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Blowing the Horn

Lure Images in Rock Art in Trøndelag, Norway

Introduction

Among the many finds from Bronze Age Scandinavia (c. 1800-500 BC) is a collection of wind instruments (horns) casted in bronze. These wind instruments in modern times became known as *lures*; a name taken from traditional Scandinavian folk instruments used by herdsmen and in traditional folk music. According to Broholm (1965) 54 complete or fragmented bronze lures are known from northern Europe: 34 from Denmark, 11 from Sweden, four from Norway, five from northern Germany, and one from Estonia; virtually all being found within the area of the Nordic Bronze Age culture, the core area of which is in Denmark and southern Sweden. Later, Jensen (2002, 457-459) operated with 39 finds from Denmark and 13 from Sweden. The Norwegian examples are found at Revheim in Rogaland and Rossum in Oppland; the latter ones being fragmentary.

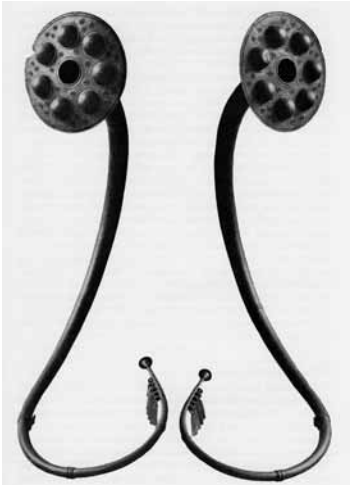


Figure 1. Pair of bronze horns or lures from Brudevælte bog on Zealand, Denmark (after Broholm 1965).

The word *lure*, first used by the Danish scholar C. J. Thomsen in early 19th century, etymologically seems to refer to the shape of the instrument and not its use, the original meaning probably being an instrument made from a hollowed piece of wood (Broholm 1965, 13-14). *Lures* used in more recent times in Norway were made from wood; from alder or birch bark (Sevåg 1973). Broholm (1965, 14) was not pleased with Thomsen's use of this naming of the Bronze Age instruments, but this still is the accepted term. Being casted in bronze is not the only way these horns differ from the later lures; they are curved, mostly being shaped like a three-dimensional S, or as a Z. Each lure was casted in three parts being fitted together. The curved conic tubes consist of two parts being joined together with a kind of lock that made it possible to separate the parts during transportation. A round disc casted separately was attached to the top of tube.

Normally two lures are found together as a pair of symmetrical instruments. When, where, and why these instruments were used is unknown but apparently they were deposited in bogs when they no longer were being used. Perhaps they were too valuable to be melted down and re-casted, whether into weapons, tools or jewellery. However, recent studies of lead isotopes and element analyses indicate that recasting bronze artefacts in general was unlikely (Earle *et al*. 2015, 639). The age of the lures vary but based on comparisons with decorations on the lures and other decorated

dated artefacts from Denmark, Broholm (1965, 84) dated most of them to the middle and later parts of the Bronze Age, that is, from around 1200 to 500 BC, the Revheim lures being among the later ones. Jensen (2002, 456) dated the lures to late second millennium until around 800 BC.

Rock lures

Based on the existence of some rock carvings in Trøndelag that may be identified as depictions of lures, we may ask whether these instruments actually were used this far north. In order to answer this question, we should, however, first look into the existence of lure depictions in southern parts of Scandinavia, where most Bronze Age rock carvings are found; in particular in the neighbour provinces of Bohuslän in Sweden and Østfold in Norway, between the rivers Göta älv and Glomma, where we find the best examples of rock art lure depictions.

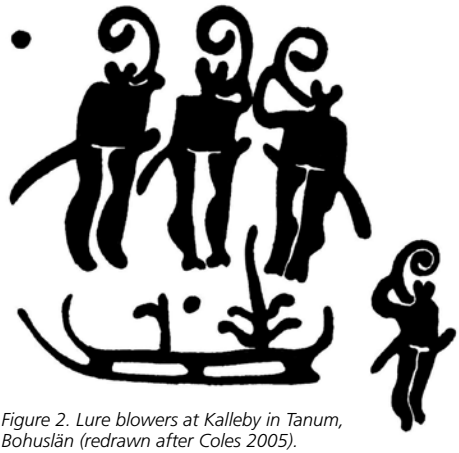


Figure 2. Lure blowers at Kalleby in Tanum, Bohuslän (redrawn after Coles 2005).

