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Scandinavian and Insular identities in the Viking age

The case of metal fasteners

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Abstract

This thesis characterises, through brooches and pins, the cultural exchanges between Scandinavian and Anglo-Celt populations and objective symbolism within a culture. I seek to know if Scandinavian brooches/pins have been exchanged with the Insular region, and vice versa. For example, if the exchanged is of consequent, and if style modifications have been made in the region receiving the said objects. For this, we must characterise the typology of brooches and pins that we find in both regions. From the typology, we can observe the absence or presence of specific subcategories of objects, as well as possible regional modifications. On the basis of this presence and/or modifications, we can reflect on the existence of a Scandinavian community that adopted the characteristic of brooches/pins of the Insular region, or the presence of Hiberno-Norse or Anglo-Scandinavian communities. Nevertheless, we must think of the impact that objects from a certain culture have on the culture that adopts them. If we can observe modifications, we must ask ourselves why they are here. What is the interest of altering your objects with the style of another? What is the interest of adopting other types of objects? Is it only an aesthetic interest? A practical interest? Can we discern other explanatory elements?

I propose that it is probably both. For example, the adoption and modification of ringed pins in Hiberno-Norse communities, shows a cultural continuation in Ireland; that of wearing pins to attach a garment, thus they adopted a Scandinavian aesthetic. Nevertheless, the diffusion of ringed pins surely stops with the Hiberno-Norse communities. Scandinavian populations did not really adopt it. We must ask ourselves why. This is a part of my objective, try to determine multiple ways of response, even if it is impossible to answer definitely (or: more than preliminarily). In the case of ringed pins, we have a Celtic object that answers a clothing need, and we have a Scandinavian aesthetic modification. Nevertheless, the function and the aesthetic do not make it an object adopted by other Scandinavian communities, or in peculiar places. We must consider, then, the object beyond its practical aspect, and examine its interest, its symbolic interest. The ringed pin is not an object of great value, unlike its cousin, the penannular brooch which was adopted in Scandinavia. The fundamental difference is cultural, the value of an object has in once culture may transferred to another culture, where it might be understood in new ways, even augmented. We must then think about the context of discovery, fabrication, and

exchange of the object. We must consider the cultural value of the object in its original culture, and the place it obtains in a new one.

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Introduction

Short Discussion on the Notion of Culture and Objects.

First, I want to address the sense of the word culture. The '*Dictionnaire de l'ethnologie et de l'anthropologie*' (Izard, Bonte, 1991) gives four definitions,¹ the fourth one is: '*système collectif de symboles, de signes et de significations propre à plusieurs sociétés selon des modalités diverses d'intégration*'

'collective system of symbols, signs and meanings peculiar to several societies according to various modalities of integration'.²

This anthropological definition follows the one we can find in common dictionaries. The Cambridge dictionary gives this definition: 'the way of life, especially the general customs and beliefs, of a specific group of people at a particular time'.³

Regarding Scandinavia, we do have populations sharing similar customs, beliefs (rituals, myths), objects, tools, styles, and language. Nevertheless, the concept of culture is easier to approach with a 'living culture', meaning cultures that are present in our modern world and with which we can interact. To resituate culture through archaeology is perilous; as archaeologists we study population through their material remains, which can be incomplete or misinterpreted because of pre-conceived theories. The link between material culture and cultural identity is never obvious.⁴ Therefore, for the purpose of this thesis 'Scandinavian' will be used as a broad term which includes regional cultural variation: while we cannot determine with certainty how they represented themselves, we cannot deny that the material culture, and written sources, show a relatively homogeneous cultural block in Scandinavia.

¹ The '*Dictionnaire de l'ethnologie et de l'anthropologie*' takes account not only of French anthropology and ethnology scholarship and terms, but also from Europe in its globality and North American.

² Personal translation.

³ See <https://dictionary.cambridge.org/fr/dictionnaire/anglais/culture>

⁴ See Mélanie Fondrillon et al., "Aborder la question de l'identité en archéologie : bilan bibliographique et réflexions dans des thèses en cours," *Les petits cahiers d'Anatole*, no. 18 (2005 2005), <https://halshs.archives-ouvertes.fr/halshs-00591796>.

Moreover, if we can suggest that this Scandinavian culture can be subject to regional variations,⁵ we do have a common broad cultural scope that is different from the cultures present in the British Isles. Also, we must express that cultural belonging is not acquired by an individual's upbringing. One can be born in one culture and raised in another or choose to adopt a foreign culture. It means that physical appearance and place of birth do not constitute the major element in identifying with a culture. I also believe that mutual acceptance among the members of a culture defines the appurtenance to the said culture.

A cultural group does not equal a society, as society may consist of multiple cultural groups. Each cultural group is unique. The 'otherness' represents everything that is outside of a cultural group: another cultural group. Nevertheless, they are not set in stone. Cultures interact with each other and share objects and ideas. The interactions between cultures make them evolve; integrate new parameters, adapt new principles, concepts, and ideas. Objects can be a vector of those interactions, through trade, raids, gifts, for example. And they can also be a trigger for developing and integrating new parameters, concepts, and ideas. It is unrealistic to think that objects are only things. They bear meaning, ideas and concepts from the culture they developed in. They have social and cultural values.

On the Use of Scandinavian, Anglo-Scandinavian, Hiberno-Norse, Celtic and Anglo-Saxon.

In this thesis I will use the term 'Scandinavian' to refer to the people living in and coming from the Scandinavian region in the Viking period. I will, when necessary, make the distinction between Scandinavian communities in Scandinavia and Scandinavian communities present in the British Isles. I will on occasion differentiate between Scandinavians present in today's Norway, Denmark, Sweden, and Northern Germany. The use of modern country name reflects a geographical region, not a claim that those countries existed in the Viking Age. The use of the term 'Danes' will occur to designate, as in

⁵ For example, it seems hard to assume that people living on the coast have the same relationship to the sea and products of the sea than people living in the mainland.

primary sources, the Scandinavian population coming from Denmark.⁶ The term ‘Viking’ will be reserved for the Viking Age. The use of Viking as an adjective to a structure, settlements, etc., will be the expression of the said element having a Scandinavian origin in the Viking period.

The same goes for the ‘British and Irish Isles’ which includes England, Scotland, Wales, and Ireland. I will use the term ‘Anglo-Saxon’ to designate the population that settled in the various Early English kingdoms.⁷ Regarding Celtic populations, I will detail when I designate Celtic Irish, Celtic Scottish, Celtic Welsh, depending on their geographical repartition, as they are part of a common Celtic culture with strong regional variations.

I will use the term ‘Hiberno-Norse’ to designate the mixed Scandinavian and Celtic Irish communities, and ‘Anglo-Scandinavian’ for mixed Anglo-Saxon and Scandinavian communities.

⁶ Although the borders were not the same, as it comprised Northern Germany too.

Research Questions.

This thesis will focus on a specific type of object: metal fasteners. Metal fasteners are metallic clothing ornaments. This manner of adornment is excellent evidence for both cultural and social expression. The function of each fastener is transmitted through its form, mount, and its ornamentation. Each element of the fastener expresses cultural and social variation. Among metal fasteners, one can find brooches, pins, buckles, and straps. I will focus on brooches and pins. I will examine brooches and pins from an Insular background that were found in Norway, Sweden and Denmark, and brooches and pins of Scandinavian origin discovered in the Insular world.

The analysis will determine the cultural symbolism objects can have, thanks to the different cultural expressions, identities, and exchanges through the type and the ornamentation of the mentioned metal fasteners between the two regions. The aim is to see if cultural transfers can be observed on pins and brooches, in turn allowing the observation of an exchange of styles between the two regions, such as Anglo-Saxon artefacts with Scandinavian ornamentation, or the blending of styles between the two zones. With this observation we aim to understand the cultural symbolism of an artefact in a culture. Another interesting observation would be the appearance of a new type or style, arising from the contact between the two territories, raising the question whether social affiliations or association with a particular group played a role in the development of new types and the classification of said artefacts into specific groups. Are we able to observe different exchanges according to cultural dominance? Do they change according to the geographical situation or political background? Do the means of exchange play a role: whether they are an exchange within the family circle, or simply a commodity? Why did Scandinavian or mixed communities choose to adopt and adapt those objects? All those questions can help us identify the cultural symbolism of objects.

The main sources used for this thesis are academic literature, and pictures of metal fasteners from the literature and from museums. Within the literature, we will discuss both finds from archaeological excavations and metal detectorists. The detected finds will be analysed solely in terms of their

ornamentation and type, as they have no archaeological context. The beginning of the Viking Age takes root in various changes within Scandinavian society during the seventh century and onwards. The short period is nevertheless full of numerous important social and political changes, such as the stratification of the society around powerful chieftains and petty kings that occurred in the seventh century. This stratification led to kingdoms, and eventually to Christian medieval kingdoms. This societal stratification coincided with the Viking raids in the West and the East as they, for reasons unknown, plundered the European shores. Different theories have been proposed concerning the motivations for these raids, for instance, to ensure a powerful position in a Scandinavian society based on honour and gift exchange.⁸ For this, one must acquire wealth and prestige.⁹ This supposedly led to raids in Continental Europe and the British and Irish Isles, resulting in the crystallisation of power in Scandinavia. Portable metal work such as brooches were probably among the artefacts collected by raiding Scandinavians in the Insular regions.

Concerning the chronological end of the period studied in this thesis, we will put it at the beginning of the twelfth century.

While historians often set the end of the Viking age in 1066, with the Scandinavian kings' last attempt to take over England, there remained remnants of Scandinavian culture in the form of visual arts beyond the twelfth century. Nevertheless, the end of the Viking Age in England manifested the end of a strong connection between the Scandinavian and Insular regions,¹⁰ the latter focusing more on the Carolingian realm. As we are interested in the relation and influences between Insular and Scandinavian regions regarding metal fasteners, the end of the eleventh and the beginning of the twelfth century is a suitable end date for this thesis. Nevertheless, the discussion of cultural influences before the eighth century and possible cultural permanence after the twelfth will be present if necessary.

⁸ Steven P. Ashby, 'What really caused the Viking Age? The social content of raiding and exploration,' *Archaeological dialogues* 22, no. 1 (2015), <https://doi.org/10.1017/S1380203815000112>.

⁹ Precious objects, slaves, etc.

¹⁰ Nick Higham and Martin J. Ryan, *The Anglo-Saxon World* (New Haven, Conn: Yale University Press, 2013), p.377, 425.

To understand the symbolism of objects through cultural exchange of metal fasteners between the Insular and Scandinavian regions, we will have to study different types of metal fasteners to understand which form was adopted. Therefore, in the first chapter, I will discuss the ringed pins. In part a.1, I will address the development of ring pins in the Irish culture and the impact of the Scandinavian settlements on the local culture. In part a.2. and a.3., I will treat the typology of ringed pins in the Insular region, and in Scandinavia. In part a.4., I will discuss the matter of the diffusion of the ringed pins, the means and by whom they could have been diffused.

In the second chapter, in part b.1., I will discuss the origin and the context of the penannular ringed pins in Irish culture. In part, b.2. and b.3., I will treat the typology of the penannular brooches in Scandinavian, then in the Insular region. In part b.4., I will discuss the importance and the value an artefact can have in the expression of a social class.

In the third part, we will discuss oval brooches. This type of artefact will allow us to see how demonstrative they are of Scandinavian culture and appurtenance and are not adopted or transformed by foreign affluence: they express an intention not to be associated with the Insular population. Therefore, in part c.1. I will treat the typology found in Scandinavia, in part c.2., I will treat the typology found in the Insular region. In part c.3., I will discuss the importance of towns and of serial production for the diffusion of this artefact and the impact it had on the development of lower social classes as social and cultural identity.

The fourth part will counterbalance the previous part's view by discussion on the disc brooches. I will show how both communities stayed with their own type of brooches except for one special type, the East Anglian series brooches. Part d.4. will briefly treat regional affinities.

The fifth and last part will finish to temper the last two parts by adding more nuances to the adoption of Scandinavian brooches in Scandinavian settlements in the Insular region by treating minor brooches. For this, I will treat five types of Scandinavian brooches that we find in the Insular region. The bird brooch, the trefoil brooch, the equal arm brooch, the Urnes openwork brooch and the lozenge brooch. Part e.6. will also explore regional affinities that we can observe with those minor types.

By the study of the different types of metal fasteners Scandinavian and Insular population exchanged and the social and cultural importance of those objects, I hope to be able to characterise how both regions interacted. We will also be able to see if there are regional differences in the adoption and diffusion of the brooches and by which means they were adopted and diffused. Those perspectives inform us on deeper anthropological level: the symbolism of objects in culture.

Methodology

The methodology for this thesis consists in looking for metal fasteners on archaeological and museums databases to build a non-exhaustive personal database. Three main criteria were of essence during the selection of the artefacts for this thesis. The following conditions would disqualify the artifacts from the selection: firstly, any uncertainty on the nature of the artefact rejects the artefacts from the selection, secondly the physical integrity of the artefacts, all artefacts too damaged to identify any ornamentation is rejected, thirdly the absence or the too great damage of the ornamentation that determine the classification of the artefact.

The database serves as the starting point of the identification of different types of Scandinavian artefacts in the Insular region and Insular artefacts in Scandinavia. Therefore, the objects, the styles studied depend on the recurrence of their type in the database. An extensive and exhaustive analysis of all types of artefacts would be out of the scope of this thesis. Only the most recurrent types are treated. The database is completed by secondary sources, indeed, as said database is not exhaustive and suffers from disparity in museums' catalogue availability. The less documented regions for the databases are Denmark, Ireland, and Scotland: due to a lack of access to the local databases. (Figure 20)

a. The Ringed Pins.

Ringed pins developed in Ireland, nevertheless, ringed pins strongly characterise Hiberno-Norse culture. One can wonder how this Irish item transferred and developed in Hiberno-Norse communities and not in other Scandinavian communities. Do ringed pins bear a specific significance in Irish culture? Or on the contrary, was the absence of strong symbolism in Irish culture unappealing for Scandinavian communities? Can we see regional development and decoration? To progress on those questions, we must ask ourselves if the ringed pins developed in Scandinavian territories and how the ringed pins were transferred. To answer this, I will present the origin of the ringed pins, and the impact Scandinavian settlements had on their development. Afterwards, I will present the typology present in the Insular region, then in Scandinavian. Finally, I will discuss the means of diffusion of the ringed pins.

a.1. Origins and pre-Viking Settlement Ringed Pins.

Thomas Fanning delivers the typology of the ringed pins in his study of these objects in the Dublin excavations between 1962 and 1981. His classification is a consensus. The excavation at Dublin covers two major occupations: workshops and cemeteries. The different types of occupation allow us to glimpse of both production and wearability of ringed pins.

The excavation shows that the ringed pins appear in majority in funerary contexts, especially in female graves during the ninth century. However, in the tenth century, a shift occurs as ring pins appear mostly in male graves. Bronze and copper alloy composed most of the ringed pins, to a lesser extent iron and silver can be used. Bronze and copper alloy represent common material, on the other hand, silver represents an expensive material. Regarding crafting methods, craftspeople cast the ringed pins in moulds: one can think of clay, stone or metal moulds. The use of reusable moulds suggests that the production of ring pins could be consequent and that several rings could have been looking the same.¹¹

¹¹ The question of moulds refers to the visual cultural and social identity factor that will be furthermore explained in part c.4 The oval brooches – Serial production and urban settlements.

The ringed pins developed first into an Irish cultural environment. The Scandinavian settlement near Dublin occurred in the mid-ninth century, although Ireland and Scandinavian established contacts before the settlement.¹² The Scandinavian presence and cultural expression continued until the city fell into the hands of the Normans in the twelfth century, even if in 902 the Scandinavian were expelled from Dublin until 917.¹³ One can wonder about the criteria of this eviction. If the Scandinavian rulers were expelled, this event raises the question of the criteria to be considered as a Scandinavian for the common population: was it language? Was it a cultural expression? Was it religion? Was it people who arrived from Scandinavia and their descendants? In the case of the descendant of Scandinavian settlers, were mixed Scandinavian-Irish also expelled? Was it a combination of those elements? The installation of Scandinavian in Ireland, and the creation of mixed cultural and production centres affected the production of ringed pins as it will be shown.

a.1.1. The Spiral-Ringed Baluster Head Type.

In the pre-Viking settlement context in Dublin, the spiral ring baluster head class dominated; however, this type is not verifiable in the Scandinavian contexts.¹⁴ Another frequent type found in the native Irish settlement was the loop-head and spiral ring type.

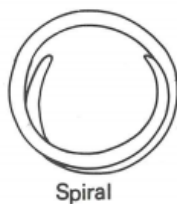


Figure 1. After Fanning (1996), p.6

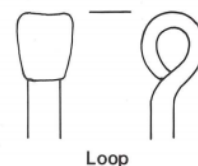


Figure 2: After Fanning (1996), p.6.

¹² Anne-Christine Larsen, *The Vikings in Ireland* (Roskilde: The Viking ship museum, 2001), p. 17, 20.

¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 21, 26, 27.

¹⁴ Thomas Fanning, *Viking Age ringed pins from Dublin*, vol. vol. 4, *Medieval Dublin excavations, 1962-81. Ser. B*, (Dublin: Royal Irish Academy, 1994), p.13.

Nevertheless, the Scandinavian population or Hiberno-Norse population in Ireland sparsely adopt this style, as we found only one example in a Viking-Age dated layer in Dublin.¹⁵ The Scandinavian or mixed Scandinavian population did not adopt the spiral ringed pin in Dublin. However, archaeologists found two spiral rings on a plate head in Norway, but the poor quality and physique of the ring make Fanning believe an error in the conception: the craftsperson did not intend to have a spiral ring. Fanning sees in those two artefacts the attempt to make a slipknot ring. This interpretation seems rather reasonable as the aesthetic of the slipknot ring strongly resembles to the spiral ring. Despite the non-adoption of the spiral ring, I will demonstrate in the following part that the second Irish ring, the baluster head was fully adopted. One can wonder why the Scandinavian population in Ireland did not adopt the spiral ring and one can suppose as I will discuss below that the taste for the slipknot ring,¹⁶ more elaborated than the spiral ring, dominated. In conclusion, the Scandinavian milieu did not adopt the Irish spiral ring. Nevertheless, Scandinavians adopted two Irish elements, the baluster head and the loop head.

a.2. The Scandinavian Development in Dublin and the Insular Diffusion.

a.2.1. The Plain-Ringed Loop-Head Type.

We discussed in the previous part that the spiral ring was not adopted, but the loop head was. We often find the loop head in association with the plain ring. This ring, as many types of rings can be either fixed with tenons¹⁷ or with a hinge: in both cases, the ring can move around the head. The mobility of the ring

¹⁵ Ibid., p. 13.

¹⁶ It will be discussed p.11.

¹⁷ The projecting part of a joint that fits into a mortise. The mortise is a notch.

around the head differentiates the Irish and Hiberno-Norse pins with found in neighbourhood cultures.

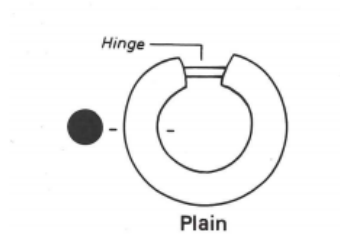


Figure 3. After Fanning (1996), p.6.

We locate the combination of plain-ringed and loop head in pre-Viking sites during the eighth century and in Viking contexts: it is the only full ringed pin adopted by Scandinavians from the Irish population.¹⁸

Few plain-ringed loop-head pins were discovered in Viking burials in Dublin, but archaeologists found 60 examples in the excavation of 1962–1981, for example, DRP51 and DRP57 (Figure 12). Outside Dublin, again, archaeologists found few funerary Viking contexts. The Viking burial at Larne,¹⁹ excavated during the nineteenth century delivered one type.²⁰ Since the excavation revealed a typical tenth century sword, we can date the grave to the tenth century.²¹ Fanning claims that the *floruit* of this type was the ninth and tenth centuries.²² The numerous finds from Fishamble Street in Dublin support this dating of the *floruit*: 18 out of 21 are dated to the tenth century. Outside Dublin, we find this type with a Scandinavian contexts such as in York where two plain-ring loop headpins were found.²³ It is interesting to note that we found the ringed pins in Anglo-Scandinavian context. It surely shows circulation and transfers between Dublin and York, even if the count is low.

¹⁸ Fanning, Viking Age ringed pins from Dublin, vol. 4, p.15.

¹⁹ Present Northern Ireland, north-Est coast.

²⁰ Thomas Fanning, "The Viking Grave Goods Discovered near Larne, Co. Antrim in 1840," *Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland* 100, no. 1 (1970).

²¹ *Ibid.*, p.76.

²² Fanning, Viking Age ringed pins from Dublin, vol. 4, p.17; Fanning, "Viking Grave Goods Discovered near Larne," p.77.

²³ A. J. Mainman et al., *Craft, industry and everyday life: finds from Anglo-Scandinavian York*, vol. 14 (London: York Archaeological Trust for Excavation and Research, 2000), p.2580.

