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By Bente Magnus


During the sugar-beet harvest of 1942 a fragment of a Baltic crossbow brooch (KLM 20732) was found inside Gråborg, the largest of the Migration Period ring forts of Öland. On the basis of fragments of a casting mould for a similar brooch found at the central place of Helgö on Lake Mälaren, Joachim Werner later postulated that this type of brooch was most probably produced at Helgö. Around 1980 a female grave was excavated at the Bavarian row grave cemetery of Altenerding in Germany, containing a similar crossbow brooch and other pieces of jewellery foreign to that region. The finds were tentatively interpreted as pointing towards Scandinavia, and the lady was ascribed an ethnic affiliation: Swedish. This paper examines the arguments for this conclusion and offers alternatives. It also touches upon the difficult problem of interpreting foreign objects in female graves, particularly brooches, as ethnic markers.

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Gräborg, the Grey Fort, is the largest of the Migration Period ring forts of Öland. 16 forts are known today and three have been postulated on account of finds and place names (Wegræus 1976, p. 36). Gräborg is not quite circular and the area within the walls measures 210 by 162 m. The surrounding wall is built mainly of rectangular blocks of limestone and its crown measures 640 m in circumference. During the Middle Ages an outer ditch was added to the defence system. There are three gates, one in the north, one in the south and one in the north-west, two of which were rebuilt in the Middle Ages and furnished with a vault and a tower. The area within the walls has been tilled at least since the 17th century. Several finds particularly from the Viking Period and the early Middle Ages (after AD 1050) have come to light during seasonal agricultural work (Stenberger 1933, p. 214 ff). U.E. Hagberg has directed excavations on a small scale in Gräborg during 2001–2003.

In the late summer of 1942, the sugar-beet harvest was in full swing on a plot within the walls of Gräborg when a young woman suddenly found a small decorated metal object. Bertil Almgren, then a young student spending the summer on the island, was summoned, and could inform the public that the object was made of gilded silver and was part of a fibula (fig. 1a–c; KLM 20732). The find is the bow and foot in one piece of a crossbow brooch made of gilded silver and decorated in chip carving with spiral tendrils and one animal head at each end. The brooch lacks the cross bar and its terminal knobs as well as the arc. The pin, which judging from traces on the fibula was made of iron, is also missing. The fibula measures 66 mm in length and 1.2–1.5 mm in width.

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A product from Helgö?
The brooch fragment was first published by Werner (1951) who concluded that it was Masurian, a conclusion accepted by Åberg (1953, p. 93 f). In a later article about the mobility of objects and persons, Werner (1970) again focused on the Gråborg brooch due to a find from Helgö of two fragments of a mould for the casting of a similar crossbow brooch (fig. 2). Werner refers to works of Åberg and Oxenstierna where the type is described as East Prussian (Masurermanic). The two mould fragments from Helgö and the Gråborg brooch made him question the traditionally ascribed origin of this type of brooches (1970, p. 80) and instead suggest a Scandinavian origin.

Werner's tentative conclusion was strengthened by a female grave (grave 421) at the Bavarian row grave cemetery at Altenerding in Oberbayern, Germany with an unusual set of jewellery (Sage 1984, p. 120 f). It consists of two dress pins and a neck ring of bronze, a bronze crossbow brooch with ribbon-shaped bow and foot, and a compact gilded silver crossbow brooch of the Gråborg type. This set of jewellery led Werner to conclude that the buried woman was most probably of Scandinavian origin and that her silver brooch may have been produced in a workshop at Helgö (Werner 1970, p. 78 ff). Sage on the other hand, who excavated the grave, says the furnishing characterises a lady buried in the costume of the southern Baltic region “...das charakterisiert aber wohl am treffendsten Grab 421, in welchem im frühen 6. Jahrhundert eine Dame in der fremdländischen Tracht des südlichen Ostseeraumes ihre letzte Ruhestätte fand” (1975, p. 275 f), which is not quite the same as Werner's conclusion.

Menghin (1990, p. 75, Abb. 62) maintained that the jewellery of grave 421 has its counterparts in the South Baltic region and that the lady in question probably originated there. What the terms "südliches Ostseeraum" or "South Baltic region" means is not entirely clear, but obviously neither Sage nor Menghin
agreed with Werner about the Scandinavian origin of the buried lady. According to Menghin, the large Bavarian row grave cemeteries Erding-Altenerding and Straubing-Bajuwarenstrasse show signs of a mixed population. This stems from the historically attested withdrawal of the Roman troops in the 5th century, which left this region free for Germanic and other groups of tribal settlers to move in.

