CHAPTER 7

JEWELLERY AND NEGOTIATIONS OF IDENTITY IN SCANDINAVIA, C. AD 400–650/700

7.1 DISTRIBUTION PATTERNS AND SOCIETY

What social context did the costume manifestations of the Migration Period and the Merovingian Period that have been revealed above pertain to? What sort of society ought we to understand to have been the basis of this sort of signalling, and what influenced the changes in the manifestations demonstrated? The marking of group identity does not take place in a social or historical vacuum: ethnic or cultural categories are formed, maintained, negotiated and transformed in opposition to specific 'cultural others', and the social context in which cultural meetings take place will be determinative of the form of cultural manifestation (cf. Ch. 2.1). Immediately below, therefore, I investigate what premises underlie the various significant cultural manifestations that have been reviewed above (cf. Ch. 6.1–6.5). This will be done through an assessment of social organization and the course of history in the period in question. In this context, the power relations between different cultural, ethnic and/or social groups who participated in the cultural meetings are also assessed, as this is considered significant to how cultural and ethnic manifestation is expressed (cf. Ch. 2.1). The following factors will be highlighted in this context: 1, the political power relations; 2, ongoing, broader, ethnic discourses in the context of northern Scandinavia where the relationship between Germanic/Norse and Saami cultures will be investigated in fuller detail; and 3, an assessment of extra-Scandinavian cultural connections and in particular areas of contact with Anglo-Saxon England in respect of the manifestation of cultural affiliation and distance.

7.1.1 Jewellery and centralization: power, politics and cultural identity

A question that it is natural to pose in this context is *why* there was a need to signal ethnic or cultural identity by means of female costume in this period. In the European context, the Migration Period stands out as a period of conflict with major social and political convulsions, involving migrations and wars, as the Roman Empire in the West collapsed. This period is characterized by all-embracing social changes in the establishment of the earliest European kingdoms, and eventually also the emergence of Frankish overlordship in western Europe (Brown 2001; Geary 2003; Hamerow 2005; Hedeager 2011; Hedeager and Tvarnø 2001:138–91; Hills 2003; James 1991; 2001; Todd 2004; Vallet 1995; Yorke 1990). Both archaeological and historical research has shown that the ethnic situation in this period was extremely complex. Conventionally, early Germanic peoples such as the Franks and the Goths have been understood to have been fixed and one-dimensional ethnic entities whose migrations across the continent of Europe can be traced (cf. Ch. 1). More recent research has, as noted, demonstrated that one strand in the development of the early European petty kingdoms was the formation of new ethnic and social groupings as populations from different groups conjoined and created new confederations or 'tribal bands' (*Stammeverbände*). On the basis of both documentary and archaeological sources, historically known peoples such as the Alemanni, Franks, Saxons, Visigoths, Angles, Jutes and Danes can be said to represent new confederations of this kind. The confederations were dynamic, and such bands were formed and dissolved according to need and dependent upon how social circumstances changed. It has been argued that the 'tribal bands' are to be understood first and foremost as multi-ethnic war bands: a political and military leader with his own, culturally composite retinue which was independent and free of tribal or kinship ties. The new group identities were actively formed and reinforced in a political context (see, e.g., Geary 1988; 2003; Halsall 1998; Harrison 1991; Hedeager 1992a; 1993; 2000; 2011:33–50; Hedeager and Tvarnø 2001:143–4; James 1991; Pohl ed. 1998; Wolfram 1970). In this reality or setting, Germanic culture assumed a new, identity-forming function. It became a symbol of the new social structure consisting of political 'tribal' bands or 'nations' (Hedeager 1992a:282; 2011:48–58; see also Härke 1992:155; Näsman 1998:274–8), with ethnicity functioning as a political factor (Hedeager 2000; Pohl 1998b:1–2).

As in large parts of western and central Europe, the situation in Scandinavia in the Migration Period and the early Merovingian Period was also suffused with an increasing centralization of political and economic power, and the establishment and consolidation of the earliest petty kingdoms.[1] The warrior retinue was also seen as a contributory factor in the centralization of political power that took place in Scandinavia. With the introduction of this social institution, a social mobility that had not been available under the earlier clan-based society became possible. This resulted in the formation of a new warrior aristocracy with control over landholding, which in turn laid the foundation for the establishment of central kingships.[2] The establishment of the warrior aristocracy was a process that started back in the 2nd century AD but sped up from around the year 200 (Hedeager 1990:134–45, 183–94; 1992a:280; Hedeager and Tvarnø 2001:104–7, 113, 144; Näsman 1998:277; Steuer 1982:55–6, 522–3; 1987). A society which develops from chieftainships to petty kingdoms will often be affected by profound changes and continuous conflict between social and political entities. The struggles usually end up with one entity having to submit to the overlordship of another. The boundaries between the political and economic power centres were probably fluid, and access to resources in surrounding or adjacent areas must have been a cause of conflicts and competition between the centres. Chieftainships and petty kingdoms therefore cannot be counted as geographically fixed and rooted entities at this time; political links were dependent rather upon alliances, ties of loyalty and personal connections between the leader and his retinue, between different leaders, and between the chief and the rest of the population. This was a system with an inbuilt, flexible structure, in that the political units underwent continuous change through fluid power-alliances: the latter were continuously negotiated and redefined. Political development was, accordingly, probably not linear but instead marked by the construction of larger political and economic units with constant reversions and collapses and dissolution. All the same, gradual centralization did take place in the latter part of the Migration Period, as power fell into fewer hands (Hedeager 1990; 1992a:291; 1992b:91; 2011:49; Myhre 1991:18; 2002:160–1, 168–9, 185–6; 2003:76–7, 82–93; Näsman 1998; 2006; Storli 2006:45–6, 151).

The question we must ask is whether the political and economic entities that were the various Scandinavian chieftainships or petty kingdoms reflect ethnic and/or cultural regional groupings. According to Knut Odner (1973:158) it is likely that economic and social groups were coincident in the Migration Period. Myhre (1991:15) has also argued that people within the individual political and economic units had a 'social association and connection with the leaders in the central settled areas'. He was also of the view that this social organization might have its roots in an earlier clan-based structure, and refers to Jordanes's list of names of Scandinavian peoples of the 6th century (see also Myhre 1987a:186–7). He further postulated that early forms of state-formation take place through the conglomeration of several minor territorial units of similar social structure, language, culture *and ethnicity* (my emphasis) (Myhre 1991:10). Is it, however, unproblematic to juxtapose politico-economic groupings and cultural/ethnic categories, and to regard them as two sides of the same social block? The contemporary state of affairs on the Continent is distinguished especially, as has been noted, by the emergence of new ethno-political units. At one level, these can be claimed to represent the merging of political and ethnic groupings, yet at the same time they were founded upon multi-cultural/multi-ethnic constellations or confederations. This makes it relevant to investigate the relationship between 'tribal' groups or political confederations and cultural/ethnic groupings in Scandinavia at this date.

A comparison of the distribution patterns that have been revealed by the evidence of the jewellery against the economic and political territories that have been identified, will be able to provide a signpost to what relationships existed between cultural and/or ethnic entities and units of political power in Scandinavia throughout the period. This comparison will be able to show to what extent there was correlation or coincidence between cultural and politico-economic groupings, or to what extent they diverged from one another and/or exercised mutual influence. The comparison of the distribution patterns of the jewellery with defined political centres does, however, bring with it a risk of drawing conclusions from circular argumentation, because some of the items of jewellery could have served as part of the fundamental

1 Farbregd 1980; 1986; Hedeager 1990; 1992a:286–7, 289–91; Jensen 2004:52–71, 178, 193–204; L. Jørgensen 1991:122; Myhre 1987a; 1987b; 1991l 1992a:308–13; 1992b; 2002:160–213; 2003:69–90; Näsman 1998; 2006; Odner 1973; 1974; Ramqvist 1991:305–6, figs. 1–2; Ramqvist and Müller-Wille 1988:104–6, 133–4; Ringstad 1992:115–17; Särlvik 1982:102–12, 119–25; Stenvik 1996; Storli 2006:129–53; Watt 1991:105; Wik 1985:231–8, 247; Ystgaard 2014:52–3.

2 The kin-group nevertheless retained its significance within the retinue (Evans 1997:51–2, 69–70; Kristoffersen 2000:42).

evidence for the identification of the centres. Imported objects, gold and precious metal, monumental burial mounds, and favourable agricultural conditions, plus strategic position, are often regarded as indicative of centres (Hedeager 1990; Myhre 1987a:170, 182–3; 1992a:165; Ringstad 1992; Storli 2006:90–4, 99–100). From criteria of this kind, it is the relief brooches in particular that can be included in the basic material or evidence, because they are often made of silver and/or gilded, and thus fall into the key category of precious metal. A few clasps and cruciform brooches were also made of silver. Several scholars (Hedeager 1990:110–11; Myhre 1987a:169; 1992a:165; Ringstad 1992:118) base their research, however, solely upon finds of gold, a procedure which will not, apart from the gilt artefacts, include the types of dress-accessory selected here.[3] The jewellery may, all the same, be part of some particularly rich grave finds, along with objects of gold and/or imported items, and in this way still be part of the basis upon which a distribution map of political centres is produced. Once again, these observations are apposite to relief brooches, which can be extremely valuable artefacts and be present in rich contexts (cf. Ch. 4.2.2). As shown, though, this is especially the case with finds from phases D1 and D2a – phases in which relatively few relief brooches are found, in other words – but also with some finds of phase D2b, when this brooch-type occurs more widely (cf. Ch. 4.2.2).

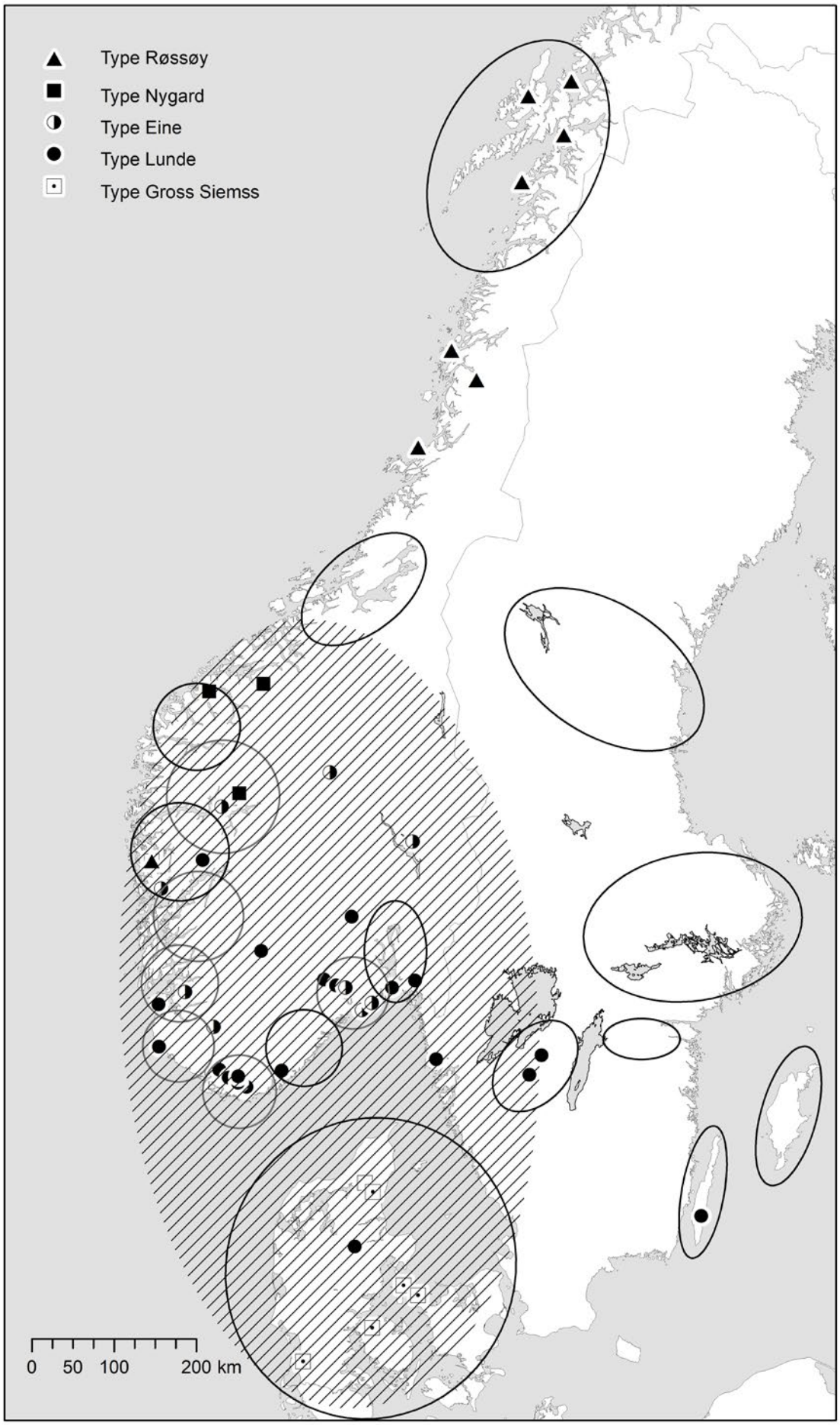
Most of the range of jewellery that has been studied here consists, however, of relatively simply modelled copper-alloy dress-accessories, which are usually from contexts that do *not* include imported items or precious metal. This is the case, for instance, with the cruciform brooches and the great majority of the button clasps, which are also by far the most numerous groups of artefacts that have been examined. It is also the case with the conical brooches and the great majority of other finds of jewellery of phase 1 of the Merovingian Period (cf. Ch. 4.3). I am therefore of the opinion that the 'double role' some pieces of jewellery will have in this comparative study will not significantly affect its result. The costume manifestations that are studied here also represent only a sample of possible cultural marking in the period of study, and furthermore are linked first and foremost to the female dress of the period (cf. Chs. 1, 2.2.3 and 7.2, but cf. Ch. 6.7). The comparison will not, therefore, give us a complete picture of the situation, but it will be able to produce some insight into how the interplay between different social categories played out in this period.

