



# Dress brooches and identities

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A COMPARATIVE STUDY OF COLLECTIVE IDENTITIES AND DRESS BROOCHES IN  
EARLY MEDIEVAL URBAN AND RURAL SITES IN SOUTH WEST SCANIA

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## Abstract

This thesis concerns early medieval dress brooches from urban and rural sites in South West Scania. The purpose is to investigate similarities and differences between urban and rural sites as well as between the rural places in particular. The main research questions concern the reasons for the similarities and differences, what connections and contact areas are observable according to the dress brooches and how this material can contribute to the discussion about urban and rural identities. The material has not been studied to a large extent before, especially not in any compiling project and is therefore an important piece in understanding the early medieval material culture and the inhabitants in towns and villages in South West Scania. This study is based on the notion that dress brooches were a medium from which people could express their identity.

The dress brooches are examined both in terms of types as well as specific objects. Three observations are noticeable in the material in particular; a greater number of objects and types have been retrieved in Lund and more objects with Continental connotations as well as a divergent material among the rural sites. These observations are probably connected to the number of people that were present and visited each site, especially the number of foreign persons. It indicates stronger connections with Continental areas in Lund than among the rural places, especially 'German' areas. Lund was therefore a multicultural area with an intensity of social interactions between a lot of different persons. It probably differentiated itself from the villages in terms of contact areas and the kind of people that were present at the site. The material from rural places does instead indicate a strong connection with the urban centre.

Collective identities are therefore visible both on a societal level, where the same types of dress brooches have been used in all parts of South West Scania, and on a local level, where different contact areas are visible, leading to varied social interactions at each site. Therefore, urban and rural identities are different on a social level but similar in terms of consumption patterns.

**Key words:** Early Middle Ages, dress brooches, urnes-style brooches, urban, rural, identity, Lund, Scania.

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## 1.0 Introduction

### 1.1 Background, dress brooches in early medieval contexts

When describing the period Early Middle Ages in Scania, the word *change* is a suitable concept to use. The previous Late Viking Age Scania is often considered to be a heterogeneous area, some more settled than others. The Viking Age chieftains had power over people, but the new medieval Christian king wanted power over the territory where the people lived. Old traditions gradually transformed to new ones which is physically visible in new forms of material culture, built environment and organisation of the landscape (Svanberg 1998: 120-122). The developments during the Late Viking Age led to new ways of understanding the world, new ideals and traditions, especially due to the introduction of Christianity (Carelli 2012: 19). Scania became part of the Danish kingdom and in relation to this, new settlements were established, and early medieval villages and towns started to form. This transition should not be seen as a sudden change, but a gradual transition to a new social order (Schmidt Sabo 2001: 13-16). These changes were not isolated occurrences, the same phenomenon is visible in major parts of Northern Europe during 800-1200 AD. The changes led to a homogenisation of the material culture and already in the 12<sup>th</sup> century, similarities can be seen over large areas in for example the dress and everyday objects (Felgenhauer-Schmiedt 2007: 258-259; Roesdahl & Verhaeghe 2011: 222-224). Long-distance contacts are also visible in the material culture, especially within northern parts of Europe. Previous analysis of the ring brooches in Lund has shown that the closed medieval rings, appearing in the 11<sup>th</sup> century, could be seen as an indication of an introduction of new ideologies and new ways of living. The closed rings became the most used dress brooch during the Middle Ages in almost all parts of Northern Europe. The new form indicated acceptance of the new society that was informed by commercialism and individualisation. Lund seems to be placed in the border between traditions from the Baltic sea and Continental areas (Isberg 2016: 35-36).

During the Early Middle Ages, most of the population in Scania lived in villages. These villages were formed along with other processes in the society, such as urbanisation, the establishment of the kingdom and the increasing influence of the church. The villages were important for the society and social interactions, just as the newly established towns were. The town and the village were dependent on each other and neither one could survive without the other. In earlier research, villages were considered to have been dependent on the town, while the town was considered to have been the one in charge which controlled the others; a centre and periphery relationship. According to Katalin Schmidt Sabo, this perspective only allowed hierarchical relationships and not multifaceted organisations (Schmidt Sabo 2005: 10, 31, 43-45). In a society, everyone needs each other, and everything needs to cooperate in order for the totality to function. However, there is not one way of defining or understanding the town and the village, they are both dependent on the time period and the geographical location in question. However, the early medieval villages are often just seen as a beginning of later complexes and are often not understood in their temporal context (Håkansson 2017: 39, 56). The differences between the two sites have to do with the varied social and spatial organisations, how people lived and organised their social lives (Schmidt Sabo & Söderberg 2019: 6-7). Research has often pointed out that the town and the village had different functions and were connected in different relationships that presumed each other's existence. But if they first and foremost were social places, what was the people's perceptions of these sites? What were the social relationships and contacts between the sites? Did the people feel a need to express themselves as different or were there a sense of community and belonging in early medieval Scania? One way of approaching these questions is to analyse and compare the dress adornments found on each place to understand belongings, differences, contacts and relationships.

Dress and its adornments are closely connected to the individual and have for a long time been considered to express identity. By dressing in a certain way, people can express or manipulate their identities, creating a mute language. The dress and its adornments are important parts when communicating with others. It could convey messages both within and outside the social group. The understanding of the message and

the choice of objects are dependent on esthetical, economical and functional preconditions and considerations, and also on what is accepted in the social group, personal preferences and cultural aspects (Eicher 1995: 1; Stig Sørensen 1997: 95; Entwistle 2000: 6-10, 31, 37; Carelli 2001: 177; Gustin 2004: 207). Dress adornments might show indications of contact areas in terms of import or influences from foreign places or visitors. The differences and similarities might indicate belongings, differentiations and relationships between different places and the people living there. By examining material culture, we can get access to the individuals at a particular site. Therefore, urban and rural identities can be seen as collective identities that people were aware of (Carelli 2001: 105).

By studying the dress brooches, this thesis hopes to contribute to the discussion about urban and rural identities since it is an important piece in understanding relationships, contacts and belongings in a fast-changing, early medieval Scania. Early medieval metal objects have not been under scrutiny to a large extent before, which Anders Håkansson connects to that the Iron Age settlements with large quantities of metal finds gradually disappeared in the end of the Iron Age (Håkansson 2017: 211). Therefore, it is important to shed light on the dress brooches from the Early Middle Ages. In this thesis, dress brooches from urban and rural places in early medieval South West Scania will be analysed in order to understand identity in urban and rural environments, contact areas and connections in the early medieval landscape. Are there differences between the urban and rural contexts and/or among the rural sites?

## 1.2 Aims and research questions

In my experience, dress brooches have often been neglected in research, especially dress brooches that are not found in connection to an individual, for example in a grave. It is also often the most eye-catching and most decorated dress brooches that have attracted the most attention. For a long time, they were not incorporated in the research questions but studied for their chronological information as a typology. However, this notion has changed during the last decades where dress and identity often have been perceived as a carrier of different and changing identities (for example Martin & Weetch 2017). It is important that small artefacts are taken into the next step by analysing and interpreting the material and discussing the results within a larger context. Although, it is equally important to have a proper organisation of the material where typology and categorisation are useful tools. Otherwise, the material could be difficult to incorporate in comparative studies.

This thesis will focus on analysing the differences and similarities of the early medieval dress brooches found in urban and rural contexts in South West Scania. The Early Middle Ages will here refer to the traditional Scandinavian time period, 900-1300 AD. This study is based on the notion that dress brooches are closely connected to an individual's identities and that they are a medium from which people can express belongings or group identities. Therefore, the study will focus on urban and rural identities, contact areas and how different places and the people living there were connected, using dress brooches as the empirical material. It is not an attempt in understanding which specific individuals were located on each site since there could be many explanations to why a dress brooch is retrieved at one particular place. For example, someone might have dropped the object in question, perhaps a foreigner visiting from far away or a local individual who brought back a gift from a trip. The different reasons and specific identities are almost impossible to connect to one specific brooch since they often are retrieved as depositions in rural and urban cultural layers or in the metal detected topsoil.

By analysing the dress brooches, I hope to get an understanding of connections between groups of actors in different places and therefore hopefully contribute to the discussions about urban and rural identities. Similarities might indicate connections and belongings while differences might indicate variations in contact areas, less connections and that people differentiated themselves from each other. The differences could also contribute to an understanding of the variations of consumption patterns within these sites. This kind of analysis is especially interesting in a changeable period as the Early Middle Ages

when various processes transformed the Viking Age communities into a new medieval kingdom with a feudal and hierarchical way of organising the society and the landscape.

The aim of this study is therefore to analyse interregional contact areas and contacts between urban and rural places in early medieval South West Scania, and also how dress brooches can contribute to the discussion about urban and rural identities. It is a comparative study with a focus on Lund as the urban site and villages in the area around Lund and Malmö where dress brooches have been found. The sites will be considered in terms of contact area and production of metal objects in correlation to former interpretations. The dress brooches will be analysed in terms of type, frequency of different types, material, size and provenance. The dress brooches that will be in focus are ring brooches, bracteate/coin brooches, bird-shaped brooches, urnes-style brooches, enamel brooches and disc brooches of different kinds since they are all considered to be self-dating types. Even with a lack of context, these brooches can be said to derive from the early medieval period.

This is one way of understanding the relationships and contacts between the different places. It is also a way of understanding the contact areas of each place and an important piece in the discussion of urban and rural identities. The research questions for this project are therefore as follows:

- What are the similarities and differences of the dress brooches from urban and rural sites in early medieval South West Scania and what are the reasons for the observed patterns?
- What can the dress brooches tell us about contact areas and the connections between the different places?
- How can the dress brooches be incorporated in the discussion about urban and rural identities?

The first question will mainly be answered in the analysis and the second question will be based on the results from the analysis. The third question is based on the theoretical discussion and the methods used in this thesis and will probably produce a multifaceted answer. I hope to get an understanding of the differences and similarities of the dress brooches among early medieval urban and rural sites in South West Scania, as well as between the rural sites. As this material has not been studied to a large extent before, it is an important piece that needs to be taken into consideration when studying the Middle Ages and material culture from rural and urban places. I also hope that this study can contribute to the understanding of dress brooches and how one can use this material in research about urban and rural contexts. However, it is important to clarify that this study will not consider all the dress brooches, all rural places or account for all the relationships or belongings between the sites in South West Scania, due to the fact that early medieval dress brooches have not been retrieved on every site in the area in question. It should be considered as a qualitative study more than a quantitative one. The small artefacts are easy to forget but equally important as other material when understanding the bigger picture. This study should be seen as a beginning of a larger project concerning dress brooches in urban and rural sites and an initial discussion about how the dress brooches can be incorporated in the aspects mentioned above.

### 1.3 Research history

This chapter will present and discuss earlier research about early medieval rural and urban sites and dress brooches, in particular from early medieval South West Scania. It is important to discuss the background of the research field in order to understand why this study could contribute to on-going research. It is also important to present the most important studies in the field in order to be transparent and scientifically solid. I have decided to discuss earlier interpretations of urban and rural sites and dress brooches in order to connect the two subjects.

### 1.3.1 Rural and urban sites

During the last decades, medieval rural and urban sites have been of focus in many different projects in Swedish archaeology. Most of the information about the research history of rural sites presented here is gathered from Emma Bentz's doctoral thesis (Bentz 2008). In 1996, Lars Ersgård and Ann-Mari Hållans Stenholm also analysed and gathered the studies of rural environments, but this project was never finished. However, it is a compiling study of the agrarian research from 1955 to 1992 (Ersgård & Hållans Stenholm 1996).

One of the earliest investigations of medieval villages was carried out in the late 1930s by Holger Arbman and Folke Hansen in a place called Albäcksborg in Maglarp (Arbman 1939). Arbman argued for the potential of the place and this project was in many ways the start of a growing interest in medieval villages. However, it would take approximately 50 years before the agrarian environment became of greater focus in archaeology. Contract archaeology in Sweden did not start until the 1970s and before that, rural sites were not investigated to a large extent. The main focus was instead directed towards urban sites, due to the expanding cities at the time (Bentz 2008: 191-196). Although, some earlier projects started a growing interest in agrarian research. In the 1960s, Märta Strömberg started a long-lasting project called *Hagestadsprojektet* (Strömberg 1984). This project contributed to many articles and specialised studies with agrarian focus. The excavations in Fosie were also important, where the first was carried out in 1969. Perhaps the most well-known excavation was in Fosie IV, 1979-1983 (Billberg, Reinsert & Rosborn 1980: 45; Björhem & Säfvestad 1993). Other villages that were excavated before the 1970s, for example Oxie and Gårdslösa, also impacted the field of rural archaeology (Schmidt Sabo 2011b: 82).

An extensive interest in rural sites started in the 1980s, which is visible in for example a volume of the periodical *META Medeltidsarkeologisk tidskrift* (now named *Historiskarkeologisk tidskrift*) from 1979 called *Bryt 'agrarkrisen' inom arkeologin* (Eng. break the 'agrarian crisis' in archaeology), which stressed the importance of not only focusing on urban analyses and research questions (Mandahl 1979: 2). META also published a whole volume in 1990 themed *medeltida landsbygd* (Eng. the medieval countryside) (META 1990). The interest also increased after an inventory of ancient monuments carried out in the 1980s when the medieval village finally was protected by the law (Schmidt Sabo 2011b: 83). After this, several new projects situated in rural environments started. *Ystadprojektet* (Eng. the project of Ystad) started in 1982 and ended in 1989 which influenced and modified field archaeology. Johan Callmer was focusing on the establishment of the village and Axel Christophersen was focusing on the development of the village. According to Bentz, Christophersen wanted to combine the two emphases in order to fully understand the rural development (Bentz 2008: 212). During the following years, Callmer's research became important and influential in this field of research. He was early on trying to understand questions about medieval villages' establishment, why they became stationary and the relationship between villages (Callmer 1986; 1992). These topics have also been considered by Mats Riddersporre in his doctoral thesis, and Joakim Thomasson later on (Riddersporre 1995; Thomasson 2005). Two other doctoral theses that are worth mentioning in this context are studies by Lars Ersgård and Rikard Holmberg that early on investigated medieval rural landscape and villages in Scania (Holmberg 1977; Ersgård 1988).

The three largest field archaeological projects in South West Scania are named Öresundförbindelsen (a project of infrastructure connecting the region of Malmö with Copenhagen), Citytunnelprojektet (a train tunnel through Malmö city) and Väst kustbanan (train rails between Lund and Gothenburg). All three projects led to a lot of new material and information about rural places in South West Scania (Carlie 2005: 14-15). The results from Väst kustbanan were published in *Byarnas bönder – Medeltida samhällsförändringar i Västskåne* (Eng. The villages' farmers – Changes in the medieval society in South West Scania) (Mogren 2005). Topics such as the making of a village, agrarian production, urbanisation in the early medieval period and relations between the villages were discussed. The villages have often been discussed and analysed on the basis of the buildings and the farmsteads, for example how large or small the farmsteads were in different villages or how the different farmsteads were geographically organised.



From the 1990s and onwards, the number of studies considering rural questions considerably increased. In 2005, Scania was one of the most investigated and excavated regions in Sweden, especially west and south-west areas due to modern building projects (Bentz 2008: 245). Recent research stresses that the establishment of villages in the early medieval period was varied and both regionally and temporally dependent. Therefore, according to Katalin Schmidt Sabo and Bengt Söderberg, drawing general conclusions about these sites over large areas is almost impossible (Andersson 1990: 19; Schmidt Sabo & Söderberg 2019: 6).

In the beginning of the 21<sup>st</sup> century, the relation between the town and the village came of great interest. This is seen in for example Mats Anglert's study about the urbanity of the landscape and Christina Rosén's study named *Stadsbor och bönder* (Eng. townspeople and farmers) (Rosén 2004; Anglert 2006). Another researcher who contributed to this field was Katalin Schmidt Sabo, who has written several excavation reports and publications about the medieval village (for example Schmidt Sabo 2011a; Bolander 2013). In her doctoral thesis, she discussed the medieval villages' role and function during the medieval period. She wanted to bring the rural sites into the discussion of the medieval society, how they became a part of the society and what consequences the making of a village had. Her answer to the question stated in the beginning of her study, *who needs a village*, was therefore everyone (Schmidt Sabo 2001: 90; 2005: 10, 88-90). Her latest project, together with Bengt Söderberg, published in 2019, could be seen as a summary and analysis of the excavated and investigated rural sites in South West Scania, with a focus on the areas around Lund and Malmö. The study is based on material assembled from reports and publications from the 1930s to 2014. For example, they concluded that the village is a complex phenomenon and should be studied and defined according to the specific geographical location and period of time (Schmidt Sabo & Söderberg 2019: 6, 10, 38, 43-44). Lars-Henrik Fallgren also studied the development of the village but focused on Öland and defined the village as a group of two or more farmsteads that are situated next to each other (Fallgren 2006: 92-94).

One of the most recent examples is Anders Håkansson's doctoral thesis *Bebyggelsearkeologi och bylandskap: om övergången mellan vikingatid och tidig medeltid ur ett halländskt perspektiv*. Håkansson studied the villages in the landscape of Halland in the transition from the Viking Age to the medieval period. He wanted to understand if there was an establishment of villages during the Early Middle Ages and how they were organised. Among other categories of material, Håkansson studied metal jewellery and dress adornments to understand contact areas and social levels among the villages in early medieval Halland. Håkansson argued that the establishment of villages in the landscape of Halland was not a linear development but varied due to local and regional geographical differences and preconditions (Håkansson 2017: 21-22, 56, 158, 210, 212, 224, 245). Håkansson's study is an inspiration for this thesis and one of the latest examples of how the establishments of villages during the early medieval period are studied. It is also an example of how one can incorporate dress adornments in the discussion of early medieval villages and how this can give an understanding of contact areas and social aspects within and between different sites.

Dress brooches and jewellery have not often been included in the research about rural sites but can sometimes be mentioned and compared with other similar objects found on other sites, for example in various excavation reports (for example Petterson 1996: 46; Jönsson & Brorsson 2003: 180; Schmidt Sabo 2011a: 36-41; Bolander 2013: 35, 45-46). Another example is Nathalie Becker's study about relationships and hierarchy in the South West Scania, where she analysed which sites contained specialised crafting. Becker concluded that each central area had different functions based on reasons within and outside the area (Becker 2005: 230, 261, 266-267). Craft and production have been considered in both rural and urban contexts, but perhaps more discussed in urban contexts since this type of craft became specialised within urban contexts during the medieval period (Carelli 2001: 151). The crafting in the towns is also sometimes seen as one of the reasons why people moved from the villages into the towns (Schmidt Sabo & Söderberg 2019: 20). With this observation, we will now turn towards the research history of urban sites, with a special focus on Lund.

The medieval town has been of interest for a long time in the field of archaeology in Sweden. In 1920-30s, towns were excavated to a large extent, although not evenly distributed around the country. The field was properly established during the 1960s when the subject *medieval archaeology* developed which became almost synonymous to urban archaeology (Larsson 2006: 36-37). However, medieval archaeology had been of focus since the 19<sup>th</sup> century and the Museum of Cultural History, *Kulturen*, that was founded in 1882, should be seen as a start of urban archaeology in Lund (Wienberg 2014: 450-451). Urban archaeology in Sweden was in many ways influenced by excavations and projects carried out in Norway, where one of the largest excavations were located in Folkebibliotekstomten in Trondheim that started 1973 and ending in 1985. These excavations led to a development of methods in the field of urban archaeology (Christophersen & Nordeide 1994). In an article concerning the project, Christophersen wrote about the advantages of investigating towns, implying that the material from Folkebibliotekstomten exceeded their expectations and was called an endless source of information (Christophersen 1986: 15). In the end of the 1980s, excavations in the quarter Trädgårdsmästaren in Sigtuna started, something that would become the largest archaeological excavation in towns at that time. 1100 square meters were investigated, and the project lasted for three years. It was inspired by the Norwegian excavations and was published in the same way as Folkebibliotekstomten, with themed analyses of the material that, according to Sten Tesch, also exceeded the expectations in quality and quantity, however not as much as in Folkebibliotekstomten (Tesch 1990: 1-2). As seen in these examples, there has always been a close relationship between the field archaeology and the research, meaning that the results in the field archaeology often changed and influenced the research.

The earliest and largest project concerning towns in Sweden was *Medeltidsstaden*. It was aimed to summarise and analyse the large numbers of urban excavations made from the 1960s and onwards. It resulted in around 70 reports concerning medieval Swedish towns, starting 1974 and ending in 1990. The main question for the project was to understand the medieval towns' development and urbanisation (Andersson 1990). According to Bentz, some of the towns in this project were studied in isolation with little respect for its surroundings, except for Ystad, Lund and Malmö (Bentz 2008: 208). Another project concerning Danish medieval towns was carried out by Anders Andrén in his doctoral thesis. Andrén stated that the medieval town should not be studied in isolation and argued for the plurality of urban identity and that the urban concept is complex and integrated with the society (Andrén 1985: 4, 9, 13, 68, 119-123). These thoughts relate to a new way of understanding and analysing the town which developed in the beginning of the 21<sup>st</sup> century. Christophersen argued that early research often was featured by processual thinking, the structures and functions in the town were in focus with a lack of understanding the individual (Christophersen 2015: 109). It was also often the establishment and development of the early town that was of most interest. The town was defined by a set of criteria and often studied in a top-view perspective (Larsson 2006: 45, 47).

In the early 2000s, urbanity was seen as a social phenomenon instead of an entity. Individuals were seen as actors in a built environment. The perspectives of everyday life, the individual, identity and gender has been prioritised topics since the middle of the 1990s. The notion today is to see the town as a performed platform, established and maintained through social practice. Without the social interactions, the town would not have existed. Therefore, it is also important to understand that each town was different, and a general definition cannot be ascribed to towns from different periods of time (Christophersen 2015: 109, 112-114). Mats Roslund also stressed the need for artefact studies connected to the town in order to understand the life of the townspeople. The lack of thorough analyses of the find material will lead to a gap in the understanding of the town and the townspeople (Roslund 2018: 26-27). These thoughts were also addressed by Letty ten Harkel in a study of early medieval Lincoln in England. She discussed the importance of studying the material culture to understand the urbanisation and emphasised the importance of actions and identities as a way of understanding how the town developed. Harkel stated that if a place should be considered as a town, then the inhabitants must consider themselves as townspeople (Harkel 2013: 157-158, 168-169). The town is still a prioritised subject that nowadays

concerns topics like performance, interactions, individuals and social space. More about the urban and rural concepts and research will be discussed in chapter 1.4.2 *Urban and rural sites – identities*.

Concerning Lund in particular, there has been a lot of research, more than can be explored in this section. The first synthetic study about Lund's history is written by Ragnar Blomqvist in 1951. In this publication, Blomqvist discussed the up to that point published material concerning Lund (Blomqvist 1951). Since the 1890s, archaeological excavations have been carried out both within and outside the medieval town dykes, and still continues today. Kulturhistoriska museet in Lund, *Kulturen*, is responsible for excavations within Lund's medieval town's limit (Wienberg 2014: 452).

One example of research about early medieval Lund is Peter Carelli's study of the urbanisation of Lund. He aimed to understand when Lund should be considered to be an urban site and analysed for example material culture from Lund to understand the characteristics of the craft, how the town developed structurally and when the church and other actors were centrally placed in Lund. Carelli argued that Lund probably started to be considered as an urban place in the middle of the 11<sup>th</sup> century when the town and the village became increasingly more separated from each other (Carelli 2001: 206-209). The history and development of Lund have also been discussed in the series *Lunds historia – staden och omlandet*, consisting of three parts where the first one concerns the medieval period and the establishment of Lund (Carelli 2012). The most recent study of early medieval Lund is published in a book written by Maria Cinthio and Anders Ödman called *Vägar mot Lund* (Eng. Roads to Lund) (Cinthio & Ödman 2018).

Another example is *Uppåkrastudier* that has produced 12 publications over the years concerning for example Uppåkra itself, the finds from Uppåkra and sometimes also Lund and the relationships between sites in Scania. The relation between Uppåkra and Lund has for a long time been seen as complex and Lund is often considered to have taken Uppåkra's central place in the landscape. Today, the settlement is considered to have been a manorial domain, with a large agrarian estate. *Uppåkrastudier* has contributed to the research about South West Scania and Iron Age Scania (*Uppåkrastudier* is available digitally at <https://www.uppakra.lu.se/uppakrastudier/>). Lund as an early medieval town will be further discussed in chapter 2.1.1 *Lund*.

### 1.3.2 The research of dress brooches and dress brooches in South West Scania

Small artefacts as dress brooches have been a large part of archaeological research for a long time. The most important research will be exemplified here with a more thorough review of research about dress brooches from South West Scania. It is a selection of the research and should not be seen as a complete research history.

Dress brooches have perhaps not acted as the main role for previous research questions. As mentioned before, it is often items that have been found in graves that have been of most interest due to the close connection to the individual. For example, the grave finds from 1100 graves in Birka has been published and analysed in several volumes. In one of the volumes, further analyses are made of, for example, ring brooches, disc-brooches and other fibulae (Arwidsson 1984). Already from the beginning of archaeology, attention was drawn to the small finds and categorising and making typologies of material culture was for a long time the tradition, which is for example visible in Oscar Montelius' research from the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century (Montelius 1917). The dress brooches gained further interest in the course of post-processual archaeology when the dress and its adornments were considered connected with identity and the dress was then seen as a medium from which individuals could convey a message. Incorporating the finds in other aspects than the creation of a typology was stressed (Eicher 1995: 1). One example that concerned small artefacts and identities is Jane Kershaw's *Viking identities: Scandinavian jewellery in England*. Kershaw wanted to understand identity in connection to Scandinavian and Anglo-Scandinavian jewellery found in England and what these objects represented. One of her conclusions was that the women are highly represented in the dress brooch material and argued that it was perhaps the women's task to express cultural memory (Kershaw 2013: 5, 175, 243).

