

# Contact across the North Sea

A study on the impact of mobility on the development of the Anglo-Saxon Great Square Headed Brooch and the Scandinavian Relief Brooch

**Morten Aass Authen**

Ark4090 Masteroppgave i Arkeologi  
60 studiepoeng

IAKH: Institutt for arkeologi, konservering, og historie  
Det humanistiske fakultet



## **Acknowledgements**

During the course of writing this thesis, I received help from a number of people who deserve their due thanks. First and foremost, my sincere thanks goes to Julie Lund for guidance and critical feedback. Without you, this thesis would not be possible. Thank you to Ingunn Marit Røstad for so graciously sending me a copy of her book. Special thanks should go to Elna Siv Kristoffersen and John Hines, for correspondence and meetings that have helped me choose the material and regions in question for the thesis. My appreciation also goes out to Toby Martin, whose advice on literature and chronology helped chart an early course for my work. I extend my gratitude as well to Anastasia Bertheussen, for helping me create the map I use to display the brooches relative position in the thesis. I would also like to thank Håkon Reiersen for meeting me at the museum in Stavanger and showing me parts of the selection of brooches.

Finally, I would like to thank my parents for their continuous support throughout the entire process, and to my dear Jenni, for her proofreading, patience, and support.

## **Content of this thesis:**

<b>Chapter 1: Introduction</b> .....	p. 1
<b>Chapter 2: Research History, Theory, and Method</b> .....	p. 2
2.1    Brooches: Research History.....	p. 2
2.1.1    Chronologies.....	p. 2
2.1.2    Recent research in the Scandinavian context.....	p. 5
2.2    Migration and Mobility: Research history.....	p. 6
2.2.1    Early Migration Theory.....	p. 6
2.2.2    Anglo-Saxon Migration Theory.....	p. 7
2.2.3    David Anthony; Baby and Bathwater.....	p. 8
2.2.4    aDNA and its impact on migration and Mobility Theory.....	p. 8
2.2.5    Scandinavian Migration Theory.....	p. 9
2.3    Mobility and Migration.....	p. 9
2.3.1    Mobility.....	p. 10
2.3.2    Migration.....	p. 11
2.3.3    Kinship.....	p. 13
2.3.4    Culture Memory.....	p. 14
2.4    Method.....	p. 15
2.4.1    Mobility and Migration.....	p. 15
2.4.2    Ethical Considerations.....	p. 16
2.4.3    Brooches and their selection for the thesis.....	p. 17
2.4.4    Comparative Analysis.....	p. 20

<b>Chapter 3: The Archaeological material and its analysis</b>	p. 21
3.1    The creation method of the brooches	p. 21
3.2    The Brooches and their descriptions	p. 21
3.3    Analysis of Brooches, visual comparison	p. 49
3.3.1    Gilding	p. 49
3.3.2    Headplate	p. 49
3.3.3    Bow	p. 50
3.3.4    Footplate	p. 51
3.3.5    Decoration	p. 52
3.3.6    Zoomorphic patterns	p. 53
3.4    Comparative Analysis	p. 53
3.4.1    Relative chronology of the selected brooches	p. 53
3.4.2    How does this chronology match the mobility pattern	p. 55
3.4.3    Comparative analysis of the first brooches in the chronology	p. 56
3.4.4    Comparative analysis of the later brooches in the chronology	p. 58
 <b>Chapter 4: Discussion and conclusion</b>	 p. 61
4.1.1    The variance in brooch shape and decoration	p. 61
4.1.2    Social memory	p. 61
4.1.3    A hypothesis on the Bichrome style	p. 62
4.1.4    Dress and identity	p. 64
4.1.5    Brooches as part of memory	p. 66
4.2    Conclusion	p. 68
 <b>Bibliography</b>	 p. 71

## **Figures and Images:**

Figure 1: Map of the relevant area.....	p. 19
Figure 2: Table of brooches and their relevant date.....	p. 22, 23, 24
Image 1: Brooch 1; Alford Area Brooch.....	p. 25
Image 2: Brooch 2; Bergh Apton 64 Brooch.....	p. 26
Image 3: Brooch 3; Claxby with Moorby Brooch.....	p. 27
Image 4: Brooch 4; Cold Brayfield Brooch.....	p. 28
Image 5: Brooch 5; Eldmire with Crakehill Brooch.....	p. 29
Image 6: Brooch 6; Gillingham Brooch.....	p. 30
Image 7: Brooch 7; Harston Brooch.....	p. 31
Image 8: Brooch 8; Ipswich 16b Brooch.....	p. 32
Image 9: Brooch 9; Mildenhall Brooch.....	p. 33
Image 10: Brooch 10; Thoresway Brooch.....	p. 34
Image 11: Brooch 11; Arne Brooch.....	p. 36
Image 12: Brooch 12; Friestad Brooch.....	p. 38
Image 13: Brooch 13; Holmen Brooch.....	p. 40
Image 14: Brooch 14; Jorenkjøl Brooch.....	p. 41
Image 15: Brooch 15; Kvåle Brooch.....	p. 42
Image 16: Brooch 16; Nord-Braut Brooch.....	p. 43
Image 17: Brooch 17; Nornes Brooch.....	p. 44
Image 18: Brooch 18; Torland Brooch.....	p. 46
Image 19: Brooch 19; Vatland Brooch.....	p. 47
Image 20: Brooch 20; Vaula Brooch.....	p. 48

## **Chapter 1: Introduction and research question**

The Migration Period spans roughly 150 years, from the year 400 AD to the year 550 AD. During this period in time, a large influx of different tribes saw a greater degree of mobility than previously documented, given numerous factors. During this period of time, the Angles, Saxons and Jutes settled in England, and trade and social contact flourished between Scandinavia, Europe, and the British Isles.

This thesis aims to examine the contact between the regions on the eastern part of modern day England, and the western part of modern day Norway (for simplicity, simply referred to as England and Norway). This is done through a detailed examination of the Scandinavian relief brooch and the Anglo-Saxon great square headed brooch. These brooches were used by the elite women of the time, and will be described in detail further into the text. In addition to this, I will do an in-depth examination of migration and mobility theory to analyse how the brooches' development fits with the overall mobility. The research question asked by this thesis is as following:

Was the development of style on the relief brooch and Anglo-Saxon great square headed brooch a direct result of contact between Norway and England during the Migration Period? To examine this question, I will use a comparative analysis to look at the following elements:

- The overall shape and decoration of the brooches
- The development of the social contact between Norway and England
- How the development of the brooches matches the development of the contact

Furthermore, I shall use the theory of culture memory when examining the brooches, to see if they potentially fulfil a role as deeper cultural anchors beyond their usage and their depiction of animal ornamentation style.

The expected results are that the brooches were developed as a causation of contact between the two regions. However, the social mechanisms which are responsible for this are less clear, and will ideally be demonstrated in the course of this thesis.

## **Chapter 2: Research History, Theory, and Method**

### **2.1 Brooches: Research History**

A step back in civilization, a loss of culture from antiquity, a chaotic time; the era immediately following the fall of the Roman Empire has been regarded differently, and often negatively, over the years. Yet we cannot help but conclude that whatever else it may have been, it was also an eventful and exciting time. For better or worse, with many nations tracing their cultural heritage and identity back to the different groups in Europe during this Migration Period, it is no surprise this era has also garnered a lot of attention from archaeologists and historians. In the following section of the text I will be going through the research history of the relief brooch and the Anglo-Saxon great square headed brooch, followed afterwards by the research history of migration theory in archaeology.

#### **2.1.1 Chronologies**

The earliest archaeological research done into this period, beyond antiquarianism, focused on tracing objects. By assigning these objects to specific social and ethnic groups, archaeologists perceived to trace the movement of people. The focus was on the objects on their own merits, and these objects were used to assign traits to social groups. This was the culture historical approach to archaeology, and it dominated research into the Migration Period for a long time. However, this was not exclusively a negative; much important work was done during this time period that is still used today in research into this timeframe; Bernard Salin wrote his work *Die Altgermanische Thierornamentik* in 1904. This excellent work set the standard for studies of animal ornamentation, and we still use Salin's styles 1 and 2 to categorise the type of animal ornamentation to this day (Salin, 1904, p. 354; Meyer, 1934, p. 3; Bakka, 1973, p. 61; Hines, 1984, p. 175; Kristoffersen, 1999, p. 94; Hedeager, 2011, p. 51). Salin covers many forms of metallic objects with animal ornamentation, including relief brooches (Salin, 1904, p. 41).

We also see this form of early cataloguing in Nissen Meyer's work from 1934, *Reliefspenner i Norden*, in which she makes a comprehensive system of organisation of the relief brooches found in Scandinavia. Her catalogue places its emphasis on the composition of the different parts of the brooch and the brooches shape, and less so on the animal ornamentation, as she rules this as having been satisfactorily covered by Salin (Meyer, 1934, p. 4). She differentiates the earliest relief style brooches into two categories; planfot and takfot (plane foot and gavel-roofed foot in English). The difference is a ridge running through the footplate of the relief

brooch; takfot has the ridge, planfot does not. Despite what is mentioned above, some focus is also put on the decoration, for the purpose of the brooches' chronology and how the patterns have developed (Meyer, 1934, p. 7).

One of the greatest impacts made by Meyer was her division of the brooches into 6 stages (note that only stage 2-6 applies to relief brooches, as stage 1 only applies to silver sheet brooches). Stage 2 marks the beginning of the animal ornamentation, and she notes that the brooches are made of thin and fine material, with some parts of the decoration being soldered. Geometric patterns and fluent animal depictions are the norm here (Meyer, 1934, p. 99). In stage 3, the plane footed brooch starts appearing. The material also grows in thickness and quality, and spirals start being incorporated to a greater extent amongst the geometric patterns (Meyer, 1934, p. 100). Stage 4 sees further development, with the footplate becoming more cross shaped in its appearance, and in stage 5 this is compounded with the animal ornamentation taking on its final shape on the brooches; the spiralling aspect to the geometry vanishes in favour of ribbon shaped patterning and details. The gavel-roofed brooches are now entirely cross shaped, whilst the flat-footed brooches hold on to their original shape for longer. In stage 6 it all comes together; both gavel-roofed and plane footed brooches now have a cross shaped footplate, and the animal ornamentation is universally in a ribbon pattern. Meyer also notes that the most numerous groups now have bow buttons. This is a small circular decoration that is affixed to the apex of the bow that connects the headplate and the footplate of the brooch. Meyer concludes that with the sixth stage, the innovation of the decoration style was over (Meyer, 1934, p. 102-103). Meyer's stages are not all encompassing, and some flaws concerning elements of them have rightfully been pointed out (Røstad, 2021, p. 119), but they are nonetheless a necessary sources for relief brooch research, and most of the modern chronologies of said brooches are based in part on Meyer's work.

In 1973, Egil Bakka made his own chronology. This one incorporated all ornamentation and decoration of note from the Migration Period to construct a cohesive chronology of the entire Migration Period in Scandinavia. His chronology is divided into 4 *Stufen* (Stages in English). His first stage correlates with Nissen Meyer's stage 1. As it ends just before the relief brooch becomes normal, we will not dwell too much more on this stage. Stage 2 marks the start of the relief brooch in his chronology and correlates with Meyer's stage 2. Stage 3 covers the beginning of appearances of Salin's style 1, and stage 4 encompasses the later developments of Salin's style 1, and the end of the Migration Period. It also covers the beginning of Salin's style 2 (Bakka, 1973, p. 61).



During this early research, a clear chronology was elusive in the English context. Attempts had been made, notably by E.T. Leeds in 1949, though the relative coverage and focus on a clear chronology was still not as heavily researched and documented as the Scandinavian material. This changed with the updated version of John Hines' doctoral thesis published in 1984. In it, he makes a detailed diagram of different finds, how they fit together, and what chronological phase they would enter in a broad English chronology of Anglo-Saxon great square headed brooches. The text incorporates Leeds' previous chronology and improves on it, with Hines heavily favouring Bakka's stages for the overarching chronology. The updated chronology of the Anglo-Saxon great square headed brooch was fully realised in 1997, when Hines' "A new Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Great Square-Headed Brooches" was published. In this volume, he presents a comprehensive overview of the English material of brooches, and divides them into 25 groups based on similarities in composition, design, and to a lesser extent, size. This catalogue does not include brooches from Kent, the Continent, or from Scandinavia, though he does touch on these in regards to how they compare with the English material, and might give some indication into how the style has spread and influenced different regions. He also improves upon Bakka's stages system by utilising (for the Square headed brooches) a honeycomb matrix for the chronological presence of the different brooches, dividing this matrix into three phases, with phase 2 incorporating Bakka's stages 2 and 3 which have significant overlap.

In addition to this, he goes into some of the theories regarding how the great square headed brooches were crafted. There are some different theories here; were they cast in a single mould, or in two or more pieces? Was it done in a negative mould (a mould that imprints the motif onto the casted object, thus carved in reverse of the intended outcome) or with a wax intermediary brooch, that melted away as the metal was poured in? As Hines concludes; "We seem to be left in the graceless situation in which it is much easier to find fault with hard-won theories than to offer anything better." (Hines, 1997, p. 211). In short, the methods discussed are debated back and forth, and unfortunately, due to the large degree of biologically degradable components involved in the process (wax, clay that was not burned all the way to pottery, etc), it is hard to discern anything with any degree of certainty.

In 1993, Thorleif Sjøvold wrote an updated catalogue of the Scandinavian Relief Brooches, setting out to write an updated list of the brooches (which to a degree was needed, given 59 years had passed and much archaeological research had been done since then) in the Scandinavian context. In the process, he also set out to rework the grouping system Meyer

made, and replace it with his own system. His system can be explained as differentiating between relief brooches with a rhombic foot, and relief brooches with a non-rhombic foot. He divides these groups into A and B respectively. Group A is further divided into six subgroups. Like Meyer, he uses the presence of a midsection divide on the footplate, what Meyer referred to as a gavel-roofed brooch, as a method for differentiating the brooches. Types A1 and A2 are brooches with rectangular headplates, straight bows, and respectively divided and undivided footplates. Types A3 and A4 are brooches with a rectangular headplate, an expanded bow (the bow between the headplate and footplate has a vaguely cross shaped flare in the middle) and a divided and undivided footplate respectively. Finally, types A5 and A6 have a curved head, straight bow, and divided and undivided footplates respectively. His B group is much smaller numerically, and thus the different brooches in the different groups can be as few as a single brooch defining the type. B1 has a rectangular head, straight bow, and a semi-circular footplate. B2 also has a rectangular head and a straight bow, but has a vaguely triangular footplate. Type B3 has a semi-circular headplate, a straight bow, and a loosely semi-circular footplate. Finally type B4 has a semi-circular headplate, a straight bow, and no distinguishable flaring of the footplate, making it equally straight and narrow to the bow. Unlike Meyer's division of brooches, Røstad remarks that Sjøvold does not put any emphasis on the surface decoration for his grouping of brooches (Røstad, 2021, p. 119). While it is not entirely correct as Sjøvold does take decoration into account, said decoration has more to do with the brooches' shape than the decoration itself.

### **2.1.2 Recent research in the Scandinavian context**

An alternative chronology had been presented by Eldrid Straume in 1987, presenting a method for dividing the phasing of the Migration Period into two; D1 and D2. These two could correlate and function alongside Meyer and Bakka's systems as well (Kristoffersen, 1999, p. 97). Siv Kristoffersen improved upon this method in 1999, arguing that D2 should be divided into two different sub-categories, D2a and D2b. A greater degree of finds and a discussion that had recently pushed the beginning date of the Merovingian period made this warranted and necessary, and as a result Kristoffersen's version of Straume's method of chronology remains persuasive in the Scandinavian context to this day. Furthermore, she has written detailed works on the dresses and dress accessories of women in the Rogaland county of Norway in the Migration Period, part of which includes details on relief brooches and how they are often found in the grave material. This work aids us in gaining a clear picture of how the brooches may have

been worn. Here she also presents us with a compelling argument that they, due to the worn façade on some of the brooches, were likely actively used and not made purely for being part of the grave assemblage (Kristoffersen, 2006, p. 17). Alongside Unn Pedersen, Kristoffersen has also presented an analysis of how the relief brooches are composed and made by doing a detailed study on the Dalem brooch. In it, we see the complexity and the planning that must have gone into making one of these brooches, giving us a deeper appreciation of the work that would have been invested into it (Pedersen & Kristoffersen, 2018, p. 233).

Expanding further on this, Ingunn Marit Røstad presented an excellent overview of the chronological and typological changes in her 2016 thesis. In it, in addition to providing a concise and clear overview of the material, she also presents a catalogue of most of the registered relief brooch finds in Scandinavia in general. Her work also dives into the social structure of those that would have worn the brooches (Røstad, 2021, p. 285).