Figure 2a. Lure blowers at Kalleby, Tanum-248. Documented 2013 by Underslös Museum.

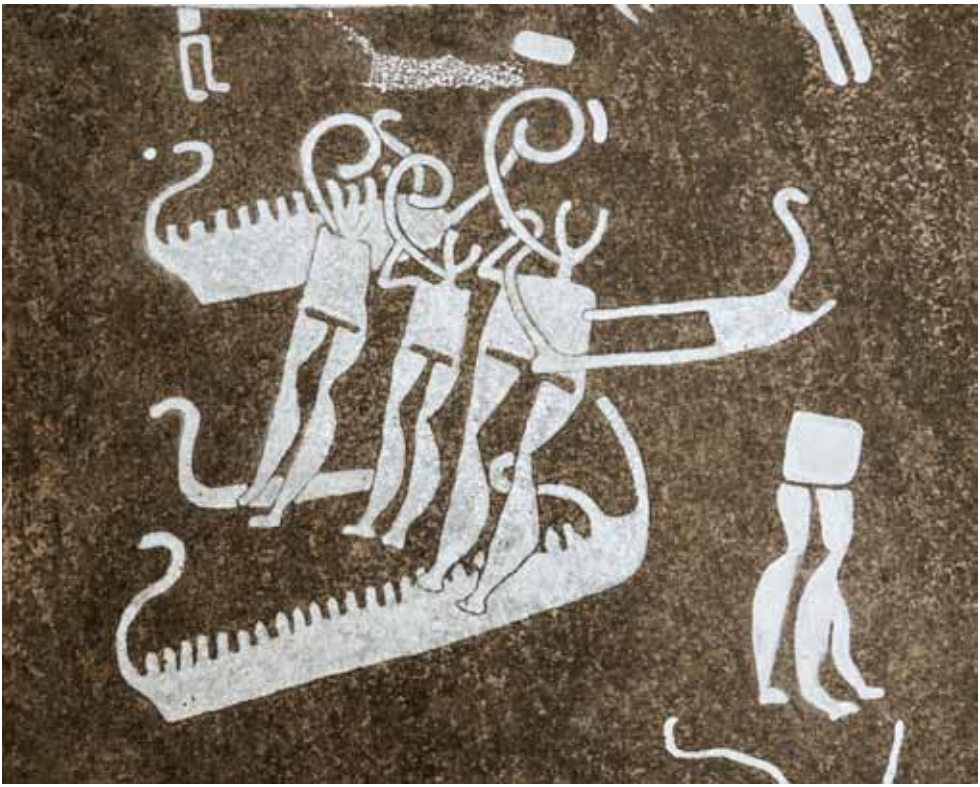


Figure 2b. Lure blowers at Kalleby, Tanum-405, Bohuslän. Photo: Gerhard Milstreu.

The number of lure images appears to be lower than the actual number of existing instruments. Two groups of naturalistic representations of lures and lure blowers are known from Kalleby in Tanum, Bohuslän (Baltzer 1891-1908; Coles 2005). At one of these panels three people carrying lures are superimposed on older ship images. This panel also includes some large humans not carrying instruments. At the second panel (figure 2) three persons blowing lures stay close together with a fourth smaller one below. The blowers have two 'horns' protruding from their heads but this do not mean that they represent supernatural beings. At Viksø, Zealand, Denmark two horned helmets are found (Norling-Christensen 1943), and likely the Kalleby blowers wore horned helmets when they were portrayed. There are two significant differences between the lure blowers on these two panels; the images shown on figure 2 are phallic and carry weapons, which is not the case on the other panel.

These images are all drawn in the same style. They have short, square trunks and small heads, virtually necks only, from which the horns protrude, the lower edge of the trunk being marked by a horizontal non-pecked line. The legs are long with accentuated calves. They all are phallic and equipped with a sword in addition to the strongly curved lures. The style is so distinct that one person may have made them all. This way of drawing humans is represented at a number of sites in Bohuslän (Coles 2005), being represented in Østfold too (Vogt 2012). Many of these humans carry horned helmets and/or weapons and may represent a certain class or caste of people playing significant roles in South Scandinavia during middle and late Bronze Age following Broholm's (1965, 84) dating of the lures. In Østfold some lure blowers are found at Borge in Fredrikstad. In a group of five humans at least two, perhaps four, carry lures held in blowing positions (figure 3). They are phallic and horizontal non-

pecked lines mark the transition between trunk and legs. Neither of these humans carries any headgear.

