

Between Dorestad and Kaupang

*A study of Frisian – Scandinavian contact
and exchange from the 8th to the end of the
10th century*

Nora Sophia Kamphuis Hansen



Master thesis in Archaeology
Institute of Archaeology, Conservation and History
Faculty of Humanities

UNIVERSITY OF OSLO

13.05.2018

Acknowledgements

‘I want to write about the Vikings in the Netherlands’, that is how I first started this project in November 2016. It is needless to say that a lot has happened since then, which in some ways is probably for the best. It has been tremendously fun and exciting writing this thesis, but also quite challenging and frustrating at times. I have learned a lot during this process, not only about archaeology and how to write an academic paper but also about myself and what I want to research as an archaeologist. I never expected to find out as much as I did about Scandinavians in Frisia and Frisians in Scandinavia. And even now, after finishing this thesis, there is still so much more I want to find out about. Finishing this project would not have been possible without the help and guidance of a lot of people, and I am most grateful for that.

First and foremost, I want to thank my supervisor for this project: Unn Pedersen. Thank you for good advice, guidance and lots of support during this whole process. Without you, I could not have done it. I would also like to thank my contact-person in the Netherlands, Nelleke IJssennagger. She helped me a great deal and guided me in the right direction regarding the archaeological material in the Netherlands and Dorestad. Furthermore, I want to thank IAKH for giving me economical support to travel to the Netherlands to visit the Rijksuniversiteit Groningen and the site of Dorestad. This ensured that I had the opportunity to include all of the Dutch and German literature required for my research. Great thanks are directed to my fellow students at Blindernveien 11, for the countless lunch breaks, good parties and interesting discussions. Special thanks to Jenny Alvestad, for answering all of my silly questions, our countless coffee and ice-cream breaks and the funniest conversations ever.

The most encouraging motivation for writing (and finishing!) this thesis has been the support and patience of my family and friends. They have helped me a great deal, even though they do not know a single thing about archaeology. I want to thank my parents, my sister Maaike for proofreading my whole thesis and fixing up all of my ‘Dunlish’, and my brother Hjalmar for borrowing books for me from the library at the Rijksuniversiteit Groningen. Last, but certainly not least, I would like to thank our family dog Balder for good long walks and all of his hugs and cuddles.

Oslo, 13th of May 2018

Nora Sophia Kamphuis Hansen

Contents

Acknowledgements	III
List of Figures	VI
List of abbreviations	VI
Chapter 1 Introduction and problem statement	1
1.1 Problem statement	3
1.2 Outline of the thesis.....	3
1.3 Terminology: Frisian, Scandinavian and Viking	3
Chapter 2 Research Background	7
2.1. Research regarding Frisia.....	7
2.2. Research regarding Scandinavia	11
2.3 Combining the two research fields	15
Chapter 3 Material from the Netherlands and Scandinavia	17
3.1. Material from the Netherlands	17
3.2 Material from Scandinavia	20
3.3 The selections – an overview	22
Chapter 4 Theoretical framework	25
4.1. System of exchange.....	26
4.2 Question of mobility.....	27
4.3 Between gift exchange and trade	28
4.4 Object biography	31
Chapter 5 Methodology.....	33
5.1 Comparative analysis	33
5.2 Combining comparative analysis with object biography	34
Chapter 6 Connecting Frisia and Scandinavia	37
6.1 The Westerklijf hoards	37
6.2 Metalwork and jewellery.....	38
6.3 Pottery	45
6.4 Glassware	50
6.5 Coins.....	50
6.6 Connectivity and cross-cultural contacts.....	53
Chapter 7 Why contact?	55
7.1 The question of raids	55
7.2 Dorestad: its trade and hinterland.....	58
7.3 Dorestad and Kaupang within a greater network	61
7.4 The Westerklijf hoards: Why regarded as Danish?	62
7.5 Personal possessions	64

7.6 A combination of contact	69
Chapter 8 Final remarks	71
8.1 Contact is personal	71
8.2 Between Dorestad and Kaupang	72
Bibliography.....	73

List of Figures

The photographs and illustrations used in this master thesis come from either official digital photo databases or are copied from publications with the publisher's permission. Most of the maps and photographs are adjusted in scale and format to create unity.

Figure 1 Map of Northern and Western Europe.	2
Figure 2 Location of Dorestad in the Netherlands.	8
Figure 3 Excavation areas of the site of at Wijk bij Duurstede.	10
Figure 4 Location of the settlement area and cemeteries at Kaupang.	13
Figure 5 Map of West-Frisia in the 9 th century.	18
Figure 6 The Westerklijf I hoard.	38
Figure 7 The Westerklijf II hoard.	38
Figure 8 Fragment of a penannular brooch, Hallumerhoek.	40
Figure 9 Penannular brooch from Norway.	40
Figure 10 Piece of hack-silver from Texel.	40
Figure 11 Drawing of the piece of hack-silver.	40
Figure 12 Neck-ring from Senja.	45
Figure 13 Types of pottery wares from Dorestad.	45
Figure 14 Merovingian coin, imitation found at Kaupang.	52
Figure 15 Merovingian coin, original from Dorestad.	52
Figure 16 The fibula of Dorestad.	57
Figure 17 Map of Frankish and Danish spheres.	64
Figure 18 The runic inscription on the neck-ring from Senja.	66
Figure 19 Map of the building structure A301 at Kaupang.	68
Table 1 The material selections.	23

List of abbreviations

AAC	Amsterdam Archeologisch Centrum (Amsterdam Archaeological Centre)
FM	Fries Museum (Museum of Friesland)
GIA	Groningen Institute for Archaeology
MRE	Main Research Excavation
NUMIS	Numismatisch Informatie Systeem (Dutch numismatic finds database)
ROB	Rijksdienst voor Bodemonderzoek (The former agency of cultural heritage of the Netherlands)
RMO	Rijksmuseum van Oudheden (National Museum of Antiquities in Leiden)
SF	Sherd Family
SP	Site Period
UNIMUS	Universiteitsmuseenes Samlingsportaler (The University museums' collections portals)
UiS	University of Stavanger
UiT	University of Tromsø

Chapter 1 Introduction and problem statement

From the 8th to the end of the 10th-century people from Scandinavia travelled long distances to countless places in Europe, the Middle East and Asia. In Europe this period is usually referred to as the Early Middle Ages, however, in Scandinavia, it is known as the Viking Age (Batey et al. 1996; Loveluck 2013:3-8; Roesdahl 1987; Williams et al. 2014). The fact that Scandinavians travelled the world has been a focal point of both early and modern Viking Age research, especially regarding those who went to Great-Britain and Iceland (Bakka 1971; Bjørn and Shetelig 1940; Price and Brink 2008; Short 2010; Williams et al. 2014). Significantly less research has been carried out when it comes to Scandinavians who travelled to former Frisia, a coastal region along the south-eastern corner of the North Sea (see Figure 1 for an overview map). It is now part of the Netherlands, and some smaller parts of Germany (Tuuk 2015; Willemsen 2004:65-82). The same goes for people from Frisia who travelled to Scandinavia. Less research has been conducted in this field, despite the fact that both the archaeological records and contemporary literary sources indicate extensive contact (Kramer and Taayke 1996; Walther 2004; Wamers 2011).

For this study, whenever I mention Frisia, I refer to the area which is now part of the Netherlands. By mentioning Scandinavia, I write about Norway, Denmark and Sweden. I intend to examine the archaeological record from Frisia and Scandinavia, with emphasis on what the material can reveal about contact and relations between people from those areas. In former Frisia, one of the largest and most important towns at the time was Dorestad (see Figure 1). Connectivity and exchange with settlements and marketplaces in Scandinavia have been of interest, especially for the last past decades. However, until recently, most studies only discussed contact with towns like Birka in Sweden and Hedeby in Northern Germany (Ambrosiani 1999:239-241; Es 1990:168-169; Hilberg 2008; Lebecq 1999:233-235; Odelberg and Ambrosiani 1974). Most of the relevant material came from these sites, due to extensive excavations and related publications. The connection with the town of Kaupang by the outlet of the Oslofjord has been less researched and discussed (see Figure 1). The last couple of decades this has changed significantly, with several publications and studies including Kaupang as well (Aannestad 2015; IJssennagger 2013b, 2017; Skre et al. 2008). I will use and combine relevant research from the two areas, and thereby take the discussion even further. I will investigate the material record from Dorestad and Kaupang in detail, and draw in other material from Frisia and Scandinavia where relevant. Examples are the Scandinavian hoards found in the Northern Netherlands or material of Frisian origin found in Birka and Hedeby.



Figure 1 Overview map of Northern and Western Europe, showing the exact locations of Dorestad and Kaupang. Illustrator: Elise Naumann (Gaut 2011:171, Figure 9.1)

1.1 Problem statement

My main goal is to examine the types and extent of Frisian – Scandinavian contact and exchange through combining the research fields regarding these areas. To give a thorough answer, the following questions will be discussed:

- *To what an extent did Frisians and Scandinavians interact from the 8th to the end of the 10th century?*
- *What types of contact and exchange can be witnessed in the archaeological record from the period in question?*

1.2 Outline of the thesis

In total, this thesis consists of seven chapters. The current chapter continues with defining central terms related to the topic. It is followed by chapter 2 which presents the research background, where both Dutch and Scandinavian research and literature will be included. The chosen material will be presented in chapter 3, which consists of material from Frisia and Scandinavia, although most of the material comes from Dorestad and Kaupang. Thereafter, in chapter 4 the theoretical framework will be accounted for, based on highlighting object biography and gift exchange (Bazelmans 1998; Gosden and Marshall 1999; Gregory 1982; Joy 2009). This forms the base for the methodological framework which is outlined in chapter 5. The in-depth presentation and analyses of the archaeological record follows in chapter 6. Through the analyses of the individual objects, the first research question regarding the extent of contact will be discussed. Then, the second question regarding the different types of contact and exchange is analysed and discussed in chapter 7. At last, the final remarks and conclusions are drawn in chapter 8.

1.3 Terminology: Frisian, Scandinavian and Viking

Throughout this thesis, I will use the terms ‘Frisian’ and ‘Scandinavian’ referring to both the archaeological material and people from these areas. There are numerous opinions on the definitions, meanings and connotations related to these terms (Boeles 1951; Byvanck 1941:44-45; Hines and IJssennagger 2017a, 2017). In the following paragraphs, I will explain and define how and why these terms are used in this study. I will also elaborate on the fact that ‘Viking’ is deliberately left out.

Frisians

From the *Lex Frisionum*, the lawbook of the Frisians that was composed under the rule of Charlemagne around AD 800, we learn that the region of the Frisians occupied the entire coastal area from Belgium up to Denmark from the 6th until the 9th century (Boeles 1951:469-78; Hines and IJssennagger 2017a:3; Nicolay 2003:56). Despite the fact that Frisia became part of the Frankish empire in 751, it is not possible, neither from a historical nor an archaeological point of view, to regard this as one great empire where everyone shared the same religion and culture (Boeles 1951:382; Hines and IJssennagger 2017a:1; Holwerda 1925:264-265). Moreover, it would be wrong to look upon the whole region of Frisia as one kingdom, because it consisted out of smaller regions and societies with their own beliefs, cultures and practices (Nicolay 2003:74). Therefore, it is much more likely that each region or society had their own political centre with a king or chieftain as a leader. However, in contemporary research, it is regarded as a separate area with a quite distinctive and characteristic material record (Boeles 1951:177-79; Hines and IJssennagger 2017a:3-4; Hodges 2012:105-106; Holwerda 1925:142; IJssennagger 2013a, 2013b; Knol 2010; Kramer and Taayke 1996:9-23; Nicolay 2003:74).

During the 7th and 8th century Frisia belonged to Frisian, Frankish and even Scandinavian rulers (Hines and IJssennagger 2017a:1-4; IJssennagger 2013b:39-42). This complicates the matter of what was regarded as Frisia or Frisian. Even though Frisians were strongly influenced by other cultures, they remained Frisian, which is witnessed in both the archaeological material and contemporary manuscripts from the time (Hines and IJssennagger 2017a:1-5; Holwerda 1925:148-149; Kramer and Taayke 1996:9-13; Lebecq 1992:7-14). In the following, I will use the general term Frisia as a definition for the area studied, and the term Frisians for the people who lived there. Whenever the term ‘Continental’ is used throughout this thesis, it refers to both Frisian and Frankish material styles, mostly regarding the pieces of jewellery.

Scandinavians opposed to Vikings

The topic about characterising one specific group or culture becomes even more complex when defining people from Scandinavia. There are several possibilities and examples at hand, like ‘Vikings’, ‘Norsemen’, ‘Danes’ or simply ‘Scandinavians’. Several, mainly Dutch historians and authors, quite often refer to Scandinavians who travelled to Frisia and other parts of the continent, as ‘Denen’ and ‘Deens’, which means ‘Danes’ and ‘Danish’ (Boeles

1951:387,392). The aspect that parts of Norway were under Danish rule during the 8th and 9th century gives a whole new dimension to terms like ‘Danes’ or ‘Danish’ because they, in theory, could refer to people from Southern Norway (Lund 1984:18, 1993; Myhre 2003:52). To problematise the matter even further it is more likely that the authors of those studies only intended to refer to people from Danish regions, and not Norway (Boeles 1951).

Within Dutch sources and research, there is a tendency that the term ‘Vikings’ sometimes is used, or rather misused, as quite a general term whenever referring to people from the North from the 8th until the 11th century. Unfortunately, the authors do not always specify why this term is used, and which definitions and meanings lay behind (Besteman 1997; Boeles 1951; Holwerda 1925). As a result, several misunderstandings and false interpretations could easily occur by using ‘Vikings’ as an ethnological designation for the people from the whole of Scandinavia and occasionally even beyond. Even in modern archaeology, the term is heavily used, although with a bit more care and nuance (Himstedt 2004; IJssennagger 2017; Tys 2015; Willemsen 2004; Willemsen et al. 2004). However, in the Netherlands, the term Viking carries a lot of negative connotations and meanings since it is often related to aggressive behaviour and plundering (Boeles 1951; Byvanck 1941; Holwerda 1929). In conclusion, I regard the term Scandinavians as a much more valid and precise term for defining people from Scandinavia, and I will use it as such in this thesis.

As I explained earlier, I use the term Scandinavians to define people from Scandinavia, and I will use it likewise whenever referring to material in Frisia related to Scandinavia. Some authors may use terms like ‘Viking Age material’ or ‘Viking related material’, but, throughout this thesis, I will regard it as Scandinavian. It can be quite difficult to analyse Scandinavian material found in Frisia and state its place of origin within Scandinavia. The reason behind is a shared material culture in Scandinavia, dating from the 7th to the end of the 10th century. The archaeological material shares the same type of characteristics, both in decoration styles and manufacturing techniques. Consequently, it can be challenging and sometimes even impossible to determine exactly where artefacts were made or relate them to one specific area like Viken. Thus, for this thesis, the material found in Frisia related to Scandinavia will be looked upon and analysed in general, and the same goes for material found in Scandinavia related to Frisia.

Chapter 2 Research Background

Since the 19th century, a significant amount of research has been carried out when it comes to Scandinavians travelling abroad (Bakka 1971; Bjørn and Shetelig 1940; Coupland 2003b). However, the research on former Frisia is quite scarce and studies about Scandinavians in Frisia have, in a way, stood in the shadow of those about Scandinavians in Great-Britain and Iceland. It is understandable that great interest has been directed towards this part of Europe. Events like the Viking attack at the monastery in Lindisfarne in 793 contributed a great deal to our understanding of Europe at the time and are of both historic and archaeological value. However, this does not imply that connections with the coastal areas on the main continent of Europe are of less interest. It has simply been less studied in comparison to other areas. Numerous scholars have recognised that people from both Frisia and Scandinavia travelled back and forth between, for example, towns like Dorestad and Kaupang (Gaut 2007, 2011; IJssennagger 2013b:47; Pedersen 2010; Skre 2011a; Wamers 2011).

In this chapter, the aim is to provide an overview of earlier research on Frisia and Scandinavia, with the focus on Dorestad and Kaupang. The research fields in these two areas, in particular, the publications of the excavations at Dorestad and Kaupang, differ when accessing the material discussions and the type of conclusions drawn. Therefore, these will be presented and considered separately. Lastly, my view on the two research fields will be accounted for, as it defines how I will go forward in the further elaboration of this thesis.

2.1. Research regarding Frisia

Dutch research from the early 1900s focuses on raids performed by Scandinavians, in which they are characterised as ‘barbaric and aggressive Vikings’ (Boeles 1951:387-93; Holwerda 1925:267, 1929:4-5). Archaeologists like Jan Hendrik Holwerda (1925:265-268; 1927:4-5) were interested in these ‘Vikings’ and their motivation for travelling to Frisia. Events involving people from Scandinavia were often dramatised, which was generally accepted by archaeologists and historians. These views originate partly from contemporary historical texts which were used as reliable sources of research on the Scandinavian occupation in the Netherlands. These historic texts often describe ‘raids performed by Vikings’, in both Dorestad and other parts of Frisia. Sometimes, these texts are even more valued by Dutch archaeologists than the archaeological record and the documentation available from the time (Boeles 1951:392; Holwerda 1925, 1929:16-17).

Changes in the research focus

Since the 1990's, this perspective in Dutch archaeology has changed considerably and several archaeologists and other researchers have taken part in the discussion (Es 1990; Ginkel and Verhart 2009:236-245; Hines and IJssennagger 2017b; IJssennagger 2013a, 2013b; Knol 2010; Lebecq 1992; Verwers 2010; Willemsen 2004). The archaeological record is taken more seriously by both archaeologists and historians. Excavations and studies indicate that raiding and ravaging were not the only things Scandinavians did in Frisia. For example, the archaeological material can be related to other pursuits people from Scandinavia might have had, like trading contacts or settling down (IJssennagger 2013a:75; Willemsen 2004:70).

Until recently, the archaeological record of the presence of Scandinavians in the northern Netherlands was almost non-existing, and therefore unrecognised. Egge Knol (2010:55) pinpoints that this changed with the discovery of two silver hoards attributed to the Scandinavians. This discovery placed all earlier finds of material related to Scandinavians in the Netherlands into a new perspective, which resulted in new indications and conclusions. These hoards will be presented in chapter 3, analysed in chapter 6 and discussed in more detail in chapter 7.

Dorestad: discovered and re-discovered



Figure 2 Location of Dorestad (Es et al. 2009:9, fig. 1).

The site of Dorestad is located at the rivers Nederrijn/Lek and Kromme Rijn¹, which are part of the Rhine Delta. The archaeological record indicates that people lived in this area as early as the third century BC and that it was continuously inhabited from the late-Roman period (van Es et al. 2015:357). For example, evidence from the first century AD indicates the establishment of a Roman settlement that is close to the location of the later Dorestad (Holwerda 1925:183). The appearance of such long-term occupation sites near these rivers is not coincidental since mobility and trading routes played an important role in society at the time (Kosian et al. 2014:99). In the 7th and 8th century, Dorestad grew into one of the largest trade centres in early-medieval north-western Europe. *Dorestadt* or *Dorestat* have often been

¹ Rivers in the Lower Rhine Delta in the Netherlands. They do not have English terms, but Nederrijn/Lek means 'Nether Rhine' in English and the Kromme Rijn means 'Crooked Rhine'. The maps in figures 2 and 3 may give an idea of how Dorestad is located between these rivers.

mentioned in contemporary sources, and therefore the existence of the town has always been known (Kosian et al. 2014:100). One of those texts is the report *Cosmographia Ravennatis*, written by an anonymous cleric in Ravenna around AD 700. This person describes a place ‘between the Franks, the Saxons and the Normans, in the area of the Frisians’, known as ‘Derostates’ or ‘Dorestatus’ (*Cosmographia Ravennatis* I-10, 27). Throughout the remainder of this study, I will use the modern name Dorestad to define this settlement at the border between Frisia and Francia.

Around 850, the occupation of the town slowly started to decrease and the trade-centre it once was had disappeared. People remained living in the area next to the river, though on a much smaller scale. At the beginning of the 14th century, a new town called Wijk bij Duurstede emerged at the riverbank, which means ‘the vicus at Dorestad’ (van Es et al. 2015:359). This town with its historic centre still exists today and lies close to the former site of Dorestad. The exact location of Dorestad, however, was not re-discovered until the early 1840s. Back then, there was a high unemployment rate in the Netherlands, especially in the western parts. Therefore, people from Wijk bij Duurstede started to dig up great quantities of bones on the fields right outside of town, which they then sold to glue and compost factories (Ginkel and Verhart 2009:232; Holwerda 1929:24; Willemsen 2009b:7-9).

These bones apparently came from the former site of Dorestad, but due to lack of knowledge and appropriate skills, nothing was done to prevent the destructive digs. Numerous objects emerged, which caught the interest of archaeologist Leonhardt Johannes Friedrich Janssen (Willemsen 2009b). He performed archaeological excavations alongside the bone digs, and the finds from both ended up in museums and private collections in the Netherlands. Consequently, the site was left without proper documentation about the context and circumstances in which the material was found (Holwerda 1929:24). Along with the bone digs, several layers of archaeological material were removed without further action and thus were lost (Willemsen 2004:71).