## **2.2 Migration and Mobility: Research History**

### **2.2.1 Early Migration Theory**

Early views on migration in archaeology are intrinsically tied to the early archaeological concept of culture. The earliest aspects of migration lacked a distinct archaeological theory connected to them (Naum, 2008, p. 7). The concept of cultures at the time incorporated ethnicity, tradition, and people under a single umbrella term. As such, the earliest archaeological views on migration of cultures as a cause of development over time suffers from the lack of distinguishing between cultures and ethnicity. It suffers further from the perception that the development of style, or archaeological culture, over time was a cause of migration alone, with one type of people replacing another due to some perceived superiority. This view is problematic as it assigns biased notions of superiority to a whole culture, and the problematic aspect increases as ethnicity was a part of this narrative of culture, thus placing some ethnicities as superior to others. This narrative strengthened, and was in turn supported by, the rising wave of nationalistic and racially motivated tendencies in Europe at the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century and beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> (Naum, 2008, p. 8).

After the Second World War, this line of thinking began to be seen in its rightfully problematic light, coming to a head with the “new-archaeology”, which is also referred to as processual archaeology. Emphasis is here placed on data and more rigorous scientific adaption of different branches of research into archaeology to help accumulate and interpret the data gathered. It

should be noted that while this new line of archaeology became increasingly prevalent in North America and Britain, it had less influence on the continent overall, where culture historical archaeology retained a strong presence in the theoretical sphere (Johnson, 2020, p. 18; Furholt, 2021, p. 3). This did however unfortunately cause a large scale abandonment of migration theory as a whole in archaeology, and it was hardly touched as a subject until the 1980's and 90's. The only acceptable avenues to study migration history in archaeological contexts were studies of the Migration Period and subsequent archaeological periods. As such, the research done in the Migration Period throughout the second half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century does benefit from different migration theories and has as such not stagnated.

### **2.2.2 Anglo-Saxon Migration Theory**

The initial archaeological theory surrounding the Anglo-Saxon migration suffers from the same nationalistic view that is described above, and the same absolutist view of cultures replacing prior cultures. As such, and supported by the written works of Bede, the perception was that the Angles, Saxons, and Jutes came to England and completely replaced the local Romano-Britons. Since that time, we have thankfully realised some of the practical issues with such a theory (Brugmann, 2020, p. 40). Much in regard to the Anglo-Saxon migration has been debated in recent times, particularly the degree of the migration involved. As mentioned, with the rise of processual archaeology in the 1960's, or "the new archaeology" as it was also called, radical changes were made in how archaeologists viewed migration. Simultaneously, the current politics in Britain at the time saw xenophobic tendencies rise to the fore. As such, a narrative shift in regards to the Migration Period in Britain occurred where the narrative was changed to smaller warrior bands that changed the cultural norms of the local inhabitants of England, rather than a large scale immigration (Burmeister, 2016, p. 49). While the shift in the archaeological culture indicates a significant shift from the Romano-Briton to the Anglo-Saxon material culture might speak to a sudden and all-encompassing change, the nature of this change has not demonstrated itself. If it were a violent takeover, we would have seen evidence of such violence. Likewise, if the two had coexisted in mutual harmony, we would be seeing more Romano-Briton artefacts in the selection from the fifth and early sixth century. The exact nature of the Anglo-Saxon migration to England in the Migration Period remains a topic of study to this day (Brugmann, 2020, p. 41).

### **2.2.3 David Anthony; Baby and Bathwater**

As research into migration was becoming more and more stagnant, with it disregarding archaeological method and research that focused on migration and mobility, the post-processual archaeology that began emerging in the 80's saw a softening of this trend. In 1990, David W. Anthony published a text in *American anthropologist* detailing how the decline of focus on migration in archaeology was a case of throwing the baby out with the bathwater. He encouraged emphasis to be placed on asking the right questions. Among the many points he has, he places the question of "what causes migration?" as one of the significant causes behind the misuse, misinterpretation, and misunderstanding of how migration would function in an archaeological context (Anthony, 1990, p. 898). Anthony argues that due to a lack of data on all the potential "pushes" and "pulls", and the lack of data on the exact social structure of the migrating group (in the respect of who chooses to initiate the migration), theorising about the cause of a migration is quite often pointless (Anthony, 1990, p. 899).

While Anthony's views on how migration functioned in archaeology was by no means a great outlier at the time, as archaeology was beginning to return to a more accepting view on migration and mobility, it was still significant. It remains one of the more persuasive texts on not just the merits of migration theory, but also the limitations of it and how it needs to be properly implemented for it to have a value to the archaeological debate.

### **2.2.4 aDNA and its impact on Migration and Mobility Theory**

Studies of migration and mobility have in recent years become increasingly varied and detailed, as more and more aDNA (Ancient DNA) has become available for archaeological research into the topic, being able to provide tangible evidence of movement of people beyond typological changes to the material. With this increase in tangible evidence, the manner of the theoretical discourse has also changed, from a focus on the presentation of the evidence of migration, to how migration and mobility across the globe in different societies compare and contrast to one another.

This does not mean that the debate about migration as we knew it is dead however. In fact, criticism of how aDNA backed models on migration have been presented is being brought forward. Martin Furholt remarks that the usage of aDNA for migration theory has led back towards a more traditionalistic culture historical view on migration, now backed with DNA

evidence. This is not necessarily a choice made with defined intent, but perhaps more so a reinforcement of an early fallacy; when the aDNA research was first presented, the word count on the articles in question forced a degree of generalisation and simplification of the material. As such, the simplistic view of archaeological cultures was a convenient method to attach aDNA to, and has then unfortunately become part of the debate once more (Furholt, 2021, p. 4). Furholt argues that this migration centric view on cultures in the Neolithic (the period he deals with in the article) should be altered to focus more on mobility and interconnectivity and fluidity between different social groups (Furholt, 2021, p. 30). This closely follows the line taken by Anthony, and Samantha Reiter and Karin Frei, whose model we shall now examine.

### **2.2.5 Scandinavian Migration Theory**

Migration and mobility are as prominent in Scandinavian archaeology as anywhere else. The greatest focus on mobility and migration is placed on the Mesolithic period, the bronze age, and the later iron age periods, particularly the Migration period. Research into the Migration Period in particular retains some focus on the migratory element of the research, with authors like Egil Bakka readily providing examples of migration between Scandinavia and the continent by virtue of some of the material finds.

Another important author for the study of migration and contact in the Scandinavian context is Lotte Hedeager. Her research on the animal style and its ideological and cosmological implications has not only contributed to a greater degree of knowledge regarding the style itself, but also our understanding of the interregional connections of those that utilised the style (Hedeager, 2011, p. 33).

### **2.3 Mobility and Migration**

Key to the theory of this thesis is not only migration, but memory and how collective memory can impact recollection of past societies. This in turn have an impact on what parts of an individual's heritage they emphasis, bring with them, and transfer over to newer generations. Migration and mobility are a topic of much focus in archaeological theory, both now and in previous decades. The movement of people have an understandably big impact on how we as archaeologists interpret the human past. For migration to be a possibility, certain factors need to be in place in the society the migration occurs from, including factors that encourages

departure from the area the individuals are in, factors that encourages travel to the target destination, and a proclivity towards mobility in the society that makes such travel feasible. As such, mobility is a large part of migration theory. More importantly, where factors that encourage travel to a departure from can be difficult to determine in the archaeological records, a general ability for mobility can more readily be determined. As migration is only truly possible once a general capability for mobility exists, we shall begin with mobility before we tackle migration.

### **2.3.1 Mobility**

For mobility to be possible, a degree of foreknowledge about routes and terrain is necessary. These would be explored by scouts, for lack of a better term (Anthony, 1990). Once a route has been discovered and charted, it could begin to be used for general purposes as needed. This would self-reinforce the general mobility of the society. In Reiter and Frei's article about a new model for categorising human mobility, they present us with four different categories of mobility. Category one is non-mobile. Individuals who stayed in the same region, either due to a lack of means or lack of cause to travel, would be placed in this category (Reiter & Frei, 2019, p. 457). Category two represents point-to-point mobility. Travel from a point of origin to a terminus location. The authors list exogamy as an example of reason for mobility in this category; a marriage alliance where an individual moves from their home to another location to cement a deal with another (but most likely somewhat familiar) to marry, most likely someone closely affiliated with the leadership of the terminus location (Reiter & Frei, 2019, p. 457-459). Category three is back and forth mobility. It is categorised by travel to a point and back again, with the origin also being the final terminus. However, an interval at the midway point is likely. Maintaining a kinship network could be a cause for such travel (Reiter & Frei, 2019, p. 459). The final category covers repeated mobility and is divided into a subsection for cyclical and non-cyclical mobility. The cyclical can be exemplified by the traveling craftsman or merchant, who travels to and from in a pattern of a route, or back and forth between two or more locations, before returning home. The non-cyclical mobility covers travel with less predictability, more motivated by convenience and traits of potential target locations before returning to the place of origin, or not returning at all. Journeymen who are traveling to earn an income would fit into this category, as would military personnel on a campaign, like Roman legionaries (Reiter & Frei, 2019, p. 460-462). This model covers quite nicely the different types of mobility that might transpire.

It would be a severe omission not to make mention of Egil Bakka's theory on the Kentish Master. Bakka proposes, based on distinct similarity of the Engers and Finglesham brooches, the possibility of there being an originator of style 1 in England. He proposes that this individual learned the style in Denmark, and began practising it actively in Kent, with the similarities of certain objects indicating origin by the same craftsman. Based upon the craftsmanship of the Engers and Finglesham brooches, and the small adjustments to the style 1 design on them, Bakka argues as well that the creator of these brooches is clearly not an imitator, but someone who practices the creation of such décor and jewellery on a regular basis; a master craftsman (Bakka, 1958, p. 32).

### **2.3.2 Migration**

All of this migration is facilitated by certain factors. As written above, a general capacity and capability for mobility has to be present in a society for migration to be a possibility. In addition to this, a well used term for migration that is still relevant is the principal of push and pull factors. A general social experience with mobility is needed for migration to take place, but it needs to be supported by factors that encourage the travel. Push factors are elements that make staying in your location of origin undesirable. Instability could be one of these. War, disease, and famine can all lead to a less stable and less secure land that is undesirable to stay in, as violence and fighting becomes more normal. Disease and famine are also pushing factors by themselves; fear for ones' wellbeing if staying is a strong motivator to leave the area you currently are in. Less dramatic perhaps but still a strong factor, general lack of prospects would greatly motivate people to leave their homes and travel to other areas in search of work, a place to settle, and to marry (Athony, 1990, p. 900).

Pull factors are factors that would encourage travel to the target area. Obviously factors that directly counteract the push factors fall into this category, but there can be other factors as well. A turbulent and colder climate at home might not necessarily be a strong factor to leave, but more temperate target areas that lend themselves better to sustainable living would encourage travel, for instance. However, a major element that encourages migration is trade and a pre-existing knowledge of the travel routes. Trade in particular has a habit of developing and enhancing existing travel routes, and trade which follows specific routes can also facilitate smaller settlements along the route that are sustained by the mobility and traffic (Burmeister, 2000, p. 544; Loveluck & Thys, 2006, p. 143). Just as important is the presence of kin and



known communities in the areas that one considers migrating to. These are likely to be the first option when migration is considered.

One aspect of migration that can be difficult to specify clearly is that of distance. Relative to the size of an existing society, ten miles might be quite close or terribly far. In archaeological migration we broadly deal with two different terms of distance in migration; short distance migration and long distance migration. Short distance in this context is defined as an area that has habitual social contact and interaction with others which all fall inside the same sphere of information. Long distance migration is classified as migration that crosses social and cultural lines. This allows us to discuss migration patterns and movement without having to categorise it to pre-determined measurements of geographical distance or time. Of course, the similarity of culture and the close knit social groups within the range of short distance migration can make it difficult to track through the archaeological record. Long distance migration on the other hand will deposit pockets of material culture in areas where the specific material culture is not commonly associated or ascribed to (Anthony, 1990, p. 902). As such, long distance migration is easier to track through the archaeological record. Patterns of long distance migration can therefore prove determinable based on the frequency and pattern of the finds. Within the topic of long distance migration, we find several migration patterns that can be reflected in the archaeological material. The first of these is called “leap frogging” by Anthony; the process in which settlers settle in areas explored by scouts beforehand (Anthony, 1990, p. 902). Then, once an area further away has been scouted, a group of settlers may move there. This causes settlement locations that are spread apart by some distance with unsettled area in-between. Thus the archaeological material will be gathered in clusters of high density, interspersed with open areas with few finds. To differentiate this from the next pattern, it is important to emphasise that the movement of people in this pattern happens in pulses, with larger groups moving at the same time, rather than an initial move followed by a slow trickle of followers.

Next is the stream pattern. The emphasis here is that migration does not happen in waves. Rather, it is more like a stream. An initial group of pioneers (scouts, merchants, mercenaries) pave a pathway that others later follow. This does not happen in great bursts of multiple people, but rather in a slow process that might see smaller social groups like families or even single individuals travel. This would, in the archaeological material, cause a single line of finds spread over a larger area, though likely following a path that makes best use of the terrain (or where the terrain was beneficial at the time). This migration pattern often has a smaller point of origin,

or a more highly concentrated one. This is due to information regarding travel and good routes often being transferred internally in a kinship group (Anthony, 1990, p. 904).

Following this we also have to examine the pattern of return migration. This deals with migrants that return to their location of origin. This pattern is easily visible in the archaeological record, though it is also often construed as a result of gift giving and of trade. Return migration most often occurs as someone leaves the area they migrated to and returns home to benefit from newfound experiences or skillsets that can enhance the home location. This patterns also applies to societies that raid as a financial or political tool (Anthony, 1990, p. 904).

There is an important question to ask; who did the migrating? Based on modern studies, it is shown that individuals who have already had an inclination towards mobility and migrated at least once are more likely to migrate again than someone who has never migrated. We can also see that in the initial push of migrations, particularly if the origin point is an agricultural society that the age and sex balance leans heavily towards young males (Anthony, 1990, p. 906) with a more nuance to the demographic becoming more normal as increased mobility in a society makes migration more common.

### **2.3.3 Kinship**

Migration has been regarded as a large element in the development of culture memory over time. An understanding of kinship allows us to understand the implications of the mobility patterns that likely travelled specifically through areas with kin. Kinship is a surprisingly nuanced and flexible term for a concept which has many different meanings depending on the society that one examines. Marshal Sahlins argues in his 2013 text “What Kinship is – and what it isn’t” that kinship is a mutuality of being; kin are part of one another’s existence by virtue of their social co-dependence. This can include relations through procreation, however this is not a necessity. It is also surprisingly arguable that more than two people are usually involved in a birth; in many societies the parentage of a child is only as important, or perhaps even less so, than their ancestry to uncles, grandparents, or other ancestors. In patrilineal societies these can be even more important in relation to the child socially than the mother is. A rhetoric of the mother as a field that grows a plant out of whichever seed is planted there is often used. On the other hand, matrilineal societies can downplay the role of fathers in the creation of the child, once again based on the social foundation of the culture which informs what is incorporated and prioritized in a kinship group. Some societies place very little kinship value on parentage.

According to Sahlins, the Iñupiat in Northern Alaska name their children after dead people, which makes them kin to the deceased person's family. Over time they may accumulate more names and as such a larger group of kin. As such, the determination of their kinship is not set by those that begat them, but by those that named them (Sahlins, 2013, p.15). For others, like the New Guineans of the Nebilyer Valley, kinship is transferred through *Kopong*, the substance all living organisms come from that originates from the soil. This means that the biological substances involved in creating a child originate from *Kopong*, as well as food interchanged in a feast or gift giving, thereby making kinship both a biological and a social construct based on their cosmology and social practices (Sahlins, 2013, p.16).

This nuance in kinship is important to take note of for the purposes of this text. By understanding what is regarded as kin is not purely a biological factor but can also be a social construct, we can be mindful that factors that impact life expectancy and child mortality, which would be diminishing to the extent of biological kin, do not necessarily limit the extent of kin that one can interact with in migratory purposes. This depends on the society and social constructions in the relevant culture and region.

#### **2.3.4 Culture Memory**

Culture memory is a theoretical concept proposed by Jan Assman (Assman, 2006). It applies a concept very similar to that of habitus to societies. Habitus is a theoretical approach to analysing individuals' experiences. The core of it revolves around the accumulation of experience. A person is shaped by everything in their life, from their first conscious thoughts to their last. Certain factors in life will influence a person a certain way, based on their past experiences. As such, all individuals are unique and a sum of their total accumulated experiences. Assman's culture memory applies the same theorem but to societies and larger social groups. The experiences of a select society of people will influence how that society defines status quo, and how they react to changes. As time passes and changes occur, the status quo will change and adapt. In so doing, Assman utilises the view of cultures developing due to migration, but places the emphasis on adapting and acclimatising over time rather than outright replacement (Assmann, 2008, p. 114).

This is significant because it impacts the development of a culture directly through the means of migration and mobility. Mobility and change of circumstance become factors in cultural development over time, one of the greatest impacts on humanity. By virtue of our societal

identity being a construction of joint perception and opinion over time, change being a factor on the development of this is impactful. Just as all people are a sum of all their experiences, cultures and social groups are the sum of their accumulated experiences and practised rituals.

