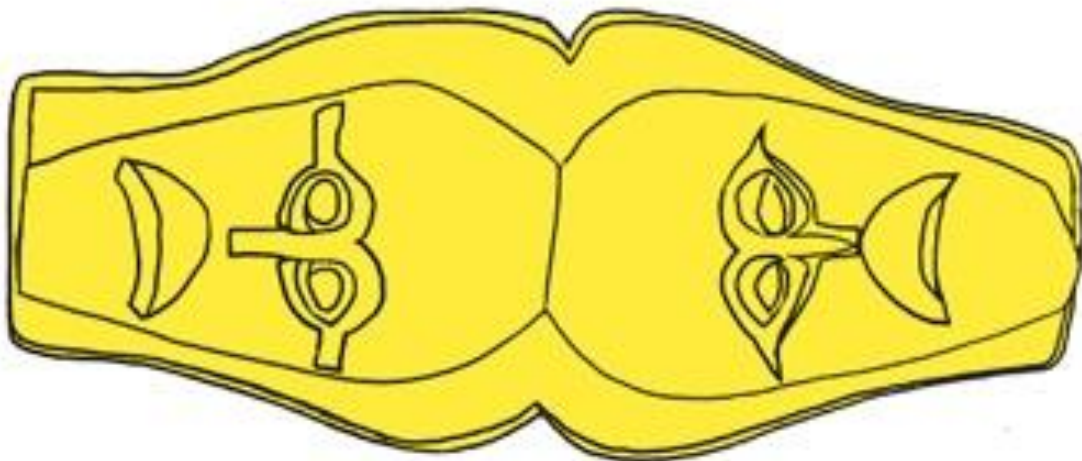


# 69th International Sachsensymposion

Arbeitsgemeinschaft zur Archäologie der Sachsen und ihrer  
Nachbarvölker in Nordwesteuropa – IvoE

**Stockholm, 15-19 September 2018**

*Changes: The Shift from the Early to Late Iron Age*



## **IMPRESSUM**

### **EDITORS**

Torun Zachrisson & Svante Fischer

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The Swedish Foundation for Humanities and Social Sciences  
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Uppsala Castle

### **CONFERENCE LOGO**

Janus-faced strap mount (mid- 6<sup>th</sup> century) found on the Runsa hilltop settlement.  
Drawing by Svante Fischer and Teodora Linton Fischer.

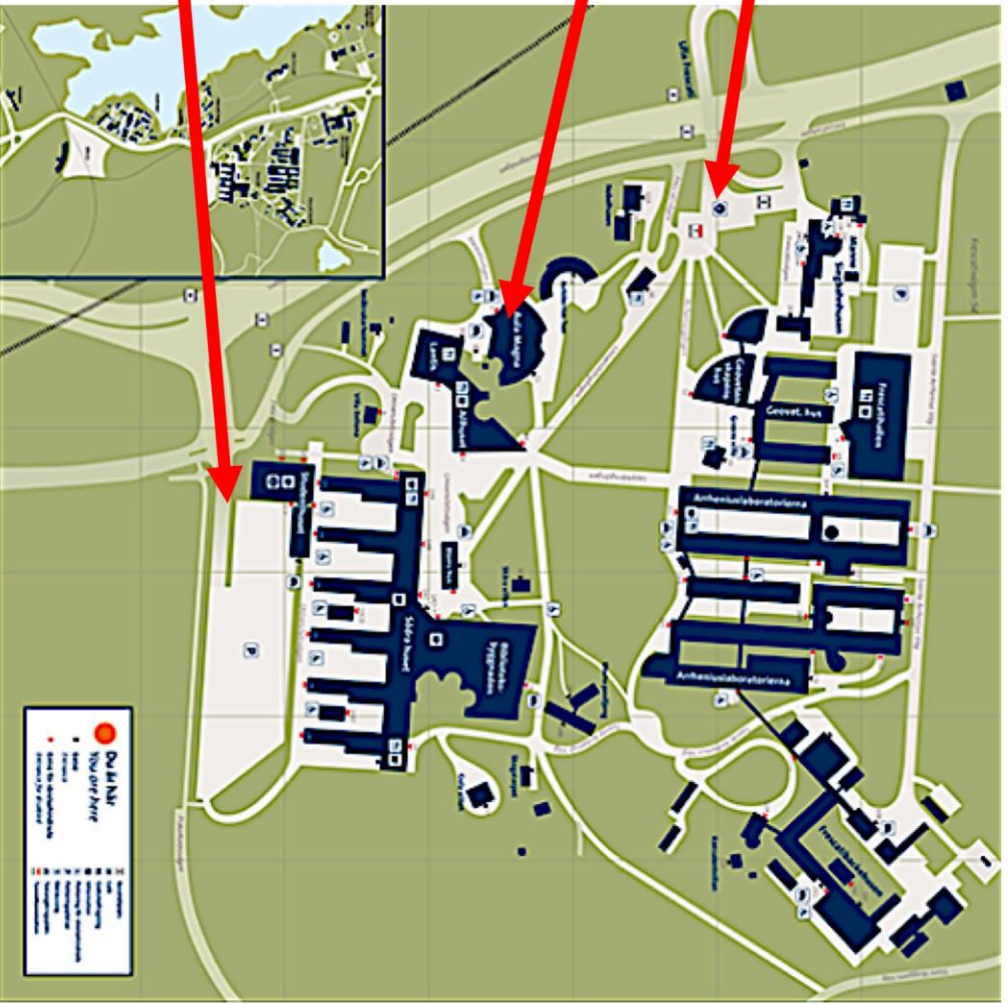
## – Frescati Campus

## Subway Station – Universitetet

**Aula Magna  
(Conference Venue)**

**Great Parking Lot** 

**(Excursion Departure/Arrival Point)**



## DAY 1 – Saturday, 15 September 2018

14.30-17.00 Workshop on aDNA

Practical workshop on Ancient DNA led by the leaders of the ATLAS-project, Mattias Jakobsson, Genetics, University of Uppsala, and geneticist Maja Krzewińska, Archaeological Research Laboratory, and Jan Storå, Osteology, Stockholm University, who will share their experiences in this field. Takes place in the afternoon at the Dept. of Archaeology and Classical Studies, a 15-min. walk from Aula Magna

16.30-18.00 Arrival and registration at the conference office

### 18.00 Opening ceremony in the Aula Magna

Welcome by the President of Stockholm University, Astrid Söderbergh Widding

Welcome by Anders Andrén, Dept. of Archaeology and Classical Studies

Welcome by Claus von Carnap-Bornheim, chair of the Sachsensymposium

18.30-19.30 **Keynote Lecture: A tree-ring perspective on the Late Antique Little Ice Age, 536 to c. 660 CE.**

Ulf Büntgen, Cambridge University.

Chair: Fredrik Charpentier Ljungqvist

Reception in the Aula Magna building

## DAY 2 – Sunday, 16 September 2018

08.45 **In memoriam**

Robert Koch – Claus von Carnap-Bornheim

Vera Evison – Catherine Hills

09.00 **SESSION 1: CLIMATE CHANGE AND TRANSFORMATION**

Chair: Babette Ludowici

09.00 **Roots of later turbulence? Barbarian hinterland and crisis of the third century in the light of archaeology. A Central European perspective**

Bartosz Kontny

09.30 **The early medieval plague pandemic and its appearance in the archaeological record**

Doris Gutschmiedl-Schumann

10.00-10.30 Poster Slam, introduced by Torun Zachrisson

10.30-11.00 Coffee Break

11.00 **SESSION 1 (CONT.): CLIMATE CHANGE AND TRANSFORMATION**

Chair: Charlotte Hedenstierna-Jonson

11.00 **The impact of environmental change on an iron age farmstead**

- 11.30      **Tips of icebergs – change and continuity between the 5th and the 8th centuries in the hinterland of the Danevirke**  
Thorsten Lemm
- 12.00      **Transforming settlement structures, trade, and society – about Birka's and Hedeby's early roots**  
Volker Hilberg and Sven Kalmring
- 12.30-13.20      Lunch
- 13.20      **BOOK RELEASE                      Helgö Revisited**  
Helen Clarke and Kristina Lamm, introduced by Svante Fischer
- 13.30      **SESSION 2: CHANGE IN MATERIAL CULTURE AND SETTLEMENT**  
Chair: Siv Kristoffersen
- 13.30      **Stability and Change – Cultural, territorial and landscape dynamics in the old Prussian lands in the first millennium AD**  
Claus von Carnap-Bornheim, Adam Cieśliński, Christoph Jahn, Sławomir Wadył
- 14.00      **Death in Iron Age Mid-Jutland**  
Rasmus Birch Iversen
- 14.30      **Rise and Fall – settlement evidence in the region of Ejsbøl Mose, southern Jutland, Denmark**  
Pernille Kruse
- 15.00      **Settlement, Farmland and Lordship in Early Medieval Scandinavia**  
Jan-Henrik Fallgren
- 15.30-16.00      Coffee Break
- 16.00      **SESSION 2: CHANGE IN MATERIAL CULTURE AND SETTLEMENT**  
Chair: Birgitta Hårdh
- 16.00      **Von den Galindai zu den Galinditae: Kontinuität oder zwei Umbrüche. Ein Hauptproblem der altpreußischen Archäologie des 1. Jahrtausends**  
Wojciech Nowakowski
- 16.30      **A "workbox" from an Early Viking Age burial in Norway and its European contexts**  
Zanette Glørstad
- 18.00      Meeting of the Co-ordinating Committee/ Sitzung des koordinierenden Ausschusses in "Bergsmannen" in the Aula Magna building (evening).

### **DAY 3 – Monday, 17 September 2018**

- 08.45      Excursions to the Runsa hilltop fort, royal seat Gamla Uppsala and boat burial site Valsgärde
- 17.00      Reception and welcome in Rikssalen (Hall of State), at Uppsala Castle
- 19.30      Estimated return to Stockholm

## **DAY 4 – Tuesday, 18 September 2018**

- 08.30      **Keynote Lecture: Change and Continuity in the Long 6<sup>th</sup> Century**  
Peter Frankopan, Oxford University  
Chair: Anders Andrén
- 09.30      **SESSION 3: CHANGE IN MATERIAL CULTURE**  
Chair: Sam Lucy
- 09.30      **Sandby Borg – Motive for a Massacre from the Migration Period?**  
Helena Victor
- 10.00      **The north in the south. Scandinavians and Scandinavian influences  
between the Oder and Vistula rivers in the Late Roman Iron Age and the  
Migration Period**  
Jan Schuster
- 10.30-11.00 Coffee Break
- 11.00      **SESSION 3 (CONT.): CHANGE IN MATERIAL CULTURE**  
Chair: Anna Wessman
- 11.00      **A new era, and new military structure 500 AD**  
Anne Nørgård Jørgensen
- 11.30      **Åker in Hedmark – A 6th century site that survived the great change**  
Ingunn M. Røstad
- 12.00      **A new equal-armed relief brooch find from Finland**  
Ulla Moilanen, Sami Raninen and Vadim Adel
- 12.30-13.30 Lunch
- 13.30      **SESSION 3 (CONT.): CHANGE IN MATERIAL CULTURE**  
Chair: Alexandra Pesch
- 13.30      **Change in Scandinavian Figural Imagery and Artistic Techniques  
from the Early to Late Iron Age**  
Nancy L. Wicker
- 14.00      **The rise and fall of pottery-making in Norway, 4th- 6th century AD.  
What happened to the potters?**  
Bente Magnus
- 14.30      **Change in the 6th century in light of the animal bones from Helgö**  
Bettina Stolle
- 15.00      **The making of a terminal Migration Period ‘technology of remembrance’  
in SW Norway**  
Per Ditlef Fredriksen

15.30-16.00 Coffee Break

**16.00 SESSION 3 (CONT.): CHANGE IN MATERIAL CULTURE**

Chair: Henrica Annaert

**16.00 Constructing Authority in Early Medieval Elite Settlements**

Clifford M. Sofield

**16.30 Die archäologische Sammlung des Landesmuseums Natur und Mensch in Oldenburg (The archaeological collection in the state museum nature and man in Oldenburg)**

Ursula Warnke

**18.30** Conference dinner at the Swedish History Museum, Narvavägen 13–17, Stockholm.  
Kent Andersson presents the Gold Room, followed by reception. Dinner in the Baroque hall.

