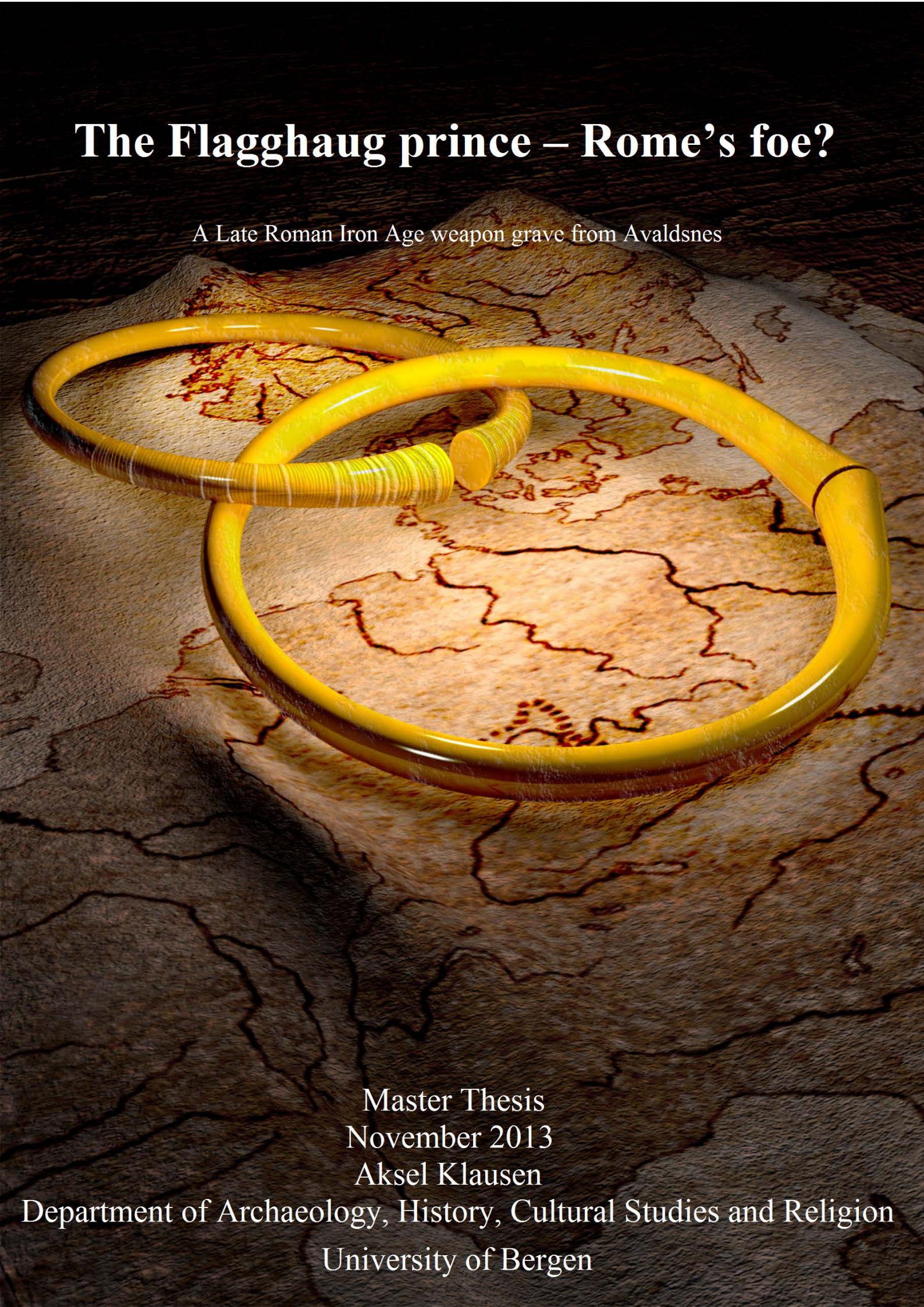
The Flagghaug prince – Rome's foe?

A Late Roman Iron Age weapon grave from Avaldsnes



Master Thesis
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"*Order my troop to construct a barrow*
on a headland on the coast, after my pyre has cooled.
It will loom on the horizon at Hronesness
and be a reminder among my people -
so that in coming times crews under sail
will call it Beowulf's' Barrow, as they steer
ships across the wide and shrouded waters."
- Beowulf, 2802-2808

I. Preface

Growing up as a child playing on prehistoric barrows and being told stories about long forgotten battles and mighty kings, made me realise at a young age that there was a past, present and future. However, there was one particular area in my parish that caught my attention as a child, and that was Avaldsnes. The place where Norway's first king, Harald Fairhair, is said to have had his royal manor, but also the place where one of Norway's largest menhirs can be found. However, out of all of these stories associated with this particular area, there was one that fascinated me the most, the long forgotten story about the Flagghaug prince. Who was this person, and why was he buried in a barrow? Those were the questions that followed me through my childhood, until I reached my youth, and the making of Nordvegen History Centre resulting in better information becoming readily available for the general public. As a result, I remember reading about how the Flagghaug prince may have served in the Roman army, and established contacts with other prince's thorough Europe. This is the basis for me wanting to write my master's thesis about Flagghaugen. I decided to write the thesis in English, as little has been published on the material concerning the Flagghaug barrow.

My first thanks goes to my supervisor, Randi Barndon for her feedback and support. I also wish to thank Catherine for her good natured spirit and for always having time to chat. Also, I wish to thank Morten, who redrew the figures presented in this catalogue. My warmest thanks goes towards my félag, Eirik, and Unni, who was there for me when I needed help the most. My last thanks goes to my parents, Harry and Sonja, for helping me when times got tough and for believing in me. All grammatical and factual errors are my own.

Aksel Vilhelm Tysdal Klausen

Bergen, 20.11.13

II. Sammendrag / Abstract

På nordsiden av Karmøy ligger Avaldsnesgården. Dette er et sted som er blandt annet omtalt i Snorres ”Heimskringla” hvor Norges første konge, Harald Hårfarge, skal ha hatt kongsgård. Men Avaldsnes er også kjent for langt mer enn kun å være kongsgård, da et av de rikeste yngre romertidsfunnene i Nord-Europa kommer fra gravhaugen Flagghaugen. Haugen er nå utgravd og kun rester etter den kan ses, men inneholdt en primærgrav, Flagghaug 1, og to sekundærgraver fra sent 200-tallet. Emnet i denne avhandlingen er å teste spørsmålet, ”Flagghaugfysten - romaranes venn?” som stilles i utstillingen på Nordvegen Historiesenter, Avaldsnes, Karmøy. Det har lenge vært et spørsmål hvor all rikdom som ble funnet i hovedgraven i Flagghaugen kommer fra, og om det var gjennom fiendlige midler at fyrsten som er gravlagt i haugen tilegnet seg den. Sentralt for oppgaven blir da andre yngre romertids fyrstegraver i Sentral-Europa, kjent som ”Haßleben-Leuna gruppen”, og da spesielt Gommern, for å finne ut om det er en parallell mellom disse gravene og Flagghaugen og det som skjer i Sentra-Europa. Disse gravene er markert med en plutselig oppblomstring i rikdom iløpet av perioden C2 (250/60-310/20 e.Kr.), og er et kortlevd fenomen, som trolig er forbundet med den romerske krisen i midten til slutten av det tredje århundret. Den samme oppblomstringen kan også ses på Avaldsnes, som ser ikke ut til å ha vært et sentralt sted før eller etter yngre romertid iløpet av eldre jernalder, noe blant annet Håkon Reiersen (2009) har belyst i sin studie av gården og området rundt, men at stedet var et såkalt ”sentralsted” mot slutten av 200-tallet

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1. INTRODUCTION

1.1. Definitions

Before proceeding, I wish to explain some of the descriptions used in my work. Some of the most frequently used words are the descriptions of the parts involved. When I use the word 'Roman', it covers everything that comes from within the borders of the Roman Empire. I am well aware that calling both objects and people from the provinces for 'Roman' is a point of discussion and that some scholars would prefer to restrict the use of this word, but that falls outside the thesis focus and therefore becomes irrelevant. The other part in this work is the 'barbarians'. I have avoided this word, as it has negative modern connotations attached to it, although I do not find that this necessarily applies to the Latin word 'Barbaricum'. This will be used alongside the general description 'Germania' and 'Germanic', a general name given by the Romans to the people east of the Rhine, and those outside of Roman control.

The English term *'Prince'*, *German 'Fürst'*, Norwegian *'Fyrste'* also need explaining. The term is used when describing graves dated to the Iron Age that contains numerous objects that give the grave an exclusive social status. In central and western European research the term mainly concerns graves dating to the Pre Roman Iron Age & Roman Iron Age, whilst in the United Kingdom it mainly concerns the middle to late Migration Period and early Merovingian Period, in northern Europe the term is used from the beginning of the Roman Iron Age until the end of the Viking Age, and I will also only be using the term to describe graves dating to the Roman Iron Age. It is also linked to a specific symbolism, through the objects that indicates interregional network. In other words, the word points towards social functions, which are connected to the society's leadership (Lund Hansen 1987). However, one needs to take note that the term *'prince'* is still misguiding in this context, as it alludes to specific historical and social contexts, which are not necessarily appropriate when applied to certain wealthy burials from the Iron Age. A number of these burials are also female burials, which in turn distort the gender specific meaning of the word. Still, the term will be applied in this thesis due to the deep roots it has in the research literature, and because it is widely used today.

1.2. Chronology

The Roman Iron Age stretches from ca. AD 0-400, and was divided into two halves by Sophus Müller, the early Roman Iron Age (AD 0-200), and the Late Roman Iron Age (AD 200-400). This correlates to Montelius' period IV and V. Birger Nerman divided each halves into periods IV.1, IV.2, V.1, and V.2. Today, the Roman Iron Age chronology is based on Hans Jürgen Eggers work (1955). He introduced the periods B, and C, where sub-period, B1 and B2 is the Early Roman Iron Age and C1, C2, and C3 is the Late Roman Iron Age. Period B is divided onto two sub-periods B1 and B2, where B1 stretches from AD 0-50, B2 from AD 50-150, and is considered to mark the transition from early and Late Roman Iron Age. Period C is also divided into sub-period C1, stretching from AD 150-200, C2, stretching from AD 200-300, and C3, stretching from AD 300-375, marking the transition from the Roman Iron Age to the Migration Period.

The latest addition to this chronology was made by Ulla Lund Hansen (1987), basing her chronology of Eggers and the Danish material, creating a finer division between each sub-period, and is the one that I use for my thesis. Her chronology divides period B into three sub-periods, B1a, stretching from AD 0-40, B1b, stretching from AD 40-70, and B2, stretching from AD 70-150/160. Period C is divided into four sub-periods, C1a, stretching from AD 150/160-210/220, C1b, stretching from AD 210/220-250/260, C2, stretching from AD 250/260-310/320 and C3, stretching from AD 310/320-400.

1.3. Disposition of arguments

The base of this thesis is the Avaldsnes find from the primary grave in Flagghaugen, also often referred to as Flagghaugen 1, Avaldsnes, Karmøy, a Late Roman Iron Age barrow dating to C2 (AD 250/260-310/320), with roman imports, weapons and massive gold objects

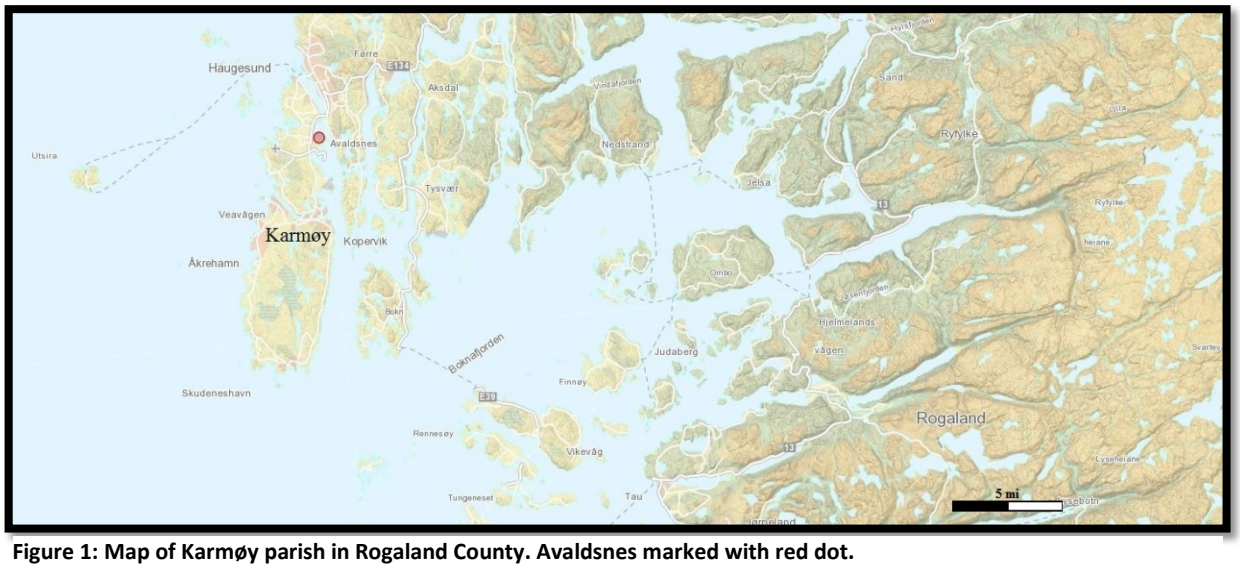


Figure 1: Map of Karmøy parish in Rogaland County. Avaldsnes marked with red dot.
Map after http://www.gislink.no/gislink/

that was found on Avaldsnes on Karmøy, Rogaland, in 1834. The barrow contained three, perhaps four burials, with the primary burial, Flagghaug 1, as the most important out of the four. The Avaldsnes find has been much discussed in the literature about the Late Roman Iron Age in Norway but also in a European level. However, the grave has never been properly published or treated especially thoroughly. This is the background for this thesis. In addition to treating the grave in its entirety on a more thorough manner than has been done previously, I will also try to put it into a larger context and ask questions that have not been properly asked before. This is in the attempt to extract more knowledge about the grave, but also about the area and the period in general during the Late Roman Iron Age.

The main research question will take a basis in the title "The Flagghaug prince – Rome's friend or foe?" a question that is presented to the general public in Nordvegen History Centre.

This part can be divided into following sub research questions:

- I want to take a closer look at the claim that the objects from Flagghaugen I have great similarity with the graves from Haßleben-Leuna group, which are found in the Middle Elbe-Saale region in Germany. I will also try to compare the objects in a wide

geographical context, both how they correlate in a Norwegian and European level. With this I wish to figure out what kind of contacts the Flagghaug prince may have had.

- As Flagghaugen has been dated to the middle and later part of the 3rd Century AD, in a time when the Roman Empire was under threat from Germanic raids, I want to look at evidence that may support the theory that the Flagghaug prince took part in these raids.

- I will also look at the burial itself, and what the bereaved may have wanted to signalise, and why. Additionally, I will look at what the barrow can tell us about the people that lived during that period.

The first chapter will begin with the excavation of the Flagghaugen barrow and associated documentations that are available from this, after which I proceed with the research history of the barrow. The research history of the Avaldsnes area will then be presented. I will continue with a review of the Late Roman Iron Age in Norway with focus central aspects, such as burial customs and what was put in the graves. A presentation of the Varpelev grave and Haßleben-Leuna will follow.

In chapter 2 the research questions will be elaborated and the thesis method presented. Towards the end of this chapter the topic of burial customs will be treated, and what information this can give us will be discussed.

In chapter 3 the material from the barrow will be presented in its entirety. Similar work has been done in the past by Anders Lorange (1875) Haakon Shetelig (1912), Johannes Bøe (1926), Wenche Slomann (1964,1973) Ulla Lund Hansen (1987) and Håkon Reiersen (2009), but a complete detailed presentation in English is lacking. As the material is central for this thesis, I decided to dedicate a chapter to its presentation.

Chapter 4 will deal with the material from Flagghaugen. Chapter 5, will deal with the material from the other selected graves. Chapter 6 will be about the Roman Empire during its period of

crisis, and chapter 7 will be about interpreting the grave in the given light of the other graves and Rome's 3rd century crisis. Chapter 8 is the last chapter, summarising the work.

The thesis has a focus on the material. Discussions in the different parts that answer each other's questions do all take basis in the material, even if other factors are also included to highlight the themes further.

2. BACKGROUND

2.1. The excavation

The excavation of the Flagghaugen barrow, situated next to the St. Olav's Church at Avaldsnes, was carried out by the newly appointed pastor Lyder Brun, on the base to expand the cemetery due to growing population in the parish. The terrain around the church was shallow and hilly, and poor space for new graves became an issue. However, the Flagghaugen mound was an ideal source for new earth to be used for expanding the cemetery and Brun decided to use the earth from the mound (Skadberg 1950, p. 16; Østrem 2010, p. 204). The mound originally measured over "*170 skritt*" in circumference and about "*8 alen*" high. Setting the value of an alen to the national alen standard of 1824, one alen equals 0.6275 m, which makes a diameter of ca. 43 m and a height of ca. 5 m (Christie 1842a, pp. 327-328; Opedal 2010, p. 298). Work began during November 1834 and ended spring 1835, but large

Figure 2: Map of Avaldsnes farm in Karmøy parish. Flagghaugen marked with red circle.
Map after http://www.gislink.no/gislink/

masses of the mound still remained, and in 1840 the last of the barrow were to be removed. Not much is known about the excavation itself, save for a letter written by Brun on December 11th 1834 to Bishop Jacob Neumann, co-founder of Bergen Museum. In his letter, Brun explains that based on Neumann's recommendation, it took two hours for six men to dig their way from the eastern side into the center of the mound, were they found the chamber measuring *"5 ¾ Alen langt, 1 7/8 Alen bredt og 2 ¼ Alen høit."*(Slomann 1964, p. 19; Østrem 2010, p. 204), making the chamber 3,60 m long, 1,20 m wide and 1,40 m high.

As the excavation was not scientifically carried out, no sketches exist, so there is no telling how the items were placed inside the chamber of Flagghaug 1. However, the size of the chamber indicates that it was a spacious room. No skeletal remains were reported to have been found. Of found items is a gold neck ring (C718) with decorated terminals and in perfect condition, showing only some wear to the body after extended period of use. A decorated gold finger ring with a convex plate top. A damaged small circular pressblech foil (B611) depicting the lower half of a standing figure. A fragmented sword with gilt silver pressblech plates decorating the scabbard, and a wooden grip and silver knob, also the spike of a silver shield boss (B610, B612). Silver fittings (B609) for a horn, and 32 glass gaming pieces of black and blue glass (B615, T25). Also, a pair of ropes and a silvered mirror was found, with the mirror having been imported from the Roman Empire. Of other imported objects can a roman bronze strainer (B606), with a handle and patterned mesh be mentioned. Also a silvered Hemmoor bucket (B607) with silver rivets, and a bronze basin with lion heads (B608). Of lost items can a set of lance-head and a throwing spear, be mentioned, also a gold dress pin and three gold rings were described to have been found (Christie 1842; Lorange 1875; Shetelig 1912; Slomann 1973; Lund Hansen 1987; Reiersen 2009).

