

THE DEVELOPMENT OF (PROTO)-DISC-ON-BOW BROOCHES IN ENGLAND, FRISIA AND SCANDINAVIA

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ABSTRACT: This article describes the emergence, chronology, development, distribution, iconography and symbolic meaning of the (proto)-disc-on-bow brooches. Disc-on-bow brooches have been found in the most luxuriously furnished graves. They appear in small numbers throughout North-Western Europe and throughout Scandinavia, with a concentration on Gotland where more than 150 specimens have been excavated. Disc-on-bow brooches were worn from c. 500 AD until c. 1050 AD (Gotland). The decoration of each of these brooches carries a symbolism which refer to the deity Óðinn (aka Odin/Wodan). The disc-on-bow brooches disappear from these regions with the rise of Christianity. In this light, I conclude that disc-on-bow brooches were an adornment exclusively connected with paganism.

The women at the pinnacle of early medieval society occupied honorary positions as priestesses within the Óðinn-cult and performed the 'seidr', that is herbalist wisdom combined with magic. They also performed ritual sacrifice. The conclusions from this study pinpoint the importance of symbolism in early medieval society, the role of women within pagan belief-systems, and the way in which such beliefs were expressed through the wearing of the disc-on-bow brooch.

KEYWORDS: Scandinavia, England, the Netherlands, 450-1050 AD, medieval, disc-on-bow brooches, square headed brooches, Wodan, Freyja.

1. INTRODUCTION

Square-headed brooches were the most expensive and elaborate female dress jewellery produced and used amongst certain Northern Germanic communities in the fifth and sixth centuries AD, introducing and reflecting innovations in art and culture. These brooches were worn by women of wealth and social status (Hines, 1997).

Square-headed brooches originated in Scandinavia, where they apparently developed out of brooches with semi-circular head-plates. Square-headed brooches were spread widely over England and Western Europe. The earliest Anglo-Saxon square-headed brooches show Scandinavian influences. They were found in Kent, developing into sub-groups in Southern England and the eastern Midlands. These Anglo-Saxon series seem to transmit the stylistic motifs from Scandinavia into the continental group of square-headed brooches (Hines, 1997). During the fifth and sixth centuries, a number of innovations occurred in the design of the square-headed brooches; most notable was the attachment of a disc on the bow. Square-headed brooches with the disc-on-bow motif are a mostly Scandinavian phenomenon, but some early disc-on-bow brooches have also been found in Kent, East Anglia in England

and Frisia in the Netherlands. The emergence of disc-on-bow brooches in these areas could be an indication of a network of interregional contacts, which existed between tribal groups from Southern Scandinavia and Norway, Anglo-Saxons and Frisians in the fifth and sixth centuries.

Square-headed brooches probably had a symbolic function as status markers. The English graves with square-headed brooches are quantitatively and qualitatively among the richest (Hines, 1997: p. 301). While some of the silver plated brooches date to the fourth century, this article will focus on the 'relief' cast square-headed brooches, which were produced between 500–570 AD, with a decline in numbers after 550 AD, and their successors, the early disc-on-bow brooches.

Much attention has already been given to the workshops and production methods of the famous Frisian disc-on-bow brooches from Wijnaldum, Hoogebeintum, Wieuwerd, Achlum and Aalsum. It seems to be justified to investigate the position of the Frisian brooches within the wider geographical context to which they apparently belong. A survey of the disc-on-bow brooches from Frisia, compared with disc-on-bow brooches found in England and Scandinavia, may give us valuable information about the nature of interregional contacts, and of the sym-

bolic significance of the disc-on-bow brooch within early medieval society.

With this study I intend to describe the development of the decorative elements of the early disc-on-bow brooches in England, Frisia and Scandinavia. I will also attempt to place the Frisian brooches within the religious context attaching to the use and disposition of early disc-on-bow brooches. Through this, I hope to add to our understanding of pagan beliefs, as expressed through the use of iconographic elements in the personal adornment of the early medieval period.

2. THE ORIGIN AND DEVELOPMENT OF DISC-ON-BOW BROOCHES

Since the early 19th century, Scandinavian disc-on-bow brooches have been discovered from Troms, Norway in the north to the Danish island of Bornholm in the south. The number of known disc-on-bow brooches exceeds 300, and more than half of these were found on the Swedish island of Gotland (Olsen, 1998: p. 15). In my 1998 thesis, I classified 18 different types of disc-on-bow brooches. In this article the types with the prefix VSO refer to my 1998 classification. Most of these 18 types can be divided into two main categories:

1. Disc-on-bow brooches with three terminal roundels at the foot-plate.
2. Disc-on-bow brooches with only one terminal roundel at the foot-plate.

This classification follows Salin (1904), Stjerna (1905), Gjessing (1934) and Nerman (1935) (see table 2). I do not believe that these designs have different origins. I assume that in the period when discs were first attached to square-headed brooches, several innovations occurred in the manufacture and decoration of head-plate and foot-plate. During the gradual process of change into 'true' disc-on-bow brooches, some variants were abandoned and disappeared, other variants became popular and entered into widespread use. The variation with one terminal roundel became conventional in Gotland, but in other areas both appear.

Gift exchange and travelling workshops may blur the picture to such an extent that we are unable to say that a certain type of disc-on-bow brooch belongs to a certain region. It is more rewarding to establish which innovations occurred within a few generations within a defined region. The inspiration to develop new shapes and decorations may have come from an unknown source, but the similarity in decoration and

shape of brooches from geographically remote areas can give us insights in the contacts prevailing at the time.

Leeds believed that square-headed brooches developed out of brooches with a semicircular head-plate, like the brooches from Skerne and Årslev, which have a disc on the bow (Leeds, 1949: p. 1). Square-headed brooches with an undivided foot and without a disc-on-bow are believed to be of mostly continental European origin, but square-headed brooches with undivided feet have also been found in Southern Scandinavia after the late fifth century. The idea of attaching a disc to a square-headed brooch could also be derived from the equal-armed southern Scandinavian brooches with disc-on-bow, like the 6th century brooches from Galsted and Holmgård. Such brooches could have inspired the makers of the square headed brooches found in Kent and other parts of England (Munksgaard, 1966: p. 65).

The simplest definition of a disc-on-bow brooch is 'a square headed brooch with a disc on the bow'. We know that square-headed brooches have a quadrangular head-plate and a rhomboidal (sometimes triangular) foot-plate, which are connected through a bow. Their compositional elements include areas of complex ornamentation. Some square-headed brooches may have a disc on the bow, sometimes only indicated by a roundel, which is a so-called "false disc" (Sjövold, 1993). I consider these square-headed brooches with a false disc to be early samples or 'hybrid forms' of the development from square-headed brooch into disc-on-bow brooch. My definition of a square-headed brooch with a (false) disc would therefore be 'proto-disc-on-bow brooch'. Before an analysis can be made of the new type, the other differences between the square-headed 'proto-disc-on-bow' brooches and the 'true' disc-on-bow brooches have to be identified. I have determined that the following features are significant:

- Square-headed brooches can be found with a (false) disc on the bow. Some may have (traces of) a disc (*e.g.* pinhole or a broken bow, often the presence of a disc can only be assumed);
- (Proto-)disc-on-bow brooches have a quadrangular head-plate and a rhomboidal/triangular foot-plate;
- The foot-plates of proto-disc-on-bow brooches may have either profile heads with open jaws or heads with curled beaks at the upper part of the foot-plate. The profile heads of proto-disc-on-bow brooches usually have rather small and oblong eyes. Sometimes there are masks at the head-plate and/or foot-plate;
- The foot-plates of disc-on-bow brooches have

Table 1. Distribution of criteria 1-6 over proto-disc-on-bow brooches of Group 1.

Type	1	2	3	4	5	6
B	X	X	(X)	-	(X)	X
C	X	X	-	-	(X)	X
E3	X	X	-	-	X	?
E4	X	X	-	-	X	X
E5	X	X	-	(X)	X	(X)
E6	X	X	(X)	(X)	X	(X)
J1	X	X	X	-	-	X
J2	X	X	-	-	-	X
J3	X	X	-	(X)	X	(X)
J4	X	X	-	-	(X)	(X)
J5	X	X	(X)	-	-	X

profile heads with curled beaks and circular eyes, which are often large;

- Disc-on-bow brooches have two circular settings in the head-plate. This element is found only in the very late square-headed brooches (hybrid forms leading to the proto-disc-on-bow brooches), and is absent only in some of the early disc-on-bow brooches;
- Square-headed brooches and proto-disc-on-bow brooches have parallel-sided bows, whereas the bows of the disc-on-bow brooches have concave sides.

Without determining whether these characteristics have a chronological order, I would describe the innovations leading to the 'true' disc-on-bow brooch on the basis of the following six criteria:

1. A disc attached to the bow.
2. Quadrangular head-plate and rhomboidal or triangular foot-plate.
3. Mask between flanking profile animals at head-plate and/or foot-plate.
4. Curled beaks with (large) circular eyes at top of foot-plate.
5. Two circular settings in head-plate.
6. Bow with concave sides.

Element 3 is the only element which is not found at the 'true' disc-on-bow brooches. It may have been replaced by the elements 4 and 5. Occasionally a disc-on-bow brooch depicts a variant of element 3 (e.g. the back side of a brooch from Vikerstad, Norway, cat. 203). The elements 4 to 6 distinguish the 'true' disc-on-bow brooches from the square-headed brooch with a disc on the bow. Early brooches which show all or any of the elements 1-5, but which are lacking element

6, are considered to be proto-disc-on-bow brooches, as are the early brooches, which do not have the elements 4 and/or 5. Where the bow is pictured from an irregular angle or covered completely by the disc, the brooches are considered to be 'true' disc-on-bow brooches, if the elements 1-2 and 4-5 are present, and element 3 is absent.

Below I have listed the revised version of my 1998 typology for (proto-)disc-on-bow brooches. It contains three main groups, based upon the types in my thesis (Olsen, 1998: pp. 8ff):

Group 1: proto-disc-on-bow brooches (VSO types B, C, E3, E5-E6, J).

Group 2: disc-on-bow brooches with one terminal roundel in foot-plate (VSO types A0-A7).

Group 3: disc-on-bow brooches with three terminal roundels in foot-plate (VSO types E1-E2, E4, G).

Group 1 can be distinguished from the square-headed brooches because all brooches appear to have (once) been equipped with a (false) disc on the bow. The types within group 1 can be described according to the six criteria mentioned above. 'X' indicates that the feature is present on all the brooches, '(X)' indicates that the feature is present at some (or only one) of the brooches. Table 1 shows the proto-disc-on-bow brooches:

All brooches in group 2 and 3 have the criteria 1,2,4,5 and 6 - which according to my analysis classify them all as 'true' disc-on-bow brooches. Group 2 are the brooches with one terminal roundel, the so-called 'Gotlandic type'. Group 3 are the brooches with three terminal roundels, the so-called "Mainland type". My types are divided according to shape of the *cloisonné* inlay at the foot-plate, the distance between the round-

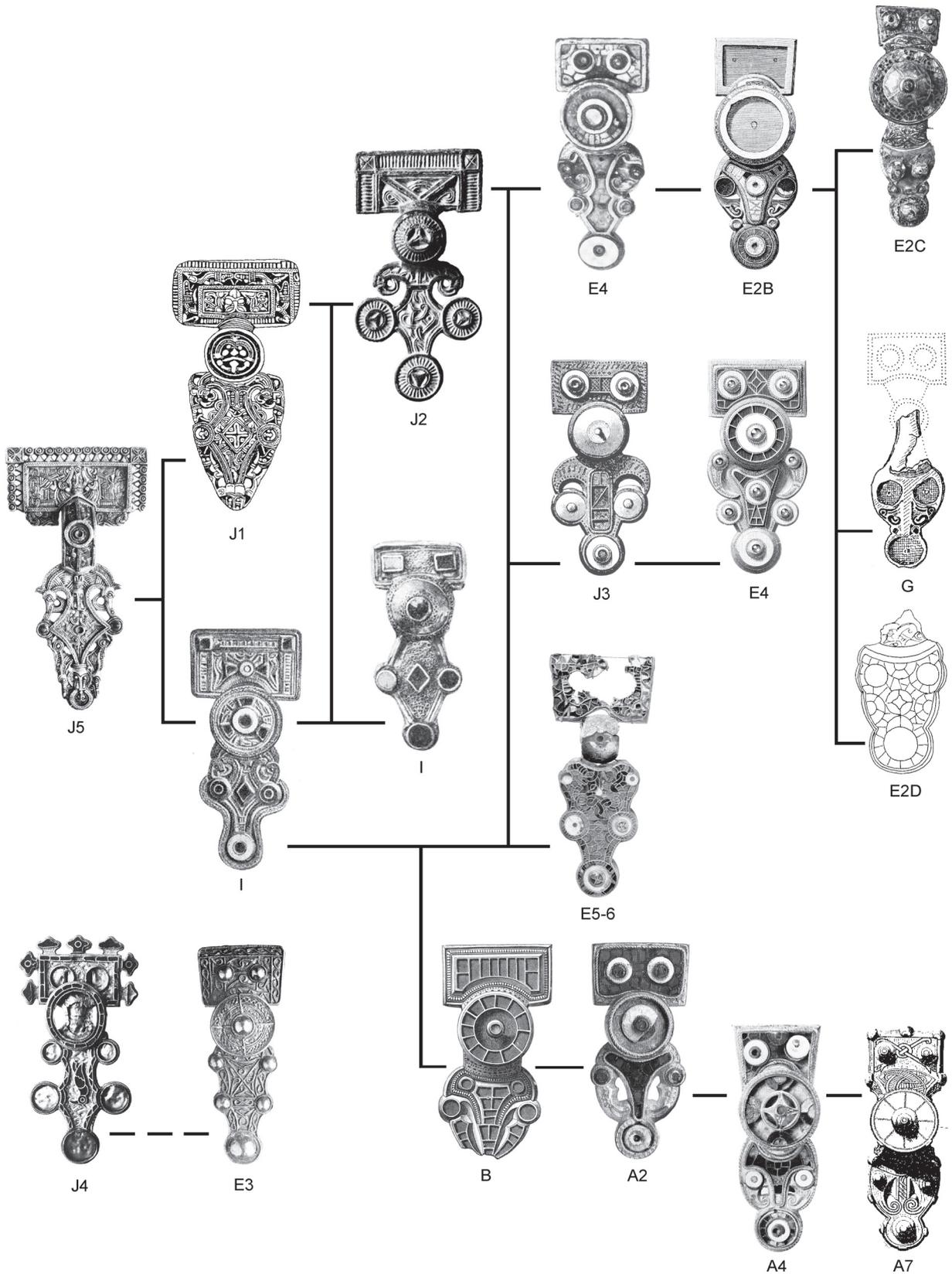


Fig. 1. Typological development of square-headed disc-on-bow brooches, according to the author.

Table 2. Typologies of disc-on-bow brooches.

VSO 1998	Ørsnes 1966	Stjerna 1905	Nerman 1924	Nerman 1969	H-N 1986	Gjessing 1934
A0	E2	1	A	VII:2-3	E2a2a	II
A1	E2	1	A	VII:1-3	E2a2a	II
A2	E2	1	A	VII:1-3	E2a2a	II
A3	E3	1	A	VII:3	E2a2a	II
A4	E3	1	A	VII:3	E2a2b	II
A5	E3	1	A	VII:4	E2a2b	II
A6	E3	1	A	VII:5	E2a2b	II
A7	-	-	-	-	-	-
B	E1	2b	-	VII:1	E2a1	-
C	E0	1	-	-	-	-
E2b	E4	2b	-	-	E2b	II
E2c	E6	2b	-	-	E2c1-2	II
E2d	E5	2b	-	-	E2c1-2	II
E4	E4	2a	B	VII:2	E2b-c	II
E5	E0	-	-	-	-	-
G	E5 (p. 114)	2b	B	-	-	p. 139
I/J1	E0	2a	B	-	-	I

els at the foot-plate, the profile of the bow, the style of the 'hemispheric' crown at the disc, the use of entrelac patterns and animal styles for decoration of the bow as well as at the sides of the foot-plate, which I believe to be distinguishing features.

In my 1998 thesis I catalogued and illustrated 18 different types of disc-on-bow brooches (fig. 1). Type I/J1 is defined as proto-disc-on-bow brooch. Table 1 shows the development of type J, the proto-disc-on-bow brooch, which developed into the disc-on-bow brooch with the types B, C, E3–6 and J3 as hybrid types. In table 2 I have compared some of my 1998 types with the typologies of disc-on-bow brooches by Stjerna (1905), Nerman (1924), Gjessing (1934), Ørsnes (1966) and Højlund-Nielsen (1986) (H-N).

Type A has a terminal circular lobe at the foot-plate and two flanking profile heads with circular eyes and curled beaks at the top of the foot-plate. There is a chronology of eight sub-types (A0–A7). The chronology is based on Nerman (1969) (Olsen, 1998: p. 9). A0–2 date to 575–650 AD, A3–A6 date to 650–725 AD:

- A0: The head-plate has two circular settings. No *cloissoné* inlay on head-plate and foot-plate.
- A1: The head-plate has two circular settings. I-shaped *cloissoné* inlay on foot-plate.
- A2: The head-plate has two circular settings. T-shaped *cloissoné* inlay on foot-plate.
- A3: The head-plate has no circular settings. *Cloissoné*

inlay on head-plate and foot-plate.

- A4: The head-plate has two circular settings. T-shaped *cloissoné* inlay on foot-plate. The bow and the sides are decorated with engraved figures or entrelac patterns. The bow disc is adorned with a crown, which is divided into four parts.
- A5: The head-plate has two circular settings. T-shaped *cloissoné* inlay on foot-plate. The bow is adorned with animal style and the sides are decorated with entrelac patterns. The bow disc is adorned with a crown, which is divided into four parts.
- A6: The head-plate has two circular settings. T-shaped *cloissoné* inlay on foot-plate. The bow and the sides are decorated with animal style. The bow disc is adorned with a crown, which is divided into four parts.
- A7: The head-plate has two circular bosses. No *cloissoné* inlay on head-plate and foot-plate. T-shaped gold foil may be attached to the foot-plate. The bow disc is decorated with a cross figure and a boss.

Type B have no, two or three circular settings in the head-plate. The foot-plate has a terminal circular lobe and two profile heads with straight beaks. B dates to 575–650 AD.

Type C (some with false discs) are of poor quality. Mostly they have no circular settings in the head-plate.

Type E has three lobes, two small lateral and one large terminal. The two profile heads have circular eyes. The head-plate has two round settings. The VSO chronology of six sub-types follows Ørsnes (types E0–E6) and Højlund-Nielsen (1986)(H–N types E2a–E2c) (Olsen, 1998: p. 9) Ørsnes dates his E0–2 and E4 to 575–650 AD, E3 and E5 date to 650–725 AD, E6 dates to 725–800 AD.

E2b: T-shaped *cloissoné* inlay in foot-plate. Bow and sides adorned with entrelac pattern or in animal style.

E2c: *Cloissoné* inlay at foot-plate and head-plate. No profile heads. The bow and sides are adorned with an entrelac pattern or in animal style. The disc is adorned with a crown, which is divided in eight parts.

E2d: head-plate and foot-plate are completely covered with *cloissoné* inlay. Profile heads are heavily stylised with large round eyes. The sides are decorated with an entrelac pattern. The bow is adorned in animal style.

E3: Filigrain decoration. The head-plate has two circular bosses. There is a separation between the four lateral and the terminal boss, which is larger.

E4: *Cloissoné* decoration. The head-plate may have two circular settings. There is a separation between the lateral and terminal lobes, which are the same size. There are no profile heads.

E5: The head-plate has two circular settings. There is no *cloissoné* inlay. There is a separation between the lateral and terminal lobes, which are the same size. The profile heads are small and stylised.

E6: The head-plate has two circular settings. The head-plate and foot-plate are covered with *cloissoné* inlay. There is a separation between the lateral and terminal lobes. The profile heads are small and stylised.

Type G has a single terminal lobe and profile animals with very large circular eyes. This type is defined by Gjessing (1934: p. 139).

Type J has a bow disc and three lobes of equal size at the foot-plate. These are defined as proto-disc-on-bow brooches. It appears that the types I and J1 are identical and therefore they may be merged. Type J has a bow disc and three lobes of equal size at the foot-plate. These may be defined as proto-disc-on-bow brooches.

I/J1: There are no circular settings in the head-plate. Between the lateral lobes is a lozenge shaped decoration (stud or inlay). Some may have a false disc.

J2: There are no circular settings in the head-plate. It has three protruding lobes at the foot-plate.

J3: Has one, two or three circular settings in the head-plate. It has three lobes and animal heads in the foot-plate.

J4: Head-plate is framed by protruding lobes. It has five protruding lobes at the foot-plate.

J5: Head-plate has no circular settings. Animal heads on foot-plate; it has a false disc on the bow.

The Anglo-Saxon origin of the disc-on-bow innovations can be seen at the square-headed brooches from England. There are several of the English brooches, which have a stud on the bow, indicating the later development of the disc-on-bow. Bow discs with *cloissoné* inlay could have been inspired by Anglo Saxon disc brooches. Avent mentions that a disc brooch might be attached to a square headed brooch (Avent, 1975: p. 25). The most interesting brooches in his Class 2.1 are those from Dover (Avent, 1975: No. 27) and Howletts (Avent, 1975: No. 29), “These are not true (disc) brooches, but rather discs attached to the bows of square-headed brooches”.

According to Avent, a careful examination of these brooches revealed that the discs were contemporary with their original manufacture and not later additions. This was further substantiated by the identical nature of the central setting on the disc and the setting on the terminal lobe of the foot-plate on the Howletts brooch (Avent, 1975: p. 9). It is unfortunate that neither of these square-headed brooches were recorded with their associated grave-goods. There could not be found better proof that the Class 2.1 keystone garnet disc brooches were contemporary with this type of square-headed brooch, which would be dated to the second half of the sixth century. A pair of similar disc-brooches (Avent, 1975: Nos 23 and 24) from grave 29 at Bifrons were found with B and D-type bracteates and a pair of Frankish radiate-headed brooches, while another pair of disc-brooches (Avent, 1975: Nos 31 and 32) from grave 44 at Lymminge were found with a pair of square-headed brooches, a perforated silver spoon and a crystal ball. Another crystal ball and two square-headed brooches were found with a single brooch (Avent, 1975: No. 22) in grave 64 at Bifrons (Avent, 1975: p. 25). The crystal ball found with the disc brooches and the square-headed brooch-

es at Lymminge and Bifrons seems related to a grave from Årslev in Denmark (Olsen, 1998: cat. 764). The Årslev grave goods included a magnificent golden brooch with a disc on the bow and a polished crystal ball with a magical inscription in Greek (Jørgensen & Vang Petersen ed., 1998: p. 176). According to some the Årslev grave is from period C3; others believe that the brooch (and the grave) should be dated within period C2 (Storgaard, 1994: pp. 160ff; information by U. Näsman).

The Keystone Garnet Disc Brooches of Avent's Classes 1.1, 1.2, and 2.2 were found together with square-headed brooches (establishing dating to the second half of the sixth century). None of the Plated Disc Brooches or the Composite Brooches has been found with square-headed brooches. A few of these brooches were found together with D-bracteates (Avent, 1975: pp. 41ff). The Garnet Disc Brooches of Avent's Classes 2.3–9, 3.1–6, 4–7 (Late 6th to Early 7th century) have often been found without any associated grave goods. The production of square-headed brooches in Kent ceased during the third quarter of the 6th century. In the rest of England square-headed brooches were made from the beginning of the 6th century and probably remained current until the conclusion of pagan burial rituals (Leeds, 1949: p. 4). Avent describes one of the disc brooches as part of a disc-on-bow brooch:

“This brooch (Howletts) is not a true (disc) brooch in itself but rather a decorative disc attached to the bow of a square-headed brooch. There is no evidence to suggest that this disc was originally a separate brooch, on the contrary, the balance of evidence points to the disc being original. The same type of garnet setting and ornament appear on the rest of the square-headed brooch, and a careful examination of the back of the disc indicates that at no time the disc had a separate means of attachment” (Avent, 1975: p. 9).