**DAY 5 – Wednesday, 19 September 2018**

**09.00 SESSION 4: THE REALM OF IDEAS – RELIGION AND POLITICS**

Chair: Bente Magnus

**09.00 In close-up view: Animal art and crafts in times of change**

Siv Kristoffersen and Unn Pedersen

**09.30 Gold Foil Figures in Focus**

Michaela Helmbrecht and Alexandra Pesch

**10.00 Times of Change – the 8th century in the Lake Mälaren Valley**

John Ljungkvist and Charlotte Hedenstierna-Jonson

10.30-11.00 Coffee Break

**11.00 SESSION 4 (CONT.): THE REALM OF IDEAS – RELIGION AND POLITICS**

Chair: Alison Klevnäs

**11.00 Silver-rings and Marten Skins**

**Contacts between the Volga Region and the Baltic in the Early Viking Age**

Birgitta Hårdh

**11.30 An enigmatic 8<sup>th</sup>-9<sup>th</sup> century deposition at Gentbrugge (Ghent, Flanders, Belgium): Pre-Christian traditions surviving Christianisation?**

Johan Hoorne, Rica Annaert and Anton Ervynck

**12.00 Jelling – transformations in the settlement patterns of the 1st millennium**

Katrine Balsgaard Juul and Charlotta Lindblom

**12.30 Weapon Burials and the Body in the early Anglo-Saxon and Viking-Ages**

Duncan Sayer

- 13.00      **Ulfberth's Innovation. A substantial change in forging early medieval swords and its possible causes**  
Ulrich Lehmann
- 13.30      **Reflections and Concluding Remarks**  
Barbara Yorke

## **POSTERS**

**House 4 in Sandby borg - an early glass workshop and traces of brutal violence**  
Clara Alfsdotter, Ludvig Pappmehl-Dufay, and Helena Victor

**The Hoby site – a chieftain's community?**  
Ruth Blankenfeldt

**Vendel period and Viking Age female graves at Valsgärde**  
Anne-Sofie Gräslund

**Changes and continuity in settlement and land use**  
Karin Lindeblad and Maria Petersson

**Living in the Hinterland, Sacrificing near the Coast  
- The Tavhave Settlement South of Nydam**  
Lene Heidemann Lutz

**Corpses in a landscape of change: Body positioning in early Anglo-Saxon England**  
Sian Mui

**Addressing Funeral Landscapes and Identities beyond ethnic and religious labels**  
Celia Orsini

**People and Place: The Making of the Kingdom of Northumbria 300-800 CE**  
Sarah Semple, Stuart Brookes, Brian Buchanan, Becky Gowland, Sue Harrington, Andrew Millard, Janet Montgomery & Lauren Walther



## ABSTRACTS

### **Keynote: A tree-ring perspective on the Late Antique Little Ice Age (536 to around 660 CE)**

Ulf Büntgen

In this keynote, I will first provide an overview of the methodological and intellectual principles of modern, cross-disciplinary oriented tree-ring research. I will then focus on the recently reconstructed climatic changes that occurred during the first half of the Common Era, both in Europe and Asia, where they have been suggested to play a role in societal reorganizations roughly around the six-century. More specifically, I will utilize two dendroclimatological examples from the Russian Altai and the European Alps to demonstrate the ability of well-replicated ring width composite chronologies that combine samples from living trees and relict wood from high-elevation, near treeline sites, to reconstruct summer temperature variability over the past two millennia. The new records reveal unprecedented, long-lasting and spatially synchronized cooling following a cluster of large volcanic eruptions in 536, 540 and 547 CE, which was likely sustained by feedbacks between the ocean, sea-ice and atmosphere, superimposed on a distinct solar minimum. The interval from 536 to ~660 CE is thus identified as the Late Antique Little Ice Age (LALIA), which coincides with rising and falling civilizations, pandemics, human migration and political turmoil across large parts of Eurasia. Although additional, multi-proxy evidence suggests that the LALIA affected much of the Northern Hemisphere, our understanding of the magnitude and spatial extent as well as the possible causes and concurrences of the LALIA is still limited. Nevertheless, I will recommend this unprecedented cold phase to be considered as an additional environmental factor contributing to the establishment of the Justinian plague, transformation of the eastern Roman Empire, collapse of the Sasanian Empire and downfall of the eastern Turk Empire, movements out of the Asian steppe and Arabian Peninsula, spread of Slavic-speaking people and political upheavals in China. I will further argue that the continued usage of the term “Dark Ages Cold Period” is problematic on several grounds, and that scientists should adjust their terminology to reflect the current scholarship in other disciplines. With these points in mind, I will conclude on the pitfalls of deterministic and reductionist approaches to placing archaeological findings and historical events in the context of environmental fluctuations, including climate change.

### **Roots of later turbulence? Barbarian hinterland and crisis of the third century in the light of archaeology. A Central European perspective**

Bartosz Kontny

The paper refers to a restless epoch of the late 2nd and early 3rd c. AD, i.e. the times of wars in the northern Europe. It presents a military and cultural situation in the Central European Barbaricum including the tendency towards migration. The movements of the Barbarian peoples aimed mainly to the south (the Przeworsk Culture, the Wielbark Culture) which may be inferred from the distribution of the artifacts typical of particular cultures. But the traces of military infiltration to the north are also shown, specifically from the West Balt Circle (Sudovian Culture, see: grave 1 from the barrow 2 at Szwańcaria cemetery, NE Poland) and the Przeworsk Culture, as the weapons of these cultural units are documented in the sacrificial bog sites of the northern Europe, namely in Vimose. It seems very probable that warriors from the territory of today's Poland took part in these events. The purposes of the pressure were, i.a. population-stress (growth is manifested by the increase of the graves' number and their wealth as well as by the population of the deserted areas) observed generally in the Central European Barbaricum, militarization of Barbarian societies (noticeable mainly in case of the Przeworsk Culture in the sudden growth of weapon-graves ratio), possibly better organization of military retinues (inferred from the standardization of weapon sets),

attraction of Roman civilization, etc. One of the underestimated factors is Roman presence in the Barbarian lands which may be deduced from references of Ancient written sources (i.a., Pliny the Elder, Tacitus, Cassius Dio), certain precious finds (for example Roman pugio from ex-Ilischken in the Dollkeim-Kovrovo Culture) and numerous new finds of Roman military equipment (viz. belt and horse harness mounts and weapon elements, incl. e.g. gilded plaque in shape of beneficiarius' spearhead) from the territory of the Przeworsk Culture (region of Kuyavia). The latter may be compared with extraordinary Roman finds from Erfurt-Frienstedt (Thuringia) interpreted as a premise for recruitment of Barbarian mercenaries in the Germanic central place, specifically during the times of Imperium Galliarum. Other possible explanations of parallel, Couyavian phenomenon will be discussed as well.

## **The early medieval plague pandemic and its appearance in the archaeological record**

Doris Gutsmedl-Schümann

According to the written and literary sources, one of the new aspects of environment the people had to deal with from the transition from the Early to the Late Iron Age onwards were frequent re-occurrences of the early medieval plague. The so-called Justinianic Plague were described and recorded for the first time in the middle of the 6th century AD. It spread according to the written sources within a few years through the world as it was known at that time and reappeared in at least 18 waves until 750 AD. Classically, the Justinianic Plague is considered as the first of three major plague pandemics. Our contemporary picture of plague outbreaks and the treatment of plague victims is mainly determined by the written and visual sources we have from the late medieval and modern plague pandemics, which often records social disruption, widespread deaths and mass graves, and by the modern western view, how an epidemic outbreak shall be handled. In diachronic comparison, these perceptions are often ascribed to the early medieval plague and the treatment of its victims as well. But what can the archaeological record tell us about it? In 2005, two victims of the Justinianic Plague were identified by aDNA-analysis and the detection of *Yersinia pestis* in a Merovingian cemetery in Aschheim, Upper Bavaria, Germany. In the grave, Aschheim-Bajuwarenring Grab 166/167, two richly equipped women were buried in the typical early medieval way, with no signs for hasty obtained burial rituals: Obviously, the bereaved did carefully follow the traditional burial rites. Besides, the plague was not expected in early medieval Aschheim: Even though literary sources are known from early medieval Aschheim, none of them mentions the plague after all. And this grave was only a starting point: Since 2005, many more early medieval burials were tested and examined to *Yersinia pestis* DNA, and in some cases, the results were positive, and are also already published. Using the confirmed plague graves from the early medieval cemetery of Aschheim-Bajuwarenring as a starting point, I would like to discuss in my paper the so far known early medieval plague graves as they can be found in the archaeological literature, especially with regards to the topic of this year's Sachsensymposium.

## **The impact of environmental change on an iron age farmstead**

Martin Gollwitzer

In 2009 and 2010 the author excavated a prehistoric farm site with features from bronze age to medieval times in Hesby near Tønsberg in Vestfold, Norway. The site lies in on one of the core areas of viking age Norway not far from the famous sites of Gokstad and Oseberg. The excavations resulted in a rich material especially from younger iron age. The site is situated at a hill-slope and at the site we could excavate five wells from iron age, four Viking age graves and a complex stratigraphy with colluvial layers. Under the excavation in Hesby a rich material for different scientific analyses, as macrofossil, pollen and soil micromorphology, was collected and the analysis of this material made it possible to reconstruct the

farmsteads development under the iron age and the impact of change in the environmental preconditions under the period. The key to the understanding the special history of the Hesby farm where the situation at the hill slope and erosional processes. Our analyses showed that there was a cyclus of phases with intensive agrarian use of the landscape that resulted in an extreme erosion and was followed by phases with less intensive landscape use.

### **Tips of icebergs – change and continuity between the 5th and the 8th centuries in the hinterland of the Danevirke**

Thorsten Lemm

In the province of Schleswig-Holstein evidence for a population between the 5th and the 8th centuries has in principal been very sparse. Archaeology, pollen analyses and place name research all point into the same direction: a depopulation of large areas during the Migration Period with only a few hints to continuous settlement activities and a repopulation from c. 800 AD onwards. This development has typically been connected with the historically attested migration of the Angles and Saxons to Britain in the 5th century and the mentioning of a deserted Anglia by the English monk Beda Venerabilis in 731 AD. On the one hand, indeed a thinned out population has to be assumed for the period 5th–8th century. On the other hand, this situation might to a certain degree be explained by the state of research, as suggested by scattered archaeological finds and features that have been discovered recently. In some cases, these even point to the upper stratum of society and may therefore indicate that the population continued to exist to a higher extent than previously anticipated. In this context, one monument is of particular interest: the Danevirke – a system of defensive works built in order to seal off the Schleswig isthmus against attacks from the south. Recent excavations yielded astonishing datings for the first two phases of the Danevirke's main wall pointing to the time before and around 500 AD. A huge expansion of the defense system took place in 737 AD, followed by further building phases in the Viking Age and medieval times. According to these datings, the Danevirke, in a sense, may be regarded as some kind of bridging element between the older and the younger Iron Age. Since long, the Danevirke is understood as a construction of a central power with its building and usage presupposing a high degree of central planning, organization and administration. Hence, there is a contradiction between previous results of archaeological, historical, onomastic and palynological research suggesting a rather sparse population between the 5th and the 8th centuries and the Danevirke, which imperatively required a population in the hinterland controlled by a central power during the periods of the early building phases. The paper will present new insights into the settlement history in Schleswig-Holstein with a focus on the hinterland of the Danevirke and discuss these against the backdrop of the established state of research.

### **Transforming settlement structures, trade, and society – about Birka's and Hedeby's early roots**

Volker Hilberg and Sven Kalmring

The late Merovingian period saw the invention of a new type of settlement in the North and Baltic sea areas dedicated to long-distance trade as well as the manufacturing of all different types of commodities – the emporia. These places are characterized as lying inshore in border areas favoured by a prominent location in an estuary or at an isthmus. Many of them possess a long research tradition and the whole topic has been permanently in the focus of analytical studies from the early 1980s (Hodges 1982) up to recent days (e.g. Gelichi & Hodges 2012; Kleingärtner 2014, Malbos 2017) connected especially with the socioeconomic development of early medieval Europe. New research of the last years in the two prominent Baltic sea emporia of Hedeby and Birka has shed new light on the early development of both places and enables us to ask new questions concerning the development and transformation of internal

structures and the driving forces behind these processes. The paper concentrates on a discussion of Birka's and Hedeby's early origins, the role of their elites, the development of their communication networks and the transformation from the Vendel period resp. the Late Germanic Iron Age to the Viking Age.

### **Stability and Change – Cultural, territorial and landscape dynamics in the old Prussian lands in the first millennium AD**

Claus von Carnap-Bornheim, Adam Cieśliński, Christoph Jahn, Sławomir Wadył

The area of Warmia and Masuria in the north-eastern part of Poland provides an exceptionally profound set of archaeological sources, which enables us to re-construct and analyse the territoriality and settlement dynamics from the times of the Roman Empire to the Migration Period and to the Early Middle Ages before the arrival of the Teutonic Order.

Archaeological research in Warmia and Masuria and other parts of former East Prussia was conducted before 1945 by the Prussia Museum in Königsberg. The archaeological objects from this pre-war research had been unavailable for a long time and were only recently reviewed and reappraised in combination with several unpublished archival sources. The introduction of this unknown archaeological material is a new approach to understand the nature of the cemeteries and settlements of Roman and Migration Period and Early Middle Ages and their chronological relations. Unlike other areas in Central Europe, we can identify a rather stable transition from late Roman Period to the Migration period. The modern Polish archaeological research in Warmia and Masuria brought a number of new find spots to light with new possibilities to identify times of continuity and discontinuity and to understand the cultural, social and economic interactions, which took place between different territories, especially at the transition from Late Migration Period to Early Middle Ages. In a joint Polish-German research project we will combine the pre-war object information with the results from modern Polish excavations in Masuria and Warmia to be subjected to interdisciplinary analysis, including GIS-based analysis of selected settlements areas, geomorphology, natural resources and the distribution of archaeological objects. The resulting GIS-based model will try to identify the territoriality of cultural units, the regional patterns of settlement dynamics as well as migration and acculturation processes reflected in the distribution of archaeological finds in the first millennium A.D. This will be a tool for the understanding of the complex processes of cultural transition and local, regional and trans-regional contacts and the basis to identify periods of stability and change in this unique region.

### **Death in Iron Age Mid-Jutland**

Rasmus Birch Iversen

Ten museums in the Region of Mid-Jutland are currently working together to publish graves from the late Roman to the late Germanic period (AD200-750). The project sheds a renewed light on the classic survey on the regionality and chronology of Jutland by Ringtved (*KUML* 1986) by adding much new material to an area originally almost void of finds. In her influential work, Ringtved identifies two regional groups in Jutland between the third and the fifth centuries. These were interpreted by her and later scholars as two separate political entities. Mid-Jutland was poorly represented in her survey, which undoubtedly influenced and prompted these conclusions. The addition of new material from the region casts some doubt on the conclusions of a Jutland divided into only two regions. Moreover, the adaptation of Ringtved's pottery chronology opens up questions on absolute and relative chronology, especially in regard to the onset of her chronology, which may have heavy implications on our understanding of how and when society changed during the late Roman period.

