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Central Places in the Migration and Merovingian Periods

Papers from the 52nd Sachsensymposium Lund, August 2001

EDITED BY
BIRGITTA HÅRDH AND LARS LARSSON

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In the foreground, the cover picture shows the beaker found as a deposition below the floor of a cult building at Uppåkra. The picture in the background shows the glass bowl and the beaker under excavation.

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Scandinavian 'Central Places' in a Cosmological Setting

Lotte Hedeager

Abstract

The South Scandinavian settlement structure in late Iron Age was hierarchical with respect to size and function. New excavations have revealed magnificent places as Gudme and Tissø, classified as multi-functional 'central places'. Traditionally we focus on concepts such as long-distance trade, economy, political control, production, richness and sacredness to explain their functions. Although these concepts are relevant, they are never brougt together in a coherent explanation. In this paper I wish to employ Northern mythology and the world af the sagas to present a hyphotesis of 'central places' as a reconstruction of the pre-Christian universe, contextualizing the archaeological and the written record as different expressions of a single cosmological model.

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Introduction[1]

The concept 'central places' has been developed in Scandinavian archaeology during the last decades to classify rich settlement sites from the late Iron Age. These sites have mainly been understood in terms of 'long-distance trade', 'economy', 'control', 'production', 'gold', 'hall', 'richness', 'gods', 'sacred', and 'power' in different variations and combinations. Although these keywords are significant, they have never been included in a coherent model of explanation.

The most spectacular of these central places hitherto found in Scandinavia is Gudme/Lundeborg on the Danish island of Funen (Fig.1) It was excavated during the 1980s and early 1990s, and has been interpreted as a unique trading and production site that flourished from the third to the sixth/seventh centuries (Thrane 1987, 1998, 1999; Nielsen *et al.* 1994; Sørensen 1994 b). In some respects, Gudme/Lundeborg fits the general model of a 'central place', but in others, it diverges. First, Gudme is among the earliest of these places, and may even be *the* earliest, for it already gained its central position during Late Roman Period. Second, Gudme is bigger and the settlement area more extended than that of any of the other central places hitherto found in South Scandinavia (Jørgensen 1995 b); its great hall, situated in the centre, is unique because of its size and its construction (Sørensen 1994a, 1994b). Third, the sheer amount of archaeological finds from the area is overwhelming; this goes especially for the number of gold finds and superb jewellery produced by skilled craftsmen. Fourth, the evi-

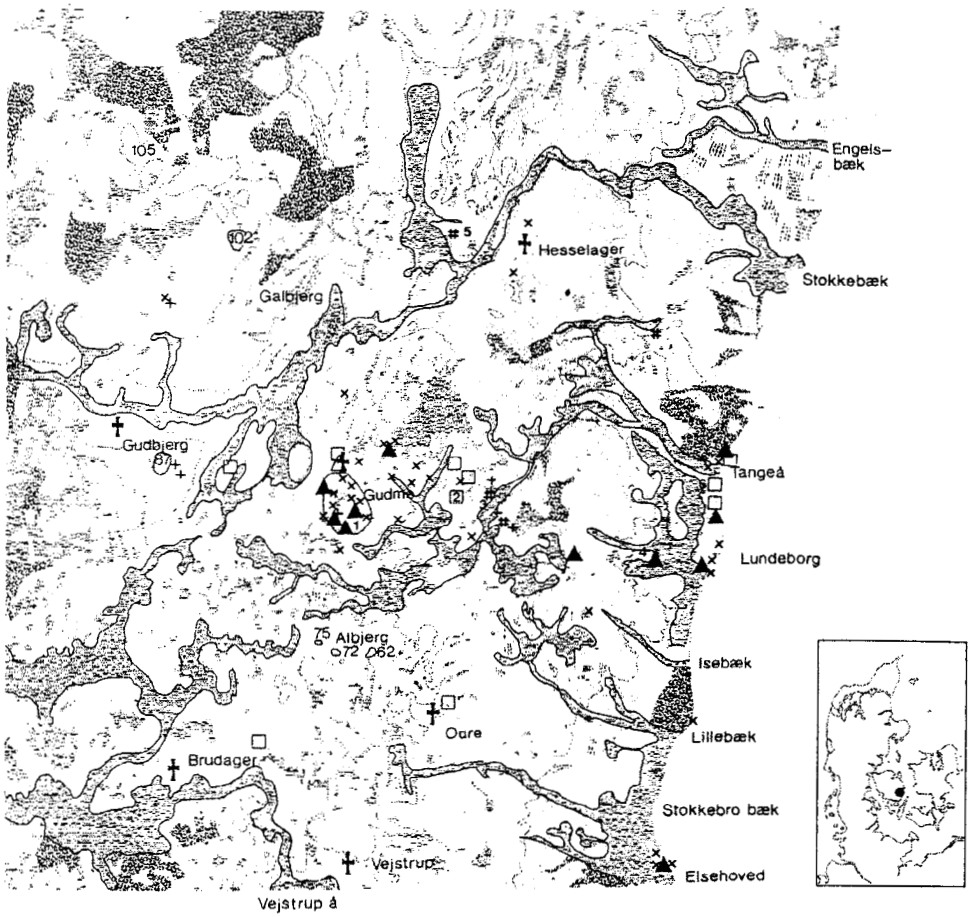

Fig.1. The research area of Gudme. The cultural landscape is reconstructed on the basis of the topographical maps c.1800. (After Thrane 1987: 36). 1. Gudme I–II, 2. Settlement (indicated by Sehested as 'Måltidsplads'), 3. Møllegårdsmarken, 4. Broholm gold hoard, 5. Langå cemetery, 6. Lundeborg . □ settlement, △ bronze statue, ▲ hoard, + graves, † church, x stray finds. Heights are in meters above sea level. (After H.Thrane, "Das Gudmeproblem und die Gudme-untersuchungen, Frühmitteralterliche Studien 21 (1987), p. 36.

dence of place names connected with the sacred is more persuasive in Gudme than anywhere.

This paper deals with Gudme/Lundeborg as a place that has been constructed, maintained and transformed over centuries, for purposes other than strictly economic and political ones. Gudme was a ceremonial centre, where ancient beliefs were articulated in rituals and performances. In this paper, I will discuss Gudme as a place where foreign objects from the outside world were acquired ('trade') and transformed into 'prestige objects' ('production') embedded in the cosmological order [religion/mythology]. Using data from anthropological research as an explanatory framework, I will pay special attention to the importance of skilled crafting - and skilled metal work - as an activity fundamental to the process of transformation. To broaden the context, I will also look at the role of smiths and the significance of

gold in Old Norse sources. All this will reveal that metallurgy, skilled metal work and gold were crucial concepts in northern cosmology. Finally, I will focus on Gudme and the surrounding landscape as a sacred place - a representation of the 'centre of the world' along the lines of northern mythology.

Such an approach is not unproblematic. The Old Norse sources originate from early Christian times, that is, the early thirteenth century, and are therefore not to be treated as a reflection of 'genuine paganism'. It would go too far to discard all written texts, however. If used carefully, the Old Norse texts yield valuable information. Similarly, an anthropological approach based on non-western, pre-industrial societies, furnishes archaeologists with a general theoretical framework, enabling them to get beyond the archaeological and textual evidence. Lacking the modern separation of economic, political and symbolic institutions, pre-Christian Scandinavia can be compared to traditional communities; in both cases the world view of a given society tends to fuse these separate domains into a coherent whole. Since much cosmological information is thought to be contained in myths (Weiner 1999:591), special attention will be paid to the myths of Old Norse literature.

If one focuses on Gudme as a symbolically constructed place which represents notions of the cosmological order in connection with social power, the spatial organisation of the place can no longer be interpreted as a mere expression of the practicalities of power, or as a simple reflection of economic activities, including production and/or trade. Instead, such activities are to be included in a coherent model of explanation, which should also become part of a more general discussion of other central places in the North.

Gudme's sacred features

Apart from being an important archaeological site, the Gudme area also contains a significant number of place-names with allusions to pre-Christian religion. Many of these place-names are 'holy', and on the basis of such toponymic evidence the conclusion can be drawn that this region also had religious significance. *Gudme* itself means 'the home of the gods', i.e. the place where the ancient god/gods were thought to live. At a distance of 1.5 to 2.5 kilometers to the north, west and south of Gudme, there are three hills with significant names: *Gudbjerg* to the west means 'the hill of the god/gods', *Albjerg* to the south means 'the hill of the shrine' and *Galbjerg* to the north has a less clear meaning, but may has been interpreted as 'the hill of sacrifice' (Sørensen 1985:131 p.), although an explanation of the word 'gal' as 'galdr' may be more plausible.

Gudme's great wealth suggests that this site was not just a central place for trade and production, but one with sacred connotations; a place where master artisans transformed bars, ingots, and coins of gold into symbolic objects like bracteates and ornamented scabbard mounts. Against this background, and also with the sacred toponomy in mind, Karl Hauck has argued that the iconography of the gold bracteates points to the establishment of an Odin cult in Gudme, connected with sacred kingship (Hauck 1987:147 pp., 1994: 78 pp.). A motif resembling the archetypal representation of a shaman - presumably Odin's journey to the Other World - is the most common one on these bracteates (i.e. Hedeager 1997, 1999 b).

If Gudme was indeed the main home of the the Odin cult, as has been maintained, the central area framed by the sacred hills would have been a place of display and

communication, at the social level as well as with the supernatural world. In this place the representation of world was given a concrete form by specialists in control of the production process by which metal was transformed from one shape (scrap metal, ingots, coins etc.) into another (bracteates, fittings for swords etc.).

Composite sites and central places

For the Nordic realm before 800 there is no textual evidence of any specific locations of religious or political power, such as monasteries or other sacred sites, cities, or royal palaces, so the archaeological sources and the toponymic evidence provide the only basis for analysing the concept of 'places of power' in this area. Still, the Old Norse literature does throw some light on certain essential components of places of power in Scandinavia. For example, the hall assumes great importance in the ideological universe represented in these texts (Enright 1996; Herschend 1997a, 1997b, 1998, 1999:414 pp.). Given the prominent role of the hall in Old Norse literature, it is remarkable that the word 'hall' hardly ever turns up in Scandinavian place-names. The reason may be that the Scandinavian language of the time used another word, such as 'sal', as in Uppsala, Onsala, Odensala or just Sal (a): the god whose name is compounded with 'sal' is always Odin, the king of the gods (Brink 1996:235 pp.). The word 'sal' is often linked with 'zulr' (thyle), the term for a particular type of leader or priest. The 'thyle' is regarded as a poet, i.e. a skald or storyteller: in other words, the person who preserves the treasure hoards of mystical and magical knowledge that was essential to understand the eddic poems. He was the cult leader who understood the cult activities and uttered the proper magical words.

Apparently 'sal' means the king's and earls' assembly hall, cult hall or moot hall: the place in which the functions of 'theatre, court, and church' were united[2]. The 'sal' or the hall was the centre of the human microcosmos, the symbol of stability and good leadership. The hall was also the location where communal drinking took place, which had the purpose of creating bonds of loyalty and fictive kinship; liquor was the medium through which one achieved ecstasy, and thus communion with the supernatural (Enright 1996:17). The high seat, that is, the seat with the high-seat posts, served as the channel of communication with the supernatural world. Since the hall with the high seat served as the geographical and ideological centre of leadership, it is understandable why the earls and kings, as the literature tells us, could suppress and ruin each other by simply destroying their opponent's hall (Herschend 1995:221 pp., 1997 b).

The multifunctional role of the hall thus extended beyond the site itself. The hall was at the centre of a group of principal farmsteads; it was the heart of the central places from the later part of the Iron Age,[3] which existed all over Scandinavia, as is now increasingly recognized. Apart from Gudme/Lundeborg one might mention Sorte Muld on Bornholm, Lejre, Boeslunde, Jørlunde, Kalmargård, Nørre Snede, Stentinget, Drengsted and Ribe in Denmark; Trondheim, Borre, Kaupang and Hamar in Norway; Slöinge, Helgö, Birka, Uppåkra, Vä, Gamla Uppsala, Högum, Vendel and Valsgärde in Sweden (Jørgensen 1995b; Brink 1996; Larsson & Hårdh 1998). Characteristicially, many of these sites are located a few kilometres inland, relying on one or more landing places or ports situated on the coast (Fabech 1999). Although this is still a matter of debate, I believe that such central places served as a basis for some form of politcal or

religious control excercised over a larger area; the radius of their influence went well beyond the site itself.

In his innovative analysis of the toponymic evidence Stefan Brink (1996)[4] has argued that rather than being a precisely defined site, such central places should be understood as a somewhat larger area encompassing a number of different but equally important functions and activities. Both toponymic evidence and archaeological finds suggest that this was a recurrent pattern. This means that it is inadequate to refer to these sites as 'trading sites', 'cult sites', 'meeting or thing places', emphasizing only one of their many functions. Instead, these locations should be perceived as multifunctional and composite sites. In addition to their 'official' function as trading- and market sites, and as centres where laws were made and cults were established, these central places were probably also associated with special functions such as the skilled crafting of jewellery, weapons, clothing, and, furthermore, with special cultic activities performed by religious specialists. These places were also the residicence of particularly privileged warriors or housecarls.

Archaeological research has revealed a whole range of activities in Gudme/Lundeborg that fit the general model of a 'composite place' with the presence of military units, the most prominent smiths, trading activities, etc. In addition, the place names demonstrate the presence of a pagan priesthood. Gudme/Lundeborg is outstanding by incorporating most of the significant characteristics of a 'central place'. Therefore, we have to consider the possibility that Gudme may have been a unique place in the cosmology of the Nordic realm during the middle of the Iron Age, being perceived as the prime 'residence' of the pre-Christian god(s)[5].

Artisan smiths and skilled metal work

One of Gudme's most striking characteristics is the overwhelming evidence of intensive crafting activities, especially those of jewellers and blacksmiths. Metal production and craftmanship in Scandinavia during the Iron Age are usually regarded as a neutral or even secondary affair, but to my mind, metallurgy and skilled crafting were in fact closely connected to what in these societies was conceived of as the quality of power. The role of metal-workers – especially blacksmiths and jewellers – deserves special attention,[6] for the technicalities of metallurgy and metalwork included a symbolic and ritual element (i.e. Eliade 1978; Herbert 1993; Rowlands 1999; Haaland *et.al.* 2002), which gave the practicioners as special status. Mastering metallurgy meant controlling a transformation: from iron ingots to the tools for agricultural production and the weapons on which production, fertility, and protection or aggression depended; from ingots, bars, and items of gold and silver into ritual objects central to the symbolic universe of a given society.[7]

To be a specialist of this kind demands not only superb skills, but often also the possession of magical power (i.e. Herbert 1984, 1993; Haaland *et.al.* 2002). The smith's work requires the esoteric kind of knowledge enabling him to manipulate the dangerous forces unleashed in the process of transforming shapeless metal into a finished product; this especially holds true when sacred objects are cast, or specific types of jewellery associated with status and/or ceremonial use. Because of the secret knowledge inherent to such activities, smiths were specialists who were both powerful and feared (Eliade 1978).

In order to get a hold of the metal, the

artisan often has to take part in trading activities (Maret 1985:76). Together with poets, troubadours, carvers, and musicians, smiths constitute a group of specialists whose frequent long-distance travel associates them with spatial distance and foreign places. As such, they might gain great reputations; as Helms argues, artisans coming from outside were often believed to be superior. Such specialists, as well as travelling religious experts come to embody the supernatural qualities of the world beyond the settlement. They roam between cultivated and settled space and the wild and dangerous territories beyond its pale (Helms 1993).

In Gudme as well, artisan smiths, shamans and long-distance travellers may have functioned as 'specialists in distance', concentrated in what constituted a multifuncional central place. Keeping this in mind, smithing and the manufacture of jewellery can be expected to have a place in the mythological world of pre-Christian Scandinavia.

The smith in the Old Norse sources

Given the importance of smithing and jewellery associated not only with Gudme, but with any central settlement and big farm from the fifth century until the late Viking Age in Scandinavia, such activities must have served a purpose. This problem may of course be approached from a functional perspective: all big farms needed tools and weapons, and smithing activities must have been an essential part of day-to-day work in all non-urban, pre-industrial societies. Obviously weapons and iron tools were primarily manifactured to meet practical demands, but this is not true of items of gold and silver, which met social requirements. The description of smithing and of gold in the Old Norse sources may, therefore, throw some light on the social setting of metal working in the late Iron Age.

In the *Poetic Edda* as well as in Snorri's *Prose Edda* metallurgy and skilled metal work were closely associated with dwarfs who were imagined to mine and manufacture underground. In the world's first age, the happy Golden Age, the gods had special talent for skilled metallurgy. But when this talent was destroyed by the arrival of women from Utgard, the gods had to 'create' the dwarfs and place them in the outside – underground - world, among stones and cliffs, where they controlled precious metals and produced much coveted objects. Subsequently the dwarfs became the god's craftsmen, creating technical wonders for their masters, sometimes willingly and sometimes under duress. However, the gods remained dependent on the dwarfs, who crafted the precious objects ensured success in the gods' struggle against the Giants: i.e. Odin's spear Gungnir and his golden ring Draupnir, Thor's hammer Mjollnir, and Freyja's golden necklace. Moreover, the dwarfs were credited with magical powers (Simek 1993). Like the Asir in the Golden Age, the dwarfs constituted a male society unable to reproduce itself.

This is how smiths, forgers, and jewellers are represented in the northern mythology. They were all dwarfs, they lived apart, they were in possession of magical powers, and they formed a male society. Although Snorri designates Odin and his priests as 'forgers of songs' (Eliade 1978), neither Odin nor any of the other Asir gods were in command of forging. But the Old Norse texts also contain other smiths. The most famous text in this respect is *Volund the Smith*, a lay in the *Poetic Edda.* This is an Old Norse version of the widely known story of the master smith, adapted to the code of the Nordic apoph-

thegm. Volund is the tragic figure of the hero-smith, captured and mauled by the king, robbed of his gold and sword, held prisoner and forced to create high quality weapons and jewellery for his captor. With revenge as its central theme, the poem must have provided a logial and intelligible story line for its Scandinavian audience.

The ability to grow wings and fly like the wind to escape the greedy king, as Volund did, is typical of the master smith who could change shape like the shaman to mediate between human society and the supernatural world.[8] Volund's pedigree and family relations are a good illustration of the smith's position in the cosmological world of the Old Norse texts. As son of a Finnish king his origin was clearly defined as 'out there'; in the Old Norse sources a Finnish (or Saami) background always indicated someone who represented dangerous magical forces from outside. Volund, who is called 'king of the elves', was married to a valkyrie, a giant woman from the outside world. She was a skilled weaver, herself daughter of a king and in control of shape changing. Although Volund is not a dwarf, he is no human being either; he is most at home in the outside and dangerous world from where he was captured by a human king and brought into society. His forge is situated on an isolated islet, and he himself is a feared person in control of the gold (Bæksted 1990:216 pp.). Although married, he has no children, so he does not belong to any family group as a human being, set apart from society. As the master smith in control of gold as well as skilled crafting, he fabricates prestigious objects essential for the kingly ideal. Like the Asir gods, the worldly king is dependent on the smith to come across these emblems of royal power. In other words, the king depends on Volund the Smith, his captive, to retain his royal power.

One more 'personified' smith is known from the mythological circle of the *Poetic Edda*, namely Regin from the lay *Reginsmál*. This is part of the great epic cycle of the Volsunga, which tells the story of the fall of the Burgundians after the attack by the Huns in 437. Known from a number of Old Norse Sources, the *Volsunga Saga* became the core of the *Niebelungenlied* in a Christianised German version from around 1200 (Hedeager 2000:15 pp.).[9] In this epic cycle about Odin's grandchild Volsunga and his descendants, Regin the Smith is an important, although subordinate character. His family was composed of a father (no mother is mentioned) and two brothers (no sisters), and Regin himself was a dwarf. His father, Hreidmar, was an odd person who knows magic; one brother, Utter, had the shape of an otter (and was killed by the god Loki), and the second, Fáfnir, changed himself into a dragon to guard the gold treasure. In the story Regin acts like a human being and travels, like human smiths were supposed to do, to a foreign king to become his master's smith. Later he went on to another ruler, Volsung's son Sigurd, who was a famous war-king. Regin is the only one who knows how to forge a sword with the necessary (magical) power to kill Fáfnir, and he knows the right magical acts to perform before the fight becomes succesful. With this sword named Gram, Sigurd was able to kill the dragon Fáfnir, Regins brother, and lay his hands on the gold.

Although Regin at first sight behaves like a human being, he is not an integrated member of human society. He is a long-distance traveller and a skilled artisan smith, he travels between realm of kings, he masters magic, and his brothers master shape changing. Even the strongest king is dependent on him.

Furthermore, there are no women present in his family, neither mother, nor sister or wife, and he has no children. He is a stranger among humans, a liminal figure who partly belongs to the world outside.

To sum up, such skilled smiths, whether dwarfs or men, have certain specific traits in common. They all belonged to the realm outside human society; they were all males and they were -for social, not biological reasons - unable to reproduce themselves. By way of magic, the objects they forged were essential to the power position of the elite, whether gods or human kings. Last but not least the smiths were, in one way or another, skilled long-distance travellers; they mediated between the settled heartland of human society and the dangerous outside world. In all, they seem to represent a structures and concepts specific to Nordic mythology.

Gold in Old Norse sources

In *Volsunga Saga* treasures of gold generate the greed that constitutes the main story-line. In the Old Norse sources gold and gold treasures regularly play a central role in the construction of stories. Time and again we meet the disastrous greed for gold as an archetypal theme in myths and stories; here and in other heroic tales, such as *Beowulf*, Saxo's *Gesta Danorum*, and Snorri's *Ynglinga Saga*, the highly ritualised competitive gift-giving system endows the gold with authority and power (Mauss 1990:1 pp., 60 pp.; Enright 1996; Herschend 1998; Bazelmans 1999, 2000; Härke 2000). Gold itself is personified in the name Gullveig, which means 'golden-drink, golden-intoxication' or 'golden-power'; comprehensively, it means as much as the 'the personified greed for gold'.[10] Gold was a potent vehicle of cultural values. Within the same conceptual framework gold could function as a medium of power, of art, and of exchange (Herbert 1984). The amount of gold treasures from the fifth century in Scandinavia appears that if it confirms this general approach.

The 'Golden Age' of Scandinavia is the Migration Period. Immense quantities of gold were deposited in the fifth and sixth centuries, in the course of only a few generations (Hedeager 1999b). The written sources, whether the Old Norse ones or texts from continental early medieval Europe, yield the impression that gift-giving was the crucial instrument in creating and upholding political alliances. Movable wealth with strong symbolic connotations were the most prestigious gifts in this highly ritualised process (Bazelmans 1992, 2000; Le Jan 2000; Enright 1996; Herschend 1998). Much gold and silver, swords and other prestigious good must have circulated as gifts without leaving any traces in the archaeological record (c.f. Theuws & Alkemade 2000). If the strategy of gift-giving included an element of competitive display, however, gift-giving was more likely to play a central role in political strategies; in these cases, we should expect to find some evidence of the ritualised use of these artefacts in hoards and in graves (Barret *et.al.* 1991).

According to the early written evidence gold treasures and the powerful enchantments were associated with members of the upper social stratum; conversely, folkloristic treasure legends from later periods feature people of a much lower social standing. These later tales contain an element of ludicrousness never encountered in the Scandinavian legends from the early Middle Ages and the late Iron Age, where the value to the treasures is bound up with the notion of faith. Gold represented its owner's honour and riches, and as such it was equivalent to happiness. Stealing a treasure

did not only mean robbing someone of his riches, but also to steal his good fortune, and thus condemning him to a dismal fate. For this reason, those who managed to steal a treasure were struck by dire punishment (Zachrisson 1998:chp. III).

To sum up, objects of gold were central to political strategies primarily because such treasures had been acquired by honourable and daring acts performed in far-away places. In the late Iron age and early Middle items of gold represented the honour and respectability of the owner. To secure or maintain dominance in the social hierarchy of early medieval societies, gold had to be appropriated and controlled by the elite. By the added value of highly qualified artisans, however, gold was transformed into something that embodied values crucial to elite identities in the Nordic realm.

Central places as 'centre of the universe'

A central place with sacred functions represents the whole universe in symbolic form; it is deliberately constructed as the 'centre of the universe', be it a Christian cathedral or a pagan cult site organized around a sacred pool, a world tree or the like, as Mircea Eliade made clear in several publications (Eliade 1987, 1997). Byzantine churches, it has been argued, embodied all the features of the Christian universe. According to Eliade, citing historians of church architecture, the four parts of the interior of the church symbolise the four cardinal directions. The interior of the church is the universe. The altar is Paradise, which lay in the east. The imperial door to the altar was also called the Door of Paradise.

Eliade's views on Byzantine churches may be useful to our question: how could a sacred place be organized to repeat the paradigmatic work of the god(s)? In Eliade's terminology, a Byzantine church was 'a central place for rituals', incorporating an image of the cosmological world, as sacred placeces always do, be they pagan or Christian. All the constructions associated with sacrality symbolize the entire universe, and this symbolism also extends to the apparently 'secular' part of the settlement (Eliade 1997). In Lund, the see of the Danish archbishop in Scania from the twelfth century onwards, the whole Christian world was deliberately replicated in the city. The topography of the churches built after Lund became an archbishopric in 1104 mirrored the supposed location of important saints' graves in the Christian world. The cathedral was situated in the centre of the city (like Jerusalem in the Christian world). To the east, churches were built that were dedicated to patron saints from Asia; in the western part of the city the patron saints were European ones; in the northern part of the city the main patron saint was St.Olav, buried in Trondheim, in the far north of the Christian world.Thus, Lund was constructed as a sacred city, a microcosmos of the Christian world (Andrén1998a, 1998b, 1999).

The creation of sacred places in pre-Christian Scandinavia must have followed the pre-Christian cosmology, of which, however, very little is known. In a society without any form of central public power, such as pre-Christian Scandinavia, where a precarious peace had to be constantly negotiated, the most important institutions were the home, the hall, and the thing, where social and legal negotiations took place. According to the sagas, these institutions were the sacred foundations of society, the focal points in the topographical structure of the Icelandic

universe in the early Middle Ages.

To sum up, landscapes and settlements in the early Middle Ages and the late Iron Age, be they archbishoprics, churches or manor houses/halls, were no neutal configurations, but organized according to a specific symbolic meaning. This fits the general explanation of 'sacred places' and 'sacred spaces' offered by Mircea Eliade

Asgard: Home of the gods

It is far from clear what the pre-Christian universe in Scandinavia looked like, but there are some common features attested in the *Poetic Edda* as well as in Snorri's *Edda* that are worth exploring, however tenuous the connection with Gudme itself may be.

In old Norse texts the representation of Asgard, home of the gods, yields many problems of interpretation. Snorri is the one who frequently mentions Asgard and gives the most detailed description in *Gylfaginning* (2,8,9,41) in his Edda, and in *Ynglinga Saga* (2,5,9). Apart from being part of a didactic work about the art of scaldic poetry, the *Gylfaginning* is also a systematic presentation of pre-Christian mythology, as I argued above. In the following I shall briefly describe this cosmic world of the North.

Although in this elusive Nordic cosmology the Yggdrasill is the undisputed centre of the universe, Asgard figures as the home of the gods and the residence of the Asir. A giant built Asgard on *Idavoll*; in Asgard's centre lies *Hlidskjalf*, Odin's high seat (according to the introduction to *Grímnismal, Skírnismal and Gylfaginning* 16, 49), from where he overlooked the whole world. The gods had a temple, *Gladsheim*, and a separate hall for the female Asir, *Vingolf*. Gladsheim, the 'bright home' was Odin's residence (*Grímnismal* 8), and maybe also that of Hlidskjalf – his high seat – a throne or a chair]; furthermore it harboured *Valhall,* where Odin gathered the warriors slain in battle. In *Gylfaginning* (13) Snorri says Gladsheim was the temple of Odin and twelve other gods; inside and outside, it was made of gold, and it was the best and greatest building in the world. Another crucial element of Idavoll and the only other building mentioned was the forge. In the beginning, hammers, anvils, and tongs were created. From then onwards, the gods themselves were able to produce all the implements they needed. They forged iron ore, made woodcarvings and had sufficient gold to construct their dwellings, and even their furniture, with gold.

As I have explained earlier, the skilled and powerful carpenter who created Asgard belonged to the outside world. Judging by it's impressive hall, Asgar represented the ideal of kingship. From his High Seat, the link between earth and heaven, Odin, the hall-owner, was in contact with the outside world through his shamanistic helping spirits, the two ravens. Asgard was also a place where skilled crafting took place, particularly metal work; at first the gods had unlimited time for it, and also boundless access to gold. On top of this, Valhall is the place for Odin's *hird* (armed followers) of human heroes. The hall is covered by a roof of spears and shields, and armour is piled on its benches (*Grímnismal* 8-10, 18-26; *Gylfaginning* 37-40*)* .

According to Old Norse tradition, Asgard lost its Paradise-like status after the war that ended its Golden Age. From then on, the Asir lost control of the highly skilled crafting that had been their monopoly.

Gudme: the paradigmatic model of Asgard

In the Christian world of the Middle Ages, Palestine, Jerusalem, and the Temple represented the centre of the world; the rock on which the temple of Jerusalem was built, was the navel of the earth. Sacred places in Christian Western Europe all had an 'inner' sacred space, inaccessible to the uninitiated, such as the altar in any church, or, in a monastery, the 'claustrum', i.e. the secluded space only accessible to munks/nuns. Jerusalem/Paradise represented a central ideal; in the ninth-century Plan of St.Gall, the monastic choir was called 'Paradisum'.[11]

In some ways, Asgard may have been Scandinavia's heavenly Jerusalem in the late Iron Age, an ideal world that had once been lost, but which also might be retrieved. If Gudme was a sacred place, the home of the gods, as we have argued earlier, it may indeed have been constructed to represent the centre of the world and a cosmic moral order, with the Asir gods in mind.

If we pursue this argument, a possible context for Gudme begins to emerge. Something resembling the centre of Asgard - Gladsheim, according to Snorri 'the best and greatest building in the world' and the hall of Odin - may have been on the minds of those who built the central hall of Gudme. With its 500 square meters it is the largest building known from Denmark before the Viking Age, constructed with a measure of technical knowledge without any precedent in local tradition (Sørensen 1994). Together with two smaller houses, the hall represents a complex and extremely accomplished building that was most likely created by skilled craftsmen who were outsiders – as also held true of the mythological Gladsheim. Gladsheim's centre was Odin's High Seat, from where he surveyed the entire world. In Gudme, the High Seat in the hall must have been a similar centre, which connected divine and royal power. From this elevated place, the king had a privileged view of the supernatural world, and access – like Odin – to the secret knowledge essential to his authority.[12]

The hall in Gudme is situated in a location held by archaeologists to be the 'workshop area' because of the many finds of workshop material, especially from metal work (Jørgensen 1995). In a traditional archaeological view such 'workshop areas' and 'workshop production' are treated as marginal to social and political life, but to my mind, this interpretation is too narrow. Skilled crafting, especially forging and the work of jewellers – and probably woodcarving as well – were the hallmark of political and ideological authority in the traditional societies I have discussed earlier. In this process the ideal of cosmic order was re-created and re-expressed in a tangible form (Eliade 1978; Helms 1993). For this very reason, Old Norse mythology situated the workshop area close to the hall. Highly skilled metal work was not merely a craft; it was an integral part of political and religious power, and something closely linked to ideals of royal authority.

The excavations in Gudme have shown that the big hall and the workshop area were located in the central and southern part of the settlement; the dwellings of the high-ranking warriors, however, were situated to the north of this area (Jørgensen 1995a). In the Old Norse mythology Odin's *hird* of (dead) human heroes lived in a separate hall, Valhall, situated in that part of Asgard which is close to Gladsheim. Although this is highly speculative, Valhall may be located to the north, for this was where Norse mythology situated the realm of

the dead.[13] The high-ranking warriors living in Gudme may have been dedicated to Odin, as high-ranking warriors from the Viking Age are known to have been.

Continuing this attempt to make sense of the topography of Gudme, the next element to be metioned is the lake is in the western part of the central settlement, and some springs connecting Gudme lake with Gudbjerg to the west and Galbjerg to the north. Careful investigation has yielded no indication whatsoever that the lake was used for sacrificial purposes. In the Old Norse mythology, the springs reflected the significance of the mythical springs to which Urd's well (the 'well of fate') and Mimer's well (the 'spring of wisdom') count, rising from below the roots of Yggdrasil and may as such belonge to the centre of the cosmic world. This is the place where the gods hold council, and Mimer's well is known as the source for Odin to achieve his wisdom.

There are other streams in the Gudme area, however. Tange Å arises near the sacred hill of Albjerg, to the south of the central settlement area. It passes Møllegårdsmarken cemetery on its way to the coast at Lundeborg. This cemetery, which is by far the largest in Denmark in prehistoric times, is located halfway between Gudme and the coast, on the northern bank of Tange å. Keeping Nordic mythology in mind, such a great cemetery must have been associated with the realm of the dead, the world of Hel, where those who died on land, of natural causes, were buried. Snorri situated it somewhere in the north, separated from Midgard by rivers, so one needed to cross a bridge in order to get there (*Gylfaginnin* 48). In his *Edda* Snorri identifies Niflheim with Hel (*Gylfaginni* 33), a mythical place in the icy north. From this perspective, Møllegårdsmarken is located between the centre of the world (Gudme) on the one hand, and the outside realm, where Utgard is to be found, on the other.

Lundeborg on the coast, the transitional zone between civilisation and a threatening 'world out there' of giants, demons and chaos, was the place where long-distance travellers entered inner space, the domain of the familiar. It was the transformative, liminal zone between land and sea where prestige goods from 'beyond' entered society as well as a place where specific kinds of skilled crafting took place, such as extensive repairs to ships (Thomsen *et. al.* 1993:73; Thomsen 1994). Organising expeditions and mastering ship-building and navigation are all prerequisites for skilled long-distance travelling, and therefore part of the process of bringing resources of ultimate cosmological qualities into society (Helms 1993:21).

To enter Gudme from the coast, from 'Utgard', may have entailed a process of initiation. Gudme, as a sacred place associated with myths concerning the home of the gods, must have been anxiously guarded against unwanted incursions. A sacred place like Gudme was both accessible and inaccessible, a place of great repute, that was also forbidden to the uninitiated, and for this very reason a powerful model to emulate; this is a characteristic that Gudme shares with many other sacred places, pagan as well as christian. The entrance to this secluded zone may have been the stream Tange Å passing through the realm of the dead on the northern bank, and with its source close to the sacred 'mountain' Albjerg, 'the hill of the shrine', south of Gudme's the central area.

Thinking along these lines, I would say that entering Gudme was a passage through the entire cosmic landscape that ranged between Utgard and Asgard, the outside and

the inside. Put differently, those who arrived in Lundeborg, after a long and arduous voyage across the sea, were then taken, by gradual stages, to the impressive hall in Gudme, the home of gods and kings.

Conclusion

In this chapter I have developed a tentatative model that will hopefully add to a better understanding of Gudme's underlying structure, and of the complexity of such a central place in Scandinavia during the late Iron Age. By focussing on Gudme as a symbolic constructed place that represented specific concepts of cosmological order, I have tried to extend the explanation beyond the traditional references to 'trade', 'power', 'richness', and so on. I am well aware that what I have performed is a highly speculative operation, but I am equally convinced that much is gained by also applying our well-informed imagination to the interpretation of complex sites such as Gudme. We urgently need to get beyond the traditional circular arguments about gold meaning power and vice versa.

On the one hand I have discussed Gudme as an extraordinary place; on the other I have stressed that it has many features in common with other places in Scandinavia that have also been called 'central places' or 'places of extraordinary power'. Gudme may in fact be the key to a better understanding of comparable sites, for this archetypal sacred place, embodying the 'nostalgia for Asgrad', is likely to have served as a model for emulation throughout Scandinavia, albeit with more humble results. All these different versions of sites inspired by Gudme fall into the category of what archaeologists today call 'central places' (Larsson & Hårdh 1998). These sites can be regarded as paradigmatic models of the cosmic world, deriving their structure and organisation from archetypal sacred places (Eliade 1997) such as Gudme on Funen, and probably also from contemporary important sites such as Helgö (i.e. 'holy island') in the Mälar area (Lundström 1968). These are archaeologically well-defined settlement areas, which I have classified as 'multifunctional and composite central places' because they combine the function of 'trading sites', 'cult-sites', 'production places', the hall (or 'sal'), gold finds etc. within a limited area (Jørgensen 1995b). To some extent, the puzzle of such complex central places in the late Iron Age of South Scandinavia can be solved by a comparison with the cathedrals and monasteries in the Middle Ages. All were places of power, created to be paradigmatic models of the universe, be it pagan or Christian ones.

Notes

[1] An extended version of this paper is published in de Jong, M. & Theuws, F. (Hedeager 2001).

[2] See the comprehensive account in Herschend 1998.

[3] A possible ranking of this places can be found in Näsman 1999:1 pp.

[4] In several articles Fabech has developed this model in archaeological case studies; most recently Fabech 1998. However, the model of ritual depositions in the cultural landscape, which plays an important part in this general model, has been the subject of debate; see Hedeager 1999a.

[5] Gudme is suggested as the dominant centre in South Scandinavia during the Migration Period by Ringtved 1999.

[6] Weavers for example can be seen as skilled artisans as well, but their activities are difficult to trace at Gudme.

[7] In this particular case I refrain from discussing iron technology and the extraction of iron ore as such although this must have been of major importance in an Iron Age society.

[8] To be noted, an element of shamanism was

present on Iceland only in the Middle Ages (Hastrup 1990:388 pp.)

[9] Various forms of cultural transformation from a pagan to a Christian universe are suggested in the Nibelungenlied. The story told is not exactly the same, even though various components including the main characters were kept. Changes are found, however, in the story's social context, i.e. in terms such as honour, guilt, generosity, and in the depiction of certain relationships. The main difference between the Volsunga saga and the Niebelungenlied is that the former represent a pagan universe, the latter a Christian (Vestergaard 1992).

[10] The name Gulleveig, however, is known exclusively from *Voluspa* (21 and 22) in the *Poetic Edda.*

[11] Cf. Horn & Born 1979 with elaborate reproductions of the Plan of St. Gall.

[12] This is widely accepted among Scandinavian archaeologista and historians of religion. It was first invented by Steinsland (1991; 1994) (in historiy of religion) and Herschend (1997; 1998)

[13] I.e. *Gylfaginning* 48; in some early texts, however, Valhall was thought of as part of Hel (Simek 1993:54)

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Uppåkra – Research on a Central Place. Recent Excavations and Results

Lars Larsson

Abstract

Since it was identified in the 1930s, Uppåkra has occupied a special position among Iron Age sites in southern Sweden. As a result of the investigations that have been going on since 1996, its position as a large and long-lasting settlement has been further emphasized. Since it has been possible to establish by means of corings, metal detector surveys and small-scale excavations that the habitation site was extensive, an important question has been how the initial stage was structured and whether this and later stages were shaped by planned expansion or whether settlement grew and changed shape with no direct control. Since 1999 there have been major excavations, and an area in the centre of the site has been selected for continued excavations since it had great potential for the study of an elite area during long, continuous settlement.

The 2001 excavation uncovered remains of several houses, one of which was particularly well preserved as a floor surface bounded by a wall trench. Finds inside the house, in the postholes and in the wall trench, including deposits of a beaker and a glass bowl of unusual shape, indicate that activities of a ceremonial character were carried on. The house probably dates to the 6th century, and there are observations suggesting that it has several predecessors.

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Introduction

The site at Uppåkra, southernmost Sweden, was first recognized in 1934 in connection with house constructions (Fig. 1). Excavations revealed occupation layers rich in finds and dated to c. BC–400 AD with a thickness of more than 2 metres. Settlement remains have later been found within an area of 1.1 x 0.6 km (Vifot 1936; Stjernquist 1995; Larsson 1998).

New investigation started in 1996. By metal detector surveys several thousand artefacts, mainly of bronze but of silver and gold as well, have been registered. The main part of the finds date to the Vendel Period (550–800 AD) and Viking Age (800–1050 AD). These periods of occupation, previously badly known, have proved to produce extensive remains of activities (see Hårdh, this volume). The finds indicate that most of the youngest occupation layers have been destroyed by ploughing (Larsson 1998, 2001a, 2001b, 2002).

The introductory archaeological investigations in 1996–1999 were on a limited scale

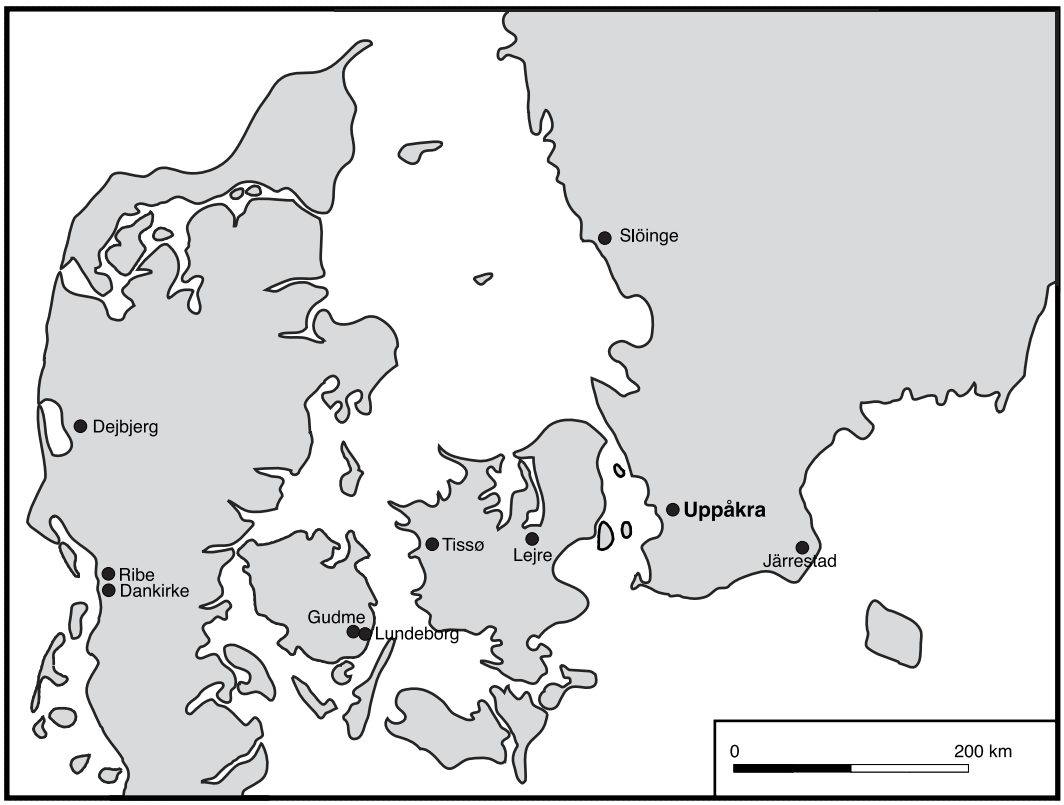

Fig. 1. The location of sites in southern Scandinavia mentioned in the article.

with one or a few trenches in six places within the settlement (Larsson 1998, 2002; Lindell 2002). The excavations suggest that the accumulation of layers began late in the Pre-Roman Iron Age and mainly ended in the Migration Period (c. 100 BC– c. 500 AD). However, later settlement remains *in situ* are being found in pits or in slopes were colluvial processes might have covered occupation layers.

Because of the great dimension of the settlement at Uppåkra, which might cover an area of about 40 hectares, just a small area would be excavated. Information from the small initial excavations was linked to other results from metal detector survey (Paulsson 1999), auguring (Larsson 1998) and geophysics (Mercer & Schmidt 2001; Dahlin 2001; Lorra *et al.* 2001), that gave an important basis for further field research. This presented several concentrations of settlement remains with indications of various artefacts combinations as well of chronological differences in artefact dating. The options and excavations for other sites of similar structure such as Gudme (Sørensen 1994), Ribe (Christensen 1991), Tissø (Jørgensen 1998, 2000, 2002) and Slöinge (Lundqvist 2000) were of main importance in the set up and execution of the Uppåkra project. The discussion about the introduction and structure of central places was of main interest as well (Fabech 1991, 1999; Helgesson 2002).

Therefore, plans for future investigations could be made with theoretical as well as empirical options. Thanks to sponsorship by the company Tetra Pak, these plans could be

realized by a five-year field project that started in 2000.

For the theoretical planning, as regards the establishment of the Uppåkra site, a couple of distinct structuralizing processes could be identified. One of them comprises a build-up and expansion of almost organic nature. One or a few settlers moved to the place, and because of either population growth or the attractiveness of the place, the settlement expanded without any initially planned structure. The other process is based on the planned design of the initial settlement and of its continued expansion. This planning is well known in the Viking Age in the form of parcel structures in proto-urban places like Ribe, Birka and Sigtuna (Tesch 1990; Jensen 1991; Ambrosiani 1995). Several of the larger Iron Age village settlements such as Vorbasse (Hvass 1988) and Tissø (Jørgensen 2001) have a similar conscious structured design. Yet older trading centres such as Lundeborg (Thomsen *et al.* 1993) and the oldest settlement in Pre-Roman Hodde (Hvass 1985) also bear clear signs of overall planning of settlement. Here we must also bear in mind that both processes may have left diachronically related traces. A settlement established without planning may have come under superior control because of its importance and only then become subject to a clearly planned expansion. It is also conceivable that a well planned settlement in a later phase declines in importance and then takes on a more casual structure.

More subtle and hence much harder to distinguish than the results of overall planning or more short-term measures is the rearrangement of a settlement within a limited area. In most contexts, the relation between older and newer buildings can be much more difficult to ascertain when they were built at considerable distances from each other. The relation is clearest in hall buildings, where rebuilding often involved a minor spatial shift in relation to an older building (Christensen 1991; Sørensen 1994; Söderberg 2001).

All these possible aspects presented of settlement structures built with or without planning have to be taken into account when dealing with a site like Uppåkra with a long continuation of settlement.

Excavation of central areas

Which processes were active in the design of settlement at Uppåkra was therefore a given question. This included the analysis of the houses and the spatial relationship of the farms for the design of the settlement. In addition, there are strong indications that a road of some importance for transports in western Scania may have run through the Uppåkra settlement (Erikson 2001; Samuelsson 2001). The relation of the settlement to this presumed road could establish its age and its significance for the shaping of the settlement. This question is intimately associated with the questions concerning the initial phase and subsequent development of central functions on the site (Larsson 2002).

After discussion it was decided that the excavations should primarily focus on a habitation area where various finds marked the probable presence of a elite area. Areas like these have been investigated in Denmark, such as Gudme, Tissø and Ribe, but comparable large farms are rare in southern Sweden; examples are Järrested (Söderberg 2001) and Slöinge (Lundqvist 2000). Special interest was concentrated on the possibility of being able to follow an elite area over a long period. At most they can be followed back to the 5th century (Sørensen 1994), while the majority belong to the Late Iron Age, including the

Viking Age. The occurrence of layer formation is unusual in large farm settings where there are several rebuilding phases within the same very limited area. The extensive layer formation in some areas at Uppåkra should make it easier to distinguish the different building phases. In addition, there is reason to presume the occurrence of house elements such as floors and structures built on them; at other sites these have almost always been destroyed by continuous ploughing. Although layers from the Late Iron Age have mainly been ploughed up, it would be possible to find relatively intact sections of, for example halls, and to follow them down through the layers in the hope of finding the initial phase and the form of earlier settlement before this. Hardly any other site in south Scandinavia offered more suitable conditions to pursue these intentions.

Previous investigations have shown that elite areas reflect several different activities which affected various levels in the social organization, both those concerned with everyday chores and those to do with special production and mass production for the needs of the ruling group and for contacts of trade and exchange.

The efforts to find elite areas were concentrated in areas with extensive amounts of finds from metal detecting and moreover with several finds of obvious status markers such as artefacts of precious metals showing skilled craftsmanship, as well as finds made of special material, such as fragments of glass beakers (Stjernquist 1999) that might be used in feasting in a central building.

There are three or four distinct concentrations of material which may indicate richer farm complexes (Fig. 2). Interestingly, they are all located in areas with extensive layer formation (Lindell& Thomasson a).

Two of these concentrations were considered particularly interesting to investigate. During 1999, excavations on a larger scale began with the stripping of topsoil by machine within long, regularly positioned test trenches within an area south of the church and east of the farm which building was the reason for the finding of the settlement. The strategy was to acquire a better knowledge of the stratigraphy and the composition, structure and degree of preservation of the features in specially selected areas. An area in the southwestern part of the site was excavated in 2000 in order to obtain information of another concentration (Fig. 3). In both areas there were rich remains of houses and other traces of activities. However, the variation as regards both the types and the chronological spread of structures seems to be much greater in the northern than the southern area. The southern excavation area slopes with an increasing gradient down towards a stream. Erosion seems to have been heavier here than in the flatter northern area. The northern area had structures from the Late Iron Age, whereas late structures occur more sporadically in the southern area. This difference between the two excavation areas meant that the major excavation with machine stripping of the topsoil in large continuous areas was concentrated on the area that had been subject to trial excavation in 1999.

In 2001 two areas comprising a total of roughly 4,000 square metres were stripped of topsoil. The larger trench to the north comprising a rise running east–west (Lenntorp & Lindell 2002). The trench a few tens of metres to the south also took in a rise running in the same direction, although this one was less noticeable. The large stripped area revealed traces of several house structures. Ploughing had seriously damaged the structures, but parts

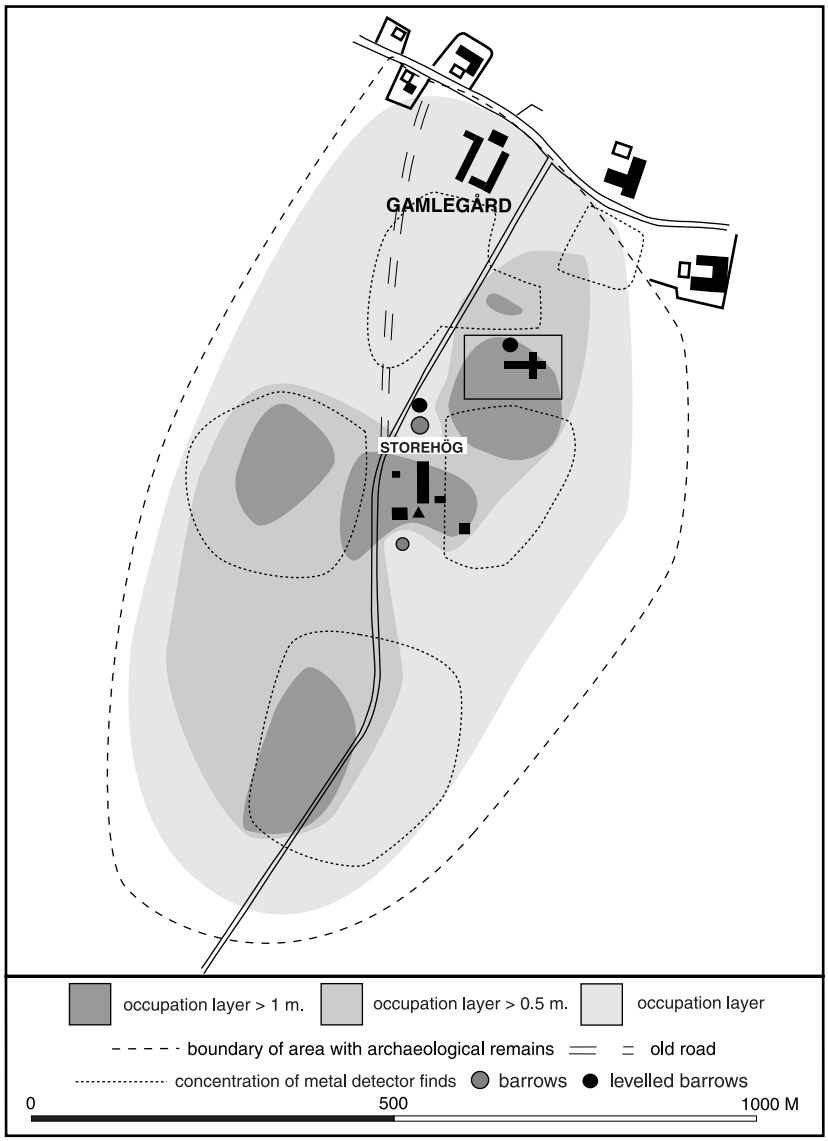

Fig. 2. Concentrations of occupation layers within the settlement Uppåkra.

of floors, collapsed walls, ovens and accumulations of loom weights could be documented in post-built houses dating to the Vendel Period and Viking Age. There was no evidence of any specific function, such as remains of craft work. In a few cases, traces of pairs of roof-bearing posts could be documented. The complicated structure of other houses meant that no roof-bearing posts could be discerned. In any case the intention was not to follow the house structures downwards, which would probably have made it easier to distinguish stains left by posts. The houses are relatively small, with a length of between 12 and 20 m. A sunken-floor hut which is dated to late in the Viking Age by means of a double-shelled oval brooch had a depth of only about 0.1 m, which suggests considerable ploughing-

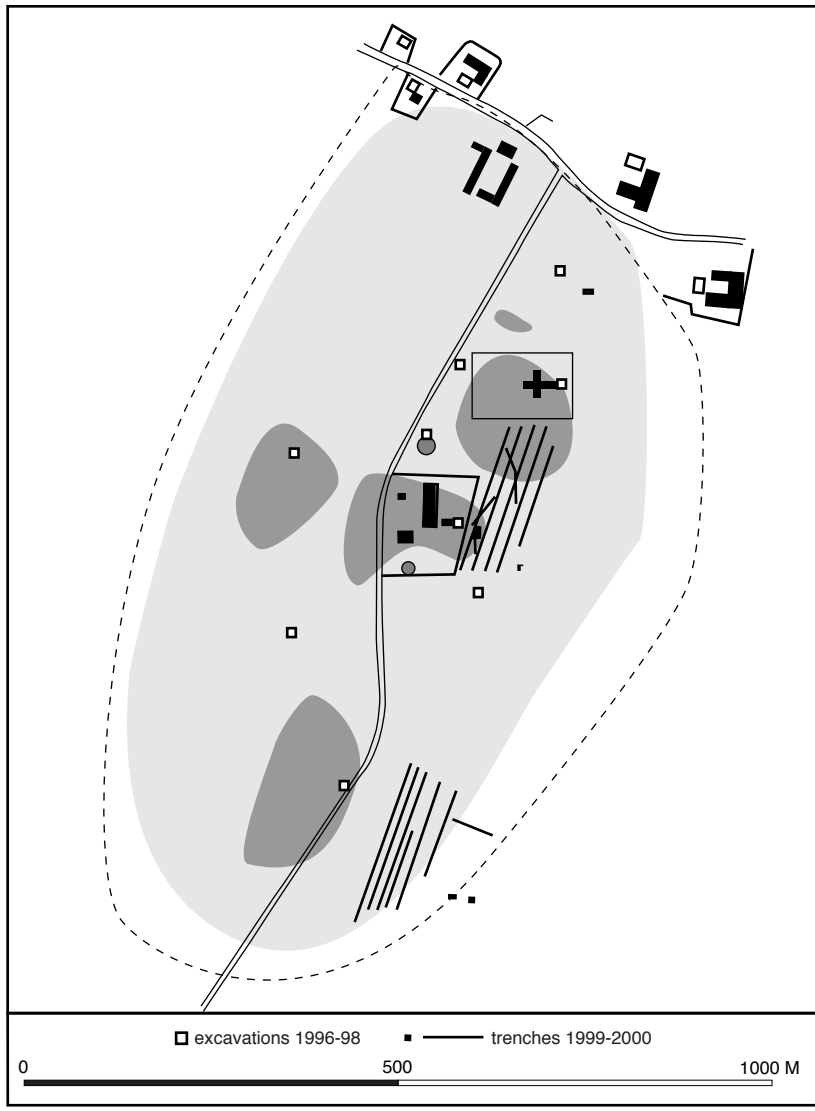

Fig. 3. Excavations within the settlement Uppåkra.

off and levelling of the latest occupation layers on the site.

The measurement of the occupation layers, as based on the cores taken every 20 metres proved to be extremely unreliable. The occupation layers varied from the previously stated thickness of about 1 metre to nothing, having been completely ploughed away in other areas. Within the area there was also stone paving at different levels, the function of which has not yet been determined. In one case the paving had a form and composition which suggests that it was part of a road running east–west.

Conditions were different in the southern trench. In its eastern part, traces of one or more post-built houses with their fragmentary remains of lay floors could be identified. There were several shallow pits, the content consis-

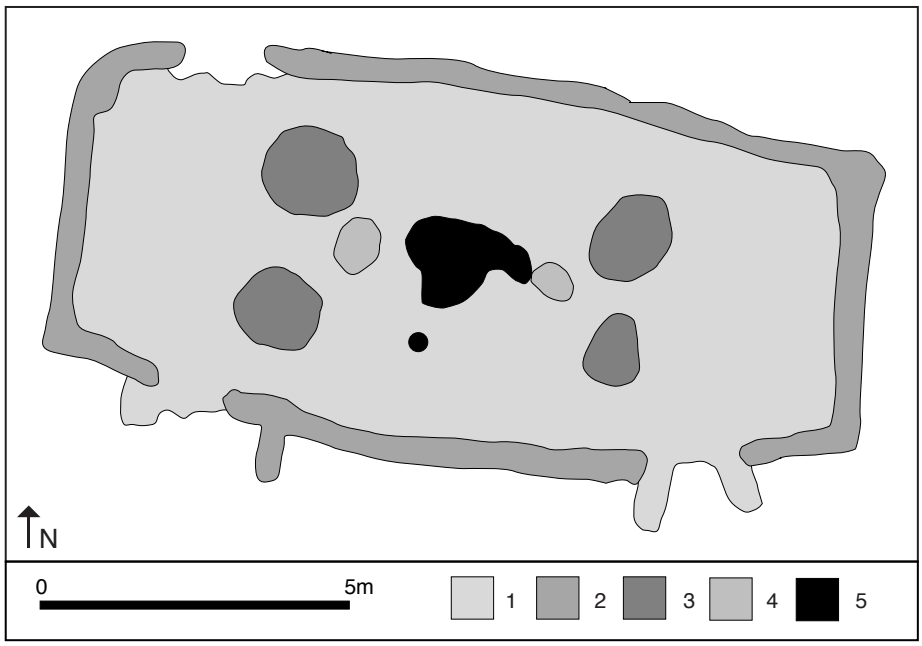

Fig. 4. House structure found during the excavation in 2001 with a yellowish clay floor (1), wall trench (2), two sturdy pairs of posts (3), small areas of stone paving (4) and a central hearth (5). A beaker and a glass bowl had been deposited under the floor, the position marked by a dot.

ting of querns, both fragmentary and intact. Similar accumulations of quernstones were noticed at the first excavation of the site in 1934 (Vifot 1936). The quernstones were then considered to be a sill located in a wall trench. The accumulations of quernstones found in 2001, however, are of limited scope.

As the soil was being stripped by machine in the western part of the trench, the plan of a house already stood out distinctly. It is marked by a yellowish clay floor surrounded by a wall trench that is interrupted by three entrances (Fig. 4). The external dimensions of the house are 13 x 6.5 m. In the middle of the house was a hearth, surrounded on either side by small areas of stone paving. In view of the size of the house, the traces left by the two pairs of roof-bearing posts are remarkably large.

A survey by metal detector south of the middle of the house gave a powerful response. Excavation uncovered decorated pieces of impressed foil along with glass, so a section of soil was removed intact with the finds in it (Hårdh, this volume, fig. 8). Careful exposure in the laboratory revealed a beaker 17 cm tall, with a clearly offset foot. It is made in bronze and silver with six decorated bands of impressed gold foil running round the beaker (Fig. 5). The glass proved to belong to a bowl with in honyish colour with offset ribs in blue on the belly and ground ovals at the rim. Both objects were deposited as offerings. They can be dated to the 6th century AD. It is uncertain, however, whether these finds really date the house. The deposition marks the closing of a ceremony, the continuation of which is no longer significant, or else other objects replaced the ones that were deposited. The two containers may have been used for some length of time as ceremonial objects

Fig. 5. The beaker found as a deposition below the floor of a house. 1:2.

when they were deposited. This means that the house could be much later than the deposited objects.

The excavation of the house is not yet finished. However, the excavation of the western pair of posts shows that they were redug. The filling included gold-foil figures (Hårdh, this volume, fig. 2), other small gold objects, fragments of glass beakers and a door knocker – a sturdy iron ring with four knobs still inset in the iron cramp that was nailed to the door (Fig. 6). Finds in the trench included a naked male figure cut out of gold foil exhibiting a necklace and a belt as the only decorations (Fig. 7). When the post-holes were dug, a further at least three floor layers were documented.

Ongoing conservation and continued investigations will expand out knowledge of the structure and the finds it contained.

Fig. 6. A door knocker – a sturdy iron ring with four knobs still inset in the iron cramp that was nailed to the door – was found in one of the large postholes of the small house. 1:3.

However, the shape of the house and the finds indicate that it was used for ceremonial purposes. To the west and south of the house there are extensive areas with fire-cracked stone and animal bones which may derive from large-scale feasting. Only a few metres to the south of the trench, a large number of spearheads were found within a limited area. They belong to the Late Roman Iron Age/ Early Migration Period and have been interpreted as votive deposits, possibly in connection with the cult of Odin, since the spear is one of this god's attributes (Larsson 2001b).

Indications of cult buildings

This house cannot be perceived as a real hall building, even though certain objects of great symbolic value were found in it. In both form and content, however, it does show certain similarities to other houses in south Scandinavia. Perhaps the chief parallel is a house at Dejbjerg in western Jutland which is just over 16 m long (Hansen 1993, 1996). This was rebuilt in three stages and had four or five pairs of roof-bearing posts, the number depending on the generation of the house.

Fig. 7. A male figure cut out of thick gold foil, with a neck ring and a belt marked. 6:1.

The postholes show clear traces of redigging, as does the trench that surrounded the whole house except for a pair of entrances. The house sequences are dated to the 5th and 6th centuries. Another parallel is the occurrence of fragments of glass beakers, chiefly in the postholes.

In the settlement mound of Dankirke in southern Jutland there are certain parallels in a 22-metre-long building, but it has only three pairs of roof-bearing posts, dated to the 6th century (Hansen 1990). The house contained numerous fragments of several glass vessels (Egeberg 2000).

The Uppåkra house also shows some similarities to smaller houses beside large halls at Gudme (Sørensen 1994), Lejre (Christensen 1991) and Tissø (Jørgensen 2001). The smallest, 22 m long, hall building from Gudme (house VII), from the 5th century contained several gold and silver objects in postholes or deposited in pits. From Lejre and Tissø there are smaller houses of different shaped which are through to have functions associated with cult (Jørgensen 1998:Figs. 8–10).

At Borg in eastern central Sweden a manor existing through part of the late Iron Age has been identified (Lindeblad & Nielsen 1997). Among the houses one in particular has been recognised as related to ceremonials. It was smaller than the other houses, had a different structural outline and was empty apart from two amulet rings. Almost a hundred such rings were found just outside the building. This feature is dated to the late Viking Age.

These houses are smaller and with a system of roof-bearing posts differing form the ordinary structure. The finds also suggest a special function for the houses, with a cultic and/or ceremonial meaning. The occurrence of glass beakers in the houses from Dejbjerg and Dankirke are of particular interest in this case, since the deposits resemble those in the house at Uppåkra. Greeting visitors, whether real or imaginary, with a toast of welcome was a central ritual in Iron Age ceremony.

In many societies drinking toasts had an important function, with feasting as a significant social manifestation and also a part of cultic acts. In the elite ceremonies of Scandinavia and other parts of Europe, drinking was linked to showing loyalty and swearing important oaths (Enright 1996; Isaksson 2000; Dietler & Hayden 2001). Drinking may also have been an important symbolic act at weddings or sacrifices (Hauck 1993; Herschend 1997; Holand 2001). Drinking had another meaning in connection with the welcoming of guests. Women seem to have played a major role in this ceremony. This is clear, for example, from the pictures of gold-foil figurines. The women are often holding

Fig. 8. Gold foil figure of a female from Uppåkra holding a beaker. Drawing by Björn Nilsson. 2:1.

Fig. 9. Patrix for a gold foil figure showing a female holding a beaker. Drawing by Björn Nilsson. 2:1.

Fig. 10. Patrix for a gold foil figure showing a man drinking and holding a sceptre. Drawing by Björn Nilsson. 2:1.

out a beaker, and men are depicted drinking from these beakers. Both motifs occur in Uppåkra. A gold-foil figurine as well as a patrice in the form of a woman holds a beaker (Figs. 8–9) and there is a drinking man person in the form of a patrice (Fig. 10). Women with beakers have been interpreted as valkyries who receive the fallen warriors in Valhalla (Watt 1999). Yet this may also reflect an important part of the social interaction between leading families.

Perhaps we could go as far as to suggest that the deposited beaker and the bowl may have had a function and a symbolism parallel to the more familiar regalia-like objects such as swords or sceptres (Bruce-Mitford 1968). The latter also occur as attributes in the depiction of the drinking man mentioned above (Fig. 10). We might also include in the group of regalia-like objects the throne-like seats with carved decoration found in one of the boat graves at Wremen in north-west Germany (Schön 1999). This and other objects, such as a footstool with artistic carving, are dated to the transition form the 4th to the 5th century A.D.

Conclusion

There are powerful indications that the well-preserved house in Uppåkra was a significant part of a large farm complex. If we proceed from the situation in similar complexes in other parts of south Scandinavia, we would expect to find a larger hall of the same age somewhere in the immediate vicinity. Hopefully, we will be able to verify or falsify this in the 2003 investigation.

For the continued excavations it will be important to document the relationship between the present building and the older generations of houses which are indicated under it in the form of clay floors. That the house in its present location existed in at least two versions is clear from the fact that the pairs of roof-bearing posts had been reset. It will be very interesting to try to establish the design, function and age of the earlier generations of houses.

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Uppåkra in the 5th to 7th Centuries. The Transformation of a Central Place and its Hinterland

Bertil Helgesson

Abstract

The relations between central places and the magnates' settlements of their immediate hinterland is a phenomenon that has been intensively discussed in south Scandinavian Iron Age archaeology during the last few decades. Central places are characterized by special functions on the local, the regional and the supra-regional levels, i.e. functions that normally cannot be documented at the ordinary agrarian settlements. These special places should not be apprehended as static units but as changing in a way that reflects changes in society. Special functions might also be connected with the magnate settlements but these places play a more local role than the central places. In this paper Uppåkra and some settlements and finds from western Scania during the 5th to 7th centuries will be discussed. At the beginning of the period many finds from Uppåkra are prestigious and continental, and the magnates' settlements are indicated by gold artefacts. Later in the period many Scandinavian standard forms appear at Uppåkra and the magnates' settlements are large with some prestigious material and traces of bronze casting. The reasons for these changes may be explained both as an internal development and in a wider Northern European social and political context.

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Uppåkra and the Scanian settlement

The site of Uppåkra in Scania, Sweden, is increasingly standing out as a rich and important place during the Iron Age. The archaeological record indicates that special functions were connected with the site which are not commonly documented at the ordinary settlements in the hinterland of Uppåkra (Larsson & Hårdh 1998; Helgesson 2002). The site was probably founded in the late Pre-Roman Iron Age, and people are still living in Uppåkra. This continuity, which covers a period of more than 2,000 years, is quite unique for North European circumstances. Obviously the site held a leading position in south Scandinavian society at least throughout the Iron Age and perhaps into the Early Middle Ages, i.e. until the late 10th or early 11th centuries according to Scandinavian chronology.

Uppåkra is often referred to as a central place in an envisaged core area in western Scania, and its authority perhaps extended to some of the neighbouring areas. There has been a huge debate about how the central places should be apprehended, and so far we lack a unitary definition. Perhaps we will never arrive at a definition and perhaps we do not need one. There is of course a great variety

of central places, depending on various prerequisites, and it is perhaps impossible to draw up a definition that covers all types of central places. One thing for sure is that central places cannot be understood if we apprehend them as isolated units. The relation between the central place and its hinterland is one of the things that makes a place central. The main question of this paper is to reveal how Uppåkra and its hinterland changed in the 5th to 7th centuries, and to discuss how the interaction between the central place and the hinterland might be interpreted.

Looking first at the ordinary settlements in Scania, it is obvious that they are quite common in the Pre-Roman period, and also common in the Roman and Viking periods (Jacobsson 2000). Settlements from the Migration and Merovingian periods are not so common. According to a specification made by the National Heritage Board, their excavations for some 30 years have revealed 82 settlements from the Pre-Roman Iron Age, 67 from the Roman Iron Age, 16 from the Migration Period, 26 from the Merovingian Period and 59 from the Viking Age (ibid.). One source-critical aspect must be added here. Ceramics from the Migration and Merovingian periods are not as easy to recognize as those from the Pre-Roman, Roman and Viking periods, and this might be a reason why settlements from the Migration and Merovingian periods are underrepresented in the archaeological record. Looking at the continuity between the Migration and Merovingian periods, this is documented in 9 cases. In 7 cases a settlement ends in the Migration Period and a continuation into the Merovingian Period has not been documented. In no less than 17 cases settlements from the Merovingian Period are newly established.

The Migration Period

The Migration Period in Scandinavia has often been referred to as "the golden age" on account of all the gold objects that have been found (Stenberger 1964). Many other finds are prestigious and of high quality, for example, warriors' equipment, mountings and jewellery. It is supposed that the economic and political strategies of the ruling classes were often based on creating alliances, and conquest, with the demand for tribute as a result. The residences of the ruling classes and other elite groups are indicated by concentrations of prestigious goods or central places. For example, Uppåkra, Vä in north-eastern Scania and Ravlunda on the east coast of Scania are supposed to be important residences of the elite. Also the famous finds from Sösdala and Sjörup in central Scania must be apprehended as magnates' residences (Helgesson 2002).

The Migration Period settlement of Uppåkra is a very large unit, covering an area of almost half a square kilometre. The archaeological material from the site indicates that the place held a very special position in society compared with the ordinary agrarian settlements in western Scania. Specialized craft is indicated by many lots of fibulae and other objects, many of which were obviously produced on the site. Some of them are of very high quality. It is interesting that several fibulae are the results of experiment, combining several traits of Scandinavian and continental styles. Even gold was worked, indicated by patrices for gold-foil figures. Uppåkra was also part of a long-distance exchange system of goods, and several fibulae, mountings and sherds of glass beakers are of continental manufacture. Uppåkra was also a central place for religious activity. Most striking is a cult house with finds of gold-foil figures, a silver beaker, a

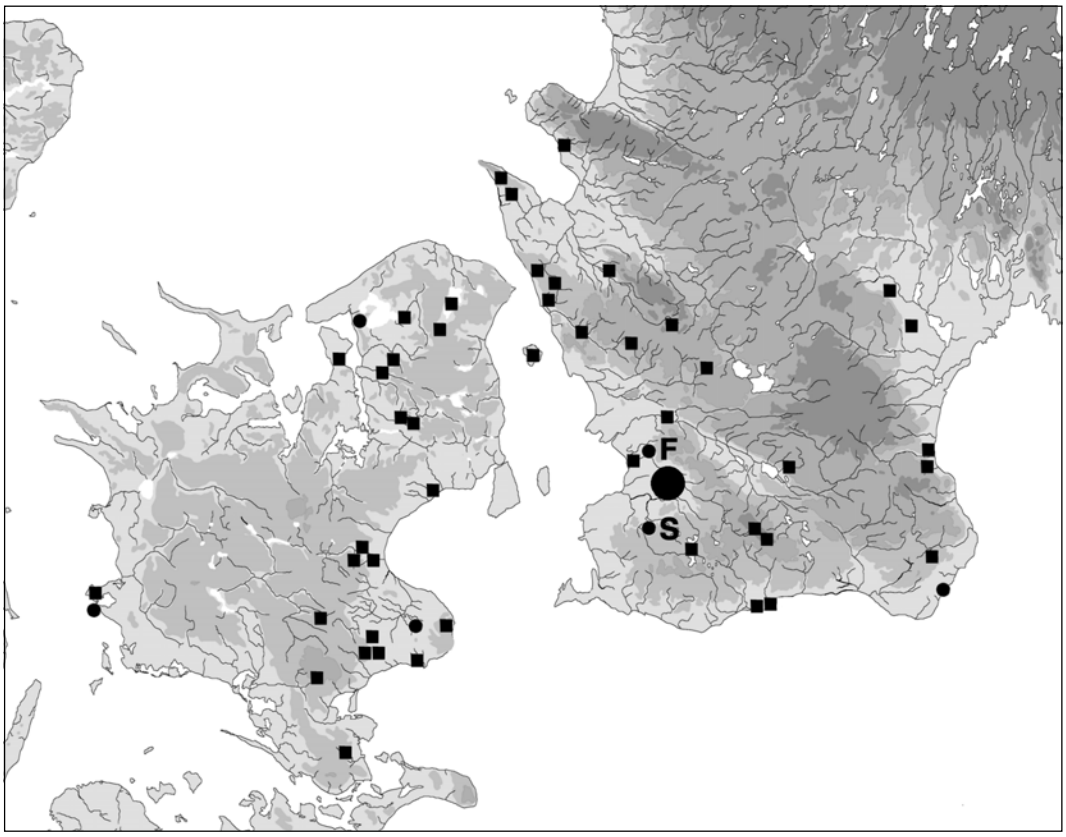

Fig. 1. Southern Scandinavia during the Migration Period. Large dot: Uppåkra, small dot: gold necklet, square: bracteate find, F: Flackarp, S: Skabersjö (Fonnesbech-Sandberg 1991; Helgesson 2002).

glass beaker and other finds that might be of religious importance. Not far from this house, spearheads and lanceheads were deposited in a restricted area, probably for religious purpose. This deposition started in the Roman Iron Age and lasted well into the Migration Period. Also military activity is indicated in the Migration Period material. Weapons, pieces of weapons and pieces of warriors' equipment have been found (Larsson & Hårdh 1998; Helgesson 2002). It is also obvious that a ruling class had its residence in Uppåkra. This is indicated by the many foreign, prestigious and valuable finds, but also by the structure and the size of the settlement and the structure of the hinterland. Powerful leaders, a powerful organization and an administration were needed to maintain and develop the place and the region.

The Migration Period of Scania is characterized by gold finds, which have a noticeable concentration in the western parts of the province (Fig. 1). Two distinct find groups are visible in the material, namely, gold bracteates and large gold necklets. The necklets (two in number) are found in the vicinity of Uppåkra, and the gold bracteates show a rather even spread all over western Scania.

Less than five kilometres north-west of Uppåkra, in Flackarp, one of the golden necklets was found close to the River Höje. The necklet is of Bragnum type, according to Ekholm (1918), and it is the largest known from the Migration Period in Scandinavia. In

the area around Flackarp an unusual concentration of prestigious finds and special places is known, covering almost the entire Iron Age and also the Middle Ages. North of the river, a large cemetery dating from the Late Roman Iron Age and also a cavalry grave from the late 8th century have been found (Helgesson 2002). On the north side of the River Höje is the medieval village of Värpinge, where a large silver treasure from the late Viking Age has been found. On the south side of the river is the large farm of Trolleberg, known as the medieval manor of Värpinge. Close to Trolleberg is the site of the medieval church of Flackarp, demolished in 1864.

A complex not unlike that in Flackarp is situated around Skabersjö less than 15 kilometres to the south of Uppåkra. This complex is gathered around the larger River Sege. Here too, a golden necklet is one of the most spectacular finds. Finds from the area also include a golden finger-ring from the Roman Iron Age, a large rectangular brooch from the Merovingian Period (the Skabersjö brooch) and a silver hoard from the late Viking Age. Skabersjö is known as a medieval manor from at least 1349. It is obvious that Flackarp and Skabersjö were important places, not only in the Migration and Merovingian periods, but for a rather long time. These two concentrations of special finds and places are exceptional compared with the surrounding areas. They might therefore be interpreted as residences for noble groups during the Iron Age and the Middle Ages (Helgesson 2002).

The gold bracteates from western Scania have a rather even spread in the plains in the coastal zone and the border zones of the central Scanian highland (Fig. 1). Bracteates have even been found high up on the Romele ridge in the south-eastern part of the province. Most bracteates are found as single finds or in treasures. Many bracteates are chronologically and geographically isolated finds, i.e. the periods before and after are not archaeologically documented in the vicinity of their find places. On the other hand, there are some source-critical aspects. Many bracteates are found in areas which are poorly investigated archaeologically, and this picture may be revised in the future. The bracteates might be apprehended as noble symbols of an elite class, used in a redistributive system with the purpose of forming friendships with others and creating alliances (Fonnesbech-Sandberg 1991). Their spread may therefore show the distribution of magnates' farms and elite groups during the Migration Period.

The spread of the bracteates is probably rather representative, bearing in mind that no bracteates has been found since 1954, Uppåkra excluded. It is difficult to speak about representativity in the case of the golden necklets of Scania, but it is striking that two of the only three examples have been found very close to Uppåkra.

The western Scanian concentration of gold finds is reflected on Zealand in Denmark (Fig. 1). Most finds of gold bracteates and gold necklets come from the eastern parts of the island (Fonnesbech-Sandberg 1991). The central island is empty of bracteates and from the most western part of the island only one bracteate is known. Just as in western Scania, the eastern Zealandic concentration of bracteates has an even spread and probably also shows the residences of elite group.

The early Merovingian Period

In the early Merovingian Period the gold finds disappear, and this is a phenomenon that is seen all over Scandinavia. This period has been problematic for a long time, lacking source

material, but in recent decades many new places has been discovered (cf. Näsman 1991). Many of these places have revealed rich material, indicating that there were different kinds of central places. There are few continental finds from these settlements in Scania and objects made of gold are totally absent. Instead the finds are domestic and consist largely of fibulae. The material from Uppåkra and Ravlunda is still rich and varied, but with few continental finds. These two places seems to be the most important sites and may have been the leading central places in western and eastern Scania respectively (Helgesson 2002).

Focusing on western Scania, Uppåkra shows the largest and richest material from this period. The site is still very large, covering approximately the same area as in the pervious period. There is a marked change in the composition of the source material. The prestigious goods that stood out in the Migration Period change character, and domestic fibulae and brooches are the most valuable objects, for example disc-on-bow brooches. The continentally produced finds are few in number, consisting of sherds from glass beakers, and perhaps some fibulae. The domestic material is large and bronze objects are numerous, especially fibulae (about 700 in January 2002). Many of these fibulae were surely manufactured at Uppåkra, and production waste has been found on several occasions. The material from bronze working is rather large, indicating large-scale, and probably also continuous, production. It is also obvious that the fibulae, mountings, needles and so on became more and more standardized during the early Merovingian Period. Weapons, pieces of weapon and details from warriors' equipment are also quite numerous and probably there were still many warriors stationed at the place. Also several objects that might have had religious significance are seen in the material. This rich and varied material speaks for a highly organized place and a ruling class probably still had its residence in Uppåkra (Helgesson 2002).

Uppåkra is the place in western Scania where special functions are most pronounced in the source material, but there are other places that probably also held a special position in society during the Merovingian Period (Fig. 2). In Västra Karaby, some 25 kilometres north-west of Uppåkra, traces of bronze working have been found. Close to the bronze working area a richly ornamented sword pommel and beaker glass were found (Ohlsson 1971:29 pp.). The Västra Karaby site is rather large and the find material mentioned above was found in a restricted area of the settlement. In Dagstorp, situated only some kilometres north-east of Västra Karaby, moulds were found in a pit outside the remains of a house. At least beak-shaped fibulae were cast, and perhaps also rectangular fibulae and pins. Also in Dagstorp this special material was found in a restricted area of the settlement (Hårdh 2001:197 pp.). In Lilla Isie, on the south coast of Scania, bronze casting was carried out on a small scale (Helgesson 2002). Moulds for beak-shaped fibulae have been found in a sunken-floor hut, which also contained a continental balance scale. The settlement is very large, extending into the parish of Östra Torp. In Lilla Isie the special material is likewise connected with a minor area of the settlement. A special find from another area of the settlement is a Frisian comb from the 8th century (Stjernquist 1988; Callmer 1995; Jacobsson 2000). These three settlements seem to have been newly established in the late 6th or early 7th centuries, i.e. in the early Merovingian Period.

There are other places in western Scania which might have had the same structure as

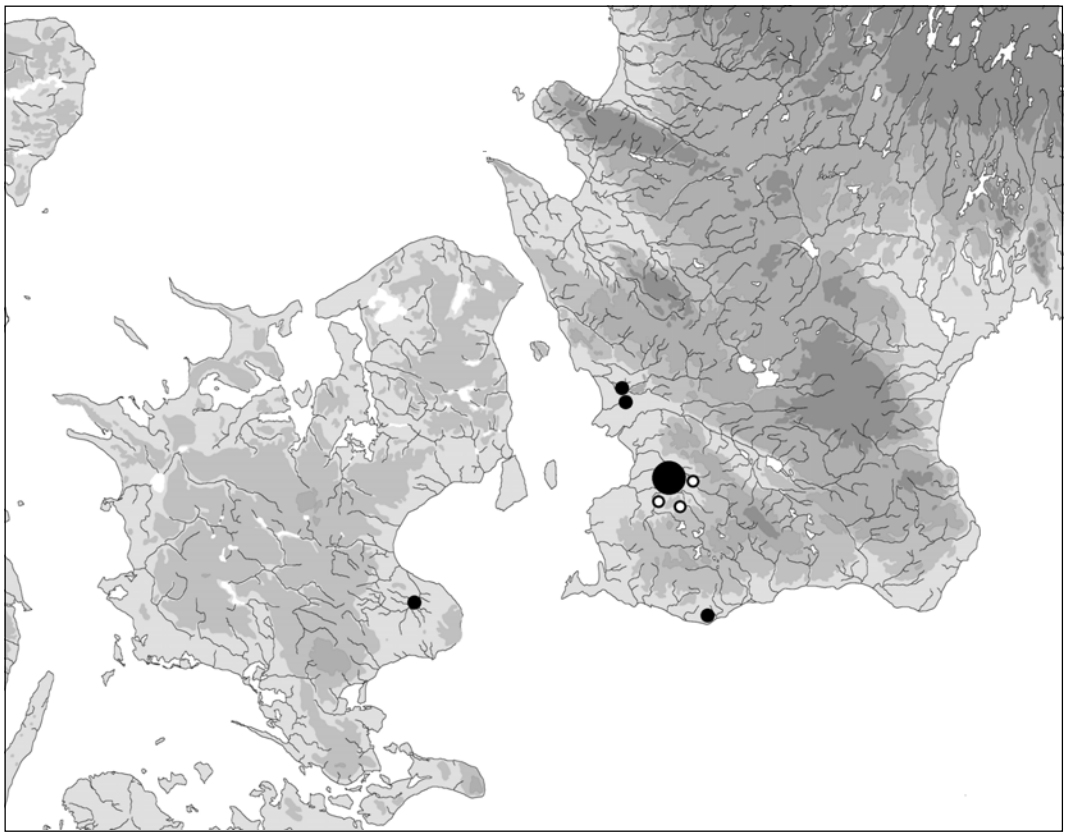

Fig. 2. Southern Scandinavia during the early Merovingian Period. Large dot: Uppåkra, small dot: magnate farm (excavated), circle: magnate farm (found by metal detector) (Helgesson 2002, manuscript; Tornbjerg 1998).

the ones mentioned above. They have been found rather recently, for example in Önsvala, Mölleberga parish, in Vesum, Knästorp parish, and in Djurslöv, Tottarp parish, by surveys by metal detectors (Fig. 2). The material from these places is rich, and especially the early Merovingian Period is well represented (Helgesson, manuscript).

There are some important aspects of source criticism concerning these early Merovingian settlements. The indications of noble milieus during the Migration Period, i.e. the gold objects, were almost all found in the 19th and early 20th centuries. Later gold finds are rare and the representativity is probably rather good. In contrast, the noble milieus of the Merovingian Period have all been revealed during the last 25 years or so, and new places are continuously found by the surveys by metal detectors. The representativity of these Merovingian places is therefore probably very poor. Another aspect is the comparison between Västra Karaby, Dagstorp and Lilla Isie on the one hand and Mölleberga, Knästorp and Tottarp on the other. The former were found by archaeological excavations and metal finds are scarce. The plough layers above the settlements were never excavated. The latter settlements were found by metal detectors and the metal finds are numerous. These settlements have not been archaeologically excavated. These two different types

of archaeological records probably mirror the same type of settlements, and these relations must be investigated in the future.

There are obviously several places in western Scania that held a special position in society during the Merovingian Period. On eastern Zealand many places have been excavated (Boye & Fonnesbech-Sandberg 1999; Tornbjerg 1999), and at least one place stands out as a noble milieu. The settlement of Toftegård (Fig. 2) in Strøby parish has revealed a rich amount of bronze ornaments, gold-foil figures, sherds from glass beakers, garnets and workshop waste (Tornbjerg 1998, 1999). At Toftegård most of this special find material is found in connection with a major farmstead, probably a magnate's farm. The settlement is large and probably begins in the 8th century or perhaps earlier.

To conclude

There was obviously a shift in the structure of settlement and society in western Scania at the transition from the Migration to the Merovingian Period as it is expressed in the archaeological material. How might this be appre-hended?

In the Roman Iron Age Scania was divided into several units of different character (Helgesson 2002). Most of these units were probably rather small, and the chieftains' residences are indicated by rich grave-finds. The immediate surroundings of Uppåkra, the plain around Lund and some adjoining regions in south-western Scania, probably had another structure. Here rich grave-finds are absent and the chieftains' residence and central place is instead indicated by the rich settlement material from Uppåkra. Probably a rather large district was tied to the place (Helgesson 2002).

In the Migration Period there is a new situation. The residences of the ruling classes become fewer as reflected in the archaeological record (Näsman 1996). In Scania there are perhaps five or six residences with probable authority over rather large areas (Helgesson 2002). Older units grew together and the systems might be apprehended as tribal confederations (or parts of) according to Wenskus (1961). The area around Öresund is one of the major distribution areas of gold necklets and gold bracteates (Mackeprang 1952; Fonnesbech-Sandberg 1991; Helgesson 2002), indicating a condensation of elite milieus. Western Scania and eastern Zealand might be apprehended as two separate areas with different political systems, but it is more likely that they constituted the same tribal confederation. This is strengthened by the idea that central Zealand and central Scania should be apprehended as borderlands (Fabech & Ringtved 1995; Fabech 1993). This unit was gathered around Öresund, and was probably one of the most important parts of the Danish realm. The Danes as a historical phenomenon are indicated in the written sources from at least the Migration Period (Näsman 1996; Näsman 1998). Uppåkra with its rich archaeological material was probably the most influential place in this Öresund area of the Danish realm.

The Migration Period social system was hierarchically constituted (Helgesson 2002). A fourfold hierarchical division might be indicated in the archaeological material. Uppåkra is the superior place in the Öresund area, and the gold necklets may indicate the most noble milieus which were directly connected with the rich central place. The even spread of gold bracteates indicates several elite groups, and then there are the ordinary agrarian settlements. The confederation was probably held together by certain systems of dependence, in which the payment of tribute

to the central place and the circulation of prestigious goods played an important role. It has been suggested elsewhere that several regions might have been incorporated with this tribal confederation by means of conquest and alliances (ibid.).

The redistributive system did not only cover the Öresund area. There are many finds from Uppåkra that suggest contacts with the continent as well as central Scandinavia (ibid.). Uppåkra might have been a part of a Northern European redistributive system where prestige goods and perhaps marriage played an important role creating alliances. Some of the foreign objects might of course have been booty or tributes after warfare.

The gold disappears in the Merovingian Period, and it is uncertain what kind of material replaced it in the redistributive systems. It might have been the elaborate disc-on-bow fibulae but, on the other hand, perhaps the need for prestige goods was decreasing. This might suggest a shift in the social structure. In the Merovingian Period many fibula types became standardized. The majority of the Merovingian Period fibulae and waste from fibula production has been found at Uppåkra, but the place was not the only production site.

The production of fibulae in Uppåkra and at other places seems to be quite similar as results the types that were produced. It might well have been the same craftsmen that were responsible for the production. There may have been a situation where the craftsmen had a rather free position and the metal supply was the responsibility of the customer. The archaeological material indicates that craftsmen according to this model worked most of the year at Uppåkra, and were bound to the work. On occasions they worked at other places. An alternative situation is that Uppåkra tried to achieve a monopoly, controlling both the production and the metal supply. In this case there must have been craftsmen closely tied to Uppåkra, and the production at the other places was either sanctioned by the rulers at Uppåkra or a sign that the control did not succeed totally. In both cases, Uppåkra was the superior production site with the most varied production, and this is indicated in the source material.

The standardization of fibulae and the fact that they are found in large quantities perhaps indicates a change in their use. They must have been available for new groups in society and therefore played a smaller role as prestige goods than the gold in the Migration Period. Fibulae lost some of their value in the redistributive system, and many of them became ornaments, perhaps with symbolic significance, and practical objects in women's dress.

Instead, another structure for keeping society together could have developed. In the Late Roman Iron Age there is a tendency for the importance of towns to decline in the Roman Empire. A new form of power base was the kind of large estates that evolved in the countryside. This became even more accentuated in post-Roman times, and the power in many of the Germanic realms was based on a military aristocracy and on the magnates' estates (Harrison 1999).

Perhaps a similar development occurred in southern Scandinavia. The old type of economy largely based on conquest might have reached its peak. There were no more areas to conquer and no more alliances to be forged. Instead, the ownership and exploitation of land became a new base of power. New areas may have been cultivated and land may also have been granted. A new class of landowners emerged as the embryo of the magnates' estates well known on the continent in the Early Middle Ages (ibid.) and in

Scandinavia during the Viking Age (Randsborg 1980). This embryo of a propertied class of magnates is here dated earlier than the Viking Age, as proposed by Randsborg (1980). A pre-Viking development of magnates' farms has also been discussed by Callmer (2001).

Dagstorp, Västra Karaby and Lilla Isie were newly established in the 7th century and so were also many of the places found with metal detectors. The bronze working material and the more exclusive finds from Dagstorp, Västra Karaby and Lilla Isie are concentrated in restricted areas of the settlements, perhaps on a single farm. These might have been the early magnates' farms that gradually attained a leading position in the village. In other cases the magnates' farms might have been single farms perhaps connected with cultivation of new areas. In the Merovingian Period too, a hierarchical society is indicated, with Uppåkra as the central place, but the economic and social circumstances of the elite groups may have been different.

From Uppåkra and the Öresund area there are few objects dating from the Merovingian Period which were not produced in south Scandinavia. This might be interpreted as showing that there was little contact with other regions in Northern Europe. The truth might be different. From the Merovingian Period there are many graves with weapons and other warrior equipment, and similar graves has been found in several places in Northern and Central Europe. They are common on Gotland and Bornholm, and also in Norway. Quite a lot have been found in other regions in Scandinavia. They are also quite common in several areas on the continent (cf. Nørgård Jørgensen 1999). A characteristic of these graves is that much of the warriors' equipment is rather standardized, but there are of course regional variations (ibid.). These warriors' graves are not found at all in the Öresund area, but many pieces of the warriors' equipment have been found at Uppåkra, for example, strap ends, mountings for shields and lanceheads, sword pommels, buckles, and even mountings with animal ornamentation similar to those in the richest weapon graves on Bornholm and Gotland (Nørgård Jørgensen 1999). This find material might therefore indicate another kind of external contact between Uppåkra and many societies in Northern and Central Europe. Uniform warriors' equipment evolved, and perhaps there was some kind of common warrior ideology. A difference between Uppåkra and most of the other areas in the 6th and 7th centuries is that the warriors' equipment is found at a settlement and not in the graves. This might indicate a special situation with a centralized defence, in which warriors were bound to the settlement and the equipment belonged to the rulers of Uppåkra. Perhaps this is the embryo of a military aristocracy, later seen in the rich warriors graves of the 8th century in western Scania

This brief examination has pointed out a rather marked shift at the transition between the Migration and Merovingian periods in Uppåkra and its hinterland in the 5th to 7th centuries. The reasons for this shift might be seen both in the development on the continent in post-Roman times as well as in the social system of the Migration Period in southern Scandinavia, which had reached a point where it was unable to evolve.

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Uppåkra in the Migration and Merovingian Periods

Birgitta Hårdh

Abstract

A special characteristic of Uppåkra is the long period, the entire first millennium AD, during which the place seems to have functioned as some kind of a centre. However, the expressions of centrality probably changed fundamentally during its existence. It is worth noticing the contrast between the record from the Migration and the Merovingian Periods. The Migration Period is characterized by a varied record including precious metals and exotic objects, whereas the Migration Period primarily shows extensive indigenous metal handicraft. These are probably two different ways to express centrality, also reflecting fundamental variations in the organization of society.

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Introduction

A distinguishing quality of the Uppåkra settlement is the long continuity, as a matter of fact 2000 years from the Birth of Christ till the present day, and the long period, almost the entire first millennium, when the place shows characteristics which make it appropriate to refer to it as a centre.

It is a well-known fact that Skåne is poor in import finds from the Roman Iron Age, compared to surrounding areas, especially Zealand (Lund Hansen 1987). There could be several reasons for this. The contact routes might have touched Skåne to a lesser extent, or the patterns of deposition could have been different. So far the few graves from the Roman Iron Age that have been found at and close to the Uppåkra settlement are not spectacular. In spite of this, however, there are several indications that Uppåkra, right from the first centuries AD, should be regarded as a place of special dignity. Glass with cut and polished decoration has been found, probably indicating an aristocratic presence (Stjernquist 1999:68 p.). Gold pendants of various types are also consistent with this. About 150 brooches give the place a special character (Helgesson & Stjernquist 2001), and production of brooches on the site cannot be ruled out (cf. Sørensen 2000: 49). Waste from bone and antler craft is more substantial here than at any other known place in Scandinavia from this period (Lindell 2001). Finally, some 5 denars indicate wealth as well as contacts with the surrounding world (Silvegren 1999). As they are scattered over most of the settlement area it is not unlikely that they partly functioned as means of payment.

This is the background to the period that this article concerns, that is, the Migration

Fig. 1. Decoration knobs, U3035, U3568, U845. 1:1.
Photo B. Almgren, LUHM.

and Vendel (Merovingian) Periods. Ever since the first detector finds appeared in Uppåkra in 1996, my colleagues and I have noticed apparent differences in the record from the two periods (cf. Branca *et al.* 1999). The question is whether this corresponds to fundamental differences in society between the 5th–6th centuries and the 7th–8th centuries or if it is due solely to bias in the finds.

As the theme of the symposium is central places, I will also discuss whether the record expresses centrality in Uppåkra. As the concept of centrality is manifold, my purpose is also to see whether different kinds of centrality are expressed in the record.

The Migration Period

The objects generally dated to the Migration Period are highly varied, show far-reaching connections and a general aristocratic character. There are also several indications that the place might have been some kind of a religious centre. The impression of Uppåkra as a place out of the ordinary is strengthened.

A group of ornaments of gold, silver or gilded, show the high standard of local handicraft skill. During the excavations in 1999 a big gilded relief brooch of high quality and of Nydam style was found. According to Bente Magnus it belongs to an early group of relief brooches from Skåne with strong connections to Denmark (Magnus 2001). There are no clear traces of structures connected to it, so no explanation as to why and how it was deposited has yet been arrived at.

Decoration knobs and agraffes in gold or gilded bronze also belong to an aristocratic sphere (Fig. 1). There are decoration knobs with filigree ornamentation or decoration in style I, and an agraffe has clear connections to similar items from Bornholm.

Gold bracteates and gold foil figures belong to the picture of a central place, and both have been found. There are two gold bracteates of C-type, one with a runic inscription. The first found has been published by Morten Axboe (2001), who states that it belongs to a group with a clear concentration in Skåne. Six gold foil figures have so far been found. One is a single figure, a woman, with good parallels mainly from Bornholm. The second is a double figure with its best parallels on Zealand and Funen (Watt 1999). The third one is a fragment, and during excavations in 2001 another four figures, of which three are single men, have been found (Fig. 2).

A sword pommel of silver with spiral decoration and parallels in the Sjörup hoard and a silver pendant with gilded ornamentation, which in its shape and not least in its stamped ornamentation shows parallels to the Sösdala hoard (Hårdh 1999a:Fig. 2, 2001a:Figs. 4, 5), give connections to central Skåne and the spectacular hoards from that area.

Three patrices for gold foil figures make

Fig. 2. Gold foil figures, found in a house structure in 2001. 1:1. Photo B. Almgren, LUHM.

up direct evidence for metalwork in Uppåkra during the Migration Period. Patrices for gold foil figures are not a common type of finds, the total number of them now being eight. Thus it is striking that no less than three of them have been found at Uppåkra, two complete and one fragment. The two complete ones both show single figures, one of a man and the other of a woman, types which are well known on Bornholm. It is especially interesting that Margarethe Watt has stated that one of the Uppåkra patrices was used to make four of the finest gold foil figures from Sorte Muld. So, we have here a direct link between Bornholm and Uppåkra as regards metal craft (Watt 1999).

A large share of the objects are fragmented (Fig. 3). It has further been stated that the fragmentation was often done deliberately and in prehistoric times (Hjärthner-Holdar, pers. com.). Thus it is appropriate to consider scrap metal as important evidence for metalwork. The fragments are of mixed origin, with Scandinavian types together with more or less exotic types. There are fragments of fibulae from various parts of the Continent together with some items from the British Isles. Some fragments also derive from types known from the Baltic islands. An important question concerning the foreign fragments is whether they were imported as complete objects or as fragments and thus should be seen as raw material. A typical feature of finds from the plough layer, for example, collected by metal detector, is that the original context is lost. The objects can only be dated through typology and if it is recycled material we can of course never be sure what period the fragments represent. It could of course be very old objects which have been transformed into scrap metal.

Cruciform brooches are typical of the Migration Period, at least in this region. The type has its main distribution in the western parts of Scandinavia and thus also connects this area to Western Europe, i.e. the western parts of the Continent and England (Reichstein 1975). It is worth noticing that the type is rare on Bornholm while in many other respects there is a manifest connection between Uppåkra/Skåne and Bornholm. In this respect Uppåkra seems to be orientated westwards. During the excavations in the 1930s three complete brooches and some fragments of another three brooches, which obviously had been kept in a wooden box in a house, were found (Vifot 1936:Fig. 10:1; Stjernquist 1996:Fig. 12). The brooches are simple, cruciform with flat knobs cast together with the head plate and a triangular foot. Some brooches of the same type and several fragments have been found in Uppåkra in the last few years (Fig. 4). Similar brooches are also known from other parts of Skåne (Strömberg 1961:Taf. 53:2, 4, 6) and the type might be a Scanian variant, possibly produced in Uppåkra. Some related simple cruciform brooches are known from western Sweden, Norway and England (Reichstein 1975:Taf. 25:1; 101:2,3; 107:3).

Contacts with the Continent are indicated by a couple of coins, some glass and a number of ornaments. Two Roman bronze coins from the 4th and 5th centuries, the latter struck for Valentinianus III, have been found and are

Fig. 3. Fragmented brooches U10862, U4468, U2267, U2243, U3950, U299, U934. 1:1 Photo B. Almgren, LUHM.

worth mentioning as Roman bronze coins are rare in this area.

Glass has so far been found only incidentally, but there are some sherds, identified by Berta Stjernquist as deriving from Snartemo beakers (1999:70 pp.).

A group of small brooches and mountings in gold or gilded bronze have inlaid garnets (Fig. 5). Some of them have close connections to, or are almost identical to, brooches on the Continent. One (U 2660) belongs to a widespread group of items so similar to one another that some kind of serial production must have existed. The type is known from northern France to northern Italy and Hungary. Its origin is supposed to be among the Langobards in Hungary and Italy or in the Gallo-Roman area in northern France. Another brooch (U3494) has been found in an area from Italy to south Germany. Apart from the Uppåkra item, no brooches of the type are known north of the Main area. The Uppåkra brooches are, as far as I know, isolated in Scandinavia. Their presence in Uppåkra probably indicates contacts with present-day south Germany.[1)] Other garnet-decorated ornaments are also indications of long-distance contacts. An oval brooch has a parallel in Gudme and is supposed to be of South European origin. A pendant has parallels in the Ostrogothic hoard from San Marino, from the late 5th century or the beginning of the 6th century (*Germanen, Hunnen und Awaren* 1987:426 p.) or in the well-known tomb from the Cologne cathedral (Müller-Wille 1996: Abb. 153).

A group of five *Dreirundelfibeln*, complete and fragments, are also worth noticing (Fig. 6). The group is isolated in Scandinavia; no parallels are known here. The shape is connected to Thuringia with a spread westwards to Frisia and south-west England (Behm-Blancke 1973:Abb. 110; Wieczorek 1996:Abb. 289), but no exact parallels to the Uppåkra items except for one have been found there. The exception, which is very like U2277, is referred to by Schmidt as a "Sonder-form", while Behm-Blancke calls it "Scandinavian", even though no Scandinavian examples were known when his book was written (Schmidt 1961:

Fig. 4. Cruciform brooches, detector and excavation finds: U 10885, 2 fibulas found in excavation in the 1930s, 1 fibula found in excavation 2001 and U29003. 1:1. Photo B. Almgren, LUHM.

Fig. 5. Garnet decorated ornaments, U 2660, 3494, 4476, 4943, 9778. 1:1. Photo B. Almgren, LUHM.

Fig. 6. Dreirundelfibeln, U 4454, 679, 6747, 2277, 3208. 1:1. Photo B. Almgren, LUHM.

130; Behm-Blancke 1973:71 p., Abb. 100). As they deviate in details from the continental brooches, they might be local creations inspired by the Continent. Helgesson has suggested that the Uppåkra brooches are the result of an amalgamation of south Scandinavian and foreign traditions (pers. com.). Technical elements, such as double attachment pegs for fastening the needle, which all the Uppåkra brooches possess are, however, a clearly continental trait. How then are the Uppåkra brooches to be explained? I think it is not too far-fetched to maintain that they show close connections to present-day central Germany. The question is whether they were brought here as personal belongings or if foreign craftsmen worked in Uppåkra.

In this respect another exotic item, known as a "Paragraphenfibel", is of interest (Fig. 7). It has close parallels in Langobardian contexts and also in Thuringian (cf. *Germanen, Hunnen und Awaren* 1987:Taf. 93; Behm-Blanke 1973:Abb. 111). The Uppåkra brooch, however, does not seem to have been completed. The needle fastening pegs are not perforated and the needle catch has not been bent. The brooch also seems to have been burnt. How can this unfinished continental brooch in Uppåkra be explained? Could it have come as scrap metal or does it show that foreign craftsmen worked here?

Fig. 7. "Paragraphenfibel", U 7122. 1:1. Photo B. Almgren, LUHM.

In 2001 a house was found, situated centrally in the settlement. It is 12 metres long, has three entrances and four unusually big postholes. The excavation of the house is not finished at the time of writing, but the record so far is striking. Close to the fireplace, in the centre of the house, a big blue and amber coloured glass bowl was deposited together with a metal beaker. The beaker is made probably of a copper/silver alloy, its foot and rim of silver. Around it there are six gold bands with pressed decoration, showing human figures with heads resembling those on gold bracteates (Fig. 8). In September 2001, when this article was written, the matrix was being excavated in the conservation department of the LUHM. Gold foil figures and other gold fragments as well as a huge door-knocker of iron have been found in the post-holes and in the wall trench (see further Larsson in this vol.)

A group of some 40 spearheads and lanceheads, several of them severely damaged, have been found concentrated south of the house. The weapons show obvious similarities to the well-known weapon sacrifices and might be regarded in connection with the gold bracteates and gold foil figures as some kind of religious expression (cf. Bergqvist 1999; Hårdh 1999a). An explanation for the south Scandinavian weapon offerings, recently put forward by Jørgensen, is that they might be a barbarian interpretation of the Roman emperor's triumph (Jørgensen 2001:16). With this large concentration of weapons at the Uppåkra settlement, I think it is well worth considering this hypothesis here too. Religious or prestigious, the weapons augment the impression of centrality of the site.

Fig. 8. The glass bowl and the beaker under excavation. Photo B. Almgren, LUHM.

The Vendel Period

The Vendel Period in south Scandinavia and especially the 6th century has been regarded as a problem with declining material and thus difficult to grasp. In Uppåkra the cultural layers from the Vendel Period and Viking Age are severely damaged by agricultural activities and we should not expect more than slight traces of houses etc. However, in terms of detector-found objects, this is one of the richest periods at the same time as the record is very homogeneous. It consists mainly of brooches together with some mountings, all in bronze and of local production. We now have about 780 items, mountings, ornamented fragments etc., dated to the Vendel Period, including some 630 Vendel Period brooches. The cruciform brooches of the late Migration Period represent a south Scandinavian production with indigenous, characteristic shapes, and also the first traces of a kind of serial production. This tendency is pursued and strengthened during the subsequent period.

The Vendel Period brooches consist of a number of well-defined types, often in substantial numbers, such as beak-shaped brooches over 200, equal armed approx. 120, bird shaped approx. 110, oval 43, round 42 and S-shaped brooches 37 items. The majority of them have their best parallels in south Scandinavia, mainly on Bornholm, and the group as a whole bears witness to the high standard of south Scandinavian metal handicraft in the 7th–8th centuries.

The most common type of Vendel Period brooches in south Scandinavia is the beak-shaped brooch. It is present on most of the new detector sites in Skåne and Denmark and is common in graves. It was obviously part of the costume, worn as a pair or in combination

Fig. 9. A collection of Vendel Period brooches. 1:1. Photo B. Almgren, LUHM.

with some other type of brooch. The type is clearly south Scandinavian with a distribution from Jutland to Bornholm. Through analysis of technical details it is also obvious that we have a western and an eastern tradition, the latter comprising Skåne and Bornholm. It has further been possible to define local groupings within Skåne and to demonstrate traits which are typical of a Scanian tradition as well as traits which occur only on Bornholm. It is possible to demonstrate connections between Uppåkra and various settlements in Skåne. Through finds of moulds and in one case even a stock of not quite finished brooches, it has been possible to prove production in Uppåkra and also at a few other places in Skåne (Hårdh 1999b, 2001b).

The number of weights from Uppåkra is large, about 330. The largest groups are spherical, cubo-octahedral and cylindrical shapes. The first two groups are dated to the Viking Age or later while the cylindrical weights are difficult to date. They may belong to the Migration, Vendel or Viking Periods. Cylindrical weights of lead or bronze are known from some pre–Viking Age contexts and sometimes in connection with metalwork (Gustin 1999:247 pp.). With regard to the manifest traces of metalwork it is quite probable that a number of the weights belong to this period.

So far it is mainly the glass that indicates contacts with the world outside south Scandi-

Fig. 10. Five beak-shaped brooches. 1:1. Photo B. Almgren, LUHM.

navia. There are several sherds of mainly West European origin and types that we also encounter at central places and trading places such as Dorestad, Hedeby, Dankirke/Ribe, Helgö and Birka (Stjernquist 1999:75 pp.). The Uppåkra brooches show extensive local craft and regional connections. The glass is a clear indication of continued, strong and regular contacts with the Continent, primarily with Western Europe.

A roof-shaped mounting with a human head at each end has been analysed by Bertil Helgesson. He states that the heads can be compared to faces on relief brooches, gold foil figures and gold bracteates. The mounting might derive from a small reliquary of which there are many examples in West European contexts. The mounting could have been made as early as the 7th century (Helgesson 2001:207 p.). During the excavations in 2001 a similar, although not identical mounting was found (Fig. 11). The mountings might be connected to a group of objects from the late Vendel Period and early Viking Age with their origin in Ireland or the western parts of the Continent, i.e. in Christian areas. It is not unlikely that they represent an early Christian mission directed towards present southern Sweden (Helgesson 2001:209 pp.).

In view of the wealth of finds and the regular and systematic search, it is of course important to notice not only what has been found but also what is missing. It is therefore appropriate to ask why no solidi and no sceattas have been found. Does this mean that certain functions were not of central importance at Uppåkra? Whether solidi were used as means of payment in Scandinavia during the Migration Period is questionable, but is the absence of sceattas an indication that the place did not take part in the long-distance trading connections across the North Sea? Sceattas, however, as is well known, are very rare compared to denars or dirhams.

As for the dirhams, there has been intense debate about when the first Arabic coins reached the Baltic area. Numismatists maintain, unanimously if I understand correctly, that they did not arrive until shortly before 800 AD. and that all older coins came in together with the younger ones (cf. e.g. Noonan 1986:341). In any case, there are over 80 dirhams, abbasids and umayyads struck before 800 from Uppåkra, a rather large share early in the 8th century or even in the late 7th. There are also a few Sassanian coins which might have been struck during the 6th century.

Fig. 11. Two mountings, U 5980 and one found in excavation 2001. 1:1 Photo B. Almgren, LUHM.

Discussion

The record from the Migration and the Vendel Periods shows manifest contrasts but also in some respect continuity between the two periods. The overall impression corresponds well to what is usually proposed for the two periods. The record from the Migration Period is highly varied, has an aristocratic appearance and gives the impression of wide-ranging contacts. We find glass, garnet brooches, silver and gold. Exotic objects indicate far-reaching contacts with the west, south and east of Europe. The following period, the Vendel Period, is primarily characterized by local, although very extensive metal handicraft in copper alloys. It is worth noticing that the brooches, mountings etc. from this period display high skill, artistic as well as technical. From Uppåkra there are manifest traces of metal handicraft, and a vast number of intentionally fragmented brooches, together with moulds, show that work in non-ferrous metals was extensive in Merovingian Period Uppåkra. Alloys and the like also indicate the high technological standard of the craft, also in comparison with other sites (Hjärthner-Holdar 2001).