The gilded silver disc of the Howletts brooch had a diameter of 2.8 cm and was identical to the other disc brooches which were examined by Avent. The disc was fastened to the bow of a square-headed brooch with a rivet. It appears that several square-headed brooches have a hole on the bow where a rivet may have held a disc (Hines, 1997: figs 84–86). The large, relatively flat central setting of the disc-on-bow brooch from Howletts has close affinities with Avent's Class 2.1 disc brooches (Avent, 1975: p. 9). However, its similarity to the discs of the Scandinavian disc-on-bow brooches of type VSO-B from Kobbeå, grave 2, and Köping at Öland (cat. no. 702 and 676) is also notable. The disc and head-plate of a Gotlandic disc-

on-bow brooch of type VSO-A0 from Hellvi (cat. no. 525) looks like disc brooches of Avent's Class 7.4. They have raised settings with small garnet cabochon inlays. Round glass or garnet settings in the head-plate are only known from Anglian and Scandinavian brooches (Hines, 1997: p. 32).

3. DANISH IMPORTS IN ENGLAND – ICONOGRAPHY OF THE SQUARE-HEADED BROOCHES

To understand how the English brooches developed and how their appearance was altered, we have to go back to the late 5th century, where the idea of square-headed brooches was apparently brought to Kent from Southern Jutland. In this article I do not intend to debate whether the process occurred because of emigration or as a result of acculturation. According to Leeds, there was no evidence to show that Anglian artificers brought production knowledge of the undivided foot-plate (without a median ridge or bar) with them; he believed they acquired this knowledge only after their arrival in England (Leeds, 1949: p. 31). Hines considers the median foot-plate bar to be an insignificant feature of English square-headed brooches (Hines, 1997: p. 13). An early example of a brooch with undivided foot-plate was found in Stodmarsh in Kent (cat. 111). This brooch is decorated in a very similar fashion to a disc-on-bow brooch found at Kitnæs on the Danish island Sjælland (cat. 751) (fig. 2), and it may be a Danish import (Olsen, 1998: p. 23). The head-plate decoration of another brooch from Stodmarsh (cat. 116) closely resembles a head-plate decoration in the 5th century Sösdala style found on a brooch from Kvarmløse, which also lies on Sjælland (Leth-Larsen, 1985: p. 62).

“The difference in quality between the majority of the English great square-headed brooches (whose foot-plate was divided by a median bar) and those of Denmark and Scandinavia is undeniable, making any attempt at equation a difficult problem. Almost all the Danish examples from the late 5th–7th century are of silver. Those of the 5th–6th centuries are particularly fine in quality. The (Jutish) invaders of Kent were of a lower economical status than those represented by the Danish burials. There is in the Danish archaeological material little evidence at the southern end of the Jutish peninsula of any wealth comparable with that available for the northern half” (Leeds, 1949: p. 121f).

Knowing the exquisite brooches from Galsted (Haseloff, 1981: Taf. 9) and Skodborg (fig. 2), I disa-

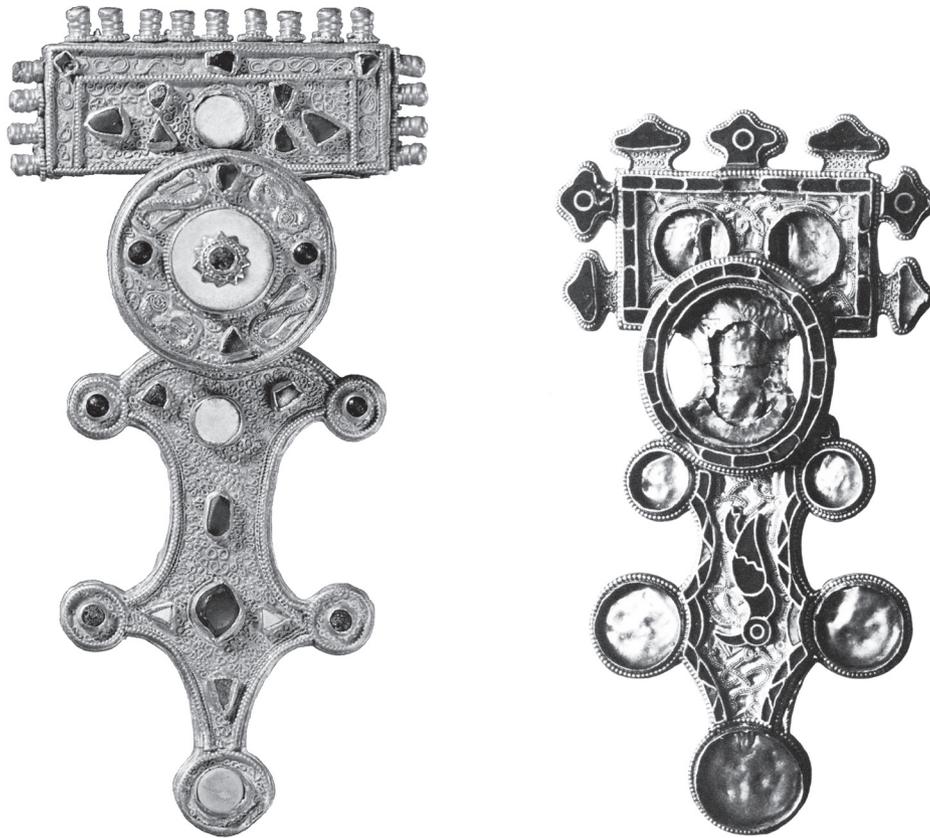


Fig. 2. Disc-on-bow brooches of type J4 from Kitnaes (cat. no. 751, left) and Skodborg (cat. no. 754, right) (after Munksgaard, 1966a and Haseloff, 1981). Full size

gree that there was no wealth in Southern Jutland. The archaeological source material for most of Denmark is limited, as there are not any records of burials with square-headed brooches, except for the island of Bornholm (information Näsman). I am confident that products from southern Jutish workshops reached Frisia and Kent. I also think that there is a great deal of similarity between the Kentish square-headed brooches with undivided feet and the Frisian, Danish and Norwegian square-headed brooches and in my opinion these brooches are related. In this chapter I will attempt to describe how the decoration of the English and the Scandinavian brooches developed, and list the iconographic similarity in the brooches of these regions. Through this I hope to contribute to a better understanding of the iconography of the Wijnaldum brooch and its Frisian siblings.

Rampant profile animals are always associated with an undivided foot. According to Leeds rampant animals emanated from the Rhineland (Leeds, 1949: p. 4); later debates have ended with the generally accepted conclusion that rampant animals stem from a

southern Scandinavian source (Hines, 1997: p. 54f). We find rampant animals at the head-plate and the foot-plate of brooches with a disc on the bow from Skerne, Galsted and Holmgård in South-Western and Eastern Denmark. A brooch from Engers, Rheinland-Pfalz (Haseloff, 1981: Taf. 12:1) has rampant animals “heraldically adorned, their heads meeting at the middle and turned upwards to face the top/middle of the foot-plate”, similar to a brooch from Finglesham D3 (Leeds, 1949: Pl. 1). In the square-headed brooch from Lakenheath the rampant animals are found to be flanking a mask in the head-plate (Leeds, 1949: Pl. 19). Kentish models apparently introduced the rampant animal motif into East Anglia. The development from rampant animals into beaked profile heads (through the intermediary ‘biting heads’) apparently took place in the non-Kentish areas of England. We see in the profile heads, that “as soon a beak has been added, the nose or snout becomes a quiff!” (Leeds, 1949: p. 23f). The proto-disc-on-bow brooch from Brooke has beaked profile heads, as well as has the brooches of Leeds’ type A4 (Leeds, 1949: Pls 32–39 and 65).

The proto-disc-on-bow brooch from Bifrons grave 41 (cat. 110; fig. 3) shows rampant profile animals flanking a mask in the head-plate, as well as beaked profile animals flanking a large upturned mask in its inner head-plate panel. The disc on the bow represents a human mask. At the upper part of the foot-plate are both profile heads with curled beaks and animals marching downwards; there are two discs with human masks at the lateral lobes (the lateral points at the lozenge-shaped inner panel of the foot-plate). At the top and bottom of the lozenge panel is a frontal human mask “with cat-like whiskers instead of moustache” (Leeds, 1949: p. 8f, Pl. 3). At the brooches from Gilton (cat. 126) and Richborough (cat. 117), biting heads replace the rampant animals. A brooch from Guildown, grave 206, has biting heads with forked tongues; one of the jaws is curled backwards (Leeds, 1949: pp. 11–14, Pl. 7). On a brooch from Chessell Down (Leeds, 1949: Pl. 8) a long snout intervenes between the jaws and the eye, and the widespread jaws terminate at one end in a beaked head and at the other in an “eyelike finial” (Leeds, 1949: p. 14). These square-headed brooches represent different stages of the development from square-headed brooches into the proto-disc-on-bow brooch. Many English square-headed brooches have a central circular or lozenge-shaped setting in the foot-plate panel; some of these brooches also have two circular settings in the head-plate. These decorative elements are also present in some of the early proto-disc-on-bow brooches from Denmark and Sweden.

A head-plate from Tranum in Northern Jutland, Denmark, is considered equivalent to the head-plate of a brooch from Holywell Row 11, England, which also has two circular settings on the head-plate (Hines, 1997: fig. 27a and c). The two circular settings in the head-plate inner fields is attributed to direct Scandinavian influence; and the large mask at the terminal lobe as well as the spiral carved fields in the head-plate of Holywell Row 11 are also considered to belong to a Scandinavian tradition (Hines, 1997: p. 54). Thus there are several features which link the English brooches with Denmark. Indeed the Danish Gummersmark brooch has been considered an “early ancestor” to English square-headed brooches (Hines, 1997: p. 40, fig. 16). The Stodmarsh (cat. 111) and Richborough (cat. 117) square-headed brooches may represent a direct link to Danish brooches (Leeds, 1949: Pl. 5). The shape and decoration of the Stodmarsh brooch has a lot of similarities with the Kitnæs brooch (cat. 751). The decoration on the disc of the Richborough brooch consists of four serpentine animals, equivalent to the serpentine animals on the

disc of the Kitnæs brooch. The similarities between these two brooches, which were found at distant locations, prove that there must have been close contacts between England and Southern Scandinavia at that time. It is therefore possible to assume that the population of these two areas had a comparable social structure and that they expressed status in a similar way, using highly adorned brooches as a common factor.

A recurrent feature on the English and Scandinavian square-headed brooches is a mask adorning the head-plate, or the upper half of the foot-plate. In this position it is often depicted between two flanking animals. To understand the meaning of this iconographic element (and before we can determine its purpose in the brooches) we have first to know the variations in which it appears.

The inner field of the head-plate at a square-headed brooch from Fridaythorpe, England (Hines, 1997: fig. 83b) seems to represent a giant mask. The square-headed brooch from Holywell Row 11 has a mask flanked by two circular settings in the head-plate. In the upper part of the foot-plate there is a miniature mask between two rampant animals, which means that the decorative elements of the head-plate are repeated at the foot-plate (Leeds, 1949: p. 17, Pl. 11). A mask in the head-plate of the Richborough brooch (cat. 117) is repeated by a smaller mask between two profile animals in the foot-plate of the same brooch. An early disc-on-bow brooch found at Gotland (cat. 534) also has a miniature *cloisonné* mask in the foot-plate, which proves to us that Kentish brooches are not unique in having a mask between two profile animals in the foot-plate.

When we compare the Southern Scandinavian brooches from Gummersmark (Sjövold, 1993: D7) and Skåne (Sjövold, 1993: S5) with the brooch from Skerne (cat. 757, Sjövold, 1993: D10), we see that the three circular fields at the terminal end of its foot-plate may represent a mask. The foot-plate of the Vedstrup brooch (cat. 761; fig. 3) shows an interesting detail. Apparently it has a wolf-head between the profile animals. This could however also be a distorted mask with the so-called “whiskers” similar to the mask in the foot-plate of the brooch from Bifrons, grave 41 (cat. 110). It appears that the foot-plate of the Vedstrup brooch also has a mask between the animals.

Masks may be positioned in different parts of the brooch. The most common places are in the centre of the head-plate, at the disc-on-bow, in the top centre of the foot-plate, or at the medallion-shaped lateral and terminal lobes. Oval motifs in the upper part of head-plate corners also seem to be derived from masks

(Hines, 1997: p. 162, fig. 81a–h). We find such masks at the square-headed brooches from Keelby (Hines, 1997: fig. 81d) and Laceby (Hines, 1997: fig. 81e), but as there are no oval motifs in the head-plate corners of the other proto-disc-on-bow brooches, this does not appear to be a significant feature.

The conclusion is that the masks on square-headed brooches are mostly depicted in four ways:

1. Giant masks in the inner field of the head-plate.
2. Small masks between two circular settings in the head-plate.
3. Small masks between two animals at top of the foot-plate.
4. Masks at the lateral or terminal lobes of the foot-plate.

The innovations in England and Scandinavia appear to have had a direct influence on the maker of the Wijnaldum brooch, as the mask between two profile animals can also be found in the upper foot-plate at this brooch (fig. 4). There has been a debate as to whether the decoration of the brooch includes a mask. Schoneveld stated that it is a stylised depiction of a “man between two animals”, created by the bands between the two flanking animals (Schoneveld, 1999: p. 193). This band also appears to create the front legs of the animal (Nicolay, 1998: p. 40). Schoneveld’s hypothesis has been rejected because the animals are not turning their faces towards the man, but rather looking outwards and downwards. This fact should not confuse us, however, nor should we deny the depiction of a mask in the Wijnaldum brooch. During the transitional period a number of the English square-headed brooches have masks between two animals, which are also looking outwards. In my opinion, the animal heads at these brooches have been turned outwards for compositional reasons. There are a number of square-headed brooches, which show us the subject of a mask and an animal, which are united in one picture. The man and the animal can be viewed as a whole or independently, so that the combination of man and animal(s) yield us a triple interpretation of the picture: animal upside down, giant mask or small mask between two animals. I have identified several examples of pictures with such a double (or triple) interpretation. In a future article I will examine the ideas and beliefs behind this complicated iconography.

Some of the masks at the terminal lobes and upper foot-plates of square-headed brooches can be viewed in two ways. They frequently show a man with a grave gaze and a huge moustache. When viewed upside down they resemble an animal head with big jaws

and large eyebrows (see Hines, 1997: fig. 45a). Leeds has interpreted this as a human face with cat whiskers (Leeds, 1949: p. 8).

“The lower end of the foot-plate of the square-headed brooch from Rothley Temple ends in a huge mask with a moustache. The fine curling moustaches are terminating in diminutive beaked heads” (Leeds, 1949: p. 18, fig. 12).

Other square-headed brooches show that two profile animals can create a frontal human mask. Haseloff describes how the mask between the two animal figures in the head-plate becomes part of the animal bodies at the proto-disc-on-bow brooches from Bifrons (fig. 2) and Faversham (Haseloff, 1981: pp. 452–3, figs 293 and 293a–c). A square-headed brooch from Lunde in Southern Norway depicts a mask between two animals in the head-plate. This motif is equivalent to the motif in the head-plate of a proto-disc-on-bow brooch from Achlum in Frisia (cat. 152).

The head-plate of another proto-disc-on-bow brooch from Laneset in Troms, Norway (cat. 207) supposedly depicts a mask between two animals, hardly recognisable to the unaccustomed viewer (Haseloff, 1981: p. 447). A related motif of mask and two animals can also be found combined on a ferrule from Gudme in Denmark (Thrane, 1993: p. 47, fig. 30) and at the mounds for a sword grip and a ferrule from Tureholm in Sweden.

“One seems to be looking at terrifying face masks. But looking closer, one finds that the face on the ferrule consists of two horse-like animal heads with their foreheads pressed together” (Knape, 1994: p. 35).

The motif of a mask between two animals can also be found on the foot-plate of the Wijnaldum brooch, and following my interpretation it can depict either a ‘worshipper’, a mask flanked by two animals, or a man transforming into an animal (Olsen, 2000: p. 117f)

Because of the great degree of stylisation and the unusual shapes of the *cloisonné* work in the decoration of the Wijnaldum brooch, the mask between animals in the foot-plate is not identical with the motif at the other English and Scandinavian square-headed brooches. In addition substantial damage to the head-plate hinders our attempts to interpret the scene. To get an idea of the nature of the illustrated scene, one should examine the buckle-plate from Åker in Norway, which equals the Wijnaldum brooch in the high quality of its craftsmanship and decoration. This buckle-plate with *cloisonné* work depicts a more naturalistic depiction of the motif ‘man between animals’. The motif may be considered related to the stylised representation at the Wijnaldum brooch (Arrhenius, 1983: p. 140, fig. 11).

Table 3. Appearance of decorative elements at square-headed brooches.

Elements Sjøvold 1993	count 1	count 2	%1	%2	significance
3. Separated knobs along outline	15	1	17	5	-
5. Clearly expanded bow	26	0	30	0	--
9. Divided foot-plate	47	1	53	5	--
13. Gilding	47	18	53	86	+
17. Spiral ornament (scrolls)	34	4	39	19	--
25. Head-plate corners with crosses	5	6	6	29	+
27. Prolonged median bar (see 9)	16	0	18	0	-
32. Animal ornament on head-plate	47	16	53	76	+
34. Three longitudinal ridges on bow	51	4	58	19	--
43. Other types of ornament	35	3	40	14	--
46. Triangular fields flanking the bar	28	0	32	0	--
55. Medallion-shaped terminal lobe	19	10	22	48	+
56. Terminal lobe shape: mask/animal	57	11	64	52	-
a. Mask in the head-plate	9	8	10	38	+
b. Mask in upper part of the foot-plate	7	1	8	5	-

Legend:

- + Indication of a bow-disc in combination with the listed decorative element,
- Slight contradiction to the presence of a bow-disc,
- Major contradiction to the presence of a bow-disc (with a difference more than 20%).

I have described the several ways in which masks appear at proto-disc-on-bow brooches. Based on the remaining cloissons, it is possible to interpret the head-plate of the Wijnaldum brooch as a giant mask (the circular settings would be its two eyes), perhaps flanked by two small reclining animals at the sides of the head-plate frame. Another possibility would be that the missing *cloissons* in the middle of the head-plate could represent a miniature mask, being flanked by two large animals, whose eyes would be the circular settings (fig. 5). The positions of mask(s) at other square-headed brooches gives us information about the sources of inspiration influencing the maker of the Wijnaldum brooch.

Human masks at the lateral and terminal lobes are distinguishing elements of square-headed brooches in the analysis of Sjøvold (Sjøvold, 1993: p. 126, element no. 52 and 56). I have examined the appearance of the masks and other elements on:

88 brooches without disc-on-bow listed and 21 brooches with disc-on-bow listed by Sjøvold (1993).

Table 3 shows how many times a particular element (selected by me from the list by Sjøvold) appears among the 88 square-headed brooches without disc-on-bow (count 1) and the 21 square-headed brooches with disc on bow (count 2). The number of brooches depicted in this study (109) is sufficient to do a per-

centage analysis. The percentages of the two counts show the significance of one particular element, related to the presence of a disc on the bow of the investigated square-headed brooches. I have added and examined the presence of the elements: a. mask in the head-plate and b. mask in the upper part of the foot-plate, which were not investigated by Sjøvold.

The elements 13, 25, 32, 55 and a. appear to be indicators pointing towards the square-headed brooches with a disc on the bow. We see that certain decorative elements seem to contradict the presence of a bow-disc. These include such elements as an expanded bow with three longitudinal ridges, or a divided foot-plate with a prolonged median bar, with triangular fields flanking the bar. Animal ornaments, masks and crosses in the head-plate are often combined with medallion shaped terminal lobes and these are often found on brooches with a bow-disc. Bow-discs occur less often on brooches with a terminal lobe in the shape of a mask or animal.

(Fragments of) square-headed brooches from Denmark, England, Belgium and Switzerland (Olsen, 1998: cat. nos 760, 802, 110, 970, 161) show us that the bow-disc or the bow itself could also be adorned with a mask. There are no Norwegian square-headed brooches with a mask on the disc, but an interesting fragment from Rogaland, Norway apparently has a facial mask on the bow itself (Sjøvold, 1993: pl. 18,

Table 4. The percentages of the 109 brooches of Sjövoid.

<i>Count</i>	<i>Percentage</i>	
14	13%	which have foot-plates with a mask in the upper half
46	42%	which have foot-plates with a mask at the terminal end
24	22%	which have head-plates with a mask
66	60%	which have mask(s) at any part of the brooch

N48). The mask in the upper part of the foot-plate seems to appear with the same frequency in square-headed brooches with a disc-on-bow, but the mask in the head-plate appears almost four times more frequently in square-headed brooches with a disc-on-bow. Square-headed brooches without a bow-disc more generally have a mask (or animal head) as their terminal lobe. I therefore assume that medallion-shaped terminal lobes, animal ornaments and a mask on the head-plate are complementary elements to the early disc-on-bow brooches, and furthermore that a bow-disc might be replaced by a mask on the terminal lobe.

A square-headed brooch from Keelby, England originally had a disc riveted on the bow, as may have been the case with several other square-headed brooches. This makes it hard to distinguish between English square-headed brooches and English proto-disc-on-bow brooches. Several English proto-disc-on-bow brooches have false discs and it is arguable if the English square-headed brooches with a stud on the bow should be considered as part of this group. Some of them are included in the analysis below.

I selected 66 square-headed brooches from Norway, Sweden and Denmark, which were listed by Sjövoid (1993), and which I chose because they have the representation of a mask: 1. in the head-plate; 2. at the upper half of the foot-plate; 3. at the terminal end of the foot-plate. Sjövoid's study was based on a total number of 109 brooches, of which 43 brooches do not appear to have any masks as decoration. The percentages of the 109 brooches of Sjövoid are listed in table 4.

I have analysed the differences in the decorative elements of the 66 Scandinavian square-headed brooches, which have mask(s) depicted on any part of the brooch. From the analysis I got the results listed in table 5.

The analysis proves that in Scandinavia, a terminal mask at the foot-plate occurs at $(9+14+12+36=71\%)$ of the brooches, more than three times as frequently as a mask in the upper half of the foot-plate, $(9+12=21\%)$ and almost twice as frequently as a mask in the head-plate $9+14+15=38\%$. A head-plate with

a mask, in combination with a foot-plate without a mask, seems to be a typical Scandinavian phenomenon, as does a head-plate without a mask, in combination with a mask at the terminal end of the foot-plate only. A mask in the head-plate can also be found in the brooch from Achlum in Frisia (cat. 152). The brooches with masks in the head-plate, at the terminal end as well as in the upper half of the foot-plate seem to be a typically English phenomenon. Brooches with a mask in the upper half of the foot-plate are rare in Scandinavia, and this makes me believe that the link between the square-headed brooches from England and the Wijnaldum brooch is stronger than its connection with Scandinavian brooches. If the Wijnaldum brooch had a mask in its head-plate, as well as a mask in the upper half of its foot-plate (without a mask at the terminal end of its foot-plate), it would be unique, as this style of decoration has never been found among square-headed brooches in England and Scandinavia.

4. ICONOLOGY OF (PROTO-)DISC-ON-BOW BROOCHES

A mask between two animals can be found on square-headed brooches and on proto-disc-on-bow brooches, for example the brooches from Galsted, Bifrons 41, Gilton 48, Richborough, Donzdorf and Pompey (Haseloff, 1981: Abb. 24–28). This motif was originally found on headplates and on bow discs of several English square-headed brooches, including the Juttish brooch from Galsted and the brooch from Bifrons 41 (cat. 110). According to Haseloff, the mask between two animals is a Germanic adaption of the pagan Roman motif of Okeanoskopfes between two dolphins (Haseloff, 1981: table 10/1). In the brooches found at Galsted, Engers and Finglesham rampant animals rise on their hind legs in a similar style to the Okeanoskopfes dolphins (Haseloff, 1981: p. 108, fig. 67 1–3). Haseloff's surmise that the scene refers to Daniel in the lions' den is questionable, as this motif occurs exclusively in Christian contexts, whereas the brooches are of pagan provenance. The nature of the flanking animals has been debated; they are believed

Table 5. Results analysis of the decorative elements of the 66 Scandinavian square-headed brooches.