## **Rise and Fall – settlement evidence in the region of Ejsbøl Mose, southern Jutland, Denmark**

Pernille Kruse

Just west of Haderslev (southern Jutland) Museum Sønderjylland recently excavated a 1.8 ha large settlement dated to the Late Roman and Early Germanic Iron Ages. The site is characterised by a large number of constructions (169) which had been rebuilt in several phases. Due to the topography, the settlement density is quite high and the settlement layout was obviously maintained over generations. It appears that this well-structured densely settled site fluctuated during the Late Roman and Early Germanic Iron Ages after which it was abandoned. This general pattern has been observed at contemporary settlements in the vicinity. This paper places the settlement in its regional context considering the contemporary settlements nearby as well as the sacrificial bog of Ejsbøl Mose only 800 m northeast of the settlement. Ejsbøl Mose is famous for the sacrifices of large amounts of weapons and military gear deposited in the Late Roman and Early Germanic Iron Ages – the period of use corresponds exactly to that of the settlement site.

## **Settlement, Farmland and Lordship in Early Medieval Scandinavia**

Jan-Henrik Fallgren

This paper discusses the relationship between the lordship operating during the early medieval period, and the arrangements of farmland and settlement. In recent years it has been argued that there was a shift in the middle of this time period, from an extensive to an intensive lordship, with a more hierarchical society and the introduction of estates. This paper argues against those ideas and gives an alternative view on the impact of climate crises on the Scandinavian societies. Usually, the emergence of a more lavish burial custom and the building of imposing grave mounds in the seventh century are behind the idea of the introduction of a more unequal society. When studying the settlement structures (farms and field-systems) in a long-time perspective, there is nothing at all to indicate that a more hierarchical system was introduced in Scandinavia. Moreover, there is nothing in the settlement structures that reveal or even suggest that estates ever existed or were imposed during this time period. The excessive burial custom will instead, in this paper, be argued as a sign of societal stress most probably caused by the climate crises and plagues during the early medieval period. Comparisons of archaeology and written sources between Scandinavia and the British Isles will reinforce the arguments for these interpretations.

## **Von den Galindai zu den Galinditae: Kontinuität oder zwei Umbrüche. Ein Hauptproblem der altpreußischen Archäologie des 1. Jahrtausends**

Wojciech Nowakowski,

In der Mitte des 2. Jhs verortete Ptolemäus im Nordwesten seines europäischen Sarmatia, östlich der Unterweichsel, das Volk Galindai (Γαλινδαί), während im 14. Jh. in der Chronik des Deutschen Kreuzritterordens, der altpreußische Stamm der Galinditae erwähnt wurde. Die offensichtliche Ähnlichkeit der beiden Namen ist der Anlass, die beiden Völker als denselben Stamm zu betrachten und, konsequenterweise, die Ptolemäischen Galindai in der gut bekannten Heimat der ordenszeitlichen Galinditae, also im Südwesten des frühmittelalterlichen Preußens, in Masuren, zu platzieren. Diese Identifizierung galt gleichzeitig als Beweis für eine fast anderthalbtausendjährige Besiedlungskontinuität in dieser Region. Die archäologischen Funde weisen jedoch darauf hin, dass im genannten Zeitrahmen zwei grundsätzliche Veränderungen im Kulturmodell stattfanden. Der erste Wandel trat am Anfang der späten Völkerwanderungszeit (um das Jahr 500) ein, als in den Gräberfeldern in Masuren zahlreiche Gegenstände – Bügelfibeln, Schnallen, Riemenzungen – auftreten, die nach einem neuen Stil hergestellt wurden. Die neuen Funde zeugen von Verbindungen mit den germanischen Stämmen aus dem Mittel- und Unterdonaugebiet, was vermuten lässt, dass diese Sachlage eine Migration germanischer Bevölkerungsgruppen aus dem Süden widerspiegelt. Gleichzeitig weisen jedoch Gefäße, die mit den genannten Gegenständen vergesellschaftet waren, auf eine Fortsetzung der heimischen Tradition hin, die sich aus der kaiserzeitlichen Keramik aus Masuren ableiten lässt. Aus diesen Gründen führte der berühmte schwedische Archäologe Nils Åberg, für dieses Phänomen den Begriff der „masurgermanischen Kultur“ ein. Der zweite Änderung war nicht so spektakulär, aber sie bedeutete wohl einen wesentlich tieferen Eingriff ins Leben der Bewohner Masurens: vom Ende des 7. Jhs. an waren immer mehr Gräberfelder nicht mehr belegt, was als ein stufenweise verlaufender Wandel in der Begräbnissitte angesehen wird, der die Folge von Einflüssen der „bestattungslosen“ Kultur der Slawen gewesen sein könnte. In derselben Zeit entstanden auch befestigte Siedlungen, gleichfalls dem slawischen Siedlungsmodell nach angelegt. Diese beiden, kurz dargestellten Veränderungen wurden in der bisherigen Forschung sowohl als Resultat einer germanischen bzw. slawischen Migration, als auch als Indikator der wirtschaftlichen oder sozialen Entwicklung betrachtet. Die modernen Methoden der heutigen Siedlungsarchäologie sollten helfen dieses Problem zu lösen oder es mindestens teilweise zu erklären.

## **A “workbox” from an Early Viking Age burial in Norway and its European contexts**

Zanette Glørstad

The many insular objects found in Viking Age burials in Norway, are often seen as manifest evidence of the range of plunder and contact from the shores of Norway towards the British Isles from the late 8th century. Still, once in a while there appear glimpses of other stories, and of more varied patterns of mobility and interconnection within and across the North Sea. This paper explores this issue, by examining a variant of an Anglo-Saxon “workbox”, found in a richly furnished late 8th/early 9th century female burial in the isolated Setesdal valley in South-Norway. Although recognized as a unique object at its registration in 1920, the box since escaped all attention. The variant is known from 7th c. burials from Bornholm in Denmark, and other variants are known from England and from the Continent. The Setesdal-box represents the only one from Norway, and the northernmost find of these objects. Their function has been disputed, but recent interpretations suggest that they contained amulets or Christian relics. The box from Norway serves as a peek hole into a more nuanced story of mobility, ideological transmission and object transformation across the North Sea, in the period leading up to the Viking Age.

## **Keynote Lecture: Change and Continuity in the Long 6<sup>th</sup> Century**

Peter Frankopan

Some historians see the 6<sup>th</sup> Century as a truly pivotal period in history – marking the break between Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages, an era of fragilities whose repercussions lasted for centuries, if not longer. This talk will seek to draw a range of sources, materials and ideas together to question the extent to which the centrality of the period represents the mirror through which we choose to examine the past and whether our determination to see change prevents us from identifying continuities.

### **Sandby Borg – Motive for a Massacre from the Migration Period**

Helena Victor

The Migration Period was characterized by political, social and economic instability. A social and economic crisis can be identified in various areas of Scandinavia during this time and especially on Öland. Excavations at Sandby borg ringfort, on the island of Öland in south-east Sweden, have revealed unique traces of a Migration Period (c. 400—550 AD) massacre. Up until 2018 about 9% (490 m<sup>2</sup> of 5000 m<sup>2</sup>) of the ringfort three whole houses and parts of streets and houses has been excavated. The conclusions that a massacre has occurred are based on the discovery of human remains from at least 26 individuals, several of whom display lethal traumatic injuries, the skeletal remains of animals abandoned following the assault and artefacts. The dead individuals span all age groups but are gender-biased towards males. The site provides a snapshot of the moment of both the massacre and everyday life that was halted brutally. Osteological, contextual and artefactual evidence strongly suggest that the fort was abandoned immediately following the attack and was left undisturbed afterwards. Underneath one of the houses remains from of a ravaged older burial site with small cremation graves were found. A large standing lime slab, presumably marking the burials, had been destroyed. They had been deliberately covered up by gravel which constituted the floor level in the house built on top of it. This phenomenon is very unusual and can be considered a very aggressive act. Could it be one of the motives for the massacre? We do not interpret the massacre as an act of outright plunder, but rather, as one that was connected to political instability during the turbulent Migration Period. Sandby borg is highly relevant to studies of ancient conflict and change as well on social and military aspects of Iron Age societies.

### **The north in the south. Scandinavians and Scandinavian influences Between the Oder and Vistula rivers in the Late Roman Iron Age and the Migration Period**

Jan Schuster

In the beginning of the migration period we can observe a destabilization of the settlement system between Oder and Vistula rivers. The traditional cultural structures in this area began to dissolve, slowly. On the other hand, more and more finds of Scandinavian origin, inter alia things made of precious metal and of high symbolic value dating back to the time around 500 are noticed. They can be connected with Scandinavian groups that penetrated the southern Baltic coast region and were either founders of centers of wealth and power there or attracted by those centers. In the northernmost part of Pomerania we even have evidence for small groups of Scandinavians that tried to settle down and buried their deceased at very small cemeteries.

## **A new era, and new military structure 500 AD**

Anne Nørgård Jørgensen

The south-Scandinavian society changes from a period filled with conflicts into a new era after 500 AD. The changes occur in large parts of society, and of course it also takes place in the military structure. The inherited physical heritage is given a "new" expression, which has led to interpretations of the transition period characterized by theories of decline after the fall of the Western Roman Empire. However, that is not the whole truth. The wealthy Danish farming community develops precisely in the period 500-600 AD and the major farm complexes stem from approx. 600 AD. In Denmark, the territorial tribal wars were finished in the 300-400s. The military structure is completely transformed into the 500s, and with this also the administrative division of the country from approx. 600 AD. This is closely connected to the budding naval organization introducing sailing ships and protected ports from approx. 680/700 AD. All this gives an impression of a surplus society, most of all reminiscent of the Viking age society. In late Germanic iron age/Merovingian Period/Vendel Period, Denmark follows into the early Middle Ages on the Continent with regards to customary law and administrative organisation.

## **Åker in Hedmark – A 6th century site that survived the great change**

Ingunn M. Røstad

In the middle of the 6th century comprehensive changes took place in society within the borders of present day Norway. There was a restructuring of settlements and a decline in number of graves as well as in imported goods like glass and bronze vessels, and in gold and silver objects among the grave goods. Moreover, the pottery tradition ended abruptly, the iron technology went through important changes, and the use of large scale trapping systems in the mountain and outfield areas came to an end. Weapons were radically modified and big boathouses and hillforts were abandoned. New art styles emerged and old art styles went out of use, and also the jewellery went through important changes. Seen together, all these changes constitute a fundamental shift in material culture that represents the transition between the Migration period (c. AD 400–550) and the following Merovingian period (c. AD 550–800) in Norway. However, selected sites such as Åker in Hedmark survived this radical shift. Why is this? In this paper the Åker site is presented and the reasons why just this site should survive the otherwise critical transition between the two periods are discussed. It is suggested that the survival of Åker may be connected to the special functions that this site served in both the Early and the Late Iron Age, and that Åker as a selected site in turn structured society through the special status with which it was attributed.

## **A new equal-armed relief brooch find from Finland**

Ulla Moilanen, Sami Raninen and Vadim Adel

In summer 2017, a metal detecting hobbyist found a gilded equal-armed relief brooch (variante 1 mit zungenförmigen Armen) ornamented with Salin Style I in southwestern Finland. Comparable brooches are rare finds in Finland, as only four similar objects have been found from the country so far. The Sastamala brooch is in fairly good condition, although it bears signs of fire, and the gilding is not visible anymore. The



decoration is unique and a special feature are the signs of use and repairment. The brooch was found in the southwestern extremity of the Lakeland in South Finnish interior, where the agricultural settlement intensified during the 4th-6th centuries AD, a process probably connected with the introduction of Proto-Finnic language within the area. Mortuary record suggests development of local elites in the period, and more or less intense participation in trans-regional exchange systems, both with the Baltics (especially NE Estonia) and Mälardalen. Some of the contacts maintained by these interior elites must have been mediated by the settlements in SW coast and Southern Ostrobothnia, but there are some indications of direct overseas connections as well. The impact of prestigious artefacts and increasing presence of weapons in furnished burials within the area was connected with a strong decrease of the "archaeological signal" in most parts of Finland, phenomena not necessarily connected to a population decrease (and predating the event of 536), but certainly suggesting of changes among the forager groups in the woodland regions.

### **Change in Scandinavian Figural Imagery and Artistic Techniques from the Early to Late Iron Age**

Nancy L. Wicker

Animal-style art is conspicuous in Scandinavia during the period of transition from the Early to the Late Iron Age, while bracteates, *guldgubbar*, and Gotlandic picture stones have offered seemingly rare glimpses of Iron Age figurative art. However, examination of the variety of figurative art, including new discoveries, reveals that human imagery is actually more common in the North than has previously been acknowledged. In this presentation, I will examine the role of figurative art and the techniques of its production during and after the shift from the Migration Period to the Vendel Period and Viking Age. The arrival of representational imperial imagery into Scandinavia on Late Roman medallions and medallion imitations had an outsized impact on a visual culture that had lacked anything similar; it resulted in a new object type, the gold bracteate of the fifth and sixth-century Migration Period. Although the emperor on Late Roman coinage was modeled three-dimensionally in low-relief and some Byzantine solidi (including examples found in Scandinavia) show a three-quarter oblique view of the emperor, Northern artists largely rejected such illusory volume, instead emphasizing linear two-dimensional art. Humans and animals alike were abstracted with simultaneous simplification and elaboration, and rarely were depicted in a "representational" mode. I will explore how representational art was incorporated into Scandinavia through technological modifications of numismatic techniques as seen on bracteates, simplified *Pressblech* techniques of *guldgubbar*, and eventually, small cast and carved figurines of the Viking Age, which may have been made in response to Christian art. Key in the development of styles were changes in the "ways of seeing"—the psychology of visual phenomena—with "mimesis" (imitation of the natural world) more direct in the actual three-dimensionality of sculpture than in the creation of illusion in relief or on flat planes.

