

## Abstracts

### Session I: Emergence of Elites I.

#### **Remembering Elites**

Howard Williams, Chester (UK)

Recent cross-disciplinary debates have sought to theorise and investigate the active and strategic use of a variety of media including textuality, orality, image, material culture, monuments and landscape, in early medieval constructions and negotiations of the past. In this paper, I take as my theme how early medieval elites may have promoted and contested the commemoration of their own origins using a variety of material media alongside art and texts. Focusing on early medieval southern and eastern Britain from the seventh to the eleventh centuries AD, I intend to take a new look at some familiar evidence from this perspective, focusing upon the commemorative interaction between portable artefacts, stone sculpture, buildings and prominent landscape features. I contend that by cross-cutting established material categories, we can reappraise the entwined uses of certain artefacts, monuments and places in elite strategies for myth-making and creating pathways to fame in the early medieval landscape. In this regard, we can conceptualise the rise of elites as a materialised mnemonic discourse constantly in flux, being asserted, negotiated and reformulated in the material environments of early medieval communities and kingdoms.

#### **The Origins of Anglo-Saxon Kingship in a North Sea Context**

Barbara Yorke, Winchester (UK)

Archaeological and written evidence suggest that kingship was a secondary development within the Anglo-Saxon settlements of England, and that individuals designated as kings began to emerge towards the end of the sixth century. Comparison and contrast with other North Sea regions is an important aspect of trying to understand how and why kings emerged (in spite of many difficulties and uncertainties in the evidence). Evidence from Saxony, for instance, may help us to understand elite structures prior to the emergence of kings, arrangements that may still have been in place in some Anglo-Saxon provinces (e.g. the Middle Angles) in 7c when records become more plentiful. On the other hand, one also has to consider how factors particular to settlement in Britain – the inheritance from late Roman administration, the existence of kingship among Celtic and Frankish neighbours – might make the situation different in the Anglo-Saxon colonies from that in the North Sea homelands. A case study from Northumbria can illustrate something of the combination of factors at work behind the emergence of Anglo-Saxon kingship.

#### **Mapping the Kentish elite**

Andrew Richardson, Dover (UK)

The systematic recording of metal detector finds across England provides a new window on early Anglo-Saxon material culture. Study of detected finds, alongside those recovered from both funerary and non-funerary contexts, has the potential to bring our picture of the spatial and chronological distribution of elite groups, in particular, into clearer focus. This paper will present distribution maps that draw on this expanded data set for Kent, including finds from recent excavations as well as detector finds. The geographical extent and cultural complexion of post-Roman elites in Kent will be considered, along with evidence for the social groups underpinning those elites. The nature and extent of 'Kentish' identity beyond Kent will also be explored, as will the question of how valid it is to apply the label 'Kentish', to either social/political groups or to elements of material culture, in this period.

### Session II: Emergence of Elites II.

## **Frankish Type Burial Goods in Kent– Evidence of Exchange, Influence, Commerce, or Migration?**

Jean Soulat, Paris (France/Frankreich)

The inventory of Frankish type objects in Kent reveals cross-channel contacts between the Anglo-Saxons in southeastern England and northern Gaul under the hegemony of the Merovingian elites. Migrations from one shore to the other, continental influences in the female Anglo-Saxon dress-code or gift exchange between Anglo-Saxon and Frankish elites are all possible explanations for the presence of grave goods in Kent which are typical of the Frankish material culture.

Five Anglo-Saxon Period cemeteries in Kent have been included in this study: Bifrons, Dover-Buckland, Finglesham, Mill Hill, and Sarre. 1151 graves have been included in the study. Of these, only 193 contained burial goods of Frankish type. This low ratio demonstrates how rare Frankish objects are in Kent. Out of the 193 graves, about one hundred contained burial goods indicative of the privileged social status of the buried individual. One may thus recognize in the assembled data the remains of an elite whose possessions were clearly part of a larger Merovingian material culture. Even if the main task of this essay is not to determine as whether the Kentish elite was or was not of Frankish origin, one may still hypothesize that some Franks had settled in Kent. The presence of burial goods of Frankish type in Kentish graves shows a strong resemblance to northern Gaul, Belgium and south-western Germany, a testimony to contacts with Frankish areas in the first half of the 6th century (Brugmann 1999).

These cemeteries have been chosen due to their proximity to road intersections, ports or important settlements. A case in point, Bifrons is located next to the Little Stour that flows down to the Wantsum Channel, and along the old Roman road between Canterbury, the Kentish capital, and Dover, the main port facing Merovingian Gaul. Meanwhile, Dover-Buckland and Sarre controlling entry points along the Channel and the Wantsum channel. The cemeteries of Finglesham and Mill Hill surround the royal settlement of Eastry (Hawkes 1979). Two large cemeteries with graves containing Frankish type objects have been found in the vicinity (Dickinson and Richardson, forthcoming).

The connection between affluent graves with Frankish type grave goods in cemeteries closely connected to Anglo-Saxon centers of power confirms the hypothesis of the relative affluence of Kent and its privileged position in relation to continental trade in the 6th century. According to some historians this relationship was further cemented by the intermarriage of the Anglo-Saxon and Merovingian elites. A case in point is the diplomatic marriage in 568 AD between Æthelbert, son of Eormenric, and Bertha, daughter of Charibert I, the Frankish king of Paris, which served to underscore the important alliance that guaranteed continuity in commercial relations (Hawkes 1982). It is possible that this allowed Æthelbert to affirm his rule over Kent with Merovingian support, strengthening his claim to the position of bretwalda the primus inter pares among the Anglo-Saxon kings (Wood 1983). According to this view, the Anglo-Saxon affinities ruled under Frankish hegemony which included both sides of the Channel during the 6th century.

The cemeteries listed above in eastern Kent all display Frankish type objects in affluent graves. These graves suggest either a local Anglo-Saxon elite prone to adopting Frankish dress codes (Haith 2006) and/or the arrival of a Merovingian elite from northern Gaul (Wood 1983). A longer perspective, starting in the 5th century suggest a constant increase in cross-channel contacts between Kent and northern Gaul (Hawkes 1982), eventually leading up to a “Frankish hegemony” (Wood 1992) causing the creation of an aristocratic group of functionaries “ring-lords” (Fischer et al 2008). Even if the historical record must be treated with caution in relation to the material culture of the Germanic burial rites, it is still very likely that at least a portion of the Frankish elite was present in Kent, especially in the cemeteries of Dover-Buckland and Finglesham.

## **Leaders and Led: Agenda for the Analysis and Interpretation of the Cemetery of Eriswell, Suffolk**

John Hines, Cardiff (UK)

Excavations from 1997–2001 within the site of RAF Lakenheath, Eriswell parish, Suffolk, unexpectedly uncovered three large, apparently separate but contemporary, cemeteries of the late 5th to 7th centuries, all within an area of 3.5 hectares. 33 graves had been excavated here in the 1950s; 385 more were added. The excellent on-site security and conditions of preservation allow for ambitious initiatives to advance the horizons of Anglo-Saxon cemetery archaeology. PhD projects on the glass and non-ferrous metalwork will break new ground in the study of the material and technological resources of this period.

