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Redigeret af

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LINDHOLD

Long

May 2. 1966. Alpine flowers and Herbs in Grindelwald

A Case Study for Some Geocryological Aspects

of the Alpine Tundra in the Swiss Alps

Heinz W. Tanner, Spizelstrasse 14, CH-3600 Brugg

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FORORD

Siden 1982 har der hvert år været holdt en temadag på universiteterne i Odense, Århus og København om emner inden for vikingetidens sprog, kultur og historie. I 1990 sluttede Kiels Universitet sig til rækken af arrangementer, og i 1991 fik Odense Universitet – hvor det hele begyndte – lov til at holde det tiende tværfaglige vikingesymposium som et led i den række af jubilæumsarrangementer, der markerede universitetets femogtyve års fødselsdag.

Vikingedagen begyndte med en vigylie, idet Sir David M. Wilson, London, gav en forelæsning, 'The British Museum and Politics', den 23. maj 1991 i rækken af det humanistiske fakultets jubilæumsforelæsninger, mens selve vikingedagen omfattede en forelæsning af forskningsstipendiat Neil S. Price, York, og museumschef Henrik M. Jansen, Svendborg, samt en arkæologisk ekskursion til Langeskov, Lundeborg, Gudme og Svendborg under ledelse af Henrik M. Jansen. Ekskursionen var vellykket og opfyldte på bedste måde sin hensigt: at illustrere formiddagens forelæsning om den fynske jernalder og vikingetid. Symposiet var aldrig blevet til virkelighed, hvis arrangørerne ikke endnu engang havde fundet velvillig opmuntning og støtte hos Odense Universitets rektor, dr. Carl Th. Pedersen, det humanistiske fakultets dekan, Henrik Tvarnø, British Council ved direktør Michael Holcroft, museumschef Erland Porsmose, Kerteminde, museumsinspektør Per Thomsen og den øvrige stab ved Svendborg og Omegns Museer. En særlig tak skylder vi Kirsten Albjerg, som har færdiggjort manuskriptene fra dagens indslag til trykning.

Hans Bekker-Nielsen

Hans Frede Nielsen

LORROD

1883 per der jacti in aucti pobje ne excepse la cunaleucie i
Oquene. Aucti go Kopenpala oer cunale tagede toe Alkmaegehoues d'gou
tunne go mizone. 1780 simech. Kier University gis in kijfgen in aucti
sunt go 1700. 1701 of Oquene C'vicerie - pobje des reke gebedde - vol II
joods go leage te Alkmae. Alkmae? wobet? zon te jef? ges 1750
luchtvaartvereniging, oer wachterde nivatizisie lemodrake si
topspede.

Afleidung oer beveide weg en allee, dat Sir David W. Wilson, London
gaan te houdseinge, 't's Pijn Mezen van Huyne', doo 25. mei 1881.
Asffor te de houtenuse kele vleide loppenusse leusse, mers sey
winkelschate oufgrond en jouten van de totfamme hougaai Nell's. Finc
't'oe' te waachmeyd Herdy M. (present Saugpold) sunt su mosegoed
skeezien in Frederik, Landgoed. Ondergoet aengood munt hofjes in
Hemp M. (present) De houtenuse dat vleillae of olydie te p'steue weds
zu p'steue si houten toomgheden dat jouten (wreke) dat aengood munt
vlyngsche. Sandgeste art slach p'laet in aigch'gou, dat aengood munt
cogen. Cogen p'lae houtel leavallig obmuurde de stote los Oquene
Universitatis lector, de City of London dat houtenuse ts'goets getau
hovey J. (now (gijmer Comer) dat houtel Mysen) Hof, of; Universitatis
lyng Gouwes, Kestumhuis, muscumhuisdeur. Met lopende de gen
auctie - tap aec S'cropsort of Oquene Marsch. In sette t'st'jifiers al
Kunsta Aipelt, souw bestangsalen woonkleding in de houten houtzel

Plaafing

Hans Peter Visscher

Hans Peter Visscher

VIKING ARMIES AND FLEETS IN BRITTANY A CASE STUDY FOR SOME GENERAL PROBLEMS

Neil S. Price

In the popular imagination - and to some extent in the academic one - the image conjured up by the word 'Viking' is almost invariably one of violence. The old stereotype Viking (with or without horned helmet) can still be seen in countless films and books, descending in his ship on unsuspecting villages, slaughtering monks by the dozen, carrying off women and children, and laying waste vast regions. Over the last few decades Viking scholarship has rightly moved away from these violent preoccupations, broadening our picture of Viking Age Scandinavia as archaeology continues to demonstrate the scale of the Vikings' artistic and mercantile achievements. We now see the Vikings as craftworkers, traders and poets rather than the murderous (but rather glamorous) barbarians of the romantic movement. Though this is undoubtedly a more balanced view, from an English perspective it seems to me that we have almost lost sight of the violent side of the Vikings. In so doing I believe that we have not just neglected an aspect of their culture, but more importantly that we have introduced a confusing bias into our conception of the Viking world.

The problem, as I see it, centres on the question of terminology: briefly, what do we mean by 'Viking'? I have discussed this issue elsewhere in print and in

lectures (Price 1989, 1990 and 1991), and do not wish to repeat myself here, but it seems clear to me that there are a range of definitions operating at several levels. Some, like those of Brøndsted (1965, ch. 15), are attempts to discover how the Vikings saw themselves; others, such as Wormald's (1982, 133-134) rest on a defining characteristic of culture, imposed from outside by modern scholars. This question of imposed categories is an important one, for in our selection of such analytical tools we are consciously affecting the dataset from which we work. Similarly any attempt to employ the Vikings' own categories of self-definition, which they articulated and were aware of, necessarily structures our research in a different way. I believe we must take a distinction between Viking as an adjective and as a noun, between the process and the people: we may explore the Vikings as individuals through their defining participation in a process. We are not dealing with two groups of Scandinavians - those who have never been Vikings and those who are - but three, for we must also analyse what happens to those Vikings who later become something else. We must discover what that 'something else' is, and what ideological baggage these former Vikings carry with them. It quickly becomes apparent that in giving different definitions to these three groups and their relationship to the wider framework of society, we arrive at very different models for Scandinavian society in the Viking Age.

I believe that the answers to many of these questions lie in the armies and fleets so often referred to in our documentary sources. The purpose of this paper is to look a little closer at some aspects of these forces, particularly from an archaeological perspective, and to suggest some possible lines of future enquiry. I will be looking at a wide range of evidence, but I wish to draw particularly on my earlier work in Brittany (Price 1989), examining the various Viking operations and activities there during the ninth to eleventh centuries. I shall be focusing especially on the leadership and command

structures of the armies, their organisation and composition, logistics and supply systems, and the ideology behind their actions.

It is appropriate to begin with the main body of work undertaken on the armies to date, namely the great debate as to the relative sizes of Viking fleets, and with the arguments put forward by Peter Sawyer and Nicholas Brooks. Sawyer's theory, published in his book *The Age of the Vikings* (1971), was a radical re-think of our assumptions about Viking armies, what they represented and their effects on the populations they encountered. He questioned the uncritical acceptance of contemporary written accounts of the large size of Viking forces, numbering hundreds of ships and thousands of men, analysing the terminology of the sources and comparing them with provably unreliable later Medieval accounts of armies and battles. Sawyer's conclusions that Viking armies numbered at most 1000 men, and more usually 300-400, were hotly refuted by Nicholas Brooks (1979). He argued that the general consistency of European sources in their description of army sizes should be taken into account, especially as the same armies campaigned in England, Ireland and on the Continent. Brooks drew distinctions between seasonal and permanent armies, arguing that large numbers of men were necessary for an over-wintering strategy to succeed. Both Sawyer and Brooks argued that the armies did not build fortifications in any quantity - Sawyer because he believed that small forces could not defend them, and Brooks because he favoured the use of captured Anglo-Saxon defended sites and the refurbishment of Roman walls. It is not possible here to give anything more than this brief summary of the Sawyer-Brooks debate, but I wish to devote the bulk of the paper to an examination of their arguments in the light of recent evidence, particularly from Brittany.

I wish first to turn to the question of winter bases and fortifications.

Archaeological work over the last decade has demonstrated conclusively that the Vikings did construct defended enclosures in Europe, and a closer examination of them can greatly illuminate the nature of the armies. The principal site in this context is that of Repton in Derbyshire, mentioned in the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* as the location of a winter base of a Danish army from 873-874, and excavated in the late 70s and early 80s by Martin Biddle and his team. While investigating the Anglo-Saxon church on the site, situated on a bluff above an old course of the river Trent, Biddle found a deeply-cut ditch, the north edge of which linked up with the east end of the church. Subsequent remote sensing survey and trial excavation revealed this to be part of a D-shaped ditch and robbed-out rampart enclosing an area of 1.4 hectares along the river bank, with the church forming a fortified gateway at the centre. Several burials were located north of the church, with grave goods of weapons, combs, jewellery such as Thor's hammer amulets, and small groups of coins datable to 873-875 (i.e. exactly matching the date of the army's over-wintering recorded in the *Chronicle*). Outside the ditch to the west were a series of low mounds, in which Antiquarian investigations in the seventeenth to nineteenth centuries were recorded as finding a 'stone room' filled with bodies surrounding a central stone coffin containing the body of a 'giant'. Biddle's excavation of the largest mound revealed the foundations of a large masonry structure bounded by a stone curb, and containing two rooms, one of which was packed with disarticulated bone. The structure seems to have originally been a royal mausoleum of the Mercian dynasty, and to have been re-used in the Viking period for a mass burial. The bones were those of 249 individuals, 80% male and 20% female, with only 4 children and perhaps 19 teenagers. All the male skeletons were very robust, with evidence for developed musculature and several healed injuries. It is clear, however, that the people did not die of weapon injuries and were not battle casualties as originally thought, but in fact probably died of disease. Finds of similar type

to those found in the burials near the church, including coins, dated the mass burial to 873-875. It therefore seems an inescapable conclusion that the bones represent the remains of part of the Danish Viking army over-wintering at Repton in 873-874. A small part of the deposit had not been disturbed by earlier Antiquarians, and from this it was possible to tell that originally the bones had been stacked in charnel fashion, with long-bones and skulls separated in neat piles radiating out from a central point. Biddle has suggested that there was a central burial in a stone cyst grave, perhaps that of a leader of the army (Biddle 1986; Hall 1990). The circumstances of the construction of the mound, and the finds associated with the deposit suggest an elaborate pagan ritual element in the burial of the bodies. The site is to be published shortly.

Repton raises several interesting issues. Detailed discussion of the burial deposit, itself of immense importance as the only surviving sample of a viking force, must wait until the final report is available, but one fact of particular importance may be noted. The male and female skeletons appear to be of different ethnic origin, the men exhibiting physiognomy of Scandinavian type while the women are of typical Anglo-Saxon stock. The questions this raises will be discussed below, but it certainly suggests that the Scandinavians in the army were exclusively male.