There are several reasons for the differences between the two periods. Precious metals on average become scarce after the 6th century, which is probably due to the interruption of external supplies. Changed political conditions, local and continental, had an impact on variations in the contacts between south Scandinavia and the continental realms.

During the 6th century there are many indications of contacts between Scandinavia and the Continent, chiefly with the Merovingians and the Thuringians. Jørgensen describes how Bornholm shows close contacts mainly with the Merovingian realm in the 5th–6th centuries. The same is visible also, for example, in the Mälaren region and Gotland from the 6th century (Jørgensen 1991: 122 p.). The contacts seem to have had an individual character, but military alliances and also marriage alliances have been suggested (Arrhenius 1985; Nørgård Jørgensen 1997: 113). The contacts also seem to have been mutual, with continental impact on Scandinavia as well as Scandinavian elements in continental contexts. Scandinavian objects are known from grave finds in south Germany (Koch 1999). In the 7th century the situation seems to have been different. The indications of long-distance contacts and alliances become scarcer and disappear eventually. Instead the Scandinavian record, according to several colleagues, might be interpreted in terms of

an inner consolidation, and for south Scandinavia the interest seems to have been directed rather towards the north (Näsman 1991:175; Høilund Nielsen 1991; Nørgård Jørgensen 1997:115).

The glass, on the other hand, together with some other imported items, clearly shows that the external contacts were not interrupted but maintained. Perhaps the glass shows more regular and continuous trading relations instead of the fluctuating personal contacts which the ornaments imply, and Christian missions are suggested for some of the imports of the Vendel Period.

In the non-ferrous metal handicraft there is a pronounced distinction between the two periods, which certainly reflects important societal differences and also tells us something about variations in centrality. The brooches from the Migration Period are, as mentioned, highly varied. They show affinity to vast areas of western, eastern and southern Europe and a single brooch often shows an amalgam of traits from various directions. It is also sometimes difficult to state whether a brooch or a group of brooches are imports or local products. The craftsmen seem to have had extensive contact networks where they borrowed and copied elements from one another and combined them in an individualistic and independent way.

In the Vendel Period the situation is different. The types are usually regionally defined and it is possible to analyse their distribution and to obtain indications about production regions and patterns of contacts. For south Scandinavia it is possible to maintain that there was creative and innovative handicraft, often to a high qualitative standard. The handicraft seems to be much more organized and the number of craftsmen was surely also higher than before. The tendencies to serial production indicate workshops and possibly cooperation between various specialists.

Where the record from the Migration Period gives the impression of supraregional connections in art and craft at the same time as there are great individual variations, craft in the Vendel Period, on the other hand, is characterized by regionalization and standardization at a high qualitative level and on a larger scale than ever before. Von Carnap-Bornheim has discussed the social conditions of the Germanic goldsmith. He assumes a high personal mobility, probably as an expression of a privileged social position. However, the craftsman was also dependent on precious raw materials (von Carnap-Bornheim 2001:276). The differences in metal craft seen in the brooches from Uppåkra might reflect a high mobility in society and among craftsmen during the Migration Period and later more sedentary conditions for the craftsmen attached to regional workshops where a more regular supply of raw material could be secured.

The differences in society between the Migration and the Merovingian Periods have been emphasized by several scholars. Migration Period society has been characterized as dominated by a warrior elite independent of old kinship systems. The development should mean a professionalization of the military system whereby the old kinship society was replaced by a militarized society (cf. Hedeager & Tværnø 2001:144 p.; Jørgensen 2001:18). Steuer emphasizes that the Merovingian Period is characterized by new territorial structures expressed by an aristocracy with birthright, landed property and permanent residence (Steuer 1982:517 p., 1989:120).

For south Scandinavia the political situation has been described by various scholars as a development from smaller tribal organi-

zations towards larger confederations. Näsman maintains that the Danes gained hegemony over south Scandinavia in the 6th to 7th centuries (1999:8). Axboe sees a Migration Period where wealth was expressed in precious objects, which often were sacrificed as well. South Scandinavian central places like Gudme, Stentinget, Bejsebakken and Uppåkra might represent realms with kings or magnates. The 7th century entailed consolidation after the turmoil and display of prestige in the previous period (Axboe 1999:114).

As for Uppåkra, centrality in the Migration Period seems to be expressed in personal, far-reaching alliances and a pronounced aristocratic aspect. Several traits also indicate that Uppåkra was some kind of religious centre. In the Vendel Period, the extensive handicraft of local character gives another message. The same type of ornaments that have been found at Uppåkra also occur in graves and at settlements in the region. In 2000 and 2001 a substantial number of new finds of bronze ornaments have been discovered on settlement sites around Uppåkra. The ornaments are primarily of Vendel Period types and of types well known from Uppåkra. The Vendel Period record seems to show how a central place is integrated with its surroundings, a development which has parallels on the Continent as well.

In the following centuries, the Viking Age, Uppåkra shows all the elements which are usually connected with a central place: trade, handicraft, long-distance connections, religious and aristocratic expressions. At the end of the 10th century Uppåkra probably was at the centre of the political events when Lund was founded by the Danish king, five kilometres to the north of Uppåkra. Land in Uppåkra, which obviously was in the possession of King Knut, was transferred in 1085 to the bishopric of Lund. After this Uppåkra became an ordinary agricultural settlement.

English revised by Alan Crozier

Note

1) For the information on these brooches I am indebted to Dr Uta von Freeden, Römisch-Germanische Kommission, Frankfurt a. M. (letter 8 December 1998).

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Uppåkra im Licht der Formular-Familien der völkerwanderungszeitlichen Goldbrakteaten

Alexandra Pesch

Abstract

Within the higher order of the basic-type conceptions of the A-, B-, C- and D-bracteates, groups of bracteates exist that show great similarities between their single picure images (Formulare). These so called "Formular-families" are characterised by the fact that their members vary special iconographic or stylistic details which cannot be caused by the basic type of image concept nor by the picture testimony, the manufacturing process or the general conventions of the animal style. So we may be sure that the pieces are dependent on a mutual presentation or the same original pattern. Therefore the Formular-families must been created through copy processes using stil lexisting bracteates, dies (matrices) or other joint patterns. This copy method imply contact and an intense exchange between different bracteate-areas. As a result of this fact, Formular-families are important witnesses to the connections and communications which must have taken place between their sites of find in the migration period. Picture-conceptions from east and west meet in Uppåkra. The bracteate producers of that central place were ideologically and technically in the position to vary the common germanic picture code, to change and further develop it, without completely deserting the joint framework. So the independence of Uppåkras elite is mirrored in the souvereign production of gold bracteates.

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Schonen ist mit über 50 Brakteatenfunden eine der brakteatenreichsten Regionen. Das ist ein glücklicher Umstand für die Archäologie, denn Goldbrakteaten sind durch ihre Bild- und Schriftzeugnisse als einzigartige Primärquellen für die damalige Welt nutzbar. Werden sie auch seit der Entdeckung ihrer Gattung bezüglich der Deutung ihrer Bildchiffren, ihres Zweckes und ihrer Träger/innen kontrovers diskutiert, so hat sich doch die Meinung, daß die kleinen runden Anhänger Götterdarstellungen zeigen, in weiten Bereichen durchgesetzt. Dennoch bleiben, auch über die Ikonologie hinaus, ungeachtet der langjährigen Diskussion letztendlich Fragen mit den Brakteaten verbunden, etwa: Wo wurden die Brakteaten hergestellt und auf welche Weise verbreitet? Wer konzipierte die Darstellungen, wer die Runen, wer setzte beides handwerklich um? Wer trug die Hängeamulette, zu welchem Zweck, und wer in der damaligen Welt konnte ihre Bildaussagen verstehen und ihre Runen-inschriften lesen?

Souverän haben die germanischen Hersteller der Goldbrakteaten auf der Grundlage römischer Ikonographie neue, der eigenen Vorstellungswelt angepaßte Bildchiffren entwickelt (Axboe 1991:191; Axboe & Kromann 1992;

Hauck, in IK 1, Einleitung:11 p.; Pesch 2002; im Druck; in IK 4, in Druckvorbereitung). Sie sind als Ausdruck religiöser Vorstellungen bis heute das wichtigste Zeugnis für die damalige Spiritualität, und als Goldobjekte besaßen sie diesen selben Status möglicherweise bereits zu ihrer Zeit. Die germanische Bildersprache stellt neben den Erfindungen von Runenschrift und Skaldik eine der großen Innovationen des spätantiken Nordens dar, die von dort aus in weiten Teilen der Germania verbreitet wurden. Südskandinavien ist als Zentralregion und Ausstrahlungsgebiet in später römischer Kaiserzeit und Völkerwanderungszeit führend. Erst mit der Mitte des 6. Jahrhunderts beginnt sich dieser Kulturtransfer von Nord nach Süd umzukehren, als aus dem Süden neue Impulse in den Norden gelangten, die sich anhand des Tierstils II festmachen lassen.

Von Bedeutung ist, daß uns die Ikonographien der Germania in den verschiedenen Epochen jeweils in relativ einheitlicher Weise entgegentreten. Das gilt sowohl für die einzelnen Motive als auch deren detaillierte Ausarbeitung und Stilprägung. Individuelle, spontane Schöpfungen lokaler Handwerker - im Sinne heutiger Künstler – sind ausgeschlossen. Auch in der Völkerwanderungszeit weisen die einzelnen Gattungen von Objekten, seien es Fibeln, Gürtelzubehör oder Goldbrakteaten, jeweils einen so einheitlichen Kanon von Bildern auf, daß hier eine fest definierte, allgemeine Bildersprache vorausgesetzt werden muß. Damit kann sich in den Brakteaten nur eine "offizielle" Ikonographie im Dienst einer überregional organisierten Oberschicht offenbaren, wie dies ja auch bei ihren Vorbildern, den Münz- und Medaillonbildern im Römischen Reich, der Fall gewesen ist. Wäre dies nicht so, dann hätte es in der Völkerwanderungszeit wahrscheinlich sehr viele verschiedene ikonographische Stile - eben nicht nur Tierstil I - und ebensoviele runische oder sonstige Schriftzeichensysteme gegeben. An der Tatsache, daß nicht jeder lokale Kleinherrscher in Skandinavien und auf dem Kontinent individuelle Bildchiffren entwickelte oder auch eigene Runen, ist die Bildchiffrensprache als großes, überregionales Unternehmen in der damaligen Welt erkennbar. Sie konnte nur im ständigen, intensiven Austausch der sie nutzenden Oberschichten in ihren Kontaktzonen geschaffen, erhalten und verbreitet werden. Bei dem Austausch der Oberschichten spielten die Kult- und Reichtumszentren mit ihrer Multifunktionalität als administrative und religiöse Zentralplätze wie auch Drehscheiben des Handels eine wesentliche Rolle.

Die gesamtgesellschaftlichen Strukturen in der völkerwanderungszeitlichen Germania zu rekonstruieren, ist eine der Aufgaben der modernen Archäologie. Daß auch die Brakteatenforschung ihren Beitrag dazu leisten kann, sei im Folgenden dargelegt.

Die Formular-Familien. Begriff und Nutzen

Dem Verständnis der komplexen Bildchiffrensprache der Goldbrakteaten muß die Klassifizierung der sehr differenzierten Motive in ikonographische Untergruppen vorausgehen. So erschlossene Motivgruppen sind interdisziplinär einleuchtender anzuspechen und zu untersuchen, als es die vielen Einzelbelege sein können. Daher ist der Versuch, die Bilddarstellungen der Brakteaten nach motivlichen oder stilistischen Kriterien zu ordnen, so alt wie die Erforschung ihrer Gattung selbst. Bereits seit Thomsen war es Ziel der verschiedenen Analysen, Darstellungsgruppen zu unterscheiden, um mit typologischen Reihungen

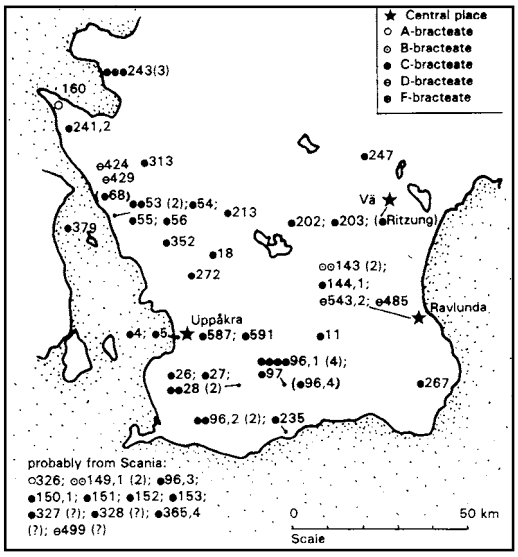

Fig. 1. Karte Schonens mit den Fundorten der Goldbrakteaten.

einerseits die geographische Herkunft einzelner Stücke zu bestimmen und anderseits die aufgestellten Reihen zu datieren (Montelius 1869; Salin 1895; Gjessing 1929; Öberg 1942; Mackeprang 1952; Malmer 1963; Behr 1991, 1992; Axboe 1998, 1999, in IK 4, in Druckvorbereitung). Doch entzieht sich immer ein Teil der Brakteaten den jeweiligen Klassifikationen, und so ist die Unterscheidung und Benennung von Grundkonzeptionen bis heute nur relativ unzureichend gelungen. Vor allem fehlen in den meisten Publikationen der älteren Literatur entsprechende Abbildungen mit den definierten Gruppen, so daß es nur für "Insider" überhaupt möglich war, die vorgestellte Klassifikation nachzuvollziehen. Auch wurde immer wieder die angestrebte ikonographische Differenzierung durch die geographische Benennung der gebildeten Gruppen gestört (etwa bei Salin und Mackeprang).

Damit konnte sich keine der vorgestellten Kategorien in der Praxis durchsetzen. Meist fehlen zudem eindeutige Definitionen; der Vorwurf des Impressionismus für die Sortierung und Deutung von Brakteatenbildern besteht leider nicht zu unrecht (allgemein zur Diskussion siehe Malmer 1963: 80 pp.; vgl. auch Öberg 1942:23; Behr 1991:27, Anm. 57; Hauck 1988, 2:27; Axboe 1992:107). Immerhin hat sich die seit Montelius gebrauchte Kategorisierung in A-, B-, C- und D-Brakteaten etabliert. Diese wird bis heute sinnvollerweise als 'griffiges' Schema zur ersten Ansprache genutzt, obwohl verschiedene Bearbeiter die jeweilige Definition durchaus unterschiedlich vornahmen außerdem und in jedem der Schemata unbestrittenermaßen Übergangsformen oder Zwischenglieder existieren, die aus den Typengruppen herausfallen (im folgenden Ansprache der Einzelformulare nach der Klassifizierung im IK; vgl. auch RGA III 1978, 338, 364 p.). Bei den Klassifizierungen der einzelnen Formulare bzw. Bilddarstellungen (Formular = der Abdruck eines Models, der in mehreren Pressungen vorliegen kann) wurde häufig die Unterscheidung in nur motivlich verwandte und wirklich ikonographisch verwandte Exemplare nicht getroffen. Motivverwandt sind Formulare, die eine vergleichbare "Szene" abbilden (z.B. IK 4 und IK 5, beide Fig. 6); ikonographisch verwandt sind Formulare, wenn sie auch in ihren dargestellten Details stilistisch und formell Übereinstimmungen haben (z.B. IK 4 und IK 30, beide Fig. 7). Auch wurden Ähnlichkeiten, die sich ausschließlich auf Einzeldetails bezogen, zur Gruppenbildung benutzt. So blieb die Abgrenzung der einzelnen Gruppen voneinander unklar, das Ziehen weitergehender Schlußfolgerungen schwierig.

Unstrittig ist, daß die Bilddarstellungen vieler Goldbrakteaten die gleichen motivlichen Grundkonzeption voraussetzen - so etwa die C-Brakteaten mit der Darstellung "Haupt

über Vierbeiner". Doch wie K. Hauck 1988 (1988b:39; vgl. Behr 1991:27 p., 1992: 113 p.) formulierte, sind grundsätzlich alle Goldbrakteaten ikonographisch miteinander verwandt, und diese Tatsache erschwert die Unterscheidung ikonographischer Untergruppen. Die Vielfalt der einzelnen Goldbrakteatenbilder entsteht durch die Variation von Grundkonzeptionen. Nur die jeweilige Detailausarbeitung, etwa auch die Anreicherung mit Beizeichen oder die Kürzung von Details, macht die Unterschiede zwischen den Formularen aus, wobei jedoch allgemeine Konventionen des Tierstils und weitere gemeinsame Kriterien (etwa Form, Ösung, Herstellungsart) nicht verlassen werden.

Um Goldbrakteatendarstellungen genauer ansprechen und Motive voneinander unterscheiden zu können, ist eine Unterteilung in kleinere Darstellungseinheiten nach wie vor erwünscht. Dies soll die gängige Klassifizierung in A bis D-Brakteaten nicht ersetzen, da eine Ansprache in bewährten, schnell überblickbaren Gruppen für den ersten Zugriff sinnvoll bleibt. Allerdings lassen sich aus der Zusammenstellung solcher kleinerer Motivgruppen wesentliche Erkenntnisse gewinnen.

Die Voraussetzung zur Bearbeitung dieses umfangreichen Bildmaterials wurde mit dem Erscheinen der drei Bände des Ikonographischen Katalogs (IK) der völkerwanderungszeitlichen Goldbrakteaten, durch Karl Hauck u.a. von 1985-89 herausgegeben, geschaffen. Vorherige Publikationen erreichten in Vollständigkeit und Nachprüfbarkeit nicht diesen Stand: Da die Brakteaten im IK in hochwertigen Abbildungen jeweils als Photo und Zeichnung präsentiert werden, sind die einzelnen Formulare (Darstellungen) sehr genau studierbar und im raschen Zugriff miteinander vergleichbar. Außerdem sind sie durch ihre Nummern (IK-Nrn.) erstmals eindeutig ansprechbar. Nun steht das Erscheinen des vierten Bandes (IK 4: Auswertungsband) kurz bevor, an dem ein internationales Team aus Archäologen, Historikern und Runologen unter der Federführung von Karl Hauck und Klaus Düwel derzeitig arbeitet. Der vorliegende Beitrag sowie der vorausgehende Vortrag in Lund sind aus den Vorstudien einer ikonographischen Analyse für diesen Band hervorgegangen.

Überblickt man die bisher bekannten Brakteatenformulare, stellt sich rasch heraus, daß innerhalb der übergeordneten Grundtypenkonzeptionen der A bis D-Brakteaten Gruppen von Brakteaten existieren, die, obwohl sie nicht modelgleich sind, in ihrem Motiv untereinander eine besondere Ähnlichkeit aufweisen. Es sind motivliche Minimal-varianten einer bestimmten Bildkonzeption. Manche dieser Minimalvariantengruppen sind seit langem erkannt, so daß sich für einige sogar schon Termini durchgesetzt haben. Dies gilt besonders für zwei Gruppen der B-Brakteaten, die als "Drei-Götter-Brakteaten" und "Frauenbrakteaten" bekannt sind. Doch auch bei den C- und D-Brakteaten wurden Gruppen zusammengestellt.

Bei der variantenreichen Bildsprache der Goldbrakteaten ist es notwendig, möglichst enge ikonographische Kriterien für Gruppenzusammenstellungen zu formulieren. Obwohl diese Forderung spätestens seit Malmer (1963:92, 95 p., 99 p., 108, 112) existiert, legte erstmals Charlotte Behr "formularverwandte Gruppen" der C-Brakteaten mit Abbildungen und Definitionen vor (1991, 1992). Mit diesem Hintergrund wurden seit 1997 im Rahmen der Vorarbeiten zu IK 4 die Minimalvariantengruppen aller bekannten Brakteatenformulare gebildet und dazu jeweils Definitionen erarbeitet (darüber bereits Pesch 2000: 68p.; Pesch 2002; Pesch, im Druck;

Pesch, in IK 4, in Druckvorbereitung). Bisher konnten 17 Gruppen der C-Brakteaten, 11 der B-Brakteaten, 7 der A-Brakteaten und 17 der D-Brakteaten ermittelt und definiert werden.

Eine solche Gruppe von untereinander ikonographisch eng verwandten Minimalvarianten bzw. davon ikonographisch abhängigen Formularen bezeichne ich als "Formular-Familie" (vgl. Fig. 2-5, 7, 9 und 10 als Beispiele für verschiedene Formular-Familien). Die Formular-Familien werden dadurch charakterisiert, daß ihre Angehörigen Details variieren, die mit der Grundtypen-Bildkonzeption (A-D-Brakteaten), der Bildaussage, dem Herstellungsprozeß oder allgemeinen Konventionen des Tierstils nicht erklärt werden können. Somit darf es als gesichert gelten, daß die Stücke voneinanderoder von einer gemeinsamen Vorlage bzw. Urform ikonographisch abhängig sind. Eine unabhängige Entstehung voneinander ist ausgeschlossen (vgl. Salin 1895:32; Gjessing 1929:144; Behr 1991: 7, 1992:113 p.; Pesch 2000:69).

Der terminus technicus "Formular-Familie" bietet sich an, weil er zum einen den vielfach verwendeten Begriff "Gruppe" meidet, der bereits für andere Zusammenstellungen gebraucht wird - etwa in M. Axboes Seriationsgruppen (siehe Axboe 1998, 1999 und in IK 4, in Druckvorbereitung). Zum anderen bleibt er in der Nähe der bereits eingeführten und sehr präzisen Bezeichnung "formularverwandt", die von Charlotte Behr ursprünglich in derselben Weise aufgefaßt wurde (Behr 1991, 1992), heute jedoch auch für entferntere Verwandtschaft, etwa in Einzeldetails oder bei Motivverwandtschaft, verwendet wird (für das vergleichbare Phänomen bei den Goldfolien/gubber benutzte übrigens M. Watt 1999:179 p., 182 den Begriff "prægefamilier", Prägefamilien).

Konstituierende Merkmale für eine Formular-Familie werden von einer Vielzahl von Kriterien gebildet, die sich sowohl auf die Gesamtkonzeption des Einzelstücks wie auch auf seine Detailausarbeitung beziehen.

Zur Gesamtkonzeption der C-Brakteaten-Familien gehören beispielsweise das Größenverhältnis von Haupt und Vierbeiner, die Verknüpfungsform derselben wie auch die Flächen vor und hinter dem Haupt, die zuweilen dicht mit Beizeichen, Inschriften usw. gefüllt sein können. Zur Detailausarbeitung beim Haupt gehören die Kopfform (etwa rund/dicklich oder hoch/länglich), die Frisur (Bürstenhaar, Rundfrisur, knotenartige Einrollung, Quaste etc. sowie die jeweiligen Schraffurmöglichkeiten), die Stirnband-, Nackenband- oder Diademechos, die Ausarbeitung des Auges (mit seiner Lage, seiner Form, seiner möglichen Umrandung, seiner Größe und seiner nur manchmal erscheinenden Pupille), der Nase, des Mundes und des Ohres. Zur Detailausarbeitung beim Vierbeiner gehören seine Beinhaltungsform und sonstige Körperhaltung (besonders Hals und Schweif, die Kopfausarbeitung (Form und zusätzliche Details wie z.B. Hörnerschmuck, Fohlenbart, Zunge, Nüsternatem, Ohren), die Hufausarbeitung (ev. mit Stegen/Bandagen oder Kötenhaar), die Hüftstellung sowie die Frage nach Geschirr. Zusätzlich müssen jegliche Beizeichen, Nebenfiguren und Kapitalis- oder Runeninschriften berücksichtigt werden. Als kaum entscheidend dagegen stellten sich die Randausarbeitung (mit Punzreihen, Schmuckdreieck oder möglichen Randzonenfiguren) bei den einzelnen Formularen heraus sowie auch die Art ihrer Ösung. Ebenso sind spiegelbildlich angelegte Darstellungen vorhanden. Dies sind offensichtlich sekundäre Merkmale, die mit der Grundkonzeption, also auch mit der Familienbildung nicht oder nur

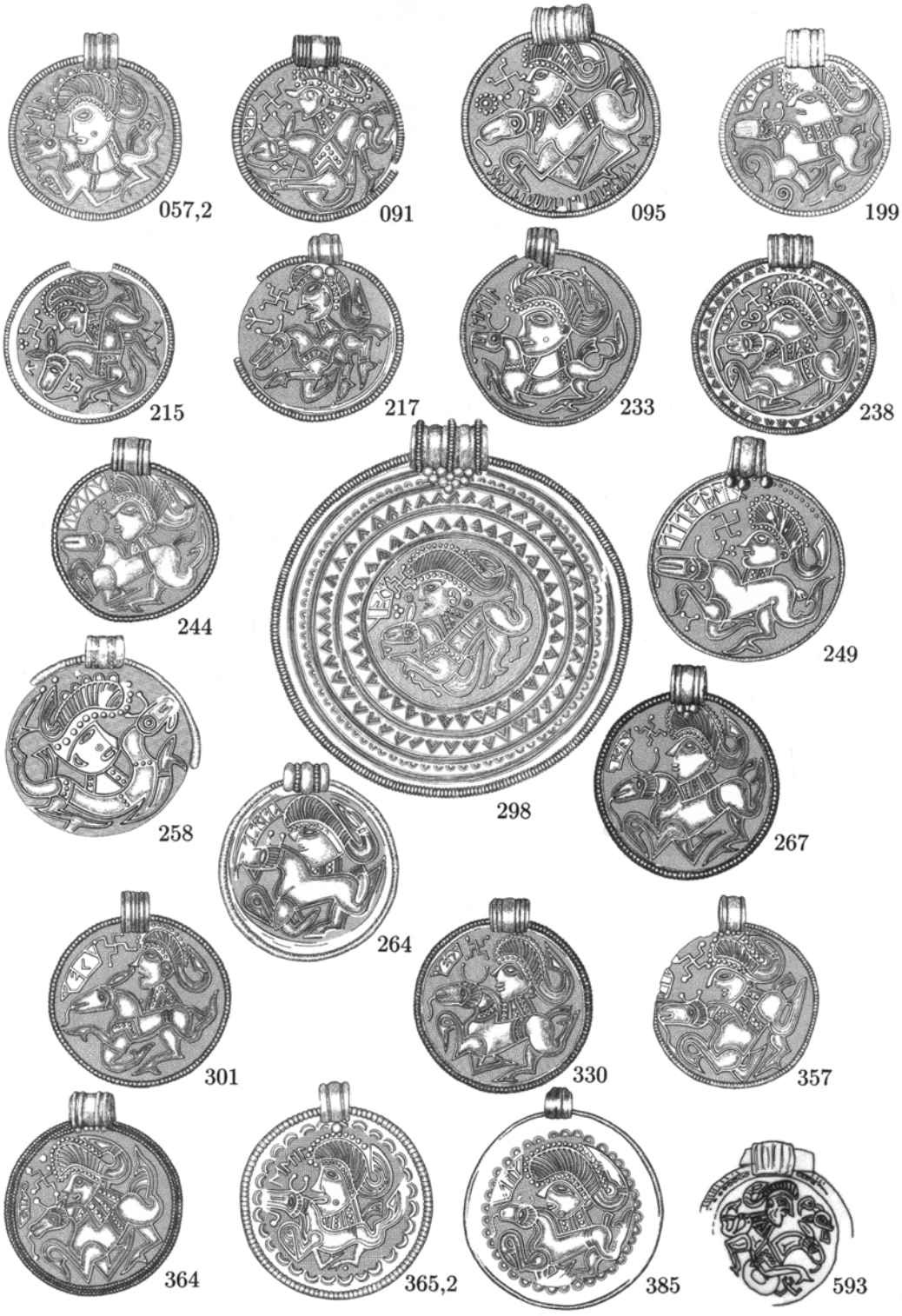
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Fig. 2. Beispiel für eine Formular-Familie der C-Brakteaten (alle Nummern nach dem Ikonographischen Katalog). C1: IK 57 Öster Ryftes/Gotland; IK 91 Killerup/Fünen; IK 95 Kjøllergård/Bornholm; IK 199 Unbekannter Fundort; IK 215 Aversi/Seeland; IK 217 Beresina-Raum/Polen; IK 233 Djupbrunns/Gotland; IK 238 Ejby/Seeland; IK 244 Fredrikstad/Østfold; IK 249 Fünen (II); IK 258 Gotland; IK 264 Gurfiles (?)/Gotland; IK 267 Hammenhög/Schonen; IK 298 Lynge Gyde/Seeland; IK 301 Maglemose II-Gummersmark/Seeland; IK 330 Seeland (I); IK 357 Raum Tved, Mols/Jütland; IK 364 Unbekannter Fundort; IK 365,2 Almungs/Gotland; IK 385 Visby Kungsladugård/Gotland; IK 593 Sorte Muld II, Fuglesang/Bornholm. IK 593 nach Skizze A. Pesch (ohne Maßstab). Alle anderen Abbildungen nach IK, hier 1:1 wiedergegeben.

Fig. 3. Beispiel für eine Formular-Familie der B-Brakteaten: B3: IK 308 Nebenstedt (Gemeinde Dannenberg)/Niedersachsen; IK 333 Sievern (Gem. Langen), Büttel/Niedersachsen; IK 337 Sjöhagen/Västergötland. Alle Abbildungen nach IK, hier 1:1 wiedergegeben.

Fig. 4. Beispiel für eine Formular-Familie der D-Brakteaten. D4: IK 435 Grindheim/Hordaland; IK 442 Høyvik/Sogn og Fjordane; IK 449 Hvolbæck/Jütland; IK 450 Inderøy/Trøndelag; IK 459 Kvassheim/Jütland; IK 473 Nordjütland; IK 501 Selvik/Rogaland; IK 579 Unbekannter Fundort (Stockholm). IK 579 nach Skizze A. Pesch (ohne Maßstab), alle anderen Abbildungen nach IK, hier 1:1 wiedergegeben.

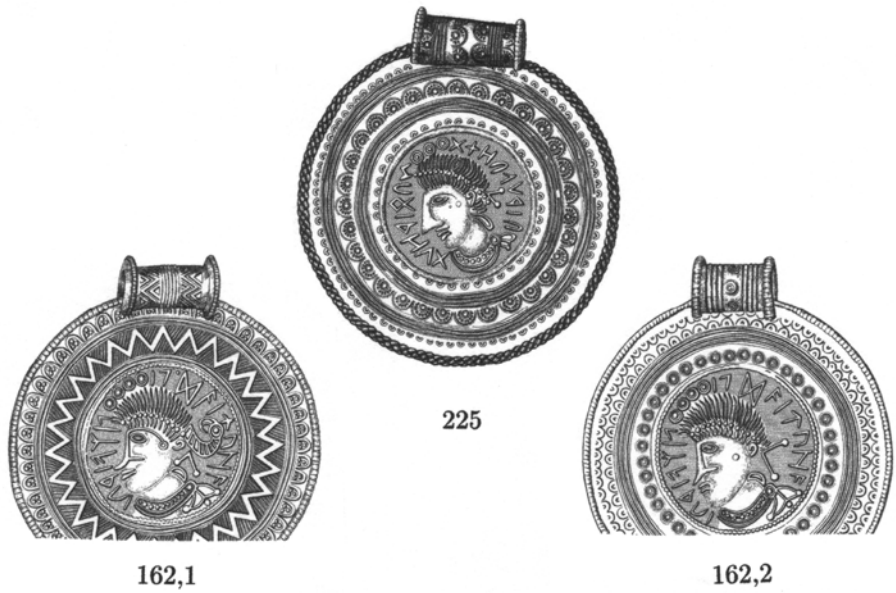

Fig. 5. Beispiel für eine Formular-Familie der A-Brakteaten. A3: IK 225 Brohom (I), Oure/Fünen; IK 162,1 Skonager (II)/Jütland; IK 162,2 Darum (III)/Jütland. Alle Abbildungen nach IK, hier 1:1 wiedergegeben.

sehr selten im Zusammenhang stehen (sie können allerdings in Studien zur regionalen Herstellung ebensowichtige Ergebnisse liefern wie die Formular-Familien). In ähnlicher Weise sind auch die Konzeptionen der A-, B- und D- Brakteaten in ihre Einzelsegmente zergliedert, um sie danach zu ordnen und in Formular-Familien einteilen zu können. Lediglich die wenigen bekannten F-Formulare lassen sich kaum in einzelne Familien unterteilen; eher sind sie unterschiedlichen D- bzw. C-Familien zuzuordnen. Die Medaillon-Imitationen sind aufgrund ihrer Zweiseitigkeit ebenfalls nicht in diese Schemata einzuordnen, wenn auch bestimmte Averse durchaus den Häuptern von A- Brakteaten-Formular-Familien vergleichbar sind. Die Medaillon-Imitationen lassen sich untereinander in losere Gruppen sortieren, die jedoch aufgrund der geringen Gesamtzahl der Stücke und deren größerer ikonographischer Variabilität weniger deutlich definierbar sind als die der A-D-Brakteaten.

Innerhalb einer durch die Kombination vieler gleicher Merkmale bei unterschiedlichen Brakteatenformularen gebildeten Formular-Familie können Detailelemente eines Mitgliedes sich von denjenigen der anderen unterscheiden. Meist gleichen sich sogar nur sehr wenige Mitglieder einer Formularfamile untereinander in allen Detailelementen, häufig zeigt jedes Mitglied neben seiner gruppenkonstituierenden Merkmalkombination auch individuelle Merkmale bzw. Abweichungen. Insbesondere Kürzungen einer Gesamtkonzeption (Kürzelkontraktion) spielen hier als bereits seit längerem bekannte Phänomene eine Rolle (Hauck 2001:34 p.; vgl. ebd.:31 zur Synopse). Jedoch können auch neue, zusätzliche Elemente auftauchen. Regionale Vorlieben für bestimmte Detailelemente scheinen ebenfalls relevant zu sein.

Offensichtlich waren grundsätzlich alle bekannten Detailelemente für die Herstel-

lung sämtlicher Brakteatenformulare verfügbar. Nur selten wurde innerhalb einer Familie völlig ohne Veränderungen oder Anpassungen variiert. Denn trotz der Vielfalt der fast 600 bekannten Brakteatenformulare, darunter über 350 C-Formulare, gibt es insgesamt auf ihnen nur sehr wenige völlig originäre/unikate Details. Ihre Variationsbreite wird vorwiegend gebildet durch die immer neue Kombination der zahlreichen einzelnen Bildelemente. So ist einerseits trotz der engen Definition einzelner Formular-Familien immer noch eine Variationsbreite innerhalb der Bilddarstellungen vorhanden. Manche Formulare gleichen sich untereinander besonders stark, so daß sie gewissermaßen eine kleine Untergruppe innerhalb ihrer Familie bilden, die aber noch nicht als eigene Familie bezeichnet werden kann. Anderseits können Rand- und Übergangsformen auftreten, die als Zwischenglieder zwei Untergruppen zu einer Familie zusammenschließen. Eine Reihe von Formularen, die nicht bestimmten Formular-Familien angehören, weisen dennoch in vielen Einzeldetails Ähnlichkeiten zu einer solchen Minimalvariantengruppe auf und stehen ihr damit nahe. Sie werden als "assoziierte Stücke" oder "Bastardformen" aufgeführt und können untereinander mehr oder weniger eng verwandt sein. Häufig zeigen diese Stücke aber auch Ähnlichkeiten zu mehreren Familien, weshalb sie besonders aussagekräftig für ikonographische Einflüsse und damit für die Ausstrahlung bestimmter Brakteatenregionen (im Spiegel ihrer Formulare) auf ihren Fundort sind. Mit der Zugehörigkeit zu einer Familie ist nichts über die Qualität der Stücke gesagt. Häufig bilden gerade Einzelexemplare oder Bastardformen die detailreichsten und qualitätvollsten Formulare. Solche Einzelexemplare können in manchen Fällen helfen, wertvolle Anregungen zur Lesung bestimmter Formular-Familien bieten, die ähnliche Motive oder Details in einfacherer oder abbrevierter Weise abbilden. Weiterhin stellen die Formular-Familien auch keine chronologische Reihung dar. Nur in wenigen Fällen sind Formulare erkennbar, die ikonographisch eine ältere Phase zu repräsentieren scheinen. Doch sagt dies nichts über ihren tatsächlichen Herstellungszeitpunkt aus.

Der unmittelbare Nutzen in der Zusammenstellung einer Formular-Familie besteht darin, daß ikonographisch schlechter ausgeführte, abbrevierte oder unverstandene Details auf einzelnen Stücken durch den Vergleich mit ihren Verwandten besser identifiziert und verstanden werden können. Zur Verdeutlichung sei hier eine kleine Formular-Familie angeführt (B 3, Fig. 3), bei der die Untier-Details des schwedischen Formulars IK 337 ohne die Kenntnis der beiden norddeutschen Vorläufer kaum mehr lesbar wären. Bisher wurde diese Möglichkeit z.B. bei den Drei-Götter-Brakteaten (Formular-Familie B1) genutzt, wodurch die Identifizierung der Zentralgestalt auf einem ihrer Familienangehörigen (IK 51,1 aus Fakse) als Balder mit dem Mistelzweig im Rumpf die ältere, nach den spätantiken Bildvorlagen geschlossene Deutung als 'Victoria bekränzt einen Sieger' abgelöst werden konnte (Hauck 1988, 2:18p.; Hauck 2000:41 pp.; Beck & Hauck 2002, im Druck; vgl. Ellmers 1972:210 p.). Damit wurde die gesamte Formular-Familie als eine Konzeption deutlich, die auf der weiterentwickelten Grundlage spätrömischer Bildtopoi germanische Vorstellungen umsetzte. Daß der Beleg aus Fakse keine zufällige Spielart war, bestätigt eindringlich der Neufund des Jahres 2001 aus Sorte Muld II/Fuglsang (IK 595, dazu Beck & Hauck 2002, im Druck), wo ebenfalls die Zentralgestalt mit dem Zweig im Rumpf abgebildet ist.

Sinnvolle Nutzungen untereinander ähnlicher Bilddarstellungen wurden auch durch die Erschließung der 7 Grundmuster der D-Brakteaten vorgenommen (IK 3, Text: 42 pp.; Hauck 1988b:33p.). Auch hier können die variierenden Details aller Angehörigen zur Lesung und Interpretation der Bildchiffre des Einzelstücks genutzt werden. Übrigens ist die Zusammenstellung von Formular-Familien auch für die Lesung und Deutung von Runeninschriften, die innerhalb von Formular-Familien manchmal beträchtlich Qualitätsunterschiede aufweisen, nützlich (vgl. Fig. 10). Gruppen formularverwandter C-Brakteaten, die zum Teil mit den hier vorgelegten Formular-Familien identisch sind, nutzte C. Behr für die Überlegungen bezüglich der Beizeichen.

Ein zweiter Nutzen wird durch die Kartierung von Formular-Familien erreicht (demnächst in IK 4, 2). Durch Konzentrationen der Fundortverteilung können Herstellungsorte tendenziell erschlossen werden. Mit dem Auftreten einer bestimmten Familie in einem begrenzten Raum ist es möglich, wie mit modelgleichen Exemplaren Regionen als gemeinsame Kulturräume durch den Austausch von Bildinhalten zu identifizieren.

Damit zusammen hängt ein dritter Punkt, der hier als Kerngedanke von Bedeutung ist: Aufgrund der ikonographischen Abhängigkeit der Formular-Familien-Angehörigen untereinander gilt, daß sie nicht unabhängig voneinander entstanden sein können (s.o.). Das heißt, die Formular-Familien müssen durch Kopiervorgänge von Formularen bzw. Modeln entstanden sein.

Diese erschließbaren Kopierprozesse setzen einen Kontakt und intensiven Austausch zwischen den Brakteatenherstellern verschiedener, zum Teil geographisch weit voneinander entfernter Orte voraus, der das genaue Studium von Bildkonzeptionen (die ja als Teil des Ausdrucks der offiziell geförderten Religion zu verstehen sind) beinhaltet. Aufgrund dieser Tatsache stellen Formular-Familien ein wichtiges Zeugnis dar für die frühmittelalterlichen Verbindungen oder Verkehrsbeziehungen, die zwischen ihren Fundorten bestanden haben müssen (vgl. Gjessing 1929:142 pp.; Hauck 1987:168 p.; Behr 1992:113 p.), genau wie dies bisher mit punz- oder modelgleichen Stücken rekonstruierbar war (Geisler & Hauck 1987:142pp.; Hauck 1987:166 pp.; Behr 1992:113; Gjessing 1929:142 pp.; vgl. auch Andrén 1991:253 mit Fig. 8; Fabech 1999:37 mit Fig. 1; Axboe 1991:196 pp. mit Fig. 17).

Es fragt sich, warum Formulare kopiert wurden, wo doch mit einem Model große Serien identischer Stücke zu prägen waren? Tatsache ist, daß sich sich wesentlich häufiger als modelgleiche Stücke Brakteatenformulare nachweisen lassen, die voneinander - oder von dritten Stücken - kopiert worden sind. Damit ist die These eines Wanderhandwerkers wenig wahrscheinlich, denn dieser hätte ja seine Model immer wieder zu identischen Prägungen verwenden können. Seit langem ist bekannt, daß die Brakteaten nicht an einem bestimmten Ort produziert und von dort aus in andere Regionen verbreitet worden sein können (Salin 1895:44; Axboe 1982:55 p.; Axboe, in IK 4, in Druckvorbereitung). Sie wurden regional, vorwiegend in den damaligen Zentralorten, angefertigt: Unterschiede in der Herstellungsart, der Dekoration und Befestigung implizieren dies. Dennoch hängen sie ikonographisch zusammen, es gibt mehr Gemeinsamkeiten als Unterschiede in den Darstellungen. Damit zeugen Brakteaten für ihren Fundort, mindestens aber für ihre Fundregion, für die dortige individuelle Fähigkeit zur Brakteatenkonzeption und Herstellung, und sie lassen durch die jeweilige

Darstellung Schlußfolgerungen auf regionale Vorbilder und Vorlieben zu. Das schließt nicht aus, daß Brakteaten auch von ihren Herstellungorten forttransportiert werden konnten. Dies ist besonders bei denjenigen Stücken zu bedenken, die als Privatbesitz in die Gräber ihrer Trägerinnen mitgegeben worden sind. So kann beispielsweise eine Heirat bewirken, daß eine Angehörige der Oberschicht mitsamt ihrer Ausstattung in ein Gebiet zieht, das sich durch ein anderes Fundspektrum auszeichnet. Auch die Umsiedlung größerer Menschengruppen in der Völkerwanderungszeit, so z.B. die Wanderung der Jüten nach Kent oder die Umsiedlung der Thüringer an den Rhein, kann durchaus die Mitnahme ortsfremder Brakteaten in die neuen Gebiete bewirkt haben, so daß diese Stücke weniger Aussagewert für die Brakteatenherstellung ihrer Fundregionen besitzen als die in Hortfunden angetroffenen Exemplare.

Insgesamt ist dabei außerdem zu beachten, daß von der einstigen Brakteatenvielfalt höchstwahrscheinlich nur ein kleiner Teil überliefert ist (Holmqvist im persönlichen Gespräch mit K. Hauck: Ca. 1 %), und daß ständig Neufunde das Bild verschieben können. Daher ist nur mit der Kombination mehrerer derartiger Ergebnisse, und dies gepaart mit Ergebnissen anderer Disziplinen, eine sichere Aussage über die Verkehrsbeziehungen der damaligen Zeit zu treffen.

Grundsätzlich ist an der kopialen Art der Weitervermittlung von Brakteatenbildchiffren und der regionalen Brakteatenherstellung ablesbar, daß in der Völkerwanderungszeit die Goldbrakteaten als Ausdruck der religiösen Haltung der goldbesitzenden Oberschichten keine zentralistische Ordnung voraussetzen. Offensichtlich verbreitete nicht eine Zentralmacht ganz bestimmte Zeichen oder Dinge als alleiniges, offizielles Material, als ihr Ausdruck und ihre Propaganda, in alle anderen Gebiete, die als abhängige Trabantenorte verstanden wurden. Dies unterscheidet Brakteaten etwa von den Münzen im römischen Reich, deren Kopie ja bekanntlich als Fälschung bestraft wurde. Vielmehr konnten in den einzelnen Zentralorten auf der gemeinsamen Grundlage eigene Bildchiffren konzipiert und realisiert werden, die dann in den gemeinsamen Pool eingebracht und andernorts weiterkopiert wurden. Die Brakteatenhersteller jeder Region waren ideologisch und technisch in der Lage, die Bildchiffrensprache selbständig zu variieren, ja zu verändern und weiterzuentwickeln, ohne dabei jedoch völlig einen gemeinsamen Rahmen zu verlassen. So finden Eigenständigkeit wie Abhängigkeiten der Hersteller der einzelnen Zentralorte in den Goldbrakteaten einen Spiegel, wie er von anderen Fund- oder Quellengattungen bisher nicht erreicht wird.

Die Brakteaten aus Uppåkra im Licht ihrer Formular-Familien

1999 wurde im Rahmen von Detektorbegehungen in Uppåkra der C-Brakteat IK 587 (Fig. 6 und 6a) entdeckt, dessen Randdraht in einiger Entfernung zum Stück lag (Axboe 2001). Mit IK 591 (Fig. 6 und 6b) ist im Jahr 2000 erneut ein vollständiger, wenn auch zusammengefalteter C-Brakteat mit Runen aufgetaucht. Zum Großraum bzw. Einzugsgebiet dieses in jüngerer Zeit intensiv interdisziplinär erforschten Zentralplatzes gehören zahlreiche Fundorte im Umland, so auch das küstennahe, nur 2 km entfernte Åkarp (allg. zur Siedlung Åkarp, Burlövs sn., Stjernquist 1951:49 p.). Dort wurden 1855, als noch niemand Uppåkra als Zentralplatz kannte, die beiden C-Brakteaten IK 4 und 5

Fig. 6. Die Brakteaten aus dem Raum Uppåkra. IK 4 Åkarp; IK 5 Åkarp; IK 587 Uppåkra; IK 591 Uppåkra. IK 4 und 5 nach IK, 3:1; IK 587 und 591 (ohne Randdraht). Zeichnung Paula Haefs, 3:1.

gefunden. Sie bildeten einen kleinen Hortfund. Obwohl IK 5 eine einfache Randzone besitzt, sind weder Ösung noch Größe aller genannten Stücke besonders auffallend. Auch ihre Anzahl ist nicht spektakulär, wenn wir auch mit gutem Grund auf weitere Funde in der nächsten Zeit hoffen dürfen.

Zunächst zu IK 587 Uppåkra-C (Fig. 6 und 6a). Dieses Stück zeigt das große Haupt mit einer knotenartig eingerollten Frisur. Das

Fig. 6a: IK 587 Uppåkra-C, Foto M. Axboe.

Haupt besitzt eine eigene Kinnkonturlinie. Seine große, durch Innen- und Außenkontur angezeigte Nase liegt direkt auf dem Tierhals auf (Verknüpfungsform 2). Auffällig sind weiter die gespreizten Vorderbeine (Beinhaltungsform 10) und ein stilistisch aus der Reihe fallendes Hinterbein, das wie ein Menschenfuß erscheint, während die anderen Beine sich als zugespitzte Ein-Kontur-Hufe mit Kötenhaar darstellen. Das Pferd trägt kein Geschirr. Alle diese Merkmale finden sich wieder einer Formular-Familie der C-Brakteaten (C12, Fig. 7) (bereits zum Teil zusammengestellt von Öberg 1942:65 pp. als "CII"; von Mackeprang 1952:45 und Taf. 9 als "ostdänisch-südschwedische Gruppe"; Behr 1992:119 pp. als "Gruppe Åkarp"; vgl. auch Geisler & Hauck 1987:143 pp; Hauck 1988:198). Zu dieser selben Formular-Familie C12 gehört auch IK 4 Åkarp (Fig. 6 und 7), also ein weiteres Stück aus dem Raum Uppåkra, das in der Gesamtseriation der Goldbratkteaten durch Morten Axboe (Axboe 1998, 1999 und in IK 4, in Druckvorbereitung) die Nummer 270 trägt und dadurch in die Gruppe H3 gehört (= 270: H3). Die engste Formularverwandschaft innerhalb dieser Familie zeigen die Brakteaten aus dem fünischen Bolbro-Hort (IK 30, in sieben Exemplaren; 268: H3), IK 4 Åkarp und ein weiteres Stück, dessen Fundort leider nicht genau bekannt ist, IK 325 Schleswig-? (247: H3). Ebenfalls gut vergleichbar

Fig. 7. Formular-Familie C12: IK 4 Åkarp/Schonen; IK 30 Bolbro/Fünen; IK 53 Fjärestad, Gantofta/Schonen; IK 100 Korlino/Polen; IK 179 Stenhots Vang/Seeland; IK 235 Dybäck/Schonen; IK 272 Hermannstorp/Schonen; IK 325 Raum Schleswig; IK 366 Unbekannter Fundort; IK 379 Ven/Schonen; IK 587 Uppåkra. IK 587 Zeichnung Paula Haefs, 1:1; alle anderen Abbildungen nach IK, hier 1:1 wiedergegeben.

sind drei schonische Stücke, nämlich IK 272 Hermannstorp (283: H3), bei dem das große Haupt zusätzlich ein Ohr aufweist, dann IK 379 Ven (241: H3) und IK 235 Dybäck (242: H3); den beiden letztgenannten ist die Formularverwandschaft trotz der Addition von jeweils einem Ohr, einer Swastika bzw. einem Kreuz über dem Pferdekopf sowie einer Bullaugen-Punze noch deutlich anzusehen. Überhaupt sind die schonischen Stücke außer IK 4 Åkarp durch solche zusätzlichen Elemente im Bildfeld gekennzeichnet, für welche sich jedoch auch auf den dänischen Inseln in anderen Familien weit verbreitet Vorbilder finden lassen (z.B. IK 31 Bolbro, IK 34 u. 35 Broholm, alle H2). Zusätzliche Detailelemente sind auch auf IK 587 Uppåkra vorhanden, der neben seinen vier Bullaugen-Punzen auch ein unikates Beizeichen aus Strichen mit Kugelenden sowie einen unter dem Vierbeiner liegenden Vogel zeigt und damit das detailreichste Expemplar der Familie ist. Ein Vogel

erscheint auch auf dem in sechs Exemplaren vorliegenden IK 100 Körlin/Korlino (232: H3), hier jedoch in der (auch auf anderen Formularen üblichen) Position vor dem großen Haupt. IK 100 weist eine abweichende Pferde-Beinhaltungsform auf und erscheint spiegelbildlich zu den genannten Brakteaten. Letzteres gilt ebenso für IK 53 Fjärestad aus Schonen (233: H3), der wie IK 379 Ven eine Swastika als Beizeichen trägt. Ikonographisch weiter entfernt bzw. stark gekürzt sind zwei Stücke, die bereits größere Detailabweichungen zur Hauptgruppe aufweisen, jedoch aufgrund ihrer deutlichen ikonographischen Abhängigkeit sicher zur selben Familie gerechnet werden müssen: IK 366 Unbekannter Fundort (269: H3), bei dem das bei den übrigen vorhandene, untypische linke Hinterbein mit eingerolltem Ballen fehlt und der sich durch eine Randzone mit drei Punzreihen auszeichnet sowie IK 179 Stenholts Vang (Seeland, wie IK 30 in sieben Exemplaren; 224: H3), welcher den Vierbeiner von links zeigt und außerdem gleich zwei Pferdebeine, den Schwanz und die Hüftgestaltung kürzt.

Das seltene Detail eines Vogels an den Pferdebeinen, das IK 587 Uppåkra-C aufweist, kennen wir auch von IK 68 Raum Hälsingborg-C (Fig. 8). Dieser Brakteat läßt sich keiner Formular-Familie direkt zuordnen, obwohl er zu mehreren Verbindungen zeigt. Es ist wahrscheinlich, daß das Stück (obwohl in der Seriation schon relativ spät, 124: H2) ikonographisch einen Prototyp oder eine Frühform repräsentiert. Darunter ist ein Formular zu verstehen, das späteren Formularen und Formular-Familien als Vorbild gedient hat. Ein echter Repräsentant der Prototypen ist der mit IK 68 in der Bildkonzeption verwandte IK 174-C (Fig. 8), wahrscheinlich aus Småland, der in Axboes Gesamtseriation der Brakteaten den 5. Platz in H1 einnimmt und damit als der früheste C-Brakteat überhaupt gilt (vgl. Mackeprang 1952: 45, als ältestes Exemplar, als selbständiger Prototyp von dem die ostdänisch-südschwedische Gruppe abgeleitet ist). Diese beiden Formulare sind als Vorbilder der eben genannten Formular-Familie C12 (Fig. 7) zu sehen, wurden aber auch in anderen Formular-Familien variiert. Daß sie beide aus Südschweden stammen, unterstreicht die Bedeutung dieses Raumes für die Entwicklung der Formular-Familie C12 wie auch der frühen Bildchiffren allgemein. Das hauptsächliche Verbreitungsgebiet der Formular-Familie C12 liegt in Südskandinavien um den Öresund herum. Die relativ enge Verbindung von Åkarp nach Westen (Bolbro), der sich in den Goldbrakteaten ihrer Formular-Familie C12 spiegelt, bezeichnet möglicherweise einen Schwerpunkt der regionalen Beziehungen.

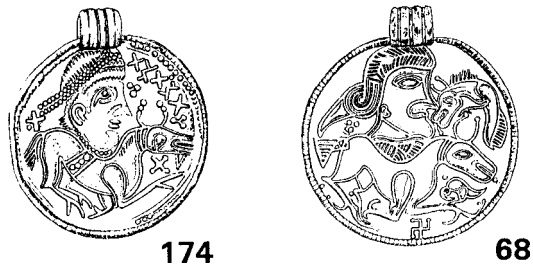

Fig. 8. Zwei Prototypen aus Südschweden, IK 68 Raum Hälsingborg-C und IK 174-C aus Småland. Nach IK, hier 1:1 wiedergegeben.

Fig. 8a. IK 591 Uppåkra-C, Foto M. Axboe.

Sehr deutlich sind auch Beziehungen zu anderen schonischen Fundorten wie Dybäck, Herrmannstorp und Fjärestad mit ihren Hortfunden abzulesen, für die das Fundgebiet um Uppåkra/Åkarp möglicherweise ein Multiplikator, der Ausgangspunkt zur Brakteatenverbreitung, war. Damit spiegeln diese formularverwandten Brakteaten aus ihren verschiedenen Fundorten einerseits den kleinen gemeinsamen "Kulturraum", in dem ihre Konzeption eine Rolle spielte und verbreitet wurde. Anderseits zeigen sie auch die Wege, auf denen die Formulare bzw. ihre Konzeptionen verbreitet wurden: In diesem Fall spielen vor allem die Seewege eine Rolle (Hauck; vgl. auch die Diskussion der Gott-Eber-Brakteaten,

Hauck 1988, 1. - Allgemein zur Bedeutung des Seeverkehrs Callmer 1991, 1998; vgl. Sköld 1963).

Daneben zeigt sich bereits ein gewisser Regionalismus in der Produktion. In diesem Fall ist besonders die Betrachtung der Beizeichen von Bedeutung. So sind nur die schonischen IK 53 Fjärestad, IK 379 Ven und IK 235 Dybäck (alle Fig. 7) mit Kreuz bzw. Swastika ausgestattet, und auch die kreisförmigen Beizeichen (Bullaugenpunzen) finden sich nur auf diesen Stücken sowie dem ebenfalls schonischen IK 587 Uppåkra. Ein hier einzigartiges Beizeichen aus drei Punkten zeigt der auch sonst in vielen Details abweichende, seeländische IK 179 Stenholts Vang. Völlig ohne Beizeichen erscheinen dagegen der fünische IK 30, der schleswigsche (?) IK 325 und der schonische IK 4 Åkarp. Es ist deutlich, daß Bullaugenpunzen und Swastika/Kreuz schonische Besonderheiten innerhalb der verbreiteten Familie C12 darstellen, auch wenn nicht alle schonischen Exemplare damit ausgestattet sind. Derartige Besonderheiten belegen die Souveränität, die im Umgang mit der Bildchiffrensprache der Goldbrakteaten möglich war und die als Ausdruck der jeweiligen regionalen Oberschicht deren Eigenständigkeit im grundsätzlich auch überregional organisierten Kultleben spiegelt.

Aus der Verteilung der Brakeatenfamilie C12 (Fig. 7) auf die genannten Fundorte ist es nicht ohne weiteres möglich, den Ort der Konzeptions-Erfindung der gesamten Familie zu ermitteln. Auch die Seriation führt nicht weiter, da die seriierten Stücke alle in der zweiten Hälfte von H3 zu nahe beieinander liegen, um mit Wahrscheinlichkeit einen zeitlichen Ablauf der Verbreitung rekonstruierbar zu machen.

Für eine Entstehung im südwestschonischen Bereich sprechen allerdings mehrere Gründe: Erstens stammen die meisten Formulare der Familie von hier. Zweitens wurde die Frühform IK 68 hier angetroffen. Drittens finden sich hier die figurenreichsten und detailreichsten Stücke, allen voran IK 587 aus Uppåkra. Damit rückt der Zentralplatz Uppåkra mit seinen durch zahlreiche Funde belegten Metallwerkstätten sowie seiner erschließbaren Oberschicht als Sakralort an die Stelle des besten Kandidaten für die konzeptionelle und technische Anfertigung einiger schonischer Goldbrakteaten.

Der im Jahr 2000 ergrabene Brakteat IK 591 Uppåkra-C (Fig. 6 und 8b) ist ebenfalls ein aussagekräftiger Einzelfund. Er ist verbogen, doch sein Motiv ist gut erkennbar. Als einziger der bisher im Uppåkra-Gebiet gefundenen Brakteaten trägt er Runen, und zwar eine lesbare, linksläufige Inschrift mit der Zeichenfolge sima þ ina alu (zur Bedeutung der alu-Inschriften siehe IK 1, Text: 54; Düwel 2001:13 p., 53 p.; Heizmann, in IK 4, in Druckvorbereitung; zu altnord. símí siehe Markey 2000). IK 591 ist zwar direkt keiner Familie zuzuordnen, aber er zeigt eine assoziierte bzw. verwandte Form in vielen Details zur Formular-Familie C6 (Fig. 9). Diese Stücke zeichnen sich aus durch ein im Verhältnis zum Pferd sehr großes Haupt, das durch die Verknüpfungsform 2 (Mund an Ohr) gekennzeichnet ist und eine abwechselnd schraffierte Haartracht mit eingerolltem Ende über einem Stirnbandecho aus Bullaugenpunzen besitzt. Das Pferd hat die Beinhaltungsform 2 (also vorne auseinandergespreizt wie oben IK 5 Åkarp) und einen pferdeuntypisch nach oben gebogenen oder aufrechten Hals, auf dem ein ovaler oder birnenförmiger Kopf mit Hörnern, Fohlenbart und rundem Auge sitzt. Einzigartig ist hier die Hufausarbeitung (als spitze Ein-Kontur-

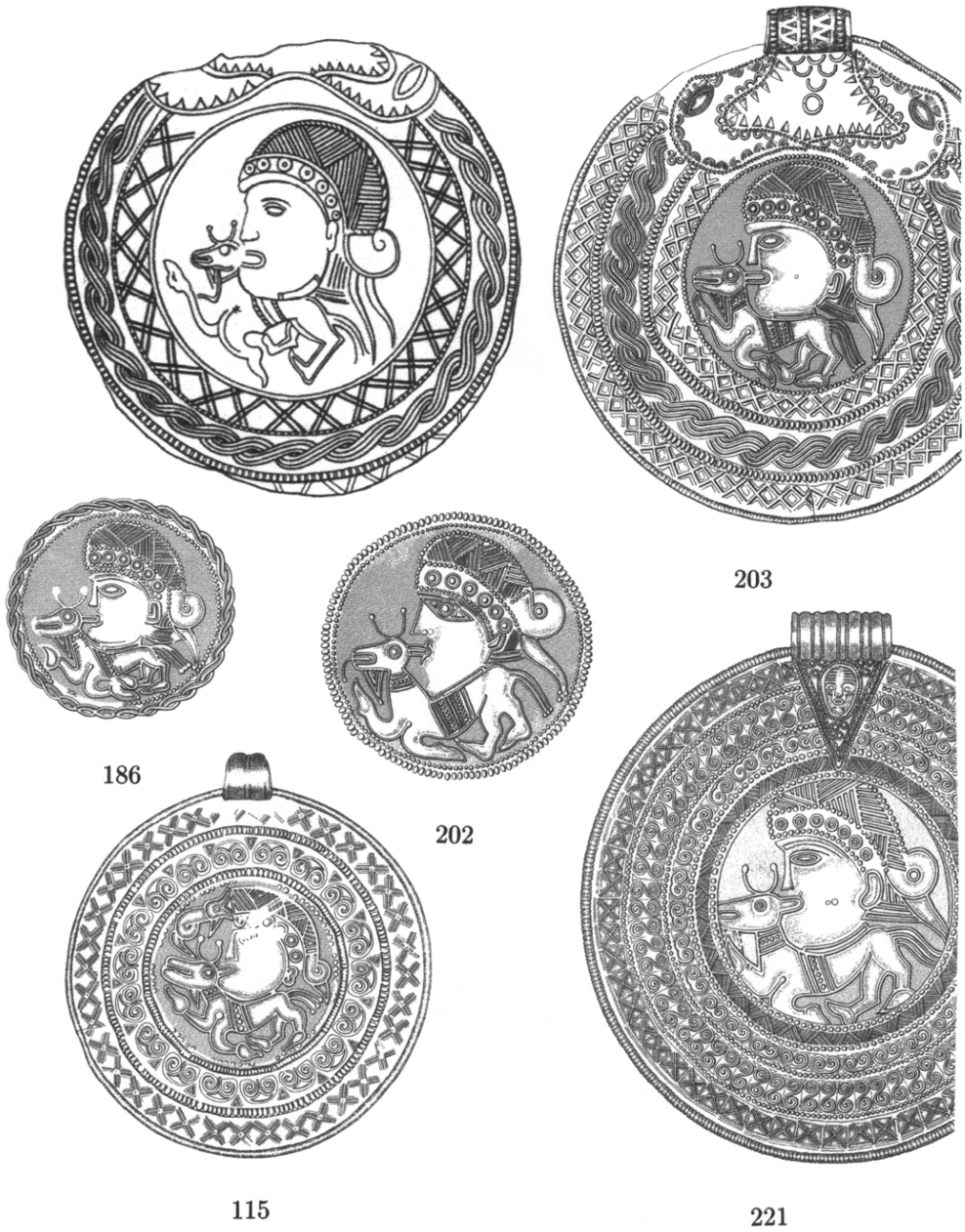

Fig. 9. Formular-Familie C6: Brakteatenritzung aus Vä/Schonen; 203 Vä/Schonen; 186 Tjusby/Öland; 202 Vä/Schonen; 115 Lundeby/Öland; 221 Bostorp/Öland. Die Ritzung aus Vä nach dem Atlas von 1857 (Taf. VII, Nr. 137); die Brakteatenformulare nach IK; alle hier 1:1 wiedergegeben.

Hufe mit runder Ferse).

Gegenüber diesen Familienangehörigen, die fast alle eine große Randzone mit umlaufenden Zierpunzreihen besitzen, zeigt IK 591 aus Uppåkra einige Abweichungen: Der Pferdehals ist normal gebogen, es gibt keinen Fohlenbart, Geschirrandeutung ist hier hinten statt vorne vorhanden, das Stirnbandecho ist mit Punktpunzen gemacht und es gibt die Runeninschrift. Dennoch ist seine ikonographische Abhängigkeit zur Formular-Familie C6 deutlich. Damit gehört er zwar nicht direkt in diese eng definierte Formular-Familie herein, doch ist er mit Sicherheit als eine Bastardform bzw. als assoziiertes Formular neben sie zu stellen.

Die Stücke der Formular-Familie C6 (Fig. 9) mit der charakteristischen, abwechselnd schraffierten Haartracht stammen aus Öland und aus dem ostschonischen Zentralplatz Vä (es gibt vier weitere C-Brakteaten aus Mittel- und Südschweden, die ebenfalls ikonographisch ähnlich und sicher als von ihnen abhänigige Formulare bzw. Bastardformen oder assoziierte Formulare zu bezeichnen sind, nämlich IK 12 Raum Alingsås/Västergötland, IK 287 aus Keberg/Bohuslän, IK 121 aus Maen/Halland und IK 368 Ufo). So stellt sich die Frage, ob mit Vä oder einem öländischen Zentralplatz die Herkunftsregion der Konzeption der Formular-Familie C6 lokalisiert werden kann. Die Wahl fällt auf Öland, von wo die meisten Stücke stammen. Außerdem zeigt neben den genannten Stücken die abwechselnd schraffierte Haartracht einzig noch ein A-Brakteat aus Öland (IK 279 Holmetorp-A). Weil auch weitere Formular-Familien, die insgesamt Verwandtschaft zu C6 zeigen, nach Öland zu gehören scheinen, wird Öland als Kerngebiet der Familie C6 erschließbar. Von dort aus verbreitete sich die Konzeption nach Westen.

Hierbei spielten möglicherweise die Landwege eine größere Rolle als die Seewege entlang der Küste. Denn merkwürdigerweise finden sich abhängige Stücke von C6 weder in den Hortfunden der schonischen Südküste, noch in Ravlunda, noch in Tjurkö oder anderen Stationen am Seeweg zwischen Ost und West. Es ist also nicht so - wie es zu erwarten wäre - daß jeder nahegelegene Platz automatisch seinen Anteil an der Weitervermittlung bestimmter Bildchiffren hatte. Im Spiegel der Goldbrakteaten spielt für Zentrumsbeziehungen offenbar weniger direkte regionale Nähe eine Rolle als vielmehr spezielle, wahrscheinlich - wie auch immer geartete - ideologische Gemeinsamkeiten der brakteatennutzenden Menschen.

Doch ist C6 nicht die einzige Formular-Familie, mit der IK 591 verglichen werden kann. Der Brakteat zeigt auch gemeinsame Elemente mit anderen Familien. Vor allem können einige seiner ikonographischen Details als typische Charakteristika in der Formular-Familie C12 (Fig. 7) wiedergefunden werden: Dies gilt für die Ausarbeitung der Vorderhüfte des Vierbeiners, für seinen Hals und Kopf mit dem Auge sowie auch für das hohe, dünne anthropomorphe Haupt. Möglicherweise liegen hier direkte Einflüsse von Formularen der Formular-Familie C12 vor (vgl. auch IK 174, Fig. 8). Offenbar jedenfalls wurden bei IK 591 typische ikonographische Bildelemente zweier verschiedener Formular-Familien vermischt. Daher spiegelt diese Darstellung vor allem die Souveränität der lokalen Brakteatenhersteller von Uppåkra, die verschiedene Einflüsse bzw. Vorlagen zu einer eigenen Bildkonzeption zu synthetisieren wußten.

Ein letzter Brakteat ist hier zu untersuchen, nämlich IK 5 Åkarp (119: H2; Fig. 6 und 7). Gegenüber den für die Frage nach Ortsbeziehungen aussagekräftigen Familien C12 (Fig. 7) und C6 (Fig. 9) ist IK 5 Åkarp ein

Fig. 10. Formular-Familie C7: IK 45 Dödevi/Öland; IK 62,1 Gerete/Gotland; IK 106 Lilla Istad/Öland; IK 223 Bostorp/Öland; IK 324 Sandegård u. Raum Rönne/Bornholm. Alle Abbildungen nach IK, hier 1:1 wiedergegeben.

Einzelstück, von dem bisher keine direkten Familienangehörigen bekannt sind. IK 5 besitzt eine Randzone mit Kreispunktpunzen, ist aber mit 37 mm Dm noch kein übergroßes Stück. Das Pferd trägt Hörnerschmuck und besitzt ein ungewöhnliches, zwischen den Hörnerenden gezeichnetes Ohr. Einzigartig sind die steilen Ein-Kontur-Füße mit drei Zehen oder zwei Zehen mit Kötenhaar sowie auch drei vor dem Gotteshaupt erkennbare Strahlen. Das große Haupt trägt eine recht aufwendige Frisur mit punktiertem Stirnbandecho, umlaufender Punktierung (Restbefund) und knotenartiger Einrollung am Ende. Damit ist es zum einen den Häuptern der eben genannten Formular-Familie C6 vergleichbar, zum anderen aber auch der in mehreren Elementen mit C6 verwandten Formular-Familie C7 (Fig. 10; zu C7 vgl. die Gruppierungen bei Öberg 1942:37 pp. "CI, öländisch-dänische Gruppe", bei Mackeprang 1952:47 und Pl. 11 und 12 "südschwedische Gruppe" und bei Behr 1992:121, 125 pp. "Gruppe Dödevi", die jeweils Exemplare meiner beiden Formular-Familien C6 und C7 umfassen).

Die Formulare der Familie C7 variieren ein relativ großes Haupt mit aufwendiger, in der Mitte durch eine Perlkontur unterteilte Frisur mit knotenartiger Einrollung am Ende. Das linsenförmige Auge wird von einer Brauenkontur überspannt, ein pelta- oder bohnenförmiges Ohr sitzt relativ hoch zwischen Frisur und Wangenkontur. Das Pferd, mit dem Haupt durch die Verknüpfungsform 2 (Mund am Tierkamm) verbunden, zeigt die Beinhaltungsform 2 mit oft krallenartig ausgezogenen Hufen. Es besitzt außerdem

Hörnerschmuck, einen Fohlenbart und trägt am Hals und am vorderen Rumpf je eine das Geschirr andeutende Chiffre. Bei mehreren Formularen treten Swastiken auf, außerdem mehrfach ein nur in dieser Familie variiertes, rundes Beizeichen, daß als Rosette in der ikonographischen Nachfolge des Stirnjuwels antiker Darstellungen gedeutet worden ist (vgl. IK 1, Text: 87 p.; IK 2, Text: 27 p., 161 pp.).

Durch die beschriebenen Elemente auf dem Einzelformular IK 5, die ursprünglich bei aus dem Osten stammenden Formular-Familien nachzuweisen sind, wird der Einfluß dieser Regionen in Schonen gespiegelt. Dasselbe war bereits für IK 591 festgestellt worden. Doch ist IK 5 kein nur von diesen Konzeptionen abhängiges Formular. Das Pferd auf IK 5 zeigt die Beinhaltungsform 6 (Sondervariante), die wie die Büste unter dem Haupt für zwei weitere Formular-Familien typisch ist. Zum einen handelt es sich um die hauptsächlich aus Fünen stammende und wohl dem dortigen Zentralplatz Gudme/Lundeborg zuzuordnende Familie C2. Als hiervon möglicherweise abgeleitete, ikonographisch vereinfachte Formular-Familie ist C7 (Fig. 10; vgl. Öberg 1942:91 pp. "CVIII" und "CIX"; Mackeprang 1952:42 und Pl. 7, "dänisch-schwedische Gruppe"; Behr 1992: 132 pp., "Gruppe Aversi") im gesamten südskandinavischen Raum weit verbreitet. Beide Formular-Familien zeichnen sich durch eine büstenähnliche Chiffre aus, die das Haupt über den Pferderumpf erhebt. Damit ist die Ausstrahlung Fünens sichtbar, das gewöhnlich als früheste und vielleicht mächtigste Brakteatenregion gilt. Diese ikonographische Verbindung zeugt also von Westbeziehungen.

Im kleinen Bildfeld von IK 5 (Fig. 6) aus Åkarp mischen sich somit Elemente, die bei verschiedenen Formular-Familien aus Ost und West charakteristisch sind. Hinzu kommen singuläre Details. Damit ist IK 5 ein Einzelexemplar, für das auch aufgrund des Fehlens von direkten Formularverwandten lokale Herstellung vom konzeptionellen Entwurf bis zur herstellungstechnischen Realisierung in den Werkstätten Uppåkras wahrscheinlich ist.

Brakteatenregion Schonen

Noch rasch ein Blick auf die Brakteaten-Großraumlage in Schonen insgesamt (Fig. 1). Wie bereits gesagt ist Schonen mit über 50 Goldbrakteatenfunden eine an Goldbrakteaten reiche Region. Im Einzelnen: Es handelt sich in der überwiegenden Mehrzahl um C-Brakteaten (bisher 43 Stück). Daneben stammen zwei A-Brakteaten (IK 160, ein Eberbrakteat aus Skättekärr/Nordwestschonen und IK 326 von unbekanntem Fundort/Schonen?) sowie vier B-Brakteaten (IK 143 aus Ravlunda in zwei Prägungen und IK 149,1 von unbekanntem Fundort in Schonen, ebenfalls in zwei Prägungen) von hier. Insgesamt kennen wir nur neun D- und F-Brakteaten aus Schonen (7 Formulare: IK 243-F in drei Prägungen, IK 241-F, IK 424-D und 429-D aus Nordwestschonen; IK 485-D und IK 543,2-D aus Ravlunda sowie IK 499 aus unbekanntem Fundort).

Es lassen sich deutliche Schwerpunkte der Fundverteilung und damit auch deutliche Zentralregionen ausmachen, so besonders Uppåkra sowie die beiden ostschonischen Zentren Ravlunda (dazu Fabech 1998:154 pp., 1999, 2001; Riddersporre 1998) und Vä (dazu Stjernqvist 1951). Aus Südschonen stammen große Hortfunde, wobei ein eindeutiger Zentralort dort noch nicht lokalisiert ist (zur Diskussion steht möglicherweise Dybäck). Auffällig ist vor allem die Dominanz der C-Braktetaten, der ein fast vollständiges Fehlen von D-Brakteaten gegenübersteht. D-

Brakteaten finden sich in einem langen Gürtel von Norwegen über Västergötland nach Jütland, weiter in England und auf dem Kontinent. Das heißt, die Weitergabe solcher Formulare fand nicht, wie es zu erwarten wäre, über die dänischen Inseln und Schonen statt. Offensichtlich lief ein wichtiger N/S-Verkehrsweg nicht über Uppåkra, sondern ein nördlich von Schonen gelegener Zentralplatz übernahm die Aufgabe des Hafens nach Jütland und weiter nach Westen und Süden.

Zwischen dem ostschonischen Zentralplatz Ravlunda und Uppåkra läßt sich mit Hilfe der Formular-Familien keine direkte Verbindung nachweisen. Im Gegenteil: In Ravlunda begegnen wir einem deutlich anderen Spektrum von Goldbrakteaten, indem dort neben nur einem C-Brakteat (IK 144,1) die vier oben genannten, sonst in Schonen auffällig seltenen D- und B-Brakteaten auftreten. Es sind durch model- und punzgleiche Stücke direkte Verbindungen nach Osten nachweisbar (IK 144,2 Holmetorp/Öland und IK 297, Holmetorp/Öland, dessen Punzen identisch sind mit denjenigen auf IK 144,1 Ravlunda). Möglicherweise konkurrierten die beiden Zentralplätze in mancher Hinsicht miteinander, so daß sich kaum gemeinsame Entwicklungen im Fundmaterial niederschlugen. Es zeichnen sich im Brakteatenhorizont Grenzregionen zum einen im Norden Schonens, jedoch südlich der heutigen Grenze, ab, zum anderen nach Osten hin. Insbesondere als gemeinsamer Kulturraum mit Westschonen und seinem Zentralplatz Uppåkra gelten dagegen das südliche Schonen und Bornholm.

Deutlich hebt sich Uppåkra von anderen westschonischen Siedlungen des frühen Mittelalters ab. Hier sind alle Elemente der Zentrums-Qualifikation erreichbar. Uppåkra war ein multifunktionaler Zentralplatz inmitten des lebendigen und innovativen Südskandinaviens, der mit seinem in interdisziplinären Forschungen nachgewiesenen Handel, Handwerk und Kult auch bedeutenden Anteil an der gesellschaftlichen Ordnung der gesamten damaligen Welt der Germania hatte.

Die völkerwanderungszeitlichen Verbindungen Uppåkras zu den Reichtums- und Kultzentren der dänischen Inseln werden nicht nur durch die grundsätzliche Übereinstimmung der Brakteatenfunde verschiedener Typen in ihrem Verhältnis zueinander deutlich, sondern direkt durch die formularverwandten Brakteaten der Familie C12 um IK 4 und IK 587. Die Verwandschaft von IK 591 und IK 5 zu den Stücken der Formular-Familie C6 aus Vä und Öland belegt die Kontakte in diesen Raum. Die Eigenständigkeit des Zentralplatzes zeigt sich besonders in dem einzigartigen Formular IK 5, welches Uppåkra in besonderer Weise auch als Konzeptions- und Herstellungsort für Brakteaten ausweist.

In Uppåkra begegnen sich Formularkonventionen aus Ost und West. Der auf diese Weise sichtbar gewordene Austausch und die Weitergabe von Bildchiffren, die letztlich als "Kultpropaganda" gesehen werden können, über geographisch große Räume bezeugt die überaus intensiven Kontakte der damaligen Zeit zwischen den Brakteatenherstellern verschiedener Regionen als Gesandte bzw. Angehörige der Oberschichten. Diese waren nicht nur aufs beste vertraut mit der in der völkerwanderungszeitlichen Germania entwickelten und benutzten Bildchiffrensprache, sondern sie konnten sie auch aktiv und eigenständig durch die Erfindung, Herstellung und Verbreitung eigener Formulare variieren und weiterentwickeln. Ihre Kontakte untereinander mußten sicherlich regelmäßig durch Zusammenkünfte - etwa bei kalendarischen

Festen in den Zentralorten – erneuert werden, was eine Festigung der Beziehungen bedeutete und einen Austausch, der es den geographisch weit verteilt lebenden Menschen ermöglichte, immer wieder an aktuellen Entwicklungen teilzuhaben.

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Neues aus Uppåkra bei Lund, Südschweden. Zur Ikonographie der Goldbrakteaten, LXIV.

Karl Hauck

Abstract

Der Beitrag skizziert, daß die Bildchiffren und Runen der Goldbrakteaten deutbar sind. Götterbeinamen sowohl bei Götteranrufungen sowie auch beim Götterpreis (Beck) kennzeichnen einen epochalen geistigen Aufbruch offensichtlich in Konkurrenz mit dem Christentum in Europas Süden. Die Hauptnamen der Götter waren dagegen ein Tabu. Den Wettbewerb der Religionen veranschaulichen ferner die Neufunde von paarweisen, polytheistischen Imitationen oder Importe wertvoller Gefäße aus Glas oder Edelmetall zur liturgischen Verwendung im Kult. Überaus seltene Holzfunde solcher polytheistischen Geräte aus Kent und aus den Niederlanden, schon fast nach der Völkerwanderungszeit, vergegenwärtigen ebenfalls eines der konkurrierenden Elemente mit dem Christentum und seiner Liturgie.

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Vorbemerkung

Uppåkra bei Lund ist erst mit den ungewöhnlichen über 7 000 Metalldetektor-Funden der Jahre 1996–1999 in seiner vollen Bedeutung erkennbar geworden, wie das die strömenden Veröffentlichungen von 1998–2002 auch in den Kurzzitaten der folgenden Übersicht dokumentieren (Andrén 1998:137 ff.; Hårdh 1998:113 ff., 1999:1 f.; 1999:127 ff., 2001a:1, 2001b:67 ff.; Larsson 1998:95 ff., 2001a:51 ff., 2001b:679 f.; Larsson & Hårdh 1998:57 ff.; *Uppåkra. Rikedomar ur jorden* 1998; Bergqvist 1999:113 ff.; Branca *et al.* 1999:59 ff.; Helgesson 1999:191 ff., 2001:205 ff., 2002; Paulsson 1999:41 ff.; Staecker 1999: 271 ff.; Andersson 2001:71 ff.; Callmer 2001:109 ff.; Stjernquist 2001:3 ff.).

Das reiche Fundmaterial aus Uppåkra führt uns ebenso den schonischen „Alltag vor Augen wie die hierarchischen Strategien und Rituale“ (Larsson 2001a:51). Die archäologische Überlieferung in diesem Zentralort beginnt im letzten Jahrhundert vor Christus und reicht bis in das letzte Jahrzehnt des 10. Jahrhunderts. Denn damals fing das dänische Königtum mit der Gründung der christlichen Siedlung Lund in 5 km Entfernung nördlich des älteren Platzes an. In diesem Zusammenhang wurde auch der erste Kirchenbau in Uppåkra errichtet (dazu sowie zu seiner Nachfolge, in: Anglert & Jansson 2001:23 ff.; Larsson 2001c:1).

Zum Fundreichtum nach der späteren Römerzeit in der späten Eisenzeit gehören die Brakteaten, die ihre Entstehung der Macht und dem Reichtum archaischer Sakralkönige und Häuptlinge verdanken. In dem dänischen

Forschungsprogramm vom „Stamm zum Staat“ ist bisher die sakrale Perspektive deswegen zu wenig berücksichtigt, weil im Brakteaten-Horizont noch nicht die neue Konstellation herangezogen wurde, in der z.B. auf den goldenen Amuletten Bildchiffren und Runen in einer häufigeren Wechselbeziehung deutbar sind. Wie Lars Larsson ist Birgitta Hårdh dieser Problematik nah mit dem Thema „Unter Göttern und Königen – Das religiöse und politische Zentrum Uppåkra“ (Hårdh 2001b:67 ff.). Für die Zeit um 800 vergegenwärtigt vermutlich bisher allein der Überrest eines karolingischen Reliquiars einen der Missionsversuche in Uppåkra. Es handelt sich dabei um eine Plastik aus Silber mit Goldverzierung eines Löwen, der Dämonen bekämpft (Helgesson 1999:191 ff., 2001:205 ff., 2002; Hårdh 2001b:70, Fig. 8: gibt die Plastik im Zentrum des vorderen Umschlagbildes seines Buches in voller Gestalt und auf der Rückseite des Umschlags in einem Ausschnitt wieder). Im Jahre 2001 wurde ein viele Jahrhunderte altes Ritualgebäude in Uppåkra mit seinem Grundriß aufgedeckt. Dort fanden sich mit Metalldetektor zwei Kultgegenstände des 6. Jahrhunderts von einzigartigem Interesse (Larsson 2001b:679 f., Fig. 1-4). Auf sie werde ich unten im letzten Abschnitt eingehen.

Die sakrale Perspektive des hervorragenden, schonischen Zentralortes wird noch gesteigert durch die polytheistischen Opfergaben in Gullåkra-Mosse. Während eines langen Zeitraums wurden dort Opfer niedergelegt und später als Funde beim Torfstechen nach und nach zu einer extragroßen Sammlung vereint. Dieses Opfermoor liegt, ca. 2 km entfernt, südöstlich von Uppåkra. Es könnte als ein Versammlungsplatz der Bevölkerung der Lund-Ebene gedient haben (Larsson 2001b: 60; Helgesson 2002:26 f., 256, Tab. 11).

Diese Erwägung wird beispielhaft durch eine archäologische Parallele bestätigt, wie es die von dem zentralen Versammlungsplatz auf der dänischen Insel Falster bei einem alten Opfermoor ist. Von dort stammt als eines der Juwele der dänischen Völkerwanderungszeit der Hannenov-Halsring aus der 2. Hälfte des 5. Jahrhunderts (Jørgensen & Vang Petersen 1998:191 ff. mit der Fig. 143-145). Auch ist in diesem Zusammenhang an das sakrale Götter-Thing zu erinnern. Völkerwanderungszeitlich wird es in der Kürzeltechnik der insgesamt 12 Drei-Götter-Brakteaten bezeugt, die fast nur in zentralen Kult-, Herrschafts- und Reichtums-Regionen Skandinaviens gefunden wurden. Im 13. Jahrhundert hat der Isländer Snorri Sturluson in der Prosa seiner Gylfaginning ein Traditionsecho von dem sakralen Götter-Thing überliefert (Lorenz 1984. Gylfaginning; Beck & Hauck: im Druck).

Zu der vielfältigen handwerklichen Produktion in Uppåkra gehörten – ähnlich wie auf Bornholm in Sorte Muld – Goldbrakteaten. Mit ihnen werden Larssons „hierarchische Strategien und Rituale“ durch goldene, visionäre Götterbild-Chiffren und Runen veranschaulicht (Andersson 2001:77 f.; Helgesson 2002:101 f., Fig. 24, 258 Tab. 13). Daß die Runen götterentstammt gewesen sind, hat bereits im späten 6. Jahrhundert ein västergötländischer Runenspezialist auf einen Stein geschrieben: *Runo fahi* `geheimnisvolle Kunde´ [der Runen] `schreibe ich´, *ragina-ku[n]do,* `die von den Göttern stammt´. Noch im 13. Jahrhundert wurde dasselbe Wissen von der Lieder-Edda in den `Reden des Hohen´, in der Hávamál-Str. 80, überliefert (Neckel & Kuhn 1983; La Farge & Tucker, 1992; Krause & Jankuhn 1966:149 f.; 237f.; Düwel 2001:13, 35 f., 204 zu den Hávamál-Str. 138 f.). Das heißt: Die neu aufkommenden, goldenen, visionären Götterbilder konnten

mit einer seit mehreren Jahrhunderten eingeführten heiligen Schrift (zum Beispiel mit Götter-*Beiname*) bezeichnet werden. Die Götter-Hauptnamen waren dagegen runenschriftlich ein geschütztes

Geheimnis, ein Tabu. Benennbarkeit Odins mit seinen speziellen Beinamen sowohl durch Bildchiffren als auch durch Runen auf Goldbrakteaten aus dem Umland von Uppåkra

Heinrich Beck hat eben ausführlicher aufgezeigt, wie sich seit Erik Moltkes Runenbuch von 1985 die Forschungslage „in einer Hinsicht entscheidend verändert" hat. „Das gesamte Brakteatencorpus wurde unter Karl Haucks Leitung neu ediert, die Inschriften wurden" an den Originalen „überprüft und in vielen Fällen neu gelesen. Der Abstand ist durch einen Vergleich der Inschriftenlesungen in Danmarks runeindskrifter" (Jacobsen & Moltke 1942) „und dem Ikonographischen Katalog" (= IK) „ersichtlich. Alle Inschriften sind demnach heute erneut dahingehend zu überprüfen, ob sie semantisch", sinngemäß, „lesbar und daher auch dem Versuch der Deutung zugänglich sind. Diese Versuche stehen erst am Anfang. Eine Warnung Moltkes hat aber nach wie vor Gültigkeit: Die Brakteaten stellen ein eigenes Genre dar, das nicht den Regeln anderer Inschriftengruppen ohne weiteres unterworfen werden darf. Die Brakteateninschriften repräsentieren mit anderen Worten eine eigene Gattung, deren Regeln aus den zugehörigen Denkmälern selbst zu entwickeln sind. Dabei ist auch zu bedenken, daß eine Brakteatendeutung (ikonologisch und runologisch) nur in einem altertumswissenschaftlichen Sinne erfolgreich sein kann. Das heißt: Die runologisch-philologischen Einzelgänge einerseits, die ikonologischen andererseits, müssen in eine Synthese aufgehen, die Bild und Schrift in ihrer Wechselbeziehung berücksichtigt. Offensichtliche Namen" sowohl in Brakteatenbildchiffren als auch „in Brakteateninschriften können nicht isoliert interpretiert werden, wenn gleichzeitig personhafte Wesen ikonographisch beigeordnet sind oder zwischen Beischriften und ikonographischen Details deutlich Wechselbeziehungen erwägbar sind" (Beck 2001b:59). Die Zeit ist im Norden bereits vorbei, in der seit langem die Meinung gelten konnte: „Vom Heidentum überlieferte Texte haben wir nicht" (Wesche 1932:14 f.).

„Götteranrufung und Götterpreis können – wie unsere Quellen nahelegen – in deutlich unterscheidbaren Formen realisiert werden" (Beck 2001b:60). Für die hier möglichen Beispiele seien zuerst *die verbildlichten Anrufungen Odins* mit einem seiner speziellen Eigennamen gewählt und näher gemustert. Dann läßt sich *der Götterpreis* an einem der Beispiele von der Verknüpfung der Ikonologie Odins mit der Runeninschrift einer seiner speziellen Eigennamen erörtern.

Mit Becks Anregung besprechen wir zuerst die Götteranrufung, „die Apostrophe". Dabei wenden sich die Gläubigen, die sich dem archaischen Freundgott Odin mit dem *Heiti*, dem Beinamen *Alawin* `All-Freund´ *im Vokativ* anvertrauten, als ihrem „göttlichen Gegenüber" zu. Zugleich rufen die Gläubigen Odin als *Alawid* `All-Kämpfer´ im Vokativ an und zwar insbesondere gegen drei verschiedene, verbildlichte Dämonen (Beck 2001a:37 ff., 2001b: 62f.; anders Mørup 2002:147 ff.). Trägerinnen oder Träger der vergoldeten Amulette beteten in dieser Form der Kommunikation rufend die schützende Gottheit an (Jørgensen & Vang

Fig. 1. a: IK 56 Fjärestad-C/Gantofta, b: IK 58 Fünen-C. 2:1.

Petersen 1998:237 f.; Jørgensen hat ebd. 256 f., Fig. 186, 530-550 A.D., den Schlüssel-Beleg IK 161 Skodborghus-B unten links versehentlich spiegelbildlich wiedergegeben; Behr 2001:95 ff.).

Zeugnisse für die Götteranrufung mit dem Odins-Beinamen des ‚Rabenasen´ sind hierfür Musterbeispiele. Sie wurden bereits *völkerwanderungszeitlich verbildlicht.* In der Wortüberlieferung skaldischer Texte setzen diese Zeugnisse im 9. Jahrhundert ein mit der Form *Hrafnáss* ‚Rabenase´. Sie wird im 13. Jahrhundert von Snorri Sturluson variiert zu *Hrafnaguð,* Raben-Gott´ (Simek 1995:195). Die verbildlichten Versionen dieses Beinamens Odins werden mit den neu bekannt gewordenen Exemplaren von 2001 auf ca. 80 Goldbrakteaten überliefert. Wir veranschaulichen sie exemplarisch mit IK 56 Fjärestad-C/Gantofta (Fig. 1a), Schonen, sowie mit dem am meisten zitierten, detail- und runenreichen IK 58 Fünen-C (Fig. 1b).

Beck verdanken wir die neue Einsicht, daß Göterbeinamen auf C- und B-*Brakteaten nur in der oberen Bildhälfte einbezogen werden*, während runische Namen sich in der unteren Bildhälfte auf Balders Pferd beziehen. (Die Runenringe in den Randzonen folgen eigenen Regeln, s. z.B. IK 161 Skodborghus-B). Deswegen scheidet die Lesung und Erklärung einer eindrucksvollen Göttinger Autorität und ihres archäologischen Ratgebers von 1966 aus (Krause 1966:255 f., Nr. 119, Taf. 56; mit dem Beitrag von Jankuhn: 238 Position 6; [ohne Nachweise] wiederholt von Jørgensen & Vang Petersen 1998:237 f.; nochmals mit den alten Argumenten begründet von Düwel 2001:54). Infolge der falschen Zuordnung des Odins-Beinamen in die untere Bildhälfte läßt sich die alte Lesung und Erklärung von 1966 mit dem Rückschluß auf das Odinsheiti, den Odins-Beinamen *Hár*, keinesfalls mehr vertreten.

Aufgrund der richtigen Einordnung der runischen Zeichenfolge von IK 58-C in der unteren Bildhälfte überzeugt, daß Antonsen (1975:62) *horaR* las und es mit lateinisch „*carus* verbindet und übersetzt `beloved´".

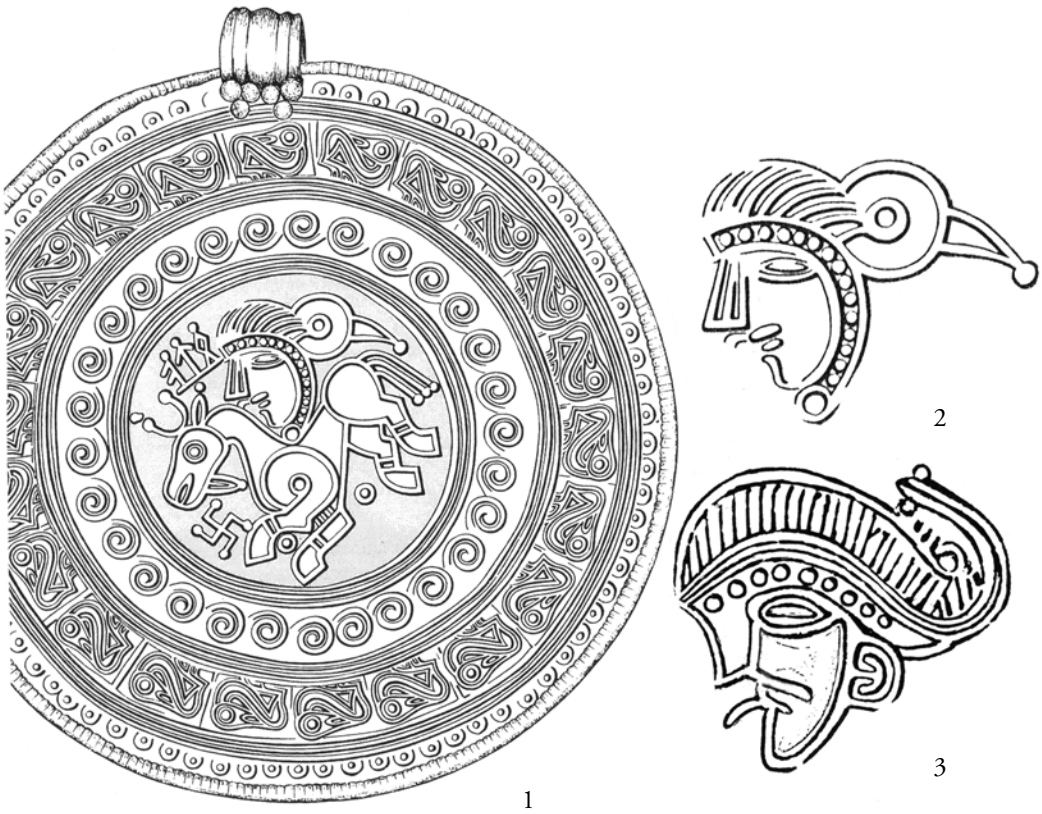

Fig. 2. 1: IK 55-Fjärestad-C/Gantofta. 2:1. 2. 2: Vergrößert die Details von IK 55-C, 2. 3: Vergrößert die Details von IK 77 Hjørlunde.

Denn „alle Beischriften dieser Position sprechen dafür, daß damit das Pferd apostrophiert wird" wie auch seeländisch auf IK 300 Maglemoose-C. Das „paßte aber wohl für einen Beinamen des Baldr-Pferdes `das Geschätzte´, `das Geliebte´" (Beck 2001:67 ff.); vgl. auch *die Variante des Pferdenamens* aus südwestjütischen Balder-Heiligtümern `d a s E r n e u e r t e´ (Hauck & Beck: im Druck).

Mit diesen runischen Belegen für Balders Pferd, das häufig, wie auch aus dem Umland von Uppåkra auf IK 55-C (Fig. 2. 1), *den Fohlenbart trägt*, ist die Auswertung von IK 58-C in einer neuen Konzeption erforderlich. Denn die imperiale Bildersprache, die der Norden auf IK 58-C übernahm und abwandelte, wird nicht nur mit dem Echo des Kaiserdiadems sichtbar. Vielmehr werden auch die Sturzchiffren von anthropomorphen und tierischen Wesen als Todessignale imitiert. Die Braktatenmeister verwendeten solche Sturzchiffren ebenso bei Balders Tod (exemplarisch: Hauck 2001a:278 f. Abb. 1 von IK 583 Söderby-B) wie auch bei dem Tod von Balders Fohlen, so hier auf IK 58-C (Fig. 1b). Zu dieser Chiffren-Benutzung gehört zugleich – *wie auch schon länger im christlichen Süden* (dazu Meier 1990:35 ff., 1997:359 ff.) – die visionäre Zusammenschau von zeitlich ungleichen Phasen bei IK 58-C. Es sind der Fohlensturz und die Heilung des Fohlens. Solche zeitlich ungleichen, aber visionär

zusammengesehenen Phasen werden auf IK 58-C ebenso wie auf IK 55-C bezeugt.

Es ist heute unmöglich zu übergehen, daß in der Masse der C-Brakteaten Odins Haupt als ein Kürzel seiner Vollgestalt verwendet wird. Die Zahl wirklicher Reiterbrakteaten Odins ist so klein, daß sie als Deutungsnorm nicht brauchbar ist (Axboe in: IK 4, 1, in Druckvorbereitung).

IK 58-C weist mit folgenden Details auf die Darstellung Odins als eines göttlichen *Arztes* hin. *Erstens*: Mit dem heilenden Tritt des ausgegliederten, göttlichen Beins auf den übergroßen, weil verletzten Huf. Jener Tritt hat in der mündlichen Roßarzt-Tradition eine besonders lange Fortdauer. Ihr begegnete noch Goethe in Jena und hat so in Faust II Mephistopheles Vers 6330-37 den harten Tritt seines Fußes „wie Pferdehuf" zur Heilung eines erfrorenen Fußes einer Dame angedichtet, die den Pferde-Namen „Braune" trägt. Methodisch verfuhr der Magier Mephistopheles nach dem altertümlichen Grundsatz: „Zu Gleichem Gleiches, ... Fuß heilet Fuß" (Hauck 1977: 473). *Zweitens*: Mit der auf den Tierhals heilend aufgelegten, ausgegliederten, göttlichen Hand von IK 58-C und auch von der schonischen Parallele IK 96 Kläggeröd-C. *Drittens*: Mit der vielfältig bezeugten Rolle eines der beiden Raben als Heilgehilfe. Auf diese Rolle treffen wir fast immer in der Kürzung auf *einen* Raben sowohl bei der Extremiäten-Inspektion von vorn auf IK 42 Darum (V)-C aus Südwestjütland (Beck & Hauck: im Druck), ergänzt mit der Überlieferung der Inspektion der Extremitäten von hinten auf dem jütländischen Formular von IK 32,1 Brille-C und IK 32,2 Agerskov-C, dazu auch die Extremitäten-Inspektion von unten wie schonisch in der Brakteatenkonzeption des Neufunds IK 587-C (dazu Axboe 2001:169 ff.; Pesch:2002). Weiter sind auf IK 52 Fjällbacka-C, Bohuslän, wie auf IK 58-C (Fig. 1b) zwei Ebenen unterschieden, so daß bei dem Götterhaupt auf IK 52-C die *zwei* Raben Odins abgebildet wurden. Das schloß jedoch nicht aus, daß in der unteren Ebene nur einer der beiden Raben zur Heilgehilfen-Inspektion von unten – wie auf IK 587-C – auf dem Rücken liegt.

Der Heilgehilfen-Rolle gemäß erscheint der Rabe dienend auf IK 58-C, antithetisch in intimer Nähe des Götterhauptes. Jener Rolle entsprechend berücksichtigte hinter dem Raben die längere Runenfolge Heilsworte der Göttersprache, die runisch geschrieben *Laute der Rabensprache* einrahmen. Eingangs ist dazu das Heilswort *lapu* ‚Ladung', ‚Herbeirufung' (des Rabens) genannt und zum Abschluß *alu* ‚Abwehr' (des dämonischen Wesens, das den Fohlensturz verursachte, wie das IK 55-C (Fig. 2, 1 und 2) überliefert) (Heizmann 2001:326 ff., IK 58 als Abb. 1: 344 wie IK 77 Hjørlunde Mark-C [jetzt Jørlunde]/Slangerup, Nordseeland, Abb. 12:346; vgl. hier Fig. 2, 3).

Kurz, es läßt sich nicht mehr bestreiten, daß IK 58-C mit Odin, dem göttlichen Arzt, samt seinen Formularverwandten in eine überaus vielfältige und reiche Vorgeschichte des 2. Merseburger Zauberspruchs gehört (Lundgren & Beck 2001:601 ff.).

Wir besprechen nun mit Einsichten von Heinrich Beck eine weitere Form der Kontaktaufnahme zwischen den Menschen und ihren Göttern „die Evokation, die Aufrufung" als Götterpreis. Denn diese andere Form ermöglicht die Deutung des ikonographischen und runischen Details von IK 55 Fjärestad-C/Gantofta (Fig. 2, 1 und 2) aus der Kultregion von Uppåkra. „Die Aufrufung und das Zitieren mythischen Geschehens findet sprachlichen Ausdruck in der 3. Person. Snorri Sturluson spricht in Gylfaginning (c. 20) von *stórtíðindi,* großen und bedeutenden mythi-

schen Ereignissen, die in *frásagnir,* Berichten kundiger Leute, überliefert wurden. Diese Ereignisse (*atburðir*) seien in den Götterbeinamen (*heiti, nöfn*) fixiert worden. ... In den *atburðir*-Namen verdichten sich sozusagen " als *mnemotechnische Hilfsmittel* „die *frásagnir* über Götter-Geschichten" (Lorenz 1984:286 f., 305; zusammenfassend Simek 1995:312 f.; wörtlich Beck 2001b:60).

Wie solche *frásagnir* in der damaligen Gegenwart zitiert werden konnten, zeigt exemplarisch IK 55 Fjärestad-C/Gantofta mit einer der mythischen Geschichten in der Kurzform der Bildchiffren und mit dem speziellen ‚Ereignis´-Beinamen, auf den wir gleich zu sprechen kommen.

Die volle Bedeutung dieser Überlieferung des Nordens von mythischen Geschichten und den dazugehörigen speziellen Beinamen des Polytheismus ist in der Konkurrenz der Religionen ermessbar dadurch, daß solche mnemotechnischen Beinamen-Stichworte vergleichbar sind im Christentum mit den überaus zahlreichen Christus-Epitheta, den Christus-Beinamen. Diese Christus-Beinamen sind nicht allein dem Vorbild des Neuen Testaments oder des Alten Testaments entnommen, sondern sie wurden auch „in der Auseinandersetzung des Christentums mit der Antiken Welt geschaffen" (Stuiber 1957:Sp. 24 ff.). Exemplarisch verdeutlicht das der Christus-Beiname des Löwen, der neben dem Evangelisten-Beinamen Löwe, auch auf Christus selber gedeutet mehrfach seit der Antike bezeugt ist (Stuiber 1957:Sp. 26). Infolgedessen ist auch die Deutung der oben erwähnten Löwenplastik mit dem Beinamen Christi vertretbar. Sie zeigt Christus als Löwen im Kampf mit den schlangengestaltigen Dämonen als Fund aus Uppåkra.

Von dem Motiv auf IK 55-C kennen wir vier verschiedene vereinfachte Varianten Odins: IK 152 Schonen (III)-C, IK 185 Tjurkö-C, Blekinge, und die beiden modelgleichen bornholmischen Neufunde IK 578,1 und 2 Gadegård-C von 1993 und 1999 (letzterer noch nicht veröffentlicht) aus dem Umland von Fuglsang/Sorte Muld II (Beck & Hauck, im Druck). Im Gegensatz zu den vereinfachten Varianten begegnen wir auf IK 55 Fjärestad-C/Gantofta mit der zusätzlichen Randzone (Fig. 2, 1 und 2), einem Formularverwandten von dem detailreicheren IK 58 Fünen-C (Fig. 1b), wiederum mit der Sturzchiffre unter dem Haupt Odins, des göttlichen Arztes. Anstelle der fünischen Runen unter dem Pferdekopf erscheint auf IK 55-C der *Fohlenbart* als Bestätigung der runischen Lesung von Beck (Hauck, IK Einleitung 1985:106 f.). Auf IK 55-C ruft Odin das gestürzte Tier mit seinem schöpfungsmächtigem Atemhauch, der auf den Tiernacken gerichtet ist, ins Leben zurück. Denn – so weiß es in der Lieder-Edda die Völospá Str. 17 f. – *ǫnd gaf ”ðinn* ‚Leben gab Odin´ (Neckel & Kuhn 1983:4 f.; Häny 1989:14; Dronke 1997:11, 39, 123 ff.; Grønvik 1987:156; Beck 2001b:67; Düwel 2001:54 ohne Berücksichtigung von IK 55-C als reicherer ikonographischer Version). Ikonograhpisch wird Odin, seinem Beinamen *ota* entsprechend, als Gott jubelnd gepriesen, der ‚Furcht und Schrecken (einjagt´). Wiedergegeben ist das in der Randzone mit dem bezwungenen, hingekauerten, dämonischen Wesen *samt zurückgewandtem Kopf* in 22 Wiederholungen. Vergleichbar sind ikonographisch Goldbrakteaten wie IK 571 Gemarkung Dannau-C (Hauck 1992:460 ff. mit Fig. 18). Die beiden Goldbrakteaten aus dem Umland von Uppåkra IK 56-C (Fig. 1a) wie auch IK 55-C (Fig. 2, 1) überliefern das Beizeichen der Swastika sowohl rechts- wie linkswendig als eines der religionsgeschichtlichen Symbole. Auf IK 55-C umfaßt mit der Hilfe der Randzone die visionäre Zusammen-

schau drei zeitlich verschiedene Phasen: den Fohlensturz, der den Tod des Tieres mitteilt, die Bezwingung des dämonischen Wesens und die Heilung des Fohlens *als Erneuerung seines Lebens* (s. oben das Zitat der bei Beck & Hauck erörterten Variante des Pferdenamens aus den südwestjütischen Balder-Heiligtümern `d a s E r n e u e r t e´).

Durch die Götter-Anrufung und durch den Götterpreis auf den goldenen Amuletten mit Bildchiffren *und* runenschriftlichen, göttlichen Beinamen wurden die Brakteaten infolge ihrer „schützenden Funktion" zu polytheistischen Devotionalien (Jørgensen & Vang Petersen 1998:237 f.). Zu den „hierarchischen Strategien" der Sakralkönige und Häuptlinge muß also auf den Kultfesten im kalendarischen Rhythmus die Organisation des Erwerbs von Goldbrakteaten in neuen Prägungen vorbereitet gewesen sein.

Die zwei Kultgegenstände des 6. Jahrhunders als Opferfunde in dem Ritualgebäude von Uppåkra

Unsere heutigen altertumskundlichen Fächer, die den völkerwanderungszeitlichen Norden erforschen, erwarten noch nicht einen dynamischen Wettbewerb zwischen dem skandinavischen Randzonen-Polytheismus und dem europäischen Christentum im Zeitalter des Untergangs des weströmischen Reiches. Im Norden konnte sich der Polytheismus noch mehrere Jahrhunderte weiter behaupten. Das Aufkommen der Goldbrakteaten mit ihrer götterentstammten Runenschrift und mit ihren Götterbildchiffren bezeugt den vielseitigen geistigen *Aufbruch in der Konkurrenz der Religionen.* Dieses Aufkommen beruhte keineswegs allein auf der Entlehnung und Abwandlung imperialer Bild-Konventionen. Mit seiner Zusammenschau zeitlich ungleicher Phasen paßte sich der Norden vielmehr an das visionäre Sehen in christlichen Synopsen an (zu den Vorstufen: Meier: 1990:35 ff., 1997:359 ff.). Ebenso lassen sich die zahlreichen Beinamen Odins in ihren mnemotechnischen Stichworten mit den überaus zahlreichen Christus-Beinamen vergleichen (Stuiber 1957:Sp. 24 ff.). Daß solche Anpassungen auch bis hin zur Imitation und Abwandlung liturgischer Geräte des Christentums fortschreiten konnten, bezeugen – wie nunmehr darzulegen ist – unmittelbar polytheistische Opferfunde des Jahres 2001. Man fand sie in ähnlicher Weise im schonischen Uppåkra wie auch im bornholmischen Fuglsang/Sorte Muld II. Erstaunlicherweise handelt es sich um erhaltene Geräte einer polytheistischen Abendmahls-Liturgie in Imitationen christlicher Vorstufen oder im Ersatz durch kostbaren Import aus dem Süden sowohl in Glas oder auch in Edelmetallen. Dazu wird auch noch ihre Wirkungsgeschichte selbst in den trümmerhaften Resten der damaligen Holzkultur erreichbar (grundsätzlich dazu Stjernquist 2001:3 ff.; speziell dazu Larsson 2001b:679 f.; Thorsen & Axboe 2002:5 ff.).

In Uppåkra vergegenwärtigen das in einem 2001 aufgedeckten Grundriss eines Ritualgebäudes der Holzkultur mit den äußeren Dimensionen 13 x 6,5m, das für Christentum und Polytheismus die „*Konkurrenz der Kultstätten*" veranschaulicht, *zwei Opferfunde* (Larsson 2001b:679 f. mit Fig. 1; von Padberg: im Druck). Die wiederholte Benutzung der westlichen dachtragenden Pfostengruben für robuste Pfosten liefert Anhaltspunkte für die lange Verwendung dieses Ritualgebäudes. Ebenso gilt das für drei ältere Fußböden, die völkerwanderungszeitlich oder aus der späten Kaiserzeit sind.

Hier interessieren die beiden mit Metalldetektor entdeckten Opferfunde des 6. Jahrhunderts: eine flache Glasschale und ein etwa 20 cm hoher Becher mit angesetztem Fuß (bei Larsson 2001b:680, Fig. 2 und 3). Ihre christlichen Vorstufen sind die – nach ihrem kultischen Charakter und Rang – *zusammengehörigen Paare* liturgischer Geräte. Sie haben sich seit ca. 500 in authentischen Exemplaren erhalten.

Nacheinander sind zu nennen: Heilige Geräte für das eucharistische Brot und kelchartige Trinkgefäße für den Wein des Abendmahls. Im Westen sind es die ‚Patene' ‚Schüssel', ‚Schale', in der griechischen Ostkirche das *diskopotérion* mit dem im Griechischen – wie auch im Sanskrit – möglichen Doppelwort, hier griechisch für ‚Scheibe' und ‚Trinkgefäß', das den Paar-Charakter der beiden heiligen Gefäße (*duo vasa sacra*) hervorhebt.