Much attention was attracted by the discovery of two horse + human graves, one of which also contained rich gilt copper-alloy harness fittings. Contrary to the mid-6th-century date first proposed from the British Museum, careful new typological analysis and high-precision radiocarbon dating agree that this was in fact one of the earliest yet-identified burials here, closer to AD 500. The layout of the cemeteries will allow detailed investigation of the chorology and chronology of developments in social ranking over two centuries, a period in which the East Anglian kingdom both rose to pre-eminence in England and fell back again. At the conference we shall be able to present up-to-date ideas on the pattern of the evidence and discuss priorities for the remainder of the post-excavation agenda for this exceptional site. Preliminary analysis reveals that correlations between power, access to and consumption of material resources, and gender relations are particularly clear here.

### **The clustering of bracteates in East Anglia**

Charlotte Behr, London & Tim Pestell, Norwich (UK)

Origin, composition and character of elite and rulership in early Anglo-Saxon England are much debated before the second half of the 6<sup>th</sup> c when we hear about the first kings in various Anglo-Saxon kingdoms. Neither the written sources provide reliable accounts nor does archaeological evidence offer an unambiguous witness to the emergence or manifestation of any forms of leadership in the first 100 years or so of Anglo-Saxon presence in Britain outside Kent. ‘Productive’ sites, exceptional, probably royal graves, and proto-urban settlements only belong to the late 6<sup>th</sup> and 7<sup>th</sup> c. Continuities with surviving structures of late or sub-Roman Britain are equally discussed as is the imposition of a new elite class arriving from Scandinavia or Continental Europe. In the last 25 years archaeological sites in southern Scandinavia and the North Sea littoral areas have been recognized as so-called central places from where political, economic and religious leadership was exerted. The identification and characterization of these sites are the topic of some controversy. However, in or near many of these places hoards of gold bracteates from the late 5<sup>th</sup> and first half of the 6<sup>th</sup> c have been found and interpreted as evidence for these sites’ central religious functions.

Mainly thanks to metal detectors, a number of East Anglian bracteate finds in recent years appear to represent clusters that are not chance occurrences but meaningful. The first of these comprises four gold bracteates found within a 6 mile (10km) radius, between the rivers Glaven and Stiffkey near the northern Norfolk coast. In addition, a possible bracteate die has been found within this same cluster. The second cluster occurs on the western fen-edge of Suffolk and comprises a gold bracteate and two pairs of silver bracteates.

By analogy with contemporary Scandinavian finds they may point to sites that were the seats of local elites or sacred places within Anglo-Saxon cosmology. These finds stand out among Anglo-Saxon bracteate finds because of their unusual, even unique iconography, their find circumstances and their sizes. The clusters also present contrasting witnesses to an Anglo-Saxon presence. That from the fen-edge was in an area that continued to be of importance in the subsequent settlement and economy of the East Anglian kingdom, while the north Norfolk cluster was not known for its dense early Anglo-Saxon presence. However, topographically, the bracteate concentration occurs in an area not dissimilar to those that subsequently became developed and came to feature ‘productive’ sites and dense occupation.

This paper will examine why such a cluster of bracteate finds may have occurred in both places. In particular, it will examine what we know of the early kingdom of the East Angles and the possible earlier division of this territory as

separate entities subsequently distinguished by their reference to the ‘north’ and ‘south’ folk. It will be argued that the north Norfolk cluster in particular may provide the first evidence for an early Anglo-Saxon centre relating to an aristocratic or proto-royal elite.

### Session III: The Iconography and Crafts of the Elite.

#### **Casting and Striking the Die: Further Experiments with Bracteate Techniques**

Nancy L. Wicker, Oxford (USA)

At the 2007 meeting of the Sachsen symposium in Trondheim, I reported on experiments undertaken with a goldsmith to replicate striking the border zone of Scandinavian Migration Period bracteates. We had worked with punch tools and made the wire rim and a “deluxe” loop by which to suspend the bracteate pendant. In April 2010, I worked with two goldsmiths and a blacksmith in the Seattle, Washington (U.S.A.) area, to carry out further trials focusing on producing an ersatz bracteate die and striking the die. We did not try to reproduce hands-on research by Mogens B. Mackeprang and William Larsen (1952) but worked on details that still trouble those who study bracteates. The three smiths who worked on the project in April have a combined experience of over 120 years of metalworking and have vast technical knowledge as well as many opinions about workshop practice. As I had discovered in our 2007 tests, insights gained by working with crafts workers were sometimes as illuminating as the actual experiments. At the meeting in Haderslev, I would like to show the results of our experimentation and discuss how our knowledge of bracteate dies has changed now that three possible bracteate dies have been discovered in recent years (Axboe 1992, 2007). I will also discuss additional experiments with die-casting that I hope to carry out later this summer.

#### **Dicke Vögel und gehörnte Pferde. Frühe Etablierung protostaatlicher Strukturen im Spiegel der Bilder**

Alexandra Pesch, Schleswig (Germany/Deutschland)

Schon in der Kaiserzeit ist bei verschiedenen germanischen Gruppen eine graduelle Vereinheitlichung der Bildkultur zu beobachten. Nach Anregungen aus dem römischen Imperium wurden neue Motive und Symbole geschaffen und verbreitet, die sich archäologisch von Norwegen über Dänemark bis in den kontinentalen Raum Mitteleuropas hinein nachweisen lassen. Im dritten Jahrhundert zählen dazu etwa bestimmte Vogeldarstellungen. Sie sind Ausdruck und Kommunikationsmittel von mobilen „Oberschichten“, die über weite Regionen hinweg in enger Verbindung standen. Die Wurzeln dieser Vereinheitlichung reichen bis in das erste Jahrhundert n. Chr. zurück. Mit dem 5. Jahrhundert wird sie jedoch so augenfällig, daß in der Tat von einer überregionalen, allgemein gebräuchlichen und verständlichen „Bildersprache“ die Rede sein kann. Dann erweist sich die nördliche Germania mit dem Tierstil I und seinen geradezu kanonisierten Darstellungskriterien als zusammengehöriger Kulturrbaum. Dessen authentischer Ausdruck ist die streng definierte, überregionale Kunst. Dieses Phänomen läßt sich auch weiter über den Tierstil II bis in die Vendel- und Wikingerzeit hinein verfolgen, wenn auch im Norden die ersten bekannten staatlichen Strukturen im Etablieren begriffen sind und sowohl Austausch wie auch Konflikte mit den christlichen Staaten des Mittelalters immer besser dokumentiert werden. Doch spiegelt die Einheitlichkeit dieser Kunst auch großflächige politische Strukturen? Wie paßt das Gefolgschaftswesen mit seinen rasch wechselnden Machtverhältnissen zusammen mit der generellen Unterwerfung aller unter dieselben Regeln der Bildkunst, wie das Nebeneinander vieler gleichberechtigter Zentralorte - beim gleichzeitigen Fehlen einer zentralen Königsmacht – mit der Beteiligung aller am Austausch derselben komplexen Bildersprache? Bekanntlich sind die Möglichkeiten der Rekonstruktion politischer Beziehungen und überregionaler Organisationsstrukturen ohne zeitgenössische Textüberlieferungen stark eingeschränkt. Doch mit den Bildern bietet sich für die Germania die Chance, neue Forschungsansätze zu entwickeln, alte Fragen neu zu diskutieren und gegebenenfalls die politische Situation Nordeuropas auch ohne Textquellen zu rekonstruieren und neu zu bewerten.