Excavations at Dorestad

Developments in infrastructure and building projects in the 1950s and -60s contributed to the modernisation of archaeology in the Netherlands. Many more excavations were carried out in a relatively short period of time, which contributed to more advanced excavation methods. Archaeologists were taken more seriously by the Dutch government and politicians and they

received the permission they acquired to go ahead with some extensive excavation campaigns. This was also the case with the modern excavations performed at Dorestad. In the early 1960's it was decided by the town council of Wijk bij Duurstede that the site of Dorestad should be used for developing houses and farmland. However, the archaeological agency Rijksdienst voor Oudheidkundig Bodemonderzoek, also known as ROB², would only give their permission if an extensive study of the area was carried out first. Therefore, in June 1967 the ROB decided to go through with an extensive excavation. Under the direction of Prof. Dr Wim Albertus van Es it was decided to excavate what could still be rescued (van Es and Verwers 1980:7-9; Verwers 2010:65-66; Willemsen 2004:71).

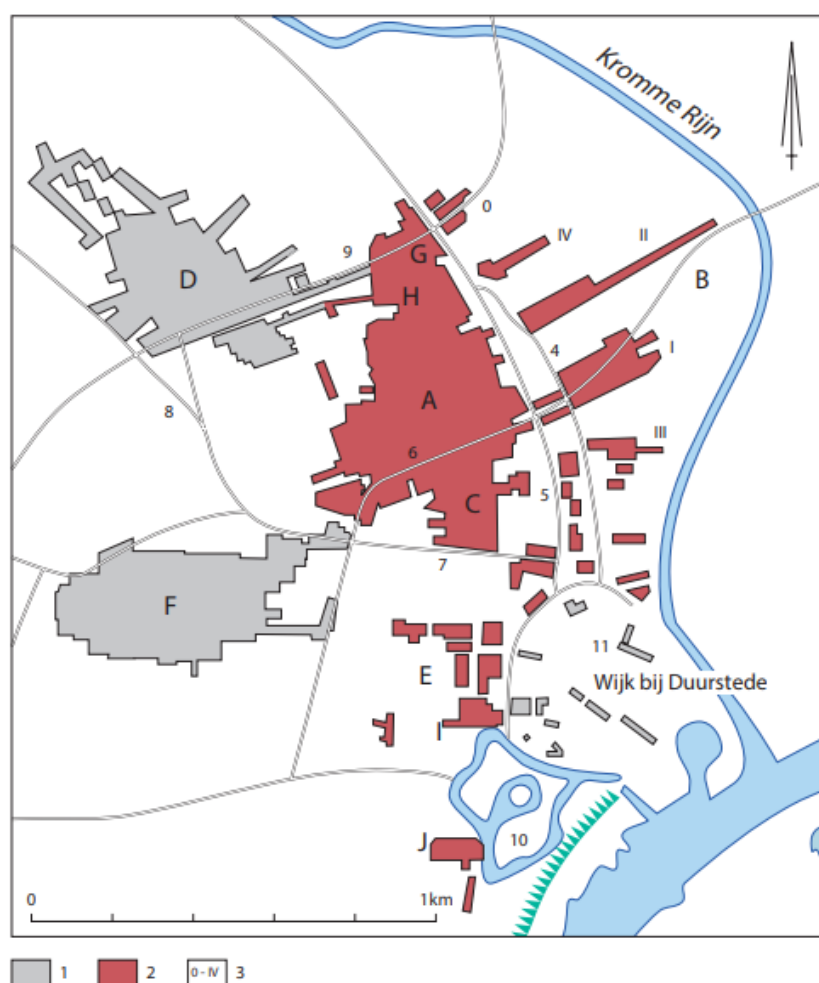


Figure 3 Site of Dorestad, Wijk bij Duurstede, excavated areas. (Es et al. 2015:3, fig. 1 4).

Legend

Excavated areas:

- 1 excavated areas of cemeteries De Geer (D) and De Horden (F)
- 2 excavated areas of Dorestad
- 3 excavated areas of Hoogstraat 0, I-IV

Streets:

- 4 Hoogstraat
- 5 Zandweg
- 6 Frankenweg
- 7 Steenstraat
- 8 Trekweg
- 9 Romeinenbaan

Districts

- A De Heul
- B Noorderwaard
- C Frankenhof
- D De Geer
- E Engk
- F De Horden
- G Voorwijk
- H Vogelenbuurt
- I Willigenburg
- J Wildkamp

² The ROB (State Service for Archaeological Investigations) was a former Dutch heritage agency who protected and managed the National Heritage sites in the Netherlands from 1946 to 2006. Nowadays, the Rijksdienst voor het Cultureel Erfgoed, the Cultural Heritage Agency of the Netherlands, perform the same work and procedures as the ROB. They function as a department under the Dutch ministry of Education, Culture and Science.

The first part of the excavation started in 1970 at the Hoogstraat. In total, there were five excavation sites at the Hoogstraat which were numbered from O till IV (see Figure 3). Number O functioned as a trial excavation before the process continued with the other sites. For the first part of the excavation, the focus was on the excavation site Hoogstraat I, which uncovered the harbour of Dorestad. The adjoining publication *Excavations at Dorestad 1: The Harbour: Hoogstraat I* was published in 1980. Only one of the excavation sites is presented in this volume and, therefore, the views and interpretations are based on a part of the available material (van Es and Verwers 1980).

Archaeologists discovered that the site of Dorestad turned out to be much larger than initially assumed. In the north, the settlement area may not have stretched very far. To the south, on the other hand, the extension was considerable (van Es and Verwers 1980:16). As seen in Figures 2 and 3, Dorestad was surrounded by several rivers. The situation dominating the southern half of the occupation area must have been rather different from that of the northern part. According to Wim van Es Willem and Verwers (1980:16), the conclusions drawn from the Hoogstraat I evidence concerning the use of the river-bank area are not necessarily applicable to the southern part of the settlement site. There is reason to believe that the harbour constructions found at the Hoogstraat I excavations reflect a specific adaptation to the particular behaviour of the Rhine in this area (van Es and Verwers 1980:16).

From 1973 up to 1975 the other excavation sites at Hoogstraat were researched, and the findings from those excavations are studied and discussed in *Excavations at Dorestad 3: Hoogstraat O, II-I, V* published in 2009, and *Excavations at Dorestad 4: The Settlement on the River Bank Area*, published in 2015 (van Es et al. 2009; van Es et al. 2015). The excavation initially took 11 years to complete and was the largest campaign, called the Kromme Rijn project, in the Netherlands (Willemsen 2004:71). It covered large sections of the river bank along the river, because of significant archaeological interest. The ROB was continuously active around Wijk bij Duurstede until the early 1990s (van Es et al. 2015:1-2).

2.2. Research regarding Scandinavia

In the following paragraphs, the research field in Scandinavia that is of interest for this study will be looked upon. From the early 1900s, Scandinavian research focuses mostly on visual and spectacular aspects of archaeology, like the famous ship burials and grave mounds in southern Scandinavia. These features are often visible in the landscape, which both back then

and now raised a lot of interest. Less focus was on the social structures in society and the evidence of day-to-day living in settlements and towns. Within cross-cultural contacts and trade, the emphasis was mostly on encounters with the British Isles and Ireland and the expansion to Iceland (Bjørn and Shetelig 1940). This view on archaeology has changed considerably the last couple of decades, especially on research regarding expansion and contact with other cultures (Aannestad 2015; Eriksen et al. 2015; Price and Brink 2008). More emphasis is now put on what settlement material might indicate and how that relates to studies about social practice. For example, the available archaeological record from both Birka and Hedeby reflect that there was significant contact with Frisia and Francia (Willemsen 2009b:11).

Archaeologist Hjalmar Stolpe carried out the first excavations at various places at the site of Birka in the 1870s (Ambrosiani 2008:96; Odelberg and Ambrosiani 1974:4). Due to the extensive amount of material of Frisian origin he made the connection with Frisia and Dorestad (Willemsen 2009b:11). In 1990-1995 the Black Earth excavations uncovered part of the shoreline of the mid-eight-century, which yielded rich settlement finds. Amongst those, were products of craft production and trade goods of Frisian origin (Ambrosiani 2008). Another site of interest is Hedeby, also known as Haithabu. The area is of circa 27 hectares, with well-preserved remains of a huge settlement identified by Sophus Müller in 1887 (Hilberg 2008:101). Afterwards, numerous excavations followed, and the findings from the excavations from 1963 to 1969 form the basis of our knowledge of Hedeby and its connections to other areas in Scandinavia and Northern Europe (Hilberg 2008:103). As seen in Figure 1, Hedeby lies quite close to the Frisian lands, as well as Dorestad. Accessible from both the west and the east, several archaeologists and researchers have linked its key position to the trading systems of the North Sea and the Baltic (Hilberg 2008:101). There has been a considerable amount of research on contact and exchange between Frisia and the Scandinavian areas, however, most emphasis has been on connectivity with towns like those mentioned above. Connections with the urban settlement of Kaupang are known, although, until recently, they have not been investigated as much.

Early research on Kaupang

Situated on the Viksfjord at the southern end of Vestfold, Kaupang had an excellent position for contact with other cultures (Blindheim 1953:65; Skre 2007:17-18) (Figure 4). It is placed at the coast where the land lies open to the sea, which puts the site in an excellent position for

trade and exchange. Therefore, the town became important and influential during the Viking Age. Due to the visual grave-mounds surrounding Kaupang, it was known that the area had quite a lot of cemeteries and grave mounds. This made the area pretty interesting for archaeologists like Nicolay Nicolaysen. The first formal excavation in Kaupang was carried out by this Norwegian archaeologist in 1867 (Skre 2007:35-36). He excavated many barrows at the cemeteries Nordre and Søndre Kaupang. However, the excavation and documentation methods used at the time were quite primitive and it would take long before these were further developed (Blindheim and Tollnes 1972:18-20). Therefore, it is likely that some objects within the archaeological material went missing (Pilø and Skre 2011:17-18).



Figure 4 The location of Kaupang, with the cemeteries (red outline) and the settlement area (green outline) (Skre 2007:15, Figure 1.2).

It was not before Charlotte Blindheim's excavations of the settlement remains and burials at Kaupang from 1950-1974, that there was a new surge in the Kaupang research. She revealed the remains of a trading place, as well as retrieving numerous archaeological finds which provided a basis for dating the site and analysing the craft, trade and connections evident (Blindheim 1969:24-32; Blindheim et al. 1999:153-64; Pilø and Skre 2011:18). Blindheim's excavations and results had consequences for the perception of the Early Viking Age. For the

first time, more emphasis was placed upon the significance of trade in relation to contact with other cultures and Viking Age expeditions (Blindheim 1969). This whilst Norwegian historians previously explained these through population growth and related political and social circumstances (Skre 2007:42). Her problem statement focused on confirming or denying whether the port at Skiringssal mentioned in Ohthere's story had been located at the farms of Kaupang (Blindheim and Heyerdahl-Larsen 1995b:10). The connections between burial practice, form of the graves and the presence of grave goods were studied, and the results provided grounds to believe that they, in fact, had found evidence of trade from the settlement area (Blindheim 1969).

The 1998-2003 excavation campaign

A new campaign was carried out in the years 1998-2003 (Skre 2007:14). The principal objective of the excavations was to place the site in relation to the various types of sites with evidence of craft production and trade in the early Viking Period. The settlement traces indicated that Kaupang was not just one of the many seasonal market sites at the time, but actually one of the very few towns established in the Viking Age (Skre 2007:47). The inner area of the town is divided into plot-divisions and permanent buildings, whilst the outer zone is lacking such features and fewer finds of artefacts and objects (Skre 2007:17-18). Therefore, Dagfinn Skre (2007b:17), who was the project leader for this campaign, believes this outer zone may have been used by visiting craftsmen and others in need of temporary occupation. The general research questions were aimed at defining Kaupang as a Viking-period town and a central place covering its role and significance back in the time, as well as how the material record could be studied in the areas of trade, craft production and the historical/cultural context (Skre 2007:51).

These excavations contributed significantly to the archaeological record of Kaupang, as well as the identification of the site as a Viking Age town (Skre 2011a). The material record grew significantly, which led to many new results and interpretations of the excavated material and structures. Several authors contributed to the excavations and publications, as they analysed the material and wrote chapters on their area of expertise. These analyses and its interpretations will be used in the material presented and analysed for this study because they reflect upon parts of the material record that are of interest. For example, Egon Wamers presented and discussed the insular metalwork, where he amongst other things wrote about artefacts of Frisian origin and the presence of continental influences in Kaupang (Wamers

2011:65-97). Others share this view, even though they focus on different parts of the material. Bjarne Gaut (2011:169-279) for instance, focuses on how finds of glass can contribute to interpreted and discuss the production of glass at Kaupang and its import. Another important material category is that of pottery, which is presented by Lars Pilø (2011:281-309). For this study, ceramics originating from the Rhineland found in Kaupang are an important part of the material.

2.3 Combining the two research fields

In this chapter, I have presented the research fields regarding Frisia and Scandinavia, where several studies and publications have been considered. These do not share a great deal of overlap, however, this has started to develop in more recent years. For this thesis, I will use several of those contributing works from the last decade. For example, Nelleke IJssennagger (2017) wrote her thesis, which she finished in the autumn of 2017, about the influence Scandinavians had on Frisia. She reflects upon how Frisia functioned during the Viking Age and discusses how the travels of Scandinavians affected the Frisian people and society. She states there was a structural relationship between Frisia and the Viking World, and not just an incidental one like several other experts imply in their studies (IJssennagger 2017). Another recent study about the connection between Scandinavia and Frisia has been carried out by Hanne Lovise Aannestad (2015). Important contributions which reflect a more combined research field, are the article collections in the books edited by Marianne Hem Eriksen et al. (2015) and John Hines and IJssennagger (2017).

Combining the fields of research through focusing on both similarities and differences, one gets a specific and precise overview of earlier performed research and studies regarding contact and exchange between Frisia and Scandinavia. Moreover, this way it is also possible to detect any inconsistencies and themes that are not reflected upon and researched that much. For example, what I want to examine further is the direct contact and trade relations between Dorestad and Kaupang. It is acknowledged that they existed it has just not been considered and studied from two sides. Of importance here is the possible impact and influence Dorestad's downfall had in other towns and marketplaces in Europe, like Kaupang. Amongst Dutch researchers, there are several theories and opinions as to why Dorestad underwent a decline (Holwerda 1929; IJssennagger 2013a:84; Pilø 2011:302-304; Willemsen 2009a:177-182). These will be further discussed in chapter 7.

Norwegian research on Kaupang focuses on both in- and outgoing travellers and the type of material culture that is related to these processes (Gaut 2011; Hougen 1993:23-28, 38-40, 55-61; Pedersen 2017; Skre 2009, 2011b; Wamers 2011). Dutch research on Frisia and Dorestad on the other hand solely pays attention to what happened when Scandinavians travelled over there. Where those people came from, and to which extent Frisians themselves took part in long-distance travel within northern Europe is overlooked or excluded (Besteman 1997). Backed up by the theoretical framework and methodology which is accounted for in the next chapter, this subject will be further discussed through the archaeological record from both Frisia and Scandinavia.

Chapter 3 Material from the Netherlands and Scandinavia

I am investigating archaeological traces that can tell us something about the forms of contact that existed between people from Frisia and Scandinavia during the 8th, 9th and 10th century. Special emphasis will be placed on the archaeological record from the sites of Dorestad in the Netherlands and Kaupang in Norway, which have produced relevant artefact material related to contact and exchange. The archaeological material relevant is quite extensive, and therefore, a selection is made for further in-depth analyses. I have chosen to not include contemporary or slightly later written sources because I deem the archaeological traces of more significance for renewing the research in this field. The most relevant written sources have played a major role in earlier research, however, it is outside my competence to identify their exact meaning, especially regarding contact with other cultures and societies. What I will include, at least to some extent, is archaeological material from other sites within Scandinavia and the Netherlands. This material consists of hoards, single finds and material from other towns in Northern Europe, like Hedeby and Birka. In this chapter, I will encircle the relevant material in order to establish a firm foundation for the analyses of the Frisian-Scandinavian contact in chapter 6.

3.1. Material from the Netherlands

The amount of archaeological material found in the Netherlands that is interpreted as being of Scandinavian origin and dated from the 8th to the end of the 10th century is not very extensive (Besteman 1999:253; Willemsen 2004). Nevertheless, the number of objects originating from Scandinavia is still larger than from other countries on the mainland of Northern Europe (Willemsen 2004:80-82). The relevant archaeological record from the Netherlands is divided into three different categories, material identified as Scandinavian, material which for other reasons is related to Scandinavians and the material from Dorestad as a specific category.

Material found in former Frisia

A great deal of artefacts related to Scandinavians for different reasons have been found in areas which were part of Frisia. This material is quite extensive, and to highlight important aspects of contact between Frisia and Scandinavia, a selection is made. Apart from two single finds found in the province of Friesland and the Westerklijf hoards, all of the selected material comes from the site of Dorestad.

The Westerklijf hoards

Some of the most famous finds that are directly related to people from Scandinavia are the hoards found on the isle of Wieringen in the province Noord-Holland (Figure 5). The objects in the hoards show clear similarities with artefacts known from Scandinavia, they are therefore attributed to Scandinavians (Besteman 1997, 1999, 2009; Hårdh 2008:98; Knol 2010:55). The first one was found in 1996, and the second was found nearby in two parts in 1999 and 2001. The hoards are dated to the 9th century, amongst the objects were jewellery, silver bars and a broad range of coins (Moesgaard 2010:132).



Figure 5 West Frisia in the 9th century. Illustration and legend: B. Brouwenstijn and Jan Besteman, Amsterdam Archaeological Centre (AAC) (Besteman 1999:256; 2009:7).

Legend:

- 1 Habitation area in the coastal region.
- 2 Pleistocene Hinterland.
- 3 Low-lying Holocene areas
- 4 Present coastline.
- 5 Boundary of territory under Danish influence.
- 6 Boundary of largest possible extension of Danish influence sphere.

Material from Dorestad

The material record from Dorestad that can be related to contact with Scandinavians is quite extensive in comparison to other sites in former Frisia (van Es and Verwers 1980). Alongside the two categories of material described above, there is a third category which makes the archaeological record from Dorestad quite unique. It includes specific material groups of

Frisian origin like pottery and glasswork, which can be directly linked to exchange with Scandinavians. The most evident reason for this contact is the fact that these material groups can be found as imports in Scandinavian towns, like Hedeby, Birka and Kaupang. The largest material group of interest in Dorestad is that of pottery sherds, alongside a smaller, but nevertheless still impressive amount of glasswork, coins, and metalwork (Myhre 2003:9; van Es et al. 2015).

Several authors agree that Dorestad was by far one of the largest trading cities in the northern part of Frisia (Coupland 2003a; Es 1990; Myhre 2003:52; Verwers 2010; Willemsen 2009b). From the 7th up to the midst of the 9th century, the town functioned as a connecting point of exchange and trade between the Frankish realm and the lands of the North. It had its own coin minting production, as well as the establishment of several crafts. Located between rivers and being close to the sea, the town had an excellent position with access to numerous passages of several important trading routes. Trade goods, alongside people and livestock, were transported on those rivers with Dorestad functioning as a connective trade centre between southern and northern Europe (IJsennagter 2013b). As will be discussed in chapter 7, the trade routes led to cities and marketplaces in other parts of Northern Europe, like those in Scandinavia (Verwers 2010:61).

Pottery

This material category is presented here because some of the pottery wares found at Dorestad are relevant for the analyses in chapter 6 to draw similarities and links with the same type of wares found in Kaupang. From a quantitative point of view, pottery sherds are by far the most important elements of the archaeological material at the site of Dorestad. This material group is also useful for dating purposes and the chronological structure of the settlement (van Es et al. 2009:293). The total amount of the medieval pottery found is estimated at 44.000 sherds, approximately 21.500 sherds came from the Hoogstraat I excavation. The different types of pottery are dated from the 7th to the 10th century and are mostly considered to be of Frisian and Frankish origin. The Frankish pottery, also known as Rhinish pottery, was manufactured in one production area in the Vorgebirge region which lies close to Köln in today's Germany (van Es and Verwers 1980:138; van Es et al. 2009; Pilø 2011:283-284). Several types of this pottery were presumably traded from Dorestad to other towns in Northern Europe, alongside handmade pottery originating from Frisia (van Es and Verwers 1980; Keller 2004).

Metalwork and jewellery

Due to poor preservation circumstances in the soil, not a great deal of metal objects of good condition were found in Dorestad. This could very well be one of the reasons why the excavators did not find a lot of swords and other iron objects either (Ypey 1980:190). Metal artefacts found at the ground-water level are, however, much more likely to be in good condition. Therefore, some objects of good condition have been found, and they are relevant for analyses within this study (Ypey 1980:191). Items which will be analysed further are one golden bracelet identified as Scandinavian and five artefacts which for other reasons are related to Scandinavians.

Coins

Regarding the aim and purpose of this study, another important material group from Dorestad are coins. After all, Dorestad procured the right to have its own minting production as early as the 7th century (Kosian et al. 2014:100), which contributed to the development of Dorestad as a significant trade-centre and emporium. As early as the 630s, gold coins were being struck at Dorestad, bearing the name Madelinus (Clarke and Ambrosiani 1995:19). These have been found in France, Northern-Italy, Scandinavia and even as far as Russia (Kosian et al. 2014:100). Up to 600 coins can be associated with this moneyer in Dorestad, but there is reason to believe that not all of these were made by the same craftsman. These types of coins were produced until AD 690, although the later pieces are clearly imitations (Pol 1990).

