

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 (Rødsrud 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.

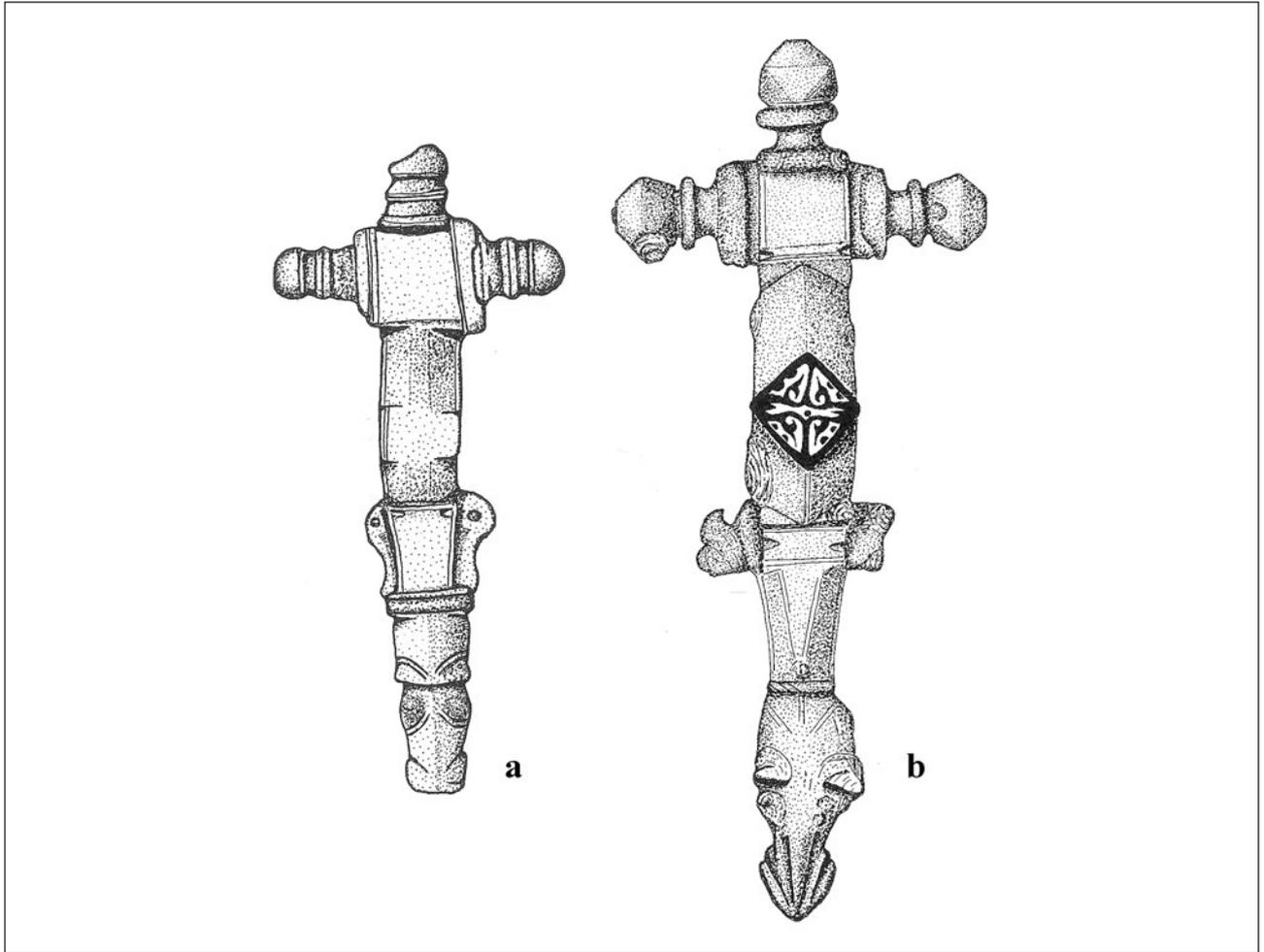


Figure 4.1 Cruciform brooches of type Seilflod **a**) variant 1 (grave OP) and **b**) variant 2 (grave DY), after Nielsen (2000 II:115, x4434 and 63, x1003).

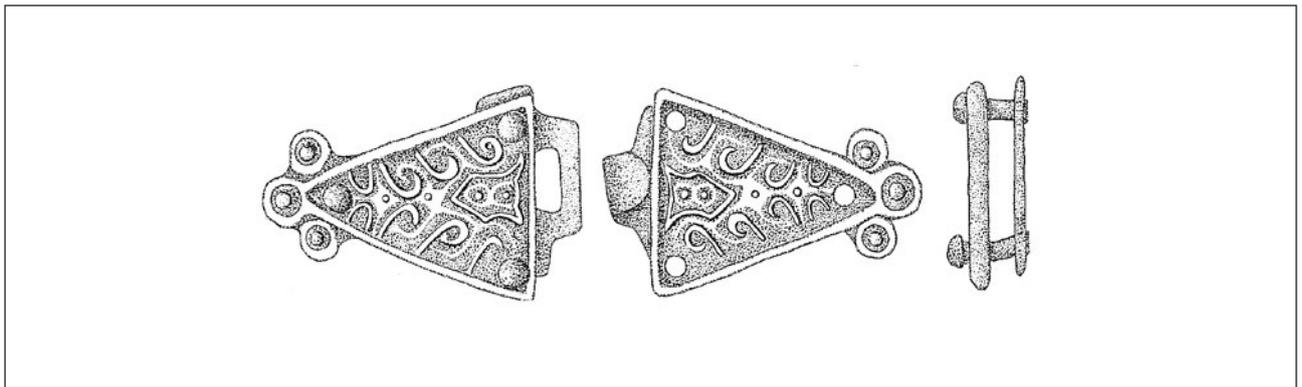


Figure 4.2 Clasps in the Sjørup Style from Seilflod grave DY, after Nielsen (2000 II:63, x1168–1171).

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

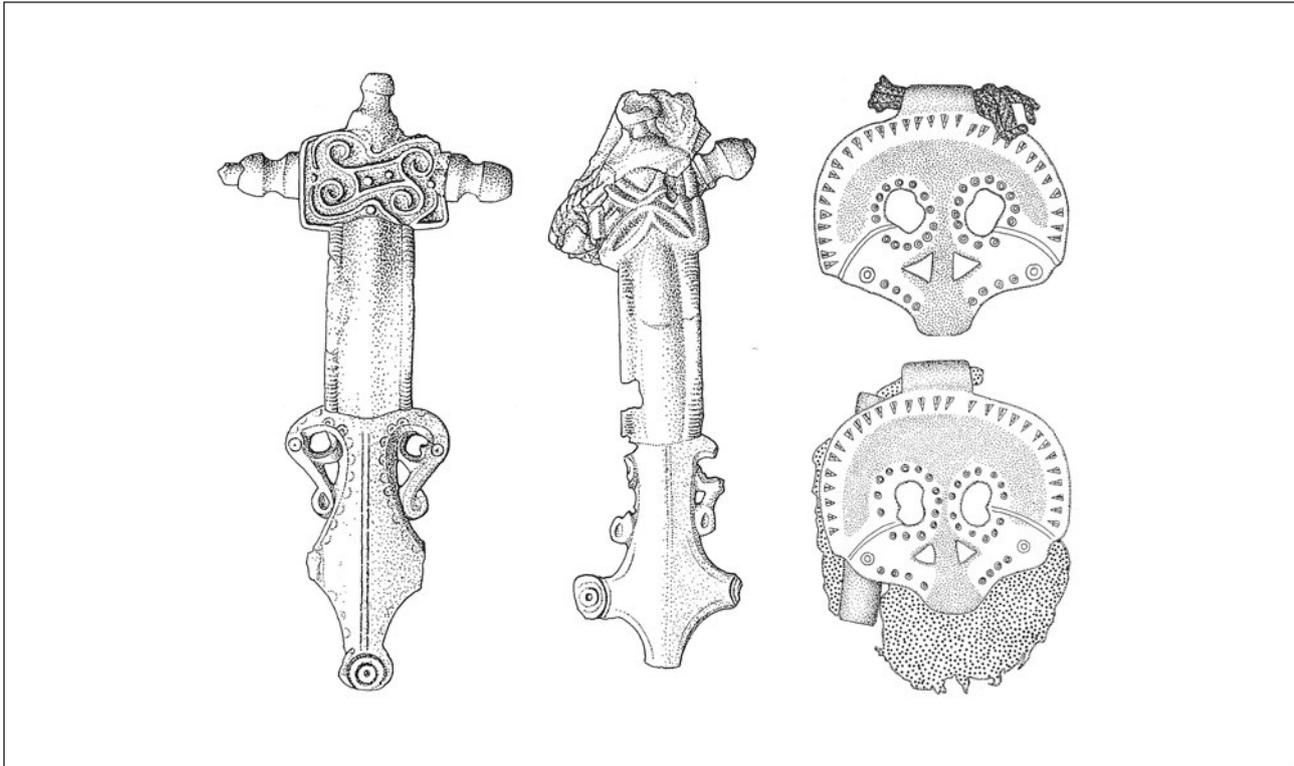


Figure 4.3 Copper-alloy brooches and peltate pendants from Sejlfjord grave IZ, after Nielsen (2000 II:106, X1282, x3601, x1284, x1285).

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 Sejlfjord and Hjemsted in Jutland, in particular, have contributed new finds. Amongst the finds from Sejlfjord 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 Sejlfjord 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 Sejlfjord 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 Sejlfjord variant 1 have been found in a grave (Sejlfjord 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 (Sejlfjord grave IZ). This grave also contained two peltate pendants (Fig. 4.3). This could indicate a dating of Type Sejlfjord 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 Sejlfjord 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

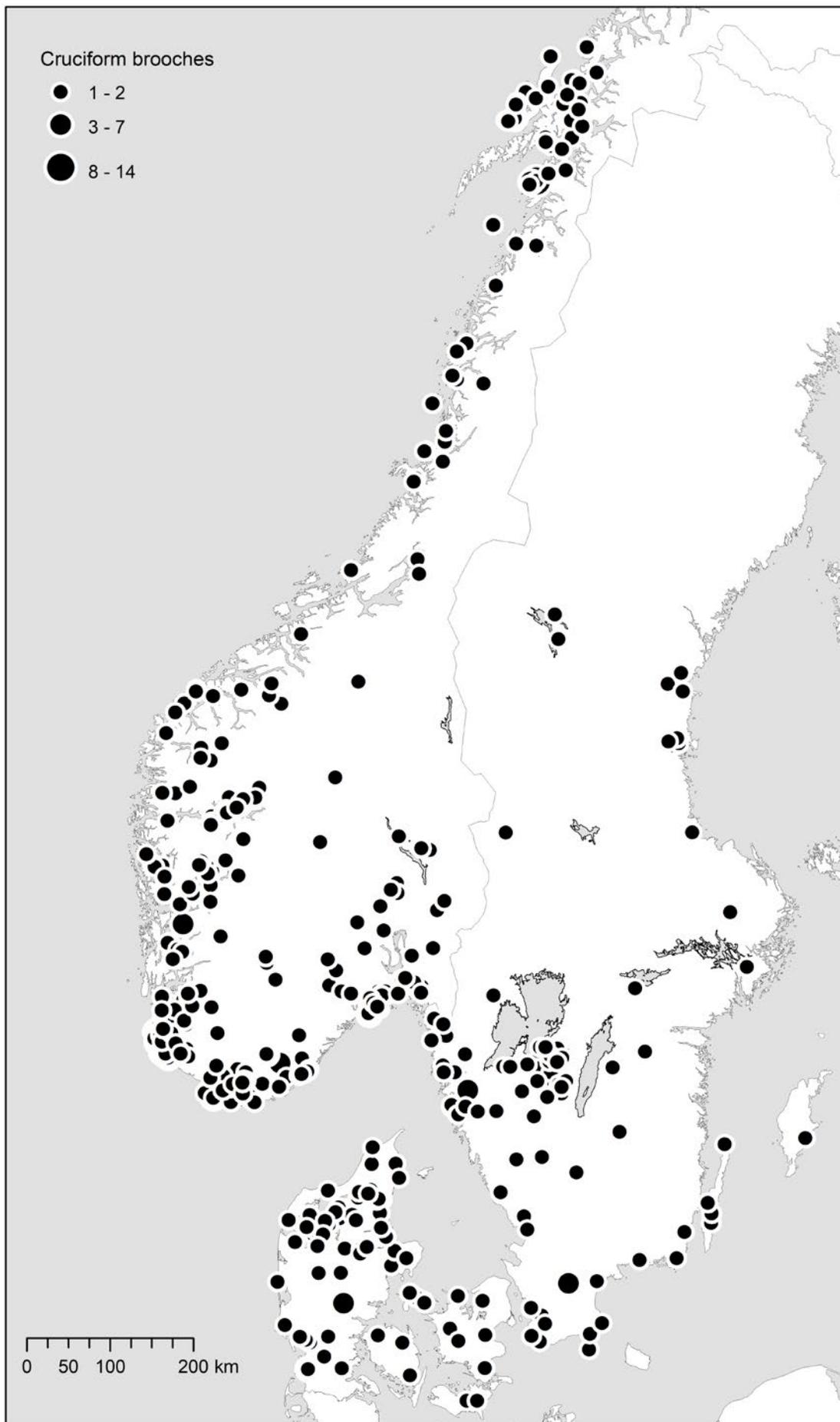
is also possible to note something that anticipates a north-south division in Scandinavia in that Denmark has two finds of the Continental Type Witmarsum that also occurs in Germany, the Netherlands and Belgium (Jørgensen 1994a:118; Reichstein 1975:41, Karte 2). However there is a Norwegian find of this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

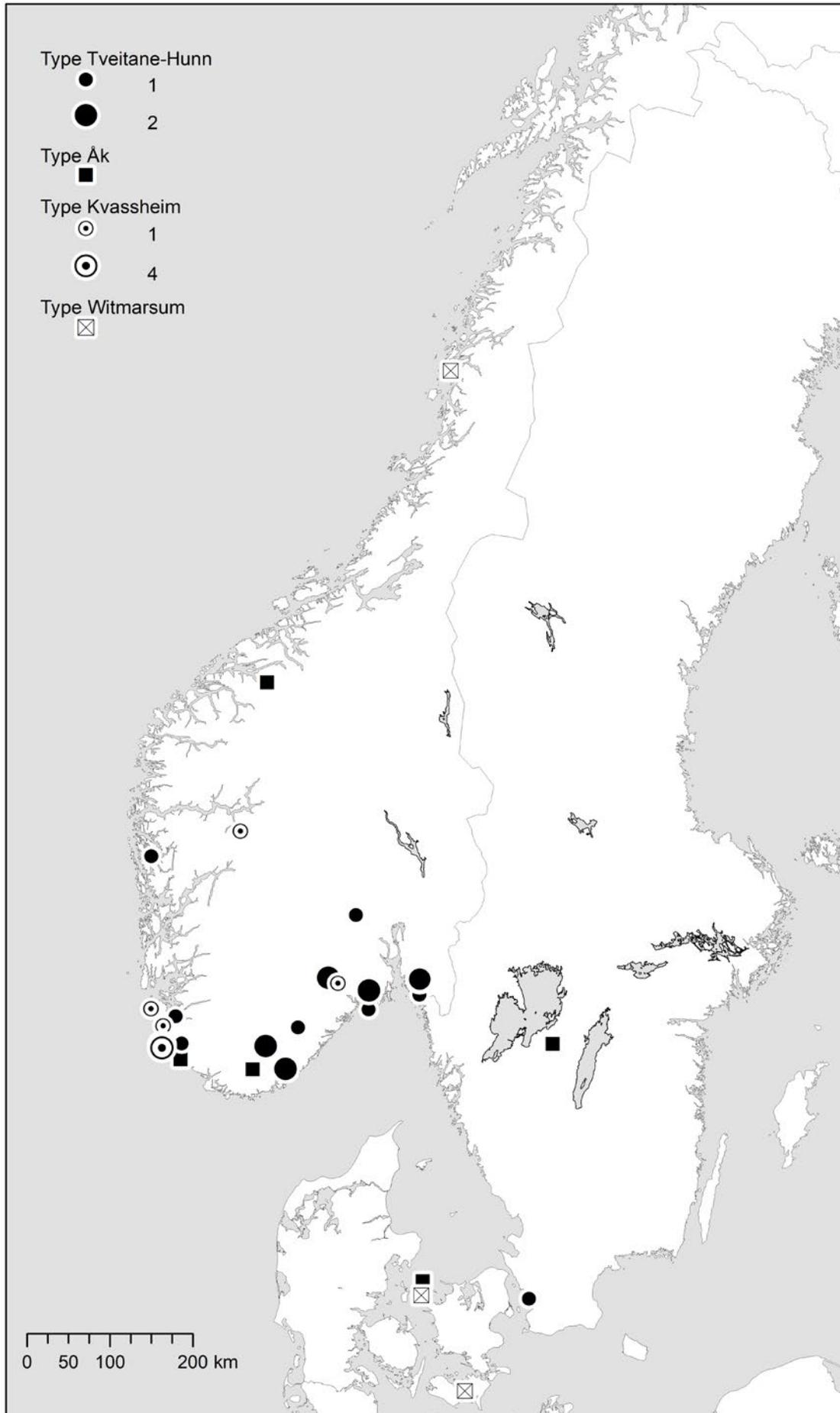
In phase D1, these types are superseded by two southern Norwegian types, Types Lunde and Eine, a western Norwegian Type Nygard, one distinct northern Norwegian type, Type Røssøy, and a Continental type, Type Groß Siemss (Reichstein 1975:Karte 3, Abb. 2–3, and 10; see Map 4.3 for the distribution of these 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.

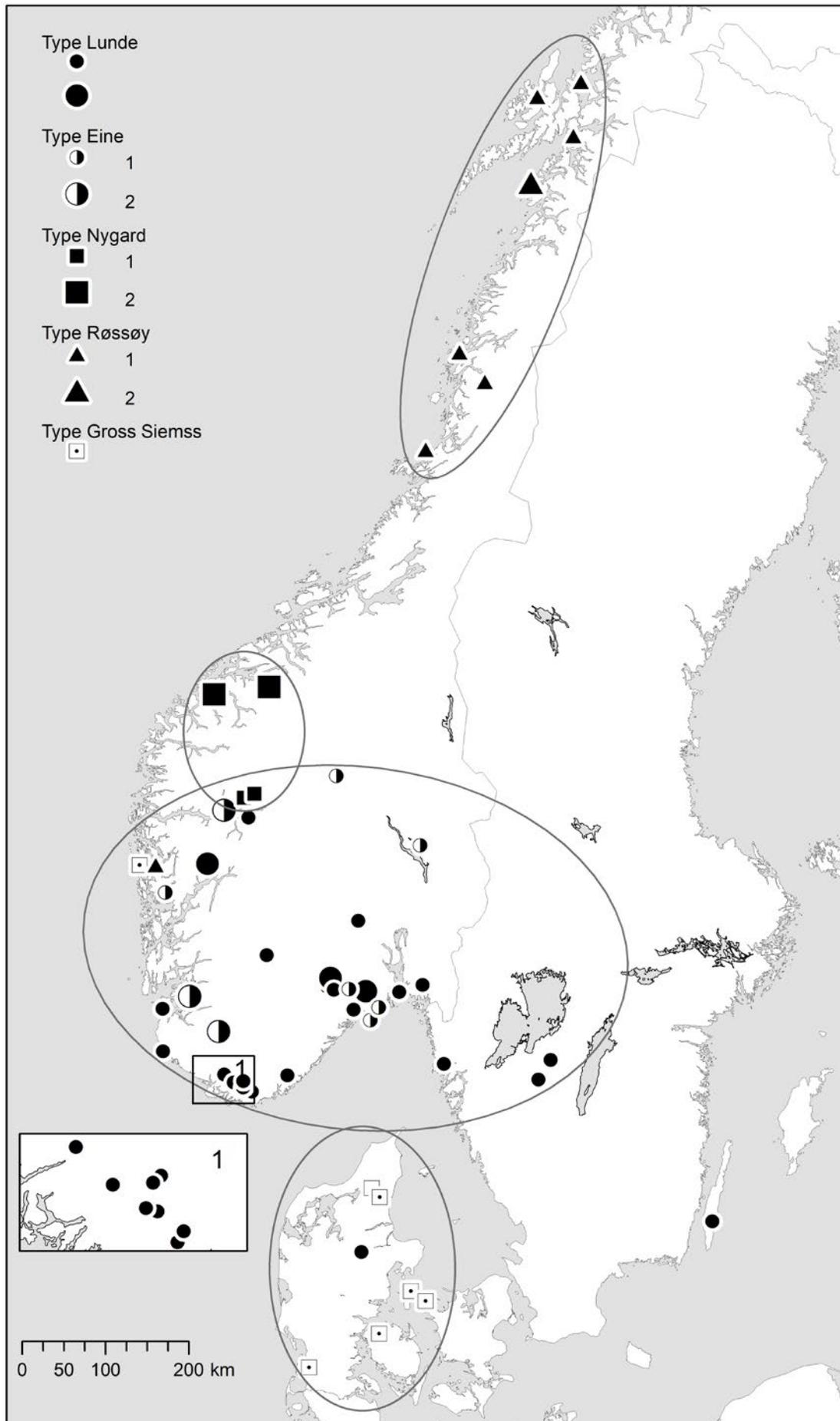
11 C19842: Hvåle, Vestfold; C15687: Vang, Hedmark.



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.

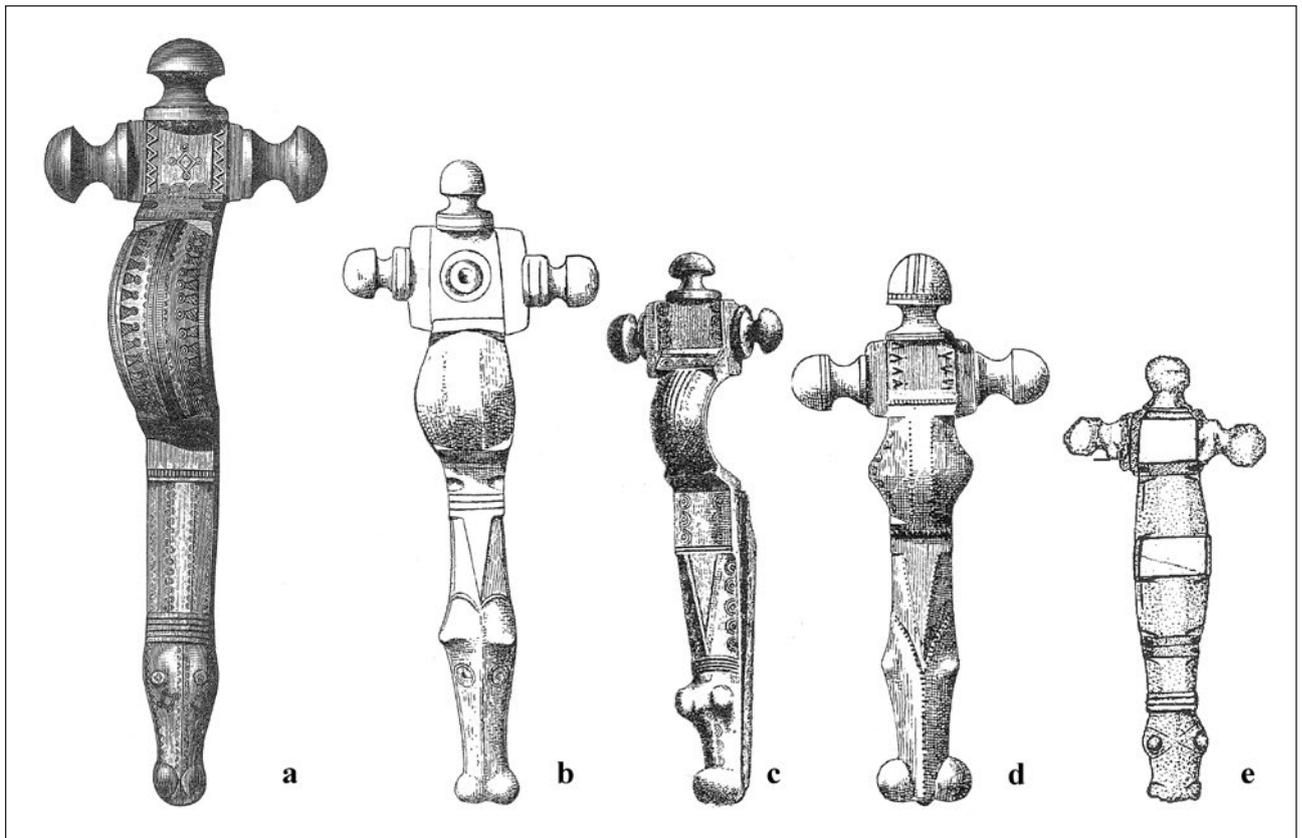


Figure 4.4 Cruciform brooches of Types **a**) Lunde, from Birkeland, Aust-Agder (C2460), after Rygh (1885:fig. 247), **b**) Eine, from Eine, Hedmark (C15688), **c**) Nygard, from Åk, Møre og Romsdal (C6200), **d**) Røssøy, from Gjerвик, Hordaland (B2266), after Schetelig (1906:figs. 42, 35 and 75), ©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

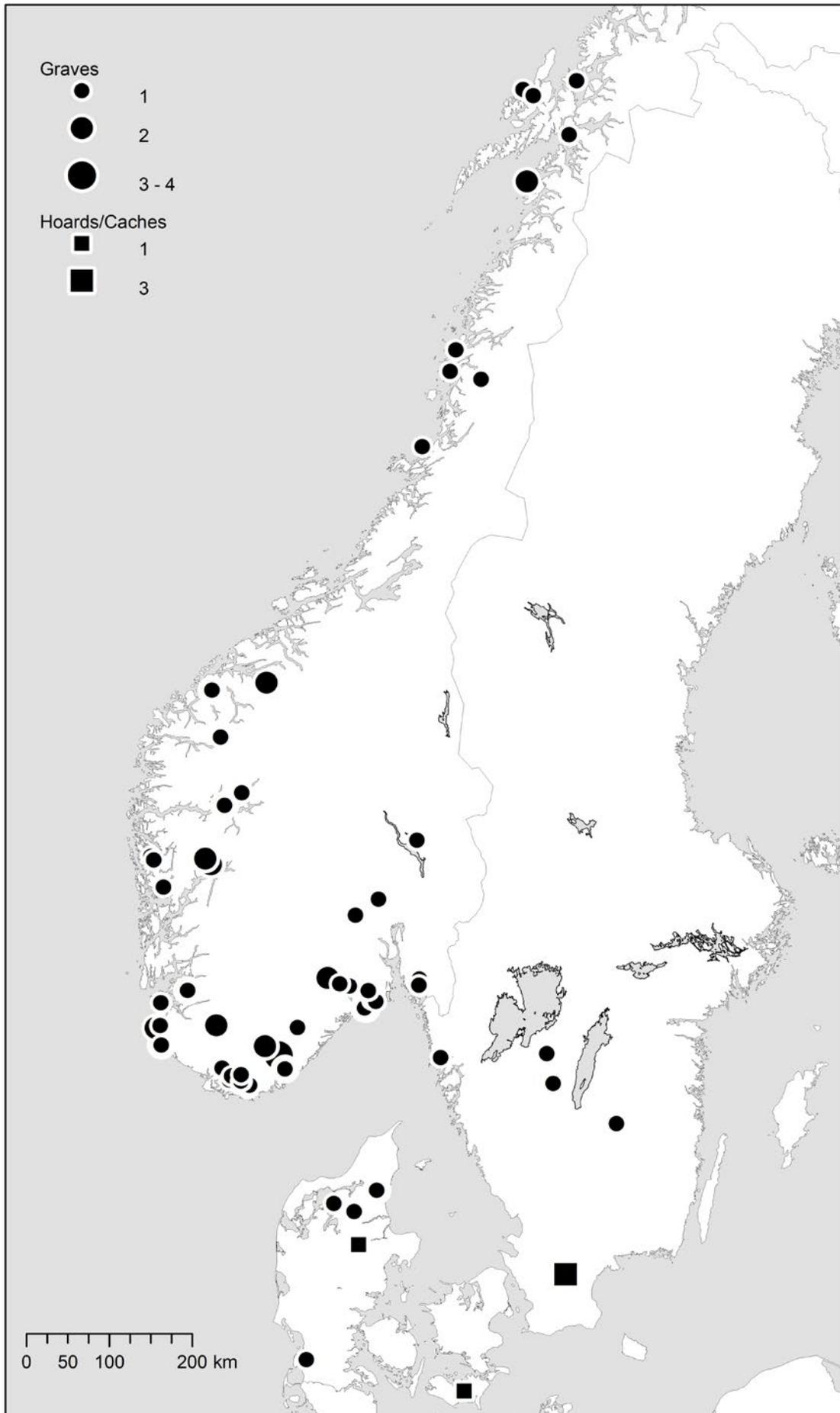
15 Including brooches from a find that is dated to the transition of phases D1/D2a: VHM201,1–2, Sønderlade, Aalborg, Jutland.

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.

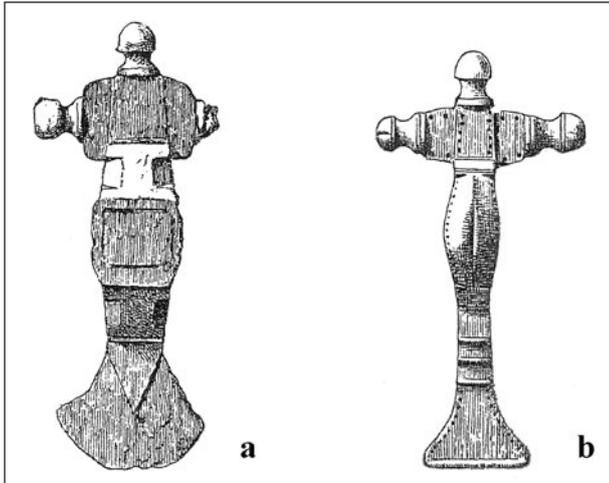


Figure 4.5 Cruciform brooches of Types **a)** *Søndre Gammelsrød*, from *Obrestad*, Rogaland (B4344) and **b)** *Foldvik-Empingham*, from *Giskegjerdet*, Møre og Romsdal (B720), after Schetelig (1906:figs. 107 and 65), © University Museum of Bergen.

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

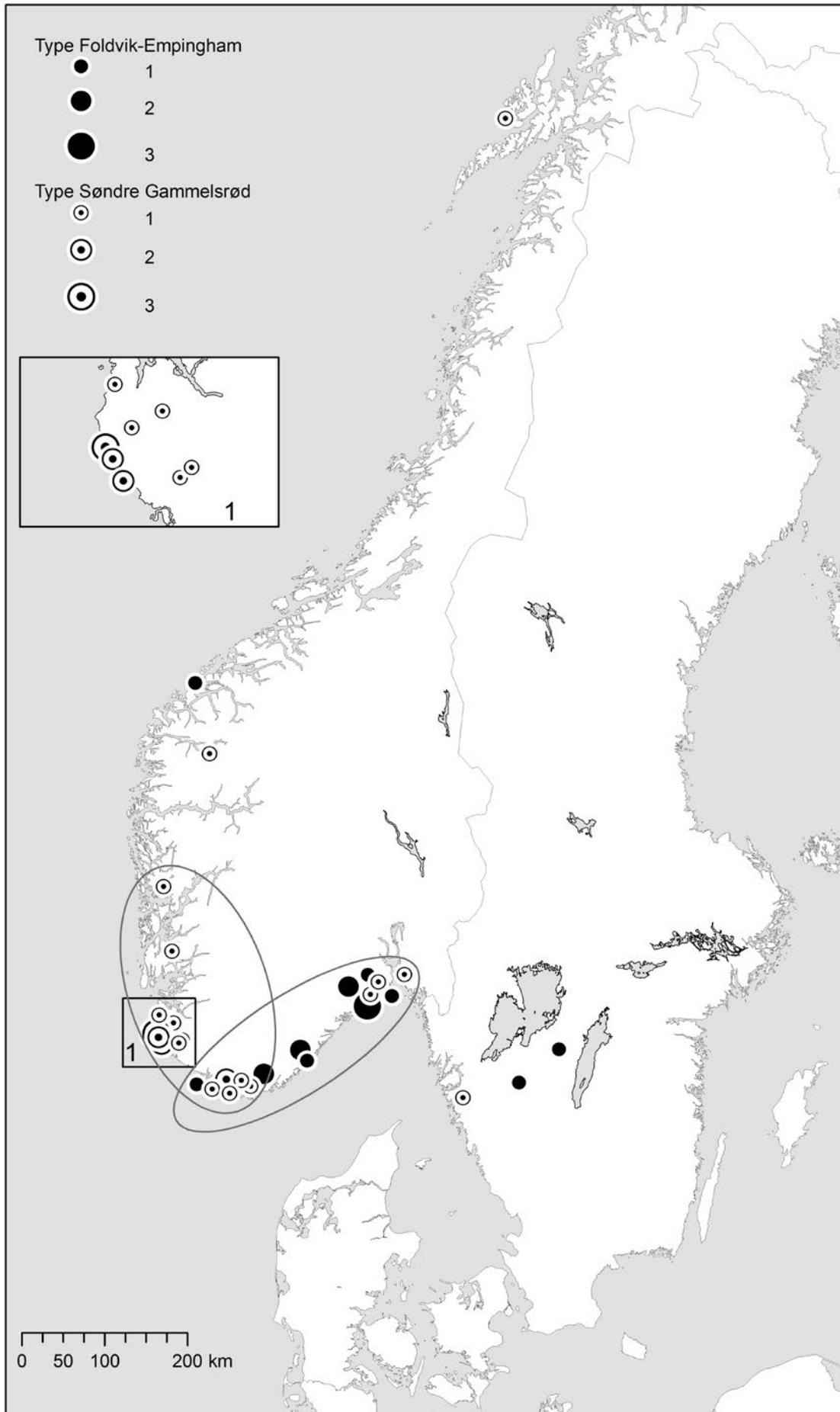
In phase D2a, the number of different brooch-types increases dramatically, as there are more than thirty different types found across Scandinavia (cf. above). The most populous types of the southern Norwegian group are Types *Søndre Gammelsrød* and *Foldvik-Empingham*, with 26²¹ and 16²² examples each (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.

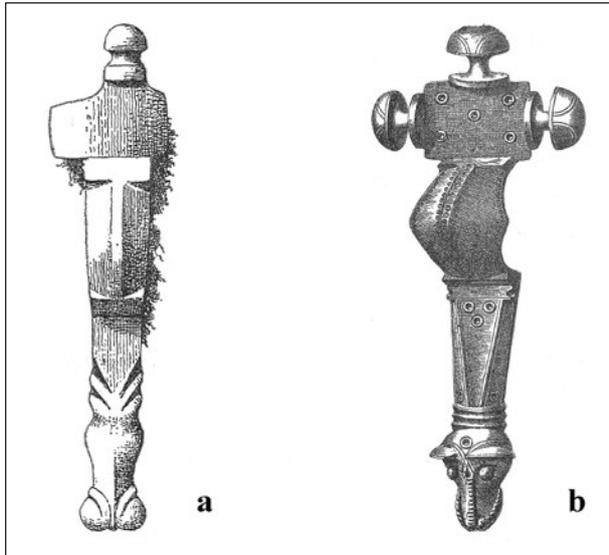


Figure 4.6 Cruciform brooches of Types **a**) Stoveland, from Stoveland, Aust-Agder (C8938) and **b**) Valandsmoen, from Ertseid, Vest-Agder (C9188), after Schetelig (1906:figs. 168 and 55), © University Museum of Bergen.

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.

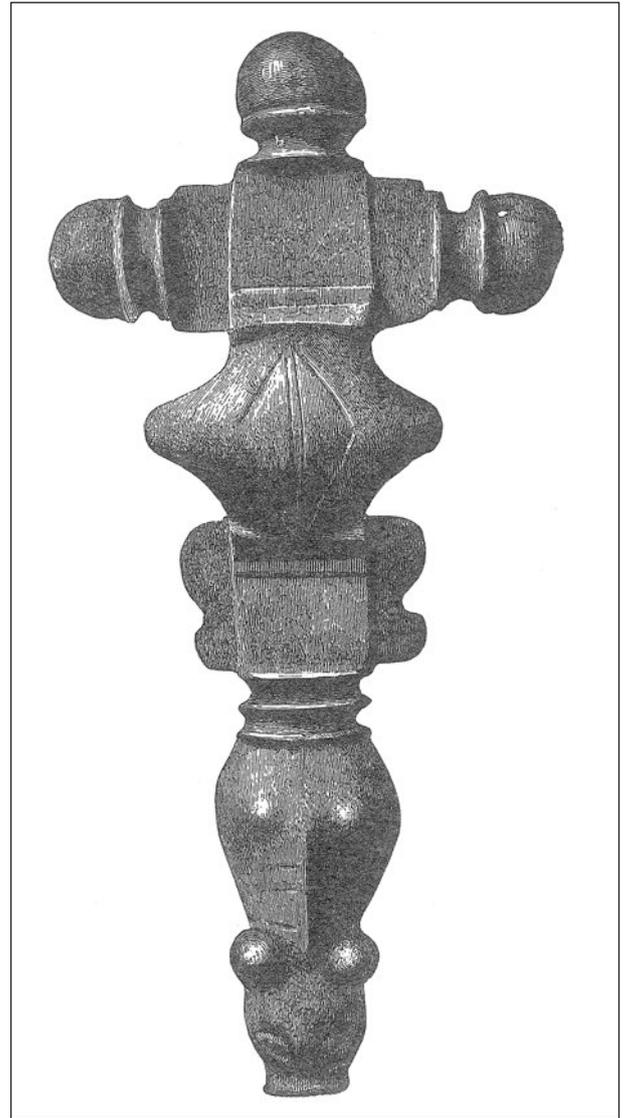
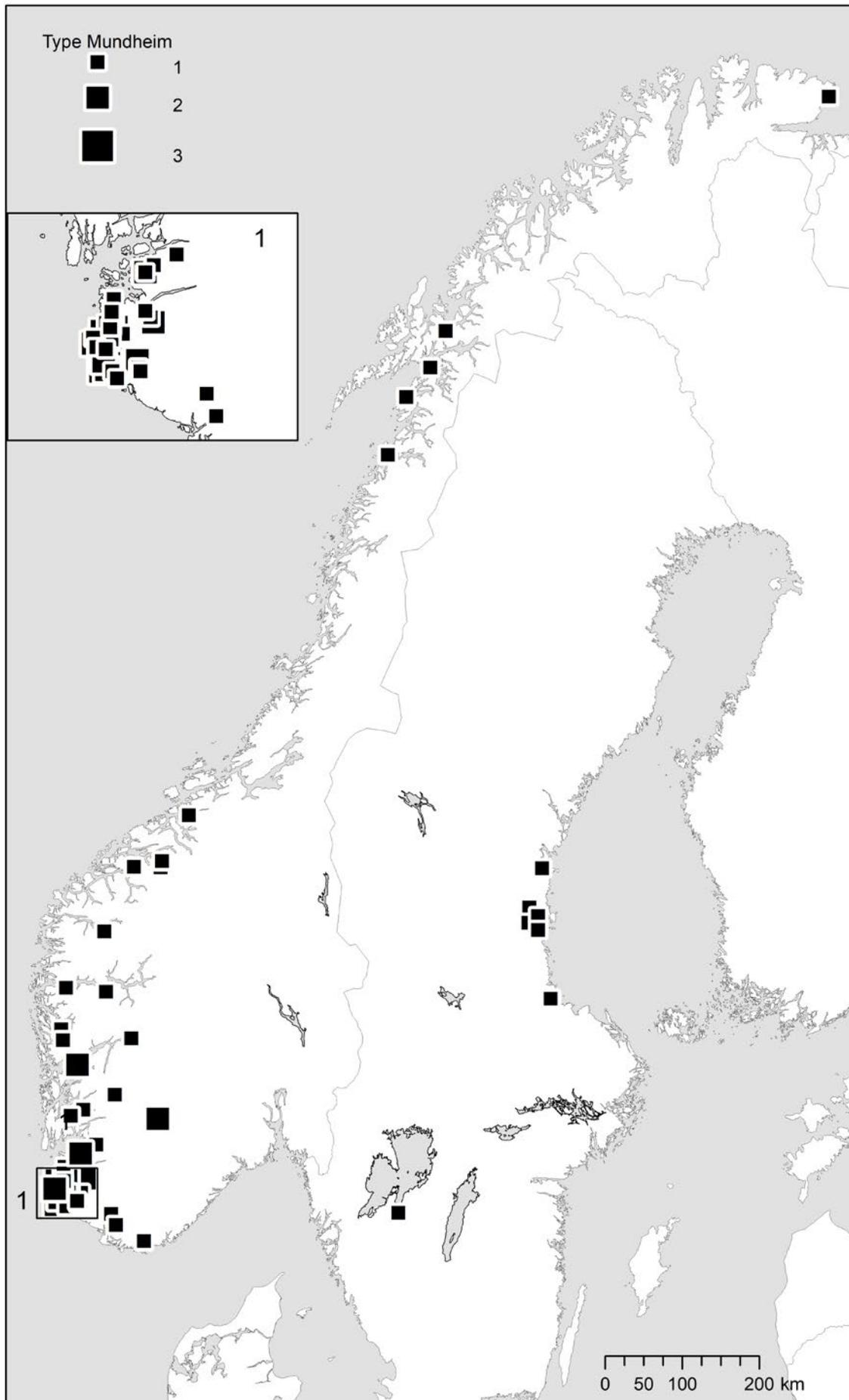


Figure 4.7 Cruciform brooch of Type Mundheim from Øksnevad, Klepp, Rogaland (B542), after Rygh (1885:fig. 252).

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.