Magdalena Naum put this theory into practise in her work about Bornholm in the medieval period. Using the theory of culture memory, she examined the pottery wear, the dress wear, and the funerary rites and brought them into the context of Slavic migration to Bornholm in the early middle ages (Naum, 2008, p. 76).

## **2.4 Method**

### **2.4.1 Mobility and Migration**

In regards to the approach I took towards the aspect of migration and mobility, I ended up placing a greater emphasis on mobility than the migration aspect. Despite this, they are closely interlinked, and for the purposes of the research history I covered migration more heavily than mobility, as (particularly in the early research history) migration is more domineering. Migration certainly remains relevant for the text, given the Anglo-Saxon migration to England and the various implications and theories surrounding this. However, as this is of less relevance to the analysis and discussion than the concept of mobility, that is where I have placed the emphasis.

I view migration as a specific subset of mobility, with the basis of this mentality to the approach being Reiter and Frei's model for mobility. Mobility theory overall covers a wide range of methods and patterns for human mobility throughout history. As the archaeological material is based on brooches and their influence between locations, and this is based on the notion of certain types of mobility like exogamy and travelling traders, mobility as a core focus for the theory made sense. An attempt could have been made to classify exogamy and similar single-person migrations from one point to another as migration. However, the existing mobility models already cover this. It may have had more merit in a period of time of largely stationary and stagnant societies, but the Migration Period is anything but, and as such it is best regarded as a facet of the broad regional mobility of the time.

## 2.4.2 Ethical Considerations

Looking back at the history of mobility and migration in archaeology, we can witness profound changes to how the topic has been approached over the years. Beyond the culture historical approach to migration as the sole source of a change of culture and the new-archaeology's hesitation to give much attention to the topic of migration at all, we can see a paradigm shift in how the topic is presented. Increasingly, mobility is put in the forefront rather than migration. While there is archaeological backing for this shift in focus as well, it is important that we acknowledge the role we as archaeologists play in the portrayal of this vision. As the world has become more globalized, the notion of the rather dramatic shift of migration has lost some of its appeal in favour of mobility in the societies overall.

This may not be a fault or a flaw; after all, much valued research has been done because the social settings of the present which the archaeologists are reviewing the past from encourages it. Yet it must be mentioned the impact that we as archaeologists can have on the narrative, and that we are, as people, products of our time.

I resolved to have a brief mention of the potential ethical problems surrounding the topic at hand. The customary issues that one can exemplify with the topic of the Migration Period with migration and mobility tends to be misused by extremists to bolster their own agenda of ethnic supremacy. This can be seen in how the topic of migration was used in archaeology leading up to the Second World War. Even afterwards, symbols related to Germanic cultures from the early iron ages are frequently seen to be misused by neo-Nazis and other extremists (Richardson & Booth, 2017, p. 2). Unfortunately, instances of the past being misrepresented for short-term political gain and propaganda has become topical once more with the war in Ukraine. The justifications presented by President Putin for this invasion include, in addition to many other fallacies, a misrepresentation of the notion that there historically is no such thing as a Ukrainian people. Such a statement would only have merit if the chronological passing of time began in the 17<sup>th</sup> century.

As archaeologists it is important that we confront such misuse of the past, and take a proactive stance presenting empirical evidence to support a more nuanced and accurate view. Awareness of how some of the material and theories we present can be misused should always be at the forefront. I would argue that archaeologists should also be more proactive about how our research is often misrepresented, and take a more forward role in confronting misuse of the past in the public sphere.

### **2.4.3 Brooches and their selection for the thesis**

I initially began this project with the intent of taking a random stratified sample of brooches and making a comparison between the English and the Norwegian material to look for similarities. Said similarities could then be a basis for making an argument on whether the contact was sufficient enough to be the main factor in the development of the relief brooch. However, as I have examined the research history, it becomes increasingly clear that a comparison of the brooches for the sake of determining similarities is unnecessary; there are already documented similarities between them, enough to certainly make an assumption of contact. Therefore I have chosen to shift the method of the analysis. Instead of taking a random sample and examining for similarities, I have decided to make an analysis of brooches that are similar, and making the selection of brooches on the merit of them having some form of similarity with the other group of brooches.

In forgoing a random sample, the analysis is no longer objective and neutral. Actively picking the brooches on the merit of their similarity of style or quality impacts the objectivity of the method and introduces an element of subjectivity. It is my reasoning that this is unavoidable regardless. In the analysis, regardless of the method of selection, a degree of subjectivity is introduced by the author of the text as personal experience influences everything from what order the topic is presented in, to sentence structure. As such, I choose to address the issue of objectivity and subjectivity here, at the very beginning of the chapter of method, to draw awareness to this issue.

The selection of the brooches started with brooches picked from the western coast of Norway, between the counties of Vestland (old county of Sogn og Fjordane and Hordaland) and Agder (specifically the old county of Vest-Agder). The English selection was chosen afterwards. Here the selection consists of brooches found along the eastern coastal areas, or within the sphere of influence of settlements that may be found near the coast. As such, it ranges from Kent to North Yorkshire. The entire selection consists of ten brooches from each area, with a part of the basis for this choice being on the ability for me to inspect them in person or through quality images online. Within the scope of writing a master's thesis, any more would become unwieldy, and any less would place the outcome of the analysis in doubt as the sample would be too small to warrant the conclusions drawn. The selection was made from brooches falling within the D2b phase in Norway, as well as them being found along the west coast, as these would be the brooches in the selection that correlate with the greatest extent of contact with England. For the

same reason, I chose brooches from the English material that primarily came from the middle to late chronology of brooches, which could also be found along the eastern coast of England.

I have edited the selection by picking specific brooches that suit my criteria. Brooches that were relatively undamaged and could display both decoration, and enough of their decoration and shape to be categorised based on type and chronology were preferred. Another part of the criteria is whether the object is found in the relevant geographical area. Different parts of Norway and England are likely to have more contact across the seas than others. Some regions, like Rogaland, feature prominently (Hines, 1993, p. 88). While an effort was made to incorporate brooches from the other counties named as well, a majority of brooches from Rogaland is acceptable, as it was a larger power centre at the time and as such representative (Røstad, 2021, p. 285). Therefore, in the selection, East Anglia and Rogaland are the two regions with the largest portion of brooches that I use, as they both were political centres at the relevant time, and there is earlier research done on the connection between Scandinavian and Anglian settlements (Hines, 1984, p. 272). However, to provide variation, the areas of the Norwegian coast further to the North in modern day Vestland county, and the areas south and north of East Anglia are also given their due. These are regions with a large selection of relief and Anglo-Saxon great square headed brooches as well.

For the purpose of the comparative analysis, I opted to select relief brooches from the D2b phase, which encompasses largely the first half of the sixth century. It is at this stage where the resemblance between the Anglo-Saxon great square headed brooches and the relief brooches truly begin to take shape, and as such is of the greatest interest to this thesis. As the initial selection was somewhat randomized, I ended up selecting brooches that I realised would not serve a practical purpose in the text. In the English material specifically, I selected the Snetterton brooch. This brooch was later removed from the final version of the text in favour of an Ipswich brooch, namely Ipswich 16b. The Snetterton brooch was not native to England, and the only overseas parallels were to Germany. While this is of great interest overall, it does not benefit my thesis, as it focuses on the mobility and interaction between Norway and England specifically. The Ipswich brooch was selected as it was one of the later types of brooches and from the relevant area, and as such more closely aids my analysis.

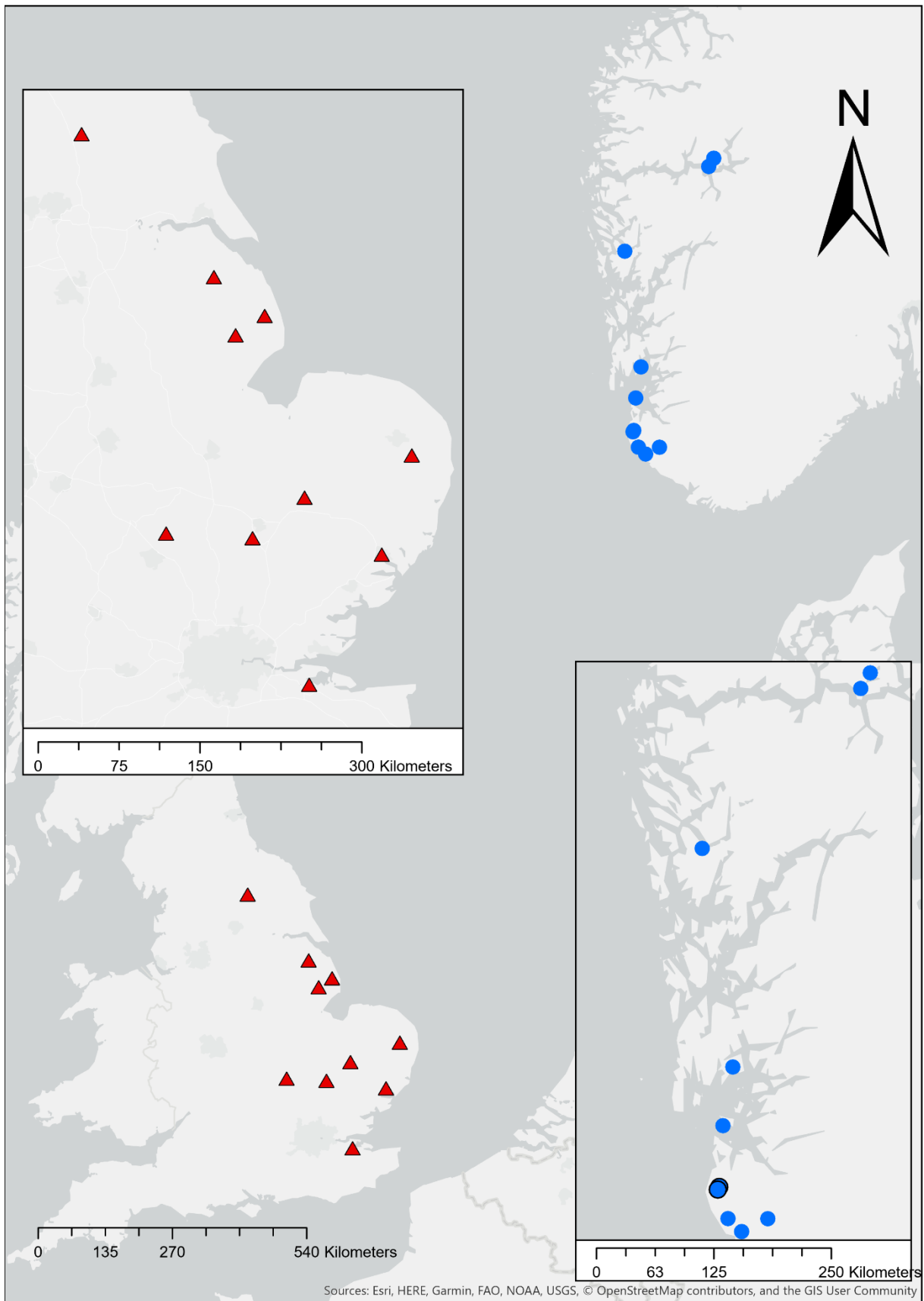


Figure 1: A map of the brooches' positions relative to each region. The English brooches are marked with red triangles, and the Norwegian brooches are marked with blue circles.



#### **2.4.4 Comparative Analysis**

At the core of this thesis are the similarities, and differences, between the Anglo-Saxon square headed brooches and the relief brooches. As such, the core method for the discussion of this analysis is a comparative one. In the analysis I will place emphasis on the shape of the brooches and the decoration. For the shape of the brooches, I will take the shape of the headplate, the bow, the footplate, and the side and terminal lobes into account. For the decorations, I will discuss the similarities and differences of the animal style on the different parts of the brooches, as well as decorations in the form of geometrical ridges and grooves that form smaller separated areas on the brooches. Regarding the decoration I will also take the presence of gilding, inlaid glass beads, and inlaid niello into account. While there is a large degree of internal variation in the different regions, there are nonetheless factors that seem more regionally exclusive. An increasing degree of similarity, or no distinct increase in similarity, is what I am looking for here for the purpose of the discussion and the thesis. The comparative analysis then progresses to consider the chronology; how the development of the brooches compares to the development of the regions in question over the chronological timeframe of the late Migration Period, with emphasis on political power structure and potential regional alliances.

## **Chapter 3: The Archaeological material and its analysis**

### **3.1 The creation method of the brooches:**

Relief brooches and Anglo-Saxon great square headed brooches come in different shapes and sizes, but there are overall elements that always remains consistent: they consist of a headplate, a footplate, and a bow connecting the two. They would have been cast as a single object in a mould (Hines, 1997, p. 205), though in some cases cast separately (Pedersen, 2015, p. 37). The precise type of mould is still uncertain, but the most likely method appears to be a two-piece mould, which is held together by packed clay or straps. The brooches are made from copper alloys or silver, and a substantial amount is gilded after the casting. Some brooches have shown trace remnants of mercury on them, indicating that they were gilded through a combination of gold dust and mercury. When mixed, this was applied evenly. Afterwards, a moderate amount of heat would be applied. This would evaporate the mercury without damaging the brooch. When the mercury evaporated, the gold remained evenly spread across the surface (Hines, 1997, p. 214). The brooches examined here all seem to have had an iron pin to attach to the fabric. The lug for the pin bar and the catch would have been cast as part of the brooch itself, based on cross sections of broken brooches (Pedersen & Kristoffersen, 2018, p. 228; Hines, 1997, p. 213). Typically, the lug is behind the headplate, and the pin catch is on the footplate, just after the bow. After the casting, a pin would be attached. Given the rust stains visible on most of the brooches, this pin was usually made of iron (Hines, 1997, p. 213). Small adjustments and highlighting would also have been done after casting, before gilding was done; this could be small adjustments like filing away rough patches, and deepening some of the decorations if they were too shallow.

### **3.2 The Brooches and their descriptions:**

The selection of brooches is made with the criteria of being from the later part of the Migration Period. At this point in time, the Angles, Saxons, and Jutes had ventured to England, and contact would have been established between Norway and England. More importantly, it is in this timeframe that the similarities between the Anglo-Saxon great square headed brooch and the relief brooch are at their peak, indicating the greatest degree of contact. The first ten brooches are from England, the last ten from Norway. The numbers listed are their ID numbers from finds.org.uk or their local museum number (for the English brooches), and the unimus.no database (for the Norwegian brooches). Their names are generally taken from the parish or

farmstead where the brooches are found. The phases for the English brooches use Hines' phases from his honeycomb matrix model, and the Norwegian brooches use the D1, D2a, D2b model.

Nr.	Brooch/ Object ID	County	District/ Municipality	Farm/ Location/ Parish	Type	Phase	Type of Find	Size
1	Alford Area brooch, LIN-7AC173	Lincolnshire	East Lindsey	Alford Area	Hines' group 4	Phase 2	Metal- detector find	108 mm in length, 53 mm wide, weighs 60 g.
2	Bergh Apton 64 brooch	Norfolk	South Norfolk	Bergh Apton	Hines' group 17	Phase 3	Grave goods	144 mm in length, 70 mm wide.
3	Claxby with Moorby brooch, NCL-73A081	Lincolnshire	East Lindsey	Claxby with Moorby	Hines' misc. group	Unknown	Metal- detector find	104 mm in length, 48 mm wide, weighs 56 g.
4	Cold Brayfield brooch, BUC-F2BD87	Milton Keynes	Milton Keynes	Cold Brayfield	Hines' group 11	Phase 2	Metal- detector find	169 mm in length, 82.5 mm wide, weighs 155 g.
5	Eldmire with Crakehill brooch, YORYM- F0C9C7	North Yorkshire	Hambleton	Eldmire with Crakehill	Hines' group 22	Phase 3	Metal- detector find	111 mm in length, 51.6 mm in width,

								weighs 76 g.
6	Gillingham brooch, KENT-3A7463	Kent	Medway	Gillingham	Bow brooch/relief brooch	Unknown	Archaeo. invest.	85 mm in length, 41.5 mm wide, weighs 32 g.
7	Harston brooch, FAHG-7B3D73	Cambridgeshire	South Cambridgeshire	Harston	Hines' group 10	Phase 2	Metal detector find	131.5 mm in length, 70.5 mm wide, weighs 97.5 g.
8	Ipswich 16b brooch, IPSMG: R. 1907.29.6	Suffolk	Ipswich	Unknown	Hines' group 16	Phase 3	Metal detector find	142 mm in length, 58mm wide
9	Mildenhall brooch	Suffolk	West Suffolk	Mildenhall	Hines' group 18	Phase 3	Unknown	155 mm in length, 71 mm wide
10	Thoresway brooch, NLM-EA4E56	Lincolnshire	West Lindsey	Thoresway	Hines' group 16	Phase 3	Metal detector find	150 mm in length, 65.6 mm wide, weighs 130 g.
11	Arne brooch, B564	Vestland	Bergen	Indre Arne	Sogne group	D2b	Grave goods	124 mm in length
12	Friestad brooch, S1969	Rogaland	Klepp	Friestad	Ågedal master	D2b	Single find	114 mm in

								length, 53 mm wide.
13	Holmen brooch, S8607	Rogaland	Bjerkreim	Holmen	Simple bronze group	D2b	Grave goods	99mm in length, 36 mm wide.
14	Jorenkjøl brooch, S6970	Rogaland	Hå	Jorenkjøl skretting av	Northern planefoot group	D2b	Single find	137 mm in length, 73.5 mm wide
15	Kvåle brooch, B6516	Vestland	Sogndal	Kvåle	Sogdals group	D2b	Unknown	128 mm in length, 63 mm wide.
16	Nord-Braut brooch, S2451	Rogaland	Klepp	NordBraut	Rogaland group	D2b	Grave goods	62 mm in length, 40 mm wide.
17	Nornes brooch, B9688	Vestland	Sogndal	Nornes	Northern ridge foot group	D2b	Grave goods	71 mm in length, 34mm wide.
18	Torland brooch, S440	Rogaland	Hå	Torland	B-1	D2b	Single find	Ca 100 mm in length, 50 mm wide.
19	Vatland brooch, S2772	Rogaland	Suldal	Vatland	B-1	D2b	Grave goods	63 mm in length, 35 mm wide.
20	Vaula brooch, S8080	Rogaland	Mosterøy	Vaula	Rogaland group	D2b	Grave goods	73 mm in length.