Grave 2 contained another Hemmoor bucket (B314) with skeletal remains and three gold rings inside, now lost, while a bronze cauldron (B605-a) was found in grave 3. A bronze scale, earlier thought to be part of the grave goods from Flagghaug 1, may stem from a potential fourth grave.

There has been much confusion to what was actually found in the Flagghaug barrow since it was opened, and the most up to date publication on the find was carried out by Wenche Slomann in 1964 in "En antikvarisk-historisk skisse omkring Avaldsnesfunnet" (Slomann 1964) and in 1973 on her entry for "Avaldsnes" in *Reallexikon der Germanischen*

Altertumskunde (Slomann 1973). Other authors only generally mention the find or in conjunction with other finds.

2.2. Past research on the Flagghaug barrow

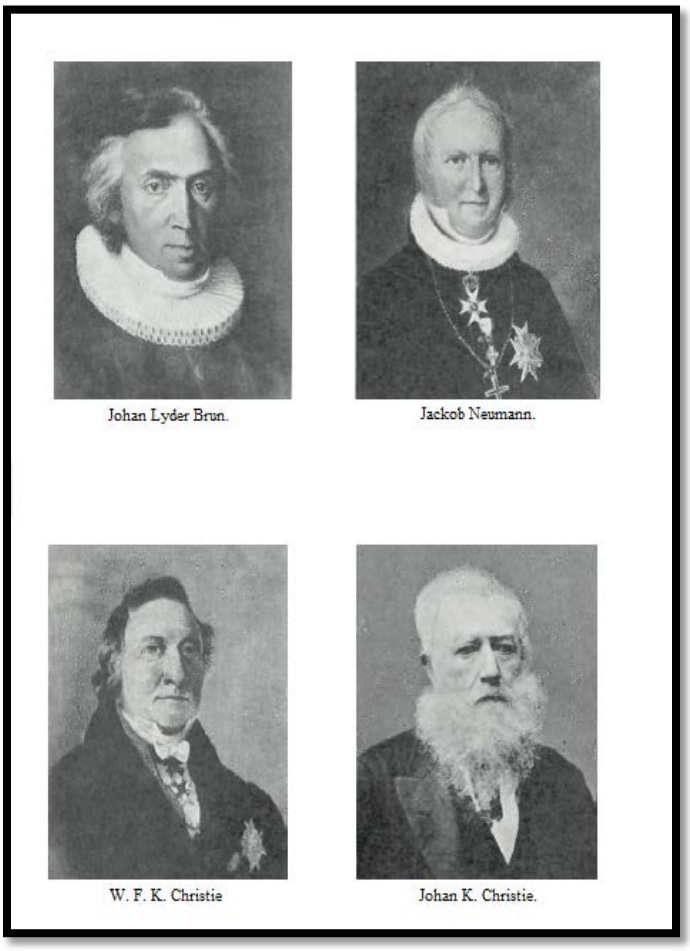


Figure 3: Pictures of Brun, Neumann, Christie & Christie.
From Slomann 1964.

The first to publish about the find from the barrow was Christie (1842a, pp. 322-347; 1842b, pp. 389-407), in his study of the prehistoric Avaldsnes area, and he took particular interest in describing what was found in the barrow. Special interest was taken in tying the barrow with the legendary king Augvald, who, according to the legendary saga ("story of the ancient past"), had his high seat at Avaldsnes and who gave the name to the farm. The barrow was also often referred to as "Kohehøien" or as "Augvaldshaug", strengthening the idea that the legendary king, or his holy cow, Audhumla, might be buried in the mound.

In the first index published from Bergen Museum by Lorange (1875, pp.70-74), the find was republished. New, and more detailed presentation of the excavation of the barrow and the find was carried out, where he describes the objects form and shape. Also, for the first time, the finds are presented with catalogue numbers, something which was not previously in place. However, it was not until "Vestlandske graver fra jernalderen" by Shetelig (1912, pp. 53-58), that the find was properly published. His walkthrough of the descriptions of the barrow and the graves and especially the objects associated with Flagghaug 1 had not been as thorough in the past. He also introduces new objects, such as the silver apex, that he reconstructs as a silver beaker together with the

silver rim. He also gave a good description of the swords construction and further typologising it as a roman “gladius”. He also raised questions concerning the lost gold rings, as they could not be found in the museum collection. He also questions the origin of the Flagghaug barrow, due to the change in burial rites from the early Roman Iron Age to the Late Roman Iron Age, and considered it as a sign of foreign influence and possible immigration to Western-Norway (Shetelig, pp. 58-59).

In his “Norsk gravguld fra ældre jernalder”, Bøe (1926) includes the rings from the Avaldsnes find, and adding further information concerning the lost rings, where he points out that Christie describes them as being “of common Façon”, and that they were reported by Christie in 1841 to have been sold to a merchant, after offering them for sale to Universitetets Oldsaksamling, Oslo.

As mentioned, the most up to date publication concerning the circumstances around the Flagghaug barrow, and the objects from the graves, was done by Slomann in 1964 and 1973.

2.3. The area around Avaldsnes

Avaldsnes is located in the northern part of Karmøy, between the North Sea in the west and Karmsund in the east. Most of the northern part is well suited for farming due to the bed rock, which consists mostly of greenstone, making especially fertile soil (Lundberg 1989, p. 19; Simonsen 1989, p. 15-17). Today most of the sounding area is deforested with agriculture or developed land, but the areas that are not used consist mostly of heathland that developed some centuries before Christ (Prøsch-Danielsen & Simonsen 2000: 41). As a result, wildlife would have been scarce during the Roman Iron Age, and therefore likely found elsewhere. However, situated on an island close to the North Sea would have made the area favorable for fishing and hunting on the sea.

2.4. Archaeology on Avaldsnes

The earliest Roman Iron Age research in the Avaldsnes area was primarily concerned with describing and excavating some of the most impressing barrows here. Medieval sagas mention several monuments, kings and battles in the area and the first antiquarian descriptions

of the local monuments associate them with the depictions of the sagas. The earliest antiquarian-topographical descriptions of the area includes those published by historian Torfæus in 1711, county governor de Fine in 1745 and topographer Kraft in 1829 (Reiersen 2009, p. 16). Author J. K. Christie (1842a) carried out the first study of the prehistory of the area with a basis in the archaeological material. Central to his study were the finds from the Flagghaug barrow, situated next to Avaldsnes church, which was dug in 1834-35 and 1840 by the local priest Brun (cf. Neumann 1842; Christie 1842b). Known later as "the Avaldsnes find", this find revealed the richest Norwegian Roman Iron Age grave, which resulted in other barrows were dug out by local farmers in search of gold (Hernæs 1997: 102).

During the recent decades, several local historians have examined different aspects of the Iron Age material. Øvrebø and Lindøe published several articles about memorial stones in the area (Reiersen 2009, p. 18). Of special importance were the large menhir next to Avaldsnes church and the triangular cairn with five menhirs at Norheim. From the 1960s, there was a reinforced research interest in the burial material from the area, where Slomann examined the find context of the Flagghaug graves (Slomann 1964; 1973), and then discussed the importance of this find in both a supra-regional (1961) and regional (1968; 1972) perspective. 15 years later, Myhre (1987a; 1987b) used Roman Iron Age graves from the area in an analysis of Early Iron Age chiefdom territories. Ringstad (1986; 1992) viewed the concentration of large barrows like Flagghaugen as an indicator of a centre in the area in both the Early and Late Iron Age. Two contributions were made from the Museum of Archaeology, Stavanger, who examined the concentration of power in the Avaldsnes area in different periods of prehistory and early history (Bang-Andersen 1979; Sør-Reime 1989). The publication edited by Sør-Reime termed Avaldsnes 'Norways' oldest royal estate' – a phrase later widely used in the presentation of the area.

To motivate archaeological research on the local material, Karmøy municipality and the Museum of Archaeology, Stavanger, initiated the 'Avaldsnes Project' in the 1990s (Lillehammer 1995a). Extensive initial excavations at Avaldsnes 1992-2006 revealed traces of settlement all the way back to the Pre-Roman Iron Age (Hafsaas 2005; 2006). Several new grave-fields were also revealed (Reiersen 2009, p. 19). In addition, locations at Avaldsnes, Bø and Utvik were surveyed as potential Iron Age and medieval harbour sites (Elvestad & Opedal 2001; Opedal et al. 2001). Hernæs (1997) carried out a systematic study of Karmøy's prehistory, where most of the Iron Age material was discussed. Løken (2001: 6-7) has argued

that there is no evidence of a continuous concentration of power after Flagghaugen. The present dating of Flagghaug is set to ca. AD 250 (Mydland 1994: 16), and until recently it was considered the oldest among the highest status Iron Age graves in the area. However, Haavaldsens' (1999; 2000) re-dating of a grave from Kolstø to the 2nd or 1st century BC, makes this the richest contemporary weapon grave in the country, thus representing a 'missing link' between the rich Bronze Age and Roman Iron Age graves in the area.

In between 1993 and 2009, the "Karmøyseminar" was held eight times. The goal has been to gather researchers, so as to encourage discussions relevant to the historical subjects for the area (Vea & Naley 2001). Furthermore, several publications about Norwegian Iron Age define the Avaldsnes area as a centre in both early and late Iron Age (Hedeager & Tvarnø 2001; Myhre 2002; Solberg 2003; Hedeager 2004; Reiersen 2009). This is especially emphasised by Solberg (2000, p. 119), as she sees Flagghaug 1 as a sign that Avaldsnes was the only supra-regional centre during the Late Roman Iron Age. The recently built Nordvegen Historical Centre exhibits the results from the research regarding the area, since the 1990's. Newly made exhibitions, both domestic and foreign, have displayed the rich Flagghaug finds in relation to other important contemporary finds (Jørgensen et al. 2003; Løken & Myhre 2008). Recently, the excavations carried out by the Royal Manor Project (Norwegian: "Kongsgårdsprosjektet"), was completed. The excavations went on from 2011 to 2012, as part of a research project that is completed in 2017. The Royal Manor Project's aim is to investigate the role of the royal manors in the early Norwegian kingdom, as well as their role in the kingdom's prehistory throughout the first millennium A.D

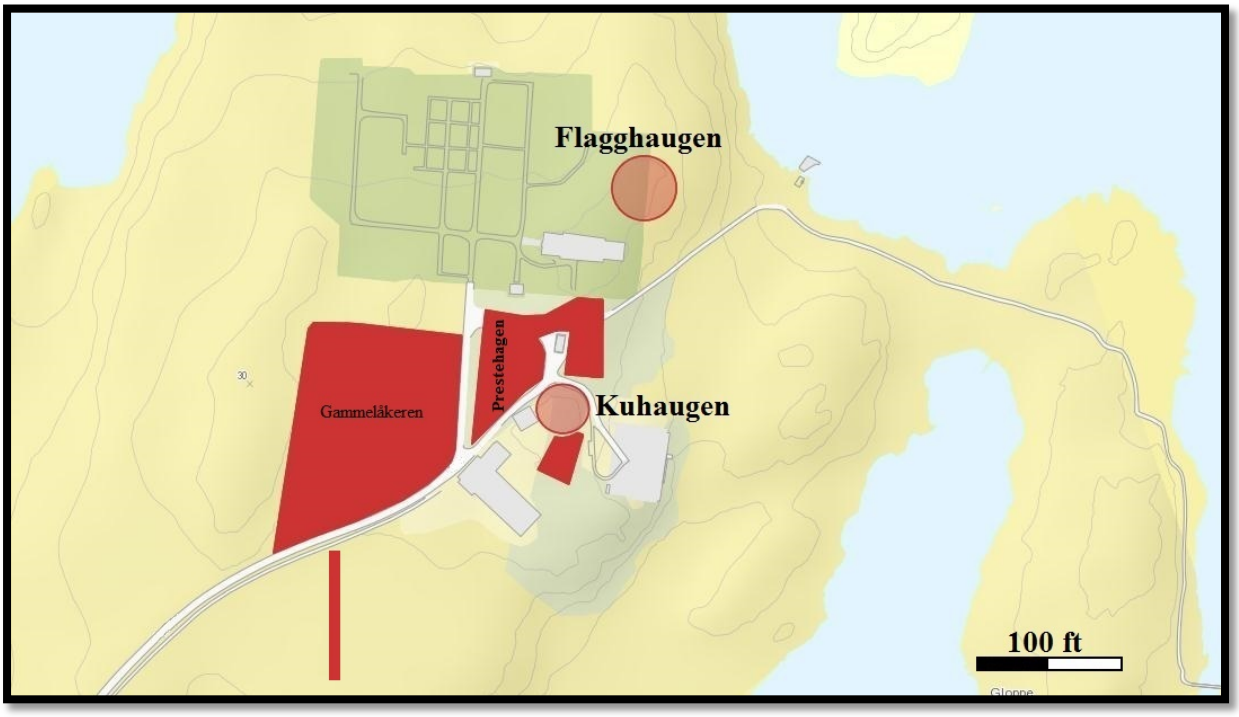


Figure 4: The excavated area on Avaldsnes during 2011-2012.
Map after http://www.gislink.no/gislink/

In 2011 a structure, thought to be a hall, was uncovered on the edge of the Avaldsnes plateau between Flagghaug & Kuhaugen, with a 14C-dating to the 4th-5th century AD, taken from the fireplace. Parts of the structure was removed 30-40 years ago due to the modern parking lot on the plateau, but luckily enough of the structure was intact to determine that it was ca. 20 meters long and 6,7 meters wide that narrowed towards the ends. No remains of any postholes on the inside of the structure were intact, thought to have disappeared. The fireplace was located in the center of the structure, which indicates that the building was not divided as a stall and private living quarters. It is possible that the building had one large room that would have been 120 square meters big (Skre 2011: 5-6)

Traces after large feasts on Avaldsnes during the 3rd-6th century AD are also evident by the amount of earth ovens found along the rim of a field called “Gammelåkeren”, some 100 in total. The biggest of them measured 2x3 meter, and three of them have been dated to the Late Roman Iron Age and Migration Period. As the earth ovens have been associated with feasts and things, there is little doubt that the Avaldsnes farm was a central place and that it played an important role during this time (Skre 2011: 7)

The remains of a structure, most likely a longhouse of at least 28-29 meters length and 8 meters width, were uncovered on the plateau at an area called “Prestehagen” in 2012. The structure consisted of a fire place, a number of post holes and some ditches. The postholes that carried the weight of the roof make up two rows in the house’s longitudinal direction. Opposing poles across the house central axis forms a pair that in ceiling height has been bound together into a bent structure. West and southeast of the fireplace there was an entrance. From the western entrance two rows of small posts leads to the west-southwest, probably an extension of the entrance. There are indications that the structure must have been rebuilt at least once, as the post holes shown signs of two posts, one that was originally placed in the whole when the building was first constructed, the second when it was rebuilt. Also, there is a posthole in the western entrance, which cannot have been there when the entrance was in use as it would have obstructed the entrance. It is estimated that the structure would have stood for a long time, some 200 years, if not more. Based on the type of building, and a couple of 14C-datings, it is thought that the house must have been used from the beginning of the Late Roman Iron Age all the way through to the end of the Migration Period (Skre 2012: 3-4).

In the field south of the newly dated Bronze Age barrow, Kuhaugen, on the southern part of the Avaldsnes plateau, next to Kuhaugen, there are indications of the area having been used actively during the first millennia AD, though the datings are currently few. 15-20 earth ovens were uncovered and one of them contained a dug down bucket-shaped pot dating to the end of the 4th century AD (ibid. 5). The other earth ovens most likely date to the same time frame. Further research and datings will be published in the future, and will therefore not be mentioned further.

New examinations of a boat house earlier thought to date to the Roman Iron Age, as revealed that it is no older then the Medieval Period (Skre: 2012: 7). However, just below the church at the bottom of the slope leading down to the sea, examinations revealed the remains of a boat house that had been used in two stages, one during the Later Roman Iron Age and the other during the Migration Period. The oldest has been dated to the 3rd century AD based on 14C-datings. Its length is hard to determine due to a modern gravel path covering the lower end, but it is estimated that it would have been between 15-20 meters, and 8 meters wide (ibid, p. 7).

2.5. Background for the Late Roman Iron Age

Due to size and space concerns, I will present a simplified overview of the Roman Iron Age in Europe and Norway.

The Roman Iron Age receives its name because of the contact that happened between the Germanic and Roman world in the beginning of the first century AD. Many see the battle of the Teutoburg Forest in AD 9 as a mark between Pre-Roman Iron Age, and Roman Iron Age. Under the leadership of Arminius, the Romans lost three of their legions in Germania, which estimates about 10.000 soldiers. Also six years later they nearly lost another four legions to Arminius's army, which consisted of allied Germanic warriors (Church and Brodribb 1952).

The Roman Empire's expansion and growth as a military, economic, cultural and political power in the centuries leading toward birth of Christ, and the consolidation of the empire in the following centuries, have affected our way of interpreting and understanding the Roman Iron Age in Scandinavia. Much of our perspectives on the northern peoples, that is to say, the Germanics as barbarians, are based on literary sources from the Greco-Roman world.

During the first century BC, the Roman world grew exponentially, much due to Caesars conquests in BC 58-51, resulting in the incorporation of Gallia. After the battle of Teutoburg Forest, a border, known as *limes*, was made along the Rhine and Donau, dividing the Roman and Germanic world. However, sources tell us that the areas on the other side of the limes were also incorporated, as part of a safety strategy to pacify external threat, but also of economical motives (Luttwak 1976). What is apparent is that during the first decades following the Roman expansion and consolidation, the Germanic world changes, with the introduction of inhumations and changes in settlements, professions, crafts, trade and votive offerings (Hedeager 1992; Lund Hansen 1987).

One of the new professions is the introduction of Germanic mercenaries, or auxiliarii, in the roman army. This lead to a great number of Germanic men learning the roman way of warfare, but also the organisation of armies. Additionally, they also learned to write and read, as well as the use of weights.