Count	Percentage	
6	9%	have foot-plates with a mask at both the upper half and terminal ends, and also a mask in the head-plate
9	14%	have masks in the head-plate, and masks only at the terminal end of the foot-plate
0	0%	have masks in the head-plate, and mask only in the upper half of the foot-plate
8	12%	have foot-plates with masks at both the upper half and terminal ends, without a mask in the head-plate
10	15%	have a mask in the head-plate without any masks in the foot-plate
24	36%	have no mask in the head-plate with mask only at the terminal end of the foot-plate
0	0%	have no mask in the head-plate with mask only in the upper half of the foot-plate

to be hybrids between human and animal (Haseloff, 1981: p. 131f, fig. 75 1–7). The *Dioskuren* played an important role in the Germanic tribal *sagae* as the mythological twin-kings. Originally they appeared as horses (Polomé, 1994: p. 100). The divine twins were the sons of the sky god (Ellis Davidson, 1967: p. 88). Tacitus referred to the Alcis-twins, who were worshipped by the Naharnarvali in their forest sanctuary (Germania, chapter 43). Other sources state that the Alcis-twins were worshipped by North Sea tribes, their priests dressed like women (Ellis Davidson, 1967: p. 90). This observation is an important clue to the iconology of disc-on-bow brooches and may also give us insights in the origin of the veneration of the god Óðinn.

The bearded head on the upper foot-plate of the bi-conical brooch from Holmgaard, Denmark (cat. 720) is similar to the mask between animals in the upper foot-plate of the Wijnaldum brooch. The foot-plate of the Wijnaldum brooch (fig. 4) depicts a complex illustration which can be interpreted in three ways: as a human mask, as two flanking animals, or as a human in transformation to an animal. Many proto-disc-on-bow brooches merely show a stylised depiction of a mask between two animals. The meaning of these masks is believed to be foreshortened worshippers. These masks show an extreme simplification of the worshipper motif. Examples of *orans* (worshippers with raised arms) can also be found at the Ålleberg collar from Sweden, at the back of the 8th century disc-on-bow brooch from Vikerstad, Norway (cat. 203), and at the hemispherical ‘coronels’ that rise above the discs of two 9th century disc-on-bow brooches from Gotland (Holmqvist, 1980; Arbman, 1937: fig. 37; Thunmark Nylén, 1995: fig. 134a). Among the square-headed brooches we can find several examples of masks, which are part of the iconography of these brooches. The masks usually include four elements: heavy eyebrows, staring eyes, a pronounced triangular nose and a huge moustache (Leeds, 1949: p. 21, fig. 2a–q). Turning the masks upside down it is possible to interpret the motif as an

animal with a large maul and huge nostrils. It would also be possible to interpret the whole brooch as an anthropomorphic figure: the head-plate depicts a frontal face with two staring eyes. Two identical profile animal heads create a giant frontal mask in the bucket plate from Snartemo V, Norway (Haseloff, 1981: p. 740, fig. 520). In the brooches from Bifrons 41 and Vedstrup we recognize the same kind of mask in their terminal lobes, validating this double interpretation of the iconography at the brooches (fig. 3). Hence the brooches with a mask at the terminal lobe may depict a (foreshortened) worshipper between two animals. These animals are also found in the upper foot-plate of disc-on-bow brooches and may represent the *dioscuren* in animal shape. Another possible interpretation of the brooches would be that they depict the pagan cosmos of the lands *Asgard* and *Midgard*, which were connected through a rainbow (the bow) (Ellis Davidson, 1988: pp. 165ff).

The Galsted brooch is one of the earliest proto-disc-on-bow brooches. On its head-plate we see the face of a man flanked by two animals with hanging tongues, resembling the so-called “twisted horse of Balder” at C-bracteates. Some C-bracteates show a horse which has its tongue hanging from its mouth. The flanking animals on the Galsted brooch have manes like horses, and I suggest that these flanking animals represent horses similar to those on the bracteates. The two horses are flanking an human mask, seemingly either attacking him simultaneously or whispering something in his ears. When comparing the C-bracteate from London (Hauck, 1974: p. 100, fig. 1b) with the Vedstrup and Gummersmark brooches, it is obvious that the flanking animals at these brooches also represent horses. The profile heads at the upper part of their foot-plates are shown as two horses with their tongues hanging from their mouths. A square-headed brooch from Nordheim in Norway has a naturalistic drawing of a horse on the reverse of the head-plate, which supports the assumption that the animals on the head-plates of square-headed brooches should also be

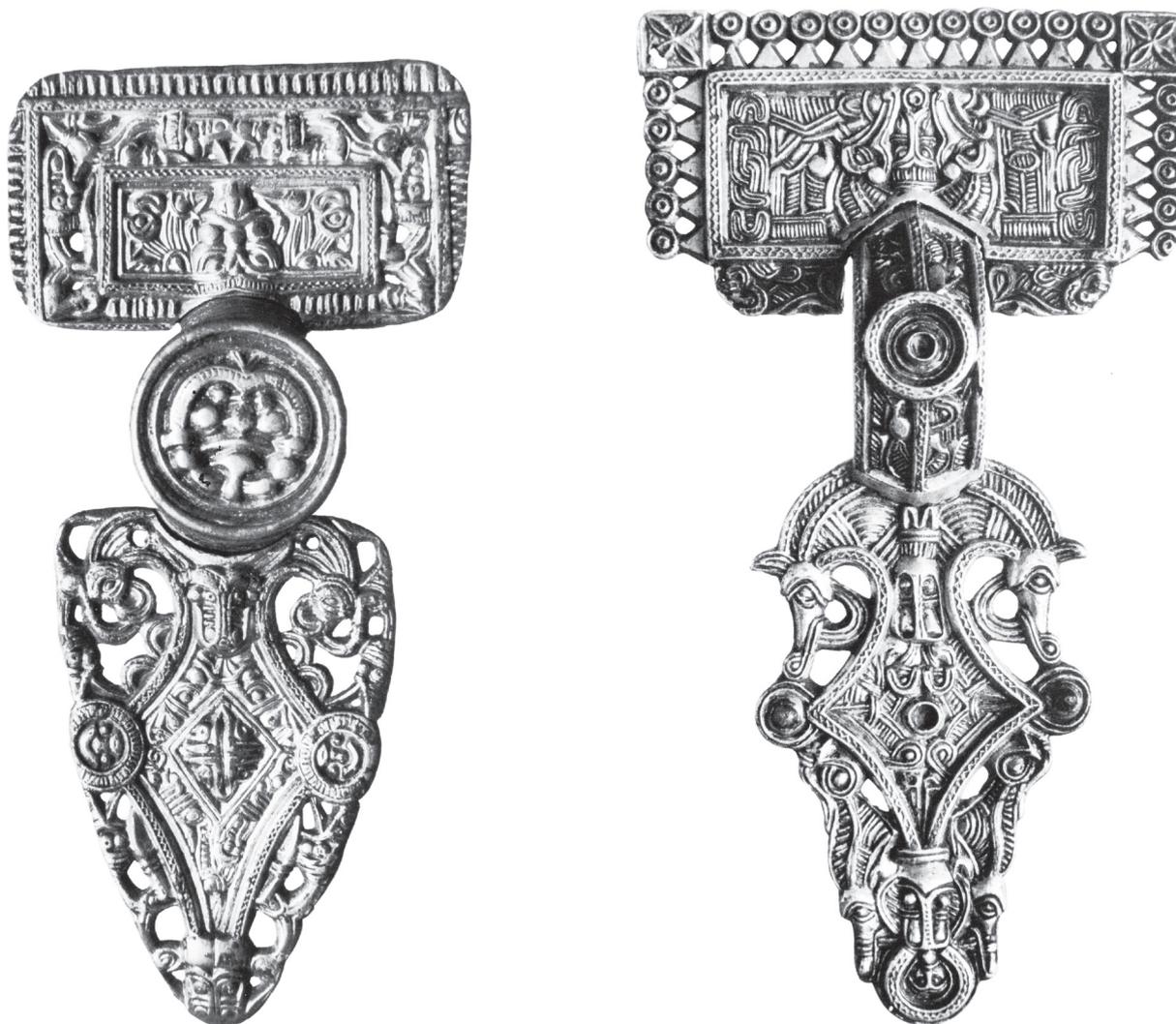


Fig. 3. Disc-on-bow brooches of type I/J1 from Bifrons, grave 41 (cat. no. 110, left) and type J5 from Vedstrup (cat. no. 761, right) (after Haseloff, 1981). Full size

interpreted as horses (Hines, 1997: fig. 69i). The so-called “Jutlandic” brooch from Donzdorf (cat. 162) has the inscription “Eho” (horse) at the back of the head-plate, written by a Scandinavian rune writer during the production of this fibula in the Early 6th century (Franken, 1996: p. 546). The filigree decoration of this brooch links it to proto-disc-on-bow brooches from Indre Arne in Norway (cat. 412), Hällan in Sweden (cat. 667) and Kitnæs (cat. 751) (fig. 2) in Denmark (Arrhenius, 1981: p. 716).

According to Beda the two grandsons of Óðinn, Hengist and Horsa (both names meaning horse) became the first Anglo-Saxon kings of England (Polomé, 1994: p. 100). This legend could account for the oral tradition that Óðinn was assisted by two

minor gods in horse shape. There are several appellations for Óðinn which relate to horses, such as Jalkr, Brunn, Vagr, Hrosshársgrani and Raudgrani, as well as Atridr (meaning the twin rider). Sacrifices to Óðinn were often directed to the horses of Óðinn, rather than to the god himself (Ström, 1954: pp. 66ff). The bearded face flanked by two horses has a long tradition. It can be found on the 4th century Gallehus horns from Denmark. The mask at the Lunde brooch from Southern Norway resembles the bearded man shown between horses on the Gallehus horn. I assume that the veneration of the sky god and his twin sons is the basis for the depiction of Óðinn between horses on the square-headed brooches. These arguments lead me towards the conclusion that the disc-on-bow brooches

derive from the cult of Óðinn.

The Bifrons 41 brooch (fig. 3) depicts a mask flanked by rampant animals (which are turned upside down) at the top of the foot-plate, but the maker also included the new feature of biting heads with curved beaks, below the frontal leg of each animal (Leeds, 1949: p. 8). A similar motif is found in a square-headed brooch from Duston (Hines, 1997: fig. 11b). The profile animals on the brooch from Bifrons 41 are of the same type as the animals in the lower foot-plate of the Vedstrup brooch (Leeds, 1949: p. 21). Similar confusion seems to have arisen at Gotlandic memorial stones, where initially the pictures showed the god on his horse crossing the borders to the realm of the dead, which was later misunderstood as a horse with eight legs, thus creating the myth of Sleipnir, the eight-legged horse of Óðinn (Reallexicon, 1984: p. 365). I believe that a new interpretation of the flanking horse-gods could cause the equestrian profile animals to become birds of prey with curled beaks. This would reflect the mythological tradition that Óðinn carried two ravens on his shoulders as his seers. If the mythology of a deity helped by twin gods in horse-shapes was reinterpreted as a god who was advised by birds, such a change of tradition could have been followed up by the depictions of the bearded head between two animals with curled beaks.

“Óðinns best-known beasts were the raven and the wolf, which are known in northern literature as those who feed on the so-called “Yggr’s barley” (the bodies of the battle-slain). His two ravens, Huginn (‘Thoughtful’ or ‘Bold’) and Muninn (‘Mindful’ or ‘Desirous’), fly forth every day to bring him news of all the worlds. The raven was also tied to Óðinn through its relationship to the gallows, so that there is no certain way of determining whether the raven first became associated with Óðinn as gallows-bird or battle-bird”.

The deposition of several of the early Danish disc-on-bow brooches (Galsted, Kitnæs, Agerskov, Holmgaard, Skodborg) (fig. 2) together with bracteates justifies a comparison of the iconology of these two types of adornments. From the bracteates we may see two iconographic traits which signify Óðinn.

First the depiction of the god riding a horse, which Hauck identifies as the myth of the healing of the wounded horse of Balder (Hauck, 1974: p. 124; Näsström, 1995: p. 111). Motz offers an alternative hypothesis as she believes the rider makes the horse utter a prophesy by whispering in its ear (Motz, 1995: p. 23). We may surmise that horses, wolves and raven were all Óðinns prophetic advisors, and it is these animals which are shown with Óðinn at the C-bracteates

(Hauck, 1992: fig. 18; Motz, 1995: fig. 18). Adjacent to the dancing figure at the C-bracteates is sometimes depicted a horse (Hauck, 1992: fig. 11) or a bird and horse together (Hauck, 1992: fig. 21a–b). Hauck identified the god-magician as Óðinn, riding the horse of Balder to the underworld (Hauck, 1992: p. 550). The tongue is hanging from the mouth of the exhausted horse (Hauck, 1974: p. 100, fig. 1b). In many cultures the horse is considered to be the shaman’s steed carrying him to other worlds (Zeiten, 1997: p. 14). According to Motz, the so-called “hanging tongue” is a symbol of the prophetic whinnying of the horse. The rider in the C-bracteates is interpreted as the god-magician making a blessing (Motz, 1995: pp. 20ff); The two different interpretations do not affect the validity of the observation. When comparing the horse on the bracteate in the British Museum with the animals on the head-plate of the biconical brooch from Galsted, we notice that they are crafted in the same style. The horses’ head on a C-bracteate from Tulstrup (Hauck, 1992: p. 461, fig. 16) also has similarities with profile animals on the disc-on-bow brooch from Vedstrup and its counterpart from Gummersmark.

The second attribute of Óðinn is the so-called “thumb of knowledge”, where the god is shown biting or sucking his thumb to acquire magical powers. This is shown in the bracteates, as well as on gold foil figures from Sorte Muld on Bornholm. Hauck interpreted this position of the right hand to the taking of an oath, as pre-Christian oaths were given by clasping hair, beard or sexual organs (Motz, 1995: p. 9). Later he changed the interpretation of the position of the hand to be “one who calls out” (Hauck, 1992b: pp. 265ff). I think that we may consider the position of the right hand to be that of biting the “thumb of knowledge”. The sagae mention that Óðinn gained knowledge by biting his thumb. The heroes Finn, Sigurd and Taliesin were also said to have thumbs of knowledge (Hauck, 1992b: p. 470). The Celtic hero Finn bit this thumb with his “tooth of knowledge”. He did this to learn how to solve a problem or interpret a dream. The purpose of this rite was evidently to discover what was hidden. Finn learned this ability when a woman whom he approached for a drink jammed the door on his thumb. He then put his thumb in his mouth and was inspired to chant (Ellis Davidson, 1988: p. 145). The legend is similar to the story of Óðinn, who received the mead of poetry after spending three nights with a giantess. There is also a link to the story of Sigurd, who learned to understand the language of the birds after sucking his thumb, which he had burned on the heart of the dragon Fafnir. In this light I would interpret the hand with protruding thumb as a symbol of the ability to

obtain secret knowledge. The provenance of bracteates varies from hoards and single finds in Denmark to graves in Kent and Central Europe (Andrén, 1991: p. 248, fig. 3). The Danish hoards with bracteates and brooches seem to represent the jewellery of women with high social standing. Of the 25 bracteates known from Kent, 24 were found in women's graves. In one of the two rich women's graves from Finglesham, three D-bracteates were found together with a proto-disc-on-bow brooch. They are considered to be amulets, and Behr mentions the possibility that these two women had a special function within the cult of Óðinn (Wodan) (Behr, 1995: pp. 158ff). It is possible that the position of the rulers of minor principalities was strengthened by marriage to sorceresses or priestesses from the cult of Óðinn. Their special relationship with the gods would ensure that the ruling dynasty would prosper, and could control the followers.

The legend of Óðinn's origins was reason enough for Bishop Bonifatius to deny his divinity in 723–24 AD (Krag, 1995: p. 35f). According to this legend, Óðinn came from the Black Sea coast. If this echoes the historical origins of a 4th century adventurer, it is likely that a figure from such a source would have been influenced by the proximity of the Roman Empire. His advisors would have been familiar with Latin and Greek, and he would have been aware of the significance of the Emperor's portrait on coins. In this light, runes and bracteates could be considered as modifications of visual motifs from the Imperial court, and their continuous use in Scandinavia a signal of the aspiration of dynasties prevailing from time to time to legitimate their authority with reference to Rome.

Óðinn's knowledge of *seiðr* and his sexual escapades implicates that his veneration was a *hopostas* (separation) of a former fertility cult (Ström, 1954: pp. 63–68). Óðinn's adventures with women are well-known: not only does he father many dynasties on human women, but he also seduces etin-maids such as Gunnlöð and has at least three lovers in the Ases' Garth – Frija, Freyja ('the Frowe'), and Skaði. In *Hávamál*, he boasts of his spells to win the favours of women and in *Hárbarðsljóð* he matches his many exploits in the bedchamber against Þórr's (= Thor's) tales of fighting *thurses*. A verse of *Hárbarðsljóð* describes the sexual exploits of Óðinn in his own words: "I was in the east and met a certain woman, I lay with the linen-white one and had a secret meeting, the gold-bright one was happy to give me pleasure".

As we have little knowledge of oral traditions lost after the conversion to Christianity and in the absence of sources referring to Óðinn as a fertility deity, scholars have speculated. Zeiten takes the view that

women were excluded from public cults which came to focus on male warriors, so they became practitioners of a more domestic or personal magic, represented by their use of amulets (Zeiten, 1997: p. 43). I agree with Zeiten that women would have been connected with the fertility cult of the Late Iron Age, but I suggest that women maintained their functions within the public cult until the end of the Viking Age. Óðinn as the lover of numerous giantesses and other women reflects Freyr's function as a fertility deity (Jochens, 1996: p. 58). We are familiar with Freyr's association with horses and she was also known as "*atridr*", similar to the "*atridr*" referring to Óðinn (Ström, 1954: p. 66). It may be that Freyr absorbed the former fertility functions of the sky god, or that the fertility god was named Freyr (meaning master/Frow) as an alias for Óðinn. Such religious changes in the Late Iron Age from a fertility cult to a warrior cult may explain why upper-class women used amulets.

The fertility deity Freyr is thought to be shown in the Scandinavian *guldgubber* (gold foil figures) with a couple. This is based on the story of Freyr seducing the giantess Gerdr. That Freyr should be viewed as a *hopostas* of Óðinn is not impossible. Freyr and Óðinn shared attributes like the ship *Skidbladnir* and the magical wand *gambantainn* (Hauck, 1992: p. 537). Several stories tell of Óðinn's erotic adventures with giantesses and mortal women, which allude to the erotic adventures of Freyr. Óðinn was also venerated through the sacrificing of horses, and the ritual mentioned in the *Volsa Thattr* has been interpreted as a self-sacrifice by Freyr, which reminds us of Óðinn's self-sacrifice by hanging on the ash *Yggdrasil* (Näsström, 1995: p. 130). If Freyr is to be seen as a *hopostas* of Óðinn, then we may conclude that the seducer in the gold foil figures represents Óðinn in his function of sky-father.

A theory has been articulated that Gerdr appears in the *Terra-Mater* function of Freyja, because the woman in the gold foil figures often wears a disc-on-bow brooch (Hauck, 1992b: p. 533). Arrhenius argued that the *Brisingamen* was a large disc-on-bow brooch with garnet inlay rather than a necklace, and that such brooches were considered to be attributes of the goddess Freyja (Arrhenius, 1962: p. 97). The woman with a gyrfalcon coat in a gold foil figure from Sorte Muld on Bornholm could be another example of Freyja represented in a gold foil figure, as the gyrfalcon coat was another attribute of Freyja (Ellis Davidson, 1967: p. 95f). The veneration of Óðinn thus seems to contain elements from the Germanic sky-god *Tiwaz*. The ancient tradition of a marriage between the sky-god and the earth-goddess (*Nerthus*) evidently continued

as the *hieros gamos* (sacred marriage) between Freyr-Óðinn and Freyja-Gerd, leading to claims that they were the ancestors of Scandinavian royal dynasties (Munch, 1967: p. 61).

Gold foil figures which depict Óðinn have also been found at Sorte Muld on Bornholm. In one gold foil figure the dancer puts his thumb in his mouth (Hauck, 1992b: p. 542, fig. 59, var. 281; Hauck, 1993: p. 433). A hoard was found in Lundeberg with 30 gold foil figures, datable to the first half of the 7th century. Two of these gold foil figures depict a man carrying a staff (Thomsen, 1990: p. 124). The man has been interpreted as Óðinn. The *gambantainn* (magical wand) of Óðinn could be a symbol of the ruler as well as a *seiðr*-staff. In the Nordic Viking Age, staves and branches were important magic remedies. *Seiðr*-staves are mentioned in *sagae* from the end of the Viking age (Strömback, 1935: p. 140). *Seiðr*-staves with a button at the top were also carried by women (Klindt-Jensen, 1957: p. 94, fig. 72:3). In Norse mythology it was especially the *völva* who used a staff. A woman wearing a disc-on-bow brooch and carrying a staff is shown in one of the 19 gold foil figures from Mære church, Norway (Hauck, 1993: fig. 6b). Gold foil figures have also been found under the convent church of Eskilstuna. They are thought to be proof of the continuity of pagan places of worship up to and after the arrival of Christianity (Olsen, 1995: p. 126). The hoards with gold foil figures could be sacrifices, as they are often found under buildings or in postholes. The postholes in which gold foil figures have been found were of the two posts flanking the high seat of the hall (Lidén, 1995: p. 175, note 16).

Steinsland assumes that the gold foil figures depict a *hieros gamos* ceremony. This was a ritual meant to establish the status of a dynasty and their hall. This may explain why the gold foil figures were buried as ritual deposits in the postholes of the hall (Steinsland, 1990: pp. 82ff). These gold foil figures depict the god and the giantess or goddess who were the ancestors of the clan. The myth of the *hieros gamos* shown in the gold foil figures antedates the Vikings. A similar motif is found on a 5th century bracteate from Ingerøy. The persons on this bracteate carry a staff and a ring, the signs of royal dignity (Steinsland, 1990: p. 83) and the sacred wedding would legitimate the secular dynasty. Thus the traditions of divine origin date back to the 5th century, the time of the establishment of kingdoms in Scandinavia and Kent, where hoards and graves are to be found containing disc-on-bow brooches and bracteates (Behr, 1995: p. 165). Scandinavian royal families in the 12th century claimed to be the descendants of Óðinn or Freyr. These two deities are believed to be

shown at gold foil figures as the male part of the sacral *hieros gamos* ceremony (Steinsland, 1990: p. 85).

By the 5th century the cult leader had become an intermediary between worshippers and the pagan gods. Gold foil figures from Denmark show women who are performing cult rituals while wearing a brooch and carrying a staff. There is no doubt that the adornment of these women include disc-on-bow brooches, as the brooch is often shown with much detail. These women are involved in a sacred ritual with a male counterpart. The *gode* and *gydja* (leaders of the cult) would have played an important role during sacred wedding ceremonies as the personifications of the gods. Hauck describes the four stages of the ritual shown in the gold foil figures: The god/*gode* carrying a staff approaches the giantess/goddess/*gydja*, but she refuses him. He grabs her wrist and forces her (Hauck, 1993, fig. 7a–b). She offers him a drinking horn which he empties (Hauck, 1993: fig. 8b–c). Then the two embrace and kiss each other tenderly. Besides the symbolism of the staff and horn as male and female genitals, this is clearly an erotic ritual. The woman offering a drinking horn is familiar from the Beowulf saga. Here Queen Wealtheow wears the Brisingome-jewel while she offers a horn with drink to the visitor.

Hauck identified the divine couple as Freyr and the giantess Gerdr, but if we consider the evidence of the disc-on-bow brooch, the woman must be the goddess Freyja. The male counterpart could then be Óðinn as her lover (Näsström, 1995: p. 106, 108f). The gold foil figures show the *gode* and the *gydja* wearing the staff and disc-on-brooch as attributes of their sacred function. Most of the Danish gold foil figures showing women with a disc-on-bow fibula are believed to have belonged to a pair of gold foil figures, where the other part would depict the drinking god.

A variation of the *hieros gamos* ceremony is told in the *Volsa Thattr*. The *Volsa Thattr* saga mentions a horse phallus, who functioned as a *pars pro toto* for Freyr. The phallus was offered to the giantess Mornir in a *hieros gamos* ceremony during a *blót* (sacrificing ceremony). The word *morn* is etymologically related to mare (Ström, 1954: p. 24f). Like the explanation of the motifs in the gold foil figures, the women in *Volsa Thattr* represent the female deity as the bride during this ceremony (Ström, 1954: p. 28). The reaction of the daughter was that she only would take the horse phallus if forced to do so (Näsström, 1995: p. 100). This is similar to the interpretation of the refusal by the women on gold foil figures. The historical sources seem to implicate that a mortal couple could participate in fertility rituals representing the divine lovers.