The defensive circuit itself offers many more possibilities, and it is here that we may turn to Brittany and other areas of Viking activity. At Péran, near St. Brieuc in northern Brittany, the CNRS have recently excavated a circular earthwork with a 4m rampart and ditch, dated by pottery to the Viking period. The fortification was a substantial one, the rampart being composed of stone and clay with a timber lattice, from the vitrification of which it is clear that the fort was destroyed by fire. Among the destruction debris were found

weapons of Scandinavian type and a coin minted at York c.905-925 (Nicolardot 1984-1987). Documentary sources refer to a battle between Bretons and Vikings at a fort in this area in 936 (Price 1989, 55-58), and it is likely that the Camp de Péran is a Viking base similar to Repton. A second example exists in Brittany at Trans, with similar finds and dating, again with a documentary reference to a battle in the same location. Further afield, another recorded Viking winter camp has been excavated at Oust-Souburg in Frisia (named as Walcheren in contemporary sources; Trimpe Burger 1973, Sawyer 1982). Although probably built as part of a chain of Flemish coastal forts and later occupied by a Scandinavian army, Souburg, like the other sites, can still give us an idea of the amount of space required to house an army, which we can use as an independent check on the historical sources.

We know very little about the interior of such bases - at Repton modern buildings prevented excavation inside the circuit, and at Péran only ephemeral traces of structures were found - but it is instructive to compare the enclosed area with that of Roman marching camps, for which we have both excellent excavated plans and also documentary records of their garrisons. The marching camps were designed for temporary occupation and to make maximum use of space, and we know from the military engineering manuals of Polybius and Hyginus that a ratio of 740 men per hectare was the norm, with a full legionary strength of 5500 men (this has been confirmed archaeologically in the excavations at Rey Cross, Westmorland and other sites: Frere 1987, ch. 10). On this basis we may calculate very roughly the capacity of the known Viking fortifications: Repton (1.4 ha) could accommodate 1050 men; Péran (3.7 ha), 2740 men; Walcheren (1.8 ha), 1330 men; Trans (0.7 ha), 520 men. It must be remembered that these figures represent the maximum possible capacity of the enclosures, as the calculations

reflect forced march conditions for a disciplined Roman legion; in a permanent legionary fortress, a ratio of up to 270 men per hectare was allowed. In a Viking context, if more relaxed spacing operated, and if many non-combatants, horses and stores were present, the capacity of the enclosures is considerably reduced. If this is taken into account, the estimates for Repton and Walcheren are in almost complete accord with Sawyer's model of a large Viking force of up to 1000 men. Péran may have been a more permanent base linked to the occupation of Brittany, and thus suitable for a larger host, and Trans probably housed the shattered remnants of the Viking army after their defeat in an earlier battle (Price 1989, 45-48).

The range of possible Viking bases may be extended further when one considers the number of enclosures which have unproven Scandinavian associations, but which remain unexcavated. In England these include Tempsford, Thorney, Shillington, Wimblington, Willington, Arlesey and Longstock; Continental sites include the chain of Flemish forts and the enclosure excavated in 1987 at Duisburg in the Ruhrgebiet. The location of known earthworks corresponds closely with the movements of the major armies as recorded in documents such as the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, and a further, archaeological, check is available to us in the form of economic data. James Graham-Campbell and Nicholas Brooks (1986) have compared the pattern of dated coin hoard deposition with the path taken by the Great Army of Danes on its English campaign and have discovered that there is an almost exact correlation of the two, suggesting that the documentary record is of considerable accuracy.

Although the fortifications may tell us much about the size and operating patterns of the armies; for information as to their command structure and organisation we must largely turn to historical sources, although I will argue

that these have not been exploited to the full. Much has already been written about the true nature of the 'kings' often referred to as leaders of Viking armies (cf. Brooks 1979, Sawyer 1982 and 1989), and the political context of the main raids, but the question of exact leadership networks remains. It is here that reference to the Breton situation is particularly instructive, for the history of Viking contact with the region does not follow the pattern common to much of Europe. As a starting point we may consider the documentary references to Viking activity in Brittany, and especially those which mention the names of Scandinavian commanders. When one maps the geographical movements and campaigns of individual commanders clear patterns emerge of small fleets operating principally in a single river system each year, and larger fleets harrying whole regions. By working on the basis of individual commanders, we can see the division and reformation of raiding fleets expressed in pictorial form, which may be matched to estimates of fleet size. (The full series of commander movement maps is published in Price 1989, ch. 2.) The mobility of Viking operations also becomes particularly apparent, for example in the career of Godfred who campaigns on the Loire, Seine, Scheldt and Rhine from 851-855. We may also trace the movement of small groups of ships' companies under the command of lesser captains, transferring allegiance from one larger conglomeration of vessels to another. When we plot the length of time spent operating in France by each commander over the century from 850-950, a further pattern emerges. It becomes immediately apparent that there are three phases of Viking operations, as has frequently been suggested for other spheres of Scandinavian military activity (especially England), but a closer look reveals that they are of unusual character. As in England, we initially see a phase of short-term, seasonal raids with several different commanders operating with small fleets, from 850-c.865. This is followed by a period of major Viking activity with large armies remaining in the field all year, for a long period,

sometimes decades, under the overall command of a very few individuals; this is the period of the Great Army and the foundation of the Duchy of Normandy. It is in the final phase that the divergence from the common pattern occur, for although we apparently see a repeat of the first phase of minor raids, all of the activity is confined to Brittany. I have suggested that this may be explained by the lack of targets elsewhere for true Viking activity (as opposed to conquest and settlement), in the context of the growing power bases of York, Dublin and Normandy. The Vikings in Brittany are politically and militarily without allies, and it is from an examination of the nature of their invasion and occupation of the region that we may gain valuable information about the structure of the army.

From the point of view of chroniclers outside Brittany, such as Flodoard, we know that Brittany was overrun in 914 by a large fleet commanded Óttarr and Hróaldr, and then occupied by a Norwegian host under the control of Rögnvaldr. After a brief and unsuccessful Breton rebellion in 931, in which a Viking commander called Felekan is killed, Brittany remains under Viking domination, ruled by one Incon, until an army of Breton exiles lands in 936 and regains the province over the next three years. From the beginning the nature of the invasion seems strange and anachronistic. Flodoard describes the land as depopulated and utterly laid waste, the monasteries destroyed and the people either fled abroad or enslaved. Even allowing for exaggeration, it is clear that the invasion was unusually savage. From 914 onwards the annals are silent, and the only documentary records that we have of the period of Viking occupation are descriptions of the state of Brittany as the Breton army of liberation found it on their return in 936. There are no references to agrarian settlement or trade, no mention of maintenance of any kind of industry. The Breton Vikings make several raids deep into Neustria, sometimes in alliance with the Vikings of the Seine, but otherwise no activity.

The picture grows more unusual when one reads the accounts of the liberation of Nantes by the Breton army in 937. The streets of the once thriving city are choked with refuse and vegetation, the houses stand deserted, and the Basilica of St Felix is so overgrown that the Breton leader has to cut his way to the door with his sword. Again, we may be seeing poetic exaggeration, but surely with a kernel of truth. Unfortunately, we do not have sufficient archaeological evidence to confirm or refute this picture. The Breton army encounters Viking groups dispersed throughout northern Brittany, implying a scattered settlement, apparently looting buildings and churches at will; this is supported by a reference to the uprising of 931 in which we are told the Vikings have to travel to Nantes for a general assembly.

The contrast of this picture with, for example, what we know of York under Scandinavian control, is obvious and striking. I have argued that this may be explained if we see the occupying army as a true Viking force, in effect a raiding fleet that stays in one place. By the second decade of the tenth century, the opportunities for real Viking activity were declining, and it may be possible that Rögnvaldr gathered many men to him who did not wish to settle down or to return to Scandinavia, and attacked the last sizeable target in Europe - Brittany. Such a situation would certainly have been welcomed by the Franks, as it would set their two principle enemies, the Bretons and the Vikings, at each other's throats. If this model is correct, and I do not believe that it is inconsistent with any of the evidence, then in Brittany we have a unique chance to observe a particular type of Viking force.

We may now turn to more specific issues of logistics, supplies and leadership. The question of organisation and supply of Viking forces, and their maintenance in the field over many years, has long been a problem. Briefly, I wish to argue that it would not have been possible to field and

preserve the integrity of a major Viking force in a hostile territory without the active co-operation of several sectors of the indigenous community (in connection with this, it is worth giving thought to the problems of language and communication which may have been present). There is abundant evidence for this. In the Vikings' English and French campaigns, we have two explicit documentary references which shed light on this, both from the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*. In 865, the year the Great Army first came to England, we are told that they made peace with the people of East Anglia and were supplied with horses, and in 893 in Boulogne, the army is supplied with ships. The terminology is clear, and in neither account is there any suggestion of coercion. In this context we may also mention the apparent presence of large numbers of English women in the Repton burial deposit, and from this we may argue that the size of Viking armies may be larger than Sawyer's estimates, because it may be unlikely that non-combatants and horses were brought with the fleets from Scandinavia. In any case, the existence of long-range reconnaissance and prearranged lines of supply and communication must surely be likely. The evidence from Brittany can be illuminating in this respect. In their political and military isolation, and given the unusually violent nature of the occupation, it would not be surprising if the Breton Vikings' access to external supply sources was limited. In line with this, a number of shields have been excavated from a pagan Scandinavian burial mound on the Ile de Groix, dated to the first half of the tenth century, which have no known parallel. It may well be that they represent products of smiths travelling with the Viking army, and it would certainly be sensible for a mobile fighting force to have repair facilities for its weapons.

As for supplies of foodstuffs, we may cite not only the evidence for local collaboration with Vikings, but also the recorded instances of supplies forming the main element of Danegeld payments made by Charles the Bald.

We may also turn to environmental data for information of considerable sophistication on Viking supply systems. It will certainly be possible to recover the Viking impact on the agricultural environment through a comprehensive programme of coring, as has been carried out with major success in the context of Roman agrarian devastation in the Low countries (Groenman-van Waateringe 1983). By comparing the environmental profiles at known Viking bases and surrounding Anglo-Saxon settlements we should be able to detect any Scandinavian articulation of agricultural surpluses in order to maintain the armies. I have recently begun a programme of this kind, but the project is at too early a stage to be able to present meaningful results yet.

In Brittany we see considerable evidence for native involvement in the operations of the army. As in many parts of the Celtic west, particularly Wales and Ireland, Vikings played a major role as external agents in internal politics. They were frequently hired as mercenaries during the reign of Salomon, and we sometimes see situations of extraordinary complexity involving numerous factions; a prime example of this is the campaign of 862 in which we find four Viking fleets (one allied to the Breton ruler, one fighting for a disaffected Carolingian noble, and two free agents), three separate Breton forces, the army of the Frankish emperor, and a faction formed of the sons of the previous emperor (themselves divided by internal feuding) all commanding armies in the field. This collaboration with the Vikings may reach a head in the final phase of the occupation of Brittany, when we find that the last two recorded commanders of the Viking army apparently have Breton names (Price 1989, 45-51).