In Denmark and Northern-Germany, there are numerous weapon deposits indicating that Scandinavians are waging a new kind of warfare, modelled after the roman army. Most of the finds from the Roman Iron Age date to the third century, ca. AD 200, and represents all parts

of life in an army (Ilkjær 1990; 2000; Carnap-Bornheim & Ilkjær 1996). In these weapon deposits are a vast array or swords, shields, spears, bows, arrows parts of chain mail, horse tacks, textile remains, tools and personal objects. All of the objects have been violently destroyed, breaking and chopping them into parts and pieces, then tossed into inland lakes or marshland. It is difficult to say what the motives for this was, but it is thought that these depositions are sacrifices to a specific god, such as a war god, or perhaps a whole array of gods. As most of the deposits date to the Late Roman Iron Age, this indicates that this period was particularly violent, especially in this area of Scandinavia.

As a big part of the roman army was stationed along the *limes*, it required a continuous flow of supplies. This lead to the trade between the Roman Empire and the Germanic world. One of the main trade exports was likely hides and leather, due to the army's dependence on tents, shoes, costrel etc. In the beginning, Roman import into Central-Europe and Southern-Scandinavia consists mainly of few, but high status objects, which shows that they were received as parts of gift giving from Roman officials (Lund Hansen 1987).

2.6. Haßleben-Leuna

Because of the importance the Haßleben-Leuna group holds to my material analysis, I will make a presentation of the group. The material from the graves will be presented in chapter 5.

Haßleben-Leuna group consists of high status burials spread over a wider area in Central-Germany. In 1834 the rich Leuna burial dating to the third century AD was uncovered during gravel mining near Leuna in Saxony-Anhalt (Schulz 1953).

Nearly 80 years later, in 1912, a new discovery was made close to Haßleben in Thuringia. A cemetery with several richly furnished graves was found, one of which was a grave similar to Leuna, belonging to a young woman. The grave goods consisted of precious jewelry of gold and silver, Roman glass and metal containers, and the wealth exceeded all previously known graves. The discovery of Haßleben remained the richest Germanic grave in Germany for almost 100 years (Schulz 1931).

The 1917 and 1926 also discovered Leunae grave finds from the period around 300 AD are kept since their recovery from the State Museum of Prehistory in Halle (Saale). Even in these

graves were rich grave goods made of precious metals and rare pieces imported from the Roman Empire included (Fröhlich 2000).

In 1990, the grave of Gommern was discovered near Magdeburg, just backed up and studied in almost undisturbed state by accident. For the first time succeeded in Gommern a scheduled archaeological investigation with modern methods.

What characterises the Haßleben-Leuna group is that they are a short lived phenomena, consisting of inhumations with some exceptionally rich grave goods. These graves include gold jewelry, such as brooches, neck rings and finger rings, but also Roman imported objects, such as coins, bronze utensils, glasses or ceramics. Also buried with many of them were silver spurs, signalising that many were horsemen, but also symbolic silver arrowheads, gaming boards and gaming pieces, as an indication of recreational activity, and local products such as handmade ceramics (Fröhlich 2000).

Besides the relative dating of the Roman imports, there are also coins that offer a clue to the dating of these graves, suggesting a dating to the late 3rd century and early 4th century.

3. METHOD AND STARTING POINT

3.1. Method

Regarding the question about contacts, it is necessary to clarify this term. Schedin (2000) has defined contacts as relations between individual or individuals outside their own farm that does not belong to their household. She also claims that contacts always has to do with encounters between peoples (ibid, p. 11).This is a broad definition and is considered here to be well suited for this examination. Contacts are in other words considered here as various forms of communication between areas. The type of contact which can be traced material often has the form of an exchange, which does not need necessarily consist of physical objects. It can also apply to the transfer of ideas, or the movement of people. Which of these types of contacts are involved when one uses the term is rarely defined in archeology (Schedin, 2000, pp. 15, 21).

In archaeological research it is often claimed that contact has taken place when one can see the occurrence of artifacts, or objects with traits, in a place and in a context where they would

normally not exist. In other words, one studies similarities and differences in a material culture. From this, one can see that there have been contacts between these areas, whether this contact has been direct or indirect.

The premise that similarities in the material are signs on contacts has been present in the archaeology since the 1930's (Renfrew 1993, p. 6). Therefore the meaning of the term contact is often seen as implied and rarely explicitly expressed.

In order to try to ascertain where the person may have had contacts with the Middle Elbe-Saale region, a comparative analysis will be done based on the chosen material. The purpose of this analysis is to try and trace signs of contacts in the archaeological material, on the grounds that the similarities and differences in the material culture can tell us something about contacts.

One way to identify rank and status during the Late Roman Iron Age is to look at Illerup A, being the largest weapon deposit found in Scandinavia, have as mentioned been dated to C1b. Of all the finds from this particular weapon deposit, 2% is gold and silver, 9% is bronze and the remaining 89% is iron (Ilkjær 2001, p. 91). Based on this material and literary sources, supplied by Tacitus, which divide the army into *reges*, *optimates* and *armatores*, Claus von Carnap-Bornheim and Jørgen Ilkjær were able to divide the army into three levels, or ranks (Carnap-Bornheim & Ilkjær 1996, p. 483). Rank 1 (reges) consisted of leaders with swords, shields belts and horse tack, all decorated with silver, and special emphasis was put on the shield boss, numbering a total of six shields, as the very definition of this rank. Rank 2 were the soldiers, with swords, bronze shield bosses, bronze belt fittings and bronze horse tack. Bronze shield bosses and other bronzes and irons are also in rank 2 often covered with silver. Rank 3 are the conscripts with objects of only iron, such as an iron shield boss, lance and spear. Further, Carnap-Bornheim and Ilkjær have pointed out that there is a standardisation of the conscripts gear, indicating that they were mass produced and given to them from a leader or leader's armoury's (ibid, p. 484-485). Even if the deposition predates C2, it may still be used to identify rank 1 graves, such as Flagghaugen, as is shown by Carnap-Bornheim and Jørgen Ilkjær (ibid, p. 483).

Another way to identify rank is through gold rings, such as neck rings, arm rings and finger rings, but also silver objects, such as beakers, and also imported Roman objects, as Lund Hansen (1995, p.. 375-377) identified in her analysis. The same goes for Continental-Europe

(Schlüter 1970, p. 137-138), and especially if the deceased has been buried with silver weapons, such as arrowheads (ibid).

Most of the emphasis will be put on Norway and the material from the Haßleben-Leuna group. This is due to the geographical closeness but also the similarities between the princely Flagghaug 1 grave and the princely burials from Haßleben-Leuna. One grave from Denmark, grave A from Varpelev, Zealand, will also be included in the study, since it meets the criteria as a princely burial, but also because it contains a Probus aureus that has been coin dated to AD 276-282. This grave is associated with the wealthy C1b (AD 210/220-250/260) cemetery of Himlingøje, Zealand, and is seen as part of the Himlingøje dynasty that ruled the area during the first quarter of the 3rd century (Jørgensen 2003). Even though it has been defined as a central place by Lund Hansen during the early part of the Late Roman Iron Age (Lund Hansen 1995, p. 461), I have decided to rule out this cemetery from my study for three reasons, firstly, most of the graves have a dating to C1b, secondly the rise of the Haßleben-Leuna group seems to replace the Himlingøje dynasty as the new power centre in the middle of the 3rd century, and thirdly because it would exceed the size of this thesis.

Additionally that this examination may potentially shed light on what kind of contacts the person in the grave can have had, it may also give some indications if he may have come from another place than where he was buried.

This thesis is based on that the presumption that the deceased was a man based on that weapons have been put in the grave. Weapons, especially swords, are according to Solberg (2000 p. 31) indications that weapon graves belong to men. It is also common within archaeology to count graves with weapons to have belonged to men, and graves with jewelry to have belonged to women. There are of course exceptions to every rule, but that is not relevant in this case.

The second question, which is about the Flagghaug prince fighting against or with the Romans, will be attempted to be answered by looking at the period, and what finds may indicate that there were hostilities between the Germanics and Romans.

My last question regarding what the grave can signalise and why this individual has received such a burial, I will also look at how the burial goods may have been placed.
The object types from Flagghaugen 1 will be compared to that of Gommern, the wealthiest

burial in the Haßleben-Leuna group. Herschend's (1997) hypothesis that the grave could reflect the hall is central to this discussion.

The thesis will be divided into three parts. This was done so that it will be easier to navigate through. The three parts are dependent on each other. How one understands the burial customs and the assumptions we make concerning this is essential in all areas as the basis of this thesis is a grave. Which contacts the man from Flagghaugen had and if he has been a warrior are also aspects of what the grave can tell. The three questions
will together give a better impression of the deceased.

3.2. Material culture

The material culture is a representation for events and actions. One way to understand material culture is to look at different disciplines and theories in order to get a better understanding of the material culture and its connection to actions, which in turn is represented by the archaeological material.

In many ways, the archaeological material is a representation of a cognitive material and as such, studies of existing societies is crucial in understanding past societies. The material culture is the archaeological connection to the social structures that is being examined, and is therefore the very foundation for the social, political, cultural, economical and religious conditions.

In order to help translate the archaeological material into events and actions during the Late Roman Iron Age, works by Anthony Giddens and theoretical causative explanation

3.3. Structure and agency theory

Graves are a physical manifestation for the social contacts that has existed during the Late Roman Iron Age. Giddens (1984, p. 12), says that the community will be influenced through any actions, an example to this is ceremonies, such as a burial, and will bring people together, giving them a sense of belonging, this process is seen as a mutual structuring of the society.

Humans in a society, and their actions inside the society, are part of a system of mutual structuring actions. These actions verify social elements of a society, which in turn verifies the individuals in a community. The individual is then identified with the social system. Through action, the social system is maintained.

According to Giddens (ibid, p. 16), one should see the explanatory model as a consistently absence and presence of codes, which has to be interpreted by the manifestations inside the society. It describes a pattern of social relations, which is constantly affected my external free will, and inside the frame of this system, are hidden consequences as a byproduct (ibid, p. 14).

A society consists of actions and events that have been created by people and actions define how communities function and how society should be defined. Actions that are reproduced in a social system is known by Giddens (1984, p. 17) as social practice, and these social systems do not have fixed structures, but instead exists through ephemeral practice and resourceful individuals, known as ‘actors’. Further, Giddens (1984, p. 38) points out that the level of these structures can only be measured in their spread and influence over time.

Giddens calls social practises that have had an influence over a large area and time as institutions. The practice of burying people with burial goods is an example for such a tradition. This tradition is found all over the examined area during the Late Roman Iron Age. Actors that have gotten their practice manifested as part of the material culture has maintained their position through persistent and repeated actions which in turn have strengthened their role and social position in society.

This approach to the archaeological material will be put in the context with the conditions in the Late Roman Iron Age. The community has given the actors space to create networks with other actors which constantly structures the social roles. Through the established network, there has been a steady stream of ideas, and the actors become keepers of specific knowledge. Bourdieu (1984, p. 406) calls this ‘cultural capital’, which means that the actors have special

knowledge that others do not possess or have access to. This becomes important when interpreting imported Roman objects. During the Late Roman Iron Age, the actors have possessed ideological ideas, which worked as tools to acquire and keep political control, which in turn generated cultural capital, creating a distance between other groups and actors in the society.

3.4. Habitus

Marcel Mauss (1979) says that behaviors and actions are based on learning and imitating, which is defined through experience and impulses being acquired skill in a conscious state. This is summarised in the word 'habitus'. All humans have a set of patterns, which has psychological, physiological and social aspects. In short, this means that no action, simple or complex, can be the same between different individuals.
According to Bourdieu, habitus makes up an individual's understanding of perception, in other words, how humans perceive the world around them (Bourdieu 2000, pp. 78-87). Actions are not objected to continual reflection, as they can be viewed as reflexes. The actions will simultaneously be reproduced and gradually changed, in the shape of new stimulations and new experiences, creating a gray area between consciousness and unconsciousness (Bourdieu 1996: 84, 2000: 79; Giddens 1984: 27).

Habitus is essential to the cultural capital that is gained for an individual to function in a social world. Habitus' importance for action seems also structuralising on material culture, as products of action. In this way, material culture reflects habitus that can no longer be viewed as a neutral value. Objects can be accorded human features and a lifespan, as a result of the history the object got (Mauss 2004). Objects are born, live and die – all while their own fates changes. In this way, material culture is in a constant dialogue with humans, and is charged with properties that work back on the human world.

3.5. How to interpret the graves?

When looking at the amount of graves found from any prehistoric period, it is apparent that these are not representative for the amount of people that have lived at any given time. Interpretations of prehistoric rituals, such as burial rites, are impeded by the source critical issues in relation to the archaeological evidence. Interpretations are limited to those activities that have put distinct marks and that has been uncovered through archaeological investigations. For instance, at Forsandmoen, Rogaland, excavations during the 1980's revealed that the area was settled for about 2000 years, from the Bronze Age to AD 600, and about 240 houses were uncovered (Løken et al. 1996). During the fourth century BC the population increased exponentially due to iron production, resulting in a village being developed. This process further increased during the Roman Iron Age, and from the Late Roman Iron Age the village consisted of approximately 16 large farms, with roughly 12-15 people living at each farm, totaling to about 190-240 people in one village (Dahl 2009, p. 89). However, only four-five undated barrows have been registered.

This aspect is also applicable in the interpretation of burial customs, where the visible traces mainly confined to fragments of the funeral (Härke 1997: 22). Still, burial customs have figured prominently in the archaeological debate and are the foundation for our understanding of prehistoric societies (Gansum 2004: 73-76; Härke 1997: 19; Wangen 1999: 35-74).

Even if one takes into consideration that not all graves may have been discovered, the gap is still so big that it is unlikely that everyone was buried in a barrow when they died (Herschend 2009, p. 33). One of the funerary rites not possible to detect through archaeology, is cremation and spreading of the ashes (Herschend 2009). This stands in strong contrast to the permanent monuments that the barrows represent (ibid, pp. 34-40). The Flagghaug barrow belongs to the latter category, as it was meant as a permanent marker, even if it no longer exists, save for the traces after the barrows outer edge.

Since the deceased is dead when the funeral takes place, it falls to the bereaved to decide how to proceed. This is also an important factor when interpreting the grave goods (Skre 1998 p. 323).

According to Herschend, the spiritual meaning of a grave and cemetery may vary from time and place. In other words, there are no constant factors. The grave is the sum of many

different practises and factors, that no specific meaning is present in each and very grave. A person does not necessarily need to have lacked status or power, even though he or she did not receive a visible grave (Herschend 2009, pp. 42; 55).

As there is such a vast array of factors to consider, it is no easy task to try and understand what the background was for the burial, and to attain knowledge about the individual that has been buried and the society he was part of. There is however reference points and tendencies that can be observed in the material that one can take base in when interpreting the grave goods.

Since only a minority has received a visible grave, there should be a reason to why this is so (Herschend 2009, p. 122). There are many possibilities to why one decides to permanently erect a memorial to mark a deceased. For instance, Gordon Childe (1945) claimed that the royal burials occurred during periods of legitimation crisis and the transition from family-based society to territorial states. This could be understood in conjunction with inner economic forces, long distance trade or as a result of contact with more advanced cultures. It could also have something to do with the individual that is to be buried, or some other reasons that made the bereaved want to use the deceased in order to make a permanent mark in the landscape (Herschend 2009).

It has been said that a grave and a cemetery in the Iron Age is a reflection of the living community (Herschend 2009, p. 117). Karen Høilund Nilsen (1997: 103) defined it as the *continental-inductive method*, where the graves are considered to directly mirror the living community. The result becomes a view in which social structure is interpreted based on the grave material in a virtually one-to-one condition and burial gifts considered inextricably linked to the deceased.

The ceremony itself may also have been a reason in itself to give someone a monumental barrow. Feasts are in some cases part of the burial customs, taking place in connection with the burial. Food and drink was shared which may have been a means to make the attendants dependent of the gift giver. Such a feast in connection with Flagghaugen could perhaps be traced archaeologically on Avaldsnes, as some of the earth ovens found on Avaldsnes has been dated to the Late Roman Iron Age (Skre 2011, pp. 6-7).

It can be difficult to determine a person's status based on the grave, as this is also closely connected with the individual's age, physics and social condition, and at what stage in life the deceased was at when death occurred (Herschend 2009, p. 97). Skre (1999) points out that the last factor could have a considerable meaning for the burial, and mentions that it is a big difference dying of old age then to dying in young age, when one had a prominent role in society (Skre 1998, p. 323).

However, it is not sure that it is because of the youth that the reason to why some individuals have received a more spectacular burial. It is evident that some people that have had a prominent role in society, both locally, but also regionally and super-regionally, have received the most spectacular burials. As is mentioned in chapter 2 looking at the Haßleben-Leuna group during the third century it is evident that they are a short lived phenomena, most likely connected with the destabilisation of the Roman Empire. Once the Romans achieved consolidation, the princely burials disappear.

4. MATERIAL PRESENTATION

4.1. What was uncovered from the Flagghaug barrow?

I will in this chapter be presenting the finds from Flagghaugen in numerical order as is found in Bergen Museums' museum catalogue. I will also look at the objects use and functionality both in their own, and in conjunction with other objects. The objects measurement has been based of Christie (1842b) which list the objects in *tomme* (One *tomme* values 2,6145833 cm by the 1824 standard), Anders Lorange (1875), which is listed in *decimaltomme* (One *decimaltomme* values 3,1375 after the 1824 standard), Håkon Shetelig (1912), which is listed in centimeter, and my own measurements based on the photographs of the objects from Bergen Museums' photo and topographical archive. There may be some minor deviations in the measurements listed, as I have not personally examined the objects. This thesis will present the objects in centimeters. Detailed drawn pictures of all the objects can be found in the catalogue at the end of this thesis.

I have followed Bergen Museums' catalogue numbering which uses *B*-numbers (Inv. Nr. B 314). The reason for this is because they match how the objects have been stored in the museums' collection. The gold neck ring has a *C*-number (Inv. Nr. C718), as it is owned by Oldsaksamlingen, Oslo, but it was loaned to Museum of Archaeology, Stavanger (now Archaeological Museum, University of Stavanger) in 1991, where it still resides. Two glass gaming pieces is owned by Vitenskapsmuseet, Trondheim, and have a *T*-number (Inv. Nr. T25). *R*-numbers refers to Oluf Rygh's figure list.

4.1.1. Flagghaug grave 1 contents

B606 - Roman strainer.

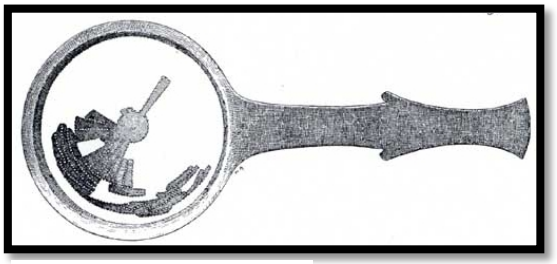


Figure 5: Roman strainer.
From Shetelig 1912.