#### **Elitenbildung – Vexierbilder als Bildungszeugnis der Vendel- und Wikingerzeit**

Michael Neiß, Kiel/Uppsala (Germany/Sweden)

Eine der eigentümlichsten Erscheinungen in der Bildkunst der Vendel- und Wikingerzeit bilden die sogenannten Vexierbilder. Dabei handelt es sich um doppeldeutige Motive, welche sich – je nach der Perspektive des Betrachters – auf verschiedene Art und Weise deuten lassen. Eine Qualitätsanalyse der Bildträger legt dabei nahe, dass die wertvollsten Metallarbeiten auch die am meisten ausstudierten Vexierbilder tragen. Abgesehen von ihrer Qualität lassen sich manche Vexierbildträger auch über konkrete Kontexte an ein Elitenmilieu binden. Anscheinend stellt das Dechiffrieren von Vexierbildern eine intellektuelle Übung dar, welche vor allem innerhalb der Gesellschaftselite gepflegt und verfeinert wurde.

Das Abhängigkeitsverhältnis des Metallgießers zu seinem Auftraggeber eröffnet hierbei neue Perspektiven. Demnach ist das Metallhandwerk nicht die einzige Kunstform mit Elitenbezug. Ebenso betroffen ist das Dichterhandwerk. Entsprechend dem Metallgießer, bedürfen auch Skalden eines Auftraggebers, welcher die Kunstausübung seines Schützlings unterhalten kann. In beiden Kunstformen gilt es, bekannte Motive (= Vexierbilder / Sprachbilder) in einen engen Rahmen (= Bildträger / Versmaß) zu zwängen, ohne dass die vorgegebene Struktur gesprengt wird. Vergleichbar dem Metallgießer, leihen auch Skalden ihre Motive aus anderen Zusammenhängen, um sie in ein neues Gefüge einzubetten. Schließlich richtet sich das Kunstwerk an ein geschultes Publikum mit erhöhtem Abstraktionsniveau. Die Zielgruppe sucht ihre Spannung dabei darin, die immer komplexeren Bilder des Kunstwerks zu entschlüsseln. Ausgehend von diesen Übereinstimmungen erscheint es verlockend, die vendel- und wikingerzeitliche Bildsprache an die weitaus später überlieferten Sprachbilder der skaldischen Dichtkunst zu binden. Auf der anderen Seite gilt es ebenso zu klären, inwiefern die frühgeschichtlichen Bildüberlieferungen vom mittelalterlichen Traditionssstoff divergieren.

#### **Textile production in the late Roman Iron Age - a case study of textile production in Vorbasse, Denmark**

Eva Andersson Strand, København (Sweden/Denmark)

Producing a textile includes many steps: fibre preparation, spinning, loom set up, weaving and finishing. Furthermore, many decisions have to be made: what type of fibres to use and how they should be prepared, what type of yarn and of what quality, what type of weaving technique etc. The choices are unlimited and depend on the desired visual appearance and the use of the finished textile. By combining results from textile analyses of preserved textiles and analyses of textile tools and their suitability, in production one can discuss which decisions people made at a certain place of a given time.

New analyses of preserved textile from the late Roman Iron Age burials in Vorbasse clearly demonstrate that the textiles are of a very high quality and that several different textile techniques and raw materials have been used. The question to be asked is, therefore, were these textiles produced in Vorbasse? In this presentation I present the new analyses of textiles and textiles tools and discuss the textile production in late Roman Age Vorbasse.

#### **Early Iron Age Society and Craftsmanship Seen From a Textile and Costume Perspective**

Ulla Mannering, København (Denmark)

The last four years The Danish National Research Foundations Centre for Textile Research (CTR) has been engaged in the investigation of the textiles and skin costumes found in Danish bogs.

The North European peat bogs constitute an environment which is particularly conducive to the preservation of organic materials and Denmark possesses a unique and very rich collection of almost intact prehistoric bodies with soft tissues and hair, garments of textiles in wool and in few cases also plant fibres, and a variety of animal skin and leather objects. All finds have been <sup>14</sup>C dated and are now securely placed in a period covering the last part of the Late Bronze Age and the Early Iron Age with special emphasis on the Pre-Roman Iron Age. A thorough and systematic sampling for analysis of fibres, dyes, and strontium content for the study of provenance together with the textile, skin and design analyses have

provided a whole new understanding of craft technology, development of craftsmanship and exchange of knowhow and raw materials in the Early Iron Age.

Throughout time this special group of archaeological artefacts has both fascinated and repelled scientists and laymen. The new research conducted at CTR in collaboration with many different specialists have shown that they also constitute an unprecedented source of information which enables us to come very close to prehistoric individuals, their tastes and beliefs.

In the proposed paper I will summarise the latest results within this research program regarding costume design and craft technology.

#### Session IV: State Formation and the Emergence of Central Places I.

##### **From State of warfare to State. A review of recent state theory in Scandinavian Iron Age research.**

Rasmus Birch Iversen, Århus (Denmark)

During the last twenty years a number of Scholars have contributed to the understanding of the development from simple chiefdom to more complex state societies during the Scandinavian Iron Age. Many of these approaches have already been more or less contextual trying to incorporate a variety of aspects into their synthesis others have focused on one find group only. Nevertheless, the theories put forward vary greatly producing state societies or even empires during the middle of the Roman Iron Age in one extreme, to state formations as late as the Viking Age or High Middle Ages in the other. This only underlines how difficult the interpretation of archaeology is, but in Danish research there has also been an unfortunate tendency to confuse state formation with contemporary nation State. This post-colonial quest for the earliest possible origins of present day Denmark has suffered a number of shipwrecks since it has proven impossible to tie together contradictory evidence from graves, settlement structures, central places and war booty sites. This paper gives a review of some of the more recent theories in Scandinavian Iron Age research and claims for a stronger emphasis of local and regional differences in rituality and materiality. It also discusses the importance of warfare in Scandinavian society and Germanic society and on which level warfare in the Iron Age led to the formation of complex societies.

##### **Jelling – dynastic appearances in a time of change**

Mads Kähler Holst, Århus & Anne Pedersen, København (Denmark)

Jelling has in historical tradition come to stand as the architectural manifestation of an emerging dynastic power during a period of significant religious, political and social change in the 10<sup>th</sup> century AD. Recent excavations in and around Jelling have extended our knowledge of the complex contributing with both new constructional elements and new indications of the development of the complex. The findings support previous impressions of an extensive deliberate planning of the complex but extend the scale on which it occurred and adds new possibilities in the search for architectural references for the complex in both the Jutland region and at other aristocratic and royal environments in Scandinavia as well as in the remaining parts of Europe. The new archaeological investigations also open for re-interpretation of the considerable transformations of the complex that took place in the later part of the 10<sup>th</sup> century AD across the Christianization threshold proclaimed by Harald Bluetooth. In the presentation we wish to present the state of research around Jelling, and discuss how the complex may be interpreted in relation to the construction of dynastic appearances.