Another tradition visible in the research is that different types of dress brooches often have been analysed separately. For example, the ring brooches are often characterised as either Viking Age or medieval objects, even though they were part of the same group with the same function. For example, Anders Carlsson and Zanette Glørstad have studied Viking Age ring brooches from Gotland and Norway and Mette Højmark Jensen and Mary B. Deevy have studied medieval ring brooches from today's Denmark and Ireland (Carlsson 1988; Deevy 1998; Højmark Jensen 2005; Glørstad 2010). These authors also have separate definitions of the ring brooches leading to a further separation of the same kind of material (Isberg 2016: 10). Other examples of studies that only includes one type of dress brooch are Maria Panum Baastrup's and Fritz Lindahl's research of the Ottonian/Carolingian enamel brooches, Hans Westergren's early study of urnes-style brooches together with Lise Gjedssø Bertelsen's and Ingunn Marit Røstad's research of the same type from Denmark and Norway, Anne Pedersen's detailed analyse of the bird-shaped brooches and Mats Roslund's and Mechthild Schulze-Dörrlamm's analyses of alsengems (Baastrup 2009; Bertelsen 1992; Lindahl 2003; Pedersen 2001; Roslund 2009; Røstad 2012; Schulze-Dörrlamm 1990; Westergren 1986). These studies will be frequently used in this thesis. Another important study is Sven Spiong's research about the dress brooches in Central Europe. Spiong divided the dress brooch material into four categories of quality, investigated the social identities these brooches expressed, and which types could be addressed to which social group (Spiong 2000). Spiong's study has served as an inspiration for categorising the material and analyse the symbolic meaning of the brooches. By studying a lot of different categories together one might understand why some brooches are connected to a specific social group.

Going in more specifically to the dress brooches in South West Scania, there have not been many studies of the objects, especially not in compiling research. Starting with the dress brooches in Lund, a number of publications and excavation reports have mentioned the brooches, dated them and discussed parallels and distribution area for each type. The first person discussing the dress brooches from Lund was Ragnar Blomqvist. In *Kulturens årsbok* 1947 he described the brooches, dated them and presented the context in which they were found (Blomqvist 1947). This article concerns many of the dress brooches from Lund, but since then, more objects have been found and published in several reports and publications (for example, Blomqvist & Mårtensson 1961; Mårtensson & Wahlöö 1970; Mårtensson 1972; Bergman & Billberg 1976; Stenholm 1976; Larsson 1993; Carelli & Lenntorp 1994). There are more excavation reports mentioning the dress adornments, but the publications stated above gathered a larger material and sometimes also discussed them further.

Two articles have discussed the metal craft in Lund and also analysed some of the dress brooches. The first is written by Lars Salminen and Conny Johansson Hervén where they analysed the bronze craft and how it developed in Lund based on the finds from archaeological excavations. Since many of the dress brooches are made of bronze, some of the objects were discussed, especially the urnes-style brooches. Several workshops producing urnes-style brooches have been found in Lund already from the early beginning (Salminen & Johansson Hervén 2001). The second is written by Maria Cinthio discussing the goldsmiths in Lund and their role in the Early Middle Ages. She analysed the urnes-style and the coin brooches and argued that the brooches' style and decoration implied that the people were adapting Continental traditions (Cinthio 1999: 35). These two studies have been useful when discussing metal craft and specific objects.

In connection to this, an article from 2012 by Mats Roslund is also important to mention. He investigated how foreigners were exposed in the material from Lund and argued that the small finds are important when trying to understand a specific place. The foreigners are visible in, for example, Anglo-Scandinavian enamel brooches, disc brooches and hat-shaped brooches that derived from the Holy Roman Empire (Roslund 2012: 303, 305). Most of the dress brooches are discussed in the publications mentioned above but there are more objects that have not yet been analysed. The material is therefore in need of a detailed analysis. In a previous thesis, I have studied, categorised, dated and interpreted the ring brooches from Lund. The different types of ring brooches were analysed in terms of frequency and geographical distribution (Isberg 2016). This study will work as a reference when discussing the ring brooches. The material from Lund is quite large and is an important piece in understanding Lund and its inhabitants.

However, the dress brooches found at rural places have been studied even less. Some of the excavation reports from rural places describe and discuss the early medieval dress brooches in more detail, for example, in Naffentorp and Hjärup, two places where larger quantities of this material have been found (Olsson, Ingwald & Paulsson-Holmberg 2005: 138-139). The find material from Hjärup has been compared to Uppåkra and Lund and been considered as something extraordinary, something that is only found in places where the king and the church were present (Schmidt Sabo 2011a: 37-41, 44). The same kind of discussion is also present in the excavation reports from, for example, Burlöv between Malmö and Lund and Fjellie in the north-west of Lund (Aspeborg 2006: 15-16; Lindberg, Schmidt Sabo & Brorsson 2019: 136-137). The excavation reports present the brooches in terms of type, frequency and geographical distribution and are incorporating the brooches in the discussion about the villages and the persons living in those places. However, these reports are of course only discussing the material that is comparable to the excavated place in question.

In relation to the excavation reports, some publications have discussed the early medieval brooches from rural sites in more detail. *Uppåkrastudier* has in several publications discussed the material and metal finds from Uppåkra. Mimmi Tegnér discussed the material from Late Viking Age Uppåkra, for example, one cross-enamel brooch and urnes-style brooches. Similar objects have been found in Lund and Tegnér discussed whether the objects could have been connected to the elite or if they perhaps could have been mass-produced. Even if Tegnér recognised a decrease of the material in Uppåkra from the second half of the 10<sup>th</sup> century, she argued that Uppåkra still was an important place in Late Viking Age and the early medieval period, probably connected to the Danish king (Tegnér 1999: 232-239). Mats Anglert and John Huttu argued that the limited material in Uppåkra from the Early Middle Ages is similar to the material in Lund and was probably not everyday objects. Based on the metal finds from Late Viking Age and early medieval period, Anglert and Huttu did not consider the suggested shift from Uppåkra to Lund as a central place to have been a sudden change (Anglert & Huttu 1999: 287-296). The last example from *Uppåkrastudier* is Birgitta Hårdh's study of Viking Age Uppåkra that in many ways summarised the metal finds that had been retrieved until then. Almost all of the contexts and features from the Viking Age have been destroyed by agriculture and therefore the metal finds are important when trying to understand the site in this period. She also concluded that Uppåkra remained an important place up to the 12<sup>th</sup> century (Hårdh 2010: 247, 249, 296, 298). The publications in the series *Uppåkrastudier* are useful when understanding Uppåkra as an Iron Age site.

As seen above, there have not been many studies concerning the early medieval dress brooches from rural and urban places in South West Scania, especially not compiling studies in order to understand what kind of material that was used in different places during the Early Middle Ages. This research history shows how the sites and the dress brooches have been studied before and also that the dress brooches needs to be taken into consideration in the discussion about these topics. Moving forward, we will now turn to the theoretical framework applied to understand the results from the analysis and the perspectives that the discussion is based on.

## 1.4 Theoretical framework

The aim of this thesis is to get an understanding of the variations in early medieval dress brooches in South West Scania and discussing relations and contact areas based on this material as well as approaching the question of how dress brooches can contribute to the discussions about urban and rural identities. These questions raise theoretical discussions about identity and the symbolic meanings of dress brooches. This chapter will therefore provide a discussion concerning the connections between dress brooches and identity, which in many ways is a base for this study, and also how urban and rural identities have been understood in previous research. It is a discussion about the perspectives applied to approach this material and questions.

#### 1.4.1 Dress brooches and identity

The connection between dress, its adornments and identity have been studied to a large extent since the 1980s. Approaching the material with an understanding that dress brooches can convey a meaning or identity of some kind will provide meaningful discussion about the research questions. This perspective permeates the study and is embedded in the text.

Before going more specifically into the relationship between dress brooches and identity, the question of what identity is has to be touched upon. Identity is in many ways difficult to define since the concept could be said to be self-explaining. It has been defined in different ways by different authors, for example, Richard Jenkins explained it as a way of knowing who someone is but not what they do, Marie Louise Stig Sørensen argued that it is the characteristics of a person or a group that is assigned or assumed by others based on similarities or differences and Margarita Diaz-Andreu and Sam Lucy explained it as an identification with a larger group based on social differences (Stig Sørensen 1997: 94; Diaz-Andreu & Lucy 2005: 1; Jenkins 2014: 6). The assembled impression is that identity is an awareness of who someone is that is based on social similarities and differences between individuals or groups. One could say that it is different characteristics that are assigned to an individual or a group, as Jenkins expressed, “people collectively identify themselves and others” (Jenkins 2014: 113). This is the way identity will be conceived in this study. The focus in this thesis concerns social identities, which should be seen as an umbrella integrating other categories like gender, ethnicity or age.

Before the 1990s, different identities were often approached in isolation, for example, only ethnicity with no consideration of age. This has changed towards an understanding that all social identities exist at the same time; a person does not only possess one identity (Meskell 2001: 189, 199-204). Social identity and personal identity have sometimes been separated, where social identity has been seen as something that is noticeable at the first meeting while personal identity has been considered to be almost invisible. However, Jenkins argued that all identities are social identities, there is no identity that is clearer or more defining than another (Jenkins 2014: 96-97).

The field of studying identity gained attention in the 1980s with the development of post-processual archaeology. The individual was acknowledged, seen as the centre of the research and a notion that one individual could affect their lives and surroundings were stressed, in other words, was an agent in their time (Diaz-Andreu & Lucy 2005: 5-6). One important aspect of social identities is how they were expressed and mediated into the world to other people by the use of materiality. Therefore, style and symbolic meaning of material culture gained much interest. Martin Wobst and Polly Wiessner are early examples, focusing on style and its function of carrying information and messages. Wobst was critical towards how style had been approached before, an idea that it was not very important. Instead, he argued that style had an active role that conveyed different messages between persons and social groups in the past (Wobst 1977: 317, 327-328). On these thoughts, Wiessner built her arguments that it is in the variations of style that people could convey messages. Style is a non-verbal communication in which people could express identities. She argued for two different categories of style: (1) emblematic, which expresses a clear message, for example a flag, often connected to group identities, and (2) assertive, which conveys personal identities that is not directed to a specific recipient. In contrast to emblematic style, assertive style is often distributed randomly among its bearers due to the individual's choice to wear it or not (Wiessner 1983: 257-259). Therefore, different belongings and group connections could be seen in similarities in the material culture. However, these approaches have been criticised for not including embodiment and that it implies that style expresses a clear and unproblematic meaning (Naum 2008: 151).

The discourse today implies that identity is a process, something that is continuously created through interactions with others. Identities constantly change even though some persists or dissolves through time and space. Jenkins argued that the recognition of similarities and differences are the foundation for creating identities. Similarities, for example group identity, cannot be created without a recognition of the differences to others (Jenkins 2014: 48, 140). The representation and manipulation of the body are often seen as ways to construct identity, including gestures, dress and ornamentations of different kinds. One

body can express many different identities during a lifetime and the embodiment both affects and is affected by the environment. In this way, Pierre Bourdieu's concept *habitus* is useful as a bridging framework between the individual and the social context, even though it has been criticized for not considering agency (Fisher & Loren 2003: 225-228). *Habitus* can be described as the environment in which people live, a set of rules that everyone is aware of. Therefore, an individual is both affected by the *habitus* but also affects the environment around her, creating a dialectic relationship (Bourdieu 1977: 78, 81-84). Identity is not something that is static or presented in the material culture but should be seen as a fluid process constantly in change depending on the period of time and context. It is a process that is constructed through interactions and presented and maintained through actions and embodiment.

This perspective also stresses the need for context. Without the context, it is almost impossible to disclose anything about identity or the meaning of dress brooches at all. Ian Hodder stated that in order to fully understand the meaning of an object, one has to examine all of the contextual similarities and differences that are relevant according to the research question. The meaning of an object is understood in the similarities and differences within the context and in connection to other items. He stated that nothing exists in isolation from its environment and therefore, a hermeneutic approach towards understanding material culture is crucial (Hodder 1991: 135, 141-143, 149). Helle Vandkilde has studied the relationship between form, function, meaning and context and argued that each element is contextually based but not dependent on each other. Even if the form is constant through time and space, the function or meaning might change. An object can have a practical function, a social function (expressing age, status or occupation) or symbolic meaning and could express all these elements at the same time (Vandkilde 2000: 13-15, 21-22, 42). In this respect, identities are contextually based and complex phenomena. A simplified example can be if I would wear my student hat, that is closely connected to graduating secondary school in Sweden, in another country not having this tradition, it would probably be interpreted differently. It would perhaps lead to that other identities than having graduated school would be addressed to me, perhaps that I came from a different country. The context does not only refer to the archaeological deposition but also the time period or the specific society it circulated in.

Identity is not embedded in an object but transformed depending on its environment in time and space. The dress is seen as a medium for non-verbal communication that aids interactions and recognitions between individuals and groups (Eicher 1995: 1). Roslund argued that in a social world, a person has to categorise and identify others in order to communicate (Roslund 2009: 221). Written sources from the medieval period inform that people did categorise each other at the time. They also inform that dress was seen as a medium for communication without speaking or knowing each other (Stig Sørensen 1997: 95; Roslund 2001: 58). Joanne Entwistle argued that dressing is a way of preparing the body for social interactions, therefore a process which creates and eventually expresses identities. How a person chooses to dress is dependent on the society and the knowledge about the environment, cultural and social systems, involving for example class, gender or social norms. The dress and its adornments are therefore channels through which the individual is made social (Entwistle 2000: 6-10, 31, 37).

Dress brooches can also be connected to agency in the meaning that they actively affect their surroundings. The adornments impact the viewer towards certain responses, for example how to act or communicate. The choice of dress adornment is embedded in the will to express something. Therefore, it is a dialectic human-object relationship that involves active choices and understanding of which response the persons wants to produce (Ivleva 2017: 71, 75, 86). The dress can express, conduct or manipulate identities and the adornments are contributing to the communication between people (Knox 2017: 115; Martin & Weetch 2017: 8). The process that archaeologists can detect is the negotiation of identity through the material culture and investigating the dress adornments can give an understanding of how the material culture expressed identities (Casella & Fowler 2004: 8; Diaz-Andreu & Lucy 2005: 9). It is often only the small artefacts, such as dress brooches, that are left for archaeologists to analyse (Naum 2008: 154-155). Examining the dress adornments, identities and group belongings might be understood. However, it is important to remember that this analysis must be contextually based. A dress brooch found in for example Rome did probably not convey the same identity as a similar object in Lund.



In this thesis, group identities and belongings will be discussed, not individual identities such as gender or age. It is only in some cases that the objects have been found in connection to an individual (for example in a grave) and it is therefore impossible to connect one item to one person or identity. The meaning of a specific object could also change depending on what other dress adornments a person was wearing, which is information that is not available for the dress brooches from South West Scania. These brooches are often found in the topsoil with the use of a metal detector. Therefore, relationships between different groups in urban and rural sites together with the contact areas will be studied instead. As Jenkins explained, group identities are seen in the similarities in the material culture and are created with a notion of the differences between various groups. Group members can identify themselves with each other through different kinds of media, even if they do not know each other personally (Jenkins 2014: 104-108, 138-139).

Based on this theoretical discussion, group belongings and differentiation could be seen in the dress brooch material. Different kinds of dress brooches might indicate a differentiation against others while similar material might indicate relationships and contacts. Similar dress brooches from different places in the world could perhaps indicate long-distance relationships. Therefore, it is interesting to analyse the dress brooches in detail to explore similarities and differences that might indicate contact or differentiation between people. The differences or similarities of the dress brooches in urban and rural contexts could be a way to understand the relationships and the contacts these places had in the beginning of the creation of a Danish kingdom. Letty ten Harkel stated that urbanisation can be explored by analysing the material culture, which gives an insight into people's lives and agency. The material culture is a result and factor in social, economic, religious and political contexts and reflects people's choice and actions in the past. She also stressed that examining the material from both urban and rural sites would perhaps indicate what a 'normal' town is and therefore also explain what urbanity is. The establishment of a town was a process and if the specific elements that formed the town were not maintained through practice, the town would disappear (Harkel 2013: 157-158, 168-169). As I see it, studying dress brooches and identities is equal to studying the process of dressing and interactions of people, therefore also an investigation of how people communicated, interacted and in some ways lived their lives.

After discussing how and why identities are expressed through the dress brooches, we will now turn to urban and rural identities and how dress brooches could contribute to this discussion. This discussion is equally important for this thesis as the connection between dress brooches and identity. What are the definitions of urban and rural sites, or are they definable?

#### 1.4.2 Urban and rural sites – identities

The definitions of the urban and rural concepts have for a long time been debated and a single definition is perhaps impossible to achieve. It is this author's opinion that there cannot be a single definition of these concepts due to the changing process of the sites through time. The town in the early medieval period is not the same concept as in the early modern period. Similarly, the town in Scandinavia is not the same concept as in for example Italy. It is both geographically and temporally dependent.

The urban concept was for a long time defined through a set of categories; a place had to contain a specific set of parameters in order to be defined as a town. The project *Medeltidsstaden* established a number of criteria for when a place should be considered to be urban, for example that it was a central place in the landscape, important for other sites in its vicinity, contained a number of different functions, for example craft and trade, and that the settlement was densely built with an increasing amount of people. Based on these criteria, a determination of when the towns were established was made (Andersson 1990: 26-27). Although, there were at the same time also an understanding that urbanity could not be seen as the same concept in all periods, where Erik Cinthio suggested a view of discontinuation, an understanding that the town changed through time. He argued against the evolutionistic way of understanding the town and divided the medieval town into three phases of



discontinuation (Cinthio 1982: 33, 38). Andrén agreed with this perspective and was critical to the older perspectives of seeing the medieval town as one concept (Andrén 1985: 13-16). Anglert and Larsson implied that a strong focus towards perspectives that integrated the town in its surroundings developed in the beginning of the 21<sup>st</sup> century. They argued that urbanity should be considered as a part of the changing society and affecting all aspects of it. The old descriptions of urban sites were often from a top-view perspective where the inhabitants had been forgotten (Anglert & Larsson 2008: 304-305). Carelli also implied that the individuals and processes of the town were not considered in older studies and argued that in the early medieval period, people began to identify themselves with the urban lifestyle and all of which that included. An urban identity started to develop (Carelli 2001: 104-105). Anglert and Larsson meant that if a place should be considered to be urban, the people living there had to think of themselves as townspeople (Anglert & Larsson 2008: 311). The people had to consider themselves as different in contrast to people living in the country. Therefore, an increasing understanding of the town as a social phenomenon developed in the 2000s with an interest in a bottom-up perspective (Larsson 2006: 168, 171, 207, 290).

The current perspective is that urbanity is understood in the process of social practice. The towns are created through social interactions. Even if the research sometimes has tried to bring the urban and rural concept closer together, Christophersen argued that there are differences in urban and rural sites that cannot be equated (Christophersen 2015: 109-113). Roslund recently argued that a town can be defined as a central place containing functions which express a special way of living that cannot be found in rural places. He implied that there are differences between the two sites and opposed the notion of bringing the town and the village closer together. According to Roslund, the greatest difference between urban and rural is found in the variation and quantity of craft as well as the presence of foreign visitors. Therefore, a town is different from a rural place in the fact that different cultural meetings were present and therefore more social meetings and difficulties than in villages. The important part to understand is the community and the group belongings at different sites (Roslund 2018: 25, 30). Urbanisation was a collective phenomenon, everybody had to contribute in order for the process to be created and maintained (Larsson 2006: 208).

The same kind of development is also visible concerning the rural concept. In the beginning of the 21<sup>st</sup> century, the village was understood as a social place that was created in a changing society together with processes such as urbanisation, the creation of the kingdom and Christianisation (Schmidt Sabo 2005: 10, 43-45). The definitions of a village often stated that a village contains of two or more farmsteads with some form of collaboration, identified by the same name. A notion of the relationship between the two places was stressed along with that neither one could have existed without the other (Schmidt Sabo 2001: 82-83). Some researchers have stressed a narrower definition based on the level of collaboration within the settlement, a definition that is also visible in German and Danish research (Schmidt Sabo 2001; Thomasson 2005; Håkansson 2017: 35). Instead, Fallgren argued for a simpler definition of the village: a group of two or more farmsteads that were closely situated to each other which defined themselves with one specific name (Fallgren 2006: 93). In an article from 2019, Schmidt Sabo and Söderberg argued that it is still difficult to define a village due to the presence of many different constructions that changed through time. If a definition should be found, it should not be a simpler but a nuanced one, connected to the specific time period (Schmidt Sabo & Söderberg 2019: 43-44). Schmidt Sabo stressed that the developments in early medieval towns also are visible in the rural places and suggested that the people for a short period did perhaps not see any difference between the two places since many similarities can be seen in the structural developments. However, she also implied that the two places should not be considered as the same but to contain similar functions (Schmidt Sabo 2001: 82-83, 87).

After reading about the development of the urban and rural concepts, it is clear that the current focus lies on the process, the social engagement that needs to exist in order for a place to be created and maintained. The focus lies on the agency of an individual, the social interactions and that a place needs to continuously be created and re-created in order to maintain. Therefore, individual and group

identities are important in these matters. I agree with Roslund and Christophersen that there are differences between the two places as well as of the importance of identity when understanding the urban and rural concepts. A figurative description from Christophersen reads as follows:

“If one could go back in time to a medieval, Scandinavian urban landscape and spend a winter’s day passing through the wooden-paved, snow-covered, unlit, narrow streets on the way to a cold, fetid, noisy local workshop, wearing leather shoes of type B2, aware of the icy surface underfoot (having forgotten to wear crampons), with the damp seeping into one’s shoes and the cold creeping up one’s legs, would it have been then that what has since been referred to as asymmetrical power relations and reciprocal exchange mechanisms preoccupied the mind in the darkness?” (Christophersen 2015: 110)

In previous research, much focus has been drawn to a top-view perspective that is not, according to recent research, the way in which ‘rurality’ and urbanity should be conceived (for example Larsson 2006: 47-49). Christophersen’s citation above is significant in the fact that excluding the individual and how they perceived themselves also excludes the very notion of what it meant being a person living in a village or a town. After all, without the individuals living in one place, the place would not have existed. Understanding the group identity might give an insight into the social performance continually practised at a site and the social interactions that created and re-created the site. Roslund argued that by examining material culture we can get access to the individuals at one site. The very concept of urban identity is manifesting the changeability of the town (Roslund 2018: 21, 26). Larsson argued that everyday objects might be a useful starting point in understanding the inhabitants, for example, everyday ceramic might give an indication of how many people lived at one place (Larsson 2006: 78). Studies have stressed the importance of the active role of material culture as a way of understanding how people organised their lives and environment (Anglert 2006: 234).

In these respects, having clear definitions of the urban and rural concepts are in my opinion perhaps not necessary when perceiving them as social platforms. Turning away from categorising these concepts might contribute to an understanding of the town and the village as performed actions. A clear definition could be excluding important factors that stress the plurality of a place. Some performance might then only have occurred in towns and vice versa. The urban and rural places are different, and the differences could for example be found in understanding the identities. Seeing the urban and rural identities as collective identities, as described by Jenkins in the previous chapter, might be a way of understanding the similarities and differences between the two places. Since the early medieval village and town often are regarded as similar, perhaps understanding the group identities might bring knowledge of what the differences between rural and an urban concept were. The urbanisation was a social process that brought different people together (Carelli 2001: 105). The closeness of people in urban environments demanded acceptance and cooperation where specific mentalities of what urbanity is were created (Anglert & Larsson 2008: 313, 319). The same development was probably also seen in rural sites, although the differences between the two places created different group identities and mentalities.

Based on the discussion about the connection between dress brooches and identities in the previous chapter, the dress brooches are an important element when studying the differences and similarities in urban and rural places. This discussion can contribute to the understanding of urbanisation as a performed practice since the dress brooches indicate interactions. The dress itself should be seen as a process and could therefore reflect the identities of the individual and collective mentalities. It is important to study the material culture and not just the structures, the buildings and the power relationships. Even if a place were created from higher positions, the social practice and the maintenance of a place were performed by everyone (Larsson 2006: 207).

## 1.5 Sources

In this chapter, the sources will be presented and shortly described. At first, the sites will be introduced followed by the dress brooches. The charts in the appendix will also be explained. A further and more detailed analysis of the material will be presented in chapter 2.1 *The contexts of the material – urban and rural sites* and 2.3 *The dress brooches*.

The sites that are discussed in this thesis are Lund, Uppåkra, Hjärrup, Fjellie, Kyrkheddinge, Örja, Önnarup, Naffentorp, Oxie, Hyllie, Fosie, Bunkeflo, Särslöv, Västra Klagstorp, Djurslöv and Önsvala. They are all located in the area around today's Lund and Malmö. These sites are chosen on the basis that early medieval dress brooches have been found there. Other early medieval villages with absence of dress brooches are therefore not included in this study other than in connections to a wider perspective and interpreting the material. All information about the sites is gathered from former interpretations presented in publications and excavation reports. Therefore, sites that have been investigated more extensively, for example Lund or Uppåkra, can be described and discussed more thoroughly. This section is therefore coloured by the irregularity in archaeological investigations, exploitations and research. The specific archaeological contexts of the dress brooches will not be considered in this thesis since only a few have been found under these circumstances. It is also fewer objects that have been retrieved in this way in rural sites and including this information in the analysis and results would lead to an irregular treatment of the material from urban and rural sites.

The dress brooches have been compiled in two different ways. The material from Lund is stored at *Kulturen, Kulturhistoriska museet*, in Lund. A majority of the objects are on display in the exhibition *Metropolis Daniae* while some are located in *Kulturen's* storehouse *Diabasen* in Lund. The archive and storehouse are sorted depending on themes, for example categories like the dress (klädedräkten) or horse accessory (hästutrustning). For this thesis, the categories P8, dress brooches (dräktspännen), and Q2e, pins (broscher) were examined. One object is stored at *LUHM, Lunds universitets historiska museum*. The dress brooches from rural sites are instead only gathered from excavation reports and publications mentioning or discussing early medieval dress brooches due to the limitation of time. The excavation reports have been published by the contract archaeological companies *Arkeologerna* in Lund (which excavate in all places of Scania) and *Sydsvensk arkeologi* in Malmö (which focuses on the areas around Malmö and Kristianstad). I visited both companies' offices in Lund and Malmö and went through all the reports and publications of rural places in the areas around Lund and Malmö. I also searched for digital reports on the organisations' webpages (*Arkeologerna* <https://arkeologerna.com/publikationer/?cid=530#filters> & *Sydsvensk arkeologi* <http://www.sydsvenskarkeologi.se/rapporter.html>) and on *Riksantikvarieämbetet's* database *Samla* (*Samla* <http://samla.raa.se/xmlui/handle/raa/4>) in order to gather as much dress brooches as possible. The compiling part of this thesis ended in March 2019, therefore, reports published after this date are not included in this study. Visiting archives to examine the objects in person was something that could not be done within this project's time limit.