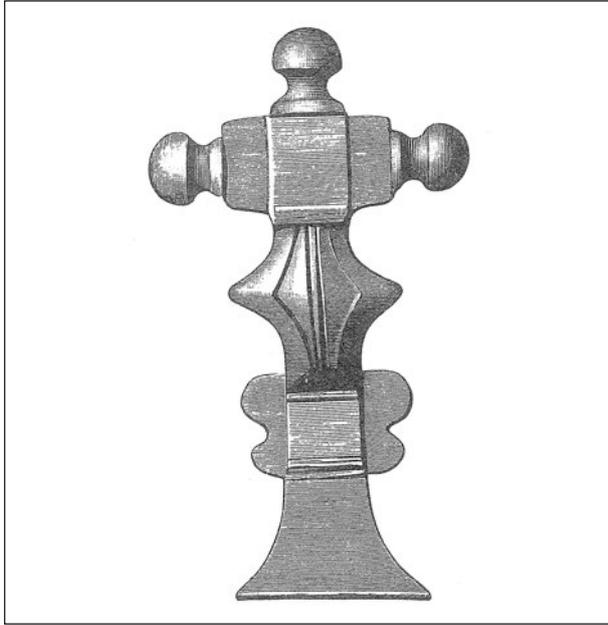


Figure 4.8 Cruciform brooch of Type Lima from Tjøtta, Klepp, Rogaland (C4924), after Rygh (1885:fig. 253).

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

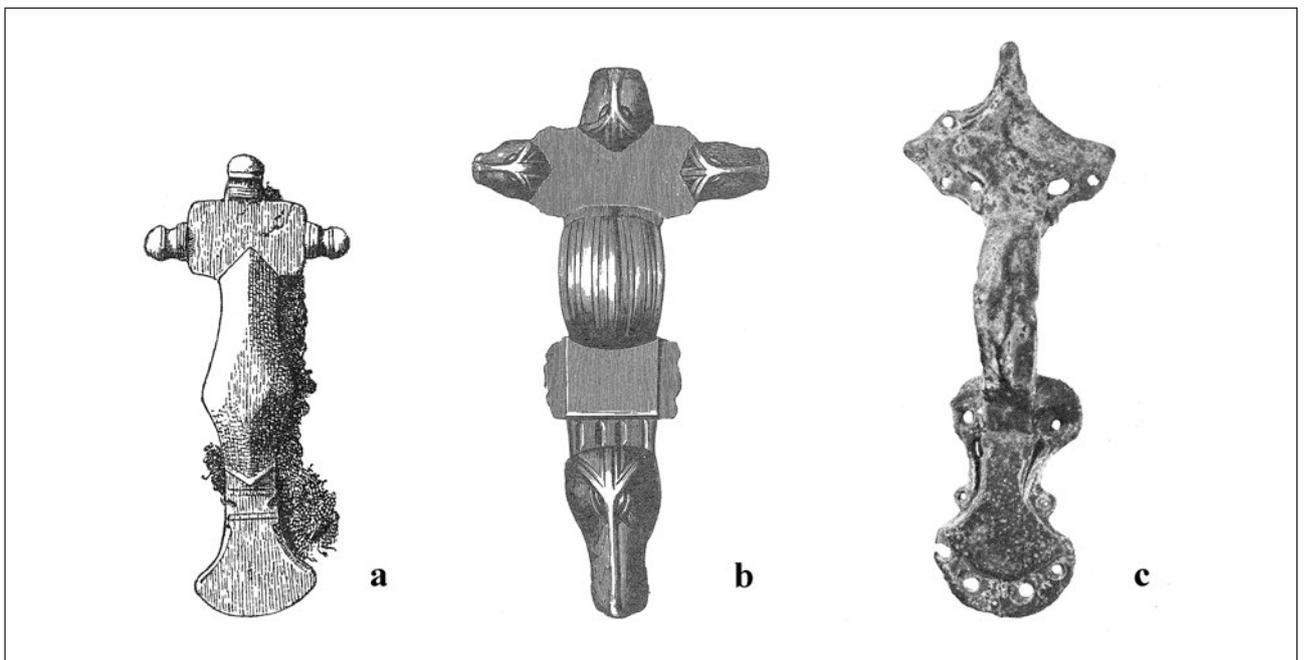
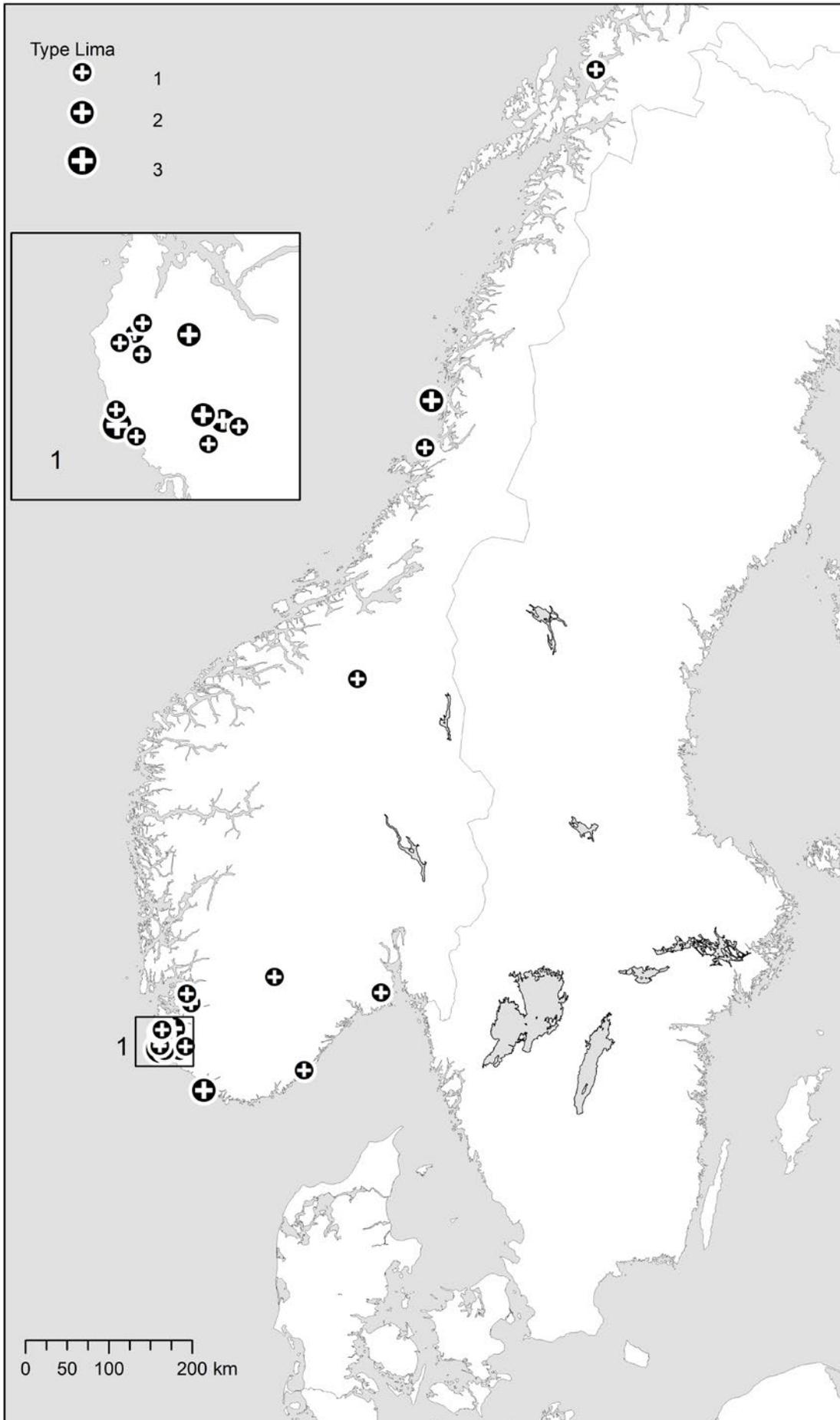


Figure 4.9 Cruciform brooches of Types **a**) Ådland, from Lunde, Lista, Vest-Agder (BB4234), after Schetelig (1906:fig. 108), © University Museum of Bergen, **b**) Byrkje, of unknown provenance (B451), after Rygh (1885:fig. 251), and **c**) Sagland, from Varhaug, Hå, Rogaland (S6450), after Reichstein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

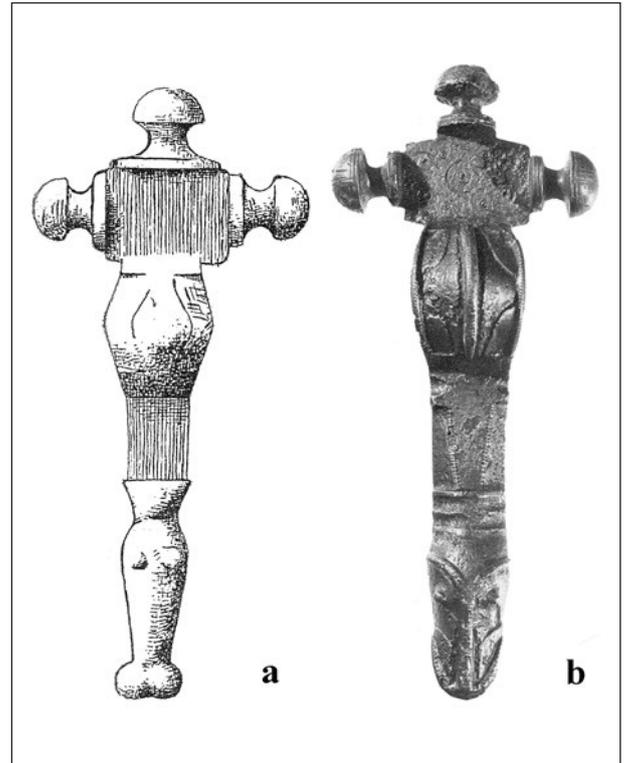


Figure 4.10 Cruciform brooches of Types **a)** Varhaug, from Varhaug, Hå, Rogaland (S1559), after Schetelig (1906:fig. 87), © University Museum of Bergen, and **b)** Nøding, from Valandsmoen, Mandal, Vest-Agder (C976), after Reichstein (1975:Taf. 22.3).

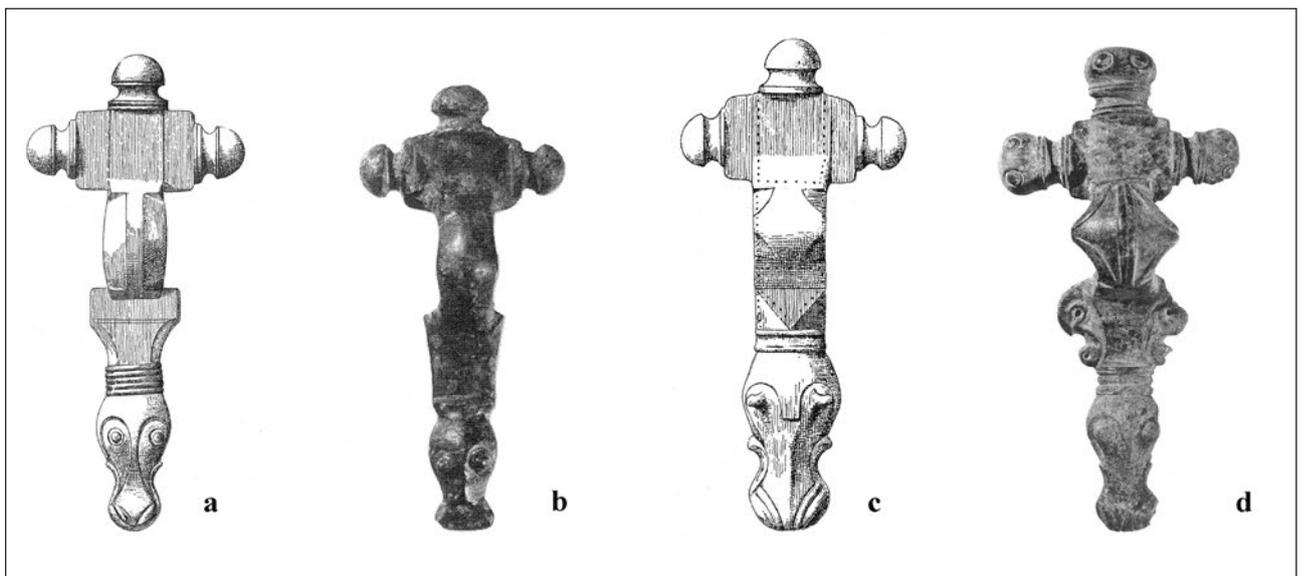
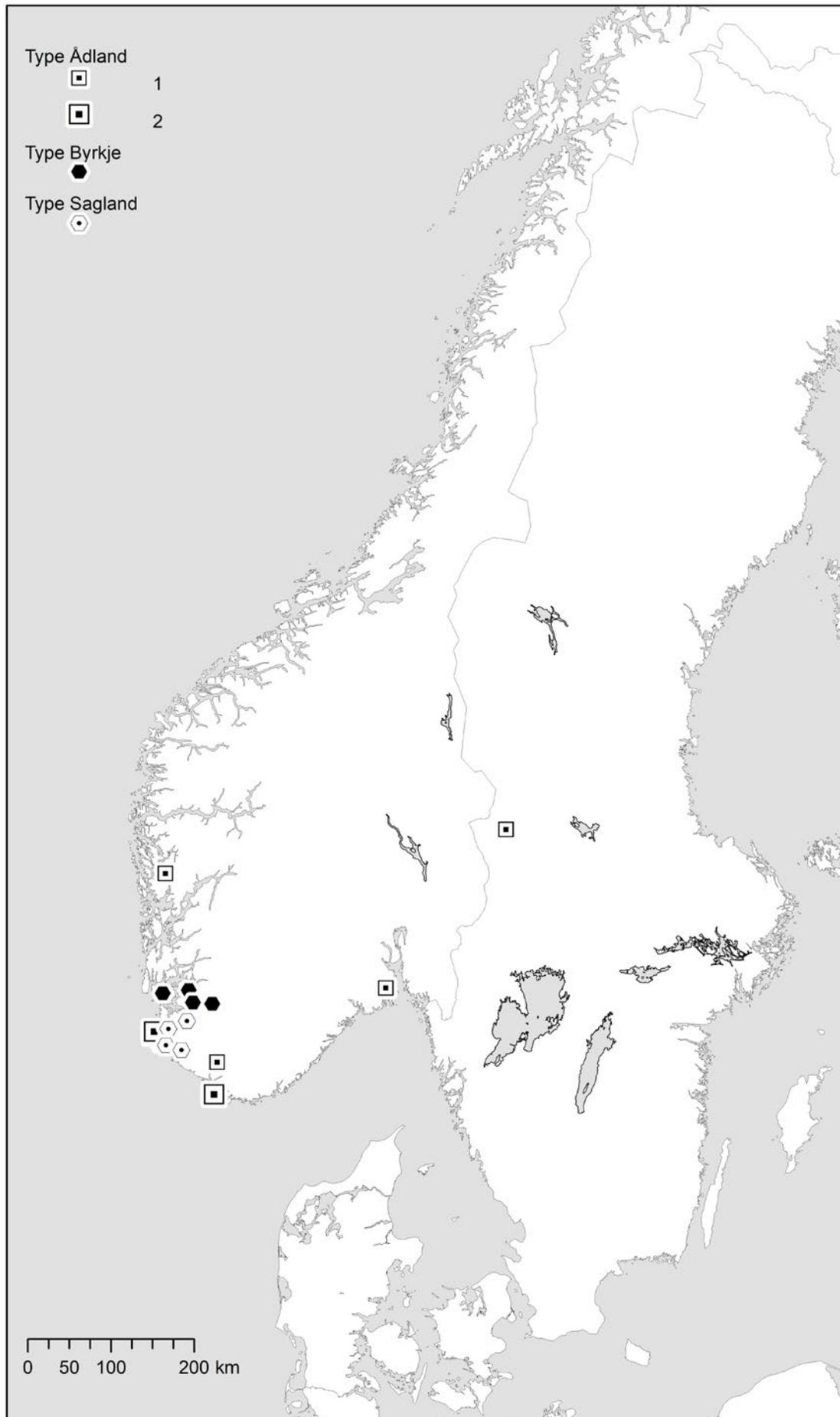


Figure 4.11 Cruciform brooches of Types **a)** Mo, from Mo, Førde, Sogn og Fjordane (B2828), after Schetelig (1906:fig. 84), © University Museum of Bergen, **b)** Skaim, from Skaim, Aurland, Sogn og Fjordane (B8552), © University Museum of Bergen, **c)** Draugsvoll, from Draugsvoll, Voss, Hordaland (B4353), 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.

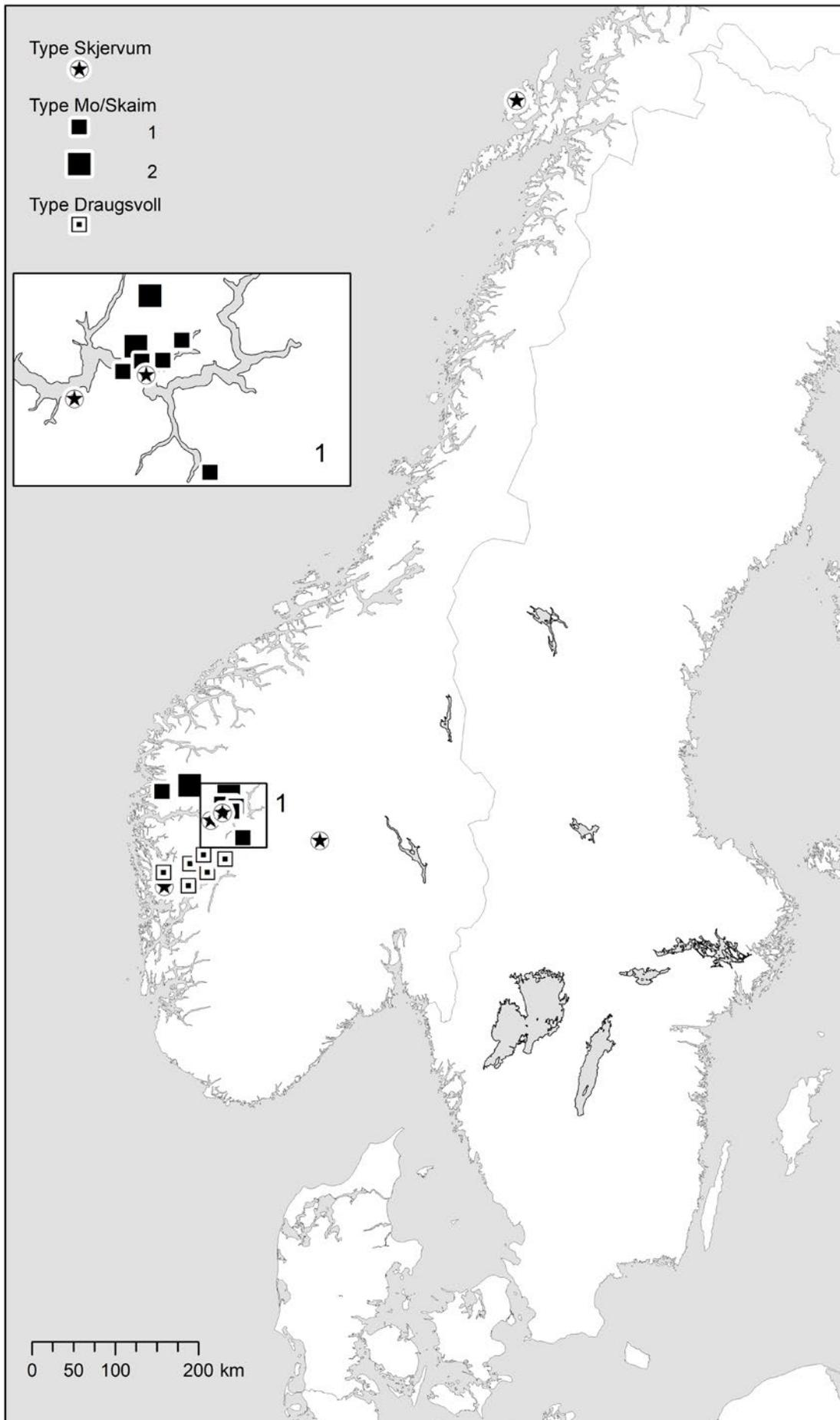
²⁸ There is also a find from Vindblæs, Jutland (C8719), and another from Store Hatlø, Møre og Romsdal (Å995–6), which are similar to Types Mo/Skaim. The latter find is damaged, so that it is difficult to determine the type. These two finds are included in the analysis of contexts, below.



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.

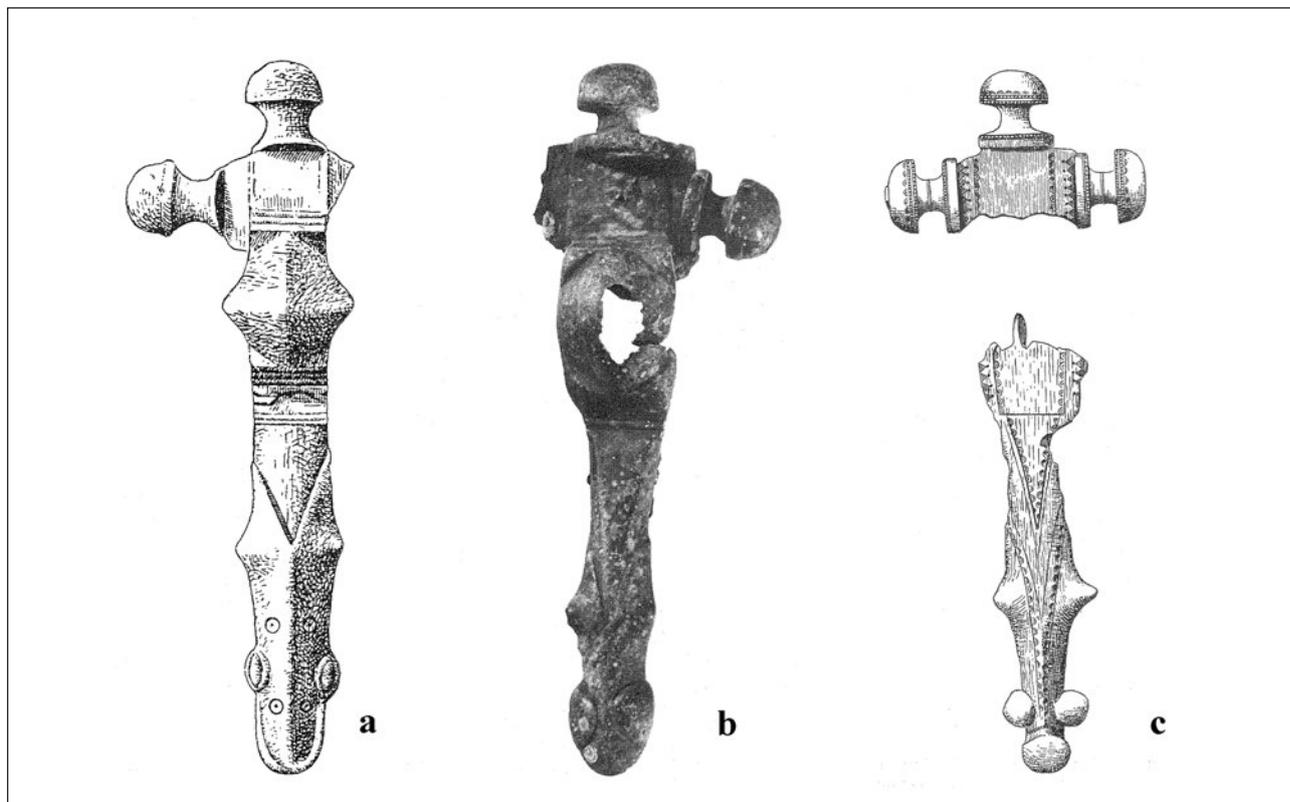


Figure 4.12 Cruciform brooches of Types **a**) Skogøya, from Dirdal, Rogaland (C3457), after Schetelig (1906:fig. 74), © University Museum of Bergen, **b**) Volstad, from Voldstad, Troms (T32378), after Reichstein (1975:Tafel 58.5) and **c**) Eidsbukten, from an unknown farm, Rauma, Møre og Romsdal (B444),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

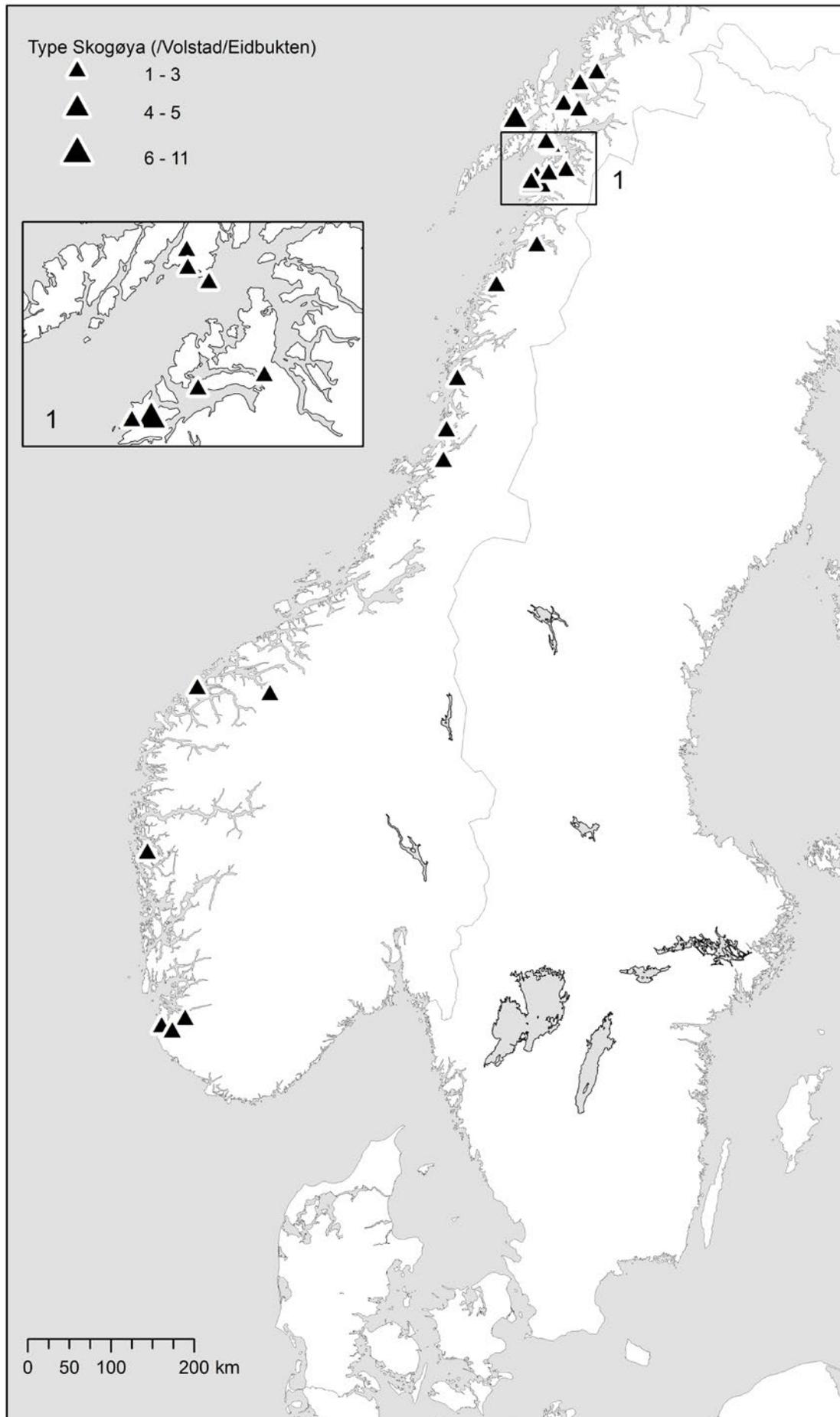
ought rather to be classified as variants of one type, and I treat them as a single group in what follows. The final local type amongst the western Norwegian brooches is Type Draugsvoll, with six examples from six different finds in Hordaland (Map 4.11). Four of these finds are from a single district,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

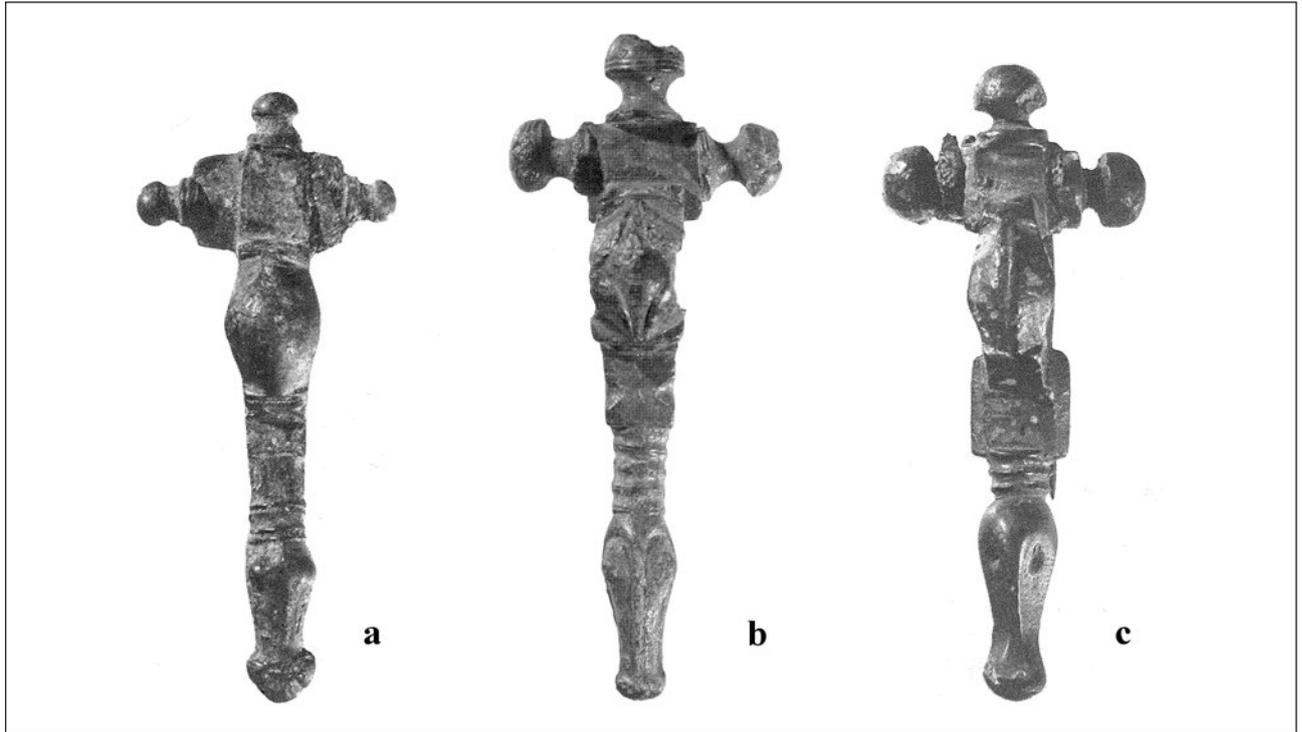
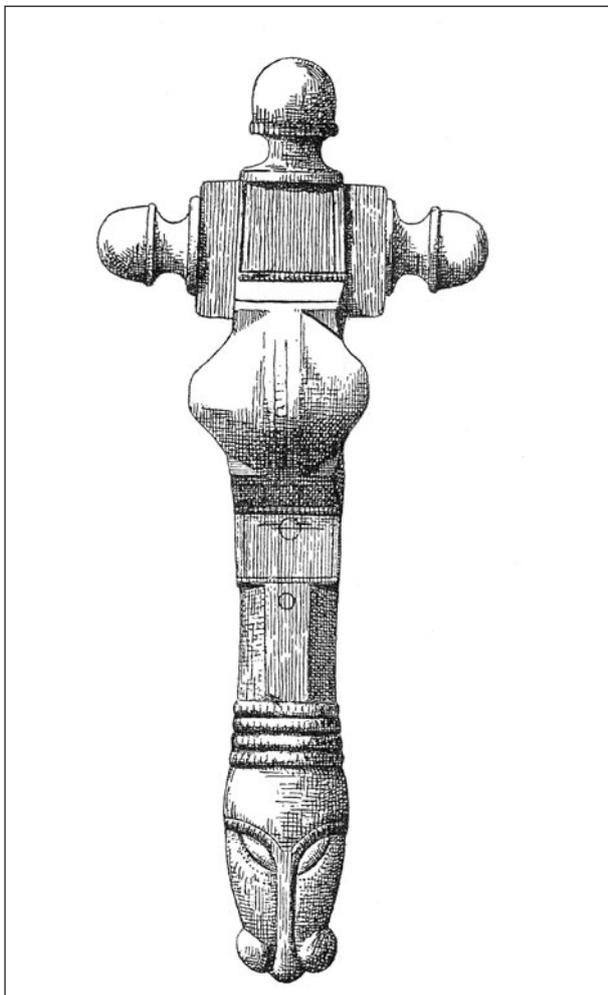


Figure 4.13 Cruciform brooches of Types **a**) Gjerla, from Måge, Ullensvang, Hordaland (B5733b), Photograph: Olav Espevoll. © University Museum of Bergen, **b**) Ålgard, from Ålgard, Gjesdal, Rogaland (S2035), and **c**) Fristad, from Bø, Hå, Rogaland (S828), © Arkeologisk Museum, University of Stavanger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

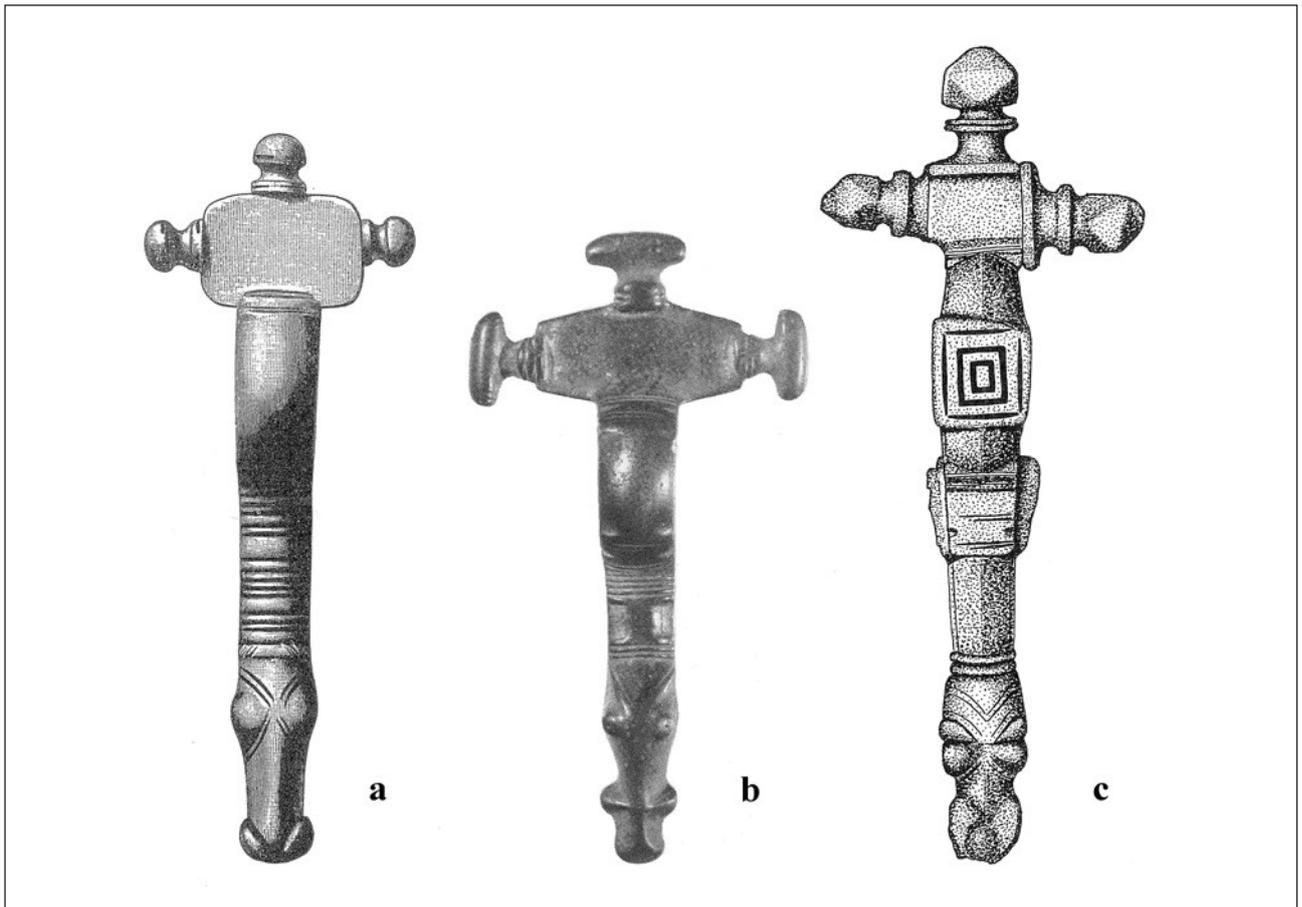


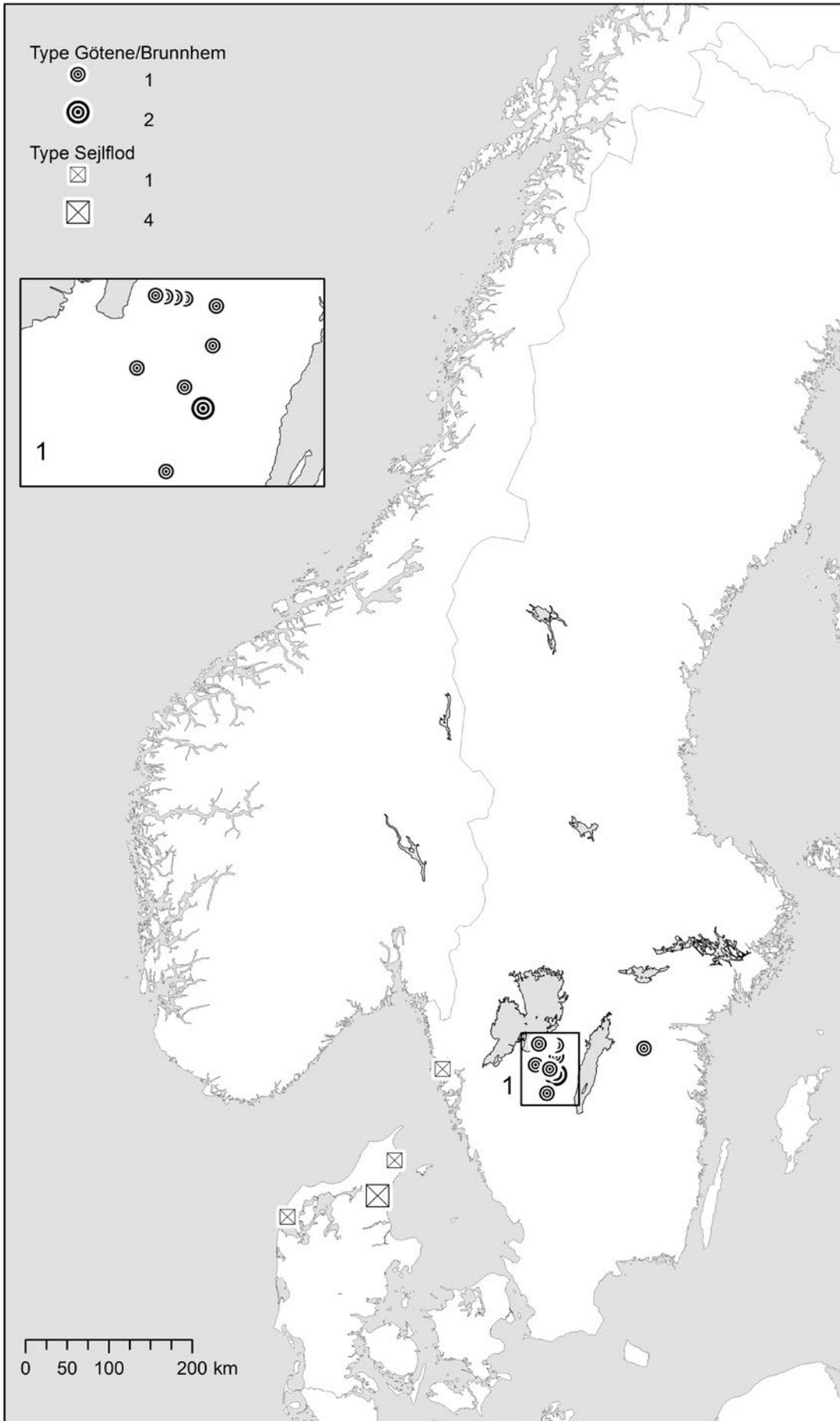
Figure 4.15 Cruciform brooches of Types **a**) Götene, from Stångebro, Östergötland (SHM9589/37), after Salin (1904:fig. 454), **b**) Brunnhem, from Jättene, Bosgården, Västergötland (SHM6261), after Reichstein (1975:Tafel 73.4) and **c**) Sejlflod, (variant 1) from Sejlflod, Jutland (grave IZ), after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

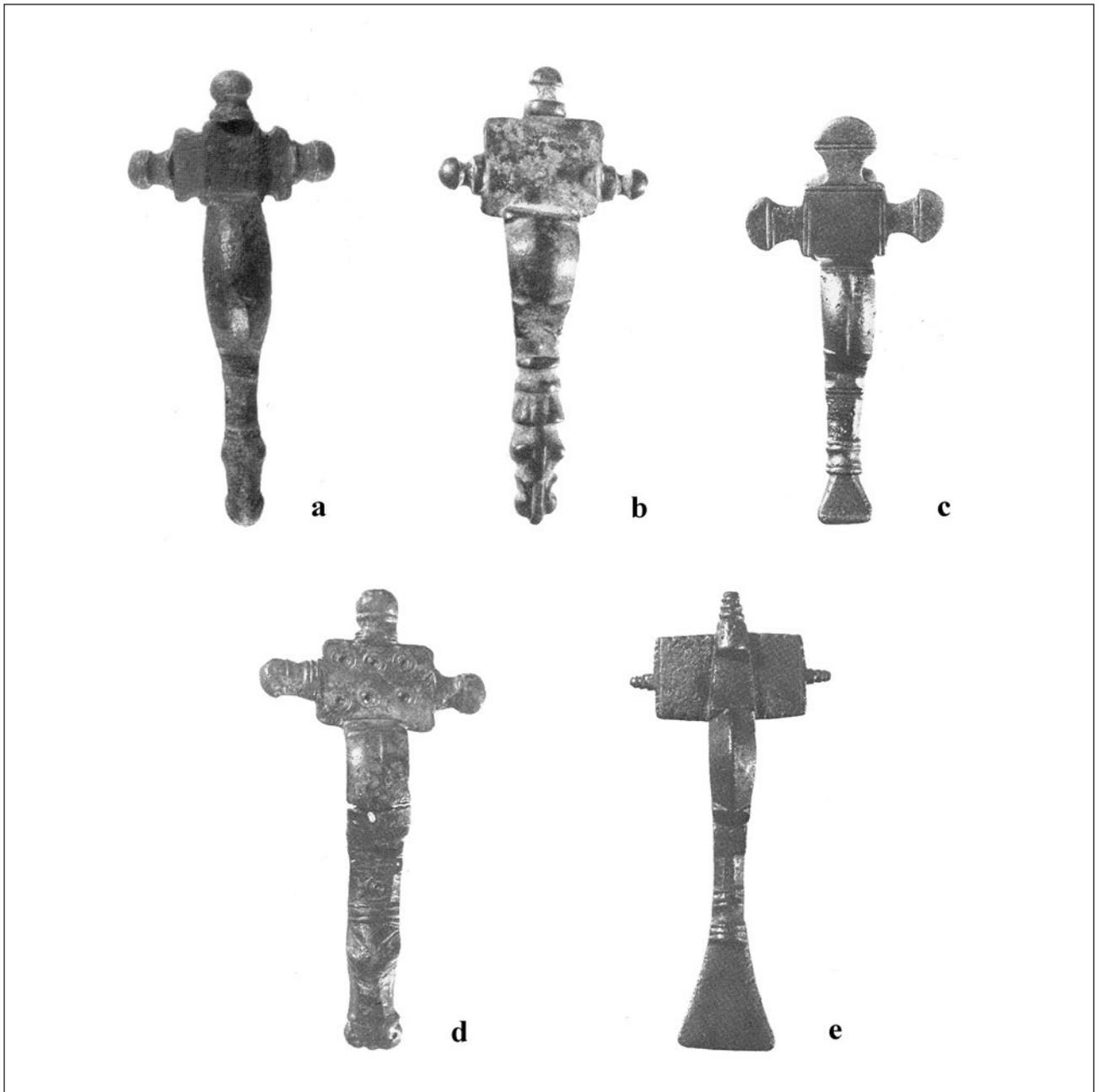


Figure 4.16 Cruciform brooches of Types **a** Midlum, of unknown provenance, Denmark (C6396), **b** Krefeld-Gellep, from Barrington, Cambridgeshire, **c** Bradwell and **d** Barrington, from Little Wilbraham, Cambridgeshire, and **e** Lyminge, from Lyminge, Kent, after Reichstein (1975:Tafn. 84.2, 89.8,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

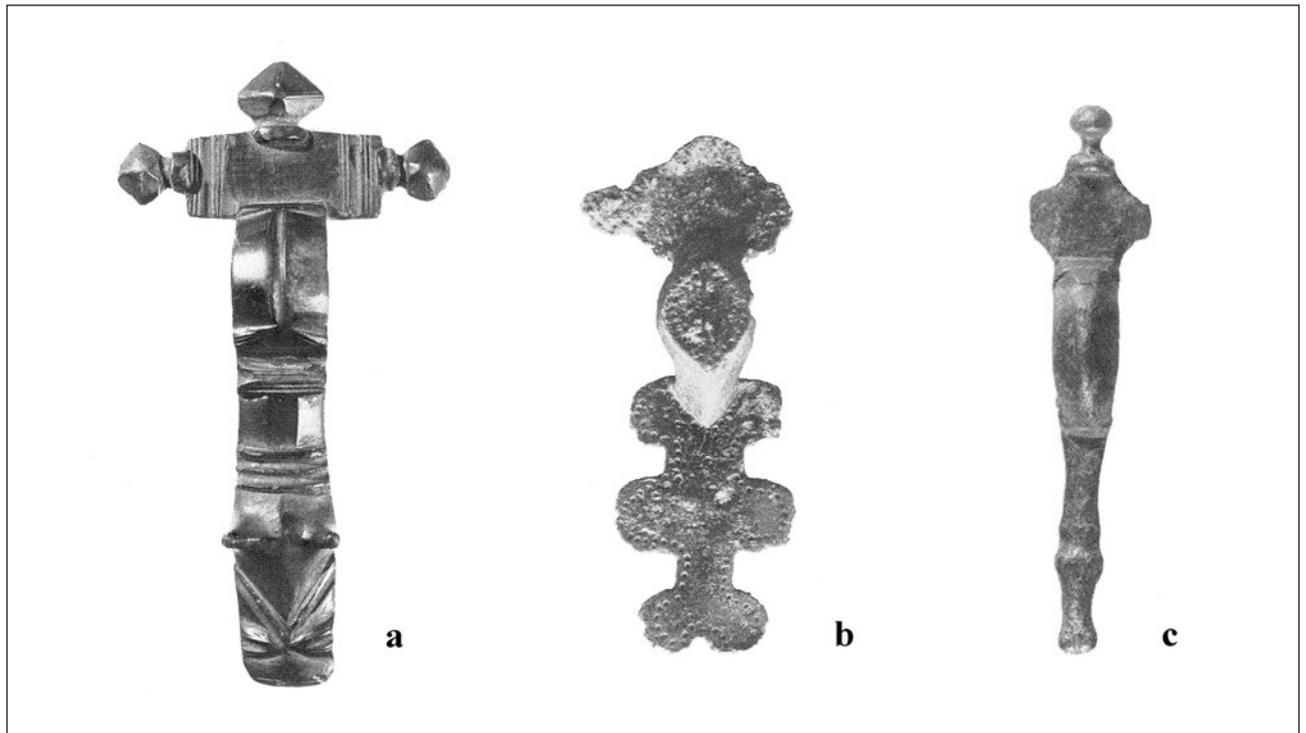


Figure 4.17 Cruciform brooches of Types **a**) Hasle, from Saugstadviken, Ringsaker, Hedmark (C24800), **b**) Oxbøl, from Oxbøl, Jutland (C.1.avd.Ox37), and **c**) Hjelmbede, from Hjelmbede, Jutland (C16842), after Reichstein (1975:Tafn. 113.8, 114.4 and 115.6).