##### **Assembly Sites for Cult, Markets, Jurisdiction and Thing. New Interpretations of the Pit House and Pit House Sites in the Late Iron Age and Viking Period.**

Lone Gebauer Thomsen, Anne Nørgård Jørgensen & Lars Jørgensen, København (Denmark)

The interpretation and understanding of pit houses have always caused problems in archaeology. We tend to see them primarily as crafts and production units. However, it is probably far from the full explanation. By an analogy to church towns from the Medieval and Renaissance in northern Scandinavia, a proposal for an interpretation of the larger accumulations of pit houses from the 7<sup>th</sup> century AD and onwards is presented. Some Medieval and Renaissance church towns contain large numbers of small, family houses, maintained and reused year after year by one and the same family. Many are still in use today. One example is the World Heritage site Gammelstad Kirkeby by Luleå in Sweden, where 424 family accommodations in the shape of small cabins are grouped around the church. The cabins are used only as temporary accommodation in connection with major religious events, markets etc. The families travel far from the surrounding landscape and assemble in order to participate in the events. The families stay for a short period in the town and the cabins are maintained year after year. Church towns are well preserved in several places in northern Sweden and Finland, and in some cases, the Sami family accommodations are even pit-like houses. At the assemblies not only religious events but also market and legislative activities took place. The assembly functions form a parallel to the Icelandic thing where legislation, religious and market assembly goes hand in hand. The authors suggest that this may be the primary function of a part of our pit house sites, where the pit houses represent the temporary accommodation of some of the participants in the assembly activities. The visible crafts and production activities in several cases only represent secondary, accompanying elements that follow the individual families. One interpretation certainly does not exclude the other and there are indeed contemporary pit house sites where production constitutes the main function. However, a part of the pit house sites are here interpreted as assembly places emerging with the elite's increasing demand for control and communication from the 6<sup>th</sup> century and onwards within central societal aspects such as religion, trade/crafts and not least politics. The sites may thus be a strong expression of a new governance of society through the assembly place with the functions that prolonged repetitive events. The authors believe that it is an idea and interpretation which demands plenary discussion and therefore present it at the Sachsen Symposium in Haderslev 2010.

## Session V: State Formation and the Emergence of Central Places II.

### **Valsgärde revisited**

Anne-Sofie Gräslund & John Ljungkvist, Uppsala (Sweden)

The burial ground of Valsgärde has since the 1930s been a famous site in Scandinavian and European grave archaeology. Hitherto, almost all focus has been placed on the 14 boat graves and the other graves consisting of an equal number of other inhumations as well as c. 60 cremation burials have more or less been forgotten. This has resulted in a very narrow perspective on the history of the burial ground.

Our project aims at reconstruction the history of Valsgärde burial ground from the Pre Roman Iron Age until the Late Viking Age. The former "generation by generation view" of boat graves can be challenged by new evidence. A detailed chronology of the site reveals that the role or importance of the site as burial ground has varied considerably over time. During some periods it is an almost exclusive élite necropolis, while in other phases a wider social span can be seen. In the 9<sup>th</sup> century, when boat burials seem to be almost missing, the lack of such élite burials is partly filled with a large, very special cremation grave. Of particular interest are also the female élite cremation burials, previously almost neglected.

### **Gamla Uppsala – the Establishment and Continuity of a Center in Middle Sweden**

John Ljungkvist, Uppsala (Sweden)

The role of Late Iron Age to Early Medieval Gamla Uppsala has been discussed through hundreds of years. Today we have considerable knowledge of the site through numerous studies and excavations. But still we have numerous question marks regarding a multitude of aspects. We are for example not certain of when the site emerges as a centre. The understanding of the settlement- and economical structure needs to be developed further. There is also a general need for understanding the changing role of the site through history. Our project has for two years conducted surveys, excavations and GIS-based documentation in the area. The work has been focused upon two major themes:

1. An overall understanding of the royal estate area.
2. A GIS-based compilation of previous investigation in the area, in order to better understand the development of the area from the Bronze age to the Medieval period.

The work has resulted in a number of new insights regarding the chronology, structure and development of Gamla Uppsala.

### **Property and Honour – Social Change in Middle Sweden 200 – 1000 AD**

Torun Zachrisson, Stockholm (Sweden)

Ownership of land is of great importance for our understanding of the Nordic societies during pre-Christian times. Changes in property rights are seldom used to explain settlement change.

400-600 AD large-scale settlement changes and desertions occur in Middle Sweden as well as in for example Norway. Many farms that lay dispersed, often in the form of an unregulated village, were deserted. Instead the farms moved to the building-lot that would form the historical village. This could be due to a different view on property rights, i.e. odal right. The settlement that the farms moved to had fulfilled the new conditions, the deserted farm-lots did not. This process was probably accelerated by the impact of the large-scale climate catastrophe the year 536 and the following decade as well as the plague on the continent with the changing network of contacts as a result.

The society that emerges in middle Sweden after 550 AD is clearly hierarchical, with large farms, monumental burial mounds and perhaps larger groups of unfree than before. The settlement change that also affects the famous milieu in Old Uppsala, possibly indicates the beginning of the Uppsala öd, known from the written sources.

### Session VI: Symbols of Status.

#### **Precious Metal Objects at Central Places**

Birgitta Hårdh, Lund (Sweden)

The paper concentrates on the Viking Age. Sites such as Uppåkra, Kaupang, Tissø and others, often labeled central places or trading places, are among other things characterized by a certain amount of coins, ornaments and other items of gold or silver. As these sites are regarded as multifunctional sites, the objects might represent various activities such as crafting, trade or activities relating to religious or social spheres.

Moreover, the majority of the objects are derived from the plough-zone and found by means of metal detectors and thus they lack a proper context. This makes it a challenge to classify the objects according to their function.

Some sites, such as Birka or Kaupang can provide stratigraphical information, which might be helpful here, mainly for chronological information. Others, such as Tissø are important because of their well-structured spaces where different functions are located in different areas. Comparisons between sites, for example a central place like Uppåkra and an early Medieval town like Lund are also useful in helping us to comprehend the use of precious metal.

Comparisons between hoarded objects of precious metal and objects from cultural layers will be an important method to help us distinguish between objects, which might be classified as means of payment and those, which were used otherwise. The shape of the objects as well as how they were treated, clipped, tested etc. can also be useful for interpretation. In my paper I am going to discuss these methods and some tentative results.

#### **Status Rings as Indicators of Central Places in Western Norway in the Late Roman Iron Age**

## Håkon Reiersen, Bergen (Norway)

With a basis in the rich burial material from Himlingøje on Zealand, Danish researchers have interpreted some special rings of gold as the insignia of elites at centres of different rank in the Roman Iron Age. Even though the Norwegian material from the period is scarcer, attempts have been made to apply this interpretation to a Norwegian context. In particular, the distribution of such rings in Western Norway seems to show a similar, uppermost stratum of burials containing special neck-, arm- and finger rings of gold. The aim of the paper is to test if the presence of status rings in the west Norwegian context actually reflects stable elite milieus at central places, or if they just occur as single, coincidental finds. In order to test this, the find complexes at three locations with status rings are examined and compared. The locations of Avaldsnes, Hove and Bjoa in the county of Rogaland are chosen, as these are the only places in Norway where combinations of status finger rings and arm- or neck rings are found. The analysis shows how these locations share some important similar features. At all locations there are both rich male burials with status weapons and rich female burials with spindle whorls of bronze or status jewellery. Furthermore, all locations have hill forts in the proximity. Avaldsnes and Hove, in particular, show many similarities in the find complexes, with several burials containing objects of gold and roman imports. To conclude, it seems that the distribution of status rings in Western Norway is not coincidental, but that they in fact occur at some of the most important central places of the Late Roman Iron Age. As the find complexes at Avaldsnes and Himlingøje show significant similarities, it is suggested that the introduction of status rings as elite insignia in Western Norway might be explained as a result of interaction between west Norwegian and Danish elites.