With ringed pins, craftspeople find space to decorate their production. Nevertheless, the decoration of ringed pin remains simple.

a.2.2. The Plain-Ringed Baluster Head and the Plain-Ringed Polyhedral Head Types.

Despite this adoption of the plain-ring pin by the Scandinavian population, new types were developed. One of them developed from two known elements: the plain ring and the baluster head. Fanning states that the baluster and polyhedral heads with plain rings flourished in the mid-tenth century.

It can be seen with the plain-ringed baluster type. This type is one of the most common types of ringed pins during the mid-tenth century and until the disappearance of the ringed pin. The baluster head derived from the polyhedral head type. (Figure 5, 4.) Both types are highly common and offer on their heads more space for ornamentation.

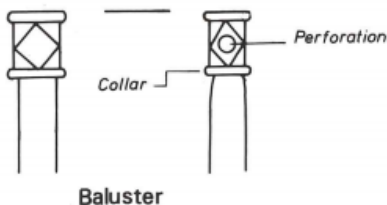


Figure 5. After Fanning (1996), p.6.

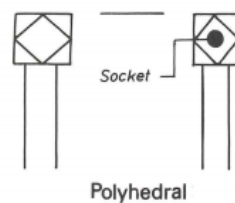


Figure 4. After Fanning (1996), p.6.

A dot and ring pattern often decorated the plain-ringed baluster head, as well as the plain-ringed polyhedral type, which can also decorate the ring. The shank is often ornamented with a chevron motif but can also be ornamented with groups of grooves.

Fanning explains that the ring and dot ornament are characteristic of Scandinavian repertoire, as this ornamentation is rare on Irish objects and far more common on Scandinavian ones.²⁴ Moreover, this ornamentation seems to belong to a Germanic tradition as we can find it on other artefacts from before the Viking age. Such as on Visigoth buckle plates.²⁵ That ornamentation is not usable for dating as

²⁴ Fanning, Viking Age ringed pins from Dublin, vol. 4, p.21.

²⁵ See: <https://artefacts.mom.fr/result.php?id=PLB-5019&find=Germanie&pagenum=1&affmode=vign> or <https://artefacts.mom.fr/result.php?id=PLB-5611&find=PLB-5611&pagenum=1&affmode=>

Fanning explains;²⁶ indeed the Nordic population used them from the Early Iron Age up to the twelfth century. The Scandinavian population anchored over a long time this simple decoration, for simple artefacts, in their taste.

This simple decoration goes well with the idea that ringed pins were not valuable artefacts: they are easily cast, lost or broken.²⁷ Their short lifespan is valued to archaeology as it allows a short frame for the use of a type, unlike valuable artefacts or jewellery that can be passed on long after craftspeople ceased to produce them. The dots and rings are also interesting in that they are not only used on ringed pins, Fanning identifies it also on combs. It also appears on brooches. (Cat. 39, 41, 42)

The plain-ringed polyhedral head is the largest group of the Dublin finds (81 examples out of 263) and seems to be the most common type outside Ireland, for instance in England.²⁸ As said above this type often uses for ornamentation of the ring and dot pattern. Nevertheless, it is not the only decoration possible.

The twin link motif, on either one or both facets of the head, frequently decorates this ringed pin type. If the twin-link motif does not decorate both facets, a saltire motif or a cross motif decorates the other one.²⁹ The twin-link symbol does not appear in Ireland before the Viking presence,³⁰ the documentation on this symbol seems sparse. One can see a resemblance with the triquetra (Figure 16) which appeared in the Insular world in the mid-tenth century, probably of Christian origin (Holy Trinity).³¹ The twin-link decoration is also present on brooches such as the Kilmainham brooch (Cat. 30) from the eighth-ninth centuries. This motif, of Scandinavian origin, was therefore soon adopted on Celtic artefacts. It

²⁶ Fanning, *Viking Age ringed pins from Dublin*, vol. 4, p.25.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 28.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, p.25.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 25-26.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, p.26.

³¹ Ildar Garipzanov, "Religious Symbols on Early Christian Scandinavian Coins (ca. 995–1050): From Imitation to Adaptation," *Viator (Berkeley)* 42, no. 1 (2011): p. 38, <https://doi.org/10.1484/j.viator.1.102003>.

seems unlikely that the Celtic population were not aware of this symbol before the settlement of the Scandinavian population, as both regions were connected. One can wonder if we can associate this adoption of the twin link either with the new popularity of the symbol among the Celtic population or to the demand of the Scandinavian population to incorporate this symbol on artefacts worn by them. The twin-link motif often associates the saltire and cross motifs (Figure 11) both are also often put together.

a.2.3. The Kidney-Ringed Type.

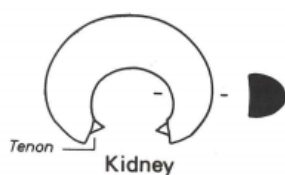


Figure 6. After Fanning (1994), p.6.

The last major class of ringed pins is the kidney ringed pin.

This class marks the end of the ringed pins. In the eleventh century, the ringed pin abandons the mobility that the ring has. The ring merges with the pin and becomes the so-called stick pin.³² The kidney-ring

form appeared in the last quarter of the tenth century in the Viking context but flourished in the late Viking period.³³ We found them in a diverse context: settlements,³⁴ crannogs (Ballinderry, Cloonfinlough for instance) or the Knowth occupation in Ireland, funerary context like the Cronk Moar burial in the Isle of Man (which present some differences from other kidney pins),³⁵ ecclesiastical contexts. For instance, at Kilree in Kilkenny County, Christ's church in Dublin, St Audoen in Dublin, or at Omev Island in Galway County, but not in the context of ecclesiastical burials. It does not come as a surprise as Christian burial should be exempted from all artefacts, theoretically.

Male Viking burials delivered the two kidney pins found in the Isle of Man,³⁶ both belong to an intermediate kidney form in that their form is between the plain ring and the kidney form.

³² Michael Gibbons and Jim Higgins, "Hiberno-Norse Ringed Pin from Omev Feichín, Connemara: Its Historical and Cultural Setting," *Journal of the Galway Archaeological and Historical Society* 5 (2005): p.154.

³³ Fanning, *Viking Age ringed pins from Dublin*, vol. 4, p.37-38.

³⁴ *Ibid.*

³⁵ Thomas Fanning, *The Hiberno-Norse pins from the Isle of Man* (London: The Viking Society for Northern Research, 1983).

³⁶ *Ibid.*, p.30.

The bramble ornament (Figure 15) often adorns the kidney-ringed pin. The kidney-ringed pin shares this ornament with the thistle brooches, of Irish origin too.³⁷ The bramble ornament consists of ‘criss-cross filling’ giving a ‘bristly’ or ‘spiky’ effect.³⁸ The panelled ornament decorates also often this type in Dublin. It gives relief to the ring. (Figure 14)

Only a few are found outside Ireland in the Insular world: Gibbons and Higgins record nine finds among which six are in the Hebrides.³⁹

a.2.4. The Stirrup-Ringed Crutch Head Type.

The next type presented is the stirrup-ringed class with a crutch head. Both are only associated with each other. The shape of the stirrup-ringed is close to that of the kidney pin. Thomas Fanning notes that some crutch head is not meant to bear any ring as no holes are present:⁴⁰ The ring and dot ornament often decorates this type.

³⁷ E.C.R. Armstrong, "V.—Irish Bronze Pins of the Christian Period," *Archaeologia* 72 (1922): p. 83, <https://doi.org/doi:10.1017/S0261340900009644>.

³⁸ Fanning, *Viking Age ringed pins from Dublin*, vol. 4, p. 36.

³⁹ Plus one in Iceland, at Hladir.

⁴⁰ Fanning, *Viking Age ringed pins from Dublin*, vol. 4, p.42.

Figure 7. After Fanning (1994) p. 67.

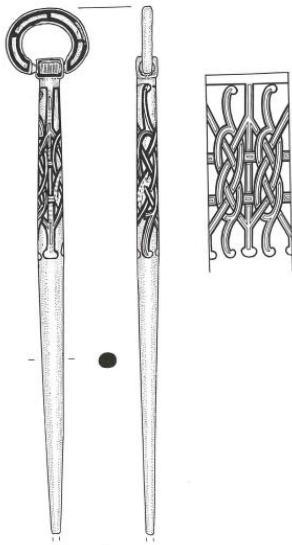


Fig. 90. *DRP252* (1907:116).

The pin *DRP252* uses on the stalk a variation of the Ringerike style.⁴¹

Fanning quotes Ófloinn who noted the similitude in the decoration of the shrine of St Lachtin's arm.⁴² They suggest that it could be a local school of metalworking that seeks inspiration in the Scandinavian Ringerike style in the late eleventh century beginning of the twelfth century.

Fanning dates this pin to the tenth century with high development in the eleventh century until the disappearance of the ringed pins in the twelfth century.⁴³ We mainly find this type in ecclesiastical contexts,⁴⁴ like its cousin the kidney-ringed pin. Rare are the finds in burial. The insular geographic diffusion concerns mainly Ireland, few were found in Scotland and fewer in Ireland.

a.2.5. The Knob-Ringed Loop Head Type.

The next type is the knob type which used mostly the loop-head. In the Insular world, we find mostly this class in ringforts and crannogs: Celtic settlements.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, p.43.

⁴² *Ibid.*

⁴³ *Ibid.*, p.53.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, p.46.

Figure 7: Ringed pin from Tårnes, Åfjord. © NTNU, Vitenskapsmuseet. Photo: O.B. Pedersen



Cat. 1. Example of knob-pin, after Pettersen (2014).

The knobs that characterise the type can occasionally draw a zoomorphic form; otherwise, this small class does not bear any decoration. The finds from Dublin and Scandinavia give a dating of the late ninth to the tenth centuries for this class. Fanning suggests that this class derives from the plain-ringed loop-head class.⁴⁵

a.2.6. The Link-Ringed Plate Head and the Slip Knot-Ringed Plate Head Types.

The last two classes look-alike by the head they use. One can find the link-ringed plate head form that does not bear any ornament and is rare in Ireland. The DRP254 (Figure 8) from Fanning is an example of an insular find, but of a Scandinavian form as this type is of Scandinavian origin.⁴⁶

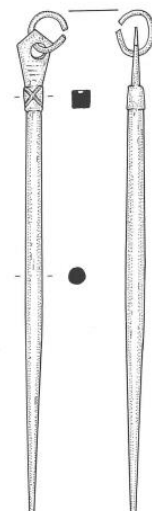


Figure 8. DRP254, after Fanning (1994), p 110.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, p.49.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, p.51.

Inchbofin Island and Lough Ree in Westmeath County record two other insular finds associated with Hiberno-Norse objects. Plus, they are rare in the Insular world and more often present in Scandinavia; therefore one could assume that the find from Inchbofin and Lough Ree could come from a background that is more Scandinavian than Irish.

We can apply similar reasoning to the slip knot-ringed type, (Figure 10) either associated with the plate head or the loop head, that we mentioned along with the spiral-ringed type. Indeed, one mostly found this class in Scandinavia and not really in the Insular world. Fanning suggests that the finds from Dublin are lost pins from a Scandinavian merchant.⁴⁷ As said the similar type, the spiral-ringed type, is not found in a Scandinavian context but only in an Irish context. We could have with the slip knot-head an adaptation of the spiral-ringed more up to the taste of the Scandinavian population.

a.3. Scandinavian Diffusion.

Ringed pins seem truly attached to the Insular world and the Scandinavian communities implanted in Ireland, and a smaller measure in England.

a.3.1. The Plain-Ringed Loop-Head Type.

The plain-ring loop-head also appears in Scandinavia, in Norway, Sweden, and Denmark as well as in Hedeby, a Scandinavian settlement in modern Germany. Thomas takes notes of a strong concentration in Norway, in Vestfold and Borg then in Sogn og Fjordene, in Rogaland and in Lofoten. The author sees there the sign of trade between the south, and the west of Norway with probable local production of ringed pins.⁴⁸

⁴⁷ Ibid.

⁴⁸ Ibid., p.21.

Although Thomas Fanning finds characteristic of local production on the plain-ring loop-head:⁴⁹ ‘oval shape to the bridge ring, with the relatively long shank expanded to form a wide, looped or rolled over pin head’. Following this description, Graham-Campbell suggests that two finds from Kaupang are examples of such a Scandinavian type, as they have ‘[...] the particular combination of a large ring with a short pin, which has a relatively broad pinhead’.⁵⁰ Moreover, a ‘row of ring-and-dot stamping down its short pin’ characterised the ornamentation on the ring of this type.⁵¹

Aina Margethe Heen supports the idea of the importation of ringed pins which do not bear any sign of Scandinavian variation,⁵² although the simplicity of the fabrication of the ringed pins makes the visibility of special crafts techniques hard to distinguish.

a.3.2. The Plain-Ringed Baluster Head and the Plain-Ringed Polyhedral Head Types.

As said in the previous part, the polyhedral and baluster head associated with the plain ring were popular in the Scandinavian-Insular world, especially in Ireland. Fanning claims that those types are not to present in Scandinavia. Nevertheless, in 1973, Blindheim suggested the presence of a new local variation type derived from the baluster head type with a ‘thin bronze wire [...] joined into a simple ring’. She notes a high concentration of this type in Kaupang, despite no moulds found, neither diffusion on the Norwegian coast sites.⁵³ One can think that the importance of Kaupang as a nodal centre between Scandinavia and the peripheric region,⁵⁴ including the Insular region, is the reason for the development

⁴⁹ Ibid., p.20.

⁵⁰ Dagfinn Skre, *Things from the town: artefacts and inhabitants in Viking-age Kaupang*, vol. 3 (2011), p.103. See Fig. 5.5-C52518/255.

⁵¹ Ibid.

⁵² Aina Margrethe Heen Pettersen, "Insular artefacts from Viking-Age burials from mid-Norway. A review of contact between Trøndelag and Britain and Ireland," (2014), <https://doi.org/https://doi.org/http://dx.doi.org/10.11141/ia.38.2>.

⁵³ Charlotte Blindheim, "A collection of Celtic (?) bronze objets found in Kaupang (Skiringssal), Vestfold, Norway." (paper presented at the Seventh Viking Congress, Dublin, 1973), p.20-21.

⁵⁴ Dagfinn Skre, "Dealing with Silver: Economic Agency in South-Western Scandinavia AD 600–1000," in *Means of exchange: dealing with silver in the Viking Age*, Norske oldfunn (trykt utg.) (Århus, Oslo: Aarhus University Press Kaupang Excavation Project, 2008).

of this new type. We can explain the absence of diffusion of this new type by a new 'Kaupang identity', as towns are rich centres of cultural, commercial, social and manufacture development.

a.3.3. The Kidney-Ringed Type.

For the kidney-ringed pin, the third more important category in Ireland, we must take note that we do not find them in Scandinavia. It seems they are truly attached to the Insular world and the Celtic sphere, indeed crannogs, typical Irish settlement sites, delivered several pins. One can wonder if this absence in Scandinavia is a synonym of the use of such ringed pins by the Hiberno-Norse community and the Irish community only. We can guess that Scandinavians who did not grow up and lived in such a mixed culture did not find any appeal towards that type.

a.3.4. The Stirrup-Ringed Crutch Head Type.

Like its cousin the kidney-ringed pin, we do not find the crutch in Scandinavia. As said for the kidney-ringed pin, the crutch type is highly connected with the Insular world. One can wonder if this type could also be diffused by the monastic and ecclesiastics communities from the Insular world.

a.3.5. The Knob-Ringed Loop Head Type.

Burial context delivered few knob-ringed pins in Scandinavia, such as the Hedeby finds, or the eight finds recorded by Petersen from the tenth century.⁵⁵

Unlike the two previous classes, this type seemed to have pleased Scandinavian taste better.

⁵⁵ Fanning, *Viking Age ringed pins from Dublin*, vol. 4, p.48.

a.3.6. The Link-Ringed Plate Head and the Slip Knot-Ringed Plate Head Types.

The link-ringed is, along with the slip knot-ringed type, a highly Scandinavian development. Fanning suggests the presence of manufacturing in mainland Scandinavian towns such as Hedeby and Kaupang.⁵⁶

a.4. The Diffusion of Ringed Pins: How and by Whom?

In the parts above, we saw the development of new types of ringed pins, we also briefly evoked the means of diffusion. We can ask ourselves what could be the means of diffusion of this Hiberno-Norse object and how could diffuse it. This question is even more interesting as we saw that ringed pins did not develop well in Scandinavia and stayed mainly within Hiberno-Norse communities, or in Birka and Kaupang. Then, by whom, how and why the few types present in Scandinavia and within Hiberno-Norse communities were diffused?

In terms of diffusion, the Omey find is an interesting case. The Omey pin is a stray find, found on the north coast of the island.⁵⁷ Monasteries predominated this island situated in the Connemara during the Middle Ages. Three important middens along with two Christian cemeteries and three monasteries create the mains remains of the island. They show the long occupation of the island. For the Viking Age or the Middle Ages, the archaeologists did not find any sign of other types of settlement nor sign of workshops. The authors present the question of how this ring pin arrived on the island. An explanation could be that in the tenth and eleventh centuries, numerous monasteries also became marketplaces. Nevertheless, the island does not bear any sign of a marketplace and is remote from the mainland. There is no interest to establish a marketplace in such a place: the island is only accessible when the tide is low which makes circulation harder. Moreover, the notable absence of Viking presence, through a settlement in the surrounding area, reduces the likelihood of close local exchange and eliminates the explanation of a lost pin by a Scandinavian settler. However, Gibbons and Higgins suggest that the three monasteries

⁵⁶ Ibid., p.50.

⁵⁷ Gibbons and Higgins, "Hiberno-Norse Ringed Pin from Omey Feichín, Connemara: Its Historical and Cultural Setting."

present on the island are part of the same chain of Irish monasteries. Gibbons and Higgins explain the presence of the ring pin with the presence of monks who brought it, probably from the head monastery, possibly Féchín monastery. Both monasteries share the same founding saint. Furthermore, both monasteries were in a region with a strong ringed-pin circulation:⁵⁸ one can see the Omev find as the lost ring pin of an Omev monk affiliated with the Féchín monastery.

This case gives us an example of diffusion of ringed pins: circulation of the ringed pin via their holder, and in this case a monk probably owned the pin. Therefore, it seems that ecclesiastical communities adopted Irish Scandinavian artefacts.

One can wonder why the reason for the debatable. The kidney-ringed pin developed in the last quarter of the tenth century,⁵⁹ at that time Scandinavia developed Christianity, especially in Norway and Denmark since few decades.⁶⁰ Christianity in Scandinavia, even if the region had contact with Christianity before, is recent. Moreover, Vikings still raided the Welsh coast in the tenth century and the raids did not stop until the eleventh century.⁶¹ Monasteries were the easy target of the Viking raids. Nevertheless, monastic communities wore the kidney-ringed pin. It is arguable if the monastic communities knew the ringed pins developed in an Irish-Scandinavian milieu. If the monastic communities which wore ring pins knew the origin is unknown.

This can give us an indication of how Christian Irish made a distinction between Scandinavian cultural expression and pagan religious belonging. It shows that Christian Irish differentiated cultural (Scandinavian) and religious (Pagan-Scandinavian) affiliation. Culture and religion are linked, they nourish each other. An element can have a meaning in a religious context and a different meaning in a cultural context. This meaning can also be the same in both contexts. However, these strongly Christian communities saw no problem in using elements from a culture that did not ultimately share the same religion. Those Christian Irish communities did not care about the cultural provenance of the ringed pin

⁵⁸ Ibid., p.161.

⁵⁹ Fanning, *Viking Age ringed pins from Dublin*, vol. 4, p.38.

⁶⁰ Neil S. Price, *The Viking world* (London; New York: Routledge, 2008).

⁶¹ Ibid., p.402-03.

and the religious background associated with it. Or could it be an indicator of tolerance? Or did they differentiate cultural expressions (ringed pins), from culture (Scandinavian) and religious background (pagan)? This would mean that a symbol, a decoration, even an artefact can be separated from its original cultural origin and/or religious origin to be reinjected into a new culture. This suggests that they had the desire and intellectual reasoning to differentiate the artefact from its culture of origin. Perhaps the settlement, the conversion and the integration of Scandinavian populations in Insular land counterbalanced the view of Scandinavians who raided? Tempering the view of Irish over Scandinavians. Although, it is impossible to presume the cultural background of the monks from Omev Island, as they could have been either Irish or converted Scandinavian. It can be suggested that a monk of Scandinavian origin would have had fewer problems using an artefact that originated from a Scandinavian milieu.

In addition, these questions touch upon the broader issue of what cultural affiliation meant to them, and how they defined their culture. As said before, link-ringed plate head and slip knot-ringed plate head types are rarely present in the Insular world. Fanning analysed twenty-four Danish ringed pins, among which four are of the slip knot-head type. Ten are of the plain-ringed loop head type. One is of the link-ringed type. Two are of the plain-ringed polyhedral head type, and the other is miscellaneous forms. He claims that a local variant appears in graves in Birka.⁶² This is reminiscent of the local Kaupang variation: a nodal point in Scandinavian trade as the source of a new variant.

