period. An Ethnographic Perspective*, edited by Ian Wood, pp. 177–199. The Boydell Press, Woodbridge.
- Sjöberg, Margareta Beskow
1987 VI. Bredsåtra socken. In *Ölands järnåldersgravfält I*, edited by Margareta Beschow Sjöberg, pp. 199–287. Riksantikvarieämbetet and Statens historiska museer, Stockholm.
- Sjøvold, Thorleif
1952 Oldsaksamlingens tilvekst 1940–1949. *Acta Borealia, B Humaniora*, 1. Tromsø museum, Tromsø.
- 1962 *The Iron Age settlement of Arctic Norway. A study in the expansion of European Iron Age culture within the Arctic Circle, 1. Early Iron Age (Roman and Migration periods)*. Tromsø Museums skrifter, vol. X, 1. Norwegian universities press, Tromsø, Oslo.
- 1974 *The Iron Age settlement of Arctic Norway. A study in the expansion of European Iron Age culture within the Arctic Circle, II. Late Iron Age (Merovingian and Viking periods)*. Tromsø Museums skrifter, vol. X, 2. Norwegian universities press, Tromsø, Oslo, Bergen.
- 1993 *The Scandinavian Relief Brooches of the Migration Period. An Attempt at a new Classification. With a Contribution by Torstein Sjøvold*. Norske Oldfunn XV. Institutt for arkeologi, kunsthistorie og numismatikk. Oldsaksamlingen, Oslo.
- Skre, Dagfinn
1998 *Herredømmet. Bosetning og besittelse på Romerike 200–1350 e.Kr.* Acta Humaniora 32. Det historisk–filosofiske fakultet, University of Oslo.
- Slomann, Wenche
1986a [1977] Der Übergang zwischen der späten kaiserzeit und der frühen Völkerwanderungszeit in Norwegen. In *Hjemlig tradisjon og fremmede innslag i norsk jernalder. Festskrift til Wenche Slomann*, edited by Irmelin Martens, Bjørn Myhre and Eldrid Straume, pp. 145–148. Universitetets Oldsaksamlings Skrifter. Ny rekke. Nr. 6. Universitetets oldsaksamling, Oslo.
- 1986b [1956] Folkevandringstiden i Norge. In *Hjemlig tradisjon og fremmede innslag i norsk jernalder. Festskrift til Wenche Slomann*, edited by Irmelin Martens, Bjørn Myhre and Eldrid Straume, pp. 41–60. Universitetets Oldsaksamlings Skrifter. Ny rekke. Nr. 6. Universitetets oldsaksamling, Oslo.

- Solberg, Bergljot
 1981 Spearheads in the transition period between the Early and the Late Iron Age in Norway. *Acta Arcaeologica* 51:153–172.
 1996 Husfruen på Veiberg og hennes eksotiske eiendeler. *Arkeo* 2:27–30.
 2000 *Jernalderen i Norge. 500 før Kristus til 1030 etter Kristus*. Cappelen Akademisk Forlag, Oslo.
- Solli, Brit
 2002 *Seid: Myter, sjamanisme og kjønn i vikingenes tid*. Pax, Oslo.
- Spangén, Marte
 2005 *Edelmetalldepoene i Nord-Norge. Komplekse identiteter i vikingtid og tidlig middelalder*. Unpublished Master's thesis. Institute of Archaeology, University of Tromsø.
- Sponsler, Claire
 1992 *Narrating the Social Order: Medieval Clothing Laws*. CLIO, A Journal of Literature, History and the Philosophy of History, vol. 21:3.
- Stenton, Frank
 2001 *Anglo-Saxon England*. Third edition, originally published 1943. Oxford University Press, Oxford.
- Stenvik, Lars
 1996 Gravminner og maktsentra. In *Før og etter Stiklestad 1030. Regligionsskifte, kulturforhold, politisk makt. Seminar på Stiklestad, 1994*, edited by Øystein Walberg, pp. 79–92. Stiklestad Nasjonale Kultursenter, Verdal.
- Sternquist, Berta
 1961 Über die Kulturbeziehungen der Völkerwanderungszeit. *Die Kunde*, N.F. 12:16–42.
- Steuer, Heiko
 1982 *Frühgeschichtliche Sozialstrukturen in Mitteleuropa: Eine Analyse der Auswertungsmethoden des archäologischen Quellenmaterials*. Abhandlungen der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen, Philologisch–historische Klasse. 3. Folge. Nr. 128. Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, Göttingen.
 1987 Helm und Ringschwert: Prunkbewaffnung und Rangabzeichen germanischer Krieger. Eine Übersicht. *Studien zur Sachsenforschung* 6:189–236.
- Stjerna, Knut
 1905 *Bidrag till Bornholms befolkningshistoria under järnåldern*. Antikvarisk tidskrift för Sverige, 18, 1. Kungliga Vitterhets Historie och Antikvitets Akademien, Stockholm.
- Storli, Inger
 2006 *Hälogaland før rikssamlingen. Politiske prosesser i perioden 200–900 e.Kr.* Instituttet for sammenlignende kulturforskning. Serie B Skrifter. Vol. 123. Novus forlag, Oslo. Straume, Eldrid
- 1987 *Gläser mit Facettenschliff aus scandinavischen Gräbern des 4. und 5. Jahrhunderts n. Chr.* Instituttet for sammenlignende kulturforskning, Serie B, Skrifter. Bind 73. Novus, Oslo.
- 1993 Gravene. In *Minneskrift til Egil Bakka*, edited by Bergljot Solberg, pp. 207–234. Arkeologiske skrifter 7. Historisk Museum, University of Bergen.
- 1995 On the questions of exogamy as a basis for distribution in the Germanic Iron Age. In *Produksjon og samfunn. Beretning fra 2. nordiske jernaldersymposium på Granavolden 7.–10. mai 1992*, edited by Heid Gjøstein Resi, pp. 97–101. Varia 30. Universitetets Oldsaksamling, Oslo.
- Strauss, Ernst-Günter
 1992 *Studien zur Fibeltracht der Merowingerzeit*. Universitätsforschungen zur prähistorischen Archäologie. Band 13. Dem Institut für Ur- und Frühgeschichte der Universität Kiel.
- Strömberg, Märta
 1961a *Untersuchungen zur Jüngerer Eisenzeit in Schonen. Völkerwanderungszeit – Wikingerzeit. I Textband*. Acta Archaeologica Lundensia. Series in 4°. N° 4, Lund.
 1961b *Untersuchungen zur Jüngerer Eisenzeit in Schonen. Völkerwanderungszeit – Wikingerzeit. II Katalog und Tafeln*. Acta Archaeologica Lundensia. Series in 4°. N° 4, Lund.
- Suoh, Tamami
 2005 18th century. Fashion in the Revolutionary Period. In *Fashion. A history from the 18th to the 20th century. Volume I: 18th and 19th Century*, edited by Akiko Fukai, pp. 30–31. Taschen, Köln.
- Svanberg, Fredrik
 2003 *Decolonizing the Viking Age 1*. Acta Archaeologica Lundensia Series in 8° No. 43, Acta Archaeologica Lundensia. Series in 4°, 24. Almqvist & Wiksell International, Stockholm.
- Svennung, Josef
 1964 De nordiska folknamnen hos Jordanes. *Fornvännen* 1964:65–102.
 1965 Jordanes Scandia–kapitel. *Fornvännen* 1965:1–41.
 1967 *Jordanes und Scandia*. Skrifter utgivna av Kungliga Humanistiska Vetenskapssamfundet i Uppsala, band 44, A. Almqvist & Wiksell, Stockholm.
 1972 Jordanes und die gotische Stammsage. In *Studia Gotica*, edited by Ulf. E. Hagberg, pp. 20–56. Kungliga Vitterhets Historie och Antikvitets Akademiens Handlingar, Antikvariska serien, 25. Almqvist & Wiksell International, Stockholm.
- Svensson, J. V.
 1918 De nordiska folknamnen hos Jordanes. *Namn och bygd. Tidskrift för Nordisk Ornamnsforskning* 5 (1917):109–157.
 1919 Ptolemæus' redogörelse för folken på ön Skandia. *Namn och bygd. Tidskrift för Nordisk Ornamnsforskning* 7 (1919):1–16.

- Swanton, Michael (editor)
1997 *Beowulf. Revised Edition. Introduction, commentaries and prose translation by Michael Swanton.* Manchester Medieval Classics. Manchester University Press, Manchester.
- Sørensen, Marie Louise Stig
1991 Gender construction through appearance. In *The Archaeology of Gender. Proceedings of the twenty-second Annual Conference of the Archaeological Association of the University of Calgary*, edited by Dale Walde and Noreen D. Willows, pp. 121–129. The Archaeological association of the University of Calgary, Calgary.
1997 Reading Dress: The Construction of Social Categories and Identities in Bronze Age Europe. *Journal of European Archaeology* 5:93–114.
2004 *Gender Archaeology.* Reprinted. Originally published 2000. Polity Press, Cambridge.
- Sørensen, Pernille
1999 *A Reassessment of the Jutish Nature of Kent, Southern Hampshire and the Isle of Wight.* Unpublished D.Phil. thesis, Oxford University, Oxford.
- Tischler, Otto and Heinrich Kemke
1902 *Ostpreußische Altertümer aus der Zeit der grossen Gräberfelder nach Christi Geburt.* Koch, Königsberg.
- Todd, Malcolm
2004 *The Early Germans.* Second edition, originally published 1992. The peoples of Europe. Blackwell, Malden, Massachusetts.
- Trigger, Bruce C.
1989 *A History of Archaeological Thought.* Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.
- Turner, Terence S.
1979 *The social skin: bodily adornment, social meaning and personal identity.* Unpublished manuscript, University of Chicago.
- Vallet, Françoise
1993 Parures féminines étrangères du début de l'époque mérovingienne, trouvées dans le Soissonnais. *Studien zur Sachsenforschung* 8. Beiträge com 39. *Sachsensymposion in Caen, Normandie* 12. bis 16. September 1988, edited by Hans-Jürgen Hässler and Claude Lorren, pp. 109–121. Veröffentlichungen der urgeschichtlichen Sammlungen des Landesmuseums zu Hannover. Band 40. Niedersächsisches Landesmuseum Hannover, Urgeschichts-Abteilung, Hildesheim.
1995 *De Clovis à Dagobert. Les Mérovingiens.* Réunion des musées nationaux Histoire. Gallimard, Paris.
- Vedeler, Marianne
2007 *Klær og formspråk i norsk middelalder.* Dr.art.-avhandling. Acta Humaniora, 280. Faculty of Humanities, University of Oslo, Oslo.
- Vierck, Hayo
1978a Zur Angelsächsischen Frauentracht. In *Sachsen und Angelsachsen. Zur Schmuck- und Waffentechnik. Ausstellung des Helms-Museums Hamburgisches Museum für Vor- und Frühgeschichte* 18. November 1978 bis 28. Februar 1979. Veröffentlichungen des Helms-Museums 32, pp. 255–262. Prof. Dr. Claus Ahrens, Hamburg.
1978b Die englische Frauentracht. In *Sachsen und Angelsachsen. Zur Schmuck- und Waffentechnik. Ausstellung des Helms-Museums Hamburgisches Museum für Vor- und Frühgeschichte* 18. November 1978 bis 28. Februar 1979. Veröffentlichungen des Helms-Museums 32, pp. 245–253. Prof. Dr. Claus Ahrens, Hamburg.
1978c Zur seegermanischen Männertracht. In *Sachsen und Angelsachsen. Zur Schmuck- und Waffentechnik. Ausstellung des Helms-Museums Hamburgisches Museum für Vor- und Frühgeschichte* 18. November 1978 bis 28. Februar 1979. Veröffentlichungen des Helms-Museums 32, pp. 263–283. Prof. Dr. Claus Ahrens, Hamburg.
1981 Imitatio imperii and interpretatio Germanica vor der Wikingerzeit. In *Les Pays du Nord et Byzance (Scandinavie et Byzance). Actes du colloque nordique et international de byzantinologie tenu à Upsal* 20–22 avril 1979, edited by Rudolf Zeitler, pp. 64–113. Figura, Uppsala studies in the History of Arts, Acta Universitatis Uppsaliensis Nova Series, 19. University of Uppsala, Uppsala.
- Vinsrygg, Synnøve
1973 En ny merovingertids kvinnegrav frå Vest-Noreg. *Arkeo* 1972 (1):17–22.
1974 Merovingartidsfunn frå Ferkingstad på Karmøy. *Frå haug ok heidni* 1974 (2):119–123.
1979 *Merovingartid i Nord-Noreg. Studie i utvalt materiale frå gravfunn.* Arkeologiske avhandlinger fra Historisk museum i Bergen. No. 2. Historisk museum, University of Bergen, Bergen.
- Voss, Olfert
1954 The Høstentorp silver hoard and its period. A study of a Danish find of scrap silver from about 500 AD. *Acta Archaeologica* 25:171–220.
- Waller, Jutta
1972 Dress pins. In *Excavations at Helgö IV. Workshop part I*, edited by Wilhelm Holmqvist pp. 27–69. Kungliga Vitterhets Historie och Antikvitets Akademien. Almqvist & Wiksell, Stockholm.
1986 Draktnålar – manliga eller kvinnliga tillbehör? En sammanställning av osteologiskt undersökta brandgravar från folkvandringstid/vendeltid i östra Mälardalen. *Fornvännen* 81:145–157.
1996 *Draktnålar och dräktskick i östra Mälardalen: Kontinuitet och förändring under folkvandringstid och vendeltid.* Aun: Archeological studies 23. Institute of North European Archeology, Uppsala University. Uppsala.

- Watt, Margrethe
1991 Sorte muld. Høvdingesæde og kultcentrum fra Bornholms yngre jernalder. In *Fra Stamme til Stat i Danmark 2. Høvdingesamfund og Kongemagt*, edited by Peder Mortensen and Birgit Rasmussen, pp. 89–107. Jysk Arkæologisk Selskabs Skrifter XXII:2. Aarhus University Press, Aarhus.
- Welch, Martin
1992 *English Heritage Book of Anglo-Saxon England*. B.T. Batsford, London.
- Welinder, Stig
1998 The Cultural Construction of Childhood in Scandinavia, 3500 BC – 1350 AD. *Current Swedish Archaeology* 6:185–204.
2009 *Norstedts Sveriges Historia. 13000 f.Kr.–600 e.Kr.* Norstedts, Stockholm.
- Wenskus, Reinhard
1961 *Stammesbildung und Verfassung. Das Werden der frühmittelalterlichen gentes*. Böhlau Verlag, Köln, Graz.
- Werner, Joachim
1956 *Beiträge zur Archäologie des Attila-Reiches*. Bayerische Akademie der Wissenschaften. Philosophisch-historische Klasse. Abhandlungen, Neue Folge Heft 38 A. Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, München.
1970 Zur Verbreitung frühgeschichtlicher Metallarbeiten (Werkstatt – Wanderhandwerk – Handel – Familienverbindung). *Antikvarisk Arkiv* 38, Early Medieval Studies 1, pp. 65–81. Kungl. Vitterhets Historie och Antikvitets Akademien, Stockholm.
1981 Zu einer elbgermanischen Fibel des 5. Jahrhunderts aus Gaukönigshofen, Ldr. Würzburg. *Bayerische Vorgeschichtsblatt* 46:225–254.
- Wiessner, Polly
1989 Style and changing relations between the individual and society. In *The Meanings of Things*, edited by Ian Hodder, pp. 56–63. Undwin & Hyman, London.
- Wik, Birgitta
1985 Jernalderen. In *Helgelands historie, bind 1*, edited by Kristian Pettersen and Birgitta Wik, pp. 162–274. Helgeland Historielag, Mosjøen.
- Wiker, Gry
2000 *Gullbrakteatene – I dialog med naturkreftene. Ideologi og endring sett i lys av de skandinaviske brakteatnedleggelsene*. Unpublished Master's thesis. Institute of Archaeology, Conservation Studies and Art History, University of Oslo, Oslo.
- Williams, Howard
2006 *Death and memory in early medieval Britain*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.
- Wolfram, Herwig
1970 The shaping of the early medieval kingdom. *Viator. Medieval and renaissance studies* 1:1–20.
1990 *Die Goten: Von den Anfängen bis zur Mitte des sechsten Jahrhunderts: Entwurf einer historischen Ethnographie*. 3. Revised edition. Originally published 1979. Verlag C.H. Beck, München.
- Wood, Ian
1998 Conclusion: Strategies of Distinction. In *Strategies of Distinction. The Construction of Ethnic Communities, 300 – 800*, edited by Walter Pohl, pp. 297–303. The Transformation of the Roman World, Vol. 2. Boston, Köln, Brill.
- Yorke, Barbara
1990 *Kings and Kingdoms of Early Anglo-Saxon England*. Seaby, London.
2003 *Nunneries and the Anglo-Saxon royal houses*. Women, Power and Politics. Continuum, London.
- Ystgaard, Ingrid
2014 *Krigens praksis. Organisert voldsbruk og materiell kultur i Midt-Norge ca. 100–900 e.Kr.* Unpublished PhD dissertation. Institute of Historical Studies, Norwegian University of Science and Technology, Trondheim.
- Zachrisson, Inger
1997 *Möten i gränsland: Samer och germaner i Mellanskandinavien. Med bidrag av Margareta Nockert*. Monographs 4. Statens Historiska museum, Stockholm.

ABBREVIATIONS USED IN THE CATALOGUE

Norway

Arkeologisk museum, UiS	S
Historisk museum, UiB	B
Kulturhistorisk museum, UiO	C
Skien museum	SM
Tromsø museum, UiT	Ts
Vitenskapsmuseet, NTNU	T
Ålesund museum	Å

Sweden

Blekinge museum	Blekinge m.
Falbygdens museum (Falköping)	Falbygdens m.
Gotlands Fornsal, Gotlands museum	GF
Göteborgs arkeologiska museum	GAM
Hälsinglands museum (Hudiksvall)	HM
Jämtlands läns museum (Östersund)	JLM
Kalmar museum	Kalmar m.
Lunds universitets historiska museum	LUHM
Länsmuseet Murberget	Länsmuseet Murberget
Skövde museum	Skövde m.
Statens historiska museum	SHM
Stockholm stadsmuseum	SSM
Sundsvall museum	Sundsvall m.
Uppsala universitets museum	UUM
Umeå, Institutionen för arkeologi,	
Umeå Universitet	Umeå
Västergötlands museum (Skara)	VM
Västmanlands läns museum	VLM
Österlens museum (Simrishamn)	Österlens m.

Denmark

Antikvariske samling, Ribe	ASR
Fyens stiftsmuseum	FS
Haderslev museum	HM
Herning museum	HEM
Hobro museum	HOM
Langelands museum	LAM
Morslands historiske museum	MHM
Nationalmuseet	C
Nationalmuseet, danefæ	C.df
Nationalmuseet, Boyes fortegnelse	C.Boye
Randers Amts Museum	RAM
Ringkøbing museum	RIM
Sorø amts museum	SAM
Vendsyssel historiske museum (Hjørring)	VHM
Viborgs stiftsmuseum	VSM
Ålborg historisk museum	ÅHM

CATALOGUE

CRUCIFORM BROOCHES NORWAY

Inventory no.	Province	Municipality	Farm/Location	Type	Find category	Phase
C8481	Akershus	Nes	Fjuk	Unclassifiable	Grave	
C8481	Akershus	Nes	Fjuk	Unclassifiable	Grave	
C30161	Akershus	Ski	Grønstvedt	Unclassifiable	Grave	
C29034, 29677	Aust-Agder	Arendal	Nedenes	Individual form	Grave	Phase D2a
C29034, 29677	Aust-Agder	Arendal	Nedenes	Foldvik-Empingham	Grave	Phase D2a
C29034, 29677	Aust-Agder	Arendal	Nedenes	Unclassifiable	Grave	Phase D2a
C2458-66	Aust-Agder	Birkenes	Birkeland	Tveitane-Hunn	Grave	Phase D1
C2458-66	Aust-Agder	Birkenes	Birkeland	Tveitane-Hunn	Grave	Phase D1
C2458-66	Aust-Agder	Birkenes	Birkeland	Lunde	Grave	Phase D1
C21287	Aust-Agder	Birkenes	Skreros	Individual form	Grave	Phase D1
C21287	Aust-Agder	Birkenes	Skreros	Individual form	Grave	Phase D1
C21287	Aust-Agder	Birkenes	Skreros	Individual form	Grave	Phase D1
C17444-50	Aust-Agder	Bygland	Nordre Nese	Lima	Grave	Phase D2a
C11083	Aust-Agder	Evje og Hornnes	Fossvik av Rosseland	Unclassifiable	Grave	
C11096	Aust-Agder	Evje og Hornnes	Fossvik av Rosseland	Unclassifiable	Grave	
C26479	Aust-Agder	Evje og Hornnes	Fossvik av Rosseland	Unclassifiable	Grave	
C29487	Aust-Agder	Evje og Hornnes	Fossvik av Rosseland	Tveitane-Hunn	Grave	Phase D1
C29487	Aust-Agder	Evje og Hornnes	Fossvik av Rosseland	Tveitane-Hunn	Grave	Phase D1
C30426	Aust-Agder	Froland	Mjølhus Vestre	Unclassifiable	Grave	
C30426	Aust-Agder	Froland	Mjølhus Vestre	Individual form	Grave	
C20149	Aust-Agder	Froland	Tveiten	Foldvik-Empingham	Grave	Phase D2a
C20149	Aust-Agder	Froland	Tveiten	Valandsmoen	Grave	Phase D2a
C20149	Aust-Agder	Froland	Tveiten	Foldvik-Empingham	Grave	Phase D2a
C30481	Aust-Agder	Grimstad	Frivoll	Unclassifiable	Grave	
C24364	Aust-Agder	Grimstad	Havstad	Individual form	Grave	
C30491	Aust-Agder	Grimstad	Trålum Øvre	Unclassifiable	Grave	
C7072-82, 7354-57	Aust-Agder	Grimstad	Vik	Unclassifiable	Grave	Phase D2a
C7072-82, 7354-57	Aust-Agder	Grimstad	Vik	Unclassifiable	Grave	Phase D2a
C7358-7368	Aust-Agder	Grimstad	Vik	Lima	Grave	Phase D2a
C7358-7368	Aust-Agder	Grimstad	Vik	Individual form	Grave	Phase D2a
C21439	Aust-Agder	Åmli	Åmli	Tveitane-Hunn	Grave	Phase D1
C52898	Buskerud	Lier	Hørte (Storøy i Holsfjorden)	Individual form	Stray find	

Inventory no.	Province	Municipality	Farm/Location	Type	Find category	Phase
C335	Buskerud	Ringerike	Veien	Individual form	Grave	Phase D1
C5153	Buskerud	Ringerike	Veien	Individual form, similar to Eine	Grave	
C20848	Buskerud	Sigdal	Skatvet	Lunde	Grave	Phase D1
C20848	Buskerud	Sigdal	Skatvet	Tveitane-Hunn	Grave	Phase D1
C34356	Buskerud?	Kongsberg?	Unknown	Individual form, similar to Lunde	Stray find	
C16444	Buskerud	Øvre Eiker	Besseberg nordre	Unclassifiable	Grave	
C24016	Buskerud	Øvre Eiker	Hvitsten	Individual form	Grave	
C24016	Buskerud	Øvre Eiker	Hvitsten	Individual form	Grave	
C24016	Buskerud	Øvre Eiker	Hvitsten	Individual form	Grave	
C24016	Buskerud	Øvre Eiker	Hvitsten	Individual form	Grave	
Ts4307	Finnmark	Vardø	Grunnes	Mundheim	Grave	Phase D2a
C15685-92	Hedmark	Hamar	Eine	Eine	Grave	Phase D1
C15685-92	Hedmark	Hamar	Eine	Individual form	Grave	Phase D1
C15685-92	Hedmark	Hamar	Eine	Lunde	Grave	Phase D1
C37059	Hedmark	Hamar	Skattum	Unclassifiable	Stray find	
C9701	Hedmark	Løten	Store Benningstad	Unclassifiable	Stray find	
C24800	Hedmark	Ringsaker	Saugstadviken	Hasle	Stray find	
C56657	Hedmark	Sør-Odal	Ullern store	Unclassifiable	Stray find	
B5888	Hordaland	Etne	Grindheim	Unclassifiable	Grave	
B5889	Hordaland	Etne	Grindheim	Individual form	Grave	
B9971	Hordaland	Etne	Grindheim	Unclassifiable	Grave	
B9971	Hordaland	Etne	Grindheim	Unclassifiable	Grave	
B10202	Hordaland	Etne	Grindheim	Mundheim	Grave	Phase D2a
B10202	Hordaland	Etne	Grindheim	Unclassifiable	Grave	Phase D2a
B10202	Hordaland	Etne	Grindheim	Unclassifiable	Grave	Phase D2a
B7767	Hordaland	Etne	Øvstebø	Unclassifiable	Grave	Phase D2a
B7767	Hordaland	Etne	Øvstebø	Unclassifiable	Grave	Phase D2a
B7767	Hordaland	Etne	Øvstebø	Ålgard	Grave	Phase D2a
B4338	Hordaland	Kvam	Augestadsanden in Strandebarm	Individual form	Grave	
B6658	Hordaland	Kvam	Birkeland (Byrkjeland) nordre	Draugsvoll	Grave	Phase D2a
B6658	Hordaland	Kvam	Birkeland (Byrkjeland) nordre	Individual form	Grave	Phase D2a
B6756	Hordaland	Kvam	Mundheim	Mundheim	Grave	Phase D2a
B6756	Hordaland	Kvam	Mundheim	Mundheim	Grave	Phase D2a
B4096	Hordaland	Kvinnherad	Nordhus	Unclassifiable	Grave	Phase D2a
B432	Hordaland	Kvinnherad	Setberg	Unclassifiable	Stray find	
B432	Hordaland	Kvinnherad	Setberg	Unclassifiable	Stray find	
B432	Hordaland	Kvinnherad	Setberg	Unclassifiable	Stray find	
B3731	Hordaland	Kvinnherad	Øvsthus (Ysthus)	Unclassifiable	Grave	
B11475	Hordaland	Lindås	Fosse indre	Tveitane-Hunn	Grave	Phase D1
B2258-68	Hordaland	Lindås	Gjervik	Røssøy	Grave	Phase D1
B2258-68	Hordaland	Lindås	Gjervik	Gross Siemss	Grave	Phase D1
B3175	Hordaland	Lindås	Lygra	Skogøya (/Volstad/ Eidbukten)	Grave	Phase D2a