## **Die Regionalisierung im Bereich der reichen Frauentracht und die Nachweismöglichkeiten der Vernetzung jüngerkaiserzeitlicher Eliten im Rahmen der Heiratspolitik – am Beispiel Nordeuropas**

Marzena J. Przybyła, Krakow (Poland)

Die antiken und frühmittelalterlichen Schriftquellen, die über barbarische Europa erzählen, enthalten u.a. die Angaben über den Heiraten zwischen den Vertretern der ehemaligen höheren Gesellschaftsschichten. Nach diesen Angaben hatten diese Ereignisse meistens eine politische Aussage, damit sie der Anknüpfung oder der Bestärkung der Allianzen dienten. Diese von schriftlichen Quellen bewiesene Erscheinung lässt sich gewissermaßen mit archäologischen Daten konfrontieren. Hilfreich in diesem Bereich kann das sog. fremde Frauen-Konzept sein. Der Ausgangspunkt zu derartigen Studien ist ein Auffassen der regionalen Differenzierung in der reichen Frauentracht. Hier werden die Ergebnisse der Analyse vorstellt, die in diesem Hinsicht für die in die jüngere römische Kaiserzeit datierten Materialien aus dem Südteil Nordeuropas durchgeführt wurde. Sie können eine Basis für den Rekonstruktionsversuch des Verbindungsnetzes bilden, das einzelne Regionen Nord- und in einigen Fällen auch Mitteleuropas zu verbinden scheint. Die erfassten Zwischengruppenverbindungen, die anhand der fremden Elemente in reicher Frauentracht zu erforschen sind, lassen sich als Spur des weitreichenden Heirataustausches zwischen den Vertretern der weit aufgefassten Eliten zu interpretieren. Nimmt man das Vorkommen der Regionalisierung in der Frauentracht an, so ist es zu erwarten, dass sich im archäologischen Material der weit reichende Heirataustausch am deutlichsten abzeichnen wird, wo der Kontrast zwischen dem Heimischen und dem Fremden durch Entfernung besonders stark zur Geltung kommt.

## Session VII: Gesellschaftliche Strukturen, Siedlungen und Grabfunde.

### **Grabhügel der Wielbark-Kultur – Gemeinschafts-, Familien- und Elitengrabmäler**

Adam Cieśliński, Warszawa (Poland)

Die Wielbark-Kultur gehört zu den wichtigsten archäologischen Kulturkomplexen der römischen Kaiserzeit und frühen Völkerwanderungszeit im südlichen Ostseeraum. Sie setzt sich deutlich von benachbarten archäologischen Kulturrgruppen durch einen spezifischen Begräbnisritus sowie durch Eigenschaften der materiellen Kultur ab. Aufsehen erregt die sehr unterschiedliche Begräbnissitte, die das Vorhandensein und Pflegen verschiedenster Traditionen durch

einzelne Familien und Sippen, die eine einzelne Nekropole benutzten, andeuten kann. Im Vergleich mit den zahlreicher sogenannten Flachgräberfeldern hebt sich besonders eine Gruppe von über 50 Nekropolen ab, auf denen mindestens 300 Grabhügel registriert wurden. Trotz der über hundertjährigen Entdeckungs- und Ausgrabungsgeschichte steht bis heute keine Monographie der Grabhügelbestattung zur Verfügung.

Die Tumuli unterscheiden sich nach der Größe (von einigen wenigen Metern bis 60 m Durchmesser sowie von einigen Zentimetern bis zu 4 m Höhe), nach dem Baumaterial (Erde- sowie Steinaufschüttung) und nach einer häufig sehr komplizierten Konstruktion. Ihre vorläufige Analyse brachte schon sehr ansprechende Ergebnisse, die auf sehr nahe Verbindungen zwischen den Grabbauten der Wielbark-Kultur und auf ähnlichen Befunden aus Öland, Gotland und vom schwedischen Kontinent hinweisen sowie auf genetische Beziehungen zwischen den Grabhügeln aus der Wielbark-Expansionszone in Masowien und Podlachien mit den pommerschen Tumuli der älteren Kaiserzeit deuten. In Grabhügeln, genauso wie in Flachgräberfeldern der Wielbark-Kultur ist eine sehr große Unterschiedlichkeit des Begräbnisritus beobachtet worden, was sich vor allem durch das gleichzeitige Vorkommen der Körper- und Brandgräber der verschiedenen Typen, in Ausnahmefällen unter einzelnen Aufschüttungen, zeigt. Bis heute wurden keine bedeutenderen Forschungen betreffend der Zahl der Gräber und ihrer Lage innerhalb eines Grabhügels unternommen, die Mehrfachbestattungsgrabhügel wurden als Familiengrabmäler interpretiert.

Es ist nötig, die sozioökonomische Differenzierung der Bestatteten aufgrund eines Vergleiches des Grabinventarreichstums sowie der Grabhügel- und Grabkammerkonstruktionen zu beleuchten. Neben den kleinen Tumuli, in denen einzelne Gräber ohne Beigaben vorkommen, treten Mehrfachbestattungsgrabhügel mit unterschiedlichem Ausstattungsreichtum sowie mächtige Grabhügel mit aufwändiger Bauweise und Grabinventaren auf, die auf die Angehörigkeit der Bestatteten zur sozialen Elite hinweisen. Mit dieser Problematik sind auch technische und gesellschaftliche Fragen des Großgrabhügelbaues verbunden. Ihre Entstehung benötigte sicherlich einen sehr hohen Zeit- und Arbeitsaufwand sowie den Einsatz zahlreicher Menschengruppen.

Eine vielschichtige Untersuchung dieses Themenkomplexes kann nicht nur ein besseres Verständnis der Bestattungssitte der mitteleuropäischen Bevölkerung der römischen Kaiserzeit ermöglichen, sondern auch mehrere Fragen aus dem Berührungsgebiet der Archäologie mit Geschichtswissenschaften, Religionswissenschaften sowie Soziologie beantworten.

### **Aktuelle Forschungen zum älterkaiserzeitlichen Hoby, Lolland**

Ruth Blankenfeldt, Schleswig (Germany) & Susanne Klingenberg, København (Denmark)

Vor 90 Jahren wurde das reich ausgestattete Körpergrab aus der Älteren Kaiserzeit von Hoby, Westlolland, entdeckt. Neben edelmetallenen und bronzenen Gegenständen örtlicher Herkunft enthielt diese Grablege einen umfangreichen Trink- und Speisesatz italischer Herkunft. Die bekanntesten Gegenstände stellen dabei sicherlich zwei große Silberbecher mit Szenen aus der Ilias von Homer dar. Ein weiteres in der Nähe gefundenes Grab aus der Zeit kurz vor Christi Geburt kann ebenfalls einer Person von gehobenen Status zugeordnet werden. Inzwischen liegen durch Keramikfunde eines Hobby-Archäologen erste Hinweise auf eine zeitgleiche Siedlung vor, welche sich in unmittelbarer Nähe zu den Bestattungen befindet. Nach kleineren Untersuchungen in den Jahren 2000 und 2001 wurde im Jahr 2005 eine größere Grabungskampagne durchgeführt, bei denen u. a. Reste von zehn zum Teil mehrphasigen Häusern dokumentiert wurden. Das ungefähr zwei Hektar große Siedlungsareal und das Gebiet um die alten Grabfundstellen ist im Mai 2010 vollständig mit Geomagnetik untersucht worden. Parallel durchgeführte Bohrungen zeigten dabei in mehreren Fällen archäologische Kulturschichten.