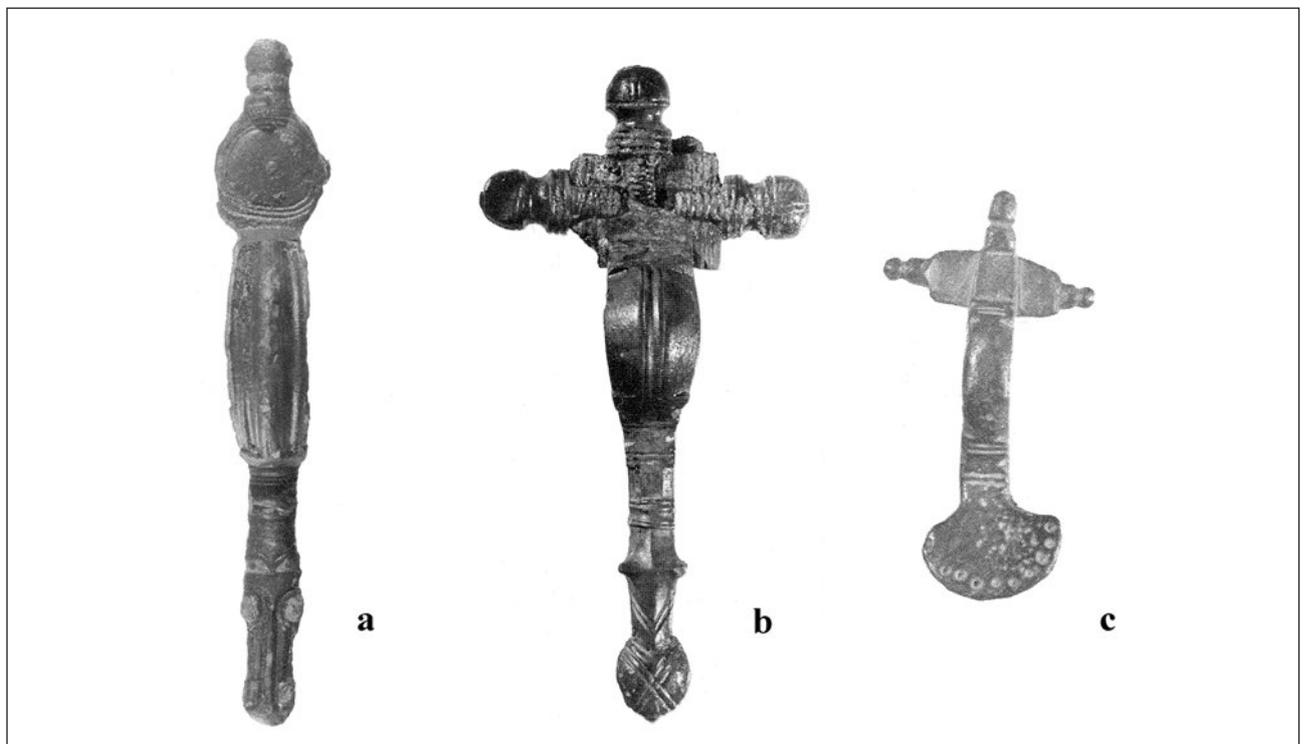


Figure 4.18 Cruciform brooches of Types **a**) Bützfleht, from Holmslund, Jutland (C2771), **b**) Trumpington, from Skogen, Vestfold (C19769) and **c**) Feering, of unknown provenance, Skåne (SHM1518), after Reichstein (1975:Tafn. 117.7, 116.6 and 107.7).

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

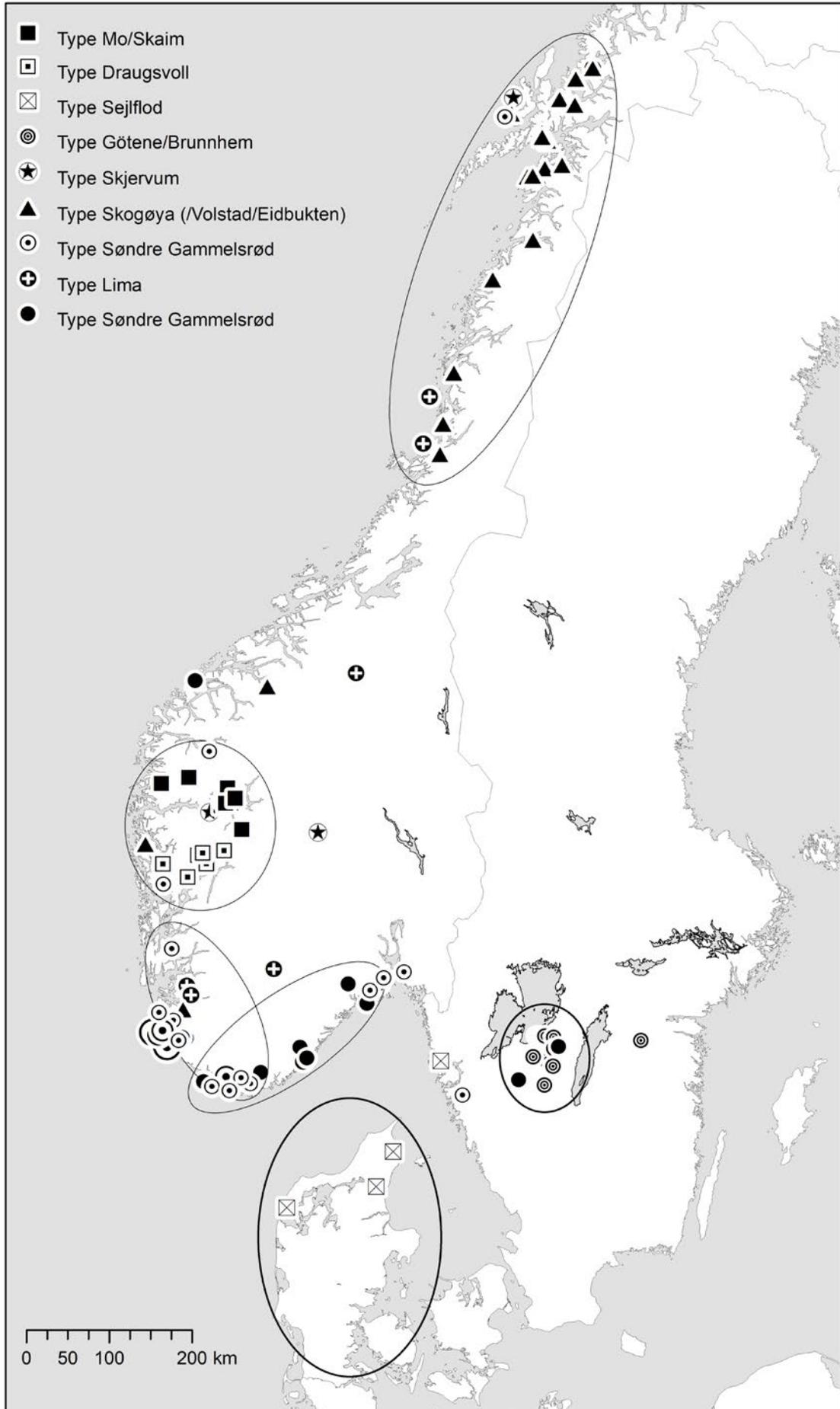
may therefore, at first sight, appear to be a significant criterion in distinguishing regional characteristics. Type Mundheim, however, has a very dense distribution in south-western Norway, particularly in Rogaland where more than half of the finds have been made (cf. above), and this type also has 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

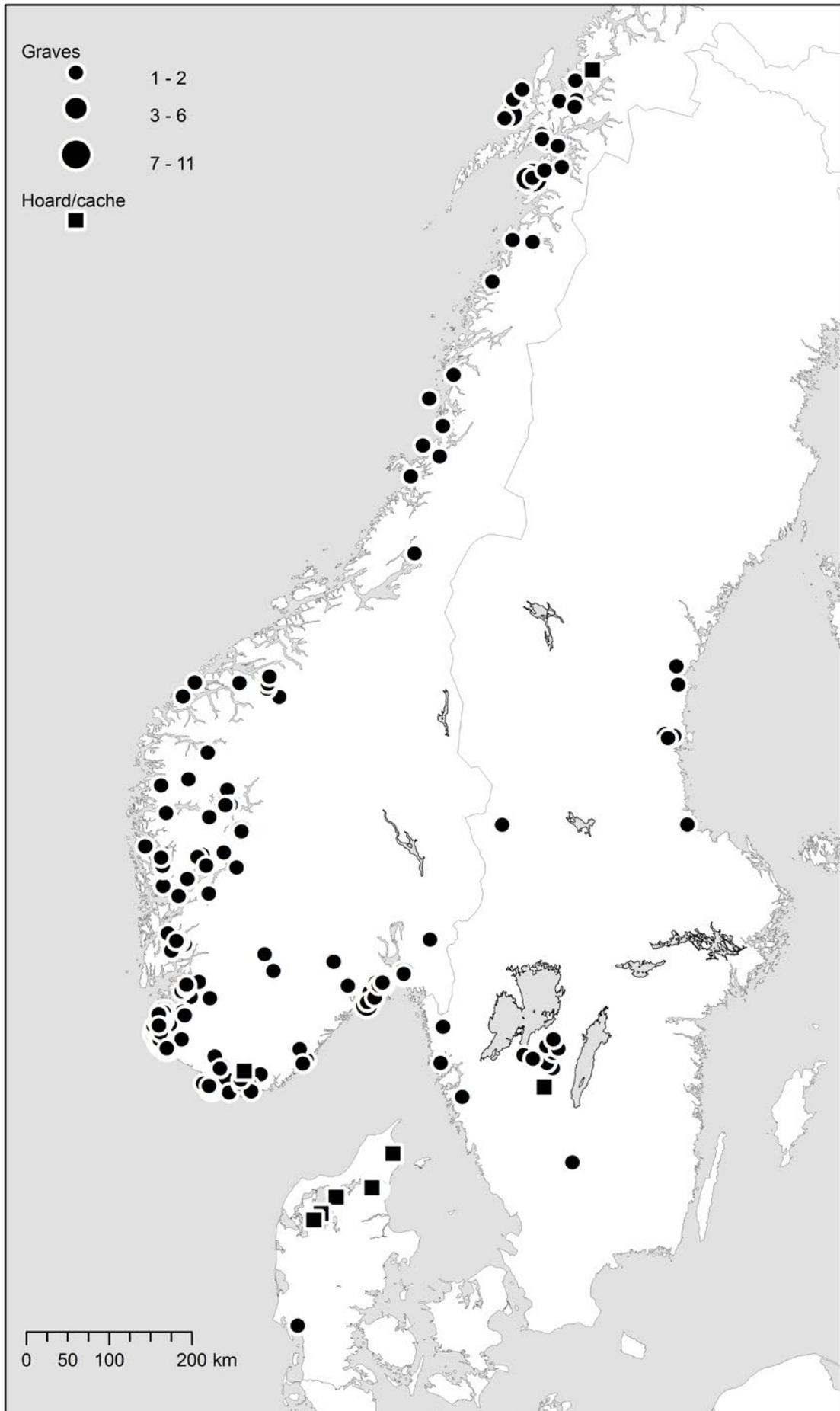
and Skogøya in turn. There is a certain congruency between the areas the caches are known from and the brooch-types concerned: the Norwegian caches have Norwegian brooch-types while two of the Danish caches involve a Danish and Continental type respectively, while the specimen of Type Götene is that 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

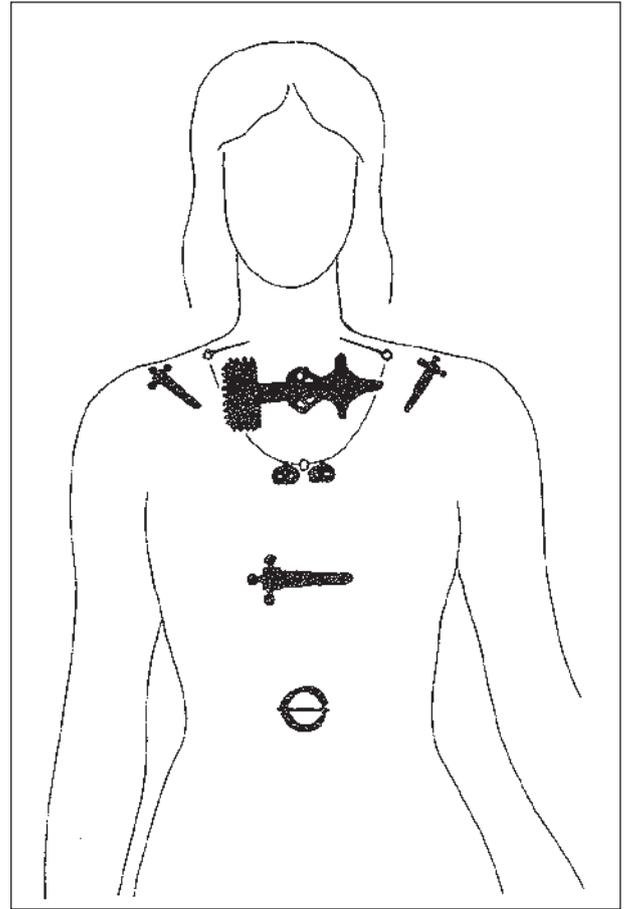


Figure 4.19 Position of relief brooch, after Jørgensen and Jørgensen (1997:fig. 46g).

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.

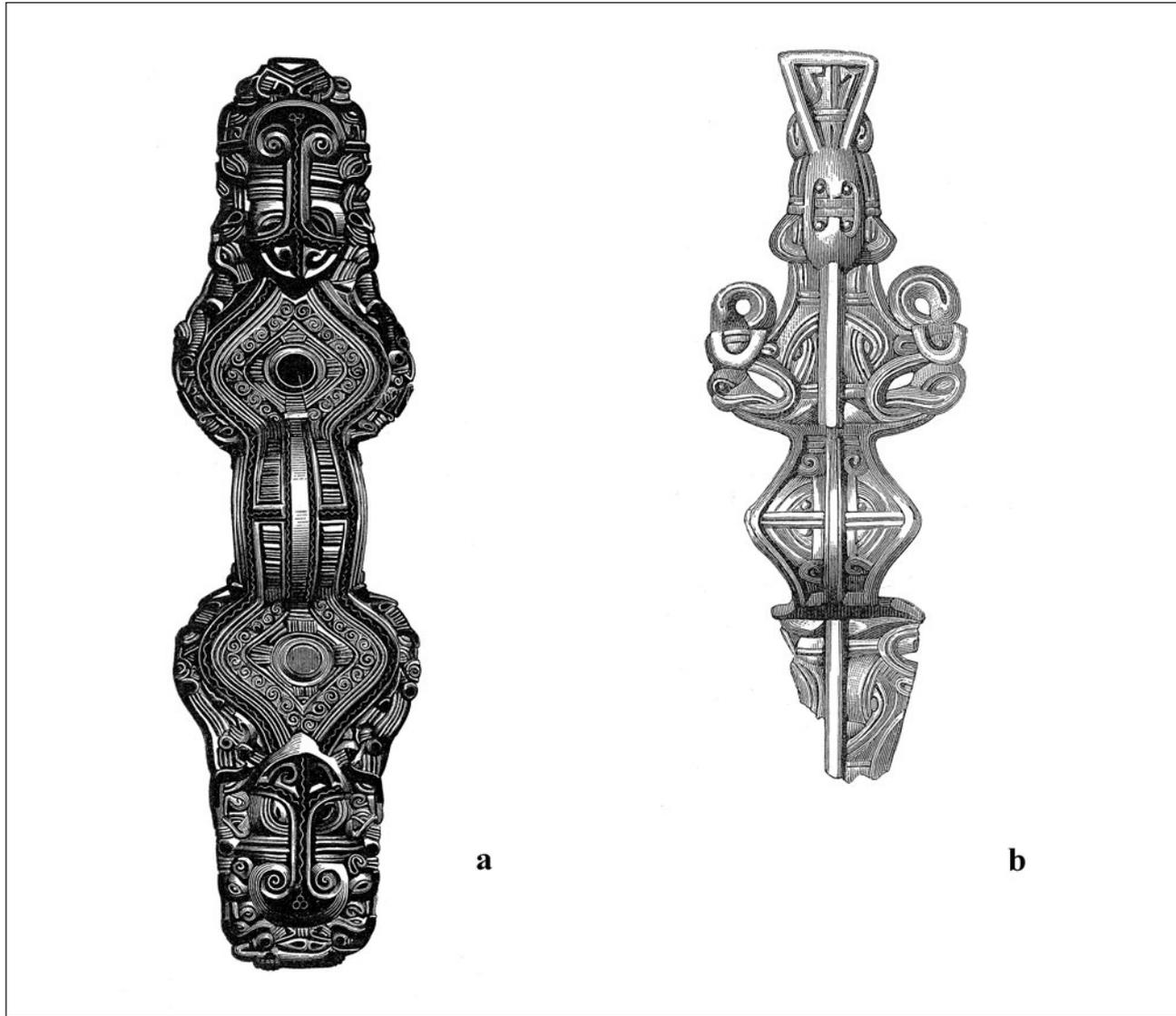


Figure 4.20 Equal-armed relief brooches of **a**) variant 1 from Gillberga, Närke (SHM3445) and **b**) variant 2 from Utnäs, Hälsingland (HM87/7567A), after Salin (1904:fig. 178 and Åberg (1924:fig. 125).

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 assignation 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*

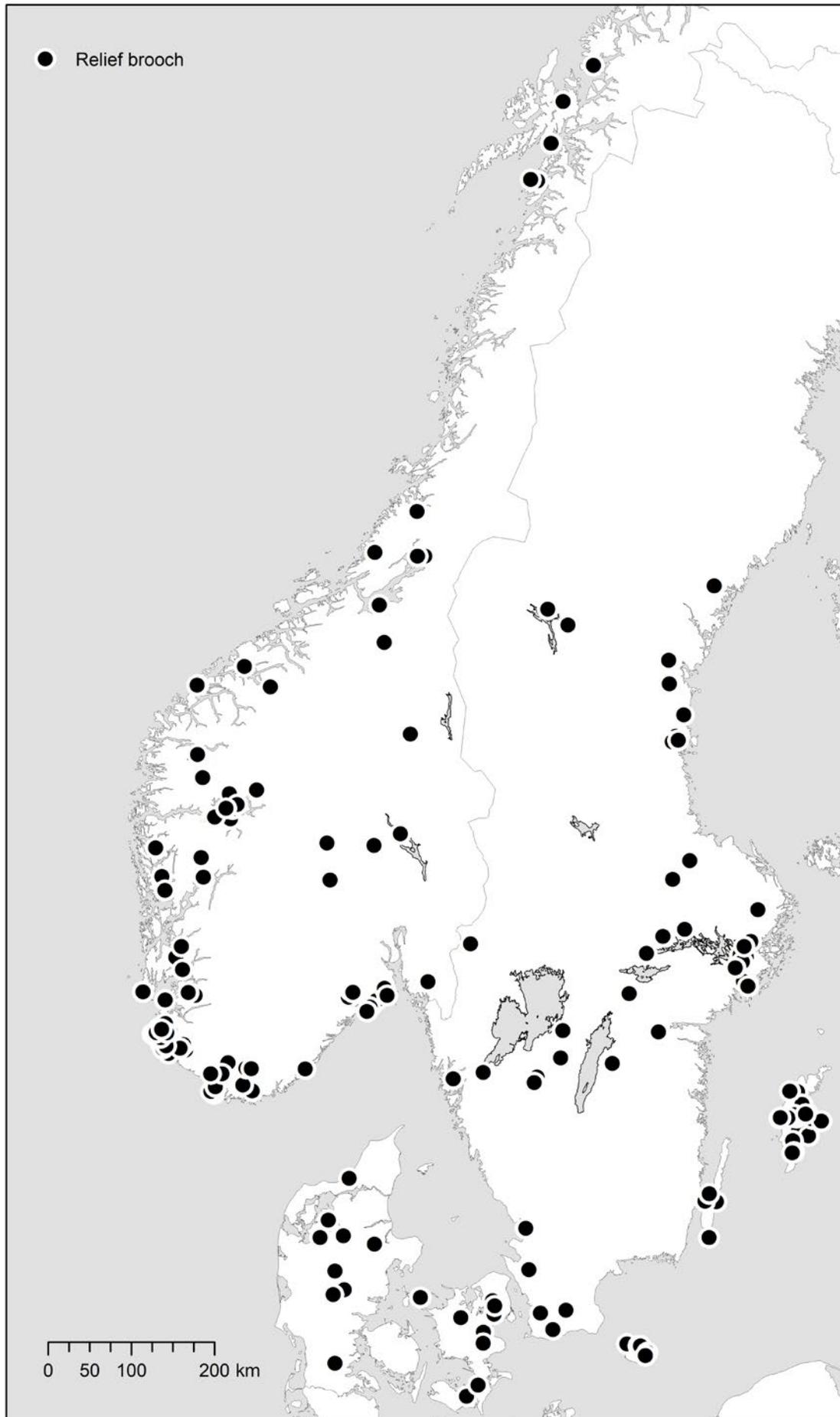
As has been noted, the relief brooches are most numerous represented in Norway, with 110 brooches (Map 4.18). Within Norway there is a striking concentration in the south-western coastal regions in the provinces of Rogaland and Vest-Agder and also quite a high number from Sogn og Fjordane and the provinces 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.

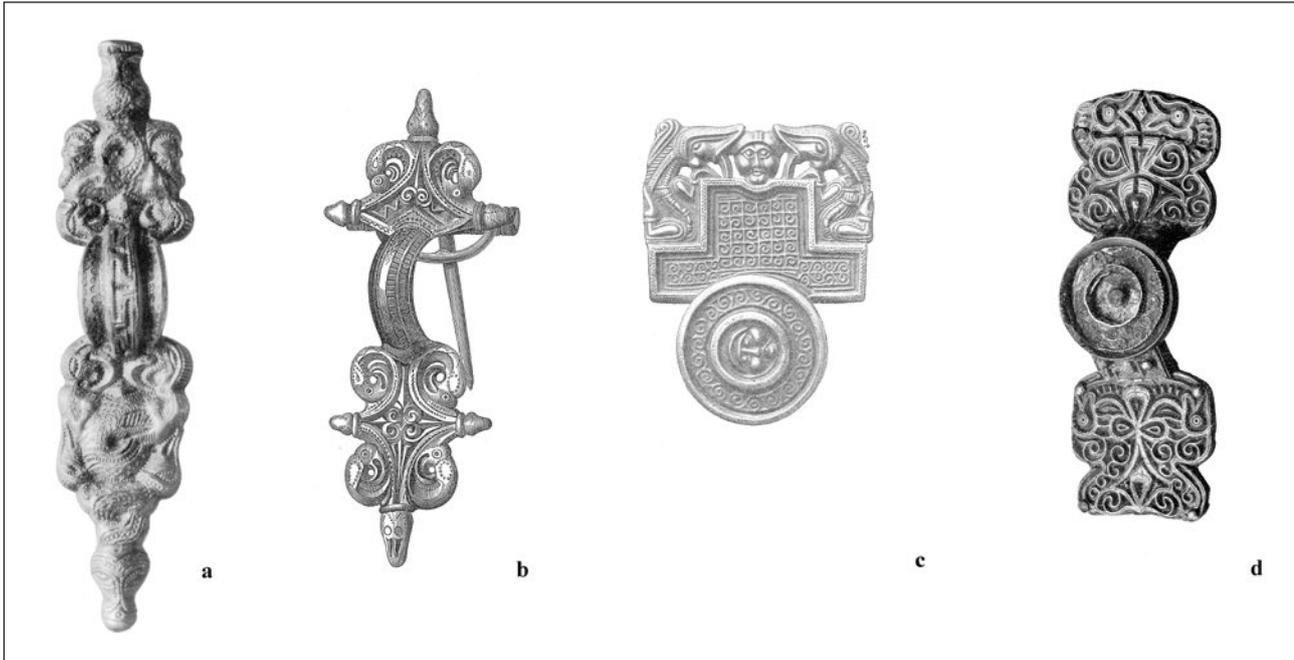


Figure 4.21 Equal-armed relief brooches of Phase D1 from **a**) Hol, Inderøy, Nord-Trøndelag (T9823). Photograph: Kari Dahl. © NTNU, University Museum, **b**) Møllebakken, Bornholm (C32), after Salin (1904:fig. 492), **c**) Galsted (C.DCLVIII, DCCXXXVIII), after Salin (1904:fig. 394) and **d**) Holmgårds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

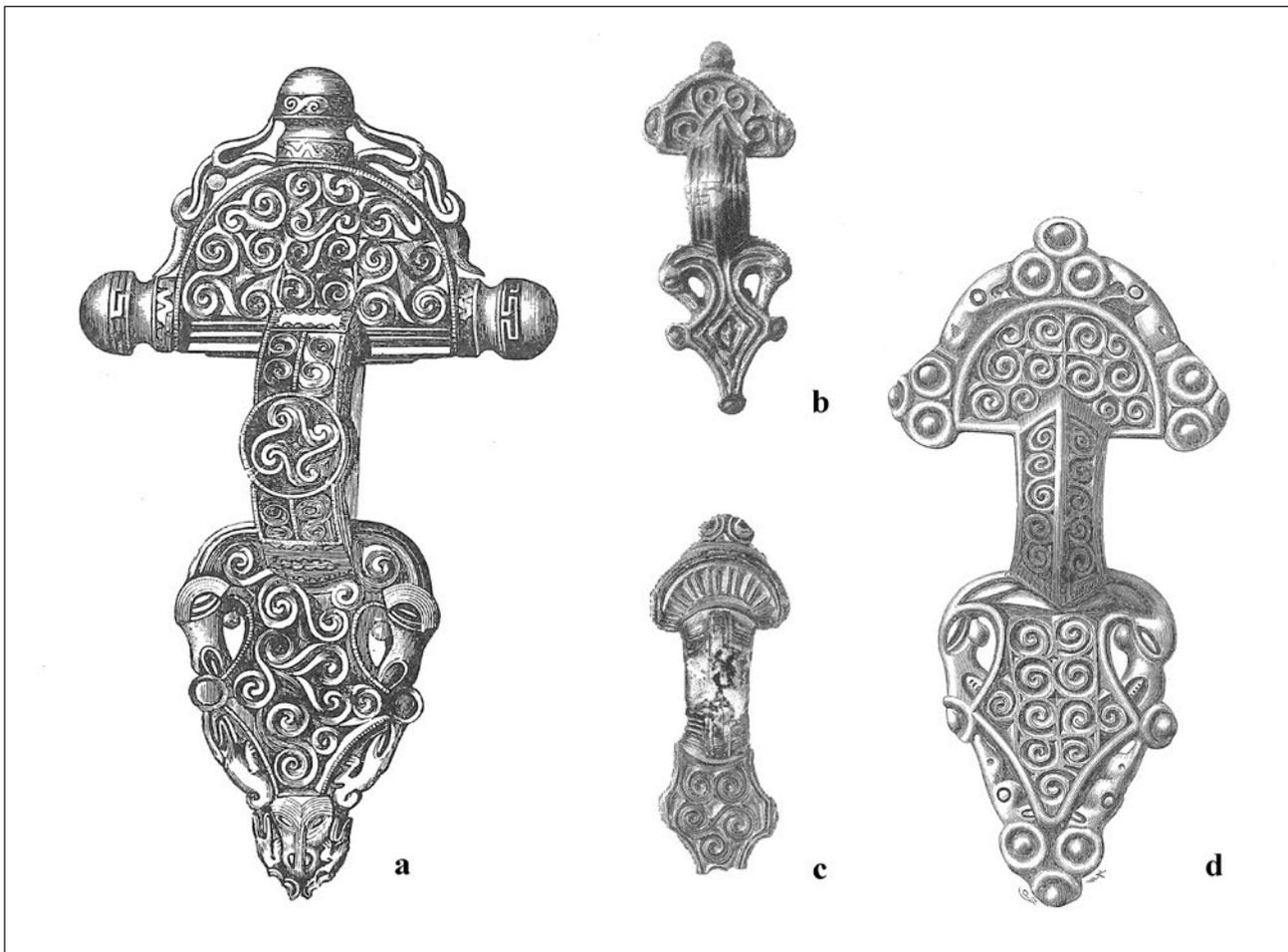


Figure 4.22 Relief brooches of type A-6 from **a**) Skerne, Falster (C22127), after Salin (1904:fig. 116), **b**) of unknown provenance in Denmark (C754). Photograph: Thorleif Sjøvold. © Museum of Cultural History, **c**) Vik, Aust-Agder (C7076). Photograph: © Museum of Cultural History, and **d**) unknown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

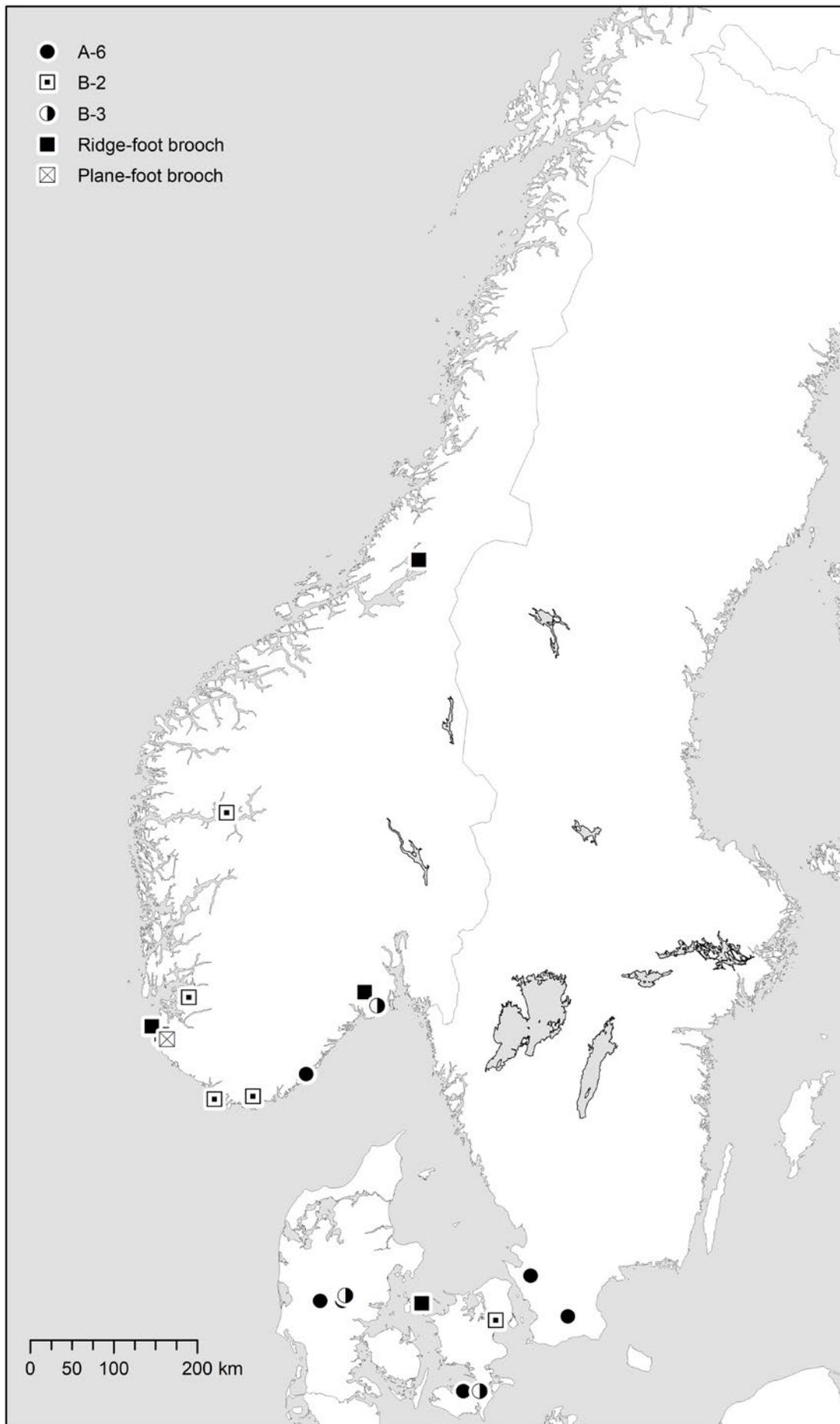
47 In the description in Vilhelm Boye's catalogue (1859:121) it would appear that one find of unknown provenance in Denmark (C754) was a matter of a single brooch, but according to Åberg (1924:79) and Haseloff (1981) this find comprised two small relief brooches with vine-scroll decoration and a semi-circular 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.

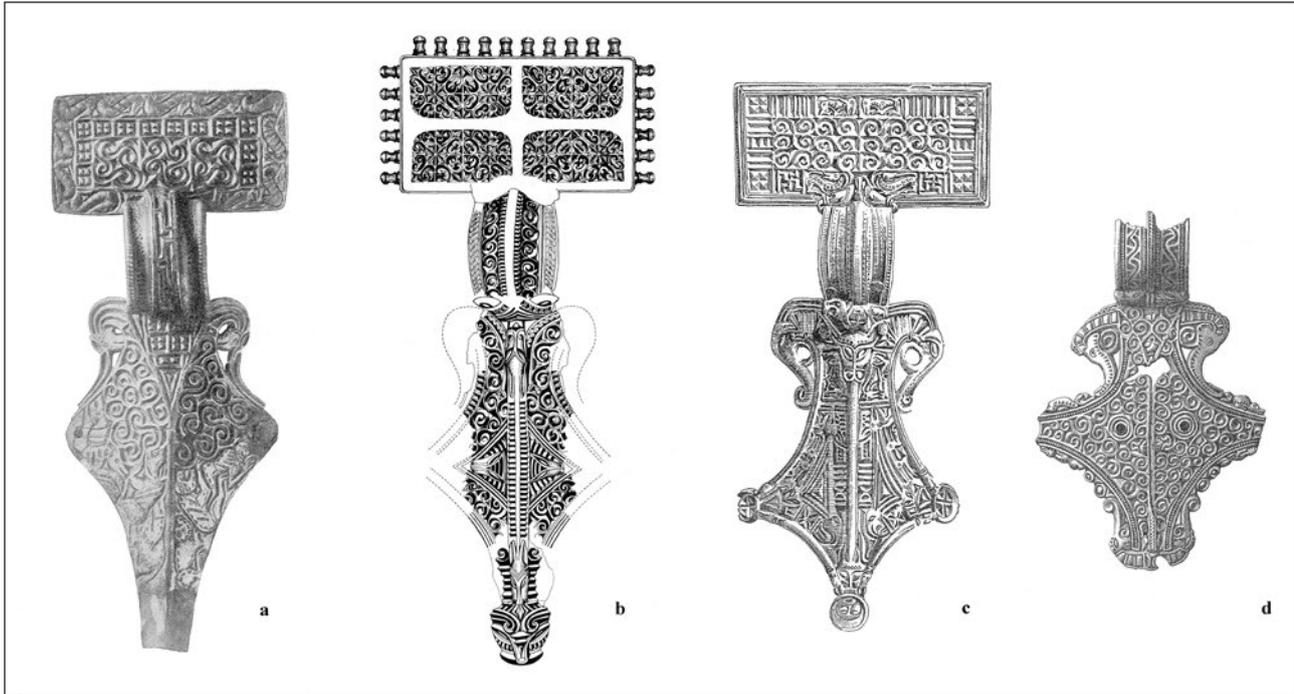


Figure 4.26 Early ridge-foot brooches from **a**) Hol, Inderøy, Nord-Trøndelag (T9822), after Åberg (1924:fig. 39), **b**) Krosshaug, Hauge, Klepp, Rogaland (B2271), after Magnus (1975:fig. 16), **c**) Nordheim, Larvik, Vestfold (C19858), after Schetelig (1906:fig. 151), © University Museum of Bergen,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

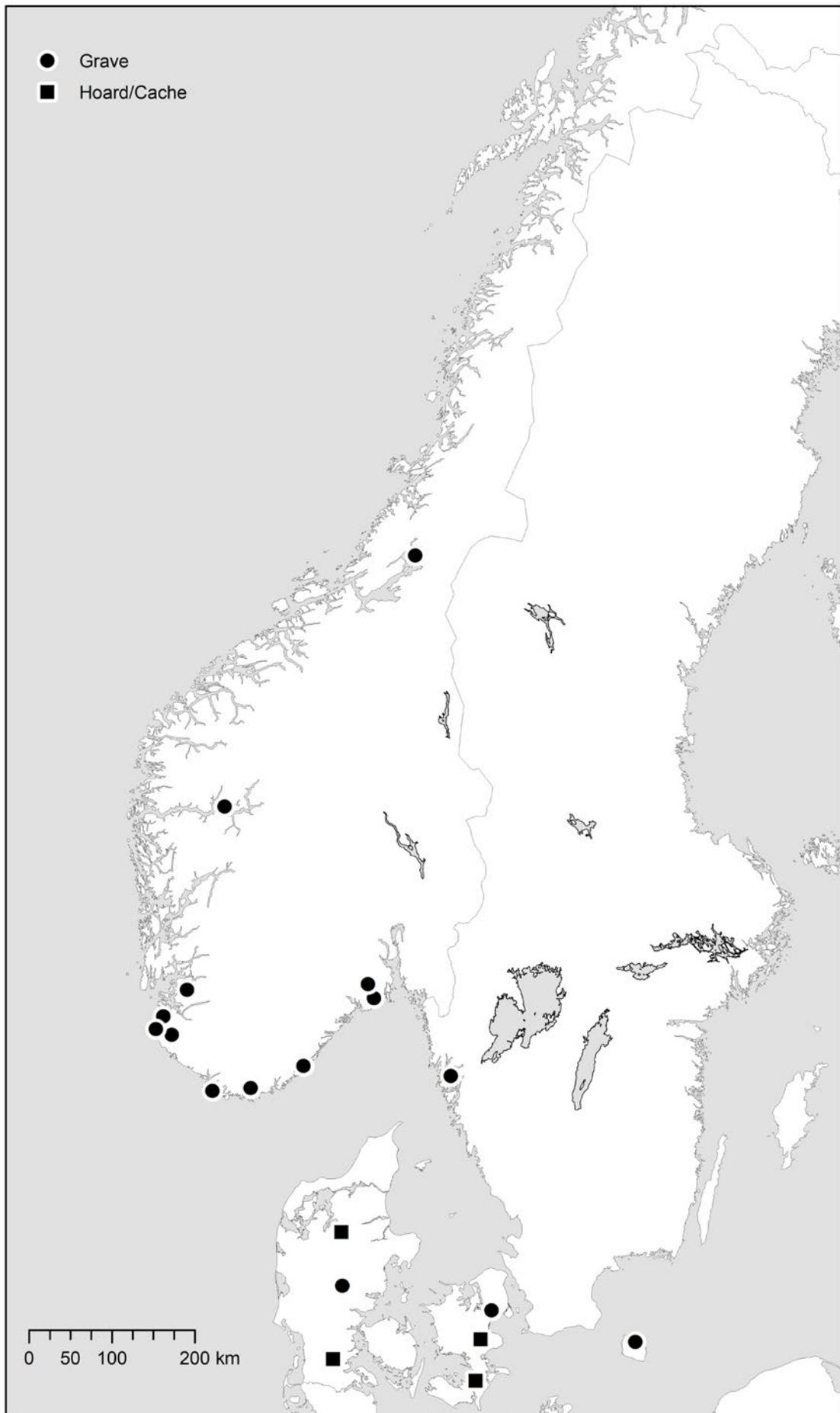
the brooches which occur in grave finds were probably already old when they were buried. Several of the relief brooches are dated to phase D1 on stylistic grounds, while other dress-accessories and/or different artefacts in the grave are later, and belong to phase D2a. This is the case for seven of the 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.

