

Social and political formations in the
Scandinavian areas, 8th-10th century. The
martial perspective

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RESUMEN: La Alta Edad Media europea corresponde a la prehistoria reciente en Escandinavia. Es la época de los vikingos, cuando la ideología marcial dominaba la estructura social. Los conflictos armados fueron uno de los más importantes factores de las reformas y cambios sociales que condujeron a la primera construcción de la nación y la

ABSTRACT: European Early Middle Ages constitutes late pre-history in Scandinavia. This was the era of the Vikings and martial ideology dominated the societal structure. Armed conflicts were one of the most important factors in the reformations and societal changes that led to the early state formation and nation building. The social and political

formación del estado. El desarrollo social y político se refleja en las fortificaciones y la toponimia con connotaciones militares, creando un paisaje arqueológico de defensa.

PALABRAS CLAVE: Escandinavia, vikingos, Edad del Hierro, estructuras políticas, fortificaciones, sociedad marcial.

development is reflected in fortifications and place-names with military connotations creating an archaeological landscape of defence.

Keywords: Scandinavia, Viking, Iron Age, political structures, fortifications, martial society.

This is a general overview of the social and political structures of late Iron Age Scandinavia. Due to the character of the Scandinavian society at this period the overview will be given a martial perspective which is adequate in order to fully understand the formations on the social as well as the political arena.

1. SCANDINAVIA IN THE 8TH-10TH CENTURY

Scandinavia alludes to the Scandic Mountains dividing Norway and Sweden from North to South. The term, when used in a geographical sense, defines a cultural and linguistic rather homogenous area in North Europe including the historical nations of Norway, Denmark, Sweden, Iceland and the Faeroes in the North Atlantic. Though culturally and linguistically quite different even Finland is included in the term Scandinavia for historical reasons as it for many centuries was a part of Sweden. The political history of the Scandinavian countries is intricately intertwined with shifting borders, intermarriages between royalty, alliances, feuds etc. Despite the turbulence people in the Scandinavian countries are and were culturally very close, but the geographical disposition of political power has remained remarkably intact and some of the Scandinavian countries represent some of the world's oldest nations.

CULTURE, ETHNICITY AND RELIGION

During the end of the Iron Age (i.e. 8th-10th centuries) the predominant culture of the Scandinavian area is Norse, or Old Norse. The exception is Finland which culturally, due to the common history is part of the Norse sphere today, but which during late Iron Age in most respect had its closest cultural connections to the Baltic States. Linguistically Finland is linked to a small group of languages including Estonian and Magyar originating in the Ural region of Russia. The archaeological find-material is also homogenous in the Scandinavian region, though regional differences occur. In general the differences consist of stylistic traits and designs.

The people of the Scandinavian and Danish peninsulas shared a common (Norse) culture and as a group could be regarded as Norsemen. It is equally clear according to Alfred Smyth that contemporary Norsemen recognised differences between and divisions within their own cultural and political sphere (Smyth, 1998: 27). In order to reach further in the interpretations and understanding of the Norsemen and their expansion during the Viking Age we need to recognise these differences, apparent to the contemporary Norsemen and to study their activities abroad “subdivided into separate geographical zones, each with its own chronological subdivision” (Näsman, 2000: 1).

One must not forget that during most of the Viking



Map over the Northern countries: the Scandinavian region

Age and in contrast to Western Europe in general Scandinavians were not Christian. There was a fundamental difference in view of life and the world. Old Norse religion was a polytheistic religion with a pantheon of gods and demigods and a rich mythology. The differences in values and world view that the Norse religion provided compared to Christianity, is visible in the contemporary Skaldic verse. This divergence in values could well have influenced Norse warfare in general and the motivation to fight in particular. Thus the conception of war was slightly disparate between the Scandinavian pagan warrior and the Christian warrior from the Continent. At the same time the Scandinavian warriors probably had a conception and an awareness of the rules of Christian warfare, but they were not bound by

them. Instead they could use them to their advantage, which may be a part of the 'Viking' success story. The rules of war can become the strength of those who do not follow them (cf. Halsall, 1992: 2-12.1; 1998: 11f).