Figure 2: Table of brooches and their relevant data

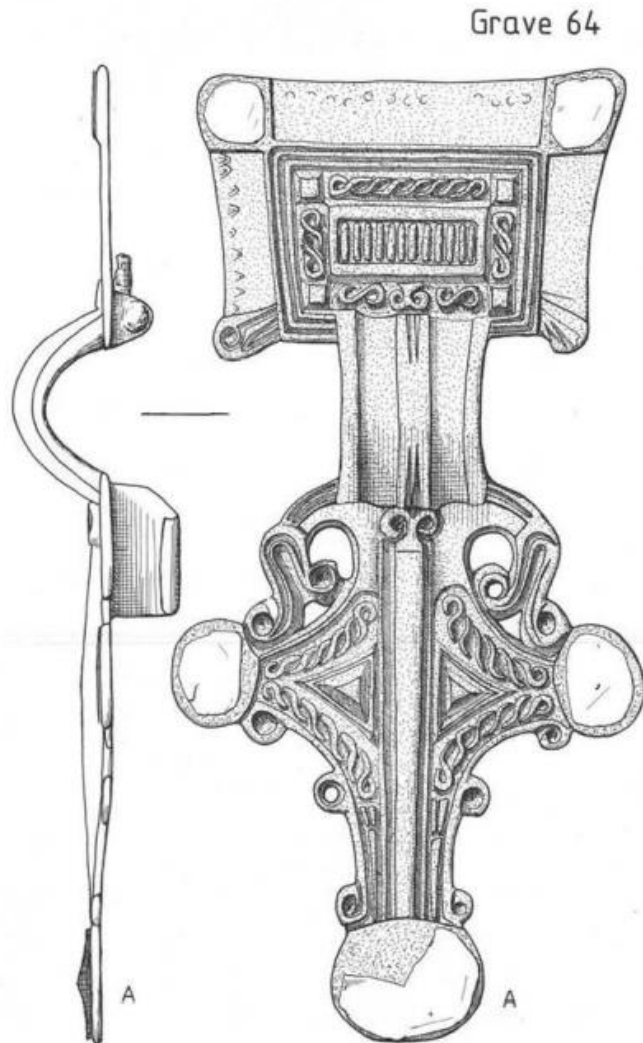


*Brooch 1: The Alford Area brooch. No listed photographer. Image source: Portable Antiquities Scheme*

1. Alford Area brooch:

The brooch has a gilded front and an ungilded back. The back is green from oxidized copper. The brooch is broken into three fragments, but together they compose the entire brooch, so no stray pieces are missing. The headplate is relatively evenly square, with little to no flare in the corners. The outer panel has a geometric indentation pattern, and the inner panel has a geometric band pattern. There is a broad spine along the middle of the bow. Where the bow meets the footplate, we find a zoomorphic bird motif curling down on the flanks. The footplate has two side lobes and a terminal lobe. These are all connected; the metal of the footplate does not leave

the lobes as extensions, but is included into the main piece, giving it a less distinct rhombic shape that we will soon see is more prevalent on these types of brooches. The bird motif is also incorporated into the single piece of metal.



*Brooch 2: The Bergh Apton 64 brooch. Image source: Report 7, 1978. East Anglian Archaeology*

## 2. Bergh Apton 64 brooch:

The brooch is decorated with indented lines in the inner headplate panel, with weaving bands around the outsides of the inner plate. The outer plate is unadorned except for the lower corners, which also have line decoration, and faint markings around the outside of the outer frame of an unknown origin. The bow has a spine running down the centre, which continues to the terminal lobe, only briefly interrupted by a curved T shape where the bow meets the footplate. The upper

borders of the footplate have two flanking zoomorphic figures, vaguely reminiscent of two birds. Flanking the spine that runs down the footplate are two triangles, with two smaller indented triangles inside them. Along the short sides of these triangles are another decorative weaving band. The lobes, as well as the corners of the headplate, are covered in silver sheeting (Green & Rogerson, 1978, p. 41).



*Brooch 3: The Claxby with Moorby brooch. No listed photographer. Image source: Portable Antiquities Scheme*

### 3. Claxby with Moorby brooch:

The brooch is in two pieces, with the break where the bow connects to the headplate. The bottom lobe is missing from the footplate. Oxidized copper has given the brooch a green tint, though the gilding remains in the incisions on the headplate and footplate on the face side. The inner panel of the headplate has concentric squares that are open at the bottom. The outer panel has



flourished repeating T shapes. There is a midline on the bow, which vaguely continues down the footplate. There is a vague indication of a birdhead or another zoomorphic creature flanking the join between bow and footplate. The side lobes have a tear drop shape, and the midline of the footplate is flanked by spiralling interlace patterns.



*Brooch 4: The Cold Brayfield brooch. No listed photographer. Image source: Portable Antiquities Scheme*

#### 4. Cold Brayfield brooch:

The brooch is made with copper alloy and is extensively gilded on the front, with style 1 decoration. There is very little wear on the front, indicating that this may have seen only brief use. The headplate has extra plating on the four corners and the customary inner and outer panel division. The outer panel is decorated with a series of lines and dots. Between the two upper corners of the inner panel and the two upper corners of the outer panel, there are two lentoid shaped red glass or gemstone insertions. A similar red glass or stone can be found at the apex

of the bow. The inner panel has a series of line based ornamentation likely made with a negative mold as they are protrusions rather than the usual line indentation. They surround two rectangular boxes, with the bottom box having the vague form of the upper part of a face. The bow is unadorned, apart from a central spine running along its length, and the insertion of red stone or glass on the apex. The footplate is more intricately decorated in typical style 1. A central ridge begins roughly in the middle of the footplate. Another upper part of a face is visible where this ridge ends. The lobes of this brooch are not perfectly circular; they more so form elongated extensions from the brooch itself, and all three are inset with teardrop shaped green/blue glass or stone insertions. These are surrounded by lines that aid in forming the teardrop shape. A similarly intricate linear pattern decorates the centre of the footplate. On the uppermost borders of the footplate, flanking the join with the bow, are once again two zoomorphic decorations; however, these are less easily identifiable than the customary bird-like decoration.



*Brooch 5: The Eldmire with Crakehill brooch. No listed photographer. Image source: Portable Antiquities Scheme*

5. Eldmire with Crakehill brooch:

The brooch is fragmented in two pieces, though a quarter of the headplate is missing and parts of the footplates' right and bottom lobes. Gilding is only faintly visible, as is the presence of tin or silver coating on parts of it. The majority of the brooch is in a single piece, with the second piece being roughly a third of the headplate. The headplate shows an inner panel with concentric rectangular borders, surrounded by an outer panel with faint impressions that are hard to discern. Fascinatingly, the bow has a central disc on it. Discs of this variety are not uncommon in Norwegian material, but they do not occur in England, except for the Kentish variety of great square headed brooches. The footplate has loose zoomorphic elements to it, likely late style 1.



*Brooch 6: The Gillingham brooch. No listed photographer. Image source: Portable Antiquities Scheme*

6. Gillingham brooch:

Highly reminiscent of a common relief brooch design from Scandinavia, the headplate has a shovel shape ( semi circle), with a straight bow and a rhombic footplate. The headplate has three protruding lobes, made from three smaller indented circles each. The inner panel of the headplate has a curvilinear decoration. The bow has indentations shaped vaguely like x's. The footplate has an outer panel and an inner one; the outer panel has a series of semi-circles running around the lower two sides of the footplate, meeting at a lobe on the bottom. This lobe is shaped like a circle with an indentation pattern. On the uppermost part of the footplate, protruding on each side, there are the rudimentary bird decorations that we have seen before. The brooch is gilded and relatively untarnished. This brooch falls outside the standard selection of brooches from England as it is not a square headed brooch. However, it may be a perfect example of the sort of influences that aided in the creation of the great square headed brooch. I will discuss more about this in the analysis.



*Brooch 7: The Harston brooch. No listed photographer. Image source: Portable Antiquities Scheme*



7. Harston brooch:

A very ornate and large brooch. At the core it has a square headplate, a bow, and a rhombic footplate. The outer borders of the headplate flare out at the top corners. The side lobes of the footplate are square rather than rounded, giving the brooch a blocky appearance. Given the silvered plaques on the lobes, the brooch can be considered bichrome. It is decorated with style 1 decoration. Faces are visible on the outer panel of the headplate, one on each side, and another by the lower lobe of the footplate. There are remnants of red enamel inlays on the headplate, bow, and footplate. There are trace signs of repair work on the bow, from before the piece was rediscovered.



*Brooch 8: The Ipswich 16b brooch. No listed photographer. Image source: Colchester+Ipswich Museums*

8. Ipswich 16b brooch:

A gilded brooch with bichrome decoration. The headplate has a square inner panel with weaving patterns along the edges, and two central boxes showing four leaves each in contrast. The outer edges of the headplate swell towards the corners, creating a not quite perfectly rectangular head. The outer panel has gold and niello zigzag patterns. The bow is straight with a ridge along the centre, with niello decorations on the central ridge and on the border ridges of the bow. The footplate is rhombical, with zoomorphic flanking figures where the bow meets the footplate. The footplate has a ridge running down the centre, with two triangles placed next to it. Their points are angled towards the sidelobes, creating a stronger impression of a rhombical shape. The decoration on the footplate depicts a weaving pattern between the edge of the footplate and the triangles. The lobes are curved, with the terminal lobe being roughly circular and the sidelobes being semi-circles. All three are covered in silver sheeting.



*Brooch 9: The Mildenhall brooch. No listed photographer. Image source: VADS collection*

9. Mildenhall brooch:

The brooch has a rectangular headplate and a rhombic footplate with three lobes. The brooch is made of gilded bronze. The corners of the headplate, the ring around the disc on the apex of the bow, and the lobes of the footplate are all bichrome. The headplate has an outer and inner panel, with the inner panel having two eyes below a central rectangular section. The decoration on the rest of the headplate inner panel is style 1 in the form of flowing lines. The outer panels are decorated with dot indentations. The bow has two grooves running along it, with a disc on the apex. The disc has a centre and border that are not gilded. The join between the footplate and the bow has two zoomorphic figures flanking it. The footplate is rhombic in shape and bisected down the middle by a slight ridge. Two triangles are flanking the centre of the ridge, creating the core of the rhombic shape. The lobes are circular or semi-circular, and unadorned and ungilded.



*Brooch 10: The Thoresway brooch. No listed photographer. Image source: Portable Antiquities Scheme*

#### 10. Thoresway brooch:

The headplate is square with slightly flaring corners, thus not giving it a perfectly square head. The brooch is evenly arched, and the footplate has a rhombic shape with three lobes, with zoomorphic motives on the upper part of the footplate flanking the bow. The upper two corners of the headplate each have a rhombic shape extending between the outer corners, and the upper corners of the inner plate. The inner plate is decorated with weaving geometry, with a rectangular shape in the centre. This geometric shape again has angular C shapes inside it. The bow has a ridge running down the centre, which continues into a vague spine on the footplate. The lobes are plain, though there is trace evidence of a circular decoration on the right lobe. On the site finds.org.uk, this is described as a “sandy concretion” (Portable Antiquities Scheme, 2021b). The decoration of the footplate is also geometric with repeated indentation and spiralling geometric motif.





*Brooch 11: The Arne brooch. Photography by Svein Skare*

### 11. Arne brooch:

The brooch consists of a rectangular headplate and a rhombic footplate. There is a mended break in the headplate, and a piece of the upper left footplate is broken off and missing. The brooch appears to be gilded silver. The headplate has an inner panel with interwoven style 1 decoration, and a central rectangle rising from the bottom to the top of the inner panel. This inner rectangle has three C shapes, two of them back-to-back, facing up and down alternately. The border of the inner panel is inlaid with niello. The outer border is a series of style 1 decorations, facing left on the left side and right on the right side, each one appearing to be a stylized face in profile. The contour and the eyes of the figures appear to be inlaid with niello. The bow of the brooch is decorated with interwoven style 1 as well, with a large disc on the

apex; the disc itself has a gold circle in the middle, and by the apparent size of the rise in the walls of this circle, it may have held a bead or a stone. Around this circle are curled C shapes. The border of the disc appears to be inlaid with niello. The footplate, while rhombic at its core, is almost cross shaped. Two zoomorphic creatures flank the join between the bow and the footplate. An interwoven pattern, bordered by inlaid niello, forms the central cross shape. The flanking lobes and terminal lobe all have a face contoured by niello. The outer border of the triangle shape these three faces form is decorated with similar profile faces to what surrounds the headplate.



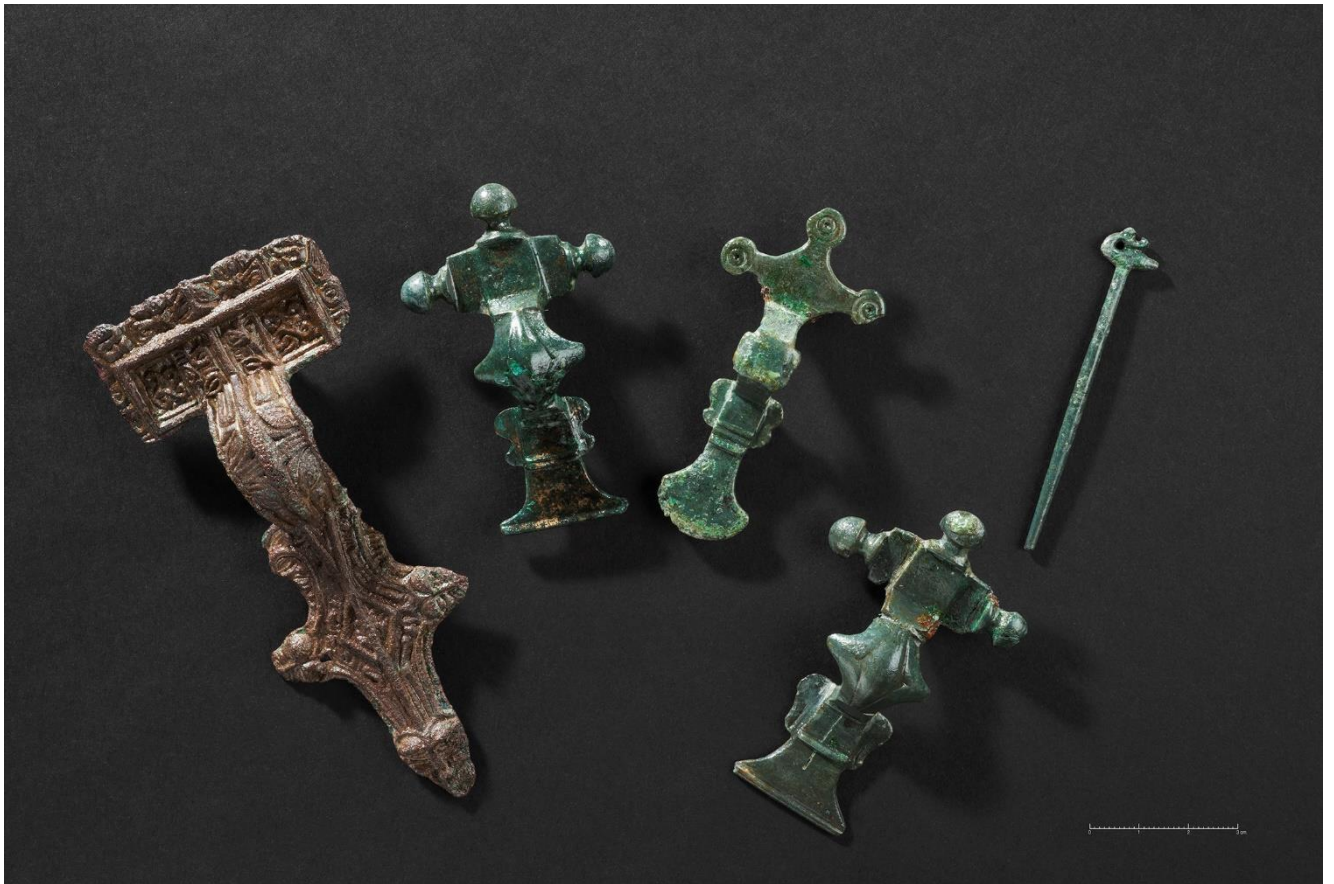
*Brooch 12: The Friestad brooch. Photography by Annette Øvrelid*