In the Birka, Kaupang and Dublin case, the town seemed to have been the centre of the development of metalworking. Gibbons and Higgins suggest that the kidney-ringed pin diffusion followed the Dublin commercial interest, highly centred in Ireland and the Insular world, or the path of Irish monastic chains.⁶³ If monastic milieu indeed diffused the kidney-ringed pins, it did not find its path towards Scandinavia.

⁶² Fanning, *Viking Age ringed pins from Dublin*, vol. 4, p.50.

⁶³ Gibbons and Higgins, "Hiberno-Norse Ringed Pin from Omev Feichín, Connemara: Its Historical and Cultural Setting," p. 155.

To summarise, as Thomas Fanning notes, in the tenth and eleventh centuries cultural expressions are highly mixed in Ireland from what we designate as Hiberno-Norse culture: a mixture of Irish and Scandinavian cultural expressions. The same phenomenon occurred in England, the Scandinavian culture and the Anglo-Saxon culture mixed to form the Anglo-Scandinavian culture. York occupied a central position in the development of this new mixed culture. Nevertheless, despite the flows between the Insular world and the Scandinavian region, either in terms of traders, raiders, travellers, ringed pins seem to be eminently Hiberno-Norse and Anglo-Scandinavian. On the presence of ringed pins in Scandinavia Egil Mikkelsen suggests, after Zanette T. Gørstad's interpretation of the ringed pins and brooches as part gifts, that these artefacts could also have been gifts from monastic and ecclesiastical origins to local lords and kings.⁶⁴

Nevertheless, except for the slip knot and to a lesser extent the plain-ring baluster head, the diffusion of the ringed pins did not submerge the Scandinavian region; plus the diffusion seems to touch more only the Vestfold region. Pettersen explains this by the origin of raiders and settlers present in the Insular region from this region of Norway.⁶⁵ The simplicity of the crafting of those artefacts prevents a good outlook on local techniques from Scandinavia, even if few local types were identified, for instance from Kaupang in the Vestfold. To some extent, those local variations can show the affinity that the Vestfold population had with the ringed pins. Despite the Celtic origin, one can notice the introduction of few Scandinavian ornaments; the dot and ringed demonstrated the Scandinavian taste as well as the quatrefoil knot. Nevertheless, the simplicity of the ornament present on ringed pins occludes great visibility on local or regional cultural expressions as those symbols seemed shared by the entirety of the Scandinavian region. Only one possible local metalwork school taking its influence in a typical eleventh century Scandinavian style, the Ringerike style, was identified. We can observe that Hiberno-Norse decoration on ringed pins took inspiration from Celtic artefact ornamentation. Which is the case with the bramble decoration found on the kidney ring, which comes from the thistle brooch (type also adopted

⁶⁴ Egil Mikkelsen, *Looting or missioning: insular and continental sacred objects in Viking age contexts in Norway* (Oxford: Oxbow Books, 2019), p.57.

⁶⁵ Pettersen, "Insular artefacts from Viking-Age burials from mid-Norway. A review of contact between Trøndelag and Britain and Ireland."

by the Scandinavian population). Within the Insular world, Fanning supposes the diffusion of the ringed pins by the Scandinavian settlements, then by the trade between those settlements and Scandinavian-Insular towns. Mainman and Rogers note that the ringed pins found in York show the close relationship between the two cities, although it is impossible to know if the ringed pins found in York were produced locally or imported from Dublin.⁶⁶ The case of the kidney rings and the crutch head pins could suggest that insular ecclesiastical communities diffused them, given their high presence among those sites.

a.5. Conclusion.

In conclusion, ringed pins truly express Hiberno-Norse artefacts, and they diffused largely in the Insular world. However, ringed pins did not diffuse well in Scandinavia, the local population produced only a few variants. Moreover, the local variants of ringed pins in Scandinavia developed in towns such as Birka and Kaupang. We can see that the development of ringed pins occurred in cities. This shows the importance of a highly inhabited place in the development of new cultural expressions and workshops. In a non-urban occupation, smaller than an urban one, workshops produce more likely what the community primary needs, other non-essential items could be made on-demand (one could say personalised) or be imported. In an urban settlement, the local population is larger and more diversified: activities are varied and therefore the demand is too. The increase of population within a concentrated area creates new social needs and therefore new ways of expression: social and cultural. The high development of ringed pins in Dublin follows this idea.

Nevertheless, ringed pins are not prestigious objects. Copper alloy or bronze mostly compose them, and silver is rare. The decorations are simple. The use and the development of ringed pins do not seem to demonstrate a desire to differentiate oneself socially by borrowing an object from a foreign culture. On the other hand, the development of towns of ringed pins could show the development of the cultural expression of Irish-Scandinavian non-elite classes, rather than the development of an elite social expression. Nevertheless, one can find occasionally ringed pins in rich tombs in Scandinavia. In that

⁶⁶ Mainman et al., *Craft, industry and everyday life: finds from Anglo-Scandinavian York*, 14, p.2582.

case, we have an artefact used both by elite and non-elite classes. We will see in a following chapter that elite classes adopted certain types of Irish elite ornamentation. We could think that the small use of ringed pins by elite people in Scandinavia is the sign of the ringed pins as ordinary Irish-Scandinavian artefact that could differentiate them more from 'regular' Scandinavian inhabitants. Thus, the meaning in the use of the ringed pins would be different. On the one hand, Irish-Scandinavian people marking their difference from Irish or Scandinavian, on the other hand, elite people marking their difference from lower classes by borrowing an Irish-Scandinavian artefact. For such ordinary artefacts, understand their meaning for their owners is fastidious. But surely there is a different treatment towards the ringed pin depending on the region: the rarity of the ringed pins in Scandinavia shows the divergence of taste between Irish-Scandinavian, Anglo-Scandinavian and Scandinavian.

b. The Penannular and Pseudo-Penannular Brooches.

In the Viking Age Scandinavians used penannular brooches, which means ‘almost circular’ in Latin,⁶⁷ to fasten their cloaks. Some penannular brooches compose the most prestigious metal fasteners. Even though the penannular form developed in western Europe, Scandinavia, Germany, British Isles, the culture and customs of prestigious penannular brooches developed in Ireland. One can wonder what set apart the Irish penannular brooches from those found in the rest of Northern Europe. Why did Scandinavians choose to employ the Irish penannular brooches and not, for instance, the British brooches or common Scandinavian ones as a prestigious element?

To answer this question, I shall present the origin and context of the penannular brooches, then I will present the different types of penannular brooches found in Scandinavia and their origin. From this, I will elaborate on the cultural symbolism an artefact can have in elite social classes: how can an artefact play a role in the demonstration of status by the elite class? What are the means of demonstrations? Can the context of finding help us to answer those two questions? How can the material of an artefact increase the prestige of the artefact? And how can elite classes use the ‘foreign’ aspect of an artefact to create prestige?

b.1. Origin and Context of the Penannular Brooches.

James Graham-Campbell classifies the penannular brooches after Petersen’s 1940 typology. Graham-Campbell creates four groups based on their shape.⁶⁸ The penannular brooches’ typology uses the terminal as a key element. With penannular brooches, the shank can be either long or short.

The penannular brooches are characteristic of the Insular world, both from Britain and Ireland, and developed from Roman forms and Germanic brooches from the third century and even Scandinavian

⁶⁷ Paene (pe-), « almost », p. 519 Dictionnaire Latin Français de poche, Félix Gaffiot, Hachette éditions.

⁶⁸ James Graham-Campbell, "Western Penannular brooches and their Viking Age copies in Norway: a new classification" (paper presented at the Proceedings of the Tenth Viking Congress, Larkollen, Norway 1985, Oslo, 1987), p.232.

forms in the third century.⁶⁹ However, the Scandinavian population in Scandinavia and the Insular region used penannular brooches developed after the Irish types in the eighth and ninth centuries. Glørstad argues that penannular brooches characterised Irish jewellery in the seventh century.⁷⁰ She states that in Ireland, penannular brooches embodied men's identity and power,⁷¹ whereas in Scotland women used more penannular brooches than men. One thing is clear, unlike the ringed pins, penannular brooches marked the elite.

Regarding the typology, scholars do not use the British and Celtic typology to address the Scandinavian finds. The pseudo-penannular brooches follow the same typology as the penannular brooches; the only difference between the penannular and the pseudo-penannular resides in the openness of the ring. The pseudo-penannular has a closed ring.

In the Scandinavian world, penannular brooches diffused mostly in Norway and Sweden. For instance, Glørstad mentions for Norway 162 penannular brooches among which, 140 brooches are produced locally.

b.2: Scandinavian Context.

b.2.1. Group I: Plate-Shaped Terminals.

Plate/flat shaped terminals compose the first main group. This group comports five types: sub-triangular (type A), lozenge (type B), lobed (type C), discoidal (type D) and animal head (type E) terminals. This first main group includes Irish penannular brooches found in Norway. The Tara type (Cat. 29) represents the archetype of the Irish type and the Kilmainham brooch too. Among the Irish

⁶⁹ Anna Booth, "Reassessing the long chronology of the penannular brooch in Britain: exploring changing styles, use and meaning across a millennium" (2015).

⁷⁰ Zanelle Tsigaridas Glørstad, "Sign of the Times? The Transfer and Transformation of Penannular Brooches in Viking-Age Norway," *Norwegian archaeological review* 45, no. 1 (2012): p.31, <https://doi.org/10.1080/00293652.2012.670379>.

⁷¹ *Ibid.*, p.32.

type found in Scandinavia, the Snåsa brooch is a striking example.⁷² The brooch was discovered in a

woman burial from the tenth century.⁷³



However, this Irish type has few variations in Scandinavian contexts. Indeed, the Group I type A bears Borre style ornamentation.⁷⁴ Scandinavian craftspeople likely produced those copies in Scandinavia where we found them. Glørstad notes for the Scandinavian copies that this type uses either Borre style or is plain.⁷⁵

The Borre style developed in the ninth century in Scandinavia. This style disposes of three main

ornamentation elements, the ring chain, the single animal, and the gripping beast. By their size, metal fasteners seem to accommodate more with the ring-chain motif and the gripping beast motif. The ring-chain motif consists of a filigree that forms a chain. The Irish population seems to have adopted only this motif from the Borre repertoire.⁷⁶

The gripping beast motif, the origin of which remains uncertain (either German, Anglo-Saxon or solely Scandinavian),⁷⁷ fully characterises the Scandinavian art (Style III, Style E, Borre style), it ornate different types of brooches. The penannular does not make an exception. For instance, the silver pseudo-penannular brooch found in Sømna in Mardal, Nordland, Norway presents a gripping beast motif.

⁷² Pettersen, "Insular artefacts from Viking-Age burials from mid-Norway. A review of contact between Trøndelag and Britain and Ireland."

⁷³ Ibid.

⁷⁴ Graham-Campbell, "Western Penannular brooches and their Viking Age copies in Norway: a new classification," p.233.

⁷⁵ Tsigaridas Glørstad, "Sign of the Times? The Transfer and Transformation of Penannular Brooches in Viking-Age Norway," p.40.

⁷⁶ James Graham-Campbell, *Viking art*, World of art, (London: Thames and Hudson, 2013), p.77.

⁷⁷ David Wilson, "The earliest animal styles of the Viking Age," in *Veröffentlichung der Joachim Jungius-Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften, Hamburg* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2001), 143-44.



Cat. 3. Pseudo-Penannular brooch, Group I, type A, Sømna, Mardal, Nordland, Norway – C21451, Unimusportalen.

However, the brooch is catalogued as Salin type 712.⁷⁸ The Salin type disposes of the gripping beast motif, which is present in the style repertoire of the British Isles. The Sømna brooch, which for we do not have any dating, demonstrates one of the problems of establishing artistic styles. Nevertheless, this penannular brooch seems to belong to group I, probably type A. It seems more probable that Scandinavian craftsman produced this brooch, regardless of the origin of the style of the gripping beast motif.

If the gripping-beast motif comes indeed from a British or Germanic background, the Borre style has taken hold of this motif and integrated it fully. It represents a key element in the Borre repertoire. If it is indeed a borrowing from another culture, the Scandinavian repertory has truly appropriated and traditionalist it.

The plate-shaped terminal sub-triangular brooches developed a new decoration in Ireland during the ninth century:⁷⁹ the bossed penannular brooches. Scandinavians soon also adopted this decoration. The bossed decoration consists of two up to six bosses encrusted on the terminal and linked to each other by a band or more.⁸⁰

⁷⁸ See: <https://www.unimus.no/portal/#/things/6f7143fc-320f-404e-8535-48d145cd14cd>

⁷⁹ James Graham-Campbell, "Two Groups of Ninth-Century Irish Brooches," *The Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland* 102, no. 2 (1972): p.114-15, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/25509787>.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, p.118.

Cat. 4. Bossed penannular brooch, Group I, Type A, Galway, Ireland - 1869.0301.1, British Museum.



Scandinavian adopted this type so fast that Wilson nominated it ‘Hiberno-Norse’ brooch.⁸¹ Nevertheless, one hypothesis suggests that this type originated in the influence of the Scottish repertoire.⁸²

Graham-Campbell notes that the

lozenge (B) and lobbed (C) groups belong to Pictish style.⁸³

We found several brooches from the B group in Norway: Nordre Kevang, Sande, Vestfold, Åmot, Hedemark.⁸⁴ Graham-Campbell notes that one brooch found in West Norway, from the Hetterberg hoard, thought to have been produced in Ireland in a Norse settlement, bears a decoration of a zigzag at the outer margin of the terminals.⁸⁵ He links this ornamentation to a penannular brooch, and a mould found in Kaupang, and an almost identical fragment found in a hoard in Lancashire, which has a similar ornament on the edge terminal. Graham-Campbell sees here the mark of Scandinavian copies from Irish models.

We have here a motif found on artefacts manufactured in the settlements in the Insular region and Scandinavia, probably based on the models. One can wonder how this motif developed from the Insular region towards Scandinavia. The fact that this motif does not appear more can suggest that it be not

⁸¹ *Ibid.*, p.114.

⁸² *Ibid.*, p.116.

⁸³ Graham-Campbell, "Western Penannular brooches and their Viking Age copies in Norway: a new classification," p.233.

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*

⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, p.235.

especially a popular motif. However, we can lack sources. The presence of a mould on Kaupang suggests a small production and the possibility of diffusion of the style towards the west and north. We could also think that the link between the settlements in Ireland and the west of Scandinavia have allowed the circulation of such motif. In any case, the motif does not seem to appear in other places than from an Irish settlement or a Scandinavian hoard, Kaupang and the west of Norway. It suggests a taste of the population living there for such motif applied to penannular brooches. It also suggests that at least one workshop based in Scandinavia helped to diffuse to a small scale this motif, either at the demand of the client or by the personal taste of the craftsman after seeing this motif on Irish penannular brooches.

Graham-Campbell notes the similarity between a group I type C, lobed, found in Kaupang and one penannular brooch visible at the Museum of Scotland. The Kilmainham brooch is representative of this category. Concerning one Scandinavian find, one can wonder if the craftsman attempted to produce a zoomorphic appearance; it is the case with the penannular brooch found in Sogn og Fjordane in Norway.



Cat. 5. Penannular Brooch, Group I, type D or C or E, Sogn og Fjordane, Norway – C55412, Unimusportalen.

Scandinavians seem to bear an affection towards zoomorphic representation on brooches. (Cat. 34, 35, 37, 38) This taste is testified by the Borre style and the following art styles, but also by the representation, either, on imported or locally produced brooches.

Graham-Campbell states that the types B, C and D, were only imported whereas type E was systematic copies of Pictish type, it seems that copies were made in Norse settlements in the Insular region and Scandinavia.⁸⁶ Type A used both imports and copies with adaptation to the local taste. The realisation of copies within Norse settlements such as the Hetterberg brooch can make us wonder if craftspeople could trade moulds between the Insular region and Scandinavia, or if craftspeople in Scandinavia realised them only based on existing brooches.

b.2.2. Group II: Low Relief Masks Terminals.

Group II is divided into two types. Animal mask composes the first type, while the human mask composes the second mask type. This group resembles the group I type E. The difference lies in the flatness of the group I type E compared to the high relief of group II. Graham-Campbell notes a difference of repartition between group I type E and group II type A. The first type diffused mainly in eastern Norway whereas the second type diffused in western Norway.

Borre style anthropomorphic masks compose group II type B. The Borre style distinguishes the animal representation seen from the front by using an animal mask: it is also the case for the gripping beast.



Cat. 6. Penannular brooch, group II, type A, Kopparsvik, Gotland, Sweden - 1921.1101.155, British Museum

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, p.237.

Only the single animal motif displays a head, seen in profile. Graham-Campbells notes only five penannular brooches for this type, which are part of two workshop traditions in two areas of diffusion. One was found in Kaupang, two more in Høm on Zealand, and Helnes on Fyn, in Denmark and one in the grave 735 at Birka.⁸⁷

b.2.3. Group III: Ball Type Terminals-Thistle Brooches.

Graham-Campbell notes this group as the most frequent penannular brooches.⁸⁸ This group developed in Ireland in the second half of the ninth century. Thistle brooches are made primarily of silver.⁸⁹ This material signs the status and the preciousness of the artefact, Glørstad states that penannular brooches were part of the dress code of the elites. She mentions two Irish texts that relate to the strong male social identity of those artefacts.⁹⁰ This group is divided into three types. Type A is the brambled type, type B is the plain type, and type C is the flattened front type. Type B developed in the tenth century, particularly in the British and Norwegian Norse settlements. Type C is only present in Scandinavian and Russia.⁹¹

⁸⁷ Ibid., p.238.

⁸⁸ Ibid., p.239.

⁸⁹ Ibid., p.240.

⁹⁰ Tsigaridas Glørstad, "Sign of the Times? The Transfer and Transformation of Penannular Brooches in Viking-Age Norway," p.32-33.

⁹¹ Ibid.



Cat. 7. Penannular brooch, Group III, type B, Suldal, Kallvik, Løvik, Rogaland, Norway – S4194, Unimusportalen.

Graham-Campbell supposes that group III was introduced in Norway by copies during the ninth century. The introduction of copies of group III suggests that the brooches were made either in the Insular settlements by the Norse population, or by craftspeople in Norway who knew the type. We

have here the introduction of a new type in Norway. Group III represents Insular high-status brooches, which were exclusively made of silver in the Celtic Insular world. The introduction in Norway of copies of prestigious silver brooches coincides with the heavy introduction of silver in the Viking world. Could we see a link between the copies of prestigious silver brooches in Scandinavia elite and the introduction of silver in the Viking world?

Trade introduced silver coins in towns such as Kaupang and Birka during the ninth century.⁹² The silver coins present in Scandinavia came mainly from Islamic lands and therefore show the high circulation between Scandinavia and the East: either by trade or by raids. The introduction of silver in Scandinavia and towns stands out by the presence of coins or silver hacks: they were both used, first the hacks then the coins, to settle the value of a product and to allow a fair exchange. Regarding the economy, political power can be visible by the practice of minting coins which was the case of Ribe, Kaupang and Hedeby at the beginning of the ninth century.⁹³ Minting coins and establishing a new currency was the privilege of kings, it shows that in those towns the royal power was strong. As local political power used silver for coins, one can see the silver as an elite and expensive material: to use it in jewellery demonstrate the power and the wealth of the owner. Some brooches, either from group III or other groups, show marks of white metal coating. It is undoubtedly that this white metal coating is

⁹² Skre, "Dealing with Silver: Economic Agency in South-Western Scandinavia AD 600–1000."

⁹³ *Ibid.*, p.347-48.

supposed to imitate silver. This imitation adds to the social importance to show silver jewellery. Therefore, the use of silver puts the owner of silver brooches above white coated brooches and on 'ordinary' brooches. The use of silver in penannular brooches shows the wealth of the person, and maybe his importance within society.

Graham-Campbell suggests that the thistle brooch group was transferred from the colonies to Norway. However, this group is not found in Irish and Scottish Scandinavian settlements.⁹⁴ Glørstad supports the idea that Scandinavian did not import this group but produced it locally in Norway.⁹⁵ She notes the presence in Kaupang of a thistle brooch mould in stone. An interesting fact about this mould is that the stone originated from England, likely Cornwall.⁹⁶ She notes that the craftsman did the mould himself to adapt it to his taste. One can wonder why the craftsman did not use a local stone: is it a question of the quality of the stone? Or is it a question of prestige? In this regard, I want to address the importance of foreign material in the mechanism of status: can a basic raw material have more prestige if it comes from afar than locally? Can the mould affect the prestige of the artefact?

Glørstad notes a difference in the casting method between Irish and Scandinavian craftspeople: in Scandinavia, the balls are cast as the rest of the brooch, whereas in the Irish region they are cast separately then added: this technique is called 'spilt top'.⁹⁷ This is interesting as it is a recognisable casting technique, this technique makes the differentiation between Irish and Scandinavian production easier. Glørstad notes at least ten workshops in Norway based on brooch characteristics, in Kaupang, in West Norway and Sogn and Fjordene.⁹⁸

⁹⁴ Tsigaridas Glørstad, "Sign of the Times? The Transfer and Transformation of Penannular Brooches in Viking-Age Norway," p.40.