163 dress brooches were found, 111 from Lund and 52 from rural places including 42 ring brooches, 36 urnes-style brooches, 14 hat-shaped brooches, 22 bracteate/coin brooches, 16 disc brooches, 6 bird-shaped brooches, 8 enamel brooches, 9 open-work brooches, 2 alsengems, 3 Viking Age brooches, 2 brooches for inlays and 1 dragon's head. These brooches will be further described in chapter 2.3 *The dress brooches*. The objects are gathered and presented in a chart (Appendix 1) which reports for where the find has been retrieved, the inventory/finds number, type/description of the brooch, material, size, dating and other relevant information about the objects. The inventory/finds number is stated if it has been possible to get hold of. Some excavation reports did not mention this information and the finds had sometimes not received an inventory number before the report was published.

The type/description of the dress brooch was analysed by the author, with support from the archives (*Kulturen* and *LUHM*) and publications. The material, size and dating were also gathered from the archives and the publications. The dating of the finds has sometimes been based on the style and type, and

sometimes on the cultural deposit where it was recovered. Other relevant information is stated if it, for example, affects the categorisation, states where the object derived from or if it is a workshop find. The last column in the chart states the reference where the information has been gathered. Why these parameters have been considered in particular will be discussed in the following chapter.

## 1.6 Method

### 1.6.1 Source-criticism and problems with the data collection

This chapter will present and discuss the methods used when studying the material, and also why these methods are useful when answering the research questions. However, before entering this part, the gathering of the material must be discussed. It is always important to be transparent in how the compiling part has been carried out to reveal possible flaws in the method. There are comparably few dress brooches from rural places and the different frequencies can of course have to do with the number of brooches that circulated in a specific place, but it could also depend on methodological reasons. Therefore, some source criticism is needed in order to be as transparent as possible. The question about the frequency will also be discussed further in chapter 3.0 *Discussion*.

The fact that fewer dress brooches have been found in rural places could have some connections with the methods used during the excavations. The dress brooches that I have been able to find are almost only retrieved in excavations where a metal detector has been used. Before the 1990s, metal detectors were only used occasionally, but almost all dress brooches are published in reports from the 2000s and onwards. For example, two of the places where larger numbers of early medieval dress brooches have been found are Naffentorp and Örja and a metal detector was used on both places. The metal detecting in Örja was also the largest and most extensive one ever made within Swedish contract archaeology, which led to a large metal material (Olsson, Ingwald & Paulsson-Holmberg 2005: 19; Schmidt Sabo 2013: 243). Schmidt Sabo also argued in a report from an excavation in Hjärrup that if they had not metal detected the topsoil, a lot of the material that was connected to the large farmstead dated to the Late Viking Age/early medieval period would have been lost. She stressed the importance of metal detecting the topsoil at every excavation (Schmidt Sabo 2011a: 22, 34). Although, it is probably not always methodological reasons for the number of finds retrieved in one place. For example, over 3000 metal objects were found in Örja but only a few of them were early medieval dress brooches, whereas in Lindängelund only 14 metal objects were found but no early medieval dress brooch, even if a metal detector was used in both examples (Bolander 2013: 33; Carlie & Lagergren 2014: 72). These examples clearly show the advantages of using a metal detector in archaeological excavations.

The question about metal detecting, its advantages and disadvantages, were already discussed in 1999 by Jonas Paulsson concerning the metal detecting at the site Uppåkra. He argued for the advantages of this method carried out in the correct way due to the highly represented Late Iron Age in the metal detected material (Paulsson 1999: 45-55). In recent years, metal detectors have been used frequently and are often part of the methodological approach in contract archaeology.

In a debate article from 2012, Charlotte Fabech argued about the importance of always including metal detectors in excavations. In an excavation at Stora Hammar in South West Scania, the Late Iron Age would have been highly unrepresented if a metal detector would not have been used and the place would have appeared to have mainly been settled during the Early Iron Age. Fabech implied that the metal finds are just as important as the different features and contexts found during an excavation (Fabech 2012: 203-206). Seemingly, the Late Iron Age, as well as the Early Middle Ages, are well represented in the detected material, and if any dress brooches should be found at all, it is important to incorporate this method. In Denmark, a large part of the metal detecting is carried out by private individuals, finding metal objects that otherwise perhaps would have been destroyed by ploughs. These finds can then, for example, be published in a digital database *DIME* open for everyone to register and search for finds (DIME

<https://www.metaldetektorfund.dk/>). A simple search on *spænde* (Danish for brooch) on DIME gives 293 hits, which indicates the potential of metal detectors. Even though there are complicated questions and disadvantages about private persons using a metal detector (for example that the metal finds could lose their context), it is an advantage in contract archaeology for preserving finds that otherwise would be lost. After gathering the material for this thesis, I agree with fellow archaeologists that a metal detector always should be included in the estimated cost and time schedule in an archaeological investigation.

Another reason why I have found fewer objects at rural sites could concern the registration and publication of the finds. In the reports, the small finds are mentioned in chapters about the artefacts, in finds lists and also in the chapters about what features and contexts that have been found during the excavations. However, these chapters are not always included in the reports and all objects found during an excavation might not be presented. I want to clarify that this might have led to that some objects and reports have been missed, although the error is probably not that extensive. Also, since this is more of a qualitative investigation, all finds do not need to be included in this thesis.

Although, the dress brooches are not published in a consistent way, which could lead to problems when understanding what material has been found during the excavations. The dress brooches are sometimes organised in categories like *brooches* or *buckle*, without further explanation about what kind of brooch it is or what time period it is dated to. Some of the ring brooches might also be categorised in the group *buckle* and not as a brooch. It is as important to publish the metal finds as describing the features and contexts in detail. If a find is not mentioned in the reports, it is easy to assume that there were no other finds retrieved from that excavation. Therefore, a proper categorisation and a detailed description of the metal finds and their dating is crucial in order for researchers and others interested to be able to find the archaeological material.

These problems could be solved by visiting the storages and the museums' archives to search and analyse all dress brooches found during excavations. This would lead to a two-stage operation where the first part would be to search in the reports and publications in order to get hold of the inventory number and the second part would be to visit the storage in particular. However, this is a time-consuming operation which could not be done in the limits of this project. Although, the material from Lund was compiled by visiting the museum and storehouse and could therefore also have contributed to the varieties of frequencies between urban and rural sites.

Another solution could be to always incorporate pictures of the metal finds. Nowadays, this could be done digitally giving more room for the interpretations in the reports. If the pictures of the finds are published in connection to the report in some sort of database, the problems with irregular categorisation could possibly be solved. Fabech argues that the metal detected finds should be registered in a national database where everyone could get hold of them. Museums and storehouses cannot store everything from an excavation, but she implies that after the finds are registered and photographed, the ones that cannot be saved can be thrown away. Without metal detecting, these finds would be destroyed anyway but with this method, they are at least found, and researchers could use them in their studies (Fabech 2012: 205-206). It is indeed important to publish all finds from an excavation including pictures which digitally could give researchers an opportunity to use the material even if they cannot get hold of it. In my opinion, this is the way forward with perhaps a digital finds list which is easy to search in with a detailed categorisation and description together with pictures of each find. However, recent reports are more thoroughly in reporting the finds and often contains pictures of some of the finds. In my opinion, archaeology should be as open as possible, with research and excavation reports published with open access.

### 1.6.2 The sites and the dress brooches – method and comparisons

In this thesis, the information about the sites is based on former interpretations in excavation reports and publications. The interpretations will be gathered and compared with each other. The focus will concern the early medieval period including what functions the places had and signs of metal craft or workshops.

Also, a comparison with surrounding sites will be made in order to understand connections and the role of the place. This discussion will provide a context for the dress brooches and be a base for the discussion about the research questions and the interpretations of the dress brooches. It is important to understand the context in order to interpret the reasons for the similarities and differences among the dress brooches. Without the context, it is almost impossible to say anything at all about urban and rural identities.

However, even if rural and urban identities will be discussed in general, this is not an attempt to homogenise the social differences within these places. I proclaim that the urban and rural sites are different along with several researchers, but not that all rural places should be considered as a homogenous group. There are of course differences both between and within rural and urban sites. As both Schmidt Sabo and Håkansson have argued for, the villages were not one social and economic phenomenon, but several social differences are visible at a site (Schmidt Sabo 2005: 82; Håkansson 2017: 49). Many different studies have examined the social differences within a specific site, not least Schmidt Sabo's and Söderberg's thorough investigation of the village in South West Scania from 5<sup>th</sup> to 19<sup>th</sup> century (Schmidt Sabo & Söderberg 2019). As mentioned in the theoretical discussion, these individual social differences are not something that can be explored using dress brooches as the empirical material since the finds cannot be connected to a specific person. However, it is the identities of the different places that are studied in this thesis, based on the notion that people need to identify themselves as townspeople or village-people in order for the places to exist. For a community to grow and maintain, the people need to recognise the group and therefore also understand the group identity. This is an attempt in trying to incorporate dress brooches in the discussion about urban and rural identities and understanding how the people in these places eventually distinguished themselves.

The dress brooches will be analysed in detail. At first, the material from each place will be described on the basis of appearance, decorations, size, material and frequency. Each type will also be presented in comparison to similar finds from other places including distribution and former interpretations. This will indicate contact areas and how common the type is. The material and size of the brooches are interesting to analyse and compare due to that some metals, like gold or silver, were more valuable and perhaps not available for all persons in the society. If one site contained several objects made of precious metals, perhaps this site differentiated itself from other ones. Therefore, the similarities and differences are not only seen in what type are found in each place but also the differences between specific brooches. These analyses are important when discussing contact areas and contacts between different sites. It is equally important when discussing urban and rural identities since the dress brooches may indicate differences and similarities in how people expressed themselves.

Concerning the ring brooches, both Højmark Jensen's study about medieval ring brooches in Denmark and Carlsson's study about Viking Age ring brooches in Gotland will in particular be useful when understanding the frequency and the geographical distribution of the different types. Both Højmark Jensen and Carlsson have created typologies and interpreted the ring brooches which then will function as useful comparative material (Carlsson 1988; Højmark Jensen 2005). As mentioned before, the ring brooches in Lund have already been studied and categorised and will be useful when understanding the ring brooches and used as a reference when describing the early medieval ring brooches from Lund (Isberg 2016). Additional articles about ring brooches from other places will also be incorporated.

Other types of brooches will be examined in the same way as the ring brooches. For example, Spiong's analysis of dress brooches in Central Europe, Baastrup's study of disc brooches and enamel brooches in Denmark and Pedersen's analysis of bird-shaped brooches in Denmark are important referential and comparative projects when discussing these types of objects (Spiong 2000; Pedersen 2001; Baastrup 2009).

For some of the types, detailed analysis of the design is also interesting, especially for the urnes-style brooches. These brooches are very different from each other concerning material, form and size. Therefore, it is interesting to qualitatively analyse each brooch in order to understand the distribution of

each design (Bertelsen 1992: 347). This analysis could show if the brooches were manufactured at different sites or if they were distributed from one place, for example, Lund. Each brooch indicates similarities and differences regarding contact areas and contributes to the discussion about rural and urban identities.

After analysing the brooches from each place separately, the material will be compared with each other in order to understand the differences and similarities in the material from different places. The dress brooches will be compared in terms of decoration, frequency, size and material and the focus will be centred on a comparison between rural and urban places, but also between the rural sites. The methods described above will give an understanding of which types are found in early medieval urban and rural contexts. In the next chapter, the sites and the objects will be analysed and presented. The last chapter of this study will then discuss the results of the analysis in connection to the research questions and the theoretical perspectives. During this study, new questions and problems emerged and could be used as a way to move forward from this initiating study. They will be discussed in chapter 3.6 *Further developments*.

## 2.0 Analysis

### 2.1 The contexts of the material – urban and rural sites

In this chapter, the urban and rural sites will be presented. It will begin with a discussion about early medieval Lund followed by each rural place. A short summary of the results is presented at the end of this chapter. The location of each site is presented in figure 1.

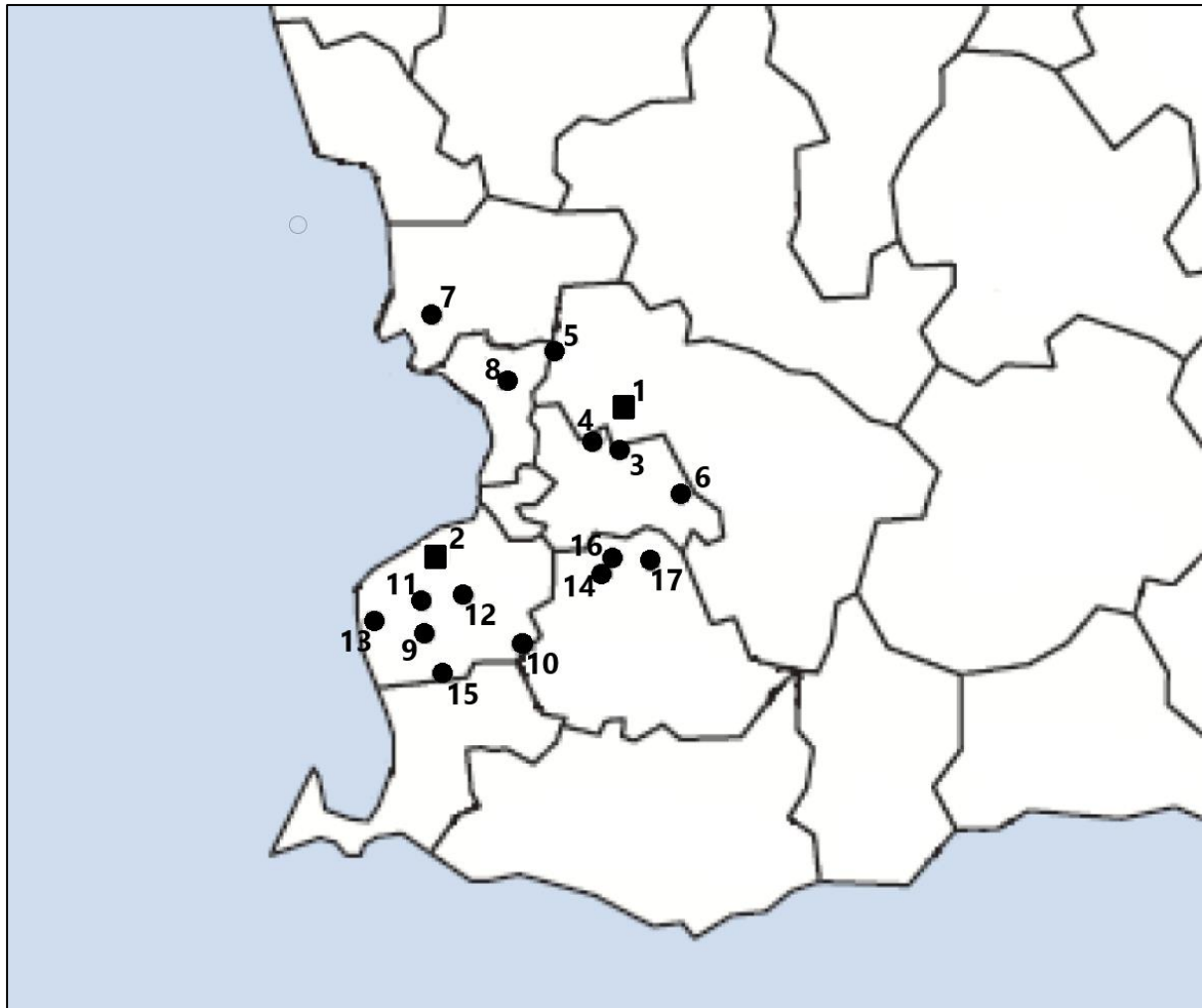


Figure 1. Map containing the sites where early medieval dress brooches have been found. 1 – Lund. 2 – Malmö. 3 – Uppåkra. 4 – Hjärup. 5 – Fjellie. 6 – Kyrkheddinge. 7 – Örja. 8 – Önnerup. 9 – Naffentorp. 10 – Oxie. 11 – Hyllie. 12 – Fosie. 13 – Bunkeflo. 14 – Särslöv. 15 – Västra Klagstorp. 16 – Djurslöv. 17 – Önsvala. Map from Wikimedia Commons, edited by Anna Isberg.

### 2.1.1 Lund

To start with a short summary of medieval Lund, the town has for a long time been considered to have been founded in 990, during the reign of Sven Tveskägg (986-1014). However, recent observations suggest an earlier dating which instead leads to the ruler Harald Bluetooth (958-986) (Cinthio 2018: 42). It has also been questioned if Lund even was founded by the king or if the king simply invested in the place after it was established. Either way, it is evident that both the king and the church were interested in the place already from the beginning and wanted to manifest their power (Johansson Hervén 2008: 271-272). The first settlement was probably located in the area where the Cathedral now stands. After this, Lund expanded quickly and the first settlement with urban connotations probably developed in the 1020s (Carelli 2001: 106-108). Through all of the Middle Ages, Lund was an important religious centre with 27 churches standing. The first stone church, Trinitatskyrkan, was constructed in the middle of the 11<sup>th</sup> century, rapidly followed by Domkyrkan, finished in 1085. Lund was also an economically important place, where minting of coinage was placed in the town already in the beginning of the 11<sup>th</sup> century (Carelli 2012: 103-111, 124, 136, 167, 233-236). However, during the 14<sup>th</sup> century, Lund diminished profoundly as a political centre. The minting of coinage was moved to Malmö in the end of the 14<sup>th</sup> century and also replaced Lund's role as an economical centre (Andrén 1980: 6, 18). Lund remained an important religious centre until the 17<sup>th</sup> century and after the Reformation, the town functioned as a central diocese, a centre for education and the regional council of Scania. The presence of the protestant superintendent and the



aristocracies' and nobilities' interest in large plots in the town indicates the religious importance of Lund, even if the town at the same time decreased and people moved to other places (Carelli 2012: 313, 369, 445; Skansjö 2012: 11, 15, 81).

The first building established in the area was a royal farm and estate and large farmsteads were a common phenomenon during this period, many similar establishments can be seen in villages all around Scania. These farmsteads probably operated as an administrative system in order for the king to gain and maintain control of the area (Carelli 2012: 43, 49). The oldest settlement was probably centred around the quarter Svartbröderna (Black Friars) with an east-west expansion. The first contacts were also probably directed in the same course, possibly headed to the coast around Lomma. The earliest stage of Lund is often described as something similar to a Viking Age settlement (Andrén 1984: 24, 27, 66). However, already in the 11<sup>th</sup> century, Lund started to differentiate itself structurally from other villages (Anglert & Larsson 2008: 313). The streets and the newly established square became increasingly more important as a social room and a medium for interactions between people (Carelli 2012: 221, 233). The town was established in a cross-section between two roads that connected large parts of the Scanian landscape. These roads went through Lund and the area around Domkyrkan, making it impossible to pass through the town without going by the Cathedral. This could be seen as an indication of Lund's religious and communicative role (Johansson Hervén 2008: 262-264). In this way, Lund was established on top of old paths of communication which led to a re-organisation of old contacts between different areas. This could perhaps be seen as a manifestation against the old society (Anglert & Larsson 2008: 305-306). Lund was already from the beginning an important place and should perhaps be seen as something new in the old landscape.

From the 1020s and onwards, Lund has been considered to have an urban character with expansion along Stora Södergatan. The town quickly expanded with 65-80 estimated number of town-yards in the middle of the 11<sup>th</sup> century in contrast to a hundred years later when the estimated number increased to 600-700 town-yards. The first persons living in Lund were probably connected to the king and the church, as well as different craftspersons (Carelli 2001: 106-108; 2012: 43, 49, 221). During the Middle Ages, Denmark had strong connections with England and many of the first bishops in Lund came from this area (Cinthio 2002: 21-23, 26-28). Already from the start, presence of foreign people is visible in the archaeological material, there among Anglo-Saxon/Anglo-Scandinavian and Slavic people and persons from the Holy Roman Empire. It is visible through, for example, dress brooches and ceramic, which indicates that foreign people both lived in and visited the town. The Anglo-Saxon and Slavic contacts were short-lived with a decline in the archaeological material from the 11<sup>th</sup> and 12<sup>th</sup> century. However, the connections with the Holy Roman Empire seems to have been strong, probably mostly due to the church. Presence of German tradesmen is visible in retrieved dress adornments and jewellery as well as in written sources (Roslund 2012: 303-309). It is important to point out that it was not only the king or the elite that affected what happened in a town, everybody had to collaborate and accept each other in order to create and maintain a densely built place and social room, even if these groups are perhaps most visible in the archaeological material. Therefore, it is not likely that the first persons living in Lund was ordered by the king to move there but should instead be seen as a cooperative act (Anglert & Larsson 2008: 311-313). Lund should probably then be seen as an open-minded place where different people lived and acted in agreement or acceptance.

Along with the church and the Christian faith, trade and craft were important functions centred in Lund during the Middle Ages. In the middle of the 11<sup>th</sup> century, rows of stalls were built along Stora Södergatan and Stortorget, used for trade and specialised craft (Andrén 1984: 47-50). In 2001, Salminen and Johansson Hervén did not find anything that suggested bronze craft in Lund in the early stage of the town, 990-1020, except a mould used for goldsmithing. The oldest workshops are found from the middle of the 11<sup>th</sup> century with finds consisting of crucibles, moulds and metal fragments, but the craft was probably performed outside (Salminen & Johansson Hervén 2001: 259, 264-266). However, Cinthio argued that from 990 to the middle of the 11<sup>th</sup> century, the goldsmiths did manufacture simpler dress brooches and adornments that had Continental connotations. In the 11<sup>th</sup> century, coin brooches were crafted to a large

extent in Lund and according to Cinthio, this implies that the first goldsmiths probably later became minters (Cinthio 1999: 38-40, 45, 49-50). The minting of coinage was an important aspect for the king to control. There are early examples of this activity in the 10<sup>th</sup> century in Lund but it was probably performed in a larger scale from the beginning of the 11<sup>th</sup> century. From the 1100s to 1150s, Salminen and Johansson Hervén implied that the bronze craft increased and was then performed inside, closer to the street. During this period, workshops that casted urnes-style brooches have been found in the quarter S:t Clemens, where several moulds have been retrieved (Salminen & Johansson Hervén 2001: 267-268). Another urnes-style workshop was also found along Stora Södergatan, indicating that it was probably intended for commercial purposes in contrast to earlier periods when the craft was mainly directed to the family or the household (Bergman & Billberg 1976: 206, 211). From the 1150s to the 1250s, the craft was concentrated to specific workshops and according to Salminen and Johansson Hervén, the new workshops indicates that the craftspersons had a freer position in the society (Salminen & Johansson Hervén 2001: 269, 272). From the middle of the 12<sup>th</sup> century, the metal craft was professionalised and specialised. It was produced for an anonymous market where it was, together with trade, guided by the supply and demand. From the mid-11<sup>th</sup> to the 13<sup>th</sup> century, the craft was mainly placed in urban centres (Carelli 2001: 151-158).

Carelli used three words to describe the developments in Lund during the medieval period: commercialisation, privatisation and individualisation. During the 12<sup>th</sup> century, trade and craft became commercialised and private ownership came to be the norm. Everyone had a chance to affect their lifestyle on an individual level. According to Carelli, these developments were the start of an ideology where each individual was considered self-sufficient. With the base in these arguments, Carelli stated that an urban lifestyle started to develop in the second half of the 11<sup>th</sup> century (Carelli 2001: 141, 206, 372-373, 384). These developments led to Lund becoming a centre for commercial activities and that most structures and organisations in the society were guided by economic thinking (Carelli 2012: 221, 233). The town could then be compared to Continental towns with similarities in the strive for a Christian and feudal organisation (Anglert & Larsson 2008: 313-316).

To summarise, Lund was an important place in the Middle Ages. Even though the establishment is disputed, it was clearly an important place for the Christian church and the Danish king but also in the process of urbanisation. Lund became an important political, economic, commercial and religious centre during the Middle Ages as well as a social place. Due to the different functions placed in Lund, a lot of people probably visited the town, more people than who lived there. Further on, the rural places where early medieval dress brooches have been found will be presented and discussed.

### 2.1.2 Uppåkra

Describing Uppåkra's development in the Early Middle Ages in a short and summarising way is in many ways a tricky task since the site had been settled for almost a thousand years. Therefore, medieval Uppåkra has often been unprioritized due to the rich Iron Age settlement and that the archaeological material decreased in the latest part of the Viking Age. Most of the investigation concerning medieval contexts have concentrated around the church (Anglert & Huttu 1999: 287-288). Almost all cultural layers from the Vendel period, the Viking Age and the Early Middle Ages have been destroyed by agriculture. However, Viking Age Uppåkra is still quite known to researchers due to extensive metal detecting.

Uppåkra was probably quite similar to Lund in layout during a short period from Lund's establishment to 1050s, but Lund did quickly differentiate itself from Uppåkra and became a central place for politics, economy, craft and trade. However, some functions maintained from earlier periods in Uppåkra (Hårdh 2010: 296-298, 300, 303, 308). Anna Lihammer argued that Uppåkra was placed in a communicatively favourable location at a high position in the landscape. The same as Lund, it was located on the roads that connected Southern and Northern Scania as well as Lomma, that sometimes is referred to as the harbour of Uppåkra (Lihammer 2003: 75). In the Late Viking Age, large farmsteads were present and at the end of the 12<sup>th</sup> century, a stone church was constructed. However, an earlier wooden church was probably

standing before the medieval stone church was built. From this period, far-reaching contacts are also visible in the archaeological material in terms of jewellery and coins from Oriental and German areas, especially in the latest parts of the Viking Age (Hårdh 2010: 296-297, 305).

Most of the material from the Viking Age is dated to the first half of the 10<sup>th</sup> century. Only some indications of metal craft are present in this material, for example a few patrixes. However, Uppåkra was still an important place until the 12<sup>th</sup> century and was also probably connected to the Danish king (Tegnér 1999: 225, 234-237). Only a few objects made of bronze have been retrieved from the Middle Ages. Anglert and Huttu argued that the find material from the early medieval period is similar to that in Lund, with a modest quantity compared to earlier periods (Anglert & Huttu 1999: 290-296). The material that has been retrieved is mostly interpreted as everyday objects, although, more coins have been found in Uppåkra compared to other villages (Hårdh 2010: 298).