12. Friestad brooch:

A very high-quality gilded silver brooch. The headplate has a rectangular inner panel, showing two faces in profile, with beaks or snouts almost touching. The head profiles are cojoined with a swelling line of inlaid niello. Below the apex of this swell sits the fastening for a glass bead or stone. The rectangular panel is inlaid with niello along its border. There are three small lobes protruding from the headplate, each being a mounting for a bead or stone that faces outwards rather than being put into the surface of the brooch. The edges of the outer panel are not even;

it rises from the corners of the inner panel and reaches its apex near the fastening for the gemstones. Just where the outer panel begins at the corner of the inner panel, there are four fastenings for glass beads; two large on top, and two smaller ones towards the bottom. The fastening for the major bead or gem lobes has inlaid bands of niello, and a line of niello runs from the inner most band of all three to the rectangular frame of the inner panel. On each side of these three lines is an eye, flanked by a claw, giving three more zoomorphic creatures to the headplate. The bow has a ridge of niello inlay running along it, flanked by line shaped groove indentations. The footplate is rhombic shaped, though at such an elongated angle and with a lack of lobes, that it appears more kite-shaped. Immediately flanking the join between the bow and the footplate are two zoomorphic heads in profile, with brows and head-contours highlighted in niello. Where their beaks or snouts connect with the outermost part of the footplate, there are two inlaid yellow glass beads. Between them, where the bow meets the footplate, there are two more eyes and a grill-shaped indentation, almost forming a mouth with two eyes. Finely made style 1 decorations cover the footplate, with a helmeted face with two protruding tusks on the lower half, inlaid with niello. Just above it, and just below where the mouth and tusks of the face ends, are sockets for beads, with one of the beads still in place; a dark blue glass bead. The very end of the footplate has two more zoomorphic figures flanking a third one; the eyes of the third are not visible, but the niello inlay on the centre piece is identical to the flanking ones. Unfortunately, the lowest part of the brooch is broken off, making it hard to determine what the final decoration depicts.





*Brooch 13: The Holmen brooch (the leftmost of the four brooches depicted. Photography by Annette Øvrelid*

### 13. Holmen brooch:

A Norwegian relief brooch made from bronze. The front of the brooch is brown from corrosion. Remarkably, the brooch pin is still attached to the brooch, though quite corroded as well. The outside of the headplate has a twisting zoomorphic shape, with a face at the centre of the upper border of the headplate. The inner frame of the headplate is bisected by a ridge into two mirrored panels, both having two motifs; a loose spiral in a vague swastika shape towards the outer parts of the inner frame, and lentoid or tear drop shaped indentations closer to the spine. The bow is decorated with lines and more lentoid shapes, though details are hard to pick out due to corrosion. The footplate has a central rhombic shape that is bisected by a ridge. The lobes of the brooch are all shaped like faces, with the terminal lobe being slightly larger and more decorated than the flanking lobes. While the damage makes it hard to tell, there appears to have been a flanking zoomorphic shape on each side of the top of the footplate.



*Brooch 14: The Jorenkjøl brooch. Photography by Annette Øvrelid*

#### 14. Jorenkjøl brooch:

The brooch has a rectangular headplate and a rhombic footplate. It is made from gilded silver and is in almost pristine condition. A central rectangle on the headplate, a central circle on the disc on the bow, and central circles on the lobes of the footplate are all ungilded silver, making this a bichrome brooch. The headplate has only an inner panel, and is bordered by niello inlay along its side. A line of niello inlay runs from the middle of the top border to the central rectangle, and a triangle runs with its point from the bottom border of the central rectangle to the join between the bow and the headplate. Two rectangles with their points angled towards the central rectangle emerge from the right and left side of the outer rectangle. The footplate has two curling figures where it joins with the bow, which are loosely zoomorphic. The footplate is bisected by a niello inlay and has some smaller divisions by niello closer to the bow,

in the shape of a V with a straight line beneath it. The centre of the footplate has two flanking triangles with points towards the left and right lobes. The decoration depicts interwoven bands, and forms the repeating pattern on the entire brooch; from the headplate to the circle on the disc, to the footplate and the rings on the lobes. Even the zoomorphic protrusions from the join between the bow and the footplate are decorated with interwoven patterning, and little else. A small curl at the very edge of this decoration indicates a beak, and a more prominent inlay of niello indicates eyes. This brooch has been judged to be bordering between style 1 and 2 (Sjøvold, 1993, p. 24; Kristoffersen in personal communication at the archaeological museum in Stavanger, 5<sup>th</sup> of October 2021).



*Brooch 15: The Kvåle brooch. No listed photographer; image source UniMus Database*

15. Kvåle brooch:

A silver brooch with a rectangular headplate and a rhombic footplate with three lobes. The headplates' inner panel has style 1 art with at least two creatures. The outer panels are divided into three sections by concentric square shapes in the upper corners. Each of the three outer panels also have style 1 art. The bow has at least two faces; one by the headplate and one by the footplate. At the bow's apex there is a disc with concentric circles in the middle, surrounded by wave like decorations. Flanking the join of the footplate and the headplate are two zoomorphic creatures. The footplate has more style 1 decorations, with each of the three lobes being shaped like faces; the two on the left and right flanks being identical, with the terminal lobe being slightly larger and with a larger mouthpiece.



*Brooch 16: The Nord-Braut brooch. Photography by Annette Øvrelid*



16. Nord-Braut brooch:

The brooch is made from gilded silver. It has a rectangular headplate and a bow that flares slightly to the side at its apex. Most of the footplate is missing, but based on similarities with other brooches of a similar design, it is reasonable to guess that it would have been rhombically shaped with lobes protruding from the left side and the end of the footplate. The right lobe is still visible. The headplate has an inner panel, bordered to the outer panel by a niello border. The decorations of the entire brooch appear to be interwoven style 1 decorations. In the inner panel of the headplate, two faces are visible, one in each bottom corner. The decoration on the bow seems to be indented line decoration. There is a ridge running across the bow. This ridge, and the borders of the bow, seem to be made of niello. The connection between the bow and the footplate is flanked by two zoomorphic decorations.



---

*Brooch 17: The Nornes brooch. Photography by Olav Espevoll*

17. Nornes brooch:

The brooch is made of gilded bronze. It has a rhombic footplate, and remains of an inner panel on the headplate is still visible. Unfortunately, a larger piece of the headplate is missing, making the exact shape unknown, though it can be reasonably assumed that the brooch would have had a rectangular headplate based on similar brooches from other areas. This brooch is more sparsely decorated compared to some others; there is a remaining eye on the inner panel of the headplate, and a claw like shape next to it, indicating a face decoration to have been central at the headplate. The inner panel is surrounded by niello as a border. There remain traces of an outer panel that, based on the small piece remaining, would likely have had style 1 decoration with niello highlighting. The bow flares out to the side, with ridges running down it, and a larger ridge running in the centre that has inlaid niello. The smaller ridges have a zig-zag pattern at the apex of the bow, before they proceed straight to the footplate. The connection between the bow and the footplate is flanked on either side by two zoomorphic figures in profile. Their contours are highlighted with inlaid niello. A ridge of inlaid niello divides the footplate in half down the centre. Sparse but visible style 1 decoration covers each flank of this ridge. The three lobes are all shaped like faces, with the terminal lobe being larger and more prominent.



*Brooch 18: The Torland brooch. Photography by Annette Øvrelid*

### 18. Torland brooch:

The brooch is gilded with the gilding worn down on the ridges of the decorations. The green showing through here likely speaks to the brooch being cast from some form of copper alloy. The inner plate of the headplate is loosely T shaped, and has classical style 1 artistry decorating it. A ridge runs across the bow, with decorations on either side. The footplate has a spade shaped inner part separated from the outermost piece of the footplate. At the centre of the footplate there is a triangle shaped decoration. All parts of the brooch have damage from corrosion, and the bottom left corner of the footplate is broken off.



*Brooch 19: The Vatland brooch. Photography by Annette Øvrelid*

### 19. Vatland brooch:

The brooch is made of gilded silver with niello inlay. The headplate is rectangular with a rectangular inner panel, bordered from the outer panel by niello inlay. The inner panel is decorated with line indentation surrounding a bar of niello inlay. The outer panel is decorated by interwoven style 1 decorations. The bow is similarly decorated with interwoven style 1, though a raised square in the centre appears to be silver without gilding, making this brooch potentially a bichrome style brooch. The footplate is decorated with interwoven style 1, though somewhat more angular than on the headplate, making them reminiscent of triangles. There is also a triangle in the centre of the footplate, pointing towards the bow. On the left and right sides of the triangle there are circular indentations reminiscent of eyes. Flanking the joint between the bow and the footplate are two curling ridges, reminiscent of claws. The footplate

has a small outer panel, separated from the inner panel with a border of niello. The decoration here as well appears to be interwoven style 1 decoration.



*Brooch 20: The Vaula brooch. Photography by Terje Tveit*

#### 20. Vaula brooch:

A small relief brooch, with remains of gilding visible in the indentations. It has a segmented headplate with spiralling patterns on the outer frame, and circular dots on the inner plate. Despite being segmented, the inner panel of the headplate gives the vague impression of depicting at least one face. The bow is decorated with linear patterns. The footplate is flanked on top by zoomorphic decorations. A curl near the top of the footplate aids in giving the impression of an eye. The decorations on the centre part of the footplate, pointed towards the flanking lobes, resemble claws. The terminal lobe depicts a face with stylised eyes, nose, and a gaping maw. The brooch is made of bronze.

In the following section I will examine differences and similarities in the sample selection. I shall examine the selected brooches in detail and evaluate whether their similarities are significant enough to warrant further analysis of whether their style developed as a result of interaction.

### **3.3 Analysis of the brooches, visual comparison:**

#### **3.3.1 Gilding**

The gilding is an obvious element; these brooches would have been reserved for the women of the social elite at the time. They had the means to acquire brooches that were highly decorated, for the purposes of being seen and for striking a powerful presence. Only one of the Norwegian brooches in the selection has no gilding; the Holmen brooch. This brooch belongs to Nissen Meyer's simple bronze group, which is regarded as an early relief brooch that has been cast en masse for distribution (Meyer, 1934. p 60). All the brooches from the English selection are gilded. The way the light would reflect and illuminate the gilded brooches would have been greater and more vivid than those cast from the less polished material otherwise used, like silver or bronze. Interestingly, some of the brooches have a decoration style known as bichrome. In this form of decoration style some of the surface would remain ungilded, with silver taking its place as either sheeting, or simply showing the silver brooch beneath due to the lack of gilding. It is theorised this could have some indication of a value system (Hines, 2010, p. 169). Gilding can therefore be said to have a value primarily as decoration, but potentially also as monetary representation. I will elaborate further on this in the discussion.

#### **3.3.2 Headplate**

The shape of the headplates are similar, but also with important differences, between the brooches in the selection. The Gillingham brooch is the only one from the selection that does not have a fundamentally square headed shape. Several of the Anglo-Saxon square headed brooches have square headplates, with the corners tapering out to create a slight convex shape to the edges of the headplate. By contrast, most of the Scandinavian brooches have a purely rectangular head. Common between both is the clear division of an outer and inner panel of the headplate. In the Norwegian material, all the brooches have a clear rectangular inner panel which reaches to the bottom of the headplate (the Jorenkjøl brooch is partially an exception; its

inner rectangle of the headplate is centrally positioned). The Friestad and the Torland brooches are exceptions to this; the Torland brooch has a T shaped inner panel, where the foot of the T connects to the lower border of the headplate, but the rest is centrally positioned. The Friestad brooch has an inner panel, but the outer borders are not conforming to being rectangles, instead flaring up in the centre of the edges. In this regard it is extremely fascinating, as its outer panel is almost the inverse of the common panel shape of the Anglo-Saxon great square headed brooch. The patterning of the headplates are all style 1 decoration, with varying degrees of subtlety and fluidity. Weaving patterns of limbs and faces are quite common, with most of the faces being discreet; either partially out of the headplate frame, as is the case on the Nord-Braut brooch, or hidden in profile amongst the weaving patterns, as on the Kvåle brooch. There are two outliers to this amongst the selection. The Nornes Brooch has, as far as can be gleaned given the majority of the headplate is missing, a face that is more akin to what you might find on the lobes of the footplate on most brooches. It stares straight towards the viewer, with eyes, nose section, and mouth clearly visible (the mouth itself seems to contain a face of its own, when viewed upside down). The Friestad brooch is once more an outlier as well. While retaining the motif in profile as most of the brooches, the faces of the animals here are clearly standing out as the central part of the motif. The clear and clean symmetry with few weaving patterns around to distract the eyes makes it more eye catching, and far less common as a motif (Meyer, 1934, p. 64). The decoration on the headplates of the Anglo-Saxon material is embracing the geometric aspect of style 1 much more readily than the zoomorphic aspect. Where zoomorphic aspects do appear, they do so almost exclusively as faces. The headplates can be summarised to have core similarities, primarily their division of an inner and outer panel, both decorated with style 1. This indicates a technological similarity in addition to a stylistic one, as it provides two panels to be decorated separately rather than a single plate.

### **3.3.3 Bow**

With the bow of the brooches there are several repeating elements. The bow is usually straight on the English material, with very little variation here. Every one of the English brooches in the selection also has a central ridge running along the middle of the bow, occasionally with fuller like grooves between it and the outer edges. Bow discs are uncommon, though the Eldmire with Crakehill brooch and the Mildenhall brooch have prominent discs. On the other hand, the Harston brooch and the Cold Brayfield brooch have a much smaller circular adornment at the apex of the bow, easily fitted as a part of the central ridge. The bows are sparingly decorated,



at most with geometric lines. However, the Alford area brooch does have the more weaving and symmetrical patterns we can expect from style 1 animal ornamentation.

The Norwegian material is more divergent on the bow. Most of the bows are straight, with the Nornes brooch and the Nord-braut brooch having bows that flare out on the centre. Three of the brooches have prominent bow discs, with the Jornekjøl and Kvåle brooches being interesting in that it appears the bows on both of them are flaring slightly inwards below the discs. In addition, the Vatland brooch must be mentioned as it does not have a disc, but still retains a square shaped protrusion that takes the place of the disc or button of the bow. Unlike the English material, the bows are more commonly decorated with style 1 decoration in this selection, with six out of the ten brooches decorated thusly. The bows are more divergent in their style between the two regions. However, the propensity for bow discs in the Kentish material and the Norwegian material, but not the typical Anglo-Saxon material, is interesting and may speak to direction of influence.

#### **3.3.4 Footplate**

The footplates of the brooches seem to have a greater degree of uniformity internally in the sample group in regards to shape. Every brooch in the twenty brooch selection has a core rhombic shape to the footplate, with the exception of the Torland brooch and the Vatland brooch which are spade shaped. There is a greater degree of uniformity in the English material as to the shape of the footplates as well. There are some minor differences in how far the lobes protrude from the core footplate. The Bergh Apton and Ipswich brooches have a more distinct rhombic shape with defined lobe protrusions. Most have a degree of incorporation of the side lobes into the core rhombic shape itself and a more exposed terminal lobe, with the Alford Area and Eldmire with Crakehill brooches almost fully encompassing the side lobes into the core footplate of the brooch. The Gillingham brooch is an outlier. It has no marked side lobes, and the terminal lobe is only barely larger than the border decoration.

The Norwegian selection has a larger variation in the shape of the footplates. A rhombic footplate remains the core for most, but we see a greater degree of extension with the lobes of the footplate. The Arne and Kvåle brooches are almost crucifix shaped in the extension of the lobes. The Nornes, Jornekjøl, and Vaula brooches have less flaring, though the flares remain distinct and give the lower portion of the brooch a cross like shape. The lower half of the Nord-Braut brooch has most of its footplate broken off, but what remains is reminiscent enough of



the Nornes brooch so we can hazard a guess that it would fall within a similar category. Finally, the Friestad brooch does have a core rhombic shape, but much like the Gillingham brooch it has no definite side lobes of note. Beyond the core rhombic shape of the footplate, the English and Scandinavian material both share a tendency towards having a decorated footplate that is bisected in the middle, either by a definite ridge or a more loosely defined one. Side lobes and a terminal lobe remain the norm, with greater variation in how these look in the Norwegian material.