⁹⁵ Ibid., p.41.

⁹⁶ Ibid.

⁹⁷ Ibid.

⁹⁸ Ibid.

Regarding decoration, the Vold brooch uses triquetra and cruciform motifs, and one can find parallel with a brooch from Riskekversen in Rogaland and with the Valtos brooches found on the Lewis Island.⁹⁹ Some Scandinavian silver thistle brooches do not bear any decoration. When they do, the decoration remains simple: interlacing, small gold filigree, or knots on the balls. (Cat. 36) Few brooches wear simple decoration such as a crossed strip motif, interlacing. More ornamented brooches can bear gold filigree decoration like for the type I.

Graham-Campbell suggests that the Vold brooch is of Irish manufacture and that similar brooches were at the origin of the development of type C.

b.2.4. Group IV: Polygonal Terminals.

This category is the less documented of all and is divided into two groups: the polygonal and the cylindrical terminals. Graham-Campbell argues for a mid-late ninth century creation and a presence in Sweden. The Birka type III brooches, according to Graham-Campbell, fall into this type and form the type A 'straight cut'. The Birka Black Hoard finds are of Norwegian manufacture diffused to and from Birka.¹⁰⁰

Birka seems to play an important role in the diffusion of the penannular brooches in Sweden. The find of Norwegian manufacture next to the town shows the strong link between the two regions, which was most likely formed between the different Viking towns present. Moreover, Birka seems to be a centre of production for some Norwegian find: it is the case for the Skjelver in Hedmark iron brooch of type A.

Glørstad identifies 100 brooches of this type in Sweden and recognises a concentration of finds in Birka and a lesser extent in Gotland.

⁹⁹ Graham-Campbell, "Western Penannular brooches and their Viking Age copies in Norway: a new classification," p.242.

¹⁰⁰ Ibid.

b.2.5. Scandinavian 'Simpler' Variants?

Scandinavians seem to produce a simple local variation of penannular brooches, mainly in metal. A clear typology does not seem to be established: the classification within museums and archaeological database follows the shape of the terminal. One can find: 'faceted cubic terminals', 'poppy-head terminal', 'funnel-shaped terminal'. (Figure 17)

However, nothing more seems to be done. Nevertheless, the simple penannular brooches seem to be frequent among the finds; at least they are among the museum's records.

One can see the resemblance with the Flower type G, of British origin, for the faceted-cube terminals and zoomorphic terminals.¹⁰¹ Or a simpler Scandinavian development from either group I or group IV. Or the development of pure Scandinavian penannular brooches from earlier forms.

In any case, those penannular brooches do not bear sophisticated ornamentation. One can find the dot and ring patterns. The dot and ring pattern can decorate all groups and seem to serve as a complementary decoration for more sophisticated ornamented finds. (Cat. 3) On the other hand, simpler penannular brooches can bear small geometric incisions on the ring: notched triangles, crossed stripes, ring-chain motifs, chequerboard pattern, leave patterns. (Cat. 43). The simplicity of such motives does not seem to allow a specific regional cultural identification.

The terminal can also bear decoration as dots and rings pattern, dotted crosses or lobed crosses. A precise find seems to bear a swastika. (Cat. 40)

The 'simpler variants' are less documented and for now do not indicate any regional specificity.

b.3: Insular Context.

b.3.1: Group I: Plate-Shaped Terminal.

¹⁰¹ Tania M. Dickinson, "Fowler's Type G Penannular Brooches Reconsidered," *Medieval archaeology* 26, no. 1 (1982), <https://doi.org/10.1080/00766097.1982.11735437>.

The plate-shaped terminal from the Scandinavian context refers to the 'Tara class' named after the said brooch. The subtypes are divided according to the form of the terminal: the Kilmainham brooch forms an example of the group I type C. Groups B, C, and D do not appear in Insular context.

Those Celtic/Pictish brooches show extremely refined and complex expertise.

Concerning Group I type E, Irish penannular with zoomorphic terminal existed in Insular context; however, they seem simpler and less developed in the representation than the Scandinavian adaptation.¹⁰² Graham-Campbell connects the Scandinavian type E to the Orkney and presents them as copies. Indeed, he notes the likeness between the animal-head style of type E and the style present on penannular brooches from the treasure of Saint Ninian's Ilse. Type E penannular brooches do not bear any sign of Scandinavian characteristic.¹⁰³

Bossed penannular bearing Scandinavian ornaments occurred in the Insular region: one can either believe in Scandinavian production imported or in insular production bearing Scandinavian taste. Hoards occasionally contain fragmented or complete bossed penannular brooches.

b.3.2. Group II: Low Relief Masks Terminals.

This group does not appear in the Insular region.

b.3.3. Group III: Ball Type Terminals – Thistle Brooches.

This is the best known, the most imported and the most copied of all penannular brooches. Hoards in Ireland seem often to contain thistle brooches, if one could think they are of Irish production, some still bear Scandinavian ornaments: it is the case with a thistle brooch from the Skail hoard that bears a small

¹⁰² H. E. Kilbride-Jones, "The Evolution of Penannular Brooches with Zoomorphic Terminals in Great Britain and Ireland," *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy. Section C: Archaeology, Celtic Studies, History, Linguistics, Literature* 43 (1935), <http://www.jstor.org.ezproxy.uio.no/stable/25516002>.

¹⁰³ Graham-Campbell, "Western Penannular brooches and their Viking Age copies in Norway: a new classification," p.237.

Mammen style ornament on the balls. (Cat. 33) This Hoard is thought to be of Scandinavian origin: a Scandinavian hoard on British soil.

Multiple silver hoards on insular ground contain thistle brooches. Nevertheless, John Sheehan notices that many silver hoards, disregarding the content, are on territory Scandinavian did not control.¹⁰⁴

b.3.4. Group IV: Polygonal Terminals.

This group does not seem to develop in the Insular region. Nevertheless, the straight cut, type A, also bears a strong likeness with the British type G, which is broad in terms of shapes of terminals.

b.3.5. Scandinavian 'Simpler' Variants?

The simpler variants of Scandinavian find that seems common, bear a strong likeness to the Fowler's type G developed in Britain, especially the 'faceted cubic terminal'. On the other hand, they could also belong to the early Scandinavian tradition of penannular brooches.

The simplicity of the forms and the ornamentation does not seem to allow finding any Scandinavian penannular brooches in the Insular soil. The dot and ring pattern could help us, but it does not seem present on simple penannular brooches in Scandinavia.

b.4. Social and Cultural Value: the Importance of Specific Artefact for Elite Classes.

In this presentation of the different groups and their types, I did not elaborate much on penannular brooches context of finds, however, the context of finds gives us information on how the penannular brooches were seen by the Scandinavian population. Glørstad notes that among the 162 penannular brooches in Norway, 95 are found in a female burial context. She also notices that the ones found in

¹⁰⁴ John Sheehan, "Ireland's Early Viking-Age Silver Hoards," *Acta archaeologica* 71, no. 1 (2000): p.54, <https://doi.org/10.1034/j.1600-0390.2000.d01-5.x>.

male graves are in majority locally made, unlike the ones in female graves that are imported.¹⁰⁵ The rest of the finds are dispatched between hoards, mostly local copies, and to a lesser extent from settlement contexts.¹⁰⁶ As well as for the Irish context, Scandinavian saw the penannular brooches as precious and valuable. Their presence in burial context or more important in hoard is already an indicator. We will need to see both cases to understand the cultural importance of penannular brooches.

Regarding the hoards, one can wonder why past populations hoarded. If we must study each hoard individually to understand its purpose and meaning, it is possible to draw different types of deposits. The first type that can come to mind is the 'treasure deposit': someone or a group buried valuable artefacts to retrieve them later but did not for unknown reasons.

The existence of Irish hoards and Hiberno-Norse hoards on Irish and Hiberno-Norse territories, which contains Scandinavian ornamented penannular brooches, would be due to the high trade between the Irish population and Scandinavian settlers in Ireland and Scandinavia. The finds concentrate on the western coast on the Irish sea.¹⁰⁷ Slavery and ransom could extend the trade between the communities; the exchange of people against precious goods may well increase the presence of precious Scandinavian and Hiberno-Norse artefacts on Irish coasts. Regular trades between communities too, for which ecclesiastical centres probably played an important role.¹⁰⁸ A third way of introduction Scandinavian and Hiberno-Norse artefacts on the Irish coast would be Irish raids on Scandinavian and Hiberno-Norse settlements.¹⁰⁹

In Scandinavia, Glørstad notes that the hoards containing penannular are rich and connected with earth-related elements such as cairns, rocks and mountains.¹¹⁰ She suggests here a connection between the male elite and the idea that in Norse cosmology, dwarfs, connected with the earth, are blacksmith

¹⁰⁵ Tsigaridas Glørstad, "Sign of the Times? The Transfer and Transformation of Penannular Brooches in Viking-Age Norway," p.34.

¹⁰⁶ Ibid.

¹⁰⁷ Sheehan, "Ireland's Early Viking-Age Silver Hoards," p.54-55.

¹⁰⁸ See subpart a.4.

¹⁰⁹ Sheehan, "Ireland's Early Viking-Age Silver Hoards," p.56.

¹¹⁰ Tsigaridas Glørstad, "Sign of the Times? The Transfer and Transformation of Penannular Brooches in Viking-Age Norway," p.43.

masters. For her, this intermediate position of the hoard, between the human world and the underworld ‘contributed to a continuous emphasis on the object’s transcendental attributes association’.¹¹¹ From this statement we can question the religious aspect of hoards and their link to elite classes. If hoards were meant to demonstrate the connexion between elite classes and the mythical world and powers, how are we supposed to interpret the choice of the hoarded artefacts? Can we suggest that special artefacts were chosen? Did the hoard maker choose specifically prestigious artefacts? To draw the beginning of an answer, a thorough study of hoards, their context and artefacts would be necessary. In our case, we can only speculate and raise questions.

Regarding the transfer of types, I demonstrated that Irish types were adopted, and Scandinavian types did not massively reach the Insular region. Only the adoption of the Borre style on Insular penannular brooches shows us the adoption of Scandinavian ornamentation taste: with the ring chain. Therefore, one can suggest that the presence of penannular brooches with Scandinavian ornaments in hoards does not result in a preference for such ornaments, but rather for the value of the silver.

Therefore, Scandinavian production did not seem to reach tremendously the Insular world. Only hoards seem to give a glance at Scandinavian penannular brooches present in the Insular world. It does not seem surprising given the high amount of insular production: the penannular brooches, either in a simple or more sophisticated form, were extremely common in Ireland and Britain with numerous types.

Concerning the finds in burial contexts, Glørstad points out that the penannular brooches are often older than the individual’s life period.¹¹² This means that the elite Scandinavian population saw the penannular brooches as extremely precious artefacts and/or family heirloom that could be used after their period of manufacturing. For some Scandinavian people, the penannular brooches’ value did not connect with the jewellery fashion but with the prestige, the artefacts had for being reserved to a higher class, from a foreign influence and in a precious metal or imitation of a precious metal.

¹¹¹ Ibid.

¹¹² Ibid., p.35.

She notes in Scandinavia a reversal of gender association of the penannular brooches: the first penannular brooches, in the ninth and tenth centuries, were imported and found in a female burial context, whereas late local breast pins are found in a male burial context. She suggests that in female burial graves the brooches could have been gifts from husbands, suitors, family members towards the women. Looted artefacts certainly bore a special prestige to them. They were strengthening ties between leaders and followers, between families.¹¹³ They detained a crucial social role in the creation and strengthening of alliances. Moreover, anthropology demonstrates the importance to use a foreign artefact to legitimate one's social and political power,¹¹⁴ same observation can be made for past explorers or colonialists who looted objects in the countries they visited to expose them in their home or at the museum. This is only a power play put forward by the objects acquired abroad from dominated or foreign populations.¹¹⁵

More on that, the shift in gender association of the penannular brooches developed from and legitimated the increase of male political stratification of Norway in the tenth century. The development of central marketplaces and towns show the strength of political power: establishment on owned lands, organisation of space, resources and production, the minting of coins in the ninth century.¹¹⁶ Glørstad suggests that the presence of penannular brooches in the female grave could also have been the sign of political alliances between the regions of the graves and the insular world. It would be the sign of an elite network constructed by exogamous alliances.¹¹⁷ She develops this idea with the presence of a shared Pictish-Scandinavian cemetery in Ireland, the Westness cemetery.¹¹⁸ In this cemetery from the seventh century to the ninth century, Pictish and Scandinavian graves are undisturbed by each other, the burials

¹¹³ Sigurðsson Jón Viðar, *Viking friendship: the social bond in Iceland and Norway, c. 900-1300*, Den vennlige vikingen, (Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 2017), p.19.

¹¹⁴ Tsigaridas Glørstad, "Sign of the Times? The Transfer and Transformation of Penannular Brooches in Viking-Age Norway," p.47-48.

¹¹⁵ Anthropological parallels offer great possibility to think how Viking Age Scandinavian envisaged the foreign artefact. If we should not apply anthropological comparisons to the letter in that societies are different, they allow us to explore new ways of explaining and thinking.

¹¹⁶ Skre, "Dealing with Silver: Economic Agency in South-Western Scandinavia AD 600–1000," p.347-48.

¹¹⁷ Tsigaridas Glørstad, "Sign of the Times? The Transfer and Transformation of Penannular Brooches in Viking-Age Norway," p.37.

¹¹⁸ For full report: Archaeology Note, Canmore: <https://canmore.org.uk/site/2204/rousay-westness#644544>

did not overlap. It means that the people knew the presence of tombs. One can think by now lost visual indicators or by knowledge of the local population and did not reuse or overlap the burials intentionally: it shows a sign of respect of the burial tradition and the local population. It shows that, in a non-urban area, the local population could live along with Scandinavian settlers.

As said, the penannular brooches changed in the tenth century of gender target and passed from imported objects for elite women to local artefacts crafted for elite men. The thistle brooches seem to be the most popular and important of all penannular brooches; Norway counts 80 finds in prestigious male burial or hoards.¹¹⁹ She convincingly interprets this as the increase of political power and political stratification in the Scandinavian societies during the tenth century: the Scandinavian male elite used the penannular brooches, especially the thistle brooches, to legitimate their power, their high status. They reserved to male elite the use of those artefacts, one can notice that it gives a peculiar status to those artefacts and make them even more prestigious to obtain, which strengthens more the power of those who possess the artefacts.

Glørstad also explores the idea that the use of Borre style on the penannular brooches copies (mainly Type I) is not insignificant. She follows Lotte Hedeager's theory that this style expressed a 'Scandinavian pagan symbolic universe and a coming Germanic idea'.¹²⁰ This would mean that beyond the taste for this precise style, the Scandinavian elite wanted to attribute to this foreign artefact their cultural idea and identity anchored in their society. She states that the Scandinavian art, especially regarding the animal figuration, developed in response to the Christianisation of art by Germanic cultures such as the Frank or the Anglo-Saxon.¹²¹

¹¹⁹ Tsigaridas Glørstad, "Sign of the Times? The Transfer and Transformation of Penannular Brooches in Viking-Age Norway," p.41-42.

¹²⁰ Ibid., p.44.

¹²¹ Lotte Hedeager, *Iron age myth and materiality: an archaeology of Scandinavia AD 400-1000* (London: Routledge, 2011), p.64.

If we follow this logic, as Glørstad thinks, the appropriation of Celtic artefacts into the Scandinavian culture with the addition of the Borre style is indeed a strong cultural response to the otherness. The cultural appropriation and adaptation can be seen as the volunteer to show the superiority of one class and culture to another. The reservation of such an act shows the power of the elite upon the lower classes that cannot pretend to do the same.

Above the display of the power of a social elite, it is certainly the display of one family or individual power over the others. One individual, when alive can show his status with the brooch. However, in death, it is the family of the deceased who shows power: funerals were likely places of assembly.

If we cannot be sure of how the guests were chosen, we can suggest that family members, allies or powerful subordinates were present at the gathering. We can think that among all the grave goods and the ceremonial, penannular brooches could be overlooked by the guests. Nevertheless, those artefacts were placed in the burial, the family used them as a display of power. One must remember that penannular brooches are mainly made of silver. It is a valuable artefact that could have been melted to make another one. However, they were saved and displayed in the tombs: the family of the deceased 'sacrificed' a precious object, probably an heirloom if it is older than the buried individual's lifetime, for the dead and to show the assembly the family capacity to 'get rid' of such a luxurious object.

The Oseberg burial, from the first half of the ninth century, is one of the most striking cases of power display: the mound required days of work and workers.¹²² The signs of slaughtered horses express the act of animal sacrifices, blood, smell, and noise.¹²³ The funeral was certainly an extraordinary event. The burial boat, the grave goods and the presence of sacrificed horses killed for the occasion demonstrate the quality and the power of the buried person, moreover, of the family who can allocate so many efforts to suit the person's prestige. To get rid willingly of artefacts and goods says more about the power of a person or a family than to preserve them.

¹²² Sæbjørg Walaker Nordeide, "Death in abundance - quickly! : the Oseberg ship burial in Norway," *Acta archaeologica (trykt utg.)*. 82(2011) (2011): p.7,9.

¹²³ Anders Kaliff and Terje Oestigaard, *The Great Indo-European Horse Sacrifice: 4000 Years of Cosmological Continuity from Sintashta and the Steppe to Scandinavian Skeid* (Uppsala universitet, Institutionen för arkeologi och antik historia, 2020), p.234-35.

We observe the same phenomenon with the hoards. If someone creates a hoard, which has no aim to be retrieved later, then it is a showcase of power and wealth. The purpose can be different, but likely related to a religious context. One gives away precious artefacts. It supposes that the individual has the means to do so. If we can easily presume that elite funerals were not without a public, the case of the hoard is more difficult to identify. Was there a (large) public? Was it only the close relative? The family? The followers?

In the case of a hoard, one can wonder if showcasing the artefacts and their abandonment to a deity, a god or a supernatural creature is the goal, or if honouring the said receiver is the true objective. In both cases, a given artefact cannot be worn any more. Relatives can therefore notice that the brooch is gone.

b.5. Conclusion and Final Thoughts.

In conclusion, the Scandinavians adopted Irish penannular brooches to display power and wealth. Craftspeople adapted the Irish penannular brooches to the Scandinavian taste, especially through new ornamentation and few new forms. Scandinavian favoured silver penannular brooches and craftspeople occasionally glittered non-silver brooches to make them more attractive. On the other hand, the Insular population did not adopt the Scandinavian type. The only ornamentation transferred to the Insular region is the ring chain, characteristic of the Borre style. The breastpins found in the Insular region of Irish type but with Scandinavian ornamentation, belong to silver hoards. The prestige of penannular brooches and their presence in burials and hoards question the importance of foreign artefacts and prestigious objects to display social and political status and power. In the case of the penannular brooches, only a few types show a different distribution in Scandinavia: it shows certain affinity from some region towards a certain type. Nevertheless, the cultural expression, at least, regional, seems to fade under the social expression. The only contradictory element would be the addition of the Borre style on Type I, which show how Scandinavian cultural element can dominate and adapt to a foreign artefact. Nevertheless, only 'prestigious' penannular brooches wore Borre style, not 'regular' ones, or if they did, not in the same profusion of decoration. Therefore, one can wonder, if the social status prevailed on the cultural

affiliation. To resolve this, one should study more common Scandinavian artefacts present on the Insular soil within Scandinavian communities, as is the case with oval brooches for instance.

c. The Oval Brooches.

The typology of the oval brooches differs from the preceding examples. Oval brooches do not offer a lot of variation in their form, as the form already characterises the type of the brooch. Therefore, the classification of the oval brooches lies in the shape of the shell, the size, and the ornamentation present.

Jan Petersen established the typology based on Rygh classification and follows the same principle:¹²⁴ a type of oval brooch found equals a type in the typology. The typology does not follow any true classification of form. For instance, the terminal for the penannular brooches or the ring and head for the ring pins, but refers to a brooch studied with its form, its shell and decoration, which can also give subtypes. The classification follows a nomination of Petersen followed by a number, which gives a rather different classification than the precedent studied brooches. Ingmar Jansson established the corpus for Birka, which gives few nuances to Petersen's typology. Nevertheless, the commonly used typology remains Petersen's, although Rygh sometimes appears as the reference. Moreover, as pointed out by scholars, some types and subtypes are only represented by one brooch. It gives a rather extensive typology.

The oval brooches differ again from the preceding type on one important point: there is no evidence of insular production of oval brooches and few oval brooches bear insular inspired decoration. The oval brooches truly belong to the Scandinavian aesthetic. Therefore, one can wonder what those oval brooches represented in the Insular region and if they were adopted by local populations.