**The jewellery from Altenerding grave 421**

Werner’s idea of a Scandinavian origin for the Bavarian lady and also for the crossbow brooch from Gråborg has continued to circulate in the archaeological literature (cf. Arrhenius 1992; Koch 1999; Bitner-Wróblewska 2000, 2001). It may therefore be of interest to re-evaluate the basis for Werner’s conclusion, particularly in the light of research done since 1970. Let us treat the “Scandinavian” pieces first (fig. 3).

The *pair of dress pins* is foreign to the Bavarian female dress of this period. I presume that Werner was convinced of their Scandinavian origin after taking part in the Helgö conference in 1968 and seeing the casting moulds for dress pins found at this site (Waller 1996). The Altenerding dress pins are made of bronze with a flat mushroom-shaped head with a perforation for a small ring. The pin’s stem and head are separated by a moulding. According to Werner the pins are Scandinavian: “Dieses Nadelpaar ist skandinavisch und besitzt von Norwegen über Schweden bis Finnland zahlreiche Parallelen” (1970, p. 80). In the Migration Period dress pins were in use in Scandinavia and Finland, but they disappear from the graves in the early Merovingian Period in Norway and mainland Sweden with a change in dress fashion. On Gotland and Bornholm, in Finland and particularly in the Baltic countries, however, dress pins continued in use. Perforated dress pins with rings to fasten long chains of bronze spirals are well known from Lettgallia (Balodis 1940, p. 128, figs. 4, 5, 7).

I have not been able to find exact parallels to the pins from Altenerding among the published Scandinavian material. In the fairly large material of dress pins and casting moulds for dress pins from Helgö, this design does not occur (Waller 1996, p. 48). Dress pins with mushroom-shaped heads in round are well known from Gotland both in the Migration Period (period VI:2; Nerman 1935, p. 70 f, Taf. 38, figs. 382–391) and particularly in the Early Merovingian /Vendel Period (period VII:1; Nerman 1969, p. 69 f, Taf. 14–15). None, however, have a flat and perforated mushroom-shaped head. Most of the pins from Gotland belong to non-grave contexts but they also occur in a number of graves at the cemetery of Barshalder (Rundkvist 2003, p. 156, fig. 10:13D; fig. 174, fig. 10:16F; p. 205, fig. 10:22B).

On Bornholm, dress pins belong to the female jewellery of the Early Merovingian Period, c. AD 540–600 (AM II–III, Höiland phase 1AB; Höiland Nielsen 1987, p. 69, fig. 19). At the cemetery of Nørre Sandegård Vest the use of dress pins ceased completely around the transition of phase 1D2 to phase 2A, i.e. AD 700 (Jørgensen & Nørgård Jørgensen 1997, p. 45, fig. 15). In Ørnsø’s seminal study from 1966 there are only a few dress pins (p. 160 ff, figs 197–205). Most of them have been found in Bornholm and belong early in the period.

Although dress pins were much used in Scandinavia during the Migration Period, the dress pins of the Altenerding grave may well be
Fig. 3. The major objects from grave 491, Altenerding, Bavaria (after Sage 1984).

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of South Baltic origin but made according to Gotlandic or Bornholnian fashion. Another possible source for the dress pins may be Anglo-Saxon England where such pins, but mostly used singly, are rather common (Timby 1996, p. 59; Evison 1987, p. 82). Chronologically the dress pins belong in the Late Migration Period or Early Merovingian Period. I conclude that the dress pins constitute a weak link in any chain of indications aiming to put an ethnic stamp on the Altenerding lady.

The bronze brooch from grave 421 is a crossbow brooch of a rare type named Ozingell after an early grave find from the Isle of Thanet, Kent, England. Here, two similar brooches were found (Shetelig 1910, p. 73, fig. 44; Åberg 1923, p. 128, fig. 220; Werner 1955, p. 75; Schulze-Dörrlamm 1986, p. 618 ff.). Other brooches of this type are one from Sättra, Gärdslösö parish, Öland; one from grave 130 at Hoogeheintum near Leewarden on the coast of Holland (Werner 1955) and a fragmented piece from a female grave in the row grave cemetery at Gømersle Landstrasse, Mühlhausen, Thuringia (Behm-Blancke 1959, p. 240 ff, Taf. 39; Schulze-Dörrlamm 1986, p. 619 f.). The brooch from Öland is according to Åberg a unique find in East Scandinavia. It probably belongs with three other simple crossbow brooches, a bronze finger ring and some glass beads deformed by fire, found in a cremation grave in a small cairn (SHM inv. no. 9585; Stenberger 1933, p. 63; Beskow Sjöberg 1987, p. 290, no. 20, 340).