### **3.3.5 Decoration**

Regarding the decoration, the most immediate factor to be mentioned is the flanking zoomorphic animal decoration on each side of the join between the bow and the footplate. Every single brooch in the sample group does, on close inspection, have this decoration. The Vatland brooch has a pair of claws instead of the customary beaked head. This motif is least visible on the Torland brooch, but even here we can note the shape of an eye on the right side. Unfortunately, corrosion and damage make it hard to tell. The general decorations on the footplates are style 1, with variations to the patterning. The Alford Area brooch has two faces visible, chins touching so they appear almost mirrored. Flanking the lower head outside a rhombic borderline we can faintly see what might be two paws or hands. The Cold Brayfield brooch and Harston Brooch also have head decorations on the footplate, but lack the mirrored motif of the Alford Area brooch, opting for a single head shape. The Cold Brayfield head is at a point where a separating ridge that bisects the footplate lowers to be almost plane with the footplate. It is decorated further on each side with serpentine patterns, though whether these are simple patterns or representations of snakes remains unclear. The Harston brooch has flowing lines as decoration, with the vague impression of a face where the footplate and the terminal lobe join, flanked by two small buttons. The remaining brooches of the Anglo-Saxon selection appear to have weaving patterns and geometric shapes, but none of the zoomorphic aspects of style 1.

In the Norwegian selection of the material, zoomorphic shapes and faces are more common, particularly on the lobes of the footplate. Only the Jorenkjøl brooch has lobes that are unadorned with faces. The Vaula brooch has unclear decoration on the side lobes, though the terminal lobe is definitively decorated with a face. The Torland and Vatland brooches, lacking a core rhombic shape to the footplate, also lack lobes. The remaining brooches of the selection have clear face

decorations on all three lobes. Internally on the footplate, weaving and serpentine patterns are common, as seen on the Arne, Jorenkjøl, Kvåle, Nord-Braut, Nornes, and Vatland brooches (the latter having a more angular style to its weaving pattern than the others). The Vaula brooch is decorated with claws flanking a central ridgeline, and the Holmen brooch has similar claw shapes around a central rhombic structure. The Torland brooch has geometric shapes, though their potential degree of serpentine patterning is hard to discern due to corrosion. Finally, the Friestad brooch has extensive style 1 decorations internally. Just below the central button there is a helmeted face with tusks protruding down towards the base of the brooch. Immediately flanking the face's cheeks, we can see two eyes, indicating perhaps a beaked animal in silhouette. Several interwoven shapes and lines can be seen above and around the head. The terminal lobe consists of no less than three potential animal heads, though the gap between the central one and the two flanking ones does provide a vague impression of eyes, which could have aided in creating the impression of a fourth face on the terminal point.

### **3.3.6 Zoomorphic patterns**

We can see in the later phases of the relief brooch selection that the more zoomorphic patterns of style 1 make way for a geometric weaving pattern, where the animals are more hinted at than shown clearly, as with the Jorenkjøl and Ipswich brooches. They are on the border of being regarded as style 2 decorations, pushing their place in the chronology towards the end of the Migration Period. Of note from the selection is the greater presence of interwoven animal motifs in the Norwegian material, particularly animal motifs that still show animal legs. Faces are present in the English material at times, but at a lesser frequency and rarely accompanied by other zoomorphic elements. This discrepancy in the patterns on the brooches, and the shift over time, is worth bearing in mind for future analysis and the discussion of the main subject in this thesis.

## **3.4 Comparative Analysis**

### **3.4.1 Relative chronology of the selected brooches**

In the following section, I shall analyse the brooches based on their mutual chronology separated by their geographical locations. As mentioned before, the relief brooch emerged from

the silver sheet brooch. The earliest relief brooches, which we find in Kristoffersens phase D1, were much like the silver sheet brooches decorated in Nydam style, the precursor to Salins style I animal ornamentation (Røstad, 2021, p. 41). In the relevant timeframe of the 6<sup>th</sup> century, the chronology now falls solidly within phase D2, and in particular the latter subphase D2b is defining for the relief brooch material examined here. Within this phase however, the typological definitions offered by Meyer and Sjøvold offer some definition of which brooches are placed where in terms of chronology. I shall examine some of these with the selected brooches in mind. However, it is worth considering that all of these brooches fit within a rather small span of time within the Migration Period. As such, it is worth bearing in mind that the finer nuances of precisely which brooch predates another will likely never be known.

Meyer and Sjøvold have nonetheless made an admirable effort to place these brooches in a chronology, which I will attempt to employ here. Their chronologies are largely based on typological dating of the brooches, by taking the finds context of the different brooches and examining them based on similar finds, and the finds of other material on the sites. Particularly bracteates are used as an anchor for the early dating of the relief brooches, as these were partially inspired by Roman coins, making them datable relatively accurately based purely on the typology.

Of the brooches in the Norwegian selection I am examining, based both on decoration and shape, the Holmen and Friestad brooches are the earliest part of my assembly. Both are placed in the earlier part of the D2b phase, which all the Norwegian brooches in the assembly for this thesis are a part of (Meyer, 1934, p. 62; Sjøvold, 1993, p. 26, 37). On the opposite end of the chronology, the Jorenkjøl brooch is regarded as being at the very end of the Migration Period and bordering the shift to Salin's style 2 closely (Sjøvold, 1993, p. 23). With this in mind, the rest of the brooches in the Norwegian collection fall between these points.

Moving on to the English material, we will examine the brooches and how they fit into Hines' system. Hines uses Bakka's four stages for his chronology (also based on gold bracteates), which he then fits into a honeycomb matrix (Hines, 1997, p. 200). A honeycomb matrix is a hexagonally sorted table, providing a more nuanced variant than an ordinary linear progression table. Here he combines Bakka's stage 2 and 3 into what Hines calls phase 2. Stage 4 is therefore phase 3, and stage 1 is phase 1. This is the basis for the chronological overview of the brooches selected. The majority of the brooches presented here are from phase 3 to match the Norwegian timeframe, but to have a basis of comparison I have also included some from stage 2. The Gillingham brooch is potentially the earliest of them all ([finds.org.uk](https://finds.org.uk)) and represents therefore

the earliest chronological baseline, followed by the Alford area brooch and the Harston brooch, which are early and middle phase 2 respectively. The latest brooches in the chronology from the English material will come from Hines' third phase, with his group 16 featuring prominently as it is one of the latest groups in this phase.

### **3.4.2 How does this chronology match the mobility pattern?**

Meyer provides us with a method for reckoning the age of a brooch that is very relevant to this; the further the development, the more uniform the brooches become. Furthermore, we see more bow-buttons later on in the Norwegian material (Meyer, 1934, p. 62). For the development to be a direct cause of mobility, this development should align with the mobility patterns.

The relief brooches stand out in the archaeological context of the time as being high quality, and frequently made of precious metals to be regarded as a luxury item and a symbol of status (Røstad, 2021, p. 281; Pedersen & Kristoffersen, 2018, p. 219). Unlike some other brooches of the time, we can therefore be reasonably certain in our assumption that the relief brooch was exclusively worn by those individuals of high enough social position to merit opulently decorated brooches that were frequently gilt, and in the Norwegian context, almost always gilded silver. For these brooches to be affected by mobility, those mobile would have to include individuals that interacted with the wearers of these brooches. This could include the wearers themselves, but also travelling craftsmen, the close familiar relations of those wearing the brooches, and travelling merchants. This does correlate to the type of people who would be travelling during this time, as it was largely people of means who would have the ability to travel. There is further correlation between this and Reiter and Frei's model (Reiter & Frei, 2019, p. 457-460). Several of the examples used by Reiter and Frei are more frequently used by those in the higher echelons of society, or rather those that engage in the same sort of activity. Exogamy, fostering, and travel along kinship network lines are all more common in this upper echelon. Some of these are also self-reinforcing; marriage alliances through exogamy increases the range of kinship ties. Furthermore, the Migration Period is known for the prevalence of warrior aristocracies. These warrior chieftains and their retinues would easily fall inside the category of cyclical mobility, based on Reiter and Frei's model.

It is noted by Røstad that in the middle to late Migration Period (D2a) we see larger spreads of material and variation. It is a distinct increase from the earlier phase of the Migration Period, and speaks to a degree of not just shifting political spheres and centres, but a larger degree of

contact between spheres. We are in the early phase of contact. For the later phase of the Migration Period (D2b), both Røstad and Hines remark on a lesser spread of material in general, but also less variation. This has remarkable unity in both the English and the Norwegian material, which hints potentially at a degree of uniformity that has been achieved through social contact and interaction. This matches what we examined of Meyer's earlier; the further the development of the style, the less variation. In regards to our assembly of material, we do see that the material is progressing slowly towards uniformity, the closer to the end of the Migration Period we come.

### **3.4.3 Comparative analysis of the first brooches in the chronology**

In this section I will present a comparative analysis of the earlier brooches in the chronology. Starting with some of the earlier brooches we have in the Norwegian and English selection, we can examine the Holmen, Friestad, Harston, and Alford Area brooches to create a baseline to compare the later brooches to. They will be examined and compared to each other based on shape and decoration. While subjective, I will also compare the overall impression the brooches give as the purpose of the brooches largely was to impress and signify status and rank.

All four brooches have a rectangular headshape, either as an inner panel or as the overall shape itself. The Alford area brooch has a purely rectangular head with no distinct outer frame, only a smaller differentiation between the outer and inner part of the headplate. The Holmen brooch also has a rectangular headplate, though it has an outer panel that is not uniform along the edge. This may be due to corrosion, and not a chosen aspect of the design. The Harston brooch and the Friestad brooch have outer panels that obscure the overall rectangular nature of the headplate at a glance, though the inner panel of each is rectangular. All four brooches have rhombic footplates, with variation in the side and terminal lobes. The Alford Area brooch has a protruding terminal lobe, while its side lobes are only partially protruding from the core body; at most, half of its diameter is not within the border of the rest of the footplate. The Harston brooch has protruding terminal and side lobes, though these are more angular than circular. The Friestad brooch has no side lobes, and the terminal lobe is shaped out of animal ornamentation, rather than being a lobe decorated with animal ornamentation. The Holmen brooch has a rhombic footplate with a longer terminal lobe and shorter side lobes, all three of which are decorated with an animal head at the end of the lobe. None of the bows have flares to the side, though all of them has a ridge running down the bow. The Harston brooch has a smaller

protrusion on the apex of the bow in the shape of a small circular button, that may well have held some sort of glass bead. All the brooches feature decoration on the bow. Of these, the Friestad brooch has the simplest decoration, in the form of line indentations that run perpendicular to the ridge on the bow. The Holmen brooch features a linear design at the apex of the bow, with semi circles coming up towards the apex. This aids in creating the impression of a pair of eyes on each side of the apex. While it is not easily visible on the Harston brooch, it does appear to have some form of linear decoration surrounding the central elevated button. There appears to be a pair of concentric lines inside the outer ones. The Alford Area brooch is decorated with a serpentine pattern that moves from one side of the ridge to the other, made so that it almost appears to move beneath the ridge. The curling at the end of the pattern on each side aids in creating the visible impression of eyes. In terms of decoration, the Harston brooch has curves and vague animal shapes, with some inclinations of faces at several points; at the lobes, the top of headplate, where the headplate meets the bow, and flanking the join of the bow and footplate. It is gilded and also notably has bichrome decoration through the silvering of the lobes. The Alford Area brooch is partially gilded, and decorated with geometric patterns and loose animal shapes, which are very reminiscent of the Nydam style. The footplate is primarily decorated with zoomorphic motifs, while the headplate is mostly decorated with geometric patterning. The Friestad brooch is decorated with animal style on both the headplate and the footplate, with the entire brooch being gilded. It also features glass beads and niello inlay. The Holmen brooch is decorated with style 1 decoration on the headplate and the footplate, in a geometrical pattern. The footplate has a core rhombic ridge at the centre, with the headplate featuring four eyes and a pair of what appears to be swastika like shapes. The outer edge of the headplate features more style 1 decoration in various shapes. Due to corrosion, it is hard to discern the exact shapes. Notably, it is the only one of the four brooches to not be gilded, as it belongs to the simple bronze group. All the brooches share a similarity in having flanking zoomorphic figures where the bow meets the footplate, in having a ribbon shaped bow that does not flare to the side, and in having a core square shaped headplate. This degree of similarity is not unexpected as it matches what Hedeager said about style 1. The similarities are significant enough that there is a clear connection between the two regions, while the differences are substantial enough to make it clear they still belong to two different regions. However, of note here is that the argument put forth by Hedeager is in relation to style 1 specifically, and not necessarily the objects adorned with them. Yet here we see that the same holds true for the brooches as it does for the decoration. If overall shape correlates with the same argument about how style 1 was used to present connection while still retaining individual specifics, then we

should in the later part of the chronology of the material see an even greater degree of commonality in terms of both decoration and brooch shape.

If we examine the brooches towards the latter end of the Migration Period specifically those put squarely in either late phase 3 (Hines, 1997, p. 201) or in Phase D2b (Kristoffersen, 1999, p. 109), there is a greater degree of overlap. For the purpose of demonstrating this, we shall compare and contrast the Jorenkjøl, Thorsway, Ipswich 16b, and Bergh Apton brooches.

#### **3.4.4 Comparative analysis of the later brooches in the chronology**

Here I will tackle the later brooches in the selected chronology. The Jorenkjøl brooch has a perfectly rectangular head. The bow tapers in slightly though it has a prominent bow disc. The footplate is rhombic with side lobes and a terminal lobe protruding from the footplate itself. It also has a small ridge of niello running vertically on it. The zoomorphic animal motif flanking where the bow and the footplate meets is not fully incorporated into the footplate, but rather extending from only the upper part. The lobes are circular. The decoration is a form of weaving motif that, on the bow disc and lobes, appears as just a weaving band. On the footplate and headplate, a vague impression of a serpentine pattern is present. The Bergh Apton, Ipswich, and Thorsway brooches are in fact so similar I will cover them at the same time, though I will be sure to be clear about the smaller differences between them. All three have a rhombic footplate divided by a vertical ridge. The decorations on the footplates are of a weaving pattern. The side lobes and terminal lobes are flat and undecorated, though the Bergh Apton and Ipswich brooches have remnants of silver plaque on them, indicating a bichrome style. The Thorsway brooch does not have any remaining silver plaque, but it is worth mentioning that the colouration of the side lobes are different than the rest of the colouration. As such, there is a possibility that this brooch was decorated in a bichrome fashion as well. All three have flanking zoomorphic figures of a similar design where the bow meets the footplate, with the Ipswich and Bergh Apton brooches having virtually identical designs, and all three have an undecorated bow with a ridge running along it. Both the Thorsway and Bergh Apton brooches have headplates with an inner panel featuring decoration in the form of a weaving pattern surrounding a rectangular box. The Ipswich brooch has the same weaving pattern, though it surrounds two separated square boxes with leaf decoration, separated by two lines between them. The internal decorations of the Thorsway and Bergh Apton internal boxes are varying. The Bergh Apton brooch features purely vertical indentations, whereas the Thorsway brooch has indentations

alternating between horizontal, vertical, then horizontal again. Finally, all three have an outer panel of the headplate that is not entirely square; the corners flare slightly to the side. The top corners of all three have a roughly square panel. On the Bergh Apton and Ipswich brooches, there are once more signs of bichrome decorations in said squares, though none such decoration remains on the Thorsway brooch, and due to a lack of variation on the colouration here, I am hesitant to make any sort of conclusion on whether it may or may not have been present.

At a glance then, there is now a striking increase in uniformity between the brooches from Hines' Group 16 and the Jorenkjøl brooch. Despite this, both have clear regional ties, and there is no doubt that the Jorenkjøl brooch is of Scandinavian origin. The bow is the area with the greatest difference between them; where the two English brooches have a ribbon shaped bow with a ridge and no disc, the Jorenkjøl brooch features a bow that tapers slightly inwards towards the apex, has no ridge (though it has some minor decoration) and possesses a large bow disc. The ornamentation is more elaborate on the foot of the Jorenkjøl brooch, with the entire foot being covered in either bichrome openings of silver, niello, or weaving patterns. The disc, headplate, and lobes on the Jorenkjøl brooch all have indentations; circular, rectangular, and triangular. These fields show the silver that the core of the brooch is made of, and are unglided. The bichrome elements of the Bergh Apton and Ipswich brooches appear to be silver sheet attached to a flat surface on the brooch. Beyond this however, the brooches are uncannily similar. The weaving decoration is very similar, and typical of late style 1. They all have a central ridge on the footplate, flanked in the middle with two triangles, with a broadside towards the ridge and the point towards the side lobes. The result is that both the decoration and the shape and structure of the brooches are quite similar, and compared to the earlier brooches, have transitioned to become more similar as well. In regards to the Jorenkjøl brooch in particular, the presence of circular lobes, rather than more pointed lobes or lobes shaped like animal heads, are not typical in the previous Norwegian context.