When the distribution of jewellery in the first phase of the Migration Period (phase D1) is compared with the economic and political centres which have been proposed for Scandinavia, the ranges of the individual types of dress-accessory appear to a great extent to cut across economic and political territories (Map 7.1). An inclination towards the marking of more limited regional entities is nevertheless detectable, as shown above (Ch. 5.1). This is particularly the case in Norway, where this can be seen in the production of specific sub-types of cruciform brooch in Vestlandet and northern Norway. The individual types nonetheless cover relatively large ranges at this time. If the distribution of the individual sub-types of cruciform brooch is compared with the postulated political centres, it transpires that, for instance, Type Nygard is found within an area that comprises several centres in western Norway: one in the inner Sognefjord and a centre in Sunnmøre and at the end of Romsdal (Myhre 1987a:fig. 7; Ringstad 1992:114–21). This is also the situation with Type Røssøy, which is found over the range of several identified political and economic centres of North Norway (as defined by Myhre 2002; 2003:89; Solberg 2000:114–16; Storli 2006; Wik 1985:238).

In southern Scandinavia the outline of a distinctly Jutlandic marking is adumbrated by the distribution of ring-shaped clasps (type A2a) and copper-alloy spiral clasps (type A1) in phase D1. The latter type, moreover, is typical of the area of northern Jutland, and it is possible that these copper-alloy clasps represent a local sub-type from Sejlflod (cf. Ch. 4.2.3.3). The date at which a political and economic centralization of a 'Danish' territory came into effect is a matter of debate. Some have posited that it was as early as the beginning of the Late Roman Iron Age. In light of wide-ranging archaeological studies of the last 20–25 years, it would appear, however, most probable that it came about first around the end of the Migration Period (Hedeager 1990; Näsman 2006).[4] From a study of cremation urns, coffin/cist structures and

3 Ringstad (1992:118) and Hedeager (1990:110) further do not include gilt objects of silver or copper alloy, only items of gold.

4 See, however, Hedeager (2002:371) for the proposition that a national unity under one king came about only from the beginning of the 8th century. Hedeager, meanwhile, also argues here that: 'For centuries, the land of the Danes, like both Anglo-Saxon England and the rest of Scandinavia, must have been a variable mass, at times divided into competing petty kingdoms, at other times combined into larger units and – plausibly already from the beginning of the 8th century – not so infrequently combined as a unified nation under a single king…' [translated]. This leaves it possible that the centralization of much of Denmark in terms of political power could also have been a reality at an earlier stage (cf. Näsman 2006).



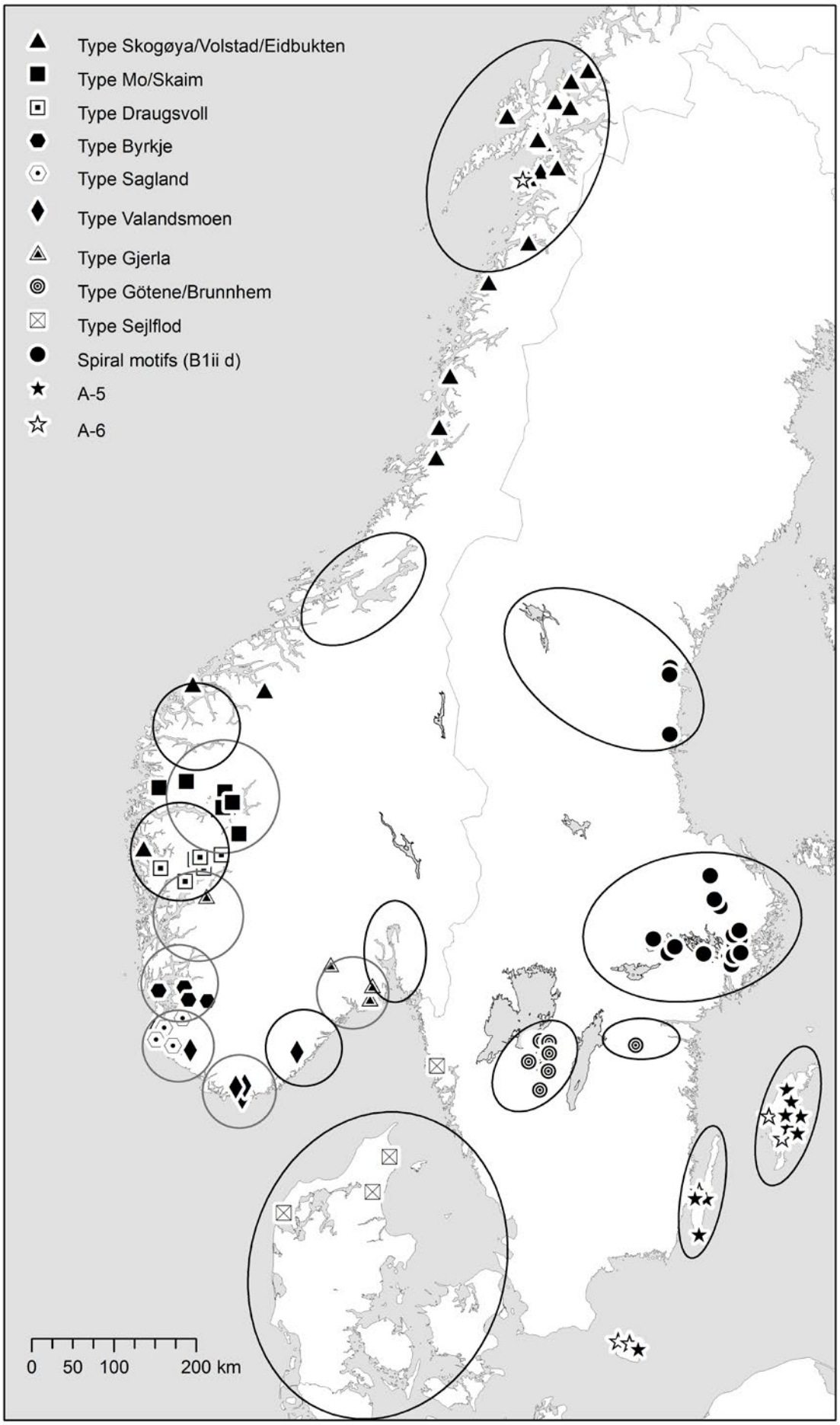
Map 7.1 *The distribution of selected types of dress-accessory in Phase D1 against political centres or core areas after Myhre (1987a:fig.7) and Ramqvist (1991:fig.1). The shaded areas show the extent of distribution of spiral clasps. Note that the political divisions of south-western Norway are according to Myhre (1987a).*

pottery, Jytte Ringtved (1998a; 1998b) has divided Jutland into two social and political core zones in the Migration Period: one in northern Jutland and one in the centre and south. Ringtved (1988a:111) also pointed out that both Class A clasps and brooch-types are common to both of these areas at the end of the Late Roman Iron Age and in the Migration Period. Through a more detailed examination of the Class A clasps, however, this study has revealed that a regional division between southern and northern Jutland is, to some extent, reflected through the use of clasps too. At the same time, the whole of the territory of Denmark is characterized by the distribution of cruciform brooches of Type Groß Siemss in phase D1, a type which is also found over an extensive area of northern Germany (cf. Ch. 4.2.1.3; see Reichstein 1975:Abb. 10). The overall impression of the situation in southern Scandinavia thus corresponds, to a considerable extent, to what is seen in Norway: the boundaries between economic and political centres in phase D1 are not directly reflected in female dress. What the relationship between political and cultural groupings in the east and south-east of Scandinavia was like cannot be inferred from the types of jewellery that constitute our basic evidence in this regard, because the distributions are limited primarily to the western regions of Scandinavia in this primary phase (cf. Ch. 4.2.1–3).

When the distribution patterns of the next phase, phase D2a, are compared with the hypothetical power centres and their associated territories, it would appear, by contrast, that the situation has changed over much of Scandinavia. It would now appear that in several cases there are striking congruencies in the distribution of individual types of jewellery and identified economic and social territorial units (Map 7.2). This is especially the case in Norway in Vestlandet and in the south-west, where several sub-types of cruciform brooch can be located primarily within a specific territory, as defined by Myhre (1987a) – for instance Type Valandsmoen in Vest-Agder; Type Sagland centred around Jæren and Type Byrkje in Ryfylket in Rogaland; Type Draugsvoll in North Hordaland; and Types Mo/Skaim in Sogn og Fjordane. It also appears that there is a certain correspondence between a postulated centre in Telemark/Vestfold and Type Gjerla. The same relationship recurs in western Sweden, where the central zone of Västergötland is now marked by its own variant of cruciform brooches: Types Götene/Brunnhem (see also Särlvik 1982:102–12, 119–25). The Mälar region/Svealand stands out, too, through the use of distinctive button clasps.[5] Both of these regions in Sweden have been identified as centres of the Migration Period (Gräslund 1993; Hyenstrand 1996; Ramqvist 1991; Särlvik 1982; Åberg 1953:34–79). Gotland, Öland and Bornholm are distinctively marked through the use of relief brooches with semi-circular headplates (types A-5 and A-6) while, as has been noted, there is a tendency for type A-5 to cluster on Gotland while A-6 predominates on Bornholm. Gotland, and also Öland and the coastal region of Småland, probably constituted separate political units (Welinder 2009:441). On Bornholm, this date may represent the beginning of the phase of establishment of a central kingship (L. Jørgensen 1991:121–3; Näsman 1991b:174–5). Jutland continues to stand out with its own type of cruciform brooch, Type Sejlflod, within what is gradually beginning to come into view as a 'Danish' constellation of political power (cf. Näsman 1998; 2006:220).

Even though there seems to be extensive correspondence between the distribution of special variants of dress-accessory and political groupings in phase D2a, cruciform brooches of Type Mundheim (for example) were in use within several of the definable political centres of northern Scandinavia. This is also the case, as has been shown, with some clasp-types (undecorated button clasps, and button clasps with either ring designs or animal art) and relief brooches of the plane- and ridge-foot types. The latter type, however, served principally as a status symbol of the period, and probably functioned to mark out super-regional groupings amongst the upper levels of society. As in the preceding phase, a grouping in northern Norway is marked by its own sub-type of cruciform brooch that appears to be common to several separate political units. It is still a question of debate how early the Helgeland coast and Lofoten-Vesterålen were conjoined into a single political territory that would later figure as the historically documented Hålogaland (Storli 2006). There are also a series of centres of political power that do *not* stand out with their own forms of jewellery. This is the case, for instance, with inner Trøndelag, and several centres in Norway's Østlandet

5 The Mälar region also stands out through a concentration of a type of dress pin known as 'moulded head pins' (*vulsthodenåler*) (Bennett 1987:105–6; Waller 1972). The moulded head pins also frequently occur together with button clasps and relief brooches (Bennett 1987:106–7). This indicates that they probably belong to the period which covers phases D2a and D2b as the relief brooches of phase D1 have a markedly westerly distribution (i.e. they are not found in the Mälar region), and the button clasps are primarily of the final two phases of the Migration Period. In addition to the pins, relief brooches and clasps, Bennett (1987:105–7) identifies Husby brooches and belt rings as typical of female dress in the Mälar valley in the Migration Period.



Map 7.2 *The distribution of selected types of dress-accessory in Phase D2a against political centres or core areas after Myhre (1987a:fig.7) and Ramqvist (1991:fig.1). Note that the political divisions of south-western Norway are according to Myhre (1987a).*

including the Østfold/Bohuslän area. As has been noted, Åberg (1953:34–79) pointed out that Norrland is distinguished by its own jewellery-types, but this 'kingdom of Norrland' (Ramqvist 1991; Åberg 1953) is only weakly indicated in the distribution patterns of the types of dress-accessory studied here.[6] In this particular case, this situation can be explained by the fact that other types of jewellery are involved, such as a distinct type of equal-armed brooch with animal-head terminals (Fig. 6.1).

The congruence between the distribution of regional types or variants of jewellery and politico-economic centres seems to be maintained in phase D2b. As shown above (cf. Ch. 5.1 and Map 5.5), in many cases it is the same areas that stand out, such as Sogn, Rogaland and the Mälar region, although there are also certain changes in relation to the preceding phase. This perhaps especially concerns the manifestations which now come into view in an extensive central and northern Norwegian area, plus central and northern Sweden, through the use of relief brooches of the Bothnian group and the northern ridge-foot group. These manifestations cut across the posited political boundaries between, inter alia, Svealand, Trøndelag and Helgeland-Lofoten-Vesterålen. This also includes the political unit in Norrland, although it has been argued that the 'kingdom of Norrland' was then a reduced power which was gradually becoming subject to the more powerful kingdom of the Svear (Ramqvist 1991:317; Åberg 1953:154). Some of the centres that recur in the distribution patterns of the jewellery evidence of the previous phase appear now to have disappeared: e.g. Bornholm, Västergötland and Vestfold-Telemark. As only selected types of dress-accessory have been examined, it is not possible to exclude the possibility that these central areas might be visible in the distribution of jewellery of other types. As in the preceding phase, there are also a number of centres that have no manifestation in the use of distinct items of jewellery. As before, this is the case with the postulated political entities in Østlandet, for instance in Ringerike and Romerike, and the coastal zone in the Oslofjord area from Akershus to Østfold-Bohuslän.