### **The rise and fall of pottery-making in Norway, 4th- 6th century AD. What happened to the potters?**

Bente Magnus

When Herrebøe Fayence Fabrique near Halden put up its first products for sale in 1759, 1200 years had passed since the time when pottery had been produced on a larger scale for domestic use in Norway. Ceramic pots were no sought-after commodity during the Merovingian and Viking periods, and excavations in our medieval cities document a steady import of pottery from abroad but no local produce. The lively and inventive pottery tradition from the Late Roman and Migration periods ended seemingly abruptly in

the mid 6th and was not enlivened. Why? In my paper a short exposé of types of pots, their archaeological context, relations to pottery elsewhere and their area of application will be presented. The burnished pottery and the bucket-shaped are thought to have been “special purpose vessels”. The special purpose must have been such that it was not applicable in the second half of the 6th century and after. Who were the potters? Women or men, whose craft and skills were not useful in the new political and religious society that slowly emerged after the shift and laid the foundation for the Viking age societies? The skills and tradition of the blacksmiths, goldsmiths and weavers were obviously carried on, technicians and artists who earlier had worked in close proximity to the best potters particularly during the latter part of the Migration period in West Norway. What happened to the potters’ skills?

## **Change in the 6th century in light of the animal bones from Helgö**

Bettina Stolle

Helgö is one of the most discussed central places in East Central Sweden. The settlement reached its apex in the late 5<sup>th</sup> and early 6<sup>th</sup> century, where it produced unparalleled amounts of valuable commodities and appears as an important cultic centre. Previous studies have demonstrated that the archaeological remains at Helgö bear witness to a distinct change in the mid 6<sup>th</sup> century. This becomes visible through a sudden decline in bronze casting activities, changes in cultic activities and the establishment of cemeteries on the island. This study attempts to trace these changes through the analysis of a hitherto fairly neglected material, namely the faunal remains from Helgö. Large amounts of animal bones, around 400kg, have been collected during the more than 20 years of excavation. Only parts of them have so far been investigated. As direct remnants of human activities, in both mundane and ritual settings, animal bones carry important social information and have thus an incontestable potential to reflect the changes that are apparent in the mid 6<sup>th</sup> century. The aim of this study is to elucidate continuities and discontinuities in the selection, use and deposition of the preserved zooarchaeological remains. Can a discontinuity be linked to the dust veil event of 536? If so, this would add a new dimension to our understanding of this salient societal transformation that takes place in East Central Sweden in the Late Migration period.

## **The making of a terminal Migration Period ‘technology of remembrance’ in SW Norway**

Per Ditlef Fredriksen

In this paper we argue that a distinct ‘technology of remembrance’ developed during the Migration Period (MP, AD 400-550) in SW Norway, in which certain ceramic vessel types over time gained a unique value as grave containers. The troubled last decades of the MP marks the third and final phase for sophisticated crafts working with clay, metals and glass. Lingering as virtually the only ceramic type still in production in the 6th century, after two centuries of thriving progress and material experimentation, the production of bucket-shaped pottery collapsed immediately after its technological peak. Although largely concurrent with the recently much-debated AD 536-37 climatic ‘dust-veil’ event, the demise should be viewed against the background of processes and events in the foregoing centuries. An important factor is the consistent use of bucket-shaped in MP burials, which has led to the contention that there may have been only one such vessel for each individual. We apply a simple *chaîne opératoire* methodology, a temporal frame that classifies grave contexts with bucket-shaped pots into three broad categories, and relate the results to our recent archaeometric analyses. When viewing ceramic and metal crafts from an assemblage perspective and in connection with mortuary practices, distinct recipe patterns for handling bodies and grave objects emerge.

## **Constructing Authority in Early Medieval Elite Settlements**

Clifford M. Sofield

Elite settlements in early medieval Europe typically exhibited formal layouts and impressive, even monumental, construction. Great halls and palaces; elaborate alignments of buildings; burial mounds, churches, and other ritual structures; and private yards and massive palisades undoubtedly made for great optics, but the layout and composition of elite settlements also have much to reveal about the construction of authority and the performance of power. In early Anglo-Saxon 'great hall complexes', linear and cruciform alignments of buildings would have allowed for ceremonial processions through the complex, an activity that may have been important for negotiating and consolidating relationships among emerging elites. The formalization and exclusivity embodied in great hall complexes shows that access to kings was controlled by erecting both physical barriers and social layers of ceremony and ritual. This paper aims to move beyond the mere recognition of formality and monumentality in early medieval elite settlements, by proposing that settlement layout and composition reflect how elite authority was constructed, not just physically, but socially and politically. Principal features of the layouts and composition of rural elite settlements (including ecclesiastical and cult sites) are identified for each of three regions (Britain, Scandinavia, and northern France) and interpreted as physical embodiments of sociopolitical mechanisms for building elite authority. By comparing and contrasting how space was constructed, used, and controlled in elite settlements of each region, the paper seeks to establish similarities and differences in the ways in which elites established and maintained power throughout early medieval northwest Europe.

## **Die archäologische Sammlung des Landesmuseums Natur und Mensch in Oldenburg (The archaeological collection in the state museum nature and man in Oldenburg)**

Ursula Warnke

Das Landesmuseums Natur und Mensch in Oldenburg besitzt eine umfangreiche Sammlung an archäologischem Fundmaterial aus der Region des nordwestlichen Niedersachsens. Dazu gehören Funde aus den umliegenden Mooren wie Moorleichen, Bohlenwege und organisches Material, Fundmaterial aus Burgen und aus Gräberfeldern der röm. Kaiserzeit und dem frühen Mittelalter. Dieser Fundreichtum der Sammlung stammt aus einer Zeit, als das Landesmuseum eigene Ausgrabungen durchgeführt hat. Die überwiegende Anzahl der Grabungen fand in den 1950er-1960er Jahren statt. Häufig liegt das Fundmaterial aber nicht ausschließlich im Museum in Oldenburg. Manches wurde auch aufgeteilt, was eine Bearbeitung erschwert. Aktuell wird das frühmittelalterliche Gräberfeld Schortens im Rahmen einer Dissertation an der Universität Münster bearbeitet. Das Gräberfeld Zetel in Niedersachsen mit 716 nachgewiesenen Bestattungen vom frühem Mittelalter bis ins Mittelalter, ist noch immer nicht abschließend aufgearbeitet worden. Es handelt sich um Brandbestattungen und Körpergräber. Das Beigabenspektrum reicht von Gürtelschnallen, Messern und einigen Waffen bis hin zu besonders hervorzuhebenden Funden von Perlen aus Glas, Halbedelstein, Ton, Bernstein oder Silber. Der Wechsel in der Beigabensitte von reich ausgestatteten Gräbern hin zu beigabenlosen belegt die Übergangszeit vom Heidentum zum Christentum, die hier deutlich fassbar wird. Anhand dieses Fundortes soll die Bedeutung der vollständigen Aufarbeitung des Materials aus den Altgrabungen herausgestellt werden. Dieser Aufgabe will sich das Museum nun verstärkt widmen.

## **In close-up view: Animal art and crafts in times of change**

Siv Kristoffersen and Unn Pedersen

Studies of elaborate relief brooches in a close-up view suggest that there are highly conscious choices behind the tiniest details. Even small and barely visible changes in minor details are deliberately made in order to convey a specific message. Behind the precisely executed and thoroughly considered details lie a comprehensive technical know-how and an in-depth understanding of a symbolic language, suggesting that craftspeople played an essential role in intellectual and creative centres of expertise, in maintaining and developing the realm of ideas. We will explore the vulnerability of this kind of complex knowledge and the transmission of knowledge in times of turbulence and change. Does the knowledge disappear, does it survive in other areas or in other types of media, and how does continuity relate to change? We will take up these questions through a discussion on the Animal Art in the counties of Rogaland and Vest-Agder in Norway during the transition from the Migration Period to the Vendel Period. How do we perceive change and continuity when we take a close-up view and look within smaller regions, such as south-western Norway with a distinct craft tradition? And how does this close-up view relate to the more general impression we get by studying a wide research area, such as Scandinavia?

## **Gold Foil Figures in Focus**

Michaela Helmbrecht and Alexandra Pesch

The beginning of the Vendel Period marks a significant change in the imagery of the North. Something absolutely new emerges: tiny, fragile, embossed gold foil figures. Compared to the gold bracteates of the preceding Migration Period, they have new shapes, are manufactured in a different way, and they could not have been used practically, such as pendants, adornments or the like. On the one hand, the gold foil figures are rooted in the Migration Period imagery; on the other hand, however, their motifs are innovative. The garments of the figures, their gestures and attributes are different from the Migration Period images. The range of motifs is limited, but the motifs may vary in detail. There are no runes and no accompanying signs/symbols („Beizeichen“). The gold foil figures seem to be an expression of fundamental changes in the religious and political life, about whose no written sources tell. In 2015, an international research project was started at the Centre for Baltic and Scandinavian Archaeology (ZBSA) in Schleswig, taking the phenomenon of the gold foil figures into focus. Its goal is to venture analyses and revaluation of this central source material, by bringing researchers together who have worked with the gold foil figures before, and to collect the knowledge, in order to advance research. Single case studies, including research trips to find spots and objects, are part of the project. A first workshop in October 2017 in Schleswig with 22 invited specialists from eight nations related the imagery of the foil figures to the pictorial art of the neighboring cultures. A publication of the lectures and the outcome will appear at the end of 2018. The lecture will reveal some of the very interesting insights achieved during the workshop in Schleswig.

## **Times of Change – the 8th century in the Lake Mälaren Valley**

John Ljungkvist and Charlotte Hedenstierna-Jonson

A major objective of the research project the Viking Phenomenon is to go back to the very beginning of the Viking Age and approach the questions of how, when and why the Viking Age started? While many questions still remain, it is clear that an important part of the transition took place within the critical Eight century. Few geographical regions display this process as distinct as the Lake Mälaren Region of eastern Sweden. The archaeological material of the time and region is both extensive and, in many ways,

monumental. By examining individual contexts and setting them into a regional and even supra regional framework we may reach a deeper understanding, and perhaps deconstruct, the processes that lay behind this social transformation. This is a presentation of work in progress, exemplified by three important and complex burials after individuals who were a part of the changes: Valsgårde 13, the man under the hillfort rampart on Birka and the Norsborg burial. Through them we would like to address future questions and challenges related to the reasons and driving forces behind the beginning of the Viking Age.

## **Silver-rings and Marten Skins – Contacts between the Volga Region and the Baltic in the Early Viking Age**

Birgitta Hårdh

The Contacts between Scandinavia and the Baltic region in the Viking age were in many respects different from those to the West. In the East there were no towns and monasteries to rob. Here it was necessary to create wealth through trade, tributes and various alliances. In North-Western Europe fur trade was a most important factor and there are various signs that Scandinavians also took part here. At the same time vast amounts of Oriental silver reached north Europe. A certain group of silver rings, the so called Permian or Glazov rings have a striking distribution, known mainly from the regions west of the Urals and parts of Scandinavia. In Scandinavia they often appear together with dirhams of Abbasid type, usually from the 9<sup>th</sup> century. Obviously a study of them might shed light on Scandinavian East contact in the Early Viking Age. A factor worth to consider is that these rings obviously were made according to certain weight standards. Are they to be seen as an early type of money? In the East fur trade played an important role, as mentioned already from the 9<sup>th</sup> century and there are also possibilities to discuss a connection between silver and fur. With a point of departure from these rings I will discuss East- West connection in the Early Viking Age, early monetarisation and the connection between silver and fur.

## **An enigmatic 8<sup>th</sup>-9<sup>th</sup> century deposition at Gentbrugge (Ghent, Flanders, Belgium): Pre-Christian traditions surviving Christianisation?**

Johan Hoorne, Rica Annaert and Anton Ervynck

In 2015, at Gentbrugge (Ghent, Flanders, Belgium), a 20,000m<sup>2</sup> large area was explored with test trenches. The site is located close to the river Scheldt, near the medieval city of Ghent. Across the river, the early medieval settlement of Destelbergen was to be found. Amidst younger features, an isolated early medieval pit was excavated, of which the contents merit attention. A banded lance-head was recovered from the surface of the structure. In the 2.6m long, 0.7m wide and 0.2m deep pit a very dark and charcoal rich fill was present, covered by a more greyish brown layer which contained a peculiar set of finds. A pivoting knife, a small lead container, a quern and an unburnt cattle bone were recovered by hand. Subsequently, the contents of the pit were sieved over a 0.5mm mesh, yielding a concentration of (three species of) charred cereals, a monotonous assemblage of charcoal from oak and a number of cremated bones of pig and horse or cattle. Radiocarbon analysis dates the structure in the first half of the 8th century AD. This kind of deposition and its specific contents know no comparison in the wide region. It is clearly different from pits filled with consumption refuse, typical for residential sites, and due to the absence of human remains an interpretation as brandgruben-cremation grave is problematic. The possible symbolic meaning of the artefacts, the specific selection of the organic contents and the isolated positioning of the structure, overseeing a river valley with an early medieval settlement, could well indicate a ritual connotation. The presence of such a context is peculiar given the direct vicinity of Ghent, where Christianisation started in the first half of the 7th century and where the two abbeys (Sint-Baafs and Sint-Pieters) were founded in the early 700s. This structure is certainly an exceptional find and raises more questions than it can answer for the time being.

## **Jelling – transformations in the settlement patterns of the 1st millennium**

Katrine Balsgaard Juul and Charlotta Lindblom

Jelling is widely known for Harold Bluetooth's monuments with the two large burial mounds, the church and runic stones followed by the palisade. All of which demonstrate the power of the Jelling dynasty. However, the Jelling area also contains a large number of settlements dated to the earlier parts of the 1<sup>st</sup> millennium AD prior to the famous Viking Age site. The Jelling area is truly a place for transformations in the 1<sup>st</sup> millennium AD illustrated through the large number of settlements scattered across the southern outskirts of modern Jelling. From 2016-2017 Vejle Museums excavated a large settlement covering more than five hectares in the southeastern outskirts of Jelling. According to the shapes of the houses, leading to a preliminary house chronology the settlement is dated to approximately AD 300-700 and contains numerous farmsteads moving around over time. The size of the farmsteads changes over time but there appears to be some sort of continuity in this large settlement. When it comes to the overall settlement patterns in Jelling, it seems that the continuity is more difficult to find when it comes to the centuries between 600 and 1000 AD, where the dense settlement pattern in the earlier centuries seems to be interrupted. An issue that has been addressed in the Jelling-project. The recently excavated settlement offers the possibility to narrow the gap from AD 600-1000 in order to create a better understanding for the rise of the Jelling dynasty. It will thus be of great importance to test the coherence between the archaeological house chronology and the C<sup>14</sup> dating. The paper offers a presentation of the latest excavation combined with previous excavations and research projects leading to a discussion of the transformations in the settlement patterns in the Jelling area in the 1<sup>st</sup> millennium AD.