At this stage we may turn to the problem of command structure in the armies.

Although the leaders recorded in documentary sources were probably those in overall command of the armies (and certainly the people with whom diplomatic agreements were made), there may well have been entire sections of the army which have left no documentary or archaeological trace. The smaller fleets frequently referred to in the early ninth century, usually of under ten ships, may well have been models of the larger forces in miniature. Individual Vikings are likely to have signed on with ship owners on a contract basis, each captain deciding the terms of passage, probably on the basis of a particular share of any booty won. There are several saga references to this sort of agreement, a particularly interesting one stipulating the fair treatment of foreign women as a condition for hiring on. Separate ships will have joined a larger force under a general agreement. This also operated in a wider political context with true royal fleets, in systems such as the *leidang*, with obligation replacing the hiring conditions. There must have been considerable variability in command structure from fleet to fleet, and some armies may have had a greater element of democratic control. Thus in Rimbert's *Life of Ansgar* we read of a Danish army casting lots to make decisions, and one group of Vikings on the Loire claimed to have no leader and to be all of equal status. Another example is, of course, the highly formalised organisation of the Jómsvikings, although our knowledge of them relies on the late source of *Jómsvíkinga saga* and *Ólafs saga Tryggvasonar* from Snorri's *Heimskringla*. With growing centralisation of power in Scandinavia during the late Viking period, command structures seem to have become more rigid, perhaps based around the system of military service suggested by Axel Christophersen (1982) from his work on runic inscriptions.

I would like to conclude with a brief discussion of the ideological patterns which may be perceived in the operations of Viking armies. It is clear that there was a strong element of militant paganism in the actions of the early

fleets in the ninth century, with frequent annalistic references to pagan practices such as the controversial 'blood eagle' rite. This is also reflected in the demand for the renunciation of the Christian faith made as one of the conditions of peace treaties, when Vikings are in a position to dictate the terms (as with Pippin II of Aquitaine in 864). In two instances we have direct archaeological evidence of elaborate pagan ritual associated with large Viking forces: the first, the mortuary deposit at Repton, has been discussed earlier, but the second comes from Brittany and is worth considering in more detail. On the Ile de Groix, off the south Breton coast, a 13m ship was cremated in a mound sometime during the first half of the tenth century. The vessel, possibly with a smaller 'ship's boat' as at Gokstad, contained the bodies of one man and an adolescent (probably female) together with the cremated remains of dogs and birds. Very rich grave goods were found, including swords, spears, arrows, axes, up to 24 shields, jewellery, riding gear, tools, agricultural implements and a wide range of vessels and caskets. The grave had been carefully prepared before burning, with the mound bounded by standing stones and a line of stones erected leading away from the mound towards the sea, perhaps marking the route by which the ship was dragged up to the headland upon which the burial lies (see Price 1989, 64-73; Müller-Wille 1978). The Groix burial recalls such monuments as the Anundshög in Västmanland, Sweden, and I believe it may be attributed to the period of the Viking occupation of Brittany (Price 1989, 69-71, 104). The Repton and Groix burials were clearly intended as visible statements as well as their practical purpose, and may have been erected as symbols of Scandinavian dominance and power (in this respect they may be compared with the Viking burial mounds from the Isle of Man; Wilson and Bersu 1966). Even after the settlement of the Danelaw, we continue to see a tremendous emphasis on military imagery in the stone sculpture of Northumbria, with repeated depictions of warriors surrounded by weapons, and even on coinage.

In addition to these physical monuments, the very conduct of the campaigns themselves may have had an ideological dimension. There are striking elements of ritual in several battles mentioned in saga sources, such as the dedication of enemy armies to Odin and the definition of battlefields using fences of hazel rods (*Egils saga Skalla-Grímssonar*, ch.52), and similar patterns have been noted in Anglo-Saxon armies (Halsall 1989). To this we may add the value placed on the attainment of glory through particularly dramatic examples of Viking activity, such as the Mediterranean campaign of Hásteinn and Björn Ironside in the early 860s, and Ingvar's ill-fated expedition eastwards recorded on over 30 runic inscriptions in central Sweden (the ideology behind Ingvar's voyage is considered by Larsson 1990). The prestige placed on foreign travel can also be seen in the large numbers of personal names which include a description of a journey undertaken or location visited (Fellows-Jensen 1990).

To conclude, in this paper I have tried to do no more than briefly review our evidence for the operations and activities of Viking armies, and to offer some suggestions for re-interpretation in the light of recent work, particularly from Brittany. It is my hope that in doing so, it may be possible to look again at our material and consider its implications for the structure of Scandinavian society in the Viking Age.

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SIDSTE NYT FRA DANMARK PÅ FYN I JERNALDER OG VIKINGETID¹

Henrik M. Jansen

I 1986 blev et af de senere års mest betydningsfulde fund i Danmark gjort ved Lundeborg på Østfyn. Efter få ugers arkæologiske undersøgelser var vi klar over, at pladsen udgjorde det hidtil ældst kendte handelscenter i Danmark, og der var føjet en ny dimension til den guldrike Gudmebygd med bl.a. Danmarks største gravplads på Mølleågårdsmarken, hvor der er afdækket over 2.200 begravelser.

Siden 1826 er der gjort ikke mindre end 15 skatgefunder i Gudme-området, og det er den tætteste koncentration fra jernalderen i Sydkandinavien. Hidtidige fund og undersøgelser i Gudmebygden gør det sandsynligt, at der netop her kan indhentes ny viden om vigtige begivenheder i landets historie og den samfundsmæssige baggrund for egnens særstilling i perioden 200 til 600 e.v.t. De arkæologiske undersøgelser har vist, at de store ædelmetal- og møntfund som oftest er knyttet til større bopladskomplekser, og i Gudme er der ingen undtagelser. Intet sted i Danmark kan den nævnte periode belyses ud fra så mange og rige arkæologiske kilder.

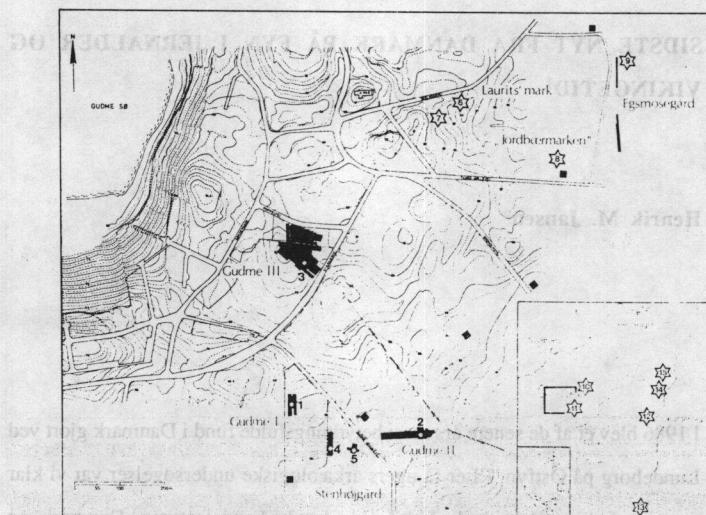


Fig. 1: Udgravnninger og skattefund i Gudme-Lundeborg-området. Nationalmuseets udgravnninger er vist med sort. Efter Nationalmuseets Arbejdsmark, 1991. Skattefund: 1. Gudme I (1885-1984). Solidi. 2. Gudme II (1982). Brakteater, fingererring, denar med øksen, granatprydet guldknap. 3. Gudme III (1985). Siliqua. 4. Stenbøgård I (1984). Brudsølv. 5. Stenbøgård II (1989). Smeltet brudsølv og -guld. 6. Laurits' Mark I (1990). Halsringe, fingererring af guld. 7. Laurits' Mark II (1990). Pakker med brudsølv. 8. Jordbærmarken (1991). Mundblik, guldbarre. 9. Egsmosegård (1854-83). Ringknapper, guldring. 10. »Oure« (1837). Mundblik. 11. Lillesø (1902). Arming, fingererringe, mundblik. 12. Broholmskatten (1833). Finger-, arm- og halsringe, mundblik, skedebåndspelte, brakteater, fibula, solidus, guldbarrer m.m. 13. Elschøved (1826). Solidi, spiralperler, fibula, fingererring, guldbarre. 14. Hesselager Fredskov I (1843-56). Halsring, guldbrakteater. 15. Hesselager Fredskov II (1950). Guldkæde med granatprydet gemme, brudsølv.

Områdets særstilling markeres allerede i tidsrummet 100 f.v.t. og ned til år 0 af de rige brandgrave ved Langå med importerede metalkar fra Romerriget og resterne af en prægtvogn af Dejbjerg-type.

En gradvis befolkningstilvækst i de næste 400 år - d.v.s. indtil ca. 400 e.v.t.

- kan sluttet ud fra undersøgelserne af gravpladsen på Mølleågårdsmarken samt af de mange nye, men betydelig mindre, pladser i Gudmeområdet.

Møllegårdsmarkens grave rummer bl.a. den største koncentration i Skandinavien af luksusgenstande af romersk oprindelse. Gravene ændrer karakter fra det 3. århundrede samtidig med, at Gudmebygden vokser som følge af tilflytning. I tiden frem til 550-600 e.v.t. oplever Gudmeregionen en velstand, som ikke findes tilsvarende i Nordeuropa, når man betragter mængden af ædelmetalfund.

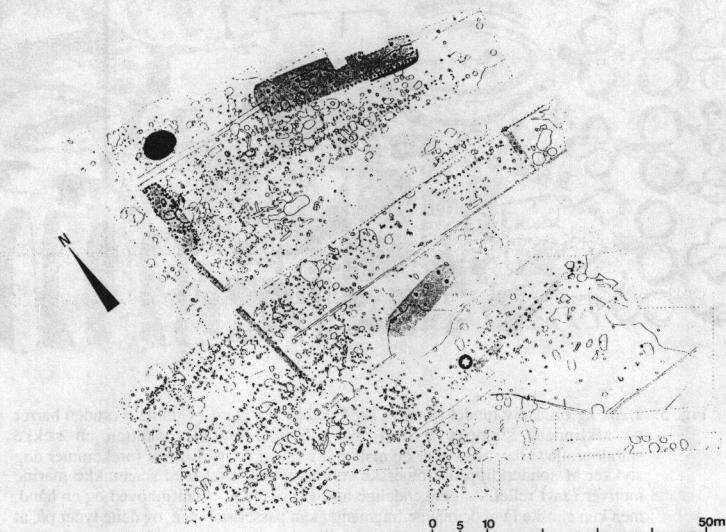


Fig. 2: Plan over udgravningsområdet ved Stærkærvej = Gudme III. Markeret er en af de 8 faser af jernaldergården samt deponeringsstedet for siliqua-skatten: stjerne. Efter Nationalmuseets Arbejdsmark 1991.