With those two elements in mind, the construction of this chapter will be different from the previous chapters. I shall focus on the types found in the Insular region and their counterpart in Scandinavia.

c.1. Oval Brooches in the Scandinavian Region: Types and Context of Finds.

c.1.1. Petersen 11 – Petersen 17, the Berdal Brooches: the Origin of the Oval Brooches.

¹²⁴ Jan Petersen, *Vikingetidens smykker*, Stavanger museums skrifter (trykt utg.), (Stavanger: Stavanger Museum, 1928).

The Berdal brooches represent the earliest types of oval brooches in the Viking World. The dating starts in the late eighth century.¹²⁵ Researchers identify Petersen 11–17 brooches by the bar present in the middle of the brooch and the display of three motifs at each side of the bar.¹²⁶ This type sees the apparition of the gripping beast motif in the repertoire of the oval brooches and the rope motif.¹²⁷ The gripping beast motif must not be confused with the Vendal crouching beast motif,¹²⁸ also present on Berdal brooches. As said in the previous part, the gripping beast represents a key element of Viking Art, especially of the Borre style.

c.1.1.1. Petersen 11 and Transitional brooches: Christian-Insular Influence.

P11 represents an early type of Berdal brooch.

Søren Sindbæk expresses the presence of a transitional type between the Berdal types and the ‘Viking Age’ types, that have not been classified by Petersen.¹²⁹ The transitional types of interest us only in the measure of some of them bear insular influenced motifs.

Sindbæk notes that P11 and some unclassified brooches bear Christian motifs of Insular origin: the crosses. It is the case for him with the Svennevig brooch, a transitional brooch, which bears two wheel crosses.¹³⁰ The wheel cross is also called ringed cross or simply Celtic cross. The motif seems to appear with the development of Christianity in Ireland in the eighth century.¹³¹ Sindbæk suggests that the craftsperson copied the motif from insular metalwork. The presence of Christian imagery on oval brooches is not our prime interest, as it can also come from Carolingian influences. Nevertheless, if in the case of the wheel crosses, the Christian influence came from the Insular milieu. This joins the

¹²⁵ Søren M. Sindbæk, "Crossbreeding Beasts: Christian and Non-Christian Imagery in Oval Brooches," in *Conversion and Identity in the Viking Age*, p.413.

¹²⁶ Petersen, *Vikingetidens smykker*, p.13.

¹²⁷ Sindbæk, "Crossbreeding Beasts: Christian and Non-Christian Imagery in Oval Brooches," p.192.

¹²⁸ Full length beast with folded legs against the body.

¹²⁹ Sindbæk, "Crossbreeding Beasts: Christian and Non-Christian Imagery in Oval Brooches," p.174.

¹³⁰ *Ibid.*, p.176.

¹³¹ Larsen, *Vikings in Ireland*, p.83.

assumption developed by Mikkelsen that insular metalwork artefacts, such as pins or brooches or other artefacts, could have been imported by missionaries as gifts: which would have given a model for the development of such motif on some oval brooches.¹³² We know of the presence of missionaries, mostly from Carolingian contexts, in emporium or towns during the eighth century.¹³³ Could they be the starting point of such a style?

c.1.2. Petersen 37.

The P37 developed in the ninth century and composes most of the corpus of the early type of oval brooches in both the Insular region and in the Viking world.¹³⁴ Then the few Christian motifs disappear with the P37 brooches. The disappearance of Christian motifs does seem strange in the measure of the Christian presence never stop developing over the years. We can wonder if the disappearance of the Christian motif does not depend more on a cultural preference for Scandinavian motifs rather than foreign (Christian) motifs.

The P37 comports twelve variants divided into six groups, the P37.¹² represents the latest variant.¹³⁵ Petersen created this type out of the Rygh 647. The shell is divided into several panels, in a diamond shape, which contains ornamentation. Each junction of panels comports a boss fixed on a rivet. Within the panels, the decoration does not change a lot. Mostly, each panel comports either a four-footed animal, a human head with a flowing hair motif and a rope motif.¹³⁶ The human head with flowing hair seems to occur often on the P37 brooches and does not appear on the Berdal types and first developed on equal-

¹³² Mikkelsen, *Looting or missioning*, p.57.

¹³³ Sindbæk, "Crossbreeding Beasts: Christian and Non-Christian Imagery in Oval Brooches," p.181.

¹³⁴ Frida Espolin Norstein, "Processing death: oval brooches and Viking graves in Britain, Ireland, and Iceland" (73 Department of Historical Studies, University of Gothenburg, 2020), p.34; Jane F. Kershaw, "Culture and Gender in the Danelaw: Scandinavian and Anglo-Scandinavian Brooches," *Viking and Medieval Scandinavia* 5 (2009): p.315, <https://doi.org/10.1484/J.VMS.1.100682>.

¹³⁵ Greg Speed and Penelope Walton Rogers, "A Burial of a Viking Woman at Adwick-le-Street, South Yorkshire," *Medieval archaeology* 48, no. 1 (2004): p.65, <https://doi.org/10.1179/007660904225022807>; Petersen, *Vikingetidens smykker*, p.37,39.

¹³⁶ Sindbæk, "Crossbreeding Beasts: Christian and Non-Christian Imagery in Oval Brooches," p.187.

arm brooches.¹³⁷ Speed and Rogers suggest that each variant is a simpler version of the preceding one,¹³⁸ which seems likely when we compare the different variants in Petersen's typology. The last variants do bear fewer details, and the shape of the motif differs from the first variants. Frida Norstein states that the P37.3 variant is the most common variant present in the Viking world.

The P37 motifs are not well dated.¹³⁹ For Sindbæk, this type 'evolved from brooch types known to have been produced in Birka from the late eighth century onwards featuring four rounders or medallions inhabited by gripping beast'.¹⁴⁰ He continues by stating that it is not sure that this type was produced in Ribe. It seems therefore to be a Birka development. It is interesting to note once again the role of towns in the development of local variations. The concentration of numerous people, probably from different backgrounds, in a stimulated economy does seem conducive to the development of new forms of cultural expressions. Undoubtedly, these cultural developments must be linked to the particular social context of the towns.

c.1.2. Petersen 51.

The P51 developed in the tenth century and includes nine subtypes.¹⁴¹ Some of them are identified only by one found either of a brooch or mould.¹⁴² This type composes most of the corpus of the older type of oval brooches in both the Insular region and in the Viking world.

This P51 comports two shells, the top one has an openwork. The P51 ornamentation follows the compartmentalisation into panels with a separation decorated of bosses. The decoration follows the same

¹³⁷ Ibid., p.190.

¹³⁸ Speed and Walton Rogers, "A Burial of a Viking Woman at Adwick-le-Street, South Yorkshire," p.65.

¹³⁹ Sindbæk, "Crossbreeding Beasts: Christian and Non-Christian Imagery in Oval Brooches," p.186.

¹⁴⁰ Ibid., p.185.

¹⁴¹ Ibid.

¹⁴² Norstein, "Processing death: oval brooches and Viking graves in Britain, Ireland, and Iceland," p.42.

design as P11 and other brooches: the head with flowing hair motifs, the rope motifs and Borre key motifs such as rings chain the gripping beast motif.

c.1.3. Other Forms.

Many other forms existed, and as said some of them comport only one or few brooches. Nevertheless, the ornamentation does not change too much: the separation into panels remains frequent, as the head with flowing motifs, ribbon-animal decoration, stylised animal motifs, with a filling of linear motifs. Some types can display more relief in the presence of ornamented bosses, P23, P24, P45 for instance.¹⁴³

c.2 Oval Brooches in the Insular Region: Types and Context of Finds.

In her thesis, Morstein identifies 146 oval brooches (her study includes Iceland which counts 49 burials with oval brooches).¹⁴⁴ 60 out of 146 oval brooches are distributed in 30 graves, 25 graves possess pair of oval brooches, and 9 graves single finds.¹⁴⁵ As one can expect it, the number of finds in the western settlement is lower than in Scandinavia. Scotland represents the region with the most finds, with 62 oval brooches. Ireland records only 90 finds and England 50 finds.¹⁴⁶

It is rather interesting to see that the highest presence of oval brooches occurs in a region that did not produce types of brooches worn by Scandinavian such as in Ireland or in a 'heavily' settled areas such as the Danelaw or other Scandinavian-Insular towns in England or Ireland. For Ireland, Norstein points out the poor quality of records of the artefacts,¹⁴⁷ which make the identification of the precise location

¹⁴³ Petersen, *Vikingetidens smykker*, p.20, 23, 52.

¹⁴⁴ Norstein, "Processing death: oval brooches and Viking graves in Britain, Ireland, and Iceland," p.40.

¹⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, p.41.

¹⁴⁶ *Ibid.*

¹⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, p.64.

and dating complicated. The Islandbridge-Kilmainham cemetery delivered the oldest brooch found in the western settlements, a pair of P11.¹⁴⁸

c.2.1. The Berdal Brooches (P11 – P17).

Sindbæk and Norstein report that a pair of P11B found in the Islandbridge-Kilmainham probably wears an insular influenced design as the geometric decoration shows finer work than in Scandinavian finds.¹⁴⁹ As scholars stated, there is no evidence for any production of oval brooches in the Insular world. The presence of Berdal brooches with an insular decoration suggests that these brooches were imported from Scandinavian and that the craftsperson created them with knowledge of Insular design, as we saw with the double wheel cross decorated P11 brooch of Svennevig.

If the Insular influence is correct, it is striking that the oldest brooches found in western settlements wear this variant. The find context of the said brooches is unclear,¹⁵⁰ the brooches were found in a cemetery, but no grave seems to correspond because of the poor quality of the archaeological recording. Sindbæk suggests that the burials in Scandinavia that contain Christian influence oval brooches, not necessarily Insular, but also Carolingian, could be the sign of Christian burial or at least the burial of a person following Christian thoughts and beliefs.¹⁵¹ Could it be possible that a Christian Scandinavian owned the pair of P11B? It is impossible to know, but it does raise the question of the immigration of Christian Scandinavians towards the Insular settlements.

However, as Sindbæk shows it, the Christian motifs on oval brooches remain rare and disappear rather quickly. If Christian Scandinavian did settle in the western settlements in the ninth and tenth centuries, Christianity filiation did not appear on oval brooches.

¹⁴⁸ Ibid., p.70.

¹⁴⁹ Sindbæk, "Crossbreeding Beasts: Christian and Non-Christian Imagery in Oval Brooches," p.183, see fig.11; Petersen, *Vikingetidens smykker*, p.13; Norstein, "Processing death: oval brooches and Viking graves in Britain, Ireland, and Iceland," p.34.

¹⁵⁰ Norstein, "Processing death: oval brooches and Viking graves in Britain, Ireland, and Iceland," p.64.

¹⁵¹ Sindbæk, "Crossbreeding Beasts: Christian and Non-Christian Imagery in Oval Brooches," p.181.

c.2.2. Petersen 37.

The P37 type represents the most common early oval brooches in the Viking world, including in the Insular region.

The archaeologists excavated a female burial at Adwick-le-street and discovered the remains of a skeleton along with few grave goods: two brooches, one bowl, one knife, one key or latch lifters.¹⁵² The authors argue that the burial was not far from settlements based on the place names around the burial. One should always take great caution and controlled haste in identifying settlements and occupation by place names, for that a place name does not necessarily give the right place.¹⁵³ It should always be confirmed by archaeological surveys.

The two brooches form a non-matching pair of P37.12 (AB) and P37.3 (AC). As said before, the P37.3 is the most common variant of the P37 type. The P37.3 presents the head with a flowing hair motif in quite a simplified version. The simplicity of the head with a flowing head from the P37.12 follows the idea of a simplification of the motif along with the variants.¹⁵⁴

The authors proceeded to isotopic analysis on the skeleton to identify the possible origin of the person.

The isotopes comprising every living being are affected by, for instance alimentation, environment, etc., that person grew up in.¹⁵⁵ In the case of that woman, she most likely came from Norway or north-eastern Scotland.¹⁵⁶ This gives us two options. In one case a woman who was born and raised in Norway and who came to England along with her belongings. Or a Scottish woman that went to Norway, adopted

¹⁵² Speed and Walton Rogers, "A Burial of a Viking Woman at Adwick-le-Street, South Yorkshire."

¹⁵³ Elisabeth Zadora-Rio, "Archéologie et toponymie : le divorce," *Les petits cahiers d'Anatole*, no. 8 (2001): p.8.

¹⁵⁴ Speed and Walton Rogers, "A Burial of a Viking Woman at Adwick-le-Street, South Yorkshire," p.65.

¹⁵⁵ As with many analyses of chemical elements, the results of isotopic analyses are expressed in %. For example, one person has 50% to come from a coastal area, 25% from a mountain area, 25% from a high forest area.

¹⁵⁶ Speed and Walton Rogers, "A Burial of a Viking Woman at Adwick-le-Street, South Yorkshire," p.83.

Scandinavian clothing culture and artefacts, then moved to England. If we cannot deny this possibility, the Scandinavian origin might suit better the pattern of the grave.

We find this motif once again on other P37 found in the British Isles.

Cat. 8. Oval brooch, P37, 1854.0307.1, British Museum – Phoenix Park, Dublin, Ireland



Cat. 9. Oval brooch, P37; 1987.0510.2 and 1987.0510.1, British Museum – Pierowall, Orkney, Scotland.

c.2.3. Petersen 51.

As for the P37, the P51 seems to appear unchanged in the traditional design. (Cat. 31)



Cat. 10. Oval brooch P51; 1883.0727.1, British Museum – Santon Downham, Suffolk, England.

c.3. Serial Production and Urban Settlements.

The focus of this thesis does not lie on the archaeological context of Scandinavian finds in Scandinavia. Oval brooches are found in a burial context and settlement context: in a workshop for instance. In workshops, archaeologists find more than oval brooches, mostly fragmented (workshop waste), but oval brooches mould too.

The development of brooches in towns and emporia is often one key element used to define a particular element of an urban settlement: the arrival of specialised craftspeople and serial production.¹⁵⁷ The number of moulds and identical brooches show it perfectly. The presence of moulds demonstrates the use of lost wax to cast the brooches, and the identical styles on different brooches show the use of one brooch as the model for the wax copy.¹⁵⁸ As suggested, nothing rejects the possibility of hand-free design in high quality and non-reused styles.¹⁵⁹ Plus, the more a brooch is copied, the less good is the quality.

The development of serial production indicates the need of the feminine population to wear such artefacts. This need certainly explains itself by the thriving of new activities, social and working classes, and the economy. The brooch identifies its owner as a part of a community that can afford such artefact. Nevertheless, it does diminish the prestige effect of such artefacts: serial production is 'easy' to make, there is a lack of personality in the artefact and therefore of prestige. There is no uniqueness or rarity in the brooches. If serial production and the similarity of the motifs do show a strong cultural appurtenance, by the motif, but also by the environment of production (Scandinavian town, with Scandinavian craftspeople), in a way, it lowers the social appurtenance. At least for those who know about serial production. One can wonder if Insular populations were aware of such serial production. Some probably were, maybe some were not, and oval brooches were enough to impress them not only by the cultural meaning they bore but also by their prestigious appearance.

¹⁵⁷ Unn Pedersen, "Viking-Period Non-ferrous Metalworking and Urban Commodity Production," in *Viking-age transformations: trade, craft and resources in western Scandinavia*, Culture, environment and adaptation in the north (London: Routledge, 2017).

¹⁵⁸ Norstein, "Processing death: oval brooches and Viking graves in Britain, Ireland, and Iceland," p.37; Pedersen, "Viking-Period Non-ferrous Metalworking and Urban Commodity Production."

¹⁵⁹ Norstein, "Processing death: oval brooches and Viking graves in Britain, Ireland, and Iceland," p.36.

c.4. Conclusion.

To conclude, the oval brooches remain profoundly Scandinavian. The development in Scandinavia followed the immersion of nodal centres and towns with the development of serial production. The serial production of oval brooches led to many similar types existed. Numerous variants of types and even types exist in the form of only one find. Some variants show the simplification of the motifs and demonstrate the serial production well with the over-modelling. Rare items bear insular motifs, mostly in the early forms and associated with Christianity. The disappearance of Christian motifs is puzzling.

One might think that over time, through the process of Christianisation, Christian imagery would develop and not, as is the case here, disappear. However, on oval brooches the number of Christian motifs is low. We have at least two options: a Christian inspiration from insular background (and Carolingian for another find), or an insular inspiration where the Christian motif is only secondary if not unintended. Nonetheless, it seems hard to believe that the Christian motif was unintended: Christianity was known, and surely its symbols too. Could it be that the motif was only knowingly taken from a Christian context, but did not bear this signification at all for the owner? In any case, it seems that the use of such a motif is more a matter of personal than regional identity.

In the Insular region, the finds are sparse, mostly from graves, including poorly recorded graves. Oval brooch types in the Insular region do not differ from Scandinavian, the main point resides in that Scandinavian community either imported the oval brooches with themselves or brought them from abroad: no sign of oval brooches manufacture appears. Therefore, the same motifs appear in both regions: gripping beasts, ribbon-like animals, human hair with flowing hair, geometrical filling, and so on.

Due to the lack of adoption of Insular motifs, oval brooches seem to have been rather unappealing to the populace, however the absence of said motif is interesting in itself. We saw in the ring pins and penannular brooches two types of adoption behaviour: first the adoption of 'daily' artefacts that are the ring pins in the Insular Settlement with Scandinavian taste modification but a poor adoption in Scandinavian itself. For the penannular brooches, the adoption seemed to reach more the higher classes

of society with the apposition of Scandinavian style over the Irish artefact. The oval brooches remain truly Scandinavian. In burial, their presence is used to assume of a 'Viking' grave: oval brooches mark the Scandinavian culture in the Insular region. We do not seem to find any proof of oval brooches in an insular context and no insular adoption. We can ask ourselves why Scandinavian did not adopt insular motifs on oval brooches.

As developed by Norstein in her thesis, oval brooches seem to mark the Scandinavian affiliation. However, some burials in the insular region dispose of both oval brooches and ring pins for instance, especially in Scotland.¹⁶⁰ Why adopt and put a truly Scandinavian-Insular artefact along with a strong Scandinavian one? What can it tell us about the vision of cultural identity through the objects? As Norstein states, the disposal of oval brooches seems to show a truly Scandinavian affiliation in comparison to insular objects with Scandinavian decoration such as the disc brooches. The presence of both highly Insular-Scandinavian and Scandinavian artefacts in graves question the notion of cultural affiliation in the Insular region: a person from the local area, living in two distinct cultures, wishes to commemorate a heritage, either a personal migration or its ancestors' migration. The attachment to Scandinavia remains strong. This means that some inhabitants of the Insular region, although immigrants or native-born, are still different from the local insular population. The oval brooch is, of course, worn on a suitable dress, the traditional dress of Scandinavian women. The visual aspect of culture plays an important role in the differentiation of this culture from others: a different language, different practices. It is not enough: it is necessary to see immediately the difference of origin. Visually, the combination of ringed pin and oval brooch identifies a Scandinavian-Insular woman who wants to keep her Scandinavian origins in plain sight.

We can question ourselves on the different treatment between Scandinavian artefacts and Insular artefact. Especially regarding the penannular brooches: the Scandinavians considered them as prestigious objects. But so did they with the oval brooches as they are thought to belong to the highly equipped female graves. As said in the penannular brooches, the owner of penannular brooches changed

¹⁶⁰ *ibid.*, p.112.

from women to men. It comforts the idea that women were 'keeper of the tradition', meaning that their jewellery, despite taking from insular artefacts, still showed Scandinavian affiliation. That is, of course, if we assume that all burials that contain oval brooches are indeed Scandinavian.

d. The Disc Brooches.

On the 482 artefacts from my database, the disc brooches represent 172. From this database, all come from England. Scandinavian and Anglo-Saxon jewellery shared a similar type of brooches the disc brooch. The Scandinavian type differed from the Anglo-Saxon type by its convex shape, Anglo-Saxon produced flat disc brooches.

The disc brooch belongs to the ‘third brooch’ category. Scandinavian women wore them along with a pair of oval brooches to clasp the strap dress. Also, ‘third’ brooches possess a feature that makes them part of the traditional Scandinavian female costume. Indeed, they possess a third loop, called the attachment loop, which allows chains to be attached to it.¹⁶¹ On the chains, Scandinavian women could for instance suspend pendant. Such feature does not exist in the Anglo-Saxon costume.

The third brooches characterise the Scandinavian female costume; nonetheless the Anglo-Saxon costume also uses disc brooches. We can wonder if there is any transfer between the two traditions.

According to Jane Kershaw, convex disc brooches characterise Scandinavian jewellery and appeared in the Danelaw with typical Scandinavian traits on them (Jansson type I). On the other hand, she observes that the flat Anglo-Saxon brooches developed Scandinavian ornamentation from the Borre register (the East-Anglian series).¹⁶² Disc brooches in England also represents one of the focuses of Jane Kershaw in her work about cultural identity in the Danelaw. They represent a large corpus of finds in England.

d.1. Scandinavian and Anglo-Scandinavian Disc Brooches in the Insular Region.

d.1.1. Jansson Types.

¹⁶¹ Kershaw, "Culture and Gender in the Danelaw," p.300.