The brooch style therefore develops as one could suspect it might based on Hedeagers theory, with increasing homogenisation in the style of décor. However, as noted earlier as well, the increased homogenisation of the shape of the brooches is also of great interest. As Hedeager notes, style 1 and 2 are highly important to the upper echelons of society and the ideology of the society. As such it is highly representative in terms of the cultural identity. The implication of the shape of the brooches, not just the decoration, gives us a strong reasoning to suspect that the brooches and not just the style on them were indicative of the social and cultural style and identity.



There are two outliers to the model of development proposed here. The Torland and Vatland brooches are both part of the later phase of the Migration Period, D2b, but do not adhere to the proposed notion of a gradually more homogenous group of material, as there are no comparable variants of these forms of spade footed brooches in the English material. However, recent research indicates that the spade footed brooch has fulfilled a similar function to the earlier cruciform brooch. As such, they may be viewed as a separate sub-category of the standard relief brooch (Kristoffersen & Røstad, 2020, p. 24). If there are any Anglo-Saxon comparable equivalents to these forms of spade shaped brooches, the implications of such could make for an interesting topic for further research.

A strong argument can be made that this development has, based on the evidence presented, been achieved through the social interaction with England. It is not a stray element either, as we can see based on the other similarities present on the brooches overall. If we take into account that it is not just the design and shape of the brooches that achieves a greater degree of uniformity, but also the fact that the spread and distribution of the brooches becomes more consistent over time, there are certain thoughts that are lent credence. First, that over time during the Migration Period, we see a shift away from multiple different chiefdoms throughout Norway and England to fewer and more consolidated chiefdoms. Second, that these chiefdoms had access to craftsmen and largely either employed the same craftsmen several times, or that the centralisation could have caused one type of style to become more dominant due to an influence on other craftsmen. Finally, these fewer and centralised chiefdoms would have had contact going between themselves and places like England, which has facilitated the homogenisation of the brooch style.

## **Chapter 4: Discussion and conclusion**

### **4.1.1 The variance in brooch shape and decoration**

Despite the many similarities, and the similarities increasing over time, one has to acknowledge that there are also differences present in the brooch material. As noted in the analysis, several parts of the different elements that the brooches consist of have variance in shape and form. The more evenly rectangular head plates in the Norwegian context, the usually straight English bow, and the larger variation in shape on the Norwegian footplates. The brooches possess many similarities, yet retain these differences, which are not completely mitigated with time either. While there are strong differences between the Harston and Holmen brooches, there are also differences between the Jorenkjøl and Ipswich brooches. The Torland and Vatland brooches go further in demonstrating strong differences in the shape of the brooches, despite their later chronological placement entering them into the timeframe where increased homogenisation becomes the norm.

However, despite these strong differences, I retain the opinion that a chronological increase in contact and influence seems likely. This can perhaps most strongly be seen in the English material, where the increased similarity between the brooches in Hines' phase 3 form an almost uniform visual. The fact that the Jorenkjøl brooch retains the hallmark Norwegian elements of a rectangular head plate, a bow that is not quite straight, and a footplate different from the English material in its more decisive lines, makes this a clear Norwegian brooch and not a stray English brooch. As the decoration style and the areas that are left ungilded are an almost perfect match of the English material, the model of a chronological development dependant on contact remains persuasive.

### **4.1.2 Social memory**

Jan Assman's concept of social memory will play an integral part to the discussion on the relief brooches. According to Assman, social memory can be divided in two; the first is communicative memory, which is the existing memory of relatively recent events, that one has a need to communicate to keep the memory alive. The second is culture memory; memory that is older, and has to actively be kept alive by cultural "texts", with texts here meaning writing, art, dance, oral traditions, etc. Cultural texts are precisely the means by which culture memory is preserved and adapted over time. Cultural texts, as well as more mundane objects, are how

we can see the cultural memory of a group. Mundane objects create a link between the observers, the users, and the makers. They provide a glimpse at the social habitus that lies in their creation (Naum, 2008, p. 74). Relief brooches fall, I would argue, neatly within the category of cultural text. As we saw in the analysis, there is a strong degree of the brooches becoming more similar and more uniform over time. Particular focus should be placed on the decoration here, as it places the emphasis exclusively on the presentational aspect of the brooch. If we take the Jorenkjøl brooch as an example, we could make an argument that its particular style is partially due to the cultural text from England that the individual commissioning it, or the craftsman himself, may have been used to. The brooch's circular lobes, which are uncommon in Norway, can be seen more frequently in England. The more vague rhombic shape to the footplate is also more common in England than in Norway, where the brooches tend to have more concretely cross shaped footplates. Finally, the decoration is almost perfectly mimicking brooches such as the Bergh Apton and Ipswich brooches, with the central triangles on the footplate surrounded by a weaving pattern. Despite this, we also see evidence of local influence also playing a role in the design, as the headplate is perfectly rectangular, unlike its English counterparts. This can be argued to be evidence of a form of cultural adaption of the decoration and style of brooch, as the two areas interreact further with one another.

#### **4.1.3 A hypothesis on the Bichrome style**

It is worth mentioning that the brooches may have presented a socioeconomic value in addition to the obvious use as decoration and a status symbol. It is theorised that the bichrome style on the relief brooch and Anglo-Saxon great square headed brooch is actually representative of a specific amount of value (Hines, 2010, p. 169). The basis of this theory is found in old law texts, and a belt buckle from Sutton Hoo.

The law texts in question are remnants of old Kentish and Wessexian laws, that have survived by being referenced to or added in later historical texts and law codes (Hines, 2010, p. 153-154). They appear to be the earliest written law codes of the Anglo-Saxons in England, modelled from Roman law, specifically the Theodesian codes from 430 (Hines, 2010, p. 159). Notable in these laws are accounts of standard compensation in the case of fines and ransom, with the currency listed being *scillings* and *sceattas*. These are a form of coinage, with a *scilling* being a gold coin and a *sceattas* being silver. The exact ratio of these are not necessarily precise, with different written sources placing different ratios based on numerous factors. Such factors

including the different types of coins (the Wessex laws make mention of *pænnings* for instance), as well as the amount of gold and silver in the coins (Hines, 2010, p. 159).

This system of *scillings* and *sceattas* was not exclusive to the Anglo-Saxon settlements in England, but was also seen on the continent. Contemporary Gothic texts refer to *skatts* and *skilliggs* which have the same etymological roots as *sceattas* and *scillings*. Gothic translation of Roman and Greek texts, such as the Bible, uses *skilliggs* in place of *solidus*, a late Roman gold coin, and *skatts* in place of *denarius*. Both of these were interestingly enough still in use at the time by the Byzantine Empire (Hines, 2010, p. 157). Even in Scandinavia we see correlation. Here the use of *eyrir* or *aurar* was a Norse form of *aureus*, another Roman gold coin. Indeed, the rich gold hoards of Scandinavia in the fifth and sixth century in the Migration Period indicate they had adopted the system potentially as early as the Migration Period (Hines, 2010, p. 162).

This continental bimetallic system is of great interest when examining some of the artefacts of gold and silver from the time. In the Sutton Hoo mound, the great gold buckle was discovered to contain almost exactly the amount of gold that would be, based on the laws mentioned, the standard for the ransom of a Kentish nobleman. Hines argues that many people in a society that used gold and silver on a daily basis as a method of payment would be able to recognise by eye the rough amount of value that was contained in such a buckle (Hines, 2010, p. 167). He goes on to state that this may have also been the case with bichrome style Anglo-Saxon square headed brooches, and with the Scandinavian relief brooch. To take some examples of this, we can examine some of the bichrome style brooches in the collection, namely the Ipswich and Jorenkjøl brooches. Beyond the difference in how the bichrome style is applied, these are two of the most similar that appear in separate regions in the selection. The Ipswich brooch is decorated with bichrome style through the method of applied silver sheeting to the terminal and sidelobes, as well as the corners of the headplate. The Jorenkjøl brooch's bichrome style is applied by not applying gilding, specifically in the centre of the bow disc, on the lobes, and a rectangular panel as well as two triangular panels on the headplate.

In terms of value, there are obvious differences. The brooches are approximately the same size and shape. However, the Jorenkjøl brooch is made of silver, while the Ipswich brooch is gilded copper alloy. Because of this, the weight of the silver on the Jorenkjøl brooch and the Ipswich brooch would be drastically different, and as such, likely of different value. Therefore it must be considered that the correlation between gold and silver on the bichrome brooches might be, if not a coincidence, unrelated to any direct economic system. Yet given the presence of a

similar system for gold to silver rates, which correlate with older law texts from the very beginning of the Migration Period, in both countries, dismissing it as a coincidence might be rash. The usage of mobile objects of gold, like rings, as a method for carrying value on you is not unknown (Amundsen, 2020, p. 55).

Given the potential of such a cross-regional choice of decoration with specific economic motivations as a factor, this is definitively an area worth further research in the future and is of importance to the consideration of the motivation for the development of the style in this thesis. This can be done by calculating the gold and silver amounts by weight in the brooches that employ bichrome style, and look for a common approximate ratio.

#### **4.1.4 Dress and identity**

The application of animal ornamentation on the brooches immediately brings them within the cultural view of the relative societies, and arguably the cosmological view as well (Hedeager, 2011, p. 64). The Migration Period was a time of mobile warrior elites, as noted. These groupings retained, based on the presence of decoration like style 1 animal ornamentation, some form of connectivity across great distances, while also retaining independent nuances to this style. Style 1 and its usage as decoration on the jewellery of the elite would have aided in linking these warrior elites despite the great distances (Hedeager, 2011, p. 58). The relief brooch was a brooch utilised by the elites of the society at the time and, as such, is a perfect example of the wider implication of the use of style 1 as a way of enshrining identity.

The choice of garment and adornment of oneself is a highly conscious choice. While there has been debate about the extent of which the dress a person wears has an impact on the person, or the strength of the signal the dresswear sends to the society around them, they are still understood to be a strong part of the contemporary society. Magdalena Naum states that the elements of ones garments are not, by themselves, exclusively a signal of role in society or a sign of identity. That does not dispute the fact that jewellery and garments can possess factors that speak to the social identity of the user (Naum, 2008, p. 154). It can be argued that the way one presents oneself in a social gathering, or other forms of context where the social aspect is of great importance, are the ones where signalling of identity takes on a greater importance in the persons' dress assemblage (Martin, 2020, p. 882).

This line of study is of great importance to the question of the relief brooches and their development. Their degree of signalling social identity as a highly decorative dress ornamentation helps a great deal towards the discussion of the degree of social interaction between England and Norway. As mentioned above, Naum states that the elements of one's dress assemblage are not by themselves a sign of identity. However, it is worth bearing in mind the degree of decoration and presentation involved in the relief brooches. The front of many of the brooches are highly decorated, with the back being much less so (Pedersen & Kristoffersen, 2018, p. 220). These brooches were not for practical everyday use, but rather for social gatherings and rituals where displaying identity, or signalling one's role in society was of greater importance than practical functionality. As such, the common usage of these brooches would likely have been at feasts, important meetings, and ritual situations such as funerals.

The funerary aspect is worth going into further. One of the most common situations to find brooches in is funerary context. They were common objects to be buried with. Six of the brooches in the selection for this thesis are from burials, and we cannot rule out that many of the stray finds and metal detector finds also originate in burial contexts that have been disturbed by weather, time, or agriculture. It is important to note that the brooches found in the burials, and likely the rest of their assemblage, were by all accounts not made purposefully just for the burial; they were worn throughout their life, and actively used. This can be seen in the physical wear, discernible from damage from excavation and time, that is present on some of the brooches in burial contexts (Kristoffersen, 2006, p. 11). Such wear is of course hard to definitively point to, and can only be said with any kind of certainty in the more well preserved grave finds that have been uncovered cautiously. Burial with them is meant as a way to emphasise the role the person has fulfilled in the society, to ease their way to take their place in the afterlife (Kristoffersen, 2006, p. 11).

Funerary rituals can be regarded with some certainty as social rituals that have multiple participants; not just those mourning, but also the body of the deceased and the items the deceased are buried with. In particular, the non-human objects involved in the mortuary rituals have an impact on the collective perception of the ongoing ritual. The objects' presence as signals of identity for the wearers, including the deceased, helps to ground and establish the ritual in question as part of the collective culture memory of the situation. As a social ritual with many participants where one would likely be prone to recollection, it forms a strong factor in culture memory. Rituals in general, as a way of reinforcing norms and traditions going back generations, are perhaps the strongest contributor to culture memory.

Based on this, we can observe that the relief brooches are a large part of the cultural memory of a society. They function in social contexts, and almost exclusively so given the high degree of ornamentation. These social contexts include important occasions in everyday life, but also mortuary rituals, likely in two regards; definitively as part of the body's apparel when being entombed, but also likely as part of the garments of those observing. This assumes that the mourners at the funeral were of roughly equal social rank as the deceased, and as such had access to clothing of a comparative quality. Taking into account as well the cosmological nature of the animal ornamentation style we see used on the brooches, their role as signifiers of the collective identity of a group cannot be under stressed.

#### **4.1.5 Brooches as part of memory**

As discussed previously, mobility occurs more readily when there is pre-existing knowledge of the region one travels to, and even more so when said pre-existing knowledge comes in the form of kinship bonds. This model would explain the migration of Angles, Saxons, and Jutes to England, but it also proves relevant to bear in mind for the examination of this source material and context. This is especially so due to the way kinships were likely sustained; both through general mobility, but also through marriage alliances for political ties. In a region that was increasingly becoming dominated by fewer, more prominent political power centres, such marriage alliances were likely common. This line of thought has some merit; as mentioned, we know that travel was much more common at the time for those of higher social status.

Marriage alliances of this sort, and general kinship contact between the two social groupings, can also be extrapolated and considered in the model of Assmans culture memory concept. In the context of examining the marriage alliances and how they contribute here, I would argue that the notion of communicative memory is applicable. Logically, there can be overlap between culture memory and communicative memory. So while I retain the opinion, as written, that the relief brooches have merit as being viewed as a cultural text, I believe they also add to the communicative memory of the social groups.

It is commonly stated that while the Migration Period was a time of a very fluid and shifting warrior elites with, potentially, multiple different ethnic and cultural identities, the social identity demonstrated in the female dresswear remains much more homogeneous. It can be theorised that this had a practical merit in the daily lives. If someone travelled as a cause of exogamy, demonstrating their origin through their dresswear and choice of jewellery would

help enforce the tie between the place of origin and the area they now reside in (Røstad, 2021, p. 313). While one may logically make the argument that such a distinct retention of the cultural origin may have bred a sense of otherness, there is little in the archaeological material to indicate this. It is also worth noting that it is an oversimplification to state the dresswear did not change. In fact, it is typical to find an assimilation of new jewellery with those of the individual's origins (Røstad, 2021, p. 311).

Through this mixed usage of old jewellery and new, we can likely extrapolate that it aided in reinforcing the cultural similarity, or at least an improvement of cultural relations between the two target locations. Current relations between two different locations would fall inside the purview of communicative memory for the social group, and a small daily reminder of this would help reinforce that sense of alliance and contact. Even more so, when a part of the attire worn not only aids in the communicative memory but also hints at a mutual, cultural memory and mutual cosmology, in a way being a visual presentation of the connection (Martin, 2020, p. 882). As we discussed in regards to the potential economical motivation behind the bichrome style, there might also be evidence of the brooches working for mutual demonstration of value; one that would further aid in connecting the two regions by merit of mutual cultural and economic systems.

It is also worth taking note of the different “masters” behind the relief brooch style. Certain brooches are regarded as being made by the same individual, and some are regarded as being made by designate masters of the style, based on the similarity of certain brooches and their similar craftsmanship. Being in the possession of one such brooch may have aided in the communicative memory by being a constant reminder of those actively travelling between regions, even when they are not necessarily present. It enforces a broadening of horizons that may not have been present without such cultural markers (Bakka, 1958, p. 32; Meyer, 1934, p. 63).

As noted, mobility in this era can closely be tied to the elites of the society. Furthermore, the relief brooches and great square headed brooches were largely used by the elites as decorative dress ornamentation. This allows us to draw some hypotheses that can aid and influence our conclusion on the topic. First, that the contact between the elite which occurs, and results in the development of the relief brooch style, can definitively be regarded as an exercise in developing and maintaining communicative memory. Secondly, we have to consider and discuss the importance of the female in regards to this social memory and identity. The brooches were a clear representation of the animal ornamentation style, and as Hedeager notes, the animal style



was a mutual identification method for the aristocracy at the time (Hedeager, 2011, p. 58). As such, one can make a persuasive argument that by virtue of the brooches, which are so intrinsically tied to the identity of these regions in the Migration Period, the women using them were one of the dominant factors in the development of the style, as they played important political roles and were not restricted to simply being part of the retinues of the male warrior elite, that have dominated the visual impression of the elite during the Migration Period (Martin, 2020, p. 880, 883).

It should be observed that one could argue that it is craftsmen who determine the style and its development. To an extent, this is certainly true. However, members of society of some note used these brooches. It is not unreasonable to assume they may have been commissioned. The brooches were certainly used actively, and not just for funerary purposes. As such, it is reasonable to assume that the users of the brooches had some input on the visual appearance of the brooches.