Inventory no.	Province	Municipality	Farm/Location	Type	Find category	Phase
B450	Hordaland	Odda	Unknown	Mundheim	Stray find	Phase D2a
B6032	Hordaland	Os	Døsen	Eine	Grave	Phase D1
B6090	Hordaland	Os	Døsen	Søndre Gammelsrød	Grave	Phase D2a
B8579	Hordaland	Osterøy	Mjelda øvre	Ådland	Grave	Phase D2a
B8579	Hordaland	Osterøy	Mjelda øvre	Skjervum	Grave	Phase D2a
B576-583	Hordaland	Osterøy	Mjelde (Mjelda) midtre	Mundheim	Grave	Phase D2a
B4512	Hordaland	Osterøy	Raknes	Mundheim	Grave?	Phase D2a
B439-41	Hordaland	Osterøy	Rongve	Draugsvoll	Grave	Phase D2a
B8200	Hordaland	Ullensvang	Lote	Unclassifiable	Grave	
B5733	Hordaland	Ullensvang	Måge	Unclassifiable	Grave	Phase D2a
B5733	Hordaland	Ullensvang	Måge	Gjerla	Grave	Phase D2a
B5733	Hordaland	Ullensvang	Måge	Lyminge	Grave	Phase D2a
B6409	Hordaland	Ullensvang	Opedal	Individual form	Grave	
B7509	Hordaland	Ulvik	Varberg	Mundheim	Grave	Phase D2a
B4353	Hordaland	Voss	Draugsvoll	Draugsvoll	Grave	Phase D2a
B12047	Hordaland	Voss	Gjerstad	Unclassified*/not seen	Grave	
B12047	Hordaland	Voss	Gjerstad	Unclassifiable	Grave	
B661-69	Hordaland	Voss	Gjukastein (Djukastein)	Individual form	Grave	Phase D2a
B661-69	Hordaland	Voss	Gjukastein (Djukastein)	Draugsvoll	Grave	Phase D2a
B661-69	Hordaland	Voss	Gjukastein (Djukastein)	Individual form	Grave	Phase D2a
B5637	Hordaland	Voss	Haugo	Draugsvoll	Grave	Phase D2a
B1345-57	Hordaland	Voss	Olde	Individual form	Grave	Phase D1
B1345-57	Hordaland	Voss	Olde	Individual form	Grave	Phase D1
B732	Hordaland	Voss	Seim	Draugsvoll	Grave	Phase D2a
B4446	Møre og Romsdal	Giske	Godøy	Fristad	Stray find	Phase D2a
B719-27	Møre og Romsdal	Giske	Staurnes/Giskegjerde	Skogøya (/Volstad/ Eidbukten)	Grave	Phase D2a
B719-27	Møre og Romsdal	Giske	Staurnes/Giskegjerde	Foldvik-Empingham	Grave	Phase D2a
B719-27	Møre og Romsdal	Giske	Staurnes/Giskegjerde	Skogøya (/Volstad/ Eidbukten)	Grave	Phase D2a
B7079	Møre og Romsdal	Norrdal	Veiberg	Lunde	Grave	Phase D1
B7079	Møre og Romsdal	Norrdal	Veiberg	Lunde	Grave	Phase D1
T10113-17	Møre og Romsdal	Rauma	Hen	Individual form	Grave	Phase D2a
T10113-17	Møre og Romsdal	Rauma	Hen	Mundheim	Grave	Phase D2a
T10113-17	Møre og Romsdal	Rauma	Hen	Unclassifiable	Grave	Phase D2a
T2805-25	Møre og Romsdal	Rauma	Hole	Mundheim	Grave	Phase D2a
T2805-25	Møre og Romsdal	Rauma	Hole	Individual form	Grave	Phase D2a
T2805-25	Møre og Romsdal	Rauma	Hole	Individual form	Grave	Phase D2a
T2805-25	Møre og Romsdal	Rauma	Hole	Individual form	Grave	Phase D2a
B5102	Møre og Romsdal	Rauma	Måndalen i Romsdalen	Individual form	Stray find	
B5102	Møre og Romsdal	Rauma	Måndalen i Romsdalen	Individual form	Stray find	

Inventory no.	Province	Municipality	Farm/Location	Type	Find category	Phase
B5102	Møre og Romsdal	Rauma	Måndalen i Romsdalen	Individual form	Stray find	
T2069-73	Møre og Romsdal	Rauma	Sæterbø	Similar to Mundheim	Grave	Phase D2a
T2069-73	Møre og Romsdal	Rauma	Sæterbø	Similar to Mundheim	Grave	Phase D2a
B444-46	Møre og Romsdal	Rauma	Unknown	Skogøya (/Volstad/ Eidbukten)	Grave	Phase D2a
B444-46	Møre og Romsdal	Rauma	Unknown	Unclassifiable	Grave	Phase D2a
B444-46	Møre og Romsdal	Rauma	Unknown	Unclassifiable	Grave	Phase D2a
C6197-6206	Møre og Romsdal	Rauma	Åk	Nygaard	Grave	Phase D1
C6197-6206	Møre og Romsdal	Rauma	Åk	Nygaard	Grave	Phase D1
B12923	Møre og Romsdal	Sande	Hauge	Unclassifiable	Grave	
Å995-996	Møre og Romsdal	Ulstein	Store Hatløy	Individual form, similar to Mo/Skaim	Grave	Phase D2a
T13845	Møre og Romsdal	Vestnes	Sørsylte	Mundheim	Grave	Phase D2a
B7548	Møre og Romsdal	Ålesund	Emblem	Nygaard	Grave	Phase D1
B7548	Møre og Romsdal	Ålesund	Emblem	Nygaard	Grave	Phase D1
B7548	Møre og Romsdal	Ålesund	Emblem	Individual form	Grave	Phase D1
B7548	Møre og Romsdal	Ålesund	Emblem	Unclassifiable	Grave	
T2845	Nordland	Alstahaug	Belsvåg	Witmarsum	Grave	Phase D1
T13603	Nordland	Alstahaug	Stamnes	Skogøya (/Volstad/ Eidbukten)	Grave	Phase D2a
Ts7747	Nordland	Andøy	Bleik	Unclassified*/not seen	Settlement/ Midden layer	
Ts7747	Nordland	Andøy	Bleik	Unclassified*/not seen	Settlement/ Midden layer	
Ts1750	Nordland	Andøy	Lovik	Unclassifiable	Grave	
Ts1240	Nordland	Ballangen	Skarstad	Røssøy	Grave	Phase D1
T16105	Nordland	Bindal	Holm	Similar to Mundheim	Stray find	Phase D2a
Ts1424-29	Nordland	Bodø	Ljønes	Skogøya (/Volstad/ Eidbukten)	Grave	Phase D2a
Ts1424-29	Nordland	Bodø	Ljønes	Skogøya (/Volstad/ Eidbukten)	Grave	Phase D2a
Ts4238	Nordland	Bodø	Rønnvik Nedre (Storgt. 57)	Mundheim	Grave	Phase D2a
Ts7370	Nordland	Bø	Fjærvoll	Unclassified*/not seen	Grave/Stray find	
Ts1564	Nordland	Bø	Ramberg (på Buøya)	Unclassifiable	Grave	
Ts2049-56	Nordland	Bø	Ramberg (på Buøya)	Skogøya (/Volstad/ Eidbukten)	Grave	Phase D2a
Ts2049-56	Nordland	Bø	Ramberg (på Buøya)	Skogøya (/Volstad/ Eidbukten)	Grave	Phase D2a
Ts2049-56	Nordland	Bø	Ramberg (på Buøya)	Skogøya (/Volstad/ Eidbukten)	Grave	Phase D2a
Ts2049-56	Nordland	Bø	Ramberg (på Buøya)	Skogøya (/Volstad/ Eidbukten)	Grave	Phase D2a
Ts2049-56	Nordland	Bø	Ramberg (på Buøya)	Skogøya (/Volstad/ Eidbukten)	Grave	Phase D2a
Ts2066-74	Nordland	Bø	Ramberg (på Buøya)	Skogøya (/Volstad/ Eidbukten)	Grave	Phase D2a
Ts1549	Nordland	Bø	Steine	Søndre Gammelsrød	Grave	Phase D2a

Inventory no.	Province	Municipality	Farm/Location	Type	Find category	Phase
Ts1513	Nordland	Bø	Svinøy/Svinøykalven	Individual form	Grave	
Ts2127	Nordland	Bø	Svinøy/Svinøykalven	Unclassifiable	Grave	
B728	Nordland	Dønna	Gjesfjorden	Røssøy	Grave	Phase D1
T17931	Nordland	Dønna	Glein	Unclassifiable	Grave	
Ts6351	Nordland	Evenes	Tårstad	Individual form	Grave	
Ts2674	Nordland	Hamarøy	Finnøy	Skogøya (/Volstad/ Eidbukten)	Grave	Phase D2a
Ts4320	Nordland	Hamarøy	Hillingan	Skogøya (/Volstad/ Eidbukten)	Grave	Phase D2a
Ts1252	Nordland	Lødingen	Hustad	Skogøya (/Volstad/ Eidbukten)	Grave	Phase D2a
Ts3539	Nordland	Lødingen	Offersøy, Vestøy (Øyen)	Skogøya (/Volstad/ Eidbukten)	Grave	Phase D2a
Ts3539	Nordland	Lødingen	Offersøy, Vestøy (Øyen)	Skogøya (/Volstad/ Eidbukten)	Grave	Phase D2a
Ts5253	Nordland	Lødingen	Vågeshamn (Våge)	Skogøya (/Volstad/ Eidbukten)	Grave	Phase D2a
Ts2815	Nordland	Meløy	Eidbukten (Bugt indre)	Skogøya (/Volstad/ Eidbukten)	Grave	Phase D2a
T14942	Nordland	Nesna	Alsøy	Unclassifiable	Grave	
T13544	Nordland	Sømna	Jarmunnen	Skogøya (/Volstad/ Eidbukten)	Grave	Phase D2a
Ts1343-45	Nordland	Sortland	Bremnes	Individual form	Grave	Phase D1
Ts1343-45	Nordland	Sortland	Bremnes	Røssøy	Grave	Phase D1
Ts1434-40	Nordland	Steigen	Hagbartsholmen (Steigen mellom)	Skogøya (/Volstad/ Eidbukten)	Grave	Phase D2a
Ts1434-40	Nordland	Steigen	Hagbartsholmen (Steigen mellom)	Skogøya (/Volstad/ Eidbukten)	Grave	Phase D2a
Ts1434-40	Nordland	Steigen	Hagbartsholmen (Steigen mellom)	Skogøya (/Volstad/ Eidbukten)	Grave	Phase D2a
Ts1194	Nordland	Steigen	Røssøy	Feering	Grave	Phase D2b
Ts1195-1205	Nordland	Steigen	Røssøy	Individual form	Grave	Phase D1
Ts1195-1205	Nordland	Steigen	Røssøy	Individual form	Grave	Phase D1
Ts1195-1205	Nordland	Steigen	Røssøy	Røssøy	Grave	Phase D1
Ts1195-1205	Nordland	Steigen	Røssøy	Røssøy	Grave	Phase D1
Ts1117-21	Nordland	Steigen	Skogøya (Lillesæter)	Skogøya (/Volstad/ Eidbukten)	Grave	Phase D2a
Ts1117-21	Nordland	Steigen	Skogøya (Lillesæter)	Mundheim	Grave	Phase D2a
Ts1117-21	Nordland	Steigen	Skogøya (Lillesæter)	Skogøya (/Volstad/ Eidbukten)	Grave	Phase D2a
Ts1117-21	Nordland	Steigen	Skogøya (Lillesæter)	Skogøya (/Volstad/ Eidbukten)	Grave	Phase D2a
Ts1122-30	Nordland	Steigen	Skogøya (Lillesæter)	Individual form	Grave	Phase D2a
Ts1122-30	Nordland	Steigen	Skogøya (Lillesæter)	Individual form	Grave	Phase D2a
Ts1122-30	Nordland	Steigen	Skogøya (Lillesæter)	Skogøya (/Volstad/ Eidbukten)	Grave	Phase D2a
Ts1122-30	Nordland	Steigen	Skogøya (Lillesæter)	Skogøya (/Volstad/ Eidbukten)	Grave	Phase D2a
Ts1131-37	Nordland	Steigen	Skogøya (Lillesæter)	Skogøya (/Volstad/ Eidbukten)	Grave	Phase D2a

Inventory no.	Province	Municipality	Farm/Location	Type	Find category	Phase
Ts1131-37	Nordland	Steigen	Skogøya (Lillesæter)	Skogøya (/Volstad/ Eidbukten)	Grave	Phase D2a
Ts1131-37	Nordland	Steigen	Skogøya (Lillesæter)	Skogøya (/Volstad/ Eidbukten)	Grave	Phase D2a
Ts1138-42	Nordland	Steigen	Skogøya (Lillesæter)	Skogøya (/Volstad/ Eidbukten)	Grave	Phase D2a
Ts1145-49	Nordland	Steigen	Skogøya (Lillesæter)	Skogøya (/Volstad/ Eidbukten)	Grave	Phase D2a
Ts2685-92, 2790	Nordland	Steigen	Skogøya (Lillesæter)	Skogøya (/Volstad/ Eidbukten)	Grave	Phase D2a
Ts5709	Nordland	Tjeldsund	Sand	Unclassified*/not seen	Stray find/ Grave	
Ts1286	Nordland	Tysfjord	Tysnes	Mundheim	Grave	Phase D2a
T18101	Nordland	Vefsn	Dolstad	Mundheim	Stray find	Phase D2a
T18453	Nordland	Vefsn	Lindset	Individual form	Grave	Phase D1
T18453	Nordland	Vefsn	Lindset	Røssøy	Grave	Phase D1
T8583	Nordland	Vega	Moen av Eidem	Lima	Grave	Phase D2a
T8583	Nordland	Vega	Moen av Eidem	Lima	Grave	Phase D2a
Ts2494-96	Nordland	Øksnes	Kirkevik	Skjervum	Grave	Phase D2a
Ts2494-96	Nordland	Øksnes	Kirkevik	Individual form	Grave	Phase D2a
Ts124-126	Nordland	Øksnes	Nærøy	Unclassifiable	Grave	
Ts2487-89	Nordland	Øksnes	Sommarøy	Unclassifiable	Grave	Phase D1
Ts8608	Nordland	Øksnes	Sommarøy (Sommerøyholmen)	Unclassifiable	Grave	Phase D2a
Ts2481-86	Nordland	Øksnes	Sommarøy, Sommarøyholmen	Individual form	Grave	
T9822-42	Nord-Trøndelag	Inderøy	Hol	Varhaug	Grave	Phase D2a
T12243	Nord-Trøndelag	Leka	Kvaløy	Lima	Grave	Phase D2a
T1227	Nord-Trøndelag	Leka	Steine	Røssøy	Grave	Phase D1
T12917	Nord-Trøndelag	Levanger	Storborg (Børøy)	Individual form	Grave	
T13164/12570	Nord-Trøndelag	Nærøy	Klungset (Steine)	Similar to Lima	Grave	Phase D2a
T14668	Nord-Trøndelag	Nærøy	Leirvik	Skogøya (/Volstad/ Eidbukten)	Grave	Phase D2a
T14201	Nord-Trøndelag	Nærøy	Varøy	Individual form	Grave	
C34758	Oppland	Gran	Gamme	Unclassifiable	Grave	
C22591	Oppland	Gran	Tingelstad nedre	Unclassifiable	Grave	
C27279	Oppland	Lunner	Råstad	Individual form (with 'star-shaped' foot)	Stray find	
C15066	Oppland	Nord-Aurdal	Hippesbygda	Skjervum	Stray find	Phase D2a
C5700	Oppland	Nord-Fron	Kvålen	Eine	Stray find	Phase D1
B4041	Rogaland	Bjerkreim	Bjerkreim	Mundheim	Stray find	Phase D2a
S8607	Rogaland	Bjerkreim	Holmen	Søndre Gammelsrød	Grave	Phase D2a
S8607	Rogaland	Bjerkreim	Holmen	Lima	Grave	Phase D2a
S8607	Rogaland	Bjerkreim	Holmen	Lima	Grave	Phase D2a
S324	Rogaland	Bjerkreim	Røysland	Individual form	Grave?	
S6385	Rogaland	Bjerkreim	Sagland	Sagland	Grave	Phase D2a
S6385	Rogaland	Bjerkreim	Sagland	Lima	Grave	Phase D2a
S6385	Rogaland	Bjerkreim	Sagland	Mundheim	Grave	Phase D2a

Inventory no.	Province	Municipality	Farm/Location	Type	Find category	Phase
S5045	Rogaland	Bjerkreim	Slettabø	Unclassifiable	Grave	
S5046	Rogaland	Bjerkreim	Slettabø	Mundheim	Grave	Phase D2a
S5046	Rogaland	Bjerkreim	Slettabø	Mundheim	Grave	Phase D2a
S5046	Rogaland	Bjerkreim	Slettabø	Lima	Grave	Phase D2a
S5046	Rogaland	Bjerkreim	Slettabø	Lima	Grave	Phase D2a
S4969, 5105	Rogaland	Bjerkreim	Vasbø	Bützfleht	Grave	
S4969, 5105	Rogaland	Bjerkreim	Vasbø	Individual form	Grave	
S1433-37	Rogaland	Bjerkreim	Versland (Værslund)	Søndre Gammelsrød	Grave	Phase D2a
S1433-37	Rogaland	Bjerkreim	Versland (Værslund)	Mundheim	Grave	Phase D2a
S3445	Rogaland	Bjerkreim	Vigesdal (Kjørren)	Lima	Grave	Phase D2a
S2276	Rogaland	Eigersund	Hovland	Unclassifiable	Grave	
S3052	Rogaland	Eigersund	Skjeipstad	Valandsmoen	Stray find	Phase D2a
S3457	Rogaland	Forsand	Berge	Skogøya (/Volstad/ Eidbukten)	Grave	Phase D2a
S2948	Rogaland	Forsand	Fossanmoen (Forsand)	Individual form	Grave	
S3887	Rogaland	Forsand	Fossanmoen (Forsand)	Unclassifiable	Grave	
S4082	Rogaland	Forsand	Fossanmoen (Forsand)	Mundheim	Grave	Phase D2a
S4082	Rogaland	Forsand	Fossanmoen (Forsand)	Unclassifiable	Grave	Phase D2a
S3564	Rogaland	Forsand	Helle	Mundheim	Grave	Phase D2a
S3564	Rogaland	Forsand	Helle	Individual form	Grave	Phase D2a
S3564	Rogaland	Forsand	Helle	Sagland	Grave	Phase D2a
S2718	Rogaland	Forsand	Lyse	Byrkje	Grave	Phase D2a
S2723	Rogaland	Forsand	Lyse	Individual form	Grave	
S7117	Rogaland	Forsand	Underberge av Berge	Individual form	Grave	
S2435	Rogaland	Gjesdal	Dirdal	Mundheim	Grave	Phase D2a
S2435	Rogaland	Gjesdal	Dirdal	Mundheim	Grave	Phase D2a
S5722	Rogaland	Gjesdal	Dirdal	Unclassifiable	Grave	
S5722	Rogaland	Gjesdal	Dirdal	Unclassifiable	Grave	
S5853	Rogaland	Gjesdal	Edland	Mundheim	Grave	Phase D2a
S5853	Rogaland	Gjesdal	Edland	Skogøya (/Volstad/ Eidbukten)	Grave	Phase D2a
S1738-40	Rogaland	Gjesdal	Lima	Lima	Grave	Phase D2a
S1738-40	Rogaland	Gjesdal	Lima	Lima	Grave	Phase D2a
S1738-40	Rogaland	Gjesdal	Lima	Søndre Gammelsrød	Grave	Phase D2a
S2035-39	Rogaland	Gjesdal	Ålgard	Individual form	Grave	Phase D2a
S2035-39	Rogaland	Gjesdal	Ålgard	Ålgard	Grave	Phase D2a
S2550	Rogaland	Hjelmeland	Byrkje	Individual form	Grave	
S5068	Rogaland	Hjelmeland	Byrkje	Varhaug	Grave	Phase D2a
S5068	Rogaland	Hjelmeland	Byrkje	Individual form	Grave	Phase D2a
S5068	Rogaland	Hjelmeland	Byrkje	Varhaug	Grave	Phase D2a
S5068	Rogaland	Hjelmeland	Byrkje	Byrkje	Grave	Phase D2a
S6895	Rogaland	Hjelmeland	Fevoll øvre	Unclassifiable	Grave	
S7300	Rogaland	Hjelmeland	Geisfjell	Individual form	Grave	
S7300	Rogaland	Hjelmeland	Geisfjell	Individual form	Grave	

Inventory no.	Province	Municipality	Farm/Location	Type	Find category	Phase
S2376	Rogaland	Hjelmeland	Kleivaland	Mundheim	Grave	Phase D2a
S2371	Rogaland	Hjelmeland	Mæle øvre	Eine	Grave	Phase D1
S2371	Rogaland	Hjelmeland	Mæle øvre	Eine	Grave	Phase D1
S2371	Rogaland	Hjelmeland	Mæle øvre	Unclassifiable	Grave	Phase D1
S2587	Rogaland	Hjelmeland	Riskadal	Lima	Grave	Phase D2a
S2587	Rogaland	Hjelmeland	Riskadal	Mundheim	Grave	Phase D2a
S4476	Rogaland	Hjelmeland	Soppaland	Byrkje	Grave	Phase D2a
S4476	Rogaland	Hjelmeland	Soppaland	Lima	Grave	Phase D2a
S4890	Rogaland	Hå	Brusand (Bru)	Lima	Grave	Phase D2a
S4890	Rogaland	Hå	Brusand (Bru)	Mundheim	Grave	Phase D2a
B4879	Rogaland	Hå	Bø	Mundheim	Grave	Phase D2a
C7530	Rogaland	Hå	Bø	Individual form	Stray find	
S828-35	Rogaland	Hå	Bø	Fristad	Grave	Phase D2a
S828-35	Rogaland	Hå	Bø	Individual form	Grave	Phase D2a
S828-35	Rogaland	Hå	Bø	Fristad	Grave	Phase D2a
S4059	Rogaland	Hå	Fuglestad	Individual form	Grave	
S9515	Rogaland	Hå	Hå	Unclassifiable	Grave	
B4834	Rogaland	Hå	Hårr	Unclassifiable	Grave	
B4834	Rogaland	Hå	Hårr	Unclassifiable	Grave	
B4834	Rogaland	Hå	Hårr	Mundheim	Grave	Phase D2a
B4834	Rogaland	Hå	Hårr	Mundheim	Grave	Phase D2a
B4834	Rogaland	Hå	Hårr	Lima	Grave	Phase D2a
B4834	Rogaland	Hå	Hårr	Lima	Grave	Phase D2a
B4834	Rogaland	Hå	Hårr	Lima	Grave	Phase D2a
B4834	Rogaland	Hå	Hårr	Unclassifiable	Grave	
B4834	Rogaland	Hå	Hårr	Unclassifiable	Grave	
C21251	Rogaland	Hå	Hårr	Mundheim	Stray find	Phase D2a
C21251	Rogaland	Hå	Hårr	Individual form	Stray find	Phase D2a
B5550	Rogaland	Hå	Kvalbein	Individual form	Grave	
B5296	Rogaland	Hå	Kvassheim	Unclassifiable	Grave	Phase D2a
B5296	Rogaland	Hå	Kvassheim	Unclassifiable	Grave	Phase D2a
B5296	Rogaland	Hå	Kvassheim	Unclassifiable	Grave	Phase D2a
B5296	Rogaland	Hå	Kvassheim	Mundheim	Grave	Phase D2a
B5302	Rogaland	Hå	Kvassheim	Tveitane-Hunn	Grave	Phase D1
B5302	Rogaland	Hå	Kvassheim	Lunde	Grave	Phase D1
B5302	Rogaland	Hå	Kvassheim	Unclassifiable	Grave	Phase D1
B5306	Rogaland	Hå	Kvassheim	Individual form	Grave	Phase D1
B5306	Rogaland	Hå	Kvassheim	Individual form	Grave	Phase D1
B5351	Rogaland	Hå	Kvassheim	Unclassified *not found	Grave	
B5359	Rogaland	Hå	Kvassheim	Mundheim	Grave	Phase D2a
B5363	Rogaland	Hå	Kvassheim	Unclassifiable	Grave	
B5363	Rogaland	Hå	Kvassheim	Unclassifiable	Grave	
B5368	Rogaland	Hå	Kvassheim	Unclassifiable	Grave	
B5368	Rogaland	Hå	Kvassheim	Individual form	Grave	
B5368	Rogaland	Hå	Kvassheim	Individual form	Grave	
B5387	Rogaland	Hå	Kvassheim	Unclassifiable	Grave	

Inventory no.	Province	Municipality	Farm/Location	Type	Find category	Phase
B5984	Rogaland	Hå	Kvassheim	Søndre Gammelsrød	Grave	Phase D2a
B5984	Rogaland	Hå	Kvassheim	Similar to Mundheim	Grave	Phase D2a
B5984	Rogaland	Hå	Kvassheim	Individual form	Grave	Phase D2a
B5984	Rogaland	Hå	Kvassheim	Søndre Gammelsrød	Grave	Phase D2a
B6004	Rogaland	Hå	Kvassheim	Unclassifiable	Grave	
S948	Rogaland	Hå	Kvassheim	Individual form	Grave	
S949	Rogaland	Hå	Kvassheim	Individual form	Grave	
S1460	Rogaland	Hå	Madland	Individual form	Grave	
S6296	Rogaland	Hå	Madland	Unclassifiable	Grave	Phase D2a
S6296	Rogaland	Hå	Madland	Mundheim	Grave	Phase D2a
S6296	Rogaland	Hå	Madland	Lima	Grave	Phase D2a
S6296	Rogaland	Hå	Madland	Unclassifiable	Grave	Phase D2a
S6296	Rogaland	Hå	Madland	Mundheim	Grave	Phase D2a
S6451	Rogaland	Hå	Madland	Unclassifiable	Stray find	
B4343	Rogaland	Hå	Nærbø	Unclassifiable	Grave	Phase D2a
B4343	Rogaland	Hå	Nærbø	Mundheim	Grave	Phase D2a
B4343	Rogaland	Hå	Nærbø	Unclassifiable	Grave	Phase D2a
B4343	Rogaland	Hå	Nærbø	Unclassifiable	Grave	Phase D2a
B4343	Rogaland	Hå	Nærbø	Unclassifiable	Grave	Phase D2a
B4343	Rogaland	Hå	Nærbø	Unclassifiable	Grave	Phase D2a
B4343	Rogaland	Hå	Nærbø	Unclassifiable	Grave	Phase D2a
S2061	Rogaland	Hå	Nærland	Mundheim	Stray find	Phase D2a
S4767	Rogaland	Hå	Nærland	Unclassifiable	Stray find	
B4254	Rogaland	Hå	Obrestad	Søndre Gammelsrød	Grave	Phase D2a
B4254	Rogaland	Hå	Obrestad	Individual form	Grave	Phase D2a
B4344	Rogaland	Hå	Obrestad	Individual form	Grave	
B4344	Rogaland	Hå	Obrestad	Individual form	Grave	
B4344	Rogaland	Hå	Obrestad	Søndre Gammelsrød	Grave	Phase D2a
B4344	Rogaland	Hå	Obrestad	Søndre Gammelsrød	Grave	Phase D2a
S1559	Rogaland	Hå	Varhaug	Varhaug	Stray find	Phase D2a
S6450	Rogaland	Hå	Varhaug	Søndre Gammelsrød	Grave	Phase D2a
S6450	Rogaland	Hå	Varhaug	Søndre Gammelsrød	Grave	Phase D2a
S6450	Rogaland	Hå	Varhaug	Sagland	Grave	Phase D2a
S1506	Rogaland	Hå	Varhaug sogn	Mundheim	Stray find	Phase D2a
B5018	Rogaland	Jæren?	Unknown	Unclassifiable	Stray find	
B2973	Rogaland	Klepp	Anda	Unclassifiable	Grave	
S7131	Rogaland	Klepp	Erga	Unclassifiable	Grave	Phase D1
S7131	Rogaland	Klepp	Erga	Unclassifiable	Grave	Phase D1
S7703	Rogaland	Klepp	Erga	Unclassifiable	Grave	
S3548	Rogaland	Klepp	Fristad	Fristad	Grave	Phase D2a
B2269-99	Rogaland	Klepp	Hauge	Unclassifiable	Grave	Phase D1
S1026-31	Rogaland	Klepp	Laland	Lima	Grave	Phase D2a
B4176	Rogaland	Klepp	Nese	Unclassifiable	Grave	
B2575	Rogaland	Klepp	Orre	Mundheim	Grave?	Phase D2a
S1821	Rogaland	Klepp	Orre	Individual form	Grave?	
S5791	Rogaland	Klepp	Orstad	Mundheim	Grave	Phase D2a
S1741	Rogaland	Klepp	Reve	Individual form	Stray find	