¹⁶² Ibid.

Ingmar Jansson establishes the typology of Scandinavian disc brooches in *Kleine Rundspangen*, in *Birka, II.1: Systematische Analysen der Gräberfunde*,¹⁶³ based on diverse finds, including insular finds.¹⁶⁴ The following types involve finds in the Insular region and present in the database.

d.1.1.a. Type I.

The use of openwork to accentuate the decorative interlace on the surface of the brooch characterises Type I.

On type I.A.1, we can observe an animal set on a simple decorated background.

The body is full compared to type I.A.2, which does not use decorated background. Type I.A.1 appears to a lesser extent in Dublin.¹⁶⁵ Kershaw states that this type originated in southern Scandinavia. Therefore, it suggests more of a Danish provenance or Southern Norway and southern Sweden for types I.A.

The type I.B features a ribbon-shaped animal with a large body.



Cat. 11. Disc brooch, Jansson Type I.A.1 – Bressingham, South Suffolk, England. Portable Antiquities Scheme, SF-227BA2.



Cat. 12. Disc brooch, Jansson type I.B.- Skipsea, East Riding of Yorkshire, England. Portable Antiquities Scheme, 3B15A5.

¹⁶³ Holger Arbman, *Birka: Untersuchungen und Studien: 2 1: Systematische Analysen der Gräberfunde*, vol. 21, ed. Greta Arwidsson (Stockholm: Akademien, 1984), p.61.

¹⁶⁴ Ibid.

¹⁶⁵ Jane F. Kershaw, *Viking Identities: Scandinavian Jewellery in England*, Medieval History and Archaeology, (Oxford: University Press, Oxford University Press, Incorporated, 2013), p.105.



Cat. 13. Disc brooch Jansson type I D – Gooderstone, Breckland, Norfolk, England - PAS, SF7482.

Cat. 14. Disc brooch type I.C., Brackley, South Northamptonshire, England – Portable Antiquities Scheme, NARC-C83BE5.

The type I.C has a thin ribbon-shaped animal. Two thin ribbons compose the animal's body of this type. For Kershaw, the production of this type mainly took place in Denmark.¹⁶⁶

Type I.D uses Jelling style ornamentation. The main motif used on this type comes from a pendant type produced in Sweden, Callmer type 3, the backward turn beast, this brooch type records fourteen finds in England.¹⁶⁷

For Kershaw, this type could have been produced in England. If it is the case, it shows the impact of southern Scandinavia, especially Denmark, influence on the production of disc brooches. Kershaw states that the catch pin often misses on these types of brooches found in England. Therefore, it is complex to know if Anglo-Saxon used them. If they did, it would mean that they used style from southern Scandinavian. If they did not, and the production of this type resulted from Scandinavian command, it would mean that craftspeople in insular regions produced this type to content the Scandinavian population's taste.

¹⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, p.108.

¹⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, p.111-12.

Type I.E. shows two simple ribbon-shaped animals viewed from the profile. This motif appears mainly in Sweden.¹⁶⁸



Cat. 15. Disc brooch Jansson type I.E. —Melton, Leicestershire, England. LEIC-36241D, Portable Antiquities Scheme.

The production of Scandinavian brooches raises the question of the ethnic origin of the craftspeople. Did Scandinavian use the service of insular cultured craftspeople who had to look for references to produce the brooches, or did they use the service of Scandinavian craftspeople who had more chance to know the artefacts?

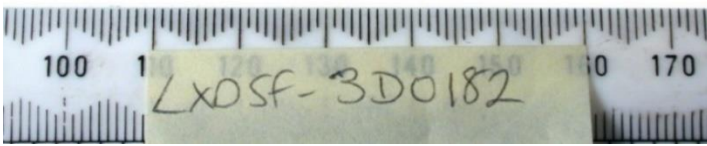
¹⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, p.115.

d.1.1.b. Type II.

This type presents three animal masks separated by a trefoil form. Type II. A.2 seems to bear notched dots while type II. A.1 does not.



Cat. 16. Disc brooch Jansson type IIA.2- Laxfield, Suffolk, Suffolk, England. SF-3D0182, PAS.



Cat. 17. Disc brooch Jansson type II. A.1. —Ranskill, Bassetlaw, Nottinghamshire, England. SWYOR-A257A6, PAS.



Cat. 18. Disc brooch Jansson type II. D—Feltwell, Norfolk, England. NMS-ABA534, PAS.

Kershaw states that insular workshops produced those subtypes locally with no third loop; therefore, craftspeople adapted them to the Anglo-Saxon costume tradition.¹⁶⁹

Type II. D changes totally from that aesthetic as the decoration consists of a knot work. The Insular population also adapted this type to the traditional costume.¹⁷⁰

d.1.3. Weetch Types.

Rosie Weetch catalogues the different types of disc brooches in her thesis brooches in late Anglo-Saxon England within a north-west European context a study of social identities between the eighth and the eleventh centuries. She classifies different types of Anglo-Saxon brooches including the disc brooches, apart from the East Anglian series developed by Jane Kershaw. What we can see from her work, and few museums find, is that the Anglo-Saxon brooches rarely developed Scandinavian ornamentation. Therefore, only a few types seem to have a Scandinavian connection.

d.1.3.a. Type 4.

Type 4's key feature consists of a cross motif. Usually, the cross is visible. On a brooch from Lissington, Lincolnshire, identified as a type 4 Weetch, we can spot the presence of heavy interlace around the cross, which becomes almost invisible if it is not for the arms.



Cat. 19. Disc brooch Weetch type 4 – Lissington, West Lindsey, Lincolnshire, England. NLM-783BCB, PAS.

This find seems quite uncommon in the type 4 motif register.

Nevertheless, the Terslev, a variant of the Borre style, motif does appear on other types of brooches.

¹⁶⁹ Ibid., p.53.

¹⁷⁰ Ibid., p.55.

d.1.3.b. Type 10: Sutton Type – Insular Ringerike Style.

She shows that type 10 also called the Sutton type wears a variation of the Ringerike style.

We saw the Ringerike style briefly on one ringed pin found in Dublin. The Ringerike style developed before the Urnes style and uses for key elements the great beast motif, coming from the Jelling and Mammen styles,¹⁷¹ and the bird motif. The interlace and tendrils motifs, so common to the Scandinavian styles remain. Nevertheless, the style did change from the Scandinavian origin once in the Insular region, in the British part as visible on mounts.

Ringerike ornamentation is less present in other brooches.¹⁷²

d.1.4. Type 20 – Saunderton Type: Cloisonné Enamelled Disc Brooches.

Craftspeople produced this type from the tenth up to the twelfth centuries. The *décor* differs from the other types of brooches because of the technique of *cloisonné*. Few finds are recorded in Denmark for the twelfth century.¹⁷³

Rosie Weetch explains that Type 20 comes from Austria. Few were found in Denmark. One can wonder if the pieces found in Denmark come directly from Austria or if they are imported from the Insular region.

d.2. East Anglian Series.

¹⁷¹ Graham-Campbell, *Viking art*, p.97-99.

¹⁷² Signe Horn Fuglesang, *Some aspects of the Ringerike style: a phase of 11th century Scandinavian art*, vol. 1, Mediaeval Scandinavia supplements, (Odense: Odense University Press, 1980), p.47; Rosie Weetch, "Brooches in late Anglo-Saxon England within a north west European context: a study of social identities between the eighth and the eleventh centuries" (Ph.D University of Reading, 2014).

¹⁷³ Weetch, "Brooches in late Anglo-Saxon England within a north west European context: a study of social identities between the eighth and the eleventh centuries," p.110.

Jane Kershaw identifies the East Anglian series from flat disc brooches of Anglo-Saxon tradition with Borre style ornamentation. She names this variant East Anglian, because of the geographical repartition of the brooch, in the East Anglian region. The East Anglian region integrated the Danelaw in the ninth century after Scandinavian military and settlements waves.¹⁷⁴

We discussed the characteristics of the Borre style in the previous chapters. The key elements are the following: gripping beast, ring chain, and single animal on a plain field. Do we find those elements in the East Anglian series? No. The brooches wear, it appears without any exception, cross-shaped interlace encircled by other interlaces.



Cat. 20. Disc brooch East Anglian series – Hillington, Norfolk, England. NMS-4262D4, PAS.

As we saw, the Borre style does not contain any cross, and the introduction of crosses in Scandinavian styles seems to come from afar.¹⁷⁵ Kershaw sees here the influence of the Insular style over the Scandinavian repertoire.¹⁷⁶ Nevertheless, the transfer of insular style on Scandinavian ornamentation remains rare.

Though there is no mould found for this type, Jane Kershaw argues towards mass production. The high presence of this type in the Danelaw, in a specific region, the similarity of the *décor*, with few variations supports this idea. We can draw a parallel with the oval brooches that are heavily present in

¹⁷⁴ Nick Higham and Martin J. Ryan, *The Anglo-Saxon World* (New Haven, Conn: Yale University Press, 2013), p.239.

¹⁷⁵ Sindbæk, "Crossbreeding Beasts: Christian and Non-Christian Imagery in Oval Brooches."

¹⁷⁶ Kershaw, "Culture and Gender in the Danelaw," p.318.

Scandinavia, nevertheless for oval brooches we do find moulds. The absence of moulds for disc brooches can be explained by the material used for the mould: perishable, bad conservation conditions (acid earth, etc.), reuse of the material. One must remember that the absence of an object does not necessarily mean that it was not used. Kershew states that few finds of this type occurred in Denmark.¹⁷⁷ The East Anglian series seems therefore to concentrate on Anglo-Scandinavian in the Danelaw.

The diffusion or at least the lack of diffusion of the East Anglian series in Denmark reminds, on a smaller scale, the diffusion of the ringed pins. Both mainly developed in their region of origin. Of course, the ringed pin knew a wider diffusion, over the Insular region for instance and a bit in Scandinavian, but, as the East Anglian series, the type mostly developed in its region of origin. It seems we can observe a pattern of small diffusion of common Insular-Scandinavian artefacts outside the Insular-Scandinavian communities.

d.3. Insular and Anglo-Scandinavian Disc Brooches in Scandinavia.

d.3.1. Jansson Types.

Ingmar Jansson bases his typology on the finds from Birka, along with comparison from both Scandinavia and the Insular region, including Dublin.¹⁷⁸ The Scandinavian region offers a large variety of those types of brooches, more than the Insular region.

The disc brooches seem to originate mainly from southern and Eastern Scandinavia although their diffusion affects Scandinavia.

d.3.2. East Anglian Series.

¹⁷⁷ Ibid.

¹⁷⁸ Arbman, *Birka: Untersuchungen und Studien: 2 1: Systematische Analysen der Gräberfunde*, 21, p.61.

The diffusion of this type does not seem great, according to Kershaw. Only a few finds are recorded in Denmark.¹⁷⁹

d.2.3. Weetch Type.

d.2.3.a. Type 4.

This type does not seem to be present in Scandinavia.

d.2.3.b. Type 10: Sutton Type – Insular Ringerike Style.

This type does not appear in Scandinavia.

d.2.4. Type 20: Cloisonné Enamelled Disc Brooches

This type is quite interesting as the technology and the method behind the craft of these brooches differ from previous Scandinavian and insular brooches' techniques found in the Insular region.

The rosette style that represents this type differs totally from the Scandinavian interlace style. Nevertheless, the number of finds seems quite low.¹⁸⁰

It is interesting that insular *cloisonné* also spread towards Denmark. One can suggest that the connection between the Danelaw and Denmark is the reason.

d.4. Cultural Identity of the Brooch Holder: Regional Affinities.

Disc brooches represent a common form of brooches in Europe during the Middle Ages. Therefore, Scandinavian populations developed specific ornamentation for disc brooches, the Jansson types for

¹⁷⁹ Kershaw, "Culture and Gender in the Danelaw," p.318.

¹⁸⁰ David Buckton, "Late 10th- and 11th-century cloisonné enamel brooches," *Medieval archaeology* 30, no. 1 (1986), <https://doi.org/10.1080/00766097.1986.11735483>.

instance. Nevertheless, the presence of disc brooches seems quite significant, and Kershaw suggests a local production of this brooch in the Danelaw. Moreover, the Scandinavian repertoire did not seem to have impacted subsequently the Insular brooches. Only the East Anglian series, which dominates the Danelaw, seem to represent the alliance of insular types with Scandinavian ornamentation. It is difficult to affirm that Danes dominated the Danelaw,¹⁸¹ as the Scandinavian raiders, warriors and settlers could have been from Sweden and Norway as well, yet the few finds of the East Anglian series in Denmark, could suggest a Danish dominated settlement in this region of the Danelaw. Even so, we noticed the presence of a Swedish dominated type, Jansson type I.D. This suggests the presence of a Scandinavian population who originated from Sweden, or at least with a cultural affiliation to Swedish Scandinavian. With the ringed pins and penannular brooches, we saw that the exchanges between the Insular region and Scandinavian gravitated around Ireland (to a lesser extent Scotland) and Norway. The East Anglian series reassess the presence of (Dane dominated?) Scandinavian population in the Insular region. Nevertheless, the cultural identity expressed by this series seems to remain profoundly Insular/British – Scandinavian/Dane. We saw that the East Anglian type did not develop elsewhere, whereas Insular/Irish – Scandinavian/Norwegian types of artefacts developed, to a certain extent, in all the ‘Viking world’.

One could argue that the disc brooches did not represent an elite artefact, and that might have played a role in the lack of diffusion. It seems ‘logical’, although it is a social and cultural construction, that prestigious artefacts developed and diffused more than ‘common’ artefacts. However, we can argue this view by the distribution of the ringed pins, which developed more than the East Anglian series, as it reached diverse parts of Scandinavia. Therefore, one can wonder if the East Anglian series just did not develop any cultural affinity with other Insular-Scandinavian population. If the only factor was a lack of taste/interest for this new type.

d.5. Conclusion.

¹⁸¹ Higham and Ryan, *The Anglo-Saxon World*, p.286.

The presence of Scandinavian brooches adapted to Anglo-Saxon production also raises the question of who produced them. One can think that insular craftspeople produced them according to the expectations of the Scandinavian population. Nevertheless, some types seem specific, such as the Swedish Jansson type I.D. It seems hard to believe that among the Scandinavian settlers, no craftspeople came along to settle in the Insular region. Besides the question of the ethnic origin of the buyer, we can ask ourselves what the ethnic origin of the craftspeople is. One way to answer this could be to look for the implementation of workshops: if they are in Scandinavian settlements or Insular occupation and if we can find any trace of production of disc brooch.

e. The Minor Types of Scandinavian Brooches in the Insular Region.

The archaeological record of the Danelaw shows the presence of ‘third’ brooches in female costume of both Scandinavian and Insular women: the finds from female graves and their absence in male graves demonstrate the feminine character of ‘third’ brooches. Stray finds or from detectorists make the corpus grow, regrettably without archaeological context. Unfortunately, some ‘third’ brooches, apart from disc brooches, remain low in the corpus. Nevertheless, we can draw some interesting conclusions. We can wonder if the other ‘third’ brooches encountered the same fate as the oval brooches and the disc brooches: a non-adoption from the Insular population or transformations and borrowings.

e.1. Bird Brooch.

The database contains few brooches of Scandinavian origin present in the Insular region. Bird brooches constitute one category (Figure 18, Figure 19). These brooches do not show any sign of insular influence. Indeed, the bird brooches only offer few rooms for modification. In Scandinavia, the bird motif emerged in the Vendel period in the form of the ‘bird of prey’,¹⁸² and constitutes a constant image of Scandinavian iconography during the Viking Age. In contrast, this imagery emerges poorly in the Insular region. Few brooches bear a bird motif, but they differ in the shape of the bird from the Scandinavian types.¹⁸³ The Ringerike style and Urnes style dominate the motifs of the Scandinavian bird brooches. It is interesting to notice that the bird motif occurs in other spheres of Viking age art: one can think to the birdlike Valkyrie pendants or the bird shape individuals on the Stora Hammars I from the seventh century. We can also think about the Vendel bird of prey motifs. Moreover, the bird wears a peculiar place within Norse mythology, as the chosen animal of shapeshifters.¹⁸⁴ It is interesting to see that this motif does not occur more on brooches, as if myths and beliefs do not represent a strong source

¹⁸² Hedeager, *Iron age myth and materiality: an archaeology of Scandinavia AD 400-1000*, p.86; Graham-Campbell, *Viking art*, p.184.

¹⁸³ Weetch, "Brooches in late Anglo-Saxon England within a north west European context: a study of social identities between the eighth and the eleventh centuries."

¹⁸⁴ Hedeager, *Iron age myth and materiality: an archaeology of Scandinavia AD 400-1000*, p.75.

of inspiration for metal fasteners. This also counts for other brooches: myths and beliefs do not appear on them.

The production of the bird brooch seems to occur mainly but not exclusively, in Denmark.¹⁸⁵

e.2. Weetch Type 30.A.

Rosie Weetch identifies three types of flat bird brooches. She determines the origin of only the first two types.

Type A is of Scandinavian origin, whereas type B is of Carolingian background.¹⁸⁶ Type C gathers the bird brooches that do not correspond to a Scandinavian nor a Carolingian origin. Type C's cultural affiliation type C seems difficult to determine. She states that type A comes from the eleventh century based on finds from Denmark.



Cat. 211. Bird brooch, Weetch type 30.C – Crowle and Ealand, North Lincolnshire, England; NLM-612074, PAS
Cat. 22. Bird brooch, Weetch type 30.C – Elkesley Area, Bassetlaw, Nottinghamshire, England; DENO-484737, PAS

The absence of context for type 30. A's finds and the scarcity of the finds prevents us from proposing a precise user group or provenance. The curving of the beak of the specimens found in the Insular region does remind us of the 'birds of prey' motif. Moreover, some of them bear Ringerike or Urnes style

¹⁸⁵ Kershaw, *Viking Identities*, 123.

¹⁸⁶ Weetch, "Brooches in late Anglo-Saxon England within a north west European context: a study of social identities between the eighth and the eleventh centuries," p.135.

ornaments. (Cat. 32) Scandinavian manufacture and Scandinavian owners seem more logical to conclude than insular ones.

e.2. Trefoil Brooch.

Carolingian trefoil brooches developed from Roman brooches. Then Scandinavian adopt and adapt the trefoil brooches in the Scandinavian brooches' repertoire, and while they are heavily present in Scandinavia, they appear most commonly in Denmark with a high concentration in Hedeby.¹⁸⁷ Jane Kershaw notes a difference of style for the trefoil brooches between Norway and Denmark: the first region prefers zoomorphic ornamentation to vegetal ornamentation.¹⁸⁸

Brigit Maixner establishes a typology of the trefoil brooches based on an extensive Scandinavian corpus.¹⁸⁹ Kershaw uses Maixner's typology and lists the types found in Europe,¹⁹⁰ though the number of Insular finds is low.¹⁹¹ Kershaw records different types and distinguishes some variations.

Type E uses Borre interlace ornamentation. Maixner notes that type E.1.2 developed almost exclusively in southern Scandinavia, mostly in Denmark, and few finds are recorded in England.¹⁹² (For instance, Portable Antiquity Scheme: PUBLIC-CC07A0, LEIC-33DBDC) It appears that type E.12 found in the Insular region shows signs of a third loop. Therefore, craftspeople produced them to match the Scandinavian way of dressing: the use of the third loop to suspend chains or pendants, which does not occur in insular female costume. We can say with confidence that craftspeople established in the Insular region produced brooches used exclusively for Scandinavian female dresses.

¹⁸⁷ Kershaw, *Viking Identities*, p.79.

¹⁸⁸ Ibid.

¹⁸⁹ Birgit Maixner, Die gegossenen kleeblattförmigen Fibeln der Wikingerzeit aus Skandinavien, vol. Band 116, Universitätsforschungen zur prähistorischen Archäologie, (Bonn: Habelt, 2005).

¹⁹⁰ Kershaw, "Culture and Gender in the Danelaw," 299.

¹⁹¹ Skre, *Things from the town*, 3, p.43.

¹⁹² Kershaw, *Viking Identities*, p.86; Maixner, *Die gegossenen kleeblattförmigen Fibeln der Wikingerzeit aus Skandinavien*, Band 116, p. 126.

Type F uses interlaces and animal figures like the gripping beast. Dr Helen Geake notes that type F 'is the least common of all trefoil brooch types either in England or in Scandinavia. This is only the third example to be found in the UK.' Type F found in the Insular region seems to be produced in Scandinavia.¹⁹³



Cat. 22. Trefoil brooch, SF EB5262 – Bures Hamlet, Braintree, Essex, England; SF-EB5262, PAS.

Although this type appears sparsely in all Scandinavia.¹⁹⁴ Type F. 3.1 appears only in eastern Sweden for the Scandinavian region with a specific Swedish pin-lug arrangement.¹⁹⁵ Type F.3.1 occurs in the Danelaw. The Swedish pin-lug arrangement that characterises type F.3.1 allows us to think of the presence of the Swedish population in the Danelaw.