If the relationship between political and ethnic/cultural regional groups, as it emerges through female costume, is investigated in more detail – which I shall illustrate through the course of development in western Norway – it is interesting that the hypothetical territories identified here had apparently, in Myhre's view (1987a:186), been in existence as equally important and powerful political centres *early* in the period; while in the course of the 5th and 6th centuries there was apparently a process of centralization of power which led to some centres thriving at the expense of others. If Myhre's observations are valid, there was a sort of *inverted* political development in comparison with what went on regarding the marking of identity through the use of jewellery: as we have seen, both regional and local costume manifestation strengthens from phase D2a onwards, and regional marking continues into the concluding phase of the Migration Period. This means that regional and local marking through the use of female costume intensified at a stage at which several of the centres appear to have been combined under common political control, and small states or petty kingdoms may have been formed. Myhre (1987a:171; 1992a:165, 167) also noted that the centres in Nordfjord, at Lista-Lyngdal, and in Jæren stand out in the 6th century through rich graves with imported material: something which should then indicate that these centres held 'overlordship' over surrounding ones. This political marking appears, however, to have no direct connection with the manifestation of cultural identity through the use of jewellery in these three (or four) areas at this date. The postulated centre in Nordfjord does not stand out in the jewellery evidence in either phase D2a or phase D2b since only a couple of finds of cruciform brooches of phase D2a and one (stray) find of a relief brooch of phase D2b have been made.[7] Jæren, by contrast, is highly prominent, as the study above has shown, through massive marking in both of these phases in the 6th century. Lista-Lyngdal has the appearance of a third variant, with a certain level of manifestation of regional and local affiliation in the use of jewellery but of more moderate character compared with Jæren. There is therefore no one-to-one relationship between centres of political power and ethnic/cultural/regional manifestations of group identity in the 6th century (i.e. in phases D2a and D2b) in western Norway.

There is, all the same, one contact point between the two levels of social identity (i.e. political and cultural/ethnic regional identities): the political situation appears to have influenced the ethnic and/or cultural marking which was expressed through female costume in the Migration Period. This is shown in the fact that the regional manifestation that intensifies in phase D2a does to some extent reflect a political and economic structure that was probably already in existence from the transition between the Late

6 Through clasps of sub-type B1iv b, the 'Norrala Type', which comprises just three finds.

7 All three finds are from Gloppen *kommune*: B6588: Skrøppa; B7008: Steinsåker; B12549: Gjemmestad.

Roman Iron Age and the Migration Period. (Once again here, I am limiting myself to western Norway.) This may mean that ethnic or cultural groups were formed and became distinct under the influence of the process of political centralization that was operative in Migration-period society. It is, however, also possible – and conceivably more likely – that, as Myhre (1987a:186–7; 1991:15) has argued, the regional groupings and their signalization were based upon older 'tribal' differences. This would then mean that the political context had the effect of bringing out latent or already present, but materially unarticulated (through jewellery, in any case), regional group identities as something that it was important to negotiate and promote in a changed social reality and new political climate. Put another way, the development may be seen as an expression of unconscious or latent cultural dispositions – which this sort of 'tribal' affiliation could represent – becoming concretized and promoted as logically coherent in contrast to specific 'others' in the 'cultural encounters' that the process of centralization and the struggle for political power brought in their train (cf. Ch. 2.1).

Myhre (1987a:187) also suggests that the political and economic territories in Grenland, Agder, Rogaland and Hordaland may represent the 'tribal' centres of the *granii*, *augandzi*, *rygi* and *arochi* of Jordanes respectively. If these historical peoples referred to by Jordanes and Procopius through place names are compared with the regional groupings that appear in the archaeological evidence of jewellery in the latter two phases of the Migration Period, there are further palpable points of agreement. Several of the areas which stand out through clusters of specific types or variants of jewellery correspond more or less to areas that are associated with particular people: this is the case, for instance, with Götaland, Svealand, Denmark, Hålogaland, Rogaland, the provinces of Agder, and Hordaland. The aim of this study is not to identify specific peoples known from historical sources. This said, a comparison between the distribution patterns of jewellery and areas attributed to specific historical peoples indicates that there is an articulation of identities in documentary sources which matches, to some degree, one (of several) costume manifestations of cultural grouping in the archaeologically found jewellery of the last two phases of the Migration Period: from phase D2a onwards. The development of intensified material articulation of regional grouping upon a foundation of older 'tribal' affiliation may indicate that ethnic and/or cultural identity turned into a factor of political power (cf. Pohl 1988b) around this juncture.

Hines (1993a:91–5) has discussed the connection between, on the one hand, the intensification, or flourishing, that is found in the creation of artefacts and the distribution of jewellery at the beginning of phase D2a, and, on the other, the political development of the Migration Period. He has pointed out that this explosive phase of jewellery production coincided with other social changes, which were probably linked to the emergence of a more individualistic or individually oriented social system. This is linked to the introduction of the retinue system and growing state-formation. The cultural flourishing, he argued, points to a situation under social stress that was characterized by intense political competition, a competition that grew sharper with the foundation of the earliest Scandinavian kingdoms. The reduction in the distribution of and production of types of jewellery in phase D2b can be interpreted, he suggested, as a sign that the political situation had stabilized, and that the new aristocratic leaders of this phase were consolidating their positions. The analysis above, however, has shown that, although the quantity of items of jewellery is less in phase D2b than in the previous phase, regional marking was still, to a considerable extent, maintained. Moreover the foregoing analysis of the degree of correlation between politico-economic centres and groupings as reflected in the distribution of jewellery has shown that there was probably no one-to-one relationship between political and cultural categories in the Migration Period. Hines may nevertheless be right that the circumstances of political competition led to the increased production and consumption of jewellery: the increasing degree of regional marking through the first half of the Migration Period may reflect that the process of centralization which was underway activated a need for greater emphasis or visualization of regional and/or ethnic identities which found themselves at risk of disappearing or being swallowed up in this process of the union of, or dissolution of, formerly separate cultural entities. In that light, the political situation could have been determinative of the intensification of marking that came about (cf. Ch. 2.1). Considered in this context, the massive regional (and local) marking that is found in Rogaland in phases D2a and D2b, particularly on Jæren, also becomes more comprehensible: for much of prehistory, this stands out as a key area of contact with Jutland. The need for self-marking to emphasize one's distinctness from the growing political power centre which the kingdom of the Danes represented might therefore have been greatest precisely here (cf. Hedeager 1990; 1992a; 1993; 2011; Näsman 2006).

The continuation of regional manifestation in phase D2b can be interpreted as reflecting a political situation which was still a stress factor for the existence of regional cultural groupings. The situation had changed, though, as is reflected in 'new' or formerly unarticulated groupings coming into view. A clearly marked area with its heart in Trøndelag and Jämtland now emerges, for instance, through the use of relief brooches of the northern ridge-foot group, and to a certain extent through the Bothnian group with its centre of gravity to the east of the region in Gästrikland and Medelpad. Ramqvist (1991:315–17), as noted, has argued that there was a petty kingdom in central Norrland, in the first half of the Migration Period, with its principal centre at Högom, but that it became subject to the kingdom of the Svear, with its centre around Mälaren and Gamla Uppsala, towards the end of the period. He has also argued for socio-political contacts between Norrland and Trøndelag. Some scholars have also claimed that the kingdom of the Svear gained power over Götaland around the same time (Gräslund 1993:195), while others have noted the possibility that Västergötland fell under Danish overlordship in the course of the Migration Period (Hyenstrand 1996:131–2). The flourishing in the use of jewellery at this date perhaps suggests an underpinning of cultural connections between Norrland to the east and Trøndelag to the west. This could be the product of distancing from an ever stronger political power player represented by the kingdom of the Svear, which could also have posed a threat to cultural links across the Scandinavian peninsula, cutting across existing and shifting political boundaries.

It is also a point of interest, however, that throughout the Migration Period there were centres of political power and political entities which were *not* reflected in the distribution of distinct variants of jewellery. Several of these areas also have very few finds of jewellery altogether. This is true, to an extent, of Denmark, where the general lack of grave finds, offset by the finding of rich hoards, including gold hoards, has been interpreted as evidence of the progressive centralization of political power, and of one or more centralized kingdoms being established and consolidated as early as during the Migration Period (Hedeager 1990:204–6; 1992b:94; Näsman 1998; 2006). Solberg (2006:176; cf. below) has argued for similar situations in the areas of inner Østlandet in Norway. These are districts which, in a similar way, are characterized by a general lack of rich grave finds and a paucity of finds of jewellery. But there are gold hoards in these areas too. What might the general absence of jewellery in such areas signify? A paucity of richly furnished grave finds is often interpreted as a token of there having been no need for social marking, because the political situation was stable and the leaders had consolidated their positions of power (cf. Hedeager 1990:204–6; 1992b:94; 1993; L. Jørgensen 1991:123; Myhre 1992a:164, 171; 2003:85–6; Nielsen 1991:146; Ringtved 1988a:201; Solberg 2000:176). The absence of graves with jewellery *cannot*, however, be taken as showing that women in these areas did not use jewellery on their dress. In Denmark we do have different types of brooch in hoards throughout the Migration Period, indicating the brooches were used in this area, even though they do not constitute a substantial group of finds in either hoards or graves. The predominant trend is for cruciform brooches to be deposited alone, while the relief and de luxe brooches are often found in association with beads and gold bracteates (cf. Ch. 4.2.1–2). Even if the costume had indeed been subject to change – with the use, for instance, of different types of textile or a new cut etc. – all the same, possible changes of that nature would appear not to have had any effect on the use of jewellery.

In Hedmark and Östergötland too, areas with few finds of jewellery from the Migration Period, relief brooches occur in hoards of the last phase of the Migration Period. These relief brooches are of types that are common in neighbouring areas (cf. Ch. 4.2.2.8). This *may* be due to the fact that the same brooch-variants were in use over larger areas than where they are represented in burials. As already noted (Ch. 4.1.3), dress-accessories are also found at production sites in areas where those same items do not appear in graves. An example of this is the finding of equal-armed relief brooches of phase D2b at Sättuna in Östergötland and Uppåkra in Skåne (cf. Ch. 4.2.2.7). There may, then, be diverse reasons – besides a lower degree of social marking consequent upon political stability – for the brooches not having finally been deposited as grave goods in the various regions. The items of jewellery could possibly have remained in circulation through passing by inheritance, for instance from mother to daughter (cf. Ch. 6.5). In this way they could still be significant in signalling origin, cultural or ethnic affiliation, or tradition, even though these were no longer values people needed to emphasize through the burial ritual (cf. above, Ch. 2.2.2).

The preceding investigation has shown that, despite there being relatively few jewellery finds from Denmark, Jutland itself, and indeed Bornholm, still stand out through a number of distinct types of jewellery throughout the Migration Period – including their own types of cruciform brooch and variants of clasp (cf. Chs. 4.2.1, 4.2.3 and 5.3). This could represent

the manifestation of cultural groupings within the emergent 'Danish' power bloc (cf. Näsman 1998:272; Ringtved 1988a:201–2).

At the beginning of the Merovingian Period, the picture changes again, and the range of jewellery is now dominated by four major constellations, in the north, south, east and south-east of Scandinavia respectively (cf. Chs. 5.2–3 and 6.5, and Map 5.6). Nielsen (1991:133–4, 151; 2002:20–1) has argued that regional variance in the jewellery evidence from southern and eastern Scandinavia in the Merovingian Period represents difference between ethno-political groups, and that the distribution patterns reflect a political expansion in the course of the period. As I have attempted to demonstrate here, the relationship between political and cultural groupings can be highly complex, and those entities will not necessarily be corresponding or isomorphic categories. In the context of Norway, for instance, it is assumed that there were several petty kingdoms or chieftainships at this date (phase 1 of the Merovingian Period) – including one in eastern Norway centred upon Åker by Lake Mjøsa; others in Romerike, at Borre in Vestfold and at Bertnem in Nord-Trøndelag; one or more southern and inland Trønder centres around the Trondheimsfjord; also around Tjøtta, Steigen, Lofoten-Vesterålen and Bjarkøy in Troms; and several political units in western Norway – and that the boundaries between the kingdoms were probably fluid (Lillehammer 1994:181, 206–12, 223; Myhre 1992a:168–73; 1992b:308–13, fig. 60; 2002:201–13; 2003:87–9; Näsman 2006:fig. 6b; Skre 1998:252, 292, 322; Storli 2006:151–3, 184–5; Welinder 2009:441). The study above has shown, however, that the phase is characterized by what is practically common Norwegian or common north-western Scandinavian costume marking involving the use of conical brooches.

The situation in southern Scandinavia at this time may have been different. Here there is also a cultural or ethnic regional identity manifested through female dress in what appears, in effect, to coincide with the historical Denmark (including Skåne). This may represent the areas which fell under Danish overlordship and shared political government (possibly with the exception of Bornholm) (Näsman 1991b:174–5; 1993:33–4; 1998:272–3; 2006:fig. 6a, 200, 226–8).[8] This possible central political authority is not, however, reflected directly in the distribution of jewellery evidence from the Migration Period, as Jutland and Bornholm, as noted above, diverge in the use of their own types. Since the distribution of the various southern Scandinavian types of dress-accessory of phase 1 of the Merovingian Period has not been examined in detail here, it is not impossible that some such manifestation that was specific to Jutland and to Bornholm took place. Nevertheless the cumulative distribution of the jewellery, as it can be perceived through Ørsnes (1966) and Nielsen (1991), indicates that there was in any event a manifestation in costume of a common southern Scandinavian grouping at this date. What we see, then, is the articulation of cultural and/or ethnic regional identity which may also have been a political identity or reality as early as towards the end of the Migration Period (cf. above). If Denmark was subject to relatively stable rule and constituted a unit of political power from the end of the Migration Period and in the early Merovingian Period (cf. Näsman 1993:34; 1998:273; 2006:220), the development that took place in southern Scandinavia can be interpreted as a case of the political situation having influenced the experience of cultural affiliation. In that case, this also led to, or contributed to, the formation of a shared, southern Scandinavian identity in the wake of the unification of the region under a political entity. Nielsen may indeed be right that the evidence of the jewellery in the context of southern Scandinavia possibly represents an ethno-political grouping at this particular, initial stage of the Merovingian Period. This coincidence between the cultural/ethnic and political categories is not, however, found (as has been shown) at any earlier stage, and it likewise is not necessarily the case in the subsequent phases of the Merovingian Period.[9] If the centralization of political power, by contrast, came later in this area (cf. Hedeager 2002:371), the same sequence is suggested as in Norway, where a common identity precedes political unification.