Als Material der Vorstufen der ‚Schale' oder ‚Scheibe' dienten sowohl *Glas als auch Silber mit Vergoldung*. Beim Fund aus Uppåkra hat Larsson (2001b:679 f., Fig. 2) das so beschrieben: „Das Glas erwies sich als zu einer Schale gehörend with offset ribs on the belly and ground ovals at the rim" (dazu grundsätzlich Stjernquist 1999:67 ff.; Hårdh in dem vorliegenden Band, Fig. 8).

In Fuglsang/Sorte Muld II besteht das dort gefundene Exemplar der ‚Scheibe' (Fig. 3) aus Silber und ungleich erhaltener Vergoldung; letztere ist am besten sichtbar im Zentrum der Innenseite. Allerdings hat die erforderliche Analyse des Materials der ‚Scheibe' noch nicht stattgefunden (Thorsen & Axboe 2002: Titelseite des Skalk-Heftes 2 mit der silbernen Außenseite und Details der vergoldeten Innenseite der ‚Scheibe', ebd.: 6; für die erste Zeichnung dieses Exemplars mit dem schlichten ornamentalen Dekor habe ich Morten Axboe ebenso wie auch für die von ihm angeregten Korrekturen in seinem Brief vom 20.06.2002 sehr zu danken).

Wir wenden uns nunmehr wieder zunächst den Vorstufen mit kelchartigem Trinkgefäß zu. Auch sie sind seit ca. 500 in authentischen Exemplaren auf uns gekommen. Im Westen werden sie ‚Kelch' oder ‚Pokal' genannt, in der Ostkirche mit dem bereits zitierten griechischen Doppelwort *diskopotérion* ‚Scheibe' und ‚Trinkgefäß'. Diesmal ist das authentische Exemplar der Imitation der christlichen Vorstufe allein in Uppåkra erhalten. Larsson (2001b:679 f., Fig. 2–4) hat es folgendermaßen beschrieben: „Sorgfältige Untersuchung im Labor zeigte einen Bronze- und Silberbecher von ca. 20 cm Höhe mit einem deutlich angesetzten Fuss. Sieben mit Goldfolie geprägte Schmuckbänder laufen um den Becher herum." Von ihrem figürlichen Dekor zeigte Larsson nur eine einzige Probe (Fig. 4). Infolgedessen ist die vollständige Wiedergabe des gesamten ikonographischen Programms erforderlich und die Auswertung eine anspruchsvolle Aufgabe.

Weil das Ritualgebäude in den älteren Horizont der Völkerwanderungszeit und der späteren Kaiserzeit zurückreicht, ist es durchaus gerechtfertigt, den neuen Befund mit der alten Entdeckung im 17. Jahrhundert des zunächst vollständig erhaltenen, langen goldenen Horns aus Gallehus aus dem beginnenden 5. Jahrhundert zu vergleichen. Denn es hat gleichfalls sieben parallel rund herum laufende figurale Schmuckbänder gehabt, wenn auch nicht eine Runeninschrift wie der jüngere unvollständige Goldhornfund des 18. Jahrhunderts. Bekanntlich sind die beiden Goldhörner aus Gallehus vor 200 Jahren gestohlen und eingeschmolzen worden. Beide Gallehus-Hörner sind in alten Zeichnungen und durch jüngere Kopien von ihnen bis heute zugänglich geblieben (Axboe

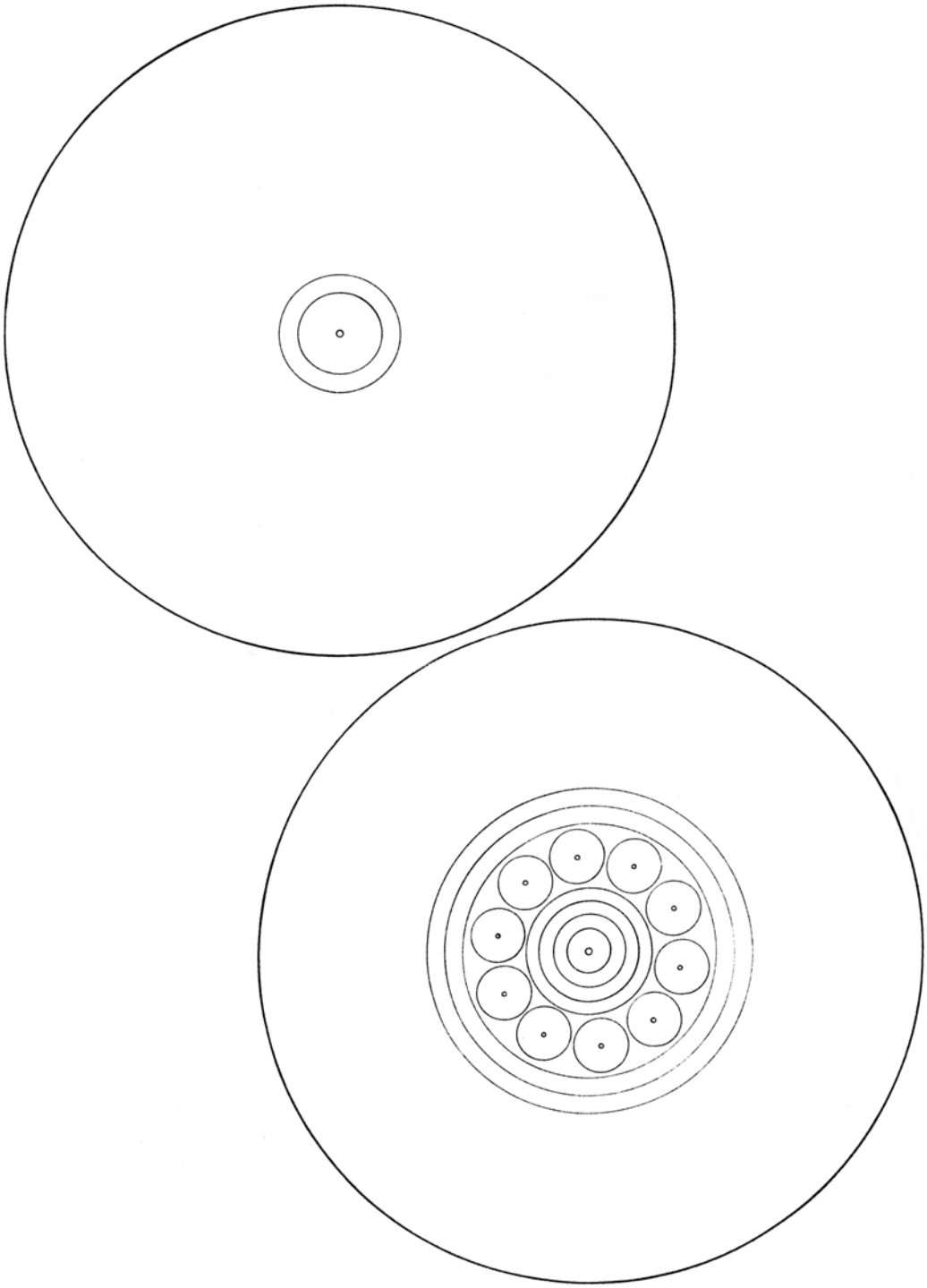

Fig. 3. Übereindender: Runde Scheibe der silbernen Außen- (oben) und der teilweise vergoldeten Innenseite (unten) aus Fuglsang/Sorte Muld II. In fast 2:3 Größe des Originals.

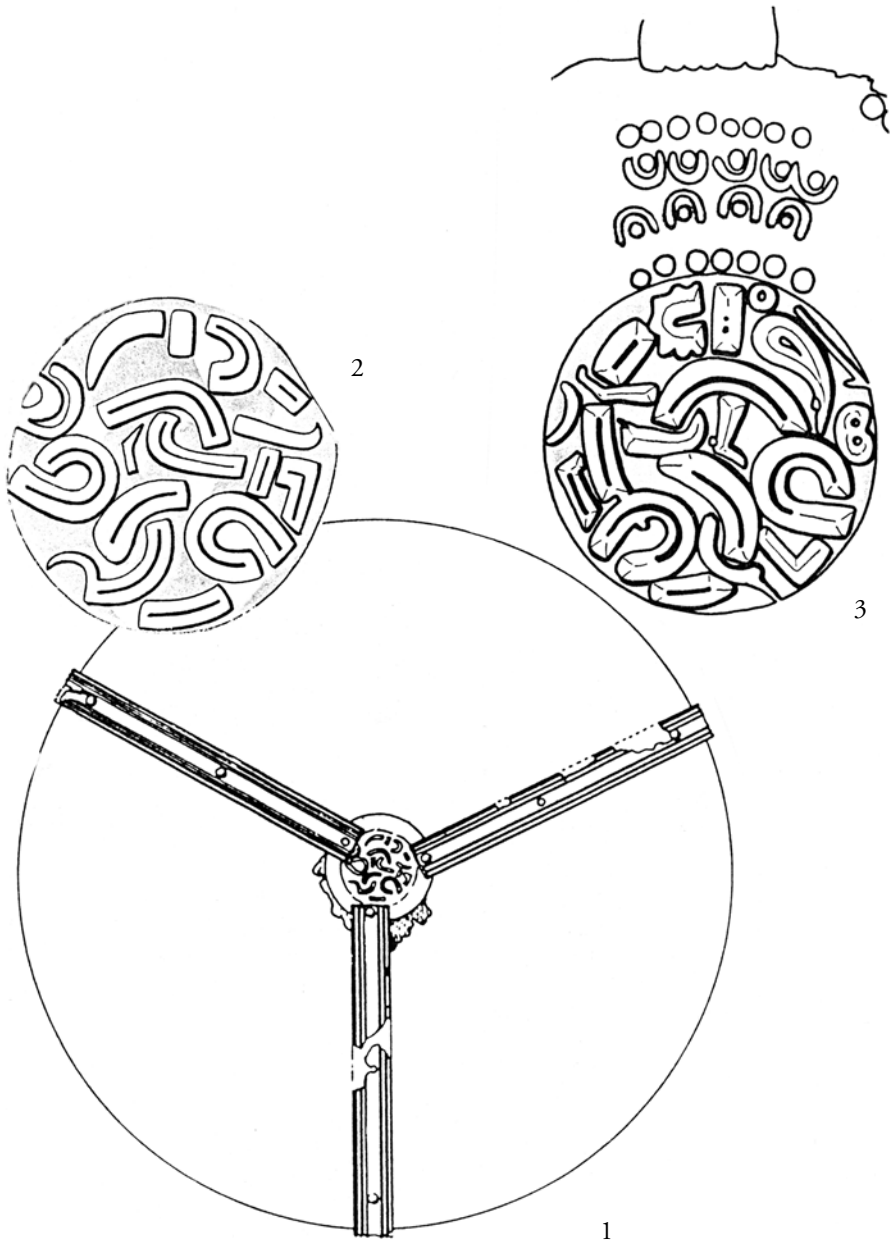

Fig. 4. 1: Ra: Die ‚Scheibe´ aus Wurzelholz mit ihren sibervergoldeten Streifen, die ‚y-förmig´ auf den brakteaten IK 486a, 2 im Zentrum zulaufen fast in 1/2 Größe des Originals, von einem Grabfund aus Rhenen, Niederlande. 2: Rb: Der besser erhaltene D-Brakteat von dem Grabfund aus Rhenen IK 486a, 1. 2:1. 3: IK 507 Sievern-D, mit verkürzter Randzone wiedergegebenem Exemplar mittlerer Größe aus dem deutschen ‚Gudme´ in Sievern, Kreis Wesermünde. 2:1.

et al. 1998:330 ff.; Jørgensen & Vang Petersen 1998:182 ff. mit Fig. 136–138, 400-450 A.D.).

Bei dem Neufund aus dem schonischen Uppåkra von 2001 fesseln am meisten die figural dekorierten Bänder rings um den „Becher" (Larsson 2001b:679 f. mit Fig. 2–4, 2002:Fig. 5, allein zum „Becher" sowie ebd. Hårdh 2002:Fig. 8, zur „Schale" und zum „Becher"; zu den christlichen Vorstufen zusammen mit dem Zitat christlicher Synoden, die für das Paar der heiligen Geräte, *minderes Material wie etwa Holz,* verbieten: Elbern, Der eucharistische Kelch im frühen Mittelalter , ergänzt mit dem Exkurs: Ikonographie der Patene im frühen Mittelalter, 1964, 1984:396 ff., Geräte, Liturgische, 1993a:Sp.721 ff., Liturgische Geräte, 1993b: Sp.1778 f. Patene, 1995:Sp.48 Pokal).

In der Holzkultur des mitteleuropäischen und skandinavischen Nordens hat sich – wenn auch nicht ein heiliges, kelchartiges Trinkgefäß – so doch ein Miniaturbecher aus Holz mit einem silbernen Beschlag erhalten. Er stammt aus einem reichen, kentischen Kriegergrab, das münzdatiert um ca. 575 ist. Auf dem silbernen Beschlag wurde ein Brakteat vom C-Typ mit zwei zeitlich ungleichen, visionären Phasen ermittelt. Es handelt sich um IK 224 Broadstairs-C, Bradstow School, Kent (gefunden vor 1979). Die erste visionäre Phase gibt die Attacke einer dämonischen Schlange auf Balders Fohlen wieder – beide von rechts. Die zweite Phase rühmt Odin mit dem Kürzel seines Hauptes von rechts als Dämonenbezwinger und göttlichen Arzt, vergleichbar mit IK 55-C aus dem Umland von Uppåkra (Fig. 2, 1 und 2).

Zum Abschluß dieser Skizze wenden wir uns den Holzimitationen von ‚Scheiben´ zu, die man beim polytheistischen Abendmahl verwendete. Sie fanden sich in zwei Exemplaren mit *D-Brakteaten-Beschlägen* in einem reichen Männergrab des fränkischen Gräberfeldes bei Rhenen, Provinz Utrecht, Niederlande. Jaap Ypey veröffentlichte beide Brakteaten in ihrem Sachkontext aus dem Grab 775 als Beigaben in ungleicher Erhaltung von Ende des 6. Jahrhunderts (Ypey 1983:469 mit Fig. 7). Ypey nannte die zwei Beigaben Ra und Rb. Von diesen beiden Beigaben blieb Ra (hier Fig. 4, 1) aus Wurzelholz im ganzen gut mit vergoldeten Silber-Streifen und einem Durchmesser von plus/minus 20,2 cm erhalten. Die Streifen der metallischen Beschläge laufen ‚y-förmimg´ auf das Zentrum zu, das IK 486a,2 Rhenen-D bildet.

Im Gegensatz dazu war bei Rb die hölzerne ‚Scheibe´ vermodert bis auf die metallischen Streifen samt dem Brakteaten. Bei Rb liefen die metallischen Streifen ebenfalls auf das Zentrum von IK 486a,1 Rhenen-D zu, wenn auch in einer Variante der Einordnung (Fig. 4, 2).

Von den beiden modelgleichen Prägungen ist IK 486a,1 besser erhalten, so daß es hier als fig. 4, 2 abgebildet wurde. Die zwei späten modelgleichen Abdrucke zeigen das *erfolgreichste, aber komplizierteste* D-Formular so reduziert, daß wir es hier erst nach der Musterung des D-Typs in Spitzenqualität aus dem niedersächsischen Kult- und Herrschaftszentrum Sievern, Kreis Wesermünde, mit einem Exemplar von IK 507 Sievern-D beschreiben (Fig. 4. 3). Diese Prägung blieb in 6 Exemplaren erhalten, von denen ich eines in der mittleren Größe der 38 mm-Gruppe auswählte (zur Identifizierung des Balder-Brakteaten IK 333 Sievern-B; Pesch 2001:70 ff. mit Fig. 14).

Die Hauptgestalt der ausgewählten Prägung von IK 507-D (Fig. 4. 3) ist ein Mischwesen mit einem S-förmigen Bandleib von links. Das Mischwesen wendet seinen Raubvogelkopf nach rechts über die Hüft-Schleife

zurück. Zum Vergleich sei hier genannt: das einfachere, dämonische Wesen auf IK 55-C (Fig. 2. 1). Es wendet seinen schlichteren Kopf ebenso zur Hüfte zurück, wenn auch nach links. Damit wird es in der Wiederholung als bezwungen dargestellt. Odin wird auf IK 55-C im Zentrum des Bildfeldes mit dem Kürzel seines Hauptes wiedergegeben. Auf IK 507-D (Fig. 4. 3) erscheint dagegen im Zentrum der Gott mit der Chiffre des triumphalen Tritts von seinem göttlichen Bein und Fuß von rechts als Kürzel über dem Bandleib. Dieses Kürzel steht in der Tradition der Anknüpfungen des Nordens an imperiale Bildkonventionen des Südens (dazu IK 39 Dänemark (X)-B; Jørgensen & Vang Petersen 1998:239, Fig. 175 links; R.-Alföldi 1999: 202, Abb. 255).

Die D-Brakteaten-Version von IK 507-D verwendet die visionäre Zusammenschau von zeitlich ungleichen Phasen: in dem anderen Kontext geht die Chiffre von dem Ohr Odins am rechten Bildrand der zentralen Chiffre des triumphalen Tritts mit dem göttlichen Bein und Fuß voraus. Das Ohr Odins wird als Chiffre für das Aufspüren des Dämons mit dem göttlichen Gehör zitiert. Das aber hat dann die Fesselung dieses Mischwesens durch Odin mit dessen Extremitäten, hier von einem Vorder- und einem Hinterbein, zur Folge. Jene Extremitäten schnüren den Hals wie den Bandleib, teils von unten und teils von oben kommend, ein. Dabei wird das *eine* Vorderbein *über* der Schulter-Schleife links unten abgebildet, wie es erst unter dem Hals durchgeht, dann *über* und *unter* dem Bandleib auf den Hals zu einbiegt. Der menschengestaltige Fuß weist über dem Untier-Hals mit der Spitze nach oben auf den Rand des Brakteaten.

Einfacher geht die Fesselung des Untiers mit dem *einen* Hinterbein von statten. Unter der Hüft-Schleife am rechten Rand bewegt sich das Hinterbein auf den Bandleib des Untiers zu, geht darunter durch und biegt dann so über dem Bandleib ein, daß der – wiederum menschengestaltige Fuß – hier auf den unteren Rand des Bildfeldes weist.

Von den drei selteneren, weiteren Details sei allein Odins Fluchspeer über dem Raubvogelschnabel genannt. Dieser Speer signalisiert das Todesschicksal des betroffenen Untiers, wie er auf anderen Goldbrakteaten gleichfalls über Todgeweihten erscheint. Auch auf zeitgleichen gotländischen Bildsteinen ist dieses Motiv zu finden (mit Literatur Hauck 1993:80 f.).

Nach der eingehenderen Musterung von IK 507-D (Fig. 4. 3) wenden wir uns erneut den beiden modelgleichen Brakteaten IK 486a,1 und 2 Rhenen-D mit der ‚Scheibe' aus Wurzelholz zu, die glücklicherweise erhalten blieb (Fig. 4. 1). Die beiden Prägungen zeigen reduzierte D-Details eines späten Prägemodels. So ist der zurückgewandte Raubvogelkopf ohne den Unterkiefer des Formulars zu sehen. Das Motiv der Fesselung des Mischwesens *wirkt* hier wie eine Art Zerstückelung des Untiers mit seinem Hals- und Bandleib. Wohl folgen frei gestaltet das Vorder- und das Hinterbein noch den Regeln des Drunters und Drübers der fesselnden Einschnürung. Aber Details wie die menschengestaltigen Füße der beiden Beine des Dämons sind nicht mehr zu erkennen. Die Übergröße von Odins Ohr links oben ist als Bedeutungsmaßstab ein Qualitäts-Indiz. Allerdings wird es gemindert durch die Defizite des winzigen Beins mit Fuß im Bildzentrum. Es ist hier, wie gelegentlich auch anderwärts, in späteren Varianten nicht mehr als Chiffre des triumphalen Tritts zu erkennen.

Die bemerkenswerten Reduktionen der Gestaltung des Motivs in den Details ändern

dennoch nichts daran, daß die erhaltene ‚Scheibe´ aus Wurzelholz mit den silbervergoldeten, metallischen Streifen auch in ihrer Kargheit an das silbervergoldete *disko[potérion]* aus Fuglsang/Sorte Muld II erinnert. Die beiden ungleich erhaltenen ‚Scheiben´ mit ihren metallischen Details ermöglichen den Blick auf sonst nicht mehr erreichbare Befunde der Holzkultur mit den modelgleichen D-Brakteaten. Sie treten an die Stelle des christlichen Dekors solcher ´Scheiben´ und zwar mit den beiden modelgleichen Exemplaren IK 486a,1 und 2 aus Rhenen.

Der Rückblick auf unsere Skizze kann kurz darlegen, wie zahlreich die Varianten Odins als des göttlichen Dämonenbezwingers in unserer Beispiel-Auswahl verwirklicht wurden. Wir nennen dazu hier noch einmal IK 161 Skodborghus-B aus Südjütland, IK 55 Fjärestad-C/Gantofta aus dem schonischen Umland von Uppåkra, IK 571 Gemarkung Dannau-C aus Ostholstein, IK 224-C aus Kent und die beiden D-Brakteaten, die mit den polytheistischen ‚Scheiben´ aus Holz erwägbarer Weise für das eucharistische Brot in dem Grabfund von Rhenen, Provinz Utrecht, bestimmt waren.

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A Tall Iron Age Lady with Magnificent Jewellery

Berta Stjernquist

Abstract

The article deals with a wealthy female grave from the last part of the 4th century AD, recently found at Järrestad by the Tommarp River, south-eastern Scania, southern Sweden. The finds - brooches of bronze and silver, a necklace with many beads, a pin of silver, a glass beaker, two pottery vessels etc. - concern problems of the transition between the Roman Iron Age and the Migration Period, such as chronology, relations and change. Other problems which can be elucidated by the grave are the international contacts of the inhabitants of the site as well as their social conditions and economic life with, for instance, amber as a resource.

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Problem

The water system of the Tommarp River curves around the Gårdlösa ridge about 20 km from the coast of south-eastern Scania, southern Sweden, and continues past Östra Tommarp and Järrestad. The valley was an important connecting link during the Iron Age, not least the Roman Iron Age. The river runs from the interior to the Baltic Sea where it reaches a network of trade routes. During the Roman Iron Age one trade route went from Zealand to points on the Baltic Sea such as Bornholm, Öland and Gotland and to points on the coast of mainland Scandinavia (Hansen 1987). The Roman influence can be traced at several cemeteries and settlements near the Tommarp River.

In spite of all these finds, the conditions at the end of the Roman Iron Age, the 4th century, are not easy to discern. The transition to the Migration Period is badly defined (Stjernquist 2002a, 2002b, in press). The continuity is demonstrated at the Gårdlösa settlement, for instance, but many cemeteries and settlements decline and come to an end (Steuer 1982). This being the case, a wealthy female grave found recently at Järrestad is an important addition of material elucidating the problems of the transition such as chronology, relations and change.

Other problems which can be illustrated by this grave are the extensive international contacts of the inhabitants of the district as well as the social conditions and the economic life with, for instance, amber as a resource.

The grave

A settlement from the Late Iron Age was previously known at the village of Järrestad situated by the Tommarp River between the

village of Östra Tommarp, a town named Thumatorp during the Middle Ages, and the east coast of Scania (Fig. 1) (Callmer 1995: 58). A large excavation started, however, in the year 2000 as a preparatory work for the construction of a main road between Östra Tommarp and Simrishamn on the coast. At Järrestad a large settlement from the Late Iron Age was partly excavated. Järrestad is recorded as *Jarllestatha* in 1322 and had an administrative value as the site of the district court. During the excavation a rich grave from the Late Roman Iron Age was discovered (Söderberg 2001a, 2001b; Stjernquist 2001).

The grave, an inhumation, was located north of the river on a small rise on the slope of the valley. It measured 2.45 x 1.25 m, had a north-south orientation and was partly covered by large stones (Fig. 2). The dark colouring of the filling indicates a coffin, probably constructed as a small chamber on the site. The filling or construction over the stones had been damaged by agricultural work.

The deceased was a woman. Only parts of the skeleton were preserved but the height has been estimated at 1.76 m. She was resting with bent knees on her left side with her head to the south and her face turned to the west. She was richly equipped. She had six brooches, a pin of silver, a spiral of bronze, and a large necklace. The organic material has disappeared but it is possible to reconstruct her dress with the help of the pieces of jewellery and our knowledge of women's garments (Munksgaard 1974; Ethelberg 1986; 2000; cf. Madsen 1975). Her gown had two small bronze fibulae (Haraldsted type) on the shoulders (Fig. 3). Two small fibulae of bronze of the type with returned foot fastened pieces of the dress below the chin, perhaps an opening of the gown or undergown (Fig. 4).

A large magnificent brooch attached on the breast an impressive necklace of 310 beads, 262 of them of amber and 48 of glass. The organic material of the string had decayed but the beads were found in the grave in several layers along the somewhat extended arms. The large brooch has a length of 10.5 cm. It is made of bronze plated with silver sheet and decorated with gilded sheet silver with embossed pattern (Fig. 5). A pin of bronze for fastening and traces of a pin holder are preserved on the back of the brooch. The brooch is unique in the Swedish material. There is, however, a parallel amongst the finds from the cemetery of Himlingøje on Zealand (Hansen 1971, 1995).

Amongst the beads a pendant in the form of a pail was suspended (Fig. 6). It was made of silver alloyed with copper, gilded and decorated with fine ornaments. There was a star on the bottom. The length is approx. 2.4 cm. Amulets similar to this one are found in rich graves from the end of the Roman Iron Age and the beginning of the Migration Period. They are mostly made of silver or bronze, very seldom of gold (Åberg 1956; Nielsen 1997).

The sixth brooch, of silver sheet, has a length of approx. 11 cm (Fig. 7). The head-plate is rectangular, the foot angular with a ridge along it. The stamped ornamentation is sparse, consisting of rows of small rings and concentric bows as a border along the edges, along the ridge of the foot and on the bow. The head-plate covered a system of rods with spirals, one of which was used for the fastening. This fastening system is of bronze but the spirals are plated with silver, at least partly (Åberg 1924, 1956; cf. Nielsen 2000). It is a magnificent brooch which was used for fastening a shawl or a cloak.

The jewellery also contained a pin of silver (Fig. 8), probably a hairpin or a pin for fastening some kind of headgear, length 16.3 cm, with

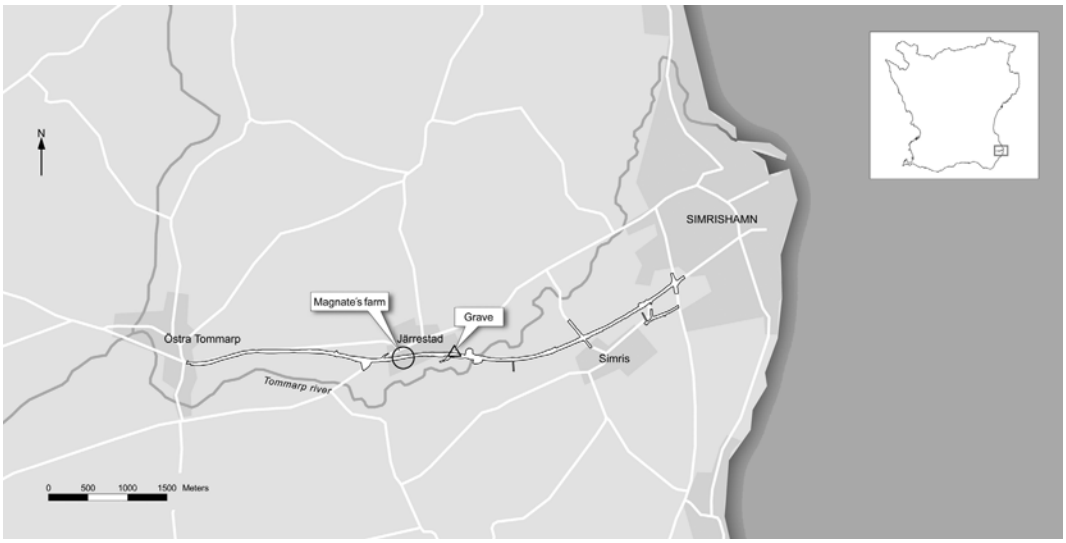

Fig. 1. Map with the site indicated.

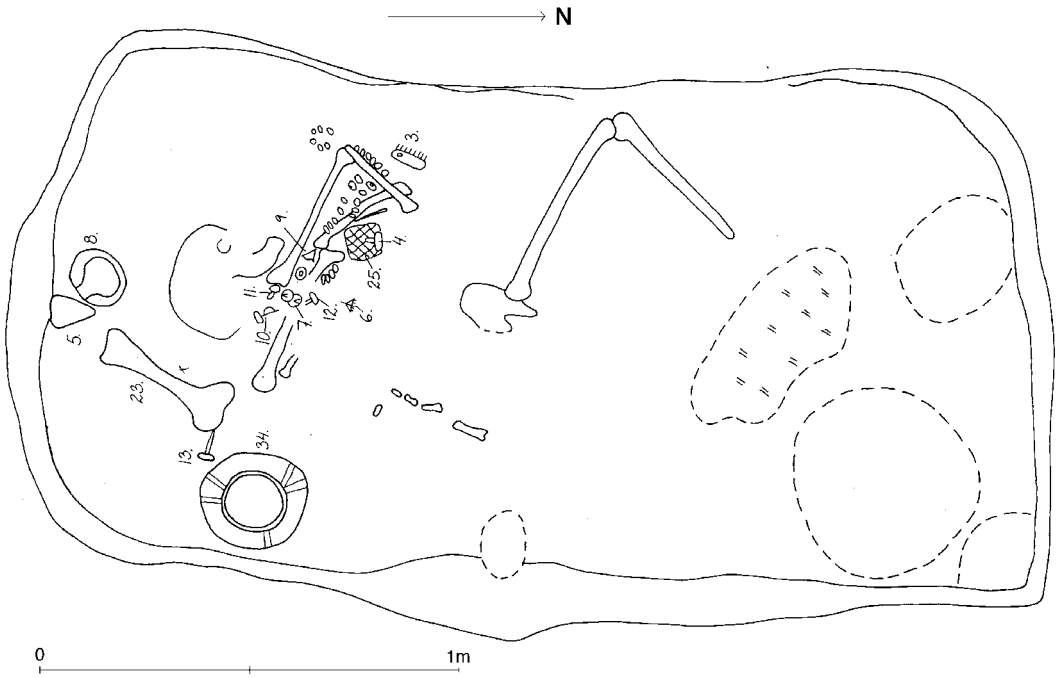

Fig. 2. The grave. Drawing by Bengt Söderberg.

Fig. 3. Two bronze fibulae of the Haraldsted type. Length ca 4.4 cm. Photo Bengt Almgren.

Fig. 4. Two bronze fibulae of the type with returned foot. Length ca. 4 cm. Photo Bengt Almgren.

a simple head (Beckmann 1966). A very similar pin of silver comes from Røgnehøj, Fünen, grave 6 (Albrectsen 1968:89, Taf. 32:d). Several simple pins of bronze and iron have been found in Scania but pins of silver are uncommon there (Hansen 1976:Fig. 62). A small bronze spiral in two pieces was found, as the pin, near the head. Another personal object is a comb preserved as bronze rivets. A fragmentary piece of iron is unidentifiable. A drinking set of three pieces belonged to the equipment: namely, a glass beaker and two vessels of pottery. The glass is very badly damaged but is of a conical type with ground ovals over the surface (Straume 1987) (Fig. 9).

One of the pottery vessels is a 15.8 cm high bowl (mouth diam. 16.5 cm, body diam. 22.02 cm) decorated on the shoulder with horizontal lines, angular lines with points, and raised ribs, horizontal and in three vertical groups. The other pot had a handle at the rim and on the shoulder a decoration with angular lines, horizontal lines and points interrupted by a vertical band of the same kind as the decoration on the handle. This vessel was approx. 10 cm high with a body diam. of approx. 14.8 cm (Fig. 10).

A big bone of cattle was found beside the vessels but a little higher up. The bone might be remains of meat provided for the journey to another world. Some unburnt teeth of cattle, a tooth of sheep/goat and some unidentifiable burnt bone of animals were spread in the filling among the covering stones. Dark colouring in the northern part of the grave represents traces of organic material, perhaps textiles or wooden objects belonging to the equipment.

The grave can be dated to the second half of the 4th century AD. This dating is based on the fibulae and on the large brooches (Nielsen *et al.* 1983; Helgesson & Stjernquist 2001). Owing to the many brooches, the grave can be used as a basis for chronological studies concerning the end of the Roman Iron Age and the transition to the Migration Period (Stjernquist 2002a, in press).

Chronological aspects

A precondition for a discussion of the transition between the Roman Iron Age and the Migration Period is a decision as to the different chronological systems which have

Fig. 5. A brooch decorated with gilded sheet silver. Length 10.5 cm. Photo Bengt Almgren.

been proposed and used. The chronology elaborated by Ulla Lund Hansen in her publication of the Roman import in 1987 is used in this paper.

Fibulae and large brooches are instruments for the dating of various finds and phases. Accordingly, the fibulae from the Early Roman Iron Age have been analysed systematically with the purpose of obtaining a framework for the development (Jørgensen 1989). There are, however, difficulties in discerning continuity, especially in a limited body of material, as is emphasized in the publication of the fibulae found at the Uppåkra settlement (Helgesson & Stjernquist 2001). The fibulae and brooches from the Järrestad grave illustrate some of the problems.

Fig. 6. A pendant. Length 2.4 cm. Photo Bengt Almgren.

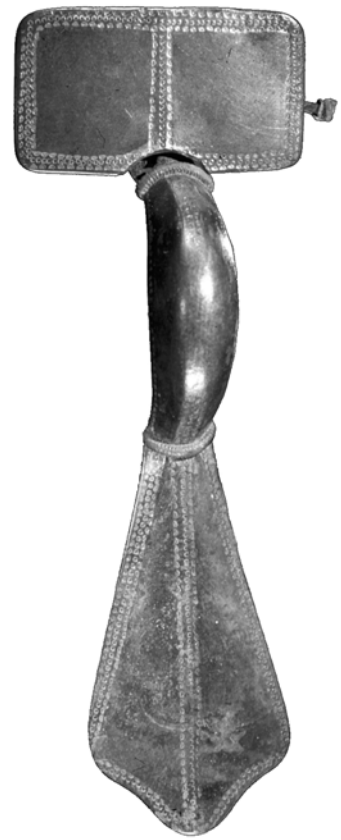

Fig. 7. A brooch of silver with stamped ornamentation. Length 11 cm. Photo Bengt Almgren.

Two of the fibulae are of the type with returned foot (Fig. 4). This is a main type during the Late Roman Iron Age at least in southern Scandinavia (Stjernquist 1955; Albrectsen 1968; Jørgensen 1989). It starts in C1a, is common in C1b and C2. The cemetery

at Simris and many graves on Bornholm are illustrative examples. Graves from C3 such as Dybeck no. 5, Kristineberg no. 4, and Järrestad have late variants which seem to be characteristic of the material at the end of the Roman Iron Age. It may be mentioned that the type is rare in Norway but is found in a grave from Modvo datable to C3 (Straume 1993).

Another type of fibula characteristic of the the end of the Roman Iron Age, C3, is the Haraldsted fibula (Fig. 3). There are many of this type amongst the detector material from the Uppåkra settlement. Most of them have the characteristic ribbon-shaped bow with ornamentation of lines, points or facets (Helgesson & Stjernquist 2001). Such fibulae are not found at Simris or at contemporaneous cemeteries. This confirms that the type, very common in southern Scandinavia, belongs to C3 and the beginning of the Migration Period. The origin of it can be traced to districts south of the Baltic Sea. It seems to be evidence of new influences on the material of southern Scandinavia at the end of the Roman Iron Age. There are fibulae of this type from cemeteries at Önsvala, Källby and Dybeck no. 5. Two are from the Järrestad grave and others from Kristineberg, graves 4 and 5. They are associated with fibulae with returned foot, with a fibula of the Nydam type and with large brooches (Stjernquist 1994, 2002a, 2002b, in press). There are other variants of fibulae at the end of the Roman Iron Age but the types discussed here seem to be especially characteristic (Albrectsen 1968; Stjernquist 1977; Helgesson & Stjernquist 2001).

The Järrestad grave has two large brooches which illustrate the material at the end of the Roman Iron Age and the beginning of the Migration Period. The large brooch decorated with sheet silver has a semicircular head, a trapezoid foot and a circular plate on the ribbon-shaped bow. It is of bronze, plated with silver. The head, the circular plate and the foot are decorated with gilded silver sheet with chased ornamentation of beaded and corded lines, garlands and pins. The needle

Fig. 8. A pin of silver. Length 16.3 cm. Photo Bengt Almgren.

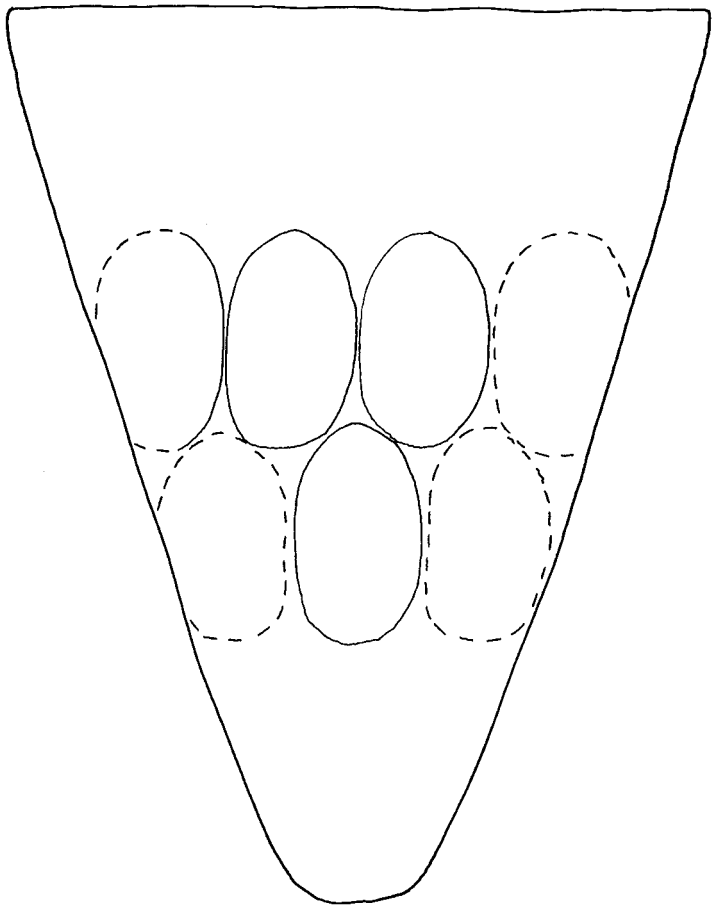

Fig. 9. The glass vessel. 1:1. Reconstructed by Annika Jeppsson.

and its holder are preserved on the back (Fig. 5).

This type of brooch is known mainly from Norway and Denmark with Bornholm. It is influenced by distinguished complexes on the Continent (Carnap-Bornheim 1994). A fine brooch with runic inscription from Himlingøje is, as mentioned, a rather good parallel. Two similar but badly preserved examples come from Sweden. In 1961 Straume discussed the chronology of the large Norwegian material including the fine brooch from Foss. This is dated to the late part of the 4th century. The type can, however, be attributed to the whole century, not only to the last part of it, even if this time seems to be the main point. This dating is also emphasized by Lund Hansen in her analysis and summing up in 1971. The two brooches from Sweden are, as mentioned, fragmentary and cannot be dated more closely. The placing of the Järrestad brooch in the last half of the 4th century depends mainly on the other fine silver brooch from the grave.

The large silver brooch with the fine stamped ornamentation is informative (Fig. 7). The origin, type, decoration and chronology have been treated intensively (Åberg 1924; Hansen 1969; Nielsen *et al.* 1983; Nielsen 2000; Ethelberg 1986). The decoration is important for the chronology. The discussion has shown that brooches with fine stamped

Fig. 10. Two pottery vessels. Ca. 1:4. Photo Bengt Almgren.

ornamentation are rather early in the series. This type without animal heads belongs to the late part of the 4th century. The brooches change in the 5th century, receiving animal heads at the foot and increasingly decoration with chip carving. This is illustrated by some new grave finds, such as brooches found in graves at the Sejlflod cemetery (Nielsen 2000). Grave U has a brooch of bronze with fine stamped ornamentation which is like the Järrestad silver brooch. There are only few such brooches of sheet metal known from Sweden (Åberg 1924). A brooch from Kristineberg grave 4 is rather similar. The decoration is, however, very sparse, consisting of some lines only (Stjernquist 1994; Rudebeck & Ödman 2000).

Discussion of the necklace

The necklace has been discussed in detail in two other papers. Therefore, only some aspects will be treated here (Stjernquist 2002a, 2002b, in press).

As it was difficult to excavate the necklace in the field, parts of the grave were prepared and transported undisturbed to the conversation department of the Institute. The upper part of the skeleton with the cranium, the arms, the brooches and the necklace could in that way be exposed very carefully. The deceased woman was, however, buried in crouched position with displacements of the bones and the grave finds as a consequence. It was possible to discern the positions of the brooches and the connection between the brooch with gilded sheet silver and the beads. The beads were, however, found in several layers along the arms. They were drawn *in situ* but it is not quite clear whether they formed one or two necklaces (Fig. 11).

As mentioned, the chain consisted of about 310 beads. Two hundred and sixty-two of them were amber beads of different size. Most of these are rather irregular and very worn, with the result that the thickness of a bead varies. The other 48 are spherical and ring-

Fig. 11. The beads and six brooches. Drawing by Annika Jeppsson.

shaped beads of glass (cf. Olldag 1992). Nineteen of these are yellow, 16 red and 13 blue.

The diameter of the beads has been measured to within half a millimetre. They fall into three size groups: small, medium-sized and large. The small ones, altogether 48, with a diam. of 0-11 mm, are glass beads of the three colours mentioned. Many of them have funnel-shaped holes. The medium-sized ones, altogether 148, have a diam. of 11.5-14.5 mm. Only one of these has the size of 11 mm and this is cylindrical. The large beads, altogether 113, have a size of 15-25.5 mm. Four large and 6 medium-sized amber beads are cylindrical. All the others are flat disc-shaped or wheel-shaped. Several beads are irregular and several have defects, which

indicates that they are made of too small pieces.

We know that there was amber manufacture in Birka (Danielsson 1973; Ambrosiani 1995; cf. Feveile 1994 concerning Ribe). Production of turned beads is furthermore documented from Åhus during the Early Viking Age (Callmer 1991, 1995). But the activity with amber manufacture started earlier, particularly in the eastern region of Scania. One may assume that the beads in the Järrestad grave are made of pieces collected on the shores of Scania. The village of Ravlunda to the north of Järrestad is interpreted as an important place, a centre, for collecting amber and perhaps for craftsmanship. Magnificent gold finds and settlement remains indicate a high activity there during the Iron Age (Fabech 1998). Amber production probably spread to settlements in the area.

The necklace from the Järrestad grave is an exceptional find. The displacement of the grave goods makes it difficult to discern how it was mounted. To obtain an idea of the length of the necklace the thickness of the beads was measured. With this method the length was determined to approx. 2.5 m. Many of the beads were, however, worn and irregular, which may have made the necklace shorter. But it must have been more than two metres, say 2.3. The condition indicates a mounting in the large brooch with sheet foil. The weight of the beads is 315 gr. and consequently not too heavy for the brooch to fasten it. The necklace is, however, very long. If the string hung double it measured approx. 1.15 m. The woman was very tall, 1.76 m. It is of course possible that a necklace of that dimension was used for the burial. There are several graves found in Denmark with very long necklaces, such as a grave from Himlingøje which can be estimated from the drawing to have been 0.75 m long. It is, however, usual that the beads are divided into two or more necklaces. The mounting of the necklace is discussed in another paper where different mounting methods are taken into consideration (Stjernquist, 2002a-b, in press). The result is two alternatives namely, that the beads were divided into two necklaces each with a length of approx. 50 cm, or that the beads were collected in a long necklace which was folded during the funeral. There are no traces of a necklace around the neck. The beads were fastened as a piece of jewellery on the breast. It will be emphasized that the mountings of the jewellery are an expression of the mentality of the people. We may assume that they prove the identity of the family (cf. Wells 1998).

The social environment

There was a large number of cemeteries and settlements from the Roman Iron Age in south-east Scania. Richer and poorer families formed an economic and social network. This was a background to the wealthy female grave found at Järrestad. Some of the rich ones can be assumed to have controlled key points of economic importance such as harbours at the mouths of rivers and the markets. The network distributed raw material and other goods, and also provided social contacts. The key points in this network show up through their rich finds. The Simris settlement on the lower course of the Tommarp River is a good example with the Simris cemetery from the Roman Iron Age, as well as the Roeshög grave in Hammenhög Parish, the complex of Gårdlösa, Smedstorp Parish, and a grave from Östra Vemmerlöv, containing, for instance, a saucepan with a stamp on its handle (Stjernquist 1955, 1977, 1993a, 1993b, 1999).

The cemeteries of Simris and Gårdlösa have a long tradition in the Early Iron Age. The graves at Simris are a series of wealthy graves which are well excavated. They date from about the Birth of Christ to the fourth century AD: male graves with fingerrings of gold, weapons and imports (bronze vessels, gaming pieces of glass), and female graves with jewellery of high status (fibulae, beads, neckrings of silver). The most sensational find from Gårdlösa is perhaps the silver fibula with a runic inscription found in a grave with three other fibulae, beads, a vessel etc. The inscription **ekunwodR** is interpreted by Klaus Düwel as "*ich, der Unwütige" (der ohne Ekstase auftritt).* (Stjernquist 1993a, 1993b; Düwel 2001).

These two cemeteries with wealthy graves are supplemented by graves, other cemeteries and settlements here and there in the region. They constitute a network with relation to the rivers and to the coast (Stjernquist 1993a, 1993b). The settlement area around Ystad to the south with the Nybro Stream and the Kabusa Stream can be mentioned as well as the Ravlunda area with the Verke Stream to the north, where an important place, a centre, for collecting amber and perhaps for craftmanship is identified. Magnificent gold finds and settlement remains indicate a high level of activity there during the Iron Age (Fabech 1998). A fruitful economic life is a precondition for the high status of the settlements along the Tommarp River and their development. It is also a precondition for the wealth of the Järrestad lady and her family which is demonstrated in the burial.

The wider social environment

The finds in the Järrestad grave illustrate the wealth of south-eastern Scania, for instance amber, pottery, and bronze fibulae, but also that trading goods arrived there from areas beyond the region. The author has elsewhere discussed the forms of trading exchange and contacts and shown that although the areas of origin of metal and other wares can be established, it is difficult to analyse the trading function. Long-distance trade can be proved in some cases but as a rule commodities were spread through linked trade over settled areas (Stjernquist 1985, 1993b:120 pp.). The finds at Simris and Gårdlösa indicate contacts across the Baltic Sea with Öland, Gotland and above all with Bornholm, but also with the Continent. Finds of Roman imports show that a trade route from Zealand went into the Baltic Sea (Hansen 1987).

The glass in the Järrestad grave is in very bad condition but it can nevertheless be identified as a beaker of the conical type with ground ovals (Fig. 9). It arrived from the Continent perhaps through the network for trade or exchange which had key points on Zealand or somewhere else in southern Scandinavia (Näsman 1984; Straume 1987; Stjernquist 1999). The other parts of the drinking set, the pottery vessels (Fig. 10), are certainly made locally but the decoration shows similarities to pottery vessels on Bornholm (Bech 1996). The same can be said about the fibulae with returned foot and the ones of the Haraldsted type. There are many finds at settlements and cemeteries in other parts of Scania. These fibulae belong to complexes in southern Scandinavia and on the Continent.

The two magnificent silver brooches are not so common but there are, as mentioned, parallels indicating influences and contacts outside Scania. The one with gilded sheet silver can be compared to similar brooches in Scandinavia, especially with brooches found in Denmark and Norway. One well-known

example with a runic inscription comes from the Himlingøje cemetery. The other silver brooch has many parallels in Denmark as well, not least at the large cemetery at Sejlflod. The wider social environment for this type is the same as for the other magnificent brooch. The pendant in the form of a pail shows the same contacts. The Järrestad grave is as a whole a medium for analysing not only the social environment of the region but also the wider social environment.

Conclusion

The wealthy female grave from Järrestad is an intermediate link between finds from the Roman Iron Age and finds from the Late Iron Age in south-east Scania. This link was perhaps not lacking earlier but it was very weak. It is by now evident that the settlement complexes with the abundantly equipped female and male graves from the Roman Iron Age continued, even if the settlements from the 5th and 6th centuries are missing in the results of the excavations at Järrestad. The earliest settlement there from the Late Iron Age is dated to the 7th century followed by large houses of central place character (Söderberg 2001). Some remains of a settlement dated to the Roman Iron Age were excavated in the vicinity of these large halls.

The wealthy female grave looks isolated, but other features from the end of the Roman Iron Age and the beginning of the Migration Period may have been destroyed in connection with the development of the settlement from the Late Iron Age. We may assume the same conditions in prehistoric times as in our age.

This rich grave from the last part of the 4th century was found in the vicinity of the settlements from the Late Iron Age and seems to be a background to development on the site. The people of the 4th century were not poor. The grave with the magnificent necklace of amber beads is perhaps evidence of connections with the craftsmanship at Ravlunda. There may have been production of amber beads in eastern Scania already in the Early Iron Age. Extensive contacts, local and wider, are documented in the grave goods of the buried woman.

The combination of finds in the grave, especially the brooches and the drinking set with a glass beaker and pottery vessels, will be very useful in the future for discussions concerning chronology and social conditions. The many beads of amber have revealed a new aspect of the economic life. We may assume that the inhabitants took part in an international network.

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Central places in a peripheral area or peripheral places in a central area – a discussion of centrality in Halland, western Sweden.

Påvel Nicklasson

Abstract

In 1998 the author excavated a site called Stafsinge 116 outside Falkenberg in Halland on the west coast of Sweden. Finds point to the presence of a central place or manor in the vicinity during the Late Iron Age, and a huge farm from the High Middle Ages shows that there was continuity into this period. In Halland there are several central places known and indicated by rich finds, the most famous being of course Slöinge some 11 kilometres south-east of Stafsinge. This forces us to ask how central the central places are. Changes in the structure of the central places also indicate that the central places should be understood as dynamic places and that there must have been several colliding interests that formed the power structure, local, regional as well as international. The author suggests a military origin for the central places that was made possible after the fall of the Western part of the Roman Empire and the subsequent militarisation of society. The central places should be seen as outposts of the plunder-based European economic system, and in a sense they should be seen as peripheral places instead of central places.

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Introduction

In 1998 I led extensive excavations at Stafsinge outside Falkenberg in Halland on the west coast of Sweden (Fig. 1). The excavation was carried out in preparation for the new railway between Malmö and Göteborg and was administered by the County Museum in Halmstad and the National Heritage Board in Kungsbacka. During the excavation we uncovered some parts of a central place or magnate's farm, which force us to ask questions about these kinds of places and about the Iron Age and Early Middle Ages in Halland. Perhaps it is even possible to use the excavation as a starting-point for a discussion of the notion of central place in southern Scandinavia as a whole.

Halland has often been treated as a peripheral area in historical and archaeological research. It is located between the central areas for the medieval Scandinavian kingdoms, Denmark, Sweden and Norway, and probably because of this Halland has been left aside in discussions about power, centrality and the emergence of the early Nordic states (Svanberg 1999). Despite the presence of quite a number of spectacular ancient monuments and finds from the Late Iron Age, for instance

Fig. 1. Map of Halland showing the location of Stafsinge just outside the city of Falkenberg.

the golden sword pommel from Lejeby outside Laholm, decorated with garnets, a Roman cavalry helmet and high quality weapons from the cemetery of Broåsen (Nerman 1940), and a piece of a golden collar from Köinge (Fig. 2), Halland has often been treated as a peripheral area. It is only recently, with the excavation of sites such as Slöinge by Lars Lundqvist (1996, 2000) and others, and now Stafsinge (Nicklasson 2001) in central Halland, that the picture has changed somewhat. There is a growing interest in Halland, the west coast of Sweden, and a consciousness of the complicated and changing power structures during the Late Iron Age in the area. There are, as I will show in this paper, several additional candidates for central place status in central Halland. If it was judged by the number of known and suspected central places, Halland should be seen as a central and important area.

Instead of discussing centrality and the great importance of the halls and the central functions allegedly carried out at the central places, it is perhaps now time to begin to ask how central a central place really is and perhaps to recognise that this kind of place was a normal feature in the landscape during the late Iron Age.

The central place at Stafsinge

The Stafsinge area is close to the coast, along the river Ätran. Stafsinge is also near the modern city of Falkenberg (Fig. 3). The area today is more or less fully cultivated and is part of the narrow coastal plain in western Halland. A marked ridge dominates the area. On top of the ridge are a barrow called Stomma Kulle, a big standing stone and several smaller graves. A little bit to the north are another barrow and the ruins of the medieval church, probably from the 12th century. None of these ancient monuments have been excavated.

The main purpose of the excavation was to investigate two well-preserved farms from the Late Bronze Age. The settlement was covered by an occupation layer and was very well preserved. In the top of the occupation layer we found several high-status objects from the Late Iron Age.

The finds are of the usual types we now recognise as belonging to central places and magnate's farms. Some examples of the objects we found are beads; some of them are gold foiled. Sherds from glass vessels, pieces of around a dozen of beakers were found. A bird-shaped brooch (Fig. 5), the second found in Halland and the first with the find place known. After conservation it was discovered

Fig. 2. The piece of a golden collar from Köinge. A find from a central place? Photo ATA.

that the brooch was covered with silver. It seems that some kind of manufacture including garnets had taken place. We found 15 garnets, some of them with marks from some kind of processing. A bronze pin from the Migration Period and a spur from the 11th or 12th centuries perhaps mark the time-span during which the central place functioned. Finally, a weight was found.

The objects are dated from around 400 AD to 1100 AD. It must be clear that we excavated close to some sort of manor or chieftain's farm. We encountered very few features from the late Iron Age. All of the houses we found were from the Bronze Age. Perhaps the hall of Stafsinge was only a couple of metres from our trenches. Perhaps the modern tilling of the earth has completely destroyed the layers and features from the Late Iron Age and left only the deeper layers from the Bronze Age intact. Because it was a rescue excavation we had very limited access to the surrounding fields and we were not able to delimit the site.

There are some old stray finds from the Stafsinge/Falkenberg area dated to the Late Iron Age, which are out of the ordinary and indicate the presence of a special settlement in the area. Among these are a cross-guard of silver from the Migration Period and at least three finds of Viking Age silver, among which is a very special cross-guard from a sword (Fig. 6). The piece could either be a Frankish or a Scandinavian work, imitating continental originals (Arbman 1937:138 p.). The objects are of high quality and not found at ordinary settlements in Halland. From the objects we found and the old stray finds it is possible to trace some kind of central place from around 400 AD well into the Middle Ages in the area.

Then November arrived and the excavation was expected to be finished in a couple of days. To summarise, we had encountered a lot of nice objects that signal the presence of a central place, but in reality we had missed the place itself. The excavation of the Bronze Age farms had been very successful and has been presented in other contexts.

As so often, a big surprise came in the very last days of excavation. Even though we did not find the manor from the Age of Beowulf, we did find one. Although main concern of the Lund Sachsen symposium was the Migration and the Merovingian periods, I wish to draw attention to some very special houses we found by chance in an area that had been said not to house any ancient monuments (Fig. 7). I must point out that since the site was excavated during late autumn on a very slim

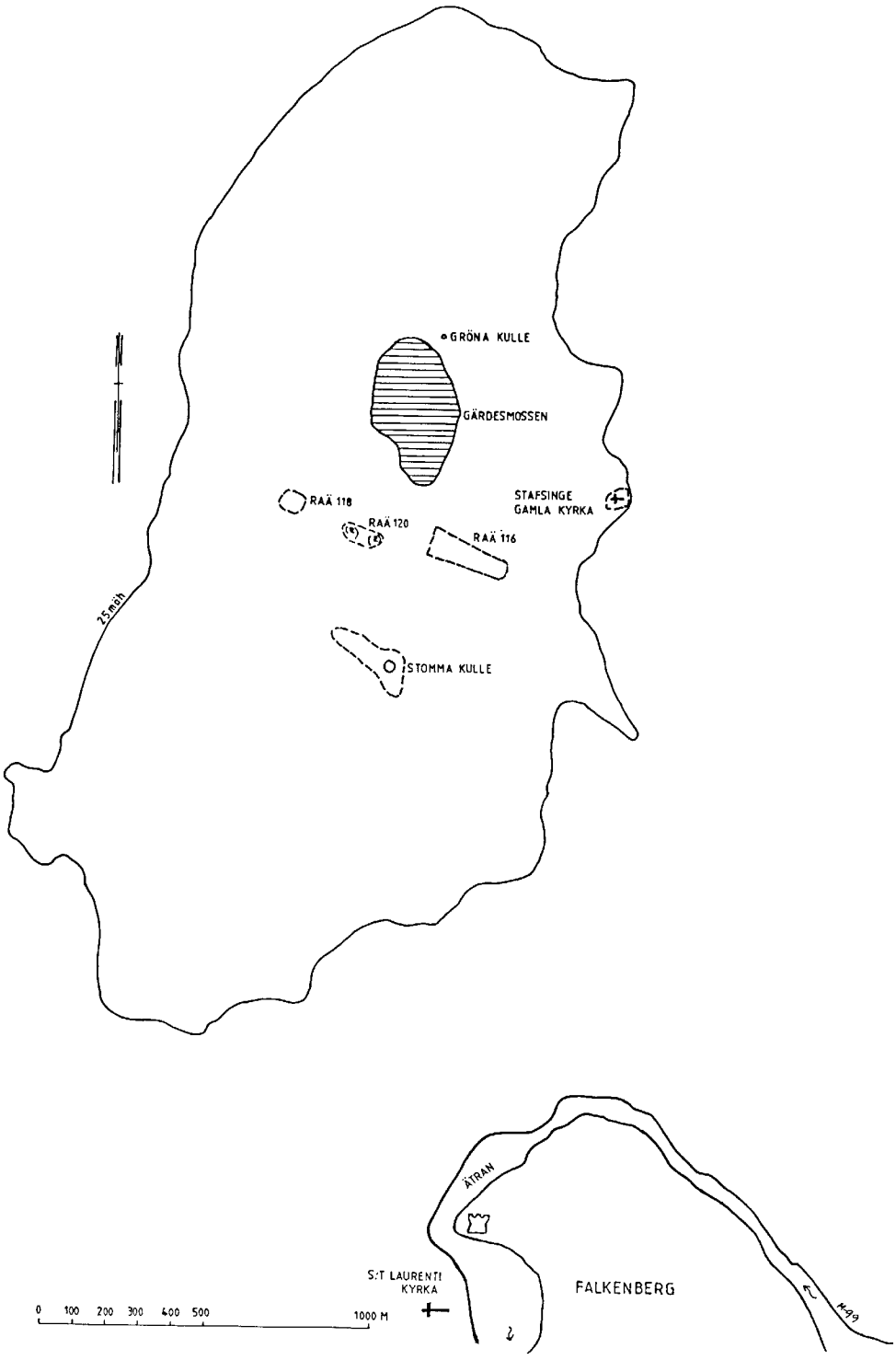

Fig. 3. Map of the Stafsinge-Falkenberg area showing the ancient monuments mentioned in the text and the location of the site at Stafsinge 116.

Fig. 4. A central place? A picture taken from Stomma Kulle when the excavations had just begun. The picture shows the open view of the surrounding countryside from the marked ridge. Photo: Leif Häggström/Hallands läns museum.

budget, the results are not totally satisfying.

In the new trench we found a huge farm or manor dated to the late 12th to the 14th centuries. The big long-house is close to 60 metres and the small one is well over 40 metres long. There are at least two additional small houses of different construction. Samples of charcoal from the features reveal that the houses were entirely built of oak. The houses must have been spectacular buildings. I have not found any parallels to the huge houses. They seem to signal the survival of manors of the Late Iron Age type well into the Middle Ages. Stafsinge is not mentioned in any medieval sources as housing any special settlement. In fact, Stafsinge is not mentioned at all before the 16th century. There is a source telling about a raid by Håkon Håkonsson, who burned down a place called Kaupthorp in 1256. In 1313 a place called Aetraby is mentioned. These places have previously been suggested as predecessors or even identified with the medieval town of Falkenberg (Skoglund 1995), but since no finds from the 13th century have been recovered from excavations in Falkenberg (Svedberg & Lundqvist 1993), the identification is uncertain. Falkenberg is first mentioned in 1288 and then most probably only the fortification protecting the river mouth is meant. Instead Aetraby perhaps should be identified with the finds from Stafsinge. Stafsinge should in this perspective be seen as a predecessor of Falkenberg.

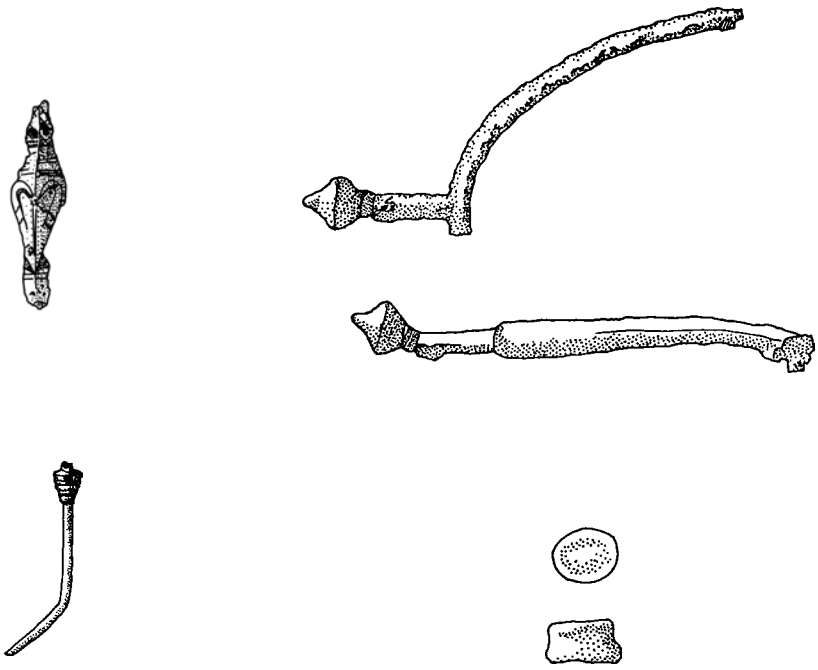

Fig. 5. Some of the objects found in the occupation layer at Stafsinge 116. A pin from the Migration Period, a bird-shaped brooch from the Merovingian Period, a spur from the High Middle Ages and an undated weight indicate that the place housed a special settlement from around 400 AD to at least 1100 AD. With the addition of the gigantic houses depicted in Fig. 7, it is clear that a central place remained in the area for another couple of centuries. 1:1. Drawings by Viveka Rönn.

Central places in Halland

After this brief presentation of the central place at Stafsinge it is time now to dwell upon the nice finds and extremely big houses that we found. These are more or less common knowledge these days, even if the dating to the High Middle Ages is very interesting. Instead the challenge is to place Stafsinge in relation both to the surrounding countryside and on a larger scale to northern Europe as a whole.

One of the first central places, or possibly more correctly magnate's farms, that was discovered in Sweden was at Slöinge, some 11 kilometres south-east of Stafsinge. Most of the results from Slöinge have been published by Lundqvist (1996, 2000), who has done a great deal of research on central places in western Sweden. In Slöinge a lot of high-status objects similar to the ones from Stafsinge have been found. The most spectacular objects from Slöinge are of course the small gold-foil figures. In Slöinge the remains of at least two big long-houses or halls have been partially excavated. Since the site at Slöinge has been both extensively surveyed and excavated in a more controlled way than the site at Stafsinge, there are much more finds from Slöinge. The quality, find categories and the chronological position of the finds are the same at the sites.

Fig. 6. A spectacular Cross-guard of silver found in the river Ätran on the outskirts of Falkenberg. Photo ATA.

Lundqvist has drawn some informative maps showing possible central places in Halland (Fig. 8). The maps are based on several types of data such as finds of weapons, objects made of precious metal, sacral place names and remarkable ancient monuments. The indications are not sorted out chronologically. In this context I study only the central part of Halland, broadly defined as the lower reaches of the river Ätran. Lundqvist discerns at least three central places or central areas. They are Slöinge, Vessige/Abild, and Köinge. Now we must add Stafsinge/Falkenberg among the candidates. Lundqvist does not explain the methodology in detail or assess the relative value of the different indications. Altogether they show more or less distinct clustering into areas that could be called central and mark the location of a central place. There are reasons to believe that there are additional central places or magnate's farms in central Halland. Candidates could be Faurås, with some spectacular ancient monuments and a royal estate (kungalev) during the High Middle Ages, and Sjönevad, also with a royal estate (kungalev), a small fortress allegedly dated to the Viking Age (Halbert 1954), and some spectacular ancient monuments nearby. Perhaps there are more than a half dozen central places just in a geographically limited area such as central Halland. Such a conclusion must be fundamental for the understanding of the centrality of the central places and how they functioned.

By adding a chronological dimension to Lundqvist's map it is possible to discern several phases of central places. This must be an important step towards discerning different types of central places of different origin, maintained by different interests and finally abandoned in a historical context.

From the Pre-Roman and Roman Iron Age there are no finds in the area that could possibly be interpreted as signs of central places or special settlements. There are a few Roman imports of standard mass-produced types and a few weapon graves with standardised equipment. The finds are strewn all over the settlement areas and there are no signs of clustering.

The Migration and Merovingian periods are the golden age for central places. At both the more or less excavated places Slöinge and Stafsinge the earliest finds are dated to around 400 AD. Several of the other indications on Lundqvist's map should also be dated to the Migration and Merovingian periods with more or less certainty. It seems that there is continuity between the two periods and that they are not separated by any significant break.

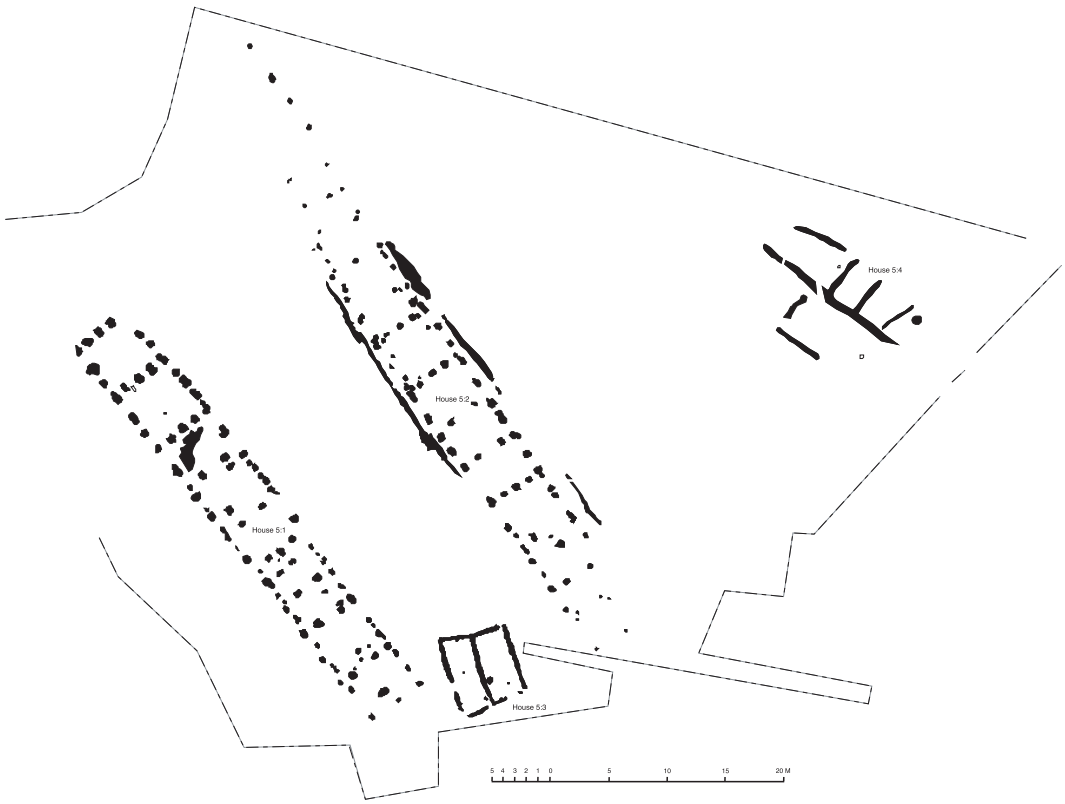

Fig. 7. Drawing of the trench with the enormous buildings from the High Middle Ages.

The activities at the central places went on for a couple of centuries. The last high-status objects from Slöinge are dated to the beginning of the 10th century. After this it seems that the halls at Slöinge are abandoned for good. At Stafsinge and Falkenberg the activities somehow change but continue. The silver treasures from the 10th century, some of the high status objects and the spectacular manor we found indicate that the area around Stafsinge continued to house central functions and special settlements for several hundreds of years. The central place in the Stafsinge area was still active during the High Middle Ages, but was succeeded during the 14th century by the town of Falkenberg, which is still the central place in the lower Ätran valley.

The desertion of the central place at Slöinge corresponds well with Lundqvists's map as a whole. There are very few indications of central places from the Viking Age outside the Falkenberg/Stafsinge area. It seems that during the 10th century the power structure and foreign contacts underwent a change and central activities were concentrated in just a few places. A big one replaced the many small central places.

Some thoughts on central places in southern Scandinavia

The chronology of central places seems to find support outside Halland. By assessing

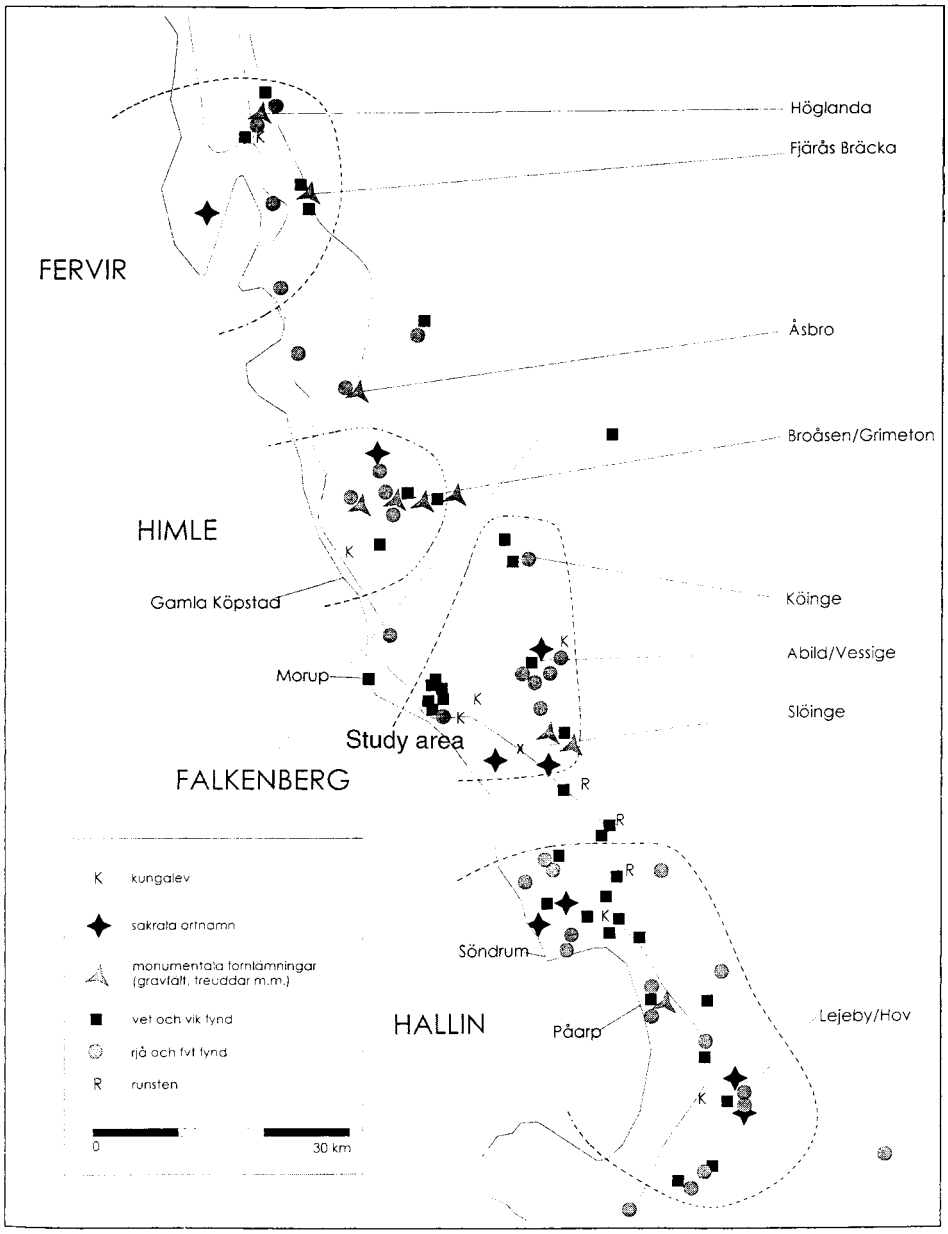

Fig. 8. Map showing potential central places in Halland. In this context I only study central Halland, broadly defined as the valley of the river Ätran. The indications of central places cluster into five more or less distinct concentrations. One is centred around the partly excavated manor at Slöinge. There are several indications in the Vessige/Abild area and in the Köinge area. Now with the discovery of the manor at Stafsinge, the cluster around Stafsinge/Falkenberg makes sense, indicating another central place or manor. Most of the dates are from the Migration and Merovingian period. It seems that it is only Stafsinge/Falkenberg that survives as central place into the late Viking Age and even into the high Middle Ages. Map from Lundqvist 1996 with additions by the author.

the chronology of central places discussed in the recent books on central places: *Gick Grendel att söka det höga huset and Centrala Platser Centrala Frågor* (Callmer & Rosengren 1997; Larsson & Hårdh 1998), it is possible to discern a golden age of central places from around 400 AD lasting into the early Viking Age, the beginning of the 10th century (Tab. I). Of course, some of the dates given could be discussed, but the overall picture should be clear: central places or manors were a frequent and widespread feature during the middle Iron Age, but most were abandoned during the Viking Age.

Much of the settlement areas around the manors must have been organised in support of them. The maintenance of the manor and the armed band guarding and increasing the wealth of the place must have demanded a fair amount of supply. Judging by the examples from Halland, each manor controlled a very limited area. One could again ask how central these kinds of places are. Perhaps centrality is not expressed through this kind of frequent places, but is instead found in the exceptions, such as the very rich and early graves at Himlingøje, perhaps also Vittene which most probably should be seen as a transition place between central areas, and perhaps places like Uppåkra, which are more or less succeeded by early medieval towns of importance. Perhaps the large number of closely situated central places should be seen as signs of a weakly developed society and the central places and their inhabitants should be seen more as acting in a centrifugal, power-dispersing way, and not in a centripetal, power concentrating way. Harrison analyses the notions of centrifugal and centripetal strategies of the elites during the Middle Ages in an important but not so often quoted paper (Harrison 1997). If the central places and their inhabitants are to be seen as acting in a centripetal way, it means that they cannot be seen as steps in power concentration, eventually leading to the formation of the early Nordic states. Instead they should be seen as representing entirely different interests and pursuing different goals.

To summarise the findings in Stafsinge, it is important not to see them isolated but as a part of a north European system of central places or manors which was established around 400 AD. The chronology of course corresponds well with the great invasions of the Western Roman Empire. Therefore I am convinced that we have to look for a military origin of the central places. They must also be placed in a larger international context. Much of the finds from places like Slöinge and Stafsinge should be seen as loot from more or less successful raids to England and Gaul. Military changes in the former Western Roman Empire must have been reflected in southern Scandinavia and new forms of lordship and military organisation must at least partially have been one of the most significant imports.

It is also important to begin to discuss the changing nature of the central places over time. It is obvious from the examples from Halland that there are several phases during which centrality manifests itself in different ways. There must have been several factors at work simultaneously, which led to the establishment of central places or manors. Some factors could be explained by internal power struggles in Halland. Others should be attributed to regional factors such as the emerging royal dynasties in the Nordic countries, control of trade routes, which in the case of Halland means both the important route between Hedeby and Norway along the coast and the river route along the Ätran river to central Västergötland and the central parts

of what came to be the Swedish kingdom. Finally, there must have been an international dimension too, which influenced the power structure of northern Europe. Taken together, this means that the notion of "central place" should be comprehended as dynamic and that the meaning changed several times.

It is also important not to see the central places and manors as alien features in the landscape. The examples from Halland show that the manors were close to each other and the landscape could in fact have been organised with the needs of the manors as a starting-point. This means that the notion of "central place" should be played down significantly. The notion "central place" was used as a neutral term denoting nodes in a network of trade and power (an important paper is Fabech & Ringtved 1995). During the last decade when more and more central places have emerged, the term has taken on a regal and almost mythical aspect. With the growing number of known central places it is time to see them as the nodes the far-sighted scholars in the 1980s and early 1990s intended.

Final remarks

I would like to end by emphasising some aspects of the notion of "central place".

An economic definition is to see them as extensions of the European economic system more or less based on plunder, suggested a long time ago by Duby (1978 (1973)), and since then further elaborated by several scholars (for instance: Reuter 1985; Lindkvist 1988). The plunder-based economy began when the Western Roman Empire dissolved, and lasted, at least in the European periphery following Lindkvist, well into the High Middle Ages. The large amount of foreign artefacts found at places like Slöinge and Stafsinge shows that it was around 400 AD that Scandinavia was more or less integrated into a larger economic exchange system based on plunder and tribute. Of course, the military

Tab. I. Collection of some of the central places mentioned in Callmer, Rosengren 1997 and Larsson, Hårdh 1998. It should be clear that most of them are dated to the Migration, Merovingian and early Viking Age. Some places like Himlingøje differ chronologically from this pattern. Is it in fact the differing places that are the true central ones? ERIA = Early Roman Iron Age, LRIA = Late Roman Iron Age, MIG = Migration Period, MER = Merovingian Period, VIK = Viking Age, MID = Middle Ages.

	ERIA	LRIA	MIG	MER	VIK	MID
Slöinge	-	-	X	X	X	-
Stafsinge	-	-	X	X	X	X
Varla	-	-	-	-	X	X
Lejre	-	-	X	X	X	-
Boeslunde	-	X	X	X	X	-
Fjälkinge	-	-	X	?	X	-
Ravlunda	-	-	X	X	X	-
Toftegård	-	-	-	X	X	-
Tissö	-	-	-	X	X	-
Dankirke	-	X	X	X	-	-
Ribe	-	-	-	X	X	X
Gudme	-	X	X	X	-	-
Uppåkra	X	X	X	X	X	-
Himlingøje	-	X	-	-	-	-
Vittene	X	-	-	-	-	-

expeditions also paved the way for more peaceful exploits during the Late Iron Age.

A social definition must start in the military background. To be able to muster a contingent of well-armed warriors of modern western European type demands a fair amount of supply. Therefore we should imagine the dense settlement areas in southern Scandinavia more or less divided between manors of the Slöinge and Stafsinge type. The large number of indications of central places in central Halland shows both the magnitude of the changes to society and the very limited power each central place in fact could muster. The closeness of the central places to each other means that we really must ask questions about how central the central places are, and perhaps move our focus to how peripheral in the European exchange system they are. Perhaps a pronounced perspective focusing on centre-periphery relations should be an appropriate analytical tool. The central places in Halland should be seen as the homes of brigands of the all too well-known European 5th-century kind, who were responsible for the looting and militarisation of Late Roman society (Liebeschuetz 1993; James 1997).

A chronological definition based on Lundquist's maps and comparisons with other central places in southern Scandinavia shows that the golden age of the central place is from around 400 AD to somewhere around 900 AD. The old central places are succeeded by other power structures, which in central Halland are marked by a clustering of silver treasures in the Stafsinge/Falkenberg area. In the 10th century new social and economic structures such as emerging royal dynasties, a more developed market for trade and exchange led to the foundations of new places of power and commerce along the seaway from southern Denmark to Norway. The Viking silver treasures are connected to a bigger market connecting the North Sea in a zone of commerce (Hårdh 1996). Trade and exchange demand regulating functions of society that could not been offered by the centrifugal strategies of the old central places and manors. The many peripheral places in central Halland were abandoned in favour of just one of them, the one in the Stafsinge/Falkenberg area. Perhaps it is only now we really should begin to discuss places in terms of central and regulated functions such as trade, exchange, manufacture and legislation – in short, central places.

English revised by Alan Crozier.

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North-European trading centres and the Early Medieval craftsman. Craftsmen at Åhus, north-eastern Scania, Sweden ca. AD 750-850+.

Johan Callmer

Abstract

The emergence and the further development of wics and trading places in Northern and North-western Europe (late 7th century to the 10th century) cannot be explained as the result of only one social and economic system. This complex background could be studied in the archaeological material from the workshops of craftsmen. In the person of the craftsman different social and economic and possibly also cultural spheres join together. The site of Åhus II (S. Sweden) and its waste material from diverse crafts is presented shortly: amber-working, antler-working, bronze- and silver-casting, glass-working, specialized forging, fine textile-working). The craftsmen were mainly residents of the site although some may have been absent e.g. during the summer months. The number of active craftsmen was high (hundreds of them). The craftsmen at Åhus II to a considerable extent were generalists performing several crafts. Fine dresses and clothes with accessories may have been the most important products. They joined in small-sized work groups forming an important element I n the social system of the site. The relative regularity of plots may hide a considerable variability. Many craftsmen at trading sites in Northern Europe were free men although the community of the site was dependant on the protection of local holders of power. The military potential of a site of this type should however not be played down completely. Presumably the emergence of more extensive and more complex estates in the 7th and 8th centuries was an important mover for the development of wics and trading centres. The craftsman often worked intimately together with traders and merchants and may even sometimes have been the same person.

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The discussion about *wics* and North European trading places and their place in archaeology and history

The phenomenon of trading places *cum* craftsmen of the late seventh to ninth and tenth centuries in North-western and Northern Europe has been much discussed during the last decade. From the beginning mainly being a topic of Scandinavian archaeology and with very slow progress, it has now shifted its focus away from the northern examples and has been predominantly involved with the *wic*s of Anglo-Saxon England, the Channel area and the Rhine estuary. It is however most essential to see all these places as integrated parts of a single extensive network, albeit with various distinctive branches. There have been three dominant approaches to the question how and why these very special and

undoubtedly in many ways urban sites emerged and functioned in relation to each other and in relation to surrounding regions. Some authors have pointed out these places as embryos of the trading towns of North-western Europe in the High Middle Ages (e.g. Hodges 1989). They have thus taken a neo-evolutionist position. This stance has found some support in the undeniable continuity of urban society and culture in Western Europe from the 8th century onward. Other authors, often outspoken Marxists, have pointed out the importance of the relationship between *wic*s and similar sites and local regional economy and political hierarchy (e.g. Saunders 2001). They have i.a. stressed the complexity of the problem how to support a large population with food mainly from outside. Sometimes their concern with the local conditions, makes them loose sight of the network structure of the phenomenon and *its* implications and consequences. They also argue the anachronistic total control model. Often they also bring forward the idea of discontinuity between the trading places and the later towns. A third position is taken by those, who see the phenomenon predominantly as a trade network (e.g. Müller-Wille 1989). Consequently they tend to play down and are also much less interested in the problem to link the sites to the local economy and political system. Also the question of production at the sites is not a central one: the dominant focus is long-distance trade. This third stance is often taken by scholars working with Northern Europe where distances *are* important. The discussion about this important phenomenon (both from a social and economical and also from a cultural point of view) has unfortunately been mainly restricted to archaeology. There are only few and mostly very meagre relevant written sources. This has contributed to a situation where the importance of the phenomenon is hardly fully realized by historians. At this point it is easy to understand that neither of these schools is able to supply us with a convincing explanation and a deep understanding of the problem. It is also rather obvious that the reason for this failure is the misconception that there is one monolithic system and consequently only *one* explanation. A more fruitful approach recognizes the necessity to include diverse perspectives and the positive potential in attacking the problem as a heterogenous complex of different interests, connections and relations of power. One way to come closer to the central problems is to concentrate on the activities and especially on the production at the sites: both the quantity and the quality and furthermore the cultural dimension of the products. It is perhaps more in the person of the craftsman than in that of the merchant or trader that we can perceive the complexity of these sites and their population. In the archaeological record the merchant and the trader are much more elusive than the craftsmen. The craft production leaves a multitude of tangible traces, which can be studied by archaeology. I will here discuss the role of the craftsman at a relevant site in Southern Scandinavia.

Åhus II and source criticism of the site

Beginning in 1978 two important sites intimately connected with trade and exchange were partly excavated at Åhus on the lower Helge (Holy) River of north-eastern Scania (Callmer 1991) (Fig.1). The earlier of the two sites, dated ca. AD 700-750, is situated on the southern riverbank. The subsoil is sand and a few hundred meters to the south there

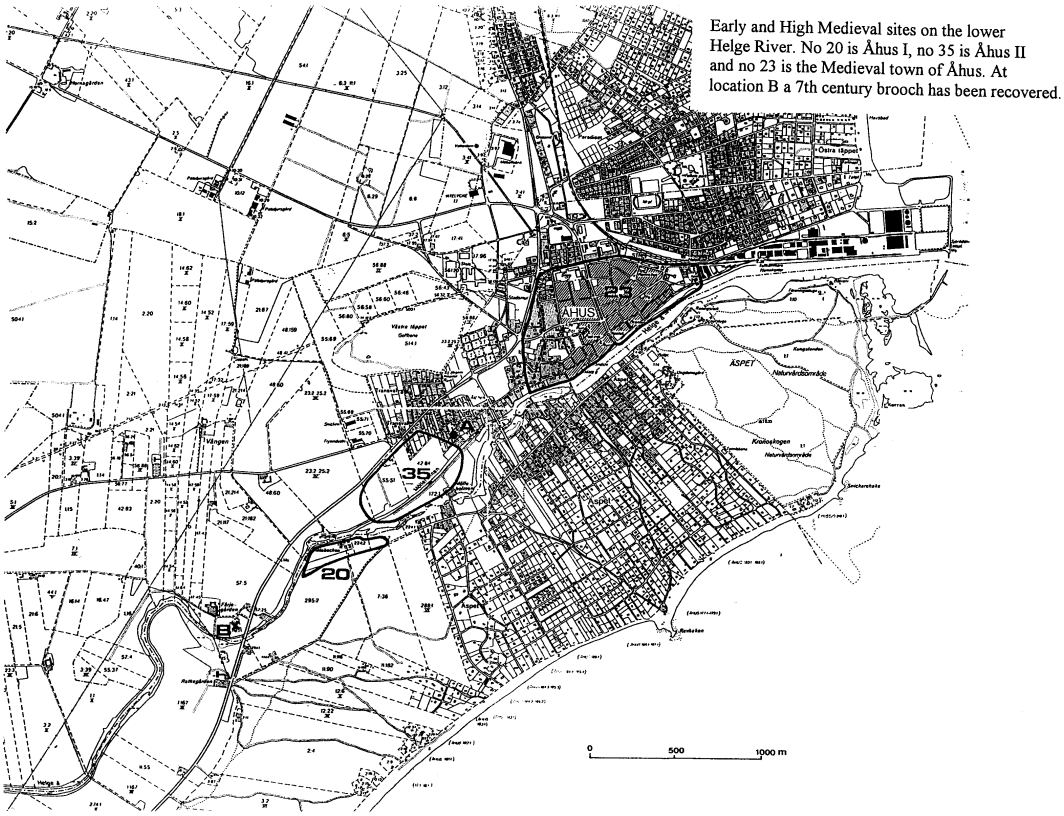

Fig. 1.The topographical situation of the two trading sites Åhus I (ca. AD 700-750) and Åhus II (ca. AD 750-850+).

are dunes of Early Modern date. It is most probably a non-permanent site with only flimsy constructions. Activities were obviously restricted to repeated short intervals of time. The extension of the site is considerable, measuring no less than three or four hectares. There are however large expanses without finds between concentrations of waste material from several different crafts. Of the crafts represented at this site glass working (bead production) with a profusely rich material, bronze casting, comb making and blacksmithing should be mentioned. These finds are closely related to the find material from layers A-D in the stratigraphy of the Post Office site at Ribe in south-western Jutland (Feveile & Jensen 1993). Finds normally indicating settlement like pottery, discarded iron tools and other iron artefacts, loom weights, spindle whorls and whetstones were rare. It was observed that kaolin, very suitable for the production of crucibles, had been excavated on the site (accessible at a cliff-like section of the riverbank). It is important to be aware of the existence of this earlier site for the following exposé but it will not be discussed in any detail in this paper.

The other site, called Åhus II or Transval (the name of an agglomeration of houses nearby) is situated on the northern bank of the river a few hundred meters downstream. Also here the subsoil is sand, mostly of a fine quality. The site is quite extensive and measures more than 12 hectares. Of this at least 3.5

hectares had been completely destroyed before the beginning of the excavations. The most important factors of destruction were two gravel pits and a Late Medieval water mill with a water channel cutting through the southern part of the site from west to east. Later, in the early seventeenth century, the channel was widened and rebuilt as a real canal for barges.

The excavations were first concentrated to the southern part of the site profiting from particularly well-preserved sections along the canal. Here especially, the construction of the canal had resulted in the deposition of vast masses of subsoil on both sides. Consequently the ploughed seventeenth century surface was completely sealed off. Later due to a disastrous decision by the local administration of National Monuments almost the entire north-eastern quarter of the site was stripped and excavated for a large scale house-building exploitation.

The excavations through the years were carried out with similar methods for the recovery of the find material and for the documentation o features. Although staff changed during the years there was always continuity, which must be considered very important when discussing the compatibility of the results from different parts of the site. Totally ca. 30.000 square meters were excavated but only ca. 4000 square meters with cultural layers (Fig. 2). The number of features was ca. 5200. Most important for many reasons were 149 sunken-featured buildings (Fig. 2). For the discussion of the traces of craft activities below it is essential to elaborate at length on the formation or rather the deformation of the monument. After the site was abandoned and probably relocated nearby some time in the second half of the ninth century the whole surface came under cultivation. It is reasonable to assume, that this extensive site, like other abandoned Late Iron Age and Early Medieval settlements, was eagerly exploited by later farmers. The soil at an old settlement site was rich in organic matter (agglomerations of humus), trace elements and phosphates and the numerous pits did contribute to an increased capacity to hold water in dry seasons. The fields here were ploughed without serious intermissions for 1100 years until the present day.

As already pointed out the site today was covered by cultural layers only in the southernmost part cut off by the canal, until recently forming a complete island, and in a band along the northern side of the canal. There is however no good reason to assume that the entire surface of the site was covered by equally thick cultural layers. Layers did develop where organic waste material was deposited regularly. Consequently the rubbish-heap was the origin of the development of layers. This is however a truth with certain modifications. Layers also develop at house sites and where activities are concentrated. In the latter case the material tends to be more mixed with non-organic components like sand, clay and stone. Deposition of organic matter however also was considerable. The effect of gardening close to the dwelling(s) must also be taken into consideration. These conclusions could be reached through studies of the stratigraphy in those parts of the site where layers were extant. There were slight differences in thickness but the complete surface below the Late Medieval and Early Modern deposits did display cultural layers without interruption. However the parts excavated in this well-preserved southern sector of the site had all been intensively settled. Open surfaces between the intensively settled parts may have featured insignificant layers or no layers at all.

The sunken-featured buildings provide us with a very strong argument for the conclusion

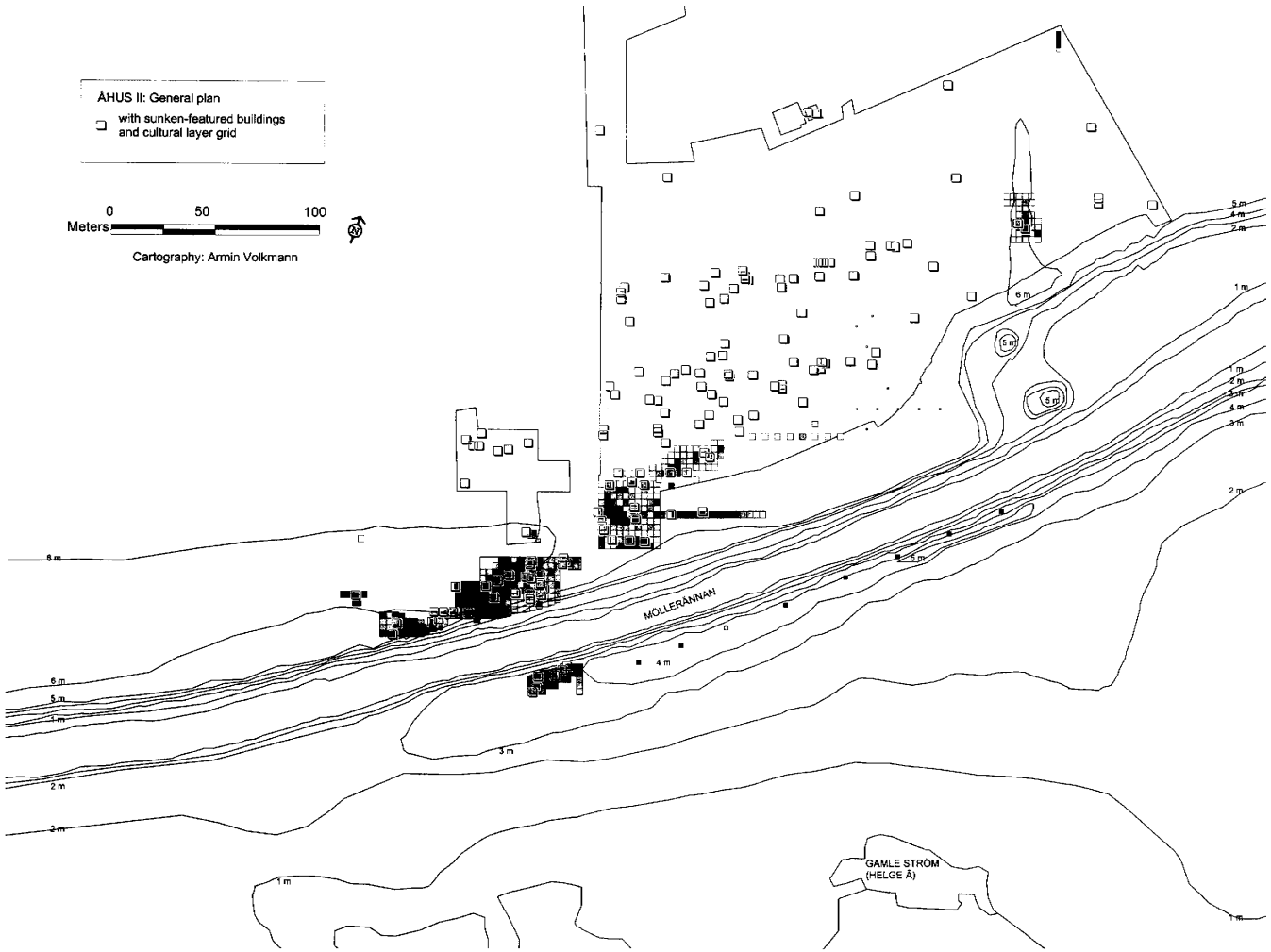

Fig. 2. Åhus II: sunken-featured buildings and sectors with cultural layers.

that all settled parts of the site once had a similar deposition of rubbish and a similar subsequent formation of layers. With only very few exceptions the fill in the sunken-featured buildings consists of cultural earth. The formation of layers in the fill indicates that the content of organic matter often must have been very high originally. Much of this fill and perhaps all of it must have been available in huge masses close by. In general the fill looks very much the same irrespective of if we are 30 or 300 m from the river. A general idea of the speed of destruction of the dry and sandy cultural layers is provided by a comparison of the depths at which the sunken-featured buildings are preserved in different parts of the site with and without cultural layers. Obviously agriculture during 1100 years has completely destroyed all cultural layers in the unprotected part of the site. There is documentary evidence of very destructive wind erosion already from the Early Modern Period, but there is much to suggest that the landscape already in the Late Iron Age was open and without considerable woodland. In the Early Medieval Period it was even more open than today. The combined effect of the progress of technical and eolian destruction has been most considerable. When the cultural layers had been destroyed destruction reached between 0.2 and 0.4m further down into the sandy subsoil. In some sectors only the lowermost parts of the sunken-featured buildings have been preserved and shallow buildings of this type, which are known from the southern part of the site (depth 0.2-0.3m) may be completely eliminated. Many pits must be completely gone and only very deep postholes could survive.

Observations in the southern part of the site however have made it possible to reconstruct a little more in detail the progression of this destruction. As already noted the circumstances that allowed the conservation of cultural layers were the construction of the canal and the watermill, the relocation of a road and a field dividing bank. In connection with the construction works for the canal masses of dug out earth (changing at a depth of 1-2m to clayey sand) were mainly deposited as close as possible in a band along the bank of the canal but flattened out and reaching a breadth of up to 60m to give place for a tow track. This means, that the surface of the early 17th century was covered by an easily recognizable protecting layer of sterile earth. Observations of the plough soil below this cover made it clear that there were two phases in this area along the canal: one early and one considerably later. Late 14th and 15th century pottery suggested that the early phase corresponded well with the information in the written sources about a big water mill situated on the river immediately to the west of the medieval town of Åhus. It is however worth noting that already the formation of this Late Medieval plough layer (ca. 0.2-0.3 m thick) was partly a result of the destruction of the original 8-9th century cultural layers. These original cultural layers seldom measured more than 0.2 to 0.3 m and sometimes they were thinner. Farming from the Viking Period until the 15th century must have annihilated at least 0.2m of the layers. It seems reasonable to think that the cultural layers if they had remained completely intact would have measured at least 0.5 m. Before the breaking down process of the organic content had come to an end layers must have been much thicker. Especially the rubbish heaps had formed low mounds. A fine confirmation of the extension of cultural layers all over the settled parts of the site was provided by the extant layers below a field dividing bank running north

south in the north-eastern quarter of the site. Unfortunately grave mistakes in connection with the stripping of this sector for excavation led to widespread destruction of the layers but enough was preserved and documented to allow this assessment. The dividing bank must belong to a system of land division, which is earlier than the 18th century and probably antedates a new system laid out in connection with the demise of the Medieval town and its relocation to the new site at Kristianstad in 1617. An old road, definitely of medieval date, ran on the high ground along the river. In connection with the construction of the water channel and later the canal it was relocated towards the north. Below the road constructions were better preserved than to the north and the south of it.

Six important questions concerning craft production and craftsmen

These details concerning the deconstruction of the site must be taken into account when we now proceed to a discussion of our main topic: the evidence for craftsmen at the Åhus II site. At the heart of the matter is a comparative analysis of the spatial distribution of artefacts and waste material. This analysis is necessary to carry out irrespective of which of the relevant main questions we turn to:

1. Which crafts could be identified at the site?
2. Did craftsmen live here permanently or were they only guests?
3. How many craftsmen were active at the site simultaneously?
4. To what extent do we meet highly specialised craftsmen here or were they mainly generalists?
5. How were the different basic social units ("households","families") organized?
6. What was the social position of the craftsman in society?

The reconstruction of the site

For many of these questions it is also necessary to discuss the lay out and the spatial division of the site. It is not possible yet to present a very detailed and final interpretation of the structure of the settlement at Åhus II. Work with the documentation of the excavations of the site during the last few years have resulted in some substantial progress. First and most important it could be ascertained that, the documented features do not occur haphazardly all over the place but are found in special patterns and definite concentrations. In this respect the excavation 1989-90 of the north-eastern quarter of the site was especially important. The stripping of a very extensive surface made it possible to follow the confines of the settled parts over a very large area, which had not been possible earlier. The very extensive stripping also made comparative studies of the configurations of different types of constructions feasible. The various concentrations of constructions indicate the macro-structure of the site. Constructions, i.e. hearths, pits, postholes and sunken-featured buildings are found in broad strips orientated parallel to the river course. Other usually important factors for the organisation of settlement space like the relief and the cardinal points were not decisive in a comparable manner. These strips measure ca. 25 or 50 m in breadth. Between these strips of settled land corridors of free space ca. 10-15 m broad are running. The detailed study of the micro-topography of the features suggests concentrations at rather regular intervals following divisions perpendicularly to the general axis of the settled strips along the river course.

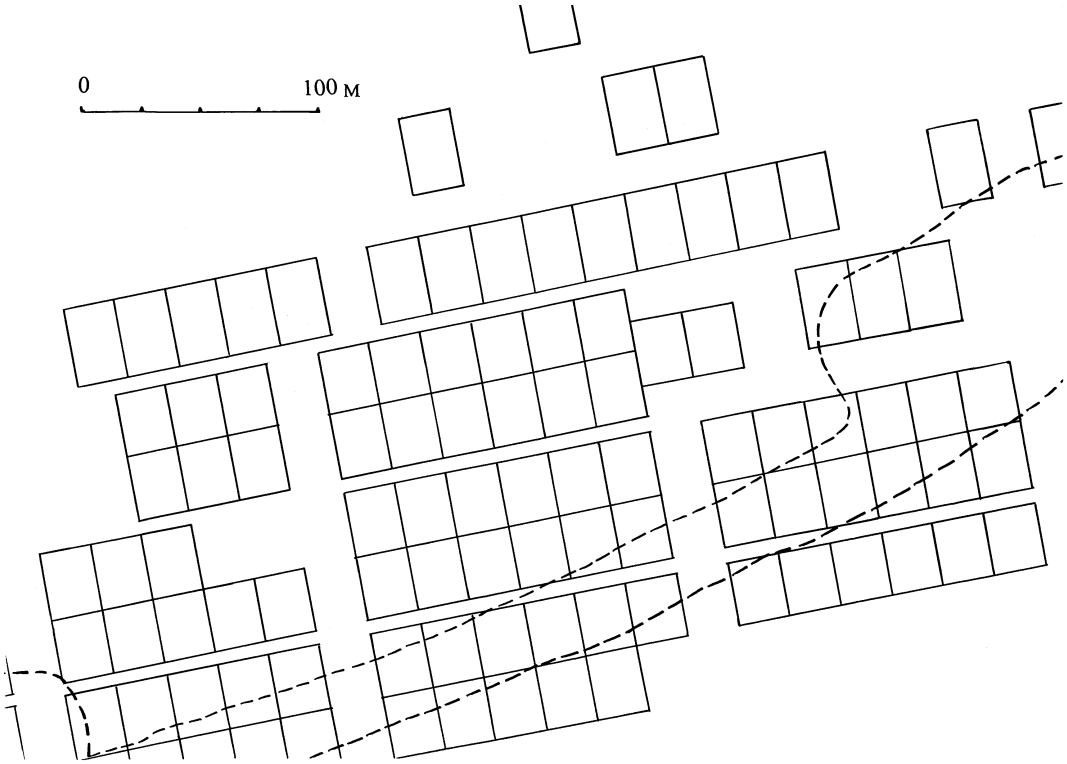

Fig. 3. A theoretical plot model for Åhus II.

With these principles of division of space we arrive at a plot division with modules measuring ca. 25 m x 20 m (Fig. 3). With these considerations we arrive at a picture of an innermost single row of nine plots measuring more than 175 m. Further inland (as far as 300 m from the river) there were some plots laid out but they are few and they do not form a continuous strip. The innermost single strip is separated by the next double strip by a free corridor ca. 20 m broad. The documented length of this double strip is ca. 225 m. There are probably all the way through double rows of plots similar in size to those already defined for the innermost strip except at the eastern end where there are two separate plots lying side by side. Between this and the next macro-structural element there is another free corridor. This time the corridor measures ca. 10 – 15 m in breadth. The next macro-structural element is another strip with single plots running parallel to the other ones but discontinued for at least ca. 50 m forming an open space in the middle of the settlement measuring at least 50 m x 30 m. Towards the river this single row of plots is followed by a free corridor perhaps 10 m broad. The next macro-structural element is a double row of plots documented for ca. 190 m. Through excavations in the southernmost part of the settlement, now forming an artificial island, we have been able to demonstrate that there is another strip (probably double) along the river bank with a very rich find material. This strip may have been the longest on the site.

Based on these reconstructions we may

proceed to a calculation of the number of plots originally found at Åhus II. First, however, we must decide if there is reason for us to understand the site as static or dynamic with a transformation. A completely static settlement structure existing over more than a hundred years is of course most unlikely. On the other hand large parts of the area now excavated shows us a pattern, which does not suggest great changes. There is so far no evidence of a gradual displacement of the site. With regard to the special topography we could expect either a movement towards the north-east or the south-west but, with the exception of a small sector in the south-western part of the site there are no indications of a possible re-arrangement. After this conclusion we can proceed with a minimum calculation of the total number of plots at the site. All settlement indications so far known considered gives the number of plots at around one hundred. There are some possibilities to arrive at higher as well as at lower figures, but the arguments are generally weak for a substantial reconsideration. With the number of plots counted it is possible tentatively to estimate the total population. There is no convincing basic social unit-model for this type of society with strong elements of specialized production. It seems unlikely that the number of inhabitants of the plots would exceed the interval five to ten individuals (see further below). Consequently we are confronted with a simultaneous population residing on the plots of ca. 500 to 1000 individuals. Incidentally we can conclude that this is not the population size of an ordinary agglomerated agrarian settlement in Southern Scandi-navia. As we have already pointed out, the constructions and the find material also strongly differ from that from ordinary agrarian settlements.

The different crafts

There are four activities of craft character, which differ absolutely and two, which differ qualitatively from activities at ordinary settlements. The four absolutely different activities are amber-working, comb-making, silver- and bronze-casting and glass-working. Traces of these activities are with just a few dubious exclusions only found at so called trading-sites and residence-sites.

Amber-working

Amber-working at Åhus is concentrated on the production of beads and axe-shaped pendants. The number of finds is 3015, which could be regarded as surprisingly low. The find material is a typical production-material with only 36 finished beads and three finished axes (1.3%). The vast majority of the finds (2474 units constituting 82%) are pieces of raw amber and among these small pieces dominate. These small pieces have been sorted out as not suited for processing and thus discarded. Small pieces of amber are difficult to find in the process of excavating and it could be maintained, that these finds only constitute a small sample of the total. There are 343 pieces of cut amber and no less than 117 plaquettes for the production of beads. These plaqettes are in the three different stages of production: raw plaquettes, plaqettes with perforation begun, plaquettes with the perforation finished. Work at these stages was primarily carried out with a knife whereas the delicate perforation stage was executed with a fine borer. The waste material resulting from these types of work tends to be very small in size and crumbly. The final symmetrical shaping and polishing of the beads is often supposed to have been done on a turning lathe. Since the lathe was

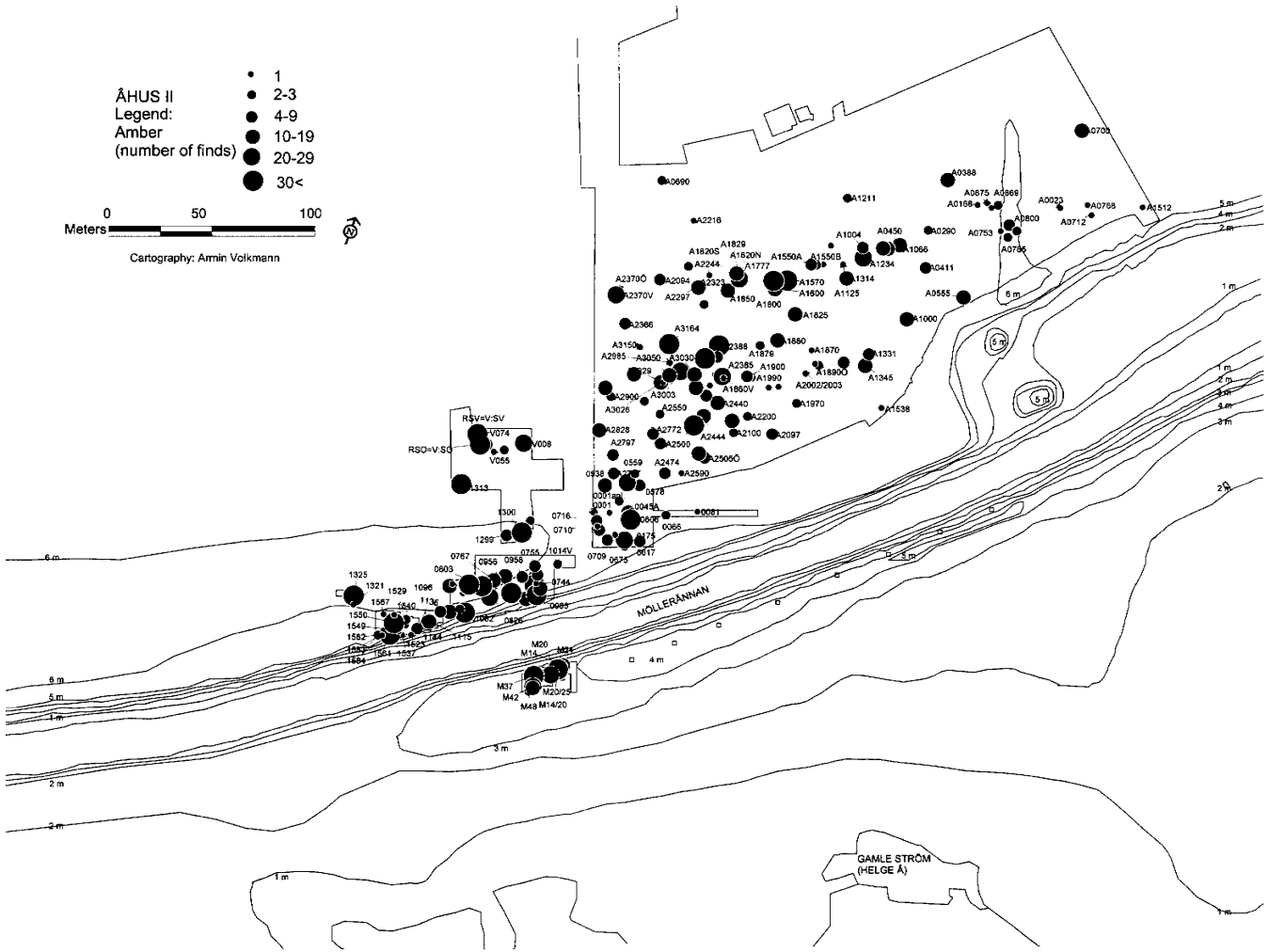

Fig. 4. Distribution of amber material in features at Åhus II.

used during the period, this may be a reasonable conclusion. High quality abrasives are also needed. The use of less sophisticated alternative techniques like rotation in a circular cavity in stone should however not be ruled out. Three gaming pieces of amber are among the finds but there is no hard evidence for the production of these artefacts. A most intriguing find of a sandstone slab with several circular cup-shaped cavities suggest a production of gaming pieces. This may however apply to gaming pieces of bone rather than amber.