Type G uses a stylised leaf and geometric decoration, some of them seem to have mostly Terslev motif style, a variation of the Borre style. It is the most popular type within the Insular region and it occurs mainly in Denmark.¹⁹⁶ The simplified motifs from the Insular finds suggest a local insular production.¹⁹⁷ Kershaw identifies the ring and dot motif on some of those artefacts.¹⁹⁸ We previously saw that the same motif we can find on ringed pins, and simple penannular brooches, typical of Scandinavian

¹⁹³ Coulthard, J (2014) 'SWYOR-913447: A EARLY MEDIEVAL BROOCH' Web page available at: <https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/598245>

¹⁹⁴ Kershaw, *Viking Identities*, p.87.

¹⁹⁵ Ibid.

¹⁹⁶ Ibid., p.82.

¹⁹⁷ Ibid., p.83.

¹⁹⁸ Ibid.

ornamentation.¹⁹⁹ Jane Kershaw notes that some type G brooches do possess a typical Anglo-Saxon catch plate. Therefore, craftspeople who knew and had access to Scandinavian trefoil brooches, produced trefoil brooches in the Insular region for the insular female dress, but with a typical Scandinavian design. It shows the appropriation of one Scandinavian type by the local insular inhabitant. However, one could also see here the sign of a Scandinavian person wearing insular dresses with adapted Scandinavian brooches. If we cannot know for sure, it is interesting to see this adaptation to the local female dress.

Type P uses vegetal ornamentation imitating acanthus from Carolingian inspiration.²⁰⁰ In the Insular region, in Norfolk, this type shows sometimes Borre elements.²⁰¹ This is a new feature for this type, exclusive to the Danelaw.

Type Z has an animal motif in ‘pretzel shape’ and interlace.²⁰² (Type Z.1.2, type Z.1.5, type Z.1.3) Type Z, especially type Z.1.5 seems to be the most popular type with 58 finds.²⁰³ This type occurs mainly in Norway and Denmark with serial production in Hedeby.²⁰⁴ Kershaw notes the existence in the Danelaw of a now-lost trefoil brooch exclusive to Norway and Iceland, of the type Z.2.3.²⁰⁵



Cat. 24. Trefoil brooch, Maixner Z.1.2 – Longbridge Deverill, Wiltshire, England; WILT-9A5AE7, PAS.



Cat. 23. Trefoil brooch, Maixner type Z.1.3 – Bampton, West Oxfordshire, England; BERK-CD5492, PAS.

¹⁹⁹ P.10

²⁰⁰ Kershaw, *Viking Identities*, p.80.

²⁰¹ *Ibid.*, p.81.

²⁰² Maixner, *Die gegossenen kleeblattförmigen Fibeln der Wikingerzeit aus Skandinavien*, Band 116, p.132.

²⁰³ *Ibid.*

²⁰⁴ Kershaw, *Viking Identities*, p.87.

²⁰⁵ *Ibid.*, p.89.

In England, Kershaw assesses that trefoil brooches are poorly preserved which make cultural attribution complicated:²⁰⁶ there are few possibilities to identify the third loop. Nevertheless, the presence of unique motifs to the Insular region, and one trefoil mould in York show the production of trefoil brooch in the Insular region.²⁰⁷

The trefoil brooches found in the Insular region mainly in the Danelaw show the high presence of Danish and Norwegian communities and fashion. The presence of a third loop, as we said, truly demonstrates the occurrence of Scandinavian female costumes. Nonetheless, it is interesting that one typical Swedish find occurs. It demonstrates the presence of eastern Swedish population or at least people who wore eastern Swedish costume. However, Swedish presence seems to remain very low within the Danelaw, and in the Insular region generally.

e.3. Equal Arms Brooch.

The low presence of Swedish trefoil brooches concord with the small presence of equal arms brooches: a typical Swedish eastern brooch. Although also present in Norway and to a smaller extent in Denmark with small-scale serial production in Ribe. The number of equal arms brooches in England is only four.²⁰⁸ I record only two in my personal database, and Kershaw discusses them, they belong to Type III.²⁰⁹

Type III adorns relief animal masks. In Scandinavia, Type III occurs the most in Eastern Scandinavia and Birka.²¹⁰

²⁰⁶ Ibid., p.79.

²⁰⁷ Ibid., p.134.

²⁰⁸ Ibid., p.94.

²⁰⁹ Ibid., p.95.

²¹⁰ Ibid.

Cat. 25. Equal-arm brooch – Harmworth Bircotes, Nottinghamshire England; SWYOR-50BAF5, PAS



This type is quite rare in the Insular region, and as Trefoil Type F. 3.1, shows more of a Swedish/Eastern Scandinavian presence than Danish or West/Norwegian presence.

e.4. Urnes Openwork Brooch.

The openwork brooches represent another small category of Scandinavian artefacts found in England.²¹¹ This type uses mainly the motif of the great beast in a ribbon-shaped form from the Urnes style. Urnes openwork brooches can also mix elements from Ringerike or Mammen styles.²¹² The presence of this type in the Insular region remains low.²¹³ In Scandinavian, it originates mainly from southern Scandinavia, especially in Jutland, Denmark.²¹⁴

Cat. 26. Urnes brooch – Walcott, Lincolnshire, England; NLM7007, PAS.



Cat. 27. Urnes brooch, – Aswarby and Swarby, North Kesteven, Lincolnshire, England; LIN-F79A53, PAS.

²¹¹ Kershaw, "Culture and Gender in the Danelaw," p.307.

²¹² Kershaw, *Viking Identities*, p.121.

²¹³ Kershaw, "Culture and Gender in the Danelaw," p.307.

²¹⁴ Kershaw, *Viking Identities*, p.121.

No moulds seem to exist in England that can show the production of the Urnes openwork type within the Insular region. It would therefore mean that the brooches were imported.

The Urnes style characterises Scandinavian style from the late Viking Age, as the Urnes style appeared in the eleventh century, along with the Ringerike style which is a variation of the Urnes style.

e.5. Lozenge Brooch.

Jane Kershaw classifies the Lozenge brooches into two types. Lozenge brooches are openwork and do not much space for developed decoration. Nevertheless, they allow interlacing developments. Kershaw notes that this type of brooches within Scandinavia concentrates almost exclusively in Denmark, especially in Hedeby.²¹⁵ In the Insular region, this type appears almost exclusively in the Danelaw.

This form of brooch contains two types established by Caroline Paterson.²¹⁶ The first type adorns ‘cast pellets’.



Cat. 28. Lozenge brooch—Letheringsett with Glandford, North Norfolk, England; NMS-8A073C, PAS

The presence of the third brooch indicates a strict Scandinavian dress use. As it permits the suspension of a chain or pendants.²¹⁷ Some Lozenge brooches do not adorn this third brooch: it is significant that

craftspeople in the Danelaw also produced this type to fit the Anglo-Saxon way of dressing.

²¹⁵ Ibid., p.44.

²¹⁶ Ibid., p.45.

²¹⁷ Ibid.

Type II identifies itself by the presence of ‘paired ridges along the four intersecting arms’.²¹⁸ Kershaw notes two types of products for this variant, one Scandinavian and one Anglo-Saxon: the zoomorphic decoration, taken from the Borre style appears flat for the Anglo-Saxon variant, unlike the Scandinavian tradition of relief that we saw many times.²¹⁹ Jane Kershaw also identifies an all-new Scandinavian variant exclusive to the Danelaw, type II A: a schematic Borre zoomorphic head representation.²²⁰

e.6. Cultural Identity of the Brooch Holder: Regional Affinities.

The five discussed brooches give us the same overview as the disc brooches. We can observe regional adaptation and cultural affinities. For instance, the low presence of bird brooches tends to demonstrate that Scandinavian settlers were the only ones wearing them, as the manufacture probably occurred in Scandinavia and that the culture of bird brooches mainly occurred in Scandinavia. The bird brooches occurred mostly in Denmark which tend to demonstrate a higher presence of Danes. This Dane presence is enforced by the presence of Urnes openwork brooches, in the eleventh century. This characteristic Dane brooch shows the enduring links between the Danelaw and Denmark. Olwyn Owen discusses the creation of an English Urnes style that evolved mainly on mounts in the mid-eleventh century and on buckles.²²¹ English Urnes style also occurred in the twelfth century (beyond the limit of this thesis. The Pitney brooch constitutes one example of the English Urnes style it is an openwork disc brooch.²²² However, the presence of the type F.3.1 trefoil brooch, the trefoil type III, type F. 3.1 that are more characteristic of Swedish populations, allow us to think, to some extent, of a small Swede community.

At last, the lozenge brooch interests us because of its adaptation to Anglo-Saxon dressing code: the absence of a third loop shows it perfectly. We can wonder if the absence of the third brooch derives from

²¹⁸ Ibid., p.47.

²¹⁹ Ibid.

²²⁰ Ibid., p.48-49.

²²¹ Owen Olwyn, "The strange beast that is the English Urnes style," in *Vikings and the Danelaw : select papers from the proceedings of the thirteenth viking congress, Nottingham and York, 21-30 August 1997*

ed. James; Hall Graham-Campbell, Richard; Jesch, Judith; Parson, David N. (Oxford: Oxbow Books, 2001), p.209, 15.

²²² Ibid., p.217.

the adoption of the lozenge brooch by the Anglo-Saxon population or if the Scandinavian population did adopt the Insular way of dressing while conserving the lozenge brooch type. In any case, it means that type I of lozenge brooches was not only imported but also produced locally, probably by Anglo-Saxon craftspeople.

e.7. Conclusion.

The bird, trefoil, equal arms, Urnes openwork and Lozenge brooches type demonstrate nuances in settlements, through Scandinavian dress traditions. Unlike the oval brooches, a highly common artefact from all over Scandinavia, the third brooches display regional variations in their Scandinavian origins and distribution. Most of them come from Danish origin, and it does not seem surprising to find them within the so-called Danelaw. However, we do have here, unlike with the oval brooches, the adoption and adaptation of third brooches to local insular dress with the modification of the catch plate to fit Anglo-Saxon dresses. Moreover, we also have the presence of few Swedish eastern characteristics that allow us to suggest the presence of a small Scandinavian-Swedish presence or at least taste in the way of dressing.

Final Discussion and Conclusion

Conclusion

The treatment of metal fasteners appears as complex and unbalanced between Insular and Scandinavian cultures. Yet, we can examine some tendencies. We discussed aesthetic values, which did not necessarily dominate the adoption and development of types. The cultural symbolism of objects played an important role in the transfer or not of brooches and pins.

First, the ringed pins. Ringed pins truly exemplify the encounter between the Celtic-Insular and Scandinavian settlers. From a typical Irish common artefact, it developed into new forms due to contact with Scandinavian settlers. Some examples are the link-ringed plate head and the slipknot ringed plate head that only appeared in a Scandinavian context, such as in Hedeby or Kaupang. However, the diffusion of ringed pins was concentrated mostly in the Insular world. We saw that ecclesiastical communities may have played a role in the diffusion of the kidney-ringed type. In Scandinavia, the ringed pins dominated mostly in western Norway, Kaupang played a role in the diffusion, although some local variants occur in Birka. Nevertheless, the ringed pins never become very wide-spread in Scandinavia. Most ringed pins in Scandinavia represent the two most common forms: the plain-ringed baluster head type and the plain-ringed polyhedral head. Types such as kidney ringed pins or crutched ringed pins do not seem to appear in Scandinavia at all. Regarding the ornamentation, it is simple, there are only a few occurrences of Scandinavian styles, such as the Ringerike style (from a Dublin find). Few new themes were introduced, such as the rings and dots motif, or the twin-link motif; thus, the repertoire remains simple. This simplicity goes well with the simplicity of the artefact. Scandinavian, Insular-Scandinavian, and Celtic-Insular populations did not wear these cloak fasteners as valuable artefacts, and their repartition shows them as true Celtic-Scandinavian metal fasteners. Although some silver ringed pins occurred, they stay marginal.

On the other hand, the penannular brooches stand out by the prestige some of them carried. The Irish types characterised prestige in the Scandinavian world, and in Irish society. The surface of decoration also allowed more ornamentation to develop: the typical Irish brooches are an indicator of this. Nevertheless, the most prestigious type remains the thistle brooch, usually in silver, or coated to imitate silver. This imitation shows the importance to wear objects made of silver. Scandinavians developed a new casting technique for the thistle type, therefore demonstrating the importance of fabrication of such artefacts. The development and the introduction of this type into Scandinavian society coincides with the introduction of silver in north-western Europe in the ninth century. It is hard to believe that the appeal for the new metal, mainly introduced first in the form of coins, did not impact the view on the thistle brooch type as a prestigious artefact. Interestingly, the prestigious thistle brooch was first used by women. Nevertheless, with the stratification of society and strengthening of elites, the type started to be worn by males. Once again, we can see the importance Scandinavians assigned to thistle brooches: a way of identifying the elite. Scandinavians also developed a new type: the low relief mask terminals. It is a unique type and does remind us of traditional Scandinavian masks we can encounter in the Mammen style, for instance, or simply of the gripping beast of the Borre style. Nevertheless, low relief mask terminals seemed to develop only in Birka and in remote areas of Sweden. Moreover, the number of finds is low. The polygonal class also appears in Sweden. No Scandinavian forms seem to appear in the Insular region. Furthermore, except for the thistle type, the penannular brooches did not seem to extend to the Scandinavian settlements in Britain. Britain also developed penannular brooches on its own. However, the prestige that penannular brooches bore may have played a role in the rapid adoption of the type in Scandinavia, especially regarding the Irish types which were richly decorated.

The penannular brooches typically carried a certain prestige, present especially with Irish types in both Scandinavia and Ireland. This was due to a larger surface area which allowed more ornamentation, often seen on the Irish brooches which were richly decorated. Britain also developed penannular brooches, with the prestige that accompanied them allowing a rapid adoption of the type.

However, the most prestigious type of brooch remains the thistle brooch. This brooch was made from silver, or an imitation of silver. The Scandinavians developed a new casting technique, indicating the cultural importance of that type. It is feasible that the introduction of silver in the north-west of Europe during the ninth century, and its use for silver coins, led to a rise in the brooch's prestige. Women used to wear this brooch type until the changing stratification of society led the brooch to identify the elites, changing that designation to men. The thistle brooch reached out into Britain in a way that the penannular brooches did not. Similarly to the way the Scandinavians developed a new casting technique for the thistle brooches, they also developed a whole new type of brooch. The low relief mask terminals are unique and contain reminders of traditional Scandinavian masks in the Mammen style, as well as the gripping beast of the Borre style. The sparse discoveries of these brooches place their production solely in Birka and in remote areas of Sweden. The polygonal class of brooches also appears in Sweden, with no discoveries of it in the insular region. We can ask ourselves the value and social impact of such new types within Scandinavia.

The use of silver for the thistle brooches probably inspired its adoption into Scandinavian communities. The surface area of the brooch did not influence the ornamentation, as the decorative repertoire remained restrained and simple. Apart from the low mask relief, penannular brooches did not develop a strong Scandinavian style. Only a few touches of Scandinavian styles can be seen, such as ringed chains, Mammen-style interlaces, twin links (on Irish-made brooches), geometric motifs, and so on. We can wonder if the introduction of strong Scandinavian themes, such as the gripping beast for instance, or the interlace could have been downplaying the prestige of the penannular brooches. This would be true in the hypothesis that for penannular brooches, it was the notion of foreignness that was attractive, leading to the question whether a display of Scandinavian motifs could have been seen to devalue the brooches. Thus, the Scandinavians would not have sought to appropriate the object, but simply to show the prestige of foreign cultures. Therefore, we can also wonder about the impact such artefacts had on the non-elite population. The elite population knew the origin and the meaning of penannular brooches, but common people, or non-travelling population (agrarian, craftspeople other than silver-smiths), who probably never saw such artefacts before, or heard about them, would have reacted differently in front of such

display. The use of penannular brooches therefore falls into the social sphere rather than into the cultural showcase.

The oval brooches remain Scandinavian. The artefact, used on a specific Scandinavian dress (strap dress) did not receive any strong insular modification, only the type P11 revealed an insular cross motif. However, the reason seems more specifically religious than generally cultural. Oval brooches remained Scandinavian both in use and ornamentation. If we can explain why insular women did not adapt these brooches, since they did not wear the typically Scandinavian dress, it does not explain the absence of insular motifs on them such as filigree and interlaces. It could be due to the technique of production of these brooches being almost exclusive to Scandinavia, but motifs and style travel, as can be proven by the other brooches seen in this thesis.

The case of the disc brooches shows once again, the almost total absence of insular motifs in Scandinavian metalworking. The East Anglian series represents an Anglo-Saxon type of brooch with Borre ornamentation, not a Scandinavian artefact with insular decoration.

The other lesser types of Scandinavian brooches found in the Insular region do not show any sign of modification.

Disc brooches, bird brooches, trefoil brooches and Urnes brooches are called ‘third brooches’ used on the Scandinavian strap dresses. The lack of incorporation of this type in the British Isles, besides the disc East Anglian series in Insular female costume is significant. There was no adaptation of third brooches in the Insular way of dressing. However, we can wonder if insular women wore Scandinavian dresses.

Regarding style, it seems that most artefacts, when they deal with typical Scandinavian styles, adorned Borre-style ornamentation, such as the East Anglian series, along with the oval brooches. Nevertheless, the Ringerike style, the Jelling style and its variation the Mammen style appear from time to time

Final Discussion and Research Questions

In this thesis, we saw that insular artefacts were adopted and modified by Scandinavians; however, the reverse is not true. Cultural identities seem to play a role in the adoption of insular artefacts in Scandinavian communities, as is the case with the ringed pins, mainly found in the Scandinavian settlements in the British Isles and in West Norway, which has strong ties with the Celtic-Insular region. It is also visible with the East Anglian series, from the Danelaw, which we also find in Denmark. The case of the oval brooches, eminently Scandinavian even in the Insular region, shows the strong attachment of Scandinavian communities towards Scandinavian culture, at least in the dress code. However, a person's appearance is the first thing we see: the use of such pins allows us to identify directly whom we are dealing with. The fact that these brooches are worn by women is not insignificant either. Women are often seen as guardians of culture and tradition; moreover, jewellery can often represent the fortune of one's family. The Scandinavian women's dress code clearly dominated in the Scandinavian settlements. We can argue that Scandinavian women in the British Isles clearly showed their affiliation to the Scandinavian cultural area and rejected the Insular dressing code.

More than a cultural aspect, penannular brooches played a societal role within Scandinavia. Oval brooches did too, to some extent: they were precursors to serial production in towns and nodal centres. More than a cultural similarity, in the ornamentation, serial production also introduced a social pulse: it was a social and cultural norm for a woman to possess such artefacts. It placed them into Scandinavian society as able to acquire such items, less valuable than personalised brooches, and placed them as Scandinavian in Insular inhabitants' eyes.

It is striking to see the impact towns had on the diffusion and adaptation of metal fasteners. Kaupang and Birka played a major role. We already discussed the importance of towns, but it is important to reaffirm it: they were a new concept within Scandinavia and Scandinavian society. A true stratification and solidification of elites, culture, and political spheres in a Europe that already had towns within kingdoms. Although we must, of course, put the town's size into perspective. The development of a few local variations within towns and their small diffusion could suggest the presence of a 'town identity'. Nevertheless, the amount of serial production shows that towns were vectors of a broader Scandinavian identity.

If Scandinavians were travellers and traders, towns allowed an amalgamation of many different individuals which, in turn, led the way to a melting pot of culture: from travellers to traders, from locals to missionaries originating from all of Europe. Towns played an important role in the diffusion of the Insular artefacts, especially in connection with Insular-Scandinavian towns such as Dublin or York. The political ties between the regions helped this. If insular motifs could be known from the metal fasteners, we can also question the impact of other support in the diffusion of the artefacts. The thesis focused on metal fasteners, but one must not forget the presence of other types of jewellery, such as pendants, necklaces, bracelets, woodcarving, or even textiles, although this material might be mostly lost to the archaeological record.

It is hard not to believe that the political ties between Scandinavia and the Scandinavian towns in the Insular region did not play a role in the diffusion of taste for the penannular brooches. Scandinavian kings did, after all, rule over the towns of Dublin and York. We can also ask ourselves if the presence of Scandinavians and the defiance of the local population did not negatively impact the assimilation of Scandinavian artefacts in the local dress ornaments. However, the use of Scandinavian style in other elements such as wood carving, stone carving and other types of metalworking tend to refute that sentiment. The Ballinderry play board is a good example of this. It has been identified as a 'Hnefatafl' playing board, which is carved with distinctive Scandinavian elements, including human features similar to wooden statues found in Rus Kiev. But the site in which it was discovered is a crannog, a typical Celtic habitat, in which Scandinavians have never been confirmed inhabitants. Ballinderry was certainly an elite settlement, and few Scandinavian artefacts were found in it.²²³ We would have here the expression of the Celtic elite who used Scandinavian artefacts, the board game acting as an elite artefact. If the Insular population could privately use Scandinavian artefacts, why did they not adopt Scandinavian metal fasteners or more Scandinavian ornamentation on their metal fasteners?