## **Weapon Burials and the Body in the early Anglo-Saxon and Viking-Ages**

Duncan Sayer

This paper will explore the early medieval weapon grave in Britain and Sweden. It will develop a spatial approach to burials using GIS referenced illustrations to look at patterns and tropes within the placement of weapons and in so doing it will explore the enmeshing of the adult body and weapons in the construction of the mortuary aesthetic. In early Anglo-Saxon England the sword is often placed high alongside shoulders, neck and face, prominent and visually mingling with the deceased's identity. Many Viking Age swords from the Scottish boat graves were worn, or placed next to the deceased complete a balance in the visual display across the middle of the boat. This aesthetic component of the weapon was one way of constructing early medieval personhood within the mortuary context by making, remaking and subverting gender, class, sexuality and age-based distinctions. By exploring the weapon burial in detail, it is possible to build a detailed picture nuanced view of elite identity reproduction and build a multi-dimensional perspective of masculinity and warrior identity.

## **Ulfberth's Innovation. A substantial change in forging early medieval swords and its possible causes**

Ulrich Lehmann

Presumably owing to their inscription, most probable naming the Frankish leader of a monastic workshop, the early medieval Ulfberth-swords are famous far beyond the scope of academic archaeology. But

besides, these finds embody a substantial change in the forging of two-edged weapons. They may be seen as the most important successor of the pattern welded spatha, whose blade consisted of a varying number of forge welded composite rods accompanied by separately produced cutting edges. The construction of the Ulfberth-swords in contrast is a lot simpler. The middle part of the blade, except for the inscription, is made of just one single element. It is often assumed, that these new weapons were much better than the old ones, as they were worthy to wear a name as some kind of trademark that was renowned for a long span of time. At first sight, it seems to be obvious, that technical improvement was the main factor to cause this general change in the development of early medieval swords. But taking a closer look, the situation is quite uncertain. On the one hand, the modern knowledge of the material properties of two-edged weapons in the first millennium is still scarce. So, the pattern-welded spatha and the Ulfberht-sword can hardly be compared in this regard. On the other hand, there are very little hints neither in written sources nor in archaeological finds, that pattern-welded blades may have been inappropriate in some way – compared to other swords – and needed improvement. Furthermore, there is evidence, that a strong and relatively static connection between the spatha itself, its production process and its symbolism, that was affected by religious beliefs, had been existent before the occurrence of the Ulfberht-swords. It seems, that only with the break-up of this triangle, it became possible to create new weapons and rethink the “concept” of the two-edged sword. So, apart from technical matters changes in religion may have also played a major role in this regard. Lastly, the significant decrease in the manufacturing effort of the Ulfberht-swords has to be stressed, enabling workshops to fabricate more weapons in less time. The paper will suggest, that there seems to be more than a single reason that caused the transition from pattern-welded blades to so-called monosteel weapons, represented first of all by the famous Ulfberht-swords, at the end of the first millennium. Therefore it will focus on technical as well as social aspects.

## **POSTERS**

### **House 4 in Sandby borg - an early glass workshop and traces of brutal violence**

Clara Alfsdotter, Ludvig Pappmehl-Dufay, and Helena Victor

Recent excavations of the Sandby borg ringfort on the island of Öland, present Sweden, have revealed evidence of a massacre which seemingly occurred at the end of the 5th century. Osteological, contextual and artefactual evidence suggest that the fort was abandoned immediately following the attack and was left undisturbed throughout antiquity. In 2016, one of the 53 houses located within the ringfort walls was excavated alongside parts of the ringfort wall and the street. The house foundation was constructed of lime stone and the interior structures partially remained. In the inner part a of the house, a stone fundament and several hearths containing scattered glass debris has been interpreted as the remains of a glass workshop. A production of multicolored glass beads likely took place at the site. Traces of different crafts alongside cooking is evidenced in house 4. The burnt shell of an onion is a very early evidence of this cooking ingredient, new to Scandinavia. Remains of at least four individuals were encountered in the same house - one elderly person, one child (c. 7-8 years old) and the remains of two youngsters. One of the youngsters had been decapitated. Alongside human remains, the curled-up skeleton of a sheep and that of a puppy suggest that the animals died of starvation following the abandonment. The killing in Sandby borg, as evidenced in several skeletons, was efficient and instrumental. The motive behind the massacre was likely to gain power and control. This gives reason to believe that conflicting groups constituted contemporary Öland society. The obliteration of the ringfort inhabitants and the disregard towards their dead bodies changed the spatial, biographical, and political landscape on Öland.

## **The Hoby site – a chieftain’s community?**

Ruth Blankenfeldt

A richly furnished inhumation grave dating from the Early Roman Iron Age was discovered in 1920 at Hoby, Western Lolland, Denmark. Hints to simple graves or a burial site from the Old Roman Iron Age are still lacking in the area. However, a contemporary settlement site has been located in close proximity to the grave. It covers an area about 100x150 meters. In the period from 2010 to 2015, excavations have been carried out. Approximately a third of the area has been surveyed until now. The investigations show that the buildings at Hoby represent a larger community. Different activity areas and more than 50 houses could be worked out. Two longhouses and a house with a spacious fencing emerge from the settlement pattern. Path systems within the living area as well as a large-scale waste area prove a planned development. The interpretation of a large feature in the north of the settlement continues to be discussed. It is a large water-filled pit surrounded by numerous smaller (cooking-) pits and wells. Lots of bone material and ceramics were found in the feature. Explanations of this mono- or multi-functional feature range from a regular rubbish pit to a gathering place for ritual practices. All in all, this site created a good basis to examine the social and structural connection between an unusual grave complex and a nearby settlement. The “Hoby Project” is a collaboration between the Danish National Museum, the Museum Lolland-Falster and the Center for Baltic and Scandinavian Archaeology (ZBSA).

## **Vendel period and Viking Age female graves at Valsgärde**

Anne-Sofie Gräslund

Concerning the Valsgärde cemetery it has been pointed out that the role and importance of the site as a burial ground has varied considerably over time. During some periods it is almost an exclusively élite cemetery, while during other phases a wider social span can be seen. This is an attempt to organize the Vendel Period and Viking Age cremation graves, above all the supposed female graves, chronologically in order to find out whether they fit into such a suggested pattern.

## **Changes and continuity in settlement and land use**

Karin Lindeblad and Maria Petersson

We will present results from a research project dealing with landscape and settlement in a long-term perspective, namely the Iron Age and the Medieval Period, in the Linköping area. The source material comprises results from ca 120 archaeological excavations of varying extent. Our presentation focuses on the period ca AD 300 – 600, when large changes occur in the Linköping area. Through a very detailed analysis of farms, farmlands and artefacts, both synchronic and diacronic processes are revealed. Around the Birth of Christ the central functions in the Linköping area became more pronounced and many new farms were established. Towards the end of the Roman Iron Age, there are signs of decline and the Early Iron Age settlement structure was abandoned at the end of the Migration Period. In the Late Vendel Period, farms were established in new places often near what was to become the village plots, and a central functions are amassed around the water-falls by the mouth of the river Stångån. During the 9th there was again a change in settlement pattern and the historical village plot was established. Other changes also occurred. We will discuss change and continuity in such aspects as settlement structure, road-systems, the outlay of the *tun* area, land-use in the sense of arable and animal husbandry, social structure, burials and ritual expressions. Our study indicates how the changes happened from a spatial perspective, something that will also indicate the role of different social groups in the events.



## **Living in the Hinterland, Sacrificing near the Coast - The Tavhave Settlement South of Nydam**

Lene Heidemann Lutz

In 2008 and 2010 excavations on two neighbouring and probably connected sites in the Southeastern part of Jutland revealed a settlement area, inhabited from the later part of the Pre-Roman Iron Age until 400 A.D., at which point the last farmstead burned down. Until now, nine farmsteads could be detected, and the settlement area seems far from exhausted. On Tavhave I, the farms were situated on either side of an open area with no structures. It is not quite clear how many of the farms were simultaneously in use. The preliminary results point to a development from one farmstead in the later part of the Pre-Roman Iron Age to a settlement of at least two, maybe three farms in the late 3<sup>rd</sup> and 4<sup>th</sup> Century. Further excavations may change this picture. On the Tavhave-site it has been possible to detect several different types of buildings, ranging from various three-aisled longhouses, open fences with double pitched roof as well as several smaller buildings with various functions. It has been suggested that a module-build three-aisled building from the late 2<sup>nd</sup> Century reflects the house-building tradition of the Angles (Kruse 2012). A study on the botanical remains from this particular house has given a unique insight in the economy of the farmstead, as well as the nourishing of the farmers and the exterior and interior design and function of the farm. From the second half of the 3<sup>rd</sup> Century until 400 A.D., a new variety within the three-aisled longhouses could be registered, making a distinct cultural determination of the site difficult. Overlapping <sup>14</sup>C-datings of houses with differing architecture raise a number of questions concerning house-building traditions and its cultural significance. Only 3,5 km north of Tavhave the well-known site of Nydam is situated, once a lake where sacrifices of war booty from a number of fights throughout the Late Roman Period and early Migration Period took place, the latest in the 5<sup>th</sup> Century. The presence of settlements – such as Tavhave – in the vicinity of Nydam invites to a discussion of the relationship between the war booty sacrifices and the nearby living population (Kruse 2012). As all reports from the excavations in Tavhave have now been completed, some of the results are presented in order to form a basis for further and future discussion.

## **Corpses in a landscape of change: Body positioning in early Anglo-Saxon England**

Sian Mui

This poster presents the findings from my PhD which examines body-positioning practice in inhumation burials in early medieval England. Bringing together over 3000 graves from 32 fifth- to eighth-century cemeteries across England, this research has identified intra- and inter-site patterns, variations, and change in body positioning. The changing points coincided with wider changes in Anglo-Saxon society: body positioning became more varied in the second half of the sixth century, at a time when England saw the emergence of regional elites and power centres. From the beginning of the seventh century when the Christianisation of the populations was underway in England, however, body positioning became markedly more uniform. Given the visual, performative, and emotive value of corpse positioning in early Anglo-Saxon funerary rituals, the changes in body positioning were far from a simple, one-directional, top-down imposition, but required larger scale change in attitude as well as the infrastructure to support. As the body hovered between centralised power structures, the new faith, local practices and traditions, and grieving mourners, the changing practice of corpse positioning signalled not simply a change in burial management, but a wider ideological reformulation of the perception of and attitudes towards death and the body in Anglo-Saxon society.

## **Addressing Funeral Landscapes and Identities beyond ethnic and religious labels**

Celia Orsini

This poster presents the results of a project on landscape and identity in North-East England and South-East Scotland. The research project is based on the premise that natural and human-altered landscapes can hold symbolic meaning for local communities and can influence their pragmatic decisions. The region studied offers an example of a landscape that was highly contested between the 5th-8th centuries, undergoing deep political and social changes including the expansion of the kingdom of Northumbria and the spread of Christianity. The area lay between the two northern Roman Frontiers: Hadrian's Wall and the Antonine Wall. Historically, it contained the kingdoms of Bernicia and Goddodin, with opposing forces to the north (the Picts) and south (the Kingdom of Deira), before the development and expansion of the kingdom of Northumbria by the 7th century. Working with 90 site locations and 2434 burials, this research explores how people signalled their identity and their connection to places through their funerary practices and through the use of their surroundings. Using proximity and viewshed analysis to complement the study, it discusses how the transformation of funerary practices, the organisation of intra-site spaces and the position of sites in the landscape can be linked to social and political transformation in the region.

### **People and Place: The Making of the Kingdom of Northumbria 300-800 CE**

Sarah Semple, Stuart Brookes, Brian Buchanan, Becky Gowland, Sue Harrington, Andrew Millard, Janet Montgomery & Lauren Walther

*People and Place* is a three-year Leverhulme-funded project concentrating on the emergence and development of the early medieval kingdom of Northumbria. This region once spanned the late Roman frontier, and encompassed a number of early polities, yet by the 7<sup>th</sup>-century it had emerged as a single large kingdom. We are exploring the variations and changes in funerary rites evident across the extent of northern England and southern Scotland from the late Roman/late prehistoric era to the 8<sup>th</sup> century AD and assessing the differences in approach to burial across space and time within this politically fluid region. Our research questions include how visible and accessible funerary rites were, how cemeteries differed in form and size from place to place, and we are interrogating differences in approach in terms of furnished and unfurnished rites. We are also exploring the evidence for changing trends in terms of investment and monumentality and questioning traditional view points on wealth and status. Locational preference is a core area of assessment in the work of the project and is showcased here. The practicalities of resource, subsistence and travel are suggested as structuring elements, shaping the funerary choices of early medieval populations. We also consider the contribution grave assemblages can make to our knowledge of wealth and status and consider the health and well-being of selected communities.