In einem Kooperationsprojekt zwischen dem National Museum Kopenhagen, dem Museum Lolland-Falster und dem Zentrum für Baltische und Skandinavische Archäologie wird die Untersuchung und Publikation der Gräber und des Siedlungsplatzes angestrebt. Hierbei sind neben der eingehenden archäologischen Betrachtung der Fundstücke mit Blick auf übergeordnete Fragestellungen auch naturwissenschaftliche Analysen geplant. Zudem werden weitere

Feldforschungen im Hoby-Areal durchgeführt, die im Idealfall ein genaueres Bild dieses Platzes und seiner chronologischen Tiefe zeichnen werden.

Ulla Lund Hansen & Linda Boye, København (Denmark)

### **The Dynasty? Society and Social Structures of Late Roman Iron Age**

In the region of Copenhagen settlement excavations have revealed continuous and closely spaced villages. Several different house types can be identified within the same settlement. In the same area rich graves uncovered during excavations in 1990's apparently constitute a centre of wealth. These new excavations of both grave fields and settlements have renewed the discussion of social structures on Zealand in Late Roman Iron Age. To discussion is as well status of the deceased as settlements belonging to different social levels. The structure of the society of the region will be related to other analysis of social status in different regions of Zealand. For the first time it has been possible to make a link between social status as deduced from graves and specific types of farms.

### **Session VIII: Siedlungsstrukturen I.**

#### **Chiefly manors and the establishment of a socially hierarchical settlement pattern in Western Norway during the Late Roman Iron Age and Early Germanic Period.**

Søren Diinhoff, Bergen (Norway)

The knowledge of the Iron Age settlement in Western Norway has till recent years been sparse and was based on few archaeological sources alone. However, for the last 15 years the University Museum of Bergen has conducted several archaeological excavations of prehistoric agricultural settlements. This has resulted in a different and more detailed understanding of the Iron Age society.

Amongst the still increasing numbers of excavated settlements, a group of large farmsteads from the Late Roman Iron Age and Early Germanic Period distinguish themselves. These farms with buildings covering up to 500 – 600 m<sup>2</sup> are remarkable larger units of production than the preceding farms of the Early Iron Age. The large farmsteads have Scandinavian parallels and they are – in accordance to Frands Herschend interpretation - explained as chiefly manors and halls. In Western Norway no less than nine impressive farms are known from six localities. These farms no doubt represent a social elite and this is supported by finds of adjacent contemporary richly furnished graves, ritual sites and a strategic placement according to both communication and exploitation of both infield and outfield resources. In addition most of them are known to be large farms in later written sources.

The farms may reflect the political territorial division professor Bjørn Myhre presented some years ago. Myhre describes that Southern Norway in the Late Roman Iron Age was divided in a line of separated political units organized around powerful centres. The newly found halls of Western Norway present however a paradoxical problem. They are too numerous and they are located too dense. They very likely prove a socially stratified society with a hierarchical settlement pattern, but it must have been a society where display of force and wealth was somewhat more decentralised and where power to a higher degree would build upon temporary alliances more than military sovereignty alone. Even if the same social and economical processes took place in Western Norway in the middle of the Iron Age as in Southern Scandinavia, they do not seem to have resulted in the same degree of centralisation.

#### **Auf den Spuren der Eliten von Sievern vom 1. Jh. v. Chr. bis zum 6. Jh. n. Chr. – zur Entwicklung des Zentralplatzes von Sievern im Elbe-Weser-Dreieck**

Iris Aufderhaar, Wilhelmshaven (Germany)

Eng mit der Erforschung der Zentralplätze verknüpft ist die Diskussion um die Anwesenheit oder Ausbildung einer vor Ort ansässigen Oberschicht, die der ansässigen Bevölkerung vorstand und durch weit reichende Kontakte und Fernbeziehungen den regelmäßigen Austausch mit anderen gesellschaftlichen Eliten garantierte. Unter den herausragenden Funden und Befunden des Raumes Sievern im Elbe-Weser-Dreieck belegen insbesondere die Edelmetalldeponierungen – darunter 14 Goldbrakteaten und ein Halsreif skandinavischer Provenienz - eine solche Oberschicht während des 6. Jh. n. Chr. Auch Befunde, wie die eindrucksvollen Wallanlagen Heidenschanze, aus der Zeit um Christi Geburt, und Heidenstadt, aus der Völkerwanderungszeit, legen die Anwesenheit einer stratifizierten Gesellschaft mit einer Elite nahe, die diese arbeitsintensiven Bauten initiierte, plante und ausführte.

Erkenntnisse über die landschaftlichen Veränderungen, denen die vor Sievern angelagerte Marsch des Landes Wursten im 1. Jahrtausend n. Chr. unterworfen war, zeigen auf, dass die Bevölkerung der Geest und der Marsch sicherlich über die Wasserwege miteinander in Verbindung standen und die Wurtenkette um die Marschensiedlungen Feddersen Wierde und Fallward damit in die Analyse der Siedlungskammer mit einzubeziehen ist: Es ist vorstellbar, dass die verschiedenen Siedlungen einander in ihren unterschiedlichen Aktivitäten beeinflussten und teilweise auch aufeinander abgestimmt waren.

Anzeichen für die Ausbildung bzw. die Anwesenheit einer Oberschicht sind aus den Wurtensiedlungen bekannt: Die Entwicklung des Herrenhofes der Feddersen Wierde, der während seiner Blütezeit mit den als Wohn- und Versammlungshalle gedeuteten Gebäuden große Ähnlichkeit zu Baustrukturen der südkandinavischen Zentralplätze aufweist, spiegelt die Entwicklung einer ortsansässigen Elite wider, die der Gesellschaft in sozialen oder auch rituellen Aspekten vorstand. Konzentrationen von Importmaterial römischer Herkunft, insbesondere der Siedlungsphasen des 2. und 3. Jh. n. Chr. im Bereich des Herrenhofes unterstreichen zudem dessen Bedeutung als wirtschaftliches Zentrum innerhalb der Siedlung.

Eine vergleichbare soziale Stellung wie die der Einwohner des Herrenhofes, die als „Mitglieder einer bäuerlichen Oberschicht“ interpretiert werden, lässt sich für die Angehörigen einer Gruppe von reich ausgestatteten Bestattungen aus den Gräberfeldern des 4. und 5. Jahrhunderts der Wurt Fallward annehmen.

Die chronologische und chorologische Spannweite der genannten Funde und Befunde demonstriert, dass eine großräumigere und vor allem auch zeitlich differenzierte Betrachtung des Landschaftsraumes und der archäologischen Fundplätze des Raumes Sievern und der Marsch des Landes Wursten notwendig ist, um die strukturellen Zusammenhänge zwischen den verschiedenen Elementen des Zentralplatzes sowie die Vorgänge innerhalb des Siedlungsgefüges während der Römischen Kaiserzeit und Völkerwanderungszeit nachvollziehen zu können.

### **Neue Forschungen zur Bebauungsabfolge und Siedlungsstruktur von Flögeln, Ldkr. Cuxhaven.**

Daniel Dübner, Wilhelmshaven (Germany)

In Flögeln im Landkreis Cuxhaven (Niedersachsen) wurde im Rahmen eines DFG-Projekts von 1971-1985 eine Siedlung des 1.-6. Jh. großflächig ergraben. Nachdem durch den Ausgräber W. Haio Zimmermann 1992 die Bauformen vorgelegt wurden, wird nun deren zeitliche Abfolge untersucht. Dafür spielen neben den durch Daniel Nösler ermittelten Keramikdatierungen und wenigen naturwissenschaftlichen Daten stratigrafische Überlagerungen und sonstige relativchronologisch relevante Befundbeobachtungen eine zentrale Rolle, die mit Hilfe des von Klaus und Mads Kähler Holst entwickelten Programms *Tempo* ausgewertet werden. Dabei geht es darum, beobachtete relativchronologische Beziehungen zwischen verschiedenen Bauobjekten mittels stochastischer Berechnungen miteinander zu verknüpfen und so – ähnlich einer Harris-Matrix – eine zeitliche Ordnung der Objekte zu generieren.