Inventory no.	Province	Municipality	Farm/Location	Type	Find category	Phase
S1827	Rogaland	Klepp	Reve	Individual form	Stray find	
S1971	Rogaland	Klepp	Reve	Unclassifiable	Stray find	
S2830	Rogaland	Klepp	Reve	Unclassifiable	Grave	
S2830	Rogaland	Klepp	Reve	Individual form	Grave	
B4226	Rogaland	Klepp	Skeie (Tjøtta)	Mundheim	Grave?	Phase D2a
B4226	Rogaland	Klepp	Skeie (Tjøtta)	Individual form	Grave?	
B4226	Rogaland	Klepp	Skeie (Tjøtta)	Individual form	Grave?	
B4226	Rogaland	Klepp	Skeie (Tjøtta)	Individual form	Grave?	
B4226	Rogaland	Klepp	Skeie (Tjøtta)	Lima	Grave?	Phase D2a
B4226	Rogaland	Klepp	Skeie (Tjøtta)	Individual form	Grave?	
S7399	Rogaland	Klepp	Skeie	Individual form	Grave	
S1057	Rogaland	Klepp	Stangeland	Tveitane-Hunn	Stray find	Phase D1
S5678	Rogaland	Klepp	Sveinsvoll	Skogøya (/Volstad/ Eidbukten)	Grave	Phase D2a
C4923-25	Rogaland	Klepp	Tjøtta	Lima	Grave	Phase D2a
S6286	Rogaland	Klepp	Tjøtta	Unclassifiable	Grave	
B2505-17	Rogaland	Klepp	Tu	Mundheim	Grave	Phase D2a
B2505-17	Rogaland	Klepp	Tu	Individual form	Grave	Phase D2a
B2505-17	Rogaland	Klepp	Tu	Individual form	Grave	Phase D2a
B2505-17	Rogaland	Klepp	Tu	Mundheim	Grave	Phase D2a
C21407	Rogaland	Klepp	Tu	Mundheim	Grave	Phase D2a
S6273	Rogaland	Klepp	Tu	Unclassifiable	Grave	
B542-45	Rogaland	Klepp	Øksnavad	Mundheim	Grave	Phase D2a
B542-45	Rogaland	Klepp	Øksnavad	Mundheim	Grave	Phase D2a
S950	Rogaland	Randaberg	Harastad	Lunde	Grave	Phase D1
B2476	Rogaland	Sandnes	Bråstein	Similar to Mundheim	Grave?	Phase D2a
C1286-88	Rogaland	Sandnes	Bråstein	Mundheim	Grave	Phase D2a
C1286-88	Rogaland	Sandnes	Bråstein	Similar to Mundheim	Grave	Phase D2a
C1286-88	Rogaland	Sandnes	Bråstein	Mundheim	Grave	Phase D2a
S1927	Rogaland	Sandnes	Selvik	Unclassifiable	Stray find	
S1841	Rogaland	Sandnes	Skjæveland	Unclassifiable	Stray find	
S4590	Rogaland	Sandnes	Skjørestad	Unclassifiable	Grave	
S6392	Rogaland	Sandnes	Stokka	Unclassifiable	Grave	Phase D2a
S6392	Rogaland	Sandnes	Stokka	Mundheim	Grave	Phase D2a
S6392	Rogaland	Sandnes	Stokka	Unclassifiable	Grave	Phase D2a
S6392	Rogaland	Sandnes	Stokka	Unclassifiable	Grave	Phase D2a
S1299-1301	Rogaland	Sola	Rege (Rægje)	Søndre Gammelsrød	Grave	Phase D2a
S2497	Rogaland	Sola	Røyneberg	Individual form	Grave	
B4528	Rogaland	Sola	Sandnes	Mundheim	Grave	Phase D2a
S1926	Rogaland	Stavanger	Kannik (Våland)	Mundheim	Stray find	Phase D2a
S2848, 5372	Rogaland	Suldal	Nærheim	Individual form	Grave	Phase D2a
S2848, 5372	Rogaland	Suldal	Nærheim	Similar to Mundheim	Grave	Phase D2a
B6771	Rogaland	Time	Haugland øvre	Unclassifiable	Grave	
S328	Rogaland	Time	Nørheim	Unclassifiable	Stray find	

Inventory no.	Province	Municipality	Farm/Location	Type	Find category	Phase
S3856	Rogaland	Time	Tegle	Sagland	Grave	Phase D2a
B2528-54	Rogaland	Time	Vestly	Ådland	Grave	Phase D2a
B2528-54	Rogaland	Time	Vestly	Ådland	Grave	Phase D2a
B2528-54	Rogaland	Time	Vestly	Unclassifiable	Grave	
B2528-54	Rogaland	Time	Vestly	Søndre Gammelsrød	Grave	Phase D2a
B2528-54	Rogaland	Time	Vestly	Lima	Grave	Phase D2a
B2528-54	Rogaland	Time	Vestly	Mundheim	Grave	Phase D2a
B6314	Rogaland	Unknown	Jæren	Unclassifiable	Grave	
S1438-39	Rogaland	Unknown	Unknown	Mundheim	Stray find	Phase D2a
S9324	Rogaland	Unknown	Unknown	Stedje	Stray find	Phase D2a
S9326	Rogaland	Unknown	Unknown	Similar to Mundheim	Stray find	Phase D2a
S5491	Rogaland	Vindafjord	Helgavoll	Unclassifiable	Stray find	
S5491	Rogaland	Vindafjord	Helgavoll	Individual form	Stray find	
S3683	Rogaland	Vindafjord	Stolpe	Individual form	Grave	
S6815	Rogaland	Vindafjord	Stolpe	Unclassifiable	Grave	Phase D2a
S6815	Rogaland	Vindafjord	Stolpe	Mundheim	Grave	Phase D2a
S6815	Rogaland	Vindafjord	Stolpe	Søndre Gammelsrød	Grave	Phase D2a
B8552	Sogn og Fjordane	Aurland	Skaim	Individual form	Grave	Phase D2a
B8552	Sogn og Fjordane	Aurland	Skaim	Individual form	Grave	Phase D2a
B8552	Sogn og Fjordane	Aurland	Skaim	Mo/Skaim	Grave	Phase D2a
B8552	Sogn og Fjordane	Aurland	Skaim	Individual form	Grave	Phase D2a
B12130	Sogn og Fjordane	Balestrand	Målsnes	Unclassifiable	Grave	
B12130	Sogn og Fjordane	Balestrand	Målsnes	Unclassifiable	Grave	
B11249	Sogn og Fjordane	Eid	Henne (Henden) øvre	Unclassifiable	Stray find	
B13133	Sogn og Fjordane	Fjaler	Dale	Mo/Skaim	Grave	Phase D2a
B2825-29	Sogn og Fjordane	Førde	Mo	Unclassifiable	Grave	Phase D2a
B2825-29	Sogn og Fjordane	Førde	Mo	Mo/Skaim	Grave	Phase D2a
B2825-29	Sogn og Fjordane	Førde	Mo	Mo/Skaim	Grave	Phase D2a
B14215	Sogn og Fjordane	Gaular	Osen	Unclassified*/not seen/Individual form?	Grave	
B4591	Sogn og Fjordane	Gloppen	Evebø	Unclassifiable	Grave	
T4882	Sogn og Fjordane	Gloppen	Haugane eller Sandane	Mundheim	Stray find	Phase D2a
B14296	Sogn og Fjordane	Gloppen	Ryssdalen	Unclassifiable	Grave	
B6588	Sogn og Fjordane	Gloppen	Skrøppa (Skryppa)	Søndre Gammelsrød	Grave	Phase D2a
B7008	Sogn og Fjordane	Gloppen	Steinsåker	Mundheim	Grave	Phase D2a
B2671	Sogn og Fjordane	Gulen	Oppedal indre	Mundheim	Grave	Phase D2a
B434-38	Sogn og Fjordane	Leikanger	Henjum (Hølseng)	Mo/Skaim	Grave	Phase D2a
B434-38	Sogn og Fjordane	Leikanger	Henjum (Hølseng)	Mo/Skaim	Grave	Phase D2a
B10090	Sogn og Fjordane	Leikanger	Njøs	Mo/Skaim	Grave	Phase D2a
B10090	Sogn og Fjordane	Leikanger	Njøs	Skjervum	Grave	Phase D2a
B10090	Sogn og Fjordane	Leikanger	Njøs	Individual form	Grave	Phase D2a
B15903 A	Sogn og Fjordane	Leikanger	Røysum	Lunde	Grave	Phase D1
B15903 A	Sogn og Fjordane	Leikanger	Røysum	Eine	Grave	Phase D1
B15903 A	Sogn og Fjordane	Leikanger	Røysum	Eine	Grave	Phase D1

Inventory no.	Province	Municipality	Farm/Location	Type	Find category	Phase
B15903 B	Sogn og Fjordane	Leikanger	Røysum	Individual form, similar to Gross Siemss	Grave	
B6798	Sogn og Fjordane	Luster	Eikjum	Individual form	Grave?	
B4179	Sogn og Fjordane	Luster	Kroken	Unclassifiable	Grave	
B11431	Sogn og Fjordane	Luster	Modvo under Setre	Nygaard	Grave	Phase D1
B6110	Sogn og Fjordane	Luster	Ny garden	Individual form	Grave	Phase D1
B6110	Sogn og Fjordane	Luster	Ny garden	Nygaard	Grave	Phase D1
B8223	Sogn og Fjordane	Luster	Stuppelshaug av Dale prestegård	Unclassified*/not seen	Grave	
B8223	Sogn og Fjordane	Luster	Stuppelshaug av Dale prestegård	Unclassified*/not seen	Grave	
B9224	Sogn og Fjordane	Selje	Øyra	Unclassifiable	Grave	
C54551	Sogn og Fjordane	Sogndal	Danøire, Nornes	Mo/Skaim	Stray find	Phase D2a
B13954	Sogn og Fjordane	Sogndal	Kvåle	Individual form	Grave	Phase D2a
B13954	Sogn og Fjordane	Sogndal	Kvåle	Mo/Skaim	Grave	Phase D2a
B13954	Sogn og Fjordane	Sogndal	Kvåle	Mo/Skaim	Grave	Phase D2a
B13954	Sogn og Fjordane	Sogndal	Kvåle	Individual form	Grave	Phase D2a
B9688	Sogn og Fjordane	Sogndal	Nornes	Mo/Skaim	Grave	Phase D2a
B4640	Sogn og Fjordane	Sogndal	Unknown	Stedje	Stray find	Phase D2a
B5968	Sogn og Fjordane	Sogndal	Ølnes	Unclassifiable	Grave	
B5968	Sogn og Fjordane	Sogndal	Ølnes	Unclassifiable	Grave	
B5968	Sogn og Fjordane	Sogndal	Ølnes	Individual form	Grave	
B5968	Sogn og Fjordane	Sogndal	Ølnes	Individual form	Grave	
B5968	Sogn og Fjordane	Sogndal	Ølnes	Unclassifiable	Grave	
B5968	Sogn og Fjordane	Sogndal	Ølnes	Unclassifiable	Grave	
B4842	Sogn og Fjordane	Stryn	Bø	Individual form	Grave	Phase D1
B8031	Sogn og Fjordane	Vik	Fedje	Mo/Skaim	Grave	Phase D2a
B4159	Sogn og Fjordane	Vik	Hopperstad	Mundheim	Grave	Phase D2a
B560	Sogn og Fjordane	Vik	Hove	Individual form (with spatulate foot)	Grave	
B8830	Sogn og Fjordane	Vik	Skjervum (Skjervo)	Skjervum	Grave	Phase D2a
T5460	Sør-Trøndelag	Bjugn	Val	Individual form	Stray find	
T15490	Sør-Trøndelag	Hitra	Myren av Kjerringvåg	Individual form, similar to Skogøya	Hoard/Cache?	Phase D2a
T5310	Sør-Trøndelag	Oppdal	Grøte	Lima	Stray find	Phase D2a
C21648	Telemark	Nome	Lunde nedre	Tveitane-Hunn	Grave	Phase D1
C21648	Telemark	Nome	Lunde nedre	Tveitane-Hunn	Grave	Phase D1
C21648	Telemark	Nome	Lunde nedre	Lunde	Grave	Phase D1
C21648	Telemark	Nome	Lunde nedre	Lunde	Grave	Phase D1
National m. C8031, 8306-08, 8411, 8420	Telemark	Nome	Stenstad	Lunde	Grave	Phase D1
C11710	Telemark	Notodden	Haugetuft	Unclassifiable	Stray find	
C10361-64	Telemark	Sauherad	Hem (Høm)	Gjerla	Grave	Phase D2a
C21856	Telemark	Skien	Falkum	Foldvik-Empingham	Grave	Phase D2a
C21856	Telemark	Skien	Falkum	Foldvik-Empingham	Grave	Phase D2a
C27093	Telemark	Skien	Mæla nordre	Eine	Grave	Phase D1

Inventory no.	Province	Municipality	Farm/Location	Type	Find category	Phase
C22242	Telemark	Skien	Mæla søndre	Individual form	Grave	
C22242	Telemark	Skien	Mæla søndre	Individual form	Grave	
C32315	Telemark	Tokke	Tveiten av Haugo	Unclassifiable	Grave	Phase D2a
C32315	Telemark	Tokke	Tveiten av Haugo	Unclassifiable	Grave	Phase D2a
C32315	Telemark	Tokke	Tveiten av Haugo	Mundheim	Grave	Phase D2a
C32315	Telemark	Tokke	Tveiten av Haugo	Mundheim	Grave	Phase D2a
C26002	Telemark	Vinje	Stormyr	Lunde	Stray find	Phase D1
Ts2321-29	Troms	Harstad	Kolsland	Skogøya (/Volstad/ Eidbukten)	Grave	Phase D2a
Ts2321-29	Troms	Harstad	Kolsland	Skogøya (/Volstad/ Eidbukten)	Grave	Phase D2a
Ts2330	Troms	Harstad	Kolsland	Røssøy	Grave	Phase D1
Ts1920	Troms	Harstad	Øvergård	Unclassifiable	Grave	
C18252	Troms	Harstad	Rogla	Unclassifiable	Grave	Phase D2a
Ts350	Troms	Harstad	Skjerstad	Unclassifiable	Grave	
Ts1914	Troms	Harstad	Vestnes	Unclassifiable	Grave	
Ts2378-83	Troms	Harstad	Volstad	Skogøya (/Volstad/ Eidbukten)	Grave	Phase D2a
Ts2378-83	Troms	Harstad	Volstad	Skogøya (/Volstad/ Eidbukten)	Grave	Phase D2a
Ts2378-83	Troms	Harstad	Volstad	Mundheim	Grave	Phase D2a
Ts31-33	Troms	Kvæfjord	Hundstad	Skogøya (/Volstad/ Eidbukten)	Grave	Phase D2a
Ts31-33	Troms	Kvæfjord	Hundstad	Skogøya (/Volstad/ Eidbukten)	Grave	Phase D2a
Ts11140/11361	Troms	Torsken	Grunnfarnes	Unclassified*/not seen	Settlement	
Ts956	Troms	Tranøy	Leikangen	Skogøya (/Volstad/ Eidbukten)	Grave?	Phase D2a
Ts4814	Troms	Tranøy	Leikangsund	Lima	Hoard/Cache	Phase D2a
Ts5781	Troms	Tromsø	Greipstad	Unclassified*/not seen	Grave	
B428	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Lunde	Stray find	Phase D1
B451	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Byrkje	Stray find	Phase D2a
B452	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Individual form	Stray find	
B5470	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Unclassifiable	Stray find	
B5631	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Individual form	Grave	
B5631	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Individual form	Grave	
C12216	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Individual form	Stray find	
C26794	Vest-Agder	Audnedal	Konsmo	Unclassifiable	Stray find/ Grave	
B3410	Vest-Agder	Audnedal	Ågedal	Individual form	Grave	
B3410	Vest-Agder	Audnedal	Ågedal	Unclassified *not found	Grave	
C17990	Vest-Agder	Audnedal	Høyland	Lunde	Grave	Phase D1
C56701	Vest-Agder	Audnedal	Skarstad	Stedje	Hoard/Cache	Phase D2a
B3353	Vest-Agder	Audnedal	Viblemo	Lunde	Grave	Phase D1
B5037	Vest-Agder	Farsund	Høiland	Unclassifiable	Grave	Phase D2a
C22285	Vest-Agder	Farsund	Jølle	Unclassifiable	Grave	

Inventory no.	Province	Municipality	Farm/Location	Type	Find category	Phase
C22285	Vest-Agder	Farsund	Jølle	Unclassifiable	Grave	
B3543	Vest-Agder	Farsund	Lunde	Individual form	Grave	Phase D2a
B4426	Vest-Agder	Farsund	Lunde	Unclassifiable	Grave	
B4426	Vest-Agder	Farsund	Lunde	Unclassifiable	Grave	
B4426	Vest-Agder	Farsund	Lunde	Unclassifiable	Grave	
B4286	Vest-Agder	Farsund	Lunde "Spansklottet"	Søndre Gammelsrød	Grave	Phase D2a
B4286	Vest-Agder	Farsund	Lunde "Spansklottet"	Individual form	Grave	Phase D2a
B4286	Vest-Agder	Farsund	Lunde "Spansklottet"	Individual form	Grave	Phase D2a
B4286	Vest-Agder	Farsund	Lunde "Spansklottet"	Individual form	Grave	Phase D2a
B4286	Vest-Agder	Farsund	Lunde "Spansklottet"	Individual form	Grave	Phase D2a
B4286	Vest-Agder	Farsund	Lunde "Spansklottet"	Individual form	Grave	Phase D2a
B4234	Vest-Agder	Farsund	Lunde (Lundevågen/ Sletten)	Ådland	Grave	Phase D2a
B4234	Vest-Agder	Farsund	Lunde (Lundevågen/ Sletten)	Ådland	Grave	Phase D2a
C22296	Vest-Agder	Farsund	Veremoen	Unclassifiable	Grave	Phase D2a
C22296	Vest-Agder	Farsund	Veremoen	Unclassifiable	Grave	Phase D2a
C22296	Vest-Agder	Farsund	Veremoen	Foldvik-Empingham	Grave	Phase D2a
C22297	Vest-Agder	Farsund	Veremoen	Lima	Grave	Phase D2a
C22297	Vest-Agder	Farsund	Veremoen	Lima	Grave	Phase D2a
C22297	Vest-Agder	Farsund	Veremoen	Stoveland	Grave	Phase D2a
C7453-62	Vest-Agder	Flekkefjord	Gyland	Individual form	Grave	
C8713-21	Vest-Agder	Flekkefjord	Ådland	Mundheim	Grave	Phase D2a
C8713-21	Vest-Agder	Flekkefjord	Ådland	Ådland	Grave	Phase D2a
C8713-21	Vest-Agder	Flekkefjord	Ådland	Individual form	Grave	Phase D2a
C8860	Vest-Agder	Hægebostad	Bjørnum	Unclassifiable	Grave	
C56500	Vest-Agder	Kristiansand	Borgevold av Borgen	Unclassifiable	Stray find	
C15286	Vest-Agder	Kvinesdal	Åmot	Lunde	Grave	Phase D1
B86-96	Vest-Agder	Kvinesdal	Øye	Unclassifiable	Grave	
B86-96	Vest-Agder	Kvinesdal	Øye	Individual form	Grave	
B86-96	Vest-Agder	Kvinesdal	Øye	Unclassifiable	Grave	
B86-96	Vest-Agder	Kvinesdal	Øye	Unclassifiable	Grave	
C15256-65	Vest-Agder	Kvinesdal	Slimestad	Individual form	Grave	Phase D2a
C15256-65	Vest-Agder	Kvinesdal	Slimestad	Mundheim	Grave	Phase D2a
C15256-65	Vest-Agder	Kvinesdal	Slimestad	Individual form	Grave	Phase D2a
C15256-65	Vest-Agder	Kvinesdal	Slimestad	Individual form	Grave	Phase D2a
C9188-89	Vest-Agder	Lindesnes	Erseid	Individual form	Grave	Phase D2a
C9188-89	Vest-Agder	Lindesnes	Erseid	Valandsmoen	Grave	Phase D2a
C23203	Vest-Agder	Lindesnes	Hægebostad	Lunde	Grave	Phase D1
C23203	Vest-Agder	Lindesnes	Hægebostad	Unclassifiable	Grave	Phase D1
C23203	Vest-Agder	Lindesnes	Hægebostad	Søndre Gammelsrød	Grave	Phase D2a
C23203	Vest-Agder	Lindesnes	Hægebostad	Unclassifiable	Grave	Phase D1

Inventory no.	Province	Municipality	Farm/Location	Type	Find category	Phase
C33591	Vest-Agder	Lindesnes	Hestehammeren av Gare	Søndre Gammelsrød	Grave	Phase D2a
C13692	Vest-Agder	Lindesnes	Løland	Lunde	Grave	Phase D1
C24698	Vest-Agder	Lyngdal	Bjørnestad	Unclassifiable	Grave	
C21650	Vest-Agder	Lyngdal	Foss ytre	Individual form	Grave	Phase D1
C7434-40	Vest-Agder	Lyngdal	Hårigstad	Søndre Gammelsrød	Grave	Phase D2a
C7434-40	Vest-Agder	Lyngdal	Hårigstad	Søndre Gammelsrød	Grave	Phase D2a
C27765	Vest-Agder	Lyngdal	Løland	Unclassifiable	Grave	
C27765	Vest-Agder	Lyngdal	Løland	Unclassifiable	Grave	
B4339	Vest-Agder	Lyngdal	Vemestad	Lunde	Grave	Phase D1
B4423	Vest-Agder	Lyngdal	Vemestad	Individual form	Grave	
B4423	Vest-Agder	Lyngdal	Vemestad	Unclassifiable	Grave	
C8983-98	Vest-Agder	Lyngdal	Vemestad	Individual form	Grave	
C4045-54	Vest-Agder	Mandal	Fuskeland	Lunde	Grave	Phase D1
C23624	Vest-Agder	Mandal	Hartmark	Unclassifiable	Grave	
C2646-80	Vest-Agder	Mandal	Holmegård	Lunde	Grave	Phase D1
C2646-80	Vest-Agder	Mandal	Holmegård	Unclassifiable	Grave	Phase D1
C8868, 8891	Vest-Agder	Mandal	Nøding	Nøding	Grave	Phase D2a
C8868, 8891	Vest-Agder	Mandal	Nøding	Mundheim	Grave	Phase D2a
C8867, 8869-74	Vest-Agder	Mandal	Stoveland	Søndre Gammelsrød	Grave	Phase D2a
C8867, 8869-74	Vest-Agder	Mandal	Stoveland	Unclassifiable	Grave	Phase D2a
C8867, 8869-74	Vest-Agder	Mandal	Stoveland	Similar to Søndre Gammelsrød	Grave	Phase D2a
C8867, 8869-74	Vest-Agder	Mandal	Stoveland	Valandsmoen	Grave	Phase D2a
C8907-15	Vest-Agder	Mandal	Stoveland	Unclassifiable	Grave	
C8907-15	Vest-Agder	Mandal	Stoveland	Unclassifiable	Grave	
C8907-15	Vest-Agder	Mandal	Stoveland	Unclassifiable	Grave	
C8933-50	Vest-Agder	Mandal	Stoveland	Stoveland	Grave	Phase D2a
C8960	Vest-Agder	Mandal	Stoveland-Bringsdal	Individual form	Grave	
C8961	Vest-Agder	Mandal	Stoveland-Bringsdal	Individual form	Grave	
C8962	Vest-Agder	Mandal	Stoveland-Bringsdal	Individual form	Grave	
C976-79	Vest-Agder	Mandal	Valandsmoen	Nøding	Grave	Phase D2a
C976-79	Vest-Agder	Mandal	Valandsmoen	Valandsmoen	Grave	Phase D2a
C976-79	Vest-Agder	Mandal	Valandsmoen	Unclassifiable	Grave	Phase D2a
C1973-74	Vest-Agder	Sirdal	Liland	Unclassifiable	Grave	Phase D1
C1973-74	Vest-Agder	Sirdal	Liland	Eine	Grave	Phase D1
C1973-74	Vest-Agder	Sirdal	Liland	Unclassifiable	Grave	Phase D1
C1973-74	Vest-Agder	Sirdal	Liland	Eine	Grave	Phase D1
C23140	Vest-Agder	Vennesla	Stallemo	Unclassified *not seen	Grave	
C23140	Vest-Agder	Vennesla	Stallemo	Unclassifiable	Grave	
C23140	Vest-Agder	Vennesla	Stallemo	Unclassified *not seen	Grave	
C23141	Vest-Agder	Vennesla	Stallemo	Individual form	Grave	Phase D2a
C23141	Vest-Agder	Vennesla	Stallemo	Individual form	Grave	Phase D2a
C23141	Vest-Agder	Vennesla	Stallemo	Foldvik-Empingham	Grave	Phase D2a
C23141	Vest-Agder	Vennesla	Stallemo	Foldvik-Empingham	Grave	Phase D2a

Inventory no.	Province	Municipality	Farm/Location	Type	Find category	Phase
C18330-40	Vestfold	Larvik	Berven	Unclassifiable	Grave	Phase D1
C18330-40	Vestfold	Larvik	Berven	Lunde	Grave	Phase D1
C2496	Vestfold	Larvik	Bjørke	Individual form	Grave	
C17857-63	Vestfold	Larvik	Bjørke	Søndre Gammelsrød	Grave	Phase D2a
SM1053	Vestfold	Larvik	Dolven	Individual form	?	
C21702	Vestfold	Larvik	Eide	Unclassifiable	Grave	
C21702	Vestfold	Larvik	Eide	Individual form	Grave	
C14476	Vestfold	Larvik	Eidsten	Individual form with spatulate foot (?)	Grave	
C19235-40	Vestfold	Larvik	Eidsten	Individual form	Grave	Phase D1
C19235-40	Vestfold	Larvik	Eidsten	Unclassifiable	Grave	Phase D1
C19235-40	Vestfold	Larvik	Eidsten	Unclassifiable	Grave	Phase D1
C10322-30	Vestfold	Larvik	Foldvik	Foldvik-Empingham	Grave	Phase D2a
C10322-30	Vestfold	Larvik	Foldvik	Foldvik-Empingham	Grave	Phase D2a
C10322-30	Vestfold	Larvik	Foldvik	Individual form	Grave	Phase D2a
C10322-30	Vestfold	Larvik	Foldvik	Foldvik-Empingham	Grave	Phase D2a
C19916	Vestfold	Larvik	Gjone	Tveitane-Hunn	Grave	Phase D1
C20164	Vestfold	Larvik	Gjone	Individual form	Grave	Phase D1
C20165	Vestfold	Larvik	Gjone	Individual form	Grave	Phase D1
C20165	Vestfold	Larvik	Gjone	Unclassifiable	Grave	Phase D1
C20165	Vestfold	Larvik	Gjone	Individual form	Grave	Phase D1
C20165	Vestfold	Larvik	Gjone	Individual form	Grave	Phase D1
C20166	Vestfold	Larvik	Gjone	Tveitane-Hunn	Grave	Phase D1
C19842-47	Vestfold	Larvik	Hvåle	Eine	Grave	Phase D1
C19842-47	Vestfold	Larvik	Hvåle	Lunde	Grave	Phase D1
C19842-47	Vestfold	Larvik	Hvåle	Lunde	Grave	Phase D1
C37546	Vestfold	Larvik	Hvatum	Unclassifiable	Grave	
SM3242-3246	Vestfold	Larvik	Nordheim (av Hedrum prestegård)	Similar to Lima	Grave	Phase D2a
SM3726	Vestfold	Larvik	Nordheim	Individual form	Grave	
C29300	Vestfold	Larvik	Ommundrød (Amundrød)	Gjerla	Grave	Phase D2a
C29300	Vestfold	Larvik	Ommundrød (Amundrød)	Gjerla	Grave	Phase D2a
C13206-11	Vestfold	Larvik	Ringdal	Individual form	Grave	
C13206-11	Vestfold	Larvik	Ringdal	Individual form	Grave	
C14338-50	Vestfold	Larvik	Roligheten	Unclassifiable	Grave	Phase D1
C18892-18904	Vestfold	Larvik	Skåra/Skreia	Unclassifiable	Grave	Phase D2a
C19769-71	Vestfold	Larvik	Skogen	Trumpington	Grave	
C19769-71	Vestfold	Larvik	Skogen	Trumpington	Grave	
C37886	Vestfold	Larvik	Svanheim av Bommestad	Unclassifiable	Stray find	
C11220-11236	Vestfold	Larvik	Tveitane	Individual form	Grave	Phase D2a
C11220-11236	Vestfold	Larvik	Tveitane	Unclassifiable	Grave	Phase D2a
C11220-11236	Vestfold	Larvik	Tveitane	Unclassifiable	Grave	Phase D2a
C12980-87	Vestfold	Larvik	Tveitane	Tveitane-Hunn	Grave	Phase D1
C12377	Vestfold	Larvik	Vestre Vestrum	Individual form	Grave	
C17090	Vestfold	Larvik	Vik	Eine	Grave	Phase D1