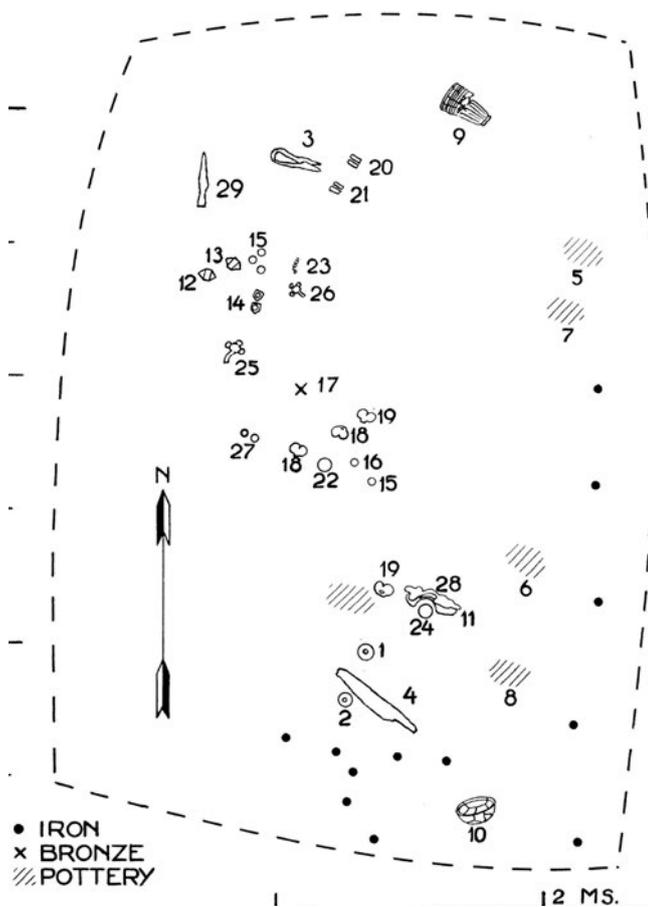


Figure 4.30 Plan of the grave containing two relief brooches (marked as no. 28), probably deposited in a box by the feet of the deceased, from Ommundrød, Larvik, Vestfold (C29300). © Museum of Cultural History.

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.

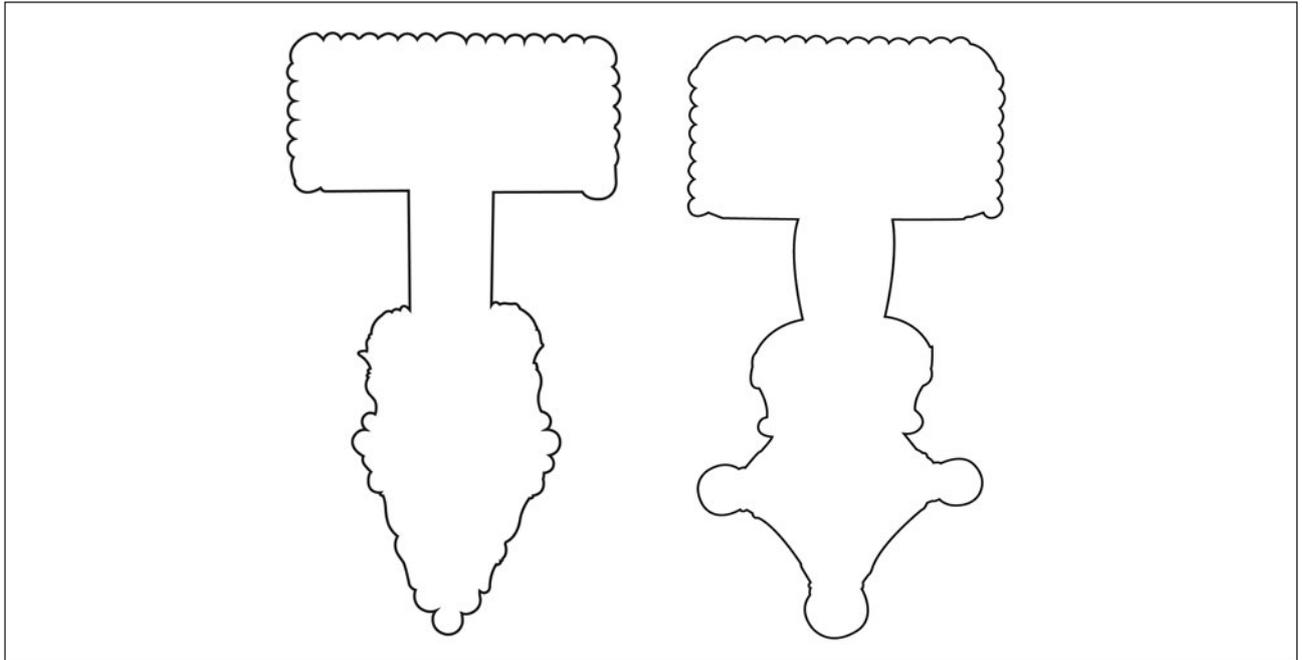


Figure 4.31 Outline of a plane-foot brooch (L) contrasted with a ridge-foot brooch (R) of Phase D2a. Illustration: Johnny Kreutz, after Salin (1904:figs. 134 and 523).

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.

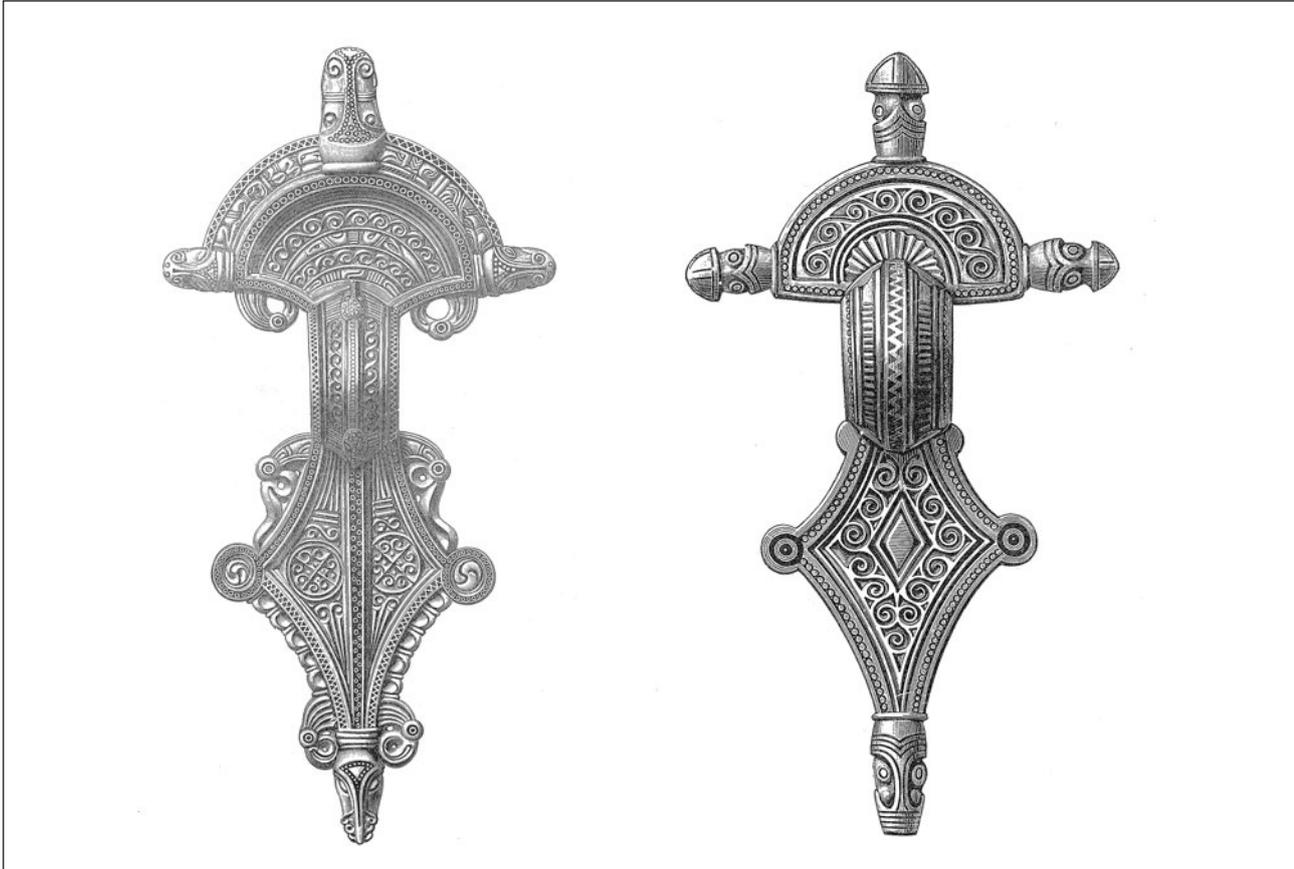


Figure 4.32 Relief brooches of Types **a**) A-5 of unknown provenance, Gotland (SHM16390) and **b**) A-6 from Mossberga, Öland (SHM7571/494), after Salin (1904:figs. 118 and 444).

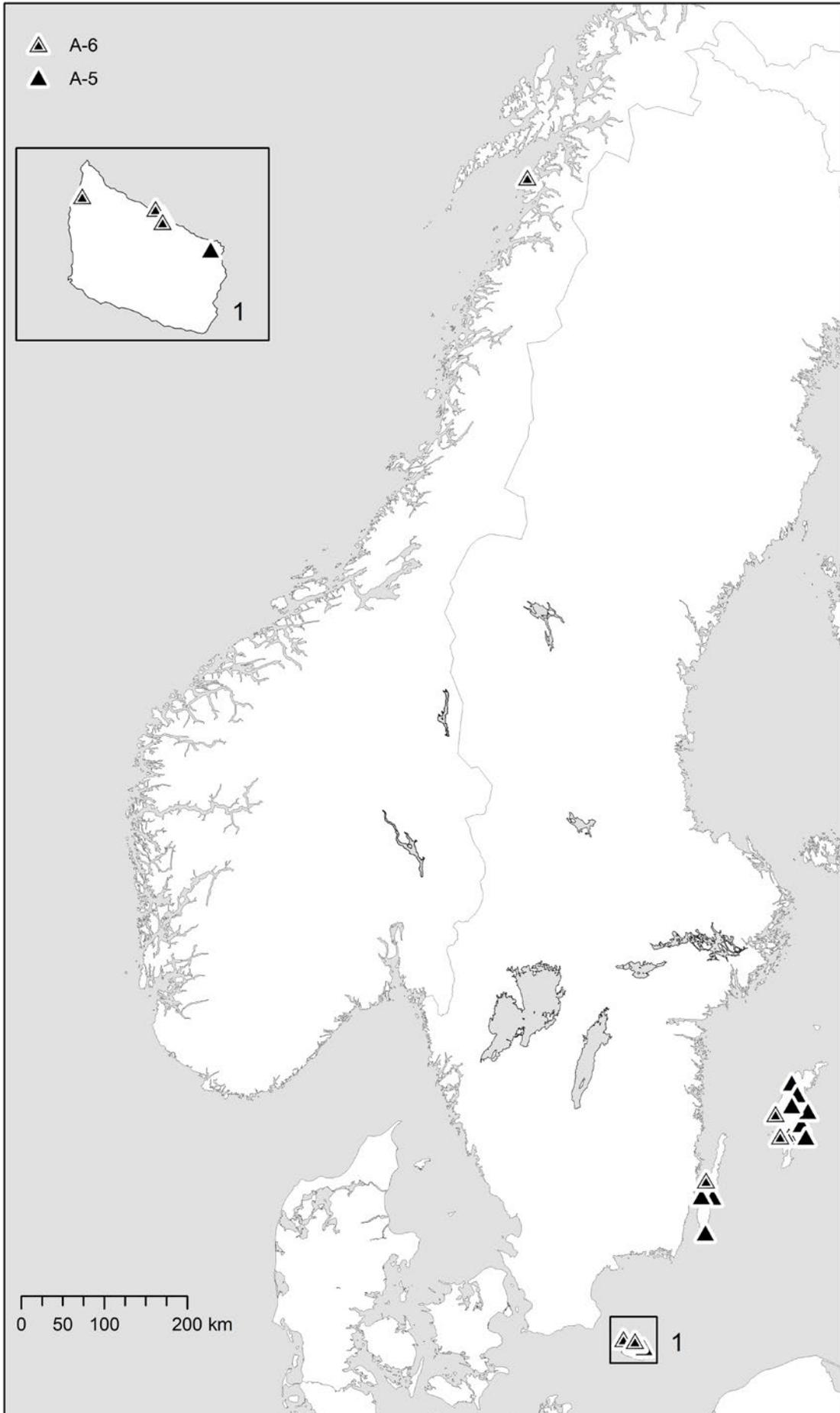
on the upper edge, and which have a design made up of two birds' heads confronting each other, and three protruding animal-head knobs around the border, are, however, similar to three A-5 brooches from Öland (compare Sjøvold 1993:pl. 27), and it seems logical to include these brooch-fragments with type 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.

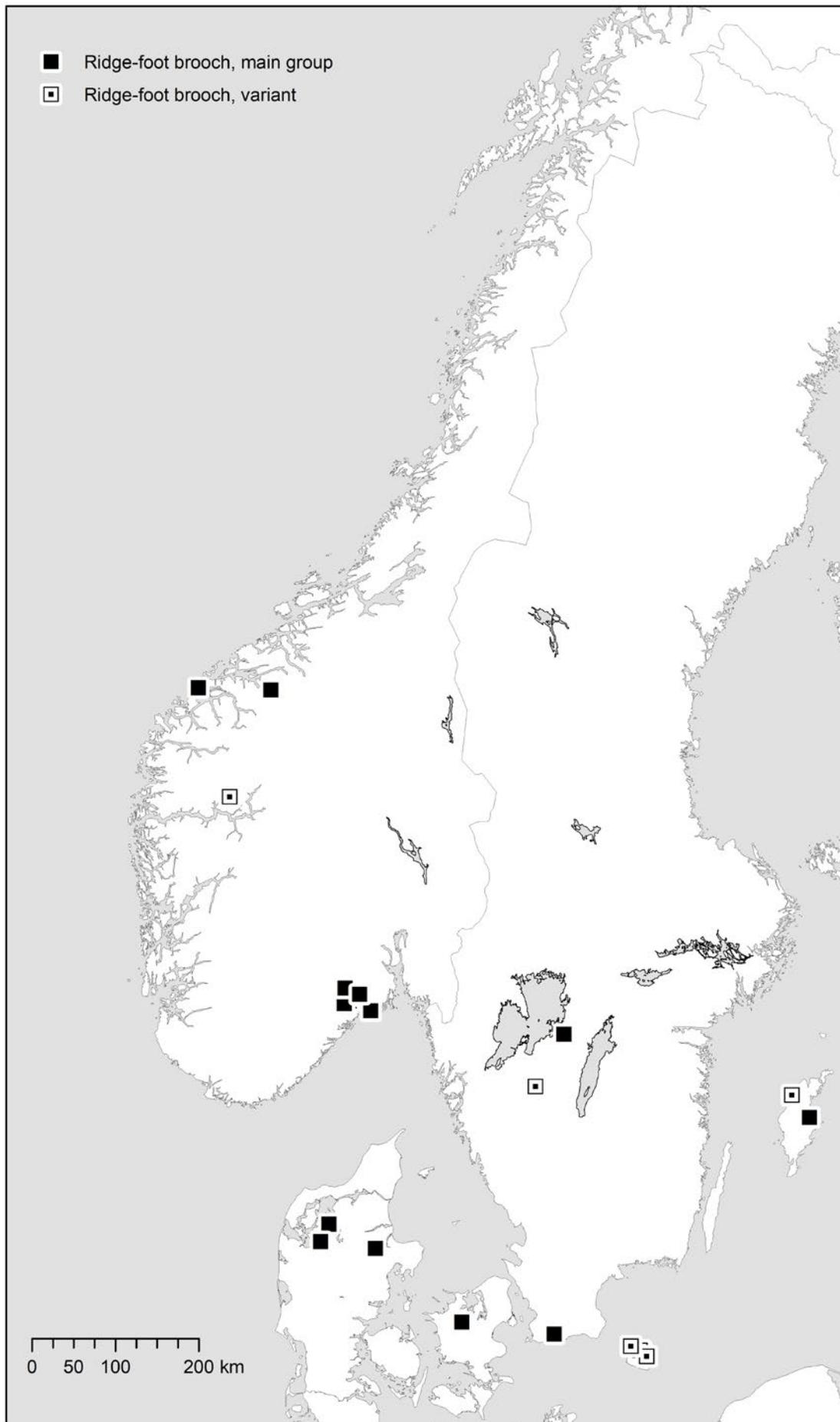
There are 18 ridge-foot brooches⁶² from this phase (Map 4.23). 13 of these can be assigned to Meyer's principal group of early ridge-foot brooches (Fig. 4.33).⁶³ They are characterized by 'the standard

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 Søtvet 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)** Sørvet, 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.

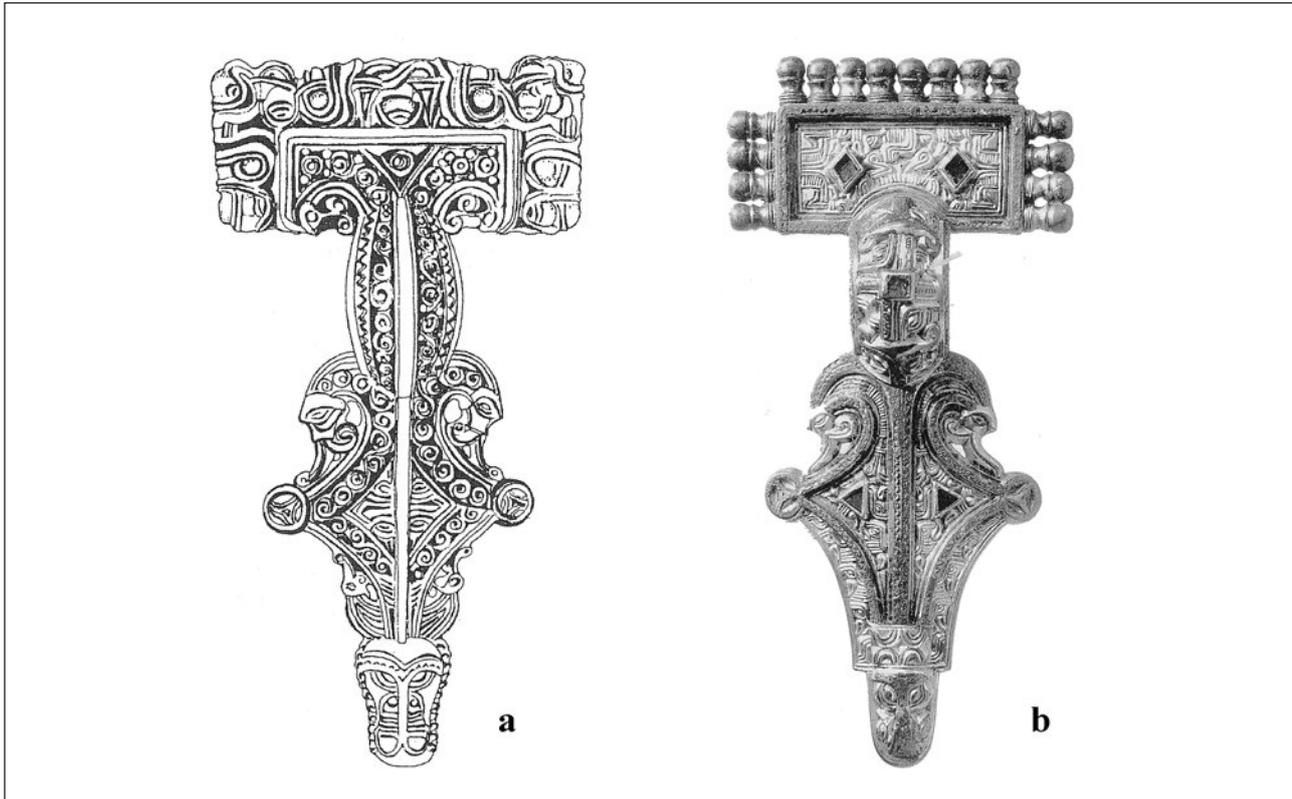


Figure 4.34 Variants of early ridge-foot brooch from **a**) Kvåle, Sogndal, Sogn og Fjordane (B13954/1), after Kristoffersen (2000:plansje 36, 1) and **b**) Lundbjers, Gotland (GF.C.7182). Photograph: Thorleif Sjøvold. © Museum of Cultural History.

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.

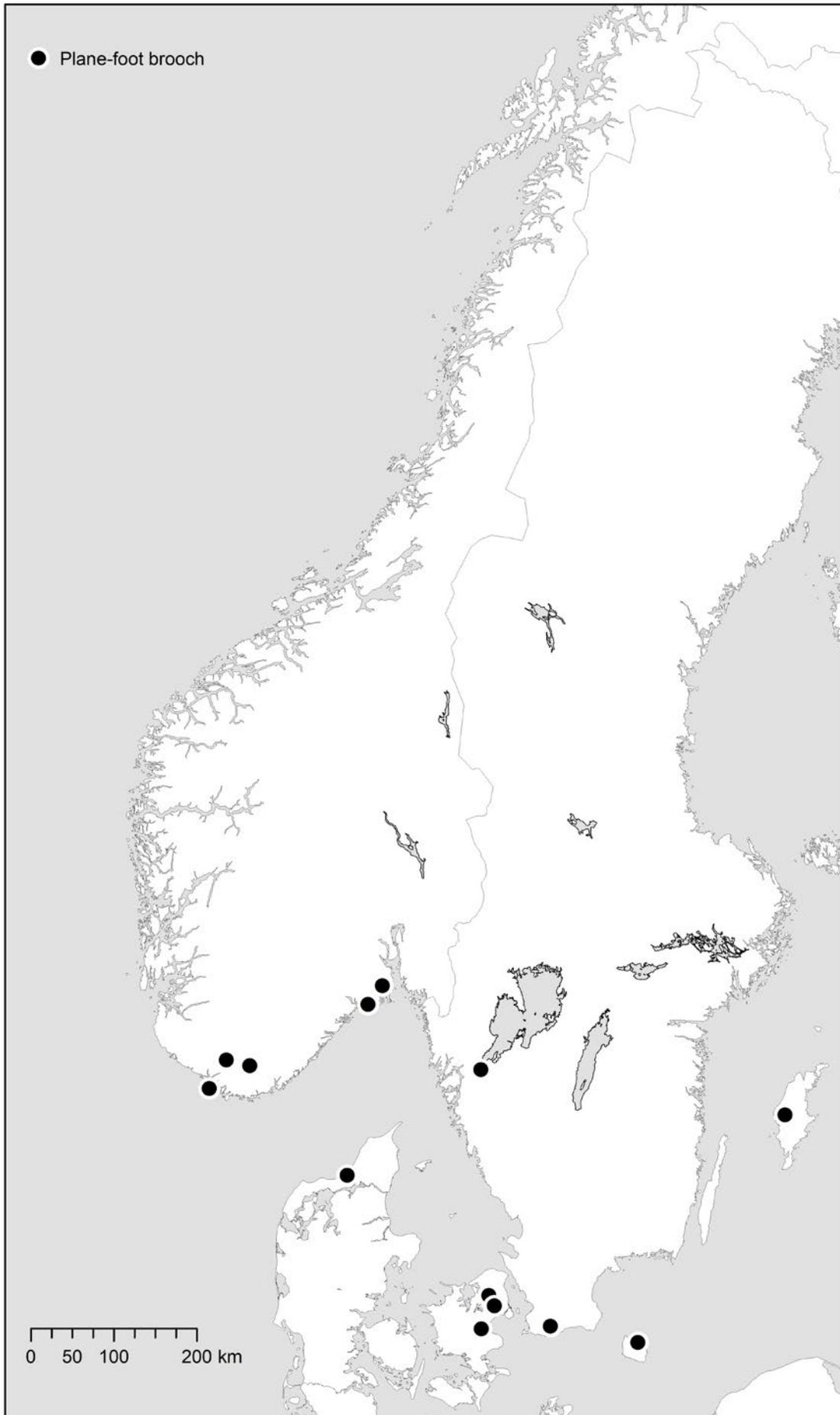
67 Not including the extremely fragmentary brooch from Høyland, in Vanse (C5037b).

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

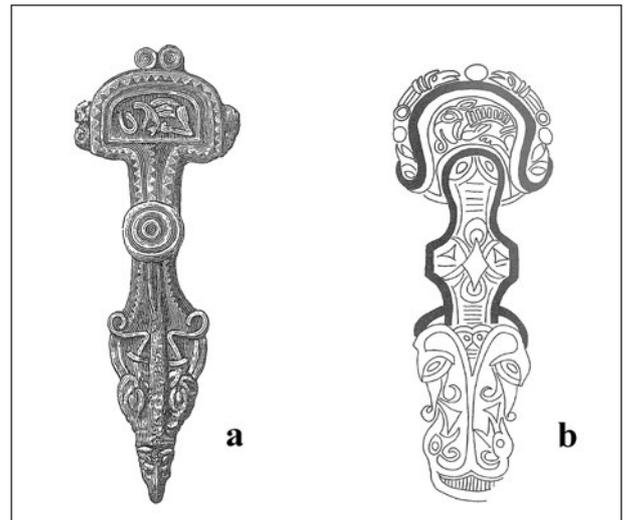


Figure 4.37 Unique relief brooches from **a**) Isejæen, Østfold (C15665), after Rygh (1885:fig. 255) and **b**) Skjervum, Sogn og Fjordane (B8830a), after Kristoffersen (2000:plansje 32, 5).

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.

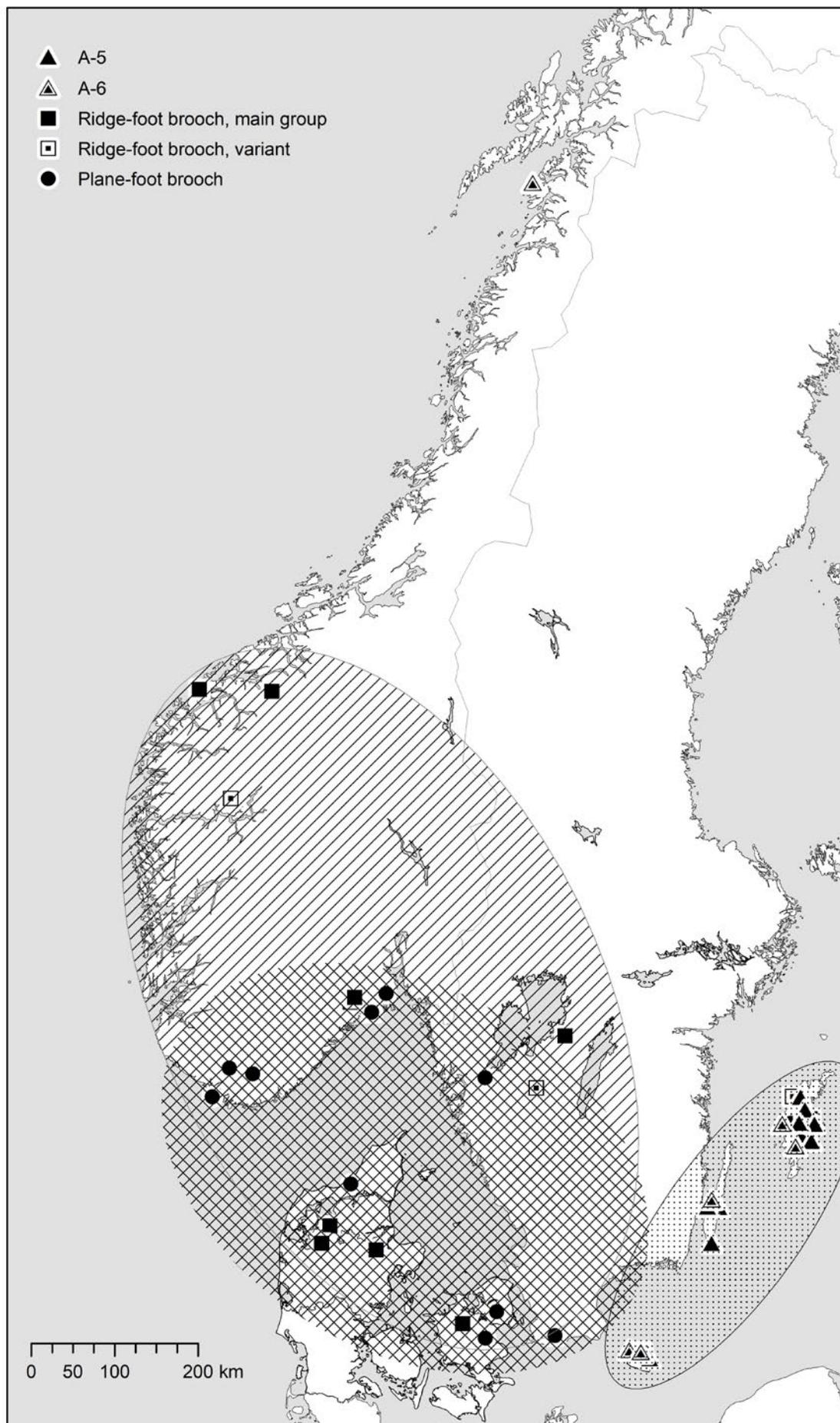
74 Å1683.

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

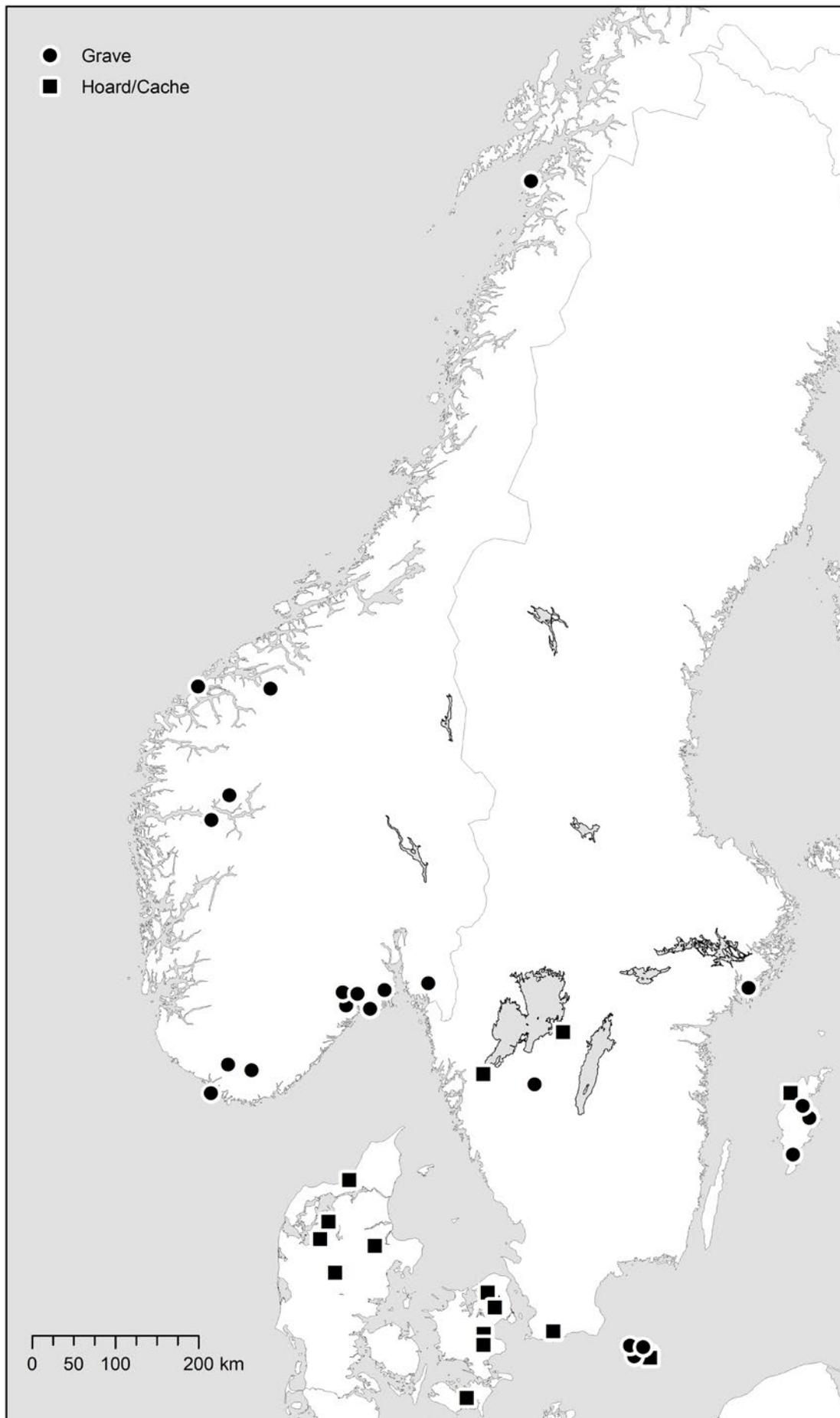
deposits uncertain in several cases. With this reservation, though, there are around 17 relief brooches from hoards of this phase, comprising 15 separate finds of which 11 are Danish and four Swedish (Map 4.26).⁸⁰ Once again, the scrap metal hoards stand out in their composition. In the case of the Hardenberg 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

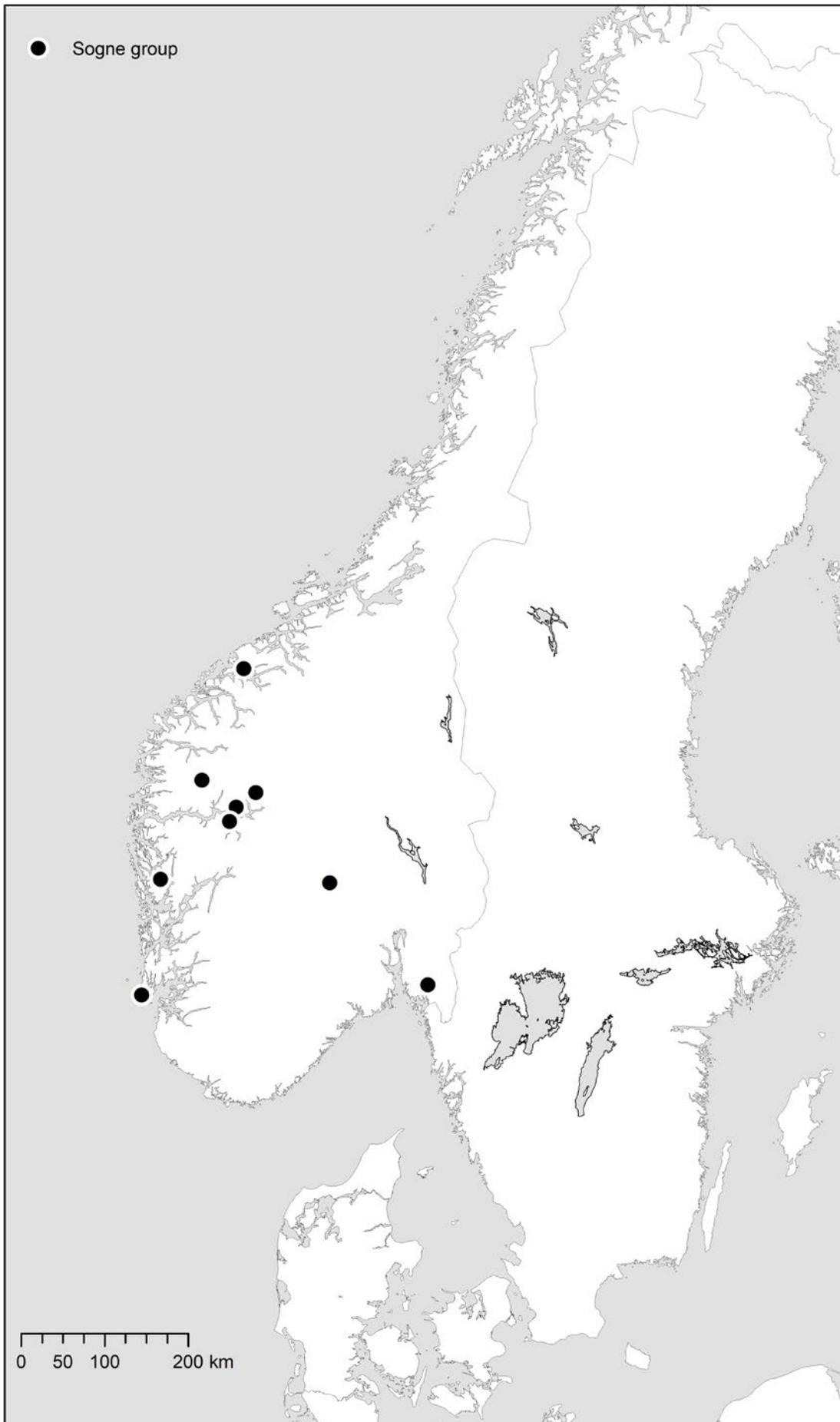
explain the basis of her divisions (Hines 1997:13). I shall attempt, therefore, to provide a brief definition of the groups as I use them. In this regard I emphasize the point that my definitions will consequently not necessarily be identical with Meyer's, nor will they include all of the features which 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.