It has been noted that there are two areas in eastern Scandinavia which are quite distinct at the beginning of the Merovingian Period (phase 1), on account of their particular jewellery-types. One of these comprises Gotland and Öland. The other is an area of the mainland that is centred upon Svealand/the Mälar region but also includes, if to a lesser degree, Öster- and Västergötland. From Norrland there are now very few finds of jewellery altogether, a point that must be linked to the fact that there is an overall reduction of

8 It must, however, be regarded as doubtful that this whole area was under single political governance at so early a date: cf. Hedeager 2002:371, above.

9 A corollary of this is that the distribution patterns of items of jewellery cannot then directly be interpreted in terms of political expansion during the Merovingian Period (cf. Nielsen 1991).

finds from this area (Åberg 1953:154). What the political circumstances were in these areas in the earliest phase of the Merovingian Period has been a subject of discussion. The kings of the Svear established themselves, with Uppsala as their royal seat, in the course of the Migration Period, and the burials in both the Western and Eastern Mound from the first phase of the Merovingian Peirod (Arrhenius 1995b:320–30; Gräslund 1993:192; Hyenstrand 1996:91; Ljungkvist 2005:255–256; 2008; Ljungkvist and Frölund 2015) can be interpreted as a sign that the royal dynasty was still marking its position of power at that date. It has been claimed, as noted previously, that the Svear dominated (meaning that they were placed in a position of overkingship) Väster- (and Öster-) götland and Norrland at the end of the Migration Period (see also Gräslund 1993:195). It is not clear whether this position was maintained in phase 1 of the Merovingian Period for, as already acknowledged, Danish overlordship in Västergötland has also been considered a possibility (Hyenstrand 1996:121–2, 131–2). Through the use of jewellery, a common eastern Scandinavian/Swedish identity was reinforced, but what is perhaps most striking when we compare the distribution patterns of the jewellery with the political situation is the extensive marking that was going on in the *core areas* of the two 'great powers' – the Danes (including Skåne: cf. above) and the Svear – while the manifestation of group identity (by means of jewellery) in the areas of central Sweden in between was kept at a 'low level'. This may initially appear to be paradoxical in light of the theories of ethnicity which emphasize precisely the role of marking in *boundary zones* (cf. Ch. 2.2.1). The distribution pattern can be explained, all the same, in terms of the level of contact having probably been greatest precisely between the two different centres: it was here that mobility was most pronounced, and cultural contact most frequent, because the centres served as cultural meeting points. In this regard, it is interesting that several conical brooches have been found in the vicinity of postulated 'Norwegian' centres that were not marked through their own types in the range of jewellery at the end of the Migration Period: Åker and the region around Hamar in the Mjøsa region; Hundorp in Gudbrandsdalen; the Fredrikstad-Sarpsborg area in Østfold; the Brunlanes-Tjølling area in Vestfold; and around Tyrifjorden in Ringerike. This can be seen as reflecting the fact that it was now desirable to signal a common identity shared with other southern, western and northern centres in Norway, on Jæren for instance (Sola), in Helgeland and Lofoten-Vesterålen (where also conical brooches have been found). There is also a relatively high level of 'overlapping' of types of dress-accessory between the mainland region of eastern Sweden and Öland with Gotland (Nielsen 1991:148–9). As has been noted, these islands conceivably stood as distinct political entities. The islands thus signalled a distinct identity, but at the same time there was a level of communality in a shared identity between the populations on the mainland and on the islands.

Consequently, there appears to have been no one-to-one relationship between the ethnic or cultural regional costume marking and political entities at the beginning of the Merovingian Period, even though some groupings that are articulated through the medium of material culture – such as that which can be discerned through the distributions of certain types of dress-accessory in Denmark and Skåne – may have corresponded to some political entity (see, however, Harrison 2009:67, who argues for the existence of a separate petty kingdom in Skåne with its principal seat at Uppåkra). The shift that took place in Scandinavia at the transition to the Merovingian Period, when the whole area divided into four major 'jewellery zones' which clearly sought to distance themselves from one another through the use of different types of dress-accessory (cf. Chs. 4.3.2 and 5.2), may, conversely, represent a *change in mentality* in relation to cultural groupings. This change may reflect the fact that the relationship between 'them and us' was now relocated to a more super-regional level so that the 'we' included more people, and according to which there was greater focus upon larger cultural units. At the same time there appears to be more distance between the different groupings. The change also reveals a shift from socio-political (hierarchical) units to geo-political groupings (regions). The jewellery of the early Merovingian Period is characterized rather by 'simplicity', and no longer appears to be greatly adapted to the marking of 'status' (with the possible exception of the use of disc-on-bow brooches on Gotland: cf. Chs. 4.3.2 and 6.5). Through this shift, it would appear that whatever differentiated between minor regional/cultural groupings lost emphasis, while communality across both earlier and contemporary cultural and political boundaries was reinforced. The development in Scandinavia thus appears to have been parallel to what was happening on the Continent – where political processes led to the foundation of the earliest European kingdoms (cf. above). A similar process is also noted in Anglo-Saxon England (Geake 1997:129–36; see also Hines and Bayliss eds 2013:543–5 and Ch.7.1.3 below).

The almost total replacement of types of dress-accessory that took place at the transition to the

Merovingian Period can be viewed in connection with the fact that '[i]nnovation in dress often expresses more fundamental changes in society, and usually goes along with actual or intended social advancement of new groups' (Schubert 1993:19–20 in Pohl 1998a:49; see also Ch. 2.2.1). This is consistent with Hines's interpretation of the replacement of dress-accessories at the transition to the Merovingian Period as a break with an old costume tradition and with what that custom previously meant to society (cf. Ch. 6.6). Regarded thus, the change may reflect the seed of a political change that anticipates eventual processes of state-formation similar to those that are seen on the Continent, where previously multi-ethnic confederations of peoples such as the Franks, the Visigoths and the Ostrogoths gradually acquired common identities as regionally rooted groups embedded in their own state-kingdoms (e.g. Geary 2003; Hedeager and Tvarnø 2001:165–80; James 1991; Vallet 1995). The changes in costume which took place in the context of Scandinavia at the transition to the Merovingian Period should perhaps be linked specifically to the political development on the Continent, where the establishment of Frankish overlordship was a fact from around the middle of the 6th century (Todd 2004:193). The altered political situation on the Continent could have been determinative for ethnic and/or cultural manifestation in Scandinavia by provoking a need to emphasize a common regionally based identity that extended over a large area in opposition to an 'imperial' Frankish identity and other early European political groupings.[10] A further point is that it was easier to gather larger areas into one kingdom when there was a common identity to build on.

The relationship between ethnic and/or cultural identity and political identity in Scandinavia proves to be complex. This study shows that there was a dynamic between these two elements, and that ethnic/cultural and political identity were imbricated and intersected in various ways in different places throughout the Migration and Merovingian Periods. This is possibly not so very surprising when one considers that both the political and the cultural conditions must have been different from place to place. In southern Scandinavia, for example, the distance from the Continent was less, and contacts with that area were denser than would have been the case in the north. Northern Scandinavia, for its part, was affected by the presence of a different form of culture, a culture that does not figure further south. Over much of the Scandinavian peninsula there were at this time Saami (hunting) populations. I will now turn to the encounter between Germanic or Norse culture and Saami culture, for this encounter must have been a factor that influenced the activation of cultural difference and its signalling (cf. Ch. 2.1). It will, therefore, be a matter of interest to explore how the relationship between these major cultural and ethnic groups took form in this period, and how it came to be expressed in costume manifestations.

7.1.2 Cultural Encounters in the north and in the interior: Norse and Saami

In the period under examination here, Saami culture(s) can be classified as a distinct hunting culture or cultures, formed and reproduced through interaction with a Germanic/Norse culture (Hansen and Olsen 2004:38–42, 52–136). In the Iron Age, Malangen in Troms appears to have been a major frontier between areas of Saami and Norse settlement in northern Norway. North and east of this boundary Saami culture was predominant. South of the boundary in South Troms and in Nordland, Germanic/Norse culture was predominant in the outer coastal reaches while Saami culture prevailed in the inner arms of the fjords and the interior. There was probably, however, a Saami population also present within the Germanic/Norse area of South Troms and Nordland (Hansen and Olsen 2004:78–82, fig. 10). The full extent of Saami settlement to the south-east in Norway and in central Sweden at this date is a matter of more uncertainty. It nonetheless appears to be widely accepted that there was at least a Saami population in those areas where the historically recorded South Saami were living, namely parts of Trøndelag, Hedmark, Dalarna, and Jämtland, Härjedalen and Gästrikland in Norrland (Bergstøl 1997:83–92; Hansen and Olsen 2004:103–9; Magnus and Myhre 1976:318–19; Zachrisson 1997:7–10). From historical sources such as medieval law-codes and the like, however, there is reason to believe that Saami lived over a much wider area of south-eastern Norway than that defined by the modern South Saami zone (Bergstøl 1997:fig. 8.1; 2004:20; 2008:146–9; Hansen and Olsen 2004:108–9; Zachrisson 1997:7–10). This view appears also, bit by bit, to be gaining credence from archaeological finds, such as rectangular row-hearths of Saami character from Dovre in Lesja *kommune* in Oppland. These are in fact dated to the Viking Period (Bergstøl and Reitan 2008).

Saami identity in the southern zone appears, however, to have progressively differentiated itself from the northern zone, inter alia through a much greater

10 See Näsman (1998:277–8) for the significance of the dominance of Merovingian power in relation to Scandinavian identity.

degree of *creolization* with the Norse culture and population (Hansen and Olsen 2004:107). Jostein Bergstøl (2004:8) defines creolization thus:

> When cultural traits are disconnected from their former contexts and melded with other cultural traits, new entities can be built. Such a mixture and new creation is called 'creolization'.

A quantity of finds that are interpreted as tokens of creolization are dated to the Viking Period and the earlier Medieval Period, but Bergstøl (2004:18–20; 2008:225–30) draws attention to agriculture and hunting-ground burials as early creolization factors in Østerdalen at the transition between the Early and Late Iron Age. He regards these as cultural features which had been influenced and adopted from the Germanic culture and which were adopted by a Saami population in a situation of ethnic stress. These cultural features helped to differentiate the population in this area not only from its Germanic counterpart but also from the Saami population further north (Hansen and Olsen 2004:107). Bergstøl (2004) argues that the process of creolization took place in association with the expansion of a Germanic/Norse mode of settlement at the transition to the Merovingian Period, when agriculture was expanded into former Saami hunting areas in eastern Norway. This led to more frequent and more direct contact between the two culture groups in this area (Bergstøl 2004:18–20).

Relief brooches, cruciform brooches, clasps and conical brooches are conventionally interpreted as Germanic/Norse artefact-types: in other words as expressions of a Germanic/Norse cultural form (cf. Ch. 1). Saami identity in this period was manifested in different ways. In the north it was manifested, inter alia, through the construction of features such as rock pits (cf. below), through a distinct form of settlement represented by round building foundations with a special partition of the floor, and partly, too, through a special form of burial, known as the 'scree grave custom'. In the South Saami area, Saami identity found expression in, amongst other things, the construction of what are known as 'hunting-ground burials', which in the Migration Period took the form of flat stone settings, and in the Merovingian Period principally of cairns (although there are also flat graves) (Bergstøl 2004:18–20; Hansen and Olsen 2004:40, 56–8, 69–72, 104, 117).

When we compare the distribution patterns of the items of jewellery with what we know about the extent of Saami and Germanic/Norse settlement, however, we can see that there is no complete coincidence between the area of Germanic/Norse occupation and the distribution of dress-accessories. It is, for instance, a general characteristic in the case of the northern Scandinavian, and particularly the Norwegian and northern Swedish, distribution pattern that most finds of jewellery are from coastal areas. This is particularly the case in the Migration Period, but also to a considerable extent in the early Merovingian Period, when a cluster of conical brooches follows the coastal strip of northern Norway, extending southward to the coasts of Trøndelag and Møre. There are individual exceptions: it transpires from the analysis above (Ch. 4.2.2.7) that a distinct type of relief brooch of phase D2b is found both in Nord-Trøndelag and in the Storsjö region of settlement in Jämtland. Something that I shall be returning to is a particular concentration of conical brooches of the first phase of the Merovingian Period in the Lake Mjøsa districts and in Gudbrandsdalen, in the inner valley reaches of Sør-Trøndelag, and a few dispersed finds also in the inner valleys and districts of Østlandet (cf. Chs. 4.3.1 and 7.1.1).