3.2 Material from Scandinavia

The relevant material from Scandinavia is of a somewhat different character than the presented material from the Netherlands. Firstly, most of the material is of Frisian origin or can in other ways be related to contact with Frisia. A substantial amount of objects of Frisian origin have come to the surface in Scandinavia, especially in the Scandinavian towns of Hedeby in Germany, Ribe in Denmark and Birka in Sweden. The material from the Scandinavian town Kaupang will be emphasised on in this thesis. Furthermore, I present some main aspects of the Frisian material from Hedeby and Birka because it is of significance for the discussions in chapter 7 around trading networks in Europe and how to place Dorestad and Kaupang in a different context and perspective. In addition, I will encircle some important material categories at Kaupang.

Hedeby and Birka: material of a greater network

At the site of Birka, a great amount of pottery and glasswork of Frisian and Frankish origin came to the surface (Ambrosiani 2008). Even though not everything is produced within the Frisian borders, it can still be related to trade and exchange with Dorestad and other marketplaces in Frisia. Especially pottery of the Tatinger ware is of significance since this special kind of pottery was found in relatively high quantities at the site and was therefore named 'Birkakanne' (Odelberg and Ambrosiani 1974).

Hedeby is of special interest because it had its own minting production of imitated Carolingian coins (Kilger 2008:254-255). Several authors (Boeles 1951:380; Coupland 2009:102; Pol 2009:91-94; Roes 1965:1-2; Williams 2009) believe that Scandinavians were imitating Carolingian coinage, both in Frisia and Scandinavia. Apparently, Carolingian coins were highly valued as a respectable form of coinage in the 8th and 9th century and were distributed all over Scandinavia (Boeles 1951:380). The oldest Scandinavian coins must be inspired on the Carolingian ones, like the Carolus-Dorestad deniers from Hedeby.

Material from Kaupang

As explained before, the site of Kaupang is of main interest within this study. An extensive amount of the archaeological finds appears to be of foreign origin and thereby clearly indicate contact with other towns and areas in Northern Europe, like Dorestad (Blackburn 2008:59-60; Coupland 2010; Gaut 2007, 2011; IJssennagger 2013b:47-48; Kilger 2008:264; Pilø 2011; Skre 2010; Wamers 2011). The material consists of coins, sherds of Frankish glassware and pottery as well as more personalised items like dress-accessories and jewellery.

Pottery

A rather large and important material group in Kaupang is pottery, due to the extensive amount that is characterised as Frisian or Frankish wares (Pilø 2011:281-282). Around 25.6% of the total pottery assemblage is identified as Continental wheel-thrown wares, which is considerably higher than in other Scandinavian towns (Pilø 2011:301). Of special interest are the Frisian handmade wares, since these are quite rare at Scandinavian sites (Pilø 2011:296). The types of ware of interest for this study are dated to the 7th, 8th and 9th century. Because of the extensiveness of this material group I will select the pottery wares that are relevant for analyses and discussion throughout this study. The most important aspect that is crucial for this selection is whether the pottery wares are found in both Dorestad and Kaupang. If that is

the case, they can be included in the analyses and discussions about connectivity and cross-cultural contacts between the towns. I will return to specific pottery wares within the Rhinish and Frisian pottery assemblages from Kaupang in chapter 6, where they will be analysed and related to relevant material from Dorestad.

Glassware

Findings of glass recovered during the excavations clearly show that it is of foreign origin and must, therefore, have been acquired through trade and exchange with other marketplaces. It is especially of interest for this study because glass was also an important craft and trade product at Dorestad (Dijkstra and Williams 2009; van Es and Verwers 1980; Preiss 2009). There it was found in significant quantities as raw material, alongside some whole glass vessels and a great number of sherds. Some glass finds from Kaupang can be related to the glass at Dorestad (Gaut 2011), which will be elaborated and discussed further in chapter 6 and 7.

Metalwork and jewellery

Items of Continental origin were found at both the settlement area and in graves at the cemeteries just out of town (Wamers 2011). These artefacts are identified to be of either Frankish or Frisian origin. These will be analysed in chapter 6 to account for how they reflect contact and discussed in chapter 7 to examine the types of contact.

Coins

One of the smallest but nevertheless significant material groups in Kaupang is West-European coins. Only three Carolingian coins were found in Kaupang, two during Blindheim's excavations and one during the MRE (Blackburn 2008:56). Another coin found at these recent excavations is a Merovingian golden imitation coin, also characterised as a 'Dorestad tremissis' and is believed to be made in Dorestad around 650 (Blackburn 2008:59; Kilger 2008:264).

3.3 The selections – an overview

As demonstrated above, the most relevant material for the study of Frisian-Scandinavian contact is pottery, glass, weapons, coins and a smaller amount of metal artefacts. A precise overview of all of the selected material can be found in table 1. Most of the material can be categorised into the following material groups: metalwork and jewellery, pottery, glasswork and coins. Aside from these, the Wieringen hoards found in the Netherlands are considered in

the analyses as well. Only parts of the pottery sherds and fragments of glasswork from Kaupang are analysed, which are those that can be connected to similar material from Dorestad (van Es and Verwers 1980; Gaut 2011:169-280; Pilø 2011:286-304). My approach will be simplified, as I do not have the opportunity to look at the material in person. Earlier publications, pictures and descriptions of specific artefacts are amongst the sources used. The in-depth analyses are based on analyses from relevant earlier publications, which are combined with other studies to examine them further in other perspectives.

Location	Material group	Specific type of material or objects
Westerklief, Noord-Holland, the Netherlands	The Westerklief hoards	Hoard I Hoard II
Isle of Texel, Friesland, The Netherlands	Metalwork and jewellery	Piece of hack-silver of Scandinavian arm-ring
Hallumerhoek, Friesland, The Netherlands	Metalwork and jewellery	Fragment of penannular brooch
Dorestad, The Netherlands	Metalwork and jewellery	Twisted golden bracelet The sword from Dorestad, imitation Two clothing pins, imitations Tortoise brooch, imitation
Isle of Senja, Norway	Metalwork and jewellery	Frisian neck-ring
Kaupang	Metalwork and jewellery	Continental jewellery and metal ornaments
Kaupang, Norway Compared with similar type of wares found in Dorestad.	Pottery wares	The Badorf ware The Mayen and Walberberg wares The Tatinger ware Carolingian painted pottery Two handmade wares: Eitopf and Kugeltopf
Kaupang, Norway Compared with similar material found in Dorestad	Glasswork	Sherds of glass from numerous vessels
Kaupang, Norway	Coins	1 Merovingian golden 'tremissis', produced in Dorestad 4 silver Frisian/Frankish coins

Table 1. The selected material which will be analysed in chapter 6.

Chapter 4 Theoretical framework

The central idea is that, as people and objects gather time, movement and change, they are constantly transformed, and these transformations of person and object are tied up with each other. (Gosden and Marshall 1999:169)

The above illustrates the central core of the thesis' theoretical framework, which is the relation between the economic, political and social value of material culture and social practice in form of exchange and contact. Through exchange, objects transform: they acquire and develop new meanings and values, often because they travel from person to person. The practice of gift-giving, long-distance trade and the maintenance of personal relationships are all forms of people interacting with each other.

Therefore, the theoretical framework of this study will rely on theories about what a society's system of exchange might have looked like, and how different societies interact with one another. The emphasis is on theories about mobility, gift exchange and object biography, alongside elements from network analysis. These provide us with different perspectives on the relations and interactions between human beings and objects. They are well equipped to discuss how people in the past could have perceived themselves in relation to the objects they surrounded themselves with. Moreover, I believe combining these theories is useful in discussing the ways in which the material record can reflect how and why people interacted with one another through exchanging objects.

I am inspired by social network analysis, which is used to explore structures of connectivity and patterns of relationships (Hodder and Mol 2016; Knappett 2013). Generally, like Hodder and Mol (2016:1067) describe, network analysis is used to analyse a wide range of phenomena, but in archaeology, the theory is mostly used as defined by Brughmans (2013:633). He explains that network analysis can be used for understanding how social relationships relate to the flow of resources between people and communities. For this study, the theory is of some importance, because it can place the towns of Kaupang and Dorestad in networks that included marketplaces and settlements within Frisia and Scandinavia. For example, these networks can be detected through objects' life histories, since they reflect people interacting with material substances and other people (Walker and Schiffer 2006:71).

4.1. System of exchange

Before one can say anything about the types of exchange between different societies, whether that is a gift exchange, trade or any other form of exchange, we must examine how these social practices can be placed within the economic and social system of a society. It is important to bear in mind that the exchange of both trade goods and gifts occur in almost all societies, regardless of time and space (Theuws 2004:125). Significant for this study are definitions and criteria for *emporia* that functioned as trading centres within Northern Europe, since both Dorestad and Kaupang could be regarded as such (Clarke and Ambrosiani 1995:18-19, 65-66; Willemsen 2014a). One definition of *emporia* identifies them as functioning social units of permanent human settlements towns where a significant amount of non-agricultural pursuits were carried out, like trade and craft production (Almgren 1975:18; Clarke and Ambrosiani 1995:3-4, 158). With the extensive archaeological record of Emporia in Northern Europe in mind, Richard Hodges (2012:97) has developed a formula to characterise *emporia* or towns where exchange and trade played a significant role as followed:

Those emporia where craftsmen were absent but traders were resident.

Those emporia where craftsmen were present and traders were hosted.

At first glance, it would seem like the towns of Kaupang and Dorestad would fall under the second definition. They both express a broad range of craft production, as well as merchants visited the towns for trading purposes. There is no mention of a characterisation of towns where both craftsmen and traders were resident, even though this could very well be the case within some towns or *emporia*.

Types of exchange

An aspect that can be difficult to establish is the kind of transaction or exchange artefacts were involved in (Theuws 2004:125). By simply looking at an object it is not possible to reveal why or how it was exchanged. However, we may always seek to assume or interpret these aspects out of an object's visual characteristics or the context in which it was found (Theuws 2004:125). There are different types of exchange artefacts can be involved in, and Jos Bazelmans (1998:73) distinguishes between two spheres of exchange. The first one consists of an exchange within purchase and sale, the other one is related to gift exchange through which objects gain value, image and meaning (Bazelmans 1998:73). In other words,

in order to understand a society's system of exchange, one cannot study a single aspect or phenomenon, but should rather consider all the aspects as a whole (Theuws 2004:125).

Frans Theuws (2004:125) reflects on the fact that objects transfer between spheres of exchange within an economic system. Each sphere of exchange is connected to norms and values related to that specific sphere of culture. Travelling between spheres automatically means a change of an objects' role and value, even if the object itself does not change (IJsennagger 2017:83). For example, an earthenware pot could first function as part of a gift exchange before its role and meaning changes to a tradeable object defined as an item for daily use (Theuws 2004:125). Wamers (1983:282, 1985), who has looked at Carolingian and insular imports in Scandinavia in the Viking Age, has established that about two-thirds of these insular artefacts have been reworked in some form and given a secondary use.

This shows that different kinds of exchange do not only exist alongside one another but rather interact with one another through the exchange of material culture. After all, rationality plays an important role in making decisions within the economic system of a society (Hodges 2012:138), like in what way an artefact is passed on or exchanged. For example, Blindheim (1982:9-10) talks about trade carried out at organised markets as a 'side-line' and trade carried out at permanent towns as 'means of livelihood'. She then combines the two and states that commerce and trade are so entangled in a society that both types must be regarded as having played an important role in urbanisation processes (Blindheim 1982:17). Alongside gift exchange, these different types of trade coexisted next to one another. Other types of exchange which are worth mentioning are redistribution and barter. It is most likely that these existed during the period in question, however, they are not that relevant for analysing and discussing the material selected in 3.3. The process of raiding, on the other hand, is of the utmost importance since it is a highly discussed and disputed form of exchange, as well as it is of significance for discussing the material in question.

4.2 Question of mobility

A major question related to the different types of exchange is the mobility of people in Frisia and Scandinavia, as well as how material culture travelled back and forth between the two areas. One must not forget that objects and artefacts did not travel from one place to another by themselves but were brought by people, presumably merchants or carriers. The spread of objects occurred, for example, via trading networks, in an act of raiding or through the

establishment and upkeep of personal relations as part of a gift exchange. Whenever travelling longer distances, it is likely that people travelled from town to town instead of undertaking the entire journey at once. For example, the distance between Dorestad and Kaupang is considerable, and it can be assumed that travellers stopped along the way.

Geographically speaking, Dorestad had quite an excellent position to function as a hub through which goods and mercantile from its hinterland could be further distributed within Europe (van Es 1990; van Es and Verwers 1980; Hougen 1993:32). During the early middle ages, these travels took place mostly by water, like rivers and smaller streams (Himstedt 2004:24, 29). As for the northern parts of Scandinavia, fjords and rivers stayed in place due to mountains and the otherwise high relief of the landscape. However, the rivers in former Frisia were not contained by dykes or waterworks like they are today. Therefore, they were quite dynamic and their courses changed from year to year (van Es et al. 2015:355). This, in addition to the sea one must cross, made travelling quite an undertaking (Himstedt 2004). Consequently, it must have been important that the artefacts and material taken overseas were of exchangeable value, either they were part of a gift exchange or trade.

4.3 Between gift exchange and trade

The earlier described spheres of exchange are of importance within gift exchange and trade since there can be distinguished between short-term and long-term exchange (Bazelmans 1998:64; Parry and Bloch 1989:24; Theuws 2004:124). Short-term exchange is mostly described as trade, where the different actors experience a short relationship through actions of purchase and sale. Long-term exchange, on the other hand, is often mentioned within gift exchange, since individuals are involved in long-based relationships with contact back and forth (Bazelmans 1998:64).

The purpose of gifts

One of the first and most important authors who studied this second type of exchange regarding gifts is Marcel Mauss. In his book *The Gift: The form and reason for exchange in archaic societies*, he elaborates on the meaning gifts bear with them, regardless of time and space and the kind of society they are exchanged within (Mauss 2002). Moreover, Mauss (2002:3) states that exchanges and contracts can take place in the form of presents which in theory are voluntarily, but in reality, they are given with the unspoken message that it is obligatory to respond with another gift. Thereby, such exchanges become acts of politeness,

as well as they are used to express one's wealth and power towards others (Bazelmans 1998:59-61; Mauss 2002:7; Theuws 2004).

Similar to Scandinavia, this was also happening within Frisia and other societies on the continent as well. Both trade and the exchange of gifts played an important role (Nicolay 2006, 2014; Theuws 2004:124-125). From historical sources on the continent one learns that there was a royal control of long-distance trade, but also the maintenance of relationships through the practice of gift-giving was highly valued within elite societies (IJssennagger 2013a; Nicolay 2015; Theuws 2003; Theuws 2004:123-125). Of course, it cannot be overlooked that these texts were written by monks and, therefore, we must be careful to not over-emphasise these one-sided accounts (Hodges 1982:54-55).

As described above, gift exchange has always played an important role in the establishment, maintenance and development of relationships between different people and societies (Gregory 1982:41-50; Mauss 2002:77-79, 92-96; Theuws 2003; Theuws 2004). However, not all foreign and imported artefacts can be explained through gift exchange, because other interpretations and theories may be just as valid and credible (Hodges 2012). An obvious view is the belief that rare objects and non-ferrous metalwork probably were part of a gift exchange, while the more common objects like pottery are related to trade (Hodges 1982:40). The objects used for day to day activities and more common goods could, therefore, be explained out of an entirely different angle. This is where I believe trade comes in.

From a system of gift exchange to commercial trade

One interpretation of exchange and distant trade during the Viking Age was established by processual archaeology in the 1980's. It is the idea that trade is conditioned out of political development, and distant trade is regarded as a key aspect in the development of chieftain societies to kingdoms (Hodges 1982:53-55; Sindbæk 2005:25). One example is presented by Lotte Hedeager (1994:58-59), as she argues kingship as a crucial condition for the establishment of marketplaces because the king was the only one who could secure trade from the potential threat of violence. Åsa Dahlin Hauken (1991:111) states that the trade of quite special and rare objects can be interpreted as a form of gift exchange between chieftains and kings, just like Hedeager points out. Richard Hodges (1982:39, 54-55) elaborates even further on the function of trade, as he emphasises that long-distance trade appears to be controlled by kings and their delegates.

The above can be a valid theory towards explaining gift exchange and trade, as well as the establishment of certain emporia or marketplaces. However, other theories and perspectives have emerged amongst archaeologists in the last couple of decades. For example, Sindbæk (2005:27) does not agree with the theory that an organised social practice like exchange or trade always requires an organised power like kingship. Besides, not every single town or marketplace was established because of such power (Sindbæk 2005). This could be applied to the establishment of marketplaces like Kaupang and Dorestad, and the connections between them. After all, we do not know for certain on which grounds they had contact. Political development and the existing form of power at these towns cannot be acknowledged as the only reason for long-distance trade, it probably was one out of many (Sindbæk 2005).

From the beginning of the 7th to the end of the 10th century, there is a significant transformation of the economic systems in Northern Europe (Hodges 1999, 2012; Jellema 1955; Lebecq 1992). From a system where the emphasis mostly is on the practice of gift-giving, a process of change begins where the economic and commercial reasons for trading goods rapidly become more important (Jellema 1955; Lebecq 1992). It is right to emphasise that objects and material used for trade, both in the Viking Age and modern times, must have had some sort of social or economic value to society. One might say that they have similarities in the way Gregory (1982:10-11) defines what he describes as '*commodities*' in his book. According to him, a commodity is a desirable object or material that can be used within trade where it has both an use- and an exchange-value (Gregory 1982:10). In a process of trade, the connection between the functional purpose of an object or material within society and the quantities in which it is desirable to exchange them are of importance (Gregory 1982:10-11). Trade over long distances is not specifically mentioned as a form of exchange, but I think it is plausible to use this theory of commodities for studies about long-distance trade as well.

The value and meaning of artefacts must have been of importance between the 8th and the 10th century since it would not be desirable to ship goods overseas that end up not being traded. It would take a lot of effort and time to trade over such great distances. Although he does not discuss the matter of long-distance trade out of an archaeological perspective, Gregory (1982:19) does mention that the exchange of commodities is a price-forming process, it is a system of purchase and sale. This is quite interesting once applied to the period in question

since definitions of ‘price’ and ‘purchase and sale’ can have endless meanings. However, just like Besteman (1999:253-266) states, the archaeological material does not always indicate contact through either trade or gift exchange. Another category to consider is that of *personal possessions*, things and objects that people take with them travelling, and which may be lost or given away on the journey (Skre 2009:138). This is where I believe theories about object biographies are relevant since they can reflect upon an objects’ lifespan and history.

4.4 Object biography

The theory of object biography emphasises on the fact that objects, just like people, have a lifespan consisting of different phases from birth to death (Burström 2014:66; Joy 2009:540-541). Through such an approach one can achieve a greater understanding of how objects gain value and meaning through different types of interaction with people (Gosden and Marshall 1999:170; Joy 2009:540-541). The object itself does not only represents something but also why and how it was manufactured in the first place. The value of things can change due to time and circumstances of use and treatment (Burström 2014:26; Gosden and Marshall 1999:170). In other words, objects gain value and meaning through the links and relations they have with the people who manufactured, owned and exchanged them.

An aspect that is of special significance for this study is the context in which a single object was found because this might indicate in which circumstances it was left behind when it ended up in the place where it was found. Thereby, the archaeological context in which an artefact was found can reflect something about its history and former social relations (Burström 2015). After all, like Mauss (2002:84) predicates in his work *The Gift*, ‘Things sold still have a soul. They are still followed around by their former owner, and they follow him also’. The stories that objects carry with them is of the highest importance in this field of research since it can reflect how exchange and contact functioned at the time, and even shed light on how society was structured. An obvious problem, amongst others pinpointed by Jody Joy (2009:543), is that archaeologists most often encounter objects at the moment they ended their social lives. To reconstruct the entire life history of an artefact can be difficult and complex because most of the time one cannot be exactly sure where it was manufactured and how and why it ended up in the place it was found. However, as will be discussed further in chapter 5 the methodology, through combining the theory of object biography with comparative analysis, one can detect more about a single objects lifespan.

Chapter 5 Methodology

As presented before, the goal of this study is, through combining the two research fields, to analyse in which ways and on what grounds Frisia and Scandinavia had contact with one another. Therefore, the archaeological record introduced in chapter 3 needs to be analysed in order to clarify how and why the material can represent contact and exchange. To accomplish this, I will combine the methodological part of the theory of object biography with the comparative analysis method as presented in the book *The Comparative Archaeology of Complex Societies* edited by Michael Smith (2012). Object biography has been presented as part of the theoretical framework in chapter 4, and in this chapter, its methodological part is accounted for. I will also explain how and why a combination of object biography and comparative analysis as a method will be used in the in-depth analysis in chapter 6.

5.1 Comparative analysis

The method of comparative analysis relies upon identifying regularities and unusual aspects in human behaviour through comparing objects and structures within an archaeological record (Smith and Peregrine 2012:4). Comparison is necessary in order to understand a material record and its variation over time and space. To examine these changes, one needs a broad range of examples (Smith and Peregrine 2012:4). These examples can be artefacts in one specific material group, but it is also possible to regard each single material group as an example within a comparative study. There are several approaches within the comparative method which, amongst other things, differ depending on what kind of material is analysed and how the study is carried out.