Det bør i den forbindelse nævnes, at en af de vigtigste ændringer i datidens Danmark sker omkring år 200 e.v.t., idet vi nu finder gårde anlagt på store, indhegnede tofter. Dette forhold afspejles i gård-komplekserne, der er udgravede på pladserne Gudme I, II, III og Stenhøjgård, og bebyggelseskontinuiteten kan følges det samme sted i henved 400 år frem til ca. 600 e.v.t., hvor radikale ændringer i samfundet reducerer Gudme-regionens betydning.

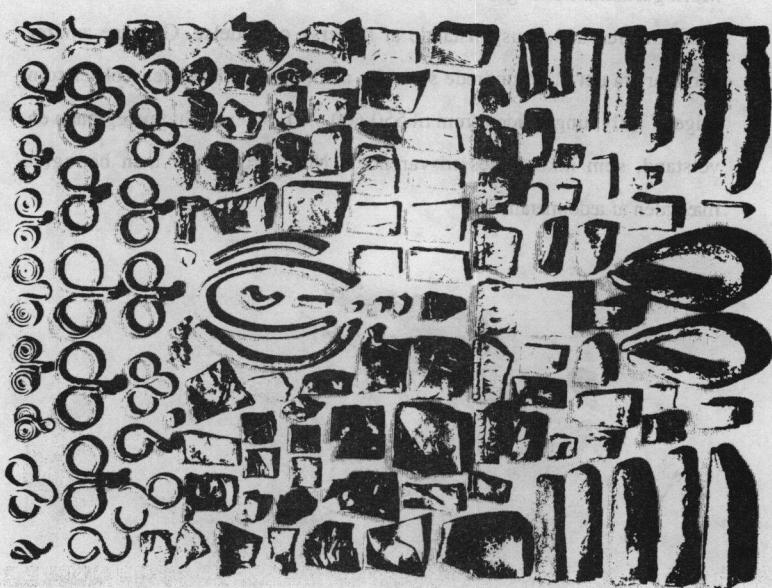


Fig. 3: 1.282 kg brudsølv fundet i foråret 1984 ved Stenhøjgård i Gudme. Foruden barrer og afklippede stumper af arm- og halsringe omfatter skatten en række spiraloprullede hægtespænder og maller af hjemlig form. Talirigst forekommer dog stykker af sørderklipede romerske sølvfaade, dekoreret med senantikke marine motiver i lavt relief. Af genkendelige motiver ses bl.a. et delfinhoved og en hånd, men kun ganske få af de mange fragmenter kan passes sammen, og dette tyder på, at sølvstykkerne har passeret gennem adskillige hænder, inden de blev gemt af vejen. Efter Peter Vang Petersen. Foto: Nationalmuseet.

Hovedparten af de mange ædelmetalfund indeholder genstande, hvis oprindelsessted skal søges i det romerske imperium - især i Østeuropa, hvilket er med til at understrege Gudme-Lundeborgs internationale forbindelse. I flæng kan nævnes solidi-fundene fra pladsen Gudme I. Guldmønterne er slægt i perioden 340-355 e.v.t. og fandtes sammen med denarer fra det 1. og 2. århundrede samt siliquae fra samme tidsrum som solidi. Solidi- og siliquaeskatte fra det 4. århundrede findes iøvrigt kun i Gudme herred. Det største siliquae-fund hidrører fra lokaliteten Gudme III,

hvor der i 1985 afdækkedes 285 sølv mønter fra perioden 337-378 e.v.t. Alene 243 mønter kunne henføres til kejser Constantius d. II's regeringstid 347-361.

Nævnes bør endvidere den navnkundige Broholmskatten fra 1833. Oprindelig opgjort til ca. 4.3 kg guld, men yderligere suppleret med nye fund så sent som i 1991.²

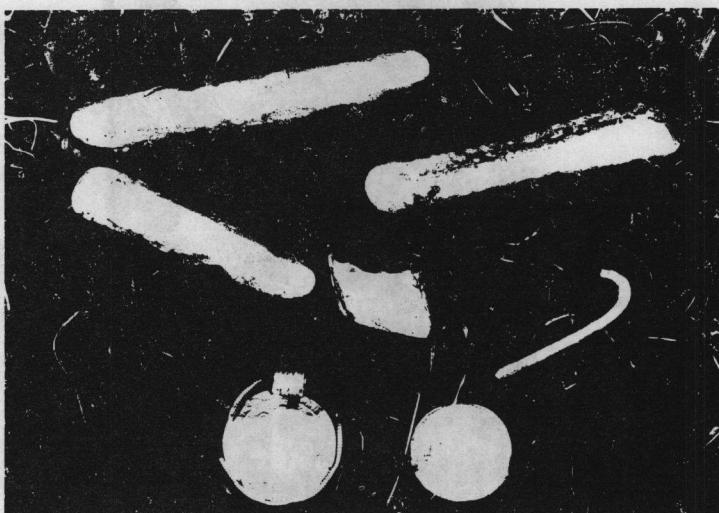


Fig. 4a: De nye guldgenstande fra udgravnningen på fundstedet for Broholmskatten - efteråret 1991: Brakteat, solidus med kejser Zenos portræt (474-491) samt guldbarrer. Foto: Karsten Kjer Michaelsen.

I Hesselager Fredskov fandtes i midten af forrige århundrede en betydelig halsring sammen med guldbrakteater, og i 1950 kunne man føje en sjælden smuk fletted guldskæde med granatprydet gemme/futteral samt et stort ituklippe romersk sølvfad.

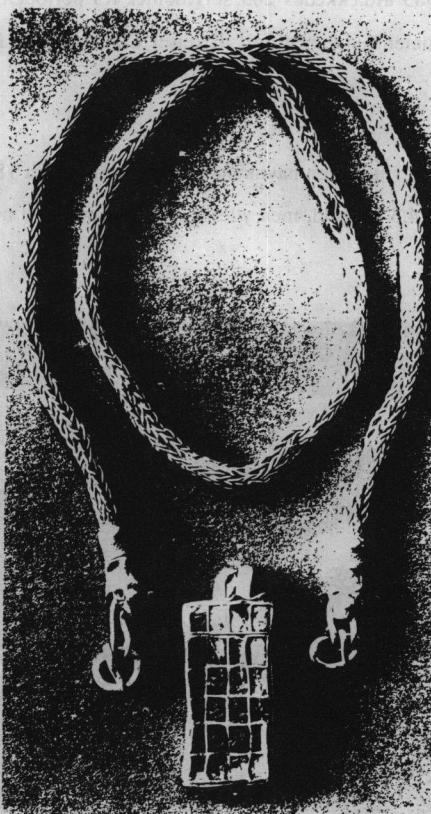


Fig. 4b: Det granatprydede guldfutteral ophængt i et flettedt bælte af guld - fundet i Hesselager Fredskov. Foto: Svendborg & Omegns Museum.

Sølvfundene overgår faktisk guldfundene i antal og vægt i de senere år. Størst er fundet fra Stenhøjgård i 1984, hvor knap 1,3 kg sølv bestående af stumper af romerske sølvfadde, smykeringe, barrer, hægter og maller vidner om en handel med skrot af ædelmetal, som blev anvendt af de lokale fynske guld- og

sølvsmede.³

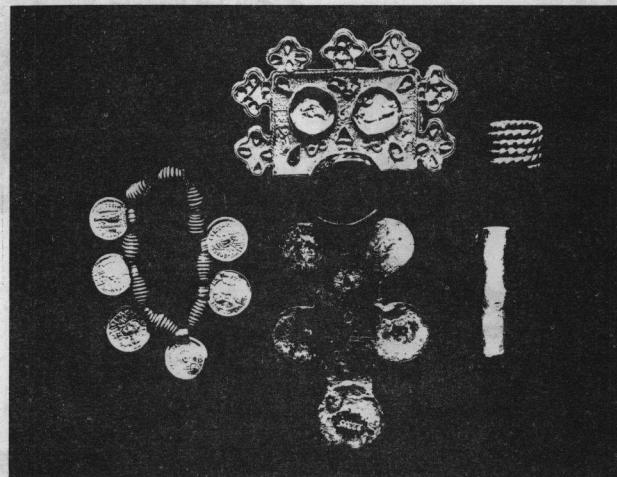


Fig. 4: Elsehoved-fundet, der på barbarisk vis blev splittet ad og med en falsk findestedsgivelse blev solgt til Oldnordisk Museum. Den store pragtfibula mangler alle de oprindeligt indfattede granater, på en enkelt nær, ligesom fodstykkets guldskål aldrig er genfundet. De 6 romerske solidi er præget i perioden 425-518, og skatten er antagelig begravet kort efter år 500. Fundet viser, at i hvert fald nogle romerske guldmønter blev brugt som smykke også i 5. og 6. Århundrede. Efter Peter Vang Petersen. Foto: Nationalmuseet.

For fuldstændighedens skyld bør endelig nævnes Elsehovedskatten fra 1826 med smykker, barre, fibula og solidi slæbt i perioden 425-518 foruden fund af ringknapper og ringe af guld på Egsmosegård ligeledes fra det 6. og 7. århundrede. Lars Jørgensen har for nylig påvist, at skattekundene i Gudme toppe med knap en trediedel i perioden 480-550.⁴ Opdagelsen af handelspladsen ved Lundeborg har givet os mulighed for at lokalisere en indfaldsvej for sådanne fjernforbindelser. De store skattefund i Gudme-Lundeborgområdet er gravet ned samtidig med, at handelspladsen indskrænkes.

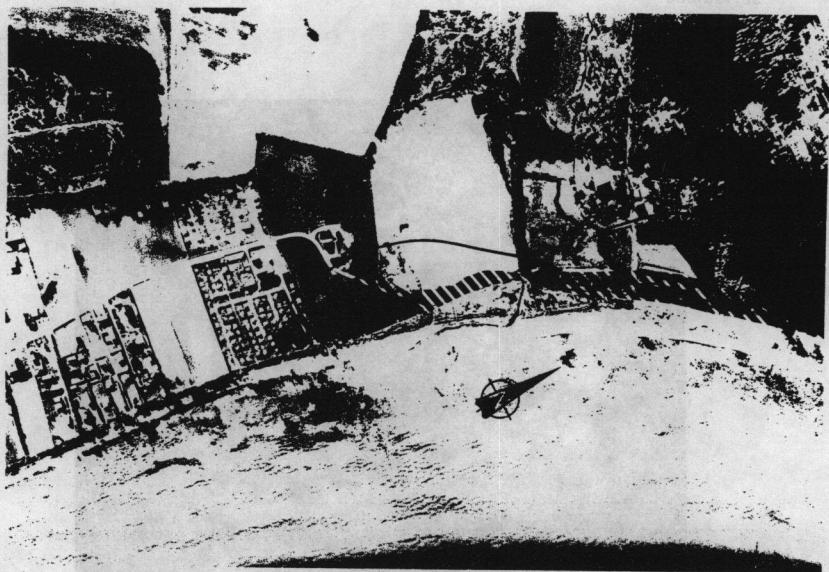


Fig. 5: Handelspladsens udstrækning nord for Lundeborg. Med stjerne er markeret findestedet for guldgubberne. Det skraverede område viser jernalder-kulturlagets udbredelse. Efter Per O. Thomsen, luftfoto fra 1972, gengivet med tilladelse fra Geoplan A/S.