The iconology of proto-disc-on-bow brooches and

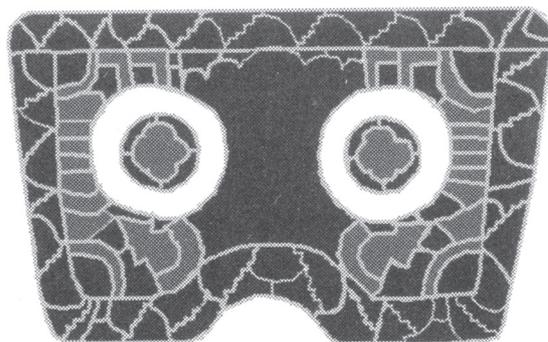


Fig. 4. The Wijnaldum brooch (cat. no. 151) (photo GIA). Full size.

Fig. 5. Reconstruction of the head-plate of the Wijnaldum brooch by the author. The central part can not be reconstructed. Left and right of the centre stylised animals are visible. Full size.

bracteates refer to the “*seiðr* powers” of Óðinn, which makes me believe that the disc-on-bow brooches and bracteates both had the function of ritual amulets. They may be said to be magic in ‘object-form’, made operative through their mere presence. Objects like brooches can be of magical character even if they have a practical function. Amulets are defined as “ob-

jects that are created specifically for a magical purpose, and that can be worn on a person” (Zeiten, 1997: p. 4f). This definition would fit the bracteates, but not the disc-on-bow brooches, which are ornamental pieces, made for keeping pieces of cloth together. It is difficult to differentiate between amulets and ornamental pieces of jewellery, however. According to

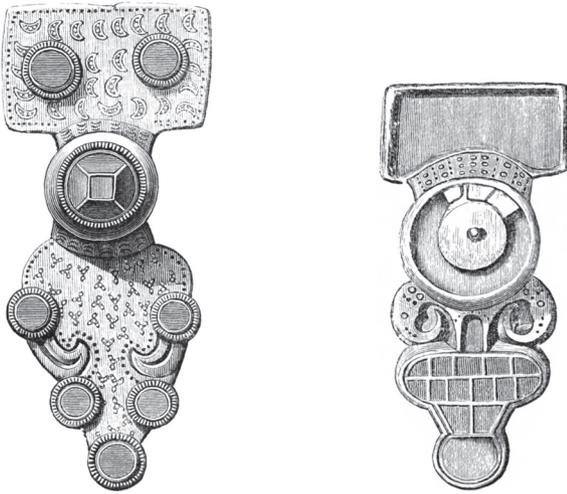


Fig. 6. Two Scandinavian disc-on-bow brooches which are related to the Wijnaldum brooch. The fibula on the left belongs to type E5 and was found at Heddesunda, Hade, Gastrikland, Sweden (cat. no. 636), the one on the right to type E6 and was found in Gjukestein in Vangen, Voss, Hordaland, Norway (cat. no. 403) (after Åberg, 1924). Full size

Weiser-Aall “women’s necklaces often had a double function as ornaments as well as having symbolic (and economic) value, which dissolves the dividing line between amulet and jewellery. A literary example is Freyja’s necklace Brisingamen, which seemingly had such a hold on the mind of contemporary people, maybe because of its symbolic significance, that legends arouse around it” (Zeiten, 1997: p. 6f). Even if we can not define the disc-on-bow brooches as amulets, their iconography suggests that they could have been used in cult rituals. Since rich women could wear expensive pieces of jewellery as part of their personal appearance, they might include emblems of their faith, as well as magical amulets (Zeiten, 1997: p. 39). The women who participated in erotic rituals wore a disc-on-bow brooch because this was the attribute of the goddess Freyja. It is known that Freyja was a priestess, and this may connect with the symbolic function of the disc-on-bow brooch.

Bracteates, staffs and disc-on-bow brooches were all symbols of the status of female priestesses or sorceresses. The disc-on-bow brooches were worn across the upper part of the bosom and visible to everyone (fig. 7); similar to those amulets that were used to induce the awe or envy of others (Zeiten, 1997: p. 38). Helgö was one of the greatest cult centres. Such centres were often on the border between two tribes. The sacred gatherings were an opportunity for members of different clans to meet and exchange products at

the annual fairs (Crumlin-Pedersen, 1992: p. 398). We may assume that an important function was carried out by the priestesses during the sacred ceremonies. The noble *freyjur*’ (ladies) were from the top of society. They wore expensive dresses and jewellery while carrying out the sacrifices, similar to Freyja (Vermeyden, 1983: p. 122). Knowledge of seiðr was important to these priestesses. They had to know the right way to interpret the omens which occurred during the sacrifice (Ellis Davidson, 1988: p. 66f).

5. DEVELOPMENT OF THE FRISIAN PROTO-DISC-ON-BOW BROOCHES

The Wijnaldum brooch (figs 4 and 5) illustrates the evolution of Frisian proto-disc-on-bow brooches. It is decorated with the continental animal style II, dating it to the late sixth century. From the definition of types, we see that the Wijnaldum brooch has several features of square-headed brooches, as well as some from disc-on-bow brooches. The Wijnaldum brooch has elements 2, 3, 4 and 5. It has a quadrangular head-plate and a triangular foot-plate. The upper half of the foot-plate contains a mask between flanking profile animals. These have curling beaks with large circular eyes. It also has two circular settings on the head-plate. I do not consider the Wijnaldum brooch a ‘true’ disc-on-bow brooch. According to the criteria I have set out above, the Wijnaldum brooch appears to be a proto-disc-on-bow brooch; it is a hybrid form, which was probably produced during the period of transformation from square-headed brooches into ‘true’ disc-on-bow brooches. The bow at the Wijnaldum brooch has parallel sides (element 6) and there is the depiction of a mask in its foot-plate (element 3). These two features determine the Wijnaldum brooch as a proto-disc-on-bow brooch. I am not sure if this brooch ever had a (large) disc attached to its bow. No trace of the disc has been found and several late English square-headed brooches have no discs on the bow, or a stud on the bow instead of a disc. Most scholars are convinced that the Wijnaldum brooch initially had something attached to its bow. But we should not allow the magnificence of the design to tempt us to attribute a (large) disc to it. Probably the bow disc of the Wijnaldum brooch would have been sized and designed only slightly more elaborately than, for example, the terminal roundel at the foot-plate of the brooch.

The Wijnaldum brooch was crafted during a period where new types of brooches were invented. Older types such as the square-headed brooches (without disc-on-bow) were still in use along with new types

with discs on the bow. At that time it would probably have been perfectly acceptable to wear brooches without attached discs. Even without a disc the Wijnaldum brooch is a magnificent piece of jewellery. The splendid filigree decoration of the bow could itself be a reason to assume that there was no disc covering it. The bow disc might have been detachable. Could the brooch have been used on occasion without a disc? To understand the creation of the Wijnaldum brooch with the attachment of a disc on its bow, we have to look at the earlier developments.

The proto-disc-on-bow brooch gradually developed into the disc-on-bow brooch with types B and C as hybrid types. From Frisia we know of five square-headed brooches, which could have had a disc at their bow. These are the Hooebeintum brooch (complete), the Wieuwerd brooch (head-plate, disc and bow missing), the Wijnaldum brooch (broken bow, disc missing, head-plate severely damaged), the Achlum brooch (complete) and the Aalsum bow (disc missing). All these brooches are believed to be (proto)-disc-on-bow brooches. The brooches from Hooebeintum, Wieuwerd and Wijnaldum are dated to the period around 600 AD, as they were produced in the continental animal style II. The Achlum brooch is dated to the late 5th or early 6th century, and the Aalsum brooch is believed to be later than the other brooches (information by A. Heidinga).

In my opinion the Achlum brooch should be seen as a prototypical example of a distinctive Frisian style. The shape of the foot-plate reminds us of other brooches found at the Wijnaldum mound and this brooch is crafted in an innovative fashion. The closest parallel to this brooch can be found in a square-headed brooch from Lunde in Southern Norway, which has an equivalent motif in the head-plate and a foot-plate with several biting heads, similar to the Achlum brooch (Olsen, 1998: p. 21).

Three of the Frisian brooches show great stylisation of the animal motif. There are no flanking animals at the foot-plates of the brooches from Hooebeintum, Wieuwerd and Aalsum. We could interpret their bosses as large animal eyes, but that would be speculative. We may also note that the Hooebeintum and Wieuwerd brooches have five bosses at the foot-plate. Scandinavian and English square-headed (proto-disc-on-bow) brooches have either one or three roundels at the foot-plate, often below two biting heads. Only the two Danish brooches from Elsehoved at Funen and Skodborg (fig. 2) in Southern Jutland have also five roundels at the foot-plate, without having biting heads. The two Danish brooches have been dated to the late fifth or early sixth centuries and are likely

to have been inspired by brooches imported from Hungary like the one from Årslev, which is believed to be a product of the late fourth century (Arrhenius, 1985: p. 44, fig. 24).

The Hooebeintum brooch could well be made by the same workshop as the Wieuwerd brooch, as there are several similarities in shape and technique. There are, however, also some striking differences. The two brooches were probably not made by the same person (Mazo Karras, 1985: p. 167). Where the foot-plate of the Wieuwerd brooch has straight sides between the five bosses, the foot-plate of the Hooebeintum brooch has slightly concave sides. The closest parallel to this concave shape is found at the disc-on-bow brooch from Skodborg in Southern Jutland. In 1926 Åberg concluded that the Frisian disc-on-bow brooch from Hooebeintum was related to brooches of similar form found in Skodborg in Schleswig (cat. 754) and Elsehoved in Funen (cat. 753) (Åberg, 1926: p. 88). The technique used for making the two Frisian brooches is very similar to the production technique of the golden brooch from Kitnæs (cat. 751) in Denmark (fig. 2). The plain bronze bases of its foot-plate, bow-disc and head-plate have each been separately applied with two gold foils, one foil covering the back and the other foil covering the front; the edges of the front foils were bent round the sides and secured at the back. The cabochon settings at the Kitnæs brooch are of almandine garnets and white mother-of-pearl, which had been imported from the Mediterranean (Munksgaard, 1966b: p. 57, fig. 6b; Jørgensen & Vang Petersen, 1998: p. 258). The Elsehoved brooch and the Skodborg brooch were manufactured in a similar way. All the brooches from Denmark cited above have been dated to the late fifth and early sixth centuries, more than a century before the date attributed to the Frisian brooches.

When comparing the Hooebeintum brooch and the Skodborg brooch, similarities can be found in the two bosses at the head-plate, the five bosses in the foot-plate and the details of the decoration. The extremities around the head-plate could be the result of different traditions in the Danish area, whereas the similarities between these two brooches have convinced me that the maker of the Hooebeintum brooch must have had knowledge of Danish brooches which were related to the Skodborg brooch (fig. 2). The foot-plate of the Hooebeintum brooch also has similarities with Frankish buckle-plates in shape and decoration. It looks like buckle-plates from the beginning of the seventh century (Franken, 1996: p. 698f, fig. 571). The extending lateral lobes, which we find at the Danish Skodborg brooch, seem to have been

drawn towards the centre of the foot-plate in the Hoogeteintum and Wieuwerd brooches. The reason may be that their maker was accustomed to produce buckle-plates, where extending lateral lobes were never used. If the maker of the Frisian brooches had been apprenticed in a Frankish workshop, this could explain why the shape of the Hoogeteintum and Wieuwerd brooches is reminiscent of Frankish buckle-plates (Mazo Karras, 1985: p. 168). There are also common features in the decoration of the Frankish buckle-plates and the Frisian brooches. *Swastikas* resembling the decoration at the foot-plate of the Wieuwerd brooch appear at a buckle-plate from La Balme, Switzerland (Franken, 1996: p. 695, fig. 565). This buckle-plate has a disc attached to the upper end above an engraved male figure with raised arms – the so-called ‘worshipper’ motif – which may identify the symbolic function of this adornment. Buckle-plates with a disc could have been one of the sources of inspiration for the workshops which invented the first disc-on-bow brooches.

There are also similarities between the Frisian proto-disc-on-bow brooches, and Anglian disc brooches. The pattern of the disc at the Wieuwerd brooch has similarities to the disc brooches of Avent’s Class 3.1–3 and 4.1–2. The high quality and the shape of the *cloisonné* inlay on the Class 3 disc brooches resemble the *cloisonné* inlay at the Wijnaldum brooch, as does the decorated pin catch on the back of the Kingston brooch (Avent, 1975: pl. 69). The *swastikas* at the Faversham disc brooch (Avent, 1975: pl. 70) are also shaped similarly to those of the Wieuwerd brooch, and the decorative pattern on the disc brooches from Milton North Field (Avent, 1975: Nos 73–74) also resembles the Wieuwerd decorations. The pattern on the two disc brooches depicts a stylised animal ornamentation. The stud between the two animals probably represents a human mask, so that we have a (heavily stylised) depiction of a mask between two monsters. When comparing these two disc brooches with the Frisian brooches, I noticed that the decoration at the foot-plate of the Wieuwerd brooch depicts a similar zoöomorphic scene, albeit hardly recognizable at first sight (Nicolay, 1998: p. 74, fig. 63). The similarities indicate that the producer of the brooch from Wieuwerd was inspired by the design of 7th century Frankish buckle-plates and English disc brooches. In my opinion the Wieuwerd brooch shows a mixture of these two styles, whereas the Hoogeteintum brooch is more strongly based on Frankish buckle-plate design, combined with slight influences of the sixth century Danish brooches.

The Wijnaldum and the Hoogeteintum brooch have

many features in common: the shape of the lower part of the foot-plate, the two round settings and the frame around the head-plate. The decorative elements on these two brooches are quite similar to disc-on-bow brooches from Jutland, Southern Norway and Eastern Scandinavia (Uppland). It is difficult to believe that the maker of the Wijnaldum brooch travelled to all these places to gain inspiration for his masterpiece. It is more probable that elaborate (*cloisonné*) brooches had such fame that craftsmen from Scandinavia copied elements from these brooches for their own work. The exquisite brooch from Skodborg from Denmark and the brooch from Wittislingen in Bayern are both masterpieces, equalling the Wijnaldum brooch. The shape and the *cloisonné* work of the Wittislingen brooch is related to the Wijnaldum brooch, and they both show traces of a disc on the bow. The Wittislingen brooch was produced around 600 AD (Franken, 1996: p. 939f, fig. 402). The Skodborg brooch is older, dated to the Late 5th–Early 6th century. Both brooches were royal adornments. The differences in style may be the result of local preferences, as well as the makers’ experiments with variations on a theme.

The Wijnaldum brooch seems to combine a number of elements from English, Danish and Norwegian proto-disc-on-bow brooches. If we find similar stylistic elements in the Wijnaldum brooch and Scandinavian brooches, we may assume an identical dating. The hybrid form of the Wijnaldum brooch shows that this brooch was made during the transitional period from proto-disc-on-bow brooches to ‘true’ disc-on-bow brooches. In my opinion we can compare it to other late square-headed brooches and the earliest known disc-on-bow brooches. Circular settings identical to those in the head-plate of the Wijnaldum brooch can also be found in the brooches from Elsehoved (cat. 753) and Skodborg (cat. 754) in Denmark. Munksgaard dated the similar brooch from Kitnæs (cat. 751) to the second half of the 5th century (Munksgaard, 1966: p. 65). The disc of the Kitnæs brooch and the square-headed brooch from Gummersmark were both decorated with animals in early style I. These two brooches were both found in hoards together with bracteates. The square-headed brooches from Gummersmark and Vedstrup (cat. 761) in Denmark have been dated c. 475 AD (Hines, 1997: p. 228) but Ulf Näsman believes that the Gummersmark brooch is a generation earlier than the Vedstrup brooch (information by U. Näsman). Imported Frankish and Alemanni square-headed brooches may have inspired the makers of brooches like the one found in Vedstrup – or the other way around. The brooch from Bifrons, grave 41 (cat. 110) dates to the beginning of the 6th century (Leeds,

1949: p. 119; Haseloff, 1981: p. 172). Each of these brooches has further features commonly found in the square-headed brooches and in this light must be of an earlier date than the Wijnaldum brooch. The profile animals at the brooches from Vedstrup, (cat. 761) Wijnaldum (cat. 151) and Gjemmestad (cat. 410) also have common features. The design of the jaws of the animal has similarities with a ferrule (scabbard top) from Stavijordet in Åkershus, Norway (Haseloff, 1981: fig. 36-2). With an elegant twist the snout of the animal is here turned downwards and backwards, creating a tongue hanging below the lower jaw.

The brooch from Gjemmestad is cast in deep relief with chip carving. Its head-plate has the same layout as the upper part of the foot-plate of the Wijnaldum brooch, showing the representation of a mask between two monsters with outward facing heads. The 'mask between monsters' motif has been found on disc-on-bow brooches and buckle-plates; this specific depiction of the motif is known only from the brooches from Wijnaldum and from Gjemmestad. The profile animals resemble the backward facing beast found in Kentish square-headed brooches and D-bracteates. Probably this motif is derived from Jutish brooches dating from the Late 5th–Early 6th century (Hines, 1997: p. 138f, fig. 68d–i). Nissen Fett gives a detailed description of the head-plate of the brooch from Gjemmestad; this could also describe the upper part of the foot-plate of the Wijnaldum brooch:

“At the plate we recognize two symmetrical animal figures, with their heads in the upper corners. They have U-shaped framing around the eyes and look outwards. The neck is a prolonging of the eye framing, it turns down towards the lower outside corners, and here the front legs lie with the feet upwards along the side. The body turns towards the centre, the back legs lie at the lower frame, the thighs situated where the framing of the plate begins, the feet turned outwards. Besides these parts of the animal bodies are other lints interlacing them” (Nissen Fett, 1974: p. 11).

Unfortunately we do not know the finding context of the Gjemmestad brooch, as it was discovered in a drawer at a farmhouse. The Gjemmestad brooch is almost identical to a brooch from Önsvala, Skåne in Sweden (cat. 982), and they are both late specimens of the *nordlige planfot* group (Nissen Meyer, 1934: pp. 77ff), which was the last stage of the square-headed brooches in Scandinavia (Nissen Fett, 1974: p. 12).

When we look at the foot-plate of the Wijnaldum brooch, we can see a division into upper and lower parts. The lower part is adorned in the Kentish manner, with stepped pieces of *cloisonné*. The upper part

of the foot-plate from Wijnaldum is decorated in an elaborate Style II, which has no Kentish parallel (Mazo Karras, 1985: p. 168). The same horizontal division of the foot-plate can be found in a disc-on-bow brooch from Gjokestein (cat. 403, fig. 6), which was found in the same district as the brooch from Gjemmestad (cat. 410). The brooch from Gjemmestad followed the Norwegian convention for square-headed brooches cast in relief, but the maker of the brooch from Gjokestein tried something new. The brooch from Gjokestein is the first 'true' disc-on-bow brooch with a *cloisonné* inlay at both the foot-plate and head-plate. Apparently the bow of the brooch from Gjokestein is decorated with rows of circular filigree ornaments in the same fashion as the Wijnaldum brooch. So there is reason to believe that the brooch from Gjokestein was made within a generation before or after the Wijnaldum brooch was made.

The production date of the brooch from Gjokestein is believed to be c. 550 AD, according to two cruciform brooches found in the same grave (Gjessing, 1934: p. 137f). In a relative chronology the Wijnaldum brooch would be placed next to the brooches from Gjokestein and Gjemmestad, but later than the brooches from Vedstrup, Gummersmark and Bifrons grave 41. The dating of the Wijnaldum brooch could thus be in the late 6th century. I think we can assume that the Danish proto-disc-on-bow brooches as well as the Frisian brooches from Wijnaldum, Wieuwerd and Hoogebeintum were all made in the late 6th century. The Wijnaldum brooch may thus have played a role in the development of the disc-on-bow brooches in Norway and Sweden.

6. FURTHER DEVELOPMENTS OF THE SCANDINAVIAN DISC-ON-BOW BROOCHES

There seems to have been three phases in the development of proto-disc-on-bow brooches of type J. At each of the phases A to C, new elements were introduced to the design of the brooches. I have classified 25 proto-disc-on-bow brooches from England, Frisia, Denmark, Norway and Sweden into these three phases, using previously published illustrations of square-headed brooches and disc-on-bow brooches. Phase A (table 6) consists of proto-disc-on-bow brooches with features 1-3, according to my list of criteria in chapter 1.

Frisia and Sweden are represented in each of the three phases. English brooches (110, 117, 136) are absent from the third phase; to my knowledge no brooches with concave bow-sides have been found

Table 6: Features in development of proto-disc-on-bow brooches.

Significant features in development	Catalogue references to brooches which display features of the corresponding phase, and none of the following phase
A. Masks and animals (criteria 1-3)	cat. nos 110, 117, 152, 410, 702, 759, 761, 982
B. Roundels and birds (criteria 4-5)	cat. nos 136, 151, 529, 541, 544, 628, 637, 636
C. Concave bow-sides (criteria 6)	cat. nos 154, 201, 308, 403, 504, 512, 526, 631, 706

on that side of the North Sea. The Danish brooches (702, 759, 761, 706) and the Norwegian brooches (410, 201, 308, 403) seem to have developed directly from phase A to phase C, skipping the intermediate phase B, in which brooches still had parallel bow-sides. All the Norwegian brooches I have been able to find, with two roundels in the head-plate, also have concave bow-sides. In my opinion, the development of the disc-on-bow brooch stagnated; first in England, later in Frisia, Norway and most of Denmark, where the stagnation probably occurred in the seventh century. The final stage of the English development from square-headed brooch into disc-on-bow brooch would be the brooch from Finglesham, grave E2 (cat. 136). According to my definition, the brooch from Aalsum in Frisia (cat. 154) is a disc-on-bow brooch (its bow has concave sides) and it has similarities with a ninth century Swedish disc-on-bow brooch of unknown provenance (unpubl. corr. 1991, Metropolitan Museum), so I would hesitate to say that the Aalsum brooch was produced locally. In Norway we know the brooch from Gjukestein as an early example of a 'true' disc-on-bow brooch (cat. 403). In Denmark early disc-on-bow brooches are absent from Jutland. A tiny brooch from Ladby (cat. 726) may represent an intermediary phase of the development at the island of Sjælland, but the main development of Danish disc-on-bow brooches appears to have taken place at the island of Bornholm in the Baltic Sea, because we know several graves from this island with (proto)-disc-on-bow brooches, like the brooches from Kobbeå, grave 2 (cat. 702) Lousgård, grave 40 (cat. 707).

The change from the proto-disc-on-bow brooch to the 'true' disc-on-bow brooch may actually have taken place in other regions at the same time, considering the variation to be seen among proto-disc-on-bow brooches. However, only one Scandinavian area has left us with sufficient disc-on-bow brooches to study this development in detail. The later stages of the developments in East Anglia were paralleled by developments in Uppland, Sweden. The Uppland region contains the greatest number of different types and variations of early disc-on-bow brooches in all Scandinavia (Minden, 1989; Olsen, 1998). The import

and/or production of these brooches, which took place for centuries, indicate that an important trading place was situated in this region. Uppland also seems to be the place where the transformations from proto-disc-on-bow brooches into 'true' disc-on-bow brooches took place. The decoration of the disc-on-bow brooch from Finglesham in England (cat. 128) is similar to a proto-disc-on-bow brooch from Birka in Uppland, Sweden (cat. 637). The brooch from Finglesham has two square settings in the head-plate, a lozenge-shaped field in the central panel of the foot-plate and three roundels at the foot-plate. The brooch from Finglesham also has similarities with brooches from Hejnum (cat. 103) and Stånga cemetery (cat. 507) at Gotland, because of the white paste filling in their discs and terminal lobes. Similar brooches may have been brought to Sweden and inspired local makers to experiment; thus creating new types of disc-on-bow brooches at Gotland and in the Uppland region.

Type VSO-A probably developed in Uppland and Gotland at about the same time. The Upplandic disc-on-bow brooches show the earliest features, belonging to the type VSO-B. Four similar brooches were found at locations close to each other in Uppland: Runby (cat. 695), Kymlinge (cat. 938), Birka grave 1079 (cat. 637) and Lunda (cat. 693). Where there are biting heads in the Runby brooch, it appears that the heads begin to develop into curled beaks in the Kymlinge brooch. There are other similarities in the decoration of the brooches. The brooch from Lunda (type VSO-X) has a central setting in the foot-plate, which already is present in the earlier brooch from grave 1079 in Birka (cat. 637 type VSO-J3). The foot-plates of two Gotlandic brooches (of unknown provenance) of type VSO-A0, in the British Museum (cat. 107-108) have a similar central setting in the foot-plate as well as three circular settings in the head-plate, similar to the brooch from grave 1079 in Birka. Their foot-plate decorations are similar to the foot-plate of another brooch from Birka (cat. 865). The motif of a mask between two animals appears to become even more stylised during this development. The brooch from Birka grave 1079 has three roundels in the head-plate, which apparently hint at the motif of mask and two

flanking animals. At a Gotlandic disc-on-bow brooch type VSO-A0 there are two intertwined snakes in the head-plate (cat. 522). There is also a single disc-on-bow brooch from Gotland with a mask between the two roundels in the head-plate (cat. 539). Other brooches from Gotland have rhomboidal *cloisonné* shapes between the two roundels in the head-plate. It is possible that this motif is a late remnant of the same motif.