Inventory no.	Province	Municipality	Farm/Location	Type	Find category	Phase
SM1131	Vestfold	Larvik	Ødelund	Lunde	Grave	Phase D1
C6935-39	Vestfold	Sandefjord	Fevang nordre	Unclassifiable	Grave	Phase D2a
C6935-39	Vestfold	Sandefjord	Fevang nordre	Foldvik-Empingham	Grave	Phase D2a
C6978-87	Vestfold	Sandefjord	Fevang nordre	Lima	Grave	Phase D2a
C6978-87	Vestfold	Sandefjord	Fevang nordre	Individual form	Grave	Phase D2a
C7026-29	Vestfold	Sandefjord	Fevang nordre	Individual form	Grave	
C7026-29	Vestfold	Sandefjord	Fevang nordre	Individual form	Grave	
C20154	Vestfold	Stokke	Fen	Individual form	Grave	
C20154	Vestfold	Stokke	Fen	Unclassifiable	Grave	
C22475	Vestfold	Stokke	Gjerla	Gjerla	Grave	Phase D2a
C5947-63	Vestfold	Stokke	Langlo	Unclassifiable	Grave	Phase D2a
C5947-63	Vestfold	Stokke	Langlo	Unclassifiable	Grave	Phase D2a
C5947-63	Vestfold	Stokke	Langlo	Unclassifiable	Grave	Phase D2a
C6071-77	Vestfold	Stokke	Lund	Ådland	Grave	Phase D2a
C6071-77	Vestfold	Stokke	Lund	Similar to Foldvik-Empingham	Grave	Phase D2a
C6449-56	Vestfold	Stokke	Rørkoll nordre	Foldvik-Empingham	Grave	Phase D2a
C11621-29	Vestfold	Tønsberg	Lasken av Jarlsberg hovedgård	Søndre Gammelsrød	Grave	Phase D2a
C28989	Østfold	Fredrikstad	Hunn	Tveitane-Hunn	Grave	Phase D1
C20949	Østfold	Råde	Elvestad	Unclassifiable	Grave?	
C56910	Østfold	Råde	Missingen	Unclassifiable	Stray find	
C6817-22	Østfold	Råde	Søndre Gammelsrød	Søndre Gammelsrød	Grave	Phase D2a
C6817-22	Østfold	Råde	Søndre Gammelsrød	Individual form	Grave	Phase D2a
C6817-22	Østfold	Råde	Søndre Gammelsrød	Individual form	Grave	Phase D2a
C6817-22	Østfold	Råde	Søndre Gammelsrød	Individual form	Grave	Phase D2a
C56909	Østfold	Rygge	Gipsen	Unclassifiable	Stray find/ Grave?	
C25711	Østfold	Rygge	Hasle	Hasle	Grave	
C32756	Østfold	Sarpsborg	Grålum	Tveitane-Hunn	Grave	Phase D1
C32756	Østfold	Sarpsborg	Grålum	Tveitane-Hunn	Grave	Phase D1
C32756	Østfold	Sarpsborg	Grålum	Individual form	Grave	Phase D1
C21753	Østfold	Sarpsborg	Lundvoll av Tune prestegård	Unclassifiable	Grave	
C21753	Østfold	Sarpsborg	Lundvoll av Tune prestegård	Individual form	Grave	
C31071	Østfold	Sarpsborg	Opstad Nordre	Unclassifiable	Grave	
C21537	Østfold	Sarpsborg	Store-Dal	Unclassifiable	Grave	
C21583	Østfold	Sarpsborg	Store-Dal	Unclassifiable	Grave	Phase D1
C37684	Østfold	Sarpsborg	Tingvoll av Tune Store	Unclassifiable	Grave	Phase D1
C37684	Østfold	Sarpsborg	Tingvoll av Tune Store	Lunde	Grave	Phase D1
C37686	Østfold	Sarpsborg	Tingvoll av Tune Store	Unclassifiable	Grave	Phase D1

CRUCIFORM BROOCHES SWEDEN

Inventory no.	Province/ Region	Municipality/ Parish	Farm/Location	Type	Find category	Phase
Blekinge m.4310	Blekinge	Jämjö	Hallarum	Individual form	Grave?	
SHM10300	Blekinge	Unknown	Unknown	Individual form?	Stray find	
SHM1474	Bohuslän	Brastad	Häller	Lunde	Grave	Phase D1
SHM13992	Bohuslän	Högås	Äsen	Individual form	Stray find	
GAM1959	Bohuslän	Hälta	Beckevarv	Individual form	Stray find	
GAM1387	Bohuslän	Hälta	Gullbringa	Unclassifiable	Grave	
SHM? Fl. 8?	Bohuslän	Lyse	Hamrevik	Sejlfod	Grave	Phase D2a
GAM23514	Bohuslän	Naverstad	Ellelien, Elgliden	Individual form	Grave	
SHM15718	Bohuslän	Naverstad	Säm/ Trallskog	Similar to Søndre Gammelsrød	Grave	Phase D2a
SHM1270	Bohuslän	Naverstad	Unknown	Unclassifiable	Stray find	
GAM23486	Bohuslän	Naverstad	Vassbotten	Unclassifiable	Grave	
SHM10128	Bohuslän	Skee	Solberg	Individual form	Stray find	
SHM28002	Bohuslän	Solberga	Hammar	Søndre Gammelsrød	Grave	Phase D2a
SHM17589	Bohuslän	Stenkyrka	Kurlanda	Individual form	Grave?	
SHM15058	Bohuslän	Stenkyrka	Tolleby	Individual form	Grave	
SHM15058	Bohuslän	Stenkyrka	Tolleby	Individual form	Grave	
SHM12318	Bohuslän	Tanum	Gissleröd	Unclassifiable	Grave	
SHM26611/5	Bohuslän	Ödsmäl	Rinnela	Unclassifiable	Grave	
SHM26611/5	Bohuslän	Ödsmäl	Rinnela	Unclassified	Grave	
SHM26611/6/28912	Bohuslän	Ödsmäl	Rinnela	Unclassifiable	Grave	
SHM26611/6/28912	Bohuslän	Ödsmäl	Rinnela	Unclassifiable	Grave	
SHM26485	Dalarna	Lima	Tisjön	Individual form	Grave	Phase D2a
SHM26485	Dalarna	Lima	Tisjön	Ådland	Grave	Phase D2a
SHM26485	Dalarna	Lima	Tisjön	Individual form	Grave	Phase D2a
SHM20301	Dalsland	Fägerlanda	Hillingsäter	Unclassifiable	Grave	
SHM22776	Gästrikland	Hille	Södra Åbyggeby	Mundheim	Grave	Phase D2a
SHM18703/31	Gotland	Lau	Lilla Bjärges	Unclassifiable	Grave	
SHM8344	Halland	Eldsberga	Klockaregården	Individual form	Stray find	
SHM7331	Halland	Enslöv	Spånstad	Individual form	Grave?	
VM	Halland	Sibbarp	Folkared	Individual form	Stray find	
SHM29500/3/IV	Hälsingland	Forsa	Hillsta	uklassifisert	Grave	
HM7565, 7569, 7678	Hälsingland	Forsa	Sörhoga/ Hogabacken	Individual form	Grave	Phase D2a
HM7565, 7569, 7678	Hälsingland	Forsa	Sörhoga/ Hogabacken	Mundheim	Grave	Phase D2a
HM87/7567A	Hälsingland	Forsa	Utnäs	Mundheim	Grave	Phase D2a
SHM34566/69	Hälsingland	Hälsingtuna	Björka	Mundheim	Grave	Phase D2a
SHM32364/3	Hälsingland	Hälsingtuna	Halstaåsen	Individual form	Grave	
HM7665	Hälsingland	Tuna	Hällsäter	Unclassifiable	Stray find	
HM7563	Hälsingland	Tuna	Hallsta	Individual form	Stray find	
HM7576	Hälsingland	Unknown	Unknown	Mundheim	Stray find	Phase D2a
JLM528	Jämtland	Näs	Kungsnäs	Individual form	Grave	
?	Jämtland	Ås	Täng	Unclassifiable *not preserved	Stray find?	

Inventory no.	Province/ Region	Municipality/ Parish	Farm/Location	Type	Find category	Phase
SHM22492/18	Medelpad	Alnö	Bäräng	Individual form	Grave	
SHM1560	Medelpad	Njurunda	Hälljum	Mundheim	Grave	Phase D2a
SHM31286/A5	Medelpad	Skön	Näs	Similar to Lima	Grave	Phase D2a
SHM10940	Medelpad	Tuna	Rude	Individual form	Grave	
SHM13233	Närke	Asker	Värsta	Individual form	Stray find	
SHM21058	Skåne	Häginge	Göingeholm	Individual form	Hoard/Cache	Phase D1
SHM21058	Skåne	Häginge	Göingeholm	Individual form	Hoard/Cache	Phase D1
SHM21058	Skåne	Häginge	Göingeholm	Individual form	Hoard/Cache	Phase D1
LUHM	Skåne	Löddeköpinge	Löddeköping	Tveitane-Hunn	Boplassfunn (Stray find)	Phase D1
LUHM	Skåne	Maglarp	Albäcksbacken III	Individual form	Grave	
SHM17240	Skåne	Rinkaby	Rinkaby	Individual form	Grave	
LUHM27560	Skåne	Simris	Viarp	Individual form	Stray find	
SHM19750	Skåne	Store Hammar	Hammarnäs	Individual form	Grave	
SHM1518	Skåne	Unknown	Unknown	Feering	Stray find	Phase D2b
SHM2549	Skåne	Unknown	Unknown	Individual form	Stray find	
Österlens m.1305	Skåne	Valleberga	Valleberga nr. 20	Individual form	Stray find	
SHM3217	Skåne	Vemmenhög	Svedala	Individual form	Stray find	
SHM16219	Småland	Höreda sn.	Ingarp	Individual form	Grave	Phase D1
SHM27781	Småland	Torsås og Söderåkra	Torsås- Söderåkra	Individual form	Grave	
SHM17979	Småland	Värnamo	Maramö	Barrington	Grave	Phase D2a
RAÄ fl. 106/A14	Södermanland	Huddinge	Flemingsberg	Individual form	Grave	
RAÄ fl. 106/A14	Södermanland	Huddinge	Flemingsberg	Individual form	Grave	
GAM2240	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Individual form	Stray find	
RAÄ Fl. 100 A124	Uppland	Danmark	Danmarksby	Individual form	Grave	
RAÄ Fl. 100 A141	Uppland	Danmark	Danmarksby	Individual form	Grave	
SHM3825	Värmland	Svanskog	Björkbyn	Individual form	Stray find	
SHM6966	Västergötland	Alingsås	Lindås	Individual form	Stray find	
VM6646	Västergötland	Berg	Melldala	Götene/Brunnhem	Grave	Phase D2a
VM6646	Västergötland	Berg	Melldala	Fristad	Grave	Phase D2a
VM6646	Västergötland	Berg	Melldala	Unclassified *not found	Grave	Phase D2a
SHM11052	Västergötland	Brunnhem	Brunnhem	Götene/Brunnhem	Stray find	Phase D2a
SHM3314	Västergötland	Dimbo	Duerstorp	Unclassifiable	Stray find	
SHM12518	Västergötland	Gökhem	Unknown	Lunde	Stray find	Phase D1
SHM11706	Västergötland	Götene	Unknown	Götene/Brunnhem	Stray find	Phase D2a
SHM6261	Västergötland	Gudhem	Jättene Bosgården	Götene/Brunnhem	Grave?	Phase D2a
SHM6261	Västergötland	Gudhem	Jättene Bosgården	Götene/Brunnhem	Grave?	Phase D2a
SHM26214	Västergötland	Häggum	Ranstad	Individual form	Grave	
SHM26214	Västergötland	Häggum	Ranstad	Individual form	Grave	
SHM10391	Västergötland	Holmestad	Unknown	Götene/Brunnhem	Stray find	Phase D2a
SHM17343	Västergötland	Horn	Unknown	Individual form	Grave	
Falbygdens m.788	Västergötland	Kymbo	Hulegården	Individual form	Stray find	
SHM7591	Västergötland	Näs	Tyska Gården	Individual form	Grave	Phase D1

Inventory no.	Province/ Region	Municipality/ Parish	Farm/Location	Type	Find category	Phase
VM4540	Västergötland	Norra Lundby	Unknown	Individual form	Stray find	
SHM7327	Västergötland	Sjögestad	Humlagården	Foldvik- Empingham	Grave	Phase D2a
SHM25591	Västergötland	Sjötofta	Hanabo	Unclassifiable	Grave	
SHM25591	Västergötland	Sjötofta	Hanabo	Unclassifiable	Grave	
VM4537-39	Västergötland	Skallmeja	Blomsgården	Bradwell	Grave	Phase D2a
VM4537-39	Västergötland	Skallmeja	Blomsgården	Mundheim	Grave	Phase D2a
SHM19858	Västergötland	Skara	Göransberg	Unclassifiable	Grave	
SHM19858	Västergötland	Skara	Göransberg	Unclassifiable	Grave	
SHM19858	Västergötland	Skara	Göransberg	Unclassifiable	Grave	
VM4536	Västergötland	Skörstorps	Unknown	Götene/Brunnhem	Stray find	Phase D2a
SHM7578	Västergötland	Sparlösa	Ulfstorp	Unclassifiable	Stray find	
GAM4625	Västergötland	Starrkärr	Sannum	Unclassifiable	Stray find	
SHM6765	Västergötland	Stentorp	Stentorp	Stoveland	Grave?	Phase D2a
SHM6765	Västergötland	Stentorp	Stentorp	Unclassifiable	Grave?	Phase D2a
Skövde m.	Västergötland	Stentorp	Stentorp	Individual form	Stray find	
SHM3598	Västergötland	Suntaks	Marieberg	Individual form	Stray find	
SHM7578	Västergötland	Särestad?	Unknown	Unclassifiable	Stray find	
SHM7578	Västergötland	Särestad?	Unknown	Unclassifiable	Stray find	
SHM19814	Västergötland	Södra Ving	Romsås	Individual form	Grave	
SHM22474	Västergötland	Södra Ving	Vädersholm	Individual form	Settlement/Stray find	
VM4535	Västergötland	Tunhem?	Unknown	Individual form	Stray find	
SHM14292	Västergötland	Unknown	Unknown	Individual form	Stray find	
GAM3279	Västergötland	Unknown	Unknown	Unclassifiable	Stray find	
GAM3280	Västergötland	Unknown	Unknown	Foldvik- Empingham	Stray find	Phase D2a
GAM3291	Västergötland	Unknown	Unknown	Götene/Brunnhem	Stray find	Phase D2a
SHM8233	Västergötland	Varnhem	Fiskaregården	Bradwell	Grave?	Phase D2a
SHM8233	Västergötland	Varnhem	Fiskaregården	Barrington	Grave?	Phase D2a
SHM8233	Västergötland	Varnhem	Fiskaregården	Gjerla	Grave?	Phase D2a
SHM8823	Västergötland	Varnhem	Nygård	Lunde	Grave	Phase D1
Falbygdens m.	Västergötland	Östra Tunhem	Bårgsgården	Götene/Brunnhem	Grave	Phase D2a
SHM16500-16501	Västergötland	Öttum	Bruarebacken	Götene/Brunnhem	Grave?	Phase D2a
SHM16500-16501	Västergötland	Öttum	Bruarebacken	Individual form	Grave?	Phase D2a
SHM9170	Västergötland	Ångarp	Tidaholm	Individual form	Stray find	
SHM11396	Västergötland	Åsarp	Stommen, Bredared	Götene/Brunnhem	Hoard/Cache	Phase D2a
SHM4300	Västergötland	Åsarp	Unknown	Individual form	Stray find	
SHM11178	Öland	Böda	Torp	Individual form	Stray find	
SHM7041	Öland	Gårdby	Torp	Individual form	Stray find	
Kalmar m. 4701	Öland	Glömminge	Isgärde	Individual form	Stray find	
SHM4811	Öland	Stenäsa	Södra Kvinneby	Lunde	Stray find	Phase D1
RAÄ 288 m. fl:A98071	Östergötland	Rinna	Abbetorp	Individual form	Grave	
SHM9589	Östergötland	St. Lars	Stångebro	Götene/Brunnhem	Stray find	Phase D2a
British m.	Östergötland	St. Lars	Stångebro	Unclassified not found/not seen*	Stray find	
SHM9589	Östergötland	Unknown	Unknown	Individual form	Stray find	

CRUCIFORM BROOCHES DENMARK

Inventory no.	Province/ Region	Municipality/ Parish/County	Farm/Location	Type	Find category	Phase
C18060	Fyn	Odense	Ejlskov	Gross siemss	Stray find	Phase D1
FS B 1540	Fyn	Odense	Lundgård	Individual form	Settlement	
LAM C642	Fyn	Svendborg	St. Kjeldbjerg	Individual form	Stray find	
HM10287	Jutland	Haderslev	Enderup Skov	Individual form	Grave	
C3636	Jutland	Haderslev	Strandelhjørn	Individual form	Stray find	
ÅHM4244	Jutland	Hjørring	Gjøl bjerg	Individual form	Stray find	
C7431	Jutland	Hjørring	Gunderup	Individual form	Hoard/Cache?	
VHM11331-42	Jutland	Hjørring	Løjberg	Individual form	Grave	
C26076	Jutland	Hjørring	Store Stensingmark	Sejlfloed	Hoard/Cache?	Phase D2a
C26624	Jutland	Hjørring	Vorså	Individual form	Grave	
RAM3796	Jutland	Randers	Auning	Individual form	Grave	
C3930	Jutland	Randers	Hedelisjær mose	Bützfleht	Hoard/Cache?	
RAM675	Jutland	Randers	Kolind	Individual form	Stray find	
C16840	Jutland	Randers	Nebstrup	Individual form	Stray find	
RAM5706	Jutland	Randers	Tørring	Individual form	Grave	
C2817	Jutland	Randers	Unknown	Individual form	Hoard/Cache?	
ÅHM unnumbered	Jutland	Ribe	Bramminge	Individual form	Grave	
C4097	Jutland	Ribe	Kjærgårds mose	Individual form	Hoard/Cache?	
ASR1800	Jutland	Ribe	Læborg	Individual form	Hoard/Cache?	
C.1.avd.Ox37	Jutland	Ribe	Oxbøl	Oxbøl	Settlement	
C10207-12	Jutland	Ribe	Tude mark	Unclassifiable	Grave	Phase D2a
C10207-12	Jutland	Ribe	Tude mark	Krefeld-Gellep	Grave	Phase D2a
C10207-12	Jutland	Ribe	Tude mark	Krefeld-Gellep	Grave	Phase D2a
C16842	Jutland	Ringkøbing	Hjelmhede	Hjelmhede	Stray find	
C2771	Jutland	Ringkøbing	Holmslund	Bützfleht	Grave	
C8969	Jutland	Ringkøbing	Tangsgårds mose	Individual form	Hoard/Cache?	
RIM1496-97	Jutland	Ringkøbing?	Unknown	Individual form	Grave	
RIM1498	Jutland	Ringkøbing?	Unknown	Individual form	Grave	
MHM137	Jutland	Thisted	Erslev mose	Individual form	Stray find	
ÅHM4267	Jutland	Thisted	Vester-Torup mark	Individual form	Stray find	
C4411	Jutland	Thisted	Vestervig	Sejlfloed	Stray find	Phase D2a
C7258	Jutland	Thisted	Øster-Assels	Individual form	Stray find	
HM1004x129/g.154	Jutland	Tønder	Hjemsted	Unclassifiable	Grave	
HM1004x1438/g.1407	Jutland	Tønder	Hjemsted	Unclassifiable	Grave	
HM1004x1453/g.1409	Jutland	Tønder	Hjemsted	Unclassifiable	Grave	
HM1004x195, 196/g.125	Jutland	Tønder	Hjemsted	Individual form	Grave	
HM1004x195, 196/g.125	Jutland	Tønder	Hjemsted	Individual form	Grave	
HM1004x359/g.290	Jutland	Tønder	Hjemsted	Unclassifiable	Grave	
HM1004x389/g.315	Jutland	Tønder	Hjemsted	Unclassifiable	Grave	
HM1004:366/g.297	Jutland	Tønderslev	Hjemsted	Unclassifiable	Grave	
HM1004:373, 549- 550, 355	Jutland	Tønderslev	Hjemsted	Unclassifiable	Grave	

Inventory no.	Province/ Region	Municipality/ Parish/County	Farm/Location	Type	Find category	Phase
HM1004:377-78, 382-83/g.313	Jutland	Tønderslev	Hjemsted	Unclassifiable	Grave	
HM1004:377-78, 382-83/g.313	Jutland	Tønderslev	Hjemsted	Unclassifiable	Grave	
HM1004:97-101	Jutland	Tønderslev	Hjemsted	Gross siemss	Grave	Phase D1
C691-92	Jutland	Velje	Nykirke mark	Unclassifiable	Grave	
C691-92	Jutland	Velje	Nykirke mark	Unclassifiable	Grave	
C691-92	Jutland	Velje	Nykirke mark	Unclassifiable	Grave	
C691-92	Jutland	Velje	Nykirke mark	Unclassifiable	Grave	
C691-92	Jutland	Velje	Nykirke mark	Unclassifiable	Grave	
C691-92	Jutland	Velje	Nykirke mark	Unclassifiable	Grave	
C691-92	Jutland	Velje	Nykirke mark	Unclassifiable	Grave	
VSM6564	Jutland	Viborg	Krabbesholm mark	Individual form	Stray find	
C5411	Jutland	Viborg	Krejberg	Similar to Skogøya (/Volstad/ Eidbukten)	Hoard/Cache	Phase D2a
C6095	Jutland	Viborg	Lindum	Unclassifiable	Stray find	
C16841	Jutland	Viborg	Mammen	Lunde	Hoard/Cache	Phase D1
C25561	Jutland	Viborg	Skjern	Individual form	Hoard/Cache	
C5776	Jutland	Viborg	Sønder Andrup	Individual form	Hoard/Cache	
VSM2299-2300	Jutland	Viborg	Tørvekjær	Individual form	Stray find	
VSM2299-2300	Jutland	Viborg	Tørvekjær	Individual form	Stray find	
VSM5694	Jutland	Viborg	Unknown, Salling (Nørre) h.	Individual form	Hoard/Cache	
C5995	Jutland	Viborg	Ytrup Holmgård	Midlum	Hoard/Cache	Phase D2a
C16123-27	Jutland	Ålborg	Agerbjerggård	Unclassifiable	Grave	
C10191	Jutland	Ålborg	Farsø	Individual form	Hoard/Cache	
C12858	Jutland	Ålborg	Giver	Individual form	Hoard/Cache	
Søren Nielsen collection 271ff	Jutland	Ålborg	Katbygård	Individual form	Grave	
Søren Nielsen collection 271ff	Jutland	Ålborg	Katbygård	Individual form	Grave	
ÅHM B. 5	Jutland	Ålborg	Lillevorde	Individual form	Stray find	
ÅHM1558 LH. AA26	Jutland	Ålborg	Lindholm høje	Individual form	Grave	
ÅHM1558 LH. AA26	Jutland	Ålborg	Lindholm høje	Individual form	Grave	
ÅHM1566. LH	Jutland	Ålborg	Lindholm høje	Individual form	Grave	
C5811-17	Jutland	Ålborg	Mejlby	Individual form	Grave	Phase D1
C5811-17	Jutland	Ålborg	Mejlby	Unclassifiable	Grave	Phase D1
Hansens collection	Jutland	Ålborg	Nyrup	Unclassifiable	Hoard/Cache	
C7388	Jutland	Ålborg	Romdrup mose	Similar to Lima	Hoard/Cache	Phase D2a
ÅHM669/ DI	Jutland	Ålborg	Sejlfod	Individual form	Grave	Phase D1
ÅHM669/ DI	Jutland	Ålborg	Sejlfod	Individual form	Grave	Phase D1
ÅHM669/ DI	Jutland	Ålborg	Sejlfod	Gross siemss	Grave	Phase D1
ÅHM669/1168-1171/ DY	Jutland	Ålborg	Sejlfod	Sejlfod	Grave	Phase D2a
ÅHM669/1168-1171/ DY	Jutland	Ålborg	Sejlfod	Unclassifiable	Grave	Phase D2a
ÅHM669/1248/FM	Jutland	Ålborg	Sejlfod	Individual form	Grave	

Inventory no.	Province/ Region	Municipality/ Parish/County	Farm/Location	Type	Find category	Phase
ÅHM669/1293-94/IZ	Jutland	Ålborg	Sejlfod	Sejlfod	Grave	Phase D2a
ÅHM669/1691, 2313-14/TO	Jutland	Ålborg	Sejlfod	Individual form	Grave	
ÅHM669/2568/XM	Jutland	Ålborg	Sejlfod	Individual form	Grave	
ÅHM669/3308/HT	Jutland	Ålborg	Sejlfod	Similar to Søndre Gammelsrød	Grave	Phase D2a
ÅHM669/4434, 4581/OP	Jutland	Ålborg	Sejlfod	Individual form	Grave	Phase D2a
ÅHM669/4434, 4581/OP	Jutland	Ålborg	Sejlfod	Sejlfod	Grave	Phase D2a
ÅHM669/6416/SP	Jutland	Ålborg	Sejlfod	Individual form	Grave	
ÅHM669/6433/SM	Jutland	Ålborg	Sejlfod	Individual form	Grave	
ÅHM669/6778/AER	Jutland	Ålborg	Sejlfod	Sejlfod	Grave	Phase D2a
ÅHM669/7759/TR	Jutland	Ålborg	Sejlfod	Individual form	Grave	
ÅHM669/860, 862/DD	Jutland	Ålborg	Sejlfod	Unclassifiable	Grave	Phase D2a
ÅHM669/860, 862/DD	Jutland	Ålborg	Sejlfod	Individual form	Grave	Phase D2a
ÅHM669/878/DH	Jutland	Ålborg	Sejlfod	Individual form	Grave	
VHM201,1-2	Jutland	Ålborg	Sønderlade	Unclassifiable	Grave	Phase D1
VHM201,1-2	Jutland	Ålborg	Sønderlade	Individual form	Grave	Phase D1
VHM7656	Jutland	Ålborg	Unknown, Kaer h.	Gross siemss	Stray find	Phase D1
C25562	Jutland	Ålborg	Unknown, near Ålborg	Individual form	Stray find	
C8719	Jutland	Ålborg	Vindblæs	Similar to Mo/Skaim	Hoard/Cache	Phase D2a
C25413	Lolland	Maribo	Hardenberg moserne	Witmarsum	Hoard/Cache?	Phase D1
?	Lolland	Maribo	Tingsted	Individual form	Stray find	
C27186	Sjælland	Frederiksborg	Irgenshøj, Frederikssund	Individual form	Stray find	
C4403	Sjælland	Holbæk	Tømmerup	Individual form	Stray find	
C17845	Sjælland	Holbæk	Unknown, Ods h.?	Individual form	Stray find	
C12467	Sjælland	København	Regnemark	Individual form	Grave	
C10032-35	Sjælland	Præstø	Skørpinge	Unclassifiable	Grave	
C4806	Sjælland	Sorø	Ruhedal	Individual form	Hoard/Cache	
VHM11454	Sjælland?	Unknown	Unknown	Individual form	Stray find	
C6394	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Gross Siemss	Stray find	Phase D1
C6396	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Midlum	Stray find	Phase D2a
C7472	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Individual form	Stray find	
C7473	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Witmarsum	Stray find	Phase D1
C8314	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Individual form	Stray find	
C19909	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Individual form	Stray find	
C.MDCXVI	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown/Djursland?	Gross Siemss	Stray find	Phase D1
C.unnumbered (I)	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Unclassifiable	Stray find	
C.unnumbered (II)	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Unclassifiable	Stray find	
C.unnumbered (III)	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Individual form	Stray find	