For example, Smith and Peregrine (2012:8) distinguish between systematic and intensive comparative methods. Systematic studies engage large quantities of cases or material and use statistical methods to process the data. Intensive comparative research, on the other hand, examines a smaller amount of material or cases, where they are analysed in depth with greater emphasis on some aspects (Smith and Peregrine 2012:8). Systematic studies are often considered as large-scale and formal, whereas intensive studies are regarded as small-scale and with more attention to every single case or object type. For this study, I am using the intensive comparative method, as it is useful for analysing a small range of objects within different material categories. Some material categories are considered as one ‘object’, like the assemblage of glasswork and the different types of pottery wares found in Kaupang. Specific artefacts in other categories are analysed in depth to examine unique aspects and

characteristics of each individual object, for example, some pieces of non-ferrous metalwork or specific coins.

Since this is a study about contact and exchange between Frisia and Scandinavia, I will compare the artefact assemblages from these areas with each other. For these comparisons, I will also use the method of comparative analysis. However, I believe it is insufficient to rely only on this method for analysing the presented archaeological records. Therefore, it will be combined with object biography.

5.2 Combining comparative analysis with object biography

When analysing the selected material, object biography will be used specifically as a method. The methodological part of this theory can be used as an object-biographical approach since it shares relevant aspects with what has been presented as the theoretical framework in chapter 4. As earlier explained, the biography of an object can tell something about its lifespan and foregoing history (Burström 2014, 2015; Gosden and Marshall 1999; Joy 2009). The methodological part of this theory, in the way Joy (2009:540) describes it, focuses on an objects entire lifespan, from birth to death. Within archaeology, it is a desirable object-biographical approach to extend one's notion of life to things and objects, even when it is used metaphorically (Burström 2014:68). Other central elements are whether the object was of a considerable age when deposited and if it was locally produced or of foreign origin (Joy 2009).

For example, Gosden and Marshall (1999:174) state that objects accumulate stronger meanings as they repeatedly move between people, whether the circulation of objects is due to exchange in form of trade or gift-giving. In other words, life histories function as frameworks for an object's past activities and thereby contribute to understanding how an archaeological record came to be. Therefore, the way in which objects were deposited or discarded of is of interest for these analyses. The context in which objects were found and possible traces on the artefacts themselves can shed light on exactly how they ended their social lives, as I will demonstrate in chapter 7. I believe Joy's (2009) method is most relevant, especially through combining these aspects with comparative analysis. By using both methods, I will be able to compare and examine individual objects by looking at both their origins and life history.

Through studying and discussing how objects ended up someplace, one can elaborate on exactly why they ended up there. An important part of this is determining how and why the archaeological material from Dorestad and Kaupang could be linked to one another. This is what I will do in the two following chapters, where chapter 6 focuses on the extent of Frisian-Scandinavian contact, and chapter 7 discusses the different types of this contact.

Chapter 6 Connecting Frisia and Scandinavia

Exchanged and imported objects have been of importance in studies about social, political and religious processes of contact from the 8th until the 10th century in both Scandinavia and the Netherlands (Bakka 1971; Blindheim 1982; Hodges 1982; Lebecq 1992; Skre 2011b; Skre et al. 2008; Theuws 2003, 2004; Wamers 2011; Willemsen and Kik 2009; Willemsen and Kik 2014). The aim of this chapter is to identify the extent of contact between Frisians and Scandinavians in the period in question. In order to do so, I will analyse the material presented in chapter 3.3 through using the theoretical and methodological framework regarding gift-exchange, object biography and comparative analysis. The material groups analysed here are metalwork and jewellery, pottery, glasswork and coinage. These are the most relevant for the aim of this study since we have seen in chapter 3 that similar finds of pottery, glass and coins have been found in both Dorestad and Kaupang.

6.1 The Westerkliëf hoards

The first category of material I will examine further consists of some of the most famous finds in the archaeological record from the Netherlands that are directly related to people from Scandinavia. The material consists of two hoards found at Westerkliëf on the Isle of Wieringen in the province Noord-Holland (see Figure 5). The artefacts in Westerkliëf I and Westerkliëf II show clear similarities with known Viking material from Scandinavia, and the hoards are therefore attributed to Scandinavians (Besteman 1997, 1999, 2004:21-22, 2009; Hårdh 2008; Knol 2010:55; Knol and IJssennagger 2017) (see Figures 6 and 7). Even items that are not of Scandinavian origin, like the Arabic coins, could most likely be linked to Scandinavian owners, since these type of coins are not known to be used by Frisians, and are absent in Frisian hoards as well (Besteman 2009).

Westerkliëf I (Figure 6), that was found with the help of a metal detector in 1996, weighs more than 1,5 kilograms and consist of silver jewellery, dress accessories, Carolingian coins, Arabic coins and ingots (silver bars, type of currency). The dating of the coins indicates that the hoard was deposited around 850 (Besteman 2004:21). The silver neck-ring from the hoard consists of three pairs of twisted round silver rods and is believed to originate from either West or North Scandinavia (Besteman 1999:256). This conclusion is made because neck-rings with similar weight and appearance have been found in those parts of Scandinavia. The same goes for a silver arm-ring from the first hoard, which can also be linked to similar material from North Scandinavia (Besteman 1997). Most of the ingots (16 in total) in this

hoard weigh around 50 grams and can, therefore, be linked to similar ingots found in hoards in Schleswig-Holstein, Gotland in Sweden and Kaupang (Besteman 1997; Hårdh 2008:106-107). Similarities with several artefacts in Scandinavia, which geographically lie far apart, illustrates that it is not easy to separate objects within such a homogeneous archaeological material in Scandinavia.



Figure 6 The Westerklief I hoard. Photo: National Museum of Antiquities, Leiden (RMO).



Figure 7 Part of the Westerklief II hoard, found in 2001. Photographer: Jan Besteman, (Besteman 2009:12, Figure 4).

Westerklief II (Figure 7) consists of two finds, which were discovered in 1999 and 2001 about 3 metres from each other, and must have originated from the same silver hoard (Besteman 2009:6). This second hoard was found nearby the location of the first hoard and consists of 457 grams of fragmented Arabic coins and other pieces of hack-silver (Besteman 2004:11, 2009). The second hoard is believed to be deposited around 880, at least 30 years after the first one. In comparison to the first hoard, the second had no complete pieces of jewellery, only some small fragments of cut up artefacts. Furthermore, the hoard had only one complete ingot alongside a couple of fragmented ones. The youngest Arabic coin is dated to 871–872 whilst the youngest Carolingian coin is believed to have been made around 875–877. Therefore, Besteman (2004:22) believes the date of deposition would have been shortly after that.

6.2 Metalwork and jewellery

The second group of objects I want to examine are pieces of metalwork and jewellery. This particular analysis consists of two parts. The first is about material from the Netherlands that

for different reasons is related to Scandinavia or Scandinavians. I look into genuine Scandinavian artefacts found in the Netherlands and the so-called ‘Scandinavian look-a-likes’ which are of Frisian origin. For the second part, I will analyse Frisian and Frankish pieces of jewellery from Scandinavia and Kaupang.

Metal finds from the Netherlands and Dorestad

Amongst material related to Scandinavians found in the Netherlands, objects are either believed to be of Scandinavian origin or share the same type of characteristics of Scandinavian material (Bjørn and Shetelig 1940:120; Willemsen 2004:65-77). Some pieces of jewellery contain elements from several North-Sea cultures, like those from the Continent and Scandinavia (IJssennagger 2017:253). This clarifies that the contact between Frisia and other parts of Northern Europe was well established, as well as they valued and cherished each other’s production techniques and material styles enough to bring them into use themselves.

Pieces interpreted as Scandinavian

An example of an object interpreted to be of Scandinavian origin is a twisted golden bracelet consisting of four twisted strands with the ends united in a knot, which was found in Dorestad (Roes 1965:6). It is dated to AD 800-850, during the main occupation of Dorestad (Willemsen 2004:75). The braiding technique of the piece is more complex than the usual bracelets and neck-rings which are braided with two rings (Roes 1965:6; Willemsen 2009:163-165). These types of bracelets are well-known within a Scandinavian context during the Viking Age, and they are found all over Scandinavia. However, pieces of gold amongst the Scandinavian material are quite rare (Petersen 128:159), which makes this find in Dorestad even more interesting.

Another object of interest is a copper-alloy fragment of a penannular brooch found in Hallumerhoek, a small village in the province of Friesland dated to the second half of the 9th century (IJssennagger 2017:202-205) (Figure 8). The fragment consists of a broken of terminal, a decorated side piece at the end of the ring where the pin rests on when closed. Apart from some clear differences in detail, the piece is almost identical to the terminals of rings of several penannular brooches found in Western Norway (Wamers 1985) (Figure 9). Because of the resemblance to, amongst others, a terminal fragment from Kaupang (Graham-Campbell 2011:100), the fragment from Friesland is identified to have a Scandinavian manufacturer and origin (IJssennagger 2017:204).



Figure 8 Fragment of a penannular brooch. Photographer: Johan Koning, Fries Museum.



Figure 9 Penannular brooch from Norway. Arkeologisk museum, UiS via Fotoportalen UNIMUS. Photographer: Terje Tveit.

Several archaeologists share the idea that penannular and related brooches were a sign of status within an elite society, and cannot be regarded without connotations of power (IJssennagger 2017:204; Tsigaridas Glørstad 2012:33; Wamers 1985). In the period between AD 850 and 950, there was a period of political centralisation in Western Norway where most of these brooches have been found, as well as they are dated within this period. Therefore, Tsigaridas Glørstad (2012:204-205) believes that the brooches should be associated with political processes and representation of authority in their Scandinavian context. It is interesting to argue if this theory can be applied to the piece from Friesland as well, and what that might indicate for other finds related to Scandinavians found in the same area. Up to this date, the fragment above is the only known penannular brooch from the coastal lands on the continent. This makes the question why this find ended up in Friesland even more interesting, especially when considering the associations these brooches have in Norway.



Figure 10 The silver fragment from Texel, originally a Scandinavian arm-ring. Photographer: Albert Allersma, Fries Museum.

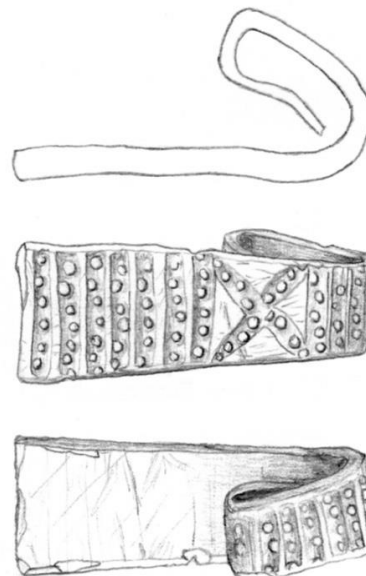


Figure 11 Drawing of the silver fragment from Texel. Illustrator: Rachel Onstwedder, GIA (IJssennagger 2015a:82, Figure 2).

The third object that I want to examine closely and is regarded Scandinavian is a Hiberno-Scandinavian piece of hack-silver (IJssennagger 2015a, 2015b) (Figures 10 and 11). It was found in 2015 on the Isle of Texel, which lies in the province of Friesland and not that far from the penannular brooch described above (see Figure 5 on page 18 for the exact location of Texel). Originally, it was a Hiberno-Scandinavian broad-band arm-ring and it is dated to the late ninth or early tenth century (IJssennagger 2017:213). The piece has been thoroughly examined by IJssennagger (2015b:128-129), and she characterises it as a piece of hack-silver due to signs of a cut off fragment on the broad end and small test marks on the rim of the piece (IJssennagger 2015b:128-129, 2017:213). The fragment is an example of a piece of jewellery which was assigned a new role, and with this change, its meaning and functionality in society were transformed. For this study, the context of the find is of special interest since its geographical location is close to the Wieringen hoards and other pieces of hack-silver used as currency in this period (IJssennagger 2017:215-216).

'Scandinavian look-a-likes'

A very typical type of material found on the continent and often related to Scandinavians are swords. As early as 1940 Anathon Bjørn and Haakon Shetelig (1940:107-108, 117-120) related several swords found in the Netherlands to similar material from Norway. These are characterised to be of Jan Petersen's type H and K. Some others appear to share similarities in decorations and sword pommels with artefacts found in Norway (Bjørn and Shetelig 1940:107, 117-120; Petersen 1919). Therefore, they are characterised as genuine Scandinavian swords and were found in the northern part of the Netherlands in the provinces of Groningen and Friesland. This coincides with the fact that most of the material related to Scandinavians from the Netherlands was found in the northern parts above the Rhine (IJssennagger 2013b:41). Some swords, alongside other artefacts, resemble Scandinavian material and appear to be of said origin. However, they are not. These artefacts simply share similarities with both Scandinavian objects and material from other areas, as well as there are indications that such artefacts were manufactured on the continent (Willemsen 2004; Ypey 1980). This is where the so-called *'Scandinavian look-a-likes'* come in.

This category is of special interest since it contains objects which reflect direct contact between Frisia and Scandinavia, just not in the straightforward way of trade or gift-exchange. The artefacts analysed here resemble Scandinavian material in both decoration styles and how

they have been manufactured. However, they cannot be regarded to be of Scandinavian origin. The most important criterium is that they differ too much in detail in comparison to original Scandinavian pieces (IJsennagger 2017:198-199, 208-211). These objects were possibly made in Frisia or elsewhere in the coastal regions of the continent. Even though they cannot be regarded to be of Scandinavian origin, the artefacts do reflect great influence on the Frisian material culture. Craftsmen and manufacturers seem to have been inspired by the Scandinavian decoration- and manufacturing techniques or they simply tried to imitate specific objects (IJsennagger 2017: 237-239; Willemsen 2009:165). Therefore, I have decided to call them '*Scandinavian look-a-likes*' since they are very similar to the original material and somehow seek to imitate Scandinavian objects. Most of these copies tend to be of rather good quality themselves, with only an ever so slightly difference in detail.

Quite a special sword which at first sight seems to be of Scandinavian origin but really is not comes from the site of Dorestad (Ypey 1980). It is a sword with a damascened blade dated to approximately 700-800 and examined thoroughly by Jaap Ypey (1980:190-203). It was found during the 1972 excavation of the old Rhine river-bed, also known as the Hoogstraat I excavation. Ypey (1980:190) describes several links and similarities to other swords dated to the Viking Age, amongst them Petersen's (1919:85) special type 2, Figure 72 (Petersen 1919). The form of the hilt is apparently very similar to Petersen's type, and it is used for other swords as well. Regardless of this similarity, Ypey (1980:190) explains that it was probably made in the Frankish realm where sword produce was highly influenced by foreign decoration and manufacturing techniques. A most relevant example as to where these influences came from is Scandinavia and even Norway because of the link with Petersen's (1919:85) special type 2 (Ypey 1980:190-191). I believe this is an accurate theory, seeing as the sword Petersen used for the characterisation of type 2 was found in Rimstad, which is not that far from Kaupang (Petersen 1919:85).

Two other items I want to examine up close are clothing ring-pins with typical animal-style decoration, which were found at Dorestad. They have been interpreted as ring brooches or penannular brooches, and are items with a Scandinavian look. However, the fastening mechanism does not seem to work properly, which means that the manufacturer might have misinterpreted the right mechanism for this type of clothing pins (Willemsen 2009:165). Therefore, they are interpreted as copies of Scandinavian looking items. Interestingly enough, IJsennagger (2017:208-209) believes that this interpretation is made based on wrong

arguments since it is a standard type of a Scandinavian ring-pin in form and design. Closer study shows that there are other aspects in detailing and decoration of the object which keeps the possibility of a copycat open (IJsennagge 2017:209).

Another relevant item is a tortoise brooch found at Dorestad. The model resembles the typical brooches of Scandinavian type, which are regarded as dress accessories for women since they are typically found in female burials. Decorations on these brooches are carved in relief, which is typical for Scandinavian tortoise brooches. However, the decorations on the Dorestad brooch are engraved (IJsennagge 2017:199). Willemsen (2009:166-167) believes this brooch was locally produced and reflects the popularity of Scandinavian dress in Frisia, just like the ring-pins.

Metalwork related to Frisians in Scandinavia

There is a considerable amount of Continental metalwork found in Scandinavia from both graves and settlement areas at sites like Birka, Hedeby and Kaupang (Hilberg 2008; Wamers 1985, 2011). The material from Kaupang is at focus, especially that what is found in combination with other material originating from Frisia. Because, like Wamers (2011:66) states, the Continental metalwork offers accurate information about Kaupang's role as an international trading site as well as they can be seen as evidence for the presence of foreigners.

Kaupang and Continental metalwork

During the excavations from 1998-2002, eleven pieces of Frankish or Frisian metalwork and jewellery were found in the settlement area (Wamers 2011:65-66). Amongst the material, three metal ornaments interpreted as Carolingian dress accessories were found inside one specific structure, characterised as 'Building A301 on Plot 3B, SP II:2'. Since the remains of this building are characterised as 'the Frisian Merchants house', the structure itself and the finds within are of importance for discussions in the next chapter. Therefore, I have decided to take a closer look at the three metal artefacts. The items are a cross brooch, an equal-armed brooch and a double-ended dress-hook (C52519/14951, /14481 and /28305. Wamers 2011: Figures 4.8.1, 4.9.2 and 4.11.1).

The cross-brooch is made of bronze and formed as an equal-armed cross with curved expanding arms. It could not be reconstructed in its entirety since it is severely damaged,

maybe even burnt. Based on comparisons with other cross brooches, the piece from Kaupang should be dated to the first half of the 9th century (Wamers 2011:76). It belongs to a highly diverse group of Carolingian-period cross brooches, which is why it is difficult to determine its exact origins. Since there is no evidence that these type of brooches were worn by men, the piece from Kaupang is interpreted as a female dress accessory. However, it is not possible to determine whether the woman who wore it was from the Continent or local. The equal-armed brooch is made of a copper alloy and was also found damaged, only half of it survived (Wamers 2011:77). The origins of this brooch were much easier to determine, as its closest parallels are from the northern part of Belgium (Wamers 2011:77-78). Brooches of this type are dated to the second half of the 8th and the entire 9th century, which makes a similar date for the brooch from Kaupang likely. The third piece is a double-ended dress-hook made of a copper-alloy. It is the simplest and cheapest form of dress-fastening, which makes it an item reflecting day-to-day use (Wamers 2011:78). Apart from northern France, these dress-hooks are only found in the lower part of the Rhine delta in the Netherlands, including this one from Dorestad (Roes 1965:16). No closer dating for the piece than AD 750-900 seems possible as of yet, which is the main period these items were used.

Continental metalwork and jewellery found in Kaupang can indicate both exchange and the practice of gift giving with Frisia, as well as reflect influences in manufacturing techniques and similarities in certain characteristics (Wamers 2011:90-92). Charlotte Blindheim and Heyerdahl-Larsen (1995b) think that items like foreign dress accessories or jewellery in female graves indicate that these individuals, in fact, were foreigners. Because of the Frankish and Frisian style of the objects, they are believed to be of such an origin (Blindheim and Heyerdahl-Larsen 1995a). In his study, Wamers (2011:91) elaborates on this assumption even more as he states that Carolingian heirlooms found in burials at Kaupang can be compared to similar finds from Frisia. Presence of foreigners from the continent is therefore seen in burials where buried women are found with Frisian and Frankish looking imitation brooches instead of the pair of oval tortoise brooches, which are typical for graves of Scandinavian women (Blindheim and Heyerdahl-Larsen 1995a:63; Blindheim et al. 1999:53). These graves and the people within them can, therefore, be looked upon as either Frisian or Frankish. Altogether there is a large amount of Frisian-Frankish dress-jewellery from both the settlement area and the cemeteries of Kaupang which provides clear evidence of intensive contact and exchange, and even influence with other trading sites (Wamers 2011:91).



Figure 12 The neck-ring from Senja. Tromsø Museum, UiT via Fotoportalen Unimus.

The neck-ring from Senja

One specific object from Norway which reflects direct contact between Scandinavians and Frisians is a silver neck-ring found as part of a hoard on the Isle of Senja in 1905 (Samplonius 1998:89) (Figure 12). It is not of significance because it is a Frisian artefact, on the contrary, the piece is interpreted as Scandinavian and dated to around 1025. However, it is relevant because of what its inscription might reflect. It has a runic inscription on the inside, alongside triangular stamps on the outer side (Jesch 1997:10; Olsen 1960:137). The

intriguing thing is that this neck-ring is an artefact of Scandinavian origin with a Norse runic inscription mentioning Frisians. Thereby, it is an explicit reflection of Scandinavians who have contact with people from Frisia. Whatever the interpretation of the inscription on the neck-ring might be, it does refer to direct Frisian-Scandinavian contact, which is significant either way. In chapter 7, I will discuss what type of contact the neck-ring and its inscription represent.

6.3 Pottery

The third material category I want to examine is that of pottery. All of the pottery wares discussed below are of Frankish or Frisian origin and found in Kaupang, which is why they are considered in the first place. All of these wares are amongst the pottery assemblage from Dorestad as well, although they were found in some larger quantities. As explained in chapter 3, pottery is by far the largest material group at Dorestad, and it is therefore of significance to the dating



Figure 13 Badorf ware pot, reliëfbandamphora and Tatinger jug. Found at Dorestad, Wijk bij Duurstede. Photo: National Museum of Antiquities, Leiden (RMO).

and interpretations of the site (van Es and Verwers 1980). Because the Rhinish pottery assemblage at Dorestad is one of the largest found at archaeological excavations in Europe up to this date, it plays an important role in determining which wares are found in other early-medieval or Viking Age towns and marketplaces (van Es and Verwers 1980:134, 294-299). Therefore, Rhinish pottery found at Scandinavian sites could have been exchanged, possibly traded, through an *emporium* like Dorestad. Thereby, these other sites can be placed within an extensive trade- and exchange network and be part of the discussions as well. One of these sites is Kaupang, where a substantial Frankish and Frisian pottery assemblage was found (Pilø 2011:286-297). Kaupang is of special interest since it seems that it is the only Scandinavian site where some specific pottery wares were found, alongside the site of Dorestad (Pilø 2011:293).