Öland also seems to have had an intermediary position in the development from proto-disc-on-bow brooches into 'true' disc-on-bow brooches, as a brooch from Sättra (cat. 675, type VSO-A0) has curled beaks, three settings in the head-plate and a central setting in the foot-plate. Experiments with different kinds of engraved decorations and *cloisonné* work appear to have occurred at brooches from Köping at Öland (cat. 676, type VSO-B) and Ekhammar in Uppland (cat. 503, type VSO-A3).

Brooches of type VSO-A0/A1, found at Dalarna (cat. 882) and Uppland (cat. 626), may have served as inspiration for the Norwegian type VSO-G represented by a brooch from Haukenes (cat. 202). This brooch has a head-plate, which is equivalent to the brooch from Dalarna, and the *cloisonné* work on its foot-plate is equivalent to that on the Upplandic brooch. Gjessing describes the type VSO-G as having very small profile heads below large circular settings (Gjessing, 1934: p. 139). Gjessing lists four other brooches from Norway as belonging to this group: Stangerholt and Stor-Skomo in Nord-Trøndelag, Alstadvollen in Oppland and Varberg in Hordaland (Olsen, 1998: cat. nos 221, 223, 309, 407). Type VSO-G is distributed throughout Sweden and Norway (Olsen, 1998: p. 13). A disc-on-bow brooch of the type VSO-E2a from Östergötland (cat. 854) may have been made in the same workshop as a disc-on-bow brooch of type VSO-A1 from Sandby, Öland (cat. 660), because the shape of bow and head-plate are equivalent, as is the rounded shape of the foot-plate. There are differences between the Norwegian brooches of type VSO-E2a from Hov (cat. 308), which has three roundels at the foot-plate, and the brooch from Ringstad Gård in Östergötland (cat. 854), which has two large round settings at the profile heads (similar to type VSO-G). These two brooches may be crude versions of the type VSO-G, as some (but not all) brooches of the type VSO-G have three roundels at the foot-plate, similar to the brooch from Hov. Only the earliest and smallest brooches of type VSO-G were found in Sweden. Brooches of type VSO-A0 and A1 have been found at Krigsmanholmen, Dalarna (cat. 504) and at an unknown location in Dalarna (cat. 882). Possibly such



Fig. 7. Pendant from Aska in Sweden, showing a woman wearing a disc-on-bow brooch (after Arrhenius, 1969: Taf. VI). Scale 5:2

brooches reached Norway through the provinces of Dalarna and Jämtland. In Vagled in Jämtland a very elaborate and famous brooch of the type VSO-G has been found (cat. 501). Minden did not recognize the similarities between the brooch from Vagled and a brooch from Ösby in Uppland (cat. 863). She has not identified the identical shape of the curled beaks, and therefore her thesis states that these two disc-on-bow brooches are of different types (Minden, 1989: fig. 2, type C&D). In my opinion the similarities between the brooch from Vagled and the brooch from Ösby indicate the Upplandic influences on the Norwegian type VSO-G. It is also noteworthy that the brooch from Ösby has the same kind of decoration on the bow as Danish disc-on-bow brooches of type VSO-E2b from Nørre Sandegård (708) and Bækkegård, grave 90 (cat. 734) from the island of Bornholm. This could indicate a similar dating of these brooches and maybe an identical place of production. On Bornholm the disc-on-bow brooches of type A2 are also found (fig. 7).

At Gotland the production of disc-on-bow brooches continued well into the Viking Age. Brooches from the Viking Age echo the earlier periods and they testify to the traditions emanating from the disc-on-bow brooches; the great 10th and 11th century Gotlandic

disc-on-bow brooches from Mårtens (St. Mus. 12151, Olsen, 1998: cat. 809/977), Havgdhem (St. Mus. 9894, Olsen, 1998: cat. 596/928) and Boge (St. Mus. 9165, Olsen, 1998: cat. 686) include details of ornamentation in Mammenstyle and Ringerikestyle, which were typical Viking Age ornamentation styles (Arrhenius, 1985: p. 94; Knape, 1994: p. 70).

7. CONCLUSION

In my opinion the development from square-headed brooch to disc-on-bow brooch took place gradually, with several innovations in shape and decoration, at different moments and places. Inspired by imported brooches, related to the one found in Årslev, larger brooches like the brooches from Kitnæs, Elsehoved and Skodborg were produced in Denmark. The Danish brooches became a source of inspiration for the makers of proto-disc-on-bow brooches in England, Frisia and Norway. It may be that the invention of adding a disc to the bow of a square-headed brooch was inspired by Frankish buckle-plates or English disc brooches. In all these countries, local types were developed simultaneously, but some of those types did not come into widespread use, and were subsequently abandoned. The English and Frisian proto-disc-on-bow brooches may however have had a crucial position in the early development of disc-on-bow brooches in Uppland and Gotland. For stylistic and chronological reasons, the Wijnaldum brooch should thus be dated to the late sixth century. The *cloisonné* work at the Wijnaldum brooch shows a motif consisting of two interlaced animals with a mask between them. The motif of a mask between two profile animals is also known from Danish and English square-headed brooches. The position of this motif varies: it can be found on the head-plate as well as other parts of the brooch. The interpretation of the mask between two animals is trivalent: Óðinn with his two animal advisors, Óðinn as 'shape-changer' or Óðinn fighting two monsters. (Proto-)Disc on bow brooches were worn by upper class women who had the status of sacral priestesses or sorceresses. My interpretation of the facts leads me to the conclusion that sacrifices and magical rituals were carried out mostly by women of the upper class from the 5-10th centuries and that the skills of these women were intensively consulted to support the establishment and the legitimacy of the kingdom. Thus the symbolism of the brooches is related to the veneration of the god Óðinn.

A particularly important aspect of the development from proto-disc-on-bow brooches into disc-on-bow

brooches was the transformation of the two flanking profile animals: first they changed into outwards turned biting heads, then into curled bird's beaks; followed by the invention of two round settings in the head-plate, which may have been a substitute to the motif of a mask between two animals. The hybrid design of several brooches from Uppland, Gotland and Bornholm display the transitional stages in development of disc-on-bow brooches.

The features, which distinguish the 'true' disc-on-bow brooches from the proto-disc-on-bow brooches, are:

- The circular shape of the eyes of the profile heads in the foot-plate;
- The profile heads in the foot-plate have the curled beak of a bird of prey;
- The head-plate contains two circular settings;
- The bow has concave or 'X' (time-glass) shaped sides.

In Norway disc-on-bow brooches appear to have been abandoned during the seventh century. The Norwegian brooch from Gjukestein, which has features in common with the Wijnaldum brooch, had no descendants. In England, moreover, the disc-on-bow brooches went out of use after an experimental phase (the brooch from Finglesham). At the same time several new types were developed in Sweden, based upon inspiration from brooches like those found at Wijnaldum in Frisia and Birka in Uppland. It seems that English and Frisian brooches served as the inspiration for the types VSO-B and VSO-A0 in Uppland, and from there the types VSO-E2b and VSO-G spread throughout continental Scandinavia. The type VSO-A1 spread from Uppland to the eastern Scandinavian islands (Bornholm and Gotland). We may conclude that all the late types of Scandinavian disc-on-bow brooches appear to have an origin in or a connection with Uppland in Sweden. The later types of disc-on-bow brooches found throughout Scandinavia all seem to originate from types developed in the Uppland region. Out of the type VSO-E2b the types VSO-E2c and VSO-E2d developed during the ninth century, and together with the Gotlandic types VSO-A, the late types of the Scandinavian mainland were used by the upper class as dress adornments until 1050 AD.

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CATALOGUE

List of all (proto)-Disc-on-Bow brooches found throughout Europe.

ABBREVIATIONS

Ab = Aarbøger, Nationalmuseet, Denmark

Aarsb. = Aarsberetning fra Foreningen til norske

Fortidsmindesmærkers Bevaring, Oslo.3

Acta Arch = Acta Archaeologica

ATS = Antikvarisk Tidskrift for Sverige, Stockholm

B = Bergen Museum, Norway

BM = The British Museum, London, England

BMÅ = Bergens Museum Årbøger, Norway

C = Oslo Museum, Norway

Dnf. = Danefund, Nationalmuseet, Denmark

Forn. = Fornvännen

GF = Gotlands Fornsal, Sweden

HM = Helsingborgs Museum, Sweden

J = Jamtlands Museum, Sweden

LUHM = Lumds Historisk Museum, Sweden

MbH = Kungl. Vitterhets-Historie och Antikvitets Akademiens Handlinger, Stockholm, Sweden

Mbl = Kungl. Vitterhets-Historie och Antikvitets Akademiens Månadsblad, Stockholm, Sweden

Metrop. Mus. = Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, USA

NM = Nationalmuseet, København, Denmark

Proc. = Proceedings

S = Statens Historiska Museum, Stockholm, Sweden

SHM = Statens Historiska Museum, Stockholm, Sweden

SMÅ = Stavanger Museums Årbøger

Sn. = parish

Stav. = Stavanger Museum, Sweden

T = Trondheim Museum, Norway

T-N = Thunmark-Nylén

Ts = Tromsø Museum, Norway

Tvs = Det Kgl. Norske Videnskapernes Selskabs Skrifter, Trondheim, Norway

CAT	TYPE	MUS. NR.	PROVENANCE	DESCRIBED BY AUTHOR	ILLUSTRATED
101	A2	Br. Mus.	Tussøy, near Tromsø, Norway	Sjøvold L604, 1962: p. 167; Arwidsson, 1942: p. 44; Gjessing, 1934: p. 139, 155; Ørsnes, 1966: p. 114 (note 81); Vinsrygg, 1979: p. 45; Proc., 1899: p. 372	Sjøvold, 1962: fig. 29b; Gjessing, 1934: fig. 40
103	J3	Br. Mus. 11.1.219	Hejnum, Gotland, Sweden	Nerman, 1969: p. 12	Nerman, 1969: fig. 40
104	E4	Br. Mus. 11.1.220	Gotland, Sweden	Nerman, 1969: p. 12	Nerman, 1969: fig. 42
105	A2	Br. Mus. 11.1.221	Gotland, Sweden	Nerman, 1969: p. 13	Nerman, 1969: fig. 68
106	B	Br. Mus. 11.1.222	Roma, Gotland, Sweden	Nerman, 1969: p. 14	Nerman, 1969: fig. 72
107	A0	Br. Mus. 11.1.223	Gotland, Sweden	Nerman, 1969: p. 37	Nerman, 1969: fig. 863
108	A0	Br. Mus. 11.1.224	Gotland, Sweden	Nerman, 1969: p. 37	Nerman, 1969: fig. 865
109	I	Br. Mus.	Howletts, Kent, England	Åberg, 1926: p. 86f	Åberg, 1926: fig. 145
110	J1	Maidstone Museum	Bifrons, Kent, grave 41, England	Salin, 1904: p. 65, 323; Bakka, 1958: p. 20; Laing, 1979: p. 63; Haseloff, 1981: p. 156, 286; Hawkes, 1981: p. 718; Åberg, 1926: p. 84; Leeds, 1949: fig. 3; Olsen, 2000: p. 117f	Haseloff, 1981: fig. 25, 90, Taf. 18-20; Salin, 1904: p. 323, fig. 700; Laing, 1979: fig. 33; Åberg, 1926: fig. 141; Bakka, 1958: fig. 15, 25, 53; Olsen, 2000: p. 117, fig. 1
111	J3	Maidstone Museum	Stodmarsh, Kent, England	Åberg, 1926: p. 86f, 201 (131b); Haseloff, 1981: p. 453	Åberg, 1926: fig. 146; Haseloff, 1981: fig. 294
112	J5		Ipswich, Suffolk, England		Green, 1963: fig. XVIb
113	J5	Ashmolean Museum 1909.370	Tuxford, Nottinghamshire, England	Leeds, 1949: fig. 89; Hines, 1997: No. 13a	Åberg, 1926: fig. 106
114	J5	Ipswich Museum 1907.29.8	Ipswich, Suffolk, England	Leeds, 1949: fig. 41; Åberg, 1926: tab. II, No. 53; Hines, 1997: No. 58a	Åberg, 1926: fig. 114
115	J5	Maidstone Museum	Bifrons, Kent, England	Haseloff, 1981: p. 450f; Åberg, 1926: p. 201, No. 128	Åberg, 1926: fig. 138; Haseloff, 1981: fig. 292, pl. 34:5

CAT	TYPE	MUS. NR.	PROVENANCE	DESCRIBED BY AUTHOR	ILLUSTRATED
116	J5	Br. Mus. 5454.17-2.4	Stodmarsh, Kent, England	Åberg, 1926: p. 83, 86, 201 (131a), II No. 130	Åberg, 1926: fig. 139; Br. Mus. Arch. 36: fig. 16
117	J1	Liverpool Museum 6963	Richborough, Kent, England	Åberg, 1926: p. 83, 201, II No. 130; Leeds, 1949: No. 5	Åberg, 1926: fig. 140; Bakka, 1958: p. 44; Haseloff, 1981: fig. 22-2
118	J5	Br. Mus.	Chessell Down, Isle of Wright, England	Åberg, 1926: p. 85, 201 (No. 136)	Åberg, 1926: p. 143
119	I	Br. Mus.	Stowting, Kent, England	Åberg, 1926: p. 201 (137); Arch. 41: p. 409	Åberg, 1926: fig. 144
120	J	Br. Mus. 70.11-5.11	Brooke, Norfolk, England	Åberg, 1926: p. 196, No. 32; Haseloff, 1981: p. 53	Haseloff, 1981: fig. 18, Taf. 12-2
121	J5	Cambridge Museum	Mildenhall, Suffolk, England	Åberg, 1926: p. 197, No. 54; Leeds, 1949: No. 63	
122	J5	Ashmolean Museum 1909.154	Faversham, Kent, England	Åberg, 1926: p. 197, 55, 201; Haseloff, 1981: p. 452; Leeds, 1949: No. 55; Hines, 1997: No. 61b	Haseloff, 1981: fig. 293
123	J	Br. Mus. 83.7-2.5	Kenninghall, Norfolk, England	Åberg, 1926: p. 197, No. 56	Hines, 1997: No. 68b
124	J5	Ashmolean Museum 1909.437	124 Bury St. Edmunds, Suffolk, England	Åberg, 1926: p. 198, No. 57; Leeds, 1949: p. 126, No. 45	Hines, 1997: No. 58b
125	J	Oakham Museum	125 Overton Market, Rutland, England	Åberg, 1926: p. 198, No. 58; Leeds, 1949: No. 34.	Åberg, 1926: p. 115
126	J2	Oakham Museum	126 Gilton, grave 126, Kent, England	Åberg, 1926: p. 84, 201 (130); Bakka, 1958: p. 51	Haseloff, 1981: fig. 27; Bakka, 1958: fig. 45, pl. 65:3
127	J5	Oakham Museum	127 Kent, England	Åberg, 1926: p. 201 (133); Vict. Hist.: p. 360	
128	J5	Oakham Museum	Finglesham D3, Kent, England	Haseloff, 1981: p. 57; Bakka, 1958: pp. 20ff	Haseloff, 1981: fig. 87; Bakka, 1958: figs 14, 24, 53
129			Bifrons, grave 64, Kent, England	Avent, 1975: p. 25; Thrane, 1992: p.326	Thrane, 1992: p.370, Taf. XXXII, fig. 12d
130	J5	Oakham Museum	St. Martyrs field, Canterbury, Kent, England	Haseloff, 1981: p. 53, 57	Haseloff, 1981: fig. 22, Taf. 11-1
131	J5		Gilton, grave 48, Kent, England	Leeds, 1949: No. 4; Åberg, 1926: No. 132	Haseloff, 1981: Taf. 22-1; Åberg, 1926: fig. 140
132			Ipswich, Suffolk, England	Leeds, 1949: No. 32; Hines, 1997; Åberg, 1926: II 60	
133			Ipswich, Suffolk, England	Leeds, 1949: No. 38; Åberg, 1926: II 61	
134		see 126	Brophe, England	Leeds, 1949: No. 65; Åberg, 1926: II 32	
135			Bart on Mills, Suffolk, England	Leeds, 1949: No. 126	
136			Finglesham 2, England	Leeds, 1949: No. S.2.	
137		Br. Mus. 11-8-776	Dover, England	Avent, 1975: p. 9, No. 27	Avent, 1975: plate 4
138		Br. Mus. 7-11-1	Howletts, England	Avent, 1975: p. 9, No. 29	Avent, 1975: plate 5
139		Cambridge Museum Z21318	Barrington A, England	Leeds, 1949: No. 37	
140			Londeborough, grave 4, Humbs., England	Leeds, 1949: No. 35; Hines, 1997: No. 68a; Åberg, 1926: II 59	
141		see 123	Kenninghall, Norfolk, England	Leeds, 1949: No. 36; Hines, 1997: No. 68b; Åberg, 1926: II 63; Smith, 1901: p. 339f	
142			Merton, Norfolk, England	Hines, 1997: No. 72b	

CAT	TYPE	MUS. NR.	PROVENANCE	DESCRIBED BY AUTHOR	ILLUSTRATED
143		Norwich Museum 1120 MRN 371A	Morningthorpe, grave 371, Norfolk, England	Hines, 1997: No. 75b	
144			Driffield, barrow C38, Humbs., England	Leeds, 1949: No. 120; Hines, 1997: No. 82a	
145		Grantham Museum AS 84 GR 7013	Ruskington, Lincs., England	Hines, 1997: No. 86a	
146			Samthorpe, Keelby, Lincs. England	Hines, 1997: No. 84a	
147			Lacey 23a, England	Hines, 1997: No. 84b	
148			Lacey 23b, England	Hines, 1997: No. 85a	
149			Suffolk, England	Leeds, 1949: No. 45	
150	E3	RMO 226	Wieuwerd, Littenseradiel, Friesland, the Netherlands	Ørsnes, 1966: p. 115, 272; Åberg, 1926: p. 149f; Mazo Karras, 1985	Boeles, 1951: pl. XLII-3; Åberg, 1926: fig. 291; Heidinga, 1997: p. 21
151	E6	FM-BAI 284	Tjitsma, Wijnaldum, Harlingen, Friesland, the Netherlands	Ørsnes, 1966: p. 115, 272; Mazo Karras, 1985; Bruce-Mitford, 1954: p. 16f; Bruce-Mitford, 1974: pp. 270ff; Arrhenius, 1971: p. 154; Olsen, 1999: p.7; Olsen, 2000: p. 117	Heidinga, 1997: p. 9; Olsen, 2000: p. 119, fig. 3
152	X	FM 74-307	Achlum, Ludinga, Harlingen, Friesland, the Netherlands	Ørsnes, 1966: p. 115, 198, 272; Åberg, 1926: p. 88; Åberg, 1926: p. 88; Mazo Karras, 1985.	Boeles, 1951: pl. XLIII-1; Ypey, 1961: figs 28-29; Åberg, 1926: fig. 147
153	E3	FM 28-414e-1254a	Hoogebeintum, Ferwerderadeel, Friesland, the Netherlands	Ørsnes, 1966: p. 115, 198, 272; Knol, 1993: p. 220; Mazo Karras, 1985.	Boeles, 1951: pl. XLIII- 2; Åberg, 1926: fig. 148; Besteman, 1992: p. 20; Ypey, 1961: fig. 27, 30
154	E2D	FM-33-25 225	Aalsum, Dongeradeel, Friesland, the Netherlands	Ørsnes, 1966: p. 115, 198, 272; Knol, 1993: p. 215; Åberg, 1926: p. 88; Mazo Karras, 1985.	Boeles, 1951: pl., XLIII-3; Åberg, 1926: fig. 149; Knol, 1993: fig. 71; Besteman, 1992: p. 24
155	X	Zijlstra FM 274	West Tjitsma, Wijnaldum, Harlingen, the Netherlands		
156	J1	Zijlstra-355	Boornbergum, Smallingerland, the Netherlands		
157	J1	Harmans-459	Hommema State, Hartzum I, Donrijp, the Netherlands		
158	C	Zijlstra FM 373	Franckersdaal, Friesland, the Netherlands		
159	X	Zijlstra FM 946	Hotzum I, Dronrijp, Menuldumadeel, Friesland, the Netherlands		
160	J5		Engers, Kreis Neuwied, Germany	Haseloff, 1981: p. 53, 57; Bakka, 1958; pp. 20ff	Haseloff, 1981: p. 41, fig. 19; Taf. 12-1; Bakka, 1958: fig. 13, 23
161	J5		Basel-Kleinh ingen, grave 74, Switzerland	Haseloff, 1981: p. 146; Thrane, 1992: p.326	Haseloff, 1981: fig. 20, 88, Taf. 13; Bakka, 1958: fig. 43; Thrane, 1992: p. 370, Taf. XXXII, fig. 12c
162	J5		Donzdorf, grave 78, Kreis G pingen, Germany	Haseloff, 1981: p. 151; Arrhenius, 1981: p. 711; Krause, 1981: p. 722	Haseloff, 1981: p. 24, 89, Taf. 15-17 and 153-155, fig. 89

CAT	TYPE	MUS. NR.	PROVENANCE	DESCRIBED BY AUTHOR	ILLUSTRATED
163	J5		Pompey at Nancy, Lothringen, France	Bakka, 1958: p. 51f; Haseloff, 1981; Hines, 1997: p. 226	Haseloff, 1981: fig. 26, Taf. 21; Bakka, 1958: fig. 46
164	J5		Worms, Rheinland-Pfalz, Germany	Haseloff, 1981	Haseloff, 1981: Taf. 42
165	J5		Flomborn, grave 71, Worms, Rheinland-Pfalz, Germany	Haseloff, 1981: p. 439	Haseloff, 1981: p. 440, fig. 284, Taf. 57-2
166	J5		Nordendorf, grave 137, Germany	Haseloff, 1981: p. 466	Haseloff, 1981: fig. 301
167	J5		Klepsau, grave 4, Germany	Haseloff, 1981: p. 597	Haseloff, 1981: figs 406-416
168	J5		Kurtzenhausen, Alsace, France	Haseloff, 1981.	Haseloff, 1981: Taf. 51-3
169	J5		Laucha, Kreis Nebra, Sachsen-Anhalt, Germany	Haseloff, 1981.	Haseloff, 1981.
170	J5		Nordendorf, Kreis Donauwörth, Bayerisch-Schwaben, Germany	Haseloff, 1981: p. 557	Haseloff, 1981: Taf. 70-72, fig. 373a
172	J5		Bopfingen, grave 129, Germany	Haseloff, 1981: p. 557	Haseloff, 1981: p. 557, fig. 373b
173	J5		173 Staubing, grave 76, Germany	Haseloff, 1981: p. 557	Haseloff, 1981: fig. 373, Taf. 74
201	J3	Ts83	Hundstad, Kvæfjord, Troms, Norway	Sjøvold E198, 1974: p. 200; Gjessing, 1934: p. 136, 138; Ørsnes, 1966: p. 111 (note 42)	Sjøvold, 1962: fig. 36; Stjerna, 1905: fig. 76
202	G	Ts6362	Haukenes, Hadsel, Nordland, Norway	Sjøvold L445, 1974: p. 107f; Munch, 1979: pp. 37ff	Munch, 1979
203	E2B	Ts559	Vikerstad, Bindalen, Nordland, Norway	Sjøvold L12, 1974: p. 201; Gjessing, 1934: p. 141; Mikkelsen, 1973: p. 66; Arbman, 1941: p. 42, 111(33); Bakka, 1982: p. 46, 66; Arwidsson, 1942: p. 53; Blindheim, 1949: p. 66; Rygh, 1871: p. 61f; (Ab, 1893: p. 148)	Gjessing, 1934: fig. 34; Salin, 1904: fig. 145, No. 494 (a), 576; Mikkelsen, 1973, fig. 8, 67; Shetelig, 1917: fig. 254; Rygh, 1885: fig. 638; Blindheim, 1949: fig. 8
204	E2C	Ts3267a-c	Nygård, Leivset, Fauske, Salten, Nordland, Norway	Sjøvold L242, 1974: p. 59, 201; Vinsrygg, 1979: p. 45; Gjessing, 1934: p. 142	Gjessing in: TMS, 1930, vol. 53: p. 20, fig. 3
205	A4	Ts5281	Hagbartsholmen, Steigen, Nordland, Norway	Sjøvold L268, 1962: p. 5; 1974, p. 200	Munch, 1993: pp.130-137
206	G		Ytre Kvarøy in Luroy, grave 9, Norway	Vinsrygg, 1979: p. 45	Vinsrygg, 1979: fig. IIIc
207	J2	Ts2587	Laneset, Tranøy, Troms, Norway	Sjøvold, 1993: p. 32, 64 N76; Nissen Meyer, 1934: p. 77f, No. 92; Nissen Fett, 1974: p.11; Ørsnes, 1966: p. 114 (note 81)	Sjøvold, 1993: fig. 12 N76; Sjøvold, 1962: pl. 41b; Åberg, 1924: No.117; Hougen, 1967: fig. 56; TMS 43/2: p. 8, fig. 1
221	E2C2	T7713	Stor-Skomo, Overhalla, Nord-Trøndelag, Norway	Gjessing, 1929: p. 15; Ørsnes, 1966: p. 114 (note 81); Ab, 1905: p. 367f; Blindheim, 1949: p. 62; Gjessing, 1934: pp. 139-140, Helgen, 1982: p. 73; (Arwidsson, 1942: p. 50); Kaland in: ARKEO, 1972: p. 24; Arne, 1934: p. 53	TVS, 1905: p. 31, No. 7, fig. 73; Gjessing, 1934: fig. 35; Gjessing, 1929: fig. 4
222	J2	T3642	Amalienborg, Strinda (Trondheim), Sør-Trøndelag, Norway	Sjøvold, 1993: p. 64 N63; Nissen Meyer, 1934: p. 76f, No. 90; Ab, 1887: p. 98, No. 29; Åberg, 1924: No. 118; Nissen Fett, 1974: p. 11	Sjøvold, 1993: pl. 13; Åberg, 1924: No. 118; Hougen, 1967: fig. 55