## **LIST OF PARTICIPANTS**

Participant		Country	Institution	E-mail
Anders	Andrén	Sweden	Stockholm University	anders.andren@ark.su.se
Rica	Annaert	Belgium	Flemish Heritage Agency	henrica.annaert@vlaanderen.be
Birgit	Arrhenius	Sweden	Stockholm niversity	birgit.arrhenius@arklab.su.se
Morten	Axboe	Denmark	Nationalmuseet	Morten.Axboe@natmus.dk
Katrine	Balsgaard Juul	Denmark	VejleMuseums	kabju@vejle.dk
Charlotte	Behr	UK	University of Roehampton, London	c.behr@roehampton.ac.uk
Justine	Biddle	UK	University of Central Lancashire	jebiddle@uclan.ac.uk
Lyn	Blackmore	UK	Museum of London Archaeology	lblackmore@mola.org.uk
Ruth	Blankenfeldt	Germany	Stift. Schleswig-Holsteinische Landesmuseen	ruth.blankenfeldt@schloss-gottorf.de
Else	Bojsen	Denmark		Else.Bojsen@image.dk
Vera	Brieske	Germany	LWL	vera.brieske@lwl.org
Stuart	Brookes	UK	University College London	s.brookes@ucl.ac.uk
Ulf	Büntgen	UK	University of Cambridge	
Claus v	Carnap-Bornheim	Germany	Schloss Gottorf	claus.carnap@schloss-gottorf.de
Fredrik	Charpentier Ljungqvist	Sweden	Stockholm University	fredrik.c.l@historia.su.se
Helen	Clarke	UK	University College London	helenclarke2012@gmail.com
Åsa	Dahlin Hauken	Norway	Universitetet i Stavanger	aasa.d.hauken@uis.no
Tania	Dickinson	UK	University of York	dickinson.tania@gmail.com
Søren	Diinhoff	Norway	University of Bergen	soren.diinhoff@uib.no
H.	Eilbracht	Germany	Museum für Vor- und Frühgeschichte	h.eilbracht@smb.spk-berlin.de
Per	Ethelberg	Denmark	Museum Sønderjylland	peret@msj.dk
Jan-Henrik	Fallgren	Sweden	Uppsala University	henke.fallgren@hotmail.com
Svante	Fischer	Sweden	Uppsala University	<a href="mailto:svante.fischer@arkeologi.uu.se">svante.fischer@arkeologi.uu.se</a>
Peter	Frankopan	UK	University of Oxford	
Per Ditlef	Fredriksen	Norway	University of Oslo	p.d.fredriksen@iakh.uio.no
Anna	Gannon	UK	University of Cambridge	ag335@cam.ac.uk
Zanette T.	Glørstad	Norway	University of Oslo	a.z.t.glorstad@khm.uio.no
Martin	Gollwitzer	Sweden	Länsstyrelsen Dalarna	martin_gollwitzer@yahoo.de
Christoph	Grünewald	Germany	LWL-Archäologie für Westfalen	christoph.gruenewald@lwl.org
Anne-Sofie	Gräslund	Sweden	Uppsala University	anne-sofie.graslund@arkeologi.uu.se
Ingar M.	Gundersen	Norway	University of Oslo	ingarmg@khm.uio.no
Doris	Gutsmiedl-Schumann	Germany	Freie Universität Berlin	doris.gutsmiedl@fu-berlin.de
Charlotte	Hedenstierna-Jonson	Sweden	Uppsala University	charlotte.hedenstierna-jonson@arkeologi.uu.se
Lene	Heidemann Lutz	Denmark	Museum Sønderjylland	lelu@msj.dk
Bertil	Helgesson	Sweden	Independent researcher	bertil.helgesson@gmail.com
Michaela	Helmbrecht	Germany	archäotext	michaela.helmbrecht@archaeotext.de
Volker	Hilberg	Germany	Stift. Schleswig-Holsteinische Landesmuseen	volker.hilberg@schloss-gottorf.de
Catherine	Hills	UK	University of Cambridge	ch35@cam.ac.uk
Johan	Hoorne	Belgien	De Logi & Hoorne bvba	johan@dl-h.be
Birgitta	Hårdh	Sweden	Lunds Universitet	birgitta.hardh@ark.lu.se
Frode	Iversen	Norway	University of Oslo	frode.iversen@khm.uio.no
Rasmus B	Iversen	Denmark	Moesgaard Museum	rbi@moesgaardmuseum.dk
Christoph	Jahn	Germany	Museum für Vor- und Frühgeschichte Berlin	cjahn@me.com
Sven	Kalrmring	Germany	Stift. Schleswig-Holsteinische Landesmuseen	sven.kalrmring@schloss-gottorf.de
Alison	Klevnäs	Sweden	Stockholm University	alison.klevnas@ark.su.se
Egge	Knol	NL	Groninger Museum	Eknol@groningermuseum.nl
Bartosz	Kontny	Poland	Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego	bartosz.kontny@uw.edu.pl
Elna Siv	Kristoffersen	Norway	University of Stavanger	siv.kristoffersen@uis.no
Pernille	Kruse	Denmark	Museum Sønderjylland	pekr@msj.dk
Jan Peder	Lamm	Sweden	Statens historiska museer	janpeder.lamm@bredband.net
Kristina	Lamm	Sweden	Riksantikvarieämbetet	kristina.lamm@bredband.net
Ulrich	Lehmann	Germany	LWL-Archäologie für Westfalen	lehmann.redaktion@gmx.de
Thorsten	Lemm	Germany	Stift. Schleswig-Holsteinische Landesmuseen	thorsten.lemm@schloss-gottorf.de
Charlotta	Lindblom	Denmark	Vejle Museum	chlin@vejle.dk
Karin	Lindeblad	Sweden	National Historical Museums	karin.lindeblad@arkeologerna.com
John	Ljungkvist	Sweden	Uppsala University	john.ljungkvist@arkeologi.uu.se
Sam	Lucy	UK	University of Cambridge	sjl18@cam.ac.uk
Babette	Ludowici	Germany	Braunschweigisches Landesmuseum	b.ludowici@3landesmuseen.de
Bente	Magnus	Sweden		bente.magnus@telia.com
Sonja	Marzinzik	Germany	Archäologische Staatssammlung	sonja.marzinzik@extern.lrz-muenchen.de
Kate	Mees	UK	Durham University	kate.a.mees@durham.ac.uk

Ulla	Moilanen	Finland	University of Turku	ullamoilanen1@gmail.com
Sian	Mui	UK	Durham University	sean.mui@durham.ac.uk
Michael	Neiß	Sweden	Uppsala University	michael.neiss@arkeologi.uu.se
Astrid	Noterman	Frankrike	Stockholm University	a.noterman@orange.fr
Wojciech	Nowakowski	Poland	Warsaw University	samland@wp.pl
Anne	Nørgård Jørgensen	Denmark	Agency for Culture and Palaces	anj@silks.dk
Sigmund	Oehrl	Germany	LMU Munich	soehrl@gwdg.de
Celia	Orsini	UK	Durham University	celia.orsini@durham.ac.uk
Jürgen	Pape	Germany	LWL-Archäologie für Westfalen	juergen.pape@lwl.org
Unn	Pedersen	Norway	University of Oslo	unn.pedersen@iakh.uio.no
Alexandra	Pesch	Germany	ZBSA, Schleswig	alexandra.pesch@schloss-gottorf.de
Maria	Petersson	Sweden	Statens Historiska Museer	maria.petersson@arkeologerna.com
Marzena	Przybyła	Poland	Jagiellonian University	marzenaprzybyla77@gmail.com
Heike	Pöppelmann	Germany	Braunschweigisches Landesmuseum	H.Poeppelmann@3landesmuseen.de
Håkon	Reiersen	Norway	University of Stavanger	hakon.reiersen@uis.no
Monika	Rekowska	Poland	Warsaw University	mrekowska@uw.edu.pl
Ingunn M.	Røstad	Norway	Museum of Cultural History, University of Oslo	i.m.rostad@khm.uio.no
Duncan	Sayer	UK	University of Central Lancashire	dsayer@uclan.ac.uk
Chris	Scull	UK	CSCA	chris@chriscul.co.uk
Sarah	Semple	UK	Durham University	s.j.semple@durham.ac.uk
Jan	Shuster	Poland	University of Łódź	jan.grazyna.schuster@web.de
Dagfinn	Skre	Norway	University of Oslo	dagfinn.skre@khm.uio.no
Clifford	Sofield	UK	University of Oxford	clifford.sofield@arch.ox.ac.uk
Bettina	Stolle	Sweden	Stockholm University	bettina.stolle@ofl.su.se
Anne Birgitte	Sørensen	Denmark	Museum Sønderjylland	ansr@msj.dk
Slawomir	Wadył	Poland	Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego	slawomirwadył@wp.pl
Henk	van der Velde	NL	ADC ArcheoProjecten	h.van.der.velde@archeologie.nl
Leslie	Webster	UK	University College London	lewebster@arachne.myzen.co.uk
Anna	Wessman	Finland	University of Helsinki	anna.wessman@helsinki.fi
Nancy	Wicker	USA	University of Mississippi	nwicker@olemiss.edu
Helena	Victor	Sweden	Kalmar läns museum	helena.victor@kalmarlansmuseum.se
Barbara	Yorke	UK	University of Winchester	barbara.yorke@winchester.ac.uk
Ingrid	Ystgaard	Norway	NTNU	ingrid.ystgaard@ntnu.no
Torun	Zachrisson	Sweden	Stockholm University	<u><a href="mailto:torun.zachrisson@ark.su.se">torun.zachrisson@ark.su.se</a></u>

## EXCURSION

Monday, 17 September 2018

## **Excursion to Runsa, Gamla Uppsala, Valsgärde and Uppsala Castle.**

The excursion to Uppland highlights the theme of change in the mid-Iron Age and will include three key sites that provide an informative background to some the major questions raised by the keynote speakers and the DNA workshop.

### **1. Departure 08.30 Stockholm University**

We meet at the great parking lot south of the main blue campus building.

Please wear proper outdoor shoes.

### **2. First stop 09.15. Runsa Hilltop Fort.**

Arrival at the hill fort 09.40 after a walk. Guided tour of the excavations by M. Olausson (English).

Coffe and refreshments.

Departure 11.00

### **3. Second stop. Gamla Uppsala.**

Arrival at 11.45. Guided tour of the royal mounds and halls by J. Ljungkvist. (English)

Lunch 12.30-13.30.

Guided tour of recent excavations in Storby by A. Seiler (Swedish) and L. Beronius Jörpeland (English).

Group photo by the royal mounds.

Departure 15.30

### **4. Third stop. Valsgärde burial ground.**

Arrival 15.45. Guided tour by J. Ljungkvist. (English)

Departure 16.30

### **5. Fourth stop. Uppsala Castle.**

Arrival 17.00. Welcome by County Antiquarian Roger Edenmo.

Reception, the Hall of State.

Departure 18.30.

### **6. Arrival c. 19.30 Stockholm University**

We return to the great parking lot south of the main blue campus buildings.

## **Stop 1. The Runsa hilltop settlement – presented by Michael Olausson.**

Runsa is one of the c. fifty hilltop settlements (German: *Höhensiedlungen*) in Sweden. These are distributed mainly in the Mälär Valley, but there are also important sites in Östergötland and Bohuslän. With a surface covering c. 1.5 hectares, Runsa ranks as one of the largest known hilltop settlements in Sweden. The remains consist mostly of small terraces and/or cultural layers. It is difficult to generalize about the Swedish hilltop settlements. Rather one must emphasize the considerable variation. There are distinct expressions of separate courses of development, as the hilltop settlements have served different purposes in their specific local and regional historical context. There are sites with both shorter and longer settlement periods, as shown by artifacts and radiocarbon dating. In addition, the more intensive settlement periods were in many senses anomalous when compared to previous and later use-periods where the hilltops remained more or less dormant or were infrequently used. In a longer historical perspective, their lifespan was relatively short, extending from the late fourth century to the early of the early seventh century. The question of violence and warfare is of immense importance in the study of hilltop sites and other fortified enclosures from the Migration Period and early Vendel Period. How was warfare carried out? Why were so many of the sites torched? Runsa was burned to the ground on at least three separate occasions. By contrast, weapons are very rare items among archaeological finds. From Runsa, we know of a part of a gilded sword hilt and three arrowheads. It is difficult to project an image of a garrisoned *comitatus*, always attending and acting around the lord of Runsa.

### **Runsa – A Short research history 1872-1992**

In 1872, Oscar Montelius dug a trench in the central parts of the large (53 m) ship shaped stone setting just around the central stone, the marker of the ship “mast”. He found soot and charcoal (a significant discovery), but it seems that he had expected something more “glorious”. This grave field will be the first stop on the tour. In 1902, the future king Gustav VI Adolf attended a fieldwork for one week as part of the beginning of his academic studies. His tutor was prof. Oscar Almgren from Uppsala University. Excavated finds included a bone die, parts of crucibles, iron nails, iron slag, pottery and a substantial quantity of unburned animal bones. Almgren interpreted Runsa as part of a larger external defense system and consequently dated the site to the “Late Sigtuna Period”, that is to say, the eleventh century. In 1992, we dug a trench in the southern main rampart. Due to time constraints, we were unable to reach the bottom layer of the rampart. But we were able to excavate parts of the adjacent settlement area and a minor shaft in the great terrace where the hall building was located. Except the ubiquitous large amounts of animal bones, we discovered a smithy, pottery, a migration period bronze needle, loom weights, spindle whirles, crucibles, iron nails, rivets and whetstones. By contrast, the finds from the terrace was very sparse. Radiocarbon dates from the wall and the terrace placed the site within the Migration Period.