Amber finds are encountered all over the excavated parts of the site (Fig. 4). A certain tendency regarding the distribution of amber finds could however be noted. The majority of the production finds could be located in the plot rows close to the river and in an intermediate position. On the plots far from the river there are few finds but we can still observe that there are finds indicating production. Considering relationship to other crafts we cannot see any obvious and consistent link with antler-working, which could be supposed to be vaguely related. Only a few plots lack indications for amber-working completely.

Antler-working

With a total of 28.136 find-units antler-working is the most fully documented craft production at the site. It must be understood that unless antler waste was almost instantly covered, e.g. by deposition on a rubbish heap or in a rubbish pit, the material will be consumed (by rodents), weather, become brittle and will ultimately be completely broken down and destroyed. Red deer antler is the dominating raw material but there are also minor elements of elk and roe deer antler present. All stages of the production could be studied in the rich material. This is a very typical waste material deriving from intensive craft-production. Like in all other well-documented trading sites antler-working here is mainly aimed at producing composite, single sided combs. Basic antler is represented both by shed antler (84 %) and antler from slaughtered animals (16%). Comb-making is only possible with the help of a number of specialized tools. When the antler has been softened in water, parts of the work could be carried out with a knife and a light, thin-bladed axe. Other parts demanded tools like a high precision fine-toothed saw and several special tools used for the decoration of the side plates of the combs. The finish of the surface of the connecting plates is always very fine and implies the use of high quality abrasives. The production of connecting plates and tooth-plates requires much skill and above all a high degree of precision. The primary division resulted in relatively few waste products (only 101 units, 0.4%). The secondary division waste of the antler branches sawed or chopped into suitable lengths for further work on side plates and tooth-plates is also relatively few (620 units, 2.2%). These lengths of antler are then further divided into rough-outs for side plates and tooth plates and the spongiosa of the antler is cut away. The number of find units is 1.231 (4.4%). Further work is needed to shape these rough-outs resulting in very numerous waste products (22.875 units, 81 %) of which chips from work with the axe, knife or plane are dominating (20.432 units, 73%). The number of side plates (whole and fragmentary) (319 units, 1.1%) is surprisingly small when we consider the number of whole and fragmentary tooth plates (2.457 units, 8.7%). The number of connecting side plates only corresponds to 159.5 produced combs, whereas the number

of tooth-plates corresponds to more than twice the number of combs (351) (considering 7 tooth-plates per comb). Ambrosiani has proposed another calculation concentrating on the burrs (1981 p. 155). Assuming a production of three combs per antler we arrive again at a lower figure of ca. 240 combs This is of course a surprisingly small number but it must be considered with regard to the quality of the source-material. The vast majority of the once extant waste material is destroyed.

When we turn to the distribution of antler waste (Fig. 5) we must consider variations in the calcareous content of the soil. The riverine zone is definitely richer in lime than the inland plateau. However the fill in the sunken-featured buildings with a high proportion of bones created a favourable milieu for the conservation of antler also. When we consider the quality of the finds we can observe differences but we may maintain that quantitative differences are insignificant. The concentration of finds is varying very much. From singular stray occurrences of waste material the maximum number of find units is 3.045 in a sunken-featured building and 133 per square meter in the cultural layer. The distribution of the waste material on the site shows a distinct tendency with strongly decreasing numbers of finds when we proceed from the river towards the interior. However, like in the case of the amber-working waste, antler waste is also still occurring in the back-row of plots ca. 300 m from the river. If we consider an equal spatial division of the site in a riverine and an inland part it is very clear that the intensity by far is highest in the riverine part. Very high numbers of waste material are found all along the river from the far westernmost trench to the eastern limit of the excavations. Only few plots lack finds of antler waste material completely. Comparing the distribution of waste products of diverse crafts antlerworking shows a certain but not really distinct tendency to co-occurrence with amber-working.

Bronze- and silver-casting

Like antler-working bronze-casting is represented by vast numbers of waste material on the site. Silver has also been worked at Åhus II but much less frequently. Among the metallic waste products silver amounts to ca. 6 % only. Bronze- and silver-casting is a complex craft involving several stages requiring expertise. The highest level of sophistication is needed in the metallurgical stages of the production. The work process begins with scrutinizing and sorting out the metal available for processing. Metal was available both as scrap (83 units) and as metal bars (6 units). Scrap metal seems to be totally dominating (93 %), but since failed casts may be the origin of much of the scrap, the original composition of metal is difficult to ascertain. Next, larger objects must be divided into smaller pieces matching the size of the crucibles. The production of suitable crucibles demands complex knowledge and skill. The tempering material should preferably be pure quartz and many ceramic clays are not suited for this production. It is also desirable to build the crucible with more than one layer. When discarded after the casting process crucibles are often brittle and break up in small pieces, which must have a considerable influence on the degree of retrieval in the course of archaeological excavation. At Åhus II 532 units of crucibles have been recovered. In addition to crucibles there must be moulds for the casting. Moulds were made from special clay and obviously not seldom built with two layers. In order to ensure a perfect rendering of the ornamental design the innermost

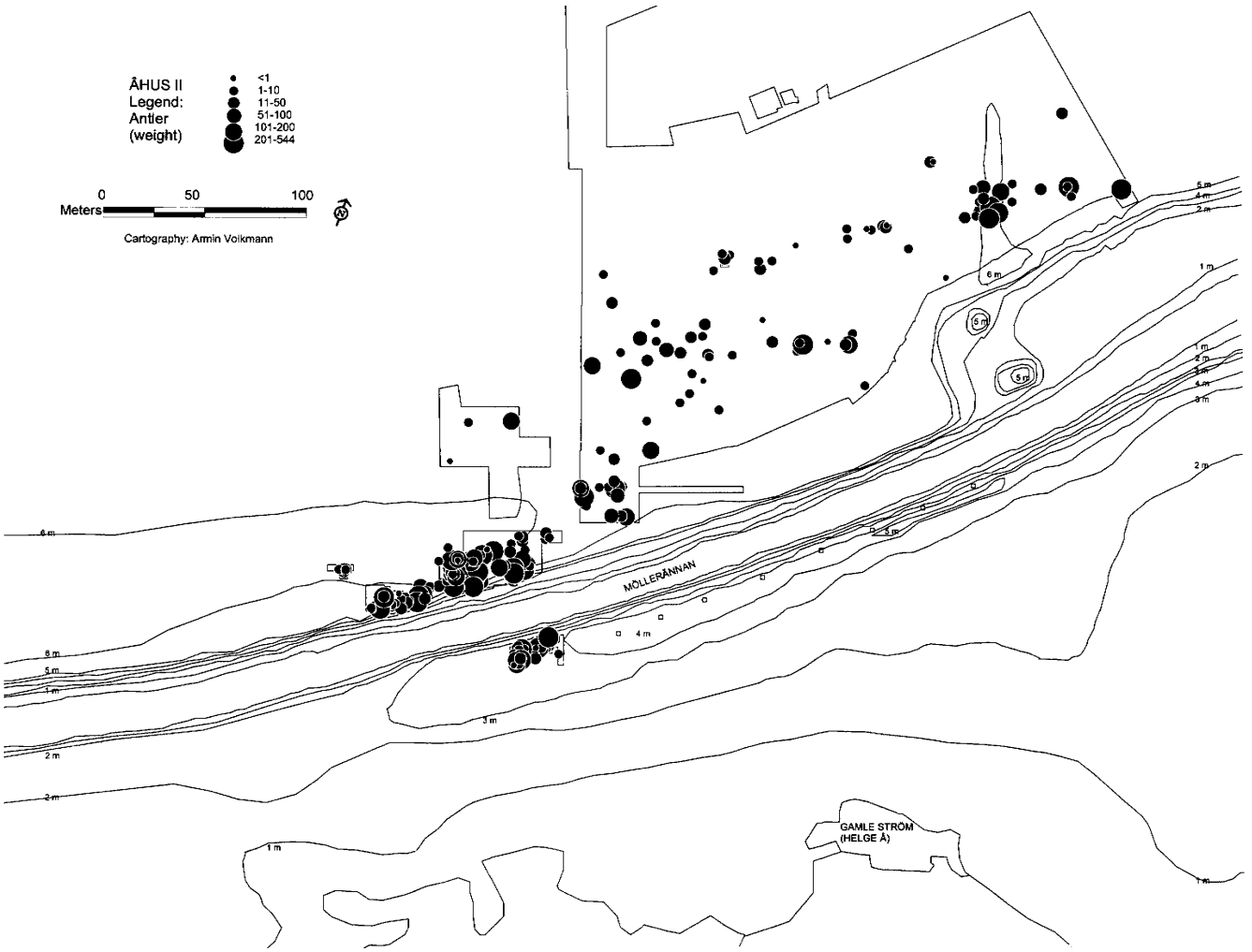

Fig. 5. Distribution of antler material in features at Åhus II.

layer consists of very fine clay. Unfortunately this practice results in frequent damage on the inner surface and subsequently to considerable difficulties to identify the cast object. The number of mould units recovered is 3.596. Like crucibles mould pieces deposited on the surface break up into small crumbling pieces. Surprisingly, mould pieces have a slightly better chance than pieces of crucibles to survive. A hearth or an oven with bellows is necessary for the casting process. No intact remains of constructions of this kind have been recovered. There are however rich finds of burnt clay, some of them with distinct wall character (up to more than 37 kg in a single sunken-featured building), and numerous fragments of *tuyères*. When the metal pieces are melted down impurities as slag must be removed. The casting itself must be done rapidly but with caution. Later the cast object must be removed from the mould and carefully trimmed. Although no traces of mercury were found several of the ornaments produced at the site appear as gilded objects. Consequently the case of gilding with the help of mercury cannot be ruled out. For the brooches a pin, mostly of iron must be added. This requires the skill of a blacksmith as well. Exceedingly interesting, the pin construction changes radically from a spiral model with long tradition to pins with a springing head plate. It seems to be completely unrelated to other changes in the production. There are numerous finds of separate pins (30 units of the earlier A-type and 23 of the later B-type). The production of bronze objects comprises several different brooches, armlets, mounts and keys. The types represented here belong to well known types used all over Scandinavia.

The spatial distribution of finds related to bronze-casting is not restricted to a single sector or zone at the Åhus II site (Figs. 6 and 7). Only occasionally we can observe a lack of finds at a single plot. It is also worth noting that, when we proceed to a detailed analysis of the various types of objects produced at different plots, we find that the same type of ornament was produced at several different plots. For example we can consider oval brooches of the well known 9th century type Petersen 37, one of the most frequently found brooch-types all over Scandinavia (Petersen 1928). Mould fragments for the production of this type of brooch were found at four different places all over the site. There is a certain dependence of crucible-finds on mould-finds especially when we consider finds from the cultural layers. The links between the mould-finds is however stronger with amber-working when we consider the different links of this category of finds. A moderately negative relationship is only found with antler-working.

Glass-working

Glass-working is another "pyrotechnic" craft intensively practised on the earlier (first half of the eighth century) Åhus I site. Glass-working on both sites is aimed at the produc--tion of beads. There are two techniques used: winding glass around a metal rod and fusing millefiori components into beads. Both simple, undecorated and complex, decorated beads were produced. The production of beads requires a high degree of skill. Knowledge of various glass materials and how they can be combined is essential and so is also knowledge of how to construct, maintain and control appropriate sources of heat. The production technique is demanding, especially with reference to the degree of precision, swiftness of movements and steadiness. At Åhus II glass-working debris are found only in relatively

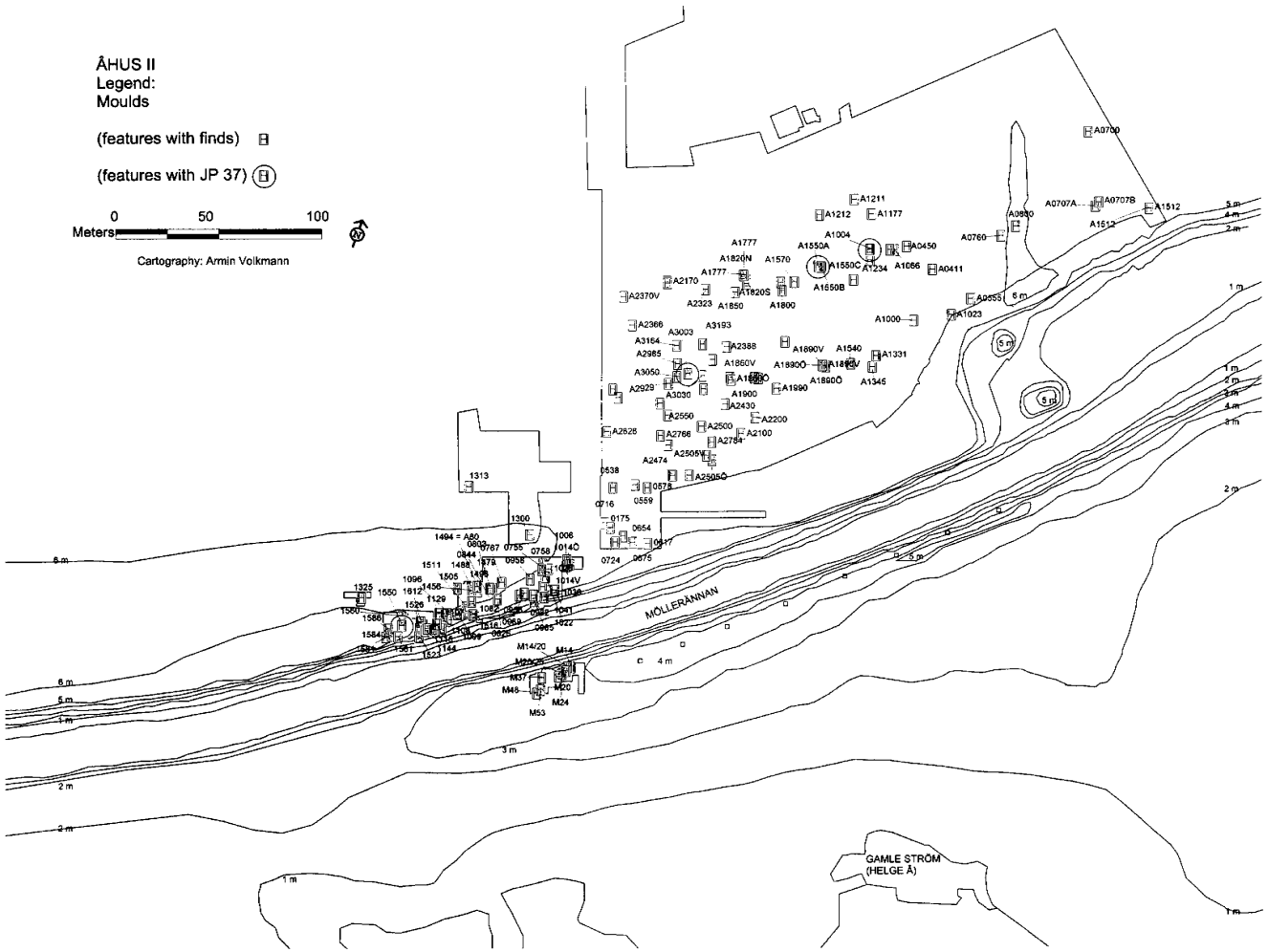

Fig. 6. Distribution of moulds for metal casting in features at Åhus II.

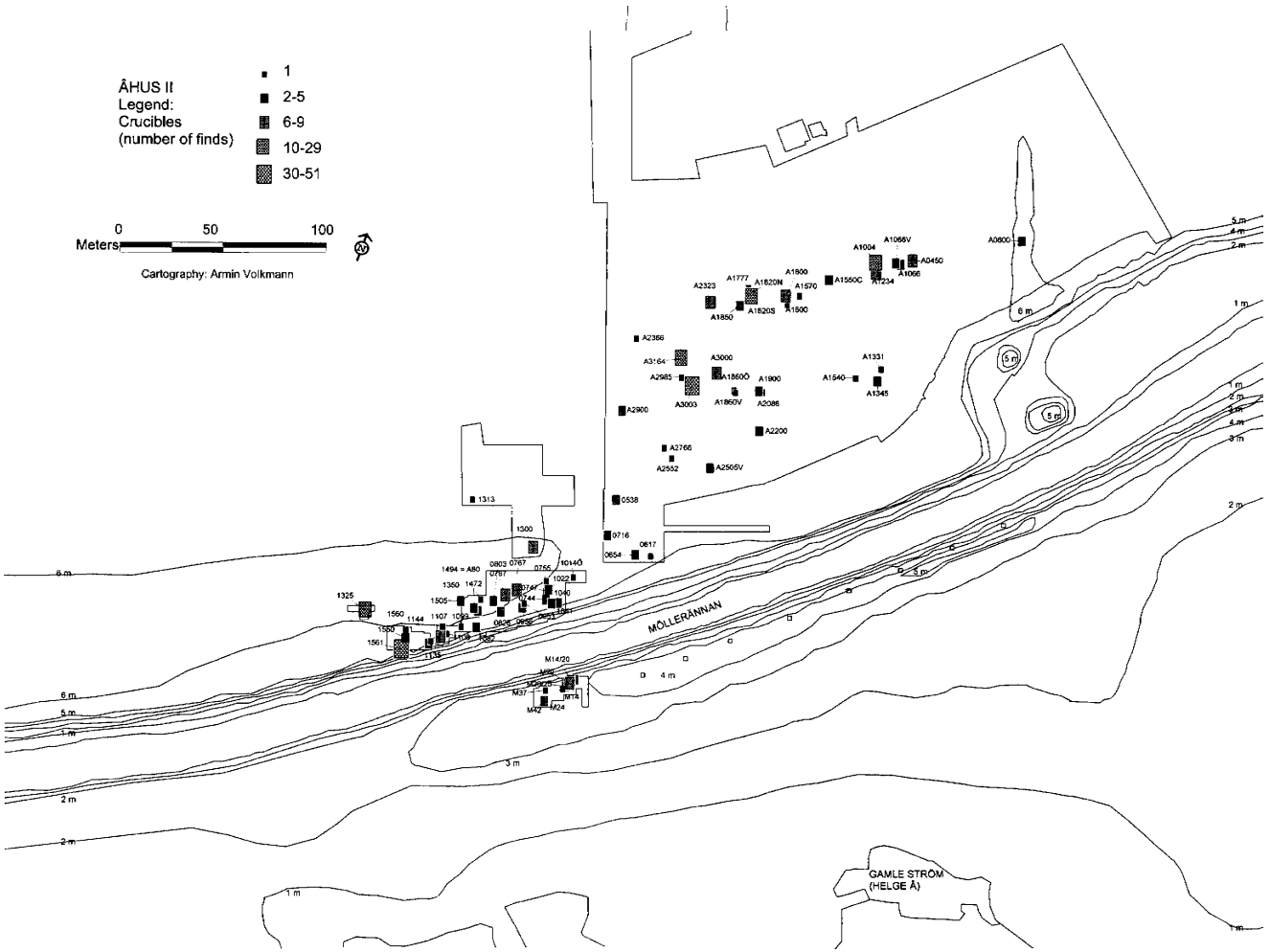

Fig. 7. Distribution of crucibles in features at Åhus II.

small numbers. There are 124 find units including 28 lumps and drops of molten glass, 15 pieces of glass slag, 14 tesserae and 67 other pieces (mostly fragments of staves and chips and splinters). This is in sharp contrast to conditions at Åhus I with more than 70.000 find units. These finds of bead-making debris were found only in the riverine part of the Åhus II site and on just a few, a little removed plots in the eastern part (Fig. 8). In addition there are however numerous finds of imported beads which definitely have not been produced on the site (a little more than one thousand). The distribution of glass-working debris does not suggest a concentration of production to a certain part of the site but rather reflects the historical development of the site. Considering the general datings of the bead-making debris and of the imported beads it becomes likely that the production debris belong to the earliest phase of the site and that this type of production was soon altogether abandoned. Beads from Western Europe and the Middle East began to be imported in vast numbers during the second half of the eighth century. Many of the beads found at Åhus II are defect and thus discarded products but there are no production debris. This fact shows that imported beads arrived at Åhus II not yet strung. In other parts of Scandinavia, production continued but on a more modest scale. Our observations here allow us to follow the dynamic development of the earliest riverine part towards the interior. This observation agrees well with some other peculiarities of the riverine part .

Forging

When we consider different forms of craft-production forging is one of the activities, which is most difficult to form an opinion of. To what extent was forging a domestic activity necessary for maintaining a reasonable technical level and to what extent was it a specialized and exclusive activity? There is much evidence of "pyrotechnical" production processes all over the site. Notwithstanding the fact that we have found no traces of ovens among the features excavated there are distinct pieces of walls of ovens among the finds (as noted in connection with bronze-casting) and there are numerous finds of bloc-shaped, subrectangular tuyères as well as smaller loom-weight-like, round tuyères. Since these sources of heat and protection devices for bellows could also be useful in the production process of bronze- and silver-casting (and as well glass-working) it is uncertain to which extent they were used for forging. The bigger, bloc-shaped tuyères are however hardly necessary for the rather small hearths probably used by the jewellers. This type of tuyère much better matches a forging milieu. The round, trundle-shaped tuyères are more difficult to judge. Slag was found all over the site sometimes in considerable quantities (Fig. 9). A total of ca. 100 kg iron slag was collected. The distribution of slag is uneven with ca. 30 kg retrieved in the fill of a single sunken-featured building and in layers close by. This concentration most probably could be interpreted as the remnants of a slag-rich rubbish-heap used to fill in the nearby sunken-featured building when it was abandoned. The later destruction of the site does not exclude the possibility that there once were numerous rubbish-heaps of the same character.

A strong argument for intensive forging at the site is provided by frequent finds of pieces of rod-shaped iron bars (with a rectangular section). Also some iron bars of other shapes are represented. As already pointed out both comb-making and the production of brooches had a close connection with blacksmith's work

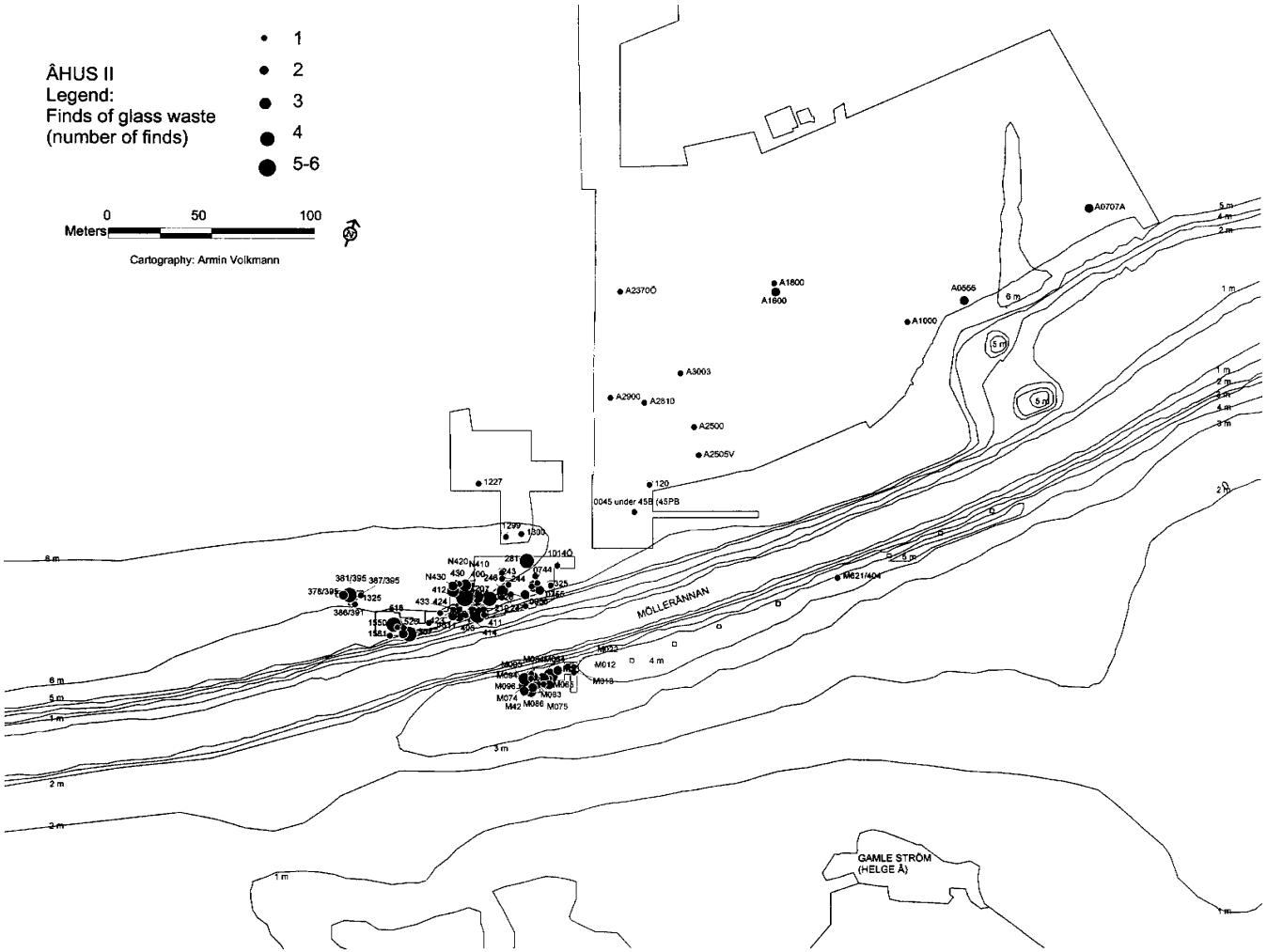

Fig. 8. Distribution of glass finds in features and layers at Åhus II.

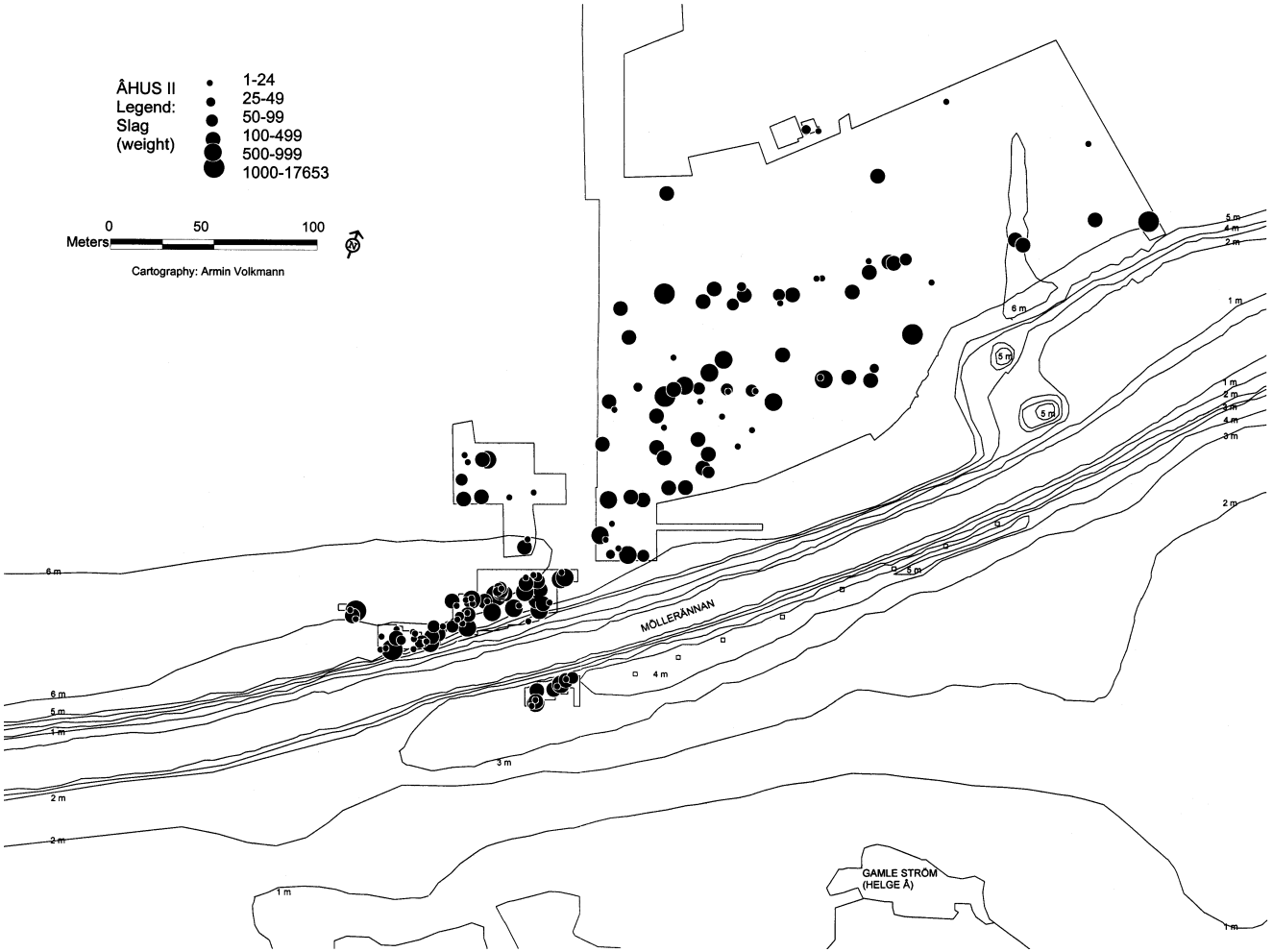

Fig. 9. Distribution of slag (predominantly iron slag) in features at Åhus II.

(fine rivets and pins respectively). There are also indications that other forms of specialized blacksmith's work were carried out on the site. We may notice evidence of production of chests and caskets with complex locks and mounts on the site. There are also several finds of semi-processed knives suggesting a considerable production of knives. Since the production of other cutting tools like scissors and shears is closely related to knife-forging it is likely that knives were not the only tools made on the site. Whether there also were armourers among the blacksmiths at Åhus II is an open question. There are few pieces of offensive weapons (excluding arrow-heads) and a fragment of mail among the finds. Numerous finds of fragments of sheet-iron riveted together strongly suggest that the production and repair of iron cauldrons also was an important activity. The making of sheet-iron of good quality necessary for watertight cauldrons was probably beyond the competence of most ordinary rural smiths. Cauldrons played an important role for the preparation of food (probably more important than pottery) although they seldom are found intact (almost exclusively in grave contexts). The indications for specialised blacksmith's work on the site in our opinion are convincing. There is both a quantitative and qualitative difference between Åhus II and contemporary "ordinary" rural sites. It is however much to desire, that the qualitative differences between village forging and forging on special sites could be more fully researched. We have also to consider forging at residences where specialisation e.g. in the production and repair of weapons is most likely to occur. For obvious reasons a certain degree of overlap is however to be reckoned with between forging at sites of different types. Any site situated on or near the coast or a major artery, for example, will produce finds of rivets in considerable numbers. Also in this respect Åhus II is exceptional with more than 2400 find units. This extreme frequency of rivet finds must be somewhat reduced since boat timber was certainly much used as fuel and repair work on boats and ships must have been a major activity.

Textile-working

Like forging textile working can only conditionally be regarded as a craft. Textile-working was probably carried out in almost all rural households. The basic knowledge of spinning and weaving was widely spread and many items of clothing and other textiles no doubt were produced in the homes. On some sites, residence sites and trading sites, textile-working definitely adopted a specialised form. Arguments for the existence of a specialised production of textiles can only be based on qualitative properties of the archaeological source material. Unfortunately no textiles were recovered during the excavations. This deficiency is somewhat compensated by rich finds of textile tools. Several categories of this material have been studied by Andersson (1996), who concluded that the weight spectrum of the spindle whorls not only shows a wide variation but also distinct tendencies to a certain standardisation. Whorls intended for the spinning of very fine threads are common. The number of whorls is very considerable (107 find units). The frequency of whorl finds clearly so far exceeds all other known sites. A site with a certain likeness to Åhus II with regard to settlement structure and socio-economic pattern like Löddeköpinge/Vikhögsvägen has significantly less whorl finds and the weights of the whorls are not so clearly grouped.

Weaving is well documented on the site with numerous finds of loom weights of raw or baked clay. Secondary sorting of the material has shown several fragmentary baked clay weights in fact to be discarded tuyères. Weights are mostly found in small numbers of two to three in the fill of sunken-featured buildings. Only occasionally they appear in large numbers (up to 28 find units). Among these finds of weights the vast majority is not baked. The weights are relatively light (70% of 87 well preserved weights are found in the interval 200-400g with a distinct peak at 225-275g). The relative lightness of the weights corroborates the evidence of the spindle whorls for the production of fine threads and corresponding fine cloths. Weaving of decorative ribbons presumably for the application on fine dresses was also carried out at the site as indicated by two finds of special weaving combs of antler. The only parallels to these specialist implements have come to light at Birka (Geijer 1938:57). At Åhus II sewing is also well documented. No less than 34 fine sewing needles of iron and two of bronze were recovered during the excavation. It is of course difficult to compare the material from a site like Åhus II, where the fill of all features was sieved, with sites where the finds were hand collected. It is still striking that the probable trading site at Löddeköpinge/Vikhögsvägen only yielded a single needle (Ohlsson 1976:112). At Åhus II there are also 33 bone needles probably used for working in coarse textiles e.g. sail-cloth.

Textile working was practised almost all over the site and there are only very few hints that some plots were not at all engaged in this kind of production (Fig. 10). There is no difference between the riverine part of the site and the interior portion in this respect.

The different crafts and the product

The different crafts discussed here: amber working, antler working, bronze- and silver casting, glass working and the specialized forging and textile-working activities, hardly exhaust the list of crafts, which in reality were carried out at the site. It is most likely that a number of other crafts were executed there as well like e.g. the production of turned wooden vessels and the production of belts and shoes of leather. We have no evidence of these additional activities but it is all the same essential not to forget that the palette no doubt was broader than we can see in the material remains. The production at Åhus II was certainly concentrated on dress, both masculine and feminine. It is most likely that complete dresses including ornaments and accessories like fine, ornamental combs were produced. Other parts of the production included forging of quality tools and possibly weapons. Vessels of wood and iron and caskets were most probably also important products.

Permanent resident or guest?

As it has been pointed out, the main difference between the early Åhus I site and the later Åhus II site is the almost complete lack of layers and constructions in the first case and the presence of manifest features and layers when sufficiently protected in the second. To the reader it must be explained that Åhus I is situated on land belonging to the village of Yngsjö situated 5 km further upriver. This division of land, for several reasons, must be regarded as of Early Medieval date, which then means that this site always has been situated in an extreme periphery with correspondingly extensive land-use, in this case

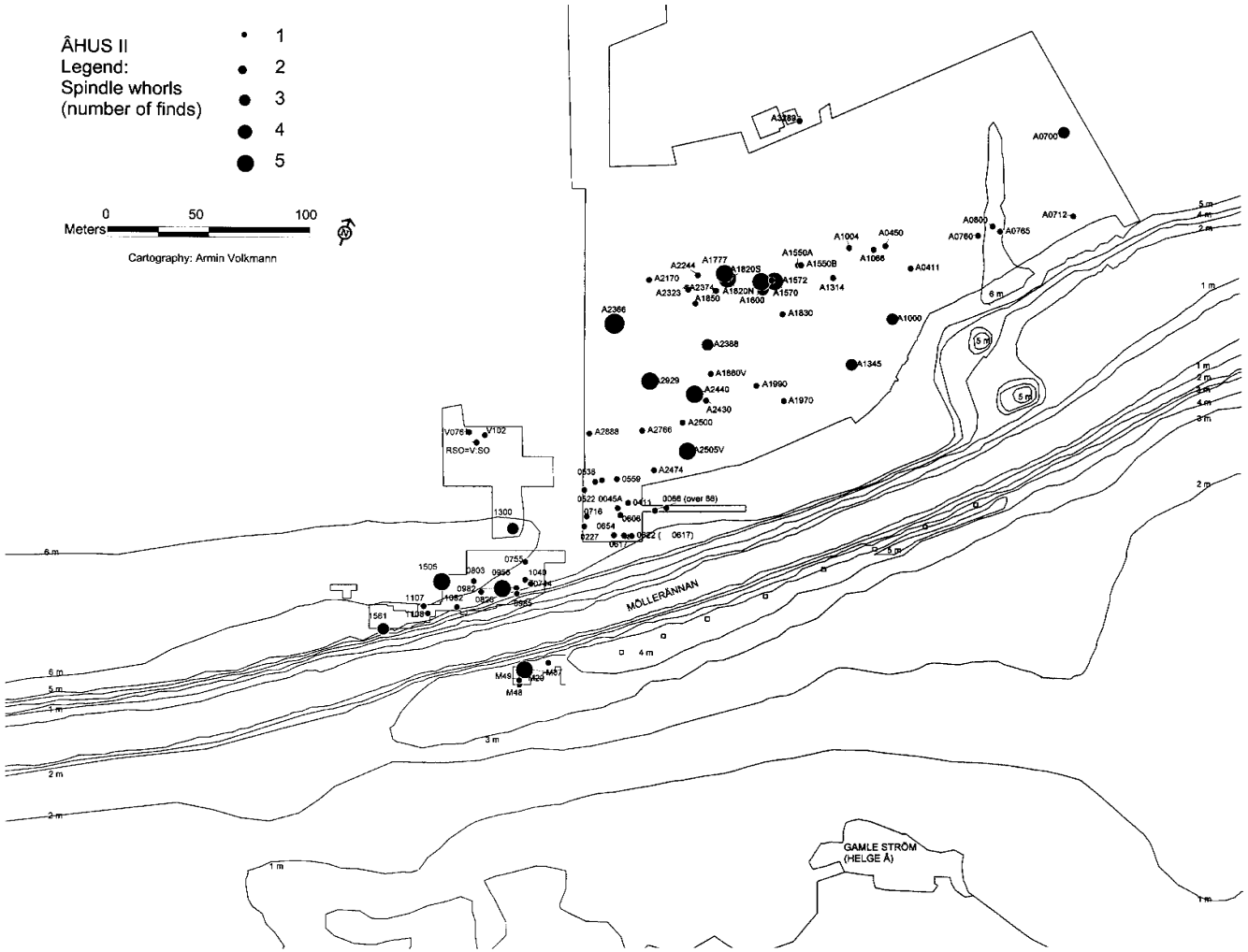

Fig. 10. Distribution of spindle whorls at Åhus II.

permanent pasture until the 19th century. Agro-technical and eolian destruction of the kind met with at Åhus II never occurred. Consequently we can maintain that this difference between the sites is a real one. Activities at Åhus I must have been going on only for short spells of time and there cannot have been permanent settlement there. But, what about Åhus II? Was it permanently settled with the same population remaining on the site all year round or is it more likely that there were fluctuations through the seasons. Different forms of trading certainly took place at Åhus II and at least some of the agents of trade did not live there permanently. In our implicit model of the Viking Period trader they would appear for longer or shorter spells of time, but would then leave again. Some of them may have stayed on board their ships anchored or beached on the riverbank below the site. In this study we are concerned with the craftsmen. The massive evidence of the presence of craftsmen at Åhus II paradoxically contradicts the idea of a permanent and stable population. Our reconstruction of the structure of the site allows for a very considerable population engaged in craft production. The volume of the production has no plausible relationship to the population of the region. We shall not enter here on a discussion of absolute numbers (a regional study is under preparation) but it is a fact that the potential production of the craftsmen highly exceeds the demand of the population of the region. This calculation is valid no matter how the transactions between the inhabitants and the producers were organised. The number of craftsmen at Åhus II must rather be seen in relationship to a much larger circle of consumers. The production should probably be understood in relationship to a coastal network of trade and craft production functioning along the east coast of the Scandinavian Peninsula from the Danish Isles (and Hedeby) as far as the Mälar region in present Eastern Middle Sweden. There must have been a well-known route along the coast similar to the Northern way (Norway) on the west side of the peninsula. This does however not mean that we think that all craftsmen active in this network had a house at Åhus II. Certainly there must have been other important sites of this type elsewhere at still unknown locations or incompletely known places like Trelleborg and Ystad (cf. Callmer 1995). Among the not yet identified locations there must have been at least one, where glass-working was carried on during the late eighth and the ninth centuries, until Scandinavian bead-making experienced a new peak in the second half of the ninth. For a portion of the craftsmen mobility must have been important and they may have left the site for several months during the period favourable for travel on the sea from April to the end of September. If we accept this interpretation we must also conclude that it is likely that craftsmen from other sites could turn up at Åhus II and to remain there for some time as guests. It may be concluded from the minute conformity of the items of material culture transmitted during these centuries that these close personal contacts between craftsmen was a characteristic feature of the coastal network. We may then answer the question whether craftsmen lived permanently at Åhus II or if they were only guests. Numerous craftsmen lived at the Åhus II site for a considerable part of the year. It must have been an important home base for them where a significant portion of the production was carried out. It is also clear that many left for a part of the year. We may also consider an important presence of guests.

How many craftsmen were at work?

Is it possible to calculate the number of craftsmen active at Åhus II? First we must conclude that all efforts in this direction are approximations. We must also remember that in connection with our review above of finds related to glass-working, it was possible to demonstrate at least two phases in the development of the site otherwise not so obvious. The earliest phase probably only includes the riverine part of the site. It is most unfortunate that this part is also the least studied and the most destroyed section (by the canal and the sand pits). The distribution of the glass-working debris suggests a subsequent enlargement towards the interior at a rate of ca 100%. The length of time of this process is not easy to measure but in our opinion it is unlikely that it exceeds one generation. One of the important observations at Åhus II is that craft-activities are located all over the site. There are only very few minor sectors where the presence of craft production could be called in question. This means that we have reason to assume that almost the entire site has this economical structure. Above we have already calculated a tentative population of the site. It was argued that the plot structure indicated by configurations of sunken-featured building gives us 500 to 1000 inhabitants on ca. 100 plots. This population to a very considerable extent was active in craft-production. These craftsmen composed the majority of the population and must have numbered several hundred. Especially during the winter season it is likely that the vast majority of them were present on the site. Closer than that to an answer to this question we cannot come at present.

Specialist or generalist?

How can we classify the craftsman active on the site? Is the designation specialist appropriate as mostly argued in studies of Early Medieval crafts or is it necessary to turn the concept upside-down and to argue for the opposite: the generalist? The unfortunate shortage of excavations of contexts of craft-production in the Early Medieval Period has until recently left us with our own classifications and analogies, mostly of High Medieval date or later. The recent excavation of a bronze-casting workshop at Birka has apparently confirmed the idea of the specialist craftsman (Ambrosiani & Erikson 1996:27 p.). Some observations at Ribe seemingly give the same message of activities exclusively of craftsmen specialised in bead-making or comb-making or brooch-casting etc (Jensen 1991:42). Other observations at Ribe are less distinct with waste material from several different crafts occurring together. The conclusions to be drawn from the excavations at Hedeby so far are also difficult to interpret in terms of a strict separation of different crafts (cf. Ulbricht 1978). Consequently it is at present difficult to argue one of the principles exclusively and we are faced with contradictory observations. In this connection the observations at Åhus II are of great interest. As shown above in the reviews of the various craft activities on the site it is not possible to designate different sectors of the site as exclusively the domain of the comb-maker or the brooch-maker etc. On the contrary we must conclude that traces of most activities are found all over the site. Differences in frequency between various parts can at least partly be explained through differences in the degree of destruction of layers and constructions. If we now approach the question of

which activities were executed on the single plot we must try to combine our observations from those parts where layers are preserved with those where our source is the fill in sunken-featured buildings and a few additional pits with other functions. The fill in the buildings and the pits, as we have argued above, must mainly stem from rubbish-heaps where not desirable material was deposited. The handling of rubbish must mean two things: first that activity areas, not only in the houses, but also surfaces outdoors were regularly cleared; secondly that waste material in these rubbish heaps give ample evidence of the various activities which have taken place on the plot. It is not likely that the handling of rubbish was a communal matter but rather it was a task for the people on the different plots. The filling in of pits must have been an *ad hoc* action with no direct connection with the accumulation of rubbish and waste material on the heaps. The representation of different craft activities must be completely random, which of course is of paramount interest to us. We can also conclude that accumulation on the heaps must have been rapid since several categories of finds would have been weathered, gnawed etc. or had completely disintegrated like coprolites (there is a considerable number almost exclusively from the sunken-featured buildings) unless rapidly covered by new garbage. It is thus very likely that the fill of the sunken-featured buildings gives an excellent reflection of the ongoing activities on the plot. They may however give an exaggerate rendering of the quantitative and qualitative relationships between different crafts when we try to bring together a generalized picture of craft activities. It is consequently probably wise to enlarge the weaker indications somewhat and to diminish the stronger indications. Compared to the material from the fill finds from the cultural layers on the contrary mainly give us a rather generalized picture. There are, however, sections where we have a strong impression that concentrations of certain types of material (esp. antler-working waste) indeed represent compressed and spread out rubbish heaps. We have taken the trouble to discuss shortly a little further the quality of our sources because we think that the observations concerning the spatial distribution of different crafts from Åhus II are of central importance for the further discussion of the question.

Based on the observations on the site our conclusion must be that very often all the crafts taken into consideration were practised on the same plot. As we have noted this conclusion partly contradicts the usual picture of Early Medieval craftsmen and artisans in Northern Europe. Important products from sites like Åhus II, we have concluded, were fine dresses for women including textiles, various brooches and other jewellery and trinkets and as well other accessories, like ornamental antler combs. Dress on the male side is probably equally relevant although less well known. The production of these complete sets included first textile-work, some of which was certainly carried out on the site, but we should not exclude the possibility, that some textiles were procured locally or from regions with a production of good quality. Fine textiles, probably not only silk, were traded over great distances as well. Some of the most important parts of the textile work were perhaps dying and sewing with applied ribbons and thin strips of cloth (e.g. of silk). This part of the work was most probably mainly in the hands of females (although we do not know for sure). The production of brooches and other ornamental bronzes (occasionally also in silver) was to a considerable extent carried

out on the spot although import of brooches made elsewhere is not to be excluded. Bronze and silver had to be imported from outside unless obsolete ornaments for melting could be acquired locally. There is much to suggest that some of the metal was indeed procured this way. Like most crafts connected with fire, metal work was a male activity. It is not known whether this probable division has its background in taboo ideas. Imported beads were strung on the spot. The combs certainly were items of prestige and carried symbolic values. The blacksmith's work necessary to produce these items belonged to the male sphere according to our interpretation. Other most likely products of Åhus II mentioned above like wooden caskets or boxes with locks probable intended for the very conservation of the dresses, brooches, trinkets and accessories and iron cauldrons are reasonably closely connected with the male sphere. The production of cutting tools and the tentative production of weapons are likewise traditionally regarded as male activities. Considered together we must conclude that the production integrated both female and male activities. On the plot level close cooperation in the production may have been essential. In reality it seems likely that gender division lines were transgressed so far as it was acceptable with regard to social conventions and religious taboos. Many individuals active on the different plots must be designated generalists rather than specialists. It is reasonable to envisage individuals working with bronze- and silver-casting, forging and carpentry and perhaps as well stringing beads rather than specialist brooch makers, blacksmiths, armourers etc. The production community must have included both women and men. Consequently the term craftsman may seem inappropriate in this place. The term artisan, which carries no gender association may be preferred, however the historical context provides us with an argument to retain the terminology used so far. We must all the time remember that craftsman like ombudsman in reality carries no clear gender connection.

Social organisation of the craftsmen

The fifth question above was concerned with how the basic social unit was organised. The size and the repetitive character of settlement remains and traces of production make it reasonable to look upon Åhus II as a community of rather similar basic social and economic units. The different plots were each inhabited by a number of individuals sufficient for the maintenance of a level of production, which allowed survival. The poor standard of documentation of the exact size and the disposition of houses built on the surface does not allow any far-reaching conclusions concerning the number and the relationships of the inhabitants. We consider it most unlikely that the sunken-featured buildings could be used for housing. Where house-size could be assumed we are confronted by rather small buildings of no more than 5m of breadth and 10m or slightly more of length. Similar houses are known from Hedeby (Schietzel 1981) and Ribe (Jensen 1991:45). Probably there are exceptions with more than one house on each plot but the usual layout only comprises one house of this type. This plot-*cum*-house pattern instinctively turns our minds towards the sphere of the nuclear family. The importance of the nuclear family should not be underestimated but in Early Medieval society extended family relationships were important as well. We should also consider organisation from the production perspective. Several of the activities, which concern us here are not a

one man's work but should preferably be executed by a small collective of at least two craftsmen. Above we have already reflected on whether women could join men in forging, bronze- and silver casting and bead making but found it unlikely. Rather, crafts intimately connected with fire may have been regarded taboo for females. The ideal production group would comprise two families. Also with reference to the necessary textile work carried out within each social unit a close collaboration between two families would be preferred to work on one's own. As in all traditional societies family here must be understood to comprise members of the former generation, children and possibly unmarried close relatives. As suggested above maximum numbers for each site would be 10 individuals. The relationship between the two families cannot be ascertained based on the archaeological sources. It could of course be speculated about a family relationship like brothers, brothers-in-law etc., but this is pure guesswork. It is however worth remembering that the social framework at localities like Åhus II largely must have represented something new with only modest and relatively few predecessors. People active here had certainly highly varying backgrounds. Thus it is not unlikely that in the primary stage in the history of these sites families with different backgrounds combined their efforts. The organisation sketched here does not exclude the possibility that the inhabitants on some plots did cooperate intimately with others for some special part of the production when even more hands were needed or desirable. Cooperation like this could either be *ad hoc* like an artel or could have a more permanent and firm organisation. Our reconstruction of the plot structure of Åhus II has resulted in a number of plots of exactly the same size. So far we think the majority of the plots had approximately the same or very similar measurements. Complete regularity is however most unlikely and there may have been considerable variations and exemptions. The organization of space and the layout invite speculation about a truly regulating power at work. The first row of plots along the river could however as well have been spontaneous formations dictated by the demands of each residence group and the wish for access to the river. At some point the row becomes too long and then the second row is formed. In this way the site (like other comparable sites) will grow with a pseudo-regularity and maybe compared to any self-regulating system. The deviations in size may have had their demographic correlates.

The position of the craftsman in the wider social system

The last question posed is intimately connected with the preceding one. Is it possible to say something about the position of craftsmen in the wider social system of the period? First we have to make clear which were the dominant social groups of the Early Middle Ages in Northern Europe. The vast majority of the population in Southern Scandinavia were peasants living from animal husbandry and agriculture. The settlement pattern varied from small single farms over groups of farms or hamlets in loose or developed associations to villages with a reasonably close cooperation (horizontal social connections). Many of these peasants were legally free men but their social position was most variable. Especially in the densely populated regions with a long continuity of settlement most peasant households were integrated in systems of dependence and

of followers. It seems today difficult to deny that in these regions estates of varying complexity had begun to evolve already in the Migration and Vendel periods. The population of these estates included thralls both as servants and hands at the residence farm and as tenants on some of the farms. A number of regions of this character were not seldom brought under the dominion of a supreme lordly family. Some of these political constellations had achieved a certain stability (territoriality) while others would disintegrate and might become part of new ones. Basically this was a mostly self-supporting and as well largely self-sufficient society.

In order to make it possible to understand the position of craftsmen at Åhus II we must look closely also into a rather special part of the social sphere. Not only the socio-political macro-structure of society, but also cultural tradition contributed to the organisation of exchange between the different regions and dominions and to the production of exclusive items. Many of these things exchanged were perhaps of little absolute value but the important thing was that they could not be produced in every household since the material could not be procured locally and the expertise knowledge necessary for their production was not generally accessible. An important factor in this system was that the pre-Christian religion prescribed that some items of fine clothing, ornaments, trinkets, quality tools, weapons etc should accompany their owners or users when they were buried or should be destroyed some other way. Some objects were also deposited as offerings and thus left the system and were not reclaimed. This permanent loss of material made a continuous production of new items necessary. As we have noted all things in the possession of the dead were not consumed in this way but the number of objects was not sufficient to minimize the production of new things. Empirically we can observe several thresholds in the quantitative and qualitative development of the deposition of such things. Certainly some of the fluctuations we can observe are the result of some changes in details of the mortuary ritual, but we can still establish the main tendencies of the production of exchanged goods. Such thresholds are for the first Christian millennium to be noted in the 1st century A.D., in the Late Roman Period, in the Migration Period in the late 5th century, in the earliest part of the Vendel Period around A.D. 600, in the first half of the 8th century and at last in the second half of the 10th century. This is not the place to discuss the character of and the reasons for all these changes and we will concentrate on the later part of the millennium. On the whole the development must be seen as a continuous growth in the volume of the production. In the second half of the 6th and in the beginning of the 7th century we may perhaps have a certain retrograde development, but it is questionable how sharp and how protracted it was in reality.

Residence sites on the topmost levels in society were probably visited by craftsmen regularly in the Migration Period and probably already in the Late Roman Period. The most important of these residence sites had some craftsmen of their own, but most of this group led a partly ambulating life visiting numerous important sites of various kinds. The observations at Gudme and Lundeborg on Funen provide us with some interesting examples of these variations already from this early phase (The archaeology of Gudme and Lundeborg 1994). Craftsmen were actively at work both at the inland residence site and at Lundeborg, the contemporary, only temporarily occupied coastal site. This pattern with variations

probably persists in Northern Europe until the High Middle Ages. Although materialist archaeologists and historians have maintained that craftsmen were mainly slaves and dependant producers there is much both in the archaeological source material and in the written sources to suggest that the position of the craftsman was not that of a person completely without legal rights. It is likely that the widespread and obviously popular (and highly relevant) Wayland-myth defines the social position of itinerant craftsmen. Although the craftsmen were highly vulnerable and it may have been tempting to force them to do certain things and especially to remain at your place the myth makes it clear that this is not the way to handle the situation. Their skills craftsmen will always keep for themselves and any act of violence will result in retaliation one way or the other (Callmer 2002). Itinerant craftsmen were most probably free members of society but their ambulating existence visiting various regions with different law codes makes it clear that they could only exist with the protection of the locally powerful. Special peace-regulations for markets and trading sites only gave short-time respite and may have changed little in the end. What we have is a form of symbiosis, which was not unique for craftsmen only but as well did apply to other individuals and groups with an ambulating life-style like merchants and traders and possibly mercenary warriors as well. Both sides had great possibilities to injure the other and both had profound interest to maintain a balanced and positive relationship. It is much more difficult to form an opinion about craftsmen who lived and worked on residence sites of major estates. This is partly connected with the problem to define what was actually regarded as a craft and what was skilled and specialised production after all belonging to the sphere of the "normal" activities and production of a big farm. Also craftsmen remaining all their life on the big residence farms may have been free whereas many skilled producers in the latter sphere no doubt were unfree (considerable parts of the production being in the hands of thralls).

Conclusions and perspectives

Around AD 700 large sites with ample evidence for large numbers of craftsmen, artisans and traders living together, perhaps not all of them throughout the year, but certainly for long spells of time, are known from North-western and Northern Europe. Why and how these large so-called emporium sites did develop is a highly contentious issue in contemporary Early Medieval archaeological and numismatist (and historical) research. A considerable difficulty in this connection is, that earlier non-permanent coastal sites with evidence of craft-production and trade and exchange (like the just mentioned Lundeborg site) have not been identified and excavated. This circumstance gives their emergence an explosive quality in North-western Europe. Most of the emporium sites are however situated in locations, where we may suppose that some variety of these activities had been going on through the centuries after the Roman collapse. In reality it seems most unlikely that the development is so rapid as it is often thought. There is, as perhaps the numismatic material best shows, a highly relevant gradual change in the economy beginning in the middle of the 7th century or a little earlier. This means that this process of change takes about two generations. It is both a qualitative change with gold coinage and gold as a basic meter of value being replaced by silver and a quantitative change with a highly restricted

coinage being replaced with what we, with some reservation, could call a mass coinage (Metcalf 1967, 2001). The problems to keep up gold coinage were, as it has long been well known, a result of trouble outside Northwestern Europe. This fact in no way can explain the remarkable quantitative change. This is not the place to go deep into a discussion about this little known but – I think we have reason to state- most important transformation. To be short, the single large and decisive factor we can consider seriously is the development of well functioning estates. Trade and exchange between estates and increasingly further afield with other regions and even further with other states becomes a common concern for those administrating these manors and they also carry away minor owners. This growth in the number of transactions and the need for increased production of tools, clothes, shoes, trinkets, vessels etc. called for a further development and reorganization of places for production and exchange and trade, the latter becoming more important. Probably still going on since the days of the Roman Empire trade in slaves sees a strong up-turn (McCormick 2001). Kings, other rulers and leaders and men of the church, who often may have been engaged in organizing the security of these places, soon realized the possibilities to increase their revenues. This they achieved by an active policy of emission of coins and by exacting tolls (most probably a tithe) and other fees. It has been maintained that the kings and their equals were the organizers of these emporia and that they completely controlled them. This seems to be unlikely for several reasons. Organizing and controlling these transactions and this production of goods was probably much beyond the capacity of the administration of the day. To try to profit from transactions going on was rather the mentality of this uppermost stratum in society. There is no reason to suspect that the majority of those active in trading and in producing at the emporium sites were unfree, although we may imagine trusted serfs selling products from secular or ecclesiastical estates there. The fact that there is an emporium to each of the kingdoms of Wessex, East Anglia and Northumbria does not mean that we unconditionally must accept the hypothesis propagating royal initiatives. The location of these is related to both economical-geographical and political considerations. The case of London is intriguing since Mercian influence there comes later than the beginnings of Lundenvic (cf. Vince 1990:151 pp.). A more suitable location for a trading place for Mercia in the late 7th century would have been on the lower Trent. Lundenvic in the beginning obviously served a number of political entities in South-eastern England. We can conclude that the Northwest-European emporia are social and economic phenomena closely related to the economical and social developments in this part of Europe in the second half of the 7th century. Their development is not primarily the result of royal or episcopal initiatives but of a complicated process involving traditional patterns of interregional connections and the wishes of those primarily active there: merchants/traders and artisans/craftsmen. Only later those wielding political power tried to profit from them and to regulate the layout of the sites (how successfully we do not know). The majority of the people visiting or living permanently at these places were not slaves but in many ways highly dependant on those locally in power. Although the historical evidence of guilds is two or three hundred years later it seems highly probable that they had developed a framework for cooperation and mutual support. In the archaeological

material we find plenty of evidence for close cooperation and intimate sharing of ideas between craftsmen.

It has been necessary at some length to discuss the background of the development of extensive places for trade and exchange and craft production in North-western Europe since the development of rather similar places in Northern Europe is closely related. No doubt, the North European development of these places with manifest settlement remains comes later than that in North-western Europe. The earliest sites closely connected to the development in the west are Ribe in South-western Jutland and Åhus I in North-eastern Scania both starting in the very beginning of the 8th century as non-permanent places visited for short spells of time (Callmer 1991; Jensen 1991). The earliest Ribe site comprises a *terp*-like, artificial sandbank. Consequently there are arguments for a gradual development from non-permanent to permanent also in the North. The subsequent development comes in the next generation when already considerable parts of Western Scandinavia and the Baltic Region are part of a network of sites. Gross Strömkendorf on the Slavic South Coast is established already in the first half of the century (Müller-Wille *et al.* 1997). From the middle of the century they tend to include elements of permanent settlement and activities. For these Scandinavian examples as for their Northwest European counterparts it is essential to recognize the network structure of the phenomenon. Like in the West precisely the network structure makes it unlikely that prime movers were the local potentates along the coasts. It is, as we have already stressed, more likely that the development in the North was an extension of the Northwest European network and that it evolved on similar lines. The new network was perhaps not so new since we must realize that it seizes on an earlier, little known coastal network (cf. Lundeborg mentioned above). We can also remember the thresholds in the production of brooches, trinkets etc. stressed above). Like in any earlier network it was necessary to cooperate closely with local power structures (probably differently organized in the various regions) because mostly only they could organize the collection of desired products and only they could supply food provisions (fresh or staple) in sufficient quantities. As recent results have made clear, some important residence sites (also those somewhat removed from the coast) were certainly visited by craftsmen regularly and the obvious success of the system for many generations means that the close cooperation with estates matched very well interests from the side of the local partners.

The life-style, culture, perhaps also their vernacular set the people active as craftsmen and traders aside from the inhabitants of the different regions. Frequently the remoteness (in relation to central locations in the regions) and the coastal location of the places contributed to this social isolation. Local society of the period had great difficulties in assimilating a population, which by its habits, doings and for many, by its extraction was alien. Consequently it is most likely that many of these traders and craftsmen never became part of the local society and then we must consider the probable issue of the formation of a separate society. We may tend to imagine these people, on the margin of the majority population, weak and vulnerable and exposed to conditionality. This may be a false picture. They gathered many together (cf. above) and they could certainly instantly muster a relatively large troop of armed men. They probably built and they owned ships. All

necessary transfers were certainly undertaken by numerous ships together.

There is no reason to think that unfree individuals were less numerous in this society. Since trade in slaves, as remarked, may have been an important part of the trade, some slave servants are likely members of the community. The most intriguing question is however the relationship between craftsmen and traders. Until this point we have maintained a division by convention between these two categories. Here we must however state the fact that we have very little to support this interpretation. In the written sources we have of course enough to prove the existence of distinct traders. We have also good reason to count with several different categories of traders and merchants. At two *wic* sites in England we have some indications of a predominantly merchant's zone along the waterfront. At most sites this section is little known (e.g. at Dorestad and Hedeby). Also at Åhus II this part is insufficiently studied and partly inaccessible. We have maintained above that the craftsmen at Åhus II were much too numerous for the region and thus we see one possibility to solve this problem through mobility and visits to other trading sites and to residence sites. This mobility of craftsmen and merchants was perhaps from the beginning (in the days before the permanent or partly permanent sites) the main reason for the development of a close symbiotic relationship between the two categories. Sometimes even the distinction between the two trades could be transgressed in the same person or in the small integrated working group. In fact this close relationship may be a special characteristic of the North European sites, which sets them apart both from the Northwest European *wic*s and the later Medieval towns.

Note

An important argument in this article is the complexity of craft production processes. In a tandem publication the majority of these processes are fully documented in picture (Callmer 2002).

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Metalworking and Central Places

Eva Hjärthner-Holdar, Kristina Lamm and Bente Magnus

Abstract

Metal working is one of the criteria for central places, but it is important to distinguish between sites with advanced metal technology and those which produced objects of a more everyday character. Archaeometallurgical analyses can reveal both the methods of manufacture and the smiths' skill, or lack of skill, in composing alloys.

Metallurgical investigations and analyses of refractory materials in moulds and crucibles are important for distinguishing different types of workshops, also for comprehending the craftsmen's technical standard, skill and knowledge. "Metalworking in the Germanic Iron Age (400-700 AD) and its role in early state formation in Scandinavia" focuses on these subjects. Some results achieved so far are presented in this article.

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Introduction

The problem of the itinerant artisan of the middle and late Iron Age has been recurrent at the Sachsensymposiums and a number of archaeologists have struggled with it: Joachim Werner, Hayo Vierck, Wilhelm Holmqvist, Eldrid Straume, Nancy Wicker, Kent Andersson, Claus v. Carnap Bornheim, to name just a few. In spite of so much effort we have come not much closer to an answer to the main problem: where there itinerant craftsmen and if the answer is affirmative, what relation did they have to the leading families of the society?

As Dagfinn Skre concluded in his theses on dominance, settlement and property - every person in an Iron Age society was dependent on someone else; it was the art and degree of dependency, which varied (Skre 1998). During the research process in connection with the project *Metalworking in the Germanic Iron Age 400–700 AD and its role in the early state formation in Scandinavia* we have realised that answers to the questions about the status of metal crafts and craftsmen and their relation to the aristocracy are to be sought and found by way of metallurgic and clay mineralogic analyses in addition to traditional archaeological methods supplied with technical analyses (cf. Andersson 1995).

By concentrating our efforts in this first phase of the project to one unpublished workshop site, Bäckby in Västmanland, Sweden and using the enormous workshop residue from the central place Helgö as a reference

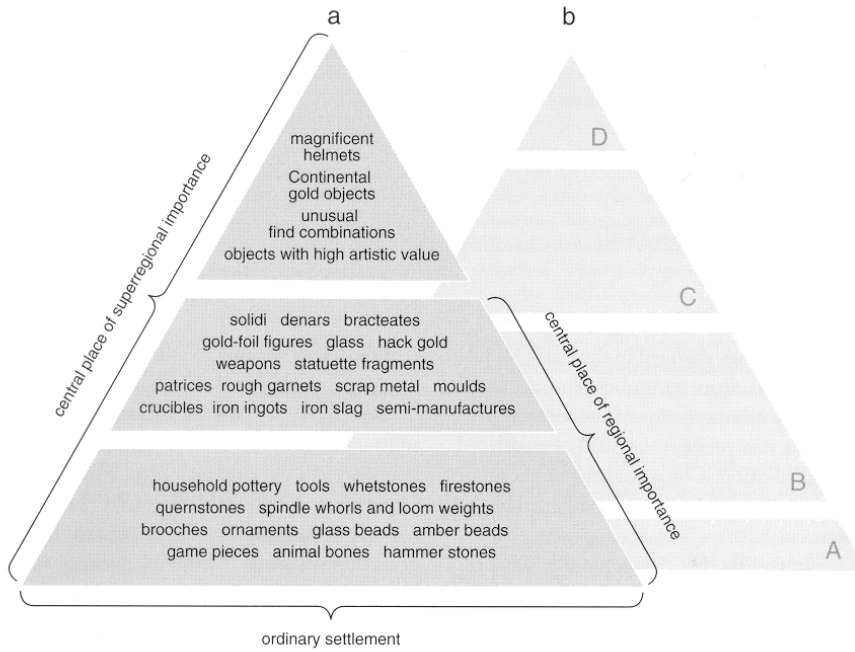

Fig. 1. Hierarchical model. From Fabech 2000.

library we have reached some promising preliminary results which will be presented in this threepartite paper. We realised that one important component in the problem complex of central places is the access to and control over sources of iron. Iron technology, however, shows a much wider spread than other metal crafts, and consequently even the smaller locations with traces of iron metallurgy only, must have played an important role for the development of central places.

In an article from 1998 Ulf Näsman poses two good questions about central places which are still unanswered: Where are the central places central, and in what way (Näsman 1998:1, cf. Ramqvist 1990:60 p.)? He gives no answer but points to the fact that the interpretation of central places poses a number of problems related to the models and analogies we use. Charlotte Fabech has systematised the different archaeological criteria for central places in South Scandinavia and has devised a model of hierarchy built on similarities and differences in the archaeological material (Fig.1). This model of triangles is a hierarchical model in three levels signifying a supraregional, a regional and a local level. The supraregional level in the top section is characterised by helmets, gold, unusual find combinations and objects of high artistic value. The regional level contains Roman gold and silver coins, gold bracteates, gold foils (*gull-gubber*), glass, hack gold, weapons, fragments of statuettes, patrices, rough garnets, scrap metal, moulds, crucibles, iron ingots, iron slag, semi-manufactures. In the lowest section we find household pottery, tools, whetstones, firestones, quernstones, spindle whorls, loom weights, brooches, ornaments, beads of glass and amber, game pieces, animal bones, hammer stones (Fabech 1995, 2000).

When working with the archaeological

material from metal workshops on the Scandinavian peninsula, we have been very much inspired by Fabech's model, but because it is based on South Scandinavian material only and covers a wide span of time, we find that it is less useful for other parts of Scandinavia. Helmets, for example, which is one of the criteria for the supraregional level occur in only one find in Gotland and one in Uppland from the Migration period. During a couple of generations in the Vendel period, however, the graves of helmeted warriors are known from Uppland, Gotland and South Norway (Grieg 1923). Men were farmers as well as warriors, gold- or ironsmiths or other categories of specialists, and the rights to a piece of land was of paramount importance for everyone. In the latest version of Fabech's model this fact is acknowledged by relating the four divisions of agrarian settlements proposed by Mats Widgren to the triangle of hierarchies (Widgren 1998:290 p.; Fabech 2000:Fig.1).

Also Jytte Ringtved has demonstrated the difficulty in trying to use a model built on south Scandinavian material and try to make it fit the north Jutish material from the Migration period. She suggests on the basis of the archaeological material that an additional region in Scandinavia in this period consisted of North Jutland, Denmark, the Oslofiord area of Norway and the west part of Sweden north of Scania (Ringtved 1997). Ringtved indicates that this archaeological region may even have encompassed Middle Sweden, which de facto means several important sites with traces of metalworking. This region did not develop the same strong political and economic hierarchy as South Scandinavia, a societal system which according to Fabech, was based on the Germanic elite's conception of and adaption to features of the Roman society. This is a promising approach and there are obviously other regions in Scandinavia, which may be singled out and linked together possibly by way of analyses of workshop residue. (B.M.)

Gold and bronze workshops in Sweden

Although the presence of metalworking is one of the essential criteria for defining a central place, it must be used with caution as residues from this activity vary in quantity from site to site, depending on the length and magnitude of production. Thus, settlements where the manufacture was short-lived and limited cannot necessarily be classified as central places, and a distinction must be drawn between permanent workshop sites with extensive production and temporary and briefly occupied workshops. The character of production is also of significance. Permanent workshops manufactured luxury and prestige goods, but such artifacts might also have been made in small temporary sites. The two types of workshops probably reflect regional and local differences and/or levels in society, but their inter-relationship is difficult to judge. Permanent workshops, which produced luxury goods over a long period of time, are easy to discern, as they contain abundant evidence for metalworking, but unfortunately, they are very rare in Scandinavia outside Denmark. Most workshop sites in Sweden have very limited remains from the casting of bronze and precious metals, with some sites displaying only fragments of crucibles or unidentifiable moulds, making it impossible to be certain of the standard of the items produced.

When evaluating material from a workshop its degree of completeness must be

estimated. A small quantity of finds may mean that the occupation layer has been disturbed or destroyed. Alternatively, it may mean that there had been other small workshop areas elsewhere in the settlement, but that they had not been included in the archaeological excavations. Or, the excavators may not have spotted the small pieces of moulds and crucibles, always difficult to see.

Workshop sites

About a dozen workshop sites have been found in Denmark; they mainly date from the 5th and 6th centuries AD but some originated in the 4th century (Jørgensen 1994). Eight settlements of the same date and containing varying amounts of bronze-casting debris are known from Sweden (Fig. 2). The majority date from the second half of the Migration period, the early Merovingian period or the transition between the two. Only Uppåkra in Skåne seems to have started production in the Roman period. Dagstorp and Östra Torp, two early Merovingian workshops in the same province, made beak-shaped brooches of the type which have been found in profusion at Uppåkra (Hårdh 1999:145 pp.). Bronze casting was also practised during the Merovingian period at Järrestad, east Skåne, where small figural gold foils (guldgubbar) were also made (Söderberg 2001:66). Two recently excavated settlements in middle Sweden - Husby, east of Örebro (Hjärtner-Holdar *et al.* 2000:39 pp.) and Valsta, just north of Stockholm (unpublished) were also in use during the transition between the Migration and early Merovingian period.

Uppåkra and Helgö, west of Stockholm, are the only Swedish bronze- and gold workshops known from this period that can be classified as permanent workshops. The rest seem to have been small and temporary. With the possible exception of Uppåkra, bronze casting at all the early workshops in Sweden seems to have stopped before the Viking period, and at Helgö jewellery was no longer produced after the 7th century (although iron working may have continued); the early workshops were replaced by others which developed in the trading places which grew up from *c.* AD 700. For example, neighbouring Birka took over Helgö's role in the Mälaren area as a centre for metalworking. There, as at Helgö, metalwork was cast for only about one hundred years (pers. comm. B. Ambrosiani).

Four settlements in northern Sweden have revealed crucibles and moulds from the Migration period. At the richest, Gene in Ångermanland, 115 fragments of moulds (twelve attributable to recognisable objects - mostly square-headed brooches) and *c.* 100 crucible fragments were found (Ramqvist 1983:177). In Trogsta, Hälsingland, there were only four uncertain and eight definite mould fragments (one of them probably for a small equal-armed brooch) and twelve fragments from crucibles (Liedgren 1992:189). The great burial mounds at Högom in Medelpad overlay settlement remains, and the fill of the well-furnished chieftain's grave Mound 2 and Mound 3 together contained one whole and 24 fragments of crucibles and fourteen fragments of moulds (Ramqvist 1992:179). These indicate that bronze objects had been cast somewhere in the unexcavated area near the mounds, but tell us nothing about the size and quality of the production. The fourth workshop site, Gallsätter, near Gene in Ångermanland, seems to have been very small as only 11 fragments of crucibles and 4 indeterminate mould fragments were found (Lindqvist 1996:83 p.).

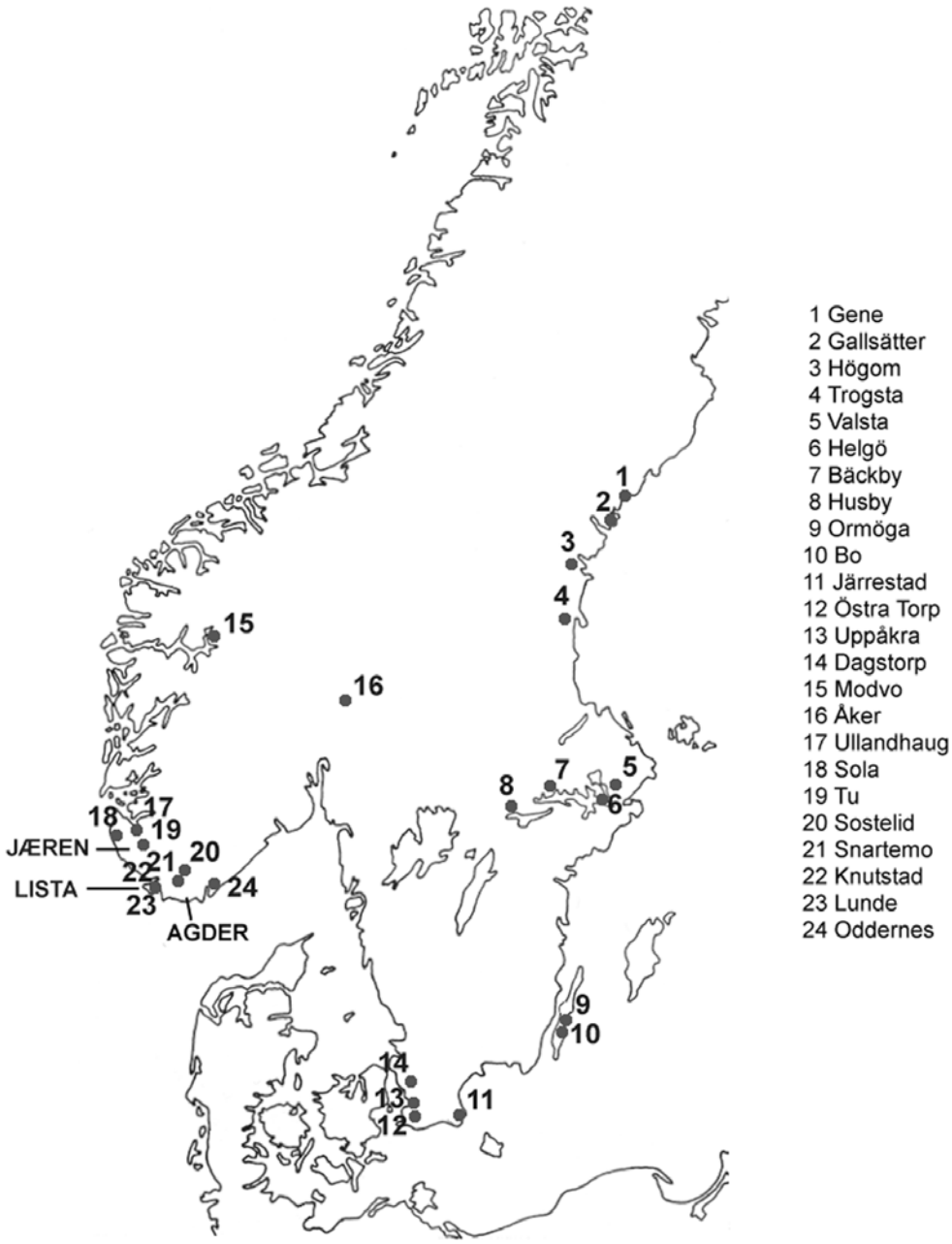

Fig. 2. Sites mentioned in the text.

Migration period bronze casting has also left remains in the settlements of Bo and Ormöga, Öland (Beskow 1977:113 pp.). The finds from Ormöga are very sparse, but at Bo there were moulds from at least three square-headed brooches decorated with spirals and early Style I ornament, and some unidentifiable objects: 125g crucible fragments and 324g mould fragments in all. As only small areas were excavated on both sites the few remains of casting cannot say much about the real extent of the production there. Bo is situated very close to the Skedemosse bog with its votive deposits, and only 3km from Ormöga. A gold hoard was found between the two settlements, the assemblage being interpreted as a goldsmith's hoard (Hagberg 1997:25).

In the Middle Ages, Bo was a residence of the bishop of Linköping who owned most of the parish, including the harbour of Sikavarp on Öland's east coast. At that time the king controlled Köpingsvik, Sikavarp's equivalent on the west coast (Blomkvist 1979:79 pp.). The fact that luxury jewellery was made at Bo may indicate that it had a central position as early as the Migration period, and Bo and Ormöga may have been parts of the same estate.

Two Migration period workshops are known from the region around the Lake Mälaren, middle Sweden: Helgö and Bäckby.

Helgö, with more than 100kg moulds, *c.* 300kg crucibles, raw materials, half-finished items, and waste from gold smithing and bronze casting, is the largest workshop to have been found in Sweden (Lamm 1977:97 pp.). In addition, beads were made there, iron was forged and high quality steel-edge weapons were crafted. It was an extensive settlement, with several groups of buildings and workshop areas. Although the excavations lasted for 25 years the whole settlement could not be investigated, so there is still no complete picture of the extent of Helgö's manufacturing activities. The largest workshop at Helgö lay in the partially excavated Building Group 3 in the eastern part of the settlement, where 94% of the moulds were found (Fig. 3). In the Viking age the area was used as an ordinary settlement. Another smaller workshop occupied the western part of Building Group 2, which had a frequently rebuilt and long-lasting hall as its central feature (Herschend 1995:222 pp.). The Buddha, the crozier head, the Coptic ladle, almost all the gold foils, 96% of the 1600 glass sherds, and most of the other imported objects were found in and around the hall. A third workshop area was situated in Building Group 4 (Reisborg 1994).

Nine fragments of moulds and 32 fragments of crucibles were found in Building Group 1. If the excavations had started there, where there were few eye-catching finds, and not in the rich Building Group 2, the excavations would probably have been confined to that building group. How then would Helgö have been interpreted? Surely as an ordinary farm, where a craftsman made some few bronze objects on a single occasion. This is something to consider when dealing with settlements with small amounts of casting residues. How much information do we miss today, when excavation can only take place in a limited area, constrained by the demands of rescue archaeology?

The scattered fragments of crucibles and moulds found on Helgö Cemeteries 116 and 118 derived from Migration period settlements, which had preceded the graves. A crucible fragment has also been found in the fill of a grave in a cemetery in south Ekerö, just north of the strait separating the two islands of Helgö and Ekerö. This confirms

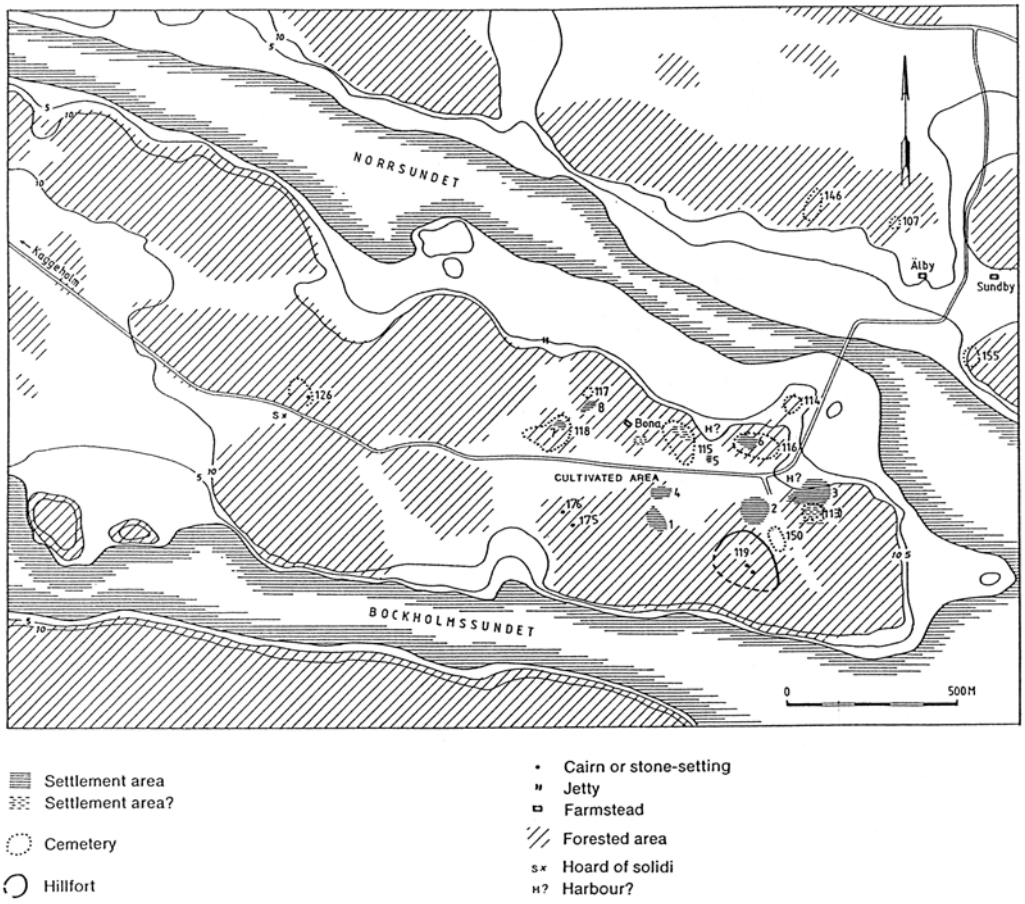

Fig. 3. Field monuments on Helgö.

that at Helgö there was a major workshop surrounded by spread of smaller workshop areas, all more or less contemporary, suggesting an equivalence with Gudme on Fyn, Denmark, where bronze casting was carried out on the farms around the main settlement (Jørgensen 2001:74).

When graves were excavated at Bäckby, on the outskirts of Västerås, in 1959 they proved to overlie a very small workshop area of only a few m^2 but yielding a considerable number of moulds, crucibles and tuyeres, and quantities of slag. At that time the workshops at Helgö had not yet been discovered, and the excavator cannot have understood the importance of his discovery for it has never been published. The project 'Metalworking in the Germanic Iron Age' has taken the Bäckby material as its starting point.

The Bäckby workshop was contemporary with the Helgö workshops and made the same kinds of jewellery and dress accessories, but the output must have been on a much smaller scale; only *c.* 3kg crucibles and a good 2kg moulds were found there. Some crucibles contained small drops of gold and are of the lidded type, with a handle either on the top of the lid or at the back - a type common in the middle of the 1st millennium AD (Fig. 4). The differential positions of the handles

Fig. 4. Integral-lidded crucibles. Photo ATA.

indicate that at least one left-handed and one right-handed craftsman worked there, but it is impossible to say whether they were there at the same time. Although the moulds at Bäckby clearly show that high-class jewellery of the same kind as on Helgö was cast there, they are very few in number. For instance, whereas there are hundreds of moulds for relief brooches, mostly the square-headed type, from Helgö there are only five certain and three uncertain fragments from Bäckby (Fig.5). Three of them belong to the large equal-armed brooch type decorated in Style I, with one fragment corresponding to the magnificent brooch found in Gillberga in Närke (Fig 6). Eighty-eight fragments are from moulds for different types of sleeve clasps. All but two types are the same as those from Helgö. One of the types not represented at Helgö, but similar in shape and style to clasps from Högom, is an extremely rare semicircular button with Style I decoration (Ramqvist 1992:Fig 52). The other non-Helgö type from Bäckby is also very rare; it has upper and lower rims with animal ornamentation between them. Both types of clasps are very elegant and elaborate, and not a dress accessory which would have been within the reach of everyone. A grave in Nicktuna, near Bäckby, contained another high-class type (Fig.7), moulds for which have been found both at Bäckby and Helgö (Lamm 1983:15 pp.).

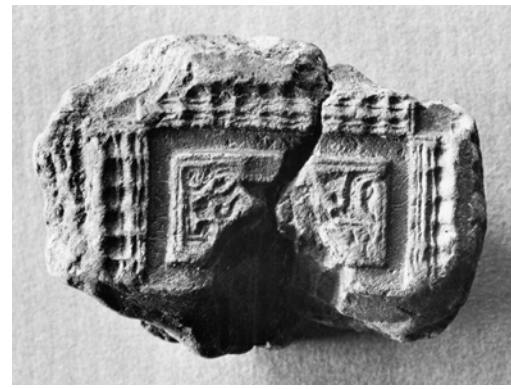

Fig. 5. Part of mould for square-headed brooch from Helgö. Photo ATA.

Even though the craftsmen who cast prestige objects in gold and other precious metals must have been employed by an important person, the results of their activities are the only indications that Bäckby could have been

Fig. 6. Equal-armed brooch from Gillberga and equivalent mould fragments from Helgö and Bäckby. Photo ATA.

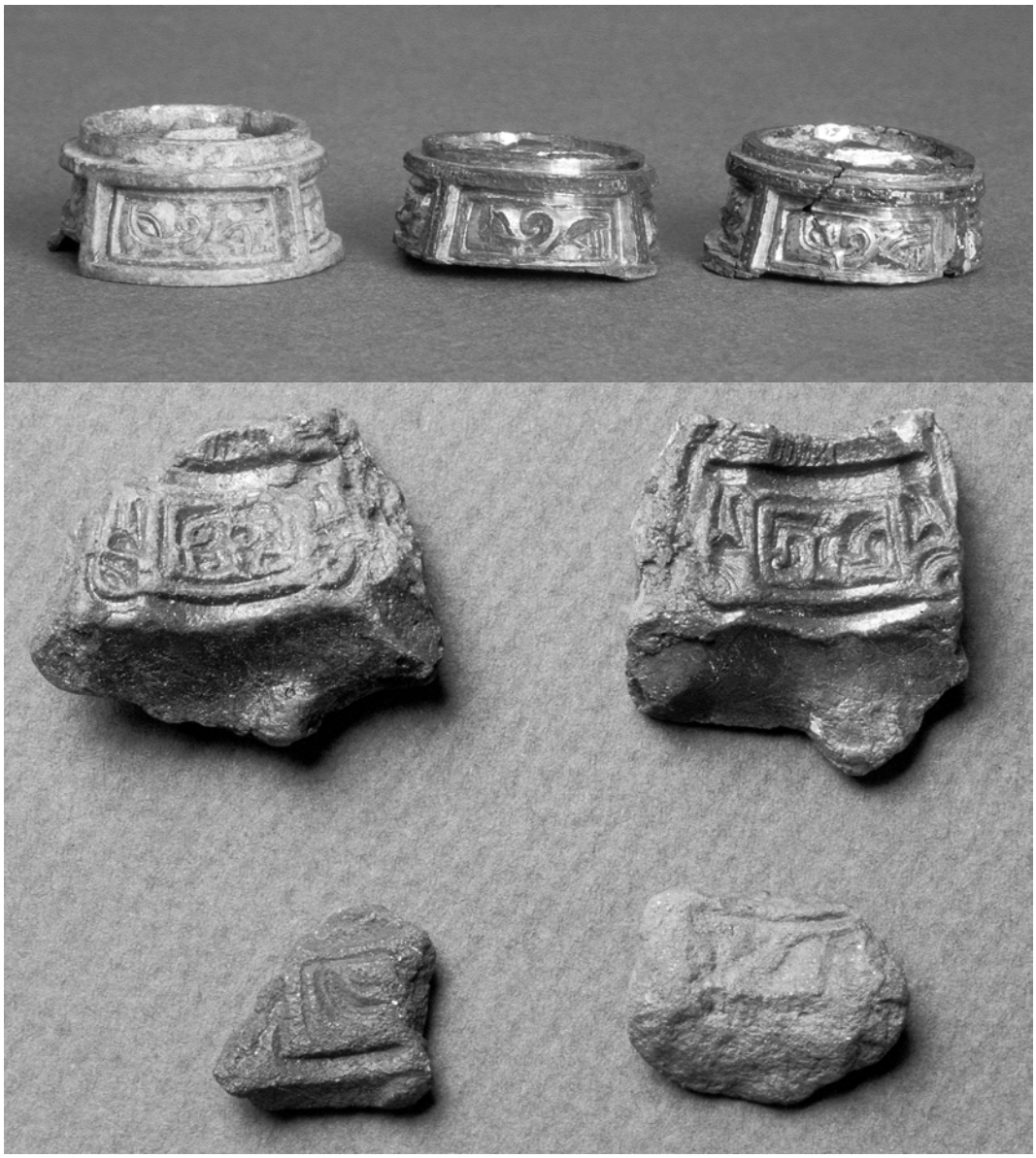

Fig. 7. Gilded clasp-buttons from Nicktuna and unfinished button from Helgö with equivalent mould fragments. Photo ATA.

a central place, for large scale excavations in the neighbourhood have as yet revealed no signs of any settlement associated with the workshop. Despite this, Bäckby, seems most likely to have been a very small, temporary workshop producing occasional high status pieces for a local chieftain.

At Valsta a workshop site was investigated during excavations in advance of the new railway to Arlanda airport. As the finds have not yet been processed, only two of the 5,150 fragments of moulds have so far been identified. They date from the transition between the Migration and the Vendel periods, sugges-

ting that the workshop was founded in the Migration period. By *c.* 800 beads were being made on the site but it is as yet impossible to say if metal craft still continued as late as that.

Some years ago a number of small workshop areas were uncovered in Husby near Örebro. Most of the remains were forges for iron, but one was for bronze casting. Two adjacent small pits contained 0.5kg crucibles and 1.2 kg moulds. The few moulds that could be identified date the production to the early part of the Vendel period.

In addition to the workshops mentioned above, all with fragments of moulds, there are other sites where occasional fragments of crucibles have been discovered but where there have been no remains of moulds. This may have resulted from craftsmen at these sites having melted scrap bronze and cast bronze bars in reusable stone moulds; or the explanation may simply be that the excavators did not see the mould fragments or the workshop had lain outside the excavated area.

Conclusions

In conclusion, workshop sites are very variable in size. Whereas a settlement with some few scattered remains of bronze casting should not be classified as a central place, nucleated settlements with permanent workshops may be regarded as having been central within a region. The temporary workshops, however, pose a question, as they do not fit into Fabech´s and Ringtved's model (Fabech & Ringtved 1995:13 p.). At some of them, highly skilled craftsmen produced luxury goods; for example at Bäckby. The similarities in production at Bäckby and Helgö might suggest that craftsmen were sent from Helgö to work for a chieftain there, and perhaps for other chieftains in a defined region around Lake Mälaren, but more detailed information about the different types of workshops is needed before their mutual similarities and differences can be established. One line of enquiry would be to analyse the technical level of the casting process and the skill of the craftsmen. In Sweden at present, only Uppåkra and Helgö can be described as permanent workshops and there is no doubt that they both were regional centres as defined by Fabech and Ringtved. Helgö, however, was probably not the main centre in its region; it is more likely to have been a combined market and workshop associated with Old Uppsala. This would equate with the connection between Lundeborg and Gudme on Fyn. Unfortunately, excavations at Old Uppsala have been very limited, so at present it is difficult to comprehend the relationship between these two centres in the heart of the Svea kingdom. (K.L.)

Specialised metalcraft

The working of iron, bronze and precious metals at ordinary settlements was clearly different from that at manorial sites. There are also differentiations between manorial sites as reflected in the range of metalworking. Qualitative differences can be used to distinguish between principal workshops and ordinary ones, as can other criteria such as the presence of experimentation and a more varied supply of raw materials. The term 'quality' includes the design, the metal and the methods of manufacture of artefacts. The manufacturing process and the composition and treatment of alloys can be traced by using metallurgical analyses and reveal the degree of skill of the smiths working in bronze, gold or iron. The skill and knowledge of the artisans can also be traced by analyses of the composition of the refractory materials in moulds, crucibles, tuyeres etc.

We should not forget that iron is not only iron any more than bronze is just bronze, gold is just gold and silver merely silver. For example, copper alloys are often referred to as bronze irrespective of their true composition. Minor and trace elements may be present in addition to the main elements; they are important for the properties of the material but can also serve as indicators of geological and geographical origins. For instance, tin and zinc are rarely found together in any region where ore is found; thus, tin cannot occur in brass nor zinc in bronze by sheer chance. If the same alloy contains both zinc and tin, the alloy must have resulted from remelting scrap metals. As for iron, which in some senses also is an alloy, there is a range of qualities: ferritic iron (carbon free or almost carbon free), low carbon steel (below 0.3% C), carbon steel, and phosphorus iron (very useful if containing less than 1% P).

Methods

The electron microprobe technique (wavelength dispersive) has been used for the chemical analyses presented here. The technique, using cut and polished samples, enables quantitative chemical analyses of most elements heavier than oxygen, with detection limits usually at a fraction of one weight percent. Spot analyses yield chemical compositions of virtually all phases present, even tiny droplets as little as a few microns in size. This detailed picture is complemented by area scans, typically 35x35 microns, which give fairly representative, average sample compositions (comparable to bulk composition). A range of information can be obtained by using these mean values; for example, clues to the origin of the metal, the casting conditions, surface treatment (leaching, gilding etc) and subsequent weathering processes.

Ocular inspection is not sufficient to distinguish the compositions. Certainly, alloys of dissimilar composition may be of diverse colours so that the extent of alloying with tin and/or zinc may be estimated, but is impossible to obtain the exact composition by this method. If the object in question is coated with another metal or alloy it is almost impossible to discern the composition of the core. Components, which are additional to the main elements, may be present in lower concentrations or in trace amounts, and so can give valuable information about working techniques and the provenance of the raw material. Chemical analyses are required if such information is to be obtained, and several analytical methods are at our disposal. The method to be used should be selected in accordance with the information one wishes to obtain.

Comparison with an archaeological excavation may illustrate the differences in results produced by chemical and metallographic analyses of cross sections (Fig. 8). Working in plan, for instance, gives limited information whereas a cross section increases the evidence and sometimes gives an opportunity to reconstruct the object. The same applies to metallurgical analyses of artefacts.

Alloys – the skills and knowledge involved

Some examples

A thin piece of scrap metal from Husby in Närke, part of a vessel rim, appears to be homogeneous (Fig. 9a), but the cross section (a photomicrograph from the electron microprobe) clearly shows two layers with different compositions (Fig. 9b). The major phase (dark

Fig. 8a.

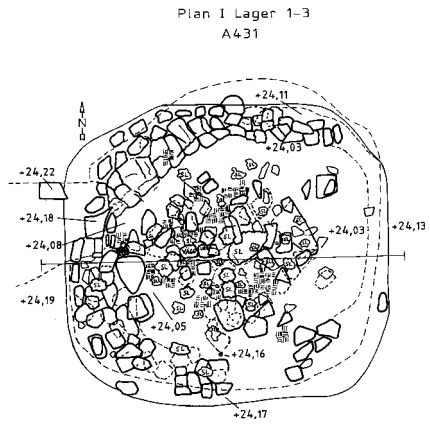

Fig. 8b.

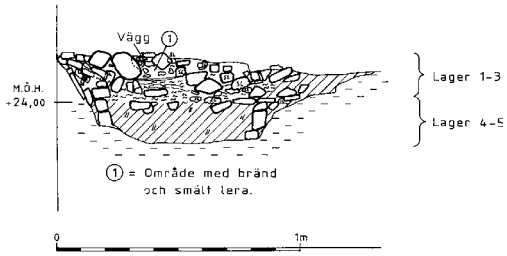

Fig. 8c.

Fig. 8d.

Fig. 8. Working in plan and cross section to understand and reconstruct an archaeological object. Photo, plan, cross section and reconstruction Eva Hjärthner-Holdar; drawing Kerstin Åberg.

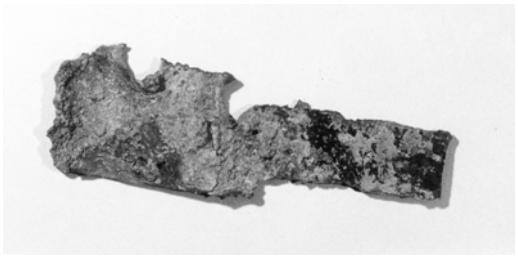

Fig. 9a.

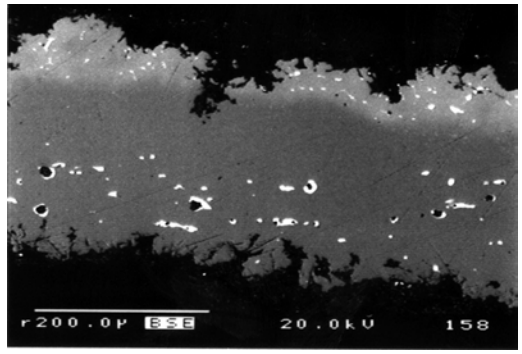

Fig. 9b.

Fig. 9. a) Piece of scrap metal from Husby, probably part of a vessel rim. The sample is c. 80 mm long. Photo Lena Grandin. b) Cross-section showing a layered structure. The major phase (dark in the picture) is copper and the minor phase (brighter in the picture) is a bronze with approximately 6% tin. The dispersed lead droplets are of varying compositions, including antimony and arsenic in the copper. The scale bar in the lower left corner is 200 µm. Photo Hans Harryson.

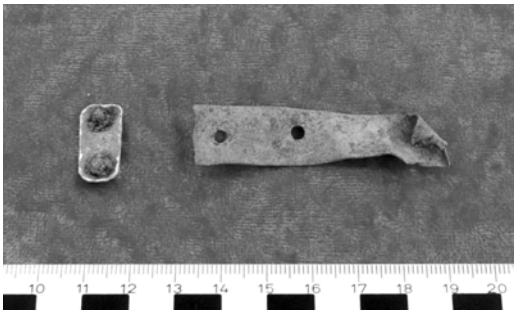

Fig. 10a.

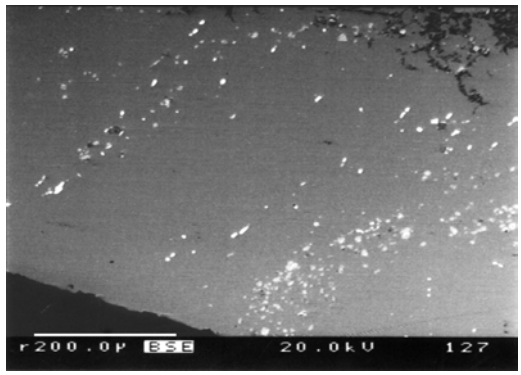

Fig. 10b.

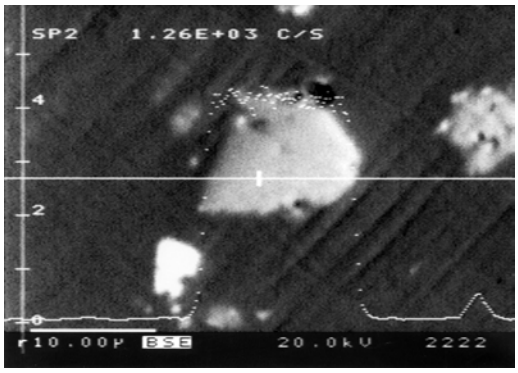

Fig. 10c.

Fig. 10. a) Part of a mount from Järrestad, probably scrap. Photo Lena Grandin. b) Cross-section showing heterogeneous, somewhat layered, distribution of tiny droplets with one type rather darker than the other. The scale bar in the lower left corner is 200 µm. c) The darker droplets are more angular in shape than the lead droplets (shown by analysis to be cassiterite crystals). The scale bar in the lower left corner is 10 µm Photo Hans Harryson.

in the figure) is copper. The minor phase on the surface (somewhat brighter colour in the figure) is a bronze with approximately 6% tin. The dispersed lead droplets are also of different compositions, in the darker region of pure copper they contain antimony and arsenic. In this case, a surface analysis would give a variable result depending on which surface was analysed, and a bulk analysis could not have revealed the two phases; thus it would have presented a false picture of the material (Hjärthner-Holdar *et al.* 1999). Note that the antimony and arsenic are related to the lead not to the copper; this could not have been discovered by bulk analysis. Such information is essential when searching for the provenance of copper.

A mount from Järrestad in Scania may be taken as another example (Fig. 10a). Its cross section reveals a heterogeneous, somewhat layered, distribution of tiny droplets normally identified as lead (Fig. 10b). A close up, however, reveals something more: some of the droplets are angular in shape and appears somewhat darker than the lead droplets (Fig.10c). The analyses show that these are crystals of the tin oxide cassiterite. Bulk or surface analyses of this artefact might have shown pure copper, copper with lead content, or a low-tin bronze, depending on where on the artefact the analysis was made (Grandin *et al.* 2001). In the find material from Järrestad there are also melts that contains cassiterite crystals (Fig. 11a-c). Cassiterite is thought

Fig. 11a.

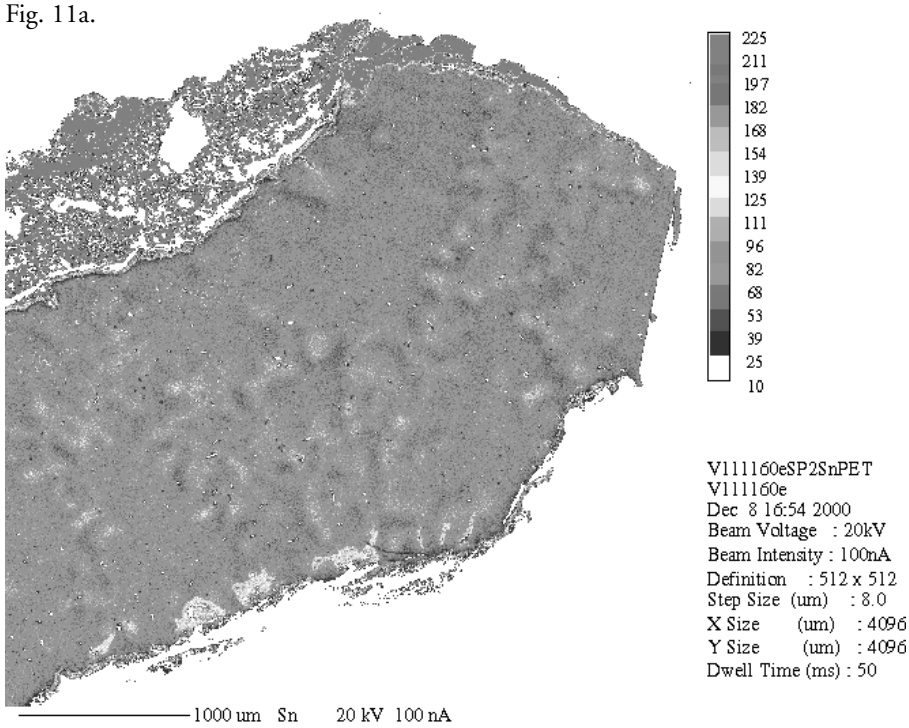

Fig. 11b.

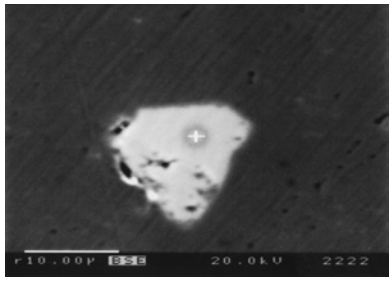

Fig. 11c.

Fig. 11. a) Melt from Järrestad. Photo Lena Grandin. b) Distribution of tin (obtained by electron microprobe): blue indicating lowest and red indicating highest tin-content. The blue-green field illustrates 3-5% tin in the bronze, the red spots representing cassiterite crystals. The scale bar in the lower left corner is 1000 μm. c) A cassiterite crystal; the cross shows where the analysis was made. The scale bar in the lower left corner is 10 μm. Photo Hans Harryson.

to be fairly uncommon in copper alloys but if close-up examinations of cut and polished samples were used more often the presence of cassiterite might show up more frequently.

There are several examples of the use of cassiterite in objects from Järrestad and Uppåkra, probably added to increase the tin content. The addition of cassiterite to molten copper can only increase the content of tin up to 4.8 % if there is a reducing atmosphere a condition made possible by the type of crucibles of the period in question. The addition of cassiterite has only a limited effect on the quality of the alloy. This may have been done as an experiment or as a well-known process to increase the level of tin (Grandin *et al.* 2001; Kresten *et al.* 2000; 2001).

A silver coating is found on several artefacts from Uppåkra. Recent studies have shown that some of the coatings previously identified as silver are, in fact, tin. In addition, current work has proved that high-tin bronzes were used as thin coatings on objects otherwise poorer in tin, and also that almost all of the so-called silver coatings are of silver-copper alloy (Kresten *et al.* 2001).

Results

Many melts, ingots and artefacts from several sites have been analysed. The results obtained by adopting the methods described above are helpful when distinguishing between permanent workshops and sites, which were visited occasionally by itinerant craftsmen.

The processes encountered in Uppåkra comprise depletion gilding (by heating gold items with salts), cupellation (extracting/refining precious metals by using lead), indirect bronze smelting by adding cassiterite to molten copper, and soldering with either silver-copper or copper-tin alloys. Several metal bars identical or closely related in composition to waste from casting or even products were also found. The alloys at Uppåkra indicate a considerable variation in the composition of melts, ingots and artefacts. The mixing of alloys seems to have been highly developed and points to advanced experimentation. The extremely high tin-bronze found in Uppåkra must have been used as coating or as solder (for both applications, the lower melting point of the alloy is necessary). The metals used at Uppåkra derived from the Harz Mountains, the Rhine valley and possible also the Alps and Cornwall (Kresten *et al.* 2001).

The few artefacts from Husby show few variations in composition, as do the melts, which are mainly low-tin bronzes and may reflect limited production. The refractory materials used for crucibles and moulds suggest the same thing (Hjärthner-Holdar *et al.* 1999; Stilborg 2000). There is much greater variation in the scrap metals, however.

The artefacts and melts from Järrestad present a similar compositional distribution. Unfortunately very few crucibles and moulds were found to identify casting and the type of objects that were produced at the site, and no analyses have been made of the refractory material (Grandin *et al.* 2001).

At both Järrestad and Uppåkra the presence of cassiterite crystals in melts and artefacts/scrap, might indicate that the artisans were adding it at the site to try to increase the levels of tin in the metal or alloy.

The melts from Järrestad and Uppåkra have a similar compositional distribution although there are some discrepancies. The melts in Järrestad, for example, are more "pure" bronze or brass. In Uppåkra, however, they are more mixed. This means that the artisans in Uppåkra were re-melting and mixing scrap

to a higher degree than in Järrestad (Grandin *et al.* 2001; Kresten *et al.* 2001a).

The results from Dagstorp seem to equate with those from Husby and Järrestad, indicating production of copper alloys and gold. The techniques used were melting, cupellation, granulation and possible niello work. The analysed gold droplets show connections to the Ural Mountains (Kresten *et al.* 2000b).

Although less metal has been preserved from Helgö than from Uppåkra, the evidence shows very similar activities and types of alloys used. There are indications of cupellation and variations in composition of melts, ingots and artefacts (Lamm 1977:97 pp.; Kresten *et al.* 2001).

The great variety and complexity in raw materials and techniques used at Uppåkra and Helgö probably resulted from the presence of highly skilled craftsmen working on permanent basis and well-developed trading networks.

The workshop at Bäckby cannot yet be compared to the other workshops because the material has not yet been sufficiently analysed. Drops preserved inside crucibles, however, show that gold and silver were melted, as were, presumably, copper alloys. The workshop at Bäckby seems to have had the same status as those of Husby and Järrestad.

Refractory materials for making crucibles and moulds

The raw materials used in making the crucibles and moulds from Bäckby, Husby, Dagstorp and Helgö show both differences and similarities. The crucibles from all four sites are of coarse ware, usually with refractory materials from natural sources such as riverbeds. Some of the crucibles at Helgö, however, were tempered with crushed granite. At Dagstorp and Husby the crucibles were made of both sorted and unsorted coarse clay, while at Bäckby the same coarse clay was used for all types of crucibles (Stilborg 2000).

The same quality of clay had also been used for the moulds at Bäckby and Husby but the analysed moulds from Helgö are characterised by complex and varied compositions using, for example, hair, bone and other organic materials. These additives are concentrated on the inner side of the moulds, indicating that the moulds were built up in two layers. In addition, some of the Helgö moulds were made of calcareous clay. Such differences and similarities are other important factors in the discussion of the relationship between permanent workshops and itinerant craftsmen (Stilborg 2000).