POWER POLITICAL STRUCTURE

During the Viking Age Scandinavian society is going through a transformation from a system of local power and petty chieftains to a grander regional power structure. The political ambitions are much greater and there is an advancing administration linked to the king and his deputies. The change from local to regional power also included a change from power over souls

to power over territory, something that can be seen archaeologically in the landscape of defence.

The distribution of power differed somewhat in the different regions of Scandinavia. Denmark was at the mid 10th century a centralised monarchy converting to Christianity. Norway was to large extent also a centralised monarchy whilst Sweden consisted of several different regions of power and interests and hence defined groups of people. Political power was exercised through the itineration of a political leader between different centres of power (Brink, 1996: 239f). The Scandinavian society in general was however differences in direct power, structured in much the same way over the entire region.

The Nordic or Scandinavian Viking age society can be characterised as a militarised society. The militarised society is not the same as a society involved in warfare. It is rather a societal structure based on a number of requisites all following the theme of making no distinction between martial and civilian life. Edward James has stipulated the following definition of the term militarised society, highly relevant in this context (James, 1997: 19). In a militarised society all free men had the right to carry weapons, and warfare and weaponry was prominent both in official and private life. To wage war and to participate in the military followings was expected of men from certain levels in society (usually the aristocracy) and youths were trained in warfare. The image of the warrior in society, as well as the warrior's self-image is an important aspect of the warrior culture. In the light of what is to come with knights and nobles setting examples for ethics and moral even among civilians, it is clear that the role of the warrior was not restricted to warfare alone. In a society of this kind the warlike and heroic virtues were glorified and constituted the foundation of moral and values in all aspects of life. Thus, permeating everyday life it concerned not only men, but women and children, young and old. However part of society and subordinate to its norms and values, women rarely took part in actual combat. "While war may be everyone's business, it has usually been men's work" (Keeley, 1996: 35). At the same time women maintained the structures of society by insti-

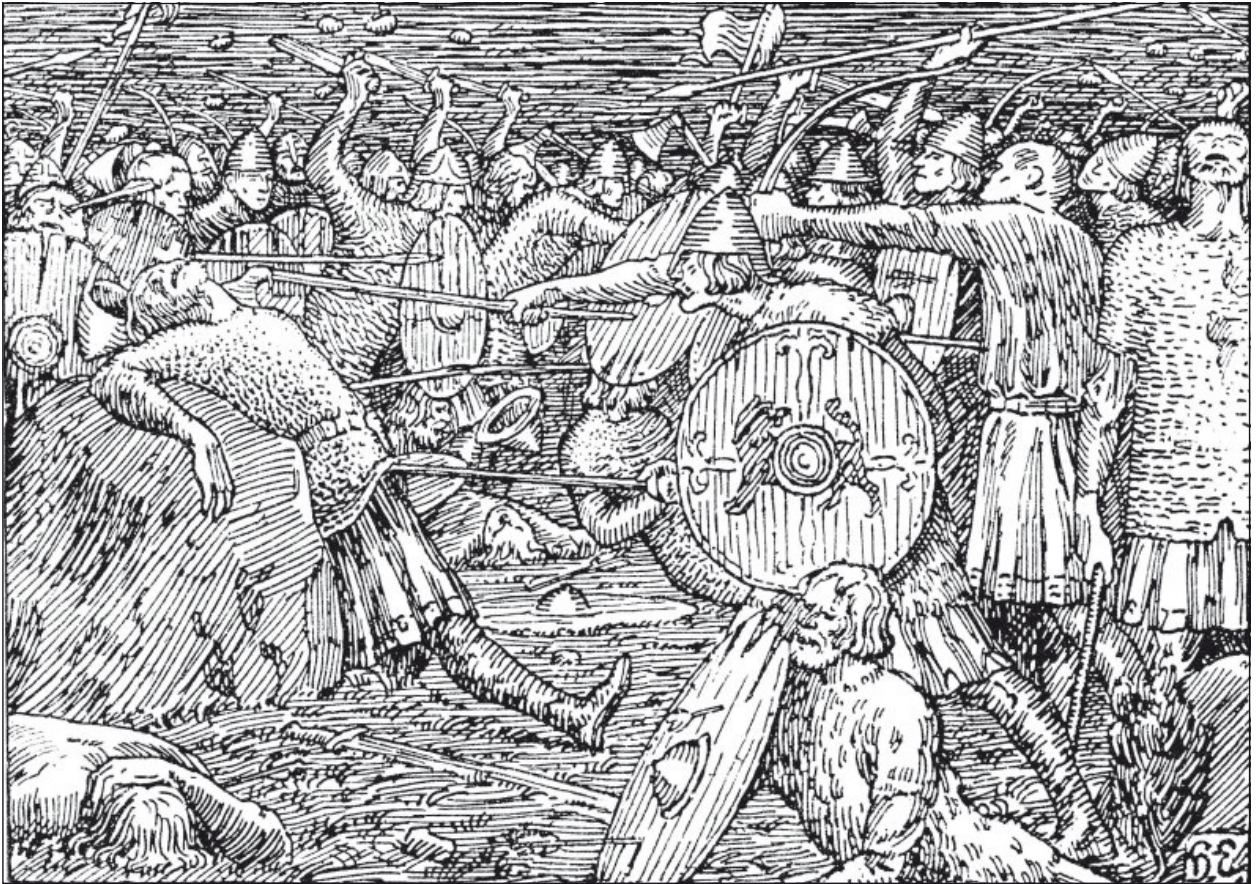
gating conflict, enforcing their men to take vengeance in defence of honour and upholding the memory of the fallen by acting as mourners.