The Mühlhausen grave contained several small brooches of presumed Anglo-Saxon origin in addition to an imitation of an Anglo-Saxon great square-headed relief brooch with a tongue-like terminal lobe, no distinct side lobs on the foot plate and rudimentary decoration (Behm-Blancke 1959, fig. 39). Schulze-Dörrlamm (1986, p. 320) considered the small Ozingell brooch to be of Scandinavian origin and the “relief brooch” to be an imitation of a Scandinavian one. Haseloff (1981, p. 497 ff.), on the other hand, considered the relief brooch to be a Central German copy of a Scandinavian model made by a craftsman who showed little understanding of Germanic Animal Style I.

The type Ozingell brooch from Altenerding is the best preserved and the most distinctly fashioned of the group with spring and coil and punched decoration. Then follows the Kentish brooch, the brooch from Öland and the small indistinct brooch from Mühlhausen (Werner 1955, p. 76, Abb. 1, 1–3). However, new specimens of this type of brooch have turned up in recent excavations in Kent. In the cemetery on Mill Hill, the well-furnished female grave 73 contained a cast imitation of such a brooch (Parfitt & Brugmann 1997, p. 45 f, fig. 130, fig. 16). Also, the eponymous Ozingell site has produced another pair of brooches of the same type as the original 19th century find (Parfitt & Brugmann 1997, p. 46). It seems that the case for a Scandinavian origin for the Ozingell type brooches is rather weak. It is in fact most probably an Anglo-Saxon type. A further brooch of this type was published in 2002 (Droberjar 2002, p. 109). It was found in a sunken feature building at Jenstein 2 near Prague and seems to be the finest specimen of them all with a varied punch decoration.

The bronze necklet consists of a rod with circular section and a flattened front part with punched decoration. Its distinguishing feature is the hook-and-eye fastening on the right-hand side, which is unique. This feature is unknown in Scandinavia. Kivikoski considered it a special Estonian feature without citing references, cf. Ørsnes 1966. Neck rings were popular during the Migration and Early Merovingian Periods on Gotland and Bornholm, in Finland and in the East Baltic region. A few have also been found on the Swedish mainland and in Anglo-Saxon contexts (Adams & Jackson 1990, p. 59, 158). Ørsnes (1966, p. 168 f) assigned the Altenerding necklet to his group Q8 and generally considered the south Scandinavian necklets of the early Merovingian Period to be local products inspired by the fashion en vogue east of the Baltic Sea. Wamers (2000, p. 54 f), referring to Werner 1970, suggests a south Swedish origin for the lady of Altenerding grave 421 and maintains that her necklet may have parallels from Öland. No necklet of this type is, however, known from Öland according to the publications Ölands järnåldersgravfält I–IV (The Iron Age cemetery...
ries of Öland). The same goes for Bornholm and Gotland. On Gotland necklets of similar shape but with the fastening contraption worn at the back of the neck are not known from grave finds, only from votive deposits. Nerman considers necklets an East Baltic influence (Nerman 1935, p. 71), which is as close as we can get at the moment. Consequently, the proposed Scandinavian origin for the Altenederding necklet is dubious.

The crossbow brooch from the Altenederding grave is of a type well-known in the south Baltic area. It is made of gilded bronze cast in several pieces and measures 60 mm. Much research has been done on the origin and chronology of this brooch type (cf. Bitter-Wróblewska 2000, 2001; Bliujienė ms.). I will not enter that discussion, but present some views on the scant Swedish material related to the Altenederding grave, namely the Gråborg piece and the two fragments of a mould for casting a brooch of that type found at Helgö.