CAT	TYPE	MUS. NR.	PROVENANCE	DESCRIBED BY AUTHOR	ILLUSTRATED
223	G	T1299-1300	Stangerholt, Eid, Yttrøy, Nord-Trøndelag, Norway	Arwidsson, 1942: p. 110, fig. 35; Gjessing, 1934: p. 135, 138f	Ab, 1874: p. 48, fig. 27; Mikkelsen, 1973: p.109; Salin, 1904, fig. 582
224	E2C	T4429	Frei, Birkestrand, Møre, Kristiansund, Romsdals amt, Norway	Arwidsson, 1942: p. 110, fig. 31; Ørsnes, 1966: pp. 227-228	Salin, 1904: fig. 591; Ab, 1892: p. 99, fig. 28
225		T559	Norway	Arwidsson, 1942: p. 110, fig. 33	Salin, 1904: fig. 145
226	E2	T3808	Laberget, Moksnes, Frostas, Nord-Trøndelag, Norway	Arwidsson, 1942: p. 110, fig. 34, 53; Ab, 1888: p.168	Arwidsson, 1942: fig. 69; Salin, 1904: fig. 587; Ab, 1888: p. 168
227		T1120-22	Tømmerås, Grong, Nord-Trøndelag, Norway	Gjessing, 1934: p. 141; Ab, 1872: p. 38, No. 3	Ab, 1873: p. 38, fig. 3
228	E2C	T1010-11	Åfjord, Nord-Trøndelag, Norway	Gjessing, 1934: p. 141	
229	E2C2		Melhusgaard, Melhus, Trondhjem, Sør-Trøndelag, Norway	Blindheim, 1949: p. 62; Petersen TVS, 1907: No. 8; Arwidsson, 1942: p. 52; Gjessing, 1934: p. 142	Salin, 1904: fig. 617; TVS, 1987: No. 8; Gjessing, 1934: p. 35
230	E2C		Trondhjems Amt, Norway	Salin, 1904: p. 283	Salin, 1904: fig. 621
231	J2	C5605	Romsdal, Møre & Romsdal, Norway	Sjøvold, 1993: p. 32, 64 N61; Ab, 1871: p. 88, No. 120	Sjøvold, 1993: fig. 13 N61; Ab, 1871; Åberg, 1924: fig. 114, 118; Nissen Meyer, 1934: fig. 20
232	E2C3	T6574	Norway	Stenvik, 1991	
233	E2C	B4969b	Fure, Askvold, Norge	Helgen, 1982: p. 43; Ab, 1893: p. 146f; Bakka, 1963: p. 45; Petersen, 1928: p. 172	Roth, 1986: p. 142, fig. 10; Ab, 1893: p. 147
301	H	C716	Holsbakken, Tretten, Øyer, Oppland, Norway	Gjessing, 1934: p. 137	Åberg, 1924: p. 44R, fig. 104
302	I	C1042	Frøen, Drøbak, Akerhus, Norway	Ørsnes, 1966: p. 111; Gjessing, 1934: p. 136f	Rygh, 1885: fig. 316; Gudesen, 1980: fig. 26a
303		C4040	Gjulem, Rakkestad, Østfold, Norway	Gjessing, 1934: p. 136	Shetelig, 1917: fig. 259
304		C6054	Lund, Stokke, Vestfold, Norway	Gjessing, 1934: p. 136; Ab, 1972: pp. 118-119, No. 2; Ab, 1872: pp. 118-119, No. 2; Petersen, 1928: p. 171	
305		C6247	Lunde, Hedrum, Vestfold, Norway	Gjessing, 1934: p. 136, 138	Ab, 1873: p. 61, fig. 19
306		C9084	Tveten, Vægild, Rollag, Buskerud, Norway		
307	E5	C10244	Onsrud, Ullensaker, Akerhus, Norway	Gjessing, 1934: p. 136; Åberg, 1924: p. 44; Ørsnes, 1966: p. 111 (note 40)	Gjessing, 1934: fig. 33a; Gudesen, 1980: fig. 26b; Åberg, 1924: fig. 102
308	E2A	C10492	Hov, Ål, Buskerud, Norway	Gjessing, 1934: p. 138; Ab, 1881: p. 133, No. 11; Ørsnes, 1966: p. 112 (note 54)	Gjessing, 1934: fig. 33b; Gudesen, 1980: fig. 26c; Ab, 1881: fig. 8
309	G	C15041	Alstadvollen, Hegge, Østre Slidre, Oppland, Kristians Amt, Norway	Ørsnes, 1966: p. 114; Salin, 1904: p. 268; Helgen, 1982: p. 73; Ørsnes, 1966: p. 211; Gjessing, 1934: p. 139f; Kaland in: ARKEO, 1972: p. 24	Gjessing, 1934: fig. 24, 33c; Gudesen, 1980: fig. 26f; Salin, 1904: fig. 590
310	E2C	C11898	N. Mello, Hedrum, Vestfold, Norway	Gjessing, 1934: p. 139; Helgen, 1982: p. 25; Ab, 1884: p. 42, No. 28, fig. 10; Petersen, 1928: p. 171; Ørsnes, 1966: p. 114 (note 81)	Gudesen, 1980: fig. 26; Ab, 1884: fig. 10d
311		C22120b	Jaren, Hurum, Buskerud, Norway	Oldtiden VIII: p. 217, No. 184b, fig. 5; Petersen, 1928: p. 171	Oldtiden VIII: fig. 5

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312	E2C2	C23947	Kvåle, Røn, V. Slidre, Oppland, Norway	Blindheim, 1949: p. 62	Gudesen, 1980: fig. 26e; Blindheim, 1948: fig. 7a-b
313		C26134a	Vang, Oppland, Norway		
314		C26403b	314 Finstad, Løten, Hedmark, Norway		
315		C8156	Fonnaas, Ørre, Rendalen, Hedmark, Norway	Ab, 1877: p. 14f, No. 77b; Petersen, 1928: p. 171	
401	E2C	B6721a-c	Nes, Valnesfjorden sn, Fauske, Salten, Nordland, Norway	Sjøvold, 1962: p. 60, L245; Åberg, 1924: No. 166; Oldtiden I: p. 19, Bergen Museum Catalogue; Gjessing, 1934: p. 142, Oldtiden V	Shetelig, 1913: p. 37, Oldtiden V, fig. 2; Shetelig, 1917: fig. 261; BMT: p. 36, figs 22-23 (needle)
402	E2C3	B448	Storhaug, Hetland prestegård, Stavanger, Rogaland, Norway	Gjessing, 1934: p. 142; BMÅ, 1913; Shetelig, 1917: fig. 260a-d	Salin, 1904: fig. 615; Gjessing, 1934: fig. 36
403	E6	B664	Gjokestein i Vangen, Voss, Hordaland (B653-669), Norway	Bergen Museum Catalogue; Ørsnes, 1966: p. 112f (note 44), 194; Gjessing, 1934: p. 137; Helgen, 1982: p. 13, 47, 54f; Slomann, 1955: p. 75; Sjøvold, 1962: p. 168 (Shetelig, 1906: p. 153)	Åberg, 1924: fig. 103; Rygh, 1885: fig. 254; Mikkelsen, 1973: p. 109
404	E2C1	B2559	Orre, Klep kommune, Jæderen, Rogaland, Norway	Nicolaysn, 1995: p. 50; Arwidsson, 1942: p. 52; Lorange, 1876: p. 137; Petersen, 1928: p. 171	Bergen Museum Catalogue III-13a
407	G	B7509	Varberg i Eidfjord, Ulvik, Hordaland, Norway	Ørsnes, 1966: p. 10, 112 (note 81); Gjessing, 1934: p. 138f; Helgen, 1982: p. 15, 47, 54	BMÅ (Johs. Bøe), 1923-24: pp. 10-22, No. 1, fig. 2; Helgen, 1982: fig. 1
408	E2C1	B8389	Tveiten, Vangsnæs, Balestrand, Sogn og Fjordane, Norway	Bergen Museum Catalogue	BMÅ, 1933: fig. 146
409	E2B	B12215	Ølmheim, Sogndal, Sogn og Fjordane, Norway	Bergen Museum Catalogue; Helgen, 1982: p. 25, 47, 73; Kaland in: ARKEO, 1972: pp. 22-24	BM Cat.: fig. 7-1; Helgen, 1982: fig. 21; ARKEO, 1972: figs 1-4
410	J2	B12549	Gjemmestad, Gloppen, Sn og Fjordane, Norway	Bergen Museum Catalogue; Sjøvold, 1993: p. 63; Sjøvold, 1988: p. 216, fig. 7; Nissen Fett, 1974: p. 11; BMÅ, 1934	Sjøvold, 1993: fig. 12, N 53; Bergen Museum Catalogue: fig. 7-2; Arkeo, 1974: frontpage
412	J2	B 564	Indre Arna, Haus, Rogaland, Søndre Bergenhus Amt, Norway	Sjøvold, 1993: p. 35, 63, N51; Salin, 1904: p. 65; Lorange, 1875: p. 87, 90; Åberg, 1924: No. 109	Sjøvold, 1993: p. 86, fig. 16; Salin, 1904: fig. 142; Åberg, 1924: fig. 89; Hougen, 1967: fig. 40; Rygh, 1885: fig. 262; SFT X: fig. 145
413	J2	Stav. 9269a	Syre, Skudenes, Haus, Rogaland, Norway	Sjøvold, 1993: p. 35, 63	Sjøvold, 1993: p. 86, fig. 16, N 46; Hougen, 1967: fig. 73
414	J2	Stav. 9181g	Eikeland, Time, Rogaland, Norway	Sjøvold, 1993: p. 32, 63, N30; SMÅ, 1965: p. 50(g); Myhre in: SMÅ, 1965: p. 59-78	Sjøvold, 1993: fig. 13, N30; Hougen, 1967: fig. 77; SMÅ, 1965: figs 5-6
415	J2	C3249	Børtnes in Nes, Hallingdal, Norway	Åberg, 1924: fig. 90, No. 110; Gustafson: fig. 270; Salin, 1904: p. 142; Sjøvold, 1993: pl. 2, No. N6	
416	J2	B3720	Sørheim, Lyster, Sogn, Sogn & Fjordane, Norway	Åberg, 1924: No. 111; Sjøvold, 1993: pl. 2, No. N59	
417	J2	B6656	Kval, N. Bergenhus, Norway	Åberg, 1924: No. 112; Oldtiden II; Sjøvold, 1993: pl. 2, No. N55	
418	J2	B6656	Sandal, Jølster, Søndfjord, Norway	Åberg, 1924: fig. 91, No. 113; Oldtiden IV; Osebergfundet III; Sjøvold, 1993: "pl. 2, No. N57	

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419	J2	C5605	Romsdals Fogderi, Norway	Åberg, 1924: No. 114	
420	J2	T478	Engeløen in Steigen, Nordland, Norway	Åberg, 1924: fig. 93, No. 115; Ab, 1882: p. 146; Oldtiden I	Hougen, 1967: fig. 57
421		S6870	Jorenkjøl in Varhaug, (Jæren) Skretting, Hå, Rogaland, Norway	Hines, 1997: No. III; Sjøvold, 1993: p. 63, pl. 2, No. N38	
423		TS478	Berg, Steigen, Nordland, Norway	Sjøvold, 1993: pl. 2, No. N72	
424			Hauflum, Leikanger, Norway	Sjøvold, 1993: pl. 2, No. N54	
425		C1416, C3149	Bortnes, Nes, Buskerud, Norway	Sjøvold, 1993: pl. 2, No. N1	
426		C21407a	Tu, Klepp, Rogaland, Norway	Sjøvold, 1993: pl. 2, No. N48	
501	G	S13804	Vagled, Frösön, Jämtland, Sweden	Gjessing, 1934: p. 139f, 143; Ørsnes, 1966: p. 114 (note 82); Arwidsson, 1942: p. 107	Fornvännen, 1909: p. 267, fig. 57a
503	A3	S15482	Ekhammar, Stockholm-Näs, Uppland, Sweden	Gjessing, 1934: p. 136; Fornvännen, 1916: p. 36; Ørsnes, 1966: p. 112 (note 56 and 61); Corsten, 1995: S388; Nerman, 1919	Fornvännen, 1916: p. 54, fig. 19; Åberg, 1953: p. 125, 128, figs 130-131
504	A1		Krigsmansholmen, Orsasjön, Orsa, Dalarna, Sweden	Gjessing, 1934: p. 139; Ørsnes, 1966: p. 114, (note 82)	Hallström, 1931: p. 67, fig. 29
507	J3	S12173	Stånga cemetary, Gotland, Sweden	Nerman, 1969: p. 12; Gjessing, 1934: p. 136; Mbl, 1905: p. 145, fig. 187; Nerman, 1919: p. 35	Nerman, 1969: fig. 39; Nerman, 1919, fig. 34, pl. IX; Corsten, 1995: fig. 81-6; Mbl, 1905: p. 145, fig. 187
508	E5	S02394a	Rikvide, När, Gotland, Sweden	Nerman, 1969, p. 12; Arwidsson, 1942: p. 51	Nerman, 1969: fig. 41
509	E4	S13566:1	Roma, Gotland, Sweden	Nerman, 1969: p. 12	Nerman, 1969: fig. 43
510	E4	S05035e	Ringome, Alva, Gotland, Sweden	Nerman, 1969: p. 12	Nerman, 1969: fig. 44
511	A1	S08555:33	Trullhalsar, Anga, Gotland, Sweden	Nerman, 1969: p. 12f; Ørsnes, 1966: p. 112; Nerman, 1919: p.26	Nerman, 1969: fig. 45, colorfig. 1; Nerman, 1919: fig. 22, pl. IV
512	A1	S10725:8	Hejnum, Gotland, Sweden	Nerman, 1969: p. 12; Mbl, 1899	Nerman, 1969: fig. 46; Corsten, 1995: fig. 82-1
513	A1	S18703	Lilla Bjärges, Lau, Gotland, Sweden	Nerman, 1969: p. 12f	Nerman, 1969: fig. 47
514	A1	S20826	St. u. Lilla Ihre, Hellvi, Gotland, Sweden	Nerman, 1969: p. 12f	Nerman, 1969: fig. 48
515	A0	S08767	Bjärs, Hejnum, Gotland, Sweden	Nerman, 1969: p. 13; Nerman, 1919: p. 28; Ørsnes, 1966: p. 112 (note 60)	Nerman, 1969: fig. 50; Nerman, 1919: fig. 25, pl. V
516	A0	S07557	Nasume, Tofta, Gotland, Sweden	Nerman, 1969: p. 13	Nerman, 1969: fig. 52
517	A0	S06048	Alands, Hogrän, Gotland, Sweden	Nerman, 1969: p. 13; Ørsnes, 1966: p. 113; Nerman, 1919: p. 26f and 30	Nerman, 1969: fig. 53 and color fig. 2; Arrhenius, 1985: p. 40, fig. 13; Nerman, 1919: fig. 23, pl. IV
518	A0	S05275	Vallstenarum, Vallstena, Gotland, Sweden	Nerman, 1969: p. 13	Nerman, 1969: fig. 54
519	A0	S07912	Träkumla, Gotland, Sweden	Nerman, 1969: p. 13	Nerman, 1969: fig. 55
520	A0	S01306	Endre, Gotland, Sweden	Nerman, 1969: p. 13	Nerman, 1969: fig. 56
521	A0	S08204	Barsbaldershed, Grötlingbo, Gotland, Sweden	Nerman, 1969: p. 13; Nerman, 1919: p. 27f and 30; Ørsnes, 1966: p. 112 (note 60)	Nerman, 1969: fig. 58; Nerman, 1919: fig. 24, pl. V

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522	A0	S08555:18	Trullhalsar, Anga, Gotland, Sweden	Nerman, 1969: p. 13; Nerman, 1919: p. 27f	Nerman, 1969: fig. 59; Nerman, 1919: p. 91
523	A0	S10298:139	Bjärs, Hejnum, Gotland, Sweden	Nerman, 1969: p. 13; Nerman, 1919: p. 27; Gjessing, 1934: p. 136	Nerman, 1969: fig. 3 and color fig. 60
524	A0	S14547:8	Burggrind, Allekvia backar, Endre, Gotland, Sweden	Nerman, 1969: p. 13	Nerman, 1969: fig. 61
525	A0	S20826:265	St. u. Lilla Ihre, Hellvi, Gotland, Sweden	Nerman, 1969: p. 13	Nerman, 1969: fig. 62
526	A0	S10739:2	Gotland, Sweden	Nerman, 1969: p. 13; Mbl, 1899	Nerman, 1969: fig. 63 C, fig. 81-5
527	A2	S10482:2	Sn Grötlingbo, Gotland, Sweden	Mbl, 1898	Nerman, 1969: color fig. 5, fig. 5
528	A1	S10482:3	Sn Grötlingbo, Gotland, Sweden	Nerman, 1969: p. 13; Mbl, 1898	Nerman, 1969: color fig. 4 and color fig. 64
529	A3	S02502	Sandegårda, Sn Sanda, Gotland, Sweden	Nerman, 1969: p. 13	Nerman, 1969: fig. 65 (fr.); Corsten, 1995: p. 82-3
530	A3	S05035e	Ringome, Sn Alva, Gotland, Sweden	Nerman, 1969: p. 13; Gudesen, 1980: p. 62	Nerman, 1969: fig. 66
531	A2	S04233	Endre Backe, Sn Endre, Gotland, Sweden	Nerman, 1969: p. 13f; Nerman, 1919: p. 32	Nerman, 1969: fig. 69
532	A2	S08234b	Gotland, Sweden	Nerman, 1969: p. 13f	Nerman, 1969: fig. 70 dem 533
533	A2	S13436:5	Kylver, Ksp Stånga, Gotland	Nerman, 1969: p. 13f; Nerman, 1919: p. 32; Arwidsson, 1942: p. 51	Nerman, 1969: color fig. 7; Stenberger, 1964: fig. 241; Nerman, 1919: fig. 8 (text)
534	B	S07480f-h	Sandegårda, Sn Sanda, Gotland, Sweden	Nerman, 1969: p. 14; Nerman, 1919: p. 34; Olsen, 2000: p. 120	Nerman, 1969: fig. 73; Nerman, 1919: fig. 33, pl. VIII; Olsen, 2000: p. 119, fig. 4B
535	B	S07480b	Sandegårda, Sn Sanda, Gotland, Sweden	Nerman, 1969: p. 14	Nerman, 1969: fig. 74
536	B	S06294	Vallstenarum, Sn Vallstena, Gotland, Sweden	Nerman, 1969: p. 14; Nerman, 1919: p. 34; Arrhenius, 1985: p. 184; Olsen, 2000: p. 120	Nerman, 1969: fig. 75; Arrhenius, 1985: fig. 229; Nerman, 1919: fig. 31, pl. VIII; Olsen, 2000: p. 119, fig. 4A
537	B	S20826	St. u. Lilla Ihre, Sn Hellvi, Gotland, Sweden	Nerman, 1969: p. 14	Nerman, 1969: fig. 76
538	B	S08062:10a	Bjärs, Hejnum sn, Gotland, Sweden	Nerman, 1969: p. 14; Nerman, 1919: p. 34	Nerman, 1969: fig. 77; Nerman, 1919: fig. 32, pl. VIII
539	B	S24277	Allekvia, Sn Endre, Gotland, Sweden	Nerman, 1969: p. 14	Nerman, 1969: fig. 78
540	B	S07481	Sandegårda, Sn Sanda, Gotland, Sweden	Nerman, 1969: p. 14	Nerman, 1969: fig. 79
541	A1	S...	Gotland, Sweden	Nerman, 1969: p. 13; Ørsnes, 1966: p. 111, 198	Nerman, 1969: fig. 67; Nerman, 1919: p. 35
542	E4	S07563	Roes, Sn Grötlingbo, Gotland, Sweden	Nerman, 1969: p. 37; Ørsnes, 1966: p. 111-12 (note 53) and 198; Nerman, 1919: p. 35	Nerman, 1969: fig. 842; Nerman, 1919: fig. 35, pl. IX
543	J3	S10939:35	Balshaldershed, Sn Grötlingbo, Gotland	Nerman, 1969: p. 37; Nerman, 1919: p. 35; Ørsnes, 1966: p. 111	Nerman, 1969: fig. 843; Nerman, 1919: fig. 36, pl. IX
544	E4	S03296	Endregårda Backe, Sn Endre, Gotland, Sweden	Nerman, 1969: p. 37; Mbl, 1899; Nerman, 1919: p. 35, 92	Nerman, 1969: fig. 844; Nerman, 1919: fig. 37, pl. IX
545	A1	S08767:120	Bjärs, Hejnum sn, Gotland, Sweden	Nerman, 1969: p. 37; Nerman, 1919: p. 29	Nerman, 1969: fig. 845