In the context of northern Norway, the coastal distribution pattern of jewellery coincides fairly convincingly with the area of Germanic/Norse settlement. In some parts of the south-eastern half of Norway, and in central and northern Sweden, where the conditions for agriculture are favourable and there is also a Germanic/Norse agrarian population, there are, by contrast, surprisingly few finds of jewellery (cf. Ch. 7.1.1; see also Hansen and Olsen 2004:106; on exceptions, however, see below). In the Migration Period, this was the case with, for instance, the 'broad inland settlement districts' in Romerike, Ringerike, Toten, Hadeland and the Mjøsa area, the farming areas of Sør-Trøndelag such as Klæbu, Melhus, Meråker, and Meldal, and in the inner valley zones of Østlandet such as Gudbrandsdalen, Gauldal and Hallingdal. These areas are characterized by a general absence of rich grave finds. In the case of Østlandet, it has been argued, as already noted (Ch. 7.1.1), that this was because the centralization of power was completed in the interior areas earlier than along the coast (Solberg 2000:176). Germanic/Norse settlement also expanded, however, in the course of the Roman and Migration Periods out into what are regarded as 'marginal regions': i.e. into areas where the conditions for agriculture were not ideal, such as to the higher altitude localities around Valdres and inner Telemark and other comparable upland, forest and mountain areas (Magnus and Myhre 1976:292, 299–304; Solberg 2000:111–13, 146–8, 153, 177). There is reason to suggest, therefore, that there was a Germanic/Norse population in much of the interior which did *not* mark itself through the

use of jewellery in grave finds in the manner that was customary in the coastal zones (cf. above).

Finds of the 'Germanic/Norse' jewellery-types are extremely few in the Saami areas. One find that has already been referred to (Ch. 4.2.1.5) is a cruciform brooch from a grave at Grunnes in Vardø *kommune*, Finnmark.[11] This is the northernmost find of a cruciform brooch, and it is from a location situated well within the Saami area. The brooch, which is of Type Mundheim, is from what is known as a Saami scree grave. The grave, which was placed beneath a rock and had been walled, contained the uncremated bones of a young, not fully adult, woman. Several other scree graves were found at the same place, which is understood to have been a Saami cemetery (Schanche 2000:115, 219, 391; Sjøvold 1962:118). In light of the fact that there are so few jewellery-finds from Saami areas in this period, this find is of additional significance. What we see, is an inter-mixture of two ethnic markers, represented by a typically 'Germanic/Norse' artefact-type and special 'Saami' type of grave and burial site. Is it a Saami woman who lay buried here, with a typically 'Germanic/Norse' brooch, or was she originally from the Germanic/Norse section of the population but interred in a Saami cemetery in accordance with Saami practice because at the time of her burial she belonged to the Saami community? Irrespective of the woman's genealogical descent (the burial of) this woman can be said to manifest an identity which carries clear elements of both a 'Germanic/Norse' and a 'Saami' affiliation since the language of symbolism references features of both of those cultures (see also Ch. 6.3). This may possibly express a self-consciousness and identity as bi-cultural – both Germanic/Norse and Saami. It may also be significant that this cruciform brooch was not a regionally specific form but rather a *common* northern Scandinavian type. A common Germanic/Norse form of dress-accessory could have been perceived as best suited to express the contrast with the Saami context. This must, nonetheless, be regarded as speculative, since it is possible that it was simply a question of availability that determined what brooch was placed in the grave.

An interesting feature of this find is the fact that the scree grave custom, which is understood to be a distinctly Saami burial-type, appears in fact to have been limited to Varanger at that date. It was only after around the year 800 that this burial practice expanded to, or was adopted in, other Saami areas in the rest of northern Norway, Trøndelag, Jämtland, Norrbotten and Västerbotten (Hansen and Olsen 2004:117; Schanche 2000:160–4, 171–81). Occasional other items of jewellery have also been found in scree graves of the Migration Period in Varanger: a grave with 'Scandinavian' ('Germanic/Norse') types of bead,[12] and another with 'Finnish' dress pins[13] (Scanche 2000:169, 176–7, 213) (Fig. 7.1). Alongside the scree grave rite, which thus is regionally restricted in the period under investigation, Saami in the northern areas very probably also buried their dead in other ways: for instance in simple 'earth graves' and through procedures which would not produce archaeological traces. Moreover burial cairns were used in both the Germanic/Norse and the Saami cultures: they are usually inter-distinguishable only on the basis of the context in which they occur (Schanche 2000:159, 164). Potentially Saami graves in cairns close to the Germanic settlement area, for instance along the outer coastlands of Troms where Saami were probably present within the Germanic area of settlement (cf. above), would therefore be indistinguishable from Germanic graves, in many cases. It remains striking, nevertheless, that three graves with 'non-Saami' jewellery appear within an area where in this period a distinctly Saami mode of burial was used. If items of jewellery had been included in other Saami burial contexts, hoards or the like outside of the Varanger region, one should expect at least some 'stray finds' of such objects. This may indicate that the presence of the 'non-Saami' dress-accessories is to be understood precisely on the basis of this particular Saami burial practice. Could the situation reflect the fact that a material manifestation of Saami belonging was demanded in order to 'clear the way' for the signalling of 'non-Saami' connections at another level in the burial practice?

There are, then, few finds of jewellery from Saami areas in the north. Audhild Schanche (2000:176–7) notes the finding of a relief brooch at Rovaniemi (Finland)[14] which may be from a Saami context, but, this apart, all the other finds are from Varanger. There are similarly very few finds of jewellery of the Migration and early Merovingian Periods from Saami areas further south, in Trøndelag, eastern Norway,

11 Ts4307.

12 Unnumbered: Perlarsenvik, Nesseby k., Finnmark. The beads (one round blue, eight complete and two half biconical blue beads) may be datable to the 4th century (Schanche 2000:386 nos. 135–7) but could in my view also date to the beginning of the Migration Period.

13 Ts6482: Mortensnes, Nesseby k., Finnmark.

14 NM19807: Tammenharju, Rovaniemi (Koivunen 1975:5).

Jämtland, Härjedalen, Dalarna and Gästrikland. A few finds of bead ornaments have been made in hunting-ground graves dated to the 7th and 8th centuries: for instance from Rena in Østerdalen and in the north of Dalarna (Bergstøl 1997:70; 2004:12; Zachrisson 1997:49). Of the forms of dress-accessory discussed in this study, some are from peripheral or upland areas such as Nord-Aurdal in Valdres,[15] Skåbu in Vinstra,[16] and Oppdal,[17] plus the Storsjö region of Jämtland, but these finds are closely connected to areas which had agrarian settlement from the Roman Period, or earlier (Biörnstad 1962:73, 80; Magnus and Myhre 1976:292, 299–304; Solberg 2000:111–13, 146–8, 153).

The ethnic affiliation of finds from mountainous and/or forested areas in eastern Hedmark, which are generally understood to have been Saami settlement zones or possibly occupied by a creolized Saami-Germanic/Norse population (Bergstøl 2008), is however open to question. An example can be seen in a relief brooch from Fonnås in Øvre Rendalen (cf. Ch. 4.2.2.8). This brooch was found during land clearing in the 19th century. Brøgger (1942:21) has argued that it probably did *not* originally belong to a grave. Valuable artefacts like this brooch would usually be part of richly furnished graves, and one would therefore anticipate finds of other associated objects. If the brooch originated from a grave, one would also expect charcoal or humus-rich soil to be noted in connection with the find. Brøgger took the find as evidence that the farm of Fonnås must have been the first farm to have been founded in the upper valley reach. There are, however, no burial mounds of the Migration Period from Fonnås (Bergstøl 2008:92–104), but Brøgger drew attention to the position of the find spot in relation to a striking mountain that stands out as a conspicuous landmark over a wide area. Studies of Migration-period caches and hoards have shown that these often occur in boundary zones between settled land and wilderness, and otherwise adjacent to water, bog, mountain or scree (Hedeager 1999a; Wiker 2000:124–39). I have consequently regarded this find as a cache (Ch. 4.2.2.8).

The Fonnås brooch may represent a deposit made in a peripheral area or an 'outland' zone seen from the perspective of the Germanic/Norse settlement further south in the valley. Silver hoards of the Late Iron Age and Medieval Period are most commonly from boundary zones between Saami and Germanic/Norse areas (Bergstøl 2008:103–4; Hansen and Olsen 2004:82–5). In this context, therefore, it is of interest that a Late Iron-age hoard has been found further north along the valley system that runs north-eastwards from Fonnås (at Undset) (Bergstøl 2008:96–7). The location in a boundary area up against the mountain, and the association with a geographical 'landmark' such as Fonnås Mountain, may indicate that this find is a religious deposit (Hedeager 1999a; Wiker 2000:123–7). The brooch also has a runic inscription on the back, which may have made it particularly 'magical' (Andrén 1991:249–50; Axboe 1991:191; Hedeager 1999b:230; Røstad 2018:84–8).

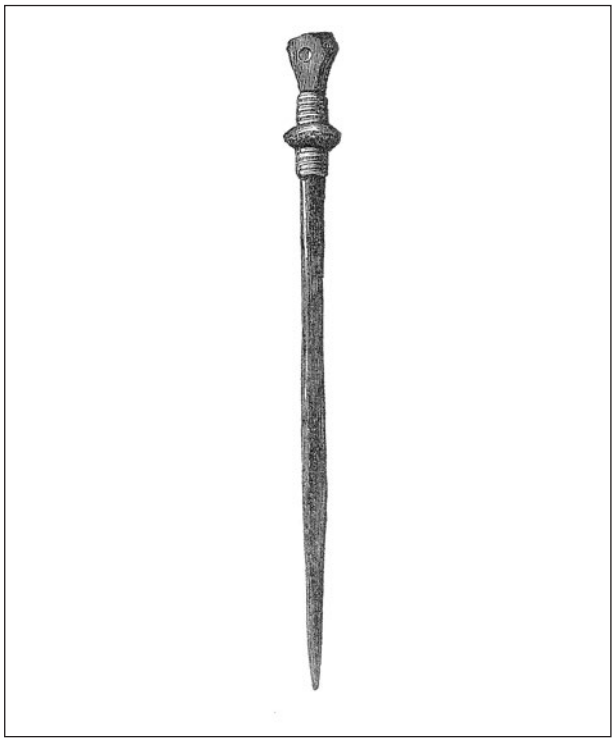


Figure 7.1 *Dress pin from Österbotten of the same or similar type as that found in Mortensnes grave 145, after Aspelin (1880:fig. 1262; T36482).*

At the same time, it is possible that the find should be understood in terms of the expression of an incipient process of creolization (cf. Bergstøl 2004; 2008; Hansen and Olsen 2004:107), by representing the adoption of a Germanic/Norse costume habit within Saami culture. Several scholars have noted that Saami and Germanic/Norse pre-Christian beliefs have some clearly similar elements, and the practice of religion could have been a social field in which these two cultures met and which made it easier to pass through an ethnic shift (Bergstøl 2004:14, 18; Hansen and Olsen 2004:108–9; Price 2002:275–8, 324; Solli 2002:169–90). Relief brooches

15 C15066: Hippesbygda – cruciform brooch; C12280: Skrautval – relief brooch.
16 C5700: Kvalen/kvålen – cruciform brooch.
17 T5310: Grøte – cruciform brooch; T3880: Rise – conical brooch; T18757: Vang – conical brooches.

with zoomorphic art have also been interpreted as having been used by *vǫlur* or shamans within Germanic society (Magnus 1995:39; 1999b:167, 170–1; Wiker 2000:83–4; cf. Ch. 6.3). A creolization specifically of the shamans of the South Saami area has already been proposed, and particular importance has been attached to cross-dressing. This involved the shamans breaking the gender boundaries concerning dress by using both gender-specific female and male dress-accessories. Cross-dressing is a practice linked to these religious specialists that is understood to derive from Germanic/Norse culture (Bergstøl 2004:14; Solli 2002:176–8). Might the Fonnås brooch have belonged to a religious specialist, a shaman who was practising within both Saami and Germanic/Norse communities?

There are also certain finds from the early Merovingian Period from relatively peripheral zones of the interior. A conical brooch was found in the south of Ljørdalen in the eastern part of Trysil,[18] an area that can be classified as 'outland' in relation to the agrarian settlement of both the Migration Period and the Merovingian Period (Bergstøl 2008:118–23; Brøgger 1942:20–2). This is a stray find with no further details of its find context, making interpretation difficult. From its location it ought perhaps to be best understood as conveying a Germanic/Norse-Saami contact. Another find that has a clearer link to Saami culture is the already noted hoard from Vilhelmina in Lappland. Here, as already outlined, five conical brooches were found at a Saami 'camp' site (Saami *goatte*: cf. Chs. 3.2.3 and 4.3.1.4), and it has been argued that this find should be regarded as a Saami hoard (Serning 1960:153–4). The find is dated to c. AD 700, however, on the basis of association with oval brooches and beads. A stray find from an unknown location in Norrland[19] may also represent an 8th-century hoard of the same form, comprising two conical brooches, together with oval brooches and beads (cf. Ch. 4.3.1.4), but, because the find context and circumstances are unknown, in this case the interpretation has to remain quite uncertain (Serning 1960:163–4). An intriguing detail in this connection is the fact that conical brooches are also found in Finland in the Merovingian Period (cf. Ch. 4.3.1.2). As is known, eastern brooches that are predominantly from Finland and the Baltic zone appear in Saami contexts in northern Norway in the Viking Period (Schanche 2000:213–14; Solberg 2000:224; Zachrisson 1997:206–7). Finds of eastern Viking-period jewellery have also been made in the South Saami area, for instance in certain hunting-ground burials and hoards (Zachrisson 1997:206–8). Could the conical brooches in the Vilhelmina find, and the other possible hoard from Norrland, represent the primary stage of this tradition? If the conical brooches from these finds in northern Sweden had come from Finland, this would serve to explain why the decoration of these brooches differs from what is typical on Norwegian brooches (cf. Ch. 4.3.1.1).