Iron working

Recent research has revealed great differences between smithing techniques and qualities of iron used in smithies in ordinary settlements and those belonging to the elite. What is important in this connection is that iron is not just iron (the pure material) but contains many different alloys and therefore qualities with different characteristics. One must also bear in mind that quality often stands for two different things:

- Type of material; e.g. ferrite which is carbon-free or almost carbon-free and carbon steel which is an iron containing more than 0.35% C and is capable of being hardened.

- Good and poor quality in which the amount of slag or evenness in the material is of great importance. For instance, there is good and poor carbon-free iron and good and poor carbon steel.

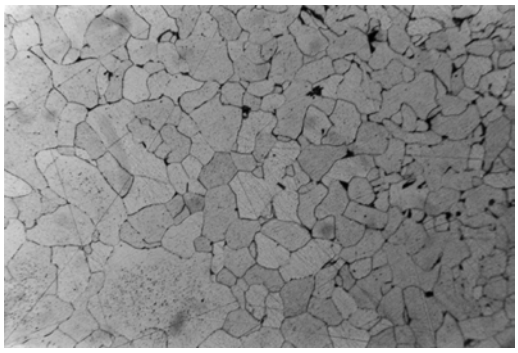

Fig. 12a.

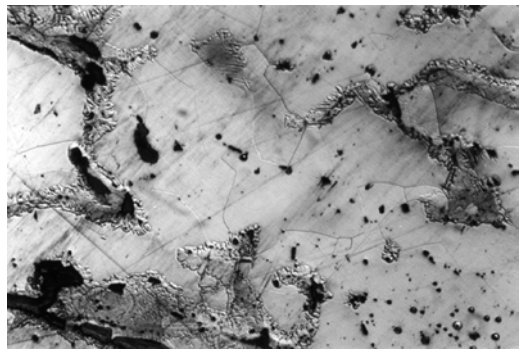

Fig. 12b.

Fig. 12c.

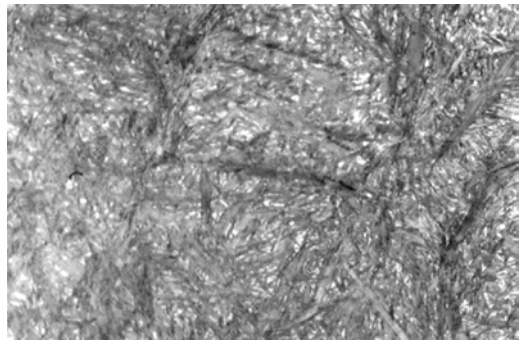

Fig. 12d.

Fig. 12. Examples of different qualities of iron. a.) Ferritic iron. Field of view 0.37x0.55 mm b) Phosphorus iron. Field of view 1.47x2.20 mm. c) Carbon steel. Field of view 0.37x0.55 mm d) Martensite (quenched carbon steel). Field of view 0.15x0.22 mm. Photo Lena Grandin.

The differences between smithies on ordinary settlements and those on elite sites are indicated by the types of material used by the smiths, not necessarily their qualities (good or poor). It has been shown that the smiths appreciated the potential of the variable qualities. The types of material (qualities) most frequently found are carbon steel, phosphorus iron, low-carbon iron and carbon-free iron (Fig. 12). So far it has not been possible to establish that good carbon steel, or malleable martensite were used in smithies on ordinary settlements. These qualities were in all likelihood reserved for weapons and special tools. This may imply that the use of qualities of this type was controlled, and consequently so was weapon production. This in its turn suggests that at least within certain areas there may have been regulations about the people who could bear arms.

The skill of the smith is seen both in the techniques and the materials, which he used, and in his understanding of the materials' optimal areas of use. At sites such as Helgö in Uppland, Dagstorp and Järrestad in Skåne, Husby in Närke and Romme in Dalarna there are greater or lesser indications of the use of carbon steel and hardened carbon steel of the types bainite and martensite (Modin & Pleiner 1978:81 pp.; Modin & Lagerquist 1978:110 pp.; Kresten *et al.* 2000; Hjärthner-Holdar *et al.* 1999, 2000:39 pp., 1995; Grandin *et al.*

2001). There are also few slag inclusions in this material. Phosphorus iron was also used in these smithies. Today, phosphorus iron is considered of poor quality because phosphorus makes the iron brittle. The iron of railway lines, for example, must on no account contain phosphorus, as in Nordic climates they must withstand low winter temperatures. But in some cases phosphorus iron is advantageous, as long as the phosphorus content does not exceed 1%. Phosphorus makes carbon-poor iron more resistant to rust and harder, but at the same time retains the toughness of ferrite. This makes the material suitable for the manufacture of hooks, loops, locks, wire and knives, but also for use in pattern-welded weapons.

The choice and use of materials and techniques show that the blacksmiths were highly skilled craftsmen.

The finds from the smithy at Bäckby has not been analysed as yet, but if the site follows the above pattern there should be evidence for the use of carbon steel for example. It is essential that the material is analysed in future.

Although inclusions in some of the iron slag suggest that copper and copper alloys were used in iron working, probably in decoration etc., there has so far been no sign of copper alloys being cast in these smithies. The blacksmith and the bronze founder were not the same person and did not work in the same workshop. This has probably been the case in Sweden since the beginning of the Iron Age. (E.H-H.)

Metalworking and central places - the Norwegian problem

The Swedish metalworking sites may be divided into three groups: major sites like Helgö and Uppåkra, minor sites like Husby, Bäckby, Gene and Bo and small sites where the find of one or a couple of crucibles is all there is to connect them with metal handicraft.

The Norwegian material belongs in the latter category and the finds hitherto have been made mainly at settlement sites in SW and W Norway which were deserted in the late Migration period i.e. during the first half of the sixth century. The finds related to metalworking consist of iron slag from smithing and even traces of iron extraction and crucibles for melting small amounts of gold, silver and copper alloys. No traces of clay moulds for casting objects like brooches, pins, buttons and sword pommels have been found in spite of the fact that a number of the excavated house foundations bear traces of conflagration which has preserved fragments of wattle-and-daub wall constructions. Consequently, there would seem to be optimal conditions for preserving even clay moulds. The few mould fragments known are made of soapstone (cf. below). The production of pottery is fairly advanced during the Migration period in SW and W Norway, and there are also plenty of sites in the mountain regions demonstrating the importance of iron extraction and iron smithing. These handicrafts involve technical knowledge and skills related to working with bronze, tin, silver and gold, as the controlled use of fire is the common denominator. Therefore, it is even more puzzling that traces of clay moulds are missing.

In her very useful study of the Scandinavian relief brooches from the Migration period Eva Nissen Meyer (1935, 1937) maintained that the modern three Scandinavian countries together formed more or less a cultural unit but with regional characteristics. Her analyses of the relief brooches of the Migration Period resulted in several regional groups: Denmark, south Sweden and Vestfold; Southwest Nor-

way (the counties of Rogaland and Agder), the Sogn area, Trøndelag, Lofoten, Swedish Norrland, and Gotland.

Refractory material from metal workshops producing relief brooches have been found on the island of Öland, in the Mälar Region and in Swedish Norrland (Ramqvist 1990: Fig.2). However, none of these sites have yielded moulds for the central types of large square headed relief brooches which form the backbone of Nissen Meyer's system. Where were these made? Nissen Meyer's postulated Hauge master, the Ågedal master, and the Rogaland group point to the existence of central workshops with master and pupils in SW-Norway in the latter part of the Migration period (Nissen Meyer 1935:40 pp., 63 pp., 92 pp.; Kristoffersen 2000:157 pp.). The lack of workshop finds from Norway, particularly from the south-western part of the country is a problem.

In a pioneering analyses Bjørn Myhre suggested that southwest and west Norway were divided in eight large chiefdoms during the Migration period, - a model based on the occurrence of bronze vessels, goblets of glass and gold objects in grave finds, numerous deserted farm sites, foundations for large boathouses and hillforts (Myhre 1985, 1987, 1997). This model testifies to a complex, but unstable social and political structure where war, gift giving and ritual feasting were of paramount importance. Among the most valued gifts in the system were highly decorated swords with belt and baldric like the one from grave V at Snartemo, Vest-Agder (Hougen 1935). To produce the necessary decorative metal items in Style I which were part of the symbolic language of swords, garments and glass goblets, one would imagine that each chiefdom had at least one major metal workshop situated on a chieftain's farm.

The archaeological material from south west and west Norway is homogenous and abundant and contains a number of objects of high artistic quality like buttons and relief brooches found in graves and single finds of golden scabbard mounts. The gold finds are not as numerous as in south Scandinavia but they comprise the same types. The deserted farms range from centrally situated sites in good agricultural areas to remains of small cots on windswept islands and even cave dwellings. Somewhere in this rich material there ought to be traces of a workshop with abundant refractory material from casting, guilding etc. Until now the faint traces of such activities stem from deserted farms in the periphery and consist of fragments of a few crucibles but no clay moulds.

One of Myhre's nodal places in a chiefdom is Lunde on the promontory of Lista in SW-Norway. In the 1930ies, Grieg excavated a large deserted farm called Knutstad, situated on a small mountain plateau, above the fiord on the north side of Lista. The site comprised one large, rectangular house foundation, 19 m by 6,15 m and several burial mounds, both longbarrows and roundbarrows (Grieg 1934:7 pp.). The house had two entrances and several hearths with traces of both iron working and casting. All in all 14 fragments and one whole crucible were found. They were of the same closed egg-shaped type as the Swedish ones. The pottery amounted to 1545 sherds of mostly black burnished and coarse ware, but there was no fragment of moulds of clay among them. That casting was done is demonstrated by two fairly large fragments of moulds of soapstone for ingots. This is to my knowledge the largest find of this kind in Norway. There is of course the famous mould of soapstone, a loose find from Jæren which, if it has been in use at all, points to a

completely different casting technique than the clay moulds (Fig.13).

On several of the deserted farm sites there are ample traces of iron smithing but only fragments of at the most one crucible. Most of these sites however, were excavated in the 1920'ies and 1930'ies when the space outside the foundations walls and the yard between the houses were not investigated. However, in more recent excavations like Hagen's of the large farm Sostelid in the 1950ies, Bakka's investigations of Modvo in the 1960ies, Myhre's excavation of Ullandhaug in 1967-68 the field methods had improved considerably. Had there been even faintest traces of metal handicraft like the few finds found at the contemporary settlement of Bo, Bredsätra, Öland in Sweden, we may be confident that it would have been detected. A number of the house foundations of deserted farms excavated in Vest-Agder and Rogaland show ample traces of iron smithing, but no traces of other types of metal handicraft (Grieg 1934:21 pp., 38 pp., 40 pp.; Petersen 1933:3 pp., 23 pp., 31 pp., 46, 70 pp.).

The following list of sites makes no claim to completeness as it has been compiled from literature only:

Penne, Lista, Vest-Agder: In a burial mound lying close to the foundations of a longhouse from the Migration period one rim fragment of a small egg-shaped crucible of sand-tempered clay was found. On the inside are faint traces of reddish metal (Grieg 1934:62).

Sostelid, Åseral, Vest-Agder: One fragmentary crucible was found in one of the long houses (House 1) with five drops of silver on the inside (Hagen 1953:22p.; Myhre 1980: 266).

Oddernes vicarage, Kristiansand, Vest-Agder: Two fragments of medium sized egg-shaped crucibles.

Auglend av Store Svela, Bjerkreim, Rogaland

Fig. 13. Soapstone mould from Hinna, Stavanger, Rogaland. Photo AMS.

(Petersen 1933:31 pp., 46; Myhre 1980:278 pp.) consisted of foundations for three long houses, one very small building and a cemetery. In House 2 there were several hearths. One round hearth, situated just inside the east entrance of the house had been used for iron smithing. Casting of bronze is

indicated by one fragment of an egg-shaped crucible (Myhre 1980:Fig.146).

At *Storrsheia, Bjerkreim, Rogaland* (Petersen 1933:38 pp.; Myhre 1980:282 pp.) metal casting and iron smithing had been done particularly in one of the three houses, which may have been a smithy. Two complete and one fragmentary crucible of the egg-shaped type, one bell-shaped open crucible and two fragments of crucibles of unidentifiable shape were found. Not one single fragment of a mould was retrieved.

Tu, Klepp, Rogaland: One complete egg-shaped crucible together with ordinary settlement finds (Lorange 1876:136 p.)

Ullandhaug, Stavanger, Rogaland: Four fragments of an egg-shaped crucible were found in House 2 and in House 3, room III one whole crucible of the same type (Myhre: 1980:54, 251).

Kolnes, Sola, Rogaland: In a group of Migration period boathouses fragments of at least six different crucibles of the closed egg-formed type were found (Rolfsen 1974:93). (The large rectangular boathouses were multifunctional during the summer season.).

Modvo, Hafslo, Sogn & Fjordane (Kristoffersen 1993). A single longhouse, which had been erected on an artificial terrace in sloping terrain, measured approximately 40 x 10 m and was divided in two sections lengthways. The inner half was for cattle and sheep and the outer half facing the valley had been living quarters. The house had been destroyed twice in conflagrations, and after the second devastating fire, it was deserted *c.* 500 AD (Kristoffersen 1993:153). Several fire places were strung along the habitation section of the building and there were found traces of iron smithing as well as other types of metal handicraft (ibid.:178 pp.). 23 fragments of closed egg-shaped crucibles of clay and one fragment of a mould of soapstone demonstrate that fairly advanced metal crafts had been executed in the building. The contents of several of the sherds of crucibles were analysed and showed traces of tin and copper. As the house had burned twice and there was found *c.* 2,5 kg sherds of fine decorated pottery, fragments of clay moulds would have been detected if they had been part of the artisan's tools. The fragment of the soapstone mould gives no indication of its original form.

From this list of finds containing a small number of whole and fragmentary crucibles and pieces of moulds of soapstone connected one may conclude that they seem to stem mainly from settlements in the periphery, namely from agricultural settlement sites where nothing of particular splendour was otherwise found i.e. the lowest level of Fabech's model of hierarchy. This indicates that these farms were parts in a larger system centred around one central place. The mountain farm Knutstad may for instance, have been part of a redistributional economy of a chiefdom centred on Lunde, Lista. Lista was according to the rich and varied find material a political centre in the Roman and the Migration periods, and Lunde was the seat of a noble family in the Middle Ages (Kristoffersen 1993:177). Another probable location for a central place is the region Anda-Tu-Hauge in Klepp, Rogaland where one egg-shaped crucible was found in a foundation for a longhouse (cf. above). This is a unique area where one of the best-preserved courtyard sites in south Norway is located (at Anda). Two well furnished women's graves with relief brooches of paramount quality are known from Hauge, while a deposit of gold foils (gullgubber), a rare 7th century grave, a Viking period runic stone with pictorial representations are known from Tu. The situation

of this plateau in the midst of the plain of Jæren with a wide view makes it a typical central place with a continued habitation all through the middle and late Iron Age (Møllerop 1992:247 pp.).

Recent excavations in central settlement places are more or less lacking in Norway. One exeption being the investigations at Åker,Vang, Hedmark in East Norway (Mikkelsen & Larsen 1992). The farm Åker is situated at a narrow bay at the north-east end of Norway's largest lake, Mjøsa, a strategic and important position in the way of communication and transport (Hagen 1979:119 pp.). The Åker find with its famous large buckle, sword pommel, shield attachments etc. dating from the latter half of the sixth century, was probably made during field work in the second half of the nineteenth century. The buckle, of unknown origin was possibly made by a continental goldsmith working for the chieftain at Åker (Slomann 1984:173 pp.). An analysis of the punches used for the decorative stamps on the buckle and other objects from the find indicates that there was a goldsmith workshop at Åker during the sixth century (Christensen 1984:182 pp.).

During the research project launched in the 1980ies at Åker, the site of a large boathouse built during the Migration Period and rebuilt during the High Middle Ages was discovered and investigated (Rolfsen 1994) as well as parts of the yard of the present farm of Åker. The finds from the yard consisted of i.a. a few fragments of clay moulds for unidentified objects and crucibles of the egg-shaped type. The archaeologist in charge suggests a date around c. 400 AD for the finds (Pilø 1998). This is to my knowledge, the only instance where fragments of clay moulds have been found in Norway. Åker is surrounded by farms carrying theoforic names and it was the seat of the major thing during the late Iron Age. One of three helmets of early Vendel type which have been found in Norway came from the farm Vestre Englaug, Løiten not far from Åker. According to Fabech's model, Åker is the only Norwegian site which fulfils the requirements for a central place of the supra regional level according to the south Scandinavian model.

But the main problem remains unsolved: we still lack finds to explain where the high quality metal jewellery and other items decorated in Style I found in Norway were produced. Only new finds of refractory material from metal workshops can provide us with an acceptable answer. In the mean time, the Norwegian material ought to be analysed and compared to the Swedish material from workshop sites. (B.M.)

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Regional Settlement Patterns and Central Places on Late Iron Age Zealand, Denmark

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Abstract

Analyses of 3241 recorded sites from Zealand (Sjælland) from the Iron Age and Early Middle Ages (500 BC - AD 1200) indicate significant changes within the regional settlement pattern. In the Late Iron Age a number of different kinds of central places types can be observed. The topographical situation of these central places is evaluated in relation to the general settlement patterns on Zealand in the same period. Gammel Lejre, Tissø, Toftegård, and Trelleborg are all situated close to large watercourse systems, 2,5-7 kilometres from the coast. Even if the general settlement pattern of the Late Iron Age shows a positive preference for the zones very close to the coast, the central places are thus situated some kilometres from the coast, but often very close to the large watercourse systems, which not only seem to have been of importance for over regional communication but for local communication, as well, as these watercourses seem to have been of increasing general importance in this period. The situation of some of the Late Iron Age central places in areas with clayey sand soil should not only be explained from agricultural needs, as more clayey soils generally seem to have been preferred for the contemporary rural settlement, but also as a result of the choice of placement from aspects such as communication, protection and control.

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Introduction

As part of the research programme "Fortid og Flora" (Land-Use History and Plant Diversity) funded by the Research Councils 1995-2000 (Aaby *et al.* 1999; Bruun *et al.* 2001), a project dealing with the Iron Age settlement patterns and land use of the island of Zealand, Denmark, has been carried out by Ulla Lund Hansen and me. At the Sachsensymposium in Bederkesa in 1999 we presented some preliminary results from a restricted primary investigation area in the northern part of Zealand. Now more final results based on analyses of the whole of Zealand are available. Furthermore the project has developed into a new project, running in 2000-2001 within the frames of the co-ordinating institution "Øresundsuniversitetet" (Øresund University). This new project is carried out as a collaboration between the archaeological institutes at the universities in Lund and Copenhagen and deals with settlement patterns and land use in the Iron Age and Early Middle Ages (500 BC – AD 1200) within Scania and Zealand. An important task has been to establish a common data base structure and the incorporation of this

into GIS (MapInfo), making total analyses of the region around Øresund possible. As a part of these projects systematic recording and up-to-date evaluation of finds and file informations at the Danish National Museum in Copenhagen and at the regional archaeological museums on Zealand has been carried out. This means that the already existing record within the frames of the National Archaeological Record (Det Kulturhistoriske Centralregister) (Jarl Hansen 1994) has been updated and supplemented considerably. By the end of the recording process in 1999, a record of 3241 archaeological sites, including settlements, cemeteries, hoards, field systems, stray finds etc. from the period 500 BC – 1200 AD has been established for further analyses. What the settlements concerns, only rural settlements, which are archaeologically documented, are included in the analyses. This means, that early medieval cities, or rural settlements known from written sources only, are not included. In this way the results in relation to the later parts of the period in question should be comparable to the results in relation to the earlier periods. So far, our analyses have focussed on the relation between settlement and three main elements in the landscape: the coast, the watercourses and the different soil types. In order to understand the central places of the Late Iron Age in their context it might be useful to compare the topographical situation of the Late Iron Age central places on Zealand with the contemporary general settlement patterns and land use of this region. Some of the main results of the projects mentioned above will be presented in the following, including the earlier parts of the Iron Age as well as the Early Middle Age, in order to see the settlement patterns of the Late Iron Age within a larger chronological framework. Finally the relation between the general settlement patterns and the situation of some of the central places will be discussed. It must be stressed, that the reliability of such analyses depends very much on a sufficient number of sites and should be evaluated against source criticism (Rindel 1998:34 pp.). In the present case, certain formation processes evidently have had important influence on the present number and distribution of the recorded sites. Here only some of the most important will be mentioned. Even if the number of sites allows statistically significant results, the evidence of such statistical analyses of the regional settlement patterns and land use should always be interpreted carefully and only seen as a supplement to other sorts of information on this matter, such as pollen diagrams and detailed analyses of the specific sites and their topographic, economic, and social context. The methods used in the present analyses are not appropriate for description of particular sites on the local level, but only for statistical analyses of a large number of sites to elucidate tendencies and changes in the general settlement pattern within a major region. Nevertheless, I think that such results can be of great importance and point to some facts, which can be further analysed and explained by other and more detailed methods.

Late Iron Age Central Places on Zealand

It must be stressed, that the term "central places" in the case of Late Iron Age Zealand covers a wide range of sites with very different characteristics (cf. Näsman 1998:1 pp.). Gammel Lejre, with the large hall houses (Christensen 1997; Jørgensen 2001:78) and the neighbouring stone ship and rich cremation

grave in the barrow "Grydehøj" (Andersen 1960; Christensen 1991), and Tissø, with large hall houses, as well, and rich and unusual artefacts (Jørgensen 1998, 2001:79 p.), both seem to have been important political centres during the Late Germanic Iron Age and Viking Age, probably within the royal level of the societies. The large farmstead and the precious finds at Toftegård at Strøby no doubt represents a high social level, too, most likely a series of local magnates during the same period (Tornbjerg 1997, 1998). The ring fortress at Trelleborg probably played a role for royal control of the region in the late 10th century (Andersen 1991). Recently indications of trade and handicrafts in the Late Germanic Iron Age and Viking Age have been found in the vicinity of Trelleborg (Johannesen 2001). The precious ring knob sword in the 7th century grave at Kyndby, indicates the presence of a person with high social status, probably a military leader related to the king, on the peninsula between Roskilde Fjord and Isefjord at this time (Ørsnes-Christensen 1955; Nørgaard Jørgensen 2001:111).

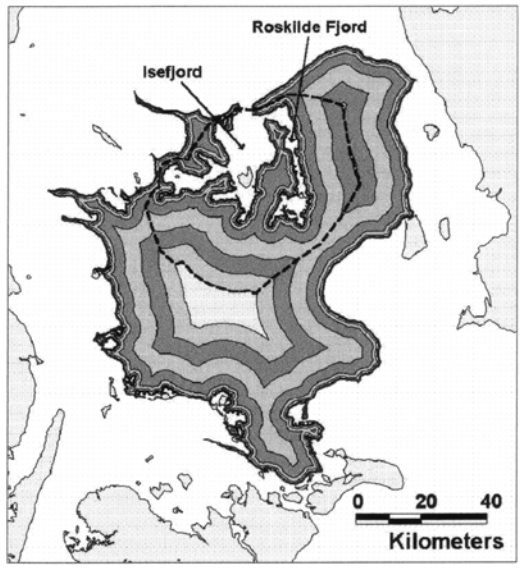

Fig. 1. Zealand showing the different buffer zones used in the analyses of the relation between the settlement and distance from the coast. The broken line marks the boarder between the hinterland of the open coasts and the hinterland of the large inlet system of Isefjord and Roskilde Fjord.

The Relation between Settlement and Coast

In the following analyses of the relation between settlement and coast it is important to distinguish between the hinterlands related to the open coasts at the waters surrounding Zealand and the hinterlands of the protected coast in relation to the widely ramified inlet system which covers a major part of Northern Zealand, that is the inlets of Roskilde Fjord and Isefjord (Fig. 1). The coastline of Zealand seems to have changed to some degree during the Iron Age, partly caused by minor changes in the general sea level within this period. In the Early Roman Iron Age and Late Germanic Iron Age the sea level seems to have been about 1 metre lower than the present, while it was about the present level in the Early Germanic Iron Age and the Viking Age, and about 1 metre higher in the Early Middle Ages (Holmberg & Skamby Madsen 1998:212 p.). Much work has to be done to get a more precise knowledge of the prehistoric coastlines. So far, historical maps from about 1800 (Videnskabernes Selskabs kort) have been used in the present analyses to have a rough approximation of the coastline of the Iron Age and Early Middle Ages. By use of GIS the distribution of sites in buffer zones with different distances from the coasts are compared to the size of the same buffer zones. Similar analyses of the distance of sites with Late Iron Age graves or single finds from the coast have been carried out, as well. It should be noted,

that the very intensive excavation activity in the area around Høje Tåstrup during the last two decades (Mahler (ed.) 1999) has a very strong influence on the number of recorded Iron Age settlements in the zone between 5 and 10 kilometres from the coast, which causes a considerable artificial overrepresentation of this zone. This fact has no influence on the analyses of the hinterland of the inlet system of northern Zealand, as this region does not include the Høje Tåstrup area. As regards the hinterland of the open coasts, the analyses have been carried out in two ways, including and excluding the Høje Tåstrup area, respectively.

The zones closest to the coast, that is less than 1 kilometre from the coast, generally seem to have had a negative preference during most of the Iron Age (Fig. 2). This can not be explained by changes in the sea level. Such a negative preference does not count for the zones at the open coasts during the Late Roman Iron Age, however. From the Late Germanic Iron Age this pattern is changed to a positive preference for the zones within 500 meters from the coasts, both as regards the protected coasts in the inlet system (Fig. 3) and the open coasts. This obviously has a close relation to the emergence of numerous landing places and certain economically specialised settlements at the Danish coasts in the Late Germanic Iron Age and Viking Age (Ulriksen 1998; Møller-Hansen 2000).

The total lack of recorded settlements from the Early and Late Germanic Iron Age in the innermost part of Zealand, that is more than 20 kilometres from the coast, should not be overestimated, as several graves and single finds from this time span are known in the same region (Fig. 4). Nevertheless this part of Zealand generally seems to have had a negative preference for settlement in all periods of the Iron Age, as the number of settlements is less than should be expected if the settlements of the periods in question were evenly distributed on Zealand. In the Early Pre Roman Iron Age (500-200 BC) the inner part of Zealand may even have been uninhabited as no finds are recorded from this period.

The Relation between Settlement and Watercourses

The major watercourse systems on Zealand are all to be found on the southern and to some degree the north eastern part of the island. The northern and north western parts are totally dominated by the large inlet system, with only minor watercourse systems in the hinterlands. Similar to the analyses of the relation between settlement and coasts, the settlement patterns have been analysed in relation to a number of zones with different distances from the watercourses, and the distribution of settlements on the different zones has been compared to the area distribution of the same zones. So far, the present analyses have been carried out on the basis of modern topographical charts in the scale 1:100.000, which of course represents a source of error. The exact positions of the different watercourses have no doubt changed to some degree both during and since the Iron Age and the Early Middle Ages. Especially the high sea level during the Early Middle Ages may have caused more water rich watercourses in this period than later on (Holmberg & Skamby Madsen 1998: 212 p.). Another source of error is the many regulations of the watercourses, which have taken place since the periods in question, and the fact, that the watercourses are treated as a simple line in the analyses even if the width of such a watercourse can be many metres.

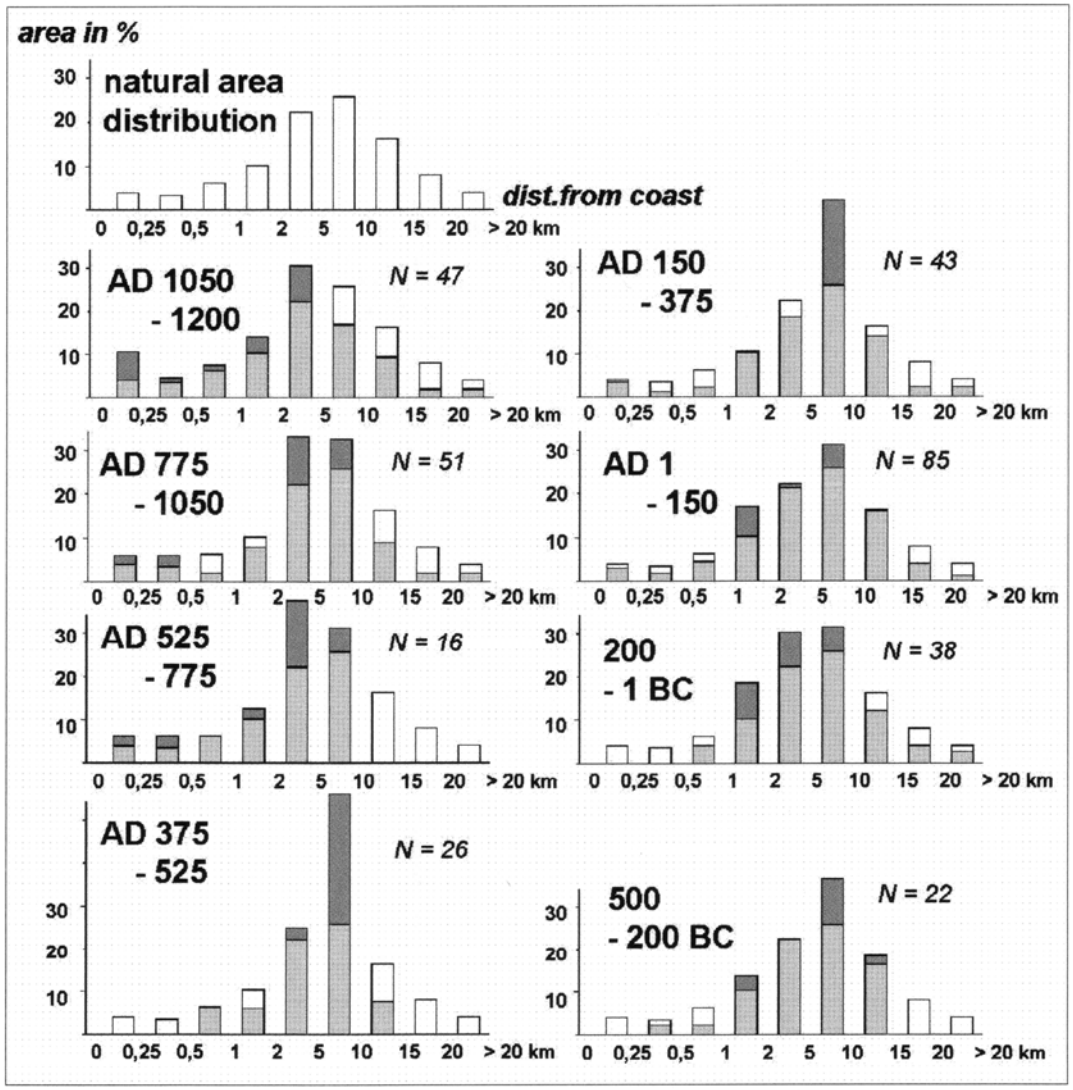

Fig. 2. The relation between settlements, and the distance from the coast on Zealand 500 BC – AD 1200. The histogram in the top left shows the distribution of area of the different distance zones (see Fig. 1) and is used as a reference for the other histograms showing the relation between recorded settlements, divided into different periods, and distance from the coast. Dark grey signature indicates values in excess of what should be expected, if the distribution of recorded settlements of the period in question was evenly distributed, corresponding to the area distribution of the distance zones. Similarly light grey signature indicates values corresponding to or inferior to what should be expected. White signature indicates shortfalls in this connection.

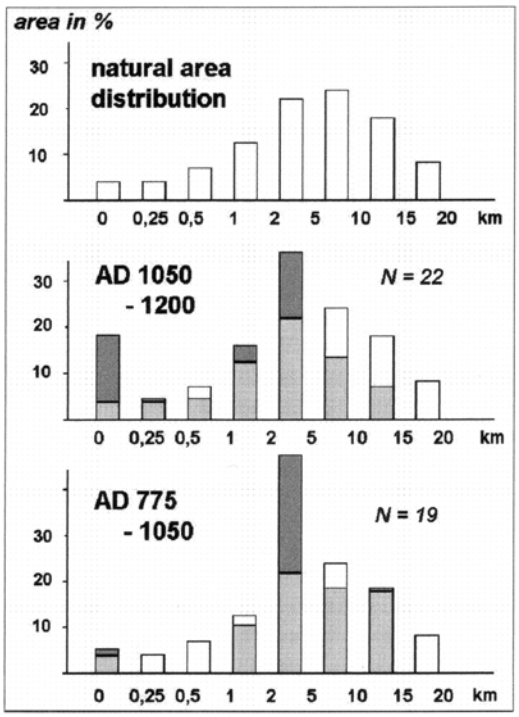

Fig. 3. The relation between settlements and the distance from the coast within the hinterland of the large inlet system of Zealand AD 775-1200. Signatures as in fig. 2.

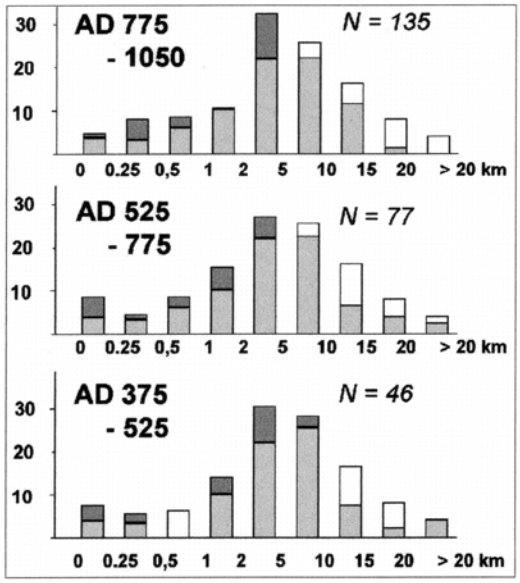

Fig. 4. The relation between stray finds and distance from the coast on Zealand AD 375-1200. Signatures as in fig. 2.

The number of settlements in the zone situated nearest to the watercourses, that is less than 250 metres, is for all periods except the Early Middle Age less than expected if the recorded settlements were evenly distributed on Zealand, but there is a clear tendency towards an increasing part of settlements in this zone already in the Viking Age (Fig. 5), especially in relation to the major watercourse systems (here defined as the watercourses, which rise more than 15 kilometres from the mouth, as the crow flies). The most obvious explanation seems to be, that the major watercourses became of increasing importance as a means of frequent communication and transportation of goods during the Late Iron Age and Early Middle Age. Such changes in the relation between the settlement patterns and the watercourses would be in good line with the establishment of numerous landing places at the coasts in this period. A particular high sea and water level during the Early Middle Ages may have been of great importance in this connection. The introduction of water mills might have played a role for this development in the settlement pattern, too. More detailed analyses of the placement of the settlements in relation to the different parts of the watercourses have to be done to get more detailed information on this matter.

In the Early Iron Age and Early Germanic Iron Age there seems to have been a much stronger negative preference for the zones close to the watercourses, which especially as regards the Early Pre Roman and Early Roman Iron Age is quite opposite to what seems to be the

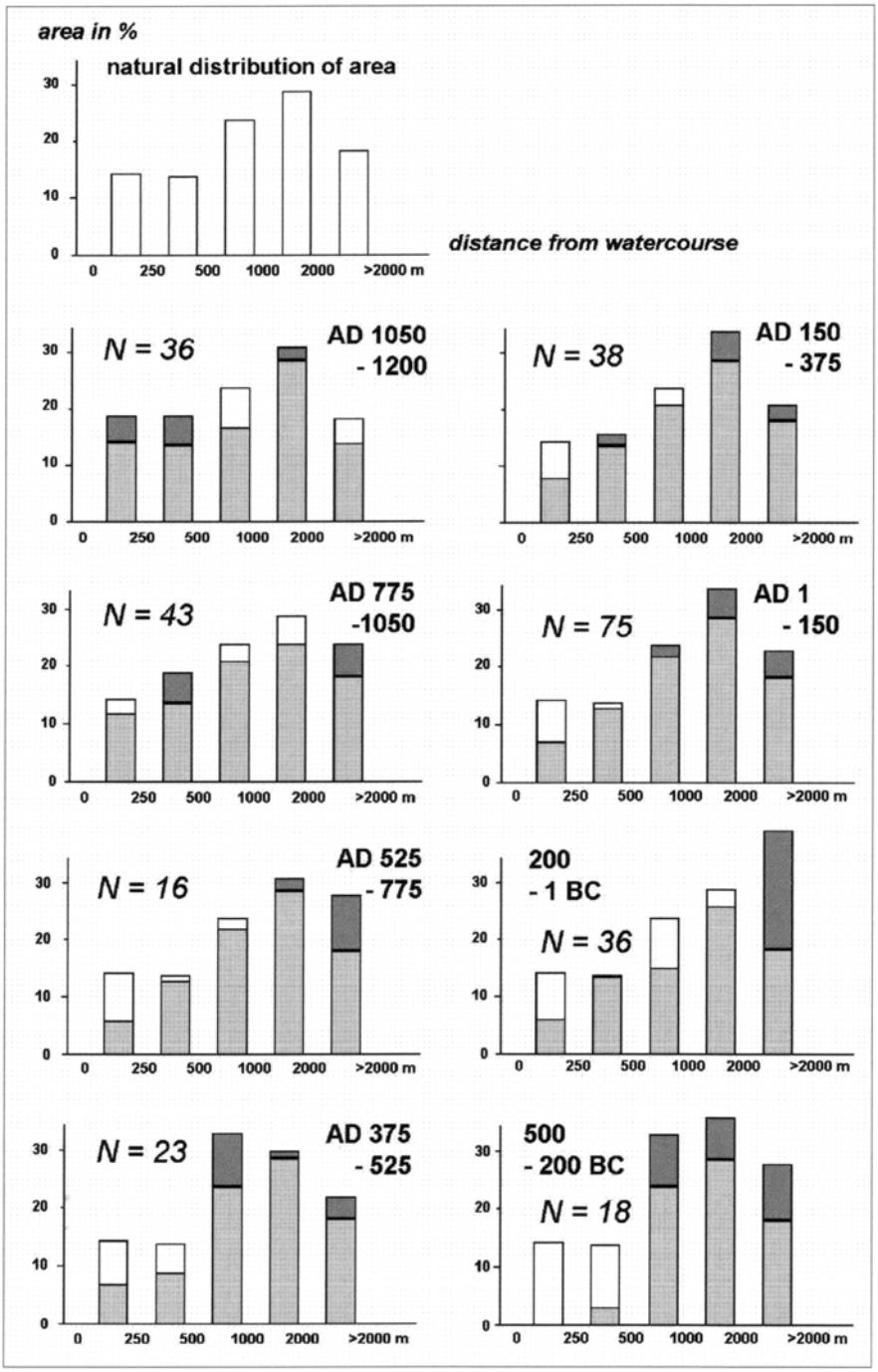

Fig. 5. The relation between settlements and distance from watercourses on Zealand 500 BC – AD 1200. The histogram in the top left shows the distribution of area of the different distance zones, and is used as a reference for the other histograms showing the relation between recorded settlements on Zealand, divided into different periods, and distance from the coast. Signatures as in fig. 2.

case in the southern and western parts of Jutland (Rindel 1998:44 pp.; Rindel 1999: 94 p.).

The Relation between Settlement and Soil Classes

The most widely distributed soil classes on Zealand are clayey sand, sandy clay and clay. Clayey sand is the dominating soil type in north eastern Zealand, while the rest of the island is dominated by sandy clay and clay. This analysis has been made on the basis of the soil maps of the Ministry of Agriculture. Unfortunately some parts of Zealand, typically areas covered by present urban areas or forests, have not been included in the geological survey used for this analysis. As a consequence settlements within these areas are excluded from this analysis. This counts for among others a larger part of the area around Høje Tåstrup, which means that the over representation of recorded Iron Age settlements in this area does not influence the analysis essentially.

Settlements from all parts of the Iron Age have been recorded in relation to all of the most common soil classes on Zealand, but the distribution of settlements on the different soil classes shows considerable chronological differences (Fig. 6). Generally a gradual displacement from the clayey sand soils towards the sandy clay soils seems to have taken place during the Pre Roman, Roman and Early Germanic Iron Age; in the Late Roman and Early Germanic Iron Age supplemented by a displacement towards the clay soils, as well (Fig. 8). A similar increasing use of the sandy clay and clay soils during the Pre Roman and Early Roman Iron Age seems to have taken place in other parts of the country, such as the young moraine landscape in the south eastern part of Jutland (Rindel 1998:46 p.). In the Late Iron Age the clay soils seem to have been the most preferred soil type for settlement. Of course, on the local level different soil types may have been preferred for settlement and cultivation, respectively. To elucidate this aspect, analysis of the composition of soil types within a range of 1 kilometre from each recorded settlement are carried out as a part of the ongoing project, but this has not been completed yet. The analysis of the settlement pattern of the Late Iron Age and Early Middle Ages shows a relatively high number of settlements situated on clayey sand soil. This seems to be caused by the presence of a number of sites quite close to the coasts, that is less than 250 metres, typically sites, which can be interpreted as landing places or other types of sites, which had specialised economic functions, which meant that not only aspects related to agriculture were important in the choice of topographical situation. The Late Iron Age settlements at Tissø and Næs (Møller-Hansen & Høier 2000) are both situated on clayey sand, but in these cases the need to be situated close to the coast or a major watercourse and lake, respectively, may have been of greater importance than the soil type in the closest surroundings. If settlements situated closer than 250 metres from the coasts are excluded from this analysis, the pattern is almost unaltered in comparison to the pattern in the Late Roman Iron Age and Early Germanic Iron Age, that is with a clear preference for the clay soils, and the sandy clay soils as an attractive soil type, too (Fig. 7).

The number of recorded settlements from the Early Pre Roman Iron Age on Zealand is still rather small, even if it has been increased considerably during the last decade, but the impression of a clear preference for the clayey sand soils is supported by the distribution of

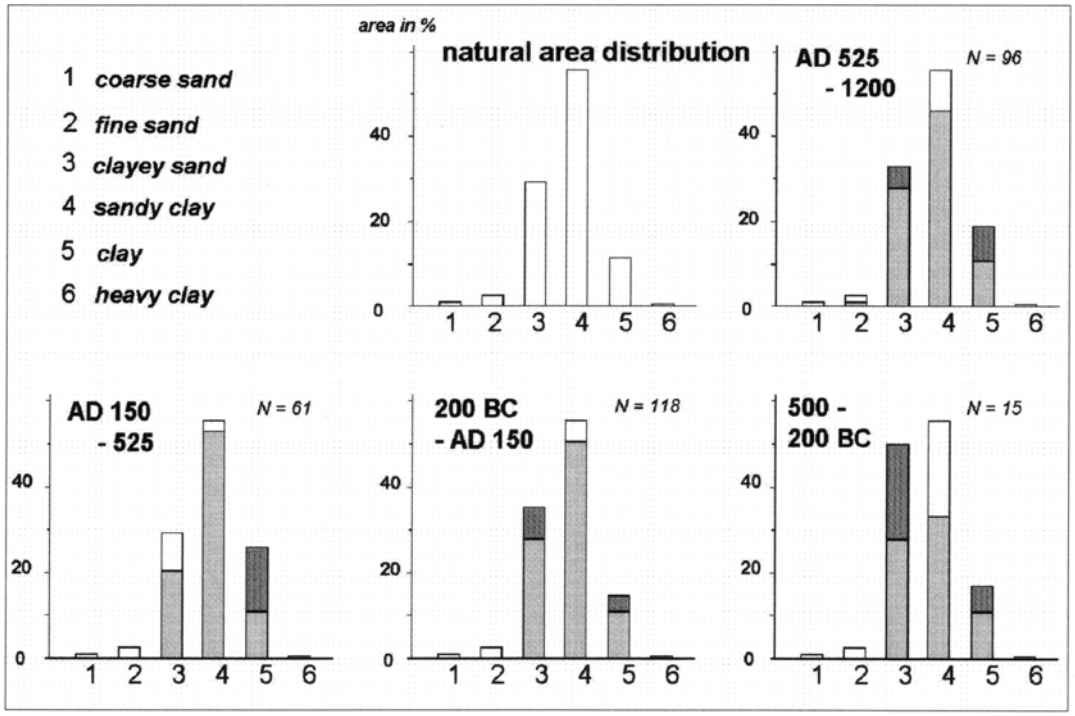

Fig. 6. The relation between settlements and different soil classes on Zealand 500 BC – AD 1200. The histogram in the top middle shows the distribution of the area of the different soil classes (some parts of Zealand have not been classified), and is used as a reference for the other histograms showing the relation between recorded settlements on Zealand, divided into different periods, and soil classes. Signatures as in fig. 2.

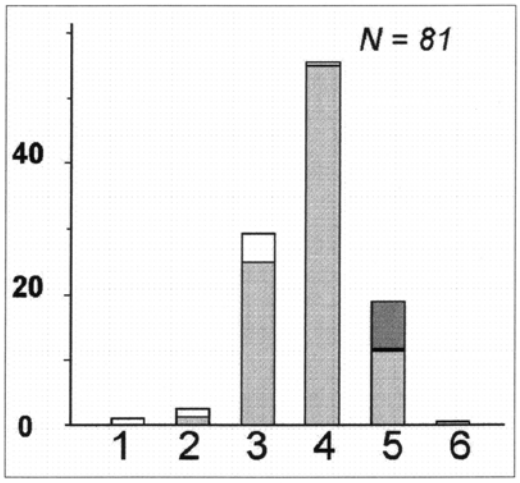

Fig. 7. The relation between settlements and different soil classes on Zealand AD 525-1200. Settlements situated less than 250 metres from the coast are omitted.

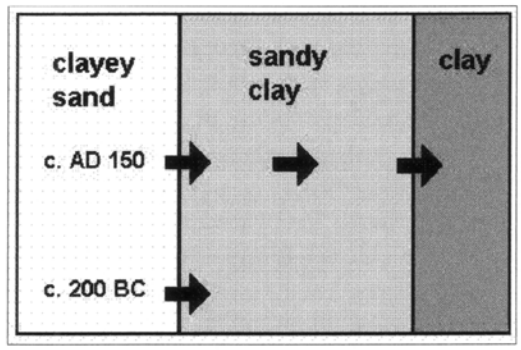

Fig. 8. Simplified model of the changes in preferred soil classes on Zealand during the Iron Age.

the even more restricted number of sites with graves and single finds from the same period. A relatively high number of sites from the Early Pre Roman Iron Age has been recorded within north eastern Zealand, which means that this region may have had a relatively high population density in this period, compared to other parts of Zealand, which seem to have been preferred later on in the Iron Age. If so, the many deforestations in north eastern Zealand in the Viking Age and Middle Ages, which are reflected in the place names, may to a large extent represent a recolonisation of areas, which had been settled and cultivated in the earliest part of the Iron Age.

General Characteristics of the Late Iron Age Settlement Pattern on Zealand

The main results of the analyses of the Late Iron Age general settlement patterns on Zealand can be summarised as follows:

- The areas situated less than 500 metres from the coasts seem to have had a positive preference for settlement in the Late Iron Age. This counts for the open coast as well as the protected coasts in the large inlet systems. It should be stressed, that the sites situated at the coast seem to represent very different aspects of the settlement pattern, varying from landing places with no permanent settlement to real settlements (like Næs), but no distinction on this matter has been made in this analysis. The innermost part of Zealand seems to have had a negative preference for settlement in the Late Iron Age, even if there are indications of a scattered settlement in this area.
- The preference of the areas situated less than 500 metres from the watercourses seems to have had increased substantially during the Late Iron Age and especially in the Early Middle Ages, compared to the previous part of the Iron Age, even if it is only in the Early Middle Age, that the number of sites is in excess of what should be expected from the area of this zone, if the settlements had been evenly distributed on Zealand.
- As to the soil classes, there seems to have been a positive preference for the sandy clay and clay soils in the Late Iron Age. This is the result of a gradual displacement from the clayey sand soils towards the sandy clay and clay soils which seems to have taken place during the Early Iron Age.

The Relation between Late Iron Age Central Places and general Settlement Patterns

The topographical situation of some of the important Late Iron Age central places on Zealand can now be evaluated in relation to the characteristics of the general settlement patterns of the same period. The situations of Gammel Lejre, Tissø, Toftegård, and Trelleborg to a high degree have the same characteristics: close to one of the large watercourse systems, 2,5-7 kilometres from the coast (Fig. 9). Even if the general settlement pattern of the Late Iron Age shows a positive preference for the zones very close to the coasts, the central places are thus situated some kilometres *from* the coast, but often very close to the large watercourse systems, which not only seem to have been of importance for over regional communication but for local com-

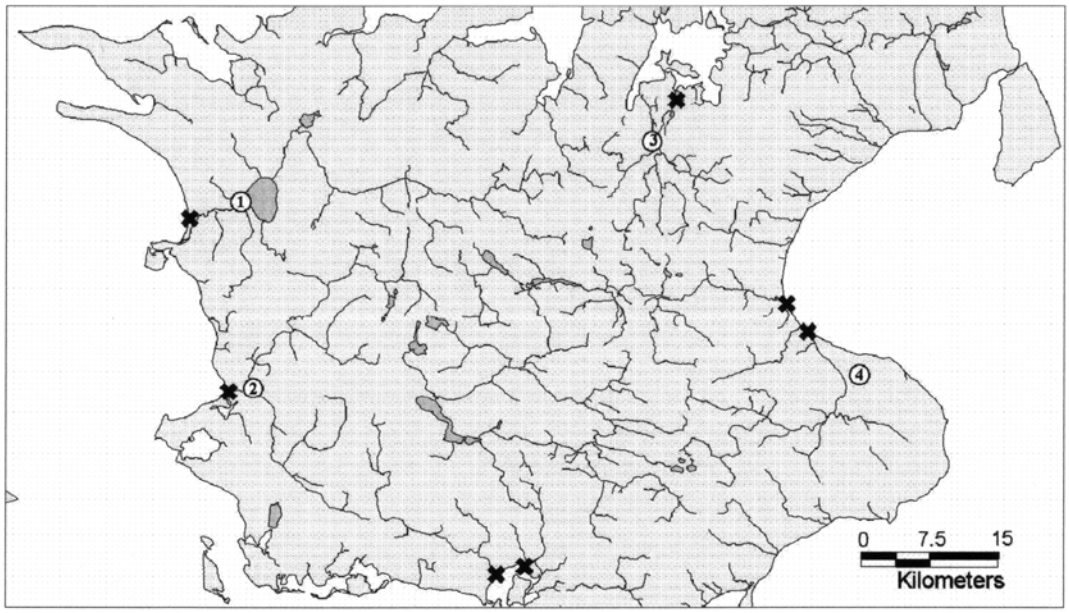

Fig. 9. Central Zealand. Important Late Iron Age central places (open circles) and watercourses are shown. The mouths of the large watercourse systems rising more than 15 kilometres from the mouth in question, are marked with crosses. 1. Tissø. 2. Trelleborg. 3. Gammel Lejre. 4. Toftegård.

munication, as well, as these watercourses seem to have been of increasing general importance in this period. The situation of some of the Late Iron Age central places in areas with clayey sand soil should not only be explained from agricultural needs, as more clayey soils generally seem to have been preferred for the contemporary rural settlement, but also as a result of the choice of placement from aspects such as communication, protection and control.

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Bejsebakken, a central site near Aalborg in Northern Jutland

Jens N. Nielsen

Abstract

Numerous metal detector finds were the main reason why, for a number of years, the Bejsebakken site was considered an important Late Iron Age settlement. Recently, extensive excavations have produced a comprehensive find material, which provides new knowledge of the character and structure of the settlement. The results are presented in this interim report.

A total of 42 longhouses and 350 pit houses were excavated in a 50.000 m2 large area, which constitutes the main part of the settlement. The houses are mainly from the Early and Late Germanic Iron Age. The central part of the settlement is almost completely without structural remains. Clusters of successive pit houses have been established. Weaving weights and spinning whirls demonstrates that the pit houses were used for textile production. Finds from the layers of filling indicate other crafts on the site. Fibulas and other finds show a connection to Norway and Sweden.

The site is interpreted as a small permanent settlement, periodically visited by craftsmen and traders.

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The Bejsebakken site is situated 2.5-kilometres from the Limfjorden, on the Hasseris hill in the southwestern part of Aalborg. The hill is a lime formation surrounded by raised seabeds, and with the streams of Hasseris Å and Østerå to the west and east (Fig. 1).The Bejsebakken plateau is situated at approximately 50 metres above sea level. In modern times, very little of the area has been built upon, as the plateau has been used for farming. A row of houses lies to the north, and a churchyard (Sdr. Kirkegård) to the east. Several burial mounds are known from the area, a couple of which are preserved, whereas the rest have been excavated and removed in connection with building activity. The excavated mounds were probably from the Early Bronze Age (Sarauw 2001:6 pp.).

Already half a century ago, amateur archaeologists collected artefacts - some of which were from the Germanic Iron Age - on the fields at Bejsebakken. This led to a number of investigations by Mogens Ørsnes in the late 1950s. Some E-W running trial trenches were laid out and small areas were examined in order to increase the find material, hereby making it possible for Ørsnes to analyse the styles and chronology of the Late Germanic Iron Age (Ørsnes 1966, 1976). Since the time of Ørsnes' excavations, the Bejsebakken site has been considered an important location. Yet, few investigations took place

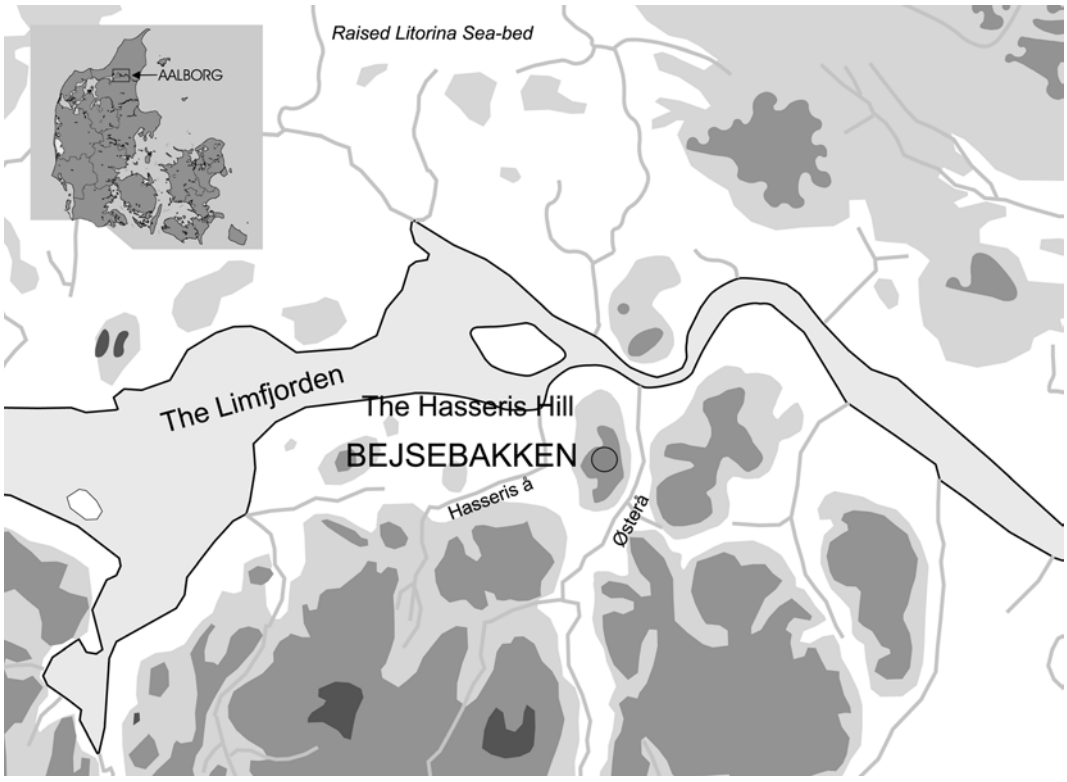

Fig. 1. The country surrounding Bejsebakken.

during the following decades. In 1964, a child's grave from the Late Roman Iron Age was found near the churchyard of Sdr. Kirkegård. It was almost destroyed by ploughing (Johansen *et al.* 1992:72). One of the burial mounds was investigated in 1972. The tenant was levelling the area using a digger, but the museum heard of this and was able to investigate the remains. The archaeologists found a disturbed stone cist, probably from the Early Bronze Age. Beneath the mound, there was a settlement layer, and a second investigation of the area in 1999 revealed a Late Neolithic house site (Sarauw 2001:7). From the late 1970s, the Bejsebakken site became a popular work field for amateur archaeologists using metal detectors. A large amount of jewellery and other items found during the following years indicated the special character and importance of this site (Johansen *et al.* 1992: 87 pp.).

When the conception of a "central site" was introduced, this was very quickly applied to the Bejsebakken site due to the many metal items found in the area. Although Ørsnes had found 39 pit houses, post holes and other traces of buildings (Ørsnes 1966:256, 1976: 173), these structures did not reveal the character and structure of the site as such. Investigations in 1984 and 1989 of areas with recurrent detector finds revealed no building traces. The numerous metal artefacts were therefore interpreted as possible grave goods from damaged graves, rather than from a settlement (Johansen 1992:72, 88).

Excavations 1999-2000

In 1998, the Aalborg municipality decided to use 62 hectare of the area for development. This gave an opportunity to establish the structures from which the artefacts derived, as well as the character of the site. The areas with building traces from the Late Neolithic Period and the Late Iron Age (c.400-1050 BC) were defined from ten kilometres of trial trenches combined with information on the topography. The following excavations in 1999 and 2000 resulted in the uncovering of 23 houses, pits, culture layers, and other settlement remains from the Late Neolithic Period in three or four concentrations within a large area. In addition, a c.50.000 m2 area in the northeastern corner had considerable settlement remains - such as longhouses, pit houses etc. - from the Late Iron Age.

Naturally, analyses of the resulting vast find material is not yet completed. However, the importance attached to the Bejsebakken site, and the purpose of this symposium, have inspired this preliminary presentation of the Late Iron Age settlement.

The subsoil is clayey sand. There were a few small areas with remains of a cultural layer and shifting sand. Mainly due to modern deposits of shifting sand, the subsoil was up to 70-cm below the present surface in a small zone in the eastern part of the area. However, the main part of the excavated area had nothing more than the present layer of topsoil. The plough had left marks in the subsoil in various places. There were numerous traces of the Ørsnes excavations. Pit houses and other structures from the excavations in the 1950s were identified. It is therefore possible to connect the site plans from the two excavations quite precisely. The excavation method, in short: Metal detectors were used extensively. Very few prehistoric items were found in the topsoil, which indicates that the reconnaissance carried out by amateur archaeologists had been very thorough. However, the structures contained quite a few finds, some of which were not registered by the metal detectors. The filling from almost all pit houses and from some other structures was sieved (using a sieve with 5x5-mm meshes) and at least ten litres of filling from each pit house was flotated. Some of the filling, especially from the pit houses, was water-sieved. Pollen samples were taken from pit houses and other structures and from culture layers.

The boundary of the Late Iron Age settlement was found towards the west and south. In both directions, there are a few unexcavated structures. The eastern boundary seems to roughly follow the edge of the excavation. It adjoins the Sdr. Kirkegård, which was laid out as a churchyard in 1925. The western part of the churchyard has only been used on a small scale, and traces of human activity were therefore expected to be rather well preserved. However, a few trial trenches laid out in 1999, supplemented by drilling samples, revealed hardly any such traces. The Late Iron Age settlement is therefore thought not to have stretched into the present churchyard area. Towards the north, the settlement continues into a built-up area, but the topographic conditions - and the presence of burial mounds - indicate limited settlement extension into this area during prehistoric times. The central parts of the Late Iron Age settlement are thus considered fully excavated. The remaining unexcavated areas, which are thought to mainly be on the northern side, are estimated to make up a mere 15-20 % of the settlement, at the most.

Houses

Some 350 pit houses were excavated, as were 42 longhouses, various small houses, pits, "ovens", ard furrows, sparse remnants of culture layers etc. Add to this two cremation pits and a few scattered inhumation graves with very few finds. One of the latter dates from the Early Germanic Iron Age (Fig. 2). Hardly any settlement traces were found in the central area. To judge from their orientation and overlapping, clusters of pit houses should be interpreted as repetitive house construction.

The finds cover the time span from the Late Roman Iron Age until the Middle Ages. However, the majority of the longhouses appear to be from the Early Germanic Iron Age, whereas the pit houses are mainly from the Late Germanic Iron Age. The detector finds support the hypothesis that the settlement flourished in the Late Germanic Iron Age. A 1986-recording[1] concluded that 53% of the 175 datable finds were from this time.

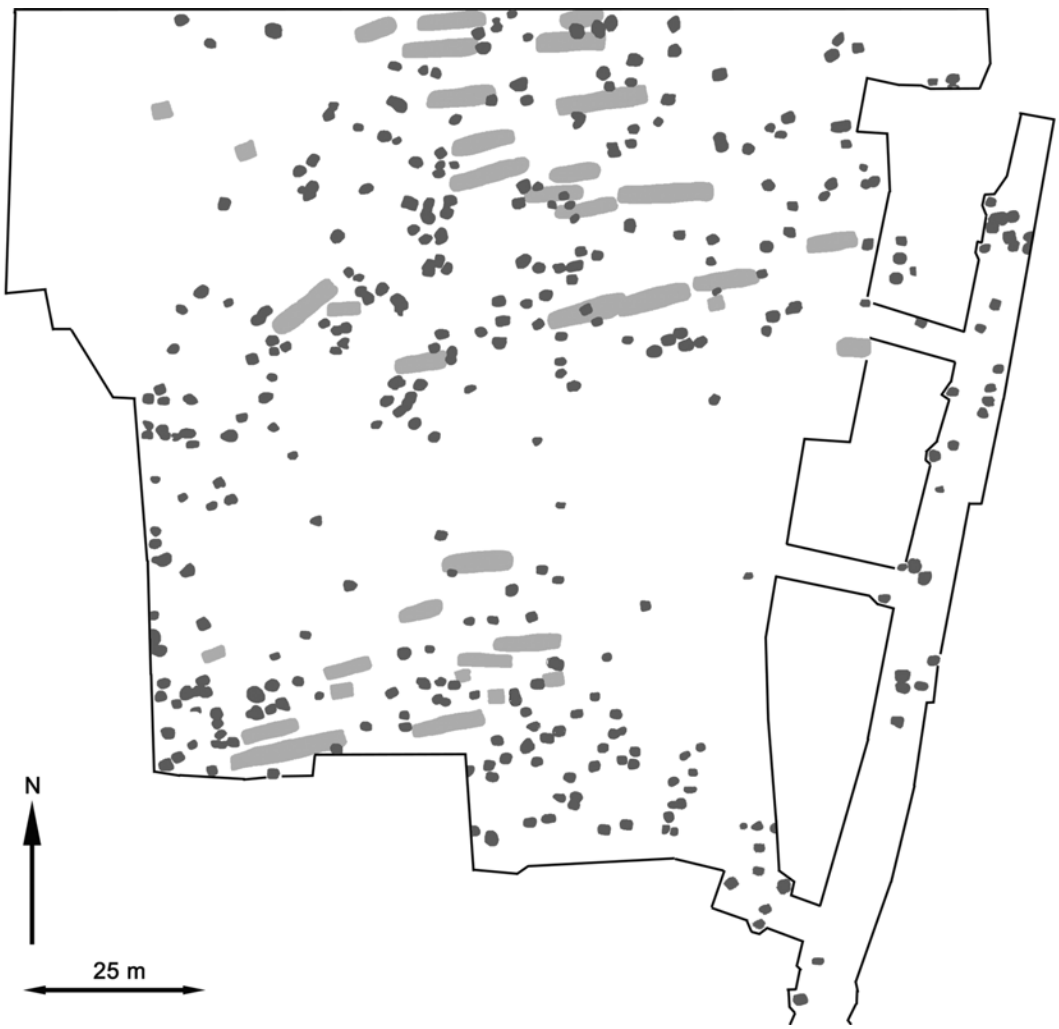

Fig. 2. A preliminary survey showing longhouses and pit houses.

In general, the longhouses are poorly preserved. However, wall posts are preserved in a few exceptional cases. In some houses, there are traces of lime floors and fireplaces.

One of the longhouses (A 304) differs from the others by being longer and having larger postholes from roof bearing posts. The finds, too, are unusual. The house seems to have been built in three different stages. In phase I/II - which can only be separated from each other by some of the roof bearing posts - the house was 25.5-m long and 5-5.5-m wide. Considerable amounts of burnt grains were found in the post holes, as were a relatively large number of other finds, for instance the foot of a Frankish glass and - more noteworthy - a lance head and two arrowheads, one of which is somewhat indefinable. In phase III the house was 33.5-m long and 5.5-6.5-m wide. It had six roof bearing posts and well preserved wall posts. From this phase, there were numerous finds, although not as much burnt grain as from phase I/II. One post hole from a roof bearing post contained a lance head and a socket, another contained two arrowheads, six lance heads, one spearhead, and three fragments of sockets from stabbing weapons. These items - as well as those from phase I/II - show obvious traces of fire and deliberate destruction (Figs. 3-4). Similar finds were made at the Sorte Muld site on the island of Bornholm - the finds of which date from the Late Germanic Iron Age (Watt 1991:100) - and at Uppåkra, where the finds date from the Late Roman Iron Age and the Early Germanic Iron Age (Bergqvist 1999:113, 122 p.; Hårdh 1999:127 p., 133). The Bejsebakken finds, together with the parallels mentioned, should be interpreted as sacrifices, perhaps related to the worship of Odin (Kitzler

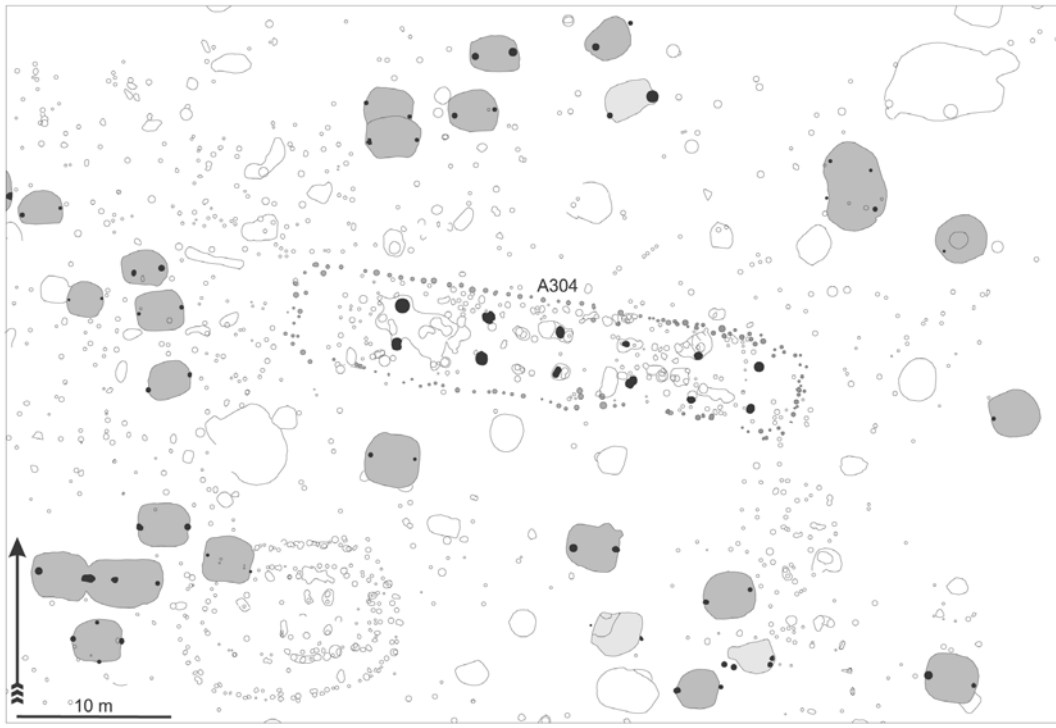

Fig. 3. A part of the settlement. The longhouse A 304 and pit houses are accentuated.

Fig. 4. Spearheads, lance heads, and arrowheads that were sacrificed in longhouse A 304.

Fig. 5. A profile in a pit house. Immediately on top of the floor is a thin layer of filth.

2000:17 pp.; see also Bergqvist 1999:122 pp.). Several facts thus point at the owner of the house being a person of special status within the village.

Pit houses

Most of the 350 pit houses are oval (Jørgensen & Eriksen 1995:27). The house floors were situated below ground, from a few centimetres to almost a metre below the surface level. The houses are characterised by a pair of posts towards the east and west. Often part of the posthole is situated outside the edge of the house pit. Few remnants of walls were found, although the numerous pit houses were thoroughly investigated inside and outside. There were no traces of floors; the clayey subsoil in itself was a sufficiently firm floor. In several cases, a layer of dirt a few centimetres thick was found immediately on top of the floor (Fig. 5).The layers of filling consist of mainly culture soil containing artefacts, bones, etc. In almost all pit houses, the filling contained numerous stones made brittle by fire. Considerable amounts of subsoil - probably waste from digging new pit houses nearby - had sometimes been filled into the pit houses. A few pit houses seem to have had two phases.

Several pit houses have an oblong, oval pit, a few centimetres deep and usually situated in the northern part of the house. Similar finds are known from Late Iron Age pit houses at other sites (Jørgensen 1986:166), such as the possible central site of Postgården in the eastern part of Aalborg (ÅHM jr.no. 4519). Some of these pits, as for instance at Bejsebakken and Postgården, contain loom weights and were obviously used for weaving. W. H. Zimmermann has suggested that they were intended for linen weaving in particular, as

this demands a high humidity of the air (Zimmermann 1981:117 pp.).

A few artefact categories found in the original position may reflect the use of the house. Most importantly, loom weights were found lying in straight rows or scattered across the floor. A large number of the loom weights are made from unburned clay and are therefore difficult to recognize on the clayey subsoil floor. It is therefore more than possible that not all loom weights were identified. Among the burnt loom weights, several have wheels or other motifs stamped onto them.

A considerable amount of spindle whirls was also discovered. Although they were found on the floors, it is difficult to connect them with the use of the pit house. However, the amount of spindle whirls and the fact that two or three were often found in the same pit house indicate that they were actually used in the house. The material is soap stone (one example, A1007), or clay. Some spindle whirls have a stamped ornamentation.

One pit house differs considerably from the others in having a rectangular clay layer in the middle, with traces of wood along the long sides. Charcoal and large amounts of scale iron from forging were found at each end of the house. No doubt, this was a smithy. One "post hole" with scale iron may have held the support for an anvil (Fig. 6). Recently, a similar pit house was excavated in Central Jutland, but with no dating finds (Herning Museum 3840). Two pit houses were used as smithies in the Late Iron Age central site of Stentinget, north of the Limfjorden (Nilsson 1990:127). Not only iron, but also bronze seems to have been processed at these three sites.

Fig. 6. A pit house, which functioned as a smithy. In the middle is a layer of clay between two parallel traces of wood.

Secondary finds

All other find categories were in a secondary position. The artefacts occur as stray finds in the layers of filling. The following presentation is preliminary and does not cover all perspectives. The largest category of finds is that of pottery, which is mainly made up from sherds, some of which have a stamped ornamentation. The most common type is the hemispherical vessel. There are few fragments of soap stone vessels.

The occurrence of wood vessels is documented by repairing material and iron edges (Fig. 7a-b). Mounts from wooden chests occur. One or more beads - some made from amber, but the majority made from glass - were found in many pit houses.

A large number of green glass sherds without any special characteristics occur, as well as sherds from reticella glass. A considerable amount of the former are probably

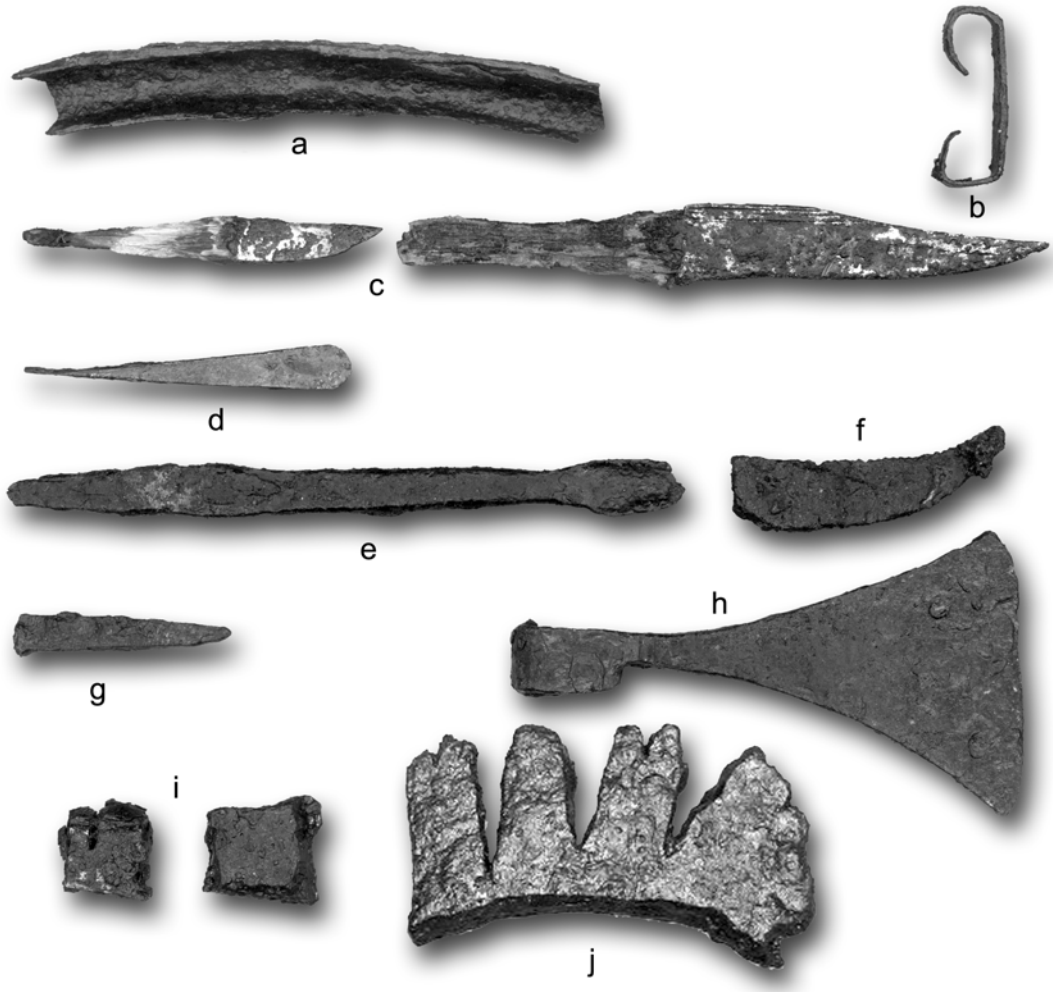

Fig. 7. A selection of iron artefacts. a. The edge of a wooden vessel. b. A staple for repairing a wooden vessel. c. Iron knives. d. An iron ingot. e. A spoon drill. f. The blade for a bow saw. g. A file. h. An axe. i. Weights. j. Pig iron.

from the Middle Ages, as medieval culture layers from Aalborg were moved to the fields on Bejsebakken. A thorough investigation is necessary before the glass sherds can be dated.

More than one hundred iron knives were found, quite a few with preserved wood on the handle. Some knives have an ornamented blade, and one has the remains of a leather sheath (Fig. 7c). Whetstones of Norwegian slate are rather rare.

A rather large find category is slag, mostly iron slag. In the light of the scale iron and smithy mentioned above, this indicates that iron was processed on the site. Iron bars (fig. 7d) were found of a type known from a depot found in a Late Roman/Early Germanic Iron Age house by Snorup in Western Jutland (Høst-Madsen & Nørbach 1999:235), in Norway, and on the continent, where they date back to the Late Germanic Iron Age and the Viking Age (Rygh 1885, Fig. 438; Serning 1987:50; Larsen 1991:287). One of the finds is a piece of pig iron in the form of a cock's comb (Fig. 7j). Similar, but considerably larger items are known from the Middle Ages. At that time, they were made by cooperations of peasants, who produced iron in simple smelting furnaces (Buchwald 1992:265 pp.). The deep notches in the pig iron made it easy to break off a piece when the peasants later shared the product. Analysis of the Bejsebakken piece proves it high quality steel, produced in Norway or Sweden[2]. Similar items known as "finger iron" was produced in Viking Age Sweden (Serning 1987:Fig. 57). A crucible indicates that other metals were processed on the site.

Several other finds indicate crafts, for

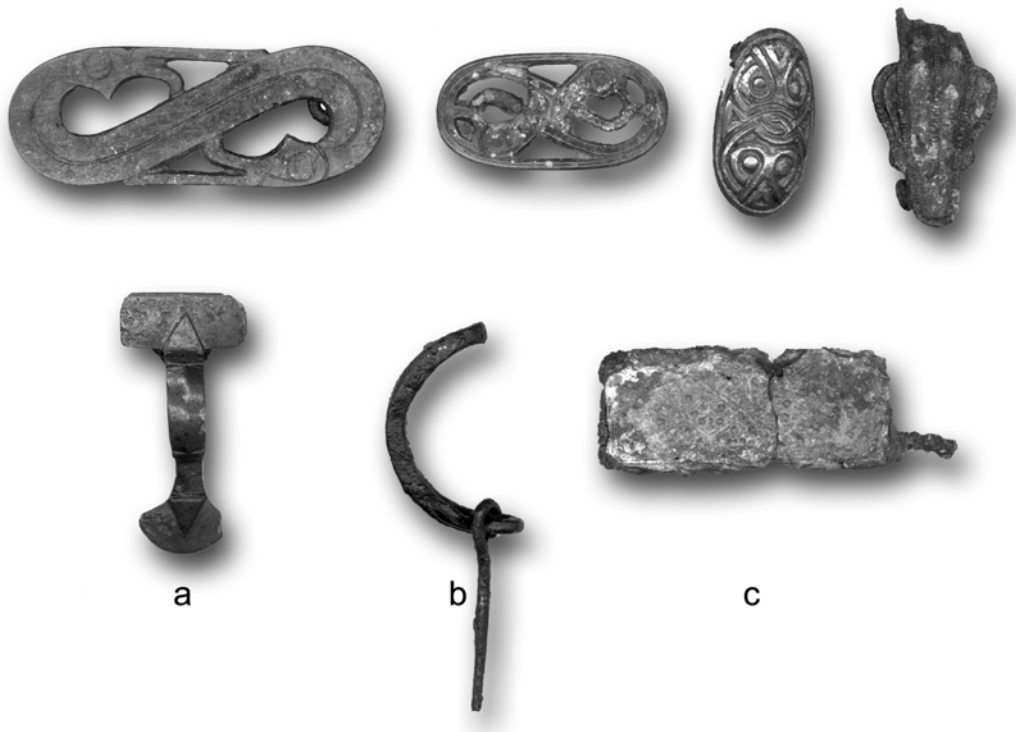

Fig. 8. A selection of fibulas from the excavation. a. A fibula with a spade shaped foot. b. An iron fibula without a spring construction. c. A rectangular plate fibula made from iron.

instance spoon bits, a blade from a bow saw, a plane, a carving tool, a file, and a small axe (Fig. 7e-h). Rock crystal and garnet also seems to have been processed on the site. These materials are known from other central sites, such as Sorte Muld, Toftegård, and Åhus (Callmer 1991:41; Watt 1991:92; Tornbjerg 1998:228 p.).Several of the finds mentioned indicate trade, as does the find of weights. These are unusual in that they have a copper alloy core lashed with sheet iron (Fig. 7i).

Fibulas make up a special find category, as they were found in considerable amounts both during the metal detector reconnaissance and during the excavation.

The fibulas from the excavation include disc shaped, rectangular, and oval plate fibulas, beak shaped fibulas, and an oval brooch (Fig. 8). A gold-coated disc-on-bow fibula with garnet and ivory inlay and a punched ornament was also found (Fig. 9). Finally, a couple of special brooch finds should be mentioned: One is a copper alloy fibula with a spade shaped foot, of a type similar to the cruciform fibulas (Fig. 8a). This type is known from several Norwegian finds (for instance Schetelig 1910:58 pp.; Tilvekst 1990:Fig. 6), but apart from one found at Gudme (Thrane 1991:Fig. 3), the one from Bejsebakken - to the author's knowledge - is the only Danish specimen.

A couple of unusual iron fibulas without a spring construction should also be mentioned (Fig. 8b). Similar pieces were found at Lejre, Tissø and Helgø (Christensen 1993:180; the exhibition at the National Museum in Copenhagen; Holmqvist 1964:174). Plate fibulas shaped as birds, horses, and eagles occur in the detector finds (Petersen 1991:53 pp.).

Special interest is attached to at least ten rectangular iron plate fibulas on which the needle construction is riveted onto the plate. The topside is covered by a thin copper alloy,

Fig. 9. Disc-on-bow fibula.

often with traces of tinning, and decorated with a punched geometrical ornament (Fig. 8c). This fibula type is known from several sites along the Limfjord, for instance Karby and Aggersborg. According to Svend Nielsen, they date from c.725-800 - Ørsnes' phase 3 - and may represent a type special to Northern Jutland (Nielsen 1985:266). This seems quite possible. The author has not been able to locate any of these fibulas outside Northern Jutland. In this light, it is interesting that several loose needles from this fibula type were found at Bejsebakken. They could of course have broken off ordinary fibulas, but it is also possible that they were never fitted onto the plate. If this is the case, they indicate that this fibula type was manufactured at Bejsebakken.

In this context, it should be mentioned that several of the fibulas found at Bejsebakken were made from recycled material.

The layers of filling also contained animal and fish bones. Fishhooks and teeth from eel spears show that the resources in the Limfjorden were exploited.Wood analyses from the flotation samples show that a large part of the fuel came from the heath in the form of peat, heather, or shrubs (Malmros 2001:358). Almost all flotation samples contained macrofossils. Holled barley was the most important species of grain. It occurs almost three times more frequently than rye, the second most important species. Other grain species occur in small amounts - one being oats, which was perhaps cultivated. The presence of flax seeds and a very large number of weed types should also be mentioned. The macrofossils point at the heath as an important resource area (Mikkelsen 2001).

There is a marked difference between the items found during metal detector reconnaissance and those found during the excavation. Not surprisingly, the find material now available reveals that the detector finds give a distorted and limited picture of the site, as all non-metallic items are left out and iron items are almost non-existent in the detector finds. Information on the exact find spots for the detector finds is very inaccurate. No doubt, the majority of these finds were made within the excavated area, but some were found outside. There may be a slight tendency towards find concentrations, but the finds cover the whole of the 62-ha area. Earlier investigations and trial excavations did not reveal any structure remains outside the excavated area. The topography and the lime subsoil make a settlement here very unlikely. Perhaps the detector finds indicate that these areas were cultivated and that manure or waste from the settlement was spread on the fields.

The character of the settlement

Although the concept of a central site is still somewhat unclear, the structure, function, and artefacts at Bejsebakken clearly point at this being such a central site. The present knowledge of the find material indicates that the term applies to the Late Iron Age settlement only. However, house sites and graves have demonstrated that there was a settlement here in the Early Germanic Iron Age. There is a small amount of detector finds from the Late Roman Iron Age, but the only structure found from this period is a child's grave.

In the following, only the Late Germanic Iron Age settlement will be discussed, this being the time when the settlement peaked. Around half the pit houses contained loom weights and/or spindle whirls. Some may be in a secondary position. However, a certain amount of the unburned clay loom weights was probably not detected. It therefore seems appropriate to conclude that a large part of the pit houses was used for textile production.

Bejsebakken offered good conditions for the production of the raw material for weaving. The extensive meadows surrounding the Hasseris hill and the heath on the hill offered fine grazing opportunities. Other crafts existed on a smaller scale.

The textile production and other crafts indicate trade, as do some of the artefacts.

The big difference between the number of pit houses and longhouses, the function of the pit houses, the settlement structure and last but not least the chronological difference all indicate that the individual pit house or group of pit houses was not attached to a farm, as was the case in several Late Iron Age villages. Rather, this was a small permanent settlement to which people came from nearby

villages to work with a craft - mainly weaving - and to trade.

The large area in the middle of the settlement, which is almost empty of houses and other structures, raises the important question of its purpose. Excavations and records have not revealed any natural explanation to this phenomenon. Possibly this was deliberately maintained as an empty area, perhaps a space shared by the whole community. Hopefully, further analysis of the available material will throw more light on this issue.

A few other Prehistoric settlements in Denmark have a similar structure, for instance the Sebbersund site by the Limfjord, fifteen kilometres west of Bejsebakken. Here, excavations and air reconnaissance have revealed numerous pit houses (perhaps around 300), more than 70 of which have been excavated, as has an area with traces of trade and crafts from the Late Iron Age. The importance of this site is stressed by the fact that a wooden church was built here. Numerous boat graves in the adjacent churchyard testifies to the dependence on the sea (Christensen & Johansen 2000). Around half of the excavated pit houses contained weaving weights and spinning whirls and may thus be connected to textile production. No longhouses were found, and the topographic conditions seem to rule out the possibility of longhouses in the immediate proximity.

Another site is that of Nø's on Southern Sealand. Here four longhouses, sixteen small houses, 69 pit houses, wells, and other structures from the Late Iron Age were excavated. The longhouses probably represent four phases of the same farm. A large part of the pit houses and other structures are connected to textile production, and flax seems to have played an important part (Hansen & Høier 2000, see further Jöns in this volume).

The textile production at Bejsebakken seems to be meant for a large area, not just a single farm. This indicates a relatively large textile production and perhaps even a high quality product. The manufacturing thus probably had a more professional character than what was the case for an average village. This theory is supported by the finds: In Scandinavia, Late Iron Age textiles are of a considerably better quality than those from the previous periods. In addition, the finds show that at this time flax became more ordinary at the expense of wool (Jørgensen 1986:164).

This may also suggest that textiles were not just seen as a material for clothing, but also as an indication of status. The fine tablet woven ribbons with patterns and embroidery found in wellequipped Scandinavian graves from the Early Germanic Iron Age are another indication of this being the case. A larger and more professional textile production may also be explained by the fact that from the Germanic Iron Age, the ships were using sails (Crumlin-Pedersen 1999:16). There may well be a connection between this development and the introduction of pit houses in the Late Roman Iron Age. In addition, it has been suggested that already at this time, a special woollen cloth was being fabricated and sold in Jutland (Jørgensen 1986:160).

A few other finds from the Hasseris hill should be mentioned, as they are important to the interpretation of the Bejsebakken settlement.Five women's graves were found at Gl. Hasseris, one of which in particular had rich grave goods including a rosette fibula, a ring formed as a snake's head, beads etc. from the Late Roman Iron Age. Settlement traces and a kiln were found from the Early Germanic Iron Age, as well as a pit house from the Late Germanic Iron Age/Viking Age (Johansen *et*

al. 1992:52 f., 71 p.). Unfortunately, the investigations are inadequate for a deeper understanding of the finds and their context. On the eastern side of the hill, amateur archaeologists found settlement traces from the Early Roman Iron Age in the Scheelsminde area. Metal detector finds were also made by the Thulebakken hill, north of Bejsebakken on the opposite side of a ravine. These finds are mainly from the Late Roman Iron Age (Johansen *et al.* 1992:87). However, the existing find material is insufficient for the interpretation of this as a central site and for establishing its relations to the Bejsebakken site.

Central sites along the Limfjord

Along the eastern part of the Limfjord, especially around Aalborg, metal finds from a number of locations may indicate central sites (Petersen 1991:50 pp.; Christensen & Johansen 2000) (Fig. 10).

It is important for the understanding of the central site concept - locally and in Scandinavia as a whole - that the background, structure, chronology, etc. of the sites are compared. However, the material is still too sparse for such analyses, and this is particularly the case for sites known from detector finds only. Moreover, as the investigated sites are insufficiently excavated, even these do not yield enough information for such comparison.

Still, some locations have important traits when compared to the Bejsebakken site.

Near Postgården in eastern Aalborg, minor investigations in two areas have revealed longhouses and pit houses from the Late Iron Age. Towards the east, there are both longhouses and pit houses, whereas there are only pit houses towards the west. Several of the pit houses were weaving huts, and some contained oblong pits similar to those found at Bejsebakken and elsewhere (ÅHM jr.no. 4519).

The Lindholm Høje hill lies on the northern side of the Limfjord, opposite Bejsebakken. It is important to note that the majority of almost seven hundred graves excavated here are from the Late Germanic Iron Age. A temporary settlement with several longhouses, 21 pit houses, wells, etc. has been partly excavated north of the cemetery. About half the pit houses contained weaving weights and spindle whirls (Johansen *et al.* 1992:37 pp., 62 pp.; Nielsen 1994:27 pp.; Petersen 1994:47 pp.).

West of Aalborg, near the Limfjord, lies the Nørholm hill, surrounded by raised seabed from the Stone Age sea. Here, a very large area has given metal detector finds. No excavations have taken place here. On the southern side, close to the bottom of the hill, a few Early Iron Age house sites have been excavated (ÅHM jr.no. 900), as well as an Early Roman Iron Age grave containing a golden ring, blacksmiths' tools, etc. (ÅHM jr.no. 1933). As in the case of Bejsebakken, the lime subsoil lies just underneath the present topsoil at several places, and this makes the find of structural traces unlikely. The metal detector finds cover the time from the Preroman Iron Age until the Middle Ages. An investigation of the material[3] has revealed 127 datable finds (mainly fibulas) covering the time from the Early Roman Iron Age on to the Viking Age. Thirty-seven of these are from the Late Germanic Iron Age, and 53 are from the Viking Age. There are also numerous medieval finds. The chronological dispersion of the metal finds indicate that the site did not become important until the Late Germanic Iron Age, and that it peaked during the Viking Age. This apparently makes the site different from the Bejsebakken site.

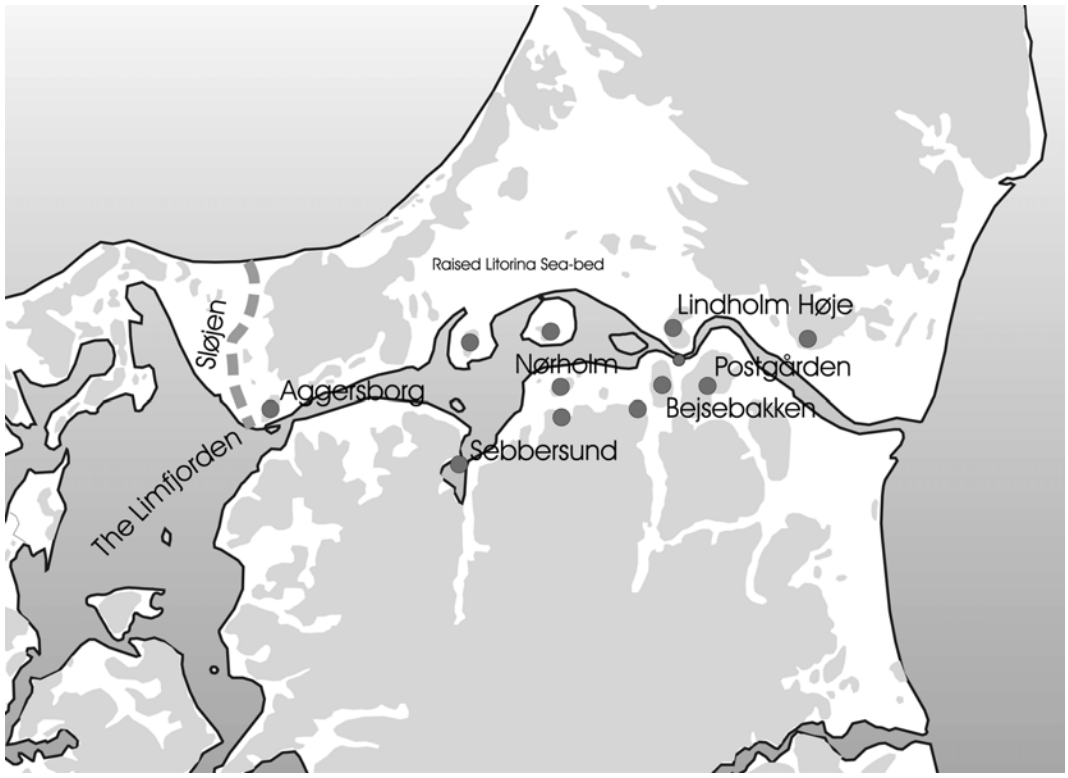

Fig. 10. The eastern part of the Limfjorden with some of the possible central sites.

The occurrence of central sites at Bejsebakken and other locations by the Limfjord may be explained by the good traffic conditions. The Limfjord was a fine local and international travel route. Opinions differ as to the extent to which it was used for long-distance traffic. An important element in this discussion - especially concerning the route to Norway - is the Sløjen canal between Aggers- borg and the Skagerrak. Unfortunately, geologists believe that its Skagerrak end sanded up shortly after the birth of Christ. However, it is the author's opinion that the disadvantages of transporting ships and goods across a narrow obstruction were more than counterbalanced by the considerably shorter route. Moreover, place names and archaeological finds connected with navigation from the Viking Age and later indicate that the Sløjen canal was important for the traffic in the Viking Age and the Middle Ages. This would also explain the location of the large Viking fortress of Aggersborg (Nielsen 1999:214). When estimating the importance of the Limfjord as a traffic route, one should not forget the numerous small rivers that went far into the hinterland and were useful for the transport of people and goods. Their mouths were excellent natural harbours, very suitable for transshipment. However, not all the central sites were located by a river.The central sites by Aalborg and Aggersborg had the added advantage of being the best places for the north-southward land traffic to cross the fiord.

The insufficient material makes a comparison with central sites outside Northern Jutland difficult, although certain patterns may be deduced. The Bejsebakken site seems

to differ from the southern Danish central sites by containing a markedly smaller amount of precious metals. For instance, the settlement at Gudme on Fyn - the peak of which was the Late Roman and Early Germanic Iron Age - played a central role for the import and manufacturing of precious metals (Petersen 1991:61). However, such a comparison is made difficult by our lacking ability to estimate the status of contemporary textile production.

For years, the Bejsebakken site seemed wrapped in mystery. The excavations have provided us with a comprehensive and positive material, which - once analysed - will contribute to the understanding of the role played by central sites in Late Iron Age Scandinavia.

Notes

1. In collaboration with research lecturer Jytte Ringtved.
2. Letter from Arne Jouttijärvi, Heimdal-archaeometry 26-4-2001.
3. An examination of the National Museum's records made by museum keeper Susanne Klingenberg.

Translated by Annette Lerche Trolle

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Published and unpublished moulds at Helgö - a brief overview

Jutta Waller

Abstract

A brief overview of published and unpublished moulds at Helgö in Uppland, Sweden, will tell about the different sort of artefacts they represent. The number of fragments indicates the least numbers of fragments. A big difference in size between the groups is noticed.

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At the Sachsen-symposium in Uppsala, three years ago (1998), I got the question "How many of the moulds at Helgö are not yet published?" As some of the moulds have the same character as some artefacts from Uppåkra, I will now take the opportunity to give a short answer.

It is too early to give a complete summary of the moulds from Helgö. This overview will just show the *different sorts* of artefacts that have been cast in the moulds. It shows also the *approximate size* of the groups and the *proportion* between them.

Mouldfragments are published in the serie "Excavations at Helgö", in *Vol. I, III, IV* and *XII*. A few moulds are also dealt with in separate papers and other publications. The moulds in *Vol. I* originate from the central building group (II). Another fragments from the same building group (and a few fragments from the adjoining cemetry 150) are published in *Vol. III*. The mould fragments from the building group I and IV are dealt with in *Vol. XII* but the catalogue is only available in the archives of ATA. *Vol. IV* deals only with the mouldfragments of *reliefbrooches, clasp-buttons and dresspins* and their corresponding artefacts. The fragments originate mainly from the big workshop, i. e. the east building group (III). These three groups of moulds are quite dominating in the whole material. The excavations stopped in 1975 and since the *Vol. IV* appeared in 1972, another number of fragments are found. Fragments are also found afterwards among the fragments of crucibles, slags etc. A separate volume, dealing with all the reliefbrooches collected, is planed. - A list of the *dresspins* up to date was made in 1996 and the result published the same year (Waller 1996).

Mouldfragments, published in Excavations at Helgö

The number of the fragments corresponding to *reliefbrooches with rectangular headplate* are 635 (*Vol. IV:134*). Another 20 fragments

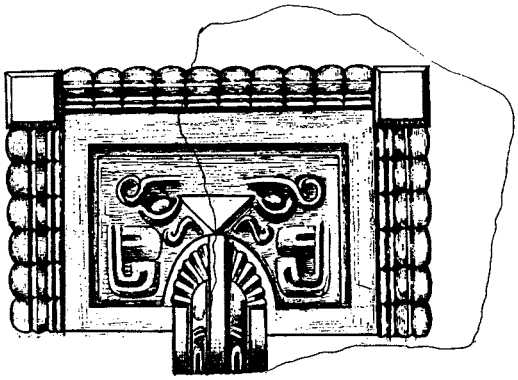

Fig. 1. Helgö. Mouldfragment of a reliefbrooch. Headplate with knobs (reconstruction, Rodell, I. Holmqvist *et al.* 1969, Fig. 55).

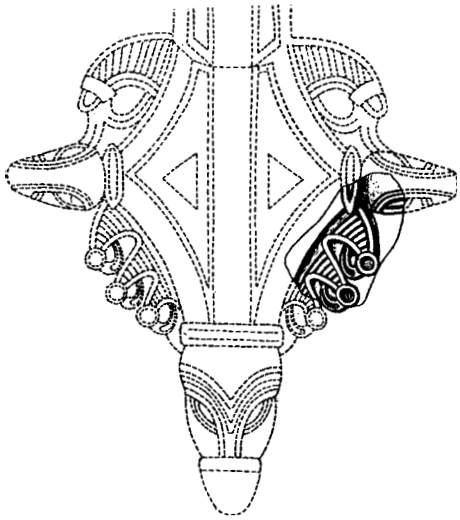

Fig. 2. Helgö. Mouldfragment of a reliefbrooch. Footplate. (reconstruction, Rodell, I. Holmqvist *et al.* 1969, Fig. 54).

belong to *big equal-armed reliefbrooches*. Both types have animal ornamentation of Style I. The fragments (here mentioned) are all front portions representing the decorated upper-side of the brooches. - The number of *clasp buttons* are 526 (*vol. IV:*98). They represent both front portions (90 pieces), side portions (263) and back portions (173). They belong to different types of clasp buttons. - The number of mouldfragments for dresspins are 381, representing both the head (174) and the shaft (Waller 1996:24). Dresspins with triangular plate and protuberance are dominating (151) but there are also dresspins with polyhedral pinheads (The number published in Exc. IV was 315, *Vol. IV:*44).

Mouldfragments of	*Number of fragments*	*Publication*
Reliefbrooches with rectangular headplate	635 (only front portions)	Exc. IV
Big equal-armed reliefbrooches	20 (only front portions)	Exc. IV
Clasp buttons	526	Exc. IV
Dresspins	315	Exc. IV
Small equal-armed brooches	12	Exc. III, p. 94
Brooch of serpentine-loop	1	Exc. I, p. 222
Tortoise brooch	1	Exc. III, p. 100
Oval undecorated brooch	1	Exc. XII, p. 48
Other jewellery and costume accessories	8	Exc. III, p. 100
Sword-pommels	9	Exc. III, p. 100
Sword hilt	1	Exc. III, p. 101
Indeterminable objects	83	Ecx. III, p. 101-p. 103

Unpublished mouldfragments

Mouldfragments of	*Number of fragments*
Fibula of Husby-type	25
Knob (to the same fibula ?)	160
Brooch of bird-shape	10
Brooch of serpentine-loop shape	2
Brooch with disc-on-bow	1
Pendant of fish-tail shape	5
Necklace ring	1
Belt mount, rectangular	10
Annular brooch	7
Strap-mount	2
Small (ca 1.5cm/diam.) rings	4

Remarks to the unpublished fragments

The number of the fragments are not fixed but indicate the *least* number of the different groups. - The knobs are presumed to belong to the fibula of the Husby-type with a crossbow construction with two knobs, one in each end. They could also belong to square-headed brooches or reliefbrooches. The knobs of the relief brooches at Helgö, however, are mainly cast together with the brooch (Fig. 1). -The birdfibula is a flat brooch with a stylized bird in profile. In addition to the 10 fragments of these brooches, there are another 21 fragments representing a part of a bird, like an eye, a claw or a tail. - A few of the annular brooches have got extensions. - The rectangular belt mounts have a perforation in the middle part.

Fragments of indeterminable artefacts

About 350 fragments have got an ornamentation belonging to indeterminable artefacts. There are also fragments without ornamentation representing artefacts of different types which are difficult or impossible to

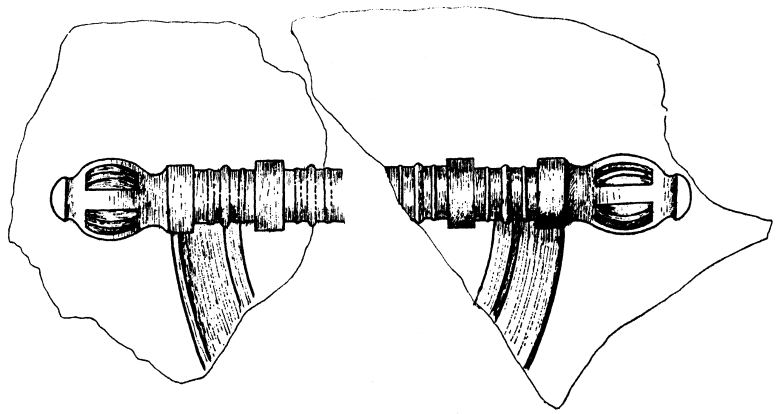

Fig. 3. Helgö. Two mouldfragments to a fibula with crossbow construction (reconstruction, Rodell, I. Holmqvist *et al.* 1969:Fig. 53).

determine. There are for example mould-fragments of three foot terminations of fibulae, all of them broken at the beginnning of the bow. They have a triangular footplate and a horizontally striped part before the break (SHM Helgö, no. 9442:7, 9880, 10101). To which type of fibula do they belong? There is no corresponding artefact at Helgö but a bronzefibula from Uppåkra is quite well corresponding (LUHM 31000, Uppåkra, no. 1424). However, this brooch is broken in the same way so it doesn't give us an answer.

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Courtyard Sites north of the Polar Circle – Reflections of Power in the Late Roman and Migration Period

Bergljot Solberg

Abstract

The courtyard sites consist of a collection of house grounds situated around an oval, semi-circular or horseshoe-shaped courtyard, with the short front wall towards the inner yard. Courtyard sites are present in Southwest, Central and North Norway, but not in other parts of Scandinavia. The number of houses on each site varies. In North Norway the largest site, at Bjarkøy, has sixteen houses, the smallest, at Bøstad, only four. Excavations of the northern sites mainly took place in the 1940ies and 1950ies, but were largely unpublished until the 1970ies. The archaeological material from the sites is limited, and the chronology depends mainly upon radio-carbon datings. The majority of the sites seem to have been established in the 3rd century as houses or barracks for chieftains' men. This interpretation is based upon the location of the courtyard sites on ground unfavourable or unsuitable for agriculture and their proximity to homes of Viking chieftains. The largest sites may – at least in periods – have housed between 160–320 men. The background for the establishing of these strongholds is the combination of valuable resources in the north and demand from outside for these resources, mainly from the Roman Empire. The chieftains in the north were entrepreneurs who engaged their men in activities related to whaling, hunting and probably also in obtaining tribute from the Saami.

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Introduction

The definition of 'central places' usually implies sites distinguished from ordinary settlements, often having a wide range of high quality finds and being 'strategically' located. In this presentation the so-called courtyard sites north of the polar circle will be discussed. These sites differ from ordinary settlements, and they are strategically located as to the main sea route and natural resources. The courtyard sites referred to, are located to the islands of Engeløya (Steigen and Bø), Vestvågøy (Leknes and Bøstad), Gimsøya, Andøya (Åse), and Bjarkøy (Fig. 1).

In addition to the sites north of the polar circle, courtyard sites are found in the south-western and central part of Norway as well (Berglund 1995; Farbregd 1980; Magnus & Myhre 1986; Møllerop 1971; Randers 1991; Stenvik 2001; Stylegar 1999), but not in other parts of Scandinavia. The sites consist of a collection of house grounds situated around an oval, semi-circular or horseshoe-shaped courtyard, with the short front towards the inner yard. The front wall has been made of wood, the other walls of stone and turf. The number of houses on each site varies. In

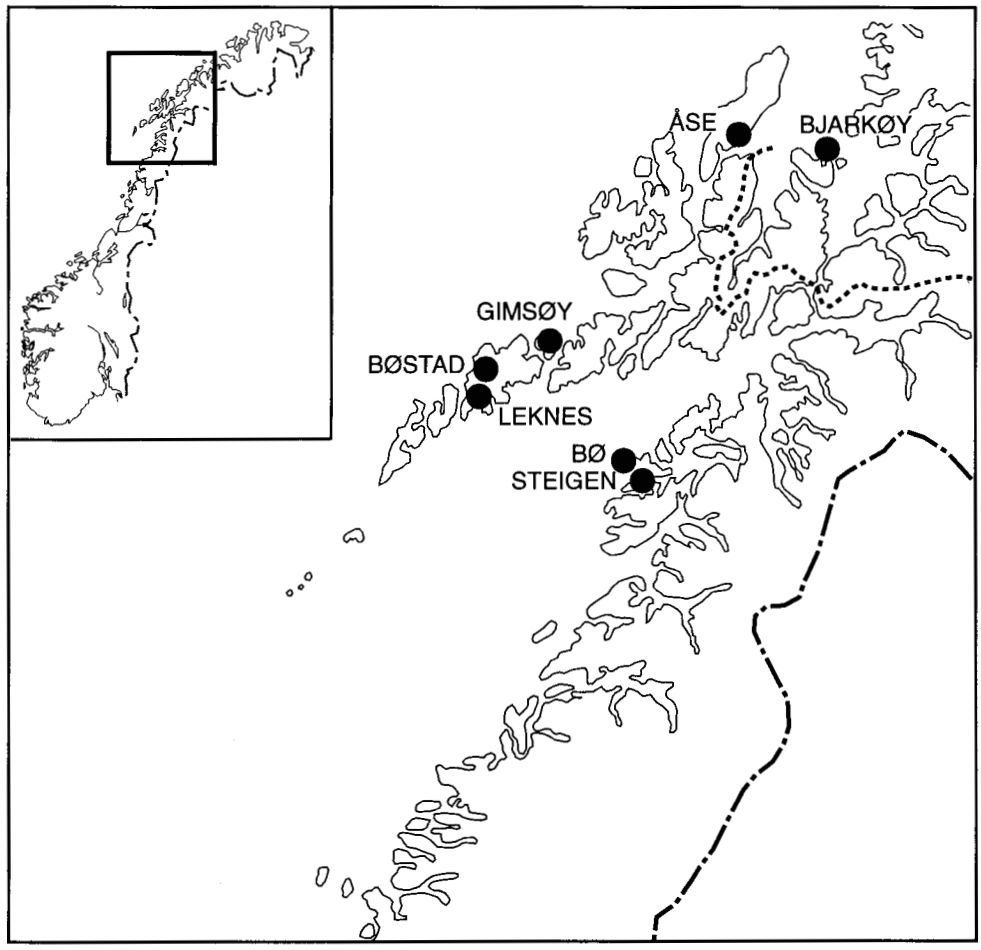

Fig. 1. The courtyard sites north of the polar circle.

Southwest Norway the largest site consists of seventeen houses, the smallest has only five. Among the seven sites north of the polar circle, the largest has sixteen houses, the smallest only four.

During the 1940ies and 1950ies Harald Egenes Lund excavated the sites at Tjøtta, Steigen, Bø, Leknes and Bjarkøy. Thorleif Sjøvold excavated the Åse courtyard in 1970 (Sjøvold 1971). The comprehensive documentary material from Egenes Lund's excavations was unpublished until 1978 when Olav Sverre Johansen and Tom Søbstad re-examined the material.

The northernmost site, at Bjarkøy, had sixteen houses (Fig. 2) and was the largest of the northern courtyard sites. Small mounds and charcoal pits were scattered in the proximity of the site. None included human bones, but animal bones were found fairly often. Johansen & Søbstad assume that they have been cooking pits. In the centre of the open court a so-called court-mound had been recorded, but had been removed prior to the excavation.