SOCIAL AND POLITICAL FORMATIONS

A common trait of the Germanic societies during the late Iron Age was the social structure of loosely knitted and autonomous groups held together by reciprocal relationships, by anthropologist mainly labelled 'patronage'. One of the most significant of these reciprocal relationships was that of the retinue. The retainer was bound to the chieftain or lord voluntarily and by loyalty. In return for counsel and military aid the lord provided protection and generosity. The structure of formalised long-term reciprocal relationship and the importance of the phenomenon have been acknowledged by several scholars. The basis for recruitment went outside the kinship and ethnic groups and made it into a revolutionary organisational structure (J. Bazelmans: *By Weapons Made Worthy*. Amsterdam, 1999, p. 4f; for references to this discussion see further the notes for these pages).

It was expected for a Viking Age ruler to have a personal military following in permanent attendance – a *hird*. The *hird* did not only have a military significance, it also fulfilled important representational and protective functions. Most likely participation was typical for a certain stage in life. The retainers or *hirdmen* were mostly young men "earning their keep and their reputations before settling down" (Reuter, 1997: 32f). Characteristic of such warriors was the way in which they were rewarded by regular gifts of movable wealth. The retainer was bound by his oath to follow his lord in to battle, to hand over booty taken in war and to avenge the death of his lord, if needed. In return for gifts, hospitality and protection, the king, "sustainer of the warriors" expected and received pledges of loyalty and service from his warriors'.

Warfare and campaigning also provided young men with opportunities to advance. Military prowess and success in battle formed an important base for



The Battle of Stiklestad, an illustration to Snorre Sturlason's *Heimskringla* by Halvdan Egedius

further advancement in society and could in the end be a means of reaching the very top, i.e. becoming the chieftain. Warfare also functioned as a marker of social identity. When raising an army for an offensive war the participants were selected from particular social groups. "Warfare presented opportunities for social and political advancement. It enabled the reaffirming of ties of friendship and of dependence that bound early medieval society" (Halsall, 2003: 5, 134).

GOING OUT INTO THE WORLD

Making a name for them —though usually not a pretty name— the Norsemen sought their way out into the world. Their bad reputation is only partially correct as

there is a lack of sources giving the Norsemen's view of what actually happened. Most likely the Scandinavians were not better or worse than their contemporaries on the European continent. The Viking expeditions had different goals in different times. Not all of them were raids. There was a clear distinction between raiding and campaigning, one in search of wealth the other of glory and honour. There was also an extensive movement of settlers that took men, women and children to new lands in the West, North, South and East. The East Scandinavians —the Svear— took the Eastern route establishing them as Rus'.