Inventory no.	Province/ Region	Municipality/ Parish/County	Farm/Location	Type	Find category	Phase
HEM unnumbered	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Similar to Stoveland	Stray find	Phase D2a
Herluftholms collection 408	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Individual form	Stray find	
HOM110	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Midlum	Stray find	Phase D2a
RAM625 (I)	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Individual form	Stray find	
RAM625 (II)	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Individual form	Stray find	
RIM1494-95	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Individual form	Stray find	
RIM unnumbered	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Unclassifiable	Stray find	
VHM11455	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Individual form	Stray find	
ÅHM4133	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Individual form	Stray find	
ÅHM4134	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Individual form	Stray find	

RELIEF BROOCHES NORWAY

Inventory no.	Province	Municipality	Farm/Location	Type	Find category	Phase
Dalske Skole 1314	Aust-Agder	Grimstad	Vik	Ågedal master	Grave	Phase D2b
C7072-82, 7354-57	Aust-Agder	Grimstad	Vik	A-6	Grave	Phase D1
C1416/3249	Buskerud	Nes	Børtnes	Sogne group	Stray find	Phase D2b
C8154	Hedmark	Rendalen	Fonnås	Northern ridge-foot group	Hoard/Cache? / Stray find	Phase D2b
C36804	Hedmark	Ringsaker	Stein	Simple bronze group, var. B	Hoard/Cache? / Stray find	Phase D2b
B564-69	Hordaland	Bergen	Arna Indre	Sogne group	Grave	Phase D2b
B10205	Hordaland	Etne	Sørheim	B-1	Grave	Phase D2b
B6899	Hordaland	Kvam	Indre Ålvik	B-1	Grave	Phase D2b
B6899	Hordaland	Kvam	Indre Ålvik	Unclassifiable	Grave	Phase D2b
B4846, B4704	Hordaland	Lindås	Hodneland	B-1	Grave	Phase D2b
B6090	Hordaland	Os	Døsen	Rogaland group	Grave	Phase D2b
B6474	Hordaland	Voss	Hæve	B-1	Grave	Phase D2b
Å1683	Møre og Romsdal	Giske	Staurnes	Ridge-foot, main group	Grave	Phase D2a
B3267	Møre og Romsdal	Giske	Storeneset	B-1	Stray find	Phase D2b
T2805-25	Møre og Romsdal	Rauma	Hole	Ridge-foot, main group	Grave	Phase D2a
C5605	Møre og Romsdal	ukjent	ukjent	Sogne group	Stray find	Phase D2b
C8361	Nordland	Lødingen	Offersøy	Northern ridge-foot group	Grave	Phase D2b
Ts478	Nordland	Steigen	Berg	Northern plane-foot group	Grave	Phase D2b
Ts1434-40	Nordland	Steigen	Hagbartsholmen (Steigen mellom)	A-6	Grave	Phase D2a
T9822-42	Nord-Trøndelag	Inderøy	Hol	Early ridge-foot	Grave	Phase D1
T9822-42	Nord-Trøndelag	Inderøy	Hol	Equal-armed, unique	Grave	Phase D1
T9822-42	Nord-Trøndelag	Inderøy	Hol	Equal-armed, unique	Grave	Phase D1
T9822-42	Nord-Trøndelag	Inderøy	Hol	Equal-armed, unique	Grave	Phase D1
T3505	Nord-Trøndelag	Namsos	Bangsund	Northern ridge-foot group	Grave	Phase D2b
C4816-28, C4565-68	Nord-Trøndelag	Steinkjer	Dalem	Bothnian group	Grave	Phase D2b
C4816-28, C4565-68	Nord-Trøndelag	Steinkjer	Dalem	Northern ridge-foot group	Grave	Phase D2b
C4816-28, C4565-68	Nord-Trøndelag	Steinkjer	Dalem	Bothnian group	Grave	Phase D2b
C4816-28, C4565-68	Nord-Trøndelag	Steinkjer	Dalem	Bothnian group	Grave	Phase D2b
T1821	Nord-Trøndelag	Åfjord	Åfjord prestegård	Northern ridge-foot group	Hoard/Cache	Phase D2b
C12280	Oppland	Nord-Aurdal	Skrautvål	Northern ridge-foot group	Stray find	Phase D2b
C51005	Oppland	Nordre Land	Stensvold av Skøien	Rogaland group	Stray find	Phase D2b
S306-00311	Rogaland	Bjerkreim	Abeland	B-1	Grave	Phase D2b
S8607	Rogaland	Bjerkreim	Holmen	Simple bronze group	Grave	Phase D2b
S2276	Rogaland	Eigersund	Hovland	Rogaland group	Grave	Phase D2b

Inventory no.	Province	Municipality	Farm/Location	Type	Find category	Phase
S2587	Rogaland	Hjelmeland	Riskadal	B-2	Grave	Phase D1
S2547	Rogaland	Hjelmeland	Rivjaland	Three late works	Grave	Phase D2b
S2062-2066	Rogaland	Hå	Anisdal	B-1	Grave	Phase D2b
S4752	Rogaland	Hå	Husvegg	Northern ridge-foot group	Grave	Phase D2b
B4398	Rogaland	Hå	Hå prestegård	Simple bronze group	Grave	Phase D2b
S6970	Rogaland	Hå	Jorenkjøl av Skretting	Northern plane-foot group	Stray find	Phase D2b
B5362	Rogaland	Hå	Kvassheim	Three late works	Grave	Phase D2b
B5994	Rogaland	Hå	Kvassheim	B-1	Grave	Phase D2b
B5994	Rogaland	Hå	Kvassheim	B-1	Grave	Phase D2b
B4343	Rogaland	Hå	Nærbø	Simple bronze group	Grave	Phase D2b
S3741	Rogaland	Hå	Skjerpe	B-1	Grave	Phase D2b
S440	Rogaland	Hå	Torland	B-1	Grave	Phase D2b
B3045	Rogaland	Jæren	Ukjent	Rogaland group	Stray find	Phase D2b
S9269	Rogaland	Karmøy	Syre	Sogne group	Hoard/Cache	Phase D2b
S7131	Rogaland	Klepp	Erga	Unclassifiable	Grave	Phase D1
S1969	Rogaland	Klepp	Fristad	Ågedal master	Grave	Phase D2b
B2269-99	Rogaland	Klepp	Hauge	Unclassifiable	Grave	Phase D1
B2269-99	Rogaland	Klepp	Hauge	Early ridge-foot	Grave	Phase D1
B4000	Rogaland	Klepp	Hauge	Rogaland group	Grave	Phase D2b
S2451	Rogaland	Klepp	Nord-Braut	Rogaland group	Grave	Phase D2b
C4923-25	Rogaland	Klepp	Tjøtta	Simple bronze group	Grave	Phase D2b
C21407	Rogaland	Klepp	Tu	Early plane-foot	Grave	Phase D1
Unr.	Rogaland	Klepp	Vik	B-1	Stray find?	Phase D2b
S8080	Rogaland	Rennesøy	Vaula	Rogaland group	Grave	Phase D2b
C1638	Rogaland	Sandnes	Lunde	B-1	Grave	Phase D2b
S2772	Rogaland	Suldal	Vatland	B-1	Grave	Phase D2b
S9181	Rogaland	Time	Eikeland	Northern plane-foot group	Grave	Phase D2b
B1781-1784, 1877	Rogaland	Time	Garpestad	B-1	Grave	Phase D2b
B6314	Rogaland	Ukjent	Jæren	Simple bronze group	Grave	Phase D2b
S2695	Rogaland	Vindafjord	Østbø	Rogaland group	Grave	Phase D2b
B12549	Sogn og Fjordane	Gloppen	Gjemmestad	Northern plane-foot group	Stray find	Phase D2b
B6656	Sogn og Fjordane	Jølster	Sanddal	Sogne group	Grave	Phase D2b
B15903 A	Sogn og Fjordane	Leikanger	Røysum	B-2	Grave	Phase D1
B3720	Sogn og Fjordane	Luster	Sørheim	Sogne group	Stray find	Phase D2b
B6516	Sogn og Fjordane	Sogndal	Kvåle	Sogne group	Grave	Phase D2b
B6516	Sogn og Fjordane	Sogndal	Kvåle	B-1	Grave	Phase D2b
B6516	Sogn og Fjordane	Sogndal	Kvåle	B-1	Grave	Phase D2b
B13954	Sogn og Fjordane	Sogndal	Kvåle	Ridge-foot, variant	Grave	Phase D2a
B9688	Sogn og Fjordane	Sogndal	Nornes	Northern ridge-foot group	Grave	Phase D2b

Inventory no.	Province	Municipality	Farm/Location	Type	Find category	Phase
B8045	Sogn og Fjordane	Vik	Hauglum (Holum)	Sogne group	Grave	Phase D2b
B6691	Sogn og Fjordane	Vik	Hove	B-1	Grave	Phase D2b
B8830	Sogn og Fjordane	Vik	Skjervum (Skjervo)	Unique	Grave	Phase D2a
T1645	Sør-Trøndelag	Midtre Gauldal	Refset	Bothnian group	Grave	Phase D2b
T3642	Sør-Trøndelag	Trondheim	Amalienborg av Presthus	Northern plane-foot group	Stray find	Phase D2b
C26566	Telemark	Skien	Bratsberg	Ridge-foot, main group	Grave?	Phase D2a
C21856	Telemark	Skien	Falkum	Ridge-foot, main group	Grave	Phase D2a
C9440-49, C9811	Telemark	Skien	Sjøtvedt	Ridge-foot, main group	Grave	Phase D2a
Ts31-33	Troms	Kvæfjord	Hundstad	Simple bronze group	Grave	Phase D2b
Ts2587	Troms	Tranøy	Laneset	Northern plane-foot group	Grave	Phase D2b
B3410	Vest-Agder	Audnedal	Ågedal	Ågedal master	Grave	Phase D2b
B3410	Vest-Agder	Audnedal	Ågedal	B-1	Grave	Phase D2b
B3410	Vest-Agder	Audnedal	Ågedal	B-1	Grave	Phase D2b
B3410	Vest-Agder	Audnedal	Ågedal	B-1	Grave	Phase D2b
B5037	Vest-Agder	Farsund	Høiland	Plane-foot	Grave	Phase D2a
B5037	Vest-Agder	Farsund	Høiland	Plane-foot	Grave	Phase D2a
B3543	Vest-Agder	Farsund	Lunde	B-2	Grave	Phase D1
C55731	Vest-Agder	Farsund	Sande	Rogaland group	Grave	Phase D2b
C7453-62	Vest-Agder	Flekkefjord	Gyland	Ågedal master	Grave	Phase D2b
C7453-62	Vest-Agder	Flekkefjord	Gyland	Rogaland group	Grave	Phase D2b
C15274	Vest-Agder	Kvinesdal	Slimestad	Simple bronze group	Grave	Phase D2b
C13697	Vest-Agder	Lindesnes	Hægebostad	Three late works	Grave	Phase D2b
C8933-50	Vest-Agder	Mandal	Stoveland	B-2	Grave	Phase D1
Dccccxii	Vest-Agder	Marnardal	Trygsland	Plane-foot	Grave	Phase D2a
Dccccxiii	Vest-Agder	Marnardal	Trygsland	Late ridge-foot	Grave	Phase D2b
Dccccxiv	Vest-Agder	Marnardal	Trygsland	Gotlandic group	Grave	Phase D2b
C19227	Vestfold	Larvik	Berg	Bothnian group	Grave	Phase D2b
C19858	Vestfold	Larvik	Nordheim	Early ridge-foot	Grave	Phase D1
C29300	Vestfold	Larvik	Ommundrød (Amundrød)	Unique	Grave	Phase D1
C29300	Vestfold	Larvik	Ommundrød (Amundrød)	B-3	Grave	Phase D1
C11220-11236	Vestfold	Larvik	Tveitane	Ridge-foot, main group	Grave	Phase D2a
C11237	Vestfold	Larvik	Tveitane	Plane-foot	Grave	Phase D2a
C18714	Vestfold	Nøtterøy	Veierland	Rogaland group	Grave	Phase D2b
C5947-63	Vestfold	Stokke	Langlo	Plane-foot	Grave	Phase D2a
C15664	Østfold	Sarpsborg	Isesjøen	Sogne group	Grave	Phase D2b
C15665	Østfold	Sarpsborg	Isesjøen	Unique	Grave	Phase D2a
C15668	Østfold	Sarpsborg	Isesjøen	Rogaland group	Grave	Phase D2b

RELIEF BROOCHES SWEDEN

Inventory no.	Province/ Region	Municipality/ Parish	Farm/Location	Type	Find category	Phase
SHM1472	Bohuslän	Röra	Unknown/ Orust hd.	B-4/Continental	Grave	Phase D1
SHM20811	Dalarna	By	Sissbo (Folkare)	Equal-armed, variant 1	Grave	Phase D2b
SHM1209	Gästrikland	Hedesunda	Hade	Bothnian group	Grave?	Phase D2b
SHM1209	Gästrikland	Hedesunda	Hade	Bothnian group	Grave?	Phase D2b
SHM1209	Gästrikland	Hedesunda	Hade	Equal-armed, variant 1	Grave?	Phase D2b
SHM1209	Gästrikland	Hedesunda	Hade	Equal-armed, variant 1	Grave?	Phase D2b
SHM8555/31	Gotland	Anga	Trullhalsar	Ridge-foot, main group	Grave	Phase D2a
SHM1261	Gotland	Ethelhem	Ethelhem	A-5	Stray find	Phase D2a
SHMub./Bhr 1957/01a	Gotland	Grötlingbo	Barshalder/ Norrväie	A-5/A-6	Grave	Phase D2a
SHM8329	Gotland	Grötlingbo	Grötlingbo/ Unknown	Gotlandic group	Stray find	Phase D2b
GF11138	Gotland	Hemse	Hemse	A-6	Stray find	Phase D2a
GF.C.7182	Gotland	Lummelunda	Lundbjers	Ridge-foot, variant	Hoard/Cache?	Phase D2a
SHM1079	Gotland	När	Unknown	A-5	Stray find	Phase D2a
SHM7571/337	Gotland	Norlanda	Petsarve	Gotlandic group	Stray find	Phase D2b
GF1763	Gotland	Roma	Högbro	Northern ridge-foot group	Stray find	Phase D2b
SHM4392	Gotland	Sjonhem	Sojvide	Gotlandic group	Stray find	Phase D2b
SHM8492	Gotland	Tingstäde	Roses	A-5	Stray find	Phase D2a
SHM1543	Gotland	Unknown	Unknown	A-5	Stray find	Phase D2a
SHM14255	Gotland	Unknown	Unknown	Gotlandic group	Stray find	Phase D2b
SHM16390_S37	Gotland	Unknown	Unknown	A-5	Stray find	Phase D2a
British m. 1921, 11-1,217	Gotland	Unknown	Unknown	A-6	Stray find	Phase D2a
SHM14255	Gotland	Unknown	Unknown	Plane-foot	Stray find	Phase D2a
SHM5576	Gotland	Vallstena	Vallstenarum	A-5	Grave?	Phase D2a
SHM7331	Halland	Eldsberga	Tönnersa	Simple bronze group, var. B	Stray find	Phase D2b
HM87/7567A	Hälsingland	Forsa	Utnäs	Equal-armed, variant 2	Grave	Phase D2b
SHM34566/52	Hälsingland	Hälsingtuna	Björka	Northern ridge-foot group	Grave	Phase D2b
HM7562	Hälsingland	Hälsingtuna	Mo (by)	Northern ridge-foot group	Grave	Phase D2b
SHM32359/2	Hälsingland	Hälsingtuna	Ullsätter	Northern plane-foot group	Grave	Phase D2b
HM7564	Hälsingland	Högs	Lia	Equal-armed, variant 1	Stray find	Phase D2b
SHM934	Hälsingland	Jättendal	Hällan	Northern plane-foot group	Stray find	Phase D2b
SHM1774	Hälsingland	Jättendal	Hällan	Northern plane-foot group	Stray find	Phase D2b
SHM14374	Hälsingland	Tuna	Mästa	Equal-armed, variant 1	Grave	Phase D2b
JLM15700	Jämtland	Brunflo	Brunflo missionshus	Northern ridge-foot group	Grave	Phase D2b
JLM12272	Jämtland	Rödön	Häste	Northern ridge-foot group	Grave	Phase D2b
SHM12220	Medelpad	Attmar	Sörfors	Bothnian group	Grave	Phase D2b
SHM4046	Medelpad	Inndal	Bjällsta	Bothnian group	Grave	Phase D2b
SHM3445	Närke	Svennevad	Gillberga	Equal-armed, variant 1	Stray find	Phase D2b
SHM2110	Skåne	Björnekulla	Unknown	A-6	Stray find	Phase D1
LUHM30597	Skåne	Nevis	Önsvåla	Northern plane-foot group	Grave	Phase D2b
SHM4442	Skåne?	Unknown	Unknown	A-6	Stray find	Phase D1
LUHM3654-55	Skåne	Vemmenhög	Grönby	Plane-foot	Hoard/Cache?	Phase D2a
LUHM3654-55	Skåne	Vemmenhög	Grönby	Ridge-foot, main group	Hoard/Cache?	Phase D2a

Inventory no.	Province/ Region	Municipality/ Parish	Farm/Location	Type	Find category	Phase
SHM30980/24	Södermanland	Botkyrka	Älvesta	Northern ridge-foot group	Grave	Phase D2b
SHM30980/24	Södermanland	Botkyrka	Älvesta	Unclassifiable	Grave	Phase D2b
SHM31711/8	Södermanland	Huddinge	Segeltorp/ Morkullan	Gotlandic group	Grave	Phase D2b
?	Södermanland	Huddinge	Värby	Unclassifiable	Settlement/ Stray find	
SHM34492- 34493/A14	Södermanland	Sorunda	Torp	Equal-armed, variant 1	Grave	Phase D2b
SHM34492- 34493/A15	Södermanland	Sorunda	Torp	Unclassifiable	Grave	
SHM26771/A3	Södermanland	Ösmo	Älby	Gotlandic group	Grave	Phase D2b
SHM26771/A45	Södermanland	Ösmo	Älby	A-5/A-6	Grave	Phase D2a
SHM33985/A42	Södermanland	Östertälje	Karleby/ Gärtuna	Simple bronze group, var. B	Grave	Phase D2b
SHM33985/A44	Södermanland	Östertälje	Karleby/ Gärtuna	Unclassifiable	Grave	
SHM32300/157	Uppland	Lovö	Lunda	Equal-armed, variant 1	Grave	Phase D2b
SHM8284	Uppland	Malsta	Ekeby	Equal-armed, variant 1	Stray find	Phase D2b
SSM 35735/ RAÄ 106A/ A2	Uppland	Spånga	Hjulsta	Unclassifiable	Grave	
SSM Gf. 168/67	Uppland	Spånga	Kymlinge	Equal-armed, variant 1	Grave	Phase D2b
SSM RAÄ 157 A/A 68	Uppland	Spånga	Ärvinge	Unclassifiable	Grave	
SHM. dnr.3290/83	Uppland	Täby	Åkerby	Northern ridge-foot group	Stray find?	Phase D2b
SHM2564	Värmland	Järnskogs	Järnskogsboda	Late ridge-foot	Grave?	Phase D2b
SHM10162	Västergötland	Bäcks	Ymseborg	Ridge-foot, main group	Hoard/Cache	Phase D2a
SHM12518	Västergötland	Gökhem	Unknown	Simple bronze group, var. B	Stray find	Phase D2b
Skövde m. unnumbered	Västergötland	Skövdeområdet	Skövdeområdet	Equal-armed, variant 1	Stray find	Phase D2b
SHM581	Västergötland	Trollhättan	Åker	Plane-foot	Hoard/Cache?	Phase D2a
Falbygdens m.	Västergötland	Trävattna	Vadsbo	Ridge-foot, variant	Grave?	Phase D2a
VLM171121/3	Västmanland	Badelunda	Hamre	Equal-armed, variant 1	Grave	Phase D2b
VLM14547/22	Västmanland	Svedvi	Rallsta	Equal-armed, variant 2	Grave	Phase D2b
SHM25334	Västmanland	Tortuna	Nicktuna	Bothnian group	Grave	Phase D2b
SHM1297	Öland	Gräsgård	Ösby	A-5	Stray find	Phase D2a
SHM7571	Öland	Högsrum	Mossberga	A-6	Stray find	Phase D2a
Kalmar m. 2784	Öland	Unknown	Unknown	A-5	Stray find	Phase D2a
SHM16390_S43	Öland	Unknown	Unknown	A-5	Stray find	Phase D2a
SHM10737	Östergötland	Kullerstad	Kullern	Equal-armed, variant 1	Hoard/Cache	Phase D2b
RAÄ 288 m. f:F50693/94	Östergötland	Rinna	Abbetorp	Gotlandic group	Hoard/Cache	Phase D2b
SHM7864	Ångermanland	Unknown	Unknown	Northern ridge-foot group	Stray find	Phase D2b

RELIEF BROOCHES DENMARK

Inventory no.	Province/ Region	Municipality/ Parish/County	Farm/Location	Type	Find category	Phase
C4/86	Bornholm	Bornholm	Biskopenge	Gotlandic group	Stray find	Phase D2b
C1/51	Bornholm	Bornholm	Dalshøj	A-5	Hoard/Cache	Phase D2a
C2943	Bornholm	Bornholm	Melsted	Ridge-foot, variant	Grave	Phase D2a
C2943	Bornholm	Bornholm	Melsted	A-6	Grave	Phase D2a
C6-12	Bornholm	Bornholm	Møllebakken	Plane-foot	Grave	Phase D2a
C32-43	Bornholm	Bornholm	Møllebakken	A-6	Grave	Phase D2a
C32-43	Bornholm	Bornholm	Møllebakken	Equal-armed, unique	Grave	Phase D1
C32-43	Bornholm	Bornholm	Møllebakken	Ridge-foot, variant	Grave	Phase D2a
C120	Bornholm	Bornholm	Unknown	A-6	Stray find	Phase D2a
C288, 22127	Falster	Maribo	Skerne	B-3	Hoard/Cache	Phase D1
C288, 22127	Falster	Maribo	Skerne	A-6	Hoard/Cache	Phase D1
C17200	Jutland	Bording	Agerskov mose	Unclassifiable	Hoard/Cache	Phase D2a
C.DCLVIII, DCCXXXVIII	Jutland	Haderslev	Galsted	Equal-armed, unique	Hoard/Cache	Phase D1
C24138-39	Jutland	Hjørring	Klithuse / Tranum klit	Plane-foot	Hoard/Cache	Phase D2a
C8777	Jutland	N. Snede	Hundshoved	B-3	Grave	Phase D1
C5521	Jutland	Ringkøbing	Kjellers mose	Ridge-foot, main group	Hoard/Cache	Phase D2a
C1577	Jutland	Thise	Filholm mose	Ridge-foot, main group	Hoard/Cache	Phase D2a
C.df.6-9/36	Jutland	Viborg	Holmgårds mose	Equal-armed, unique	Hoard/Cache	Phase D1
C9613	Jutland	Viborg	Overhornbæk	ridge-foot, main group	Hoard/Cache	Phase D2a
C10884	Lolland	Maribo	Hardenberg	Unclassifiable	Hoard/Cache	Phase D2a
C12524	Sjælland	Bjeverskov	Gummersmark	Plane-foot	Hoard/Cache	Phase D2a
C3500	Sjælland	Ganløse	Nedelsø mose	Plane-foot	Hoard/Cache	Phase D2a
C10739	Sjælland	København	Hove Mølle/ Vedstrup	Plane-foot	Hoard/Cache?	Phase D2a
C26665-74	Sjælland	København	Tåstrupgård	B-2	Grave	Phase D1
C.df.24-109/33	Sjælland	Sorø	Høstentorp	Unclassifiable	Hoard/Cache	Phase D2a
C.df.24-109/33	Sjælland	Sorø	Høstentorp	Equal-armed, unique	Hoard/Cache	Phase D1
C.df.24-109/33	Sjælland	Sorø	Høstentorp	Unclassifiable	Hoard/Cache	Phase D2a
C21405	Sjælland (?)	Unknown	Unknown	Ridge-foot, main group	Stray find	Phase D2a
C11495	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Northern ridge-foot group	Stray find	Phase D2b
C.Boye753	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Early ridge-foot	Stray find	Phase D1
C.Boye754	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	A-6	Stray find	Phase D1
C.Boye754	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	A-6	Stray find	Phase D1

CLASPS NORWAY

Inventory no.	Province	Municipality	Farm/Location	Type	Find category	Phase
C38111	Akershus	Ski	Finstad	Spiral clasps (A1)	Grave	Phase D1
C21287	Aust-Agder	Birkenes	Skjeros	Spiral clasps (A1)	Grave	Phase D1
C29487	Aust-Agder	Evje og Hornnes	Fossvik av Rosseland	Spiral clasps (A1)	Grave	Phase D1
C29610	Aust-Agder	Evje og Hornnes	Fossvik av Rosseland	Spiral clasps (A1)	Grave	Phase D1
C34327	Aust-Agder	Evje og Hornnes	Verksmoen av Rosseland	Undecorated (B1i)	Grave	Phase D2
C30426	Aust-Agder	Froland	Mjølhus Vestre	Spiral clasps (A1)	Grave	Phase D1
C7072-82, 7354-57	Aust-Agder	Grimstad	Vik	Undecorated (B1i)	Grave	Phase D2
B564-69	Hordaland	Bergen	Arna Indre	R.268 (B1iia / B1iv a)	Grave	Phase D2
B8649	Hordaland	Bergen	Arna Ytre	R.268 (B1iia / B1iv a)	Grave	Phase D2
B7647	Hordaland	Etne	Østebø	Undecorated (B1i)	Grave	Phase D2
B7767	Hordaland	Etne	Øvstebø	Spiral clasps (A1)	Grave	Phase D1
B7767	Hordaland	Etne	Øvstebø	B1 unclassified	Grave	Phase D1
B6809	Hordaland	Kvam	Løyning under Øystese	Flat surface and Style I elements (B1v)	Grave	Phase D2
B6809	Hordaland	Kvam	Løyning under Øystese	Faceted designs (B1ii b/e / B3)	Grave	Phase D2
B7907	Hordaland	Kvinnherad	Li	R.268 (B1iia / B1iv a)	Grave	Phase D2
B4096	Hordaland	Kvinnherad	Nordhus	Flat surface and Style I elements (B1v)	Grave	Phase D2
B3731	Hordaland	Kvinnherad	Øvsthus (Ysthus)	Penannular/ Crescentic/Ring designs (B1iii / B1ii c / B6 / B2)	Grave	Phase D2
B11475	Hordaland	Lindås	Fosse indre	Spiral clasps (A1)	Grave	Phase D1
B6032: g. III	Hordaland	Os	Døsen	Undecorated (B1i)	Grave	Phase D2
B6090	Hordaland	Os	Døsen	Undecorated (B1i)	Grave	Phase D2
B6090	Hordaland	Os	Døsen	Faceted designs (B1ii b/e / B3)	Grave	Phase D2
B5208, B4291	Hordaland	Osterøy	Hartveit	Spiral motifs (B1ii d)	Grave	Phase D1
B5742	Hordaland	Osterøy	Mele/Mæle	Undecorated (B1i)	Grave	Phase D2
B8579	Hordaland	Osterøy	Mjelda øvre	Undecorated (B1i)	Grave	Phase D2
B14297	Hordaland	Stord	Hodnaland (Hornaland)	R.268 (B1iia / B1iv a)	Grave	Phase D2
B6409	Hordaland	Ullensvang	Opedal	Spiral clasps (A1)	Grave	Phase D1
B6597	Hordaland	Ullensvang	Opedal	Undecorated (B1i)	Grave	Phase D2
B6597	Hordaland	Ullensvang	Opedal	B individual	Grave	Phase D2
B9614	Hordaland	Voss	Bolstad	Punched circles/ dotted circles (B1iv c)	Grave	Phase D2
B6227	Hordaland	Voss	Byrkje/Birkje	B1 unclassified	Grave	Phase D2
B6227	Hordaland	Voss	Byrkje/Birkje	R.268 (B1iia / B1iv a)	Grave	Phase D2
B7607	Hordaland	Voss	Gjerme	Undecorated (B1i)	Grave	Phase D1
B7607	Hordaland	Voss	Gjerme	Spiral clasps (A1)	Grave	Phase D1
B7607	Hordaland	Voss	Gjerme	Spiral motifs (B1ii d)	Grave	Phase D1
B6823	Hordaland	Voss	Gjerstad	Undecorated (B1i)	Grave	Phase D2