Looking at ship images in the same region, we find that these sometimes contain humans paddling boats, for instance at Kalnes in Sarpsborg, Østfold (e.g. Hagen 1967, 147). Normally, however, the presence of people aboard ships is marked with short vertical lines (figure 4) above the gunwale. Whether these lines represent crew or passengers is unknown. On some of these ships some vertical lines are extended upwards as curved, sometimes S-shaped lines, which frequently occur in pairs. Scholars in general identify these lines as representations of lures (e.g. Gjessing 1935; Marstrander 1963; Coles 2005). Ships with lures drawn like this are represented at many sites but relatively to the total number of ship images they are rare even in the central rock art area of Bohuslän and Østfold. They are occasionally also found further north along the west coast of Norway as far north as Trondheimsfjord 64°N, where the northernmost major cluster of South Scandinavian Bronze Age rock art is located. All over Scandinavia where this rock art tradition is represented, ships are the most frequent motifs (cupmarks excluded), while the number of lure pictures is low. We therefore may suggest that lure blowing was not part of the daily, mundane life in this region but rather was associated with special and rare events.

Figure 3. Lure blowers at Borge in Fredrikstad, Østfold (after Coles 2005).

Figure 4 shows ship images with possible lure depictions from different parts of Scandinavia. Figure 4A from Gerum in Tanum, Bohuslän (Coles 2005, 166) is most peculiar, not because the hull was drawn with a single line only, but due to its exceptionally long winding lures with round tops in a ship that appears to actually was paddled, the lures being blown on board the ship. Figure 4B from Aspeberget in Tanum (Coles 2005, 27) represents a common type of ship images known from all over southern Scandinavia with both keel and gunwale drawn. Two long and parallel lures are shown in the astern part of the ship. On figure 4C from Vårfrukyrka in Uppland (Ling 2013, 85) we find four lures facing the same way. On figure 4D from Hamarhaug in Kvinnherad (Mandt Larsen 1972, pl. 20), Hordaland only one curved line marks the presence of a lure. This line seems to be narrower than the ordinary crew strokes; perhaps it was made later or the crew lines were widened at a later occasion.

In general it seems that the number of ship images with lures is strongly reduced as soon as we move west and northwards along the Norwegian coast. In Trøndelag most Bronze Age rock art, including ship images, are found in the municipality of Stjørdal, in particular in Skatval and Hegra parishes (Sognnes 2001) but among these a few carvings at Røkke only contain curved lines that may be interpreted as representing people carrying lures. A 'procession' consisting of two rows of people at Leirfall (Marstrander and Sognnes 1999; 81) may be

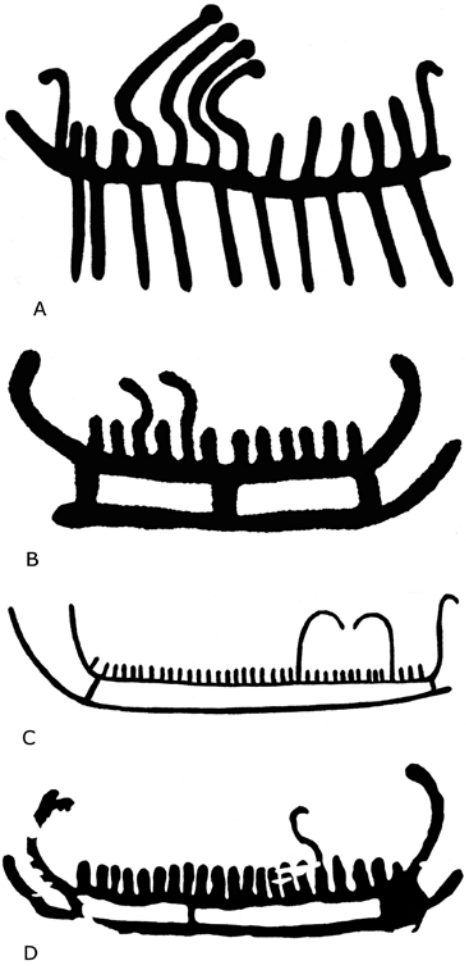


Figure 4. Ships with lure representations from A: Gerum, Bohuslän, B: Aspeberget, Bohuslän, C: Vårfrukyrka, Uppland, D: Hamarhaug, Hordaland (originals from Mandt Larsen 1972; Coles 2005; Ling 2013).

compared with some 'processions' in Sweden (Coles 2003), but in general carvings depicting humans in this part of Norway are rare and appear to occur randomly. Hardly any humans with weapons are depicted but some of those carry swords.