A bronze strainer, Eggers type 161, with a total length of ca. 42 cm. What remain are a handle, circular rim and a heavily damaged bowl with a patterned mesh. The handle is 24 cm long and ca. 3 mm thick with two protruding points, the width of the rim is 18,8 cm and the mesh bowl is 6,5 cm high and ca. 1 mm thick (Shetelig 1912, p. 56, Tambs-Lycke 1965). The usual accompanying ladle is missing, through lost. These strainers are of a roman provincial origin, and have been found throughout Central Europe and Southern Scandinavia during the Late Roman Iron Age (Solberg 2000, pp. 78-79; Becker 2010, pp. 178- 179)

B607 - Hemmoor bucket

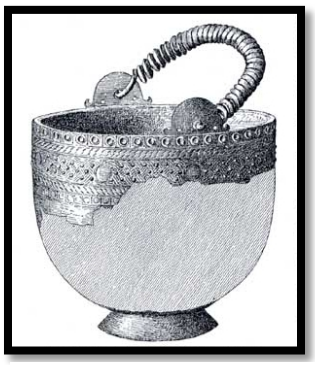


Figure 6: Hemmoor bucket.
From Shetelig 1912

A partially silver and silvered bronze Hemmoor bucket of Eggers type 59 still has its upper part intact, while the lower section is gone, save for the foot. It measures 7 cm high, 11 cm in diameter across the circular foot and 22 cm in diameter across the rim. Reconstructed height is estimated to be 20 cm (Shetelig 1912, p. 56, Tambs-Lyche 1965?). It has a pair of semi-circular ears with two small holes on either side of the hanger holes, and curled terminals that is cast together with the buckets body. The hanger is a curved spiral square rod with rounded terminals bent into hooks. The upper part of the bucket is ornamented with several circumferential ornamented rows, where the first row just below the rim consists of sections of circles that would have contained protruding hemispherical silver buttons. This is followed by a trapezoidal row, covered with a 0,5 cm wide silver foil. The middle row is the largest, and contains a silvered interlaced row made out of three inciced ribbons with round sections every 7 cm that would have had attached hemispherical silver rivets, now lost. Three rows of smaller hemispherical brass bulges follow the interlace pattern and are situated in between each overlap. The two

last rows are of trapezoids and small circular sections that would also have had hemispherical silver buttons (Shetelig 1912, p. 56).

B608 –Hanging dish

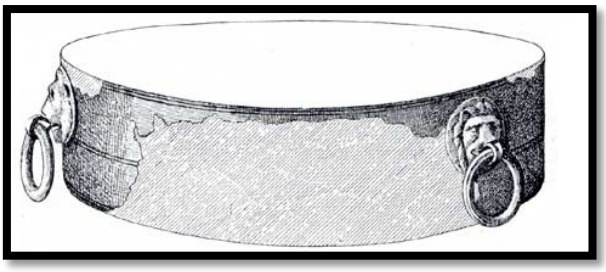


Figure 7: Hanging Dish.
From Shetelig 1912.

The remaining parts of the copper-alloy basin are the whole upper rim, measuring 37,6 cm in diameter, and some of the side measuring 11 cm high. The bottom is missing, but Shetelig (1912, p. 56) list it as being flat. Mounted alongside were three lion head handles with octagonal rings secured in front of their mouths. In the restored state, two of the three handles have been fitted to the basin. Below the rim are a pair incised lines running around the length of the basin. There is also a pair of incised lines just below the lion heads and at the bottom.

B609 - Silver fittings and a strap end.

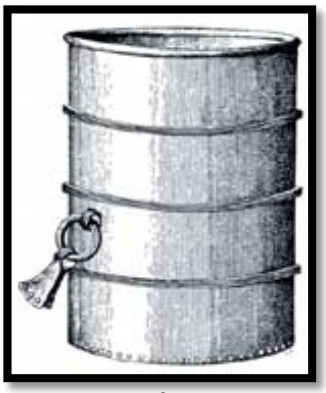


Figure 8: Horn fitting.
From Shetelig 1912.

The height of the silver fittings is 14 cm, and would once have been secured to the organic core on the top with a silver rim, and at the bottom by means of round head rivets. On the inside there is a gap where the two ends met, and would have been covered by a silver piece measuring 3 cm at the top and narrowing to 2,5 cm. On the exterior one can still see shadows of the three circumferential bands of silver, now lost. Between the second and third band there is a ring attached to a silver strap end and loop. Along the strap end there are holes for three round head rivets. Another silver ring, now loose, would likely have been part of a similar mechanism placed further down. Suggested by Lorange (1875) to be part of a drinking horn, which has been the interpretation until Andreas Rau (2010, pp. 436-443) challenged the idea suggesting it may be fittings for a signaling horn like those found in the Nydam weapon deposit dating to C2-C3.

B610, B612 - Sword and shield boss

Figure 9: Sword with silver gilt pressblech. From Shetelig 1912.

These two numbers include the sword and fittings, as well as the silver apex recently identified as a shield boss.

The sword is in a heavily fragmented state, with the scabbard in seven separate pieces, not including the separate grip, chape and knob. The blade is encrusted by the scabbard, and can only be observed in the broken joints and partly below and above the hilt plate. It is impossible to determine the original dimension of the sword, but we can get an estimate on its current length and width by combining the pieces that make out the scabbard, which also includes the circular chape and silver rim. This gives a length of 51,7 cm, width of 6,2 cm and thickness of 3,5 cm. The blade length is ca. 52,4 cm and 5,2 cm wide. The scabbard is made of different layers. First there are two thin wooden boards, which are kept together by a much harder wooden rim, which in turn is hold in place by silver edge fittings on the upper part of the scabbard. Covering the wood on both sides are remains of leather, and on the front are smooth copper-alloy plates covering the length of the scabbard. Thin gilded silver pressblech foils with geometric embellishment covers the surface of these copper-alloy plates, and have been secured by round head silver rivets. Between each foil on the upper part of the scabbard are silver fittings that have been shaped around the edge, ending partly on the rear. The rear of the scabbard remains undecorated, save for the smooth silver foil on top of a copper-alloy plate just below the scabbard mouth. A loose rectangular plate with identical silver foil decoration, thought to be part of the scabbard fittings on the front, has been suggested by Ilkjær to be part of the baldric (Ilkjær, pers. com.).

An oval copper-alloy hilt plate, with a silver edge decorated with two circumferential lines, still remain between the scabbard and tang. Its width measures 7 cm, depth 3 cm and the rim is ca. 2,5 mm high. Above the hilt plate are remains of a tang, now broken and separated from the wooden grip. Between the wooden grip and hilt plate there would have been a hand guard of perishable organic material. It is possible to make out some of the organic hand guards' shape and dimensions, which would have been hemispherical and 2,5 cm high, with a 6,6 cm wide at the base.

The wooden grip would have been fitted to the tang above the hand guard, and is segmented into four parts that narrows from bottom to top. Each segment is slightly concave, and there are remains of circular iron rings in between each segment. Total length is 10,5 cm, and narrows from 3,2 cm to 1,7 cm.

An organic upper guard would have been placed in between the grip and silver knob, but must have perished. There has been uncertainties concerning the silver knobs' function, that it might have either belong to the sword or shield boss (Carnap-Bornheim & Ilkjær 1996, p. 294), however Shetelig (1912, p. 56) suggests that it belonged to the sword hilt, and Slomann (1973, p. 524) lists it as a sword knob. This is further strengthened by visible peening on top of the knobs' head. Placed on top of the upper guard, the knob would have been peened in place, fixing the hilt in position, preventing it from sliding of the tang. The knob is small, with two circumferential lines on the base. It measures 1,7 cm high and 1,9 cm at the widest part.

Figure 10: Silver knob.
From Shetelig 1912.

There would have been a chape on the scabbard terminal, and the circular gilt silver pressblech foil would have been part of the chape. However, there has been uncertainty regarding the chape itself, and it has been thought that a loose circular silver rim might have been part of a silver or glass beaker (Shetelig 1912, p. 56, Slomann 1964, p. 13, Mydland 1989, p. 32). Shetelig further depicts a reconstruction of the beaker together with the shield boss apex (ibid, p. 57, Fig. 132.). The silver pressblech fits the inside of the rim perfectly, and therefore possibly identifying it as part of the lost chape. The rims' exterior diameter measurements are 6,6 cm, and 6 cm in interior. The circular pressblech foils' diameter measures 5,9 cm.

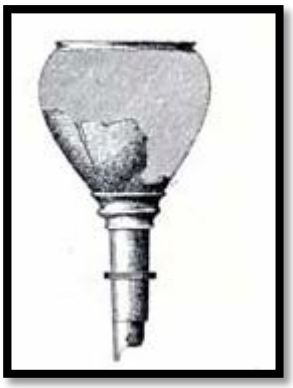


Figure 11: Silver apex wrongfully reconstructed as a silver beaker.
From Shetelig 1912.

The silver apex is constructed with a molded silver profiled joint between the apex and the silver foil that is attached to the joint's lower rim. The cylindrical apex above the joint is a silver plate bent around a hollow wooden core, and through the middle of this is a thick iron pin that has been peened into the joints underside, securing the profiled joint and apex (Shetelig 1912, p. 56, Storm 1972). A circular ring with two grooves is fitted approximately in the middle of the apex. The object measures 7 cm high and ca. 3,2 cm wide at the base of the

profiled joint, narrowing towards the top where it then becomes 1,3 cm wide. The silver ring is ca. 2,2 cm wide.

This object has caused much confusion, and its suggested function has changed several times. Neither Christie (1842, pp. 327-328), nor Lorange (1875, pp. 70-74), describes it in their entries, making Shetelig (1912, p. 56) the first to mention it, where he proposes that it could be a stem belonging to a silver beaker, together with the silver rim, though no catalogue number was listed. Eggers (1951, p. 91) lists the object as a silver beaker in his entry, and Eggers E176 is based on Shetelig's figure 132. However, Slomann (1964) makes no mentions of a beaker, but instead she describes the object as part of a shield boss, without referring to a catalogue number (ibid, p. 12). This is the first time the object is interpreted as a shield boss stemming from Flagghaugen. In both of Slomann's (1968, 1973) later articles on Avaldsnes, there are no further mention of the object, however, drawings of the object as part of a shield boss, by M. Storm (1972) for W. Slomann, can be found in Bergen Museum's topographical archive. Like Eggers, Lund Hansen (1987, p. 438) also list the object as part of a beaker in her entry, while Geir Sør-Reime (1989: p. 61) lists it as a shield boss. Leidulf Mydland (1989, p. 32), lists three possible interpretations to what the object might have been; a shield boss, beaker or quiver. He further argues that the object is a shield boss based on the grounds that the concave silver foil attached to the base of the apex creates a carinated shape, as is seen on shield bosses dating to the Late Roman Iron Age, also the cylindrical apex resembles those found on silver shield bosses from Vimose. He also argues that the silver foil is approximately 1 mm thicker than the silver beaker from Himlingøje, Denmark.

According to Ilkjær's (2001, p. 288) classification, this shield boss is of type 3, without typologising it further. It is also worth adding that in an earlier publication, Ilkjær wrongly lists both a silver beaker and a silver shield boss stemming from Flagghaugen (ibid: p. 342). Bemmann & Hahne (1994, p. 526) does also include the object as a shield boss, and the same does Carnap-Bornheim & Ilkjær (1996, p. 293). Bergljot Solberg (2000, p. 119) also mentions a shield boss, without catalogue number, in her presentation of the grave goods of the Flagghaugen I grave. The most recent interpretation of the object was done by Håkon Reiersen (2009, p. 39), whereupon he also interprets the object as a shield boss, making the same conclusion as the most recent interpretations that has been in the lead these past 25 years.

B611 - Circular gold pressblech

Figure 12: Circular gold pressblech foil. From Shetelig 1912.

Measuring 4,3 cm in diameter, the circular gold pressblech foil is very delicate and as such, a piece of it is missing. However, it is still possible to make out the pattern alongside the rim towards the centre. The decoration is executed with a row of wavy meanders, followed by two pelleted rows, another meander row, and ends with a row of pellets. Surrounding the central motif is a series of partly recurring meanders. The motif is difficult to make out, as it is misshaped and parts of the pressblech are missing. However, parts can still be observed, and seem to resemble a humanoid with two feet, an arm (?), and what could be a beaked head (Shetelig 1912, p. 55). Small dots contour the figure. The museum catalogue and Slomann (1973, p. 524) lists that the head cannot be observed, and I agree with these observations.

There is much uncertainty regarding where the pressblech foil might have stemmed from. Lorange (1875, p. 71) lists it as potentially stemming from the chape, like the larger circular silver pressblech foil, while Slomann (1964, p. 12) suggests it might stem from a button for a baldric. There are several issues with these interpretations, if it was part of the chape, it would have been fitted to the front of the chape, on the same side as the circular silver pressblech foil. The only area on the silver foil that is not decorated is the smooth area in the center, which measures 1,2 cm in diameter, making it too small for the gold pressblech foil to fit. Slomanns suggestion that it might have been part of a baldric button seems more plausible, though it is also likely possible that it might actually stem from a disk apex belonging to the fragmented carinated silver shield boss.

C718 - Kolben ring

Figure 13: Gold neck ring.
From Shetelig 1912.

A solid 22 carat gold ring of the Kolben type with open terminals, R301. It weighs, 590.4 grams and measures 15,5-15,9 cm in outer diameter and 13,7-14,1 cm inner diameter, with 0,6 cm thickness in the middle of the smooth rod, tapering to 1,5 cm at the terminals. The thickened ends are decorated by grooves, and alternate between smooth raised ridges and flat obliquely engraved ridges. The flat ends and inside is undecorated. It was valued by Lorange (1875, p. 71) to have a metal value of approximately 350 *spesidaler*, which is about 76.000 2012-Kroner (Spesidaler 2012; Statistisk sentralbyrå 2012).

B614 - Finger ring

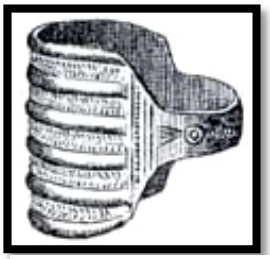


Figure 14: Gold finger ring.
From Shetelig 1912.

22 carat gold finger ring of Beckmann's (1969) type F18. Weighing 24.1 gram, and measuring 2,4 cm x 2,4 across the "plate". Ring band is 0,6 cm wide and 0,2 cm thick. Diameter is 2,1 cm.
The semi-circular "plate" has six smooth raised horizontal ridges and four engraved horizontal recesses, the band has two circled dots and three triangular stamps on either side.

B615, T25 - Glass gaming pieces

Figure 15: Gaming pieces.
From Shetelig 1912.

32 glass gaming pieces where 16 is black and 16 is turquoise. Most of them are complete, though some of them are in pieces. They are circular with a hemispherical top and measure approximately 3 cm in diameter.

B616 – Balance

A balance of bronze for a pair of scales is most often associated with the grave. 19 cm long. Likely stems from a Viking Age secondary grave (Opedal & Vea pers. com; Reiersen 2009, p. 39).

B617 - Ropes and tinned mirror

Figure 16: Silvered mirror.
From Shetelig 1912.

S twisted three strand rope made out of cattle hair and a lost bast rope (Slomann 1964, p. 13). Also catalogued under this number is a fragmented tinned copper-alloy plate that has been interpreted as the remains of a silvered mirror (Slomann 1964, p. 13). The mirror measures 8,8 cm across the widest points.

Uncatalogued - Silver Rosettes

Two small loose silver rosettes have also been associated with the scabbard or shield and have been exhibited with the shield boss (Reiersen pers. com.).

Lost - Lance-head and a throwing spear- or arrowhead

Also associated with the grave is a lost lance-head and a throwing spear- or arrowhead (Shetelig 1912, p. 54). However, if these were found in Flagghaugen, or not, has caused much confusion over the centuries. The first mention of other weapons beside the sword was in a letter written by excavator Pastor Brun to Neumann, where Neumann was informed about what objects had been excavated from the barrow shortly after excavations began in 1834. In his letter, Brun informs Neumann that a heavily corroded dagger and arrowhead was found (Slomann 1964, p. 19), however Christie (1842, p. 382) make no mention of a dagger, but instead list that a spear-head and arrowhead stems from Flagghaugen. Later, Lorange (1875, p. 71) only mentions that fragments of a spear-head was found, while Shetelig (1912, p. 54), however, mentions a now lost spear-head and arrowhead, while at the same time excluding a

spear-head, B916b of R208, found at Avaldsnes in 1831 by Pastor von der Lippe, that had been exhibited with other objects from grave 1 (Shetelig 1912, p. 54). Slomann (1964, p. 12), lists a lost lance-head and spear-head as having been found in Flagghaugen. The lance-head is certainly the lost spear-head, and from what I understand, Shetelig's publication *Merovingertidens kulturforhold* from 1930, uses the term lance to describe spear-heads used for stabbing, which since resulted in the term changing from spear-head to lance-head (Berge 2006, p. 20). Slomann (1973, p. 524), now lists that either a lance-head or spear-head with barbs having been found, this is the first time that these weapons are described as having barbs, while Lund Hansen (1986, p. 438) list both a lance-head and arrowhead. Ilkjær (1990, p. 342) mentions only a lance-head, and Reiersen (2009, p. 67) list both a lance and spear-head stemming from grave 1.

To me, the most likely explanation is that a lance-head (wrongfully identified by Brun as a dagger) and either a throwing spear- or arrowhead was indeed uncovered by Pastor Brun during the excavation in 1834, but there are no records if they made their way to Bergen Museum with the rest of the find. The fact that Christie writes about a lance-head and arrowhead having been uncovered from Flagghaugen in 1842 and 1843, 7-8 years after the grave was first opened, adds weight to the fact that a lance-head and a throwing spear- or arrowhead was found. By 1875, Lorange lists that only fragments of a lance-head was found, and it seems likely that he is referring to the one found by Brun in 1834, as it is referred to as being fragmented. Shetelig mentions that another lance-head (B916b) had been wrongfully displayed with the grave finds from grave 1, and that the original weapon set had never made its way to Bergen Museum, or gone missing. After Shetelig, there clearly is confusion amongst the researchers whether the grave actually contained a lance-head and a throwing spear- or arrowhead, with some mentioning only a lance-head, whilst others a lance-head and spear-head.