Lundeborgpladsen er en sæsonbebyggelse karakteriseret af midlertidige småboder, hytter og muligvis telte. De mange fund daterer pladsens funktionsperiode til ca. 200 e.v.t. og indtil ca. 800. Udstrækningen af markedspladsen er betydelig - henved 900 meter i nordsydgående retning og beliggende helt ud til kysten - og storhedstiden synes at have været i 3. og 4. århundrede, både hvad angår importerede romerske luksusvarer og de mange håndværksaktiviteter. Muligvis er disse flyttet op til Gudmes gårdkomplekser som følge af den utsatte beliggenhed nede ved kysten fra begyndelsen af 400-tallet. I tilknytning til Tange ås udløb kan der have været en god naturhavn. Et forhold der dog skal bekræftes af arkæologiske og naturvidenskabelige undersøgelser.

En lang række håndværk er konstateret på den kystnære bebyggelse. Materialet udgøres især af værktøjsemner i form af barrer, forarbejder og halvfabrikata, brudstykker af digler og forme, støbedråber, bronze- og jernslagger og andet affald fra metalhåndværk. Mængden af småting, såsom fingerringe af guld, sølv og bronze, fibler, både af jern og bronze, broncepincetter, småbeslag, pyntesøm til skjolde, sværdskeder m.v. er bemærkelsesværdige. Vægtlodder af bronze og bly, klippeguld, romerske denarer etc. vidner om købmændenes vareudveksling på pladsen. Adskillige glasskår af drikkeglas og utallige farvestrålende glasperler hører til de importerede varer, men glasperler synes også fremstillet lokalt. Uforarbejdede stykker af rav samt perler sandsynliggør, at der også var ravslibre blandt håndværkerne.

Ben- og takstykker med tydelige spor af bearbejdning fortæller om kammagerens virksomhed, der også omfattede spillebrikker og andre emner. Jernalderens skibsbyggere træder her for første gang frem som specialiserede håndværkere. De har spillet en betydelig rolle på stedet. Herom vidner de mange tusinde klinknagler af jern - både hele og halve - de ældste, der er fundet i Skandinavien. Ofte er der tegn på reparationer. Mejsler til at flække nitteplader med og dorne til at banke nitterne gennem bordplankerne med viser, at der både blev repareret, ja, måske ligefrem bygget skibe på pladsen.

Vor viden om skibe og søfart i denne periode er meget begrænset og stammer hovedsagelig fra den store båd fra Nydam mose, for nylig årringsdateret til ca. 320 e.v.t. Denne bådtype er ganske vist ikke et handelsfartøj, men fund af andre vragdele lader os antage, at der fra nu af bygges såvel krigs- som handelsskibe. Disse var ligesom vikingeskibene klinkbyggede med bordplankerne holdt sammen af jernnagler. De blev roet frem - ikke ved sejl. Studiet af de mange klinknagler vil snart kunne give væsentlige bidrag til

belysning af datidens skibsfart. Muligvis også af variationen i størrelse af fartøjerne.

Vel udmærker Gudme-Lundeborg-området sig især ved den lange række af kostbare og spektakulære fund, der understreger, at vi har med et magtcenter at gøre. Men bygden rummer imidlertid også en lang række muligheder for en dybere forståelse af økonomiske, handelsmæssige og samfundsmæssige forhold i en af de mest spændende og dynamiske perioder af Danmarks ældste historie.



Fig. 6: Guldgubber i udvalg. 2:1. Eva Koch del.

Endnu et aspekt rummer måske en del af forklaringen på det usædvanlige fundkompleks i Gudme herred, nemlig stednavnene: Gudme = Gudernes hjem, Gudbjerg = Gudernes bjerg, Albjerg = "Tempel"-bjerget og Galdbjerg

Fyn i jernalder og vikingetid

= Offerbjerget. Dertil kommer det spændende fund af i alt 97 guldgubber på Lundeborgpladsen. Disse synes nedlagt omkring år 600. Der er således flere indikatorer, der peger på eksistensen af gamle hedenske kultsteder. Kombinationen af begreberne helligdom/handelscentralbygd repræsenterer en hypotese om et tidligt politisk-religiøst magtcenter. Et høvdinge- eller kongesæde i Gudme?

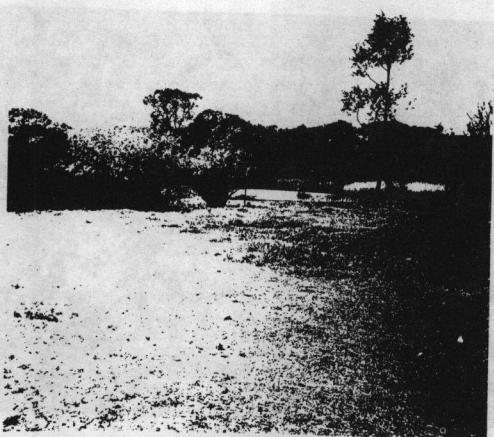


Fig. 7a + 7b: Viemosen i dag. Som det kan ses, er der i høj grad tale om kultkontinuitet op til vore dage! Ufattelig! Foto: Henrik M. Jansen.

Om dette også kan sættes i forbindelse med de betydelige våbenofre i Viemosen nordvest for Odense og Kragehul mose ved Assens er endnu uvist. Disse fundkomplekser burde tages op til fornyet overvejelse set i lyset af forskningen omkring Gudme-Lundeborg. De jyske våbenofferfund viser, at man kan identificere hære på flere hundrede mand og et territorialt kultfællesskab.⁵

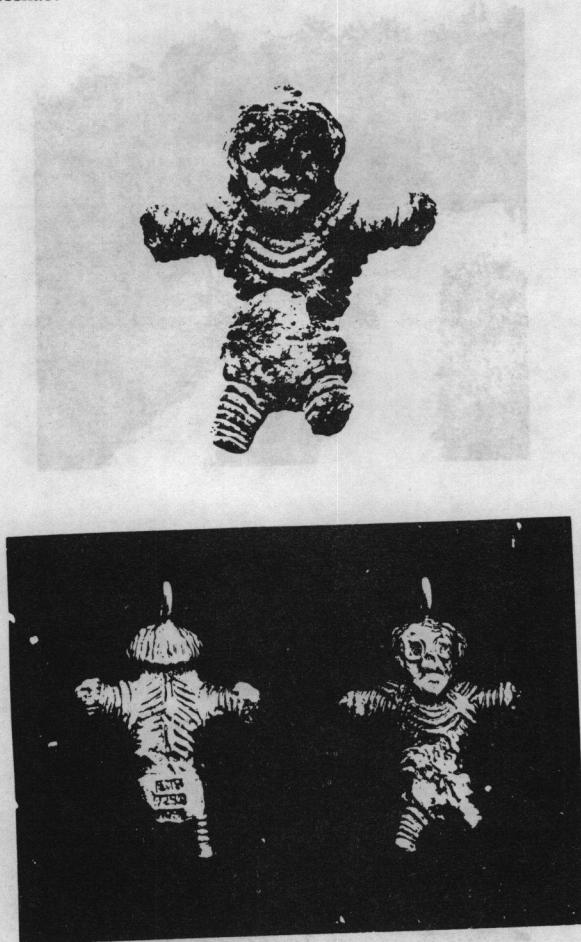


Fig. 8a + 8b: Kristus fra Gudme. Foto: Nationalmuseet og kopi af samme i sterlingsølv, som sælges fra museets kiosker.

Ved indgangen til Vikingetiden - d.v.s. fra starten af 700-tallet - opstår nye kraftcentre i Danmark på bekostning af Gudme-Lundeborg-området. Dermed er ikke sagt, at der ikke kan gøres fund fra denne periode på Østfyn. Herom vidner bl.a. vor ældste Kristusfigur: en lille forgylt broncemand, blot 3 cm høj. Der kan være tale om en Kristusfigur, selv om korset mangler. Kristusbilledet på den samtidige store Jelling-sten er også uden kors. Og de båndslæng, der omslutter overkroppen, kendes tilsvarende fra den lille træfigur, der blev fundet i den store nordhøj i Jelling. Kristus fra Gudme er vor eneste kristne amulet fra vikingetiden. På østsiden af Gudme sø, i selve Gudme by og ved Brudager er fornlygt påvist bebyggelse fra samme periode.

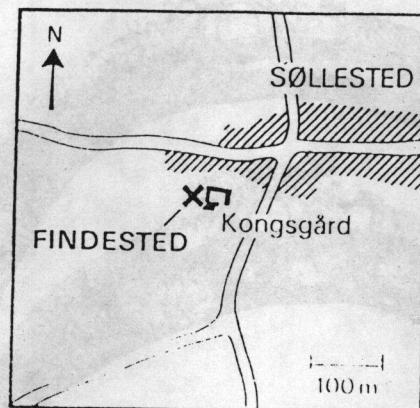


Fig. 9: Findestedet i markskelet ved Kongsgård i Søllested, nord for Glamsbjerg på Vestsyfn.

I de senere år har flere af de tunge navne fra Fyns vikingetid været genstand for nye overvejelser - og efterudgravninger. I 1861 fandtes i en noget beskadiget høj en grav med særdeles fornemt udstyr: et skrin, seletøj i form af to bidsler af jern med sølvbelægning, to jernkæder endende i bøjler til en vognstang og to mankestole af træ med forgylte, prægtfuldt formede beslag, foruden et vaskefad af bronce, to spande og meget andet. Derimod tilsyneladende intet skelet af den gravgængte. I 1987 blev der foretaget en eftergravning, der ganske vist ikke føjede meget til de allerede gjorte fund, men som gav udgraveren H. Hellmuth Andersen lejlighed til at fremkomme med nogle tankevækkende betragtninger. Hvis vi tør stole på de gamle beretninger fra forrige århundrede, er der tale om et gravkammer. Gravgodset kan henføres til første halvdel af 900-tallet. Udstyret til de to køreheste kan have fulgt den gravgængte, en velhavende kvinde - en dronning?

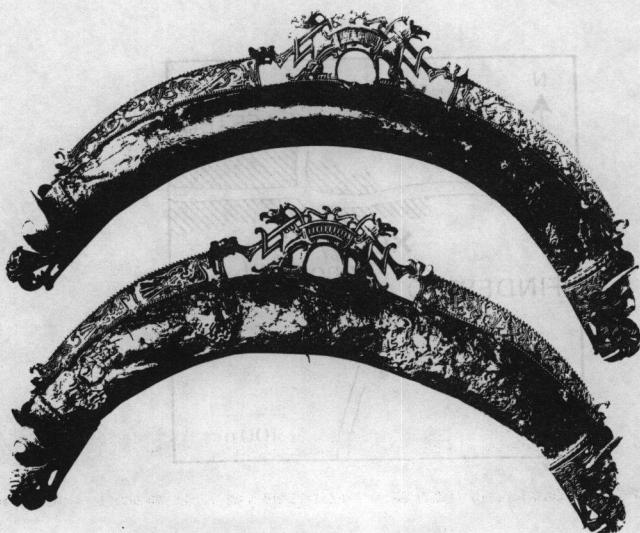


Fig. 10: De to mankestole. Foto: Nationalmuseet.