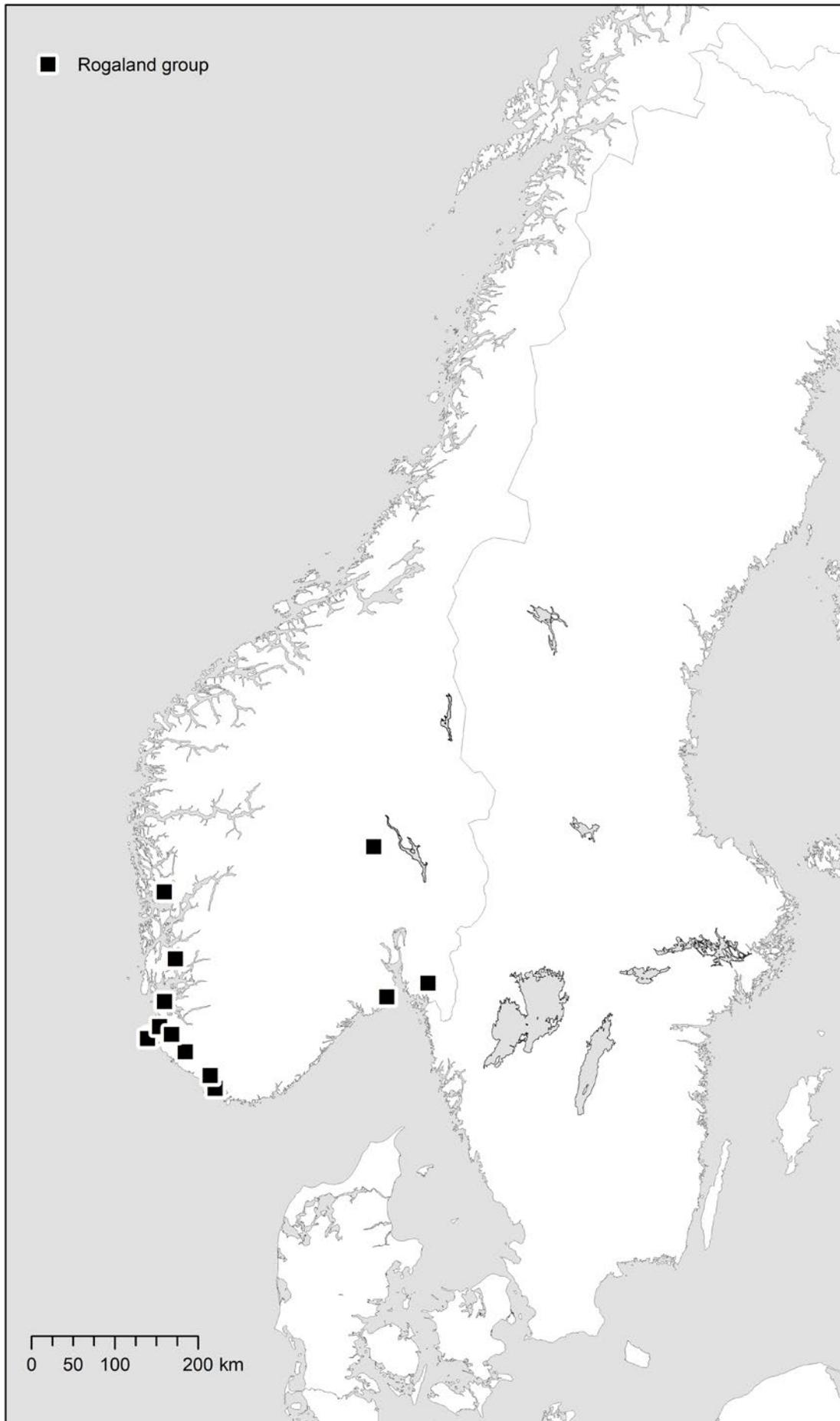
Map 4.28 The distribution of the northern plane-foot group.



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.

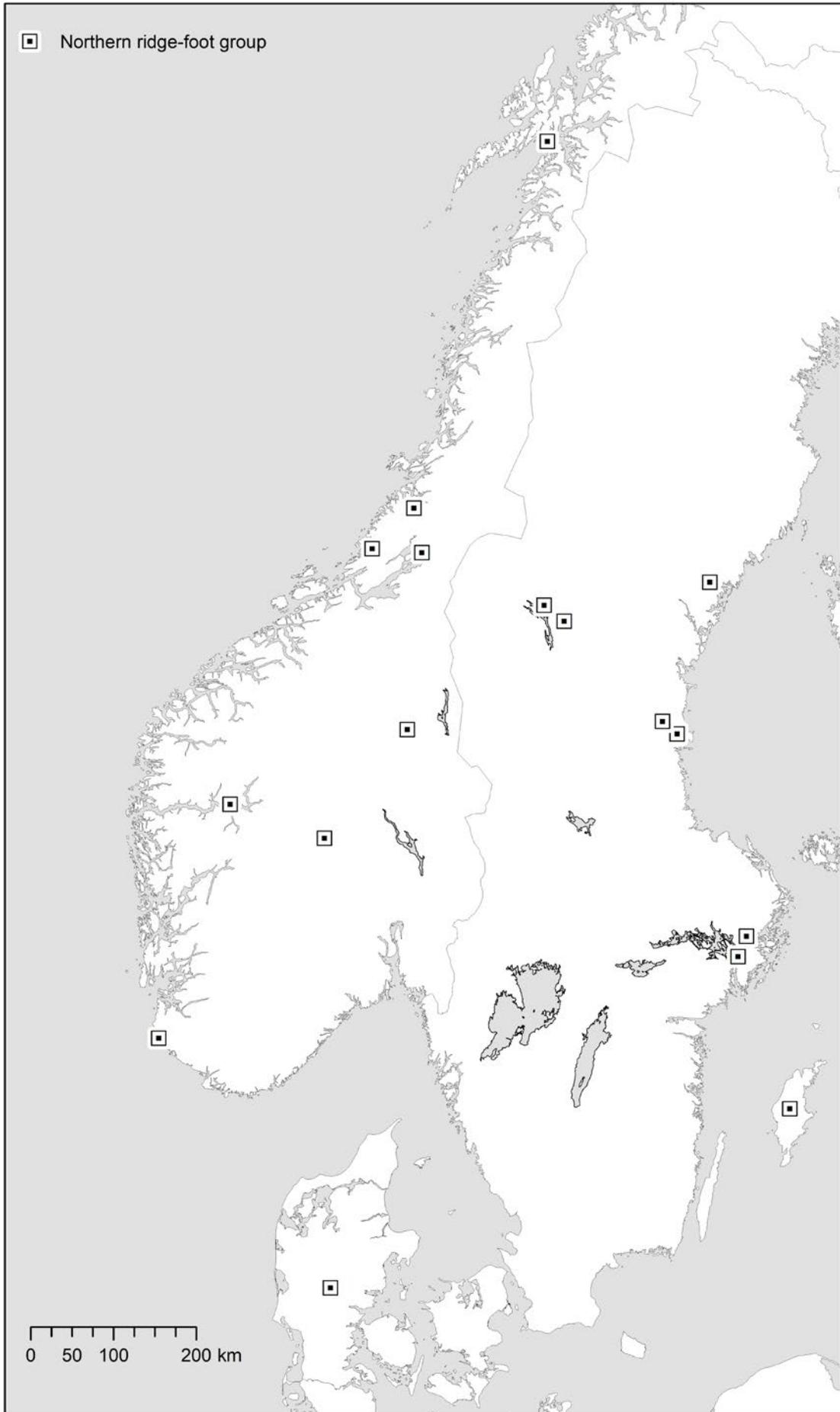
92 B9688a.

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.

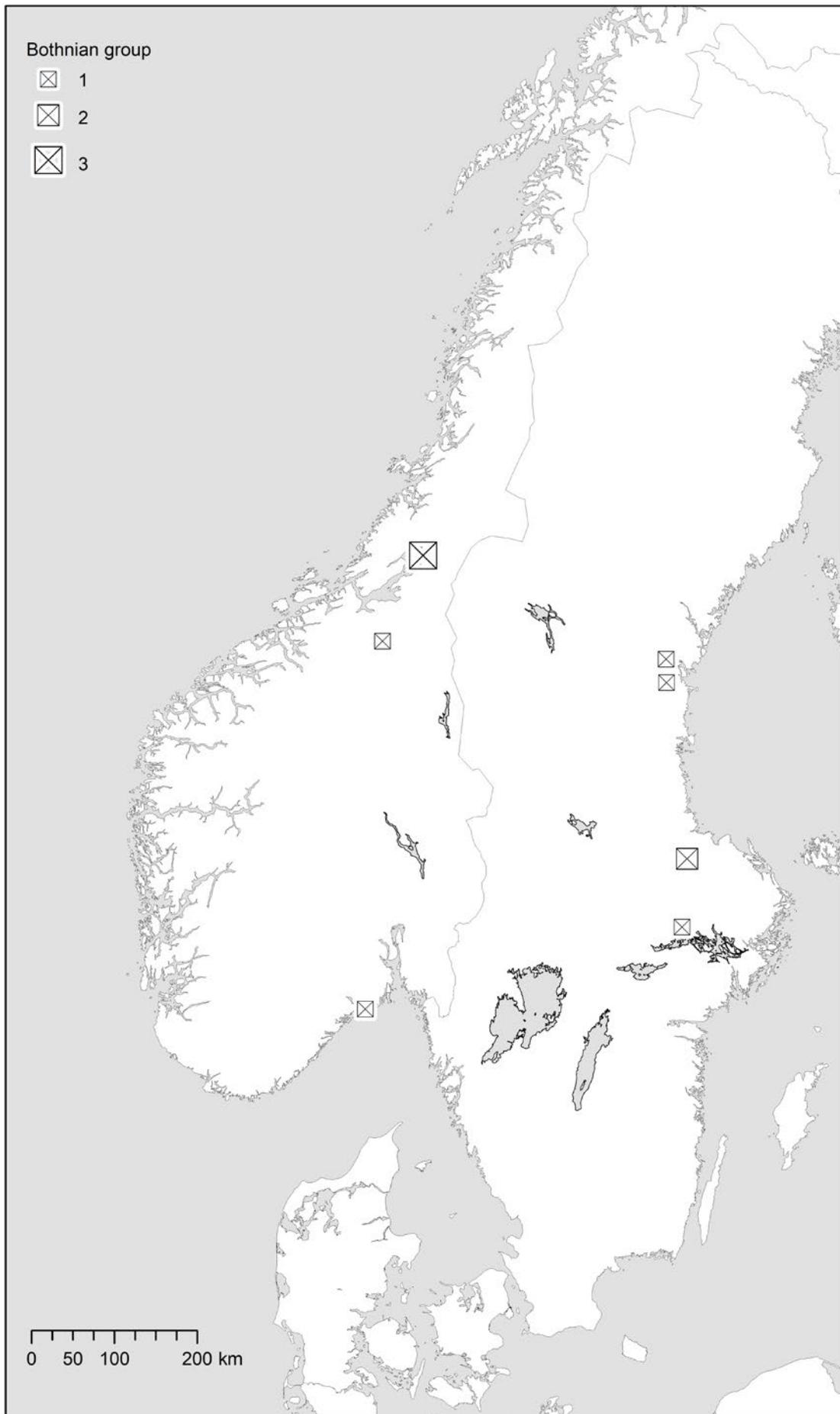
Like the Rogaland group, the Bothnian group of brooches shares some common features with the northern ridge-foot group – but not the same features (Fig. 4.42). Like the preceding group, this group also has the laterally expanded bow. Otherwise it is characterized by a plane foot with arms that terminate 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.

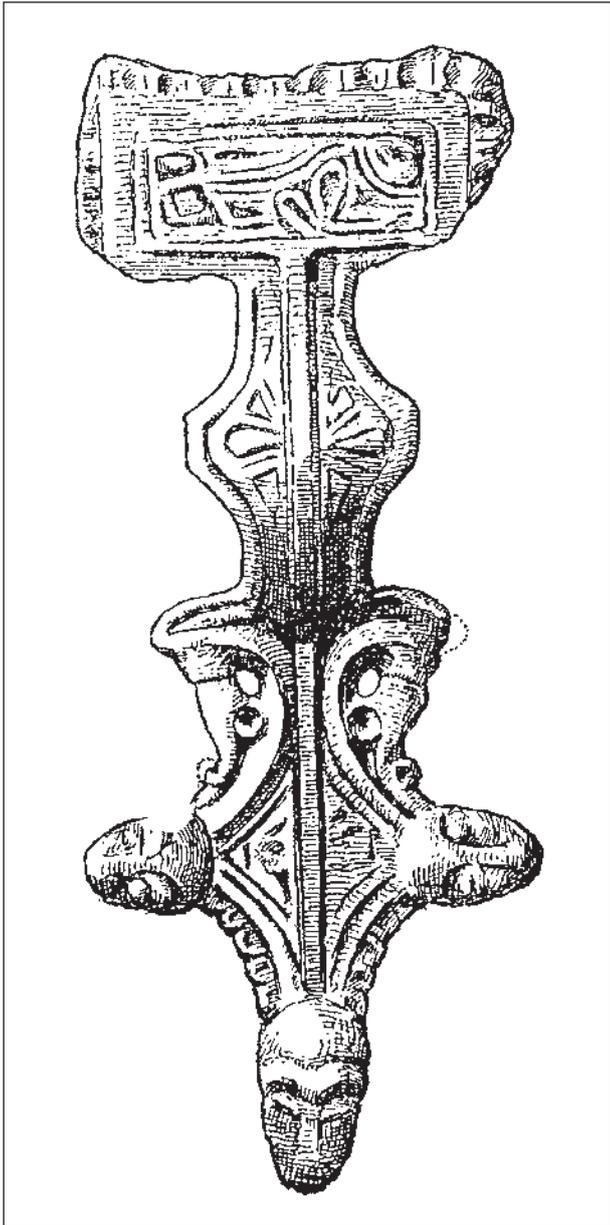


Figure 4.43 Relief brooch of the simple bronze group from *Hå prestegård, Hå, Rogaland (B4398a)*, after Schetelig (1910:fig. 12), © University Museum of Bergen.

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

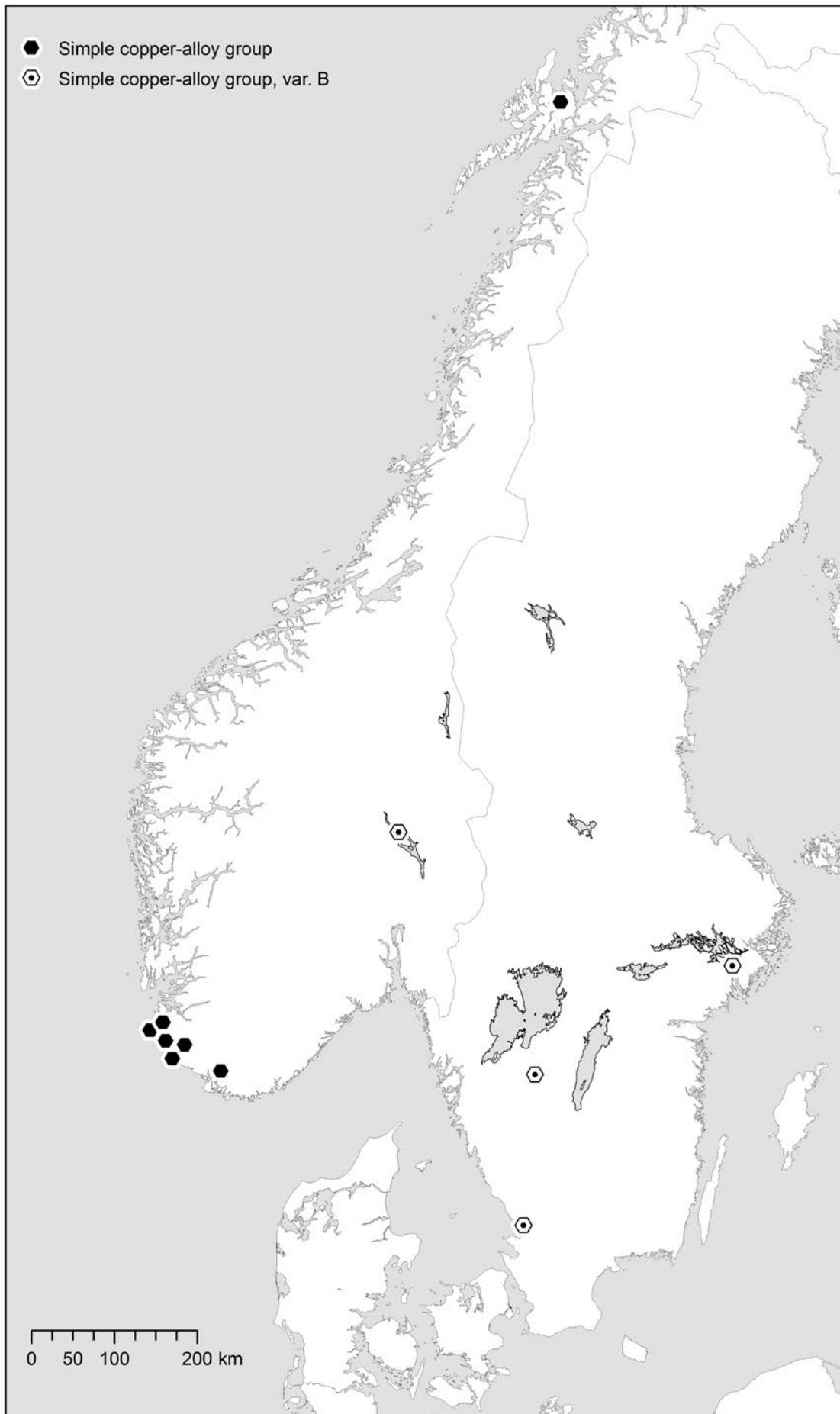
and Norrland, with a denser core to the east of the area (in Gästrikland and Medelpad). It is almost fully identical with Sjøvold's (1993:46) type A-4. Sjøvold, however, also included the brooch from Husvegg in Rogaland, which I have assigned to the northern ridge-foot group, with type A-4, and he did 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).

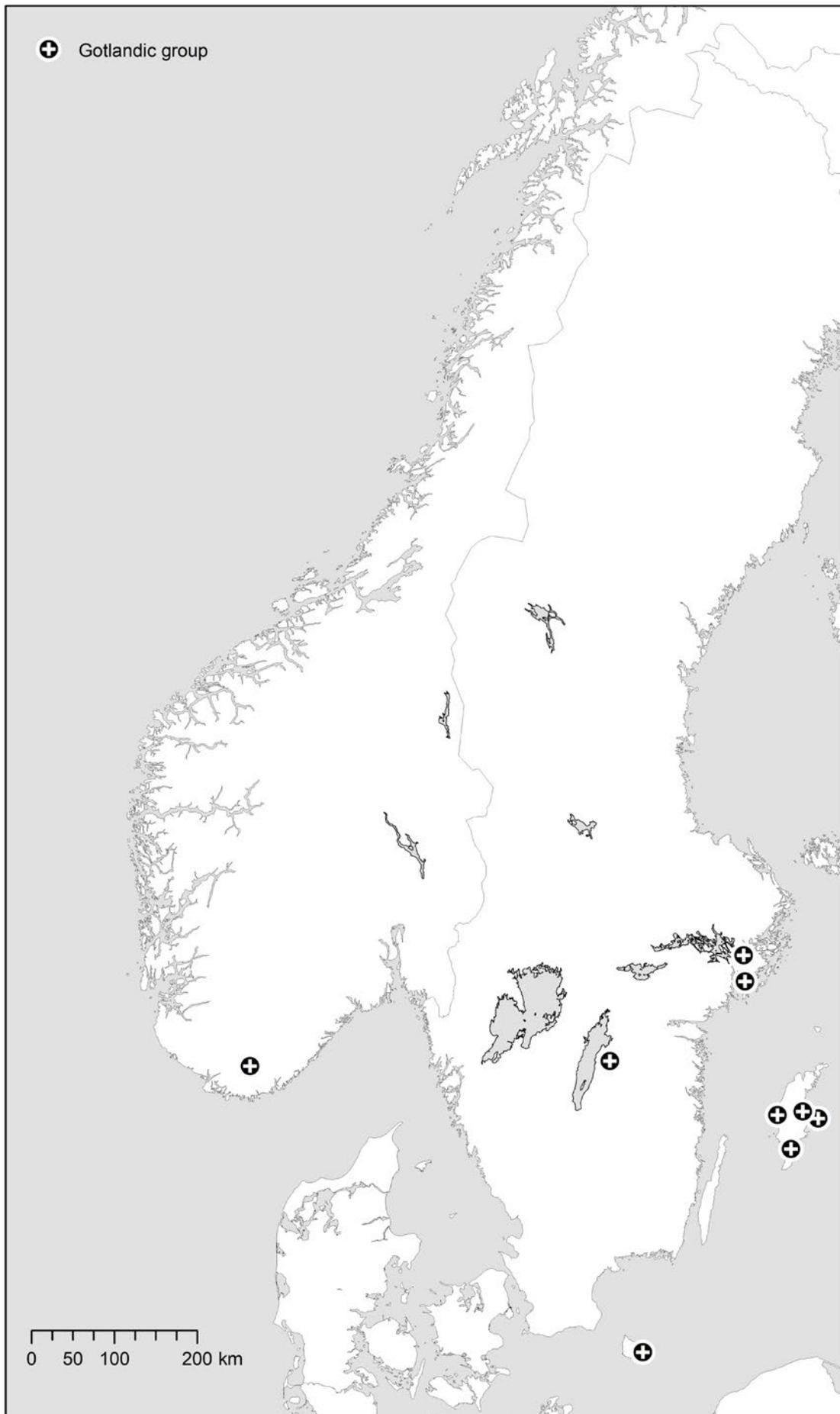
The Gotlandic group is characterized above all by an exceptionally wide and narrow headplate (Meyer 1935:59). This type has a ridged foot, with lateral arms terminating in animal or human heads (Fig. 4.45). The heads of the side lobes are in profile on some of the brooches, and in these cases the arms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

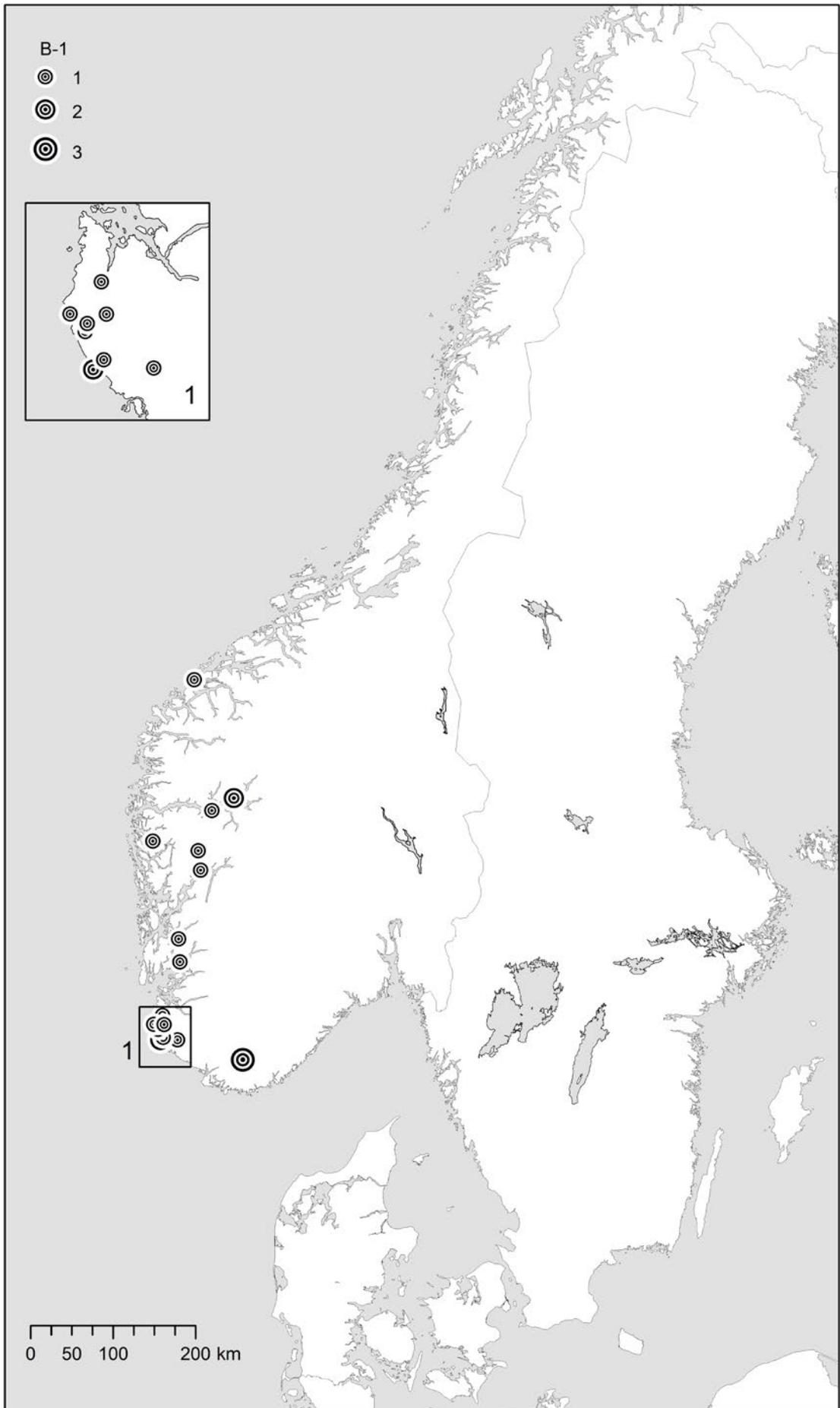
106 SHM31711: Segeltorp, Huddinge.

107 SHM26771.

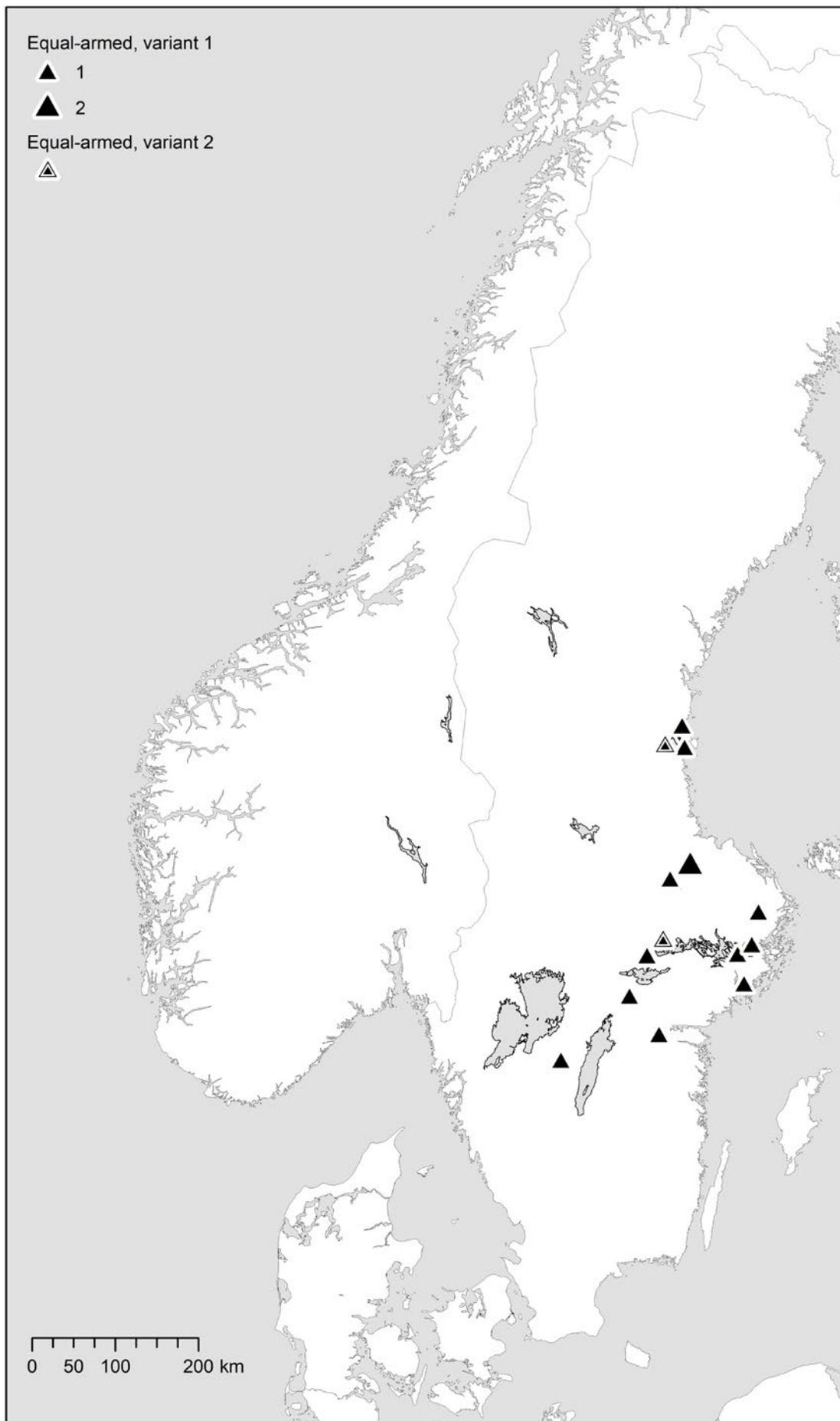
108 SHM14255.

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

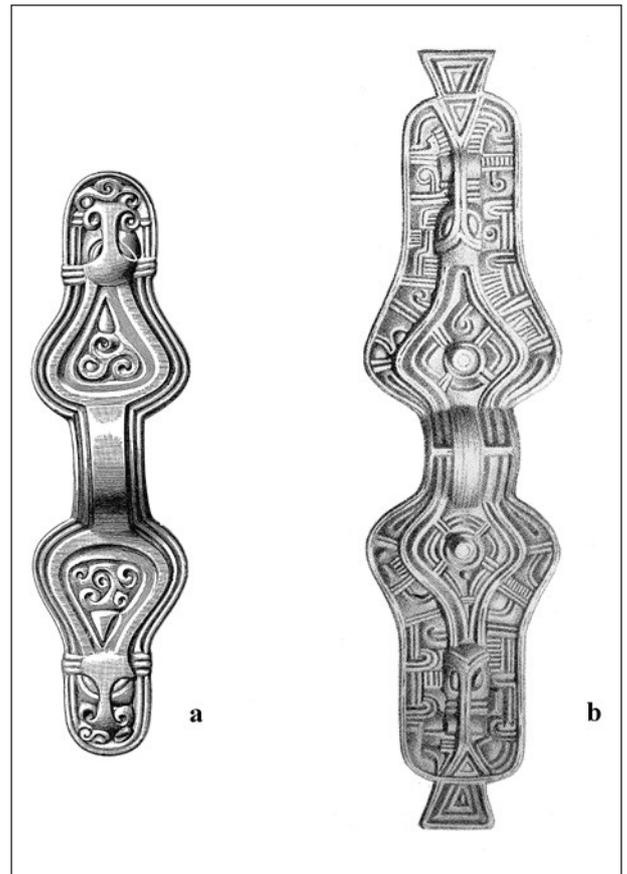


Figure 4.47 Equal-armed relief brooch from **a)** Måsta, Hälsingland (SHM14374) and **b)** Hade, Gästrikland (SHM1209) after Åberg (1924:figs. 120 and 122).

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,

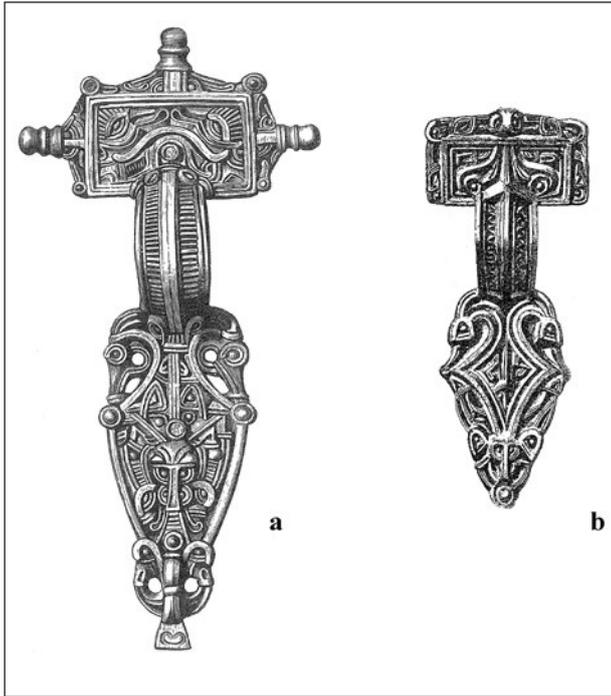


Figure 4.48 Late idiosyncratic forms of relief brooch from **a**) *Fristad, Klepp, Rogaland (S1969), after Rygh (1885:fig. 258), and b*) *Gyland, Flekkefjord, Vest-Agder (C7454), after Åberg (1924:fig. 72).*

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

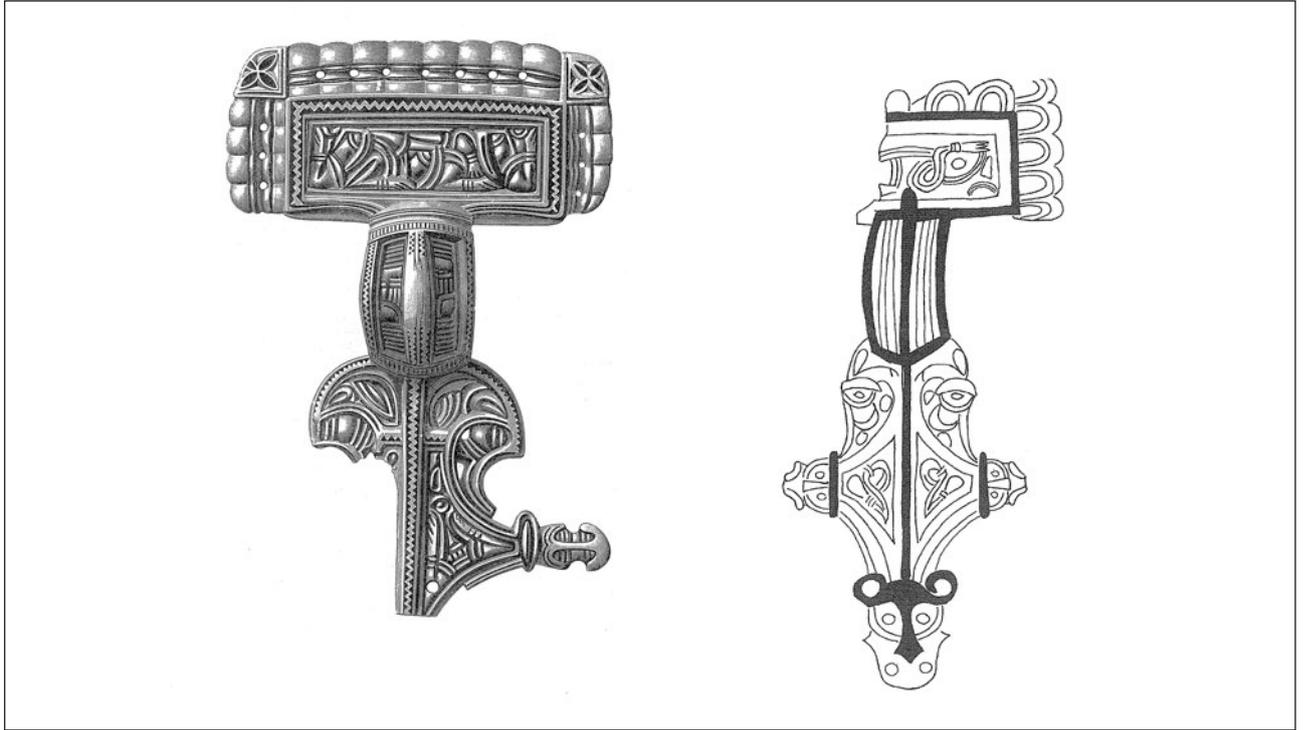


Figure 4.49 Late ridge-foot brooches from **a)** Järnskogboda, Varmland (SHM2564), Salin (1904:fig. 129), and **b)** Trygslund, Vest-Agder (DCCCXXXIII), after Kristoffersen (2000:plansje 6, 2).

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

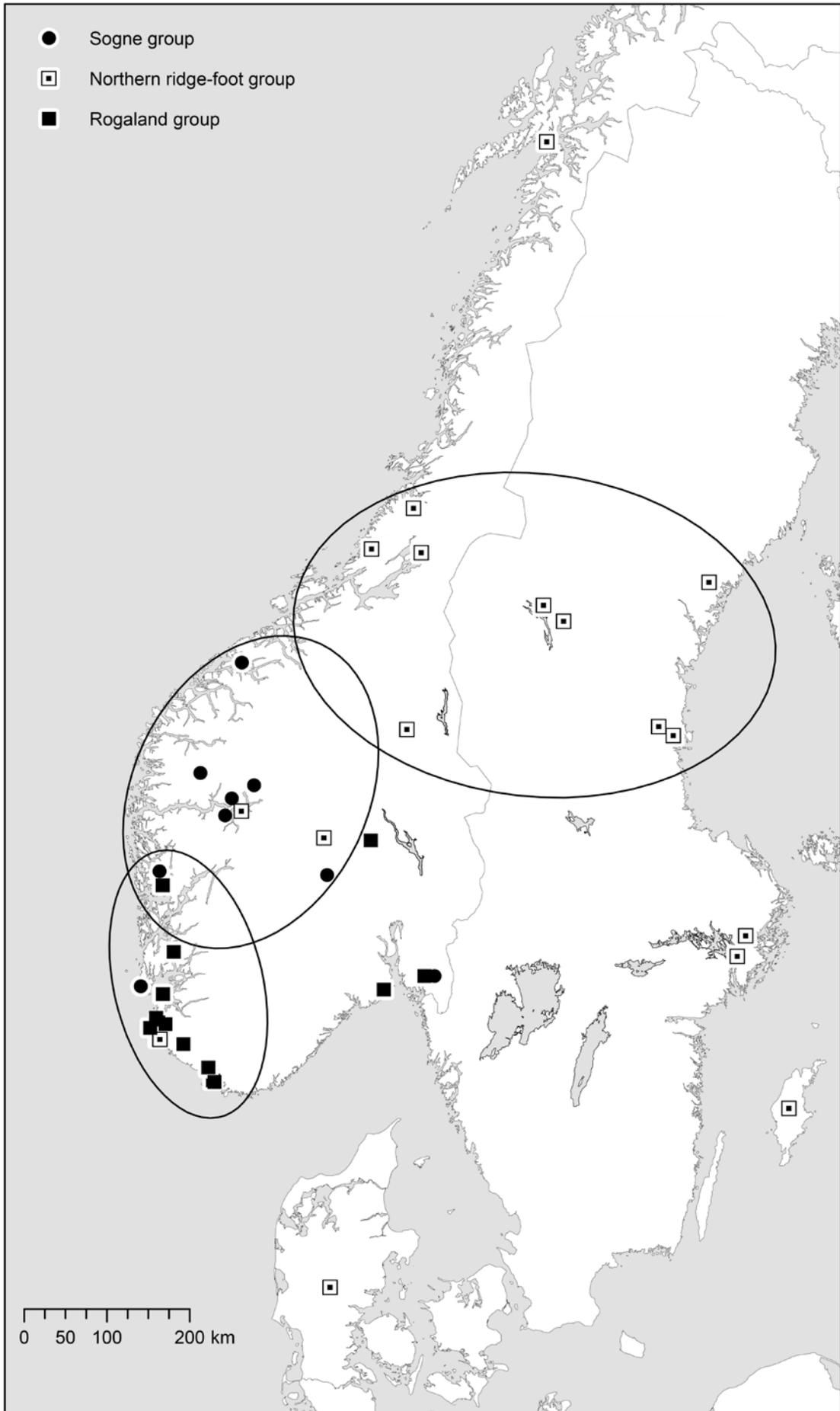
by different brooch-types, such as the Rogaland group. In a broader perspective, this would also appear to hold for the Sogne group, the Rogaland group, the Gotlandic group, the Bothnian group, and the northern ridge-foot group, all of which have regionally constrained distributions within the main Scandinavian 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.

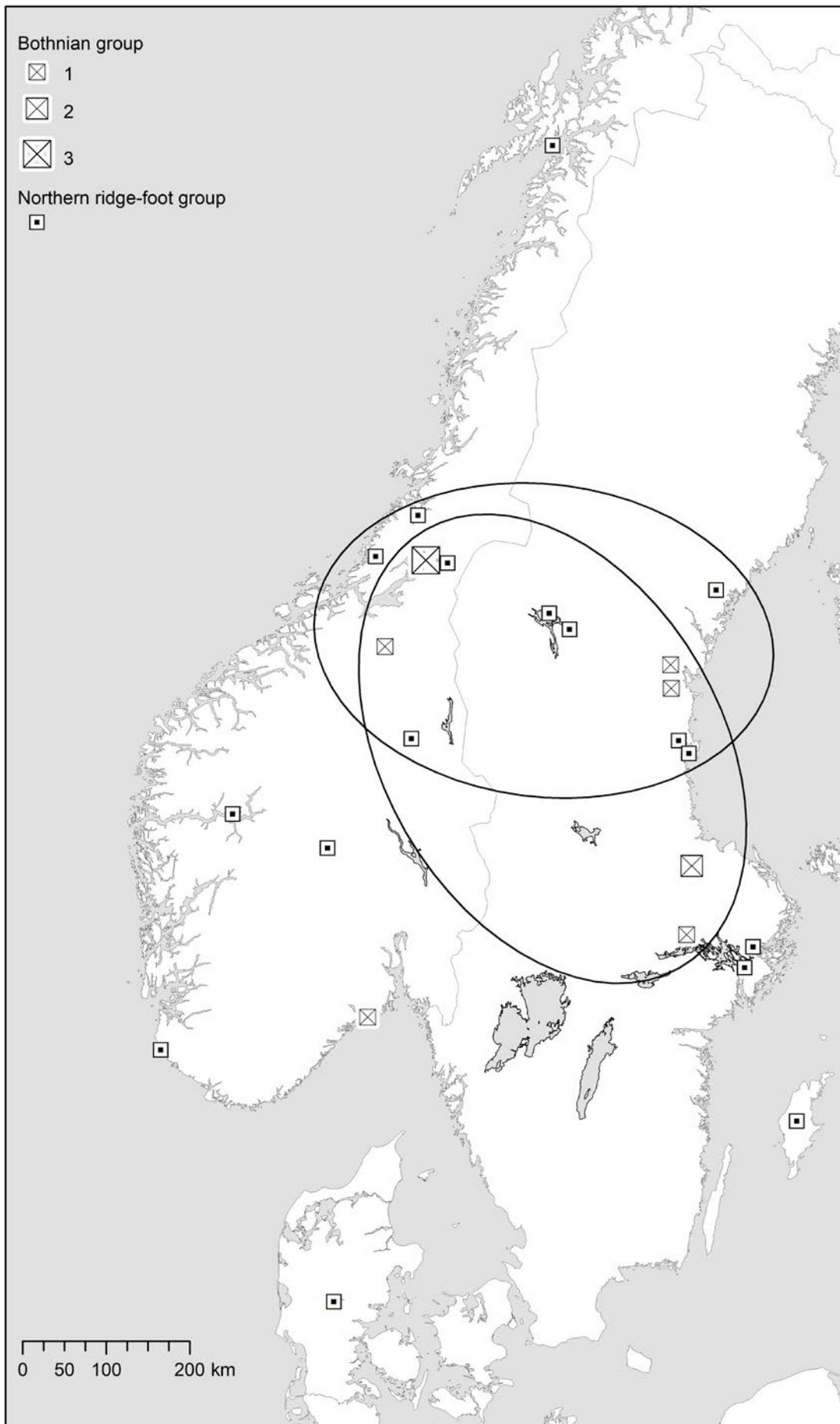
4.2.2.8 Find contexts of phase D2b

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.