The Åse site consisted of fourteen house grounds, but only two were excavated (Sjøvold 1971). At Vestvågøy, four houses have been

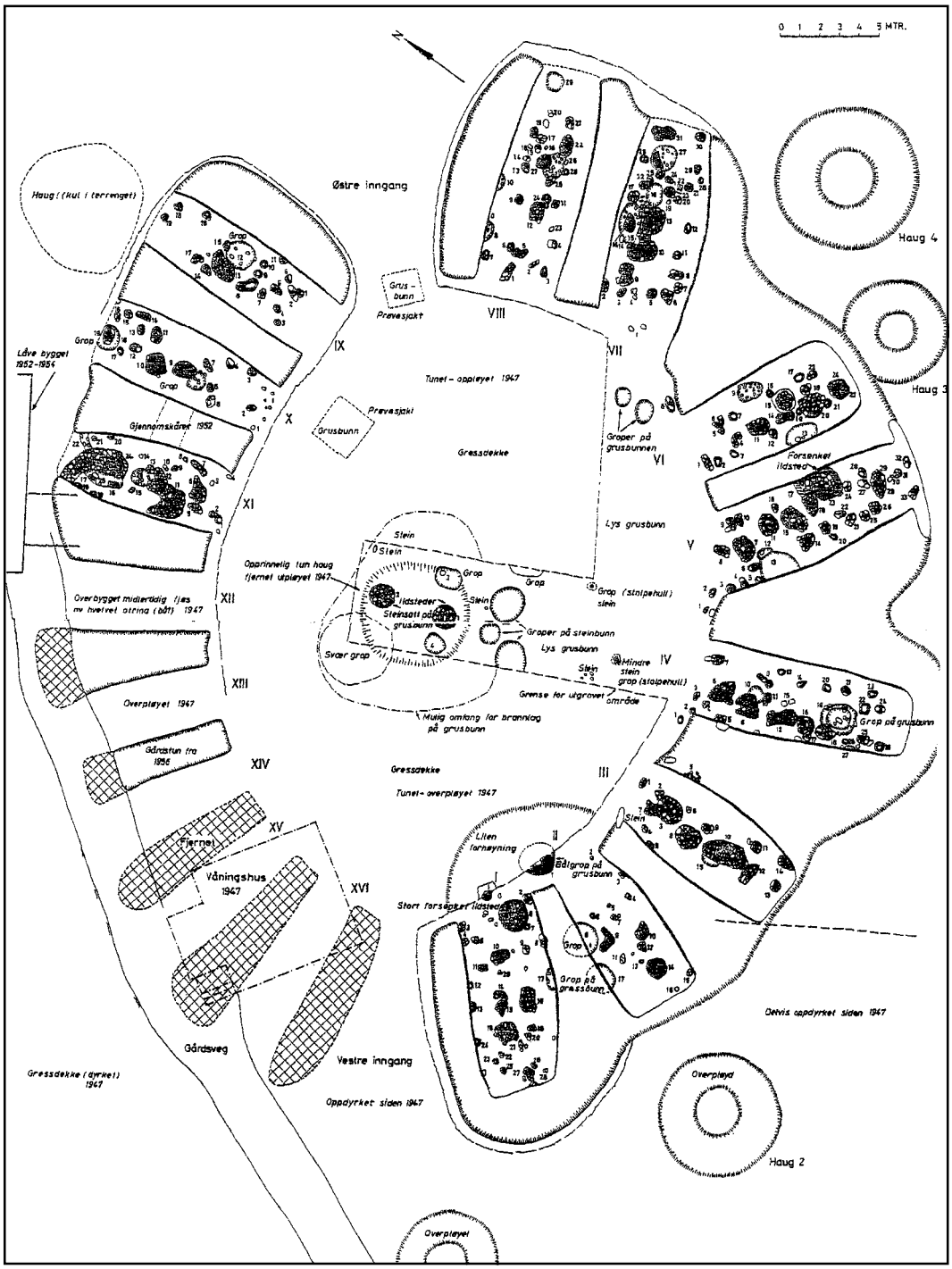

Fig. 2. Drawing of the courtyard site at Bjarkøy by H. Egenæs Lund. After Johansen & Søbstad 1978.

identified at Bøstad, but the uneven surface may hide a couple more (Johansen & Søbstad 1978; Storli 2000). The Leknes site had 15-16 houses. The Gimsøy courtyard consisted of 6-7 houses. They seem to be smaller than the houses at the other sites (ibid.). At Engeløya, the Bø site had 12–13 houses and the site at Steigen (with the local name Vollmoen) had 16 houses. The two sites are only 2 km apart.

Some of the sites are fully or partly excavated, for some only test material for radiocarbon dating has been obtained. The artefact material is limited, and the chronology depends mainly upon radiocarbon dates. The initial phase of the Åse and Leknes sites is closely similar (Fig. 3), and the material indicates that the sites were established in the 3rd century. The dates from Bjarkøy are slightly younger. The initial phase of the site Bø is dated by a weapon grave (see below).

Radiocarbon dating of the Bø and the Steigen sites indicates that they are not contemporary. Steigen seems to have succeeded the Bø site in the late Migration or the early Merovingian period (Johansen & Søbstad 1978:48).

At Bjarkøy and Steigen, the radiocarbon dates indicate a late Iron Age phase as well (Johansen & Søbstad 1978). This phase is not considered here.

The function

The courtyard sites in Rogaland used to be regarded as rural settlements or villages

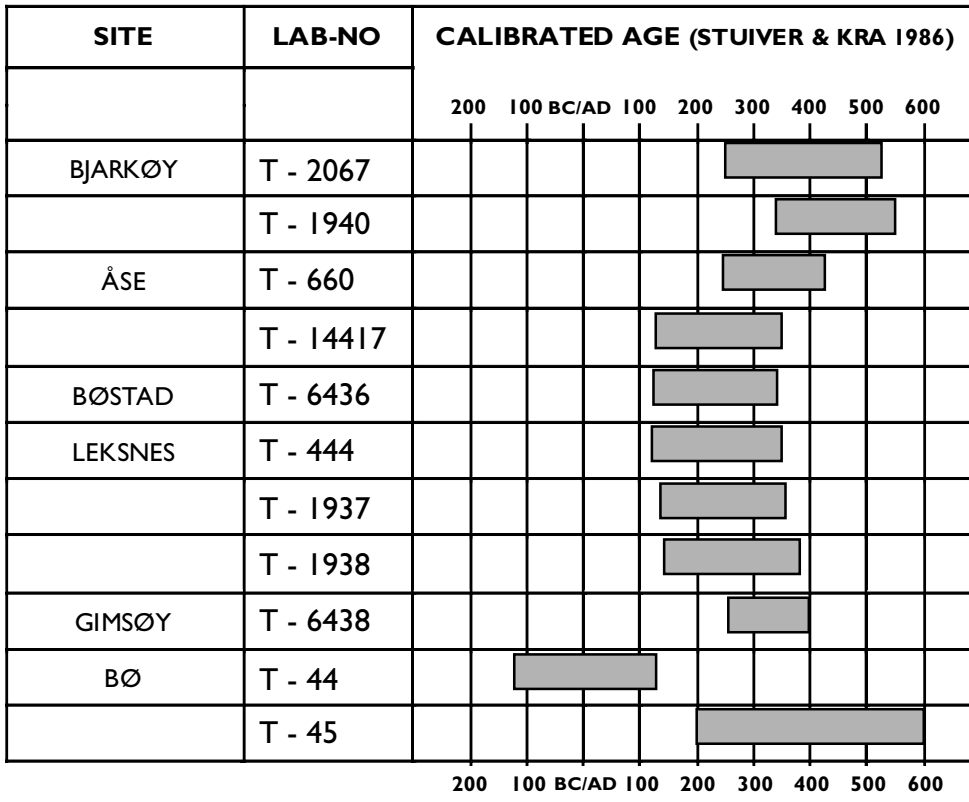

Fig. 3. Radiocarbon dates from the courtyard sites north of the polar circle. After Storli 2000.

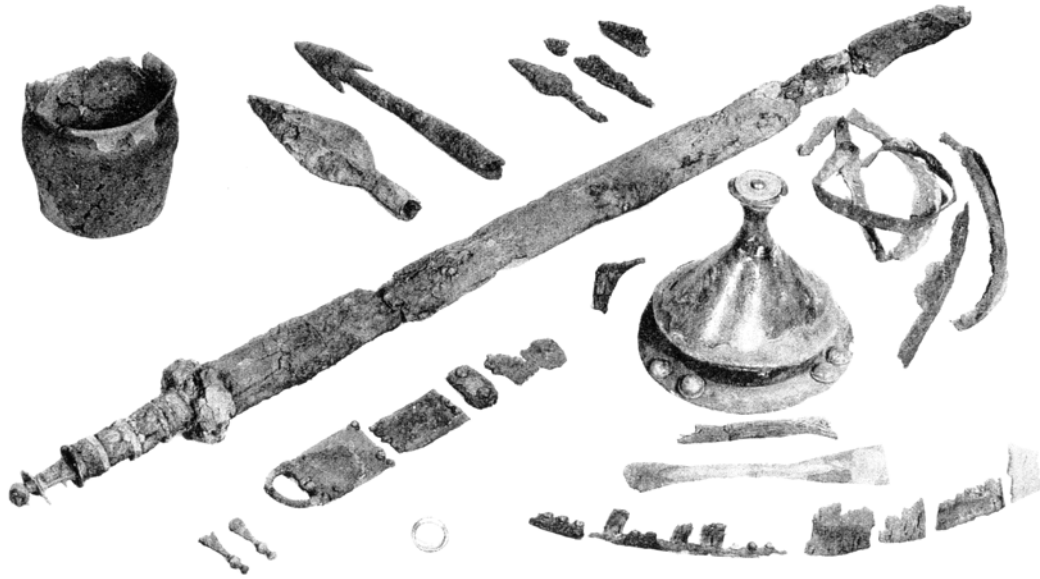

Fig. 4. The weapon grave at Bø from C1b. After Sjøvold 1962.

(Møllerop 1971; Magnus & Myhre 1986). However, interpretation has changed during the past decade. It is now suggested that the courtyard sites were associated with a chieftain type of organization (Løken 1992; Lillehammer 1994; Myhre 1997). This is in agreement with the traditional interpretation of the northern sites – as houses or barracks for chieftains' men (Lund 1955, 1965, Johansen & Søbstad 1978; Storli 1995, 2000). This interpretation is based upon the location of the majority of the courtyard sites on ground unfavourable or unsuitable for agriculture, and upon their proximity to the homes of Viking chieftains. For instance, the courtyard site at Bjarkøy lies outside – but not far from – the cultivated land of the farm Øvergård, where the mighty chieftain Tore Hund from Bjarkøy, known from historical sources, supposedly resided. In the late Viking period, Tore Hund became the *lendrmadr* (i.e. a man given [land by the king]) – and later enemy – of king Olav Haraldsson.

At Vestvågøy, the Bøstad site is located on the land of a small farm of today. Its proximity to Borg, with an 83 m long house and large boathouses (Munch et al. 1987), indicates that the Bøstad courtyard site should be linked to the chieftains who resided at Borg. In the Viking period, Olaf Tvennumbruni may have been one of these chieftains. According to *Landnámabók*, he left his farm at Vestvågøy and settled in Iceland ca. 880 (Nielssen 1995). Lodin Ongul, another Viking chieftain, resided on Engeløya at Steigen (ibid). On Engeløya, we find Sigarshaugen, the largest burial mound in North Norway.

Hårek of Tjøtta resided somewhat south of the polar circle. He was another of king Olav Haraldsson's *lendrmenn* and later became his adversary.

Tore Hund, Olaf Tvennumbruni, Lodin Ongul and Hårek of Tjøtta were all chieftains in the Viking period. Probably they represented a long tradition of power in their respective districts. A grave find from Bø on

Engeløya (Slomann 1959) indicates chiefly power from the initial phase of the courtyard sites. The grave was situated only 30-40 meters from the courtyard. The small mound included two graves, of a man and a woman. The man's grave, dating to C1b, includes a sword, a lance, a spear and arrowheads (Fig. 4). The shield has traces of blue paint on one side and red on the other (Rosenqvist 1959). The shield boss of bronze indicates a military rank corresponding to that of officers in the Illerup army (Ilkjær 1997). Also a finger ring of gold may have been a symbol of rank. According to Lise Bender Jørgensen (1986), his dress was of the same material as used by soldiers in the Roman army. It is not unlikely that the man buried at Bø once may have served in the Roman army or in a Germanic war band of the Illerup type. Probably he was the maker of the courtyard site.

At Øvergård, Bjarkøy, a Vestland cauldron of a type known from the late 3rd century, has been found at the bottom of a moor (Straume & Bollingberg 1995). The cauldron which measures 245 litres, is the largest specimen known. Probably the vessel was an important object in feasts the Bjarkøy chieftain held for his war band and allies.

At Bjarkøy, remains of two boat-houses built for ca. 20 and 30 meter long ships, respectively (Storli 1995:6), indicate chiefly power as well. In the early medieval period the Bjarkøy estate included most of the farms in the parish as well as farms and fishing communities in North Troms and West Finnmark (Bratrein 1995). This situation seems to go back to the Viking period.

Finally, the name of Bjarkøy indicates trading activities. The name is associated with a number of trading sites in the Viking period, Birka as the most important. The majority of the Bjarkøy sites, however, seem to have been market places (Andersen 1977:227). It is uncertain how far back Bjarkøy functioned as a centre of power, but the establishment of the courtyard site and the offering of the cauldron indicate the presence of chieftains at Bjarkøy from the 3rd century onwards.

The background

Why were strongholds established in this period? The answer should be sought in the combination of presence of valuable resources in the region and demand from outside, mainly from the Roman Empire. At sea, the northern regions abounded with fish, seals, whales and walrus. "Bird-mountains" had hundreds of thousands of birds. In the inland, reindeer and other game were abundant. Most likely, the men who established the courtyard sites did so in order to provide goods that were needed in the Roman Empire. The chieftains may have used their men for hunting expeditions at sea and on land, and they may as well have exploited the local population, mainly the Saami.

In North Troms and West Finnmark, a special category of monuments, consisting of stone lined, oblong cists, are located very close to the seashore (Fig. 5). At Arnøy, in North Troms, 60–70 cists have been recorded on a highly exposed shore, where landing is difficult. In addition, there are several small mounds made up of whalebone (Bratrein 1995). Excavations have revealed that the cists have been used for extracting oil from seals and whales (Schanche 1992). The earliest dates of the material are from the 3rd century. Whether the activity should be related to the Saami or the Norse population is uncertain, as the traces of extraction of oil have been found outside the Norse habitation area exclusively. The historian Håvard Bratrein

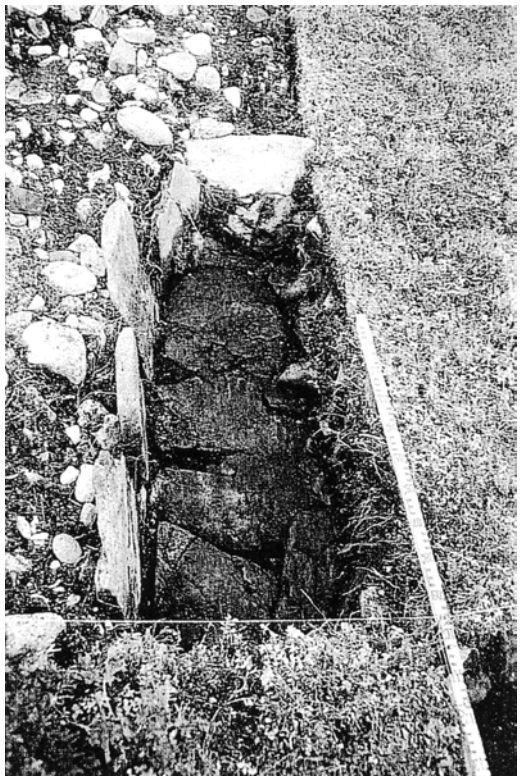

Fig. 5. Excavation of a stone lined cist at Arnøy, North Troms. Such cists were used for the extraction of oil from seals and whales. Photo Tromsø Museum.

(1995) suggests that the large concentration on the islands in West Finnmark is due to their strategic location for the Norse population in North Troms, and that the extraction of oil exceeded the local demand by far. He suggests that the Norse chieftains have initiated hunting expeditions and extraction of oil, and that export of oil may have been much older than the export of dried fish.

In his tale to king Alfred of Wessex, Ottar from Hålogaland explained how the Saami furnished the Norwegian chieftains with valuable furs, ropes etc. (Lund 1984). The origin of the 'finn tax' has been interpreted as a means whereby the Saami paid furs to the 'lord' who brought the items to a European market. The Saami could then be given other goods in exchange – in other words a commission system. At the same time the wealth and prestige of the Norwegian noblemen were markedly dependent on the products of the Saami. This is supported by the settlement pattern in the north (Sjøvold 1962). It is well known that the Norse settlement – as indicated by grave finds – was concentrated at the coast and did not reach the fiords (Fig. 6). The fiords and the interior of Nordland and Troms probably were Saami territory (A. Schanche 1989).

The historian Lars Ivar Hansen (1990) explains this as follows: The chieftains had sanctions to reject any Norse who wanted to move into the Saami fiords and take up farming, from doing so. Such an infringement could have jeopardized one of the prime foundations for the chieftains' economic power. Hansen finds support for this view in the distribution of place names indicating trade and staple functions. In the fiords cutting into the mainland from the open sea, occurs a locality named "Laberg". Literally "Laberg" may be translated as "loading cliff or rock". In analogy with the common "Lahelle" names in South Norway, used for central trading functions in the Viking Age, the "Laberg" localities in the north are supposed to have served the Norse chieftains and the Saami as trading and bartering stations for exchange of goods. The Saami may, therefore, have been integrated into the redistribution systems of the chieftains, and the Saami way of life and resource exploitation made a prerequisite for maintaining such systems. The establishment of courtyard sites in the 3rd century and their continued use throughout the Migration period and well into the Viking period should be regarded in this light.

Johansen & Søbstad have estimated that the largest courtyard sites may have housed

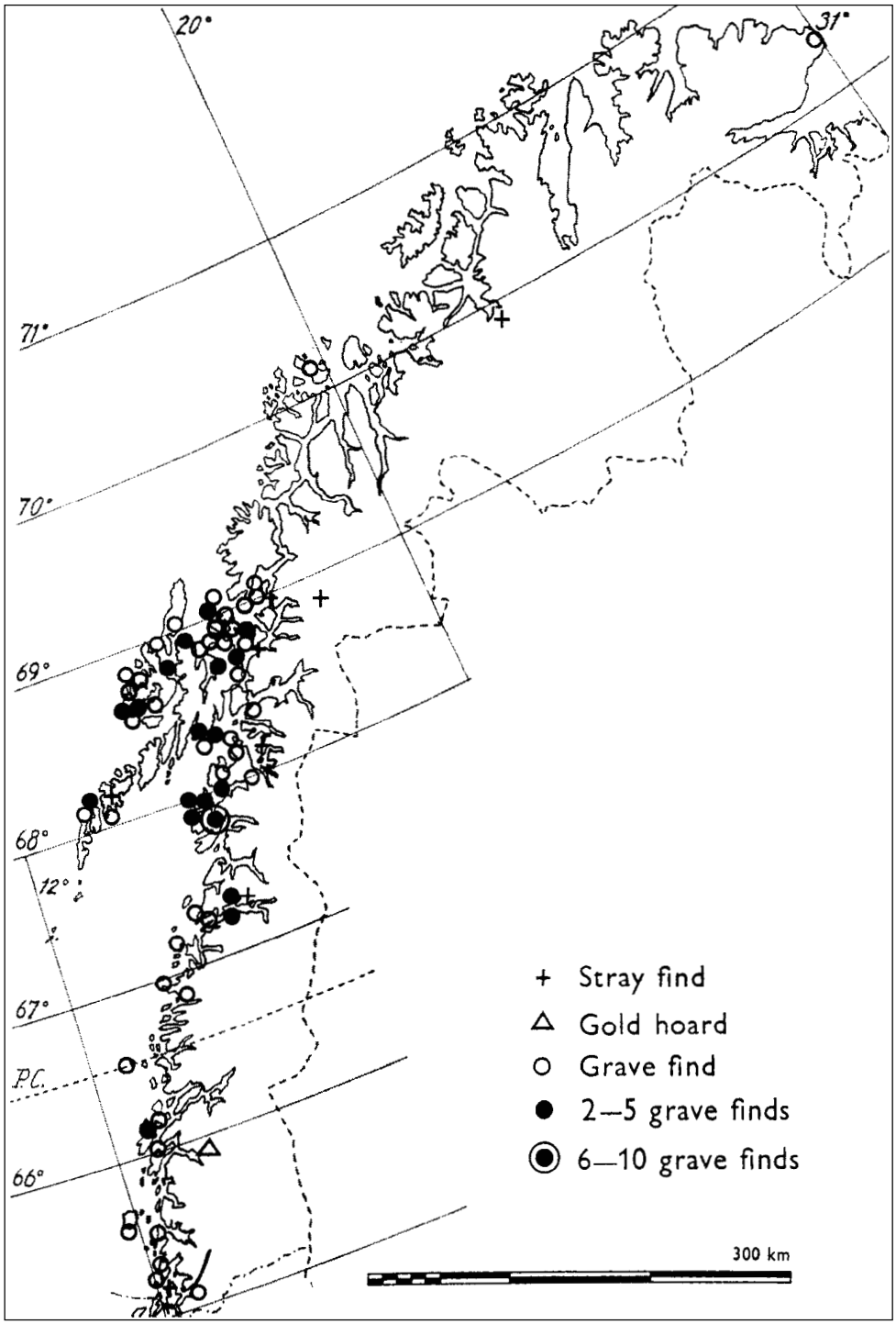

Fig. 6. The Norse Migration period finds in North Norway. The distribution is markedly coastal. The areas without finds probably reflect Saami territory. After Sjøvold 1962.

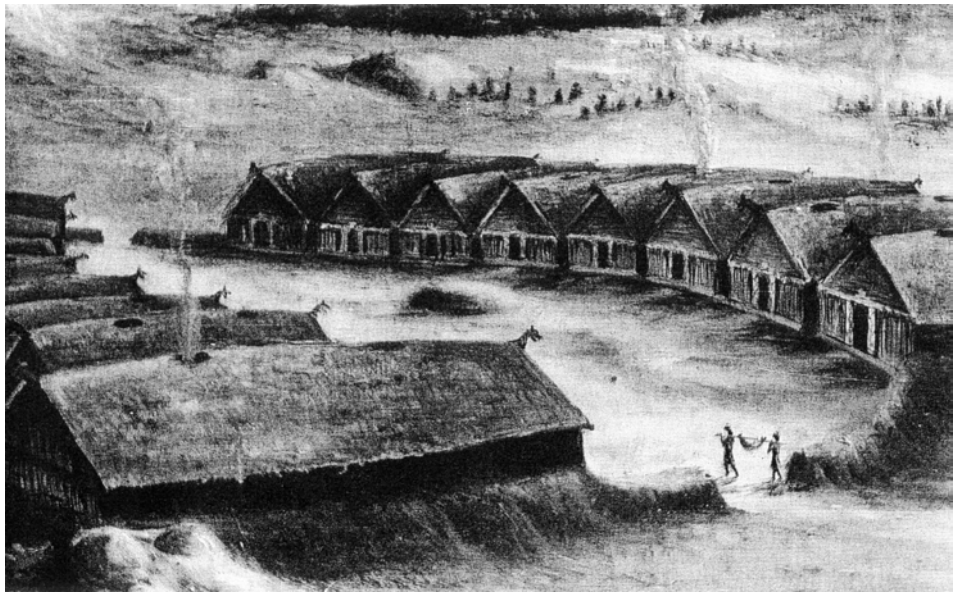

Fig. 7. Reconstruction of the Steigen courtyard site, note the mound in the centre of the yard. After Egenæs Lund, Tromsø Museum.

between 160 and 320 men, indicating the chieftains' need for many men to collect items for trade. Relatively many men were also needed for the shipment of the trading goods. Along the route southwards a number of local chieftains would be able to control the sea traffic. How did the chieftains in the north deal with that problem?

Ottar's account to king Alfred of his expedition to unknown districts in the north and east, explains how he travelled past vast stretches of land with no permanent settlement, exploited only by hunters and fishermen visiting it during appropriate seasons. Somewhere in the White Sea, however, Ottar reached the lands of the Biarmians who had settled their land well. Here his journey stopped at a great river apparently forming the boundary of their territory. Ottar's problem was not that the Biarmians were hostile, but that he did not have an arrangement (*unfrið)* with their authorities by which he could travel and carry on trade within their territory. According to Chris Fell (1983) and Niels Lund (1987), the term *unfrið* here means the lack of a *frið*, that is, a set of rules, a treaty.

Ottar's travel took place in the late 9th century. It is uncertain whether similar arrangements were established in the Roman period. But since goods – not least imported luxury objects – were carried by ship in this period, it is likely that treaties were concluded among chieftains along the coast.

The courtyard – arena for rituals?

Long sea travels were dangerous undertakings. One way of securing ones luck was by means of rituals. It is in this light we may regard the courtyard-mounds. Such mounds in the centre of the courtyards have been recorded at Bjarkøy and Steigen (Fig. 7) (Johansen & Søbstad 1978). While none of the northern courtyard-mounds have been examined,

excavations in Rogaland have demonstrated that they are not grave mounds. At Klauhaugane, Nærbø in Rogaland, the courtyard-mound covered the remains of a previous small rectangular house that may have had a ritual function (Magnus & Myhre 1986: 261ff). Finds of pottery in the mound have been interpreted as remains of sacrifices and ritual meals. Most likely, also the northern courtyards have been arenas for rituals. The deposition of the large Vestland cauldron in a moor at Bjarkøy may be regarded as a sacrifice to placate the gods as well.

This brings us to what caused the building of barracks around an oval or semi-circular, open place. Niall Armstrong (2000) suggests that the form of the Norwegian courtyard sites is related to Roman amphitheatres, and that games, for instance weapon games similar to those in the amphitheatres, may have taken place in courtyards. Place names that include the word *leik* stands for games or plays. Magnus Olsen has associated the *leik*-names with plays, combats, weapons and force (Olsen 1978:197 p.). The name of one of the northern courtyard sites, Leknes, includes *leik*. May be it refers to cultic weapon games or plays.

Architectonic similarity between amphitheatres and courtyard sites associated the men who built and controlled the latter with the Romans and Roman power (ibid.). This message was important as it increased their prestige versus own men and the community at large. And, it is indeed tempting to see more than just coincidence in the fact that the founders of the courtyard sites were engaged in trade with the Romans and probably knew Roman society and culture well.

In conclusion, local chieftains in the 3rd century established courtyard sites as houses or barracks for their men. The courtyard sites continued throughout the migration period, and some also into the late Iron Age. Their mere size demonstrates that the chieftains commanded a considerable force for their economic and military expeditions. The courtyard sites can, therefore, be regarded as reflections of power.

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Eisenzeitliche und frühmittelalterliche Reichtumszentren, Zentral- und Handelsplätze an der südlichen Ostseeküste

Hauke Jöns

Abstract

Während im südlichen Skandinavien in den vergangenen Jahrzehnten deutlich herausgearbeitet werden konnte, daß es bereits in der Römischen Kaiserzeit zur Herausbildung von Reichtumszentren und Zentralplätzen mit überregionalen Kontakten gekommen ist, die häufig bis in die Vendel- und Wikingerzeit fortbestanden haben, lassen sich in Norddeutschland bislang nur wenige kaiser- und völkerwanderungszeitliche Markt- und Zentralplätze erschließen. Sie enden ausnahmslos genauso wie alle bislang in Schleswig-Holstein, dem Niedersächsischen Küstengebiet und Mecklenburg-Vorpommern bekannten Gräberfelder und Siedlungen spätestens zu Beginn des 6. Jh.

Erst am Ende des 7. Jh ist in diesem Gebiet wieder eine Besiedlung durch einwandernde slawische Stämme bzw. durch Sachsen und Dänen fassbar, so daß ein sehr starker Besiedlungsrückgang, vielleicht sogar ein Hiatus anzunehmen ist; dies bestätigen auch zahlreiche hochauflösende Pollenprofile.

Zu Beginn des 8. Jh. entstanden dann in diesem Gebiet nahezu gleichzeitig Handels- und Marktplätze, die in unmittelbarer Küstennähe angelegt wurden und sowohl strukturell als auch im Fundmaterial starke skandinavische Einflüsse aufweisen. Die emporien Haithabu, Groß Strömkendorf/Reric, Rostock-Dierkow, Ralswiek und Menzlin bildeten für ca. 100 Jahre den südwestlichen Teil eines neu entstandenen, den gesamten westlichen Ostseeraum umfassenden Versorgungssystems.

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Die ältesten Spuren eines umfangreichen, überregional organisierten Handels im Ostseeraum sind für die jüngere römische Kaiserzeit erfassbar. So hat die Untersuchung des Römischen Importes im südlichen Skandinavien durch U. Lund Hansen (1987:220 pp.) deutlich gezeigt, dass es bereits in dieser Zeit auf den grossen dänischen Inseln Fünen, Seeland und Bornholm zur Gründung von Marktplätzen im Einzugsgebiet von Reichtumszentren oder Zentralplätzen gekommen ist, über die sowohl qualitätvolle Glas- und Bronzewaren römischer Provenienz als auch ausgewählte Gebrauchsgüter in grossem Umfang umgeschlagen wurden und an denen spezialisierte Handwerker ihre Produkte anboten. In die intensive Erforschung der „eisenzeitlichen Sakrallandschaft" auf der Insel Fünen um den Zentralplatz Gudme wurde auch die Markt- und Hafensiedlung von Lundeborg mit einbezogen (Thrane 1998; Hedeager 2001). Bei den hier durchgeführten Ausgrabungen konnten nicht nur erste Anhaltspunkte zur inneren Struktur eines saisonal

betriebenen Handelsplatzes gewonnen werden, sondern es gelang ausserdem der Nachweis, dass dieser kontinuierlich bis in die frühe Wikingerzeit fortbestanden hat (Thomsen 1993:71 pp.). Die neuen Forschungen in Uppåkra in Schonen zeigen, dass auch zu dem hier nachgewiesenen „Zentralplatz" von der Eisenzeit bis zur Wikingerzeit Güter aus dem gesamten Ostseeraum aber auch aus Zentraleuropa gelangten (vgl. Beiträge Hårdh, Larsson, Helgesson in diesem Band). Auf einen organisierten Handel über spezialisierte Marktplätze an der Nordseeküste Jütlands am Ende der Römischen Kaiserzeit und während der Völkerwanderungs- und Merowingerzeit weisen auch Konzentrationen von „Fremdgütern", vor allem von römischen bzw. fränkischen Gläsern, die bei Dankirke, Dejbjerg und Sejlflod gefunden wurden, auch wenn eine ungebrochene Kontinuität bis in die Wikingerzeit bislang noch nicht belegt werden kann (Näsman 1990:109 pp.; Segschneider 2002; vgl. auch Beitrag Segschneider in diesem Band).

Zentral- und Handelsplätze der Merowingerzeit in Norddeutschland?

Jüngste Forschungen belegen, dass auch an der schleswig-holsteinischen und niedersächsischen Nordseeküste während der jüngeren Römischen Kaiserzeit und der Völkerwanderungszeit in regelmässigen Abständen Marktplätze bestanden haben, über die Waren aus dem römischen bzw. fränkischen Reich in den Norden gebracht wurden (Segschneider 2002). Die nachweisbaren Aktivitäten auf diesen Plätzen enden jedoch in der Zeit um 500, als es in Folge der Landnahme der Angeln, Sachsen und Jüten in England zu einer weitgehenden Abwanderung aus den Gebieten Schleswig-Holsteins, des westlichen Mecklenburgs und des Elbe-Weserraums gekommen ist (Böhme 1986). Zu diesem Zeitpunkt brechen nicht nur alle bislang entdeckten Siedlungen und Gräberfelder ab (zuletzt Gebühr 1998:61 pp.; Bode 1998:171 pp.), sondern es kommt auch zur grossflächigen Wiederbewaldung von bislang als Acker genutzten Flächen (Dörfler *et al.* 1992:136 pp.; Behre & Kučan 1994:155 pp.). Der Wald konnte sich in Ostholstein sogar so stark regenerieren, dass er wieder eine ähnliche Ausdehnung wie in der Frühphase des Neolithisierungsprozesses erreichte (Abb. 1; Wiethold 1998:154 pp.). Vereinzelte Hort- und Grabfunde des 6. und 7. Jh. wurden lediglich im Nahbereich wichtiger Verkehrswege wie der Eider und dem Heerweg entdeckt (Müller-Wille 1986:296 pp.; Jöns 1999a:69 pp.), so dass anzunehmen ist, dass das weitgehend unbesiedelte Gebiet als Verkehrsraum auch weiterhin von Bedeutung war (Willroth 1992:450 pp.). Besonders auffällig ist eine Konzentration von Brakteatenfunden des späten 5. und frühen 6. Jh. im Bereich der inneren Schlei (Abb. 2). Sie können als Hinweis auf einen bislang noch unbekannten Zentralplatz oder ein Reichtumszentrum für diesen Raum gewertet werden (Gebühr 1998:54), in dem nach den Ergebnissen dendrochronologischer Untersuchungen von Konstruktionshölzern aus dem Haddebyer Noor bereits zu Beginn des 8. Jh. Haithabu gegründet wurde (Crumlin-Pedersen 1997:67 pp.). Die Klärung, ob Haithabu einem merowingerzeitlichen Zentralplatz unmittelbar folgt oder ob auch in diesem Raum eine Besiedlungslücke von ca. 150 Jahren bestanden hat, muss zukünftigen Forschungen vorbehalten bleiben.

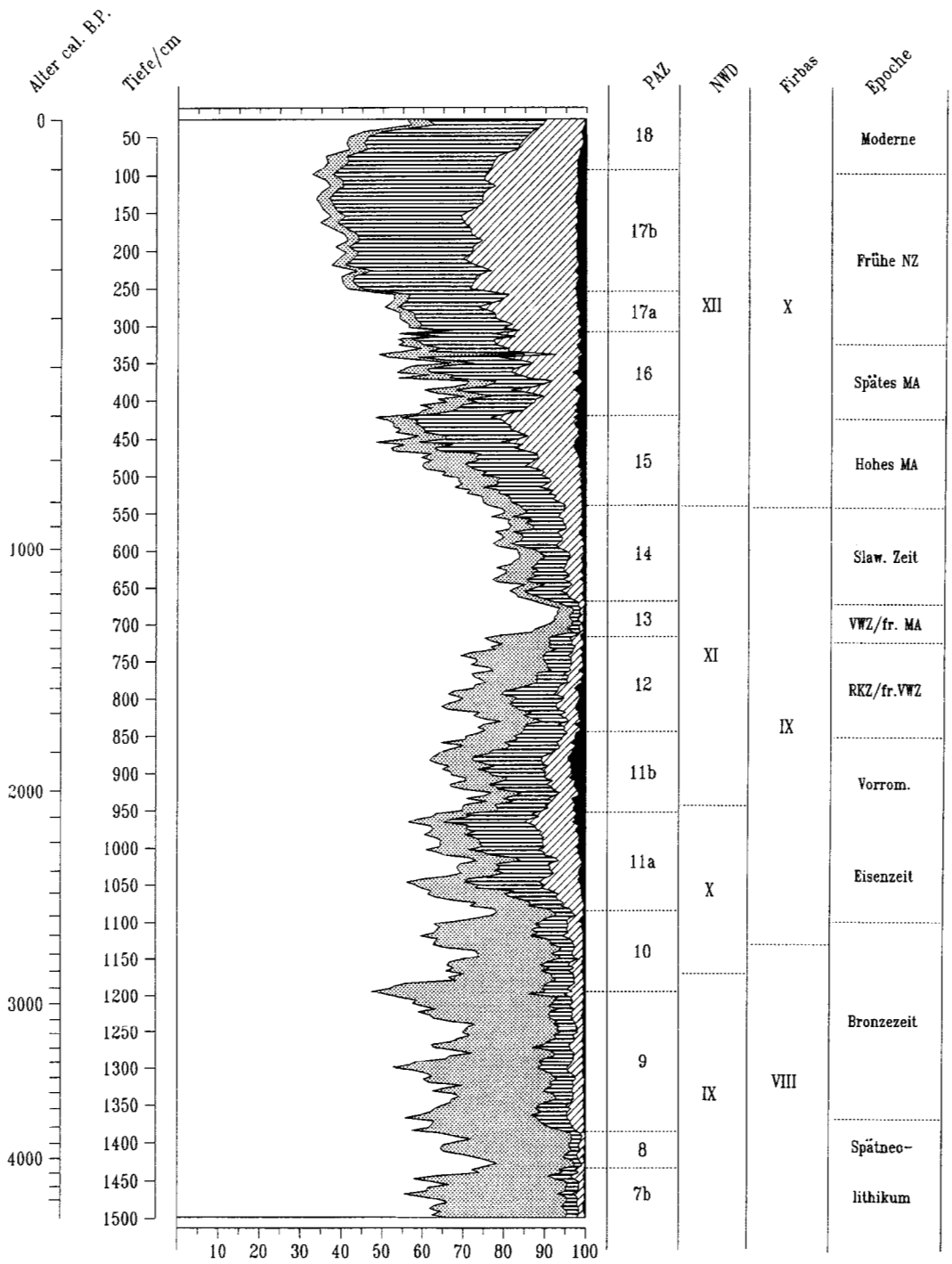

Abb. 1. Das hochauflösende Pollenprofil vom Belauer See (Ostholstein) zeigt für das 6. und 7. Jh. einen starken Rückgang der Siedlungszeiger und eine Wiederbewaldung (Wiethold 1998:Abb. 19).

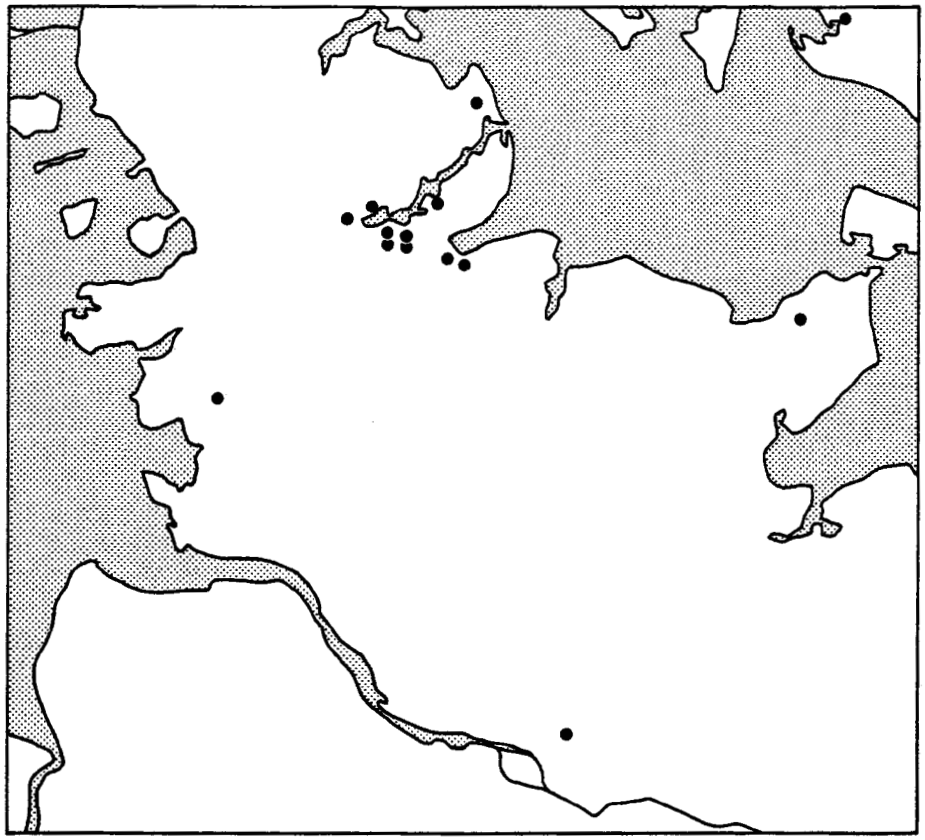

Abb. 2. Die bislang aus Schleswig-Holstein bekannten Brakteatenfunde konzentrieren sich im Bereich der Inneren Schlei (Gebühr 1998:Abb. 4).

Auch in Mecklenburg-Vorpommern ist seit der jüngeren Römischen Kaiserzeit ein kontinuierlicher Bevölkerungsrückgang zu erkennen. Die bislang bekannten Siedlungen und Gräberfelder brechen ausnahmslos spätestens am Ende des 5. oder zu Beginn des 6. Jh. ab (Schach-Dörges 1970:148 pp.; Leube 1995:9 pp.). Konzentrationen von reich ausgestatteten Gräbern des späten 5. und frühen 6. Jh. z.B. um Hagenow (Westmecklenburg) und um den Teterower See (Zentralmecklenburg) können zwar als Hinweise auf Reichtumszentren oder Zentralplätze gewertet werden, der positive Nachweis entsprechender Ansiedlungen steht hingegen noch aus (Voß 1988:154 pp.). Aus der Region um den Teterower See ist durch die bereits seit dem frühen 20. Jh. bekannten Gräber von Rachow, Levitzow, Kittendorf und Teterow (Schach-Dörges 1970:49 pp.) eine gesellschaftliche Elite fassbar, die sowohl in der Bestattungssitte als auch in den Beigaben enge Verbindungen zur Reihengräberzivilisation anweist (Voß 1988: 154). Als Beispiel sei an das Doppelgrab von Teterow erinnert, das bereits 1905 von R. Beltz untersucht wurde. Hier hatte man zwei Männer in nord-südlicher Ausrichtung in einer annähernd quadratischen, teilweise mit Felsgesteinen ausgekleideten Grabgrube begraben. In den Gräbern fand sich eine qualitätvolle Spatha mit gut erhaltener Holzscheide und Silberbeschlägen,

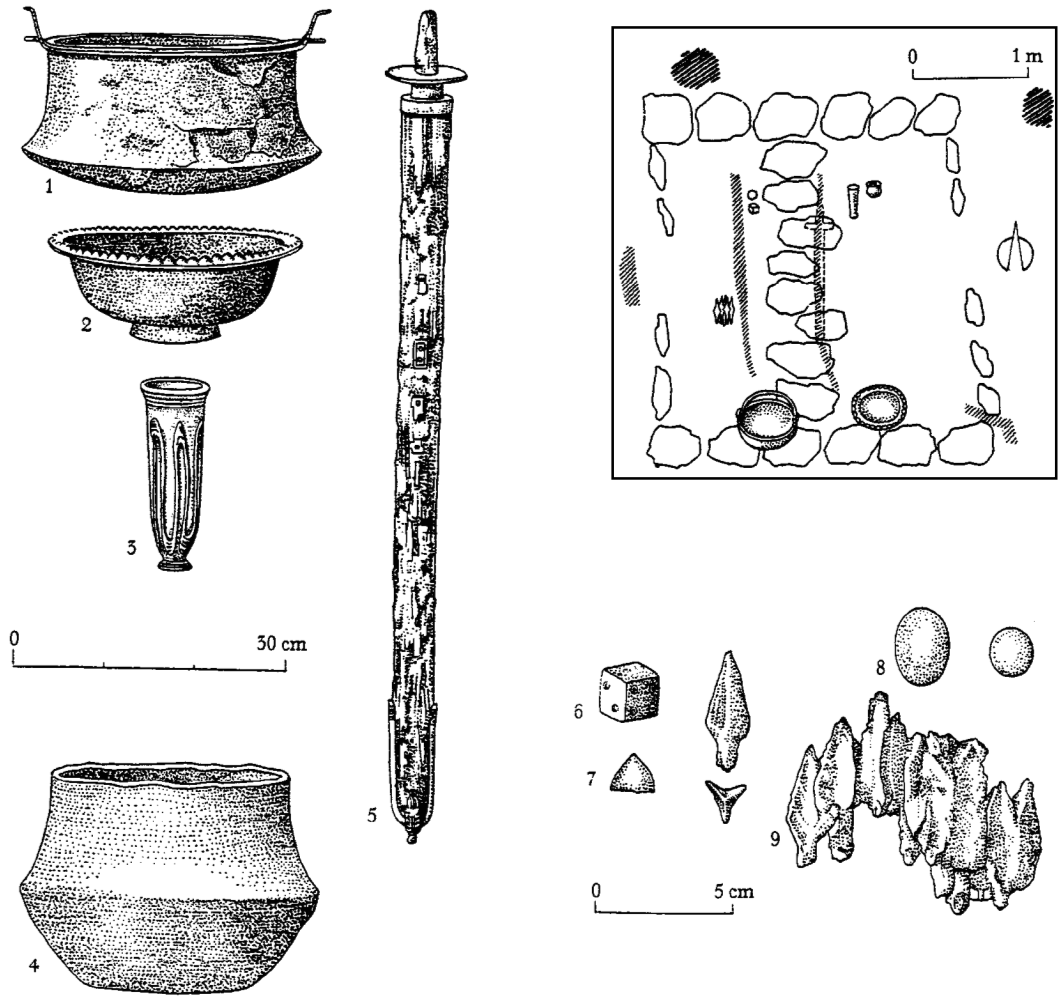

Abb. 3. Grabkonstruktion und Beigaben des Reitergrabes von Teterow in Mecklenburg-Vorponmmern (Voss 1989:529).

die im allamanischem Raum hergestellt worden ist. Weitere Beigaben bestanden aus einem fränkischen Glasbecher, mehreren dreiflügeligen Pfeilspitzen, einem bronzenen Perlrandbecken, einem Vestlandkessel sowie einem Würfel und Spielstein aus Knochen (Abb. 3), so dass deutlich wird, dass das Grab in der Zeit um 480 nach Chr. nach fränkischem Vorbild angelegt worden ist (Voß 1989). Die Bedeutung dieser Region unterstreichen auch der Fund eines D-Goldbrakeaten aus Sukow aus der ersten Hälfte des 6. Jh. (Jantzen 2000a) und die Funde aus dem neu entdeckten Brandgräberfeld von Todendorf (Jantzen 2000b). Die hier geborgenen Funde, wie eine dreiflügelige Pfeilspitze, mehrere Fragmente knöcherner Versteifungen von Reflexbögen, Glasgefässreste, eine Schilddornschnalle oder ein Spangenhelm belegen ebenfalls deutlich fassbare Kontakte zur Reihengräberzivilisation, wenngleich in Todendorf bislang noch keine Körpergräber entdeckt wurden.

Germanisch-slawische Siedlungskontinuität oder Hiatus?

Da einige der noch im frühen 6. Jh. besiedelten Gebiete auch intensive Spuren der ältesten slawischen Einwanderer aufweisen, wird von einigen Forschern die These vertreten, die slawischen Stämme hätten bereits im 6. Jh. die südwestliche Ostseeküste erreicht und es wäre somit zu einem Kontakt zwischen germanischen Siedlern und Slawen gekommen. Dies würde auch die Überlieferung vorslawischer Ortsnamen erklären (zuletzt: Herrmann 1999; Schoknecht 2001:514). Dagegen weist die ständig zunehmende Anzahl von dendrochronologischen Datierungen frühslawischer Siedlungsreste auf eine Einwanderung der Slawen erst im letzten Drittel des 8. Jh. hin (Brather 1996a:14 pp.; Biermann *et al.* 1999:236 pp.). Dies gilt auch für das Gebiet um den Teterower See, aus dem die bislang ältesten absolutchronologischen Daten vorliegen. Die Analyse von Holzproben aus einem zur slawischen Burg von Sukow führendem Bohlenweg hat gezeigt, dass dieses Ensemble vor dem Jahre 693 n. Chr. angelegt wurde (Herrmann & Heußner 1991:261 pp.) (Abb. 4). Demnach wäre also auch in Mecklenburg-Vorpommern mit einer mindestens 120 Jahre andauernden Epoche stark reduzierter Siedlungstätigkeit oder gar einer Siedlungslücke zu rechnen (zusammenfassend Kempke 2001). Diese kann auch nicht durch vereinzelt geborgene Trachtbestandteile und

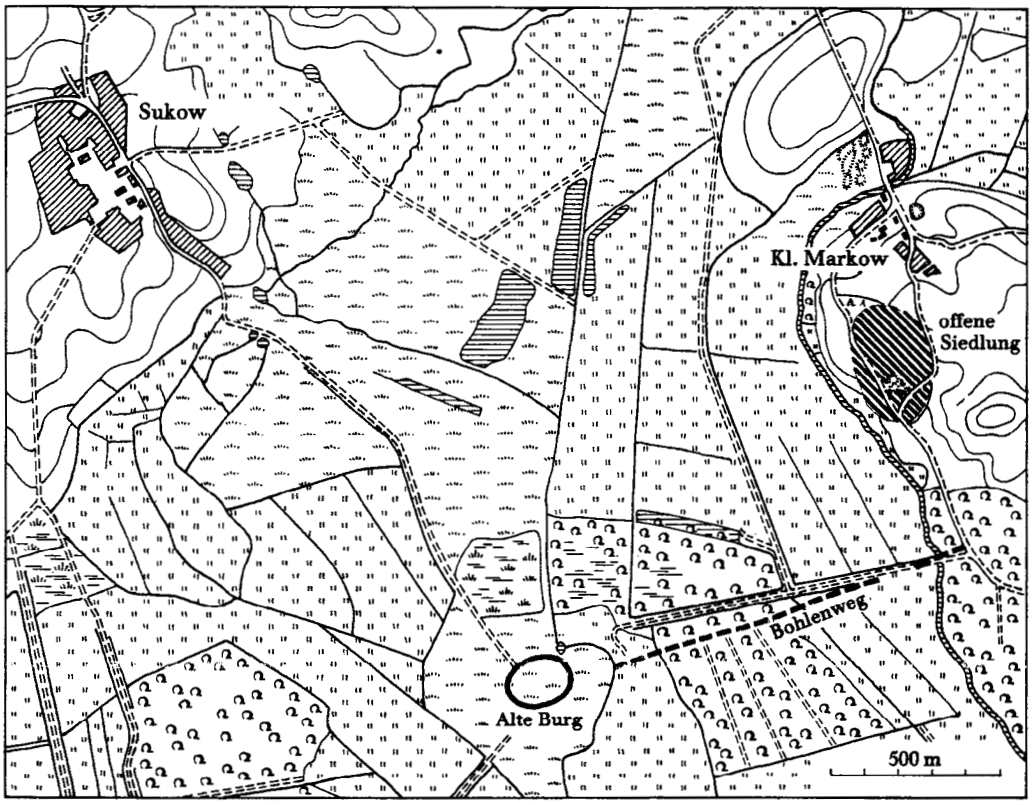

Abb. 4. Lage des Bohlenweges von Sukow zwischen dem frühslawischen Burgwall und der Siedlung von Klein Markow (Schuldt 1989:607).

Waffen des 6. und 7. Jh. - meist skandinavischer Provenienz - geschlossen werden (Mangelsdorf 2001:493 pp.; Schoknecht 2001:511 pp.), da diese Funde entweder ohne Befundzusammenhang oder gar aus deutlich jüngeren Schichten stammen und somit weder mit der slawischen Einwanderung in Verbindung gebracht noch als Beleg für eine merowingerzeitliche Besiedlung des Gebietes gedeutet werden können (Brather 1996b:49 pp.). Auch die Ergebnisse palynologischer Untersuchungen weisen für das 6. und 7. Jh. auf eine deutliche Abnahme der Siedlungstätigkeit in Mecklenburg-Vorpommern hin. Sie zeigen eine enorme Zunahme der Bewaldung und gleichzeitig eine starke Verringerung oder gar den vollständigen Ausfall von Pollen primärer und sekundärer Siedlungszeiger (Lange *et al.* 1986:116 pp.; Schoknecht 1996:52 pp.).

Skandinavisch-slawische Handelszentren im südwestlichen Ostseeraum

Zu Beginn des 8. Jh. wird der südwestliche Ostseeraum verstärkt zur Kontaktzone zwischen den skandinavischen Königreichen, den slawischen Gebieten in Ostholstein, Mecklenburg und Vorpommern sowie dem Mitteleuropa beherrschenden Frankenreich. Der hier entstehende gesellschaftlich, ethnisch, religiös und wirtschaftlich heterogene Wirtschaftsraum bot für reisende Händler und spezialisierte Handwerker sehr gute Voraussetzungen, um per Schiff für ihre Waren neue Märkte zu erschliessen. Eine zentrale Rolle für die Organisation des frühgeschichtlichen Warenaustauschs spielten Ansiedlungen, die ab dem frühen 8. Jh. im gesamten Ostseeraum, meist in geschützten Buchten oder an Flussläufen, im Nahbereich der Küsten gegründet wurden und als wirtschaftliche Zentren nicht nur den ansässigen Händlern und Handwerkern sondern auch der jeweiligen Herrschaft erheblichen Gewinn brachten (Abb. 5). Im Bereich der Ostseeküste Mecklenburg-Vorpommerns sind durch archäologische Untersuchungen mit Groß Strömkendorf/Reric, Rostock-Dierkow, Ralswiek und Menzlin bislang vier solcher Handelsplätze bekannt; weitere werden aufgrund schriftlicher Überlieferungen, Fundkonzentrationen und theoretischer Überlegungen im Bereich des Barther Boddens und auf der Insel Usedom vermutet.

Am Ufer der Peene, ca. 10 km westlich ihrer Einmündung in das Oderhaff wurde bei Menzlin bereits in den 1960er Jahren ein Handelsplatz mit Gräberfeld des 8. und 9. Jh. entdeckt und partiell ausgegraben (Schoknecht 1977) (Abb. 6). Das dabei geborgene Fundmaterial belegt sowohl umfangreiche handwerkliche Aktivitäten (Verarbeitung von Glas, Bernstein, Eisen, Buntmetall, Knochen und Geweih) als auch einen überregionalen Handel (Mühlsteinbasalt, fränkische Keramik- und Glasgefässe, Tesserae usw.). Die in Menzlin umgeschlagenen Waren wurden vermutlich flussaufwärts verhandelt, wo das Flusssystem der Peene, Tollense und Trebel ein im Frühmittelalter dicht besiedeltes Hinterland erschloss.

Unmittelbar östlich des Handelsplatzes liegt ein Gräberfeld, das sich über einen sandigen Hügel erstreckt und durch im Zentrum schiffsförmiger Steinsetzungen plazierte Urnengräber geprägt ist. Diese nahezu ausschliesslich aus Skandinavien bekannte Bestattungssitte (Capelle 1986:6 pp.) und die Beigabe mehrerer skandinavischer Schalenfibeln weist auf die dauerhafte Anwesenheit einer skandinavischen Bevölkerungsgruppe hin, so das Menzlin als

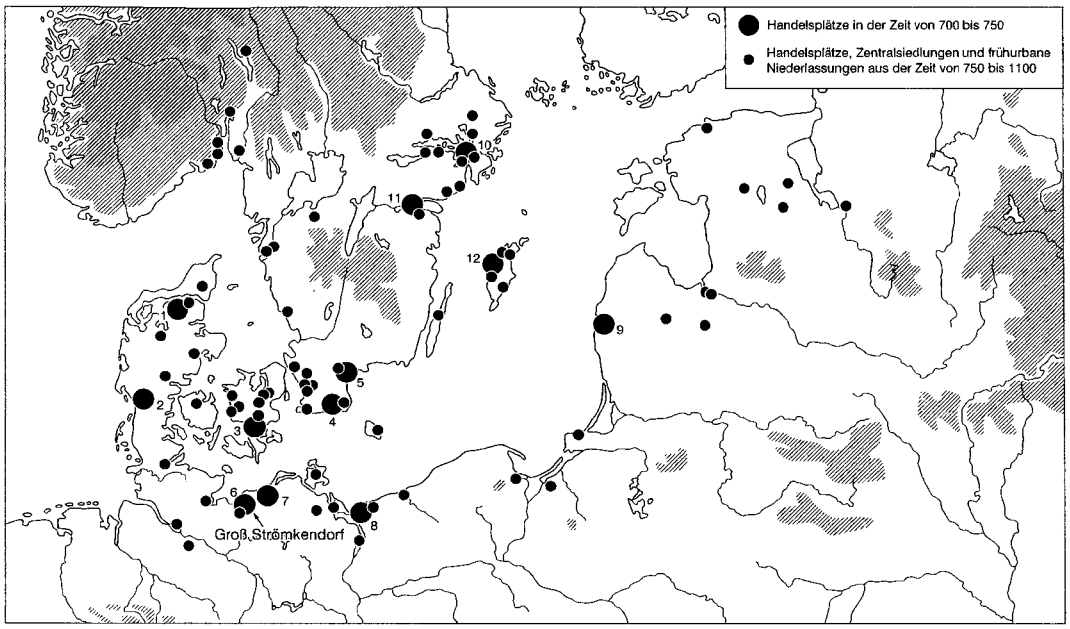

Abb. 5. Verbreitung der Handelsplätze des 8. Jh. im Ostseeraum (Jöns 1998a:Abb. 1).

eine skandinavische Niederlassung im slawischen Siedlungsgebiet gedeutet werden kann (Schoknecht 1977:136 pp.).

Von besonderer Bedeutung ist die Entdeckung einer, auf Holzbalken gegründeten, mit Steinen gepflasterten Strasse, die nach dem Ergebnis von Sondagen (Schoknecht 1992, 2001:513) und erst jüngst abgeschlossenen, geophysikalischen Prospektionsarbeiten auf einer Länge von mehr als 800 m beiderseits der Peene durch die Flussniederung führte. Den Übergang über den Fluss ermöglichte eine hölzerne Brücke, deren Reste noch im Uferbereich erhalten sind. Brücke und Strasse entstanden nach dendrochronologischen Untersuchungen um die Mitte des 8. Jh. und verbanden das nördlich des Flusses lokalisierte Handelszentrum mit mehreren südlich des Flusses gelegenen, durch Oberflächenfunde erschlossene Siedlungen.

Die Insel Rügen wurde seit den 1960er Jahren vom damaligen Zentralinstitut für Alte Geschichte und Archäologie der DDR intensiv untersucht (Herrmann 1997:12 pp.). Dabei konnte eine Fülle archäologischer Fundstellen lokalisiert werden; die Spuren der slawischen Besiedlung mit der Tempelburg Arkona, dem Burgwall von Bergen/Rugard und Ralswiek selbst bildeten dabei deutliche Forschungsschwerpunkte. Die Ausgrabungen in Ralswiek haben gezeigt, dass die Siedlung in der 2. Hälfte des 8. Jh. am Südufer des Jasmunder Boddens auf einem Strandwall angelegt worden ist, von dem aus Schiffe und Boote mit geringem Tiefgang direkt in die Ostsee gelangen konnten (Herrmann 1997:34 pp.) (Abb. 7). Die Siedlung bestand im 8. und 9. Jh. aus 12 - 17 Gehöften, die sich mehrheitlich aus einem Wohnhaus sowie umliegenden Werkstätten zur Metall-, Knochen- und Bernsteinverarbeitung, Speichern und Nebengebäuden zusammensetzten. Unmittelbar östlich der Siedlung auf dem südöstlichen Hochufer des Grossen Jasmunder Boddens befindet sich in den „Schwarzen Bergen“ ein sich über knapp 3 Hektar erstreckendes

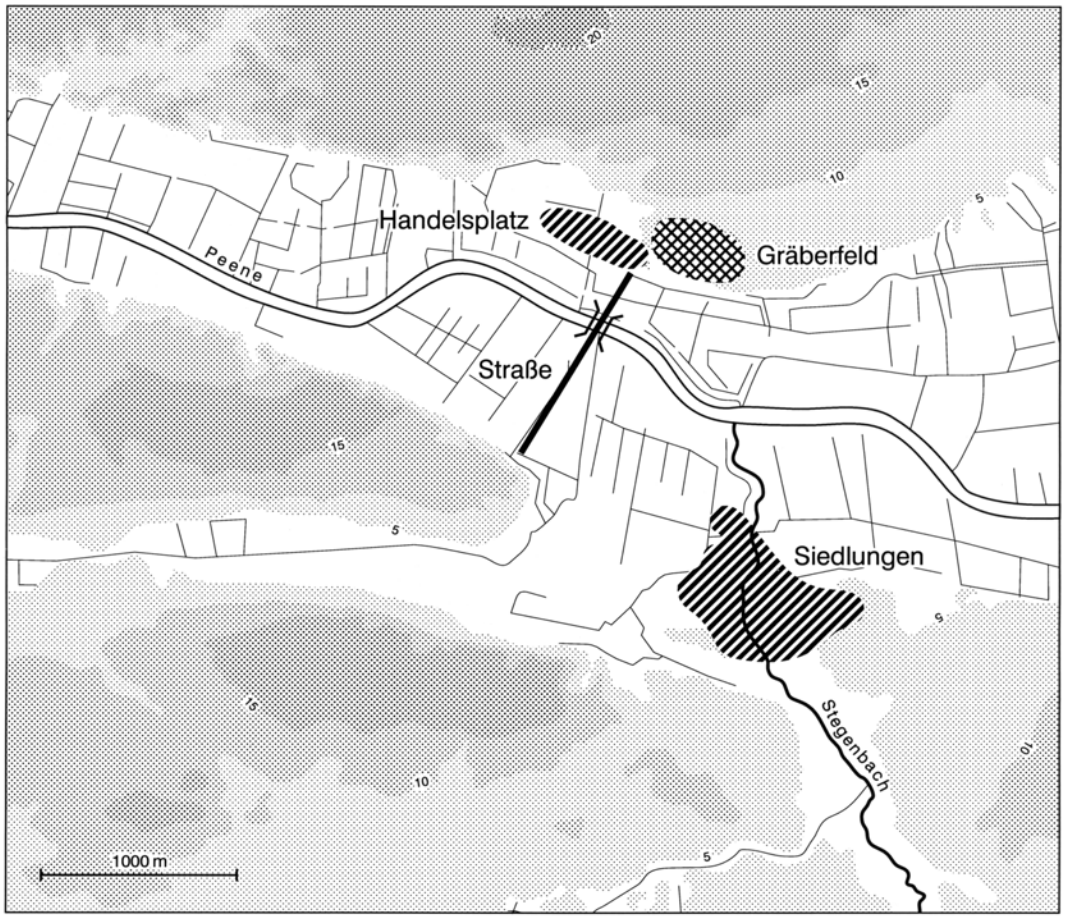

Abb. 6. Topographische Lage des Handelsplatzes von Menzlin mit Gräberfeld und Strasse (nach Jöns & Müller-Wille 2002).

Gräberfeld des 9. bis 12. Jh., in dem sowohl Körper- als auch Brandbestattungen angelegt worden sind (Warnke 1989).

Im Bereich des Rostocker Stadtteils Dierkow wurden am östlichen Ufer einer in die Warnow entwässernden Niederung Spuren eines Handelsplatzes aus dem 8. und 9. Jh. entdeckt und in den 1980er Jahren partiell freigelegt (Warnke 1993). Der Handelsplatz war ursprünglich am Ufer der Unterwarnow angelegt worden und hatte somit eine direkte Verbindung zur ca. 10 km entfernten Ostsee. Bei den Ausgrabungen konnten zwar Konzentrationen von Gruben und Feuerstellen freigelegt werden; Spuren von Gebäuden wurden hingegen nicht entdeckt. In den ufernahen Abschnitten des Fundplatzes wurden ausserdem mehrere Brunnen nachgewiesen, deren hölzerne Auskleidung eine dendrochronologische Datierung der Siedlung in die zweite Hälfte des 8. und in die erste Hälfte des 9. Jh. ergab. Nur wenige Meter abseits der Bebauungsspuren wurde ein frühslawisches Urnengrab gefunden.

Das geborgene Fundmaterial belegt, dass im 8. und 9. Jh. in Rostock-Dierkow Händler und Handwerker ansässig waren, die weitreichende Kontakte nach Westeuropa und

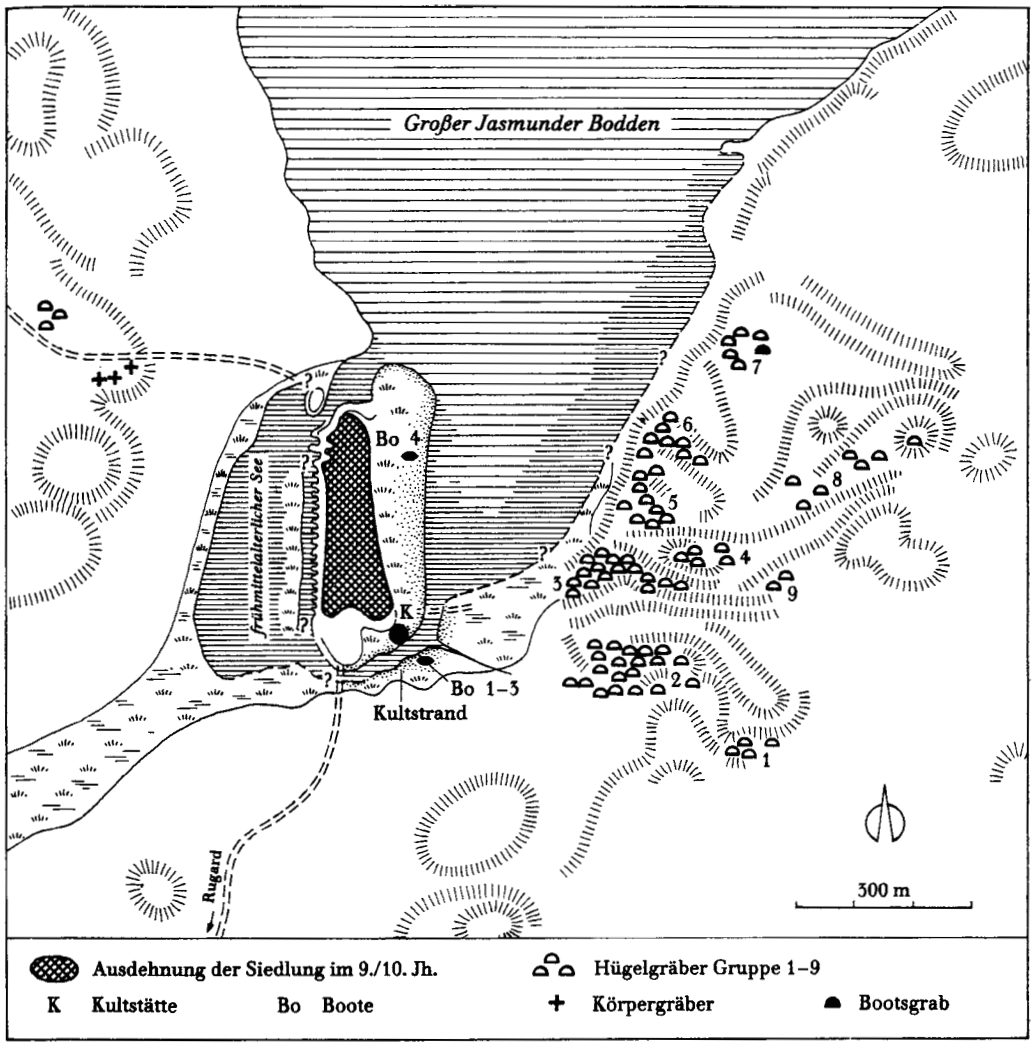

Abb. 7. Topographie des Handelsplatzes von Ralswiek auf Rügen mit Gräberfeld und Kultplatz (Herrmann 1989:585).

zum gesamten Ostseeraum besassen (zusammenfassend Müller-Wille 1995). So sind die in der Siedlung gefundenen Trachtbestandteile zu einem grossen Teil in Skandinavien hergestellt worden; die zeitweilige Anwesenheit einer skandinavischen Bevölkerungsgruppe in Dierkow ist deshalb anzunehmen. Eine bislang einzigartige Zusammensetzung weist der Inhalt eines Lederbeutels auf, der in der Baugrubenfüllung eines hölzernen Brunnens aus dem frühen 9. Jh. an der Peripherie des Handelsplatzes von Rostock-Dierkow geborgen wurde (Warnke 1992/93). Er bestand aus gegossenen, silbernen, tierstilverzierten Griffteilen eines Schwertes, einer vollständigen Kette mit Bleiglasperlen, einer einzelnen Glasperle, einem kleinen Probierstein mit Goldspuren, drei Messing- und zwei Zinkbarren, einer Bleimatrize und mehreren Silberblechfragmenten (Geibig 1992/93; Steppuhn 1992/93).

Das Groß Strömkendorf-Projekt

Im Rahmen eines interdisziplinären Forschungsprojektes wurde von 1995 bis 1999 ein bei Groß Strömkendorf, unmittelbar an der Wismar Bucht gelegenes Ensemble aus frühmittelalterlichem Handelsplatz mit Gräberfeld und Hafen untersucht (zusammenfassend Jöns 1998a, 1998b, 1999b, 2000) (Abb. 8). Die Untersuchung zahlreicher Brunnenreste aus dem Siedlungsareal ermöglichte die Bergung umfangreicher Holzproben für dendrochronologische Analysen, deren Ergebnisse zeigen, dass die Siedlung am Ende des 1. Drittels des 8. Jh. gegründet und bereits zu Beginn des 9. Jh. aufgegeben wurde. Die Bebauung bestand aus einzelnen Grubenhäusern mit Vorratsgruben und Brunnen, die ohne erkennbare Ordnung sowohl in unmittelbarer Küstennähe als auch auf dem nördlich anschliessenden flachen Geländekuppen errichtet worden waren (Tummuscheit 2002). Die wirtschaftliche Basis für diese Siedlung bildeten bereits Handwerk und Handel; dies belegen vielfältige Produktionsabfälle (Verarbeitung von Eisen, Buntmetall, Knochen, Geweih, Bernstein und Glas) sowie typische Handelswaren (Mühlsteinbasalt, Wetzschiefer, fränkische Glas- und Keramikgefässe, Tesserae usw.) aus der Verfüllung dieser Befunde. Wohl in den 60er Jahren des 8. Jh. erfolgt eine Umstrukturierung des Siedlungsplatzes, in deren Folge der unmittelbar in Küstennähe gelegene Bereich mit in Reihen angeordneten Grubenhäusern und deren Nebenanlagen bebaut wird, so dass eine Planung der Siedlung erkennbar wird. Die handwerkliche Produktion und der überregionale Warenaustausch spielten auch weiterhin die dominierende Rolle im Wirtschaftsleben der Ansiedlung.

Gleichzeitig wurde der nördliche, auf einer flachen Kuppe gelegene Teil der Siedlung aufgegeben und dort eine Nekropole angelegt. Die dort erfolgten Beisetzungen lassen im Ritus eine grosse Variabilität erkennen. Es sind gleichermassen Frauen, Kinder und Männer begraben, so dass sich die Anwesenheit von Familien erschliessen lässt. Auch wenn noch eine detaillierte Analyse der Grabformen aussteht, kann festgestellt werden, dass bei der Grablege Bestattungstraditionen aus dem gesamten nördlichen Mitteleuropa Berücksichtigung fanden. So sind für die Verwendung von Booten skandinavischer Bautradtion im Bestattungsbrauch schwerpunktmässig Parallelen aus Dänemark und Schweden zu benennen (Müller-Wille 1995b), so dass auch für Groß Strömkendorf ein bedeutender skandinavischer Bevölkerungsanteil erschlossen werden kann (Jöns 1998b). Der Nachweis von Hunde- und Pferdegräbern lässt darüber hinaus darauf schliessen, dass auch Menschen aus den sächsischen und friesischen Siedlungsgebieten in Groß Strömkendorf ansässig waren (Hornig 1993:84 pp.). Es kann deshalb als gesichert gelten, dass die in Groß Strömkendorf ansässige Bevölkerung aus Menschen unterschiedlicher Herkunft bestand. Auch die Qualität der in den Gräbern nachgewiesenen Ausstattung (z.B. skandinavische Scheibenfibeln, friesische Textilien, Millefioriperlen) zeigt, dass es vor Ort sehr wohlhabende Personen gab, die über weitreichende Beziehungen vor allem nach Skandinavien aber auch in den Nordseeraum verfügten.

Durch die Auswertung von Satelliten- und Luftbildern, sowie durch geophysikalische und geologisch-palynologische Untersuchungen konnte die Lage des Hafens rekonstruiert werden. Er befand sich in einer kleinen nord-süd-ausgerichteten Bucht ca. 80 m vor der heutigen Küstenlinie. Diese war im Spätglazial durch abfliessende Schmelzwassersande gebildet worden und ist vom Tiefenwasser der

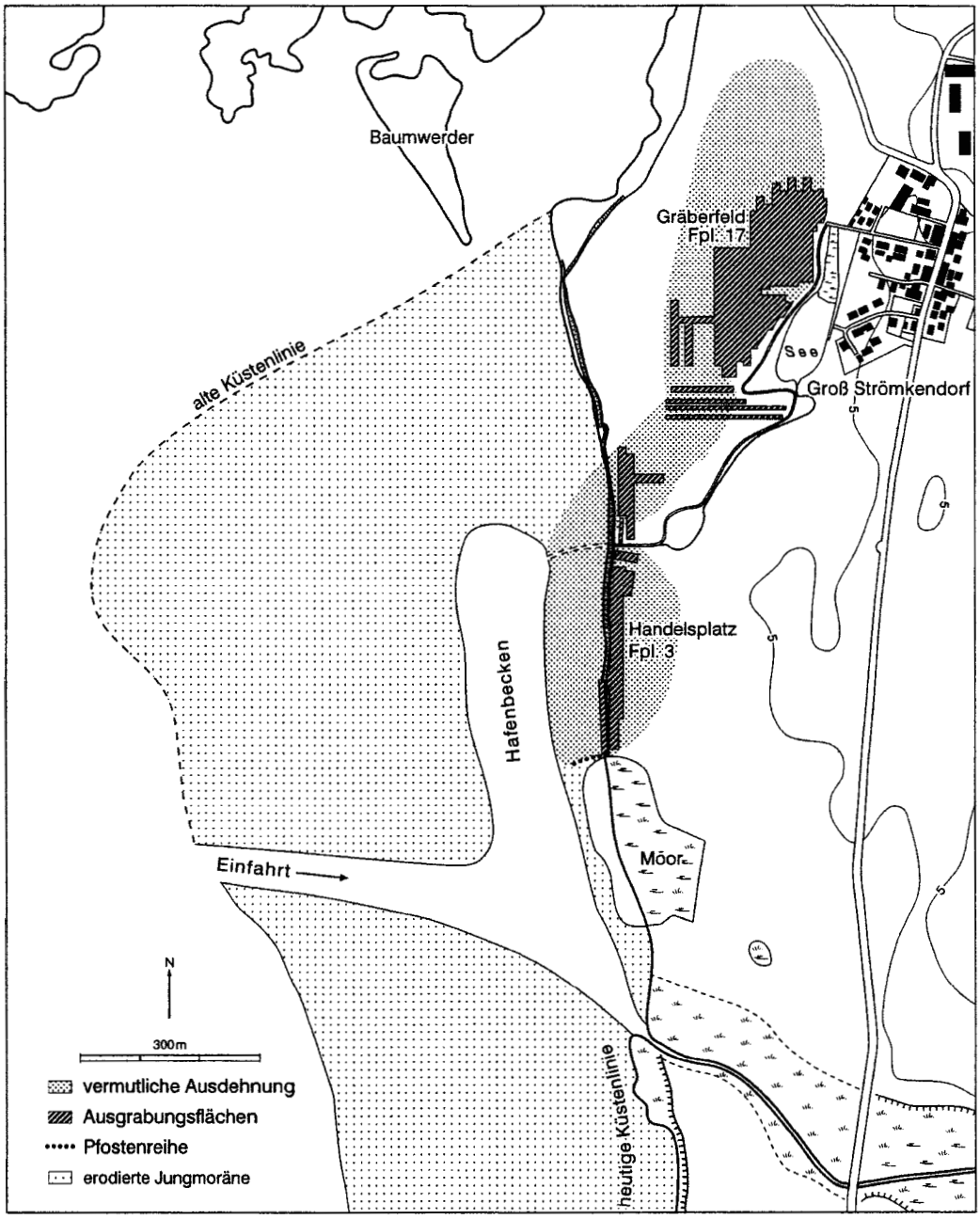

Abb. 8. Handelsplatz und Hafen mit Gräberfeld von Groß Strömkendorf bei Wismar (Jöns 1999b:Abb. 2).

Wismar-Bucht durch eine mehrere hundert Meter breiten Landbrücke getrennt. Diese Bucht bot somit sehr gute Voraussetzungen für die Anlage eines gegen Wettereinflüsse geschützten Hafens. Ihre günstige Lage mag den Ausschlag für die Gründung des Handelsplatzes bei Groß Strömkendorf gegeben haben.

Resumé

Durch siedlungsarchäologische Untersuchungen im Bereich der norddeutschen Küstengebiete konnten bislang nur vereinzelt Hinweise auf eisenzeitliche und völkerwanderungszeitliche Zentralplätze und Marktplätze gewonnen werden. Im Gegensatz zu den aus dem südskandinavischen Raum bekannten Zentren, brechen sie ausnahmslos spätestens zu Beginn oder in der Mitte des 6. Jh. ab. Erst zu Beginn des 8. Jh. entstanden dann Handels- und Marktplätze in Küstennähe, deren Struktur und Fundmaterial starke skandinavische Einflüsse erkennen lassen. Sie bilden einen Teil eines neu entstandenen, den gesamten westlichen Ostseeraum umfassenden Versorgungssystems.

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Trade and centrality between the Rhine and the Limfjord around 500 AD. The beachmarket on the Northfrisian island Amrum and its context

Martin Segschneider

Abstract

A recently discovered site on the island Amrum in North Friesland, Germany, can be interpreted as a landing-place and seasonal beach market, which was prepared with a layer of white sand and parcelled out with ditches and clay walls. The black occupation-layer of the market area contained most of the finds. Frankish glass beaker sherds from this layer show that Amrum was connected with the sites Dankirke and Dejbjerg at the west coast of Jutland, where wealthy rulers stored prestigious drinking-glasses in their houses. All three places were part of a coastal trade-route, which connected the Rhine with the Limfjord.

Along this trade route, there are some regions with a high potential of centrality (indicated through gold finds, theophoric place-names and topography), e.g. the Elbe-Weser-triangle or the western mouth of the Limfjord. Further research in these areas might be fruitful for our knowledge about landing-places connected with trade and exchange. It must be taken into account though, that storm-floods and erosion took their toll on these exposed places.

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Introduction

Coastal trade-places and centrality are one of the current tasks being studied mainly in Scandinavian archaeology (Jensen & Watt 1993; Larsson & Hårdh 1998; Dickinson & Griffiths 1999). Differing opinions exist about whether protected harbours and provisions were available for overnight stops of long-distance traders from the south, or if rather a handing-over of goods from one regional ruler to the next in a step-by-step trade took place (Lund Hansen 1987, 1990; Näsman 1990; 1991; Böhme 2001: 487).

Lundeborg on the Danish island Fyn proves that specialized trade-places existed in the North already from the 3rd century onwards (Thomsen *et al.* 1993), and its setting-up is thought to have been inspired by similar places at the southern coast of the Northern Sea (Ulriksen 1998:271). But only Bentumersiel at the lower Ems can be named for this area (Brandt 1977; Carnap-Bornheim 1999:20). This lack of information makes it a challenge to find other trade- and landing-places along the Northern Sea coastline (Böhme 2001:484).

The beachmarket on Amrum

Luckily, a landingplace could be detected and examined on the Northfrisian island Amrum[1] (Fig. 1). Here, in two dune valleys, storms uncovered occupation-layers underneath the medieval dunes. The archaeological structures found in the larger valley are a black occupation-layer, several ditches and clay walls which presumably marked out plots, two sunken-huts and a four-posted granary (Fig. 2). As the cross-section revealed, the original surface was prepared with a layer of white beach-sand and then used extensively, thus accumulating the occupation-layer which contained the majority of finds (Fig. 3). In the other, much smaller dune valley, the occupation-layer was not separated from the subsoil; in addition some ditches and pits occurred. Lots of decorated potsherds, some broken bronze brooches and other scrap metal, glass beads and some 20 glass beaker sherds, amber and implements of stone as well as iron slag and heat-protection shields for the bellows of the smith, represent the collection of finds from the two dune valleys (Figs. 4-5).

For the evaluation of the finds, a study by Carlsson (1988) provides a useful tool. The number of certain finds from some Scandinavian trade places was devided by the duration of use and the size of the excavated areas (Carlsson 1988:Fig.1); Thomsen later added the data from Lundeborg (1994:Fig. 8). A comparison with the finds from Amrum gives a surprisingly positive result, which has to be interpreted with care though, due to the small total number of finds (Fig. 6).

In my opinion, the finds and structures from Amrum can be seen as remains of a seasonal beach market, where imported goods like glass beakers from the Rhineland were traded and local goods were produced (iron-smithing, bronze-casting?). The activities can be dated by the pottery and the Frankish glass sherds from around 400 to around 500 AD.

Related settlements

Related to Amrum are the sites Dankirke and Dejbjerg at the west coast of Jutland to the north. Remains of houses were excavated there, which contained large amounts of Frankish glass sherds and glass beads (Thorvildsen 1984; Lund Hansen 1984; Egeberg Hansen 1996; 2000). In Dejbjerg, a possible landing-place could be located by some coins on a sand-barrier, cutting off the Ringkøbing Fjord from the open sea, near Sønder Haurvig (Egeberg Hansen 1996:232). The landing-place of Dankirke is thought to lie south of the settlement at the presumed old coastline (Jensen 1991:77). Egeberg Hansen (1993) connected Dejbjerg and Dankirke to a glass-trade-route from the Rhine along the westcoast of Jutland to Norway, and Amrum fits well into this model. Dankirke and Dejbjerg represent the living-places of regional rulers, who gained symbols of status through participation in the coastal trade, and who stored their wealth in their houses which later burned down, whereas the site on Amrum represent the seasonal landing-places directly at the coast, on which items were accidently deposited or thrown away.

The trade route between the Rhine and the Limfjord

Theophoric place-names, deposits of bracteates and golden arm- and neckrings as well as Roman and Frankish imported luxury goods can indicate the seats of elites, where both religious and secular power was centered (Fonnesbech-Sandberg 1991; Hedeager 1991;

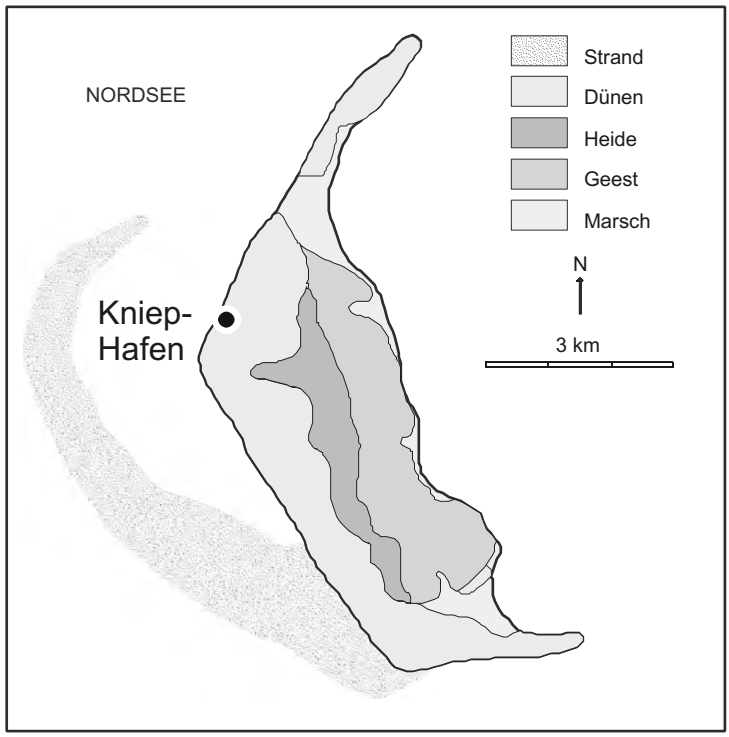

Fig. 1. Island Amrum, North Friesland. Location of the beachmarket from around 500 AD (dot) and the historical natural harbour (Müller 1937:Fig.3).

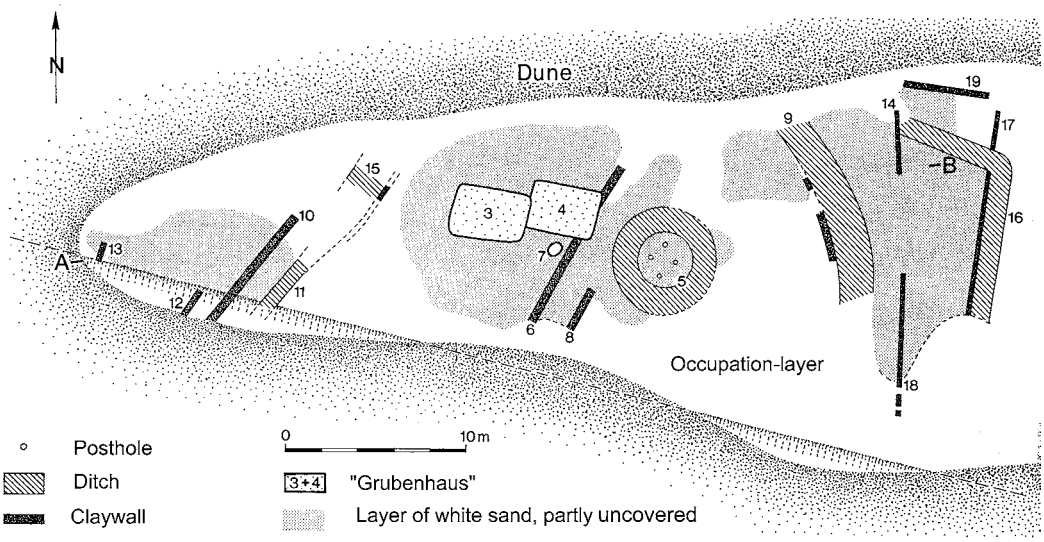

Fig. 2. Plan of the beachmarket structures in the large dune valley, island Amrum, North Friesland.

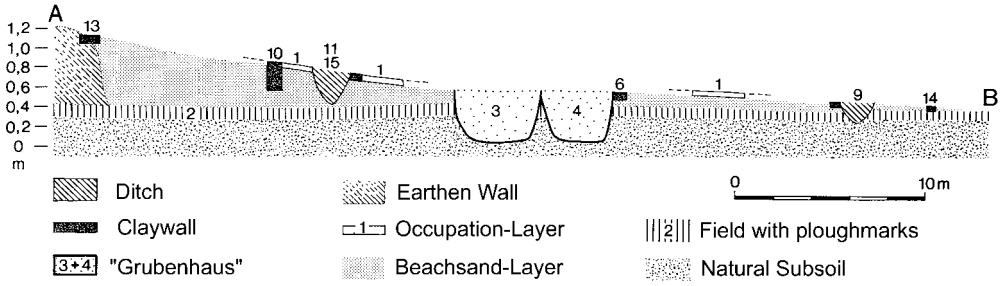

Fig. 3. Generalized and five times raised-in-height stratigraphy of the beachmarket area, island Amrum, North Friesland. See A – B on fig. 2 for location.

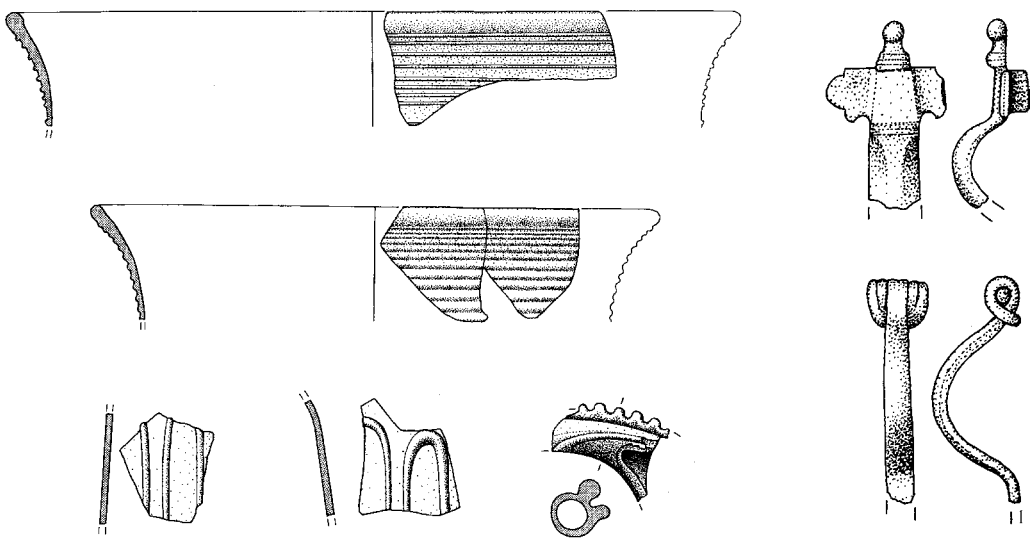

Fig. 4. Frankish glass sherds and fragmented bronze brooches from the beachmarket, island Amrum, North Friesland. Scale approx. 1:1.5.

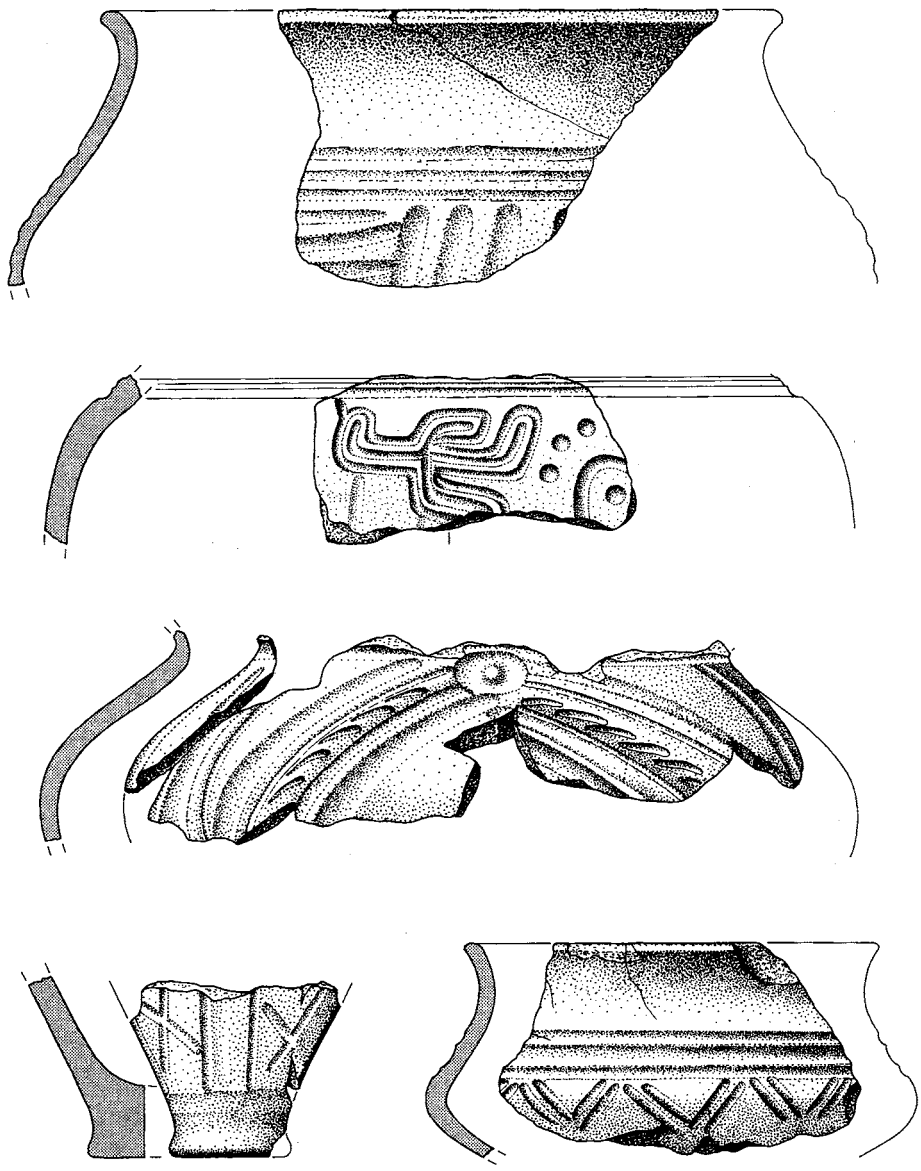

Fig. 5. Potsherds from the occupation-layer and the sunken huts (Grubenhäuser) of the beachmarket, island Amrum, North Friesland. Scale 1:2.

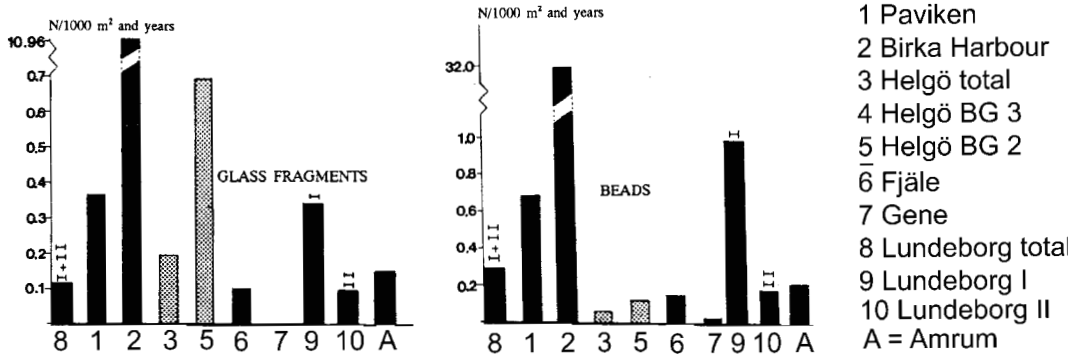

Fig. 6. Amount of finds from the beachmarket on Amrum compared with some Scandinavian tradeplaces. Data after Carlsson (1988) and Thomsen (1994).

Ringtved 1991:65 pp.). The named indicators are used in the following to locate areas with a high potential for centrality and the connected landing-places between the Rhine and the Limfjord (Fig. 7).

From the northern coast of the Netherlands the site Wijnaldum in the region Westergo is known, where Roman and Frankish imports were discovered in settlement excavations. The finds show that this central place took part in the long-distance trade and exchange (Gerrets 1999). From the area around Wijnaldum some bracteates are known (Munksgaard 1978:Fig. 109), and also the rest of the "Terp region" in the northern Netherlands is rich in finds of gold and silver (Knol 1993:222).

Roman imports occurred also in a settlement near Leer at the mouth of the River Ems in Germany (Bärenfänger 1999). Through several bracteates and a golden necklace, the area around Sievern in the Elbe-Weser-triangle is marked as the seat of a Saxon elite (Berger 1991; Hauck 1970). The triangle revealed many Roman and Frankish imports from settlements, graves and hoards (Schön 1999). Frankish glasses in graves further up the rivers were presumably passed on via the Elbe-Weser-triangle (Thieme 2000). The island Helgoland (=holy island) might have belonged to the same sphere of influence, as is indicated by the theophoric place-name and a golden bracelet (Laur 2001:163 p.; Ahrens 1966:Fig. 112).

A hoard of golden ring-money is a single indication for trade on the peninsula Eiderstedt (Müller-Wille 1986). The named site on Amrum lies at the outer island rim of the Northfrisian wadden sea, whereas the findspot of the famous golden horns, Gallehus, lies not far away near the sheltered mainland coast in southernmost Denmark (Jørgensen & Vang Petersen 1998: 182 p.). These extraordinary cult objects weighed at least 6.9 kg and seem to represent a powerful elite (Hedeager 1991:Fig. 1).

Next to the north follows Dankirke, south of Ribe (see above). North of Ribe, in the area of Darum/Skonager, a trade route crossing the Jutland peninsula was proposed due to the locality of several bracteates (Hauck 1988:200). Near the Ringkøbing Fjord, a good natural harbour, lay the settlement of Dejberg (see above). Further north, at the western mouth of the Limfjord, an area was located with a high potential for centrality and trade, as is indicated by topography, finds and place-

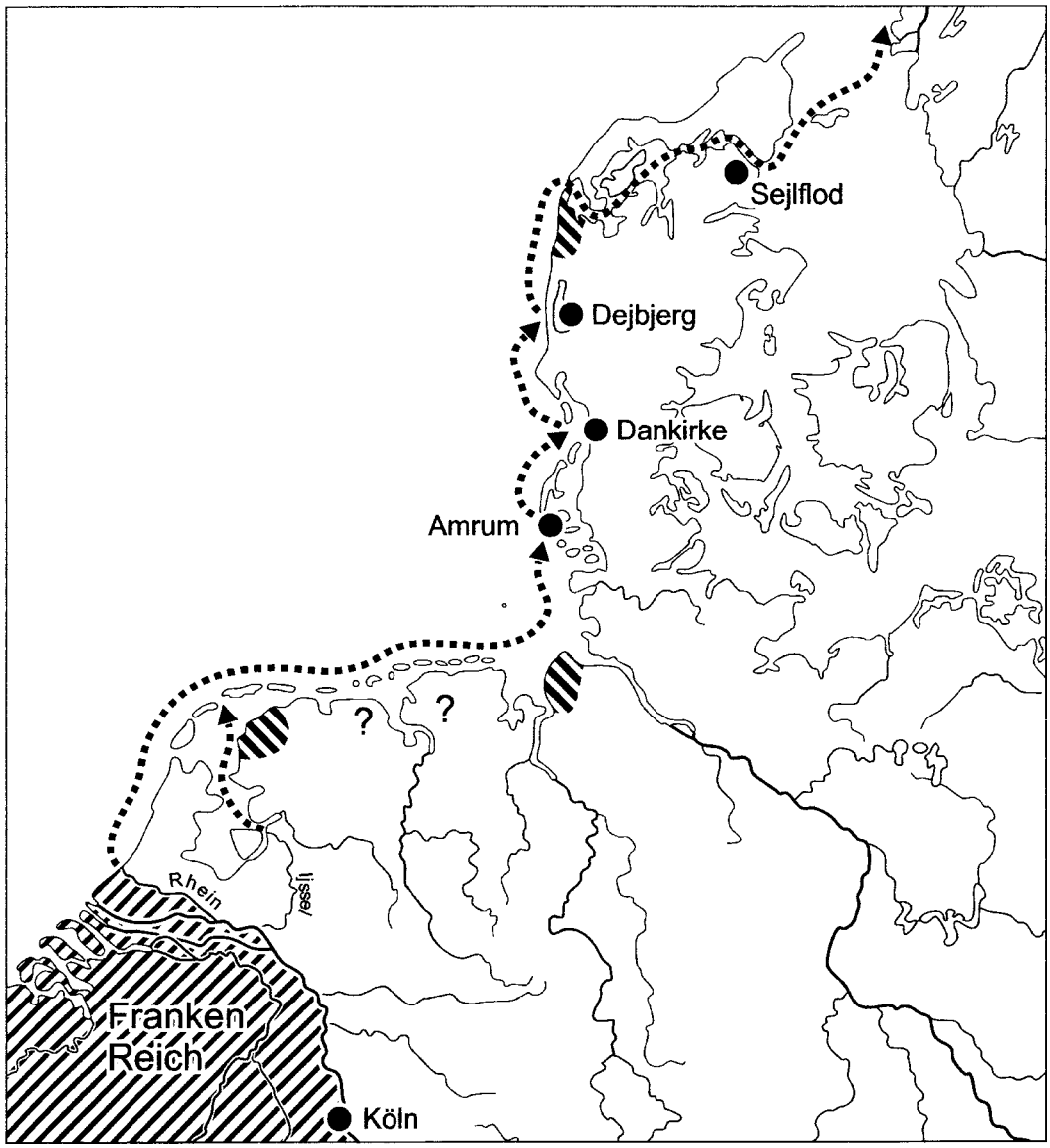

Fig. 7. The traderoute between Rhine and Limfjord around 500 AD. Hatched: areas with high potential of centrality.

names (Fabech & Ringtved 1993). Several Roman finds occurred along the shores further inside the fjord (Lund Hansen 1987). Following the Limfjord to the east, settlements like Bejsebakken are marked by rich metalfinds (Ringtved 1999:Fig. 6), but also theophoric placenames indicate centrality (Grønnegaard 2000). Late-Roman and early Frankish glass beakers from graves in Sejlflod and Gudumlund are signs of an elite, which is identifiable also through golden rings, bracteates and place-names (Nielsen 1994:334 pp., 2000:18 p.). Amongst the grave goods of Sejlflod were an equal-arm brooch and a pot, which were obviously produced in the Elbe-Weser-triangle and thus might also represent the transfer of

ideas and people (Ringtved 1991:56).

All in all, a coastal trade route between the Rhine and the Limfjord can be described with the named places as stepping-stones. Areas with strong indications for centrality like Westergo, the Elbe-Weser-triangle or the western mouth of the Limfjord were presumably the backbone of this longdistance traderoute.

Ships

We do not know, which types of ships were used around 500 AD along the Northern sea coast. Saxon raiders, according to written sources, used sailing-ships in the Channel at the end of the 5th cent. (Bill et al. 1997:49 p.). It seems likely, therefore, that sailing-boats with their crews, using the advantages of combined sailing and rowing to master the difficult tidal waters, found their way up to the Limfjord. The regular distances of approximately 70 km between Amrum, Dankirke and Dejbjerg might thus represent day-trips with such sailing-boats. But this is only guessing, as we are just starting to get a more detailed picture of the coastal trade around the Northern sea in the migration period.

Note

[1] For details see: Segschneider, M., Fränkisches-Glas im Dünensand – ein Strandmarkt des 5. Jh. auf der nordfriesischen Insel Amrum und die völkerwanderungszeitliche Handelsroute zwischen Rhein und Limfjord. *Archäologisches Korrespondenzblatt* 1/2002.

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Rural-urban dynamics and central places in the Scheldt and the Meuse Region between the 5th and the 9th centuries

Laurent Verslype

Abstract

This paper is a general overview of the notion of central place in the area studied, i.e. the Scheldt basin and the lower and middle course of the Meuse, that are namely located on the Neustrian and Austrasian border. We have tried to summarize the various and changing perceptions of the archaeological criteria used to distinguish the elite through the merovingian times, in a large context. We have thus described the evolution of both the cultural and political dynamics, and the social and economic dynamics too in the selected territories. At each chronological step, we have stressed the original rural-urban dynamics and complementary perspectives that really point up the variable meaning of the central place in our regions.

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At the 52nd Sachsensymposium in Lund I presented a chronological overview of the various conditions which define the changing notion of central places in Northern Neustria and Austrasia. The area considered, comprising the Scheldt basin and the lower and middle course of the Meuse, is taken from a larger study covering Belgium, the southern Netherlands and the North-West of France. The data base of observations includes about 1500 sites located in some 900 councils. The present paper cannot consider this data base in detail, but will comment on the results of the larger study as summarised in the survey about presented in Lund.

Throughout Merovingian times the regions here considered were located on the Neustrian and Austrasian border, a frontier that would later shift west from the *Forêt Charbonniere* to the Scheldt (Nonn 1983). The road network, the hydrography and the political frontiers fit conveniently with the diocesan territories that emerged in Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages. All the distribution factors cited lead us to consider that the region has been closely constrained by its geographic character. The coastline, the floodplain, the woods and forests, the fertile plains of central Belgium and the sandy areas either favoured continuity of settlement or encouraged new colonisation (Noël 1990, 1991; Tack *et alii* 1993; Noël 1997 concerning woods and forests; Termote 1990; Vos & Van Heeringen 1997; Ervynck *et alii* 1999; Tys 1999 for the coastal plain).

In this particular case, the central place was determined by significant variables which reflect two general features: on the one hand

settlement patterns and land-use, and on the other their socio-economic evolution. It is fundamental to note that culture does not only influence the nature of the links between human communities, with their settlement structures and central places, it also defines the latter in their nature and their territorial patterning (compare the theoretical patterns in Fabech 1999:470, Fig. 12 namely; Theuws 1999:345, Fig. 6 and Theuws 1991:44, Fig. 2 namely; see also Périn 1998b). Hence, I will discuss the notion of central places in regard to rural occupation, under the simultaneous aspects of rural domestic settlements and of dominant estates, and also in regard to cemetery location. I will also consider the origins of urban agglomerations and analyse their complementary evolutions within the general political and cultural framework which we have determined for the above territories (Heit 1997; Verhulst 1999; Verslype *prep.*). Therefore, our archaeological perception is based first of all on the evidence of material culture which allows an evaluation of status and/or of relative wealth, conveyed with the help of comprehensible symbols. Secondly, the evolutions referred to above will also derive from spatial organization, which is in its turn marked by the political and economic forces, which determine how these territories were controlled and farmed.

Cultural and political dynamics: from the 3rd to the 6th century

The rural perspective

Rural and urban military sites continued to play an important role throughout the 5th century. The administrative urban centres, the commercial and industrial *vici*, and at least the largest agricultural domains (*villae*) lost, however, the exclusive importance they had enjoyed till the 4th century in the concentration of administrative, military and economic power (Brulet 1990; Van Ossel 1992, 1995). Despite some past archaeological find maps which seem to tell us that during the 5th century there was no one around in parts of our region, recent research reveals increasing signs – from as early as the end of the 3th century – of a growing Germanic presence, most often Frankish or Saxon (*gentiles dediticii, laeti or foederatii*). This presence has been detected for some time through items of personal equipment found on military sites and in cemeteries; we can add to this evidence such cultural features as the sunken hut (*Grubenhauser*) and handmade pottery (De Paepe 1991; Rogge & Van Doorselaer 1991; Bouquillon & Tuffreau-Libre 1994; Seillier 1994; Bouquillon *et alii* 1995; Farnoux 1995; Seillier 1995; Thoen & Vermeulen 1998; Hamerow 1999). These Germanic features are mainly spread across the Scheldt basin and along the coastline, with an interesting concentration in the lands where cremation burials turn up (Vermeulen 1989; Seillier 1995; Vermeulen 1992). Much later similar Anglo-Saxon features will even sometimes add up to the earlier (Hamerow *et alii* 1994; Van Doorselaer & Opsteyn 1999).

During the 5th and the first half of the 6th century, the distribution maps of typical bronze basins and of small decorated buckets, as well as the presence of precious metals (gold, silver) or of the coins deposits in graves, coincide with those of the earlier Frankish proto-merovingian weapons (ango, shield, sword and axes) (Werner 1961; Roth 1985; Vallet 1986; Vanhoud 1996; Theuws & Alkemade 2000). Into the territories the Franks "were dashing about", the fractured power in

a hierarchical society, on the military side, associated with the equal sociological principles faced to this power, makes the notion of central place void at that time (Barbier 1990; Theuws 1990; Périn 1995; Bazelmans 1996; Werner 1996; Périn 1998b). On the other hand, the rupture or the continuity which accompanied the macro-economic changes during the 5th century were not necessarily reflected on the micro-economic scale. Some large Late Imperial domains owned by the Gallo-Roman senatorial aristocracy were kept up and soon taken over by the emerging Gallo-Frankish elite. As for rural settlements near these estates, their scale and their cultural features have changed (Verhulst 1983; Devroey 1985; Van Ossel 1997; Haselgrove & Scull 1995; and especially Tits-Dieuaide 1985 concerning land tenures, and Van Ossel & Ouzoulias 2001 concerning the patterns evolution).

The expression of local and regional power has been influenced by the changing situation. From now on, such factors as age, sex and family wealth will affect the nature of burial practises, and have an impact on the quality and quantity of grave-deposits which can vary greatly from one grave to another (Young 1984; James 1989; Halsall 1995; Geake 1997). Emphasis was also given to burials by particular features drawn from various cultural traditions and reflecting economic status as well (as shall be discussed further); these include the volume of the grave, posts and ditches pointing to funerary structures, barrows, mausolea, horse-burials and cremations (Müller-Wille 1971; Shepard 1979; Oexle 1984; Dierkens 1986a; Lauwerier & Hessing 1992; Böhme 1993; Proos 1993; Prummel 1993; Verbeeck 1996; Verslype 1996; Müller-Wille 1997; Prummel 1999).

From approximately A.D. 470/480 in the regions north of the Seine, from the Somme to the Meuse, we can argue that funerary customs and grave-goods reflect the new strategic and political power being gained by Frankish families successfully inserting themselves into the administrative and ecclesiastical structures which dominated these Gallo-Roman territories. This period is marked by an evolution in dress and personal equipment particularly visible between the expansion of the kingdom after the death of Childeric and its partition after the death of Clovis in 511 (Vallet 1997, Périn 1998b).

The urban perspective

There is good evidence of continuity of urban settlement in our region, on the other hand, particularly in regard to sites located at major road junctions, or at political and ecclesiastical borders. Earlier scholarship has sometimes pointed to the facts that the bishoprics which emerged in our region resulted from the fusion of older *civitates,* and that the principal royal residences and other central places shifted south and west in the Merovingian period, into Picardy and the Ile de France, to exaggerate the extent of urban decline in our area. Few kings were buried here, for example, the major exceptions being Childeric at Tournai (480/482) and – much later and in a very different political context – Thierry III in Arras (Saint-Vaast Abbey, 690/691). But Arras, Tournai and Cambrai were not only seats of episcopal power throughout the period, they were also royal residences, places for itinerant kings and their retinues to stop for a while and issue a few decrees (Verslype 1999; Périn & Dierkens 2001; CAG 59; CAG 62-1). Later written sources quote and even describe some other residences, "discontinuous" central places such as the *fisci* of Valenciennes, Vitry-

en-Artois, Estinnes, Annappes, Cysoing and much others. Recent archaeology also confirms vigorous building campaigns around the episcopal centres, mainly in Tournai and Arras along the Scheldt, and in Maastricht along the Meuse. This points up the important role played by bishops in the cities, from both the economic and the political points of view, and, indeed, the importance of religion as a whole in urban survival and dynamics.

In the broad perspective, though, the heritage of ancient urbanism is very relative (Verhulst 1999; Verslype *prep.*). It was manifested at two levels : the cities (*caput civitates*) and the *vici*. These last sometimes remained occupied during the 5th century, the time when the urban landscapes underwent a first phase of transformation associated with the establishment of Frankish power. There was mutation and some centers declined from their Late Roman status, like Cassel and Bavay, or were even abandoned. Alternately, the surviving centers were usually associated with the maintenance of administrative, fiscal, and judicial power. We noted above that the presence of a bishopric evidently constitutes a good reason for continuity with the late antique town. It could also spark the birth of a new urban settlement, in Liège, for instance (Küpper 1986).

The urban discontinuity that did occur during the first half of the 5th century reflects economic weakness of the city at that time. The urban redeployment that began during and after the 6th century fits then with new territorial perceptions and divisions, deriving from the revival of rural productivity or its growing, in regard to the regions considered (Devroey & Zoller 1991; Gauthier 1997).