A distinction can be drawn between Rhinish pottery which is mostly wheel-turned and handmade pottery which originates from Frisia itself (van Es and Verwers 1980:56, 122). The types of wheel-turned wares which are further analysed are the Badorf ware, the Mayen and Walberberg wares, the Tatinger ware and Carolingian painted pottery, described by Pilø (2011:283-297) as Orange buffed painted ware. The Badorf ware, together with local handmade coarse wares are the most common types found in the excavations in both Dorestad and Kaupang (van Es and Verwers 1980:138; Pilø 2011:301). The handmade pottery wares which are considered further are the Frisian Eitopf and Kugeltopf wares.

The Badorf ware

The Badorf ware acquired its name through the two villages Badorf and Pingsdorf in the Vorgebirge area close to Köln (van Es and Verwers 1980:77-78, 86-87, 108; Hougen 1993:23; Pilø 2011:286) (Figure 13). Therefore, this Rhinish pottery from the Vorgebirge area is in most studies and publications called Badorf ware. Pilø (2011:286) believes that the term 'Badorf ware' is a too general term for pre-10th-century pottery from the Vorgebirge area which should be avoided. Therefore, in his study about the pottery found at Kaupang, he uses the term 'Vorgebirge ware', which refers to the entire area the pottery originates from (Pilø 2011:286). This could be a valid term for distinguishing pottery in both Frisia and Scandinavia. However, it is still a general term referring to Rhinish pottery from the entire Vorgebirge area, exactly like the term 'Badorf ware'.

Therefore, for the research in this study, I will use the term ‘Badorf ware’ as it is used by van Es and Verwers (1980:69-78; 2009), the archaeologists who excavated Dorestad. During their analysis of the pottery, they were fully aware of the fact that the outcomes reflected the situation and context in Dorestad, and not necessarily other towns or marketplaces (van Es and Verwers 1980). Furthermore, they examined the different sorts of pots and vessels within the Badorf pottery style most detailed and were cautious in making too broad assumptions based on a restricted amount of material (van Es and Verwers 1980; van Es et al. 2009; van Es et al. 2015). Pottery of the Badorf ware come in different shapes and sizes, but two common forms are the reliefbandamphorae and a large storing pot with spout as seen in Figure 13.

Mayen and Walberberg ware

The town where the Mayen pottery was produced lies close to the Vorgebirge area (Pilø 2011:291). The few sherds found at Kaupang could not be precisely dated, however, they were identified as Mayen ware pottery (Pilø 2011:291). This particular ware shares a lot of characteristics with the Walberberg ware in both fabric and decoration styles, which is why they are considered together. Moreover, these similarities make it difficult to determine exactly which type of ware the different sherds are. The Walberberg ware was much more represented amongst the pottery in Kaupang, 81 sherds in total. Interesting is that a few sherds show clear signs of sooting produced by cooking, indicating that this type of pottery was used for cooking (Pilø 2011:289). This ware has a characteristic element which differentiates it from the Badorf ware. Its rims are much thicker and the pots have rougher surfaces because of more drying and firing in the production process (Pilø 2011:289). The ware that reached Kaupang was produced from the mid-8th century up to around AD 860/870. This also applies to the pottery assemblage from Dorestad, where mostly common cooking pots within these wares have been found (van Es and Verwers 1980:143-144).

Tatinger ware

The Tating or Tatinger ware is a special kind of Frankish ceramic, mostly in the form of a typical looking jug with spout (figure 13). These jugs are manufactured with a tin foil décor, however, this is not necessarily what defines this type of ware. It is rather the typical form of the jug and the decorations used (van Es and Verwers 1980:58; Stilke 2001b:261-263). The Tatinger jugs were produced from the third quarter of the 8th until the midst of the 9th century (Stilke 2001b:265-266). Van Es and Verwers (1980:143-144) discuss that the Tatinger ware may originate from several regions and not one single production area. What can be said with

certainty is that the fabric of the specimens found in Dorestad relates to other pottery fabrics which have an origin near Köln in the Badorf region (van Es and Verwers 1980:144). Therefore, it is likely that the Tatinger ware found in Dorestad originates from this area as well (van Es and Verwers 1980:144).

The ware is described as rare and unique by several archaeologists, mostly because it sporadically emerged in larger quantities at early excavations in northern and Western Europe (van Es and Verwers 1980:97; Odelberg and Ambrosiani 1974:21-22; Pilø 2011:292). However, since the publication of more recent excavations, a widespread distribution can be detected, from Great-Britain in the West, Borg in Lofoten in the north and other marketplaces in the East (Holand 2003:203-204; Pilø 2011:292). Therefore, it is one of the most intensely discussed wares of this period (Stilke 2001b:257). It was found in relatively high quantities, at least for this type of ware, in Dorestad, as well as Scandinavian towns like Kaupang, Birka and Hedeby.

In Dorestad, as well as in other marketplaces on the continent, Tating jugs are characterised as items used for religious Christian events and gatherings (Hodges 1982:120, 2012:68; Odelberg and Ambrosiani 1974:21-22; Stilke 2001b:264). For Dorestad this interpretation is plausible since it was a religious Christian town back then, and sherds of these jugs were found in or in the near vicinity of church buildings (Stilke 2001b:264). Moreover, some archaeologists also connect them to Christian missions or religious trade-connections with the north (Odelberg and Ambrosiani 1974:22). However, to apply a religious function to this ware in Scandinavian towns is much more debatable since the process of Christianisation of Scandinavia had not fully started in the 8th and 9th century. Additionally, recent excavations at several towns have unearthed sherds and traces of Tatinger ware pottery (Pilø 2011:292). Therefore, others look upon them as luxurious tableware items exchanged amongst powerful and elite members of society (Gaut 2007; Hougen 1993:27; Stilke 2001b:264). These interpretations are both plausible and can very well be acquired to material like the Tating jugs. However, a combination like Stilke (2001b:264) suggests is also possible, where the jugs had a sacral function in societies on the Continent and that of a luxurious drinking vessel in Scandinavian towns. This way, the jugs could be interpreted as sought after prestige goods for those who were in a position where they could acquire luxurious items like a rare tinfoil jug. This coincides with the theory that those who had power in society were those who controlled exchange and trade, especially that of high valued goods (Bazelmans 1998).

Carolingian painted pottery

Described by van Es and Verwers (1980:106) as an extremely rare type of pottery, Carolingian painted pottery is characterised by its circular body and usually orange-coloured painted decorations. Therefore, it is of even more interest that sherds of this rare type were found at Kaupang, up to this date the only Scandinavian site (Pilø 2011:293). The Kaupang finds are described by Pilø (2011:293) as Orange-painted buff ware, presumably because of its orange-coloured decorations. However, van Es and Verwers (1980:106) simply call it Carolingian painted pottery. The place of origin of these vessels is unknown, however, analyses have shown that sherds of this type match the fabric of other wares from the Vorgebirge area (Vince 2011:309). Therefore, a similar area of origin is most likely for the material found at Kaupang (Pilø 2011:294).

Handmade wares: Eitopf and Kugeltopf

More unique and rare types of pottery are handmade wares from Frisia, in German literature called *Muschelgrusware*, which in English translates to shell-gritted ware. The name is characteristic for this ware due to the use of seashell as temper for pots and vessels made within this ware (Stilke 2001a). A part of the sherds identified as shell-gritted ware from Kaupang is identified as originating from Frisia, where presumably its production site was placed (Hougen 1993:37; Pilø 2011:296). Quite an interesting assemblage was found at Dorestad, amongst others the wares *Eicktopf* and *Kugeltopf* within a full range of colours (van Es and Verwers 1980:59, 112-123, 145-146).

Steuer (1973:21-29) attributes this shell-gritted ware to one production centre, situated in Frisian coastal area. He even considers the professional production of shell-gritted wares as a Frisian answer to wheel-thrown products from the Rhineland region (Steuer 1973:25). The ware *Kugeltopf* found at Dorestad is such a type of shell-gritted ware. Van Es and Verwers (1980:145) think this is a plausible argument and state that this ware almost certainly was produced by home industry in Dorestad, in other words for one's own use. Therefore, the or one of the production centres of *Kugeltopf* ware could have been situated in Dorestad (van Es and Verwers 1980:146). However, when it comes to other types of shell-gritted wares it is likely that they were produced elsewhere in Frisia, according to Heiko (Steuer 1974:117) all the way from the eastern part of the province of Friesland, across the province of Groningen to the western part of the German province of Ostfriesland.

6.4 Glassware

The fourth material category I consider here is that of glassware, which is most relevant towards establishing contact and exchange between Frisia and Scandinavia. The material consists of vessels, cups, beads and linen-smoothers. For example, a great amount of Frankish glassware was found in Birka, even some complete pieces. This Carolingian glassware probably comes from production sites in the Meusse valley (Hodges 1982:120). Significant amounts of glass were traded and exchanged through Dorestad, which is established through the extensiveness of the glass material from the site (Gaut 2007:34; Isings 1980:225). The Continental glasswork found in Scandinavian sites could have been exchanged, possibly traded, through an *emporium* like Dorestad. Frankish glassware found in Kaupang is of special interest because an important link between Dorestad and Kaupang can be established due to similarities within the glass material (Gaut 2011:187, 245). Furthermore, it is significant towards the overall discussion about direct contact between Dorestad and Kaupang.

Continental glassware is found in both graves and at the settlement area in Kaupang (Blindheim et al. 1999:53). One of the excavated and analysed sherd families in particular show clear similarities and parallels with glass found in Dorestad (Gaut 2011:249). This sherd family is characterised as SF4 and consists of very light blue-green sherds that are marked with white trails. Several pieces of glass that are part of SF4 were found in the area surrounding A301, the Frisian merchant's house (Gaut 2011:209). At Kaupang there has been a stronger emphasis on the usage of glassware rather than the production of it. Thus, Gaut (2011:250) suggests that this might reflect a difference in craft organisation, where there was no production of glassware, but there has been recorded a production of glass beads. However, this was dependent on visiting artisans and the supply of raw materials from other towns and settlements, according to Gaut (2011:250).

6.5 Coins

Coins, the last material group, is quite limited when it comes to finds within the material record at both Dorestad and Kaupang (Blackburn 2008:30-31, 57; van Es and Verwers 1980; van Es et al. 2009). However, that does not imply that they are not important or of value for this study. As a matter of fact, within both earlier research and the current study, coins are of

significance for studying the economic systems of both Frisia and Scandinavia, as well as the trade and exchange that existed between them.

Frisian coins at Dorestad

It seems Frisians were well equipped when it comes to the usage of coins as a currency, as well as it was a generally recognised value in their homelands (Kilger 2008:264). This is coherent with the fact that Dorestad was one of the most influential and important trade centres in North-western Europe, which is supplemented by both historical sources and material remains (Clarke and Ambrosiani 1991:27). Partly, this is because Dorestad had its own minting facility and was therefore of importance for the use of coinage in other towns and marketplaces (Kilger 2008:271). This coincides with the material record since both Carolingian coin hoards and single finds were found at Dorestad (Gelder 1980:212-233). Many of the coins minted at Dorestad ended up in towns and sites across Northern Europe, like France, Great-Britain and the whole of Scandinavia (Kilger 2008:264).

One special type of coins found at Dorestad is the Merovingian golden tremisses, which are believed to be minted there as well (Pol 2009:92-93). These coins are decorated with the inscription 'DORESTATI FIT' on one side, and 'MADELINUS M' on the other side (Pol 1990) (see Figure 15). Madelinus was the name of the so-called moneyer, the person who manufactured and designed the coins. It is believed that he produced high-quality coins at Dorestad from around 635 up to around 650. By putting his name on the coins, a moneyer guaranteed the piece had the proper weight and quality of gold (Pol 1990:85).

Imitation of coins

However, these specific coins were reproduced and imitated in large quantities and were exchanged in or brought to several places in Europe. The golden Madelinus tremissis found in Kaupang is hitherto the only known specimen in Norway and Sweden (Blackburn 2008:59-60) (see Figure 14). In comparison to an original coin made in Dorestad in Figure 15, it is clearly an imitation. However, it is a good copy with a high carat of gold.



Figure 14 Merovingian golden coin found in Kaupang, imitation. Kulturhistorisk museum, UiO via Fotoportalen UNIMUS. Photographer: Lill-Ann Chepstow-Lusty.

Figure 15 Original Merovingian coin from Dorestad, moneyer Madelinus. De Nederlandsche Bank via photo database NUMIS.

Original coins like the one in Figure 15 have the right inscriptions as seen above, and their design and details are well proportioned (Pol 1990, 2009:92). There are several opinions as to why imitations of these coins occurred. For example, Pol (1990:91-92) argues that they were part of a large-scale imitation and probably regarded as a valuable type of coin. Therefore, the good imitations might come from Madelinus' atelier, even though they probably were coined with stamps of a slightly lower quality (Pol 1990). Another explanation is that the reuse of old designs was due to economic reasons because people at the time did not want to deviate too far from what was commonly known as a valued currency (Pol 1990:91-92). It is uncertain where most of these imitated coins were manufactured. It is plausible to state that most of them must come from Dorestad or in its direct surroundings since it is one of the few known production sites where gold coins were produced and manufactured in the 7th century (van Es and Verwers 1980:212).

However, Pol (1990) thinks it is not that simple to state that all the imitated coins were made in Dorestad. They could very well have been produced elsewhere in Frisia, imitating the original Dorestad coins of a more refined style. An entirely different opinion as to why coins from Dorestad were imitated was established by Jan Hendrik Holwerda (1929) in the Netherlands as early as the 1920s. He elaborated on the fact that especially Scandinavians were interested in the Carolingian culture, and, amongst other things, imitated coins from Dorestad (Holwerda 1929:64-66). The minting production of imitated Carolingian coins at Hedeby is a good example of this mutual interest and influence amongst different societies and cultures.

Frankish and Frisian coins found at Kaupang

Amongst the coins found at Kaupang were three silver coins of Louis de Pious struck around 822-823 and one golden Madelinus tremissis (Blackburn 2008:56). This connects them indirectly to Frisia. However, it needs to be clarified that this does not necessarily mean that this connection represents direct contact or exchange between the towns of Dorestad and Kaupang. The golden tremissis could have been distributed from elsewhere in Frisia, especially considering the fact that it belongs to the group of imitations that were also manufactured outside of Dorestad. Nevertheless, the coins found in Kaupang can be interpreted as evidence for an established network of contact between former Frisia and the Southern of Norway. The coins, therefore, represent something more than merely the object itself. These objects have a history; they were manufactured in former Frisia or Francia and somehow ended up in Kaupang. This is of special significance regarding the Merovingian golden coin, since it dates to the mid-7th century, while the find context dates to the 9th century.

6.6 Connectivity and cross-cultural contacts

Through combining several artefacts and types of material from both Scandinavia and Frisia, cross-cultural contacts and connectivity were detected on several levels. The extent of contact between Scandinavia and Frisia in general and direct contact between Dorestad and Kaupang were considered in this chapter. The analysed material in this chapter clearly indicates the extent of contact between Frisia and Scandinavia, with focus on Dorestad and Kaupang. It is difficult to link the towns to one another based on just a single find. However, a combination of finds like the Merovingian gold coin, pottery wares like the Carolingian painted pottery and the handmade wares and the sherds of glass in SF4 suggest direct contact between Dorestad and Kaupang. The remaining question is therefore not whether there was any cross-cultural contact or exchange between these areas, but rather on which grounds and how it was performed. In the next chapter, the types of contact will be discussed, as well as what they might indicate about the social context between Frisians and Scandinavians. Through this approach, the existing contact between Kaupang and Dorestad can be viewed in a broader perspective and network.

Chapter 7 Why contact?

Through the identification and discussion of several material categories which for different reasons reflect contact between Frisia and Scandinavia in chapter 6, quite a few interesting observations emerged. Firstly, it is important to consider that one artefact does not necessarily reflect a social practice like trade. It is much rather a combination of several finds and understandings of those that reflect activities regarding exchange and trade within Frisian and Scandinavian societies. Moreover, contact comes in many forms and occurs for different reasons, which again results in different outcomes. The various forms of Frisian – Scandinavian contact and the reasons behind them will be examined in this chapter. The material examined in chapter 6 is used as a foundation and backed up by the theoretical framework regarding gift-exchange, the subject of mobility and trade and an object biographical approach. The different spheres of exchange are of special significance since they can be used to determine what type (or types) of contact the encircled material represents. As presented in chapter 2, several authors and experts focus on the network relations and contact Dorestad had with Birka and Hedeby. However, the connections to Kaupang have until recently not been considered as much. In the foregoing chapter, I have examined the connection between Dorestad and Kaupang through combining the relevant research, and the archaeological material indicates that direct contact existed. The aim of the discussions in this chapter is to identify the character of the contact, between both Frisia and Scandinavia in general and between Dorestad and Kaupang in particular.

Even though it is difficult to establish the precise grounds for contact based on an archaeological record, I believe it is a relevant discussion to take up. Firstly, several authors and archaeologists elaborate on their interpretations as to why and how Scandinavians and Frisians had contact and upheld relationships (Hines and IJssennagger 2017b; IJssennagger 2017:238-242, 245-255; Skre 2009; Skre 2011b; Wamers 1985). It is important to discuss different interpretations and arguments within a broader context to find out what kind of contact the material represents. Secondly, I will highlight that the archaeological find contexts of the material are of significance as well, since this can reflect how an object was deposited.

7.1 The question of raids

Raids are one of the most mentioned, but also questionable, reasons for contact between Scandinavians and Frisians. This is highly discussed in older as well as modern studies and publications (Boeles 1951; Byvanck 1941; Holwerda 1929; Willemsen 2004:75-77). As

explained in chapter 2, 'raids performed by Vikings' are often mentioned in contemporary texts, and consequently heavily used by researchers who regard them as valid and reliable sources. Especially the raids on Dorestad are often written about in those texts, which makes it one of the most debated issues regarding the raids. At the beginning of the 8th century, the town flourished into one of the largest and most influential trading centres in early medieval Western-Europe (Clarke and Ambrosiani 1995:18; Nicolay 2015:99; Willemsen 2004:71). Therefore, it would be an ideal target for Scandinavians to plunder since valuables and trade goods would have been stored in the town. As presented earlier, several Dutch archaeologists attribute the downfall of Dorestad around AD 850 to the numerous raids on the town from AD 834 onwards, (Holwerda 1929; Willemsen 2004:71). These raids are believed to be performed by Scandinavians, though some may characterise them as 'Vikings' (Holwerda 1929).

I believe that it is not that easy to draw this conclusion, seeing as several nuances are in order. Firstly, there could be other possible reasons as to why Dorestad, a significant marketplace with harbour, disappeared (Hodges 1982:174-175; Kosian et al. 2014:99-102). Examples of other reasons that contributed to the decline are the changes in the river courses around the town or the emerging of other marketplaces and trade centres in the same area (Kosian et al. 2014:99; Sarfatij 1999:267-268). Furthermore, like van Es and Verwers (1980:300-303) state, the town did not disappear within a fortnight, it was a long process which lasted for at least a couple of decades. Secondly, there are no evident archaeological traces found at Dorestad that directly connect its downfall to raids performed by 'Vikings'. If they ever took place, they undoubtedly attributed to the downfall of Dorestad, but it cannot be regarded as the only factor. However, some artefacts found during the main research excavations are connected to the raids. The perfect example of such an object is the fibula of Dorestad, as well as it is relevant to the discussion regarding why Scandinavians and Frisians experienced contact. Due to its special find context, the piece was related to the raids performed by Scandinavians, which makes it most relevant for this discussion.

The fibula of Dorestad

The fibula of Dorestad is an enamelled circular disc-on-brooch, which means that its base is formed as a circular disc. It is decorated with precious stones and pieces of colourful glass and email (see Figure 16). Its style and appearance link it to artefacts from Great-Britain and France with the same types of design and decoration (Willemsen 2014b:152, 183). This goes to show how widespread contact in this period was, and that cultures influenced each other.

Based on comparisons with other pieces of jewellery it is interpreted as a Frankish piece from the north of France, and dated to AD 800 (Willemsen 2004:76).

The archaeological context indicates that it was discarded around AD 850, at least 50 years after the production date (van Es et al. 2015:242). The wear of the brooch suggests that it was a few generations old when it was discarded because it has some small damages and several stones are missing (Willemsen 2004:75-76). The back of the brooch reveals that the fastening mechanism changed over time and with it possibly its function, which indicates that the piece had quite an interesting life history before depositing. The piece is of relevance here because of the different explanations around its find context, which was in a well, during the excavations at Dorestad. There are several opinions as to why the brooch was deposited in the well and what kind of contact this represented. What happened towards the end of its life is of special interest for this study, because the reason for disposal has been much debated.



Figure 16 The fibula of Dorestad. Photo: National Museum of Antiquities, Leiden (RMO).