Uppåkra has often been compared to Lund where the similarities often have been stressed. However, it is important to point out the history of the two places. Uppåkra had been an important place in the landscape for almost a thousand years before Lund was established. Lihammer argued that Lund should not be seen as a successor to Uppåkra but as a new establishment that indicated a new society and landscape. Uppåkra could probably then been seen as a manifestation of an old landscape. Both places probably had the same communicative role but in different landscapes and societies (Lihammer 2003: 93, 98, 106). Lund should then be seen as a new phenomenon, perhaps established by the Danish king's command, while Uppåkra represented old connections and society. When Lund expanded, Uppåkra developed into an ordinary medieval village.

### 2.1.3 Hjärup

Hjärup is a small village situated five kilometres south-west of Lund, two kilometres west of Uppåkra. The site was probably settled in the middle of the 10<sup>th</sup> century or the beginning of the 11<sup>th</sup> century, approximately during the time when Lund was established. The medieval village is considered to have been established in the middle of the 11<sup>th</sup> century (Schmidt Sabo 2018: 150). A large farmstead was built in the 950s and lasted until the 1050s and the find material from this site is considered to be quite similar to Uppåkra's and Lund's material. However, the lack of precious metal and the absence of indications of religious rituals might indicate that the individuals living there were not of the highest status. Although, the location of the large farmstead could indicate that the place was functioning as a local centre. In the middle of the 11<sup>th</sup> century, the place was re-organised which, according to Schmidt Sabo, could indicate that the family living at the large farmstead moved into Lund (Schmidt Sabo 2011a: 10, 22, 49-53). Anne Carlie and Magnus Artursson argued that the large farmstead and longhouse in Hjärup were larger than most establishments in early medieval villages (Carlie & Artursson 2005: 223, 233). When the large farmstead was abandoned, the village was divided into smaller farmsteads (Schmidt Sabo 2018: 139, 148-150). Not much evidence for specialised craft is visible in the archaeological material (Carlie & Artursson 2005: 223, 233). An interesting aspect is that Hjärup is closely situated to Uppåkra and that the large farmstead was established there when Uppåkra's role in the landscape decreased. However, after the short presence of a large farmstead, Hjärup also seems to develop into an ordinary medieval village.

### 2.1.4 Fjellie

Fjellie is located six kilometres to the west of Lund, halfway between Borgeby and Lund. There have not been many excavations carried out in Fjellie, most of them are quite recent investigations. The settlement in the Early Middle Ages was already centred in the area where the village known from historical maps is located. The road between Lund and Borgeby probably passed through Fjellie, making the site important for communicative reasons (Carlie & Lindberg 2016: 16, 156). There have probably been many large farmsteads present at the site where the first one was established around the 800s. Already in the early stages, the church owned land in the village. Some finds have indicated metal crafting performed in Fjellie

but not to any large extent (Lindberg, Schmidt Sabo & Brorsson 2019: 126, 235-236, 240, 244, 256). In spite of the few investigations carried out in Fjellie, the results indicate similarities with Hjörup in the same period, as both sites probably were important for communication.

#### 2.1.5 Kyrkheddinge

Kyrkheddinge is situated approximately eight kilometres south-east of Lund. As Hjörup, Kyrkheddinge was probably established in the later parts of the 10<sup>th</sup> century. Kyrkheddinge was also strategically placed, in the vicinity of both Lund and Malmö and also to the coast. Two roads passed through the village, one from Malmö to Dalby and the other from Lund to Ystad. One shard of ceramic of Thetford type, that has also been found in Lund, Önnerup and Oxie, suggests connections with Lund in the beginning of the 11<sup>th</sup> century. At first, Kyrkheddinge was probably quite similar to other Late Viking Age settlements, but in the middle of the 11<sup>th</sup> century, more buildings were established the same time as a possible wooden church was constructed. In the 13<sup>th</sup> century, the structure of the village drastically changed with a centralisation around the streets and other public areas. In this period, the wooden church was replaced by a stone church (Schmidt Sabo 2001: 18, 62, 76, 80). Some indications of metal craft have also been found at the site, but it was probably intended for mending and producing everyday objects (Billström 2015: 55, 71-72, 77). Kyrkheddinge appears to have been an important hub in the landscape that could have been significant for the king to control. The same as Fjellie, it was placed at crossroads and could therefore have been as important for communicative reasons.

#### 2.1.6 Örja

Örja is a small village situated close to Landskrona, approximately 30 kilometres north of Lund. The village was established in the 11<sup>th</sup> century and some of the area where the village known from historical maps is located was already settled at this point (Bolander, Rosendahl & Strandmark 2013: 100, 129). The settlement was quite large with 51 known buildings from the Early Middle Ages and the individuals living in Örja had quite large farmsteads with several different houses. The earliest church and churchyard were probably also situated quite close to one of the largest farmsteads, in connection to the wealthiest family (Schmidt Sabo 2013: 230, 246-247). This could indicate that the first church was constructed on the initiative of one person who wanted to control the access to the church and perhaps this could also be the answer to why the church was demolished later on and moved to a public area in the centre of the village (Thomasson 2005: 119). A stone church was established around the 1200s, perhaps replacing the largest farmstead in the village that lasted throughout the century. In close vicinity to Örja, the king was represented in Säby which was a royal demesne, *kungalev*, at the time (Anglert & Schmidt Sabo 2013: 28, 30-31). Both the large farmsteads and the early established church indicates that people with higher status lived in Örja, and the site did perhaps differentiate itself from other villages in the landscape. In relation to this, the village might also have had connections to the king due to the closeness to Säby.

#### 2.1.7 Önnerup

Önnerup is situated approximately seven kilometres west of Lund near Lomma. Just as Kyrkheddinge and Hjörup, Önnerup was probably established on the second part of the 10<sup>th</sup> century (Schmidt Sabo 2001: 18). In the 11<sup>th</sup> century, a large building called Trelleborg house was constructed at the site (Jönsson, Kockum & Olsson 2000: 186). Already from the start, the site seems to have been intentionally organised with buildings surrounding the street, something that is not seen in other villages early on. However, in the 13<sup>th</sup> century, as in other villages in South West Scania, the village was re-organised (Pettersson 1996: 25-26, 50). The villages discussed so far seem to have developed in different ways. All of them do not contain specific houses or a certain number of farmsteads, or for example a Trelleborg house as in this village. The villages' development seems to have been locally based.

#### 2.1.8 Naffentorp

Naffentorp is situated in the south-west parts of today's Malmö. It was probably established a bit later than other villages in the same area, approximately late 11<sup>th</sup> century or the beginning of the 12<sup>th</sup> century. However, Hyllie and Vintrie are also considered to have been established in this period (Lövgren et al. 2007: 298). A large farmstead was established around the middle of the 11<sup>th</sup> century that maintained until the 13<sup>th</sup> century. There could probably have been another large farmstead at the site, but this is uncertain since the village has not been fully excavated. The early medieval material retrieved in Naffentorp is traditionally connected to high-status environments (Schmidt Sabo & Söderberg 2012: 152). Naffentorp belonged to Bunkeflo parish, which will be described further down, but the settlements were similar to each other. During the 10<sup>th</sup> and the 11<sup>th</sup> century, the area was not used to any larger extent, but the usage increased in the 12<sup>th</sup> century with more and different types of buildings. As in Önnerup, a Trelleborg house has also been found. Even if Bunkeflo was the central place of the parish, Naffentorp was still larger in size. However, no indications of crafting have been found other than for domestic purposes (Olsson, Ingwald & Paulsson-Holmberg 2005: 26, 120, 158, 162-163, 172, 181). Villages containing one large farmstead seems to be quite common in South West Scania, however, two of these establishments were probably rarer.

#### 2.1.9 Oxie

Oxie is situated in the south-east parts of Malmö. It was first mentioned in the 12<sup>th</sup> century at the same time as the stone church was built. As in Örja, the church was probably part of the large farmstead that was established in the first part of the 11<sup>th</sup> century together with an older wooden church. Oxie stands out among the villages as a royal demesne, *kungalev*, a property of the king functioning as an administrative site in the surrounding landscape. The royal demesnes were in use and probably most important during 1000-1050s (Jönsson & Brorsson 2003: 147, 149, 153, 157-158). Oxie was placed in a communicatively favourable location and was a large settlement with multiple functionalities (Anglert & Larsson 2008: 306). During the 11<sup>th</sup> century, a large number of pit houses were built north of the church where traces of vast textile production has been found as well as bronze craft carried out in a smaller scale. On the base of the find material, Lars Jönsson and Torbjörn Brorsson argued that during the 11<sup>th</sup> century, the place probably had a pre-urban character similar to Lund at the time. Although, at the end of the 11<sup>th</sup> century, Oxie lost its role as a royal demesne and the vast textile production ended (Jönsson & Brorsson 2003: 197, 201-202). Oxie seems to have been active a short period of time but probably quite important during the 11<sup>th</sup> century.

#### 2.1.10 Hyllie

Hyllie is situated in the vicinity of Naffentorp, Bunkeflo and Fosie. The village is considered to have been established in the beginning of the 11<sup>th</sup> century or perhaps a bit earlier (Kockum & Persson 2007: 145, 149, 151-154). As in Önnerup and Naffentorp, a Trelleborg house has been found at the large farmstead. In the 12<sup>th</sup> century, new buildings seem to have been established at the large farmstead in Hyllie (Schmidt Sabo & Söderberg 2012: 150-153). The large farmsteads in Hyllie and Bunkeflo are quite similar to each other and could indicate connections between the persons living there (Lövgren et al. 2007: 298). In the 13<sup>th</sup> century, a stone church was constructed at the site (Kockum & Persson 2007: 149). The villages in South West Scania are in many ways similar to each other consisting of, for example, one or two large farmsteads, however, Trelleborg houses do not seem to have been common.

#### 2.1.11 Fosie

Fosie is situated five kilometres east of Hyllie and was quite a large site during the early medieval period (Jönsson, Kockum & Olsson 2000: 190-191). The early medieval farmsteads and buildings were smaller than during earlier periods and organised in a round structure, forming an open public space (Björhem & Dahlström 2007: 94). As in almost all villages, a large farmstead was established in the 10<sup>th</sup> century

(Schmidt Sabo & Söderberg 2019: 28). In the 12<sup>th</sup> century, a church was established at one of the large farmsteads indicating the importance of connections with the new ideology and the Christian faith, the same as in Örja and Oxie (Thomasson 2005: 80, 118). Hyllie and Fosie are considered medieval villages from approximately the middle of the 10<sup>th</sup> century in contrast to Naffentorp and Bunkeflo that are considered to have been established a hundred years later (Schmidt Sabo & Söderberg 2012: 155). This clearly indicates that even though there are similarities among the sites, they developed separately and also dependent on local preconditions.

#### 2.1.12 Bunkeflo

Bunkeflo is situated between Hyllie and Naffentorp. Some of the information about Bunkeflo has already been mentioned in discussions about other villages above. During the Early Middle Ages, Bunkeflo was quite large but in the beginning of the 13<sup>th</sup> century, the village was structurally re-organised, as seen in other villages as well. No indications of metal craft have been found at the site, however, the general find material was quite large (Lövgren et al. 2007: 292, 298, 300, 304). A large farmstead was established in the 11<sup>th</sup> century, or perhaps a bit earlier, and lasted until the 13<sup>th</sup> century. As in Önnerup, Naffentorp and Hyllie, a Trelleborg house has been found situated at the large farmstead. This building was quite similar to the one in Hyllie. In the 12<sup>th</sup> century, a church was established at one of the large farmsteads (Schmidt Sabo & Söderberg 2012: 152).

#### 2.1.13 Särslöv, Västra Klagstorp, Djurslöv and Önsvala

Särslöv, Djurslöv and Önsvala are situated to the south of Lund and Västra Klagstorp is situated south of Naffentorp. Even though early medieval dress brooches have been found in these villages, there has not been many investigations or much research concerning these sites. Önsvala might have functioned as a meeting point in the landscape. Outside the village, one of the largest cemeteries in the vicinity of Uppåkra has been found. It was probably used by the people living in Önsvala and the graves contained quite rich items, even though the persons buried there have not been interpreted as the highest elite in the society (Larsson 2013: 135, 156-157). Särslöv was quite an ordinary village in the early medieval period. Not much rich finds have been retrieved in contrast to the closely situated village Dagstorp, where objects made of precious metals have been found. Similarly, no indications of metal craft have been noticed in the archaeological material (Becker 2005: 279). However, as seen in many other villages, a large farmstead has been found in recent years (Schmidt Sabo 2011a: 48). As Särslöv, Västra Klagstorp and Djurslöv were probably also quite ordinary villages during the early medieval period. However, since all these villages have only partly been excavated, more research is needed in order to understand these sites properly.

## 2.2 Results

The villages concerned in this thesis are in many ways similar to each other, however, local differences can also be observed. In almost all the villages, large farmsteads have been found, all of them abandoned or divided into smaller units during the beginning of the 13<sup>th</sup> century. Large farmsteads are present in other early medieval villages as well, for example in Bjäresjö, Lockarp, Järrestad and Häljarp (Schmidt Sabo 2011a: 48). According to Schmidt Sabo and Söderberg, these farmsteads are present in almost all villages in Scania and should be seen as a norm rather than an exception. They are highly represented in the area around Lund and Malmö already from the Iron Age up until the 13<sup>th</sup> century. Even if they were important during their existence, the abandoning could probably be connected to the re-organisation of the villages and the agrarian organisation as well as a new societal system that was based on the demand of taxes. In the area around Malmö, Lockarp stands out as one of the largest settlements, also containing the largest farmstead and Trelleborg house. Schmidt Sabo and Söderberg called this farmstead an *aristocratic large farmstead*, a place where the highest elite lived, containing large building-complexes and presence of prestige goods and specialised craft. Lockarp might have been the successor of Oxie, since Oxie as a royal



demesne was quite short lasted. Lockarp has been interpreted as superior compared with other villages in the area (Schmidt Sabo & Söderberg 2012: 144; 2019: 9, 14, 41-42). The fact that no early medieval dress brooches have been found in Lockarp is an interesting observation which perhaps could indicate the multifaceted use and symbolism of dress brooches; they were perhaps not only used by the elite in the society.

In Önnerup, Naffentorp, Hyllie and Bunkeflo so-called Trelleborg houses have been located at the large farmsteads in each village. Håkansson analysed Trelleborg houses in Halland and observed that they were almost exclusively found on large farmsteads which were established in the 11<sup>th</sup> century. He connected the presence of a Trelleborg house with connections to the Danish king who was interested in manifesting his power in the landscape and wanted to form alliances with the people in the villages and vice versa. The buildings could then be interpreted as an indication of that Danish-English cultural influences increased during this period of time (Håkansson 2017: 264-269). In respect to these interpretations, some villages in South West Scania probably stood out in contrast to other sites. Lund and Oxie were probably exceptions in their role as royal demesnes, as well as Gårdstånga, Dalby and Helsingborg, which were also royal demesnes located in Western Scania. They were all local centres in each hundred during the Middle Ages (Jönsson & Brorsson 2003: 157-159, 189-193). What is interesting is that the Trelleborg houses seem to have been clustered around the royal demesnes in Scania as well as in Halland (Håkansson 2017: 260-261). Therefore, the Danish king probably wanted to both manifest his power but also to form alliances in the early start of the Danish kingdom. By doing so, he did perhaps get acceptance among the people living in the villages and/or control over both the inhabitants and the areas. Thomasson argued that in the early medieval period, hierarchical order is visible between the farmsteads within each site and was based on size, quantity and the construction of the buildings. In the 12<sup>th</sup> and 13<sup>th</sup> century, the villages were re-organised and centred around the farmstead that controlled the people in the village as well as movements by supervising the streets. The new order could be connected to the new society and ways of organising the social room that developed in the medieval period (Thomasson 2005: 81, 118, 123).

Another way the villages differentiated themselves is that they were often established at different times. Oxie was established in the 10<sup>th</sup> century, Hjärup, Kyrkheddinge and Önnerup in the end of the 10<sup>th</sup> century, Fjellie and Örja in the latest part of the 10<sup>th</sup> century/early beginning of the 11<sup>th</sup> century, Hyllie and Fosie in beginning of the 11<sup>th</sup> century and Naffentorp and Bunkeflo in the end of the 11<sup>th</sup> century. Särslöv, Västra Klagstorp, Önsvala, and Djurslöv have not yet been dated by the researchers, except that early medieval dress brooches have been found at the sites and that they are visible in the historical maps and partly in the archaeological investigations. The developments within the villages seem to have been locally based and therefore also varied and complex. Schmidt Sabo and Söderberg identified differences between the areas around Lund and Malmö concerning the frequency and variation of different farmsteads. The area around Malmö contained generally more large farmsteads than around Lund and did also contain the largest number of farmsteads in the 11<sup>th</sup> century. The area around Lund did instead contain a greater number in the 9<sup>th</sup> century which gradually decreased through time (Schmidt Sabo & Söderberg 2019: 15-17). Their study clearly shows local varieties in the area at different time periods and that the establishment and development of the early medieval villages were not straightforward. However, the area around Malmö is the most investigated area in Scania and the results could perhaps also be dependent on this notion.

One of the most significant differences between the urban and the rural sites is that specialised metal craft has not been found in any rural sites, except perhaps in Oxie or Fjellie, but in a large extent in Lund. Cinthio implied that goldsmiths were active in Lund during the 11<sup>th</sup> century, something that cannot be seen on other sites. The only other metal craft that has been identified was probably directed towards the family or household to mend and produce everyday objects. This indicates that Lund probably was different from the other villages in the Early Middle Ages, even if Lund perhaps structurally resembled other rural sites in the early beginning of its establishment. Perhaps the specialised craft was placed in Lund early on which is seen in other towns during the Middle Ages. The focus will now turn to the dress brooches, with descriptions and discussions of the specific types and which objects have been found at each site.

## 2.3 The dress brooches

Ten types of dress brooches have been found in early medieval urban and rural contexts in South West Scania and some of them have been more analysed than others and can therefore be more thoroughly described. Firstly, the types will be presented and secondly, each dress brooch will be described in connection to the site where it was found. If relevant, the objects will be compared to similar finds. The numbers of the dress brooches refer to the numbers in the chart, Appendix 1, and the pictures, Appendix 2, and will be marked in bold. If nothing else is stated, the information is gathered from Kulturen's archive. The size of the brooches is presented in the chart, Appendix 1.

### 2.3.1 Presentation of the types

**Ring brooches:** The ring brooches are found to a large extent in Lund and on rural sites in South West Scania. A ring brooch can be defined as a metal ring with either open or closed ring. The open rings have variously designed ends and the closed rings are often circular but other forms can also occur. The pin is either loose or fastened on the hoop and rests on the other side of the ring (Isberg 2016: 11). During the Iron Age, the open rings were more common, while the closed rings were more used in the Middle Ages. The open rings were mostly distributed in eastern parts of Northern Europe where a large amount have been found on Gotland (Carlsson 1988). The open rings stop being used in the 13<sup>th</sup> century and the closed rings became more common and are found all over Northern Europe, many of them in Denmark (Højmark Jensen 2005). The ring brooches from Lund have already been studied and a thorough discussion about these objects can be seen there (Isberg 2016). However, the relevant subtypes will be described further down.

**Urnes-style brooches:** The urnes-style brooches are often found in South West Scania. The brooches are casted in a clay mould formed from a model and therefore, objects that are almost identical in form and design are present in the material (Røstad 2012: 183). Some of the dress brooches resemble the characteristic urnes-style depicted on the stave church in Urnes in Norway, but the motifs are varied and sometimes very abstract. The type can generally be described as an interlaced, stylised animal (Westergren 1986: 2-3). They are often made of copper alloys, but gold and silver are also present. Some of the finds have been interpreted as mistakes from casting (Bertelsen 1992: 347-349, 351-352, 358).

Westergren divided the brooches into seven categories. The first category (1) contained motifs of the typical urnes-style, number two (2) contained bird-associated animals, the third (3) dragon-shaped animals, the fourth (4) contained motifs similar to the ones on rune stones, number five (5) contained simplistically formed brooches, number six (6) were described as other urnes-style brooches that could not be categorised and the last one (7) contained objects that according to Westergren should not be classified as urnes-style brooches (Westergren 1986: 7-10). These categorisations are often referenced in research and will also sometimes be the base for describing the objects in this thesis. Røstad named Westergren's last group as the *Ålborg-group* and describes them as an open-work brooch depicting a bird with a round frame around it. These brooches are relatable to the **open-work brooches** found in South West Scania. The examples Røstad mentions being part of the *Ålborg-group* are similar to the Agnus Dei-motif (Gods lamb) found on other kinds of jewellery (Røstad 2012: 187-189).

The urnes-style brooches are found all over Scandinavia and Iceland but especially in Denmark and Scania. It is also in these areas where the only workshops crafting these objects have been found, more precisely Lund and Sebbarsund (Bertelsen 1992: 345, 352). 27 objects have been found in Southern Norway where most of them are relatable to Westergren's group 1 and 2. Some urnes-style brooches have also been



found in England, most of them within the area of the Danelaw. Only a few finds have been retrieved from other parts of Sweden. Røstad has interpreted the urnes-style brooches in Norway as an indication of Danish influences due to the concentration of objects in medieval Denmark (Røstad 2012: 182-183, 202-203). However, only two brooches have been found in Halland, one of them in gilded silver. Gilded urnes-style brooches are not very common in Denmark but can often be found in Norwegian areas (Håkansson 2017: 245). One fragmented object has also been found in North East Scania, in Gudahagen, Näsrum (RAÄ Näsrum 33:1), suggesting a large distribution in Scania (Roslund 2019: 165-167). Most of the finds are found through metal detecting but some of them have been found in dated contexts, and the urnes-style brooch is dated from 11<sup>th</sup> century to the 12<sup>th</sup> century (Bertelsen 1992: 359). In Norway, most of the finds are dated to 1050-1150s (Røstad 2012: 195).



Figure 2. The urnes-style brooch from Gudahagen, Näsrum (Roslund 2019: 165-167).

These dress brooches are often interpreted to have expressed connections with the king and the church due to the distribution and the style. This has also sometimes been perceived as the explanation to the lack of finds in medieval Sweden (Westergren 1986: 10-11). The presence of these objects has also often been connected to high-status environments. However, recent studies have pointed out several factors that oppose these statements, for example, that they probably were mass-produced and used to a large extent. Some of the finds are also not qualitatively exceptional or made of precious metals, which has led to a conclusion that they probably were worn by all classes in the society (Røstad 2012: 200).

**Hat-shaped brooches:** These objects are only present in Lund in South West Scania. They are round discs of metal, often bronze, with an elevation in the middle resembling a hat, as the name reveals. Some of them have ornamentation pressed into the surface, and all are dated to approximately the 11<sup>th</sup> century. Roslund has argued that they derived or were influenced by German areas and should be seen as an indication of contacts or visitors from the Holy Roman Empire (Roslund 2012: 305).

**Bracteate/coin brooches:** These dress brooches are also mainly found in Lund, but some objects have also been retrieved at rural sites. The objects almost always depict the ruling Danish king, often together with a cross or a bird. This concept can have derived from Frisian and German areas, where they were common in the 11<sup>th</sup> century, but also from Carolingian/Ottonian areas, 9<sup>th</sup>-12<sup>th</sup> century (Baastrup 2009: 217-218; Schmidt Sabo 2011a: 41). In the Early Middle Ages, they were probably mass-produced in Lund, something that is also seen in Roskilde (Cinthio 1999: 39). The bracteate/coin brooches in Lund should then be seen as hybrids with a foreign or Continental concept but portraying the Danish king (Roslund 2012: 305). The common interpretation of these brooches is that they were gifts in order to form alliances and that they expressed that the person wearing them was in favour of the Danish king and the Church (Schmidt Sabo 2011a: 41).

**Disc brooches:** These dress brooches are round, in some cases domed, and made of bronze or tin that sometimes were gilded. Ornamentation has occasionally been engraved on the surface, often depicting crosses of different shapes. They are all dated to the 11<sup>th</sup>-12<sup>th</sup> century. The same type was common in Ottonian, as the bracteate/coin brooches, and Salian areas and can be said to derive or have been influenced from these areas (Roslund 2012: 305).

**Bird-shaped brooches:** Only three bird-shaped brooches have been found in South West Scania, however, many are present in other parts of early medieval Denmark. Pedersen categorised the objects in four types: (1) bird-shaped brooches in ringerike-or urnes-style, S-shaped body, (2) feathered and ornated bird-

shaped brooches, naturalistic style, decorated feathers, bent beak, (3) birds standing on one leg with the head, neck and leg in a straight line and (4) birds standing on two legs with interlaced wing, neck and throat. They are dated to the 11<sup>th</sup>-12<sup>th</sup> century and almost all are made of bronze, however, some examples of silver or lead are also present (Pedersen 2001: 20-28).

They are mostly found in Jutland, but a few examples are also present in Blekinge and on Öland. The same as the urnes-style brooches, some have been found in Anglo-Scandinavian contexts in England. According to Pedersen, a previous model has not been found for this type, leading to the conclusion that they probably were a new jewellery type that developed in Denmark in the 11<sup>th</sup> century. However, the motif was probably influenced by areas in Western Europe and religious contexts. Depicting a bird was common in many areas during the Viking age and can be



*Figure 3. The bird-shaped brooch from Gudahagen, Näsrum (Roslund 2019: 165-167).*

seen in different objects from Slavic, German and Byzantine areas. However, all these depictions are earlier than the bird-shaped brooch discussed here, except the ones retrieved in England (Pedersen 2001: 29-45, 50-52). Three bird-shaped brooches have also been found in Southern Norway dated to 1050-1150 (Røstad 2012: 190, 195). This indicates a larger distribution in the Danish kingdom, as well as one object found in North East Scania, more precisely in Gudahagen, Näsrum (RAÄ Näsrum 33:1) (Roslund 2019:165-167).

These dress brooches are often interpreted to have been a Christian symbol and are sometimes also combined with other similar symbols, for example a cross. Birds are also often depicted on Christian churches. Pedersen interpreted them as representing the newly established Danish kingdom but cannot determine what sort of bird they are supposed to resemble. She discusses the possibilities of dove or bird of prey, but the inspiration for these brooches probably developed with inspiration from the new Christian world view and symbolism (Pedersen 2001: 41-49, 52-53).