Lost - Dress pin

Christie (1842b) writes that a gold dress pin with a length of "2 *tomme*", which values approximately 5.2 cm, was found in 1841 while the remaining earth from the Flagghaug barrow was used as fill on the graveyard. It is described as being slightly curved with

circumferential grooves on the top and a pointy end. Reiersen (2009, p. 39) suggests it may have been of similar type as B124 (Beckmann 1969) which is similar to B10890 l_a, Sveio.

Lost - Gold rings

Three gold rings described as ‘of common façon’, likely of Beckmann’s (1969) smooth Types 1-5 (Bøe 1923, p. 49; Andersson 1993a, p. 11; Reiersen 2009, p. 37).

Lost - Bones

No osteological remains were found.

Lost - Nails, oak planks and birch bark

Nails and oak planks stemming from the wooden coffin, covered with birch bark, inside the slate coffin.

4.1.2. Flagghaug grave 2 contents

B314 604 – Hemmoor bucket and lost gold rings

A Hemmoor bucket of Eggers type 58, containing ashes, bones and three gold rings placed on top, was found in the side of the barrow placed just underneath the turf (Lorange 1875, p. 73). It measures 25 cm high and 24 cm wide. The bucket may stem from a triangular grave chamber (Shetelig 1912, p 54, Reiersen 2009, pp. 37-38). The three lost gold rings were described by Christie to be “of common Façon”, likely meaning smooth rings similar to R307 (Bøe 1923, pp. 48-49). The Hemmoor bucket dates this grave to C2, but after grave 1.

4.1.3. Flagghaug grave 3 contents

B605-a – Westland cauldron

This grave, also placed in the side of the barrow, contained a Westland cauldron of E Sola/Opedal Type (Lund Hansen 1987, p. 108). It measures 33 cm across the rim and 14 cm high. Inside the cauldron were two charred bone gaming pieces and bones packed inside coarse textile (Lorange 1875, p. 71, Slomann 1964, p. 13). This grave is the youngest out of the tree, and is thought to date to C3 (Reiersen 2009, p. 37).

4.1.4. Circular chamber, grave 4?

In the northwestern side of the barrow, a circular stone chamber filled with birch bark was found. The chamber measured 62,75 cm in diameter, containing no objects (Lorange 1875, p. 70, Reiersen 2009, p. 39). There have been no suggestions to what this chamber might have been.

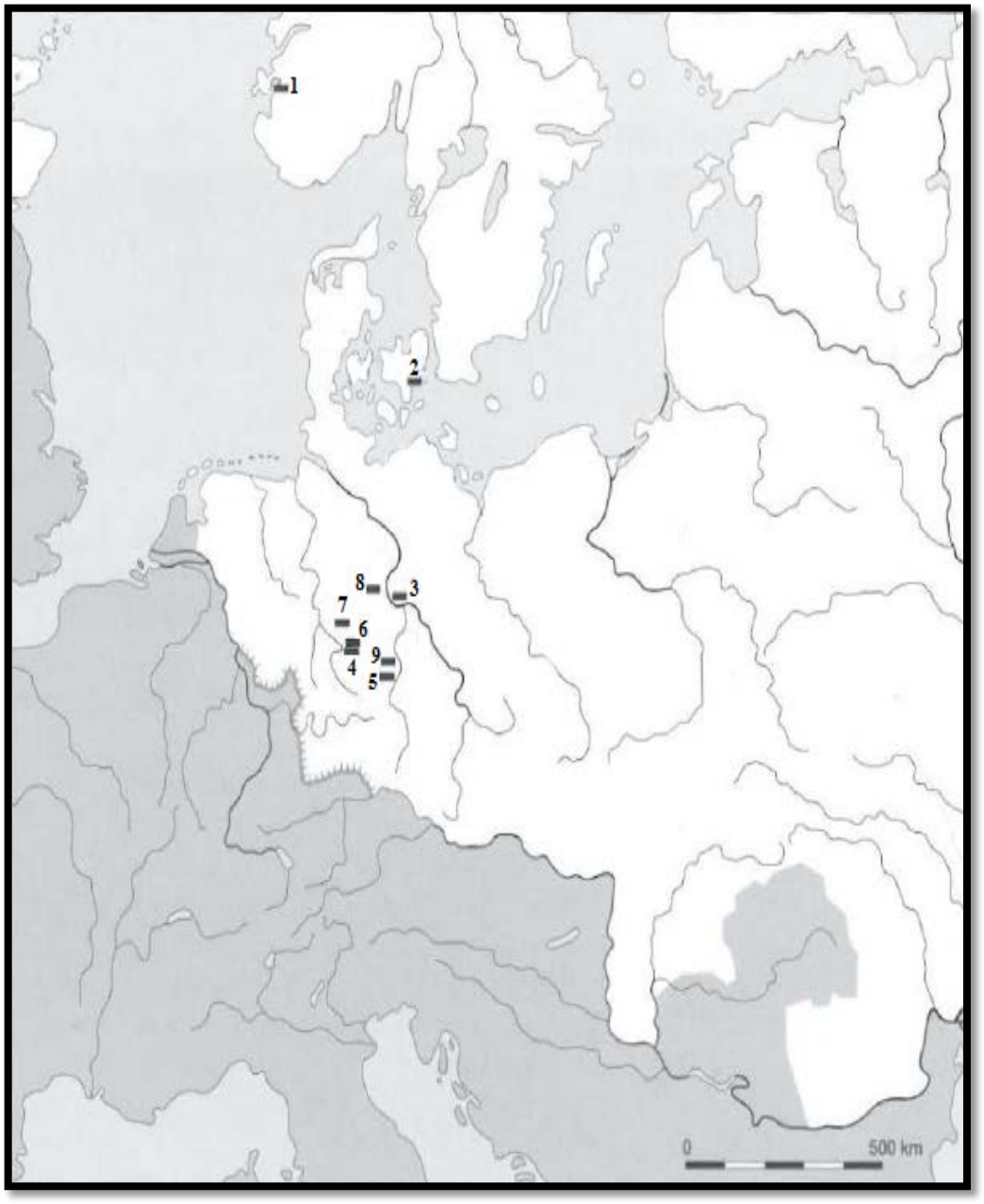
5. AVALDSNES IN A GEOGRAPHIC CONNECTION

5.1. Contacts

How does the Flagghaug 1 burial compare with the grave material from Norway during C2 in the Late Roman Iron Age? Are there any parallels in Scandinavia or in Europe? What can this tell about contacts and exchange?

As have been mentioned in chapter 3 contacts were often through a form of interchange in the form of gift giving, exchange or trade. To this one needs to also include travelling, migrations and plunder, even if the latter is involuntary.

Even if there is no evidence for extensive trade in a modern sense, it is still evident that interchange has taken place over vast areas during the Roman Iron Age, as can be traced in the material culture. Commodity exchange was governed by the elite. Even if there is roman currency being circulated in Northern-Europe during the Roman Iron Age, it is evident that it was not the monetary value that made them valuable, but rather the precious metal content as will be explained further in chapter 6..



1. Avaldsnes
2. Varpelev
3. Gommern
4. Haßleben
5. Flurstedt
6. Leubingen
7. Nordhausen
8. Emersleben
9. Leuna

Figure 1717: Map over princely burials in Norway, Denmark and Middle Elbe- Saale during C2.
After Gebühr 1996: 187 fig. 26

5.2. Norway

The richest areas in Norway during this period are found in the western and northern part of the country (Solberg 2000, p. 27), however in my analysis it is West-Norway that has the richest finds from this period. Roman imports, gold finger rings and weapon sets can be found in numerous well-equipped graves, having parallels in this part of the country. Most of the bronze vessels from the Late Roman Iron Age found in Barbaricum, likely originate from the Rhine-district (Solberg 2000, p. 79).

Hemmoor buckets are rare in Norway and Sweden, but common in Denmark and Central Europe. They first appear during C1b There are a total of six, possibly seven, Hemmoor buckets found in Norway, with five out of seven found in Rogaland County. Three of these are from the Avaldsnes area, and nearby Norheim, while further south at Hove, two more can be found. The two last ones are located further east, in Aust-Agder, where one stems from the well-equipped Late Roman Iron Age graves at Bringsvær dated to C1b-C2 (Lund Hansen 1987, p. 435; Stålesen 2011, p. 21), while the other, from Eiken, though in fragments, dates to C3 (Lund Hansen 1987, p. 435).

Imported bronze roman ladles and strainers have an even distribution throughout Norway, and complete sets are rare (Solberg 2000, p. 79). There are three complete sets, with two of them, Løken, Østfold and Sørgaarden, Sør-Trøndelag, dating to B-B2 of the Early Roman Iron Age. The third has a dating to C1b, and is from Gjeite, Nord-Trøndelag. Solberg (2000, p. 79), comments that ladles are more common than strainers. However, according to Lund Hansen's (1987) catalogue, the majority is strainers. The catalogue lists two ladles, both from Østfold. At Tingvold, there is a ladle that dates to B1b, while at Nordre Rør, the ladle dates to C1b. Singular strainers are only found distributed at the western and northern part of the country, with Rogaland being the southernmost area. In Rogaland there are two strainers, one from Avaldsnes, and a fragmented strainer from Vestly. Both have a dating to C2. Further north, at Blindheim, Møre og Romsdal, there is also a strainer dating to C2. The last strainer is from Hallem, Nord-Trøndelag, and has a general dating to the C-period.

Silver shield bosses in Norway are rare, Flagghaugen 1 containing the only one, Solberg (2000, p. 119). However the finds from Vestad, Vestfold, Nedre Bø, Nordland, and a unprovenanced grave from Jevnaker, Oppland, are the graves that comes closest to Flagghaugen and rank I, having shield bosses of bronze that have been decorated with silver and/or gilt (Ilkjær 2000, pp. 162-163; Fuglevik 2007, p. 230). Ilkjær puts the shield boss from

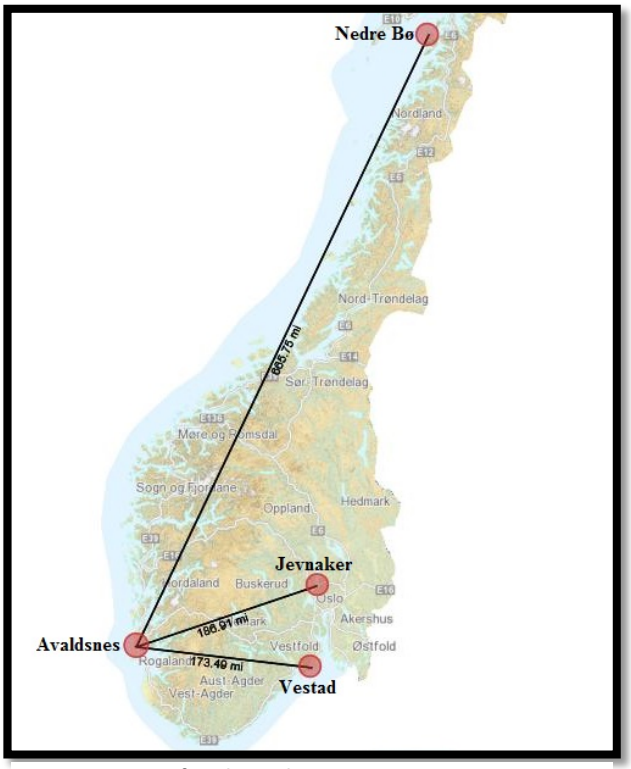


Figure 18: Map of rank I and II graves in Norway.
Map after http://www.gislink.no/gislink/

Flagghaugen in his type 3 (Ilkjær 2001, p. 288) carinated shield bosses. They consist of bronze, and in one example, silver, are also evenly spread across Norway, though with the majority found in eastern-Norway (ibid, pp. 288-292).

The find from Vestad was uncovered by chance in 1890 during railroad work north of Jåberg train station, and handed in to Oldsaksamlingen in 1903. The find is thought to originate from a barrow containing three graves of various datings (Ilkjær 2000, pp. 162-163). Terje Gansum believes the oldest grave to be a weapon grave dating to C1b and containing a wide array of objects, such as silver fitted bronze shield boss, sword, seax, spears, tools, fragmented ceramic vessels and a gold finger ring (ibid, pp 162-163). The secondary grave is dated based on some of the ceramic fragments and is place somewhere in between 200-600 AD, while the third grave is dated based on a bronze ring with cast knob, and is set to ca. 850-900 AD (ibid, p. 163). There are however issues with dating this find due to it not being properly excavated, and because of the various datings of the objects found in the barrow , as Per Erik Gjestvold (2002 p. 196) stresses in his review of Ilkjær's book (2000). Also, Fuglevik (2007, p. 232) mentions that no sword was uncovered from the C1b grave, and with no harnesses found, thinks this weakens the theory that the find could be representative for rank II.

Between 1951 and 1956, three barrows dating to the Roman Iron Age were excavated by modern means, one of which is Nedre Bø, barrow I. This barrow was excavated in 1951, and in 1953, and contained two chamber graves, a weapon grave with panoply of high status objects, and the other with a silver fibula of a type that is found in Central Europe and Scandinavia, and is generally dated to the third century AD (Slomann 1959, p. 7). The weapon grave is of particular interest because of the complete weapon set, consisting of a bronze shield boss with silver fittings, bronze shield rim, a sword with bronze chape, lance, spear and arrowheads (ibid, p. 9). It also contained a buckle and fittings for a baldric, gold

finger ring, fragments of a ceramic vessel, skeletal remains and birch bark. As a complete set, this find can easily be interpreted as a representative for rank II.

The unprovenanced Jevnaker find stems from a chamber grave, and contained a bronze shield boss and grip with silver fittings, circular fitting for a baldric, reinterpreted from a chape to a baldric button by Ilkjær (1990, p. 363), and rectangular fittings of uncertain function (Carnap-Bornheim & Ilkjær 1996, p.318; Fuglevik 2007, p. 232). Even if there are no remains after the sword, the presence of a baldric still suggests that one would likely have been put in the grave (Fuglevik 2007, p. 232).

The silver shield boss is primarily associated with the C1b deposition of Illerup, Vimose, and C2 graves such as Gommern in Central Europe and Herpaly in Eastern Europe (Fettich 1930, p. 235ff; Carnap-Bornheim & Ilkjær 1996, p. 292 ff).

5.3. Denmark

The Varpelev cemetery was excavated by Conrad Engelhardt in 1876-1877, and represents about 25-30 flat ground graves. Out of the 30 graves there are only two that are well furbished, whilst the rest is considered poor in comparison. The richest out of those two were Varpelev grave a, which has been identified as an inhumed male (Jørgensen 2003, p. 396; Gane 2011, p. 39) and therefore important to this analysis. Due to the excavations was carried out professionally by the time, it is possible to give a detailed description of the objects placement in the grave.

At the neck the deceased had a serpent headed gold neck ring and a gold pin. Next to his right ear was an aureus from the reign of Probus, and on his right hand were two gold finger rings of type F10 and F30 (Andersson 1993b, p. 44; Gane 2011, p. 40).

A Syrian manufactured Roman glass bowl, E172, known as *kantharos*, made of blue glass that has been shaped inside a silver frame consisting of rosettes and leaves, was also found in the grave. Also a Roman glass phial, thought to be associated with Bacchus, Mithras or Christian cults during the 4th century AD (Gane 2011, pp. 39-40).

He had also been buried with a bronze and silver platter, a pair of silver horn fittings and three silver buckles. These buckles has been thought to be an early type of elaborately decorated middle 4th century AD buckles, one of which has been found in Nydam (ibid, pp. 40-41).

Two silver finger rings, a square shaped double sided silver plate, 42 bone gaming pieces and four bear's claws were also found.

Varpelev grave a - C2				
Weapons	Personal possessions	Tools	Utensils	Other objects
	Gold neck ring Pair of gold finger ring Pair of silver finger ring Silver dress pin with gold head Three silver buckles and strap end. Aureus pendant Bone comb		Silver drinking horn fittings Wooden bucket with bronze fittings Ceramic vessels Silver decorated glass bowl Pair of glass vessels Glass phial Bronze platter	42 bone gaming pieces Four bear claws

Table 1: List of finds from Varpelev grave a .Based on Andersson 1993b

5.3. Germany

All of the Haßleben-Leuna graves that I have included in this analysis are male burials. I will not be making a detailed examination of the Haßleben-Leuna graves, except for the Gommern burial, so this chapter will be about similarities and differences in quantity. I will however be listing them in tables and making a general comparison between Flagghaugen, Gommern and the listed Haßleben-Leuna graves in towards the end of this chapter, based on object types, such as if the graves contain gold neck rings, Hemmoor buckets etc., just to see if there are some similar traits with Flagghaugen. Only the most important objects will be selected, so other objects from the graves that contain more then what is listed will not be included. I have decided to divide the objects into five categories.

- Weapons, meaning anything related to weaponry.
- Personal possessions, which includes anything worn by the deceased.
- Containers, which are used to store drink, food and objects.
- Utensils, which are the largest category, but also the one that contains imported Roman objects. This covers everything that is related to consumption of food and drink.
- Miscellanea, which are objects that has a special function or use.

The presented graves are based on Bemmann's list of princely Late Roman Iron Age burials (Fröhlich 2000, p. 67-68). He lists them into six groups, 1, 2a, 2b, 3, 4, 5 and 6, where 1, 2a and 2b are seen as princely burials and 3, 4, 5, 6are the poorest. 2a, is characterised by gold neck rings, Hemmoor buckets, and generally being more furbished then 2b. Of all the graves, Gommern is the only grave to be considered to belong to group 1.

Haßleben grave 4				
Weapons	Personal possessions	Containers	Utensils	Miscellanea
Three silver arrowheads	Gold finger ring Bone comb Silver buckle	Uncertain wooden bucket	A ceramic cup Bronze platter Three ceramic bowls	Aureus

Table 2: List of finds from Haßleben grave 4. Based on Fröhlich 2000.

Nordhausen				
Weapons	Personal possessions	Containers	Utensils	Miscellanea
	Gold neck ring		Pair of bronze Hemmoor buckets Pair of bronze ladle and strainer Three glass and a ceramic cup Four ceramic bowls Bronze basin	A silver spur

Table 3: List of finds from Nordhausen. Based on Fröhlich 2000.

Leubingen				
Weapons	Personal possessions	Containers	Utensils	Miscellanea
	Gold finger ring Silver fibula Bronze buckle Bone comb		Bronze Hemmoor bucket Uncertain glass cup Bronze basin	Aureus

Table 4: List of finds from Leubingen. Based on Fröhlich 2000.

Flurstedt				
Weapons	Personal possessions	Containers	Utensils	Miscellanea
Three silver arrowheads	Gold neck ring Pair of silver fibulae		Bronze Hemmoor bucket Bronze ladle and strainer Glass cup Ceramic bowl	Aureus

Table 6: List of finds from Emersleben grave 1. Based on Fröhlich 2000.