Due to its economic, and probably also its social value, several authors point out that it is unlikely that the brooch was lost and not sought for or thrown away in the well (van Es 2006:76; IJssennagger 2013b:40; Willemsen 2004). Therefore, some link the location of the find to the raids on Dorestad and believe that the well possibly functioned as a hiding place for the brooch (IJssennagger 2013b:40; Willemsen 2004:76). A valid assumption since the brooch must have been very valuable at the time and quite possibly belonged to someone within the elite at Dorestad. However, this theory is difficult to verify. Mostly because no

actual archaeological traces have been found yet that could indicate raids performed by Scandinavians, or ‘Vikings’, at the site of Dorestad (IJssennagger 2013b:40). Therefore, other theories could be valid to determine whether it was lost or discarded of.

Another theory is presented by van Es (2006:97-100), as he elaborates on the possibility that the brooch might be grave goods from a grave that was destroyed because the soil was dug up to fill in the well where the brooch was found. An interesting theory since the find place of the brooch actually is within the near vicinity of two other graves which have unearthed skeletal finds (van Es et al. 2015:239). Moreover, a small particle of gold foil was found not far from the well and may have become detached from the underside of the brooch (van Es 2006; van Es et al. 2015:241). The fact that the area around the find place of the brooch clearly functioned as burial ground makes its find context most interesting because it opens for a broader perspective regarding its find context.

The discussion above illustrates that it is not always easy or straightforward to interpret the history and biography of an artefact out of its archaeological find context. Misinterpretations are easily made, as was the case with this brooch. It is a clear example to illustrate that an artefacts archaeological find context is of equal importance as the objects itself and in some discussion even more significant. However, not even the peculiar place it was found in does directly connect it to raids by Scandinavians, or ‘Vikings’, for that matter. Especially since there is no direct evidence of plundering or raids found at Dorestad up to this date (IJssennagger 2013b:40), which was used as the main argument towards the reason why it was found in the well (Willemsen 2004:76).

7.2 Dorestad: its trade and hinterland

As presented before, Dorestad had an excellent position in north-western Europe for exchanging certain artefacts and trading goods with other societies and towns around the North Sea. Geographically, it is situated near the lower part of the Rhine and the Meuse as well as being close to the sea. This made the town accessible for the distribution of several types of artefacts and goods from villages and towns further south along the Rhine, as well as Scandinavia and the British Isles. Up to this date, it is the largest excavated town in the northern part of the continent where exchange and trade on an interregional level were carried out. Regarding the material analysis, I examined pottery from the Vorgebirge area or Rhine valley and glasswork from the Meuse valley since they were represented in both Dorestad

and Kaupang. Moreover, several authors present that glasswork and Badorf-ware pottery were manufactured in production areas in the Rhine and Meuse valleys and reached Scandinavia via the Frisian coast (Both 1999:191; Gaut 2011:248; Lund Feveile 2006:235; Pilø 2011:302-303; Sablerolles 1999:238-240, 242-243). In agreement with these scholars and based on the analyses and discussions from earlier publications around this debate, I consider it plausible to argue that the assemblages of Rhinish pottery and foreign glasswork in Kaupang were distributed through Dorestad (as demonstrated in chapter 6).

The Rhine valley and its pottery

Amongst others, Hübener (1951:109) found out that the distribution of pottery of the Vorgebirge area follows the course of the rivers and waterways instead of mainland roads. Furthermore, extensive excavations at several sites in Scandinavia have demonstrated that the distribution of Rhinish pottery has gone even further up north than first assumed (Es 1990:168). Hougen (1993:57) elaborates on whether the pottery came straight from the Rhine-area or if it was distributed via markets along the rivers. A possible link can be made with Dorestad since it is directly connected through the river Rhine and its branches. Most of the medieval pottery from Dorestad, around 80 %, comes from the Vorgebirge near Köln in the Rhine valley (van Es and Verwers 1980; Willemsen 2004:74). This whilst pottery assemblages from most sites and localities in Frisia represent local handmade wares (Hougen 1993:12). A fact which could indicate that pottery found at smaller villages and sites were made for own use, whilst pottery at Dorestad was transported there with the purpose of exchanging or trading it further. However, finds further inland on the continent are rare (Hougen 1993:24), which coincides with the theory that the pottery was mostly distributed downstream through trade centres such as Dorestad.

Hübener (1951:109) speaks of an empty vessel trade and does not consider the important fact that something could be transported inside. Others disagree with this belief since traces on for example reliefbandamphorae indicate that they were used for transporting or storing fluid substances, perhaps even wine (Hougen 1993:29; Keller 2004:161; Pilø 2011:301). In line with these scholars, I agree that it is reasonable to state that something was transported inside these vessels. Reliefbandamphorae are robust and stable vessels and quite large in size, especially in comparison to other types of vessels. Therefore, they would function well for transportation of consumable trade goods. Furthermore, Hougen (1993:29) argues that the theory of reliefbandamphorae used for storage of fluids is applicable to the material at

Kaupang. A regular trade in wine is probably difficult to trace at a Scandinavian town, but it is plausible to assume that people at least consumed wine (Hougen 1993:29).

Another point that needs to be addressed is the fact that, according to Richard Hodges (1982:41), pottery is the most objective indicator of trade, since it is an item of limited intrinsic value and certainly not something Scandinavians plundered for. However, several scholars (Ambrosiani 1999:240-241; Hougen 1993:26-27; Pilø 2011; Stilke 2001b:26-27) argue that it is valid to characterise some objects as luxury items, for example, the Tating jugs. Therefore, in line with these authors, I believe it is a most valid observation that some types of ceramics might be of such high quality and value that they were sought after objects and possibly of the type worth raiding for. Nevertheless, it must not be forgotten that types of more common wares, like the Badorf reliefbandamphorae, functioned as either ceramics for daily use or as a form of packaging for other tradable goods (Hougen 1993:29).

The Meusse valley and its glasswork

As I examined closer in chapter 6, the decorations on glass sherds in SF 4 share most similarities with vessels and sherds from Dorestad (Gaut 2011:249). This type of funnel beaker has not yet been identified in that many places, only in areas above the Rhine and southern and eastern Scandinavia (Lund Feveile 2006:Figure 35). Bjarne Gaut (2011:249) argues that even though the glassware found in Kaupang originates from the Rhineland area, this information reveals little about how it reached Kaupang. Neither does it establish how the distribution took place, although gift-exchange, people moving away with their belongings and trade are mentioned amongst the possibilities (Gaut 2011:249).

I agree that it is not possible to establish with certainty what the exact reasons were for the glassware to end up in Kaupang. However, the material origins, as well as traces of glass, do indicate trade and exchange which contributes to the study regarding how and through where artefacts were distributed. As seen on the map in Figure 1, Frisian marketplaces like Dorestad and Domburg are closest to the Rhineland and the Meuse valley where the production areas of Carolingian glass were situated. The accessibility of these towns is quite good since the rivers connect the manufactories with other towns and urban places along the way to the coast. Therefore, like the Rhinish pottery, it is likely that exchange or trade of glassware up north to Scandinavia went, at least partly, through Dorestad.

And beyond...

Frisia's and Dorestad's hinterland stretched far, from the British Isles in the west to eastern parts of Europe in the east. Finds of Rhinish and Continental glassware and sherds of the rare Tating ware reflect that the contact even reached as far up north as the settlement of Borg in Lofoten (Henderson and Holand 1992:203; Holand 2003). Hougen (1993:57) believes that the Rhinish pottery ended up in Kaupang because seafarers from regions other than the North brought them there. However, she made this theory sometime before the later MRE, which unearthed much more pottery and thereby placed the material in new perspectives.

7.3 Dorestad and Kaupang within a greater network

The exchange between Kaupang and Dorestad was part of a much greater and more important network, including other towns and marketplaces in Northern Europe (Ginkel and Verhart 2009:236302-303; Pilø 2011). Goods did not travel directly between Dorestad and Kaupang, they rather passed through other marketplaces and towns along the way. Furthermore, during the excavations at Dorestad items were found that also occur in other towns in Europe like Hedeby, Ribe and Birka (Willemsen 2004; Willemsen and Kik 2010). A few examples of these objects are coins, glassware and pottery of the Badorf and Tatinger ware. Amongst others, Bjørn Myhre (2003:53) points out that Denmark had an excellent geographical position when it comes to the exchange of goods to and from the Norwegian and Swedish coastal region. Additionally, Martin Welch (2003:96) adds that Hedeby was located on the eastern side of the trading route alongside which goods were transported between marketplaces on the Baltic and the North Sea.

The different marketplaces and towns within this network were strongly connected and therefore influenced each other. A sudden change or difference in the economic system or trading facilities in one town could affect the situation in other towns or marketplaces. The perfect example of this is Dorestad's downfall. I believe it is significant within this discussion since several authors argue that it is quite possible that it had an impact on international trade, as well as the decline of other marketplaces (van Es and Verwers 1980; IJssennagger 2013a:84; Pilø 2011:302-303; Willemsen 2009a:177). The archaeological records providing Frankish or Frisian material at different Scandinavian sites reflect that this foreign material disappears at several of these marketplaces in the latter part of the 9th century, the same period in which Dorestad experienced a most significant decline. Pilø (2011:302-303), for example, believes that the absence of later Frankish wares amongst the pottery assemblage at Kaupang

indicates that trade with the Frankish area had ceased by the last quarter of the 9th century. An example of such a ware is called Pingsdorf and was found in a small quantity at the site of Hedeby (Pilø 2011:302-303). However, the absence of Pingsdorf pottery at Kaupang does not indicate exactly when the changes in trade contacts happened (Pilø 2011:302-303), or that other types of Frisian-Scandinavian contact could not still exist. However, other types of contact in the second half of the 9th century are reflected in the material relevant for the next discussion: the Westerkliof hoards.

7.4 The Westerkliof hoards: Why regarded as Danish?

As demonstrated in chapter 3 and 6, the Westerkliof hoards are considered as important archaeological material in the Netherlands. They consist of two parts, Westerkliof I with mostly jewellery and silver ingots and Westerkliof II containing coins and pieces of hack-silver (see Figures 6 and 7, p. 35). Apart from the Arabic coins and the Carolingian denarii, some of which originate from Dorestad, the silver artefacts and pieces of hack-silver are believed to be of Scandinavian origin (Besteman 2004:22; Moesgaard 2010:132). The first hoard is representative of a traditional Scandinavian treasure with prestigious jewellery and precious metals. The second one, on the other hand, is more typical of a younger type of hoards which reflect the use of silver as hack-silver and weight money (Besteman 2004:26). This difference between the hoards reflects a change in the function of silver in Frisia during the 9th century where it moved from a primarily social to a pronounced economic role (Hårdh 2008:98). These changes in what kind of role an object acquires or is given over time are relevant for determining the life history of an object and for finding out more about how and why it was used.

For example, luxurious artefacts made of precious metals and manufactured in the late 7th and early 8th centuries resemble more loaded and personal types of contact like gift exchange. However, small fragmented pieces of the same type of jewellery of a slightly later date reflect the purpose of hack-silver, as well as a more organised trade. The economic systems within European societies changed considerably during the 9th century, as well as the used forms of currency. Within Scandinavian societies at the time, the common form of currency was hack-silver and Arabic coins. Frisians, together with the Franks, had their own system of coinage.

This is one of the reasons why the hoards are regarded as Scandinavian since hack-silver was not commonly used amongst Frisians. Besteman (1999:260) argues that the hoards at

Wieringen are of Scandinavian origin because they coincide with 9th-century hoards found in Scandinavia. However, alongside other archaeologists, he also implies that the hoards must have belonged to a Danish owner, because contemporary sources state that the Danes had control and power in West Frisia from 840 onwards (Besteman 1997, 1999:261-262, 2004; Moesgaard 2010). On the contrary, I believe the hoards cannot be considered Danish when the only valued argument is the mention of a Danish ruler in Frisia during the 9th century in historical texts. This theory should certainly be regarded as a possibility; nevertheless, other theories could be valuable for the discussion as well. For example, the hoards could have had a Scandinavian owner from somewhere else than Denmark, or even a Frisian one for that matter, because Frisians were also familiar with the depositing of coin hoards (Gelder 1980:212-215). These theories have not been considered in the literature available regarding the Westerklief hoards. However, they are still relevant in the discussion around what and how an archaeological record can tell about its origins and former owners.

This discussion opens for a much broader, but not less relevant debate regarding how archaeologists and historians regard Scandinavia and Scandinavians. It is not always clear what authors mean by the term ‘Danish’ and how it relates to the material or excavations discussed (Besteman 1999; Theuws 2003; Willemsen 2004). In the introduction, it was clarified why it is significant for this study to know whether Dutch publications regard the southern of Norway as ‘Danish’ or not since this is where Kaupang is situated. It is important for determining where Scandinavian artefacts in Frisia originate from and what that indicates about the types of contact between the areas.

In her PhD, IJssennagger (2017:51) does include Southern-Norway in her definition of what she calls ‘the Danish sphere’. Figure 17 shows how this Danish sphere overlaps with the Frankish one, right through Frisia. This perspective on the North-Sea region during the Viking or Carolingian Age opens for discussion regarding where Scandinavian material found in Frisia might originate from. Due to a homogenous material culture in Scandinavia during the Viking Age, I believe that the hoards can originate from the coastal lands which now are part of Norway, as well as they can originate from Denmark. Therefore, I believe the term Scandinavian to be much more accurate. A broader perspective like this opens for debate and relevant research questions regarding what sphere the material belongs to and how they were transferred between different spheres.



Figure 17 Map of the Frankish (blue-green) and Danish (yellow) spheres around AD 800, which overlap in the Frisian spheres (indicated by the dotted pink line). It shows how the Danish sphere includes the southern coastal area of Norway (IJsennagger 2017:51 Figure 2.5).

Moreover, just because artefacts found in former Frisia are characterised as Scandinavian, and therefore belong to a sphere of exchange, does not automatically imply that they represent trade (IJsennagger 2017:239). Another possibility why certain objects ended up someplace is that travellers or merchants of trade brought these goods with them, without the direct obligation of trade or exchange. In other words, they reflect the function of being *personal possessions*.

7.5 Personal possessions

Amongst the archaeological records at Dorestad and Kauapang, jewellery and metal ornaments occur sporadic, as well as they often are found as a single find or a grave gift. Their find contexts probably reflect the latest interaction with their former owners, either as being accidentally lost or intentionally deposited or discarded off. Therefore, these artefacts are characterised as *personal possessions*. To determine whether foreign objects might be *personal possessions* is of significance: even though objects do not directly indicate trade,

they do represent contact and the presence of foreigners in other places. And presence indicates contact, regardless of how it might have worked out.

Presence of Scandinavians in Frisia

Already in 1927, the Dutch archaeologist Boeles suspected that people not native to Frisia started to use these lands during the 6th century (Boeles 1951). The establishment of these newcomers is recognised by the appearance of a different material culture, pottery and fibulae with Anglo-Saxon influences and a different type of settlement- and house structures. Johan (Nicolay 2003:72) adds that alongside this material, several golden bracteates were found at excavations. He claims that these pieces reflect the presence of people who came from Scandinavian and not Saxon areas. Furthermore, he states that these Scandinavians initiated a centralisation of the region that is now part of the Northern Netherlands (Nicolay 2003:72). It is unknown if this area actually belonged to the Scandinavians, but the archaeological material strongly indicates that the area was influenced after the arrival of the new inhabitants. There are known finds of bracteates up to the 7th century (Nicolay 2003), so if they, in fact, represent the presence of Scandinavians this probably continued for a longer period of time. Another interesting possibility is if this theory somehow can be linked to the Westerklijf hoards. They are of a much later date, but just like the material discussed above, they do indicate the presence of Scandinavians in Frisia. Adding the fact that it is not likely that someone would deposit their money in a field without residing nearby, it is plausible to state that at least some Scandinavians stayed in Frisia for a longer period of time. Moreover, the neck-ring from Senja, which is dated to 1025, indicates that Frisian-Scandinavian contact continued for quite some time, regardless of the type of contact it reflects.

The neck-ring from Senja and its inscription

The runic inscription on the neck-ring from Senja is related to Frisians, although its exact meaning is much debated and has been thoroughly discussed (IJssennagger 2013a:78; Jesch 1997:78-79, 2001:80; Olsen 1960; Samplonius 1998:89-101) (see Figure 18). The text is often taken as a testimony of a Viking raid to Frisia, however, a joint Frisian-Scandinavian raid is also amongst the mentioned theories (Samplonius 1998:91). The inscription is transcribed as *furu – trikia frislats a uit auks uiks fotum uir skiftum*. In Old Norse, it should be read as *Fórum drengja Fríslands á vit, ok vígs fōtum vér skiptum* (Samnordisk Runtexdatabas N 540). The English translation is as followed: *‘We paid a visit to the lads of Frisia, and we it was who split the spoils of battle’* (Olsen 1960). ‘The spoils of battle’ could be interpreted as

the valuables taken from the Frisian ‘lads’, the opponents, whoever they may be. However, as Judith Jesch (1997) pinpoints, the carver himself could be part of the group of ‘lads’ and the splitting of ‘the spoils of battle’ could then reflect a process of exchange or trade.



Figure 18 The runic inscription on the neck-ring. Tromsø Museum, UiT, via Fotoportalen UNIMUS.

This opens for the possibility that the runic inscription might reflect trading activities between Frisians and Scandinavians (Jesch 1997:7-12). Kees Samplonius (1998:92) argues that Old Norse poetry somehow always refers to actual facts and events. Indeed, poems and stories of the Viking Age could refer to a general reality, however, we must question if it is certain that they always refer to actual and specific events (IJssennagger 2013a:79). I agree with IJssennagger (2013a:79) as she clarifies that the inscription does not necessarily describe or refer to one particular event, as well as this could be difficult to prove. It could equally refer to a whole sphere of activities that were well known back then, regardless of the type. This coincides with Samplonius’ (1998:89) statement, that the Senja inscription must be judged ‘*as a reference to Viking activities jointly undertaken by Scandinavians and Frisians*’.

A hybrid Frisian identity

Through the influence of other cultures, the identity of the Frisians can be characterised as a hybrid one, since it was exposed to constant change. For example, IJssennagger (2017:253-256) points out that this happened partly because of their connectivity to both the Continental (Frankish) and North Sea (Scandinavians) spheres since they are placed in the midst of things. Therefore, a combination of Frisian, Frankish and North Sea elements is seen in the material culture in the Netherlands today (IJssennagger 2017:251-252). Keeping this in mind, one can state that connections between Frisians and Scandinavians went beyond short-term relations

like Viking raids. Moreover, these connections can be detected over a longer period, as well as they go back and forth instead of being a one-way phenomenon. To take this any further, it would be relevant to highlight Wamers (2011:91) observation that there is evidence which suggests not only influence but also the long-time presence of Frisians at the trading site of Kaupang. As demonstrated in chapter 4, the material from Kaupang consists of a considerable amount of Frisian-Frankish dress-jewellery from both the settlement area and the cemeteries of Kaupang, alongside pottery, glasswork and coins.

Presence of Frisians in Scandinavia

As outlined in chapter 4, there is a considerable amount of material in Scandinavia originating from Frisia, or material that for other reasons can be related to the Frisian coastal land. Most of the analysed material comes from the site of Kaupang. An interesting observation is the fact that rare objects and artefacts from Frisian origin, which are barely found elsewhere in Scandinavia, were found in Kaupang. This material consists of a golden Madelinus coin, sherds of Frisian handmade pottery, fragments of the extremely rare type Carolingian painted pottery and pieces of one particular type of glass. Especially the combination of these rare finds is significant since the exact same combination of objects and material can be found at Dorestad (van Es and Verwers 1980:106-107, 122-123; Isings 1980; van Es et al. 2009:143-144; Isings 2009:259-261; van Es et al. 2015:378). Part of the material related to the presence of Frisian people in Kaupang is found within and around one specific building structure.

The Frisian building in Kaupang

The structure was found and excavated during the excavations from 2000-2002 in Kaupang and is categorised as 'Building A301 on Plot 3B, SP II:2' (see Figure 19). The three pieces of Continental metalwork found within this structure have been discussed in the previous chapter. Other material from this structure consisted of sherds of Rhinish pottery and drinking glasses and minor finds which indicate small-scale activity of weaving and amber working (Skre 2011a:411). Because of the assemblage of foreign finds within this structure and the lack of an extensive material related to a major presence of crafts, it is evident that the house did not function as a smithy or a production site (Skre 2011a:412).

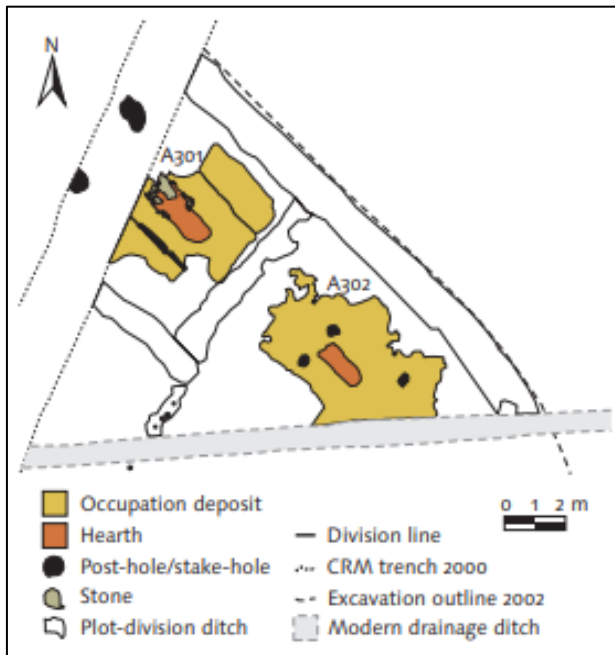


Figure 19 Map showing the placement of building structure A301, the Frisian merchants' house. Illustrator Julie K. Øhre Askjem (Pedersen and Pilø 2007:206, Figure 10.17)

pedersen 2017:267).