A preliminary hypothesis is that horned helmets, lures, and weapons signify the existence of a distinct class or caste of warriors. Nordbladh (1989) discussed the rock carvings depicting armed people in the rock art in Kville, Bohuslän. He found that the number of warriors depicted was low as compared to the total mass of humans, and that very few actually were fighting. He suggested that the fighting scenes primarily focused on demonstrating the qualities of the warriors and that fighting probably was ritualised, and that real fights with deadly results were not depicted (Nordbladh 1989, 331).

The members of this warrior caste probably made the rock carvings that express this combination of symbols. The way the humans representing members of this caste were drawn with short and square trunks together with long legs with accentuated calves, which further emphasised the connection between the people involved. Warriors were drawn according to other styles too, but these may belong to other groups or to different phases when this distinct symbolism was not developed.

The lures may have been used to announce the arrival and presence of people belonging to this warrior caste at certain places as well as being played during meetings and ceremonies. Based on this interpretation we may see the superimposed Kalleby carvings as representing a martial take-over of the local rock art panels as well as surrounding areas. This contradicts Kristiansen and Larsson's (2005, 330-334) interpretation of the horned anthropomorphs as representations of gods but in Trøndelag possible depictions of anthropomorphic gods hardly exist.

Blowing lures in the north?

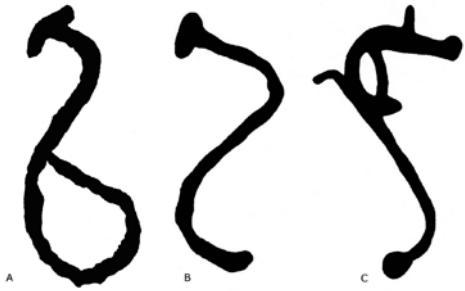
Rock carvings depicting people blowing lures, like at Kalleby and Borge, are not found as far north as Trøndelag, but some images most probably depicting lures not being combined with other motifs can be identified. Two of these images, together with ships and humans, are found at a panel on Bjørngård in Stjørdal (Rygh 1913; Marstrander 1954; Sognnes 2001). Tracings of two of these images are shown as figures 5A and B respectively, 5A being the most characteristic one. We recognise the S-

shaped tube and the top plate, which here is shaped like an oval. 5B has a similar top plate but the tube is drawn as seen from a different angle that gives the impression of the tube forming a circle. S-shaped remains of more lure images may exist on this panel but lines marking the top plate apparently are not present. This may, however, be the result of weathering.

On a panel at Tessem in Steinkjer, Trøndelag (Grønnesby 2006) we may have a similar situation, where a curved line protrudes from two concentric rings with a central cup-mark (figure 6). Concentric rings are one out of several geometric designs represented in the rock art of Trøndelag and in general are not related to lures. Yet, this particular image, as it looks today, resembles a lure. Close by we find another possible lure depiction but this S-shaped line has a round point in both ends. The curved line in question here was deliberately added to the outer ring and may be a later addition, perhaps being made by someone who was familiar with lures and how they looked like. If so, this image together with the Bjørngård carvings are evidence that lures were known in Trøndelag too.

The image shown as figure 5C seems to depict a wind instrument too, but it differs distinctly from the South Scandinavian Bronze Age lures, first of all because the tube is straight but also because the top appears to be shaped like the head of an animal. This image, which is found at Hegre, a neighbour farm to Bjørngård, appears to depict a *carnyx* that was used by Celtic people. The tube of this instrument, which was made from bronze too, was held vertically while being blown during battle. The top, which was shaped like the head of a boar, had a tongue that clattered while the instrument was blown, likely as a means of scaring the enemies (Darwill 2008, 73). Together with lances and spears, carnyxes reached up above marching arriving warriors. The carnyxes were used during the third century BC and thus are later than the central European Bronze Age but from a time when rock carvings still were made in Trøndelag, for instance at Bjørngård. The way the carnyxes were used supports the hypothesis that their Scandinavian parallels, the lures, belonged to a caste of warriors.

Figure 5. Wind instruments drawn on rocks in central Norway. A-B: lures from Bjørngård, C: carnyx from Hegre, all in Stjørdal. Images are not at scale).