The contemporary Islamic writers made a differentiation between the Rus' and the neighbouring Slavs in every respect "from clothing to lifestyle and activities" (Androschuk, 2004). The elaborate dress of the Rus',

with caftan-like coats and wide trousers is contrasted by the simple linen shirts of the Slavs. Dress is and has been a bearer of identity, and even if the extravagant outfits of the Rus' perhaps were not for everyday use, this group of people nevertheless distinguished themselves by forming a particular identity.

The political structure of the Norse society resulted in an interest in glory and wealth – but not in conquering land. A chieftain was lord over people, not over land and hence the Scandinavians – in particular the Rus' created a loose-knit region bound together by the trade-route along the Russian rivers.

2. THE LANDSCAPE OF DEFENCE: FOCUSING ON EASTERN SCANDINAVIA

THE HILLFORTS OF THE MIGRATION PERIOD

Few archaeological remains reflect the political and social development in Sweden as evident as the hillforts of the 5th and 6th centuries. Later years research has shown that the term hillforts include many different types of structures with varying functions, and dating from the Bronze Age up into the Vendel Period (Merovingian times). In Central Sweden there are over 1000 registered hillforts, though not all of them have military or defensive connotations.

Only a minor part of the hillforts represents actual fortifications. The majority upheld other central functions such as social, judicial or religious statements towards the surrounding society. The similarities to 4th and 5th century forts north of the Limes, e.g. the Allemanic are prominent. Recent year's research has shown the diversity in functions and features of the hillforts. They should be seen as symbolically important features in the landscape, demonstrating military power and authority as well as political and economical power. They were associated with rank, social stratification and identities, and signal political, ideological and military dominance.



A Vendel period mounted warrior as depicted on a contemporary helmet from Vendel (O. Montelius: *Om lifvet i Sverige under hednatiden*, Stockholm, 1905, p. 98)

“KNIGHTS” AND ENDEMIC WARFARE

Following the Migration period in Sweden is the so called Vendel era. Named after the site of a number of wealthy boat burials in Central Sweden the Vendel period dates from the mid 6th to the mid 8th century. The Migration period forts were, with few exceptions, no longer in use after the first half of the 6th century and the occasional hillforts erected in the 7th century were built in a different technique all together (Olausson, 1995). After the year 650 the use of hillforts comes to an abrupt end in Scandinavia, with one exception - Torsburgen on Gotland. The hillforts on the island of Öland are reused in the 12th and 13th centuries in connection to the Eastern crusades during this era, but as such they are unique (Hedenstierna-Jonson, Holmquist Olausson and Olausson, 2007).

Iron Age warfare is said to have been endemic, characterised by the relation between the leader and his military following. Endemic warfare was low-intensive

with emphasis on ritual and display and with riding and skirmishing as dominant tactics. This is particularly true of the “knights” of the Vendel era. The mounted warrior of this period was by all means capable of actual warfare, but there was also a strong element of display. The chieftains buried in the renowned boat burials of Valsgärde and Vendel show an array of weaponry adorned in elaborate styles and in expensive material. Power was as much in the visual appearance as in the military strength. Religious beliefs were apparent and the visual parallels between gods and chieftains obvious. Endemic warfare had a strong impact on society as there was a constant presence of warfare and young men were prepared for their life as a warrior (Olausson, 2000; Hedenstierna-Jonson, 2006).

THE INVISIBLE DEFENCE? ENTERING THE VIKING AGE

The Viking Age proves complex seen through a military historical perspective. It marks the coming of something new in warfare and battle technique. The development of arms and armour together with the extended use of horses in warfare, such as the introduction of the cavalry chock indicates a change both in warfare technique and in society in general. Raiding and skirmishing were still primary aspects of warfare and the use of weapons and horses as indicators of rank and status rather than implying a warrior profession is visible in the graves, but there is also something new. A more institutionalised form of warfare, incorporating new social structures and new categories of warriors and warfare organised on a larger scale (Hedenstierna-Jonson, 2006).