This information opens for other possible interpretations. For example, finds related to trade were found in this structure, like pieces of hacksilver and weight leads. These objects indicate that the residents of the building A301 kept and used currency (Pedersen 2008:162). Furthermore, the area around has a somewhat 'Continental character', which is strengthened by finds like small lead pendants of Carolingian type (Pedersen 2010; Wamers 2011:92). Five of these pendants can be linked to artefacts from the continent, as well as a mould used for the production of pendants (Pedersen 2015:51-68). This mould differs from other

Regarding the three metal ornaments analysed in the previous chapter, Wamers (2011:92) elaborates on the fact that they were lost in this building, rather than being deliberately placed there. Moreover, he implies that Frankish/Frisian trade was the pre-condition for the introduction of the cross-brooches, even though they were not objects of trade themselves (Wamers 2011:76, 92). Items like the dress-accessories and brooches can rather be interpreted as personal objects which must have belonged to the individuals who lived in the house, and those objects somehow got lost (IJssennagger 2013b:47-48; Skre 2011b:431). Therefore, it is unlikely that they served as genuine commodities which Frisian merchants could successfully trade for profit with others from foreign cultures (IJssennagger 2013b:48).

Due to the combination of foreign finds related to contact with Frisia, Wamers (2011:430-434) interpreted the building as Frisian, possible belonging to Frisian merchants. Amongst several experts and archaeologists, the structure is therefore characterised as 'the Frisian merchant's house' (IJssennagger 2013b:47-48; Skre 2009:139; Wamers 2011:430-434). Items like dress hooks and belt buckles might indicate trade, however, the objects themselves indicate no more than that they were either brought over by Scandinavians or the presence of

Frisians in Kaupang (Blackburn 2008:278; Wamers 2011:79). Therefore, it is possible to suggest that these finds indicate something more than merely contact or trade between the two areas.

The idea of people from Frisia settling down in Kaupang is presented by several authors (Skre 2011a:411-412; Skre 2011b; Wamers 2011:430-434). A theory is that what is left of the former building represents a relatively long-term occupation, possibly by Frisian merchants which continued for at least a few years (Wamers 2011:92). The structure is interpreted this way because the artefacts found within could all be linked to Frisia, either as the place of origin or where it possibly was traded from. Nevertheless, it would be relevant to elaborate on whether it were Frisians or people from Kaupang that acquired Frisian artefacts, who lived there (Ijssennagger 2013b:47-48). It is reasonable to assume that more than one merchant or family in Kaupang had contact with people from Frisia. However, this does not directly indicate that Building A301 must have been inhabited by Scandinavians. If it indeed was a house inhabited by people from Kaupang, it would have been likely that the traces of several houses with high numbers of Continental objects were found. However, it is the only structure with an extensive cluster of foreign objects considered to be of Frisian origin in Kaupang so far. Therefore, it is valid to conclude like Wamers (2011:90-92) that it, in fact, were Frisians who not only visited Kaupang but also settled down there for a longer period of time. This interpretation is accepted by several other authors in both Norwegian and Dutch publications (Ijssennagger 2013b:48; Skre 2009:139; Skre 2011b:431).

7.6 A combination of contact

In this chapter, some of the most discussed issues within research on Frisian – Scandinavian contact and exchange have been highlighted. Through the material analyses in chapter 6 and the discussions above, I believe it is accurate to argue for that there existed contact and exchange within different spheres and on several levels between Frisia and Scandinavia. Furthermore, there are numerous difficulties regarding identifying one specific type of contact out of an artefact and its archaeological find context, as well as interregional contact is a very complex form of human interaction. Therefore I conclude that it is possible to speak of a combination of different types of contact exchange within the Frisian – Scandinavian sphere, as well as these types were intervened in networks of exchange during the period in question. From the 8th until the 10th century, trade is the type of exchange that is reflected mostly within the material. Other types of contact like gift exchange and raids performed by Scandinavians

probably occurred as well. However, regarding the material analysed from Frisia in this study, these cannot be directly detected. Partly, this is due to the fact that it can be most difficult to detect visible signs of raids within an archaeological excavation. Even if such signs are found, it does not immediately imply that they were caused by Scandinavian people. The same goes for artefacts related to a specific form of gift exchange. Who is to say that both Frisians and Scandinavians were involved, not to mention inhabitants of Dorestad and Kaupang?

Chapter 8 Final remarks

In this thesis, Frisian – Scandinavian contact and exchange from the 8th to the end of the 10th century has been researched, with emphasis on the relevant archaeological record from Dorestad and Kaupang. As presented in chapter 2, it has been acknowledged for a long time that there existed contact between Frisia and Scandinavia, there is no doubt about that. Even though this has been recognised by several archaeologists, direct contact between Dorestad and Kaupang has, until recently, been less researched. Therefore, the aim for this thesis was to study the latest research and examine to what extent Frisians and Scandinavians interacted with one another and what types of contact could be witnessed through the material analysed and discussed. Through combining an object biographical approach with comparative analysis and former research, I have examined the relevant archaeological record regarding former Frisia and Scandinavia. Certain material groups and artefacts were analysed up close since they reflected something about this connectivity and exchange. The findings and outcomes of these analyses formed the base for the discussions in chapter 7, which highlighted some of the most heavily debated issues within research on the connections between Frisia and Scandinavia. These discussions illustrated how Frisians and Scandinavians from the 8th to the end of the 10th century expressed their complex social relations through raiding, exchanging, trading, importing and exporting certain material goods between one another.

8.1 Contact is personal

Contact is much more complex than reflecting on one type of exchange like trade or raids within one specific sphere of exchange. Contact is a human activity which happens for personal reasons, that makes it complex. Different types of contact reflect personal relationships between people where multiple and extensive interactions are involved. The archaeological material can shed light on these different types of contact since objects transform through exchange: they acquire and develop new values and meanings through each interaction. Furthermore, it is not likely that gift exchange and trade went one way, but that it rather went back and forth. Moreover, several other towns and marketplaces may have played a significant role in the process. Not only did Scandinavians and Frisians exchange or trade goods amongst one another, they experienced contact and connectivity on so many more levels. They established and upheld relationships, exchanged manufacturing and decoration techniques, influenced each other's cultures and travelled back and forth between Frisia and Scandinavia. Sometimes, they even settled down for some time in the other area, as the Frisian house in Kaupang suggests.

8.2 Between Dorestad and Kaupang

Regarding the question whether there existed any direct contact between Dorestad and Kaupang, I believe there is significant evidence to establish such a link. Not because of one single find or material, but rather the combination of unique and typical objects which were part of the archaeological material in both Dorestad and Kaupang. Thus far, a similar combination has not been established at other Scandinavian sites, which makes the situation at Kaupang quite extraordinary. Amongst this material is the Merovingian gold coin, sherds of Carolingian painted pottery, Tatinger ware, Frisian handmade pottery and fragments of glass within SF4. Specimens of the exact same material can be found in Dorestad, and some material types, like the handmade pottery of Eicktopf and Kugeltopf, are argued to be produced at Dorestad (van Es and Verwers 1980:97-98, 106-107, 112-123, 145-146; van Es et al. 2009; van Es et al. 2015).

Furthermore, Wamers (2011:79, 430-434) states that the cluster of Frisian and Frankish finds within the traces of the structure A301 characterises the former building as to be of Frisian or Frankish owners. Taking mind that it is likely that most of the finds found within this structure were transported or distributed through Dorestad and its related network of exchange, the possibility of direct contact between Dorestad and Kaupang arises. Therefore, it is accurate to state that there is a considerable amount of archaeological material at Kaupang that indicates positively towards direct contact between the two towns or at least ensure the possibility to take this discussion even further. The study presented here has merely touched the archaeological material relevant to interactions between people from Dorestad and Kaupang, as well as it reflects my personal interpretations. Like most archaeological sites, it must not be forgotten that both the sites of Dorestad and Kaupang are only partly excavated. No-one knows what hides beneath the surface of the unexcavated areas, which makes these even more interesting. Besides, many more questions still lie unanswered, like the extent and types of contact that existed before and after the period in question and what connectivity existed between Frisia and other areas in Scandinavia. Furthermore, not all of the material relevant has been analysed and discussed in this thesis, which opens for further research on Frisian – Scandinavian contact and the connections between Dorestad and Kaupang.

Bibliography

Aannestad, Hanne Lovise

2015 *Transformasjoner: omforming og bruk av importerte gjenstander i vikingtid*. Institutt for arkeologi, konservering og historie, Det humanistiske fakultet, Universitetet i Oslo.

Almgren, Bertil

1975 *The Viking*. Nordbok, Gothenburg.

Ambrosiani, Björn

1999 Birka and Dorestad. In *In Discussion with the Past Archaeological Studies presented to W A van Es* edited by H. Sarfatij, W. J. H. Verwers and P. J. Woltering, pp. 239-242. Foundation for Promoting Archaeology, Amersfoort.

2008 Birka. In *The Viking World* edited by Stefan Brink and Neil Price, pp. 94-100. Routledge, London.

Bakka, Egil

1971 *Scandinavian trade relations with the Continent and the British Isles in Pre-Viking times*. Almqvist & Wiksell, Stockholm.

Batey, Colleen, James Graham-Campbell and Tore-Jarl Bielenberg

1996 *Vikingenes verden*. Cappelen, Oslo.

Bazelmans, Jos

1998 Geschenken en waren in pre-modern Europa: enkele gedachten over de waarde van kostbaarheden uit schatvondsten (Gifts and goods in pre-modern Europe: some thoughts about the value of valuables from treasures). *Leidschrift Historisch Tijdschrift* 3:59-78.

Besteman, Jan

1997 De vondst van Westerklijf, gemeente Wieringen: een zilverschat uit de Vikingperiode (The find of Westerklijf, county of Wieringen: a silver treasure from the Viking period). *Oudheidkundige Medelingen uit het Rijksmuseum van Oudheden te Leiden (Antiquity related Messages from the National Museum of Antiquities)* 77:199-226.

1999 Viking Silver on Wieringen. A Viking Age Silver Hoard from Westerklijf on the Former Isle of Wieringen (Province of North Holland) in the Light of the Viking Relations with Frisia. In *In Discussion with the Past Archaeological Studies presented to W A van Es* edited by H. Sarfatij, W. J. H. Verwers and P. J. Woltering, pp. 253-266. Foundation for Promoting Archaeology, Amersfoort.

2004 Scandinavisch gewichtsgeld in Nederland in de Vikingperiode (Scandinavian weight money from the Netherlands during the Viking period). In *Van Solidus tot Euro: Geld in Nederland in economisch-historisch en politiek perspectief (From Solidus to Euro: Money in the Netherlands from an economical-historical and a political perspective)* edited by E.H.P. Cordfunke and H. Sarfatij, pp. 21-42.

2009 A second Viking silver hoard from Wieringen: Westerklijf II. *Jaarboek voor munt-en penningkunde 2006-2007* 93-94:5-80.

Bjørn, Anathon and Haakon Shetelig

1940 *Viking antiquities in England: with a supplement of Viking antiquities on the continent of Western Europe*. Aschehoug, Oslo.

Blackburn, Mark

2008 The Coin-finds. In *Means of Exchange Dealing with Silver in the Viking Age* edited by Dagfinn Skre, pp. 29-74. Aarhus University Press, Århus.

Blindheim, Charlotte

1953 Preliminary Report on the recent Excavations on Kaupang, near Larvik, Vestfold. *Annen viking kongress Bergen*, edited by Kjell Falck. Bergen. John Griegs Boktrykkeri.

1969 Kaupangundersøkelsen avsluttet. *Viking* 5-39.

1982 Commerce and trade in Viking Age Norway. Exchange of products or organized transactions? *Norwegian Archaeological Review* 15:8-18.

Blindheim, Charlotte and Birgit Heyerdahl-Larsen

1995a Kapittel 10. Smykkematerialet. Hjemlig/fremmed? In *Kaupang-funnene: Bind 2 Gravplassene i Bikjholbergene/Lamøya Undersøkelsene 1950-1957 Del A Gravskikk* edited by Charlotte Blindheim and Birgit Heyerdahl-Larsen, pp. 29-46. Institutt for arkeologi, kunsthistorie og numismatikk, Oldsaksamlingen, Universitetet i Oslo, Oslo.

1995b *Kaupang-funnene: Bind 2. Gravplassene i Bikjholbergene/Lamøya. Undersøkelsene 1950-1957. Del A. Gravskikk*. Institutt for arkeologi, kunsthistorie og numismatikk, Oldsaksamlingen, Universitetet i Oslo, Oslo.

Blindheim, Charlotte, Birgit Heyerdahl-Larsen and Anne Stine Ingstad

1999 *Kaupang-funnene B. 1999. IIB. Gravplassene i Bikjholbergene/Lamøya. Undersøkelsene 1950-1957. Del B. Oldsaksformer*. Universitetets kulturhistoriske museer, Oldsaksamlingen, Universitetet i Oslo, Oslo.

Blindheim, Charlotte and Roar L. Tollnes

1972 *Kaupang: vikingenes handelsplass*. Mortensen, Oslo.

Boeles, Pieter C.J.A.

1951 *Friesland tot de elfde eeuw: zijn oudste beschaving en geschiedenis (Friesland up to the end of the eleventh century: its oldest civilisation and history)*. Martinus Nijhoff, 's-Gravenhage.

Both, Frank

1999 Keramikk- und Glasimporte use dem fränkischen Reich. In *Über allen Fronten: Nordwestdeutschland zwischen Augustus und Karl dem Großen* edited by Frank Both and Heike Aouni, pp. Verlag Insensee, Oldenburg.

Brughmans, Tom

2013 Thinking Through Networks: A Review of Formal Network Methods in Archaeology. *Journal of Archaeological Method and Theory* 20:623-662.

Burström, Nanouschka

2014 Things in the Eye of the Beholder: A Humanistic Perspective on Archaeological Object Biographies. *Norwegian Archaeological Review* 47:65-82.

2015 Things of quality: possessions and animated objects in the Scandinavian Viking Age. In *Own and be owned: Archaeological approaches to the concept of possession* edited by Alison Klevnäs and Charlotte Hedenstierna-Jonson, pp. 23-48. Department of archaeology and classical studies, Stockholm University, Stockholm.

Byvanck, Alexander Willem

1941 *De Voorgeschiedenis van Nederland (The Prehistory of the Netherlands)*. Brill Archive, Leiden.

Clarke, Helen and Björn Ambrosiani

1995 *Towns in the Viking age*. Leicester University Press, London.

Cosmographia Ravennatis

1860 *Cosmographia Ravennatis. Guidonis Geographica*. in aedibus Friderici Nicolai, Berolini.

Coupland, Simon

2003a Trading places: Quentovic and Dorestad reassessed. *Early Medieval Europe* 11:209-232.

2003b The Vikings on the Continent in Myth and History. *History* 88:186-203.

2009 Boom and bust at 9th-century Dorestad. *Dorestad in an International Framework: New Research on Centres of Trade and Coinage in Carolingian Times Proceedings of the first 'Dorestad Congress'*, edited by Annemarieke Willemsen and Hanneke Kik, pp.95-103. The National Museum of Antiquities Leiden, The Netherlands. Brepols, Turnhout.

Dijkstra, Juke and Gareth Williams

2009 New Research in Dorestad: Preliminary Results of the Excavation at the former Fruit Auction Hall ('Veilingterrein') at Wijk bij Duurstede. *Dorestad in an International Framework: New Research on Centres of Trade and Coinage in Carolingian Times Proceedings of the first 'Dorestad Congress'*, edited by Annemarieke Willemsen and Hanneke Kik, pp. 59-63. The National Museum of Antiquities Leiden, The Netherlands. Brepols, Turnhout.

Eriksen, Marianne Hem, Unn Pedersen, Bernt Rundberget, Irmelin Axelsen and Heidi Lund Berg

2015 *Viking Worlds: Things, Spaces and Movement*. Oxbow, Oxford.

Es, Wim Albertus van

1990 Dorestad centred. In *Medieval archaeology in the Netherlands: Studies presented to H van Regteren Altena* edited by J. C. Besteman, J. M. Bos, H. A. Heidinga and H. H. van Regteren Altena, pp. Universiteit van Amsterdam, Assen.

2006 Gladius cuius capulus aureus erat. Een zwaard met gouden gevest uit Dorestad (A sword with a golden hilt from Dorestad). In *Vakken in vlakken: archeologische kennis in lagen (Sections in plans: archaeological knowledge in levels)* edited by Otto Brinkkemper and C. C. Bakels, pp. 85-103. Rijksdienst voor het Oudheidkundig Bodemonderzoek, Amersfoort.

Es, Wim Albertus van, W. J. H. Verwers and C. Isings

2015 *Excavations at Dorestad 4: The settlement on the river bank area*. Cultural Heritage Agency of the Netherlands, Amersfoort.

Es, Wim Albertus van and Willem J. H. Verwers

1980 *Excavations at Dorestad 1: The harbour: Hoogstraat 1*. Rijksdienst voor Oudheidkundig Bodemonderzoek, Amersfoort.

Es, Wim Albertus van, Willem J. H. Verwers and Jan van Doesburg

2009 *Excavations at Dorestad 3, Hoogstraat 0, II-IV*. Rijksdienst voor Archeologie, Cultuurlandschap en Monumenten, Amersfoort.

Gaut, Bjarne

- 2007 Vessel Glass from Kaupang: A Contextual and Social Analysis. *Norwegian Archaeological Review* 40:26-41.
- 2011 Vessel Glass and Evidence of Glassworking. In *Things from the Town: Artefacts and Inhabitants in Viking-age Kaupang* edited by Dagfinn Skre, pp. 169-279. Aarhus University Press, Århus.
- Gelder, Enno van**
- 1980 Coins from Dorestad, Hoogstraat I. In *Excavations at Dorestad 1: The harbour: Hoogstraat 1 Nederlandse Oudheden* edited by Willem Albertus van Es and Willem J. H. Verwers, pp. 212-224. Rijksdienst voor Oudheidkundig Bodemonderzoek, Amersfoort.
- Ginkel, Evert van and Leo Verhart**
- 2009 *Onder onze voeten: De archeologie van Nederland (Beneath our feet: The archaeology of the Netherlands)*. Uitgeverij Bert Bakker, Amsterdam.
- Gosden, Chris and Yvonne Marshall**
- 1999 The cultural biography of objects. *World Archaeology* 31:169-178.
- Graham-Campbell, James**
- 2011 Pins and Penannular Brooches. In *Things from the Town: Artefacts and Inhabitants in Viking-age Kaupang* edited by Dagfinn Skre, pp. 99-106. Aarhus University Press, Århus.
- Gregory, Christopher**
- 1982 *Gifts and commodities*. Academic Press, London.
- Hedeager, Lotte**
- 1994 Krigerøkonomi og handelsøkonomi i vikingetiden. In *Norden og Europa i vikingetid og tidlig middelalder* edited by Niels Lund, pp. 36-68. Museum Tusulanums Forlag, København.
- Henderson, Julian and Ingegerd Holand**
- 1992 The Glass from Borg, an Early Medieval Chieftain's Farm in Northern Norway. *Medieval Archaeology* 36:29-58.
- Hilberg, Volker**
- 2008 Hedeby: an outline of its research history. In *The Viking World* edited by Stefan Brink and Neil Price, pp. 101-120. Routledge, London.
- Himstedt, Thomas**
- 2004 How the Vikings got to the Rhine. A historical-geographical survey over the Rhinelands in the Early Middle Ages. In *Vikings on the Rhine: Recent Research on Early Medieval Relations between the Rhinelands and Scandinavia* edited by Rudolf Simek and Ulrike Engel, pp. 23-38. Fassbaender, Wien.
- Hines, John and Nelleke IJssennagger**
- 2017a Frisians - Who, When, Where, Why? In *Frisians and their North Sea Neighbours: From the Fifth Century to the Viking Age* edited by John Hines and Nelleke IJssennagger, pp. 1-4. The Boydell Press, Woodbridge.
- 2017b *Frisians and their North Sea Neighbours: From the Fifth Century to the Viking Age*. The Boydell Press, Woodbridge.
- Hodder, Ian and Angus Mol**

2016 Network analysis and entanglement. *Journal of Archaeological Method and Theory* 23:1066-1094.

Hodges, Richard

1982 *Dark Age Economics: The origins of towns and trade A.D. 600-1000*. St. Martin's Press, New York.

1999 Dark Age Economics Revisited. In *In Discussion with the Past Archaeological Studies presented to W A van Es* edited by H. Sarfatij, W. J. H. Verwers and P. J. Woltering, pp. 227-232. Foundation for Promoting Archaeology, Amersfoort.

2012 *Dark age economics: a new audit*. Bristol Classical Press, London.

Holand, Ingegerd

2003 9E Pottery. In *Borg in Lofoten: a chieftain's farm in North Norway* edited by Gerd Stamsø Munch, Olav Sverre Johansen and Else Roesdahl, pp. 199-210. Tapir Academic Press, Trondheim.

Holwerda, Jan Hendrik

1925 *Nederland's vroegste geschiedenis*. SL van Looy,

1929 *Dorestad en onze Vroegste Middeleeuwen (Dorestad and our Earliest Middle Ages)*. A.W. Sijthoff's Uitgeversmij N.V., Leiden.

Hougen, Ellen-Karine

1993 *Bosetningsområdet keramikk*. Universitetets oldsaksamling, Oslo.