### **The Runsa Borg Project 2010-**

The Runsa Borg project began in 2010. Besides important questions regarding the chronology of Runsa and its various building and rebuilding phases and the time for the final abandonment, a major research question concerns the role of the settlement in relation to the hinterland. Can we identify different central functions, that is, aspects of centrality regarding the relations to a hinterland and a wider geographical region? It is obvious that activities on the hilltop site were initiated by an elite. But how can we trace different networks of exchange with the hinterland? Finally, was Runsa a permanent, seasonal or occasional settlement? An important point of departure for the project is that the ability to raise such sites as Runsa – the monumental architecture of the time - became the mark of the elite in several regions in the country. They represented a cultural innovation: a synthesis of domestic settlement patterns and traditions on one hand and considerable conceptual impulses from the late Roman Empire. But how can one point to more concrete evidence of these influences? This brings us to the question of the building technique of the ramparts, how was the knowledge of architectural planning and masonry put into practice? By whom? From where came the knowhow? (It must be emphasized that there was no stone building tradition in mainland Sweden prior to the era of hilltop sites and fortifications). The excavated area measures c. 550-600 sqm out of the total surface of 15,000 sqm. The most intensively excavated area is located on the upper plateau within the rampart. When entering the main gate to the south, we are looking at the hall building on a terrace (I). To our right there is a smaller terrace (II), partly excavated. To the left and alongside the hall building, and a smaller bedrock, the scenic

viewpoint of Runsa, we have the cult terrace (Old English: *hearg*) (III). This area with the three terraces has been of our main interest. The field season is carried out during four to six weeks every year. The participants consist mostly of master students in archaeology. The large amount of unburnt animal bones made us focus on the osteology. Financial constraints forced us to for some years to exclude work on macrofossile analysis. This has changed now and today soil samples are collected and analyzed by one of our project partners, Arkeologikonsult AB. Besides the ordinary field archaeology, a pollen analysis and different sediment analysis has also been carried out. Marine archaeological research in the inlet (Lilla Borgviken) below the Runsa hilltop, together with smaller excavations on the adjoining land, have produced important finds and remains of what we think is part of the Runsa harbor. This research has been carried out in cooperation with the Swedish History Museum.

### **The dating and preliminary interpretations of the development and use of the site**

We have gathered 40 different radiocarbon dates. Combined with the archaeological finds this allows us to distinguish six phases within the Runsa hilltop settlement:

1. Late Bronze Age: few remains, hearth pits, sooty layers, few finds of artifacts, no rampart.
2. Second half of the fourth century: Strong traces of erosion, decrease of oak trees in sediment and pollen analysis. The rampart is constructed. Oak tree is the only wood used in the rampart. The construction phase is preceded by a burning of the ground, and most probably the consumption and deposition of animal bones: sheep/goat, pig and cattle, and seeds of barley. Three grinding stones are also deposited. This ceremony probably implied some form of purification, sanctification and inauguration of the site. No traces of internal building structures, cultural layers, no finds of artifacts. First destruction of the rampart.
3. Rebuilding of the rampart during the fifth century (only oak is used). Minor traces, signs of internal use. One small terrace is built, although one would expect more signs from the Migration Period. We have only a handful of finds of artifacts typical of the Migration Period finds. Beginning of the grave fields?
4. The main construction phase occurs during the late fifth and early sixth century and continues in to the first half of the sixth century. The representative area is laid out, construction of the hall building, the *hearg*, and different kinds of workshops out in the outskirt of this area. We have not yet been to arrive at a more accurate date for the construction of the hall building, nor the date for its destruction. A smithy was constructed adjacent to the stone terrace of the *hearg*. The smithy was probably only used to produce ritual items. The *hearg* has two phases, one from the first half of the sixth century and a second one from second half of the sixth century. The *hearg* is the richest site with the greatest variety of finds, the animal bones alone weigh some 50 kg. The hall building provides a different and less opulent picture. In this fourth phase, Runsa develops into an assembly site, with important cultic, ritual and political functions, manifest in the hall building and the *hearg*. The two latter constructions were places for ceremonial and ritual exposure of the Runsa lord, ruler of the hinterland. The huge amount of animal bones, glass fragments etc, point to sacrifices, feasting and displays of power. Together with the finds of at least three different iron smithies, we can trace artisanal work with bronze casting (the site of the workshop is uncertain, but crucibles have been found in different locations), textiles, bone and antler (presumably combs). All this was carried out within a strong fortification, an aspect of defense even if this is not the only interpretation one can do regarding the ramparts. We have not yet found any traces of typical longhouses from this phase. All in all, Runsa can be described as a multifunctional elite site, which functioned and was visited during certain times of the year.
5. The final destruction. We have radiocarbon dates from the second half of the sixth century and early seventh century. A major problem is that the burnt material is too sparse and very fragmentary. Still, we can see that a furious destruction caused the end of Runsa as an important ceremonial and political place. Everything was burned down. The actual fighting most probably took place elsewhere in the immediate hinterland. The act of breaking and burning down not only the ceremonial buildings but all constructions, can be seen as an attack against the “world of the ruler”. This act erased the hegemony of the Runsa lord and all what it represented.

6. The aftermath. This is a strange and difficult phase to interpret. Parts of the terrace I with the hall and the second terrace (II) close to the hall building are partially submerged by a cultural layer, containing among other things a silver ring which probably dates to the late seventh-early eight century. Here we also have some hearth pits with got similar dates. During the summer of 2018 we excavated parts of a longhouse which did not show any traces of being burned down. As you shall see, it is situated almost adjacent to the rampart. The house could be of a later date than the rampart. If this is the case, how are we to interpret and understand this reuse of a destroyed and abandoned hilltop site? The excavations will continue next summer.

*Fig 1. Isometric map of the hilltop settlement and the adjacent grave field.*

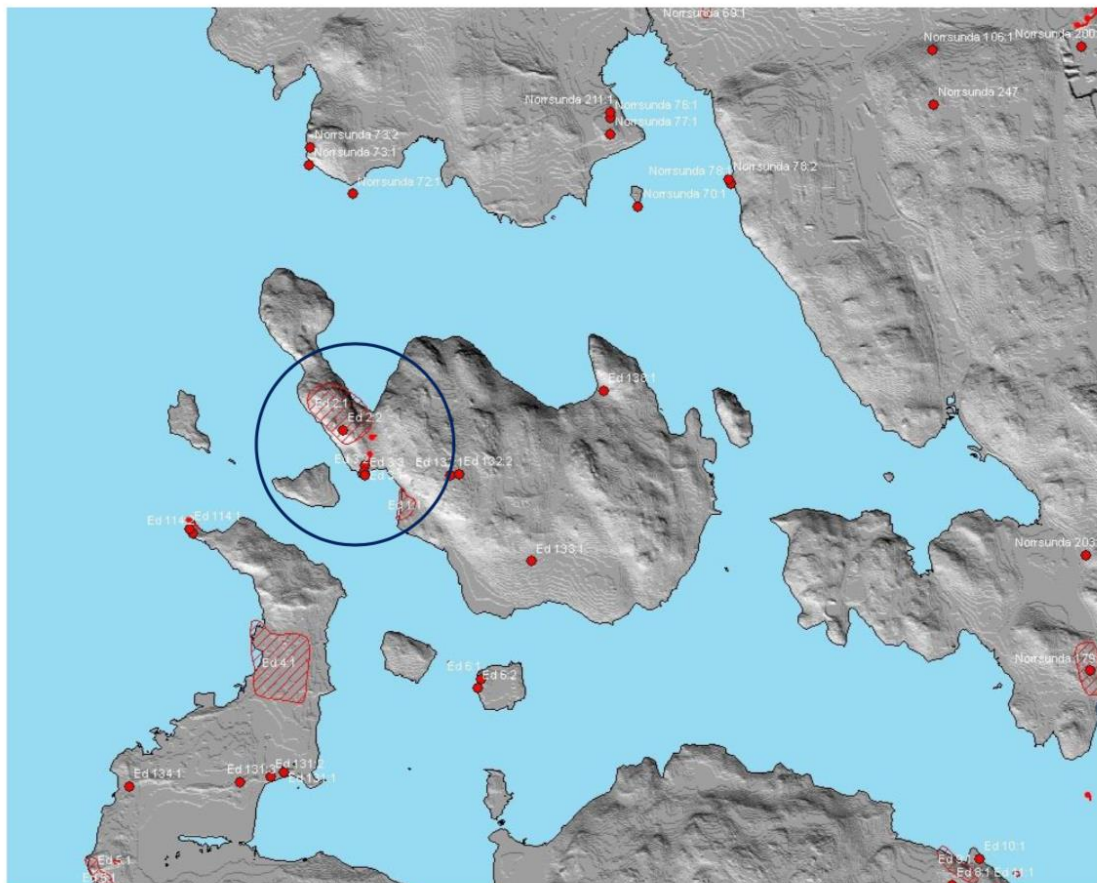




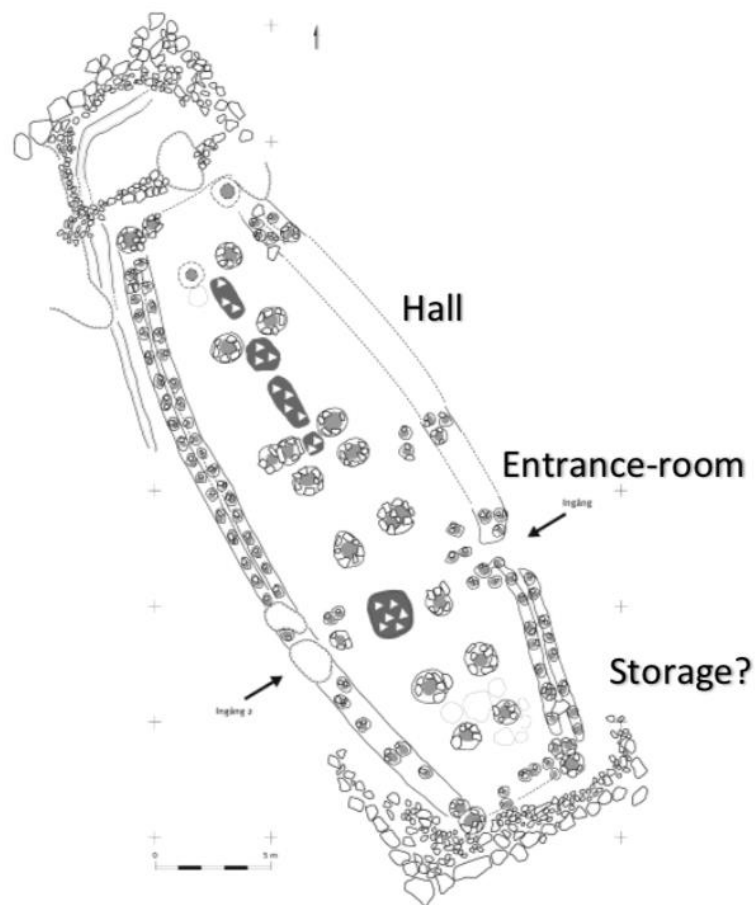
Fig 2. Aerial photograph of Runsa from the north. It was located on a commanding position overlooking a formidable strategic junction. The north-south water route is located on the right. Minor sea- and lake routes connect from the east. The lake in the south was previously connected to the Baltic Sea. A = Hilltop settlement. B = Smaller grave field. C = Stone ship setting. D = harbor. E = small grave field with a large grave mound, c. 40 m in diam.



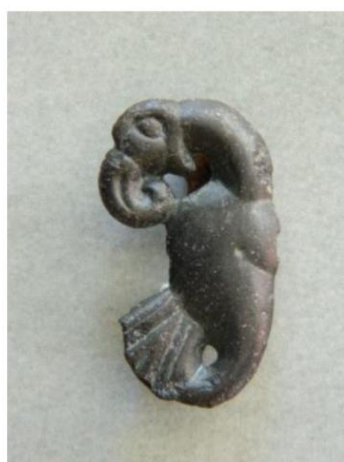
*Fig 3. The Runsa Island during the fifth to sixth centuries with a water level around 8 m higher. There was no room what so ever for agriculture and pasture. The position on a small island in the Baltic made Runsa (and many others of the hilltop sites) entirely dependent on the hinterland to secure a steady supply of food, pottery and raw materials such as iron, copper, etc. How was this managed and organized?*



*Fig 4. Plan of the hall building. The dark signs are hearth pits. The southernmost of these interferes with the general layout of the house. The hearth pit was constructed after the destruction of the hall and “sealed” with a raised stone. The round figures mark the postholes. The absence of postholes in the eastern wall (notice that the wall is double) shows the unexcavated part of the house. Based on trace element and phosphate analysis, the hall building. In the south there is a possible storage room. This is followed by a smaller entrance room. In the north is the actual hall, the “triclinium”.*



*Fig 5. A rather unusual bird brooch. The c. 3 cm long brooch is made of cast copper alloy. It was discovered in a pit in connection to the wall of the smithy close to the hearg (terrace III).*



*Fig 6. A collection of finds from the hearg: from the left to the right: gaming pieces made of antler, stone and glass, a single piece comb (this find is somewhat “antique” for phase 4), a large bead, in front of the comb: a glass shard, a cobalt blue glass bead, and to red, reddish pearls, the most common color of the Runsa beads.*



*Fig 7. An arrowhead for hunting smaller fur animals (typically squirrel and marten) found in the hearg. It is made of antler and 7 cm long. Similar arrowheads were found in boat grave no 7 at Valsgärde.*

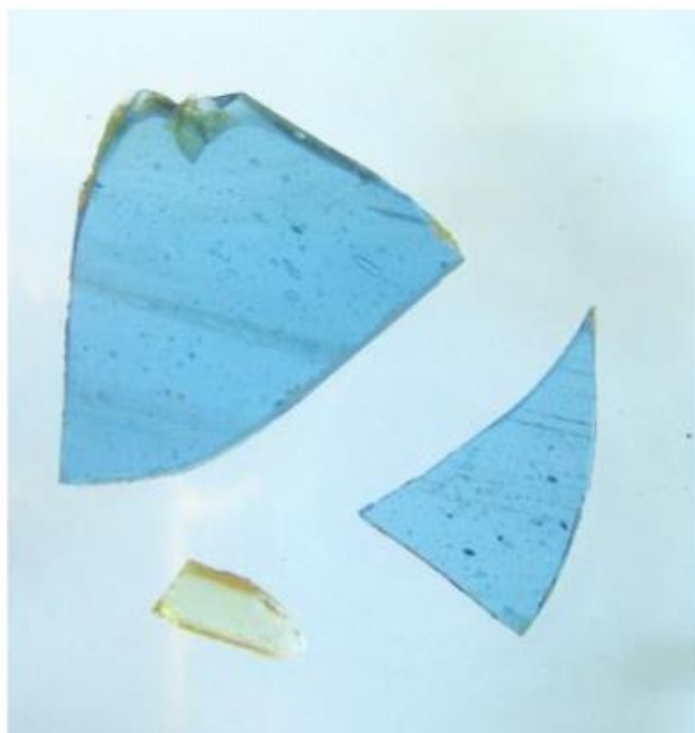




*Fig 8. A rare find of a Thor's hammer from the hearg. It is made of iron and 4 cm high, dating to the sixth century.*



*Fig 9. Parts of blue glass bowl, the upper piece is about 2 cm in size. This blue or light blue is the most frequent color of the Runsa glass material. These two pieces comes from Terrace II while the tiny green piece is the only glass fragment found in the hall building.*



*Fig. 10. Fragment of a gilt copper alloy sword guard, found in the upper layer of a posthole in the hall building. The piece is damaged by fire.*



*Fig 11. A 3 cm long copper alloy strap runner from a grave in the little grave field adjacent to the hilltop settlement. It could be dated to Runsa phase 4, sixth century*



## Stop 2. Gamla Uppsala

The emergence of Gamla Uppsala as a center has been discussed for centuries. During the past years, previous excavations have been incorporated into the framework of the archaeological research project Gamla Uppsala - the emergence of a mythical center (GUAM), and more recently the Viking dynasties and Viking phenomenon projects. A combination of GIS-studies and excavations in combination with survey results and reinterpretations have enabled us to discuss old excavations and historic maps in relation to new investigations. Today we can discuss the relationship between a multitude of elements in the complex, such as individual mounds, the great hall, workshops, economy buildings, fences, paved courtyards, post-row monuments and not least landscape development and re-source exploitation on a broad scale. In our strategic work, previously isolated monuments are tied together in a project that will continue in the years ahead.