**Enamel brooches:** Most of the enamel brooches were used during a long period of time, but most of them are dated to the 9<sup>th</sup> and 10<sup>th</sup> century but could also be found in later contexts, especially in Denmark. Most of them depict a cross, flower or star, and are either made with cloisonné (cells that are filled with enamel) or champlevé (hollows that are filled with enamel) technique (Baastrup 2009: 210, 215, 228). Almost 200 objects have been found all over Europe and during the 10<sup>th</sup> and 11<sup>th</sup> century, more than half of the dress brooches found in Central Europe were of this type (Spiong 2000: 54, 64; Ulriksen 2002: 206). The cross-enamel brooches with champlevé technique can be considered to derive or have been influenced by Ottonian and Carolingian areas. However, a special group called Anglo-Saxon-Scandinavian enamel brooches made with cloisonné technique are instead considered to have derived from England. Even if the form and design are similar to the Carolingian/Ottonian, these brooches are made of a combination of copper and enamel which has not been found on the Continent (Baastrup 2009: 224, 227). This type is often made of translucent, dark blue enamel and twenty objects have been retrieved in Scania, Denmark and Öland dated to 11<sup>th</sup>-13<sup>th</sup> century (Pedersen 2004: 56-57).

As seen above, these brooches have often been interpreted as indications of contacts with Carolingian, Ottonian and Anglo-Saxon areas. Even though crosses are depicted on the objects, they should not be considered as a Christian symbol (Ulriksen 2002: 209). Instead, they represent contacts between the Continent and Denmark. They were also probably not very common which could suggest that they were not possessions of the elite but more associated with long-distance contacts (Baastrup 2009: 229-230).

**Alsengem:** Only a few alsengems have been found in South West Scania. These frame-stones are either oval or round, situated on a brooch or possibly on a ring and came in three different types: (1) depicts one figure, usually found in contexts connected to the church and are mostly distributed in North East Germany and Northern Netherlands, (2) depicts two figures holding hands, often interpreted as men and (3) depicts three figures holding hands, sometimes accompanied with trees, stars or a grid, often found in profane contexts, both in urban and rural places. Type 3 is distributed in a larger area and represent the majority of the alsengems. Chronologically, type 1 is considered to be the earliest and type 3 the latest (Roslund 2009: 227-230, 232, 237). Twelve objects have been found in Denmark, mostly around Roskilde, and all of them are type 3 dated to 1200-1350s (Baastrup 2007: 163, 169). Some objects have also been found in Sweden (Sigtuna), Norway and Russia (Lövgren et al. 2007: 264; Roslund 2010: 46-47).

As seen above, the alsengems are both found in profane and religious contexts and they are often interpreted as depicting brotherhood and friendship. They are also interpreted as being memories of pilgrimage, connected to Christian symbolism, and as a protective sign for travelling tradesmen. Wearing an alsengem could have protected the travellers by showing that they belonged to a certain group and were protected by a saint. Therefore, they functioned as recognition of group identity and as protection connected to different guilds. When the tradesmen could not trust the ruler at a specific site, the brooches indicated trust in each other and in God (Roslund 2009: 234-238).

**Viking Age brooches:** Three Viking age brooches have been found from early Lund, one **oval brooch**, one **box brooch** and a **trefoil brooch**. The oval brooches and the trefoil brooches are traditionally considered to have been a part of the female Viking Age dress, probably the wealthier women. The oval brooches held up the straps on the woollen dress that was worn on top of a linen dress. The trefoil brooch was often used to hold a long-armed tunic that was worn on top of the other clothes. The oval brooches are not used in any large extent in Late Viking Age Scandinavia and this object could therefore perhaps be dated to the very early start of Lund or before (Jansson 1985: 11-13). 27 oval brooches have been found in Halland, but all of them are also earlier than the end of the 10<sup>th</sup> century (Håkansson 2017: 238). Some box brooches have been found in medieval Sweden, but most of them are found on Gotland, where over 400 objects have been retrieved (Mårtensson 1967: 118).

### 2.3.2 Lund

111 early medieval dress brooches have been found in Lund. The largest group is the ring brooches with 32 objects. Most of them have an open ring with rolled ends, 24 objects (**80-103**). They are dated to the 11<sup>th</sup> and the 12<sup>th</sup> century and are all made of bronze. Five other open rings are found, either with faceted ends (**104**), funnel-shaped ends (**105, 106**) or animal heads at the ends (**107, 108**). Number **104, 105** and **106** are dated to the 11<sup>th</sup> century and are made of bronze. Three closed rings are also found in Lund, two with braided decor (**109, 110**) and one where half of the closed ring is braided with thin bronze wires (**111**) (Blomqvist 1947: 132; Stenholm 1976: 295-296).

The urnes-style brooches are a large group, 18 objects. Some of them are too eroded (number **1, 2, 12**) or too fragmented (number **3, 14**) to be categorised. However, **1, 3** and **12** are made of bronze and are dated to the second half of the 11<sup>th</sup> century to the beginning of the 12<sup>th</sup> century. Number **1** has a broad dating, found in a layer dated to the middle of the 13<sup>th</sup> century to the beginning of the 15<sup>th</sup> century (Blomqvist 1947: 124, 126; Larsson 1993: 105). Number **2** and **14** are instead gilded. They also have a broad dating, from the middle of the 13<sup>th</sup> century to the beginning of the 15<sup>th</sup> century (Larsson 1993: 104, 106). Some of the urnes-style brooches are of an uncertain type. Number **6** has probably functioned as a model for other urnes-style brooches but has been damaged in the soil. It is made of tin and lead alloy and dated to the 12<sup>th</sup> century (Mårtensson 1972: 147). Number **15** and **18** might have been the same kind of brooch and can be related to Westergren's type 33-34 which he described as motifs similar to those on rune stones. They are both made of bronze (Larsson 1993: 105; Carelli & Lenntorp 1994: 119). Number **10** is also difficult to categories and should perhaps instead be categorised as an open-work brooch with

winged dragons. It is made of bronze and dated to the second fourth of the 12<sup>th</sup> century. Number **13** has not been categorised since it does neither resemble any other brooch found in South West Scania, any of Westergren's types or other urnes-style brooches that are depicted in various publications. The object seems to be a unique one and it depicts an animal rolled up in a circle. Number **5**, **7**, **8** and **9** can all be categorised to Westergren's type 1-22 which he described as the typical urnes-style, naturalistic and slim animals. Although, number **8** and **9** are probably not finished which makes it difficult to distinguish all details and features. Number **7** is similar to Westergren's brooch number 16 from Copenhagen and number **5** is similar to Westergren's brooch number 16 from Oslo (compare, Westergren 1986: 7, 16). They are made of bronze and copper alloys and dated to the second half of the 11<sup>th</sup> century-12<sup>th</sup> century (Blomqvist 1947: 124, 126; Stenholm 1976: 207, 296). Number **11** is made of bronze and relates to Westergren's type 23-28 which resembles winged dragons (Westergren 1986: 8). Number **4** is made of bronze and dated to the second half of the 11<sup>th</sup> century. It is categorised by Westergren as type 35-43, more precisely number 41, which he describes as simplistically made, smaller and in lower quality than other urnes-style brooches (compare, Westergren 1986: 9). The last two urnes-style brooches are quite similar to each other. Number **17** is made of bronze and identical to Westergren's brooch number 45 found in Copenhagen. Number **16** is also made of bronze and dated to the 11<sup>th</sup> century. This brooch is similar to number **17**, although, it also resembles Westergren's type 29-32 which he described as dragon-like animals with stretched tongue (compare, Mårtensson & Wahlöö 1970: 62; Westergren 1986: 8-9, 17-18).

Three open-work brooches have also been found in Lund. These brooches do not resemble the Ålborg-group described above. Number **74** is made of bronze and dated to the 11<sup>th</sup> century. No similar find has been made elsewhere. Number **72** is also made of bronze and dated to the second half of the 11<sup>th</sup> century. This brooch could have been crafted in Lund with influences from Oriental motifs and styles and probably depicts a bird or a dragon (Blomqvist & Mårtensson 1961: 58, 64). The last open-work brooch from Lund, number **73**, depicts a gryphon, made of gilded bronze and dated to the 12<sup>th</sup> century.

13 hat-shaped brooches have been found in Lund (**19-32**). They are mostly made of bronze, but two are made of tin, one has traces of being gilded and one has traces of enamel and are all dated to the 11<sup>th</sup> and 12<sup>th</sup> century. Number **29** is fragmentary and number **28** is probably a workshop find (Blomqvist 1947: 124, 127; Blomqvist & Mårtensson 1961: 195; Stenholm 1976: 294-296). Number **19-22**, **25**, **28** and **30-32** are similar to each other.

20 bracteate/coin brooches have been found in Lund (**33-52**). These objects are made of bronze or tin where one is probably gilded. On number **44** and **45**, the inscription VLFKILILVDAN (Ulfkil in Lund) is visible and they are dated to 1080-1086. Number **37**, **42**, **47** and **49** have been dated to 1035-1065, however, Blomqvist and Mårtensson argued that number **37** could not be dated earlier than 1044 due to the motif on the brooch (Blomqvist & Mårtensson 1961: 32; Stenholm 1976: 206, 298; Carelli & Lenntorp 1994: 119). The dress brooches **33**, **37**, **38**, **42** and **48**, are similar to each other, depict two human figures and could probably be said to derive or have been influenced by the same area. Number **43** was probably inspired by Anglo-Saxon coins from the 11<sup>th</sup> century, dated to the first half of the 11<sup>th</sup> century, and number **40** was instead influenced by Arabic coins, dating to the second half of the 12<sup>th</sup> century (Stenholm 1976: 206). Stenholm argued that coin brooch number **39** could have been crafted in Goslar in today's Germany and is dated to 1063-1069 due to the motif (Stenholm 1976: IV). Number **35** and **36** are similar to each other and are probably made to resemble some kind of writing. Number **52** is very fragmented but could perhaps be the remains of a bracteate/coin brooch. According to Kulturens archive, the bracteate/coin brooches are dated to the 11<sup>th</sup> and the 12<sup>th</sup> century. Number **50** has been found together with a chain, which could indicate that some of these brooches probably were worn in pairs. Number **33-34**, **42-44** and **47-51** could therefore be interpreted as to have been used in this way due to the hoop that is attached to the objects.

12 disc brooches have been found in Lund (**53-64**). Like the other categories mentioned above, these are also made of either tin or bronze, where one is gilded. They are dated to the 11<sup>th</sup> and 12<sup>th</sup> century. Number **61** stands out with ornaments of a protruding flower. Number **56** and **59** are identical to each other and

depicts an interlaced cross. The others have varied decoration and some of them are domed (Blomqvist & Mårtensson 1961: 193-195; Mårtensson & Wahlöö 1970: 62; Mårtensson 1972:137; Stenholm 1976: 295-297). Two of them, **62** and **63**, are fragmented but concentric circles have been pressed into the surface and are made of bronze. Number **62** is dated to the second half of the 12<sup>th</sup> century and they are both interpreted as workshop finds (Stenholm 1976: 296). The last object, number **64**, is very fragmented, but the protruding circles are similar to disc brooch number **53** and could perhaps be the remaining parts of a similar object.

Four enamel brooches have been found in Lund (**66-69**) as well as objects with different framed stones. One of them, number **66**, is an Anglo-Saxon-Scandinavian enamel brooch made of a gilded base (LUHM's archive). The base of number **67** is made of bronze and has probably derived from Continental areas, made of champlevé technique and is dated to the 1020s. The last enamel brooches, made of bronze (**69**), do not contain any enamel in its current state but was probably intended for enamel inlays. Another brooch made of tin (**68**) is similar to the last but probably not intended for enamel due to the low melting point of the metal. They are both dated to the 11<sup>th</sup> century or the middle of the 11<sup>th</sup> century (Stenholm 1976: 295, 297-298). However, the two brooches probably derived from the same area. The two brooches meant to frame stones are made of silver (**70**) and tin (**71**). Number **70** is small and frames a red stone. The stone in number **71** has been removed but was probably quartz. Filigree work is also visible, and the object is dated to the 12<sup>th</sup> century (Mårtensson & Wahlöö 1970: 62; Mårtensson 1972: 137).

One alsengem has been found in Lund (**79**). This object depicts two figures holding hands (type 2), made of blue and white glass and dated to the 12<sup>th</sup> century (Mårtensson & Wahlöö 1970: 80).

One bird-shaped brooch has also been found in Lund (**65**). This object is made of lead and dated to the 1020-1050s (Stenholm 1976: 295). It resembles Pedersen's type 2, although not much ornamentation is visible on the brooch, if any at all (compare, Pedersen 2001: 22).

Three brooches that are dated and connected to the Viking Age have been found in Lund: an oval brooch, a trefoil brooch and a Gotlandic box brooch. The oval brooch (**78**) is open-worked and made of bronze. The trefoil brooch (**76**) is made of bronze and dated to the 10<sup>th</sup> century. According to Blomqvist, this is the oldest dress brooch that has been found in Lund. The Gotlandic box brooch (**77**) is made of bronze and silver and dated to the second half of the 12<sup>th</sup> century (Blomqvist 1947: 121-122; Mårtensson 1967: 117-119).

### 2.3.3 Uppåkra

In early medieval Uppåkra, four urnes-style brooches, five open-work brooches, three bird-shaped brooches and one enamel brooch have been found. Urnes-style brooch **114** and **115** resemble each other and are similar to number **7** in Lund. Number **115** is dated to the end of the 11<sup>th</sup> century. Both number **112** and **113**, are dated to the first half of the 12<sup>th</sup> century. They all resemble Westergren's type 1-22, the typical urnes-style, and similar examples have also been found in Lund (**5, 6, 7, 8**) (compare, Westergren 1986: 7; Hårdh 2010: 265, 315; Tegnér 1999: 233- 234). No picture has been published for open-work brooch **118** and therefore not much can be said about this brooch, except that it is dated to the 11<sup>th</sup> century. Open-work brooches number **117**, **119** and **120** with winged dragons are very similar to each other. Number **117** and **119** are dated to the 11<sup>th</sup> century and number **116** is dated to the 12<sup>th</sup> century. The latter object is different from the others, more connected to an Agnus Dei-motif, although it lacks the typical cross-figure (Tegnér 1999: 233; Hårdh 2010: 255, 265, 315). All these brooches could be said to be part of or related to the Ålborg-group (compare, Røstad 2012: 187-189). The enamel brooch (**124**) is different from the other enamel brooches. It depicts a black figure on a white-yellow background that has been interpreted as a heraldic eagle. It probably derives from southern Germany (Tegnér 1999: 233). The last brooches found in Uppåkra are three bird-shaped brooches. No picture was included for brooch number **123**, therefore, no further description could be made for this object. Number **121** and **122** are both dated to the 12<sup>th</sup> century or beginning of the 13<sup>th</sup> century (Hårdh 2010: 258, 268, 315). They are



similar to Pedersen's type 2, the same type as the one from Lund, number **65**, but these have richly ornated feathers (compare, Pedersen 2001: 22).

#### 2.3.4 Hjärup

Eight dress brooches have been found in Hjärup, one bird-shaped brooch, a coin brooch, one ring brooch and five urnes-style brooches. The bird-shaped brooch (**125**) is made of copper alloy and dated to the 11<sup>th</sup> century. It resembles Pedersen's type 2 with ornated feathers and resembles number **65** in Lund and **121** and **122** in Uppåkra (compare, Pedersen 2001: 22). The coin brooch (**128**) is made of bronze and probably depicts the king Sven Estridsen (1047-1074). The ring brooch (**129**) has an open ring with rolled ends. It is made of bronze and is dated to the mid-11<sup>th</sup>-12<sup>th</sup> century. The urnes-style brooches are all made of copper alloys. Number **126** and **127** are dated to the 11<sup>th</sup> century-the beginning of the 12<sup>th</sup> century (Larsson 1995: 27; Schmidt Sabo 2008: 17-18; Schmidt Sabo 2011a: 36-41). Number **126** resembles Westergren's type 1-22 and number **8** in Lund and number **127** resembles Westergren's brooch number 57, which are almost identical and perhaps made in the same mould (Westergren 1986: 7, 19). Number **130**, **131** and **132** have recently been found and will be described in an excavation report that has not yet been published (Bolander & Söderberg, manus). Number **130** resembles Westergren's brooch number 45 from Copenhagen which he stated could not be categorised any further (Westergren 1985: 18). The brooch is almost identical to number **17** in Lund and was perhaps made in the same mould. Number **131** resembles Westergren's type 23-28 and is similar to number **11** in Lund and the fragmented object from Gudahagen, Näsum (fig. 2). Number **132** is fragmented and only a small part is left of the brooch but has been interpreted as an urnes-style brooch.

#### 2.3.5 Fjellie

One ring brooch and one enamel brooch have been found in Fjellie. The ring brooch (**133**) has a closed, flat and wide ring with no ornamentation. It is made of bronze with silver plating (Carlie & Lindberg 2016: 125). The enamel brooch (**134**) is dated to the 11<sup>th</sup> century. It is an Anglo-Saxon-Scandinavian enamel brooch, the same type that has been found in Lund (**66**) (Lindberg, Schmidt Sabo & Brorsson 2019: 137).

#### 2.3.6 Kyrkheddinge

A rather eroded disc brooch (**135**) have been found in Kyrkheddinge. It is made of bronze and dated to 1200-1350s (Schmidt Sabo 1998: 99-100). Ornaments have been engraved on the object which probably depicts a flower.

#### 2.3.7 Örja

In Örja, 6 dress brooches have been found: one enamel brooch, one bracteate brooch, one open-worked brooch and three urnes-style brooches. The enamel brooch (**136**) is a cross-enamel brooch with blue, yellow, red and green enamel and dated to the 10<sup>th</sup> century. The bracteate brooch (**141**) is made of copper alloy and depicts a bird holding a snake in its mouth and the style could be dated to Late Viking Age/Early Middle Ages. The urnes-style brooches are made out of copper alloys (**140**), silver (**137**) and gilded copper alloys (**138**). For number **140** and **137**, no pictures or descriptions were included in the excavation reports which makes a classification impossible (Schmidt Sabo 2013: 45-46). Number **138** resembles Westergren's type 1-22 (compare, Westergren 1986: 8). The open-work brooch, number **139**, is made of gilded copper alloy and resembles the brooches that have been found in Uppåkra (**117**, **119**, **120**).

#### 2.3.8 Önnerup

A large ring brooch (**142**) has been found in Önnerup. It has a closed, flat and wide ring with geometrical ornamentation. It is one of the larger dress brooches found in early medieval urban and rural contexts (Pettersson 1996: 46).

#### 2.3.9 Naffentorp

Four dress brooches have been found in Naffentorp, two ring brooches, one urnes-style brooch and one enamel brooch. One ring brooch (**143**) has a closed, flat and wide ring with geometrical ornamentation, the same as the one in Önnerup (**142**). The other ring brooch (**144**) has a closed, circular and narrow ring and is gilded. Both ring brooches have been dated to the Middle Ages or the Early Middle Ages. The urnes-style brooch (**145**) is made of gilded bronze and is dated to the Viking Age/Early Middle Ages. This brooch does not resemble any of the other urnes-style brooches found in South West Scania, but a similar find has been made in Borre in Denmark. The enamel brooch (**146**) is a cross-enamel brooch with a white cross and red background. It is also dated to the Viking Age/Early Middle Ages (Olsson, Ingwald & Paulsson-Holmberg 2005: 137-139).

#### 2.3.10 Oxie

Two dress brooches have been found in Oxie, one ring brooch and one coin brooch. The ring brooch (**147**) has a closed, circular and narrow ring with one half spirally twisted and made of silver. Although, it is stated in the publication that this object also could have been an earring, but the object resembles ring brooches from Lund in later periods (Jönsson & Brorsson 2003: 180; compare Isberg 2016, nr 86, 87, 90, 91 in *Bilaga 3*). The coin brooch (**148**) is made of bronze and probably depicts the king Sven Estridsen (1047-1074), the same type that has been retrieved in Hjärup (**128**) (Jönsson & Brorsson 2003: 181-182).

#### 2.3.11 Hyllie

One ring brooch (**149**) has been found in Hyllie. It has a closed, flat and wide ring, with the fragmented inscription *DEVSL*. The brooch is made of silver and has been dated to the late 12<sup>th</sup> century or the beginning of the 13<sup>th</sup> century (Kockum & Persson 2007: 140-141).

#### 2.3.12 Fosie

Two urnes-style brooches (**150, 151**) have been found in Fosie. The descriptions of the brooches state that they are made of copper alloys and precious metal. Although, no further descriptions or pictures are included in the excavation reports which makes a classification impossible (Björhem & Dahlström 2007: 32).

#### 2.3.13 Bunkeflo

Six dress brooches have been found in Bunkeflo. Two similar disc brooches (**155, 156**) made of bronze were found. Both have concentric circles pressed into the surface and made of copper alloys (Lövgren et al. 2007: 262). Two similar brooches have been found in Lund, number **62** and **63**, and one of them (**62**) has been dated to the 12<sup>th</sup> century. One alsengem (**157**) of type 2 was found in Bunkeflo, the same type that was found in Lund (**79**). The object is dated to the time before the middle of the 13<sup>th</sup> century. An enamel, urnes-style and bird-shaped brooch have also been found. The enamel brooch (**152**) is a cross-enamel brooch dated to mid-11<sup>th</sup>-12<sup>th</sup> century. The enamel is blue and white, and the metal is gilded copper alloys. The urnes-style brooch (**153**) is made of gilded copper alloy and dated to 1050-1150s. The animal is backwards-looking and resembles an Agnus Dei-motif with a backwards-looking lamb (compare with the motif on a brooch from Ösarp/Köpinge area in Halland, Håkansson 2017: 244). The last brooch,

bird-shaped brooch **154**, is made of copper alloy and dated to 1020-1050s (Lövgren et al. 2007: 261, 264). This brooch resembles Pederson's type 2, the same type that was found in Lund (**61**), in Hjärrup (**125**) and in Uppåkra (**121** and **122**), but all the bird-shaped brooches from South West Scania are all ornated in different ways (Pedersen 2001: 22).

#### 2.3.14 Särslöv, Västra Klagstorp, Djurslöv and Önsvala

Two dress brooches have been found in Särslöv, a ring brooch and an urnes-style brooch. The ring brooch (**158**) has an open ring with rolled ends. It has been dated to the Late Viking Age (Kriig & Thomasson 1999: 30, 32). The urnes-style brooch (**159**) is difficult to categorise due to the current condition, but could probably resemble Westergren's type 35-43, but the characteristic loop cannot be identified (Westergren 1986: 9; Bolander 2016: 64, 117). Both brooches are made of bronze.

In Västra Klagstorp, the same type of ring brooch as in Särslöv has been found, although, this one (**160**) is made of copper alloy (Serlander et al. 2001).

An urnes-style brooch (**161**) has been found in Djurslöv which is made of copper alloy and has been dated to the Late Viking Age/Early Middle Ages (Stark, 2019 manus: 10, 22, 35). This brooch is almost similar to the urnes-style brooch from Särslöv (**159**).

Two dress brooches have been found in Önsvala, one disc brooch and a ring brooch. The disc brooch (**162**) is dated to the Early Middle Ages. It depicts an interlaced cross and is almost identical to number **56** and **59** from Lund. The disc brooch from Önsvala was found in a female grave in a cemetery outside Önsvala. The ring brooch (**163**) has a closed, circular and narrow ring with no decorations and is made of bronze (Larsson 2013: 143, 146, 156-157).

## 2.4 Results

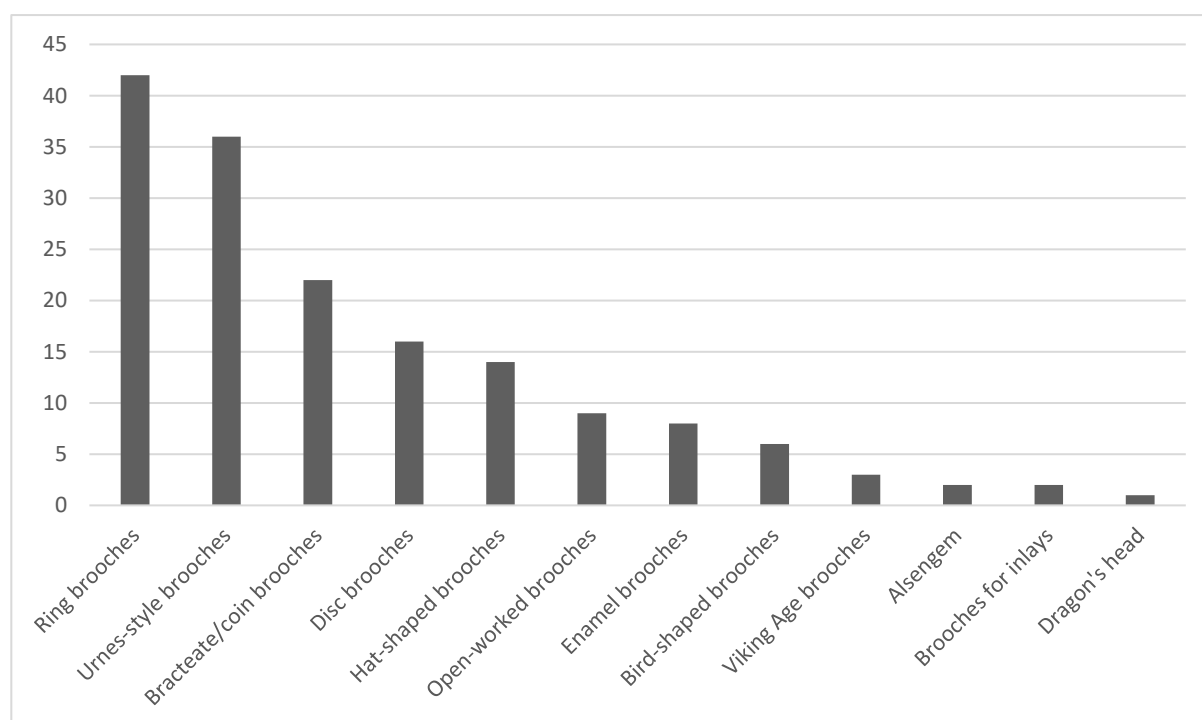
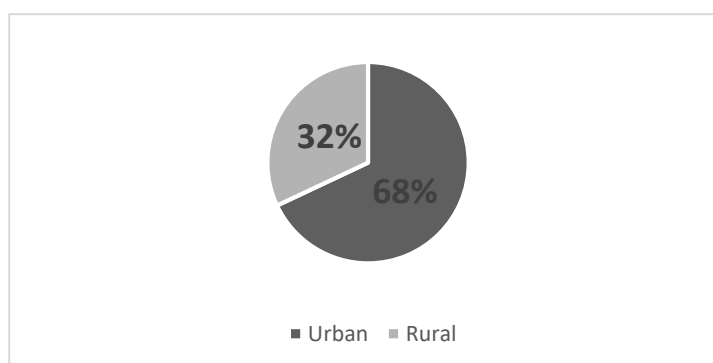


Figure 4. Graph of the quantity of each type from all sites in South West Scania concerned in this thesis. By Anna Isberg.