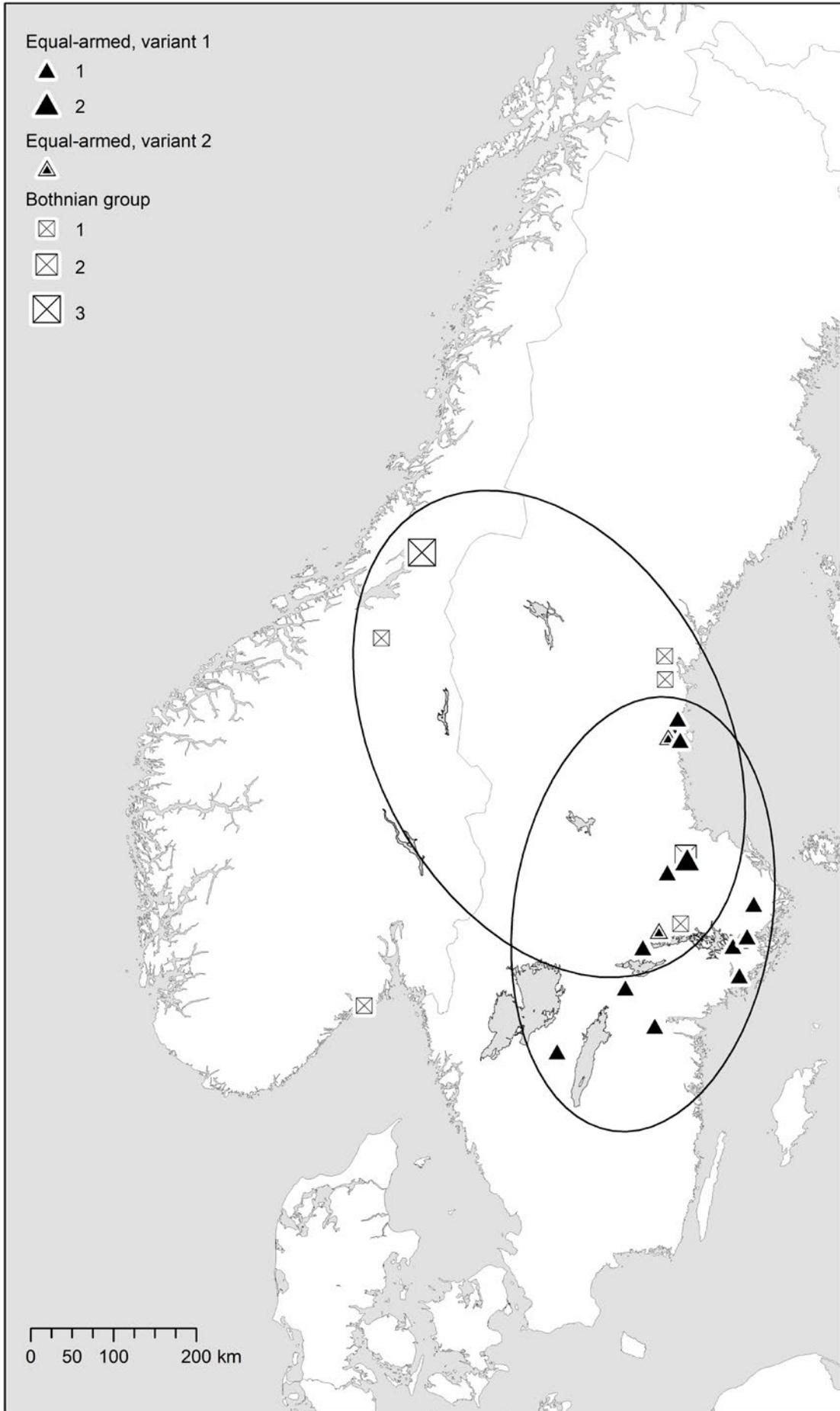
Six relief brooches are counted as coming from hoards or caches of this phase: four in Norway and two in Sweden (Map 4.40). Such finds are, as already noted, rarely excavated in a trained manner, so that in many cases it has to remain unsure whether or not they were intentionally placed deposits or chance 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,



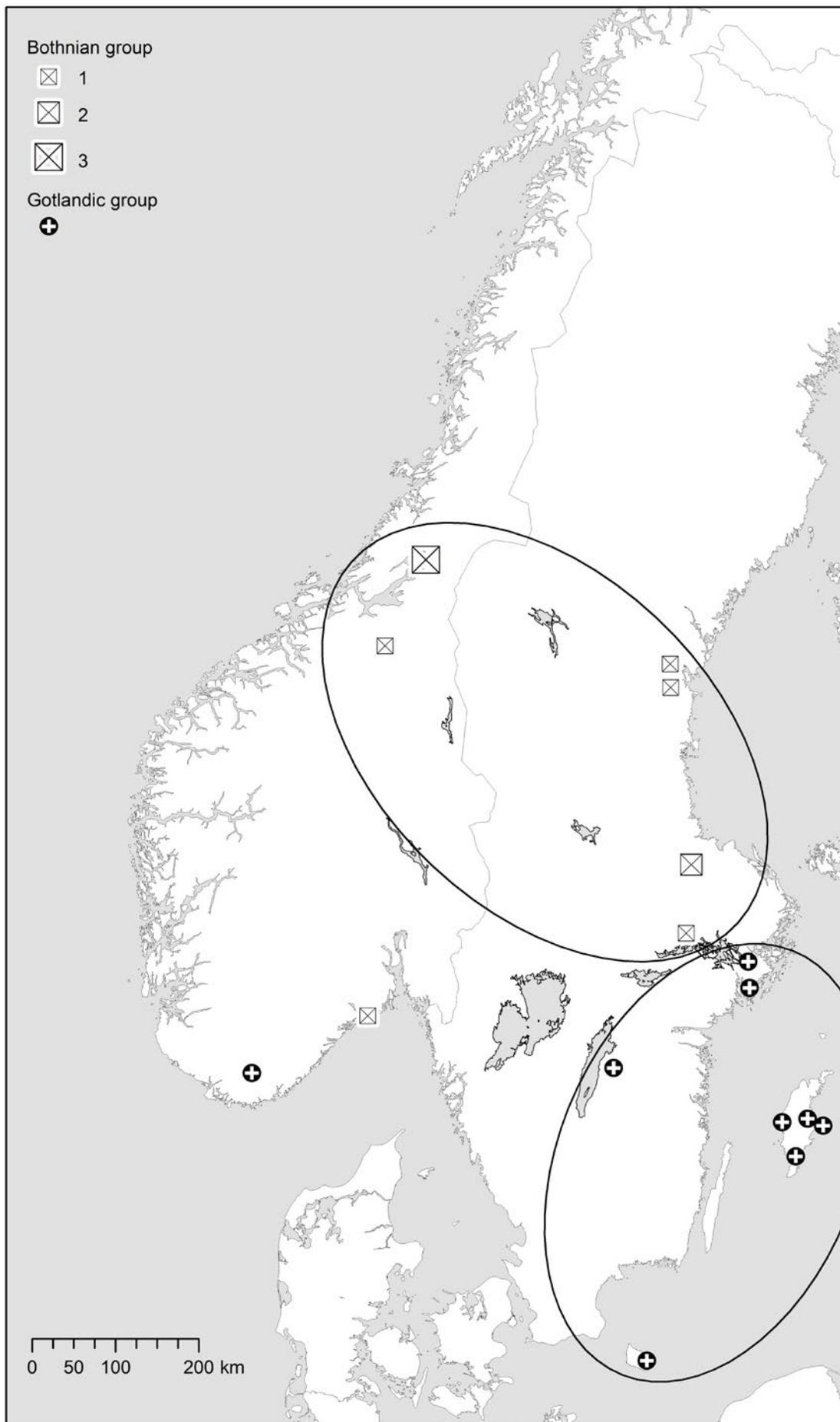
Map 4.36 The distribution of the Rogaland group, the Sogne group and the northern ridge-foot group.



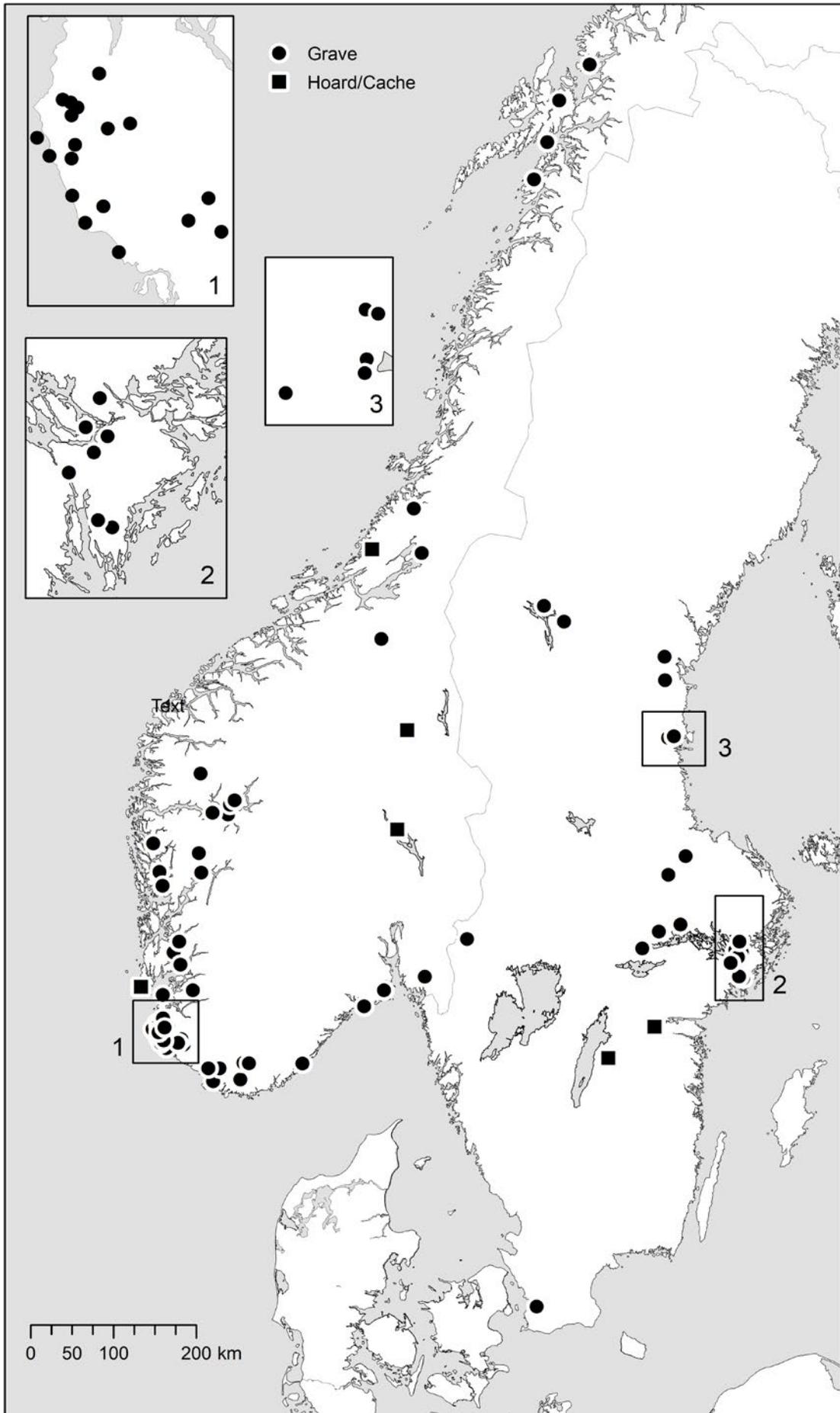
Map 4.37 The distribution of the northern ridge-foot group and the Bothnian group.



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 Evebø 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.

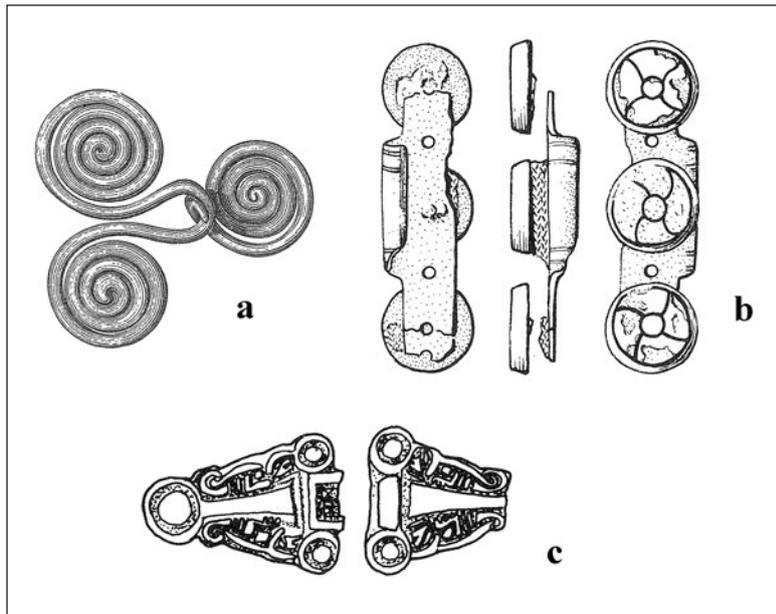


Figure 4.53 Clasps of **a**) Class A from Ådland, Vest-Agder (C8715), after Rygh (1885:fig. 271), **b**) Class B from Lunde, Vest-Agder (B3203), drawing Tone Strenger. © Museum of Cultural History and **c**) Class C from Djurgårdsång, Västergötland (SHM6563), after Hines (1993a:fig. 135a).

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).

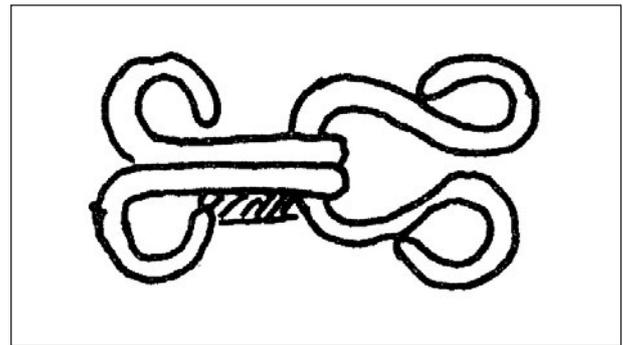


Figure 4.55 Small *A*-clasps with hook- and catch-elements larger than the ends (type A2b), after Hines (1993a:fig. 2).

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.

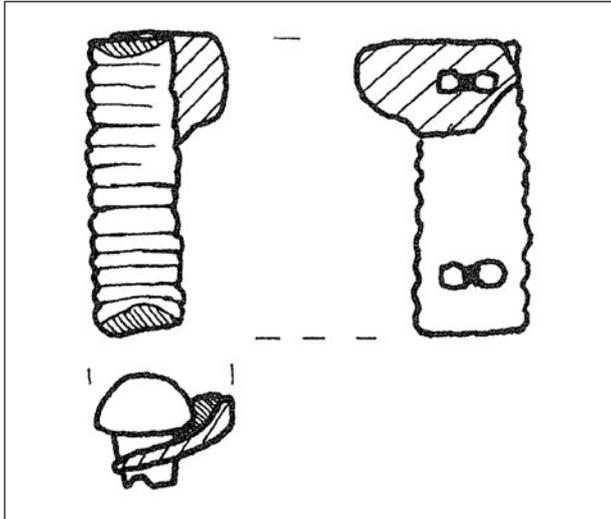


Figure 4.56 Clasp of Type B4 from Lunde, Sandnes, Rogaland (B3160), after Hines (1993a:fig. 75c).

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.

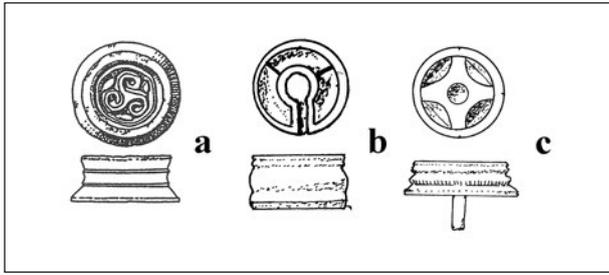


Figure 4.57 Buttons from button clasps with **a**) spiral decoration from Botkyrka/Elvesta grave A35, Södermanland (SHM30980), after Waller (1996:plansje III, 10), **b**) ring decoration from Grimstadby, Uppland (SHM Dnr. 3988/79 / RAA 106/A33), and **c**) faceted cross decoration from Syre, Rogaland (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.

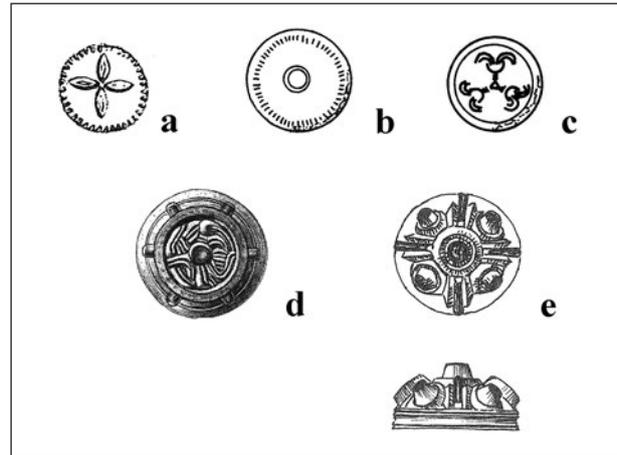


Figure 4.58 Buttons from button clasps with **a**) three-armed or cross punched decoration as R.268 from Sætvet, Telemark (C9442). Drawn by: Tone Strenger. © Museum of Cultural History, **b**) dot-in-circle punchmarks from Bolstad, Hordaland (B9614), after Hines (1993a:fig. 42b), **c**) "Norråla type" 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*

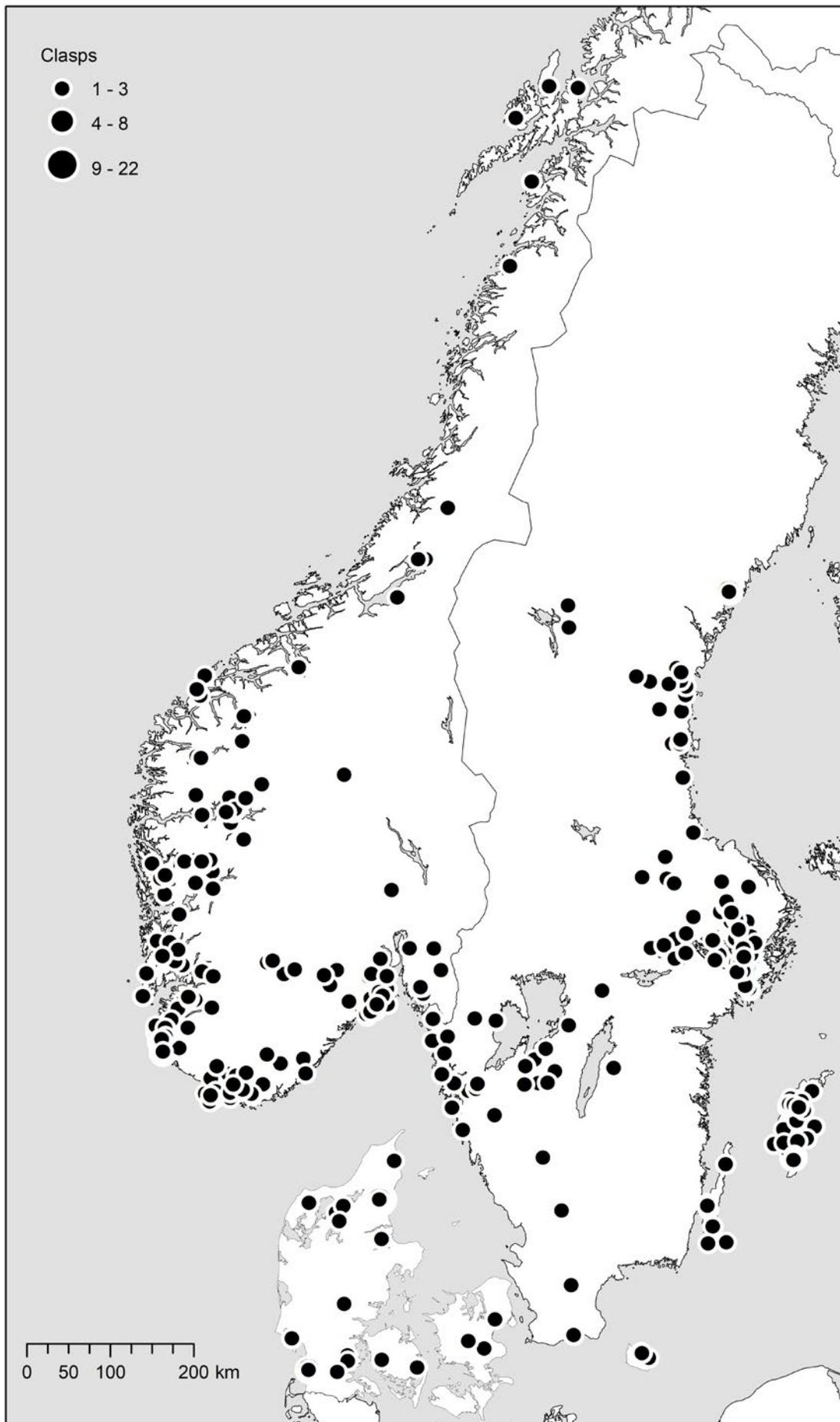
Turning to the matter of chronological distribution, the majority of the Class A clasps of the Migration Period belong, according to Hines (1993a:11), to the period before VWZ III, meaning that, in terms of the chronological system applied here, they fall into phase D1. Hines noted, however, that spiral 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

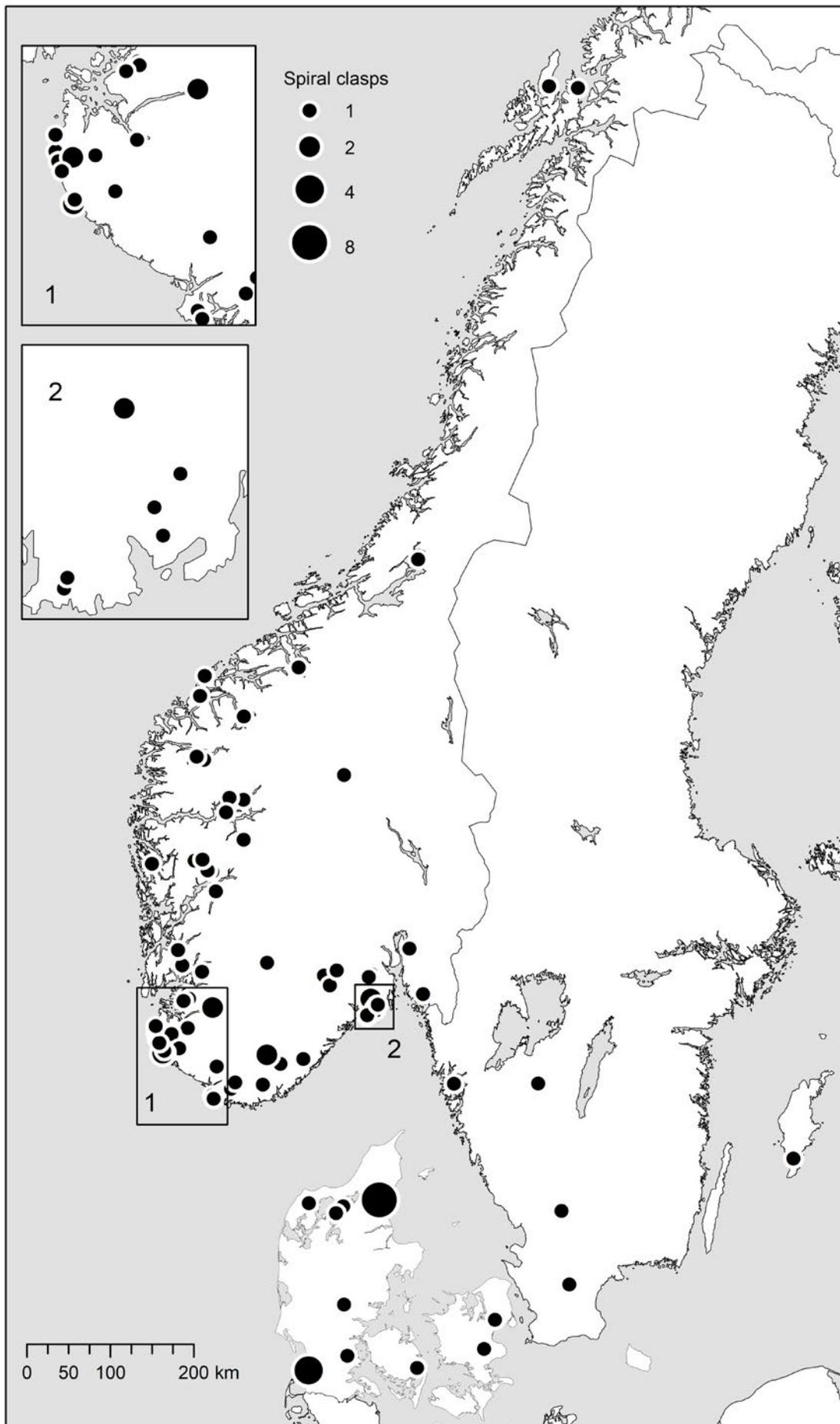
148 The uncertain finds are from Rogaland (two finds), Sogn og Fjordane, Vestfold, Jutland and Sjælland.

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

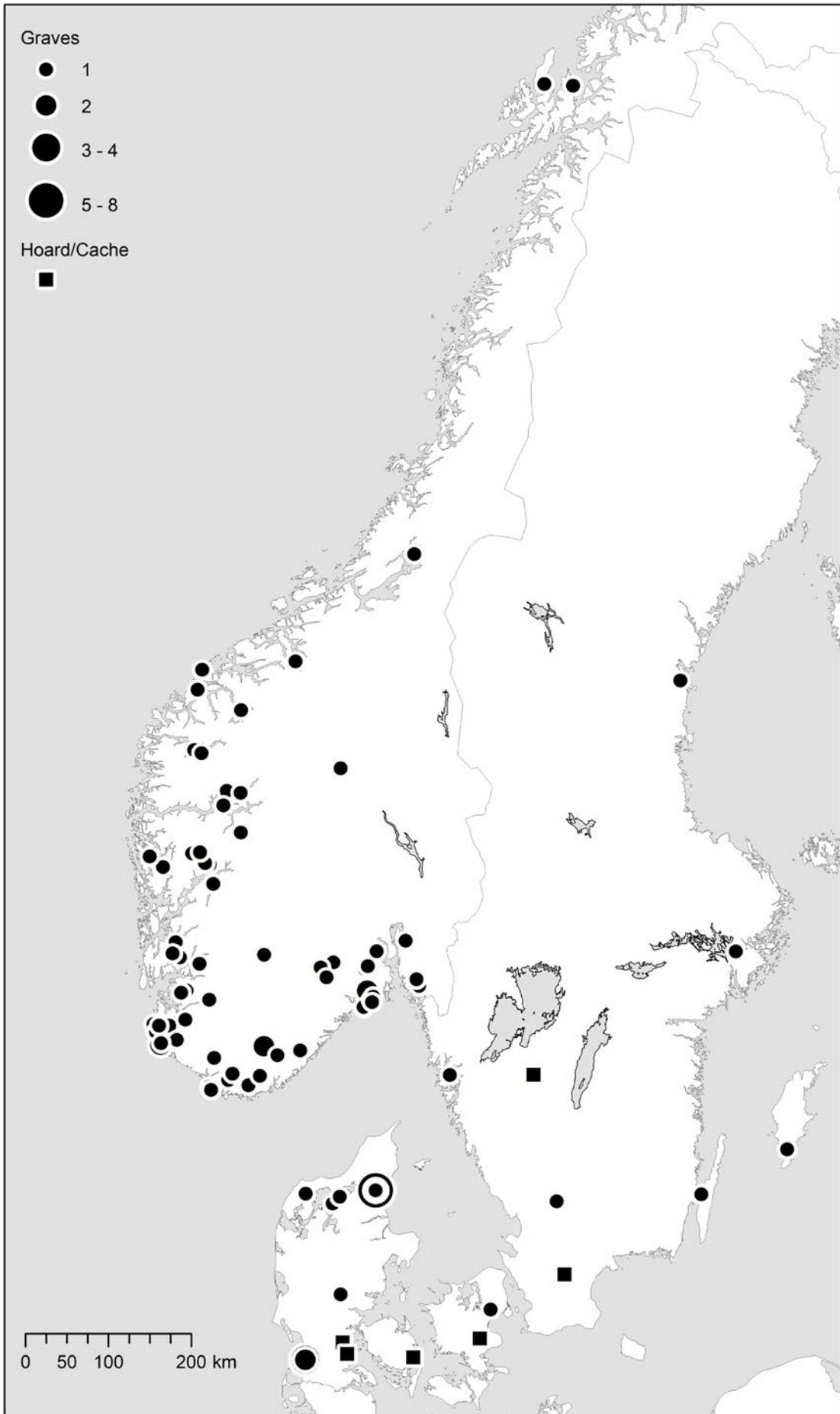
153 Here I count clasps and parts/fragments of clasps of the same sub-type as single examples.

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.

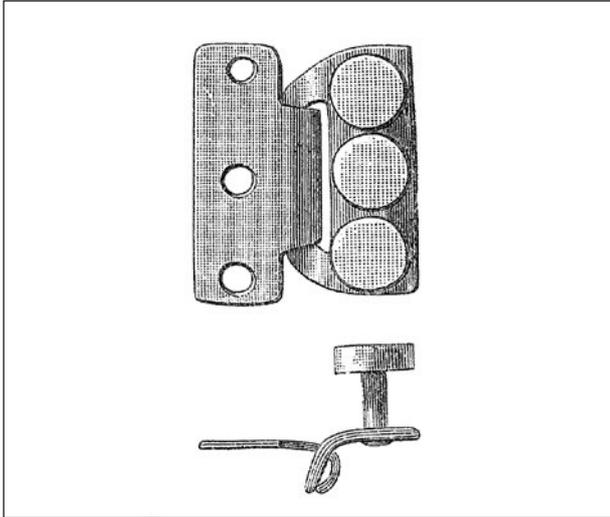


Figure 4.59 Undecorated button clasps (B1i) from Gotland, after Stjerna (1905:fig. 189).

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.

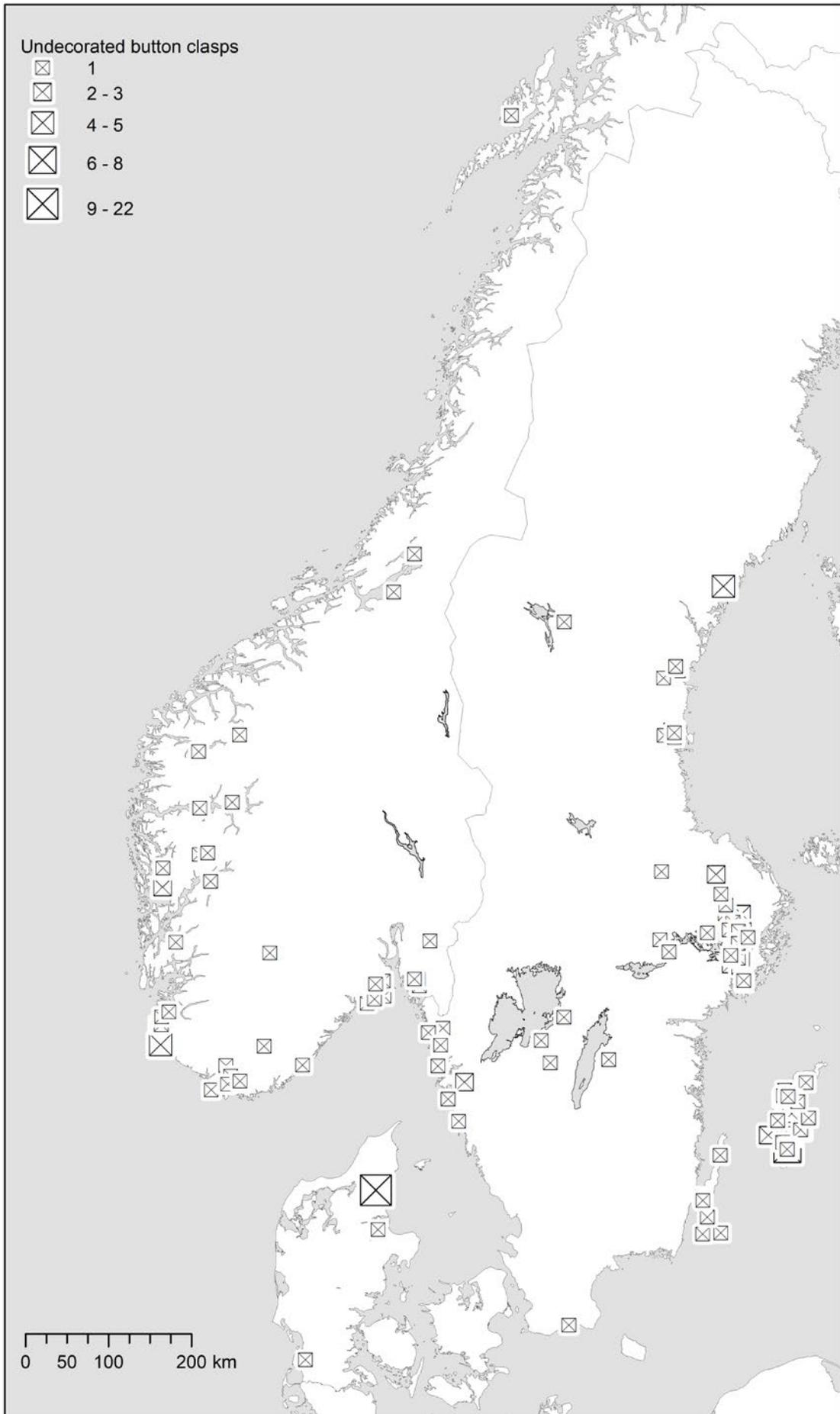
The undecorated button clasps are a type that was in use all the time from the Late Roman Iron Age and throughout the Migration Period, but the greatest density of use occurred in the concluding two sub-phases of the Migration Period (Hines 1993a:15). There are two finds that can be dated to period C, 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.

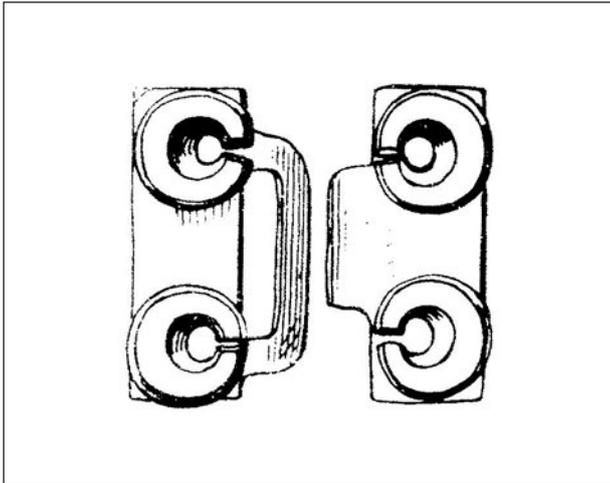


Figure 4.60 Button clasps with ring motifs (C29300). Drawn by: Mary Storm. © Museum of Cultural History.

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).

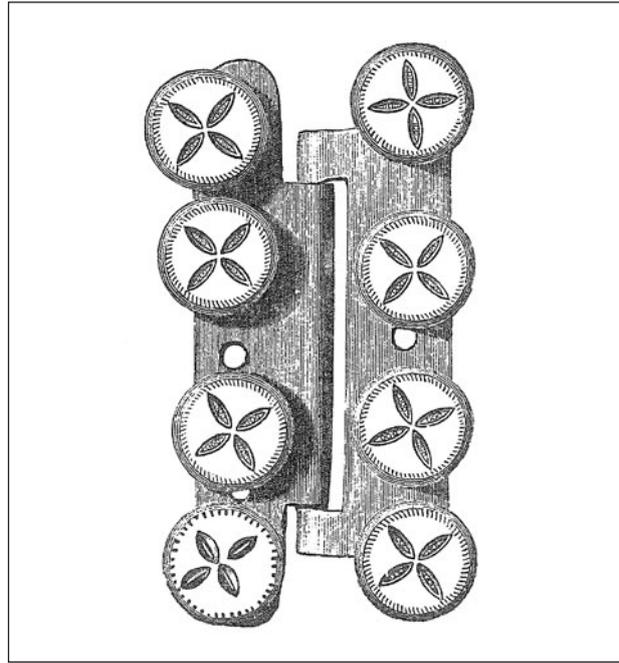


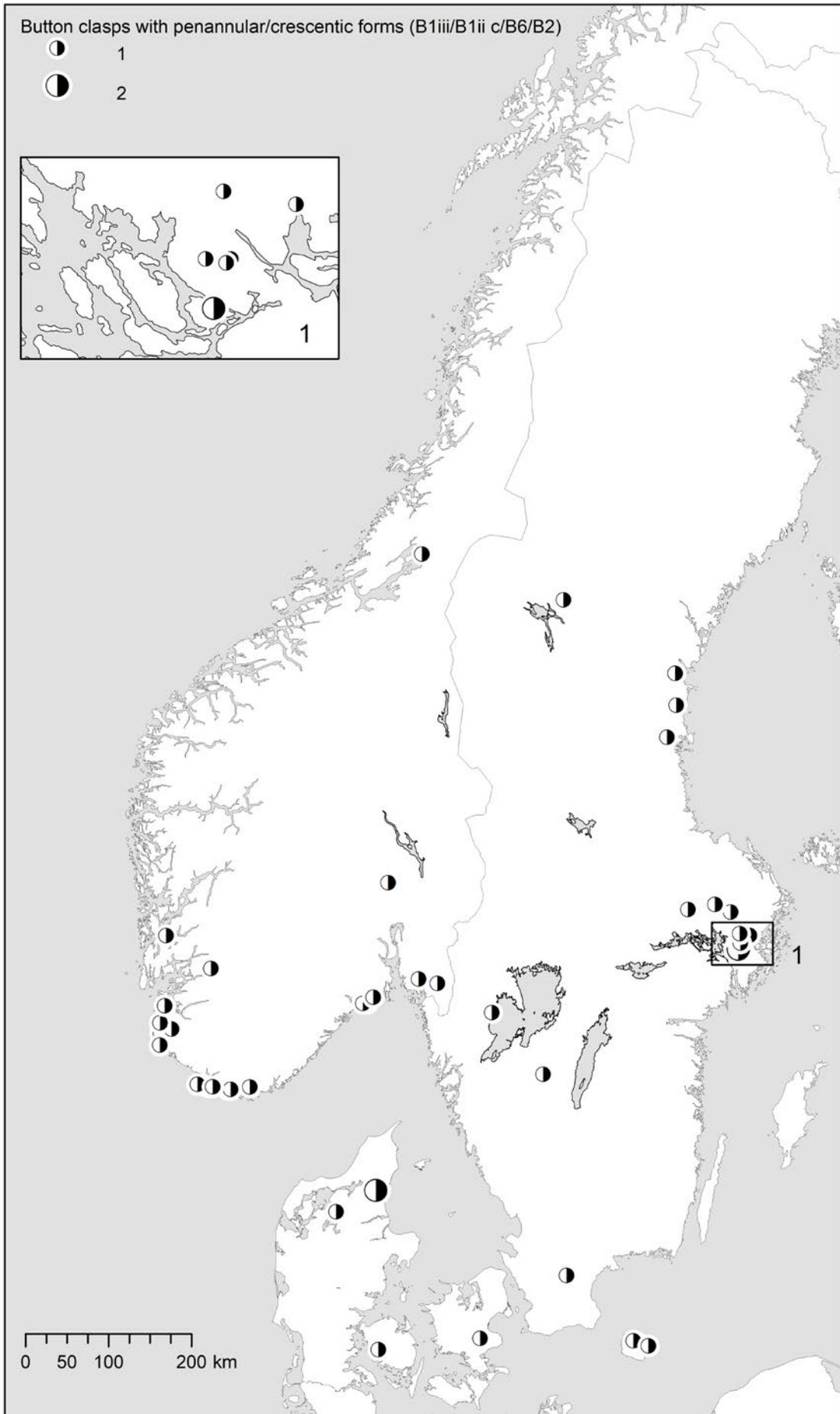
Figure 4.61 Button clasps as R.268 from Østby, Østfold (C15597), after Rygh (1885:fig. 268).