The brooch from Gråborg belongs to a type called Daumen/Tumijany (Bitter-Wróblewska 2000, p. 183; 2001, p. 83 ff). Only one part of it remains, the bow and foot in one piece (fig. 1). Originally it had a number of additional parts: a cross bar, two terminal knobs, two spirals, an arc and a pin. The pin catch is rectangular with cross-hatching on both sides. The decoration of the brooch is executed in deep chip carving with animal motifs as well as scrolls. The decoration is divided in two halves by way of a ribbon-like moulding running the entire length of the brooch. It shows traces of niello with silver dots. The motifs are the same on both halves and may thus be understood seen from above as well as from the sides. The moulding branches off in four places framing two terminal animal heads and one at each end of the bow. The heads have open mouths displaying teeth or the tongue. On the foot of the brooch above the terminal head and on both sides of the mid-rib there is a panel with a pattern which may be interpreted as a couple of animal limbs.

The decorative style looks at first glance like Scandinavian Style I. A closer look, however, reveals that it is not, but something with close affinities. Compared with Scandinavian relief brooches, the decoration of the Gråborg brooch shows affinity with brooches of the Gotland-Öland type (Näsman 1984; Sjøvold 1994, figs 28–29) in the following features: the silver dots in niello on the moulding, the spirals executed in chip carving on the bow, and the “buffer” which protrudes below the animal head terminal on the foot. The animal heads of the Gråborg brooch and other brooches of the same type are also similar to the animal-shaped Vendel Period sword pommel from Kirmukarmu, Vesilahti parish, Finland (Kivikoski 1973, Abb. 508). The general outline of the brooches is also obviously related to Early Vendel Period crab brooches like the very fine specimen from Hallbjärns, Lau parish, Gotland (fig. 4).

The two pieces of a casting mould for a crossbow brooch of the Tumiany type found at Helgö (fig. 2) may be interpreted in a number of ways. The mould must have been used to make a brooch of the compact type with a simplified construction in three parts, i.e. the whole brooch cast in one piece, plus a spiral and the pin on the back. No other fragments of the mould were retrieved at Helgö, but we must assume that they once existed and were used for casting at least one compact crossbow brooch. Unfortunately, the mould fragments were found very early in the 25 years’ campaign at Helgö and no information about the exact find spot within building complex no. 3 is recorded (Årsrapport 1968, p. 11). Thousands of fragments of moulds for casting more than 210 Migration Period relief brooches were found in the workshop areas at Helgö, but the majority of the brooches produced have never been found (Lundström 1972, p. 137). They were most likely melted down and the metal re-used when the relief brooches went out of use. Most of the objects produced at Helgö belong to the period c. AD 300–550. However, casting moulds for brooches of the later 6th century, the Early Vendel Period (such as small equal-armed brooches, Husby brooches, crab brooches and bird brooches), demonstrate that at least one workshop continued to operate after the main production had come to an end.

Despite the two mould fragments, my opinion is that there is little reason to believe that
the compact type of the Baltic crossbow brooches originated and was generally produced in Scandinavia. There is a much stronger case for such brooches to have been produced in Masuria in present north-east Poland, as both Åberg and Werner once maintained. The crossbow brooches of Bitner-Wróblewska’s two main types are foreign to the costume of Migration Period Scandinavia, female as well as male.

Bitner-Wróblewska (2000, p. 183; 2001, p. 79) has suggested a division of the Baltic and Masurian crossbow brooches according not to shape, but according to presence or absence of relief decoration. This original solution to a difficult problem gives two main groups of crossbow brooches, which she has named the Sensburg/Mragowo type and the Daumen/Tumiany type, respectively. To the Sensburg/Mragowo type (crossbow brooches of slender construction without relief decoration but with an animal head terminal on the foot) she reckons three specimens found at Öland: at Hönstorp, Algutsrum parish; at Skogsby, Torslunda parish; plus one unprovenanced brooch. The brooches are stray finds, but the Hönstorp brooch was found not too far north of Gråborg (Åberg 1923, p. 131, fig. 234, 235). The Daumen/Tumiany type contains both slender and compact crossbow brooches with relatively large knobs and with most of the brooch body decorated with either spirals or animal motifs in relief. The shape of the knobs demonstrates their relation to Late Roman brooches with onion knobs and to the later Baltic poppy capsule crossbow brooches. The Daumen/Tumiany type, to which the Gråborg brooch belongs, was made in two main varieties, one composite and one compact. They have a wide distribution from Bavaria over Masuria to Lithuania, Latvia and Öland (see map in Bitner-Wróblewska 2001) and confirm the widespread net of contacts among people on the move that is characteristic of the mid-first millennium AD.