The Vilhelmina find and the find of unknown provenance in Norrland cannot, however, be considered in the context of the dress fashion of phase 1 of the Merovingian Period since, as noted, the deposits are later in date, and there is no basis for determining whether or not the brooches had been used on clothing in the Saami area in the period under investigation in this study (although that is certainly not inconceivable, since they may have been circulating amongst a Saami or creolized Saami-Germanic/Norse population before they were deposited). Various other finds of jewellery, by contrast, such as the two finds of brooches noted from outland areas in Hedmark (Fonnås and Ljørdalen),[20] may have been in use on clothing in the Saami area during their main period of use, like the bead sets that are found in hunting-ground burials. These two brooch-finds are dated, respectively, to phase D2b of the Migration Period and phase 1 of the Merovingian Period.[21] The finds may possibly be associable with the process of creolization that was under way in part of the South Saami areas around the end of the Migration Period and the beginning of the Merovingian Period, when individual cultural features were taken from the Germanic/Norse culture and adopted in Saami culture, where, by being relocated in a different cultural context, they contributed to the formation of a new cultural entity (cf. above). The use of Germanic/Norse costume expressions may, like agriculture and hunting-ground burials, have been one such feature. It is possible that the non-Saami items of jewellery from Varanger, discussed above, should be interpreted in a similar way.

In general, then, we see that in the interior of the main Scandinavian peninsula there were relatively few amongst the Germanic/Norse population who manifested group-affiliation through the employment of dress-accessories (at least the types that are examined

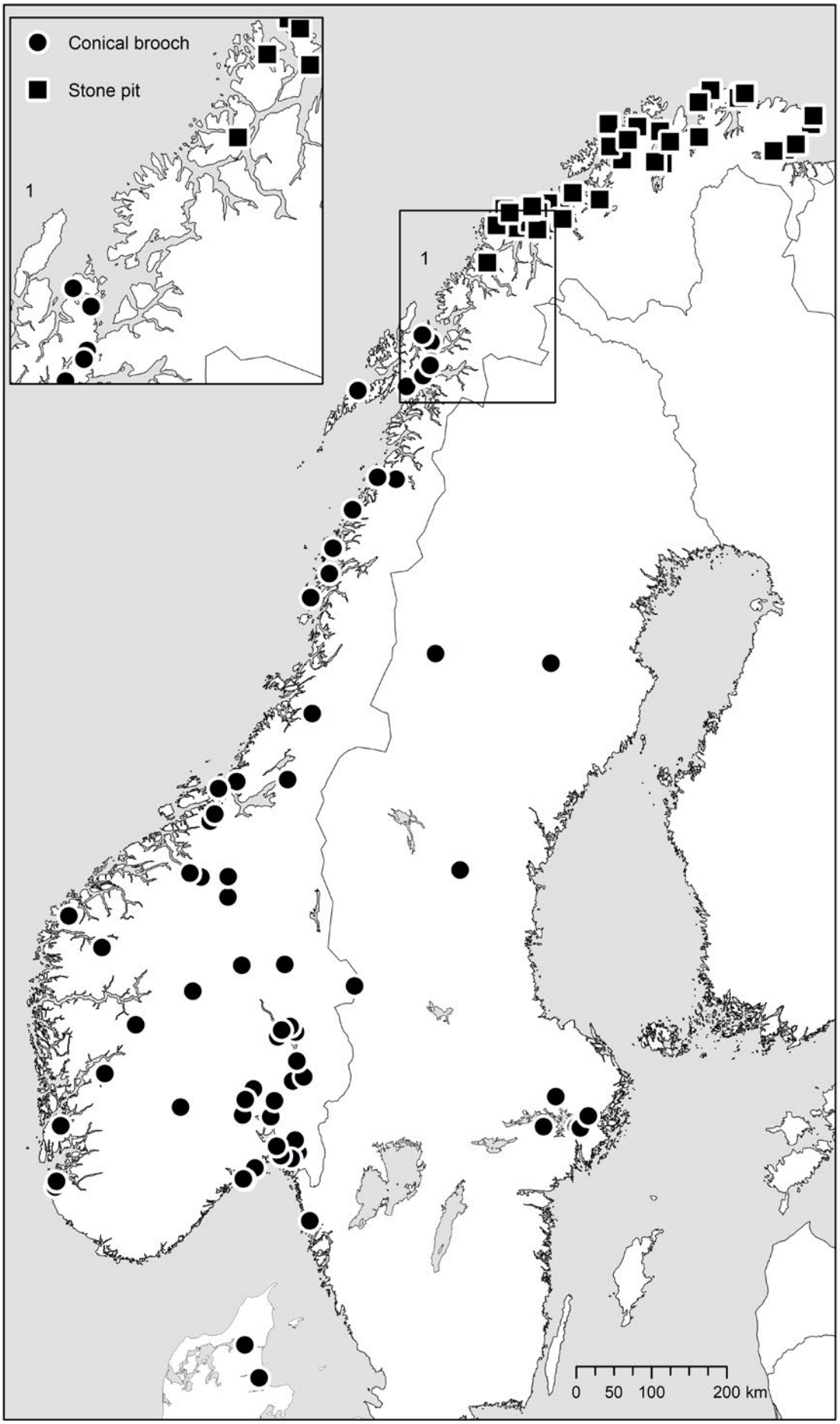
18 C17166: Nordgården, Ljørdalen Søndre, Trysil k., Hedmark.
19 Unnumbered: Norrland.
20 Together with the finding of a relief brooch at Rovaniemi, Finland, which has been noted.
21 The Rovaniemi find, too, is dated to phase D2b.

here). This was especially the case in the Migration Period, as has been noted. Concurrently, some individuals in the Saami areas may have adopted Germanic types of jewellery, something that may be linked to a process of creolization that was underway around the end of the Migration Period and the beginning of the Merovingian Period. The predominantly coastal distribution of the items of jewellery may indicate that the need for signalling ethnic affiliation in opposition to 'cultural others' was greatest in these coastal zones. The distribution may, in other words, reflect the fact that ethnic costume marking by means of dress-accessories, in respect of the two primary groups Saami and Germanic/Norse, was not needed or wanted in the interior in this period. That might, for instance, be due to the fact that the mutual economic and social dependency between these two populations was so substantial at this time that the ethnic differences were under-communicated. Alternatively, the ethnic and cultural positioning in respect of how economic and social transactions/negotiations were conducted in this period was clear, so that no material manifestation of the cultural difference was asked for. This could imply that the economic and/or political situation was not characterized by competition for access to resources, so it was unnecessary to mark the ethnic lines of division (cf. Barth 1969; cf. Chs. 1.2.2 and 2.1).

This view is modified a little by the distribution of relief brooches of the northern ridge-foot group at the end of the Migration Period (phase D2b), which signal a common identity amongst (some of) the population in interior areas of Trøndelag and the Storsjö district of Jämtland (cf. Chs. 4.2.2.7 and 7.1.1). The manifestation of this common identity did not necessarily only function as a way of defining a contrast with other Germanic/Norse groupings but could equally have expressed a shared Germanic/Norse identity in opposition to a Saami population in the intervening and surrounding areas. This trend towards ethnic/cultural costume manifestation in interior areas can be followed through into the beginning of the Merovingian Period in the distribution of conical brooches from the Mjøsa districts centred around Hamar, Hundorp in Gudbrandsdalen, and otherwise in interior (mountain or forest) districts and valley-systems such as Oppdal in Sør-Trøndelag, Koppang in *Østerdalen*, Tinn in Telemark, and Lockne in Jämtland (cf. Chs. 4.3.1.2 and 7.1.1).

Another factor that may be cited in order to add nuance to the picture of a clearer cultural positioning contrasting Germanic/Norse and Saami population is that of the *rock pits* of northern Norway. Rock pits (*hellegroper*) are rectangular or oval, rock-lined pits that occur on the shoreline in North Troms and Finnmark. The pits are dated from c. AD 100 to c. AD 1000. The use of rock pits intensified from the 4th century onwards, and there is a particularly large number from c. AD 600–900. The rock pits were linked to the production of oil (tallow) from whale and seal blubber. This oil can be used for lighting and heating, greasing and the impregnation of, inter alia, wood and rope, and in leather production. It was therefore a very important commodity right up to modern times. The distribution area of the pits, however, lies immediately north of the Germanic/Norse settlement zone. The southern border of the rock-pit area coincides with a border to the area in which Russians and Karelians demanded taxation from the Saami in the Late Middle Ages. On the basis of the location of the rock pits, their close association with Saami settlement evidence (small circular turf buildings and/or tents with a central hearth and a distinctively 'Saami' partition of the floor), together with historical accounts, it is usual to infer that tallow production was a Saami speciality and a traded commodity in the Iron Age (Hansen and Olsen 2004:69–77).

The phase in which these pits were in use is coincident with the consolidation of the Germanic/Norse chieftainships based on, amongst other things, farming settlements in Nordland and South Troms, and the greatest concentration of rock pits occurs along the northern side of the Lyngenfjord, right up against the border with the Germanic/Norse settlement area (Hansen and Olsen 2004:fig. 9). This distribution pattern has been interpreted in terms of the pits having been used in the course of this period as territorial and ethnic markers within the Saami region. The dense concentration of pits to the south of the North Saami area is taken as evidence that the marking of rights to the resource which the oil represents was of the greatest importance in relation to the Germanic/Norse population. It has also been argued that the southerly concentration of the rock pits was due to practical factors such as proximity to trading partners in the Germanic/Norse population (Hansen and Olsen 2004:69–77). Inger Storli (2006:38) has argued, in this respect, that Saami culture represented specialist knowhow concerning natural resources, something on which the upper level of the Norse population was dependent in order to achieve and consolidate its leading position. In addition to the exploitation or production of tallow, furs, bone, horn and the like, prestige goods such as walrus tusks, down and furs were particularly important. The relationship of dependency promoted, according to Storli, a clearer and respectful ethnic interaction between the groups.



Map 7.3 *The distribution of stone pits and conical brooches. The spots for stone pits are taken from Askeladden (accessed 20 June 2014).*

If we consider the rock pits alongside the ethnic signalling that was practised through the use of jewellery or dress as shown above, it does emerge that the ethnic manifestation of the two groups is congruent to a certain extent. The use of rock pits increased gradually from the 4th century onwards, with an intense phase of use from around AD 600. The study of the jewellery has shown that the ethnic manifestation in burials in the Germanic area also intensified throughout the first half of the Migration Period, reached a peak in phase D2a, and carried on through to the end of the period. Cultural/ethnic costume signalling in the Germanic/Norse zone continued in the start of the Merovingian Period, when it achieved a relatively wide extent in northern Norway, as well as in the interior regions of Sør-Trøndelag and in *Østlandet*. At this date, however, manifestation by means of dress-accessories was transformed, so that regional types, on the whole, disappeared, to be replaced by a single 'principal type', the conical brooch, over practically the whole of Norway. This meant increased focus on a *common* Germanic/Norse identity in northern Scandinavia (cf. Chs. 6.5 and 7.1.1). In northern Norway there is also a marked concentration of conical brooches along the east side of Hinnøya, at Tjeldsund and Lødingen, on sites facing the mainland towards the postulated boundary between the Germanic/Norse and the Saami areas (Map 7.3; cf. also Vinsrygg 1979:fig. 15, and Hansen and Olsen 2004:fig 10; see also Baardsen 2014:63, who also draws attention to the concentration of finds in this area). Conical brooches cluster along the coast of Helgeland, too. There thus appears to have been a reinforcement of the ethnic borderlines between a Saami and a Germanic/Norse population in northern Norway at the beginning of the Merovingian Period. The clearer marking of the ethnic boundaries in the north may be attributable to increasing pressure on resources in this part of the country. This must, once again, be viewed in the light of the centralization of power and the change in the political situation (cf. Ch. 7.1.1).

Greater pressure on resources as a consequence of political centralization has also been proposed as a contributory factor in the creolization of the Saami population in the inland areas further south. This is visible, inter alia, by the introduction of farms and iron-production sites in former Saami hunting grounds (Bergstøl 2004:14, 20). There also appears to have been an increase in the number of hunting-ground burials in the South Saami area from the transition to the Merovingian Period onwards (Bergstøl 2004:7, 167; 2008:129; Hansen and Olsen 2004:104–7), something which is interpretable in terms of greater Saami territorial marking. As I have shown above, ethnic costume manifestation accelerated in these inland areas from the final phase of the Migration Period and the beginning of the Merovingian Period. The transition to the Merovingian Period is also characterized by a change in the context of ethnic negotiation between Saami and Germanic/Norse populations in both the north and the inland areas further south in the main Scandinavian peninsula. The consequence of this change was, however, rather different in the north from in the south: while in both areas there was a growing differentiation of the two populations, with more conspicuous marking of the ethnic boundaries, it would appear that the new circumstances led, in some cases in the south, to a transformation or creolization of an earlier Saami hunting population. It assimilated more with the Germanic population in its symbolic modes of expression or language of identity, bringing with it a partial erasure of the ethnic boundary lines in certain fields (Bergstøl 2004:18; 2008:185, 228–9).

There was, then, a maintenance of distinction between Germanic/Norse and Saami culture both in the Migration Period and at the beginning of the Merovingian Period, but while the circumstances of this ethnic interaction appear to have been clarified at the beginning of the Migration Period, political centralization led to a change in the context of negotiations at the end of the period and during the transition to the Merovingian Period. The reinforcement of and reference to a common Germanic/Norse-related identity over much of northern Scandinavia/Norway through female costume (cf. Ch. 4.3.1) may also have contributed to the changes in ethnic interactions between the Saami and the Germanic/Norse populations. The new social context at the beginning of the Merovingian Period cleared the way for a more fundamental transformation of identities, not only in the case of the Germanic/Norse groupings (cf. Ch. 7.1.1) but also in the case of Saami groupings.