A total of 163 early medieval dress brooches have been found from both urban and rural sites in South West Scania. 111 finds derive from Lund and 52 have been found on rural sites. Observing the dress brooches from all the sites, the ring brooches (42) and the urnes-style brooches (36) are the largest groups followed by bracteate/coin brooches (22), disc brooches (16), hat-shaped brooches (14), enamel brooches (8), open-work brooches (9), bird-shaped brooches (6), Viking Age



*Figure 5. Graph of the quantity of early medieval dress brooches from urban and rural sites in South West Scania. By Anna Isberg*

brooches (3), alsengem (2), brooches for inlays (2) and lastly a dragon's head (1) (fig. 4). Although, 68 percent of the objects have been found in Lund and only 32 on rural sites (fig. 5). In Lund, the ring brooches are the largest group (32), followed by the, bracteate/coin brooches (20), urnes-style brooches (18), hat-shaped brooches (14), disc brooches (12), enamel brooches (4), open-work brooches (3), Viking Age brooches (3), brooches for inlays (2), bird-shaped brooches (1), alsengem (1) and lastly a dragon's head (1) (fig. 6). On rural sites, the urnes-style brooches are instead the largest group (18), followed by the ring brooches (10), open-work brooches (6), bird-shaped and enamel brooches (5 objects each), disc brooches (4), bracteate/coin brooches (3) and lastly alsengem (1) (fig. 7). Even though there are differences in frequency, it is still the same kind of dress brooches that are present at the sites in general. It is interesting that there is not a large quantity of Viking Age objects present at the early medieval settlements, only three examples have been found in Lund. However, no hat-shaped brooches are found on rural sites and the frequency of different types differ between the places. Most of the brooches are quite small, approximately 20-30 millimetres in size but there are both smaller and larger examples. No difference between urban and rural sites have been identified concerning the size or the kind of material used for the objects. Most of them are made of bronze or copper alloys with examples of gilded objects and other types of metal. However, no precious metals have been found in Hjärup, Kyrkheddinge, Särslöv, Västra Klagstorp, Djurslöv or Önsvala.

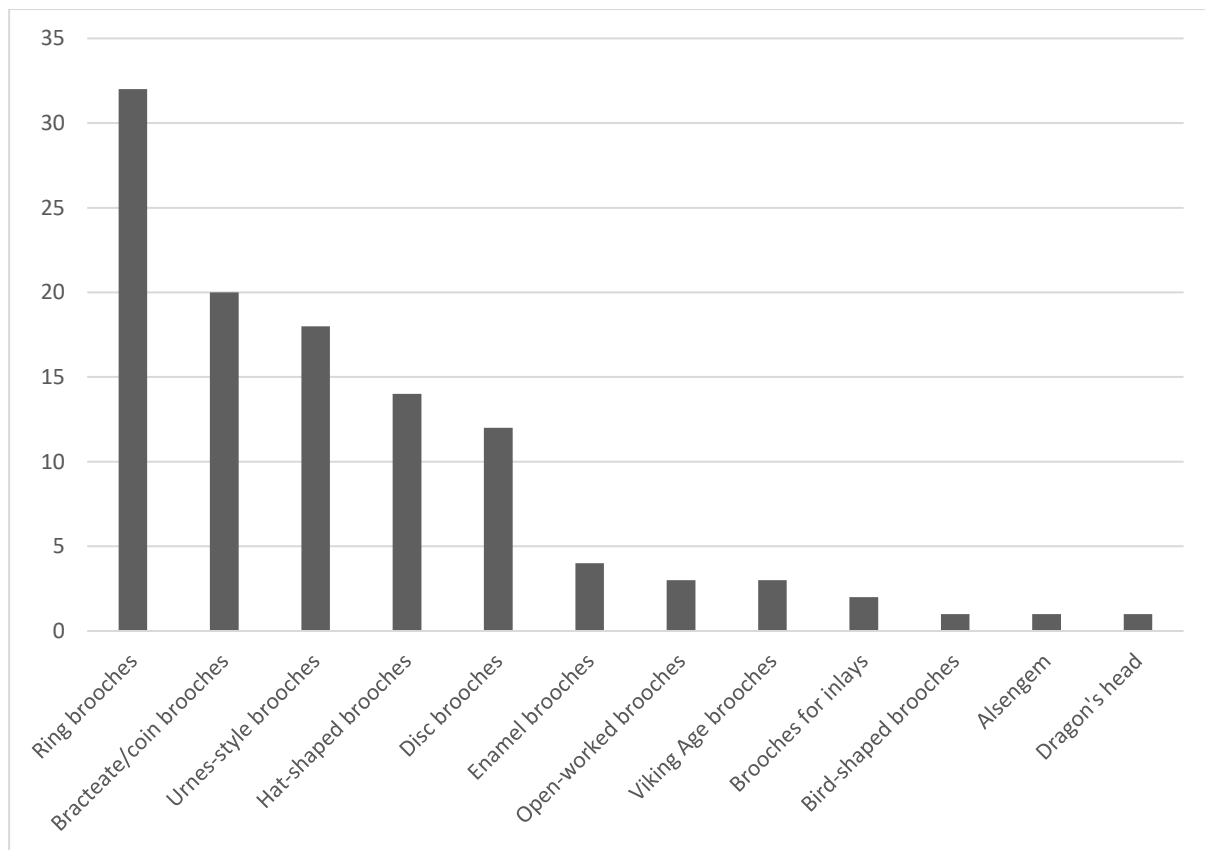


Figure 6. Graph of the quantity of each type from the urban site, Lund. By Anna Isberg.

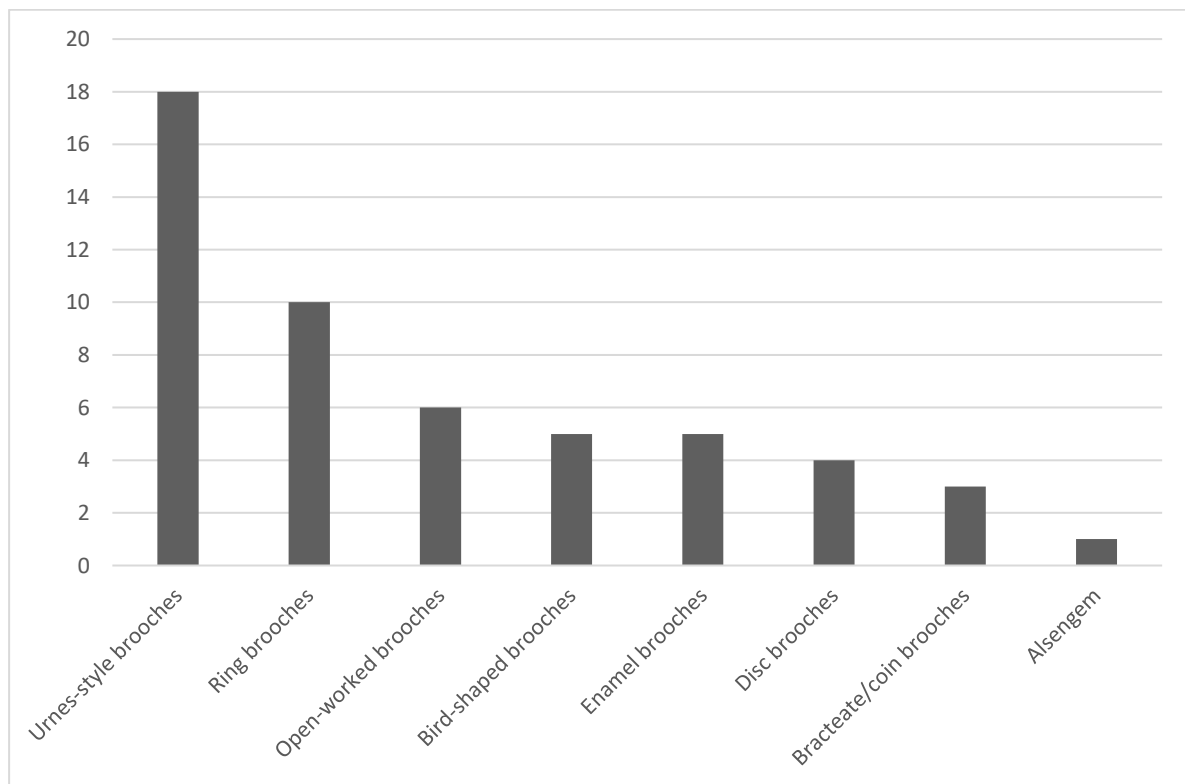


Figure 7. Graph of the quantity of each type from rural sites in South West Scania. By Anna Isberg.

Some of the dress brooches are similar to each other, where figure 8 presents the types and the objects as well as the site from which they have been retrieved, excluding the urnes-style brooches which will be presented further down. Many of the brooches found in Lund are similar to each other, for example different kinds of ring brooches, hat-shaped brooches, bracteate/coin brooches and disc brooches. Some specific examples are also found at both urban and rural sites. All the bird-shaped brooches resemble each other and belong to the same type. Some open-worked brooches depicting winged dragons, that are similar to the Ålborg-group, are found in Lund, Uppåkra and Örja. The alsengems are also of the same type and style. Two coin brooches that depict the same king are found in Hjärrup and Oxie. Also, two disc brooches found in Lund (56, 59) are almost identical to an object found in Önsvala. Lastly, two open-work brooches that resemble the Agnus Dei-motif are found in both Uppåkra and Bunkeflo. It is not just within one site that resemblance is visible but also among different sites, regardless if it is an urban or a rural site.

Type	Site and number
Ring brooches, open rings, rolled ends	Lund 80–103 Hjärrup 129 Särslöv 158 Västra Klagstorp 160
Ring brooch, closed ring, geometrical ornamentation	Önnerup 142 Naffentorp 143
Ring brooches, closed ring, braided ornamentation	Lund 109, 110
Ring brooches, open ring, funnel-shaped ends	Lund 105, 106
Hat-shaped brooches	Lund 19–22, 25, 28, 30–32
Bracteate/coin brooches, human figures	Lund 33, 37, 38, 42, 48
Bracteate/coin brooches, VLFKILILVDAN	Lund 44, 45
Bracteate/coin brooches, resemble writing	Lund 35, 36
Coin brooches, Sven Estridsen	Hjärrup 128 Oxie 148
Disc brooches with interlaced crosses	Lund 56, 59 Önsvala 162
Disc brooches with concentric circles	Lund 62, 63 Bunkeflo 155, 156
Bird-shaped brooches	Lund 65 Uppåkra 121, 122 Hjärrup 125 Bunkeflo 154
Anglo-Saxon-Scandinavian enamel brooches	Lund 66 Fjellie 134
Open-work brooches, with winged dragons	Lund 10 Uppåkra 117, 119, 120 Örja 139
Open-work brooches, Agnus Dei- motif	Uppåkra 116 Bunkeflo 153
Alsengem	Lund 79 Bunkeflo 157

Figure 8. Chart of types and objects that are similar to each other, excluding urnes-style brooches. By Anna Isberg.

Westergren's type	Site and number	Identical objects
<b>1-22</b> , typical urnes-style, naturalistic and slim animals	Lund 5, 7, 8, 9 Uppåkra 112, 113, 114, 115 Hjärup 126 Örja 138	7, 114 and 115
<b>23-28</b> , winged dragons	Lund 11 Hjärup 131	11 and 131
<b>29-32</b> , dragon-like animals with stretched tongue	Lund 16?	
<b>33-34</b> , similar motifs as on rune stones	Lund 15, 18	
<b>35-43</b> , simplistically made, smaller and in a lower quality	Lund 4 Särslöv 159 Djurslöv 161	159 and 161
<b>Other</b> , objects that do not fit into any other group	Lund 17 Hjärup 130	17 and 130

Figure 9. Chart of urnes-style brooches that present Westergren's types and which objects that are similar to each type. It also presents which objects that are similar to each other. By Anna Isberg.

Continuing with the urnes-style brooches, these objects are in many ways different to each other and many subtypes are visible in the material. Although, some of them are identical as seen in figure 9. 21 objects match Westergren's categorisation, where the largest group is part of the typical urnes-style with naturalistic and slim animals. Only a few objects are part of the other groups. However, there are also variations within these groups, but number **7**, **114** and **115**, **11** and **131**, **159** and **161** and **17** and **130** are almost identical to each other and could perhaps have been casted in the same mould. All the identical or similar urnes-style brooches have one or more objects represented in Lund. Four of the objects do not relate to Westergren's types (Lund **13** and **10**, Naffentorp **145** and Bunkeflo **153**) and six objects are too eroded or fragmented to categorise (Lund **1**, **2**, **3**, **12**, **14** and Hjärup **132**). Number **6** from Lund probably was a model for a mould that has been discarded and fragmented and therefore difficult to categorise. Number **10** and **153** have been categorised as urnes-style brooches in earlier research, but a closer examination of the objects concludes that they probably are remains of objects related to the Ålborg-group. Number **145** from Naffentorp is the most differentiated urnes-style brooch. It does not depict an animal in profile, as all the other brooches do, but from the top almost resembling Borre-style, an earlier animal ornamentation. Number **11** and **131** are also similar to the urnes-style brooch from Gudahagen, Näsrum, but this object is fragmented and only the main part of the dragon is left (fig. 2). Four of the objects were not depicted or described in the excavation reports and therefore, no further categorisation could be made in these cases (**137**, **140**, **150**, **151**). In conclusion, the urnes-style brooches are different from each other and only a few of them are identical. Although, many of them possess similar attributes and can be categorised into Westergren's larger groups.

The early medieval dress brooches from South West Scania are in general quite similar to each other with differences of ornamentation and frequency among the sites and within the types. Further on, a discussion will be held about the differences and similarities among the dress brooches connected to the function and interpretation of the sites presented earlier in the analysis. There will also be a comparison with other material, for example dress brooches from Halland. The last chapter in this thesis will discuss and try to answer the research questions in connection with the theoretical perspectives discussed above.

## 3.0 Discussion

### 3.1 Initial comments

The aim of this thesis is to understand the differences and similarities among the early medieval dress brooches in South West Scania, to investigate contacts and contact areas as well as to discuss urban and rural identities. The analysis has contributed to a number of observations concerning the frequency of types, distribution of specific objects and differences and similarities between urban and rural sites. In these following chapters, I will discuss the results of the analysis and interpret the patterns and observations. The discussion will mainly concern specific types of dress brooches, frequency of certain objects as well as urban and rural identities.

However, I would first like to comment on the consequences of the delimitations in this study. The area that has been concerned is quite small and this limit did perhaps contribute to a certain degree of similitude. A larger area would perhaps indicate greater differences due to that places situated nearby each other are more likely to have stronger contact. The area around Lund and Malmö was chosen due to the extensive investigations and therefore also greater likelihood to gather a larger material. However, as mentioned in the first part of this thesis, this should only be seen as an initial study and a strive towards incorporating small artefacts in the discussion of urban and rural identities. As Roslund and Harkel advocated, the small artefacts are important when trying to understand the individuals. A town only exists when the people consider themselves as townspeople and therefore, the small artefacts need to be taken into consideration when researching urbanity and rurality. As the material in this thesis has not been studied to a large extent before, it is an important piece in understanding the early medieval South West Scania.

### 3.2 Similarities and differences - frequency between urban and rural sites

Starting with the differences in the material, one of the most distinct observations is that almost twice as many objects have been found in Lund compared to the rural sites, even if more rural sites have been incorporated in the analysis (fig. 5). As discussed in chapter 1.6 *Method*, this pattern depends partly on the irregularity of archaeological excavations and the methods that have been used. Far more investigations have been carried out in Lund compared to the rural sites. However, excavations in towns do not presuppose the use of a metal detector, for example, when Blomqvist was writing the first article about the dress brooches found in Lund, metal detectors had not been used, but Blomqvist still published a large material in his article. Even if metal detectors have been used in excavations at rural sites during the last decades, there are still more dress brooches retrieved in Lund during excavations where a metal detector was not incorporated. The question is if metal detectors had been incorporated in all excavations, how much more objects would have been found? There would probably have been an even greater material from Lund as well as from the rural sites.

However, I believe that the pattern represents the differences in the percentage of objects that were present at urban and rural sites at the time. This corresponds to how the dress brooches were worn and eventually also lost. The majority of the brooches were probably not holding any clothes due to most of them being quite small in size. Some of them could possibly have fastened a lightweight material, but the pin on an object that is only 20 or 30 millimetres in size was probably too thin to carry any larger pieces of cloth, for example a heavy cape (fig. 10). Therefore, many of them were probably worn as an eye-catching brooch or possibly in the neck slit. Larger brooches, that also are present in the material from South West Scania, were then possibly more practical than smaller ones and also perhaps retrieved to a larger extent due to that people needed them in order to wear their clothes. Torben Trier

Christiansen argued that the dress brooches that are retrieved outside of deliberately deposited contexts could have been lost without the person's knowledge of the event. In busy activity areas, recovering a brooch would not have been effortless, especially if it was dark or snowy. Christiansen also points out that in these cases, perhaps the size and the colour of the brooch mattered (Christiansen 2019: 30-31). The probability of finding a lost item was also dependent on the ground, where hard, compact and dry surfaces probably were more favourable than mud. Therefore, it is more likely that a large object is found than small ones, regardless of the object's colour. However, bright coloured brooches might have been easier to recognise if it contrasted to the surface. In these respects, the more objects that were circulating at one site, the greater the likelihood to archaeologically find a larger material. One hundred persons would probably have dropped a higher percentage than ten persons. Although, in the medieval period, approximately 5 percent of the population was living in urban sites while 95 percent was living in the countryside (Augustsson 1991: 310, 314). This could perhaps indicate that there were less activity and fewer people wearing dress brooches in rural sites making it easier to retrieve a brooch, but the contrast in frequency is too distinct to account this as the only explanation.



*Figure 10. Ring brooch number 83 from Lund, a visual example of how thin the pin could have been. The object is 24 millimetres in size. Photo: Kulturen.*

Comparing the rural material from South West Scania with the dress brooches from early medieval villages in Halland, both similarities and differences can be observed. The same kinds of brooches are present in both areas, for example, urnes-style brooches, ring brooches, alsengems and disc brooches. However, the frequency of different types varies. For example, the urnes-style brooches are found in a quite large number in South West Scania and present at almost all sites whereas in Halland, only two or perhaps three objects have been retrieved (Håkansson 2017: 241-246). The pictures of these brooches displayed in Håkansson's thesis are difficult to categorise, but the object found in Tölö seems to correlate to number 17 from Lund and number 130 from Hjärrup. However, the same objects circulated in both areas in general and were probably part of the same Danish tradition during the Early Middle Ages. Relatively few objects have been retrieved in Halland and Håkansson argued that it indicates that metal jewellery was not used by everyone during this period. The dress brooches are more common on large farmsteads and could therefore also depend on socio-economic variations among the villages' inhabitants (Håkansson 2017: 223-225, 247-249). Based on these arguments, perhaps more people were wearing dress brooches in towns and could be seen as one of the reasons for the differences between the sites. Although, I do believe that all people did wear dress brooches during the early medieval period since they did not only express symbolic meaning but also were practical objects. Perhaps simpler everyday ring brooches are more easily destroyed in the soil and, as mentioned before, decorative objects were perhaps lost unnoticed due to the impracticality of the items. Nevertheless, the material still speaks of a greater absence in the villages than in Lund.

As both Scania and Halland were part of the Danish kingdom during the Middle Ages, it is not surprising that they acquired similar traditions and consumption patterns. However, it is interesting to note that these areas seem to choose new ways of designing brooches at approximately the same time. The same kinds of dress brooches are also found in for example a few places in Eastern Scania and Norway. A further investigation of the areas would perhaps illuminate these patterns even more. However, the same kinds of dress brooches seem to have been available in all areas and worn by the people living there. This would perhaps indicate and strengthen the notion that the process from the Viking age traditions to a new social order was gradual and accepted by the people that came to live under the reign of the Danish kings, as Schmidt Sabo also argued. A sudden or a forced change would perhaps not have manifested itself in the material culture in such a large area at approximately the same time. The

new ways of living were perhaps interesting and attractive for different social groups in the society as well as the new Christian religion (Carelli 2012: 29). It might also strengthen Schmidt Sabo's and Söderberg's arguments that it was the persons living at the large farmsteads that were the driving and controlling force in the Early Middle Ages. The large farmsteads were built to maintain and control different resources and probably affected the rest of the people in the village that then also adopted the new ways of living (Schmidt Sabo & Söderberg 2012: 159; 2019: 30, 38).

In Scania, large farmsteads are found in almost all villages, but early medieval dress brooches have not been found at every rural site. Therefore, I think it is problematic to connect the presence of certain types of dress brooches with an elite or the people living on the larger farmsteads. A dress brooch found on a specific farmstead might not have belonged to the person living there but could have been dropped by a visitor. In this respect, I want to stress that the presence of dress brooches might tell us more about contact areas and connections rather than certain social identities of specific individuals. Based on the diversity of the distribution of certain types of dress brooches and how frequent they are, it seems like sites in South West Scania had more contact with each other than with, for example, villages in Halland. More dress brooches have been found in villages in Wester Scania and several examples are also similar to objects from Lund.

A diverse distribution of the specific types of dress brooches is visible among the villages in South West Scania. Similar assemblages are not visible on sites with comparable structures or organisation. For example, connections between large farmsteads and Trelleborg houses with larger quantities of dress brooches or specific objects cannot be observed. Trelleborg houses have been found in Naffentorp and Bunkeflo, both with larger numbers of dress brooches, but not in Hjärup or Uppåkra, that represent the largest quantities. The same type of house has also been found in the large village of Lockarp which has been interpreted as superior in comparison to other villages in the same area, however, no dress brooches were found there. Both Örja and Hjärup differentiated themselves from other villages with exceptionally large farmsteads, however, similar dress brooches have also been found in Uppåkra and Bunkeflo. Examples of bird-shaped brooches have been found in Uppåkra, Hjärup and Bunkeflo but not in, for example, Naffentorp. In comparison, open-work brooches depicting winged dragons have only been found in Lund, Uppåkra and Örja (number 10, 117, 119, 120, 139) and are all very similar to each other, especially the ones from Lund and Uppåkra. Hyllie is closely situated to Naffentorp and Bunkeflo, but only one ring brooch has been retrieved there. The number of dress brooches does seemingly not correspond to the number of people living at the sites. Therefore, I think it is difficult to draw any further conclusions about the frequency of dress brooches on specific rural sites, but instead discuss the qualitative differences and similarities in the material from each site and also to understand what kind of dress brooches were present at rural and urban sites in general. It is probably not the different types or number of objects that determined the hierarchy of the dress brooches, but perhaps the varieties within each type, as Spiong also recognised. Jenkins explained collective identity as "similarity among and between a plurality of persons" (Jenkins 2014: 105), and the differences and similarities among the dress brooches between urban and rural sites could therefore express communities of pluralism. A detailed qualitative discussion could give indications of contact areas as well as production sites and contacts between sites.

All types that have been retrieved in villages have also been found in Lund, but the same observation is not true in the opposite way, which corresponds to the discussion about urbanity. Even if some urban indications are found at rural sites, all aspects are not present in all villages. Hat-shaped brooches are absent from the rural sites and only a few bracteate/coin brooches have been retrieved. However, the same number of urnes-style brooches have been found in Lund as among the villages. The urnes-style brooches have often been connected to convey contacts with the Danish king, but the absence in the royal demesne Oxie is speaking against this interpretation. Some types seem to have been more common than others both among the urban and rural sites, but the question is why. These questions will be discussed in the following chapter.



### 3.3 Similarities and differences – identical objects and connections

Variations in the production and the derivation can be observed among the early medieval dress brooches. The question of why these brooches were crafted, if they were for example mass-produced or crafted for one specific person, is in many ways complicated to answer. However, due to the differences in frequency of various types, some arguments can be discussed. To start with the urnes-style and bird-shaped brooches, which show great variety in design and style, these objects are found in considerably large numbers in all of the Danish kingdom where perhaps the urnes-style brooch is even more common. These objects seem to have been mass-produced in a range of different qualities. Bjarne Lønborg argued that they were probably not worn by the highest elite in the society due to that several objects show no indications of specialised or outstanding casting or additional after work (Lønborg 1992: 371). This concept was also stressed by Bertelsen who stated that they probably were meant for a larger population due to the vast numbers of objects which show indications of mistakes from the casting (Bertelsen 1992: 358). These arguments could probably also be applied to the bird-shaped brooches as they display great variations in decoration.

However, a rich variety of design within the urnes-style brooches is also distinguishable. Some of the objects are carefully defined and ornated, as for example number 138 from Örja, while some seem to have been roughly made with barely any indications of refined work, as perhaps number 159 from Särslöv or the object from Gudahagen, Näsum (fig. 2). Comparing the material with Spiong's qualitative categories, none of the dress brooches corresponds to the higher levels of qualitative objects. Baastrup argued that the Carolingian/Ottonian enamel, coin and disc brooches were perhaps not very eye-catching due to the vast numbers that were circulating in the Danish kingdom. These brooches should perhaps instead be seen as an indication of strong contacts with Carolingian areas in the 11<sup>th</sup> century instead of being an indication of high status (Baastrup 2009: 230). In conformity with previous arguments, Pedersen also argued that the bird-shaped brooches were simplistically made and should not be connected with, as they sometimes have been, the aristocracy hunting with birds of prey but instead as a Christian symbol that was created in a new society (Pedersen 2001: 52). However, in a comparison of all early medieval dress brooches found in Halland, Håkansson categorised the urnes-style brooches to the highest level of quality along with, for example, coin brooches and Carolingian/Ottonian disc brooches that are made of precious metal (Håkansson 2017: 215). Håkansson's categorisation also implies that it is perhaps not the specific type that is important in the question of social value, but the quality and the material. In comparisons with other early medieval dress brooches, the urnes-style brooches perhaps stand out as one of the types with finer quality, although several other types also include outstanding examples of design and craft. Therefore, arguing that all metal dress brooches have expressed a clear-cut, high-status identification is not sufficient. Identity is not fixed or embedded in an object but relies on context and the process of creating or expressing the identity. Therefore, it is perhaps the variations within the types that determined the social value, for example the type of metal.