Inventory no.	Province	Municipality	Farm/Location	Type	Find category	Phase
B9373	Hordaland	Voss	Graue Øvre (Grauo)	Undecorated (B1i)	Grave	Phase D2
B6473	Hordaland	Voss	Hæve	Undecorated (B1i)	Grave	Phase D2
B6474	Hordaland	Voss	Hæve	Undecorated (B1i)	Grave	Phase D2
B6474	Hordaland	Voss	Hæve	Flat surface and Style I elements (B1v)	Grave	Phase D2
B8791	Hordaland	Voss	Kolle	Spiral clasps (A1)	Grave	Phase D1
B7190	Hordaland	Voss	Midttun	Flat surface and Style I elements (B1v)	Grave	Phase D2
B1345-57	Hordaland	Voss	Olde	Spiral clasps (A1)	Grave	Phase D1
B1345-57	Hordaland	Voss	Olde	R.268 (B1iia / B1iv a)	Grave	Phase D1
B11623	Hordaland	Voss	Vele	Spiral clasps (A1)	Grave	Phase D1
B719-27	Møre og Romsdal	Giske	Staurnes/ Giskegjerde	R.268 (B1iia / B1iv a)	Grave	Phase D2
B719-27	Møre og Romsdal	Giske	Staurnes/ Giskegjerde	Flat surface and Style I elements (B1v)	Grave	Phase D2
B8296	Møre og Romsdal	Haram	Haram	Spiral clasps (A1)	Grave	Phase D1
B7079	Møre og Romsdal	Norddal	Veiberg	Spiral clasps (A1)	Grave	Phase D1
B7088	Møre og Romsdal	Sula	Kjellingset	Spiral clasps (A1)	Grave	Phase D1
T7532-33	Møre og Romsdal	Sunnadal	Flå	Spiral clasps (A1)	Grave?	Phase D1
Ts1738-49	Nordland	Andøy	Lovik	Spiral clasps (A1)	Grave	Phase D1
Ts2060-65	Nordland	Bø	Ramberg (på Buøya)	R.268 (B1iia / B1iv a)	Grave	Phase D2
Ts3065	Nordland	Bø	Ramberg (på Buøya)	Undecorated (B1i)	Grave	Phase D2
B780-791	Nordland	Hamarøy	Uteid	Flat surface and Style I elements (B1v)	Grave	Phase D2
Ts1434-40	Nordland	Steigen	Hagbartsholmen (Steigen mellom)	Faceted designs (B1ii b/e / B3)	Grave	Phase D2
T19624	Nord-Trøndelag	Grong	Veiem	Punched circles/ dotted circles (B1iv c)	Grave	Phase D2
T9822-42	Nord-Trøndelag	Inderøy	Hol	Spiral clasps (A1)	Grave	Phase D1
T10159-80	Nord-Trøndelag	Inderøy	Hol	Undecorated (B1i)	Grave	Phase D2
C4816-28, C4565-68	Nord-Trøndelag	Steinkjer	Dalem	Penannular/ Crescentic/Ring designs (B1iii / B1ii c / B6 / B2)	Grave	Phase D2
C4816-28, C4565-68	Nord-Trøndelag	Steinkjer	Dalem	Flat surface and Style I elements (B1v)	Grave	Phase D2
T2566-72	Nord-Trøndelag	Stjørdal	Røkke østre	Undecorated (B1i)	Grave	Phase D2
C34758	Oppland	Gran	Gamme	Penannular/ Crescentic/Ring designs (B1iii / B1ii c / B6 / B2)	Grave	Phase D2
C54668	Oppland	Nord-Fron	Stø nedre	Spiral clasps (A1)	Grave?	Phase D1
S5046	Rogaland	Bjerkreim	Slettabø	Spiral clasps (A1)	Grave	Phase D1
S2718	Rogaland	Forsand	Lyse	Spiral clasps (A1)	Grave	Phase D1
S2722	Rogaland	Forsand	Lyse	Spiral clasps (A1)	Grave	Phase D1

Inventory no.	Province	Municipality	Farm/Location	Type	Find category	Phase
S2435	Rogaland	Gjesdal	Dirdal	B1 unclassified	Grave	Phase D2
S5722	Rogaland	Gjesdal	Dirdal	Spiral clasps (A1)	Grave	Phase D1
S5853	Rogaland	Gjesdal	Edland	Spiral clasps (A1)	Grave	Phase D1
S2371	Rogaland	Hjelmeland	Mæle øvre	Spiral clasps (A1)	Grave	Phase D1
S2587	Rogaland	Hjelmeland	Riskadal	Spiral clasps (A1)	Grave	Phase D1
S2547	Rogaland	Hjelmeland	Rivjaland	Flat surface and Style I elements (B1v)	Grave	Phase D2
B4879	Rogaland	Hå	Bø	B1 unclassified	Grave	Phase D2
S.Aks. 1984/14	Rogaland	Hå	Gudmestad	Penannular/ Crescentic/Ring designs (B1iii / B1ii c / B6 / B2)	Grave	Phase D2
S5469	Rogaland	Hå	Høyland	Spiral clasps (A1)	Grave?	Phase D1
B5343	Rogaland	Hå	Kvassheim	B1 unclassified	Grave	Phase D2
B5362	Rogaland	Hå	Kvassheim	R.268 (B1iia / B1iv a)	Grave	Phase D2
B5363	Rogaland	Hå	Kvassheim	Spiral clasps (A1)	Grave	Phase D1
B5364	Rogaland	Hå	Kvassheim	B1 unclassified	Grave	Phase D2
B5368	Rogaland	Hå	Kvassheim	Undecorated (B1i)	Grave	Phase D2
B5387	Rogaland	Hå	Kvassheim	Spiral clasps (A1)	Grave	Phase D1
B5985	Rogaland	Hå	Kvassheim	Undecorated (B1i)	Grave	Phase D2
B5994	Rogaland	Hå	Kvassheim	Undecorated (B1i)	Grave	Phase D2
B5999	Rogaland	Hå	Kvassheim	Undecorated (B1i)	Grave	Phase D2
B4254	Rogaland	Hå	Obrestad	R.268 (B1iia / B1iv a)	Grave	Phase D2
C3201-02, 3292-95	Rogaland	Hå	Vigrestad	Spiral clasps (A1)	Grave	Phase D1
S927-38	Rogaland	Hå	Voll	Flat surface and Style I elements (B1v)	Grave	Phase D2
B5908	Rogaland	Karmøy	Storesund	R.268 (B1iia / B1iv a)	Grave	Phase D2
S9269	Rogaland	Karmøy	Syre	Faceted designs (B1ii b/e / B3)	Hoard/Cache	Phase D2
S7131	Rogaland	Klepp	Erga	Spiral clasps (A1)	Grave	Phase D1
B2269-99	Rogaland	Klepp	Hauge	Ring-shaped clasps (A2a)	Grave	Phase D1
S1026-31	Rogaland	Klepp	Laland	Undecorated (B1i)	Grave	Phase D2
S2451	Rogaland	Klepp	Nord-Braut	Undecorated (B1i)	Grave	Phase D2
S2451	Rogaland	Klepp	Nord-Braut	R.268 (B1iia / B1iv a)	Grave	Phase D2
S1868-79	Rogaland	Klepp	Reve	Spiral clasps (A1)	Grave	Phase D1
B2505-17	Rogaland	Klepp	Tu	Spiral clasps (A1)	Grave	Phase D1
C21407	Rogaland	Klepp	Tu	Spiral clasps (A1)	Grave	Phase D1
C3300-13	Rogaland	Klepp	Vatshus (Vasshus)	Flat surface and Style I elements (B1v)	Grave	Phase D2
B2717-18	Rogaland	Sandnes	Austvoll	Undecorated (B1i)	Grave	Phase D2
S2234	Rogaland	Sandnes	Jødestad (Riska)	Undecorated (B1i)	Grave	Phase D2
B3160	Rogaland	Sandnes	Lunde	B individual	Grave	Phase D2
S7577, S7858	Rogaland	Strand	Melberg	Type C1i	Grave	Phase D2
S2848, 5372	Rogaland	Suldal	Nærheim	Spiral clasps (A1)	Grave	Phase D1
S5538	Rogaland	Suldal	Unknown	Penannular/ Crescentic/Ring designs (B1iii / B1ii c / B6 / B2)	Unknown	Phase D2

Inventory no.	Province	Municipality	Farm/Location	Type	Find category	Phase
B5607	Rogaland	Time	Bryne	Spiral clasps (A1)	Grave	Phase D1
S9181	Rogaland	Time	Eikeland	Spiral motifs (B1ii d)	Grave	Phase D2
B1781-1784, 1877	Rogaland	Time	Garpestad	Penannular/ Crescentic/Ring designs (B1iii / B1ii c / B6 / B2)	Grave	Phase D2
S9341	Rogaland	Time	Haugland øvre	B individual	Grave	Phase D2
S9510	Rogaland	Time	Lye	Penannular/ Crescentic/Ring designs (B1iii / B1ii c / B6 / B2)	Grave	Phase D2
S4311	Rogaland	Time	Tegle	R.268 (B1iia / B1iv a)	Grave	Phase D2
B2546	Rogaland	Time	Vestly	Punched circles/ dotted circles (B1iv c)	Grave	Phase D2
S8635	Rogaland	Time	Vestly	Flat surface and Style I elements (B1v)	Grave	Phase D2
S5543	Rogaland	Unknown	Unknown	Spiral clasps (A1)	Stray find	Phase D1
B4283	Rogaland	Vindafjord	Alne	B1 unclassified	Grave	Phase D2
S2258	Rogaland	Vindafjord	Østabø	B1 unclassified	Grave	Phase D1
S2532	Rogaland	Vindafjord	Øvre Haugaland	Spiral clasps (A1)	Grave	Phase D1
S u.nr.	Rogaland?	Unknown	Unknown	Flat surface and Style I elements (B1v)	Stray find	Phase D2
B8552	Sogn og Fjordane	Aurland	Skaim	Spiral clasps (A1)	Grave	Phase D1
B8033	Sogn og Fjordane	Balestrand	Nese	Undecorated (B1i)	Grave	Phase D2
B1815	Sogn og Fjordane	Gaular	Vik (Vikja)	Punched circles/ dotted circles (B1iv c)	Grave	Phase D2
B4590	Sogn og Fjordane	Gloppen	Evebø	Undecorated (B1i)	Grave	Phase D2
B4590	Sogn og Fjordane	Gloppen	Evebø	Flat surface and Style I elements (B1v)	Grave	Phase D2
B14296	Sogn og Fjordane	Gloppen	Ryssdalen	Undecorated (B1i)	Grave	Phase D1
B14296	Sogn og Fjordane	Gloppen	Ryssdalen	Spiral clasps (A1)	Grave	Phase D1
B6037	Sogn og Fjordane	Gloppen	Sande	Spiral clasps (A1)	Grave	Phase D1
B15903 A	Sogn og Fjordane	Leikanger	Røysum	Spiral clasps (A1)	Grave	Phase D1
B3724	Sogn og Fjordane	Luster	Bolstad	Flat surface and Style I elements (B1v)	Grave	Phase D2
B6110	Sogn og Fjordane	Luster	Nygarden	Spiral clasps (A1)	Grave	Phase D1
B6071, 6092	Sogn og Fjordane	Luster	Ugulen (Ugulo)	Undecorated (B1i)	Grave	Phase D2
B6071, 6092	Sogn og Fjordane	Luster	Ugulen (Ugulo)	Flat surface and Style I elements (B1v)	Grave	Phase D2
B6109	Sogn og Fjordane	Luster	Ugulen (Ugulo)	B1 unclassified	Grave	Phase D2
B7414	Sogn og Fjordane	Sogndal	Flugheim	Undecorated (B1i)	Grave	Phase D2

Inventory no.	Province	Municipality	Farm/Location	Type	Find category	Phase
B6516	Sogn og Fjordane	Sogndal	Kvåle	Undecorated (B1i)	Grave	Phase D2
B13954	Sogn og Fjordane	Sogndal	Kvåle	Spiral clasps (A1)	Grave	Phase D1
B13954	Sogn og Fjordane	Sogndal	Kvåle	Type C2/B5	Grave	Phase D2
B9688	Sogn og Fjordane	Sogndal	Nornes	Flat surface and Style I elements (B1v)	Grave	Phase D2
B8989	Sogn og Fjordane	Stryn	Eikenes	Undecorated (B1i)	Grave	Phase D2
B8045	Sogn og Fjordane	Vik	Hauglum (Holum)	Faceted designs (B1ii b/e / B3)	Grave	Phase D2
C16893-99	Telemark	Bø	Sønstebø østre	Spiral clasps (A1)	Grave	Phase D1
C18543-45	Telemark	Kviteseid	Bjåland	B1 unclassified	Grave	Phase D2
C21648	Telemark	Nome	Lunde nedre	Spiral clasps (A1)	Grave	Phase D1
C10361-64	Telemark	Sauherad	Hem (Hæm)	Spiral clasps (A1)	Grave	Phase D1
C9440-49, C9811	Telemark	Skien	Sjøtvedt	R.268 (B1iia / B1iv a)	Grave	Phase D2
C32325	Telemark	Tokke	Koren av Håtveit	Punched circles/ dotted circles (B1iv c)	Grave	Phase D2
C32313	Telemark	Tokke	Tveiten av Haugo	Spiral clasps (A1)	Grave	Phase D1
C17661	Telemark	Vinje	Særen	Undecorated (B1i)	Grave	Phase D2
Ts4755	Troms	Harstad	Bessebostad	Spiral clasps (A1)	Grave	Phase D1
B3202?	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	B1ii unclassified	Stray find	Phase D2
C21695	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Flat surface and Style I elements (B1v)	Grave?	Phase D2
C21695	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Undecorated (B1i)	Grave?	Phase D2
B3410	Vest-Agder	Audnedal	Ågedal	Flat surface and Style I elements (B1v)	Grave	Phase D2
B3663	Vest-Agder	Audnedal	Ågedal	Faceted designs (B1ii b/e / B3)	Grave	Phase D2
C22634	Vest-Agder	Farsund	Brastad av Vanse prestegård	Penannular/ Crescentic/Ring designs (B1iii / B1ii c / B6 / B2)	Grave	Phase D2
C29861, 33980	Vest-Agder	Farsund	Helvik	Spiral clasps (A1)	Grave	Phase D1
B3203	Vest-Agder	Farsund	Lunde	Faceted designs (B1ii b/e / B3)	Grave	Phase D2
B3543	Vest-Agder	Farsund	Lunde	Faceted designs (B1ii b/e / B3)	Grave	Phase D2
B3543	Vest-Agder	Farsund	Lunde	Flat surface and Style I elements (B1v)	Grave	Phase D2
B4236	Vest-Agder	Farsund	Lunde	Spiral clasps (A1)	Grave	Phase D1
B4426	Vest-Agder	Farsund	Lunde	Unclassified	Grave	Phase D
B4234	Vest-Agder	Farsund	Lunde (Lundevågen/Sletten)	Flat surface and Style I elements (B1v)	Grave	Phase D2
B4234	Vest-Agder	Farsund	Lunde (Lundevågen/Sletten)	Undecorated (B1i)	Grave	Phase D2

Inventory no.	Province	Municipality	Farm/Location	Type	Find category	Phase
C55731	Vest-Agder	Farsund	Sande	Faceted designs (B1ii b/e / B3)	Grave	Phase D2
C55731	Vest-Agder	Farsund	Sande	Flat surface and Style I elements (B1v)	Grave	Phase D2
C22297	Vest-Agder	Farsund	Veremoen	Penannular/Crescentic/Ring designs (B1iii / B1ii c / B6 / B2)	Grave	Phase D2
C7453-62	Vest-Agder	Flekkefjord	Gyland	Flat surface and Style I elements (B1v)	Grave	Phase D2
C8713-21	Vest-Agder	Flekkefjord	Ådland	Spiral clasps (A1)	Grave	Phase D1
C28026	Vest-Agder	Hægebostad	Snartemo	Faceted designs (B1ii b/e / B3)	Grave	Phase D2
C28026	Vest-Agder	Hægebostad	Snartemo	B individual	Grave	Phase D2
C28026	Vest-Agder	Hægebostad	Snartemo	Flat surface and Style I elements (B1v)	Grave	Phase D2
C28758	Vest-Agder	Kvinesdal	Moi øvre	Undecorated (B1i)	Grave	Phase D2
B5060	Vest-Agder	Lindesnes	Gitlevåg	Type C1i	Settlement?	Phase D1
B5060	Vest-Agder	Lindesnes	Gitlevåg	Penannular/Crescentic/Ring designs (B1iii / B1ii c / B6 / B2)	Settlement?	Phase D2
C23203	Vest-Agder	Lindesnes	Hægebostad	Undecorated (B1i)	Grave	Phase D2
C18297-300	Vest-Agder	Lindesnes	Løland	Undecorated (B1i)	Grave	Phase D2
C18301-18309	Vest-Agder	Lindesnes	Løland	Flat surface and Style I elements (B1v)	Grave	Phase D2
C21650	Vest-Agder	Lyngdal	Foss ytre	Spiral clasps (A1)	Grave	Phase D1
C5708-10	Vest-Agder	Lyngdal	Lyngdal prestegård	Undecorated (B1i)	Grave	Phase D2
B4414	Vest-Agder	Lyngdal	Vemestad	Undecorated (B1i)	Grave	Phase D2
B4518	Vest-Agder	Lyngdal	Vidingstad in+D169 Kvas	Spiral clasps (A1)	Grave	Phase D1
C2646-80	Vest-Agder	Mandal	Holmegård	B1 unclassified	Grave	Phase D1
C8916-24	Vest-Agder	Mandal	Stoveland	Penannular/Crescentic/Ring designs (B1iii / B1ii c / B6 / B2)	Grave	Phase D2
C23141	Vest-Agder	Vennesla	Stallemo	Spiral clasps (A1)	Grave	Phase D1
C11603-07	Vestfold	Lardal	Skui	Spiral clasps (A1)	Grave	Phase D1
C19465	Vestfold	Lardal	Unknown	Spiral clasps (A1)	Grave	Phase D1
C18330-40	Vestfold	Larvik	Berven	Spiral clasps (A1)	Grave	Phase D1
C18347	Vestfold	Larvik	Dolven	Unclassified	Grave	Phase D?
C19235-40	Vestfold	Larvik	Eidsten	Spiral clasps (A1)	Grave	Phase D1
C10322-30	Vestfold	Larvik	Foldvik	Undecorated (B1i)	Grave	Phase D2
C20164	Vestfold	Larvik	Gjone	Spiral clasps (A1)	Grave	Phase D1
C20165	Vestfold	Larvik	Gjone	Spiral clasps (A1)	Grave	Phase D1
C16391-94	Vestfold	Larvik	Grønneberg	Spiral clasps (A1)	Grave	Phase D1
C29300	Vestfold	Larvik	Ommundrød (Amundrød)	Type C1i	Grave	Phase D2

Inventory no.	Province	Municipality	Farm/Location	Type	Find category	Phase
C29300	Vestfold	Larvik	Ommundrød (Amundrød)	Penannular/Crescentic/Ring designs (B1iii / B1ii c / B6 / B2)	Grave	Phase D2
C29300	Vestfold	Larvik	Ommundrød (Amundrød)	Undecorated (B1i)	Grave	Phase D2
C13206-11	Vestfold	Larvik	Ringdal	Spiral clasps (A1)	Grave	Phase D1
C55054	Vestfold	Larvik	Ringdal	Spiral clasps (A1)	Grave	Phase D1
C14338-50	Vestfold	Larvik	Roligheten	Spiral clasps (A1)	Grave	Phase D1
C14338-50	Vestfold	Larvik	Roligheten	Undecorated (B1i)	Grave	Phase D1
C18892-18904	Vestfold	Larvik	Skåra/Skreia	Faceted designs (B1ii b/e / B3)	Grave	Phase D2
C18892-18904	Vestfold	Larvik	Skåra/Skreia	Undecorated (B1i)	Grave	Phase D2
C11220-11236	Vestfold	Larvik	Tveitane	Penannular/Crescentic/Ring designs (B1iii / B1ii c / B6 / B2)	Grave	Phase D2
C11220-11236	Vestfold	Larvik	Tveitane	Undecorated (B1i)	Grave	Phase D2
C30166	Vestfold	Re	Linnestad	Domed buttons (B1vi)	Grave	Phase D2
C29263	Vestfold	Sande	Ås østre	Undecorated (B1i)	Grave	Phase D1
C7399-7412	Vestfold	Sandefjord	Fevang Nordre	Faceted designs (B1ii b/e / B3)	Grave	Phase D2
C22475	Vestfold	Stokke	Gjerla	Undecorated (B1i)	Grave	Phase D2
C11621-29	Vestfold	Tønsberg	Lasken av Jarlsberg hovedgård	Undecorated (B1i)	Grave	Phase D2
C11621-29	Vestfold	Tønsberg	Lasken av Jarlsberg hovedgård	R.268 (B1iia / B1iv a)	Grave	Phase D2
C9999-010000	Østfold	Fredrikstad	Rostad nordre	Undecorated (B1i)	Grave	Phase D2
C15596-98	Østfold	Rakkestad	Østby	R.268 (B1iia / B1iv a)	Grave	Phase D2
C15658-59	Østfold	Sarpsborg	Leikvoll av Tune store	Undecorated (B1i)	Grave	Phase D2
C15658-59	Østfold	Sarpsborg	Leikvoll av Tune store	B1 unclassified	Grave	Phase D2
C15658-59	Østfold	Sarpsborg	Leikvoll av Tune store	Penannular/Crescentic/Ring designs (B1iii / B1ii c / B6 / B2)	Grave	Phase D2
C31072	Østfold	Sarpsborg	Opstad Nordre	Undecorated (B1i)	Grave	Phase D2
C31072	Østfold	Sarpsborg	Opstad Nordre	B1 unclassified	Grave	Phase D2
C31074	Østfold	Sarpsborg	Opstad Nordre	Faceted designs (B1ii b/e / B3)	Grave	Phase D1
C21516	Østfold	Sarpsborg	Store-Dal	Undecorated (B1i)	Grave	Phase D2
C21537	Østfold	Sarpsborg	Store-Dal	B1 unclassified	Grave	Phase D2
C21583	Østfold	Sarpsborg	Store-Dal	Spiral clasps (A1)	Grave	Phase D1
C15727-30	Østfold	Sarpsborg	Tingvoll av Tune store	Penannular/Crescentic/Ring designs (B1iii / B1ii c / B6 / B2)	Grave	Phase D2

CLASPS SWEDEN

Inventory no.	Province/ Region	Municipality/ Parish	Farm/Location	Type	Find category	Phase
GAM48392/1	Bohuslän	Göteborg	Stängselgatan	Undecorated (B1i)	Unknown	Phase D2
GAM?	Bohuslän	Göteborg	Tolered	Undecorated (B1i)	Grave	Phase D2
Uddevalla m.	Bohuslän	Hjärtum	Hjärtums Skee	B1 unclassified	Grave	Phase D2
GAM47756-47759	Bohuslän	Hjärtum	Högen	B1 unclassified	Grave	Phase D2
SHM7678/119	Bohuslän	Kville	Humlekärr	Undecorated (B1i)	Grave	Phase D2
SHM7678/117	Bohuslän	Lyse	Fiskebäcksvik under Humlekärr	Undecorated (B1i)	Grave	Phase D2
SHM15718	Bohuslän	Naverstad	Säm/Trallskog	Undecorated (B1i)	Grave	Phase D2
SHM15718/1	Bohuslän	Naverstad	Säms udde	Flat surface and Style I elements (B1v)	Grave	Phase D2
SHM1472	Bohuslän	Röra	Unknown/Orust hd.	Spiral clasps (A1)	Grave	Phase D1
RAÅ Fl. 152-153	Bohuslän	Skee	Bäleröd	B1 unclassified	Grave	Phase D2
SHM15058	Bohuslän	Stenkyrka	Tolleby	Undecorated (B1i)	Grave	Phase D2
SHM12318	Bohuslän	Tanum	Gissleröd	Undecorated (B1i)	Grave	Phase D2
SHM26611/6/28912	Bohuslän	Ödsmål	Rinnela	Undecorated (B1i)	Grave	Phase D2
SHM26611/9	Bohuslän	Ödsmål	Rinnela	Undecorated (B1i)	Grave	Phase D2
SHM15468/4	Dalarna	By	Fornby	Undecorated (B1i)	Grave	Phase D2
SHM20811	Dalarna	By	Sissbo (Folkare)	Flat surface and Style I elements (B1v)	Grave	Phase D2
SHM20470	Dalarna	Hedemora	Hjulbacka/Västerby	Domed buttons (B1vi)	Grave	Phase D2
SHM30585/3	Dalsland	Steneby	Relen	B1 unclassified	Grave	Phase D2
SHM7378	Dalsland	Ånimskog	Hult	Penannular/ Crescentic/Ring designs (B1iii / B1ii c / B6 / B2)	Grave? (Hoard/ Cache?)	Phase D2
SHM7378	Dalsland	Ånimskog	Hult	Flat surface and Style I elements (B1v)	Grave? (Hoard/ Cache?)	Phase D2
SHM22776	Gästrikland	Hille	Södra Åbyggeby	Domed buttons (B1vi)	Grave	Phase D2
SHM22776	Gästrikland	Hille	Södra Åbyggeby	B1 unclassified	Grave	Phase D2
SHM18334	Gästrikland	Torsåker	Väster Hästbo	Flat surface and Style I elements (B1v)	Grave?	Phase D2
SHM18334	Gästrikland	Torsåker	Väster Hästbo	Domed buttons (B1vi)	Grave?	Phase D2
SHM21391	Gotland	Bro	Bro	Undecorated (B1i)	Grave	Phase D2
GF9080/204	Gotland	Dalhem	Dune	B1 unclassified	Grave?	Phase D2
SHM8409	Gotland	Dalhem	Nygårds	C individual	Stray find	Phase D2
SHM8191/19	Gotland	Eksta	Eivide (?)	Domed buttons (B1vi)	Stray find	Phase D2
SHM8647/1	Gotland	Eksta	Stora Karlsö	B1 unclassified	Grave	Phase D2
SHM8647/25	Gotland	Eksta	Stora Karlsö	Undecorated (B1i)	Grave	Phase D2
SHM8647/25	Gotland	Eksta	Stora Karlsö	B individual	Grave	Phase D2
SHM8647/45	Gotland	Eksta	Stora Karlsö	Undecorated (B1i)	Grave	Phase D2
SHM22359	Gotland	Fide	Käldåker/ Barshalder	Undecorated (B1i)	Grave	Phase D2
SHM16693/4	Gotland	Fide	Österby/Barshalder	Undecorated (B1i)	Grave	Phase D2
SHM8793	Gotland	Fole	Öster-Ryftes	Undecorated (B1i)	Hoard/Cache	Phase D2
SHM21781	Gotland	Gammelgarn	Rommunds	Undecorated (B1i)	Grave	Phase D2