Studying the rock art in Trøndelag, we in general find far less images depicting lures on board ships than in southern parts of Scandinavia. An extraordinary situation exists, however, on the main Bardal panel in Steinkjer, which contains a mixture of rock carvings from Stone Age and Bronze Age as well as Early Iron Age, with many late carvings being superimposed on the earlier ones. This is a unique situation. Some of the Bronze Age ship images are among the largest ones in Scandinavia, being more than four metres long (Gjessing 1935).

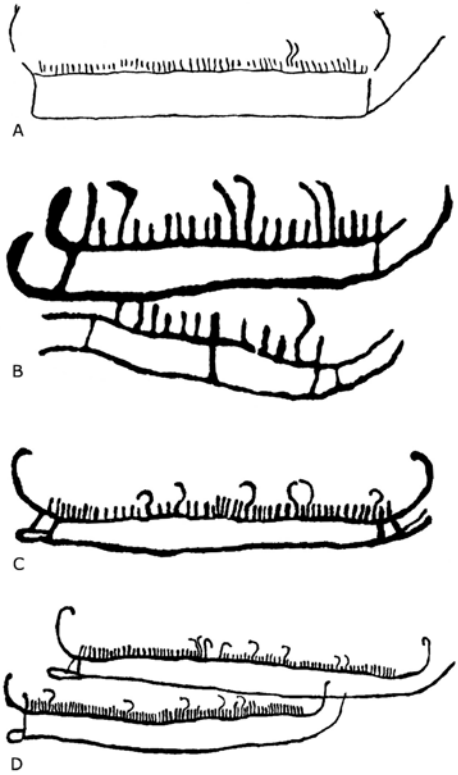
On this panel we can identify more than fifty possible lure blowers among the ship crews, which also make this panel unique. At the same time it is the northernmost larger panel belonging to the Scandinavian Bronze Age rock art tradition. The lures are located on ships spread all over the panel, but are most striking on the larger ships that also have the deepest and widest furrows. All lures are connected with crew strokes but some of the curved part of these lines are shallow and may be later additions to the original vertical strokes, or perhaps, they were not retouched when the furrows were deepened. Figure 7 shows a selection of these Bardal ship images. Suggesting that the crew strokes represents the actual number of people on board, some of these ships must have been quite large; larger

Figure 6. Possible Bronze Age lure image at Tessem in Steinkjer (K. Sognnes photo).

than ships used for fishing or porpoise hunting in the fjord basin. Most lure images occur in pairs like the bog finds from Denmark, but several pairs sometimes are found on the same ship. The large number of lure images makes this panel so strikingly different from other rock art sites in Scandinavia that it makes one wonder why.

Music for long journeys?

This question is, however, difficult to answer, and we will never know whether we have reached the correct answer if we chance to find it. People who knew this answer are long time gone and incommunicable. Since the lure blowers are depicted on ships, we may suggest that their usage was connected with seafaring or, more specifically, with encounters between seafarers and local people they met while travelling. The people, who made this rock art, did not, however, make it everywhere; neither did they make it at all times. In western and central Norway we may identify several sub-traditions within the rock art, among which ships and footprints represent the major ones (Mandt Larsen 1972; Sognnes 2001). Yet, the fact that the same motifs, frequently drawn in the same manner, are found all the way from southernmost Scandinavia to the Arctic Circle, shows that we are dealing with a common visual system that were understood by the those who made the carvings and by people living in this vast area. Clusters of these images, primarily being located by shores, indicate that



igure 7. Selection of ship images with lures at Bardal (from Gjessing 1935). Images are not at scale.

people travelling by ships established and maintained these contacts.

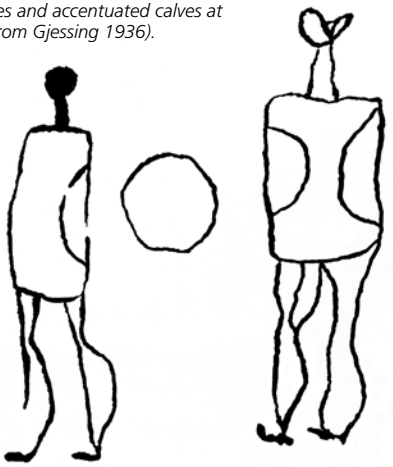
As stated above there seems to be a connection between lures, ships, horned helmets, and armed people with square upper bodies and accentuated calves. A special variety is found at the main Bardal panel, where two large humans drawn in this way (figure 8) were superimposed on earlier large elks images, as if they symbolically were taken over the most important part of this panel. These images, which are rather roughly drawn, are larger than the ones referred to in Bohuslän, and both torso and legs are contoured. The left one has a small infilled head, while the one to the right has a head that bear some resemblance with the horned helmets in Bohuslän. Interestingly, the lower part of an apparently similar con-

toured anthropomorph with accentuated calves is found at the Boglösa 155:3 panel in Uppland (Ling 2012, 41, 84-85) that has a shoreline maximum date to Bronze Age period IV, that is 1100-900 BC, corresponding with the age of most known bronze lures.