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546	A1	S08767:103	Bjärs, Hejnum sn, Gotland, Sweden	Nerman, 1969: p. 37; Nerman, 1919: p. 28, 30, 34; Ørsnes, 1966: p. 112 (note 60)	Nerman, 1969: fig. 846; Nerman, 1919: fig. 26, pl. V
547	A2	S10498:4	Anga, Gotland, Sweden	Nerman, 1969: p. 37; Mbl, 1898	Nerman, 1969: fig. 848
548	A2	S10546:19	Gotland, Sweden	Nerman, 1969: p. 37	Nerman, 1969: fig. 849
549	A2	S0484:5?	Endre, Gotland, Sweden	Nerman, 1969: p. 37	Nerman, 1969: fig. 850
550	A2	S13555:25	Näs, Gotland, Sweden	Nerman, 1969: p. 37	Nerman, 1969: fig. 851
551	A2	S02894a	Rikvide, Sn När, Gotland, Sweden	Nerman, 1969: p. 37; Nerman, 1919: p. 30f and 33	Nerman, 1969: fig. 146, 852; Salin, 1904: fig. 146; Nerman, 1919: fig. 28, pl. VI
552	A3	S11006	Gotland, Sweden	Nerman, 1969: p. 37; Mbl, 1878: fig. 49	Nerman, 1969: fig. 853
553	A2	S06534	Sn Etelhem, Gotland, Sweden	Nerman, 1969: p. 37	Nerman, 1969: fig. 854
554	A2	S07571:339	Gotland, Sweden	Nerman, 1969: p. 37	Nerman, 1969: fig. 855
555	A2	S07571:340	Gotland, Sweden	Nerman, 1969: p. 37	Nerman, 1969: fig. 857
556	A2	S07571:343	Gotland, Sweden	Nerman, 1969: p. 37	Nerman, 1969: fig. 858
557	A2	S07571:347	Gotland, Sweden	Nerman, 1969: p. 37	Nerman, 1969: fig. 859
558	A2	S05495	Stenstugu, Sn Vesterhejde, Gotland, Sweden	Nerman, 1969: p. 37	Nerman, 1969: fig. 860
559	A2	S06188	Vallstenarum, Sn Vallstena, Gotland, Sweden	Nerman, 1969: p. 37	Nerman, 1969: fig. 861
560	A2	S09518b	Fättingshage, Sn Tofta, Gotland, Sweden	Nerman, 1969: p. 37	Nerman, 1969: fig. 862
561	A0	S04285	Hakuse, Sn Sanda, Gotland, Sweden	Nerman, 1969: p. 37; Nerman, 1919: p. 30	Nerman, 1969: fig. 864
562	A0	S04479	Endregårda, Endre, Gotland, Sweden	Nerman, 1969: p. 37; Nerman, 1919: p. 29f and 34; Ørsnes, 1966: p. 112 (note60)	Nerman, 1969: color fig. 6, fig. 866; Nerman, 1919: fig. 27, pl. V
563	A0	S08809	Hakuse, Sanda, Gotland, Sweden	Nerman, 1969: p. 37	Nerman, 1969: fig. 867
564	A0	S07480c	Sandegårda, Sanda, Gotland, Sweden	Nerman, 1969: p. 37	Nerman, 1969: fig. 868
565	A0	S07571:345	Vallstenarum, Vallstena, Gotland, Sweden	Nerman, 1969: p. 37	Nerman, 1969: fig. 869
566	A0	S02264	Barkarve, Öja, Gotland, Sweden	Nerman, 1969: p. 37, Nerman, 1919, p. 30, Corsten, 1995: S375	Nerman, 1969: fig. 870; Salin, 1904: fig. 149
567	A4	S10416:3	Sn Vestkinde, Gotland, Sweden	Nerman, 1969: p. 52	Nerman, 1969: fig. 1362
568	A4	S02894 (S02394)	Rikvide, När, Gotland, Sweden	Nerman, 1969: p. 52; Ørsnes, 1966: p. 111; Gjessing, 1934: p. 136	Nerman, 1969: fig. 1363; Åberg, 1961: fig. 106; Strömberg, 1962: fig. 573; Nerman, 1958: p. 95, fig. 112
569	A4	S20550:159	St. u Lilla Ihre, Hellvi, Gotland, Sweden	Nerman, 1969: p. 52	Nerman, 1969: color fig. 8, fig. 1364 (2)
570	A4	S04690	Roes, Grötingbo, Gotland, Sweden	Nerman, 1969: p. 52	Nerman, 1969: fig. 1365
571	A4	S04648b	Endre Backe, Gotland, Sweden	Nerman, 1969: p. 52; Nerman, 1919: p. 32	Nerman, 1969: fig. 1366
572	A4	S02961	Sn Vallstena, Gotland, Sweden	Nerman, 1969: p. 52	Nerman, 1969: fig. 1367
573	A4	S14066	Kvie, Stenkyrka, Gotland, Sweden	Nerman, 1969: p. 52	Nerman, 1969: fig. 1368

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574	A4	S16070:1	Långgutes, Misterby, Gotland, Sweden	Nerman, 1969, p. 52; Arrhenius, 1985: p. 184; Swed, 89	Nerman, 1969: fig. 1369; Arrhenius, 1985: fig. 228
575	A4	S20826:348	St. u. Lilla Ihre, Hellvi, Gotland, Sweden	Nerman, 1969: p. 52	Nerman, 1969: fig. 1370
576	A4	S20550:145	St. u. Lilla Ihre, Hellvi, Gotland, Sweden	Nerman, 1969: p. 52	Nerman, 1969: fig. 1371
577	A4	S20550:130	St. u. Lilla Ihre, Hellvi, Gotland, Sweden	Nerman, 1969: p. 52	Nerman, 1969: fig. 1372
578	A5	S20826:59	St. u. Lilla Ihre, Hellvi, Gotland, Sweden	Nerman, 1969: p. 52	Nerman, 1969: fig. 1373 (3)
579	A1	S04648c	Endre Backe, Gotland, Sweden	Nerman, 1969: p. 52; Nerman, 1919: p. 29; Ørsnes, 1966: p. 112 (note 60)	Nerman, 1969: fig. 1374; Nerman, 1919: fig. 7 (text)
580	A0	S08603:14	Grötlingbo, Gotland, Sweden	Nerman, 1969: p. 52	Nerman, 1969: fig. 1375
581	A0	S12533	Nygårds, Kräklingbo, Gotland, Sweden	Nerman, 1969: p. 52	Nerman, 1969: fig. 1376
582	A0	S10510:8	Gotland, Sweden	Nerman, 1969: p. 52; Mbl, 1898	Nerman, 1969: fig. 1377
583	A3	S04442b	Gotland?, Sweden	Nerman, 1969: p. 52	Nerman, 1969: fig. 1378; Salin, 1904: fig. 562
585	A5	S11887:1	Othem(?), Gotland, Sweden	Nerman, 1969: p. 65; Mbl, 1905: p. 83; Arwidsson, 1942: p. 51	Nerman, 1969: figs 1799-1800; Nerman, 1919: fig. 30, pl. VII; Mbl, 1905: fig. 116
587	A5	S02813	Tule, Halla, Gotland, Sweden	Nerman, 1969: p. 65	Nerman, 1969: fig. 1801; Salin, 1904: fig. 611
588	A5	S20199	Barshaldershed, Grötlingbo, Gotland, Sweden	Nerman, 1969: p. 65	Nerman, 1969: fig. 1802
589	A5	S15609:3	Barshaldeshed, Grötlingbo, Gotland, Sweden	Nerman, 1969: p. 65	Nerman, 1969: fig. 1803
590	A5	S20826:356	St. u. Lilla Ihre, Sn Hellvi, Gotland, Sweden	Nerman, 1969: p. 65	Nerman, 1969: fig. 1804
591	A5	S20286:374	St. u. Lilla Ihre, Hellvi, Gotland, Sweden	Nerman, 1969: p. 65	Nerman, 1969: fig. 1805
592	A6	S04555	Othemars, Ksp Othem, Gotland, Sweden	Nerman, 1969: p. 76f; Arwidsson, 1942: p. 51; Salin, 1904: p. 67	Nerman, 1969: color fig. 2146, fig. 9; Salin, 1904: fig. 150, 616; Montelius, 1873: fig. 531; Stenberger, 1977: p. 387, fig. 256
593	A6	S1078(S1361)	Gumbalde, Stånga, Gotland, Sweden	Nerman, 1969: p. 76f; Jørgensen & Schou, 1975: p. 156, No. 7	Nerman, 1969: fig. 2147; Salin, 1904, figs 619-620
595	A6	S09246	Tällunga, Stånga, Gotland, Sweden	Nerman, 1969: p. 76f	Nerman, 1969: fig. 2148
596	A6	S10415	Havdhem, Gotland, Sweden	Nerman, 1969: p. 76f	Nerman, 1969: fig. 2149
597	A6	S10389	Unsarve, Halla, Gotland, Sweden	Nerman, 1969: p. 76f	Nerman, 1969: fig. 2152; Mbl, 1897
598	A6	S19734:25,2	Broa, Halla, Gotland, Sweden	Nerman, 1969: p. 76f; Arbman, 1937: p. 118	Nerman, 1969: fig. 134a and 2153; Thunmark-Nylén, 1995: Arbman, 1937: Taf. 38
599	A6	S15979	Ungbåtels, Stånga, Gotland, Sweden	Nerman, 1969: p. 76f	Nerman, 1969: fig. 2155
601	A1	GF C 6139	Grötlingbo, Gotland, Sweden	Nerman, 1969: p. 13	Nerman, 1969: fig. 49
602	A0	GFdep. C478	Gotland, Sweden	Nerman, 1969: p. 13	Nerman, 1969: fig. 51
603	A0	GF C 3398	Stenkyrka (?), Gotland, Sweden	Nerman, 1969: p. 13	Nerman, 1969: fig. 57

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604	A1	GF C 8337	Sörby, Väte, Gotland, Sweden	Nerman, 1969: p. 37	Nerman, 1969: fig. 871
605	A1	GF C 8118	Lau, Gotland, Sweden	Nerman, 1969: p. 37	Nerman, 1969: fig. 847
606	A1	GFdep. C480	Gotland, Sweden	Nerman, 1969: p. 37	Nerman, 1969: fig. 856
607	A2	GFdep. C479	Gotland, Sweden	Nerman, 1969: p. 52	Nerman, 1969: fig. 1379; Corsten, 1995: Taf. 82,4
608	A6	GF C 8712	Gunnarve, Lokrume, Gotland, Sweden	Nerman, 1969: p. 76f	Nerman, 1969: fig. 2150
609	A6	GFdep. C484	Gotland, Sweden	Nerman, 1969: p. 76f; Gudesen, 1980: p. 62	Nerman, 1969: fig. 2151
610	A6	GF C 7643	Maldes, Stånga, Gotland, Sweden	Nerman, 1969: p. 76f	Nerman, 1969: fig. 2154
611	A7	GF9322:196,2	Hellvi, Ire, Gotland, Sweden	Acta Archaeologica 32, 1961: p. 75, fig. 80	Thunmark-Nylén, 1995: fig. 219
626	A3		Bondkyrka sn, Ulltuna, Uppland, Sweden	Ørsnes, 1966: p. 112 (note 57); Stjerna, 1905: p. 163	
628	A0	KM 2618	Nörre Kvinneby, Stenåsa, Öland, Sweden	Ørsnes, 1966: p. 112 (note 59); Åberg, 1923: p. 148	Åberg, 1923: p. 144, fig. 252
629	A2	S01304	Södra Sandby, Sandby sn, Öland, Sweden	Åberg, 1923: p. 148; Stjerna, 1905: p. 163	
630	E4	LUHM 3610	630 near Löddeköpinge, Skåne, Sweden	Stjerna, 1905: p. 165; Strömberg, 1961: p. 25; Ørsnes, 1966: p. 108, 112 (note 53), 260, fig. 18a SK14	Strömberg, 1961: p. 3, fig. 62
631	E2B	Private owner	Hyby of omgeving, Hyby sn, Skåne, Sweden	Ørsnes, 1966: p. 56, 58, 108, fig. 20, 259, 271 SK7; Strömberg, 1961: p. 125; Arwidsson, 1942: p. 55f	Strömberg, 1962: p. 1, fig. 9, II, Taf. 62; Arwidsson, 1942: p. 55, fig. 4
632	E2D	HM 409-13	Bårslöv, Skåne, Sweden	Ørsnes, 1966: p. 62, 109, fig. 27, 261 SK34; Strömberg, 1961: p. 44, 126 (II)	Strömberg, 1961: p.2, fig. 62
633	E2D	LUHM gr.138	Vätteryd, Skåne, grave 138, 1957, Sweden	Ørsnes, 1966: p. 59f, 109, fig. 28, 262 SK61e; Strömberg, 1961: p. 85, 125 (II)	Strömberg, 1961: p.2, fig. 45 and p. 3a-b, fig. 5
634	E2D	S0K61b	Vätteryd, Skåne, grave?, 1956 (931-33), Sweden	Ørsnes, 1966: p. 109, 262, fig. 29; Strömberg, 1961: p. 77; Strömberg, 1961: p. 114, 126 (II)	Strömberg, 1961: p. 1a-c (II), fig. 6, 44
635	E2B	S10017	Gärdslösa, Södra Gärdslösa grave 7, Runsten, Öland, Sweden	Stjerna, 1905: p. 167; Ørsnes, 1966: p. 109, fig. 24a, p. 113 (note 68); Åberg, 1923: p. 143, 148; Mbl, 1895; Arwidsson, 1942: p. 51; Gjessing, 1934: p. 140; Salin, 1904: p. 65f	Åberg, 1923: fig. 251; Salin, 1904: fig. 144; Stjerna, 1905: fig. 78
636	E5	S01209	Heddesunda, Hade, Gästrikland, Sweden	Ørsnes, 1966: p. 111 (note 33), 112 (note 45 and 61); Stjerna, 1905: p. 165; Bellander, 1939: p. 56; Gjessing, 1934: p. 136f; Salin, 1904: p. 65f; Nerman, 1919	Åberg, 1924: fig. 107; Åberg, 1923: fig. 251; Corsten, 1995: Taf. 81,3; Bellander, 1939: p. 55, fig. 50; Salin, 1904: fig. 143
637	J3	S...	Birka, Uppland, grave 1079, Sweden	Ørsnes, 1966: p. 111 (note 34); Corsten, 1995: S378.01	Arbman, 1940-43: p. 448, pl. 84-6; Åberg, 1924: fig. 108; Corsten, 1995: Taf. 81,2
639	A6	idem 637?	Birka, Uppland, grave 1040, Sweden	Arbman, 1943: p. 434	Arbman, 1943: Taf. 100, fig. 16
640		S14102	Gotland?, Sweden	Nerman, 1919: p. 91	
641	A0-1	S06144:18	Gotland?, Sweden	Nerman, 1919: p. 29, 91	
642	A0-1	S10298:154	Bjers, Hejnum sn, Gotland, Sweden	Nerman, 1919: p. 30 (note 1), 91	
643	A0-1	S13073:2	Gotland?, Sweden	Nerman, 1919: p. 30, 92; Mbl, 1902	

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644		S08062:14	Gotland?, Sweden	Nerman, 1919: p. 92	
645		S08062:28	Gotland?, Sweden	Nerman, 1919: p. 92	
646		S11757:2	grave 2, Björkome, Vestkinde sn, Gotland, Sweden	Nerman, 1919: p. 92; Mbl, 1902: p. 61	
647		S11757:3	grave 3, Björkome, Väskinde sn, Gotland, Sweden	Nerman, 1919: p. 92; Mbl, 1902: p. 62	
648		S11757:4	grave 4, Björkome, Väskinde sn, Gotland, Sweden	Nerman, 1919: p. 92; Mbl, 1902: p. 62	
649		S11757:5	grave 5, Björkome, Väskinde sn, Gotland, Sweden	Nerman, 1919: p. 92; Mbl, 1902: p. 62	
650		S11757:6	grave 6, Björkome, Väskinde sn, Gotland, Sweden	Nerman, 1919: p. 92; Mbl, 1902: p. 62	
651		S11757:7	grave 7, Björkome, Väskinde sn, Gotland, Sweden	Nerman, 1919: p. 92; Mbl, 1902: p. 62	
652		S11757:10	grave 10, Björkome, Väskinde sn, Gotland, Sweden	Nerman, 1919: p. 92; Mbl, 1902: p. 62	
654	A2	S13436:A15	Kylver, Stånga, Gotland, Sweden	Nerman, 1919: p. 31f, 92	
655	A4	S02394b	Gotland, Sweden	Nerman, 1919: p. 33, 92	Nerman, 1919: fig. 29, pl. VII
656	A2	S12113	Barshalderbacke, Grötlingbo sn, Gotland, Sweden	Nerman, 1919: p. 31, 34, 92	
657		S08555:5	Gotland?, Sweden	Nerman, 1919: p. 34, 92	
660	A2	S01836:66	Sandby sn, Öland, Sweden	Stjerna, 1905: p. 163; Åberg, 1923: p. 148	Minda, 1989: fig. 9
662	A2	S01838:86	Södra Sandby, Sandby sn, Öland, Sweden	Stjerna, 1905: p. 163; Åberg, 1923: p. 148	
663	A2	S01985	Runstens sn, Bjärby, Öland, Sweden	Stjerna, 1905: p. 163; Åberg, 1923: p. 148	
664	A2	S01851:11	Runstens sn, Bjärby, Öland, Sweden	Stjerna, 1905: p. 163; Åberg, 1923: p. 148	
665	A2	S01856:66(?)	Runstens sn, Bjärby, Öland, Sweden	Stjerna, 1905: p. 163; Åberg, 1923: p. 148	
666	J2	S01773/S934	Jättendals sn, Hällan, Hälsingland, Sweden	Stjerna, 1905: p. 165; Salin, 1904: p. 64f; Sjøvold, 1993: p. 30; Nissen Meyer, 1934: p. 75, No. 88, fig. 22; Åberg, 1924: No. 120; Myhre, 1966: pp. 73ff	Sjøvold, 1993, fig. 13, S18; Salin, 1904: fig. 141; Montelius, 1901: fig. 45; Åberg, 1924: p. 82, fig. 94, No. 120; SM, 1965: fig. 7
667	J2	S01774	Jättendals sn, Hällan, Hälsingland, Sweden	Stjerna, 1905: p. 165; Åberg, 1924: No. 119	Montelius, 1901: fig. 46
669		S02962	Gerum sn, Myckelby, Gotland, Sweden	Stjerna, 1905: p. 165	
670		S05368	Vallstena sn, Vallstenarum, Gotland, Sweden	Stjerna, 1905: p. 165	
671		S02076:7	Sweden	Stjerna, 1905: p. 165	
672	E2C3	S09404	Alsike sn, Tuna, Uppland, Sweden	Stjerna, 1905: p. 167; Arwidsson, 1942: p. 52; Arrhenius, 1985: p. 86; Arne, 1934: p. 20; Ørsnes, 1966: p. 113	Arne, 1934: Taf. 1 1a-d
673	E2C3	S09818	Alsike sn, Tuna, Uppland, Sweden	Stjerna, 1905: p. 167; Mbl, 1895; Arwidsson, 1942: p. 52; Arrhenius, 1985: p. 86; Arne, 1934: p. 22; Ørsnes, 1966: p. 113 (note 73)	Arne, 1934: Taf. 3 1-4; Mbl, 1895: p. 38

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674	E2C3	S05767a S15878	(Roslags)Bro sn, Kårsta, Uppland, Sweden	Stjerna, 1905: p. 167; Gjessing, 1934: p. 142; Arrhenius, 1985: p. 84; Salin, 1904: p. 283f	Arrhenius, 1962: p. 86; Salin, 1904: fig. 622, 624
675		S16783	Sättra, Gärdslösa sn, Öland, Sweden	Åberg, 1923: p. 148	
676	B	S11761	Köpings sn, Gröndal, Öland, Sweden	Stjerna, 1905: p. 167; Åberg, 1923: p. 148; Mbl, 1905: p. 65, fig. 103	Åberg, 1923: fig. 250
677	E2C1	S09004	Badelunda, Badelunds sn, Sörby, Västmanland, Sweden	Stjerna, 1905: p. 167; Åberg, 1953: p. 129; Salin, 1904: p. 283	Salin, 1904: fig. 623; Arwidsson, 1942: fig. 38a
678	E2D	S08716	Nåshulta sn, Södermanland, Sweden	Stjerna, 1905: p. 167; Arne, 1909: p. 44; Arwidsson, 1942: p. 85f; Ørsnes, 1966: p. 113 (note 72)	
679	E2B	S08177:308	Gudhems sn, Torbjörnstorp, Västergötland, Sweden	Stjerna, 1905: p. 167; Arwidsson, 1942: p. 109; Ørsnes, 1966: p. 113 (note 70); Gjessing, 1934: p. 141	Salin, 1904: fig. 574; Sahlström, 1932: p. 115, fig. 129
680	E2	S03044	Essunga sn, Klagstorp, Västergötland, Sweden	Stjerna, 1905: p. 167; Ørsnes, 1966: p. 113 (note 70)	
681	E2	S05907	Høj 33, Bolmsjö sn, Bolmstad, Småland, Sweden	Stjerna, 1905: p. 167; Ørsnes, 1966: p. 113 (note 69)	
682		S07078	Sweden	Stjerna, 1905: p. 163	
684		S07481	Sandegårda, Sanda, Gotland, Sweden	Mbl	
685	J3	S08555:34	Sweden	Ørsnes, 1966: p. 111; Nerman, 1919: p. 35	
686	A7	S09165	Boge sn, Lexarfve, Gotland, Sweden	Mbl, 1893: p. 8	Mbl, 1893: fig. 1
687		S10244	Gotland, Sweden	Mbl, 1896	
688		S10298:109	Bjärs, Hejnum, Gotland, Sweden	Mbl	
690		S10365	Sweden	Corsten, 1995: S402.00; Mbl, 1898	
691	C	S...	Lunda, Sn Lovö Uppland, Anl. 2,2, Sweden	Corsten, 1995: S438.00	Corsten, 1995: Taf. 80,6
692	B	S...	Lunda, Sn Lovö Uppland, Anl. 10,1, Sweden	Corsten, 1995: S438.01	Corsten, 1995: Taf. 80,4
693		S...	Lunda, Sn Lovö Uppland, Anl. 86,1, Sweden	Corsten, 1995: S438.08	
694		S06090	Rikvide, När, Gotland, Sweden	Corsten, 1995: S453.01	
695	B	S...	Runby, Sn Ed, Uppland, grave 17, Sweden	Corsten, 1995: S457.01	Corsten, 1995: Taf. 81,1
696		S...	Skålby, Sn Hammerby, Uppland, Anl. 18, Sweden	Corsten, 1995: S462.02	
697		S12296	Sweden	Corsten, 1995: S423.00; Mbl, 1904: p. 189	
698		S10392:1	Lövvide, Sn Sjönhem, Gotland, Sweden	Corsten, 1995: S436.00	
699		S20550:146	St. och lilla Ihre, Hellvi, Gotland, Sweden	Corsten, 1995: S470.06	
700	E2C1	NM I 1444	Bornholm, Denmark		Vedel, 1897: fig. 65
701	C		Ullits by og sn, Gislum herred, Nord-Jylland, Denmark	Ørsnes, 1966: JY 13, p. 107, 111, 256; Åberg, 1934: No. 127	Ørsnes, 1966: fig. 59; Åberg, 1924: fig. 96