Fyn i jernalder og vikingetid

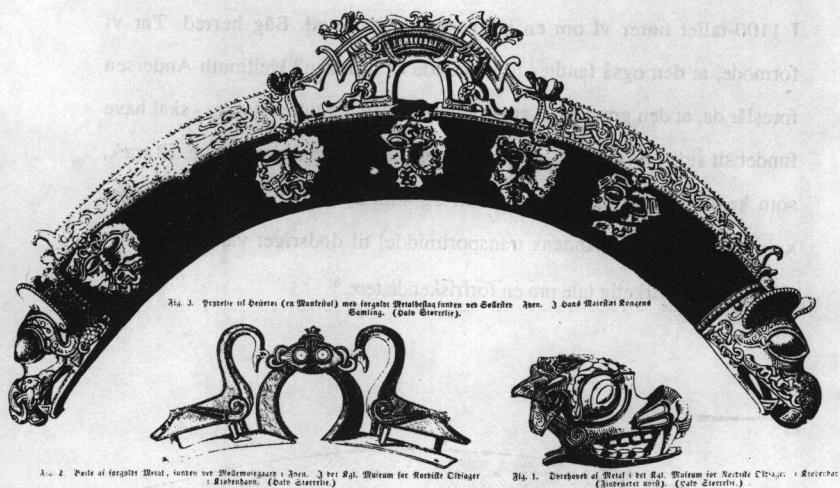


Fig. 10a: Tegning af mankestol i Illustreret Tidende, nr. 137. 11. maj 1862, p. 261.

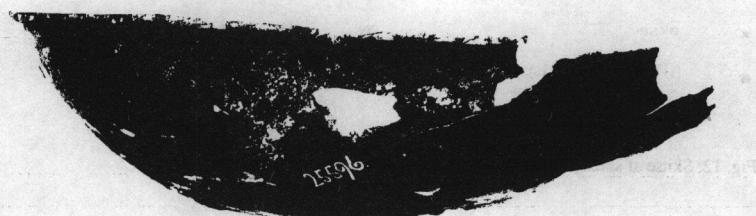


Fig. 11: Det formodede vaskefad af bronze. Foto: Nationalmuseum.

I 1100-tallet hører vi om en kongsgård i Søllested, Båg herred. Tør vi formode, at den også fandtes to hundrede år forinden? Hellmuth Andersen foreslår da, at den gravlagte - en dronning af den såkaldte Olaf-æt - skal have fundet sit sidste hvilested i en vognfading, der her tjente som kiste. Et træk, som kendes andetsteds fra i landet, og som synes knyttet til fornemme kvinder, hvorimod mandens transportmiddel til dødsriget var hesten eller skibet. Her er virkelig tale om en forfriskende tese.⁶

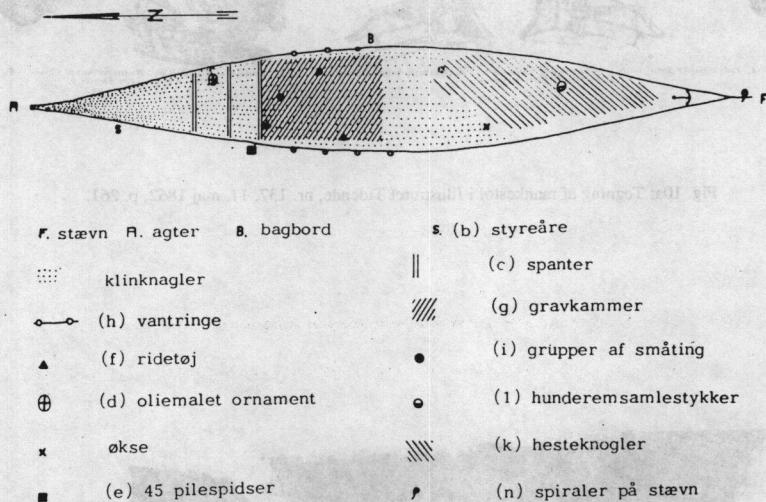


Fig. 12: Skitse af skibsgraven ved Ladby. Efter folder fra Fyns Stiftsmuseum.

Fyns skibsgrav par excellence blev opdaget og udgravet i 1935 ved Ladby nær bredden af Kerteminde fjord. Af skibet er der blot et aftryk tilbage. Sammen med den noget misvisende Bådkammergrav fra Hedeby er disse to begravelser de eneste egentlige skibsgrave fra vikingetidens Danmark. Som

optakt til 50-års jubilæet foretog Fyns Stiftsmuseum i 1984 nye undersøgelser omkring den store gravhøj. Der tegner sig nu et noget andet billede af monumentet. Skibet, der målte 21,60 meter i længden, og som havde plads til 32 årer og kunne forsynes med mast og sejl, var placeret i en forsænkning og derpå dækket af en gravhøj opbygget af græstørv. Højen var cirkelrund, 30 meter i diameter og omkranset af et stolpehavn. Pælene var ca. 20 cm i diameter, og de har stået tæt i et antal af henved 200. Formålet: Adgang. **Forbudt!** Højens centrum falder i skibet, hvor masten havde stået.

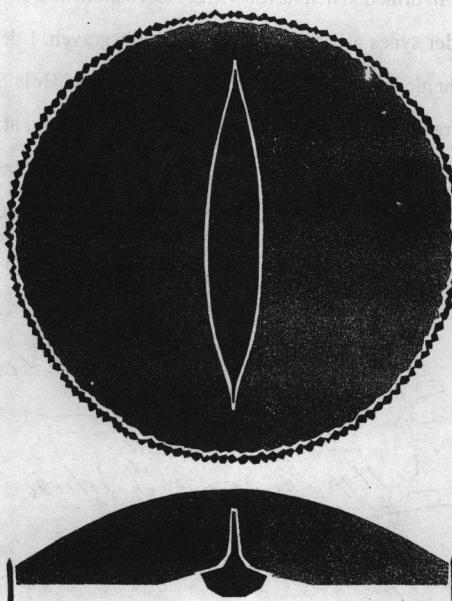


Fig. 13: Skitse af gravhøjen med skibets placering og hegnet af stolper. Efter folder fra Fyns Stiftsmuseum.

H. Hellmuth Andersen har også beskæftiget sig med Ladbyskibet.⁷ Det må være en fyrste, der er stedt til hvile her. Fundet dateres til tiden før 950. Og så er det efter Olaf-ætten, der er i focus. Er det kong Gnupa, der skal ligge her? Og ligger han der endnu, selv om andre hævder, at skibsbegravelsen er blevet plyndret? Sammenligner man nemlig med Hedebyparallelen, så skal selve gravkammeret befinde sig under skibets køl. Det bør ved lejlighed undersøges gennem boringer, foreslog Hellmuth Andersen i 1985. I 1935 påvistes udover skibsgraven 11 grave fra vikingetiden. Flere af dem var allerede ødelagt som følge af landbrugsdriften. Enkelte indeholdt blot en rusten kniv eller nogle små jernsøm, hvormed kisten havde været slået sammen. Der var dog en rig kvindegrev, der synes at være samtidig med skibsgraven. I den forbindelse vil jeg også henlede opmærksomheden på stednavnet "Høje Stenes Agre", som kendes fra udskiftningskortet fra 1795. Kan det tænkes, at der har været nu sløjfede skibssætninger med begravelser? Her bør arkæologen sætte spaden i, inden plogen går så dybt, at stensporene m.v. forsvinder.



Fig. 14: Udsnit af udskiftningskort fra 1795 over Ladbys jorder. Skibshøjen ligger her på "Høye Stens Agre" ved pilen - i det udyrkede område. Efter K. Thorvildsen: Ladbyskibet, 1957.

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I middelalderen fandtes i nabosognet til Ladby - Birkende - en kongsgård, ligesom kongemagten havde store arealer på nordsiden af Kertinge Nor. Hellmuth Andersen: "Nu er en skibsgravs placering jo i nogen grad naturbestemt. I Ladby har formentlig, som navnet antyder, været en ladeplads, muligvis med tilknytning til Sellebjerg."



Fig. 15: Udsnit af Braunius' prospekt af Odense fra 1593, der viser Nonnebakkens ringvold.



Fig. 16: Kobberstik af R.N. Nielsen fra 1837. Til højre ses resterne af den endnu markante vold.

I 1968-71 var ringvoldsanlægget Nonnebakken genstand for mange punktundersøgelser, der syntes at bekræfte, at anlæggets karakter var af samme art som de øvrige: Trelleborg, Aggersborg og Fyrkat. Men tvivlen nagede hos nogle,⁸ og det var derfor en kærkommen lejlighed, der i vinteren 1987/88 bød sig for vore kolleger i Odense, idet anlægsarbejder foranledigede en mindre arkæologisk undersøgelse på nordsiden af ringborgen ned mod Odense Å. Der afdækkedes en 2,50 meter bred og knap én meter dyb V-formet spidsgrav. Denne har dog været væsentlig dybere, men blev reduceret i forbindelse med jordarbejder i begyndelsen af dette århundrede.

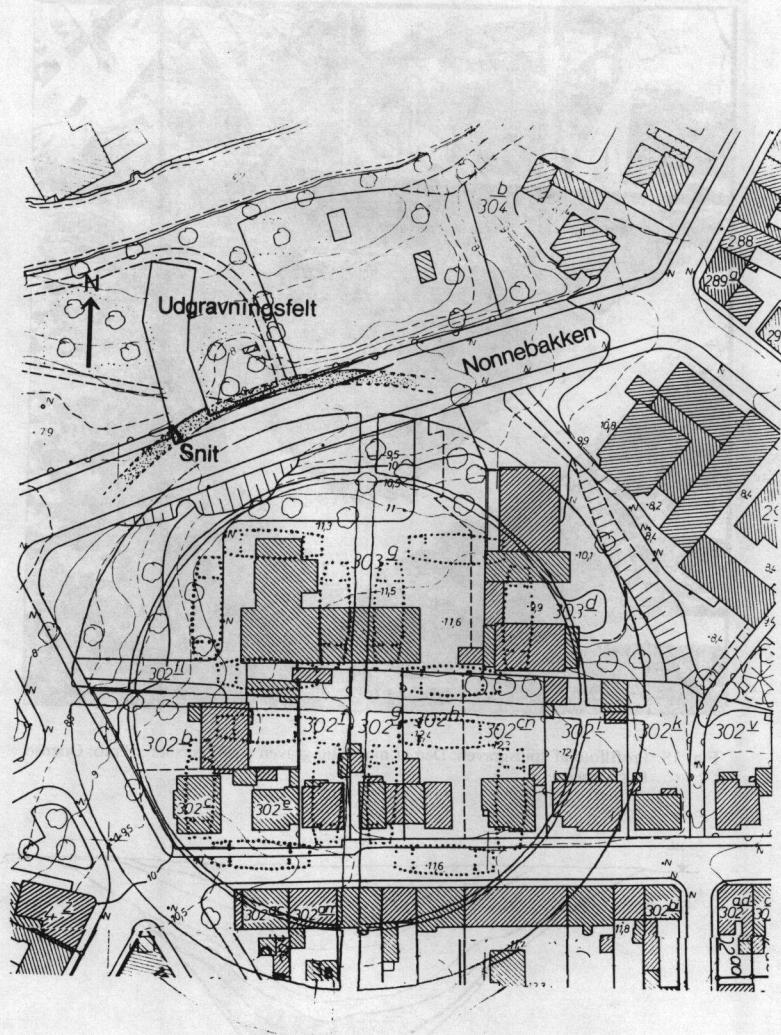


Fig. 17: Oversigtskort med indtegning af udgravningsområde. Tegning: Niels Bangbo
1990 efter Jørgen Nielsen.