But the correlation between literary sources and factual archaeological remains appears a paradox. On the one hand the Scandinavians are depicted as skilled in erecting and using fortifications especially on the Continent, Christiansen states in his *The Norsemen in the Viking Age* 2002, that the success of Viking warfare, especially on the western route, were due to three vital components —ships, horses and spades—. But on the other hand the archaeological material is sparse and

in Scandinavia, almost non-existent. Apparently there was no need or no inclination to build defence works when fighting at home, or in order to protect the home region or the farm, though there is no doubt that the fighting continued, as did the attacking and burning of halls etc (Hedenstierna-Jonson, Holmquist Olausson and Olausson, 2007).

CHANGES IN SOCIETAL STRUCTURES AND IN THE LANDSCAPE OF DEFENCE

Some of the most notable military structures of the 10th century were the Danish ring fortresses. With striking consistency these fortifications were built according to a geometrical plan forming an exactly circular fortress with one opening in the cardinal points of the compass. Dated by dendro-chronology to the years AD 980-981 they have been ascribed to the rule of king Harald as an expression of his intensification of centralised power (for different interpretations of the function of the fortresses see Weibull, 1974; Olsen and Schmidt, 1977; Roesdahl, 1987; Skaaning, 1992).

In Eastern Sweden the disappearance of hillforts in the 6th century represents a change in the societal structure where individuals become landowners and there is both the will and the strength to dominate territories. The Viking Age landscape of defence contains a combination of different defence structures that can be surmised in the presence of pile barricades and particular place-names. Another feature is the great ramparts.

RAMPARTS DIVIDING AND STRUCTURING THE LANDSCAPES

Though multi-purposed it is clear that the rampart and its location in the landscape express a totally new political and geographical way of thinking, compared to the hillfort tradition of earlier centuries. If the migration period hillforts were the monuments of a society with fragmented and more local than regional power, the great rampart expresses the opposite —ambitions

and power structures on a totally different scale—. In its Viking Age context the rampart was a territorial mark against the outer world and a means to control communication, trade and hostile military movements from the East. The rampart was complemented by pile barricades at Stegeborg (14C to the 9th and 10th centuries). Using a modern term the rampart and the pile barricades represent parts of a “deep defence” system in a large scale political and military project. The rampart was built during an acute political and military situation in the 9th century, and the scale and short time span indicate that the initiative must be sought in royal power, geographically placed in the centre of Östergötland. (The rampart was reactivated during the 11th century.)

VIKING WARFARE: A SUCCESS STORY

In opposition to the common prejudice that ‘Viking’ warriors were merely unorganised savage trouble-makers, the Norsemen were exceedingly skilled in the tactics and strategies of set-piece battle. In opposition to the vicious raiding (which also took place) the Norsemen campaigned, they were even exceptionally good at it, even “particularly strategically adept /---/ with large agglomerations of warriors, kept in the field for years on end” (Halsall, 2003: 154ff). Their long-term campaigning strengthened their teamwork and made them work very well together. Another special trait of the Norse forces was their loose-knit and fluid structure. Different groups of warriors, all with their own leaders, joined forces during campaigning. Particular warriors acted as leaders and their short-term cooperation ended when the campaign or season was over, or when they agreed to go separate ways (Halsall, 2003: 113). This type of organisation must have contributed to the high mobility of the Norsemen, an absolute strength in long-term campaigning as it must have made logistics much simpler. Their common descent provided the basis for trust, which was an essential in the type of warfare waged. The smaller units of experienced warriors seemed to be quite adaptive to

new forms of weaponry as well as fighting techniques. This provided an advantage when fighting on different borders with different martial cultures (Hedenstierna-Jonson, 2006; Hedenstierna-Jonson: “Rus’, Varangians and Birka Warriors”).

3. BIRKA’S WARRIORS AND DEFENCES. MARTIAL ASPECTS OF A VIKING PERIOD EMPORIA. A CASE-STUDY

BIRKA/BJÖRKÖ

We now turn to the island of Birka/Björkö which held the Viking Age emporia of Birka—a place of great importance in order to understand the societal structures as well as the network of communication, trade and warfare that constituted the foundation of Viking Age Scandinavia—. Situated in East central Sweden, in the Lake Mälaren region the small island of Birka was the commercial and power political centre of the region (fig. 4). It was an emporia or a so called proto-town with advanced crafts, trade and long-distance contacts. Today it is one of the most renowned archaeological sites of Scandinavia with sister-emporias in both Norwegian and Danish/North German territories. Birka is one of the major providers of Viking Age artefacts and the publication on Birka’s burials is the catalogue publication on the Viking Age, used for determining and dating finds. Birka also provides us with knowledge on the militarised society and of the elite warriors in the top of that society. Birka had a relatively short life-span starting at the beginning of the Viking Age and ending on the brink of the middle Ages.