7.1.3 Cultural connections to the south and west: Scandinavia, England and the Continent

The Migration Period is characterized by extensive connections between Scandinavia, England and the Continent, represented, amongst other ways, through the dress-accessories of the period. Several of the types of jewellery that have been examined here occur, as noted, not only in Scandinavia but also in a major area of central and northern Europe which includes, for instance, Anglo-Saxon England and parts of what are now Germany, the Netherlands, Belgium and France

(cf. Ch. 1). This holds for cruciform brooches, relief brooches with rectangular and semi-circular headplates and rhomboidal footplates, and clasps (cf. Ch. 4.2.1–3). Other types of dress-accessory that have not been investigated in this study, such as S-shaped brooches, small equal-armed brooches, bird-shaped / so-called (profile) bird-of-prey brooches, and disc brooches with Style II decoration, are found both in Scandinavia and on the Continent. Previous research has demonstrated a tendency towards the parallel development of some jewellery-types – as far as the shape of the objects goes – in the European region: this is the case, for instance, with details in the actual form of relief brooches on either side of the North Sea in this period (Hines 1997:232); and a tendency towards a parallel development of the footplate on Continental and Scandinavian silver-sheet and relief brooches, and their decoration etc. (Åberg 1922:41–68). The shaping of cruciform brooches both in Norway and in England, with continually more 'florid' or 'baroque' shapes, has also been picked out as a parallel, although the Anglo-Saxon brooches develop much further in this direction than their Scandinavian counterparts (Hines 1984:250–3; Mortimer 1990:71, 155, 170–1; Schetelig 1906:106–12).

As the form and distribution of these jewellery-types show, there is clear evidence of recurrent or unbroken contact between these diverse areas of Europe through the Migration Period and the early Merovingian Period. What is the significance of this contact in relation to dress-accessories and the presentation of identity through the medium of costume at this time? I shall attempt to discuss this in more detail by comparing the distribution patterns in Scandinavia that have emerged from the foregoing study with the concurrent development in England. This discussion will attach particular weight to the relationship between Norway and England, since these two areas have a relatively similar situation as regards find circumstances and also share most common types of jewellery. Another area that will be brought into the discussion is Bavaria. There are studies from several cemeteries there which makes it possible to compare the distribution patterns in this area with the situation in Scandinavia and in England.

Scandinavia and England not only share certain common artefact-types. On both sides of the North Sea there was a surge in the range of forms and variants of dress-accessory, and a powerful increase in the quantity of items, in phase D2a. The sequence of development in these two areas also proceeded to a reduction in both the number of items and the range of forms towards the end of the Migration Period, in phase D2b (Hines 1993a:92, 94–5).[22] The development at the beginning of the following period, the Merovingian Period, can also be seen as paralleled. In both England and Scandinavia the transition between the periods is marked by a replacement of certain types of jewellery by others.[23] Moreover, it was, to some extent, the same types that went out of use, among them clasps and relief brooches. However, the new forms of jewellery differed in the two areas, thus distinguishing the one from the other. This is comparable with what happened *within* Scandinavia, where new types of jewellery being used in one district could be very different from new types in another. However, some common features can still be found on both sides of the North Sea: dress pins were used both in Scandinavia and in Anglo-Saxon England (including pins with polyhedrical heads: see Lethbridge 1936:fig. 4C.1; Waller 1996:48; Ørsnes 1966:164–5, 185) and so were small round brooches. Both Norway and England also see a marked reduction in the number of furnished graves, resulting in fewer finds of items of jewellery overall when compared with the Migration Period. In both areas there are also very few finds that combine both Migration- and Merovingian-period dress-accessories (Geake 1997:123–4; Hines 1997:231, 302–3). The course of development in the two areas thus appears to be in lockstep as regards qualitative,

22 Hines equates the intensive phase with phase VWZ III and the following phase of reduction with phase VWZ IV. These can be treated as phases D2a and D2b respectively (see Ch. 3.1).

23 The periodization of Anglo-Saxon archaeology is not as consistent as that of the Iron Age in Scandinavia (Hines 2013:27–30). The most clearly defined phase is an 'Early Anglo-Saxon Period' characterized by regular burial of the dead with grave goods, a practice which continued to the last quarter of the 7th century. The Early Anglo-Saxon Period is thus similar in date-range to the whole period covered in this book. Closer to phase 1 of the Norwegian/Scandinavian Merovingian Period is Geake's 'Conversion Period' (Geake 1997), although, as the name implies, Geake assumed a starting date of c. AD 600 for this period, coordinated with the arrival of the mission led by Augustine in Kent in the year 596. Geake also saw conversion to Christianity as a *symptom* of a deeper cultural Romanization (as described in this section) rather than as a *causal factor* in material cultural changes. Leeds's 'Final Phase' (Leeds 1936:96–114; Boddington 1990) is also comparable, and has been an influential concept, but Leeds defined his Final Phase in relation to Kent and mistakenly assumed a chronological correlation with other regions of Anglo-Saxon England where there was actually a dislocation of half-a-century if not more. The term still causes a great deal of confusion. The start of phase 1 of the Merovingian Period can be aligned most closely with the transition from phase AS-FB to AS-FC in the modelled female burial sequence for Anglo-Saxon England (Hines and Bayliss eds. 2013). The corresponding transition in the male sequence is that from AS-MB to AS-MC. (John Hines, pers. comm.).

quantitative and contextual aspects of the distribution of the items of jewellery.

There is, meanwhile, one more common feature in the distribution patterns of jewellery in Scandinavia and Anglo-Saxon England. In the Anglo-Saxon area similar trends have been observed as those demonstrated for Scandinavia (cf. Ch. 5.1–3) with regard to how the geographical distribution of the jewellery develops during the Migration Period and into the beginning of the Merovingian Period (Dickinson 1991:55–60; Hines 1997; Mortimer 1990; 1993:122; Nielsen 1997b; Røstad 2001; 2003; Sørensen 1999:71–7; Åberg 1926:29–31; 1953:30). The Anglo-Saxon area of England can be subdivided into three 'areas of concentration' that are distinguished by their use of specific types or variants of jewellery. These areas have traditionally been labelled 'Anglian', 'Saxon', and 'Jutish' or 'Kentish', on the basis of comparability between the distribution maps and Bede's account of where these three groups settled when they invaded Britain around the middle of the 5th century AD (Hills 1979:313; Hines 1984:6–14). The ethnic attribution or identification of the dress-accessories has, however, been a matter of debate, and recent research has led to recognition of the fact that the ethnic situation was far more complex than the historical account might lead one to believe (Hills 1979:313, 316; Hines 1984; 1993a; 1994; 1995; Martin 2015; Nielsen 1997b; Pohl 1997; Røstad 2001; 2003).

The differentiation of these three areas, moreover, is *not* identifiable in the first phase of the Migration Period. The regions in fact gradually become distinctive from the late 5th century on to the end of the Migration Period. This separation comes about through a *process of polarization*, which results in an increasing marking of difference between these areas. This was brought about primarily through the use of jewellery, a component of costume linked to the female dress (cf. Ch. 2.2.1). The process of polarization can be interpreted as an expression of how people from many different cultural backgrounds, including some from Denmark, Sweden and Norway, and from various parts of the Continent (probably including, for instance, Franks and Frisians as well as Angles and Saxons), alongside a Romano-British population, participated in the formation of new, regionally associated, group identities (Hamerow 2005; Hines 1995; Røstad 2001; 2003; see also Martin 2015, coming to similar conclusions). At the beginning of the phase AS-FC, equivalent to the Merovingian Period, most of the types of jewellery that had helped to distinguish the areas from one another were discontinued, and the same types of jewellery came into use over practically the entire area of early Anglo-Saxon England (Carver 1999:25, 30–6; Geake 1997:123, 126, 130, 133; Hines 1995:83; 1997:302–3; Hyslop 1963:190–1; Vierck 1978a:255–6). This resulted in the erasure of the boundaries between the three areas.[24] This change may represent a shift in focus and mentality in accordance with which the construction of the foundations of a common Anglo-Saxon identity became important (Geake 1997:125–36; Hines 1994; 1995:83; Røstad 2001; 2003).

If we compare the development in the Anglo-Saxon area with the changes that have been demonstrated in the context of Scandinavia (cf. Chs. 4.2.1–4.3.1 and 5.1–3), it transpires that the differentiation of the three regions within early Anglo-Saxon England began around the same time as did that of the massive marking of regional groupings in Scandinavia. The process of polarization in England was underway and grew in intensity in the last quarter of the 5th century – around the date that Style I was introduced – and on through the Migration Period (Røstad 2001:63–70, 80, 108): that is, from around the beginning of phase D2a and on into phase D2b. The most intensive phase of marking was, as has been noted, simultaneous in both areas. The manifestation of regional groupings thus took place in parallel on both sides of the North Sea in the Migration Period, and it was also to some degree the same types of dress-accessory that were used for this marking: relief brooches, clasps and cruciform brooches (but also, in England, Anglo-Saxon types of jewellery that do not occur in Scandinavia, such as 'saucer brooches'). The changes in the geographical distribution patterns found at the transition to the Merovingian Period also have much in common. Distribution at the beginning of the Merovingian Period is characterized in both areas by the fact that common types of jewellery or costume were in use in areas which one could formerly differentiate through their use of different types and/or variants of dress-accessory. The marking now came primarily to reflect group identities that were shared amongst populations over larger areas: i.e. super-regional group identities. Similarly to what we see in Norway, in Anglo-Saxon England the foundations of a super-regional identity, cutting across political units, were constructed. At the end of the 6th and around the beginning of the 7th centuries, contemporary with the advance of costume

24 Some reservations have to be made in the case of Kent, where in addition to the common Anglo-Saxon types there were certain distinctively 'Kentish' types of jewellery of the late 6th century (Geake 1997:123–5; Leeds's 'Kentish phase' – 1936:59–78).

manifestation of the super-regional identity, England was divided into a range of minor kingdoms (Bassett 1989:26; Blair 1977:27–8; Hamerow 2005; Yorke 1990:9–15, 157–62). These political borders, however, are *not* visible in the archaeological evidence of jewellery (Geake 1997:126, 130, 133; Hines 1995:83).

Hines (1993a:88) drew attention to the existence in the Anglo-Saxon area of a desire for 'material-cultural sameness…with folk 400 miles across the sea in Norway' in the Migration Period (cf. Ch. 2.2.1). This need appears, as Hines stressed, to have been related particularly to clothing or costume. In both areas, costume functioned as a medium for the manifestation of identity (cf. Chs. 1, 2 and 6.2–6.6; for England, see Dickinson 1991:40; Geake 1997:107; Hines 1993a; 1994:52–4; 1995; 1997; Martin 2015; Røstad 2001; 2003). It may concurrently appear as if the need for similarity in costume was associated with a level of identity that was shared between these areas, and that this expressed the existence of a common North Germanic/northern European identity. This identity was supported by the use of the same artefact-types, such as cruciform brooches, clasps, and relief brooches with rectangular headplates and cross-shaped footplates.

A potential North Germanic/northern European identity of this kind could take different forms in different contexts and with different populations. This can be illustrated through, for instance, the distribution of cruciform brooches and of clasps in north-western Europe, which are partially but not entirely congruent. When the courses of development in this period in Scandinavia and in England are compared, as already noted, strikingly parallel trajectories appear. Even though development proceeded similarly in the two areas, this does not mean that it took place at the same time – in the sense that the absolute chronology is the same. I would propose, nonetheless, that this parallel development in Scandinavia and the Anglo-Saxon area cannot be accidental, but must be due to the fact that the situations in the separate regions exercised reciprocal influence on one another through the ongoing contacts that have been demonstrated between these areas. This is valid whether or not there was a chronological 'dislocation' between them. The ethnic discourse and the negotiation of cultural identity between these areas appear to have been maintained throughout this period. The cultural or ethnic costume dialogue was influenced by the cultural encounters that took place, and at the same time through changes in social structure in both areas. Both these factors contributed to a gradual change of the context of ethnic negotiation.

The comparison of the distribution patterns of Norwegian and Anglo-Saxon jewellery thus shows that there is a connection in terms of how costume manifestations in these two areas developed in the course of the period under investigation. An ethnic study of several cemeteries in Bavaria (Hakenbeck 2004; 2006) reveals that there were similar tendencies in respect of how female dress manifested ethnic group-membership in this distant (from a Scandinavian viewpoint) region too. I shall now therefore explore the situation in Bavaria in greater detail.

At the beginning of the Migration Period (which means around AD 450), the situation in Bavaria was rather different from that in Scandinavia in that the range of jewellery and dress-accessories was characterized by a varied selection of types with a range of different ethnic associations – including 'Roman', 'Scandinavian', and Frankish/Alemannic and Thuringian associations. In the course of the period, the typical four-brooch costume (which ideally would include four brooches, but did not always do so) came into use. This form of dress, together with Frankish/Alemannic types of dress-accessory, dominated the remainder of the Migration Period, but there is nevertheless quite a large presence of other 'ethnic' types of jewellery. These, however, were practically always worn in accordance with the local practice in respect of the positioning of the items on the costume. At the same time a *local identity* was marked in two different areas within Bavaria, through how the brooches were positioned on the dress (as noted in Ch. 2.3 and illustrated in Fig. 2.3): either in a vertical line, or with two symmetrical pairs placed horizontally one above the other. Close to a date which coincides with the transition to the Merovingian Period in Scandinavia, the different local four-brooch costumes were superseded by a common single-brooch costume over the entire region. At this point the number of graves containing jewellery also falls, and the items of jewellery become more simple in form. The bow brooches of the Migration Period give way to round disc brooches. At the same time, Byzantine influence also appears in the jewellery fashion. This development was gradual, but the change involved the distinguishing of local or regional groupings during the Migration Period, and emphasis upon a super-regional 'Bavarian' identity at the beginning of the phase that can be considered equivalent with the Merovingian Period of Scandinavia (Hakenbeck 2004; 2006:121–42, 159–61).