Social and economic dynamics : 6th and 7th century

The rural perspective

The funerary data which mark the transition from the 6th to the 7th century underline the social background. Furthermore after the years 520/530 several stylistic features characterise the classical Merovingian times and the expression of power by the elites, stressed by a kind of uniformity and conventions (Nielsen 1997, 1999)

After 560/570 and until around 630, that data reflected military and social power, revealing the Gallo-Frankish communities in conquering but rival kingdoms (see for instance the Austrasian and Anglo-Saxon kingdoms : Halsall 1992; Härke 1993). Paradoxically, despite the increasing number of graveyards in the countryside, 6th century settlement structures are very badly documented (Lorren & Périn 1995, 1997). The funerary data suggest, however, a denser pattern of small sites inserted within a network with emerging dominant nodal points (Périn 1981, 1983). Further to the south, the most typical elite grave-goods – such as long swords and spurs – sometimes even coincide with domains whose locations are known from the written sources (Vallet 1986).

Together, these data allow us to recognise local aristocracies, with topochronological analysis displaying the spread of the richest grave-groups in a context where wealth, as opposed to family structure and inherited status, was becoming increasingly important (Périn 1998A; Le Jan 1995). The typical features of the earlier Merovingian Period were giving way, as the 6th century neared its end, to new stylised expressions, with a growing decline in the size of grave-assemblages and a

sophisticated and schematized symbolism on the surviving material hinting at social evolution (Roth 1986; Menghin 1994). These new assemblages and burial practises point to the new elites whose landed power was spreading over the greater parts of Neustria and Austrasia (Devroey 1985; Steuer 1989). The reign of Dagobert is the peak of this last chronological phase (Lebecq 1990); its funerary ambiance reflects spiritual, cultural and economic vitality to which the growing number of monastic foundations, which were benefiting more and more from immunities and tax exemptions, greatly contributed. This development, along with the stronger political role of the new aristocracy and its deepening Christian character, was weakening the foundations of the dynasty. New stylistic and symbolic expressions of links between the King and aristocratic families, and the solidarity of the latter among themselves, now point to the personal and hereditary aspects of power (about vertical or horizontal social and hierarchical links in and between the families, namely in the Christian context : Wes 1992; Le Jan 1995). New territorial patterns can be perceived from this funerary data, confronted the emerging network of rural central places (James 1989; Steuer 1989; Halsall 1995; Böhme 1993).

Coins have disappeared from graves but do turn up in probable contexts for trade and craft markets; they come from mints throughout Gaul and from the Anglo-Saxon and Frisian kingdoms as well (Werner 1954, 1961; Vanhoud 1983; Roth 1985; Feugère *et alii* 1996). This confirms the market reorientation toward northern ports, remarked in recent scholarship (Lebecq 1997; Hill & Cowie 2001).

Surplus production seems to have been collected and then sold off by the great landowners (Devroey & Zoller 1991). During the 6 th and 7th centuries, two major trade routes affect our regions : the North Sea coastline and the lower course of the Meuse. These are linked with the so-called Entre-Sambre-et-Meuse region, and with the rivers Haine, Scarpe or the northern affluents of the Scheldt, south and west of the *Forêt Charbonniere*.

The Scheldt river valley was the heart of the zone where new monastic foundations deriving from royal and episcopal initiatives multiplied. It was linked to the corridor along the Boulogne-Cologne road which was the focus of many rival aristocratic estates (Dierkens 1985; Helvétius 1994; Meijns 2000). From the archaeological standpoint, the best-known sites were the abbey (originally constructed in wood) at Wandignies-Hamage, near Douai, and the monastic group of Nivelles (Mertens 1962; Dierkens 1986b; Louis 1997, 1999). Many properties, rental incomes and manpower services, from the *fisci* and from private holdings, were at this time offered to monastic or canonial establishments, and to bishoprics, as gifts (Verhulst 1975; Helvétius 1994; Meijns 1995). However, we are so far little able to distinguish aristocratic from more modest residences among the various settlements and structures investigated (Schmidt-Wiegand 1977; Jäger 1977; Barbier 1990; Demolon 1995; Hamerow 1995). Some attempts have been made to use comparative analyses of archaezoological materials and artefact-types to argue for theoretical status-differences among estates (for instance: Van der Plaetsen 1987; Ervynck & De Meulemeester 1996; Yvinec 1996; Evrard 1997a).

The Scheldt and the Meuse basins constitute, moreover, the limit between northern and southern indigenous construction traditions (even before the Roman occupation). Sites which illustrate these traditions are

Roksem and Zerkegem, along the coastline, and Kerkhove and Vitry-en-Artois along the Scheldt (Roymans 1996; Theuws 1996). Despite a thorough study of the ground-plans and the scales of more than 100 buildings in our régions, it is often difficult to determine their precise function or to define the social status of the inhabitants. An exception could be the close association between privileged graves and certain houses in the settlement itself. This relation can be seen clearly in Dommelen (southern Netherlands), just as in several German sites (Kokabi 1997; Stork 1997; Bücker & Hoeper 1999; Theuws 1999). It may also be the case in Kruishoutem, along the Scheldt, and in Hermalle-sous-Huy, along the Meuse. All these aristocratic estates, sometimes mentioned in the written sources, came to be associated with a soon own sanctuary (i.e. respectively: *villa hultheim*, Rogge 1993; Van Durme & Braeckman 1993; Rogge & Braeckman 1996; and *villa Alnith* : Witvrouw *et alii* 1992; Witvrouw 2000). This might be a private funerary chapel on a rural estate, or a peri-urban building, such as Hermalle-sous-Huy, Hordain, Saint-Piat in the suburbs of Tournai, or the chapel just outside the walls of Arlon (Roosens & Alénus-Lecerf 1963; Amand *et alii* 1980; Demolon 1989). These sanctuaries sometimes remained in use until Carolingian or even medieval times. Others however were soon abandoned, or moved to another site during the Early Middle Ages; some chapels were rebuilt later in the same period near the settlement or in the heart of the cemetery. There are as many scenarios as there are archaeological examples; among them: Grobbendonk, Landen, the *cella Hrochasem* in Roksem, the *villa Wadalino* in Wellin, and Waha (Mertens 1976; Evrard 1984; De Cock 1987; Hollevoet 1991, 1995; Evrard 1997b; Evrard 1999).

The urban perspective

As early as the seventh century, balanced conditions again characterized the territorial organization. As far as we know, the urban areas concentrated craft production and activities of transformation: pottery (Maastricht, Huy and perhaps Tournai), bone and antler work (Maastricht, Liège, Tournai and Namur), bronze casting (Namur, Maastricht and maybe Tournai), bead and glass production (Maastricht and Huy) are all signs of a vigorous economy (Plumier *et alii* 1999).

Three types of urban areas then developed. In the first, an urban center was reborn upon a site with an antique substratum, after a period of abandon. This demonstrates a real transformation foreshadowing a new economic and ecclesiastic organization as early as the 8th an 9th centuries (Huy & Namur: Dasnoy 1988; Dierkens 1988, 1990). Secondly, there was relocation near a former urban nucleus, on a site whose topography illustrates quite different motives and was better suited to the new development criteria, such as Ghent and Valenciennes (Deisser-Nagels 1962; Platelle 1976, 1982; Verhulst & Laleman 1990). The third scenario concerns the birth *ex nihilo* of towns on predominantly rural sites, such as Douai and Liège (Otte 1990, 1992; Demolon & Louis 1994; CAG 59). We could add that the former systematic relationship with Gallo-Roman *castella* and *castra* is no longer plausible (Verhulst 1977, 1986). For instance, Famars, once the center of the *pagus Fanomartensis* (replaced in Merovingian times by Valenciennes as center of the new *Pagus Hainoensis)* failed to preserve urban status despite an ongoing aristocratic presence and even a mint. The location of the very first *municipium Flandrenses*, mentioned in the vicinity of the *castellum* of Oudenburg, offers

a similar discontinuity. Boulogne-sur-Mer, Bavay and Tongres demonstrate even more clearly that powerful fortifications were no longer a guarantee of central administrative and economic power.

Central function does not only stress urbanization. It isn't either systematically revealed by craft industry or commercial activity. But, as far as regional economy or policy are concerned, central function will no longer be absent. Hence, the merovingian urban centre is first of all a central place amongst others.

To sum up this point: the urban population and its activities were settled within the old urban core areas fortified during Late Antiquity, with walls sometimes protecting the *palatia* and the former public buildings. The Late Roman and Merovingian cathedral was often at the heart of this surviving urban center, as happened in Cambrai, Arras, Tournai and Maastricht. The new focal point could also be the another type of church: a private foundation as in Antwerp, a royal foundation as in Valenciennes, an episcopal foundation as in Namur and Liège or a monastic foundation as in Ghent.

Further development then occurred on the periphery, within or nearby the suburban graveyards and alongside new sanctuaries (secular or regular) doted with relics which drew people to these thriving new residential quarters and marketplaces (Maastricht, Ghent, Arras, Cambrai, Liège) (Panhuysen 1990; Verhulst 1990; Leman 1995). New churches depending on the central parish were often constructed in such quarters as in Namur and, rather later, in Tournai (Dierkens 1988; Verslype 1999). The very first medieval urban walls thus highlight the Merovingian and Carolingian urban cores, and reveal their shapes, in Namur, Huy, Liège, Tournai, Cambrai, Ghent and Maastricht. Anyway, before the 11th c., these latter fortifications won't really influence the early medieval urban prototype but for its topographic evolution (see also De Meulemeester 1990; Hirschmann 1998).

If the development of those urban central places has different bases springs from different causes, the dynamics of their growth follows a similar pattern. Economics is not the only force at work; nor are politics and administrative functions alone sufficient. Let's thus return to the countryside to conclude.

Rural-urban dynamics : variable meanings of the central place through time and space

The merging of rural agricultural complex units based on the polynuclear family model continued into the Carolingian period. The medieval village was still in the future; it had indeed not yet emerged as the right alternative to the complementarity of the Gallo-Roman *vici* and *villae* (see the steps for the MDS region: Theuws 1999). Our Merovingian territories knew three types of economic units : the family farmsteads, sometimes conglomerated, the domain-centers whose archeological appearance often ressembles the first, and the urbanised centres.

But the administrative geography remains obscure when it comes to the interpretation of such terms in the written sources as *diocese, pagus* and *municipium*, as *fiscus*, *villa*, *mansus* (referring to rural estates), or as *vicus*, *castrum*, *portus*, *castellum* (referring to urban centers). Even at a later period, the semantic debate which tries to organize these terms chronologically, opposing the *castrum*, *municipium*

and *civitas* of the 7th-8th centuries to the *vicus*, *portus* and *emporium* of the 9th century (Verhulst 1999:24 pp.), has no archaeological reality where rural estates are concerned. The written sources describe the *curtis*, and the *villa* in a restricted sense or not, including the organisation of the territory in its vicinity; here is the new aristocratic estate that provides the basis of the new hereditary familial power, based on the *domus* and the *Sippen* (Schmidt-Wiegand 1977; Tits-Dieuaide 1985; Hamerow 1995; Le Jan 1995; Périn 1998a). However, no hierarchy nor ranking can be inferred regarding the household clusters corresponding to individual *villae*, which are sometimes highlighted by place-names and/or by historical sources. We know that the scale of the exploitation units has changed, but their economic basis is still broadly based. What else has been changed ? Land reallocation and ownership, the exchange of natural resources, the sites of their redistribution and transformation: all these factors will contribute to the birth of the medieval economic and political patterns in our regions. The ecclesiastical territorial units were adapted to the pattern of the 8-10th centuries agglomerated settlements. On the other hand, private sanctuaries sometimes dissappeared in favour of parish churches. For this reason later parish boundaries and subdivisions associated with the creation of manorial seats, can provide a basis to understand settlement and central places on the right territorial level (see for instance Helvétius 1991; Theuws 1999; De Meulemeester *et alii* 2000; and Zadora-Rio 1995; Burnouff 1998).

In conclusion, let us recall some of the remarks made by colleagues at the Sachsensymposium. Pâvel Nicklasson noted in his abstract that " *the notion of central place should be seen as dynamic with functions and activities adapting to changing conditions* ". And as Eva Hjärtner-Holdar put it in her paper, "*everybody depends on someone else, only the degree of dependence vary* " (for instance: von Störmer 1988:227, Fig. ??; Theuws 1990:42 pp. and 44, Fig. 2; Weidemann 1993; Staab 1996; Périn 1998a; compare the notion of rank by Steuer 1989, p. 107 and Wes 1992:253, Fig. 22.1 and 254, Fig. 22.2). Finally, Ulf Näsman reminded us that central places too must be considered at the appropriate level : supraregional, regional, or local (for instance: Fabech 1999:455 pp., Fig. 1). After this survey of the broader political, social and economic developments in our region throughout Merovingian times, I can only agree with the pertinence of of all these observations.

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The Origins and Growth of *Lundenwic*, a Mart of many Nations

Lyn Blackmore

Abstract

This paper outlines the recent archaeological evidence for the changing pattern of settlement in the London area during the Early and Middle Saxon periods and considers the growth of London as a central place in the 7th- to 9th centuries. The emphasis is on the extramural trading settlement of Lundenwic*, where recent excavations have revealed some evidence for Early Saxon activity, several 7th-century burials, and a wealth of information on Middle Saxon trade and industry in the form of coins, pottery, glass and quernstones, metalworking debris, antler waste and loomweights. Of these, details of the burials and the coins, the primary evidence for the emporium and the nations using it, are presented here in table form.* Lundenwic *functioned at the local, regional, national and international level for c.200 years. In line with other contemporary sites, but possibly also due local factors, it began to decline in the 9th century and was probably abandoned following Viking attacks c. 850-870.*

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Introduction

In the late 4th century London was still a major city, albeit in decline. In the second half of the 9th century the area within the Roman walls became once again a central place, especially after Alfred revived the City of London in 886. In the intervening period, however, most activity was extramural. The aim of this paper is to consider some of the recent archaeological evidence for the changing pattern of settlement over these 450 years and in what way London served as a central place. The main emphasis is on the development of the emporium of *Lundenwic* to the west of the Roman city, its commercial activities and those who used it, but other settlement sites between the river Lea and the river Colne are also noted where relevant. Many of the sites noted below are currently unpublished but several are noted in a recent survey (Cowie & Harding 2000), and/or will be included in three new publications (Cowie & Barber in prep; Cowie & Blackmore in prep; Malcolm *et al* in prep). For brevity and to enable researchers to access finds in the Museum of London collections, recent excavations are referred to, where relevant, by their site codes; the full addresses of those in *Lundenwic* are listed in fig. 14.

The 5th and 6th centuries

As the population of *Londinium* declined in 4th century, so did the minting of currency and the importation and use of mass-produced pottery (Marsden 1980:177 pp.; Symonds & Tomber 1991). This, together with a lack of other diagnostic artefacts means that it is difficult to reliably date deposits of the later 4th and early 5th centuries. Former theories regarding the nature of 5th- to 6th-century settlement in London and the hinterland (Wheeler 1934, 1935:54 p., 58 p.; summarised in Blackmore 1983:83 p.; and in Cowie 2000: 179 pp.), can now be largely rejected, and yet for the City itself there is little with which to replace them. It is possible that there was a late Roman stronghold in the area of the Tower of London [1], and this is perhaps supported by the finds from two graves in the nearby eastern Roman cemetery [2]. Other than this, however, archaeology over the last 35 years has only confirmed the view that 'London was indeed largely unoccupied for some time after the collapse of Roman power in the 5th century' (Grimes 1968:154). Indeed, it has been suggested that the City was in decline from *c.*150 onwards (Cowie 2000:179), although there may have been a slight increase in the late 3rd to 4th centuries (Marsden & West 1992:138).

Some finds of late Roman handmade pottery dating to the 5th century have been reported (Marsden 1980, 184 p., 214 note 31; Merrifield 1983:255), but remain to be verified. The only datable Early Saxon finds from a stratified context within the Roman walls are from the site of a Roman bathhouse by the Thames at Billingsgate. They comprise a 5th-century saucer brooch with Germanic-style floriate cross (Cook 1969a) and a sherd with granitic inclusions, either from Leicestershire (Charnwood Forest) or Scandinavia, probably of similar date (Richardson 1991:61 p.; Williams & Vince 1997:217 pp.). The brooch is identical to two examples found in grave 205 at Mitcham and another from grave 123 at Guildown, Surrey (Welch 1975) [3].

Outside the City, by contrast, several Early Saxon sites have been found over the last 25 years (Figs. 1, 2), all by the Thames or in river valleys (Cowie & Harding 2000:177 pp.; Cowie 2000). In south London, the cemeteries of Mitcham, Merton, Beddington and Croydon in the Wandle Valley, and at Shepperton have long been known, but so far there is little evidence of the communities to which they belonged (Fig. 1). The main occupation site excavated so far is at Tulse Hill, in the Effra valley (sitecode UTH94), where up to seven buildings were found. In Kingston, Early to Middle Saxon pottery has been found on at least five different sites (Hawkins 1998: 271,275 p.; Cowie & Blackmore in prep).

Along the Thames, 5th- to 6th-century occupation has been found at Hammersmith, where the remains of up to six buildings were found on a site adjacent to the Thames, and also at Mortlake and at Ham. In addition, Early Saxon fish traps have found in the Thames at Barn Elms, Putney and at Shepperton (Cowie 2000:195). In west London, there is a cluster of sites in the valleys of the Brent, the Crane and the Colne (at Hanwell, Harmondsworth, West Drayton and Feltham). Most are dated to between the later 5th and mid 6th centuries. The largest excavation is Prospect Park, Harmondsworth, where eleven sunken-featured buildings and two halls were found; these may represent a gradually shifting settlement (Andrews 1996; Farwell *et al* 1999). Slightly later sites, identified by a higher proportion of stamped pottery, chaff-tempered ware or other diagnostic artefacts, include

Fig.1. The London region in the period 450-600, showing sites mentioned in the text (after Cowie 2000). 1. Battersea; 2. Barking; 3. Barn Elms; 4. Beddington; 5. Brentford; 6. Chelsea; 7. Clapham; 8. Corney Reach; 9. Croydon; 10. Deptford; 11. Enfield; 12. Farthing Down; 13. Greenwch Park; 14. Ham; 15. Hammersmith; 16. Harmondsworth; 17. Hendon; 18. Isleworth; 19. Keston; 20. Kingston; 21. Mitcham; 22. Mortlake; 23. Northolt Manor; 24. Orpington; 25. Putney; 26. Tulse Hill. (Drawn by Susan Banks).

Enfield, Brentford and Clapham (Shepherd 1978; Densem & Seeley 1982; Blackmore 1993; Cowie & Blackmore in prep).

Just to the west of the City, several finds have been made in Clerkenwell, on the east bank of the River Fleet, while stratified 5th-century pottery has been found at St Bride's, by the confluence of the Fleet and the Thames (Fig. 2; Blackmore 1997a)[4]. Most recently, a few sherds of Early Saxon pottery have been identified on two sites on the north-west side of the settlement of *Lundenwic*, on high ground above the river, and possibly near a former tributary of the Thames (sitecodes LCR99;

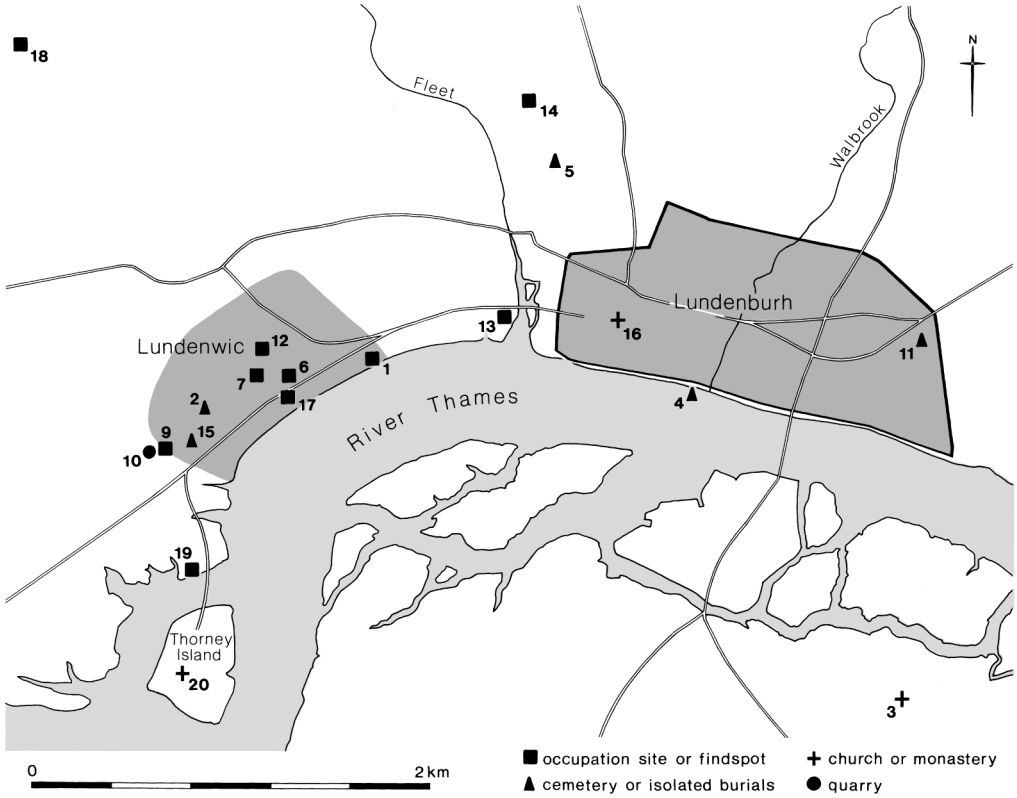

Fig. 2. Lundenwic and the former Roman city, showing sites mentioned in the text (after Cowie 2000). 1. Arundel House; 2. Bedfordbury; 3. Bermondsey Abbey; 4. Bull Wharf; 5. Cowcross Street; 6. Exeter Street; 7. Jubilee Hall; 8. Maiden Lane; 9. National Gallery; 10. National Gallery Extension; 11. Rangoon Street; 12. The Royal Opera House; 13. St Bride's; 14. St John's Square; 15. St Martin-in-the Fields; 16. St Paul's; 17. The Savoy; 18. Tottenham Court; 19. The Treasury, Whitehall; 20. Westminster Abbey. (Drawn by Susan Banks).

LGC00). These are either from truncated features or residual, and so their significance cannot yet be understood, but it is not impossible that there was some form of Early Saxon settlement on the high ground in this area. If so, and if, as suspected, there was a watercourse under Charing Cross Road, this location would be entirely in keeping with the pattern of Early Saxon settlement noted above.

The late 6th to mid-9th century

In the late 6th century things began to change with the revival of Christianity. The papal decision of 601 that London should be the primary see of England may have been motivated by various factors, and cannot yet be taken as indicating a new focus of activity in/near to the former Roman city (Hill 1977:298 pp.). The archbishopric remained in Canterbury, but in 604 the cathedral church of St Paul the Apostle was founded in London for Mellitus, the bishop appointed to preach to the province of the East Saxons (Colgrave & Mynors 1969:104 p., 142 p.). This shows that at this time London was effectively controlled by Aethelberht of Kent, over-king and uncle of Saeberht, king of the

East Saxons (Dyson & Schofield 1984:290, note 5; Vince 1990, 54). In 616/617, following the deaths of Aethelbert and Saeberht, Essex reverted to paganism, and Christianity only regained its hold in the 650s (see below; Colgrave & Mynors 1969:153; Vince 1990:61). The late 7th and early 8th centuries saw several changes of rule. By 665 Wulfhere of Mercia had become overlord of Essex and had taken control of London, but by 673 London was again under Kentish rule. At some point between 688 and 726 London may have been briefly subject to Wessex, but Bede, writing in the 730s, clearly describes it as the chief city of East Saxons (Colgrave & Mynors 1969:142 p.). From the late 7th or early 8th century until the mid-9th century London served almost continuously as the trading port of Mercia, the exception being a brief interlude under Wessex *c.*825-30.

The City of London

The City walls enclosed *c.*133 hectares (Fig. 2), but the present finds distribution, albeit very limited, suggests that Saxon activity rarely strayed to the east of the Walbrook. Indeed, as suggested by Grimes (1968:154) it was mainly confined to the area around St Pauls, *ie,* just inside Ludgate, where the Roman road led out of the City, along the Strand towards Westminster [5]. The church of St Paul presumably had adjacent quarters for the bishop and clergy. However, although a monastery in the City of London is referred to in a charter from Aethelred of Mercia dated to between 693-704 (Gelling 1979:No.190), the location of this site and of any administrative buildings is unknown [6]. Archaeological finds of this general period from the City comprise sherds of chaff-tempered pottery, probably of 7th-or early 8th-century date, from five sites to the south and west of St Pauls (Rhodes 1980:97; Vince 1990:11; Cowie 2001a:196) [7]. Most is residual but some is from marsh deposits that had developed behind the Roman riverside wall from the 4th century onwards and were sealed by the collapsed masonry (Rhodes 1980:97, Fig. 45, No.12). Only a short distance downstream from this, two female burials were found on the foreshore near Queenhithe. One has an associated radiocarbon date of AD 775 +/- 105 years (Ayre *et al* 1996:20; Wroe-Brown 1999:13; Beta-104819: BP 1240 +/- 40; Beta-104820: BP 1320 +/- 40; Beta-105483: BP 1190 +/- 50; Beta-105484: BP 1240 +/- 40). Two complete late 6th- or early 7th-century pots from Northern France are said to have been found in Gresham Street and at Christ's Hospital, Greyfriars. The findspots are uncertain, but it is of significance that both are from the western part of the City (Evison 1979:37, 55 p., 77, Fig.14 p.; Vince 1990:11 p.; Vince & Jenner 1991:113; Blackmore 1993:131, note 6b) [8].

On the eastern side of the City, a double inhumation burial of two females in Rangoon Street (sitecode RAG82; Fig. 2) could possibly be Middle Saxon, but the calibrated dates (AD 560-1000 and AD 640-1030) are very broad (BM2214R: BP 1270 +/-110; BM2215R: 1210 +/-110; Cowie & Harding 2000:190; Cowie 2001:196). Two sherds of chaff-tempered ware were found nearby in bastion 6 of the Roman walls, while a residual sherd of chaff-tempered ware was found at New Fresh Wharf, near London Bridge (sitecode NFW74; Rhodes 1980:97).

The origins of *Lundenwic*

In Britain, former Roman towns were generally shunned by the Saxons, who favoured open

sites and wooden buildings for their domestic settlements. The Roman riverside wall and collapsing quays, moreover, would have made landing difficult and dangerous, if not impossible for the boats of period. The general population, therefore, would not have settled within the Roman walls, but outside them. Already in 1935, Wheeler had suggested that there were groups of Saxon buildings between the City and Westminster, and although these were long thought to represent farms (Haslam 1975:222) or a scattered settle-ment (Hurst 1976:61). The location of *Lundenwic* was much discussed in the late 1970s and early 1980s, with the eventual conclusion that the most likely location was in the Covent Garden area (Biddle 1984; Vince 1984; Tatton-Brown 1986). Here good beaching facilities were juxtaposed with well-drained land on the terraces above the river where wells could be sunk and raw materials obtained for the construction of buildings and roads. The area was also linked to the City and the hinterland by two probable Roman roads. The first is now under the Strand, while the second lies to the north of the known area of Saxon occupation, under the present New Oxford Street (Margery 1955:50 p.; Merrifield 1983: 121 p.; Cowie & Whytehead 1989:710; Cowie & Harding 2000:184).

This theory was confirmed in 1985, when Saxon remains, including structures and the first real evidence for trade and industry were found at Jubilee Hall (sitecode JUB85; Cowie *et al.* 1988). Since then, over 40 sites have been investigated (Cowie 1988; 2000; Cowie with Harding 2000). The most recent finds include a few sherds of 5th- to 6th-century pottery from two sites a short distance to the north of St Martin's in the Fields (see above), which raise the tantalising possibility that the origins of *Lundenwic* may be earlier than first thought.

A 7th-century religious focus and cemetery

The first indication of Saxon activity in the Covent Garden area was the discovery, during the construction of the portico of the new church of St Martin's in the 1720s, of an unspecified number of north-south burials in stone coffins between 14-20 feet below ground (Figs. 2, 3). One of these contained two palm cups (Harden 1956:142, note 42), another a spear, prompting comparison of the burials with a Continental-style cemetery (Biddle 1984:25). This must remain conjecture (Scull 2001:69), although the fact that treasure was reportedly discovered there in the 13th century (Vince 1990:14 p., 60 p.) may lend weight to the theory. If there was a late 6th- or early 7th-century religious focus on or near this site, it is probably no coincidence that the location of St Martin's is close to the line of a suspected watercourse running approximately under Charing Cross Road.

The closest burial to this area, in Bedfordbury (Fig. 2), is the only one within a sequence of occupation layers (sitecode PEA87; Cowie & Whytehead 1989:711 p.; Fig.5; Whytehead 1989:49, 58, Fig.14). This male was buried with a spear, but the body appeared to have been rolled into the grave. The burial was dated by the finds to the 8th century (Blackmore 1989:122 pp.), although a late 7th-century date might now be favoured. To the east, a male burial was found just to the south of the Covent Garden Piazza (sitecode JUB85). The fact that the body was prone, with injury to one arm and the wrists possibly tied suggests that this, like the Bedfordbury grave, may have been a felon or outcast buried outside the main cemetery (Cowie *et al* 1988:56; Whytehead *et al* 1989:58; Scull 2001:73).

Site code/ address	Burials/sex	Orien-tation	C14 Dating	Associated finds	References
King Street	Loose bones	–	–		Maitland 1775:1347
141-147 Drury Lane	Loose bones	–	–	Pottery	Myres 1937; Meaney 1964:167
St Martins in the Fields	Not known	Unknown	–	Stone coffins, 2 palm cups, spear	Harden 1956:142 note 42, Fig.25, Pl.7; Biddle 1984:00; Cowie 1988, 41; Vince 1990:14, 60-1, Fig.6
JUB85 [39]	1 M (A) prone	WSW-ENE	HAR-8936; 1370+/-60 BP	Imported pottery (sherds)	Cowie *et al* 1988:56
PEA87 [138]	1 M (A)	SW-NE		1 spear, sherds of pottery	Whytehead *et al* 1989:48-9
BDF89	Loose bones	–	–	–	
SOT89	Loose bones	–	–	–	
BOB91 [30/586]	1 M (A)	E-W	–	1 Frankish belt set (?640s)	Cowie 1988:43
BOB91 [611]	1 crouched	NNE-SSW	–	–	Cowie 1988:43
BOB91	Loose bones	–	–	–	Cowie 1988:43
ROP95 [2570]	1 (A) truncated	SW-NE	UB-4456; 1408+/-46 BP	–	Malcolm *et al* in prep
ROP95 [4436]	1 M (A) truncated	E-W	UB-4457; 1367+/-46BP	–	Malcolm *et al* in prep
ROP95	1 ?grave cut	E-W	–	–	Malcolm *et al* in prep
ROP95	3 ?ring ditches		–	–	Malcolm *et al* in prep
ROP95	Loose bones		–	–	Malcolm *et al* in prep
JES99	1 M	NW-SE	–	Spear, buckle	Leary in prep
ROH90/FLR00	Loose bones	–	–	–	
ROH90/FLR00 [31]	1 ??	E-W	–	1 iron object	Cowie 1988:43; Humphrey in prep
ROH90/FLR00 [121/1181]	1 (C)	E-W?	–	–	Cowie 1988:43; Humphrey in prep
ROH90/FLR00 [84/4015]	1 ?grave cut	E-W	–	–	Humphrey in prep
ROH90/FLR00 [82/4017]	1 ?grave cut	WSW-ENE	–	–	Humphrey in prep
FLR00 [1308]	1 (A)	WSW-ENE?	–	–	Humphrey in prep
FLR00 [1314]	1 (A)	WSW-ENE	–	Knife; 1 sherd pottery	Humphrey in prep
FLR00 [1224]	1 ?F (A)	E-W	–	Kentish brooch (*c*.640-660), beads, silver rings	Humphrey in prep
FLR00 [4024]	1 M (A)	SW-NE	–	–	Humphrey in prep

Fig.3. The distribution of human remains and burials found in *Lundenwic*. Key: M = male; F = female; (A) = adult; (C) = child.

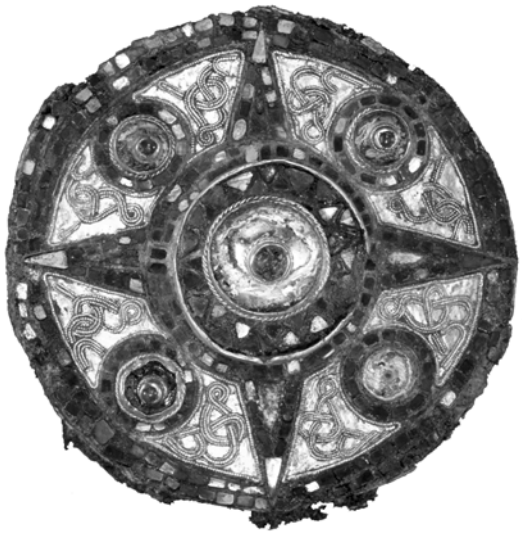

Fig.4. A mid-to-late 7th-century Kentish-style disc brooch from a female burial in Floral Street; diameter c. 75 mm (photo Museum of London).

Fig.5. A polychrome glass bead from the Royal Opera House site; diameter 23 mm (photo A Chopping, MoLAS).

To the north of this, a cluster of sites with human remains has been found on the higher ground in the area of the Covent Garden Piazza, and especially between the Royal Opera House, King Street, Floral Street and James Street (Fig. 2) (Scull 2001:69). When 'great Quantities of human bones' were first discovered in King Street it was observed that there was no church in the immediate area. It was, therefore, thought that they derived from a cemetery attached to St Martin's Church or a plague pit dug at the order of the Abbot and Convent of Westminster (Maitland 1775:1347). Now, however, it seems more likely that they belong to the Saxon cemetery. Few of the recently excavated burials have grave goods, but two finds are particularly informative; both are dated to *c.*640-650. The first is a late example of a Kentish-style disc brooch very similar to another from Monkton, Kent (Hawkes 1974; Hawkes *et al* 1974; Blackmore 2001). This was found in a female grave together with three beads and two or three linked silver rings (Fig. 4; sitecode FLR00), and suggests that the deceased, or her mourners, had some contact with Kent. The second is a belt set of Frankish-Alamannic type similar to the Bern-Soluthurn group, worn by a male who must have been a foreign visitor of some importance (sitecode BOB91). The only British parallel for this find, also dated to the mid-7th-century, is from a grave in Ipswich (C Scull pers comm).

Altogether the remains of some 14 burials and three ring ditches have been found (see Fig. 3), with fragmented remains of many more. Numerous other finds from the general area are probably derived from burials that were later disturbed and/or destroyed. The earliest item is a saucer brooch from the Royal Opera House site (sitecode ROP95), which could date to the late 6th or 7th century. Most finds, however, are of mid-to-later 7th century date. They include two cowrie shells, glass beads (Fig. 5), vessel glass and a bead of coiled gilded wire (*cf.* Webster & Backhouse, 1991,

28 p.), and perhaps a complete small pot found in Drury Lane (Myres 1937:432, Pl.XCI). More recent finds of similar pots, however, suggest that the latter is more likely to come from a well than a grave. The real density of burial is impossible to ascertain due to disturbance by Saxon pits and quarries, and by later developments. It can, however, be stated that neither any cremations nor any burials dating to after *c.*700 have yet been found.

The development of *Lundenwic*

During the first and second quarters of the 7th century, occupation of *Lundenwic* may have been seasonal. This first settlement is generally thought to been in the area of Charing Cross and St Martin's in the Fields, but it is not impossible that there were scattered *foci* that gradually merged to form one settlement. It would appear that the area was probably taking shape as a commercial entity between *c.*650-670, and a land grant of *c.*672-74 shows that by this time ships were visiting, perhaps regularly, the port of London (*portum Lundoniae*; Gelling 1979:148, No.309; Whitelock 1979:479) [9]. This is borne out by traces of a revetted embankment found on three sites near Charing Cross Station (Cowie 2000a:199, 2001:198 pp.). The most substantial was *c.*17m wide (north-south) and up to 0.8m high (sitecode YKB88). Dendrochronology shows that is the oldest such construction in the country, dating to *c.*679 or shortly thereafter (Cowie & Whytehead 1989:710; Cowie 1992:164, 2000:188, 2001:200 p.). Fragments of a possible waterfront structure have also been found at Arundel House, to the east of Kingsway (Proctor 2000: 51 p.). The river at this time lay approximately 100m south of the Strand; it seems more likely that the waterfront was interrupted than continuous. Possibly the first contemporary reference to *Lundenwic* is in a grant of 687, which refers to land '*iuxta Lundoniam*' and a property '*supra vicum Lundoniae*' (Hart 1966:122 pp.; Sawyer 1968, No.1246; J. Clark pers. comm.).

By the third quarter of the 7th century occupation was also spreading inland, towards and over the land formerly used for burials. Until the 1995-96 excavation of the Royal Opera House site (ROP95), which covered 2500 sq metres, it was hard to make sense of the fragmented buildings and gravel surfaces found on smaller sites. Now, however, a stratigraphic framework and relative chronology exist against which other sequences can be compared and theories tested (Blackmore 1997b; Blackmore *et al* 1998; Bowsher & Malcolm 1999; Blackmore 2001:39 pp.; Malcolm *et al.* in prep.).

At ROP95, seven wells were dug, probably to serve the riverside settlement (Malcolm *et al.* in prep). A 3m wide north-south road was built, which linked the area with the Thames and possibly also with the Roman road to the north. The road was initially flanked by drainage gullies, later by timber-lined drains. Five buildings were also erected, with an extensive yard (Fig. 6). The remains of fence lines suggest that the land was divided into plots at this time, and these seem to have remained relatively fixed throughout the use of the site. The buildings were not stratigraphically related to the road, and they could predate it, as their rectilinear grid pattern is on a different alignment to that of the road. Both, however, were post-dated by a grey layer of rubbish that accumulated over the burials; this may derive from the buildings, but it is also possible that it was carted out from the settlement to the south.

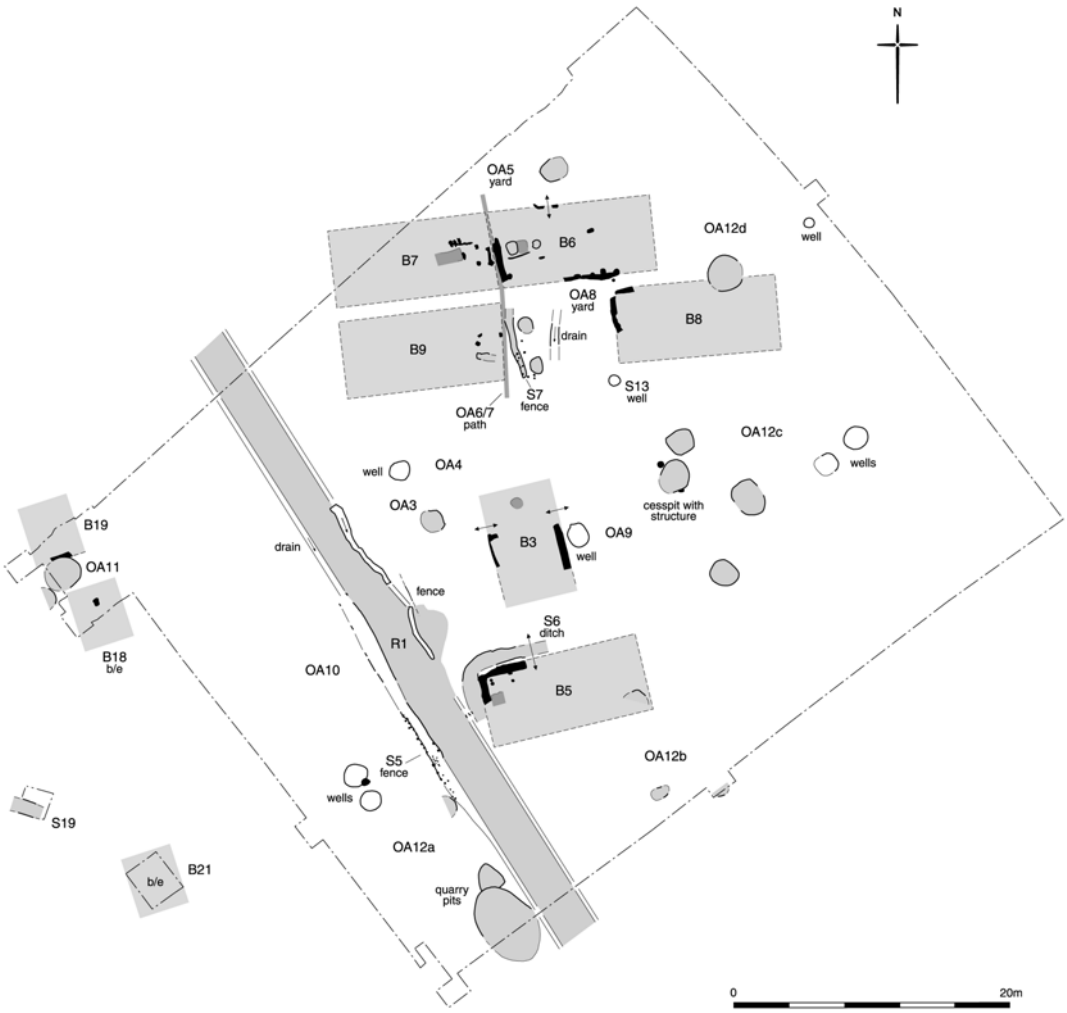

Fig.6. The Royal Opera House site in the late 7th century, showing the buildings (B5-B8) on a different alignment to the road (R1), with associated yards (OA4, OA10, OA12a,b,c; drawn by Susan Banks).

In the next phase (dated by coins and pottery to *c.*670-*c.*730) the open yards became more enclosed and several new buildings were constructed. They included two smithies, one of which became part of a courtyard complex. The buildings fronting onto the road were aligned with it, but those away from it were not (Fig. 7). The latter were accessed by alleyways leading from the main road, and by subsidiary pathways, which evolved into an irregular grid. This pattern continued throughout the later 8th century, although the buildings became more standardised and those by the road were more consistently aligned with it; the alleys were also improved. The overall density of buildings remained the same; there was generally less space between them, but most had associated yards.

In all, some 80 timber buildings have now been found in *Lundenwic*, of which over 60

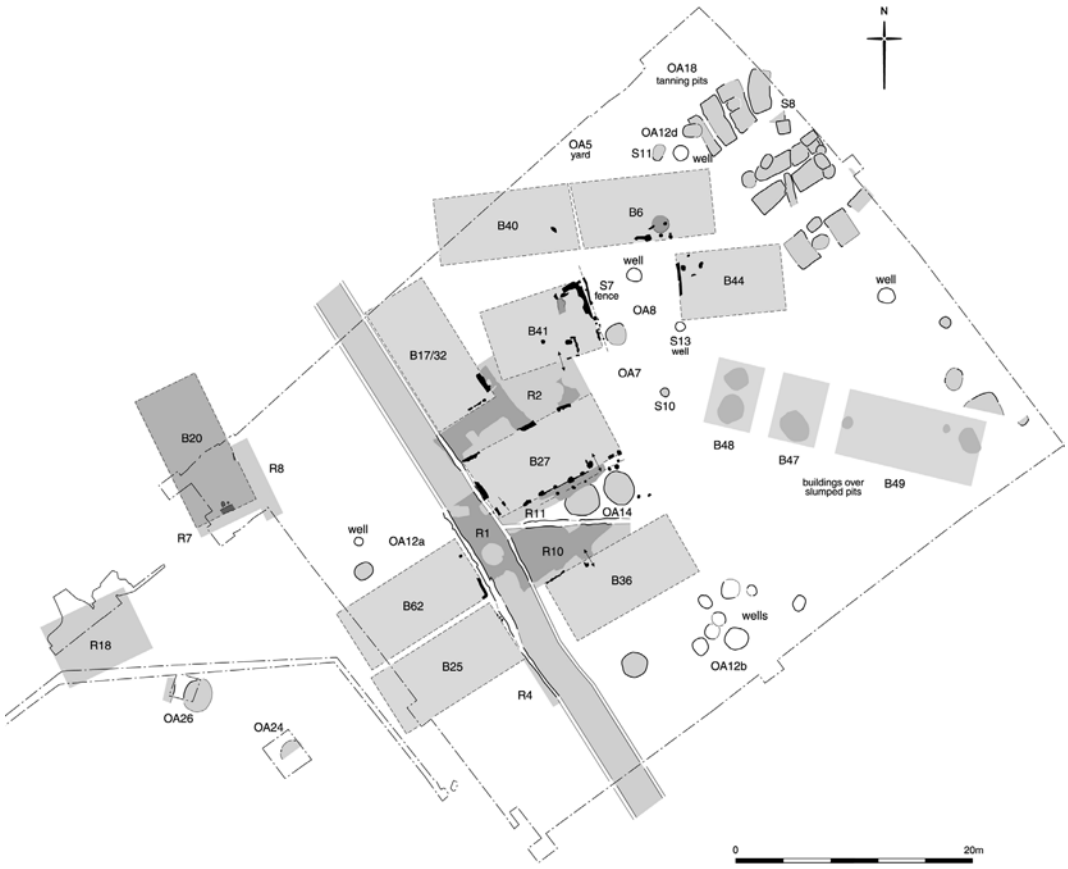

Fig.7 The Royal Opera House site in the mid-8th century, showing the road (R1) and buildings aligned with it (B17/32, B20, B25, B27, B36, B62-B8) with a smaller alley (R11; the buildings to the rear (B6, B40, B41 and B44) retain the old alignment (drawn by Susan Banks).

are at ROP95 (Cowie & Whytehead 1989: 711; Blackmore *et al.* 1998; Bowsher & Malcolm 1999; Cowie 2000:183, 189; Cowie & Harding 2000:185 p.; Malcolm *et al.* in prep). The majority were aligned east-west and rectangular in plan (*c.*12m long and *c.*5.5m wide), with the door in the long side; some had porches and/or contained hearths or ovens. Most were of wattle and daub construction, but some were partly or wholly of timber. Several structures were destroyed by fire; their alignments changed slightly as they were rebuilt (in one case up to seven times on the same site), but not significantly. From the artefactual evidence it would appear that appear that many buildings were multi-functional, with weaving, smithing and other crafts taking place alongside domestic activities; some buildings probably also housed livestock. Further evidence of daily life is provided by the finds from cesspits and wells, the latter including a complete 8th-century iron cauldron and trivet. Rubbish accumulated in the minor alleys between buildings, but most streets were kept clean and renewed as required. The road at ROP95 was resurfaced more than ten times, probably with gravel taken from extensive quarries on the fringes

of the settlement (Cowie & Whytehead 1989:710; Whytehead *et al.* 1989:69 p.; Cowie 2000:189; Holder *et al.* 2000:154).

The core zone of *Lundenwic* probably covered some 55-60 hectares (Cowie & Whytehead 1989:708; Cowie 2000:199, 2001b:88), although not all areas need have been occupied at the same time). The density of the buildings and range of activities represented at ROP95 substantiate Bede's description of London as the capital (metropolis) of the province of the East Saxons, and a mart, or emporium, of many nations coming to it by land and sea (Colgrave & Mynors 1969:142 p.). As pointed out by Biddle (1984: 23), no other place was described by Bede in this way.

Taking all the available evidence together, it would seem that the western boundary of the settlement was roughly along the line of Charing Cross Road/Northumberland Avenue (Whytehead *et al.* 1989:68). The northern and eastern limits may initially have been in the area of Long Acre/Queen Street and on the former line of Drury Lane/Wych Street [10]. By the second half of the 8th century, occupation had spread beyond this core zone. Land to the north of Drury Lane was occupied, while a farm was established by Trafalgar Square (Whytehead *et al.* 1989). By *c.*770-800 there was settlement in the Westminster area (Green 1963; Blackmore 1995:80; Cowie & Blackmore in prep), and the area between Aldwych and the river Fleet was also utilised, at least in part (Hammerson 1975; Cowie 1988; Blackmore 1997b:128; Proctor 2000:51 p.) [11].

Trade and traders

Lundenwic had a strategic location on a river that was probably tidal (Cowie & Whytehead 1989:710; Vince 1991:419; Cowie 2000:187) and was served by an existing network of Roman roads. It also lay at the border of different kingdoms and had connections with religious foundations across the country. It was, therefore, well placed to supply the court and/or the church with prestige goods and revenue from tolls.

The organisation of trade is not yet well understood. It is possible that *Lundenwic* first functioned as a seasonal market, or Type A emporium (Hodges 1982:50 pp.), with trading carried out on the beach or on board ship. By the 630s the circulation of coins suggests that commerce was developing (Vince 1988:91), while by the last quarter of the 7th-century it is clear that waterside facilities were being developed, and that *Lundenwic* was part of an international trading network of similar sites around the North Sea. By the mid-680s a hall had been built by the kings of Kent to enable Kentish merchants to receive warranty of goods purchased in London, and a king's reeve appointed to witness transactions (Whitelock 1979:395). This hall may have been inside the City walls, but it seems more likely that it was adjacent to the actual port.

The main trading links were probably with Kent, the Frankish markets of *Quentovic*, Rouen and St Denis in Neustria and the Austrasian markets of Dorestad and Huy, and in 679 a Frisian merchant was in London (Colgrave & Mynors 1969:404 p.). Other than this there is suprisingly little mention of these traders, but in 716, when St Boniface journeyed to Dorestad, he travelled on a ship that was homeward bound (J. Clark pers comm). This reference also records that (as on his voyage in 718 to Quentovic), he set out from 'a place where there was a market for the sale of goods, and which is still today called by the old name of the Angles and Saxons, 'Lundenwich'' (Levison 1905:16; trans. J. Clark).

The increase in 8th -century trade was probably due to the influence of the Frisian traders on North Sea trade (especially after *c.*750; Lebecq 1992:8, 11) as much as the Mercian need for a port. Trade and industry flourished under the Mercian kings Aethelbald and Offa, with provision for the remission, or levying, of tolls and collection of taxes. Documentary sources show that the close relationship between *wic* and church continued, as did trade with the continent, referring variously to '*portu Lundoniae*' '*Lundenwic*' and 'Lundentunes hythe' (Sawyer 1968:Nos.29, 86, 88, 91, 98, 1788; J Clark pers comm). [12]. The main evidence for trade comprises coins, pottery, glass and quernstones, but it has also been speculated that there was a market in London for slaves (Vince 1990:93 pp.); it is possible that the Jubilee Hall burial was one such (see above).

Coins

The Middle Saxon coins and coinage of London have been discussed in some detail elsewhere (*eg.* Dolley 1960; Rigold & Metcalf 1984; Metcalf in prep, a, b; Vince 1988:85 pp., 1990:109 pp.; Stott 1991:279 pp., 305 pp.; Cowie & Harding 2000:187). The London mint was the earliest, and one of the most productive, in England, and its coins were in wide circulation by the 640s (Vince 1988:Fig.44). The location(s) of the mint is unknown, but there is some evidence for 8th-century coin manufacture on or near the ROP95 site (Cowie 2000:191; Malcolm *et al* in prep). In addition to finds from the surrounding area, some 55 sceattas dating to the Saxon period have now been found in London (Fig. 8) (Stott 1991; Metcalf in prep, a; in prep, b), although some are early finds that cannot be attributed to a specific site (Roach Smith 1854:106 pp.). This figure is now comparable with Ipswich but less than *Hamwic*, where *c.*90 sceattas have been found (Metcalf in prep, a).

The earliest coins found so far in *Lundenwic* are from ROP95 and a site at the eastern end of the settlement (sitecode BRU92). Most finds appear to be from London, and the East Saxon series S sceat seems to be relatively common, as might be expected. Series H and R, which are common in *Hamwic* and Ipswich respectively, are poorly represented (Metcalf in prep, a), but a reasonable spread of types is present in the finds from recent excavations. Two are probably Frisian, another may well be so (ROP95) while a third is an insular copy of a type originating in Ribe (Fig. 9). In addition there are coins from Kent, East Kent (the latter possibly arriving via Rochester or Minster-in-Thanet), Essex and perhaps also *Hamwic.* Intriguingly, however, there is as yet there a near absence of the *Hamwic* series H sceat, while only one coin is possibly from France. The latter, however, are extremely rare in England (Metcalf 1984:28). In 1995, the numismatic evidence was taken to imply that London was less significant as a centre of exchange than Southampton or eastern Kent (Keene 1995:9). Now, however, the view is that the wide variety of coinage from London suggests that it 'was close to the hub of North Sea trade' whereas *Hamwic* was 'at the end of the branch line' (Metcalf 2001:51 p.). London also appears to have been a nodal point in the flow of currency from Kent and the continent to Mercia, and possibly also to Wessex and Essex (Stott 1991:282; Metcalf 1984:30, 43, 47). The status of river finds is uncertain, but must in part testify to the amount of river traffic passing between London and other points along the Thames.

Findspot	Type, series	Type	Possible source	Dating	References
ROP95 acc <534>	Sceat, B (imitative)	–	London	680-710/715	Metcalf in prep, a
MAI86 acc <8>	Sceat, D	8	Frisia (Domburg?)	700-720	Stott 1988:126; 1991:305
BRU92 acc <77>	Sceat, D	2c	Frisia (Domburg?)	690-725	Metcalf in prep, b
ROP95 acc <301>	Sceat, D copy	8	Frisia/Eastern Englan	700-710/715	Metcalf in prep, a
ROP95 acc <224>	Sceat, D	8Z?	Frisia? (Domburg?)	700-710/715	Metcalf in prep, a
ROP95 acc <178>	Sceat, E	–	Dorestad?	710-??	Metcalf in prep, a
HCT00	Sceat, G	–	Northern France?	710-720?	Gaimster and Bradley 2000:273
SGA89 acc <128>	Sceat, H	49, 1b	Hamwic	725-740	Metcalf in prep, b
PEA87 acc <7>	Sceat, L	18	London ('Hwiccian' style?)	730-770?	Stott 1989:117; 1991:306
ROP95 acc <67>	Sceat, K	32a	East Kent	720s	Metcalf in prep, a
NPG97	Sceat, K	20/18	East Kent/London	720-740	Gaimster:2001
SGA89 acc <84>	Sceat, K/N	15/41	Uncertain	720-740	Metcalf in prep, b
PEA87 acc <47>	Sceat, M	45	Kent	700-725	Stott 1989:117; 1991:306
ROP95 acc <386>	Sceat, N	41b/41a	London?	720-740	Metcalf in prep, a
ROP95 acc <60>	Sceat, O	40?	London?	720-735?	Metcalf in prep, a
DRY90 acc <46>	Sceat, R	R2	East Anglia	710-720	Metcalf in prep, b
PEA87 acc <192>	Sceat, S	47	Kent/Essex	730-750	Stott 1989:117; 1991:307
SGA89 acc <150>	Sceat, S	1	Essex	740-750	Metcalf in prep, b
ROP95 acc <95>	Sceat, S1	–	Essex	730-750?	Metcalf in prep, a
ROP95 acc <17>	Sceat, S (imitative)	–	Uncertain	730-750?	Metcalf in prep, a
NAG87 acc <17>	Sceat, T	9	London	700-720	Stott 1989:117; 1991:307
ROP95 acc <177>	Sceat, U	23d	Uncertain	715-735	Metcalf in prep, a
JUB85 acc <2>	Sceat, V	7	East Kent?	710-720	Stott 1988:126; 1991:307
ROP95 acc <94>	Sceat, X	31	(?English, derivative of Ribe type)	710-730	Metcalf in prep, a
JES99	Offa penny			792-796	Gaimster 2001
JUB85	Coenwulf penny		London or Canterbury	796-*c*.805	Stott 1988:126; 1991:308
Fleet Street, 1914	Coenwulf penny	Group I		796-805	Stott 1991:308
Northumberland Avenue	Burgred			852-874	Stott 1991:309
LES89	2 stycas		Northumbria	*c.850*	J. Pirie pers. comm.
ROP95	21 stycas		Northumbria	*c.850*	Pirie in prep
Middle Temple, Fleet Street	Hoard, over 250 coins		127 Canterbury 15 Rochester 6 London 50 East Anglia 4 Winchester	*c*.842	Dolley 1961:42; Vince 1988:90

Fig.8. Coins dating to before 886 from recent excavations in *Lundenwic* and earlier land finds with a recorded location (for a more detailed lists see Blackburn and Pagan 1986; Metcalf in prep, b).

Fig.9. A Wodan 'monster' sceat from the Royal Opera House site, possibly from Denmark or an insular copy (photo A Chopping, MoLAS).

Pottery

The external contacts of *Lundenwic* are reflected in the composition of some 30 ceramic assemblages recovered from excavations carried out by the Museum of London (Blackmore 1988, 1989, 1993, 1999, 2001, in prep). Most sites have produced between 10-600 sherds, but over 2800 sherds (*c.*60 kg) were recovered from ROP95. These sums are much in line with the assemblage from Fishergate, York, but much less than *Hamwic*, where over 46,000 sherds have been found (Timby 1988:79; Mainman 1993:566; Blackmore 2001:23 p., Tab. 5.1). The volume of imported pottery, however, is much the same for *Lundenwic* and *Hamwic* (average *c.*12% by sherd count), whereas in York it stands at a surprising 20-30% (Blackmore 2001:23 p., Table 5.2). Some of the more diagnostic ware and form types are illustrated in fig. 10.

The earliest, and most common, continental imports are the greyware and blackware jars and pitchers from Northern France, Flanders (and possibly also the Meuse valley). These are present in mid-7th century contexts, and are found throughout the entire sequence, although it is not yet known whether the finds from 9th-century contexts are residual. From the late 7th-century, smaller amounts of whitewares and buff wares from Normandy, the Seine Valley, the Meuse valley and the Rhineland (Walberberg-type ware) are also found. In the mid-8th century *Reliefbandamphorae* appear, while the first fine Badorf-type wares are from contexts dated to the later 8th or 9th century. White and buff wares from La Londe, near Rouen and the Meuse Valley (Roy 1993; Giertz 1996), are quite common in *Hamwic* (Hodges 1991:884) and in Ipswich respectively, but both are relatively scarce in *Lundenwic,* as are all other continental wares.

From *c.*730 until 850 the dominant pottery type used in *Lundenwic* comprises jars and pitchers imported from Ipswich, in East Anglia (Blackmore 2001:27). The latest imports, dating from the late 8th or 9th century, comprise a range of shell-tempered wares. Although never abundant, these are significant as part of a wider trend across the whole of southern and eastern England; some could be from the Midlands and Kent, but others may be imports from the Low Countries (Blackmore 2001:26 pp.).

The significance of the non-local and imported wares is debated (Blackmore 2001: 36 pp.). If, as argued by Vince (1988:85) the general limitation of these wares to 'towns' means that they were personal possessions rather than traded goods, it must follow that 8th-century London was mainly populated by people from Ipswich, Northern France and the Low Countries. While this may be true, it seems more likely that those continental wares that are present in bulk reflect trade (notably in wine), even if this was mainly for the benefit of the traders themselves (Hodges 1977:246, 1981:91; Blackmore 2001:37). The Rhenish

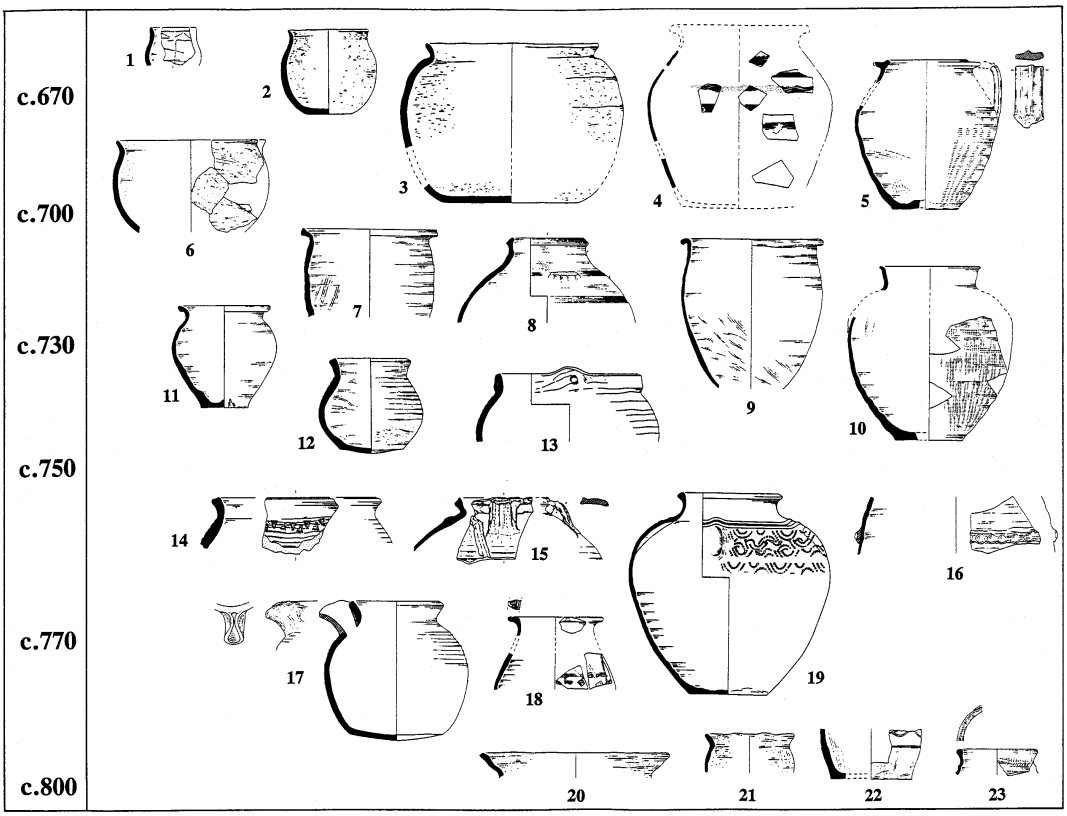

Fig.10. A provisional chronology for the Middle Saxon pottery from Lundenwic. Chaff-tempered ware (Nos.1-3); Walberberg/Badorf ware (Nos.4, 7-9, 15-6, 23); 'North French' Blackware (No.5); Surrey-type sandy ware (No.6); 'North French' greyware (Nos.10, 19); Normandy whiteware (No.11); Ipswich ware (Nos.12-4, 17); Tating ware (No.18); shell-tempered wares (Nos.20-2).

wares probably arrived alongside cargoes of quernstones, wine and luxury goods via the port of Dorestad, where similar forms have been found (Dunning 1956:218 pp., 233; van Es & Verwers 1980:Figs.55, 56; Fig.62, No.8, 1993:229 pp.). Ipswich ware has a remarkably wide distribution in England, and is a good indicator of the growing complexity of trade connections in the later 8th and 9th centuries (Blackmore 2001:37). The spouted pitchers may have been associated with the wine trade (Hodges 1981:59) but it is unclear whether the jars were sold empty or if they served as containers for other goods. If the latter was the case, the pots were certainly reused for cooking and other purposes. The less common imported wares, such as the tinfoil-decorated 'Tating' ware, by contrast, may have travelled as personal possessions or by means of exchange rather than trade as such (Blackmore 2001:37 p.), and the same may apply to the regional and non-local wares, which are both varied and infrequent.

Other finds

Other items that indicate international trade include numerous quernstones of Niedermendig lava and fragments of glass. Some of the latter has parallels in Ribe, *Quentovic* and the Rhineland, but the reticella bowls could be from East Anglia. The scarcity of glass in

the *wic* suggests that it may well have been recycled. Between 63-80 vessels were found at ROP95, but most are represented by one or two fragments only (Stiff in prep). Other items from ROP95 that might be of non-local origin include a folding knife with a parallel at Birka (Arbman 1940:Tap. 184), strap-ends of *Hamwic* type (G. Thomas pers comm) and possibly three decorated bone gaming pieces/spindlewhorls (Fig.11). The latter have near parallels in *Hamwic*, York, Ribe and Frisia (Roes 1963:Pl.XXX No.7, Pl.XXXIV Nos.4-6, 13; Roel *et al.* 1995:81, Fig.6). Arguably the most personal finds are three items with English runic inscriptions. They comprise a bone handle (ROP95: Malcolm *et al* in prep; Holder 1998:85; Page 1998), an echinoid fossil (possibly used as an amulet) and a cattle vertebra, of which the latter two may bear actual names (sitecodes ERT95 and NPG97: Brown *et al.* 2001).

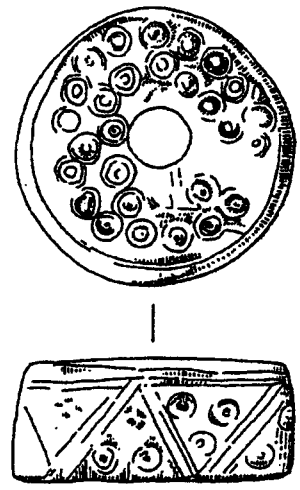

Fig.11 A decorated bone gaming piece or spindlewhorl from the Royal Opera House site (diameter 35 mm).

Industry

Distribution analyses of the other finds suggests that there are trends in the organisation of the settlement, and the location of the different industries. These, however, remain to be defined (Cowie & Barber in prep), and it is not yet possible to say how dense the occupation was across the whole area at any one time, or which zones were functioning concurrently.

Boneworking was practised from the start, but may have died out in the second half of the 8th century. Antler offcuts are present on most sites, but the amount of waste is minimal by comparison with that found in other *wic*s and emporia such as *Hamwic* or Haithabu. There is, however, a possible concentration in the eastern part of the settlement, towards Aldwych, which, if verified, would fit with the zoning of the industry noted at *Hamwic* and in other emporia (Riddler 2001). Combs, pins, and weaving tools are the most common finds (Fig. 12).

Iron smithing started in the late 7th century, in one case directly over the burial with the belt buckle, and continued into the 9th century. Two possible smithies were found at ROP95, but the general distribution of slag suggests that the industry was mainly confined to peripheral sites (eg BOB91, SGA89). Small ingots, crucibles and other finds such as a length of gold wire suggest that the melting and casting of silver and copper alloy objects, and possibly minting, was also carried out on a small scale at ROP95, mainly after 730; so far there is no evidence for cupellation. An important late 8th- to 9th-century site is on the northern edge of the settlement, where it is possible that copper alloy pins were also made (sitecode SGA89). Of especial interest are two moulds, one for a key, the other for a small disc brooch (Fig. 13), the design on which seems to have been inspired by a series H sceat (the bird from the

Fig.12 Bone pins and weaving tools from the Royal Opera House site (photo A Chopping, MoLAS).

front face, the annulets from the reverse). This type of coin dates from the reign of Cynewulf, so the mould should not be earlier than 760s.

Although a few loomweights are found in 7th-century contexts, their concentration in 8th-century and later deposits suggests that there was a rapid increase in the amount of weaving carried out after *c.*730. By *c.*750 the large numbers of loomweights and their widespread distribution shows that textile production was a major industry in *Lundenwic*, particularly in the central area of the settlement. At ROP95 alone over 500 loomweights were found, including a complete row *in situ*. Closer to the river, 100 weights were found on the site of the Adelphi Theatre (Cowie 1988:41; Hobley 1988:71). Spindlewhorls and threadpickers are comparatively rare, but were more personal, portable items and may have left the *wic* with their owners or have been burnt. Fibre preparation and the dying of yarn or cloth are suggested by finds of carding combs and the presence of purple deposits in many of the larger pottery vessels that may be derived from boiling madder (Blackmore 1988a:85, 1988b:128, 130). The artefactual evidence as a whole corroborates the late 8th-century correspondence between Offa and Charlemagne, which refers to the trade in black stones (lava querns) and English cloth, the quality of which was found wanting (Stenton 1985:220 p.). It is possible that an enigmatic complex of rectangular pits, some possibly containing timber frames, was associated the tanning of hides.

Animal husbandry

Quantities of animal bone have been found on almost every site across the entire area of settlement; the estimated total excavated so far lies in the region of 150,000 fragments. Of the 117,000 in the Museum of London collections (K. Reilly pers. comm.), 55,000 are from ROP95 (Bowsher & Malcolm 1999; Reilly in prep). Most assemblages are dominated by cattle, with smaller numbers of pig and sheep, but little game (Whytehead & Cowie 1989:713 p.; Rackham 1988, 1989). The peripheral sites, however, present a diffe-

Fig.13. An antler mould for a small disc brooch (20mm in diameter) showing a bird within a ring and dot border (photo A Chopping, MoLAS)

rent pattern. At NGA87, a possible farm, a high proportion of the cattle bone was neonatal or juvenile, while sheep/goat bones dominate; there is a high proportion of female sheep and pigs, while the presence of larger, older sheep suggests wool production (Rackham 1989:170; West 1989:168). On a site by the Aldwych (sitecode ERT95) numerous neonate and juvenile pig bones were found, together with primary bone waste, suggesting that this was a butchery site (Farid & Brown 1997:149, 152; Cowie & Harding 2000:186). It is possible that there were also farms in King Street (sitecode KWH96; Holder *et al* 2000:155 p.) and at the Treasury site, Westminster (Cowie 2001:206). It has been suggested that by the 8th century *Lundenwic* was too large to be self-sufficient and that livestock and foodstuffs such as cleaned, or semi-cleaned grain, were imported from the surrounding region (Cowie & Harding 2000:186; Cowie 2001:204). Some foodstuffs, such as fish from the North Sea, oysters from Essex and Suffolk, lentils, grapes and figs, were also imported (Cowie 2000:191, 193 p.). The real amount of fish is difficult to determine without bulk sieving. Most comprise eel and migratory species that could have been caught relatively locally, but a certain amount of marine fish, including ling, cod and herring, is present (Locker 1988:149 p., 1989:149, 150).

Lundenwic and the hinterland

Documentary evidence suggests that there were numerous settlements in the countryside around London, which could have been reached by the extant Roman roads, but few have been excavated. Known sites along the Thames include religious houses at Barking, Bermondsey and perhaps Westminster, and settlements at Battersea, Chiswick and Chelsea, Kingston and Staines (Blackmore & Cowie 2001; Cowie 2001:205 p.). A number of fish traps have also been found, notably at Chelsea, Barn Elms, and at Isleworth (Fig.1; Cowie 2000:195, Fig.10.1). Sites inland include Hendon and Northolt, although neither has produced much in the way of Saxon finds (Hurst 1961). In addition there were various religious houses in Kent, Surrey and the London area (Westminster, Bermondsey, Barking), with which the *wic* had contact, and a possible royal palace at Windsor.

At present archaeological evidence for the socio-economic dynamics between the *wic* and the hinterland is wanting. Imports, including a Tating-type ware pitcher similar to a find from *Lundenwic* have been found at Old Windsor (Dunning 1959:52, Fig.24; Blackmore 2001:30; P Blinkhorn pers comm), but such exotic finds are very rare, and there is a lack of diagnostic imports from rural sites. This might reflect a genuine lack of 8th-century sites, or the fact that the distribution

Site code	Address	Map ref
–	St Paul's Cathedral	Fig 2, 16
–	St Martins-in-the-Fields	Fig 2, 15
–	Westminster Abbey	Fig 2, 20
–	The Savoy	Fig 2, 17
–	The Treasury, Whitehall	Fig 2, 19
WFG62	St Brides Church	Fig 2, 13
EUR79	Tottenham Court, Euston Road	Fig 2, 18
RAG82	Rangoon Street	Fig 2, 11
JUB85	Jubilee Hall, Covent Garden Piazza, WC2	Fig 2, 7
MAI86	21-22 Maiden Lane, WC2	Fig 2, 8
PEA87	Peabody Site,Bedfordbury/Chandos Place, WC2	Fig 2, 2
NGA87	National Gallery Basement, Trafalgar Square, WC2	Fig 2, 9
NAG87	National Gallery (Sainsbury Wing), Trafalgar Square, WC2	Fig 2, 10
BDF89	21-26 Bedford Street, WC2	
COW89	20-26 Cowcross Street/1-4 St John's Lane, EC1	Fig 2, 5
JON89	47-49 St John's Square, EC1	Fig 2, 14
LES89	Leicester Square, WC2	
SGA89	2-26 Shorts Gardens, WC2	
SOT89	26-27 Southampton Street, WC2	
BUF90	Thames Court, Bull Wharf	Fig 2, 4
DRY90	55-57 Drury Lane, WC2	Fig 2,
MED90	St Bartholomew's Medical College,Clerkenwell Green, EC1	Fig 2,
ERT95	33-37 Exeter Street, W2	
ROP95	Royal Opera House, Bow Street, WC2	Fig 2, 12
BRU92	Bruce House,Kemble Street, WC2	Fig 2,
NPG97	National Portrait Gallery, WC2	
LCR99	15-17 Long Acre, WC2	
LGC00	8-9 Long Acre, and 126Garrick Street WC2	
FLR00	45-47 Floral Street/ 51-54 Long Acre, WC2	
HCT00	Hare Court, Inner Temple	
EXS00	Exeter Street	Fig 2, 6

Fig.14. The location of Middle Saxon sites in *Lundenwic* mentioned in the text and tables

of goods other than to the court was strictly regulated. The best indicator of trade at present is Ipswich ware, which has a wide distribution (see above). The finds from Staines (Jones & Moorhouse 1981:120-3), Kingston and Westminster Abbey (Blackmore 1995:80) were probably redistributed from the *wic*, but the few sherds found at Battersea could have come via Barking Abbey, to which it belonged in the 8th century (Blackmore & Cowie 2001). The non-local and imported pottery found at Barking itself (Redknap 1991; 1992) may have been shipped there directly, as perhaps was the case at Minster in Sheppey, on the other side of the estuary, or have been transhipped from the market of *Lundenwic.* Ipswich wares and imported pottery found at Waltham Abbey (Huggins 1976:101 pp., Figs.35, 36) may have come via *Lundenwic*, but could have reached the site via the river Lea, perhaps from Barking, or even overland.

The decline of *Lundenwic* and regeneration of the City

By 802, *Lundenwic* had suffered three major fires, two in close succession (in 764, 798,

801; Whitelock 1979:267, 275 p.). Various lesser fires are also evidenced archaeologically, and although some of the 8th-century buildings at ROP95 continued in use, only three new ones were constructed after *c.*770-800. In addition, widespread political instability on the Continent, combined with the threat of Viking raids, led to a decline in international trade. The riverside location of *Lundenwic* made it vulnerable, to environmental changes (Vince 1991:419; Cowie 2001:201), as well as to waterborne attack. The Viking raids of 842, 851 and 872 recorded in the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* (Whitelock 1979:187 p., 194) impacted not just on the commercial centre of *Lundenwic* but also on the surrounding region (Cowie 2000:196 pp.). To what extent defensive measures were taken in *Lundenwic* is unclear, but two substantial east-west 9th-century ditches have been found, of which that at ROP95 was fortified (Cowie *et al.* 1988, 71 pp., 76, 79; Cowie & Whytehead 1989, 716; Blackmore *et al.* 1998, 63). These ditches could have been dug in advance of the first Viking attack, as the fill of the ROP95 ditch was sealed by a layer of dark earth in which was a hoard of 21 Northumbrian stycas (Malcolm *et al* in prep). The latest coin was of Osbert (848-67), suggesting that the hoard was buried *c.*851 (Pirie in prep). This part of the *wic,* therefore, had been unoccupied for several years before the coins were buried.

There is a lack of other stratified Saxon finds from the Covent Garden area that can be dated with certainty to after *c.*840, and the last recorded use of the term '*wic*' for London is in a (spurious) charter of 857. Another document of the same year refers to the port in the grant of a property (possibly a customs house?) with equipment for weighing that was close to the City, if not within it (Sawyer 1968:No.208; Gelling 1979:105, No.210; Whitelock 1979:529). It is, therefore, possible that Lundenwic was already in decline by the time Dorestad was at its peak *c.*770-830, and that the regeneration of the City walls had begun by the time of the first Viking raids.

Discussion

In 1983 it was only possible to suggest that there may have been pockets of Anglo-Saxon activity close to the City by the late 6th century (Blackmore 1983:84), but this can now be put back to the mid-5th century. A possible chronology for the Early Saxon period is beginning to emerge from the study of the pottery and other finds from the region (Blackmore 1993; Laidlaw & Mepham 1999; Cowie & Blackmore in prep), but there are still many questions to consider. It is not known if a Romano-British population remained in the area, and if/how it integrated with the new settlers. Neither is it clear which sites, if any, were occupied by mercenaries brought in from the continent to defend the City, or later given land to farm (Marsden 1980:181; Cowie & Harding 2000:177 p.). Some sites have finds or pottery that has affinities with Germanic or Jutish material, but the latter usually occurs with wares that could be local, and it is likely that there was movement of people down the Thames as much as up it. The territorial units of the new communities remain to be defined, but the settlements, as currently understood, were small. Although the remains of marine fish found at Hammersmith (Cowie 2000:190; Cowie & Harding 2000:181) might suggest contact with the coast, there is no real indication of any commercial activity. During the 5th and 6th centuries, therefore, occupation was decentralised, scattered and non-urban in character, and it would appear that the

known sites were important at the local, or perhaps regional, level only. The exception might be Kingston, where a hoard of Merovingian coins dated to *c.*525-550 has been found (Cowie 2000:190).

The Conversion period (*c.*575-675/725), when pagan beliefs were gradually replaced by Christianity, is as yet poorly understood in London, but it clearly played a crucial role in the shaping of the new settlement. Whether a market or a religious focus was already in place in the late 6th or early 7th century remains open to debate. It can, however, be agreed that, in the words of Dyson (1980:90), London in 604 was 'something more than a sequestered pulpit'. Although eccentrically located in relation to Essex proper, there was little other choice, especially given the political interest of Aethelberht in the matter (Dyson & Schofield 1984:290). Chelmsford or Colchester in Essex would have been too remote for the wider kingdom of Essex, but London was at the heart of the new diocese, which by *c.*600 had absorbed Middlesex and possibly also included south-east Hertfordshire and Surrey (Brooke & Keir 1975:16 p., 198). This may help to explain the simultaneous foundation in 666 of two Thameside religious houses, at Chertsey in Surrey and at Barking in Essex (Colgrave & Mynors 1969:345 pp.; Dyson & Schofield 1984:290 p.).

The distribution of the human remains found in *Lundenwic* to date suggests that there may have been two cemeteries – one on the lower ground by St Martin's, the other on the ridge above the Thames. Objects that can be sourced are few, but parallels with other sites suggest links with Kent, the Low Countries and perhaps also East Anglia and Wessex. These, together with the cowrie shells, fit with the development of the trading centre in the mid-7th century. This event appears to be contemporary with, and similar to, that of Ipswich, and should also be coeval with York (although this remains to be demonstrated), but on present evidence *Lundenwic* is significantly earlier than *Hamwic.*

The evidence for town planning on the Royal Opera House site strongly suggests that the development, both in spatial and economic terms, of the commercial and industrial zone of *Lundenwic* was determined by royal power. Some degree of individual responsibility is evidenced by the variety of building techniques recorded, but the construction and maintenance of the roads would have required considerable concerted effort, and communal enterprise is suggested by the substantial size of the quarries (Cowie & Whytehead 1989: 710). It has been suggested (eg. Tatton-Brown 1986:25) that the *wic* of London may have been 'founded' by Aethelberht of Kent. This would follow the pattern of early urbanisation in Kent, but cannot be proven. It is, however, quite possible that the 7th-century expansion was initiated by Wulfhere in order to provide the landlocked kingdom of Mercia with a much needed port (Cowie 2000:188). Increasing international contact (and possibly some commerce) by the second quarter of the 7th century (Hobley 1988:70) would presumably have been further boosted by the revival of the church in 660. Thereafter the trading activities of the *wic* were closely linked to those of several religious houses (see above; Kelly 1992).

It is likely that this same period saw a shift from a tribute-based economy, regulated by the king or his representatives, to a market-based economy (Keene 1995:10; Cowie 2000: 190; Cowie & Harding 2000:198). During the reigns of Aethelbald and Offa (716-796), the kingdom of Mercia expanded, and by the end of Offa's reign it included Kent and much of the country between the Thames and the

Humber (Yorke 1990:112 pp.). The importance of London, the Mercian port, grew as a result of both this and a general increase in national and international trade. To what extent *Lundenwic* acted as an entrepôt is unclear. Documentary evidence suggests that there were numerous settlements in the surrounding region, but in archaeological terms virtually nothing is known of them. Until this has been redressed our appreciation of the role of *Lundenwic* as a regional centre, and how the events which took place there impacted on the wider community, will not progress. There is little doubt, however, that the peak of activity was between *c.*730-800, when there was a rapid growth in textile production and other industries within the *wic*.

The picture of decline in 9th-century *Lundenwic* is somewhat at variance with its description in 811 as a royal town (*oppidoque regali Lundaniae vicu*; Sawyer 1968:No 168), and another of 839, which speaks of 'an illustrious place…called throughout the world the city of London' (Stenton 1985:56). Together with two Northumbrian stycas found at Queenhithe (Blackmore 1997:127; Wroe-Brown 1999:13; Cowie 2001:207) and the grant of 857 noted above, these might suggest that the City was regenerating before the reign of Alfred (Blackmore 1997:127 pp.; Clark 1999:37 p.; Cowie 2001:207).

Conclusion

Central places can function as such at a number of different levels and to some extent they can only be understood when the sphere or spheres to they which are central have been identified and the relationship between them defined. In the later 5th and 6th centuries, the former City was, to paraphrase Tatton-Brown (1986:22), possibly occupied by the occasional squatter, but in no way a 'central place' or market town. *Lundenwic* of the 7th to 9th centuries, by contrast, can be described as a proto-urban settlement, a central place for people and ideas as much as for things and their manufacture and exchange. *Lundenwic* engaged in trade at many levels. At the local level, the development of *Lundenwic* is becoming clearer, but as more is known about one aspect, new questions arise about others. The industrial and commercial zone is now well evidenced, but the royal and religious centre, supposed to have been within the City walls, remains elusive. The area between the two zones is a largely unknown quantity, but may have been of higher status (Vince 1990: 17; Blackmore 1997b:128, 130).

The development of London as a central place, like that of other *wics*, was influenced by, if not dependent on, three closely linked processes: royal power, religion and commerce, which together generated economy (Biddle 1984:27; Keene 1995:9). Politically it was in a marginal location, and it was mainly controlled from distant seats of power, but by the mid-8th century it occupied a 'pivotal role ... in English polity' (Keene 1995:10). More work is needed to understand the changing character of London in the mid-to-later 9th century, but it remained a 'central place', albeit in flux. The regeneration of London in the 1ate 9th and 10th centuries may have been slow, but the development of the capital of England as we know it today would not have been possible without the various achievements of the late 6th to mid-9th centuries.

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Footnotes

[1] Coins dating to as late as 388-402 were found in construction dumps associated with the riverside wall and stamped late 4th- or early 5th-century silver ingots have been found by the Tower, in one case together with gold coins (Marsden 1980:178; Merrifield 1983:239 pp.; Parnell 1985:30 pp.; Perring 1991:127).

[2] Sitecode MSL88. One grave contained two tutulus brooches with a triangular bone comb, the other a gilded crossbow brooch with an elaborate chip-carved belt set (Barber and Bowsher 2000:183 p., 206 p.). A smaller chip-carved buckle found in Smithfield is probably from the Roman cemetery to the west of the City (Hawkes & Dunning 1961:62; Marsden 1980:181; Merrifield 1983: 245; Vince 1990:Fig.30). See also Cowie & Harding (2000:177). Part of a glass stemmed beaker from Lime Street, formerly thought to be Saxon (Marsden 1980:214 note 29; Merrifield 1983: 256) is now thought to be of medieval or later date (J Clark pers comm).

[3] These objects were all found over the demolition debris of the bathhouse. Residual fragments of claw beaker were also found (Egan 1999:29). On the floor within the bathhouse was a scattered hoard of over 273 late Roman coins, of which the 70 identifiable examples mainly date to 395-402, and a sherd from an East Mediterranean amphora, probably from Gaza (Cook 1969b; Symonds & Tomber 1991:77, Fig.13, No.119). For further details of these and other early finds see Marsden (1980:180 pp.) and Merrifield (1983:247-54).

[4] In Clerkenwell, 5th- to 6th-century pottery and an iron buckle were found in two pits (sitecode JON89; Cowie & Blackmore in prep). Other finds comprise two possible Saxon burials (sitecode COW89; Cowie and Blackmore in prep), two earrings made from a late 6th- or 7th-century Byzantine marriage disk (Vince 1990:109) and a sherd of early Saxon vessel glass (sitecode MED90). As at Billingsgate, the two 5th-century sherds from St Bride's were found together with late 4th-century pottery (Groves and Blackmore 1997:52). One is coarse-slipped (*Schlickung*), the other rusticated; both could be of Germanic origin (Blackmore 1997a:55).

[5] The present cathedral is believed to be on the same site as the 7th-century churches of St Paul the Apostle and St Gregory. The churches of St Martin and St Augustine, located to the west and east of St Paul's respectively, were probably also early foundations, as their alignment emulates that of the churches of SS Peter and Paul, St Augustine, St Pancras and St Martin at Canterbury (Tatton-Brown 1986:22 p.).

[6] It was long speculated that the latter were within the former Cripplegate fort, where in the second half of the 8th century Offa reputedly had a palace (Dyson and Schofield 1984:294; Vince 1990:54 pp.), but this theory has generally been dismissed (D. Keene pers comm).

[7] Site codes BC72; MM74 (Rhodes 1980:97), PET81; TAV82 (Vince 1991:417). Single sherds of chaff-tempered ware and perhaps also Ipswich ware (Cowie 1988:45) were also found in 1988 during excavations in the Fleet Valley (site code PWB88), just to the south of Ludgate Hill and to the east of New Bridge.

[8] The findspot of another complete pot with rouletted and stamped decoration in the Museum

of London collections is unknown. It is possibly from Huy, Belgium and has also been dated to the late 6th or 7th century (Evison 1979:38, 48, 76, 79; Fig.15h; Blackmore 1993:131, note 6a).

[9] This charter was first thought to refer to land in Southwark (Dyson 1980), and then to imply that Chertsey abbey was granted land between the Strand and the Thames (Biddle 1984:26). However, the amount of land (1200 acres) is too great for this narrow strip (J. Clark pers comm), and so it is more likely that the grant merely confirms that the ships landed on the southern side of the public way.

[10] The present road system of the Adwych, laid out in 1903, takes its name from the *Aldewic* (old *wic*), first referred to in 1182 (Ekwall 1964:28; Biddle 1984:26; J Clark pers comm).

[11] Recent excavations have shown that there was a high status site at the Temple in the mid-9th century (Bowsher 1999; J Butler pers comm). Other finds include the famous sword pommel from Fetter Lane (to the north of Fleet Street), dated to the late 8th century (Webster & Backhouse 1991:211).

[12] Grants of 733, 743-745, 748, 763-764? to the nuns of Minster in Thanet, the Bishop of Rochester, and the Bishop of Worcester. The latter (743-745) is the only reference to the port as *Lundentunes hyde*, but this is because it is written in Old English, not Latin. A grant of 790 to the Abbey of St Denis is spurious, but nonetheless records the name and trading function of '*Lundenuuic*' (Sawyer 1968:No.133; Gelling 1979:101, No.204). See also Gelling (1979:Nos.195, 196, 199; Whitelock 1979:491; Dyson 1980:89; Dyson & Schofield 1984:293; Kelly 1992:5 p., 26 pp.).

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Ipswich: Development and contexts of an urban precursor in the seventh century

Christopher Scull

Abstract

Recent research on Ipswich shows that the received model for the development of the settlement in the 7th to 9th centuries requires radical revision. Taken with recent discoveries at London and Southampton this suggests that the physical development of the major emporia of England in the 7th century was more uniform and more nearly contemporary than has been recognised hitherto. This paper summarises the evidence and considers briefly some settlement and political contexts of the Ipswich settlement in the 7th century.

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Introduction

Ipswich lies at the head of the Orwell estuary in south-east Suffolk. It is one of the four major craft production and trading settlements – the so-called *wics* or *emporia* – of the 7th to 9th centuries in England for which there is good archaeological evidence, the other three being Southampton, London and – less certainly – York. Ipswich has been seen as the port-of-entry for the East Anglian kingdom through which exchange with the continent was controlled. The same function has been proposed for the other *emporia*, the suggestion being that there was one such monopolistic settlement for each major English kingdom, although the growing body of evidence for other coastal or riverine sites with similar functions and contacts is calling this model into question (Hodges 1981:93 p., 1982a, 1982b; Hill & Cowie 2001:85 pp.). The major *emporia* have assumed a critical place in debates over the nature of urbanism and urban origins in post-Roman Britain and have been invested by modern scholars with a range of central place functions (Biddle 1976; Hodges 1982a; Carver 1993; Scull 1997; Hill & Cowie 2001).

The spatial development of Ipswich in the 7th to 9th centuries

At its greatest extent the pre-Viking settlement at Ipswich covered around 50 ha. Rescue excavations since 1974 have allowed detailed examination of some 3 percent of this area (Wade 1988, 1993).

The crucial excavation for our understanding of the development of the Ipswich settlement in the 7th and 8th centuries was undertaken in 1987 and 1988 on the site of

the Buttermarket in the centre of the modern town. This revealed a sequence of activity from the 7th to the 19th centuries, of which the earliest phase was a cemetery thought at the time to be in use throughout the 7th and 8th centuries. Once abandoned, the area of the cemetery was given over to occupation and craft production.

From this sequence, and earlier excavations and observations, it was possible to construct in some detail a model of the settlement's development. This has been reported in a number of synthetic accounts (Wade 1988, 1993; Clarke & Ambrosiani 1995:21 p.; Scull 1997:277 p., 2001) and is widely known.

The earliest – 7th century – settlement appears to have covered approximately 6 ha on the north bank of the Orwell. In its earliest phases this appears to pre-date the production of Ipswich ware, but imported continental pottery – so-called Merovingian blackwares – are present from the outset. Immediately to the north of this was the contemporary cemetery at the Buttermarket and there are indications that there may have been other burial groups on the fringes of the settlement. At some time in the 7th century the production of Ipswich wares was established to the north-east of the settlement area in the Cox Lane and Carr Street areas of the modern town. The settlement appeared to remain the same size through the 7th and 8th centuries with hints that there may have been a significant agricultural component to its economy. Then, from the beginning of the 9th century, there was a rapid expansion to an area of 50 ha with streets laid out to an orthogonal pattern to the north of the original settlement nucleus.

This model, although it appeared secure, posed a number of interesting questions: not least why the evidence from Ipswich, presumed to be the mint for the main series R sceattas (Metcalf 1994:502 pp.), should indicate a dramatic physical and economic expansion a century later than at London and Southampton (Cowie & Whitehead 1989; Morton 1992). However, high-precision radiocarbon dating of burials from the Buttermarket cemetery (Scull & Bayliss 1999a, 1999b) and a comprehensive re-evaluation of Ipswich Ware by Paul Blinkhorn (Blinkhorn forthcoming) now suggest that this model must be revised.

We now know that the Buttermarket cemetery was established around the beginning of the 7th century and abandoned by the beginning of the 8th century. This brings forward the terminus post quem for the major expansion of the settlement from the early 9th century to the early 8th century. All the archaeological evidence from the post-cemetery phases is compatible with this. Indeed, it makes very good sense of a number of features of the site – such as the large number of sceattas – which otherwise required special pleading to explain as part of the cemetery sequence (Scull 2001:68).

Paul Blinkhorn's study suggests that Ipswich Ware was not produced before the end of the 7th century with truly significant production and distribution not taking off until as late as the second quarter or middle of the 8th century. Until now it has been assumed that production began in the second quarter or middle of the 7th century.

This gives a rather different picture of the development of Ipswich. We still have the 6 ha settlement of the 7th century with its associated burial sites(s) and evidence for craft production and exchange with the continent, but without the production of Ipswich Ware. From the earlier 8th century, however, there is a massive expansion of the settlement area, possibly planned, and the establishment of a major pottery industry.

Fig. 1. Location map of archaeological sites mentioned in the text. For sites other than Ipswich in south-east Suffolk see Fig. 2. (Vince Griffin)

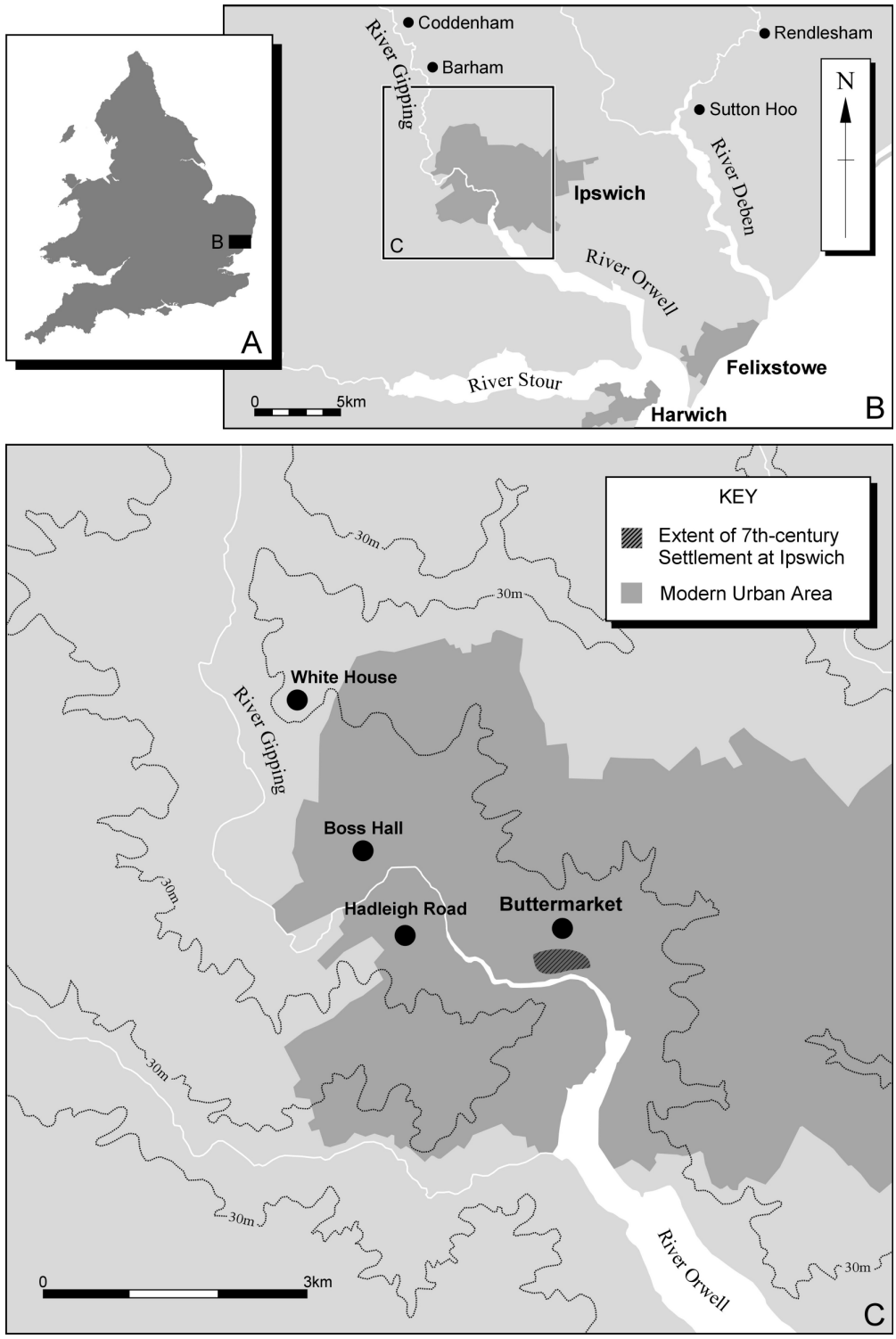

Fig. 2. Location map showing Ipswich and other archaeological sites in south-east Suffolk mentioned in the text. (Vince Griffin and John Vallender)

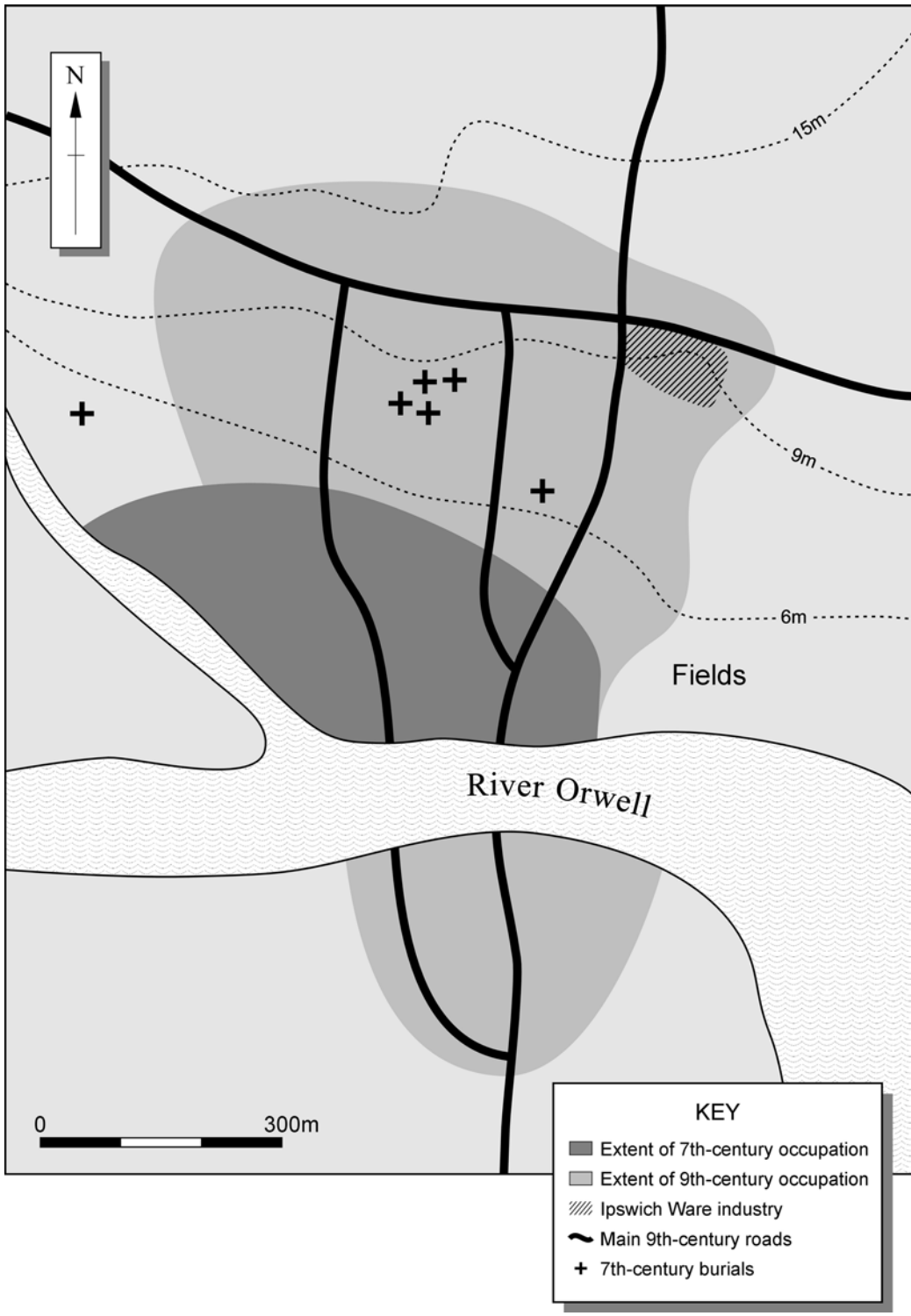

Fig. 3. Spatial development of the Ipswich settlement in the 7th to 9th centuries. (After Wade 1988 and 1993) (Vince Griffin)

The Buttermarket cemetery allows some insights into the nature of the community at 7th-century Ipswich, although the reliability of inference is constrained by the small and damaged sample (Scull & Bayliss 1999a, 1999b; Scull 2001:67 pp.). Men, women and children are represented. Variation in burial practice, and particularly in the provision of grave goods, suggests a concern to differentiate identities within a ranked community. Estimates based upon the number of known graves would give a figure for the contributing population of around 15-20 in any one generation; the estimated number of graves destroyed within the excavated area would allow this figure to be doubled. These must be seen as minimum figures and may well be revised upwards in the light of future discoveries, but one might expect the number of known burials associated with the 7th-century settlement to be perhaps an order of magnitude greater if the density of permanent population was significantly greater than at other contemporary settlements.

Ipswich and other *emporia*

The revised dating means that it is no longer necessary to explain the development of Ipswich as a special case. The expansion of settlement, and the intensification of population density and economic activity, takes place within a generation of the same phenomena at London and Southampton, and so may be attributed to the same general social and economic trends. These must be linked to the rapid development of a monetary economy identified by Michael Metcalf as fuelling economic prosperity in the first half of the 8th century (Metcalf 1984).

The morphology of the 7th-century settlement at Ipswich and the general pattern of development first identified here may also be common to the other sites. At London there is evidence for a halo of burial sites around the earliest settlement north of The Strand and Aldwych with strong evidence from the Covent Garden area for a cemetery abandoned and built over as the settlement expanded from the later 7th century: recent finds from the Covent garden area include a female grave with a composite gold-and garnet disc brooch of the mid 7th century (Cowie & Whytehead 1989; Scull 2001:69; Humphrey 2001; Blackmore, this volume). The recent excavation of a 7th-century cemetery at Southampton (Stoodley, this volume) supports the argument that the settlement was not founded from scratch by King Ine around AD 700, but had a predecessor (Yorke 1982; Morton 1992:28; Scull 2001:72). It seems likely that future excavation will show that Southampton, like Ipswich and London, expanded in the late 7th or earlier 8th century from an existing beach-side settlement.

From this evidence it is thus possible to propose a single simple general model for the spatial development of all the major English emporia (Fig. 4). A beach-side settlement with burial sites beyond its margins expands rapidly from the later 7th or early 8th century; this expansion accompanies the establishment of an orthogonal pattern of metalled streets, and burial takes place within the settlement in demarcated cemeteries. This may appear superficially similar to the transition from Type A to Type B in Hodges' typological sequence of emporia (Hodges 1982a:50 pp.), and indeed both Ipswich and London in the 7th century have been interpreted as Type A emporia (Cowie & Whytehead 1989:709; Hodges 1988:97 pp.). Neither, however, conforms well to this model: the archaeological evidence is consistent with sizeable perma-

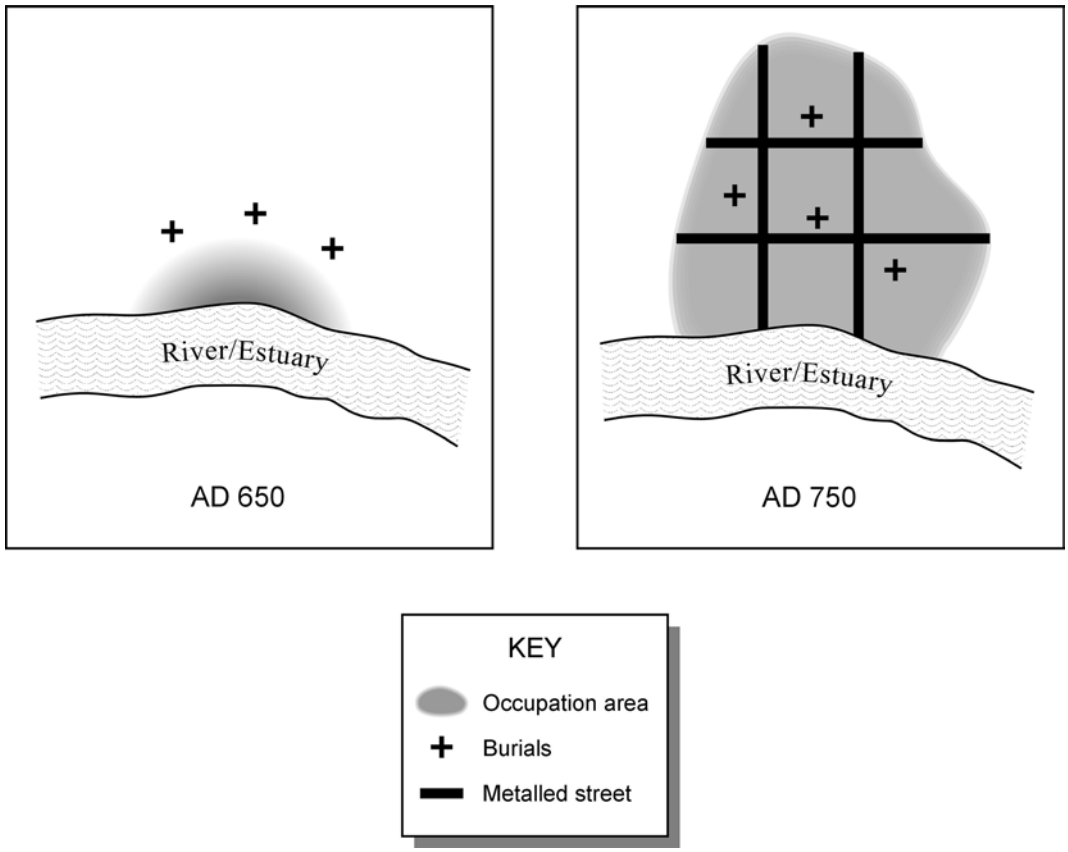

Fig. 4. General model of the spatial development of the major English emporia in the 7th and 8th centuries. (Vince Griffin)

nent settlements rather than periodic markets, although it is entirely possible that both may have developed from impermanent periodic sites. The typology and sequence of development proposed by Hodges must now be reassessed against more recent archaeological data (Scull 1997:290).

Contexts

A number of recent publications have discussed investigating the hinterlands of the emporia and the difficulties which such exercises face (for example, Hinton 1996:93 pp.; Scull 1997:284 pp.; Newman 1999). Mapping the distribution of Ipswich Ware and series R sceattas, for example, gives an indication of Ipswich's insular economic hinterland in the 8th century, a time when it may be realistic to suggest that the greatly expanded settlement was linked to its hinterland through markets with a significant element of monetary exchange (Fig. 5). However, even in this case the detailed mechanics of the relationship between Ipswich and its hinterland are obscure, and the extent to which more detailed conclusions can be drawn from the evidence is complicated by issues of retrieval bias and data quality. Defining the contexts of the 7th-century settlement is even more problematic. What follows is a brief preliminary consideration of some aspects of the settlement and political contexts of the Ipswich settlement in the 7th century.

Fig. 5. The distribution of series R sceattas (above) and Ipswich Ware finds (below). (After Metcalf 1994:503-505 and Newman 1999 Fig. 2) (Vince Griffin)

Settlement and community

The prevalent model for rural settlement and economy in the 7th century proposes a landscape administered through complex or multiple estates: in effect a system of local central places through which the surplus of the rural economy was extracted on behalf of elite groups. It is not always easy, however, to marry this model in detail to archaeological data in any one area.

Some broad patterns of settlement activity in Suffolk can be inferred from the distribution of burials and chance finds (West 1998), and the south-east Suffolk survey has established a baseline of settlement pattern and density from systematic surface collection over an area centred on Sutton Hoo (Newman 1992). However, investigating settlement hierarchy and economic dependencies in sufficient detail requires a lot of fieldwork, and despite a number of good recent excavations models of settlement hierarchy and settlement differentiation have to be constructed from a limited number of sites across the region or from a national sample, with the consequence that our detailed knowledge of settlement systems and the economic infrastructure is limited: our established models are almost entirely hypothetical and predictive. It is also becoming clear from excavations that there was considerable diversity of settlement form in the 7th to 9th centuries. Brandon in west Suffolk provides an excavated example of a higher-status settlement, possibly monastic (Carr et al. 1988). We simply do not know how typical or atypical are the very different settlements recently excavated at Carlton Colville near Lowestoft on the east coast and at the White House industrial estate 4 km north-west of 7th-century Ipswich.

So what actually sets Ipswich apart from rural settlements at this time, other than our knowledge that it becomes something clearly different during the 8th century?

At 6 ha the 7th-century settlement is more extensive than broadly contemporary settlements in Suffolk at Brandon (3.25 ha), Carlton Colville (2-3 ha), West Stow (1.8 ha) and White House (c 1 ha), and high-status sites elsewhere at Yeavering, Northumberland (c 4 ha) and Cowage Farm, Foxley, near Malmesbury, Wiltshire (3+ ha) (Hope-Taylor 1977; James et al. 1985:Fig.3; West 1985; Hinchliffe 1986; Carr et al. 1988). It is only one-third of the extent of the total settlement palimpsest at Mucking, Essex (18 ha), but probably significantly larger than the Mucking settlement at any one time (Hamerow 1993). It is, however, smaller than the main concentration of settlement at West Heslerton, North Yorkshire (10+ ha) (Powlesland 1998). We do not have the necessary information from Ipswich to compare building types and settlement morphologies, but it is possible that the disposal of rubbish in pits, as against middens and manuring at Carlton Colville, for example, indicates both a different economic basis and different constraints on the use of space at Ipswich. This might imply a greater size and density of population at Ipswich, but at present the cemetery evidence does not confirm this. The range of craft production at Ipswich is what might be expected at a contemporary rural site. There is however a very much greater quantity of imported pottery.

Two sites in the immediate hinterland of Ipswich in the Gipping valley (12 km to the north-west), Barham and Coddenham, are known from intense concentrations of coins and fine metalwork in the ploughsoil (West 1998; Newman 1999:38). These have been interpreted as the sites of fairs or periodic

trading places, perhaps nodal points on the exchange network reaching inland from Ipswich. The recent discovery of a 7th-century cemetery at Coddenham suggests a settlement with a high-status establishment and it may be more realistic to see both sites as higher-status settlements with economic central-place functions some of which involved monetary exchange. The coins from Coddenham suggest a rapid decline in activity early in the 8th century (J. Newman, pers. comm.). One would expect the expansion of Ipswich in the early 8th century to involve some realignment of the economic geography of the region it served, and a periodic fair or market at Coddenham – if this inference is justified – may have a been a casualty of this process.