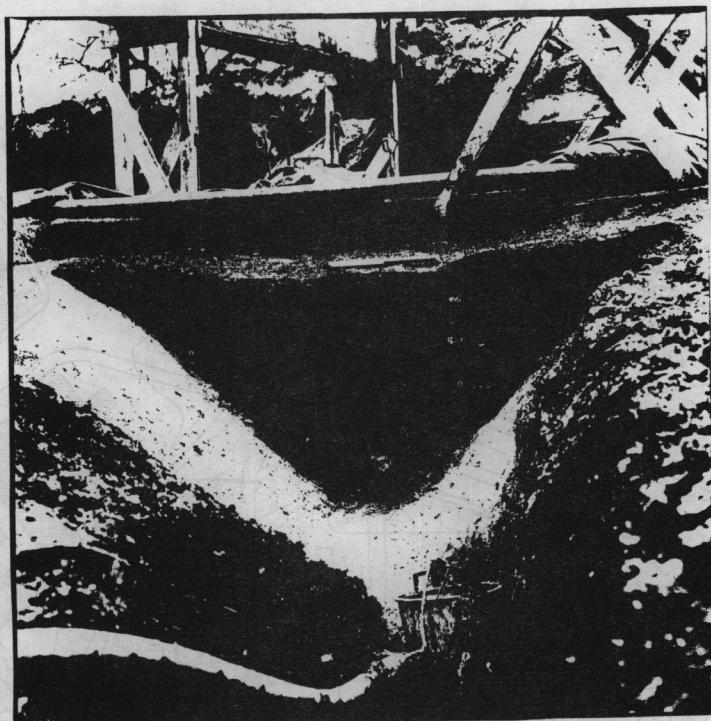


Fig. 18: Profilfoto af spidsgraven. Den er meget lig graven på Aggersborg. Foto: Odense Bys Museer.

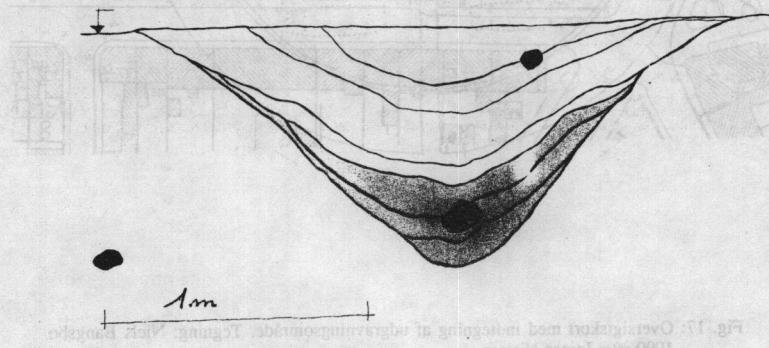


Fig. 19: Snittegning af spidsgraven, med markering af teglfri zone. Den forarbejdede egetræstump blev optaget mellem de to øverste lag i den teglfri zone. Tegning: Nils M. Jensen & Jens Sørensen samt Niels Bangsbo.

Udgravningen bragte ingen egentlige fund for dagen, men løst liggende i lagene lå et stykke egetræ - dog uden splint, som lod sig dendrokronologisk datere. Der råder dog nogen usikkerhed omkring denne datering. Arkæologerne er meget skræsikre og vælger den samme eksakte datering, der har kunnet placere Fyrkat og Trelleborg til vinteren 980/81. "Men sikkerhedsprocenten er en anelse for lav... Hvis den fraværende splint har været normal, og hvis kun splinten mangler, vil fældningsåret falde omkring 980. Det er dog sandsynligt, at der også sammen med splinten er borthugget kernevedsringe - hvor mange er det umuligt at udtales sig om. Man kan gætte på, at fældningen er sket før år 1000, men et senere tidspunkt kan ikke udelukkes," hedder det i dateringsrapporten fra Wormianum.⁹

Hensigten med at placere ringborgsanlægget Nonnebakken på sydsiden af Odense å har ganske givet været den, at man herfra kunne holde øje med den lille by, der i 988 omtales som et bispesæde på linie med de allerede kendte i Slesvig, Ribe og Århus. I 988 blev de alle fritaget for skat til den tyske kejser - en gentagelse af privilegiebrevet fra 965, men med yderligere to nye rettigheder eller privilegier: de danske bisper må erhverve jord indenfor det tyske kejserriges grænser og må nyde tilsvarende rettigheder for denne jord. Ringborgenes bygherre og den, der kristnede Danmark, Harald Blåtand, var dog på dette tidspunkt død - sandsynligvis i november 987. Privilegiebrevet af 988 er ganske givet madding for hans søn - og fjende - Svend Tveskæg, der dog betakkede sig. Han vendte sine øjne mod den angelsaksiske kirke. Samtidig synes de store og iøjnefaldende symboler på kong Haralds magt - ringborgene - at blive opgivet. Kong Svend synes ikke at have haft faderens ønske om at holde det politiske system - og nyerobrede danske område - i et jerngreb. For Svend havde ganske andre planer. Allerede i 988 hører vi om nye plyndringer i England, og den - næsten årligt - erhvervede Danegæld har sikkert bidraget til at fastholde roen hjemme i Danmark.

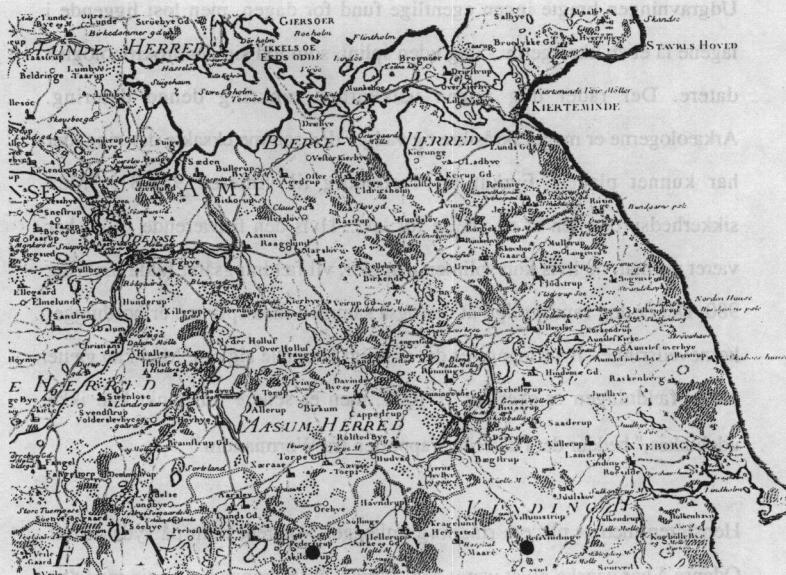


Fig. 20: Udsnit af Videnskabernes Selskabs kort fra 1781, med Rønninge sogn indtegnet.

Til slut skal omtales de første større sammenhængende bebyggelsesarkæologiske undersøgelser på Fyn.¹⁰ Allerede i 1975 indledtes de arkæologisk-historiske undersøgelser af bebyggelsesudviklingen i Rønninge sogn, der er centralt beliggende på Østfyn: den fynske hovedfærdselsåre fra Nyborg over Odense til Middelfart/Assens passerer igennem sognet. En runesten herfra dateres til 900-tallet: "Sote satte denne sten efter sin bror Elev, søn af Asgot med det røde skjold." Bebyggelsen i Rønninge har kunnet henføres til år 1000. Ca. 2 km vest for Rønninge påvistes på Bytoften i 1978 en gravplads med ca. 40 urnebrandgrave fra romersk jernalder og 12 jordfæstegrave fra vikingetid. Blandt disse en stormandsgrav - en 6 m² stor plankebygget kammergrav med økse, sværd, lanse, stigbøjler m.v. - og dateret til 2. halvdel af 10. århundrede.

Fyn i jernalder og vikingetid

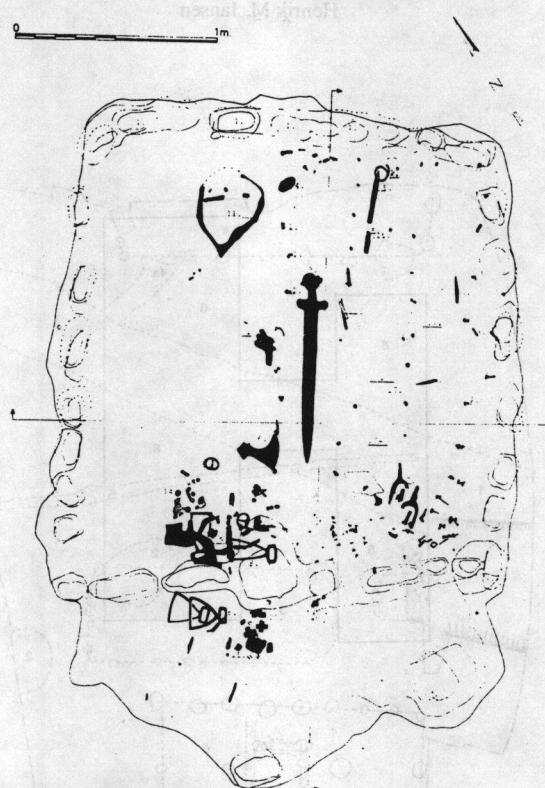


Fig. 21: Stormandsgraven - tegning. Efter Cartha 1982.

I 1979 og efter i 1988-91 afdækkedes desuden et storgårdsanlæg med et stolpehegnet areal på mindst 1,3 ha. Hovedhuset er af Trelleborg-type - ca. 24 meter langt. Desuden påvistes to brønde, 5-6 mindre økonomibygninger, en staklade og en 25-30 meter bred bygade. I alt henved 15 huse fra tiden 950-1100. Denne landsby er Røjerups forgænger. Men den endelige tolkning vil først foreligge, når Erland Porsmose og Mogens Bo Henriksen har gennemgået det store spændende arkæologiske og naturvidenskabelige materiale.