Kristiansen (2002) interprets the many ship images on rocks along the coast of present-day Norway as memorabilia of long distance journeys conducted by seafarers from southern Scandinavia – in particular from Bohuslän starting already at the beginning of the Bronze Age. The very similar large ship carvings, at Bardal and Torsbo in Tanum, being more than four metres long, support the validity of this interpretation. Perhaps the same persons made these images. We therefore might link Bardal with Torsbo and thereby Trøndelag directly with South Scandinavia. Ritual fighting, however, is not evidenced at Bardal.

The idea that an extensive travelling by ships took place within Scandinavia and beyond during Bronze Age has been present as an undercurrent in Norwegian archaeology for more than a century. In his study of the rock art at the island Atløy in Askvoll, West Norway, Christie (1837) suggested that the carvings in question illustrated stories told in Norse sagas of a Viking Period sea battle that took place off this island. Half a century later this rock art tradition was, however, dated to Bronze Age (Montelius 1876), yet it was suggested (Rygh 1908, 4) that the fleets of ships carved on the rocks in Trøndelag illustrated events that once took place – but during the Bronze Age.

Figure 8. Humans with square upper bodies and accentuated calves at Bardal (from Gjessing 1936).



Based on archaeological finds, Brøgger (1937, 188-190) saw the Bronze Age as a great millennium of seafaring, when ships were used for short and long distance trading, for instance between the British Isles, Ireland and the Continent. Stating that crossing the North Sea was shorter than crossing the Bay of Biscay between Brittany and Cape Finisterre, he suggested that direct contacts existed also between people living in Britain and Scandinavia. In general Bronze Age finds in Norway, however, indicate that contacts via present-day Denmark were of greater importance. Brøgger further emphasised that the many Bronze Age grave monuments in coastal Scandinavia – mostly cairns – together with the many rock carvings depicting ships found along these coasts bore witness that a focus on an extensive sea-faring existed also in Bronze Age Scandinavia. Rather little of the traded goods ended up in Norway, however, but Brøgger hypothesised that the Bronze Age 'Norwegians' provided ships and crews for this sea-born traffic (Brøgger 1937, 191). Christensen (1989) too emphasised Bronze Age as a millennium of seafaring. Interestingly, Wehlin (2013) recently presented a similar model to the one sketched by Brøgger, according to which travelling tradesmen and maritime specialists operated independently from or together with local elites, suggesting that chieftains in general stayed home.

Why Bardal?

It is surprising that these possible direct contacts are documented at Bardal and not in the major Bronze Age rock art concentration in Trøndelag, which is found in Stjørdal. However, Bronze Age rock art in Trøndelag forms two major clusters; in Stjørdal at the central Trondheimsfjord and its inner Beitstadfjord basin near the end

of the fjord, representing two major local communities (Sognnes 2001, 94) in which the depictions (and use?) of ceremonial horn blowing differed. The rock art in this area is dominated by ship images, some, according to Kaul's (1998) chronology, being made already in Bronze Age period I (Kristiansen 2002, 71). Contacts between travellers from abroad and local people may have been less direct in Stjørdal than at Bardal. In Stjørdal some few rock art sites only were located near the seashore: the majority being located on the central Skatval promontory 80-100 metres above present sea level and in the Stjørdal Valley up to ten kilometres away from the sea. Hence lure blowing ship crews would have little effect for creating a stir among locals when ships arrived at the mouth of Stjørdal River.

It seems reasonable to hypothesise that the large Bardal panel with its more than 400 individual carvings (Gjessing 1935, 125) was a place were people came together already during Stone Age, when the site still was located near the shore, facing a horizontal old marine terrace. Due to the still on-going land uplift, the gently sloping sea bottom below the fore-set of this terrace eventually became dry land and the distance between the rock art panel and the shore increased rapidly. Yet, a large number of rock carvings from later periods demonstrate that people continued to visit this site; apparently new carvings were made more or less regularly during centuries. The panel's size and location made it easy to find also for occasional visitors; the sea still being within sight from the engraved rock.