In addition to Buttermarket and other burials directly associated with the 7th-century settlement at Ipswich it is worth mentioning two other burial sites in the immediate vicinity: Hadleigh Road (Layard 1907; West 1998) and Boss Hall (Newman 1993; Webster & Backhouse 1991:51 pp.).

At Boss Hall a single rich burial dated to the end of the 7th century gives us evidence for a high-status lineage in the immediate vicinity of Ipswich at this time, and implies a high-status establishment nearby.

The Hadleigh Road cemetery was in use from some time in the 6th century until well into the 7th century and the grave goods include imported material very similar to that from some graves at Buttermarket. It is conceivable that Hadleigh Road served the Ipswich settlement across the river, but more likely that it served a contemporary settlement on the west bank. One possibility is that the head of the Orwell estuary was an established trading location by the end of the 6th century with more than one trading site, and community, involved: an area of beach markets. Thus we might speculate that both the initial establishment of the Ipswich settlement, and its expansion in the 8th century, may have involved formal consolidation at a single site of activities previously undertaken at a range of settlements or locations.

Politics and Ideology

Sutton Hoo is the most famous feature of the 7th-century cultural landscape in south-east Suffolk. Given the commonly-accepted link between Anglo-Saxon kingship and emporia it is tempting to see the foundation of Ipswich as an initiative of the Wuffing dynasty and to view south-east Suffolk in the early 7th century as the core of a proto-state in which we can detect evidence for some emergent integration of political, economic and ideological central place functions in the same general locality. However, it should be borne in mind that under this model the main port-of-trade is 19 km as the crow flies from the Royal Vill at Rendlesham on a different navigable estuary (Warner, 1985:18; Carver 1986:45 pp.; Scull 1999:19; Fig. 6). If Ipswich is to be seen as a component of a central-place complex, analogous to the models proposed for example for Gudme on Fyn, Denmark (Nielsen et al. 1994) or Ravlunda, Scania, Sweden (Fabech 1999), then we should expect to identify the other components of the complex much closer in the immediate environs of modern Ipswich and the Gipping valley.

At Ipswich there is some evidence which may suggest direct involvement of continental elites in the 7th-century settlement. Of the seven burials at the Buttermarket cemetery for which a high status may plausibly be argued the three earliest (dated to the period AD 610-670) contained continental grave assemblages, whereas the four with insular grave goods

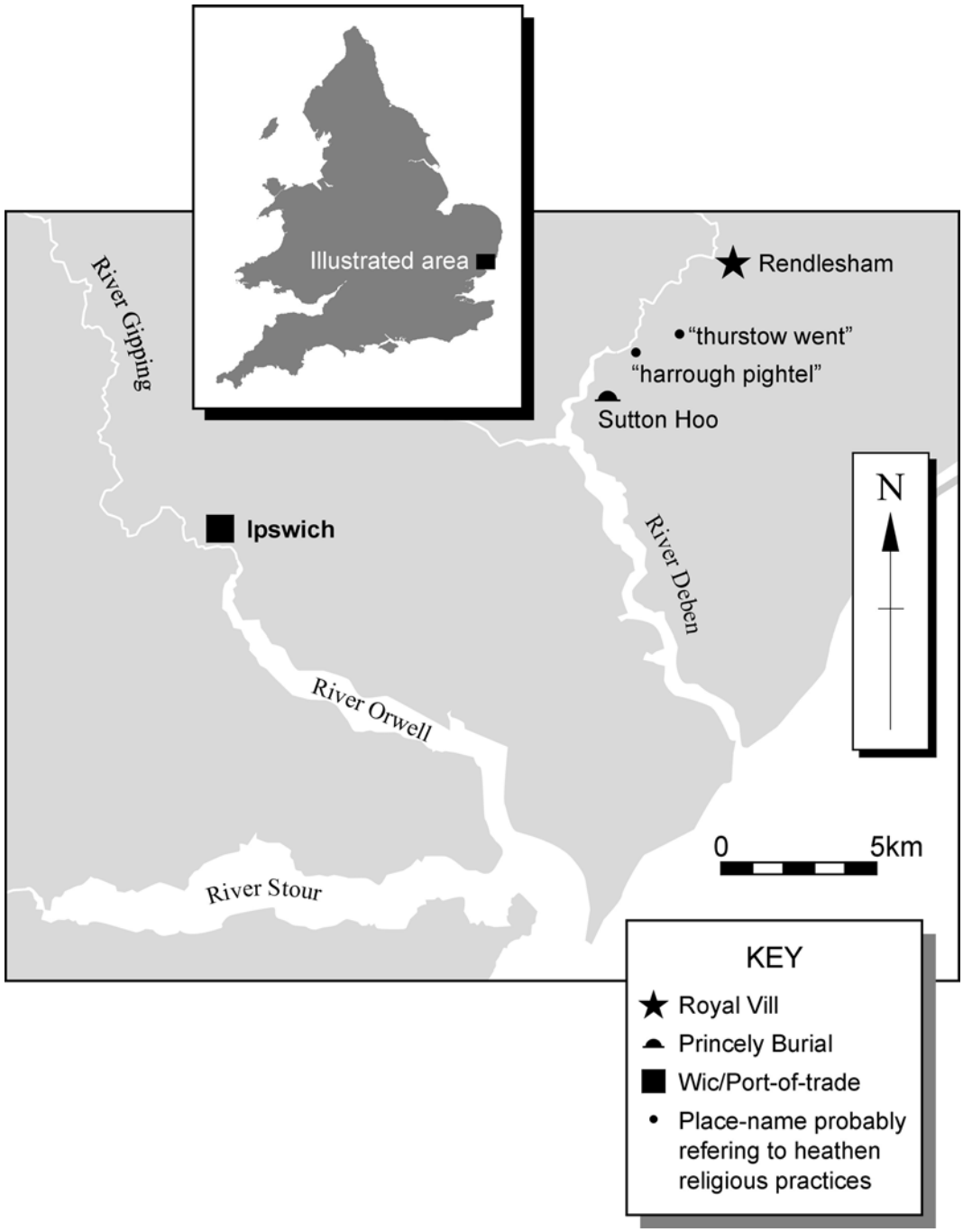

Fig. 6. South-east Suffolk in the 7th century: evidence for sites with possible central place

should all be dated to the period after AD 660/670. Whether or not the three earliest are the graves of individuals from the continent, the pattern here suggests that the cultural, and possibly political, affiliation being signalled by leading families in this community was continental until the middle or third quarter of the 7th century, and insular thereafter. This would harmonise well with Ian Wood's suggestions about the extent of Frankish hegemony over southern England, and with the axis of any core-periphery relationship between the Merovingian and English kingdoms (Wood 1983). From this perspective Ipswich in AD 640 might seem as much an outpost of Frankish imperium as the emporium of the East Anglian kings. It is worth noting, too, that the closest parallels from England for some of the more distinctive continental pieces from Buttermarket are from the St Mary's cemetery at Southampton and Covent Garden in London.

There is evidence for higher-status burials of the 7th century at Ipswich, London and Southampton, consistent at a general level with the proposal that long-distance exchange was directed towards, and controlled by, elite groups. We may presume that there was a port reeve or equivalent at Ipswich, although it might be argued that any initial attempt at control may have been a response to an established foreign presence rather than a royal economic initiative; even, that one or all of the men buried with continental equipment and weapons may have held authority here. As at Southampton, it seems likely that a central authority was involved in the expansion of the settlement in the 8th century. It is assumed that the mint for the series R sceattas was at Ipswich, but we do not know this; nor do we know whether Ipswich itself was at any given time an administrative centre, or whether it was subordinate to a nearby estate centre where the mint may also have been located.

Conclusions

The change in our understanding of the development of Ipswich – and so of the pattern of development of the English emporia – forced by the re-dating of the Buttermarket cemetery and Ipswich Ware highlights the contingent nature of archaeological modelling and interpretation, and also illustrates the dangers of a chronologically insensitive approach. There is a danger that the entire 7th- to 9th-century sequence at sites such as Ipswich may be characterised as 'urban' or 'proto-urban' in a way which conflates different stages of development and settlements of very different character. It is clear that Ipswich of the middle of the 8th century was very different from the settlement of a century earlier.

In any case, the term 'proto-urban' is not appropriate to the synchronic study of settlement character and context. Even in diachronic studies, accepting the teleological proposal embodied in the term 'proto-urban' runs the risk of under-estimating the extent to which settlement development is contingent upon a range of complex governing factors (Scull 1997:291 pp.).

The 7th-century settlement at Ipswich was different in some ways from other contemporary settlements, particularly in the scale of evidence for direct exchange contacts with the continent, but this distinction is very much less marked than in the 8th century. It should be seen in the context of developing inter-regional exchange controlled by and directed towards elites, itself developing from the exchange contacts and systems which are evident in the archaeology of the 6th century.

We may surmise that Ipswich was tied in to a network of estate holdings and obligations through which goods and commodities were mobilised and redistributed, and so by adapting Smith's model to the circumstances of the 7th century it may therefore be possible to characterise it as a major nodal point in a dendritic central place system (Smith 1976; Hodges 1982). However, it cannot usefully be characterised as a town, nor as 'proto-urban', but should be seen as a settlement with some special functions within an entirely non-urban settlement system in which central-place functions might be dispersed between a variety of sites and places, and where central person might be as important as central place (Austin 1986; Scull 1997:291 p.).

Acknowledgements

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The origins of Hamwic and its central role in the seventh century as revealed by recent archaeological discoveries

Nick Stoodley

Abstract

This article describes the results of a recent excavation on the site of a wealthy seventh-century cemetery in Southampton, Hampshire, and considers the implications that it raises regarding the origins of the famous eighth and ninth-century trading place better known as Hamwic. The nature of the grave goods and the burial practices indicate that the inhabitants of this cemetery comprised an elite group that may have been associated with a royal estate from which the later administrative functions of the site, i.e. Hamtun, can be traced. It is suggested that the royal estate was sited at the mouth of the river Itchen to regulate the trade in agricultural surplus that was produced by the many farming communities of the Itchen Valley.

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Introduction

In the year 2000, work began on the development of a new stadium for Southampton Football Club in the St Mary's area of the city (Fig. 1). Archaeological excavation by Wessex Archaeology in advance of the construction work revealed part of an extensive cemetery dating to the second half of the seventh and first quarter of the eighth century. The location of a burial ground of this date, within the area that Middle Saxon Southampton, or as it is better known Hamwic occupied (Fig. 2), generated considerable interest because of the implications that it has for our understanding of the origins of this trading centre. Debate has tended to centre around one of two main arguments: was its foundation a result of traders taking advantage of the increased political and economic security brought about by Ine's reign, or was it established by direct royal prerogative? (Holdsworth 1980:1). The latter, and perhaps more recently the more attractive idea, is suggested mainly by the place-name evidence. Middle Saxon Southampton was known variously as either Hamwic or Hamtun, and both names coexisted throughout most of the period probably referring to the one place in its different aspects (Rumble 1980: 19). But whereas Hamwic narrowly defines its trading function, Hamtun, indicates that it had an administrative role to play. In fact, strong documentary evidence for the latter comes from a charter of Ethelwulf, which was probably written in 840 'in the royal villa called Hamtun,' (S 288/B 431), implying

Fig. 1. Location of Southampton in England.

that the administrative aspect of the site was under royal control. Yet a royal representative in the ninth century does not necessarily mean that its origins can be traced back to a late seventh-century royal estate from which the later trading centre emerged.

Until the discovery of seventh-century graves, archaeological evidence had only played a minor role in the debate about Hamwic's origins. The general scarcity of seventh-century material, the numismatic evidence and the dates from dendrochronology have not contradicted the claims based on the historical sources that it was probably at some point during the long reign of Ine (688-726) that the trading centre was established. Naturally, this has affected the dating of features within Hamwic. In particular, it has been considered appropriate to date the other known cemeteries from Hamwic to the eighth and ninth centuries. Scull has recently argued, however, that there are no reasons why the earlier ones (SOU 7/14, 20, 32/47, 34/43/48 and 254) cannot be placed in the seventh century (Scull 2001:71). If this is correct, then it has important implications for the early post-Roman development of this region. The position of two of the cemeteries (SOU 32/47 and 254) 500 m apart may indicate the presence of several separate settlements dating to before the trading centre (Scull 2001:72), a distribution which would fit comfortably into the pattern of regularly spaced settlements already known to have existed at this time in the upper Itchen valley.

The cemetery

General details

This article is only meant to serve as a preliminary discussion of the findings from the cemetery. At the time of writing, a full account of the excavation by Wessex Archaeology was still in preparation and it will be some years before the full significance of these discoveries are appreciated.

Archaeological excavation only took place in the area where the football stands were to be erected, the remainder of the burial ground and other features were left undisturbed under the football pitch and car park (Fig. 3). This is not the first time that the cemetery was encountered: in 1975 at SOU 20 two weapon-burials, each accompanied by a spear and long seax were excavated (Holdsworth 1980: 38 p.), and given their proximity it can be safely assumed that they were part of the cemetery.

The cemetery was mixed rite: the excavation produced 18 cremations and 26

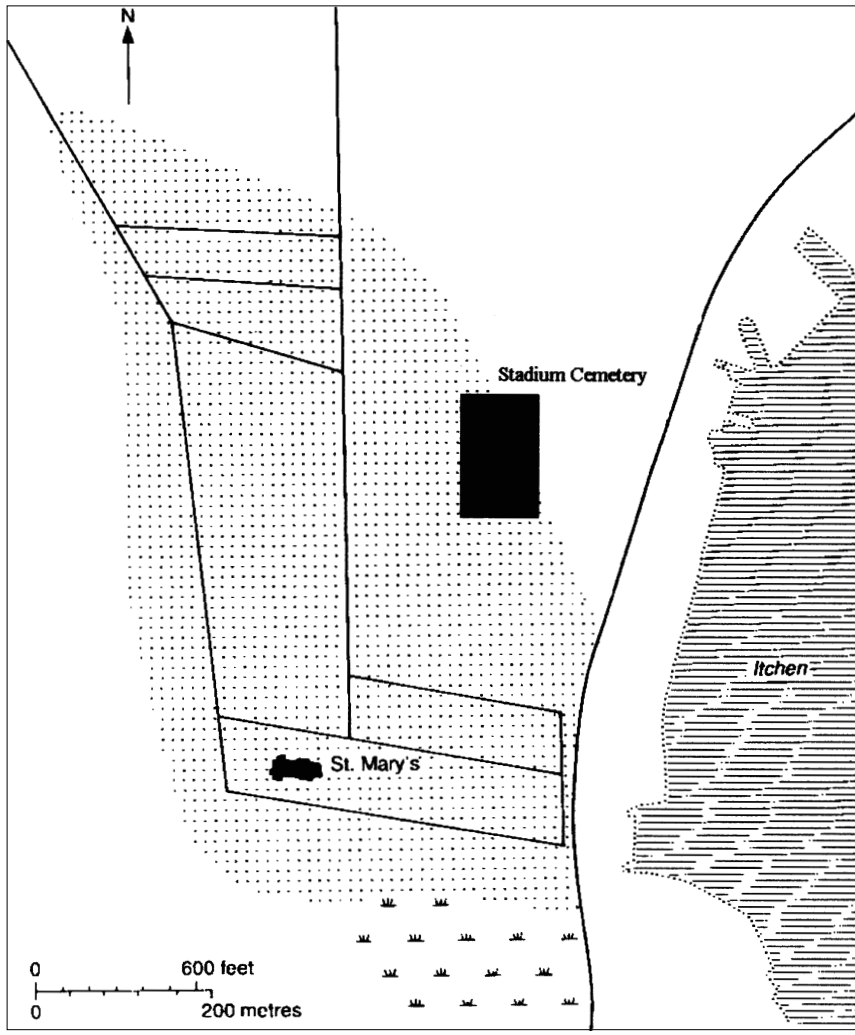

Fig. 2. The location of the Stadium cemetery in Hamwic (based on Morton 1992:33).

inhumations (this includes the two graves from 1975), and radiocarbon dates from three cremation burials have shown that the two rites were contemporary. There appears to be some attempt at zoning within the cemetery with the cremations predominating to the north, where incidentally there was also a separate pit full of pyre debris. However, any observations about the cemetery plan are very tentative because of the large proportion of the site which remains unexcavated. The main group of 24 inhumations were found in the west part of the site and the grave goods accompanying several of these indicate that these at least were interred in the period c. 650-725. The following objects are particularly indicative of this date: a gold filigree pendant, bulla pendants, copper alloy work box and the two shield bosses that are of Härke and Dickinson type 7. In addition to these graves eight inhumations were found on the northern edge of the site, which have provisionally

Fig. 3. Plan of the Stadium cemetery (graves are black rectangles). This is an initial post-excavation plan prepared by Wessex Archaeology.

	Male	Probably Male	Probably Female	Female	Not Sexed	
Child (1-14)					553	
Adolescent (15-19)				5129, 5508	5352	
Young Adult (20-30)		4541	4102, 5488	4202	288	
Older Adult (30-40)	4425, 5119				3520/B	
Mature (40+)	5142					
Adult	9007				3520/A, 4002, 4037, 4357	
Not aged					183, 4101, 4110, 4265, 4493, 5428, 5510, 5537	

Fig. 4. Cemetery population by sex and age.

been dated to the eighth century. The dating is based on the fact that the graves are spatially separate to the main group, they lack grave goods and the presence of coffins in half of the graves is a feature that they share with other eighth-century graves from Hamwic (Garner 2001: 170 pp.).

The cemetery was seriously affected by the development of the trading centre: almost two-thirds of the graves had been disturbed by settlement features. A similar situation occurred at the Buttermarket, Ipswich. But whereas this happened in the early ninth century, roughly one hundred years after the abandonment of the cemetery (Scull 2001:67), at the Stadium only a generation at the most had passed before the settlement encroached over the area of the cemetery.

In the part of the cemetery that is available for study it is clear that the graves are quite widely spaced. Indeed, the relatively low density of grave is comparable to the situation at the Buttermarket and is something that these sites share with contemporary rural cemeteries (Scull 2001:71). However, Middle Saxon and later disturbance, was responsible for obscuring the original layout and it is quite likely that many graves were destroyed. For example, in at least one case a grave was encountered during the digging of a pit with the result that the skeletal remains were redeposited into that feature. Despite this damage, a random arrangement of graves is still recognisable and is yet another feature which this burial ground shares with its rural counterparts.

Inhumations

Skeletal survival was very poor: six of the graves contained no skeletal material at all and in many there was less than 25% survival. Consequently it was only possible to identify the sex of ten individuals (five males and five females) (Fig. 4). The estimation of age was better, however: 14 of the 26 burials were identified as adult and the ages range from

the early 20's to the over 50's. Only one child was recovered, that of an 8-11 year old, though the lack of young individuals in the sample might be a result of the destruction of these generally smaller features by later activity.

The following points can be made about the treatment of the inhumation burials. Where the shape of the grave could be detected, it was found that in most cases it was rectangular or sub-rectangular, and all graves were of an adequate enough size to accommodate their occupants. Structural features within the graves were relatively uncommon: a burnt plank had been deposited in one grave (5428), while two interments (5129 and 288) had been made in coffins, as deduced from dark stains around the grave edge. Only one grave was furnished with an external structure: 5352 with two slots at the head end, which probably supported a marker post of some description. The low frequency of structures contrasts with the situation at the Buttermarket where the majority of graves contained timber structures (Scull 2001:67). However, a feature that both the Stadium and the Buttermarket have in common is the prevalence of west-east orientated graves (n=16 at the Stadium), followed by a smaller number of graves that shared a north-south alignment (n=5 at the Stadium). A variety of different alignments is a feature more usually encountered in early Anglo-Saxon burial practice and contrasts with the traditional image of standardized west-east orientation one finds in final-phase cemeteries, such as Winnall II (Meaney and Hawkes 1970) and Leighton Buzzard (Hyslop 1964). All the graves contained single burials apart from 3520, which was a contemporaneous double burial of two unsexed adults with weapons. Research into the multiple burial rite has demonstrated that this combination was one of the rarest: only 3% (n=5/165) of contemporary double burials involved two individuals accompanied by weapons (Stoodley 2002). It may be significant that this grave was placed in the southern part of the site and is also one of the rarer north-south aligned graves, which perhaps indicates that the manner in which these two individuals died was such that it required a special rite. Though regarding its spatial position, caution is advocated because a large section to the north and west of the grave remains unexplored. Where the position of the individual could be discerned it was found that all were laid extended supine, though some had their legs slightly flexed to one side.

An important discovery was the very high proportion of burials that were accompanied by grave goods (88%:n=23). This can be compared with the Buttermarket where only 42% (n=32) were accompanied by objects. The majority of burials had only one or two objects, mainly knives and buckles, though a select few had four or more different types (Fig. 5) (the average number of different types for this cemetery is three). What is notable, however, is the relatively high proportion of individuals that were accompanied by weapons (46%:n=12). As a percentage of the adult sample (it was impossible to make a comparison between the adult males because so few burials at the Stadium have been sexed), this is a comparable figure to that achieved by the male populations in the early Anglo-Saxon cemeteries in Hampshire, for example the figures for Andover (Cook & Dacre 1985) Worthy Park (Hawkes forthcoming) and Alton (Evison 1988) are 60%, 56% and 40% respectively.

Of the weapon burials, individual A in the double burial is notable because of the seax which was still sheathed in a richly decorated scabbard. Grave 5129 is also worth a mention

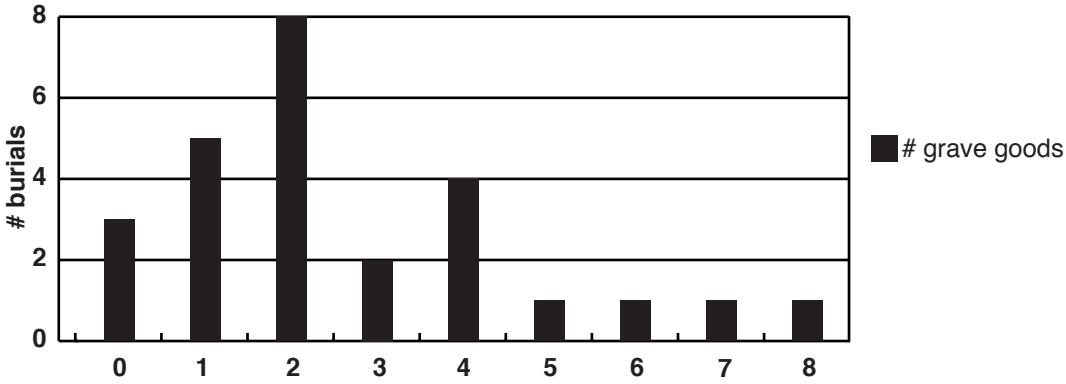

Fig. 5. Numbers of grave goods (different types).

because this grave belonged to a female of between 16 and 20 years who had been interred in a coffin on top of which a seax had been put. The association of females and weapons is a very rare one (Stoodley 1999b: 76), and this is the only example known to the author where a weapon has been placed on the top of a container, and as such it raises some interesting questions about the association between this individual and the status or role that the weapon may have been symbolising.

In contrast to the weapon burials, there are only three jewellery burials, though two were provided with wealthy necklaces: 4202 with a necklace consisting of a gold pendant, three sceattas, nine bulla pendants and four glass beads; and 5508 with a gold disc pendant decorated in filigree and garnets, a silver intaglio ring and two glass beads.

Cremations

Less than half of the individuals in the sample of the earlier burials had been cremated (41%). Of these 18 the sex of five could be determined (3M/2F), and ten were judged to be adults as opposed to six juveniles. Most of the urns were globular undecorated pots which are typical of the seventh century and can, for example, be paralleled at Leighton Buzzard (Hyslop 1964). Three of the urns contained burnt animal bones, while a further three had fragmentary burnt objects that are probably the remains of pyre goods. The most notable of these is 7138 which had a circular bone/antler object decorated with ring and dot stamps; this may have been part of a comb, or even, given its shape, a gaming piece.

An elite settlement?

When it was first discovered, the burial ground on the basis of the gold artefacts, was described by the director of the excavation as a 'royal cemetery': 'the graves belonged to the ruling dynasty that founded Hamwic, one of Anglo-Saxon England's earliest towns' (Smith 2000:7). If this is correct then it reinforces the case for royal intervention in the establishment of Hamwic. However, before it can be accepted the evidence from the cemetery has to be examined in much more detail. In fact, this assumption was largely based on the jewellery, which although unusual in its wealth for Hampshire, is not particularly outstanding

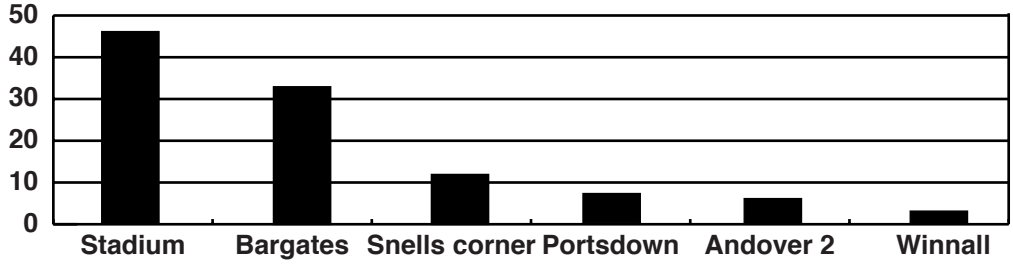

Fig. 6. Proportion of weapon burials in 'late' cemeteries in Hampshire.

when compared to the rest of the country. For example, gold filigree pendants are occasionally found elsewhere: the recently published sites at Harford Farm (Norfolk) (Penn 2000) and Lechlade (Gloucestershire) (Boyle *et al.* 1998) have both produced such items. These are rural sites not known to be associated with any special type of settlement and it can be argued that this type of jewellery was worn by the leading women in each community and would have replaced the paired gilt brooches and long necklaces that their predecessors wore in the sixth century. Thus, one should be cautious of ascribing a 'royal' status solely on the basis of the jewellery.

Of much greater significance, and a feature of this site that really sets this cemetery apart from other contemporary burial grounds in Hampshire, are the weapon burials. To begin with the proportion of weapon burials at 46% is very high for Hampshire (Fig. 6). The only comparable cemetary is Bargates (33%:n=9) (Jarvis 1983), which although strictly speaking is in Dorset, is very close to the county boundary. If the weapon burials are examined in more detail, it is discovered that the character of several of the assemblages also marks this cemetery out as unusual (Fig. 7). In particular the site has produced two burials that have complex weapon assemblages: 5352 with a pair of spears, a sword and a shield and 5537 accompanied by a sword, seax, two spears and a shield. In fact, this is the only 'late' cemetery in Hampshire that can boast weapon assemblages which consist of three or more different types.

Elsewhere in the country a similar situation is found. A representative sample of 'late' cemeteries from England was consulted (Fig. 8), and it is significant that the site with the highest proportion of weapon burials at this time (Polhill in West Kent) (Philp 1973:164 pp.) falls considerably short of the total recorded by the Stadium cemetery. In addition, in the majority of these cemeteries the assemblages are relatively modest in character: in almost all the sites only two different types are combined. There are exceptions, the most notable of which is the Buttermarket grave 1306, which had amongst other objects a broad seax, shield and two spears.

The only area in the country that has produced comparable figures to the Stadium is East Kent. This can be illustrated by focussing on the seventh-century burials from two long-lasting cemeteries: Dover Buckland (Evison 1987) where 28% (n=21/74) of the latest burials were accompanied by weapons and Sarre (Brent 1863:305 pp., 1866:157 pp., 1868:307 pp.), which records an even higher proportion at 42% (n=14/33). In addition, these two sites have produced elaborate weapon combinations very similar to those excavated at the Stadium cemetery (Fig. 9).

	Spear	2 spears	Shield	Shield Spear	Seax	Seax, Spear	Sword Spear	Sword Shield 2 spears	Sword Seax Shield 2 spears
Stadium	2	1			5	1	1	1	1
Bargates	2		2	3					
Snells Corner	1		1						
Portsdown I			1		1				
Andover 2	1								
Winnall 2					1?				

Fig. 7. Weapon combinations in 'late' cemeteries in Hampshire.

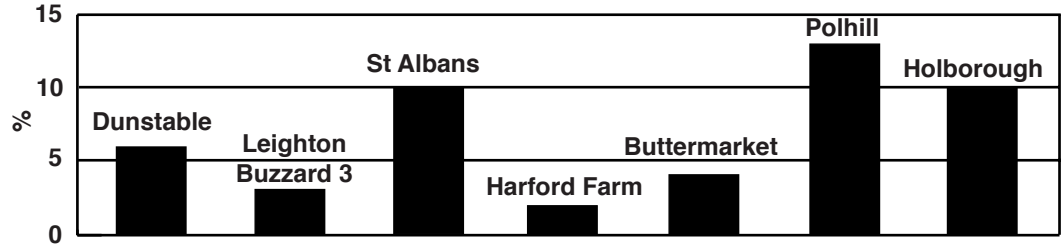

Fig. 8. Proportion of weapon burials from England (representative sample of 'late' cemeteries).

Similar weapon burials have been found in Wessex, but they are confined to the class of isolated barrow burials that are mainly located in the county of Wiltshire. For example, at Ford near Salisbury a male was interred in a large grave with a hanging-bowl and possible wooden vessel, a pair of spearheads, a shield and a seax, in addition to a comb and bronze buckle (Musty 1969). These burials, furnished by rare objects and complex weapon assemblages, are usually interpreted as belonging to the elite, who by choosing such burial places were distancing themselves from the rest of society (Stoodley 1999a). The position of these monuments, the use of an earth barrow and the type of symbolism that they have (weapons and vessels) makes the drawing of parallels between them and the flat-grave community cemeteries difficult. Yet if this symbolism can be equated with an elite, which on the basis of the weapons seems only reasonable (Härke 1990:22 pp.), then a concentration of such burials at the Stadium may indicate that the settlement served by this cemetery was home to a group of high-status individuals. Apart from the barrow burial at Oliver's Battery near Winchester (Andrews 1932), and a late seventh-century weapon burial accompanied by a sword, spear, shield boss of Dickinson and Härke group 7 and possible vessel at

Burial #	Spear	Shield	Sword	Seax
56	●	●	●	●
93	●	●	●	●
27	●	●	●	
71	●	●	●	
131	●	●	●	

Dover, Buckland

Burial #	Spear	Shield	Sword	Seax
207	●	●		●
64	●	●	●	
156	●	●	●	
190	●	●	●	
211	●●	●	●	

Sarre

Fig. 9. Examples of complex weapon assemblages from 'late' burials from Dover, Buckland and Sarre (Kent).

Meonstoke (Stoodley & Stedman 2001), the Stadium is the only site in Hampshire which can claim to have produced evidence that reflects the increasing social stratification witnessed throughout the country at this time.

So although the evidence that is currently available from the Stadium cannot be taken to show that royalty resided in Southampton in the seventh century, it may be compatible with the idea that it was a royal foundation controlled by royal representatives, i.e. an estate. This in not a new idea: the late Sonja Hawkes interpreted the high number of weapon burials at both Sarre and Dover Buckland as belonging to military establishments of the King's port reeves (Hawkes 1982:76). In addition, Barbara Yorke has argued that the administrative role provided by Hamwic may be traced back to a royal estate that was in existence by the middle of the seventh century (Yorke 1982:80). However, this is the first time that strong evidence for such a group at Southampton has been provided by archaeology, and which furthermore can be dated to before the establishment of the trading centre proper.

Archaeology has, however, been unable to reveal any unambiguous settlement evidence that could be seen as belonging to a royal estate. There are hints that part of the settlement was not involved in manufacture and trade, and intriguingly this area is close to the Stadium cemetery. The site is SOU 47, located to the north-west of the cemetery and an area that seems to have continued in use after the abandonment of the settlement. Moreover, it has produced rare items that have not been found elsewhere within Hamwic, for example bronze spoons and forks. Just to the north at SOU 32 part of an eighth-century cemetery

was recovered which included a grave surrounded by a penannular ditch. The variety of burial practices at SOU 32 and also at SOU 254 could be viewed as indicating variations in status which may be associated with an elite establishment (Scull 2001:72). Taken together this evidence may indicate a non-urban administrative core (Morton 1992:28). However, it is not possible to say whether this was the place where the putative seventh-century royal estate would have been located.

The wider picture: Jutish southern Hampshire in the seventh century

It is now time to tackle the difficult question about why a royal estate was sited here and what function it would have performed. In order to try to answer this the enquiry has to be widened to look first to southern Hampshire and then further afield to consider the political context of Southampton in southern England.

Southampton is at the mouth of the river Itchen, which by all accounts was bristling with farmsteads by the seventh century. Many sites dating from the late fifth to seventh century are known from the upper Itchen valley, especially around Winchester. This distribution has been commented on (Hawkes 1989:95), but since then discoveries made by metal detector users have pointed to numerous other sites, probably to be interpreted as burial grounds, both to the north and south of Winchester. The farms that these cemeteries served must have prospered during the more settled times of the seventh century, a factor which probably would have stimulated river based trade in local produce. For example, the settlement at Abbots Worthy, in use from the sixth to eighth centuries, has produced evidence for metal and bone working, the manufacturing of textiles, cattle breeding and cereal production (Fasham and Whinney 1991:25 pp.). Given that the seventh century saw an increase in trading (Hinton 1990:21 pp.), it is probable that this activity was not limited to the scale of subsistence but that a surplus was being generated which allowed its inhabitants to participate in trading. Indeed, sceattas from the valley at Otterbourne, Twyford, Winchester and Cheriton indicate that a flourishing trading network was in existence by the end of the first quarter of the eighth century (Ulmschneider 2000:152 pp.).

The river Itchen would have afforded access along the coast in a westerly and an easterly direction as well as permitting easy access to the Isle of Wight, and the establishment of a royal estate at the estuary of the river can be explained as a response by the ruling elite to extract tolls at this excellent frontier point. It has been argued that the kings would not have been interested in trade itself, but were more concerned with the revenue that it could generate for them via tolls (Samson 1991:63 pp.; Woolf 1991:76 pp.). For almost all of the time that the cemetery was in use coinage was not the medium through which transactions were carried out and it is therefore highly probable that the king's agents would have regulated this trade on behalf of the king by taking a share of the produce for the king and also for themselves. In controlling trade in this manner the estate was certainly playing a central role in the maintenance of the elite and the economies around which they functioned, though it is questionable whether such estates had reached a level of social and economic development that justify their description as central places.

Southampton may not, however, have been the only settlement which was performing such a role at this time. On the basis of the

distribution of cemeteries in other river valleys, for example the Dever and the Meon (Stedman & Stoodley 2000:133 pp.), it can be argued that similar processes were taking place in southern Hampshire. Each river valley may have had its own elite settlement responsible for administering this tax; in fact textual evidence in the form of the *Hodoeporicon* by Hugeburc indicates that a similar site to Hamwic may have existed at Hamblemouth by the eighth century which may also have had its origins in a royal estate.

The Kentish connection

Bede is quite clear about the political geography of southern England in the early Anglo-Saxon period: he states that southern Hampshire was part of a Jutish enclave along with both the Isle of Wight and Kent (HE I, 15). Confirmation of Jutish ancestry may come from three place-names that include the element *Yte* 'Jute', and the twelfth century Worcester chronicle which reports that the New Forest was still known as *Ytene* ('of the Jutes') (Yorke 1989:90 p.). Barbara Yorke takes the association further and argues that southern Hampshire was part of a Jutish/Kentish alliance that was intended to police the English Channel and guard against Saxon pirates (Yorke 2002). The trade in local produce and the royal estates through which it was administered may have been easy targets for this piratical activity, located as they were at river mouths, and the safeguarding of these may have been just one of the functions of this alliance. In fact, the alliance may have been based on a political and economic desire to control the channel and trading within it, rather than an ancient Jutish heritage.

On the surface, the archaeology of southern Hampshire has more in common with the neighbouring Saxons than the Isle of Wight and Kent. In particular it has yet to produce rich graves with Kentish and Frankish material like, for example, at Chessell Down on the Island (Arnold 1982:13 pp.). However, recent research into female costume by the author has identified that the types of dress worn, at the funeral at least, varied between northern and southern Hampshire during the sixth century (Stoodley *forthcoming*). In summary, in the north of the region at the cemeteries of Andover and Alton the majority of adult females wore a garment that required pinning at the shoulder by a pair of brooches - evidence for the peplos dress, the typical Saxon folk costume at the time. In contrast, a distinctly different style is found in southern Hampshire at the cemeteries of Droxford and Worthy Park. Here the arrangement revolves around a single brooch or pin fastening a garment over the upper body which indicates a different costume style altogether: perhaps a separate tunic and skirt or a dress that was not fastened at the shoulder but opened at the front. This difference in style may indicate that the communities in southern Hampshire perceived themselves as different to those in northern Hampshire and expressed this difference through the female costume.

Furthermore, this style can be traced back to Kent. In east Kent the costumes are more elaborate than in most other areas, but the reconstruction of costume styles at both Deal (Parfitt & Brugmann 1997:46 pp. especially fig. 16) and Dover Buckland (Evison 1987:69 p. especially fig. 13), in which the fasteners are arrayed up the body, seems to demonstrate that the costume may have had its roots in a very simple style. A style which is akin to that found in southern Hampshire, and it is this likeness in costume which may serve as the archaeological evidence to link the two regions.

Conclusion

It is suggested that the origins of the famous trading centre of Hamwic can be traced back to a seventh-century royal estate which was responsible for extracting tolls from the surrounding area. Its physical appearance may not have differed much from the other rural settlements that inhabited the region during this century, and the evidence from the organisation and layout of the cemetery indicates that the burial ground at least was similar to contemporary rural ones.

An explanation for the development of this estate into the manufacturing and trading centre of the eighth and ninth centuries may be sought in the political and military takeover of the region by the West Saxons in the late seventh century. During this century, both southern Hampshire and the Isle of Wight were put under increasing pressure by neighbouring kingdoms. Wulfhere of Mercia, then overlord of Aethelwealh of the South Saxons, granted the South Saxon king the provinces of the Wight and the Meonwara as a reward for his conversion to the Christian faith. Bede recounts its subsequent conquest and annexation by the West Saxons in the second half of the seventh century (HE IV, 13; Yorke 1989:89). Amongst other things, the attraction of Hampshire can be explained by the great opportunities for trade and its regulation that the area offered. It should not be overlooked that the coast to both the east and west cannot boast anything like the range of easily defensible natural harbours, rivers and inlets that southern Hampshire has.

One reason which may have proved instrumental in the decision by the West Saxons to concentrate their efforts in Hampshire, as well as in other areas south of the Thames, may have been the expansion of the Mercians into the Upper Thames during the seventh century - an action which would have effectively barred the West Saxons from using the river Thames (Yorke 1995:62). Thus a major route way, which also allowed participation in trade with the rest of England as well as the continent, was denied to them. It is therefore no surprise that the expansion of Hamwic and the development of trade and manufacturing only really began under West Saxon influence.

The main problem with the hypothesis that the origins of Hamwic can be traced back to a time when the region was under Kentish/Jutish leadership is that the conquest of the region by the West Saxons falls right in the middle of the period that the cemetery was in use. This is a relatively long stretch of time and most of the interments could have taken place before the arrival of the West Saxons in 686, though it could also be claimed that it is equally possible to associate the burials with the first West Saxons. Nevertheless, the similarities in the weapon burials between the Stadium cemetery and those from contemporary burial grounds in East Kent is suggestive of a link between the two areas, and the fact that the cemetery was built over by settlement structures within living memory of the dead being interred could indicate that the resident West Saxons were trying to eradicate the memory of the old leaders.

Overall, the most important finding is that the discovery of a seventh-century cemetery now brings the origins of Hamwic into line with that of two of the other major English trading centres (Scull 2001:67). Whether it will be possible to eventually claim that all English trading centres were established through royal intervention remains to be seen, but the discovery of high-status burials from both Ipswich and London is certainly suggestive of a similar model.

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Central Places and Metal-Detector Finds: What are the English 'Productive Sites'?

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Abstract

In England the growing popularity of metal-detecting over the last two decades has provided archaeologists with a vast range of new material sources. For the Middle Anglo-Saxon period (c.650-c.850) in particular this has led to the identification of a completely new type of economic site, dubbed 'productive site' by numismatists. Unrecorded in the contemporary written sources, an assessment of the material assemblage from these places nevertheless strongly suggests that they may be the remains of smaller markets and fairs. This article surveys some of the recent advances made in the study of these 'productive sites' in England. It is argued that despite severe problems in the interpretation of metal-detected finds, some common characteristics of these places can be established. Based on a current case study of a Middle Anglo-Saxon 'productive site' (and likely 'central place') on the Isle of Wight, possible ways of identifying the functions and nature of these sites within the landscape are explored, and future lines of enquiry suggested.

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In 1983 a well-known authority on Dark Age trade stated that 'until 800 all the evidence points to an economy primarily directed by the elites'. Commerce would have been 'confined' to 'specific trading places' known as 'emporia' or 'gateway communities', while 'inter-regional market places' were deemed 'not (to) exist'. 'There were of course', he writes, 'small and occasional rural markets for exchanging local produces, but these were not essential to the operation of the economy as a whole'. The writer was Richard Hodges, and the book *Mohammed Charlemagne & the Origins of Europe* (Hodges & Whitehouse 1983:101, 92).

It is always easy in hindsight to criticise the views of others and it is therefore necessary to look at the context at that time. In the early 1980s major excavations had just been published for the harbour of the great *emporium* at Dorestad and large quantities of finds indicative of international trade continued to turn up at Hamwic (van Es & Verwers 1980; Hodges 1981; also Morton 1992; Andrews 1997). The *emporia* were documented in written sources, and produced not only vast amounts of Continental pottery, querns, and glass, but also unprecedented quantities of coins. Still, anomalies in Hodges' picture, suggesting a much wider infiltration of commerce, already existed. A map of sceatta finds published in 1981 in David Hill's *Atlas of Anglo-Saxon England* recorded what was then described as a 'rather inexplicable' distribution of these coin finds in England (Hill 1981:120 p.). While the *emporia* predictably

appeared as major centres, and the concentrations of finds along the Kentish coast could be explained by cross-channel trade, the striking 'southern Mercian concentration' of coins far inland was much more difficult to account for in Hodges' model.

Hill's map was drawn up just before the advent of metal-detecting in England. It is probably not too strong to say that the metal-detector finds made during the last twenty years have started to radically transform our understanding of the early medieval economy in England. This is perhaps best demonstrated by the large number of coins collected over the last few years in the *Early Medieval Coinage* database of the Fitzwilliam Museum in Cambridge (www.fitzmuseum.cam.ac.uk/emc). A map of coin finds, which can be automatically generated from this database, shows not only a much wider infiltration of coins inland, but also the much more intensive loss and therefore much more intensive use of coinage than had hitherto been supposed. But perhaps even more importantly, the metal-detected finds have led to the identification of new types of economic places, represented by large quantities of coin and metalwork finds. These have generally become known now as 'productive sites', and are believed to be the remains of smaller markets and fairs (recently summed up by Ulmschneider 2000b).

Based on the study of such a 'productive site' currently undertaken on the Isle of Wight, in the following article I will first survey some common characteristics of these 'productive sites', before discussing more closely reasons for their identification as markets. Finally, suggestions are made as to how these sites may fit into a framework of other trading places.

The site

Like many 'productive sites', the Isle of Wight site first became known when a small number of metal-detected coins from a place then described as 'South of Portsmouth' were brought to the British Museum for identification in the early 1990s. Since then co-operation between the finders and archaeologists has provided a wealth of further finds as well as some information on their source of origin (details of the site have been published in two interim reports: Ulmschneider 1999, 2002). Thus the site can now be securely located in the Bowcombe valley (to the south of Carisbrooke) in the centre of the island (Fig. 1). One is immediately struck by its excellent connection to major lines of communication, a characteristic of almost all 'productive sites'. The site lies in the vicinity of a ford and crossing point for the most important W-E land route of the island with local N-S routes along the valley. Less than three kilometres downstream lies the head of the river Medina, which provides a major shipping route into the Solent and beyond.

A second important characteristic of this, and other 'productive sites', is the large amount of Middle Anglo-Saxon coinage they produce. Thirty-seven coins are currently known from the Isle of Wight site, mainly of 8th-century date, comprising thirty-five English and Continental sceattas, a Merovingian denier, and a penny of King Offa of Mercia. Other 'productive sites' have also yielded non-ferrous metalwork and sometimes unusual high-status finds. Both are yet rare on the Isle of Wight site. To date there is one 9th-century strap-end, and an unusual 8th to 9th-century copper-alloy fitting of unknown function with a runic inscription (unpublished, British Museum). Finally, detailed regional studies have suggested

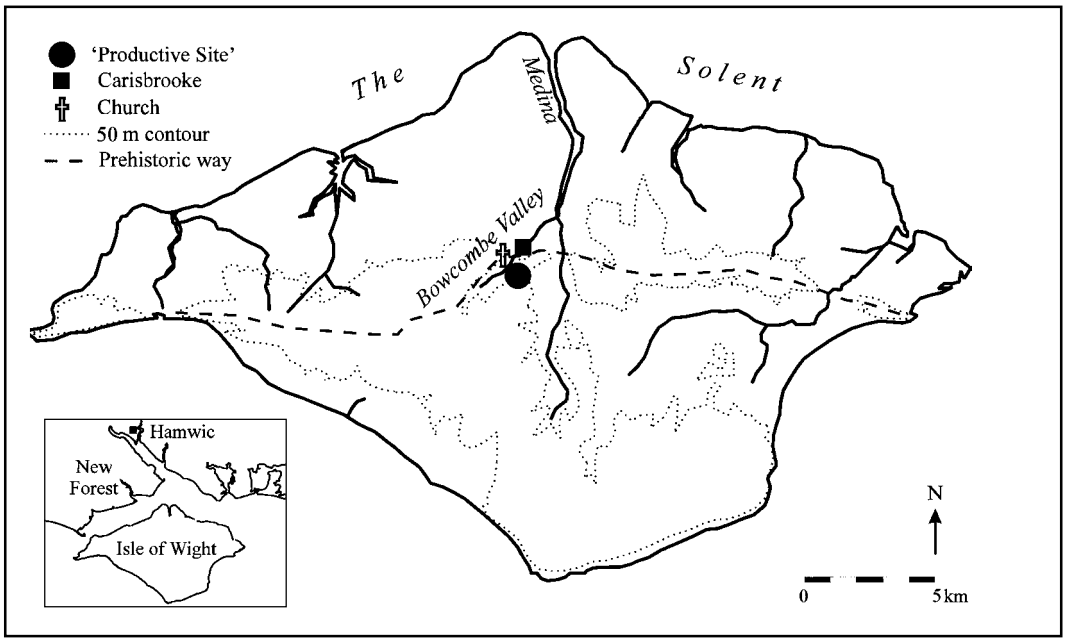

Fig. 1. The 'productive site' near Carisbrooke on the Isle of Wight

that 'productive sites' were heavily involved in the exploitation of their surrounding landscape and resources (Ulmschneider 2000a:81 pp.). A closer look at the local geology and soils suggests that the same may be proposed for the Isle of Wight site, which can be seen to have been located in an area where large blocks of very different soil types meet. This economically striking position seems highly significant, as it would have allowed the exploitation of two or probably three major ecological zones.

So what were these 'productive sites', and what were their functions? In the absence of excavations on most of the 'productive sites' much of their identification as marketing places rests heavily on three factors: first, their location in well-connected and geographically important places; second, the evidence for exploitation and likely control of local resources; and third and most importantly, the scale and variation of their coinage. But the critical question is: can we really infer that the coinage thus found must necessarily indicate trade? While few now doubt the primary association between coinage and trade in this period (Grierson & Blackburn 1986; Metcalf 1993-4), it is much more difficult to be sure that all coins found must have been used in this way. Indeed the existence of hoards and occasional single finds from graves alerts us to their many other uses in social and religious contexts.

Interpretations

How does this affect the interpretation of the Isle of Wight 'productive site'? One way to find out is to take a look at some possible alternative interpretations for the site. It could, for example, reasonably be suggested that the thirty-seven coins may have come from a hoard. However, this option can immediately be rejected from the varied dates of the coins

recovered. These include a wide range of primary and secondary sceattas, which, together with the penny of Offa, cover a time-span of at least a century from ca. 700 to 800. The scattered nature of the finds, which were found distributed over at least two large fields, also casts doubt on the existence of a hoard.

Equally unlikely is the argument that the coins may have come from the graves of an unidentified cemetery. While the occasional coin, or group of coins, from a grave is known, such use is rare, with most of the coins thus deposited belonging to the period before 720 and occurring mainly in Kent and other eastern counties (Rigold 1974; Geake 1997: 21). Indeed, of the more than 180 coins recovered at nearby Hamwic, so far only one has been found to be used in this way (Morton 1992:51). Neither are the reminder of the finds in any way indicative of a cemetery so far.

Could the coins then be associated with a rural settlement on the site? Again, the lack of identifiable metalwork and other domestic finds discovered so far makes such an interpretation less likely, although it is dangerous to argue from negative evidence. However, metal-detecting has provided other finds of Iron Age, Roman and Medieval date from these and neighbouring fields, which may indicate that the absence of a wider range of Middle Anglo-Saxon finds can be taken as real. Aerial photographs have picked up cropmarks in surrounding fields, but not so far on the site itself.

Finally, it must be considered whether the site could have been a meeting place or moot. Of all the potential functions this remains the most difficult to determine, mainly because we still have next to no archaeological evidence from such sites. Topographical studies of meeting places have stressed their general location at commonly known and accessible points in the landscape, as well as their frequent use of natural or manmade physical features (Meaney 1997; Reynolds 1999:77 pp.). On the Isle of Wight two pre-Conquest moots are currently known, one of them recorded in a charter of 826. Both were situated in highly visible places on the central chalk ridge of the island, and associated with prominent manmade features, one a prehistoric barrow, the other a standing stone (Ulmschneider 1999:26 pp.). No such prominent feature has yet been found on the Isle of Wight 'productive site', which also differs in its location close to the bottom of the valley, although this must not necessarily preclude its use as a meeting place (Reynolds 1999:78). Potentially significant in this context may be the Old English etymology of the name of the valley and later the hundred, Bowcombe, 'the place above the valley', which, it has been suggested, refers to an early meeting place on top of the chalk downs, perhaps more in line with the other moot sites (Kökeritz 1940:97).

The market

Having exhausted most other possibilities, we are left with the strong probability that the Isle of Wight 'productive site' indeed functioned primarily as some sort of trading place or market. But what kind of a market? A comparative study with the nearby *emporium* at Hamwic (Fig. 1) is still in progress, but preliminary results already suggest that there were significant differences between the two places. For example, while the Isle of Wight site, apart from Hamwic, produced the largest number of coins within at least a 50 kilometre radius, coin concentrations on 'productive sites' cannot yet be seen to rival those of the only very partially investigated

emporia. Differences are also apparent in the composition of the coinages. For example, unlike Hamwic, there is at present no evidence to suggest that the Isle of Wight site would have had an active mint-place of its own, being, it appears, under the monetary influence of Hamwic (Metcalf 1988:18 p.). This does not mean, however, that all its contacts would have necessarily led via that *emporium*. Not only is there a small, but probably significant, number of sceatta types from the island that have not yet been paralleled at Hamwic, or indeed in the rest of Hampshire; there are also two extremely rare coins, one of them probably Continental, of which only one or two other specimens are known at all. At present the evidence would therefore seem to point to the two sites co-existing for about a century, with the Isle of Wight site closely connected to, but to some degree independent of Hamwic in its foreign contacts. Finally, differences also seem to exist in their respective sizes and, in case of the Isle of Wight, the site's situation close to but not directly on a navigable river (for further differences between *emporia* and 'productive sites' see Ulmschneider 2000a:86). Indeed, it is this general location further inland, coupled with excellent regional lines of communication and evidence for the exploitation of the wider hinterland, which makes its interpretation as local and inter-regional market so likely.

So why was the market located in this particular place? The striking economic advantage of its location has already been suggested, but could there have been other reasons? The Bowcombe valley clearly provided an important centre of activity for the island from a very early date (Margham 1992). A few kilometres to the south we find the only definite Iron Age hillfort on the island at Chillerton Down. During the Roman period, four of the eight known villas of the island were concentrated here (Tomalin, 1987:12, Fig. 1), while in the Early Saxon period two cemeteries with important Merovingian imports are found (Young 2000). Perhaps even more significantly, there is a strong likelihood that a mother church was founded close by in the late 7th or possibly early 8th century (Fig. 1), more or less at the same time as the market (Hase 1988:45 pp., Fig. 9). Finally, in the 11th-century *Domesday Book*, Bowcombe was the site of the most important royal manor, church, and hundred on the island. Are we therefore looking at an early 'central place' in this area, with the market providing one of its multiple functions? At the moment this remains just one of the many unanswered questions about this and other 'productive sites'.

So what we can expect from the study of these 'productive sites' in the future? Despite the large variety and differences now becoming apparent between the places collected under the heading 'productive sites', I cannot see any real reason to doubt the active involvement of these sites in some form of commerce. Indeed, as I hope to have shown, there are significant common characteristics to most of these 'productive sites', which not only make them a coherent group (*versus* Richards 1999), but which also strongly indicate that trade or exchange were part of their primary functions. But just as we are beginning to examine the economic implications of these 'productive sites' we will also need to look more closely at some of their other potential functions, and compare them to other sites in the Middle Anglo-Saxon settlement hierarchy. For example, quite a few of the very coin rich 'productive sites', such as Whitby and South Newbald, both in Yorkshire, can be shown to have been closely connected to important religious sites (Cramp 1976; Booth 2000; Leahy 2000).

Others, such as Torksey in Lincolnshire, were located at territorial borders in important strategic positions overlooking and perhaps guarding major shipping routes (Ulmschneider 2000b:67). Others again may have been associated with centres of administration and/or population, all of them potentially showing very different outlooks, functions, and scope for contacts.

Finally, to make matters even more complicated, a recent comparative study of productive sites' in Lincolnshire and Hampshire has shown that there would have been major regional variations in the types and numbers of these places found (Ulmschneider 2000a:106 p.). For example, at present most of the 'productive sites' seem to cluster in the eastern counties of England, with a few, mostly less coin rich places, also known from the southern parts, and one from the Irish Sea region (see articles in Pestell & Ulmschneider 2002). This stands in stark contrast to the central and western parts of England, which have largely failed to produce 'productive sites' so far.

With the study of these 'productive sites' still in its infancy, this article must necessarily be seen as a very preliminary survey. However two observations can already be made. First, despite developing increasingly sophisticated methods for studying metal-detector finds and sites, without large scale excavations we will not be able to ascertain some of the key aspects of 'productive sites', such as their possibly seasonal nature, their varying functions and status, and their development over time. Second, it is now time to reject Hodges' dismissive view of the importance of local and inter-regional market places before the 9th century. Not only did such sites exist; they are also likely to have been essential to the operation of the economy as a whole, providing yet another important component in the increasingly structured and exploited landscape of the Middle Anglo-Saxon period.

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Cemeteries as Central Places - Place and Identity in Migration Period Eastern England

Howard Williams

Abstract

This paper argues that the large cremation cemeteries of eastern England in the fifth and sixth century can be interpreted as central places where different households and communities congregated for mortuary rituals, ancestral ceremonies and other social activities. Through their size, early date and the predominant use of cremation, these sites were social and sacred foci where a distinctive mortuary ideology was developed that forged powerful relationships between place, identity, myths and memories.

The places selected for these large cremation cemeteries also encouraged this role. By examining four cremation cemeteries in Lincolnshire it is shown how, in different ways, each of them encouraged perceptions of both centrality and liminality. This was achieved through their location in relation to routes, ancient monuments, topography and contemporary settlement patterns. It is argued that while societies of the fifth and sixth century may be regarded as less 'complex' and more regionally varied than those coming before and after, social complexity is revealed in part through the role of mortuary practices and burial rites in strategies for reproducing political and sacred authority, social structures and perceptions of group identities and histories.

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Introduction

The early Anglo-Saxon period in eastern England is often regarded as a time of cultural change with the immigration of Germanic groups, but also as a time of social change. It is frequently seen as a period of social fragmentation following the collapse of the Roman socio-political system and prior to the formation of historically-attested kingdoms during the seventh century AD. Most commentators envisage a series of small polities taking over from the Roman system of administration, and competitively developing into kingdoms through the fifth and sixth centuries at the expense of rivals (Bassett 1989; Carver 1989; Scull 1992, 1993:68). In these conditions, social hierarchies are restricted and based upon face-to-face interaction, close-knit kin-groups, the loyalties of retainers, and tribute-giving to political leaders (Charles-Edwards 1989; Härke 1997). Some writers have taken this view of socio-political fragmentation even further by regarding each locality or settlement as expressing its own local identity (Hodges 1989; Lucy 1998).

Age, gender and kinship in the form of households or lineages are regarded by many scholars as the primary elements of social structure in the period (Scull 1993:73; Härke 1997) while attempts to identify a rigid social hierarchy, and fixed territories are often treated with scepticism (e.g Pader 1982; Lucy 1998; but see Carver 1989; Scull 1993:69, 75 p.). Indeed, while variations can be seen in the wealth and scale invested in burial rites, and differences can be seen in the size and character of domestic buildings, there is little evidence for discrete 'high status' residences and burial sites indicating a distinctive elite class before the late sixth century (Shepherd 1979; Arnold 1982; 1997: 177 pp.; Carver 1989; Scull 1992, 1993). This picture of England in the fifth and sixth centuries stands in contrast to interpretations of the late Roman and Germanic Iron Ages in southern Scandinavia where hoards, settlements and burials have been interpreted to indicate elements of emerging social and political complexity (Hedeager 1992:246 pp.; Fabech 1999a & b; Näsman 1999; Ringtved 1999). This contrasting situation might be explained by the effects socio-political fragmentation in the centuries following the breakdown of Roman political authority, the disturbances caused by the long-term processes of Germanic invasion and migration, and the complex interactions and acculturation between indigenous and immigrant groups could have contributed to the absence of clearly identifiable social stratification and differentiation.

However, there remains the risk that we over-simplify our view of societies in southern and eastern England in the fifth and sixth centuries and create a uni-linear view of their developing complexity from tribes to kingdoms (see Scull 1992:9 p.). This paper suggests that our inability to 'see' social complexity and central places in the early Anglo-Saxon period is partly because archaeologists are using criteria inappropriate for the shifting and diverse communities of these centuries and more appropriate in discussing other periods and places. If these societies are studied in their own right, rather than in comparison with what they were to become, we might begin to identify alternative criteria for recognising social complexity. It is argued that social differentiation can be identified through the way space and place were utilised rather than simply through variations in the character and wealth of the material culture found in the funerary and domestic spheres. In this paper it is argued that a small group of extremely large cemeteries in eastern England can be thought of as central places integral to the reproduction of group identities and political authority. This is not because these sites were particularly wealthy, but instead, because both the mortuary rites and their landscape setting allowed the cemeteries to take on a special importance for early Anglo-Saxon communities.

Invisible Central Places?

The presence and character of central places is usually treated as evidence for a degree of socio-political complexity and hierarchy. The emergence of places where authority and power is reproduced through repeated gatherings for a multiplicity of social, political, military, economic and religious interactions in the seventh century has frequently been seen in this light. In the late sixth and early seventh centuries we see the emergence of elite residences such as Yeavering in Northumberland (Hope Taylor 1977), and 'exclusive' and monumental burial grounds including Sutton Hoo (Carver 1998). Later in

the seventh century we can identify the development of 'wics' or emporia (Scull 1997), a range of artefact-rich sites on the coast and inland (Ulmschneider 2000) and Christian central places in the form of monasteries (Blair 1994). Comparable sites in the fifth and sixth centuries are conspicuous by their absence. However, we need to realise that there is not one single, universally applicable method for identifying high status sites in the first millennium AD. The term can be applied to a variety of sites, not simply because the definition and application by archaeologists of the term vary, but also because these sites change in size, character and physical location over time and space (see Fabech 1999b: 455 p.). Individual sites like Uppåkra may have fluctuated in their socially ascribed status and functions over time (Hårdh 2000:641, 647) and the criteria for identifying central places might vary between regions with different patterns of depositional practices and spatial organisation (e.g. Ringtved 1999:54).

Therefore while many 'central places' can be recognised through familiar criteria including their role in crafts and production, religious activities, long-distance trade and the like, at many times and places in the Middle Ages, the historical and archaeological evidence attests to the existence of 'central places' that yield no diagnostic archaeological signature or defy our expectations. Put simply, the absence of an "Uppåkra" from fifth and sixth century England illustrates that we are dealing with a different kind of social structure and spatial organisation in communities, but this need not necessarily indicate a different scale of social complexity or the absence of any form of central place. Even at Yeavering where historical and archaeological evidence combine to give an impression of a royal site of the powerful Northumbrian kingdom, there was little evidence of its wealth and status from the artefacts recovered (Hope Taylor 1977; Reynolds 1999:52). Indeed, in any given society, there can be many different kinds of places of assembly and social interaction as the evidence from middle and later Anglo-Saxon England clearly demonstrates (Reynolds 1999). Such issues take us away from thinking about a universal check-list of attributes for central places and instead leads us to broaden our search by investigating the spatial and temporal variability of central places and the varied social, religious and economic functions they might hold. Consequently, it opens the possibility that not only were central places in the fifth and sixth century very different from the range of sites found elsewhere in northern Europe in the first millennium AD, but it also makes it possible to regard unconventional site-types, even cemeteries, as in certain contexts holding such functions.

In terms of moveable wealth or architecture, the cremation cemeteries of eastern England appear small. The destructive process of cremation, and the burial of ashes in ceramic urns beneath small grave structures hardly suggests that they acted as central places (see McKinley 1994; Williams 2000, 2002 for a review of early Anglo-Saxon cremation rites). Indeed, they were not necessarily places inhabited by the living nor geographically central within territories. Instead their central place role may derive from the combined effect of the nature of the mortuary practices and the character of the places selected for the burial of the 'cremains'. In order to develop this argument, we must first address the nature of the cremation cemeteries and then move on to investigate their landscape location.

Cremation Cemeteries

The archaeology of early Anglo-Saxon England is dominated by the cemetery evidence (see Lucy 2000; Scull 2001 for recent reviews of studies), but there are a small group of cemeteries that stand apart from the others. The large cemeteries of eastern England in which cremation rites predominate are distinctive in three ways (Fig. 1). The first of these is their size. It is difficult to tell the precise size of most early medieval cemeteries since few have been completely excavated and have escaped disturbance in more recent centuries. Yet, as far as archaeologists can estimate, most early Anglo-Saxon cemeteries rarely exceed four to five hundred burials, even in cases when cemeteries continue in use beyond the 'pagan period' and into the 'final-phase' of the seventh century. In contrast, some contemporary cremation cemeteries (sites where cremation burials are predominant), when extensively investigated, appear much larger than other burial sites. Some may have been at least twice the size of sites where inhumation is the only rite or the predominant rite, or where cremation and inhumation are used frequently in combination (mixed-rite cemeteries). The largest known sites, at Spong Hill and Loveden Hill

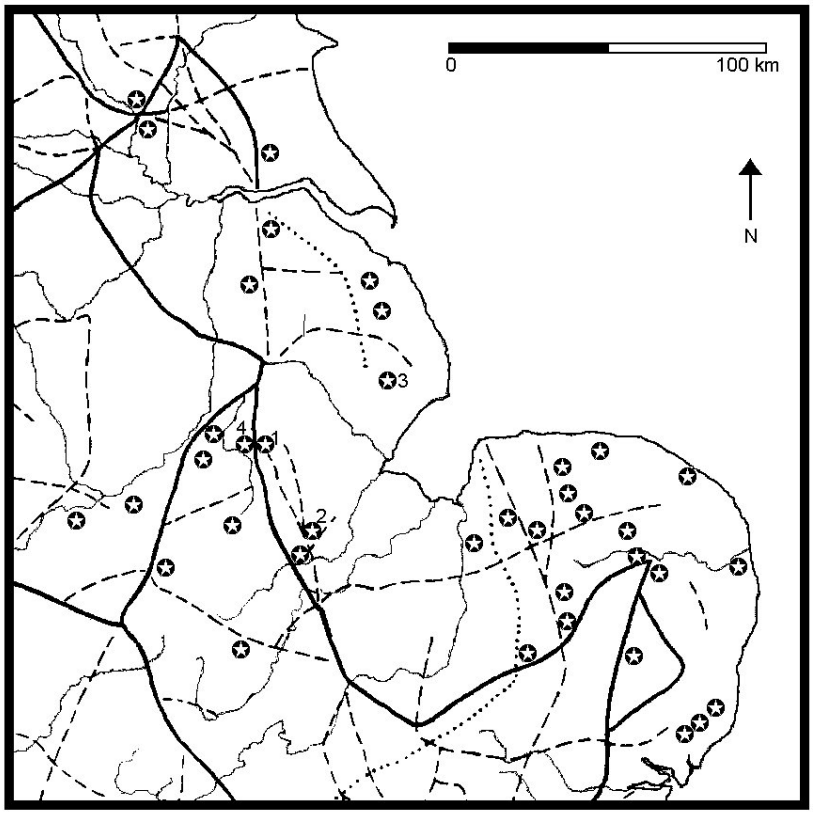

Fig. 1. Eastern England with a Distribution Map of Early Anglo-Saxon Cremation Cemeteries against the background of existing routeways and rivers. 1 = Ancaster; 2 = Baston; 3 = Hall Hill, West Keal; 4 = Loveden Hill, Hough-on-the-Hill.

may have each contained up to three thousand burials (McKinley 1994; Williams forthcoming: see also Scull 1993:72). The size of such sites is unprecedented when we recognise the relatively short time span in which they are used (no more than two centuries) and the dispersed rural communities they served. Adjacent contemporary settlements have been identified near these cemeteries, but these appear too small to have been alone in the use of the cremation cemetery. Consequently it is likely that the burials placed in these cemeteries came from more than one settlement; these sites acting as central burial grounds of many different communities and households (McKinley 1994). The congregation of groups at cemeteries or other nearby mortuary arena encourages us to consider the range of other socio-political and economic activities and exchanges which may have accompanied the funerary rites. In this sense, as places of congregation, the burial of the remains of the dead could only have been one of the functions of early medieval cremation cemeteries.

These cemeteries are also distinguished by their date. Many contain a high frequency of fifth-century metalwork including early forms of cruciform brooch suggesting that these are among the earliest Germanic cemeteries in eastern England (Hills 1977:24 p.). While they continued in use alongside smaller inhumation and mixed-rite cemeteries that appear in the later fifth century, some cremation cemeteries may have begun a generation or more earlier. Therefore they were established as part of a new socio-political and sacred geography established over large areas of eastern England following the invasion and immigration of Germanic groups (Higham 1992). However, their presence and continued use of these sites is not simply a reflection of Germanic settlement, but evidence of the enduring success of a conservative mortuary ideology maintained in parts of eastern England for up to two centuries (Williams 2002). In turn, the enduring nature of these sites seems to testify to their continued importance *as places* for early Anglo-Saxon communities.

The third factor that sets these sites apart is the predominant use of cremation. Inhumed bodies are found at these cemeteries, but they represent a minority burial rite. Usually regarded as an index of their early date and Continental affiliations, the use of cremation and the burial of the 'cremains' in central burial grounds also suggests a distinctive form of mortuary organisation. The cremation rite not only involved complex ritual procedures, the disposal of moveable wealth and the sacrifice of animals, but the post-cremation rite encouraged a different relationship between the living and the dead from that found in other contexts. Cremation served to breakdown the body but the post-cremation rites seem to have served to rebuild a physical and symbolic body for the deceased (Williams 2001a & 2002). In parallel with this transformation, social and political relationships between the living and the dead may have been also transformed and reconstructed. Moreover, through the repeated use of cremation as a means of disposal and the long-term use of the same burial site, the cemetery could have come to act as a material manifestation of relationships between community, ancestors and social memories (see also Williams 1999b, 2000, 2001b). Furthermore, given the complexity of the ritual procedures, it is possible that they were organised by ritual specialists ('priests' or 'shamans') or political leaders. This leads to the possibility that access to, and control of, the messages and meanings of the

rites and the burial ground were tightly controlled and orchestrated by elites. Cremation cemeteries were therefore places of ritual and ceremony, but also they forged links with the dead and hence forged identities and memories through techniques of bodily transformation and the choice of landscape situation (Williams 2000, 2001a, forthcoming).

These factors suggest that cremation cemeteries may have held a distinctive place in the minds and experiences of early medieval communities. Indeed, many scholars have already argued that they were the burial grounds of many communities and perhaps were associated with tribal centres (Arnold 1997; Leahy 1993, 1999; Scull 1993:73; McKinley 1994; Williamson 1993, Williams forthcoming). This argument has been supported by evidence for spatial relationships between large cremation cemeteries and both major Roman settlements and late Saxon centres (Everson 1993; Leahy 1993, 1999).

The Location of Cremation Cemeteries

In order to develop an understanding of the role of cemeteries in Migration Period England, we need to take a closer look at the hinterlands of these cemeteries to see what archaeological evidence can tell us about relationships with the local topography and neighbouring sites. In recent years, archaeologists have realised the potential for understanding cemeteries as places within landscape settings and as locales in relation to patterns of settlement and land-use, distinctive topographical features and existing monuments (e.g. Parker Pearson 1993; Tilley 1994; Richards 1996; Esmonde Cleary 2000). For early medieval societies, investigating the placing and settings of burials and cemeteries has the potential to help us understand their socio-political and cosmological significance for past societies (Williams 1997, 1998, 1999b; Lucy 1998; Thäte 1996; Theuws 1999), their role in power relations (Härke 2001), and the use of mortuary practices in the negotiation of disputes and tensions between groups (Williams 1999a). Perhaps most importantly, the significance of mortuary practices and landscape may inform us of strategies for the production and reproduction of social memories and myths of origin (Williams 1998, 2001b). Furthermore, the justification for examining cemeteries as central places is supported by the Scandinavian context where ritual as well as political and economic practices seem to characterise central places and sizeable cemeteries are an integral part of central place complexes (Brink 1999; Ringtved 1999; Hårdh 2000; Hedeager 2001).

In many cases, we know disappointingly little about the environs of cremation cemeteries, but by compiling all known archaeological data from a 25km^2 area centring upon cremation cemeteries, we can sometimes identify new information which illuminates their social significance as places. In order to introduce this method, this paper will discuss four cremation cemeteries from southern Lincolnshire, at Ancaster, Baston, West Keal and Loveden Hill (Fig. 1).[1] While evidence is fragmentary for any single site, by discussing the evidence in turn we can identify the variations between the location of each site and some common features they all share using evidence derived from aerial photography, field-walking, chance finds, metal-detector finds and excavations.

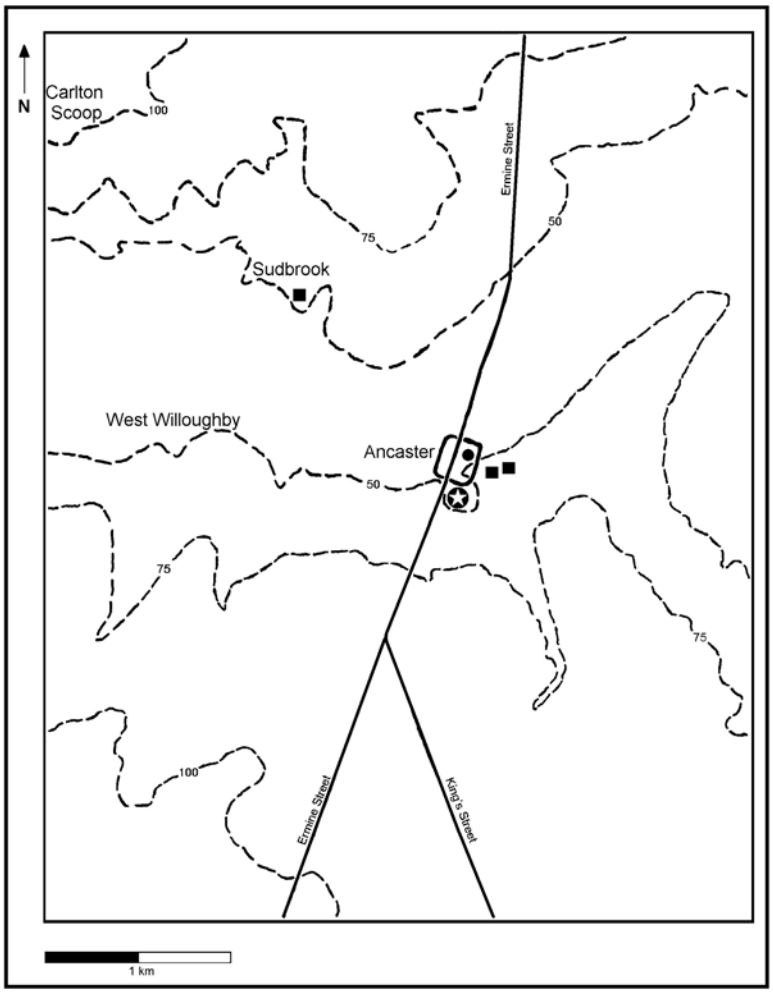

Fig. 2. Early Anglo-Saxon period activity in the environs of Ancaster, Lincolnshire. Star = cemetery; squares = metalwork finds; circles = pottery and other traces of settlement.

Ancaster

The first site to be considered lies near to modern Ancaster. Although the extent and character of the Ancaster cemetery is unclear, about 40 cremation urns were found during nineteenth century and early twentieth century excavations. Burials of Roman date were found but at least three urns have survived and can be dated to the fifth and sixth centuries AD (Meaney 1964:151; Myres 1977:255, 263, 340; Todd 1981:5; Leahy 1993:39; SMR 30334). By analogy with better excavated sites, the discoveries suggest a large cremation cemetery overlying a Romano-British burial ground (Fig. 2).

The location of the site appears significant in relation to Roman-period activity since the burial ground was situated about 100 metres south of the walls of the Romano-British settlement of Ancaster, classed by Burnham & Wacher as a minor defended settlement (Todd

1981; Burnham & Wacher 1990:235 pp.; SMR 30324). A brief review of what is known about the extent and nature of this settlement sheds light upon the relationship between the cemetery and the physical remains of the Roman period landscape. The settlement developed as the *vicus* of the first century Roman fort situated on Ermine Street (SMR 30323, see also SMR 30322). Excavations have revealed a series of buildings flanking Ermine Street and along at least one side street (Burnham & Wacher 1990:237). The town seems to have expanded rapidly in the second century and during the early third century it was provided with a set of defences laid out over earlier first and second century occupation. Corner towers were added during the fourth century (Burnham & Wacher 1990:237 pp.).

As well as replacing a Roman fort, the settlement benefited from its position on the meeting of various routes. Both fort and the subsequent civilian settlement were strategically located where the north-south Roman road of Ermine Street intersects with the west-east 'Ancaster gap' through the Lincolnshire limestone cliff. As well as serving as a node in the communication network, there are hints that the settlement was associated with local industries including limestone quarrying and pottery production (Burnham & Wacher 1990:239; SMR 30341). Discoveries of religious sculpture within the defended area suggest that the settlement also served as a religious centre sporting at least one temple to native deities.

Roman occupation was not restricted to the area enclosed by the walls. There is evidence of extra-mural occupation to the north, east and west (e.g. SMR 30332), a further concentration of sites further to the west along the 50m contour following the route west through the Ancaster gap (SMR 30331, 30343, 30345, 30348), and evidence for possible villas on higher ground to the south-west (SMR 30347, 30350), south-east (SMR 60456-7) and north-east (SMR 60362). Furthermore, excavations have revealed a series of at least seven extra-mural cemeteries around the settlement, including one late Roman 'Christian' cemetery to the west of the defended area (Wilson 1968; Watts 1991:48, 85; SMR 30327, 30333, 30353, 30329, 30330, 30341, 30343). The proximity of the fourth century Roman cemeteries to the defended area may indicate a contraction of occupation at this time. So it seems as if the physical remains of this settlement may have encouraged the location of the early Anglo-Saxon cemetery, and during its use the ruins of the Roman dwellings and fortifications would have been prominent features in the local landscape.

Relationships with centres of Roman administration and political authority by early medieval cemeteries have frequently been noted and received diverse interpretations by Roman and Anglo-Saxon archaeologists. The evidence from Ancaster and elsewhere could be seen as evidence of continuity in terms of either population or institutions. Equally, following Gildas and Bede, it might relate to strategies by which Germanic mercenaries were invited to settle near Roman towns to protect the sub-Roman population in the fifth century. In either case, it is unlikely that the Roman settlements retained their administrative roles, social functions or the majority of their populations (see Esmonde Cleary 1989; Scull 1992; Williamson 1993). Interpretations are restricted by the fact that excavations have not been extensive enough to reveal the full character of Roman occupation within and around the defences of Ancaster, or to identify

when the town was finally abandoned. Also, the presence of timber halls, Grubenhäuser and artefacts reflecting early Anglo-Saxon settlement are notoriously difficult to find without extensive excavation and the nature of the archaeological investigations at Ancaster are unlikely to have produced this evidence had it been present. However, across the area excavated within the Roman town evidence was found of fifth and sixth century activity including finds of domestic and stamped pottery sherds and at least two brooches, one a short-long brooch. What this represents in terms of settlement is uncertain but it certainly suggests that the area of the town was not completely abandoned in the early and middle Saxon period (Todd 1981:34 p.; SMR 30335). While this evidence cannot be used to suggest 'continuity', one possibility is that the defended enclosure retained a role as a focus of settlement and perhaps assembly during the fifth and sixth centuries, associated with the cemetery to the south. There are other indications of early Anglo-Saxon settlement to the north-west of the town at Sudbrook where industrial excavations in a sandpit produced beads, tweezers and a bracelet (SMR 30346). While this evidence is sparse, this is only to be expected given the degree of later medieval and post-medieval disturbance. At the very least these finds show that more than one settlement could have been present in the surroundings of the Roman defences and the cremation cemetery, and some of these may have brought the dead for burial south of the Roman settlement.

The cemetery itself appears to have overlain one of a series of the seven known extra-mural Roman cemeteries identified on all sides of the town (SMR 30330). The relationship with an earlier cemetery seems clear. It may be worth noting that of all the cemeteries around Ancaster, the burial ground selected for re-use may have been among the most geographically prominent for travellers using Ermine street and crossing on west to east routes through the Ancaster gap in the sub-Roman period. For those moving through the area, or dwelling in the vicinity, the cemetery was in a significant location where funerals and other ceremonies would take place at the confluence of routes. Also, the site would have allowed views into the area within the Roman defences and any early Anglo-Saxon gatherings or settlements enclosed therein.

The chronological relationship with the Roman burials, apparently including both inhumation and cremation, remains unclear. It may reflect the continuity of funerary activity following the Germanic take-over of the area (e.g. Myres 1969), or alternately it could represent the re-use of a recognisable ritual site following a short period of abandonment (Williams 1997). Similar relationships with substantial Roman settlements and towns have been noted across eastern England with close parallels coming from York, Great Casterton and Newark (Stead 1956; Kinsley 1989; Grainger & Mahany unpublished). Whether evidence of continued use or re-use, in either case the location of Germanic graves on an earlier burial ground can be interpreted as an act of appropriation which transformed the meanings and associations of earlier monumental sites into a new social and ideological order imposed by incoming groups. The earlier Roman graves may have also provided a monumental focus for the early Anglo-Saxon cemetery and a material link to the past that served in the construction of social memories (Williams 1997, 1999b, 2001b).

Although the data for the scale and character of the cemetery remain limited, by analogy with other sites we can suggest that

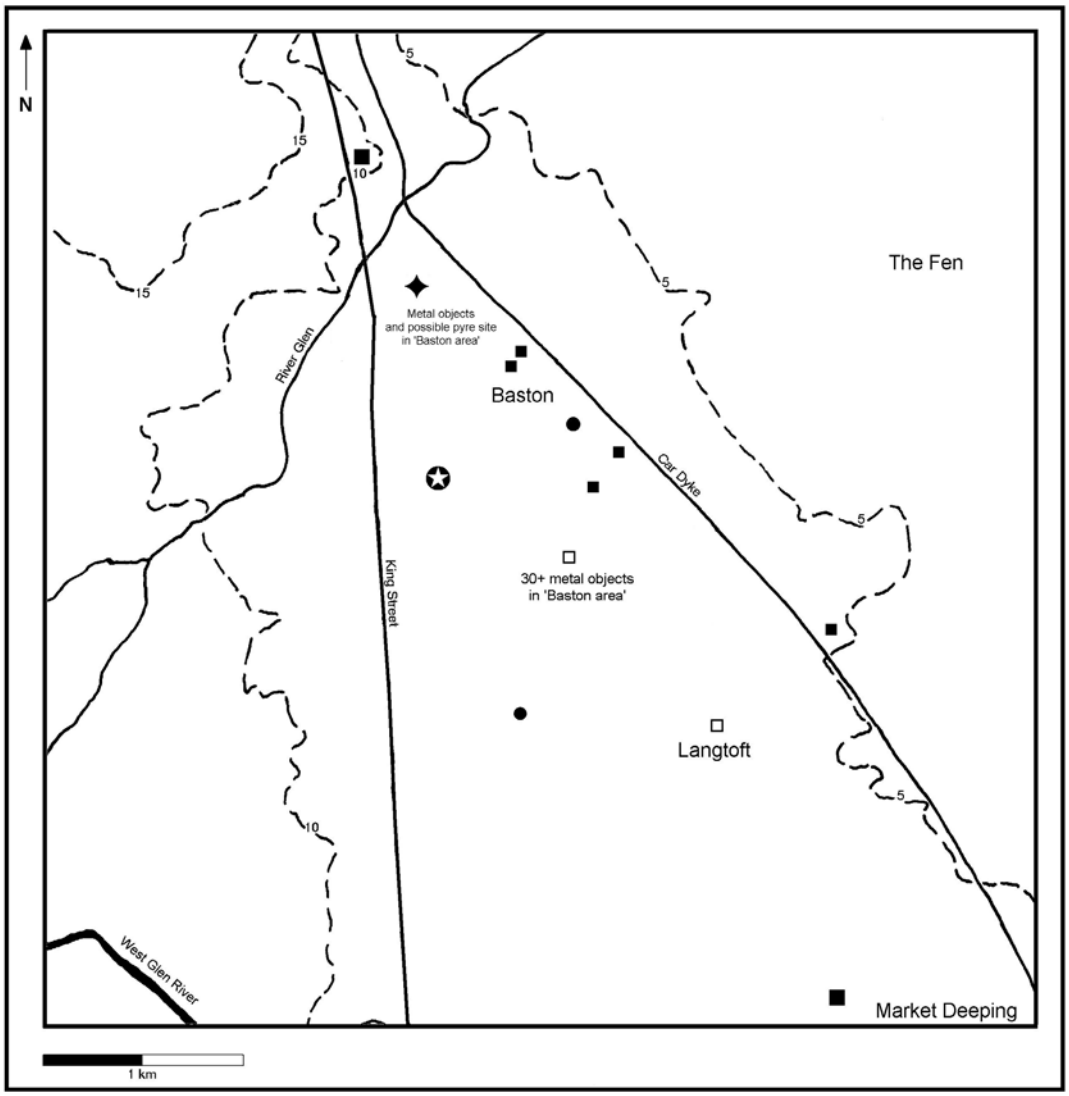

Fig. 3. Early Anglo-Saxon period activity in the environs of Baston, Lincolnshire. Star = cemetery; diamond = possible pyre site; filled square = metalwork find; open square = metalwork finds - approximate location only; circles = pottery, cropmarks and other traces of settlement.

we are dealing with a substantial cremation cemetery used for over a century. If this is the case, then the relationship with the Roman town, cemetery and roads may have allowed the site to be a central place for the living and the dead, perhaps related to the continued use of the area of the Roman settlement as a place of assembly.

Baston

The second cemetery to be discussed lies in the far south of Lincolnshire by the edge of the fenlands (Fig. 3). This area was extensively occupied in the Roman period and despite the abandonment of many sites in the fifth and sixth centuries at a time of worsening

climatic conditions and the abandonment of fenland drainage schemes established by the Romans, the Fenland Survey was able to identify a reduced but continued occupation through the early and middle Saxon periods (Hall & Coles 1994). The cremation cemetery at Baston was originally discovered in the 1860s (Trollope 1863; Meaney 1964:152 p.) and excavated again in 1966 producing 44 cremation burials (Mayes & Dean 1976; SMR 33387; Field 1989). Some archaeologists see this as a small cemetery because recent excavations did not reveal further burials (e.g. Field 1989; Leahy 1993). However, given the extent of medieval and post-medieval quarrying in the area, the site could have been much larger and mainly destroyed before antiquarians began to record the cemetery in the mid-nineteenth century (see Field 1989). Whatever its original size and despite limitations in our knowledge of the size and character of the cemetery, a great deal can be learned through the compilation of the available data from its environs.

The topographical location is uninspiring, but the cemetery is located on an extremely shallow but relatively well-drained rise 50cm above the surrounding landscape (Field 1989). There is evidence for substantial numbers of prehistoric barrows in the vicinity including some identified by aerial photography 1.5km to the west and three barrows surviving as low earthworks near an Anglo-Saxon settlement 2km to the north (see below; French 1994; SMR 33588; SMR 34194/5/6). Also, there is evidence from aerial photography of similar ring ditches in the field adjacent to the cemetery site (Field 1989), and it is possible that the cremation cemetery was focused on a prehistoric barrow as identified elsewhere (Williams 1997).

Field-walking and excavations have revealed the stone foundations of buildings (e.g. SMR 33268) and scatters of pottery and metalwork indicating a densely occupied landscape in the Roman period (SMR 33582). Within a kilometre of the cemetery are numerous Romano-British farms, clustering along the fen edge and the Car Dyke, and others placed in relation to King Street Roman road and the River Glen (SMR 33584; 33417; 35066; 34621; 34629; 34638; 34640; 34642; 34643; 34644; 00160; 30054; 00327; 32978; 33184; 33194). There are also some sites out in the fens themselves (SMR 33413; 33420). Aerial photographs reveal that these settlements and villas were situated within complex system of land divisions and trackways comparable to those dated to the Roman period from other parts of lowland Britain (SMR 34966; 34971; 35010; 35111; 33421; 33422) and these have been identified in the area of the Anglo-Saxon cemetery (Field 1989; SMR 33530).

While these land divisions and settlements were probably abandoned during the early Middle Ages, they may still have influenced the pattern of early Anglo-Saxon landscape exploitation and settlement. Furthermore, a specific relationship can be identified in the placing of the cremation cemetery between two major Roman routes. These are the north-south route of the King Street Roman road to the west of the cemetery, and the Car Dyke to the east. The Car Dyke is a second century drainage dyke and waterway that was the focus of Roman exploitation of the fen-edge. These two routes come close to each other about a kilometre north of the cemetery, where both cross the River Glen.

It is against this background that we can appreciate the pattern of Anglo-Saxon settlement. As elsewhere, early Anglo-Saxon settlements are difficult to identify from surface remains but there are hints of settlement in a number of separate areas around the cemetery.

In addition to dense Roman period activity, Anglo-Saxon pottery has been reported from a number of sites, one to the south-east by one kilometre (SMR 33396), and another to the NE also by one kilometre where a sherd of Anglo-Saxon pottery from within Baston village raises the possibility of settlement even closer to the cemetery (SMR 34969). The Car Dyke at Baston has produced evidence of early Anglo-Saxon pottery in the same area suggesting an adjacent Anglo-Saxon settlement or perhaps the continued use of the dyke for water traffic or drainage in the early Anglo-Saxon period (SMR 33424). Less than 2km to the north of the cemetery field-walking by the Fenland Survey produced evidence of a large settlement on high ground overlooking the fen. It is strategically located where the River Glen cuts both the Car Dyke and King Street (SMR 34645) and placed in relation to a Bronze Age barrow cemetery. Also, aerial photographs and field-walking reveal possible Saxon settlements 2km to the south-east of the cemetery (SMR 33431; 35242).

Finds recorded by the Portable Antiquities scheme add greatly to our knowledge of the significance of the area. The areas immediately south-east and north of the cemetery have produced a density of early Anglo-Saxon metal objects including two girdle hangers (NLM 825, 833), three fragments of wrist clasps, one unfinished (828, 2153, 2154), a Continental 'snake' brooch (NLM 2157), two fragments of a square headed brooch (NLM 1080, 1136), fragments of seventeen cruciform brooches, two of which are early forms and may date to the fifth century AD (NLM 1082, 1083, 1100, 1102-5, 1109-1111, 1113, 1115-9, 1121, 1123). Other brooches have been found including eight fragments of small-long brooches (NLM 1112, 1122, 1124, 1132-33, 1141-3) and one fragment of an equal arm brooch (NLM 1144). It is difficult to know whether these fifth and sixth century finds represent evidence of an extensive settlement, burials, or both. A further interesting find suggests ritual activity; the burnt remains of a square-headed brooch (NLM 1107) to the north-west of the site. This find may be interpreted as the remains of a disturbed cremation burial, or perhaps a pyre site serving the Baston cremation cemetery. A similar relationship has been identified between a possible pyre site and the cremation cemetery at Loveden Hill in Lincolnshire (see below & Williams forthcoming). In either case the evidence suggests that the Baston cemetery was placed within a complex and rich focus of early Anglo-Saxon activity. Only further research will enable the full extent and character of these remains to be uncovered.

By building up a picture of the environment of the cemetery, we can suggest that the cemetery served a series of settlements in the surroundings and that the cemetery may have formed only part of a focus of settlement and ritual activity in a triangular area bounded on two sides by the King Street and the Car Dyke. So while the Baston cemetery is situated in a different location from the Ancaster cemetery, the landscape context of both hint at their centrality in relation to earlier patterns of land-use, contemporary settlement and possibly also earlier monuments.

Hall Hill, West Keal

The next site to be discussed was discovered on Hall Hill in the parish of West Keal in 1954 during ploughing and through subsequent field-walking (Fig. 4). Yet again, this is another extensive cremation cemetery that is known through only limited investigation (Thompson 1956; Meaney 1964: 156; SMR

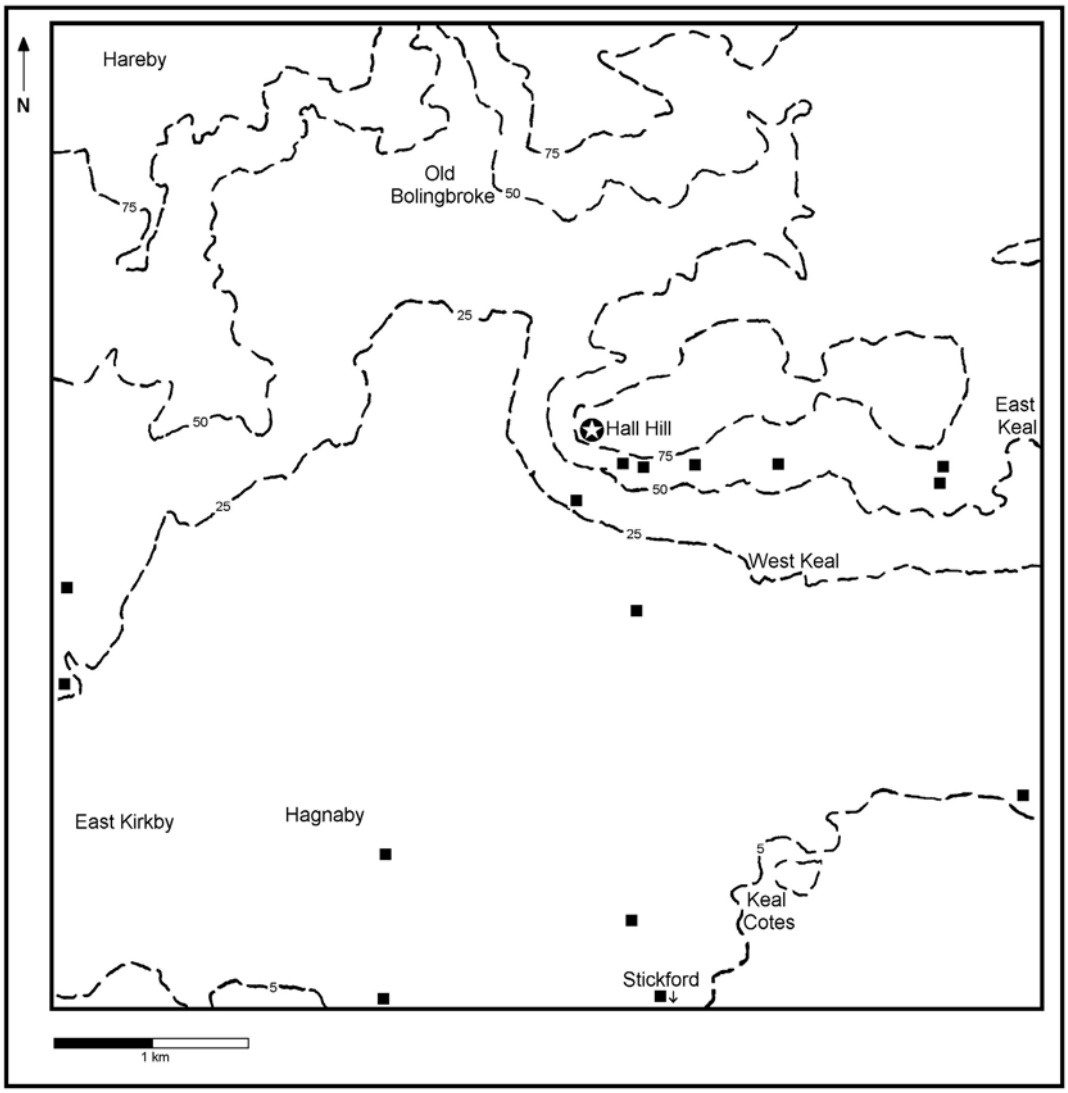

Fig. 4. Early Anglo-Saxon period activity in the environs of Hall Hill, West Keal, Lincolnshire. Star = cemetery; squares = possible settlement sites.

00308). Only a sketch plan survives of the 1950s excavations and since then no access has been gained to the site. However, from field-walking undertaken by Taylor, it is clearly a large cremation cemetery of a comparable size to other Lincolnshire sites. During the 1980s, the Fenland Survey Project walked many of the fields in West Keal and surrounding parishes. Although there are gaps in the distribution of sites, mainly to the north in areas not included in the field-walking by the Fenland survey, for much of the area surrounding Hall Hill we have good evidence for the distribution of settlement through prehistory, the Romano-British and early medieval periods.

Before discussing the archaeological evidence, the topography of the area is worth noting. In contrast to the Ancaster and Baston

cemeteries, the burial ground on Hall Hill makes use of a very distinctive landmark. The hill is a prominent spur on the southern edge of the Lincolnshire Wolds and visible over large areas of lower ground and the fen to the west, south and east. We have evidence for settlement on the uplands to the north-east of the cemetery and to the south along the fen edge from the Mesolithic through to the Iron Age. The south-facing side of the hill seems to have been a focus of attention in prehistory with flint artefacts from the Mesolithic through to the Early Bronze Age and Early Bronze Age pottery has been recovered in the parishes of West and East Keal (SMR 40950, 40958). There are prehistoric barrows in the surrounding landscape (SMR 40889, 42109, 40900, 40901, 40944) and the hill has also produced fragments of Beaker pottery which might be taken as a suggestion that Early Bronze Age barrows were situated on the hilltop. (SMR 40906;40959) This idea is supported by the discovery in 1915 of a Middle Bronze Age 'cinerary urn' (SMR 40899). Myres (1969) regarded the site as located in relation to the Roman small town of Horncastle some 11km to the north-west, but instead, the presence of a prominent hill adorned with ancient monuments might explain the attraction of the site as a burial ground.

The Fenland survey revealed evidence that fits into the broader picture of the extensive exploitation of the fen in the Romano-British period (Lane & Hayes 1993; Hall & Coles 1994:130 p.). To the south of the hill are a number of discrete settlements located between the 5 and 10 metre contours. There is also some evidence of Roman activity on the slopes of Hall Hill. Across the fen, the end of the Roman period seems to coincide with a reduction in the scale and number of settlements, although, as with Baston, there remain debates about whether this reflects genuine changes in settlement patterns or a change in the archaeological visibility of settlement activity. What is clear is that a sizeable proportion of the Romano-British sites continue to be places of habitation in the fifth and sixth centuries AD. Lane & Hayes (1993) identify eight Saxon settlements around Hall Hill and further find-spots, half of which continue activity from existing Romano-British sites. These included the discoveries of early Saxon pottery on the southern slopes of Hall Hill (SMR 40956; 40962) and immediately below the hill to the south (SMR 40934; 40955; 40964). Further out into the fen more Saxon sherds were found associated with Romano-British sites south of Hall Hill near Hagnaby and Stickford (SMR 40764; 40894) to the west near East Kirkby (SMR 40890) and to the east around East Keal (SMR 41129; 41773; 41839; 42782). Further Romano-British sites may have continued as foci for settlement on a smaller scale that leave no clear archaeological traces. The largest identified Saxon settlement is at Stickford where over 200 sherds were collected from over 2.2 hectares. The site was located at a strategic point along the main route to and from the Fenland and is intervisible with Hall Hill (Hall & Coles 1994:127 p.).

By combining the distribution of Romano-British and early Anglo-Saxon settlements, we get the impression of a densely occupied landscape in the fifth and sixth centuries in which dispersed farmsteads and more focused settlements surrounded the Hall Hill cemetery on all sides. Many of these settlements could have used Hall Hill as one of their burial sites. Other archaeologically uninvestigated settlements may await discovery on the wolds to the north of the cemetery, but it is evident

that the hilltop cemetery was not only close to, but intervisible with, many separate early Anglo-Saxon settlement sites along the fen edge and below the hill to the south, west and east. Lane and Hayes (1993) noted that the relationship between these settlements and the large cremation cemetery may be significant. For the Stickford settlement, the Hall Hill cemetery would have been:

"in full and imposing view of the inhabitants... who may have relished being overlooked by their ancestors whilst going about their daily business". (Lane & Hayes 1993:59).

So to summarise, the Hall Hill cemetery seems to be located on a prominent hill with ancient earthworks upon it. The cremation cemetery was also intervisible with many separate contemporary settlements whose occupants may have used the hill as a focus for mortuary practices as well as for other ceremonies and assemblies.

Loveden Hill

The last site to be considered, Loveden Hill, was excavated extensively during the 1950s and 1970s producing over 1,800 burials and making it the second largest cremation cemetery investigated to date (Figs. 5 & 6). The results are almost completely unpublished (Wilson 1959; Fennell 1964, 1974, unpublished; Meaney 1964:158 p.; Webster 1973; Lincoln SMR 30289; see Williams forthcoming for a fuller discussion). Despite this, the site's location can reveal its role as a central place. The topographic situation is very similar to the Hall Hill, West Keal cemetery. As with Hall Hill cemetery, the burial site at Loveden Hill was situated on a prominent and distinctive hill and the evidence from excavations by K.R.Fennell and N.Kerr together with aerial photographs hint that the cemetery could have focused upon prehistoric burial mounds and a natural knoll on the top of the hill. These features would have provided a ritual focus for the cemetery and a separate ritual space for gatherings and ceremonies (Williams 1997, forthcoming). Aerial photographs reveal undated ring ditches and enclosures in the area of the cemetery that may pertain to the early medieval activity on the site (Williams forthcoming). Furthermore, it may not be a coincidence that the hill gives its name to the late Anglo-Saxon wapentake while the nearby place-name of Spellar Wood may indicate the presence of another Anglo-Saxon assembly place in the vicinity (SMR 30284, 30288; Pantos 2002).

The cemetery would have been visible from a large tract of the Witham valley and from higher ground on the Lincolnshire Cliff to the east. What we may be seeing, as suggested with other sites, is the cremation cemetery being only one element of a much larger 'central place' acting as foci for a range of social, political and religious functions and gatherings. The prehistoric mounds may have been foci for ritual activities, or acted as mounds from which speeches to crowds were delivered, and the repeated use of the site for gatherings forged links between separate communities with the dead and the place.

As with Hall Hill, the area around Loveden cemetery provides evidence for a range of separate settlements served by the central burial place. Metal detector finds from the parish of Carlton Scoop to the east (NLM 2102), from the area west of the cemetery on either side of the river Witham in the parishes of Hougham (NLM 3480; 3481) and Foston (NLM 779; 782; 4814; Williams forthcoming), and south of the cemetery in the parish of Barkston (NLM 3873), indicate the presence of both settlements and cemeteries

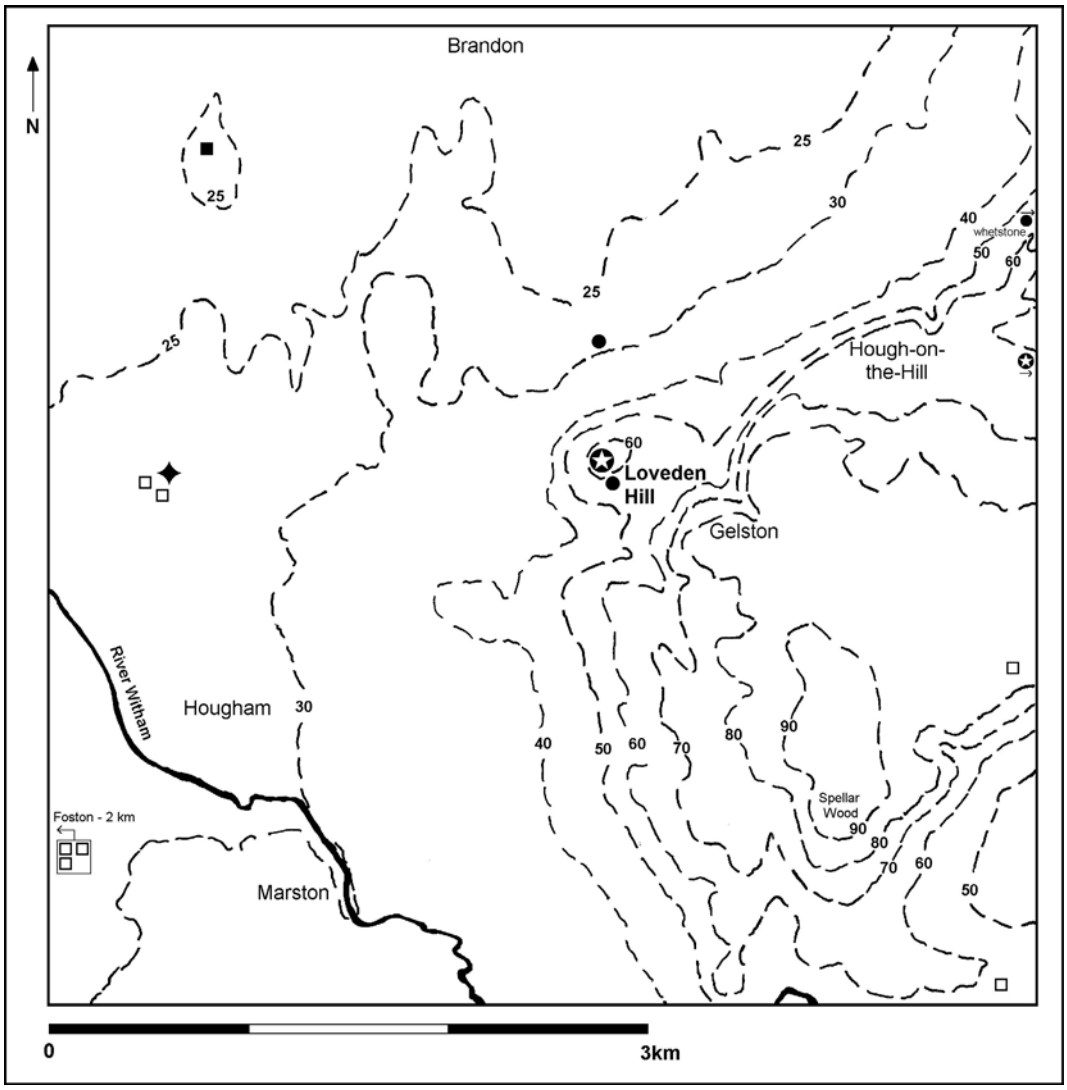

Fig. 5. Early Anglo-Saxon period activity in the environs of Loveden Hill, Hough-on-the-Hill, Lincolnshire. Stars = cemeteries; diamond = possible pyre site; filled squares = metalwork finds; open squares = metalwork finds - approximate location only; circles = pottery, cropmarks and other traces of settlement.

in the environs. Once again the nature of these sites remains unclear, but this evidence helps to support the view that the cemetery may have been a focus for burial by many different communities dwelling within these lowlands, as well as on the higher ground to the east around the modern villages of Hough-on-the-Hill and Gelston. As with Hall Hill, these settlements would be intervisible with the cremation cemetery located on this distinctive eminence. One of these finds is a small-long brooch showing signs of alteration by fire, perhaps having been through a cremation pyre (NLM 3455). If this is so, then we may have one of a series of pyre sites close to settlements and serving the burial site on the

Fig. 6. View of the prominent Loveden Hill from the low ground to the north-west where discoveries suggest the presence of early Anglo-Saxon settlements.

hill to the east as suggested above for Baston. An early Anglo-Saxon settlement was identified by field-walking immediately north of the hill by Nigel Kerr on the site of a Romano-British villa. The connection of this settlement and the cemetery is supported by the fact that at least one grave on the hilltop was covered by a slab of re-used Roman masonry, presumably originating from the nearby ruined Roman site (Fennell 1964; SMR 30285). Both the possible pyre site and this settlement contain explicit links to the cemetery and suggests a network of paths and routes linking these sites to the burial site on the hill. Further evidence that the area around Loveden Hill continued as an important focus into the seventh century is the discovery of whetstone or 'sceptre' from a field north-east of Hough-on-the-Hill village (Everson & Stocker 1999:182 pp.). A final point to be mentioned about Loveden Hill is that if these cremation cemeteries acted as central places, they were not the only burial sites available and used by local communities. Not far to the east of Loveden Hill in Normanton parish a small inhumation cemetery of the sixth century has been excavated (SMR 35401).

Discussion

Having discussed the landscape context of four burial sites of the mid-fifth to early seventh century AD, it has been shown how we can begin to build up the local context of early Anglo-Saxon cremation cemeteries using a range of data from excavations, field walking surveys, aerial photography and metal-detector finds. Inevitably, the picture remains fragmentary but hopefully it will change as and when new research and discoveries take place. Despite the different topographic locations of the sites, this paper has attempted to show how they may have functioned as central places for ceremonies and rituals surrounding death.

While a discussion of four sites can hardly bring about final conclusions, let me at least summarise my argument based on the available data. The Migration Period in England was a time when central places of the kind found in Scandinavia are absent, and power

may have instead been invested in mobile elites rather than places (e.g. Charles-Edwards 1989; Scull 1992: 16). However, places clearly held a significance, and while these sites may be very different from 'central places' in Middle Saxon eastern England, we should not underestimate their importance for communities in eastern England during the Migration Period.

Cremation cemeteries required specific resources, technologies and modes of social interaction between communities during the funerary rites that differed with other, smaller, burial sites where inhumation was more common. The burial of cremated remains also defined a distinctive relationship to place where relationships between the living, the dead and social memories could become materialised (see Williams 2001b, forthcoming). Both the rite and the place in combination may have encouraged cemeteries to hold specific meanings and powerful associations for relations central to communities idealised views of themselves and their past and identities. Even if people only visited these sites on special occasions, rituals leading to the burial of cinerary remains from many different households and communities at the site could have encouraged the site to act as the physical and conceptual centre of the world for those living in the surrounding landscape. Elements of the topographical and archaeological evidence seem to support this argument, since cemeteries were frequently in prominent and 'strategic' locations where groups from many settlements could have come together for congregations and ceremonies. Relationships identified with routes, Roman and prehistoric remains and distinctive topographic features may have encouraged and enhanced the cemeteries' roles as places where communal memories and identities were realised and reproduced.

As argued above, central places in the first millennium AD were incredibly varied and we must open up the possibility that cemeteries could, in some instances, have had roles as central places, or as important parts of central place complexes (see also Reynolds 1999, this volume). Charlotte Fabech has recently noted that zones of transition can simultaneously act as places of both centrality and liminality in the first millennium of southern Scandinavia (Fabech 1999b:464). In a different way, this argument applies to the cemeteries in Migration Period England, because they were places where the living and the dead moved between states as well as being places situated in the environment to encourage their use by a range of communities and in relation to distinctive topographic or cultural features. In other words, while the farm has been regarded as a 'centre' in the pre-Christian cosmos and society, cemeteries may have had an equally prominent role (contra. Fabech 1999b:469; Hedeager 2001). Also by analogy with Scandinavian sites, we may not be looking at the cemetery as a site in isolation. We may consider the cemetery as only the most archaeologically visible element of a much more complex set of sites which collectively constitute a central place (see Brink 1999:424 pp., 433 pp.; Hedeager 2001). Also, through the nature of the cremation rites, they were linked to a range of settlements by routes of procession along which were other locations where rites took places during which the body was prepared and cremated prior to burial. Viewed with these factors in mind, cremation cemeteries can be interpreted as much more than simply points on a map, or collections of graves whose contents can be scrutinised by archaeologists. Instead, understanding the location of cremation cemeteries may be a key to appreciating the hidden

complexity of communities in eastern England in the centuries following the end of Roman rule, since cemeteries as places could have been central to the ways in which worldviews, identities and memories were built and maintained. Cemeteries can be seen as places where concepts of the person and community were performed, created and inscribed.

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Note

[1] SMR references refer to those held by the SMR in Lincoln. The reference numbers of objects recorded by the Portable Antiquities Scheme refer to those held at the North Lincolnshire Museum (NLM) in Scunthorpe.

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