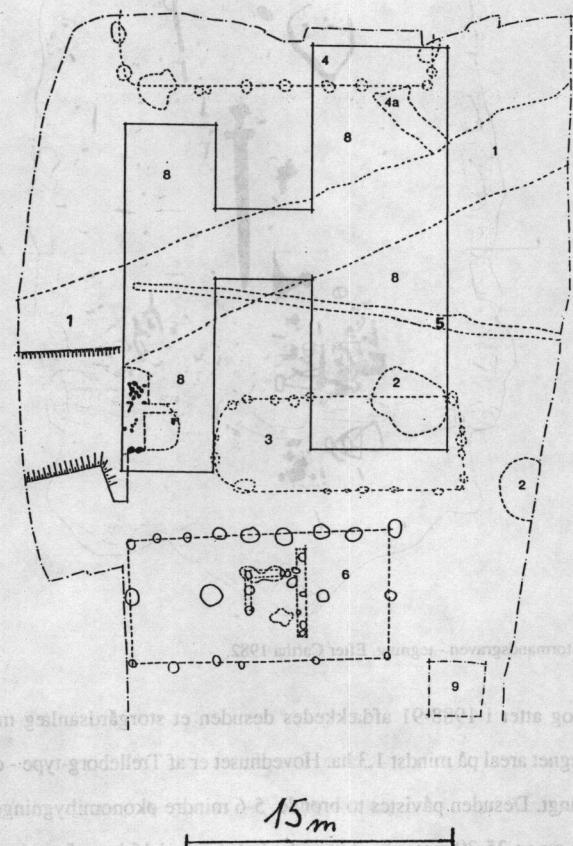


Fig. 22: Rønninge Præstegård. Oversigtsplan. 1. Den store grøft, vikingetid. 2. Grubehuse fra samme periode. 3. Hustomt fra vikingetid / tidlig middelalder. De øvrige anlæg er betydeligt yngre. Efter Cartha 1988.

Noter

1. Forelæsningen var oprindelig formet som et lysbilledforedrag uden manuskript og skulle desuden tjene som et fyldigt oplæg til den ekskursion, jeg ledede om eftermiddagen til Langeskov, Lundeborg, Gudme samt Svendborg & Omegns Museum.
2. Hvad angår litteraturreferencer til afsnittet om Lundeborg og Gudme skal generelt henvises til de mange artikler, der siden 1986 er trykt i Årbog for Svendborg & Omegns Museum. Derudover har jeg mine oplysninger fra Klavs Randsborg: Gudme-Lundeborg tolknninger. Upubliceret manuskript fra marts 1991, samt en masse noter fra koordineringsmøder i Gudme-Lundeborg-projektet. Der er naturligvis taget højde for, at nogle af disse oplysninger kan have provisorisk karakter, sålænge det enorme arkæologiske kildemateriale er under bearbejdelse med henblik på publicering. For fuldstændighedens skyld skal det nævnes, at efter at denne artikel er skrevet, er der publiceret en udmærket oversigt i Nationalmuseets Arbejdsmark 1991 side 144-161: Gudme og Lundeborg - et fynsk rigdomscenter i jernalderen af Anne Kromann, Poul Otto Nielsen, Klavs Randsborg, Peter Vang Petersen og Per O. Thomsen. Der henvises iøvrigt også til Årbog for Svendborg & Omegns Museum 1991 med sidste nyt fra blandt andet Broholmskat-ettergravningen.
3. Anne Kromann Balling og Peter Vang Petersen: Romerske mønter, skattefund og jernalderhuse - Fra et rigdomscenter på Sydfyn. Nationalmuseets Arbejdsmark 1985, side 194-206.
4. Oplyst ved et koordineringsmøde d. 15.08.1991 samt på Gudme-Lundeborg-symposiet d. 24.10.1991 i Svendborg.

5. Klavs Randsborg op.cit.
6. H. Hellmuth Andersen: Kongsgårdshøjen i Skalk, nr. 4, 1987 side 9-13.
7. Claus Madsen og Henrik Thrane: Skibsjubilæum i Skalk 1985, nr. 1 side 3-7 og H. Hellmuth Andersen: Kongegrave i Skalk 1985, nr. 4, side 11-15.
8. Nils M. Jensen og Jens Sørensen: En ny brik til udforskningen af Nonnebakkeanlægget i Odense, i Fynske Minder 1989, side 77-84. I Kuml 1988-89, 1990 behandles dendrodateringen langt mere forsigtigt - se side 325-33 af samme forfattere, som har lånt mig de benyttede illustrationer.
9. Wormianum. Dendrodateringer. Sag nr. 340. Prøve nr. 1. Venligst tilsendt mig af Harald Andersen.
10. Dette afsnit er baseret på et endnu ikke publiceret manuskript af Erland Porsmose: Bebyggelsesudvikling fra vikingetid til renæssance i Rønninge sogn på Østfyn.

A VIKING FASHION IN DRESS PINS

Thomas Fanning

When the Vikings came to settle in Ireland in the 9th century they were quick to adopt one of the Celtic types of dress-fasteners. This was a simple bronze pin with a small ring attached to the pin head for which we use the term ringed pin. These everyday dress pins, made either from bronze or iron, were first produced in Celtic Ireland by craftsmen copying Roman proto-types and are of frequent occurrence on Irish ringforts, crannogs (lake dwellings) and early monastic sites. The Irish used these pins to fasten their thick woollen cloaks.

During the 9th century, as the Vikings intermingled with the Irish, they copied some of the Celtic fashions in dress ornament and, in particular, the simple ringed pin. We have evidence of this from the grave finds in Norway in regions such as Rogaland and from sites like Kaupang in Vestfold. The earliest type, with a plain ring in a small looped head, is also found in Denmark. There is a specimen from one of the Ladby graves and there are two fine examples from Lejre.

What is interesting about these Danish pins is that we can recognize features that are peculiar to the Scandinavian examples such as the oval shape of the ring, the wide looped head and the broad splay of the lower shank. This demonstrates that the Vikings, after borrowing the idea, changed the form slightly to their own taste. Thus, many of the pins from the Scandinavian regions should not be regarded as imports from Ireland but as copies made by Viking craftsmen in their own homelands. There

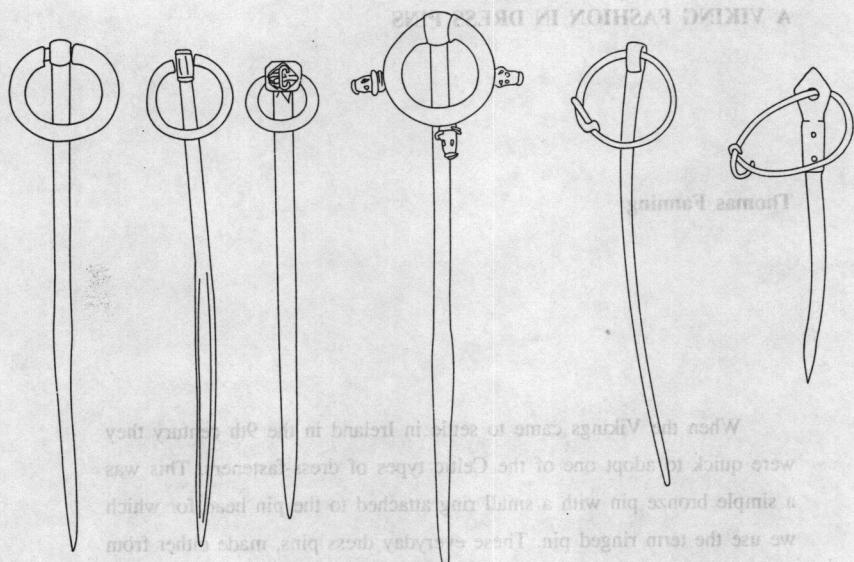


Fig. 1. Some types of ringed pins found in Scandinavia (After Fanning 1990, Abb. 8-12).

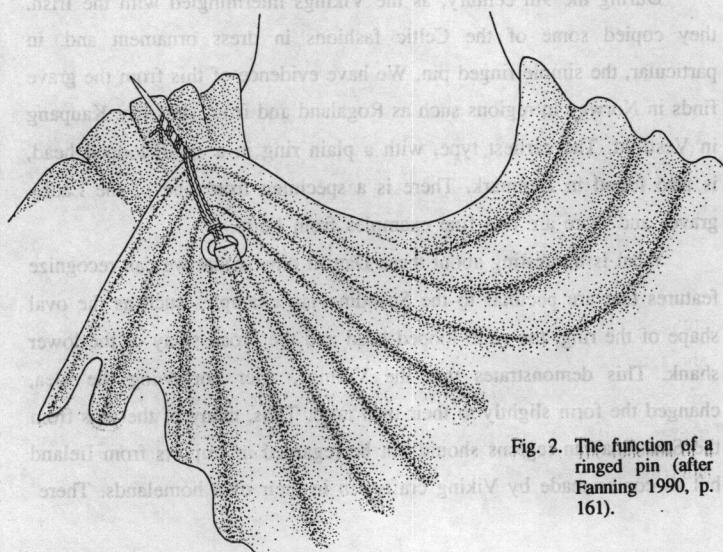


Fig. 2. The function of a ringed pin (after Fanning 1990, p. 161).

A Viking Fashion in Dress Pins

is one type which is an exception to the insular connection - a small pin with a slip-knot ring threaded through a plate-headed pin which is found in places like Ribe and Hedeby.

Research by the writer in Ireland and Scandinavia has shown how the ringed pin developed during the period from 800 to 1100 A.D. This typological sequence is best seen amongst the large collection of pins from the Dublin excavations. During the 10th century a special Hiberno-Norse type emerged which had a plain ring attached to a pin with a polyhedral head sometimes decorated with twin-link and saltire motifs. These pins have been found in Viking graves and settlements in the Isle of Man, the Faroes and Iceland and their distribution mirrors the western sea-routes of the Scandinavian settlers and traders in the 10th century. Indeed one of the few authentic Viking artifacts from America is a simple specimen of this pin type found in the excavations at L'Anse aux Meadows, Newfoundland. A few examples have turned up at Hedeby, Odense and Århus probably lost by Hiberno-Norse merchants coming from York or Dublin.

Ringed pins were made from bronze rods which were shaped, and filed into the two components which were then fitted together. Only a few types required casting in clay moulds such as those recently found at Ribe. The finds from Viking graves show that they were worn by both men and women. Two pins, from the Faroes and Dublin, have shown how they functioned as dress fasteners. Pieces of cord, still attached to the rings, showed how the ring helped to secure the pin once it was inserted through the cloak.

As the ringed pin form evolved during the 11th century the ring became smaller, like a small cap, and finally it became a stick-pin with the pin and ring made as one piece. In the medieval period a change in fashions to small brooches and the increasing popularity of buttons led to the disuse of the ringed pin as a dress-fastener in Ireland and the Viking world.

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