Fig 12. 17<sup>th</sup> century representation of Gamla Uppsala



Fig 13. Aerial photograph of Gamla Uppsala. Sites marked include the post hole rows, the farms and the grave field on Storby Backe. Photo courtesy of Hawkeye Flygfoto.

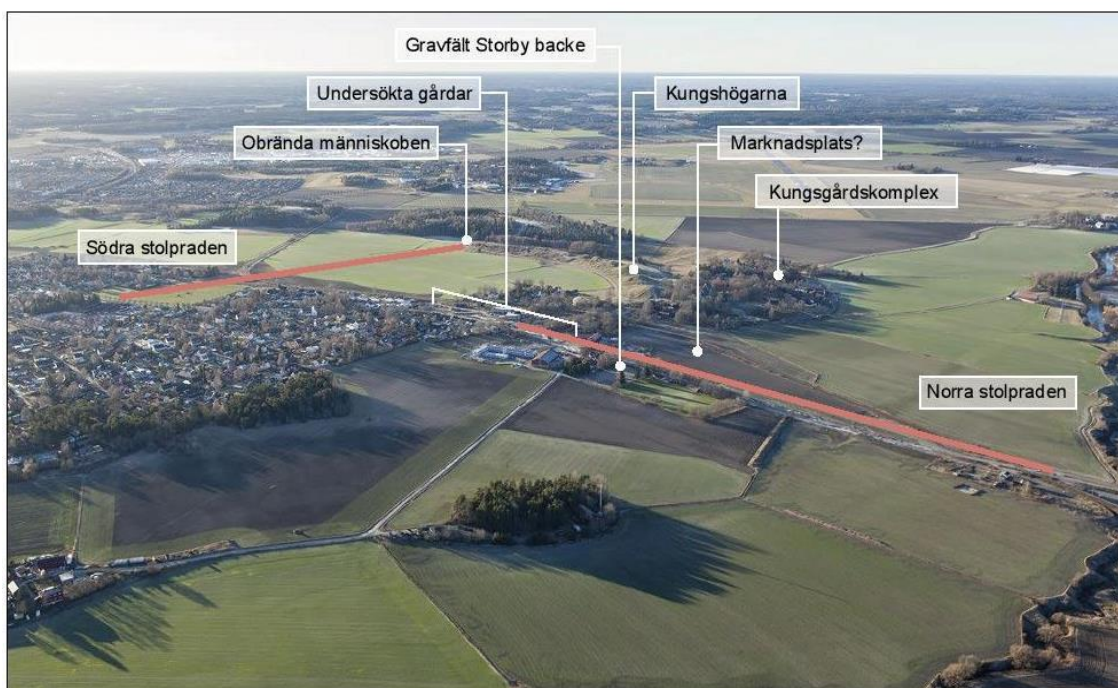




Fig 14. Settlements and grave fields from the Late Iron Age, and post hole rows from the early Vendel Period. Note that the extent of the settled area has only been confirmed on a few sites.

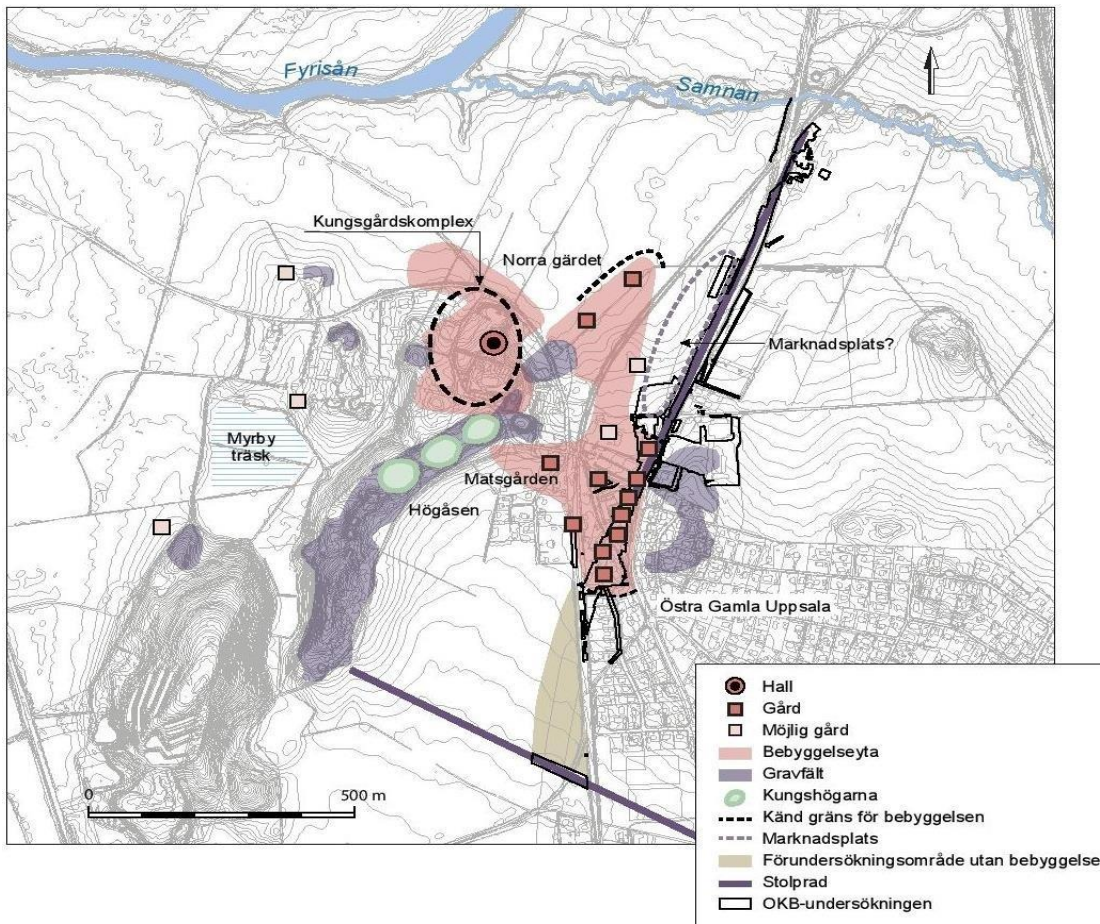
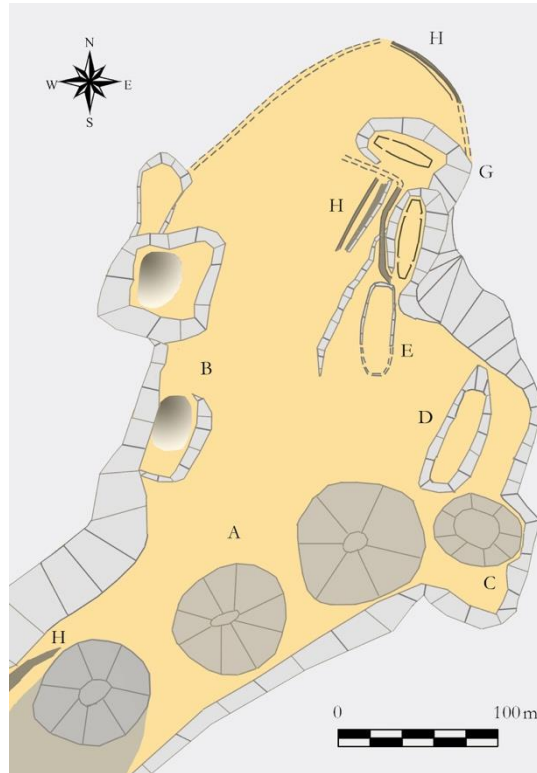


Fig 15. Excerpt of Truls Arvidsson's ink drawing of the village and the church. The archaeological excavation area comprised parts of the farms and the northern part of the grave field in the lower section of the drawing. Drawing in the ATA, National Heritage Board.



*Fig.16. Simplified map and interpretation of the 7th c. magnate complex. It is based on the current knowledge of the area. Only larger constructions are shown. Scattered features dated to this period have been found in a number of trenches within the area, representing fragmentary houses and various activities.*



*A. The royal mounds Västhögen and Östhögen continuing into the large Högåsen cemetery.*

*B. Two known concentrations of graves at the present vicarage plot.*

*C. The Thing mound.*

*D. The damaged North mound is encapsulated within the 12th century Eastern terrace. Its original size is yet unknown but was considerably larger.*

*E. To the north: The Southern terrace, the great hall building. Below E lies the Western terrace with workshop B, and some unidentified buildings. Two areas of stone pavements known from the excavations in 2015 and from those beneath the church were probably related to both roads and courtyard areas.*

*G. Northern terrace with large workshop building, workshop A.*

*H. Identified walls and/or road constructions, including their hypothetical extensions.*

*Fig 17. The Southern terrace with the hall building during the archaeological excavation.*





### Stop 3. Valsgärde.

*Fig 18. The Valsgärde grave field*



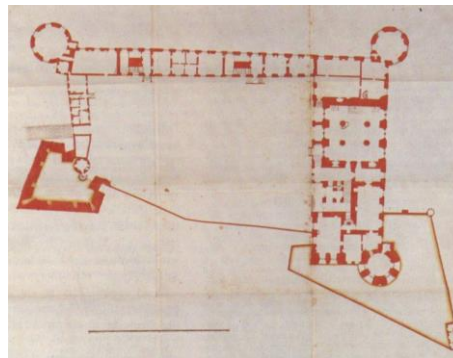
*Fig. 1. The Valsgärde burial ground with the location of different graves. Some fragmentary cremation graves that were found during the excavation of boat-graves are listed with the number of the boat-grave in parenthesis: 40 (11), 42 (7), 43 (10), 44 (13), 45 (14), 53 (4), 54 (3), 58 (6), giving their approximate position.*

The Valsgärde cemetery is known primarily for its fifteen boat-graves. Less well-known are the at least 62 cremation burials and the fifteen inhumations and chamber graves. The cemetery is situated right next to the River Fyris in the Upplandic 'plain'. This area is a low and wide valley with moraine deposits on higher ground and clay deposits below. In the bottom flows the

River Fyris. Parallel to the river runs a boulder-ridge, Uppsalaåsen, which sometimes goes below the present surface but at other times rises steeply above the clay sediments. The Valsgärde cemetery is situated on one of a group of small hills belonging to this boulder-ridge. Its highest point rises over 25 meters above present sea level. Due to the last glacial phase, Valsgärde did not rise above the water until the Late Neolithic or the Early Bronze Age. For a time, the hill was only a small island in an inner archipelago. The oldest object from the site originates from this phase. It is a fragmentary, bifacial spearhead or dagger-point of flint. The surrounding area as we know it today probably did not emerge until some point during the Bronze Age. The oldest dated feature from the site is a skeleton from one of the older burials in grave 57. This marks the beginning of an intensive use of the hill and lands in Valsgärde. The stratigraphy of the Valsgärde cemetery is in some cases complicated. Different types of graves are often stratigraphically related to one another. As a high percentage of the graves contain no artefacts that can be precisely dated, this complexity is an important instrument.

#### Stop 4. Uppsala Castle

*Figs 19-20. Uppsala Castle in c. 1660, before the great fire of 1702.*



The construction of Uppsala Castle began under Gustavus Vasa in 1549, and the castle was the location of a major event of Swedish history known as the "Riksmöte". Gustavus Vasa started his politically vital tour ("Eriksgata") of the realm of Sweden from Uppsala Slott, and the castle was destined to play a major role for many years in the history of Sweden and of Uppsala. Important events that have taken place at the castle include "Sturemorden" in 1567 (the murder by the mentally ill King Erik XIV of several noblemen accused of treason), and the decision by Gustavus II Adolphus that Sweden should participate in what would later develop into the Thirty Years' War. It was in the Rikssal in the castle that Schering Rosenhane announced the abdication of Queen Kristina on 6 June 1654. The castle was seriously damaged by fire in 1702, being reduced essentially to a ruin. Reconstruction took many years and was indeed hampered by the remains of the castle being used as a quarry for stone to be used in building Stockholm Palace. The castle was the administrative center of Uppland for many years and is today the residence of the County Governor of Uppsala County. Rikssalen, the former Hall of State, whose uses have included that of drying closet for the governor's wife, was restored in 1932 and is now Uppsala's most glittering festive location.



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