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

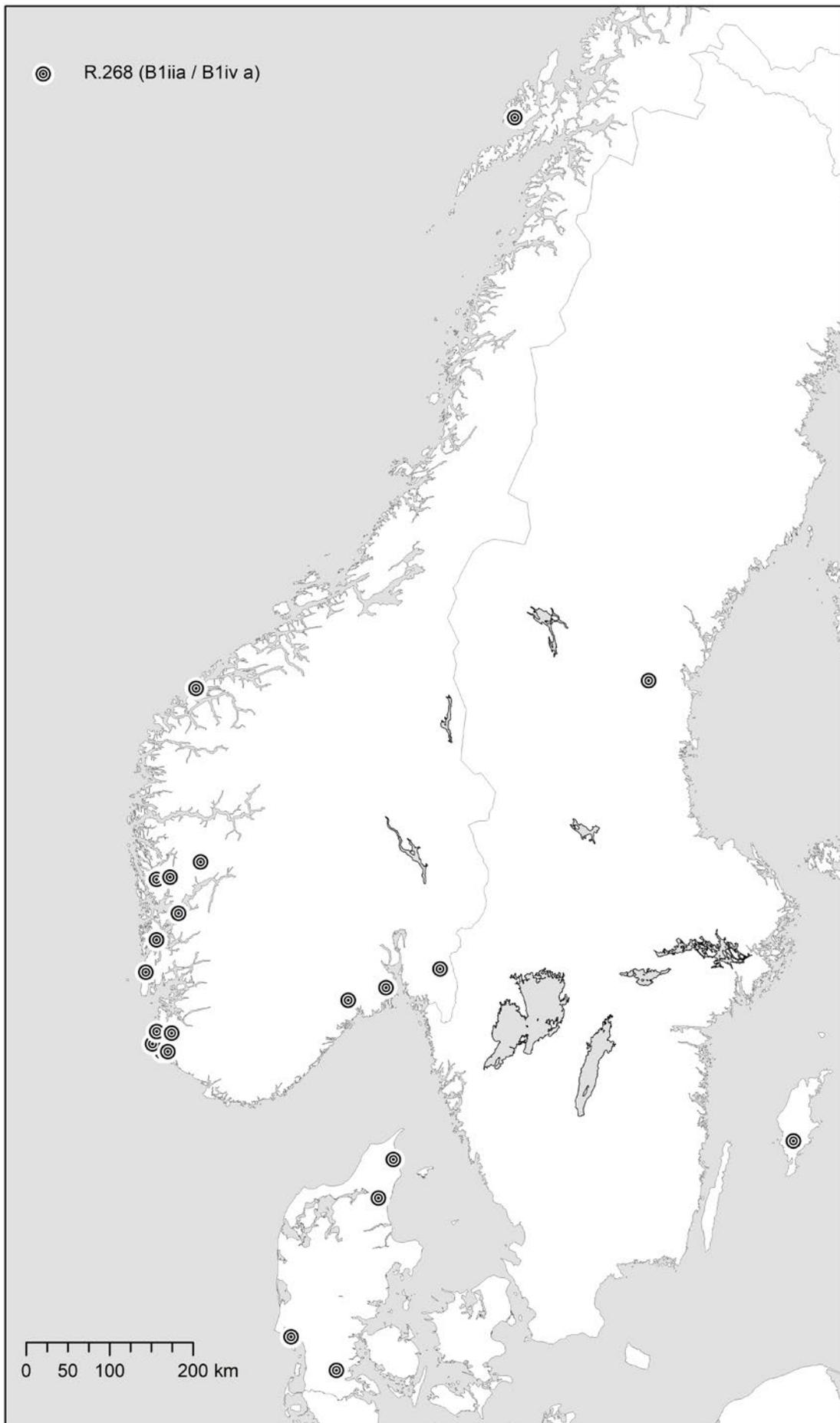
162 Note that maps of sub-types of button clasp show only finds of the Migration Period unless otherwise indicated. Roman Iron-age finds are excluded.

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



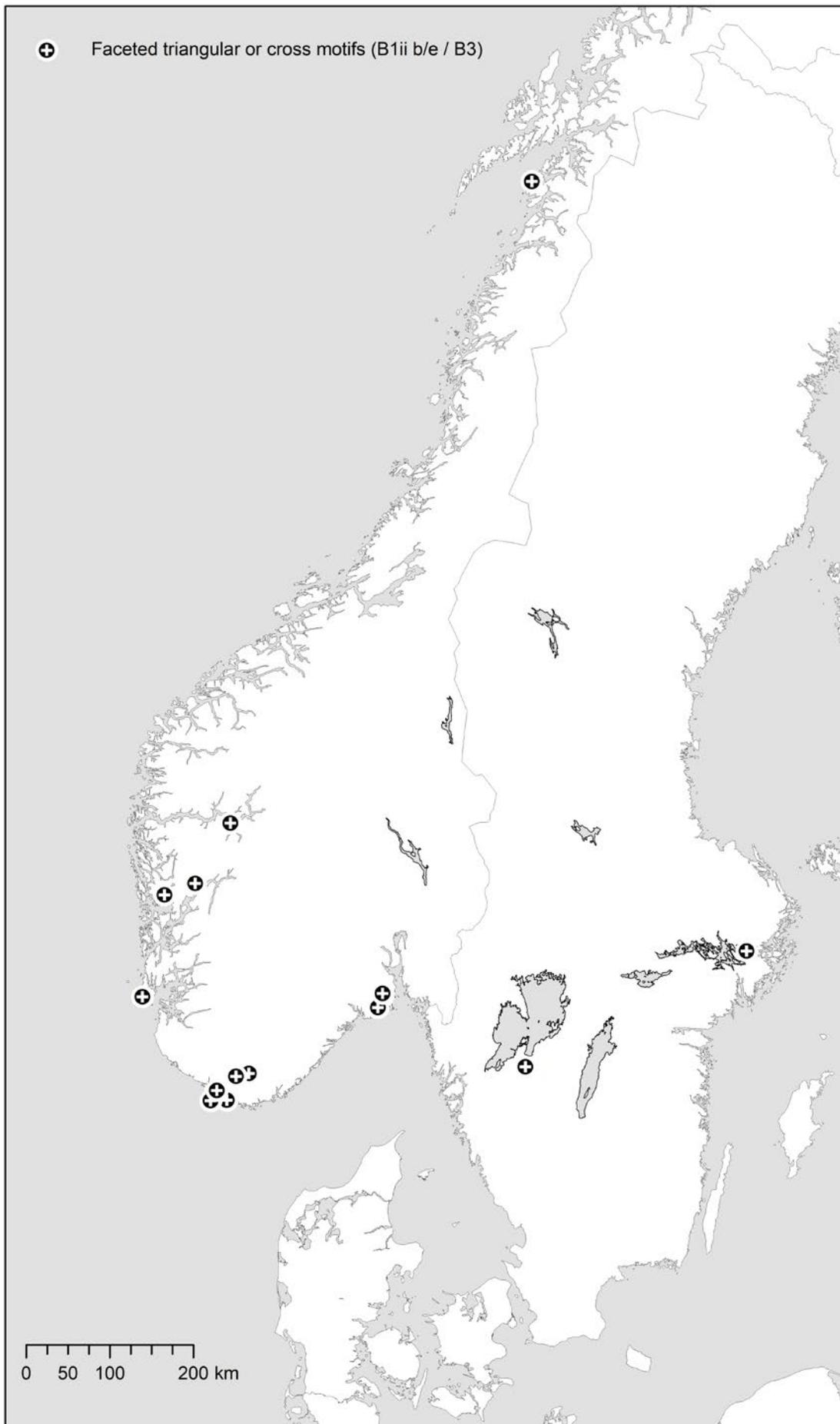
Figure 4.63 Button clasps with spiral motifs from *Skäcklinge, Södermanland (SHM31097/10)*, after Waller (1996:plansje I, 6).

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.

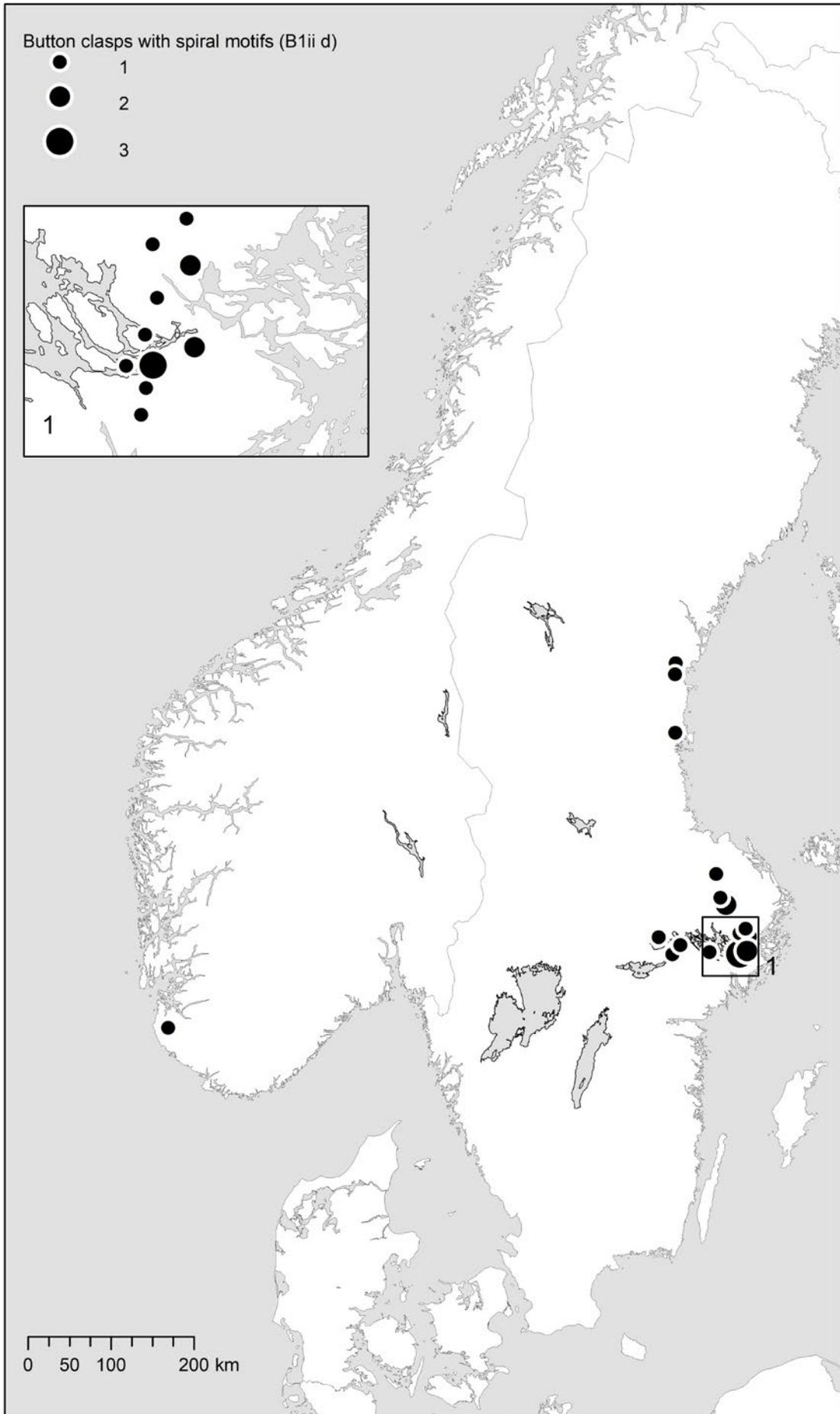
Button clasps of sub-type B1ii d, on which the buttons are decorated with spiral designs of various forms of triskele, swastika or what are referred to as 'running-spiral' patterns, constitute a relatively large group of 28 finds altogether (Fig. 4.63).¹⁶⁶ Apart from three Norwegian finds, all of the 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.

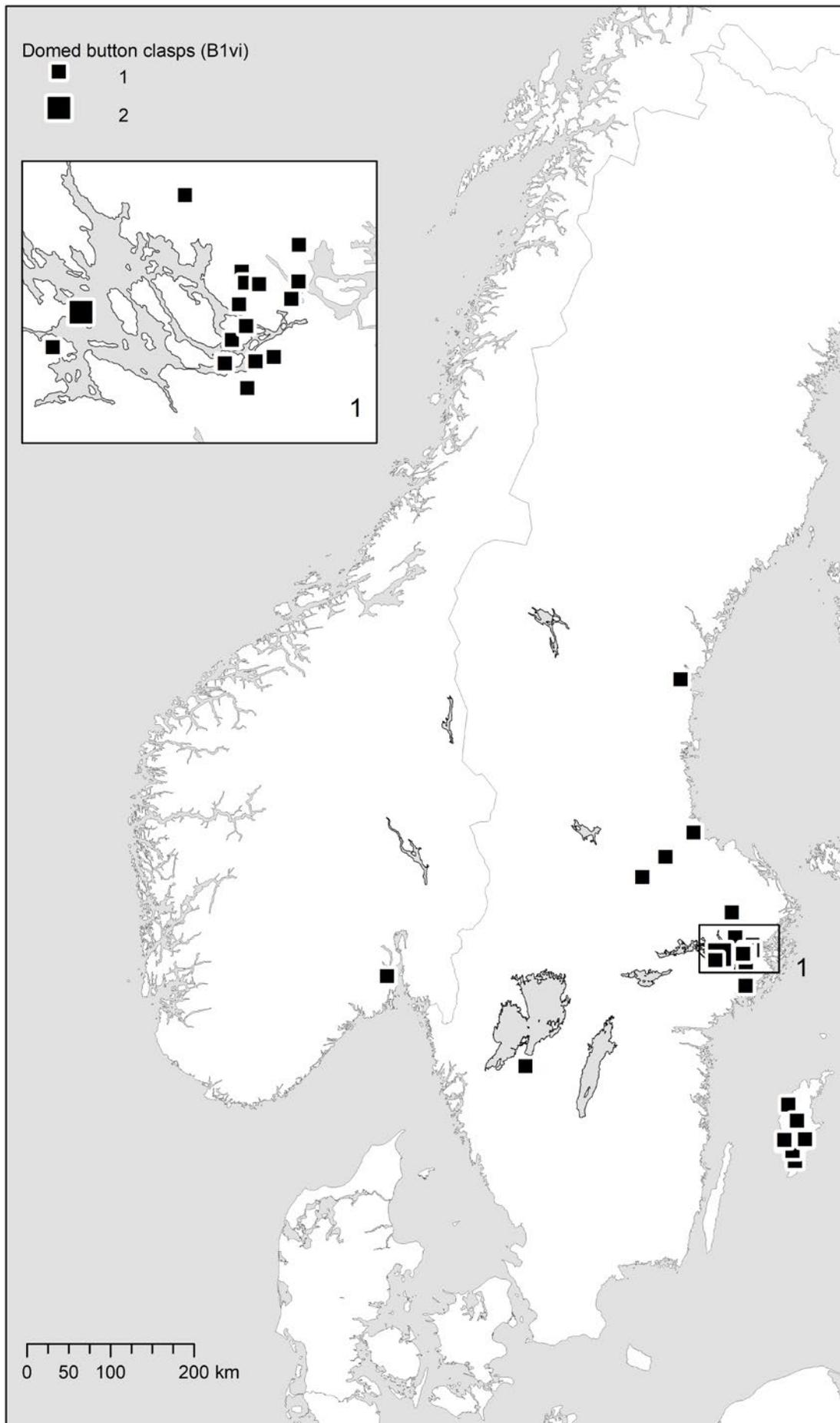
¹⁶⁶ Including four finds which according to Bennett's (1987) data list and figure are probably of this type. Bennett, however, did not describe the decoration in her data list and catalogue, but the figure given as an example in the text showing the typological abbreviations has a triskele design.



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.

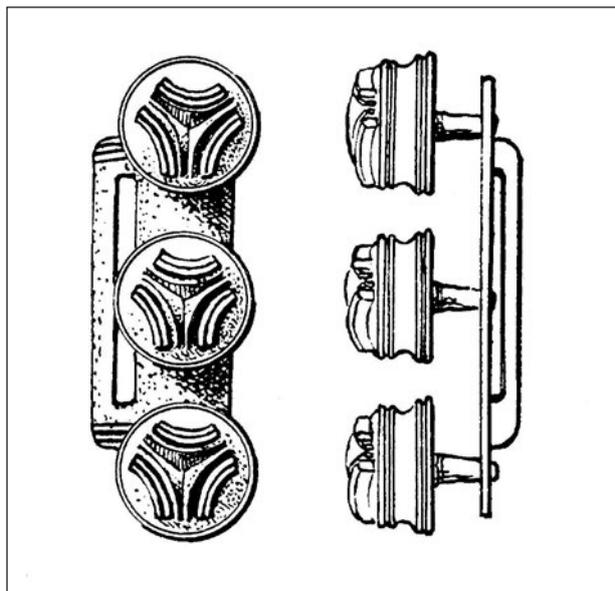


Figure 4.64 Domed button clasps with relief decoration from Brucebo, Gotland (SHM11351/9), after Nerman (1969:Taf. 55, fig. 536).

Mälaren 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).

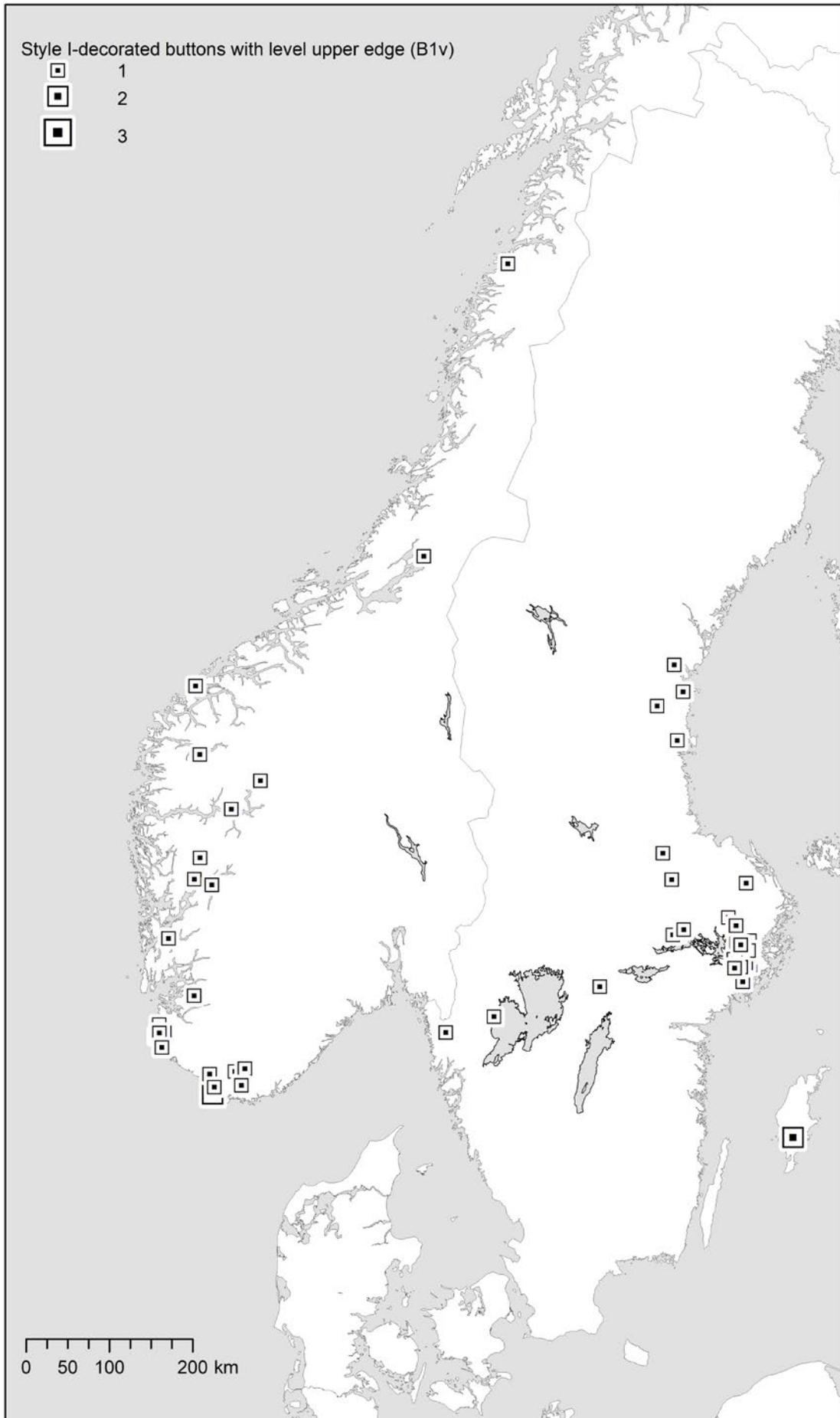
There are 60 finds which are classed as clasp buttons in relief with a flat surface/level upper edge and Style I elements (Hines's types B1v a–c, and one specimen of form B3) (Fig. 4.65): 24 finds from Norway and 36 from Sweden.¹⁶⁹ In Norway, the type is concentrated in the south and in Vestlandet while in Sweden it is distributed primarily in the Mälaren 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.

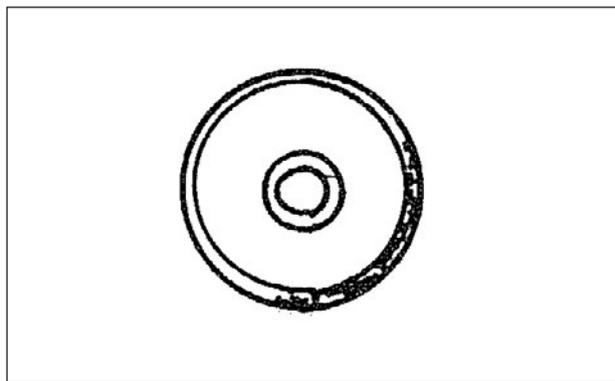


Figure 4.66 Button clasps with punched dot-in-circle decoration from Vestly, Time, Rogaland (B2546), after Hines (1993a:fig. 42 c).

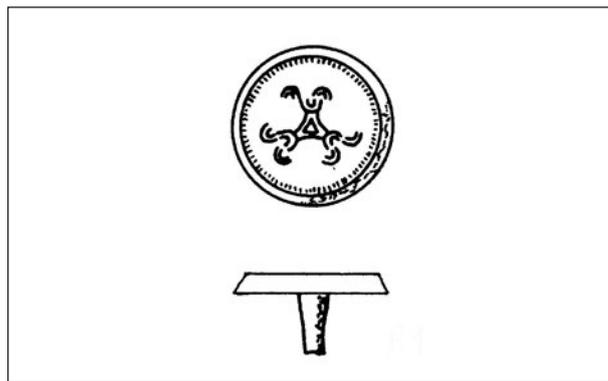


Figure 4.67 Button clasps of the Norrala type from Borg, Norrala, Hälsingland (SHM26520/6), after Hines (1993a:fig. 41 a).

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.

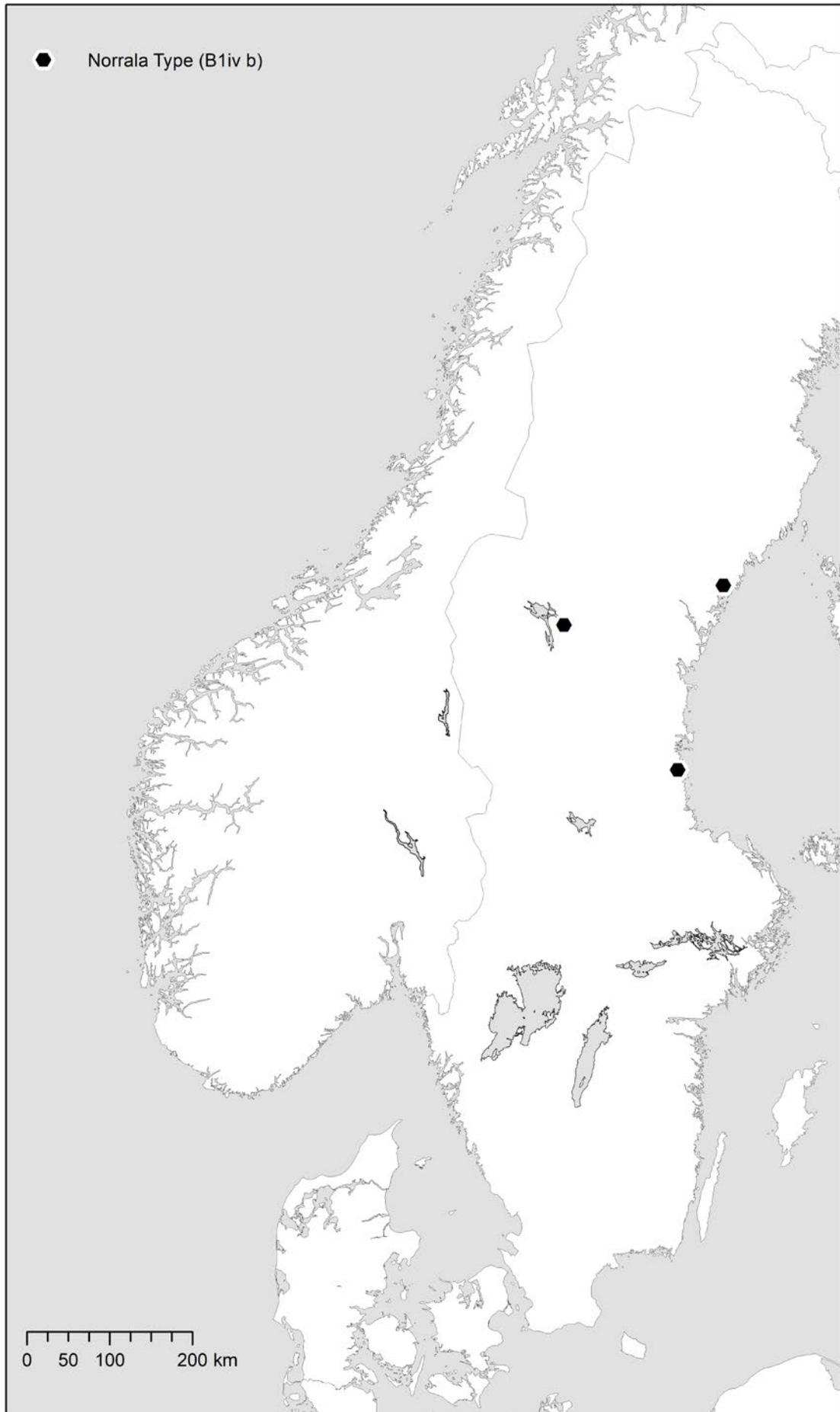
172 This includes three finds from Hordaland (1) and Rogaland (2) in which the clasps are in a condition that makes their identification to type rather uncertain.

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'.

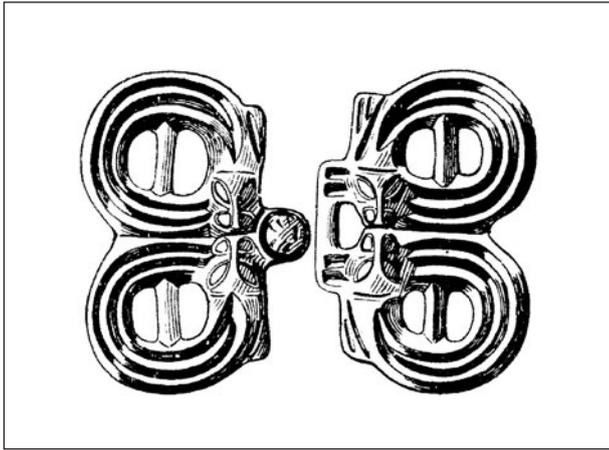


Figure 4.68 C1i-clasps from Ommundrød in Vestfold (C29300). Drawn by: Mary Storm. © Museum of Cultural History.

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

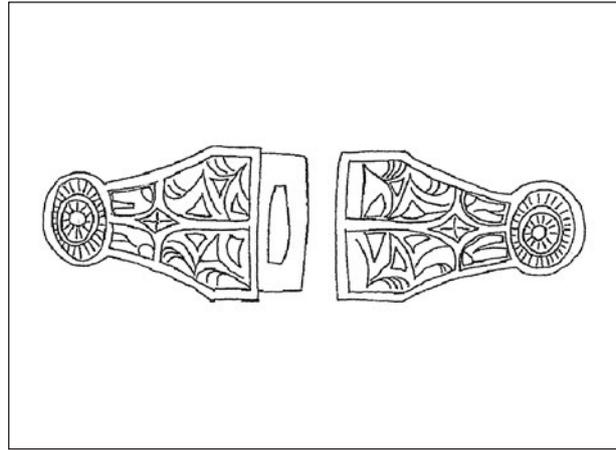


Figure 4.69 C2-clasps from Kvåle in Sogndal (B13954/6-8), after Kristoffersen (2000:Plansje 36, 2).

(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*

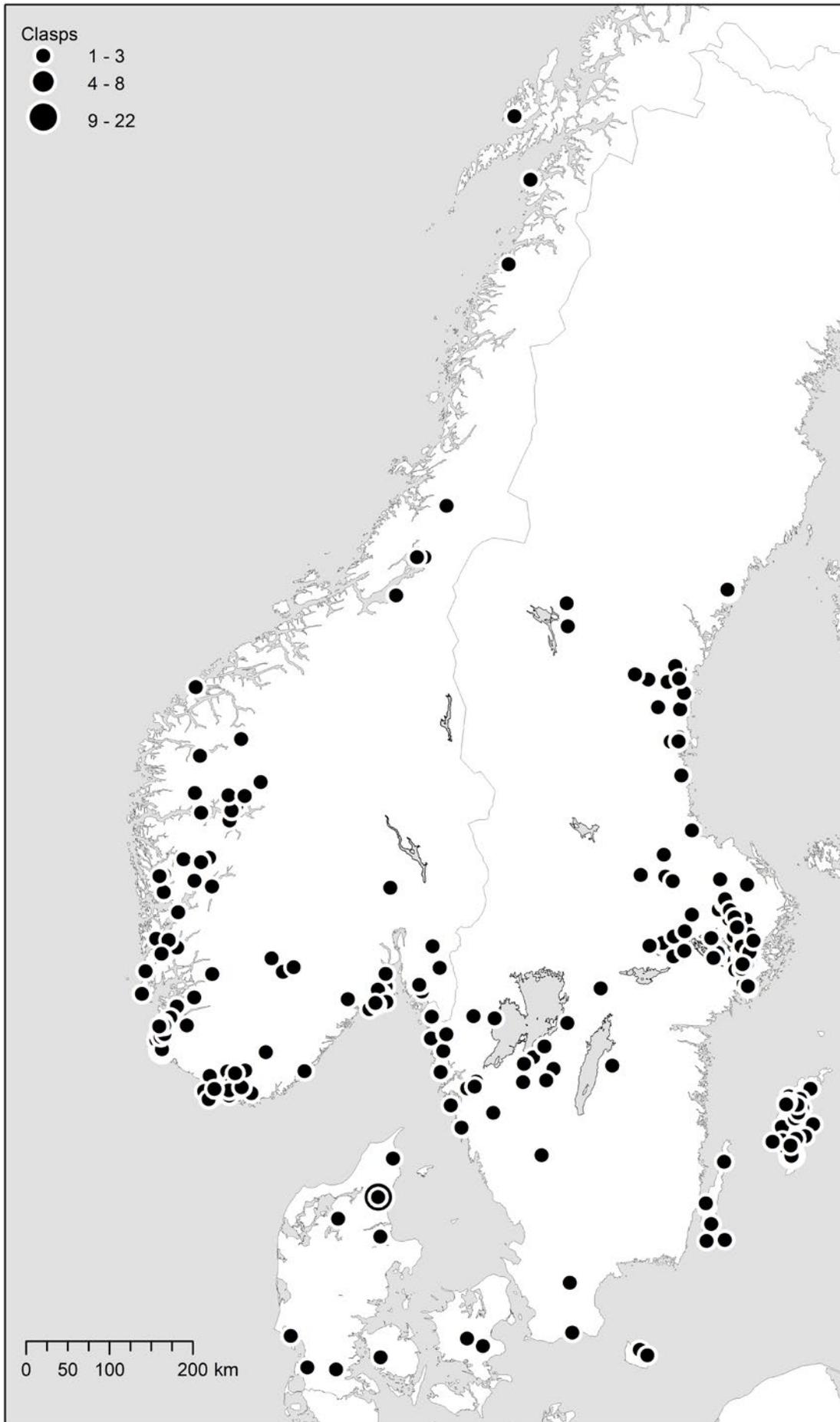
There is a total of 407 grave finds with altogether 459 different examples of clasps from the undifferentiated phase D2a–D2b. The largest number of grave-assemblages containing clasps is from Sweden (258 finds with 285 different clasps) while there are 111 finds from Norway (with 134 different clasps) 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.

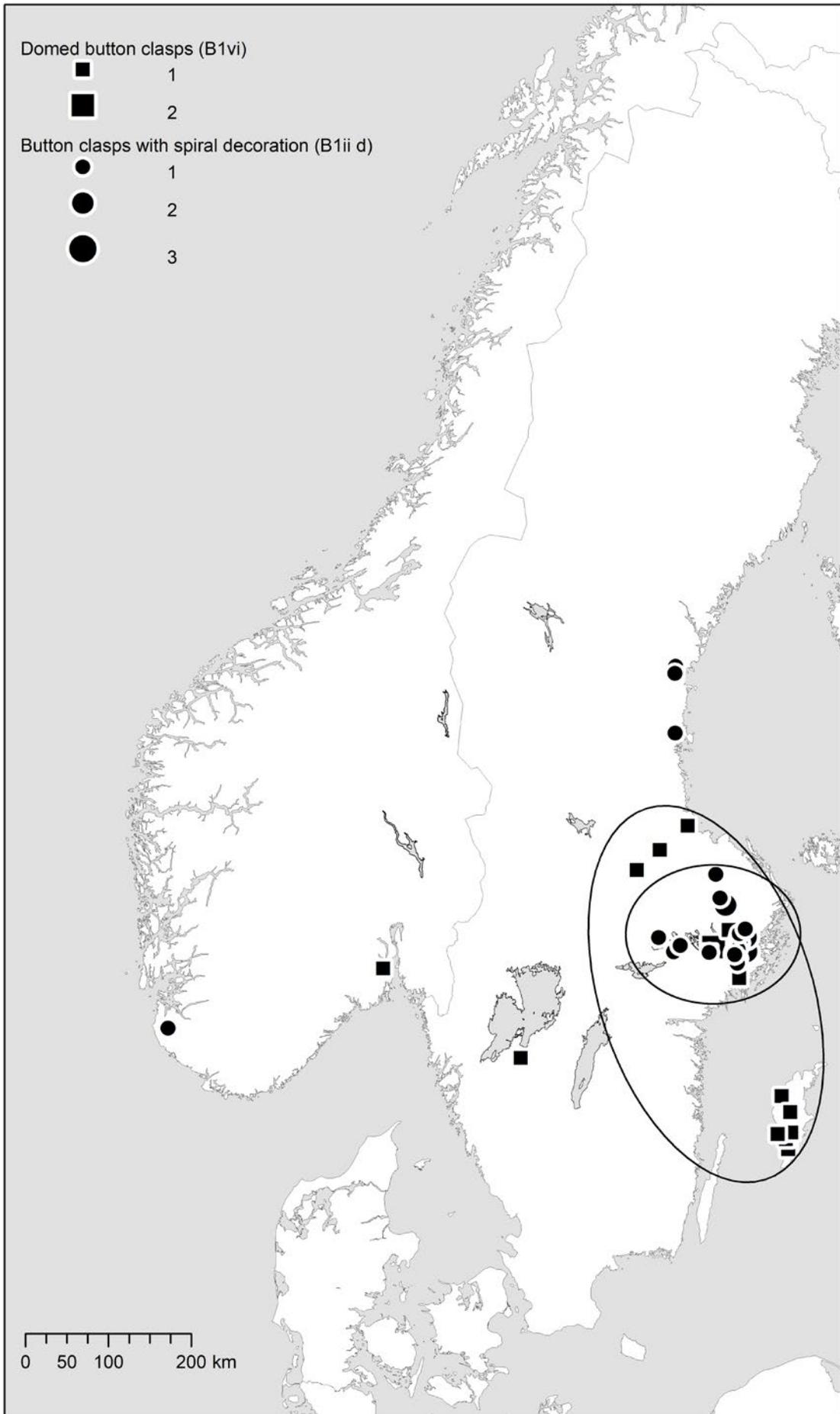
On the whole it is also the same types of clasp that recur in both grave-assemblages and hoards of phase D2. On the question of whether the clasps in the hoards were ‘local’ or ‘alien’ types, it is interesting that in both phases D1 and D2, cast triangular form C2 clasps occur in hoards in Västergötland. 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

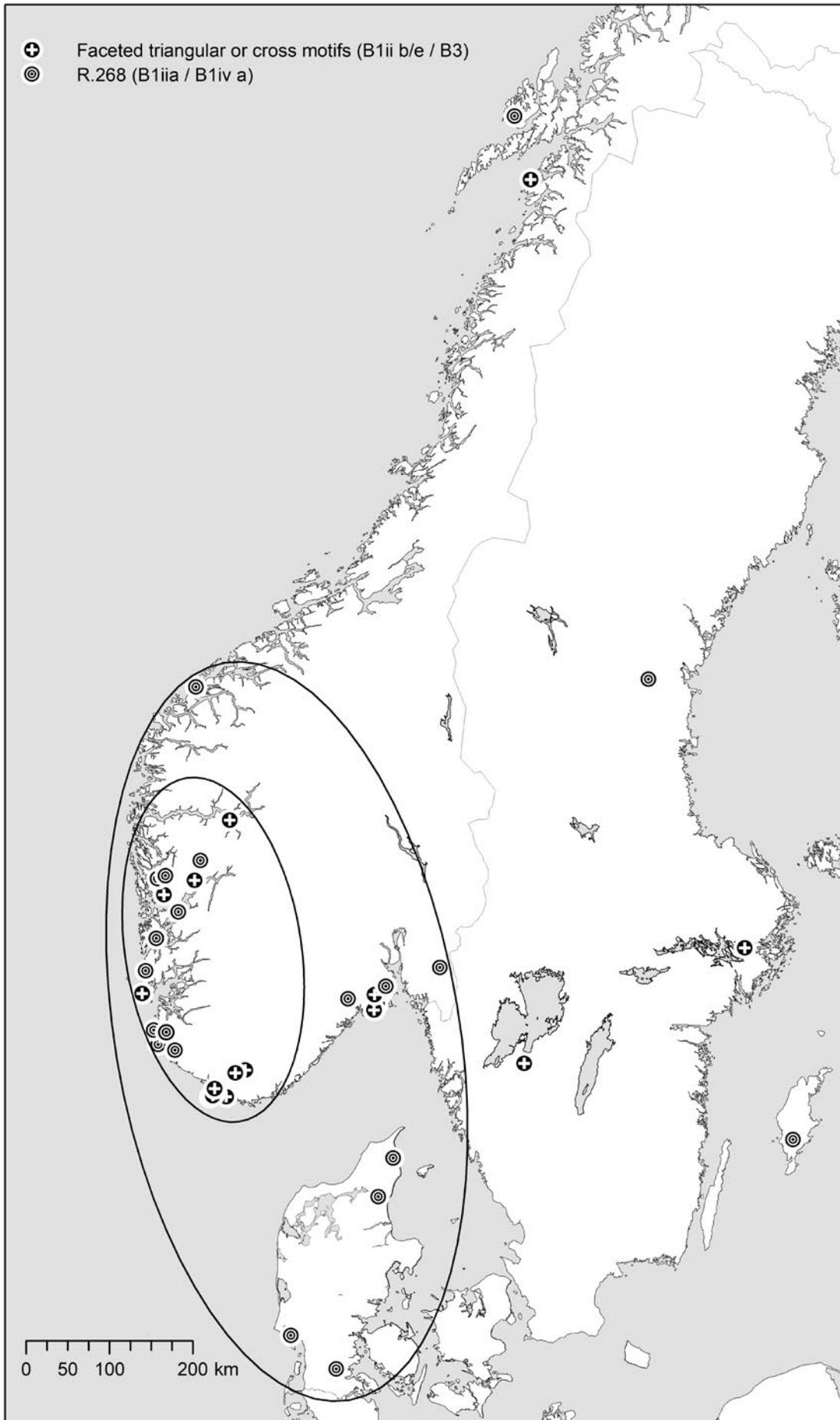
182 It must be noted that Hines (1993a:Cat.) included finds from the central place area on Helgö which are excluded here: cf. Ch. 4.1.3.



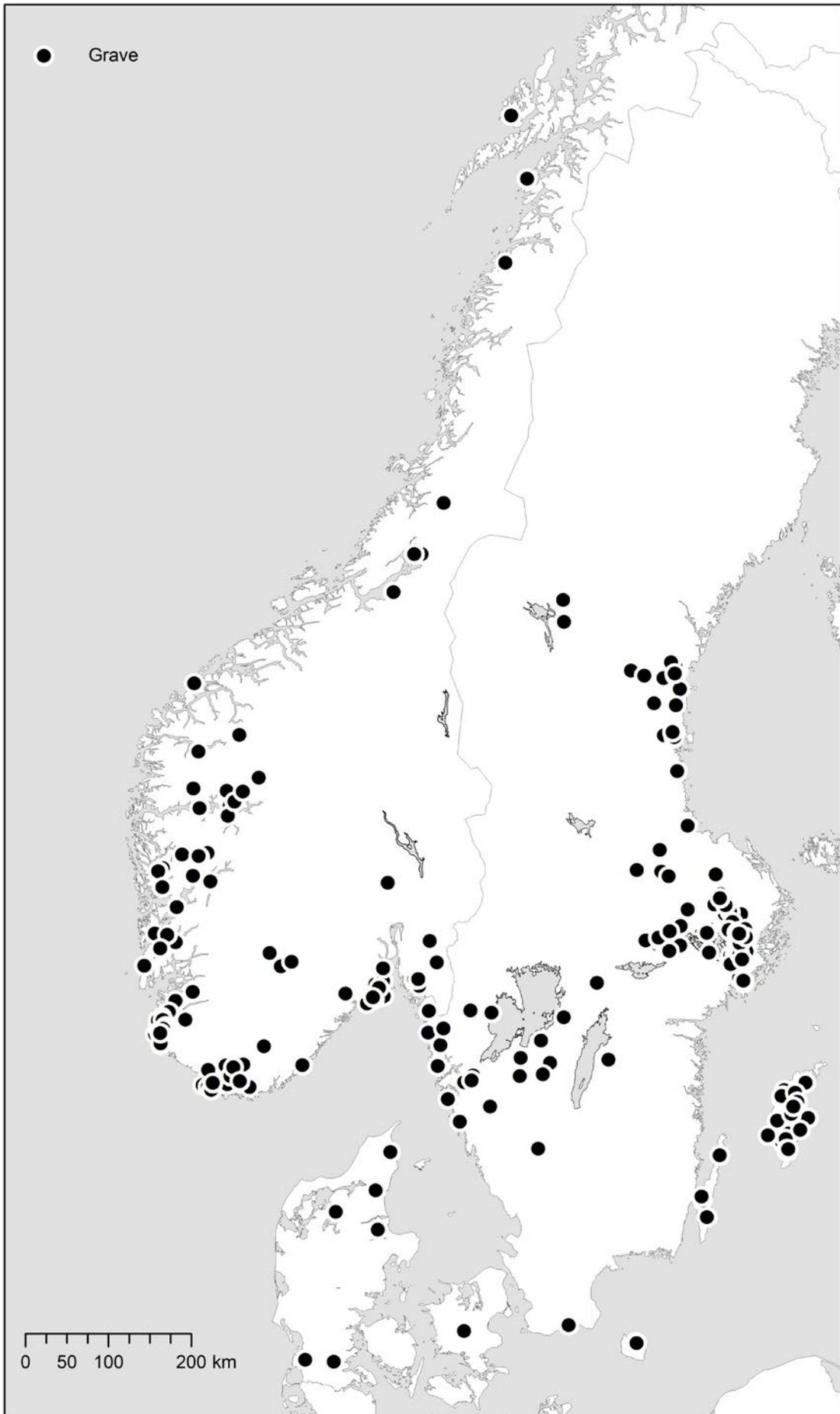
Map 4.56 The distribution of clasps in Phase D2.