The course of development in Bavaria is remarkably similar to that in England at the same period (cf. above), and the Anglo-Saxon distribution patterns have, as has been shown, major similarities with those

in Scandinavia. Something, however, that differentiates between Scandinavia on the one hand and England and Bavaria on the other is the fact that the latter areas adopted forms of jewellery that were 'imported' or which imitate/copy jewellery found in a different area geographically and at an earlier date. These are used throughout the Migration Period. On the basis of a mixture of types of jewellery of different geographical origins, and the combination and positioning of the items on the costume, it has been argued that the dress-accessories in Bavaria and England allude to the culturally composite populations' (real and/or legendary) cultural and 'ethnic' areas of origin (Hakenbeck 2006:226; Hamerow 2005:268–70; Hines 1984; 1993a:92; 1994; 1995; Røstad 2001:79; 2003:13). No similar pattern can be demonstrated in Scandinavia, however. Nevertheless, this difference cannot be accepted uncritically as evidence that the populations on the Continent and in England were polyethnic, or multicultural, while the inhabitants of Scandinavia had a homogeneous demographic background. The difference may, instead, manifest a distinction regarding which cultural and material features were emphasized when the different populations alluded to their cultural backgrounds.

A polyethnic background appears from such a perspective as having been of greater significance on the Continent and in England than in Scandinavia. In both England and Bavaria, these types of jewellery with diverse 'ethnic' connotations were used over a period of around a century, starting in c. AD 450/475 (Hakenbeck 2006:226; Røstad 2001:79–80; 2003:12–13). This implies that the material ethnic manifestation had some significance in the different cultural constellations. The continuing emphasis on cultural background through the use of the range of dress-accessories can be interpreted as showing that cultural and ethnic association with particular areas was socially important.

Another phenomenon common to England and Bavaria (and indeed the Frankish area in general: Hakenbeck 2006:99–106; Owen-Crocker 2004:128; Schulze 1976; Vierck 1981) is a form of Byzantine or 'classical' influence on the range of jewellery of the early Merovingian Period.[25] This is different from the situation in Scandinavia, where there is no or very little such influence.[26] The influence has been read by some as a sign of a Roman 'renaissance' (Geake 1997) while others would emphasise Byzantine inspiration. Irrespective of how the details of this cultural manifestation took shape, it is a matter of importance that this classical-Byzantine affiliation seems to come into focus from around the beginning of the Merovingian Period (Geake 1997; Hakenbeck 2006:225; Hines 1995:83; Hyslop 1963; Owen-Crocker 2004:128; Schulze 1976:149–50, 157; Vierck 1981:65–70, 83–94). Perhaps we can here glimpse the germ of the cultural distancing that gradually emerged between Scandinavia on the one hand and England and the Continent on the other. This distancing appears to have intensified from around the year 700, and continued into the Viking Period (cf. Myhre 2003:93; Nielsen 1991:147, 151). The contrast could express there having been a cultural realignment towards Byzantine culture on the Continent and in England, while Scandinavia distanced itself – by *not* adopting the same cultural features (Owen-Crocker 2004:128). It is possible that this Byzantine influence can also be linked to the whole Byzantine cultural complex, including Christianity, and to the close connection there was at this date between the Church and royal houses over much of the Continent and in England (Blair 1977:211; Geake 1997:133–6; Hakenbeck 2006:113–44; Scull 1993:76; Yorke 1990:173–5; 2003:187–95). The cultural dispositions developed, in this respect and others, in different directions in Scandinavia and in the other two areas discussed here, England and Bavaria, and this is possibly what the evidence of the jewellery reflects.

The social or historical context was not the same in Scandinavia, England and on the Continent. It is still possible to identify similar tendencies in a political development that was greatly affected by rivalry between several petty kingdoms, through which some gained hegemony only to lose it again, with the trend moving in the direction of ever greater centralization of power (Bassett 1989:26; Blair 1977:27; Geary 2003:136–9; Hamerow 2005:280–8; Stenton 2001:32–94; Yorke 1990:9–15, 157–62). The comparison of the

25 This applies to other artefact-types as well, for instance Byzantine luxury goods and prestige objects (imported or imitations) that were adopted by leading households all over Europe (Pohl 1991:48).

26 Vierck (1981) argues that there was such influence in Scandinavia, but I believe there is a fundamental difference in this from what is seen on the Continent and in England, since it is far less conspicuous in the range of jewellery. Some Byzantine influence can, however, be said to emerge in the southern Scandinavian 'bead collars' of the early Merovingian Period (see, e.g., Vierck 1981:Abb. 17,1). Vierck (1981:99) referred to Arrhenius (1960b) in connection with the Scandinavian bead sets, but Arrhenius (1960b:75–6, 83–7) referred to Anglo-Saxon parallels for specific types of beads or brooches. John Ljungkvist (2010) has demonstrated the presence of some artefact-types that are attributed to Byzantine influence in Scandinavia. The finds are however quite few and sporadic in the first phase of the Merovingian Period and are primarily restricted to the Mälar region.

distributions of the jewellery in the three different areas provides insight into the complex ethnic and cultural *interplay* which, in all probability, was found over a wide European context in the Migration Period and at the beginning of the Merovingian Period. At one level there was local or regional negotiation of group identity between different areas within Scandinavia; at another level identity negotiations could generate communication of cultural affiliation, and of cultural distancing, in a trans-regional discourse, and this could extend across the North Sea and probably also to areas to the south on the Continent. The distribution patterns indicate that there were dialogues of identity at such a trans-regional level. The cultural and/or ethnic groupings were reproduced and transformed through participation in this multidimensional social discourse, and the diverse categories must be understood on the basis of the dynamic which the constantly maintained communication through costume brought about.

7.2 SUMMARY: CHANGING DIALOGUES OF IDENTITY

The investigation of the social and historical contexts of the distribution patterns of the jewellery has revealed factors that show how the female costume played a functional role as part of a comprehensive and complex discourse concerning identity. This discourse ran in parallel at many levels. At one level, there were wider internal ethnic discourses in parts of Scandinavia: for instance with respect to the relationship between Saami and Germanic/Norse culture. In this context, the significance of costume manifestation appears to have grown from the end of the Migration Period and around the transition into the Merovingian Period, as the ethnic boundary lines between the different cultures seem to be emphasized more, or at least in a different way from before. It is possible, too, that costume was given a role in the formation of a hybrid or 'creolized' Saami-Germanic/Norse grouping within the South Saami area around this date. On another dimension, the negotiations were concerned with the reproduction of different local or regional groupings within the Germanic/Norse culture. The focus in the manifestation of these groups is continually changing, and yet certain 'core areas' appear to remain over longer periods: for instance Lofoten/Vesterålen and the Helgeland coasts, Jæren, the Mälar region, and Jutland. Parallel with this persistent communication of local and regional ethnic group membership, several super-regional or pan-Scandinavian identities are manifested in various ways throughout the Migration Period. Moreover, adding in the distribution patterns of Anglo-Saxon and Bavarian jewellery indicates that more extensive European connections were involved in the experience and signalling through costume of cultural affiliation and distance, in both the Migration Period and the early Merovingian Period. In the case of this latter line of connection, one may, however, note a hint of a 'parting of the ways' at the beginning of the Merovingian Period in that the identity that was articulated by means of jewellery associated with female dress in several parts of western Europe (including England and Bavaria: cf. above) made play of classical or Byzantine models.

The exploration of the historical context shows that there was also a dynamic between the formation of units of political power and the (re)production of ethnic and/or cultural groupings throughout the period under study. This does not mean, though, that there was a fixed or constant relationship between these different social categories, resulting in them remaining identical phenomena vis-à-vis one another. The relationship is expressed rather in political development appearing, in some cases, to have affected the cultural manifestations. This happened through the formation of political units influencing or contributing to the shaping of cultural or ethnic groupings. This sort of dynamic can be discerned in the contexts of southern and western Norway, where local and regional socio-political groupings, which were apparently already present around the end of the Late Roman Iron Age and the transition to the Migration Period, only become ethnically 'meaningful', and effective and dominant in costume manifestations, in the two last phases of the Migration Period.[27] At the same time, it would appear that the systematic communication which was being maintained through costume manifestations was able in other cases to have a reciprocal impact on the political context, through ethno-cultural entities providing the foundations for the clustering of political constellations, as in Anglo-Saxon England (cf. Ch. 7.1.3 above) and in the 'Norwegian' context (cf. below). In both of these areas, it seems that a common, super-regional, cultural and/or ethnic identity was being formed at a date when the political situation was still dominated by the existence of a series of minor kingdoms.[28]

The spatial, contextual and chronological distribution patterns of the jewellery show that there was

27 Hakenbeck (2006:223) argues that a political consolidation in Bavaria influenced the formation of a common ethnic identity.
28 The same may be the case in Denmark, although the course of political development here is, as noted above, a matter of discussion.

probably *no* simple, linear development leading from a multiplicity of small 'tribes' with different identities to the clustering of larger areas through the assimilation of the various populations into a common cultural and political grouping. On the contrary: we can see the opposite sequence in the Migration Period in that the *beginning* of the period was characterized by the reinforcement or manifestation of group identities at a very general level where the identity – or, more precisely, the identities – that were expressed at various levels or steps and in different areas appear to be common over larger areas of Scandinavia. In the course of the period more and smaller regional and local groupings come to be distinguished in the jewellery evidence. This does not, however, exclude the possibility that such regional groupings were also in existence at the beginning of the Migration Period; rather that they were not articulated in the archaeological evidence of dress-accessories. Ingrid Ystgaard (2014:285, 296–8) has also shown that there was a similar development in the case of warfare of the period: in the Roman Iron Age and the beginning of the Migration Period, it was oriented to a super-regional level, while towards the end of the Migration Period it was marked more and more by regional and local struggles.

However, narrower regional groupings were emphasized in the medium of costume to a greater extent as the Migration Period went on, and the articulation of these reflects a shift in focus in terms of the communication of cultural and/or ethnic identity. The distribution patterns reflect the fact that mobility – social and geographical – apparently reached its zenith in phase D2a and gradually reduced over the course of phase D2b, when the groupings seem to have been consolidating (cf. Chs. 6.2–4 and 7.1.1, above). The growing emphasis on regional ethnic and/or cultural groupings may also be linked to a *politicization* of ethnicity that came about in the course of the Migration Period, when ethnic affiliation became an instrument for the achievement of political power over much of Europe (cf. Pohl 1998; Chs. 1.2.2 and 7.1.1). This politicization clearly appears, however, to have been linked to the warrior ideology and the growing multi-ethnic confederations (*Stammeverbände*: see Geary 1983; 2003; Hedeager 2000; Pohl 1998b; Pohl ed. 1998), while the use of costume in signalling that has been examined here is largely restricted to women. How should we understand that relationship? I shall discuss this in the concluding chapter (Ch. 8).

At the transition to the Merovingian Period, the situation was once more dominated by major cultural and ethnic groupings. This development may reflect a change in strategy concerning cultural distinction (cf. Pohl 1998b:5). After a period in which smaller regional groupings had consolidated, and therefore probably no longer needed to be articulated as assertively as they had been previously, super-regional identities gained new relevance in a changed political climate, in which the battle for hegemony grew more acute. Some of the groupings of the beginning of the Merovingian Period appear to coincide more or less with areas that at later dates would emerge as early Scandinavian states. Myhre (1982:112) pointed out that a common 'Norwegian' identity probably existed *before* Norway was unified into a political state. Might the distribution of conical brooches represent an early stage in the formation of a common 'Norwegian' identity of this kind? There is no one simple answer to that question, and the sequence of development was also more complex than has been presented here. To begin with, signalling by means of jewellery may, as noted, provide a medium for the presentation of one out of several identities that may be shared within a particular group of people at one level. The same group of people will not, however, necessarily share identities at *all* stages or levels. Secondly, the conclusions drawn here are primarily based upon the signalling of identity through selected dress-accessories that were first and foremost part of female costume. If we added other potential ethnic and/or cultural forms of manifestation, such as expressions of identity through the male costume of the period (cf. Ch. 6.7), weaponry or pottery (Engevik 2007), the picture would look different. Thirdly, a peep into the following periods, the later Merovingian Period and the Viking Period, would also probably serve to nuance any such interpretation. If items of jewellery were used for the manifestation of identity in these later times, as has been proposed (Magnus 2005), the standardization and homogeneity of design of jewellery over pretty much the whole of Scandinavia implies that the reconstruction of a common Scandinavian identity had returned to centre-stage.

The evidence of costume and jewellery suggests that social and cultural/ethnic identity in the Migration and Merovingian Periods was a protean or fluid phenomenon. The focus in the cultural and ethnic discourse is continually shifting throughout the periods. The costume manifestations make various groupings apparent – they come into view, disappear, and in some case re-appear (cf. Heather 1998) in what emerges as the continual negotiation and transformation of identities. From this perspective, later manifestations of a common 'Norwegian' identity might perhaps be said to relate to an identity that was already articulated in the early Merovingian Period through female costume via the use of conical brooches. This identity was shared at

the beginning of the Merovingian Period at one level by a population which was found primarily within an area that would later constitute Norway. 'Norwegian' identity would not, however, be the same at different times, since identities are subject to continuous change. Patrick Geary (2003:174) has expressed the situation in a telling way by quoting Heraclitus: 'One cannot step into the same river twice.'

I have argued that, as components of a costume, various combinations of dress-accessories were used for the *systematic communication of cultural similarity and difference* in the Migration Period and the beginning of the Merovingian Period, and that the attribution to categories that emerges in this way is continuously maintained, negotiated and changed through the activation of various levels of identity in particular social contexts. The social situation releases a mechanism or a focus opposed to specific cultural others, the communication of which is put into practice by means of participation in a sort of 'costume dialogue'. Simultaneously, the materialized communication that was being carried on through costume probably also contributed to changes in society. Costume probably contributed to a consolidation of identities, which in turn, in particular situations, came to be reflected in the fact that cultural signalling was reduced, amongst other reasons because the same level of investment in the manifestations was no longer required. In this way, then, there was a sort of persistent reciprocal interaction and mutual influence between identity, ethnic and/or cultural manifestation and the structures of political power and economic relations in society in the period under study.