The present Bardal farmhouses are located on the terrace in front of the large panel. During Bronze Age this terrace provided space for a substantial number of people. Below the terrace, a shallow beach provided good landings for local and visiting boats and ships. Both above and below the panel ritual ceremonies could take place with or without spectators present. These rituals could take place during several seasons while visitors coming from abroad, most probably would take place during summer when daylight lasts for more than twenty hours.

The panel faces south and during spring and autumn, when the sun is low on the western sky, shadows fall in natural fissures as well as man-made furrows, making the rock carvings strikingly visible – the rock virtually comes alive. Two converging rows with natural oval grooves partly surrounded by white quartz veins cross the rock forming an oblique horizontal V that points towards the western edge of the panel. Immediately above the meeting of these rows is a group of large, partly superimposed elk images, which based on the present state of preservation may have been the first carvings made on this rock. The oval grooves make it easy to move up and down the panel but they may also have played another role. During favourable light conditions, when the grooves in the afternoon turn dark, they appear like eyes in the rock. We are here facing a situation where people looking at the rock and its many carved images may experience that the rock is looking back at the spectators – representing a most uncommon meeting between this world and a world behind the rock face (Sognnes 2008).

The many motifs and different boat types represented indicate that the Bardal carvings were made during a long time span, giving evidence of continuity, indicating that the making of new carvings was not just a day-to-day procedure. The large ship carvings (figure 6C-D) probably were made within a short time span. It also appears that these images, with their wide and deep furrows, deliberately and brutally were superimposed on the older zoomorphic carvings. Further, it should be noted that the northernmost rock carvings that may belong to an Atlantic cup-and ring rock art tradition (Bradley 1997) are found on this panel.

The symbolism represented by the rock art may have been of special importance during funerals, for instance at the death of local leaders and the raise of new leaders

of the local community coming into position. In a smaller scale this would be comparable to the Kivik grave in Scania, where a chieftain was buried in a stone cist with engraved slabs. Among the images on these slabs are humans possibly blowing lures; the engravings being dated to the late Bronze Age period II – 3400-3300 BP (Goldhahn 2013, 572). Lures may have been blown at the rock art panels at Bardal too during funeral ceremonies but this does not correspond with the strong association of the lures with ships unless the ships were used for transporting the deceased to the other side of the fjord, to one of the largest concentrations of Bronze Age cairns in Norway (Rygh 1906).

At Bardal, being located in a borderland between different cultures and ethnic groups, the blowing in lures from arriving ships may have had special significance. Here local farmers and huntergatherers meating with seafarers and traders from southern parts of Scandinavia were called together. We may imagine ships rhythmically being paddled across the Beitstadfjord towards the beach below Bardal; the lure blowers helping the crew to keep up speed and at the same time announcing their arrivals and soon to be meetings at the designated rock – for trade and exchange, ceremonies and processions. Correspondingly the lures would be blown during departure. This interpretation links the rock art to events that more or less regularly took place. The lack of warriors depicted on the rock that are so frequent in Bohuslän, indicates, however, that these meetings in general would have been peaceful.

A meeting like this may be illustrated on a panel at Hegre (Sognnes 2001) in Stjørdal (figure 9). Three ships with strokes marking the crews depicted on this panel indicate the presence of a substantial number of people. The ships are oriented in different directions – two towards the left (west) and one towards the right (east) – as if they actually were to meet each other. This is the case for two humans present too, of which one is carrying a sword. Correspondingly two different types of rings symbolically also may symbolise a meeting between two groups. The ship images represent the same ship type but the hulls are drawn according to three different 'styles' that traditionally have been considered to represent different periods (e.g. Marstrander 1963, 341-342; pl. 64), however, Malmer (1981, 27) saw these differences as regional variations. I 'read' this panel as a distinct composition and thus reject the idea that these 'stylistic' differences have any chronological bearing but rather represent different groups of people.

Conclusions

The presence of the many lures being depicted on ship images at the main Bardal panel are most remarkable considering how scarce depictions of these instruments are in southern Scandinavia with the large amount of rock carvings known there. The lures and carnyx images at Bjørngård and Hegre respectively support the hypothesis that wind instruments actually were used in this region although no remains of these instruments have been found until now.