## **4.2 Conclusion**

In the material analysis we could observe that the brooches have many similar elements, even at the beginning of the chronology. The overall shapes of the brooches are quite similar, though with enough small nuances to make them distinguishable from one another. The same is true for the decoration; there are numerous similarities between the different brooches and elements of decoration, though there are also significant differences that make them distinguishable from one another. The form of the animals in the style 1 decoration in particular shows various differences in their visual appearance. The animal elements in the Norwegian part of the material are often part of interweaving patterns that are less even in their twists and turns than their English counterparts. The English style 1 decoration on the other hand tends to emphasise symmetrical lines, even weaving patterns, and parts of animals, like heads and limbs which are somewhat separated from the rest of the decoration on display. Gilding remains the norm on the brooches, and the flanking zoomorphic figures remain a common theme on all the brooches regardless of region, making them some of the few elements that do not appear to have a practical function and yet remain consistent in their presence.

The development of the brooches matches the chronology of contact between Norway and England in the Migration Period. As we near the end of the Migration Period, the amount of brooches found overall is decreased, as is the area in which they are found. This matches the

concentration of power during the latter part of the Migration Period. Moreover, the style of the relief brooch and the Anglo-Saxon great square headed brooch becomes increasingly homogenous, indicating a greater degree of influence exerted on the different respective areas by the other.

By being markers for social identity, the brooches also function as part of the cultural and communicative memory of the relevant groups. I would argue that they fill the role as both physical manifestation of the communicative memory and the role of cultural text for the sake of culture memory. This can most strongly be seen with the Jorenkjøl brooch. As noted, style 1 has been theorised to be a way that the elite of the early Migration Period showed a general mutual identity. Style 2 has been theorised to be more uniform, precisely to place an even stronger emphasis at the mutual parts of their identity at the expense of individualistic elements to the decoration. These two factors are self reinforcing. An early indication of joint bonds become reinforced with usage over time, to the point where the joint element becomes the predominant one. This is an example of how communicative memory, and cultural text, reinforces each other to become culture memory. As the Jorenkjøl brooch falls in the very latest part of the style 1 animal ornamentation it provides the perfect example of how the brooches, being strong representatives of the animal style, represent part of the culture memory of the people of the Migration Period, across regional barriers.

The implications of the bichrome elements of the brooches are a topic that could require further study. That being said, the early indications of the type of decorations and how they may be indicative of an economic system do lend themselves as further strong arguments for contact between the two regions. Moreover, the way the brooches become more similar, particularly with the latter part of the chronology presenting brooches that are all quite similar, and all appear to have had bichrome decoration, speaks to the bichrome style potentially being a factor in the increasing homogenisation of the brooches. As an economic motive, this presents another argument for the development of the style being due to increased contact.

Relief brooches and their Anglo-Saxon variant were fundamentally part of the dress ornamentation of the elite during the Migration Period. Said elite consisted largely of warrior aristocrats and their retinues, which were highly mobile and identified as part of a larger collective that still retained individual differences between tribes.

Based on what has been examined in this thesis, we can therefore conclude that there is a large likelihood of the brooches having developed due to the contact that existed between Norway

and England in the Migration Period. This contact would undergo changes as the different power centres became more centralised and less fluent, and the development of the style of brooches mimics this higher degree of uniformity and a lesser degree of distribution. This conclusion has partially been drawn before by others, though it is added to here with the element of cultural memory and the role the relief brooch may have played as a part of the social memory of different groups. As such, their development would be a direct causation of the increased contact and social interaction between England and Norway. This in turn helps reinforce and provide structure to the different groups as the brooches would have been one of many anchors tying the separate regions together through mutual ideological and cosmological views.

Further providing structure is the possibility of the bichrome style, and its theoretical usage as a direct representation of value. This remains a hypothesis and requires further study, but the greater degree of uniformity in the brooches and similar brooches also incorporating bichrome style across the sea does lend this theory credence.

The role of women in the usage of the brooches should not go unstated or underappreciated. As the brooches may very well have been commissioned, the choice of decoration and overall shape may be a conscious choice from the user. As it has been noted that it is not uncommon from women that travel as part of marriage alliances to retain part of their own cultural attire, while also incorporating jewellery from their new home, a development of style on the brooches as a choice from the user does seem increasingly likely. Furthermore, it brings the theory of the bichrome style into an interesting direction in terms of the financial aspect, and women's role in the contemporary society. It would imply that, if the Sutton Hoo belt buckle were a visual indication of the "value" of the owner, then so too would the brooches in question that demonstrate bichrome style be a depiction of the owners "value". As the brooches were used with frequency, this would be a strong statement of worth which would be difficult not to take note of.

As such, development of the relief brooch style can be said to be a direct cause of the interaction between Norwegian and English groups in the Migration Period, as the brooch played a role as a social and cultural text to help define identity, and potentially as a practical economical statement. Furthermore, the degree of contact between them to cause such a degree of homogenisation speak to potential close kinship ties which enables mobility, and a system of wealth not only centred on the stereotypical male warrior elite, but also the noblewomen of the society.

## **Bibliography**

Note regarding the references: Martin Furholt's text from 2021 does not have page numbers in the article. My references in the text refer to which numerical page it appears on in his article, though beyond following the number of pages listed in the PDF document, there is no easier way to look this up.

### **References in the text**

Amundsen, Marie Dave. (2020) *Glimrende Gull: En utforskendestudie av gull fra folkevandringstid i Rogaland, Vestfold og Østfold*. Phd thesis. Oslo, Norway: University of Oslo.

Anthony, David W. (1990) Migration in Archaeology: The Baby and the Bathwater, *American Anthropologist* 92, p. 895-914.

Assmann, Jan. (2006) *Religion and Cultural Memory*. Stanford, United Kingdom: Stanford University Press.

Assmann, Jan. (2008) 'Communicative and Cultural Memory', in Erll, Astrid and Nünning, Ansgar (ed.) *Cultural Memory Studies. An International and Interdisciplinary Handbook*. Berlin, Germany: De Gruyter, p. 109-118

Bakka, Egil. (1958) *On the beginning of Salin's Style I in England*. Bergen, Norway: A.S John Griegs Boktrykkeri

Bakka, Egil. (1973) Goldbrakteaten in norwegischen Grabfunden: Datierungsfragen, *Frühmittelalterliche studie, 7. Band, Jahrbuch des Institutes für Frühmittelalterforschung der Universität Münster*, p. 53-87

Brugmann, Birte. (2020) Migration and Endogenous Change, in Hamerow, Helena, Hinton, David A., and Crawford, Sally (ed.) *The Oxford Handbook of Anglo-Saxon Archaeology*. Great Clarendon Street, Oxford, United Kingdom: Oxford University Press, p. 30-45

Burmeister, Stefan. (2000) Archaeology and Migration: Approaches to Archaeological Proof of Migration, *Current Anthropology*, volume 41, number 4, August-October, p. 539-567.

Burmeister, Stefan. (2016) Archaeological Research on Migration as a Multidisciplinary Challenge, *Medieval Worlds*, no. 4, p. 42-64. DOI: 10.1553/medievalworlds\_no4\_2016s42

Furholt, Martin. (2021) Mobility and Social Change: Understanding the European Neolithic Period after the Archaeogenetic Revolution, *Journal of Archaeological Research*, 4<sup>th</sup> of January. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10814-020-09153-x>

Green, Barbara & Rogerson, Andrew. (1978) *East Anglian Archaeology: Norfolk, Bergh Apton*. Report no. 7. Wade-Martins, Peter (ed.). Dereham, Norfolk, United Kingdom: The Norfolk Archaeological Unit.

Hedeager, Lotte. (2011) *Iron Age Myth and Materiality: An Archaeology of Scandinavia AD 400-1000*. 2 Park Square, Abingdon, England: Routledge.

Hines, John. (1984) *The Scandinavian Character of Anglian England in the pre-Viking Period*. 122 Banbury Road, Oxford OX2 7BP, England: BAR (British Archaeological Reports) British Series 124.

Hines, John. (1993) *Clasps: Hektespenner: Agraffen- Anglo-Scandinavian Clasps of Classes A-C of the 3<sup>rd</sup> to 6<sup>th</sup> centuries A.D. Typology, Diffusion and Function*. Stockholm, Sweden: Kungl. Vitterhets Historie Och Antikvitets Akademien.

Hines, John. (1997) *A New Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Great Square-Headed Brooches*. The Boydell Press, Woodbridge, United Kingdom: The Society of Antiquaries of London.

Hines, John. (2010) Units of Account in Gold and Silver in seventh-century England: *Scillingas, Sceattas and Pæningas*, *The Antiquaries Journal* 90, p. 153-73.

Kristoffersen, Elna Siv. (1999) Migration Period chronology in Norway, in Hines, John, Nielsen, Karen Høilund, and Siegmund, Frank (ed.) *The Pace of Change: Studies in Early-medieval Chronology*. Park End Place, Oxford OX1 1HN, United Kingdom: Oxbow Books, p. 93-114.

Kristoffersen, Elna Siv. (2006) *Kvinnedrakten fra Rogaland i folkevandringstid*. N-4002 Stavanger, Norway: Arkeologisk museum i Stavanger.

Kristoffersen, Elna Siv & Røstad, Ingunn Marit. (2020) Spenner i overgangstid: Sene småspenner i den turbulente overgangen mellom eldre og yngre jernalder, *VIKING, Norsk arkeologisk håndbok* 83, p. 13-33. DOI: <http://dx.doi.org/10.5617/viking.8244>

Loveluck, Chris & Tys, Dries. (2006) Coastal societies, exchange and identity along the Channel and southern North Sea shores of Europe, AD 600-1000, *Journal of Maritime Archaeology*, vol. 1, No. 2, December, p. 140-169. Stable URL: <https://www.jstor.org/stable/23747350>

Martin, Toby. (2020) Casting the Net Wider: Network Approaches to Artefact Variation in Post-Roman Europe, *Journal of Archaeological Method and Theory*, 27, p. 861-886. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10816-019-09441-x>

Meyer, Eva Nissen. (1934) *Reliefspenner i Norden*. Bergen, Norway: University of bergen, Bergens Museums Årbok, Historisk-Antikvarisk rekke Nr.4

Naum, Magdalena. (2008) *Homelands lost and gained: Slavic migration and settlement on Bornholm in the early Middle Ages*. Lund University, Sweden: W&D, Lund.

Pedersen, Unn. (2015) På den andre siden – smykkehandverket bak Dalemspenner, in Hedeager, Lotte and Forseth, Lars (ed.) *Dalemfunnet*. Oslo, Norway: Kulturhistorisk Museum, University of Oslo.

Pedersen, Unn & Kristoffersen, Elna Siv. (2018) A Scandinavian Relief Brooch: Artistic Vision and Practical Method Combined, *Medieval Archaeology*, 20<sup>th</sup> of December, p. 219-235. DOI: 10.1080/00766097.2018.1535384

Reiter, Samantha S. & Frei, Karin M. (2019) Interpreting Past Human Mobility Patterns: A Model, *European Journal of Archaeology*, vol. 22, issue 4, p. 454-469. DOI: 10.1017/ea.2019.35

Richardson, Lorna-Jane & Booth, Tom. (2017) Response to 'Brexit, Archaeology and Heritage: Reflection and Agendas', *Papers from the Institute of Archaeology*, vol. 27, issue 1, art 25, p. 1-5. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.5334/pia-545>

Røstad, Ingunn Marit. (2021) *The Language of Jewellery: Dress-accessories and Negotiations of Identity in Scandinavia, c. AD 400-650/700*. N-0055 Oslo, Norway: Cappelen Damm Akademisk/ NOASP.

Sahlins, Marshal. (2013) *What Kinship is – And Is Not*. Chicago 60637, USA: The University of Chicago press.

Salin, Bernhard. (1905) *Die Altgermanische Thierornamentik: Typologische Studie über Germanische Metallgegenstände aus dem IV. Bis IX Jahrhundert, nebst einer Studie über Irische Ornamentik*. Stockholm, Sweden: K. L. Beckmans Buchdruckerei.

Sjøvold, Thorleif. (1993) *The Scandinavian Relief Brooches of the Migration Period: An Attempt at a new Classification*. Kirstes Paste Up A/S, Oslo, Norway: Institutt for arkeologi, kunsthistorie og numismatikk, Oldsaksamlingen Oslo.

#### **Image sources:**

Colchester + Ipswich Museums (No date of publishing listed) *IPSMG:R.1907.29.6* Accessible from: <https://cim-web.adlibhosting.com/ais6/Details/collect/35972> (Accessed on April 4<sup>th</sup> 2022)

Green, Barbara & Rogerson, Andrew. (1978) *East Anglian Archaeology: Norfolk, Bergh Apton*. Report no. 7. Wade-Martins, Peter (ed.), p. 79. Dereham, Norfolk, United Kingdom: The Norfolk Archaeological Unit.

Portable Antiquities Scheme: [www.finds.org.uk](http://www.finds.org.uk) (2011) *Brooch: FAHG-7B3D73* Accessible from: <https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/268390> (Accessed on January 11<sup>th</sup> 2022)

Portable Antiquities Scheme: [www.finds.org.uk](http://www.finds.org.uk) (2019) *Brooch: YORYM: F0C9C7* Accessible from: <https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/635658> (Accessed on January 11<sup>th</sup> 2022)

Portable Antiquities Scheme: [www.finds.org.uk](http://www.finds.org.uk) (2020a) *Brooch: LIN-7AC173* Accessible from: <https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/853217> (Accessed on January 11<sup>th</sup> 2022).



Portable Antiquities Scheme: [www.finds.org.uk](http://www.finds.org.uk) (2020b) *Brooch: NCL-73A081* Accessible from: <https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/406934> (Accessed on January 11<sup>th</sup> 2022).

Portable Antiquities Scheme: [www.finds.org.uk](http://www.finds.org.uk) (2020c) *Brooch: KENT-3A7463* Accessible from: <https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/129594> (Accessed on January 11<sup>th</sup> 2022)

Portable Antiquities Scheme: [www.finds.org.uk](http://www.finds.org.uk) (2021a) *Brooch: BUC-F2BD87* Accessible from: <https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/1023608> (Accessed on January 11<sup>th</sup> 2022).

Portable Antiquities Scheme: [www.finds.org.uk](http://www.finds.org.uk) (2021b) *Brooch: NLM-EA4E56* Accessible from: <https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/1015841> (Accessed on January 11<sup>th</sup> 2022)

UniMus (2020a) S8607 – *Spenne* Accessible from: <https://www.unimus.no/portal/#/things/b5ef7df4-e50c-4de9-b93c-356ea1353727> (Accessed on January 12<sup>th</sup> 2022)

UniMus (2020b) S6970 – *Spenne* Accessible from: <https://www.unimus.no/portal/#/things/f1051a99-5928-48d2-b9ae-d4a851b85b46> (Accessed on January 13<sup>th</sup> 2022)

UniMus (2020c) B6516 – *Spænde* Accessible from: <https://www.unimus.no/portal/#/things/379df626-6163-4334-9510-5a960465b444> (Accessed on January 13<sup>th</sup> 2022)

UniMus (2020d) B9688 – *Relieffspenne* Accessible from:  
<https://www.unimus.no/portal/#/things/f304ff11-7b40-4cf9-9b7a-3a5a6c11fdaa> (Accessed on  
January 13<sup>th</sup> 2022)

UniMus (2020e) S440 – *Spenne* Accessible from  
<https://www.unimus.no/portal/#/things/a8e65174-5360-4ecb-bc7b-657e862c0388> (Accessed  
on January 13<sup>th</sup> 2022)

UniMus (2020f) S8080 – *Spenne* Accessible from  
<https://www.unimus.no/portal/#/things/de51c8fb-1f15-485c-8f48-098c0d568faf> (Accessed on  
January 13<sup>th</sup> 2022)

UniMus (2021a) B564 – *Spænde* Accessible from:  
<https://www.unimus.no/portal/#/things/78cbc25d-ff55-4d8b-9ffb-282eff3ed116> (Accessed on  
January 13<sup>th</sup> 2022)

UniMus (2021b) S1969 – *Spenne* Accessible from:  
<https://www.unimus.no/portal/#/things/ae48d967-7081-4735-a0db-5291fb95b4ed> (Accessed  
on January 13<sup>th</sup> 2022)

UniMus (2021c) S2451 – *Spenne* Accessible from:  
<https://www.unimus.no/portal/#/things/e8c6c7b8-c339-4b9c-8ad7-c124dbc4d77f> (Accessed  
on January 13<sup>th</sup> 2022)

UniMus (2021d) S2772 – *Spenne* Accessible from  
<https://www.unimus.no/portal/#/things/bff982ef-d26b-4f88-b27a-4603f6b4c1de> (Accessed on  
January 13<sup>th</sup> 2022)

VADS collection (No date of publishing listed) *square headed brooch* Accessible from:  
<https://www.vads.ac.uk/digital/collection/ARTWORLD/id/109/> (Accessed on January 12<sup>th</sup>  
2022)