Emersleben grave 1				
Weapons	Personal possessions	Containers	Utensils	Miscellanea
Four silver arrowheads	Silver self-care utensil Silver fibula Pair of glass beads	Pair of wooden buckets	Pair of bronze Hemmoor buckets A ceramic cup Three ceramic bowls Bronze basin	Aureus Game board

Emersleben grave 2				
Weapons	Personal possessions	Containers	Utensils	Miscellanea
	Gold finger ring Gold arm ring Silver fibula Bone comb	Pair of wooden buckets	Bronze kettle Bronze ladle and strainer Ceramic cup Bronze platter Pair of silver spoons Four ceramic bowls Bronze basin	Aureus

Table 7: List of finds from Emersleben grave 2. Based on Fröhlich 2000.

Leuna grave 1834				
Weapons	Personal possessions	Containers	Utensils	Miscellanea
Pair of silver arrowheads	Silver self-care utensil Three silver fibulae Bronze buckle	Wooden bucket	Bronze ladle and strainer Pair of silver and a pair of ceramic cups Pair of ceramic bowls	Pair of silver spurs

Table 8: List of finds from Leuna grave 1834. Based on Fröhlich 2000.

Leuna grave 2/1917				
Weapons	Personal possessions	Containers	Utensils	Miscellanea
Three silver arrowheads	Silver fibula Silver buckle Bone comb Gold finger ring		Silver, bronze and ceramic cups Bronze ladle and strainer Bronze platter Three ceramic bowls	Pair of silver spurs Aureus

Table 9: List of finds from Leuna grave 2/1917. Based on Fröhlich 2000.

Leuna grave 1/1926				
Weapons	Personal possessions	Containers	Utensils	Miscellanea
Pair of silver arrowheads	Bone comb Silver fibula Bronze buckle		Pair of glass cups Four ceramic bowls	Pair of silver spurs

Table 10: List of finds from Leuna grave 1/1926. Based on Fröhlich 2000.

Leuna grave 2/1926				
Weapons	Personal possessions	Containers	Utensils	Miscellanea
	Gold finger ring Bone comb	Wooden bucket	Ceramic cup Uncertain bronze platter Four ceramic bowls	Pair of bronze spurs

Table 11: List of finds from Leuna grave 2/1926. Based on Fröhlich 2000.

Leuna grave 3/1926				
Weapons	Personal possessions	Containers	Utensils	Miscellanea
Pair of silver arrowheads		Chest	Bronze ladle and strainer Silver, ceramic and pair of glass cups Pair of bronze platters Glass, bronze and wooden tray Silver spoon Bronze basin Six ceramic bowls	Pair of silver spurs Gaming board

Table 12: List of finds from Leuna grave 3/1926. Based on Fröhlich 2000.

5.4 Summary of the Haßleben-Leuna graves.

Silver arrowheads have been found in seven of the eleven graves. However, these arrowheads are none functional, so in their own right they should not be considered weapons, but merely symbolic weapons. All the Continental graves, except for Leuna grave 3/1926, contain gold rings, where two of the graves, Nordhausen and Flurstedt, contain only a neck ring. Out of the eleven graves, only Emersleben contains an arm ring, and only Haßleben grave 4, Leubingen Emersleben grave 2 and Leuna grave 2/1917, contains gold finger rings. Five of the graves, Haßleben grave 4, Leubingen, Flurstedt, Emersleben grave 1 & 2 and Leuna grave 2/1917 also contains a gold aureus.

Nordhausen, Leuna grave 1834, Leuna grave 2/1917, Leuna grave 1/1926 and Leuna grave 3/1926 all contain pairs of silver spurs, with the exception of Nordhausen, which only has a singular spur. Only Haßleben grave 4 and Leuna grave 2/1917 are the ones to have silver buckles as part of the burials goods, while Leubingen has a bronze buckle. Silver spoons can be found in Emersleben grave 2, and Leuna grave 3/1926. Silver fibula are found in Leubingen, Flurstedt, Emersleben grave 1 & 2, Leuna grave 1834, Leuna grave 2/1917 and Leuna grave 1/1926.

Hemmoor buckets can be found in four graves, Nordhausen, Leubingen, Flurstedt and Emersleben, with the latter having a pair. Nordhausen, Flurstedt, Emersleben, Leuna grave 1834, grave 2/1917 and grave 3/1926 have a set of ladle and strainer, with Nordhausen having a pair. Bronze basins are represented in Nordhausen, Leubingen, Emersleben grave 1 & 2, and Leuna grave 3/1926. Platters is found in Haßleben grave 4, Emersleben grave 2, Leuna grave 2/1917 and Leuna grave 3/1926 with a uncertain find from Leuna grave 2/1926.

All graves, contain cups, either as ceramic, glass or silver, or a combination of these. As for ceramic bowls, it is only Leubingen that does not contain one or more bowls. Gaming boards is found in only two graves, Emersleben grave 1 and Leuna grave 3/1926. Only Leuna grave 3/1926 has a chest as part of the grave goods.

Comparing the Haßleben-Leuna group with Flagghaugen reveals that there are some similarities and differences. No graves match Flagghaug 1 perfectly, and the grave that is most dissimilar to Flagghaugen is Leuna grave 1/1926, whilst the one that has most in common with Flagghaug 1 out of the group is Flurstedt, which is represented by symbolic weapons, gold neck ring, and a Hemmoor bucket and a set of ladle and sieve. However, none of these graves are ideal candidates for comparing Flagghaug 1 with, which is why we will now take a look at the princely Gommern grave.

5.3.1. Gommern

The princely grave from Gommern was uncovered by chance in 1990 during a routine inspection by two archaeological heritage managers about 53.5 m above sea level on an inland dune at Gersteinberg, aligned in a SW-NE orientation, next to the tributary Ehle that is situated east of the river Elbe. Todays' average height of the dune along the Elbe is 46 m above sea level, a difference of 7.5m, however the height difference would have been a lot more prominent before the Elbe ridges' increase over the centuries, making it the ideal spot for a grave. The ridge is 70-150 m wide and 420 m long and is SE-NW oriented. It is circled by streams both in the north and west. Gerstenberg is located approximately 4.5 km west of the town of Gommern (Fröhlich 2000, 108).

Figure 19: The area of the princely Gommern burial close to Gommern.
From Google Maps.

The remains of a grave chamber was covered by an approximately 4 x 4 m and 2 m thick stone layer, and placed about 3m beneath the ground surface. The wooden chamber measured approximately 3,4 m x 2,2 m. The grave contained an inhumed male that has been aged between 25 and 30 years, and he was buried with an exceedingly rich set of equipment.

The deceased was buried with a gold neck ring of the kolben type, found in the location of the deceased's neck region, and remains of the spine showed that the neck ring was placed around the neck. Little to no wear can be seen on the ring, so it is uncertain if the deceased wore it prior to the burial, though this seems unlikely as fresh production marks can still be observed on the surface (Becker 2010, p. 652). The shape of the ring is of the Kolben type, which have a couple of parallels in other European high status burials and weapon deposits. The bulbous terminals are smooth, which is different from the neck ring from Flagghaugen I, but both neck rings share a common feature that their bodies are smooth. Weight wise, the Gommern neck ring weighs 504, 5 grams of 22 carat gold with a diameter of 16,2 x 15,7 cm, makes this one of the heaviest gold neck rings found in a burial from the Late Roman Iron Age (Becker 2010a, pp. 67-70;Becker 2010b, p. 411).

A total of three fibulae were uncovered, a pair of gold fibulae and a partially silver gilt fibula with silver gilt pressblech. All three fibulae have been decorated with beaded wire and have pins of precious metal. One gold fibula was found in the chest area, while the two others were located in the hip area, perhaps placed in a container on the belt (Becker 2010, p. 75-78). Other than the beaded wire and pressblech, there are no further decorations. It is also apparent that the silver fibula was extensively worn as it shown heavy signs of wear, while the gold fibula shows no signs at all (ibid, pp 75-78).

The grave also contained a gold finger ring of type Beckmann 37 (ibid, p. 70).

He was also buried with a shield, which is to be considered, together with the neck ring, as the clearest sign of his status. Remaining of the shield was a silver boss, with silver fittings decorated with gilded silver pressblech. The shield also had a silver rim. The shield boss was further decorated with red glass inserts, and the shield boss itself was identified as being a recycled roman silver beaker (Becker 2010, pp.105-115). The surface of the shield was also decorated with red and blue paint, creating an elaborate design together with the fittings (Fröhlich 2000a).

The Gommern prince were buried wearing two belts, as is evident by the number of silver buckles, fittings, rivets and strap ends found in the hip area, while there was a third one stored in a chest in a corner in the foot end of the chamber. There were also remains after belts associated with the silver spurs in the foot area, and have been interpreted to be part of the spur attachment. Wearing of a pair of belts are not uncommon during the Late Roman Iron Age, as they are known from other graves and have been found in weapon depositions, such as Illerup A, and as in the case with the Gommern grave, the only parts remaining are the metal parts, such as buckles, fittings and strap ends. Most belts have only parts of bronze, and it is only the rich finds that have belt parts of silver, such as Gommern, but also Stráže and Sackrau, amongst others. Illerup also contains belt parts of silver, and is associated with rank I warriors.

The third belt is however more spectacular than the two worn by the deceased. It was a wide gold leaf decorated belt that had to be closed by three silver buckles adorned with silver gilt pressblech. Due to the favorable preservation conditions, much of the leather was still preserved, though in deteriorating shape. Despite this, it was still possible to conservative it,

allowing an experimental replica to be made. The pattern consisted of geometric shapes that were highlighted by the gold leaf (Becker 2010, pp. 83-88).

Three silver arrowheads, a pair of silver spurs, silver scissors and a silver knife was also found in the grave (Becker 2010, pp. 93-103). These silver objects must have played a symbolic meaning, and plays an important part when evaluating the grave.

In the hip area were also five denarii, one Hadrian (AD 117-138) denarius, three Antonius Pius (AD 138-161) denarii, one Lucius Versus denarius and in his mouth was placed a Trajan aureus (AD 98-117). Also, there were two gilt Severus Alexander (AD 222-235) pressblech foils (ibid, pp. 117-118).

The burial also contained a silver ladle and sieve of Eggers 161, a silver Hemmoor bucket of Eggers 60, two bronze Hemmoor buckets of Eggers 58, Westland cauldron og Eggers 12 and as well as a bronze folding tripod (Becker 2010, pp. 171-184). Fragments after glass beakers was also present, and wicker baskets.

Further indication of an elite lifestyle is provided by the addition of a game board and over 50 glass gaming pieces (ibid, pp. 191-193).

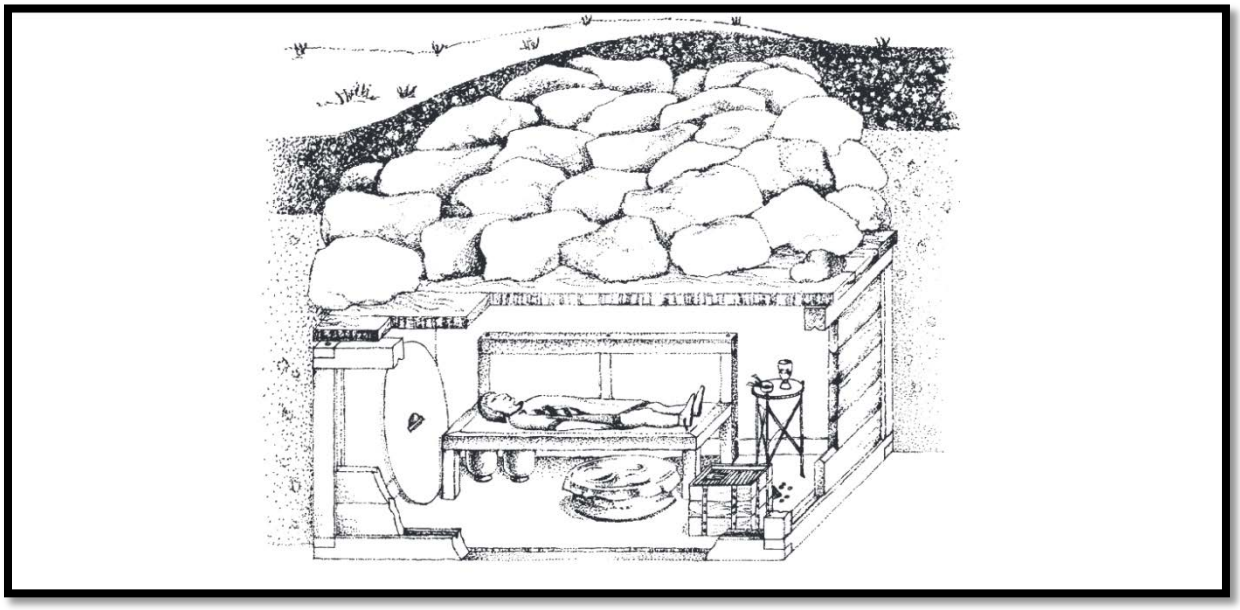


Figure 2018: Suggested reconstruction of the Gommern burial chamber.
From Fröhlich 2000

There can be no doubt that the Gommern burial is the richest out of the Haßleben-Leuna group and is a good supra- regional comparison to Flagghaugen. It was probably created no later than the second third of the third century, and belongs to the same chronological horizon as the other 'princely' burials of this group, which all date to the later stages of the third century. Gommern falls into the group of Middle Elbe-Saale 'princely' graves, although because of its much richer equipment it has been assigned to the top position within the group.

5.6. Analytical results

In this chapter I will look at the similarities and differences between the selected Norwegian, Scandinavian and European burials. To make it easier to have an overview, I have made two tables, one depicting objects that are considered to be of Germanic origin, whilst the other will be a list of objects that are of Roman origin. The finds from Gommern will be presented in their identified states, that is to say, not as individual pieces but reconstructed objects. As the reconstructed objects from Gommern do not have a catalogue number, I will not be including any in this analysis. For references on Flagghaugen, see chapter 4, whilst references for Gommern can be found in Becker's extensive catalogue on the find (Becker 2010b, pp. 409-492). Towards the end of the chapter I will come to a conclusion regarding the similarities and differences these two graves.

What is clear is that Flagghaug 1 is the only burial out of all examined where weapons are present. So why are there no weapons in the other graves and only in Norway? A theory has been forwarded by Lotte Hedeager that there was a break in traditions concerning ownership of high status weapons during the Late Roman Iron Age in Central-Europe and Southern-Scandinavia, where high status weapons were not regarded as belonging to the deceased, and therefore would not have been put in the grave (Hedeager 1990, pp.140 ff). If this is true, then it may also indicate that there was a much stronger link between Southern-Scandinavia and Central-Europe, then between Western-Norway and Central-Europe. In case of Norway, the evidence of weapon graves indicates that a much older tradition was being maintained, and weapons were thought to belong to the individual, and not the family or a larger group.

How should we interpret the graves? As it is possible to see different social status in graves by looking at the grave goods, one may interpret that there is a social hierarchy within the Germanic society. Having said that, there are still some issues, such as pointing out rank between the analysed princely burials. There has been attempts to differentiate the burials of the Haßleben-Leuna group, for instance, Schlüter (1970) made a classification of the burials, based on Roman imports and precious metals, which has since become a useful tool for identifying differences between the graves. Schlüter divides the group into two groups, group 1 and group 2, which in turn is divided into five sub groups. Group 1a is burials with gold objects, which in turn indicated the top level of these graves. Group 1b is graves with Roman import and silver objects, and then there is group 2a-c. 2a is graves with bronze and iron, 2b is graves without metal objects, and group 2c is objects that do not contain any objects.

This model was later modified by Joachim Werner (1973), basing himself on Ammianus Marcellinus, a 4th century AD historian, that described the hierarchy of a Germanic group known as the '*Alamanni*'. In his work, he divides the society into reges, optimatum globus and populous, where reges is group 1a, optimatum globus is group 1b and populous is group 2. Group 1a is considered kings, group 1b the aristocracy, and group 2 is the common people.

Flagghaug 1	**Gommern**
Germanic	
Gold Kolben neck ring - 590,4 g	Gold Kolben neck ring - 504,5 g
Plated gold finger ring	Spiraled gold finger ring
Three lost gold rings	Two gold fibulas
Circular gold pressblech foil	Silver fibula
Lost gold dress pin	Silver spurs
Silver horn fittings	Silver knife
Silver shield boss -	Silver shield boss, grip and remains of wood
Silver pressblech gilt sword	Silver scissor
Two lost spearheads	Three silver arrowheads and quiver
Ropes	Belt 1
Thirty-two glass gaming pieces	Belt 2
	Belt 3
	Three wooden vessels and three wooden buckets
	Wooden storage chest
	Wicker basket
	Ceramic pot
	More than fifty glass gaming pieces
	Remains of a game board
	Comb
	Textile remains

Table 13: List of Germanic finds from Flagghaug 1 and Gommern.

Avaldsnes	Gommern
Roman	
Bronze Hemmoor bucket	Silver Hemmoor bucket
Bronze wine strainer	Pair of bronze Hemmoor buckets
Bronze hanging dish	Silver wine strainer and ladle
Silvered bronze mirror	Bronze hanging dish
	Westland cauldron
	Bronze tripod table
	Glassware
	Gold aureus
	Five denarii

Table 14: List of Roman finds from Flagghaug 1 and Gommern.

Figure 21: Distance between Avaldsnes and Gommern measures 562 miles.
From Google maps

6. The Roman Empire during the third century.

In this chapter I will look at how the Germanic elite could gain prestige and wealth during the third century AD through interaction with the Roman world.

6.1. The third century crisis

The third century crisis lasted from AD 233/325 and lasted to AD 284. It is marked by serious external pressure, but also by civil strife, and it was during this time that the princely burials north of the Rhine were flourishing.