Inventory no.	Province/ Region	Municipality/ Parish	Farm/Location	Type	Find category	Phase
SHM19535&32260A	Gotland	Grötlingbo	Barsaldershed	Undecorated (B1i)	Grave	Phase D2
SHM19766/80	Gotland	Grötlingbo	Barsaldershed	Undecorated (B1i)	Grave	Phase D2
SHM7581/23	Gotland	Grötlingbo	Barsaldershed	Undecorated (B1i)	Grave	Phase D2
SHM7581/34	Gotland	Grötlingbo	Barsaldershed	Undecorated (B1i)	Grave	Phase D2
SHM19535/d	Gotland	Grötlingbo	Barshalder	Undecorated (B1i)	Grave	Phase D2
SHM?	Gotland	Grötlingbo	Barshalder/Roes	B individual	Grave	Phase D2
SHM?	Gotland	Grötlingbo	Barshalder/Roes	Undecorated (B1i)	Grave	Phase D2
SHM?	Gotland	Grötlingbo	Barshalder/Roes	Undecorated (B1i)	Grave	Phase D2
GF9582/2	Gotland	Grötlingbo	Barshaldershed	Undecorated (B1i)	Grave	Phase D2
GF10176/1	Gotland	Grötlingbo	Roes/Barshalder	Undecorated (B1i)	Grave	Phase D2
U.nr.	Gotland	Grötlingbo	Rojrhage/ Barshalder	Undecorated (B1i)	Grave (/Stray find?)	Phase D2
SHM32623/18b	Gotland	Grötlingbo	Uddvide/Rojrhage/ Barshalder	Undecorated (B1i)	Grave	Phase D1
SHM32623/18b	Gotland	Grötlingbo	Uddvide/Rojrhage/ Barshalder	Spiral clasps (A1)	Grave	Phase D1
SHM32623/7a/63-67	Gotland	Grötlingbo	Uddvide/Rojrhage/ Barshalder	Domed buttons (B1vi)	Grave	Phase D2
SHM15608	Gotland	Grötlingbo	Unknown	Undecorated (B1i)	Stray find	Phase D2
SHM7785/76	Gotland	Hablingbo	Havor	Undecorated (B1i)	Grave	Phase D2
SHM7785/95	Gotland	Hablingbo	Havor	B1 unclassified	Grave	Phase D2
SHM8064/116	Gotland	Hablingbo	Havor	B1 unclassified	Grave	Phase D2
SHM8064/149	Gotland	Hablingbo	Havor	B1 unclassified	Grave	Phase D2
SHM8064/158c	Gotland	Hablingbo	Havor	Undecorated (B1i)	Grave	Phase D2
SHM8064/171	Gotland	Hablingbo	Havor	Undecorated (B1i)	Grave	Phase D2
SHM8064/185	Gotland	Hablingbo	Havor	Domed buttons (B1vi)	Grave	Phase D2
SHM8603/6	Gotland	Hablingbo	Unknown	Undecorated (B1i)	Grave	Phase D2
GF	Gotland	Halla	Broa	Domed buttons (B1vi)	Unknown	Phase D2
SHM10298/153	Gotland	Hejnum	Bjärs	B1 unclassified	Grave	Phase D2
SHM20826/289	Gotland	Hellvi	Ihre	Undecorated (B1i)	Grave	Phase D2
SHM26344	Gotland	Lau	Bjärges	Undecorated (B1i)	Grave	Phase D2
SHM18703/31	Gotland	Lau	Lilla Bjärges	Undecorated (B1i)	Grave	Phase D2
SHM18703/32	Gotland	Lau	Lilla Bjärges	Undecorated (B1i)	Grave	Phase D2
SHM18703/34	Gotland	Lau	Lilla Bjärges	Undecorated (B1i)	Grave	Phase D2
SHM18703/40	Gotland	Lau	Lilla Bjärges	B individual	Grave	Phase D2
SHM11743/1	Gotland	Linde	Kälder	Undecorated (B1i)	Grave	Phase D2
SHM11743/11	Gotland	Linde	Kälder	Undecorated (B1i)	Grave	Phase D2
SHM11743/3	Gotland	Linde	Kälder	Undecorated (B1i)	Grave	Phase D2
SHM11743/9	Gotland	Linde	Kälder	Undecorated (B1i)	Grave	Phase D2
SHM25386	Gotland	Linde	Salands	Undecorated (B1i)	Grave	Phase D2
SHM25386	Gotland	Linde	Salands	R.268 (B1iia / B1iv a)	Grave	Phase D2
SHM20163/102	Gotland	Lummelunda	Etebols	Undecorated (B1i)	Grave	Phase D2
SHM7805	Gotland	Sanda	Sandgårda	Undecorated (B1i)	Grave	Phase D2
SHM26707 (12/57)	Gotland	Sjonhem	Sojvide	Undecorated (B1i)	Grave	Phase D2
SHM26707 (7/57)	Gotland	Sjonhem	Sojvide	Undecorated (B1i)	Grave	Phase D2
SHM11902/3	Gotland	Stånga	Unknown	Domed buttons (B1vi)	Stray find	Phase D2

Inventory no.	Province/ Region	Municipality/ Parish	Farm/Location	Type	Find category	Phase
SHM10658/10	Gotland	Unknown	Unknown	Flat surface and Style I elements (B1v)	Stray find	Phase D2
SHM2976	Gotland	Unknown	Unknown	Flat surface and Style I elements (B1v)	Stray find	Phase D2
SHM5130	Gotland	Vallstena	Gudings	Undecorated (B1i)	Grave?	Phase D2
SHM6595/17	Gotland	Vallstena	Vallstenarum	B1 unclassified	Grave	Phase D2
SHM6596/9	Gotland	Vallstena	Vallstenarum	Undecorated (B1i)	Grave	Phase D2
SHM11351/9	Gotland	Väskinde	Brucebo	Domed buttons (B1vi)	Grave	Phase D2
SHM7570/33	Gotland	Västkinde	Bläsnungs	Undecorated (B1i)	Grave	Phase D2
SHM19056/2/3	Gotland	Visby	Hästnäs	Undecorated (B1i)	Grave	Phase D2
SHM29500/3/IV	Hälsingland	Forsa	Hillsta	Undecorated (B1i)	Grave	Phase D2
Umeå fl. 71/F34	Hälsingland	Forsa	Trogsta	Penannular/ Crescentic/Ring designs (B1iii / B1ii c / B6 / B2)	Settlement	Phase D2
HM7555	Hälsingland	Gnarp	Bosta	Penannular/ Crescentic/Ring designs (B1iii / B1ii c / B6 / B2)	Grave	Phase D2
SHM22142/4	Hälsingland	Hassela	Prästharn, Kyrkbyn	Flat surface and Style I elements (B1v)	Grave	Phase D2
SHM34566/50, brannlag a	Hälsingland	Hälsingtuna	Björka	Undecorated (B1i)	Grave	Phase D2
SHM34566/50, brannlag b	Hälsingland	Hälsingtuna	Björka	B1 unclassified	Grave	Phase D2
SHM34566/52	Hälsingland	Hälsingtuna	Björka	Flat surface and Style I elements (B1v)	Grave	Phase D2
SHM32364/2	Hälsingland	Hälsingtuna	Halstaåsen	Undecorated (B1i)	Grave	Phase D2
SHM32364/3	Hälsingland	Hälsingtuna	Halstaåsen	Undecorated (B1i)	Grave	Phase D2
HM7562	Hälsingland	Hälsingtuna	Mo (by)	Undecorated (B1i)	Grave	Phase D2
SHM32359/2	Hälsingland	Hälsingtuna	Ullsätter	Spiral motifs (B1ii d)	Grave	Phase D2
SHM26520/6	Hälsingland	Norråla	Borg	Norråla type (B1iv b)	Grave	Phase D2
JLM9048	Jämtland	Brunflo	Petterskotet/ Pettersbrottet	Undecorated (B1i)	Grave	Phase D2
JLM15700	Jämtland	Brunflo	Brunflo missionshus	B individual	Grave	Phase D2
JLM9044	Jämtland	Lit	Söre	Penannular/ Crescentic/Ring designs (B1iii / B1ii c / B6 / B2)	Grave	Phase D2
JLM9047	Jämtland	Lockne	Nordanberg	Norråla type (B1iv b)	Grave	Phase D2
SHM22492/6	Medelpad	Alnö	Hovid	Undecorated (B1i)	Grave	Phase D2
SHM10726/1	Medelpad	Indal	Kvarndalen	Flat surface and Style I elements (B1v)	Grave	Phase D2
SHM14276	Medelpad	Njurunda	Gomaj	Flat surface and Style I elements (B1v)	Grave	Phase D2
SHM25337/6	Medelpad	Njurunda	Skottsund	Penannular/ Crescentic/Ring designs (B1iii / B1ii c / B6 / B2)	Grave	Phase D1
Sundsvall m.	Medelpad	Selånger	Högom	Spiral motifs (B1ii d)	Grave	Phase D2

Inventory no.	Province/ Region	Municipality/ Parish	Farm/Location	Type	Find category	Phase
Sundsvall m.	Medelpad	Selånger	Högom	Punched circles/ dotted circles (B1iv c)	Grave	Phase D2
Sundsvall m.	Medelpad	Selånger	Högom	Domed buttons (B1vi)	Grave	Phase D2
Sundsvall m.	Medelpad	Selånger	Högom	Penannular/ Crescentic/Ring designs (B1iii / B1ii c / B6 / B2)	Grave	Phase D2
SHM30613/1	Medelpad	Skön	Tunaby	Undecorated (B1i)	Grave	Phase D2
Länsmuseet Murberget	Medelpad	Stöde	Skjulsta	R.268 (B1iia / B1iv a)	Grave	Phase D2
SHM18143	Medelpad	Sundsvall	Sidsjö	Punched circles/ dotted circles (B1iv c)	Grave	Phase D2
SHM25518/II	Medelpad	Timrå	Skyttberg/ Prästbolet	Spiral motifs (B1ii d)	Grave	Phase D2
SHM25518/II	Medelpad	Timrå	Skyttberg/ Prästbolet	Undecorated (B1i)	Grave	Phase D2
SHM20438/4	Medelpad	Torp	Rombäck	Punched circles/ dotted circles (B1iv c)	Grave	Phase D2
SHM10940/2	Medelpad	Tuna	Rude	Undecorated (B1i)	Grave	Phase D2
SHM10940/21	Medelpad	Tuna	Vattjom	Undecorated (B1i)	Grave	Phase D2
SHM13934	Närke	Edsberg	Logsjö	Flat surface and Style I elements (B1v)	Grave	Phase D2
LUHM22916	Skåne	Bjåresjö	Ruuthsbo	Undecorated (B1i)	Grave	Phase D2
SHM21058	Skåne	Häglinge	Göingeholm	Spiral clasps (A1)	Hoard/Cache	Phase D1
SHM2437	Skåne	Häglinge	Sjörup	Penannular/ Crescentic/Ring designs (B1iii / B1ii c / B6 / B2)	Hoard/Cache	Phase D2
SHM13643/5	Småland	Annerstad	Norret	Spiral clasps (A1)	Grave	Phase D1
SHM30586/71	Södermanland	Botkyrka	Alby	B1 unclassified	Grave	Phase D2
SHM30624/17	Södermanland	Botkyrka	Alby	Undecorated (B1i)	Grave	Phase D2
SHM30980/24	Södermanland	Botkyrka	Älvesta	Domed buttons (B1vi)	Grave	Phase D2
SHM30980/A35	Södermanland	Botkyrka	Älvesta	Spiral motifs (B1ii d)	Grave	Phase D2
SHM31097/10	Södermanland	Botkyrka	Skäcklinge	Spiral motifs (B1ii d)	Grave	Phase D2
SHM31097/10	Södermanland	Botkyrka	Skäcklinge	Flat surface and Style I elements (B1v)	Grave	Phase D2
SHM31097/9	Södermanland	Botkyrka	Skäcklinge	B1 unclassified	Grave	Phase D2
SHM30982/2	Södermanland	Botkyrka	Slagsta	B1 unclassified	Grave	Phase D2
SSM53905-99/A2	Södermanland	Brännkyrka	Årsta	B1 unclassified	Grave	Phase D2
SSM53905-99, 54500-530 / RAÄ 73+75/A17	Södermanland	Brännkyrka	Årsta/Enskede	Spiral motifs (B1ii d)	Grave	Phase D2
SSM53905-99, 54500-530 / RAÄ 73+75/A23	Södermanland	Brännkyrka	Årsta/Enskede	Spiral motifs (B1ii d)	Grave	Phase D2
SHM31309/6	Södermanland	Eskilstuna stad	Vallbyhem	Spiral motifs (B1ii d)	Grave	Phase D2
SHM26986/27	Södermanland	Grödinge	Uppinge	Undecorated (B1i)	Grave	Phase D2
RAÄ fl. 106/A3	Södermanland	Huddinge	Flemingsberg	Undecorated (B1i)	Grave	Phase D2
RAÄ fl. 98/A5	Södermanland	Huddinge	Flemingsberg	Flat surface and Style I elements (B1v)	Grave	Phase D2

Inventory no.	Province/ Region	Municipality/ Parish	Farm/Location	Type	Find category	Phase
SHM31711/8	Södermanland	Huddinge	Segelorp/ Morkullan	Domed buttons (B1vi)	Grave	Phase D2
RAÄ 34/A17	Södermanland	Huddinge	Skärholmen	Undecorated (B1i)	Grave	Phase D2
SSM/RAÄ35/A5	Södermanland	Huddinge	Skärholmen	B1 unclassified	Grave	Phase D2
SSM/RAÄ35/A6	Södermanland	Huddinge	Skärholmen	B1 unclassified	Grave	Phase D2
SSM38428-477/A36	Södermanland	Huddinge	Skärholmen	B1 unclassified	Grave	Phase D2
SHM fl. 136 H/31	Södermanland	Huddinge	Värberg	Domed buttons (B1vi)	Grave	Phase D2
SHM FL. 136 H/A1	Södermanland	Huddinge	Värberg	Flat surface and Style I elements (B1v)	Grave	Phase D2
SHM Fl. 136 H/A5	Södermanland	Huddinge	Värberg	Flat surface and Style I elements (B1v)	Grave	Phase D2
SHM Fl. 136 H/A7	Södermanland	Huddinge	Värberg	Flat surface and Style I elements (B1v)	Grave	Phase D2
SHM Fl. 4/ A5	Södermanland	Huddinge	Värberg	Spiral motifs (B1ii d)	Grave	Phase D2
SHM Fl. 4/ A9	Södermanland	Huddinge	Värberg	Undecorated (B1i)	Grave	Phase D2
SSM Fl. 34/ A17	Södermanland	Huddinge	Värberg	Undecorated (B1i)	Grave	Phase D2
SSM Fl. 34/ A36	Södermanland	Huddinge	Värberg	Spiral motifs (B1ii d)	Grave	Phase D2
SSM Fl. 35/ A6	Södermanland	Huddinge	Värberg	Spiral motifs (B1ii d)	Grave	Phase D2
SSM Fl. 35B/ A5	Södermanland	Huddinge	Värberg	Undecorated (B1i)	Grave	Phase D2
SHM20771	Södermanland	Jäders	Jäders kyrka	Spiral motifs (B1ii d)	Grave?	Phase D2
SHM34492-34493/ A14	Södermanland	Sorunda	Torp	Domed buttons (B1vi)	Grave	Phase D2
SHM34492-34493/ A14	Södermanland	Sorunda	Torp	Flat surface and Style I elements (B1v)	Grave	Phase D2
SHM31282	Södermanland	Toresund	Salby	Spiral motifs (B1ii d)	Grave	Phase D2
SHM31282	Södermanland	Toresund	Salby	Domed buttons (B1vi)	Grave	Phase D2
RAÄ Fl.100/A1. F15	Södermanland	Torshälla	Brunnsta	Undecorated (B1i)	Grave	Phase D2
SHM31574/18	Södermanland	Torshälla	Folkesta	Undecorated (B1i)	Grave	Phase D2
Lamm's archives	Södermanland	Unknown	Unknown	Domed buttons (B1vi)	Stray find	Phase D2
SHM u.nr.	Södermanland	Unknown	Unknown	Domed buttons (B1vi)	Stray find	Phase D2
SHM26284/47	Södermanland	Ösmo	Älby	Undecorated (B1i)	Grave	Phase D2
SHM26303/3/59	Södermanland	Ösmo	Nibble	Undecorated (B1i)	Grave	Phase D2
RAÄ Fl. 212-213/ A18	Södermanland	Ösmo	Vansta	B1 unclassified	Grave	Phase D2
SHM Fl. 23 H/A16	Södermanland	Österjälje	Igelsta	Flat surface and Style I elements (B1v)	Grave	Phase D2
SHM33000/4	Södermanland	Östertälje	Igelsta	Undecorated (B1i)	Grave	Phase D2
SHMFl. 23, A25 F95	Södermanland	Östertälje	Igelsta	Undecorated (B1i)	Grave	Phase D2
SHM33985/A42	Södermanland	Östertälje	Karleby/Gärtuna	Flat surface and Style I elements (B1v)	Grave	Phase D2
SHM33985/A44	Södermanland	Östertälje	Karleby/Gärtuna	Undecorated (B1i)	Grave	Phase D2
SHM33985/A93	Södermanland	Östertälje	Karleby/Gärtuna	Undecorated (B1i)	Grave	Phase D2
SHM20061/XII	Uppland	Alsike	Tuna	Undecorated (B1i)	Grave	Phase D2
SHM9404	Uppland	Alsike	Tuna	Flat surface and Style I elements (B1v)	Grave	Phase D2
SHM22463	Uppland	Altuna	Fröslunda	Penannular/ Crescentic/Ring designs (B1iii / B1ii c / B6 / B2)	Grave	Phase D2

Inventory no.	Province/ Region	Municipality/ Parish	Farm/Location	Type	Find category	Phase
SHM31291/4	Uppland	Danderyd	Mörby	Domed buttons (B1vi)	Grave	Phase D2
SHM31291/4	Uppland	Danderyd	Mörby	Undecorated (B1i)	Grave	Phase D2
SHM31291/7	Uppland	Danderyd	Mörby	Undecorated (B1i)	Grave	Phase D2
RAÄ Fl. 100 A47	Uppland	Danmark	Danmarksby	B individual	Grave	Phase D2
RAÄ Fl. 100 A47	Uppland	Danmark	Danmarksby	Domed buttons (B1vi)	Grave	Phase D2
RAÄ Fl. 100/A17	Uppland	Danmark	Danmarksby	Spiral motifs (B1ii d)	Grave	Phase D2
RAÄ Fl. 100/A46/ F26	Uppland	Danmark	Danmarksby	Undecorated (B1i)	Grave	Phase D2
RAÄ Fl. 100/A7	Uppland	Danmark	Danmarksby	Spiral motifs (B1ii d)	Grave	Phase D2
UUM3174	Uppland	Ekeby	Västra Ovanby	Flat surface and Style I elements (B1v)	Hoard/ Cache?	Phase D2
SHM26481	Uppland	Ekerö	Helgö	Flat surface and Style I elements (B1v)	Grave? (/ Stray find)	Phase D2
SHM26481?	Uppland	Ekerö	Helgö	Undecorated (B1i)	Grave	Phase D2
SSM18109	Uppland	Ekerö	Träkvista	Domed buttons (B1vi)	Grave	Phase D2
SHM25990/12	Uppland	Ekerö	Väsby	Undecorated (B1i)	Grave	Phase D2
SHM25990/17	Uppland	Ekerö	Väsby	Undecorated (B1i)	Grave	Phase D2
SHM25990/21	Uppland	Ekerö	Väsby	Spiral motifs (B1ii d)	Grave	Phase D2
SHM25990/21	Uppland	Ekerö	Väsby	Domed buttons (B1vi)	Grave	Phase D2
SHM Dnr. 3988/79 / RAÄ 106/A3	Uppland	Fresta	Grimstaby	Undecorated (B1i)	Grave	Phase D2
SHM Dnr. 3988/79 / RAÄ 106/A33	Uppland	Fresta	Grimstaby	Penannular/ Crescentic/Ring designs (B1iii / B1ii c / B6 / B2)	Grave	Phase D2
SHM Dnr. 3988/79 / RAÄ 106/A42	Uppland	Fresta	Grimstaby	Spiral motifs (B1ii d)	Grave	Phase D2
SHM Dnr. 3988/79 / RAÄ 106/A8	Uppland	Fresta	Grimstaby	Undecorated (B1i)	Grave	Phase D2
SHM34440?/ Dnr. 3988/79 G. 114	Uppland	Fresta	Grimstaby	Undecorated (B1i)	Grave	Phase D2
SHM34440?/ Dnr. 3988/79 F170	Uppland	Fresta	Grimstaby	Undecorated (B1i)	Grave (/Stray find?)	Phase D2
RAÄ Fl. 213+219/A3	Uppland	Gamla Uppsala	Storvreta/Ekeby	Undecorated (B1i)	Grave	Phase D2
SHM26843/1	Uppland	Hammarby	Hammarby	Undecorated (B1i)	Grave	Phase D2
RAÄ Fl. 125-126/ A10	Uppland	Hammarby	Skälby	Undecorated (B1i)	Grave	Phase D2
SHM33365/3	Uppland	Hammarby	Smedby	Undecorated (B1i)	Grave	Phase D2
SHM27028/1	Uppland	Husby- Ärlinghundra	Ekilla	Undecorated (B1i)	Grave	Phase D2
SHM27028/8	Uppland	Husby- Ärlinghundra	Ekilla	Flat surface and Style I elements (B1v)	Grave	Phase D2
SHM27253/503	Uppland	Järfälla	Barsbro	Penannular/ Crescentic/Ring designs (B1iii / B1ii c / B6 / B2)	Grave	Phase D2
SHM26024/12	Uppland	Järfälla	Igelbäcken	Flat surface and Style I elements (B1v)	Grave	Phase D2
SHM26024/12	Uppland	Järfälla	Igelbäcken	Domed buttons (B1vi)	Grave	Phase D2

Inventory no.	Province/ Region	Municipality/ Parish	Farm/Location	Type	Find category	Phase
UUM6000	Uppland	Läby	Västerby	Penannular/ Crescentic/Ring designs (B1iii / B1ii c / B6 / B2)	Grave	Phase D2
SHM30042/21	Uppland	Lillkyrka	Mösa	Undecorated (B1i)	Grave	Phase D2
SHM29401/1	Uppland	Lövö	Viken	Domed buttons (B1vi)	Grave	Phase D2
SHM29401/2	Uppland	Lövö	Viken	Spiral motifs (B1ii d)	Grave	Phase D2
SHM29401/2	Uppland	Lövö	Viken	Undecorated (B1i)	Grave	Phase D2
SHM29401/2	Uppland	Lövö	Viken	Penannular/ Crescentic/Ring designs (B1iii / B1ii c / B6 / B2)	Grave	Phase D2
SHM29401/3	Uppland	Lövö	Viken	Undecorated (B1i)	Grave	Phase D2
SHM29401/3	Uppland	Lövö	Viken	Penannular/ Crescentic/Ring designs (B1iii / B1ii c / B6 / B2)	Grave	Phase D2
SHM29401/3	Uppland	Lövö	Viken	Domed buttons (B1vi)	Grave	Phase D2
SHM32300/148	Uppland	Lövö	Lunda	Punched circles/ dotted circles (B1iv c)	Grave	Phase D1
SHM32300/157	Uppland	Lövö	Lunda	Domed buttons (B1vi)	Grave	Phase D2
SHM27865/10	Uppland	Skepptuna	Ljusdal	Undecorated (B1i)	Grave	Phase D2
SHM27865/14	Uppland	Skepptuna	Ljusdal	Undecorated (B1i)	Grave	Phase D2
SSM18476/20	Uppland	Sollentuna	Edsberg	B1 unclassified	Grave ²	Phase D2
SSM26743/32	Uppland	Sollentuna	Edsberg	Flat surface and Style I elements (B1v)	Grave	Phase D2
SHM22062/30	Uppland	Sollentuna	Hersby	B1 unclassified	Grave	Phase D2
SHM22062/30	Uppland	Sollentuna	Hersby	B individual	Grave	Phase D2
SHM19104/27	Uppland	Sollentuna	Unknown	B1 unclassified	Grave	Phase D2
SHM19915/1	Uppland	Solna	Stockholm, Norrbäckaområdet	Undecorated (B1i)	Grave	Phase D2
SHM19915/4	Uppland	Solna	Stockholm, Norrbäckaområdet	B1 unclassified	Grave	Phase D2
SHM19915/7	Uppland	Solna	Stockholm, Norrbäckaområdet	Flat surface and Style I elements (B1v)	Grave	Phase D2
SSM24562	Uppland	Solna	Stora Frösunda	Domed buttons (B1vi)	Grave	Phase D2
SSM/RAÄ69/A36	Uppland	Spånga	(Lilla) Tensta	Undecorated (B1i)	Grave	Phase D2
SSM RAÄ 157 A/A 46	Uppland	Spånga	Ärvinge	Undecorated (B1i)	Grave	Phase D2
SSM RAÄ 157 A/A 68	Uppland	Spånga	Ärvinge	B1 unclassified	Grave	Phase D2
SSM RAÄ 157 A/A 68	Uppland	Spånga	Ärvinge	Spiral motifs (B1ii d)	Grave	Phase D2
SSM/RAÄ156/A129	Uppland	Spånga	Ärvinge	B1 unclassified	Grave	Phase D2
RAÄ 162/A47	Uppland	Spånga	Ärvinge/(Kista ²)	Faceted designs (B1ii b/e / B3)	Grave	Phase D2
RAÄ 158/A5	Uppland	Spånga	Ärvinge/Granby	Undecorated (B1i)	Grave	Phase D2
RAÄ 163/A10	Uppland	Spånga	Ärvinge/Kista	Undecorated (B1i)	Grave	Phase D2
RAÄ 163/A11	Uppland	Spånga	Ärvinge/Kista	Domed buttons (B1vi)	Grave	Phase D2

Inventory no.	Province/ Region	Municipality/ Parish	Farm/Location	Type	Find category	Phase
RAÄ 163/A16	Uppland	Spånga	Ärvinge/Kista	Penannular/ Crescentic/Ring designs (B1iii / B1ii c / B6 / B2)	Grave	Phase D2
RAÄ 163/A2	Uppland	Spånga	Ärvinge/Kista	Undecorated (B1i)	Grave	Phase D2
SSM20096/1	Uppland	Spånga	Hässelby	Domed buttons (B1vi)	Grave	Phase D2
SSM 35735/RAÄ 106A/ A1	Uppland	Spånga	Hjulsta	Undecorated (B1i)	Grave	Phase D2
SSM 35735/RAÄ 106A/ A3	Uppland	Spånga	Hjulsta	Undecorated (B1i)	Grave	Phase D2
SSM35739/RAÄ 106A/A7	Uppland	Spånga	Hjulsta	Domed buttons (B1vi)	Grave	Phase D2
RAÄ 168/A13	Uppland	Spånga	Kymlinge	Undecorated (B1i)	Grave	Phase D2
RAÄ 168/A2	Uppland	Spånga	Kymlinge	Undecorated (B1i)	Grave	Phase D2
RAÄ 168/A36	Uppland	Spånga	Kymlinge	Undecorated (B1i)	Grave	Phase D2
RAÄ 168/A59	Uppland	Spånga	Kymlinge	Undecorated (B1i)	Grave	Phase D2
RAÄ 168/A63	Uppland	Spånga	Kymlinge	Penannular/ Crescentic/Ring designs (B1iii / B1ii c / B6 / B2)	Grave	Phase D2
RAÄ 169/A68	Uppland	Spånga	Kymlinge	Undecorated (B1i)	Grave	Phase D2
SSM Gf. 168/10	Uppland	Spånga	Kymlinge	Flat surface and Style I elements (B1v)	Grave	Phase D2
SSM Gf. 168/10	Uppland	Spånga	Kymlinge	Undecorated (B1i)	Grave	Phase D2
SSM Gf. 168/24	Uppland	Spånga	Kymlinge	Undecorated (B1i)	Grave	Phase D2
SSM Gf. 168/67	Uppland	Spånga	Kymlinge	Flat surface and Style I elements (B1v)	Grave	Phase D2
SSM Gf. 168/67	Uppland	Spånga	Kymlinge	Domed buttons (B1vi)	Grave	Phase D2
SSM Gf. 169/4	Uppland	Spånga	Kymlinge	Flat surface and Style I elements (B1v)	Grave	Phase D2
SSM/RAÄ168/A22	Uppland	Spånga	Kymlinge	B1 unclassified	Grave	Phase D2
SSM/RAÄ169/A139	Uppland	Spånga	Kymlinge	B1 unclassified	Grave	Phase D2
SSM Gf. 115/27	Uppland	Spånga	Lunda	Undecorated (B1i)	Grave	Phase D2
SSM Gf. 175/5	Uppland	Spånga	Rinkeby	Flat surface and Style I elements (B1v)	Grave	Phase D2
SSM Gf. 176/2/38499/2	Uppland	Spånga	Rinkeby	Flat surface and Style I elements (B1v)	Grave	Phase D2
SHM Gf. 124/146	Uppland	Täby	Ensta/Åkerby	Flat surface and Style I elements (B1v)	Grave	Phase D2
SHM/RAÄ124/A157	Uppland	Täby	Ensta/Åkerby	B1 unclassified	Grave	Phase D2
SHM28019/3	Uppland	Täby	Tibble	Undecorated (B1i)	Grave	Phase D2
SHM29348/11	Uppland	Täby	Tibble	Undecorated (B1i)	Grave	Phase D2
SHM29348/12	Uppland	Täby	Tibble	Domed buttons (B1vi)	Grave	Phase D2
SHM29348/5	Uppland	Täby	Tibble	Spiral motifs (B1ii d)	Grave	Phase D2
SHM29348/5	Uppland	Täby	Tibble	Undecorated (B1i)	Grave	Phase D2
SHM29348/7	Uppland	Täby	Tibble	Spiral motifs (B1ii d)	Grave	Phase D2
SHM29348/9	Uppland	Täby	Tibble	Undecorated (B1i)	Grave	Phase D2
SSM20913	Uppland	Täby	Viggbyholm	Undecorated (B1i)	Grave	Phase D2
SHM25915/27	Uppland	Täby	Viggbyholm	Flat surface and Style I elements (B1v)	Grave	Phase D2