²²³ Johnson Ruth, "Ballinderry Crannóg No. 1: A Reinterpretation," *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy. Section C: Archaeology, Celtic Studies, History, Linguistics, Literature* 99C, no. 2 (1999).

While this can in part be explained by the divergence in women's dresses, it may not be the only reason. Scandinavian did reuse mounts of Insular origin and turned them into brooches. Why is the reverse less frequent, if not non-existent? Should we see here the rejection of Scandinavian 'invaders'?

This should be put in perspective with other elements of dressing such as pendants to understand if there is a real dissociation between the Insular and Scandinavian tradition. The possible introduction of brooches and new motifs by missionaries, or monastic circulation (such as the kidney-ringed pin or the P11 oval brooches' cross motif) raises the question of the impact of Christianity over the Scandinavian population and their relation towards foreign Christian artefacts.

One can wonder if such merging can be observed at the same level in other fields, and if the Christianisation of Scandinavian communities played a role into the diffusion of metal fasteners. The scope of this thesis does not allow comparing more with the dynamic settlements, especially in non-urban settlements, such as camps, settlements around abbeys or dispatch in the countryside. An interesting topic to research would be to study the technologies and tool's traces of a representative group of Scandinavian, Insular, Hiberno-Norse, Anglo-Scandinavian objects to determine the manufacture process, and to be able to see if there are differences in the manufacture. Also, further research on the impact the Norman Conquest had on how the Anglo-Scandinavian and Hiberno-Norse artefacts developed, would be interesting.

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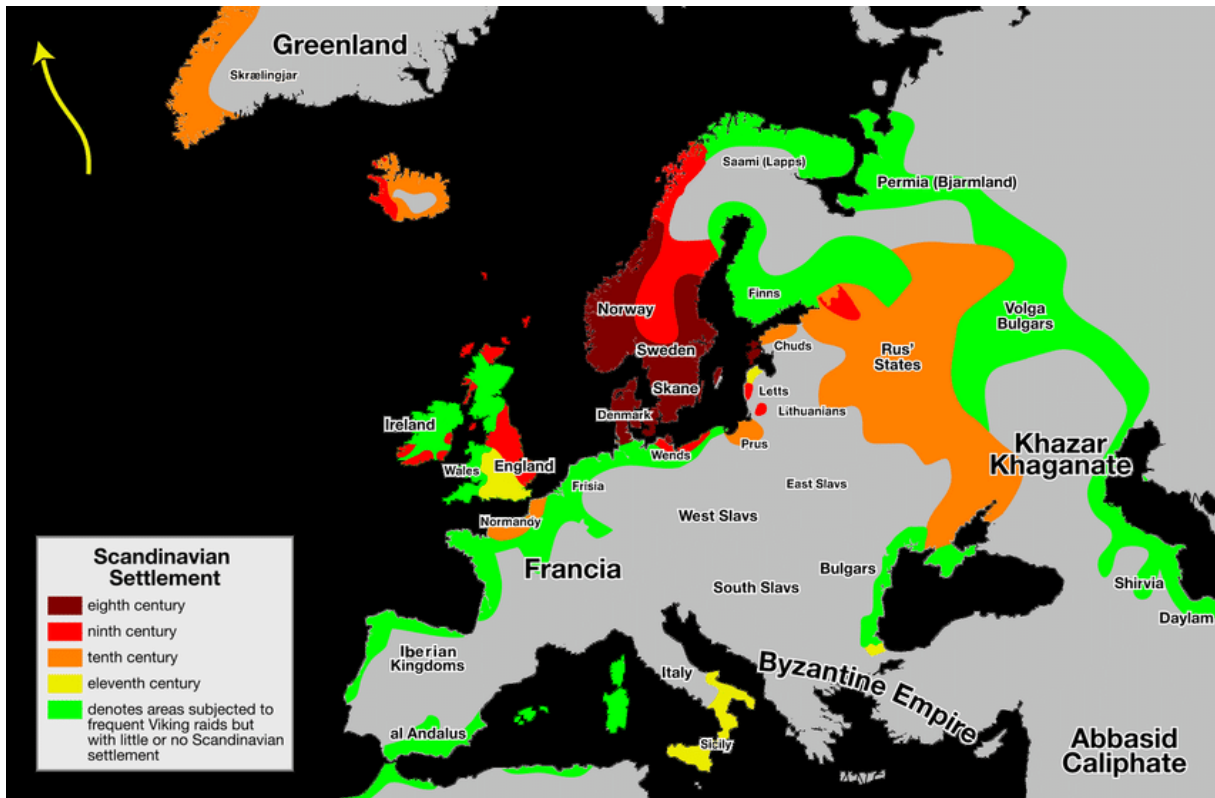


Figure 9. Map representing the Scandinavian settlements, trades, and raids between the eighth and the eleventh centuries. After Markus Nielbock (2017).

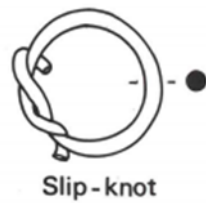


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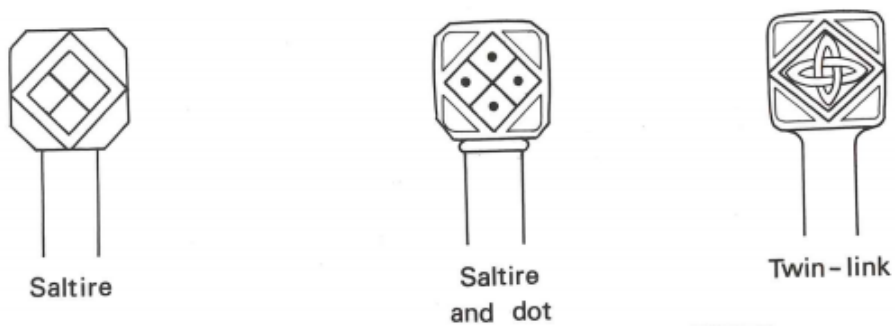


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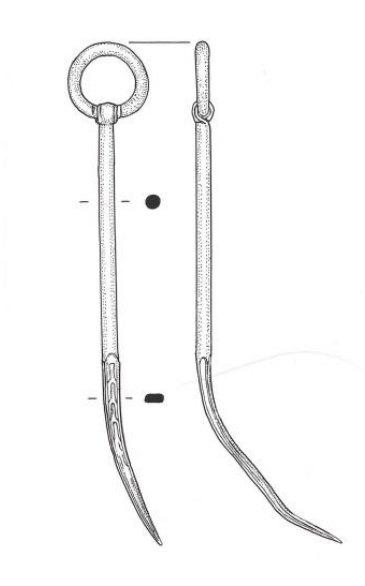


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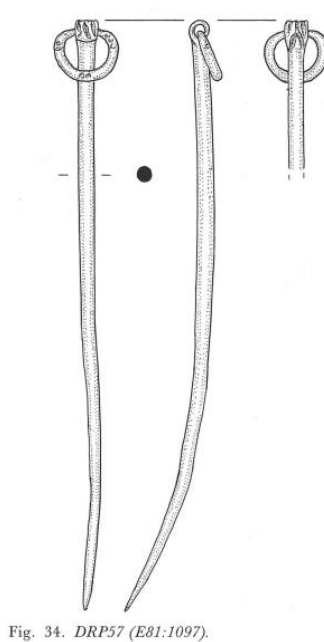


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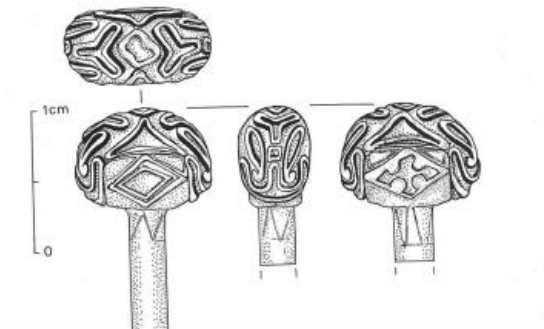


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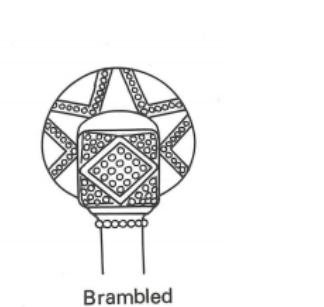


Figure 15. After Fanning (1994), p. 12.



Figure 16. Triquetra – Stocklib/Ziya Magsud

Penannular	110	22,00%
square-topped funnel-shaped terminals	11	2,20%
Birka III type, taf 44	1	0,20%
faceted cubic terminals	44	8,80%
I A ? I B ?	1	0,20%
II A	2	0,40%
IV A	1	0,20%
poppy-head terminals	2	0,40%
rumpet-shaped terminals	1	0,20%
I E	5	1,00%
I A	12	2,40%
coiled terminals	8	1,60%
/	1	0,20%
III	1	0,20%
III B	7	1,40%
I E	3	0,60%
I C	1	0,20%
I A	1	0,20%
funnel-shaped terminals ?	1	0,20%
square-topped funnel-shaped terminals ?	2	0,40%
I	1	0,20%
funnel square	1	0,20%
IE ? IV A ?	1	0,20%
IC ? ID ?	1	0,20%
III C	1	0,20%

Figure 17. Type repartition of penannular brooches based on the museum database, archaeological database, and personal classification.

Trefoil	24	4,97%
?	1	0,21%
Borre style	1	0,21%
Maixner Z.1.5	1	0,21%
Maixner Z.1.3	2	0,41%
G?	1	0,21%
Maixner G.1.3	7	1,45%
Maixner E.1.2	2	0,41%
Maixner F	3	0,62%
Maixner P.2.4	1	0,21%
Maixner Z.1.2	1	0,21%
Maixner E.1.3	1	0,21%
Maixner F.3.1	1	0,21%
Maixner G 1.3	1	0,21%
Maixner Z.2.4	1	0,21%

Figure 18. Number and types of trefoil brooches.

Bird brooch	10	2,07%
Ringerike ?	1	0,21%
Weetch type 30.A	2	0,41%
Weetch type 30.C	2	0,41%
Weetch type 30.A?	5	1,04%

Figure 19. Number and types of bird brooches.

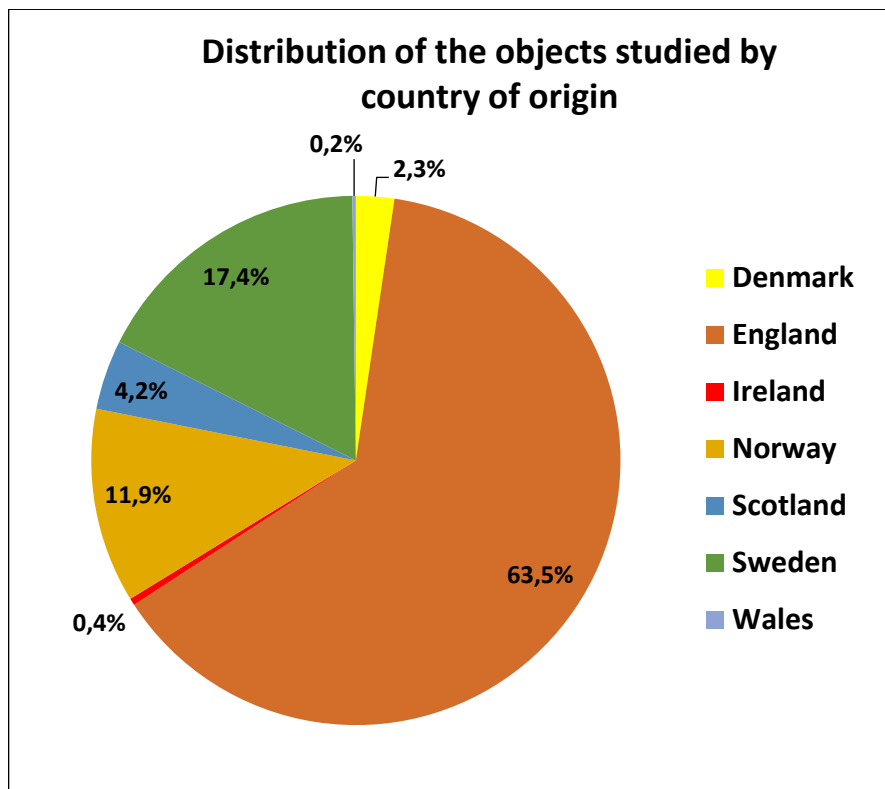


Figure 20. Distribution of the objects studied from my database by country of origin

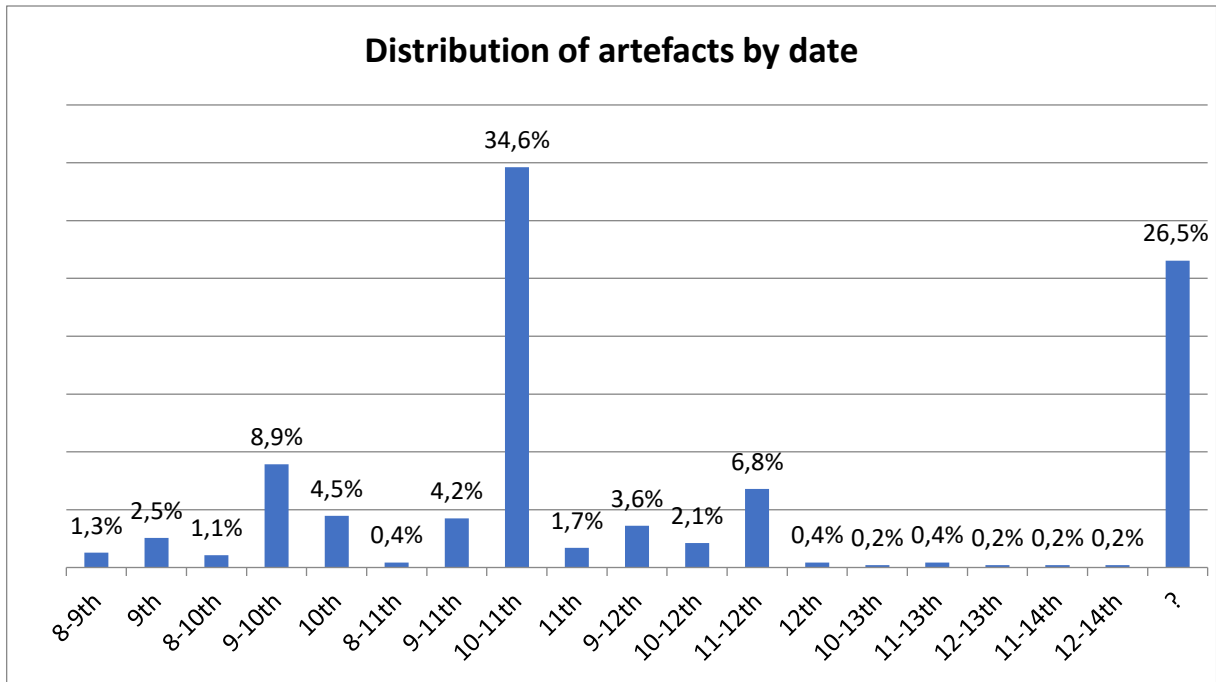


Figure 21. Distribution of the artefacts from my personal database by date

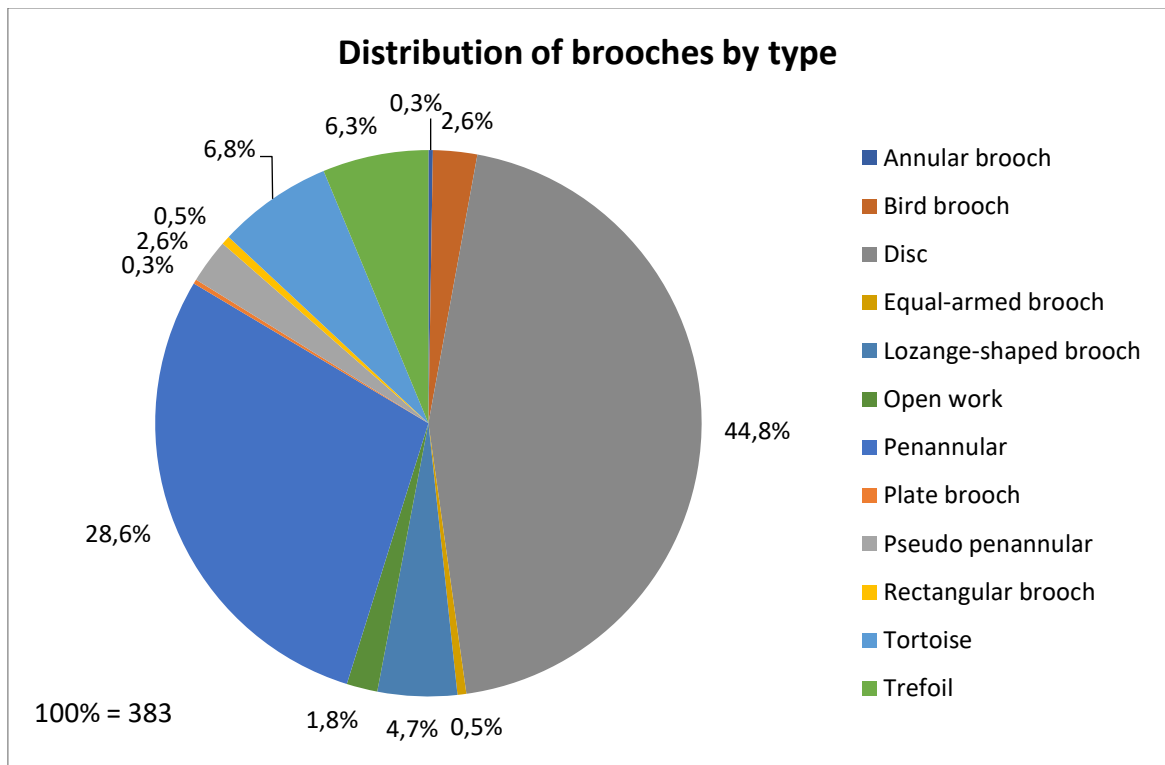


Figure 22. Distribution of brooches from my personal database by type.

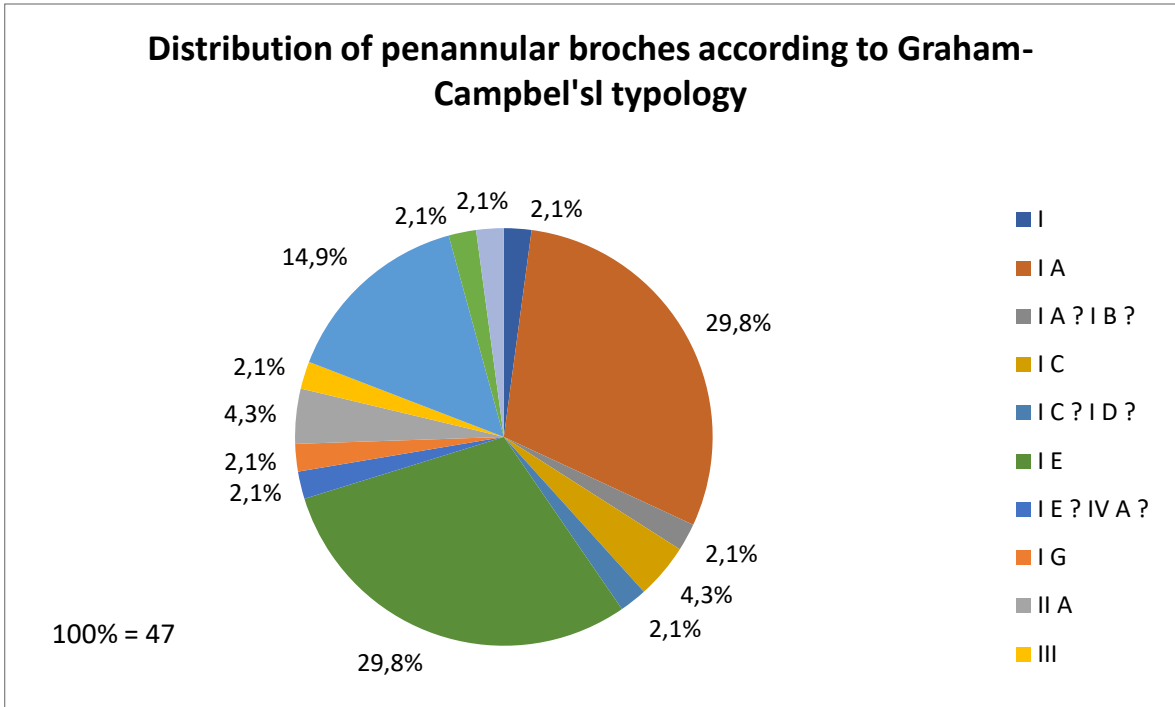


Figure 23. Distribution of penannular broches from my personal database according to Graham-Campbell's typology.

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30. The Kilmainham penannular brooch. Bridgeman Art Library.

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32. Bird brooch, Weetch type 30. A? — Wymaondham, Norfolk, England; NMS-556A43, PAS.

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