Nach den bisherigen Ergebnissen der noch laufenden Untersuchungen war die Siedlung Flögeln, hervorgegangen aus einzelnen Höfen des 1. Jh., im 2. und 3. Jh. durch das Nebeneinander von kleinen Höfen mit nur einem Langhaus und größeren Mehrbetriebsgehöften mit zwei bis drei gleichzeitig bestehenden Langhäusern gekennzeichnet. Die Gehöfte bestanden in veränderlichen Grenzen, jedoch im Wesentlichen platzkonstant, über mehrere Generationen und

Bauphasen hinweg. In der Völkerwanderungszeit verlagert sich der Siedlungsschwerpunkt nach Norden und Westen hin, wobei die Platzkontinuität und damit die relativchronologisch verwertbaren Informationen abnehmen. Da Zaunverläufe nun weitgehend fehlen, muss die Gehöftstruktur über Regelhaftigkeiten bei deren Anlage, Funddatierungen und die Auswertung von Phosphatkartierungen ermittelt werden.

Die Methodik, die Möglichkeiten und Grenzen ihrer Anwendung sowie die ersten Ergebnisse des Projekts werden im Vortrag erläutert.

## Session IX: Siedlungsstrukturen II.

### **Beast, Lifestock and Society in Halland, Western Sweden**

Leif Häggström, Halmstad (Sweden)

The rescue archaeology in Sweden produce huge amount of data. The data from each excavation is presented in an official report and sometimes presented in essays financed by the specific rescue project. The data are more seldom used in archaeological research. During 2009 I compiled the osteological data from most excavations carried out in the county of Halland. Among some 800 reports about 60 had osteological data. There are three major reasons for this, 1/ an excavation technique promoting the identification of structures instead of the collection of finds; 2/ the soil is fairly acid which is bad for preservation of bones; 3/ the presence of analyzed osteological remains depends on whether there have been an osteologist close at hand.

The osteological data from the Iron Age show differences over time as well as very clear differences between different localities. The amount of osteological remains as well as the variety often corresponds to the social interpretation of the place based upon structures and find material. This will be examined in my paper which focuses on osteological data from the Iron Age.

### **Into the Wild: the Social and Economic Significance of Rock Shelters in Iron Age Western Norway**

Knut Andreas Bergsvik, Bergen (Norway)

Rockshelters at the west coast of Norway were extensively used during the Roman and Migration periods. Many of them have rich faunal material and a variety of artefacts. Although used for a number of purposes these sites were crucial for the procurement of terrestrial as well as marine wild resources. It is commonly argued that such resources were central for the establishment of surplus production in this area. Rockshelters may thus have been important building blocks for the establishment of elites in this region. The paper will deal with how these places were utilised, which part of the year they were occupied, and also with the social identities of their users.

### **The Iron Age Landscape of Labour and Power**

Maria Petterson, Linköping (Sweden)

Large scale archaeological excavations combined with new theoretical approaches to landscape enables us to identify periods of rapid changes in settlement pattern and land use in middle Sweden. My presentation relies on an ongoing project that includes an analysis of an intensely excavated area in the Linköping region, Sweden, where more than 100 excavations have been carried out within a few square-kilometers.

A new social landscape emerged during the centuries before Christ and its basic components are seen to have lasted for several hundred years. The number of subordinate agricultural units increased (many of them probably not self sufficient) and social stratification probably became more pronounced. A result was that the number of people available for heavy manual labour increased drastically. At the same time the landscape was transformed and land use intensified. Roads were built to connect different parts of the larger farms units. Water holes were dug for the domestic animals, and

reinforces by elaborate stone constructions, thereby fixating land use for a long time to come. The special central grazing areas have been identified by archaeological methods. New techniques for the arable also seem to have emerged during this period, involving heavily manured areas of garden plot size. Micromorphology has shown that some of them were spade cultivated vegetable gardens, situated in the immediate vicinity of the long-houses. All these changes brought about in the landscape have been extremely labour-intensive and seems to have been connected to, and indeed facilitated by, changes in the social structure of society.

We have identified one unit, Stora Ullevi, as central in the local area and indeed in a regional perspective. The centrality is present during a long time perspective though it varies in intensity and nature. During the Roman Iron Age and Migration period it is very clearly manifested both at the site and in the surrounding landscape. In the immediate area surrounding Stora Ullevi the Early Iron Age settlement structure, and indeed architecture, differs from areas further removed from the centre. The roads uncovered lead up to Stora Ullevi – their construction has not been purely practical and they do hold a strong element of display of social status connected to a whole section of the landscape.

## Session X: Hoards and Depositions.

### **Cenotaphs or Sacrifices? Deposits outside Graves at Roman Period Cemeteries**

Mogens Bo Henriksen, Odense (Denmark)

Between, under and around the graves in Danish and North German cemeteries from the Roman Iron Age pits with objects which correspond to the content of the contemporary graves have been uncovered. There are several examples of small pits with bundles of weapons and tools of iron, and these objects have often been subjected to the same destructive handling (bent or cut over) as equipment from the cremation graves – or objects from the contemporary bog sacrifices. Deposits of empty pots have as well been excavated in several cemeteries, and these are very similar to the deposits of pots known from the contemporary settlements and bog finds. The deposits can consist of pits with a single pot as well as pits with several pots. A variation from a Funen cemetery consists of a pit containing plenty of secondary burned ceramics; this phenomenon is so far isolated. A deposit of a cut up Roman bronze cauldron ( $\emptyset$ stland-type) from another Funen cemetery is an isolated case as well.

Often deposits without relation to a particular grave have been interpreted as cenotaphs and as such as a variety of the cremation graves. The similarities with contemporaneous deposits from settlements and wetlands make it more plausible to interpret the phenomena as sacrifices. Though, it is difficult to prove whether these sacrifices have been placed during a burial ceremony – or at a later point.

With the discovery of these supposed sacrificial acts in the Roman Iron Age cemeteries the traditionally sharp distinction between the 3 main archaeological find categories settlement, cemetery and sacrifice can be difficult to maintain. So we should recognize that there is some common volume between the three categories.

### **The Høgsbrogård Hoard – a Scrap Metal Hoard from the 5<sup>th</sup> Century AD in South Western Jutland.**

Claus Feveile, Ribe (Denmark)

In 2009 a hoard of  $\frac{1}{2}$  kilo silver and gold was found by metal detecting amateur archaeologists who immediately reported it to the museum. In the following months the field was carefully metal detected and a small excavation of some 800 square meters was carried out in order to excavate what might have been left of the hoard *in situ*, and to get a better understanding of the circumstances behind the deposition of the hoard.

The excavation revealed that all parts of the hoard were disturbed and the exact, original location of the hoard could not be found. It must have been deposited in a culture layer close to contemporary buildings, a farmstead. The houses and the hoard can be dated to the 5<sup>th</sup> century.

The site of the Høgsborgård Hoard is some three kilometers south of the famous Dankirke settlement close to the Watten Sea. Within a diameter of 3-4 kilometers we know of a number of rich settlements from the later Iron Age and Viking Age, pointing to an important regional central place during most of the first millennium AD.