The Roman Rhine and Middle Danube provinces went through a severe crisis in the 3rd century AD, following the death of Severus Alexander, the last of the Severan dynasty which marked a 50 year struggle and resulting in the Roman retreat behind the Rhine and Danube by about AD 260. This period is marked as the 3rd century crisis in the Roman Empire (Witschel

2004, p. 252). The first scaled invasion of Germanic tribes took place in AD 233, when Severus Alexander was fighting the Persians (Gane 2007, p. 81). The Germanic raid is believed to be the results of a weakened frontier due to most of the troops normally stationed along the limes were off in Persia. After Severus Alexander met his demise, he was replaced by Maximum Thrax, in AD 235, which lead to the re-stabilisation of the *limes.*
However, 24 years later, in AD 259, a new crisis broke out. Under the rule of Valerian, who had been an Emperor of the eastern part of the Empire since AD 253, was captured by the Persian king Sapur I, while fighting the Persians, and later died in captivity. Simultaneously, Germanic tribes were pressing the Rhine and Danube borders. The defense of the northern border fell to Valerian's son Gallienus, which later became known as Germanicus (ibid, p. 82). However, the capture of his father and the northern threat was not the only problem for Gallienus. His son Caesar, Valerianus, suddenly died, and a roman military commander by the name Ingenuus was suspected of the deed (ibid, p. 83). With Valerian in captivity, Ingenuus found an opportunity to become the next Roman Emperor. The legions of Moesia, stationed in the Balkans, proclaimed Ingenuus Roman Emperor at Sirmium in AD 260, throwing off their allegiance to Gallienus (Jones 1987, p. 457). Gallienus was still on the Rhine frontier when the uprising began (Canduci 2010, p. 83), but he acted quickly by recalling troops from Gaul and hastening southeast, leaving his other son, Saloninus, and a commander by the name Postumus to keep the Germanics at bay (Gane 2007, p. 83). After Ingenuus uprising was quelled, following his defeat on the battlefield at Mursa (Jones 1987, p. 457), Germanicus headed westwards to stop Germanic raids that had penetrated as far as Tarragona, on the north-eastern coast of Spain and Milan and Ravenna in northern Italy (Gane 2007, p. 83). However, following his departure there was a new uprising by a Dacian general known as Regalianus, elected by the local population (Canduci 2010, p. 85) though he was later killed by his own supporters (Akerman 1834, p. 80). At the same time as the Germanic breach, Postumus seized power and created a "Gallic Empire" which also included *Gallia* and *Britannia*. Even if Gallienus could not prevent it from being established, he tried to reconquer the regions in AD 263 and AD 265 but failed doing so (Bray 1997, p. 138; Potter 2004, p.263). This empire lasted from AD 260 to AD 274, and has been suggested to be an ally with the Germanic tribes.

6.2. Evidence for Germanic raids.

What archaeological evidence is there to support the theory that Germanic raiders made it through the *limes*? There are two finds that are central to this question. The dredger find from Neupotz, and Hagenbach, situated between Strasbourg and Mainz in Rhineland-Palatinate, have been interpreted as Germanic plunder that was lost in the river Rhine when trying to cross (Burmeister 2013, p. 56; Gane 2007, p. 106). Why they were lost is difficult to say, though it has been suggested that Roman patrols may have interfered (Gane 2007, p. 106). They may have originally been part of the same plunder, as is seen by the similarities in vessels and tools in each of the finds, but that it was since split up to make it easier to cross the river. The Neupotz find has been coin dated to ca.AD 260 (Burmeister 2013, p. 57), and weighs more than 700 kg, where 10 kg was silver, with the rest consisted mostly of wagon parts and iron tools, but also Roman vessels which represent about 1/3 of the find. The Hagenbach find weighs 109 kg, which consisted of iron tools and wagon parts, but also bronze and silver vessels, silver jewelry and silver sheets with name inscriptions that the find originates from Gaul (Burmeister 2013, p. 57; Gane 2007, p. 107). It also includes a shield boss, sword remains and a fibula which is mainly found in the middle Elbe area and the Danish islands, but also in the Roman Empire (ibid, p. 107-108). Based on the composition of the hoards, everything points towards this being loot taken from the Romans during the turbulent period of the late 3rd century AD.

There is ample evidence that the Romans had diplomatic contact with the Germanics, as can be proven by literary sources. If one looks back at the beginning of the first century AD, the roman strategy was to expand its borders, however following the defeat in AD 9, their plans were halted. From this point in time their tactics changed from that of expansion to that of dealing with the Germanics in a peaceful manner. The agenda was most likely to create client kings, which is to say, influential members of a society that the Romans could deal with ( ). One way of tracing this contact is by looking at the imported roman objects found within some high status burials. Lund Hansen (1987) has the most detailed examination of roman imports in Scandinavia, and her work has influenced our perspective on how Romans interacted with the Germanics. I will therefore

7. THE GRAVE

7.1. What contacts might he have had?

As the analysis has shown, there are close parallels to the Middle Elbe-Saale region and especially with Gommern. The grave goods from Gommern are near identical, except for some extra roman imports, and of course, the lack of weapons. The graves themselves are different, with the Haßleben-Leuna graves being flat ground burials with no mound to mark them.

When it comes to what types of objects the deceased have been buried with it is clear that there are some differences in burial customs, for instance, all of the Norwegian examples of high status burials are barrows, whilst all of the Haßleben-Leuna burials are flat ground burials. Also no symbolic silver weapons or tools have been found in Norway, such as silver arrowheads or as in Gommern, silver knife and silver scissors further, no weapons have been buried with the dead in the Haßleben-Leuna group. However, there are still striking similarities between

7.2. Why did he receive such a burial?

The Flagghaug prince may have received a mound by his war band or by his family. If it is his family that made the barrow for him, then one of the secondary burials in the barrow may be from a family member, while the rest have been buried on the nearby cemetery, Kongshaug. There may also have been other visible barrows that have since been removed. If this is the case, then the Flagghaug prince has been part of a high status family, perhaps even the head of the family. The family may have used the burial of this individual to demonstrate their power to others in the region.

The other alternative is that he has been buried by his war band. When one looks at the geographical examination

The grave goods belonging to men that may be seen as leaders of a , likely contain goods that are associated with the hall, such as dishes and wine drinking implements. Such objects are

also indicative that the deceased buried with such grave goods were hall owners. A possibility is that the leaders' hall and farm would have been taken care of by their next in command or by the family, when they were out in war.

It is highly possible that the Flagghaug barrow indicates that the deceased had been a hall owner since the grave goods contain high status cutlery used for feasts. Additionally the evidence of a 4th century Hall on Avaldsnes strengthens this theory, increasing the likelihood that there would also have been a hall on Avaldsnes during the third century.

Another element worth considering is the chamber that the deceased was buried in. As has been proven in Gommern, the room would have been decorated like a hall, with furniture placed with thought to the deceased. Unfortunately, there are no records describing the placement of the objects in the Flagghaug 1 chamber, so we are left with guessing how it would have been arranged, though it is not unlikely that it would have been decorated similarly to that og Gommern.

8. Final summation & concluding remarks

I consider it likely that the Flagghaug 'prince' may have been a leader that had contacts with Central-Europe, and that he exploited the Roman empire's crisis during the third century. The presence of a sword, shield and likely a lance and throwing spear set indicates that he was part of a warrior elite, with a different tradition in than his Continental counterparts. The grave contains richly decorated objects and objects that connect him to a retinue of warriors, which he was the leader. As there are not only one symbolic object present in the grave, but numerous, it is obvious that he was a revered person in the society.
There are numerous parallels in the grave to the Middle Elbe-Saale region, and especially with Gommern. This area is also one of the richest in Europe during this time period, but it is possible that other areas in Europe were as rich but that the graves have since disappeared.

The contact to the Middle Elbe-Saale region can have been of different sorts, either he migrated from there or if he was just affected by the culture. The most likely contact route may have gone through Denmark then directly to Avaldsnes.

As the Roman Empire was in turmoil during the later part of the 3rd century, I find it highly likely that not only the Continental Germanics involved themselves, but that also that leaders in Scandinavia would have been actively seeking out to make a profit.

One thing is for certain, and that is that Flagghaug 1 grave has been part of a supra-regional elite environment on a European scale. It differs greatly from the other graves in the country, and especially in its local area.

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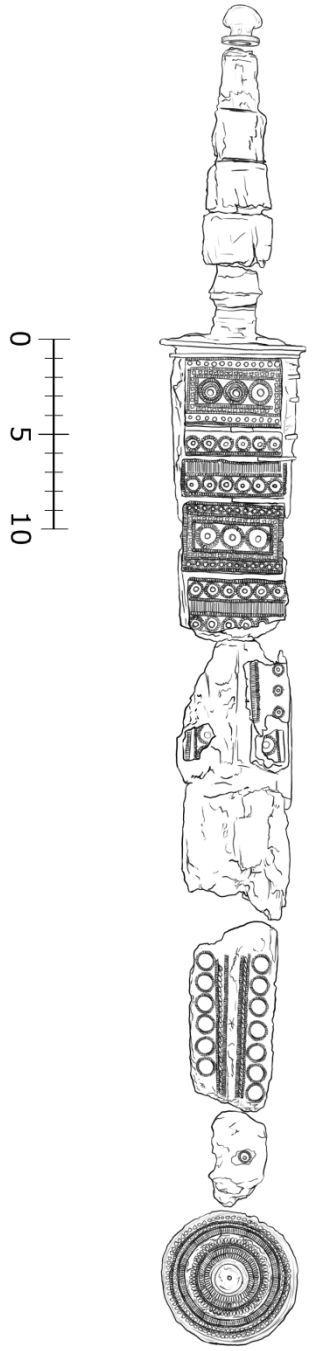
10. Catalogue



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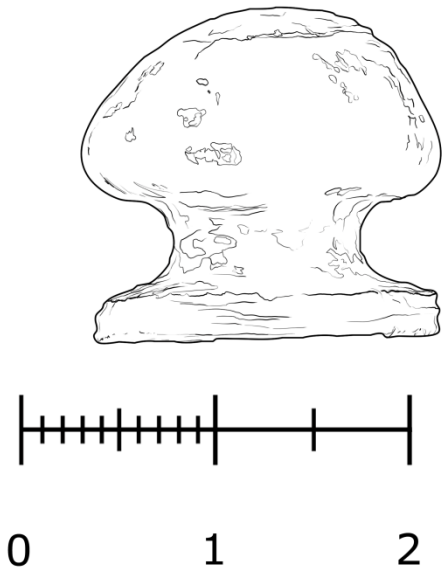

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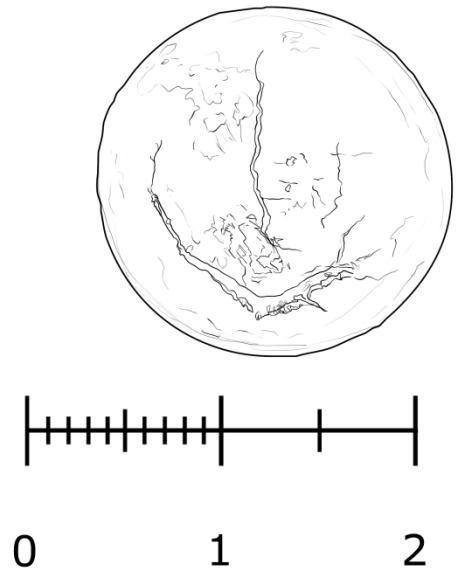

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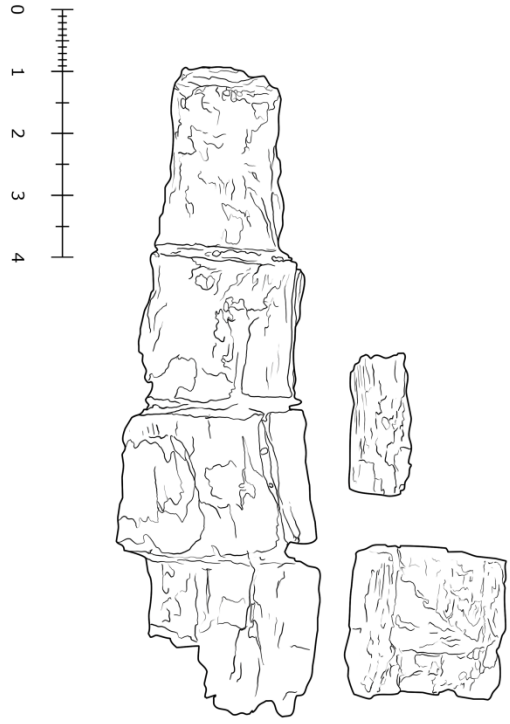

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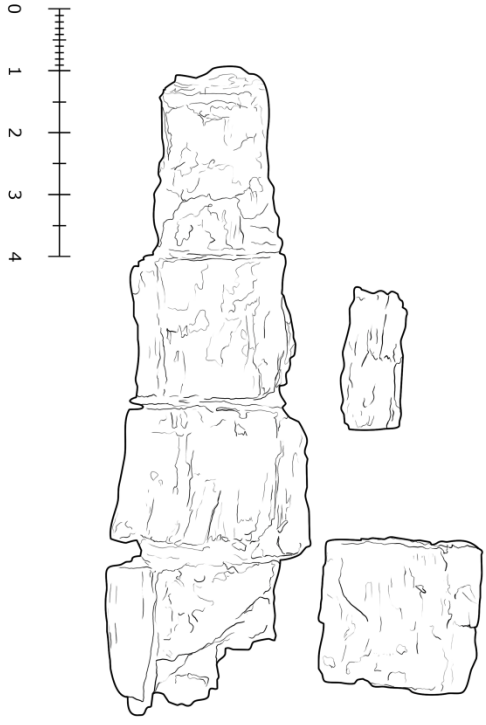

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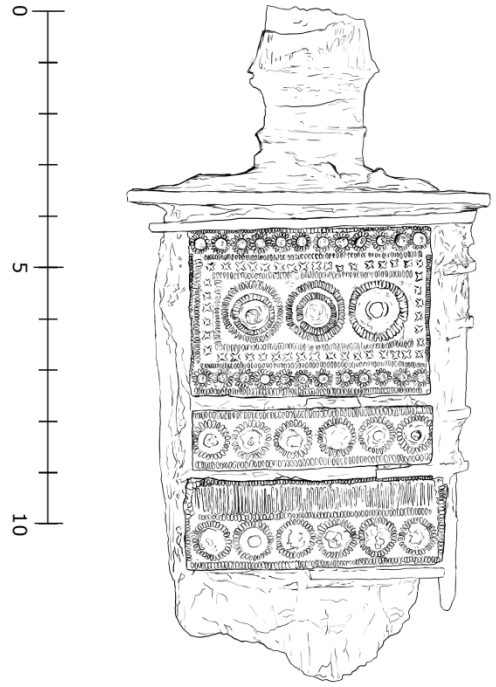

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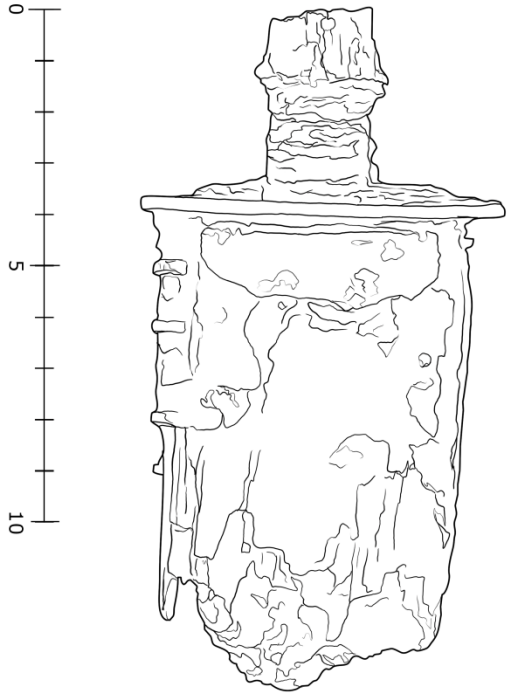

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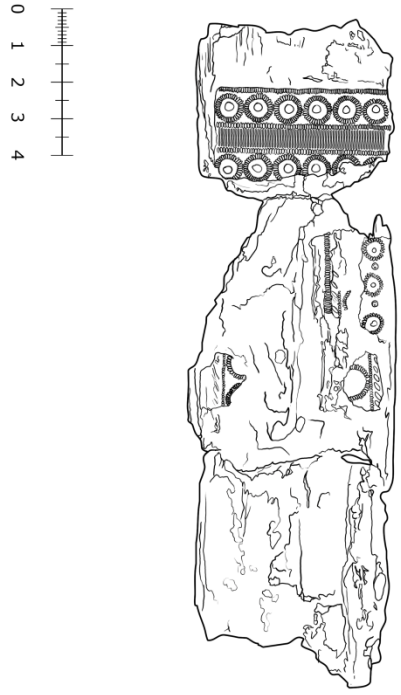

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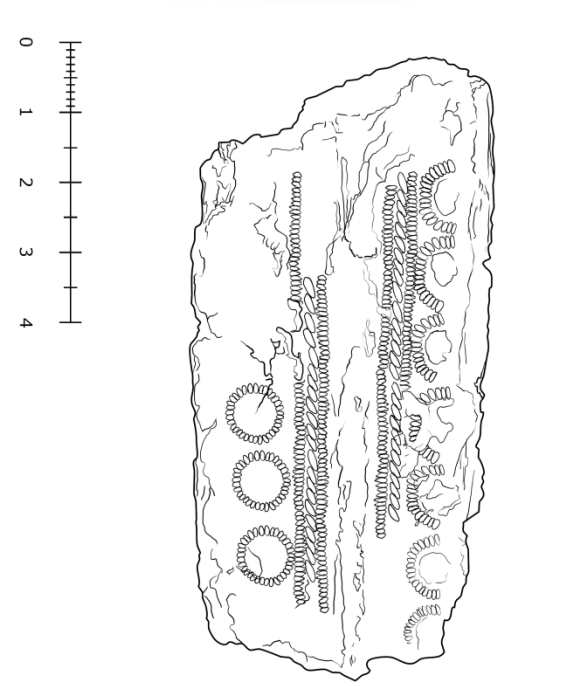

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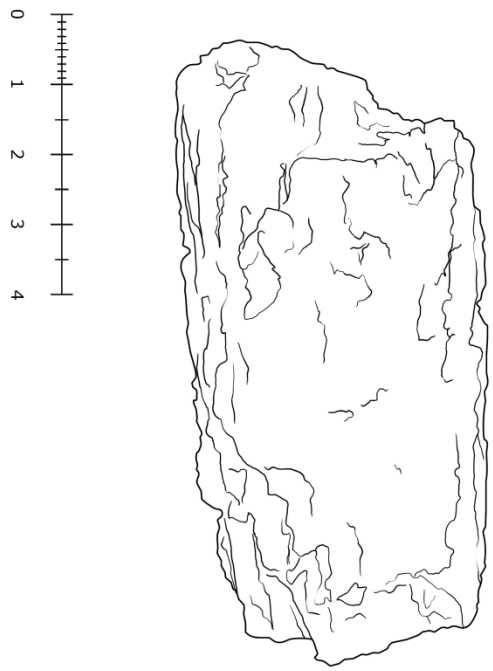