STRONGHOLDS AND FORTIFICATIONS IN CENTRAL SWEDEN AD 400-1100

In 1999 the project *Strongholds and Fortifications in Central Sweden AD 400-1100* was launched with the ob-



Birka's location in the Lake Mälaren region (drawn by Hedenstierna-Jonson)

jective to study fortifications and defensive structures from late Iron Age and into the early middle Ages. The aim of the project has been to acknowledge the possibilities of archaeology to illustrate violence and society in a time span beginning with the migration period and ending at the beginning of the Scandinavian Middle Ages in order to take part in the extensive discussion on this subject conveyed by historians, philologists etc. Armed conflicts are considered one of the most important factors in the reformations and societal changes that led to the early state formation and nation building in the period 400-1100 AD (Olausson, 2000). The source material consisted of different types of fortifications, weaponry and a martial material culture and the “dynamic Viking Age” was in focus. Fortifications and defence works were seen through aspects of

social politics, military technology and architecture. One of the main goals being to identify fortifications preceding the medieval castles.

THE FORTIFICATIONS OF BJÖRKÖ

Excavations over the last years of Birka's defences show that the town was fortified, both on land and in the water, from the time of its foundation in the middle of the 8th century. It is now clear that the fortification of Birka was conceived as a sophisticated plan whose components were all in place right from the start. These fortifications were constructed to withstand attack from the only possible threat - seaborne warriors (Holmquist Olausson, 2002a, 2002b; Hedenstierna-Jonson, 2006).



The fortified hill of Birka (photo by Lars Bergström jr, 1964)