In previous research about the ring brooches from Lund, I have argued that the most common types probably were mass-produced while the unusual examples probably were crafted to one specific individual. The patterns corresponded with Carelli's concepts commercialisation, privatisation, individualisation where the crafting became directed towards an anonymous clientele during the Middle Ages at the same time as specific individuals wanted to stand out and communicate their individual identities through certain material culture (Isberg 2016: 31-32). The gathered observations of the types of dress brooches do not demonstrate the same pattern as all types seem to have been used in quite a large extent all over the Danish kingdom. However, the variations of quality are instead visible within each type in terms of material, size and decoration, the same as Håkansson suggested in his discussion about the metal jewellery from Halland (Håkansson 2017: 212). It is perhaps through these elements that the people with higher status or other prominent identities stood out from the rest of the population, where perhaps the specific metal or the skill of the crafter made an object more qualitatively valuable. The same conclusions were stressed by Spiong concerning the material from Central Europe

where he meant that the important factors for displaying a higher quality were for example if the material had been imported, if it was made of precious metals or how skilful the crafter was, and not the specific type of brooch. Therefore, Spiong argued that the Carolingian/Ottonian brooches probably were used by a middle class in Central Europe (Spiong 2000: 119, 176). As Røstad stated, the early medieval dress brooches in South West Scania were probably used by a wide range of people from different social groups. An individual could have stood out in terms of the metal used or how detailed the object was, or perhaps the size of the dress brooch since all of the retrieved objects are quite small. Therefore, some persons at certain rural sites probably stood out from the rest, which stresses the social differences within these sites. Precious metals were probably not available for everyone and by being in possession of these metals, wealthier persons could have expressed their personal identity. Therefore, addressing the rural sites as one social and economic unit is impossible, as both Schmidt Sabo and Håkansson have stressed. No precious metal objects have been retrieved in Hjärup, Kyrkheddinge, Särslöv, Västra Klagstorp, Djurslöv or Önsvala, which also indicated differences among the rural sites as well. However, the early medieval dress brooches were probably produced to a large population where some of them even were mass-produced. Discussing the question of why these objects were produced, the problem of where they were crafted also have to be addressed.

Some of the objects have probably been imported or perhaps influenced by foreign styles and material. Since both urnes-style and bird-shaped brooches were Danish phenomena (they developed and were almost only distributed in the Danish kingdom), these objects were probably produced in Denmark, along with perhaps some hat-shaped, bracteate/coin and enamel brooches made with cloisonné technique. The only larger urnes-style workshops that are known were located in Lund and Sebbarsund (Bertelsen 1992: 352). The bracteate/coin brooches also seem to have been mass-produced in Lund and Cinthio argued that these objects were crafted by goldsmiths that later on became minters. The goldsmiths crafted simpler dress brooches based on European models in the earliest phase of Lund's development (Cinthio 1999: 39, 49). Therefore, the bracteate/coin brooches, enamel brooches, disc brooches, hat-shaped brooches and alsengems were probably produced in the area they derived from or reproduced in Denmark by crafters that were influenced by foreign styles or models, or perhaps Continental craftspersons. In contrast, the ring brooches, urnes-style brooches, open-work brooches and bird-shaped brooches were most likely produced in Denmark based on Danish style tradition. Even if some of these types also could have been influenced by other styles and traditions, they are mainly found in Danish areas and considered to develop there as well.

The exact location for the production is difficult to determine, but some arguments can be put forward. As mentioned above, the urnes-style brooches were probably produced in either Lund or Sebbarsund. There were perhaps more workshops at other sites, but these are the only ones known at this moment. Discussing South West Scania, specialised craft has only been located in the urban centre, Lund. The only metal crafting that has been carried out on rural sites were probably intended for mending or producing simpler everyday objects, except for perhaps Fjelie and Oxie. In this case, some of the ring brooches might have been crafted in the villages, but most of the production was probably located at other sites. To understand this question fully, it would have been interesting to examine the casted objects in detail, more specifically how defined the ornamentation and form are, in order to understand if the same model were used for all identical objects or if the models were reproduced using later examples in the production. This analysis could perhaps indicate how the production was organised and if the objects only were crafted at one specific site, but unfortunately, there was no room for this analysis in this thesis.

However, it is important to point out that the variation among the dress brooches was not only dependent on the demand of the persons wearing the objects but also to some extent on the crafters themselves. The knowledge and skill of the crafters determined what could be done and therefore limited or increased the variation. For example, the Anglo-Saxon-Scandinavian enamel brooches are considered to derive from insular areas due to that the combination of copper and enamel has not been found in Continental areas. This does perhaps not indicate that the crafters did not have the knowledge

of combining copper and enamel, but perhaps that copper was more common in insular areas than other metals used in Continental areas. Considering especially urnes-style brooches and perhaps the bird-shaped brooches, the variations indicates an amount of freedom of creativity among the crafters in South West Scania. It also indicates wealth; people had time for producing various objects and experimenting with designs and were not all dependent on producing food for their own household. The different patterns between urban and rural sites were perhaps then also a result of where the crafting was allowed, and not just where it was located.

Even if a specific set of types were fixed, the variation within these types is clearly observable. It is quite unusual to find identical copies in the material, but some examples have been found (fig. 8). In all these examples, one object is almost always present in Lund, or at least all types containing identical objects are present in Lund. The urnes-style brooches contain the most similar objects with several examples present in Lund (fig. 9). In my opinion, this indicates that most of the dress brooches probably were crafted in Lund. In any case, they were probably not produced at any rural site in South West Scania concerned in this thesis. If many of the types were produced in Lund, more objects probably circulated there and also a higher number of unfinished objects or mistakes. Observing the dress brooches found at rural sites, all of these objects seem to be completed objects with no clear indications of mistakes of some kind. However, some of the objects in Lund have been interpreted as workshop finds, for example some urnes-style, disc, hat-shaped and enamel brooches (number 6, 7, 8, 10, 28, 62, 63, 68, 69). One noteworthy example is an unfinished hat-shaped brooch which has not yet been formed into a round shape (fig. 11). This example also indicates production of hat-shaped brooches in Lund even though they are thought to derive from German areas. The crafters in Lund were perhaps influenced by objects from these areas or asked to produce them by foreigners whose dress brooch had been broken or lost.



*Figure 11. Hat-shaped brooch number 28 from Lund. Photo: Kulturen.*

Perhaps the reason for the different patterns between urban and rural places also depends on provenance or which persons were present at the sites. For example, hat-shaped brooches have only been found in Lund, in quite a large extent. Bracteate/coin brooches are also common in Lund whereas only three objects have been retrieved at rural sites. Other objects that have been interpreted as deriving or inspired by Continental areas also constitute the same pattern. On the other hand, three-quarters of the types that have been interpreted as being based on Danish traditions have been found in rural contexts. However, according to the theoretical discussion, brooches that are said to derive from a specific area does not necessarily have expressed ethnic or cultural belongings. A visitor might have lost their object and therefore bought a new one in order to wear their clothes. The new object did perhaps then not indicate ethnical belonging but might have been connected with long-distance contacts when the person travelled back home again (Ivleva 2017: 82). Even if it is difficult to connect a specific dress brooch with a certain social identity, what these objects do indicate is contact area and connections. Even if the dress brooches were produced in the area they are said to derive from or if the crafters were influenced by a foreign style, the material shows indications of contact areas, perhaps not direct contact but that the two areas in question were aware of each other. In this respect, several early medieval dress brooches indicate contacts or perhaps visitors from Continental areas and are especially present in Lund. This might lead to a conclusion that Lund had closer connections to other areas outside Denmark than the rural sites and also lead into the discussion about urban and rural identities, which is presented in the following chapter.

### 3.4 Urban and rural identities – contributions to the discussion

The discussion has so far led to an observation that there are differences as well as similarities in the dress brooch material between the urban and rural sites. As seen in the analysis, the rural sites have often been interpreted to have been quite similar to Lund in layout and in some cases also the retrieved material. According to Hårdh in 2010, only a small number of finds have been retrieved from the earliest part of Lund (Hårdh 2010: 303). However, in comparison to other sites in South West Scania, a greater number of dress brooches have been found in the town than in the villages. As mentioned in chapter 1.6.1 *Source-criticism and problems with the data collection*, the differences probably partly depend on how extensively a place have been excavated and which methods were used, however, there are still more types retrieved in Lund than on the rural sites, which is a quantitatively important observation, where the town indicates greater variation than the villages. Additionally, the types of dress brooches retrieved from each specific village display an even greater difference to Lund than comparing all the rural sites as a community. However, there are also similarities distinguishable in the material where the same kind of dress brooches circulated in all parts of South West Scania. How can these tendencies and observations contribute to the discussion about urban and rural identities? In my opinion, this clearly indicates different collective identities and belongings, and as Jenkins phrased it, a notion of “a sense of us” (Jenkins 2014: 137). Additionally, Carelli also stated that urban and rural identity can be seen as collective identities that people were aware of (Carelli 2001: 105).

Starting with the similarities, the resemblance in the material indicates a collective community that probably were part of the same traditions. People in major parts of the Danish kingdom seem to have dressed and expressed themselves in the same way according to the dress brooches. Therefore, it is perhaps not just Lund, as a new place and urban centre, that adopted the new, perhaps Continental ways of dressing, but thus also the villages. It could also be seen as a guideline to the influence the Danish king together with his allied as well as the new society had on the landscape and the people in early medieval South West Scania. People were probably not forced into the new ways of living, but perhaps perceived it as attractive and it was therefore accepted by a lot of different social groups. Carelli argued that people chose dress brooches not only on an economic or personal basis but also depending on what was accepted in the social group the person was part of (Carelli 2001: 177). Accordingly, it was perhaps the persons that were particularly attracted to the new social organisation that influenced the rest of the population and ultimately creating a demand for the new material culture. These persons could have been the ones living on the large farmsteads that were benefiting from the new social arrangements and were important for the king in order to gain and maintain control over the kingdom. This argument also stresses the heterogeneity of the rural concept. In this way, a new and extensive demand for the new material culture grew and could probably be one reason to why the same kind of dress brooches are found in major parts of the Danish kingdom. Persons from many different social groups were wearing these dress brooches and probably caused the varieties noticeable within each type. The dress brooches were not only meant for the elite in the society but for a vast majority of people from different groups with varied identities. The dress brooches in the Early Middle Ages indicates a new tradition in form and design and a change of consumption pattern in the creation of a new society. Early medieval South West Scania could therefore be seen as a community with similar style and consumption patterns.

I have argued in a previous study of the ring brooches from Lund that the town probably was an open-minded and multicultural place that adapted and rapidly accepted the new Continental traditions (Isberg 2016). However, almost the same argument could also be stressed about the rural sites that seem to illustrate the same pattern. Although, the question is if the same interpretation could be argued for in areas further away from Lund. The same kind of material has been retrieved both in Gudahagen in North East Scania and in Halland, but fewer objects than in South West Scania. However, the similar urnes-style brooches found in Gudahagen, Hjärup and Lund indicates a larger distribution in the Scanian landscape, even further away from the urban centre. The new medieval society might have attracted people in all corners of the Danish kingdom where both town and village were affected in the same way.

Håkansson argued that some of the dress brooches from Halland should be seen as approval and acceptance of the king (Håkansson 2017: 267). Wearing a coin brooch that depicted the Danish king, based on Continental models, might have indicated an acceptance of the king and perhaps an alliance. In this way, some of the brooches were probably made on the king's demand in order to spread awareness among the people and being present in the social life and interactions. In the same way, Pedersen interpreted the bird-shaped brooches as a Christian symbol that might have expressed acceptance of the church (Pedersen 2001: 52-53). Therefore, the new traditions might have been spread through the alliances and perhaps the people who lived at the large farmsteads.

Hence, the dress brooches from South West Scania should not be seen as an indication of people with high status as most of them are not qualitatively outstanding. The types of dress brooches should probably instead be understood as objects that most of the population used, especially considering the urnes-style and bird-shaped brooches where different levels of quality and design are recognisable. These variations also indicate that the crafters wanted to supply the demands from different social groups and also indicating freedom of creativity, perhaps in a higher extent than previously conceived about the Early Middle Ages. The urnes-style brooches were mass-produced but in different qualitative levels, strengthening the argument that they were used by various social groups. These observations contradict the previous theory that they were gifts from the king himself. Perhaps a more plausible interpretation is that they indicate connections with Lund during the early medieval period since no indications of specialised craft has been found on the rural sites, except in perhaps Fjellie and Oxie. These brooches were then probably crafted and bought in another place, perhaps Lund, as several types probably were crafted there. Therefore, the fact that a large number of urnes-style brooches have been found in the villages might suggest a strong relationship between urban and rural sites. To conclude this discussion, the urnes-style and bird-shaped brooches together with the ring brooches were probably quite common in South West Scania and should probably be seen as a Danish tradition. The coin/bracteate, enamel, hat-shaped and disc brooches were probably also quite common in Denmark but should perhaps instead be connected with Continental traditions.

If the dress brooch material could be said to indicate connections between the urban and the rural sites, perhaps some villages were more closely connected to Lund due to a larger and more varied material. The places where only one ring brooch has been found were perhaps less connected than for example Bunkeflo, where more dress brooches have been found. In this case, the similar objects are interesting to observe. The bird-shaped brooch from Lund made of lead was probably used for making moulds and since all the bird-shaped brooches are similar to each other, this could suggest that they were all casted in Lund. The urnes-style brooches demonstrate the same suggestion, for example, number 17 from Lund and number 130 from Hjärup are almost impossible to separate from each other. The places with these kinds of objects clearly show a connection with Lund. However, it is mainly the urnes-style, bird-shaped brooches and perhaps the open-worked brooches that can be interpreted in this way due to the difficulty to know where objects with foreign connotations were crafted, as discussed above.



*Figure 12. Urnes-style brooch number 17 from Lund and number 130 from Hjärup. Photo: Anna Isberg and Arkeologerna.*

In this discussion, it is also important to remember that the dress brooches in this study have mainly been lost or dropped and all individuals did probably not lose their belongings. Therefore, the number of objects retrieved at one place do most likely not correspond to the number of people present at one site. As Christiansen explained, it was perhaps the size and the colour that mattered if an object would be retrieved, and therefore, all objects will not be present in the archaeological material. During the early medieval period, people were probably quite cautious about their metal objects since they were



valuable. In this way, in an environment with wealthier persons that was able to buy new items, more dress brooches would be found since these persons were perhaps not as deliberate to find lost objects as persons with poor economic conditions. Perhaps people also were more well-dressed at the urban sites, as Christiansen argued about (Christiansen 2019: 34).

One of the most prominent differences in the dress brooch material is that more objects that derived or were inspired by Continental traditions have been found in Lund. Some of these objects have probably also been crafted in Lund suggesting early goldsmiths that crafted either for people from Scania or for a Continental population. The crafters could have been Danish crafters influenced by the Continental traditions or foreign persons crafting objects in their own traditions. Either way, it indicates a multicultural place in comparisons to the rural sites, where fewer dress brooches with Continental connotations have been found. These observations suggest a greater multifaceted social area in Lund than in the villages, containing a lot of persons with different backgrounds, especially strong connections with 'German' areas, as Roslund also argued for. The town probably distinguished itself from the villages in terms of the presence of greater social challenges and meetings compared to the villages. The sometimes forced closeness of people with different cultural backgrounds characterised the town as a different phenomenon (Roslund 2018: 29). Therefore, as argued in the first part of this discussion, the presence of more persons with foreign background would probably lead to a higher likelihood to archaeologically retrieve this material.

The people living in a town was perhaps in a more prominent way in need of expressing their identities due to continuous social interactions. Non-verbal communication was necessary in order to simplify these meetings. The environment perhaps also made it important for people to stand out and express individual identity. The large varieties of forms and designs of dress brooches are not visible in rural areas, but objects with foreign connotations have still been found in these places. For example, an *alsengem* has been found in both Lund and Bunkeflo which indicate perhaps visits from a travelling tradesperson. However, the number of objects with Continental connotation present in one village is never equal to the vast amount found in Lund. The contacts with Continental areas seem to have been stronger in Lund than in the other villages concerned in this study.

How then are these arguments more specifically a contribution to the discussion of urban and rural identities? First and foremost, both the urban and rural sites seem to have been part of the same cultural traditions, the consumption patterns are similar in terms of which dress brooches were used during the early medieval period. However, differences also indicate varieties of the identities of these places. The content of urban identity is repeatedly discussed, what constitutes an urban site and when a place should be considered to be a town. In the same way, the villages were also a concept that differentiated themselves from urban sites. If people in the towns identified themselves as being townspeople, the persons living in the villages probably also thought of themselves as villagepeople, where I would stress a use of the concept of *rurality* in a higher degree. In previous research, the community of the village has been stressed in terms of that the same design and symbolic language developed in the early medieval period and that they should be considered as a gathering force in the landscape for both the built environment and people (Schmidt Sabo 2001: 23; 2005: 89). Collective identity is visible in many different ways both in towns and villages and as Jenkins stated, group identities can only be created in a recognition of the differences to others. Harkel argued that by investigating both urban and rural sites and material culture at the same time, a notion of what an ordinary town was could be conceived, if a normal town ever existed (Harkel 2013: 169). In order for the places to exist, the people had to recognise each other and consider themselves as different from others. One of the greatest differences between the urban and rural sites is that the town seems to have stronger and more diverse contact areas while the villages seem to mostly have been connected to an urban sphere. Another difference is that specialised craft seems to only have been located in Lund in South West Scania. The variations of crafted objects might indicate an early specialisation where some people had time to be creative and produce a great variety regarding form and design. The style variations could have been created by one craftsman as well as many different crafters.

The differences between urban and rural identity are perhaps displayed in what kind of contact areas they had. In the early medieval period, power and control at a local level were probably equally crucial as having contacts with Continental areas. Therefore, I would stress that in the early medieval period it is not a Europeanisation that is visible in the material, but perhaps a Continentalisation were a large part of the dress brooch material display contacts with for example German, Carolingian or Ottonian areas. The major parts of the contacts seem to have been directed towards Continental areas according to the dress brooch material, even if some contacts with Anglo-Saxon areas also are visible but were probably quite short-lived, according to Roslund (Roslund 2012: 303-309). The identity of the town was different from a village in terms of what kind of people were present at the sites and the amount of different social interactions this led to. Therefore, collective identity could be observed in two different levels: (1) a societal level, where the same consumption patterns and traditions of which dress brooches were used are present in all sites in South West Scania, and (2) on a local level, where the urban and rural sites display differences in contact areas leading to varied practices of communication and social interactions.

### 3.5 Conclusions

This thesis has not only stressed the importance of incorporating the dress brooches in the archaeological research but also the importance of using metal detectors in archaeological investigations. Without the use of this method, fewer dress brooches would have been retrieved from South West Scania leading to a smaller empirical material in this study. It is not just the dress brooches that are found with the help of metal detectors, but also other kinds of metal objects leading to an even greater importance of the tool. This thesis has also bridged the subjects prehistoric archaeology and historical archaeology, which are often analysed apart where different research questions and methods have been focused on. It has also brought together material from the contract archaeological firms Arkeologerna and Sydsvensk arkeologi. The material in this thesis has not been analysed before and could therefore be seen as a useful comparative study in further research of dress brooches. This chapter will reconnect to the research questions and summarise the conclusions of the analysis and the discussion above. Only a short presentation of the results will be provided. For a further and more thorough discussion about the research questions, see previous chapters.

*What are the similarities and differences of the dress brooches from urban and rural sites in early medieval South West Scania and what are the reasons for the observed patterns?* Similarities have been recognised in the material in terms of that the same types of dress brooches have been found at all sites. South West Scania seems to have been part of the same cultural traditions during the early medieval period. Comparative studies of today's Denmark, Norway, Halland and North East Scania also implies that major areas of the Danish kingdom were part of the same cultural sphere during this period. However, the most distinct difference is that more objects with Continental connotations and specialised craft have been found in Lund. The metal crafting on rural places mainly concerned mending and production of everyday objects. The material in Lund is larger than the material in all rural places which could perhaps depend on the extent in which the sites have been excavated and also which methods were used. In this thesis, the dress brooches are almost only found at the excavations where metal detectors were used. However, the frequencies also depend on how wealthy the persons were at the specific site and if they were able to retrieve their lost object. All dress brooches in this thesis were probably lost or dropped and the material does therefore not correspond to the number of people living at each site. However, the pattern indicates that the persons living in villages perhaps were more deliberated in retrieving a lost object. Additionally, more people probably circulated in the town, which gives a greater likelihood to find a higher percentage of dress brooches. The people living in urban and rural sites were probably quite open-minded who accepted the new society and new ways of living approximately at the same time. It was perhaps the people living at the large farmsteads that were most attracted by the new social organisation and influenced the rest of the population. The variations of dress brooches are greater in Lund, which is a qualitatively important aspect of the results of this study.



*What can the dress brooches tell us about contact areas and the connections between the different places?* According to the dress brooch material, Lund seems to have had strong contacts with Continental areas. Types with foreign connotations have been found in Lund in quite a large extent and production of these types are also visible in the archaeological material. However, the material from the rural sites does instead indicate a connection with Lund. The urnes-style brooches were probably a Danish style that were crafted in the town, and similar objects display a connection between the villages and the town. The bird-shaped brooches can also be understood in this way. Therefore, Lund seems to have been a multicultural place in comparison to the villages in South West Scania, perhaps with more diverse social interactions between people from different backgrounds. In this way, a Continentalisation is visible in the Danish kingdom during the Early Middle Ages. The presence of this material should perhaps be interpreted as expressing strong contacts with Continental areas rather than an indication of high-status environments.

*How can the dress brooches be incorporated in the discussion about urban and rural identities?* The urban and rural sites seem to have been different but still closely connected. Lund probably differentiated itself from the villages in terms of contact areas, the kind of people that were present at the site and as a multifaceted social area. Therefore, the need to express identities was perhaps more important in Lund where many different persons were present. A collective identity is seen on a societal level in terms of that the same types of dress brooches are found at all sites in South West Scania, but also on a local level, where differentiations of contact areas are visible, leading to varied social interactions at each site. Lund seems to have had strong contacts with Continental areas in the Early Middle Ages, especially 'German' areas. The dress brooches are important to incorporate in the discussion of urban and rural identities since they are closely connected to the individual and the identities they wanted to express. Therefore, they can shed light on the contact areas, the persons that were present at each site and how these sites could have been perceived.

### 3.6 Further developments

In the last chapter of this thesis, I would like to shortly discuss some further developments that have emerged during the process of this project. There is no room for a thorough review of how this study and dress brooches could be incorporated in further research, however, three aspects will shortly be explained below. These are the questions and problematisations that I consider to be the most profitable ways to further the discussion about the dress brooches from urban and rural sites.

One of the conclusions in this study is that the dress brooches from both urban and rural sites in South West Scania indicate that the people had the same consumption patterns and was part of the same cultural tradition, therefore also expressing a collective identity. However, it would be interesting to investigate other parts of Scania in order to approach the question if this observation only is visible in sites located in the vicinity of Lund. Perhaps people in North East Scania opposed the Danish ruler and therefore also dressed in a different way in order to express different belongings. As the bracteate/coin brooches probably expressed that the wearer was in favour of the king, then perhaps these objects are rare in these areas. Although, the bird-shaped brooch and the urnes-style brooch found in Gudahagen in North East Scania might contradict this hypothesis since the urnes-style brooch is of the same type that has been found in Hjärrup and Lund. However, it would be interesting to investigate if the pattern in Halland, where few Danish dress brooches have been found, is visible in other areas far away from the centre of the Danish kingdom.

Another interesting development would be to examine the urnes-style brooches in particular since they have proven to be a valuable insight to the crafters' freedom of creativity and the mass-production of dress brooches in the Early Middle Ages. An analysis of all the material in terms of distribution would perhaps shed more light on the question of why these objects were crafted. Perhaps all objects were produced in today's Denmark or Scania and detailed analysis of the ornamentation described in chapter

*3.3 Similarities and differences – identical objects and connections* would perhaps be a profitable way to continue. In this way, a digital approach would perhaps be beneficial and to examine 3D-models of the dress brooches. It might be able to shed light on the organisation of the production and also where the dress brooches were crafted.

The last example has already been discussed several times and concerns why the dress brooches are found, more particular why some objects not were retrieved by its owner. It would be interesting to investigate where the contextually based objects have been found in order to understand in what areas of the settlement they were lost or deliberately discarded and if there are differences between various sites. Perhaps some brooches only have been found in workshop areas while others mainly are found in the busy activity areas. This might also shed some light on the production of the dress brooches and which types were produced at which site.

## 4.0 Summary

This thesis concerns early medieval dress brooches from urban and rural sites in South West Scania. The urban site is Lund and the rural places are villages in Lund's and Malmö's vicinity where early medieval dress brooches have been found. The types that are focused on are ring brooches, bracteate/coin brooches, bird-shaped brooches, urnes-style brooches, enamel brooches and disc brooches of different kinds. The aim is to investigate the similarities and differences between urban and rural sites as well as between the rural places in particular. It is focusing on the different types of dress brooches and detailed examination of the specific objects in order to understand the material from each site. Therefore, the main research questions concern the reasons for the similarities and differences, what connections and contact areas are visible according to the dress brooches and how this material can contribute to the discussion about urban and rural identities. The material has not been studied to a large extent before, especially not in any compiling project, and is therefore an important piece in understanding the early medieval material culture and the inhabitants in towns and villages in South West Scania.

This study is based on a notion that dress brooches expressed different kinds of identities since they are closely connected to an individual. The dress and its adornments have for a long time been considered as a medium from which people could express different aspects of their identities, creating a non-verbal communication. However, the dress brooches concerned in this study are in almost all cases not found in connection to an individual and can therefore not be connected to specific identities like gender, ethnicity or age. It is instead group identity and belongings that is discussed in this thesis and identity is seen as something that is performed and maintained through social interactions. In this respect, the contexts are an important part of this study since identity is not something static but changeable through time and space. The contexts refer to the town and the villages in which the material has been found and the transforming early medieval society. The thesis also emphasises that urban and rural identities should be understood on the basis of the individuals; a place could not be considered as an urban site if the people did not identify themselves as townspeople. As the dress brooches are closely connected to the individuals, this material could contribute to the discussion about urban and rural identities.