To the lures may be added the use of horned helmets and swords (helmets not being represented in Trøndelag). Together

Figure 9. Encounter between people and ships at Hegre (after Sognnes 2001)

these motifs symbolically may represent a warrior caste or cadre (cf. Earle *et al*. 2015, 646) that, following Brøgger (1937) and Wehlin (2013), also was a caste of sailors and traders. Warriors were needed when meeting strangers – for expressing power and strength and for fighting if necessary.

Bardal is located close to the inner end of Trondheimsfjord, while the rock art at Hegre and Bjørngård are among the easternmost sites in Stjørdal Valley that leads eastwards from the fjord towards wide forests and mountain areas in inland northern Scandinavia, which were exploited by reindeer herding Samis in later times. Stjørdal Valley is also part of one of the shortest crossings of the Scandinavian Peninsula between the North Atlantic and Baltic. The rock art in this region may, at least partly, represent memories of trading expeditions to the very outskirts of Bronze Age Europe. For expeditions like these along the Norwegian coast with its myriad of islands, ships were obligatory. Major stops along this route being marked with rock art may be identified at Lista and Jæren (Fett and Fett 1941), Sunnhordland (Mandt Larsen 1972) and Sunnfjord (Mandt 1991), West Norway before the journeys ended in inner Trondheimsfjord or at the mouth of Vefsnfjord near the Arctic circle, where the northernmost cluster of rock art panels of distinct South Scandinavian type is found (Sognnes 1989).

This is in accordance with a model presented by Earle *et al*. (2015), according to which 'bottlenecks' of commodity chains played significant roles in the trading networks that must have existed in Europe during Bronze Age; the coast of Norway being part of an Atlantic network, rock art sites dominated by ship images being associated with resting places for travelling traders and warriors. This was not, however, the case for Bardal that is located at the inner end of Trondheimsfjord around 120 km from the outer coast. Bardal must have represented a destination of its own at one end of the European Bronze Age world, being a place where the fur trade, as suggested by Earle *et al*. (2015, 636), would take place.

The existence of earlier carvings at Bardal would be significant for the location of the Bronze Age carvings, many of which were superimposed on older carvings. Apparently it was important to deface these older ones but also to utilise the supernatural or underground powers of this particular rock, signifying its take-over by a southern warrior caste. This would represent a break in the general norms of this region according to which older rock carvings were respected when new ones were made. When this take-over happened, northern tradition rock art no longer were made at Bardal but most probably continued at Hammer around six kilometres further west (Bakka 1975; 1988). At this site carvings depicting whales and birds dominate. At the Hammer I panel (Gjessing 1936) both rock art traditions are represented, but at different altitudes.

More southern tradition carvings are known from Bardal but these are found on panels around 800 metres further up in a narrow valley leading towards Lake Snåsavatn. These carvings are located at an old path leading between the inner end of the fjord and the lake; the main Bardal panel being located at the mouth of this valley.

Gjessing (1935) dated most of the southern tradition rock art at Bardal to Late Bronze Age. Recent studies, however, indicate that the making of these carvings may have started already in the beginning of Bronze Age (Kaul 1998). At this time northern tradition carvings were still being made at Trondheimsfjord, exemplified by the Evenhus site in Frosta (Gjessing 1936; Stebergløkken 2016), as demonstrated by the Holocene land uplift (Kjemperud 1981; Sognnes 2003). Motifs represented at Evenhus are elks, whales and ships different from the ones found at Bardal, but also at least one Bronze Age boat. The existence of ancient rock art in this region may have led to seafarers from the south finding it necessary to mark their presence in this for them remote

landscape by carving their own symbols onto the rocks.

Based on the possible contemporaneity between rock carvings belonging to these two different rock art traditions we may consider the Trondheimsfjord area as a border zone where people who took part in a new expanding culture coming from the south met local people living in traditional ways. From this perspective it is interesting to note that the rock art is located at the north side of Beitstadfjord basin while the main Bronze Age burial site was located at the south side of this basin. We may ask whether Beitstadfjord represented a cultural or ethnic border zone at the transition from Stone Age to Bronze Age with the large Bardal site as a place where different groups met during ceremonies where the use of lures for some time played a significant role.

For this model, there is, however, one obstacle to be solved. While the ship images in question according to the currently accepted chronology were made at the beginning of the Bronze Age (Kaul 1998; Lind 2008; 2013), the lures are dated to the middle and later parts of this era. Thus, the many lures on the Bardal ships may be later additions on existing carvings. Was this done because it became necessary to create a new mythical past? Or, is there something wrong with currently accepted rock art chronology?

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