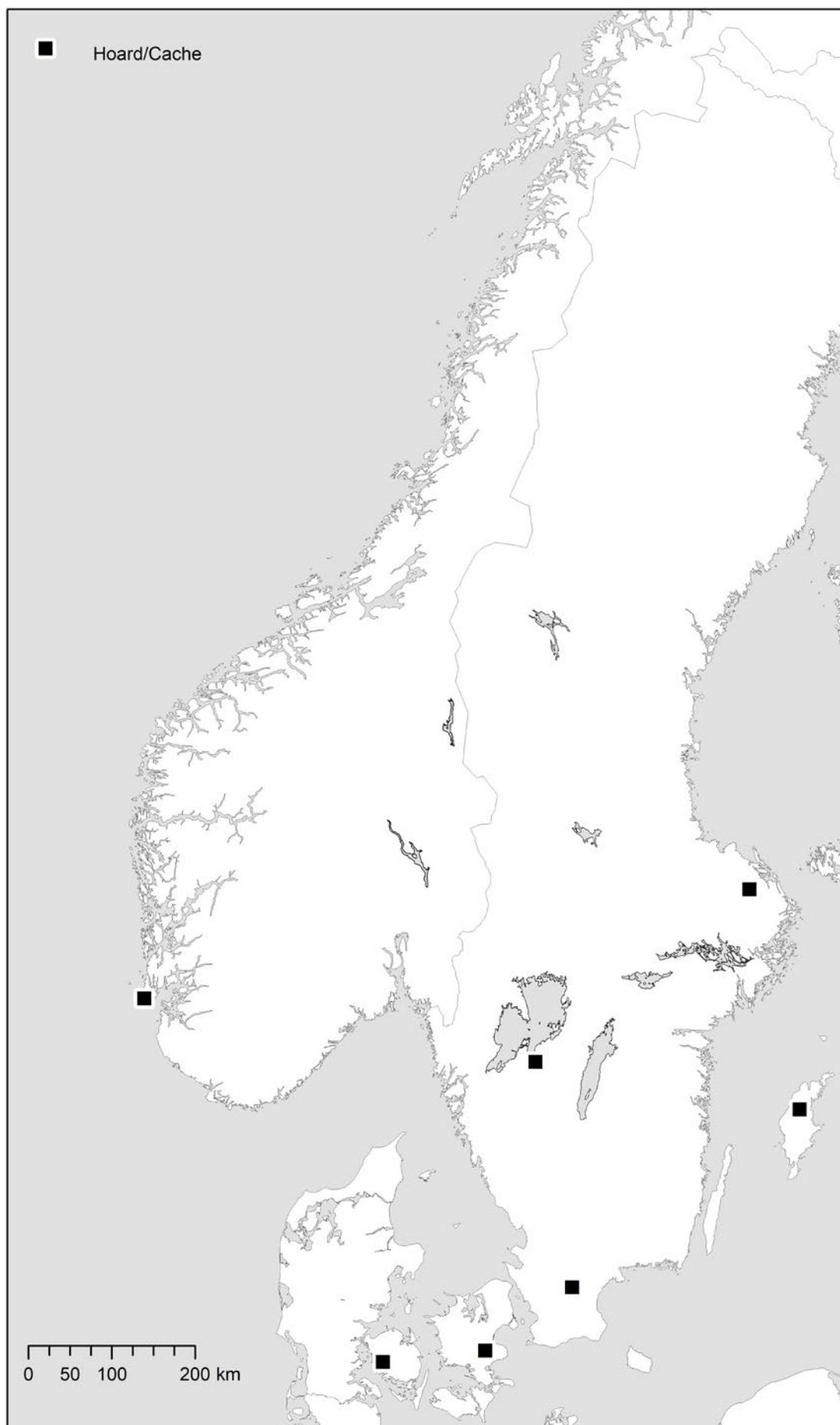
Map 4.57 The distribution of domed button clasps and button clasps with spiral decoration



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.

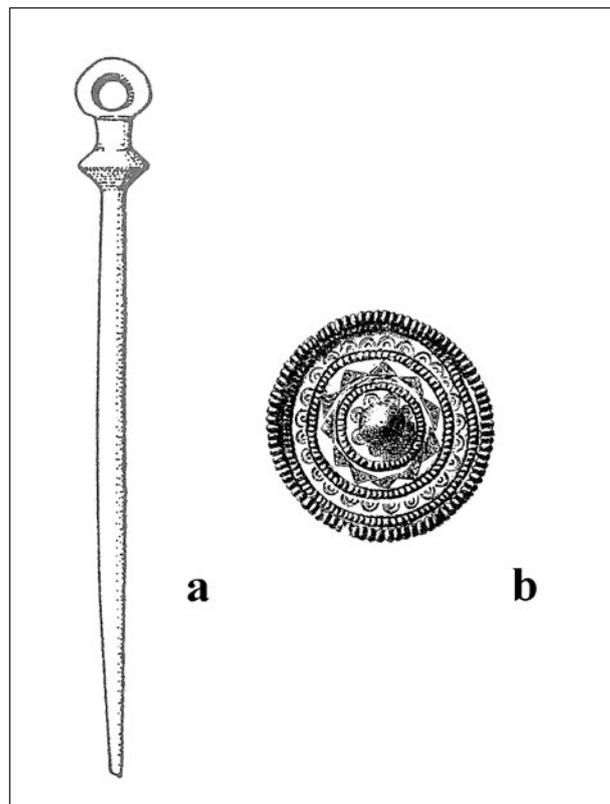


Figure 4.70 a) Moulded pin from Skälby, Hammarby, Uppland (SHM Dnr. 7188/68), after Waller (1996:Plansje VI, 53) and **b)** scutiform pendant from Rostad, Tune, Østfold (C10000), after Magnus (1975:fig. 18).

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.

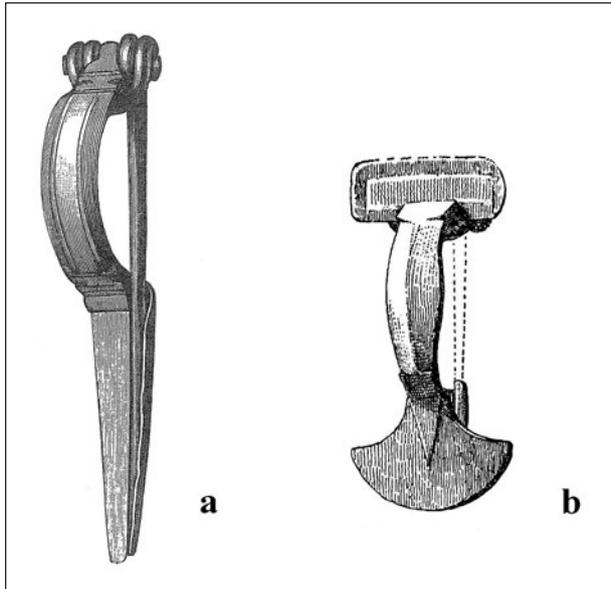


Figure 4.71 a) Simple bow brooch of type R.243 from Orre, Klepp, Rogaland (B2601), after Rygh (1885:fig. 243) and **b)** brooch of the "små bronsespænder" [small bronze brooch] type with plates from Veien, Buskerud (C5163), after Schetelig (1910:fig. 29), © University Museum of Bergen.

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

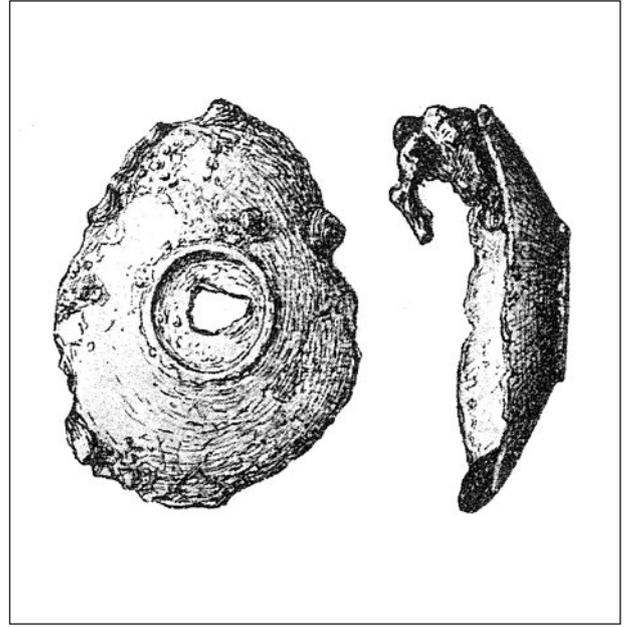


Figure 4.81 Conical brooch with no decoration from Bjørnes in Namdalen (T7378), after Schetelig (1910:fig. 89), © University Museum of Bergen.

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).

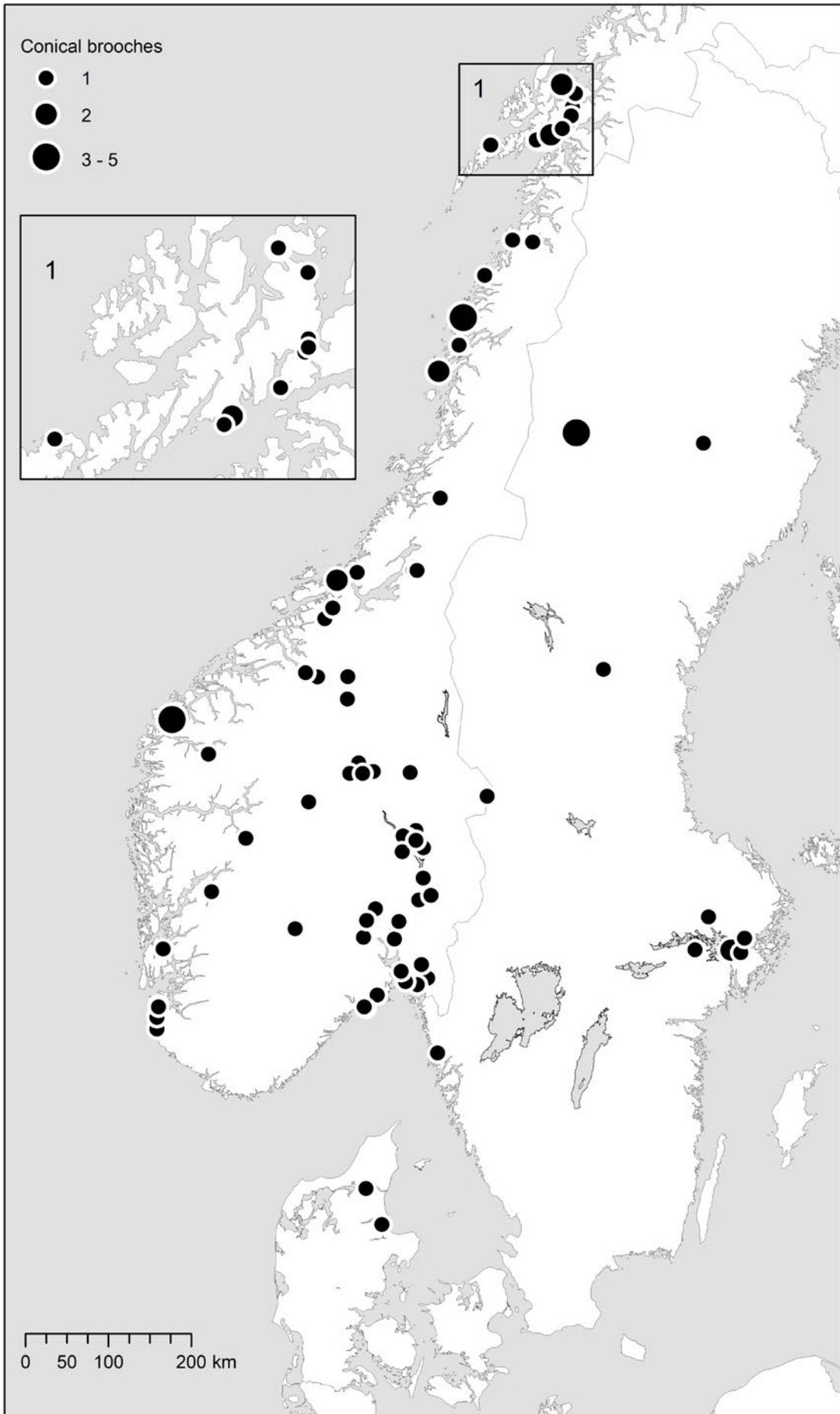
4.3.1.3 Geographical distribution of the types

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.

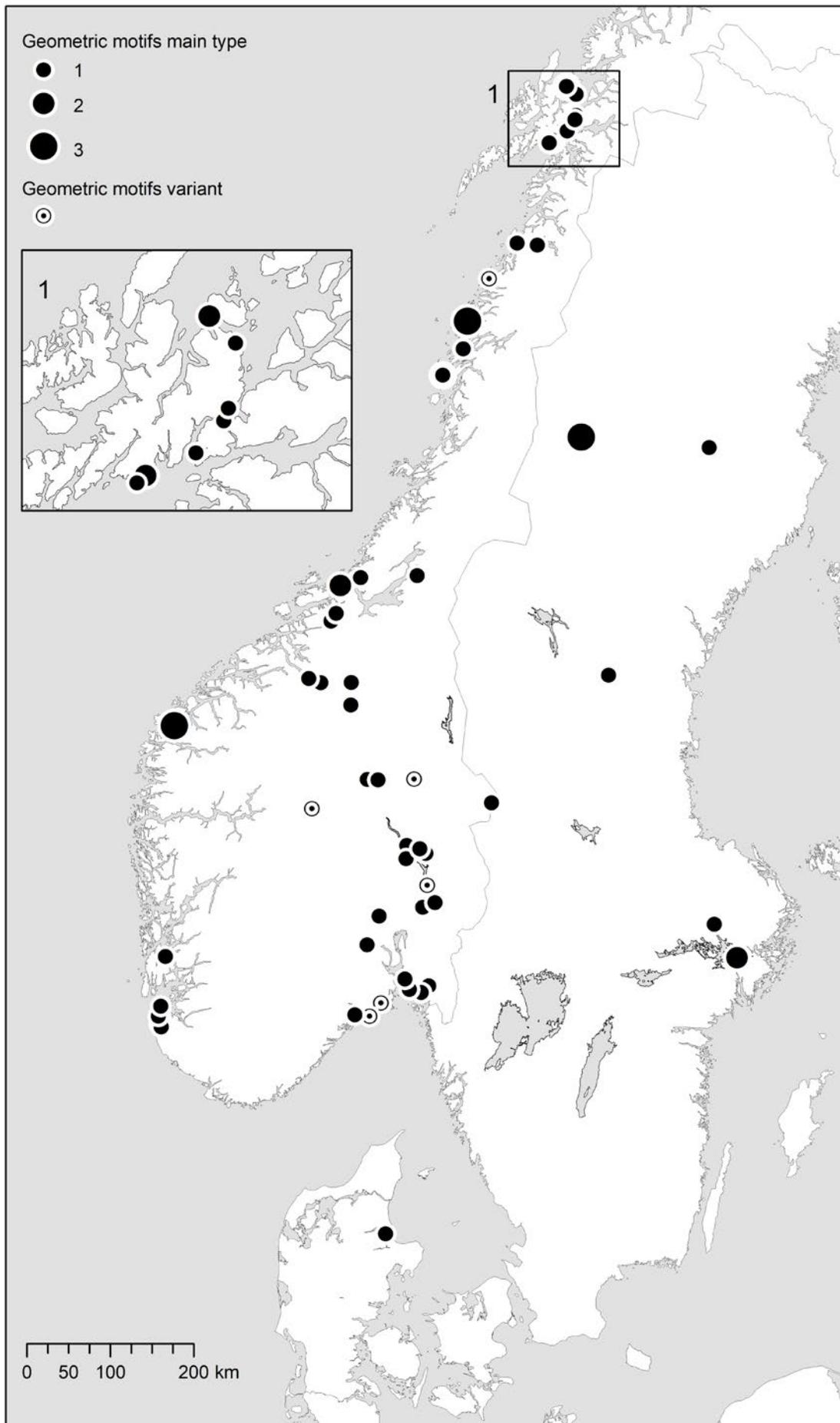
Of a total of 16 brooches with Style II decoration there are 15 from Norway (from 15 finds) and one

202 T7378, C57986, NMI j.nr. 6462/82, SHM32577 and SHM33824/A7. There is also an undecorated specimen from Vörå in Finland (HEM8331/2).

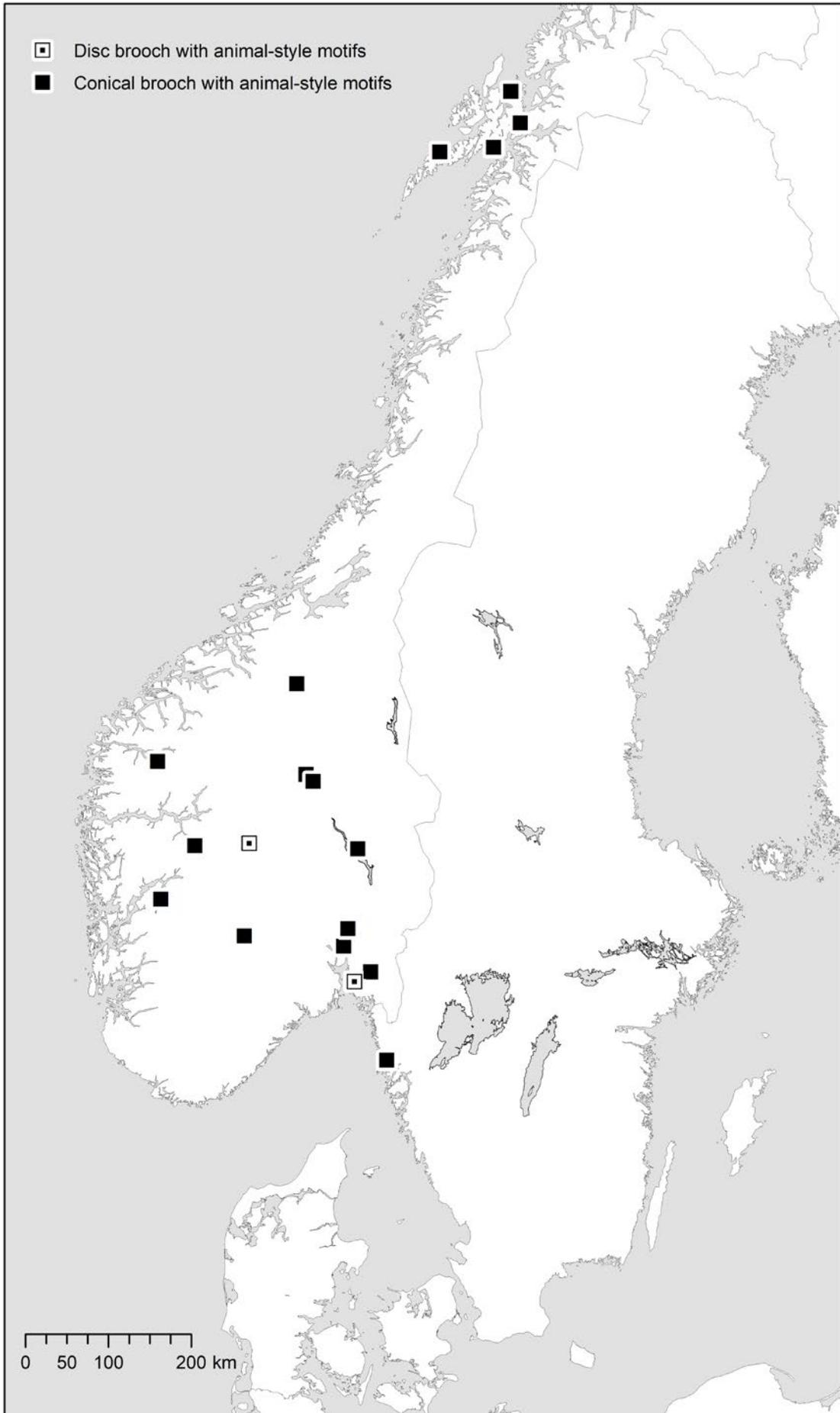
203 There are also about eight finds from Finland.



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.

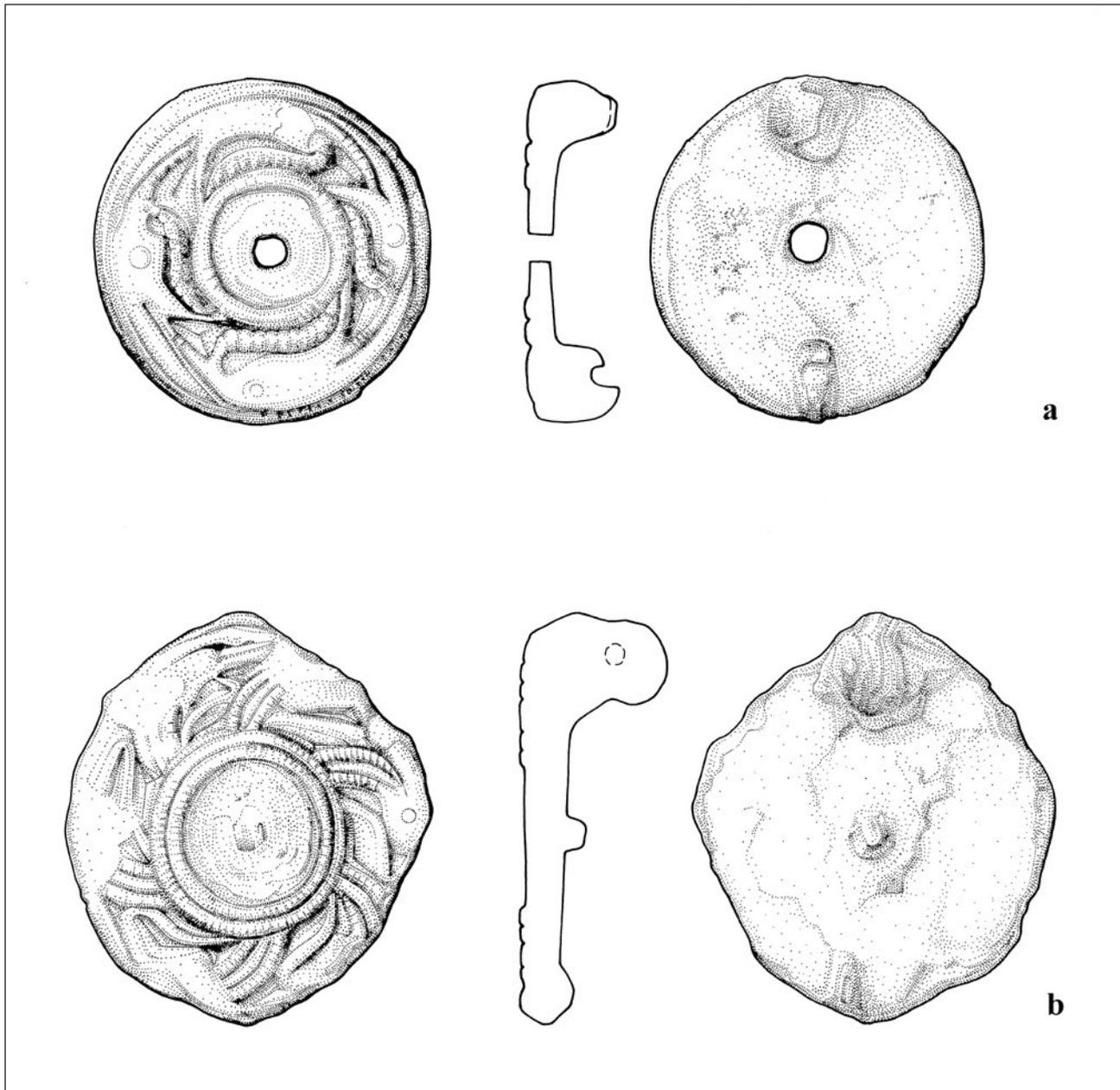


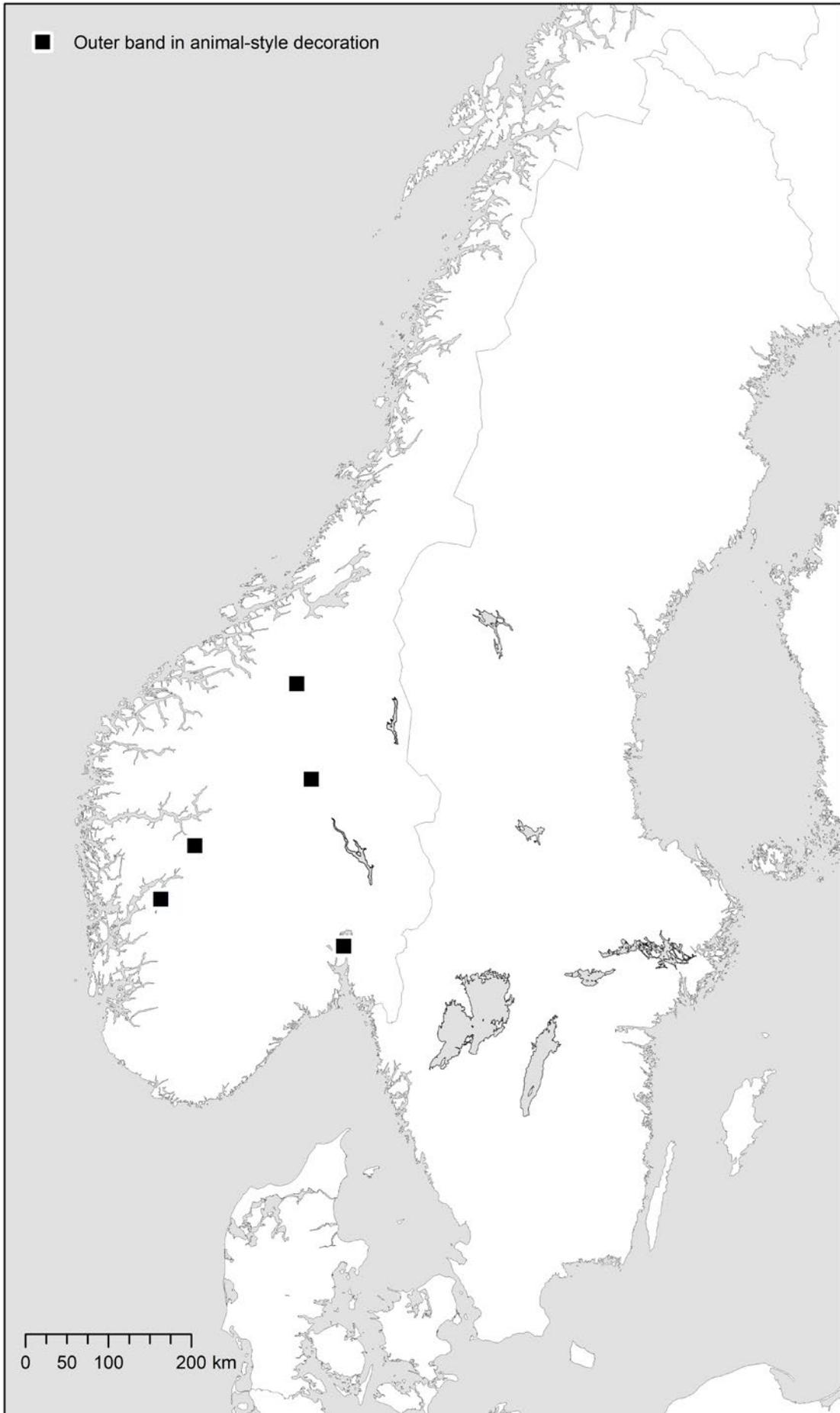
Figure 4.82 Disc brooches with animal-style decoration from **a)** Skaadengård, Buskerud (C52879/1) and **b)** Huseby, Østfold (C53024). Drawn by: Bjørn-Håkon Eketuft Rygh. © Museum of Cultural History.

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.

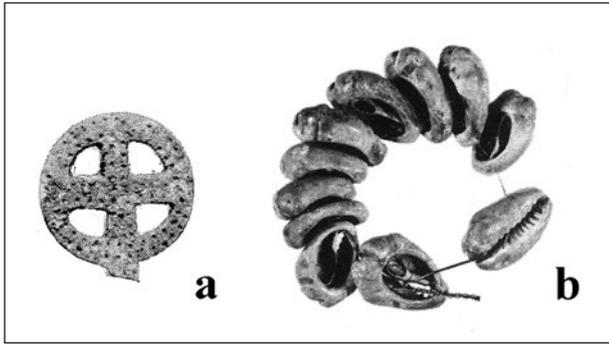


Figure 4.83 *a) Wheel-shaped decorative plates and/or hangers from Grefshheim, Hedmark (C22394c), after Gjessing (1934:plansje XXXIb), b) Cowrie-shell jewellery from Ytterstad, Nordland (Ts940-Ts949), after Vinsrygg (1979:plansje VIIa).*

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.

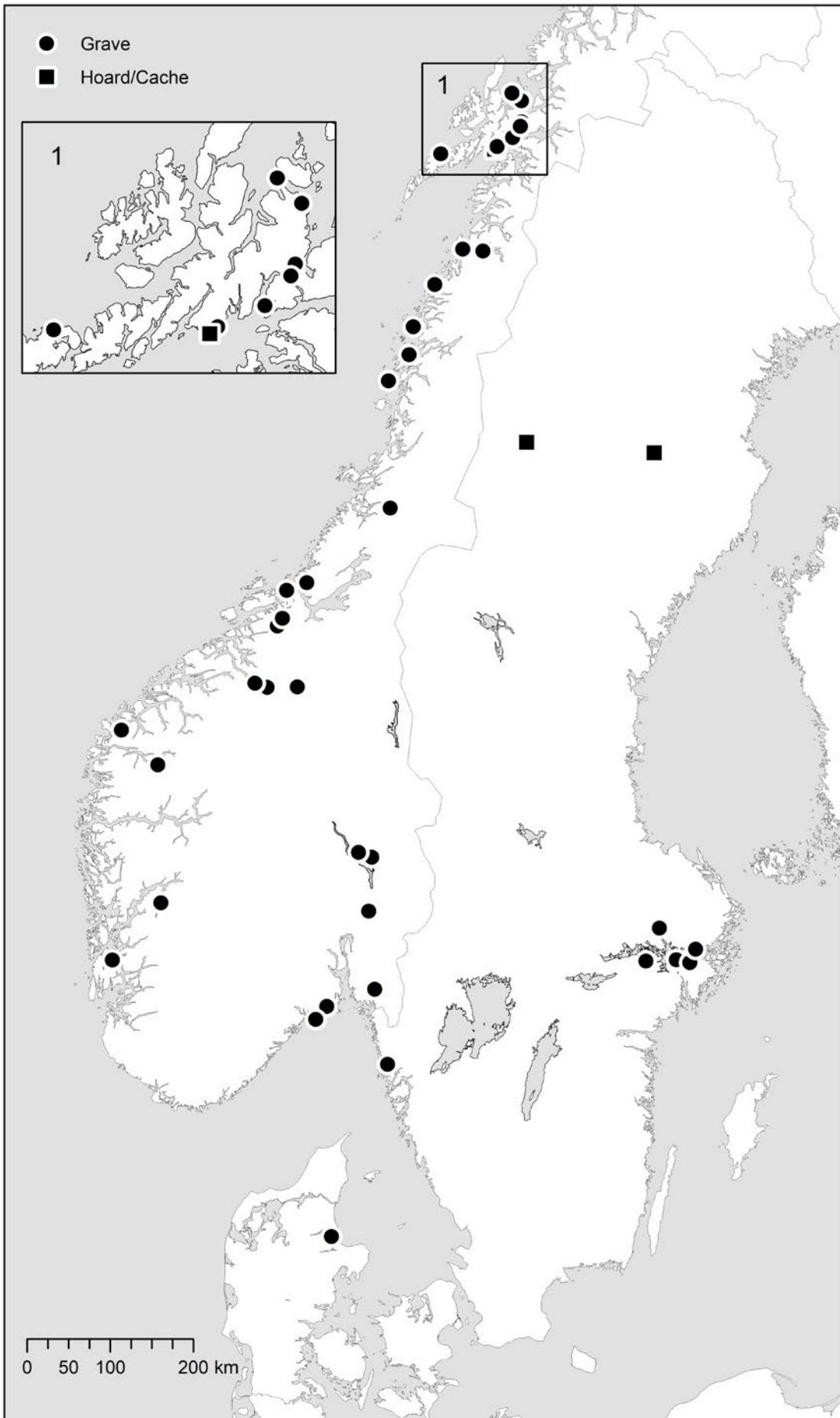
4.3.1.4 Find contexts

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

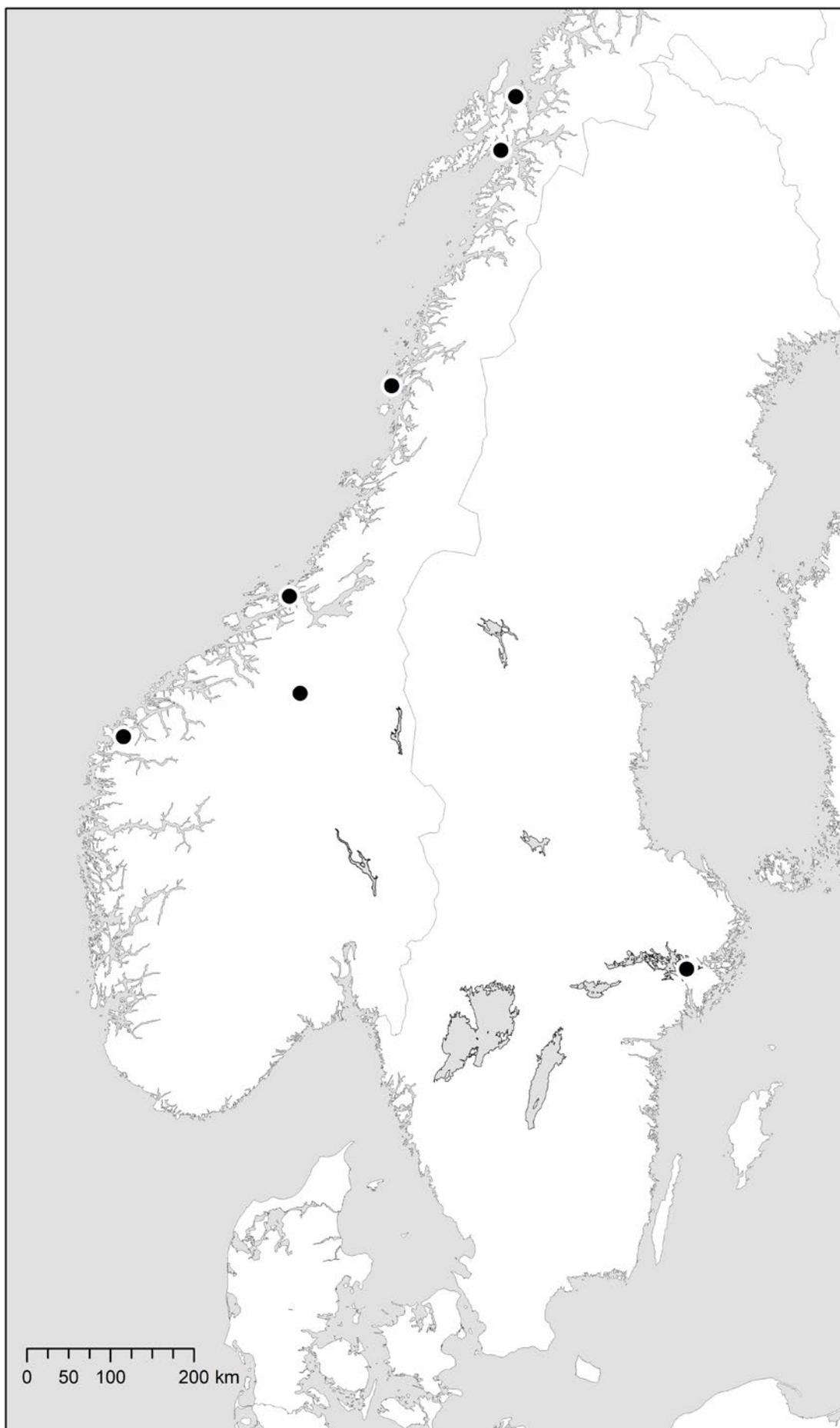
205 SHM23230.

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.

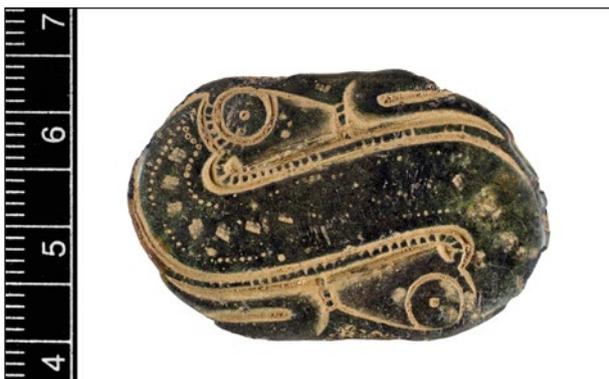


Figure 4.85 East Norwegian variant of S-shaped brooch from Ovri, Eidsvoll, Akershus (C59464). Photograph: Lill-Ann Chepstow-Lusty. © Museum of Cultural History.



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 Icgagic. © The Arctic University Museum of Norway.

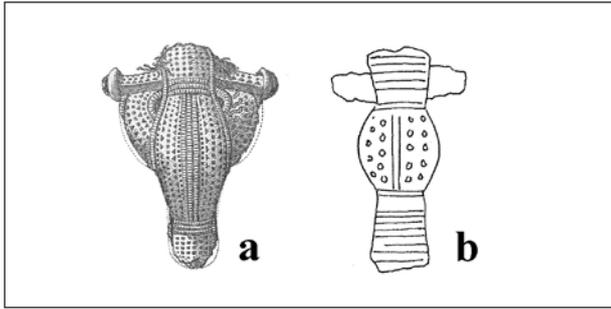


Figure 4.88 Typical brooch-types from southern Scandinavia: **a)** beak brooch, after Müller (1888:plansje XXXIII, fig. 523), and **b)** equal-armed brooch, after Ørsnes (1966:fig. 94).

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).

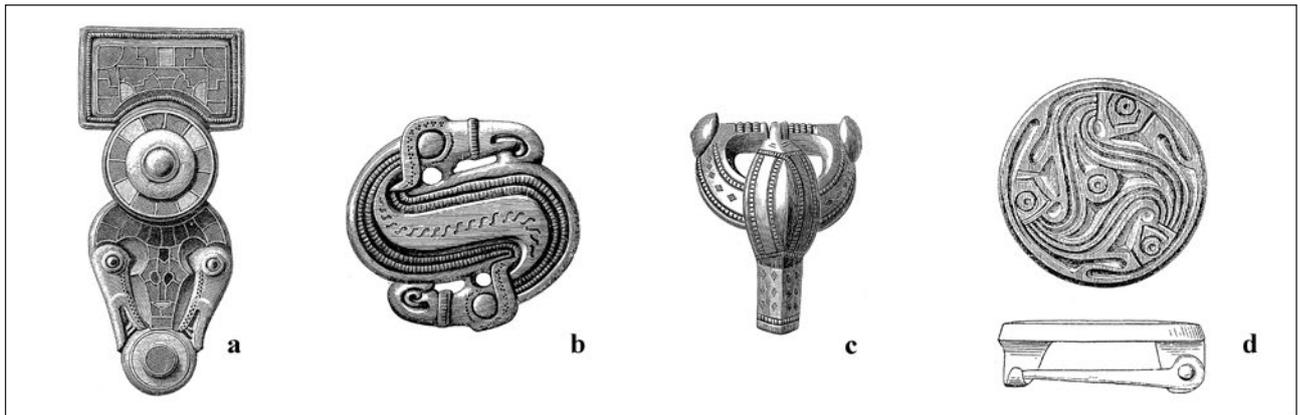


Figure 4.89 Typical brooch-types from Gotland: disc-on-bow brooch, after Stjerna (1905:fig. 73), S-shaped brooch, after Salin (1904:fig. 192), early animal-head brooch, after Nerman (1969:Taf. Taf. 2, fig. 15) and disc brooch, after Montelius (1892/93:fig. 37).

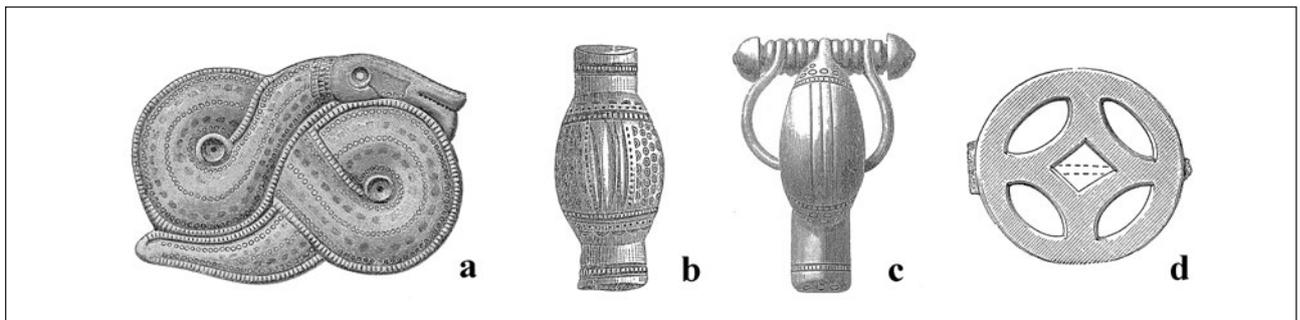


Figure 4.90 Typical brooches from eastern Sweden: respectively 'a serpent-eye brooch' after Stjerna (1905:fig. 67), equal-armed brooch after Salin (1904:fig. 180), Husby brooch after Salin (1904:fig. 179) and wheel-cross brooch after Rydh (1936:fig. 88).

'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.