As for the chronology of the brooches, opinions differ very little. Werner (1970, p. 78) dated Altenerding grave 421 to the first half of the sixth century AD, which has become a guideline for the dating of this type of crossbow.
brooches (cf. Kazakevicius 1983, p. 104; Bitner-Wróblewska 2000, p. 19; 2001, p. 87). I find it difficult to suggest a chronological framework for this type of brooches based on the available material. Generally they seem to belong to the final phase of the Migration Period or even the earliest phase of the Merovingian/Vendel Period.

An example of exogamy?
Werner concluded that the lady of the Alten­erding grave 421 could be an obvious example of exogamy. To my knowledge no grave find with a set of jewellery similar to that of the Alten­erding grave is known from Scandinavia. It comprises an unusual mixture of Baltic and Anglo-Saxon items, and the only items that may tentatively be labelled Scandinavian are the two dress pins.

Ursula Koch (1999) has listed all known male and female grave finds containing objects that do not conform with the “normal” pattern of South German row grave cemeteries on the right-hand side of the Rhine in the second quarter of the sixth century. Her underlying idea is that female dress accessories disclose the ethnic affiliation of the deceased, i.e. that North Germanic/Scandinavian women who were married off to men further south in Europe were buried in their original regional costume. This was also the idea behind Werner’s postulate that the woman of Alten­erding grave 421 was an example of exogamy from South Scandinavia. It comprises an unusual mixture of Baltic and Anglo-Saxon items, and the only items that may tentatively be labelled Scandinavian are the two dress pins.

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Before suggesting an ethnic interpretation there are certain questions to be answered or at least discussed. The first is whether women given in marriage far from their home region were likely to be buried in their “native” costume. Secondly, was exogamy a common political way of securing bonds between families other than among the Germanic societal elite in the Migration Period?

To answer the first question: as far as we know, post-marital residence was virilocal, i.e. the woman went to live with her husband’s family. If there were differences in costume between her home region and her new home, one would presume that she would be given the appropriate dress of her husband’s home region when moving into her new household (Straume 1995, p. 97 ff). But more to the point: is it likely that she would be dressed in her “native” costume or decorated with her “native” jewellery when buried or cremated?

The second question is whether women were used as political pawns outside of the very elite among the Germanic societies. As far as we know, this was not common, and the lady of the Alten­erding grave 421 did not, judging from the furnishings of her grave, belong to the top level of society. She may of course have been the victim of abduction (Vierck 1970, p. 394) and have followed Thuringians on their way to South Germany, as proposed by Koch.

Vierck’s conclusion that, judging from her jewellery, the lady of Alten­erding was most probably Anglo-Saxon, seems better founded than any suggestion of a Scandinavian origin. Arreh­nius (1992) has discussed exogamy in relation to early Germanic marriage traditions, later co­dified in laws, about morning gift and dowry. She maintains that gold jewellery like bracteates and gilded silver great relief brooches may well have been part of a morning gift within the Germanic elite. When such pieces appear “foreign” in relation to the rest of the funerary outfit, exogamy may well be the explanation.

Settlers and raiders
My intention with this article is not to question whether cases of exogamy are possible to deduce from an archaeological material. Rather, it is to focus on Werner’s article from 1970 which has had such a profound influence both on the chronology of the Baltic Middle Iron Age and on the conception of the importance of the Scandinavian influence south of the Baltic Sea. The widespread distribution of the Daumen/Tumyani brooches of the variant found in Grå­borg may be due to itinerant craftsmen who adopted Scandinavian ornamental details when
producing typical Baltic brooches (Bitner-Wróblewska 2001, p. 87 f). Brooches like the one from Gråborg are considered to be jewellery for high status men (cf. Bliujiené ms.), but could obviously be worn also by women outside of the core distribution area of the brooches. The Gråborg brooch may thus have belonged either to a man or a woman. If we choose to see it as a male attribute, the next question is, what a high-ranking Baltic or Masurian man was doing within the walls of the largest Migration Period fortress of Öland. This question is equally relevant for the other single finds of Baltic brooches known from Öland (cf. Äberg 1923, p. 123 ff.)