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702	B	NM 5281	Kobbeå, Bornholm, grave 2, Denmark	Ørsnes, 1966: BO 18, p. 107, 111f, 251, 265, 268; ATS, 1908: p. 296	Ørsnes, 1966: fig. 60; Stjerna in: ATS, 1908: fig. 204
703	B	NM 6064	Denmark	Ørsnes, 1966: UFD, p. 111f, 246, 264, 268	Ørsnes, 1966: fig. 61
704	A2	NM 2438	Bækkegård:90, Bornholm, Denmark	Ørsnes, 1966: p. 111, 126, BO 15 and 249; Klindt-Jensen, 1964: p. 53; Vedel, 1886: p. VI and p. 381, grave no. 90; Klindt-Jensen, 1964: p. 53; V1897: p. 148	Ørsnes, 1966: fig. 62; Jørgensen, 1990: p. 158, pl. 14; Vedel, 1886: p. 162, fig. 77, 327.
705	A2	NM 224	Kronborg Birk, Ørby mark, Vejby sn, Fr.borg Amt, Sjælland	Ørsnes, 1966: SJ2, p. 111f, (171), 252, 265; Becker, 1953: p. 141; Becker, 1955: p. 26; Stjerna, 1905: p. 164	Ørsnes, 1966: fig. 63; Becker, 1953, fig. 13, pl. III; Acta Archaeologica 24, 1953: p. 141, fig. 13, Taf. 13
706	A1	NM 2479	Bækkegård:112, Bornholm, Denmark	Ørsnes, 1966: BO 15, p. 111, 129, 249, 265, 270; Vedel, 1886: p. 382, grave no. 112	Ørsnes, 1966: fig. 64; Jørgensen, 1990: pl. 17
707	E4	NM 5688	Lousgård:40, Bornholm, Denmark	Ørsnes, 1966: BO 20, p. 111, 112 (note 54), 251, 265, 270; Jørgensen, 1995: p. 143; Stjerna, 1905: p. 168; Vedel, 1897: oag. 147, grave no. 40	Ørsnes, 1966: fig. 65
708	E2B	NM 2397a	Bækkegård:60, Bornholm, Denmark	Ørsnes, 1956: p. 113; Ørsnes, 1966: p. 58f, 111, 114 (note 80), 248, 264; Jørgensen, 1990: p. 123; Stjerna, 1905: p. 168; Vedel, 1886: p. 380, grave no. 60	Jørgensen, 1990: p. 155, pl. 60; Ørsnes, 1966: figs 66-70
709	E2D	NM 11495	Mørkøje, Mørkøv, Tuse sn, Holbæk, Sjælland, Denmark	Ørsnes, 1966: p. 58, 60, 111, 227, 254, SJ 26; Stjerna, 1905: p. 167; Arwidsson, 1942: p. 55f	Ørsnes, 1966; figs 71-74
710	E2D	NM 2313	Bækkegård:2, Bornholm, Denmark	Ørsnes, 1966: p. 56, 111, 248, 264, BO 15; Jørgensen, 1990: p. 118; Stjerna, 1905: p. 167	Ørsnes, 1966: figs 75-76; Jørgensen, 1990: p. 147, pl. 3; Ramskou, 1946: p. 128
711	E2D	NM11371 +x977 NM12507	Nørre Sandegård, Østerlarsker sn, Bornholm, Denmark	Ørsnes, 1966: p. 67, 109f, 252, 270, BO21a; Jørgensen, 1997: p. 41	Jørgensen, 1997: p. 41, fig. 28, 29-1; Ørsnes, 1966: figs 77-78
712	E2D	NM 10206	Nørre Sandegård, Østerlarsker sn, Bornholm, Denmark	Ørsnes, 1966: p. 59, 109, 252, BO21b	Ørsnes, 1966: figs 79-81
713	E2D	Dnf. 4/37	Morild, Tårs sn, Børglum, Jylland, Denmark	Ørsnes, 1966: p. 62, 109, 255, JY4; East, 1985: p. 140	Ørsnes, 1966: p. 63, fig.7, 82, 83
714		NM 31438	Stentinget, Hellevad, Dronninglund, Hjørring, Denmark	Højlund-Nielsen, 1991: p. 146	NM catalogue; Hvass & Storgaard, 1993: p. 201
715		NM 32962	Oxholm, Øland, Øster-Han, Hjørring, Denmark		NM catalogue
716		NM 32751 NM 2654	Nørlev/Søgård, Skallerup, Vennbjerg, Hjørring (+fragm. N33654)		NM catalogue
717		NM 33362+75 NM 7648	Humblebakken, Nørre-Tranders, Fleskum, Ålborg (+ fragm. N33362)	Åberg, 1924: No. 129	NM catalogue; Åberg, 1924: fig. 97
718			Ørby, Vejby, Holbo, Frederiksborg Amt, Sjælland, Denmark		

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719	A1	NM 33745	Kædemosegård, Tibirke, Holbo, Frederiksborg, Sjælland, Denmark		NM catalogue
720	X	Dnf. 6/36	Holmgård, Skals, Rinds, Viborg, Jylland, Denmark	Munksgård, 1966b: p. 62; Acta Archaeologica VIII, 1937: pp. 331-333; Hedeager, 1991: p. 210, fig. 9, No. 17	NM catalogue; Acta Archeologica, 1937
726	I	NM 1484	Lad(e)by, Herlufsholm, Sorø, Sjælland, Denmark	Ørsnes, 1966: p. 107, 111, 193, 254, SJ35	NM catalogue; Ørsnes, 1966: fig. 85; Stjerna, 1905: p. 166, fig. 77; Åberg, 1924: p. 44, fig. 105
727			Gyngemosen, Gladsaxe, Sokkelund, København, Denmark		
728		NM 32473	Ellebækgård, Højelse, Ramsø, København, Denmark		NM catalogue
729		NM 32186	Kirsebærhaven, Solrød, Tune, København (fragm.), Denmark		NM catalogue
730	A2	NM 2453	Bækkegård:104, Bornholm, Denmark	Ørsnes, 1966: p. 249, 270; Stjerna, 1905: p. 164; Vedel, 1886: p. 382, grave no. 104	NM catalogue
731	A2	NM 31042	Nørre Sandegård:20, Østerlarsker sn, Bornholm, Denmark	Jørgensen, 1997: p. 42 (fig. 548, 575)	NM catalogue; Jørgensen, 1997: p. 201, fig. 10-1; Jørgensen, 1997: p. 42, fig. 31 (needle)
732	A2	NM 31043	Nørre Sandegård:10, Østerlarsker sn, Bornholm, Denmark		NM catalogue; Jørgensen, 1997: p. 198, fig. 7-1
733	A2	NM 31044	Nørre Sandegård:9, Østerlarsker sn, Bornholm, Denmark		NM catalogue; Jørgensen, 1997: p. 197, fig. 6-1
734	E2B	NM 32087/97 NM 31522	Nørre Sandegård, Østerlarsker sn, Bornholm, Denmark		NM catalogue; Jørgensen, 1997: p. 42, fig. 30-1
735		NM 31522	Nørre Sandegård, Østerlarsker sn, Bornholm, Denmark		NM catalogue; Jørgensen, 1997: p. 42, fig. 30-3
736	E4	NM 5655	Lousgård:35, Bornholm, Denmark	Ørsnes, 1966: p. 112f (note 53), 251, 268; Jørgensen, 1995: p. 142; Vedel, 1886: p. 147, grave no. 35	NM catalogue; Vedel, 1886: p. 64, fig. 65; Brøndsted, 1960: p. 302
738	H	NM 32521 NM 7606	Maglegård, Bornholm, Denmark		NM catalogue
739	J2	NM 32131	Sorte Muld, Ibsker, Bornholm, Denmark		NM catalogue
740		NM 31919 NM 32320	Sandegård, Åker, Bornholm (+fragm. N32320), Denmark		NM catalogue
741	A4	NM 32822	St. Kannikegård, Bodilsker, Bornholm, Denmark		NM catalogue
742	A2	NM 2615	Bækkegård:157, Bornholm, Denmark	Ørsnes, 1966: p. 108, 249, 270; Jørgensen, 1995: p. 133; Vedel, 1886: p. 383, grave no. 157	Jørgensen, 1990: pl. 23
743			Lousgård:47, Bornholm, Denmark		
746		NM 10206	Nørre Sandegård Vest, Bornholm, Denmark	Jørgensen, 1997: p. 41	Jørgensen, 1997: p. 41, fig. 29-2

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747	E2D	x976	Nørre Sandegård Vest, Bornholm, Denmark	Strömberg, 1961: p. 120	Jørgensen, 1997: p. 42, fig. 30-2
748	A2	x148	Nørre Sandegård Vest, Bornholm, Denmark		Jørgensen, 1997: p. 42, fig. 30-4
750		NM cat.	Nørre Dalby, Sjælland, Denmark		
751	J4	Dnf. 578/66	Kitnæs, Jægerspris, Frederiksborg, Sjælland, Denmark	Munksgård, 1966a: pp. 8ff; Munksgård, 1966b: pp. 53ff; Skalk, 1966: p. 4; Haseloff, 1981: p. 236f; Leth-Larsen, 1985: p. 148; Jørgensen, 1975: p. 140, 157, No. 13; Hedeager, 1991: p. 210, fig. 9, No. 2	Munksgård, 1966a: p. 10; Munksgård, 1966b: figs 6-10, Roth, Taf. 19b; Haseloff, 1981: Taf. 32-2; Jørgensen, 1975: p. 141; Storgård, 1990: fig. 11, No. 10
752	J4		Holmborg, Viborg, Jylland, Denmark	Munksgård, 1966a: p. 14; Haseloff, 1981: p. 236f	
753	J4	NM 22375	Elsehoved, Fyn, Denmark	Munksgård, 1966a: p. 15; Munksgård, 1966b; Haseloff, 1981: p. 236f; Åberg, 1924: p. 38, 64; Åberg, 1926: p. 88; Fønnesbech-Sandberg, 1989: p. 439	Munksgård, 1966b: fig. 12; Haseloff, 1981: Taf. 33; Brøndsted, 1960: p. 294; Montelius, 1873: p. 134, fig. 455; Fønnesbech-Sandberg, 1989: Taf. XIX-38a; Thrane, 1993: pl. 8
754	J4	NM 20880	Skodborg, Haderslev, Jylland, Denmark	Munksgård, 1966a: p. 16; Munksgård, 1966b; Wiell, 1993: p. 17; Åberg, 1926: p. 88; Haseloff, 1981: p. 236f; Mbl, 1892: p. 15; Mackeprang, 1965: pp. 247ff, fig. 10; Hedeager, 1991: p. 210, fig. 9, No. 28	Munksgård, 1966a: fig. 14; Haseloff, 1981: Taf. 32-1; Wiell, 1993: p. 17; Mbl, 1892: p. 15, fig. 18
755	J4	Dnf. 9/46	Adslev, Århus, Jylland, Denmark	Munksgård, 1966a: p. 14; Munksgård, 1966b; Haseloff, 1981: p. 236f	Munksgård, 1966a: fig. 11
756	J4	NM 7648	Nørre Tranders, Ålborg, Jylland, Denmark	Munksgård, 1966a: p. 15; Munksgård, 1966b; Haseloff, 1981: p. 236f	Munksgård, 1966b: fig. 13; Åberg, 1924: fig 97, No. 129
757	X	NM C288	Skerne (Stjernede), Maribo, Falster, Denmark	Sjøvold, 1993: p. 58f; Holmqvist, 1955: pl. III; Holmqvist, 1939: pl. 65-2; Åberg in: ATS 21:3: p. 16	Sjøvold, 1993: fig. 33 D2, Roth, Taf. 19a; Haseloff, 1981: Taf. 4-1; Åberg in ATS, 1918-1924, 21:3: p. 16, fig. 14
758		ÅM	Jylland, Denmark	Stjerna, 1905: p. 164	
759	X	NM 738	Galsted, Haderslev Amt, Jylland, Denmark	Haseloff, 1981: p. 27; Salin, 1904: p. 165; Bakka, 1958: p. 28, 44, 61; Gjessing, 1934: p. 137; Munksgård, 1966b: p. 62; Fønnesbech-Sandberg, 1989: p. 450	Haseloff, 1981: Taf. 9; Salin, 1904: fig. 394; Bakka, 1958: fig. 21; Roth, 1986: p. 137, fig. 95; Brøndsted, 1960: p. 309
760	J5	Dnf. 4-12/19	Agerskov, Ringkøbing Amt, Jylland, Denmark	Sjøvold, 1993: p. 33; Bakka, 1958: p. 28, 63; Hedeager, 1991: p. 210, fig. 9, No. 23	Haseloff, 1981; fig. 10,2 and 16; Bakka, 1958; fig. 42.
761	J5	NM 10734	Vedstrup, Sømme, Sjælland, Denmark	Sjøvold, 1993: p. 30; Haseloff, 1981: pp. 189-196; Salin, 1904: p. 227; Bakka, 1958: p. 42; Olsen, 2000: p. 117f	Sjøvold, 1993: fig. 12 D9; Bakka, 1958: fig. 19; Salin, 1904: fig. 519; Haseloff, 1981: Taf. 26; Müller, 1895: fig. 549; Olsen, 2000: p. 117, fig. 1
762	X	NM 22147	Skerne, Falster, Denmark	Sjøvold, 1993: p. 52, 58; Bakka, 1958: p. 26; Munksgård, 1966b: p. 62	Sjøvold, 1993: p. 16 A-6b, fig. 30 D10; Salin, 1904: fig. 116; Roth, 1986: Taf. 19b; Bakka, 1958: fig. 18; Brøndsted, 1960: p. 311b

CAT	TYPE	MUS. NR.	PROVENANCE	DESCRIBED BY AUTHOR	ILLUSTRATED
764	X	NM 8566	Aarslev, Funen, Denmark	Mackeprang, 1940: pp. 87ff, fig. 3; Storgård, 1990: pp. 32-36; Storgård, 1993: p. 160f, fig. 2; Munksgård, 1966b: p. 60	Arrhenius, 1984: fig. 24; Storgård, 1990: fig. 8 and 11-6; Storgård, 1993: fig. 2
801	A7	S02831	S2831, Burge, Rone sn., Gotland, Sweden		
802	J5	X445 & 890	Gudme, Funen, Denmark	Thrane, 1987: p. 19, fig. 6, d3; Thrane, 1993: p. 445, fig. 38; Thrane, 1992: p.326	Thrane, 1993: p. 52, fig. 38; Hauck, 1992: p. 370, fig. 12a
803	X	C29300b	Ommundrød, Hedrum, Vestfold, Norway	Sjøvold, 1993: p. 58, p. 60 N11 and p. 62, fig. 69, pl. 32; Hougen, 1967: UOÅ 1956-7: p. 227	Sjøvold, 1993: pl. 32
804	X		Himlingøje, Jylland, Denmark		
805	X	S01304	S1304, Frøslunda, Öland, Sweden		Salin, 1904: fig. 115
806	J2	see 421	Jorenkjøl in Varhaug, (Jæren) Skretting, Hå, Rogaland, Norway	Nissen Fett, 1974: p. 12	Hougen, 1967: fig. 74
807	J	NM 8-11-41	Klithuse, Øster Han Herred, Hjørring Amt, Jylland, Denmark		Sjøvold, 1993 D5: p. 65f, pl. 13; Arbejdsmarken, 1942: p. 14, fig. 10, pl. 13; Haseloff, 1981: Taf. 14:2
810		S10739:3	Sweden	Mbl, 1899: p. 113; Sjøvold, 1993: pl. 2, No. S46	Mbl, 1899: fig. 38
811		S10498:1	Tammenharj 4, Lapland, Sweden	Mbl, 1898: p. 74; Sjøvold, 1993: pl. 2, No. F3	'idem Montelius: fig. 445'
812	A7	S14462	Sweden	Fornvännen, 1911: p. 262	Fornvännen, 1911: fig. 106
813	A6	S...	Valla, Klinte, Gotland, Sweden	Wilson, 1995: p. 144	Wilson, 1995: p. 146, fig. 130
850	A0	S23267:7	Lilla Smedby, Smedby sn, Öland, Sweden	Minda, 1989: p. 37, No. 13	Minda, 1989: fig. 13
851		GAM	Svenneby, Bohus län, Sweden	Minda, 1989: p. 37, No. 14	
852			Långeryd, Fivelstad, Östergötland, Sweden	Minda, 1989: p. 37, No. 18	
853		S23391	Rullerum, Ringarum, Östergötland, Sweden	Minda, 1989, p. 37, No. 20	
854		S26271:34	Ringstad gård, Eneby, Östergötland, Sweden	Minda, 1989: p. 37, No. 22	Minda, 1989: fig. 22
855		S24569	Fiskeby, Eneby, Östergötland, Sweden	Minda, 1989: p. 37, No. 23	
856		D no. 3645-80	Fredrikstorp, Flistad, Östergötland, Sweden	Minda, 1989: p. 37, No. 25	Minda, 1989: fig. 25
857		S16922:1	Säby, Berga, Västergötland, Sweden	Minda, 1989: p. 37, No. 28	
858		S14101	Pjukarp, Hällstad, Västergötland, Sweden	Minda, 1989: p. 38, No. 29; Fornvännen, 1910: p. 248	Minda, 1989: fig. 29; 'idem Montelius: fig. 530'
859		S02221	Västergötland, Sweden	Minda, 1989: p. 38, No. 30	
860		S21270:47	Häring, Västerhaninge, Södermanland, Sweden	Minda, 1989: p. 38, No. 31	

CAT	TYPE	MUS. NR.	PROVENANCE	DESCRIBED BY AUTHOR	ILLUSTRATED
861		RAA:154 A16 F13	Fullersta, Huddinge, Södermanland, Sweden	Minda, 1989: p. 38, No. 35 (RAA: 154 A16, F13)	
862	E2A	S29401:15	Viken, Lov Uppland, Sweden	Minda, 1989: p. 38, No. 36	Minda, 1989: fig. 36
863	G	S31325:1	Ösby, Österby garn sn, Uppland, Sweden	Minda, 1989: p. 38, No. 38	Minda, 1989: fig. 38
864		RAA 21 A6	Väsby, Vallentuna sn, Uppland, Sweden	Minda, 1989: p. 38, No. 39	
865	A0	S05208:22	Birka, Adels sn, Uppland, Sweden	Minda, 1989: p. 38, No. 40	Minda, 1989: fig. 40
866		S17059	Ersta, Tolfta sn, Uppland, Sweden	Minda, 1989: p. 38, No. 41	
910		5179:93	Mattas, Lemland, Finland	Kivioski, 1939: p. 44	
911			Finland	Kivioski, 1939: p. 44	Kivioski, 1939: fig. 575
912	C	68	Gulldynt, sn Vöyri (Vorå), Ostbottnen, Z/O Finland	Ørsnes, 1966: p. 111; Corsten, 1995; SF485.00; Kivioski, 1939: p. 44; Mbl, 1880: p. 43f; Mbl, 1878: fig. 38, 49	Kivikoski, 1939: fig. 382; Corsten, 1995: fig. 80-5; Montelius, 1872: fig. 530
917			Bjärs, Hejnum sn, Gotland, Sweden	Ørsnes, 1966: p. 113 (note 61)	
918	G		Bjärs, Lärbro sn, Gotland, Sweden	Ørsnes, 1966: p. 113 (note 61)	Nerman, 1919: fig. 100
920	E2C	J9072	Jämtland(?), Sweden	Arwidsson, 1942: p. 56, 107; Ørsnes, 1966: p. 114 (note 82)	Arwidsson, 1942: p. 108, fig. 11
921		S06745	Berga sn/Domaryd sn, Sm and, Sweden	Arbman, 1932: p. 17; Ørsnes, 1966: p. 113 (note 69), 231; Arwidsson, 1942: p. 55, 58, 108	(Stjerna, 1905: fig. 179), Arwidsson, 1942: fig. 37
922	E2	S14505	Gröding sn, viaduct, Södermanland, Sweden	Arwidsson, 1942: p. 109; Fornvännen, 1911: p. 269f; Ørsnes, 1966: p. 113 (note 72)	Fornvännen, 1911: figs 115-116
924		S08656:4	Varv sn, Östervarv, Östergötland, Sweden	Arwidsson, 1942: p. 109; Ørsnes, 1966: p. 113 (note 71)	Arbman, 1941: p. 59, figs 1-4
925	E2	S21435:6	Sya/Vata sn, Vetavallen, Östergötland, Sweden	Arwidsson, 1942: p. 53, 109; Ørsnes, 1966: p. 113 (note 71)	Arbman, 1941: p. 66, fig. 8; Arwidsson, 1942: fig. 42
926			Löddeköpinge sn, Skåne (zie 630), Sweden	Arwidsson, 1942: p. 51f, 87; Ørsnes, 1966: p. 113 (note 71)	
927	E2C1	S17906	Ruda, Skedevi sn, Östergötland, Sweden		Arwidsson, 1942: fig. 39
928	A6			Arrhenius, 1985: p. 94	Arrhenius, 1985: fig. 13
929	A7	S9894	cemetery, Havdhem, Gotland, Sweden	Arrhenius, 1985: p. 94f; Mbl, 1895	Arrhenius, 1985: p. 95, fig. 14
936		grave 52-60	Vätteryd, N. Mellby sn, Skåne, Anl. 52-60, Sweden	Strömberg, 1961: p. 125	Strömberg, 1961: p.8, fig. 45
938	B	St. St.	Kymlinge, Sn Spånga, Uppland, Anl. 40, Sweden	Corsten, 1995; S431.01; Minda, 1989: p. 38	Minda, 1989: fig. 49
939	A7	S16336	Valva, Eskelhem, Gotland, Sweden		Thunmark-Nylén, 1995: fig. 28a
940	A7	S27739:9	Barshalder, Grötlingbo, Gotland, Sweden		Thunmark-Nylén, 1995: fig. 82
941	A7	S27778:13	Barshalder, Grötlingbo, Gotland, Sweden		Thunmark-Nylén, 1995: fig. 84
942	E		N. Bredsundsnalet, Lövnäs, Transtrand, Dalarna, Sweden	Åberg, 1953: p. 153; Ørsnes, 1966: p. 114 (note 76)	Minda, 1989: fig. 71
943	E		Horrmond, Dalarna, Sweden	Hallström, 1945: p. 111; Ørsnes, 1966: p. 114 (note 76)	Hallström, 1945: fig. 6

CAT	TYPE	MUS. NR.	PROVENANCE	DESCRIBED BY AUTHOR	ILLUSTRATED
944	E		Bäck, Valbo, Gästrikland, Sweden	Bellander, 1938: p. 99; Ørsnes, 1966: p. 114 (note 74)	Bellander, 1938: fig. 99
945			Strömsbro, Gästrikland, Sweden	Åberg, 1953: p. 152; Ørsnes, 1966: p. 114 (note 74)	Serning, 1960: pl. 12:3
946		S09836a	Gotland, Sweden	Mbl, 1893: p. 43	Mbl, 1902: fig. 149
947	A2	S09836b	Gotland, Sweden	Mbl, 1893: p. 43	
950	A4		Grobin, Westkurland, Letland	Ørsnes, 1966: p. 113 (note 65); Nerman, 1958: p. 94.	Nerman, 1958: fig. 1,1
951			Grobin, Westkurland, Letland, grave 28	Ørsnes, 1966: p. 113 (note 65); Nerman, 1958: p. 94.	Nerman, 1958: fig. 23, 123
952			Grobin, Westkurland, Letland, grave 73	Ørsnes, 1966: p. 113 (note 65); Nerman, 1958: p. 94.	Nerman, 1958: fig. 34, 194
954	C		Elbing, Polen	Corsten, 1995: P366.00; Ørsnes, 1966: p. 115, 196, 274	Corsten, 1995: Taf. 81-4; Petersen, 1939: figs 182-183
961		LUHM 18892	Skåne, Sweden	unpublished corr., 1998	
962	A4	BLM 4306	Gotland, Sweden	unpublished corr., 1998	unpublished photograph
963	A1		Kräkberg, Mora, Dalarna, Sweden	Hallström, 1931: p. 66; Gjessing, 1934: p. 139	Hallström, 1931: p. 67, fig. 28
964	E2D		964 Ekhammar, Sweden	Ørsnes, 1966: p. 114 (note 76); Minda, 1989: p. 39	Hallström, 1931: p. 67, fig. 29; Minda, 1989: fig. 70
967			967 Barhave, Øja, Gotland, Sweden	Corsten, 1995: S389,3	
970	J1		St. Brice, grave 10, Tournai (Doornik), Belgium		
971			Sanda, Gotland, Sweden		
972			Misterby, Gotland, Sweden		
973	A7		Gotland, Sweden		Montelius, 1872: p. 152, fig. 530
974	A0		Tureholm, Trosa sn, Södermanland, Sweden	Arne, 1909: p. 39f; Ørsnes, 1966: p. 112 (note 58); Nerman, 1919	Arne, 1909: p. 42, fig. 69
975	E2D	Metrop. Mus.	Sweden	unpublished corr., 1991	neg. 139008 Metrop. Mus.
976			Misterby, Gotland, Sweden		
977	A6	S13257	Grötlingbo, Mårtens, Gotland, Sweden	Arbman, 1937: p. 191; Mbl, 1905: p. 237; Sjøvold, 1993: p. 62, fig. 69, pl. 32; Hougen, 1967; UOÅ, 1956: 7:227	Arbman, 1937: Taf. 53; Mbl, 1905: p. 334
981	J2	Ts 2587	Laneset, Tranøy, Troms, Norway	Sjøvold, 1993: p. 32	Sjøvold, 1993: fig. 13 N76
982	J2	LUHM	Önsvala, Nevishög, Skåne, Sweden	Sjøvold, 1993: p. 30 and 64 S3	Sjøvold, 1993: fig. 12 S3
991			Skogsby, Ubö, Södermanland, Sweden	Arne, 1909: p. 48; Ørsnes, 1966: p. 113 (note 72)	Arne, 1909: fig. 81; Minda, 1989: fig. 32991; Arne, 1909: fig. 81; Minda, 1989: fig. 32; Fornvännen, 1908: fig. 139
992		KM 232	Skammelstorp, Åby sn, Öland, Sweden	Åberg, 1923: p. 148; Ørsnes, 1966: p. 113 (note 68)	Minda, 1989: fig. 17
994		KM 6607	Sättra, Gärdslösa, Öland, Sweden	Åberg, 1923: p. 148	Minda, 1989: fig. 33
996			Gargnäs, Sorsele, Lapland, Sweden	Ørsnes, 1966: p. 114 (note 77); Åberg, 1953: p. 153	Minda, 1989: fig. 82
999	A7	S11948	Stänga kyrkgård, Gotland, Sweden	Mbl, 1902: p. 105	Mbl, 1902: fig. 149