Hübener, Wolfgang

1951 Zur Ausbreitung einiger fränkischer Keramikgruppen nach Nord- und Mitteleuropa im 9.-12. Jahrhundert. *Archaeologica Geografica* 2..

Hårdh, Birgitta

2008 Hacksilver and Ingots. In *Means of Exchange Dealing with Silver in the Viking Age* edited by Dagfinn Skre, pp. 95-118. Aarhus University Press, Århus.

IJssennagger, Nelleke

2013a Between Frankish and Viking: Frisia and Frisians in the Viking Age. *Viking and Medieval Scandinavia* 9:69-98.

2013b Vriend, vazal en vijand? Contacten tussen Friezen en Scandinaviërs in de Vikingtijd - teksten en objecten (Friend, vassal and enemy? Contact between Frisians and Scandinavians in the Viking Age - texts and objects). *De Vrije Fries* 93:37-59.

2015a Een bijzondere Vikingvondst van Texel (A special Vikingfind from Texel). *Paleo-aktueel* 26:81-87.

2015b A Viking Find from the Isle of Texel (Netherlands) and its Implications. *Viking and Medieval Scandinavia* 11:127-142.

2017 *Central because Liminal: Frisia in a Viking Age North Sea World*. Ph.D. dissertation, Groningen Institute for Archaeology, Rijksuniversiteit Groningen.

Isings, C.

1980 Glass finds from Dorestad, Hoogstraat I. In *Excavations at Dorestad I: The harbour: Hoogstraat I Nederlandse Oudheden* edited by Willem Albertus van Es and Willem J. H. Verwers, pp. 225-237. Rijksdienst voor Oudheidkundig Bodemonderzoek, Amersfoort.

2009 Glass. In *Excavations at Dorestad 3, Hoogstraat 0, II-IV* edited by Wim Albertus van Es, Willem J. H. Verwers and Jan van Doesburg, pp. 259-279. Rijksdienst voor Archeologie, Cultuurlandschap en Monumenten, Amersfoort.

Jellema, Dirk

1955 Frisian Trade in the Dark Ages. *Speculum* 30:15-36.

Jesch, Judith

1997 The Senja neck-ring and Viking activity in the eleventh century. *Blandade Runstudier* 2:7-12.

2001 *Ships and Men in the Late Viking Age: The Vocabulary of Runic Inscriptions and Skaldic Verse*. Boydell & Brewer,

Joy, Jody

2009 Reinvigorating object biography: reproducing the drama of object lives. *World Archaeology* 41:540-556.

Keller, Christopher

2004 Pottery production in Badorf and Walberberg during the Carolingian period. In *Vikings on the Rhine: Recent Research on Early Medieval Relations between the Rhinelands and Scandinavia* edited by Rudolf Simek and Ulrike Engel, pp. 155-163. Fassbaender, Wien.

Kilger, Christoph

2008 Wholeness and Holiness: Counting Weighing and Valuing Silver in the Early Viking Period. In *Means of Exchange Dealing with Silver in the Viking Age* edited by Dagfinn Skre, pp. 253-327. Aarhus University Press, Århus.

Knol, Egge

2010 Frisia in Carolingian times. In *Viking Trade and Settlement in Continental Western Europe* edited by Iben Skibsted Klaesoe, pp. 43-60. Museum Tusulanum Press, Copenhagen.

Knol, Egge and Nelleke IJssennagger

2017 *Palaeogeography and People: Historical Frisians in an archaeological light*. The Boydell Press, Woodbridge.

Kosian, Menne, Rowin van Lanen and Henk Weerts

2014 Dorestad's Rise and Fall: How the local landscape influenced the growth, prosperity and disappearance of an Early-Medieval emporium. *Golden Middle Ages in Europe: New Research into Early-Medieval Communities and Identities The Second 'Dorestad Congress'*, edited by Annemarieke Willemsen and Hanneke Kik, pp. 99-104. The National Museum of Antiquities Leiden, The Netherlands. Brepols, Turnhout.

Kramer, Evert and Ernst Taayke

1996 Frisere langs Nordsøkysten fra 400 til 1000 e.Kr. In *Frisere, saksere og danere: kulturer ved Nordsøen, 400-1000 eKr* edited by Joachim Döring, Mamoun Fansa, Claus Feveile, Alexander Jager, Stig Jensen and Evert Kramer, pp. 9-23. Uitgeverij van Wijnen, Franeker.

Lebecq, Stéphane

1992 The Frisian trade in the Dark Ages: a Frisian or a Frankish/Frisian trade? *Rotterdam papers VII: A contribution to medieval archaeology Teksten van lezingen gehouden tijdens het symposium 'Handel, handelsplaatsen en handelswaar vanaf de Vroege*

- Middeleeuwen in de Lage Landen' te Rotterdam van 2 t/m 3 november 1990*, edited by A. Carmiggelt, pp. 7-15. Rotterdam, The Netherlands.
- 1999 Long Distance Merchants and the Forms of their Ventures at the Time of the Dorestad Heyday. In *In Discussion with the Past Archaeological Studies presented to W A van Es* edited by H. Sarfatij, W. J. H. Verwers and P. J. Woltering, pp. 233-238. Foundation for Promoting Archaeology, Amersfoort.
- Loveluck, Christopher**
- 2013 *Northwest Europe in the early Middle Ages, c. AD 600-1150: a comparative archaeology*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.
- Lund Feveile, Lene**
- 2006 Hulglasskår fra markedspladsen i Ribe, ASR 9 Posthuset. In *Det ældste Ribe Udgravninger på nordsiden af Ribe Å 1984-2000* edited by C. Feveile, pp. 195-277. Jys Arkæologisk Selskabs Skrifter, Højbjerg.
- Lund, Niels**
- 1984 *Two voyagers at the court of King Alfred. The ventures of Ohthere and Wulfstan, together with the Description of Northern Europe from the Old English Orosius*. William Sessions Limited, York.
- 1993 Fra vikingetider til stater. Træk af Skandinaviens politiske udvikling 700-1200. In *Norden og Europa i vikingetid og tidlig middelalder* edited by pp. 9-26. Museum Tusulanum Forlag,
- Mauss, Marcel**
- 2002 *The gift: the form and reason for exchange in archaic societies*. Reprinted. Routledge, London. Originally published as *Essay sur le don* in 1923-24, l'Année Sociologique second series, Presses Universitaires de France, Paris.
- Moesgaard, Jens Christian**
- 2010 Vikings on the Continent. The numismatic evidence. In *Viking Trade and Settlement in Continental Western Europe* edited by Iben Skibsted Klaesoe, pp. 123-144. Museum Tusulanums Forlag, Copenhagen.
- Myhre, Bjørn**
- 2003 Germaanse koninkrijken aan de grens van twee keizerrijken (Germanic kingdoms at the border of two empires). In *Koningen van de Noordzee, 250-850 (Kings of the North Sea, 250-850)* edited by Evert Kramer, Ingrid Stoumann and Andrew Greg, pp. 41-54. Bureau Walburg and Uitgeverij Noordboek, Groningen.
- Nicolay, Johan**
- 2003 Een politiek machtscentrum in noordelijk Westergo (A political power centre in northern Westergo). In *Koningen van de Noordzee, 250-850 (Kings of the North Sea, 250-850)* edited by Evert Kramer, Ingrid Stoumann and Andrew Greg, pp. 55-74. Bureau Walburg and Uitgeverij Noordboek, Groningen.
- 2006 Een koninklijk machtscentrum in vroegmiddeleeuws Friesland?: de interpretatie van goudvondsten uit de late zesde en vroege zevende eeuw na Chr. *De Vrije Fries* 86:
- 2014 Kingship in Early-Medieval 'Frisia': Historical versus Archaeological Sources. *Golden Middle Ages in Europe: New Research into Early-Medieval Communities and Identities The Second 'Dorestad Congress'*, edited by Annemarieke Willemsen and

- Hanneke Kik, pp. 25-32. The National Museum of Antiquities Leiden, The Netherlands. Brepols, Turnhout.
- 2014 *The Splendour of Power: Early Medieval Kingship and the Use of Gold and Silver in the Southern North Sea Area (5th to 7th Century AD)*. Barkhuis, Groningen.
- Odelberg, Maj and Björn Ambrosiani**
- 1974 *Birka*. Riksantikvarieämbetet, Stockholm.
- Olsen, Magnus**
- 1960 *Norges innskrifter med de yngre runer*. Norsk historisk kjeldeskrift-institutt, Oslo.
- Parry, Jonathan P. and Maurice Bloch**
- 1989 Introduction. Money and the morality of exchange. In *Money and the morality of exchange* edited by Jonathan P. Parry and Maurice Bloch, pp. 1-32. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.
- Pedersen, Unn**
- 2008 Weights and Balances. In *Means of Exchange Dealing with Silver in the Viking Age* edited by Dagfinn Skre, pp. 119-178. Aarhus University Press, Århus.
- 2010 *I smeltedigelen: finsmedene i vikingtidsbyen Kaupang*. Institutt for arkeologi, konservering og historie, Det humanistiske fakultet, Universitetet i Oslo.
- 2015 Urban craftspeople at Viking-age Kaupang. In *Everyday Products in the Middle Ages: Crafts, Consumption and the Individual in Northern Europe c AD 800-1600* edited by G. Hansen, S. Ashby and I. Baug, pp. 51-68. Oxford.
- 2017 Viking-period non-ferrous metalworking and urban commodity production. In *Viking-Age Transformations: Trade, Craft and Resources in Western Scandinavia* edited by Ann Zanette Tsigaridas Glørstad and Kjetil Loftsgarden, pp. 124-138. Routledge, London.
- Pedersen, Unn and Lars Pilø**
- 2007 The Settlement: Artefacts and Site Periods. In *Kaupang in Skiringssal* edited by Dagfinn Skre, pp. 179-222. Aarhus University Press, Århus.
- Petersen, Jan**
- 1919 *De norske vikingesverd: en typologisk-kronologisk studie over vikingetidens vaaben*. I kommission hos Jacob Dybwad, Kristiania.
- Pilø, Lars**
- 2011 The Pottery. In *Things from the Town Artefacts and Inhabitants in Viking-age Kaupang* edited by Dagfinn Skre, pp. 281-304. Aarhus University Press, Århus.
- Pilø, Lars and Dagfinn Skre**
- 2011 Introduction to the Site. In *Things from the Town: Artefacts and Inhabitants in Viking-age Kaupang* edited by Dagfinn Skre, pp. 17-26. Aarhus University Press, Århus.
- Pol, Arent**
- 1990 Madelinus naar het uiterlijk beoordeeld (Madelinus the outer appearance judged). In *Willem van Rede (1880-1953): Een verzamelaar uit hartstocht* edited by N. Zemerling, pp. Rijksdienst Beeldende Kunst, 's-Gravenhage.
- 2009 Madelinus and the disappearing of gold. *Dorestad in an International Framework: New Research on Centres of Trade and Coinage in Carolingian Times Proceedings of the first 'Dorestad Congress'*, edited by Annemarieke Willemsen and Hanneke Kik,

pp. 91-94. The National Museum of Antiquities Leiden, The Netherlands. Brepols, Turnhout.

Preiss, Florian

2009 Tesseræ and Glass Drops: Indications for Glass Working in Early Medieval Dorestad. *Dorestad in an International Framework: New Research on Centres of Trade and Coinage in Carolingian Times Proceedings of the first 'Dorestad Congress'*, edited by Annemarieke Willemsen and Hanneke Kik, pp 123-136. The National Museum of Antiquities Leiden, The Netherlands. Brepols, Turnhout.

Price, Neil S. and Stefan Brink

2008 *The Viking world*. Routledge, London.

Roes, Anna

1965 *Vondsten van Dorestad (Finds from Dorestad)*. J.B. Wolters, Groningen.

Roesdahl, Else

1987 *Vikingernes verden: vikingerne hjemme og ude*. Gyldendal, København.

Sablerolles, Y.

1999 The glass vessel finds. In *The Excavations at Wijnaldum: Reports on Frisia in Roman and Medieval Times* edited by J.C. Besteman, J.M. Bos and H.A. Gerrets, pp. 229-252. A.A. Balkema, Rotterdam.

Samplonius, Kees

1998 Friesland en de Vikingtijd: de ring van Senja en de Vierentwintig Landrechten (Friesland and the Viking Age: the ring from Senja and the Twentyfour Landlaws). *It Beaken* 60:89-101.

Sarfatij, Herbert

1999 Tiel in Succession to Dorestad. Archaeology in a 10th-to 11th-Century Commercial Centre in the Central River Area of the Netherlands. In *In Discussion with the Past: Archaeological Studies Presented to WA van Es* edited by Herbert Sarfatij, Willem J. H. Verwers and P. J. Woltering, pp. 267-277. Foundation for Promoting Archaeology, Amersfoort.

Short, William R.

2010 *Icelanders in the Viking age: the people of the sagas*. McFarland & Co., Jefferson, N.C.

Sindbæk, Søren Michael

2005 *Ruter og rutinisering: Vikingetidens fjernhandel i Nordeuropa*. Multivers Academic, København.

Skre, Dagfinn

2007 *Kaupang in Skiringssal* (editor). Aarhus University Press, Århus.

2009 From Dorestad to Kaupang: Frankish Traders and Settlers in a 9th-Century Scandinavian Town. *Dorestad in an International Framework: New Research on Centres of Trade and Coinage in Carolingian Times Proceedings of the first 'Dorestad Congress'*, edited by Annemarieke Willemsen and Hanneke Kik, pp. 137-142. The National Museum of Antiquities Leiden, The Netherlands. Brepols, Turnhout.

2009 From Dorestad to Kaupang: Frankish Traders and Settlers in a 9th-Century Scandinavian Town. In *Dorestad in an International Framework: New Research on*

- Centres of Trade and Coinage in Carolingian Times. Proceedings of the first 'Dorestad Congress'* edited by Annemarieke Willemsen, pp. 137-42. Brepols, Turnhout.
- 2011a The Inhabitants: Activities. In *Things from the Town: Artefacts and Inhabitants in Viking-age Kaupang* edited by Dagfinn Skre, pp. 397-415. Aarhus Universitetsforlag, Århus.
- 2011b The Inhabitants: Origins and Trading Connexions. In *Things from the Town: Artefacts and Inhabitants in Viking-age Kaupang* edited by Dagfinn Skre, pp. 417-441. Aarhus University Press, Århus.
- Skre, Dagfinn, Lars Pilø, Mark Blackburn, Gert Rispling, Kenneth Jonsson, Birgitta Hårdh, Unn Pedersen and Christoph Kilger**
- 2008 *Means of Exchange. Dealing with Silver in the Viking Age*. Aarhus University Press, Århus.
- Smith, Michael E. and Peter Peregrine**
- 2012 Approaches to Comparative Analysis in Archaeology. In *The Comparative Archaeology of Complex Societies* edited by Michael E. Smith, pp. 4-20. Cambridge University Press,
- Steuer, Heiko**
- 1974 *Die Südsiedlung von Haithabu; Studien zur frühmittelalterlichen Keramik im Nordseeküstenbereich und in Schleswig-Holstein*. Neumünster.
- Stilke, Henning**
- 2001a IV. Muschelgrusware. In *Handbuch zur mittelalterlichen Keramik in Nordeuropa* edited by Heiko Lüdtkke and K. Schietzel, pp. 175-208. Wachholtz, Neumünster.
- 2001b VI. Tatinger ware. In *Handbuch zur mittelalterlichen Keramik in Nordeuropa* edited by Heiko Lüdtkke and K. Schietzel, pp. 257-270. Wachholtz, Neumünster.
- Theuws, Frans**
- 2003 *De sleutel van Sint Servaas: Uitwisseling, religie, identiteit en centrale plaatsen in de Vroege Middeleeuwen (The key of Saint Servaas: Exchange, religion, identity and central places in the Early Middle Ages)*. Amsterdam University Press,
- 2004 Exchange, religion, identity and central places in the early Middle Ages. *Arch Dial* 10:121-138.
- Tsigaridas Glørstad, Zanette**
- 2012 Sign of the times? The transfer and transformation of penannular brooches in Viking-Age Norway. *Norwegian Archaeological Review* 45:30-51.
- Tys, Dries**
- 2015 Vikingen aan zee? *De Grote Rede* 15-20.
- Verwers, Willem Johannes Hendrik**
- 2010 Vikings in the Lower Rhine area? In *Viking Trade and Settlement in Continental Western Europe* edited by Iben Skibsted Klaesoe, pp. 61-80. Museum Tusulanum Press, Copenhagen.
- Vince, Alan**
- 2011 Characterisation Studies of Pottery, Industrial Ceramics and Fired Clay. In *Things from the Town: Artefacts and Inhabitants in Viking-age Kaupang* edited by Dagfinn Skre, pp. 305-309. Aarhus University Press, Århus.
- Walker, William H. and Michael Brian Schiffer**

2006 The Materiality of Social Power: The Artifact-Acquisition Perspective. *Journal of Archaeological Method and Theory* 13:67-88.

Walther, Sabine

2004 The Vikings in the Rhinelands according to Latin Sources. In *Vikings on the Rhine: Recent Research on Early Medieval Relations Between the Rhinelands and Scandinavia* edited by Rudolf Simek and Ulrike Engel, pp. 165-178. Fassbaender, Wien.

Wamers, Egon

1983 Some ecclesiastical and secular Insular metalwork found in Norwegian Viking graves. *Peritia* 2:277-306.

1985 *Insularer Metallschmuck in wikingerzeitlichen Gräbern Nordeuropas. Untersuchungen zur skandinavischen Westexpansion.* Wachholtz, Neumünster.

2011 Continental and Insular Metalwork. In *Things from the Town: Artefacts and Inhabitants in Viking-age Kaupang* edited by Dagfinn Skre, pp. 65-97. Aarhus University Press, Århus.

Welch, Martin

2003 Handel en handelsplaatsen in het Noordzeegebied (Trade and trading centres in the North Sea area). In *Koningen van de Noordzee, 250-850 (Kings of the North Sea, 250-850)* edited by Evert Kramer, Ingrid Stoumann and Andrew Greg, pp. 87-98. Bureau Walburg and Uitgeverij Noordboek, Groningen.

Willemsen, Annemarieke

2004 Scattered across the Waterside: Viking Finds from the Netherlands. In *Vikings on the Rhine: Recent Research on Early Medieval Relations between the Rhinelands and Scandinavia* edited by Rudolf Simek and Ulrike Engel, pp. 65-82. Fassbaender, Wien.

2009a Dorestad discussed. Connections and conclusions. *Dorestad in an International Framework: New Research on Centres of Trade and Coinage in Carolingian Times Proceedings of the first 'Dorestad Congress'*, edited by Annemarieke Willemsen and Hanneke Kik, pp. 177-183. The National Museum of Antiquities Leiden, The Netherlands. Brepols, Turnhout.

2009b Welcome to Dorestad. A History of Finding 'The Dutch Troy'. *Dorestad in an International Framework: New Research on Centres of Trade and Coinage in Carolingian Times Proceedings of the first 'Dorestad Congress'*, edited by Annemarieke Willemsen and Hanneke Kik, pp. 7-16. The National Museum of Antiquities Leiden, The Netherlands. Brepols, Turnhout.

2014a Golden Ages of Dorestad: Connections and Conclusions. *Golden Middle Ages in Europe: New Research into Early-Medieval Communities and Identities The Second 'Dorestad Congress'*, edited by Annemarieke Willemsen and Hanneke Kik, pp. 145-149. The National Museum of Antiquities Leiden, The Netherlands. Brepols, Turnhout.

2014b *Gouden Middeleeuwen, Nederland in de Merovingische wereld, 400-700 na Chr. (Golden Middle Ages, the Netherlands in the Merovingian world, 400-700 na Chr.).* Walburg Pers, Zutphen.

Willemsen, Annemarieke and Hanneke Kik (editors)

- 2009 Dorestad in an International Framework: New Research on Centres of Trade and Coinage in Carolingian Times. *Proceedings of the First 'Dorestad Congress'*. The National Museum of Antiquities Leiden, The Netherlands. Brepols, Turnhout.
- 2014 Golden Middle Ages in Europe: New Research into Early-Medieval Communities and Identities. *Proceedings of the Second 'Dorestad Congress'*. The National Museum of Antiquities Leiden, The Netherlands. Brepols, Turnhout.

Willemsen, Annemarieke, Rudolf Simek and Renger de Bruin

- 2004 *Vikingen! Overvallen in het stroomgebied van Rijn en Maas, 800-1000 (Vikings! Raids in the catchment area of the Rhine and Meuse, 800-1000)*. Thoth, Bussum.

Williams, Gareth

- 2009 The Influence of Dorestad Coinage on Coin Design in England and Scandinavia. *Dorestad in an International Framework: New Research on Centres of Trade and Coinage in Carolingian Times Proceedings of the first 'Dorestad Congress'*, edited by Annemarieke Willemsen and Hanneke Kik, pp. 105-111. The National Museum of Antiquities Leiden, The Netherlands. Brepols, Turnhout

Williams, Gareth, Peter Pentz and Matthias Wemhoff

- 2014 *Vikings: life and legend*. British Museum Press, London.

Ypey, Jaap

- 1980 A Sword with Damascened Blade from Dorestad, Hoogstraat I. In *Excavations at Dorestad 1: The harbour: Hoogstraat 1 Nederlandse Oudheden* edited by Willem Albertus van Es and Willem J. H. Verwers, pp. 190-206. Rijksdienst voor Oudheidkundig Bodemonderzoek, Amersfoort.