**Preliminary results from an excavation with Late Roman Iron Age settlement in the vicinity of the war-spoil find at Ejsbøl bog. Possible indications of a local sacrifice custom?**

Mads Leen Jensen, Haderslev (Denmark)

In 2009-2010 Museum Sønderjylland – Arkæologi Haderslev carried out a large excavation, called Bramdrup, just 5 km northwest of Haderslev city. This excavation has added more and new information to our scattered knowledge of the local settlements pattern around the Ejsbøl war-spoil find in Late Roman Iron Age.

At one of excavated farms from Late Roman Iron Age we found some possible indications of a local sacrifice custom. In a small prehistoric pond, just outside the farm, we found 65 glass and amber pearls together with fragments of silver - possibly from a fibula. The pond was also used for more normal waste disposal, such as ceramic and slag waste.

How are we to interpret the presence of these pearls in the pond? They were not discarded due to any damage or break and may therefore have represented a certain value. Observations around the pond gave us some vague indications of the scenario behind the scene.

This paper will also focus on other contemporary sites in the vicinity of the war-spoil find at Ejsbøl. Over the last 10 years the number of excavations in the immediate vicinity of Haderslev has increased. And as a result, revealed several settlement structures from the Late Roman Iron Age in a radius of only 5 km from Ejsbøl bog.

The same picture can now also be shown for the war-spoil find at Nydam. Ongoing excavations, at the future motorway between Kliplev and Sønderborg, have so far revealed several sites with late Roman Iron Age settlements in a radius of only 6 km from Nydam bog.

The previous picture of war-spoil finds, as situated in deserted areas in prehistoric times, can now be rejected as being a result of modern activities – or more accurately speaking, the lack of modern construction activities in the surrounding area of those bogs.

**Session XI: Kriegsbeuteopferplätze.**

**"Mission Impossible": The Ejsbøl Army – organization, attack and defeat**

Anne Nørgård Jørgensen, København (Denmark)

Together we will turn back the time and reconstruct the Ejsbøl army from the logistic and legal planning of the attack, through the military campaign; via the organization of attack; to the defeated army, and finally enlighten the scene of local ritual behavior behind the sacrificed army. What do we read from the material and how far can we go by interpreting the largest Ejsbøl sacrifice around AD 300.

Ejsbøl has been subject to two modern and detailed excavations in 1955-1964 by Mogens Ørsnes, Nationalmuseet and Hans Neumann, Haderslev Museum - excavating c. 1500 items, and in 1997-99 by Hans Chr. H. Andersen., Haderslev Museum – also excavating c. 1500 items. In 2006 the present author was asked to publish the new finds from Ejsbøl 1997-99 together with Hans Chr. H. Andersen (Nørgård Jørgensen & Andersen in print). One of the challenges was to

redefine the 3000 items according to modern typological definitions. Thereby it was possible to analyze the material from the five deposition areas in the bog in time and space – in connection to local and regional analyses. The five deposition areas in Ejsbøl bog is: Ejsbøl Nord; Ejsbøl South; Ejsbøl West; Ejsbølgård West and Ejsbølgård East – all situated in the most southern part of the bog. The chronological result was three depositions: 1) one small deposition around the birth of Christ; 2) one very large and to some extent “complete” deposition around AD 300; and at last 3) one large deposition around the beginning of 5<sup>th</sup> century AD. The result so to speak *cemented* the results of Ørsnes’ analyzes published in 1988, and added a diversity of information’s, which provided us with several new possibilities of interpretation. This is the basis of story of “Mission Impossible” – The Ejsbøl army.

### **Military and Cult: Structures of Power of the Early Iron Age in Southern Scandinavia**

Xenia Pauli Jensen, København (Denmark)

As new elites rise and fall the question again and again arises: how do the elite expand and maintain their grip on control and power? Central to this issue is the elite’s manifestation of military power in the weapon cult illustrated by the emergence of weapon burials in the Pre Roman Iron Age and its culmination in the weapon sacrificial rites of the Roman Iron Age. This paper argues that military, religious and political power merged into a symbiotic co-existence in the centuries around the birth of Christ and illustrates this point by introducing a new view on the sacrificial rite, its motive, its function and its effect on the southern Scandinavia.

### **Krieger – Kleider – Kult. Textilien von Kriegsbeuteopferplätzen**

Susan Möller-Wiering, Schleswig (Germany)

Die großen Kriegsbeuteopferplätze Illerup Ådal, Vimose, Nydam und Thorsberg haben neben den zahlreichen Waffen und persönlichen Ausrüstungen aus Metall, Holz und anderen Materialien auch verhältnismäßig viele Gewebe erbracht, von den bisher nur einige herausragende Stücke aus Thorsberg einer breiteren Öffentlichkeit bekannt waren. Drei Aspekte der nun vollständig untersuchten Textilien sollen vorgestellt werden.

Die vorliegenden Ergebnisse, dass die Gewebe ebenso wie die anderen geopferten Funde jenen Menschen zugerechnet werden müssen, die in den jeweils vorangegangenen Konflikten unterlegen waren: es sind Überreste deren Kleidung. Auffallend ist u.a. die gleichmäßig hohe Qualität, die Textilien aus Metall führenden - und damit gut ausgestatteten - Gräbern entspricht. Die Quantitäten, in den sie auftreten, deuten an, dass diese hochwertigen Stoffe nicht nur von der militärischen Elite getragen wurden. Daher ist zu diskutieren, ob die Gefolgsleute im Hinblick auf einen Kriegszug mit Kleidung ausgestattet wurden.

Der zweite Aspekt betrifft die Herkunft, da die nicht-textilen Funde bekanntlich auf sehr unterschiedliche Ursprungsgebiete der Besiegten hindeuten. Die Textilien der vier Fundplätze zeigen im Gegensatz dazu große Übereinstimmungen, die auf gemeinsame Traditionen im Hinblick auf Technik und Geschmack schließen lassen. Gleichzeitig fehlen Merkmale, die das Römische Reich als Quelle wahrscheinlich machen könnten. Schließlich hat die Untersuchung neue Ergebnisse zum Ablauf der Kulthandlungen erbracht, die der Versenkung der Opfergaben in den Seen vorausgingen. Auch hier, auf Seiten der Sieger, ist die Übereinstimmung zwischen den Fundplätzen hoch.

### **Medical Tools from the First Millennium – A New Recognition after the Reinterpretation of an Artefact Material**

Annette Frölich, Charlottenlund (Denmark)

A survey of excavation finds of medical tools dating to first millennium consisting of an artifact material excavated from six Danish war booty offering-bogs, as well as from Uppåkra, Helgö, Birka, Öland and Gotland, in Sweden. Examples are

given in which the reevaluation of the previously excavated artifact-material supplementary ad new information and thereby extend our knowledge of the community dated to the first millennium.

## Posterpresentations

Sarah Croix, Århus (Denmark/France)

**Power and labour division on Viking Age settlement sites – a matter of rank and sex**

Lone Gebauer Thomsen, København (Denmark)

**From household craft to specialized production – technological and economic aspects of textile production in Denmark in the Late Iron Age and Viking Period.**

Annette Siegmüller, Wilhelmshaven (Germany)

**Struktur und Funktion von Landeplätzen und Ufermärkten des 1 Jht. an der unteren Weser und der unterem Ems.**

Frans-Arne Stylegar, Kristiansstad (Norway)

**A new runic monument with inscription in the Elder Futhark at Hogganvik, Mandal, Vest-Agder.**