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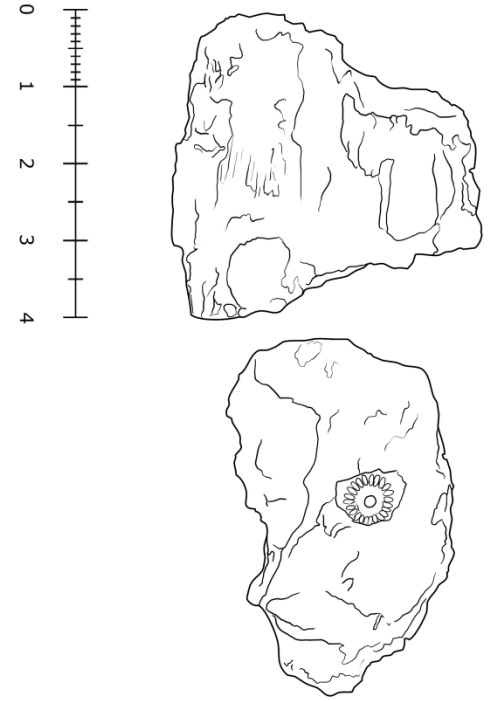

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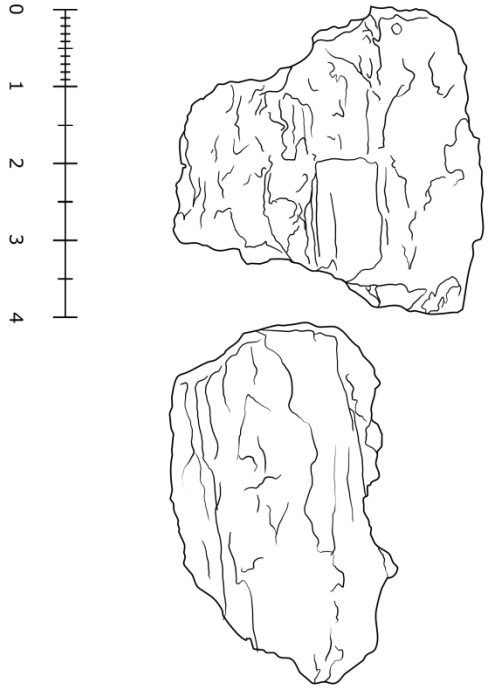

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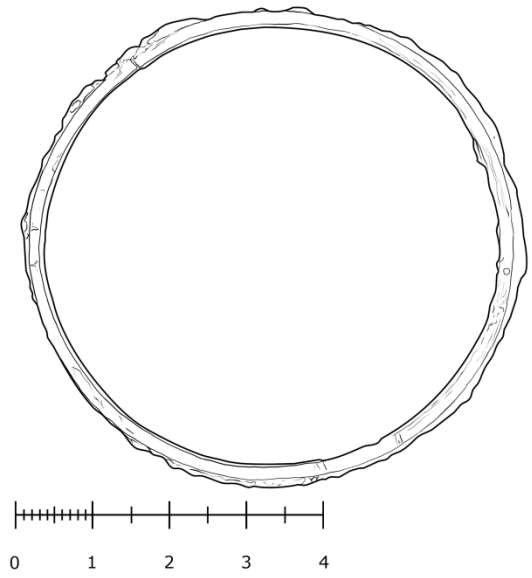

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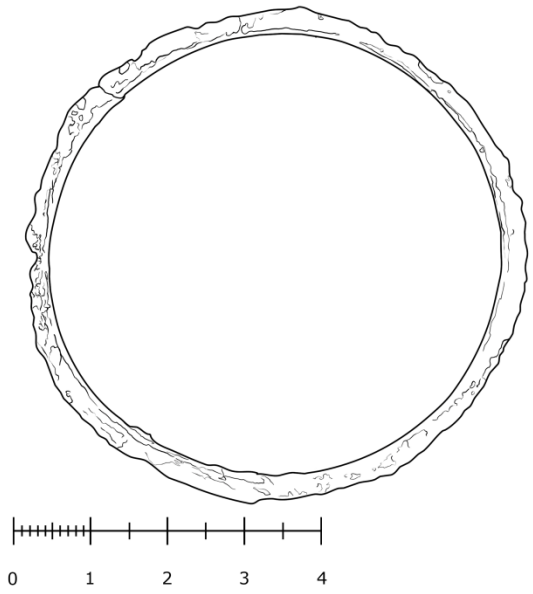

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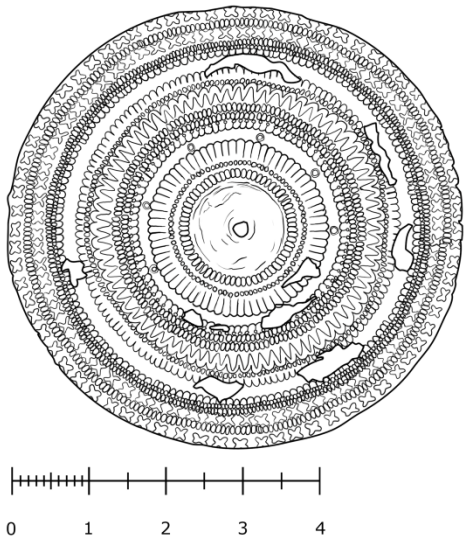

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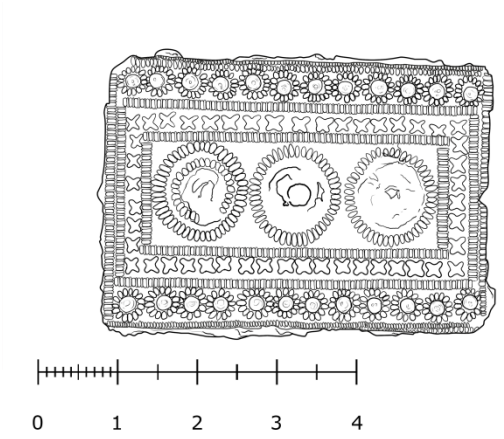

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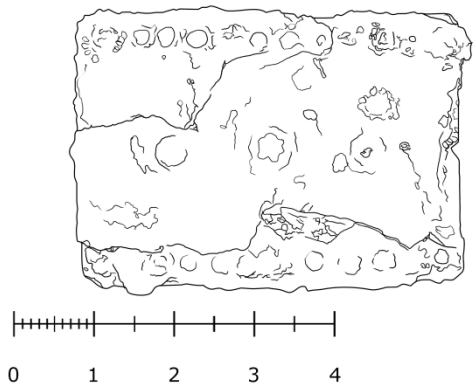

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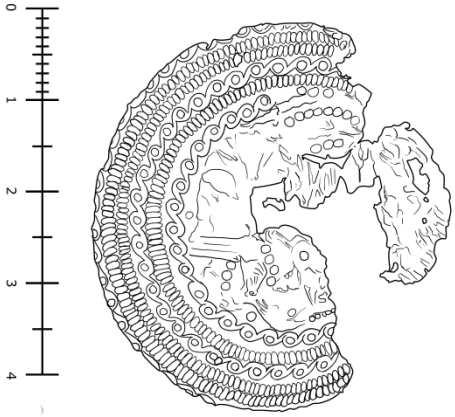

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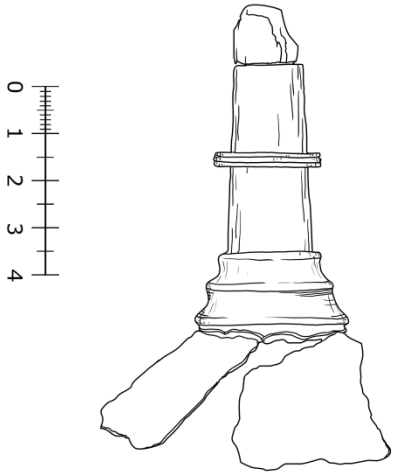

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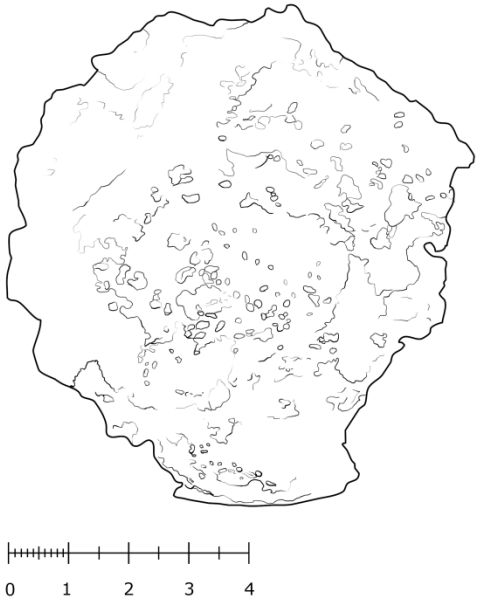

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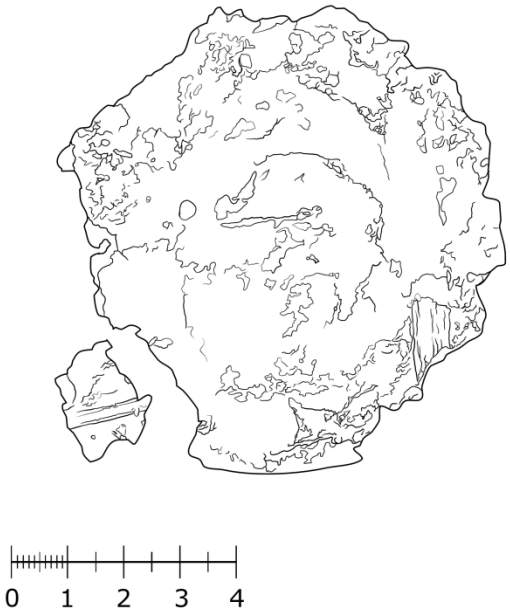

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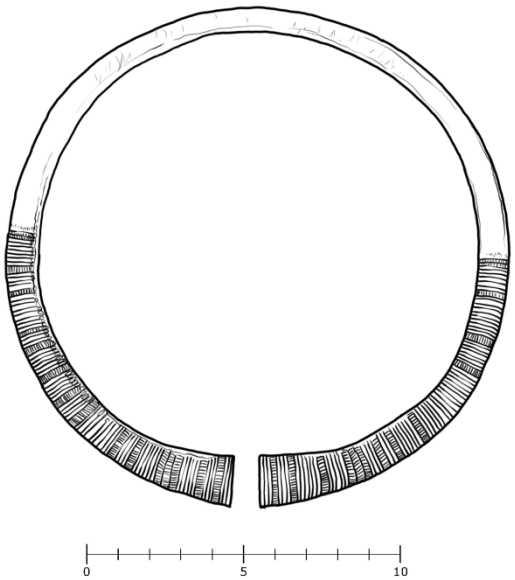

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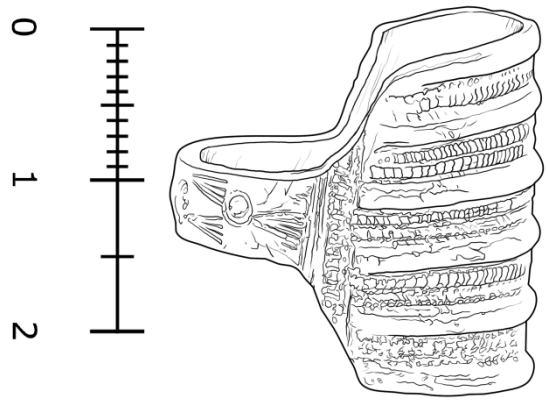

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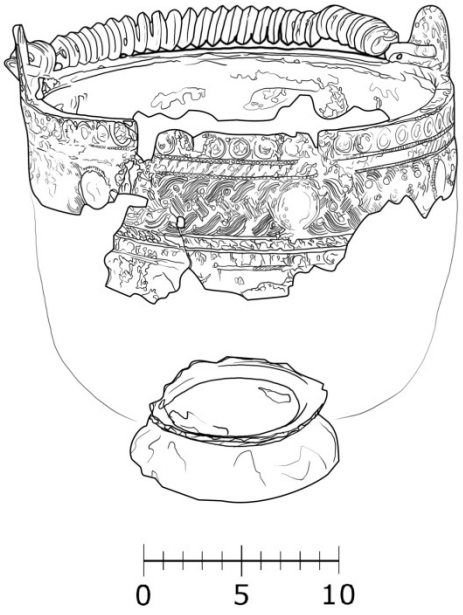

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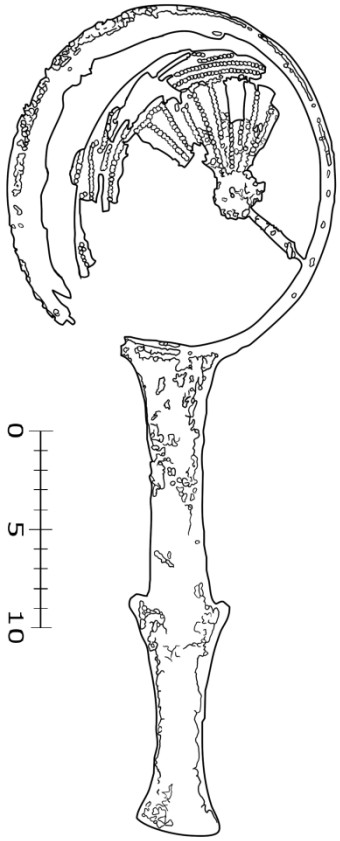

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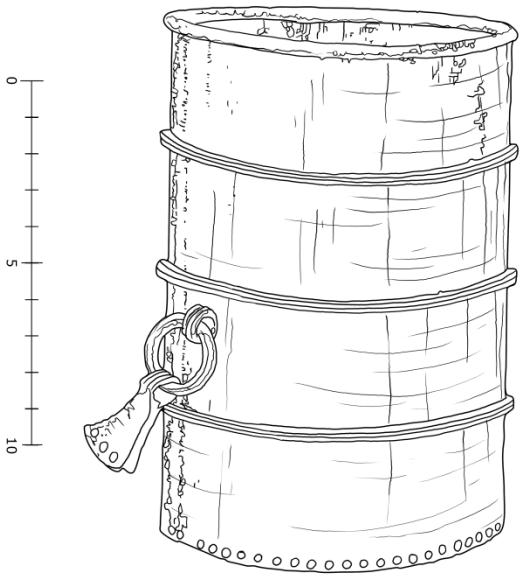

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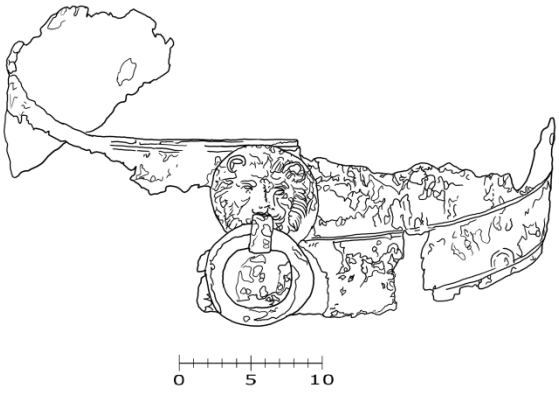

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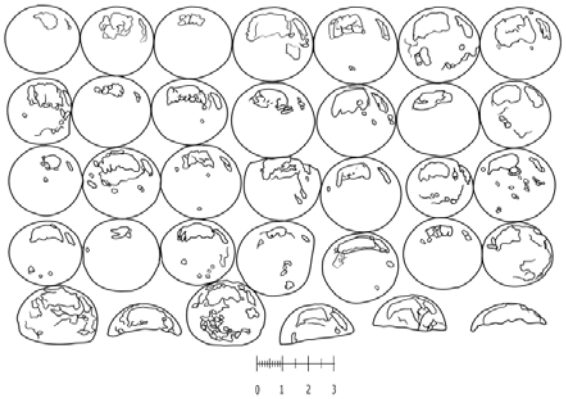

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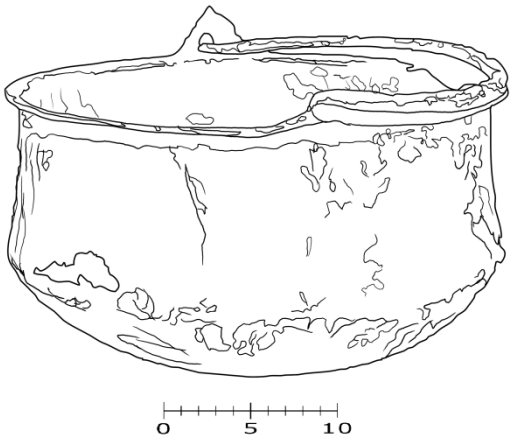

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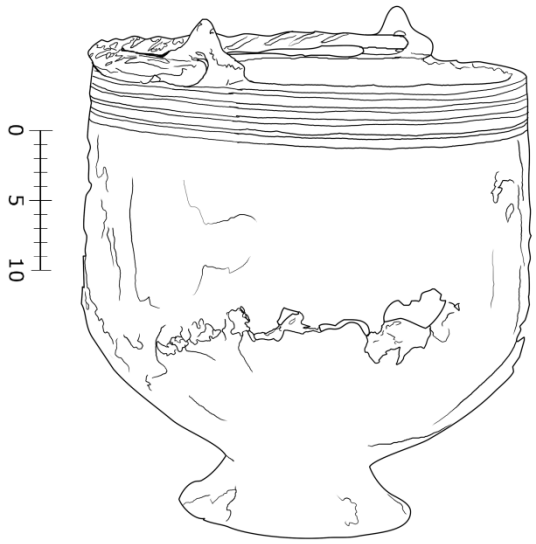

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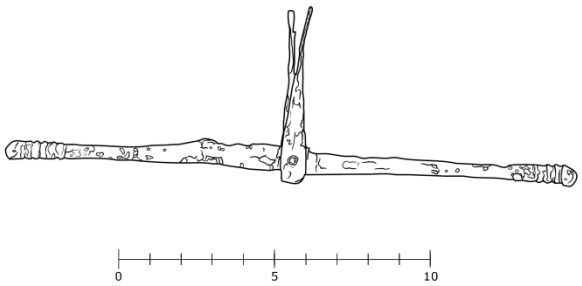

Fig. 53

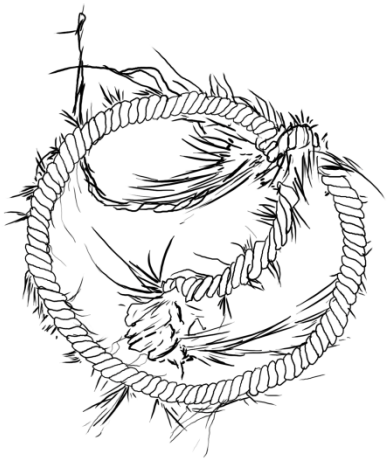

Fig. 36