Inventory no.	Province/ Region	Municipality/ Parish	Farm/Location	Type	Find category	Phase
RAÄ-rap. 1970/A1	Uppland	Uppsala	Fullerö	Spiral motifs (B1ii d)	Grave	Phase D2
RAÄ Fl. 84/A1	Uppland	V. Ryd	Korsvreta	Undecorated (B1i)	Grave	Phase D2
SHM Fl. 180/140	Uppland	V. Ryd	Torsätra	B1 unclassified	Grave	Phase D2
SHM D.nr. 5620/65/ A4	Uppland	V. Ryd	Uppgården	Undecorated (B1i)	Grave	Phase D2
SHM31760/25/RAÄ 74/A25	Uppland	V. Ryd	Uppgården	Domed buttons (B1vi)	Grave	Phase D2
SHM19104/27	Uppland	Vallentuna	Åbyholm	Undecorated (B1i)	Grave	Phase D2
RAÄ Fl. 27/A10	Uppland	Vallentuna	Mörby	Spiral motifs (B1ii d)	Grave	Phase D2
SHM31461/26	Uppland	Vallentuna	Väsby	Undecorated (B1i)	Grave	Phase D2
SHM10033/3	Uppland	Vendel	Hovgårdsberg	Spiral motifs (B1ii d)	Grave	Phase D2
SHM19963/36	Uppland	Vendel	Hovgårdsberg	Undecorated (B1i)	Grave	Phase D2
SHM19963/48	Uppland	Vendel	Hovgårdsberg	Undecorated (B1i)	Grave	Phase D2
SHM25457/33	Uppland	Östra Ryd	Ullna	Penannular/ Crescentic/Ring designs (B1iii / B1ii c / B6 / B2)	Grave	Phase D2
SHM25457/37	Uppland	Östra Ryd	Ullna	Undecorated (B1i)	Grave	Phase D2
SHM27031/4	Uppland	Östuna	Brunnby	Penannular/ Crescentic/Ring designs (B1iii / B1ii c / B6 / B2)	Grave	Phase D2
SHM19267	Västergötland	Friggeråker	Holmegården	Penannular/ Crescentic/Ring designs (B1iii / B1ii c / B6 / B2)	Grave	Phase D2
SHM25655/2	Västergötland	Hemsjö	Ingared	B1 unclassified	Grave	Phase D2
SHM22794	Västergötland	Holmestad	Lovsgården	Undecorated (B1i)	Grave	Phase D2
SHM26214	Västergötland	Häggum	Ranstad	Undecorated (B1i)	Grave	Phase D2
SHM22458/1	Västergötland	Larv	Karlsberg	B1 unclassified	Grave	Phase D2
SHM24447	Västergötland	Lyrestad	Östra Böckersboda	Undecorated (B1i)	Grave	Phase D2
SHM14416	Västergötland	Saleby	Rasagården	Domed buttons (B1vi)	Grave	Phase D2
SHM14416	Västergötland	Saleby	Rasagården	Faceted designs (B1ii b/e / B3)	Grave	Phase D2
SHM25591	Västergötland	Sjötofta	Hanabo	B1 unclassified	Grave	Phase D2
SHM6563	Västergötland	Skara	Djurgårdsäng	Spiral clasps (A1)	Hoard/Cache	Phase D1
SHM6563	Västergötland	Skara	Djurgårdsäng	Type C2/B5	Hoard/Cache	Phase D1
SHM14392	Västergötland	Sävare	Grumpan	Type C2/B5	Hoard/Cache	Phase D2
RAÄ Fl. 100(A125/ F125	Västmanland	Kolbäck	Forsta	Spiral motifs (B1ii d)	Grave	Phase D2
SHM19311	Västmanland	Kolbäck	Åsen	Undecorated (B1i)	Grave	Phase D2
VLM22840/23	Västmanland	Malma	Holmsmalma	B1 unclassified	Grave	Phase D2
SHM25334	Västmanland	Tortuna	Nicktuna	Flat surface and Style I elements (B1v)	Grave	Phase D2
SHM31457/71	Västmanland	Västerås	Stenby	Flat surface and Style I elements (B1v)	Grave	Phase D2
VLM22806/A32	Västmanland	Västerås	Vedbo	Flat surface and Style I elements (B1v)	Grave	Phase D2
SHM?	Öland	Algutsrum	Törnboten	Undecorated (B1i)	Grave	Phase D2
Lamm's archives	Öland	Glömminge	Brostorp	Undecorated (B1i)	Settlement	Phase D2

Inventory no.	Province/ Region	Municipality/ Parish	Farm/Location	Type	Find category	Phase
SHM31890	Öland	Glömminge	Brostorp	A2b	Grave	Phase D1
SHM27881	Öland	Glömminge	Strandskogen	Undecorated (B1i)	Grave	Phase D2
SHM21617/172	Öland	Källa	Vi Alvar	Undecorated (B1i)	Grave	Phase D2
SHM8881	Öland	Stenåsa	Södra Kvinneby	Undecorated (B1i)	Grave	Phase D2
SHM1304/1837	Öland	Unknown	Unknown	Undecorated (B1i)	Stray find	Phase D2
SHM27367	Öland	Ventlinge	Sebberneby	Undecorated (B1i)	Settlement	Phase D2
RAÄ 288 m. f:A98063	Östergötland	Rinna	Abbetorp	Punched circles/ dotted circles (B1iv c)	Grave	Phase D2
RAÄ 288 m. f:A98211	Östergötland	Rinna	Abbetorp	B1 unclassified	Grave	Phase D2
RAÄ 288 m. f:A98231	Östergötland	Rinna	Abbetorp	Undecorated (B1i)	Grave	Phase D2
Umeå F237, 350, 463, 467, 469, 766	Ångermanland	Själavad	Gene	Undecorated (B1i)	Settlement	Phase D2
Umeå F237, 350, 463, 467, 469, 766	Ångermanland	Själavad	Gene	Undecorated (B1i)	Settlement	Phase D2
Umeå F237, 350, 463, 467, 469, 766	Ångermanland	Själavad	Gene	Norråla type (B1iv b)	Settlement	Phase D2
Umeå F237, 350, 463, 467, 469, 766	Ångermanland	Själavad	Gene	Undecorated (B1i)	Settlement	Phase D2
Umeå F237, 350, 463, 467, 469, 766	Ångermanland	Själavad	Gene	Undecorated (B1i)	Settlement	Phase D2
Umeå F237, 350, 463, 467, 469, 766	Ångermanland	Själavad	Gene	Undecorated (B1i)	Settlement	Phase D2

CLASPS DENMARK

Inventory no.	Province/ Region	Municipality/ Parish/County	Farm/Location	Type	Find category	Phase
C25986	Bornholm	Bornholm	Dalshøj	B individual	Settlement	Phase D2
C25986/503	Bornholm	Bornholm	Dalshøj	B1 unclassified	Settlement	Phase D2
C6157	Bornholm	Bornholm	Kobbeå	Penannular/ Crescentic/Ring designs (B1iii / B1ii c / B6 / B2)	Grave	Phase D2
C4790	Bornholm	Bornholm	Melsted	Penannular/ Crescentic/Ring designs (B1iii / B1ii c / B6 / B2)	Grave	Phase D2
C3128 og C 22602	Fyn	Odense	Kragehul	B1 unclassified	Hoard/Cache	Phase D2
C3129 og C 22602	Fyn	Odense	Kragehul	Penannular/ Crescentic/Ring designs (B1iii / B1ii c / B6 / B2)	Hoard/Cache	Phase D2
C.df.11/84	Fyn	Svendborg	Stenhøjgård/ gudme	Ring-shaped clasps (A2a)	Hoard/Cache	Phase D1
C.df.11/84	Fyn	Svendborg	Stenhøjgård/ gudme	A2b	Hoard/Cache	Phase D1
C.df.11/84	Fyn	Svendborg	Stenhøjgård/ gudme	Spiral clasps (A1)	Hoard/Cache	Phase D1
HME7652, E8955	Jutland	Haderslev	Ejsbøl mose	R.268 (B1ia / B1iv a)	Hoard/Cache	Phase D1
C.df.11-28/46	Jutland	Haderslev	Simmersted	Spiral clasps (A1)	Hoard/Cache	Phase D1
HM4590-4599	Jutland	Haderslev	Vester Galsted	R.268 (B1ia / B1iv a)	Grave	Phase D2
HM4590-4599	Jutland	Haderslev	Vester Galsted	B1ii unclassified	Grave	Phase D2
C14113-14115	Jutland	Hjørring	Donbæk	R.268 (B1ia / B1iv a)	Grave	Phase D2
C14503	Jutland	Hjørring	Donbæk	B1 unclassified	Grave	Phase D2
C10075	Jutland	Randers	Øster Tørslev	Undecorated (B1i)	Grave	Phase D2
VSM3857	Jutland	Ribe	Nr. Esbjerg	R.268 (B1ia / B1iv a)	Stray find	Phase D2
C1410-13	Jutland	Thisted	Alsted Vang	Spiral clasps (A1)	Grave	Phase D1
HM1004x1475-76/1450	Jutland	Tønder	Hjemsted	Undecorated (B1i)	Grave	Phase D2
HM1004/321, 506-507, 515-520	Jutland	Tønderslev	Hjemsted	Ring-shaped clasps (A2a)	Grave	Phase D1
HM1004/366/g.297	Jutland	Tønderslev	Hjemsted	Spiral clasps (A1)	Grave	Phase D1
HM1004/373, 549-550, 355	Jutland	Tønderslev	Hjemsted	Spiral clasps (A1)	Grave	Phase D1
HM1004/377-78, 382- 83/g.313	Jutland	Tønderslev	Hjemsted	Spiral clasps (A1)	Grave	Phase D1
HM1004/522, 524-525	Jutland	Tønderslev	Hjemsted	Spiral clasps (A1)	Grave	Phase D1
HM1004/97-101	Jutland	Tønderslev	Hjemsted	Ring-shaped clasps (A2a)	Grave	Phase D1
C691-92	Jutland	Velje	Nykirke mark	Undecorated (B1i)	Grave	Phase D1
C691-92	Jutland	Velje	Nykirke mark	Penannular/ Crescentic/Ring designs (B1iii / B1ii c / B6 / B2)	Grave	Phase D1
C691-92	Jutland	Velje	Nykirke mark	Spiral clasps (A1)	Grave	Phase D1
C11842-47	Jutland	Ålborg	Brodshave	Spiral clasps (A1)	Grave	Phase D1
ÅHM669/ DI	Jutland	Ålborg	Sejflod	Undecorated (B1i)	Grave	Phase D1

Inventory no.	Province/ Region	Municipality/ Parish/County	Farm/Location	Type	Find category	Phase
ÅHM669/1008,1012, 11929/DZ	Jutland	Ålborg	Sejlfjord	Undecorated (B1i)	Grave	Phase D2
ÅHM669/1008/DZ	Jutland	Ålborg	Sejlfjord	B1 unclassified	Grave	Phase D2
ÅHM669/1168-1171/ DY	Jutland	Ålborg	Sejlfjord	Type C2/B5	Grave	Phase D2
ÅHM669/1293-94/IZ	Jutland	Ålborg	Sejlfjord	Undecorated (B1i)	Grave	Phase D2
ÅHM669/1333/ES	Jutland	Ålborg	Sejlfjord	B1 unclassified	Grave	Phase D2
ÅHM669/1489/IB	Jutland	Ålborg	Sejlfjord	Undecorated (B1i)	Grave	Phase D2
ÅHM669/1510, 3198, 3344/HP	Jutland	Ålborg	Sejlfjord	Undecorated (B1i)	Grave	Phase D2
ÅHM669/1562/TA	Jutland	Ålborg	Sejlfjord	Undecorated (B1i)	Grave	Phase D2
ÅHM669/1566-7, 1565/ UM	Jutland	Ålborg	Sejlfjord	Undecorated (B1i)	Grave	Phase D2
ÅHM669/1691, 2313- 14/TO	Jutland	Ålborg	Sejlfjord	Spiral clasps (A1)	Grave	Phase D1
ÅHM669/1755/VZ	Jutland	Ålborg	Sejlfjord	Undecorated (B1i)	Grave	Phase D2
ÅHM669/2077, 2125- 27	Jutland	Ålborg	Sejlfjord	Ring-shaped clasps (A2a)	Grave	Phase D1
ÅHM669/2165, 2184, 2216, 3000	Jutland	Ålborg	Sejlfjord	Spiral clasps (A1)	Grave	Phase D1
ÅHM669/2278-9/VI	Jutland	Ålborg	Sejlfjord	Undecorated (B1i)	Grave	Phase D2
ÅHM669/2278-9/VI	Jutland	Ålborg	Sejlfjord	R.268 (B1iia / B1iv a)	Grave	Phase D2
ÅHM669/2449/VT	Jutland	Ålborg	Sejlfjord	Undecorated (B1i)	Grave	Phase D2
ÅHM669/2510/VU	Jutland	Ålborg	Sejlfjord	B individual	Grave	Phase D2
ÅHM669/2588/XK	Jutland	Ålborg	Sejlfjord	Undecorated (B1i)	Grave	Phase D2
ÅHM669/2773/ZH	Jutland	Ålborg	Sejlfjord	Undecorated (B1i)	Grave	Phase D2
ÅHM669/3071, 3119/ EX	Jutland	Ålborg	Sejlfjord	Undecorated (B1i)	Grave	Phase D2
ÅHM669/3093-4	Jutland	Ålborg	Sejlfjord	Spiral clasps (A1)	Grave	Phase D1
ÅHM669/3111/HI	Jutland	Ålborg	Sejlfjord	Undecorated (B1i)	Grave	Phase D2
ÅHM669/3199/HO	Jutland	Ålborg	Sejlfjord	Undecorated (B1i)	Grave	Phase D2
ÅHM669/3308/HT	Jutland	Ålborg	Sejlfjord	Penannular/ Crescentic/Ring designs (B1iii / B1ii c / B6 / B2)	Grave	Phase D2
ÅHM669/3347, 3353, 3366, 3372-6/IC	Jutland	Ålborg	Sejlfjord	Undecorated (B1i)	Grave	Phase D2
ÅHM669/335,1195- 99/Z	Jutland	Ålborg	Sejlfjord	Undecorated (B1i)	Grave	Phase D2
ÅHM669/3381/HY	Jutland	Ålborg	Sejlfjord	Undecorated (B1i)	Grave	Phase D2
ÅHM669/3529	Jutland	Ålborg	Sejlfjord	Spiral clasps (A1)	Grave	Phase D1
ÅHM669/3961	Jutland	Ålborg	Sejlfjord	Spiral clasps (A1)	Grave	Phase D1
ÅHM669/4004/HV	Jutland	Ålborg	Sejlfjord	Undecorated (B1i)	Grave	Phase D2
ÅHM669/4141, 4334 / NT	Jutland	Ålborg	Sejlfjord	Spiral clasps (A1)	Grave	Phase D1
ÅHM669/4340, 4343, 4354	Jutland	Ålborg	Sejlfjord	Spiral clasps (A1)	Grave	Phase D1
ÅHM669/5685/ZE	Jutland	Ålborg	Sejlfjord	Undecorated (B1i)	Grave	Phase D2
ÅHM669/6027-28 / OO	Jutland	Ålborg	Sejlfjord	Ring-shaped clasps (A2a)	Grave	Phase D1

Inventory no.	Province/ Region	Municipality/ Parish/County	Farm/Location	Type	Find category	Phase
ÅHM669/6248-49	Jutland	Ålborg	Sejlfod	Spiral clasps (A1)	Grave	Phase D1
ÅHM669/7716/SZ	Jutland	Ålborg	Sejlfod	Undecorated (B1i)	Grave	Phase D2
ÅHM669/7754/TD	Jutland	Ålborg	Sejlfod	Undecorated (B1i)	Grave	Phase D2
ÅHM669/7796-7/TC	Jutland	Ålborg	Sejlfod	Undecorated (B1i)	Grave	Phase D2
ÅHM669/837/CX	Jutland	Ålborg	Sejlfod	B1 unclassified	Grave	Phase D2
ÅHM669/860, 862/DD	Jutland	Ålborg	Sejlfod	Penannular/ Crescentic/Ring designs (B1iii / B1ii c / B6 / B2)	Grave	Phase D2
VHM201,1-2	Jutland	Ålborg	Sønderlade	Spiral clasps (A1)	Grave	Phase D1
VSM76	Jutland	Ålborg	Vognsild	Penannular/ Crescentic/Ring designs (B1iii / B1ii c / B6 / B2)	Grave	Phase D2
C26665-74	Sjælland	København	Tästrupgård	Spiral clasps (A1)	Grave	Phase D1
SAM180-181	Sjælland	Ringsted, Sorø	Englerup Mølle	B1 unclassified	Grave?	Phase D2
C.df 24-109/33	Sjælland	Sorø	Høstentorp	Spiral clasps (A1)	Hoard/Cache	Phase D1
C.df 24-109/33	Sjælland	Sorø	Høstentorp	C individual	Hoard/Cache	Phase D2
C.df 24-109/33	Sjælland	Sorø	Høstentorp	Penannular/ Crescentic/Ring designs (B1iii / B1ii c / B6 / B2)	Hoard/Cache	Phase D2

CONICAL BROOCHES NORWAY

Inventory no.	Province	Municipality	Farm/Location	Type	Find category
C58019	Akershus	Eidsvoll	Fremmin med våtliengen	Geometric with concentric circles, variant	Stray find
C58243	Akershus	Nes	Holter østre	Geometric with concentric circles	Stray find
C15964-68	Akershus	Ullensaker	Smedengen av Haug	Geometric with concentric circles	Grave
C37956	Buskerud	Hole	Hundstad Store	Geometric with concentric circles	Stray find
C57986	Buskerud	Modum	Modum prestegård	Undecorated	Stray find
C58872	Buskerud	Øvre Eiker	Loe østre	Geometric with concentric circles	Stray find
C38001	Hedmark	Hamar	Åker	Geometric with concentric circles	Stray find from boathouse
C22394	Hedmark	Ringsaker	Grefsheim	Style II-decoration	Grave
Unnumbered	Hedmark	Ringsaker	Hoel	Geometric with concentric circles	Stray find
C18612	Hedmark	Stange	Dal Østre	Geometric with concentric circles	Grave
C57205	Hedmark	Stor-Elvdal	Koppangøyene / Koppang m/ Bakken nordre	Geometric with concentric circles, variant	Stray find
C17166	Hedmark	Trysil	Ljørdalen søndre	Geometric with concentric circles	Stray find
B4719	Hordaland	Ullensvang	Hovland	Style II-decoration within outer band	Grave, mixed find
B478	Hordaland	Vindafjord	Vik nedre	Geometric with concentric circles	Grave
T8268	Møre og Romsdal	Sunnadal	Hoven/Hovin	Geometric with concentric circles	Grave
T4084	Møre og Romsdal	Sunnadal	Romføjellen	Geometric with concentric circles	Grave
B12533	Møre og Romsdal	Vanylven	Fiskå	Geometric with concentric circles	Grave
B12533	Møre og Romsdal	Vanylven	Fiskå	Geometric with concentric circles	Grave
B12533	Møre og Romsdal	Vanylven	Fiskå	Geometric with concentric circles	Grave
Ts893	Nordland	Bodø	Ljønes	Geometric with concentric circles	Grave
Ts3978	Nordland	Bodø	Rønnvik	Geometric with concentric circles	Grave
T7350	Nordland	Dønna	Hov	Geometric with concentric circles	Grave
T13498	Nordland	Herøy	Prestøy	Geometric with concentric circles	Grave
T13498	Nordland	Herøy	Prestøy	Geometric with concentric circles	Grave
Ts947-948	Nordland	Lødingen	Ytterstad	Geometric with concentric circles	Grave
Ts947-948	Nordland	Lødingen	Ytterstad	Geometric with concentric circles	Grave
Ts4295	Nordland	Lødingen	Øyjord/Heggstad	Geometric with concentric circles	Hoard/Cache?
Ts4295	Nordland	Lødingen	Øyjord/Heggstad	Style II-decoration	Hoard/Cache?
Ts6370	Nordland	Lurøy	Ytre Kvarøy	Geometric with concentric circles	Grave
Ts6372	Nordland	Lurøy	Ytre Kvarøy	Geometric with concentric circles	Grave
Ts6378	Nordland	Lurøy	Ytre Kvarøy	Geometric with concentric circles	Grave
Ts6657	Nordland	Lurøy	Ytre Kvarøy	Geometric with concentric circles	Grave
Ts1631	Nordland	Meløy	Øysund	Geometric with concentric circles, variant	Grave
Ts2156	Nordland	Tjeldsund	Horvik	Style II-decoration	Grave
Ts6387	Nordland	Tjeldsund	Stokke på Tjeldøya	Geometric with concentric circles	Grave
Ts4465	Nordland	Tjeldsund	Våje på Tjeldøya	Geometric with concentric circles	Grave
Ts4460	Nordland	Vest-Vågøy	Kvalnes	Style II-decoration	Grave
T25720	Nord-Trøndelag	Levanger	Gjemble lille	Geometric with concentric circles	Stray find
T7378	Nord-Trøndelag	Overhalla	Bjørnes	Undecorated	Grave

Inventory no.	Province	Municipality	Farm/Location	Type	Find category
C58775	Oppland	Sør-Fron	Bjørke nordre	Style II-decoration within outer band	Stray find
C58777	Oppland	Sør-Fron	Hundorp øvre og nedre	Geometric with concentric circles	Stray find
C58782	Oppland	Sør-Fron	Seielstad søndre	Style II-decoration	Stray find
C58756	Oppland	Sør-Fron	Steig	Geometric with concentric circles	Stray find
C23035	Oppland	Vang	Belsheim	Geometric with concentric circles, variant	Stray find
C24617	Oppland	Østre Toten	Stabu Søndre	Geometric with concentric circles	Stray find
C22744	Oslo	Oslo	Madserud allé	Style II-decoration	Stray find
S12241	Rogaland	Sola	Håland	Geometric with concentric circles	Stray find
S12346	Rogaland	Sola	Litle Risa	Geometric with concentric circles	Stray find
S12240	Rogaland	Sola	Utsola	Geometric with concentric circles	Stray find
B9007	Sogn og Fjordane	Aurland	Prestegården	Style II-decoration within outer band	Stray find
B11304	Sogn og Fjordane	Gloppen	Skrøppa	Style II-decoration	Grave
T12253	Sør-Trøndelag	Bjugn	Berg	Geometric with concentric circles	Grave
T20024	Sør-Trøndelag	Hemne	Holla	Geometric with concentric circles	Grave?
T3880	Sør-Trøndelag	Oppdal	Risegjerdet av Rise	Geometric with concentric circles	Stray find
T18758	Sør-Trøndelag	Oppdal	Vang	Geometric with concentric circles	Grave
T18758	Sør-Trøndelag	Oppdal	Vang	Style II-decoration within outer band	Grave
T19507	Sør-Trøndelag	Snillfjord	Arnstu av Selnes	Geometric with concentric circles	Grave
T15808	Sør-Trøndelag	Ørland	Storfosen	Geometric with concentric circles	Grave
T15808	Sør-Trøndelag	Ørland	Storfosen	Geometric with concentric circles	Grave
C13395	Telemark	Tinn	Søum	Style II-decoration	Stray find
Ts2610	Troms	Harstad	Berg	Geometric with concentric circles	Grave
Ts3071	Troms	Harstad	Ytre Elgsnes	Geometric with concentric circles	Grave
Ts7358	Troms	Harstad	Ytre Elgsnes	Style II-decoration	Grave?
Ts3071	Troms	Harstad	Ytre Elgsnes	Geometric with concentric circles	Grave
Ts4270	Troms	Harstad	Årbogen	Geometric with concentric circles	Grave
C230	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Style II-decoration within outer band	Stray find
C18752	Vestfold	Larvik	Berg søndre/Lyhus	Geometric with concentric circles, variant	Grave
C39063	Vestfold	Larvik	Manvik	Geometric with concentric circles	Stray find
C17311	Vestfold	Sandefjord	Virrik vestre med nordre	Geometric with concentric circles, variant	Grave
C24617	Østfold	Fredrikstad	Borge Store	Geometric with concentric circles	Stray find
C57203	Østfold	Fredrikstad	Huseby store	Geometric with concentric circles	Stray find
C57550	Østfold	Rygge	Rygge prestegård	Geometric with concentric circles	Stray find
C15714	Østfold	Sarpsborg	Leikvoll	Geometric with concentric circles	Grave
C17643	Østfold	Skiptvet	Unknown	Style II-decoration	Stray find

CONICAL BROOCHES SWEDEN

Inventory no.	Province/Region	Municipality/ Parish	Farm/Location	Type	Find category
SHM23230	Bohuslän	Tossene	Unknown	Style II-decoration	Grave?
JLM19599	Jämtland	Östersund/Lockne	Ånge	Geometric with concentric circles	Stray find?
SHM10321	Lappland	Vilhelmina, Girisjön	Krutberg	Geometric with concentric circles	Hoard/Cache
SHM10321	Lappland	Vilhelmina, Girisjön	Krutberg	Geometric with concentric circles	Hoard/Cache
SHM10321	Lappland	Vilhelmina, Girisjön	Krutberg	Geometric with concentric circles	Hoard/Cache
SHM10321	Lappland	Vilhelmina, Girisjön	Krutberg	Unique / individual decoration	Hoard/Cache
SHM10321	Lappland	Vilhelmina, Girisjön	Krutberg	Unique / individual decoration	Hoard/Cache
Unnumbered	Norrland	Unknown	Unknown	Unique / individual decoration	Hoard/Cache?
Unnumbered	Norrland	Unknown	Unknown	Geometric with concentric circles	Hoard/Cache?
SHM32577	Södermanland	Aspö	Stenby	Undecorated	Grave
SHM26149	Uppland	Giresta	Vista	Geometric with concentric circles	Grave
SHM32300:118	Uppland	Lovö	Lunda	Unique / individual decoration	Grave
SHM23304	Uppland	Skå	Edeby	Geometric with concentric circles	Grave
SHM23304	Uppland	Skå	Edeby	Geometric with concentric circles	Grave
SHM33824/A7	Uppland	Täby	Tibble	Undecorated	Grave

CONICAL BROOCHES DENMARK

Inventory no.	Province/Region	Municipality/ Parish/County	Farm/Location	Type	Find category
C10076-78	Jutland	Randers	Øster Tørslev	Geometric with concentric circles	Grave
C.1.avd.j.nr. 6462/82	Jutland	Ålborg	Bejsebakken	Undecorated	Stray find