THE FORTIFIED HILL

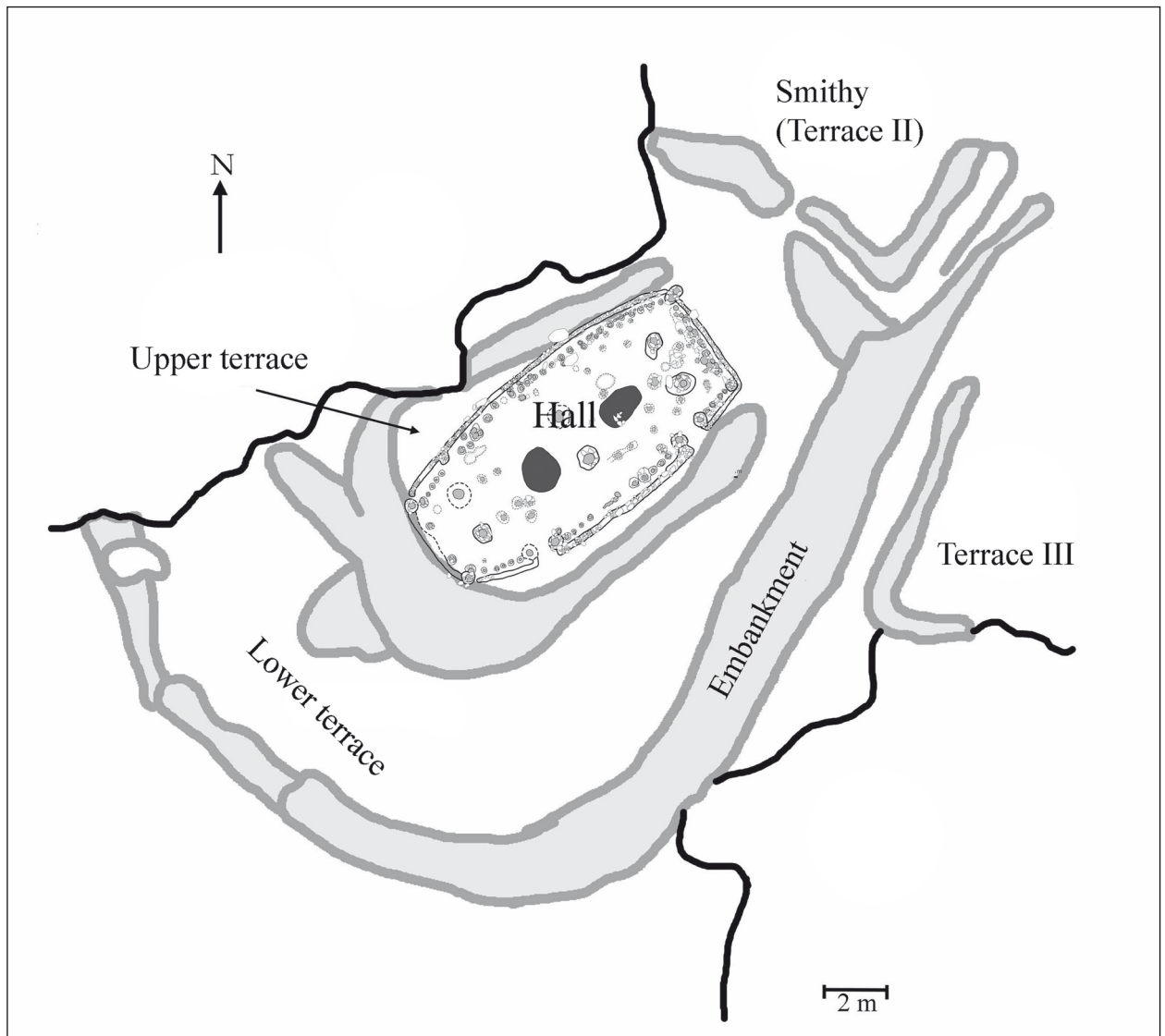
The excavations showed the rampart to be substantial and well-built in a shell-wall technique. About 20 layers have been documented within the rampart forming two distinct phases. Both phases yielded evidence for similar wooden constructions - super structures such as battlements and parapets - in the form of postholes, a worked wooden plank and hundred rivets of a type known as clenched- rivets and used for holding boat and ship timbers together (Fennö Muyingo, 1998, 2000).

The rampart wall construction using earth and stone is in keeping with the local stone-building traditions of the Migration hillfort era. The presence of wooden superstructures indicates the influence of e.g. Slavonic hillfort tradition. Dating evidence shows that the earliest rampart, which was low, was constructed at the

time when the town was founded. It was burned down sometime in the 9th century and built up again to twice its size, so that it was strengthened considerably. The later rampart shows repeated signs of burning, towards the end of the 10th century; which allows for the fort to have been in use even after the abandonment of the town.

THE GARRISON

In close proximity to the hillfort, just outside the entrance designated the 'King's Gate', the Garrison was situated in a steep slope leading down to the waterfront. The area had been levelled by several stone-set terraces, but the remaining slope is still considerable. The strategic location of the Garrison blocks the direct



Map over the Garrison area (drawn by M. Olausson)

path from the water up to the hillfort and while the buildings in this garrison area were protected between two rock cliffs, just a few steps up the hillfort side commands a good view of the surrounding waters and of the town area. In addition to the rock cliffs, the Garrison-area was enclosed by a rampart with a wooden superstructure, commencing facing the waterfront and continuing up the slope almost the full length of the Garrison area. To the north, the Garrison area borders one of Birka's wealthiest grave fields, containing several

of the islands chamber-graves. Out of the five visible terraces, four have been excavated, each displaying remnants of wooden buildings and constructions. The settlement was dense but well planned producing wooden lined drains, wooden boardwalks and a cistern.

The excavations of the Garrison-area has brought new light to the topic of martial life and knowledge (Kitzler, 1997; Hedenstierna-Jonson, Kitzler and Stjerna, 1998; Holmquist Olausson and Kitzler Åhfeldt, 2002). The most extensive terrace held the remains of a

great building with the character of a hall or assembly building. Measuring 19 × 9 meters, the dimensions are not fully consistent with Iron Age hall-buildings, something that at least partly may be explained by the limited area in which it was built. The roof rested on three pairs of stout posts creating a large open room inside. Analyses of soil-samples taken from the layer identified as floor and the distribution of finds indicates a spatial division of the interior, even though there are no remaining traces of inner walls. The seat of honour was situated in the northwest, defined by a concentration of high-status finds. The eastern part of the house served for storage, with extensive finds of weapons and other objects.