Three larger observations are noticeable in the material; a larger number of objects and types have been retrieved in Lund as well as more objects with Continental connotations and that the material is divergent between the rural sites. The differences of frequency could partly be a result of the irregularity of excavations in rural sites as well as in the use of metal detectors. Although, it is probably also a product of how many people that were present at each site and to what extent they felt a need for expressing their identities as well as how deliberate they were in retrieving their lost finds. More objects with Continental connotation have been found in Lund compared to the rural sites which probably is an indication that contacts with these areas were stronger in Lund. More people with foreign backgrounds were probably present in Lund, creating a multicultural environment. Even if these objects also are present on the rural sites, it is never as many as have been found in Lund or the same diversity of types. The rural sites were probably more connected to Lund, which is visible in the fact that identical objects have been found in Lund as well as some rural sites. It is therefore problematic to connect the presence of dress brooches with high-status environments. The hierarchy in the material was instead perhaps indicated through the quality since many of the dress brooches probably were mass-produced.

Lund probably differentiated itself from the villages in terms of what contact areas and the kind of people that were present at the site. The need to express identities were perhaps more important in Lund due to the continuous presence of social meetings and forced interactions with a lot of different persons. A collective identity is visible both on a societal level, where the same types of dress brooches have been used in all sites in South West Scania, and on a local level, where differentiations of contact areas are visible leading to varied social interactions at each site. Lund seems to have had strong contacts with Continental areas in the Early Middle Ages, especially 'German' areas. Therefore, urban and rural identities are different on a social level but similar in terms of consumption patterns.

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## 6.0 Appendix

### Appendix 1

Chart of the early medieval dress brooches found in urban and rural sites in South West Scania.

Site	Number	Inventory/Finds number (Fnr)	Type/Description	Material	Size (mm)	Dating	Other information	Reference
Lund	1	KM 77714:208	Urnes-style brooch	Bronze	28	Middle of 13th century to the beginning of the 15th century		Larsson 1993: 105
	2	KM 77714:316	Urnes-style brooch	Gilded		Middle of the 13th century		Larsson 1993: 106
	3	KM 38419:10	Urnes-style brooch	Bronze	31	Second half of the 11th century		Blomqvist 1947:124, 126
	4	KM 38312:1	Urnes-style brooch	Bronze	27	Second half of the 11th century		Blomqvist 1947:124, 126
	5	KM 44560:1	Urnes-style brooch	Bronze	42	Second half of the 11th century		Blomqvist 1947:124, 126
	6	KM 62892:1670	Urnes-style brooch	Tin, lead alloy	25	12th century	Workshop find	Mårtensson 1972: 147
	7	KM 66166:2612	Urnes-style brooch	Bronze	28	1100s-1150s	Workshop find	Stenholm 1976:207, 296
	8	KM 66166:2613	Urnes-style brooch	Bronze	30	1100s-1150s	Workshop find	Stenholm 1976:296
	9	KM 66166:2626	Urnes-style brooch	Copper alloy	29	1100s-1150s		Stenholm 1976:296
	10	KM 70361:880	Urnes-style brooch	Bronze	25	Second fourth of the 12th century	Workshop find	Information from Kulturen's archive
	11	KM 71075:1	Urnes-style brooch	Bronze	33			Information from Kulturen's archive
	12	KM 76420:151	Urnes-style brooch	Bronze	36	1050s-the beginning of the 12th century		Information from Kulturen's archive
	13	KM 77655:191	Urnes-style brooch	Bronze	32			Information from Kulturen's archive
	14	KM 77714:44	Urnes-style brooch	Bronze, gilded	36	The end of the 14th century-the beginning of the 15th century		Larsson 1993: 104
	15	KM 78367:336	Urnes-style brooch	Bronze	40	12th century		Carelli & Lenntorp 1994: 119
	16	KM 49326:123	Urnes-style brooch	Bronze	35	11th century		Mårtensson & Wahlöö 1970:62
	17	KM 82909:240	Urnes-style brooch	Bronze	27			Information from Kulturen's archive
	18	KM 77714:174	Urnes-style brooch	Bronze	35	The end of the 14th century-the first half of the 15th century	Fragmentary	Larsson 1993: 105
	19	KM 20531:z18	Hat-shaped brooch	Bronze	30	11th century		Blomqvist 1947:124, 127
	20	KM 35852:a	Hat-shaped brooch	Bronze	35	11th century		Blomqvist 1947:124, 127
	21	KM 38357:1	Hat-shaped brooch	Bronze, traces of gold plating	30	11th century		Blomqvist 1947:124, 127
	22	KM 53436:580	Hat-shaped brooch	Bronze	33	1020s-1050s		Blomqvist & Mårtensson 1963:195



	23	KM 66166:803	Hat-shaped brooch	Bronze, traces of enamel	29	1050s-12th century		Stenholm 1976:296
	24	KM 66166:992	Hat-shaped brooch	Bronze	59	1050s-12th century		Stenholm 1976:294
	25	KM 66166:1400	Hat-shaped brooch	Bronze	28	1020s-1050s		Stenholm 1976:295
	26	KM 66166:1515	Hat-shaped brooch	Tin	38	1050s-12th century	Stray find	Stenholm 1976:296
	27	KM 66166:1604	Hat-shaped brooch	Tin	31	1020s-1050s		Stenholm 1976:296
	28	KM 66166:2321	Hat-shaped brooch	Bronze	29		Workshop find	Information from Kulturen's archive
	29	KM 71570:183	Hat-shaped brooch	Bronze			Fragmentary	Information from Kulturen's archive
	30	KM 76579:42	Hat-shaped brooch	Bronze	28	11th century		Information from Kulturen's archive
	31	KM 59126:560	Hat-shaped brooch	Bronze	30			Information from Kulturen's archive
	32	KM 53436:549	Hat-shaped brooch	Bronze		1000-1050s		Blomqvist & Mårtensson 1963:193
	33	KM 14658	Bracteate/coin brooch	Tin	32	11th century		Blomqvist 1947:129
	34	KM 18083	Bracteate/coin brooch	Tin	31	11th century		Information from Kulturen's archive
	35	KM 57382:1346	Bracteate/coin brooch	Bronze	20			Mårtensson & Wahlöö 1970:62
	36	KM 50193:2	Bracteate/coin brooch	Bronze	23			Information from Kulturen's archive
	37	KM 53436:621	Bracteate/coin brooch	Bronze	26	Earliest crafting time - 1044		Blomqvist & Mårtensson 1963:32
	38	KM 59126:408	Bracteate/coin brooch	Bronze, gilded	34			Information from Kulturen's archive
	39	KM 66166:1855	Bracteate/coin brooch	Bronze	22	1063–1069	Probably crafted in Goslar, Germany	Stenholm 1976:IV
	40	KM 66166:2667	Bracteate/coin brooch	Bronze	29	Second half of the 12th century	Influences from Arabic coins	Stenholm 1976:206
	41	KM 70361:542	Bracteate/coin brooch	Bronze	27	Second half of the 12th century		Information from Kulturen's archive
	42	KM 70361:736	Bracteate/coin brooch	Bronze	26	1035–1065		Information from Kulturen's archive
	43	KM 76420:100	Bracteate/coin brooch	Bronze	21	1000–1049	Influences from 11th century English coins	Information from Kulturen's archive
	44	KM 76420:123	Bracteate/coin brooch	Bronze	26	1080–1086	Text: VLFKILILVDAN (Ulfkil in Lund, Denmark)	Information from Kulturen's archive
	45	KM 76579:301	Bracteate/coin brooch	Bronze	25	11th -12th century	Text: VLFKILILVDAN (Ulfkil in Lund, Denmark)	Information from Kulturen's archive
	46	KM 76420:249	Bracteate/coin brooch	Bronze	31	1075-1150s		Information from Kulturen's archive

	47	KM 66166:2697	Bracteate/coin brooch	Tin	28			Stenholm 1976:206, 298
	48	KM 21168	Bracteate/coin brooch	Bronze	28			Information from Kulturen's archive
	49	KM 78367:246	Bracteate/coin brooch	Bronze	27			Carelli & Lenntorp 1994: 119
	50	KM 21029:IV A	Bracteate/coin brooch	Tin	23	11th -12th century		Blomqvist 1947: 129
	51	KM 20281:V	Bracteate/coin brooch	Tin	23	11th -12th century		Blomqvist 1947: 129
	52	KM 66166:1983	Bracteate/coin brooch				Fragmentary, could perhaps be a bracteate/coin brooch	Information from Kulturen's archive
	53	KM 22082	Disc brooch	Tin	30			Information from Kulturen's archive
	54	KM 49160:16	Disc brooch	Bronze		11th century		Mårtensson 1972:137
	55	KM 53436:213	Disc brooch	Tin	28	1020s-1050s		Mårtensson & Wahlöö 1970:62
	56	KM 53436:549	Disc brooch	Bronze	30	1000s-1050s		Blomqvist & Mårtensson 1963:195
	57	KM 53436:795	Disc brooch	Bronze, gilded	30	11th -12th century		Blomqvist & Mårtensson 1963:193f
	58	KM 66166:2446	Disc brooch	Tin	26			Information from Kulturen's archive
	59	KM 66166:2478	Disc brooch	Bronze	33	1020s-1050s		Stenholm 1976:295ff
	60	KM 66166:2758	Disc brooch	Bronze	28	1050s-12th century		Stenholm 1976:296
	61	KM 76579:54	Disc brooch	Tin	23	Beginning of the 12th century		Information from Kulturen's archive
	62	KM 66166:2634	Disc brooch	Bronze	22	Second half of the 12th century	Workshop find, concentric circles pressed into the metal, fragmentary	Stenholm 1976:296
	63	KM 73504:90	Disc brooch	Bronze			Workshop find, concentric circles pressed into the metal, 4 fragments	Information from Kulturen's archive
	64	KM 78367:336	Disc brooch					Information from Kulturen's archive
	65	KM 66166:770	Bird-shaped brooch	Lead		1020s-1050s		Stenholm 1976:295
	66	LUHM 12814	Enamel brooch	Enamel, gilded	26		Anglo-Saxon/Scandinavian enamel brooch	Information from LUHM's archive
	67	KM 66166:2392	Enamel brooch	Bronze, enamel	46	1020s		Stenholm 1976:297f
	68	KM 66166:2923	Enamel brooch?	Tin	29	1020s-1050s	Workshop find	Stenholm 1976:295

	69	KM 70361:899	Enamel brooch	Bronze	22	12th century	Workshop find, intended for enamel inlay	Information from Kulturen's archive
	70	KM 71570:88	Brooches for inlays, red stone	Silver	17			Information from Kulturen's archive
	71	KM 57382:417	Brooches for inlays, quartz	Tin	35	12th century	Removed stone, filigree work	Mårtensson & Wahlöö 1970:62; Mårtensson 1972:137
	72	KM 53436:57	Open-work brooch	Bronze	25	Second half of the 11th century		Blomqvist & Mårtensson 1963:58, 64
	73	KM 77655:216	Open-work brooch	Gilded bronze	24	12th century		Information from Kulturen's archive
	74	KM 70917:700	Open-work brooch	Bronze	43	11th century		Information from Kulturen's archive
	75	KM 71839:623	Dragon's head	Bronze	41			Information from Kulturen's archive
	76	KM 39718	Trefoil brooch	Bronze	57	10th century		Blomqvist 1947:121f
	77	KM 57382:1304	Box brooch	Bronze, silver	61	Second half of the 12th century		Mårtensson 1967:117ff
	78	KM 62892:1054	Open-work oval brooch	Bronze	84			Information from Kulturen's archive
	79	KM 57382:1321	Alsengem	Glass	16	12th century		Mårtensson & Wahlöö 1970:80
	80	KM 77655:437	Ring brooch RUL:SM	Bronze	29		Open ring, rolled ends	Information from Kulturen's archive
	81	KM 15243:22:C2	Ring brooch RUL:SM	Bronze	25,5 and 21	11th century	Open ring, rolled ends	Blomqvist 1947:132
	82	unmarked	Ring brooch RUL:SM		19		Open ring, rolled ends	Information from Kulturen's archive
	83	KM 32939	Ring brooch RUL:SM	Bronze	24		Open ring, rolled ends	Information from Kulturen's archive
	84	KM 38407:1	Ring brooch RUL:SM	Bronze	29	11th century	Open ring, rolled ends	Blomqvist 1947:132
	85	KM 38407:2	Ring brooch RUL:SM	Bronze	27	11th century	Open ring, rolled ends	Blomqvist 1947:132
	86	KM 53436:581	Ring brooch RUL:SM	Bronze	30		Open ring, rolled ends	Information from Kulturen's archive
	87	KM 57382:730	Ring brooch RUL:SM	Bronze	28		Open ring, rolled ends	Information from Kulturen's archive
	88	KM 59126:68	Ring brooch RUL:SM	Bronze	24		Open ring, rolled ends	Information from Kulturen's archive
	89	KM 70917:85	Ring brooch RUL:SM	Bronze	26		Open ring, rolled ends	Information from Kulturen's archive
	90	KM 66394:232	Ring brooch RUL:SM	Bronze	26		Open ring, rolled ends	Information from Kulturen's archive
	91	KM 77655:220	Ring brooch RUL:SM	Bronze	22		Open ring, rolled ends	Information from Kulturen's archive

	92	KM 59126:549	Ring brooch RUL:SM	Bronze	23		Open ring, rolled ends	Information from Kulturen's archive
	93	KM 76123:103	Ring brooch RUL:SM	Bronze	32		Open ring, rolled ends	Information from Kulturen's archive
	94	KM 76123:169	Ring brooch RUL:SM	Bronze	27,5		Open ring, rolled ends	Information from Kulturen's archive
	95	KM 71839:330	Ring brooch RUL:SM	Bronze	26		Open ring, rolled ends	Information from Kulturen's archive
	96	KM 66166:2367	Ring brooch RUL:SM	Bronze	22	1050s-1100s	Open ring, rolled ends	Stenholm 1976: 296
	97	KM 20531:z 18	Ring brooch RUL:SM	Bronze	26	11th century	Open ring, rolled ends	Blomqvist 1947:132
	98	KM 66166:1912	Ring brooch RUL:SM	Bronze	28	1050s-1100s	Open ring, rolled ends	Stenholm 1976: 296
	99	KM 66166:849	Ring brooch RUL:SM	Bronze	31		Open ring, rolled ends	Information from Kulturen's archive
	100	KM 66166:2367	Ring brooch RUL:SM	Bronze	22	1050s-1100s	Open ring, rolled ends	Stenholm 1976: 296
	101	KM 70917:590	Ring brooch RUL:SM	Bronze	20		Open ring, rolled ends	Information from Kulturen's archive
	102	KM 72550:11	Ring brooch RUL:SM	Bronze	27,5		Open ring, rolled ends	Information from Kulturen's archive
	103	KM 66166:2751	Ring brooch RUL:SM		21	Second half of the 12th century	Open ring, rolled ends	Stenholm 1976: 296
	104	KM 35474:c	Ring brooch FAC:S	Bronze	36	11th century	Open ring, faceted ends	Blomqvist 1947:132
	105	KM 38315:2	Ring brooch TRA:JRA	Bronze	68	11th century	Open ring, funnel shaped ends	Blomqvist 1947:132
	106	KM 71839:721	Ring brooch TRA:JRA		34		Open ring, funnel shaped ends	Information from Kulturen's archive
	107	KM 71839:80	Ring brooch DJU:BA/R	Bronze	47		Open ring, animal heads at the ends	Information from Kulturen's archive
	108	KM 71839:1132	Ring brooch DJU:EF	Bronze	41		Open ring, animal heads at the ends	Information from Kulturen's archive
	109	KM 22784	Ring brooch CIST:FL	Bronze	53		Closed and thin ring, braided decor	Information from Kulturen's archive
	110	KM 66166:1488	Ring brooch CIST:FL	Tin	21	1000s-1050s	Closed and thin ring, braided decor	Stenholm 1976: 295
	111	KM 38315:4	Ring brooch FLÄT	Bronze	25	11th century	Half of the closed ring consists of braided bronze wires	Blomqvist 1947:132
Uppåkra	112	U 2577	Urnes-style brooch		31	1100-1150s		Tegnér 1999: 234
	113	U 2869	Urnes-style brooch		29	Middle of the 12th century		Tegnér 1999: 233
	114	U 10169	Urnes-style brooch		29			Hårdh 2010: 315
	115	U 28896	Urnes-style brooch		29	End of the 11th century		Hårdh 2010: 265, 315

	116	U 2654	Open-work brooch, Agnus Dei		20	12th century		Tegnér 1999: 233; Hårdh 2010: 265, 315
	117	U 2077	Open-work brooch, with winged dragons		28	Middle of the 11th century		Tegnér 1999: 233; Hårdh 2010: 265, 315
	118	U 6193	Open-work brooch, with winged dragons			11th century	No picture	Hårdh 2010: 265, 315
	119	U 6226	Open-work brooch, with winged dragons		28	11th century		Hårdh 2010: 265, 315
	120	U 6485	Open-work brooch, with winged dragons		26			Hårdh 2010: 255
	121	U 2558	Bird-shaped brooch		33	12th century-beginning of the 13th century		Hårdh 2010: 258, 268, 315
	122	U 29102	Bird-shaped brooch		30	12th century-beginning of the 13th century		Hårdh 2010: 258, 268, 315
	123	U 36584	Bird-shaped brooch				No picture	Hårdh 2010: 315
	124	U 2150	Enamel brooch	Enamel	25	Second half of the 10th century/first half of the 11th century	Black figure on white-yellow background, heraldic eagle, from southern Germany	Tegnér 1999: 233
Hjärup	125	Fnr 1 (LUHM 31843)	Bird-shaped brooch	Copper alloy	25	11th century		Schmidt Sabo 2011a: 36f
	126	Fnr 39 (LUHM 31843)	Urnes-style brooch	Copper alloy	42	11th century-the beginning of the 12th century		Schmidt Sabo 2011a: 37
	127	Fnr 1 (LUHM 31843)	Urnes-style brooch	Copper alloy	30	11th century-the beginning of the 12th century		Schmidt Sabo 2008: 17f
	128	Fnr 19 (LUHM 31843)	Coin brooch	Bronze	31	11th century	Influences from a coin - Sven Estridsen (1047-1074)	Schmidt Sabo 2011a: 40f
	129	Fnr 119	Ring brooch RUL:SM	Bronze	28	1050-12th century	Open ring, rolled ends, no picture	Larsson 1995: 27
	130		Urnes-style brooch	Copper alloy	21			Bolander & Söderberg, manus
	131		Urnes-style brooch	Copper alloy	30			Bolander & Söderberg, manus
	132		Urnes-style brooch	Copper alloy			Fragmented	Bolander & Söderberg, manus
Fjelie	133	Fnr 48	Ring brooch CIFB:OD	Bronze, silver-plated			Closed and flat ring, undecorated	Carlie & Lindberg 2016: 125
	134	Fnr 1081	Enamel brooch	Enamel	39	11th century	Cross-enamel brooch, Anglo-Saxon/south Scandinavian	Lindberg, Schmidt Sabo & Brorsson 2019:137
Kyrkheddinge	135	Fnr 5246	Disc brooch	Bronze	34	1200–1350		Schmidt Sabo 1998: 99f
Örja	136	Fnr 3607 (LUHM 32002)	Enamel brooch	Enamel	20	10th century	Cross-enamel brooch, originally from German areas	Schmidt Sabo 2013: 45
	137	Fnr 593 (LUHM 32002)	Urnes-style brooch	Silver			No picture	Schmidt Sabo 2013: 46

	138	Fnr 2881 (LUHM 32002)	Urnes-style brooch	Copper alloy, gilded	36			Schmidt Sabo 2013: 46
	139	Fnr 2835 (LUHM 32002)	Open-work brooch, with winged dragons	Copper alloy, gilded	30			Schmidt Sabo 2013: 46
	140	Fnr 887 or 2783	Urnes-style brooch	Copper alloy			No picture	Schmidt Sabo 2013: 46
	141	Fnr 3980 (LUHM 32002)	Bracteate brooch	Copper alloy	56	Late Viking age/early Middle ages	Bird with snake in its mouth	Schmidt Sabo 2013: 46
Önnerup	142	Fnr 2280 (LUHM 32002)	Ring brooch CIFB:GE		50		Closed and flat ring, geometrical decor	Petterson 1996: 46
Naffentorp	143	MHM 8538:379	Ring brooch CIFB:GE		24	Middle ages/early Middle ages	Closed and flat ring, geometrical decor	Olsson et al 2005: 137
	144	MHM 8538:358	Ring brooch CIST	Gilded		Middle ages/early Middle ages	Closed and thin ring, repeated lumps/elevations along the ring	Olsson et al 2005: 137
	145	MHM 7777:253	Urnes-style brooch	Bronze, gilded		Viking age/early Middle ages		Olsson et al 2005: 138f
	146	MHM 7777:274	Enamel brooch	Enamel		Viking age/early Middle ages	Cross-enamel brooch – white cross, red back	Olsson et al 2005: 138
Oxie	147		Ring brooch CIST:SP	Silver			Closed and thin ring, uncertain, the style resembles ring brooches in Lund	Jönsson & Brorsson 2003: 180
	148		Coin brooch	Bronze			Influences from a coin - Sven Estridsen (1047-1074), no picture	Jönsson & Brorsson 2003: 181f
Hyllie	149	MHM 12650:105	Ring brooch CIFB:IN	Silver		Late 12th century-the beginning of the 13th century	Closed and flat ring, inscriptions: DEVSL	Kockum & Persson 2007: 140f
Fosie	150		Urnes-style brooch	Copper alloy, precious metal			No picture	Björhem & Dahlström 2007: 32
	151		Urnes-style brooch	Copper alloy, precious metal			No picture	Björhem & Dahlström 2007: 32
Bunkeflo	152	MHM 12876:406802	Enamel brooch	Copper alloy, gilded, enamel		1050-12th century	Cross-enamel brooch, blue and white enamel	Lövgren et. al. 2007: 261
	153	MHM 12876:406801	Open-worked brooch, Agnus Dei	Copper alloy, gilded		1050–1150		Lövgren et. al. 2007: 261
	154	MHM 12876:402602	Bird-shaped brooch	Copper alloy		1020–1050		Lövgren et. al. 2007: 261
	155	MHM 12876:406811	Disc brooch	Copper alloy		The Middle ages	Concentric circles pressed into the metal	Lövgren et. al. 2007: 262
	156	MHM 12876:404693	Disc brooch	Copper alloy		The Middle ages	Concentric circles pressed into the metal	Lövgren et. al. 2007: 262
	157	MHM 12876:402658	Alsengem	Glass-mass	23	Before the middle of the 13th century	2 bearded men with swords	Lövgren et. al. 2007: 264
Särslöv	158		Ring brooch RUL:SM	Bronze	28	Late Viking age	Open ring, rolled ends	Kriig 1999: 30, 32

	159	Fnr 8	Urnes-style brooch	Bronze		Viking age/early Middle ages		Bolander 2016: 64, 117
Västra Klagstorp	160	MHM 12891:92	Ring brooch RUL:SM	Copper alloy	24		Open ring, rolled ends, no picture	Serlander et. al. 2001
Djurslöv	161	Fnr 241	Urnes-style brooch	Copper alloy		Late Viking age/early Middle ages		Stark 2019: 10, 22, 35
Önsvala	162		Disc brooch	Bronze	30	Early middle ages		Larsson 2013: 146
	163		Ring brooch CIST:OD	Bronze			Closed and thing ring, undecorated	Larsson 2013: 143



## Appendix 2

Pictures of the dress brooches. The number and copyright are stated below each picture



1. Photo: Kulturen.

2. Photo: Kulturen.

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110. Photo: Kulturen.



111. Photo: Kulturen.



112. (Tegnér 1999: 234).



116. (Tegnér 1999: 233; Hårdh 2010: 265, 315).



U 2077



U 2045



U 2069



U 10100



U 20000



U 27038

121. (Hårdh 2010: 258, 268, 315).



U 28102

122. (Hårdh 2010: 258, 268, 315).



124. (Tegnér 1999: 233).



125. Photo: Arkeologerna.



126, 127. Photo: Arkeologerna.



128. Photo: Arkeologerna.



117, 120, 113, 114, 119, 115. (Tegnér 1999: 233; Hårdh 2010: 255, 265, 315).





130. Photo: Arkeologerna.

131. Photo: Arkeologerna.



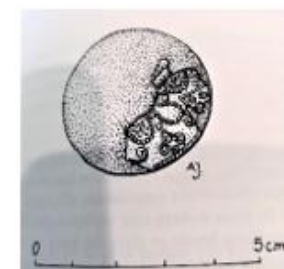
132. Photo: Arkeologerna.



133. Photo: Arkeologerna.



134. Photo: Arkeologerna.



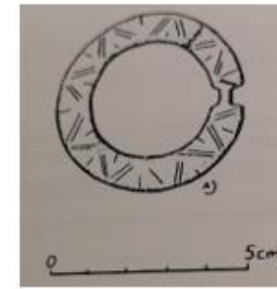
135. (Schmidt Sabo 1998: 99f).



136. Photo: Arkeologerna.



141. Photo: Arkeologerna.



142. (Petterson 1996: 46).



145. (Olsson et al 2005: 137).



138, 139. Photo: Arkeologerna.



143, 144. (Olsson et al 2005: 137).



146. (Olsson et al 2005: 137).



147, 148. (Jönsson & Brorsson 2003: 180f).



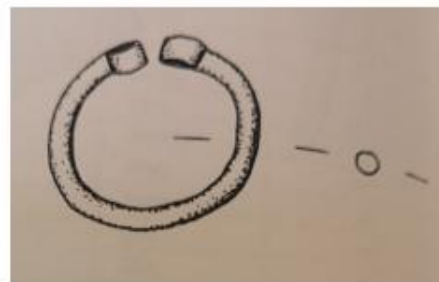
149. (Kockum & Persson 2007: 140).



155, 156, 154, 152, 153. (Lövgren et. al. 2007: 261f).



157. (Lövgren et. al. 2007: 264).



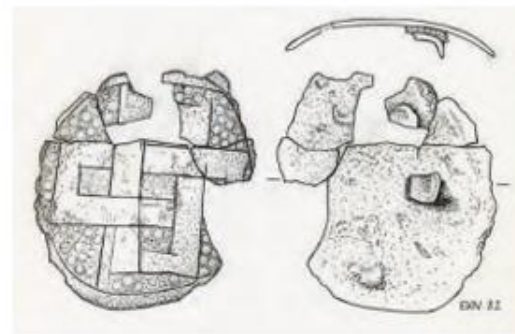
158. Picture: Arkeologerna.



159. Photo: Arkeologerna.



161. Photo: Arkeologerna.



162. (Larsson 2013: 146).



163. (Larsson 2013: 143).