The position of the island of Öland in the Baltic Sea opens it to peaceful as well as martial contact both with the Swedish mainland and areas east and south of the Baltic Sea. The 16 ring forts testify to the population’s need for defence, and the numerous hoards of Roman solidi, ring gold and gold jewellery from this period give an indication of the island’s wealth (Hersched 1980, p. 252). The gold finds are not spread evenly over the island, but gather in the coastal areas on either side of Gråborg, the largest ring fort of the island, in the region located between the third and fourth largest ring forts Ismanstorp and Mossberga as well as south of the second-largest ring fort Löt (Näsman 1984, p. 127). The distribution of Baltic brooches on Öland seems to be connected with settlements, as only one has as yet been found in a grave.

Settlers and raiders from the east and south Baltic regions were probably common on Öland in the Migration Period, despite the fact that a number of single brooches is all the proof we have. There is, however, a folk tradition connected with the ring fort of Gråborg saying that the fort was once owned by a king Bugislev. He may tentatively be identified with the historical person Burislef, son of the 12th century Swedish king Sverker the old in his second marriage to Rikissa, daughter of king Boleslev III of Poland (Stenberger 1993, p. 252, note 2). Even if this tradition may have appeared as a result of a Medieval historical situation, it is not unlikely that a similar situation may have occurred during the Migration Period at Gråborg or one of the other forts of Öland. The island’s wealth must have worked like a magnet on warlords of the east and south shores of the Baltic, and the threat of seaborne attack must have been permanent. Moreover, from Öland the straits of Kalmar gave easy access to mainland Sweden. The Baltic interest indicated by the single finds of Baltic Migration Period brooches on Öland does not seem as clear in the Vendel Period and appears very limited in the Viking Period.

There is a later type of Baltic crossbow brooch with poppy capsule knobs, related both to the compact and to the slender type of crossbow brooches from the Migration Period and/or Early Vendel Period. It occurs in Finland and in the east Baltic area in the Viking Period. A fragment of this type of brooch came to light in the ring fort of Eketorp on Öland and another at Hilleshög in Uppland (J.P. Lamm 1987, p. 70 ff). The Hilleshög fragment has interlace decoration which is otherwise unknown on brooches of this type. This caused J.P. Lamm to postulate a possible Scandinavian origin for this type of brooch as he associated it with the two much earlier mould fragments for a crossbow brooch from Helgö. Hilleshög is not very far from Helgö and the later urban settlement of Birka in Lake Mälaren, and both sites have yielded workshop debris from jewellery casting (Ambrosiani 1994, 1995; K. Lamm 1977). Like Werner, J.P. Lamm indicated that the Swedish workshops may have contributed to the production of Baltic crossbow brooches. Only further finds of workshop material may strengthen or weaken this suggestion.

Origin myths current in the Migration Period among a number of Germanic gentes taught that their mythical forebears had once emigrated from the island of Scandza. This idea seems to have a modern archaeological counterpart.

Postscript
Several of the Baltic/Masurian Migration Period crossbow brooches and the Viking Period ones have very distinct knobs in the shape of large poppy capsules, a feature which may originally have been inspired by provincial Ro-
man brooches with onion shaped knobs (Nowakowski 1998, p. 55). This makes one wonder whether the men (or women) who wore them were thought to possess esoteric and/or medical knowledge. Poppy comes in many variants and the opium poppy was well known in antiquity. Pliny, in his books on Natural History (book 19, p. 167–169; book 20, p. 198–206), discusses the different species of poppy and is rather explicit as regards the production of opium and its medical use.

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Sammanfattning

Artiklken tar sitt utgangspunkt i ett funn av en baltisk armbröstfibula inne i Gråborg, Ölands störste borg från folkevandringstiden. Ett par fragmenter av en stöpeform till slike spenner ble funnet veldig tidlig i utgravningene på Helgö, og Joachim Werner koplet disse to funnene sammen og hevdet i en artikkel at slike baltiske fiber var produsert på Helgö i folkevandringstiden. Da en liknende spenner ble funnet i en kvinnegrav på et rekkegravfelt i Oberbayern, og graven dessuten inneholdt fremmede gjenstander som man mente pekte mot Skandinavia (så som draktnåler, en draktspenne av typen Ozingell og en halsring), var grunnen lagt for å gi kvinnan en svensk etniske tilhørighet. Artiklken gjennomgår argumentasjonen for denne slutningen og aviser den, men påpeker problemene med å tolke fremmede gjenstander, især draktnæper i kvinnegraver, som etniske markerer.