The reoccurring finds of padlocks and coffer-mounts along the inner walls of the building have been interpreted as the remains of storage-boxes or chests. Weapons were also found lined up against or hanging from the walls – shields, spears and lances. The hall was built according to a thousand-year-old longhouse tradition that ceased towards the end of the 10th century. The archaic tradition of construction was adopted as a deliberate link to former ways and to pre-Christian religion. Based on the find-material, the hall-building, as well as the rest of the Garrison, has been dated to the second half of the 10th century. As with the other parts of Birka's fortified structures, the Garrison was constructed and used over more than one phase. The earliest remains are dated to the second part of the 8th century. Even here, the structures were enlarged and strengthened at least once and the latest phase is represented by the hall building.

DEFENDING BIRKA

Birka's fortification was a demonstration of strength and an expression of power, directly linked to the activities and contacts of a trading-post. It shows evidence of being an advanced military construction in continuous use and an important element in the establishment of Birka. The nature of these fortifications was naturally dictated by current battle-techniques, were naval warfare

and archery played a dominant role. Tactics would have been concentrated mainly on siege, threat and extortion; and the defensive structures on the island should be considered as part of a defence-in-depth including pile barricades and possibly other features controlling the different entrances into the Lake Mälaren region.

There are similarities between the open landscape of the steppes and that of the Mälaren region that could explain the usage of eastern fighting techniques and weaponry in this region. Though quite inaccessible the archipelago and island landscape of the Lake Mälaren region provided difficult terrain and vast geographical areas to control and patrol. Here it becomes clear why the Viking Age landscape of defence contained a combination of different defence structures that can be surmised in the presence of pile barricades and place-names. Another feature is the great ramparts. This type of landscape of defence, consisting of ramparts, pile barricades and other less known features is visible in the Lake Mälaren region and its inlet to the trading-place or proto-town of Birka. At different inlets to the Lake Mälaren region there are place names indicating pile barricades *-stäk*. In different locations round Lake Mälaren pile-barricades are indicated by the place-name of *stäk-stäket* (Swedish for piles). Where archaeological excavations have been undertaken these stäk have been dated back to the 10th century. These pile barricades have probably been important parts of a deep defence system. To control the Lake Mälaren region, with Birka in its midst one required mounted warriors with knowledge of diversified battle techniques.

When the attacker had reached the island of Björko/Birka or some other fortified space in the area the battle would possibly already be lost. The close combat would however take place in a confined space where the steppe nomadic weaponry again would prove useful. There are sources describing how Viking warriors lured their enemies into their fort which then turned into a trap as the openings were blocked and archers on the superstructures began shooting inwards, killing the entrapped. The higher accuracy and increased speed of the composite bow would be very useful even in a situation such as this, without horses or open plains.

IN CONCLUSION

The Scandinavian Viking Age is in this paper exemplified by the emporia of Birka, situated in the Lake Mälaren region of Eastern Central Sweden. The excavations of recent years have uncovered a unique archaeological material showing the important role of the warriors in the Norse society.

Lifting the perspective to a more general level Birka is unique in its close connection to the Eastern trade-route and the extensive cultural contacts with the Steppes and the nomads. Still it is representative of the Scandinavian political and social structure of the late Iron Age and early Middle Ages. In conclusion the typical traits of the North Germanic/Norse society of this period could be defined as follows.

The political interests were in wealth, glory and people rather than land or territory. The society was therefore loose-knit in a geographical sense. The culture was governed by a common language and religion emphasising glory in warfare and death in battle. It was a militarised society and all free men and women were ideologically and practically prepared for warfare at any time. Their identities were defined by martial aspects, even though they did not actually fight in battle.

It was a period of turbulence and transformation where old structures were remodelled, society, power and warfare took on new dimensions and the Christianisation-process was set in motion. The development would take time, especially in Swedish areas where the Old Norse society was firmly rooted.

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